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The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and serves as a forum for the publication of original research. Its focus is chiefly on works in the collections of the Museum and on topics related to them. Contributions, by members of the curatorial 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.

Volume 18 includes studies of unfamiliar or previously unpublished objects—two Attic black-figure vases, a Precolumbian artifact from the Moche culture of Peru, elements of Islamic and Italian Renaissance armor—and others that offer new insights into such works as the retable from the archbishop's palace at Saragossa, a major Aragonese sculptural monument of the fifteenth century now in The Cloisters, and Caracciolo's *Young Knight in a Landscape*, exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum in 1981 with other old master paintings from the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection.

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*continued on back flap*

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

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

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# A Pilgrim Flask of Cosmopolitan Style in the Cesnola Collection

J. L. BENSON

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## PROVENANCE AND PROBLEM

THE TERM "PILGRIM FLASK" is the colorful but purely conventional designation given in Near Eastern archaeology to two-handled lentoid-shaped bottles without a base. The type cannot be called rare, but neither is it one of the most common shapes surviving from the Late Bronze Age and earlier Iron Age (roughly the sixteenth to the eighth century B.C.); in this respect some interest attaches to any specimen of it. It is, therefore, curious that a large pilgrim flask with most unusual decoration in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum has not, in a period of flourishing Cypriote studies, attracted the attention that it deserves (Figures 1–4).<sup>1</sup> The present study is offered in an attempt to rectify the omission.

In company with the other objects from the Ces-

nola Collection this flask is, of course, an archaeological "orphan" in that no one can know for certain what tomb it came from at what site in Cyprus—although the fact that the collection as such came from Cyprus is generally not questioned. It must, however, be pointed out that this flask is included by inference and association in the famous Curium Treasure described by General Louis Palma di Cesnola in the account of his collection.<sup>2</sup> The validity of that description has been controversial almost from the time it was published. Agnes Smith, writing in 1887, stated:

With regard to the discoveries of De Cesnola, we found that the prevailing opinion amongst the English residents of Cyprus is as follows:

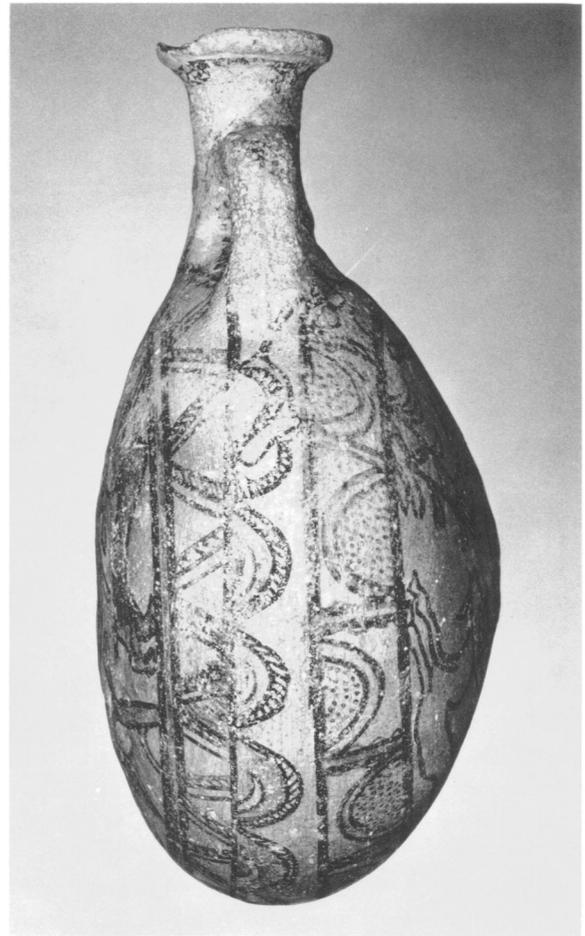
1. J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (New York, 1914) No. 545 (hereafter referred to by the Myres number). Under the rubric "Early Iron Age Fabric XVI" (equivalent to Early Geometric White Painted and Bichrome Wares) Myres describes this piece as follows (p. 70): "The remarkable annular flask 545 shows rude but vigorous sketches of animals, birds, and plants, which should be compared, on one hand, with the designs on the tripod 513 already described, and on the other, with the painted horses and birds of rather later date in Wall-Cases 21 and 23, and in Floor-Case VIII. It should also be compared with the more elaborate decorations on the silver bowls 4552 ff. in the Museum's Gold Room." While today we may not find these comparisons particularly enlightening, it is clear that Myres entertained no doubt as to the Cypriote designation of the piece. No. 513 has now been published by V. Karageorghis and J. des Gagniers, *La Céramique chypriote de l'Age du Fer* (Rome, 1974) p. 100:IX.4 (Bichrome III). The authors do not include No. 545, possibly because they have tended to limit their repertory to Protogeometric and Geometric rep-

resentations. No. 545, while contemporary with the former, seems to me now more properly associated with the Late Bronze Age; but there is nevertheless a certain lack of logic in these divisions. Both E. Gjerstad and P. Åström also seem to have ignored this flask in their extensive studies of Cypriote pottery.

2. L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus: Its Cities, Tombs, and Temples* (London, 1877). He included a very rough sketch of it in the middle of the chapter on the Curium Treasure (p. 333, right). It is perhaps included in the general reference to "many terra-cotta vases with designs" in Room E (p. 332). But it is not a little curious that a proper drawing of it was not included in the vase designs beginning on pl. XLIV, or else in the same author's *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1885; New York, 1894–1903), which presented many run-of-the-mill vase-paintings. On the Curium Treasure see O. Masson, "Cesnola et le trésor de Curium," *Centre d'Etudes Chypriotes: Cahier I* (1984) pp. 16–25.



1. Side B



2. Side B/A

1-4. Pilgrim flask (Myres No. 545), Cypriote, 12th-11th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 27 cm.; max. thickness, 12.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection, purchased by subscription, 1874-1876, 74.51.431

De Cesnola was not an archaeologist, but simply a man of culture who had plenty of time at his disposal, his official duties being light. He was seized with a zeal for excavating, and collected many valuable objects of ancient art. Finding that these attracted the interest of scientific men who happened to visit him, he was induced to make a catalogue of them, stating to the best of his recollection the places where he had found each item. But, as he had not made [*sic*] a habit of doing this from the beginning, his memory failed him in one or two instances; and he thus furnished a handle to his detractors of which they have made ample use. His collection has the undoubted merit of having been made in Cyprus, and it is therefore genuine; but much of its value to antiquarians is lost through the want of accuracy in naming the spot where each separate object was found.<sup>3</sup>

Methodologically, then, the Curium connection must be set aside, with the proviso, of course, that justifiable doubts about Cesnola's recollections do not prove that the flask was not in fact found in Curium.

Cesnola, as indeed also John L. Myres, regarded the style of No. 545 as "rude" and hence had little time for it in comparison with some of the spectacular finds among his collected objects. The process of deciding which style was foreign, which local, began in earnest with Myres, although most of the Cesnola Collection is easy to place in this regard. It is true that Myres himself had no doubts about placing No. 545 in the local category, nor had I when I referred to it briefly in 1975 in an article on Cypriote Geometric birds as an example of the survival of Late Bronze

3. A. Smith, *Through Cyprus* (London, 1887) pp. 238-239. Note that in his chapter "On the Pottery of Cyprus" appended to Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pp. 393-412, the archaeologist A. S. Murray speaks routinely of the famous "patera from Curium," an expression that is still more or less customary.

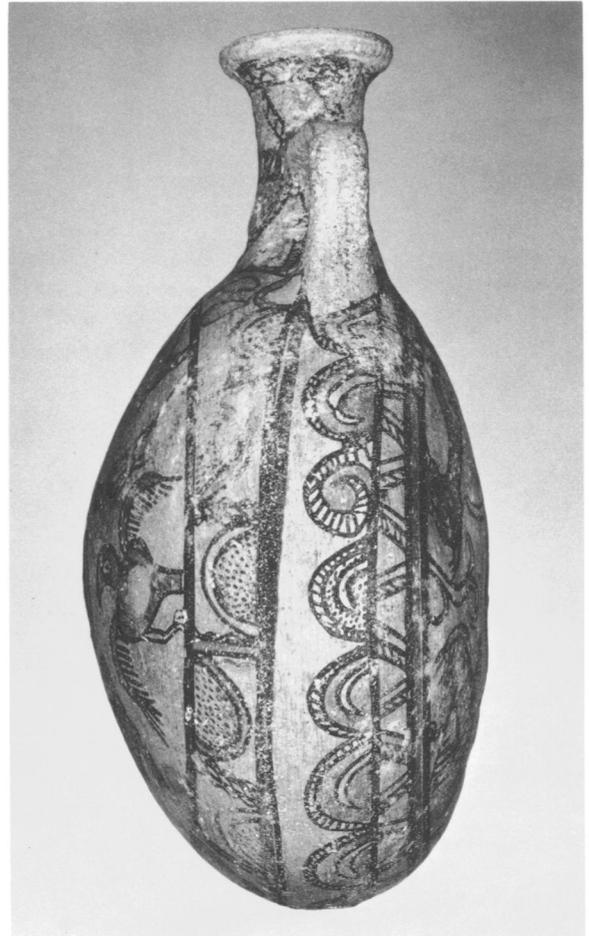


3. Side A

Age motifs.<sup>4</sup> And indeed the following consideration of its various features will show that understanding this object revolves not so much around its classification as a Cypriote product—from the clay and technique a reasonable assumption—but around its precise date, something that I had not been able to work out at the time of my earlier article.

#### MATERIAL AND SHAPE

The clay is a very dark buff, almost gray-brown in places, and not very well levigated. Rather coarse bits are visible here and there; the result is a fairly thick, heavy texture, with what is probably a self-slip that is lustrous in places with occasional areas of lighter buff color. The reddish decoration and uneven firing are responsible for the rather warm effect of the whole.<sup>5</sup> Given the variation in Cypriote fabrics, it is difficult to determine how the piece might fit into any known

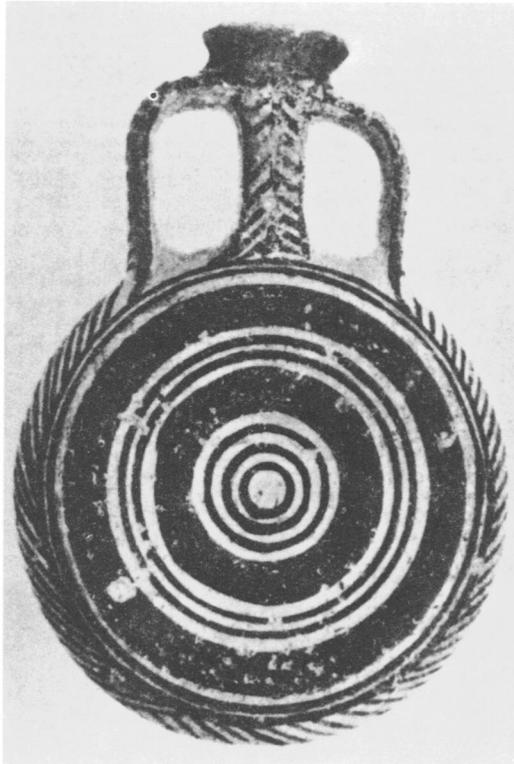


4. Side A/B

native category without having it in the Cyprus Museum where one could attempt visual matching. On the basis of a certain amount of matching with other specimens from the Cesnola Collection, however, I judge the clay to be well within the range found in earlier Iron Age Cypriote wares (that is, of approximately the eleventh century B.C.), especially in those vessels that have rather thick walls. If more could be done to reach a conclusion in this matter, I strongly suspect that the clay of No. 545 would be found to match generically the clay of vessels discovered in the

4. J. L. Benson, "Birds in Cypro-Geometric Pottery," in *The Archaeology of Cyprus: Recent Developments*, ed. N. Robertson (Park Ridge, N.J., 1975) p. 134, pl. 2, figs. 7, 8.

5. On the more convex side the reddish paint of the animals has partially disappeared. At the narrower end of the central aperture the clay is cracked in a roughly circular pattern. Only this area has whitish material which looks a little like sinter, yet could conceivably be traces of an ancient repair to secure the watertightness of the body.



5, 6. Pilgrim flask, from Kouklia (Tomb 9, no. 16), Cypriote, 11th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 18 cm. (photo: after *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1967)

Late Bronze Age settlement of Curium and classified as Late Cypriote III Decorated Ware (1225–1050 B.C.).<sup>6</sup>

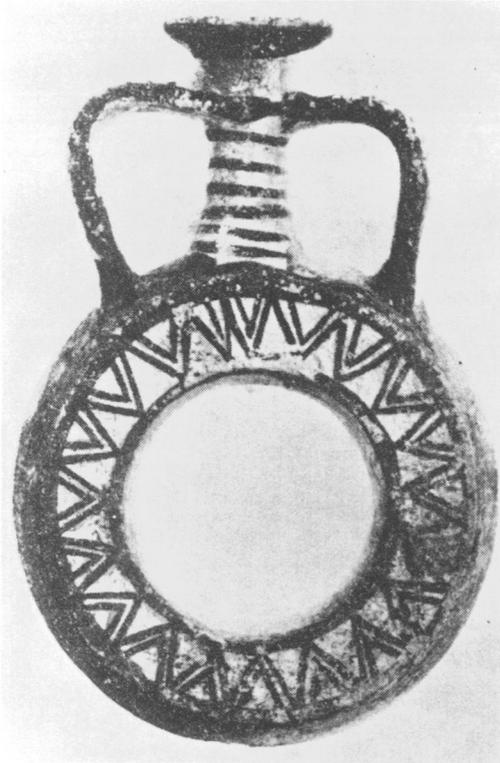
The shape is lentoid but flattened on one of the faces (side B) to a very slight curve (Figures 2, 4). The neck (Figures 1, 3) flows in a concave arc from the contour of the flask and is surmounted by a torus rim; this has a chip of considerable extent corresponding to the flatter face of the flask, and shows signs of wear on the other. A handle on each side flows from the outer contour in a convex arc to mid-neck. All in all, one must say that the potter took considerable pains to create a harmonious composition. But there is another—and most unusual—feature in his work: a small aperture approximately 2 centimeters in diameter was made at the center of the more convex face (side A), widening to approximately 4 centimeters in diameter on the opposite face, thus creating in section the shape of a funnel. Although this feature might justify the

term “annular flask,” it would be more appropriate to describe the piece as a lenticular flask pierced with a funnellform aperture.

The pilgrim flask was used not only in Cyprus but also in the Aegean and Syro-Palestinian regions. Although No. 545 cannot from its clay be an Aegean product, the shapes represented in all these areas must be considered in order to arrive at its date. If the piece should indeed be from Curium and a local product, it has no very close parallels among pilgrim flasks found there. Yet enough flasks were found in Curium to permit discussion of their morphology in general, and, for the limited purposes of my 1975 study, I concluded that the closest parallels existed in Cypro-Geometric I contexts (1050–950 B.C.).<sup>7</sup> Although that conclusion was technically correct, it was too narrowly conceived.

6. J. L. Benson, *Bamboula at Kourion: The Necropolis and the Finds* (Philadelphia, 1972) pp. 80–88.

7. See note 4 above. See also J. L. Benson, *The Necropolis of Kaloriziki* (Göteborg, 1973) pl. 20 K 167. It should be noted, however, that the lentoid flask as a shape occurred in the settlement and tombs at Bamboula: Benson, *Bamboula*, B617–B619: Late Cypriote III Decorated Ware.



7. Pilgrim flask, from Kouklia (Tomb 9, no. 19), Cypriote, 11th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 17 cm. (photo: after *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1967)

In pilgrim flasks found in the tombs at Alaas in Cyprus (dated to the Late Cypriote IIIB period, around 1075 B.C.), the positioning of the handles varies between immediately under the lip (e.g., Tomb 16, no. 23) to about mid-neck (Tomb 17, no. 14).<sup>8</sup> This is also true of the annular flasks, including one in the Hadjiprodromou collection.<sup>9</sup> Flasks from Kouklia (Palaepaphos), Tomb 9, dated to the same period,<sup>10</sup> exhibit the same experimental tendency to place the handles immediately under the lip (Figures 5, 6)—as preferred in the Late Bronze Age—or lower down toward mid-neck—as was to become more usual in the Cypro-Geometric I period (Figure 7). It seems germane to recall at this point that Proto-White Painted Ware shows marked influence from—among other sources—Mycenaean immigrants, who contributed mainland viewpoints to the creation of a new geometricizing style in Cyprus.<sup>11</sup> It is, therefore, of the greatest interest that the uncertainty in the place-

ment of the handles on all the Proto-White Painted flasks referred to above has its counterpart on Mycenaean IIIB flasks of a type exported to (or made in) Cyprus:<sup>12</sup> the latter seem, in fact, to be quite plausible prototypes for the former. In that case, does the Proto-White Painted flask represent a revival from such examples as may still have been visible in Cyprus or a tendency brought afresh by immigrants from the mainland? The question becomes particularly acute in the case of No. 545: a Mycenaean IIIB flask found in a tomb at Kition<sup>13</sup> has not only almost identical handles and neck (Figure 8) but also its pseudo-lenticular shape (Figure 9), a shape that is *not* usual in Mycenaean specimens of this type, although it is an attested Cypriote feature, recurring in the eleventh century B.C. (Figure 6). Obviously, there is a mystery here which cannot at present be entirely penetrated, but at least the Cypriote ambience of No. 545 is forcefully documented.

Yet the feature of the small hole through the center of the flask is difficult to explain on this or any other basis. The site of Megiddo produced at least one example of a typical Late Bronze Age pilgrim flask normal in every way except that it, too, has a small hole at the center (Figure 10).<sup>14</sup> The analogy is not compelling, however, since the perforation is not

8. V. Karageorghis, *Alaas: A Protogeometric Necropolis in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1975) pls. xi, xv.

9. *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii E 2.

10. V. Karageorghis, "An Early XIth Century B.C. Tomb from Palaepaphos," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1967) pl. II:16, 19; *idem*, "Chronique des fouilles . . . à Chypre en 1969," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 94 (1970) p. 197, fig. 7.

11. Benson, *Bamboula*, p. 53.

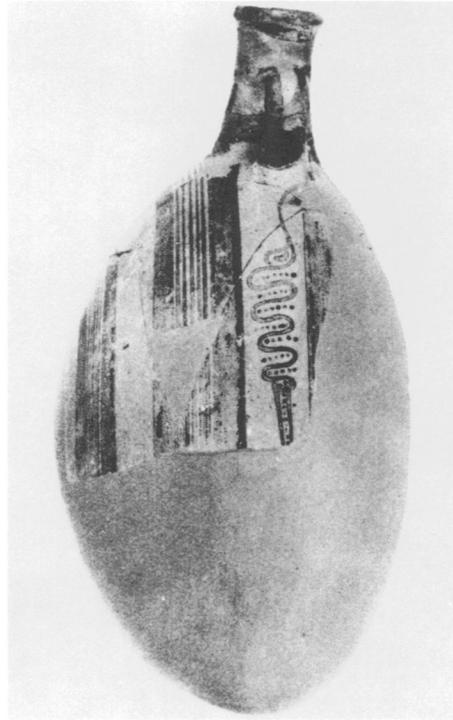
12. V. Karageorghis, *Nouveaux Documents pour l'étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre* (Paris, 1965) pl. xvii:1-4.

13. V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition: I. The Tombs* (London, 1974) pl. xviii:164. The pseudo-lenticular shape occurs in Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware and Base Ring II Ware: P. Åström, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition: IV, pt. C. The Late Cypriote Bronze Age: Architecture and Pottery* (Göteborg, 1972) figs. LIII, LV.

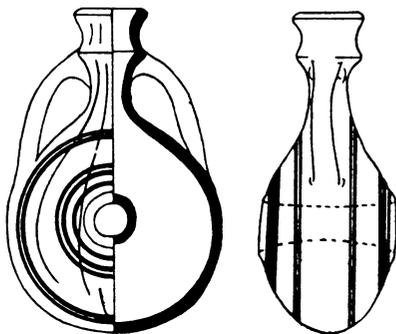
14. G. Loud, *Megiddo: II. Seasons of 1935-39* (Chicago, 1948) pl. 86:8 (P 6354-A28092) from Stratum VI, dated by H. Kantor in 1973 (private communication) to Early Iron II (tentatively, 1150-1020 B.C.); see also R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970) p. 191. The date of the Megiddo flask in any case lies within a rather wide span: it could be, but is not necessarily, the earlier piece. Although this flask has the type number 18, it proved impossible to ascertain at the Oriental Institute of Chicago whether it was the unique representative of the type or whether other specimens had been found in the excavations. No parallels are cited, nor have I discovered any.



8, 9. Pilgrim flask, from Kition (Tomb IV-V, no. 164), Mycenaean, 13th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 24.4 cm. (photo: after Karageorghis, *Kition*)



10. Pilgrim flask, from Megiddo (Stratum VI), Palestinian, 12th–11th century B.C. (drawing: after Loud, *Megiddo*, II)



funnellike but virtually a constant cylinder, slightly arched in the center, and the overall shape of the flask differs in many respects from that of No. 545. If the best theoretical explanation of the hole is that it is a somewhat arbitrary variant of the ring vase, just becoming popular in Proto-White Painted Ware, then it

might be easier to suppose that the Megiddo potter received, rather than gave, this feature, which is more plausibly explained as a Cypriote than as a Palestinian invention.<sup>15</sup> Or it may have arisen independently in two places.

In light of the wider and more recent evidence discussed, which was not taken into account earlier, I do not hesitate now to postulate that No. 545 was made in the Late Cypriote III period (1225–1050 B.C.), doubtless toward the latter part of it.

15. The vertical ring vase occurs already in Middle Cypriote wares: P. Åström, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition: IV*, pt. B. *The Middle Cypriote Bronze Age* (Göteborg, 1972) p. 211. Its use in the Late Cypriote IIIB period may reflect a revival of interest in earlier forms of native wares. In this respect it is of interest that a *Ring-flasche* in Mycenaean technique (shape like E. Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition: IV*, pt. 2. *Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Achaic and Cypro-Classical Periods* [Stockholm, 1948] fig. v:8) was acquired on the market (*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Germany 27, Heidelberg 3, pl. 97, 8). This may be parallel to the case cited above in notes 12 and 13. The shape seemed to be used in Cyprus during the Geometric period and taken up again in Greece later. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery*, pp. 166–167, does not mention the shape (see, however, D. Levi, “Arkades,” *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 10–13 [1927–29] p. 494). It occurs somewhat later in Palestine: R. S. Lamon and G. M. Shipton, *Megiddo: I. Seasons of 1925–34, Strata I–V* (Chicago, 1931) pl. 36:7 from Stratum III (930–732 B.C. in Kantor’s system, see note 14 above).

## THE SUBSIDIARY DECORATION

The Mycenaean connections of the potter of No. 545 have their counterpart in its decorator (potter and decorator may well have been the same person). In the first instance, the presence of figural decoration on a pilgrim flask of the eleventh century B.C. in the Levant seems to be rare, if not unique. It is to the Mycenaean sphere that one must look for prototypes, though even there decoration is generally on a less ambitious scale. These prototypes will be considered in due course after a study of the technique and framework of the "scene" on the Cesnola flask.

On each face a framework for the figural decoration is formed by two concentric circles around the aperture and one or two circles (sides A and B respectively) near the outer limit. A matt, dark brown paint is used throughout on bordering lines; the space between such lines is sometimes filled in with a pinkish brown to produce the effect of a bichrome stripe. The second color can vary almost to a purplish brown, especially in the filling of some of the animals' bodies. Near the outer limit of side B is a narrow bichrome border on which is based a design of alter-

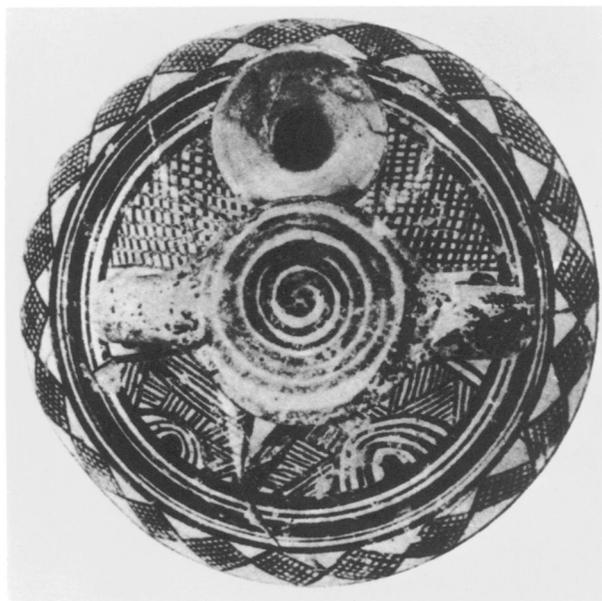
nately slanting lines constituting a series of triangles with hatched and outlined borders (Figures 1, 2); only one of these triangles is filled with contrasting solid paint. The triangles are interrupted in the region below the span of the handles by two parallel, closely undulating lines (Figure 1). Above these, the hatched triangles continue onto and up the neck, interrupted by a series of horizontal bars connecting the upper ends of the handles. A narrow band of horizontal zigzag is placed immediately under the lip.

The more convex face, side A (Figure 3), has the same decoration on the neck, but the outer border of the figural frieze is quite different. It consists of a wide zone divided into separate panels by double lines at more or less right angles (Figure 4). These are either filled with solid color or else hatched, and in some instances are bordered by scallops in the Mycenaean manner. In the panels so formed are dotted semi-circles, the arcs bordered by double lines filled with solid color. The area between the handles where side B has wavy lines here has a few rough leaflike shapes.

The decorative schemes of sides A and B are separated by a zone corresponding to the width of the handles (Figures 2, 4). This zone is filled with a series



11, 12. Stirrup jar, Cypriote, 11th century B.C. Terra-cotta, H. 26 cm. Cyprus, Hadjiprodrumou Collection (photo: after Karageorghis, *Alaas*)



of outlined semicircles based on the outer border of side B and painted solid except for a reserved hook; the outlines are hatched. One of the semicircles is dotted, and in one case the hatched outline curves back under itself showing the entire hook (Figure 4), which is partially truncated in the other semicircles.

The decorative framework just described is highly elaborate by Late Bronze Age or early Iron Age standards, but not inexplicable. It can be understood as embroidering on the typical triangle outer-face decoration of Late Cypriote IIIB ring vases, such as those from Palaepaphos mentioned in note 10 (see Figure 7) or the pilgrim flask from Alaas, Tomb 16 (see note 8). Even the specific form of barred-outline triangle exists in the Proto-White repertory of designs (Figure 11), in tandem with the combination of outlined semicircles and hatched triangles seen on stirrup jars (Figure 12).<sup>16</sup> The parallel wavy lines are a ubiquitous motif of Proto-White Painted Ware. The use of dotting in semicircles, although not very characteristic of that category, is not unknown;<sup>17</sup> but I take this feature to derive rather from another source to be discussed below—that is, the general predilection for dotting manifested mostly in figural representation in the Cypriote Pastoral Style.

Thus, the structure and details of the subsidiary decoration reveal themselves as a direct reflection of the conventions of Proto-White Painted Ware, although carried to a degree of complexity which is matched in spirit only in the larger shapes of this category, particularly stirrup jars.<sup>18</sup> The complexity is caused partly by the introduction of alternately reversed semicircles, a standard Late Bronze Age motif deriving from the Mycenaean repertory.<sup>19</sup> In the overrich manner of the decorator of No. 545, spiral hooks, also a Mycenaean ornament, are combined with the semicircles in a seemingly idiosyncratic way (Figure 4). This recalls, however, the use of spirals on the false tops of stirrup jars (Figure 12).

## FIGURAL DECORATION

By now it should be no surprise that the association of figural decoration with the flask shape must be sought in the Mycenaean sector. Even there, simple concentric circles are the usual convention for decorating pilgrim flasks from Mycenae to the Syro-Palestinian littoral. However, I know of four excep-

tions besides No. 545, and there may be others. All of those listed here have (or probably had) the globular-footed shape:<sup>20</sup>

1. Louvre AM 833. Late thirteenth century B.C. Large free-field bird.
2. Rhodes Museum BE 1223 (29). Thirteenth century B.C. “Robed (armless) women or goddesses facing out under handles on each narrow side.”
3. Sarepta. Horses on each side (representing teams) in fields of flowers.
4. Corinth Museum CP 2188 (Figures 13, 14). Center of field occupied by a cross containing stacked triangles; in the circular field, trees and conventional flowers.<sup>21</sup>

This list makes it clear that no fixed conventions governed the use of a flask’s surface for figural decoration but that in the few instances where it occurred the artist experimented. The Corinth example is formally the closest to No. 545; its alternation of tree and flower corresponds to the alternation of tree/animal (quadruped or bird)/flower on side B of No. 545 (Figure 1). On side A, however, the flower motif does not occur.

The principal motif on both faces of No. 545 is the sacred palm flanked by heraldic goats in the company of birds. In the Mycenaean sphere this combination of elements occurs only once to my knowledge, at Perati, though the heraldic scheme is not completed.<sup>22</sup> Heraldic goats and palm occur occa-

16. Karageorghis, *Alaas*, pl. xxiv B 5. A faint echo of this occurs in the Near East: Amiran, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 169, no. 7.

17. Karageorghis, *Alaas*, pl. LVIII T16/11 (pilgrim flask).

18. *Ibid.*, passim; note also pl. XII.

19. E.g., Karageorghis, *Kition*, pl. LVI:108A.

20. It may be noted that the nonfooted example mentioned in note 13 (Figure 9) has the whorl-shell motif in the same position as the women of no. 2 on my list. See also C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica: II. Nouvelles Etudes relatives aux découvertes de Ras Shamra* (Paris, 1949) p. 171, fig. 67:19.

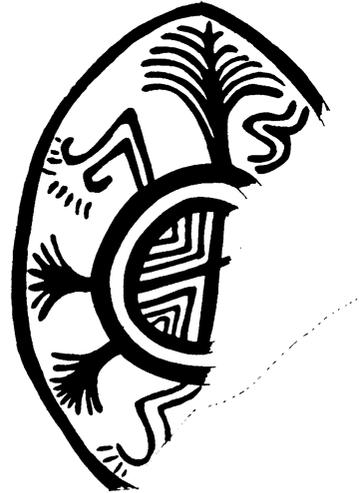
21. Nos. 1–3: E. Vermeule and V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) v.72.1, xii.18, iv.78. No. 4 is previously unpublished; I am indebted to Miss Paleoglou, Acting Ephor of the Argolid and Corinth, and to the Greek Ministry of Culture for permission to mention and illustrate this piece. I am indebted to the late S. Charitonides for permission to make the drawing reproduced in Figure 14.

22. Vermeule and Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, x1.83.



13. Pilgrim flask, from New Corinth, Mycenaean, 13th–12th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 21 cm. Corinth Museum, CP 2188 (photo: courtesy Corinth Excavations)

14. Detail of decoration on the flask reproduced in Figure 13 (drawing: J. L. Benson)



15, 16. Birds with displayed wings, details of Figures 1 and 3

sionally on vases found in Rhodes and Cyprus,<sup>23</sup> but not apparently in juxtaposition with birds. In contrast, the true locale of the palm-and-ibex motif, frequently combined with birds, is the Syro-Palestinian littoral.<sup>24</sup> It would, however, be hasty to seek an immediate connection for No. 545 with this region. Flasks there seem not to carry figural decoration, let alone the theme of No. 545, and there is, as we shall see, only a marginal relationship between the figural style of the region and that of No. 545.

As I have previously pointed out, the birds on the Cesnola flask (Figures 15, 16) are best explained as reminiscences of Late Minoan III birds with displayed wings, which is a variant of the down-view flying pose seen on seals, while the openwork bodies



23. *Ibid.*: Rhodes, XII.11, XII.24; Cyprus, VI.9.

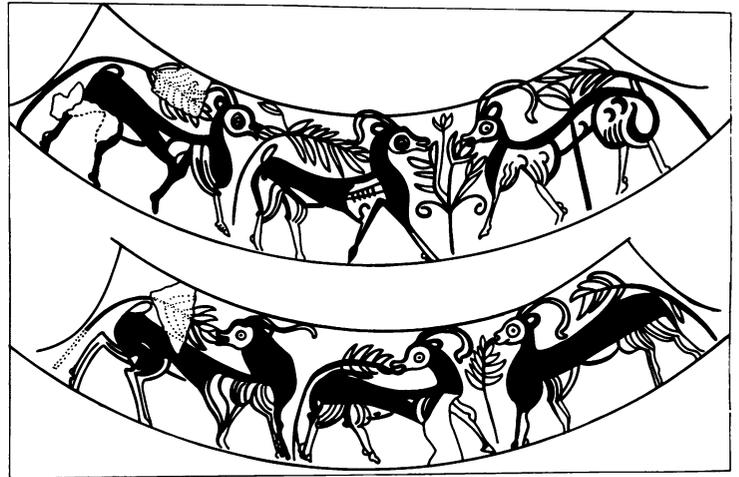
24. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery*, pp. 161–165; no. 8, which shows only goats, also has a zone of birds on the side, a feature that may apply to others in the list as well.



17. Goat and palm, detail of Figure 3

are probably to be connected with a Mycenaean convention.<sup>25</sup> The obvious prototypes for the goats (Figure 17), on the other hand, exist in Cyprus itself, particularly in the Pastoral Style, whose curious combination of outlined, naturalistic legs with a quite schematic head and swung-back horns indicated by double lines is illustrated on an amphoroid krater from Kazaphani (Figure 18).<sup>26</sup> The naturalistic leaves on the palms of No. 545 (Figure 19) have a parallel in the Pastoral Style, too, on the same krater. What gives the goats of the Cesnola flask their somewhat grotesque quality is the almond-shaped eyes; Pastoral Style painters used these for bulls,<sup>27</sup> preferring round eyes for goats. Indeed, the unsuitably thick necks and the folded-under hind legs of the goats on No. 545 recall the worst distortions of bulls represented in the Pastoral Style; yet their outlined, quasi-naturalistic, bi-chrome effect is not one of crudeness per se but recalls, even if distantly, the dignified style of the animals on the conical faience rhyton found in Kition (Figure 20).<sup>28</sup> It seems that the painter of No. 545 was basing the color effect of his figures on a technique more sophisticated than that of local pottery, since bi-chrome effects were at most experimental in the Late Cypriote III period<sup>29</sup> and certainly almost nonexistent as far as its rare figural representations were concerned.

The artist of the Cesnola flask reflects figural influences, then, from both general Mycenaean and specific Cypriote sources. In addition, however, the connection I feel it necessary to postulate with the Kition rhyton, which is in a style called "Aegeo-Oriental" by Karageorghis,<sup>30</sup> is more than confirmed by two rather unusual details in the rendition of the left goat of side A (Figures 3, 17). Its head, unlike the heads of its fel-



18. Frieze of goats, on krater from Kazaphani, Cypriote, 13th century B.C. Terracotta, H. (krater) approx. 30 cm. (drawing: after Vermeule and Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*)

lows, is rendered open-mouthed, showing the teeth and with the tongue hanging out. The pose would be more appropriate in a dog or lion, but it seems to be unknown in the relatively rare depiction of either of those species, and certainly in the depiction of goats, in Mycenaean vase painting. It is from Egypt that this realistic touch ultimately derives (Figure 21).<sup>31</sup> It would be reasonable to expect it to have reached Cyprus via Ugarit, and on the famous patera from that site there are indeed several examples of lions (and also other

25. Benson, "Birds in Cypro-Geometric Pottery," p. 134. To the examples cited there may be added the birds on a Late Minoan IIIB pyxis: *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands*, exh. cat. (New York: MMA, 1979–80) no. 52, pp. 98–99, with further references. I am indebted to Joan Mertens for bringing this example to my attention.

26. Vermeule and Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, vi.9. This formula for the horns and legs lived on in schematic form in ordinary Proto-White Painted representations, as in Karageorghis and des Gagniers, *La Céramique chypriote*, p. 3 (lower).

27. Vermeule and Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, vi.10–14.

28. V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Art from Cyprus*, Picture Book 3 (Nicosia, 1968) pl. xxix; idem, *Kition*, pl. c.

29. Benson, *Bamboula*, p. 53. The essence of Cypriote bi-chrome style in the Late Geometric period—heavily outlined, solidly filled figures—is thus anticipated.

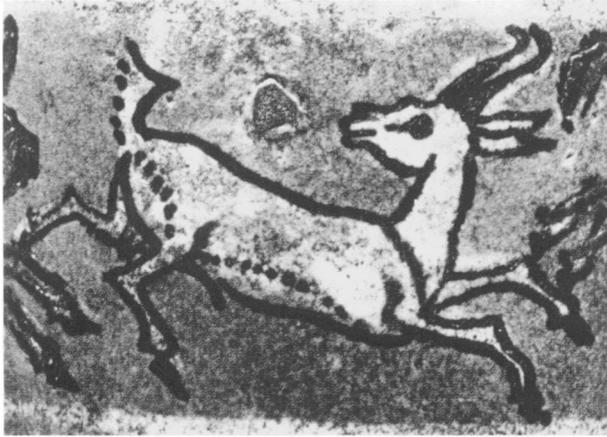
30. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Art*, p. 44.

31. W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1958) pls. 99b, 103b.



19. Palm flanked by goats, detail of Figure 1

20. Goat, detail of rhyton from Kition, "Aegeo-Oriental," 13th century B.C. Faience, H. (rhyton) 26.8 cm. (photo: after Karageorghis, *Kition*)



animals) with tongues hanging out.<sup>32</sup> Lions showing teeth are also represented on the patera, but not with the combination of tongue and teeth. Even so, the analogy is close enough, and it is supported by the position of the forelegs of the open-mouthed goat, one stretched forward and one bent back under the body. This may be an adaptation of the pose of kneeling bulls found on Mesopotamian seals,<sup>33</sup> or that of leaping goats on Middle Assyrian seals.<sup>34</sup> The other goats on No. 545 have the forelegs stretched out as in the flying-gallop pose and the hind legs in various nonconforming positions. On that score they show a generic similarity to the animals of the elaborate palm-and-ibex motif on the jug from Tomb 912 D at Me-giddo.<sup>35</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The foregoing analysis has consistently turned up interlocking tendencies, both backward and forward looking, in the shape and decoration of the Cesnola flask No. 545. In this sense the flask serves as an admirable mirror of the manifold artistic influences at work in Cyprus in the eleventh century B.C., while exemplifying the artist's vigorous experimental spirit.

The shape itself has a strong native character. At the same time it seems to be intimately linked with previous Mycenaean adaptations of the Levantine flask. Similarly, the theme of the frieze is basically Near Eastern; although it is cast in a specifically Mycenaean arrangement and manner, there are several details that raise the possibility of at least indirect contact with the original source. Thus, it is likely that

32. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, II, pl. VIII. Joan Mertens has suggested to me by letter that the composition of such bowls may count as the prototype of the arrangement of the figures in No. 545. One may note that this arrangement accords with that on the flask in the Corinth Museum. When more examples of this type of decoration surface, the question can be reopened.

33. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, II, p. 38, fig. 12.

34. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Near East* (Harmondsworth, 1954) pl. 76A.

35. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 163.

21. Fragmentary head of a hyena, wall painting from the Tomb of Inyotef, Thebes (Tomb 155), Dynasty 18, ca. 1504–1450 B.C. H. 43 cm. Tempera copy by Nina de Garis Davies. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 31.6.38

the decoration had a Near Eastern flavor for the contemporary inhabitants of Cyprus.

In the essentials of figural and even subordinate decoration, the artist of No. 545 turned to Aegean–Mycenaean art as it had been represented in Cyprus in a slightly earlier phase of the Late Bronze Age. In some sense it might even be said that his style is a kind of continuation of the Pastoral Style into the transition between the Late Bronze and the Geometric eras. The transitional character is fully apparent in the rather abrupt juxtaposition of the new geometric structuralism of the outer border of side B, along with the rectangular structuralism of the palm trees (Figures 1, 19), and the curvilinear naturalism of the waning Mycenaean age, as seen in the wavy lines, spiral hooks, semicircles, and rubbery flowers distributed over the surface. Could it have been the impulse to balance out these two opposing tendencies that led the potter to place the junction of the handles at mid-neck, while permitting the dynamic irregularity of the funnelform hole in a lentoid flask unequally shaped on its two faces?

The synthesis of all these disparate elements seems best accounted for as having taken place on Cyprus, whether or not it was at Curium. Indeed, the region of Kition may be a more plausible locale. Both clay and decoration can perhaps best be understood as belonging to the category of Late Cypriote III Decorated Ware (which is amply represented at Curium). That the artist was, however, a native Cypriote cannot be taken for granted in such a complicated, cosmopolitan period and place. If he (or she) were an immigrant from the west, a clearer grasp of Minoan–Mycenaean style might have been expected. By the same token, a transplanted Syrian or Palestinian, say, would almost certainly have brought considerable consciousness of current Near Eastern tendencies; we have been able to isolate a few striking instances of these. Even if a native, the artist was certainly no ordinary Cypriote. We can only hope that further interest in the problems raised here may put the cultural and artistic complexities represented by the Cesnola flask in a clearer perspective.

# An Attic Black-Figure Vase of the Mid-Sixth Century B.C.

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FOR DIETRICH VON BOTHMER ON OCTOBER 26, 1983

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM recently received on loan from a friend of the Greek and Roman Department a black-figured neck-amphora of exceptional interest (Figures 1–4).<sup>1</sup> It demonstrates the expressiveness that an accomplished artist could achieve within the limits and traditions of his given shape, technique, and iconography; moreover, it conveys a sense of transition from one artistic generation to the next, for its decoration combines features of standard black-figure established during the second quarter of the sixth century with innovations that began to appear after mid-century.

The vase on loan is a neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape.<sup>2</sup> The prize Panathenaic, whose introduction is placed in the 560s,<sup>3</sup> developed parallel to the ovoid neck-amphora that flourished during the second quarter of the sixth century, and was particularly favored by painters of the Tyrrhenian Group.<sup>4</sup> As so often with Greek vases, the Panathenaic shape had its own significance, as is suggested by the fact that, together with the earliest known prize vase, the Burgon amphora in London,<sup>5</sup> there appears one of the first reduced versions. The latter, in Oxford (Figures 5, 6),<sup>6</sup> illustrates two features of these reductions. First, their subjects—here, the return of Hephaistos—bear no reference to the shape. Second, the disposition of the ornament and decoration may resemble that of either amphorae or neck-amphorae; on the Oxford example, through the reserved neck and absence of panels, the connection is rather with the neck-amphora. Datable roughly a decade later than the Oxford example, the New York vase shows a similarly non-Panathenaic subject, a series of hoplite duels; in the palmette-lotus festoon on the neck, the alter-

nating red and black tongues at the top of the shoulder, and the rays above the foot, it follows the ornament standard for mid-sixth-century neck-amphorae.

At this date, however, the placement of the figural subject on a neck-amphora had not yet become fixed, allowing for the unusual solution of wrapping the

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

1. L. 1982.27.3.

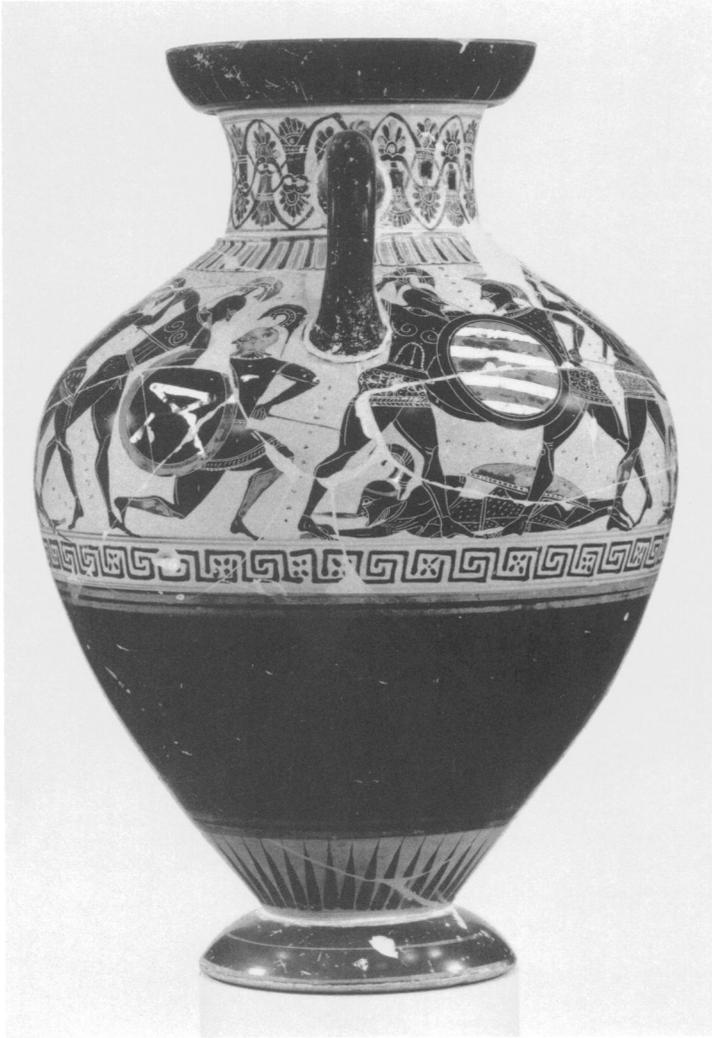
2. H. 44.6 cm.; diam. 28.9 cm.; diam. mouth 17.3–17.6 cm.; diam. foot 15.1–15.4 cm. The vase has been reassembled from many pieces. The major losses on A include part of the helmet crest of the third combatant, most of the body of the second fallen warrior, part of the left leg and right arm of the fourth combatant, and the right side of the body and the face of the fifth combatant; missing from B is, especially, a piece from the chest of the third combatant. On the underside of the foot appear a dipinto consisting of an epsilon and a graffito consisting of two marks, one like an angular pothook and a second that could be either a delta or an alpha. Though neither dipinto nor graffito appears in A. W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (Warminster, 1979), see pp. 128–130 for the “pothook.”

3. Still the best account, J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure* (Berkeley, 1951) esp. pp. 88–90. On the earliest Panathenaics see also S. Karouzou, “A Proto-Panathenaic Amphora at Athens,” *AJA* 42 (1938) pp. 495–505. For numismatic evidence pertinent to the chronology see C. T. Seltman, *Athens: Its History and Coinage Before the Persian Invasion* (Cambridge, 1924) pp. 42, 74.

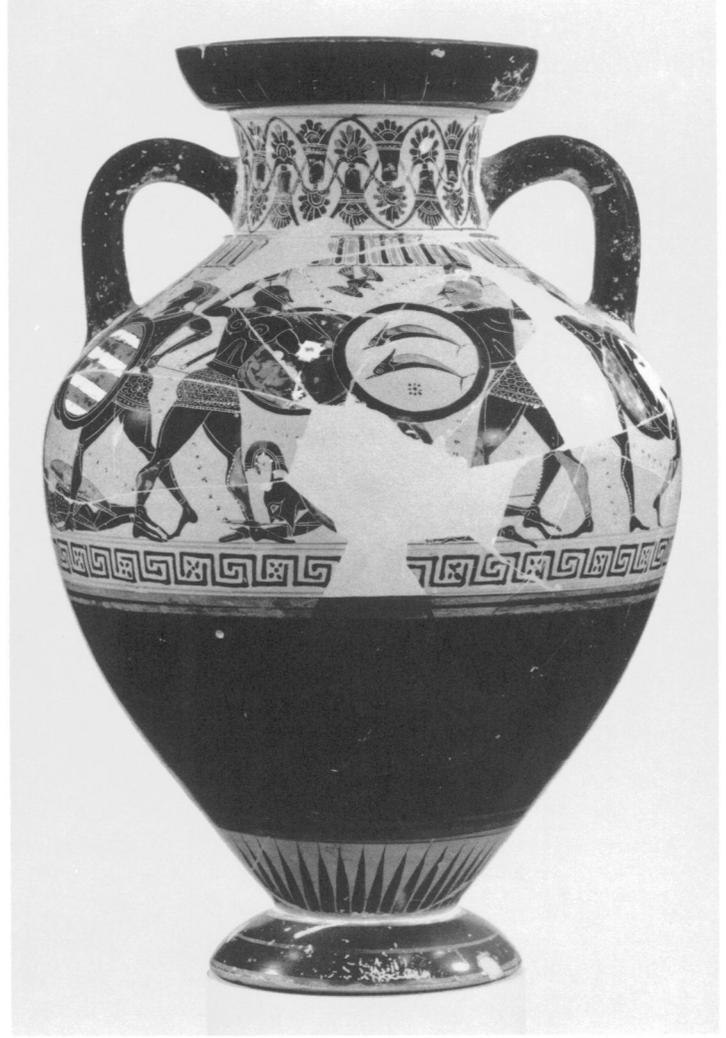
4. D. von Bothmer, “The Painters of ‘Tyrrhenian’ Vases,” *AJA* 48 (1944) p. 162.

5. *ABV*, p. 89, 1 below.

6. Oxford 1920.107 (*ABV*, p. 89, 2 below). There are also vases whose shape approaches the Panathenaic, e.g., Munich 1447 (*ABV*, p. 81, 1 below); London 97.7-21.2 (*ABV*, p. 86, 8). Yet another development consists of vases with ornament on the neck and glaze over the body, without figural decoration, e.g., Athens 16198 (*AJA* 42 [1938] p. 503, fig. 9); Ferrara T. 485 (*CVA*, pl. Z, 1).



1. Side B/A



2. Side A

1–4. The Painter of Berlin 1686, Neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape, Attic, black-figure, mid-6th century B.C. H. 44.6 cm. New York, private collection, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, L.1982.27.3

subject around the circumference of the pot.<sup>7</sup> Important precedents existed. Dinos such as those of the Gorgon Painter,<sup>8</sup> Sophilos,<sup>9</sup> and the Painter of Akropolis 606,<sup>10</sup> and a volute krater such as the François Vase<sup>11</sup> presented major mythological themes in extended friezes, for which these shapes were particularly well suited. More modestly, but also more pertinently for us, neck-amphorae of the second quarter of the sixth century regularly had subsidiary zones of

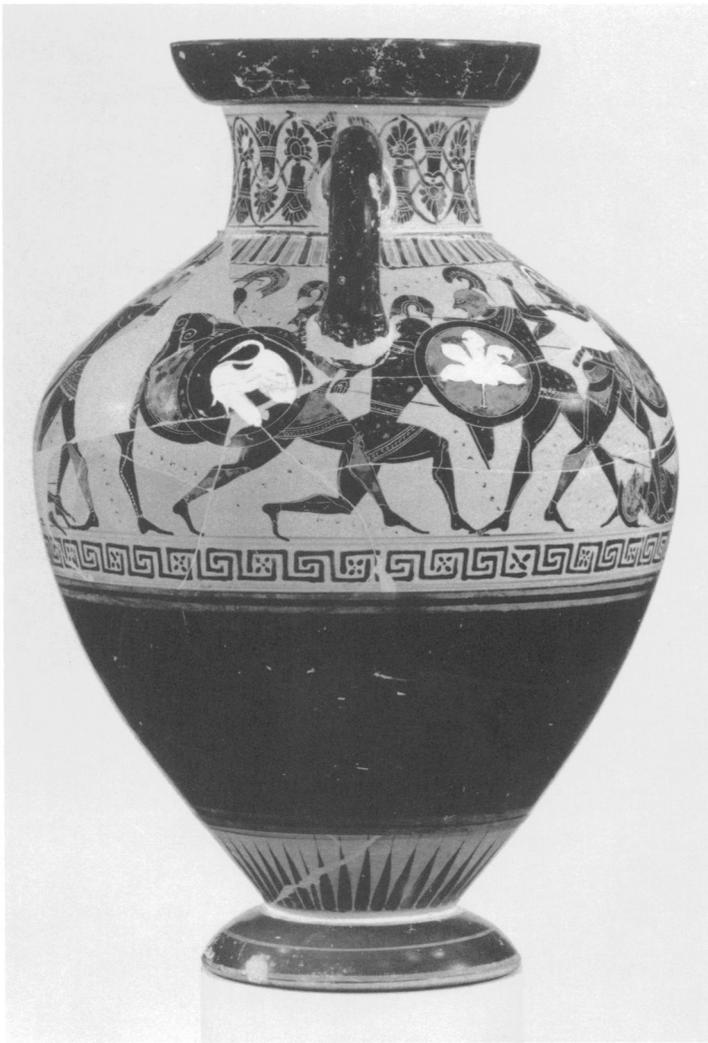
7. Neck-amphorae of Panathenaic shape with “all-around” decoration include London B 208 (*ABV*, p. 260, 29); Princeton 169 (*ABV*, p. 298, 6); London B 206 (*ABV*, p. 369, 120); Munich 1437 (*CVA*, pls. 339–340); Munich 1438 (*CVA*, pl. 341); London B 207 (*CVA*, pl. 47); and Boston 01.8059 (*CVA*, pls. 36 and 38, 1–2). See also M. B. Moore and M. Z. Phillipides, *The Athenian Agora: XXIII. Attic Black-figured Pottery* (Princeton, N.J., forthcoming), text and notes to “neck-amphorae of Panathenaic shape.” Munich 1437 and 1438 are of additional note for their twisted handles. More generally, see H. Mommsen, *Der Affekter* (Mainz, 1975) pp. 15–16.

8. Louvre E 874 (*ABV*, p. 8, 1).

9. Especially Athens, Akropolis 587 (*ABV*, p. 39, 15); Athens 15499 (*ABV*, p. 39, 16); London 1971.11-1.1 (*Para.*, p. 19, 16 bis).

10. Athens, Akropolis 606 (*ABV*, p. 81, 1).

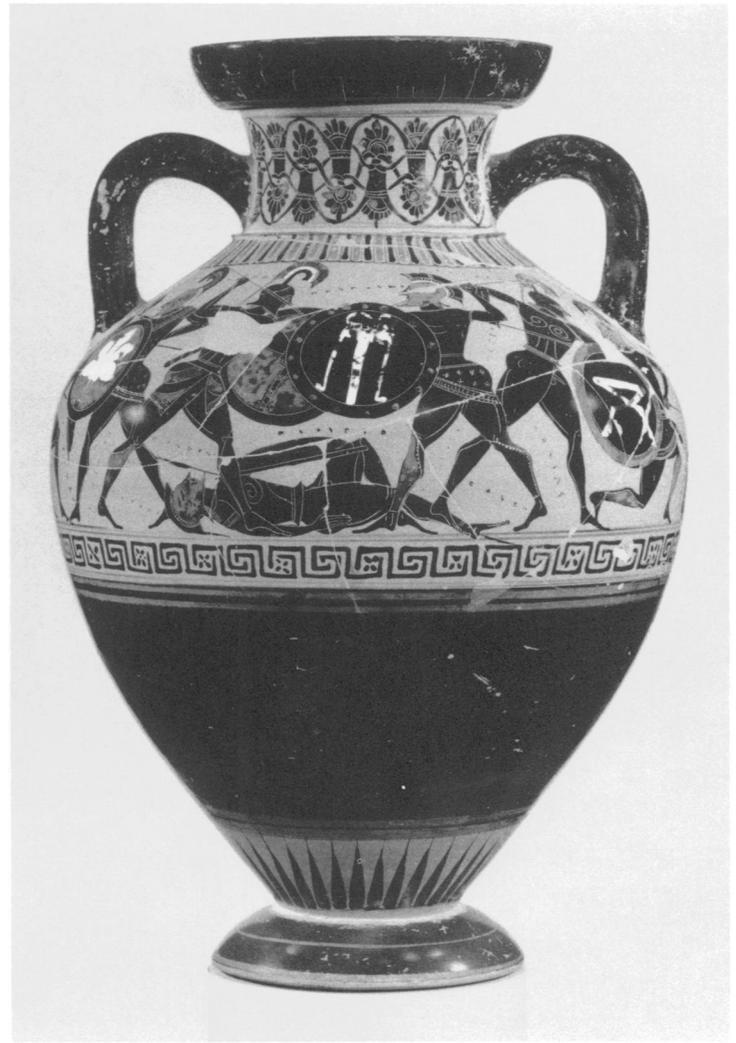
11. Florence 4209 (*ABV*, p. 76, 1).



3. Side A/B

animals or floral ornament encircling the body; occasionally also there was continuity from one side to the other in the primary scene on the shoulder. The single largest body of evidence is, once again, the Tyrrhenian Group, but other examples exist—in the oeuvres of the Camtar Painter<sup>12</sup> and the Omaha Painter, for instance.<sup>13</sup> With respect to shape and the placement of its decoration, therefore, our vase points to an artist who chose the less common of the possibilities available to him, and handled them masterfully.

If we turn to the figural decoration, an accomplished and very distinct artistic personality makes itself felt. The battle extends around the vase in a measured rhythm, without much variation in the in-



4. Side B

tensity of the action. There are three pairs of fighting hoplites on each side, most of whom have the same equipment: a Corinthian helmet, a corselet worn over a short chiton, greaves, a shield, and a spear. It is in the detail of poses and attributes, however, that the painter's interest clearly lies. At the center of each side appear two combatants, evenly matched; the left one on side A (Figure 2) has a remarkable holder for his helmet crest, shaped like a kantharos. In three of the

12. Cambridge 44 (*ABV*, p. 84, 2); Louvre C 10521 (*ABV*, p. 84, 4 middle); Louvre E 863 (*ABV*, p. 84, 6).

13. Louvre E 861 (*Para.*, p. 33, 1 bottom).



5. Side A



6. Side B

5, 6. The Burgon Group, Neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape. H. 37 cm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1920.107 (photos: Ashmolean Museum)

four flanking groups, one member of the pair is differentiated through his position: looking back as he tries to escape, or falling to one knee under attack from the front or the back. The progress of the conflict, as well as the identification of the main scene, is indicated by the fallen figures, two on side A, one on B (Figure 4). The former lie prone, not yet stripped of their armor, one in a deerskin (*nebris*) balancing his shield on his buttocks and legs, the other still holding his shield vertically; this warrior's helmet is distinguished by the crest holder in the form of a snake with tongue extended. The hoplite on B lies supine, partly covered by the shield, dying, as shown by his eye, but not yet dead, from the position of his limbs. The fact that these casualties have all fallen to

the left points to the superiority of the force attacking from the left, though it is numerically inferior. The treatment of the fallen, moreover, was clearly also an artistic problem of interest to the painter, who presented them face up and face down, just as he juxtaposed the combatants in front and back view.

In the representation of the warriors, unquestionably the most conspicuous attributes—and, indeed, the most decorative feature of the vase—are the shield devices. Since a shield was worn on the left arm, the devices visible here belong to the hoplites of the losing force;<sup>14</sup> this somewhat paradoxical situation, however, only contributes to one's impression that the

14. On the identification of fallen warriors, see L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston II* (Oxford, 1954) pp. 14–15.

painter's concern lay as much with his own artistry as with the realities of the battle. The choice of devices is remarkable, and their effect is heightened by the fullest possible use of added color, particularly white. At the far left on A (Figure 1), the motif is geometric, horizontal stripes boldly alternating red and white.<sup>15</sup> In the center, parallel, yet most graceful in their forms suspended against a reserved background, appear two leaping dolphins (Figure 2)<sup>16</sup>—the white line on their bellies, now imperfectly preserved, would have reinforced the juxtaposition with the striped shield; the star motif below them suggests the height and ease of their leaps. At the far right, the device is a swan, which, though far bolder, repeats certain forms of the dolphins in its pronounced beak and eye and in the curves of its wings (Figure 3). The first device on B, a large leaf, responds to the bird in its slender support and full, rounded lobes (Figure 3).<sup>17</sup> The two remaining devices are utensils that stand tall on rather narrow legs, a tripod with ring handles in the center (Figure 4) and a folding camp stool (*okladias*) at the right (Figure 1).

From a purely visual standpoint, the placement of these motifs at regular intervals, within round shields of corresponding size,<sup>18</sup> and at a level that gradually rises and falls around the vase, gives the composition cohesion while also emphasizing the sequence of events in the action. Whether more might be read into the meaning of the devices is impossible to say. One notes the presence of forms geometric and figural, animate and inanimate, living things proper to sea, land, and air. The selection testifies, in any case, to the breadth of the painter's imagination. That it provides the key to a specific mythological or historic encounter seems doubtful. Strewn over the field, with more than one to a figure, are letterlike characters of which only one is a real inscription, "Simonides" written retrograde by the head of the hoplite with the dolphins on his shield (Figure 2). The importance of this figure is emphasized still more by the bird flying toward him. He is, without doubt, the focal point of the main side but not thereby a figure more central to the action. Without inscriptions meaningful to us, here, as in so many battles in Attic vase-painting, the representation is best considered generic rather than specific.

Indeterminate though the subject may be, the personality of the artist manifests itself distinctly and on a particularly high level. As Dietrich von Bothmer was first to recognize, he can be identified as the Painter

of Berlin 1686.<sup>19</sup> Features that are so evident on the New York Panathenaic—clarity and a certain ponderous stiffness in both composition and figures, a predilection for detail especially in added white—appear on an amphora B last recorded in the Basel market,<sup>20</sup> representing his best-documented shape, the vase has a palmette-lotus festoon above the scene and shows a hoplite duel over a third, fallen hoplite, with a woman watching on either side and a bird flying overhead. The amphora A, London B 197,<sup>21</sup> depicts Herakles and Kyknos in a composition that is particularly symmetrical and, as in our Panathenaic, suggests that the figures have been stretched across the

15. Stripes as a device are surprisingly rare. G. H. Chase, *The Shield Devices of the Greeks* (1902; repr. Chicago, 1979) p. 68, mentions the amphora B, Munich 1385 (*ABV*, p. 310), and a bell-krater, Attic according to Chase, Naples 2914. D. von Bothmer calls attention to a plate covered front and back with alternating black and reserved stripes, Berkeley 8/359 (*CVA*, pl. 31, 2); according to Römisches Institut photograph 50.90, the provenance is Terracina. Add the volute-krater in Syracuse (P. Orsi, "Sicilia: Siracusa," *Notizie degli Scavi* [1903] illus. between pp. 528 and 529); the amphora B (*Sammlung Holger Termer: Kunst der Antike*, Katalog 1 [Hamburg, 1982] no. 27).

16. Bothmer notes that a dolphin was the device of Odysseus (J. M. Edwards, *Lyra Graeca* [Loeb Classical Library] II, pp. 66–67, no. 71 [Stesichoros]), and that two dolphins are the shield device of Athena on the Panathenaic prize amphora, Karlsruhe 65.45 (*ABV*, p. 144, 8 bis; *Para.*, 61). It may also be worth mentioning that two dolphins leaping in the same direction occur on coins of Karpathos (B. V. Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* IX [London, 1897] p. 192); two dolphins in opposite directions appear on coins of Thera of the mid-6th century (see, e.g., C. M. Kraay, *Greek Coins* [New York, 1966] p. 346). Currency having the actual shape of a dolphin seems to have been issued at Olbia (C. M. Fallani in E. Simon, *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum* [Mainz, 1982] p. 283, no. 192.) The numerous additions that can be made to the list in Chase, *Shield Devices*, p. 48, include New York 58.32 (*ABV*, p. 255, 10 bis; *Para.*, p. 114); St. Louis 39.21 (*ABV*, p. 269, 40); London B 237 (*ABV*, p. 286, 3 middle); New York 41.162.190 (*ABV*, p. 287, x, 1); Bologna PU 194 (*ABV*, p. 288, 16); Rhodes 14093 (*ABV*, p. 307, 57); Astarita 45 (*ABV*, p. 693, 73 bis; *Para.*, p. 133).

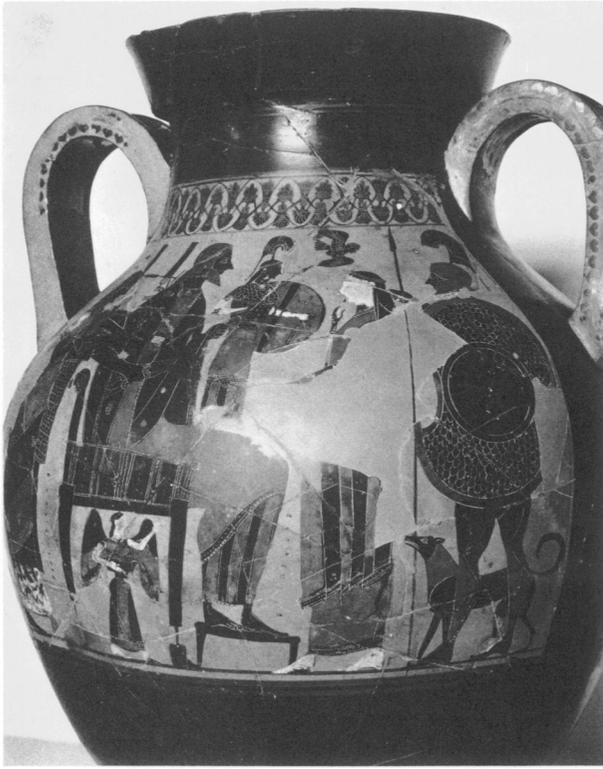
17. To the list in Chase, *Shield Devices*, pp. 55–56, add Cambridge 53 (*ABV*, p. 273, 114); Tübingen E 56 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 305 top); the black-figure amphora B, Florence R 1927.

18. Shield with dolphins, diam. 7 cm.; tripod and *okladias*, diam. 6.8 cm.; stripes and swan, diam. 6.5 cm.; leaf, diam. 6 cm.

19. Among the additions that Bothmer makes to the painter's oeuvre are an amphora type B, Florence "6," on each side a duel flanked by women; also a fragmentary, unnumbered amphora in Florence, on A a gigantomachy, on B a fight with a horseman in the center. See also note 26 below.

20. *ABV*, p. 297, 14 bis; *Para.*, p. 129.

21. *ABV*, p. 296, 1.



7. Side A, detail



8. Side B, detail

7, 8. The Painter of Berlin 1686, Amphora. H. 57.7 cm. Philadelphia, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 3441 (photos: Dietrich von Bothmer)

available surface. Philadelphia 3441 (Figures 7, 8)<sup>22</sup> and the amphora in Taunton<sup>23</sup> indicate the artist's usual handling of drapery, whether the subject is active or not; while fond of patterns and added color, often in the form of dot borders, he is reluctant to depict folds, and then only in angularly superimposed planes.

Bologna PU 192 (Figures 9, 10),<sup>24</sup> with Herakles fighting Kyknos on A and Amazons on B, illustrates one of the painter's busier and more crowded compositions, but it is pertinent for details such as the inclusion of meaningless inscriptions and, especially, the shield device of two leaping dolphins. One of the most unexpected features on the New York vase is the presentation of these dolphins not painted white on a glaze background, usual in black-figure, but in black-figure on a reserved background. In this detail, the painter suggests an awareness of experiments, most

notably by the Amasis Painter,<sup>25</sup> before the advent of fully developed red-figure. His knowledge of such "anticipations" seems the more certain given the female figure on an amphora lent to the Elvehjem Museum;<sup>26</sup> with her flesh parts drawn in outline and reserved, she cannot fail to recall similarly rendered women by the Amasis Painter.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 296, 3.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 296, 9.

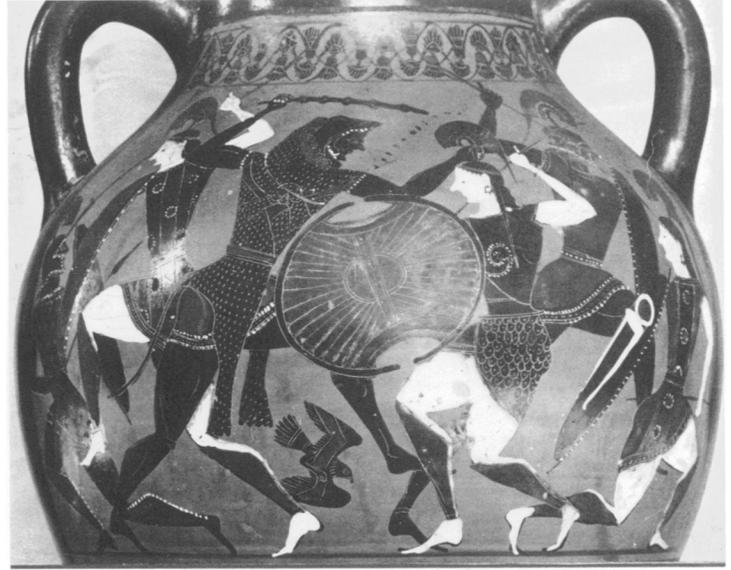
24. *Ibid.*, p. 296, 7.

25. See the women on the Samos fragments (*ABV*, p. 151, 18); Berlin 3210 (*ABV*, p. 151, 21); and the Basel amphora (*Para.*, p. 65). But for the running meander to be discussed below, the influence of the Amasis Painter is less important in the New York Panathenaic than in other works of the Painter of Berlin 1686. While not a subject that can be pursued here, an amphora B in the Geneva market (A, the introduction of Herakles into Olympos: Herakles, Athena, Hermes; B, Dionysos between maenads and satyrs), for instance, would seem quite dependent on Amasean vases like the Ludwig amphora (*Para.*, p. 65, third in list), Louvre F 25 (*ABV*, p. 150, 4), or Berlin 1688 (*ABV*, p. 150, 9).

26. W. G. Moon and L. Berge, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago, 1979) pp. 54–56, no. 32.



9. Side A, detail



10. Side B, detail

9, 10. The Painter of Berlin 1686, Amphora. H. 42 cm. Bologna, Museo Civico, PU 192 (photos: Dietrich von Bothmer)

In a characterization of the Painter of Berlin 1686, Sir John Beazley wrote, "The artist has a good touch, and his figures have a pleasant rigidity which makes his vases look older than those of Group E, with which they must be contemporary."<sup>27</sup> One of the most important features of the New York Panathenaic is the extent to which it approaches works of Group E. The points of contact begin with the shape. While the artists of Group E did not greatly favor neck-amphorae, they produced a special variety<sup>28</sup> whose characteristics include a palmette-lotus festoon on the neck, a subsidiary scene on each side of the shoulder, the principal scenes, which may or may not be separated by a palmette configuration under the handles, and a band of ornament circling the vase below. The Painter of Berlin 1686 decorated an example of this type<sup>29</sup> with a representation of the death of Priam that recalls another of Group E.<sup>30</sup> He may also have derived from the same source a feature of the New York Panathenaic like the all-around composition.

Considerably more remarkable, however, is the correspondence in decoration between our vase and a neck-amphora in the collection of Walter Bareiss (Figures 11–14); it has been attributed by Bothmer to

the circle of Group E and the Painter of London B 174.<sup>31</sup> In the center of side A (Figure 11) appear two hoplites, with Corinthian helmets, corselets, short chitons, greaves, round shields, and spears, fighting over a prone warrior stripped but for his helmet and partly covered by his shield in a position of semilevitation. To the left, a pair of warriors, similarly equipped, fight over one lying supine beneath the shield that rests on his chest and drawn-up knees (Figure 12); the combatant on the right has a large white swan as shield device. In the duel to right of center (Figure 13), the right-hand figure, who turns back, shows a five-lobed leaf as his device. On the reverse of the Bareiss neck-amphora (Figure 14) appear three hoplites facing left between a pair of mounted youths, shown from the front, and a pair of pedestrian observers. Of interest, once again, are the shield devices. The star pattern may be compared with the star on the shield of "Simonides" (see Figure 2).

27. "Groups of Mid-sixth-century Black-figure," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 32 (1931–32) p. 10.

28. *ABV*, p. 137, 59–63; *Para.*, p. 57.

29. *ABV*, p. 297, 19.

30. London B 205 (*ABV*, p. 136, 55).

31. *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection* (Malibu, 1983) p. 70; first attributed to Group E by M. B. Moore, *Horses on Black-figured Greek Vases of the Archaic Period* (Ann Arbor, 1972) p. 56, A 345. Also mentioned in Mommsen, *Affecter*, p. 16, n. 45.



11. Side A



12. Side B/A

11–14. The Painter of London B 174, Neck-amphora. H. 36.2 cm. Greenwich, Connecticut, Bareiss Collection 262 (photos: J. Paul Getty Museum)

The lion protome<sup>32</sup> recurs in the oeuvre of the Painter of Berlin 1686 on the amphora A in Philadelphia (see Figure 8); while the lion there is in black-figure and in rather damaged condition, it shows the same awkward transition between leg and paw as its counterpart on the Bareiss piece.

What is one to make of the correspondences between the two vases?<sup>33</sup> If they are compared as a whole, it is clear that in virtually every aspect the Panathenaic was executed with more care and attention than the neck-amphora. Moreover, with the former, the subject of hoplite duels was considered sufficiently interesting to be developed, as in a theme and varia-

tions, around the whole vase; with the neck-amphora, it was treated like a set piece and added to another of similarly martial tenor with a minimum of transition. Under different circumstances, one would call the Panathenaic earlier than the neck-amphora. Heeding Beazley's implicit warning, one may find it in all respects most satisfactory to conclude that they were

32. According to Bothmer, the lion protome as a shield device appears in the oeuvres of Lydos (Villa Giulia [ABV, p. 108, 14]) and the Amasis Painter (New York 06.1021.69 [ABV, p. 150, 2]; Louvre F 36 [ABV, p. 150, 6]; private collection [ABV, p. 152, 23], Figure 15; Riehen, Hoek [Para., p. 65]), spreading thereafter to other artists.

33. R. Lullies referred in passing to stylistic connections between Group E and the Painter of Berlin 1686 in "Eine Amphora aus dem Kreis des Exekias," *Antike Kunst* 7 (1964) p. 85.



13. Side A/B

made within very little time and distance of each other.

Additional support for this conclusion exists in the continuous meander ornament that frames the scene below on the Panathenaic vase. Typically for the piece, the ornament is perfectly integrated with the rest, complementing the predominantly leftward movement on the battlefield and, with its dot-saltires, continuing the use of fillers from the field above. In view of the variety of patterns with which the painter embellished the dress and furnishings of the figures, it is remarkable that the particular combination of meanders and saltires has no parallels in his oeuvre; other singletons, however, are the chevrons framing the panels on Chicago 1978.114<sup>34</sup> and the paired fronds above the panels on Bowdoin 15.44.<sup>35</sup> A counterpart to the meander does, however, occur rather



14. Side B

significantly on the ovoid neck-amphora by the Amasis Painter (Figures 15–17),<sup>36</sup> placed by Bothmer toward the end of the artist's early phase.<sup>37</sup> At the top of the panel, which is restricted to the widest portion of the pot, there is on side A (Figure 17) a band of meander running leftward with dotted saltire squares.<sup>38</sup> While

34. D. von Bothmer in Moon and Berge, *Midwestern Collections*, pp. 52–53.

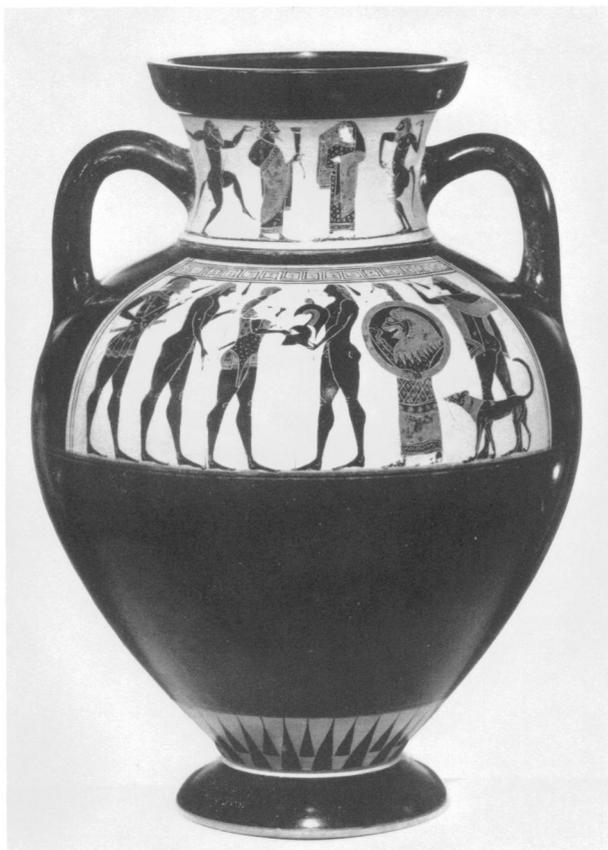
35. *ABV*, p. 297, 13.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 152, 23. Now in a private collection.

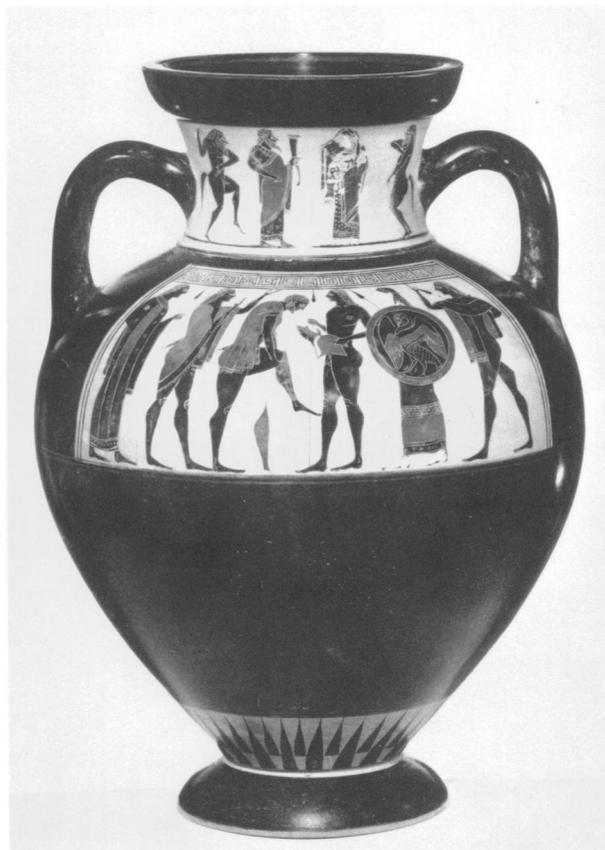
37. "New Vases by the Amasis Painter," *Antike Kunst* 3 (1960) pp. 79–80.

38. On Berlin inv. 3210 (*ABV*, p. 151, 21), the panels are framed on each side by a continuous meander. The key pattern appears on other early amphorae of type A, notably on one side of the handle of Orvieto, Faina 78 (*ABV*, p. 144, 9) by Exekias

15–17. The Amasis Painter, Neck-amphora. H. 39 cm.  
Private collection (photos: Widmer)



15. Side A



16. Side B



17. Side A, detail

the coincidence between this vase and our Panathenaic is not complete,<sup>39</sup> one feels, once again, that the distance between them could be measured in paces across the Kerameikos.

Surveying the evolution of black-figure through the sixth century, one finds that, by mid-century, the technique had been fully mastered, the various shapes had acquired their respective schemes of decoration without, however, inhibiting the artists' creativity, decoration tended to become concentrated in a few large fields of generally narrative content; the major artists, therefore, could devote themselves to refining the use of the medium as well as heightening the expressiveness of their subject matter. The Painter of Berlin 1686 occupies a firm place within this milieu, ever more so with the appearance of new studies of his oeuvre and new pieces of superior quality, like the New York Panathenaic. The latter brings two aspects of his artistic personality into sharp focus. First of all, the piece testifies to his knowledge of the work of leading contemporaries, the Amasis Painter and Group E. Secondly, it discloses his flexibility and ability—if not facility—in very successfully decorating an uncommon shape in an uncommon way. Indeed, it demonstrates admirably the interaction between challenge and response that maintained the vitality of Attic vase-painting for almost two centuries.

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who, according to Bothmer, is responsible for introducing the ornament to the side of flanged handles. (See also H. Bloesch, "Stout and Slender in the Late Archaic Period," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 71 [1951] p. 29, n. 2; E. A. Mackay, "Exekias: A Chronology of His Potting and Painting," diss. [Victoria University of Wellington, 1982] p. 229.) Unconventional variants of the meander motif occur in contemporary vases as well, e.g., Basel market (*ABV*, p. 304, 3 top; *Para.*, p. 131) and Hanover 1936.107 (*CVA*, pl. 7, 1 and 3) by the Painter of Munich 243 as well as the unattributed amphorae B: Villa Giulia 46734; Hanover 1967.11 (*CVA*, pl. 5, 2; 6, 1 and 2); and Munich 1399. The continuous swastika meander on the lip of the hydria Florence 94319 (*CVA*, Florence 5, pl. 22) anticipates the motif on Munich 2344 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 182, 6) by the Kleophrades Painter, whose inventiveness with meander ornaments remains unsurpassed.

39. Though perhaps coincidental, of interest here also is the shield device of a swan on B.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My first thanks go to the owner of the vase considered here for allowing me to study and publish it, to Nikos Pharasles for his interest and assistance, and to Walter Bareiss and another private collector for permission to illustrate vases in their possession. Ann Brown, Jiří Frel, and Marion True kindly helped with photographs. Mary B. Moore allowed me to consult the finished manuscript of her Agora black-figure publication, and another enthusiast for vases very considerably improved my text. Finally, Dietrich von Bothmer offered corrections and additions with his unique generosity and knowledge.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- ABV*—J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1956)  
*AJA*—*American Journal of Archaeology*  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup>—J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963)  
*CVA*—*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*  
*Para.*—J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1971)

# A New Hydria by the Antimenes Painter

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FOR SEVERAL CENTURIES, the Greeks produced finely decorated pottery of many different shapes and sizes. Of particular interest are the splendid vases potted and painted by Athenian artists during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., the centuries that witnessed the growth and development of Athenian taste and culture. Greek vases of the archaic and classical periods have long been admired for their sheer beauty, for their perfect coordination of shape and decoration. Of no less interest, however, are the subjects that decorate them, for these provide us with a wealth of visual evidence of the life and culture of this impressive and vigorous civilization. Scenes depicting gods and heroes of the Greeks, representations of their religious and cult practices, or illustrations of their daily life help us to gain insight into the life and thought of these resourceful people. Although first consideration is usually given to vases that are complete or nearly so, fragments are also important because, once interpreted, they often yield new and valuable information about a subject as well as about the artist who painted it. A good case in point is the fragmentary hydria that is the subject of this article.

On loan to the Metropolitan Museum from a New York private collection are thirty-five fragments, now joined into nine, of an Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter by Dietrich von Bothmer and published here for the first time (Figures 1, 2).<sup>1</sup> Fragments *a* and *b* preserve part of the shoulder and panel; fragments *c-i* come from the panel. The scene on the shoulder represents the departure of a warrior with a chariot. The panel depicts the return of a hunter. The predella showed a frieze of animals; one of them, a lion, is preserved in the lower left of fragment *c*.<sup>2</sup> What remains of the scenes on the shoulder and in the panel is described below, followed by a discussion of the reconstruction

of both scenes (Figure 3), which tries to fill in the gaps. The procedure for making the drawing was to trace each of the fragments (their contours are indicated by dotted lines in the final result), then to fill in the missing parts by comparing the preserved figures with others drawn by the Antimenes Painter or, in a few instances, by other painters. In every case, the borrowing is acknowledged.

## THE FRAGMENTS

Shoulder: Departure of a warrior with a chariot (Figures 1, 3)

Fragment *a*, from the left half of the frieze, shows a youth sitting to right (his buttocks and the seat are missing), dressed in a cloak and holding a staff in his left hand. In front of him, a nude youth mounts a chariot, also to right, holding the reins and the goad. The bodies and parts of the necks, tails, and hind legs of the team remain. Above is a tongue pattern. Red is applied to the stripes on the seated youth's cloak, the forelocks of both youths, the manes, and the tail of the right-hand trace horse, as well as to alternate tongues. White pendants are suspended from the breast band of the right-hand trace horse. Fragment *b* comes from the right end of the frieze and preserves a warrior to right, looking round. He wears a corselet over a short chiton, greaves, and a low-crested Corinthian helmet. He holds his spear in his right

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

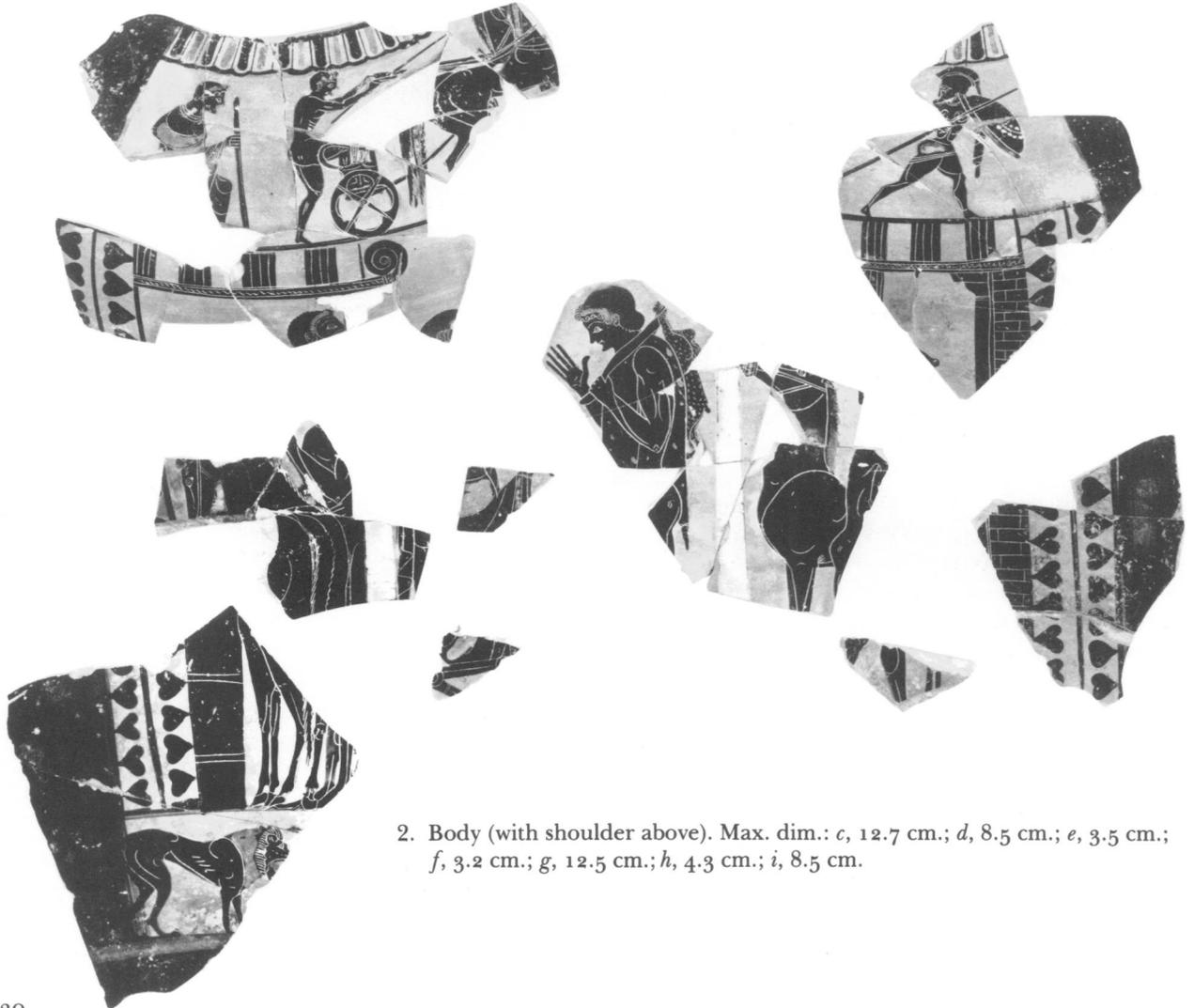
1. I am grateful to the owner of the fragments for inviting me to publish them.

2. The sequence of animals was probably a lion confronting a boar, twice, as on one of the painter's hydriai in London (B 340: *ABV*, p. 267, 9).



1, 2. The Antimenes Painter,  
Hydria, ca. 520 B.C. Shoulder:  
departure of a warrior.  
Panel: return of a hunter.  
New York, private collection,  
on loan to The Metropolitan  
Museum of Art,  
L.1982.128

1. Shoulder. Max. dim.: *a*, 16.4 cm.; *b*, 11.3 cm.



2. Body (with shoulder above). Max. dim.: *c*, 12.7 cm.; *d*, 8.5 cm.; *e*, 3.5 cm.;  
*f*, 3.2 cm.; *g*, 12.5 cm.; *h*, 4.3 cm.; *i*, 8.5 cm.

hand (the right arm is missing), and on his left arm he carries a cloak and a round shield (device: an ivy wreath) seen almost in profile. More of the tongue pattern appears above. The warrior's chiton is red, as are the rim of his shield and alternate tongues in the tongue pattern. The transverse lines on the warrior's helmet crest and his shield device are white.

The height of the figure scene on the shoulder, including the tongue pattern, is 6.5 centimeters. The estimate for the developed length of the ground line is 30 centimeters. This would allow sufficient space in the panel below for the returning hunter and the man who greets him. The rest of the seated youth on the far left and the missing parts of the horses were re-

constructed from the shoulder of the namepiece (Figure 4).<sup>3</sup> The team being harnessed on the Madrid dinos was also helpful in determining the position of our team (Figure 5).<sup>4</sup>

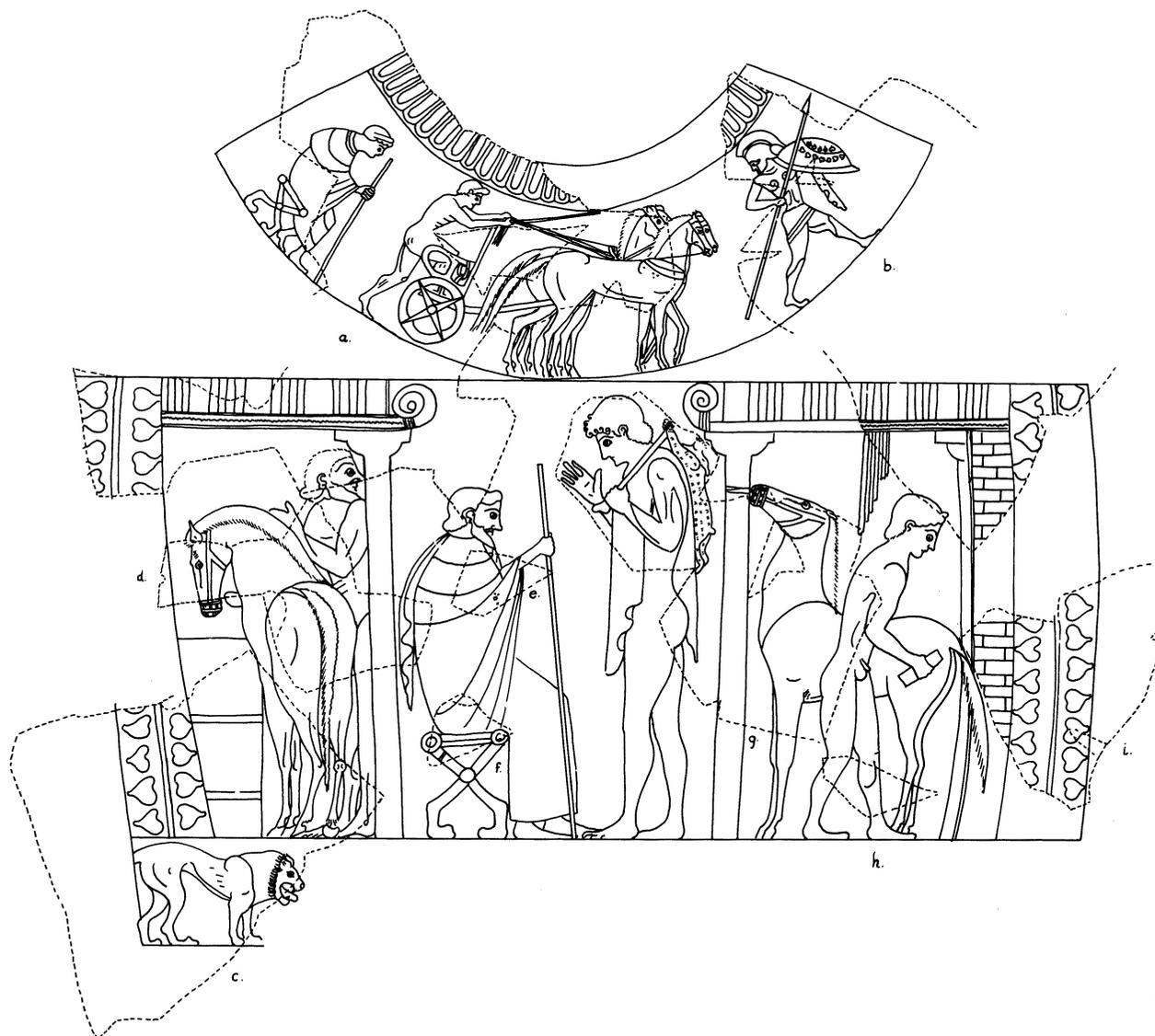
Panel: Return of a hunter (Figures 2, 3)

Fragment *a* preserves the upper left corner of the panel with framing ivy. In the panel itself is part of a building: a Doric capital and the top of a column shaft

3. Leiden PC 63 (*ABV*, p. 266, 1; *Para.*, p. 117, 1; *CVA*, pls. 13-15).

4. Madrid 10902 (*ABV*, p. 275, 133).

3. Reconstruction of the scenes on the fragmentary hydria shown in Figures 1 and 2 (drawing: Moore)



painted white; the entablature composed of a metope-triglyph frieze and a narrow architrave decorated with a wavy line and terminating in an upturned volute. The vertical line of glaze between the volute and triglyph seems to be part of the entablature, for there is no continuation of the line below the echinus. To the left of the column is the head of a man looking to right (his chin is missing), and in the lower right is the back of the head of another man, also to right. The forelock of each man is red, and the start of the beard of the man on the right indicates that it too was red. Fragments *c–f* preserve more of these two figures as well as the leftmost section of the panel, which shows a horse. Fragments *c* and *d* preserve the right shoulder, part of the left arm and thigh, a little of the torso, and part of the calves and feet of the man to the left of the column, who is the horse's groom. He stands to left with his head turned back at an angle of 180 degrees, like Kastor on the Vatican amphora by Exekias.<sup>5</sup> On the far right of fragment *d* is more of the shaft of the column and part of the drapery belonging to the man on the lower right of fragment *a*. Fragments *e* and *f* give a little more of this figure: *e* part of his cloak and right forearm, and a tiny bit of the staff he holds; *f* more of his cloak as well as part of the campstool on which he sits. Red stripes decorate his cloak.

Particularly innovative is the horse. Fragment *d* shows most of its head and neck in profile and its hindquarters and tail in back view. Fragment *c* preserves its legs, the right hind leg drawn completely from the back, and the end of its tail. The mane is red. The double lines for the horse's headstall suggest that it wears a muzzle like the horse on fragment *g* (see below). The bit of glaze between the horse's lower jaw and neck, just above the break, is the right hand of its groom. To the left of the horse, next to the framing ivy, is a solid object decorated with two pairs of horizontal lines. It might be a drinking trough, though it is difficult to see how the basin would fit into the composition,<sup>6</sup> or it might be a thick post to which the horse is tethered.

Fragment *g* belongs to the middle and right half of the panel. On the left is a youthful hunter (his legs are missing) standing to left with a dead hare suspended from a pole over his shoulder. He raises his right hand in a gesture of greeting. The hunter is nude except for a cloak over his shoulder. In back of him are the foreparts of a horse (part of the head

and neck, the forelegs from the knees down, and all of the hindquarters are missing), which is muzzled and apparently tied to the shaft of a white column, presumably a Doric one like the columns on fragments *a* and *b*. A groom (his back, the upper part of his right arm, and his buttock are preserved) stands to right beside the horse, bending forward slightly. Fragment *h* preserves the calves of the groom and part of the hind legs of the horse. The small bit of glaze in the upper right corner of fragment *g* is the end of a drapery fold, a cloak hanging from the entablature on fragment *b* (see below). Red dots decorate the hunter's cloak; his forelock and the horse's mane are also red.

Fragment *b* gives the upper right corner of the panel with part of the framing ivy. In the panel is an entablature similar to that on fragment *a*, supported by a Doric column and part of the stable wall, which is made of courses of dressed blocks of stone. Below the left triglyph is the hanging cloak already mentioned, and near the bottom of the fragment is the forelock of the groom, painted red. A red dot decorates one fold of the cloak. Fragment *i*, with more of the column, stable wall, and ivy border, comes from the lower right side near the ground line of the panel.

## THE RECONSTRUCTION

The following criteria enabled me to position the fragments as shown in the drawing (Figure 3), to calculate the length of the panel at the top, and to estimate its height. The positions of fragments *a* and *b* are assured, since they preserve, respectively, the left and right corners of the panel as well as part of the shoulder frieze. And the relation between fragments *b* and *g* may be ascertained by the hanging cloak and the figure of the groom. The high placement of fragment *g* is determined by its vertical curve at the top and, more important, by the horizontal potting lines on the inside that may be followed on the inside of fragment *a*. Scratches on the exterior of each fragment (just above the head of the man on the right of fragment *a* and across the hand of the hunter on

5. Vatican 344 (*ABV*, p. 145, 13; *Para.*, p. 60, 13).

6. See, for example, the scene with eight horses at a watering trough that appears on a hydria by the Karithaios Painter, Boston 01.8060 (*ABV*, p. 161,—; *CVA*, pl. 78, 2).



4. The Antimenes Painter, Hydria, detail of shoulder: harnessing a chariot team. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden, PC 63 (photo: Rijksmuseum)



5. The Antimenes Painter, Dinos, detail of rim: harnessing a chariot team. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 10902 (photo: Museo Arqueológico)

fragment *g*) add further confirmation. Similarly, the position of fragment *i* in relation to *g* is assured by the potting lines and by a deep scratch on the inside. The positioning of fragments *c-f* is based on potting lines as well as on what is preserved of the figures. As mentioned above, the ground line for the shoulder frieze is calculated as 30 centimeters in order to allow enough space between the hunter and the man on the right of fragment *a*. I estimate the height of the panel to be 14.5 centimeters, based on the reconstruction of the hunter and the figures to the left of the left-hand column. Because not enough of the vase is preserved to reconstruct the vertical curve of its wall, it is difficult to calculate the length of the ground line of the panel, which would have to be shorter by a few centimeters than the length of the panel at the top. Owing to the basic differences between the flat drawing and the curved surface of the pot, an attempt to shorten the ground line proportionately would have resulted in such distortion of the figures and the composition that, for the sake of appearance as well as clarity of illustration, I opted to straighten the panel and make it more rectangular in shape. Thus, while the preserved fragments are in the correct relative positions in my drawing, the shape of the panel is not quite accurate, and when the vase was whole, the lower parts of the figures that I have reconstructed would have been somewhat closer together.

I began the reconstruction of the panel composition with the figure of the hunter, as he is the best preserved. His proportions and restored parts are based on the figure of Iolaos (reversed) on the Norwich hydria,<sup>7</sup> for in the photograph available to me the figure was the right size to allow me to make a tracing instead of a freehand drawing. Then came the entablature of the stable, presumably a pendant to the entablature on fragment *a*, which served as my model. The muzzled horse is based on the horses of the chariot team on Leiden PC 63 (Figure 4) and in the harnessing scene on Madrid 10902 (Figure 5),<sup>8</sup> the same sources used to reconstruct the missing parts of the chariot team on the shoulder. The tail, to have sufficient room, must overlap the wall of the stable, just as, occasionally, tails overlap framing ivy on other hydriai, such as Omaha 1944.53 (Figure 6).<sup>9</sup> The muzzle was completed from the one on London B 304,<sup>10</sup> but for the ties to the column I had to rely on a source other than the Antimenes Painter, in this case the stable scene on one side of the Schimmel cup by the Amasis Painter.<sup>11</sup> Reconstruction of the right

7. *ABV*, p. 268, 23.

8. See notes 3 and 4 above.

9. Omaha 1944.53 (*Para.*, p. 119, 7 bis). Munich 1694 (*ABV*, p. 266, 5) is another example.

10. *ABV*, p. 266, 4; *Para.*, p. 117, 4.

11. Kings Point, Schimmel (*Para.*, p. 67).



6. The Antimenes Painter, Hydria, detail of panel: harnessing a chariot team. Omaha, University of Nebraska State Museum, 1944.53 (photo: Dietrich von Bothmer)

forearm and hand of the groom was difficult because there are relatively few representations of grooms who are not leading or holding horses. His hand may have been empty, or it may have held a brush. I opted for the latter alternative, based on the three grooms known to me who are hard at work: one on a small neck-amphora in the Noble collection attributed by Bothmer to the Michigan Painter; one in the tondo of the Onesimos cup in the Schimmel collection; and one on the Berlin column-krater in the manner of Myson.<sup>12</sup> These grooms, however, are not actually brushing their horses, but are blowing the dust off the bristles of the brush. The groom's legs and proportions, as reconstructed, are derived from those of the man in the panel of the Leiden hydria (Figure 7).<sup>13</sup>

The hunter looks down at the seated man who is partly preserved on fragments *a*, *d*, *e*, and *f*, described above.

More difficult to reconstruct, chiefly for lack of parallels, is the horse seen from the back on fragments *c* and *d*. Horses drawn frontally, particularly chariot teams, are quite common in Attic black-figure, but a horse drawn from the back was a very bold idea at this time in the development of Greek vase painting. The four other examples known to me are later than the one on our hydria and should date from a little after 500 B.C. Three are in black-figure, all on lekythoi: two of these are by the Marathon Painter;<sup>14</sup>

the third, in the Yale University Art Gallery, is by the Beldam Painter and shows a chariot team being unharnessed (Figure 8).<sup>15</sup> The fourth example appears on a fragmentary red-figured cup in Boston by the Eleusis Painter.<sup>16</sup> These later horses are not as compressed as ours, which would have been very difficult to reconstruct were it not for its rather good state of preservation. Whether the Antimenes Painter should be credited with the first successful attempt at such foreshortening cannot be known for certain. But since he often painted frontal chariot teams and was familiar with the convention,<sup>17</sup> perhaps it is not too speculative to suggest that he was the first to try the composition the other way around. In any case, this imaginative idea brings to mind bold attempts at foreshortening by classical artists such as the Painter of the Berlin Hydria, whose calyx-krater in the Metropolitan Museum shows a mounted Amazon galloping headlong toward the viewer.<sup>18</sup>

#### THE ANTIMENES PAINTER

The Antimenes Painter, named from the *kalos* inscription on the Leiden hydria (Figures 4, 7), was a prolific artist whose known output now exceeds more than 150 vases.<sup>19</sup> He preferred to decorate pots, particularly the shouldered-hydria and the neck-amphora, but he also left us several one-piece amphorae and put his brush to Panathenaic amphorae, psykters, a dinos, a calyx-krater, and a lekane. His working period seems to have begun about 530 B.C. and to have lasted for nearly two decades.

The new hydria belongs among the better and more ambitious vases decorated by the Antimenes Painter. The scene of the departing warrior on the shoulder

12. Maplewood, Noble (*Para.*, p. 159, 9 quater); Kings Point, Schimmel (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 329, 125 bis; *Para.*, p. 359, 125 bis); Berlin inv. 31409 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 243, 4).

13. Leiden PC 63 (see note 3 above).

14. Syracuse 14569 (*ABL*, p. 222, 22) and Rhodes 5108 (*ABL*, p. 222, 30).

15. Yale 1955.4.103 (*ABL*, p. 266, 10; *Para.*, p. 292, 10).

16. Boston 10.196 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 315, 6; *Para.*, p. 358, 6).

17. See, for example: New York 56.171.19 (*ABV*, p. 269, 43; *CVA*, pl. 24, 2); London B 247 (*ABV*, p. 271, 81); Frankfurt VF β 326 (*ABV*, p. 271, 82); and Boston 22.404 (*ABV*, p. 272, 103; *CVA*, pl. 43, 1).

18. New York 07.286.66 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 617, 3; *Para.*, p. 397, 3).

19. *ABV*, pp. 266–275, 691; *Para.*, pp. 117–121.



7. The Antimenes Painter, Hydria: panel, man and youths washing at a fountain. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden, PC 63 (photo: Rijksmuseum)

is a simplified version of the ones on the namepiece (Figure 4) and on four other of his hydriai, Omaha 1944.53, Victoria and Albert Museum 4795.1901, Würzburg 320, and London B 316,<sup>20</sup> which differ chiefly in that they each have one or two more figures than the representation on our hydria. The team and driver on the Omaha hydria and on London B 316 are particularly good stylistic comparisons for our team. On the Omaha vase, the youth walking to right and looking round is a counterpart of our departing warrior, except that he lacks armor. In the panel as reconstructed, the somewhat top-heavy proportions

of the hunter and the groom are derived from some of the figures in the palaestra scene on the namepiece (Figure 7). The hunter's forelocks, spiral curls instead of the short lines usually preferred by the Antimenes Painter, occur also on the right groom in the panel of the Munich hydria, on Apollo on the neck-amphora in Basel (where they are longer than they are on our hydria), and on Iolaos on the Oxford

20. Omaha 1944.53 (see note 9 above); London, Victoria and Albert Museum 4795.1901 (*ABV*, p. 267, 17); Würzburg 320 (*ABV*, p. 267, 18); London B 316 (*ABV*, p. 268, 24).



8. The Beldam Painter, *Lekythos*, detail: unharnessing a chariot. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1955.4.103 (photo: Moore)

neck-amphora.<sup>21</sup> In addition to the horses used for the reconstruction, a muzzled horse being led up by its groom on a hydria in London needs to be mentioned,<sup>22</sup> for this horse's head is also raised slightly, a rare occurrence in the work of the Antimenes Painter.

The only architectural parallels seem to be the palaestra on the Leiden hydria (Figure 7) and the fountain houses on two other hydriai, Vatican 426 and London B 336.<sup>23</sup> Though viewed from the side, the Vatican fountain house has a pediment, and in both fountain houses the metope-triglyph frieze appears next to the capital of the column instead of above it. Both the palaestra and the Vatican fountain house help to explain the peculiar use of the volute terminating the architrave on our hydria, for it should represent the end of the raking cornice and on an actual building would appear above, not below, the metope-triglyph frieze. On our hydria there simply was not enough space for the sloping roof. There does not seem to be a good comparison for the wall of our stable either in the work of the Antimenes Painter or

among other representations of stables known to me.<sup>24</sup> The most detailed stable is the one on the cup by the Amasis Painter in the Schimmel collection, where five Doric columns support a metope-triglyph frieze and in each alternate metope there is an animal or a bird. A single Doric column indicates the stable on the neck-amphora by the Michigan Painter in the Noble collection and on the Schwerin cup by Onesimos. There are no architectural elements in the other stable scenes, those on the cup tondo in the Schimmel collection by Onesimos and the column-krater in Berlin attributed to the manner of Myson.

There is much variety in the subjects depicted by the Antimenes Painter, and, to be sure, many of them are well-known themes represented in the standard manner. A few examples may suffice. Among the mythological illustrations that come to mind are Herakles hurling the boar headfirst at King Eurystheus, which appears on Oxford 1965.115 and on Naples Stg. 186;<sup>25</sup> Herakles wrestling the lion in the standing position, on London B 232;<sup>26</sup> two centaurs pounding Kaineus into the ground, on New York 69.233.1;<sup>27</sup> and the Birth of Athena, with the goddess springing from the head of her father in the presence of the Eileithyia and Hephaistos, on London B 244.<sup>28</sup> Among the scenes that cannot be identified for certain as mythological are warriors putting on greaves (e.g., Toledo 55.225 and a neck-amphora in a Swiss private collection),<sup>29</sup> departures with chariots (e.g., Vatican G 44 and Würzburg 306),<sup>30</sup> and nu-

21. Munich 1694 (see note 9 above); Basel B.S. 409, ex Schweizer (*ABV*, p. 269, 41; *Para.*, p. 118, 41); Oxford 1965.115 (*ABV*, p. 269, 49; *Para.*, p. 118, 49).

22. London B 304 (*ABV*, p. 266, 4; *Para.*, p. 117, 4).

23. Vatican 426 (*ABV*, p. 266, 2; *Para.*, p. 117, 2); London B 336 (*ABV*, p. 266, 3). One may also add a fragment of a hydria in Florence (94754) attributed by Bocci to the Antimenes Painter (*CVA*, pl. 20, 3), where part of an entablature remains that looks much like the one on the namepiece (Figure 7).

24. See note 12 above. Add: the one on a cup in Schwerin by Onesimos (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 325, 73; *Para.*, p. 359, 73).

25. Oxford 1965.115 (*ABV*, p. 269, 49; *Para.*, p. 118, 49); Naples Stg. 186 (*ABV*, p. 270, 51).

26. London B 232 (*ABV*, p. 270, 57).

27. New York 69.233.1 (*ABV*, p. 271, 75; *CVA*, pl. 25, 1).

28. London B 244 (*ABV*, p. 271, 74).

29. Toledo 55.255 (*Para.*, p. 120, 38 bis; *CVA*, pl. 7, 1); Switzerland, private collection (*Para.*, p. 120, 66 bis).

30. Vatican G 44 (*ABV*, p. 267, 12); Würzburg 306 (*ABV*, p. 267, 14).

merous frontal chariots.<sup>31</sup> Horses appear often in the work of the Antimenes Painter, who, along with the painter Psiax, gives the scene of a chariot team being harnessed its final form; in this the two pole horses are already yoked and, depending upon the available space, one or two trace horses are led by grooms.<sup>32</sup>

Of considerably more interest are the Antimenes Painter's depictions representing popular myths in new and innovative compositions or subjects that are rare or unusual in Attic black-figure. On two neck-amphorae showing Herakles and the Lion (at Capesthorpe Hall and at Grasmere),<sup>33</sup> the beast rears up on its hind legs and roars at the hero; on another (Würzburg 306),<sup>34</sup> Herakles has hurled the lion to the ground and is about to club it to death. In the Birth of Athena scene on Würzburg 309,<sup>35</sup> the full-size goddess stands before her father, her helmet held out in a gesture of salutation, which is a departure from the usual manner of representing this subject in the archaic period. On a neck-amphora once in the Bloch collection,<sup>36</sup> Herakles has grasped the Erymanthean boar by its right hind leg and is just about to shoulder it, while Athena and Hermes look on. The opposite side of the vase shows Kaineus between two centaurs; here, however, he is depicted full size rather than—as on the New York neck-amphora<sup>37</sup>—partly pounded into the ground. The neck-amphora in Basel has a particularly vigorous illustration of Herakles struggling with Apollo for possession of the Delphic Tripod,<sup>38</sup> a subject that was very popular in black-figure from about 530 B.C.;<sup>39</sup> here, the flaring locks of the mane of the lion skin add effectively to the tension of the fight, while Athena and Artemis, instead of looking on quietly, rush in to help. Occasionally a touch of realism appears, as in the harnessing scene on the Omaha hydria, where a restive horse has just stepped on the foot of its groom (Figure 6).<sup>40</sup>

Other subjects painted by the Antimenes Painter are very unusual, not only in his work, but in all black-figure. A good example is the palaestra scene on the namepiece (Figure 7), where small figures in a large panel give the effect of spaciousness.<sup>41</sup> Another is a scene of youths and men picking olives, a subject painted twice, on Berlin 1855 and on London B 226.<sup>42</sup> On the London vase, in particular, the painter achieved the effect of an open, cultivated landscape.

The scene in the panel on our hydria, the return of a successful hunter, is among the uncommon subjects in black-figure, and an additional rare feature is

the depiction of the stable. The few examples of stables known to me are discussed above, and of these our stable and the one on the Amasis Painter's cup in the Schimmel collection are the most detailed. One must keep in mind, however, that remains of an actual Greek stable have yet to be found, and thus it would be hazardous to suppose that these rather detailed representations are more than mere reflections of what stables really looked like.<sup>43</sup>

Not many scenes of hunters returning with their quarry are known, and it might be worthwhile to review them, especially since, for the most part, there does not seem to be an established iconography. The earliest example is the one by Lydos painted on a very fine fragmentary lekythos found in the Athenian Agora.<sup>44</sup> In this representation, a hunter with a deer and a hare, accompanied by his hounds, stands before a man and a woman (his parents?), who greet him; two of the fragments preserve part of the hunter's chariot team, and on the left-hand side of the team is another woman. The Amasis Painter has left us two

31. See note 17 above.

32. Here are some examples. The Antimenes Painter: London B 304 (*ABV*, p. 266, 4; *Para.*, p. 117, 4); Munich 1694 (see note 9 above); Louvre F 285 (*ABV*, p. 267, 7); Omaha 1944.53 (see note 9 above); Minneapolis 61.59 (*Para.*, p. 119, 8 ter). Psiax: Berlin 1897 (*ABV*, p. 293, 8; *Para.*, p. 127, 8); Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum 1961.8 (*ABV*, p. 293, 9; *Para.*, 127, 9).

33. Capesthorpe Hall (*Para.*, p. 120, 92 bis); Grasmere, Danson (*Para.*, p. 120, 93 ter).

34. Würzburg 306 (see note 30 above).

35. Würzburg 309 (*ABV*, p. 268, 28; *Para.*, p. 118, 28).

36. Now Fribourg market (*Kunst der Antike* 4 [1982] no. 193), ex London market (sale, Sotheby's, July 13, 1981, no. 241), ex Basel, Bloch collection (*Para.*, p. 120, 54 bis). I wish to thank Dietrich von Bothmer for the first two references.

37. See note 27 above.

38. Basel B.S. 409 (see note 21 above).

39. See D. von Bothmer, *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz, 1977) pp. 52–63.

40. Omaha 1944.53 (see note 9 above).

41. Leiden PC 63 (see note 3 above).

42. Berlin 1855 (*ABV*, p. 270, 50); London B 226 (*ABV*, p. 273, 116).

43. Cf. Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 4.1–3, where the characteristics of a stable are briefly discussed; but these remarks are not specific enough to allow a detailed analysis or a hypothetical reconstruction. For Roman stables, see P. Vigneron, *Le Cheval dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine* (Nancy, 1968) pl. 6.

44. Agora P 13127 (*ABV*, p. 111, 42; M. B. Moore and M. Z. Phillipides, *The Athenian Agora: XXIII. Attic Black-figured Pottery* [Princeton, N.J., forthcoming] pl. 74, no. 78g).

scenes. One, on an olpe in London,<sup>45</sup> shows a hunter with a fox and a hare, his dog beside him, standing between two men. In the other, which appears on a chous in Bristol,<sup>46</sup> the hunter, greeted by a youth and two men, wears Oriental dress and has caught a hare. A hunter with his hound leashed, a fox and a hare suspended from a pole over his left shoulder, decorates the tondo of a cup in London signed by Tleson.<sup>47</sup> A lekythos from Vari by the Edinburgh Painter shows a successful hunter between two companions, all three walking to right.<sup>48</sup> On another lekythos by the same artist, the returning hunter with his quarry (a fox) and his hound appears before a banqueter.<sup>49</sup> Three other vases have similar compositions: an unattributed hydria in the Villa Giulia, M. 442,<sup>50</sup> where the subject appears on the shoulder; a fragmentary cup in the Astarita collection attributed to the Leafless Group;<sup>51</sup> and, in red-figure, the namepiece of the Painter of Munich 2303,<sup>52</sup> an early fifth-century artist who belongs to the Syleus sequence, a group of painters stylistically related to one another.

Hare hunting was a pastime of heroes as well as mortals, and hare hunting is mentioned in the literature as early as Homer,<sup>53</sup> but so far none of the representations of a hunter's return with his quarry has been associated with a specific mythological theme. It is perfectly possible that the painters had in mind a particular myth, but, without an attribute or an in-

scription, identification is risky, and to see in our youthful hunter a representation of the young Achilles (or any one of a number of heroes) would be too speculative. The scene on our hydria is the most ambitious of the group, for not only has the Antimenes Painter depicted a convincing setting, which enlivens the pictorial quality of the representation, but he has also paid careful attention to small details, which embellish the scene and give it character. This hydria, even in its fragmentary state, and the other vases by the Antimenes Painter that are closest to it in style form the nucleus of his best work and indicate clearly why he was one of the leading painters of his generation.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- ABL*—C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (Paris, 1936)  
*ABV*—J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1956)  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup>—J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd. ed. (Oxford, 1963)  
*CVA*—*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*  
*Para.*—J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1971)

45. London B 52 (*ABV*, p. 153, 31; *Para.*, p. 64, 31).

46. Bristol H 803 (*ABV*, p. 153, 44).

47. London B 421 (*ABV*, p. 181, 1; *Para.*, 71, 1).

48. Athens 19167 (*ABV*, 476, 1; *Para.*, p. 217, 1).

49. Laon 37892 (*ABV*, p. 700, 8 ter; *CVA*, pl. 12, 3-4).

50. *ABV*, p. 700, 8 ter (under Laon 37802).

51. *ABV*, p. 712, 78 bis.

52. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 245, 1; *Para.*, p. 350, 1.

53. *Iliad*, 10. 360-361.

# A Moche “Spatula”

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A PRECOLUMBIAN “SPATULA” from the Moche culture, on the north coast of Peru, shows a standing male figure on the top, intricately carved from a six-centimeter-long animal tooth (Figures 1–3). The figure is partially hollow, because of the natural cavity of the tooth; this cavity holds the top of the copper implement. A narrow circular base grips the implement, and two bone ferrules, with a wooden one between, strengthen the join.<sup>1</sup> The function of the object is unknown.

The figure wears a headdress (part of which is missing) consisting of a band around the head with a semicircular element over the brow. A schematized owl head—two big eyes in a heart-shaped face—appears in the center of the semicircle. Incised lines below suggest spread wings.<sup>2</sup> The owl eyes were originally inlaid: the proper right inlay is missing; the left inlay is of metal, perhaps copper. Two kinds of shell provide the inlay for the man’s eyes. The round ear ornaments also are inlaid, one with shell, the other with mica. The figure wears a crescent-shaped, mouth-covering nose ornament and a choker necklace that is ropelike but probably depicts large beads. The elbows are bent, and the hands are slightly raised against the chest. Below the waist is a belt or shirt edging with a dentate design and circular holes for inlay, probably of shell; most of the inlay is now missing. At the sides are downward extensions of the belt, which appear to end in snakeheads. The belt or shirt edging continues around the rear of the figure, where, above it, there are short, capelike wings. Two unidentified forms, shown below the waist, seem to hang from the belt. The figure stands on a narrow base with a repeated incised design. The knees are slightly bent, and the feet do not seem to be firmly placed on the ground.

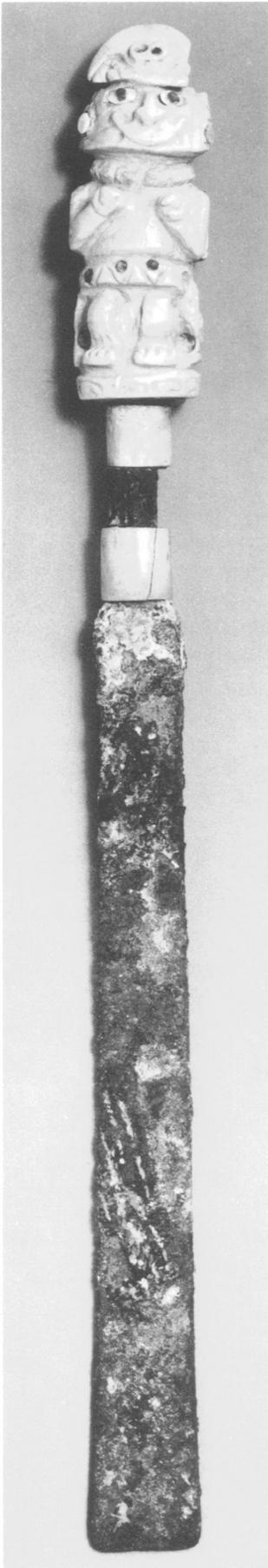
The Moche people lived in the Peruvian coastal desert from about the time of Christ until the eighth

century A.D. The dates are not yet firm; Moche ceramics have been given a relative chronology of Moche I through Moche V, and other artifacts are also dated within these phases.

The Moche fished in the rich waters of the Humboldt Current offshore and farmed in the irrigated valleys, where the rivers come down from the Andes, which rise quite close to the coast. The Moche controlled the river waters high up in the valleys, and they fought to protect their land and to gain new land. Moche ceremonial centers contained huge structures made of adobe bricks. The Moche lacked the large stone sculpture common in the highlands; on the coast, monumental themes were treated either in wall paintings or in small objects. Burial sites have produced quantities of artifacts, and many of the finest of these may have been made expressly for burial; their subject matter depicts the myths, rites, and creatures that were important to be recorded for the journey to the underworld. Relatively few small carved objects—of stone, bone, or tooth—remain, but those that exist exhibit the lapidary skill of the Moche. Moche textiles are also rare, because of salts in the north-coast desert sands, but enough textile remains have been found to show that the Moche were fine weavers who made elaborately decorated cloth. The

1. I am grateful to Julie Jones for permitting me to see the 1980 technical report on the spatula by Catherine Sease, Objects Conservation, MMA, and for her general helpfulness in the preparation of this article. She originally published the spatula in “Ornamented Spatula,” *Notable Acquisitions 1980–1981* (MMA, New York, 1981) p. 72. I am also grateful to Christopher B. Donnan for allowing me to use the Archive of Moche Art at the University of California, Los Angeles, while I was working on this article, and to Anne-Louise Schaffer for her helpful comments on it.

2. For similar headdresses with these motifs see Figure 6; Max Schmidt, *Kunst und Kultur von Peru* (Berlin, 1929) p. 210; Alan Lapiner, *Pre-Columbian Art of South America* (New York, 1976) fig. 395.



2. Three-quarter view of the finial figure



3. Rear view of the finial figure

1-3. "Spatula" of tooth, bone, and copper, with shell and metal inlay. Peru, Moche culture, ca. A.D. 300-600. H. 23.5 cm., actual size. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gift of Nathan Cummings, by exchange, 1980.331

Moche were especially talented and innovative metallurgists, producing ear, nose, and headdress ornaments; masks; figures; vessels; implements; and other objects from copper, gold, silver, and various combinations of these metals. Like lapidary objects, these often had shell or stone inlay. It is as potters, however, that the Moche are best known, for a great quantity of decorated vessels exists, made either by a coil method or in a mold. The forms may be modeled effigies or globular vessels with painted scenes, or some variation or combination of modeled and painted forms.

Little is known of these ancient people. They lacked writing to explain their depictions, and there are no written sources dealing directly with them. Their customs and beliefs must be reconstructed from the details of their representations. Objects often depict gods, individual or generic human beings, animals, and compound monsters of various kinds, individually or in scenes. Many vessels show creatures that combine human traits with those of birds, felines, foxes, and other animals, and with vegetables; there are even anthropomorphized warriors' garments and weapons (Figure 4). Dress, accessories, and the contexts in which figures are found indicate various events—the enactment of a ritual or the narration of a myth—and the status of the person and the moment within a sequence of related events.<sup>3</sup>

One of the creatures most frequently encountered



4. Detail of a scene on a Moche IV ceramic vessel. Munich, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde (after Kutscher, *Chimu*, fig. 43)

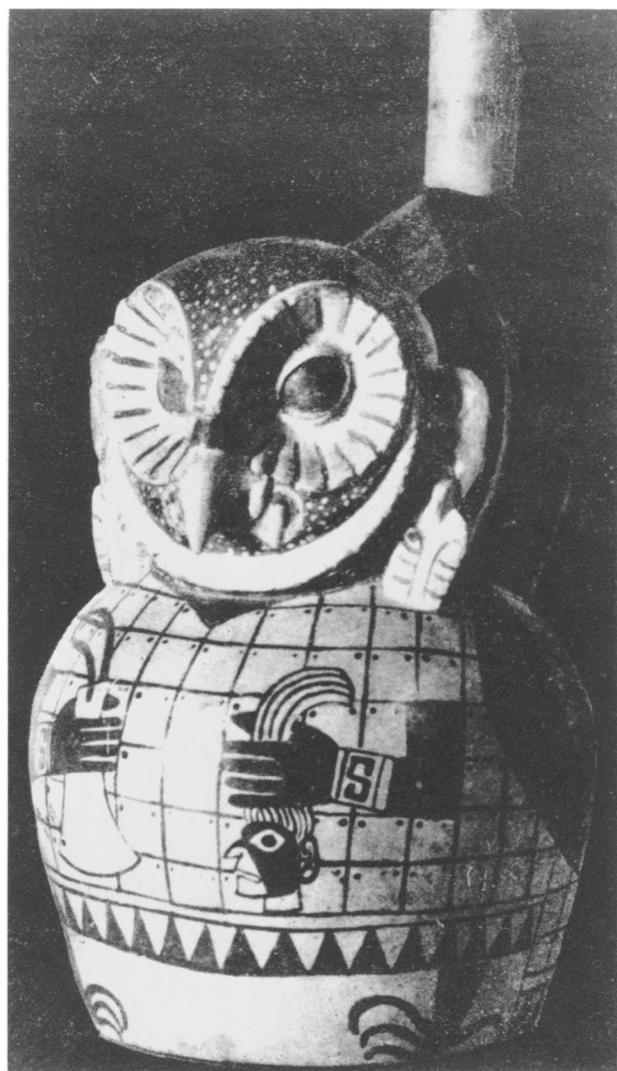
5. Moche IV ceramic vessel in the form of an anthropomorphic owl with bird feet and human hands. Lima, Dr. G. de Reparaz Collection (photo: after Otto Klein, *La cerámica mochica: Caracteres estilísticos y conceptos*, Valparaiso, 1967, p. 53)

in Moche art is the owl, sometimes shown naturalistically and sometimes as an anthropomorph. Anthropomorphic owls assume a wide range of roles, among them a warrior (Figure 4)—he rarely appears in battle scenes, but seems to be garbed ritually as a warrior, often holding a war club—and a sacrificer, who is sometimes seen decapitating a small human figure<sup>4</sup> and sometimes shown with a knife in one hand and, in the other, a “trophy” head held by the hair (Figure 5). (Evidence of ritual decapitation is widespread in Pre-Columbian art. The sacrifice of the head—the most important part of the human body—was probably offered to nourish the sun or some other heavenly body, to placate the forces of nature, to insure agricultural fertility, or to give sustenance to ancestors who were associated with these aspects of nature.) In some instances, it is clear that the owl sacrificer is a human being wearing an owl mask and a winglike cape.<sup>5</sup> These figures are the only explicit examples in Moche art of human beings imitating supernatural creatures. The figures that are clearly imitators usually

3. See Elizabeth P. Benson, “Garments as Symbolic Language in Mochica Art,” *Actes du XLIIe Congrès international des américanistes, Paris, 2–9 septembre 1976* (Paris, 1979) VII, pp. 291–299.

4. Julio C. Tello, “Arte antiguo peruano,” *Inca* (Lima, 1938) II, pl. 200; Gerdt Kutscher, *Chimu: Eine altindianische Hochkultur* (Berlin, 1950) pl. 70.

5. Ferdinand Anton, *The Art of Ancient Peru* (New York, 1972) fig. 141; Elizabeth P. Benson, *The Mochica: A Culture of Peru* (New York, 1972) fig. 3-9.





6, 7. Moche IV ceramic vessel in the form of a prisoner, front and rear views. Trujillo, Peru, Guillermo Ganoza Collection (photos: courtesy Christopher B. Donnan and Archive of Moche Art)

hold only the trophy head, not the knife, for the sacrifice was apparently thought of as being performed by supernatural anthropomorphs, not by human agents. The anthropomorphic owl was probably the supreme Moche military spirit, the supernatural leader in real or ritual warfare that led to the capture of prisoners for ritual sacrifice; the owl, therefore, also had the role of sacrificer. A human figure dressed in garments similar to those of the supernatural owl warrior may be shown as a captive or victim with tied hands (Figures 6, 7). Such figures were probably sacrificed to or by the owl.<sup>6</sup>

6. See Elizabeth P. Benson, "The Well-Dressed Captives: Some Observations on Moche Iconography," *Baessler-Archiv* n.s. 30 (1982) pp. 181–222.

The costume associated with most of these figures is a shirt that appears to be made of metal plates, probably sewn on cloth, and has a jagged or dentate lower edge; a nose ornament; and a headdress with a semicircle over the brow that may have an owl head in the center and/or upward projections at the sides. The owl sacrificer often wears garments different from those of the warrior—if it is the same creature, he may have changed garments—but he sometimes shares the plate-shirt costume with the warrior (Figure 5). An anthropomorphic owl in this costume also appears in a number of scenes depicting sacrifice near him, although he is not then shown as the active sacrificer, but as a sort of superintendent of sacrifice. (In Figure 4, standing on a stepped platform, he faces a sacrificial victim.) Human figures other than prisoners also wear these garments; they may play musical instruments or be shown with plants. Such figures presumably indicate different moments or roles in the sacrificial ritual. There are two supernatural versions of the figure in plate-shirt dress. One is the owl; the

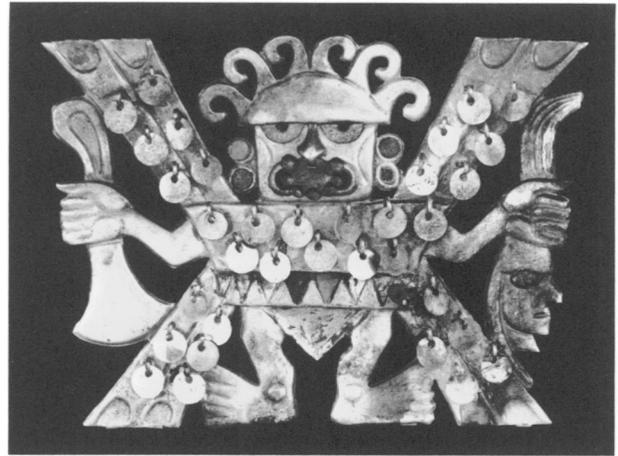


8. Figure with fanged mouth and radiances, from a Moche IV ceramic fragment. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Völkerkunde (after Gerdt Kutscher, *Nordperuanische Keramik*, Berlin, 1954, pl. 54A)

other has a human face with a fanged mouth (a sign of supernaturalness or sacredness, seen sometimes on the owl) and, often but not always, a pattern of irregular rays projecting from the body (Figure 8).

The figure on the Metropolitan Museum spatula is related to this sequence of sacrificial events involving figures in plate-shirt garments. The pose is that of the owl sacrificer or imitator, as seen on pottery. Metal objects show the sacrificer holding knife and/or trophy head out to the sides (Figure 9); ceramic representations, however, normally show the sacrificial symbols held in front of the chest (Figure 5). The difference in pose is undoubtedly a function of the medium. The tooth would impose the same formal restrictions found in pottery. Whereas ceramic figures normally hold the trophy head in one hand and perhaps the knife in the other, the Metropolitan Museum figure is empty-handed; but this is also true of some supernatural-owl vessels (Figure 10) which are otherwise similar to the sacrificers (Figure 5). This pose is rare in other contexts.

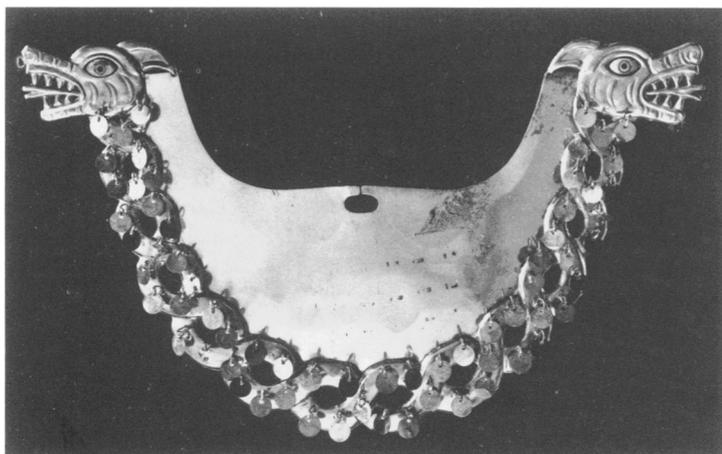
The attributes also place the Metropolitan Museum figure in this cluster, notably the headdress with semicircle and owl head, the jagged shirt bottom, and the wings at the back. Nose ornaments that fit over the septum are frequently depicted in Moche art. The crescent nose ornament is closely related in shape to an Andean knife with curved blade, which can be



9. Gold figure with dangles and turquoise inlay. Loma Negra, Moche style, date unknown. H. 6.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979.206.1247 (photo: Thomas A. Brown)

10. Moche IV ceramic vessel in the form of an anthropomorphic owl. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde (photo: Fritz Mandl)





11. Nose ornament of gold and silver with stone inlay. Loma Negra, Moche style, date unknown. H. 12.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979.206.1225 (photo: John R. Hill)

seen in the hands of some supernatural warriors<sup>7</sup> or sacrificers or, more frequently, on the helmets of warriors, human and supernatural (Figure 4). The crescent nose ornament, although it also appears elsewhere, has some specific associations with this cluster. Beaded versions appear on at least one example of a supernatural plate-shirt figure,<sup>8</sup> and one plate-shirt captive wears an unbeaded version.<sup>9</sup> Plain examples may be seen on various human figures. In a scene of zoomorphs capturing anthropomorphized warriors' accoutrements, a similar nose ornament is held by an anthropomorphic fox (Figure 4); on a nearby platform an owl stands with plate-shirt garment, semicircular headdress, and a large war club. Actual metal nose ornaments of a similar shape exist (Figure 11), and they are sometimes found on masks.<sup>10</sup> Necklaces made of large beads, such as that on the spatula, are frequently seen on supernatural plate-shirt figures (Figures 8, 12, 13). On some examples, the beads are owl heads,<sup>11</sup> and it is likely that the beads on the Metropolitan Museum figure were intended to depict owl heads.

A somewhat unusual aspect of the piece is the apparent snakehead belt extension at either side. Pairs of snakehead appendages are usually an attribute of a deity with a fanged mouth, snakehead ear ornaments, and a jaguar head on the headdress.<sup>12</sup> The

plate-shirt deity sometimes shares attributes with this god (the snakehead ear ornaments are seen on the owl sacrificer in Figure 5), but the snake belt appendages do not normally appear on plate-shirt figures. A drawing in the files of the Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, however, shows a vessel in the form of a seated, fanged-mouth figure in plate-shirt garments with dentate kilt-edge, large-bead necklace, and semicircular headdress (Figure 12). From the rear of the belt comes an extension that seems to end in a snakehead, just at the beginning of the dentate pattern. At the shoulder of the figure is an ear of maize. Snakehead belt appendages also appear on supernatural figures wearing the semicircular headdress with owl head on the only example of pottery on which such figures are shown doing battle.<sup>13</sup>

The repeated incised design on the base on which the Metropolitan Museum figure stands resembles a frequently depicted and clearly important fruit known today as *ulluchu*, as yet botanically unidentified.<sup>14</sup> It is often seen in sacrificial scenes and with goblets of sacrificial blood. In a painted scene on a stirrup-spout vessel, a plate-shirt anthropomorphic owl flies or floats with *ulluchu* fruits in the air in front of him; he grasps one fruit with his hand (Figure 13). Although the plate-shirt complex is not the only one in which this fruit appears,<sup>15</sup> it is often seen there.

The round, inlaid ear ornaments worn by the fig-

7. Christopher B. Donnan, *Moche Art of Peru* (Los Angeles, 1978) fig. 69.

8. *Ibid.*, fig. 239b.

9. *Peru: Joyas, telas, cerámica. Colección del profesor Moisés Sáenz* (Mexico, 1946-47) fig. 11.

10. Lapiner, *Pre-Columbian Art*, figs. 323, 333, 335; Julie Jones, "Mochica Works of Art in Metal: A Review," *Pre-Columbian Metallurgy of South America* (Washington, D.C., 1979) fig. 26.

11. Donnan, *Moche Art of Peru*, fig. 136.

12. Kutscher, *Chimu*, fig. 64; Benson, *The Mochica*, fig. 2-9, pl. VII.

13. Rafael Larco Hoyle, *Los mochicas (Pre-Chimu, de Uhle y Early Chimu, de Kroeber)* (Buenos Aires, 1945) p. 11.

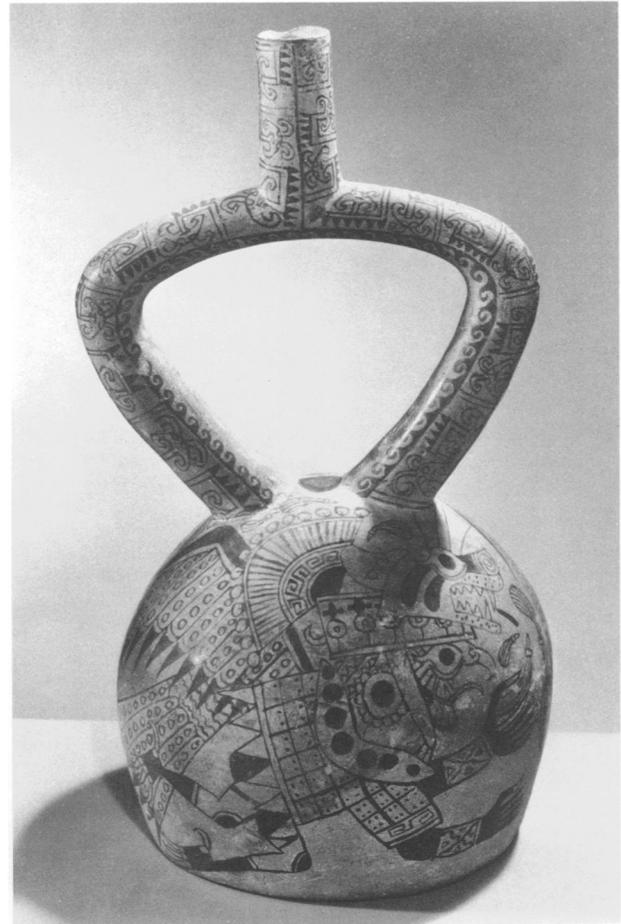
14. Donna D. McClelland, "The Ulluchu: A Moche Symbolic Fruit," *Pre-Columbian Art History: Selected Readings* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1977) pp. 435-451.

15. For a ritual cluster related to coca chewing, in which this fruit appears prominently but in somewhat different usage, see Figure 24, where it is used as a headdress element. See also Benson, "Garments as Symbolic Language"; Immina von Schuler-Schömig, "Die 'Fremdkrieger' in Darstellungen der Moche-Keramik," *Baessler-Archiv* n.s. 27 (1979) pp. 135-213.



12. Drawing of a Moche IV ceramic vessel in the form of a seated figure. Formerly Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (photo: E. Benson)

13. Moche V ceramic vessel with anthropomorphic owl. H. 26 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Nathan Cummings, 64.228.2



ure are seen frequently on high-status figures, supernatural and human (Figures 4, 8, 12, 13, 21); they seem to carry no particular ritual connotation. The bent knees are characteristic of Moche figures in action (Figures 4, 13). The jawline is very straight and sharp, and suggests the possibility of a mask. Such faces are found as early as 1000 B.C. in Peru, in the Chavín style, and they are particularly characteristic of post-Moche, north-coast funerary masks of the Lambayeque–Chimú style.<sup>16</sup> Although this type of face is not characteristic of the Moche style, the long time span in which it occurs covers the Moche period.

A curious feature of the Metropolitan Museum figure is the area at the lower back, where there are two forms with vertical incisions. Something is missing here; there are holes, presumably to hold lost inlay. The forms are in the position of a tail or wing tips, but do not resemble these, although they do look rather like bunches of feathers. Certain figures in this

complex have bunches of feathers on the head-dress,<sup>17</sup> but it seems unlikely that they would be depicted in this position. There is some resemblance to the tied hands at the back of captive figures in this complex, hands that hang down at an odd angle, as if the wrists were broken (Figure 7), but this figure has hands placed in front. Moreover, these forms have a peculiar number of “fingers.” The forms may represent an unusual type of back-flap or ornament.

It is not always easy to differentiate between human and supernatural figures in Moche art, and this piece presents particular problems. Because the crescent nose ornament covers the mouth, one cannot

16. For Chavín examples see Anton, *Art of Ancient Peru*, figs. 1, 2; for Chimú examples see A. D. Tushingham, *Gold for the Gods* (Toronto, 1976) pls. 135, 223, fig. 143.

17. A. L. Kroeber, “Peruvian Archaeology in 1942,” *Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology* (New York, 1944) no. 4, pl. 48E.



14. Moche bone spatula with finial in the shape of a forearm and fist, carved and inlaid. Date unknown. H. 16.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Nathan Cummings, 64.228.82

know if the mouth has the feline canines that usually appear on a supernatural being. In ceramic depictions, fanged-mouth beings with nose ornaments are shown in profile, so that the mouth and the ornament can be depicted, with the ornament usually seen *en face* (Figure 8). One indication of supernaturalness, then, is not evident, but cannot be ruled out

completely. The unnatural, masklike face suggests either that the Metropolitan Museum figure is a deity or that it is a human being wearing a mask; but it is not the kind of mask that is normally worn. The wings might also be “real” or a costume element. The snakehead belt appendages, however, are probably seen only on major deities. On the whole, the evidence is not overwhelming, but it leans toward supernaturalness.<sup>18</sup> The conclusion that the figure is likely to be a supernatural creature is reinforced by the subject matter on other objects of this kind.

These implements have variously been called spatulas, chisels, or knives; their function is unknown. A number of examples have been found; some are plain, and some have decorated handles or finials. Some are of copper, some are carved from bone, and several plain examples of a similar implement are of gold.<sup>19</sup> I know of no other that is made of a tooth or of more than one material, although some were made in more than one piece; most of the bone ones are inlaid.

The ornamented bone examples are in the shape of a forearm with the finial a fist with raised thumb (Figure 14).<sup>20</sup> Not only heads were cut off in ritual sacrifice; forearms and lower legs might also be offerings. Vessels were sometimes made in these shapes, with hands or forearms more common than nether limbs. The bone spatula forearms are incised with various designs, frequently including war clubs, anthropomorphic birds with weapons, and sacrificial victims.

One copper example also depicts the fist motif.<sup>21</sup>

18. There are faint suggestions that this might be a prisoner figure, but the possibility seems highly unlikely. Even if the “necklace” is interpreted as a rope, it should have an end hanging in front, as in Figure 6. Moreover, the hands should be tied behind, not placed on the chest.

19. William Duncan Strong and Clifford Evans, Jr., *Cultural Stratigraphy in the Virú Valley, Northern Peru*, Columbia Studies in Archeology and Ethnology 4 (New York, 1952) pl. xxvi:1 (“Gold-plated spatula from body”); Tushingham, *Gold for the Gods*, figs. 69–72 (two examples: “gold spatulas”; Lima, Museo del Oro del Peru).

20. Other published examples are in S. K. Lothrop, W. F. Foshag, and Joy Mahler, *Pre-Columbian Art: The Robert Woods Bliss Collection* (New York, 1957) pl. cxxxii (now in the Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection); Donnan, *Moche Art of Peru*, figs. 42, 236 (London, British Museum); Ulf Bankmann, “Clubs, Cups and Birds in Moche Art,” *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 11/12 (1980/81) figs. 11, 12 (Munich, Museum für Völkerkunde).

21. Donnan, *Moche Art of Peru*, fig. 230.

While some copper examples are plain,<sup>22</sup> most have cast “scenes” of considerable variety. Two show apparent sacrificial victims; on one an undressed figure squats before a richly garbed standing figure (Figure 15).<sup>23</sup> On another spatula, a deity wearing a belt with snake extensions faces a feline standing against a rack with trophy heads (Figure 16); such a rack appears in scenes of ritual sacrifice or punishment. Another example shows a single figure wearing a hinged mask with fanged mouth, which can be raised to reveal the face (Figure 17); this is possible evidence for the interpretation of the Metropolitan Museum tooth figure as masked, although the masks are very different. Yet another spatula has a standing figure with fanged mouth, semicircular headdress, snake belt appendages, and an ear of maize on either hip (Figure 18); the deity is presumably the same one depicted in Figure 12.<sup>24</sup> One example shows a figure wearing a crescent nose ornament, an owl-head necklace, and a semicircular headdress with an owl head (Figure 19).<sup>25</sup> He holds a goblet of sacrificial blood in one hand and an *ulluchu* fruit in the other. He has wings and tail feathers at the back, and above him is a human-headed club with four faces; such clubs appear in many of the sacrifice scenes with plate-shirt figures.<sup>26</sup> This is closely related iconographically to the Metropolitan Museum tooth spatula. Another spatula (Figure 20) shows a large standing anthropomorphic owl or imitator leaning over a seated figure in plate shirt and semicircular headdress; another figure in a similar headdress stands at the side.

The most unusual spatulas are in a group that was found in a cache of metal objects, including goblets like those seen in sacrificial scenes.<sup>27</sup> These spatulas have box rattles on the top, with a figure incised on each side. The figures include an anthropomorphic bird holding a war club toward a snake-rayed figure on the top. Many Moche objects are sound-making, perhaps especially those associated with sacrifice, so it should not be surprising that the spatula form is combined with a rattle.

The geographical sources of these objects are widespread: the gold-plated object<sup>28</sup> comes from the Virú Valley, in the southern part of the Moche domain; one decorated and two plain spatulas were found in excavations at Moche, the heartland of these people; others are said to have come from the north, from the Department of Lambayeque. It is difficult to guess where the Metropolitan Museum spatula

might have been made. Its iconography suggests that it dates from the middle or later period of Moche art, possibly Moche IV in the ceramic sequence.

Many Moche ceramic vessels are portrait heads of an individual; a number of individuals are shown, some of them in many different representations. These personages, who must have been rulers, are sometimes depicted in effigy vessels as full-length, seated figures. Two such individuals, in nonwarrior garments, may hold a spatula tied to a bag that rests in the lap (Figure 21). These two figures have quite distinctive garments: one wears a necklace, a three-tiered chin tie, and a double scarf (Figure 21); the other wears a cape tied over the chest, a cluster of feathers on his headdress, and blade-shaped ear ornaments (Figure 22). Both figures sometimes wear a crescent nose ornament.

Bags may be held by figures in a number of contexts,<sup>29</sup> but spatulas are seen only with bags, usually tied to the bag. Many copper spatulas have a loop near the finial through which a cord could have been passed. There is archaeological evidence for the tying. On the Metropolitan Museum spatula, “on both sides of the blade there are textile remains.”<sup>30</sup> The gold-plated spatula found in a burial in the Virú Valley is

22. Kroeber, “Peruvian Archaeology,” pl. 48A,B (two examples: “chisels”; from Moche; Berkeley, Lowie Museum, University of California).

23. The other example, a figure on a rack, was found at the site of Moche. Kroeber, “Peruvian Archaeology,” pl. 48C,D (“cast copper chisel”; Berkeley, Lowie Museum, University of California); Jones, “Mochica Works,” fig. 27.

24. This was published in detail by G. Baer, “Die Figurengruppe eines alperuanischen Kupferspatels,” *Baessler-Archiv* n.s. 13 (1965) pp. 339–357, figs. 1–6, pls. 1–3 (Basel, Museum für Völkerkunde). This spatula was made in three parts: the spatula, the finial, and a connecting piece of metal.

25. This example was published in detail in Bankmann, “Clubs, Cups and Birds.”

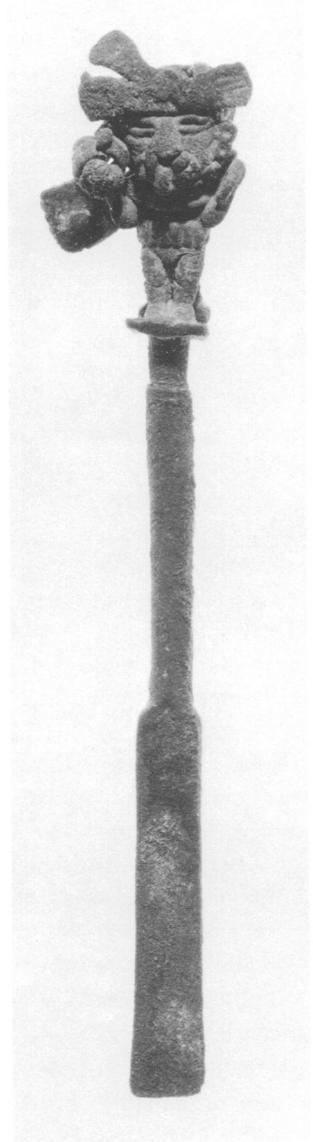
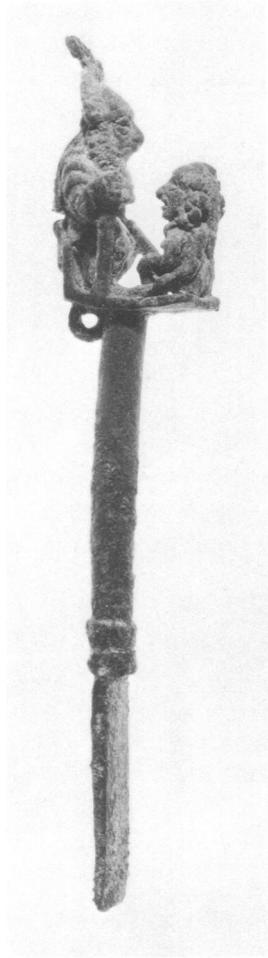
26. This is particularly notable in the scenes of what Donnan (*Moche Art of Peru*, pp. 158–173) has called the “Presentation Theme.”

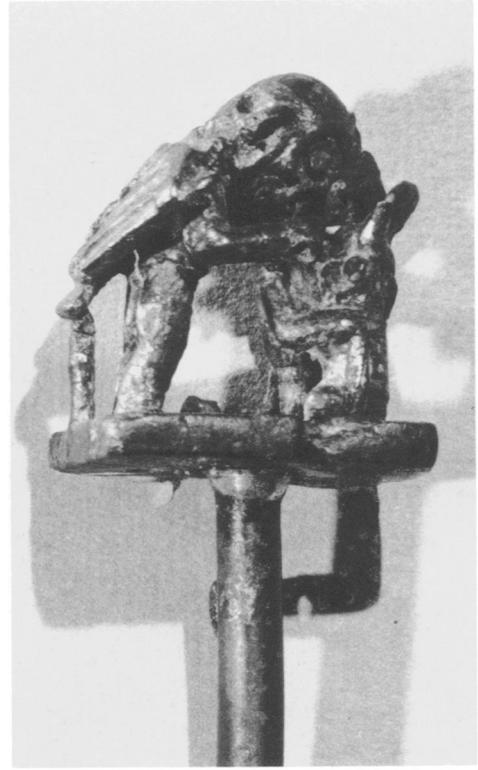
27. Christopher B. Donnan, *Moche Art and Iconography* (Los Angeles, 1976) pl. XII, pp. 125–127 (New York, American Museum of Natural History).

28. See note 19 above.

29. Elizabeth P. Benson, “The Bag with the Ruffled Top: Some Problems of Identification in Moche Art,” *Journal of Latin American Lore* 4 (1978) pp. 29–47; idem, “Well-Dressed Captives.”

30. Catherine Sease, “Examination Report on Pre-Columbian Copper Blade with Carved Tooth Handle, 23 April 1980,” MMA interdepartmental memorandum.





FACING PAGE:

15. Moche copper spatula with two figures, one richly dressed. Date unknown. H. 15.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, lent by Jane Costello Goldberg from the collection of Arnold I. Goldberg, L.1978.25.14
16. Moche copper spatula with two facing figures. Department of Lambayeque, date unknown. H. 27 cm. New York, Mrs. Sue Tishman Collection (photo: Thomas A. Brown)
17. Moche copper spatula with masked figure. Date unknown. H. 19 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, lent by Jane Costello Goldberg from the collection of Arnold I. Goldberg, L.1978.25.15

described as “a long . . . spatula-shaped object with threads around the butt end.”<sup>31</sup> This gold spatula was found with a body known as the “Warrior-Priest” in one of the richest known Moche burials, arguing for the association of spatulas with rulers.

The spatulas depicted on ceramics do not show scenes on the finial, but they often emphasize the bipartite character of the implement. Similar imple-

ABOVE:

18. Moche copper spatula, with two figures, one blowing a conch shell, detail. Date unknown. H. (spatula) 27.6 cm. Basel, Museum für Völkerkunde (photo: Moeschlin + Disch)
19. Moche copper spatula with complex single figure, detail. Date unknown. H. (spatula) 21.4 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Völkerkunde (photo: Staatliche Museen)
20. Moche copper spatula with two figures, one an anthropomorphic owl, detail. Date unknown. H. (spatula) 21.5 cm. Formerly Santiago, Chile, Norbert Mayrock Collection (photo: Nickolas Muray)

ments, held in similar contexts in ceramic representations, may be in the form of miniature war clubs. The personage seen in Figure 22, for example, can be found holding a club-spatula.<sup>32</sup> I know of no actual examples of this spatula form, but depicted war

31. Strong and Evans, *Cultural Stratigraphy*, p. 161.

32. Rafael Larco Hoyle, *Los mochicas* (Lima, 1938–39) II, fig. 186.



21. Moche IV ceramic vessel showing a seated figure. Philadelphia, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (photo: courtesy Christopher B. Donnan and Archive of Moche Art)



22. Moche IV ceramic vessel showing a seated figure with lap bag. H. 22.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Nathan Cummings, 64.228.36

clubs occasionally have at the top the fist found on bone spatulas, indicating a further relationship between war clubs and spatulas.<sup>33</sup>

The portrait figures are rarely seen in large painted scenes, but in one scene two figures hold bags (Figure 23). The larger figure has in his left hand a raised spatula tied to a bag. This figure, wearing ear ornaments similar to those seen on spatula-holding effigy figures (see Figure 22), sits with his companion at the top of a scene of warriors, priests, captives, and vegetation; on the spout above them are supernatural figures, including a plate-shirt figure, and a scene of

33. Donnan, *Moche Art of Peru*, pp. 46–47.

sacrifice. A human-headed club is stuck in the sand behind the larger figure.

The spatula, then, is associated with sacrifice—in the one large painted scene in which it is shown, as well as in some of the iconography that appears on the finials of many of the spatulas themselves, iconography that tends to depict either supernatural beings or sacrificial victims. It is held by figures who must be rulers involved in a ritual, and it is held along with a bag. The contents of the bags are not known, although the few bags that have been found in archaeological excavations contained various materials, including quartz crystals, white powder, stones, plant remains, and/or red pigment. Red pigment was found

in an early bag from the south coast; of the other substances found in Moche bags, the first two were used in agricultural rituals by the later Inca.<sup>34</sup> The depiction of the bags with vegetation suggests the possibility that they might have held seeds. If the sacrifice had to do with agricultural fertility—and it can probably be assumed that most sacrifices had to do, directly or indirectly, with agriculture—then the bags may have held seeds for token planting by the ruler or substances for shamanic use or for offerings to supernatural spirits. The spatulas, which would have been in use with the bags only at a certain moment, may have been employed to dip the powdery substance from the bag, or for the token offering or planting of seeds. In later centuries, the Inca ruler put his foot on a ceremonial digging stick to begin the planting. If a Moche ruler were performing a token or ritual seed planting, he might possibly have used such a tool as a miniature digging stick. The spatula may have been thought of as a sort of miniature staff, for similar subject matter appears on staffs and like implements.<sup>35</sup>

The association of the spatulas and bags with vegetation, as well as their supernatural aspect, is enhanced by their appearance in the hands of anthropomorphized beans<sup>36</sup> and of fanged-mouth bird warriors who are surrounded by beans and tillandsia (here the spatula is, again, a miniature club).<sup>37</sup> The association of the spatulas with agriculture was made by Baer,<sup>38</sup> who associated them also with the ritual centered around the chewing of coca leaves; he thought it likely that the spatulas were the “stick” with which a small amount of lime was removed from a gourd to be put into the mouth with the coca leaves. The coca stick, however, is depicted as a simpler, rounder shape, and it is used with a different set of costumes and accessories (Figure 24).<sup>39</sup>

Like many Moche objects and accessories, the spatula is shaped like a blade. Scenes similar to those on spatulas appear on the finials of knife blades. Common throughout Precolumbian art are objects that combine some sort of blade form with a figure or head, usually of some mythical creature. Olmec “axes” from Mexico, Veracruz *hachas*, and Costa Rican “ax-gods” are examples.<sup>40</sup> A tradition of this kind was particularly strong on the north coast of Peru. In the later Chimú culture, in the same region, splendid gold knives are usually surmounted by elaborate inlaid gold figures with danglers.<sup>41</sup> I have noted a blade shape

found as nose and helmet ornaments. The copper *chalchalcha*, a rattle with symbolic designs on the top that is worn at the rear of numerous important human and supernatural warriors (see Figure 4 and the

34. The red pigment was found in a Paracas bag by Anne Paul. Moche bags were found on the Hacienda Santa Clara in the Santa Valley by Larco Hoyle (*Los mochicas* [1938–39] II, p. 121, fig. 187); he described the bags as having a long cord, and stated that “todas ellas contenían un polvo blanco y un pedazo agudo de cuarzo.” Another Moche bag was found in a burial at the Pyramid of the Sun at Moche (Christopher B. Donnan and Carol J. Mackey, *Ancient Burial Patterns of the Moche Valley, Peru* [Austin, Tex./London, 1978] p. 68; this contained quartz crystals, stones, beads, an animal-bone fragment, and plant remains. Terence Grieder (*The Art and Archaeology of Pashash* [Austin, Tex./London, 1978] pp. 184, 261) found fragments of rock crystal in a burial offering in the mountains to the east of the Moche region. For Inca ritual see John Howland Rowe, “Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest,” in Julian H. Steward, ed., *Handbook of South American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 143 (Washington, D.C., 1946–50) II, pp. 183–330. See also Benson, “Bag with the Ruffled Top” and “Well-Dressed Captives.”

35. George Kubler, “Towards Absolute Time: Guano Archaeology,” *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* 4 (Menasha, Wis., 1948) pp. 29–50; Strong and Evans, *Cultural Stratigraphy*, pls. xxiii–xxv; Heinrich Ubbelohde-Doering, *Kunst im Reich der Inca* (Tübingen, 1952) p. 228.

36. An example is in the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima; photographs exist in the Archive of Moche Art, University of California, Los Angeles.

37. Larco Hoyle, *Los mochicas* (1938–39) II, fig. 177.

38. Baer, “Figurengruppe.”

39. See Schuler-Schömig, “Fremdkrieger.”

40. See Ignacio Bernal, *The Olmec World* (Berkeley, 1969) pls. 38, 49; Lothrop et al., *Pre-Columbian Art*, pls. xiv–xvii, lxxxix, xci, xciv.

41. Tushingham, *Gold for the Gods*, pls. 227, 234, figs. 153, 183.

23. Detail of a Moche IV ceramic vessel. Bremen, Übersee-Museum (photo: Übersee-Museum)





24. Moche IV ceramic vessel showing a man with lime stick and gourd. Lima, Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología (photo: E. Benson)

warriors on the lower level of Figure 23), is shaped like the knife most commonly depicted in confrontations and beheadings of mythical creatures.<sup>42</sup> One of the figures who holds the spatula wears ear ornaments of this shape. What is perhaps most important in all of these objects is the inclusion of the knife shape for iconographic reasons. Knives refer to human sacrifice by decapitation, which was believed by most Precolumbian peoples to keep the forces of nature in order, to ensure the rising of the sun and the continuation of the movements of heavenly bodies, and to maintain the fertility of the earth. The spatula has sometimes been called a knife.<sup>43</sup> It is also related to agricultural-implement shapes, which have a spiritual relation to the knife, agriculture and sacrifice being closely associated.

Whatever its specific purpose, the Metropolitan Museum spatula is a finely made object, rich with symbolic meaning. The fact that it is made from a six-centimeter-long tooth is, in itself, significant. Although the source of the tooth has not been identified, few animals have teeth of this size. Possibly it is a tooth from a whale,<sup>44</sup> a creature whose associations with water would make it particularly appropriate for agricultural ritual. The spatula is carved with care and skill to portray highly charged symbolic attributes, relating to the ritual acts that the Moche believed gave them the power to conquer new territory, protect their water sources, produce good crops, revere their ancestors, and continue their heritage.

42. Jorge C. Muelle, "Chalchalcha (Un análisis de los dibujos muchik)," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 5 (Lima, 1936) no. 1, pp. 65–88; Tushingam, *Gold for the Gods*, fig. 116.

43. Ubbelohde-Doering, *Kunst*, p. 229; Rafael Larco Hoyle, *Peru* (New York, 1966) figs. 135, 138; Lapiner, *Pre-Columbian Art*, fig. 346; Jones, "Mochica Works," figs. 32, 33. The spatula form shades into a knife form; see Lapiner, *Pre-Columbian Art*, fig. 348.

44. I am grateful to Anne-Louise Schaffer for this suggestion.

# Valerius Maximus in a Fourteenth-Century French Translation: An Illuminated Leaf

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THE REIGN OF King Charles V of France (1364–80) witnessed an extraordinary flowering of book production. Under the king's patronage, the royal library established in a tower of the Louvre grew to over seven hundred titles, a number unsurpassed in Europe at the time.<sup>1</sup> Prominent among them were French translations of Latin texts. A previously unpublished leaf in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1) can be identified by its opening rubric as the first page from an early copy of the translation of the *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium* by the Roman author Valerius Maximus, commissioned from Simon de Hesdin by Charles V.<sup>2</sup> The leaf is of interest for its fine quality and lively illustrations and for the historical circumstances under which it was created. Although its artist and provenance cannot be determined at this time, it can be securely dated to the last quarter of the fourteenth century and closely associated with several surviving manuscripts of Valerius Maximus, all of which reflect the thriving manuscript industry given impetus by Charles V.

Charles V's principal motivation for these literary efforts in the early aftermath of the Hundred Years' War may have been a search for political lessons, in which classical texts such as Valerius Maximus's work abounded.<sup>3</sup> The *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium*, written in the first century A.D. and dedicated to the emperor Tiberius, was intended for use in schools of rhetoric. The text drew heavily on Roman history and particularly on its treatment by Livy, Cicero, and Sallust. Divided into nine parts, the *Memorabilium* is a compilation of anecdotes in ninety-one chapters illustrating various themes. The first book focuses on religious practices and ceremonies; the second concerns civil and military institutions; Books III to VI

expound on virtues and moral qualities. Though slightly less cohesive, Book VII treats the nature of happiness, Book VIII public and private judgments, and Book IX luxury and avarice.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the translation of Valerius Maximus by Simon de Hesdin, Charles sponsored such works as Raoul de Presle's translation of St. Augustine's *City of God*, Denis Foullechat's of John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus*, and Nicole Oresme's of Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Politics*, and the pseudo-*Economics*.<sup>5</sup> The king's self-conscious role in this flurry of intellectual activity is

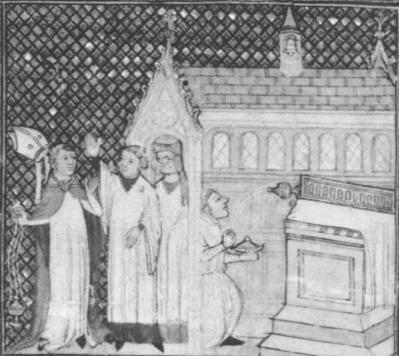
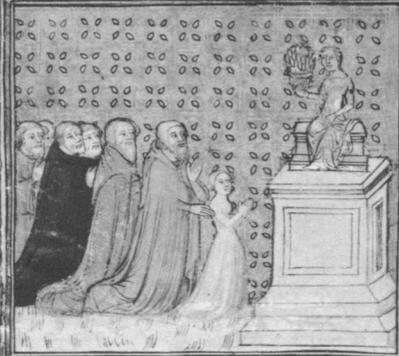
1. See the discussion in *La Librairie de Charles V*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1968); and L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V* (Paris, 1907).

2. The verso is a full page of script, with each column measuring 248 × 80 mm., undecorated except for blue and red paragraph indications. The leaf came to the Museum with the bequest of Gwynne M. Andrews, a New York lawyer, which included a number of manuscript leaves and other works of art, chiefly Italian and French bronzes. At the time of its acquisition in 1931, the leaf was identified as part of a text of Valerius Maximus and catalogued as French, 15th century. The miniatures were identified by the late Bonnie Young, former associate curator of The Cloisters.

3. *La Librairie*, intro., p. 87; Claire Richter Sherman, "Some Visual Definitions in the Illustrations of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics* in the French Translation of Nicole Oresme," *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977) p. 321. For a discussion of Charles V's politically motivated patronage in other media see Pierre Pradel, "Art et politique sous Charles V," *Revue des Arts* 1 (1951) pp. 88–94.

4. The outline of Valerius's work is taken from G. F. Warner, *Valerius Maximus Miniatures of the School of Jean Fouquet* (London, 1907) pp. 1–2.

5. On the translation of St. Augustine see Sharon Olf Dunlap Smith, "Illustrations of Raoul de Praelles' Translation of St. Augustine's *City of God* Between 1375 and 1420," Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1974); on the Aristotle manuscripts see Sherman, "Aristotle," pp. 320–330. For a listing of the commissions



Et commence valerius maximus  
translat de latin en francois par



abnefte et fragilitée  
de ceite doulemente  
de temporelle. Et  
la confidence de la  
confiance et de la  
liberte de fortune.  
l'ambicion aussi  
de la volonte et de

l'apensie humaine. sont les causes par  
quoy le roy n'a pas fait avec commuencement  
le royaume de ce l'ame. Car je pense bien  
avoir moins ou auoir en bonhance

maistre simon de bedm alantasse de es  
evellat et pmissi pnce charl saint roy de  
deulle chose faire qui moult tost et ligre  
vement pensat auoir efa empeschice par  
aucunes des causes deuant dites. Car  
respondez par malice d'un pour prole  
me il me fault faire aucunes declaraci  
ons necessaires pour l'entendement  
de ce l'ame qui est moult fort abien entre  
de au moins selon ce que il seuble a  
mon petit entendement. Et premierement  
donques est assavoir que en ce l'ame est  
aussi que en ceus autres livres et autres  
choses merveillees et artificielles par m.

fin

1. Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium* (*Faits et dits mémorables*), single leaf, beginning of Book I, ca. 1380. Tempera and gold on vellum, 15 $\frac{5}{16}$  × 11 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (389 × 295 mm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Gwynne M. Andrews, 31.134.8

emphasized in the illumination of the presentation copy of Oresme's Aristotle (Figure 2). The top left quadrant shows the translator offering his work to the sovereign, a scene frequently represented in manuscripts prepared for the king. The fact that Charles wears a master's cap instead of a crown suggests that he wished to be considered an academic as well as a monarch. The lower left medallion further emphasizes the king's appreciation of scholarship: he attends a lecture, probably on Aristotle's teachings, in the company of other students.<sup>6</sup>

Furthermore, Charles's sense of history and his own place in it are reflected in his ordering the continuation of *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*. This history of the French monarchy, prepared at St.-Denis in the thirteenth century, was amended at Charles's request to include his father and himself, affirming his rightful tenure of the throne of France—challenged by the English in the Hundred Years' War—and linking the Valois and Capetian dynasties.

The scholarly nature of the king is stressed in the writings of Christine de Pisan, Charles's laudatory biographer, and those of other contemporaries, who spoke of his love of reading and listed the translations prepared at his request.<sup>7</sup> A letter to Charles V from the chancellor of the university of Paris particularly recommended Sallust, Livy, Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus for the dauphin's intellectual and moral preparation.<sup>8</sup> Charles V's own admiration for Valerius is suggested by his deathbed speech, which included a discussion of the responsibilities of princes that is a direct quotation, whether by the sovereign or by his chroniclers, of the *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium*.<sup>9</sup>

This rich source was infrequently tapped by medieval scholars—exceptions are John of Salisbury and Vincent of Beauvais<sup>10</sup>—though library inventories list Valerius's work among their holdings from Carolingian times. An edition was prepared by Lupus Servatus, abbot of Ferrières, in the ninth century.<sup>11</sup> Copies, though far from abundant, were at Bec, Corbie, Limoges, and Pontigny.<sup>12</sup>



2. Aristotle, *Les Ethiques*, fol. 2v (detail), after 1372. Tempera and gold on vellum, leaf 12 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 8 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (320 × 215 mm.). Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9505-06 (photo: Bibliothèque Royale)

The text was included among the manuscripts purchased in 1317 by Pope John XXII for his residence at Avignon.<sup>13</sup> A guest at that court, Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro, a member of the Hermits of St.

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and translations undertaken during the reign of Jean le Bon and Charles V, see, particularly, François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century (1310-1380)* (New York, 1978); idem in *Les Fastes du Gothique: Le Siècle de Charles V*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1981); and *La Librairie*.

6. Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, p. 105.
7. For more on Christine de Pisan and Charles V see Claire Richter Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France (1338-1380)* (New York, 1969) pp. 9-12.
8. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries* (New York, 1974) p. 21.
9. Sherman, *Portraits*, p. 12.
10. Warner, *Valerius Maximus*, p. 1.
11. R. J. Gariépy, "Lupus of Ferrières: Carolingian Scribe and Text Critic," *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968) pp. 95-96.
12. M. A. Berlincourt, "The Relationship of Some Fourteenth Century Commentaries on Valerius Maximus," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972) p. 362.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 361.

Augustine and a friend of Petrarch, saw in Valerius's work a source of moral lessons. Believing that the author's underlying message was hindered by the brevity of the text, Dionigi prepared a commentary to interpret and expand the matter-of-fact treatise.<sup>14</sup> The date of the commentary is not known, but it has been suggested that it was not finished until Dionigi was in residence at the court of Robert I, king of Sicily, sometime between 1327 and 1341.<sup>15</sup>

This work sparked the production of manuscripts of Valerius Maximus, both in the original Latin and in translation, often with commentaries based on Dionigi's.<sup>16</sup> Simon de Hesdin, the French translator for Charles V named in the rubric of the Metropolitan Museum leaf, also prepared a commentary. Prefaced in his text by the signal *translateur*, his contributions rely to a large extent on Dionigi's work.

As his name suggests, Simon probably came from the town of Hesdin in the Artois. He was a member of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, a religious community not usually noted for its scholarship.<sup>17</sup> Although it is not known how he came to the attention of Charles V, the king's favorable opinion is revealed by his command to the Prior of France in 1377 that Simon be released from his duties at Eterpigny, east of Amiens, and allowed to come to Senlis, nearer Paris, "comme il ait pleu au roy nostre sire qui a moult agréable avoir souvent pres de li religieuse sage et discret personne maistre Symon de Hedine."<sup>18</sup>

The presentation copy of Simon de Hesdin's translation of the first four books of Valerius Maximus gives the date 1375 in its opening rubric. Included in the 1380 inventory of Charles V's library, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,<sup>19</sup> it bears the coat of arms of Charles V at the bottom of the first leaf. The illumination for Book I represents in the upper quadrants the Latin author and French translator as scribes preparing the texts (Figure 3). In the single lower scene, Simon de Hesdin presents the book to the king.

The illumination of the corresponding single leaf in the Metropolitan Museum is divided into equal quadrants (Figure 1). The top left scene has a tessellated background of blue, red, and gold. A cleric in the garb of the Hospitalers kneels and offers a book to a king, crowned and seated on a faldstool. The king, in a blue, ermine-trimmed robe, is accompanied by four attendants—a mace-bearer, a bearded man in orange, a gesturing figure in a jeweled hat with a



3. Valerius Maximus, *Faits et dits mémorables*, fol. 1 (detail), 1375. Tempera and gold on vellum, leaf 13 × 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (330 × 230 mm.). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 9749 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

turned-up brim, and a man in a blue robe with an ermine collar.

The top right scene takes place against a gridded orange background with a fleury quatrefoil pattern.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 364. Dionigi also prepared a commentary on Virgil.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 370ff.

16. For a list of manuscripts of Valerius Maximus see Dorothy M. Schullian, "A Revised List of Manuscripts of Valerius Maximus," *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, Medioevo e Umanesimo 45 (Padua, 1981); *idem*, "A Preliminary List of Manuscripts of Valerius Maximus," *Studies in Honor of Ullmann* (St. Louis, 1960). I am grateful to Miss Schullian for letting me know of some of her additional findings before the revised publication appeared. The Metropolitan Museum leaf appears in the revised list. Several manuscripts that are cited as French translations of the 14th century are not discussed here since their illuminations are clearly of the 15th century.

17. A. Luttrell, "Jean and Simon de Hesdin: Hospitalers, Theologians, Classicists," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 31 (1964) pp. 137–140.

18. Luttrell, "Jean and Simon de Hesdin," p. 138.

19. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 9749. For a thorough discussion of this manuscript see *La Librairie*, no. 190, p. 109; L. Delisle, *Recherches*, I, pp. 114–115; II, no. 986, p. 162, for the inventory description; *Manuscrits à peintures du XIIIe au XVIe siècles*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1955) no. 122, p. 60.

Seated on a large scholar's chair, a figure in a long robe and skullcap gestures to an emperor and knights approaching from the right under a banner with the double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire. The bearded and crowned emperor holds a raised sword and an orb in his gloved hands. One of the knights carries a shield charged also with the imperial eagle.

At the lower left, against a pale yellow and gilded backdrop decorated with voided quatrefoils, six bearded men in hooded robes of blue, black, and gray kneel behind a young fair-haired maiden before a golden image of a seated woman holding a sheaf of grain.

The lower right scene has a diaper backdrop in blue, red, and gold. At the entrance to a church, rendered with Gothic tracery and surmounted by a small bell tower, stand two ecclesiastics, one raising his right hand toward the figure of a bishop facing him. The bishop holds a censer in his right hand, while he raises his left arm to the gesturing figure; his miter is shown in mid-air behind him. The exterior wall of the church is cut away to reveal a tonsured figure genuflecting before a cloth-covered altar, holding an incense boat in his left hand and swinging a censer high in the air with his right.

The top left compartment of the Metropolitan Museum leaf clearly commemorates Charles's royal commission; as in the lower register of the presentation copy, Simon de Hesdin is shown offering the text of Valerius Maximus to the king. The miniature at the top right, however, probably represents Emperor Tiberius before Valerius Maximus, since none of the stories in the first book of the text corresponds to the illustration. The emperor's high-domed crown is clearly differentiated from Charles V's open royal crown. Although the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V's contemporary, is consistently shown wearing a high-domed crown in *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* of 1375–79,<sup>20</sup> here the double-headed eagle on the shield and banner and the imperial crown are used to suggest the empire of ancient Rome, a common medieval device.<sup>21</sup> A representation of Tiberius before Valerius Maximus establishes a suitable counterpart to the scene of Simon de Hesdin and his patron Charles V, reflecting the ancient as well as the contemporary ruler's deference to scholarship, as suggested for Charles V in the illumination of Aristotle's *Ethics* (Figure 2).

Both compartments of the lower register in the

Metropolitan Museum leaf illustrate episodes from the first book of Valerius Maximus on religious rites and ceremonies. Valerius relates that the Etrurians sent to the town of Velia for a priestess to preside over the cult of the goddess Ceres.<sup>22</sup> The miniature at the lower left shows the priestess, Calcitana, leading the worship in front of the gilded image of the goddess of the harvest—identified by the sheaf of wheat in her right hand. To depict this, the illuminator converts to pagan use the Christian scene of a worshiper kneeling before the image of the Virgin and Child, often represented in Gothic art.<sup>23</sup>

The lower right scene illustrates the fourth note in Book I, chapter 1: "Sulpicius, au milieu d'un sacrifice, eut le malheur de laisser tomber son ornement de tête, et cet accident lui enleva le ministère des autels."<sup>24</sup> In the illumination of this episode, the substitution of contemporary costume for Roman is again apparent: Sulpicius, the Roman priest, is vested as a fourteenth-century bishop, and the "ornament" falling from his head is a miter. The censer that he holds in his right hand suggests the interruption of the sacrifice, since at the altar of the temple—here represented as a Gothic church—another ecclesiastic is censuring.

Though the scenes differ, the presentation copy's title page and the Metropolitan Museum leaf share a common repertoire. Figures stand on shallow ground lines in a space rendered in uneasy perspective, within compartments with tessellated and diapered backgrounds. The presentation of the book is

20. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 2813. See Sherman, *Portraits*, pls. 33–35.

21. For example, the imperial crown and eagle are similarly used in the costume of Julius Caesar in the Heroes Tapestries at The Cloisters, MMA acc. no. 47.101.3.

22. Book I, chap. 1, part 1. For a translation into modern French see C. Frémion, *Valère Maxime: Faits et paroles mémorables* (Paris, 1827). I am grateful to Bonnie Young for having brought this translation to my attention. There is an incunabulum of Simon de Hesdin's translation in the Rosenwald Collection in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Berlincourt, "Fourteenth Century Commentaries," n. 51).

23. The image can be seen in such diverse works as the tympanum of the north transept of Notre-Dame, Paris, the *Hours of Yolande de Soissons*, and the hymns of the Virgin, *Las Cantigas* of Alfonso X. A similar adaptation of Christian iconography for illuminated manuscripts of Aristotle was noted by M. Thomas in *La Librairie*, p. xviii, and affirmed by Sherman, "Aristotle," p. 325.

24. Frémion, *Valère Maxime*, p. 11.



Et romme le liure de valerius aya  
mus avec la declaration breche li  
ure et addicions plusieurs faite et

Et breche et fugiute  
de ceste dolereuse vie  
temporele. la contri  
a de le inconstance  
et variable de forti  
ne. la mutacio aussi

de la volente et de la pensee huma  
ne. sont les causes pour quoy ie ne s'ap  
fait aor saignement le prologue de  
ce liure. Car ie peusse bien auoir pro  
mis ou auoir en en volente de telle  
chose faire que nulle tost et legierment  
peust auoir este empesche par aucu  
nes des causes deuant dites. Toute  
vois par maniere de vn petit plume  
y me faut faire aucunes declaracio  
necessaires pour l'entendement de ce  
liure qui est nulle fort a bien entēdre  
au mains selon ce que il semble a  
mon petit entendement. Premier  
ment conques est assauoir que en  
ce liure a aussi que en to' autres lius

compilee en lan de nostre seigneur  
an. cc. lxxv. y fit luyng de vrdm  
de lordie. s. jehan de thom deee en ty  
et autres choses naturelles et artificielles.  
y a quatre causes principales. Cest ass  
sauoir cause materielle cause forme  
le cause finale et cause efficient. La  
cause materielle de ce liure est les fins  
et les vis des romains et des autres  
gens que valerius appelle estranges  
et generalment vices et vert' ou au  
cunes de leur circonstances. La caus  
formelle est double car il y a forme de  
traictier et forme du traictie. la four  
me du traictier est le brief et noble  
sille de la maniere de son parler. la  
forme du traictie est la division du  
liure en plusieurs liures et en plusieurs  
chapitres. La cause finale ou finale  
de ce liure est entreduire toutes ges  
a fleur les vertus et a four les vices  
et aussi que on puist auoir legiere  
ment exemples a vestons propos  
pour faire le bien et pour echauer  
le mal. Et quoy il ensieut dierent



4. Valerius Maximus, *Faits et dits mémorables*, fol. 1, ca. 1380. Heightened grisaille on vellum, 12<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (320 × 232 mm.). Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 261 (photo: Bibliothèque Municipale)

shown on both leaves. In neither do the king's individual features—notably his long, pointed nose—appear, whereas in other presentation scenes his portrait is quite distinct. In both the king is crowned, unlike his appearance in the presentation scene in Figure 2.<sup>25</sup> In both he is accompanied by courtiers or advisers and a mace-bearer; Simon de Hesdin appears with the cross of his order on his shoulder.<sup>26</sup> Elements of furniture, such as the scholar's chair and the king's faldstool, are the same. Despite differences in figure style, the costume and posture of the scribe at the upper left of the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript are comparable to those of the seated figure in the top right compartment of the Metropolitan Museum leaf.

The rubricated introduction to this leaf is shorter than the one on the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale and does not include a date; Charles's name is not mentioned on the Bibliothèque Nationale title page, the coat of arms perhaps standing in its place.

Three other manuscripts of Valerius Maximus may be compared to the Metropolitan Museum leaf. One in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Troyes, in highlighted grisaille with no patterned background, has strong compositional similarities (Figure 4).<sup>27</sup> The top register and lower left quadrant present the same scenes with only slight variations. Charles V's advisers stand behind Simon de Hesdin; a town wall takes the place of the knights behind Tiberius. Valerius is shown holding a book, a less awkward pose than that in the New York example. Though the disciples of Ceres are grouped differently, the scene is essentially the same, even in the perspective of the goddess's pedestal. Only the fourth scene, showing Romans worshipping idols,<sup>28</sup> is unrelated.

In an even more closely related manuscript, now in the Universitäts-Bibliothek in Jena (Figure 5),<sup>29</sup> all four scenes are the same as on the Metropolitan Museum leaf, modified only in certain details. There are fewer figures in the presentation scene. Tiberius lacks the attribute of the double-headed eagle; Valerius Maximus holds a book, as in the Troyes example (Figure 4), which makes him more immediately rec-

ognizable as a scholar. Ceres again holds a sheaf of wheat, but in the Jena illumination she also wears a headdress of wheat stalks. The priestess of Ceres has the same coiffure, and she is placed in the same relationship to the first worshiper behind her. Again transformed into a bishop, whose miter is shown falling from his head, this Sulpicius faces away from the church as he leaves it; the figure censing at the altar, however, is missing, making it less clear that the mishap to Sulpicius's headgear has occurred during a sacrifice. The decoration of the Jena leaf is more elaborate, with more plentiful ivy in the margins and more decorative quadrilobe medallions.

Finally, a fourteenth-century copy is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (Figure 6).<sup>30</sup>

25. In Sherman, *Portraits*, the differences among types of Charles V portraits are considered. Pls. 8, 10, 14, and 15, for example, illustrate examples in which the king's features are easily recognized. The author distinguishes between manuscripts that show the king as a scholar and those in which he is represented with a crown, considering the former characteristic of manuscripts produced in the 1360s and the latter of those produced in the early and mid-1370s (p. 32).

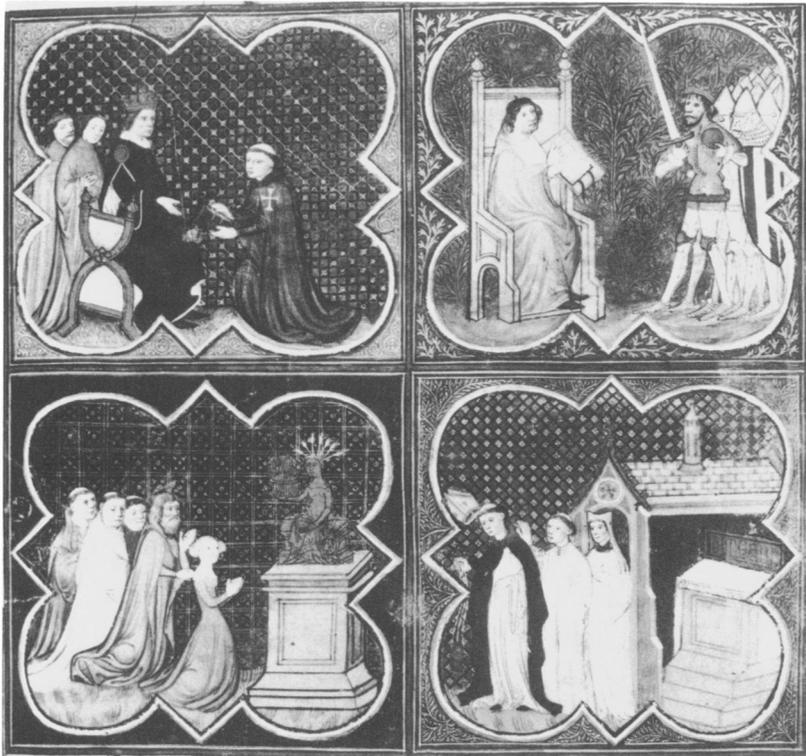
26. Identified in *Manuscrits à peintures*, p. 122. In the Metropolitan Museum example, the cross is white; in the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript, it is blue.

27. Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 261, published in Schullian, "Revised List of Manuscripts." From 1483 until the French Revolution this manuscript was in the cathedral library at Troyes. The manuscript was given to the cathedral library by Bishop Louis Raquier before 1483; according to a colophon on fol. 279v, it had previously belonged to Jean I de Foix (d. 1483). I am grateful to Françoise Bibolet for providing this information and a photograph of the title page. See Françoise Bibolet, "La Bibliothèque des chanoines de Troyes," *Mémoires de la Société Académique de l'Aube* 104 (1964–66) pp. 150, 173, and Lucien Morel Payen, *Les Plus Beaux Manuscrits et les plus belles reliures de la Bibliothèque de Troyes* (Troyes, 1935) pp. 138–140, pl. xxvii, no. 92.

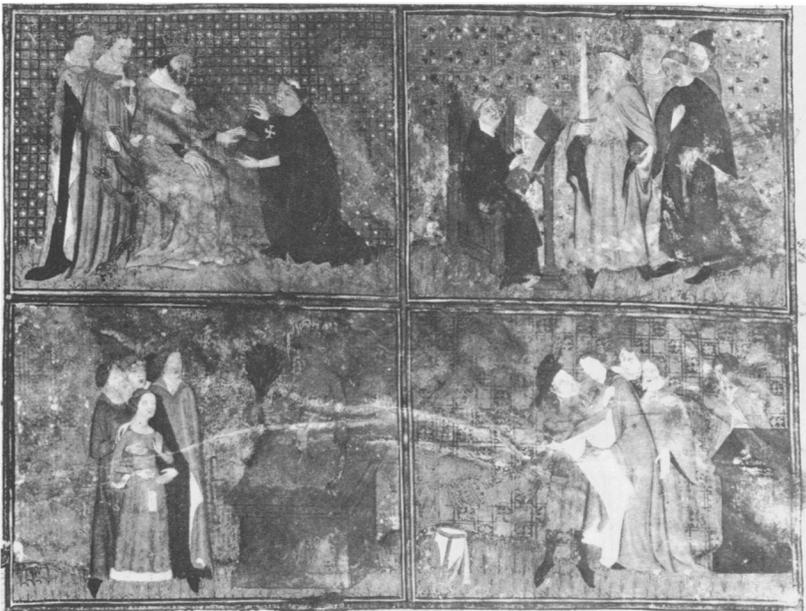
28. The scene is repeated on the title page of a manuscript of Valerius Maximus of about 1410 now in the collection of Martin Breslauer, New York. It was reproduced in the sale catalogue of the Dyson Perrins collection, Sotheby's, London, Dec. 1, 1959, no. 68, pl. 18.

29. Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, ms. gallica 87/88. Published in L. Olschki, *Manuscrits français à peintures des bibliothèques d'Allemagne* (Geneva, 1932) p. 29; Walter Dexel, *Untersuchungen über die französischen illuminierten Handschriften der Jenaer Universitätsbibliothek: Vom Ende des 14. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Strasbourg, 1917) pp. 1–23. I am grateful to Professor Dr. Bohmüller, director of the Universitäts-Bibliothek, for information and for the photograph of the beginning of Book I.

30. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Res. 8; published in Schullian, "Revised List of Manuscripts," and in Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas* (Madrid, 1933) I, p. 317, no. 817.



5. Valerius Maximus, *Faits et dits mémorables*, fol. 3r (detail), ca. 1380. Tempera and gold on vellum, leaf  $14\frac{3}{8} \times 11$  in. ( $365 \times 280$  mm.). Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, ms. gallica 87/88 (photo: Universitäts-Bibliothek)



6. Valerius Maximus, *Faits et dits mémorables*, fol. 1r (detail), ca. 1380. Tempera and gold on vellum, leaf  $14 \times 10\frac{5}{8}$  in. ( $355 \times 270$  mm.). Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Res. 8 (photo: Biblioteca Nacional)

Though its illumination of Book I has been badly damaged by water, it clearly illustrates the same texts as does the Metropolitan Museum leaf. The presentation scene differs in the number of figures but retains the essential composition. Similarly, the scene of the emperor before Valerius Maximus adopts the

format of the Metropolitan Museum example, but lacks the charmingly rendered figures of knights. The Etrurians worshipping Ceres in the company of the priestess are presented as standing rather than kneeling figures. The expulsion of Sulpicius-as-bishop (lower right) acquires new drama as he is wrested from

his place at an outdoor altar, his miter having fallen to the ground.

Each of the five fourteenth-century illuminations known to the author from Book I of Valerius Maximus echoes the often standardized vocabulary of manuscripts made for Charles V in the 1370s. The patterned effect of figures in shallow compartments and checkered backgrounds seen in late thirteenth-century manuscripts was made more precious in the late fourteenth century by the use of more diverse colors and backdrop patterns combined with a wider use of gold.<sup>31</sup> The portrayal of an author or translator giving a book to the king was ubiquitous, and the division of the illumination into four or more compartments the rule. Compartmentalized scenes in other manuscripts bear a common stamp. Compare, for example, the expulsion of a youth from a lecture shown in the lower right compartment of Figure 2 with the expulsion of Sulpicius from the temple in Figure 1.

Because of their basic stylistic and compositional similarities, all the surviving fourteenth-century manuscripts of Valerius Maximus seem to date from soon after the presentation copy of 1375 and to derive from closely allied workshops. The king may have ordered several copies at the time of his commission, as he is known to have done for Aristotle's *Ethics*.<sup>32</sup> If this was the case, however, the additional manuscripts were not placed in his library in the Louvre, which, according to the inventory of 1380, the year of his death, contained only one copy. The presentation manuscript, attributed to the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, was removed from the library several months before the death of Charles V by his brother Louis I, duke of Anjou, at whose request copies may have been prepared.<sup>33</sup> The Troyes manuscript has been attributed to the Remiet atelier, from which the duke is known to have acquired manuscripts.<sup>34</sup>

The Troyes example contains the date 1379 in a rubric at the beginning of Book V; a similar date can be suggested for the Metropolitan Museum leaf. The Metropolitan Museum illumination, nevertheless, is finer in quality than the Troyes painting, and it compares favorably with other examples, although common features make such distinctions difficult.

The four illuminated title pages with illustrations based on the text do not depend directly on the presentation copy in Paris and seem to reflect university

production. University regulation of the book trade can be traced to the reign of Philip Augustus (1180–1223), and illuminators were connected to the university at least by 1339.<sup>35</sup> Fifteen names were recorded during the reign of Charles V.<sup>36</sup> The conservative style of the Valerius Maximus manuscripts, representing figures in shallow space against a decorative background, and generally using the *bâtarde* script, more fluid and quickly produced than the Gothic, signals the wider market controlled by the university rather than a royal commission.

The spread of Charles V's taste for illustrated classical texts in the vernacular doubtless brought new clients, perhaps eager to gain in social stature by their appreciation of fine books, to the workshops in the quartier St.-André-des-Arts.<sup>37</sup> Scribes were situated mostly on the rue des Ecrivains (today's rue de la Parcheminerie), while the illuminators were nearby on the then rue des Enlumineurs. Manuscript production was directed by the *stationnaire*. Sometimes himself the scribe, sometimes merely an agent, this individual publisher coordinated the work of scribe, illuminator, and maker of the book cover. One or more ateliers might be involved, depending on the urgency of the commission.<sup>38</sup>

A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale and a single leaf now at the Drey Gallery in New York apparently represent the work of one of these ateliers and are probably by the illuminator of the Metropolitan Museum leaf. The scene of Roland and Ferragut in *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* (ms. fr. 2606; Figure 7) shows the same stacking of knights, the same boxy faces and squared outlines of the figures' noses, the same rendering of perspective and definition of ground line. In the Drey miniature of Hannibal receiving a messenger, from a French translation of Livy (Figures 8, 9), the conventions of the Metropolitan

31. The character of late 14th-century manuscripts is discussed by François Avril in his introduction to the manuscript section of *Les Fastes du Gothique*.

32. Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, p. 105.

33. *La Librairie*, p. 109.

34. See Dunlap Smith, "Illustrations," p. 80.

35. Patrick M. de Winter, "Copistes, éditeurs et enlumineurs de la fin du XIVe siècle: La Production à Paris de manuscrits à miniatures," *Actes du 100e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes*, 1975 (Paris, 1978) p. 175.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

7. "Disputoison" of Roland and Ferragut, detail of *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, fol. 122r, late 14th century. Heightened grisaille on vellum, leaf 16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (427 × 310 mm.). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 2606 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



8. Livy, *Histoire romaine*, single leaf, beginning of Book II, ca. 1380. Tempera and gold on vellum, 16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (430 × 310 mm.). New York, Paul Drey Gallery (photo: Paul Drey Gallery)



9. Detail of Figure 8, *Hannibal Receiving a Messenger* (photo: Paul Drey Gallery)



Museum leaf are again present. The knights, with their mail, plate armor, and striped, pointed shoes, are identical in almost every detail. The emperor's seat shows the now familiar skewed perspective. Like the Metropolitan Museum leaf, this illumination may have basic elements also found in a royal copy (the one belonging to Charles V is in the Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève in Paris),<sup>39</sup> but does not share its style, ambition, or audience.

Patrick de Winter has assembled an invaluable collection of documents concerning the Paris workshops and their production. Unfortunately, none of his published accounts and inventories for the years 1375–1405 mentions manuscripts of Valerius Maximus, though other manuscripts—secular as well as religious—are often specified, as in the record of payment of 160 gold *écus* to Robert Lescuyer on September 26, 1397, “pour la vendicion d’un livre ou est le *Faict des Roumains*, escript en françois, compilés par Ysidoire, Suetoine, et Lucan.”<sup>40</sup>

Reflecting many of Charles V's royal commissions, the Metropolitan Museum leaf is an important ex-

ample of French illumination as produced by university workshops in the decades just before 1400. Its compartmentalized scenes are traditional rather than innovative. In the rendering of ancient scenes as contemporary events, the painting also follows an established medieval convention. However, the leaf bears witness to the broadening intellectual atmosphere of the court and those under its sway, to the rapid growth of vernacular literature, and particularly to a keen interest in secular and classical texts, a phenomenon too often considered the exclusive province of the Renaissance.

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38. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

39. *La Librairie*, no. 189, pp. 108–109, pl. VII.

40. Winter, “Copistes,” p. 196, citing Bibliothèque Nationale ms. 10431, no. 2292.

# The Retable of Don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló from the Archbishop's Palace at Saragossa: A Documented Work by Francí Gomar and Tomás Giner

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IN MEMORY OF HAROLD E. WETHEY

## THE RETABLE AND ITS HISTORIC CONTEXT

AS HE ROSE through the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the maecenas don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló embellished the churches he served, so that even today they rank among the monuments of Spanish Gothic art. As bishop of Gerona (1415–18), he presided over the assembly of architects gathered to provide the solution for completing the cathedral. Transferred to Tarragona (1419–31), he contracted in 1426 with the sculptor Pere Johan (active 1418–58) to carve the splendid alabaster and wood retable that still dominates Tarragona Cathedral. As archbishop of Saragossa (1431–56), he undertook the enrichment of the

Seo, where, despite modifications to the building by his successors, his principal contributions—the main retable, begun by Pere Johan, and the choir stalls, by Francí and Anthon Gomar—survive.<sup>1</sup>

In the Aragonese capital, don Dalmau also sponsored the embellishment of a chapel in the archbishop's palace for which he ordered the handsome alabaster retable now in The Cloisters (Figure 1).<sup>2</sup> His patronage is clearly apparent, for two solemn, bearded men on the socle (Figures 2, 3) display his arms—gules, a wall with five merlons or—which are repeated in larger escutcheons flanking the *arma Christi*

1. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Un gran mecenas en Aragón: D. Dalmacio de Mur y Cervellón (1431–1456)," *Seminario de arte aragonés* 33 (1981) pp. 149–159. In addition to the works of architecture, sculpture, painting, and illumination discussed by Lacarra Ducay, don Dalmau commissioned the exquisite *Virgin of the Spider*, which was in the parish church at Bordón (Teruel) until the Spanish Civil War; see R. Steven Janke, "Observaciones sobre Pere Johan," *Seminario de arte aragonés* 34 (1981) pp. 114–116, 119–120. See also Pascual Galindo Romeo, "La intervención de Pere Johan en el retablo mayor de la Seo de Zaragoza, 1434–1445," *Monumentos artísticos de la Seo en el siglo XV*, Estudios eclesiásticos de Aragón, 2nd ser., I (Saragossa, 1923)

pp. 63–109. Both the main retable of the Seo and the choir stalls have undergone alterations.

2. Anselmo Gascón de Gotor and Pedro Gascón de Gotor, *Zaragoza artística, monumental é histórica*, 2 vols. (Saragossa, 1890–91) II, pp. 47–48. Elías Tormo y Monzó, "La pintura aragonesa cuatrocentista y la retrospectiva de la exposición de Zaragoza en general," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 17 (1909) p. 69, n. 2, indicates that the retable was sold first to the antique dealer señor Pares, Madrid, corner of calles del Príncipe and de Santa Ana. The retable was subsequently taken to Paris, where J. Pierpont Morgan purchased it from the gallery of MM. Trotte & Cie., 8 place Vendôme; he gave it to The Metropolitan

on the altar frontal and in smaller ones held by angels adorning the molding beneath the narrative reliefs. Work on the chapel was under way at least from autumn of 1445, for on December 14, Juan de Leredo, a mason living in Saragossa, received 352 *sueldos*, 10 *díneros* from Simón Tirado, the archbishop's proctor, for the work he and his crew had carried out for the entrance to the palace chapel.<sup>3</sup> On February 11, 1446, Simón Tirado contracted with Hamet el Cavero, a Moorish potter in Teruel, and Hamet el Halí, a smith in Saragossa, to provide 4,000 tiles, richly glazed with green *lazo* and black foliage against a white ground, and 250 simpler tiles, banded in green, black, and white.<sup>4</sup> Work in the palace was still continuing nearly a decade later, for in his testament of March 5, 1454, don Dalmau bequeathed houses in the plaza de la Diputación to provide funds for its completion.<sup>5</sup>

Although the alabaster retable from the archbishop's palace follows the ornament of the Chapel of the Corporals at Daroca and the main retable of the Seo

of Saragossa as the third major sculptural monument of the fifteenth century in Aragon, scholars have paid it only modest attention. This may be, in part, because they have been prejudiced by the important role of Pere Johan in don Dalmau's earlier commissions. Emile Bertaux, for example, wrote of the reliefs that "they have been carved, not by Pere Johan himself, but by sculptors who were working under his direction happily imitating his nervous realism."<sup>6</sup> Strongly disagreeing with Bertaux, however, Agustín Durán Sanpere noted: "But no matter how realistic and nervous the technique, as Bertaux wants to assume, it cannot be compared to that of Pere Johan unless it is to make their respective differences more obvious"; he concluded by attributing the retable to an unknown artist.<sup>7</sup> James J. Rorimer encapsulated these opposing views, saying that Durán Sanpere "does not accept the usual attribution of our retable to Pere Johan, and quibbles with Bertaux's attribution to a follower of Pere Johan."<sup>8</sup> However, Rorimer's dismissal of Durán Sanpere's sensitive observations as mere

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Museum of Art in 1909 (09.146). The acquisition was announced by Joseph Breck, "A Sculptured Altar-piece of the Fifteenth Century," *MMA B* 5 (1910) pp. 146–148. See also J. Breck, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Catalogue of Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance Sculpture* (New York, 1913) pp. 98–100. The two armorial figures on the socle were purchased out of the Rogers Fund in 1914 (14.101.1,2), and the fragment of the St. Paul from the scene of St. Thecla's conversion was given by Emile Pares in 1916 (16.79). See W. M. Milliken, "Another Addition to the Spanish Altarpiece," *MMA B* 11 (1916) p. 133. The component pieces of the retable were transferred to The Cloisters in 1946 and given their present installation in 1947.

3. Saragossa, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Juan de Pitiillas, Protocolo, 1445, fol. 44v of section beginning Oct. 25: "Die xiiii decembris anno predicto, Cesarauguste. Eadem die Que yo Johan de leredo, piedra piquero habitant en la ciudat de Çaragoça, etc., atorgo hauer hauido e contantes en poder mio recebido de vos Simon tirado, procurador e factor del senyor arcebispe de Çaragoça, Treientos cinquanta e dos sueldos e diez dineros Jaqueses por razon de cient e hun jornales que yo e mis menestrales hauemos treballado e vacado en picar e sacar las piedras de la esbağ de la puerta de la capiella de la casa del dito senyor de los quales jornales me haueys pagado los sixanta jornales a razon de tres sueldos e huyto por jornal e los diez huyto a Tres sueldos e quarto por jornal, los Vint e Tres jornals a razon de Tres sueldos e dos dineros. Testes, pedro de altarriba, notario, e manuel bou, habitantes en Çaragoça." Hereafter cited as AHP.

4. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Documentos relativos a las bellas artes en Aragón (siglos XIV y XV)," *Arte español* 3 (1916–17) pp. 528–529.

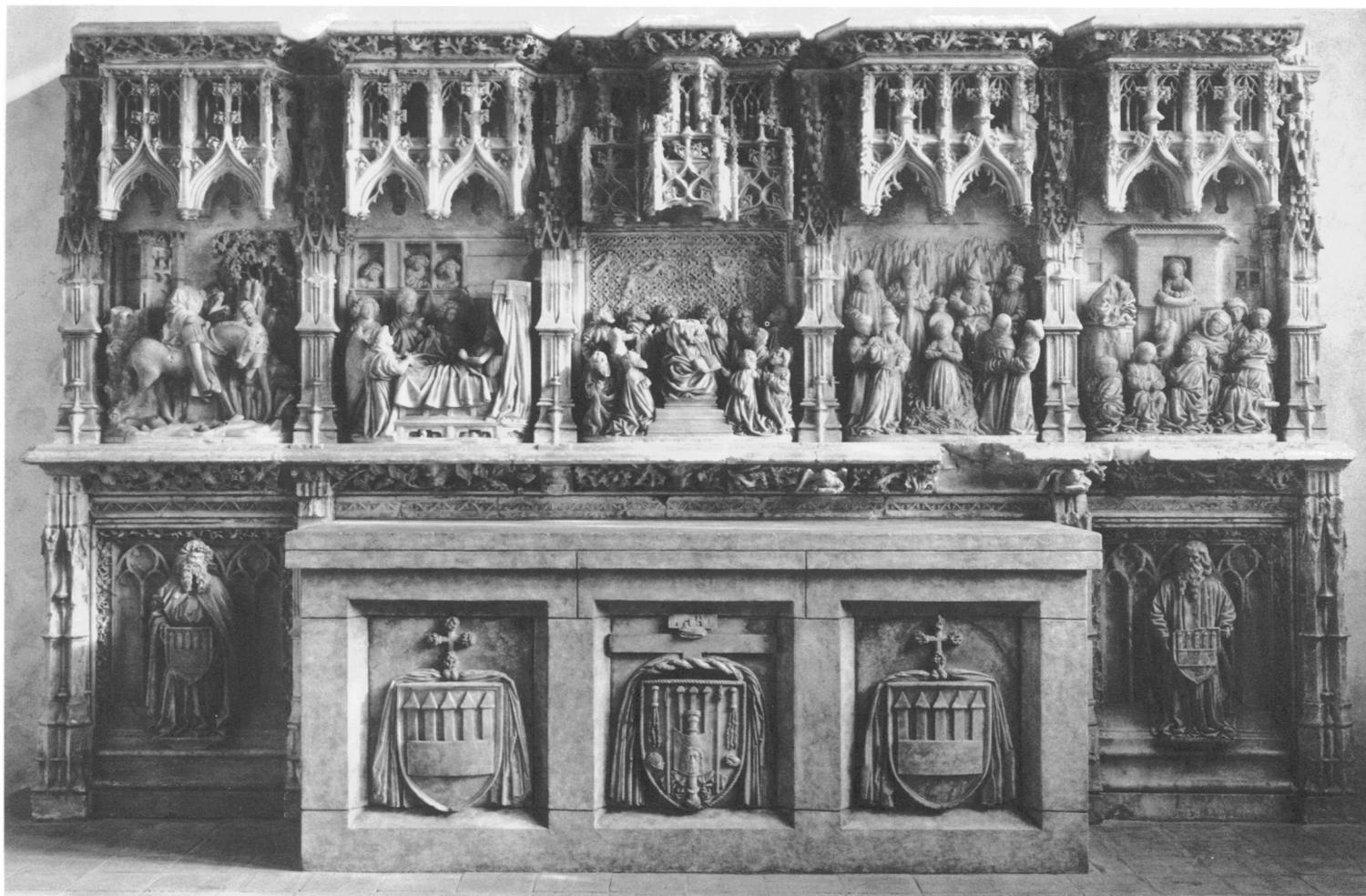
5. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Documentos relativos a la pin-

tura en Aragón durante el siglo XV," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 32 (1915) pp. 151–153.

6. "La Sculpture du XVe siècle en Espagne jusqu'au temps des rois catholiques," *Histoire de l'art*, ed. André Michel (Paris, 1908) III/2, p. 822: "Ils ont été exécutés, non par Pere Johan lui-même, mais par des imagiers qui travaillaient sous sa direction, en imitant heureusement son réalisme nerveux." In *L'Exposition rétrospective d'art, 1908* (Saragossa, 1910) p. 53, Bertaux wrote simply: "Les sculptures, qui ne sont pas de la main même de Pere Johan, comptent parmi les oeuvres les plus vivantes de l'ancien art d'Aragon." Bertaux's attribution of the retable to direct followers of Pere Johan has been accepted by Breck, "Sculptured Altar-piece," pp. 146–147; George Henry Chase and Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Sculpture* (New York, 1925) p. 279; August L. Mayer, *El estilo gótico en España*, 3rd ed. (Madrid, 1960) pp. 108, 110 (original German ed., 1928); and Beatrice I. Gilman, *Catalogue of Sculpture (Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries) in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1932) p. lxxvii.

7. Agustín Durán Sanpere, *Los retablos de piedra*, Monumenta Cataloniae II (Barcelona, 1934) II, p. 66: "En la disposición general y en los elementos arquitectónicos parece verse un afán de imitación y de emulación, tal vez, de las obras de Pere Johan, y por eso podría ser admitida la suposición de Bertaux, de que fuese algún compañero o discípulo de Pere Johan el autor de este retablo. Pero la técnica de los relieves, por más que sea realista y nerviosa, como Bertaux quiere suponer, no puede compararse a la de Pere Johan, si no es para hacer más evidentes sus respectivas diferencias." (This study was published simultaneously in a Catalan edition, *Els retaules de pedra*.)

8. Note dated Dec. 6, 1933, in material on the retable at The Cloisters.



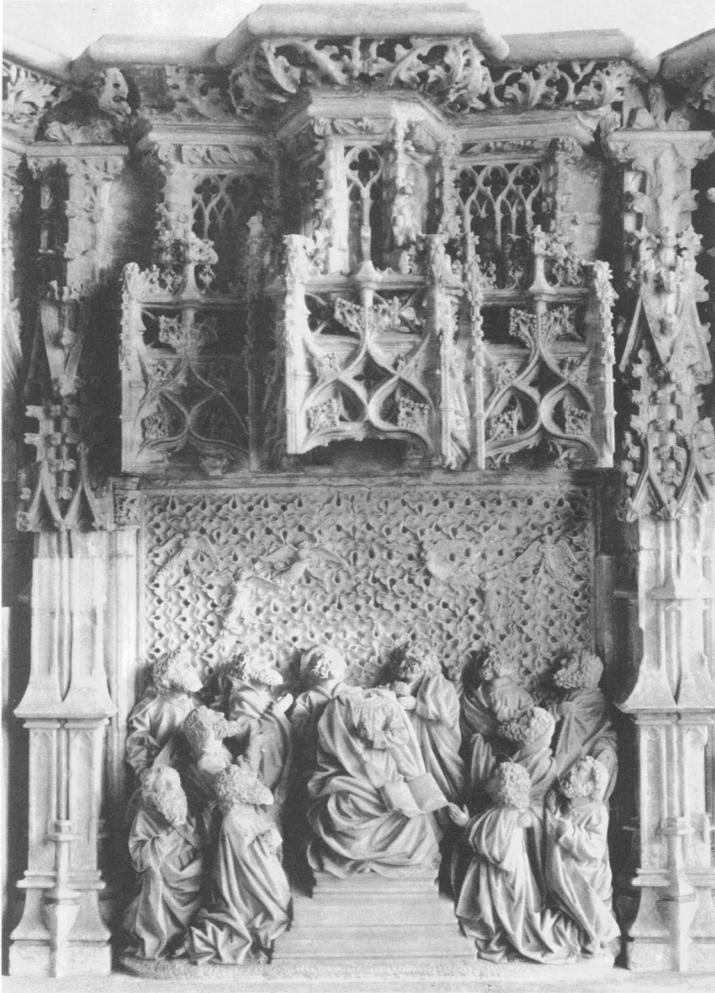
1. Francí Gomar (active 1443–ca. 1493) and shop, Retable of don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló from the Archbishop's Palace, Saragossa: socle and predella. Alabaster, 107 × 183 in. (271.8 × 464.8 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1909, Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1914, and Gift of Emile Pares, 1916, 09.146, 14.101.1,2, 16.79

2. Detail of Figure 1: arms bearer at left



3. Detail of Figure 1: arms bearer at right





4. Detail of Figure 1: *Pentecost*

5. Pere Johan (active 1418–58), Main Retable of Tarragona Cathedral: *Pentecost* (photo: Mas)



quibbling disregards the stylistic qualities of the retable and misses, therefore, its historical significance in the evolution of Gothic sculpture in Aragon. With his suggestion that perhaps a French or Burgundian artist carved the retable, Juan Ainaud de Lasarte has affirmed the presence of a new stylistic current and cleared the way for a fresh examination of the problem.<sup>9</sup>

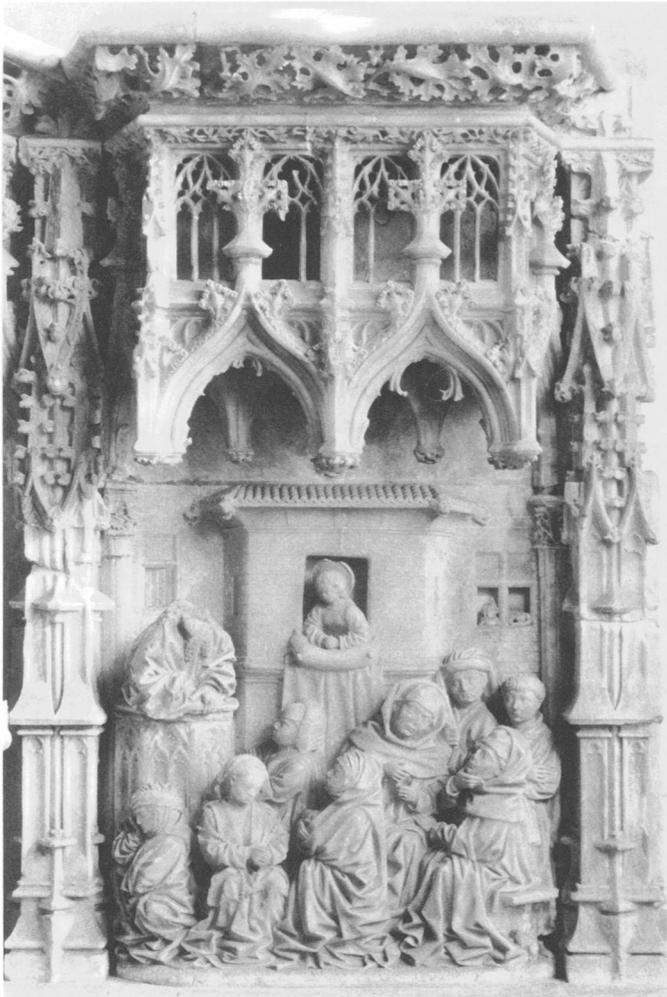
Archbishop Mur's retable shares similarities with the organization of the socles and predellas of the main retables at Tarragona and Saragossa. The armorial figures, foliate moldings, and narratives crowned by elegant canopies adhere to a general design that had previously proved successful. Nevertheless, even in the architectural features, the artist who designed the archbishop's retable betrays training and temperament different from those of Pere Johan. Except for the central canopy, the traceries reveal a sedate regularity reminiscent of such French-inspired monuments as the sepulcher of Charles III the Noble and doña Leonor at Pamplona and the Chapel of the

Corporals at Daroca, rather than the varied richness of the Catalan master's work.<sup>10</sup> The stylistic qualities of the reliefs confirm this artistic difference.

The central relief, *Pentecost* (Figure 4), shows the Virgin enthroned on a stepped dais amidst the encircling apostles, who, except for one at the left, glance heavenward. The sculptor has taken special care with these figures, paying particular attention to their expressive faces and their tightly curling locks. He drapes

9. Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, "Alfonso el Magnánimo y las artes plásticas de su tiempo," *Ponencias del IV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1976) p. 328. For the English translation of this essay see Roger Highfield, ed., *Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369–1516: Essays and Extracts by Historians of Spain* (New York, 1972) p. 200. See also Agustín Durán Sanpere and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Escultura gótica, Ars Hispaniae VIII* (Madrid, 1956) pp. 282, 287, where they describe the retable as dating after Pere Johan's departure from Saragossa and as being of late Burgundian style.

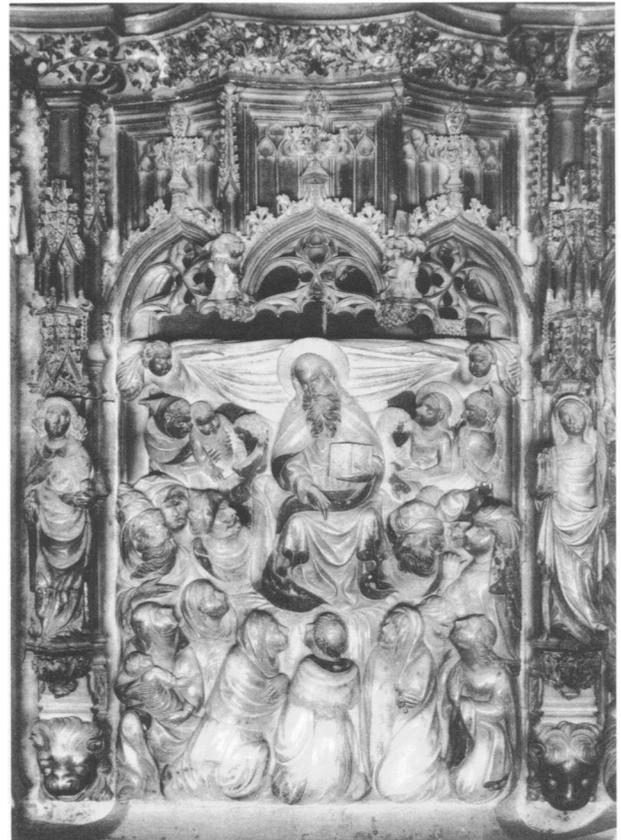
10. R. Steven Janke, *Jehan Lome y la escultura gótica posterior en Navarra* (Pamplona, 1977) pp. 88–91.



6. Detail of Figure 1: *St. Thecla's Conversion*

them in densely pleated garments, which he often adorns with delicately beaded borders, and surrounds them with shadow-filled voids that accentuate three-dimensional form. No dove appears, but six tiny angels hover before a patterned ground. This interpretation contrasts markedly with that of Pere Johan at Tarragona (Figure 5). There ten apostles are packed so tightly around the Virgin that only the three figures in the front are shown full-length, and no one looks toward the dove overhead. The stylistic contrast is unequivocal. The master of the New York *Pentecost* owes nothing to Pere Johan's fluid style; rather, he represents a later stylistic development characterized by a marked plastic emphasis heightened by the play of light and shadow over deeply cut drapery breaking in angular folds.

Stressing the central, biblical event by symmetry and decorative richness, the master of the Cloisters re-



7. Pere Johan, Main Retable of Tarragona Cathedral: *St. Thecla's Conversion* (photo: Mas)

table balanced the flanking, hagiographical scenes by juxtaposing landscape and architecture in each pair of narratives. These are devoted to Martin of Tours and Thecla of Iconium, two saints for whom don Dalmau had previously expressed particular devotion.<sup>11</sup>

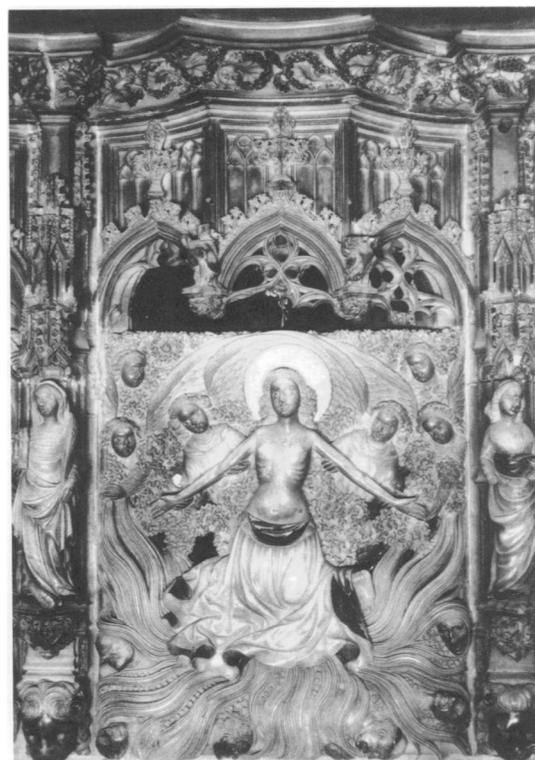
The Cloisters relief representing St. Thecla's conversion (Figure 6) shows fashionably attired Gentiles

11. St. Thecla has been titular saint of the church at Tarragona since the late eleventh century. Converted by St. Paul, she was denounced by her mother and condemned to death. After her faith had preserved her from execution, she lived a long life and experienced many miraculous events. During the episcopacy of Ximeno de Luna, James II of Aragon sent ambassadors to Armenia, where St. Thecla had died, to request an important relic. Successful in their mission, the envoys solemnly entered Tarragona with St. Thecla's arm on May 17, 1321. See Santiago Olives Canals, "La iconografía tarraconense de Santa Tecla y sus fuentes literarias," *Boletín arqueológico, Tarragona* 52 (1952) pp. 119, 127.



8. Detail of Figure 1: *St. Thecla's Ordeal by Fire*

9. Pere Johan, Main Retable of Tarragona Cathedral: *St. Thecla's Ordeal by Fire* (photo: Mas)



listening attentively to St. Paul preach from a Gothic pulpit. St. Thecla herself dominates the scene from the background, where she rests her arms comfortably on a cushion and leans forward from the shadowy window of her mother's house. The architecture, its symmetry broken by slight variations in the windows at left and right, serves to enhance the artist's concern with plastic and spatial forms.

In contrast, Pere Johan's treatment of the same theme is less daring in its handling of space (Figure 7). Despite its beauty, it betrays an allegiance to an aesthetic tradition that passed from fashion by the middle of the century. St. Paul dominates by his central position, while St. Thecla, identified by a simple halo, is nearly lost among the crowd of listeners. Squeezed together like the apostles in Pere Johan's *Pentecost*, they fill the surface with their graceful, undulating forms.

The drama of the test by fire at Tarragona (Figure

9) is muted in the corresponding New York relief (Figure 8). Here, the saint appears tied to a stake as the flames lap about her. She prays serenely, drawing our attention even as she receives the surprised and curious glances of her tormentors. Above her head, amidst craggy peaks, a leafy tree signals her spiritual triumph.

Two familiar events from the life of St. Martin complete the sequence of reliefs. The straightforward depiction of the donation of the cloak (Figure 10) is visually enriched by a series of small details—hoof marks, a lion beneath a rocky ledge, a bird in the delicately carved trees, and a lady watching from the distant tower.<sup>12</sup> In the final scene, St. Martin's vi-

12. This is the most seriously damaged of the reliefs. Losses occur in the areas of St. Martin's head, the beggar's left leg, the horse's right foreleg and hind leg, and the animal missing from atop the rock.



10. Detail of Figure 1: *St. Martin Dividing His Cloak*



11. Detail of Figure 1: *St. Martin's Vision*

sion of Christ, the saint lies asleep in his luxurious bed, clasping his hands in prayer as the Lord appears to him (Figure 11). While two angelic companions spread the cloak, another stands quietly alongside, and three more observe the scene through windows.

The overall effect of don Dalmau's retablo is striking, and its significance is clear. After Pere Johan's departure from Saragossa around 1445, the International Gothic style ceased to dominate, and a new sculptural style found acceptance in Aragon. It was also gaining a foothold in Castile, as suggested by the sepulcher of Alfonso de Cartagena at Burgos, and in Catalonia, as represented by the sepulchers of Dalmau de Raset and Bernard de Pau at Gerona.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, it is evident that don Dalmau's retablo stands in exactly the same relationship to those of the cathedrals of Tarragona and Saragossa as do the later ones

by Gil Morlanes for Montearagón and by Damián Forment for Sta. María del Pilar, Saragossa, and for Huesca Cathedral. All are indebted to Pere Johan for the inspiration of the format, although none is a product of his shop.<sup>14</sup>

13. Beatrice Gilman Proske, *Castilian Sculpture: Gothic to Renaissance* (New York, 1951) pp. 11–12, 15. The relationship with the Catalan sepulchers is suggested by Ainaud de Lasarte, "Alfonso el Magnánimo," pp. 327–328; English trans., p. 199.

14. J. Zabay, "Capitulación del retablo de Montearagón de Gil Morlanes, padre," *Athenaeum* (Saragossa, Oct.–Dec. 1922) pp. 35–37. Ricardo del Arco, *El retablo mayor de Montearagón*, Cuadernos de arte aragonés 9 (Saragossa, 1954), passim. Manuel Abizanda y Broto, *Documentos para la historia artística y literaria de Aragón procedentes del Archivo de Protocolos de Zaragoza*, 3 vols. (Saragossa, 1915–32) II, pp. 129–130, 163–176, 187–190. M. Abizanda y Broto, *Damián Forment, el escultor de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1942) pp. 21–24, 29, 31, 42, 58–62.

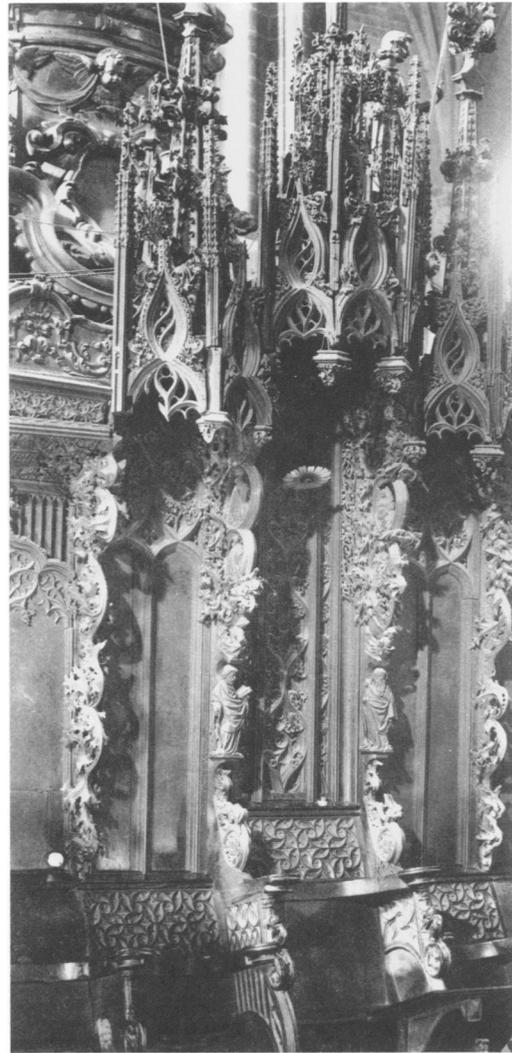
Despite the general visual unity of the Cloisters retable, the artistic range of the reliefs, evident in the varied treatment of faces and fabrics, suggests the participation of two sculptors. The scene of Pentecost, where background, drapery, hair, and beards crackle with energy, best represents Bertaux's "nervous realism." Its charged atmosphere also courses through the garments of the foreground figures in the scene of St. Thecla's conversion. The faces of these figures, no longer framed by tightly curling locks, seem less intense, however, than those of the apostles. The intricate drapery patterns serve to balance the rich ornament and more varied forms in the scene of St. Martin dividing his cloak, which, despite its complexity, is quieter in mood. This process of subduing the expressiveness of the figures is evident also in the quietude that permeates St. Thecla's ordeal by fire, where the faces are less anxious and the drapery more relaxed. The sense of restraint is most marked in the solemn tranquillity of Christ appearing to St. Martin. These variations of active and passive, which are complemented by slight differences in the canopies at left and right, affirm that two talented individuals shared responsibility for the retable.<sup>15</sup>

#### SCULPTURAL ACTIVITY IN SARAGOSSA, 1444-59

Scant attention has been given sculptural developments in Saragossa during the latter part of don Dalmau's archiepiscopacy. In 1917, Manuel Serrano y Sanz published a contract drawn up in Saragossa on January 2, 1446, between Master Fortaner de Usesques, master of retables and native of Morlaas (France), and Juan de Funes, vice-chancellor of King Alfonso V, for an imposing alabaster retable to adorn Juan's private chapel in the church of S. Francisco.<sup>16</sup> Organized around a central narrative, it followed the

15. Mayer, *El estilo gótico en España*, p. 110, has already recognized the presence of two hands. Although the vision of St. Martin may be said to require a tranquil interpretation, the scene of St. Thecla's martyrdom does not. Gomar's conscious rejection of turmoil from the latter scene serves not only to balance the former compositionally but also to underscore by visual means St. Thecla's faith, which preserves her from danger.

16. "Documentos relativos a las bellas artes en Aragón," pp. 520-521; the contract is recorded in AHP, Alfonso Martínez, Protocolo, 1446, fols. 2-5.



12. Francí Gomar and shop, Choir Stalls of the Seo of Saragossa: sedilia (photo: Mas)

fashion established by the main retable of the Seo. The chosen theme, the Nativity with the Virgin adoring the Child, was flanked by two apostles—apparently SS. Simon and Jude since scenes from their lives were to appear in the predella. Although an appended notation of February 2, 1449, canceling the agreement, shows that the retable was not completed, the contract suggests, nevertheless, that Fortaner de Usesques was a well-regarded figure carver. It also implies that don Dalmau recognized his talents, for one clause specifies that the work was to be completed according to the judgment of the archbishop.

Additional documents confirm that Fortaner de Usesques held a prominent position in the artistic circles of Saragossa. Identified as a stonemason and carver of images on November 27, 1448, he received 206 *sueldos* as the final installment of the 800 *sueldos* due him for a stone image for the chapel of the Virgin in the Seo of Saragossa.<sup>17</sup> On March 18 of the following year, he was paid 6000 *sueldos* for carving and painting coats of arms for the *casas del reino* in Saragossa.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps Master Fortaner, who received both ecclesiastical and secular commissions, was partly responsible for introducing the new, more realistic style into Aragon, but there is no evidence to link him to the creation of don Dalmau's retable.

Also active at the time in Saragossa were Francí Gomar and Anthon Gomar. In contrast with Fortaner de Usesques, they are identified primarily as wood carvers. Francí Gomar, the more important of the two, is first documented in 1443 in Barcelona, where he

17. Doc. 1.

18. Doc. 2.

19. The contract is in Barcelona, Archivo Municipal, Manual de 1442–47, fol. 45v. Published by José Puiggari, "Noticias de algunos artistas catalanes inéditos de la edad media y del renacimiento, parte segunda," *Memorias de la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 3 (1880) pp. 283–284, it is dated Nov. 26, 1443, and begins "Fanciscus [sic] Gomar, imaginarius, civis Barcinonae." S. Sanpere y Miguel, *Los cuatrocentistas catalanes, historia de la pintura en Cataluña en el siglo XV*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1906) I, pp. 237–239, includes an illustration of the original sketch. The retable, which retains its handsomely carved frame, is now in the Museo de Arte de Cataluña, Barcelona. See also Anne Simonson Fuchs, "The Virgin of the Councillors by Luis Dalmau (1443–1445), the Contract and Its Eyckian Execution," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 99 (1982) pp. 45–54.

20. In the documents at the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Saragossa, their names are generally given as "franci gomar" and "anthon gomar." Already on Dec. 30, 1444 (new style), Anthon Gomar, "maestre de ymagineria," signed as a witness (Alfonso Francés, Protocolo, 1445, fol. 1). José María Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza é historia: Aragón* (Barcelona, 1886) p. 443, states that Francí and Anthon, who were apparently brothers, and Juan Navarro were working on the choir stalls in 1446, but he cites only a single document, from the *libros de fábrica* of the Seo for 1447 (n. 1, beginning p. 444), when they purchased nails and 234 *frontizas* for the 117 seats. He says, however, that they are mentioned frequently thereafter. Despite my repeated requests over the past four years, I have been unable to obtain permission to study the surviving 15th-century *libros de fábrica*.

The choir stalls by Francí Gomar and his shop replaced an earlier set on which Alí Arrondi, Muza, and Chamar were working in 1412 (Quadrado, p. 444). The later set is mentioned also by Diego de Espés, "Historia eclesiástica de la ciudad de Çara-

contracted to construct the retable, that is, the panel with its frame, which Luis Dalmau was to paint for the chapel of the city council.<sup>19</sup> Apparently he and Anthon arrived in Saragossa the following year to begin work on the choir stalls of the Seo under the patronage of don Dalmau de Mur.<sup>20</sup> Beautifully crafted, the sedilia display flamboyant cresting and traceries and luxuriant foliage (Figure 12). Moreover, two standing saints, whose mantles show the newly fashionable broken folds, appear together with several pairs of angels bearing the archbishop's arms.<sup>21</sup>

The 1440s were a period of great activity in the Seo. While Pere Johan was bringing his work on the main retable to completion, new projects were being undertaken. The Moor Alí Rami contracted for work on the architecture of the choir, the refectory, and the portal of the *Pabostria*, for all of which he was to receive 23,000 *sueldos*.<sup>22</sup> In 1448, Master Terri de Mes, glazier, was busy installing the windows in the choir

goça," II, fol. 631: "En este año [1445] se comenco a labrar el coro de esta sancta Igllesia con dinero del Arçobispo que Simon Tirado su procurador libraria a Bartolome Tarragona, canónigo y enfermero que lo nombro el Arçobispo para que fuesse superintendente en la obra del coro," quoted in María Carmen Lacarra Duca, "Catedral del Salvador o la Seo," *Guía histórico-artística de Zaragoza* (Saragossa, 1982) p. 109.

21. The mid-15th-century stalls were damaged when the *cimborio* collapsed between 5:00 and 6:00 P.M., Feb. 7, 1498, and "rompió mucha parte de choro y hizo grandissimo daño," as recorded by Espés, "Historia eclesiástica," II, fol. 723, and cited in Pascual Galindo Romeo, "El cimborio de la Seo," *Monumentos artísticos de la Seo en el siglo XV* (Saragossa, 1923) pp. 27–28. Lamberto de Zaragoza, *Teatro histórico de las iglesias del reyno de Aragón* (Pamplona, 1785) IV, p. 221, gives the number of stalls as 105 rather than the 117 mentioned by Quadrado. Abizanda y Broto, *Documentos para la historia artística y literaria de Aragón*, II, pp. 296–297, published the contract signed with Bernat Valenciano on Apr. 6, 1532, to refurbish the stalls. Assisted by Mateo de Cambay, he was to create work equal to that of Francí and Anthon Gomar.

22. The date of the contract remains uncertain. Quadrado, *Aragón*, p. 433, gives it as 1444; the Conde de la Viñaza, *Adiciones al diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España* (Madrid, 1889) I, p. 11, gives it as 1447. On June 22, 1448, Alí Rami received 2,000 *sueldos* in partial payment of that contract (AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1448, fol. 34v). On Feb. 20, 1449, he received another 1,000 *sueldos*, but on Sept. 17, his son, Mahoma, was serving as his proctor (AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1449, fol. 13v, and Protocolo, 1449, fol. 78). Not long thereafter Alí Rami died; on Jan. 12, 1450, his father-in-law, Juce Palacio, assumed the responsibilities of guardian of Alí Rami's children and of proctor on behalf of his widow, Fatima Palacio (AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1450, fol. 8).

and the refectory.<sup>23</sup> In 1449, Mahoma Almedini acknowledged four payments totaling 1,120 *sueldos* for bricks for the floor of the choir.<sup>24</sup>

Work on the stalls also continued. On March 12, 1448, Anthon Gomar, *obrero del coro*, received 144 *sueldos* due him for the twenty-four days he had been in Navarre to obtain wood needed for constructing the choir.<sup>25</sup> A year later, the painter Jaime Romeu was paid for sixteen panels painted in brown and vermilion;<sup>26</sup> and in 1450, the lumber merchant Juan de Gurrea accepted 602 *sueldos* for eighty-six planks for use therein.<sup>27</sup> The choir and stalls were certainly ready for the chapter's use in 1453. By July of that year, Anthon Gomar was in Naples working on the choir stalls of the chapel in the Castel Nuovo,<sup>28</sup> and Francí Gomar, who remained in Saragossa, was employed on another commission.

Between March 1453 and November 1456, Francí Gomar constructed the choir screen, for which he was paid 12,000 *sueldos*. This large sum indicates that the closure was an imposing and highly ornamental example of the carpenter's art. Handsome iron screens of Gothic date survive in the nearby cathedrals of Teruel and Pamplona, but we must turn to the parish churches of England to find surviving examples in wood, which, though small in scale, may help us en-

vision the splendor of what once adorned the Seo.<sup>29</sup>

The final project demanding Francí Gomar's attention in the Seo was a new campaign on the main retable, for which he received 1,000 *sueldos* on April 2, 1457, as part of the first installment due him, and 500 *sueldos* on September 6, 1458.<sup>30</sup> Although lapses occur in the documents, work appears to have progressed steadily. The record of payment of January 12, 1459, specifically identifies him as "master of the main retable of the Seo" and notes that the 1,000 *sueldos* are "because of the wood of the aforementioned retable."<sup>31</sup> He received a further payment on October 31.<sup>32</sup> That it was the crowning architectural element, a feature of great importance in medieval retables, which had remained to be completed after the more immediate need for the choir had been fulfilled, may be inferred from the information contained in the above documents and in the contract drawn up subsequently in 1473 with the last master of the retable, Master Ans Piet Danso. This specified that the vicar, prior, and chapter were obliged at their own expense to remove the tabernacles and carpentry work which were in the retable.<sup>33</sup> These latter elements must have been the work for which Francí Gomar had received a total of 14,000 *sueldos*.<sup>34</sup>

23. AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1448, fol. 60v, Sept. 6. Master Terri received 1,712 *sueldos*, of which 1,600 were designated as for the "vidrieras e fillados de las finiestras e vidrieras de la puerta de sus del coro e las de refitorio e de Sant Angel" and 112 *sueldos* for the fifty-six days he had been in Saragossa "en posar e fer los fillados de las ditas finiestras." He was also paid 130 *sueldos*, 8 *díneros* for other expenses, including 18 *sueldos* for six pairs of gloves. Quadrado, *Aragón*, p. 443 and n. 1 beginning p. 444, gives the date as 1447 and the payment as 1,800 *sueldos*. The windows were brought from Barcelona; on July 1, 1448, Arnau Guillen received 120 *sueldos* "por el port e el general de Catalunya e el puent de fraga e la barqua del gallego de las vidrieras pora la Seu" (AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1448, fol. 34v). On Feb. 6, 1449, Terri de Mes and Guillen Talarn, a painter, contracted with the councillors of Barcelona to provide a grisaille window for the chapel of the *casa de la ciudad*, for which Luis Dalmau had painted his previously mentioned retable (Viñaza, *Adiciones I*, p. 138). In 1465, Master Terri installed another window in the *Sala del Consejo* (ibid.; see also Agustín Durán Sanpere, *Barcelona i la seva història*: III. *L'art i la cultura* [Barcelona, 1975] pp. 250–252).

24. AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1449, fols. 13, 23, 26, and 47, dated Feb. 20, Apr. 4, Apr. 13, and May 29 respectively.

25. Doc. 3.

26. AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1449, fol. 22v,

Mar. 18, which differs in date from Quadrado's 1447.

27. AHP, Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1450, fol. gv, Feb. 8.

28. Riccardo Filangieri di Candida, *Rassegna critica delle fonti per la storia di Castel Nuovo*, 4 vols. (Naples, 1936–40) II, p. 43.

29. Docs. 4, 5, and 7. For English examples, see the screen at Totnes (Devon), 1459, in Joan Evans, *English Art, 1307–1461*, Oxford History of English Art V (Oxford, 1949) p. 36 and pl. 23, and that at Cullompton (Devon), ca. 1450, in Wim Swaan, *Art and Architecture of the Late Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1982) p. 46 and fig. 41.

30. Docs. 8 and 11. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Gil Morlanes, escultor del siglo XV y principios del XVI [pt. 1]," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 34 (1916) p. 361, published a document of Feb. 19, 1459 (not the 18th as Serrano y Sanz states), citing Francí Gomar as "maestro del retaulo de la Seu de la ciudad de Çaragoça" (AHP, Pedro Martín, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated). See also Durán Sanpere and Ainaud de Lasarte, *Escultura gótica*, p. 282, and Lacarra Ducay, "Catedral del Salvador," p. 109.

31. Doc. 14.

32. Doc. 17, which repeats the title used in doc. 14.

33. Serrano y Sanz, "Gil Morlanes [pt. 2]," 36 (1917) doc. IV, pp. 96–97.

34. Docs. 11, 14, 17, and 18; all except doc. 14 specify the total amount of the contract.

## THE AUTHORS OF DON DALMAU'S RETABLE

While he was working on the choir screen and completing the main retable of the Seo, Francí Gomar was employed on yet another of don Dalmau de Mur's artistic undertakings, the alabaster retable now in The Cloisters. On June 18, 1456, he acknowledged a payment from the archbishop "for making and installing the *stone* retable of the chapel of the archbishop's palace of Saragossa."<sup>35</sup> Between December 25, 1457, and January 18, 1458, he was given another 1,000 *sueldos* as part of the price "of the retable which the aforementioned, deceased lord [don Dalmau] commenced making in the chapel."<sup>36</sup> On June 5, 1458, a further payment was made to him for work "on the retable of the chapel of the archbishop's palace."<sup>37</sup>

On March 15, 1459, Francí Gomar accepted 450 *sueldos* of 3,660 *sueldos* due him. This payment, however, was not for the alabaster retable, but for "making and finishing the retable of *wood* for the chapel of the archbishop's palace."<sup>38</sup> On March 22, he received another 300 *sueldos*, also for the wood retable.<sup>39</sup> The existence of this second retable casts a shadow of ambiguity over the documents of 1458, which fail to specify the material used.

Unfortunately the *protocolos* of the notary Juan Marco, who recorded these payments, are missing for the years 1453–55, 1457, and 1461–70. In contrast, however, a fragment of a contract preserved among the *papeles sueltos* in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Saragossa, provides at least a partial answer. In 1458, Francí Gomar contracted with Tomás Giner to paint and gild a retable adorned with don Dalmau's arms for the archbishop's chapel.<sup>40</sup> Although this is the earliest known reference to Tomás Giner, his selection to collaborate with Francí Gomar suggests that he had already established his artistic reputation in the Aragonese capital, where he became a regular contributor to the embellishment of the Seo. In 1459, he bore the title "painter of the high altar"; in 1474, he received the commission to paint the organ; and prior to 1479, he painted the retable for the chapel of St. Vincent, the central panel of which is in the Prado, Madrid.<sup>41</sup>

Despite the loss of a large portion of the text of the agreement, its meaning is clear. Tomás Giner was to paint a central panel representing SS. Martin and

Thecla, side panels showing SS. Vincent and Valerius at the left and SS. Augustine and Lawrence at the right, and an upper panel containing a scene from the Passion of Christ, perhaps the customary *Crucifixion*. There is no mention of a *predella*.

Two handsome paintings, whose authorship by Tomás Giner has long been accepted and which even today are in the archbishop's palace at Saragossa (Figures 13, 14), may be identified, I believe, as the central and right-hand panels of the work commissioned in 1458. Their association with don Dalmau is affirmed by his device, which appears on St. Martin's orphrey. Clearly matching the contractual requirements, one panel (Figure 13) shows St. Martin, whose identity has never been questioned although he has no attribute other than his episcopal vestments, with St. Thecla, who is crowned and carrying not only a palm but also a golden T. The other panel (Figure 14) shows St. Lawrence holding his grill and facing a second episcopal saint, who is attired in magnificent vestments embroidered with apostles and the Man of Sorrows. Although an inscription on the postmedieval

35. He received 1,700 *sueldos*; doc. 6. The italics are mine.

36. Doc. 9.

37. Doc. 10.

38. Doc. 15. The italics are mine.

39. Doc. 16.

40. Doc. 13. The reference is certainly to don Dalmau, although he is not mentioned by name.

41. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "San Lorenzo de Magallón (Zaragoza), obra restaurada de Tomás Giner," *Cuadernos de estudios borjanos* 7–8 (1981) pp. 236–237. Tormo y Monzó, "Pintura aragonesa cuatrocentista," pp. 70, 72–73, believed it possible that the Prado *St. Vincent* was flanked by two panels now in the archbishop's palace to form a single retable, although he recognized that the donor in the former panel does not wear episcopal vestments. José Cabezudo Astraín, "Nuevos documentos sobre pintores aragoneses del siglo XV," *Seminario de arte aragonés* 7–9 (1957) pp. 67, 72, published the contract of 1479 for Tomás Giner to paint the retable of St. Anne for the church at Mainar; it includes the reference proving Giner's authorship of the *St. Vincent*, which was for a chapel in the Seo. If the panels in the archbishop's palace are, as I believe, a part of the 1458 commission (see discussion below), then the donor of the St. Vincent retable remains to be identified. Pedro Calahorra, "El órgano que en 1469 donó el arzobispo don Juan I de Aragón a su catedral de San Salvador—La Seo—de Zaragoza," *Revista de musicología* 6 (1983) pp. 207–210, publishes the contract for painting the organ in 1474. See also María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Una obra de arte recuperada: El retablo de la Virgen de la Corona, Erla (Zaragoza)," *Zaragoza*, 2nd ser., 1, no. 2 (1979) pp. 14–17, which treats Tomás Giner's only retable to survive intact.



13. Tomás Giner (active 1458–80), Retable of don Dalmau de Mur: upper register, central panel, *St. Martin and St. Thecla*. Saragossa, Archbishop's Palace (photo: Mas)



14. Tomás Giner, Retable of don Dalmau de Mur: upper register, right panel, *St. Augustine and St. Lawrence*. Saragossa, Archbishop's Palace (photo: Mas)

frame identifies this figure as St. Valerius, that famous bishop of Valencia is normally paired with his deacon, St. Vincent, with whom he suffered martyrdom. Such was the case in the retablo required of Giner, who, as already mentioned, was to depict St. Lawrence with another bishop, St. Augustine, whom tradition credits with recording the martyrdom of St. Vincent. It is, surely, the Western church father whom we should recognize as St. Lawrence's companion.<sup>42</sup> The four solemn figures stand upon a stage defined by richly tiled pavements and handsome walls, embellished differently in each panel. Because the inclusion of cypress trees against a cloud-filled sky in the Augustine–Lawrence panel differs from the use of diaper pattern in the other painting, the two compo-

sitions indicate that the original design showed three pairs of saints within a spatial setting whose continuity was modified slightly to emphasize the central group.

Early in this century, Elías Tormo y Monzó and Emile Bertaux suggested that the retablo of which

42. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. and adapted by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (1941; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1969) p. 114, records this association of SS. Augustine and Vincent. Following the loss of the archiepiscopal panel showing SS. Valerius and Vincent, St. Augustine's original identity in the panel with St. Lawrence must have been forgotten; that he has been assigned the role of St. Valerius is not surprising, considering the importance of the latter in Aragon. Each of the panels measures  $65\frac{3}{4} \times 42\frac{15}{16}$  in. ( $167 \times 109$  cm.).

these panels formed a part was placed atop the alabaster one, even though, as Bertaux acknowledged, this combination is otherwise unknown in fifteenth-century Aragonese art.<sup>43</sup> The new documentation, which establishes that Giner painted a retable that bore the archbishop's arms and adorned the chapel he had founded, serves to confirm their hypothesis. It is, after all, unlikely that don Dalmau (or his executors) would have commissioned two separate works showing such similar imagery as that described in the fragmentary contract and visible in the surviving panels; and it is also implausible that within the archiepiscopal chapel there would have been two separate and distinct retables with SS. Martin and Thecla, as the principal images in one and as secondary subjects in the other. The fact that there is no mention of a predella in the contract between Francí Gomar and Tomás Giner allows the obvious inference that the alabaster retable was to have fulfilled that function. Furthermore, we may interpret this unusual combination of sculpture and painting as representing a change of the original design, resulting from the executors' desire to complete the retable quickly and without exceeding the resources bequeathed by don Dalmau for that purpose. This modification was possible because the juxtaposition of the alabaster predella with the brilliantly polychromed panels, which may seem surprising today, would not have shocked aesthetic sensibilities in fifteenth-century Aragon, where the combination of varied materials, patterns, and styles was common.<sup>44</sup>

Tomás Giner was well chosen as the collaborator on the retable. His stately saints maintain an aesthetic balance with the sculpted reliefs, as his style, influenced by that of Jaime Huguet, blends solemnity and decorativeness. Giner's talent, clearly exemplified by these panels, was well received; that he attained great prominence is attested by his being named painter to Prince Ferdinand (later the Catholic King) in 1473.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps Francí Gomar himself was responsible for preparing the wood retable painted by Giner, even as he had been a decade and a half earlier for that completed by Luis Dalmau. Yet it is this very fact of his working in wood that makes the document of June 18, 1456, affirming his responsibility for "making and installing the *stone* retable," surprising, for even in that document he is called a carpenter. Only once in the various records discovered at Saragossa is he called a stonemason; oddly enough this latter designation

occurs in the payment of September 6, 1458, for "working the wood of the retable of the high altar of the Seo."<sup>46</sup> Elsewhere, however, he is given the title "master of imagery of the Seo."<sup>47</sup> That Francí Gomar actually participated in carving the alabaster retable and was not simply responsible for overseeing its completion receives major support from the two saints that decorate the principal choir stall (Figures 12, 15). They are very similar to the apostles of the alabaster *Pentecost*, showing the same energetic treatment of drapery, with deep recesses in the angular folds, and equally expressive faces framed by abundant locks. They also bear a family resemblance to the two arms bearers on the socle. The relationship is close enough, I believe, to affirm an identity of hand and to allow the identification of Francí Gomar as the sculptor of these images in wood and alabaster.<sup>48</sup>

43. Tormo y Monzó, "Pintura aragonesa cuatrocentista," pp. 70, 73, and Bertaux, *Exposition rétrospective*, p. 53.

44. An example is the chapel of St. Michael in the Seo, Saragossa, with the Gothic sepulcher of Archbishop don Lope Fernández de Luna by Pedro Moragues, the *mudéjar artesonado*, and the intricate *mudéjar* brick and tile work of its exterior wall. See Lacarra Ducay, "Catedral del Salvador," pp. 119–120, 122–124.

The width of the Cloisters retable, 183 in., could easily accommodate the combined width of three panels, about 130 in., plus the necessary framing elements and the *guardapolvo*. Although the top of the Cloisters retable is fitted with six vertical insets, which might suggest a five-panel arrangement for the upper unit, their specific relationship to that element is uncertain for two reasons. First, they may have been prepared when the intention was to complete the retable in alabaster; second, a narrow, horizontal layer that serves to elevate the main body above the canopies of the predella in all the related Aragonese examples is missing from the Cloisters retable. Moreover, the custom evident in those retables since Pere Johan's introduction of narrative scenes into the main body of the *retablo mayor* of the Seo at Saragossa was for the upper unit to contain fewer divisions than the predella.

45. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Los Giner," *Gran enciclopedia aragonesa* (Saragossa, 1981) VI, p. 1537.

46. Doc. 11.

47. Docs. 7 and 18. Most frequently he is titled simply "carpenter" (docs. 6, 9, 10, 15, and 16), but he is also called "master of the main retable of the Seo," as we have seen (notes 30 and 31).

48. In two earlier instances where painting and sculpture were combined in Aragonese retables, the contract was written with the principal contributing artist. Thus, for example, Pere Johan contracted in 1443 with don Gonçalvo de la Caballería for the Pentecost Retable to adorn the chapel of the town hall of Saragossa; he carved the central narrative, which was gilded and polychromed, while Pascual Ortoneda painted the narratives on the movable wings. (See Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Documentos relativos a la pintura en Aragón durante los siglos XIV y XV,"



15. Francí Gomar and shop, Choir Stalls of the Seo of Saragossa: sedilia, detail (photo: Mas)

The foregoing attribution does not, however, clarify the identity of the sculptor responsible for *St. Martin's Vision*. There is no evidence that Francí's brother Anthon, who might appear a likely candidate since he was titled "master of imagery" in the first document recording his presence at Saragossa, had returned from Naples.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, this second master was certainly a respected member of Francí's shop, for otherwise the collaboration evident in several of the reliefs is impossible to explain.

Although Francí Gomar was primarily involved with ecclesiastical commissions, he also participated in secular projects. In 1458, he collaborated with Matheu Sariñena and Domingo Sariñena on the new hall in the city buildings called the *casas del puente*. He remained in Saragossa as late as 1466, but no further activity there is specifically documented.<sup>50</sup> In 1478, he reappeared together with his son Antonio, carving the

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*Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 35 [1916] pp. 420–421, and Janke, "Observaciones sobre Pere Johan;" pp. 111–112.) In contrast, Pascual Ortoneda was the principal contractor for the main retablo of the cathedral of Tarazona in 1437, since his narrative paintings were its most costly feature. Anthon Dalmau subcontracted for the carpentry, and Pere Johan for the images. (See R. Steven Janke, "Pere Johan y Nuestra Señora de la Huerta en la Seo de Tarazona, una hipótesis confirmada," *Seminario de arte aragonés*, in press.)

49. See notes 20 and 28.

50. Doc. 12. On Jan. 5, 1458, when he bought some fields from the painter Johan de Urroz and his wife Martha de Esteruel, he is called "maestro de talla vezino de Çaragoça" (AHP, Pedro Martínez de Alfocea, Protocolo, 1458, fols. 2v–3). Titled "fustero e maestro de talla," he signed for a loan of 500 *sueldos* from Jaquo Calama in 1462 (AHP, Pedro Martínez de Alfocea, Protocolo, 1462, unfoliated, Jan. 12); and titled simply "maestro de talla," for a loan of 45 gold florins from Guillen Baylaga, "picapedrero natural del Regno de ffrancia et habitant de present de la Ciudat de Çaragoça del Regno de aragon" (*ibid.*, July 1). Called "maestro de talla vezino siquiere habitant de la dita ciudat [Saragossa]," he paid 150 *sueldos* in rent to Bartolomeu Talayero, cleric, for houses in the parish of San Gil (AHP, Pedro Monzón, Manuale, 1465, unfoliated, Aug. 9). On May 18, 1466, with the title "fustero," he acknowledged the receipt of 200 florins from Martín Bernat, merchant (AHP, Juan Barrachina, Protocolo, 1466, fol. 222v). He is last mentioned in the *protocolos* at Saragossa on June 8, 1466, with the title "maestro de talla e Ciudadano de la Ciudat de çaragoça" in a rental agreement made for two years with Margarita de Aniego, widow of Bernart Piquer (AHP, Pedro Martínez de Alfocea, Protocolo, 1466, unfoliated).



16. Francí Gomar and shop, *Virgin and Child*. Saragossa, Parish Church of S. Valero (photo: Tempo, Saragossa)

choir stalls of Tarragona Cathedral, a project requiring fourteen years.<sup>51</sup> In 1490, the two were at Lerida, where Francí was named “master of the works of the Seo,” contracting for a stone portico to be erected in front of the Portal of the Apostles. This commission supports the supposition that Francí himself had worked previously in alabaster and stone at Saragossa. Work on the portico, however, was abandoned in October of the same year, and the position of master of the works fell vacant.<sup>52</sup>

## THE VIRGIN AND CHILD OF S. VALERO

The magnificent *Virgin and Child* discovered by Dr. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay in the church of S. Valero (Figure 16) is the most important image representing the sculptural tradition of the 1450s still to be found in the Aragonese capital.<sup>53</sup> Of outstanding quality, it may be attributed to Francí Gomar or a member of his shop, for it shares the stylistic traits of don Dalmau’s retable. The Virgin’s serene expression parallels that of St. Thecla and that of the young lady seated before St. Paul (Figure 6). Her hair, drawn away

51. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España* (Madrid, 1800) II, pp. 199–200, cites documents in the archive of the cathedral of Tarragona giving the date of the contract as May 1, 1478, that of the placing of the first stalls as Apr. 3, 1479, and the price as 65,000 *sueldos*. He also states that Francí Gomar was “natural y vecino de Zaragoza,” but Gomar’s birthplace has not been confirmed by other authors. Sanç Capdevila, *La Seu de Tarragona* (Barcelona, 1935) pp. 18–19, cites the source of the foregoing information as Josep Blanch (d. 1672), “Archiepiscopologi de la santa metropolitana iglesia de Tarragona,” cap. 38, ms., Archivos Eclesiásticos de Tarragona. He also cites documents in the Archivo Histórico Arzobispado mentioning “Francisc Gomar, magister cori” (Dec. 10, 1489) and “Antoni Gomar mestre del cor de la catedral” (Apr. 27, 1484).

52. Gabriel Alonso García, *Los maestros de “la Seu vella de Lleida” y sus colaboradores* (Lerida, 1976) pp. 176–179, 182. Francí Gomar signed the contract for the portico (*croera*) on Jan. 2, 1490. It stipulates that his son Antonio was to aid him and that he was to receive 16,000 *sueldos* for the work (estimated to take four years) as well as wine, bread, and other benefits of his position. However, in Oct. 1490, the position “magister operis sedis” was vacant; and in Aug. 1491, the stones quarried for the portico were reassigned for use in the vault of the archive.

Mistakenly calling him Pedro, Emilio Morera y Llauredó, *La catedral de Tarragona, memoria ó descripción histórico-artística de la misma* (Tarragona, 1905) pp. 73–74, says that he worked on the choir stalls there for fourteen years until his death, i.e. 1492–93. He states further, though without specifying his sources, that legal actions were then taken because the choir stalls remained incomplete and that Francí Gomar bequeathed his few possessions to the hospital of Saragossa. Such a bequest reinforces Francí’s association with the Aragonese capital.

On the basis of the period of Francí Gomar’s activity, documented from 1443 until ca. 1493, it appears that the Anthon working with him at Saragossa has been correctly identified as his brother and the Antonio working with him at Lerida and at Tarragona as his son.

53. “Iglesia parroquial de San Valero,” *Guta histórico-artística de Zaragoza* (Saragossa, 1982) pp. 447–448. The image, which comes from the demolished church of S. Andrés, Saragossa, is delicately polychromed. Both the mother and the child have fair skin and gilded hair. The Virgin’s tunic is rose, while her mantle has a golden border and a blue lining.

from her face in spiraling tresses, recalls that of the arms bearers. Her hands with their slender fingers match the elegance of those of numerous persons in the reliefs. The details of her modish tunic,<sup>54</sup> which matches that of St. Thecla as she listens to the apostle, and of her mantle affirm the relationship, for the reliefs, too, evidence a great concern with the latest fashions. The angular folds at the shoulder, the thin edge of the fabric as it hangs from her left hand, the breaking of folds at the ground, all these elements can be matched in the reliefs. Even the Child, who, resting his head on his mother's shoulder, imbues the image with particular appeal, finds his parallel there. The treatment of his broad-shouldered, stocky torso echoes that of the sleeping St. Martin.

The Cloisters retable, of around 1456–59, and the *Virgin and Child* of S. Valero are the major works of sculpture from Aragon in the 1450s. They mark a break with the International Gothic style beloved by Pere Johan and introduce a trend toward greater realism. The former shows a pronounced interest in spatial settings, three-dimensional figures, and new variations in drapery patterns, while the latter reveals these same characteristics insofar as they apply to a large-scale, freestanding image. Thus, they prepare the way for Master Ans, who arrived in Saragossa around 1467. Furthermore, the Cloisters retable, though completed after Archbishop Mur's death, serves to represent his aesthetic taste, his acceptance

of artistic innovation, and his leading position as patron of the arts in Aragon. Finally, these works, together with the panels by Tomás Giner, underscore the importance of Saragossa as a major center of sculpture and painting in the Iberian peninsula at the end of the Middle Ages.

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54. Virtually identical is the dress worn by St. Catherine painted in grisaille on the exterior of the triptych called "The Pearl of Brabant" in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich; see Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting: III. Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent* (Leiden, 1968) pl. 38.

# Appendix

DOCUMENTS FROM THE  
ARCHIVO HISTORICO DE PROTOCOLOS, SARAGOSSA,  
ON COMMISSIONS UNDERTAKEN BY FORTANER DE USESQUES (1, 2)  
AND FRANCI AND/OR ANTHON GOMAR (3-18)

1. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo, 1448, fol. 106v, November 27  
Eadem die yo ffortaner diusesques, piedrapiquero e ymaginayre, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos honorable mossen Garcia ciuera, Canonge dela Seu de Çaragoça, dozientos e seys sueldos Jaqueses los quales a mi hauedes pagado de aquellos trezientos sueldos Jaqueses que por vos a mi Restauan a pagar de aquellos huytanta florines por los quales fue havenida vna ymagen de piedra que yo he fecho pora la Capiella de Sta. M<sup>a</sup> dela dita Seu. Et con sto so contento et me tengo por contento de vos de todos los ditos huytanta florines. . . .  
Testes, los honorables micer loys daltamora e pedro miguel, clerigo, habitantes en çaragoça.
2. Anton de Salabert, Protocolo, 1449, unfoliated, March 18  
Eadem die que yo fortaner deusesques, himaginayre habitant en Çaragoça, atorgo hauer hauido e enpoder mio Recebido de vos Johan de Salabert vim sueldos dineros jaqueses por Razon delas Armas de las casas del Regno los quales los Senyores diputados vos mandaron dar a mi dit fortanet deseques por causa dela obra delas ditas Armas e porla perdua que hauia hauido enel obrar e pintar de aquellos. E porque etc.  
Testes, pedro vilanoua et anquior dela borda, habitantes en Çaragoça.
3. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1448, fol. 13, March 12  
Eadem die yo Anthon de gomar, obrero del coro dela Seu, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos mossen sancho fatas, fabriquero dela Seu de Çaragoça, cient xxxx quatro sueldos Jaqueses los quales a mi pagueses por xxiii<sup>o</sup> Jornales que yo fui a nauarra por fer a traher la fusta del coro con mi moço los quales vos me pagueses por mandamiento del senyor e del Capitol. Et porque etc.  
Testes, Johan de murcia, clerigo, e Garcia torres, habitantes en Çaragoça.
4. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1453, fol. 18, March 31  
fabrica  
Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, habitant enla Ciudad de Çaragoça, Atorgo hauer Recebido del honorable prior et Capitol dela Seu de Çaragoça tres mil sueldos Jaqueses de aquellos xii<sup>m</sup> sueldos que el dito Capitol me ha de dar por el fazer de la Rexa del coro dela dita Seu los quales me ha pagado es assaber el honorable mossen Johan saluador, Arcediano de daroca fabriquero, mil sueldos, e el honorable mossen pedro de auinyon, fabriquero, dos mil sueldos. Et porque etc.  
Testes, maestre bernad barbero, menestral, e fferando steuan, habitantes Cesarauguste.
5. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1454, fol. 30v, April 19  
fabrica  
Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestre de ymagineria, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos mossen pedro dauinyon, Cambrero e fabriquero dela dita Seu, tres mil ochocientos quaranta sueldos seys dineros Jaqueses los quales me hauedes dado en diuersas vegades e por manos de diuersas personas en e por Razon de las Rexas e obra que agora yo fago al entrat del coro. Et porque etc.  
Testes, Anthon depila, Racionero dela Seu, e Garcia dalfaro, habitantes en Çaragoça.
6. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1456, unfoliated, June 18  
Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, fustero vezino de çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido del muyt Reuerend en Ihu Xpo padre et senyor don dalmau por la gracia diuinal Arcebispo de çaragoça por manos del honorable mossen pere de montflorit, almosnero del dito senyor, son asaber mil et setecientos sueldos jaqueses por part del salario que el dito senyor me deue dar por fer et asentar el retaulo de piedra dela capiella dela casa Arcebispal de çaragoça. Et porque etcetera protestacion del residio atorgo vos el present albaran.

Testes, Johan martinez et agostin alvarez, notarios habitantes en Çaragoça.

7. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1456, fol. 34, November 27

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestre de ymagineria dela Seu, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos honorable mossen pedro dauinyon, fabriquero dela dita Seu, xii<sup>m</sup> sueldos jaqueses los quales vos me hauedes dados e pagados en diuersos dias e por manos de diuersas personas incluso cccc sueldos que oy me ha dado mossen Johan gilbert, fabriquero, e Alfonso frances porel. Et sto me hauedes dado por Razon dela frontera del coro que yo he feyto porel dito precio. Et porque delos ditos xii<sup>m</sup> sueldos so contento Atorgo etc. Incluso qualesquieres apocas etc.

Testes, pedro gargallo e domingo mallen, clerigos.

8. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo de la Seo, 1457, fol. 14v, April 2

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestre de ymagineria, Atorgo hauer Recebido del Capitol por manos de mossen sancho daroca, Canonge, Mil sueldos empart de paga del precio concordado enfazer la obra del Retaulo del Altar mayor dela Seu. Et Porque etc.

Testes, Eximeno de Uncastillo et Johan caluo, clerigo, habitantes Cesarauguste.

9. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1458, unfoliated; the date is missing, but the receipt was recorded between December 25, 1457, and January 18, 1458

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, ffustero habitant enla ciudat de çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido delos honorables Executores del vltimo testament del muy Reuerend don dalmau de buena memoria quondam, Arcebispe de çaragoça, por manos del honorable don Alfonso frances, notario et ciudadano dela dita ciudat, son asaber mil sueldos jaqueses e son del precio del retaulo que el dito senyor quondam començo afazer enla ca[piella]. [Most of the remainder of the text is missing; the few surviving words do not add to the meaning of the foregoing.]

Testes, Johan de montalban, escudero, et Johan dias, sastre, habitantes en çaragoça.

10. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1458, unfoliated, June 5

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, fustero habitant en çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido delos Executores del testament de don dalmau de buena memoria quondam, arcebispo de çaragoça, por manos de don Alfonso frances, notario e ciudadano de çaragoça, seyscientos sueldos jaqueses por part de paga del precio dela obra que yo fago enel Retaulo dela ca-

piella dela casa arcebispal de Çaragoça. Et porque etc.

Testes, mossen Anton de fraylla, clerigo, e Johan de montalban, escudero, habitantes en çaragoça.

11. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1458, unfoliated, September 6

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, picapedreo habitant en çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido dela fabrica dela seu de çaragoça por manos del honorable mossen sancho daroca, canonigo dela dita seu, son asaber cincientos sueldos jaqueses et son de aquellos quatorze mil sueldos que me son proferidos por fazer la fusta del Retaulo del altar mayor dela dita seu et porque etc. atorgo el present albaran.

Testes, mosen anthon de tena, clerigo, et brian, clerigo, habitantes en çaragoça.

12. Miguel de Valtueña, Protocolo, 1458, fol. 60–60v, September 20

Eadem die yo morix perrin, fustero vezino de la ciudat de Çaragoça, atendient e considerant los senyores Jurados dela dita ciudat hauer dado la obra delas casas del puent dela dita ciudat a matheu Saranyena, domingo saranyena et franci gomar, vezinos dela dita ciudat, e los ditos matheu et domingo saranyena et franci gomar hauiesen promeso e se obligado adacabar la dita obra delas ditas casas por tanto demi cierta sciencia prometo e me obligo seruar Indempnes alos ditos domingo e matheu de saranyena et franci gomar de qualesquieres danyos et misiones que por no canuyar las paredes dela sala nueva delas ditas casas vos conuerna fazer et sustener Ental manera que si por no canuyar las paredes dela dita sala nueva vos conuinran fazer expensas daynos o menoscabos todos aquellos e aquellas vos prometo e me obligo pagar satisfacer e emendar dius obligacion de todos mis bienes etc. Et renuncio etc.

Testimonios fueron alas sobreditas cosas presentes steuan saluador, pelayre, et nicholau tudela, mercader, habitantes en Çaragoça.

13. Papeles sueltos, 1458, unnumbered sheet with fragmentary text

cccc l viii<sup>o</sup>

[. . .] feyta entre ffranci gomar [. . . habita]nt enla ciudat de çaragoça [. . . Tomás] giner, pintor habitant enla [. . .] en e sobre vn Retaulo que [. . .] porla capiella del arçobis[po . . .] forma Siguient.

E primerament [. . . ç]oncordado entre los ditos partes que el dito toma[s . . . p]intar e daurar el dito Retaulo e maçone[ria] de ffino oro e finos colores tales e tan buen[os] como seyan deuer aconoscimiento de dos Menestrales vno puesto porel dito ffranci e otro porel dito tomas giner.

Item es Condicion que el dito tomas Sia tenido de pintar enla pieça de mich sant martin e santa tecla, enla otra pieça dreta sant agostin e sant lorent, enla otra pieça ezquerra sant vicent e sant valero e enla istoria dela punta alta [...] dela pasion e ~~la maria e sant~~ [crossed out in the original].

[...] pieças giras altas en cada pieça [...] las armas del arcebispe. [...] todo esto que le hayan Dar [...] en tres pagas [...] la otra meytat le [...] ac]abado el dito Retaulo [...] dito tomas a de dar a [...] de aqui el dia de [...].

14. Pedro Martín, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated, January 12

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestro del Retaulo mayor dela Seu dela ciudat de Çaragoça, atorgo hauer hauido e enpoder mio Recebido de vos el muy honorable e honesto Religioso mossen sancho daroqua, canonigo dela dita Seu asi como procurador dela fabrica de aquella, mil sueldos Jaqueses los quales me hauido dado por Razon dela fusta del dito Retaulo. vt pagui

Testes, el honorable Religioso mossen pedro dauinyon, canonigo dela dita Seu, et mossen pedro de Sant Johan, clerigo beneficiado enla dita Seu.

15. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated, March 15

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, fustero habitant en çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido delos Executores del testament de Reuerent don dalmau de buena memoria quondam, arcebispo de çaragoça, por manos de don Alfonso frances, notario e ciudadano de çaragoça, quatrocientos et cinquanta sueldos jaqueses los quales [illegible word] de aquellos iii<sup>m</sup> dclx sueldos que yo deuo cobrar por fer et acabar el Retaulo de fusta dela capiella de casa arcebispal de çaragoça et porque etc. protestando del Residio atorgo el present albaran.

Testes, Jayme de soria et agostin alvarez, notarios habitantes en çaragoça.

16. Juan Marco, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated, March 22

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, fustero habitant en çaragoça, atorgo hauer recebido delos Executores de don Dalmau quondam, arcebispo de çaragoça, por manos de alfonso frances trezientos sueldos del precio del Retaulo de fusta que yo he fecho pora la capiella dela casa arcebispal de çaragoça et porque etc. con protestacion del Residio atorgo el present albaran.

Testes, agostin alvarez et pedro dauinyon, scriveros habitantes en çaragoça.

17. Pedro Martín, Protocolo, 1459, unfoliated, October 31

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestro del Retaulo mayor dela Seu dela ciudat de çaragoça, atorgo hauer hauido e enpoder mio Recebido de vos el honorable et honesto Religioso mossen sancho daroqua, canonge dela dita Seu asi como procurador dela fabrica de aquella, asaber por cient trenta e dos sueldos dineros Jaqueses los quales son de aquellos quatorze mil sueldos dineros Jaqueses que yo deuo Recebir por fazer la obra de fusta del dito Retaulo del altar mayor dela dita Seu.

Testes, mosen Pedro craber, Racionero dela dita Seu, e mossen pedro calcena, preboste enla dita Ciudad habitant.

18. Alfonso Francés, Protocolo, 1460, unfoliated, April 5

Eadem die yo ffranci gomar, maestre de ymagineria dela Seu de Çaragoça, Atorgo hauer Recebido de vos mossen sancho daroqua, Canonge fabriquero dela dita Seu, Mil sueldos Jaqueses los quales son part de aquellos xiiii<sup>m</sup> sueldos que yo he de Recebir por la obra del dito Retaulo dela Seu. Et porque etc.

Testes, mossen pedro auinyon e mossen miguel calbo, canonges.

# Carpaccio's Young Knight in a Landscape: Christian Champion and Guardian of Liberty

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF EDWIN REDSLOB

AMONG THE TREASURES of the loan exhibition "Old Master Paintings from the Collection of Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza" held at the Metropolitan Museum in 1981, Vittore Carpaccio's *Young Knight in a Landscape* stood out as a highlight, even in that august gathering (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup>

For almost a century—ever since this painting came to the attention of art historians, when it was in the Vernon-Wentworth collection at Wentworth Castle in Yorkshire—the Young Knight, very much like the Unknown Champion at the Tournament in a romance of chivalry, has defied all attempts to make him yield the secret of his name. It has not yet even been established whether this extraordinary work is a portrait, a saint's icon, or an allegory, though it certainly has features of all three.

When two *cartellini*—one with the artist's signature and the date VICTOR CARPATHIVS / FINXIT / M.D.X., the other with the motto MALO MORI / QVAM / FOEDARI—were uncovered during a cleaning in 1958, at least the problems of the painting's authorship (in the nineteenth century it bore a spurious Dürer monogram) and its date could be considered as solved once and for all by the first *cartellino* (Figure 2). The *cartellino* with the motto, however, has so far led most researchers onto a false track in the quest for the Young Knight's identity (Figure 3).

The position of this *cartellino*, directly above an ermine crouching on a hummock in the swamp in the left foreground, makes it clear that these two elements—the motto and the ermine—are meant to be closely linked, representing a heraldic device or an impresa.

Immediately after it was discovered, the motto MALO MORI QVAM FOEDARI was identified by Helen Comstock as that of the Order of the Ermine, founded in 1465 by King Ferdinand I of Naples.<sup>2</sup> In a recent article, Agathe Rona has pointed out that the motto of the Order of the Ermine was in fact *Decorum*, and that *Malo mori quam foedari* was a personal motto of King Ferdinand. Assuming that this became a family motto, Rona proposes Ferdinand II, who died young after a rule of less than two years (1495–96), as the model for the Young Knight.<sup>3</sup>

The generally accepted identification in the last twenty years has been that of Francesco Maria della

1. Allen Rosenbaum, *Old Master Paintings from the Collection of Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: International Exhibitions Foundation, 1979–81) intro. by John Walker, no. 6, "Young Knight in a Landscape (Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino)," pp. 88–90, color repr. p. 26; intro., p. 15.

2. Helen Comstock, "Carpaccio Signature Discovered," *Connoisseur* 142 (1958) p. 64. Here the motto is correctly translated as "I would rather die than be dishonored"; Rosenbaum, *Old Master Paintings*, renders it "Die painfully rather than be sullied," taking *malo* for an adverbial form of *malum*, instead of the first person singular of the verb *malle*. See also Jan Lauts, *Carpaccio: Paintings and Drawings* (London/Greenwich, Conn., 1962) no. 60; Lauts gives the foundation date of the order as 1483, which is too late. For the Order of the Ermine see Philipp Bonnann, *Verzeichnis der Geist- und Weltlichen Ritter-Orden* (Nuremberg, 1720) no. LXXXIV, p. 93, pl. 156, fig. 76; Ferdinand von Biedenfeld, *Geschichte und Verfassung aller geistlichen und weltlichen, erloschenen und blühenden Ritterorden* (Weimar, 1841) pp. 118–119; and Giuseppe Maria Fusco, *Intorno all'ordine dell'Armellino* (Naples, 1844).

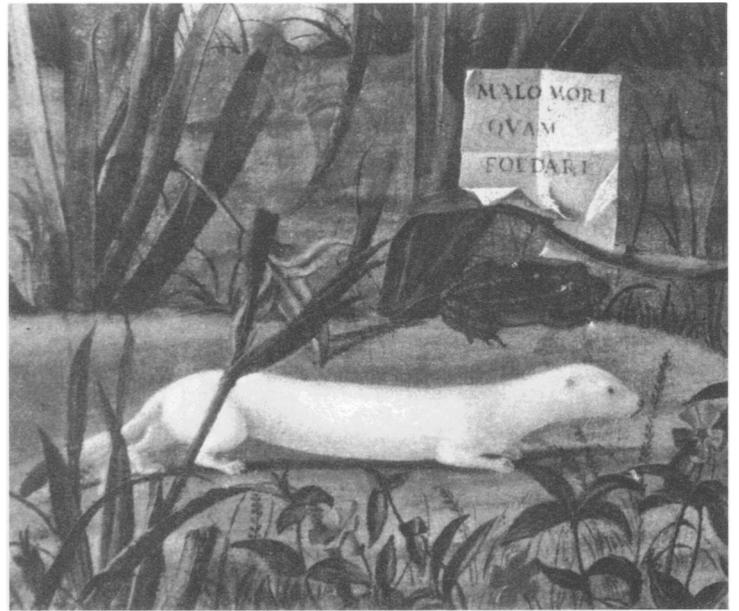
3. Agathe Rona, "Zur Identität von Carpaccios 'Ritter,'" *Pantheon* 41, no. 4 (1983) pp. 295–302.

1. Vittore Carpaccio (1460/65–ca. 1526), *Young Knight in a Landscape*, signed and dated 1510. Oil on canvas, 218.5 × 151.5 cm. Lugano, Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (photo: Brunel)

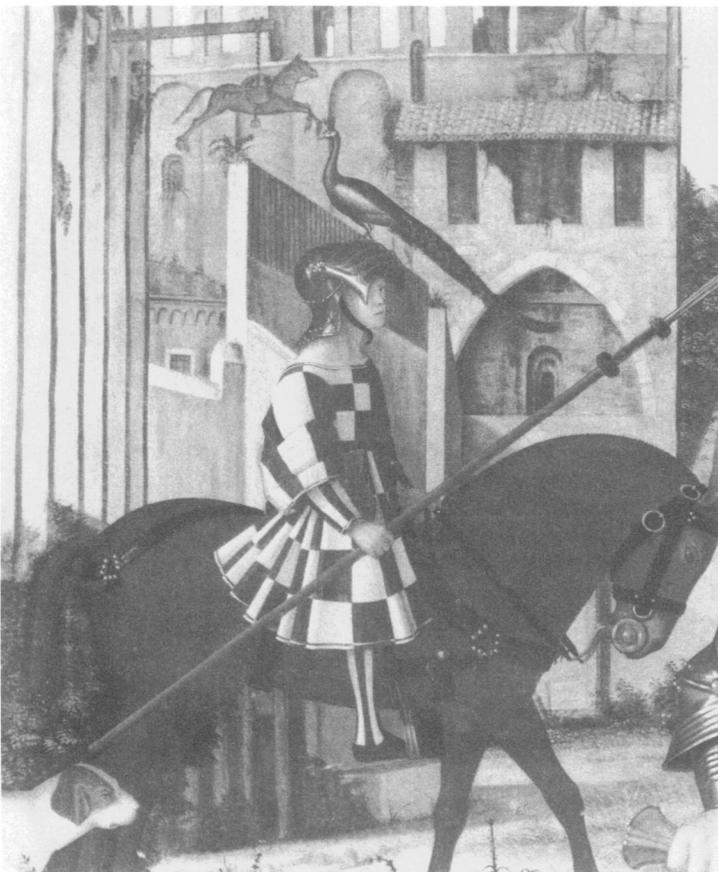




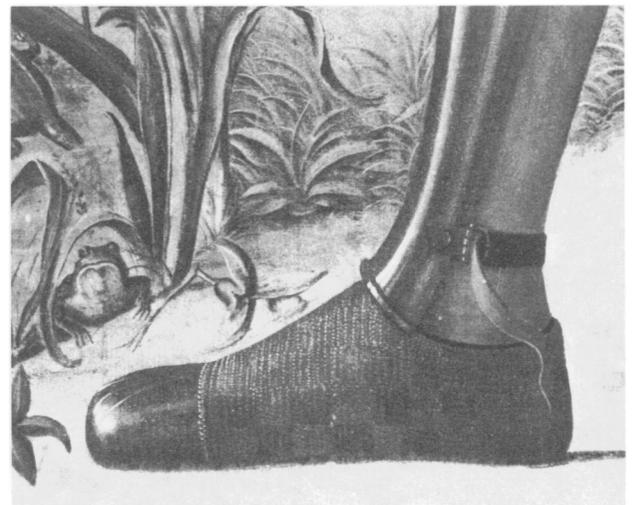
2. Detail of Figure 1, *cartellino* signed and dated VICTOR CARPATHIVS / FINXIT / M.D.X. (photo: Brunel)



3. Detail of Figure 1, the ermine in the swamp and the *cartellino* inscribed MALO MORI / QVAM / FOEDARI (photo: Brunel)



4. Detail of Figure 1, the squire in livery (photo: Brunel)

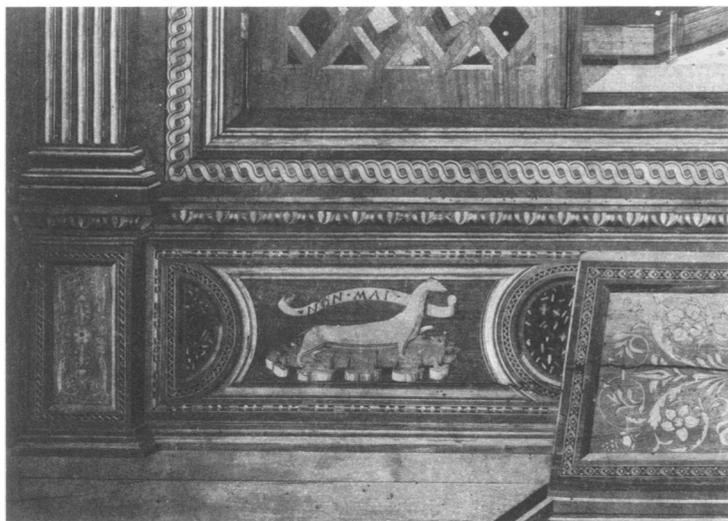


5. Detail of Figure 1, the Young Knight's mail shoe with checquy pattern (photo: Brunel)

Rovere, third duke of Urbino (1490–1538), as suggested by Roberto Weiss in 1963.<sup>4</sup> In his interpretation Weiss ruled out the possibility that the Young Knight could be a prince of the house of Aragon-Naples, because the livery colors of Aragon and Naples were red and gold, whereas the Young Knight's livery colors, as displayed in the dress of his squire and in the chequy pattern of his mail shoes, are black and gold (Figures 4, 5). One of the members of the Order of the Ermine (since 1474) was the famous condottiere, humanist, and first duke of Urbino, Federigo da Montefeltro (1422–82), who had an ermine on a hummock—though with the motto *Non mai*—as one of his personal imprese (Figure 6).<sup>5</sup> His coat of arms included a black eagle in a golden field in two of its quarters, which led Weiss to assume that the livery colors of the dukes of Urbino might have been black and gold. Since the youthful face of the Young Knight bears no resemblance either to Federigo's well-known craggy features or to those of his son and successor Guidobaldo (1472–1508), Weiss proposed that the Young Knight might be Federigo's grandson, Francesco Maria della Rovere, whose age in 1510—twenty years—would make him a perfect candidate. Unfortunately, though, Francesco Maria



7. Titian, *Portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere*, 1536. Oil on canvas. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (photo: Alinari-Art Reference Bureau)



6. Intarsia wainscoting of the *studiolo*, formerly at Gubbio, of Federigo da Montefeltro, ca. 1480; detail showing his impresa of the ermine and the motto *NON MAI*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 39.153

della Rovere's portrait by Titian, painted in 1536, shows, too, a cast of features entirely different from those of the Young Knight (Figure 7); furthermore, Francesco Maria della Rovere was not a member of the Order of the Ermine, and as far as we know did not use his grandfather's ermine impresa.

4. Pietro Zampetti, *Vittore Carpaccio*, exh. cat. (Venice, 1963) no. 51, "*Ritratto di Cavaliere (Francesco Maria della Rovere?)*," mentions Roberto Weiss's suggestion, together with other tentative identifications: St. Eustace ("in precedenza era"), "fantasia cavalleresca" (L. Venturi, 1930), Ermolao Barbaro (G. Perocco, 1960). Still another identity, as "a prince of the House of Habsburg," was suggested by Bernard Berenson in 1957. More recently, in a lecture given at the Metropolitan Museum on Nov. 8, 1981 ("Carpaccio's Portrait of a Knight: Identity and Meaning"), Rona Goffen proposed that the Young Knight was a posthumous portrait of Antonio da Montefeltro (1450–1508), natural son of the first duke of Urbino, Federigo da Montefeltro.

5. Luigi Nardini, *Le imprese o figure simboliche dei Montefeltro e dei della Rovere* (Urbino, 1931) p. 14.

The ermine in the swamp is not the only iconographical detail that has been scrutinized in the hope of finding a clue to the mystery. The oak tree (*rovere*) behind the Young Knight has been seen as a canting device for the name della Rovere; the stag at the water's edge was once taken as a hint that the Young Knight was St. Eustace; the tree stumps in the foreground are viewed by Rona as elements of the collar of the Order of the Ermine; and the lilies have been claimed as attributes of the Virgin Mary and the Annunciation, and thus an allusion to the second baptismal name of Francesco Maria della Rovere,<sup>6</sup> who was born on March 25, the feast of the Annunciation.

One clue, however, which has so far been overlooked, is the walled city in the background, beyond the stretch of open water (Figure 8). Another clue, which has received some attention but which might still yield unexpected insights, is the armor and equipment of the Young Knight and his squire.

The Young Knight is armored in an *armatura alla tedesca*, in the style of the first two decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> His head is covered with only a small black beret; his helmet—a *sallet alla veneziana*—and his gauntlets are in the keeping of his squire, who has put the helmet on his own head and hung the gauntlets from his belt. The squire, mounted on the knight's dun steed, is clad in black-and-yellow checquy livery matching the checkerboard pattern wrought into the mail of the knight's shoes. The knight is shown grasping his sheathed sword; interestingly enough, this weapon is a so-called *Katzbalger*, the typical sidearm of the *Landsknechte*, German mercenary infantry of the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> The sword's fan-shaped pommel and figure-eight guard are gilded, as are the metal mountings of the black scabbard, repeating the livery colors of black and gold. Though this sword is of an unquestionably German type, its spiral scabbard mounting seems to have been a feature of Hungarian fashion.<sup>9</sup> Also German in style is the squire's long-skirted coat with puffed sleeves; it is practically identical to the liveries of the Swiss Guards in Raphael's *Mass of Bolsena* of 1512.

For these reasons it is tempting to see the Young Knight as a commander of German mercenaries in Venetian service,<sup>10</sup> probably the commandant of the fortified city in the background. The swallow-tailed battlements of the fortifications in the picture indicate a location within the Venetian sphere of influence, and for more than twenty years I have been

searching photographs, prints, picture postcards, and travel guides for a view of this city, which I assumed to be on the shore of one of the lakes of the Terra Firma. That assumption, however, proved to be wide of the mark. During the dismantling of the loan exhibition of the Thyssen collection, I was able to study this part of the painting at close quarters, and be-

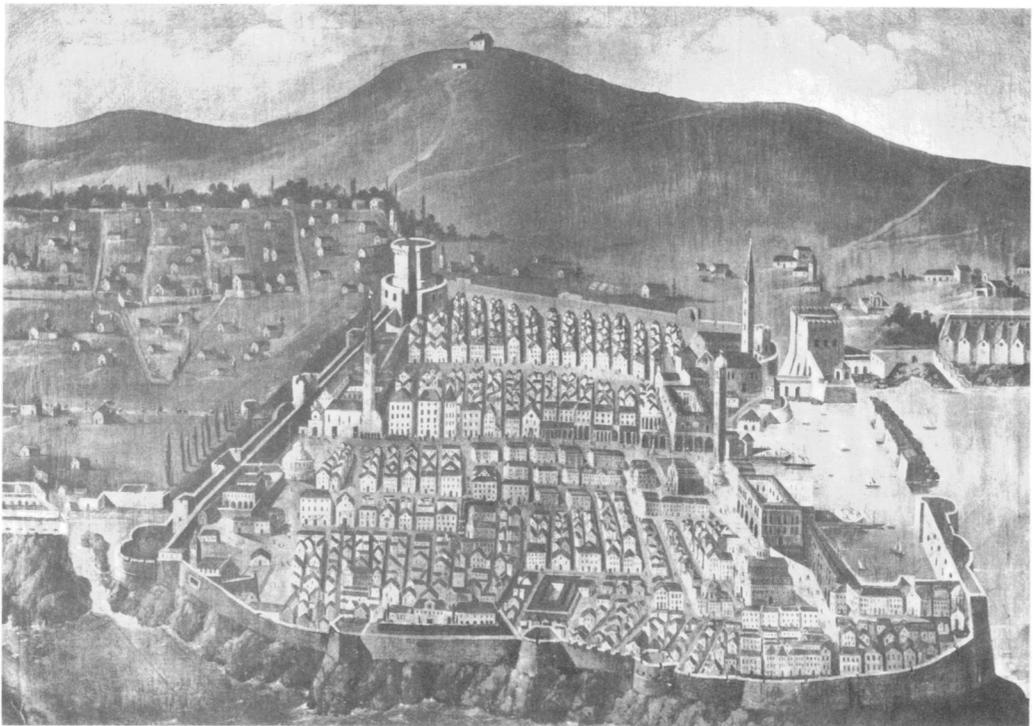
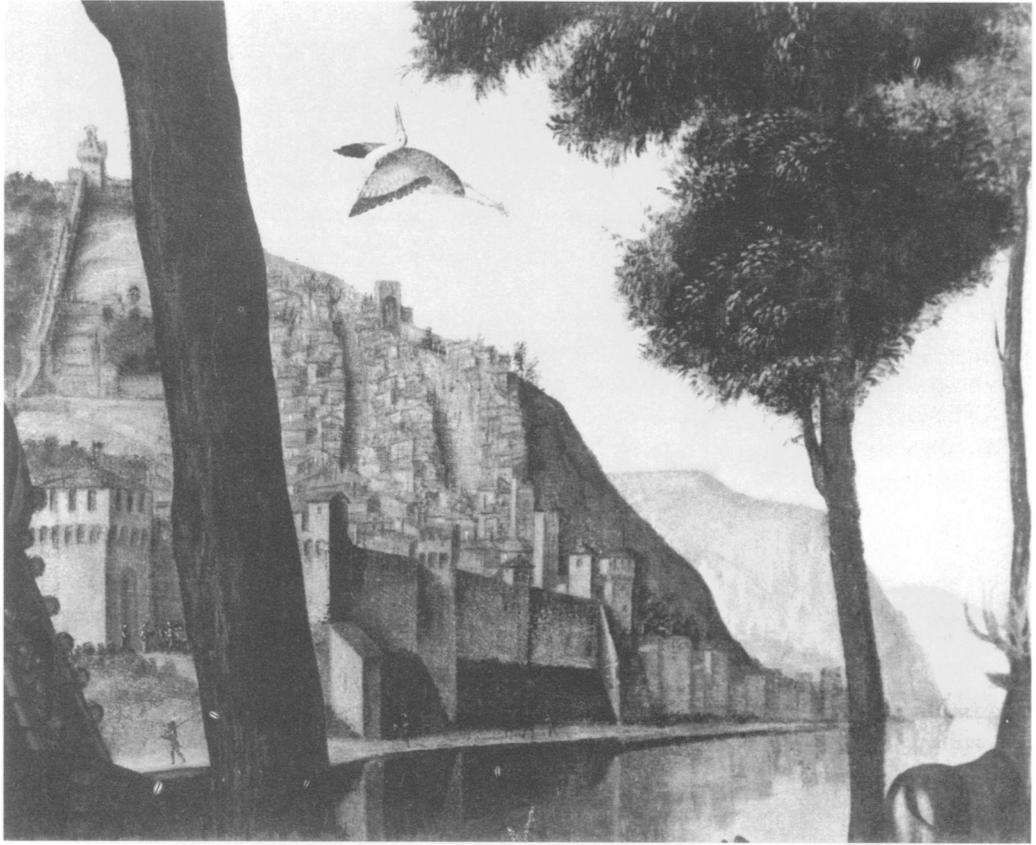
6. Rosenbaum, *Old Master Paintings*, no. 6, pp. 88–89. Rona, "Zur Identität," mentions the lilies as elements in the badge of the Aragonese Order "de la Jara." This was a temperance order, which used lilies in a ewer as its badge to demonstrate that the ewer contained water, not wine.

7. Features in the German style are the fluted colletin, the scallop-shaped shoulder defenses (spaulders), and the thigh defenses with their lames cut at the edges in *Klammerschnitt*, a decorative motif generally associated with the Helmschmid workshop of Augsburg. On the other hand, the heavy lobed ridges on the elbow cops and the embossed star shapes on the knees are considered to be features of Milanese armor made for France; see Jean-Pierre Reverseau, "The Classification of French Armour by Workshop Styles, 1500–1600," *Art, Arms and Armor* (Florence, 1979–80) I, pp. 202–219; and idem, *Les Armures des rois de France au Musée de l'Armée* (St.-Julien-du-Sault, 1982).

8. A. V. B. Norman, *The Rapier and the Small-Sword, 1460–1820* (London/Melbourne/New York, 1980) pp. 66–67, hilt 3, dated "from about 1520," based upon the earliest dated examples shown in two prints by Barthel and Sebald Beham, 1520.

9. Surviving examples are the *Kurschwert* of Frederick the Battle-Ready, before 1423, in the Historisches Museum, Dresden, VI/361, illustrated in Erich Haenel, *Kostbare Waffen aus der Dresdner Rüstammer* (Leipzig, 1923) pl. 40; János Kalmár, *Régi magyar fegyverek* (Budapest, 1971) fig. 106; Helmut Nickel, *Ullstein Waffenbuch* (Berlin, 1974) color pl. p. 165; Johannes Schöbel, *Prunkwaffen* (Leipzig, 1975) color pl. 51; an estoc and a scimitar, both 16th century, in the Waffensammlung, Vienna, illustrated in Johann Szendrei, *Ungarische Kriegsgeschichtliche Denkmäler in der Millenniums-Ausstellung* (Budapest, 1896) nos. 834, 3159; a pallas and an estoc, both 16th century, in the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, illustrated in Kalmár, *Régi magyar fegyverek*, figs. 164, 172. Spiral mountings are a standard feature also on the shafts of Hungarian battle-axes and war hammers; see Kalmár, *Régi magyar fegyverek*, figs. 34b–d, 48–51, 52b, 57.

10. There were many Germans among the 14th- and 15th-century condottieri. In fact, the first condottieri, according to Machiavelli, who despised the system, were Werner von Urslingen, duke of Spoleto, and Konrad von Landau, a member of the cadet branch of the dukes of Württemberg. The youthful appearance of the Young Knight suggests that his family must be an important one for him to be represented in such a prestigious military position. The Urslingen coat of arms had a shield bordure of checquy black and gold, and had a peacock as a crest, which it is tempting to connect with the peacock conspicuously positioned above the helmet worn by the Young Knight's squire; the Urslingen family was, however, extinct by 1444. Konrad von Landau had three black stag's antlers in his golden shield, and a hound's head as a crest; his family did not survive into the 16th century either.



8. Detail of Figure 1, the walled city in the background (photo: Brunel)

came more than ever convinced that the city on its rocky coast was the portrait of an actual place. By chance, only a few hours later, I encountered in a recent publication an illustration of the same city: it is Ragusa, the tiny capital of the dauntless maritime republic in Dalmatia, whose far-ranging merchant ships, the argosies, became synonymous with enterprising travel (Figure 9).<sup>11</sup> For centuries Ragusa—the Yugoslav Dubrovnik—was an almost isolated Christian outpost holding its own against the encroaching Turk, but she was also the sharpest competitor and commercial rival of Venice in the Adriatic.

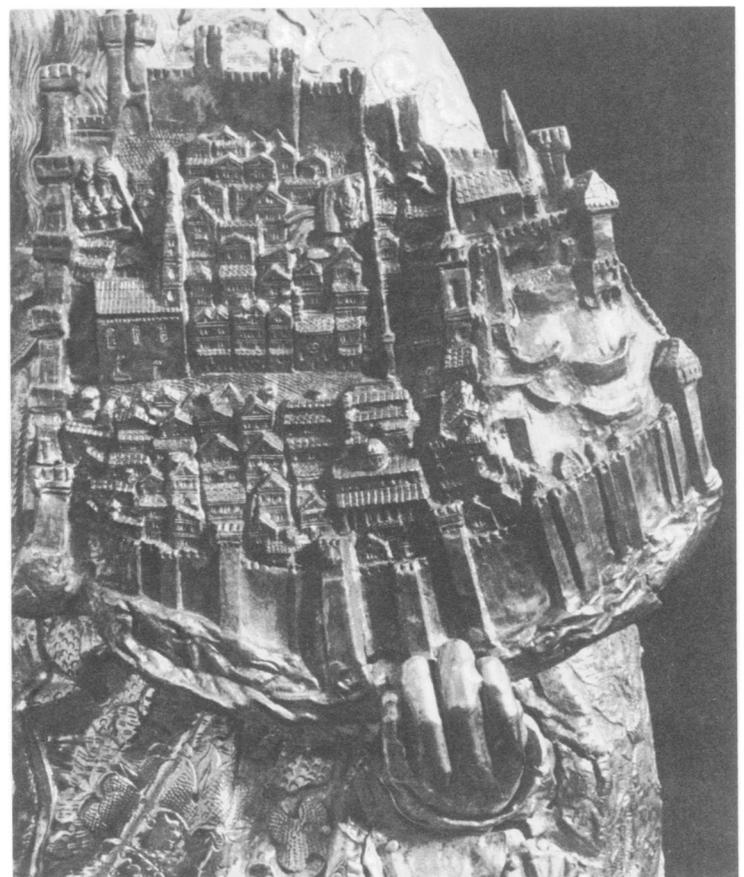
In the cathedral of Ragusa is a silver statue of the town's patron saint, St. Blaise, who carries in his hand a relief model of the city as it looked around 1500, before the great earthquake of 1667, after which many of the city's landmarks were rebuilt in the Baroque style. St. Blaise's model corresponds to Carpaccio's painted city in all essential details, such as the straight city wall running up to the strong Mincetta tower, and the curved wall along the skyline, the church of the Franciscans halfway up the slope, with a tree-lined open space above it, the alignment of the streets at right angles to the traversing corso, the Stradone, as well as the seawalls on the rocky shore and the group of three towers (the Torre dell'Orologio, the steeple of the church of the Dominicans, and the main tower of the harbor fortifications) in the port area (Figures 10, 11).<sup>12</sup>

Identification of the city as Ragusa makes it possible to reinterpret two of the iconographical clues already mentioned. The oak tree, thought to be a pun on the family name della Rovere, could equally well



10. Silver statue of St. Blaise, ca. 1500. Dubrovnik Cathedral (photo: after Fisković, *Dubrovnik*)

11. Detail of Figure 10, the model of Ragusa held by St. Blaise (photo: after Fisković, *Dubrovnik*)



11. Jan Morris, *The Venetian Empire: A Sea Voyage* (New York/London, 1980) ill. p. 162. For the historical background see Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, *The History of Dalmatia and Ragusa* (London, 1848) 2 vols.; and T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria* (Oxford, 1887) 2 vols.

12. Cvito Fisković, *Dubrovnik* (Belgrade, 1964) pl. 18, color pl. 3.

9. Unknown artist, *View of Ragusa*, before 1667. Oil on canvas. Dubrovnik, Museo Francescano (photo: Scala/Art Resource, Inc.)



12. “Orlando,” the Roland of Ragusa, by Antun of Dubrovnik and Bonnino of Milan, 1423 (photo: Aldi Kočina)



13. The Roland of Bremen, before 1366 (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

statue of “Orlando,” the Roland of Ragusa (Figure 12).<sup>14</sup>

Roland statues, still numerous in north and central German cities both great and small, were cherished symbols of civic liberty.<sup>15</sup> As a rule these Rolands are knights in full armor but without helmets on their flowing locks, standing with feet planted well apart, and holding a drawn sword in the right hand (Figure 13).

Ragusa’s “Orlando” is the southernmost of all Roland statues—its nearest companion is the Roland of Prague—and it is unique within the entire Mediterranean region. In spite of the fierce spirit of independence shown by the numerous city-states of Italy, not a single one had a Roland statue as a visible symbol of her treasured civic liberties. The Roland of Ragusa, according to a plaque attached to its pillar, was erected in 1423 as a privilege bestowed by Emperor Sigismund (1411–37), who was not only the head of the Holy Roman Empire but also king of Bohemia, Hungary, and Dalmatia; by long-standing tradition the kings of Hungary were the protectors of Ragusa and its liberty.<sup>16</sup> The grant of a Roland statue to Ragusa was possibly prompted by a legend cherished in local lore, that Roland, Charlemagne’s paladin and the hero

be a play upon the element *dub* (“oak”) in the Slavic name of Ragusa, Dubrovnik (“little oak grove”). The stag at the water’s edge, once interpreted as the attribute of St. Eustace, could indicate the name of the offshore archipelago to the west of Ragusa, called the Elaphite, that is, Stag, Islands.<sup>13</sup>

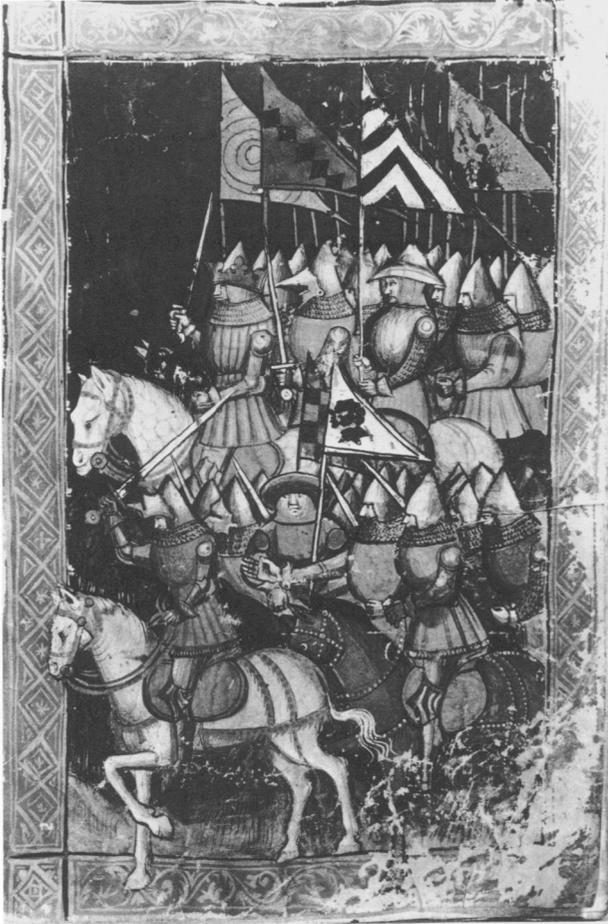
There is a single important difference, though, between Carpaccio’s cityscape and the model in St. Blaise’s hand: the former does not show the huge banner waving from a high flagpole in the piazza of the silver relief. In Ragusa this flagpole is attached to a four-sided stone pillar, topped with a platform from which official proclamations and public announcements were once read. On the side facing the government building of the Dogana and Mint stands the

13. Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, p. 386.

14. Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon, *La Légende de Roland dans l’art du moyen âge* (Brussels, 1967) I, chap. 5, section II, “Le Roland de Dubrovnik et le Roland de Dôle,” pp. 361–364; II, pl. 450. Fisković, *Dubrovnik*, pls. 15, 17.

15. Probably the best-known example, “Roland der Riese am Rathaus zu Bremen,” bears written on the border of his shield the proud rhymes: “Vryheit do ick ju openbar / de Karl und mennich vorst vorwar / desser stede ghegeven hat / des danket gode, is min radt” (“Liberty I show you openly / that Charlemagne and many princes truly / have given to this city; / for this thank God, this is my council”). For Roland statues see Lejeune and Stiennon, *Légende de Roland*, I, chap. 5, section II, “Les Statues géantes de Roland,” pp. 354–364, color pl. LVII; II, pls. 440, 441, 443–446. See also Horst Appuhn, “Reinold, der Roland von Dortmund; ein kunstgeschichtlicher Versuch über die Entstehung der Rolande,” *Beiträge zur Kunst des Mittelalters, Festschrift für Hans Wentzel zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1975) pp. 1–10, ill.

16. Wilkinson, *History of Dalmatia*, I, pp. 367–368; Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, p. 298.



14. *Roland and Oliver Separating from Charlemagne's Army*, miniature from *L'Entrée de l'Espagne*, ca. 1350. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. fr. XXI (photo: Biblioteca Marciana)



15. Title woodcut of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, Milan, 1513 (photo: after Lejeune and Stiennon, *La Légende de Roland*)

of the *Chanson de Roland*, had once, allegedly in A.D. 788, saved the city from a Saracen pirate attack.<sup>17</sup>

It was the practice of medieval heralds to assign coats of arms to each and every historical or legendary person of importance. To Roland, as a knight and paladin, armorial bearings were given as a matter of course. The Roland statues of Germany sometimes bear the *Reichsadler*, the double-headed eagle of the Empire, or the city's arms on their shields, but in French illustrated manuscripts of the *Chanson de Roland*, or on representations intended to be actual portraits, such as the silver statuettes at the foot of the *Karlsreliquiar* in Aachen Cathedral, Roland is shown with his attributed personal arms: or, a lion gules within a border engrailed sable. However, in North

Italian tradition, as exemplified by the manuscript *L'Entrée de l'Espagne*, written in Padua around 1350, and in the Biblioteca Marciana (cod. fr. XXI) in Venice since the fifteenth century, Roland carries a banner: chequy of or and sable (Figure 14). The chequy shield also identifies Roland in the title woodcut of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, printed in Milan 1513 (Figure 15).<sup>18</sup>

17. Wilkinson, *History of Dalmatia*, I, p. 278.

18. Lejeune and Stiennon, *Légende de Roland*; Roland statues with *Reichsadler*: I, color pl. LVII (Bremen); II, pl. 436 (Nordhausen), 440 (Halberstadt), 441 (Zerbst), 443 (Perleberg), 444 (Stendal); Roland statues with city or other local arms: II, 439 (Hamburg), 449 (Prague); representations of Roland with lion arms: II, pls. 279, 372–375, 407, 411, 412, 414, 432, 433, 474.

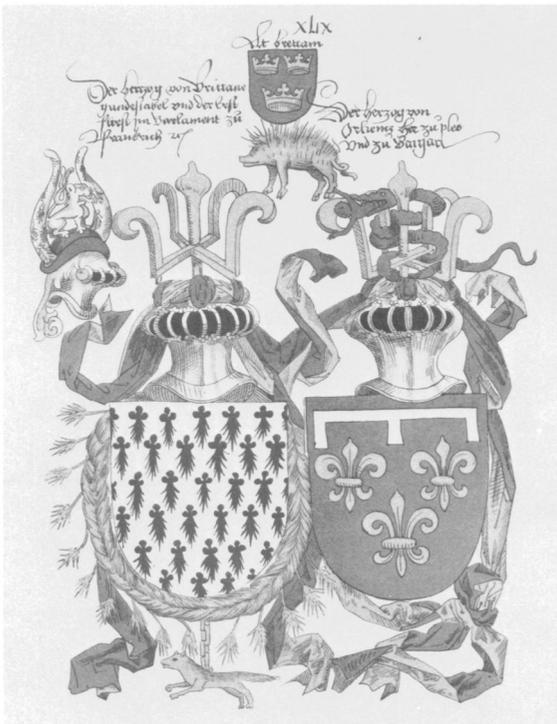
The ermine with the motto *Malo mori quam foedari*, which has created so much confusion, was not exclusive to Naples; it was also the personal device of Anne, duchess of Brittany, who died in 1513.<sup>19</sup> The coat of arms of Brittany was plain ermine, and there was even a second Order of the Ermine, founded in 1361, one hundred years earlier than the Neapolitan order, by John IV, the Conqueror, duke of Brittany (Figure 16).<sup>20</sup> The paladin Roland was a count of Brittany, and therefore Carpaccio used the ermine badge and motto of the last ruling duchess of Brittany, Anne, as another device to identify the Young Knight as Roland.

The most difficult part of the problem, for more than one reason, is to identify the person here portrayed as the Roland of Ragusa. There is no question that this painting is indeed a portrait: the very youthful, soft, and almost dreamy features are not what one would expect in a representation of a heroic champion, however much idealized. The face of the Young Knight with its round cheeks, small pointed chin, and narrow eyes under a broad forehead is of a type rare in Italy, but easily found in Central and Eastern Europe. Indeed, the portrait painted in 1515 by Bernhard Strigel of Lajos II of Hungary (born 1506, reigned 1516–26, killed during the retreat after the disastrous battle of Mohács, 1526) shows the same



17. Bernhard Strigel, *Portrait of Lajos II of Hungary as a Child*, 1515. Oil on wood. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

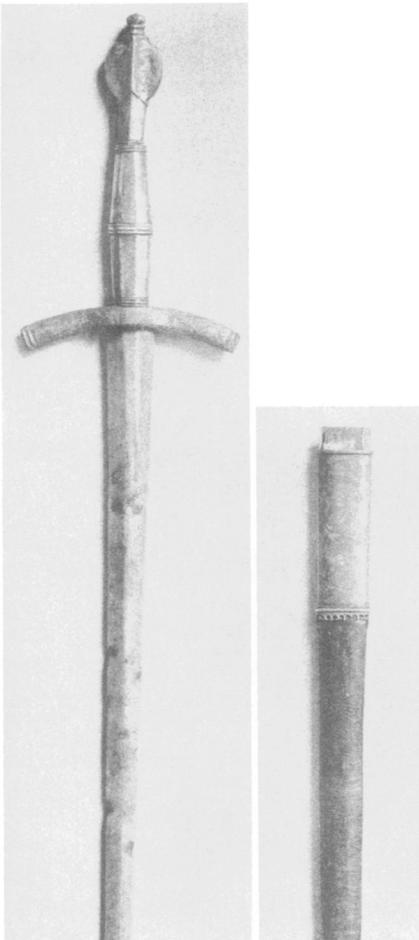
16. The arms of Brittany and Orléans; the shield of Brittany encircled by the collar of the Order of the Ermine (after Conrad Grünenberg, 1483)



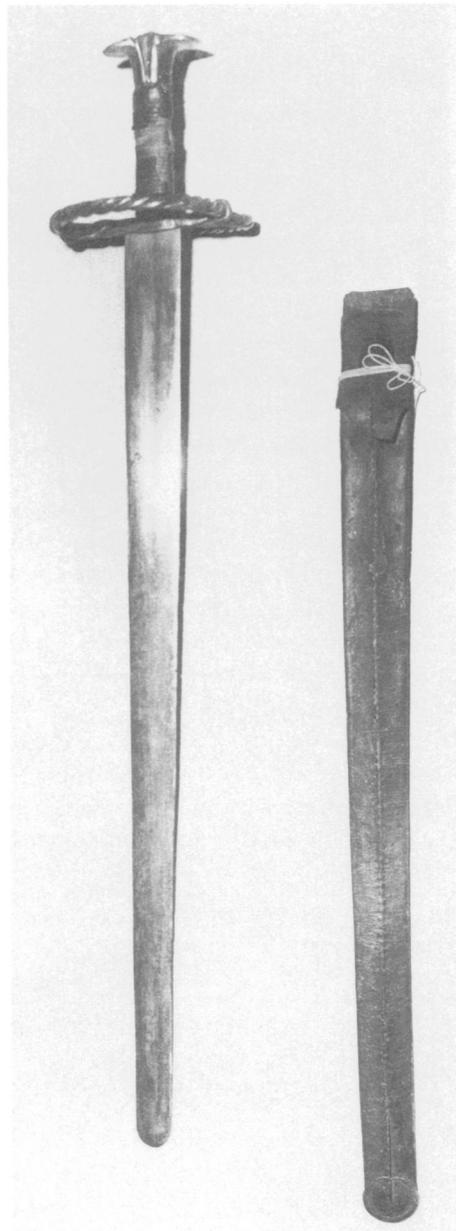
475, 497; representations of Roland with checquy arms: II, pls. 249, 472, 499. Another version of Roland's arms—quarterly of gules and argent—is to be found in miniatures, and they are also mentioned in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516) canto VIII, l. 85. The same arms, incidentally, are those of the Veronese family Orlandi: see J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial général* (Leiden, 1856) II, p. 355; IV, pl. cccxix. In miniatures illustrated by Lejeune and Stiennon, *Légende de Roland*, II, pls. 503–505, Roland bears a cross in his shield as a Christian champion. The Roland of Ragusa has his shield incised with crosslines, which might indicate a quartered shield, with a central boss, and encircled by a leafy bordure (*orla*), which might be a canting device for "Orlando."

19. J. Dielitz, *Die Wahl- und Denksprüche, Feldgeschreie, Losungen, Schlacht- und Volksrufe, besonders des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1884) p. 184.

20. Bonanni, *Verzeichnis der Ritterorden*, p. 114, no. civ, pl. 160, fig. 94; Biedenfeld, *Geschichte der Ritterorden*, I, p. 36; R. Graf Stüllfried-Alcántara and Ad. M. Hildebrand, eds., *Des Conrad Grünenberg Wappenbuch*, facsimile of the 1483 MS. (Görlitz, 1875) pl. XLIX.



18. State sword of the rector of Ragusa, late 15th century. Vienna, Waffensammlung (photo: after Boeheim)



19. So-called sword of King Lajos II of Hungary (killed in battle, 1526). Budapest, Hungarian National Museum (photo: Hungarian National Museum)

features, though the future king was then still a child (Figure 17).<sup>21</sup> The main difficulty in claiming King Lajos II as the model for the Young Knight lies with the date M.D.X. on the first *cartellino*. In 1510 Lajos was only four years old, and his father, Laszlo II (born 1456, reigned 1471–1516), was still alive. If the date M.D.X. could be amended to M.D.X.X., a date which not only would fill the available space on the *cartellino* much better but would also be more compatible with the costume and the arms and armor, the portrait could be that of the very youthful, fourteen-year-old king of Hungary, Lajos II, who by treaty and tradition was the protector of Ragusa. It is also interesting

to see that Carpaccio did not use the state sword of the rector of Ragusa (Figure 18) as a model for the sword held by the Young Knight, but a *Katzbalger* identical to the sword in the collections of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, traditionally known as the sword of King Lajos II (Figure 19).<sup>22</sup>

21. Gertrud Otto, *Bernhard Strigel*, *Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien* 33 (Munich/Berlin, 1964) nos. 57, 61, color pl. 1, pl. 129.

22. Wendelin Boeheim, *Album hervorragender Gegenstände aus der Waffensammlung des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (Vienna, 1898) II, pl. vi, fig. 1; Kalmár, *Régi magyar fegyverek*, fig. 104.

The iconographical evidence to be gleaned from this painting—the city of Ragusa in the background landscape, the checquy livery of the knight's arms, the ermine badge of Brittany, the oak tree and the stag as canting devices for place names on the Dalmatian coast—and the possibility that the Young Knight is a portrait of the king of Hungary as Ragusa's protector indicate that Carpaccio intended his work to represent the Roland of Ragusa, the secular counterpart of a patron saint's icon. Its direct parallel is *The Lion of St. Mark*, which Carpaccio painted in 1516 for the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi, as a symbol of the strength of the Serenissima (Figure 20).

On earlier occasions, Carpaccio had painted his St. George cycle for the Scuola degli Schiavoni (the guildhall of the Dalmatian merchants) and his *Story of the Virgin* for the Scuola degli Albanesi (the guildhall of the Albanians) in Venice, and also the altarpiece for the cathedral of the archbishop of Dalmatia in Zara. The latter, incidentally, became a seminal work for the school of Dubrovnik.

It may have been because of these established connections with Dalmatia that Carpaccio was selected to create a work that could be used as a diplomatic pres-

ent for the Serenissima's old rival, Ragusa, which had become an ally at the time of Venice's political isolation through the League of Cambrai (1510). If such a diplomatic gift was considered, nothing could have been better suited than a representation of the valiant guardian of Ragusa's liberty and independence, the Roland of Ragusa, standing quietly alert, sheathing his sword, but ready to draw it at any time for his new ally.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For kind help in gathering material for this study I would like to thank Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza and Simon de Pury, Curator of the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection; my friends and colleagues Dobrila-Donya Schimansky, Stuart W. Pyhrr, and George Szabo; also Dipl.-Ing. Aldi Končina, who took special photographs of the Roland of Ragusa during a recent trip to Yugoslavia; and, finally, my *Doktorvater*, Professor Edwin Redslob, who in 1958—elated by the news of the discovery of Carpaccio's signature, which proved his own attribution—told me to give some thought to the problem of the identity of the Young Knight.



20. Carpaccio, *The Lion of St. Mark*, 1516. Oil on canvas. Venice, Doges' Palace (photo: Alinari)

# Two Aspects of Islamic Arms and Armor

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## I. The Turban Helmet

TURBAN HELMETS, so called because of their oversized bulbous shape, and the armor and shields to which they can be related have long been a problematic group in the study of Islamic arms and armor. They have been described as everything from Mongol to Mamluk,<sup>1</sup> and dated from as early as the fourteenth to as late as the seventeenth century. As a class of objects they differ greatly among themselves, and the group can be divided into a number of subgroups. Nevertheless, the features they share indicate that although they do not have a common provenance they are at least the products of a continuing tradition.

This study of eight such helmets is intended to illustrate the complexity of the problem of their provenance, and to demonstrate that they were produced over a long period of time and in a number of centers. One should regard this study as a first step in solving a problem whose unraveling will be completed only when the hundreds of such objects in Istanbul have been fully analyzed and grouped according to their type and epigraphical content.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest surviving helmet of this type was found in Bursa, where it may have been made. It is inscribed: "Let the government and sovereignty of the Emir Sultan Orhān be permanent" (Figure 1).<sup>3</sup> Orhan, the son of the Emir Othman, was born in 1288 and ruled from 1326 to 1360. He is credited with having strengthened and expanded the Ottoman army and with the founding of the Janissary corps. In 1326 he conquered Bursa, which became his capital, and shortly afterwards the ancient city of Nicaea (now Iznik). With the capture of Gallipoli in 1354 he extended Ottoman power into Europe. The inscription on the helmet includes the title "sultan," not gener-

ally used by the Ottomans at this time, and thus provides a reason for assuming that the helmet may have been made as a commemorative piece at a slightly later date. Nevertheless it establishes the fact that helmets of this type were worn in Anatolia during the early Ottoman period.

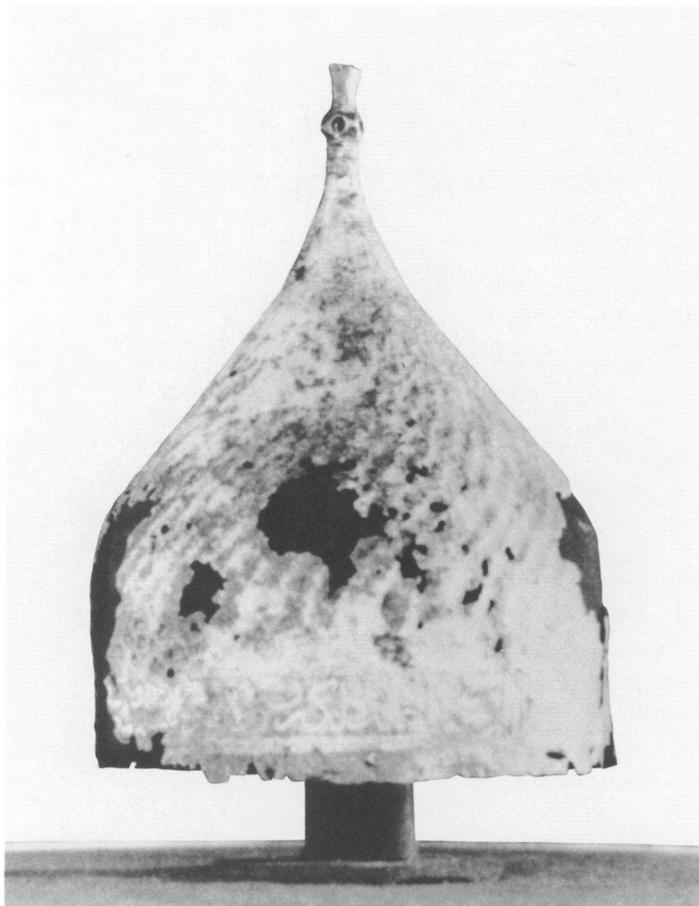
Like almost all turban helmets, the "Orhan helmet" has a fluted bowl and a flattened conical finial, below which is a cubo-octahedral plug drilled with four holes. Although the helmet is badly preserved, one can assume that it was also cusped and reinforced across the brow in order to provide extra protection for the eyes, and that it had a movable nasal guard.<sup>4</sup>

1. M. H. Lavoix, "La Collection Goupil," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd ser., 32 (1885) p. 300, where they are called Mongol; E. Lenz, *Collection d'armes de l'Ermitage impérial* (St. Petersburg, 1908) pl. vi, where they are called Ottoman of the 16th and 17th centuries; H. R. Robinson, *Oriental Armour* (London, 1967) p. 62, where the better-looking examples are called Mamluk. Helmets of a derivative type occur in the Houghton *Shah-nameh* of ca. 1525, e.g., fols. 104r and 204v (MMA acc. nos. 1970.301.15, 1970.301.31). Either these depictions are based on a lost Safavid type, or the artists were copying earlier models.

2. The inscriptions present extraordinary epigraphical problems and are being studied at present by Dr. Ludvik Kalus. Dr. Kalus and the author plan a collaborative work on the weapons, including the helmets, in the Topkapı Sarayı and Askeri Museums in Istanbul.

3. The helmet and inscription are published in the *Guide to the Askeri Müze* (Istanbul, n.d.). For Orhan see F. Babinger, "Orkhan," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* III (London, 1936) pp. 999–1001.

4. The top of the nasal usually functioned as a *tu* or standard. Such emblems were often used atop banners or flags (*alam*). The word *alam* is sometimes used in the sense of badge or standard; see E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863) bk. 1, pt. 5, p. 2139.



1. Helmet inscribed with the name of Sultan Orhan (ruled 1326–60). Steel, decorated with silver. Istanbul, Askeri Museum, no. 15723 (photo: courtesy Lt. Col. Neçat Erlap)

It is also set, around the base, with a series of hooks from which the aventail was hung.

Its decoration can be divided into a number of zones: the lowest is smooth, rises vertically, and, as on most helmets of this type, is the area containing the main inscription; the central section is fluted and in this instance undecorated; the top section is smooth and tapers sharply towards the apex. Helmets of this type typically contain a subsidiary inscription in the uppermost zone. The treatment of the inscriptions on the Orhan helmet is unique in that they are confined to two horizontal registers framed by narrow borders containing arabesques; most other helmets have inscriptions contained within lobed or knot-pattern frames. The Orhan helmet could also be regarded as an early example of what has been called the “plain style,”<sup>5</sup> as its restrained decoration is in marked con-

trast to the plethora of design elements usually found on turban helmets.

Chronologically, the next datable helmets are from the Ak-Koyunlu period (White Sheep Turkman period). This dynasty was originally a federation of tribes from the region of Diyarbakir in central Anatolia which rose to power in the fourteenth century under Kara Yoluk (Black Leech) Uthman. Under Uzun Hasan (ruled 1466–78) their rule was extended from eastern Anatolia to Herat and Baghdad. The dynasty was crushed by the Safavids at the battle of Sharur in 1502.<sup>6</sup> The helmet illustrated in Figure 2 is inscribed not only with the series of royal titles usually found on these objects, but also with the name of Uzun Hasan’s son Ya’qub (ruled 1478–90). The inscription reads: “Glory to our lord the greatest sultan, the mighty Khaqan, master of the necks of nations, the lord of the kings of the Arabs and Persians, the sultan Ya’qub.”<sup>7</sup> Because of its rather inelegant decoration and clumsy inscription, it was probably not crafted in the capital at Tabriz but rather in a provincial workshop, possibly that at the Ak-Koyunlu military base at Erzerum in Anatolia.<sup>8</sup>

Another helmet (Figure 3) dating from the Ak-Koyunlu period is possibly inscribed with the name

5. The “plain style” refers to the unadorned metalwork popular in the Ottoman empire during the 16th and 17th centuries; see J. Raby and J. Allan, *Tulips, Arabesques and Turbans* (London, 1982).

6. See V. Minorsky, “Ak-Koyunlu,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., I (London, 1960) pp. 311–312. A history of the dynasty has been written by J. E. Woods, *The Aqqyunlu Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Chicago, 1976).

7. Ya’qub, which should be written *يعقوب*, appears on the helmet as *يعهو*. This kind of sloppiness is not unusual on turban-helmet inscriptions and also occurs on the lead seal of a mail shirt in Leningrad: Lenz, *Collection d’armes*, pl. lv, no. j. 535, where the *ب* and *و* are joined exactly as on the helmet. The inscription was translated by Florence E. Day in 1954.

8. Erzerum was an important Ak-Koyunlu base, and it was here in 1829 that the Russians captured many helmets of this type; see Lenz, *Collection d’armes*, pl. vi. Many of these helmets and related armors must have been taken as booty by the Ottomans at the battle of Otluk Beli in 1473, when the entire Ak-Koyunlu baggage train was captured and sent to Constantinople along with numerous craftsmen; see F. Babinger, *Mehmet the Conqueror and His Time* (Princeton, 1978) pp. 302–328, esp. p. 315. Many of these objects entered European collections after 1839, when the new sultan, Abdul Mecid, ordered the clearing of the St. Irene Arsenal; see a letter from Robert Curzon, attaché to the British Embassy in Constantinople, quoted by J. Hewitt, *Official Catalogue of the Tower Armouries* (London, 1859) pp. 116–117.



2. Helmet inscribed with the name of Sultan Ya'qub (ruled 1478–90). Steel, decorated with silver, H. 10 in. (25.4 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 04.3.211



3. Helmet inscribed with the name of the Shirvanshah, Farrukh-Siar (ruled 1464–1501). Steel, decorated with silver. Istanbul, Askeri Museum, no. 5911 (photo: courtesy L. Kalus)

of Farrukh-Siar, the ruler of Shirvan (Shirvanshah) from 1464 to 1501.<sup>9</sup> It seems likely that this helmet was produced in a Caucasian workshop, for the Caucasus—and especially such centers as Shamakhi (the capital of Shirvan) and Kubachi—had long been an important metalworking area.<sup>10</sup> The Venetian ambassador to the court of Uzun Hasan, Giosafat Barbaro, noted that the Ak-Koyunlu obtained much of their armor from this region; it was, he said, “of iron

in little squares and wrought with gold and silver, tacked together with small mail,” and was “made in Beshkand,” which, according to Minorsky, is Kubachi.<sup>11</sup>

These two helmets differ in that the former has a more elegant inscription, especially in its upper band, and smaller, more carefully proportioned flutings, whereas the latter has wider, diagonal flutings and is decorated in its central zone with a vegetal design.

9. Shirvan was a client state of the Ak-Koyunlu, with whom it had close and friendly ties. In 1479, for instance, Ya'qub married Farrukh-Siar's daughter. The Shirvanshahs were devout Sunnis, and when Farrukh-Siar was killed in battle by Shah Isma'il Safavi their rule was abolished; see Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, esp. pp. 147 and 279 n. 34. The helmet has been published in the most recent (undated) publicity brochure of the Askeri Museum, Istanbul. However, the inscription on this helmet and similar inscriptions on two others (Askeri Museum, nos. 163, 9488) present an as yet unsolved problem. Dr. Kalus in a letter dated Feb. 28, 1982, provisionally reads the crucial phrase as *فرخ يسار*, “plein de bonheur,” and the name in the related inscriptions as

“Siyar Šâh fils du sultan Halil.” “Siyar Šâh” appears to be an unrecorded ruler; however, the name Sultan Halil is recorded among both the Ak-Koyunlu and the Shirvanshah. Consequently, a general Ak-Koyunlu/Shirvani attribution remains likely.

10. J. Allan, *Persian Metal Technology* (Oxford, 1979) p. 69. Allan notes that Mas'udi and al-Jahiz mention the Caucasus as a center for the manufacture of arms and armor.

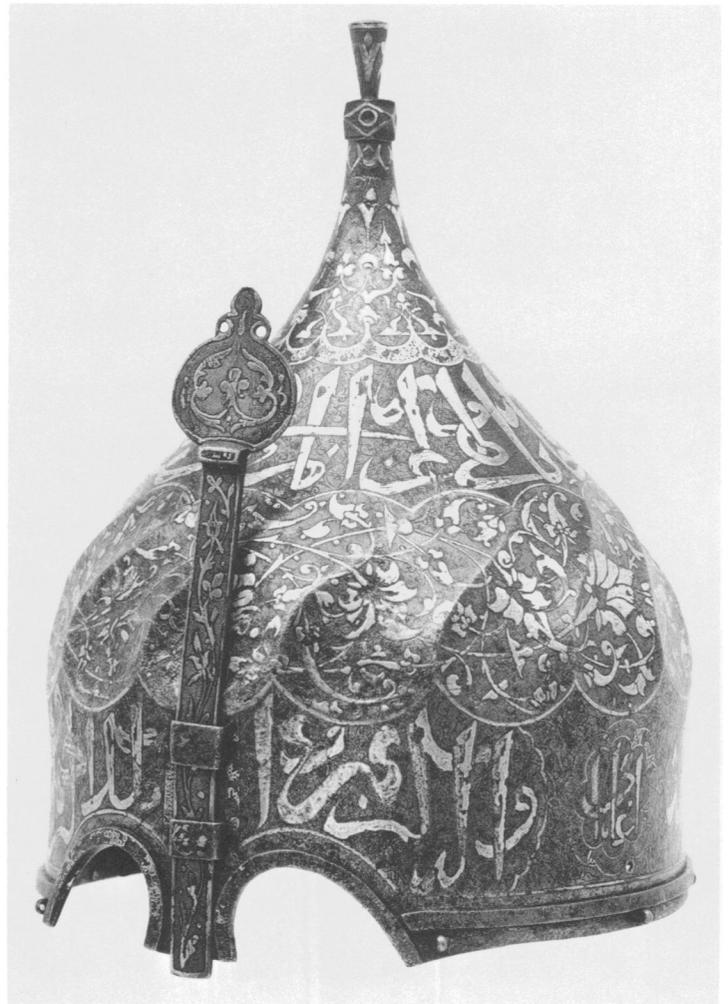
11. Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, trans. W. Thomas and S. Roy, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley, Hakluyt Society, 1st ser., XLIX (London, 1873; repr. New York, 1963) with notes by V. Minorsky, p. 66. Barbaro was with the Ak-Koyunlu from 1474 to 1478.



4. Helmet, late 15th century. Steel, decorated with silver. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Kienbusch Collection, no. 207 (photo: Philadelphia Museum)

Both, however, have a bulbous quality which contrasts with the longer finial and the tapering form of the Orhan helmet (Figure 1).

A number of helmets can, on stylistic grounds, be assigned to the Ak-Koyunlu/Shirvani group. One would include here most of the helmets that bulge in their centers—rather than taper as does the early Ottoman example—and are inlaid in their central zones with foliate arabesques characterized by long, wavy floral forms. This type of design, which occurs on the Farrukh-Siar helmet, is also present on a helmet in



5. Helmet, late 15th century. Steel, decorated with silver, H. 12 in. (30.5 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Anonymous Gift, 50.87

the Kienbusch Collection (Figure 4) and on one in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 5).

The Kienbusch helmet is inscribed with a protocol almost identical to that bearing the name of Ya'qub (Figure 2). It reads: "Made at the order of the greatest sultan, the mightiest khāgān, the master of the necks of nations, the lord of the kings of the Arabs and Persians, the shadow of Allah on the continents and. . ."<sup>12</sup> The inclusion of the title "the shadow of Allah on the continents" indicates a claim to the "caliphate," and it was often used by the Timurids and

12. Kretschmar von Kienbusch, *The Kretschmar von Kienbusch Collection* (Princeton, 1963) pp. 115–116. The inscription was translated by D. S. Rice.



6. Leg guard, probably Timurid, mid-15th century. Steel, decorated with silver on a gilded ground, L. 17 in. (43.2 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George C. Stone, 1935, 36.25.458

Ak-Koyunlu, and after about 1526 by the Ottomans. It was used only rarely by the Mamluks,<sup>13</sup> and its presence here probably excludes a Mamluk provenance. The decoration on this helmet and on that in the Metropolitan Museum provides, in addition to their shape and their inscriptions, further reason for an Ak-Koyunlu/Shirvani origin.

Foliate designs of similar type are found in Timurid art.<sup>14</sup> They differ, however, in that the Timurid examples are usually more carefully executed and

more regular in design. None of the surviving turban helmets is decorated in this typical Timurid style, although there does exist a leg guard in the Metropolitan Museum that must be either from a Timurid workshop or from one working directly from Timurid prototypes (Figure 6).

A large number of turban helmets are inscribed with a style of writing called Eastern Kufic (see Figure 7).<sup>15</sup> The inscriptions are more ornate and less regular than those found in Korans and in miniature painting, but they were probably based on these models and likewise were probably crafted in an Iranian center. To this group may be added helmets decorated in their central zones with a linear design of interlocking teardrop shapes with trefoil terminals, and also all armor decorated in this style (Figure 8).

If turban helmets of this type are accepted as being of Ak-Koyunlu/Shirvani origin, then it becomes possible not only to classify a large group of armor whose provenance has been misunderstood, but also to make an attribution for an important group of miniature paintings that have been the subject of considerable controversy.<sup>16</sup> These paintings include one (Figure 9)

13. See L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933) pp. 106 and 108, for an inscription taken from the doorway to the fortress at Kerak, where Baybars (1223–77) is referred to as the “restorer of the August Chalifate, God’s shade on earth.” It is, however, the caliph who is referred to as the “Shade of Allah” and not Baybars.

14. Compare the foliate forms in the Timurid Korans illustrated in M. Lings, *The Quaranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination* (Boulder, Colo., 1978) nos. 81, 82, and esp. no. 83, with the floral forms on the leg guard in Figure 6.

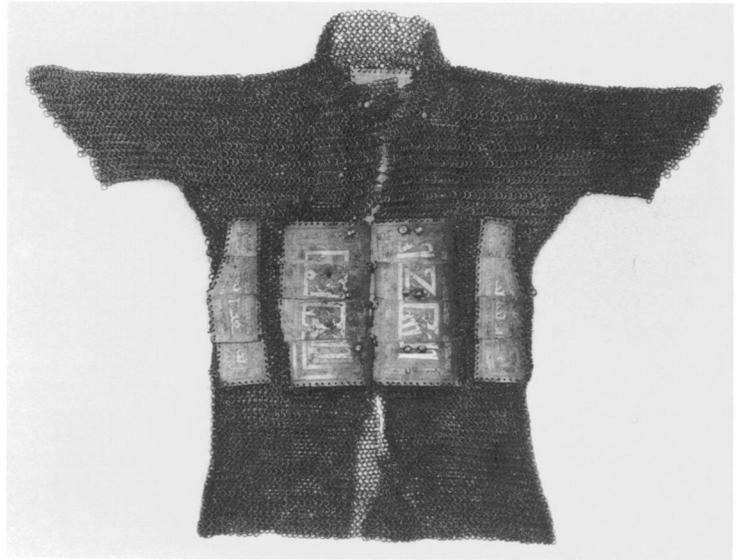
15. Lings, *Quaranic Art*, p. 16, defines this as a style that avoids, except in a few instances, horizontal lines and relies instead on “diagonals and letters of triangular shape.” Eastern Kufic is used in Mamluk, Mongol, and Timurid Korans (see Lings, *Quaranic Art*, chaps. 5 and 6) and is often found in inscriptions in Turkman and Timurid miniature painting; see, e.g., the following articles in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. B. Gray (Boulder, Colo., 1979): B. Gray, “The School of Shiraz from 1392 to 1453,” pl. xxxv, painted in Yazd in 1407; E. Grube and E. Sims, “The School of Herat, 1400–1450,” fig. 96, painted in Herat in 1436; and M. Lukens-Swietochowski, “The School of Herat 1450 to 1506,” pl. LIX, painted in Baghdad in 1461.

16. These paintings are included in the Topkapı Sarayı Albums H. 2153, 2160. They have been published on numerous occasions; see, e.g., Oktay Aslanpa, Max Loehr, and R. Ettinghausen in *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954) pp. 77–103; E. Grube, *Persian Painting in the Fourteenth Century* (Naples, 1978) sec. 2, esp. pp. 49–52 (the painting in Figure 9 belongs to the group that Grube,



7. Helmet, late 15th century. Steel, decorated with silver, H. 12 in. (30.5 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 04.3.462

8. Mail shirt with steel plates, late 15th century. Steel, decorated with silver, L. 34 in. (86.4 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George C. Stone, 1935, 36.25.362



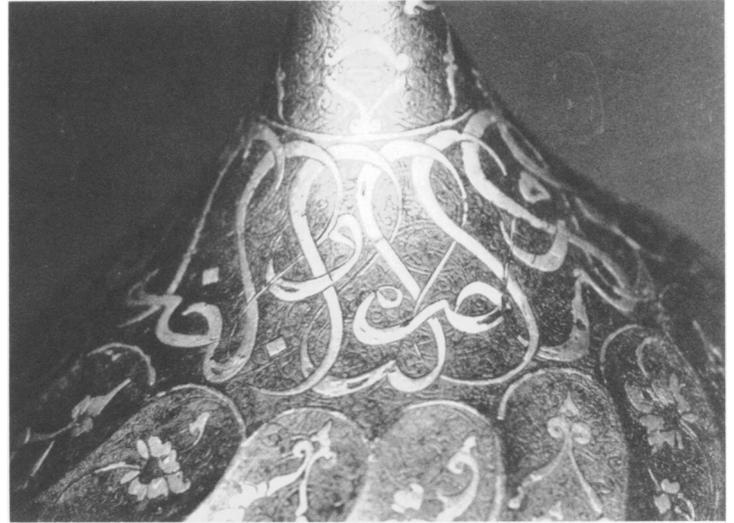
9. Miniature painting of a battle scene. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Album H. 2160, fol. 88r (photo: Otto E. Nelson)





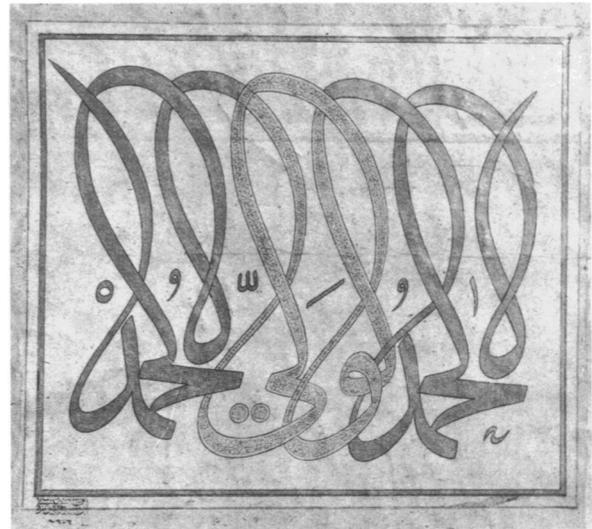
10. Helmet inscribed with the name of Sultan Bayezid (ruled 1481–1512). Steel, decorated with gold. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, H. 445 (photo: Musée de L'Armée)

11. Helmet (detail), 16th century, inscribed in the style of Ahmet Karahisari (1469–1556). Steel, decorated with silver. Istanbul, Askeri Museum, no. 13581 (photo: Askeri Museum)



depicting two mounted warriors wearing bulbous turban helmets of the squat variety typified by the Ya'qub helmet (Figure 2). Consequently, it must depict either Ak-Koyunlu or Shirvani warriors and was probably, although not necessarily, painted in an Ak-Koyunlu atelier.

Turban helmets were probably produced throughout the fifteenth century in Ottoman Anatolia. It is not possible at present to separate this production from that of the Ak-Koyunlu and Shirvani workshops, and one is left with a single Ottoman example from the fourteenth century (Figure 1) and another from the last years of the fifteenth or the early sixteenth century. The latter, which was made for the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (ruled 1481–1512), is one



12. Calligraphic inscription by Ahmet Karahisari, ca. 1540–50. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, no. 1443 (photo: Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts)

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p. 51, says is "the most difficult to place." The most comprehensive publication of these paintings is in E. Grube, Filez Çağman, and Zeren Akalay, *Topkapı Sarayı Collection: Islamic Painting* (Tokyo, 1978).

of the most beautiful of the entire group (Figure 10). It is inscribed:

Oh God, I am the head-piece for the head of the valiant imam, the bold sultan, the emperor of the world, giving victory to Islam, possessing God's help and support, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Sultan Bāyazīd son of Sultan Muḥammad Khān, may God make his adherents and his followers glorious.<sup>17</sup>

The helmet differs from all other turban helmets in that its flutings are decorated with a cloud-band design and it is without eye cusps. The use of the term "imam" in the inscription may reflect Bayezid's close connection with the Khalaveti order of Dervishes and probably implies a claim to the "caliphate." In this sense it is a unique historical document.<sup>18</sup>

That helmets of this type continued to be made in the Ottoman empire well into the sixteenth century is shown by the existence of a helmet that bears an inscription (Figure 11) in the style of the Ottoman

calligrapher Ahmet Karahisari (1469–1556) (Figure 12). Calligraphers tend to be the innovators whose scripts are later used in other fields, such as metalwork. Consequently, it is unlikely that this helmet is earlier than the mid-sixteenth century.

In sum, turban helmets do not come from a single workshop but, on the contrary, were produced in both Persia and Turkey. One is dealing here with cross-cultural influences, and in many cases probably with migratory craftsmen, who either gravitated to the imperial center of Constantinople during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries or were captured after one of the Ottoman campaigns in Anatolia or Persia.

17. The inscription is translated in *Arts of Islam*, exh. cat. (London: Hayward Gallery, 1976) no. 299, p. 197.

18. H. J. Kissling, "Aus der Geschichte des Chalvetijji-Ordens," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 103 (1953) pp. 245–251. For the post-13th-century interpretation of the caliphate see Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, pp. 117–118.

## II. Watered Steel and the Waters of Paradise

THE PERSIAN WORD for water, *āb*, can also refer to watered steel in the sense of the "water of a blade."<sup>1</sup> Water, especially in Islam, connotes life, and in the Koran the incorruptible river Kawthar is used as a key image in describing the beauties of Paradise. To drink from these waters is to enjoy everlasting life. To drink the water of a blade is to die. Persian and Ottoman poets of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries frequently used the punning ambiguity inherent in the word to create verses that play on the relationship of water to life and death. Verses of this type were often written specifically to be placed upon sword and dagger blades; four such blades are in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum. The verses are either of a religious nature, stressing the nobility of death in the service of God and the concomitant rewards of Paradise; or they are secular, courtly, and sometimes frankly erotic.

The reward of Paradise is promised to all the faithful, and especially to those who die in the service

of Allah. As described in the Koran, Paradise is a beautiful garden, temperate in climate and full of shady trees, luxurious couches, delicious fruit, and bashful virgins, which is watered by flowing springs.

1. Watered steel is produced by combining different types of iron, which are cast in an ingot, slowly cooled, and then hammered out to create an object—usually a blade; see James Allan, *Persian Metal Technology 700–1300 A.D.* (London, 1979) pp. 76–82. Allan uses the term "damascened" instead of "watered" steel, and refers to the patterns that can be made by the process as *jawhar* or *firind*. Many of these patterns were described by al-Kindi in the 9th century; see A. R. Zaki, ed., *Al-suyuf wa ajnasuha* (Cairo, 1952). Al-Kindi uses the word *firind* for the patterns and notes that they are brought out during the quenching, or watering, of the blade. From at least the late 15th century the Persians seem to have used the term "watered" for steel of this kind, perhaps because many of the patterns are reminiscent of water. The term is preferable to "damascened," which has other meanings and further raises an unwarranted association with the city of Damascus. I use "damascened" to describe a surface decoration—in gold or silver—applied to an object, and follow the Persian example in calling the metal watered steel.

These springs are fed by the rivers of Paradise, the primary one of which is Kawthar, itself the subject of a short sura: "We have given you abundance [Kawthar]. Pray to your Lord and sacrifice to him. He that hates you shall remain childless."<sup>2</sup>

This sura has been the subject of numerous theological exegeses and a considerable amount of poetry. Al-Tabari (died A.D. 923), for example, regarded Kawthar as being the quintessence of purity and wrote that its water is "whiter than snow and sweeter than honey."<sup>3</sup> Annemarie Schimmel, in discussing the poetical allusions to the river,<sup>4</sup> quotes, for example, Jalaluddin Rumi (1207–73), the founder of the Mevlevi Dervish sect, who compared divine love to the water of Kawthar;<sup>5</sup> and the Naqshbandi Dervish Abdur Rahim Girhori (died 1778), whose commentary on the sura contains a "Divine address to the Prophet" in which God says:

So much gift did I not give to anyone but you.  
You are the cupbearer of the fountain: carry on now  
its distribution, O brave one!<sup>6</sup>

God continues to laud Muhammad and to describe Kawthar as an ocean of divine love, which brings knowledge, healing, and perfect bliss.

A number of sword blades are inscribed with verses that refer to the waters of Paradise, usually in the context of the jihad, or Holy War, and the sword known as *dhu 'l-fakār*. This sword had belonged to the Prophet and after his death became one of the "Insignia of the Caliphate." It was also intimately associated with the Prophet's son-in-law Ali and acquired various chivalric, magical, and messianic connotations. The actual sword probably perished during the destruction of Baghdad in 1258, but it lived on in countless reproductions as a symbol of authority and victory. In Islamic theology and especially in Shia thought it was regarded as one of the essential attributes of the Mahdi, who will wield it in the final battle between Good and Evil.<sup>7</sup> The Persian inscriptions uniting the imagery of water to that of the *dhu 'l-fakār* usually read:

O sword, may the idolaters be diminished by your  
agency!  
May the Garden of Victory flourish by your water!  
Your comrade will be the breath of the *dhu 'l-fakār*.  
Every day the sun draws a sword around the hearts of  
the faithful.<sup>8</sup>

The pun on water is clearly expressed here and refers both to the watered-steel blade and to the river Kawthar. The reference to the river in this context, while it stresses the military virtue of battling the infidels in the Holy War, also has strong Shia overtones. For although, as noted above, the Prophet Muhammad is sometimes regarded as the cupbearer of the waters of Paradise, in Shia tradition this role is given to Ali, and the association of the *dhu 'l-fakār* with Kawthar would indicate a Shia bias. D. S. Rice, noting Ali's role in this regard,<sup>9</sup> connected the idea of receiving the waters of Paradise with death in battle or martyrdom by quoting from the Persian passion plays, in which the dying Husain is denied water by his killers and given instead watered steel:

I made many supplications to Himar, that ill-starred wretch, begging him to pour a few drops down my throat, but that wicked villain refused, and answered that I must drink water from the edge of the sword.

Husain is then promised by the angel Gabriel that:

After this martyrdom he will enter Paradise, where lovely houris await him, and where his father, Ali, is standing ready to welcome him with a crystal cup full of cool water from the river Kawthar.<sup>10</sup>

2. *The Koran*, trans. N. J. Dawood (Harmondsworth, 1964) sura 108, p. 28.

3. D. S. Rice, "Two Unusual Mamluk Metal Works," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 20 (1957) p. 493.

4. Annemarie Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* (New York, 1982); idem, "The Celestial Garden in Islam," in *The Islamic Garden*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture IV, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington, D.C., 1976) pp. 11–39, for a discussion of the Garden of Paradise.

5. Schimmel, *As Through a Veil*, p. 108.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

7. The *dhu 'l-fakār* and its role in Islamic thought is discussed in the writer's Ph.D. thesis, "The *dhu 'l-fakār*" (New York University, 1984).

8. A large number of blades bearing this inscription have survived. Most are decorated with a dragon and phoenix in combat, and it is likely that there was an identification made between the symbol of the dragon and that of the *dhu 'l-fakār*; this issue is discussed in the writer's thesis, "The *dhu 'l-fakār*," chap. 4.

The inscription quoted above, from a blade in the Historisches Museum, Dresden, no. Y.30, is given in J. Schöbel, *Fine Arms and Armour* (New York, 1975) pp. 229–230; Schöbel does not name the translator and calls the Persian inscription Arabic.

9. Rice, "Metal Works," pp. 487–500.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 493.



1. Dagger, Ottoman, late 16th century, the guard 19th century. Hilt of green-dyed ivory, blade of steel damascened with gold, L. (blade): 7½ in. (19.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George C. Stone, 1935, 36.25.670

A dagger in the Museum's collection (Figure 1) is inscribed with a couplet written by the Ottoman poet Neçatı (died 1509), which is obviously based on the Shia accounts of the death of Husain. The lines, in Ottoman Turkish, are damascened in gold along one side of the blade:

I besought a drink of water from your trenchant dagger,  
what if but once you should let me drink, what would you lose?

A second couplet in Persian, but possibly also by Neçatı, is in the lower register:

If I thirst his dagger is not laid down [does not descend];  
by my bloody desire no water will pass through his throat.<sup>11</sup>

The clarity found in the Shia version of Husain's death is missing here, and in its place the victim asks not for water to quench his thirst but instead for a drink of water from the dagger. He craves not a drink but death, and perversely the dagger answers that his wish will not be granted. Taken together these lines play with the Shia version of Husain's martyrdom, and in so doing perhaps even subtly question the entire concept that throughout the centuries has had such an important role in the history of the Shia sect.

The verse is typically courtly in its sophistication and can be related to a number of others that describe a victim begging to be stabbed. The best example of this genre is a poem inlaid on a saber blade probably given to Archduke Maximilian, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights from 1590 to 1618. The hilt and scabbard of this weapon are of gold, studded with rubies and turquoise, and on the hilt is a fish constructed from turquoise chips. The use of this emblem means that the fittings and perhaps the verse originated in the imperial ateliers in Constantinople.<sup>12</sup>

11. The Ottoman inscription also occurs on a 16th-century blade in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, no. 1890-280, and is translated in *The Arts of Islam*, exh. cat. (London: Hayward Gallery, 1967) p. 199, no. 232. The Persian inscription translated by Cornell Fleischer, 1980.

12. The saber is in the Treasury of the Teutonic Knights in Vienna, no. 179; see B. Dudik, *Kleinodien des deutschen Ritterordens* (Vienna, 1865). The fish mark occurs on a number of Imperial Ottoman sabers including the "sword of the Prophet," now in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, which was refitted at the order of Sultan Ahmet I (1603-17).

The fish of the water of your saber  
 are on the day of battle like so many crocodile hunters.  
 You draw in anger against me your shining sword;  
 it is not necessary that you threaten me with it, because  
 fear alone already kills me.  
 The bent lines of the water of your saber are not true  
 damascening,  
 they are signs written on the water to kill me.  
 Will it satisfy your sword to kill a man like me?  
 If so, I will accept death with thanks, but then your  
 sword will be stained with my blood.  
 I beg you, kill me not with an arrow, instead show me  
 the grace to kill me with a sword,  
 because then I shall fall to the ground close to you.<sup>13</sup>

The idea of death by the sword is treated with an emotional, almost loverlike overtone. The victim asks to be killed, not with an impersonal arrow, but by the sword, so that the moment of his death becomes an intimate moment for both killer and victim. Unfortunately, the circumstances under which the poem was written are unknown. Was it merely selected from a stock of similar verses, or was it composed especially for the sultan's hereditary enemy Archduke Maximilian?

The union between killer and victim is often expressed in a blatantly erotic fashion. Inscriptions in which this occurs are generally found on dagger blades, many of them beautifully decorated and perhaps made for women.<sup>14</sup> A number of such verses have been translated and published by Anatol Ivanov;<sup>15</sup> frequently encountered in them is the image of a cruel and beautiful woman who, for unknown reasons, inflicts pain and even death with her dagger. The pain, however, while real, is also sometimes described as being delightful, and it is this identification of pain with ecstasy that gives the verses their peculiar erotic cast.

The inscription on a second dagger blade in the Museum's collection (Figure 2) does not reflect the cruel eroticism found in the verses quoted by Ivanov,



13. Translated from the Persian by Professor Fleischer, in Dudik, *Kleinodien*, p. 48, and from the German by Dörte Alexander.

14. Ottoman women of the 17th century wearing daggers are depicted in Alberto Arbasino, *I turchi* (Parma, 1971) p. 119.

15. A. Ivanov, "A Group of Iranian Daggers of the Period from the Fifteenth Century to the Beginning of the Seventeenth, with Persian Inscriptions," in R. Elgood, ed., *Islamic Arms and Armour* (London, 1979) pp. 74-75.

2. Dagger: hilt, European, 16th century; blade, Ottoman, mid-16th century. Blade of steel damascened with gold, L. overall: 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (26.4 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.159



3. Spearhead, Persian, 16th century. Steel damascened with gold, L. 15 in. (38.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George C. Stone, 1935, 36.25.2087



4. Dagger: blade, Persian, dated 1732/3; hilt, Indian, 19th century; scabbard, Ottoman, 19th century. Blade of steel, chiseled and inlaid in gold, L.: 18 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (47.3 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George C. Stone, 1935, 36.25.994

but it does deal with matters of love, specifically with the fate of an unfaithful lover. The Persian inscription reads:

It is a dagger since it attempted the life of the bloody-livered lover.

My Turk took it (in gold wrapped) and bound it to his sash.<sup>16</sup>

Two final examples demonstrate the variety of uses poets were able to make of the ambiguity inherent in the word for water. One employs the image to make a straightforward comment about the function of a weapon, in this case a spearhead (Figure 3). Although the words “drink, water, fountainhead” evoke, if not the Garden of Paradise, then at least a pleasant

and relaxed ambience, it comes as a shock to realize that the poet is extolling the weapon’s success in killing. The Persian inscription damascened in gold on the spearhead reads: “Constantly it drinks the water from the fountainhead of the heart.”<sup>17</sup>

In the other example, the image of water is used to praise the beauty of the watered-steel blade. This curved, boldly chiseled blade (Figure 4) was made in Shiraz in the year 1732/3 and bears a verse likening it to a crescent moon of frozen water, which will sit in the belt of the sun, that is, the ruler:

In the Time of the (eternally lasting) rule of the ruler  
[*khaqan*] of devotion,  
the just Shah, the monarch of Dara’s virtues,  
the world’s soul, the locus of manifestation of Ali’s  
kindness,  
the leader of the age, the king [*Khdiv*] of ocean and  
land,  
following that model of the skillful.  
Like a crescent from the water of licit essence[?]  
for the sun a crescent in the belt.  
The pride of the master Nasi-i Ardalan  
made a pretty dagger in Shiraz.<sup>18</sup>

16. Trans. Cornell Fleischer, 1980.

17. Trans. Cornell Fleischer, 1980.

18. Trans. Annemarie Schimmel, 1982. Dr. Schimmel notes that the inscription is partly in verse and has rhymes but that the meter and grammar are not always correct. The verse ends with a chronogram which is apparently without sense.

# Some Elements of Armor Attributed to Niccolò Silva

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THE MILANESE ARMORER Niccolò Silva (recorded 1511–49) is one of the few sixteenth-century Italian armorers known through both documents and signed works.<sup>1</sup> All of Silva's recognized armors, each bearing a variant of his personal mark, are now preserved in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris. This small group includes: G.7 (Figure 1) and G.9, two armors for field (i.e., battle) and tilt; G.178 (Figure 2), a unique Italian armor constructed and decorated in the German fashion (*alla tedesca*) for use in foot combat; and G.Po.555, a field armor traditionally believed to have been made for King Manuel I of Portugal (reigned 1495–1521). All four harnesses are datable to the period around 1510–15, relatively early in Silva's documented career. One of the salient features of these armors is the remarkably high quality of the etched and gilded decoration. This decoration can be distinguished from most contemporary Milanese armor etching—which tends to be light and very sketchy in character—by an elegance and precision of draughtsmanship, and possibly also by the use of certain ornamental motifs that seem to be found only on armors by Silva. The purpose of this note is to discuss the attribution to Silva of several unmarked pieces of armor, now in the Metropolitan Museum and in the Museo Stibbert, Florence, in an effort to expand and refine the oeuvre of this distinguished armorer.

The first piece is a pauldron for the left shoulder in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 3–6).<sup>2</sup> It is composed of four plates, a broad main plate with two upward-overlapping plates above it, and one downward-overlapping plate below. The upper edges of the main plate are bent outward at the front to form an

upright neck guard known as a haute-piece. The main plate is pierced at the front (see Figure 3) by a large circular hole; slightly below it, there is a large flat rivet head of circular shape. The function of this hole and rivet is not clear, though presumably they served to secure a reinforcing plate.

The pauldron is etched along its principal edges and across the surfaces of the main plate with narrow bands of floral scrolls and zigzag, braided, and "threaded-button" ornament. Each band is framed by

1. The identity of Niccolò Silva, extrapolated from the evidence of his workshop marks (a crowned compass and the letters NI, NS, or SILVA) etched (or engraved) on the armors, was proposed by B. Thomas and O. Gamber, "L'arte milanese dell'armatura," *Storia di Milano* 11 (1958) p. 735, and, independently, by C. Blair, "The Silvered Armour of Henry VIII in the Tower of London," *Archaeologia* 99 (1965) pp. 22–24. Blair was also responsible for locating in the notarial archives of the Archivio di Stato, Milan, a series of thirty-three documents dating between Mar. 10, 1511, and Nov. 14, 1549, in which "Nicolaus de Silva" is mentioned. I have followed L. G. Boccia and E. T. Coelho, *L'arte milanese dell'armatura* (Milan, 1967) pp. 232–233, 235–236, in using the Italian version of Silva's Christian name. For the most recent discussion of the Silva group see Jean-Pierre Reverseau, *Musée de l'Armée, Paris: Les Armes et la vie* (Paris, 1982) pp. 118–121. A. V. B. Norman and L. G. Boccia are currently preparing detailed studies of Silva's armor, including the interrelationship of armors G.7, G.10, and G.178.

2. As this pauldron has not previously been published, it may be useful to give here some notes on its construction. The uppermost plate has an angular inward-turned edge and is pierced with a series of four (three large and one small) circular holes through which the pauldron was laced to the arming jacket. The uppermost edge of the haute-piece also has a narrow inward turn. The four plates are connected by rivets (all modern) at the sides, with a sliding rivet in the center of the lowermost plate. The pauldron has lost the lower plates that would have

a double line bordered by a cusped line; at the bottom edge of the haute-piece the cusped line sprouts three-petaled flowers (see Figure 3). The entire surface of the haute-piece is etched with a scene showing three pairs of armored knights on horseback jousting at one another with lances (see Figures 5, 6). The figures are set in a low, sparsely delineated landscape of hillocks with little tufts of grass, with a turreted castle at the right and puffy clouds above. The background of the etching is crosshatched and, in spite of the badly corroded surface, retains traces of the original gilding.

It is the presence of figural decoration on the haute-piece that clearly links this pauldron to the signed works of Niccolò Silva. Similar equestrian figures dressed in a characteristic form of light cavalry armor, including open burgonet-type helmets with pivoted peaks and separate chin defenses (bevors), also decorate the haute-piece on the left pauldron of armor G.7 (Figures 1, 7) and the haute-piece on the right pauldron of armor G.178 (Figures 2, 8) in the Musée de l'Armée. The figural scene on the Metropolitan Museum's haute-piece is particularly close to that of G.178, which represents two pairs of similarly dressed combatants within a stylized landscape of the very same type. Figural compositions of this kind are not found on any Milanese armors of the period other than those bearing Silva's marks, and may thus be considered a hallmark of his workshop. The general form and construction of the Museum's pauldron, as well as its decoration, also compare closely to those of the pauldron on armor G.7 in Paris, and can be assigned a similar date of about 1510–15.

The Museum's pauldron may also be compared to a left pauldron for field use in the Museo Stibbert, Florence (Figures 9, 10),<sup>3</sup> which, though also unsigned, has been attributed to Silva.<sup>4</sup> The entire surface of the Stibbert pauldron is etched and gilded, with parallel bands of trophies and floral ornament covering the main surfaces, and a densely populated infantry battle between two groups of pikemen on the haute-piece. The costumes of the soldiers (slashed or striped in the German fashion), and in particular the form of helmet and bevor, are very similar to those on the Metropolitan Museum's pauldron and on the Paris armors G.7 and G.178. These pieces were almost certainly etched by the same craftsman. The extensive decoration of the Stibbert pauldron suggests that it was once part of an extraordinarily rich har-

ness. If so, it would have been one of the earliest known armors etched and gilded overall and perhaps Silva's masterpiece.

A second piece in the Metropolitan Museum, a breastplate (Figures 11, 12), is also related by decoration to the group of Silva armors.<sup>5</sup> The breast is

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covered the upper arm (compare this to the complete pauldron illustrated in Figure 9). The interior of each plate bears two notches, which may have been added in the armorer's workshop to distinguish this pauldron from another belonging to a different armor.

The pauldron has been traced to the collection of John Beardmore and is illustrated in his *Catalogue with Illustrations of the Collection of Ancient Arms and Armor, at Uplands, near Fareham, Hampshire* (London, 1844) pl. III, no. 55. Later owned by Seymour Lucas, R.A., it was sold with his collection at Christie's, London, on May 27, 1903, no. 80, ill. (Beardmore provenance given); see also F. H. Cripps-Day, *A Record of Armour Sales, 1881–1924* (London, 1925) p. 133, fig. 67, no. 80. The pauldron subsequently passed into the Frank G. Macomber collection in Boston, which was purchased en bloc by John L. Severance for the Cleveland Museum of Art. It was acquired by Bashford Dean from that museum by exchange in 1916, and was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum from Dean's estate in 1929.

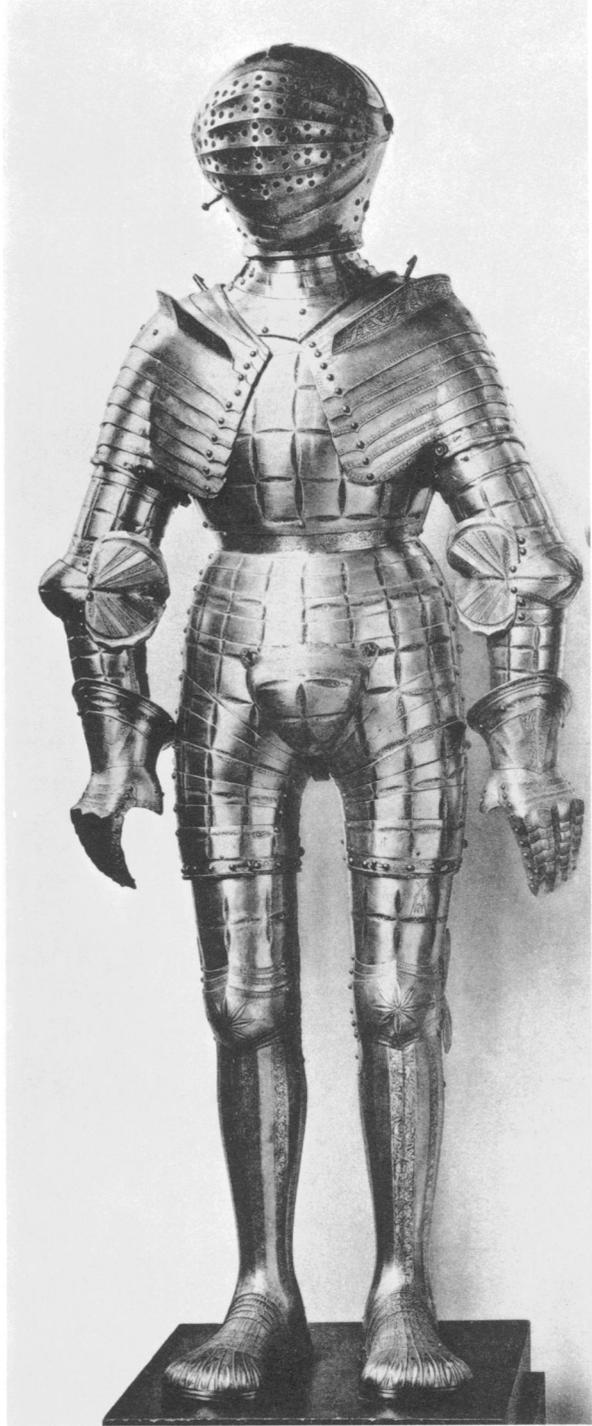
3. Alfredo Lensi, *Il Museo Stibbert: Catalogo delle sale delle armi europee* (Florence, 1917–18) II, pp. 495–496, inv. nos. 3122, 3127, pl. cxxxii. Figure 9 shows the three upper plates of the pauldron (inv. no. 3122) reunited with the three lower plates (inv. no. 3127). The pauldron of six lames was still complete when catalogued at the sale of the earl of Londesborough's collection (Christie's, London, July 4, 1888, no. 132), but the two halves appear to have become separated after they entered Frederick Stibbert's collection. Lensi apparently did not recognize their association and as a result catalogued them separately (erroneously describing no. 3127 as five plates rather than three). This pauldron may be the one described in the sale catalogue published by Oxenham and Son, London, of July 21, 1842, no. 52: "A magnificent passe guard pauldron, finely engraved with battles, figures in costume, etc. This very fine specimen is of Spanish workmanship and of the date of Henry VIII." This description might also refer to the Metropolitan Museum's pauldron, but the Stibbert example is the one more likely to be described as "magnificent."

4. By L. G. Boccia, in *Il Museo Stibbert a Firenze: III. L'armaria europea* (Milan, 1975) I, p. 78, no. 120, II, figs. 107, 110; and also L. G. Boccia, F. Rossi, and M. Morin, *Armi e armature lombarde* (Milan, 1980) pp. 102–103, pl. 95.

5. See C. O. v. Kienbusch and S. V. Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection of Arms and Armor in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Portland, 1933) pp. 144–145, no. 64, pl. xxxvi, where Grancsay correctly observed the stylistic links between this breastplate and the pauldron 29.158.81 (Figures 3–6), and the similarity of the etched decoration of both pieces to the Silva armors G.7 and G.178 in Paris. Prior to the discovery of Silva's identity, the marks on his armors were considered to be those of the Negrolì workshop of Milan, an attribution repeated by Grancsay in 1933.



1. Armor by Niccolò Silva (recorded 1511-49), ca. 1510-15. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. no. G.7 (photo: after Boccia et al., *Armi e armature lombarde*, pl. 94)



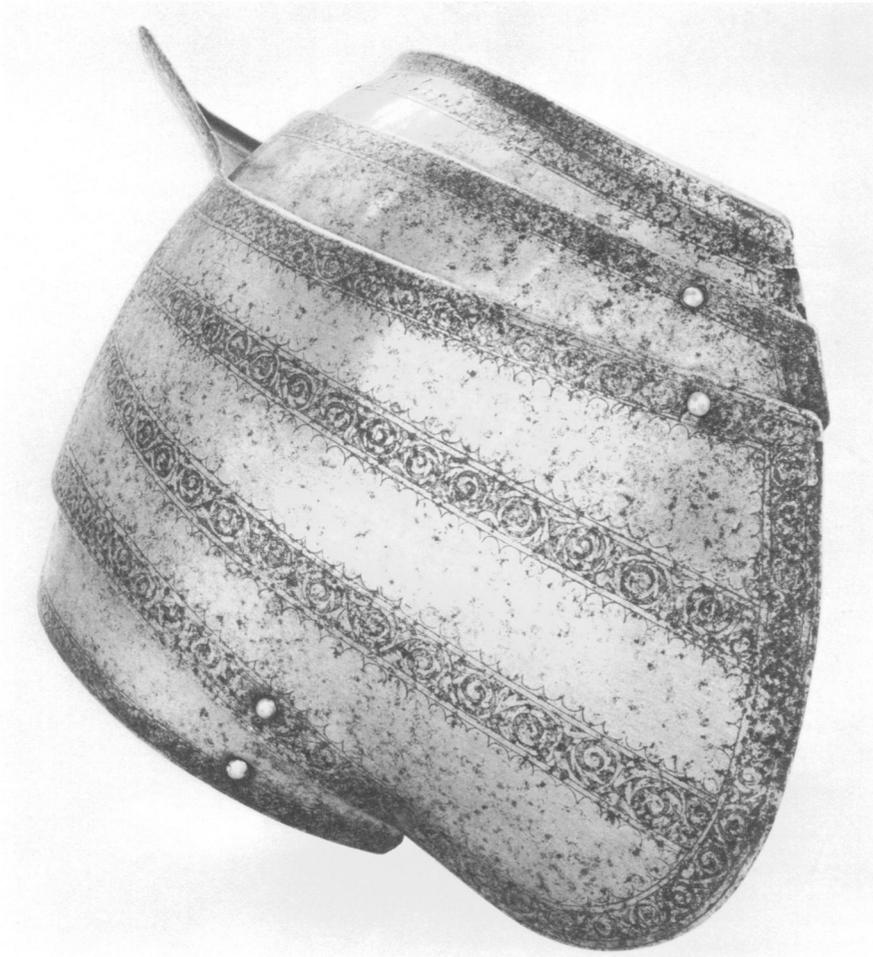
2. Foot-combat armor by Silva, ca. 1510-15. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. no. G.178 (photo: copyright Musée de l'Armée, Paris)

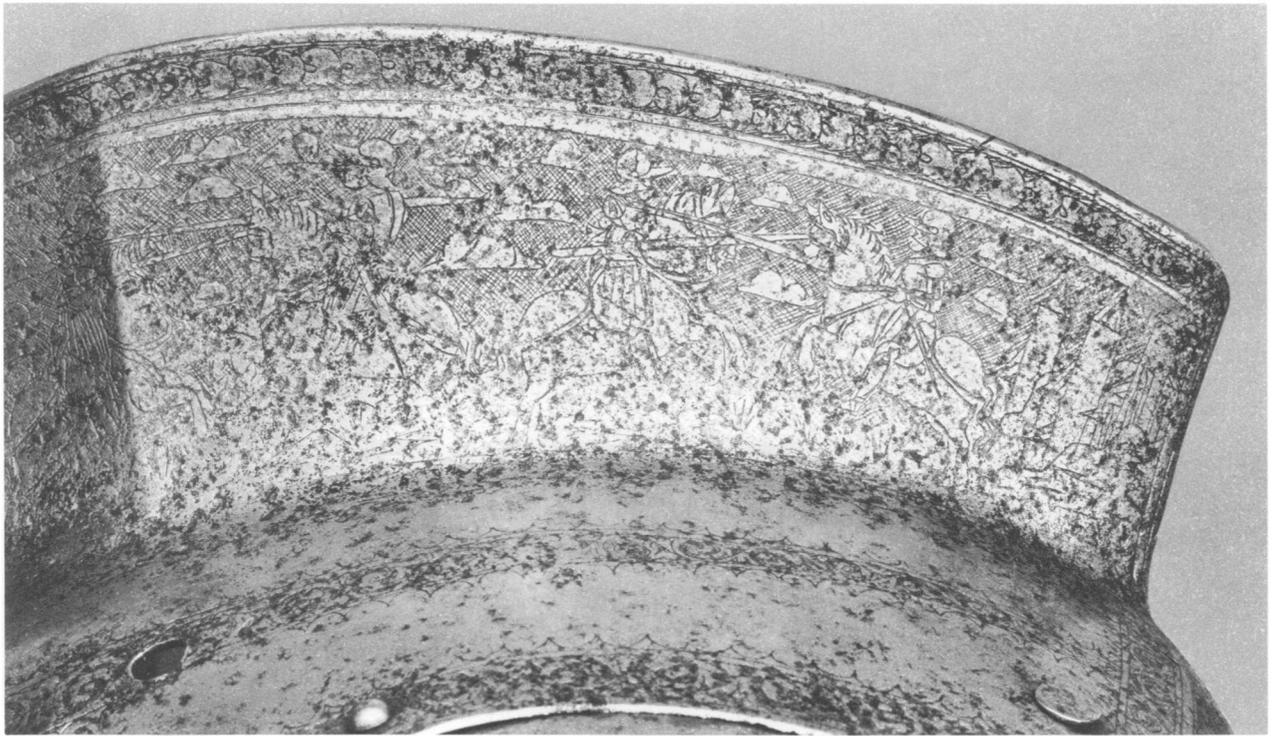
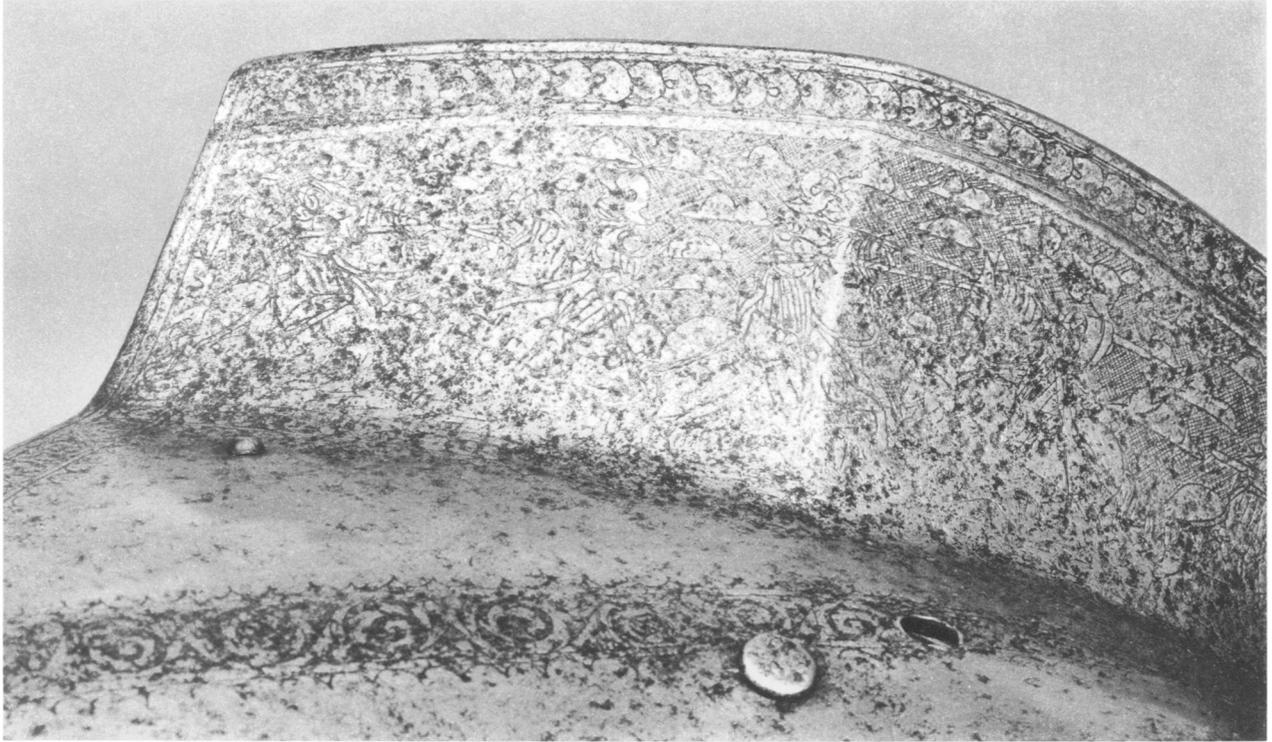


3, 4. Left pauldron attributed to Silva, ca. 1510–15. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Funds from various donors, 29.158.81

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5, 6. Details of Figure 3, showing the etched decoration on the haute-piece







7. Detail of Figure 1, showing the haute-piece of the left pauldron of armor G.7 (photo: copyright Musée de l'Armée, Paris)

8. Haute-piece of the right pauldron of armor G.178 illustrated in Figure 2 (drawing: after G.-L. Niox, *Le Musée de l'Armée: Armes et armures anciennes . . .*, Paris, 1917, p. 12)



9. Left pauldron attributed to Silva, ca. 1510–15. Florence, Museo Stibbert, inv. nos. 3122, 3127 (photo: Museo Stibbert)



forged from a single plate of steel, with a pronounced medial ridge down the center and with large angular outward turns at the neck and armholes. The four vertically arranged holes at the right side of the breast originally held pierced staples by which the lance rest was attached. The presence of a lance rest indicates that the breastplate served for field use, and possibly for the tilt as well.<sup>6</sup> A single waist plate (originally there would have been two or three, to which the tassets would have been attached) with medial ridge is attached to the flange of the breastplate by turning pins. The form of the breastplate is comparable to that on G.7 and is probably of contemporary date. The breastplate is etched near the top with a frieze formed of three compartments enclosing figures (see Figure 12). In the center compartment is a naked Christ Child as *Salvator Mundi*, with an orb and cross in his left hand, his right hand raised in blessing; he is encircled by a wreath and fluttering

10. Detail of Figure 9, showing the etched decoration on the haute-piece (photo: Museo Stibbert)



ribbon. The compartment on the viewer's left contains St. John the Baptist,<sup>7</sup> that on the right St. Sebastian. Both saints stand in front of hilly landscapes with

6. The purpose of the three holes across the top of the breastplate is not clear, though perhaps they served to attach some form of reinforcing breastplate for the tilt. Their placement, however, is highly unusual, and it is likely that the large center hole, crudely pierced from behind, is modern. Other modifications may be noted. The waist lame, now held by modern turning pins, originally may have been held rigid to the flange of the breastplate by rivets; the crudely cut guide slots at each side of the breastplate interrupt the decoration and may also be later alterations.

7. Not St. Christopher, as identified by Grancsay in *The Bashford Dean Collection*, p. 144, and subsequently by Boccia, in Boccia et al., *Armi e armature lombarde*, p. 97. The figure possesses many of the traditional attributes of John the Baptist: he is a tall, bearded man who wears what appears to be a hair tunic, carries a reed cross, and holds in his left hand the Lamb of God, to which he points with his right index finger. The motto *Ecce Agnus Dei* sometimes accompanies such a figure and may have been intended for the unscribed banderole behind the figure on the breastplate. For the costume and attributes of St. John the Baptist, see, e.g., L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1956) II, pt. 1, p. 439.



11. Breastplate, ca. 1510–15. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Bequest of Bashford Dean, 29.150.78

turreted buildings and clouds. The irregularly shaped areas above the frieze are filled with circular medallions enclosing classical profile heads, the interstices filled with foliage. The area below is decorated down the center with a vertical band filled with trophies of classical arms and armor suspended from a ribbon and, on either side, with diagonal bands of floral scrolls converging toward the center. The framing elements of the frieze and the turns at the neck and armholes are etched with bands of zigzag and threaded-button ornament. The waist plate is decorated to match. The ground of the etching is crosshatched and blackened, and bears no traces of gilding.

This breastplate has been attributed to Silva by L. G. Boccia, presumably on the evidence of its etched decoration.<sup>8</sup> A frieze of saints across the top of the breast, the profile medallions, and the floral, trophy, and geometric ornament are common features of Milanese armor decoration in the early sixteenth century. The inclusion, however, of a grand basinet among the trophies of arms at the center of the breastplate is a detail that is usually—if not exclusively—found on Silva armors. The same grand basinet with rounded visor, cusped brow reinforce, and straps crossing at the back of the helmet is found in several places on

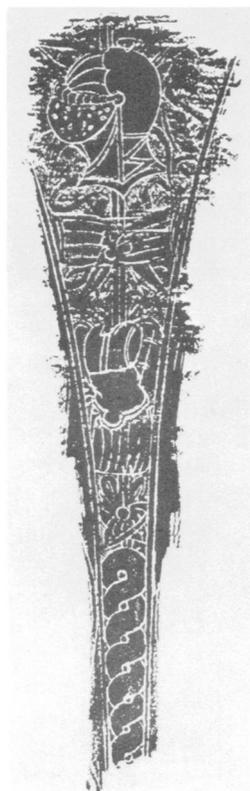
8. Boccia et al., *Armi e armature lombarde*, p. 97, pl. 86, where the breastplate is dated to ca. 1500–10, before Silva's documented period.



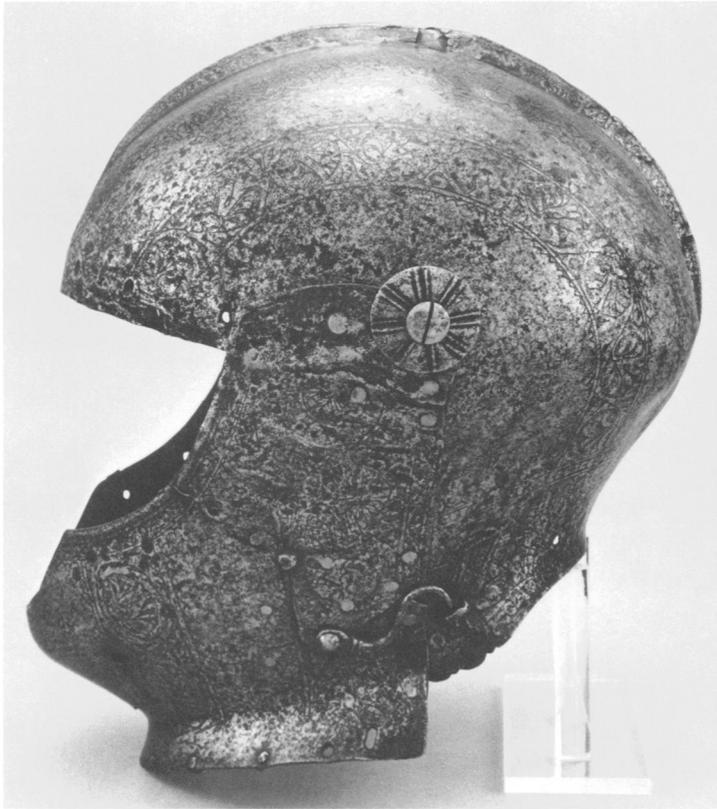
12. Detail of Figure 11, showing the etched decoration on the upper half of the breastplate

the foot-combat armor G.178 (Figure 13), and on the Stibbert pauldron attributed to Silva. There are also similarities between the forms of the landscape and clouds behind the saints on the Metropolitan Museum's breastplate and those already seen on the haute-pieces of Silva's signed armors.

Yet the sketchiness—one might almost say carelessness—of the etching on the Metropolitan Museum's breastplate, so unlike the clear and precise drawing that characterizes the etching on Silva's armors in Paris, makes the attribution to Silva a rather tenuous one. Though the etching may have been executed by a less skilled craftsman in Silva's shop, it may also have been done in a different armorer's shop



13. Etched decoration on the backplate of armor G.178 illustrated in Figure 2 (rubbing: after Boccia and Coelho, *L'arte milanese dell'armatura*, p. 235)



14. Close helmet, Italian, ca. 1510–15. The Art Institute of Chicago, George F. Harding Collection, inv. no. 90 (photo: Art Institute)

making use of similar ornamental designs. Evidence in favor of this conclusion—that the breastplate originates in a workshop other than Silva’s—is found in the form of a fragmentary Italian close helmet, of about 1510–15, in the George F. Harding Collection (Figure 14).<sup>9</sup> This helmet, which is badly preserved and lacks its visor, lames at the back of the neck, and collar lames, is etched with bands of foliate and trophy ornament very similar in style to those on the Metropolitan Museum’s breastplate. Like the breastplate, too, the decoration of the helmet is blackened for contrast and seems never to have been gilded. The trophies of arms, including a grand basinet (in Figure 14, above the hook securing the bevor to the skull), are drawn in a loose, sloppy manner reminiscent more of the etching on the breastplate than on Silva’s armors in Paris. On either side of the comb at the back of the helmet is an armorer’s mark in the form of two crossed keys, the bits downward, be-

neath a crown.<sup>10</sup> This mark is generally attributed to the workshop of the Milanese armorer Domenico dei Barini, called Negroli, recorded between 1492 and 1516. The existence of this helmet, with its peculiarly Silva-like decoration, but with marks of a different armorer, serves as a caution against the attribution of unmarked armors on the basis of their decoration alone.

Another detached element of armor, a reinforcing plate for a right pauldron (Figure 15), now in the Museo Stibbert, can be attributed to Silva with greater certainty.<sup>11</sup> Formed of a single plate, it is etched and gilded with eight narrow bands of the now familiar floral scrolls edged by cusped lines also found on Silva’s Paris armors and the Metropolitan Museum’s pauldron. On the Stibbert reinforce the bands converge toward a circular medallion at the center that encloses a bearded and helmeted profile head of a classical warrior. Identical medallions with profile heads are also found on G.178 and the Museum’s breastplate. The Stibbert reinforce can, in fact, be shown actually to belong to the Silva foot-combat armor G.178. The engraving of this armor made by J.-B.-L. Carré in 1783, when it was still part of the *cabinet d’armes* at the château of Chantilly, shows in a poor rendering what appears to be this plate mounted on the right pauldron.<sup>12</sup> Following the Revolution, Chantilly was seized by the French government, and in 1793 the collection of arms was transferred to Paris, first to the Louvre and subsequently to the Musée d’Artillerie (since 1905 the Musée de l’Armée), which

9. Inv. no. 90; purchased by Harding in 1925 from the Paris dealer Louis Bachereau.

10. The marks are etched rather than stamped with a punch as was usual. Etched (or engraved) armorers’ marks are rare, though most are found on Italian armors dating around 1500, e.g., on three Milanese armors for the tilt, one in the Waffensammlung, Vienna, inv. no. B.2, and two others in the armory of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice, inv. nos. C.5, C.6; see Boccia and Coelho, *L’arte dell’armatura in Italia*, figs. 145–152. Silva’s marks are, of course, also etched. For the identification of the crossed-keys marks as those of Domenico Negroli, see Thomas and Gamber, “L’arte milanese dell’armatura,” pp. 734–735, and especially L. G. Boccia, *Le armature di S. Maria delle Grazie di Curatone di Mantova e l’armatura lombarda del ’400* (Milan, 1982) p. 291, mark 140.

11. Lensi, *Il Museo Stibbert*, I, p. 188, no. 1031; Boccia, *Il Museo Stibbert a Firenze*, I, p. 80, no. 128, II, pl. 123; Boccia et al., *Armi e armature lombarde*, p. 96, pl. 85.

12. Published posthumously in J.-B.-L. Carré, *La Panoplie* (Paris, 1795) pl. xxxi.

was then housed in the former convent of St.-Thomas-d'Aquin.<sup>13</sup> Shortly after entering the museum, the armor was engraved on two different occasions, one engraving published in the French periodical *Athenaeum* in June 1806, the other by Dubois and Marchais in 1807 (Figure 16).<sup>14</sup> These engravings are more accurate than that of Carré, and clearly show the reinforcing plate mounted on the right pauldron. At some later date, perhaps on July 28, 1830 (during the so-called July Revolution), when the Musée d'Artillerie was pillaged, the plate disappeared. Its rediscovery serves to complete our understanding of the original appearance of this armor by Niccolò Silva, the only armor for foot combat by an Italian armorer that has been preserved.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank L. G. Boccia, Superintendent of the Museo Stibbert, Florence, J.-P. Reverseau, Curator in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, and Dr. Leonid Tarassuk, Consulting Curator for the George F. Harding Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago, for allowing me to examine the armor in their respective museums and for providing photographs of the same. A. V. B. Norman and I have independently recognized the connection of the Stibbert reinforcing plate no. 1031 to Silva's armor G.178 in Paris, and I am most grateful for his permission to mention it here prior to his forthcoming study of Silva's armors.

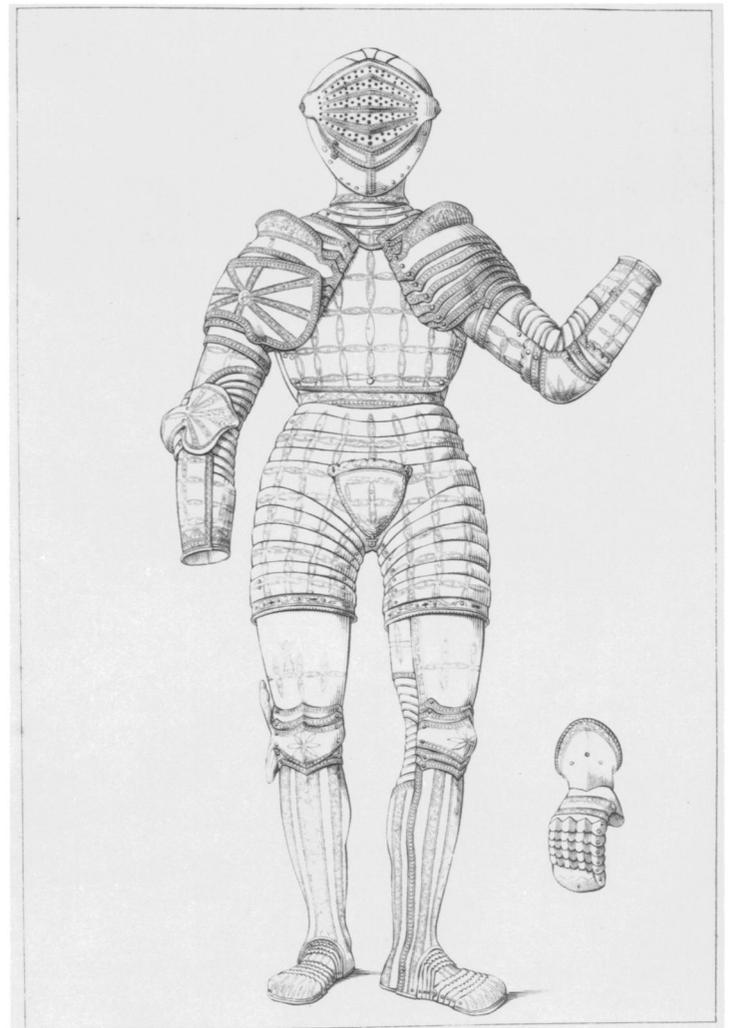
13. For the history of the *cabinet d'armes* at Chantilly, see my forthcoming study based upon an unpublished inventory made of that collection in 1793.

14. Dubois and Marchais, *Dessins des armures complètes, casques, cuirasses, boucliers, armes offensives et défensives de divers pays et de différents siècles, qui composent le Musée Impérial de l'Artillerie de France, et les plus beaux cabinets particuliers* (Paris, 1807) pl. iv. The two engravings were published by Charles Buttin in connection with his study of armor G.178, "Une Prétendue Armure de Jeanne d'Arc," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 72 (1913) pp. 1–56. On the evidence of the engravings Buttin recognized that a reinforcing plate for the right pauldron had indeed once belonged to armor G.178, and he made an unsuccessful search for it in the Musée de l'Armée.



15. Reinforcing plate for a right pauldron, by Silva, ca. 1510–15. Florence, Museo Stibbert, inv. no. 1031 (photo: Museo Stibbert)

16. Foot-combat armor G.178 (see Figure 2) with the reinforcing plate illustrated in Figure 15 mounted on the right pauldron (engraving: after Dubois and Marchais, *Dessins des armures complètes . . .*, 1807)



# Canini Versus Maratti: Two Versions of a Frontispiece

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IN 1952 The Metropolitan Museum of Art bought a drawing which has proved something of a puzzle (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> Although it bears an old attribution to Franceschini, it was rightly recognized by Nicholas Turner as the work of Giovanni Angelo Canini (Rome, 1617?–66). However, despite the word *ACADEMIA* on the tablet, the drawing's subject and purpose have remained obscure.<sup>2</sup> It is my intention in this note to identify the former and to put forward a suggestion as to the latter.

The key to the meaning of the image lies in its striking similarity to a print by Guillaume Vallet after Carlo Maratti (Figure 2),<sup>3</sup> which, as the inscription on the banderole makes clear, serves as the frontispiece to the *Fasti Senenses*. This book, containing a collection of the lives of the Siennese saints, was published by the Accademia degli Intronati in Siena in 1661 and dedicated to Pope Alexander VII Chigi, a descendant of an old noble Siennese family and himself a member of the Accademia under the name of "il Guadagno."<sup>4</sup> In fact the book has two frontispieces, that designed by Maratti being the first. The second was designed by Raffaello Vanni, a Siennese artist living in Rome, and was also engraved by Vallet in Rome; this second frontispiece, in obvious reference to the contents of the book, represents Siena, accompanied by her traditional wolf and twins, kneeling before the Virgin, with the Siennese saints thronging the clouds (Figure 3).

It is, however, Maratti's frontispiece that primarily concerns us. It is so close to Canini's drawing that a verbal description would serve almost equally well for both: a young person (definitely female in the Maratti, androgynous but probably male in the Canini), crowned with laurel, is kneeling beside a spear (or

staff) and a cornucopia (or basket) of fruit, and splashing water onto the roots of a gourd plant which twines around an oak tree at the right; against the tree hangs a large gourd with a hole cut in its side and crossed pestles above it, being supported by winged putti (or a putto). In the background figures advance towards and up a mountain with several subsidiary peaks, on the summit of which stands a figure surrounded by a star-shaped radiance (or with a star above its head).

If the second frontispiece refers to the subject of the book, the first refers to the institution publishing it, the Accademia degli Intronati, the emblem of which is a gourd of the type used in Tuscany to store salt and keep it dry, with two crossed pestles and the motto *MELIORA LATENT*. Its meaning depends on the use of the gourd and salt as metaphors for the head and wits

1. Purchased by the Department of Prints in 1952, the drawing was transferred to the Department of Drawings in 1980. Jacob Bean with the assistance of Lawrence Turčič, *15th and 16th Century Italian Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1982) no. 3 of Appendix, "17th Century Italian Drawings Acquired Since 1978," as G. A. Canini, "Allegorical Composition with a Young Man Kneeling Before a Tree," repr. p. 298. Jacob Bean has generously provided unstinting help in the preparation of this article.

2. Nicholas Turner, "Drawings by Giovanni Angelo Canini," *Master Drawings* 16 (1978) pp. 387–396. Turner proposed to see in the object held against the tree by the putto "the Chigi *stemma* of three *monti* surmounted by a star (rendered as if in soft sculpture)," which would be a somewhat surprising anticipation of Claes Oldenburg. But his conclusion that the drawing "was made for a Chigi-backed academy" turns out to be correct, even if the academy was not, as he supposed, in Rome.

3. The plate mark of the print in the British Library copy of the book measures 23.7 × 17 cm.

4. Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, MS. Y.1.20, p. 25.



1. Giovanni Angelo Canini (1617?-66), *The Impresa of the Accademia degli Intronati*, ca. 1660. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk, on brown-washed paper,  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$  in. (24.0  $\times$  16.9 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1952, 1980.119



2. Guillaume Vallet (1632–1704), after Carlo Maratti (1625–1713), First frontispiece of *Fasti Senenses*, 1661(?). Engraving,  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$  in. (23.6 × 16.0 cm.), trimmed to image line with artists' names below. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 51.501.2657



3. Vallet, after Raffaello Vanni (1587–1673), Second frontispiece of *Fasti Senenses*, ca. 1660. Engraving. Reproduced by permission of The Burke Library of Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York (photo: Lawrence Turčić)

(compare the Italian saying that a gourd without salt is like a head without wits), while the pestles indicate the exercises by which the members of the Academy refine and cultivate their intelligence.<sup>5</sup> As one could guess even without the inscription *ALIT ARTES* (which looks rather like an afterthought),<sup>6</sup> the woman is nurturing the vine on which the gourds grow. The laurel wreath on her head, and the spear and cornucopia which she has evidently put down in order to perform her task, indicate that she is to be seen as Virtue, for among the various alternatives that Cesare Ripa gives for the portrayal of such a personification is one of “a woman, dressed in gold, full of majesty, holding in her right hand a spear and in her left a cornucopia full of various fruits . . . ,” and another is to be “crowned with laurel.”<sup>7</sup>

The background of Maratti’s design seems to suggest the difficult path that members of the Academy must traverse, and one of them, apparently seen from

the back, has reached the plateau on the top and stands within the aura of light. The fact that this light is in the form of a star, and shines above a mountain with several subsidiary rises (even if there are more than three of them), is surely to be seen as a reference to the star and three *monti* in two quarters of the Chigi arms, just as the oak tree up which the vine grows must refer to the oak in the other two quarters, indicating the pope to whom the book is dedicated. Perhaps it would not be too fanciful to see the figure who has reached the summit as Alexander VII himself.

Undoubtedly the Canini drawing represents the same subject. There are some differences from Maratti’s design, of which the most interesting is the characterization of the men in the middle ground as a warrior, a scholar with a book, and an artist with a palette; a fourth head is visible behind the scholar, but no body or attributes are to be seen. Other differences, however, may be ultimately more significant. The objects on the ground behind the kneeling figure are less defined than in the Maratti version, the staff having no visible spearhead, and the fruit being contained in something which cannot be identified as a cornucopia; lacking Virtue’s specific attributes and apparently male, this figure has no clear meaning. On the other hand, the figure on the top of the mountain, who, in the Maratti version, has no particular identity, is depicted by Canini as winged, holding a spear in one hand and a wreath in the other, attributes which correspond to those of yet another personification of Virtue described, and illustrated, in Ripa’s *Iconologia*: “a beautiful and graceful young woman, with wings on her shoulders, holding in her right hand a lance and in her left a wreath of laurel, with a sun on her breast.”<sup>8</sup>

5. Michele Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia* III (Bologna, 1929) p. 366.

6. Joan R. Mertens, curator of Greek and Roman Art in the Metropolitan Museum, has suggested that this inscription may have been intended as a pun. While the Latin “*alit artes*” means “it [or ‘she’] nourishes the arts,” the similar-sounding Greek *ἄλις* (genitive *ἄλιος*) means the sea, specifically the shallow water near the shore, and also salt; already in classical times the plural *ἄλες* was used to refer to the wits, in just the same way as was the salt in the gourd of the Academy’s impresa. Such a Latin/Greek pun would have been altogether in keeping with the erudite wit of a learned academy.

7. *Iconologia di Cesare Ripa perugino* . . . (ed. of Venice, 1645) pp. 671, 672.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 672.

What then was the purpose of this drawing?

The first frontispiece of the *Fasti Senenses* is basically no more than an elaboration of the emblem of the Accademia degli Intronati. Such an image as Canini's might have served equally well for some other publication, or for an independent painting made for the Academy, and even the reference to the Chigi arms might not have been inappropriate, since, in addition to the pope, his two nephews Agostino and Cardinal Flavio Chigi were both members of the Intronati.<sup>9</sup> But no such book is known, nor is there any record of such a painting.<sup>10</sup> It seems far more likely that Canini's drawing represents an alternative project for the same print, which was subsequently executed according to Maratti's design.

This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that, as has been shown, the two designs can be described in almost the same words. Thus, both drawings could have been produced in response to the same program, which one may suppose was supplied to the artists by the patron who commissioned the print.

Why two drawings should have been made is harder to determine, but a possible explanation emerges from the account books of Cardinal Flavio Chigi. The cardinal took a great personal interest in the *Fasti Senenses*, paying for a copy to be made before publication,<sup>11</sup> and for the engraving and printing of at least the first frontispiece, if not also the second. Both Canini and Maratti had already worked for him (as had Raffaello Vanni's brother, Michelangelo), and Canini in particular was something of a protégé; he was employed by the cardinal on a number of other projects before his death in 1666, and was chosen to accompany the cardinal's legation to Paris in 1664, to draw the various sights along the route.<sup>12</sup> If there are no payments recorded to any of the draughtsmen for designing the prints, that is in no way surprising, for such drawings were the kind of thing that an artist would be expected to produce for his patron without a fee, and that he would be happy to do in the hope of obtaining favor and some more significant commission. With both Canini and Maratti, such hopes would have been amply fulfilled.

There are, however, payments for the engravings—in fact, it would seem, too many. The *Registro di mandati* for 1660–61 records three payments for frontispieces to the *Fasti*: the first, on March 3, 1660, was for sixty *scudi* repaid to the abate Nicolò Piccolomini “for a similar sum he had paid for the plate engraved for the frontispiece of the book entitled *fasti*

*senenses*”;<sup>13</sup> the second, of April 6, 1660, was for thirty-five *scudi* paid to Vallet “for having engraved in copper the impresa of the Accademia degli Intronati”;<sup>14</sup> and the third, of December 19, 1661, was for the same sum to be paid to Vallet “for having engraved a frontispiece which will be placed in the book entitled *fasti senenses*.”<sup>15</sup> Finally, Giacomo de Rossi was paid to print 600 plates.<sup>16</sup>

This may seem confusing, even allowing for the fact that there are two frontispieces. It is clear that the second payment must refer to the frontispiece that concerns us, representing the impresa of the Academy. I suggest, albeit with some hesitation, that the first payment may have been for the second frontispiece, for this includes on the base behind the figure of Siena a coat of arms surmounted by the crown of a marchese, which I have not succeeded in identifying; evidently this cannot have been a direct Chigi commission, but it is not inconceivable that Flavio

9. Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, MS. Y.1.20, p. 29; Agostino bore the name “il Degnevole,” and Flavio “il Pareggiato.”

10. I am grateful to Professor Paolo Nardi, secretary of the Accademia degli Intronati, who investigated this question on my behalf.

11. A payment to his steward of 13 *scudi*, in repayment of the same sum paid to Giacomo Voccello “per la copiatura di un libro intitolato *fasti senenses* copiato per ordine di Sua Eminenza,” is registered under January 13, 1660, in the cardinal's *Registro di mandati* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [BAV], Archivio Chigi, vol. 536; I have expanded the contractions).

12. For the Chigi patronage see Vincenzo Golzio, *Documenti artistici sul seicento nell'archivio Chigi* (Rome, 1939); for Canini's drawings of the legation see Heinrich Brauer, “Giovan Angelo Canini als Landschaftszeichner,” in the unpublished “Festschrift für Walter Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag” (1933; typescript in the Warburg Institute Library, London).

13. BAV, Archivio Chigi, vol. 536, *mandato* 3218: “Sig.ri Pietro e Filippo Nerli li piacerà pagare al Sig.re Abbe.e Nicolo Piccolomini scudi sessanta m.ta quali gli facciamo pagare per suo rimb.o de altrettante pagati per il rame intagliato del frontespizio del libro intit.o *fasti senenses* . . . 3 Marzo 1660.”

14. *Ibid.*, *mandato* 3251: “Detto [Pietro Paolo Nerocci] pagarete à Guglielmo Vallett' Intag.re de rami scudi trentacinque m.ta sono per havere intagliato in rame l'impresa dell'Accademia degl'Intronati di Siena d'ord.e di S.E. . . li 6 Aprile 1660. . . .”

15. *Ibid.*, *mandato* 4054: “Detti [Pietro e Filippo Nerli] li piacerà pag.re à Guglielmo Vallett' Intagliatore di rame scudi trentacinque m.ta per havere intagliato un frontespizio che va posto nel libro intitolato *fasti senenses* fatto per servizio dell'Emin.mo Sig.r Card.e . . . Li 19 Decem.re 1661. . . .” This payment is quoted in Golzio, *Documenti*, p. 354.

16. *Ibid.*, *mandato* 4067: “Detto [Urbano Guidi Disp.re di S.E.] pagarete à Gio: Giacomo Rossi stamp.re scudi quattro e b. [blank] m.ta sono per stampatura, e carta di seicento rami per servizio del libro *fasti senensis* [sic]. . . .”

Chigi was called upon to subsidize what must have been a very costly enterprise.

But why a third payment? The reason for this is made clear in the volume of *Giustificazioni*. While the *giustificazione* of the payment to Nicolò Piccolomini unfortunately adds nothing to the information in the *mandato*,<sup>17</sup> and there is no *giustificazione* for the payment to Vallet of April 1660, that of December 15, 1661, for the second payment to the engraver, explains the absence of any record for the first: "Signor Guglielmo Vallett engraver in copper has made a plate of one *palm* high [22.34 cm.] on the orders of the Most Excellent Patron, which shall be placed in the book called *fasti senenses*, and it is a duplicate [of that] made by himself before April 1660 for which he was paid thirty-five *scudi*, as appears in the *mandato* dated 6 April of the same year: and for the same sum another *mandato* can now be made." Below is the statement: "The said Signor Guglielmo Vallett, engraver, has made the said plate newly engraved as stated above and it was ordered by me on the command of Monsignor Nini our Maggiordomo this day and year as above," signed "Nicolò Simonelli Guardarobba."<sup>18</sup>

Taken literally, this would mean that Vallet had engraved an exact duplicate, and one would have to assume that the first plate was badly scratched, broken, or otherwise rendered unserviceable.<sup>19</sup> One might, however, posit another interpretation, that the first design was considered unsatisfactory and that a second was engraved to take its place, similar but different. In that case, one might assume that the first version followed Canini's drawing, now in the Metropolitan Museum.

Whether this interpretation is correct or not, it would be easy to find fault with Canini's design. It has already been pointed out that the kneeling figure is iconographically imprecise, for the sex appears to be male, there is no evidence that the fruit is contained in a cornucopia, and the staff could as well be the handle of a hoe or some other agricultural implement as that of a spear; yet the figure does wear a wreath, presumably of laurel, making it at least plausible that he was intended to personify Virtue. If that is so, then Canini has committed the solecism of representing the same personification in two quite different forms and places in the same drawing.

Nor can it be disputed that the design is dull, particularly when it is compared to Maratti's. Canini's kneeling figure is in strict profile, so that he does not relate to the background as does Maratti's woman in

three-quarter view, and, despite the prominence given to the three men on the left, the central position of the kneeling youth and his fixed gaze towards the putto (not even the *impresa*) place too much emphasis on the right side of the sheet. Maratti's woman concentrates her attention on the root of the vine she is watering, and our gaze follows hers, rises up the tree with the vine, and swings across to the putti with the much larger and centrally placed emblem, whence one foot of the putto below the gourd leads on to the figure in the center of the light.

In the comparative clarity of its iconography and the sureness of its composition Maratti's design would inevitably have defeated any competition from Canini.<sup>20</sup> It makes no effective difference whether this competition took place before the plate was engraved, or whether, as I have suggested, the deficiencies of Canini's design were recognized only after it had been engraved and when, either spontaneously or on commission, Maratti offered his alternative version. In either case, the existence of Canini's drawing sheds a fascinating light on the care and attention that went into the preparation of such frontispieces, the cutthroat rivalry between artists in seventeenth-century Rome, and the difference between a competent minor artist and one of the major figures of the latter half of the century.

17. BAV, Archivio Chigi, vol. 475, unpaginated.

18. BAV, Archivio Chigi, vol. 476, unpaginated: "Il Sig.r Guglielmo Vallett intagl.re de rami ha fatto un rame alto un palm d'ord.e dell'Em.mo Pröne qu.le v`a posto nel libro, detto, *fasti senenses*, et è un dupplicato fatto dal med.mo sin' d'aprile 1660 qu.le gli è stato pag.to scudi trentacinq. m.ta; come appare dal mand.to speditoline sotto li 6 Aprile del sud.o anno: et per l'istessa somma hora gli si puol far un altro mand.to. Et in fede etc. q.sto di 15 Dec.re 1661.

"Il sud.to S.r Guglielmo Vallett Intag.re hà rifatto il sud.o rame intag.to di nuovo come sopra, e gli fù ordinato da me per comando di mons.re Ill.mo Nini nfo magg.re Duomo questo di sud.o et anno.

Nic. Simonelli Guard.ba

"Comp.e farete un mand.to de scudi trentacinq. m.ta per il prezzo del sud.o rame intagliato: Dalle stanze in M.te Cav.o Li 19 Dec.re 1661

Iacomo Nini"

19. I have not had the opportunity to make a careful comparison of the engravings used in the various copies of this book. Certainly the print in the Metropolitan Museum is from the same plate as that in the book in the British Library, and if the former has a scratch on it to the left of the star, this appears to be something that could easily have been burnished out, without necessitating the high cost of reengraving the whole plate.

20. A drawing after the Maratti-Vallet print is in the cathedral collection in Malta, inv. no. 35.

# Five "Romanesque" Portals: Questions of Attribution and Ornament

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IN THE 1950s, when parts of the William Randolph Hearst collections were dispersed, the Los Angeles County Museum, the Detroit Institute of Arts, and The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, received gifts of Romanesque marble portals, said to come from southern France.<sup>1</sup> The two Los Angeles portals and the one in Detroit constitute a set of three by virtue of their structure and ornament (Figures 1–3); two at The Cloisters form a related pair, exhibiting like construction but different ornamentation (Figures 4, 5). For each portal ten stones of similar unequal dimensions are piled in groups of five to form posts which support a roughly rectangular lintel over an opening of slightly more than six feet, about the height of a domestic doorway.<sup>2</sup> All the portals are decorated with low-relief ornament. The Los Angeles and Detroit examples employ an abstract vocabulary of interlace and spirals, while the pair at The Cloisters use leaf and vine designs. Hearst purchased all five portals from Arnold Seligmann, Rey & Co. in the thirties.<sup>3</sup>

On the inside edges of the jambs of the Los Angeles and Detroit portals, low-relief carving imitates delicate spiral columns resting on bases of torus moldings and surmounted with capitals composed of a circlet of leaves and tiny volutes separated by a rectangular block. On the lintel stone a band of interlace springs from above the capitals of the jamb, arching over a roundel which in turn encloses an equal-armed Greek cross with gently flared ends. The cross and roundel are punctuated with drill holes. Details of the ornament vary from one portal to another.<sup>4</sup> Two column bases (mismatched on the portals in Figures 1 and 2) show a double, the others a triple, torus molding. One pair of capitals exhibits leaves resembling

those on Cistercian water-leaf capitals, another pair palmette leaves, and the third pair forms reminiscent of Gothic crocket capitals. One arch displays a simple two-strand twist (guilloche), another a three-strand interlace, and the third a reversing S-curve design. All the lintels show three grades of depth moving inward from the front plane on which the arch and its interlacing design are incised, to that of the cross, and finally to that of the roundel. The condition of the sculpture is good. The blocks of stone show damage at their outer edges, and the surface of the spiral columns is abraded in places; but there appears to be no significant weathering of the marble's surface.

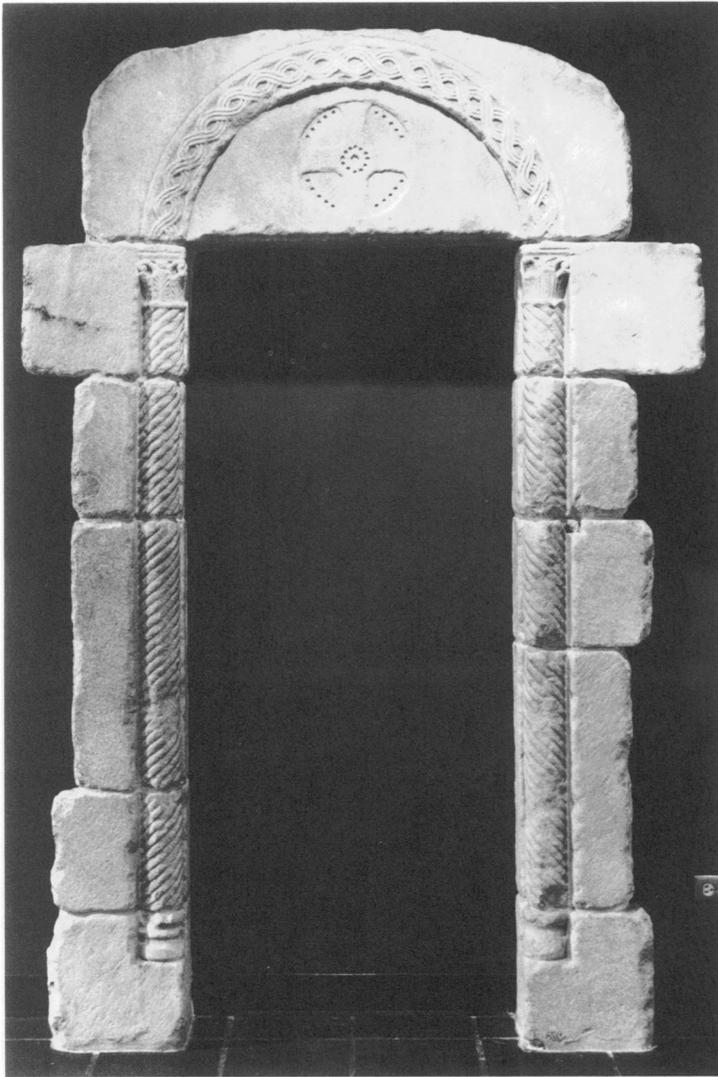
When the portals arrived at the museums they had already been identified as Romanesque, no doubt by

1. Hearst's gift to Los Angeles in 1950 contained other items which the author published in *Gesta* 19/1 (1980) pp. 51–66 as part of the series "Romanesque Sculpture in American Museums." The museum deaccessioned the two portals in 1982 (Sotheby Parke Bernet Los Angeles, sale 341, June 21–23, lots 162, 163), and their present location is unknown; for convenience they will be referred to throughout this essay as the Los Angeles portals. Mrs. Edsel B. Ford gave the portal to the Detroit Museum in 1958 and it was first published in *Gesta* 10/2 (1971) p. 71. The Cloisters portals came from the Hearst Foundation in 1954.

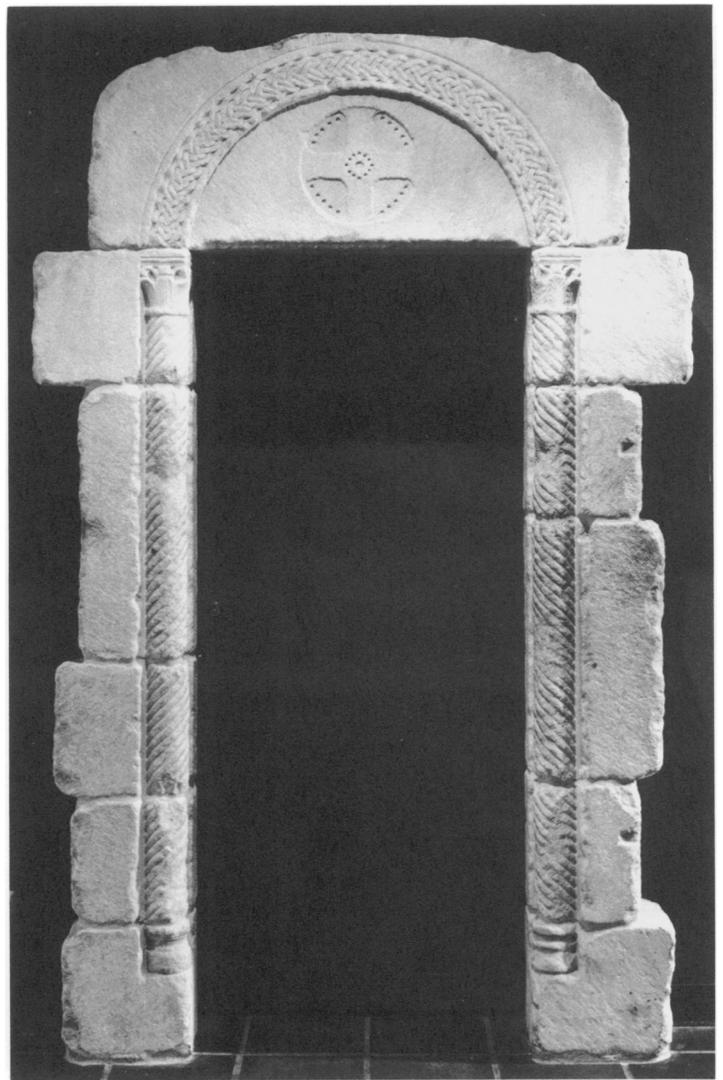
2. Los Angeles nos. 50.33.30,32 (opening, 6 ft. 4 in. × 2 ft. 8 in.; overall, 8 ft. ¼ in. × 4 ft. 8 in.); Detroit no. 58.89 (overall, 8 ft. 4 in. × 5 ft.); New York nos. 54.164.2,3 (opening, 6 ft. 4 in. × 2 ft. 7½ in.; overall, 7 ft. 9 in. × 5 ft. 5 in.).

3. The Hearst records for the Los Angeles portals are lost but those for the Detroit and New York portals exist in Notebook no. 80 among the Hearst records preserved at C. W. Post College on Long Island.

4. The photographs of the Los Angeles portals show a reconstruction which has mixed the jambs of the two portals, probably incorrectly.



1. Portal. Marble, 8 ft.  $\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$  4 ft. 8 in. (2.45  $\times$  1.42 m.). Formerly Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of William Randolph Hearst, 50.33.32 (photo: Los Angeles County Museum)

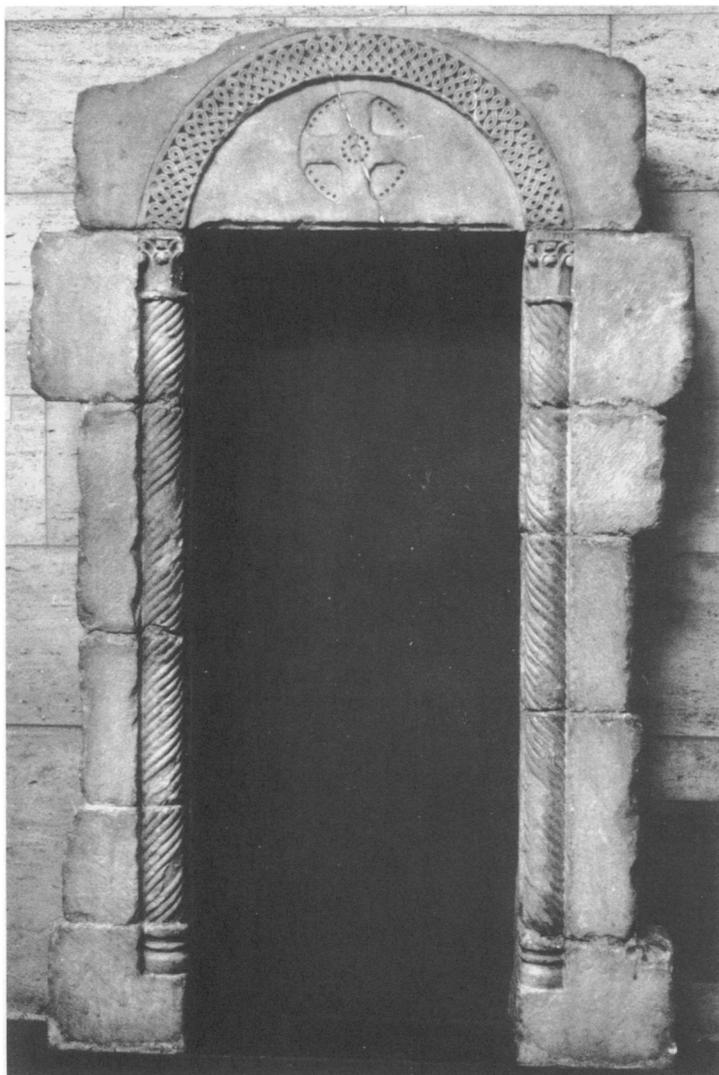


2. Portal. Marble, 8 ft.  $\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$  4 ft. 8 in. (2.45  $\times$  1.42 m.). Formerly Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of William Randolph Hearst, 50.33.30 (photo: Los Angeles County Museum)

the dealer from whom Hearst had acquired them: the Los Angeles pair were said to date from the eleventh century and to come from the town of Montréjeau in the north central Pyrenean region (Haute-Garonne); the one in Detroit, from the twelfth century and St.-Bertrand-de-Comminges, a well-known monastery with major Romanesque remains not far from Montréjeau. Presumably the eleventh-century date for the Los Angeles portals derived from comparison of the relief style with several low-relief sculptures in the northeastern Pyrenees (Roussillon)—for example, the early Romanesque marble lintel at St.-Genis-des-Fontaines dated by inscription to 1019—

20.<sup>5</sup> The delicacy of the reliefs may have been the reason for the twelfth-century designation given to the Detroit portal, the assumption being that refinement indicates a style in its later stages, that is, mature Romanesque. But we do not know who dated

5. The St.-Genis-des-Fontaines lintel and other similar marble sculptures in Roussillon, although embedded into the architectural fabric of facades, appear to be reused fragments of church fittings. Their style is generally viewed as an intermediate step between the developed Romanesque of the later 11th century and early medieval carving found in northern Italy and southern France (see M. Durliat, *Roussillon roman* [La-Pierre-qui-Vire, 1958] pp. 84ff.).



3. Portal. Marble, 8 ft. 4 in. × 5 ft. (2.54 × 1.52 m.). The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mrs. Edsel B. Ford, 58.89 (photo: Detroit Institute of Arts)

the portals or why their provenance was given as central Pyrenean. One thing is certain, however: the portals could not have come from Montréjeau or from the monastery of St.-Bertrand-de-Comminges. The buildings of the Augustinian convent at Montréjeau date from the fourteenth century. Nothing remains at the site and in 1962 the cloister was reconstructed as a tourist attraction at Nassau in the Bahamas.<sup>6</sup> Nor does any of the marble sculpture at St.-Bertrand-de-Comminges resemble the portal carvings.<sup>7</sup> It is not unusual, however, for an early attribution to be incorrect in its details.

If not from Montréjeau or St.-Bertrand-de-

Comminges, could the portals have come from another site in southern France? Let us examine briefly two hypotheses. One that the author conceived and researched would view the portals as opening from a cloister into, for example, a church or refectory.<sup>8</sup> They are too small and too numerous to have formed part of a monumental Romanesque facade. At Flaran (Gers), a Cistercian abbey in southern France situated to the north of St.-Bertrand-de-Comminges and Montréjeau, there is a portal leading from the cloister into the church (Figure 6) whose tympanum displays in low-relief carving three roundels which enclose two small crosses and a large monogram (the latter appears to be a variant of the *chi-rho* with additions difficult to explain).<sup>9</sup> This abbey is the daughter of the now ruined monastery of L'Escale-Dieu located due south of Flaran—closer to Montréjeau and St.-Bertrand. Unfortunately, this geographic postulate is not valid. What sculpture remains at L'Escale-Dieu, some water-leaf capitals in the chapter house and on the few remaining arcades of the cloister, bears no stylistic relationship to the Hearst portals, and the marble also is dissimilar.<sup>10</sup>

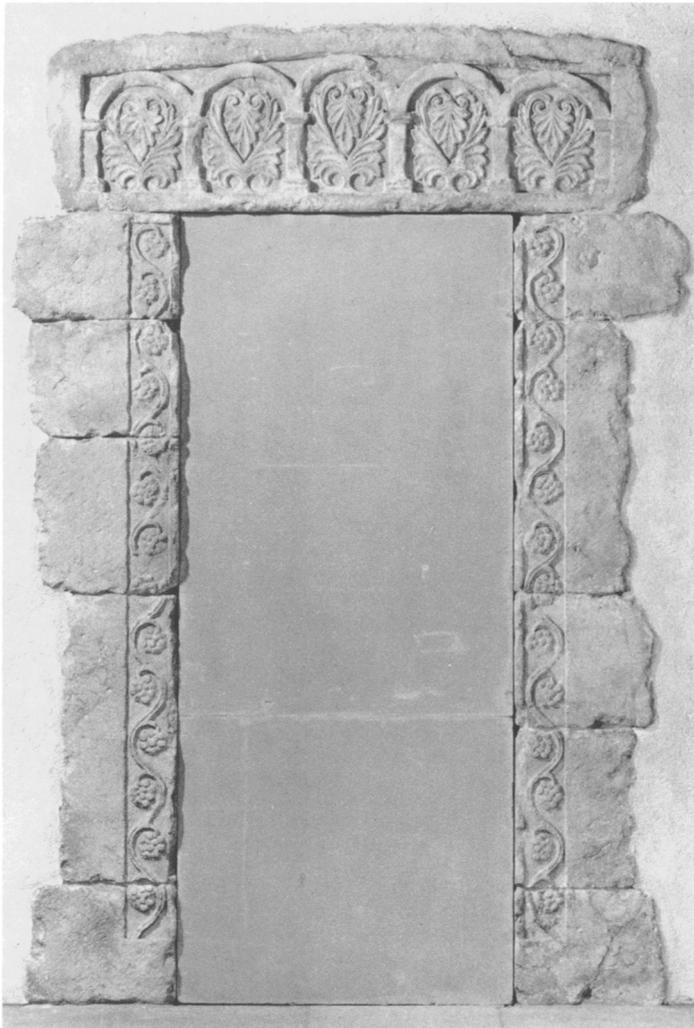
6. See Elie de Comminges, "Sur deux portes du XIIe siècle," *Revue de Comminges* 89 (1976) pp. 57–58; Abbé A. Dumail, "Le Cloître des Augustins de Montréjeau en Amérique central?," *ibid.* 86 (1973) pp. 352–362; and Baron de Lassus, "Le Couvent des Augustins de Montréjeau," *ibid.* 6 (1891) pp. 20–51.

7. For a description of the Romanesque sculpture at St.-Bertrand-de-Comminges, see M. Durliat and V. Allègre, *Pyrenées romanes* (La-Pierre-qui-Vire, 1969) pp. 147–164. Compare also a pair of capitals in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (W. Cahn, "Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections: XI. The Philadelphia Museum of Art," *Gesta* 13/1 [1974] p. 61, figs. 27, 28, and M. Weinberger, *The George Grey Barnard Collection* [New York, 1941] pl. XII, no. 35).

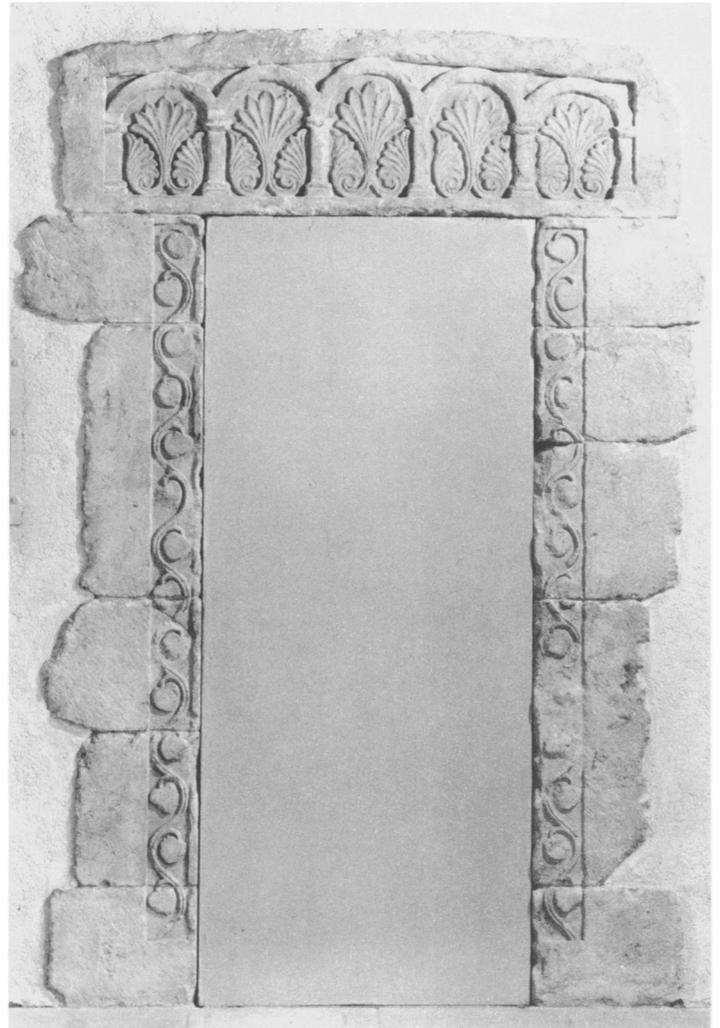
8. An ideal plan of a Cistercian monastery published by A. Dimier, *L'Art cistercien* (La-Pierre-qui-Vire, 1967) p. 45, shows, for example, seven doorways exiting from the cloister.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 260. Marcel Aubert (*L'Architecture cistercienne en France*, 2nd ed. [Paris, 1947] I, p. 358) states that the 12th-century tympanum sculpture at Flaran has no sequel in Cistercian abbeys before the end of the 13th century, becoming more common in the 14th and 15th centuries. I have located one other decorated cloister portal, at the Cistercian abbey of St.-Paul-de-Mausole (Provence), which shows fluted archivolts radiating from a simple arched doorway; see M. Aubert, *L'Art français à l'époque romane* (Morance, 1929) IV, pl. 45.

10. Dimier, *L'Art cistercien*, pp. 76ff., and Aubert, *L'Architecture cistercienne*, I, pp. 73, 165–166; II, pp. 41, 65. I wish to thank Molly and Keith Singer for making a detour to L'Escale-Dieu to check the stone and the extent of the remains. Students of Romanesque sculpture often ask whether identification of the source



4. Portal. Marble, 7 ft. 9 in. × 5 ft. 5 in. (2.36 × 1.65 m.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Gift of The Hearst Foundation, 54.164.2



5. Portal. Marble, 7 ft. 9 in. × 5 ft. 5 in. (2.36 × 1.65 m.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Gift of The Hearst Foundation, 54.164.3

The second hypothesis, of Walter Cahn,<sup>11</sup> is more interesting from a stylistic point of view. It is based on a comparison with a twelfth-century portal, now in

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of the marble is a positive aid in attribution of dislocated carvings. Such knowledge is certainly useful, but although most marbles are now classified and scientifically identifiable, old quarries can be reopened (see O. Kurz, *Fakes: A Handbook for Collectors and Students* [New Haven, 1948] p. 126; L. Jeppson, *The Fabulous Frauds: Fascinating Tales of Great Art Forgeries* [New York, 1970] pp. 809; and a discussion concerning purchases of marble in southern France in Dumail, "Le Cloître des Augustins . . .," pp. 361–362).

11. Cahn, "Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections: VII. The Detroit Institute of Arts," *Gesta* 10/2 (1971) p. 71.

the Louvre, from Ste.-Cécile, Estagel (Gard), a monastery in southeast France between Nîmes and St.-Gilles-du-Gard (Figure 7). Clearly of greater architectural importance than Hearst's small doorways, the Estagel portal stands over thirteen feet tall. It is decorated primarily with foliage designs executed in a two-plane relief style. Bordering the running leaf motif on the lintel is a tight interlace design quite similar in spirit to the ornament decorating the arched bands on the Los Angeles and Detroit portals. In the Louvre catalogue Marcel Aubert and Michèle Beaulieu point out that the decoration on the Estagel portal is archaizing, that it harks back to early medieval designs produced from about the seventh through the ninth

century in northern Italy and southeast France.<sup>12</sup> But this hypothesis, like the author's, does not stand closer scrutiny: not only does the scale of the Estagel portal differ from that of the Los Angeles and Detroit examples, but also there is little or no additional stylistic evidence from Provence that can strengthen the Estagel suggestion. This negative evidence serves one purpose at least: it underlines visually the tenuous nature of the attribution of a southern French provenance for the portals. What positive evidence is there?

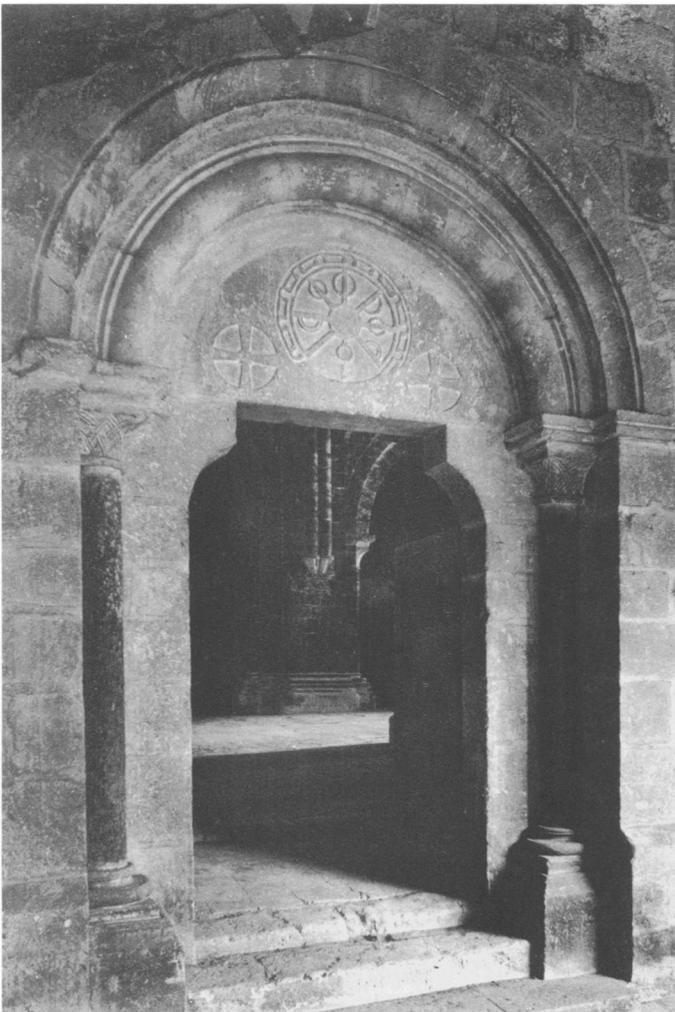
12. "Quant aux entrelacs tressés comme un ouvrage de vannerie, ils sont particulièrement nombreux aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne, notamment en Lombardie et en Catalogne" (M. Aubert and M. Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée de sculptures du Moyen Age, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes* [Paris, 1950] I, pp. 27–28).

13. The major compendium of this material is the multi-volume *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto, 1959ff.). For Ravenna and Rome see in addition "*Corpus*" della scultura paleocristiana bizantina ed

The ornamental vocabulary of the portals, and to a large extent its syntax, appear to derive not from Romanesque France but from pre-Romanesque art that flourished in Italy and contiguous areas (especially Catalonia) after the Lombards invaded northern Italy in 568.<sup>13</sup> The style lasted for about two hundred years after Charlemagne deposed the last Lombard king, Desiderius, in 794. Major remains of Lombard sculpture are preserved in such towns as Pavia, Milan, Cividale, and Monza—sites which lie

*altomedievale di Ravenna*, Istituto di antichità Ravennati e Bizantine dell'Università di Bologna, ed. G. Bovini, 3 vols. (Rome, 1968–69), and L. Pani Ermini, "Note sulla decorazione dei cibori a Roma nell'alto medioevo," *Bollettino d'Arte* 59 (1974) pp. 115–126. For earlier publication of the material, see esp. R. Kautsch, "Die römische Schmuckkunst in Stein vom 6. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1939) pp. 1–74, and "Die langobardische Schmuckkunst in Oberitalien," *ibid.* 5 (1944) pp. 1–48.

6. Portal, 12th century. Stone. Abbey of Flaran (photo: Reportage photographique Yan)



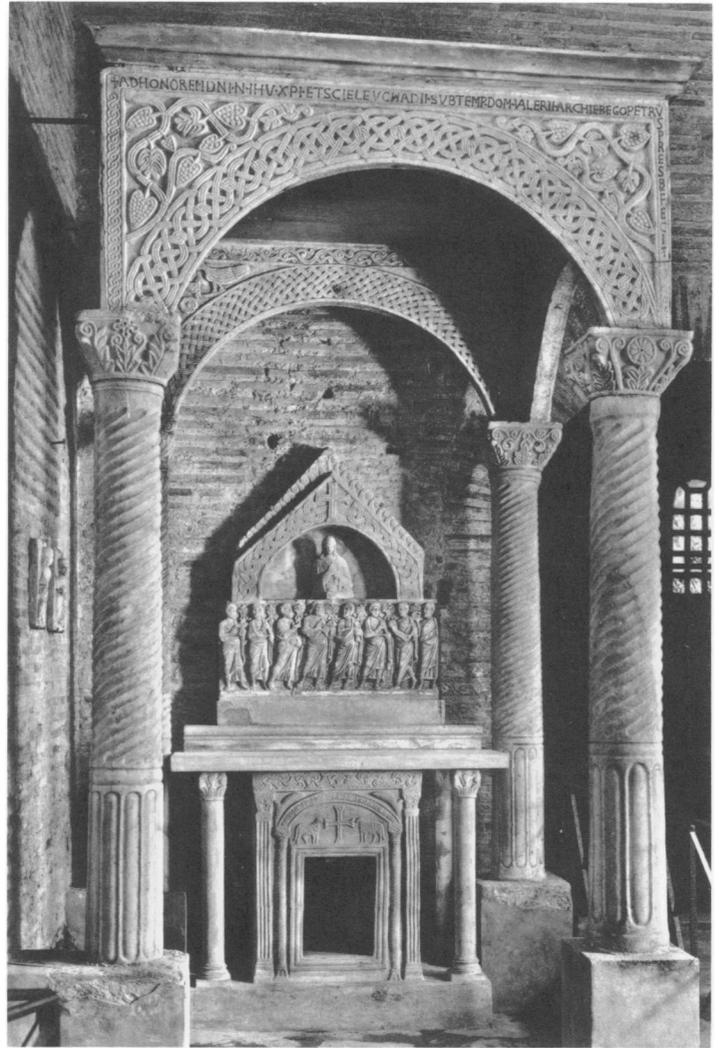
7. Portal, from the priory of Estagel, 12th century. Sandstone. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: © Arch. Phot. Paris/S.P.A.D.E.M.)



within the former Lombard kingdom or the semi-independent Lombard dukedoms—as well as at Venice, Ravenna, and Rome, in areas never ruled by the Lombards. Stucco and marble are the media for Lombard sculpture. The former was used for interior decoration while the latter is found on church furniture—for example, ciboria, baptismal fonts, altars, and relief plaques (*transennae*). Lombard marble carving, the medium that concerns us here, is flat and executed in low relief. It combines motifs from the metalwork of the formerly migrating Lombard tribe with ornament and symbols drawn from early Christian and classical art. On the marble surfaces of the liturgical objects the interlace and plait designs of migration art mix with such early Christian and classical motifs as vines, leaves, and fruit, motifs often subjected to the symmetry and geometric order of the other's aesthetic. The human figure occasionally appears; more frequently, birds, lions, griffins, and the symbols of the evangelists are locked into symmetrical compositions around the cross or the tree of life.

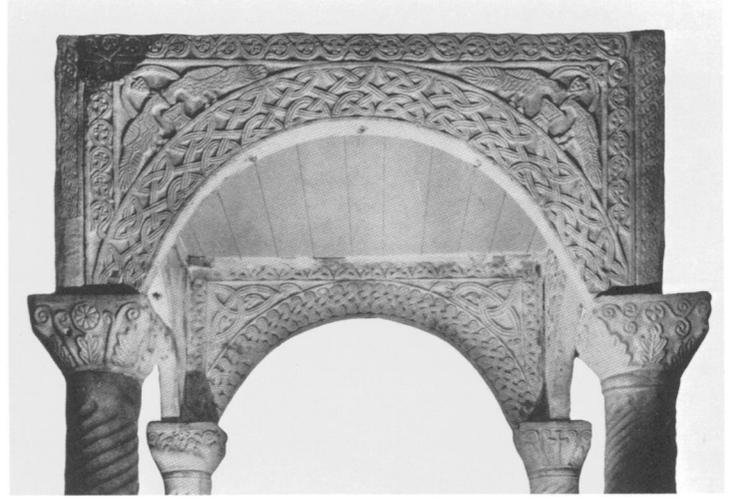
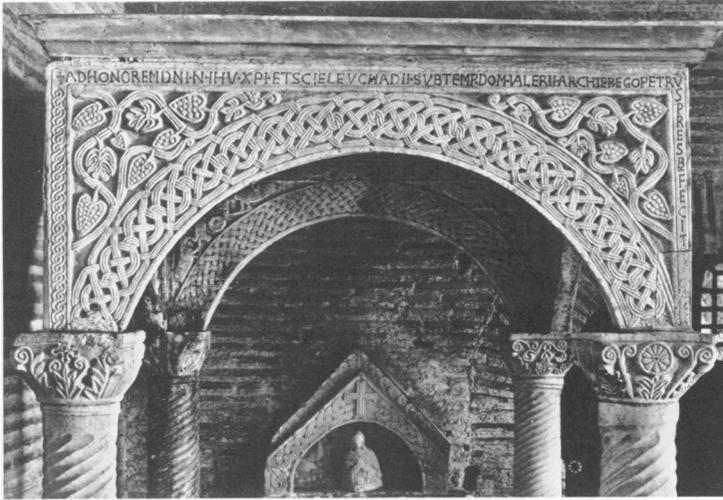
Within the body of Lombard sculpture there is a fine marble ciborium housed in the church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna; it came from Sant'Eleucadio, a church also located in Classe, the former seaport town for Ravenna on the Adriatic (Figures 8–10). The ciborium is dated by inscription to 806–810. Its superstructure, rising on four columns decorated with spirals and fluting, is composed of rectangular panels into which semicircular openings have been cut to form arches. (Two sides of the ciborium abut the church walls so that their outer arches are obstructed from view.) Around the arches and on the remaining spandrellike surface are spun flat Lombard designs. The decorative vocabulary recalls that of the three arches of the Los Angeles and Detroit portals. There are, first, the spiral designs of the columns; second, the simple twist edging some of the vertical sides of the rectangular lintels; third, the S-curve design on the inside of one of the arches; and finally, an interlace design on the inside of another. In sum, all three interlace motifs on the lintels of the Hearst portals are found on the ciborium and together with other comparable motifs.

A closer examination of the ciborium's ornament reveals some important differences, however. First, the guilloche bordering many of the vertical edges of the ciborium's lintels is twisted more tightly than that on the lintel of the Los Angeles portal (cf. Figures 8–10



and 1) and, judging from available photographs, is usually composed of bipartite strands rather than tripartite ones as on the portal arch (see the left vertical border in Figure 10 for the use of tripartite strands on the ciborium).<sup>14</sup> Second, the interlace on the inside arch of the ciborium displays a complex six-strand plait whereas that on the other Los Angeles portal

14. Although I have been unable to check the Ravenna ciborium, it is possible that the arch on one of the two lintels whose outsides presently abut walls in Sant'Apollinare in Classe (apparently never photographed) displays a guilloche with tripartite strands. A guilloche composed of tripartite strands is used in precisely the same way to decorate one arch of the seven lintels of the well-known Lombard baptismal font (737–756) in Sta. Maria Assunta in Cividale and on a fragment of a ciborium from the church of S. Basilio in Rome (see *Corpus della scultura altomedievale: X. Aquileia e Grado* [1981] pl. LXXXVII, and VII/2. *Roma* [1974] pl. xxvi).



8–10. Ciborium, from Sant'Eleucadio, Ravenna, 806–810. Marble. Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare in Classe (photos: 8, 9. Anderson; 10. Istituto di Antichità Ravennati e Bizantine)

exhibits a simpler three-strand one (cf. Figures 9 and 2). Third, the S-curve design edging the ciborium arch uses two strands which actually interlace while that on the Detroit portal shows only one strand (cf. Figures 10 and 3). Thus the motifs on the three portals are simplified or looser versions of those on the ciborium. It is not merely that the three designs used for the arches of the three portals are found together in Ravenna on one Italian marble ciborium of the ninth century, but also that these specific ornamental details are very common in Lombard decoration and not in Romanesque sculpture.

The delicate spiral relief columns edging the jambs of the three portals differ significantly, of course, from the real spiral columns that support the ciborium's lintels. A convenient source for them, however, can be found in a relief from a sixth-century marble altar now installed with other fragments at Sant'Apollinare in Classe, in fact just under the Sant'Eleucadio ciborium (see Figure 8).<sup>15</sup>

Finally, the cross, both the Greek and Latin form, occurs frequently in Lombard art and its arms terminate in one of two ways. Either they flare outward gently or tiny volutes curl laterally from the exterior corners of each arm. Both types are seen on the ciborium from Sant'Eleucadio—the flared type on one of the capitals (Figure 10) and the volute type on two of the inside spandrels of one lintel (Figure 9). It is perhaps also significant that the flared terminal is by

far the most common in Ravenna—from early Christian sarcophagi to Lombard sculpture—whereas the volute type is used almost invariably in Roman monuments of the same period.<sup>16</sup> Nowhere, however, does drill work like that on the portals appear either in conjunction with the cross or otherwise; it seems to have no precedent in Lombard sculpture.

Furthermore, there is something very un-Romanesque about the Hearst portals. Their composition violates the architectonic aesthetic of the Romanesque style. Their arches are decorative embellishments of

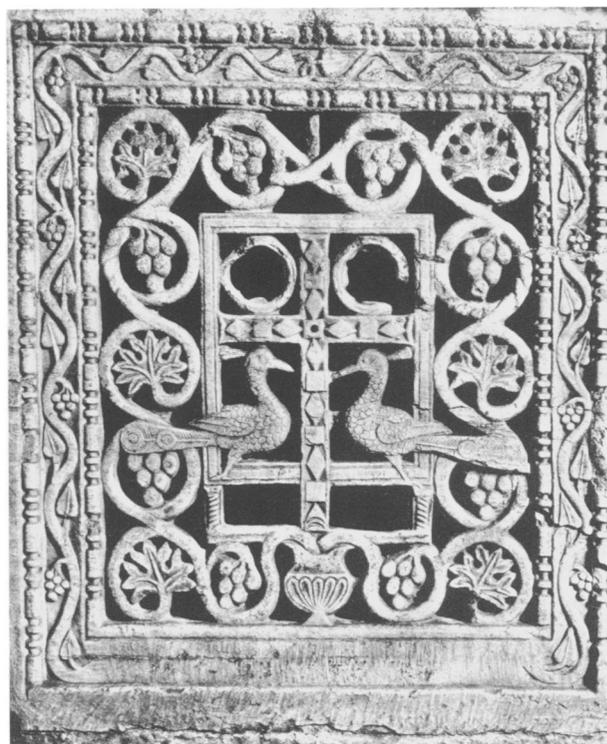
15. See P. Angiolini Martinelli, "Altare . . .," in *"Corpus" della scultura . . . di Ravenna*, I, pls. 1–15, for illustrations of other similar altars from S. Giovanni Evangelista, S. Francesco, and Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. At this point a further explanation is in order. There are examples in Italian Romanesque sculpture of spiral relief columns edging jambs of portals. Wiligelmo, for example, sculpted them on the main portal of the facade at Modena in the second decade of the 12th century (see conveniently the illustration in the *Encyclopedia of World Art*, XIV, pl. 424). We must note, however, the monumental scale of Wiligelmo's portal and the fact that his spiral column decorates, or rather is, the intermediate jamb in the stepped recession between the forward plane of the facade and the major jamb of the portal (decorated with vines and figures under arches)—in short, the Modena column is part of the architecture, probably *en délit* (that is, cut horizontally along the bed of the quarry and uprighted), meaning that the stone is not compressible and hence it stabilizes the jambs. The spiral columns on the Hearst portals serve no architectural function in the jambs.

16. For bibliography on this material, see note 13 above.

rectangular lintel stones; so are those on the Sant' Eleucadio ciborium. The difference between them is that on the portals the stone has not been removed below the arched band of ornament. Romanesque architecture is by and large arcuated—that is, arched as distinguished from trabeated, post-and-lintel construction—and Romanesque decoration conforms to the arcuation. The Estagel portal in the Louvre (Figure 7) demonstrates well the Romanesque aesthetic; each ornamental episode complements the architectural shape or function of the member it decorates. The lintel shows a floral design across its horizontal surface and this ornamental band is framed on all four sides with a border of interlace. Both ornamental passages emphasize the low rectangular shape of the lintel stone. The rinceau decoration on the semicircular surface of the tympanum proper is adjusted to both the horizontal base which rests upon the lintel (the half-circle leaf design) and the arched circumference of the tympanum (full-circle vine motif). Finally, the radiating leaf design on the archivolt above the tympanum echoes the trapezoidal shape of the voussoirs upon which they are carved.

The arched bands on the Hearst portals are solely pictorial; they have no relationship whatsoever to the post-and-lintel structure of the doorways. It is highly improbable that a Romanesque sculptor, who was certainly also a mason, would use such arcuated ornament for a lintel. Thus our portals fail two primary tests of authenticity. Their aesthetic is not Romanesque—that is, not architectonic; and the vocabulary of their decoration belongs to an earlier period—that is, it is anachronistic. That the portals could be Lombard is inadmissible as well: there are no such decorated marble doorways on Lombard buildings.

The structure of the portals at The Cloisters (Figures 4 and 5) is basically identical to that of the Los Angeles and Detroit examples—jambs composed of five stones capped with a lintel. The low-relief carving is comparable, and the provenance is also said to be Montréjeau and the date twelfth century. Along the vertical edges of their jambs runs an undulating rinceau which, on one portal, enfolds broad, somewhat heart-shaped leaves and, on the other, clusters of grapes or berries. The lintels of both New York portals are decorated with five big leaves set under a simplified arcade which rises gently from either side to form a slight pediment. This is accomplished by a

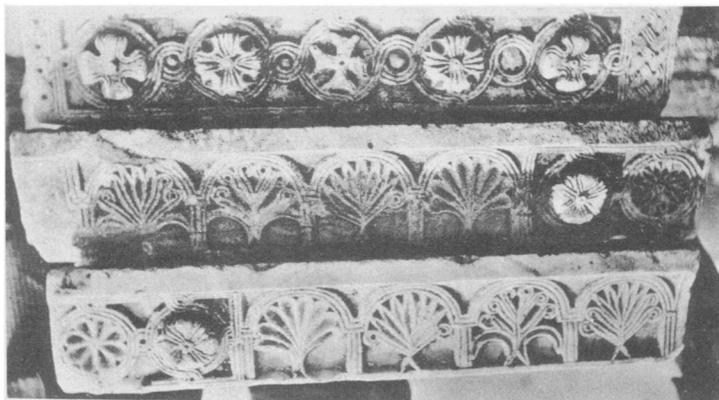


11. Transenna, 6th century. Marble. Ravenna, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo (photo: Anderson)

variation in layers of relief like that of the Los Angeles and Detroit lintels. On one, a palmette leaf spreads apart down its center to permit a second, smaller leaf to hang upside down in the opening; on the other lintel the leaves resemble a tall fan which sprouts half palmettes from each side of its narrow base.

As is the case with the Los Angeles and Detroit doorways, French Romanesque art provides almost no comparable examples of the ornamental vocabulary of the Cloisters portals.<sup>17</sup> But since these resemble the Los Angeles and Detroit portals in their structure and low-relief carving, one would expect to find comparisons for their decorative vocabulary among the same Italo-Lombard monuments. To an extent we do, although Lombard art generally deals less in vegetal motifs than in purely abstract forms. The roundels

17. The closest ones I have located are for the hanging leaves (Figure 4): the 11th-century window frame on the facade at Arles-sur-Tech shows an encircled hanging leaf (see Durliat, *Roussillon roman*, fig. 8); the sarcophagus of Petrus a Fonte Salubri, d. 1110, at Airvault displays a similar vocabulary of leaf forms but a different syntax (see E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* [London, 1964] fig. 182).



enclosing the evangelist symbols on the eighth-century Sigwald relief in Cividale, for example, display an undulating vine enclosing heart-shaped leaves, although considerably more attenuated and abstract than the rounded leaves on the portal.<sup>18</sup> Also there are a few instances of leaf forms enshrined under arches, as well as some leaf compositions reminiscent of the tripartite forms under the arches on the lintels of the Cloisters portals.<sup>19</sup> But by far the clearest parallels are found in medieval Byzantine sculpture of the sixth through eleventh centuries, whether on Italian soil or elsewhere.

To take first the jambs of the Cloisters portals: their rinceau vine enclosing on one portal heart-shaped

12. Plaque, from Galata-Arap Camii, Istanbul, 10th century. Marble. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (photo: after Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople*)

13. Cornice, from the "Round Church," Preslav, 10th century. Preslav, Archaeological Museum (photo: after Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople*)

14. Architectural fragments, 11th century. Bakay (photo: after Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge*)

leaves and on the other bunches of grapes or clusters of berries can be related to the ivy carved on the outside borders of a sixth-century vine transenna from Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (Figure 11), simply by separating the leaves of that vine from its alternating clusters of berries—even if this does violate nature by producing in one case a leafless but fruit-bearing vine (Figure 4).<sup>20</sup> An excellent parallel for the ornament on one of the lintels, that with the upside-down leaves (Figure 4), can be seen on a tenth-century marble slab in Istanbul (Figure 12).<sup>21</sup> The fanlike leaf flanked by half palmettes on the other lintel (Figure 5) can be compared to leaf forms on a Byzantine slab from Preslav, Bulgaria (Figure 13), although most often such half leaves embrace a cross or a crosslike form.<sup>22</sup> Leaves enshrined under arches are also common in Byzantine sculpture (Figure 14).<sup>23</sup>

18. *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*: X. *Aquileia e Grado*, pl. xcvi. See also *ibid.*: II. *Spoletto*, pls. vi, vii.

19. See, for leaves under arches, *ibid.*: II. *Spoletto*, pl. lvii; VIII. *Alto Lazio*, pls. cxxvi, lxxxii; X. *Aquileia e Grado*, pl. cxci; and for leaf forms, I. *Lucca*, pl. x; IV. *Genoa*, pl. xi.

20. The 6th-century artist distinguishes clearly the ivy (*hedera helix*) from the grape, which is depicted growing from the chalice to form a frame for the central cross.

21. For this and other examples, see A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IVe–Xe siècle)*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul XVIII (Paris, 1963) pls. lxiii, xliv (Thebes); *idem*, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge, II (XIe–XIVe siècle)*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques (Paris, 1976) pls. xviii, xxv (Hosios Lukos); K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons* (Princeton, 1976) Icon B60 (back).

22. See Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople*, pls. xxix, xli (Scripou), xlvi, l–lii (Istanbul, Fener Issa), lxiii (Preslav); *idem*, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge*, pl. lvii (Kiev). For a discussion of the motif see D. Talbot Rice, "The Leaved Cross," *Byzantinoslavica* 11 (1950) pp. 68–81.

23. See Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge*, pls. xi (Bakay), xiii, xiv (Smyrna), xxv (Hosios Lukos), lviii (Kiev), lxxv (Megara), cxx (Aphida).

When all five portals are viewed together—as they must be, given their similar relief styles and structures—it is quite impossible to entertain either a Romanesque date or a French provenance for them. The parallels between their ornament and that of the ninth-century ciborium of Sant’Eleucadio in Ravenna seem too extensive to be the result of mere chance. And the use of a different category of ornament for the Cloisters portals demonstrates, should further proof be needed, the spurious nature of these French “Romanesque” doorways.

Thus the inevitable query—are all of these pieces forgeries? Was deception the motive for their creation? The answer is probably yes. Otto Kurz has remarked that “forgery on a large scale need only be feared when the demand considerably exceeds the supply. . . .”<sup>24</sup> Historically this appears to be precisely the context in which Hearst acquired the five portals. During the period between the world wars, Hearst, who has been described as “a compulsive accumulator,”<sup>25</sup> was building his castle at San Simeon in California. Designed by architect Julia Morgan, the structure incorporated ancient and medieval architectural fragments and served as a showplace for Hearst’s extensive collection of paintings, sculptures, tapestries, furniture, and domestic furnishings of all kinds. Hearst literally filled warehouses in California and New York with his wholesale acquisitions. Perhaps the largest, though not the only purchase of its kind, was the Spanish monastery of Sta. Maria de Ovila.<sup>26</sup>

Although the collecting of medieval art was fostered by the romantic movement of the nineteenth century, the purchase of Romanesque stone sculpture began only at the end of the century. Prior to World War I, the American sculptor George Grey Barnard amassed in France a large collection of such objects, partly with the motive of providing American artists with the opportunity of seeing the work of medieval craftsmen, and partly to sell in order to pay creditors in connection with his mismanagement of the production of sculptures he contracted to make for the new Pennsylvania state house in Harrisburg. Barnard shipped his collection to the United States in 1913 just before the war broke out and installed it in a museum he had built and called “The Cloisters.” In 1925 he sold that whole collection to The Metropolitan Museum of Art through funds provided by John D. Rockefeller and it became the nucleus for the present Cloisters in Fort Tryon Park. Then, between

the wars, Barnard began a second collection, which ultimately went to the Philadelphia Museum of Art.<sup>27</sup>

Hearst and Barnard were thus in the market together in the decades of the twenties and thirties. In addition, other private collectors, such as Raymond Pitcairn, and museums, primarily Philadelphia, Worcester, and Boston, made significant purchases.<sup>28</sup> Also after 1913 the market for French antiquities was greatly tightened through legislation by the French government, designed to prevent large-scale exportation of the medieval French patrimony.<sup>29</sup>

This historical context helps to explain why a number of spurious pieces of French Romanesque sculpture ended up in American museums. The case of the Los Angeles, Detroit, and Cloisters portals is by no means unique. Museum curators and scholars are increasingly aware of such imitations,<sup>30</sup> although to remove them from exhibition is not always feasible.

Moreover, it has become increasingly easy to identify these fraudulent carvings. The corpus of early Christian and early medieval Italian sculpture has been more fully published. Beginning in 1967 under the auspices of the International Center of Medieval Art,

24. Kurz, *Fakes*, p. 48.

25. W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst* (New York, 1961) pp. 465–468.

26. The monastery was given to the city of San Francisco and is now at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum. See A. Vandersall, “Romanesque Sculpture,” *Gesta* 19/1 (1980) pp. 51–66, and M. Burke, “Santa Maria de Ovila,” in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, ed. M. Lillich, I (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1982) pp. 78–85.

27. See H. E. Dickson, “The Origin of the Cloisters,” *Art Quarterly* 28 (1965) pp. 253–274, and J. L. Schrader, “George Grey Barnard: The Cloisters and The Abbaye,” *MMAB* 37/1 (1979).

28. See W. Cahn and L. Seidel, *Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections: I. New England Museums* (New York, 1979) pp. 1–16; C. R. Morey, “Medieval Art in America,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 7 (1944) pp. 1–6; and *Radiance and Reflection: Medieval Art from the Raymond Pitcairn Collection*, exh. cat. (New York: MMA, 1982), intro. by J. Hayward, pp. 33–47.

29. Dickson, “The Origin of the Cloisters,” pp. 268–269; and *Congrès archéologique de France: XCVIIIe session à Paris en 1934* (Paris, 1936) pp. 187–295.

30. For example, a letter addressed to Peter Barnet from Professor Marcel Durliat in the files of the Metropolitan Museum lists a number of items. I have also discussed the problem with Professor Cahn, whom I would like to thank for information and for photographs of a large number of the items listed below.

Professor Walter Cahn, Yale University, undertook the systematic publication of Romanesque sculpture in American collections; this catalogue has appeared serially in the Center's bulletin *Gesta*, and one part has already been issued in book form.<sup>31</sup> This research, in which other scholars have participated, has turned up quite a number of inept imitations, which remain, appropriately, gathering dust in museum basements. It has also encouraged comparisons that document the falseness of the more accomplished productions such as the portals.

Nine other portals, one throne, one wall fountain, and one "mantel" may with reasonable certainty be attributed to the workshop that produced the five portals under discussion. These seventeen items all use flat, low-relief carving; their ornament derives primarily from Lombard or Byzantine decorative vocabulary; twelve pieces employ the spiral or twist in some manner; most of them passed through the hands of the dealers Paul Gouvert and/or Seligmann, Rey & Co.; their stated provenance is southern France (Montréjeau, St.-Bertrand-des-Comminges, St.-Genis-des-Fontaines, Cuxa (?), Sardagne [*sic*] / Cerdagne,

"French Pyrenean marble"); the stone is usually marble (white, often blushed with rose, or red and white as found in Roussillon—as, for example, at Cuxa); all but one of the portals employ a domestic scale approaching eight feet; all but one exhibit a post-and-lintel structure (posts of five or six stones of varied height and width).<sup>32</sup>

Identification of a forger's sources is one of the definitive proofs of an imitation. But the revelation of the deception is ultimately less interesting and less significant than the understanding of the means of the deception. There is no better demonstration of the inherent logic of medieval ornament, both its vocabulary and its syntax, than fabricated decoration.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study was presented at the Mid-West Art History Meetings held in Madison, Wisconsin, April 5–7, 1984. I would like to thank the following persons for their generous help with aspects of this essay: Peter Barnet, Walter Cahn, Helen Chillman, Ingeborg Glier, Carl Shepard, and Molly and Keith Singer.

31. Cahn and Seidel, *Romanesque Sculpture*.

32. I would identify the following items, listed with dealer, collection, and stated provenance where known. Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire: marble portal (according to Cahn, like the one in Ottawa, see below). Bryn Athyn, Pa., Pitcairn Collection: two portals (nos. 09.sp.96, 09.sp.104). Detroit Institute of Arts: pair of marble portals (nos. 58.267, 58.268), Hearst, Sardagne [*sic*]/Cerdagne; marble mantel (no. 58.275), Hearst, French Pyrenean marble. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada: marble portal (no. 16957), Cuxa(?). Philadelphia Museum of Art: pair of marble portals (nos. 29.121.1a,b), Gouvert, St.-Genis-des-Fontaines; marble portal (no. 45.25.125), Barnard (Weinberger, *Barnard Collection*, no. 126), vicinity of Montréjeau; sandstone

wall fountain (nos. 45.25.127, 45.25.128), Barnard (*ibid.*, nos. 127, 128), Montréjeau; marble throne (no. 29.109.1), Gouvert, St.-Genis-des-Fontaines. I wish to thank Charles T. Little, associate curator of Medieval Art in the Metropolitan Museum, for knowledge of the Pitcairn doorways.

In 1936, the firm of Arnold Seligmann sold a statue-column of the archangel Michael to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss (now Dumbarton Oaks, no. 36.21) which had been drastically restored, presumably to render its fragments more valuable (see P. Z. Blum, "An Archaeological Analysis of a Statue-Column from Saint-Maur-des-Fossés at Dumbarton Oaks," *Gesta* 17/2 [1978] pp. 23–28).

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
The Cloisters

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