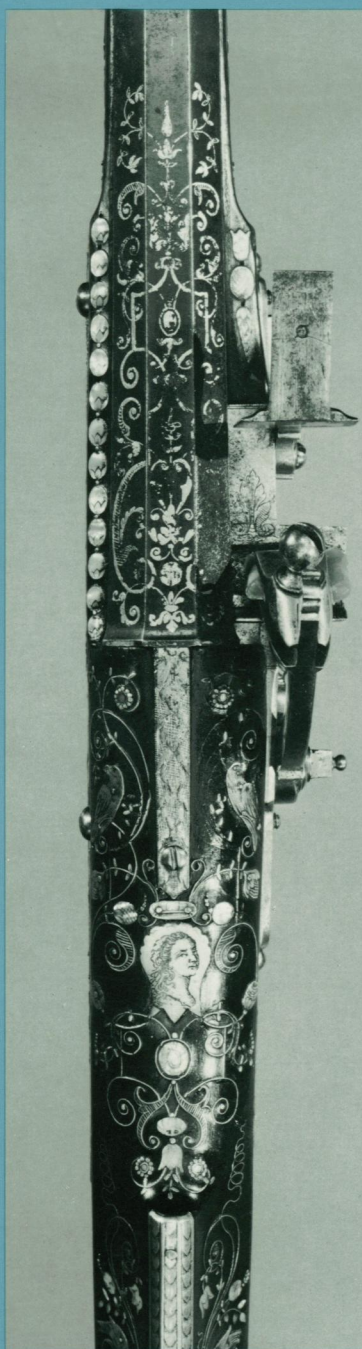
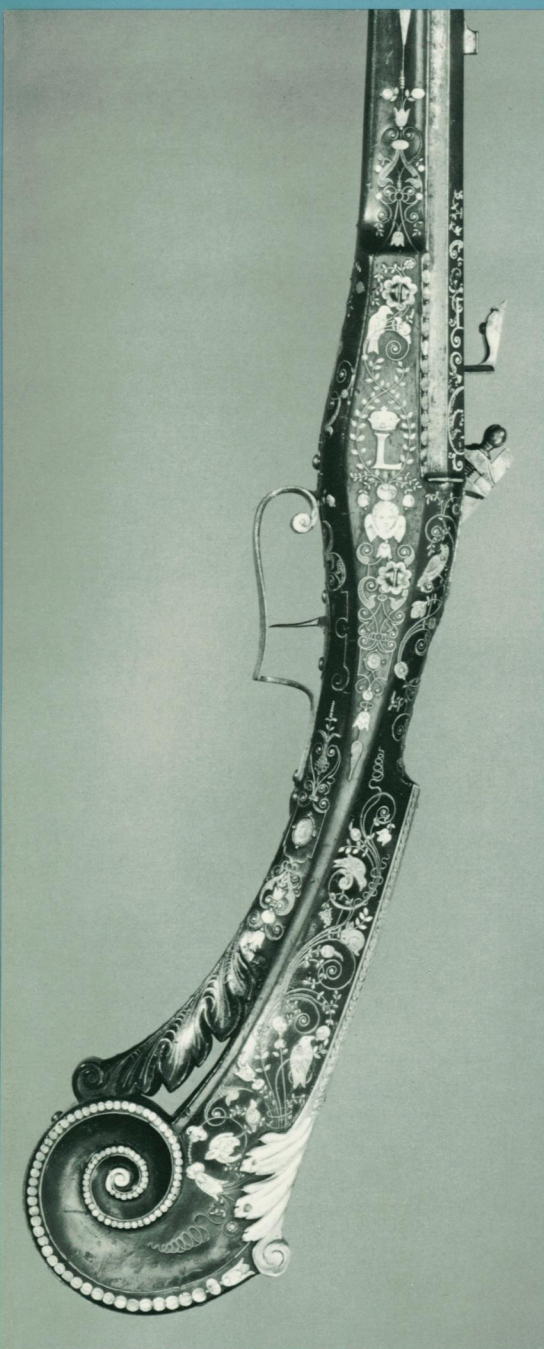


METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

Volume 21/1986

JOURNAL



METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL Volume 21 / 1986

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 21 includes a far-ranging and meticulously documented study of a number of firearms recently identified as having belonged to Louis XIII's famous *cabinet d'armes*. A monumental fifteenth-century sculpture of the Virgin and Child is discussed in the light of its context and provenance, confirming its attribution to Claux de Werve, court sculptor to the duke of Burgundy. The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, which was given to the Metropolitan Museum in 1982, figures in two short articles offering new information and in a group of entries on some previously uncatalogued additions to the collection. Archaeological studies, including the latest technical findings, are devoted to the bronze hut urn in the Museum, which until recently was thought to be of Etruscan origin, and to the fourth-century Vermand Treasure, with its evidence of the penetration of barbarian cultures into the late Roman Empire.

The Bronze Hut Urn in The Metropolitan
Museum of Art

FRANCESCO BURANELLI

The Bronze Hut Urn in The Metropolitan
Museum of Art: Technical Report

RICHARD E. STONE

The Vermand Treasure:
A Testimony to the Presence of
the Sarmatians in the Western Roman Empire

DEBORAH SCHORSCH

continued on back flap

Volume 21 / 1986

METROPOLITAN
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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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THE JACK AND BELLE LINSKY COLLECTION
in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Bronze Hut Urn in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

FRANCESCO BURANELLI

Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City

ON A RECENT VISIT to New York I had occasion, through the kindness of my colleagues in the Department of Greek and Roman Art of the Metropolitan Museum, to examine the bronze hut urn (Figures 1–4) that was on exhibition in the room dedicated to Etruscan antiquities.

The urn,¹ constructed of sheet bronze, is in the shape of a hut with an oval plan and with vertical walls that slope slightly inward toward the top. A bronze strip, bent to an angle of nearly ninety degrees, serves to join the base of the walls to the sheet that forms the floor of the urn. The various parts are held together by rivets: eleven on the bottom, with large, slightly convex heads, and eighteen, with conical heads, along the lower part of the wall. A bronze molding attached with small bronze pins and incised with vertical hatching runs along the lower edge of the wall and the jambs of the doorway; similar moldings frame the door itself and mark the junction of the roof and the eaves. The trapezoidal doorway is surrounded on three sides by bronze strips fastened to the wall by means of eight bronze rivets with conical heads. Horizontal eyelets are attached to the middle of each of the two vertical strips, and a similar eyelet is attached to the center of the door by three small rivets with hemispherical heads; a long bronze pin with a conical head passes through the three eyelets, thus closing the urn. To either side of the entrance are vertical pilaster strips, each attached to the wall by two nails with hemispherical heads; each strip is capped by a rounded, capital-like protuberance tapered at the top. On the opposite side of the urn are two more pilaster strips, plain and without “capitals”; their position does not correspond exactly to that of the first pair but is determined by the rafters of the

roof. The roof is divided into four somewhat convex sloping sections by two pairs of rafters, front and back. The section corresponding to the doorway has for decoration the highly stylized protome of an animal with a smooth, featureless triangular muzzle and with two long, pointed ears or horns; on each of the two lateral slopes is a pointed, stalklike projection. The slightly overhanging eaves are sharply differentiated from the roof proper; they are attached to the walls of the urn by means of eight bronze rivets with conical heads terminating in spherical tips. On the ridgepole of the roof is a ship, made of cast bronze apparently fixed in place by ten round-headed rivets. The hull of this vessel is flat-bottomed, without a keel, high and curved at one end, low and with an articulated profile at the other; its sides, which curve upward toward the center, are each equipped with two anomalous, symmetrically placed cylindrical projections at the level of the waterline.

The urn was acquired for the Museum in December 1938 by Gisela M. A. Richter, who in the following year published it as the only example then known of a bronze hut urn.² Miss Richter's discussion of the object centered upon its most remarkable feature, the model ship on the roof, which prompted her to

A list of abbreviations will be found at the end of this article.

1. Intact, except for small losses on the left-hand slope of the roof and on the right-hand wall just below the eaves; dark green patina.

2. G. M. A. Richter, “An Italic Bronze Hut Urn,” *MMAB* 34 (1939) pp. 66–68, figs. 1, 2. See also idem, *MMA: Handbook of the Etruscan Collection* (New York, 1940) p. 2, fig. 3; and “Archaeological News and Discussions: Bronze Hut-Urn,” *AJA* 46 (1942) p. 138.



1–4. Hut urn. Bronze, max. H. 29.4 cm.; diam. of base 36.2 cm. (long axis), 31.6 cm. (short axis). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 38.11.14

attribute it to one of the towns of coastal Etruria. She proposed a date in the late eighth century B.C., a period characterized by the widespread production of bronze vessels; the object would thus be one of the latest known examples of an Etrusco-Latial hut urn.

In a 1943 article supporting the late chronology for the Villanovan culture proposed by Åke Åkerström, Axel Boëthius turned his attention to the urn, the authenticity of which he reaffirmed.³ He assigned it to the seventh century on the basis of its technique and of a comparison between the ship on the roof and the small Sardinian boats found in the Orientalizing tombs of Vetulonia, going so far as to explain the production of hut urns at this late date as an imitation of *antiquitatis exemplaria*; though this thesis is now largely obsolete, it is an indication of the inherently problematical character of the dating of the New York hut urn.

In 1967 the urn was shown in an exhibition of Etruscan objects from American museums and pri-



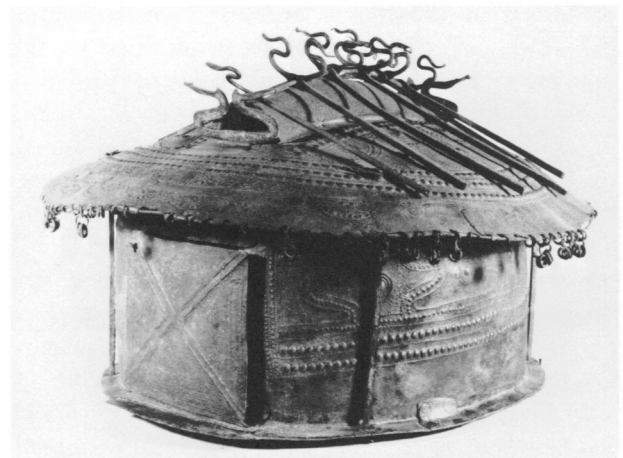
vate collections organized by the Worcester Art Museum;⁴ in 1969 Poulsen included it in his volume on Etruscan art;⁵ in 1975 Prayon, in his study of Etruscan architecture, mentioned it several times with reference to the structural peculiarities of its floor, walls, door, and roof;⁶ in 1980 Edlund, describing an

3. A. Boëthius, "Osservazioni riguardanti la cronologia del materiale villanoviano proposto da Åke Åkerström," *Eranos: Acta Philologica Suecana* (Uppsala/Göteborg, 1943) pp. 173–175, fig. 1.

4. R. S. Teitz, *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art*, exh. cat. (Worcester, Mass., 1967) p. 18, n. 1, ill. p. 107.

5. F. Poulsen, *Etruskische Kunst* (Königstein, 1969) ill. p. 2.

6. F. Prayon, *Frühetruskische Grab- und Hausarchitektur* (Heidelberg, 1975) pp. 99, 121, 122, 161, 168, pl. 77.2.



5–7. Hut urn, from the necropolis of the Osteria, Vulci. Bronze. Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia (photos: Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia)



impasto model of a boat characteristic of the early Iron Age in southern Etruria, cited the New York urn as an example of the association of boats with osuaries.⁷ Thus the New York hut urn has fully entered the archaeological literature, despite the fact that it has never been subjected to detailed analysis.

As a member of a group of archaeologists engaged in a systematic study of the complete corpus of hut urns from the various parts of the Italian peninsula,⁸ I had acquired considerable familiarity with Etrusco-Latial examples. When I was given the opportunity of examining the New York urn at first hand, it gave rise in my mind to a number of perplexities.

Another example of a hut urn made of sheet bronze (Figures 5–7) has been published since the ac-

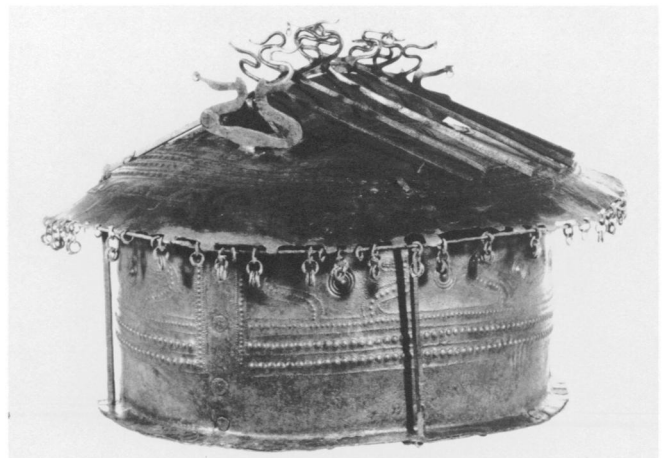
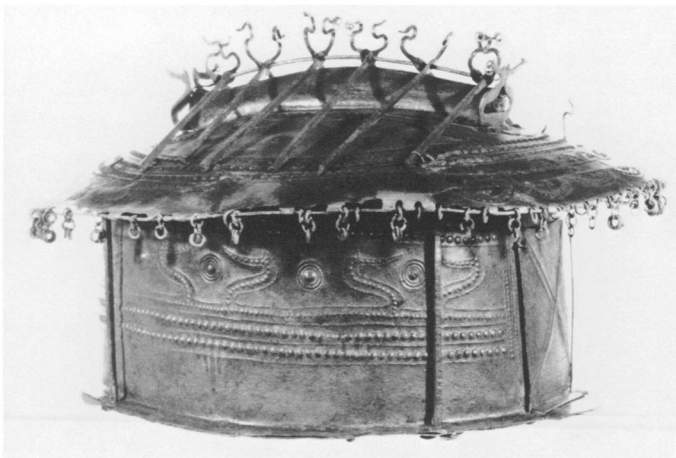


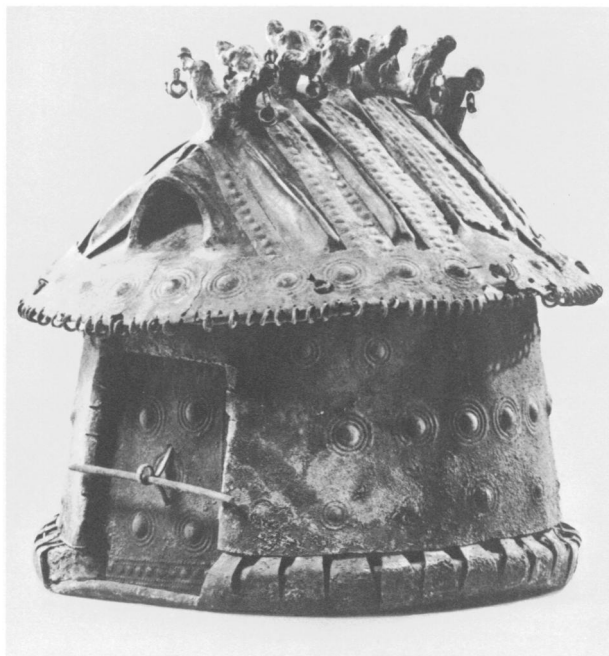
quisition of the New York urn in 1938; it was found at Vulci—the few objects belonging to the same burial were unfortunately dispersed—and is now in the Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia.⁹ Yet another piece, to all intents and purposes still unpublished,

7. I. E. M. Edlund, "The Iron Age and Etruscan Vases in the Olcott Collection at Columbia University, New York," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 70/1 (Philadelphia, 1980) p. 47, no. 26.

8. G. Bartolini, F. Buranelli, V. d'Atri, and A. de Santis, *Le urne a capanna dell'Italia peninsulare* (forthcoming).

9. G. Scichilone, *Nuovi tesori dell'antica Tuscia* (Viterbo, 1970) pp. 18–22, no. 9, pls. 4, 5; M. Moretti, *Il Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1975) p. 25, fig. 11; R. Bianchi-Bandinelli and M. Torelli, *L'arte dell'antichità classica: II. Etruria* (Turin, 1976) no.





8–10. Hut urn. Impasto covered with sheet bronze.
Basel, art market (photos: Palladion)

was offered in its 1976 catalogue by the firm of Palladion in Basel (Figures 8–10);¹⁰ made of impasto covered with sheet bronze, it can be assigned to Vulci on typological and technical grounds.¹¹ Although these two examples differ from each other, they present technical and decorative features that allow us to attempt a fresh analysis of the New York urn. The structure of the latter is more massive and solid, the sheet bronze thicker, compared with the examples in Rome and Basel and with seventh-century bronze vessels in general. Furthermore, two conspicuous elements, peculiar to the New York urn, permit a detailed iconographical analysis: the ship on the ridge of the roof, and the pilaster strips on either side of the door, with the evident allusion to capitals at the top.

The association of ship and ossuary might be interpreted as a reference to the profession of the defunct: one may recall—despite the difference in date—the Tomb of the Ship (Tomba della Nave) at Cerveteri,¹² where the painted ship on the wall has been taken to mean that the proprietor of the tomb was a sailor.¹³ The appeal of such an interpretation notwithstanding, however, it must be acknowledged

that the boat's structural and typological characteristics do not permit it to be placed satisfactorily in the context of known archaic representations of ships. It has only vague analogies with the impasto examples, sometimes decorated with bird protomes, from Villanovan and Orientalizing sites in southern coastal Etruria and in the Tiber Valley (Figure 11).¹⁴ Other elements are in contrast with the representations of

4; G. Proietti, *Il Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1980) pp. 36–37, nn. 13, 14; M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, *Etruschi* (Milan, 1981) p. 80, pl. 6 (Eng. trans. by R. E. Wolf, *The Etruscans: Their History, Art, and Architecture* [New York, 1983] p. 76, pl. 6).

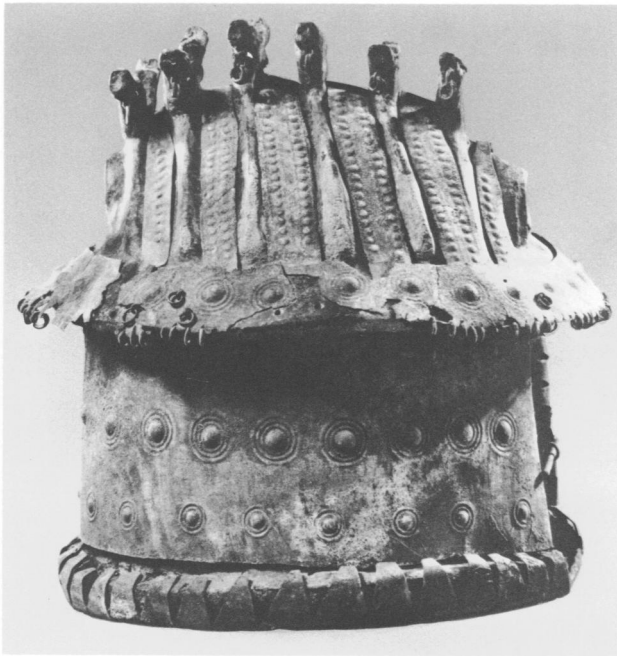
10. Palladion, *Antike Kunst, Katalog* (Basel, 1976) p. 8, no. 1. The only provenance given in this catalogue is a generic one, near Rome.

11. The problem of the chronology and provenance of hut urns made of sheet bronze, not discussed here, will be dealt with by V. d'Atri in Bartolini et al., *Le urne a capanna*.

12. R. Mengarelli, "Caere e le recenti scoperte," *StEtr* 1 (1927) p. 169, pl. L.

13. M. Cristofani, *Gli etruschi del mare* (Milan, 1983) p. 29.

14. For Tarquinia see H. Hencken, *Tarquinia, Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) I, p. 36, fig. 22c, p. 332, fig. 329c, p. 412, fig. 412; II, pp. 568–569, 584–585. For Cerveteri see I. Pohl, *The Iron Age Necropolis of Sorbo at Cerveteri* (Stockholm, 1972) pp. 133–134, fig. 111.4; and E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre I* (Paris, 1897) p. 29, no. C67 (in bucchero; formerly Campana collection, inv. no. 3082). For Bisenzio see



ships on seventh-century vases: comparison with the ships on the globular pot from Bisenzio,¹⁵ on Tarquinian oinochoai, on the plate of the type “with herons” found at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina in Latium,¹⁶ on the small impasto amphora from Veii (Figure 12),¹⁷ and on the fragment of an Etrusco-Corinthian olpe from Tarquinia (Figure 13)¹⁸ should suffice to establish the anomalous character of the model on the New York urn without adducing evidence from the sixth century.¹⁹

A sufficient number of representations of boats and ships—warships, commercial vessels, boats for fishing and transport—now exists for comparative purposes. Such coastal vessels and ships for longer voyages, for which the discoveries of underwater archaeology are beginning to provide parallels,²⁰ reflect an expansion of, and a technical evolution in, the art of navigation well suited to a maritime people like the Etruscans.

Returning to the model on the Metropolitan Museum urn (Figure 14), we may note that if we take the prow of the ship to be—as one would expect—the end facing in the same direction as the door of the urn, we find elements in sharp contrast with the above-mentioned representations. There the higher, slightly curved extremity is always the stern. We must therefore conclude that the boat was set in place on the roof of the urn with its prow—the lower of the

two ends—facing in the direction opposite the entrance. Decorated with a three-dimensional element, this prow is without a trace of the menacing ram usually represented at the waterline. The line of the stern continues the shape of the hull, which is flat and without a keel, like that of a lake-going vessel.²¹ The sides rise to a point at the center, a feature without parallels elsewhere, while the four cylindrical elements that project from the hull at water level, two

A. Pasqui, *NSc* (1886) pp. 143, 152; L. A. Milani, *NSc* (1894) p. 134, figs. 19, 20; O. Montelius, *La Civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux*, II (Stockholm, 1905) pl. 257, nos. 15, 17; and Edlund, “The Iron Age and Etruscan Vases in the Olcott Collection,” p. 47, no. 26. For Veii see E. Stefani, *NSc* (1928) pp. 101–102, fig. 7. For Orvieto see L. A. Milani, *Museo Topografico dell'Etruria* (Florence/Rome, 1898) p. 50. For Chiusi see *ibid.*, p. 34. A hitherto unpublished example for Vulci (Figure 11) is in the Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. no. 15329. For Capena see R. Paribeni, “Necropoli del territorio capenate,” *MonAnt* 16 (1906) cols. 445–448, figs. 54, 55. For Palestrina see I. Falchi, *NSc* (1887) p. 503. For the necropolis of Torre Galli see P. Orsi, “Le necropoli preelleniche calabresi di Torre Galli, Ianchina, Patarini,” *MonAnt* 31 (1926) col. 189, pl. II, no. 13. For the recent discussion see Cristofani, *Gli etruschi del mare*, p. 18; see also S. Quilici Gigli, “Scali e traghetti sul Tevere in epoca arcaica,” *Il Tevere e le altre vie d'acqua del Lazio antico: VII incontro di studio del comitato per l'archeologia laziale* (Rome, 1986) pp. 71–89.

15. From the cremation tomb Olmo Bello 24: F. Delpino, “La prima età del ferro a Bisenzio: Aspetti della cultura villanoviana nell'Etruria meridionale interna,” *MemAccLinc*, ser. 8, 21 (1977) p. 477, n. 93, pl. xvia.

16. For a recent discussion see Cristofani, *Gli etruschi del mare*, pp. 27–28, figs. 9–12.

17. R. Vighi, “La più antica rappresentazione di nave etrusco-italica di un vaso dalla necropoli veiente,” *RendAccLinc* 8 (1932) pp. 367–375; *idem*, in *NSc* (1935) pp. 43–44, figs. 3, 3 bis.

18. J. G. Szilágyi, “Le fabbriche di ceramica etrusco-corinzia a Tarquinia,” *StEtr* 40 (1972) p. 66, fig. 8.

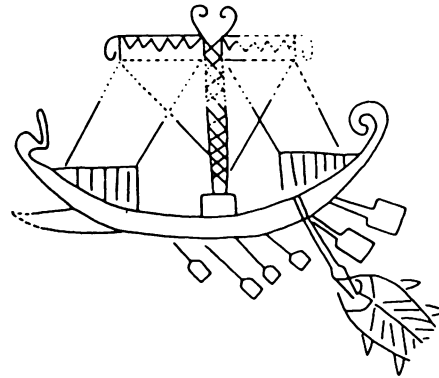
19. See, in general, S. Paglieri, “Origine e diffusione delle navi etrusco-italiche,” *StEtr* 28 (1960) pp. 209–231; P. F. Stary, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Bewaffnung und Kampfweise in Mittelitalien* (Mainz, 1981) pls. 14, 15; and Cristofani, *Gli etruschi del mare*, pp. 27–29, figs. 27–31.

20. For the large wrecks of Etruscan ships found on the coast of Provence at Bon-Porté and Cap d'Antibes see C. Albore-Livadie, “L'Epave étrusque du Cap d'Antibes,” *Rivista di studi liguri* 33 (1967) pp. 300–326; B. Liou, “Note provisoire sur deux gisements gréco-étrusques,” *Cahiers d'Archéologie Subaquatique* 3 (1974) pp. 7–14. An archaic wreck has recently been discovered near the island of Giglio. For a general account of underwater finds see P. A. Gianfrotta and P. Pomey, *Archeologia subacquea: Storia, tecniche, scoperte e relitti* (Milan, 1980).

21. This could be a fortuitous feature, however, due to the fact that the bottom of the boat was not intended to be seen.



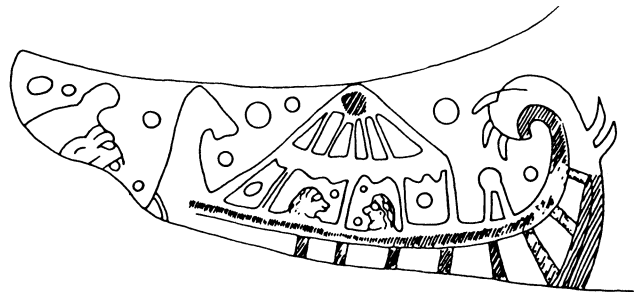
11. Model of a ship, probably from Vulci. Impasto. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (photo: Museo Gregoriano Etrusco)



12. Representation of a ship, on impasto amphora from Veii (after: Stary, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Bewaffnung*, pl. 14/2)

on each side, are incomprehensible, defying every rule of naval engineering and nautical dynamics. The vessel lacks, furthermore, a mast and sail as well as any means of steering such as oars or a rudder.

Other perplexing features of the urn are the protuberances in the form of upward-tapering echini that surmount the two pilaster strips on either side of the door (Figure 1); these would constitute the earliest examples of “Tuscan” capitals ever discovered. Numerous hut urns with vertical posts around the perimeter of the walls are known, especially among the impasto examples;²² on the bronze hut urn from the necropolis of the Osteria at Vulci (Figures 5–7) the four vertical posts—which are arranged symmetrically two by two, as on the New York urn—serve to support the roof and do not merely allude to the structural elements of a hut. In no case, however, is there any hint of a capital. The posts are usually smooth, though occasionally they are knotty.²³ In some instances they are surmounted by projecting elements such as horns and/or protomes, facing outward. These elements are easily explainable by the fact that actual hut posts were made of wood; they might also represent devices used in construction, such as mortises, ties, supports for beams, and buttresses. It is precisely because of the extremely perishable material used in the construction of huts that



13. Representation of a ship, on fragment of Etrusco-Corinthian olpe from Tarquinia (after: Stary, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Bewaffnung*, pl. 14/3)



14. Hut urn in the Metropolitan Museum, detail of ship on roof

22. For the typology of hut urns see Bartolini et al., *Le urne a capanna*.

23. The best example is the hut urn from Tomb I at Campofattore: see A. M. Bietti Sestieri, *Civiltà del Lazio primitivo* (Rome, 1976) p. 81, no. 8, pl. viiib.

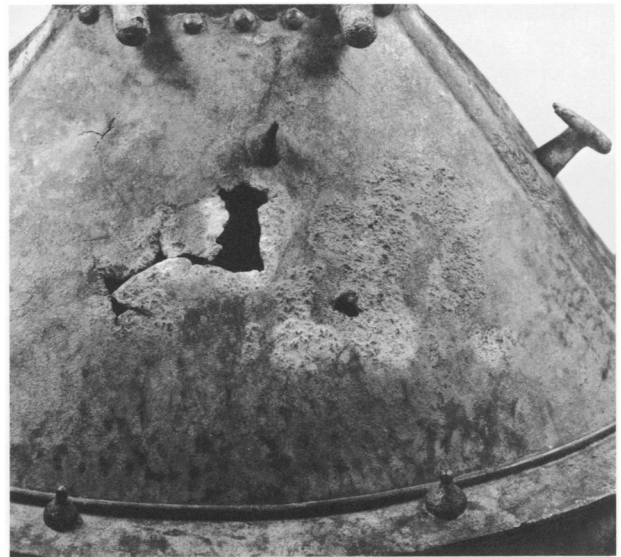
the earliest evidence of capitals occurs only with the appearance of more resistant and durable construction material, as well as with the further evolution of architecture.²⁴

These reservations about its two most distinctive features led me to undertake a more minute examination of the entire urn and this, in turn, confirmed my initial misgivings. I found, in fact, that the sloping sections of the roof were composed of an irregular series of bronze strips joined together by no fewer than fourteen solder joints, covered with a colored putty.

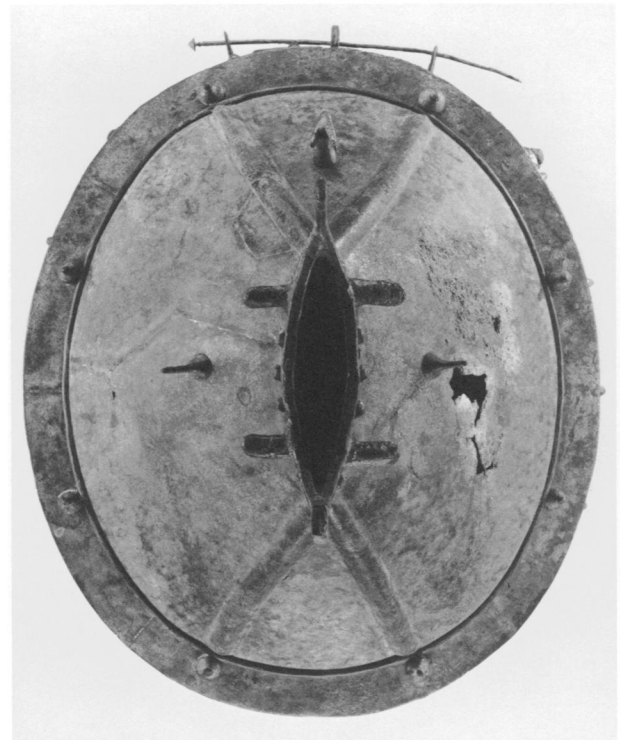
The bronze molding decorating the urn was not placed, as on the other bronze urns (Figures 5–10), so as to reinforce the eaves of the roof but was inserted, for no apparent reason, between the slope of the roof and the eaves, along the walls, and around the door. In its longest sections the molding is made up of separate parts held together with scarf joints and fixed to the urn by means of a series of bronze pins. The exterior surface of the urn, furthermore, is covered with small parallel striations aligned in various directions; these have no counterparts elsewhere. The small losses in the bronze, especially one on a slope of the roof (Figure 15), seem too regular: their edges are angular in outline, not uneven like the edges of the losses usually found on bronze vessels, and the thickness of the metal is consistent, showing no trace of the slow corrosion normally observed in conjunction with losses. The only oxidized patch, on the roof to the right of the loss, is extraordinarily regular for natural oxidation.

At this point in my examination, the urn's near-perfect state of preservation and the excessive use of rivets became suspect, especially since no trace of the rivets attaching the boat to the roof was visible on the interior surface.

24. F. Studniczka, "Das Wesen des tuskanischen Tempelbaus," *Die Antike* 4 (1928) pp. 177–225; P. Ducati, *Storia dell'arte etrusca* (Florence, 1927) pp. 88–101; A. Andr  n, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (Lund, 1940) pp. xxii–xxiv; L. Polacco, *Tuscanicae dispositiones* (Padua, 1952) pp. 55–68; M. Pallottino, review of Polacco, *Tuscanicae dispositiones*, in *StEtr* 22 (1953) pp. 458–462; A. Bo  thius, "Of Tuscan Columns," *AJA* 66 (1962) pp. 249–254; G. Colonna, "Elementi architettonici in pietra dal Santuario di Pyrgi," *Archeologia classica* 18 (1966) pp. 274–275; A. Bo  thius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1970) pp. 43–46; F. Prayon, "Zur Genese der tuskanischen S  ule," *Vitruv-Kolloquium* (Darmstadt, 1982) pp. 141–161, fig. 1.



15. Hut urn in the Metropolitan Museum, detail of left-hand roof slope (note the losses and the oxidation)



16. Hut urn in the Metropolitan Museum, view from above after a preliminary cleaning (note the modern soldering on the sides and eaves of the roof)

With a view to resolving these questions definitively, the Department of Greek and Roman Art in the Museum submitted the urn to a technical examination; this was undertaken by Richard E. Stone, Conservator in the Objects Conservation Department, whose report follows this article. A preliminary cleaning and X-ray photographs immediately revealed that the various parts of the urn were joined by numerous soldered seams in tin and lead (Figure 16), which had then been smoothed over and covered with colored putty. My original doubts were confirmed: the urn proved to be a modern pastiche, made from fragments of ancient sheet bronze (which had surely not belonged to a hut urn) reworked and combined, especially in the lower portions of the urn, with modern sheet bronze. The only original part, in

the final analysis, is the pin used to fasten the door (Figure 17): this may be included among the umbrella-headed pins of the Vadena type.²⁵

Translated by John Daley

ABBREVIATIONS

AJA—*American Journal of Archaeology*

MemAccLinc—*Memorie. Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*

MonAnt—*Monumenti antichi. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*

NSc—*Notizie degli scavi di antichità*

RendAccLinc—*Rendiconti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*

StEtr—*Studi etruschi*



17. Hut urn in the Metropolitan Museum, detail of door fastened by Vadena-type pin

25. G. L. Carancini, *Prähistorische Bronzefunde: XIII, 2. Die Nadeln in Italien/Gli spilloni nell'Italia continentale* (Munich, 1975) pp. 268–271.

The Bronze Hut Urn in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Technical Report

RICHARD E. STONE

*Conservator, Department of Objects Conservation,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

WHEN THE URN was first examined, a survey was made of the corroded surface. While it was rapidly realized that much of the supposed corrosion was actually paint, the metal beneath the paint in general looked rather convincingly old. This suggested that the urn had been partially stripped and repatinated but might otherwise be authentic.

Preliminary radiographs revealed a bewildering network of solder seams in unexpected places, despite the external evidence that the object was riveted together. Once it was noted that the eight rivets fastening the roof to the urn had been soft-soldered in place rather than headed over, they were easily unsoldered and the roof was removed. In addition to being soldered in place, the rivets turned out to have shanks of modern threaded brass rod. As far as can be seen in the radiographs, all the rivets in the urn were made by screwing threaded rod into holes drilled into the external rivet heads. No attempt was made to fasten the rivets in place by the usual method of hammering the free ends of the shanks; they were all soft-soldered into the holes drilled for them.

After disassembly, the roof and urn were radiographed separately to better reveal their construction (Figures 1, 2). The roof exclusive of the boat is made of sheet bronze but not in one piece as one might expect. The sloping sections are apparently made of eighteen separate pieces of metal, the edges of which for the most part are cut in precise and rectilinear patterns rather than naturally broken and re-

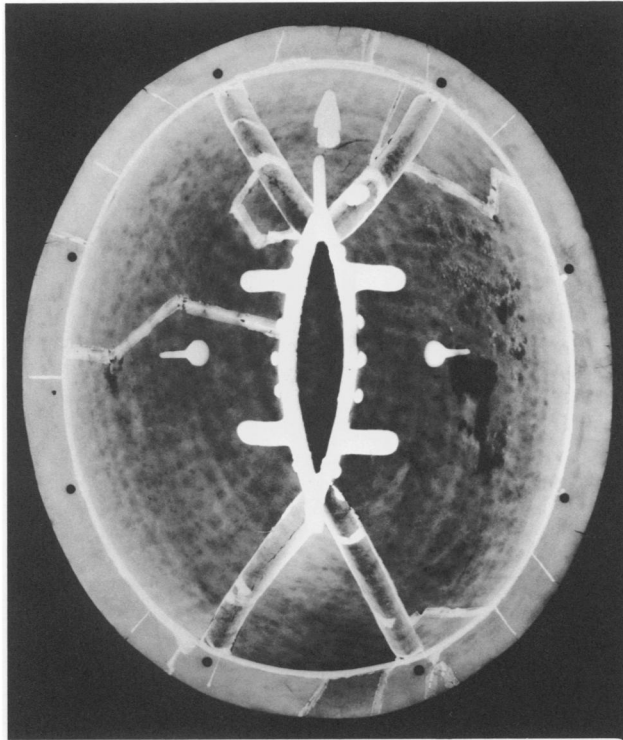
paired. All the seams are butt-joined with soft solder (an alloy of lead and tin), and many of them are reinforced on the interior with shim brass strips likewise soldered in place. These brass strips were hidden with a heavy application of a colored putty.

The four radial "rafters" divide the roof into four sectors: two long sides and two triangular ends. The radiographs show a distinct hammer texture in the sheets making up the sides and ends, with the hammer blows arranged in concentric rows. There are two different types of hammer marks: one is broad and indistinct; the other is small and quite distinct, produced by a sort of pecking. The broad marks seem to have shaped the slight convexity of the essentially conical roof. The small marks, on the other hand, appear irrelevant to the shaping of the roof and to be instead an attempt to give the metal a distressed surface texture.

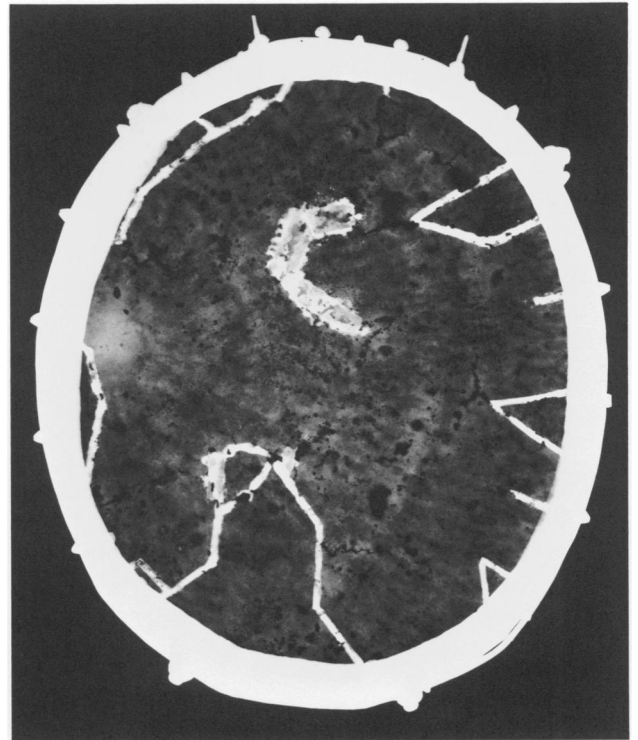
The rafters themselves are made of separate strips of metal that show extensive longitudinal cracking as well as a distinctly darkened surface, indicative of severe cold working and annealing. The metal is so cracked that it must indeed have been previously embrittled by corrosion, as the actual degree to which the metal is embossed is not that great. The working and annealing were obviously done before the roof of the urn was assembled by soldering.

The eaves are also formed from a separate piece of metal and have numerous quasi-radial cuts. Most of these cuts do not traverse the full width of the metal, and all have been filled with soft solder.

- 1, 2. Hut urn. Bronze, max. H. 29.4 cm.; diam. of base 36.2 cm. (long axis), 31.6 cm. (short axis). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 38.11.14 (radiographs: Stone)



1. The roof after disassembly of the urn



2. The bottom after disassembly of the urn

Clearly, the eaves must have been made from a longitudinal metal strip which had triangular gores cut on the inner side to enable the strip to be bent into a flat polygon approximating an ellipse. The shape was further refined by bending and filing, and the gores, now reduced to seams, were filled with solder. The eaves were then joined to the roof by soldering, the seam being hidden on the exterior by the round molding. On the interior the raw filed edge of the seam is quite conspicuous, even where the paint has not been removed.

It is obvious that the roof was executed by someone trained in the methods of the modern copper-smith, who works with metal that is preformed into sheets. A preindustrial craftsman would almost certainly have fashioned the roof just as he would have made a bowl, by raising it in a single piece. The complex piecing of the roof is primarily an effort to avoid the technique of hammer raising. Nowhere in the en-

tire urn is there an extensive surface of double curvature except for the slopes of the roof; there, as we have seen from the radiographs, evidence of hammering does indeed exist. Otherwise, the work is entirely fashioned in surfaces of single curvature: the cylinder, cone, and flat sheets. The walls of the urn are a good example of the process. With the exception of the door surround and four pilasters, the walls are made from a single sheet of metal shaped into the frustum of a cone. The top edge of the metal sheet has been bent back to form a near-horizontal seat for the roof; as with the eaves, triangular gores have been cut into this flange to facilitate bending of the walls to an elliptical plan.

The bottom of the urn, like the roof, is made of a metal sheet carefully pieced together with soft solder and brass reinforcing strips. The bronze is considerably thinner than that of the roof and is riddled with penetrating corrosion pits. Much of the patching

seems to have been done in order to mend the corroded metal rather than to serve any structural function as in the roof. The metal sheet has apparently been cut from the bottom of a much larger flat-bottomed vessel, for in the radiograph one can see a typical pattern of concentric hammer blows not around the center of the elliptical bottom but around a thick spot virtually at its edge. There are no small "pecking" hammer marks since the metal here, unlike that of the roof, had a sufficiently irregular surface to begin with.

As previously indicated, there is considerable evidence that much of the metal is old and reused if not necessarily ancient. Even if we maintain that the craftsman was trying to avoid raising techniques out of habit, the roof is so pieced together as to suggest the exigencies of fitting together an available stock of old metal. Furthermore, genuinely old metal would be too brittle to raise without extensive annealing. Although this could have been done, so much of the patina of age would have been lost by heat treatment as to obviate the use of old metal in the first place.

Radiographs of the boat show coarse porosity, indicating that the boat was cast. It was made, however, not in a single piece but in six separate ones: the prow, the stern, and two segments on each side. Each cast segment of side wall has its integral projecting cylinder and all four segments are essentially identical. There is a vertical solder seam at the center cusp on each side, with lapping seams at the bow and stern. The bottom of the boat is a separate piece of thin hammered bronze sheet again soldered in place. The ten rivets supposedly fastening the boat to the roof are dummies, the shanks of which do not pierce the sides of the boat; this is actually held in place by heavy fillets of solder on the underside. As with the rest of the urn, the boat has been pieced together from scraps of old metal, and the seams are hidden under skillful applications of colored putty and paint.

It is clear that the urn as a whole is a clever pastiche made of both old and new metal, with enough genuinely old surfaces exposed so as to disarm the viewer's critical judgment.

The Vermand Treasure: A Testimony to the Presence of the Sarmatians in the Western Roman Empire

DEBORAH SCHORSCH

*Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, Department of Objects Conservation,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

THE VERMAND TREASURE is a small group of objects, primarily of gilded silver, which survive from a military burial in northern France dating from the second half of the fourth century A.D. In design and ornament the Vermand Treasure falls largely within the tradition of provincial Roman military garniture; its use of precious metals and the high quality of its execution, however, make it outstanding (Figure 1). A technical examination of the Vermand Treasure appears in Appendix 1.

The Vermand Treasure was discovered in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by a professional excavator named Benoni Lelaurain.¹ The cemetery from which it was recovered, located six kilometers from St.-Quentin in the modern village of Vermand (Aisne), originally lay beside the Celtic *oppidum* of the Viromandui. In later Roman times Vermand was a *castra hiberna* within the network of provincial border defenses and a flourishing glass-production center, located at the crossing of the roads between St.-Quentin (Augusta Viromanduorum), Amiens (Ambianum), Bavai (Bagacum), and Beauvais (Bellovacum). At the end of the third century the town seems to have gained some prominence, as well as a large influx of refugees, following the destruction of Augusta Viromanduorum by barbarian invaders.²

Vermand cemetery consists of three small cemeteries in use from the end of the third century to the first decade of the fifth century A.D.; it was probably abandoned following the Alanic-Vandal rampage through Gaul in A.D. 406–407.³ The burials, believed to number more than one thousand, are both pagan and Christian.

Unfortunately, the Vermand Treasure, which came from one of the few military burials in a primarily civilian cemetery, has not survived intact. Grave robbers had previously discovered the burial, cracked the stone sarcophagus, and scattered the contents. Some grave goods, in particular the hilt of a sword, were probably pilfered by Lelaurain's workmen.⁴ The six finest pieces were acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1910 and donated to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1917 (Figures 2–12), but the majority of the objects recorded in Lelaurain's excavation report had disappeared from the Musée Lécuyer in St.-Quentin by the end of World War I. This group included an iron battle-axe head (Figure 13),⁵ ten small javelin heads (Figure 13),⁶ a lance head of iron inlaid with silver and copper (Figures

A list of abbreviations will be found at the end of this article.

1. Grave no. 17; Lelaurain's journal appears in Eck, pp. 21ff.

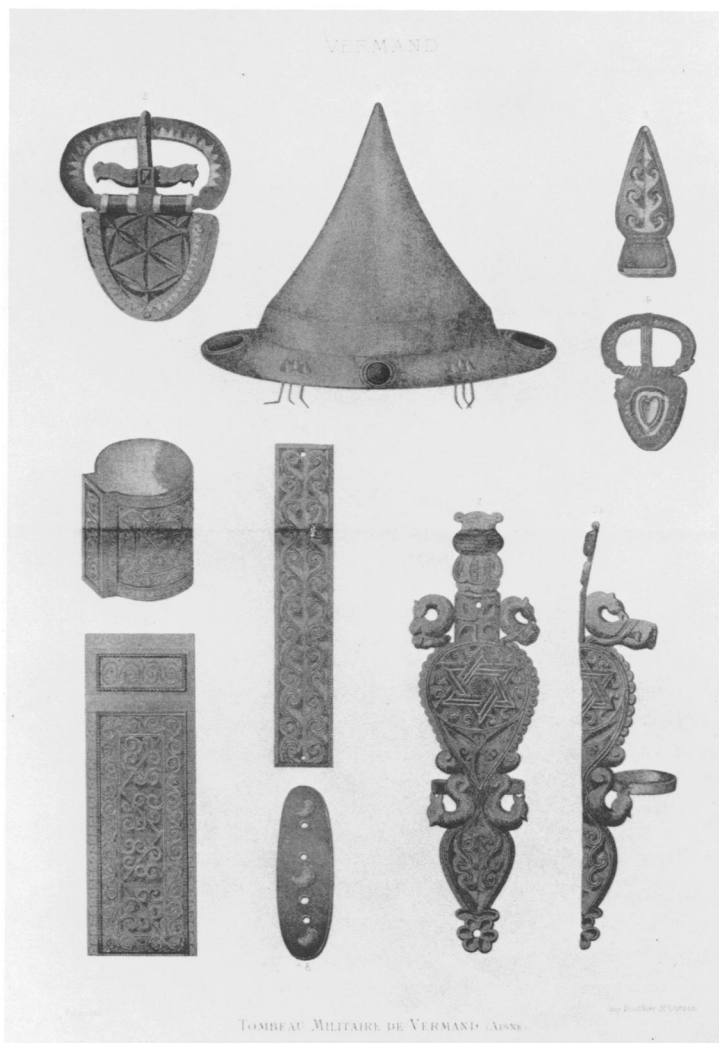
2. Historians do not agree on the relative importance of Vermand and St.-Quentin during the Gallo-Roman period.

3. The cemeteries are dated on the basis of coins and well-established typologies of provincial Roman artifacts; a gap in the archaeological record in fifth-century Gaul seems to be the rule rather than the exception; J. Dhondt, S. J. de Laet, and P. Hombert, "Quelques Considérations sur la fin de la domination romaine et les débuts de la colonisation franque en Belgique," *L'Antiquité Classique* 17 (1948) pp. 133–156.

4. The remains of the blade were found; Eck, p. 23.

5. A similar one, found at Monceau-le-Neuf (Aisne), is illustrated in Salin and France-Lanord, p. 99.

6. Length 20–25 cm.



1. *Military Tomb at Vermand (Aisne)*, published in 1891 by T. Eck, *Les Deux Cimetières gallo-romains de Vermand et de Saint-Quentin*, pl. II (nos. 1, 2, 5–7 now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

13–15),⁷ two small belt buckles with ferrets, an oval silver plaque, the fragments of a sword blade, and one or two more small bronze objects (see Figure 1, nos. 3, 4, 8).⁸

Originally believed to be Merovingian artifacts dating from the fourth to seventh centuries,⁹ the Vermand Treasure was studied and reevaluated in 1951 by William Forsyth, then Associate Curator of Medieval Art at the Metropolitan Museum. The objects are at present catalogued as provincial Roman and dated to the second half of the fourth century.¹⁰ The burial would seem to date to about the time of two adjacent

graves containing coins from the reign of Valentinian I (364–375).¹¹

Two of the pieces—an umbo (Figures 2, 3) and a shield grip (Figures 4, 5)—are the remains of a round shield of partially gilded red or purple leather fitted over a wooden core, which hung against the wall of the tomb outside the sarcophagus. The umbo, or shield boss, has a tall, sharply pointed cone set on a circular rim decorated with four round paste cabochons¹² imitating chalcedony. The umbo was forged from iron, covered with a thin sheet of gilded silver, and then attached to the shield with twelve silver nails arranged in four groups of three.

The grip, also of iron but covered with an ungilded silver sheet, has a long shaft and was attached to the shield with six rivets and two gilded nails. This lavish use of precious metals and the high quality of the workmanship characterize all the pieces of the Vermand Treasure in the Metropolitan Museum and are matched by the skilled organization of ornament.

7. A lance head now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne has been identified as the lost Vermand lance head; *Gallien in der Spätantike*, exh. cat. (Mainz, 1980) no. 271f; see note 62 below. The attribution of the Cologne lance to the Vermand Treasure was made by H. W. Böhme of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz, who did not publish his reasons. However, in a communication of Apr. 8, 1986, Dr. Böhme states that the damascened inlay on the socket, the shape of the lateral animal head (as seen in a prewar [World War II?] photo), and the length of the lance head all indicate that it came from Vermand. It is worth noting that in the original description and drawing (see Figure 13) of the Vermand lance head there is no record of a twelve-faceted socket, or of damascened inlay on the socket and blade, or of a surviving shaft-strap fragment, all of which the Cologne lance head has. It is possible that the damascening, which Böhme mentions as being partially destroyed during an unfortunate restoration, was not visible at the time of excavation.

8. Eck, p. 22. In a recent exhibition catalogue a *solidus* of Arcadius, not mentioned in early records, was added to the list of artifacts found in the grave; *Gallien*, no. 271p.

9. S. de Ricci, *Catalogue of a Collection of Merovingian Antiquities Belonging to J. Pierpont Morgan* (Paris, 1910) pp. 28ff.

10. Forsyth, pp. 237–238; already, at the turn of the century, Eck, Pilloy, and Jumel had dated the find to the end of the fourth century, and for the most part European archaeologists discussed the Vermand Treasure in this context; T. Eck, “Le Cimetière gallo-romain de Vermand,” *Bulletin Archéologique* (1887) pp. 184–201; J. Pilloy and A. Jumel, “Le Tombeau militaire de Vermand,” *Bulletin Archéologique* (1887) pp. 213–233; idem, *Etudes sur d’anciens lieux de sépultures dans l’Aisne* (St.-Quentin, 1895) II, pp. 38–52, ill.

11. Grave nos. 19, 20; Eck, pp. 23–24.

12. Sometimes mistakenly described as oval.



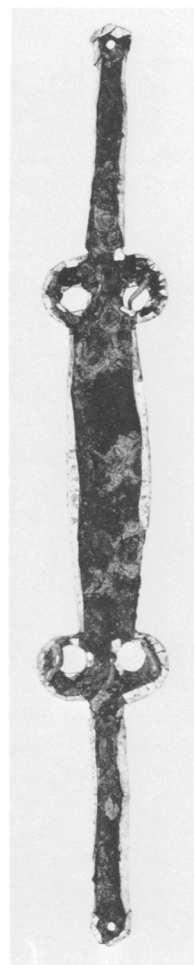
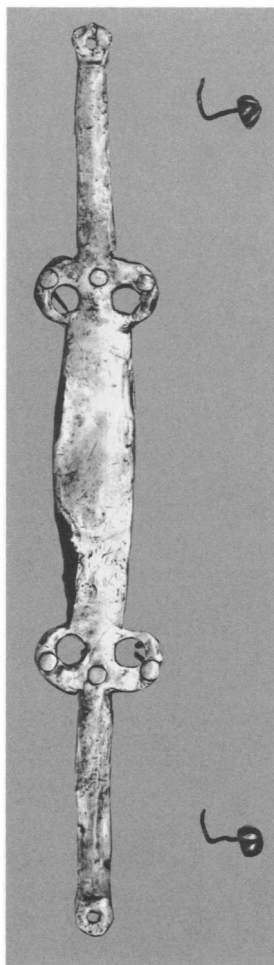
2, 3. Umbo, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century A.D.; from Vermand (Aisne), France. Iron with gilded silver sheet, H. 16 cm., diam. 20 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.141

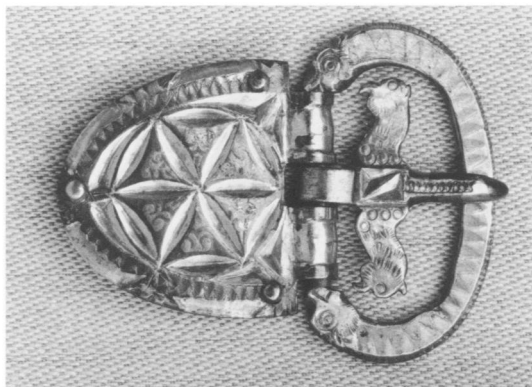
4, 5. Shield grip (front and back), Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Vermand. Iron with silver sheet and gilded silver nails, L. 36.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.142a-c

The four remaining pieces—a centurion's buckle, two decorative plaques, and a ring—are cast in silver and decorated *en suite* with *Kerbschnitt*, niello work, and gilding. Like the umbo and shield grip, the buckle is a luxury version of more or less standard military equipment. The other three objects are unusual ornaments for otherwise commonplace weapons.¹³ The alternately silver, gilded, and nielloed surfaces glitter and heighten the hard, faceted effect of the *Kerbschnitt* work, a technique generally used with cheaper and less ostentatious metals (Figure 16).

The plaque buckle was intended for a fairly narrow belt (Figure 6). The plaque itself is decorated

13. The Vermand Treasure is currently divided between the Department of Arms and Armor and the Department of Medieval Art; at the time the treasure was acquired it was not clear that these four silver pieces were intended to decorate and complement military equipment.





6. Plaque buckle, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Vermand. Silver with gilding and niello, L. 5.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.146

7–10. Lance-shaft plaque, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Vermand. Silver with gilding and niello, H. 12.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.145

with a rosette inscribed in a circle; between each of the six petals is a nielloed floral arabesque. The outer rim of the plaque and the hoop attached to it have a band of nielloed and gilded triangles. Animal heads appear on both sides of the tongue and serve as terminals for the hoop where it meets the plaque.

The first of the two decorative plaques is actually an irregular, though symmetrical, end-to-end assemblage of various shapes and motifs with two projecting rings for attachment to a lance shaft (Figure 7). Among the motifs are standard provincial Roman rosettes, spirals, arabesques, and knobs, as well as several more unusual forms. The dominant motif is a six-pointed star created by the intersection of two isosceles triangles set within a circle.¹⁴ The connecting rings of this “plaque” are the sinuously curved bodies of imaginary dragonlike beasts,¹⁵ decorated with a regular pattern of small circles, and at one end is a similarly dotted cicada (Figures 9, 10). The plaque, certainly the most impressive piece of the

14. Though called the “star of David” or the “seal of Solomon,” it does not relate to Jewish tradition.

15. Referred to in the literature variously as lions, snakes, hippocamps, and “serpentine” animals.



7



8. Lance-shaft plaque, side view



11

11. Ring mount for lance, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Vermand. Silver with gilding and niello, H. 3.5 cm., diam. 2.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.143



9. Lance-shaft plaque, detail showing "dragons" and six-pointed star (photo: Schorsch)



10. Lance-shaft plaque, detail showing cicada (photo: Schorsch)

12. Scabbard-slide ornament(?), Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Vermand. Silver with gilding and niello, L. 9.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.192.144



de forme conique, avait été totalement recouvert extérieurement d'une plaque d'argent doré ; il possédait encore les clous coniques d'argent qui, par groupes de trois, l'assujettissaient au corps du bouclier d'un centimètre d'épaisseur, lequel avait été fait de bois ou d'osier recouvert de cuir. Entre les séries de clous, se trouvaient de fausses calcédoines ovales serties dans des caissons bordés d'un double bourrelet.



Tout près de là, toujours en dehors du coffre mortuaire, on recueillit une hache en fer, de cette forme trapue qui s'est trouvée communément dans les cimetières du

IV^e siècle, et qui diffère en cela de celles des Francs, remarquables par leur forme élancée.

Plus loin, vers la gauche, on trouva un faisceau de dix javelots en fer de 20 à 25 centimètres de



longueur, en forme de feuille de laurier et d'une conservation parfaite.

Puis une longue, large et lourde lance en fer, ayant primitivement à sa base deux têtes de lions en bronze, mais n'en laissant plus voir qu'une. Avec cette pièce remarquable se trouvait la garniture en argent doré, ciselé et niellé de la hampe, dont il ne restait que peu de traces.



L'ouverture de la caisse amena une déception : évidemment elle avait été violée et dépouillée des vases précieux contenant le menu du repas posthume qu'on devait y avoir déposé, comme cela s'est vu dans toutes les tombes voisines. Point de bague d'or, d'*aureus* pour obole à Caron, non plus que de fibules et de poignées d'épée et de poignards. On n'y recueillit que la boucle d'argent doré du ceinturon et deux autres plus petites, dorées, ciselées, niellées, serties des pierres fines, accom-

pagnées de leur ferret, qui ont pu servir, soit aux chaussures, soit

13. Iron axe head, javelin head, and lance head; from Vermand, published 1902-05 by C. Boulanger, *Le Mobilier funéraire gallo-romain et franc en Picardie et en Artois*, p. 47. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

- 14, 15. Lance head, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; published as from Vermand. Iron with copper and silver inlay, L. 38 cm. Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, no. D 685 (photos: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz)

15. Lance head, detail showing twelve-faceted socket with damascened inlay





16. Belt mount, Provincial Roman, 4th century. Bronze, partially silvered, H. 7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 57.161.2

Vermand Treasure, is a skillful synthesis of an assortment of shapes, textures, and tonal values, executed with the highest quality of workmanship.

Other than its obvious decorative value, this lance-shaft plaque quite possibly had a practical purpose. Whereas in classical antiquity lance heads were secured by inserting and riveting the wooden shaft into the socket, a barbarian innovation was to have shaft straps, iron extensions from each side of the bottom of the socket, which fitted along the sides of the shaft and were held by a metal ring.¹⁶ The Vermand lance-shaft plaque was undoubtedly on the top of the shaft, visible at eye level when the lance was held upright, and could have served as a ring for shaft straps. In addition to making the lance head more secure, the straps would have prevented an enemy from chopping through the end of the lance when it was thrust within his reach.

The ring, intended to fit around the shaft of the lance, is cylindrical, with a squared-out section that has a nail hole for attachment (Figure 11). The ring was most likely used to attach a leather wrist loop to the grip section of the shaft, permitting a firm grasp of the weapon when it was brandished.¹⁷ The ring is decorated with alternating bands of *Kerbschnitt* and nielloed and stamped ornament, mostly scrolls and peltalike motifs; one edge is beaded in a manner similar to the lance-shaft plaque.

The second of the two decorative plaques is rectangular, with pelta and double pelta swirls; it is pierced with three nail holes (Figure 12). It has generally been assumed that this piece also formed part of the lance-shaft decoration,¹⁸ but since it is perfectly flat there is really no reason to suspect that it was intended to be attached to a circular shaft. Indeed, this plaque might have ornamented the scabbard slide of the deceased soldier's sword.¹⁹ If this were the case, it would indicate that lance, belt, and sword were all parts of a garniture with matching decoration.

Kerbschnitt is a typically Roman technique whose visual effect has been likened to that of a far more monumental Roman art form, the mosaic pavement. Forsyth, in particular, advancing the theories expressed by Riegl in his studies of late Roman *Kunstindustrie*, felt that the two media were related in their tendency to reduce naturalistic forms to grids of semiabstract and abstract patterning.²⁰

It has been suggested that *Kerbschnitt* work, or "chip-carving," has its origins in Germanic woodcarving technique and, more generally, that *Kerbschnitt* reflects the taste of the invading Germanic people who eventually came to serve in the Roman army.²¹ While its ultimate origins remain unknown, there seems to be no doubt that the technique was adopted and widely used in late Roman times for the manufacture of centurion buckles and other military equipment for provincial troops. Because of their widespread distribution along the Rhine and Danube borders, *Kerbschnitt* pieces were in all probability not

16. Three examples of lance irons with shaft straps, two with the rings used to secure them onto the wooden shaft, are illustrated in *Gallien*, nos. 205a, 207, 224d.

17. Most writers agree that this ring belonged to the lance, but this specific function was suggested to me by Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum.

18. Forsyth, p. 237.

19. Suggested by Helmut Nickel, June 1979.

20. W. H. Forsyth, "Provincial Roman Enamels Recently Acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Art Bulletin* 30 (1950) pp. 296–307, esp. pp. 305–306. Forsyth compares the Vermand Treasure *Kerbschnitt* pieces to several Gallo-Roman enameled vessels, on the basis of Riegl's ideas and also in terms of specific motifs; see also A. Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie* (Vienna, 1927) pp. 291ff. In his later article, Forsyth compares the pieces to mosaic work; see Forsyth, pp. 237–238.

21. G. Behrens, "Spätromische Kerbschnittschnallen," in *Schumacher Festschrift* (Mainz, 1930) pp. 285–294, esp. p. 285; see also Lantier, p. 393.

reserved for or preferred by Germanic peoples to the exclusion of other foreign soldiers.²²

Kerbschnitt buckles, ferrets, and plaques were mass-produced. Behrens's study, which stressed the variety in style and quality found in *Kerbschnitt* military equipment, supports the theory that this equipment was made in several regional factories rather than in one centralized place.²³

In his study of coins and *Kerbschnitt* work from Chécy (Loiret), Lefaurie compared a silver buckle from Chécy with another in bronze from Rouvroy (Aisne) that he felt had been cast from the same mold;²⁴ he also noted some similarity between these pieces and the lance-shaft plaque of the Vermand Treasure.²⁵ While no texts survive that explain under what conditions soldiers received *Kerbschnitt* buckles and ornaments, Lefaurie suggests that certain chapters of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the muster role of the Roman army, indicate that the buckles were given as special compensation, and that they were produced in ateliers that worked with precious metals, and not where the iron weapons that were standard issue were manufactured.²⁶

Although the "star of David" motif is not unknown in Roman mosaic pavements, scholars have connected the Vermand Treasure's star with similar six- or eight-pointed stars (created through the intersection of equal-sized triangles or squares) found on several fourth-century Roman silver plates and bowls, as, for example, on the fluted bowl from Mildenhall (Suffolk, England),²⁷ and on the Euticus plate and a second piece from Kaiseraugst (Aargau, Switzerland).²⁸ Star patterns such as these relate to Oriental religious cults that had infiltrated the Roman world in the third century.

The Vermand Treasure quite possibly came from the same atelier that produced some pieces of the Coleraine Treasure, a hoard buried in Northern Ireland in the fifth century.²⁹ Along with 1,506 coins dating from the reign of Constantius II to that of Honorius (337–423) were found a few fragments of late fourth-century *Kerbschnitt* gilded and nielloed silver plaques (Figure 17). Three pieces, one of which had been described as a decoration for a casket,³⁰ were recently published as a portion of a plaque buckle and mounts from a scabbard.³¹ One of the two mounts is decorated with a six-pointed star with a rosette in the center and encircled by floral ornament identical to that on the Vermand lance-shaft plaque.

THE SARMATIAN PRESENCE

It has been suggested and also widely accepted that the Vermand Treasure, as well as several more or less similar military burials in Gaul, belonged to Germanic settlers—*laeti*, or farmer-soldiers—who came to repopulate Gaul after a series of severe raids by Germanic invaders in the second half of the third century. More specifically, it is believed that the Vermand Treasure belonged to a Frankish chief, sometimes identified as a *praefectus laetorum*, in the pay of the Roman army. However, certain aspects of the Vermand Treasure are not identifiably Gallo-Roman or Frankish but point to Eastern, that is, Asiatic, origins. The Vermand pieces, as well as others from nearby burials, indicate that the Roman border defenses at Vermand were at least partially manned by Sarmatians, an Indo-European people originally

22. Behrens, "Spätromische Kerbschnittschnallen," map p. 286.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 293–294; Lantier, p. 393.

24. The Chécy buckle is now lost and only known from a drawing and measurements by Pilloy; see J. Lefaurie, "Le Trésor de Chécy," in *Trésors monétaires et plaque-boucles de la Gaule romaine: Bavaï, Montbouy, Chécy*, 12th suppl. to *Gallia* (Paris, 1958) pp. 276–341, esp. pp. 302–303. According to Lefaurie, both were cast in a mold made from a lead model and the slight differences between the two are the result of varying amounts of time or care taken by the artisans whose job it was to remove imperfections from the casting.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 312; he refers specifically to the so-called lions; earlier (p. 311) he discusses the use of niello in the Vermand and Chécy pieces, as well as on several other large- and small-scale pieces of Roman silver, as a possible indication of a common origin.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 303ff.; see also Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 194ff.

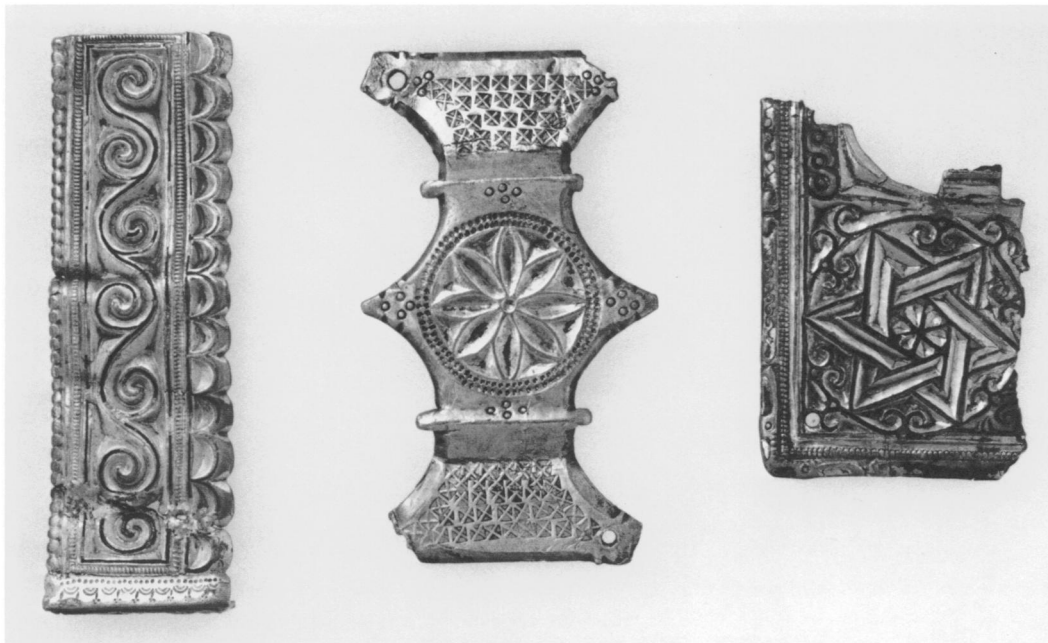
27. J. P. C. Kent and K. S. Painter, eds., *Wealth of the Roman World, A.D. 300–700* (London, 1977) pp. 3ff., nos. 66, 67; J. W. Brailsford, *The Mildenhall Treasure* (London, 1947).

28. R. Laur-Belart, *Der spätromische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst, Aargau*, 2nd ed. (Basel, 1963) nos. 5, 12 (see also no. 10, with "Flechtbandstern"); Kent and Painter, *Roman World*, pp. 40ff.

29. Found at Ballinrees, Coleraine, County Londonderry, and now in the British Museum; see Forsyth, pp. 238–239.

30. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Silver Plate (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the British Museum* (London, 1921) nos. 206, 207.

31. Kent and Painter, *Roman World*, nos. 211–213; J. W. Brailsford, *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* (London, 1971) p. 41 and pl. ix. Brailsford felt that the strip described as a scabbard mount, perhaps for the mouth of the scabbard, had probably been an ornament band from a spear or staff. This seems most likely, since the piece is obviously a flattened-out ring; see also Forsyth, p. 238.



17. Scabbard mount(?), scabbard bridge, and buckle fragment, Provincial Roman, end of 4th century; from Coleraine, Northern Ireland. Silver with gilding and niello, L. 7.75 cm., 6.9 cm., 5.1 cm. London, British Museum, MLA 55.8-15.13, 55.8-15.14, 55.8-15.12 (photo: British Museum)

from the steppes of southern Russia.³² Furthermore, an attribution of the Vermand Treasure to the taste or workshops of any specific ethnic group raises questions as to our ability to gauge foreign influences within the changing ethnic character of the late Roman Empire.

Gaul, settled by Celtic peoples during their great migration across Europe in the first millennium B.C., was conquered by Caesar in the first century B.C. The Celts by this time had long since given up their migratory habits and had adopted a sedentary, urbanized way of life. As raiders and merchants, the Celts had had contact with the classical world for hundreds of years and were willing recipients of Roman material and social culture, while their art always retained vital strains of their Celtic and provincial origins.

Although internally relatively stable, the Gallo-Roman territories suffered from increasing incursions of Germanic peoples from across the Rhine.³³ In upper Germany the *limes* (border fortifications) fell in A.D. 254; invaders pushed into Belgium about the year 258 and overran central Gaul between 268

and 278.³⁴ The *limes* were reestablished, only to be broken through again. Diocletian, in his reorganization of 293, succeeded in holding back the Germanic forces on the eastern frontier, but from 285 onwards, North Sea Germanic tribes turned to piracy, raiding the coasts of Gaul, Britain, and northern Spain.³⁵

Paradoxically, the very people who preyed on the empire at the same time became part of it. Germanization began long before the invasions of the fifth century A.D. As Musset points out, the practice of repopulating imperial territories with prisoners of war is very old and was used by cultures in the Middle East from the time of the Assyrians.³⁶ Musset adds that the Romans engaged in this practice from the

32. This theory was suggested by Helmut Nickel; see also K. R. Reynolds, *Guide to Provincial Roman and Barbarian Metalwork and Jewelry in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1981) pp. 4ff.

33. Even during the most stable times, border tribes from across the Rhine were in constant flux. Musset offers three reasons for these invasions of the 3rd century onwards: the weakening Roman defenses, increasing population, and, most important, a chain reaction started by the migrating Goths in the East (Musset, p. 10).

34. At the same time, Rome also had trouble with Germanic tribes in other parts of the empire; the Alemanni invaded Italy in A.D. 260 and 270, and the Goths raided Thrace, Greece, and Asia Minor. In 271 Dacia was abandoned to the Goths.

35. Musset, p. 12.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

time of Marcus Aurelius; it seems, however, that large numbers of barbarian peoples had been settled within the empire on several earlier occasions.³⁷

These newcomers were generally settled as farmers, but non-Romans were also incorporated, in larger and larger numbers, into the Roman army, where in time they reached positions of rank and status.³⁸ Following the disruptions of the third century, Gaul received many new settlers; in the time of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306–337), an estimated one of every twenty inhabitants of the northern provinces was a barbarian or of barbarian descent.³⁹

Two terms, *foederati* and *laeti*, which come down to us from various documents, refer specifically to foreign settlers within the empire who had military obligations.⁴⁰ However, our information concerning the specifics of these obligations, and the ethnicity or numbers of people they refer to, is very limited and the cause of much controversy.⁴¹

The term *laeti* appears for the first time in documents of the late third century;⁴² unlike *foederati*, who seem to have served mostly in buffer zones along the Roman borders near their own tribal homelands (or current settlement areas) largely outside Roman military or administrative control,⁴³ *laeti* were resettled foreigners, living on *terrae laetorum* within the empire, who had been placed under the jurisdiction of a

regional *praefectus laetorum*.⁴⁴ These *praefecti* are listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which gives us an indication of where the *laeti* were stationed.⁴⁵ For the most part, historians have dated this invaluable document, known to us through various later copies, to the first half of the fifth century, but most are also in agreement that it reflects the military organization of the late fourth century as well.⁴⁶

Laeti burials generally are recognizable because they contain weapons; for the most part, Roman and Gallo-Roman soldiers, as well as civilians, were not buried with arms.⁴⁷ Werner studied five fourth-century cemeteries (including Vermand) in France and Belgium that contained burials with weapons.⁴⁸ He identified grave goods, as well as burial practices, that he felt were characteristic of these cemeteries. While noting that the military burials contained many objects of provincial Roman manufacture, Werner stressed the ritual aspect, which he linked to Germanic practices, and concluded that the soldiers were Germanic *laeti* stationed in these regions.⁴⁹ Werner's ultimate aim was to establish that the roots of the distinctive Merovingian row-grave cemetery rituals were to be found in the practices of the Frankish *laeti* of many years earlier.⁵⁰

Although Werner's theory is widely accepted,⁵¹ at least two major articles have appeared that care-

37. MacMullen, see documents pp. 553–554, and pp. 555ff.

38. Particularly after the time of Theodosius; Musset, pp. 162–163; K. F. Stroheker, "Zur Rolle der Heermeister fränkischer Abstammung im späten vierten Jahrhundert," *Historia* 4 (1955) pp. 314–330.

39. MacMullen, p. 554.

40. *Coloni* were also used throughout the empire and augmented the barbarian concentration; according to most historians, however, these people did not participate in military activities.

41. Stroheker, "Zur Rolle der Heermeister," p. 314, discusses the problem of nationalistic and ethnocentric considerations that color scholarly points of view regarding the role of Germanic tribes in the late Roman Empire. Art-historical and archaeological reconstructions thrive on continuity; one must therefore take into account that when scholars seek evidence to link western Germanic peoples (Franks and Alemanni), who entered Gaul in the 4th century as farmers and soldiers, to the Merovingian culture, which appeared in Gaul in the late 5th century, they often overlook the great number and variety of ethnic groups that participated in the "barbarization" of the Roman Empire.

42. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (Norman, Okla., 1964) I, p. 60, writes that *laeti* were mentioned by a Gallic orator in A.D. 296. *Laeti* settlements are also mentioned in

panegyrics between 289 and 389, in 297 by the panegyrist of Constantius Chlorus, and in the early 4th century by the panegyrist of Constantine the Great; see also Salin, II, p. 236, and texts p. 379.

43. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 611–612.

44. This was an administrative post rather than a military rank; *ibid.*, p. 640.

45. *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l. 1, "Praepositurae magistri militum praesentalis a parte peditum."

46. For a brief bibliography of important research on the *Notitia Dignitatum* see R. Grigg, "Portrait-Bearing Codicils in the Illustrations of the *Notitia Dignitatum*," *Journal of Roman Studies* 69 (1979) p. 108, n. 8.

47. Salin, II, pp. 223ff.

48. Werner, pp. 23–32, esp. p. 29; in addition to Vermand, Werner studied cemeteries at Vert-la-Gravelle (Marne), Monceau-le-Neuf (Aisne), Abbeville-Homblières (Aisne), and Furfuz (near Namur); see Salin, II, p. 240, n. 5, for a list of other *laeti* cemeteries.

49. Werner, esp. p. 30.

50. *Ibid.*, esp. p. 22.

51. MacMullen, pp. 558–559, writes that Werner's thesis concerning the *laeti* burials is plausible but impossible to prove; as for Werner's other suggestion (concerning the continuation of *laeti* culture into Merovingian times), he feels uncertain of its

fully reinvestigate the problem and express alternative opinions. The Belgian archaeologists de Laet, Dhondt, and Nenquin together examined and disputed the validity of several of Werner's ten criteria for identifying *laeti* cemeteries.⁵² They concluded that the ethnic criteria proposed by Werner were not appropriate, and that of the five cemeteries he studied, only Furfooz, near Namur, was likely to have been used by *laeti*, and for different reasons.⁵³ They added that Werner's thesis concerning the development of Merovingian grave culture from the fourth-century *laeti* tradition disregarded the so-called fifth-century hiatus, a geographical and chronological rupture in the occupation (as we know it from archaeology) of northeastern Gaul.⁵⁴

The weapons from the Vermand burial, with one exception, are in themselves typically Roman,⁵⁵ though most scholars view them in terms of the later Merovingian tradition. Salin, for example, discusses several fourth-century finds from within Gaul in his various studies of Merovingian culture and industry; he classifies as type "U.4" the umbo from Vermand, together with similar pieces from Monceau-le-Neuf (Aisne) and Misery (Somme), because of their sharp point and conical form with concave sides.⁵⁶ This is one of the four variations known from Merovingian burials, but, in fact, such late examples have been

found only rarely and the type is far more common among fourth-century Roman soldiers and auxiliaries.⁵⁷

The shield grip, classified by Salin as "M.1" (*verge droit*), is one of three types found in Merovingian burials.⁵⁸ While there is certainly the possibility of tracing Roman influence in the development of Merovingian arms, there is no indication that the Vermand shield was not actually of Roman manufacture or that it shows traces of Germanic influence.

The Vermand battle-axe head (Figure 13), measuring less than 12 centimeters across, is also similar to one from Monceau-le-Neuf.⁵⁹ It is a type common among Roman soldiers and auxiliaries of this time and appears to be unrelated to the distinctive Frankish *francisca*—a throwing axe—known from early Merovingian burials.⁶⁰

Salin describes and illustrates the Vermand lance head in *Rhin et Orient: Le Fer à l'époque mérovingienne*, but never actually discusses it in terms of the various Merovingian types and hybrid types that he carefully classifies and charts.⁶¹ In a later article concerning finds from a cemetery at La Bussière-Etable (Haute-Vienne), Salin took the opportunity to examine the origins of the Vermand silver lance head, which is nearly triangular and originally had "hooks" ending with the heads of lions.⁶² Lance heads with hooks are

validity; see also Musset, p. 73. For studies of individual so-called *laeti* cemeteries that support Werner's thesis, see H. Roossens, *Quelques Mobiliers funéraires de la fin de l'époque romaine dans le nord de la France* (Bruges, 1962), which discusses Monceau-le-Neuf and Abbeville-Homblières; Lantier, pp. 73–401. See also J. A. E. Nenquin, "La Nécropole de Furfooz," *Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandensis* 1 (1953) pp. 7–110.

52. S. J. de Laet, J. Dhondt, and J. Nenquin, "Les *Laeti* du Namurois et l'origine de la civilisation mérovingienne," in *Etudes d'histoire et archéologie namuroises dédiées à Ferdinand Courtoy*, 2 vols. (Namur, 1952) I, pp. 149–174, esp. pp. 150ff.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 168; see also Nenquin, "Furfooz"; Salin, II, p. 248, n. 1.

54. De Laet et al., "Les *Laeti* du Namurois," pp. 168–169; see also Dhondt et al., "La Domination romaine," concerning the 5th-century hiatus; de Laet et al. voiced other objections, for example, that the *laeti* are known from documents more than fifty years before the so-called *laeti* cemeteries. More recently Böhner, while supporting Werner's attribution of the burials to Germanic people, felt that these people had entered the empire as loosely regulated *foederati* rather than *laeti* under a *praefectus*; see K. Böhner, "Zur historischen Interpretation der sogenannten Laetengräber," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 10 (1963) pp. 139–167.

55. The ten javelin heads seem to be of little significance;

they are barely mentioned by earlier writers; see de Laet et al., "Les *Laeti* du Namurois," p. 164, n. 2. Little can be said of the sword, which does not survive, other than that the deceased was particularly well equipped with weapons.

56. Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 99, 122, chart following p. 128; Salin, II, pp. 242ff.; see also C. Boulanger, *Le Mobilier funéraire gallo-romain et franc en Picardie et en Artois* (Paris, 1902–05) p. 47.

57. Salin, II, p. 328; Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 99, 122.

58. Salin and France-Lanord, p. 123, chart following p. 128.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 99; of all remains of weapons, the axe head is the most plentiful in 4th-century Gallic cemeteries.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 99; Salin, II, p. 241, n. 1. Salin writes: "La hache d'armes, dont l'emploi est une coutume germanique, n'est pas la francisque" but in a footnote points out that auxiliaries recruited in the East, portrayed on the Arch of Constantine in Rome, also carry axes (Salin, II, p. 246, n. 1). Referring to the Monceau-le-Neuf battle-axe head, Salin makes the point that the position of the axe in the grave is the same as that of axes dating to Merovingian times; Merovingian *francisca* are considerably larger than Roman axe heads, measuring on average 15–18 cm.; Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 99, 104; Werner, p. 29.

61. Salin and France-Lanord, p. 100, chart following p. 128.

62. E. Salin, "Le Mobilier funéraire de la Bussière-Etable près Châteauponsac (Haute Vienne)," *Monuments et mémoires*

not Roman weapons, but are found occasionally among auxiliaries towards the end of the fourth century; they appear only rarely in Merovingian burials. Additionally, the nearly triangular shape of the Vermand and the La Bussière-Etable lance heads is unlike the “willow-leaf” shape of most Merovingian irons.⁶³ On the basis of his study of various grave goods, including the lance heads from La Bussière-Etable which seemingly date from before the beginning of the second century A.D., Salin concludes that the lance heads with hooks reflect the influence of eastern Germanic people who had inherited Pontic-Danubian traditions.⁶⁴

The “Pontic-Danubian tradition” refers to the elusive Sarmatians, nomadic people who lived for many centuries in constant flux, migrating westward in tribal groups, undergoing change and renewal, and coming into contact with foreign cultures and with other Sarmatians. (For a discussion of the westward migration of the Sarmatians, see Appendix 2.) Tribes appear and disappear, and are often designated by different names at different times, in different places, by various ancient authors and chroniclers, each of whom had his own perspective or lack thereof.

Modern scholarship has yet to reconstruct this web of comings and goings; even Sulimirski, the most prominent Western scholar concerned with the Sarmatian people, can be confusing when specifying which Sarmatians he is referring to at one time or another.⁶⁵ Sarmatian art, which belongs to the so-called art of the steppes, has to a large extent been overshadowed by the work associated with the Sarmatians’ earlier, wealthier, and somewhat more

homogeneous cousins, the Scythians, who have been the subject of many studies and whose art is far better known in the West.

The Sarmatians were a complex of more or less closely related nomadic tribes of Indo-European stock, speaking a north Iranian language related to the Scythian tongue; they emerged from the Volga and Uralic steppe regions of southern Russia during the fifth century B.C.⁶⁶ The earliest Sarmatians were known to Herodotus as “Sauromatae,” a mythical people living beyond the Scythians, born of Scythian fathers and Amazon mothers.⁶⁷

For many centuries the various Sarmatian peoples migrated farther west as new tribes of both Iranian and Turkish (i.e., Hunnic) stock rose and asserted their strength in the eastern steppes of Kazakhstan and Soviet Central Asia. From the third century A.D. onwards, migrating Germanic tribes also played a major role in the westward movement of the Sarmatians. In time, the Goths and the Sarmatians intermarried, each adopting some of the other’s cultural and artistic traditions, a development that it is crucial to consider in examining evidence of a Sarmatian presence in western Europe. Sulimirski discusses the migrations and settlements of the Sarmatians from their first emergence to their final sweep through France to North Africa in the fifth century A.D., but is silent about the appearance of Sarmatians in Gaul during the fourth century.

In the *Notitia Dignitatum*, following the listings of *praefecti laetorum*, are the so-called *praefecti Sarmatarum gentilium*, who supervised a number of settlements in Italy as well as six in Gaul.⁶⁸ This documentation has not been overlooked by historians

publiés par l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres 45 (1951) pp. 89–115, esp. pp. 93ff. Four lance heads “à crochet” were found there. For the Vermand lance head see Figure 13; cf. Figure 14; see note 7. These hooks were stops to prevent the lance head from penetrating too deeply, so that the weapon could be easily recovered.

63. Ibid., pp. 93, 95; called *feuille de saule*; see also Salin and France-Lanord, chart following p. 128.

64. Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 95, 114–115.

65. T. Sulimirski, “The Forgotten Sarmatians,” in *Vanished Civilisations*, ed. E. Bacon (New York/London, 1963); and Sulimirski. Appendix 2 below, which offers a review of the Sarmatians’ migrations and settlements, is largely based on Sulimirski’s work.

66. As with so many barbarian invaders who came into contact with the Greco-Roman world, we have little information about what the Sarmatians called themselves. The later Sarmatians were, and are still, often collectively called Alans or Alani, after a large tribal group that overran western Europe in the early 5th century A.D. The other better-known tribal names of the Sarmatians include Iazyges, Roxolani, Aorsi, Siraces, Antae, and Surmatai. Sarmatian culture developed from several racially dissimilar Bronze Age cultures; this mixed character is confirmed by pictographic material and skeletal remains; Sulimirski, pp. 24–25.

67. Herodotus IV, ll. 110–117. The Sarmatians were also mentioned by Hippocrates (460–377 B.C.) and Strabo (63 B.C.–A.D. 24?).

68. *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, ll. 48–70.

of the late Roman Empire, and it is generally accepted that these *praefecti* were in charge of groups of Sarmatians who were allowed into the empire under conditions similar to those governing *laeti*.⁶⁹

Many place names in France—Sermaise and Sermoise are the most common⁷⁰—attest to settlements of Sarmatians in the West. Owing to a lack of early textual sources, none of the Sarmatian place names appears in records (other than the *Notitia Dignitatum*) dating from before the ninth century,⁷¹ but then mention of villages derived from Gothic, Frankish, and Alemanni settlements in France are also generally not known from the fourth to eighth centuries.⁷² Names referring to Alani settlers, a Sarmatian tribal group of the fifth century, are also in evidence in France—Allaines and Alaincourt, for example—especially in the north. Bachrach suggests that these settlements were purposely established along the line of Sarmatian military settlements of earlier times.⁷³

There is a lack of archaeological material of the fourth century that can be attributed to the Sarmatians in Gaul. As a rule, it is difficult to establish the ethnic identity of soldiers who receive standardized arms and equipment. For example, after their defeat on the Danube in A.D. 175, some fifty-five hundred Sarmatians were sent to Britain as cavalrymen, a condition imposed on them by their peace treaty. The *Notitia Dignitatum* twice mentions the existence of Sarmatian troops in Britain, and documentary evidence exists of a settlement of Sarmatian veterans.⁷⁴ To this day, however, only three material traces of a Sarmatian presence in Britain have been discovered.⁷⁵

Sarmatian art is considered to have been an important factor in the development of the styles and techniques that came to characterize Germanic art during the early Migration Period, that is, about A.D. 400–600. Occasionally art historians and archaeologists hint that the influence of Pontic art was felt in the West before the fifth century and, most important, that this influence resulted from direct contact with Pontic steppe peoples living in the West. Salin gave greater emphasis to the role of Sarmatian influence in the West in his four-volume magnum opus, *Civilisation mérovingienne*, than he did in his earlier studies. He writes that the appearance of the “animal” or “Pontic” style in western Europe in the fourth century A.D. must be attributable to Sarmatians, or more generally to people from the steppes of central Europe, who were certainly among the *laeti* settled in western Europe.⁷⁶

In a footnote, quoting Ausonius (“arvae Sauro-matum nuper metata colonis”), Salin adds that the Sarmatians cultivated the land and defended it, as did the Germanic auxiliaries, and suggests that differences in burial practices in cemeteries associated with *laeti* may reflect ethnic differences.⁷⁷

France-Lanord studied a fourth-century cemetery at Cortrat (Loiret) and drew several parallels between certain grave goods found there and those from various sites in Pannonia, where Sarmatians had settled.⁷⁸ While the *Notitia Dignitatum* specifies that “Teutons” were living in the area of modern-day

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69. MacMullen, pp. 550–551; F. Lot, *The End of the Ancient World and the Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, trans. P. and M. Leon (New York, 1931) p. 106; Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 620; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (New York, 1958) I, p. 40.

70. G. Vernadsky, “The Eurasian Nomads and Their Impact on Medieval Europe,” *Studii Medievale*, 3rd ser., 4 (1963) pp. 401–434, esp. p. 429; B. S. Bachrach, “The Alans in Gaul,” *Traditio* 23 (1967) pp. 476–489, esp. pp. 477–478.

71. A. Dauzat and C. Rostaing, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France* (Paris, 1963) s.v. “Salmaise.”

72. A. H. Longnon, *Les Noms de lieux de la France* (Paris, 1920–29) 6 vols. A large section in vol. II is devoted to place names derived from barbarian tribal names and confirms this general lack of early documentation.

73. Many town names based on the tribal name Alani are clustered along the Seine and Somme rivers; since no deformed skulls, a characteristic of East Alani and Hunnish burials, were found in this area, it is possible that these sites were named after the West Alani. Deformed skulls from the 5th or 6th century have been excavated in eastern and central France; Bachrach, “Alans in Gaul,” map p. 480; Sulimirski, map p. 190.

74. Sulimirski, p. 176; *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XL, l. 54.

75. Sarmatian beads and an eye shield for a horse chanfron, representations of Sarmatian cavalrymen on two grave stelae, and an inscription referring to a cavalry unit (*ala*) of five hundred Sarmatians were found respectively at Chesters on Hadrian’s Wall, Chester, and Ribchester, near Lancaster; Sulimirski, pp. 175–176, fig. 66 and pl. 46. The survival of Sarmatian tradition in the Arthurian mythology of medieval Europe is discussed by H. Nickel, “The Dawn of Chivalry,” in *From the Lands of the Scythians* (New York, 1974); see also idem, “Wer waren König Artus’ Ritter?,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 1 (1975) pp. 1–28.

76. Salin, II, p. 247; published after his study of La Bussière-Etable.

77. Ibid., II, p. 247, n. 1, including a critique of Werner’s theories.

78. A. France-Lanord, “Un Cimetière de lètes à Cortrat (Loiret),” *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd ser., 1 (1963) pp. 15–35.

Cortrat,⁷⁹ France-Lanord cites nearby Sarmatian settlements—"laeti from the shores of the mid-Danube," also listed in the *Notitia*—as a source for Pannonian imports.⁸⁰

It is most likely that Sarmatian soldiers and farmers settled at Vermand, under the direction of the "Praefectus Sarmatarum gentilium, inter Renos et Tambianos [Reims and Amiens] provinciae Belgicae secundae" listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*,⁸¹ to protect these strategically important crossroads.⁸² A number of archaeological finds from Vermand and elsewhere supports this likelihood.

The Vermand lance head, which was discussed earlier in the context of a study by Salin, is an indication that the deceased soldier to whom it belonged was of Eastern rather than Frankish origin. There are several other clues to be found among the grave goods of his burial and in two other burials at Vermand which confirm Eastern, and perhaps more specifically, Sarmatian origins.

Although the grave goods from Vermand cemetery, and the motifs that decorate them and the Vermand Treasure, are typically Roman or Gallo-Roman, there are small details that can be considered alien. One of these is the cicada set at one end of the lance-shaft plaque.

Cicada fibulae appear without prototype in Europe and southern Russia after A.D. 300. Kühn catalogued some sixty-three fibulae and other assorted pieces (but not the Vermand Treasure lance-shaft plaque) with this motif; a few of them had been found as far west and north as England and Belgium, but the overwhelming majority (forty-five) have come from Hungary and southern Russia.⁸³ Unfortunately, very few of the fibulae are securely dated; they seem to range in date from A.D. 300 to 500, with isolated finds in the East until 600. The largest number probably date from 400 to 500. The fibulae Kühn discusses are generally associated with Gothic burials (presumably Ostrogoth burials, for none is known from Visigothic Spain), with at least one very notable exception: the burial of the early Frankish king Childeric at Tournai in 481.⁸⁴

The cicada fibulae tend to show no stylistic evolution; they were made in a number of different materials and techniques, with different numbers of wings and varying proportions, as well as with differing degrees of naturalism.⁸⁵ Kühn examines the possibilities for the origin of the motif, whose variety of form

and sudden appearance, as he believes, would indicate that it was borrowed from another culture.⁸⁶

Cicada representations are known among the Egyptians and the Greeks, but were not particularly favored by the Romans;⁸⁷ Kühn concludes that the motif was imported from the Far East, where for the Chinese the cicada was probably a symbol of resurrection.⁸⁸ He suggests that it was brought to the West by a group of Sarmatians. Both the Scythians and the Sarmatians had contact with the Chinese at various times in their wanderings—witness the Chinese and Chinese-influenced bronze mirrors, as well as other imports from the East, in Sarmatian burials⁸⁹—but the cicada is unknown in Scythian art and it was the

79. "Praefectus laetorum teutonicianorum carnunta saenoniae lugdenensis," *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l. 33; France-Lanord, "Cortrat," p. 34.

80. France-Lanord, "Cortrat," pp. 34–35.

81. *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l. 67.

82. As this article neared publication, it was brought to my attention that J. Coquelle had independently arrived at this conclusion; see *La Mémoire de Vermand*, 2 vols. (Alençon, 1985) I, p. 71.

83. Kühn, esp. map p. 91. Two enameled examples (not identified as cicadas) from Britain are illustrated in J. D. Bateson and R. E. M. Hedges, "The Scientific Analysis of a Group of Roman-Age Enamelled Brooches," *Archaeometry* 17 (1975) pp. 177–190, pl. facing p. 178, nos. 5, 9.

84. Kühn, p. 87, nos. 9, 10; of approximately two to three hundred gold cicadas with almandine inlay that were sewn onto Childeric's garment, two survive. Decorating clothing with hundreds of sewn-on small plates of precious metal is a Sarmatian practice, although Kühn does not mention this. He does, however, point out, p. 95, that the workmanship of the cicadas, as well as of the other pieces of Childeric's grave goods, is typically Pontic.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

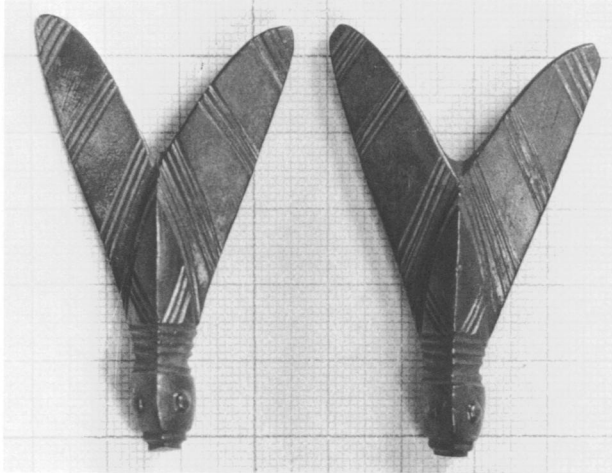
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 105.

87. There do not appear to be Roman cicada fibulae, but the motif in other contexts is not unknown. Anthropomorphized cicadas, fighting, making offerings, fishing, etc., are found on Roman gems; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1900) I, pl. xxix, nos. 35–37, 41–43, pl. xlvi, no. 38; III, p. 298. Insects described as locusts or grasshoppers eating fruit, represented from the side, are seen occasionally on Roman terracotta lamps of the first centuries B.C. and A.D. (D. M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*, 2 vols. [London, 1975–80] I, pp. 344, 355, pls. 134, 139, 150; II, pp. 84, 223, 229, pl. 37, fig. 98). My thanks to Joan R. Mertens, of the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Art, who referred me to these sources.

88. Kühn, pp. 101ff.

89. In addition to Chinese and Hunnic grave goods in Sarmatian burials, there is evidence of this link in the periodic mention of Sarmatian peoples in Chinese chronicles.

18, 19. Cicada fibulae, Sarmatian-Gothic, end of 4th century; from Untersiebenbrunn (Niederösterreich), Austria. Silver, H. 5.6 cm. Vienna, Niederösterreichs Landesmuseum (formerly Kunsthistorisches Museum no. A 1219) (photos: Niederösterreichs Landesmuseum)



19. Reverse side of cicada fibula

Sarmatians who mingled with the newly arrived Goths in the Ukraine. The burials with cicada fibulae catalogued by Kühn seem to have, to a great extent, a mixed Sarmatian-Gothic character, and it is extremely difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between them (Figures 18, 19).⁹⁰

The Vermand cicada is among the cicadas closest to the Chinese prototype; it is short and squat, with wings held close to the body, which retains some organic feeling. It is less abstract, less starkly linear than most of the other pieces found in Europe and Russia. Whether strictly Sarmatian or Gothic, the ci-

cada indicates an Eastern element at Vermand, for the motif was uncommon among the Romans and never quite taken up by the Franks.⁹¹

It is fairly common for provincial Roman *Kerbschnitt* pieces to be decorated with snakes or lions; the Vermand plaque buckle, with its flat and lifeless animals on the tongue and loop, is typical of this. However, the sinuously contorted and textured dragons, curling around the back to form attachment rings for the lance-shaft plaque, do not belong to this tame variety. They go back, instead, to steppe art, to the powerful animal images of the Scythians and the Sarmatians. The round punched decoration is typical of Sarmatian metalwork, and the dragons bring to mind the dragon standards used by the Sarmatians in battle.⁹²

Another indication that people from the East were buried at Vermand is confirmed by Åberg. He writes that western Europe was almost entirely untouched by eastern Germanic influences in the third and fourth centuries A.D., but cites several exceptions;⁹³ among them is a torque of a characteristically eastern Germanic type found at Vermand cemetery.⁹⁴ It is appropriate here to quote Sulimirski's opinion concerning another typically eastern Germanic grave find: "Most 'Gothic plate brooches' have been attributed to the Goths, even those found in areas of northern France where the presence of neither Ostrogoths nor Visigoths has been recorded, and despite the fact that the finds antedate the arrival of Goths in France."⁹⁵

Finally, one might consider a somewhat unorthodox theory put forth by France-Lanord. Among the

90. Kühn, p. 105, writes: "Es ist [in Südrussland und Ungarn] oft nicht zu entscheiden, ob es sarmatische oder germanische Funde sind, zumal dann, wenn chinesische oder chinesisch bestimmte Spiegel zusammen mit den Zikaden gefunden wurden." He mentions specifically a find at Untersiebenbrunn (Niederösterreich) as an indisputably Gothic find (no. 4), but the site happens to be one of the examples given by Sulimirski of archaeological remains of Alans west of Hungary. Sulimirski, pp. 187-188, n. 5, writes: "The Alano-Sarmatian character of most of the finds published has not been specified."

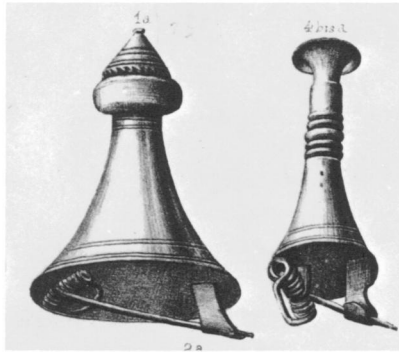
91. Kühn, pp. 95-96.

92. Nickel, "Dawn of Chivalry," p. 151; idem, "König Artus' Ritter," pp. 8-11.

93. N. Åberg, *Die Franken und Westgoten in der Völkerwanderungszeit* (Uppsala, 1922) p. 39.

94. Ibid., pp. 38-39; he does not specify which burial contained the torque.

95. Sulimirski, p. 186.



20. *Tutulus* fibulae, Provincial Roman; from Vermand (after Eck, pl. xx). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

objects he studied at Cortrat are examples of the so-called *tutulus* fibula or *fibule clochette*. Similar fibulae have been found in women's graves at Vert-la-Gravelle,⁹⁶ at Vermand (Figure 20), and at several other sites. The original pair from Vermand was lost in the nineteenth century, but another pair was found at Marteville in a cemetery located one kilometer from Vermand (Figure 21).⁹⁷

These fibulae are discussed by Werner, who considered them characteristic of Germanic *laeti* burials.⁹⁸ In fact, there appears to be no doubt that they were made in Roman factories, although many scholars believe that the form developed from Germanic prototypes.⁹⁹ A number of *tutulus* fibulae of Roman



21. *Tutulus* fibulae, Provincial Roman, second half of 4th century; from Marteville (Aisne). Silver, H. 4 cm. Vermand, Association Archéologique du Vermandois (photo: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz)

workmanship found in Germanic lands east of the Rhine are thought to have been acquired as trade goods and booty. There has also been some speculation that the prototype comes from Dura-Europus (Syria),¹⁰⁰ but as in the case of the *Kerbschnitt* technique it is not the original source that is crucial, but who made the pieces and for whom.

France-Lanord relates the chiseled and nielloed decoration on the end plates of the *tutulus* fibulae to the *tamgas* of the Sarmatians and the Avars¹⁰¹ (Figure 22). An example of a second type of fibula, also with these characteristic markings, was found at Vermand as well (Figure 23). *Tamgas*, which were adopted by certain of the Sarmatian tribes—for example, the Aorsi and the Siraces¹⁰²—in contact with the Bosporan kingdom in the first century A.D., are believed to have been used originally as monograms for the names of Greek deities. In time, they became simplified and are thought to have been used to designate property or to protect the owner of the property (Figures 24, 25).¹⁰³

It is not unlikely that Sarmatian artisans worked in Roman *fabricae* in Gaul, providing goods for other Sarmatian settlers. In fact, the kind of ateliers to which Lefaurie attributed the provincial Roman *Kerbschnitt* buckles and ornaments,¹⁰⁴ and which Salin thought were responsible for the gilded silver sheet on the Vermand umbo,¹⁰⁵ were manned by barbarians. In the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the overseers were

96. Illustrated in Lantier, pl. iv, figs. 4, 8, 9; see also France-Lanord, "Cortrat," pp. 19, 30–31.

97. M. Loizel and J. Coquelle, "Le Cimetière gallo-romain du Bas-Empire de Marteville," *Cahiers Archéologique de Picardie* 4 (1977) pp. 155ff.

98. Werner, pp. 25ff., esp. map p. 29. De Laet et al., "Les *Laeti* du Namurois," pp. 154, 156–157, hotly contest the Germanic "ritual" aspects that Werner attributes to the *tutulus* fibulae.

99. De Laet et al., "Les *Laeti* du Namurois," p. 30; Lantier, pp. 393ff.; Salin, II, p. 239.

100. Salin, II, p. 230, fig. 135, n. 5.

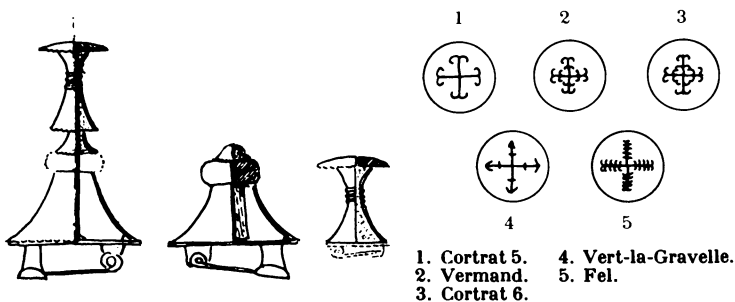
101. France-Lanord, "Cortrat," p. 15. The Avars were a Turkish people who arrived in eastern Europe in the 6th century and took up much of the surviving Sarmatian culture.

102. Very little has been written in English about *tamga* signs; see Suliminski, pp. 151ff., pls. 37–40; H. Nickel, "Tamgas and Runes, Magic Numbers and Magic Symbols," *MMJ* 8 (1973) pp. 165–173; H. Jaenichen, *Die Bildzeichen der königlichen Hoheit bei iranischen Völkern* (Bonn, 1956).

103. *Tamga* signs survived in Polish heraldry and in the Caucasus were used in branding horses into modern times.

104. Lefaurie, "Trésor de Chécý," p. 332.

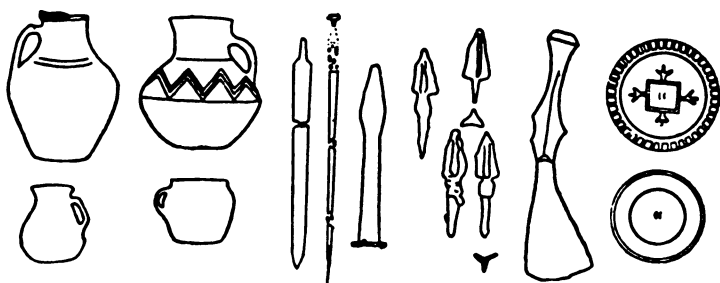
105. Salin and France-Lanord, pp. 194–195.



22. *Tutulus* fibulae (after France-Lanord, "Un Cimetière de lètes à Cortrat," fig. 17). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



23. Fibula, Provincial Roman, from Vermand (after Eck, pl. xx). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

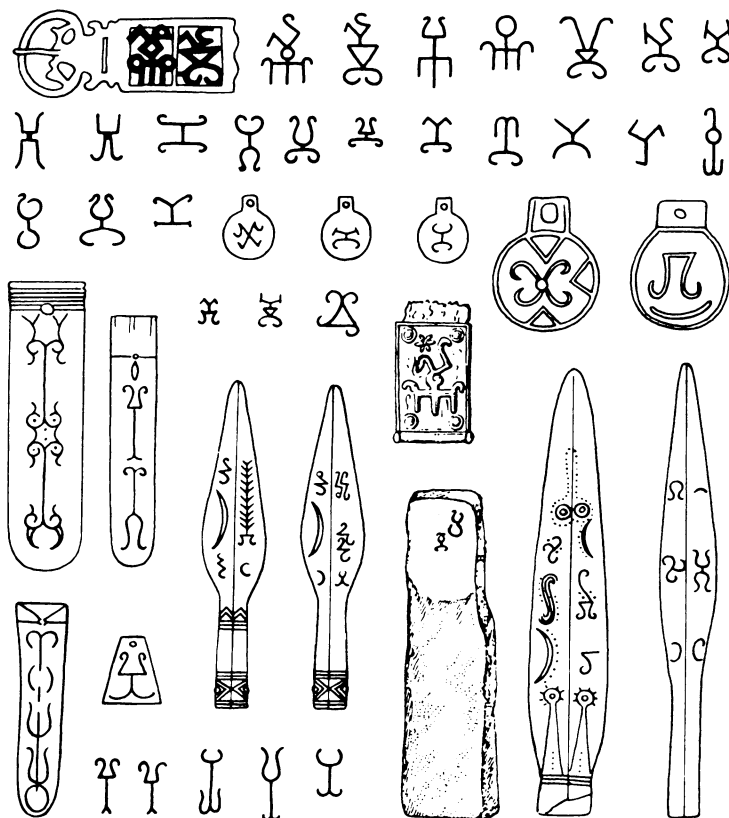


24. Grave goods from Late Sarmatian burials on the lower Volga (after Sulimirski, fig. 52). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

described as "Praepositi branbariciorum siue argentarorum," and the *fabricae* were located at Reims, Arles, and Trier.¹⁰⁶

The Sarmatians who settled in northern France in the fourth century can probably be identified with the ruling "Sarmatae Ardagarantes" who sought refuge within the empire as a result of the civil war in Hungary in A.D. 332. The parallels between Gallic

25. Greek and Sarmatian tamgas, 1st–3rd centuries A.D. (after Sulimirski, fig. 55). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



Sarmatian grave goods (i.e., from Cortrat) and Pannonian grave goods, the traces of eastern Germanic influences, and the strong sense of Pontic animal art all point to a people who came from Hungary, but who were relatively recent arrivals from the Pontic steppes and who had been in contact with the Goths.

We cannot discount the probability that some Goths were also present among the Sarmatians resettled in France,¹⁰⁷ although it seems likely, based on the *Notitia Dignitatum* listings and the toponymic

106. *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XI, ll. 74–77.

107. The *Notitia Dignitatum* lists a "Praefectus Sarmatarum et Taifalorum gentilium . . ." in Gaul; *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l. 65. The Taifales were a Germanic people, probably related to the Goths.

studies, that the Sarmatians, probably the West Alani, were the dominant element.¹⁰⁸

It cannot be said for certain that the Vermand Treasure belonged to the *praefectus* listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*,¹⁰⁹ though this is clearly a strong possibility. We do not know where the rest of the soldiers stationed at Vermand were buried, as the cemeteries excavated were primarily civilian.¹¹⁰ Here one is confronted with the difficulty Werner faced: finding archaeological material that indicates—either by its origin or by some evidence of ritual usage—a recognizable foreign culture within the basically Gallo-Roman or provincial Roman framework whose presence corresponds to documentary evidence.

Where, for example, are the remains of the three hundred thousand Sarmatians settled in Thrace, Scythia, Italy, and Macedonia under Constantine the Great?¹¹¹ One must suppose, until new and clearer evidence is found, that the barbarians who so undermined the politics and cultural fabric of the late Roman Empire before its fall in the West in the fifth century brought few artifacts from their original homelands and quickly adopted Roman material culture; or that what they brought was not so very different from what they adopted. MacMullen concludes that *laeti* are particularly difficult to distinguish by archaeological means because the people among whom they settled had come to resemble the barbarians themselves. As a result of repeated foreign settlement and foreign trade, as well as the revivals of local barbarian culture that sporadically broke through the facade of Romanization in conquered territories such as Celtic Gaul, the Roman Empire was progressively assimilating and propagating barbarian culture.¹¹² And as we can see from a number of burials east of the Rhine that contain

grave goods of Roman manufacture and show a typically Roman burial custom—placing an *obolus* in the deceased's mouth—the assimilation process worked in both directions. The Sarmatians, indeed, were in contact with Western civilization for many hundreds of years before they were settled in France. There are likely to have been Sarmatians among the hundred thousand “Transdanubians” settled in Moesia under Nero (A.D. 54–68),¹¹³ and Sarmatians were probably resettled in other parts of the empire during the many years when they and the Romans fought side by side and against each other.¹¹⁴

Although, ultimately, there is little clear-cut evidence of specific ethnic settlements in Gaul during the fourth century, we cannot overlook the Pontic character of the Vermand military burial and must take it into consideration when studying the infiltration of barbarian culture in the late Roman Empire.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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108. *Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l. 68. For the toponymic studies see notes 70–73 above.

109. Werner was presumably referring to the *praefectus* in the region between “Remo et Siluanectas” (*Not. Dig. Oc.*, XLII, l. 42) when he stated that the Vermand burial belonged to a Frankish *praefectus laetorum*.

110. Only foreign soldiers can be recognized by their weapons, because Gallo-Romans were buried without arms.

111. These settlements are mentioned in an autobiographical text, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, one of two texts extant from the author who signed himself as Anonymus Valesianus. According to MacMullen (pp. 553–554), the number of settlers quoted in various reports is not to be taken at face value.

112. MacMullen, pp. 560–561.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 553.

114. Salin, “Bussière-Etable,” pp. 114–115.

Appendix 1

A TECHNICAL EXAMINATION OF THE VERMAND TREASURE

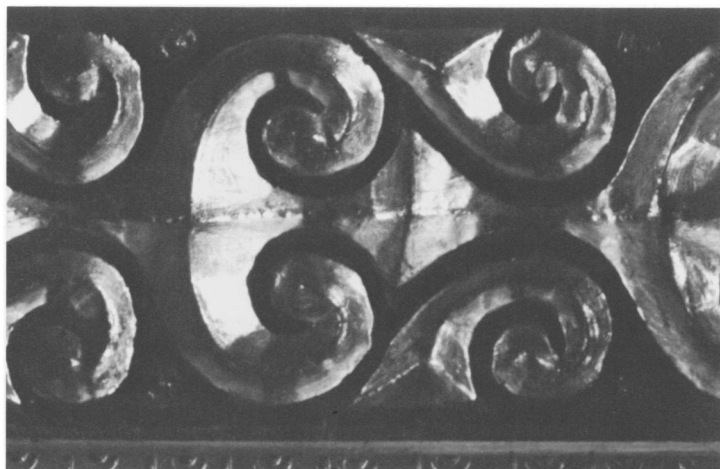
The Vermand Treasure, as it survives today, consists of four objects primarily of silver and two objects primarily of iron.

The iron pieces are the hand grip and umbo of a shield that was made of wood and leather and no longer survives. X-ray radiographs of the umbo reveal that it was forged as a single piece with all its joins forge-welded; other known examples of iron umbos are sheets forged into a cone and joined with rivets.¹¹⁵ The wells containing the cabochons appear to be iron; one has cracked into four pieces. Otherwise the condition of the umbo is quite good.

A single piece of gilded silver was raised to fit over the iron umbo and was attached mechanically by cutting and folding the silver around the edge of the bottom rim. Visible on the X-rays are three extra strips of hammered metal, presumably gilded silver, that are between the silver casing and the flat rim of the iron umbo. Each strip is adjacent to a cluster of three silver nails and is associated with two holes that pierce the iron. Put in place in ancient times, the strips were intended to disguise holes in the gilded silver, made to accommodate the nails and then left open because of a change in their position.

The condition of the silver pieces of the Vermand Treasure is very good. Their front surfaces have been thoroughly, but not brutally, cleaned; occasional patches of silver chloride as well as green and red copper corrosion products are visible on the reverse sides, which are otherwise covered with a very thin sulfide film. The pieces are now lacquered to retard the formation of tarnish. The inside surfaces of the plaque buckle retain their original silver-chloride corrosion. The lance-shaft plaque has small cracks where each attachment ring meets the main part of the piece. There are occasional losses of niello.

The term *Kerbschnitt* has traditionally been considered to be a misnomer because the decoration, although probably derived from a woodcutting technique, is generally cast. Certainly this is the case for the hundreds of mass-produced bronze pieces whose surfaces, and the sharpness of whose designs, vary



26. Scabbard-slide ornament(?) from Vermand, detail of *Kerbschnitt* work (photo: Schorsch)

greatly. However, in the case of the Vermand Treasure the pieces were not mass-produced. Because of the nature of the metals, it is more practical to hammer and carve silver than bronze, and visual inspection encourages one to suppose that the Vermand Treasure was cut rather than cast.¹¹⁶

The *Kerbschnitt* decoration of the pieces is outstanding in the sharpness and depth of its faceting. Although the scabbard slide (Figure 26) is less than two millimeters thick and the plaque of the buckle perhaps half of that, their designs give the impression of far greater depth.

On all four primarily silver pieces of the Vermand Treasure and on the related fragments from the Coleraine Treasure, clear impressions of the designs are visible in low relief on the reverse side (Figures 27, 28). These could be from impressions on the back side of wax models forced into stone matrices to make lost-wax castings, but might equally be the result of pressure applied when the patterns were

115. H. Nickel, personal communication, May 1985.

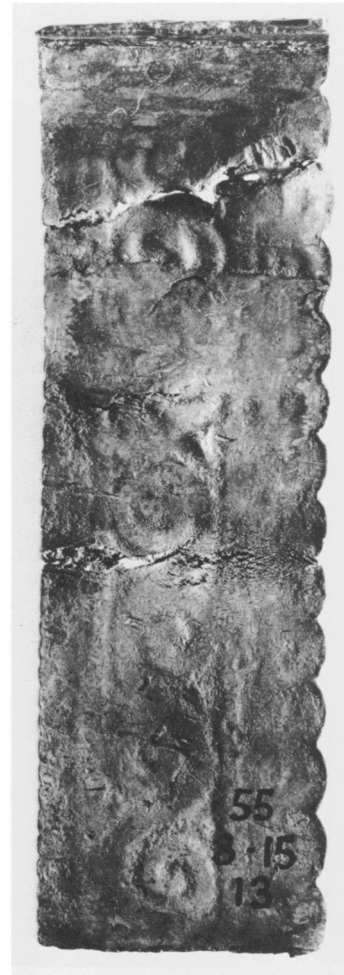
116. The alloy of the scabbard slide, analyzed by energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometry, proved to be a high-purity silver.



27. Scabbard-slide ornament(?) from Vermand, detail of reverse (photo: Schorsch)

carved out of the metal with chisels and gouges. The latter is perhaps more likely if one considers the shallow but distinct flecked pattern on the highest parts of the impressions on the back of the Vermand scabbard slide. At first glance these appear to be impressions of a woven textile, but they are probably very blunt punch marks from a tool used to even up the back surface after the front had been worked.

These marks are not present on the reverse side of the ring mount or of the Coleraine Treasure scabbard mount, and, as one might expect, the relief on the reverse of these pieces remains higher and is more rounded. Punch marks are present in some places on the reverse side of the lance-shaft plaque,



28. Scabbard mount(?) from Coleraine Treasure, view of reverse (photo: British Museum)

which also has many file marks.¹¹⁷ It is difficult to answer the question of whether—or how much of—the *Kerbschnitt* decoration was cast, and how much of it is the result of subsequent mechanical methods. The recessed surfaces of the silver are largely obscured by gilding or filled in with niello, and the small size and precious nature of the pieces make sampling for metallographic examination infeasible.

Although no casting dendrites are visible on the back side of the ring and the two plaques, and no

¹¹⁷ These file marks are found on the inside of the rings and in other areas where the relief on the front was cast and not extensively hand cut.

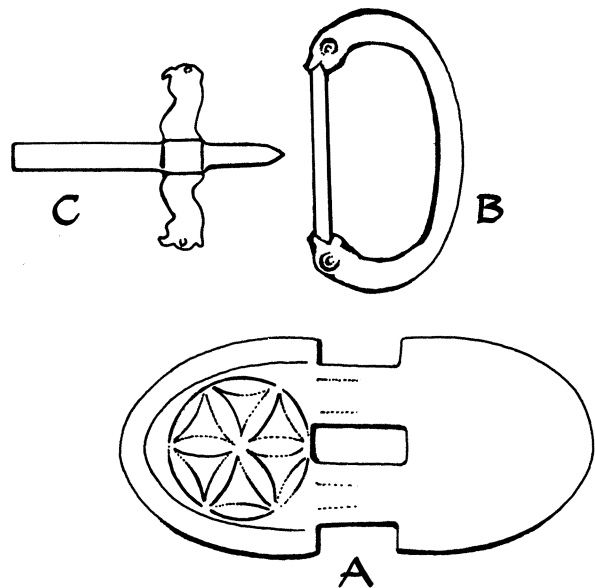
casting porosity can be found on the X-rays, these pieces seem to have been cast with the rudiments of their faceted decoration. It is possible that one-piece stone molds were used, for the lance-shaft plaque and the ring mount were certainly originally planar, then wrought into shape, joined with solder, and burnished.¹¹⁸ Some traces of the joinings are visible without magnification. The cracking on the lance-shaft plaque near the rings is probably due to aging in areas particularly stressed during the hammering process.

The cast-in decoration of the pieces was heavily worked by hand; the condition of the surfaces is certainly not as cast. In X-rays, the radiopacity of the images indicates the thickness of the silver; the gilding is so thin that its presence or absence is not visible, except where one observes very thin radiopaque lines running along the bottom of facets. These are places where a very fine tool, used to sharpen the facets, has left a scratch that was subsequently filled in with gold.

A slight change of plan, most probably made in ancient times, has resulted in the hole in the middle of the scabbard slide. The holes on both ends of the plaque are accommodated in the design; they were made from the front and their burrs were removed from the reverse. The middle hole, however, has burrs on both sides, and neither of them was removed. This hole was not planned for in the design and was clearly made after the gilding was applied.

The buckle of the Vermand Treasure is assembled from three pieces: the plaque, the hasp, and the tongue (Figure 29). The plaque (A) is formed from what appears to be a wrought sheet, with one side decorated, folded over the connecting rod of the hasp (B) to form front and back plates, and held in place with three double-headed rivets. The burrs on the back side of both plates indicate that the rivet holes were punched, rather aggressively, from the front. The tongue (C) is cast and also folded over the rod of the hasp. The hasp and the tongue have punched and incised decoration.

Since the time of its excavation, the lance-shaft plaque of the Vermand Treasure has been displayed and photographed with the cicada at the top. The piece's original burial position and orientation are, of course, unknown. A plausible reconstruction of the lance places the ring mount at about the middle of the shaft and the plaque mount below the blade,



29. Parts and construction of plaque buckle from Vermand (drawing: after Schorsch)

which would correspond to eye level when the lance was held upright. The diameters of the ring mount and of the rings on the back of the plaque mount are all different. The smallest is the undecorated, ungilded ring of the plaque; slightly larger is the gilded ring of the plaque, and somewhat larger still is the ring mount (see Figure 8). This would lead one to suppose that the lance shaft was thickest in the center and tapered at both ends, and that the plaque was mounted rosette end up. If this were the case, it would be unlikely that the lance head in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne, whose diameter is greater than that of any of the three rings, belonged to these ornaments; it may have been the head of another lance from the burial, whose wooden shaft also no longer survives.

The term *niello* describes a number of artificially produced metal or mixed-metal sulfides used as inlay for the decoration of metal. The process becomes common about the first century A.D., though unanalyzed black pasty inlays have been reported on much

118. Stone molds for buckles and other objects with *Kerbschnitt* patterns from the Roman and migration periods are well known; the question still remains as to whether they were used for the direct casting of metal or for making wax or lead models.

older objects. Despite Pliny's description of the use of copper-silver sulfides for decorating silver, Oddy, Bimson, and LaNiece found only silver sulfides in Roman works they examined.¹¹⁹ A sample of niello from one of the Vermand pieces also proved to be a silver sulfide.¹²⁰ This mixture, as well as mixtures of copper and silver with sulfur, or copper alone with sulfur, has a high melting point and at working temperatures would have been pasty and difficult to apply. An innovation of the medieval period was the use of a low-melting silver-copper-lead niello for inlay of copper alloy or silver objects.

The relatively thick layer of gold on the Vermand Treasure, though not analyzed, was unquestionably

applied with mercury. It was applied after the niello, which it partially covers. The gilding appears quite pale, which probably indicates that heating was prolonged and much interdiffusion between the gold and silver took place. Mercury gilding appears in the West somewhat before the birth of Christ; it is not certain whether such gilding was an independent development or whether, as some scholars believe, knowledge of the process was brought from China by a group of Sarmatians or other migrating peoples.¹²¹ In any case, in the Roman Empire of the fourth century A.D. mercury gilding was widely used and cannot be associated with any particular cultural or technological tradition.

Appendix 2

NOTES ON THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF THE SARMATIANS

The so-called Royal Sarmatians, who ultimately merged with the Scythians and took over late Scythian culture and territories, were early arrivals to the Pontic steppes and flourished there from the fourth to the second century B.C. They were forced to migrate when the Iazyges, followed closely by the Roxolani and West Alani, all Sarmatian people, pressed forward from the East.

Like their Scythian predecessors, these different Sarmatian tribes maintained contact with the classical world through its trading cities on the shores of the Black Sea. The Sarmatians themselves reached the West when, between 78 and 76 B.C., the Iazyges tried to cross the Danube. They were held back by Roman forces and settled on the Hungarian plains and in east Slovakia around A.D. 20–30. During the following centuries they lived on the edge of the empire, alternately fighting with or against the Roman army.

In A.D. 175 Marcus Aurelius won a decisive victory at the Danube and the Iazyges were forced to contribute eight thousand cavalrymen to the Roman army, fifty-five hundred of whom were sent to Britain to help defend Hadrian's Wall.¹²² Intermittent hostilities between the Iazyges and the Romans continued, and the former were greatly weakened by a series of seven or eight punitive expeditions under-

taken by the Romans from 290 to 313, which were followed by an attack from the Visigoths (who had moved to Dacia around 260) in 321.

The Roxolani, neighbors to the east, reached the Danube delta in A.D. 20, but the majority of them moved farther on and settled in the south Rumanian plains. In 107 the Roxolani and their Dacian allies were defeated by the Romans and the Iazyges. A subsidy was granted to the losers, but when it was discontinued war broke out again. The subsidy was revived in 118 and the king of the Roxolani became a Roman vassal. The Roxolani lived in relative peace

119. W. A. Oddy, M. Bimson, and S. LaNiece, "The Composition of Niello Decoration on Gold, Silver and Bronze in the Antique and Mediaeval Periods," *Studies in Conservation* 23 (1983) pp. 29–35.

120. Elemental analysis using energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometry revealed the presence of sulfur, silver, and a minor amount of chlorine in a small sample removed from the ring; X-ray diffraction confirmed the presence of acanthite.

121. P. A. Lins and W. A. Oddy, "The Origins of Mercury Gilding," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 2 (1975) pp. 365–373, esp. p. 371 and n. 16.

122. Sulimirski, pp. 175–176; Nickel, "The Dawn of Chivalry," pp. 150–152; see also I. A. Richmond, "The *Sarmatae, Bre-metennacvm Veteranorum* and the *Regio Bre-metennacensis*," *Journal of Roman Studies* 35 (1945) pp. 14–29.

until the Goths invaded Dacia. The territory was abandoned by the Romans in 271.

The movements of the Roxolani after this time are not entirely clear. During the third and fourth centuries, Sarmatians and Goths banded together and raided Roman territories south of the Danube, but the Sarmatians' tribal affiliation is not certain; the Sarmatians portrayed on the Arch of Galenius could be West Alani or Roxolani.¹²³ According to Sulimirski, as the Germanic Goths and Taifales tried to force the Roxolani from southern Rumania in A.D. 331, some Roxolani moved west and settled south of the Iazyges, while those who remained were pushed out by the Ostrogoths and the Huns in 377.¹²⁴

The West Alani, also known as Aorsi, Antae, Asi, and Alanorsi, are a somewhat nebulous group who appeared in the Volga and Ural steppe regions in the fourth century B.C.¹²⁵ They reached the North Pontic steppes in the first century B.C. and took part in the great revival of Bosporean craftsmanship that developed in the first and second centuries A.D. Under pressure from the East Alani, they settled on the shores of the Pruth River in Moldavia and Bessarabia in the third century.

It seems very likely that the renewed hostilities against the empire by the Iazyges around the turn of the fourth century reflect internal tensions resulting from the arrival in Hungary of eastern Sarmatian newcomers. This theory is supported by archaeological finds, which reveal a society divided into three distinct economic classes: a lower class of indigenous agricultural Dacians, a middle class of Iazyges who had settled in Hungary in the first century A.D., and

an upper class of rich foreigners whose graves contained goods from the northern Pontic steppes.¹²⁶ In A.D. 332, civil war broke out among the Sarmatians in Hungary; more than one hundred thousand people were said to have taken part. The vassal tribe "Sarmatae Limigantes" rose up against the ruling "Sarmatae Ardagarantes," most of whom were forced to take refuge within the empire and who were given land in Pannonia and in modern-day Vojvodina (Yugoslavia). The Ardagarantes were restored to their lands after Constantine defeated the Limigantes in 358, but they were massacred by the Romans in the following year as a result of another dispute.

Whereas the Limigantes would appear to be identical with the Iazyges, there is disagreement about the tribal affiliation of the dominant Ardagarantes. They have alternately been identified as Roxolani and West Alani.¹²⁷ In any case, these people, as we know from archaeological finds,¹²⁸ were in contact with the more easterly Sarmatian regions and with the Germanic Goths who arrived from the Baltic Sea coast around A.D. 200 and settled on the Pontic steppes during the third century.

Sarmatians, in particular the East Alani (with their Germanic Suevi and Vandal allies), rampaged through central and southern Gaul in the first decade of the fifth century A.D. Some settled en route, allying themselves with Rome, while others moved on through Spain and eventually to North Africa.¹²⁹ A group, reported in Narbonne in A.D. 416, resisted the invading Huns and was probably conquered by the Visigoths just after the middle of the century.

123. Sulimirski, p. 168; the arch dates from A.D. 297.

124. Ibid., p. 168; J. Harmatta, "The Sarmatians in Hungary," in *Studies in the History of the Sarmatians*, Magyar-Gorog Tanulmányok 30 (Budapest, 1950) pp. 36-63, esp. pp. 53-54.

125. Sulimirski, pp. 84, 168ff.

126. Ibid., pp. 178ff., pls. 50-53.

127. Ibid., pp. 178ff. Harmatta, "Sarmatians in Hungary," believes them to be Roxolani. L. Barkoczi, "Transplantations of Sarmatians and Roxolans in the Danube Basin," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 7 (1959) pp. 443-453, also considers this problem.

128. Sulimirski, pp. 53, 180.

129. Ibid., map p. 175, pp. 185ff.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Eck—T. Eck, *Les Deux Cimetières gallo-romains de Vermand et de Saint-Quentin* (Paris/St.-Quentin, 1891)
- Forsyth—W. H. Forsyth, "The Vermand Treasure," *MMAB* 9 (May 1951) pp. 236–240
- Kühn—H. Kühn, "Die Zikadenfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit," *IPEK* (1935) pp. 85–104
- Lantier—R. Lantier, "Un Cimetière de IVe siècle au 'Mont-Auge' (Vert-la-Gravelle, Marne)," *L'Antiquité Classique* 17 (1948) pp. 373–401
- MacMullen—R. MacMullen, "Barbarian Enclaves in the Northern Roman Empire," *L'Antiquité Classique* 22 (1963) pp. 552–561
- Musset—L. Musset, *The Germanic Invasions—The Making of Europe A.D. 400–600*, trans. E. and C. James (University Park, Pa., 1975)
- Not. Dig. Oc.*—*Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis*, in O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* (Berlin, 1896)
- Salin—E. Salin, *Civilisation mérovingienne* (Paris, 1949) 4 vols.
- Salin and France-Lanord—E. Salin and A. France-Lanord, *Rhin et Orient: Le Fer à l'époque mérovingienne* (Paris, 1943)
- Sulimirski—T. Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians, Ancient Peoples and Places* 73 (London, 1970)
- Werner—J. Werner, "Zur Entstehung der Reihengräberzivilisation," *Archeologia Geographica* 1, no. 2 (1950) pp. 23–32

A Fifteenth-Century Virgin and Child Attributed to Claux de Werve

WILLIAM H. FORSYTH

Curator Emeritus, Medieval Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN MEMORY OF PIERRE QUARRÉ (1909–1980)

A MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE of the Virgin and Child from Burgundy (Figure 1), now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, was first attributed to Claux de Werve (d. 1439) by the late Pierre Quarré, curator in chief of the Musées de Dijon and a leading authority on Burgundian sculpture. The statue is undoubtedly the finest example of Burgundian Gothic sculpture owned by the Museum. My purpose here is to present a fuller study of it than has hitherto been attempted, and to explore its historical and stylistic context in the light of Quarré's attribution.¹

The statue comes from the convent of the Poor

Clares in the small town of Poligny,² which is set beneath the foothills of the Jura Mountains in the picturesque and fertile countryside of the Franche-Comté. Poligny was once an important stronghold of the dukes of Burgundy, and the convent, founded under the leadership of St. Colette (1381–1447),³ lies on a quiet street directly below the site of the old ducal castle.

Colette, whose work as a reformer of the Poor Clares made her known throughout France, and particularly in Burgundy and its immense fiefdoms (including the Low Countries and the Franche-Comté),

1. Publications of the statue include: Joseph Breck, "A Late Gothic Sculpture," *MMAB* 28 (1933) pp. 74–76, cover ill.; James J. Rorimer, "Une Statue bourguignonne du XVe siècle au Metropolitan Museum de New York," *Bulletin Monumental* 97 (1938) pp. 112–116; idem, "Late Medieval Sculpture from the Byways of Burgundy," *MMAB* n.s. 9 (1951) p. 183; Theodor Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain, 1400 to 1500* (Harmondsworth, 1966) p. 57, pl. 65; Thomas P. F. Hoving, "Director's Choice," *MMAB* n.s. 28 (1970) pp. 212, 213; Pierre Quarré, "La Sculpture bourguignonne au XVe siècle de Claus Sluter à Antoine le Moiturier," *Monuments Historiques de la France* 2 (1973) p. 42; idem, "Les Statues de Claus de Werve en Franche-Comté," *Archéologie occitane: Moyen-Age et Epoque Moderne—Actes du 99e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes* 2 (1974) pp. 126–127; idem, *Claux de Werve et la sculpture bourguignonne dans le premier tiers du XVe siècle*, exh. cat. (Dijon, 1976) p. 10; Jacques Baudoin, *La Sculpture flamboyante: Les Grands Imagiers d'occident* (Nonette, Puy-de-Dôme, 1983) p. 166. See also Pierre Camp, "Recherches sur les 'imageurs' bourguignons de la fin du Moyen-Age," mimeographed manuscript (Gray, [1983]) I, p. 57. Jacqueline Boccador, in *Statuaire médiévale en France de 1400 à 1530* (Zug, 1974) I, p. 178, attributes the statue to a later date.

2. Among the many sources that mention the convent, the

following can be cited: Jacques-Théodore Bizouard, *Histoire de Sainte-Colette et des Clarisses en Franche-Comté, d'après des documents inédits* (Besançon, 1888) esp. pp. 97–104, 110, 365; François-Félix Chevalier, *Mémoires historiques sur la ville et la seigneurie de Poligny* (Lons-le-Saunier, 1769) II, pp. 159–174; Jacques Fodéré, *Narration historique et topographique des convents de l'ordre Saint-François et monastères Sainte-Claire, érigés en la province anciennement appelée de Bourgogne, à présent de Saint-Bonaventure* (Lyons, 1619) pp. 41–45; Pierre-André Pidoux de la Maduère, *Mon Vieux Poligny: Souvenirs* (Dijon, 1932) pp. 17, 22–23, 59, 60, 63–65, 67, 68; Alphonse Rousset, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique, et statistique des communes de la Franche-Comté* (Lons-le-Saunier, 1857; repr. Paris, 1969) V, pp. 246–254, 292–294; Jules de Trévillers, *Sequania monastica: Dictionnaire des abbayes, prieurés, couvents, collèges et hôpitaux conventuels, hermitages de Franche-Comté et du diocèse de Besançon antérieurs à 1790* (Vesoul, [1950]) p. 26.

3. Born Nicolette Boëlet or Boylet, she was an older contemporary of St. Joan of Arc, although the two women are not known to have ever met. For Colette's life see: *Acta Sanctorum Martii a Joanne Bollando S.J.*, March 6 (Venice, 1735) pp. 532–627; Baudet and Chaussin, *Vies des saints et des bienheureux selon l'ordre du calendrier avec l'histoire des fêtes* (Paris, 1941) III, pp.

was the daughter of a carpenter attached to the abbey of Corbie in Picardy, near Amiens. As a recluse in her home town, she had visions of the Virgin and SS. Francis and Clare, who urged her to carry out needed reforms in the Franciscan order.⁴ She attracted the attention of Henri de Baume, a Franciscan friar who became her confessor and whose influence, as a member of a powerful seigneurial family in the Franche-Comté, later drew her to Poligny. Through him, she met Blanche of Savoy, countess of Geneva, and other leading figures of the Franche-Comté, who arranged an audience with Pope Benedict XIII. The pope was so impressed with Colette that he himself received her vows as a Franciscan nun and named her abbess and mother in perpetuity of the reformed order of St. Francis.⁵ Before she died in Ghent at the age of sixty-six, St. Colette had founded seventeen new Franciscan convents—Poligny among them—and had reformed numerous existing ones. She seems to have won the affection and veneration of all, and to have numbered among her devoted supporters many of the great families of her time.

The convent of Poligny was a gift in 1415 (see Appendix 1) from John the Fearless (Jean sans Peur), second Valois duke of Burgundy (1404–19), made at the instigation of his wife, Margaret of Bavaria, who depended upon Colette as her spiritual adviser.⁶ At the convent prayers were to be offered continually on behalf of the duke, for Margaret was increasingly alarmed at the series of deepening crises facing John and the Burgundian state. In 1414, civil war had broken out anew between John and his Armagnac foes, who captured and pillaged a number of the duke's cities in northern France. The English, under Henry V, took advantage of this dangerous moment to renew the Hundred Years' War by invading France and inflicting a disastrous defeat on the French at Agincourt. John had meantime been plotting with the English against the Armagnacs. Margaret's worst fears were realized when, on September 10, 1419, the duke was assassinated.⁷

In the absence of any written record, it is reasonable to suppose that the statue of the Virgin and Child was, like the convent, a ducal gift. A seventeenth-century document explicitly states that the duke and duchess supplied the convent with everything necessary according to the pleasure of Colette, "our Beloved Mother," because they wished to be the

sole founders⁸ and to make a gift worthy of their high rank. The statue was probably commissioned between June 1415, when John donated the land and buildings, and October 1417, when St. Colette installed her nuns in the nearly completed convent.⁹ Seen as glorifying the Virgin and Child rather than the convent, the statue would not have infringed St. Colette's ideal of strict Franciscan poverty.

The original location of the statue is unknown. It was probably not made for the chapel, whose three altars had other dedications.¹⁰ It was perhaps intended for the cloistered area, where it would have been virtually inaccessible to all but the sisters. Indeed, it is mentioned in later records of the convent as having presided at their "family reunions": "Une grande Vierge de pierre, assise, son Enfant sur les genoux, du XVe siècle, préside toutes les réunions de famille."¹¹

The statue somehow survived when Poligny was sacked in 1638, during the French invasion of the Franche-Comté, then a part of the Holy Roman Empire.¹² In 1792, during the Revolution, the convent

123–132; Paul Guérin, *Les Petits Bollandistes: Vie des Saints de l'Ancien et Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1888) III, pp. 202–215; Soeur Marie-Colette, "Regard sur l'histoire des Clarisses: L'Épanouissement de l'ordre et le second printemps franciscain," typescript in the author's possession (Paray-le-Monial, 1932) II; [Marie] Sainte-Marie Perrin, *La Belle Vie de Sainte-Colette de Corbie (1381–1447)* (Paris, 1921); Pierre-André Pidoux de la Maduère, *Sainte Colette (1381–1447)* (Paris, 1907); André Ravier, *Sainte-Colette de Corbie* (Besançon, 1976).

4. Pidoux de la Maduère, *Sainte-Colette*, pp. 49–50. For other such visions see also Perrin, *Belle Vie de Sainte-Colette*, pp. 85–91.

5. Pidoux de la Maduère, *Sainte-Colette*, p. 64.

6. Perrin, *Belle Vie de Sainte-Colette*, p. 126.

7. Bizouard, *Histoire de Sainte-Colette*, p. 98, and Joseph Calmette, *Les Grands Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1949) pp. 148–171.

8. Author's translation of a document of 1623 in the convent archives entitled "Mémoire de tout ce que nous avons peu recueillir des choses plus particulières que Ntre. Béate Mère Colette a dictes et fait en ce sien monastère de Poligny," typescript copy, p. 1.

9. See Appendix I and Bizouard, *Histoire de Sainte-Colette*, pp. 106–108.

10. The altars were dedicated respectively to Notre-Dame-de-Pitié; to SS. Anne, Anthony of Padua, and Louis of Toulouse; and to All Saints (Bizouard, *Histoire de Sainte-Colette*, p. 102).

11. From a typed copy of a document entitled "Annales du monastère." I am indebted to the sisters and to the Abbé Sage, formerly curé of St.-Hippolyte, Poligny, for assisting my research in the archives of the convent.

12. Rousset, *Dictionnaire*, V, p. 249.



1. *Virgin and Child* from Poligny (Jura), Burgundian, ca. 1415–17. Painted limestone, 53 × 42 × 28 in. (135 × 114 × 71 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 33.23

was suppressed; largely ruined, it was later sold for other uses.¹³ The statue's weight and bulk may have dictated a nearby hiding place. It escaped damage, as did sculptures in the neighboring church of St.-Hippolyte, probably because of the conservatism and piety of the inhabitants.

The Poor Clares returned to Poligny in 1817 and, with the help of the enthusiastic townspeople, rebuilt their convent on its original foundations. On August 9, 1833, the mayor of Poligny returned the statue to the nuns at their request. It was placed high above the main altar of the convent chapel in a neo-Gothic niche, which has since disappeared.

In 1875, the chapel was refurbished with wood paneling and the statue was moved to the refectory; placed on a low base within a wooden frame, it was photographed there in or before 1920 (Figure 2).

In that year, the statue was sold, with the permis-

2. The *Virgin and Child* as it appeared in the refectory of the convent of the Poor Clares in Poligny, ca. 1920 (photo: Demotte)



sion of the bishop, to François Vuillermet, a prominent citizen of Poligny, who indicated his intention of setting up a local museum. He provided the convent with an exact copy of the sculpture, which is still held in reverence by the sisters. The original statue changed hands at least twice. It was exhibited in Paris, probably by the dealer Georges Demotte, who had it cleaned and who later in 1920 sold it to Jacques Seligmann.¹⁴ In 1933, more than a decade after the statue had left its original home, Seligmann's in New York sold it to The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The statue is distinguished by its noble conception and masterful technique. Enlivened by polychromy (see Appendix 2), its appearance offers a rare impression of the state in which most medieval statues were originally seen.

The composition is simple but elegant. It can be divided somewhat arbitrarily into two areas, each reflecting the other. The upper pyramidal section is active and dynamic. The lower section forms a broad, stable rectangle, crossed by diagonal, vertical, and horizontal accents. The transition between the two parts is skillful and subtle. The whole is held firmly together by the enveloping blue cloak of the Virgin.

The Virgin's thick, brownish hair accentuates her face and frames it like a halo (Figure 3). The headcloth is creased in the center to coincide with the part in her hair and carefully folded on either side. The face is idealized with regular features, lively but formal. The mouth, with slightly projecting upper lip and dimpled at the corners, strongly balances the long straight nose, arched brows, and almond-shaped eyes, slightly swollen in the characteristic Burgundian manner. There is a firm distinction between chin and neck. A double cord or strap, holding the cloak together below the neckline of the dress, terminates in two heavy tassels issuing from acorn knots. The breast is indicated by loose folds.

The position of the two figures demonstrates the gentle, tender relationship between them. Their heads lean gravely in opposite directions, counterbal-

13. Bizouard, *Histoire de Sainte-Colette*, pp. 345–349, and Rousset, *Dictionnaire*, V, p. 292.

14. See Germain Seligmann, *Merchants of Art: 1880–1960—Eighty Years of Professional Collecting* (New York, 1961) pl. 60, where it is recorded in the caption as coming from “the convent of the nuns of Sainte-Claire, Poligny.”



3. *Virgin and Child*, detail of the Virgin's head

The Child's curly head is tilted sharply upward as he gazes intently at his mother, his lips partly open as if speaking to her, perhaps about what he has been reading (Figure 5). She bends her head downward without looking directly at either him or the book, but rather seems preoccupied with her own thoughts. Her mood suggests the passages in Luke recording that she "kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart," as she reflected on the Adoration of the Shepherds (2:19), and later on the young Christ among the Doctors of the Temple (2:51).

Steadied firmly by Mary's left hand, the Child sits comfortably and securely in her lap. A heavy book with parchment leaves lies open before them, creating a focus of attention. Their encircling arms and hands converge on this book; they tip the leaves for

ancing each other. The Child wears a green garment, decorated with gold griffins surrounded by foliage (Figure 4).¹⁵ The griffin is a fabulous beast combining the eagle and the lion, symbols of strength and courage and attributes of royal power, and is thus appropriate for the Christ Child. Household accounts of the dukes of Burgundy refer to purchases of similarly patterned brocades from Lucca, which was famous for their manufacture.¹⁶

15. The brocade pattern on the Child's garment is certainly by a master hand, perhaps that of Henri Bellechose, who was ducal painter in Dijon between 1415 and ca. 1440/45. He completed for the Chartreuse de Champmol the *Martyrdom of St. Denis*, now in the Louvre. See Charles Sterling, *Paris, Musée national du Louvre. Peintures: Ecole française, XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1965) pls. 29–37, and Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1909) III, pp. 239–240.

16. For similar examples see Donata Devoti, *L'arte del tessuto in Europa* (Milan, 1974) figs. 45–57; Adèle Conlin Weibel, *Two Thousand Years of Textiles* (New York, 1952) pp. 59–60, figs. 181–200; and Otto von Falke, *Decorative Silks* (New York, 1922) p. 36 and figs. 227, 242, 345, 372, 373, 381. Textile patterns after about 1425 were dominated by pomegranate designs, which are lacking here, thus adding to the assumption that the statue is earlier; see Brigitte Klesse, *Seidenstoffe in der italienischen Malerei des 14. Jh.* *Schriften der Abegg-Stiftung* (Bern, 1967) p. 487.



4. *Virgin and Child*, detail of the Virgin's left hand and the Child's garment



5. *Virgin and Child*, upper half

easier reading, while the Child's right forefinger points to the open page.

The rectangular composition of the lower section of the statue is established by the cushioned bench upon which the Virgin is seated (Figures 1, 6). Its top is indicated on the Virgin's right by her cloak, which forms two prominent right angles in its fall, covering the entire front of the bench. At the opposite end, the seat is defined by the edge of an inscribed scroll and by the vertical drapery of the Virgin's cloak.

Two square holes on the top of the seat have been filled with plaster cement. They are probably contemporary with the sculpture and may have held two uprights to support a brocade forming a cloth of honor behind and a canopy above the Virgin, as in an early fifteenth-century *Annunciation* tapestry (Fig-

6. *Virgin and Child*, three-quarter view

ure 7).¹⁷ Such a cloth of honor was customarily used to enhance the dignity and state of great personages.

The Virgin's cloak falls from her left shoulder, covering part of her arm and enfolding the Child, to be drawn across her lap and over her right knee. This arrangement creates a strong diagonal fold in front that sweeps from the Virgin's right knee down to the base of the sculpture below the scroll. The cloak recalls the deep undercutting and long supple folds of the garments of the mourners on many contemporary Burgundian tombs.¹⁸ Such thick, ponderous fabric did not allow for sharp creases. Across the bottom, the rectangle is bounded by heavy folds around the Virgin's feet and by the bulk of the lumpy base.

On the Virgin's right, her cloak is carefully arranged in a zigzag rhythm of descending folds with ample, flowing lines (Figure 8). The right-angle fold of drapery over the seat is echoed at the base. Emerging from beneath his garment, the sole of the Child's right foot is tipped up under the book just below the Virgin's right hand (Figure 9). The same engaging detail, of a foot or feet peeping out from under a long robe, occurs in other works associated with de Werve.

In contrast to the broken rhythms on her right, the Virgin's left side is covered by two folds of drapery sweeping down in a graceful arc from her head to her lap (Figure 10). These folds merge into several pockets and are counterbalanced by the dominant diagonal, already described, that swings around from the front. Drapery spilling over the seat and spreading out onto the base of the sculpture also merges

17. The composition of this tapestry is related, through a common source, to an *Annunciation* scene (lacking the cloth of honor) by Melchior Broederlam, painter to Philip the Bold, on the outer left wing of the altarpiece for the Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon; the painting dates from the closing years of the 14th century. For the tapestry see Adolfo S. Cavallo's forthcoming catalogue of medieval tapestries in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The cloth of honor also appears in manuscript illuminations of this period by masters of the Paris School working for the dukes of Berry; see William D. Wixom, "An Enthroned Madonna with the Writing Christ Child," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 57 (1970) p. 290, n. 25, figs. 10, 11, 15, 24.

18. Illustrated by Pierre Quarré, *Les Pleurants des tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne* (Dijon, 1971) figs. 12, 18, 31, 60.



with this diagonal and stabilizes the composition. Between the diagonal and the lower pocket, the fabric is indented horizontally.

The inclination of the Virgin's head toward the Child is more apparent from her left. Clearly visible from this side, the minute tips of two curls nestle among the larger waves of hair, which in turn end in long ringlets over her shoulders and down her back. The Child sports a mass of tight curls. The angle of the Virgin's left arm exposes the tiny buttons that fasten the close-fitting sleeves of her dress.

A striking feature of the sculpture is the wide scroll with an inscription not known in other representations of the Virgin (Figure 11). By placing her slightly off center, the sculptor has adroitly made space on the seat beside her without interfering with the equilibrium of the composition. The resulting asymmetry can be seen only from the rear. The upper part of the scroll disappears over the top of the

7. *The Annunciation*, detail, Southern Netherlandish, early 15th century. Tapestry. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Harriet Barnes Pratt, in memory of her husband, Harold Irving Pratt, 45.76



8. *Virgin and Child*, view of the right side

cushion; the lower part is slipped under the Virgin's cloak and rolled up (the rolled-up end, somewhat ambiguously related to the rest of the scroll, can be seen lying between it and the base of the seat).¹⁹ Because of its prominent position and size, the inscription may well be considered as the *titulus*—the theme, or *raison d'être*—of the statue. The page to which the Child points may once have borne the same passage,²⁰ or one referring to the same theme, but it now shows no trace of an inscription.

19. I know of no other instance in Burgundian sculpture where a scroll is laid flat over a seat. Wide scrolls, however, are often shown held in one hand and partly unrolled. See the six Old Testament figures on the Puits de Moïse (Dijon, Chartreuse de Champmol), illustrated in Georg Troescher, *Claus Sluter und die burgundische Plastik um die Wende des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1932) I, pp. 99–105, pls. 25–32; and also Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, *La Chartreuse de Champmol* (Dijon, 1960) pp. 11–12, pls. XI–XIII.

20. This possibility has already been suggested by Wixom, "Enthroned Madonna," p. 302, n. 65.



9. *Virgin and Child*, detail of the book and the Child's foot



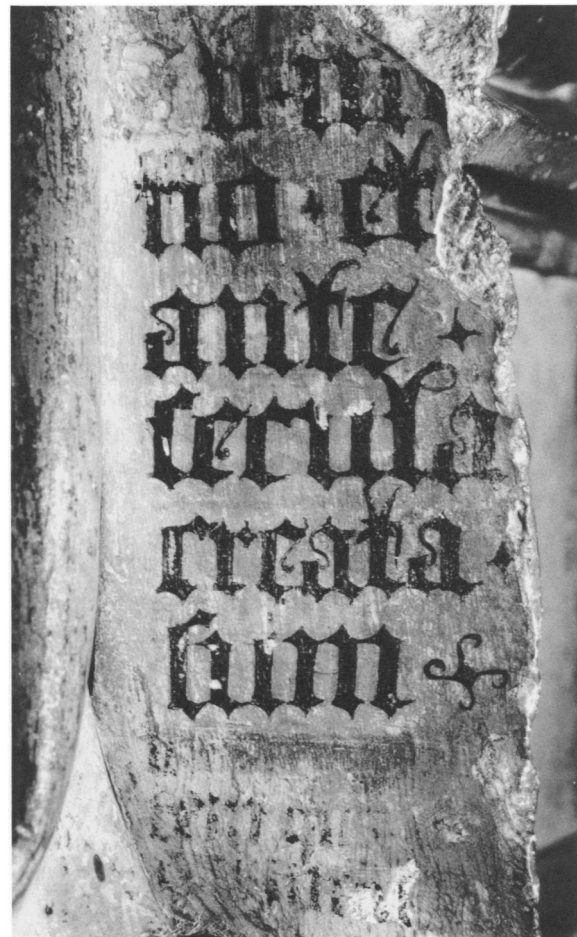
10. *Virgin and Child*, view of the left side

The inscription on the scroll reads: *Ab · ini / tio · et / ante · / secula / creata · / sum* + ("From the beginning, and before the world was I created"). The text is taken from chapter twenty-four, verse nine, of the deuterocanonical book of Ecclesiasticus in the Vulgate, dedicated to and extolling Wisdom.²¹

The original Gothic lettering on the scroll, obviously by a skilled hand, varies slightly in width to fit the available space and identifies the inscription as contemporary with the statue. The first letter, in red,

²¹ The English translation is taken from the Douay version. The New American Catholic Edition of the Bible (New York, 1961) reads: "Before all ages in the beginning He created me." See the Jerusalem Bible (Garden City, N.Y., 1966) pp. 1067f., n. 24a: "The liturgy applies this passage, by 'accommodation,' to the Blessed Virgin."

11. *Virgin and Child*, detail showing the inscription on the scroll



is barely visible in the photograph. The outer edge of the scroll has been damaged, cutting off part of the second *i* of *initio* and the *punctus elevatus*, or dividing point, after *et* and *secula*. At the bottom of the scroll appear two or perhaps three lines of lettering, illegible and smaller in scale. They were undoubtedly a gloss on the text.²²

The Church came to use this text as a reference to Mary in the Hours of the Virgin and in breviaries and missals at Lauds, Terce, and Vespers.²³ Although not confined to the Franciscans, the text is one that was particularly emphasized by them before it was generally adopted into the liturgy.²⁴ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Seat of Wisdom, *Sedes Sapientiae*, was already accepted as an appellation of the Virgin. In this role she was often shown seated upon a throne, holding the Christ Child stiffly centered on her lap.²⁵

In a sermon on the Nativity of the Virgin, the thirteenth-century Franciscan friar John de la Rochelle (d. 1245) used this same text from Ecclesiasticus to compare Mary with Wisdom, as a pure being untouched by original sin.²⁶ Throughout the fourteenth century, Franciscan piety continued to develop this concept, to the point where Mary was seen as herself the personification of Wisdom.

St. Colette, an ardent Franciscan, must have been cognizant of such teaching and of its bold implication of a relationship amounting to virtual identity between the Virgin and Wisdom. In her last testament she exhorts her sisters to remember that they were "chosen by the uncreated wisdom of our sovereign Father . . . to be spouses of Christ . . . temples of the Holy Spirit, and heiresses and queens of the kingdom of Heaven."²⁷ By these terms, customarily reserved for the Virgin herself, and read aloud to each sister on the day of her final vows, St. Colette held up the Virgin as the ideal toward which her nuns were to aspire. The Poligny statue gives visual form to this ideal.

The original inscription was later covered by a version mainly in French, which was removed in modern times:²⁸ *A[ve] / Maria / plaine de / grâce fut / créée / bienheure / use avant / les / siècles*. This version, an amalgam of parts of the angel's salutation with the original text, is an evident attempt to make the reference to the Virgin more direct.

It is obvious that the statue was meant to be seen from the front, since the surface at the back is only partly finished (Figure 12). Beautifully regular chisel

marks on the seat indicate how the stone block was trimmed to size by the mason; a fine horizontal line was then incised as a guide in cutting out the cushion, the carving of which is nearer completion on the left than on the right. The tassels of the cushion at both ends are roughly indicated.

On the back of the Virgin, the surface of her cloak shows a series of parallel chisel marks running in slightly different directions (Figure 13). The most finished areas are her hair and head-cloth, where the chisel marks have been smoothed away. Thus the back of the statue offers a rare example of several stages of carving that show how the sculptor went about his work (see Appendix 3).

Later, an iron loop, used to secure the statue to a support, was imbedded in the back of the Virgin and an area was roughly gouged out above it. A second hole was made in the seat, almost directly below the first, probably for the insertion of a similar loop, now

22. See, for example, the same text with its marginal gloss in small letters in the *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria Walafridi Strabonis*, III, edited by Adolf Rusche, printed by Anton Koberger in Strasbourg in 1481, unpagged. I am grateful to the Speer Library, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J., for the opportunity to examine this incunabulum (Hain-Copinger, no. 3173).

23. I am greatly indebted to John Plummer of the Pierpont Morgan Library and Professor Emeritus of Princeton University for this information, which he gleaned from late medieval manuscripts of Books of Hours and from modern printed breviaries and missals.

24. I wish to thank Professor John Fleming of Princeton University, who confirms this statement, for the following source: Eligius M. Buytaert, O.F.M., ed., *Henrici de Werla, O.F.M., Opera omnia*: I. *Tractus de Immaculata Conceptione beatæ Mariæ Virginis*, Franciscan Institute Publications 10 (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1955) p. 77, "In anima et carne Virginis habitat Sapientia increata . . .," and pp. 74, 81.

25. See Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, 1972).

26. Killian F. Lynch, O.F.M., ed., *John de la Rochelle, O.F.M., Eleven Marian Sermons*, Franciscan Institute Publications 12 (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1961) p. 90, lines 68–88, "*Eccli.* 24, 'Ab initio et ante saecula creatus sum,' id est creari praeservata ab initio, de quo *Gen.* I 'in principio creavit Deus caelum et terram.'" For dating of the sermon see p. xxiii.

27. Translated by the author from the "Exhortation de Sainte Colette ou son testament," quoted in *Analecta Franciscana: Seraphicae legislationis—Textus originales* (Florence, 1897) p. 298. Kindly supplied by the library of the Franciscans at St. Bonaventure, N.Y.

28. This information was supplied to the Metropolitan Museum by Jacques Seligmann's son, Germain. See Breck, "A Late Gothic Sculpture," p. 76, n. 3, and Rorimer, "Une Statue bourguignonne," p. 112. The later version is still visible in Figure 2.



12. *Virgin and Child*, view of the back

13. *Virgin and Child*, detail of chisel marks on the back



missing; part of the iron core of this insertion remains.

The statue has no known direct predecessor, and does not fit into any existing sequence of figures. Although somewhat similar iconographically, a fourteenth-century group of seated Madonnas from northern Champagne, with a closed not an open book, is too unrelated to serve as a prototype.²⁹

At Arbois, just north of Poligny, is a standing *Virgin* of about 1388, who holds a Child pointing to a passage in a book. Another, almost its twin, is at Hal (Halle, south of Brussels) in the southern Netherlands. Their prototype may have been the *Virgin* (now restored) on a trumeau of the cathedral at Tournai, also in the southern Netherlands and now a part of Belgium.³⁰ There are certain tenuous similarities between these statues and the Metropolitan Museum's *Virgin* in the tilt of the head, in her serious expression and gentle mood, and in the Child's stocky proportions.

The iconography was prevalent in Tournai, a great pilgrimage and ecclesiastical center.³¹ The Tournai school produced a series of funerary reliefs in which the seated *Virgin* and Child with a book, often open, was the central image (Figure 14).³² These reliefs were widely exported to France and imitated there. No evidence exists, however, for their use as models for the Museum's statue, although the theme could have been taken from such a source.

The iconography is rarely found in French sculpture of the fifteenth century. The two closest examples are later in date and show no real connection to the *Virgin and Child* from Poligny.³³

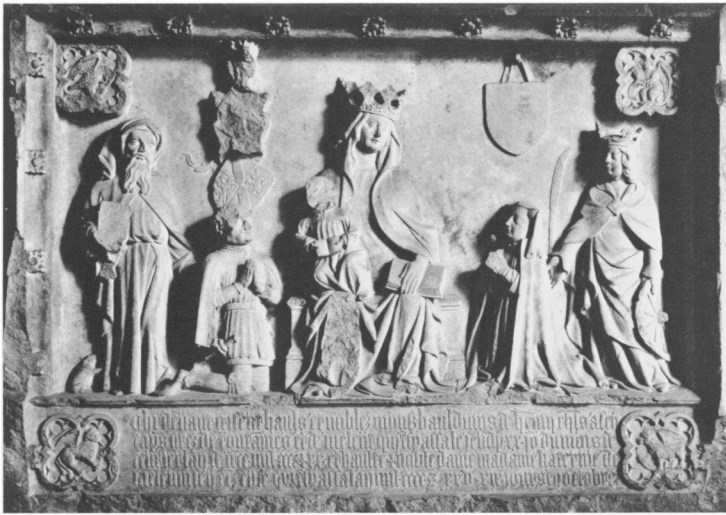
29. See William H. Forsyth, "The Virgin and Child in French Fourteenth Century Sculptures: A Method of Classification," *Art Bulletin* 39 (1957) p. 180, figs. 22–24, 26.

30. Robert Didier, Michael Henss, and J. A. Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth, "Une Vierge tournaïsiennne à Arbois (Jura) et le problème des Vierges de Hal," *Bulletin Monumental* 128 (1970) pp. 93–113. The Tournai trumeau statue probably formerly held a book.

31. E.-J. Soil de Moriamé, *Les Anciennes Industries d'art tournaïsiennes à l'exposition de 1911* (Tournai, 1912) pp. 34–36, 64–65, and A. de la Grange and Louis Cloquet, *Etudes sur l'art à Tournai et sur les anciens artistes de cette ville* (Tournai, 1887) pp. 146–160.

32. Soil de Moriamé, *Anciennes Industries d'art tournaïsiennes*, pp. 62–67, and for specific examples, p. 72, pl. xxxvi; p. 73, pl. xxxvii; p. 77, pl. xlii; pp. 84–85, pl. liii; p. 130, pl. xci.

33. See an example illustrated by M[aurice] P[erron] in *Les Vierges du Jura* (Lyon, 1939) unpagged, and the *Virgin and Child*



14. Funerary stele of Baudoin de Henin (d. 1420).
Tournai, St.-Nicolas (photo: A.C.L., Brussels)

15. *Enthroned Virgin with the Writing Christ Child*, Franco-Netherlandish, ca. 1400. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase, John L. Severance Fund, 70.13 (photo: Cleveland Museum)



In a charming statuette in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 15), the Child is shown writing upon a scroll rather than holding an open book. William Wixom relates it to drawings and miniatures of “Franco-Netherlandish artists working in and for the courts of France circa 1400.”³⁴ In spite of the great difference in style and scale between the sculptures in Cleveland and New York, both show aspects of the same southern Netherlandish iconography.

The intrinsic quality of the New York *Virgin and Child* demands an attribution of the highest order. Claux de Werve was trained by his uncle, the great Claus Sluter, with whom he was working in Dijon in December 1396 for Philip the Bold (Philippe le Hardi).³⁵ When Philip was succeeded in 1404 as duke of Burgundy by his son, John the Fearless, the latter at once contracted with Sluter to complete his father’s tomb, for which Sluter had already carved two mourning figures, or *pleurants*.³⁶ In 1406, at Sluter’s death, nine years before the foundation of the Poor Clares at Poligny, John appointed de Werve his *tailleur d’images*.³⁷ By the end of 1410, de Werve had completed the tomb to the duke’s satisfaction and was paid for his work.³⁸ He was kept continually in the ducal employ until his death in 1439.³⁹ Between 1415 and 1419 de Werve’s was the only workshop recorded in Dijon; it was so preeminent that even after 1419 and until his death it was paid more than eight times as much as all other workshops combined.⁴⁰ It

at the Louvre from Longvé (Allier), for which see Pierre Pradel, *Michel Colombe* (Paris, 1953) pl. 5, no. 2. For later examples in Flemish painting see Madonnas by Jan van Eyck (1433) and Rogier van der Weyden (1436) in Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York, 1971) I, pp. 183, 258, 259; II, pls. 116, 179.

34. Wixom, “Enthroned Madonna,” pp. 285–302, esp. p. 293. For an early general study of the subject see Charles P. Parkhurst, Jr., “The Madonna of the Writing Christ Child,” *Art Bulletin* 23 (1941) pp. 290–306. See also the bibliography in Didier, Henss, and Schmoll, p. 98, n. 1.

35. For Claux de Werve’s origins, probably in Guelders (the Dutch province of Gelderland), see Pierre Quarré, “Le lieu d’origine de Claux de Werve, imagier des ducs de Bourgogne,” *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du département de la Côte-d’Or* 30 (1976–77) pp. 345–351, and Troescher, *Claus Sluter*, pp. 129–130.

36. See Quarré, *Claux de Werve*, doc. 29, p. 34.

37. *Ibid.*, doc. 5, pp. 22–23.

38. *Ibid.*, doc. 8, pp. 23–24.

39. *Ibid.*, docs. 9–21, pp. 24–29; doc. 27, pp. 32–33; doc. 31, pp. 35–36.

40. Camp, “Recherches sur les ‘imageurs’ bourguignons,” pp.

was during these years that the duke spent considerable energy and funds in establishing the convent at Poligny; he would surely have involved his leading sculptor in a project of importance to himself and to his wife.

In spite of de Werve's position at court, the identification of his oeuvre is an elusive problem, depending primarily upon stylistic comparisons. In an attempt to define his work, Pierre Quarré brought together a large body of interrelated Burgundian sculpture from the first third of the fifteenth century.⁴¹ There can be no doubt about de Werve's importance in the sculpture of the period. In general, however, his work cannot be compressed into a tightly organized sequence: each piece is distinct in its originality.

De Werve's most famous and most completely documented work is the tomb of Philip the Bold (Figure 16).⁴² This great ensemble includes forty-one pleurants within an elaborate architectural framework surrounding the base, above which lies the effigy of the duke. Because of its reconstruction, the effigy is not a reliable comparison. The two kneeling angels at the duke's head (Figure 17)⁴³ are, however, draped in a fashion like that of the Metropolitan Museum's Virgin. The clustered folds around their feet are close to those on the Museum's statue. All three figures have the same rapt gaze. Down the back of the angel on the duke's right hang long, wavy tresses of hair similar to those of the Virgin (Figure 18); two tassels on the cords tying this angel's hair resemble those fastening the Virgin's cloak. The angels, the Virgin, and the Child have the same fleshy, dimpled hands and carefully articulated fingers. The bottom of the foot of the angel on the duke's left shows from beneath his robe in the same way as that of the Child.

With two exceptions by Sluter, the pleurants around the base are documented as the work of de Werve.⁴⁴ They can be closely compared to the Virgin in their sense of calm and in the depth and sweep of their drapery (Figures 19–21). The soft, thick folds of their cloaks lie on the ground in the same flat loops (Figure 20). An open book carried by one pleurant is reminiscent of that held by the Virgin and Child, both in its treatment and in the way in which it is handled (Figure 21). Tool markings on the back of another pleurant recall those on the back of the Museum's Virgin (Figure 22).

Other works can be attributed to de Werve by circumstantial and stylistic evidence. They include sev-

eral lost sculptures, known only by drawings, among them three statues formerly on the portal of the church of the Jacobins in Dijon. The drapery of the *Virgin and Child* standing in the center of this ensemble, to judge by a drawing of 1650, was handled in a fashion characteristic of de Werve, and reminiscent of the sculpture in New York.⁴⁵ The coat of arms of John the Fearless on the base of the lost statue indicates that this was the gift of the duke, who is likely to have had it carved by his official sculptor.

Comparisons with other statues included in de Werve's oeuvre offer further evidence that it was he who carved the New York *Virgin and Child*. A standing figure of the Virgin at Meilly-sur-Rouvres,⁴⁶ southwest of Dijon, has the same pensive attitude and undirected gaze as the Metropolitan's Virgin (Figure 23). The arms and hands of the Meilly *Virgin and Child* converge in a somewhat similar fashion around a focal point. There are resemblances in the soft, noble simplicity of the drapery, with thick, plushy folds clustering around the base, in the slight

51, 56. These estimates may not be based on complete coverage of all sources.

41. Quarré, *Claux de Werve*, pp. 5–12. For the purposes of this paper, only those works significantly related to the Metropolitan Museum's *Virgin and Child* are discussed.

42. For a general discussion of the tomb see Quarré, *Claux de Werve*, pp. 6–7, 37–40, pls. 1–15, docs. 5, 7, 8, 12; Troescher, *Claux Sluter*, pp. 131–140, pls. XLVII–LI; and Charles Févret de Saint-Mémin, "Description des tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne," *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du département de la Côte-d'Or* 2 (1842–46) pp. 24–31.

43. The angels were repaired in the 1820s, when the tomb was reassembled, new wings then replacing those lost during the Revolution. See two reports by Charles Saintpère, the architect in charge of the reconstruction, on July 10, 1819, p. 2, and on Aug. 16, 1821, p. 3. Mme Jean Richard, formerly of the Musée de Dijon, is to be thanked for supplying these reports from the Archives Départementales, Dijon, XXX T3 C/1, for compiling a file on the restoration of the tomb, and for many other courtesies. See also Pierre Quarré, "La Reconstitution des tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne," *Bulletin de la Société des Amis du Musée de Dijon* (1944–45) pp. 39–42.

44. Quarré, *Les Pleurants*, figs. 1–40.

45. Quarré, *Claux de Werve*, no. 90, pl. LV. See also *ibid.*, p. 10, no. 92, pl. LVI, for a kneeling statue of Dine Raponde (d. 1415), counselor to John the Fearless, which was formerly in the Sainte-Chapelle in Dijon and is known from a drawing of 1726. The drapery can be compared with that of the Metropolitan Museum sculpture.

46. *Ibid.*, no. 62, pl. xxxiv; Henri David, *De Sluter à Sambin* (Paris, 1933) I, pp. 54–55, 237–238; and Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, *Canton de Pouilly-en-Auxois, Côte-d'Or: Statues, XIIIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Dijon, 1969) no. 14.

16. Tomb of Philip the Bold, before 1411. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon)



ripple of cloth across the Virgin's breast, and in the fold of her cloak over her right arm. In both sculptures the Virgin's head, with fundamentally similar features, inclines gently to one side. The tiny curled ends nestled between the larger waves of her hair are virtually identical. The soft wrinkles of the Child's garment, his wide neckline, and his sleeves, folded back to form cuffs, are the same (Figure 24). He has the same stocky proportions and the same sturdy neck. At Meilly the soles of both his feet are just visible under his robe.

Differences certainly exist, but they are not significant in determining an attribution. The Meilly statue is much smaller in size (less than 30 inches, or 76.5 centimeters, high). The flat ridge above the headcloth indicates the presence originally of a crown, now sawed off. Chisel marks on the back, although somewhat similar, are sharper and more mechanically even. The narrower block of stone, appropriate to a standing rather than a seated posture, makes the Meilly statue appear less expansive in width and depth. A pomegranate is held rather than a book. The carving lacks incisive detail, particularly in the hands and the Child's hair. Yet in spite of the lesser quality of its execution, the sculpture is stylistically linked to the ducal workshop of de Werve. That



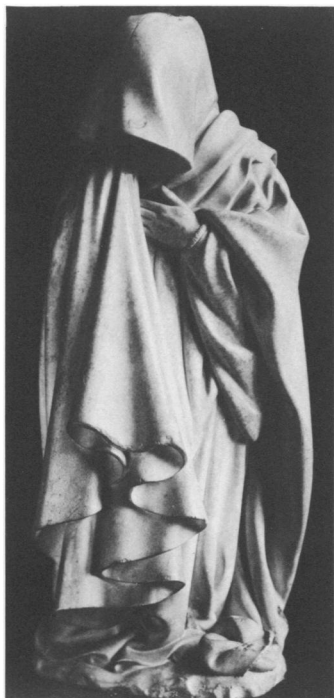
17. Detail of the tomb of Philip the Bold, showing the two angels kneeling at the head of the effigy (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon)

18. Back of an angel on the tomb of Philip the Bold (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon)

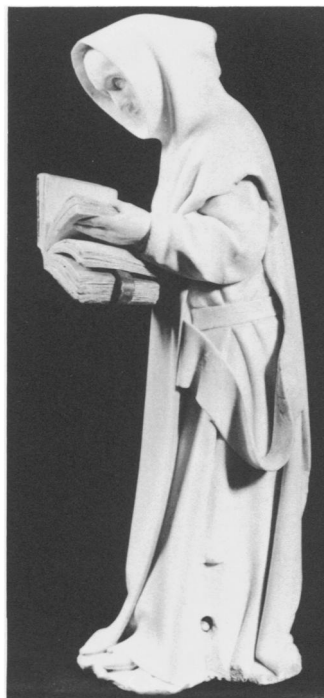




19. Pleurant no. 12



20. Pleurant no. 21



21. Pleurant no. 10



22. Pleurant no. 36,
back view



23. *Virgin and Child*, first quarter of 15th century. Meilly-sur-Rouvres (Côte-d'Or), St.-Aignan (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon)

24. Detail of the *Virgin and Child* at Meilly-sur-Rouvres (photo: Ministère de la Culture)





25. *Annunciate Virgin*, first quarter of 15th century. St.-Seine-l'Abbaye (Côte-d'Or), Abbey Church (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon)



26. *Mourning Virgin*, first quarter of 15th century. Flavigny-sur-Ozerain (Côte-d'Or), St.-Genest (photo: Ministère de la Culture)



27. *Virgin and Child*, first half of 15th century. Autun (Côte-d'Or), Musée Rolin (photo: Giraudon / Art Resource, New York)

there was ducal interest in Meilly is evident from the fact that in 1400 Philip the Bold bought land there to benefit his foundation of the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon.⁴⁷

An *Annunciate Virgin* (Figure 25) in the church of St.-Seine-l'Abbaye,⁴⁸ northwest of Dijon, has sweeping drapery reminiscent of that of the Meilly Virgin and, to a lesser extent, of that of the Virgin in New York. The features, the tiny tips of curls in the hair, the articulated fingers, the soft folds on the bodice,

and the heavy tassels of the cloak place the statue in the style of de Werve. The accompanying figure of Gabriel, who holds a wide scroll, has chisel marks on the back of his left wing that are akin to those on the back of the Metropolitan Museum Virgin.

A *Mourning Virgin* at Flavigny-sur-Ozerain (Figure 26), survivor of a lost Calvary group, has been called a faithful replica of the Virgin of the Calvary, also lost, by de Werve atop the Puits de Moïse in the Chartreuse de Champmol.⁴⁹ Her head and body are shrouded in the manner of a pleurant by de Werve on the tomb of Philip the Bold;⁵⁰ the drapery, in its

47. See Abbé Claude Courtépée and Beguillet, *Description générale et particulière du duché de Bourgogne: IV. Bailliages d'Avallon, Arnay, Auxerre, Saulieu et description du Maconnais et de la Bresse*, 3rd ed. with preface by [Pierre] Gras and [Jean] Richard (Paris, 1968) p. 76.

48. Quarré, *Claux de Werve*, nos. 49, 50, pls. xxvi, xxvii.

49. *Ibid.*, no. 42, pl. xxiii. This is the only sculpture in wood here discussed.

50. *Ibid.*, no. 32, pl. xiv, and Quarré, *Les Pleurants*, fig. 31.

long, soft folds with horizontal indentations, recalls that on the Metropolitan Museum's Virgin.

A standing *Virgin and Child* in the Musée Rolin of Autun (Figure 27) has been related to de Werve's oeuvre.⁵¹ In its quiet charm and dignity, the statue expresses the same mood as the sculpture in New York. The Virgin's cloak is similarly held by tasseled cords below the neckline and then folded back over the right arm to reveal the lining, engraved to imitate ermine and carved in low relief with small black tails. The gown is richly brocaded with an intricate black and maroon pattern now obscured by grime and varnish. The garments flatten out over the lumpy base in the same manner as in the Metropolitan Museum's piece.

Although certain differences can be noted, they are not significant enough to preclude a direct relationship to de Werve. The face of the Autun Virgin is softer in detail, suggesting a slightly later date. The belt, with prominent loops, is tightly drawn, and the hands are coarsely modeled. The portrayal of the Child as a swaddled infant is, of course, totally different, and gives the group an intimate air reminiscent of scenes of the Nativity.⁵² The statue's function as a focus of private devotion may account for this intimacy. It is known to have come from the chapel of Notre-Dame-du-Châtel, now demolished, which was connected with the fortified town residence of the Rolin family, who endowed it. A Rolin probably gave the statue, along with the furnishings of the sanctuary. The unusually rich decoration of the figure reflects the opulence of the family, which for several generations played a leading role in Burgundian affairs.

A standing *Virgin and Child* in the venerable abbey church at Baume-les-Messieurs (Figure 28), some twelve miles south of Poligny, can be compared with the Metropolitan Museum's sculpture.⁵³ The tasseled ties of the Virgin's cloak and the diagonal ripple of folds across her bodice are similar. Her hair is equally thick, but looser and more casual. Although heavier and less well modeled, the faces of both Virgin and Child resemble those of the statue in New York. The hands are the most skillfully executed part of the Baume statue; although plumper than those of the Metropolitan's Virgin, they are close to them in quality. However, the Child, who sits a little stolidly on his mother's left arm, lacks the gentle relationship with her that one finds in other Madonnas



28. *Virgin and Child*, first quarter of 15th century. Baume-les-Messieurs (Jura), Abbey Church (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)

51. Quarré, *Claux de Werve*, pp. 11–12; David, *De Sluter à Sambrin*, I, p. 226; and Joseph Rérolle, "La Vierge d'Autun," *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne* n.s. 48 (1927) pp. 105–111. Quarré and G. Vuillemot suggest conflicting dates in *Statuaire autunoise de la fin du Moyen-Age*, exh. cat. (Autun, 1968) p. 3 and no. 4; reprinted in *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne* 51 (1968) pp. 193–212. Baudoin, *Grands Imagiers*, pp. 178–179, attributes the statue, erroneously I believe, to de la Huerta.

52. See Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Une Vierge d'ivoire au XIII^e siècle," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 33 (1983) pp. 270–279, fig. 14.

53. See Besançon, Palais Granvelle, *Art sacré dans le Jura du Moyen-Age au XVIII^e siècle: Poligny, Baume-les-Messieurs, Saint-Cloud*, exh. cat. (Besançon, 1972) p. 84; Abbé Brune, "Le Mobilier et les oeuvres d'art de l'église de Baume-les-Messieurs (Jura)," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques* (1894) pp. 457–478; Rorimer, "Une Statue bourguignonne," pp. 114–115; Rousset, *Dictionnaire*, II, pp. 233, 234; and Anne McGee [Morganstern], "A Study of the Fifteenth-Century Sculpture from Poligny," M.A. diss. (New York University, 1961) pp. 30–34.

attributed to de Werve. The somewhat heavy drapery of the Virgin's cloak, gathered vigorously straight across her body and over her right arm, is a detail that completely differs from the master's quiet style. The statue is apparently not by de Werve but clearly shows his influence.

Historical connections exist between Baume and Poligny, where the abbey of Baume had long held rights. Amé de Chalon (d. 1431), abbot and rebuilder of Baume, who is identified as donor of the Baume statue by his coat of arms and initial on the base, bought land adjacent to the convent of the Poor Clares.⁵⁴ Blanche of Savoy, an important patron of St. Colette, had married into the Chalon family,⁵⁵ and other members of her husband's family were also strong supporters of the abbey. That an artistic connection also existed between the two places is very likely.

In Poligny itself, in the church of St.-Hippolyte, only a few steps from the convent of the Poor Clares, is a standing *Virgin and Child* (Figure 29),⁵⁶ which serves as an interesting parallel to the sculpture now in the Metropolitan Museum and which for similar reasons can be attributed to de Werve.⁵⁷

The St.-Hippolyte statue is known as the *Founder's Virgin* in reference to Jean Chousat (d. 1433),⁵⁸ who gave land and financial aid to the church. He probably commissioned the statue before 1429, since in that year he established a college of canons, one of whose duties was to sing anthems at the altar of the Virgin, where an image of her would certainly have stood. Chousat was a chief adviser to John the Fearless for more than twenty years and would have had easy access to de Werve as the duke's official sculptor. He could well have known the Poor Clares' statue since he was also one of their benefactors and directed the chapter of St.-Hippolyte to continue his gifts to the convent after his death.⁵⁹

Similarities with the *Virgin and Child* in New York include the mood of gentle melancholy and quiet composure, the thick suppleness of the drapery, the unusually deep undercutting of the garments, and the general type of features and hands. The Child wears a somewhat similar brocaded garment, with a wide neckline and a sleeve folded back into a cuff. The drapery scheme, although reversed, is close to that on the standing *Virgin* attributed to de Werve that was formerly on the portal of the church of the Jacobins in Dijon.⁶⁰

The standing position of the Virgin obviously en-



29. *Virgin and Child*, the so-called *Founder's Virgin*, before 1429. Poligny (Jura), St.-Hippolyte (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon)

54. Rousset, *Dictionnaire*, V, p. 170.

55. Chevalier, *Mémoires historiques . . . de Poligny*, p. 160.

56. See Baudoin, *Grands Imagiers*, p. 166, and the guidebook by Abbé Sage, *Collégiale Saint-Hippolyte, Poligny* (Lyons, 1976) unpagued. See also Quarré, *Claux de Werve*, p. 10, no. 71, pl. XLV; idem, "La Collégiale Saint-Hippolyte de Poligny et ses statues," *Congrès archéologique de France en Franche-Comté en 1960* (Paris, 1960) pp. 218–219; and idem, "Les Statues de Claux de Werve en Franche-Comté," pp. 121–123.

57. Quarré, "Sculpture de Claus Sluter à Antoine le Moiturier," p. 42, and idem, *Jean de la Huerta et la sculpture bourguignonne au milieu du XVe siècle*, exh. cat. (Dijon, 1972) p. 15.

58. Chousat also gave several sculptures in the St.-Hippolyte choir, at least some of which are attributed to de Werve, although not directly related to the Metropolitan Museum's *Virgin and Child*. See Quarré, "La Collégiale," pp. 215–218, and idem, "Les Statues de Claux de Werve en Franche-Comté," pp. 121, 123. One of these statues depicts Chousat himself in the guise of St. Thibault (Theobald of Provins). See Quarré, *Claux de Werve*, no. 69, pl. XLIII. See also Sage, *Collégiale Saint-Hippolyte*.

59. Bizouard, *Histoire de Sainte-Colette*, p. 107, n. 1.

60. See note 45.



30. *Virgin and Child*, second quarter of 15th century. Bézouotte (Côte-d'Or), St.-Martin (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon)

tails a different arrangement of the drapery.⁶¹ Other modifications occur in the slightly plumper face, which is less sharply delineated. The Child's hair is less tightly curled. The interaction between mother and son and the eager interest so appealing in the Metropolitan Museum's *Virgin and Child* are diminished here, as the Child, holding a small, closed book, leans against his mother but turns his head outward to the worshiper. The impression of the *Founder's Virgin* is on the whole more decorative than monumental, reflecting perhaps a later development of the master's style.

A *Virgin and Child* at Bézouotte (Figure 30) is among several that reflect the direct influence of the *Founder's Virgin* in posture and drapery.⁶² The statue stands in the former seigneurial chapel, dedicated to the Virgin and founded by Thierry de Charmes (d. before 1457), equerry to the ducal court, in accordance with the will of his father (d. 1431).⁶³ There is

a visible if distant association with the *Virgin and Child* in the Metropolitan Museum: in the Virgin's face; in the puffy folds of drapery; in the Child's wide-necked garment with a turned-back cuff; in the detail of his feet; and in the way he points to a passage—though on a scroll instead of in a book.⁶⁴ Behind the Bézouotte Virgin's left forearm are traces of several widely spaced parallel chisel marks similar to those on the back of the Metropolitan Museum Virgin.

This article has sought for the first time to give a full account of the Metropolitan Museum's *Virgin and Child* from Poligny. The statue must have been commissioned for the convent of the Poor Clares from which it came, and was probably given by John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, at the time he built the convent—that is, between 1415 and 1417. This proposed dating would make the statue contemporary with related sculptures by Claus de Werve, who was employed by John for most of his working life.⁶⁵ A study of these other sculptures confirms Quarré's attribution of the statue to de Werve.

The essence of the sculptor's style emerges in the statue's noble simplicity and in the majestic gentleness and tranquil grandeur of the figures. His superb craftsmanship appears in the complete harmony of the composition and in the wonderful treatment of the drapery.

61. This composition was the basis for the dynamic *Virgin and Child* by Jean de la Huerta at Rouvres-en-Plaine, dated between 1445 and 1448. See Quarré, *Jean de la Huerta et la sculpture bourguignonne*, pp. 14–15, no. 43, pl. xxiv.

62. See Quarré, *Claus de Werve*, no. 74, pl. xli. Another *Virgin and Child*, at Brétigny (ibid., no. 68, pl. xl), is attributed by him to de Werve. It has the same verve and freshness as the Metropolitan Museum's sculpture, but because of the difference in iconography and composition, it is not closely enough related to be discussed here.

63. Two 15th-century tombstones of the de Charmes family, embedded in the floor in front of the statue, identify the chapel (Archives de la Côte-d'Or, Dijon, B 443). My thanks are due to the Abbé Jean Marilier of Dijon and Mme Monique Dumery of Bézouotte for their assistance.

64. For three contemporary statues of the *Virgin and Child* from Dijon with similar iconography and drapery arrangement, see Troescher, *Claus Sluter*, pls. xb (Paris, Louvre, from Plombières-lès-Dijon), xa (Paris, Cluny Museum, from St.-Apollinaire, near Dijon), and 1xa (Frankfurt-am-Main, Liebieghaus).

65. As this article was going to press, the author received confirmation from Dr. Pierre Rat and M. André Pascal, both of the University of Dijon, that cross sections of limestone taken from the statue revealed their identity to photographs of limestone from the old quarry of Asnières near Dijon, a primary source for Dijon workshops in the 15th century.

The Arcadian calm of the Metropolitan Museum's *Virgin and Child* forms a complete contrast to the dynamic movement implicit in the work of Claus Sluter, de Werve's predecessor as head of the ducal workshop, as well as to the turbulent virtuosity of de Werve's successor there, Jean de la Huerta. It is even more at variance with the dry intensity of Antoine le Moiturier, who succeeded Huerta.

Date and place of origin associate the sculpture with St. Colette, without whose fervent determination the convent at Poligny would not have been built. The unusual inscription, with its Franciscan emphasis, must have accorded with St. Colette's thinking, and she is probably responsible for its choice.

The duchess of Burgundy, Margaret of Bavaria, was the bridge between her husband, the irascible and violent duke, and the intensely spiritual saint. Loyal to John the Fearless and apprehensive for his safety, the duchess was dependent upon St. Colette as her spiritual counselor.

The conjunction of these very different personalities, who each in his or her way influenced the times in which they lived, adds historic interest to a work of art that has justly been described as the masterpiece of Claux de Werve.⁶⁶

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66. Quarré, "La Sculpture bourguignonne au XVe siècle," p. 42: "Le chef-d'oeuvre de Claux de Werve est sans doute la grande statue assise de la Vierge à l'Enfant, provenant des Clarisses de Poligny, maintenant au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York."

Appendix 1

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE CONVENT

Deed of gift dated June 2, 1415, by John, duke of Burgundy, addressed to the Chambre des Comptes in Dijon and to other officials, regarding property in Poligny for the foundation of a convent of Poor Clares under the auspices of Abbess Colette:⁶⁷

Jehan, duc de Bourgoingne, comte de Flandres, d'Artois et de Bourgoingne . . . à l'umblé supplicacion & requeste de nostre tres chiere et tres amée compaigne la duchesse, qui . . . ait sa singuliere affection & devocion de fonder . . . l'un d'iceulx convens de cordelieres en nostre ville de Poligny, par le moyen & advis de nostre chiere & bien amée seur Colée, abesse des cordelieres d'Auxonne . . . pour l'amour & reverance de Dieu & de son divin office qui continuellement jour et nuit sera celebré oudit convent, et afin que nous et elle puissions et doions mieulx estre participans ès prieres, oroisons et autres biens qui y seront faiz, il nous plaise donner à Dieu et admortir à l'église nostredicte maison, maisiere, jardin & appartenances d'icelle, pour y fonder et edifier lesdits eglise et monastere . . . pour la bonne affection et devocion que nous avons à ladicte fondation, pour les grands biens & fruit qui en pourront venir pour le remede & salut des ames de nous, de nostredicte compaigne & de noz successeurs, par le moyen desdictes prieres, oroisons & biens qui y seront faits . . . pour y faire edifier ladicte eglise et monastere et autres edifices et aiences dudit convent de suers cordelieres. . . Et afin que ce soit ferme chose et estable à tousiours, nous avons fait mettre

nostre scel à ces presentes. . . Ce fut fait en nostre ville de Dijon le ii^e jour du mois de juing l'an de grace mil CCCC & quinze. Ainsi signé

Par monseigneur le duc, vous et autres presens, G. Vignier.

Order dated August 6, 1415, of John, duke of Burgundy, to his Chambre des Comptes in Dijon to allow work to proceed without further impediment⁶⁸ on the convent of the Poor Clares in Poligny:

Jean Duc de Bourgogne . . . A nos amés & féaux les Gens de nos Comptes a Dijon. . . Nous ayant par nos autres lettres . . . donné & amorti a l'Eglise, & a icelle Abbessse [Colette] notre meix & maison située en la rue dessus notre bourg de Poligni pour y fonder & édifier un Monastère de Cordelieres . . . vous avés . . . fait empêcher notred. don & octroy, tellement que les maçons & autres qui déjà procédoient a l'oeuvre dud. Monastère ont delaissé led. ouvrage. . . [nous] vous avons mandés & commis . . . que les aucuns de vous . . . se transportassent aud. P., voir & visiter nosd. maisons, nous rapporter au vrai &c. . . & appellés avec vous nos amés et féaux Jean Chousat, [et al.]. . . [Nous] vous mandons & enjoignons expressement que tout l'empêchement . . . vous oties & levies, & ferés & laisserés jouïr lesd. Religieuses, . . . d'iceux dons et amortissements. . .

Donné en notre Châtel de Rouvre le 6 jour d'aoust 1415. S[igné] par Monseigneur. J. Bonost.

67. Archives de la Côte-d'Or, Dijon, B 11682 (Séries B-Cour des Comptes de Bourgogne). The complete transcription by Martine Chauney, assistant to the Director, Bibliothèque Publique, Dijon, with the help of Professor Jean Richard of the University of Dijon, is in the files of the Medieval Department, MMA. The document was published, with some errors, by Bernard Prost, "Documents inédits sur Sainte Colette (1415–1422)," in *Archives historiques, artistiques et littéraires* (1889–91) I, pp. 112–114.

68. Extracts taken from François-Félix Chevalier, master counselor in the Chambre and Cour des Comptes of the comte de Bourgogne, *Mémoires historiques sur la ville et seigneurie de Poligny* (Lons-le-Saunier, 1769) II, doc. cxx, pp. 673–675.

Appendix 2

PAINT AND CONDITION

After the earlier cleaning by Demotte, Charles Langlais, Restorer in the Medieval Department of the Metropolitan Museum in 1934, removed two coats of oil paint and part of a glaze from the flesh areas, leaving the right side of the Child's face untouched.⁶⁹

Rudolf Meyer, Master Restorer at The Cloisters, examined the statue in considerable detail in March 1984. In his report he states that "a brownish oil (glaze) base, instead of gesso, was applied to the entire surface of the stone as a primer coat under the paint." He adds, in a letter to the author: "all gilding is done in oil gilding, including the Virgin's and the Child's hair. I have no doubt that these are the original layers." He sets up the following sequences of paint layers for the various areas of the statue:

Cloak, outer surface: gold (oil gilding), vermilion, whitish, blue, light blue.

Cloak lining: vermilion, red glaze, vermilion, blue, light blue.

Gown: blue, whitish, blue (azurite), whitish, red.

Faces, Virgin and Child: at least two coats of flesh color; eyes, dark brown ocher; eyeballs, gray; eyebrows, ocher with single hairs in dark brown.

Hands, Virgin and Child: two layers of flesh color.

Hair, Virgin and Child: gold, possibly with brown glaze, whitish, light brown.

Virgin's head-cloth: two layers of whitish.

Tassels on cloak and cushion: gold, dark brown, whitish, vermilion.

Edges of book: gold (oil gilding).

Child's gown: green with gold pattern, whitish (traces).

Cushion on seat: two layers of green.

Seat: (left side) red, vermilion, red; (right side) green, vermilion, red; (moldings, upper and lower) blue bordered by gold; (base) green, red.

Ground, in front of and at same level as base of seat: two layers of green.

Scroll: white with black and red inscription.

In August 1984, Laura Juszczak, then of the Metropolitan Museum's Paintings Conservation Department, analyzed the bottommost paint layer from the following eight places and recorded her findings in a report to the author:

1. Virgin's blue tunic
2. Edge of Virgin's blue tunic
3. Green from the base
4. Green of Child's tunic
5. Flesh tone from Virgin's right hand
6. Blackish paint from undercut area of Virgin's cape
7. Paint from side of bench
8. Paint from behind sculpture in area of Virgin's cape.

According to this report, the sample (no. 5) from the Virgin's right hand, with only one, rather thick paint layer, "consists of lead white, a red lake, azurite, and vermilion (presence of mercury in latter confirmed by microchemical test). All these pigments could be found on a piece of this date" (i.e., fifteenth century). The greens on the base, on the Child's garment, and on the side of the seat (nos. 3, 4, 7) "all contain terre verte, a marine clay that has been used in European paintings since before classical times."

Laura Juszczak noted that samples nos. 6 and 8 came from areas on the sculpture that seemed to have been overlooked in past overpainting. "They both have a similar layer structure: a couple of priming layers, orange to beige in color, followed by a top, thin blue-black layer consisting of charcoal black and some azurite (latter seen in sample no. 8)." She deduced that the Virgin's tunic originally contained azurite, traces of which she found in samples nos. 1 and 8.

Examination of the scroll under ultraviolet light revealed no new information. Two black pigment

69. Langlais's report to James J. Rorimer is in the Medieval Department files.

samples from the inscription, taken from both the large and small letters, could not be used in dating, since charcoal black, of which both samples are composed, “has been in constant use over the centuries.”

The condition of the sculpture is extraordinarily good, considering its size and bulk and the number of times that it has been moved. Minor chipping appears at the edges of the Virgin’s cloak and on the right side and base of the seat. A few areas are also

chipped on the pages of the book, on the outer edge of the scroll, and on the front corner of the cushion above it. Other chippings are too minute to mention.

Minor repairs were noted by Rorimer in a report of January 1933. These include the Child’s upper lip, the tip of his nose and a small section above it, part of the lower lid of his right eye, the top joint of the Virgin’s right little finger, and two inches of drapery over her left arm.

Appendix 3

CHISEL MARKS

During an examination of the Museum’s *Virgin and Child* from Poligny, the late Pierre Quarré raised the question with the author whether variations in tool marks on Burgundian fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sculptures could be used to distinguish between the work of different sculptors or workshops.⁷⁰ He was not referring to those marks seen on the back of the Virgin’s seat where the stone was trimmed to size; these were left by the masons before the sculptor began his work. Rather, Quarré was concerned with the shallower, more delicate parallel lines fanning out in slightly different directions on the back of the Virgin’s cloak (Figures 12, 13).

On sculptures attributed stylistically to Claux de Werve, the writer has noted several with similar parallel lines on the back. Such lines are found on a pleurant of the tomb of Philip the Bold (Figure 22), on the figure of Gabriel at St.-Seine-l’Abbaye, and on

the statues of the Virgin and Child at Meilly-sur-Rouvres, Bézuotte, and, to a lesser extent, Autun.

Testing Quarré’s idea further, the author has examined chisel marks on several score of sculptures attributed not only to de Werve but also to Antoine le Moiturier and Jean de la Huerta in the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Dijon and in the Musée Rolin of Autun. These marks are of differing types. They are usually hard to find, and Quarré has warned that different patterns are not so easily identifiable as are painters’ brushstrokes. They are visible, moreover, only in those small areas not later smoothed over by scrapers. It would require a thorough and systematic investigation to determine what significance these marks may have, and whether they might help in making distinctions and strengthening attributions in the vast anonymity of late Gothic sculpture.

70. See also Wixom, “Enthroned Madonna,” p. 294, n. 43, for a discussion of this point.

The Cabinet d'Armes of Louis XIII: Some Firearms and Related Problems

LEONID TARASSUK

*Senior Research Associate, Department of Arms and Armor,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

MATRIS MEAE MEMORIAE

IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, a new figure emerged among European princes recognized as connoisseurs and devoted collectors of fine arms, armor, and militaria. He was Dauphin Louis, born on September 27, 1601, to Henry IV of France and Navarre. According to contemporary records, the dauphin displayed an interest in firearms even as a small boy and, following his third birthday, received as gifts his first arquebus and a bandolier with cartridge boxes. At the age of ten, having already been proclaimed Louis XIII of France (1610), he possessed no fewer than seven guns, mechanical marvels that gave him great pleasure when hunting and target shooting.

What seems to have started as quite a common boyish attraction had obviously become a steady and serious hobby since, just four years later, by 1614, the young king's collection had increased to some forty firearms.¹ Even more significant is the fact that in addition to acquiring firearms of current use, Louis XIII later showed an interest in collecting arms and armor of historic and artistic value, both European and Oriental, as well as weapons of uncommon or new construction.

Despite his generally poor health (the king had a pulmonary disease that finally led to his premature death on May 14, 1643), Louis XIII was very fond of equitation, hunting, and other gentlemanly sports and in more than one campaign he proved to be a gallant officer of astonishing endurance. His passion for arms collecting never diminished—throughout

his life he acquired fine arms made in France and abroad—and one of his favorite pastimes was examining, taking apart, cleaning, and reassembling firearms in the quiet of his *cabinet*. The king's enchantment with arms was well known and even won him the nickname "Louis l'Arquebusier." Less than four years before his death, on October 24, 1639, in a conversation about firearms with the Venetian ambassador, the king mentioned that he had more than two hundred pieces in his *cabinet d'armes*.² That this remark did not spring from vainglory, but was a very modest evaluation of his treasures, is fully supported by existing inventories of the royal collection.

The *cabinet d'armes* was set up in the private royal quarters in the Louvre and it was apparently there, in 1673, that the collection was first catalogued. Subsequently, more arms and armor joined the collection. The second inventory, started after the accession of Louis XV (1715–74) and completed in 1717, included the later additions as well as the previously

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

1. On the history of the French royal arms collection see J. F. Hayward, "Notes on the Cabinet d'armes of Louis XIII," *Livrustkammaren* 13, no. 1 (1973) pp. 23–31; Hayward, pp. 238–251.

2. M. Morin with R. Held, "... And His Majesty Said 'all my guns together are not worth one of these,'" in *Art, Arms and Armour: An International Anthology*, ed. R. Held (Chiasso, 1979) pp. 268, 269, 277.

registered items. The third and last inventory was again drawn up after an accession—that of Louis XVI (1774–92)—and was finished in 1775.

It is unclear where the second and third catalogues took place; the location and history of the royal collection after 1673 has been the subject of considerable conjecture. According to one theory, after the first cataloguing the collection was transferred to the Bastille, where it was looted, together with the royal arsenal (*magasin royal des armes*), during the takeover of the Bastille in July 1789 and the subsequent pillage and destruction that went on for almost two years. Had the royal arms collection been there at this period, it would presumably have shared the disastrous fate of the Bastille's valuable archives and arsenal, "which was devastated, and its collections . . . almost completely destroyed."³

Another version has it that the arms collection remained in the Louvre until the end of the ancien régime and, like other royal property there, suffered only certain losses during the Revolution. Jean-Pierre Reverseau, who has been engaged in special archival studies on the royal arms collection, substantially amends this story.⁴ According to Reverseau, some objects from the collection were placed, by order of Louis XIV, in the Versailles palace (which became the king's residence in the mid-1670s, that is, after the 1673 inventory had been drawn up). The bulk of the collection was transferred to a repository for royal furniture, the Garde-Meuble, installed near the Louvre in the Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon. Under Louis XV, this repository twice changed location; in 1758 it was moved to the Hôtel de Conti and in 1768 to the Hôtel d'Evreux. After the accession of Louis XVI, who was a connoisseur of applied arts and crafts, the Garde-Meuble was finally arranged in a newly built palace on the Place Louis XV and was opened to visitors as a museum of the royal art collections.

Contemporary accounts show that the Garde-Meuble museum became well known and popular, and this fame may have been a factor in the events that affected its collections in the turbulent year 1789. A memoirist recalls that on July 13, 1789, after having already pillaged the city arsenal and the armorers' shops, the mob, looking for weapons, rushed to the Garde-Meuble but (as far as the memoirist knows) did not take away anything except "des armes qui pouvaient servir."⁵ A sad comment can be added to this information. In 1789 flintlock firearms and

some types of swords, daggers, and pole arms were, or could be, used in much the same way as they had been since the seventeenth century or earlier, and "serviceable weapons" might well have included valuable historical objects whose condition was, or at least appeared, good enough for street fighting.

In 1797 the collection was again transferred, this time to the newly created Muséum des Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale. When, a few years later, this was reorganized into the Cabinet des Médailles, the arms and armor were placed with a *dépôt d'artillerie* being set up, as of 1795, at the former Dominican cloister of St.-Thomas-d'Aquin, seat of the Comité d'Artillerie. Here the collection joined those pieces that could be saved from the Bastille arsenal and some unusable arms of historical interest selected from confiscated private property. This vast assemblage was named the Musée d'Artillerie.

Although it was once stated that "the 1815 invasion caused almost no losses to the Musée d'Artillerie,"⁶ there is little doubt that during the occupation of Paris, British and probably Prussian military authorities selected and sent home as war trophies a number of weapons that were later incorporated into the state collections of the respective countries.

Still another blow struck the Musée d'Artillerie during the 1830 revolution, when Parisian insurgents invaded the cloister and the museum. "The pillage was total," notes the historian already quoted, adding, though, that "precious arms kept in closets" were saved and that a large part of the objects taken (except about a hundred pieces) was returned within a

3. O. PengUILly-l'Haridon, *Catalogue des collections composant le Musée d'Artillerie* (Paris, 1862) p. 5 (quotation translated).

4. J.-P. Reverseau, "Les Armures des rois de France au Musée de l'Armée," *VIII Congress of the International Association of Museums of Arms and Military History* [Report] (Warsaw and Krakow, May 21–30, 1978) pp. 153–160; his monograph under the same title (St.-Julien-du-Sault, 1982) pp. 9ff.

5. Reverseau, "Les Armures des rois de France" (1978) pp. 154, 155, 159, n. 6. Louis Blanc, who used numerous documents and memoirs of the period, gives a more disturbing picture of this episode: "Le Garde-Meuble ayant été envahi et les armes qu'il contenait enlevées, casques, lances et boucliers brillèrent portés, comme au temps de la Ligue, par les guerriers en haillons" (L. Blanc, *Histoire de la Révolution française* [Paris, 1847–62] II, p. 360).

6. PengUILly-l'Haridon, *Catalogue des collections composant le Musée d'Artillerie*, p. 10 (quotation translated).

few days.⁷ The losses that occurred at this time, however, may have included some arms from the royal collection, since a few dozen objects of this origin later emerged on the art market as well as in French and foreign private collections and museums.

Fortunately, this episode was the last of the tragic trials and tribulations that befell the *cabinet d'armes* or, rather, its remnants. In 1871, the collections of the Musée d'Artillerie were finally installed in the majestic Hôtel des Invalides, where they were merged in 1905 with the collections of the Musée Historique de l'Armée. The new institution was named the Musée de l'Armée. Its vast collections, when compared with those of other museums, still preserve the largest number of surviving pieces from the French royal collection.

Notwithstanding the disappearance of the *cabinet d'armes* in its complete and original state, its treasures, described in documents and represented by surviving pieces, have continued to excite profound interest in students of arms and armor. This interest has increased since Dr. Torsten Lenk, in his fundamental work on the history of flintlock firearms,⁸ made many significant conclusions based to a great extent on studies of materials related to the *cabinet d'armes*.

The importance of the arms collection assembled by Louis XIII is many faceted and results from several notable circumstances. As the king developed his knowledge and taste, he became a connoisseur of firearms and weapons technology, looking both for masterpieces of decorative art and for new or unusual designs.⁹ Moreover, he took special care to locate and to include in his collection objects of artistic, historical, and memorial value which had been in the possession of his predecessors on the French throne. The supreme social status of the collector, enhanced by his special and well-known interest in firearms, made available to him many of the best pieces produced during his reign by French and some foreign gun makers. The king patronized and encouraged these masters with generous rewards and privileges, among which were the highly coveted positions of royal gun makers and decorators. Some of these positions had, since 1608, entitled their holders to royal pensions and permanent lodging in the Louvre.

The four decades of the king's collecting were the period of inception and early development of the so-called true flintlock, the ultimate spark-producing ig-

nition mechanism that greatly improved the performance of civilian and military firearms and thus significantly affected social life and military tactics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are solid grounds for the belief that this mechanism was invented and developed by French masters during the reign of "Louis l'Arquebusier," whose interest in the invention is demonstrated by the presence in the royal collection of a sizable number of the earliest flintlock firearms. Study of these specimens and relevant materials can help clarify still unresolved problems of the chronology and typological evolution of the flintlock, as well as questions related to the role of gun makers responsible for its production.

It was under Louis XIII and Louis XIV that French arms makers and decorators evolved high technical, artistic, and aesthetic standards that eventually influenced the production of fine arms and even military weapons in other countries. Many objects illustrating early stages in this development could be found in the French royal collection. In fact, almost any newly discovered object from the *cabinet d'armes*, datable within the collection's chronological scope, may bring new and important data to the study of the history of European firearms.

The single source of utmost significance for identification of the objects from the *cabinet d'armes* is provided by the three inventories of the collection, drawn up within the framework of general catalogues of the royal furniture. The earliest of these documents was completed on February 20, 1673, as was certified after the catalogue entry for no. 337.¹⁰ Later, it was discovered that a *rondache* and several edged weapons, mostly highly decorative pieces, had been mistakenly registered in the inventory of various pieces of furniture ("meubles divers"), probably because they had been separated from the arms collection and were kept elsewhere in the Louvre at the time the arms catalogue was being compiled. These items, numbered 338–347, were added to the *cabinet's* catalogue on January 30, 1681.¹¹ At some posterior but unspecified date, four pistols and three

7. Ibid., pp. 11–12.

8. For Lenk see the list of frequently cited sources.

9. An episode describing such a search is related in the article referred to in note 2.

10. Guiffrey, p. 83.

11. Ibid., p. 84.

swords were located and added to the register under the numbers 348–351, which conclude the *cabinet's* first catalogue.

As the structure of the 1673 inventory shows, the cataloguers began their work in a very reasonable way by grouping the objects according to type, function, origin, etc. Long firearms (nos. 1–183) include a series of pieces with detachable extension parts (nos. 92–101). Another series comprises guns with various flintlocks (“fusils,” nos. 122–164). Among pistols (nos. 184–264), Scottish pieces (called “à l’irlandaise” by the cataloguers) are grouped together (nos. 186–195). Two cannons, pole arms, edged weapons, and armor form the other groups (nos. 265–337).

Although the 1673 inventory and two small supplements total 351 entries, the actual number of registered items slightly exceeded seven hundred, about five hundred of these being various firearms. The difference results from the fact that many entries record more than one object. For instance, thirty-two entries describe sets of pistols, mostly pairs. Fourteen other entries comprise 207 guns and separate barrels, mostly of ordinary quality and of similar design within each entry—no. 5 lists “Quarente trois arquebuses toutes simples, de 3 pieds ou environ.”¹² Entry no. 267 alone covers ninety-eight pikes.¹³

While it appears that there were some orderly and knowledgeable persons among the cataloguers, at least including those who started and organized the work, the entries themselves sometimes betray a fairly liberal approach to accuracy of description and measurement (as is shown by comparison with the later inventory and, particularly, with the extant objects). One of the most blatant examples of this is no. 186, a pair of pistols dated 1615 with a length of “un pied 5 pouces,” or 46.02 centimeters (18.11 inches), which was described again, but in different terms, under no. 194, this time with a length of “16 pouces,” or 43.31 centimeters (17 inches).¹⁴

The collection was later inspected by officers in charge of the royal furniture, who verified the inventory and added discharge notes to some entries when items had been, for some reason, removed from the collection.¹⁵ One of these general inspections is recorded as having taken place in 1701.¹⁶ Another inspection of the collection and inventory was carried out shortly after the accession of Louis XV (1715), when it was found that in the 1673 inventory “almost all the descriptions and measurements were not cor-

rect or exact, and there were even many unrecorded pieces.”¹⁷ Among the latter were certainly pieces of armor and weapons that belonged to Louis XIV and were added to the collection during his reign (1643–1715) or after his death.

These findings resulted in the drawing up of the new inventory, which was completed on August 31, 1717, and officially replaced the previous document.¹⁸ Not only did it “rectify” mistakes in the old descriptions, but it also added 104 new entries comprising 136 objects, 72 of them being firearms and artillery models. The 1717 inventory was verified on December 31, 1729, and December 31, 1732, when it still contained a total of 455 entries describing some 840 items. Three more objects were finally added to the second inventory, under the numbers 456 to 458, at some time after 1734, the date mentioned in a note to no. 457.¹⁹ It is known that these additions to the Garde-Meuble occurred before the middle of 1738, since each accession was also recorded, with some details, in the “Journal du Garde-Meuble de la Couronne.”²⁰ In the entry for January 10, 1738, this document describes a pistol bought from an armorer and listed in the second inventory under no. 456. Another entry, of July 5, 1738, accessions two suits of armor listed in the inventory under nos. 457 and 458; a note on no. 457 states that it was acquired in 1736.²¹

Despite criticism of the earlier document, compilers of the 1717 inventory seem to have had a similar working routine and certainly were guided and influenced, to some extent, by extant inventory descriptions. It can be surmised that each object was examined and checked against the relevant earlier entry, with mistakes or omissions duly noted, and a new entry was then drafted. The new entries, though understandably similar in content to their predeces-

12. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 68.

15. *Ibid.*, nos. 56, 196, 205, 325, 332, 338, 340.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 82, n. 1 (“la vérification de l’inventaire en 1701”).

17. *Ibid.*, p. 43, n. 1 (quotation translated).

18. *Ibid.*, p. 43, n. 1.

19. Grancsay 1970, p. 207.

20. A. V. B. Norman, “Arms and Armour in the Journal du Garde-Meuble de la Couronne,” *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 9, no. 5 (June 1979) pp. 187–194.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

sors, are more orderly in composition and sometimes contain additional descriptive details important for identification, together with new measurements. Up to the number 351, the last in the old inventory, the cataloguers strictly followed the sequence of entries established by their predecessors. This method was both convenient and necessary since the objects were normally marked with numbers corresponding to the entries of the first inventory. Such inventory numbers, stamped on the wooden stock of a firearm or incised on a metal part, are found on most objects from the *cabinet d'armes*. However, some items whose connection to this collection is reliably established by inventory descriptions have no such markings, which shows that the cataloguers sometimes forgot or omitted, for whatever reason, to carry out the marking procedure.

The last inventory of the collection, drawn up in 1775, appears to copy, almost literally, descriptions given in the previous document, with only a few discrepancies and amendments, as well as occasional omissions of some minor details, either out of neglect or to save time and labor. This inventory contains a further 30 entries describing 37 objects that were added to the collection. The "Journal du Garde-Meuble de la Couronne" shows that these additions, numbered 459 to 488, were accessioned between 1753 and 1765.²² Still another piece was recorded in the "Journal" under no. 489 in March 1774,²³ but the inventory itself does not include it. Thus, at the last official count, the royal arms collection had 489 registered entries comprising 880 objects (nearly 600 of them firearms and combination weapons).

There are two manuscript copies of the 1775 inventory preserved in the Archives Nationales, Paris, and still unpublished. They differ in handwriting, sometimes in spelling and punctuation, but the descriptions themselves are identical, with very few discrepancies.

The measurements, which are so important for

identification purposes, are given in all documents mentioned in *pieds* and *pouces*. A *pied* is equivalent to 32.48 centimeters (12.79 inches). A *pouce*, one-twelfth of a *pied*, is equivalent to 2.707 centimeters (1.066 inches). For firearms, the inventories usually give the total length only, with no more precision than up to a *pouce*, occasionally up to a half *pouce*, that is, 1.353 centimeters (0.533 inch). Besides this approximation and the possible human error in reading and recording the correct figure, there might have been other technicalities that may now affect identification. It is not known, for instance, how accurate the measuring tapes or rulers were—that is, how consistently and correctly they were marked out. Furthermore, a firearm was measured, in all probability, by applying the tape to its opposite extremities, the muzzle and an edge of the butt. An eventual angle between the barrel and the tape would then have resulted in a length somewhat different from that obtained in measuring today.²⁴

When Dr. Torsten Lenk published his major work on the history of French flintlock firearms in 1939, he listed from the French royal collection 77 objects that he knew to have been identified.²⁵ Twenty-five years later, in 1965, Dr. John F. Hayward updated this index by listing 108 items.²⁶ In the two decades since that time a number of other pieces from the *cabinet d'armes* must have been discovered. Some pieces were identified in 1978 by Reverseau,²⁷ thus making up a total of 120 known objects from the royal collection.

The present paper offers the opportunity to publish and discuss, among other topics, ten further objects from the *cabinet d'armes*, whose provenance and whereabouts have become known to the writer in recent times.

In the following survey, the objects discussed are grouped according to their present location and are designated by the numbers assigned to them in original inventories of the French royal property.

22. Ibid., pp. 188–192, 194, n. 13. A cased set of two knives was correctly recorded as one unit under no. 488 in the "Journal" but was given two numbers (488, 489) in the inventory.

23. Ibid., p. 193.

24. In accordance with today's practice, the length of firearms described in this paper was obtained by measuring

from the muzzle along the line parallel to the barrel and perpendicular to the tangent at the extremity of the butt.

25. Lenk, appendix 1, pp. 184, 185.

26. Lenk/Hayward, appendix 1, pp. 167–177.

27. Reverseau, *Les Armures des rois de France* (1978) pp. 153ff.

THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO,
THE GEORGE F. HARDING COLLECTION

Number 245

One of the most interesting firearms to be found in the Harding collection, a holding of the Art Institute since 1982, is a long wheel-lock pistol (Figures 1, 2). Its form and construction are typical of long Catalonian pistols (*pedrenyales*) presumably made in the town of Ripoll in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century.²⁸

The two-stage barrel of this pistol is octagonal in the rear two-fifths, with a molding at each end of the round section. On the underside the barrel has two pierced lugs for stock pins, as well as two recesses for lugs that were initially intended or actually used. The tang screw is now replaced by a modern part, since the original screw must have been brazed to the front of the trigger guard, which is missing in this pistol.

The wheel lock is of an early type (Figures 3, 4), with no safety catch. The wheel is completely covered by the housing. The convex, pivoted pan cover that moves around the wheel has a stabilizing arm that slides on the lock plate and a small thumb piece symmetrical with the rear flash fence of the pan. This design is practically identical to the pan-cover construction in some contemporary French wheel locks (see, for instance, the lock in Figure 19). The lower branch of the cock spring is half as long as the upper one, like the cock spring in some of the earliest German wheel locks. Below the cock, in the lock plate, is a small rectangular slot to fit the lug of the pan-cover closing spring that was installed inside the mechanism (it is now missing). When opened by the wheel-spindle cam, the pan cover was held in place by a hooked spring catch inside the plate. This spring was released by a button in front of the pan, and the pan cover then closed. (The button is also missing now, but an aperture for its stem can be seen in the center of the screw head on the pan-cover mount.)

The upper jaw of the cock is forged with a directional prong fitting a slot in the lower jaw. To grasp the pyrite more firmly, the inner surfaces of the jaws are roughly incised with four concentric squares twice crossed diagonally. Some interior parts of the mechanism—the mainspring, its bridle, and the sear—are slightly ornamented with chiseled scrolls and lines. On the frontal base of the bridle, the or-

nament forms a distinctive capital *M*, perhaps the lock maker's initial (the name of one of the Ripoll gun-making dynasties and masters, like Mas, Molas, and others with the same initial,²⁹ is a tempting guess). Compared with good-quality European locks, this mechanism, while it may have functioned passably well, appears somewhat crude in workmanship. Some priming powder must inevitably have fallen inside the lock, given the fairly wide clearance between the wheel ridges and the corresponding indentations in the pan. These indentations were probably simply filed out and not precision milled.

The wooden stock is completely encased in iron sheet incised with linear borders and profusely chiseled with floral scrolls matching the similar decoration on the barrel and lock.

The distinctive and, so far, unique peculiarity of this specimen is the form of its grip, which is not fitted with a conventional pommel but simply terminates in a graceful curl and is very small even by standards favored in Catalonian pistols. The handling of such pistols was considerably helped by a spur for the middle finger on the trigger guard.

An iron ramrod is incised on both ends with diagonal strokes for better handling and has a baluster-shaped tip. On the left side of the stock, a long belt hook is held in place by the central and rear side screws of the lock, the tail of the hook being partly sunk in a cutoff made in the sheath.

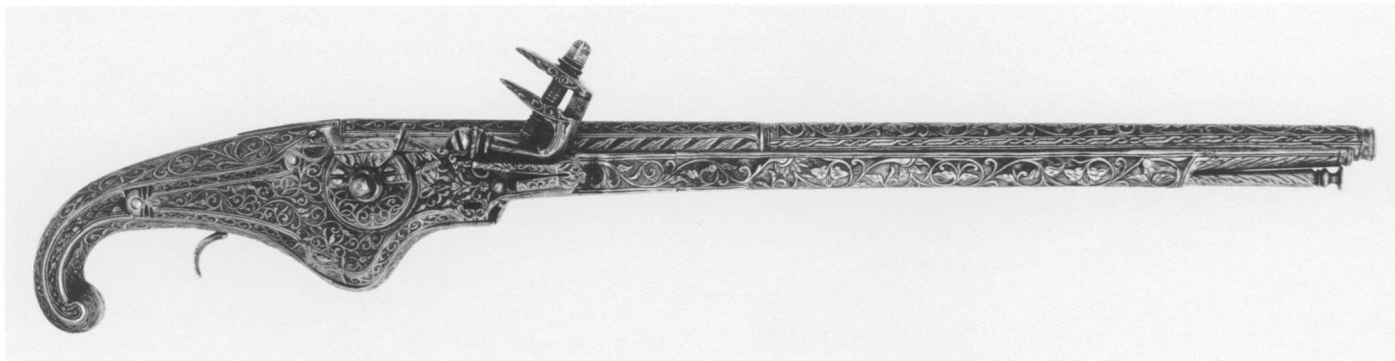
The overall length of the pistol is 55.8 centimeters (22 inches). Its barrel length is 43 centimeters (16.9 inches) and its caliber 11 millimeters (0.43 inch).

Besides the letter *M* inside the lock, there is only one other marking on the pistol. Engraved in front of the pan cover is a number that has for a long time been read as *No. 215* and was thought to refer to an

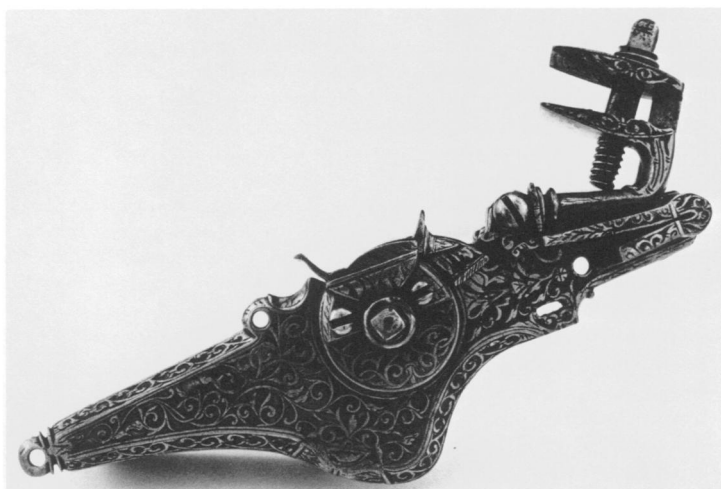
28. Ripoll firearms are discussed in J. D. Lavin, *A History of Spanish Firearms* (London, 1965) pp. 218ff.; idem, "Ripoll Pistols," *American Society of Arms Collectors, Bulletin* 25 (Spring 1972) pp. 2–12; idem, "Spanish Agujeta-Lock Firearms," in *Art, Arms and Armour*, ed. R. Held (Chiasso, 1979) pp. 298–313; E. Graells, *Les Armes de foc de Ripoll* (Ripoll, 1974); idem, "A Primer of Ripoll Gunlocks," *Arms and Armor Annual* I, ed. R. Held (Northfield, Ill., 1973) pp. 129–141; these publications list only nine specimens of Ripoll wheel-lock pistols; to these can be added the Chicago pistol and a pair of pistols at the Hermitage Museum (Tarassuk, nos. 67, 68).

29. Graells, *Les Armes de foc de Ripoll*, p. 164.

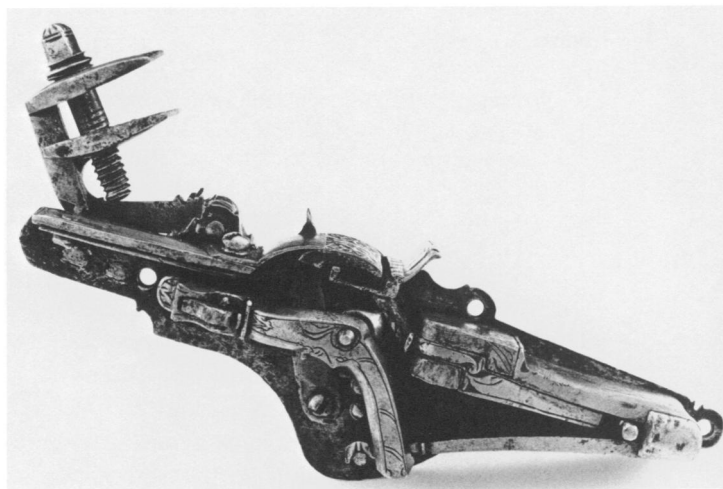
1-4. Wheel-lock pistol, *cabinet d'armes* no. 245, Spanish (Catalonia), early 17th century. The Art Institute of Chicago, George F. Harding Collection, acc. no. 1982.2304 (photos: 1, 3, 4. Art Institute; 2. Luis Medina)



2. Left side, no. 245



3. Lock, no. 245



4. Inside of lock, no. 245

inventory of the Zschille collection of which this pistol had once been part.³⁰ The graphic style of the numerals is, however, strongly reminiscent of that found on the firearms from the *cabinet d'armes* and prompted a perusal of the inventory of that collection. The inventory entry for no. 215 describes a pair of pistols and does not correspond at all to the Harding pistol. Closer study of this firearm revealed that the middle engraved digit had been somewhat effaced by excessive cleaning and that the actual number was 245.

In the 1673 inventory of the *cabinet d'armes* are the following entries:

- 244. Un autre pistolet à roüet, à l'espagnol, de 26 pouces, rond sur le devant, à huit pans sur le derrière, gravé en taille d'espargne en trois endroits; le roüet ouvragé de mesme sur un bois gravé et orné de quelques plaques de fer.
- 245. Un autre plus petit pistolet, de 20 pouces, pareil à peu près au précédent.³¹

The 1717 inventory provides basically the same data:

- 244. Un pistolet à roüet et à l'espagnol de vingt six pouces de long, monté sur un bois sculpté orné de plaques de fer ciselées; Le canon a huit pans sur la culasse ciselé en trois endroits, le roüet ouvragé de même.
- 245. Un autre pistolet pareil au précédent, excepté qu'il n'a que vingt pouces de long.³²

Entries in the 1775 inventory repeat this information in a more economic form, omitting reference to national origin:

- 244. Vn pistolet de Vingt six pouces de Long monté sur un bois sculpté, orné de plaques de fer, cizelées; Le Canon a huit pans sur la Culasse cizelé en trois endroits; Le Rouet ouvragé de même.
- 245. Vn autre Pistolet pareil au précédent, excepté qu'il n'a que vingt pouces de long.³³

In all inventories, the length of pistol no. 245 was recorded as "20 pouces." Since this is equivalent to 54.14 centimeters (21.32 inches), the difference in length between the Harding pistol and item no. 245 of the *cabinet d'armes* appears to be a mere 1.66 centimeters (0.68 inch). Considering the approximations made by the cataloguers, this difference seems almost negligible, and it can be safely assumed that the old inventories quite accurately describe the pistol shown

in Figures 1 through 4. Identification of this pistol is of some importance to the history of Spanish firearms. Its inclusion in the 1673 inventory and its highly probable origin in Louis XIII's *cabinet d'armes* confirm an early date for pistols of this type. The pistol therefore serves as a reliable basis for comparison and dating of similar firearms.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

The Metropolitan Museum's Department of Arms and Armor includes five marked and identified firearms from the *cabinet d'armes* and one more weapon which, though without the royal collection's number, is entitled to claim the same origin.

Number 60

A wheel-lock fowling piece (Figures 5–10) entered the Museum in 1904 as part of the acquired collection of Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, duke of Dino.³⁴

30. R. Forrer, *Die Waffensammlung des Herrn Stadtrath Rich. Zschille* (Berlin, [1894]) p. 28, no. 1047, pls. 215–217, 220. The illustrations show that the trigger guard with tang screw and the pan-cover closing spring and release button had already been lost by the time of publication. Apparently it is this pistol that is described in the following entry of the Zschille auction catalogue: "A Wheel-Lock Pistol, partly octagonal barrel—17 in. long—faceted steel stock and wheel lock, the whole barrel, lock and stock chased in relief with interlaced floral scrolls and arabesques—end of 17th century" (*Catalogue of the Collection of Armour and Arms and Hunting Equipment of Herr Richard Zschille, of Grossenhain*, sale cat., Christie's [London, Jan. 25, Feb. 1, 1897] p. 19, lot 87). The title page states that the collection described in the catalogue had been exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893). In the catalogue published on that occasion there is indeed a direct reference to the pistol in question: "1047 Radschlosspistole (Wheel-lock pistol), mit reichem Eisenschnitt und Eisenschäftung, um 1600" (*Catalog of the Collections in the Museum of the "Wasserburg" [German Village], Columbian-World-Exposition* [Chicago, 1893] p. 21). According to a MS inventory of the Harding collection by S. V. Grancsay, the pistol (inv. no. 524) was acquired from a London dealer, Hal Furmage, sometime around 1930.

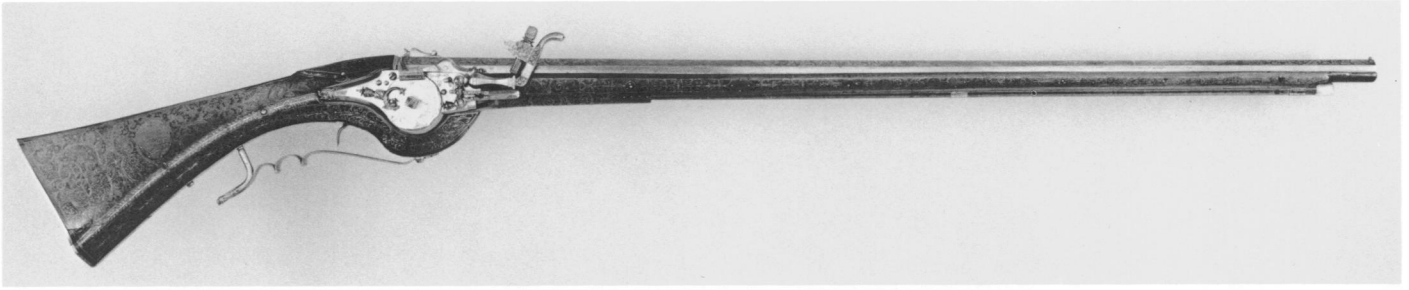
31. Guiffrey, p. 75.

32. Grancsay 1970, p. 198.

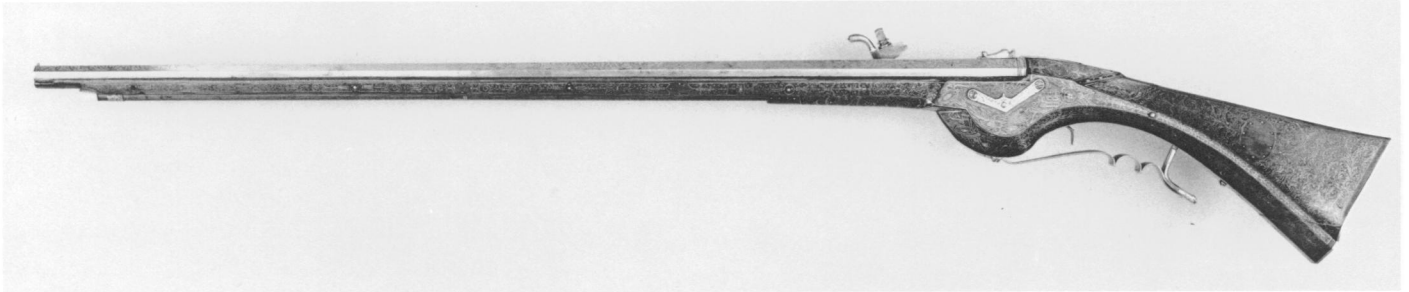
33. O¹ 3349, fol. 302; in O¹ 3350, fol. 156, these entries are the same.

34. Baron C. A. de Cosson, *Le Cabinet d'armes de Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord* (Paris, 1901) p. 98, no. J.8.

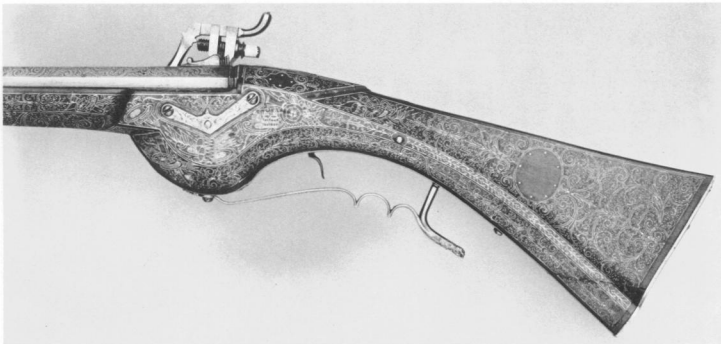
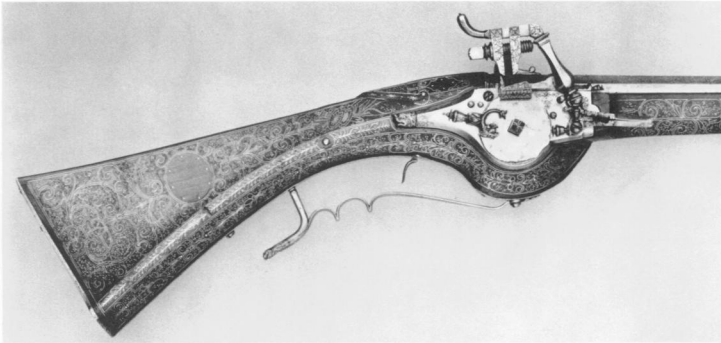
5–10. Wheel-lock fowling piece, *cabinet d'armes* no. 60, French, early 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 04.3.164



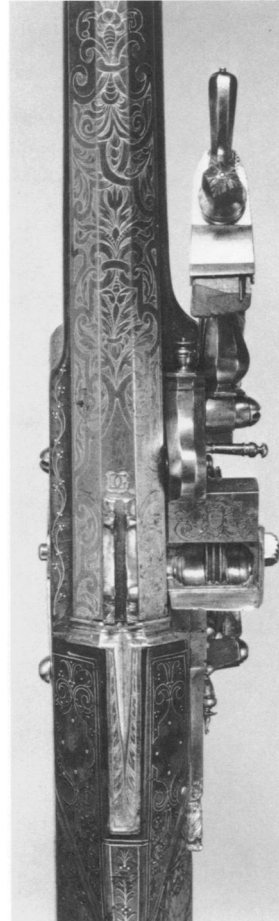
6. Left side, no. 60



7. Lock and butt, no. 60

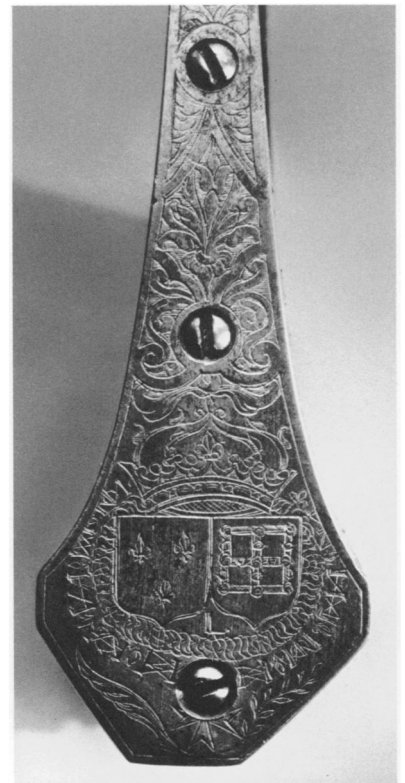


8. Detail of left side, no. 60



9. Top view of breech section, no. 60

10. Butt plate, no. 60



The gun has an octagonal barrel, with front and rear sights. It is gilt and engraved at the muzzle, center, and breech with foliate scrolls and strapwork. The barrel was initially attached to the fore stock with four stock pins passing through the lugs on the underside (one of the lugs is now broken, another missing). A very compact lock of French construction (Figure 7) is partly chiseled and gilt, its rear end shaped into a grotesque dog's head, while the wheel guide is formed into a crowned dolphin whose tail terminates in a fleur-de-lis.

The stock, seemingly of pear wood, is inlaid all over with fine silver wire and brass studs to form trophies, cartouches, and foliate patterns. On the engraved and gilt iron butt plate (Figure 10) are the adorsed coats of arms of France and Navarre, with a closed crown above and the initial *L* below, which are encircled by the collars of the French royal orders of Saint-Michel and Saint-Esprit. Below this are two crossed branches of palm and of laurel.

The overall length of the gun is 110.2 centimeters (43.47 inches). The length of the barrel is 79.4 centimeters (31.25 inches); its caliber is 11.9 millimeters (0.47 inch).

The barrel is stamped on the breech with the monogram *DG* in an intricately shaped shield.³⁵ On the lock plate, below the pan, is the lock maker's mark, a monogram *DM* (or *MD?*).³⁶ On the stock, in front of the trigger guard, is impressed the number 60. The gun has long been associated with Louis XIII, based on the presence of the royal insignia and letter *L* on the butt plate, but there has been no attempt to identify the gun in the French inventories.³⁷

In the 1673 inventory, no. 60 is described as follows:

60. Une arquebuse de 3 pieds 4 pouces de long, le canon a huit pans, doré en trois endroits et gravé, le rouët enrichy de quelques petits ornemens de relief doré; le porte roüe d'un Dauphin couronné, monté sur un bois rouge enrichy de plusieurs ornemens et fleurons d'argent; sur la plaque de la crosse sont les armes de France et de Navarre dorées.³⁸

A similar description is in the 1717 inventory:

60. Une arquebuse de trois pieds quatre pouces de long, montée sur un bois de poirier enrichy d'ornemens et fleurons d'argent et sur la plaque de la crosse sont des armes de France et de Navarre dorées; Le canon a huit pans gravé et doré en trois

endroits, et sur le rouët sont de petits ornemens dorés.³⁹

The 1775 inventory repeats this entry, the main change being the replacement of "et fleurons" by "en fleurons" in the description of the stock:

60. Vne Arquebuse de trois pieds quatre pouces de long, montée sur un Bois de Poirier, enrichi d'ornemens en fleurons d'argent, et sur laplaque de la crosse, sont Les armes de france et de Navarre, dorées; Le Canon a huit pans, gravé et doré en trois endroits; Et, sur Le Rouet, sont de petits ornemens dorés.⁴⁰

The overall length of "3 pieds 4 pouces" given in the inventories corresponds to 108.27 centimeters (42.62 inches), while the actual length of the gun is 110.2 centimeters (43.47 inches), that is, 1.93 centimeters (0.74 inch) longer. This difference of almost three quarters of a *pouce* can be explained by the methods and the lack of accuracy in measuring of the cataloguers some three hundred years ago. Apart from this minor discrepancy, however, the two inventories describe fairly accurately the fowling piece shown in Figures 5 through 10.

Since the origin of this gun is now established beyond doubt, it is tempting to guess when the firearm might have come into Louis XIII's collection—during his reign (1610–43) or even before, when he was still dauphin and already collected firearms. Gun no. 60 appears to be one of Louis's early acquisitions. Apart from the motif of the dolphin found in the decoration of the lock and trigger guard, there is another significant peculiarity in the rendering of the owner's initial on the butt plate (Figure 10). The king's initial was normally surmounted by the royal crown (see, for instance, Figure 38), which in this case was omitted by the decorator. If these details may be taken as indications of the owner's status, they would date the gun to the years immediately preceding Louis's acces-

35. Støckel, II, no. 2366; Heer/Støckel, p. 476, no. 7551, illustrates virtually the same mark, perhaps struck with another die.

36. Heer/Støckel p. 851, no. 7963.

37. De Cosson, *Le Cabinet d'armes de Talleyrand-Périgord*, p. 98, no. J.8.

38. Guiffrey, p. 50.

39. Grancsay 1970, p. 188.

40. O¹ 3349, fol. 275; in O¹ 3350, fol. 131, the wording is the same as in the 1717 inventory.

sion to the throne, when the dauphin was about eight or nine years old and could easily have manipulated a gun of such size.⁴¹

The *DG* mark stamped on the barrel of this fowling piece is also found on the barrel of a French wheel-lock pistol of about 1600, whose stock is inlaid with engraved mother-of-pearl in the manner in vogue at that time.⁴² Johan F. Støckel attributed this mark to a Metz gun maker active between about 1600 and 1630,⁴³ and it would be tempting to associate the *DM* mark on the lock of no. 60 with a Metz gun maker, D. Montaigu, were he known to have been active in the early seventeenth century. At present, there is evidence of his work only in the second quarter of the century.⁴⁴

Number 52

It seems likely that an even shorter wheel-lock gun at the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 11–16) was also made for Louis XIII as an adolescent, probably about 1615. This gun came to the Museum as a gift from William H. Riggs, who had, according to his notes, bought it from a Paris dealer, Monsieur Henri.

This gracefully shaped arquebus has a uniform octagonal barrel with sights, a fairly plain, only slightly chiseled wheel lock of French construction, and quite an unusual stock that is finely painted all over in gold with floral ornament on a black background. A steel bar for a sliding ring is attached on the left side of the stock so that the weapon could be carried with a shoulder sling when transported on horseback. The trigger guard and butt plate are of steel. On the barrel breech is incised *No. 52*, which has been recorded in the departmental files along with a statement that the gun had belonged to Louis XIII.⁴⁵ No maker's mark was found on this gun.

The entry in the 1673 inventory reads:

52. Une carabine de costé, de 2 pieds 11 pouces, le canon à 8 pans, le pam de dessus doré tout de long, le roüet tout uni, montée sur un bois peint et doré de plusieurs ornemens de fleurs d'or.⁴⁶

A similar record is in the 1717 inventory:

52. Une carabine pour porter au côté, longue de deux pieds onze pouces, monté sur un bois peint d'ornemens et fleurs d'or; Le canon a huit pans, dont celui du Milieu est doré, le roüet uni.⁴⁷

The 1775 inventory repeats, word for word, the earlier description:

52. Vne Carabine pour porter au coté, Longue de deux pieds onze pouces, montée sur un Bois peint d'ornemens et fleurs d'or; Le Canon a huit pans dont celui du milieu est doré; Le Rouet uni.⁴⁸

At present, gilding on the barrel is not visible and no ring for the sling is preserved. The only serious alteration, however, occurred in the lock, whose mainspring was at some time replaced by a shorter and stiffer spring with a new stock pin installed for it; the original pin (whose ends can be seen in the stock) had to be cut out in the center to make space for the rear of the new spring.

The overall length of the carbine is 97.4 centimeters (38.37 inches). The length of the barrel is 62 centimeters (24.4 inches); its caliber is 12.7 millimeters (0.5 inch). In this case as well there is a difference between the actual length of the gun and the measurement recorded in the inventories. The latter converts to 94.74 centimeters (37.28 inches); this is 2.66 centimeters, or about 1 *pouce*, less than the length correctly measured now. The carbine no. 52 is 12.8 centimeters (5.1 inches) shorter than the fowling piece no. 60, yet weighs 57 grams (about 2 ounces) more (the two weigh 2,246 grams [4.94 pounds] and 2,189 grams [4.82 pounds] respectively) because of a more massive barrel and slightly larger butt. The weights and measurements of both pieces, as well as the early seventeenth-century forms and style of decoration, favor the suggestion that these guns were intended for the king as a boy.

41. A nine-year-old boy is about 127 cm. (50 in.) tall and could conveniently handle a gun about 110 cm. (43 in.) long.

42. Gusler and Lavin, pp. 8, 9.

43. A very similar mark was separately illustrated by Støckel (no. 2176) and also attributed to a Metz master ca. 1600. In fact, both Støckel 2366 and 2176 seem to be the same mark, but 2176 was poorly struck, leaving the left side of the letter *D* out of impression. Heer/Støckel, p. 476, no. 7551, illustrates the same mark, describing it as being from Metz(?) ca. 1620.

44. Lenk/Hayward, pp. 53 passim, pl. 28:3; A. Hoff, *Feuerwaffen* (Brunswick, 1969) I, p. 260, II, p. 180.

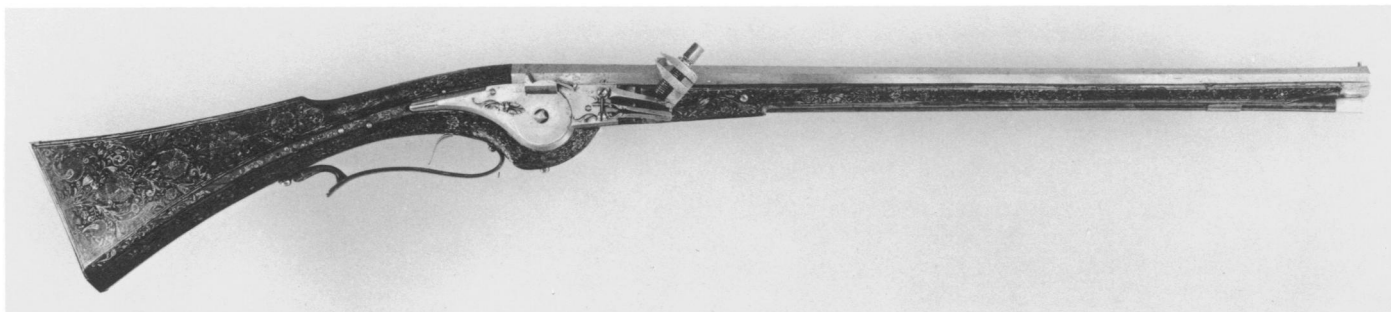
45. Grancsay 1970, however, does not include this piece.

46. Guiffrey, p. 48.

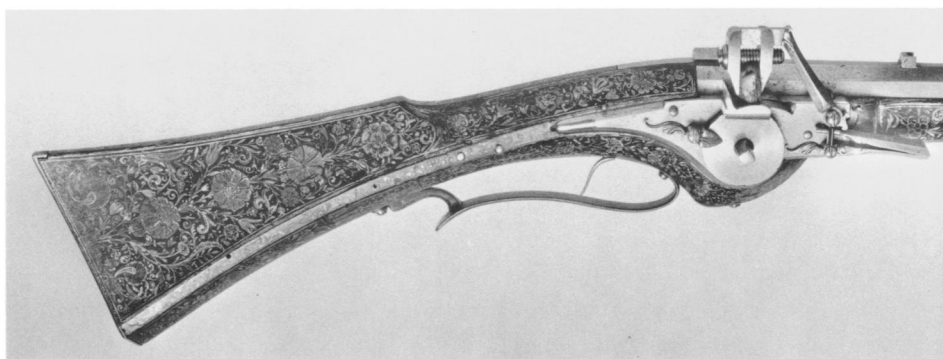
47. Grancsay 1970, p. 188.

48. O¹ 3349, fol. 274; in O¹ 3350, fol. 130, the entry is exactly the same.

11-16. Wheel-lock fowling piece, *cabinet d'armes* no. 52,
French, ca. 1615. The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.1380



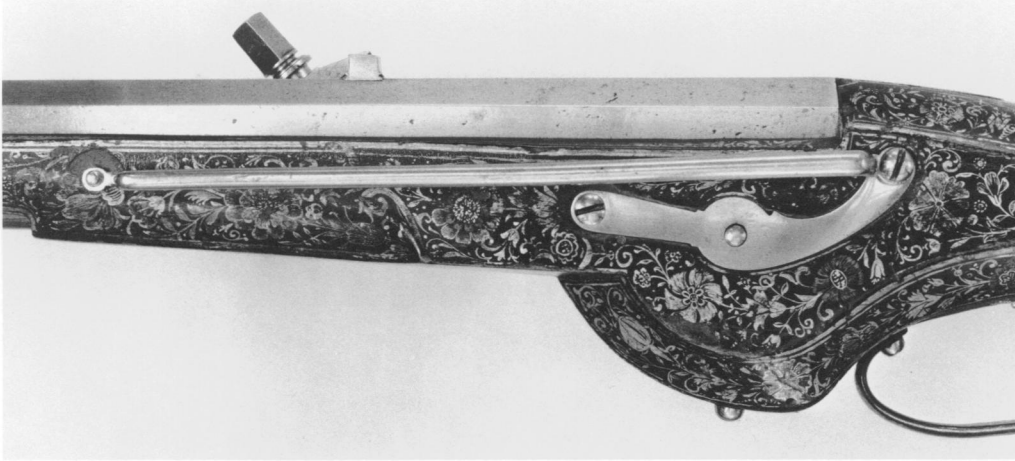
12. Left side, no. 52



13. Lock and butt, no. 52



14. Detail of left side, no. 52



15. Detail of left side, no. 52, showing steel bar for a sliding swivel ring



16. Butt plate, no. 52

Number 99

One of the more unusual firearms from the *cabinet d'armes* is a wheel-lock pistol that is convertible to a fowling piece by means of an extension barrel and a shoulder butt (Figures 17–21). This firearm came to the Museum in 1913 as part of a gift from William H. Riggs; it is recorded as being formerly in the Panciatichi Ximenes collection in Florence, acquired by Mr. Riggs. The number 99 is incised in front of the trigger guard. The firearm is described in the 1673 inventory as:

99. Un autre pistolet qui s'allonge par le canon, à huit pans, gravé sur la culasse et par le bout et sur le bassinet d'une rose; la platine gravée, ayant pour porte rouë un dragon; long en tout de 4 pieds.⁴⁹

The 1717 inventory reads:

99. Un pistolet en fusil qui s'allonge par le canon a huit pans gravé sur le bout et la culasse d'une rose, le bassinet et la platine aussi gravés: monté sur un bois de poirier, long en tout de trois pieds cinq pouces.⁵⁰

The entry in the 1775 inventory seems to have

been compiled from the previous document (save the grammatically wrong “s” in “montés”):

99. Vn pistolet en fusil qui s'allonge par le Canon a huit pans; Gravé sur le bout et la Culasse, d'une rose, Le Bassinet et la platine aussi gravés, montés sur un Bois de poirier; Long, en tout, de trois pieds et cinq pouces.⁵¹

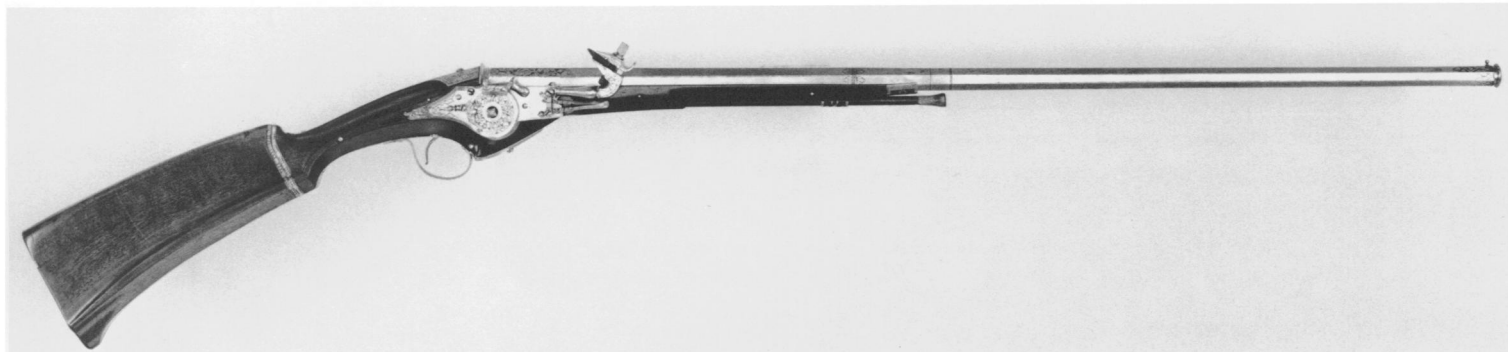
The discrepancies between the earliest and the later descriptions are obvious. In 1673, the firearm was recorded as fitted with a wheel lock (indicated by a “porte rouë,” wheel guide) and being 4 *pieds*, or 129.92 centimeters (51.16 inches), long. At the next cataloguing, it became a pistol “en fusil,” with an overall length of 3 *pieds* 5 *pouces*, or 110.97 centimeters (43.7 inches), that is, 7 *pouces* (18.95 centimeters) shorter. Neither document mentions a stock extension, a part that is noted or implied in entries for

49. Guiffrey, p. 54.

50. Grancsay 1970, p. 190.

51. O¹ 3349, fol. 281; in O¹ 3350, fols. 136–136v, the entry is the same, but “monté” is spelled correctly.

17–21. Wheel-lock pistol with stock and barrel extensions, *cabinet d'armes* no. 99, French, ca. 1610–20. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.1381



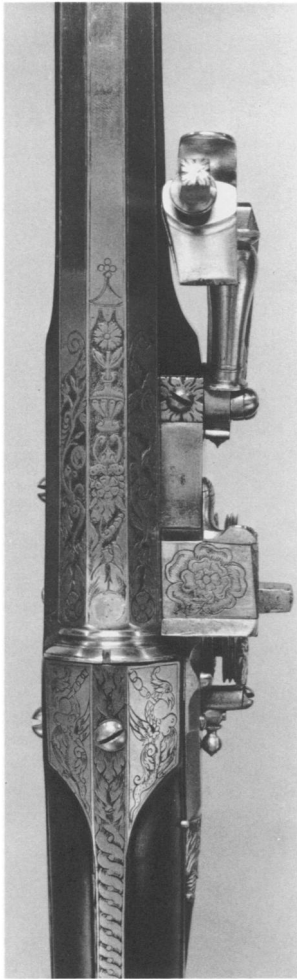
18. No. 99 with extension barrel and butt detached

19. Lock, no. 99



20. Side plate, no. 99





21. Top view of breech section, no. 99

several other items (1673, nos. 96–98, 101; 1717, nos. 92, 95–98, 101). Yet there is little doubt that the inventory entries for no. 99 do refer to the piece in the Metropolitan Museum bearing this number. This firearm does indeed have an octagonal barrel (its extension is also octagonal) with an engraved rosette and foliage on the breech and at the muzzle. The wheel lock, which is of French construction, is chiseled and engraved with foliage and monsters' heads (on the cock jaws and at the rear end of the plate), a rose (on the pan cover), and four quatrefoils alternating with acanthus leaves (on the wheel). The

wheel guide is sculptured as a dragonlike creature, a detail noted in 1673 (Figure 19).

The mounts are of pierced and engraved steel, the decoration on the tang mount representing two symmetrically posed griffins. On the side plate (Figure 20) are engraved three converging, grotesque heads representing a laughing monster, a devil, and a grimacing man wearing the pontifical tiara. This composition, which seems to have been inspired by, or copied from, satirical anti-Catholic prints popular among the Protestants, probably indicates that the gun makers responsible for this firearm, or at least for its decoration, were Huguenots (or perhaps converts formally professing Catholicism). The curious fact that a gun bearing an antipapal caricature was acquired and kept by the Catholic king *très-chrétien* shows Louis XIII as a passionate arms collector with enough tolerance and sense of humor for his interest in this unusual piece to prevail over a detail certainly objectionable from an orthodox point of view. This satirical image may bear some connection to an enigmatic detail observed on the pistol barrel. On the top of the breech, near the molding, a circular recess is cut out, in all probability intended for a metal insert with a stamped armorer's mark. It is now impossible to know whether the mark was actually inserted into the recess. Even if it were, the mark was subsequently removed, thus eliminating the master's identification. The recess itself was filled at some time with lead rubbed flush with the steel surface (Figure 21). During a recent examination lead was extracted, but this revealed only the empty depression.

The barrel extension has a bead foresight and can be joined to the pistol barrel by means of a so-called bayonet lock. The shoulder butt, whose shape closely resembles the butt of a French petronel of about 1600,⁵² is clasped onto the pistol grip with two steel brackets and a spring catch. The length of the ramrod is sufficient only for the loading of the pistol barrel.

A rather archaic feature of the lock (Figure 19) is a convex pan cover that moves around the wheel and is provided with a stabilizing arm sliding on the lock plate. This arrangement, sometimes occurring on

52. H. L. Blackmore, *Guns and Rifles of the World* (London, 1965) no. 95.

French wheel locks, is typical of Catalonian wheel locks (including the lock shown in Figure 3). Possibly it shows the influence of some early German wheel locks with pivoted convex pan covers.

This firearm belonged to a special group of rather uncommon pieces that probably caused a number of problems for the cataloguers of the *cabinet d'armes*, for some detachable extension parts had been misplaced or lost by the 1670s (nos. 92, 95).⁵³ From a comparison of the inventories, it can also be assumed that some extension barrels were wrongly associated within this group of firearms. Such mix-ups may account for those inventory discrepancies that are too significant to be the result of an imprecise measurement. For instance, gun no. 93 with an extension barrel was recorded in the 1673 inventory as 3 *pieds* 8 *pouces*, or 119.1 centimeters (46.88 inches), long, but in the 1717 inventory it became 5 *pieds* 3 *pouces*, or 170.54 centimeters (67.14 inches), long. Since in both cases the length of the gun itself was given as 1 *piéd* 10 *pouces*—that is, 59.55 centimeters (23.44 inches)—this striking difference obviously related to the extension barrel only. Gun no. 93, in the collection of Clay P. Bedford,⁵⁴ is actually about 61 centimeters (24 inches) long without the extension barrel and 171.5 centimeters (67.5 inches) long when assembled, which indicates that by 1673 it had a different, and much shorter, barrel extension, probably intended for another gun of similar construction. Such mistakes could well have occurred when a group of assorted objects prepared for cataloguing was spread over a working space and handled by attendants giving information orally to the clerks in charge of the paper work.

While the 1673 entry no. 93 was corrected in the 1717 catalogue, just the opposite occurred with the entry no. 99. In the 1717 document, copied in 1775, two errors appeared in the description of no. 99, probably caused by some mix-up of the objects laid out for cataloguing. Its ignition mechanism was classified as a kind of flintlock (“fusil”) and the overall length of the gun was reduced by 19 centimeters (7.5 inches). The length of 4 *pieds* recorded in the 1673 inventory is almost exactly the modern measurement of 130.9 centimeters (51.5 inches). This comprises the pistol at 56.8 centimeters (22.36 inches), the extension barrel at 57 centimeters (22.44 inches), and the gun butt at 24 centimeters (9.44 inches). The caliber is 15 millimeters (0.58 inch).

Number 217

One of the recently discovered pieces from the *cabinet d'armes* is a rifled wheel-lock pistol (Figures 22–24) whose mate (Figure 25), in the Tower of London,⁵⁵ has already been identified as coming from the *cabinet d'armes*.⁵⁶ The pistol entered the collection of the Metropolitan Museum in 1913 as part of a gift from William H. Riggs, who had purchased it from Frédéric Spitzer in Paris. On the stock of the pistol, in front of the trigger guard, are faint traces of the incised number 217.

The entry for this number in the 1673 inventory reads:

217. Une paire de pistolets de François premier, de 26 pouces $\frac{1}{2}$, le canon rond sur le devant qui est enrichy d'un ornement de branches et fueüilles d'argent de rapport, tortillé à l'entour, à huit pans sur le derrière, aussy enrichy d'un autre ornement et de plusieurs F couronnées; la platine de mesme.⁵⁷

The 1717 entry adds some important details, mentioning decoration of the stock and specifying the type of lock:

217. Une paire de pistolets de François premier, long de vingt six pouces et demi, monté sur un bois de noyer avec ornements d'argent: Les canons a huit pans sur la culasse, enrichie comme les platines de plusiers F couronnées Le bout rond, aussy enrichy de branches et feüilles d'argent, les platines a roüet uny.⁵⁸

The 1775 inventory repeats this description almost literally (in the phrase “comme les platines” the noun is changed to the singular):

53. Guiffrey, p. 54: “le bout du canon qui s'allonge ne se trouve point.”

54. Gusler and Lavin, pp. 10–13.

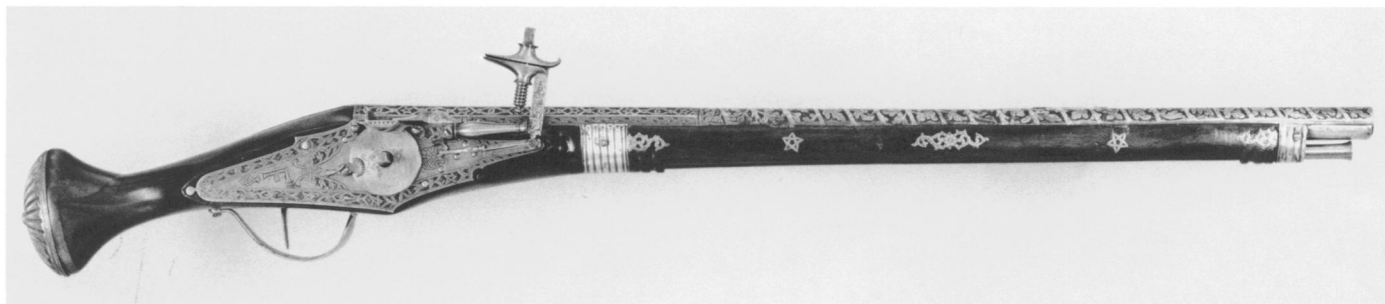
55. Charles J. Ffoulkes, *Inventory and Survey of the Armouries of the Tower of London* (London, 1916) II, pp. 408, 409, no. 731 (here called “Spanish, Middle of XVIIth Century”). Pistol XII-731, at present catalogued as Italian, ca. 1635, has the same barrel length and caliber as its mate at the Metropolitan Museum and is also marked no. 217 of the French royal collection.

56. Lenk/Hayward, pp. 175, 176, no. 217.

57. Guiffrey, p. 71. In Lenk/Hayward, pp. 167, 175, this description is mistakenly said to appear in the “1729 inventory.”

58. Grancsay 1970, p. 196.

22–24. Wheel-lock pistol, one of a pair (see Figure 25), *cabinet d'armes* no. 217, Northern Italian (probably Brescia), ca. 1625–30. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.1426

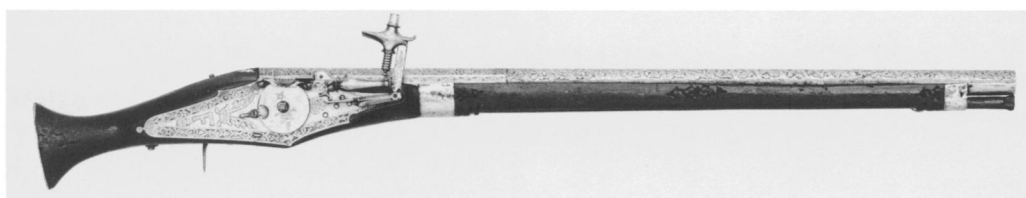


23. Lock, no. 217 (New York)

24. Top view of barrel, no. 217 (New York)



25. Wheel-lock pistol, one of a pair (see Figure 22), *cabinet d'armes* no. 217, Northern Italian (probably Brescia), ca. 1625–30. (The trigger guard and stock inlays are missing.) London, The Royal Armouries, H.M. Tower of London, XII-731 (photo: Ministry of Public Building and Works, crown copyright reserved)



217. Vne paire de Pistolets de François 1^{er}. Longs de Vingt six pouces et demi, montés sur un Bois de Noyer avec ornements d'argent, Les Canons a huit pans sur la Culasse, enrichie, comme la platine, de plusieurs f. couronnées, Le bout rond aussi enrichi de branches et feuilles d'argent, Les platines a rouets unis.⁵⁹

The length 26½ *pouces* is 71.73 centimeters (28.24 inches). The pistol in the Metropolitan Museum measures 73.9 centimeters (29.09 inches), almost a *pouce* more than recorded in all three documents. Its barrel is 55.7 centimeters (21.92 inches) long, with seven-groove rifling and a caliber of 12 millimeters (0.47 inch).

The pistol bears only one armorer's mark. Inside the lock plate, half covered by the mainspring bridle, is a deeply stamped shield with cusped chief and base enclosing the initials *B.P.* under a double-headed eagle displayed with wings inverted. Marks of this type, within shields of similar shape, are recorded on numerous Italian firearms of between 1600 and 1650,⁶⁰ and the form of the pistol itself corresponds to other military-type Italian *terzaruoli* and pistols of this period.⁶¹ The stock mounts and inlays also follow contemporary Italian patterns. The round section of the two-stage barrel is chiseled in low relief with spiraling branches of oak(?). Two side facets of the octagonal rear section display interlinked loops and pentagrams, while the upper facet and the barrel tang show the letter *F*, a cockleshell, and a coronet encircling two palm branches (Figure 23). The designs are enhanced by *pointillé* touches and fine cross-hatching. The same emblems are engraved on the lock; loops with stars are traced on the sear lever inside the lock, and a coronet with branches appears on the bridle. The fore stock is reinforced with two gadrooned silver bands and inlaid with sheet silver chiseled with foliage and stars. The iron trigger guard is a replacement (an old attachment hole for the original guard is filled with a wooden plug). The grip was at some time broken and quite awkwardly repaired, and it seems likely that the radially grooved iron pommel cap is a later addition. The Tower pistol has no such cap and thus preserves the shape much more typical of Italian pistols of this form.

The initial *F* on the pistols probably significantly influenced the seventeenth-century cataloguers in their attribution of ownership to Francis I of France (1515–47), despite stylistic and constructional pecu-

liarities of these weapons incompatible—as is now known—with firearms of the first half of the sixteenth century.

During the nineteenth century the initial *F* and some emblems, as they appear on the pistols, were discovered in the decoration of a suit of armor and a reinforcing breastplate for it (Figure 26). As of 1875 the ownership of this suit had been attributed to Don Felipe de Guzmán, the marquis of Leganés (ca. 1590–1655).⁶² This attribution was generally accepted by modern scholars⁶³ and was extended to another suit of armor with the same initial and emblems, as well as to the pistol no. 217 in the Tower of London.⁶⁴

Recently, José-A. Godoy, Curator in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva, has discovered the initial *F*, the pentagram, and the coronet with palm branches depicted as embroidered decoration on the officer's sash and costume in two 1634 paintings by Vicente Carducho in the Museo del Prado, Madrid. The paintings show the duke of Feria, commander of the Spanish forces in Germany between 1632 and 1634, at the victorious relief of two besieged towns, Konstanz and Rheinfelden. The same initial and emblems are embroidered on the actual seventeenth-

59. O' 3349, fol. 298v; the entry in O' 3350, fols. 152–152v, is the same as in the 1717 inventory.

60. A. Gaibi, *Armi da fuoco italiane* (Busto Arsizio, 1978) pp. 46–48, nos. 19, 28, 29, 40, 55, 58.

61. L. G. Boccia, F. Rossi, and M. Morin, *Armi e armature lombarde* (Milan, 1980) figs. 293, 294, 297; Gaibi, *Armi da fuoco*, figs. 74, 80–85, 100–107.

62. C. Buttin, "L'Armure du marquis de Leganés," *Armes anciennes* 8 (1957) pp. 3–16, pls. 1–3. The subject of this study is a suit of armor in the Armeria Reale, Turin (B 44), and reinforcing plate for this suit in the Metropolitan Museum (MMA acc. no. 14.25.867).

63. B. Thomas and O. Gamber, "L'arte milanese dell'armatura," *Storia di Milano* II (Milan, 1958) pp. 826, 827; L. G. Boccia and E. T. Coelho, *L'arte dell'armatura in Italia* (Milan, 1967) p. 525, pls. 430–436, 438, 439; F. Mazzini, ed., *L'Armeria Reale di Torino* (Busto Arsizio, 1982) p. 339, pls. 49, 49a.

64. The second suit of armor wrongly attributed to the marquis of Leganés is in the Museo del Ejército Español, Madrid (Armeria Duques de Medinaceli, maniqui no. 8). This attribution was proposed by Thomas and Gamber in "L'arte milanese dell'armatura," p. 826, and reaffirmed in Mazzini, ed., *L'Armeria Reale di Torino*, p. 339, which also associated it with the marquis of Leganés pistol no. 217 in the Tower of London (this attribution would automatically apply to its mate in the Metropolitan Museum).

century sash preserved in the Museo del Ejército Español, Madrid.⁶⁵

With the identification of the true owner of the initial *F* and emblems that decorate the suit of armor, the breastplate, and the pair of pistols no. 217, a reliable and important provenance can be given to all these objects. Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdova, duke of Feria (1587–1634), was a prominent statesman and military commander. In 1610, Philip III of Spain sent him to Paris to convey condolences upon the assassination of Henry IV of France. This occasion served to initiate a rapprochement between the two countries, a rapprochement that was strengthened by successful negotiations between the duke of Feria and Queen Regent Marie de' Medici for the marriage of young King Louis XIII to Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III. It was agreed, moreover, that Philip III's son and heir, Philip, prince of the Asturias, would marry Princess Elisabeth of France, sister of Louis XIII.

In 1618–25 and 1631–33 the duke of Feria was governor of the duchy of Milan, a Spanish possession since 1540. While expanding Spanish influence in Northern Italy, the duke halted and partly repulsed a French invasion, commanding allied armies of Spain and several Italian states. As Spanish governor, he was included in a high-ranking delegation that in 1628 engaged in peace negotiations with the French. These talks, however, failed to prevent the War of the Mantuan Succession (1628–31), in which the duke played a leading role. In 1633, after the end of this conflict, he received a new appointment, this time as commander of Spanish forces in Germany, to assist Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III in his

struggle against German princes allied with Sweden. After several successful actions (two of which are commemorated in the Prado paintings), the duke of Feria fell ill and died in Munich.

Stylistically, the armor and the pair of pistols no. 217, decorated with the duke's badges, fit into the period when the duke occupied the highest political and military position in Milan. That city was the leading center for the production of armor in Italy, located some sixty miles from Brescia, an industrial area famous primarily for the manufacture of hand firearms. While the origin of the armor and pistols in Milan and Brescia respectively can be inferred on stylistic grounds, it is more difficult to establish how pistols belonging to the Spanish commander came to



65. Written communication from José-A. Godoy, Mar. 17, 1986 (files of the Department of Arms and Armor, MMA). The new attribution, important in its own right, also disposes of a problem inherent in the earlier: why had the marquis of Leganés used the initial of his Christian name and not that of his family or of his title? The suit of armor under discussion in the Museo del Ejército was traditionally attributed by that museum to the duke of Feria, but this theory was either ignored or rejected without much argument (Thomas and Gamber, "L'arte milanese dell'armatura," p. 826). Biographical data about Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, duke of Feria, can be found in: F. F. de Béthencourt, *Historia genealógica y heráldica de la monarquía española* VI (Madrid, 1905) pp. 120, 185, 212; *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* LVII (1927) p. 1427; *Enciclopedia italiana* XXXII (1936) p. 906 (includes bibliography); and *Storia di Milano* X (Milan, 1957) pp. 76ff., 331, XI (Milan, 1958) pp. 39–54.

26. Reinforcing breastplate for a suit of armor of Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdova, duke of Feria, Northern Italian (probably Milan), ca. 1625–30. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.867

be in the *cabinet d'armes* (prior to the upheaval of the late eighteenth century, the *cabinet* had both pistols).

We can only hazard a guess. The duke of Fera must have learned a great deal about the personality of the nine-year-old Louis XIII when he came to Paris in 1610 to negotiate Louis's marriage to Anne of Austria. The well-known interest of "Louis l'Arquebusier" in arms collecting might have impressed the duke, who, as governor of Milan, had various contacts with French officials. The pistols might have been offered by the duke as a gift to the king—and as a calculated friendly gesture—during a Spanish–French diplomatic meeting such as the ill-fated 1628 conference. By 1673, when the *cabinet* was first catalogued, the origin of the pistols had certainly been forgotten and a fantastic attribution to Francis I was made up on the basis of the initial *F*.

Number 288

Of all the objects in the Metropolitan Museum's collection that have so far been identified as having been part of the *cabinet d'armes*, one piece bears no inventory number of the royal collection. It is a short sword combined with revolver (Figures 27–35). Acquired in 1904 as part of the duke of Dino collection,⁶⁶ this weapon had previously been in the collection of Baron Percy, which was augmented by Durand,⁶⁷ and later in the collection of the duke of Istria.⁶⁸

The blade of this weapon is double-edged, with a flat back in the forte accommodating the barrel. The six-chamber hand-turned cylinder is mounted on the blade tang. Each chamber is aligned with the breech by means of a spring catch screwed to the barrel and engaging the respective notch in the cylinder (Fig-

ures 31, 35). In the rear wall of each chamber is a touchhole that lines up with the ignition channel in the massive disc behind the cylinder every time the latter is aligned with the barrel. The purpose of this disc, fixed on the square section of the tang, is to cover five other touchholes of the cylinder, thus preventing the powder charges from exposure. On the tang is also mounted a hollow iron stock with the lock recesses and a priming channel. The whole assembly is held by a heavy crown-shaped pommel and tightened by a button screwed to the threaded tip of the tang.

The lock of the revolver is a Spanish *agujeta* (Figures 32–34). Since the construction of this type of lock has recently been the subject of a detailed study,⁶⁹ only a summary description of this particular specimen need be given here. The lock had probably been initially intended for an ordinary firearm. This is borne out by two details. First, there is a plugged hole in the lock plate for the central side screw; the lock plate is provided with another threaded hole drilled closer to the upper edge of the plate to bypass the blade tang. Second, the forward end of the plate, with an eyelet for a side screw, was cut off straight to adjust the lock to the cylinder; a new threaded hole for the front side screw was made in the plate.

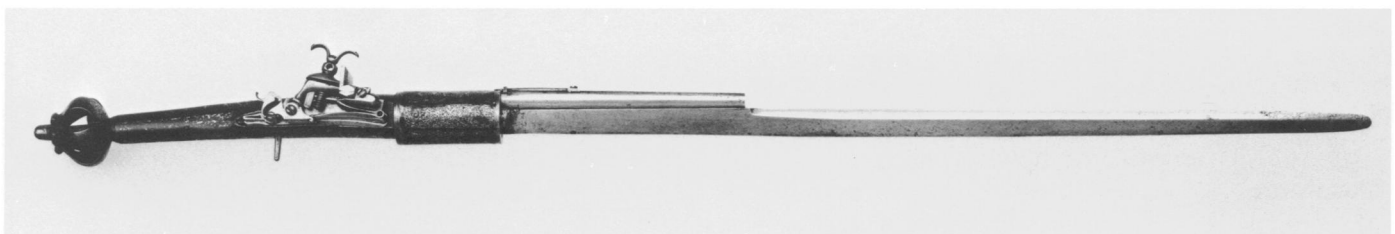
66. De Cosson, *Le Cabinet d'armes de Talleyrand-Périgord*, p. 100, no. K.6 ("Pistolet-revolver, à chenapan et à lame d'épée courte, italien, première moitié du XVII^e siècle").

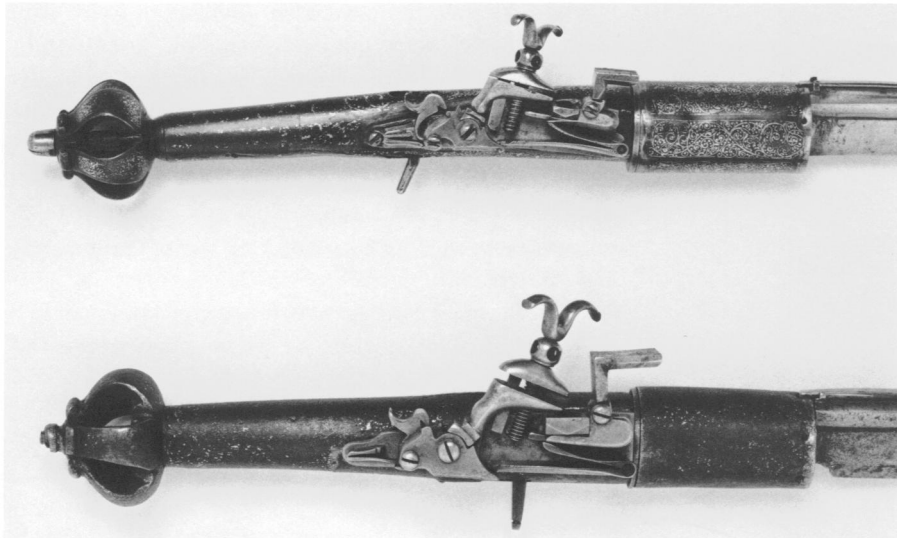
67. *Catalogue des armures et armes diverses composant la collection formée par feu M. le baron Percy, et complétée par M. D[urand]*, sale cat., Salle Lebrun, Jan. 18–23, 1830 (Paris, 1829) p. 19, lot 73.

68. *Catalogue des objets composant le cabinet d'armes de M. le duc d'Istrie*, sale cat., Jan. 23–25, 1839 (Paris, 1838) p. 21, lot 158 (said to have come from "Musée de Vienne, depuis collection Durand").

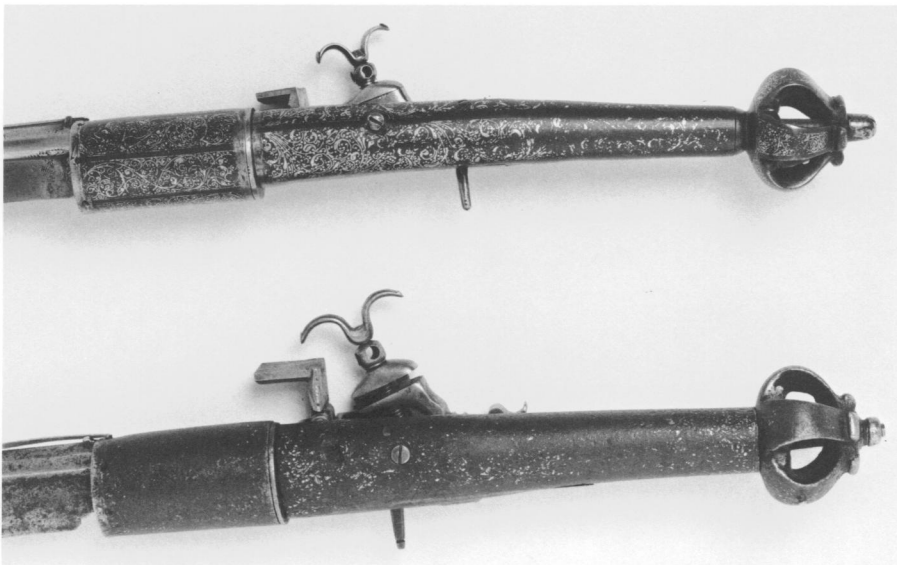
69. Lavin, "Spanish Agujeta-Lock Firearms," pp. 298ff.

27. Combination sword-revolver, *cabinet d'armes* no. 288, Spanish, second quarter of 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 04.3.122

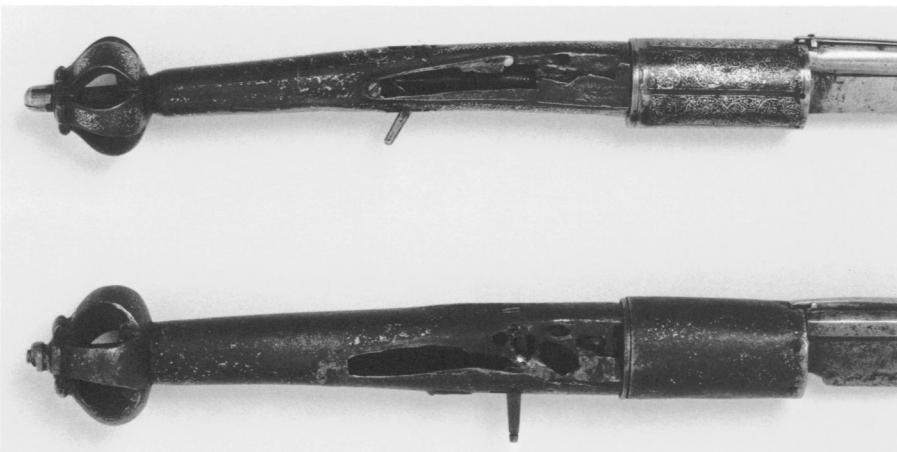




28. Details of no. 288 (above) and a similar sword-revolver (below), ex W. Keith Neal Collection



29. Details of left side, no. 288 (above) and ex W. Keith Neal Collection (below)



30. Details with locks removed, no. 288 (above) and ex W. Keith Neal Collection (below)

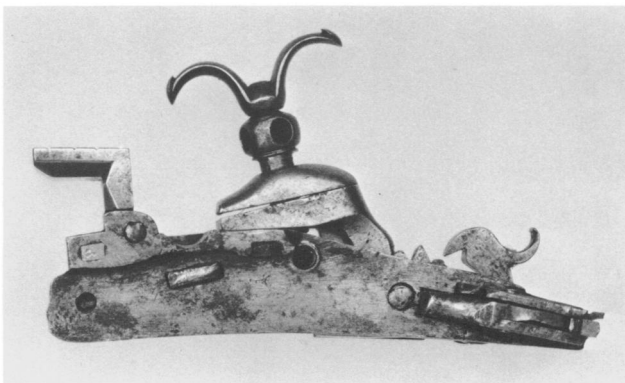


31. Cylinder, no. 288

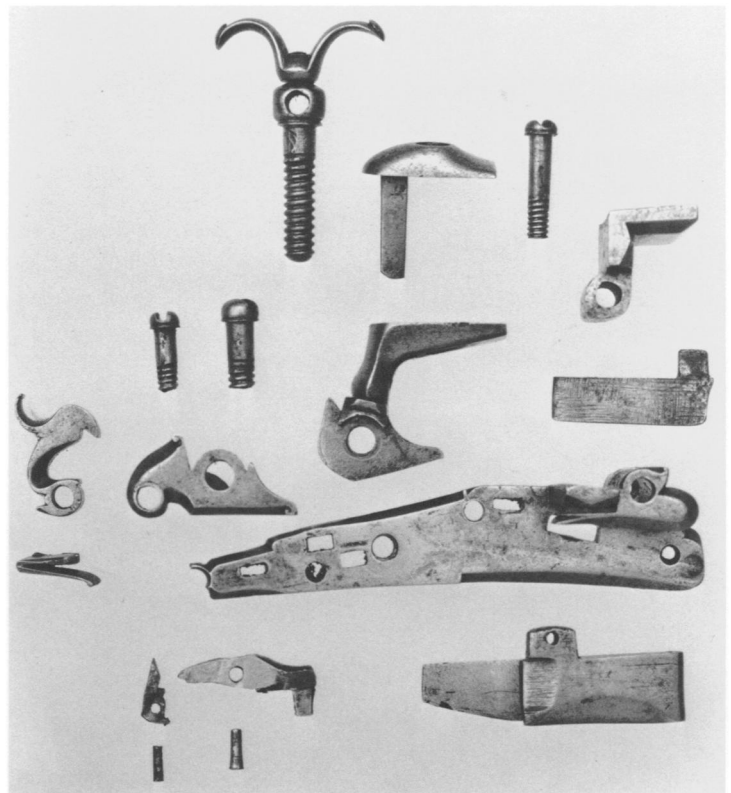
The L-shaped battery has an integral grooved face thrice crossed horizontally by shallow lines to enhance friction. The pan-cover feather spring has a rectangular lug fitting a slot in the lock plate. The mainspring is attached in the same way and is secured inside the plate by a pin hammered into a transversal hole in the lug. The mainspring presses on the toe of the cock, whose heel has a deep notch. This notch is for a back catch that secures the half-cock position. The back-catch spring, attached like the other springs, normally holds the catch removed



32. Lock, no. 288

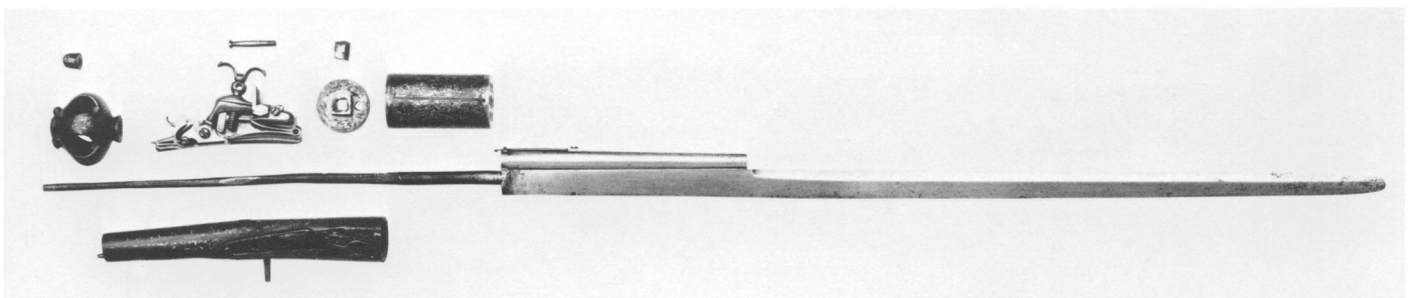


33. Inside of lock, no. 288



34. Disassembled lock, no. 288

35. No. 288 disassembled



from the cock heel; to operate the device, the catch must be pushed by the thumb at the moment the cock is pulled backward. A massive cock bridle is held in place by screwed-in pivots for the cock and the back catch. The bridle serves also as a buffer for the cock in its extreme positions, providing the concave base of the cock neck with a corresponding convex bearing limited by two deep notches. The top edge of the plate also stops the fall of the cock by meeting its lower jaw. The jaw screw has a spherical head pierced at right angles for a turning rod to tighten a piece of stone between the jaws. A wing-shaped finger grip is loosely riveted to the top of the jaw screw to help cocking.

The two-piece sear for the full-cock position is assembled in a frame and is constructed like the wheel-lock sear (its small V-spring acting on the sear lever and on the trigger lever is now missing). The sear works through the lock plate to engage the cock heel.

The cylinder and the stock are damascened in gold with fine arabesques against a background that is now russet colored. The decoration is well preserved on the cylinder (Figure 31) but is quite worn on the stock, particularly on the grip.

The overall length of the weapon is 81.6 centimeters (32.12 inches); the length of the blade is 53.5 centimeters (21.06 inches), of the revolver 41.2 centimeters (16.25 inches), of the barrel 14.9 centimeters (5.87 inches). The caliber is 6.35 millimeters (0.25 inch).

Stephen V. Grancsay recognized this weapon as no. 288 of the *cabinet d'armes*,⁷⁰ but did not make comparisons, as he might have done, between the object and entries in the French inventories.

In the 1673 catalogue, no. 288 reads:

288. Une petite espée à l'espagnolle sur laquelle il y a un petit canon monté sur un tambour damasquiné d'or et une batterie de pistolet qui tire cinq coups, longue de 2 pieds 7 pouces, avec son fourreau.⁷¹

The 1717 inventory reads as follows:

288. Une petite Epée a l'Espagnolle, de deux pieds sept pouces de long, sur laquelle il y a un canon, monté sur un tambour damasquiné d'or, et une batterie de pistolet qui tire cinq coups.⁷²

The 1775 inventory repeats this description (only dropping the "et" near the end):

288. Vne petite Epée a l'Espagnole de 2.p.^{ds} 7.p.^{ces} de Long; Sur laquelle il y a un Canon monté sur un Tambour damasquiné d'or, une batterie de Pistolet qui tire cinq coups.⁷³

The old French measurement converts to 83.91 centimeters (33 inches), a difference of only 2.31 centimeters (0.9 inch) from the length of the weapon as recorded now. This discrepancy is perfectly admissible, especially since, in the earliest description, the weapon seems to have been measured with its scabbard. The latter is not mentioned in later inventories, which may indicate that it had already been lost by this time (the length recorded in the 1673 document might simply have been copied in the inventories drawn up in 1717 and 1775).

Thus, national origin, construction, decoration, and measurement indicated in the inventories fully support Grancsay's identification of this object. However, one detail in the inventory entries needs an explanation. The revolver was said to be able to fire five shots, while the weapon under scrutiny is designed for six shots. In all probability this difference can be explained simply as a mistake made in the first description, a mistake that was not corrected by the 1717 and 1775 inspections because the cataloguers had the earlier description before them. Looking at this rather odd object, a cataloguer could see, at any one time, when the cylinder was locked in a position behind the breech, only five apertures of the chambers, the sixth being always concealed and therefore easily overlooked by an uninformed person.

Besides this piece there appears to be a second combination weapon of virtually identical technical design, workmanship, and decoration (Figures 28–30, lower). It was formerly in the collection of W. Keith Neal and was more recently on the art market in New York. A comparison of the two pieces shows that they were certainly produced in the same Spanish workshop in the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

70. Grancsay 1970, p. 152 (brief description and illustration).

71. Guiffrey, p. 79.

72. Grancsay 1970, p. 200.

73. O¹ 3349, fol. 307; in O¹ 3350, fol. 161, the description is exactly the same.

Number 134

Another gun from the *cabinet d'armes*, indeed one of the world's most famous firearms, was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1972 at the sale of the William G. Renwick collection.⁷⁴ This flintlock fowling piece (Figures 36–40) had been in the Renwick collection since the 1920s and first became available for research in 1927 when on loan at the Metropolitan Museum.⁷⁵ Since that time the gun has been the subject of many studies and much scholarly speculation, including one allegation that the piece came to the Renwick collection from the Hermitage Museum.⁷⁶ Without excluding the possibility that this gun was in Russia in a private collection before the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, was then expropriated by the new regime, and was later sold to a foreign collector or dealer from the so-called State Museum Fund established in 1918 (as, indeed, were many works of art), it should nevertheless be noted that this outstanding object was never discussed, or even referred to, in an exhibition guide or a catalogue of any Russian museum or private collection. At the Imperial Hermitage, a large, permanent arms exhibition displayed some twenty-five hundred objects, certainly the best and most interesting of the entire holdings, and it would be hard to explain the absence of such a masterpiece from the display, were it then in the imperial collection. At least some reference to it could have been expected when Eduard von Lenz, a well-informed scholar and curator at the Hermitage, described a similar weapon, no. 152 of the *cabinet d'armes*, which was given the utmost prominence at the museum's arms exhibition.⁷⁷ As far as this writer knows, there is also no record of the firearm in manuscript catalogues and related papers still preserved in the Hermitage Museum's archives. On these grounds, and until some proof to the contrary is presented, the alleged Russian provenance of the fowling piece can safely be discarded.

The description of gun no. 134 in the 1673 inventory reads:

134. Un beau fusil de 4 pieds 4 pouces, fait à Lizieux, le canon rond, couleur d'eau, ayant une arreste sur le devant et à pans sur le derrière, doré de rinceaux en trois endroits, la platine unie ornée de quelques petites pièces dorées sur un beau bois de poirier noirci, enrichy de plusieurs petits orne-

ments d'argent et de nacre de perle, la crosse terminée en consolle par le dessous, sur laquelle il y a une longue feuille de cuivre doré de rapport, et sur le poulcier un mascaron d'argent et une L couronnée vis à vis la lumière.⁷⁸

A slightly different description is found in the 1717 inventory:

134. Un beau fusil de quatre pieds cinq pouces de long, fait à Lizieux, monté sur un bois de poirier noirci, enrichy d'ornemens d'argent et de nacre de perle, la crosse terminée en Consolle, ayant dessous une feuille de cuivre doré: Le canon a huit pans sur la culasse et rond par le bout, orné de rinceaux dorés en trois endroits, la platine aussy ornée de petites pièces dorées.⁷⁹

Apart from orthography and punctuation, the same description is found in the 1775 inventory:

134. Vn Beau fusil de quatre pieds cinq pouces de Long, fait à Lisieux, monté sur un Bois de Poirier noirci, enrichi d'ornemens d'argent et de nacre de perle; La Crosse terminée en Console, ayant dessous une feuille de Cuivre doré; Le Canon a huit pans sur la Culasse et rond par le bout, orné de Rainceaux dorés en trois endroits, La Platine aussy ornée de petites pieces dorées.⁸⁰

74. *Catalogue of Highly Important Firearms from the Collection of the Late William Goodwin Renwick* (European, pt. II), sale cat., Sotheby's (London, Nov. 21, 1972) pp. 28–31, lot 21; [H. Nickel], "Louis XIII Flintlock," *MMAB* 31, no. 4 (1973); H. Nickel, "Arms and Armor," *MMA Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975* (New York, 1975) p. 44; idem, "The Long Wait and the Quick Draw," in *The Chase, The Capture: Collecting at the Metropolitan* (New York, 1975) pp. 171–179.

75. T. T. H[oopes], "Changes in the Armor Study Room," *MMAB* 22, no. 7 (1927) p. 198.

76. Sotheby's, *Renwick Catalogue*, pt. II, p. 28. This conjecture is occasionally mentioned elsewhere.

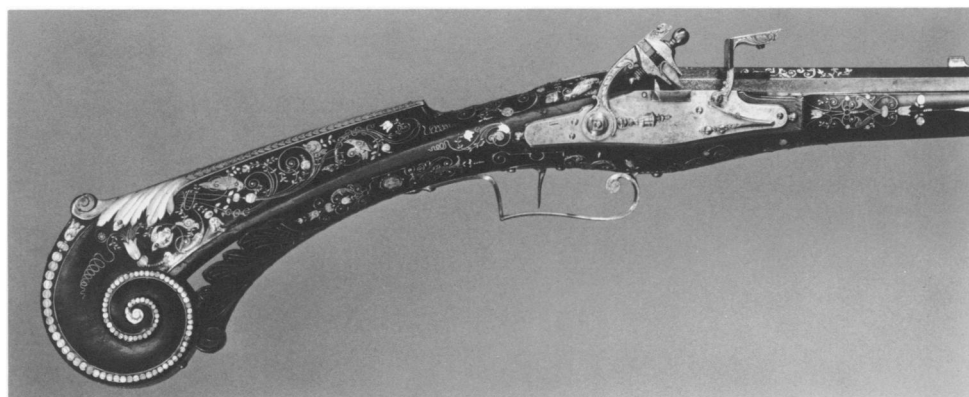
77. E. Lenz, *Imperatorskii Ermitazh, ukazatel' otdelenia Srednikh Vekov i Epokhi Vozrozhdenia: I. Sobranie oruzhia* [The Imperial Hermitage, Guide to the Department of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: I. Arms Collection] (St. Petersburg, 1908) p. 262, no. F.281; Album, pl. xxix.

78. Guiffrey, pp. 59, 60. It is this description that was quoted in Lenk, p. 34, n. 4 (Lenk/Hayward, p. 38, n. 17), with correct reference to Guiffrey. It was again quoted in full in Lenk/Hayward, appendix 1, p. 171, with a mistaken reference to the "1729 inventory."

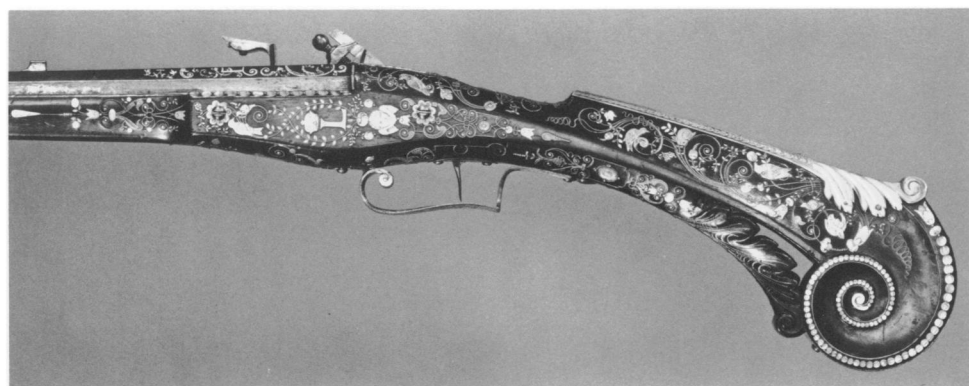
79. Grancsay 1970, p. 192.

80. O¹ 3349, fol. 286; in O¹ 3350, fols. 141–141v, the description is the same.

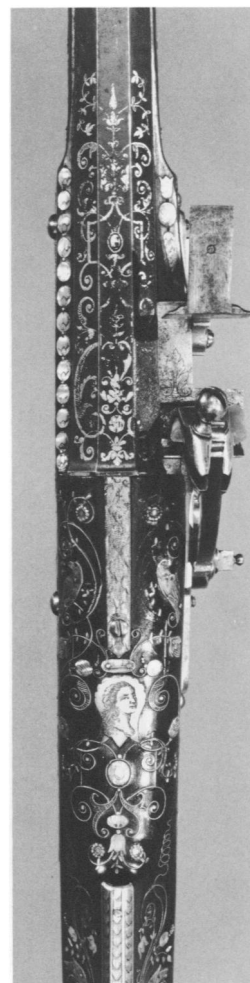
36–40. Flintlock fowling piece, *cabinet d'armes* no. 134, probably by Pierre Le Bourgeois, French (Lisieux), ca. 1620. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers and Harris Brisbane Dick Funds, 1972.223



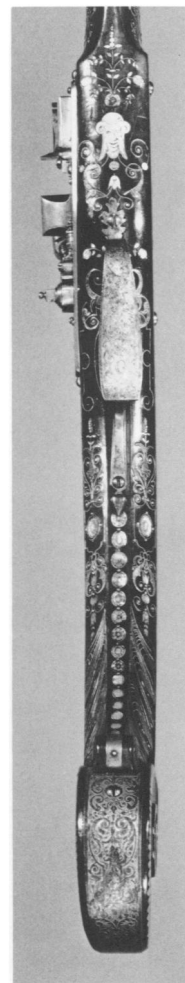
37. Lock and butt, no. 134



38. Detail of left side, no. 134



39

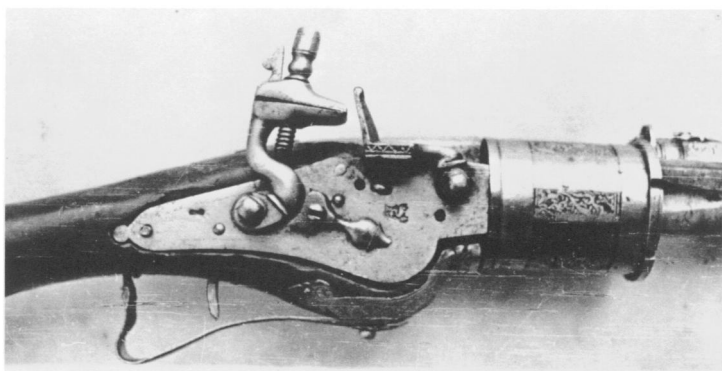
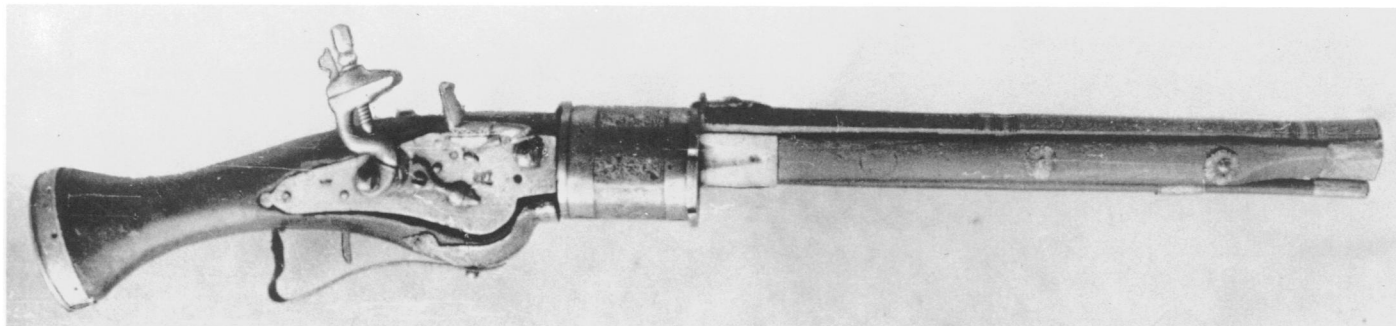


40

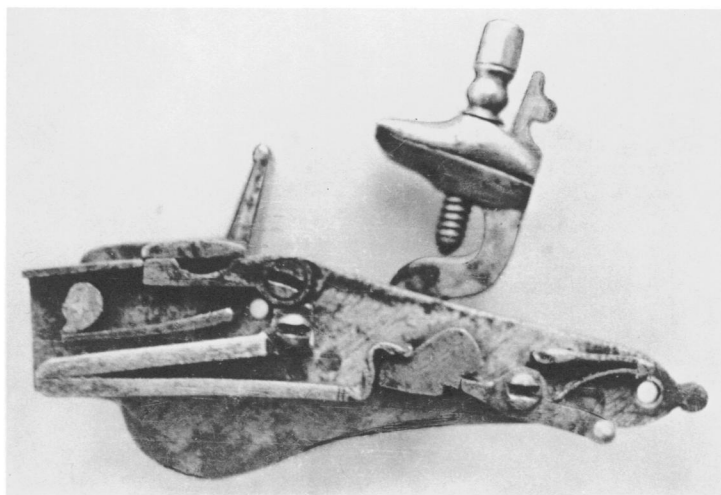
39. Top view of breech section, no. 134

40. Detail of underside, no. 134

41–43. Flintlock revolver by Pervusha Issayev, master of the Kremlin Armory Workshops, Russian (Moscow), ca. 1625. Moscow, Kremlin Armory, inv. no. 8251 (photos: author)



42. Lock and cylinder



43. Inside of lock

While all entries give a generally correct description of the gun, it is the earliest entry that is not only more detailed but also highly accurate in measurement; 4 *pieds 4 pouces* converts to 140.76 centimeters (55.41 inches), practically the same as the overall length of 140.4 centimeters (55.27 inches) recorded in the Museum's files. The length of the barrel is 104.1 centimeters (40.98 inches); the caliber is 55 millimeters (0.59 inch). As for the measurement given in the 1717 inventory that was intended to correct mistakes in the previous document, it is shorter than the actual length by 1 *pouce* (2.707 centimeters).

Attention was focused on gun no. 134 of the *cabinet d'armes* when it was displayed at the Metropolitan Museum. It was then stated that, as verified in a contemporary document, this fowling piece, dating from about 1630, had originated in the French royal collection.⁸¹ The gun was later shown at the City Art Museum of St. Louis as Louis XIII's personal possession.⁸² In his great work on the flintlock, Lenk studied the gun,⁸³ which he apparently knew only from

81. S. V. Grancsay, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Loan Exhibition of European Arms and Armor* (New York, 1931) p. 66, no. 252 ill.

82. T. T. H[oopes], "Loan Exhibition: Firearms of Princes," *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis* 25, no. 1 (1940) p. 10, pl. 1(c). The reference here to a "royal inventory of 1615" is probably a mistaken substitution for the period when the gun might have been made.

83. Lenk, pp. 34 passim, 162, 184, pls. 9, 10:2; Lenk/Hayward, pp. 30 passim, 134. Lenk first discussed this gun and its attribution to Marin Le Bourgeois in "De äldsta flintlåsen, deras dekoration och dekoratörer," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 3 (1934) pp. 121ff., fig. 5.

photographs, and found that it was marked with a figure of a crossbow between the initials *I B*, attributed by both Lenk and Støckel⁸⁴ to Jean Le Bourgeois of Lisieux. This craftsman's death in 1615 was necessarily accepted as a *terminus ad quem*.⁸⁵ However, in 1972, upon direct examination of the firearm, Hayward found that the mark actually contained the initials *P B*, which in all probability are those of Pierre Le Bourgeois, who is recorded as having died in 1627.⁸⁶ This significant discovery led to even more important revisions of the chronology both of the earliest flintlocks and of their introduction into general use.⁸⁷

In 1977, Dr. James D. Lavin briefly reviewed the problem of dating the earliest flintlock firearms and suggested that mechanisms of this construction had appeared in France not earlier than the third decade of the seventeenth century.⁸⁸ According to Lavin, fowling piece no. 134 is the earliest of the Lisieux flintlocks, datable to the 1620s and chronologically preceding fowling piece no. 152 by Marin Le Bourgeois at the Hermitage Museum (Figure 49), which should be dated to the late 1620s. Lavin also believes that the flintlock gun at Windsor Castle, dated 1630,⁸⁹ represents an earlier stage in the history of the flintlock than the Lisieux group. The grounds for this assertion are the "somewhat more archaic" lock of the Windsor gun and a similarity between this piece and the one depicted in a portrait dated between about 1635 and 1641 tentatively attributed to Anthony van Dyck and representing Sir William Feilding, earl of Denbigh.⁹⁰

Hayward, unconvinced by these controversial arguments, stated that there was no reason to question the claim that fowling piece no. 152 was the earliest or among the earliest flintlocks. He readily recognized, however, the attribution of the closely related piece no. 134 to Pierre Le Bourgeois as sufficient grounds for moving the date of the invention of the flintlock forward by ten or twenty years and for dating both no. 152 and no. 134 in the 1620s.⁹¹

The most recent position in this discussion has been taken by Reverseau, who does not believe that the reattribution of fowling piece no. 134 must in principle change the chronology of the early development of the flintlock as established by Lenk.⁹²

While the change in *terminus ad quem* from 1615 to 1627 for fowling piece no. 134 certainly warrants, in this writer's opinion, a revision of the dates suggested

by Lenk for the invention of the flintlock and the chronology of its earliest specimens, one can still assume that this early developmental phase took place in France before, and not after, the 1620s.

A basis for this assumption is provided by a flintlock revolver in the Kremlin Armory (Figures 41–43).⁹³ Its lock plate is stamped with a figure of a swan—the same mark that is found on the snaphance pistol dated 1621 or 1622 at the Hermitage Museum (Figure 44).⁹⁴ The swan marks were identified as those of Pervusha Issayev, a gun maker in the Kremlin Armory workshops whose work deserves special consideration at this point.

This craftsman is named in the 1687 inventory of the Kremlin Armory in the following entry:

Gun [*pishchal'*] rifled, rapid-firing, for five loads, made by Pervusha Issayev. From breech to molding, a serpent's head gilt and silvered, and on [the rest of] the

84. Støckel, I, p. 47, no. 93; II, p. 656, no. 3216 = 93.

85. J. F. Hayward, *The Art of the Gunmaker* (London, 1962–63) I, pp. 142ff.; 2nd ed. (London, 1965) I, pp. 153ff.; Hoff, *Feuerwaffen*, I, pp. 246ff.

86. Gusler and Lavin, p. 12; Sotheby's, *Renwick Catalogue*, pt. II, p. 28; Hayward, "Notes on the Cabinet d'armes," pp. 24ff., figs. 1, 2; Heer/Støckel, p. 132, no. 7135.

87. Gusler and Lavin, pp. 3–6; Hayward, pp. 239ff.

88. Gusler and Lavin, pp. 3–6.

89. Lenk, pl. 14:1–3; H. L. Blackmore, *Royal Sporting Guns at Windsor* (London, 1968) pl. 22.

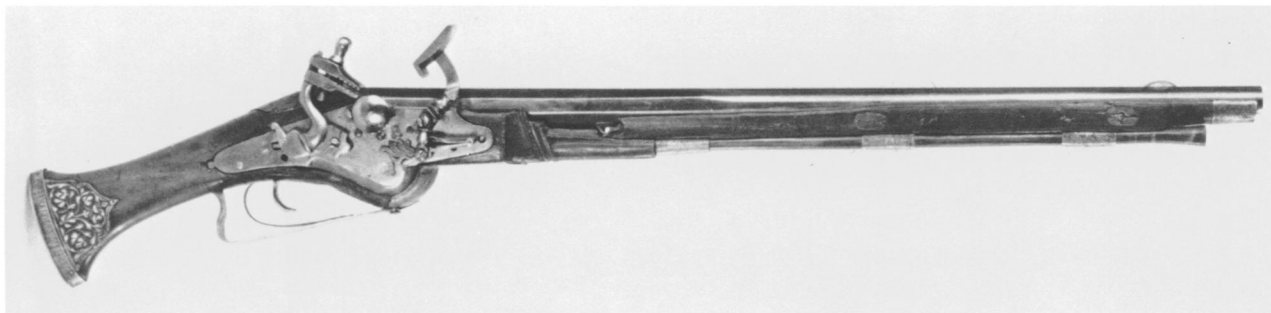
90. Gusler and Lavin, p. 5. In this writer's opinion, if the dating ca. 1635–41 of the portrait is correct, it proves only that the flintlock of the type fitted to the Windsor gun and depicted in the painting was in use by 1630 and during the next decade.

91. Hayward, p. 241.

92. J.-P. Reverseau, *Musée de l'Armée, Paris: Les Armes et la vie* (Paris, 1982) pp. 103ff.

93. This firearm was earlier discussed in L. Tarassuk, "Introduction de la platine à silex à la française dans les armes à feu russes," *Armi antiche* (1954) pp. 3–18, figs. 3–5. This pistol, but not the inside of its lock, was subsequently illustrated in Blackmore, *Guns and Rifles*, no. 573 (here erroneously captioned "Six-chambered gun by Isay Pervuskin. Russian, c. 1630"); L. Tarassuk, "Russian Pistols in the Seventeenth Century," *Burlington Magazine* 109, nos. 776, 777 (1967; repr. London: Arms & Armour Press, 1968) figs. 6, 7; Blair, p. 128, figs. 544, 545.

94. Previously illustrated in Tarassuk, "Russian Pistols" (1967) pp. 633ff.; Tarassuk, nos. 118, 119; Blair, p. 94, fig. 105. The engraved inscription on the pommel ring states that the pistol was made in the year 7130. The date is from the Russian church (Julian) calendar, the only one in use before 1700. In the Julian calendar, which dates from the Creation, the new year started in September. Thus, unless the day and month are known, conversion to the Gregorian calendar results in two possible consecutive years.



44. Snaphance pistol by Pervusha Issayev, Russian (Moscow), 1621/22. Leningrad, The Hermitage Museum, inv. Z.O. no. 5768 (photo: author)

45. Detail of snaphance rifle with revolving cylinder by Pervusha Issayev and Ivan Romanov (stock maker), Russian (Moscow), 1625. Moscow, Kremlin Armory, inv. no. 7595 (photo: after Blackmore, *Guns and Rifles of the World*, fig. 564)



barrel foliage chiseled in three places; the lock gilded; the stock of apple tree, with mother-of-pearl [and] copper scrolls. And at this revision of the year [7]195 and upon examination, this gun corresponded [to the item] in older inventories. And in the previous inventory [it was] described [under the number] eleven.⁹⁵

The firearm that exactly matches this description is a five-shot snaphance rifle with revolving cylinder in the Kremlin Armory (Figure 45).⁹⁶ It is no doubt this revolving firearm, an extreme rarity for this period in Russian arms production, that was recorded in the expenditures book of the so-called Silver and Gold Chamber:

On June 26, 7133 [1625]—six Hungarian ducats to Pervusha Issayev to gild the five-load gun [*pishchal*] . . . for whose stock the wood was given to Ivan Romanov to work on and was recorded in the notebooks on January 9. . . .⁹⁷

The gilding of this rifle-revolver was applied to the very large lock, cylinder, barrel, and trigger guard, which explains the quantity of gold used—four times larger than that usually issued to Pervusha Issayev for the gilding of an ordinary-size lock (1½ Hungarian ducats).⁹⁸

95. "Perepisnaya kniga . . ." [Inventory of the Armory and Other State Property . . .], MS 936 (1687), Central State Archives of Ancient Documents, Moscow, fol. 226v. Still unpublished, this is the oldest extant inventory of the Kremlin Armory. This and further quotations have been translated into English by the writer.

96. Blackmore, *Guns and Rifles*, no. 564 (here erroneously captioned "Gun with six-chambered cylinder by Isay Pervushkin").

97. "Raskhodnaya kniga" [Expenditures Book of the Silver and Golden Chamber], MS 1024, Central State Archives of Ancient Documents, Fund 396, fol. 220v.

98. Ibid., fols. 34, 68v, 69, 88v, 89, 106, 130v, 196v (six entries for 1623–25).

There are eleven known documents on Pervusha Issayev, dating from 1616 to 1625, and eight of them record him as a lock maker. The earliest reference, dated October 5, 1616, records the awards granted by Tsar Mikhail Romanov (1613–45) to four gun makers of the Armory workshops, probably for a firearm they made together for the monarch. This group includes a gunsmith, a lock maker, and two stock makers. The lock maker was Pervusha Issayev, whose position in the Armory, followed by his name, is twice spelled out in this document.⁹⁹ The last three documents bearing his name date from the first half of 1625, the last document being the quoted record of gold allocated for decoration of the five-shot gun. In two documents from the year 1623, Pervusha Issayev is titled, respectively, “gun shooter [and] lock maker” and “lock maker and shooter.”¹⁰⁰ Swan marks are found exclusively on locks of firearms made at the Armory, thus confirming this master’s main occupation. That he was also entrusted with testing the completed firearms seems a very reasonable arrangement, since it was their mechanisms that could require final adjustment by an expert lock maker. The documents record that this master also decorated locks (six entries), all metal parts of a gun (the entry previously quoted), and, probably occasionally, other objects made of iron or steel (two entries).¹⁰¹

Such is the background that permits us to consider the two swan-marked firearms in the Kremlin Armory (Figures 41 and 45) as closely associated weapons whose mechanisms were designed, made, and decorated by Pervusha Issayev. Both firearms have identical general construction and very similar patterns of decoration on the cylinders. They differ, in fact, only in the type of ignition mechanism. Outwardly, even the locks of these firearms are similar, with the same archaic form of lock plates with the semicircular lower edge that was taken from the

wheel lock and, technically, served no purpose in snaphances and flintlocks. Like the earliest French flintlocks, the lock of the revolver in Figure 41 has square screw heads, here used on both the cock and the battery. The battery works with an inside spring, an arrangement already used in some wheel locks from the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁰² The cock of the revolver looks more advanced in form than the cocks of early French flintlocks, but it is actually identical in all details (except for the heel, functional in snaphances) to the form of the cock of the rifle-revolver (Figure 45) made in 1625.

The very close technical and stylistic similarity of the two revolving weapons produced by Pervusha Issayev strongly suggests that the flintlock revolver was made around the same time as the snaphance rifle-revolver. To understand, produce, and try out a new ignition mechanism was probably a tempting professional challenge for a specialist lock maker whose work shows his interest in arms novelties and uncommon designs. In any event, such a mechanism was made by a Moscow gun maker active between 1616 and 1625, which demonstrates beyond doubt that the French flintlock had already been conceived by the 1620s and had reached Russia—directly, or via other European firearms—before 1625. *Ipso facto*, fowling piece no. 134 of the *cabinet d’armes*, now in the Metropolitan Museum, and a group of closely related French firearms with the flintlock of archaic form should be dated not later than the second decade of the seventeenth century.

As for the relationship between Louis XIII’s age and the size of gun no. 134 (it is 140 centimeters long), a question recently raised by Hayward,¹⁰³ it is worth noting that toward the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century the king, born in 1601, was grown up enough to wish for a normal-size fowling piece.

99. Yu. V. Arsenyev, *Oruzheinyi prikaz pri tsare Mikhaile Fiodoroviche* [The Armory’s Office Under Tsar Mikhail] (St. Petersburg, 1903) pp. 10ff., no. 6. In this document Pervusha Issayev is actually called *zamochnik* (“lock maker”) and *samopalnykh zamkov master* (“maker of the locks for self-shooting firearms”). In the 16th and 17th centuries the term *samopal* (“self shooter”) was applied only to firearms with spark-producing ignition mechanisms; firearms with a match holder were designated by

different terms (see Tarassuk, “Russian Pistols” [1967] pp. 634, 637).

100. “Raskhodnaya kniga,” fols. 68v, 69, 88v, 89.

101. *Ibid.*, fol. 17v (Sept. 6, 1622, on the gilding of buckle tongs), fol. 194v (Feb. 4, 1625, on the gilding of a saber).

102. Illustrated, e.g., by Hayward, *The Art of the Gunmaker* (1962) I, pls. 6b–d, 8a, 10a.

103. Hayward, pp. 241ff.

Number 94

A wheel-lock gun (Figures 46–48) with the number 94 incised on the stock in front of the trigger guard recently appeared in New York, where it could be examined. The provenance of this gun is unknown, at least to this writer, and cannot, therefore, help elucidate some questions posed by identification.

Under no. 94, the 1673 inventory states:

94. Une petite arquebuse de 2 pieds, le canon à huit pans tout uny; le roüet tout uny monté sur un bois de cormier tout uny; ladite arquebuse, avec son allonge, de 3 pieds 2 pouces.¹⁰⁴

The 1717 inventory is somewhat different:

94. Une arquebuse de deux pieds de long, qui s'allonge par le canon jusqu'à quatre pieds 4 pouces, le canon a huit pans uny, à roüet de même, montée sur un bois de cormier, enrichy d'ornemens d'yvoir et de nacre de perle, et sur la crosse sont deux têtes d'Empereurs.¹⁰⁵

In the 1775 inventory the description is the same, with minor differences in orthography:

94. Vne Arquebuse de deux pieds de long, qui s'allonge, par le Canon, Jusqu'à quatre pouces, Le Canon a huit pans unis, Le Rouet de même, monté sur un Bois de Cormier, enrichi d'ornemens d'yvoire, de nacredeperle; Et sur la Crosse, Sont deux têtes d'Empereur.¹⁰⁶

All three entries agree that no. 94 was a wheel-lock gun 2 *pieds* long, with a plain octagonal barrel provided with an extension. Like the barrel, the lock was plain (undecorated) and was mounted on a stock made of sorb wood.

There are two discrepancies between the earliest and the later descriptions. While it was first stated that the gun stock was plain, the later entries describe it as ornamented with ivory and mother-of-pearl and embellished on the butt with "two heads of emperors." The gun itself is thrice recorded as measuring 2 *pieds*, or 64.96 centimeters (25.57 inches), in length. Measured with the extension barrel, however,

it was found at first to be 3 *pieds* 9 *pouces*, or 121.81 centimeters (47.95 inches), and later to be 4 *pieds* 4 *pouces*, or 140.76 centimeters (55.41 inches)—that is, 18.95 centimeters (7.46 inches) longer. Clearly, the difference was related only to the length of the extension barrel.

As was noted earlier in this paper, the cataloguing of the firearms with detachable extensions caused particular trouble and errors which can be detected in all three inventories. In the case of no. 94 it looks as though the officials in charge of the inventory found that their predecessors had associated an incorrect extension barrel with the gun. The part was probably replaced by a similar but longer piece and a new description was written for no. 94. It is hard to say whether this substitution was correct, since the turn-off extension barrel is not now preserved with the gun.

There are also discrepancies between the inventory entries and the actual gun. The gun bearing the number 94 dates from around 1600. It is 80.3 centimeters (31.6 inches) long, which is 15.34 centimeters (6.03 inches) longer than the length recorded for no. 94 in all French documents. This difference corresponds to 5.66 *pouces*, a big mistake even for the cataloguers' liberal working style. The length of the barrel is 44.8 centimeters (17.63 inches), including a barrel-locking section 4 centimeters (1.57 inches) long with threads for the turn-off extension. The caliber is 12 millimeters (0.47 inch).

Except in length, the actual gun matches quite closely the description of no. 94 in the revised inventory of 1717, repeated in 1775. Its octagonal barrel, with a backsight, is marked on the breech with a crescent (or the letter *C*?). The wheel lock, which is of French construction, is only slightly chiseled and engraved, the end of the lock plate and the cock jaws representing monsters' heads, and the wheel guide a sphinx. The stock, carved of a fruit wood,¹⁰⁷ is decorated with inlaid and engraved mother-of-pearl and

104. Guiffrey, p. 54.

105. Grancsay 1970, p. 190.

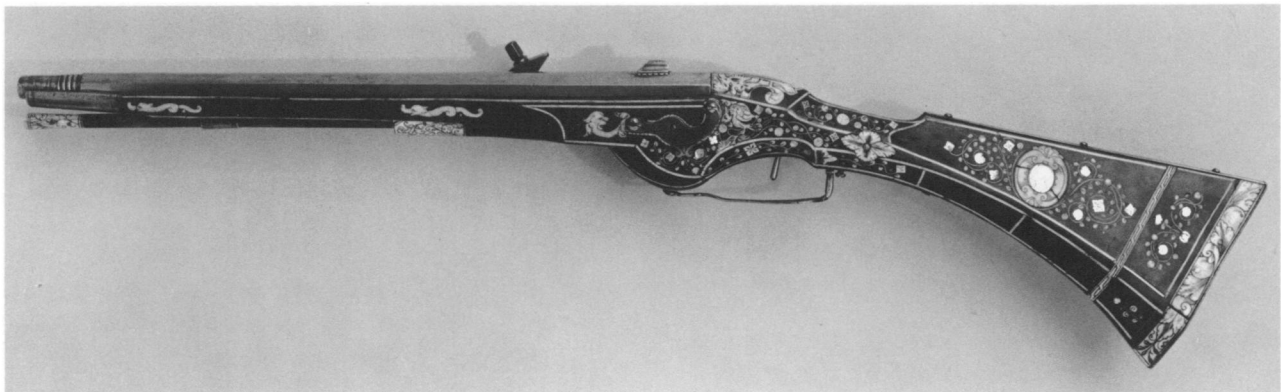
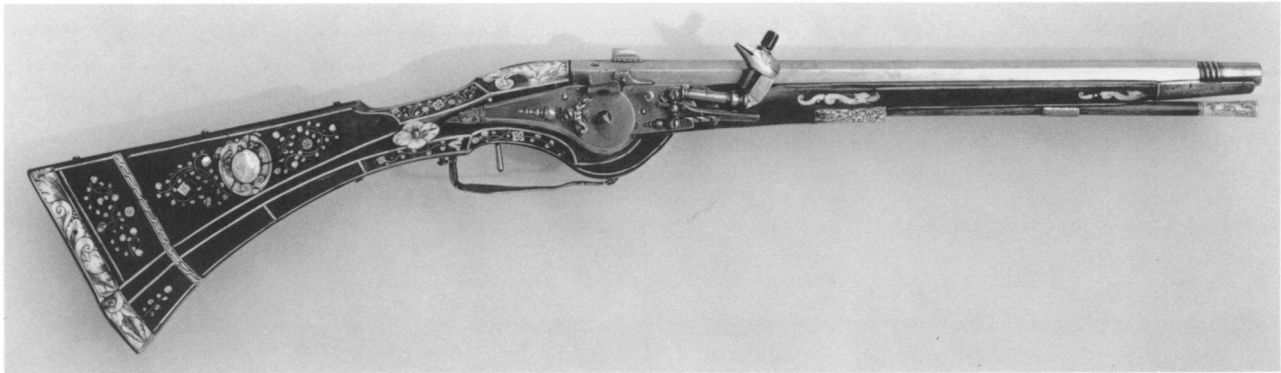
106. O¹ 3349, fol. 280; O¹ 3350, fol. 135v, gives the same description, with minor orthographic differences.

107. A small sample of wood from the stock of this gun was analyzed by the Center for Wood Anatomy Research, U.S. Forest Product Laboratory (Madison, Wis.). The sample was identified as "a hardwood, possibly one of the fruitwoods such as apple, pear, etc." in a letter from the Center, Aug. 2, 1983.

staghorn (not with ivory, as described in the 1717 and 1775 inventories). The ornament consists of grotesque animals, masks, and foliage with partly green-stained leaves. On each side of the butt is a cartouche of staghorn enclosing a mother-of-pearl medallion engraved with a male head in profile reminiscent of

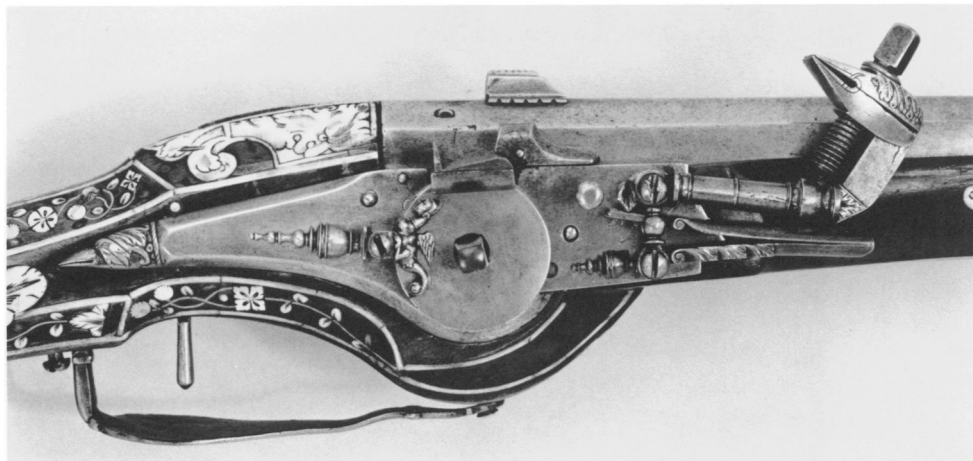
Roman portraiture. The rear ramrod pipe is made of staghorn; the other furniture—frontal ramrod pipe, fore-stock mount, trigger guard, lower stock strap, butt plate, and comb strap—is of steel. The pan-cover release-button, ramrod, and some inlays are modern restorations.

46–48. Wheel-lock gun bearing *cabinet d'armes* no. 94, designed with a barrel extension (now missing), French, ca. 1615–25. The Netherlands, Henk L. Visser Collection



47. Left side, no. 94

48. Lock, no. 94



Number 152

The flintlock fowling piece stamped with the number 152 and signed M. LE. BOVRGEOYS. A. LISIEVL. (Figure 49) is among the world's best-known firearms and has been described and illustrated many times. However, the descriptions of it in the inventories of the *cabinet d'armes* have never been juxtaposed, and this paper presents an appropriate place to do so.

The 1673 entry reads:

152. Un beau fuzil, de 4 pieds 3 pouces, le canon rond avec un petit pan doré en couleur d'eau sur le bout, et sur la cullasse de rinseaux; la platine couleur d'eau, gravée en blanc, ayant un rond doré uny sur le milieu, sur un bois de poirier qui forme un pied de biche dans la crosse, fait par Bourgeois à Lizieux.¹⁰⁸

In the 1717 inventory the entry runs as follows:

152. Un fuzil de quatre pieds quatre pouces de long, fait par BOURGEOIS à Lizieux, monté sur un bois de poirier, dont la crosse est en forme de pied de Biche, au haut de laquelle est une plaque de cuivre ciselée et gravé de rainceaux dorés, avec les armes de France et de Navarre; Le canon couleur d'Eau ayant sur le bout et la culasse, des rainceaux dorés.¹⁰⁹

Apart from some orthographic differences and punctuation, the 1775 description is the same:

152. Vn fusil de quatre pieds quatre pouces de Long, fait par Bourgeois à Lizieux, monté sur un bois de poirier, dont la Crosse est en forme de pied de Biche; au Haut de Laquelle est une plaque de Cuivre cizelée et gravée de rainceaux dorés, avec les armes de France et de Navarre; Le Canon couleur d'eau, ayant, sur le bout et la Culasse, des rainceaux dorés.¹¹⁰

Together, the entries give quite an accurate and detailed description of the gun, but they differ regarding its length. The earliest measurement converts to 138.04 centimeters (54.36 inches), the two later ones to 140.75 centimeters (55.42 inches), which is practically the same as the modern measurement of 141 centimeters (55.51 inches).¹¹¹

Fowling piece no. 152 is recorded at the auction sale of the arms collection of the duke of Istria, where it was bought on behalf of the Russian emperor Nicholas I for his Tsarskoselskii Arsenal. The sale catalogue shrewdly ascribed this gun to "the first period of the flintlock firearms" and stated that it had come from the arsenal of the prince of Condé at Chantilly; it was said to have belonged to Louis XIII.¹¹²

The château of Chantilly was abandoned by its owner, Louis-Joseph de Bourbon, prince of Condé, who fled abroad in July 1789 after the fall of the Bastille. Subsequently the castle, and especially its arsenal, was subject to pillages and confiscations until, in April 1793, the remnants of the collections were transferred to Paris and placed under state custody. By this time, according to archival documents, most of the Chantilly firearms that were or at least appeared to be usable had been removed from the castle.¹¹³

It is not known by what means the authors of the Istria sale catalogue learned about the provenance of gun no. 152, but their sources appear to have been very knowledgeable, since the reference they gave to the period and ownership of the gun has finally proved to be absolutely correct. In view of the close ties between the princes of Condé and the kings of France, both from the house of Bourbon, we can assume that this fowling piece was among the royal gifts that enriched the princely collections at the château of Chantilly. Presentation of the gift could have occurred after 1775, when the gun was still recorded in the royal inventory, but before the Revolution in 1789. Presumably removed from Chantilly before the state took control of the remaining property in 1793, this spectacular piece somehow found its way onto the antiquarian market and ended up, in 1839, in the Russian imperial arms collection.¹¹⁴

108. Guiffrey, pp. 61, 62.

109. Grancsay 1970, p. 193.

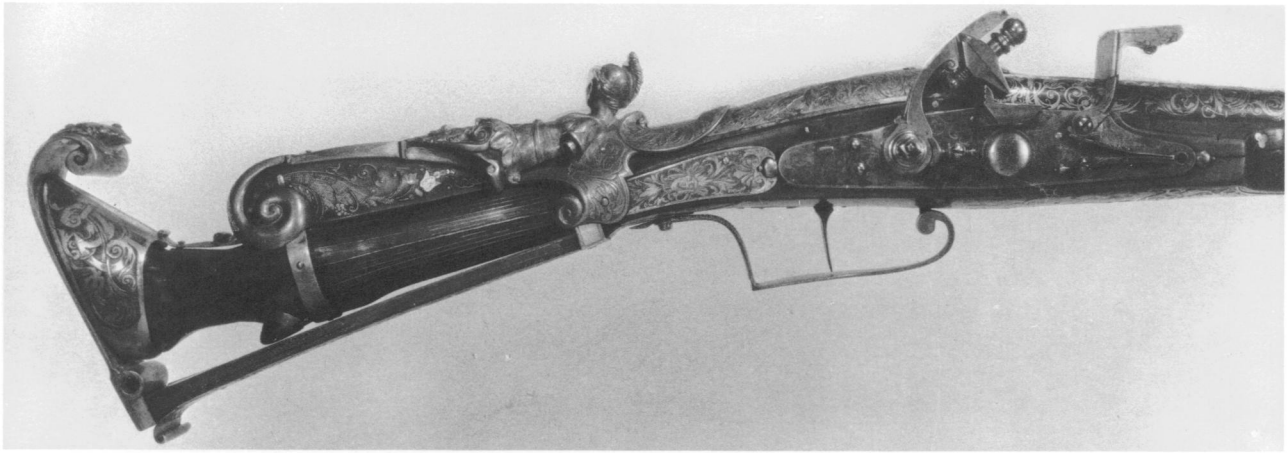
110. O¹ 3349, fol. 289; O¹ 3350, fol. 143v, contains the same description.

111. Tarassuk, p. 160, no. 58.

112. *Le Cabinet d'armes de M. le duc d'Istrie*, sale cat. (cited in note 68), p. 17, lot 126.

113. I am indebted to Stuart Pyhrr for permission to use his copies of the archival documents on this subject.

114. Fowling piece no. 152 was not, at any rate, seized by the Russians in Paris in 1814, as can be inferred from a recent excursus into the history of the *cabinet d'armes* (Hayward, pp.



49. Detail of flintlock fowling piece, *cabinet d'armes* no. 152, by Marin Le Bourgeois, French (Lisieux), ca. 1610–20. Leningrad, The Hermitage Museum, inv. Z.O. no. 94 (photo: author)

Whether or not Russian authors got independent information about the provenance of no. 152 or simply relied on the reference in the 1839 sale catalogue, they uniformly stated that this firearm had originated in Chantilly and belonged to Louis XIII. This statement is found in the first Russian publication of the gun; at that time the gun was in Tsarskoye Selo, near St. Petersburg, where it was kept for almost fifty years.¹¹⁵ The information was repeated in a guide published after the transfer of the imperial arms collection to the Hermitage in 1886; in the Hermitage the gun was given the inventory number F.281.¹¹⁶ Lenz, curator of that museum's arms collection, appears to have been more cautious: he attributes the ownership of this piece to Louis XIII "according to a tradition."¹¹⁷

It was Lenk who, in 1939, first advanced the theory that fowling piece no. 152 might have been made for and presented to Henry IV in 1605 by Marin Le Bourgeois,¹¹⁸ although in his earlier work Lenk assumed that the flintlock construction had been devised during the second or possibly the first decade of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁹ The period between 1600 and 1610 was generally considered to be a plausible time for the invention of the flintlock, until Hayward introduced the new reading of the mark stamped on fowling piece no. 134, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 36–40).

While the question of whether the flintlock was

manufactured in the early years of the seventeenth century remains open to further research, the second decade of the seventeenth century can be considered with confidence in this respect, due to the already noted fact that in the 1620s the lock of this construction was known and made in faraway Moscow by a lock maker who appears in records between 1616 and 1625. Consequently, French firearms with flintlocks of the earliest form—nos. 152 and 134, for example—are to be related to the period between 1610 and 1620, when at least two other extant guns were also made.¹²⁰

Lavin puts forward an objection to fowling piece no. 152 being dated earlier than the late 1620s. He argues that the helmeted classical figure of gilt bronze on the stock of no. 152, by Marin Le Bourgeois, and the figure decorating the stock of the gun

240ff.). It is interesting to note that a total of 1,903 francs was paid by the Russian government for this and several other items acquired at the Paris sale of Jan. 23–25, 1839 (Lenz, *Sobranie oruzhia*, p. 7).

115. F. Gille, *Musée de Tsarskoé-Sélo* (St. Petersburg/Karlsruhe, 1835–53) pt. 25, pl. CXLVII, no. 1; cf. idem, *Notice sur le Musée de Tsarskoé Sélo* (St. Petersburg, 1860) p. 48, no. 281 ("Fusil de chasse de Louis XIII").

116. N. Kondakov, *Imperatorskii Ermitazh, ukazatel' otdelenia Srednikh Vekov i Epokhi Vozrozhdenia* [Imperial Hermitage, Guide to the Department of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance] (St. Petersburg, 1891) p. 320, no. F.281.

117. Lenz, *Sobranie oruzhia*, p. 262, F.281; album, pl. xxix.

118. Lenk, pp. 33 passim, 161ff., 184, pls. 8, 10:1 (Lenk/Hayward, pp. 29 passim, 37).

119. Lenk, "De äldsta flintlåsen," p. 139.

120. Musée de l'Armée, M.543, M.529 (Reverseau, *Les Armes et la vie*, pp. 103ff., figs. 21, 23).

dated 1636, by François Duclos (no. 151 of the *cabinet d'armes*, Musée de l'Armée, M.410),¹²¹ were cast from the same mold. It seems unbelievable to Lavin that two high-quality guns made for the same person—Louis XIII—could be separated by a time gap of more than twenty-five years and yet still incorporate in their decoration almost identical figures.¹²²

The fact is that these two firearms do include the same very conspicuous decorative element, which for some reason was reused by the gun maker and the decorator who designed and produced gun no. 151 in 1636. These masters were, respectively, François Duclos, “arquebusier,” and Thomas Picquot, “peintre.” They shared the same lodgings in the Louvre galleries, which were granted to them on January 2, 1636 (there is an indication that Picquot still held his position as a court master well into the 1670s).¹²³ It seems highly probable that gun no. 151 was their first joint accomplishment in the royal quarters and thus had a special significance both for them and for the recipient of their work. Thomas Picquot, as a native of Lisieux and pupil of Marin Le Bourgeois, may have deliberately chosen to use the same decorative piece that had been created by his predecessor in the Louvre galleries, in this way paying tribute to his recently deceased teacher (Marin Le Bourgeois died in 1634). Perhaps Thomas Picquot even inherited from Marin Le Bourgeois some tools and materials, including the mold or a casting of the helmeted bronze figure. Also, Louis XIII was known to have great respect for his late veteran master, Marin Le Bourgeois, and a new gun made by this craftsman's successors may have been intended—and interpreted—as an expression of the continuity of Marin Le Bourgeois's art and workmanship.

In this writer's opinion, the reuse of the same ornamental figure seems more justifiable if it occurred not after a brief gap in time, as Lavin suggests, but some fifteen or more years after the decoration was first used by Marin Le Bourgeois in fowling piece no. 152.

Marin Le Bourgeois's personal role in arms making has been discussed recently by Lavin and by Hayward,¹²⁴ with the former expressing the opinion that this master participated in the making of firearms probably only as a decorator. The nature of Marin Le Bourgeois's participation in arms making is elucidated to a considerable degree by contemporary testimonies,¹²⁵ which depict him as a master of many

arts, including pyrography, sculpture, and painting in various media and genres. The most extensive of these testimonies are found in the book *Eléments de l'artillerie* by David Rivault de Fleurance (1571–1616). The first edition of this work refers to the air gun designed by Marin Le Bourgeois, and the second describes it. In the preface to the first edition, published in 1605, the author says that the typesetting of his book was being completed when he learned of a newly invented, powerful air gun. It was made of wood and was loaded by means of a syringe. The author was also informed that this weapon was destined to be presented to the king.¹²⁶

The second edition of this book, published in 1608, announces in its title that it has been augmented by “an invention, description, and demonstration of the new artillery, which is loaded only with air or pure water and has, nevertheless, an unbelievable force.”¹²⁷ The contents of this edition that concern Marin Le Bourgeois's invention of the pump-up air gun—the first of its kind—have been analyzed by Dr. Arne Hoff.¹²⁸ It will, therefore, be sufficient to sum up here just the information that pertains to the master's life and work.

121. Lenk, pl. 17:1; Reverseau, *Les Armes et la vie*, pp. 106ff., fig. 24.

122. Gusler and Lavin, p. 6. In speaking of more than a twenty-five-year gap, Lavin was probably referring to the dating of gun no. 152 as sometime between 1605 and 1610, as proposed by Lenk.

123. *Nouvelles Archives de l'art français* (Paris, 1873) pp. 65, 66, nos. 12, 13. The brevet calls Thomas Picquot “peintre, ayant charge du globe ou sphère de S. M.” and takes into account “l'expérience qu'il a acquise en ouvrages de cette nature.” In his quatrains describing Paris of the 1670s, Michel de Marolles lists some artists and craftsmen in the Louvre galleries, where “Picot faiseur de sphere y fait le monde entier” (M. de Marolles, *Paris, ou la description . . . de cette grande ville*, 1677, quoted in *Archives de l'art français* [Paris, 1851–52] I, pp. 198–200). There can be little doubt that “Picot” is a simplified form of “Picquot,” the spellings having no phonetic difference in French.

124. Gusler and Lavin, pp. 3ff.; Hayward, pp. 241ff.

125. “Liste des documents concernant Marin Bourgeois,” annexed to Huard 1913, pp. 5–37; Huard 1926, pp. 174–182.

126. “. . . une harquebuze faite de bois qui avoit une faussée incroyable pour n'estre chargée que de vent avec une ciringue comme un ballon. Elle estoit destinée pour être présenté au roy” (Huard 1913, pp. 11, 33).

127. Translated from the title listed by M. J. D. Cockle, *A Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and of Contemporary Foreign Works* (London, 1900) p. 174, no. 676.

128. A. Hoff, *Airguns and Other Pneumatic Arms* (London, 1972) pp. 18–22, fig. 21; cf. Huard 1913, pp. 9–13.

In 1605 Rivault de Fleurance had to travel abroad, just after rumors of the invention of the air gun had reached him. Upon his return to France he found out the name and location of the inventor and visited him in Lisieux. The master, however, refused to disclose the construction of the air gun because of “the king’s express forbiddance to communicate this invention.”¹²⁹ At a later time, after having written to the master, Rivault de Fleurance met him again, this time in Paris, where the author finally obtained from the inventor a model and a drawing of the air gun, as well as explanations of its functioning. Marin Le Bourgeois withheld, however, vital information about the construction of the valves, which would have been necessary to copy the gun.¹³⁰ The air-gun diagram and explanations were thus included in the 1608 edition of Rivault de Fleurance’s book.

In his narrative, the author notes that the opportunity to meet the inventor presented itself when, after his return to France, he happened to be in Lisieux; this occurred “in the previous year.” Even if we assume that he wrote this in 1608, the date of publication of the second edition, and not somewhat earlier, this visit must have taken place in 1607 at the latest (and possibly as early as 1606). It is known, meanwhile, that in 1605, when rumors about an air gun being made for the king reached the author, Marin Le Bourgeois, “harquebuzier” to the king, “made a voyage from Lisieux to Paris by order of His Majesty for matters important to his [the king’s] service, as well as for bringing him [the king] an arquebus, a hunting horn, and a crossbow, all of his making.”¹³¹

According to Rivault de Fleurance, Marin Le Bourgeois told him at their Paris meeting that the king and his secretary of state had witnessed several tests of the air gun, which flung its specially designed missiles (*les garrots*) at very high speed.¹³²

If we compare the dates and events cited, it is tempting to suppose that it was not fowling piece no. 152 (as has been suggested by Lenk) but the newly made air gun that Marin Le Bourgeois brought, along with two other objects, to Henry IV in 1605. Impressed with the gun trials—and, perhaps, with the weapon’s potential military applications—the king ordered the master to keep the construction secret, which resulted in Rivault de Fleurance’s failure to obtain information about it during his Lisieux visit. This royal order could still have been in force later, when the inventor, who may have been flat-

tered to see his name in print, did not disclose to the author the design of valves essential for the gun’s operation.

It also seems that during his stay in Paris in 1605 Marin Le Bourgeois impressed the king with another idea, namely, to use compressed water as the propelling force in cannon. That he was working on this project we know in some detail from Rivault de Fleurance,¹³³ and it is worth noting, in this context, that following the master’s trip to Paris in March 1605, Henry IV issued him with an authorization, dated September 4, 1605, to use water from a fountain in the town of Lisieux “for accommodation of the works that he performs for the king’s service.”¹³⁴

In the 1608 edition of Rivault’s book, the section devoted to Marin Le Bourgeois reads as a veritable eulogy. Besides an account of his skills in the visual arts and his successful work on pneumatic and hydraulic guns, the master is praised as “a man of the rarest judgment in inventions of all kinds, who has the most ingenious imagination and the most subtle hand in using a tool of whatever kind extant in today’s Europe; and his great and fine genius is accompanied by such good fortune in his designs that he has never tried some device that he considered possible without being eminently met by success at the first attempt. . . . He is an excellent painter, rare sculptor, musician, and astronomer, [and he] handles iron and copper more delicately than any known

129. Translated from a quotation in Huard 1913, p. 12.

130. Hoff, *Airguns*, pp. 20–21.

131. Translated from the original text in Huard 1926, p. 179 (document dated Mar. 9, 1605). It should be noted that the translation of the passage “le tout de sa façon” as “all of his own invention” (Gusler and Lavin, p. 4) has been justly objected to (Hayward, pp. 243, 251). “Façon”—derived from the Latin *factio* (act of making), *facere* (to make)—preserved its original meaning well into the period under consideration. This can be best illustrated by a document of Nov. 24, 1639, which records gifts presented to the confraternity of St. Cecilia at Lisieux Cathedral by Antoinette Le Bourgeois, Marin’s daughter, a painter. Among the gifts was “un grand tableau qui représente l’image de madite Dame s^{te} Cécille, de la façon dudit feu son père”; another gift was a painting “de l’image de la Vierge, de la façon d’elle [the donor]” (Huard 1913, pp. 20–21, 36–37). In the 1605 document, this expression does not preclude, of course, the idea that Marin Le Bourgeois could have invented some of the items he brought to the king, but it definitely meant to say that these objects were made by him.

132. Huard 1913, p. 12.

133. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

134. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 34; Huard 1926, p. 176, n. 3.

craftsman. The king has a table made by him of polished steel, on which His Majesty is faithfully portrayed . . . only by means of fire. . . . He [the king] has from him a globe representing movements of the sun, moon, and fixed stars in the same speed, measures, and periods as they are seen moving in the sky. He [the king] has from him other excellent things. For himself, he invented a musical instrument, by which he transposes all tunes and songs into tablatures known to him only and then plays them on the viola. . . . I will never finish listing all that has been marvelously accomplished by this worthy master, as well as what he would dare to undertake and would be well able to perfect."¹³⁵

The question may be asked as to what extent this panegyric, written by the master's apparent admirer, reflects reality. Fortunately, there is documented evidence that can help verify at least some of the writer's statements.

The subject of the air gun designed and made by Marin Le Bourgeois is so thoroughly treated in the book itself that this account looks trustworthy enough. It is further known that in 1598 the master made an analemma, an instrument with a graduated scale showing the declination of the sun and the daily equation of time for various geographical locations. He presented the instrument to Martin Ruzé, sieur de Beaulieu, secretary of state and the king's influential adviser, along with a manuscript of instructions for its use, dated January 1, 1599.¹³⁶ The already quoted document on the master's trip to Paris in 1605 plainly states that Marin Le Bourgeois, "harquebuzier" to the king, made a gun, a horn, and a crossbow, which he personally delivered to Henry IV. The royal decree of December 22, 1608, granting selected masters privileges and lodging in the Louvre galleries, calls the craftsman "our painter and *valet de chambre* and artificer in moving globes, sculptor, and [master of] other mechanical inventions."¹³⁷ At a later time, when such a globe (made, according to Rivault de Fleurance, by the master for the king) had developed some mechanical problems, it was the Lisieux inventor who was summoned to Paris and reimbursed, on January 12, 1611, "for having come . . . to repair the globe of the Louvre's Gallery, in which there were several broken parts, as well as for various pieces of work he would deliver to the late king. . . ."¹³⁸ Thus, the known official documents confirm Marin Le Bourgeois's qualifications as a me-

chanic, inventor, and gun maker, qualifications ascribed to him by the admiring Rivault de Fleurance.

It could be expected that a person with such versatile vocational interests would be well acquainted with the practical use and functioning of the weapons he dealt with professionally. There is even an indirect testimony to this effect, a royal permit issued to Marin Le Bourgeois on May 4, 1605, to shoot various birds with the arquebus and the crossbow (in order to procure models for a painting ordered by the king).¹³⁹

In view of the leading role of the French gun makers—particularly the Le Bourgeois of Lisieux—in the early development of the so-called true flintlock, and on the basis of all the available documentation, it can only be reasserted that Marin Le Bourgeois was the most likely master to have designed the flintlock mechanism.

Advancing his theory that the flintlock made its appearance in France no earlier than the third decade of the seventeenth century,¹⁴⁰ Lavin sees evidence for this in the poem written by the gun maker François Poumerol which was presented, along with a gun made by him, to Louis XIII in 1631.¹⁴¹ In his verses Poumerol compares two flintlock constructions, calling the "fuzils à l'antique" the mechanisms with the sliding pan cover (i.e., snapshance) and the

135. Translated from the original text quoted in Huard 1913, p. 10.

136. Huard 1926, p. 178.

137. "... nostre peintre et vallet de chambre et ouvrier en globes mouvans, sculpteur, et aultres inventions mécaniques" (A. Berty and H. Legrand, *Topographie historique du vieux Paris, région du Louvre et des Tuileries* [Paris, 1868] II, p. 101). I thought it necessary to quote from the original, integral publication of this important document, since there are minor differences of wording in quotations from and references to it by modern writers.

138. Translated from the original text quoted in Huard 1913, pp. 34–35, no. XIII.

139. "... le roy . . . ayant commandé au sr Le Bourgeois, l'un de ses peintres et Vallets de Chambre, de luy faire . . . ung tableau au naturel de toutes sortes d'oyseaux, Sa Majesté a pour cest effect permis et permet au dit sieur Le Bourgeois de tirer avec l'harquebuz et arbaleste à toutes espèces d'oyseaux" (B. Fillon, "Marin Le Bourgeois, peintre du roi," *Nouvelles Archives de l'art français* [1876] pp. 144–145).

140. Gusler and Lavin, p. 6.

141. This poem, "Quatrains au roy," is discussed and partly reprinted in Lenk/Hayward, pp. 28–29, from which quotations in the present article have been taken.

“fuzils nouveaux” those with the pan cover raised by the striking cock; the older design was preferred by the poet and gun maker, at least for civilian firearms.¹⁴² Poumerol began his career in gun making around 1590, dealing for some forty years of his professional life with wheel locks and snaphances. It thus seems more correct not to take his “fuzils nouveaux” too literally—as a construction that had just appeared—but rather to interpret this as a lock design of more recent introduction than the familiar and widely used “fuzils à l’antique,” the snaphance.

During the initial phase of its development, the flintlock was mostly applied to firearms custom-made for connoisseurs and mighty patrons such as Louis XIII (as was also the case with early wheel-lock firearms). Were the flintlock introduced into France only in the 1620s, one would expect its military application at a much later date, after experiments with and improvements in the new mechanism in civilian firearms had established confidence in its reliability. We find, however, an indication that the flintlock had already been fitted to some pistols in military use before 1631. On this subject, Poumerol himself voices criticism: “Speaking of pistols, I must say that I am astonished that in these unsettled times the use of flintlocks in pistols is sometimes seen, for as long as there is war I cannot bring myself to make flintlocks other than for the collector’s cabinet. . . . When peace is firmly established, flintlocks are convenient and durable for hunting on level, rugged terrain, but in the service of Mars their function is somewhat doubtful.”¹⁴³

The development of firearms soon proved that Poumerol’s skepticism about the use of the flintlock

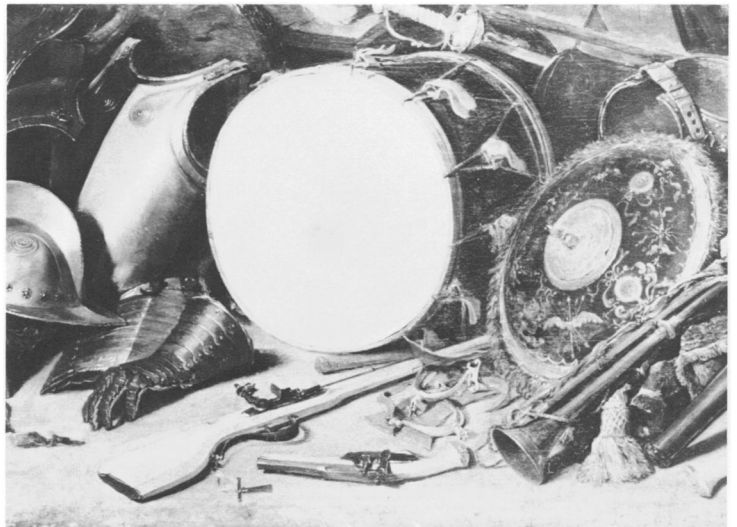
142. Respective descriptions read: “Les fuzils à l’antique, estant de bonne force, / Le bassinet s’ouvrant à temps et par ressort, / Semblent estre meilleurs . . . / . . . le bassinet est libre au coup de feu, / Et que ce coup bas n’hausse, ains pousse l’avant-piece.” As for “ces fuzils nouveaux,” two defects are peculiar to them: “Le feu s’y fait trop haut au dessus de la poudre, / Et s’escarte en tombant autour du bassinet. / En outre ce deffaut, un autre est au couvercle / Qui ne s’ouvre en haussant qu’après le coup du chien. . . .”

143. “Parlant des pistolets, je dirai nettement / Que je suis estonné qu’en ce temps plein d’alarmes / L’usage des fuzils s’y voit aucunement. / Car, tant que la guerre est, je ne puis me resoudre, / A faire des fuzils que pour le cabinet. / . . . au temps d’une paix asseuré, / Pour la chasse, en tous lieux unis rabeux, / Les fuzils sont aisez et de longue durée; / Mais au besoin de Mars ils sont un peu douteux.”



50. David Teniers the Younger (1610–90), *The Guard Room*, 1642. Leningrad, The Hermitage Museum, inv. G.E. no. 583 (photo: author)

51. Detail of Figure 50



52. Detail of Figure 50



in military pistols and guns was not shared by all professionals concerned, and there is evidence that a favorable view of the flintlock must indeed have been fairly widespread among Poumerol's contemporaries. A painting entitled *The Guard Room*, dated 1642 (Figures 50–52), by the Flemish artist David Teniers the Younger (1610–90),¹⁴⁴ depicts, among other weapons, a gun and a pistol with flintlocks whose basic forms correspond to flintlocks on deluxe civilian firearms datable to the 1630s and 1640s.¹⁴⁵ In this instance, however, both flintlock firearms have plain, undecorated stocks, barrels, and locks, their overall, purely utilitarian finish being in no way different from that of ordinary wheel-lock holster pistols of military type seen nearby (Figures 51, 52).¹⁴⁶ The painting thus documents the fact that by the early 1640s flintlock firearms had already been introduced into military panoply in the Spanish Netherlands, France's neighbor, and it is only logical to assume that the flintlock's native land did not lag behind but in all probability led the way in this development.

Number 230

The origin of the wheel-lock pistol bearing the *cabinet d'armes* number 230 (Figures 53–68) was established only in 1965, when the firearm was studied for a special exhibition to be held at the Hermitage for the 1966 Congress of the International Association of Museums of Arms and Military History. Before and after this event, the pistol was displayed in the French section of the museum's permanent arms exhibition, opened in 1952.¹⁴⁷

The pistol is so densely decorated all over that its first cataloguers wisely chose to engrave the inventory number on the lower leaf of the cock V-spring, the only exposed undecorated surface (Figure 64).

The 1673 description of this piece reads:

230. Un autre pistolet a roüet, de 27 pouces, le canon doré tout couvert d'ornemens gravez en taille d'espargne sur lequel est escrit en lettres gotiques: *Domine Dominus noster quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra*, et d'autres ornemens de relief; le roüet de mesme, monté sur un bois enrichy d'ornemens d'ivoire.¹⁴⁸

The 1717 entry is slightly different and more detailed:

230. Un pistolet de vingt huit pouces de long, monté sur un bois enrichy d'ornemens d'ivoire, le pommeau est de cuivre doré cisélé, Le canon aussy doré, cisélé sur la culasse d'une figure de Mars, et sur le reste de rainceaux, fleurs et oyseaux, avec inscription en Lettres gottiques *DOMINE DOMINUS NOSTER, QUAM ADMIRABILE EST NOMEN TUUM IN UNIVERSA TERRAR*, la platine a roüet cisélé.¹⁴⁹

Although the 1775 inventory entries appear to copy those in the preceding document, in this particular entry the clerk deviated from the norm, omitting “en Lettres gottiques *DOMINE*” and trying to reproduce, with moderate success, the Gothic characters:

230. Vn pistolet de Vingt huit pouces de long, monté sur un Bois enrichi d'ornemens d'ivoire; Le pommeau est de Cuivre dorée cizelé; Le Canon aussi cizelé, sur la Culasse, d'une figure de Mars, et sur le reste de rainceaux, fleurs et oiseaux avec Inscription, *Dominus noster quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa Terra*; La platine a rouet cizelé.¹⁵⁰

While all the documents provide a correct description of the pistol, the two later records give its length in an astonishingly precise way: 28 *pouces* converts to 75.79 centimeters (29.84 inches), while the modern measurement is 75.7 centimeters (29.8 inches). The length of the barrel is 57.6 centimeters (22.67 inches); the caliber is 9 millimeters (0.35 inch). All entries quote the inscription, which actually appears on the barrel as: *DOMINE DOMINUS NOSTER Q[UAM] A[D]MIRABILE E[S]T NOM[EN] TU[UM] IN UNI[VER]SA TERRA* (Figure 58). The cataloguers seem not to have

144. Hermitage Museum, inv. G.E. no. 583.

145. E.g., Lenk/Hayward, pls. 20:1,2; 21:6; 22:1.

146. Analyzing an almost identical but undated painting by the same artist, S. V. Grancsay interpreted all four firearms in the foreground as ivory-stocked pieces (“Arms and Armor in Paintings by David Teniers the Younger,” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 9 [1946] p. 26). Another important detail to be noted in this picture is an *agujeta* lock on the musket hung on the wall racks in the background.

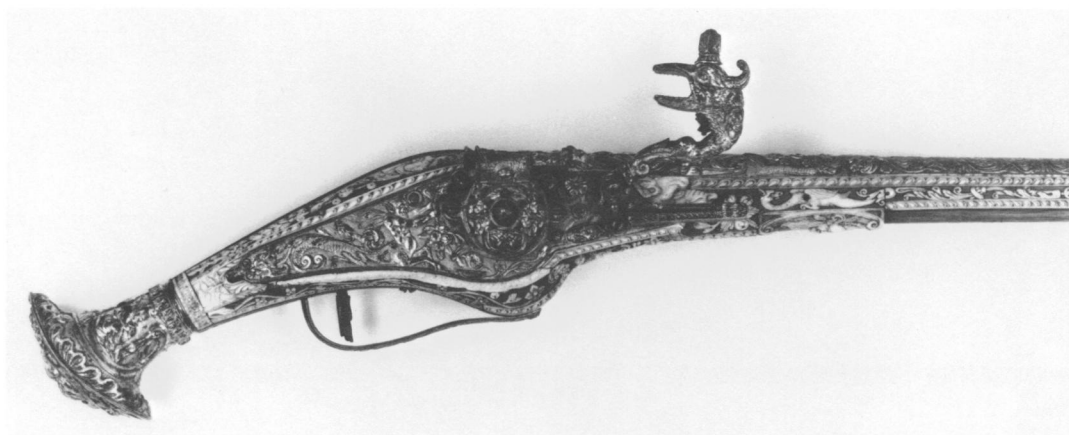
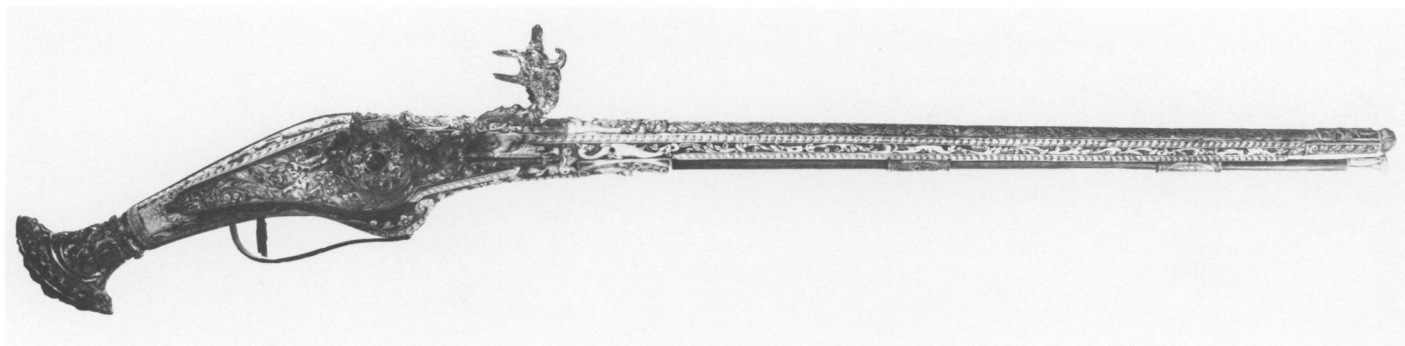
147. M. N. Larchenko, *Zapadnoevropeiskoye oruzhie XV–XVIII vekov* [The Hermitage Museum, Western European Arms and Armor of the 15th–18th Centuries] (Leningrad, 1963) p. 49, fig. 38. This piece was later briefly described by Blair, p. 90, fig. 56, and Tarassuk, p. 159, nos. 47–49.

148. Guiffrey, p. 72.

149. Grancsay 1970, p. 197.

150. O¹ 3349, fol. 300v. In O¹ 3350, fol. 154, this entry is exactly the same as in the 1717 inventory, save for differences in punctuation and orthography; “tuum” is mistakenly spelled “tuom,” while “terror” is corrected to “terra.”

53–68. Wheel-lock pistol, *cabinet d'armes* no. 230, Lorraine(?), last quarter of 16th century. Leningrad, The Hermitage Museum, inv. Z.O. no. 6304 (photos: author)



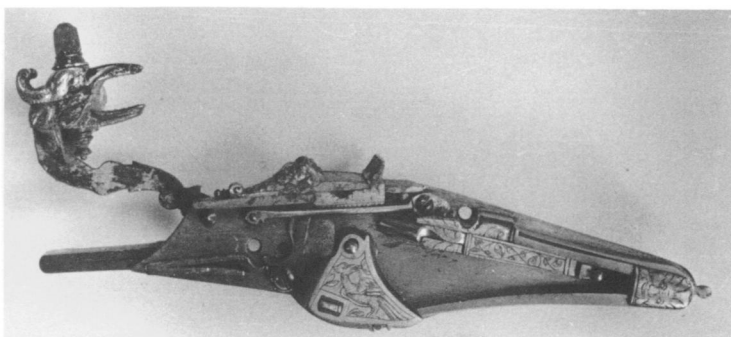
54. Detail, no. 230



55. Detail of left side, no. 230



56. Detail of lock, grip, and pommel, no. 230



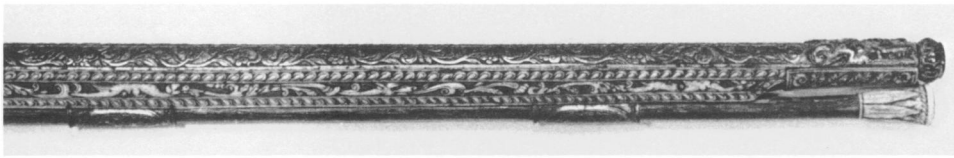
57. Inside of lock, no. 230



58. Inscription on barrel, no. 230 (plaster cast from a latex mold)



59. Fore end, no. 230



60. Frontal part, no. 230



61. Top view of breech section, no. 230



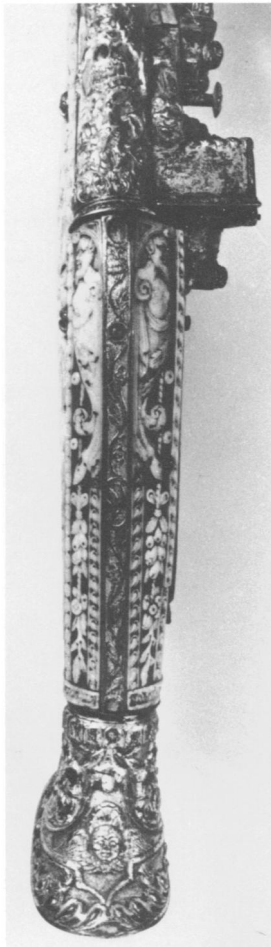
62. Rear part of stock and barrel, no. 230

64. Detail of underside, no. 230, showing N° 230 on cock spring



63. Chiseler's mark (enlarged) on breech, no. 230





65. Top view of grip, no. 230

66. Left side of pommel, no. 230



67. Top view of pommel, no. 230



68. Pommel cap, no. 230

been bothered by the abbreviations in it, certainly because they easily recognized the verse from Psalm 8 (Vulgate, Ps. 8:1, also 13).

The provenance of pistol no. 230 can be traced only to the 1850s and 1860s, when it appeared in at least three public sales. A detailed description of it, including the full (and correct) quotation of the Bible verse on the barrel, is found in the sale catalogue of the E. Laborie collection offered in Paris in 1867. The catalogue calls this firearm a “Magnifique pistolet à rouet du temps de Henri II” and states that this remarkable piece, already well known to amateurs, came from the Humann and the Norzy collections.¹⁵¹ The latter, sold in 1860, included indeed a “Très beau pistolet à rouet du temps de Henri II” whose description corresponds to no. 230, with a reference to Humann as its previous owner.¹⁵² The sale of the Humann collection occurred in 1858 and included eighty-five arms.¹⁵³

The Laborie auction did not, in fact, take place, because the whole collection was sold privately to a Russian nobleman, Vassilii L'vovich Naryshkin.¹⁵⁴ That same year he resold, also in Paris, part of his acquisition, including some (mostly Oriental) weapons and armor.¹⁵⁵ In 1869 Naryshkin presented several pieces from his art collection to Emperor Alexander II of Russia, and in 1870 the imperial Tsarskoselskii Arsenal acquired a number of other objects from this collector. When the major part of the Arsenal was moved to the Imperial Hermitage in 1886, this pistol almost certainly was not among the items transferred, since it is not mentioned in any of the guides to the arms exhibition opened at the Hermitage in 1888. This large display was later reorganized, but the comprehensive 1908 catalogue by Lenz, which includes over a dozen pieces from the Naryshkin collection, likewise does not list pistol no. 230. It is not likely that this pistol, by far the best and most spectacular of its kind the Hermitage has ever had, would have been overlooked had it been in the museum's collection.

The piece first appeared in the inventory begun at the museum in the 1930s. At that time new inventory numbers were assigned to the whole collection, both to the objects already kept there at the time of the 1917 revolutions and to the items received thereafter. The latter group included more than six thousand arms from the State Museum Fund, a temporary custodian of art objects from private collections

confiscated by virtue of a 1918 edict that proclaimed the Soviet state sole owner of historic relics and works of art.¹⁵⁶ This seems the most likely source from which pistol no. 230 came to the Hermitage, and the piece can be assumed to have remained the property of the Naryshkins or another family until the time when private collections were expropriated.

It may be appropriate now to describe the pistol in more detail than could be done in publications devoted to a broad range of firearms.¹⁵⁷ All the exposed steel surfaces of the barrel, lock, and mounts are chiseled and gilded. The barrel muzzle (Figure 59) has a bulbous molding with ovoli and a monstrous dog's head. The psalm verse in Gothic letters (Figure 58) is bordered by running floral scrolls inhabited, near the breech, by two owls. On the breech section (Figure 61), a molding with foliage is followed by a figure of Mars standing among trophies and holding a falchion, and then by a term supporting a grotesque female within a strapwork cartouche and a foliate canopy with a lion's head on each side.

On the lock plate (Figures 54, 56), chiseled in relief, is a fabulous creature with a winged centaur's torso, a faun's head, and a dragon's tail ending in a monster's head; in the remaining space are sculptured a snail and a bird among foliage. On the wheel cover are a grotesque mask, a cherub's head, and two symmetrically seated human figures; above, on the pan fence, is an angel's head. The cock is shaped like a monster's head supported by a mermaid. On the pan-cover release button is chiseled a

151. *Catalogue des objets d'art . . . composant la précieuse collection de M. E. Laborie*, sale cat., Hôtel Drouot (Paris, Feb. 11–15, 1867) lot 1.

152. *Catalogue des objets d'art . . . composant la précieuse collection de M. . . .* [M. de Norzy], sale cat., Hôtel Drouot (Paris, Mar. 12–17, 1860) lot 275.

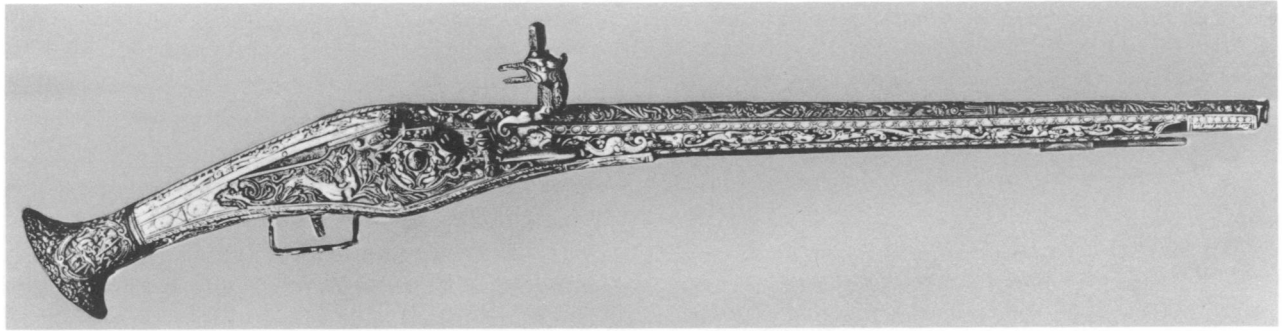
153. F. Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques: II. 1826–1860* (The Hague, 1956) no. 23977. I could not find a copy of the Humann sale catalogue to verify that reference or to trace the earlier provenance of the lot in question.

154. F. H. Cripps-Day, “A Record of Armour Sales, Supplemental List,” typescript in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1963) p. A.26. The buyer, called here “Prince Narishkin,” belonged, in fact, to untitled nobility.

155. *Objets d'art et de curiosité . . . provenant en partie de la collection de M. E. Laborie et appartenant à M. Narishkin*, sale cat., Me V. Pillet, C. Mannheim (Paris, May 20–21, 1867) pp. 22ff., lots 100–136.

156. *Musée de l'Ermitage* (Leningrad, 1925) pp. 33, 34.

157. Blair, p. 90, fig. 56; Tarassuk, p. 159, figs. 47–49.



69. Wheel-lock pistol, Lorraine(?), last quarter of 16th century. Formerly Paris, Spitzer Collection (photo: after *La Collection Spitzer*, VI, no. 344, pl. LIV)

five-petal flower. The cock-spring edges are incised with a palmette and leaves, the spring tail being shaped like a dog's head. Interior parts of the lock (Figure 57) are engraved with a grotesque mustached face, foliage, and a dragon. The trigger takes the form of an elongated dog's head.

The central decoration on the top of the pommel (Figures 54–56, 66–68) is a cherub's head in a cartouche surmounted by a canopy. On the sides are two grotesque human figures within large scrolls formed by lateral offshoots of the cartouche. The borders are chiseled with acanthus leaves and a loop pattern. On the convex pommel cap (Figure 68) is a horned lion's mask in a strapwork cartouche.

The trigger guard and the lower and upper grip straps (the latter formed by an extended breech-plug tang) are chiseled with delicate running foliage (Figures 64, 65).

The stock, inlaid with carved ivory figures and ornaments standing out in relief, is of exceptional quality. The sides of the fore stock (Figures 54, 55) are bordered by strips of petals with space between them filled by running scrolls and monstrous animals. In front of the lock are a large monster's head, a flower, and a chimera (Figure 62). The lock recess and grip (Figures 54, 56) are contoured by petal strips of the same pattern (small parts of which were broken off and replaced). On the opposite side (Figure 55) the composition comprises grotesque masks, birds, and animals around a central figure of a trumpeting angel on a chariot pulled by centaurlike monsters. On the underside of the stock (Figure 64) are running floral stems and a vase with flowers. The ramrod half

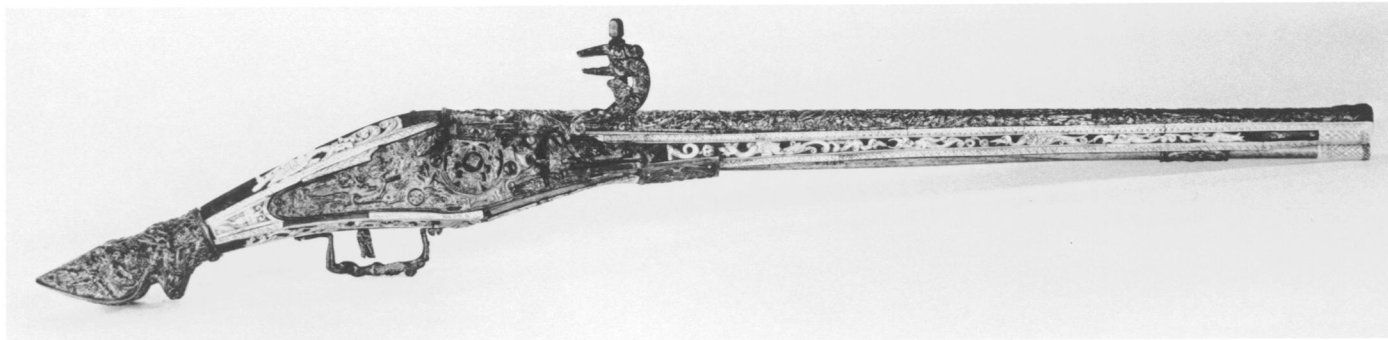
pipe of ivory is carved with a veiled woman's head within a scrolled cartouche. The grip, divided by the breech tang, is symmetrically inlaid with two faun terms and garlands of fruits and flowers (Figure 65).

Examination of the pistol revealed minuscule marks stamped with cutting tools on the blade of the falchion held by Mars (Figure 63). The marks were obviously struck by the artist when he was chiseling the barrel, most likely before the gilding. The purely decorative value of these tiny signs is negligible and it is unclear whether they were intended as the master's marks, as an astrological (or astronomical) symbol related to Mars, or as an imitation of swordsmiths' marks placed (as on real sword blades) on the forte. If these marks represent an astrological symbol, they could be interpreted as the sign of the sun ☉ surmounted by a cross, or as an incorrectly rendered symbol of Venus ♀ or of Earth ♂. In the latter case, the marking might even be seen as an imitation of the *Reichsapfel* mark on some sixteenth-century German blades.

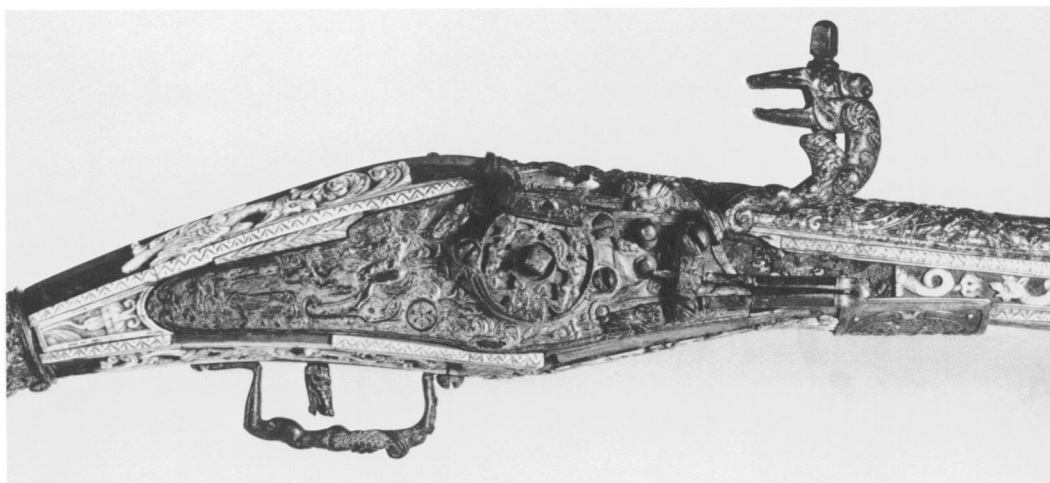
Several other firearms are related to the Hermitage pistol. The closest similar example is the wheel-lock pistol that was formerly in the Spitzer collection (Figure 69).¹⁵⁸ Its general form, the shape of most of its parts, and its length—76 centimeters (29.9 inches)—are the same as those of pistol no. 230. The decoration on corresponding parts was executed in the same style and with the same technique and materials in both pieces. The similarity between them is not so complete, however, as to make them a pair:

158. [E. Müntz, J.-B. Giraud, E. Molinier], *La Collection Spitzer VI* (Paris, 1892) p. 76, no. 344, pl. LIV; *La Collection Spitzer: Armes et armures*, sale cat., Galerie Georges Petit (Paris, June 10–14, 1895) p. 72, lot 349. It was sold for 5,100 francs, according to F. H. Cripps-Day, *A Record of Armour Sales 1881–1924* (London, 1925) p. 96. Its present whereabouts are unknown to this writer.

70–76. Wheel-lock pistol, Lorraine(?), last quarter of 16th century. Berlin, Museum für Deutsche Geschichte, W 1148 (photos: Museum für Deutsche Geschichte, R. Boemke)

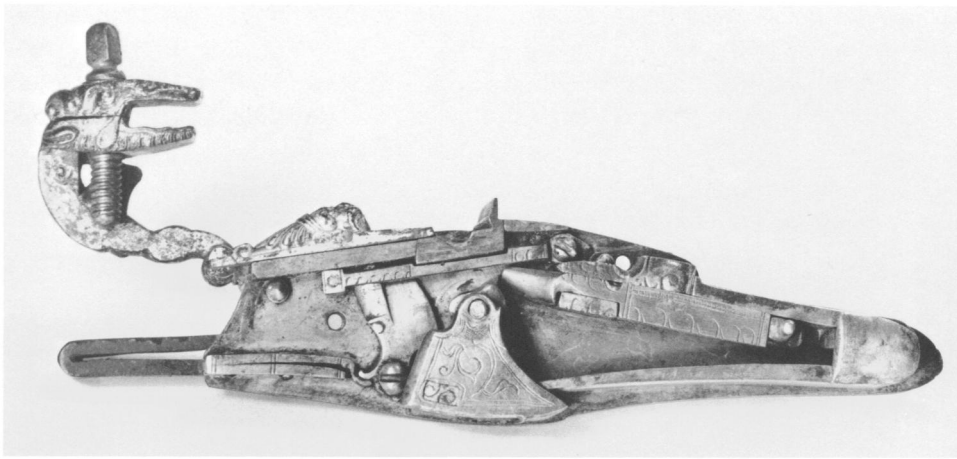


71. Lock section



72. Detail of left side of stock





73. Inside of lock

74. Top view of
barrel (frontal
section)



75. Top view of
breach section



76. Top view of pommel



there are visible differences in details of ornament and in the contour of the stocks (that of no. 230 protruding downward much beyond the space necessary for its lock and more befitting a wheel-lock mechanism of French construction). As for the workmanship, there is little doubt that the metal parts and stocks of both pistols were decorated in the same workshops, with ornamental motifs derived from common sources.

The wheel-lock pistol in the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte, Berlin (Figures 70–76),¹⁵⁹ seems to have originated in the workshops of the same steel chiseler and stock maker responsible for the decoration of the two pistols just described. The stylistic and technical affinity of all three pieces is best observed in chiseled and gilt barrels, locks, and mounts displaying, amid foliage, grotesque creatures, masks, animals, and classical figures. The last occur more often on the Berlin pistol. Its barrel shows female figures symbolizing the five senses and labeled accordingly in Latin: TACTVS, GVSTVS, OLFACIVS, AVDITVS, VISVS. On the lock plate (Figure 71) are Amor and Venus in a chariot pulled by birds; these two deities are shown also on the fore-stock tip. The hoof-shaped pommel (Figure 76) displays two Roman personifications marked PAX and BELLUM and some other classical subjects among ornamental motifs.

The locks of no. 230 and the Berlin pistol (Figures 57, 73) show close similarity in design, various details, and ornamentation on the inside, which betrays the hand of the same lock maker.

On the Berlin pistol, decoration of the stock with carved bone inlays is somewhat different in technical execution from the ivory decoration on the other two pistols, but stylistically all three stocks show the same workmanship and treatment of ornamental patterns.

The chiseled and gilt barrel and lock of the wheel-lock pistol-carbine in the Tower of London (Figures 77–84)¹⁶⁰ were also apparently decorated in the workshop that produced the steel parts of the three pieces just described. Moreover, interior details and finish of the lock of the Tower pistol-carbine (Figure 82) point to the same lock maker who worked on the aforementioned pieces, or at least on two of them (Figures 57, 73), the lock interior of the Spitzer pistol being impossible to examine.

The stock of the Tower pistol-carbine is quite different in style and workmanship from the stocks of

the three other pistols. It is inlaid with engraved mother-of-pearl and staghorn, displaying foliage with green-stained leaves, human figures, grotesque masks, animals, and fabulous creatures. A unique feature of the stock decoration is four glass-covered miniature painted medallions, which are very likely optional ornaments incorporated at the special request of the customer or owner of the firearm. This is borne out by the German inscription VER GIS MEIN NIT (forget me not) on two of these medallions, probably reflecting the status of the object as a presentation piece. Another unusual feature in the decoration of the stock is six inset silver disks stamped in relief with grotesque faces and masks. Though uncommon, this kind of embellishment is also found on the wheel-lock petronel in the Musée de l'Armée (Figures 85, 86),¹⁶¹ whose stock is inset with forty-two very similar silver disks with masks and lions' heads. Besides these miniature medallions, both stocks have other affinities in the style and workmanship of the inlaid decoration, and this has led Hayward to suggest that the two stocks may have been produced in the same workshop.¹⁶²

While the Paris petronel is thus linked to the group of pistols with steel parts chiseled and gilt all over, its own lock and barrel are completely different in form and decorative finish. The barrel and lock plate of the petronel have an even surface finely crosshatched, gilt, and engraved with foliage, fauns, and fabulous animals. Unlike other locks in this group, which in shape somewhat resemble French wheel locks but are, in fact, of German type in construction and dimensions, the petronel lock is purely French in all respects.

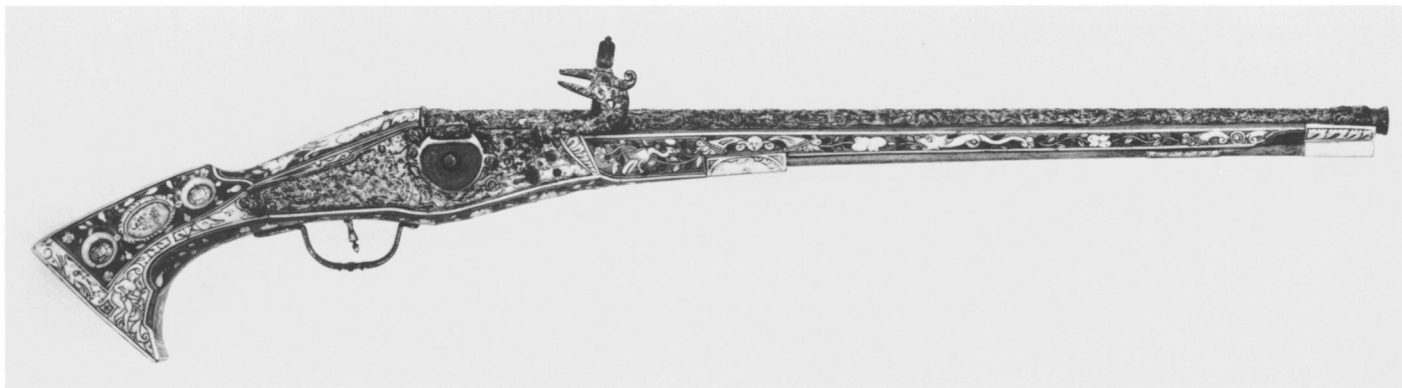
159. The pistol W 1148 was recently illustrated in color by H. Müller, *Guns, Pistols, Revolvers* (New York, 1980) pp. 66, 67, figs. 43, 44.

160. Pistol-carbine XII-1764 is described by A. V. B. Norman and G. M. Wilson, *Treasures from the Tower of London: An Exhibition of Arms and Armour* (London, 1982) pp. 74, 75, no. 61, pl. xvii. It is also discussed by Hayward, *The Art of the Gunmaker* (1962) I, pp. 100, 101, pl. 25b.

161. The cock seen in Figures 85 and 86 is an 18th-century German lock part used as a replacement of the original cock, which was still present in the 1920s (Gén. E. Mariaux, *Le Musée de l'Armée: Armes et armures anciennes et souvenirs historiques* [Paris, 1927] II, pl. xxxix).

162. Hayward, *The Art of the Gunmaker* (1962) I, pp. 100ff.

77–84. Wheel-lock pistol-carbine, Lorraine(?), 1581.
 London, The Royal Armouries, H.M. Tower of
 London, XII-1764 (photos: Ministry of Public
 Building and Works, crown copyright reserved)



78. Left side

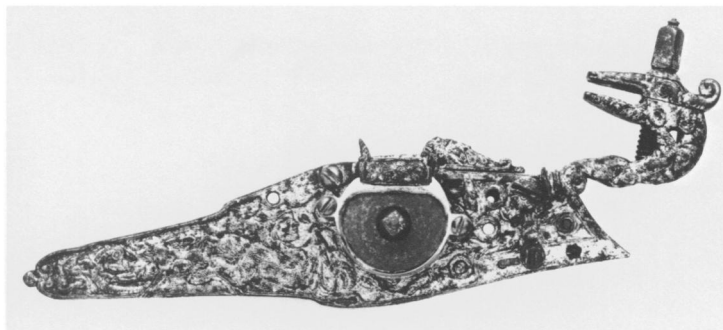


79. Rear part

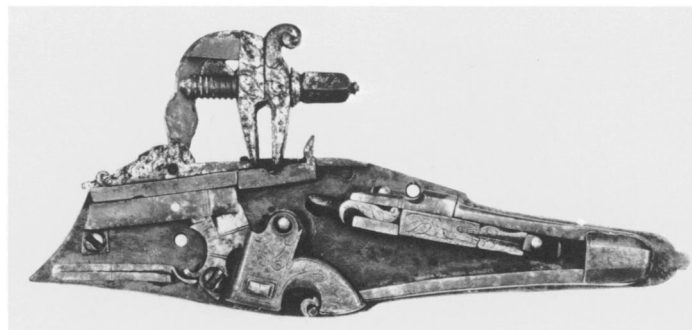
80. Detail of left side



81. Lock



82. Inside of lock



83. Top view of barrel

84. Detail of barrel

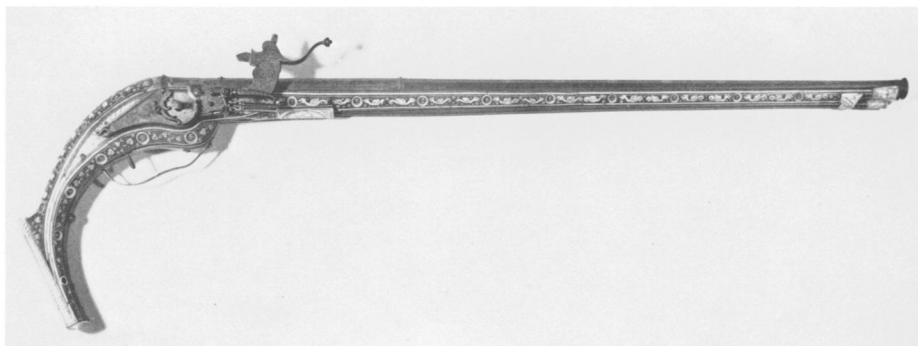


83

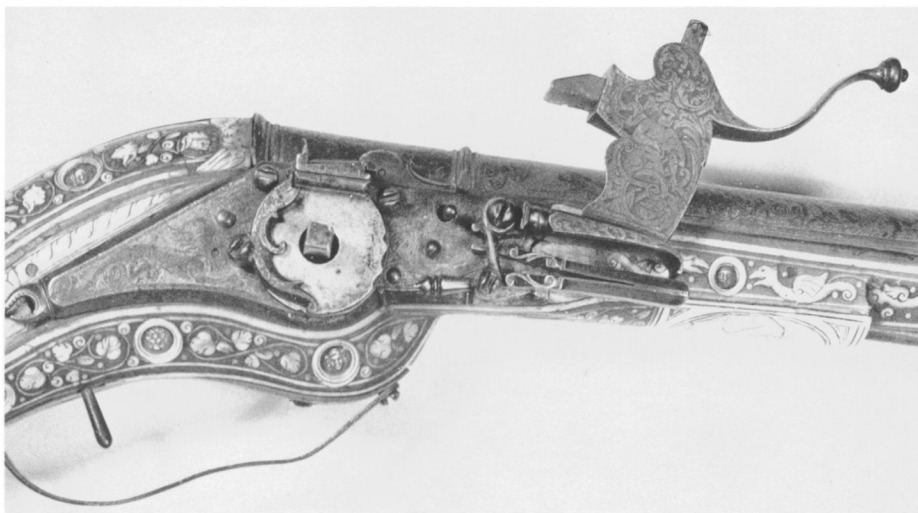


84

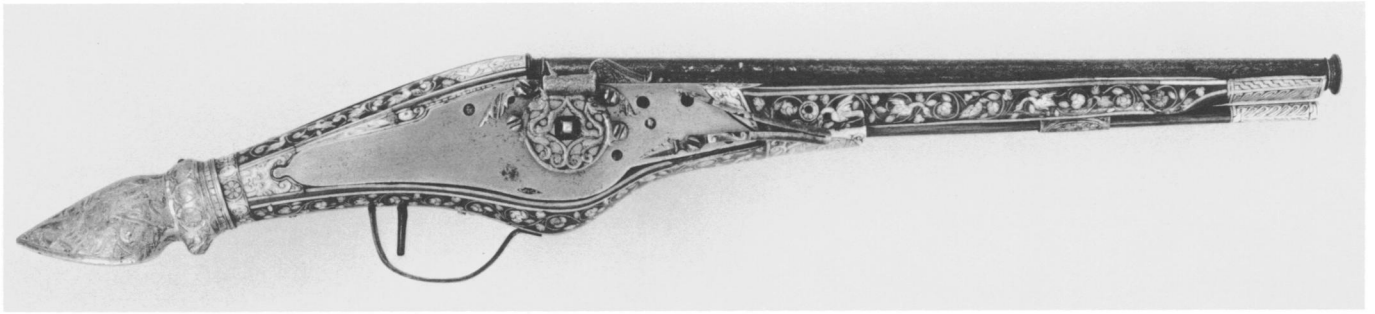
85, 86. Wheel-lock petronel, Eastern France or Lorraine(?), last quarter of 16th century. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, M. 98-876 (photos: Musée de l'Armée)



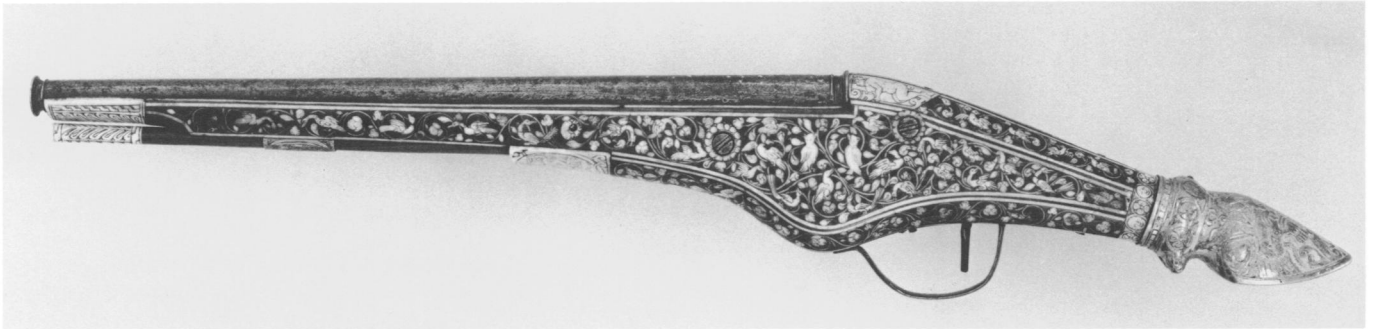
86. Lock



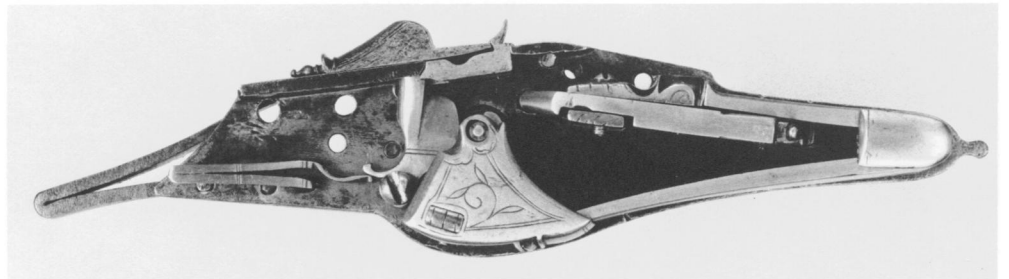
87-92. Wheel-lock pistol, Lorraine(?), last quarter of 16th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.143¹



88. Left side



89. Top view of breech section



90. Inside of lock

91. Top view of pommel



92. Underside of pommel



There is still another firearm that seems to be related to the same group. It is a wheel-lock pistol in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 87–92).¹⁶³ Transversal multiridge moldings on both ends of its barrel are of the same type seen on the Paris petronel, and a further similarity can be observed in the decoration of the barrel, which preserves traces of incised and damascened ornament on fine crosshatching. The lower grip strap and the long tang forming the upper grip strap are decorated in this technique, too. On the breech is an oval gold-overlaid mark with the initials *I G* over a running animal (a deer or a dog). The lock form, interior design, and finish (Fig-

163. The barrel and lock are damaged by corrosion. The lock, pan-cover retaining spring, and button release are missing. The overall length is 55.2 cm. (21.75 in.); the caliber is 10 mm. (0.39 in.). On the trigger guard is incised the numeral 4. The wheel cover, formerly gilt, is chiseled with two addorsed dragons.

ure 90) are similar to those of other pieces in this group, except for the French-type wheel lock of the Paris petronel. The stock form, with a curved bulge under the lock, is also common to all firearms in this group. The stock itself is densely inlaid with engraved bone displaying foliage with green-stained leaves inhabited by owls, ducks, and doves. Stock-mount plaques are engraved with masks, gadroons, nude figures in cartouches, and Amor and Venus. Although different in graphic pattern, the stock decoration is similar in manner and in treatment of some subjects to the decoration on the Tower pistol-carbine (Figures 77–80). Finally, there is a resemblance in the conception of the hoof-shaped pommels of the Berlin pistol (Figures 70, 76) and the one at the Metropolitan Museum, despite differences in ornament and execution. The pommel of the New York pistol (Figures 91, 92) is made of cast, chiseled, and gilt bronze; the ornament stands out in low relief against a granulated background and consists mostly of Roman armor, banners, falchions, and a close-helmet.

To sum up the interconnections within this group: the metal parts of four pistols (no. 230, ex-Spitzer, Berlin, London) seem to have originated in the same workshop; the stocks of three of these pistols were probably also decorated in one workshop; the stock of the fourth pistol (London) appears to have been made in another workshop that also produced the stock of the French petronel (Paris). It is probable that the barrel of the French petronel was made by a master from the circle responsible for the barrel of the New York pistol, this barrel marked by the gunsmith *I G*. The lock and stock of the New York pistol show certain affinities with the other pistols in the group.

The obvious inference to be drawn from the presence in this group of the French wheel-lock petronel—that all the firearms are of French origin or at least French-inspired—is enhanced by some specific features in common. The pistols have long barrels of very small calibers ranging from 9 to 11 millimeters (about 0.35 to 0.42 inch), which is fairly typical of French pistols. The barrel tang is extended to the pommel to reinforce the grip, which for the same purpose is also provided with a matching strap on the underside. In French wheel-lock firearms, this pair of straps strengthened the grip hollowed out to house the mainspring attached to the lock plate. The

shape of the pistol stocks, which closely follows the lock-plate contour, in two instances (Figures 53, 87) noticeably deviates from this practice by forming a larger projection under the lock. While in French wheel-lock firearms such a semicircular bulge accommodated the mainspring lower branch, in these two pistols it did not serve any practical purpose but simply reflected the French fashion.

Ornamental designs used in decoration of the firearms in this group are of little help in attempts to locate the workshops that produced these pieces. The style and subjects of their decoration were largely inspired by, or derived from, ornamental compositions by Netherlandish and French masters, particularly Cornelis II and Jacob Floris, Cornelis Bos, Jacques Androuet (Ducerceau), Etienne Delaune, and Adrian Collaert. In vogue from the mid-sixteenth century, such ornamental patterns were applied to the decoration of metal and wood in France, Germany, the Low Countries, and Italy. Italy, however, does not seem to be of importance in determining the origin of the firearms in question, since they clearly reflect strong German and French influence. This circumstance points to the region west of the Rhine, comprising the southern Netherlands, adjoining German districts, and Lorraine, as the area most likely to have produced firearms combining the group's technical and stylistic features. The Latin verse in Gothic letters on pistol no. 230 and the German inscriptions on the Tower pistol-carbine are understandable in the context of this cultural region. Pistols in the group probably represent an early stage in the development of the form that likewise merged the French stock and the German lock design, becoming widely popular in the seventeenth century in the Netherlands and the Rhineland, as well as in southern Germany and Switzerland.

Among several specialist craftsmen involved in production of these firearms, the most proficient appear to be the artists responsible for chiseled metal decoration and for the three stocks with carved inlays. While more precise data to determine the location of these workshops are not yet available, a clue may be perceived in certain affinities between the firearms discussed and the well-known wheel-lock gun, dated 1621, whose lock and barrel were decorated by Jean Henequin in Metz (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich).¹⁶⁴ This gun, too, has a lock and stock strongly reminiscent of the French style, but its

lock mechanism is actually of German construction, as is the case with all the pistols in this group. A resemblance to other guns in the group can also be seen in the bold artistic treatment of the barrel and lock, which are partly chiseled in relief and gilt. Certainly, ornamental sources and the style of the gun's decoration are different, but this may be accounted for by the fact that the six firearms previously described were made some twenty to forty years earlier than the Henequin gun and were decorated by different artists belonging to the same cultural circle.

Number 100

Though apparently lacking a royal inventory marking (like some other items from Louis XIII's collection), another firearm in the Hermitage Museum (Figures 93, 94) appears to have come from the *cabinet d'armes*. It corresponds to no. 100, which is described in the 1673 inventory thus:

100. Un autre pistolet en fuzil qui s'allonge par le canon en manière de baston de canne, tout uny, long de 3 pieds 9 pouces.¹⁶⁵

Additional information is found in the 1717 inventory:

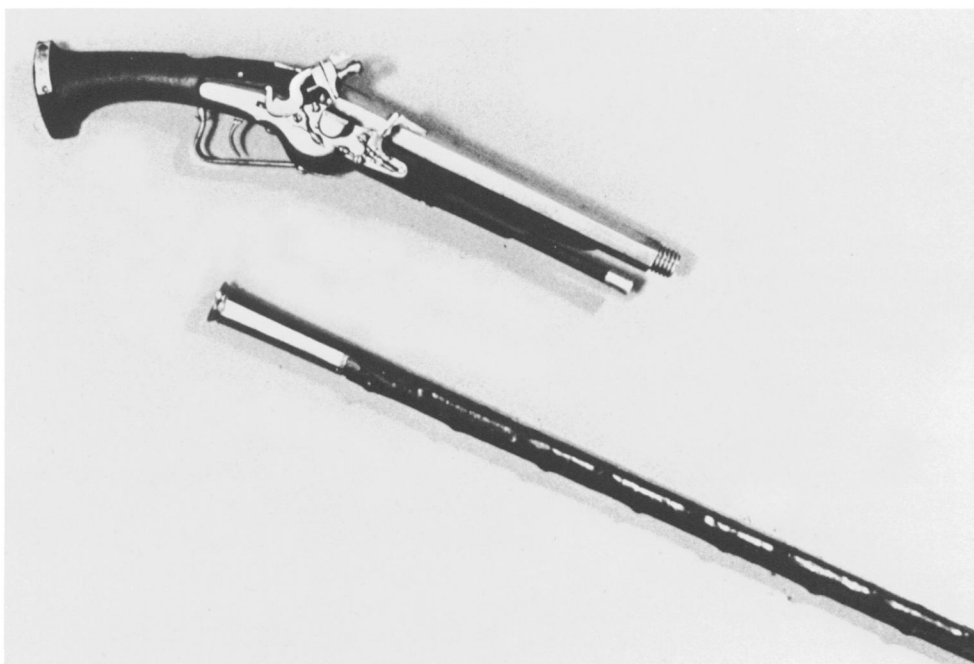
100. Un pistolet en fusil qui s'allonge par le canon a vis, manière de baton de canne uny, long de trois pieds neuf pouces, monté sur un bois de noyer.¹⁶⁶

At the time the 1775 entry for this item was to be written, or rather copied, a part of this firearm was

164. E. Schalkhauser, "Die Handfeuerwaffen des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* (1967) pt. 1, pp. 15ff., no. 20, figs. 61–63. This gun is also discussed by Hayward, *The Art of the Gunmaker* (1962) I, pp. 104, 254 passim, pls. 53b, 36a, 36b; idem, "The Wheel-lock by Jean Henequin in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* (1977) pt. 2, pp. 151–156. So little is known about this master that it may be of some use to point out the Flemish origin of the name Henequin. It is a matter of conjecture as to whether he was a recent migrant from the Low Countries who might have been working in the manner of his native artistic circle. There were several Flemish artists of that name working in France (U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* [Leipzig, 1907–50] s.v. "Hennequin; Henequin").

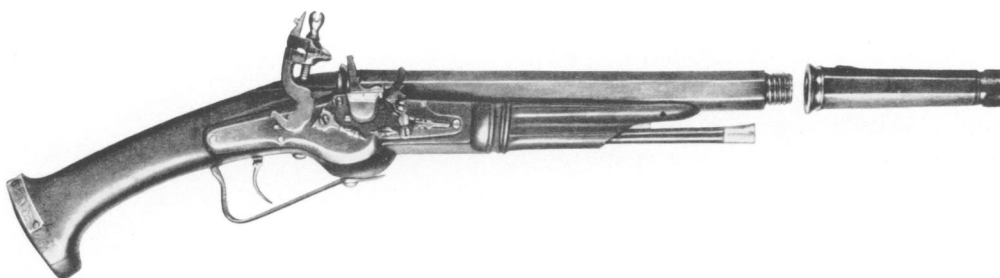
165. Guiffrey, p. 55.

166. Grancsay 1970, p. 190.



93. Snaphance pistol with extension barrel, *cabinet d'armes* no. 100, Netherlandish, ca. 1630–40. Leningrad, The Hermitage Museum, inv. Z.O. nos. 7063/7710 (photo: author)

94. *Cabinet d'armes* no. 100, pistol with rear part of extension barrel (photo: after Tarassuk, no. 527)



probably misplaced or, at least, not present, which resulted in the following record:

100. Vn pistolet enfusil qui s'allonge par Le Canon a visse, maniere de baton de canne uni; Long de trois pieds neuf pouces, monté sur un bois de Noyer.

Nota, manque le Canon.¹⁶⁷

However, while inventory-making was still in progress the barrel was found and united with the pistol, since another copy of this inventory registers no loss.¹⁶⁸

All the entries put together thus describe a walnut-stocked pistol with a kind of flintlock, provided with an attachable screw-on or turn-off extension barrel that looks like a walking stick. The recorded overall length of the assembled piece converts to 121.8 centimeters (47.96 inches). Among ten firearms with extension parts registered in the inventories (nos. 92–101), this was the only item termed “en fusil,” the

167. O' 3349, fol. 281.

168. O' 3350, fol. 136v, gives the same description but has no note on the missing barrel.

others being described as wheel locks (it has been shown earlier in this paper that the references in 1717 and 1775 to no. 99 as “en fusil,” a pistol, were mistaken).

There is, in fact, only one difference between the descriptions in the inventories and the Hermitage firearm, namely that the stock of the extant pistol is carved of ebony and not of walnut (“bois de noyer,” first mentioned in the 1717 entry). The length of the firearm with its extension barrel screwed on is 121.3 centimeters (47.75 inches),¹⁶⁹ which is a difference of only 0.5 centimeter (0.21 inch) from the old measurements.

This piece had been part of the Count Sheremetev collection of arms and armor, which in 1930 was transferred to the Hermitage. When information about the gun was first published, the pistol stock was still intact, its fore end reaching up to the threaded locking section of the barrel.¹⁷⁰ During numerous relocations of the arms collection in the 1930s, the fore stock was broken off and the extension barrel altogether lost.¹⁷¹ In 1969, the stock was partly, and poorly, repaired, and the turn-off barrel found and catalogued under a separate number (inv. Z.O. no. 7710).

The barrel of the pistol is octagonal, with a ridged molding at the breech end. Its caliber is 11.7 millimeters (0.46 inch). On the left side of the elegantly shaped stock is a belt hook. The pommel is decorated with a silver band (now partly broken off), engraved with running foliage. In the center of the pommel bottom is inserted a threaded flange, probably for the attachment of a light shoulder butt that also might have served as a handle when screwed to the walking stick, that is, the extension barrel of the pistol. This barrel is covered with dark brown leather and has the appearance of a knotty cane; the muzzle molding and 8-centimeter-long rear section are octagonal and are left uncovered.

The lock has an L-shaped steel pan cover with an unusually long curved spur and pivot lug that cause the steel to rise high when struck by the flint, as in more usual types of snaphance. Contrary to Dr. Hoff's suggestion,¹⁷² this part is not a replacement of an earlier, separate steel and sliding pan cover, since there are no traces of such construction or of any re-making of the lock. To work with the L-shaped steel, the cock is provided with two positions secured by a horizontal two-nose sear that engages the cock heel

for the full-cock stop and catches a notch in the tumbler to keep the lock primed and half cocked (Figure 94).¹⁷³ These modifications of the snaphance design and form certainly reflect the influence of the flintlock of French construction.

The pistol barrel is stamped with the gun maker's mark: *WP* under a crown, within an angular shield.¹⁷⁴ The same mark was found on the barrel of a pistol combined with a war hammer in the Hermitage Museum.¹⁷⁵ The lock of this latter weapon looks outwardly like a French flintlock of the 1630s, resembling, for instance, the locks shown in Thomas Picquot's engravings.¹⁷⁶ However, the tumbler and sear construction of the lock, if compared with the lock of no. 100, actually represents a further modification of the snaphance, since both noses of the horizontal sear act directly on the corresponding lugs of the tumbler to secure half- and full-cock positions.¹⁷⁷

The *WP* mark occurs again on the barrels of a pair of cock-spanned wheel-lock pistols also in the Hermitage.¹⁷⁸ One of these barrels is also stamped with the initials *A G* in a rectangle, probably the barrel smith's mark. It is noteworthy that the ebony stocks of this pair are so close in form and carved finish to the stock of no. 100 that all three stocks must have been made by the same workshop in the 1630s, probably slightly before the pistol with war hammer mentioned earlier.

169. In a previous publication (Tarassuk, p. 211, no. 527) the length of the pistol and that of the extension barrel were given separately (37.3 cm. and 85.4 cm.). If added, these would give an overall length of 122.7 cm., of which 1.4 cm. is taken up by the threaded section of the pistol barrel screwed into the extension.

170. E. von Lenz, *Die Waffensammlung des Grafen S. D. Scheremetew in St. Petersburg* (Leipzig, 1897) pp. 208–209, no. 1128, pls. xi, xxvi; Russian ed. (1896) p. 176.

171. This condition was illustrated by Blair, p. 93, fig. 99.

172. A. Hoff, *Dutch Firearms* (London, 1978) p. 72.

173. For a diagram of this construction see Blair, p. 164, ill. v.

174. Stöckel, II, no. 4802.

175. Hermitage Museum, inv. Z.O. no. 5398. Tarassuk, p. 210, no. 522; formerly in the Sheremetev collection (Lenz, *Die Waffensammlung*, p. 112; no. 397, pl. x).

176. Lenk/Hayward, pl. 110:1,2.

177. Comparable construction is illustrated by Blair, p. 165, ill. vi.

178. Hermitage Museum, inv. Z.O. nos. 5538/5647. Tarassuk, p. 165, no. 113; formerly in the Sheremetev collection (Lenz, *Die Waffensammlung*, p. 198, nos. 1052, 1053, pls. xv, xxiv, xxvi).

While in his 1971 publication this writer attributed a Netherlandish origin to the firearms bearing the master's mark *WP*, a suspicion was also expressed that an English origin could not be excluded. Since then these pieces have been studied by Hoff, who is inclined to believe that they were all produced in the Low Countries.¹⁷⁹

THE KREMLIN ARMORY, MOSCOW

Number 163

The splendid flintlock fowling piece no. 163 of the *cabinet d'armes* (Figures 95–98) was in the Berlin Zeughaus before the Second World War.¹⁸⁰ It was discussed and illustrated by Lenk, who suggested that it had been presented to Louis XIII on the occasion of the long-awaited birth of his son.¹⁸¹ The dolphin motif extensively used in the decoration of this piece, along with the fleurs-de-lis and the royal monogram, seems to justify this theory, which means that the presentation must have taken place soon after September 5, 1638, when Dauphin Louis was born.

This gun is described as follows in the 1673 inventory:

162. Un grand fuzil très riche, de 5 pieds $\frac{1}{2}$, le canon couleur d'eau, rond par devant et à pans sur la culasse enrichie de fleurs de lis, dauphins et d'L couronnées, ayant un dragon de cuivre doré de relief qui sert de visière; la platine gravée d'une chasse de cerf en taille douce sur un bois d'ébène; la crosse persée dans laquelle est enchassé un dauphin de cuivre doré; sur la queue de la culasse est écrit: *Derogez m'a donné au Roy*.¹⁸²

The 1717 inventory gives a similar description:

163. Un grand et beau fusil de cinq pieds et demy de long, monté sur un bois d'Ebène, la crosse a jour dans laquelle est un Dauphin de cuivre doré, Le canon couleur d'Eau, rond par le bout et a pans sur la culasse, enrichie de fleurs de lis, Dauphins, et L couronnées, Le tout d'or et sur la queue de la culasse est écrit *DESROGEZ m'a donné au ROY*, la platine gravée d'une chasse de cerf.¹⁸³

Compilers of the 1775 inventory repeated, with minor differences, the previous description:

163. Vn grand et beau fusil de cinq pieds et demi de Long, monté sur un bois d'Ebene La Crosse ajour, dans laquelle est un Dauphin de Cuivre doré; LeCanon, coul[eur] d'Eau, rond, par Les bout, et apans sur [la] Culasse, enrichie de fleurs de Lys, Dauph[ins] et L. Couronnées, Letout d'or; et sur laqu[eu]e de la Culasse, est écrit, Desroges m'a donné au [Roy] Laplatine gravée d'une Chasse de cerf.¹⁸⁴

From a comparison of these entries, it appears that by 1717 a prominent copper-gilt rear sight shaped like a dragon, which was described in 1673, had been replaced by a much simpler standing sight that the compilers of the second inventory did not care to mention (a normal omission in their descriptions of firearms). More difficult to explain is the absence of the inscription on the barrel tang, an inscription quoted in all three inventories. It could be, of course, that the first cataloguers were simply wrong about the inscription, which in actual fact was to be found on another object nearby when the inventory was made; their error could then have been repeated in later inventories without the gun itself having been checked. However, such a mistake does not seem likely in the case of this outstanding, luxurious firearm, the subject of a lengthy and detailed description in the 1673 inventory. The gun had apparently also been examined before the relevant entry for the 1717 inventory was drawn up; an amendment appeared concerning the back sight, although the record of the inscription was left intact.

These facts lead to the suggestion that at some time after the 1717 inspection the breech plug with the tang bearing the inscription may have been replaced by the extant part. The fowling piece could

179. Hoff, *Dutch Firearms*, pp. 51, 72. Attribution of the mark *WP* (Stöckel, II, no. 4802) to Walter Benge of London (Heer/Stöckel, p. 81) is not substantiated, since this gun maker's known marks are different (*ibid.*, p. 81, nos. 7089–7091).

180. P. Post, *Das Zeughaus: Die Waffensammlung* (Berlin, 1929) p. 138.

181. Lenk, pp. 44, 45, 48, 163, 184 (Lenk/Hayward, pp. 42ff.), pls. 17:2; 18:2,3; 19:3–5.

182. Guiffrey, p. 63.

183. Grancsay 1970, p. 194.

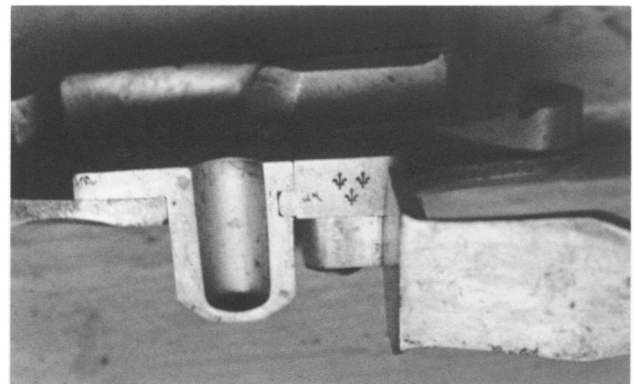
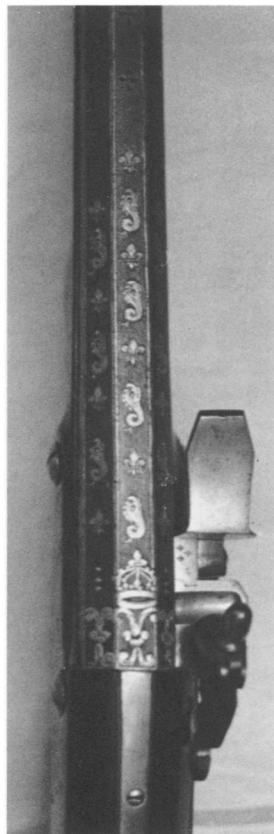
184. O¹ 3349, fol. 290v; in O¹ 3350, fol. 145, this entry is exactly the same. Both copies differ from the 1717 inventory in saying that the barrel is "rond par les bouts" and in clearly spelling the donor's name as "Desroges" (not "Desrogez").

95–98. Flintlock fowling piece, *cabinet d'armes* no. 163, French, ca. 1638. Moscow, Kremlin Armory, acc. reg. no. 126; formerly Berlin Zeughaus, AD 9404 (photos: 95. Berlin Zeughaus; 96–98. author)

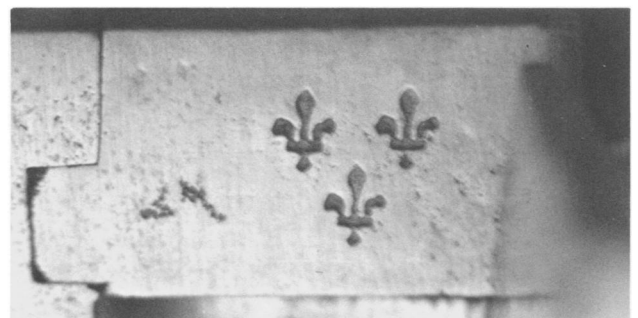


95. Rear part, no. 163

96. Top view of barrel breech and lock, no. 163



97. Top view of lock, no. 163



98. Gun maker's mark (enlarged) on lock, no. 163

have been in generally good, serviceable condition for a long period, the replacement in question being brought about for so technical a reason as unsatisfactory obturation at the breech-plug joint due to a defect in the metal or to excessive oxidation.

This hypothesis seems to be corroborated by the appearance of the extant tang (Figure 95), whose plain, although highly visible surface contrasts with the colorfully decorated barrel and contradicts the finish and ornamental treatment of other parts of the gun such as the chiseled and gilt trigger guard or the ramrod pipes, both located under the stock and thus less prominent than the barrel tang. The replacement of the original breech plug could have occurred even before the 1775 inventory, since at that time the clerks in charge seem simply to have copied most descriptions from the previous document as long as the objects inspected were physically present.

A few other observations can be added here from notes and snapshots made by this writer during a brief examination of the gun in 1958. It seems that the lock maker initially intended an external pan-cover spring, for the combined steel and pan cover was made with a massive spur that serves no purpose with the internal spring actually installed (Figure 97). This minor change in technical design allowed more unobstructed space for a hunting scene engraved on the whole surface of the lock plate. The lock is marked, in front of the pan (Figures 97, 98), with three fleurs-de-lis forming the royal coat of arms, which probably denotes a royal gun maker.

The overall length of the gun is 179 centimeters (70.47 inches). The length of the barrel is 138 centimeters (54.33 inches); the caliber is 16 millimeters (0.63 inch). The length of the lock plate is 14 centimeters (5.5 inches); the gun weighs 4,220 grams (9.3 pounds). The inventories indicate the gun's overall length to be 5.5 *pieds*, which converts to 178.66 centimeters (70.34 inches), practically the same as the modern measurement.

Fowling piece no. 163 was probably among certain holdings of German museums that were seized in 1945 by the Polish authorities. In 1949, the gun was brought from Poland to Moscow and presented to Joseph Stalin as a gift for his seventieth birthday. For several years this fowling piece was kept in the so-called Museum of Gifts to Comrade Stalin, located in the building of the Museum of Contemporary Art. (That museum was abolished because Comrade Sta-

lin disliked modern art.) After Stalin's death in 1953, works of art from among such gifts were distributed to various Soviet museums and no. 163 passed into the Kremlin Armory. The gun was entered there as no. 126 in the museum's accessions register.

The second and last opportunity this writer had to see fowling piece no. 163 occurred in 1966. By that time the gun had undergone a sad change: its barrel was quite unrecognizable; it no longer had a beautiful bright-blue cast ("couleur d'eau") contrasted with gilded dolphins, fleurs-de-lis, and royal monograms, but looked uniformly dull white, with traces of abrasion all over. This transformation was the indirect result of a small incident. During a repainting of the storeroom where the gun was kept uncovered, some drops of paint fell onto the barrel. Although these could easily have been removed with some harmless solvent, the entire barrel was instead passed through an electric wire wheel, thus brushing away the blueing and gilding along with the paint.

This masterpiece, or rather what remains of it, is probably condemned to be indefinitely in storage, since it would be hard to fit it into any exhibition in the context of the Kremlin Armory.

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Paris, for microfilms of two MS copies of the 1775 inventory (ref. nos. O¹ 3349 and O¹ 3350) quoted in this paper; and Guy Wilson, Deputy Master of the Royal Armouries, H.M. Tower of London, for information regarding the pistol XII-731. The Royal Armouries also provided me with the photographs reproduced in Figures 25 and 77-84.

I would like to express my warmest gratitude to Mary Laing and Barbara Anderman for their handling of a complex editorial task.

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The Fragments d'Opéra: A Series of Beauvais Tapestries After Boucher

EDITH A. STANDEN

*Consultant, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER is recorded in 1748 as being in the process of making “deux tableaux de chevalet, sujets tirés des Opéra; et leurs copies en grand retouchées de sa main, sur lesquelles seront exécutés deux pièces de tapisseries pour la Meutte [*sic*].”¹ The tapestries were certainly to have been made at the Gobelins manufactory, as the stipulation that the artist should provide easel paintings and large copies (cartoons) is in accordance with the procedure set up by the Directeur des Bâtiments, Le Normant de Tournehem, in 1748 for “tableaux destinés à être exécutés en tapisserie dans la manufacture des Gobelins,”² but no such tapestries after Boucher are known to have been woven there; when paintings by him were first reproduced at the Gobelins in 1752, they were the *Lever du Soleil* and the *Coucher du Soleil*, with no indication that they represented scenes from an opera. Both these paintings were hung in Mme de Pompadour’s château, Bellevue, and are now in the Wallace Collection, but the tapestries, also her property and only woven once, are not known to have survived; she returned them to the manufactory in 1761 and they are last heard of in 1768, when Jacques Neilson, head of a Gobelins workshop, was able to sell them—as he did so many other tapestries—to an Englishman.³ Boucher was given a studio at the Gobelins to make these large paintings, but he was not yet officially attached to the Gobelins manufactory, and his work for Beauvais continued for some years more.

It was in 1751, in fact, that he and Jean-Baptiste Oudry, the director of Beauvais in partnership with Nicolas Besniers, submitted a proposal for two new tapestry series. Their memorandum begins: “Les

sieurs Boucher et Oudry, tous deux peintres de l’Académie de Peinture, et chacun fort habile dans leur genre, proposent de faire des tableaux pour exécuter en tapisserie.” Boucher suggested eight subjects from the story of Rinaldo and Armida, described in some detail, and Oudry listed twelve “Combats de différents animaux.”⁴

Boucher’s proposal is rather surprising. Between 1733 and 1741, Charles-Antoine Coypel had designed three tapestries for the Gobelins of this very subject, of which examples were woven until the last

1. Maurice Fenaille, *Etat général des tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins* (Paris, 1903–23) IV, p. 174. La Muette was a royal hunting lodge outside Paris, greatly enlarged by Louis XV for housing his mistresses. The singular form “Opéra” is perhaps used because *opera* is the plural of the Latin *opus*. The operas are named in other documents as the *Fêtes vénitiennes* (by Antoine Danchet and André Campra) and the *Fêtes de Thalie* (by J. de Le Font and Jean-Joseph Mouret) (Alexandre Ananoff, *François Boucher* [Lausanne/Paris, 1976] I, biographical entries nos. 318, 320, 321).

2. Edith A. Standen, “Some Notes on the Cartoons Used at the Gobelins and Beauvais Tapestry Manufactories in the Eighteenth Century,” *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 4 (1977) p. 25.

3. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, IV, pp. 183, 393. A document of 1754 says that these tapestries were more expensive than any others because of the number of figures in them and their “chaîne plus fine, ce qui augmente la main d’oeuvre” (Chiara Briganti, “Documents sur les arts à la cour de Parme au XVIIIe siècle,” *Antologia di Belle Arti* 4 [1977] p. 381).

4. Jules Guiffrey, “Modèles et bordures de tapisseries des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: Documents communiqués par M. F. Engerand,” *Nouvelles Archives de l’Art Français*, 3rd ser., 12 (1896) p. 146. The works by Oudry related to this project have been published by Hal N. Opperman, “Oudry aux Gobelins,” *Revue de l’Art* 22 (1973) pp. 59–64; Grand Palais, Paris, *J.-B. Oudry*, exh. cat. (1982) nos. 70–73.



1. *Renaud Endormi*, French (Beauvais), 1752–64, after François Boucher (1703–70). Wool and silk tapestry. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, 1942 (photo: National Gallery)

decade of the century. Each of the three pieces had an inscription giving the act and scene represented from the opera *Armide* by Philippe Quinault and Jean-Baptiste Lully,⁵ and the series, with the addition of one scene from the opera *Roland*, was called “des fragmens d’opéras.” Perhaps Boucher wanted to pit his designs and the Beauvais workmanship against Coppel and the Gobelins, or Oudry may have thought that his customers would like to have the same story that was being woven elsewhere for the king.

Nothing came of the project as far as Boucher was concerned, but when two pieces of a new Beauvais series after Boucher were first woven in 1752, one of them was *Renaud Endormi* (Figure 1); its design more or less corresponds to the second subject in the 1751 memorandum: “Renaud dans le palais d’Armide

5. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, III, pp. 323–341.



2. *Le Sommeil de Renaud*, French (Gobelins), 1767, after Charles-Antoine Coppel (1694–1752), 1741. Wool and silk tapestry. Paris, Musée National du Louvre, OA 5200 (photo: Louvre)

3. Panel of a double screen, French (Beauvais), 1752–64, after Boucher. Wool and silk tapestry. Waddesdon Manor, The James A. de Rothschild Collection (photo: National Trust)

quitte ses armes et se livre aux charmes de la volupté.” The paladin is shown asleep in the enchanted garden of the sorceress Armida, as described in Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata*.

The series to which the tapestry belongs is known, like Coypel’s, as the *Fragments d’Opéra*. It is small and somewhat unusual. Two pieces, *Renaud Endormi* (Figure 1) and *Vénus et les Amours* (Figure 5), are recorded as woven in 1752, but two more, which make up the complete series, the *Sommeil d’Issé* (Figure 7) and *Vertumne et Pomone* (Figure 11), were not made until six years later.⁶ In 1755, M. de Meulan bought a

6. A fifth tapestry, *Les Castagnettes*, has been listed as one of the series, but with no record of its being woven (Jules Badin,



4. Boucher, *Arion Porté sur un Dauphin*. Oil on canvas. Princeton, N.J., The Art Museum, Princeton University (photo: The Art Museum, Princeton University)



Renaud Endormi, having acquired three pieces of the *Amours des Dieux* in 1750; an even more heterogeneous set was woven in the same year for Mme Rondet, made up of four pieces of the *Amours*, two *Fragments*, and “les Richesses” from the *Psyche* series.⁷ The only time when all four pieces of the *Fragments* are recorded as a set, in 1762, they were joined to three pieces of the *Amours des Dieux*.⁸ Four, in any case, is a small number of subjects to be considered a complete series; the other series after Boucher have from five to nine. It seems possible that the main use of the *Fragments* designs was to be called on when all the *Amours* cartoons were in use on the looms.

“Fragments” would thus seem an appropriate name for the series, but the phrase “fragments d’opéra” had a precise meaning at the time: separate acts of operas or ballets were often performed and were known as “fragments.”⁹ Like the three pieces of Coppel’s Gobelins series, the Beauvais *Renaud Endormi* may be supposed to illustrate the opera *Armide* by Quinault and Lully, first performed in 1686; one revival was in 1743.¹⁰ On January 15, 1749, the fourth act of *Les Eléments*, with words by Pierre-Charles Roy and music by André Cardinal Des-touches, was performed at Versailles: it was “La Terre,” represented by the story of Vertumnus and Pomona; Mme de Pompadour played Pomona.¹¹ *Issé*, an opera by Antoine Houdar de Lamotte and Des-touches, first performed in 1697, was revived in 1750.¹² *Vénus et les Amours* cannot be connected with a specific opera or ballet, though the goddess, of course, appeared in several.¹³ There is no way of telling if the tapestries represent actual stage scenes, though they mostly illustrate events that must have been part of the action in each opera.

The continuing popularity of operatic subjects in tapestry is shown by a letter from the heads of the Gobelins workshops in 1768 to the marquis de Marigny, then in charge of the royal manufactories. They asked for new designs illustrating the Five Senses, the Four Times of Day, the Four Seasons, the Four Elements, “ou bien les sujets pris dans les Opéras Comiques, qui ont fait le plus de plaisir au public.”¹⁴ After the Revolution, the furniture from Versailles sold in 1793–94 included a Gobelins-tapestry screen with six leaves, “représentant sur chacune en couleurs naturelles et vives des séances variées de divers opéras-comiques.”¹⁵

Three paintings for the *Fragments d’Opéra* series

are listed in a 1754 Beauvais inventory: “Trois tableaux de fragmens d’opéra peints par le dit sieur Boucher . . . contenant neuf aunes quinze seizes non compris les bordures.”¹⁶ These three designs were presumably the two woven in 1752 and the *Sommeil d’Issé*; some examples of the fourth tapestry of the series, *Vertumne et Pomone*, are dated 1757, so the painting would not have been available for the 1754 inventory. A memorandum of “4 Frimaire An 2” (1794) includes the *Fragments d’Opéra* paintings among the “tableaux remis à la Nation par M. de Menou,” then

La Manufacture de tapisseries de Beauvais [Paris, 1909] p. 62). Almost certainly, no tapestry of this subject was included in the *Fragments d’Opéra*. The source of the error is probably the listing for the set of four tapestries woven for Mme de la Billarderie in 1768: “Vertumne et Pomone, Sommeil d’Issé, les castagnettes, Jupiter en raisin.” “Jupiter en raisin” is *Jupiter and Antiope* from the *Amours des Dieux* series, or perhaps only a detail from this design, showing Jupiter disguised as a satyr; similarly, “les castagnettes” might be the bacchante playing the cymbals from the same tapestry. Mme de la Billarderie’s set would thus be like the one made for Frederick the Great in 1765, which consisted of four complete *Amours des Dieux* subjects, plus “la joueuse de castagnettes, Jupiter en raisin;” the “Jupiter en raisin” must be the known piece with Frederick’s arms that shows the god as a satyr approaching Antiope (Edith A. Standen, “The *Amours des Dieux*: A Series of Beauvais Tapestries After Boucher,” *MMJ* 19/20 [1984/85] pp. 66, 73).

7. Listed in the transcription of the Beauvais records made by Jean Ajalbert; I am indebted to Pierre Verlet for the opportunity to study this transcription, which is in the Louvre. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 61, 62, gives the purchaser’s name as Rondelet as well as Rondet, mentioning four *Amours* and two *Fragments*.

8. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 62, 84.

9. Théodore de Lajarte, ed., *Bibliothèque musicale du Théâtre de l’Opéra* (Paris, 1878) I, pp. 139, 143, 207.

10. Louis-César de La-Baume-le-Blanc Lavallière, *Ballets, opéra, et autres ouvrages lyriques . . .* (Paris, 1760) p. 102. Boucher designed scenery for an *Armide et Renaud* in 1761 and possibly before ([MMA], *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, exh. cat. [New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986] p. 162).

11. Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale*, I, p. 139; Lavallière, *Ballets*, p. 164.

12. This revival was also presumably the reason for Boucher’s painting of 1750, *Apollo et Issé*, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours. It shows a later moment in the story than that of the tapestry, with the god, nearly nude, as his radiant self ([MMA], *Boucher*, no. 58).

13. For information about early French operas, I am indebted to Patrick J. Smith and Marion C. Stewart.

14. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, IV, p. 164.

15. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, IV, p. 393.

16. Roger-Armand Weigert, “La Manufacture royale de tapisseries de Beauvais,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français* (1933) p. 233.

the Beauvais director: "3 fragments d'Opéra . . . 1 tableau Vertumne et Pomone." The *modèles*, or cartoons, are listed in a Beauvais inventory of 1820; *Vénus et les Amours* was in four strips, the *Sommeil d'Issé* in three, and *Renaud Endormi* in six. *Vertumne et Pomone* appears as part of a *Tenture Pastorale* (actually the *Noble Pastorale*), rather than as a *Fragment d'Opéra*; it was in four strips.¹⁷ They were presumably among the "93 tentures" or the "17 pastorales" that were sold in 1829.¹⁸

The Beauvais *Renaud Endormi* (Figure 1) does not show exactly the same scene as *Le Sommeil de Renaud* of 1741 in Coypel's series (Figure 2). Rinaldo is in a similar posture in both tapestries, reclining, his armor beside him, resting his head on his hand, but Coypel's design, appropriately dramatic since he was an aspiring though unsuccessful playwright,¹⁹ includes Armida with a drawn dagger threatening the sleeping warrior, with whom she is about to fall in love, and a cupid attempting to shield him. The exact reference to the opera is given in a medallion on wide versions of Coypel's composition: ARMIDE / AC^{te} 2^e sc^e 5^e.²⁰ Boucher, equally characteristically, merely shows Rinaldo's pleasantly languorous state in the enchanted garden.

Renaud Endormi is listed as woven in 1752, 1755, and 1764 and is also included in the only weaving of the complete series, made in 1762 for Henri-Jean-Baptiste Bertin, a high government official, Contrôleur Général from 1759 to 1763. In effect, Bertin's would have been a royal command, so that the example with the king's arms, formerly owned by Maurice Fenaille, is presumably from that series;²¹ it was published as owned by Daniel Wildenstein in 1971.²² One of the other examples is in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Figure 1).²³ The busts of two nymphs from the left side were used for an oval screen panel in the James A. de Rothschild collection at Waddesdon Manor (Figure 3).²⁴ The two girls on the far right of the tapestry are seen, reversed, on the right in the painting *Arion Porté sur un Dauphin* of 1748 in the Art Museum, Princeton University (Figure 4);²⁵ the foremost of the pair, turning her head back, appears alone in the *Rape of Europa* of the *Amours des Dieux* tapestry series, first woven in 1750. The girl playing a pipe on the left is very like one in the *Jupiter and Antiope* of the same series.²⁶

Boucher had used the subject of Rinaldo and Armida in 1734 for his reception picture at the Académie,

a painting now in the Louvre.²⁷ The composition bears no relationship to the tapestry, except that there is a dolphin in both works of art. He did not paint the subject again, though in 1761 he designed Armida's palace for a production of *Armide*.²⁸

Vénus et les Amours (Figure 5) was woven in 1752, but not again except in the royal set ten years later. The latter piece was owned by Maurice Fenaille in

17. Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 91, 105. *Vertumne et Pomone*, despite this listing, was definitely one of the *Fragments d'Opéra*. This is proved by a note on a list of the standard five pieces of a *Noble Pastorale* set delivered to the king in 1762; it explains why, though the king usually received sets of six, this one had only five pieces: "le sixième [tableau] ayant été exécuté par le peintre pour augmenter la tenture des fragments d'Opéra, qui n'étoient que de trois pièces et ce suivant les ordres de M. de Trudaine" (Ananoff, *Boucher*, I, "Tableau chronologique" no. 749). The king's set of the *Noble Pastorale* of 1769, "pour Mesdames," included a sixth piece, *La Bergère*, its only recorded weaving (Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 62); this was probably *La Bohémienne* from the *Fêtes Italiennes* (Edith A. Standen, "Fêtes Italiennes: Beauvais Tapestries After Boucher in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *MMJ* 12 [1977] p. 111, fig. 7). Boucher was no longer designing for Beauvais in 1769. Daniel-Charles de Trudaine was Intendant des Finances; his orders were undoubtedly always obeyed at Beauvais. He owned Boucher's *Pensent-ils aux Raisins?* and its pendant, *Le Berger Recompensé*, of 1749, now in the Wallace Collection, London, and other works by Boucher (Ananoff, *Boucher*, nos. 336, 337; II, p. 319).

18. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 47, n. 1.

19. He wrote some thirty theatrical pieces, of which only one was performed and published (*Dictionnaire de biographie française* IX [Paris, 1961] p. 1146).

20. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, III, pp. 327, 328. Wide versions of both the Gobelins and the Beauvais tapestries are illustrated on the plate facing p. 328. Coypel's shows a river god and nymphs, as does Boucher's.

21. Maurice Fenaille, *François Boucher* (Paris, 1925) pp. 17, 91; Hôtel Jean Charpentier, *Exposition François Boucher*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1932) no. 138.

22. Dario Boccarda, *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie* (Paris, 1971) pl. 199; Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 384/3, fig. 117, described as "Coll. inconnue"; a drawing for the river god is illustrated and one for a nymph in the foreground is listed.

23. George Henry McCall, *The Joseph Widener Collection: Tapestries at Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1932) pp. 36–38, 81–83, ill.

24. Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Furniture, Clocks and Gilt Bronzes* (London, 1974) II, no. 137.

25. As noted by Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 328/8.

26. Standen, "The *Amours des Dieux*," fig. 12 (*Europa*), fig. 8 (*Jupiter and Antiope*).

27. [MMA], *Boucher*, no. 26.

28. Ananoff, *Boucher*, I, "Tableau chronologique" no. 807. A composition showing Armida about to attack Rinaldo, as in Coypel's painting, has been attributed to Jean-François de Troy or to the young Boucher ([MMA], *Boucher*, p. 48, figs. 17, 18).



5. *Vénus et les Amours*, French (Beauvais), probably 1762, after Boucher. Wool and silk tapestry. Location unknown, formerly in the collection of Maurice Fenaille



6. Boucher, *Berger Gardant Ses Moutons*. Oil on canvas. Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: R. J. Paté)



7. *Le Sommeil d'Issé*, French (Beauvais), probably 1762, after Boucher. Wool and silk tapestry. Location unknown, formerly in the collection of Maurice Fénaille



8. Boucher, *Cupid Lying on a Cloud*. Chalk drawing. London, British Museum (photo: courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

1932,²⁹ but its present location is not known. It is full of reminiscences of other works by Boucher, especially in the attitude of Venus;³⁰ the most amusing detail is the coquettish sphinx, whose near relative appears in the *Berger Gardant Ses Moutons* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen (Figure 6), and the *Génies des Arts* of 1761 in the museum at Angers.³¹ The gigantic urn in the Caen painting is decorated with the same horned head that appears on a vase in the *Vertumne et Pomone* of the *Fragments d'Opéra* (Figure 11).

Apollo disguised himself as a shepherd in order to make love to a shepherdess, Isse; in the tapestry (Figure 7), he holds the *houlette* of his feigned occupation and a cupid has taken possession of hers.³² The tapestry was woven in 1758, 1759, 1760, and 1768, as well as in the king's set of 1762, so it is surprising that the only identified example is one with the royal arms that was in the Fenaille collection in 1932.³³ Boucher was closely connected with the theatrical production of the opera; one of his contributions to the Salon of 1742 was "Un Esquisse de Paysage . . . représentant le Hameau d'Issé, qui doit être exécuté en grand pour l'Opéra."³⁴ The sprawling cupid seen from the back is also in a painting, *L'Amour Désarmé*, owned by William Randolph Hearst in 1942, and in a drawing in the British Museum (Figure 8).³⁵

Another Beauvais tapestry showing a young man bending to kiss the hand of a sleeping shepherdess belongs to the city of Paris and has been published as after Boucher (Figure 9).³⁶ But the girl has several companions, and the scene is exactly that described in Honoré d'Urfé's novel *Astrée* when Céladon finds his love asleep with her friends, Phillis and Diane, and tenderly kisses her hand. Astrée, before falling asleep, is said to "dénoue ses cheveux et délace son corsage trop serré," and Céladon, on seeing her, "remit sur un genou et s'approchant de sa belle main, ne peut s'empêcher de la luy baiser."³⁷ The tapestry must be the *Astrée Endormie* from the *Histoire d'Astrée* designed by Jean-Baptiste Deshayes, first woven at Beauvais in 1763.³⁸ In the life of Deshayes by Charles-Nicolas Cochin, published in 1765, a "tableau fait pour la manufacture de Beauvais" is said to represent "Diane & Astrée endormies auprès de la Fontaine d'Amour"; a fountain is, in fact, shown in the tapestry. Cochin adds that Deshayes "y répandit beaucoup de grâces, quoique ce fût un genre très-différent de celui qu'on regardoit comme le sien."³⁹ An oil sketch lent to the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and later on loan from a private collection to the

University of New Mexico Art Museum, Albuquerque, shows the sleeping Astrée, Céladon, and the cupids above them much as they appear in the tapestry (Figure 10).⁴⁰

The subject of the fourth tapestry of the *Fragments d'Opéra* series, *Vertumne et Pomone*, unlike the other three, was frequently represented by Boucher. The tapestry was also woven more often than the others of the series, in 1758, 1759, 1760, 1764, 1768, and 1776, as well as in the royal set of 1762;⁴¹ the last piece, with the royal arms, was sold at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, May 24, 1955, no. 108, and

29. Fenaille, *François Boucher*, p. 85, ill.; Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 387/1, fig. 1123.

30. See Ananoff, *Boucher*, nos. 84 (1732) and 250 (1743).

31. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 169, fig. 546 (Caen painting, dated ca. 1739); no. 545, fig. 1502 (*Génies*, dated 1761; erroneously said to be in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens). The Gobelins tapestry woven after this picture for Mme de Pompadour (Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche*: II. *Die romanischen Länder* [Leipzig, 1928] II, pl. 175) or a second weaving is in a private collection in Michigan.

32. The *houlette* is a shepherd's implement, used to gently dissuade sheep from encroaching on cultivated land (Edith A. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* [New York, 1985] I, p. 176, n. 1).

33. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 386/1 (not illustrated). Exhibited in Paris in 1932 (Hôtel Jean Charpentier, *Exposition Boucher*, no. 139).

34. Ananoff, *Boucher*, I, "Tableau chronologique" no. 201. This is probably not the sketch for a stage set in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens ([MMA], *Boucher*, no. 47).

35. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 375, fig. 1095 (painting, assigned to 1751); no. 375/3, fig. 1098 (drawing). The painting is not at San Simeon (information from Gerry Norgaard).

36. Juliette Niclausse, *Tapisseries et tapis de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1948) no. 65. The design was attributed to Jean-Baptiste Deshayes when the tapestry was exhibited in 1986 (Catherine Join-Diéterle, *Chefs-d'œuvre de la tapisserie du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle dans les collections de la ville de Paris*, exh. cat. (Paris: Petit Palais, 1986) p. 13, detail ill. reversed).

37. *Astrée*, vol. II, book 8. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. Anne Desprechins.

38. Anne Desprechins, "Tapisserie royale à sujet de l'Astrée appartenant à la ville de Paris," *Études sur le XVIIIe siècle*, Université Libre de Bruxelles 8 (1981) pp. 147-150.

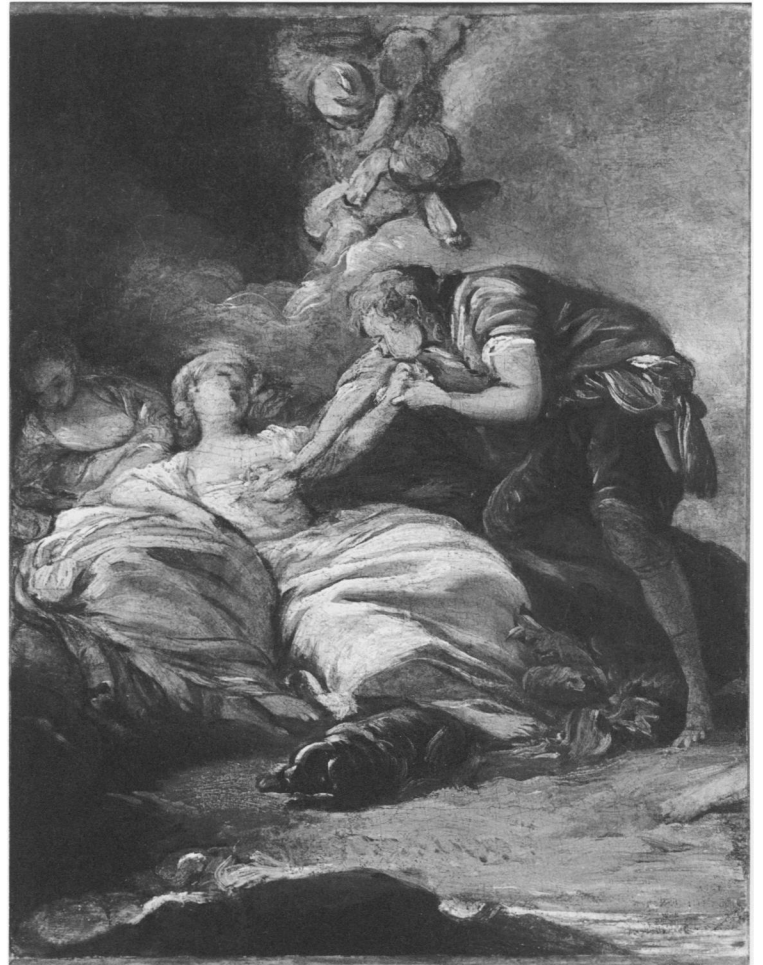
39. Marc Sandoz, *Jean-Baptiste Deshayes* (Paris, 1977) p. 16. Works by Deshayes, especially sketches, have often been attributed to Boucher (François Balangaud, "Esquisse pour le Mariage de la Vierge de Jean-Baptiste Deshayes," *Revue du Louvre* [1982] p. 388).

40. J. Patrice Marandel, *French Oil Sketches from an English Collection: Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries*, exh. cat. (Houston, 1975) no. 9 (attribution to Deshayes rejected, given to François-André Vincent).

41. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 62.



9. *Astrée Endormie*, French (Beauvais), 1763–73, after Jean-Baptiste Deshays. Wool and silk tapestry. Collection of the City of Paris (photo: Préfecture de Paris)



10. Jean-Baptiste Deshays, *Astrée Endormie*. Oil sketch. Albuquerque, University Art Museum, University of New Mexico, on loan from a private collection (photo: Millar & Harris, London)



11. *Vertumne et Pomone*, French (Beauvais), 1758–76, after Boucher. Wool and silk tapestry, 10 ft. × 6 ft. 9 in. (3.05 × 2.06 m.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.708

was later in a private collection in New York.⁴² There are several others extant. One in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 11) has Boucher's name on the stone table at the left and the date 1757, presumably the year of the painting. The name and the same date are reversed on an example from the Casimir Perier and Veil Picard collections that was in a private collection in Geneva in 1976.⁴³ Two others have appeared in sales. One, from the Théodore Reinach and Ephrussi collections, was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 28, 1929, no. 10;⁴⁴ the other, from the Alfred Rothschild and countess of Carnavon collections, with Boucher's name, was sold at Christie's, London, May 2, 1935, no. 120.

The wider versions of the design, such as that with the royal arms, show, on the right, cupids playing on an elaborate fountain with a large stone dolphin on a huge shell. The stick of the rake at Pomona's feet is visible and there is a watering can beside it; on the left, the stone vase is seen in its entirety. There is another cupid above Vertumnus's back, filling the space occupied rather awkwardly by two tree trunks in the narrower examples.

The Boucher painting that corresponds very closely to the narrow tapestry versions of *Vertumne et Pomone* belongs to the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (Figure 12).⁴⁵ It consists of five joined vertical strips, with a horizontal section at the bottom.⁴⁶



12. Boucher, *Vertumne et Pomone*. Oil on canvas. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Mildred Anna Williams Collection (photo: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco)

42. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 84; Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 385/2.

43. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 385/3, fig. 1121; George Leland Hunter, *Tapestries: Their Origin, History and Renaissance* (New York, 1912) frontispiece.

44. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 385/1. It is here said to have been sold again (no city or auction house named) on June 25, 1937, no. 104, ill.

45. Thomas C. Howe, "Vertumnus and Pomona by François Boucher," *Museum Bulletin, California Palace of the Legion of Honor* n.s. 1, no. 5 (1968) fig. 1; Anna C. Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1976) p. 7, fig. 3; [MMA], *Boucher*, p. 243, fig. 161.

46. Information from Marion C. Stewart, San Francisco. According to a letter from Valerie T. L. Leigh of the South African National Museum, two of the three paintings that were associated with the San Francisco *Vertumne et Pomone* for many years

(the Ganay/Vail/Robinson Bouchers, now on loan to the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff) are also seamed. Though the four were certainly not made as companion pieces, it is possible that they were all originally in the Beauvais manufactory. Ananoff accepts only *Vertumne et Pomone* and one other of the four paintings as by Boucher's own hand (Ananoff, *Boucher*, note to no. 321).



13. *Vertumne et Pomone*, French (Gobelins), 1764–71, after Boucher, 1763. Silk and wool tapestry (detail). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 58.75.2

A drawing with one of Pomona's hands and her legs is in a private collection in Geneva.⁴⁷

In 1763, Boucher painted another *Vertumne et Pomone*, now in the Louvre,⁴⁸ that was reproduced in tapestry (Figure 13). Even though this was woven in the Gobelins basse-lisse workshop, the picture would not have been cut into strips to be placed under the warps; this age-old practice was continued at Beauvais until the end of the eighteenth century, but was abandoned at the Gobelins about 1750.⁴⁹ The designs for the Gobelins and for the Beauvais tapestries show markedly similar compositions and several repeated details, such as the tilted basket of flowers. Both seem

to be derived from a painting made for the king in 1749 and now in the Columbus Museum of Art (Figure 14);⁵⁰ Pomona here is like her counterpart in the Beauvais tapestry, but Vertumnus, sitting rather than standing, is closer to the Gobelins figure. The large

47. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 385/9, fig. 1122.

48. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 482, fig. 1355.

49. The change on the Gobelins basse-lisse looms from the traditional method to one that left the cartoon intact was effected by Jacques Neilson, head of the workshop concerned from 1749: "Neilson, en 1750, proposa de supprimer le placement du modèle sous la chaîne. Le tapissier avait derrière lui, comme dans la haute lisse, le modèle entier. Pour exécuter le dessin des contours dans le sens du modèle, Neilson employa une étoffe transparente qui servait à calquer le trait et qu'on plaçait ensuite à suivre le trait par transparence. . . . A la Manufacture de Beauvais, l'ancienne pratique de la basse lisse subsista jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle; les modèles, coupés en bandes, étaient placés sous la chaîne, et cet usage amena la destruction complète des magnifiques modèles de Boucher et d'Oudry" (Fenaille, *Gobelins*, III, pp. 229–230). It has, however, been suggested that the method of placing tracings (*calques*) under the warps was used in Brussels in the 17th century (Nora de Poorter, *The Eucharist Series* [London/Philadelphia, 1978] I, pp. 145–148).

50. [MMA], *Boucher*, no. 56.

14. Boucher, *Vertumne et Pomone*. Oil on canvas. Columbus, Ohio, Columbus Museum of Art, Museum Purchase, Derby Fund (photo: Columbus Museum)



vase with a horned mask appears in all these versions of the subject.

The Columbus painting, like the Beauvais tapestry, may have been made as a result of the previously mentioned performance of the fourth act of *Les Éléments* in 1749. It has been suggested that Pomona is a generalized portrait of Mme de Pompadour in the part.⁵¹ When Boucher was called on to illustrate the scene for the 1767–71 edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,⁵² he changed the composition, showing Pomona standing and Vertumnus seated, but he kept the disguised god's crutch, the watering can, and the large vase, though the last is now somewhat more classical. The earliest painting of the subject, said to date from 1740–45, is quite different from all the other versions; Pomona is nude and is accompanied by a scantily draped nymph.⁵³ This may be Pomona's sister, Flora, who is present in the sixth scene of Act IV of *Pomone* by Robert Cambert and Pierre Perrin, first performed in 1671; in this scene Pomona, as shown in all the paintings and tapestries, is courted by Vertumnus in the shape of old Beroe, Pomona's nurse.⁵⁴

It will have been noticed how many repetitions there are in the *Fragments d'Opéra*. When the series was started in 1751, Boucher was approaching the summit of his career; by 1757, the date of the last painting, *Vertumne et Pomone*, his steady work for Beauvais had been over for some time. While Oudry was alive, Boucher continued to provide designs for the manufactory; in January 1754, for instance, André-Charlemagne Charron, who had just taken over from Besniers as Oudry's partner, wrote from Beauvais asking for 7,500 livres, a very substantial sum, "qui servira à payer en partie la tenture qui fait actuellement M. Boucher pour la manufactory."⁵⁵ This tenture was probably the *Noble Pastorale*, all five pieces of which were first woven in 1755,⁵⁶ though two of the related paintings are dated 1748.⁵⁷

Oudry died on April 30, 1755, and the marquis de Marigny immediately wrote to the king, "suppliant S. M. vouloir bien accorder au Sieur Boucher l'inspection sur les ouvrages des Gobelins," a salaried post that Oudry had held.⁵⁸ The appointment was made official on May 27 and Marigny's letter to Boucher of June 6 said, "Vous sentés bien que je compte aussi sur vos ouvrages pour cette Manufacture, où vous les verrés exécutés avec plus de précision qu'ils ne l'ont été ailleurs,"⁵⁹ that is, one must suppose, at Beauvais.

Marigny used an adaptation of this sentence in his letter of July 3 to the three heads of workshops at the Gobelins, the *entrepreneurs*, who had quarreled with Oudry while he was inspector; they answered with an exultant thank-you letter, saying of Boucher that "il nous a dit qu'il avait refusé les offres avantageuses qui ont été faites de la part des directeurs de la manufacture de Beauvais, pour s'attacher entièrement à nous."⁶⁰

Boucher's defection, so soon after Oudry's death, must have been a sad blow for Charron, now the sole director at Beauvais. A letter is extant that he wrote to the Intendant des Finances, M. de Trudaine, his source of government assistance, asking for payment to be made to the son-in-law of "feu Mr Oudry" for a painting. A note dated July 15, 1759, has been added to the letter, explaining the circumstances in which Charron wrote it: "feû Mr Oudry dans le moment ou M. Boucher refusoit des tableaux et ou la manufacture couroit le risque de le manquer j'imaginai de faire faire par Mr. Nollet son gendre, une copie d'un des tableaux des fêtes italiennes."⁶¹ It is clear

51. Artemis Group, *18th Century French Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, exh. cat., David Carritt Ltd. (London, 1978) unnumbered page.

52. John Harthan, *The History of the Illustrated Book* (London, 1971) p. 143, ill.

53. Frank Hermann, *Selected Paintings at the Norton Simon Museum, California* (New York, 1980) p. 80, ill.

54. I am indebted to Marion C. Stewart for information about this opera.

55. Ananoff, *Boucher*, I, "Tableau chronologique" no. 580.

56. Babin, *Beauvais*, p. 62.

57. Ananoff, *Boucher*, nos. 321, 324.

58. Jean Mondain-Monval, *Correspondance de Soufflot avec les Directeurs des Bâtiments* (Paris, 1918) p. 27, n. 1.

59. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, IV, p. 227.

60. A. L. Lacordaire, *Notice historique sur les Manufactures Impériales des tapisseries des Gobelins et de tapis de Savonnerie* (Paris, 1855) p. 84. The documents of the quarrel between Oudry and the *entrepreneurs* are given on pp. 78–84. Oudry ungraciously referred to Beauvais in one of these documents as a "manufacture inférieure."

61. Ananoff, *Boucher*, I, "Tableau chronologique" no. 322. This author places the letter under Jan. 1, 1748 (actually a date added to the document by another hand), but the reference to "feu Mr Oudry" shows it must have been written after Oudry's death in 1755. The painting copied by Nollet is identified by Ananoff as one of the *Fêtes Vénitiennes*, ordered in 1748 to be reproduced at the Gobelins, but never made (see note 1). It is extremely unlikely that such a painting would have been available at Beauvais; more probably Nollet copied one of the then old *Fêtes Italiennes*, which continued to be woven until 1762, or possibly one of the new *Noble Pastorale* series.

that Boucher abandoned Beauvais at this time; *Vertumne et Pomone* of 1757 is the only tapestry design he furnished after Oudry's death, and it is surely significant that it was made by order of the powerful M. de Trudaine.⁶²

It is even a question of how much original work Boucher supplied for the *Noble Pastorale*, first woven in 1755.⁶³ In these designs, he returned to the general scheme of the *Fêtes Italiennes*, now twenty years old; groups of attractive young people appear in landscapes ornamented with Roman ruins, elaborate fountains, classical statues, and immense urns. But the relaxed, almost languid inhabitants of this

dreamworld are even less active than their counterparts in the earlier series; very little is happening except gentle courtship and patient fishing. There are no peasants, like the crowd in the *Opérateur* of the *Fêtes*, and no fashionable aristocrats like those in the *Collation* or *Musique*. As Gertrude Townsend has written of these compositions: "The greater part of them seem to have been adapted from paintings which are known to have been executed several years earlier and presumably not primarily as tapestry cartoons."⁶⁴ The *Noble Pastorale* was the last tapestry series after Boucher woven at Beauvais.

62. See note 17.

63. Ananoff, *Boucher*, nos. 321–325. Paintings showing part of the *Fontaine d'Amour* and the *Pipée aux Oiseaux* in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, and the *Déjeuner* in the Indianapolis Museum of Art (Ananoff, *Boucher*, nos. 321a, 324a, 325) are dated 1748; the author considers the last to be a "rare modèle de tapisserie entièrement de la main de Boucher." A set of five tapestries is in the Huntington Collection (Robert R. Wark, *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection* [San Marino, Calif., 1961] figs. 7–13). The fullest account of the series is in Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967) no. 55.

64. Gertrude Townsend, "A Pastoral by François Boucher," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 38 (1940) p. 82.

A Japanned Secrétaire in the Linsky Collection with Decorations After Boucher and Pillement

DANIELLE O. KISLUK-GROSHEIDE

*Assistant Curator, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

AMONG THE PIECES of French furniture in the Jack and Belle Linsky Collection at the Metropolitan Museum is a painted and gilded drop-front secrétaire in the Chinese style (Figures 1–3). Partly Neoclassical in outline, it is surmounted by an open fretwork pagoda superstructure with a scalloped roof of gilded metal. The fall front opens to reveal a gold-tooled leather writing surface, shelves, and four small drawers with bell-shaped pulls. The lower section is set with two doors enclosing red painted shelves. On the secrétaire's front and side panels are Oriental figures engaged in various pastimes in a garden setting. Partly in low relief, these scenes are depicted in brownish and golden tonalities with a few spots highlighted in red and green against a black background. Pseudo-Chinese mounts of gilt bronze decorate front and sides. On the basis of its style and of the stamp on the back—I DUBOIS JME—the secrétaire has been attributed to the *maître-ébéniste* René Dubois (1737–98) and dated about 1770–75.¹ The sources of the designs with which it is decorated, however, have so far not been explored.

The form of the secrétaire's pierced pagoda top is exceptional for French furniture produced during the second half of the eighteenth century. Although furniture in the Chinese taste was designed and executed in England at that time,² in France chinoiserie were almost always limited to the surface decoration. Dubois may have favored this particular type of furniture, because he completed at least one other, almost identical piece.³

The panels of the Linsky drop-front secrétaire—in imitation lacquer, or japanning—are less unusual. After all, attempts to imitate imported Oriental lacquer goods had been made since the early seventeenth century, although no examples of early French japanning have been preserved.⁴ About 1730 it became fashionable for *ébénistes* to mount furniture with either Oriental or japanned panels, and a number of such pieces are extant. Jean-Félix Watin's *L'Art de faire et d'employer le vernis* of 1772 sheds light on the ingredients of varnishes used and on japanning techniques. Unfortunately, the identity of most lacquer

1. Both the cabinetmaker Jacques Dubois (1693–1763) and his son René, who became *maître-ébéniste* in 1755, used this stamp. F. B. J. Watson, *Louis XVI Furniture* (London, 1960) p. 122, no. 90, attributed this secrétaire to René. See also W. Rieder's detailed account of the piece in *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1984) pp. 216–217, no. 132.

2. Thomas Chippendale's *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* (London, 1754) included several designs for Chinese furniture with bamboolike fretwork and pagoda roofs.

3. Parke-Bernet Galleries, sale cat. (New York, Oct. 9, 1971) lot 232, ill. The present location of this piece is unknown.

4. Marie de' Medici employed a certain Etienne Sager who specialized in the imitation of Chinese lacquer work early in the 17th century (H. Huth, *Lacquer of the West* [Chicago/London, 1971] p. 12). In 1672 the *Ouvrages de la Chine* were established at the Gobelins as part of the Manufacture Royale des Meubles de la Couronne, and they existed until 1761 (O. Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration* [London, 1977] p. 115). For information about lacquer and japanning see Huth, *Lacquer of the West*, chap. II.

masters—including that of the artist responsible for the japanning on the Linsky secretaire—remains unknown.⁵

It is, however, possible to trace the origin of most of the secretaire's Oriental scenes. The images on the front panels are a medley based on prints executed by the French engraver Pierre Aveline in 1740 after drawings by François Boucher, notably *L'Air*, *Le Feu*, and *La Terre* from a set representing the four elements, and *Le Toucher* from a series depicting the five senses. It is interesting to see how closely the engraved examples have been transferred, in spite of such minor variations as occur in the pattern of the garments, for instance, or in the way the figures are grouped. The scenes on the secretaire correspond in size with their engraved counterparts. Only the backgrounds in the japanned panels vary from those in the prints.

On the secretaire's fall front (Figure 4), the lady leaning on a bird cage, and the parrot on a stand behind her, are derived from *L'Air* (Figure 5).⁶ The seated man facing her, with a steaming cup of tea in one hand, is a figure from *Le Feu*, apparently the only engraving of the *Four Elements* set for which Boucher's original drawing is still in existence (Figures 6, 7).⁷ The third figure on the fall front, a woman wearing a triangular headdress and leaning against a plant stand, with a tree growing in a container behind her, is a reversed image from *La Terre* (Figure 8).

In decorating the lower front of the secretaire (Figure 9), the lacquer artist turned to the same series for the left door. Here both figures in *Le Feu* have been reproduced: the man seated next to a stove with a cup in his hand, and the man pouring

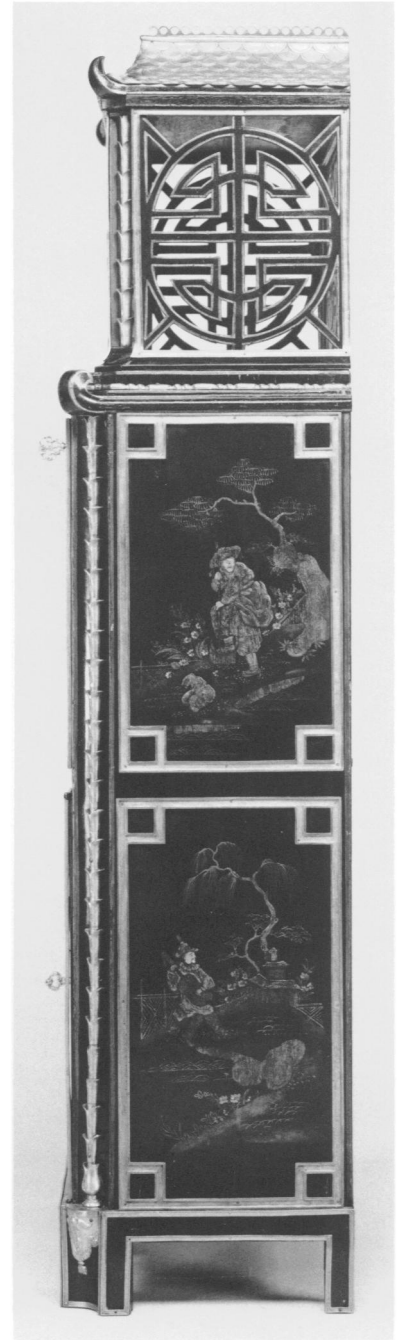
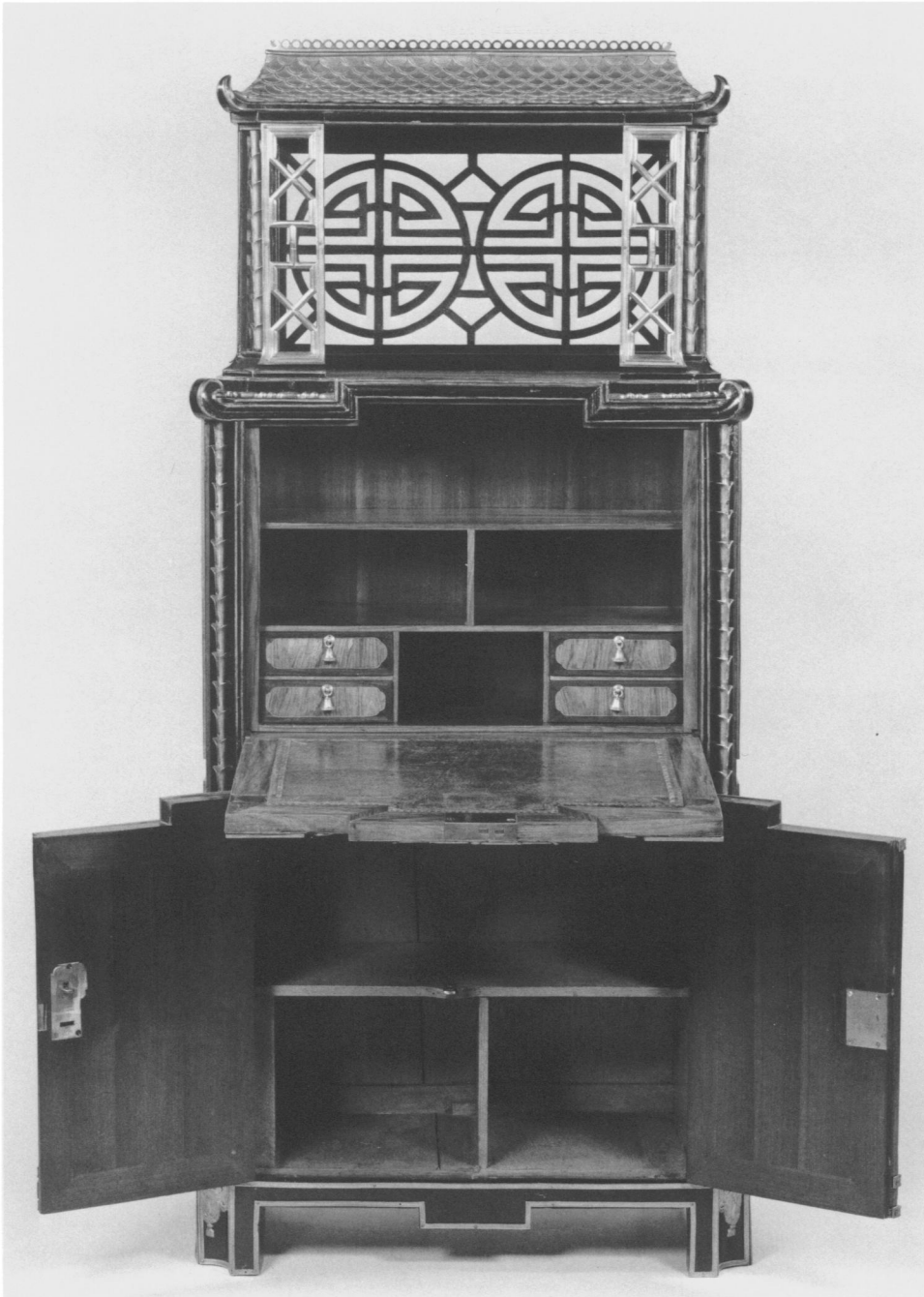
- 1–3. René Dubois, drop-front secretaire, French, ca. 1770–75, stamped on the back on the upper right side: 1 DUBOIS JME. Painted and varnished oak; interior veneered with mahogany and purplewood; gilt-bronze mounts, 60 × 26¾ × 13⅜ in. (152.5 × 68 × 34 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982.60.57

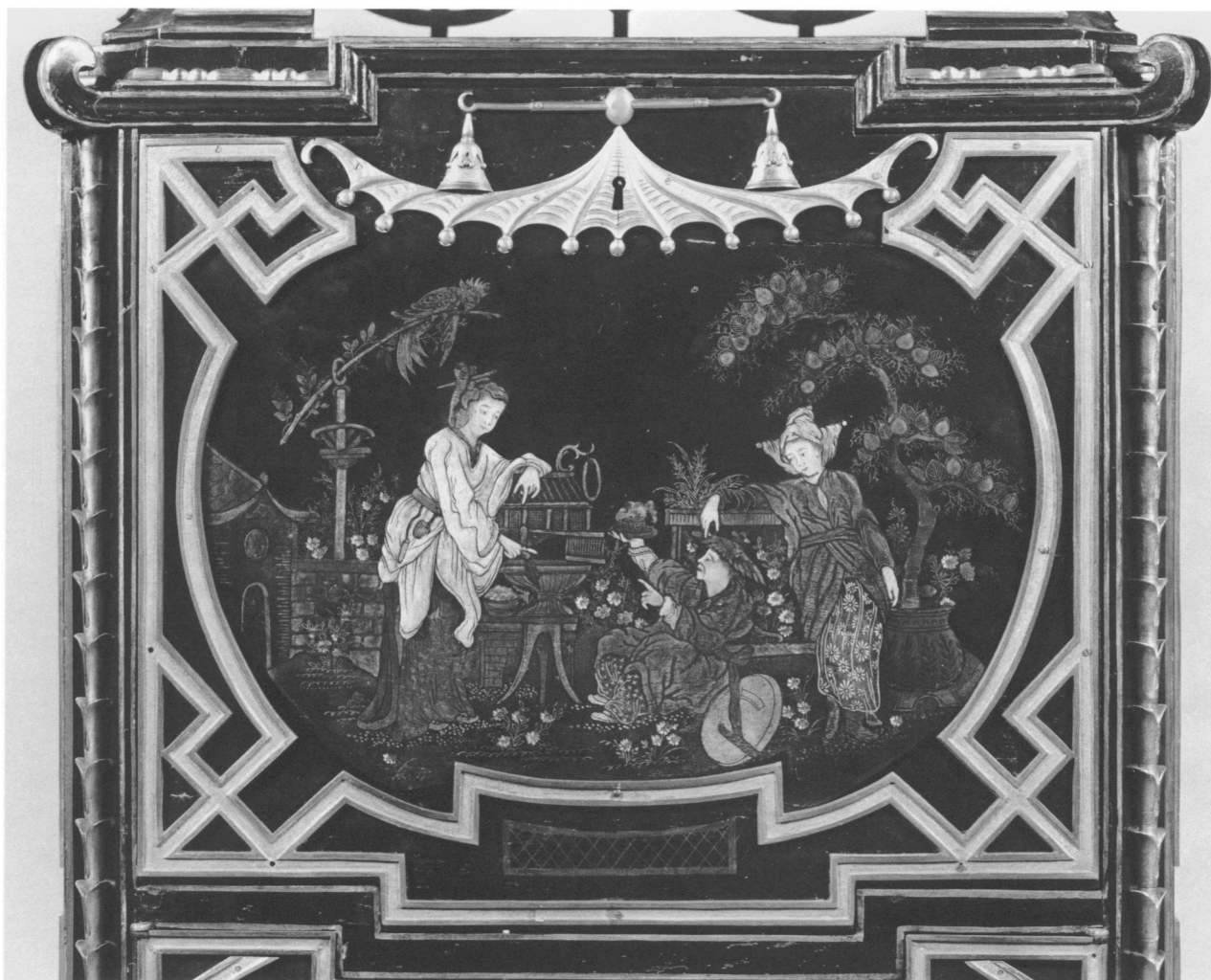


5. The best-known French artists working in this field were the four Martin brothers, who were granted patents for making imitations "en relief dans le goût du Japon et de la Chine" in 1730 and 1744. Their varnish, consisting mainly of copal and patented in 1753, was called *vernis Martin*. Although many 18th-century French japanned objects are described as *vernis Martin*, only a few can be attributed with certainty to the Martin family (Huth, *Lacquer of the West*, pp. 95–96).

6. The case of a Swedish longcase clock, dated ca. 1765, shows the same chinoiserie scene against a white ground (Sothby's, sale cat. [London, May 24, 1985] lot 98).

7. J. Bean with the assistance of L. Turčić, *15th–18th Century French Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1986) p. 35, no. 26.





4. Secrétaire, fall front

5. Pierre Aveline after François Boucher, *L'Air*, 1740. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 49.108.2(33)

6. Aveline after Boucher, *Le Feu*, 1740. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 49.108.2(35)

7. Boucher, *The Element of Fire*. Red chalk, $13\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$ in. (35 × 28.8 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Van Day Truex Fund, 1984.51.1

8. Aveline after Boucher, *La Terre*, 1740. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 49.108.2(36)



5



6



7



8



9. Secrétaire, lower front

10. Aveline after Boucher, *Le Toucher*, 1740. Engraving.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane
Dick Fund, 53.600.1003

tea (Figure 6). The pair on the right door, a seated Oriental with a cat and at his side a girl holding up a second small animal, are taken from *Le Toucher* (Figure 10), in the *Five Senses* series.

The sides of the secretaire also have japanned panels with chinoiserie designs, one of which may be after Boucher. The man stirring a bowl on the upper left side (Figure 11) is possibly adapted from the Chinaman serving tea in *Le Feu* (Figure 6). Except for the raised arm with the teapot, the overall pose of both figures is basically the same, and the bowl in the panel is set on a structure reminiscent of the stove in *Le Feu*. A composition by Jean Pillement (1728–1808), the well-known designer of chinoiserie orna-





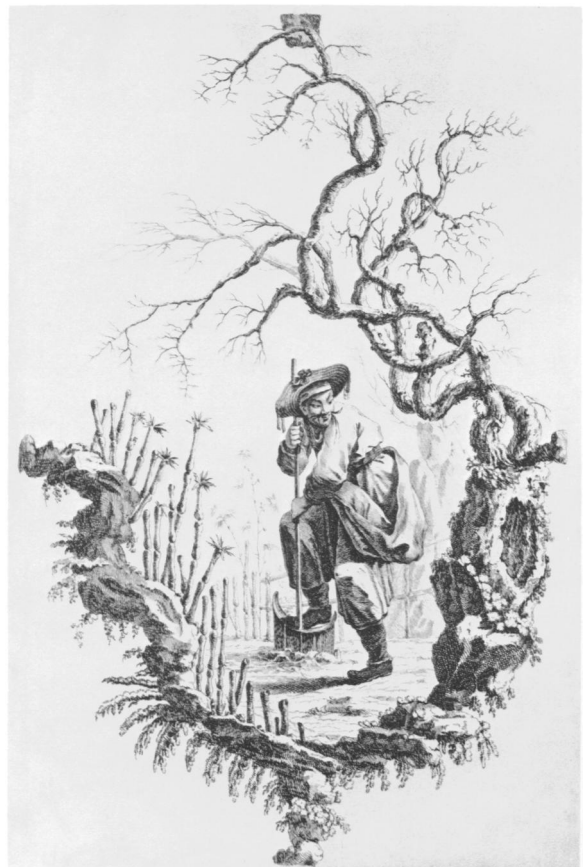
11. Secretaire, upper left side

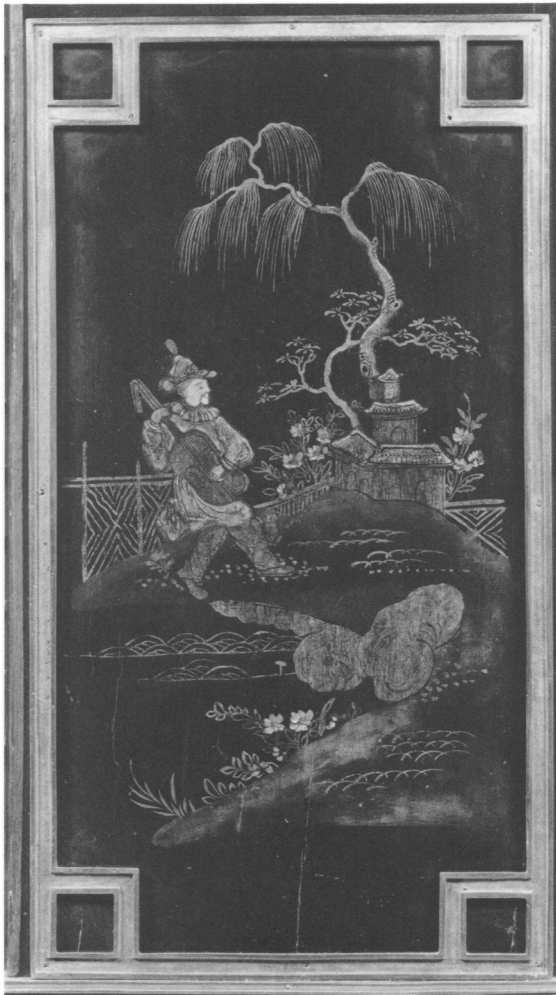


12. Secretaire, upper right side

ment, can be recognized on the upper right side of the secretaire (Figure 12). The man with a spade in a winter landscape comes from a series of engravings representing the twelve months of the year, executed by Pierre Canot in 1759 after Pillement's designs (Figure 13). As none of the engravings bears an inscription, it is not clear which winter month this particular figure symbolizes. The panel depicting a guitar player on the lower right side can be compared to a print belonging to the same set after Pillement, but here the differences are considerable (Figures 14, 15). One wonders whether the same artist

13. Pierre Canot after Jean Pillement, engraving from a set representing the twelve months of the year, 1759. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 21.91.110





14. Secretaire, lower right side



15. Canot after Pillement, engraving from a set representing the twelve months of the year, 1759. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 21.91.109



16. Secrétaire, lower left side

who so accurately followed the engravings for the scenes on the other panels would have changed a design to this extent. The woman holding a round object on the lower left side of the secretaire (Figure 16) is much smaller than the figures in the other panels and does not seem to have been derived from any chinoiserie design by Boucher or Pillement.

It is hardly surprising that the artist who supplied Dubois with the japanned panels of the Linsky secretaire chose to use images from decorative prints after two outstanding artists of the period. Designs by Boucher and Pillement provided patterns not only for weavers of silks and tapestries, cotton printers, and decorators of porcelains, but also for cabinet-makers. Marquetry panels in furniture pieces by Abraham and David Roentgen and other *ébénistes* are known to have been based on Boucher's work. A chest of drawers in Paris, made by Christophe Wolff, incorporates marquetry scenes that are faithfully copied from Boucher's *Four Elements* and *Five Senses*.⁸ An English writing cabinet in the Metropolitan Museum displays marquetry derived from Pillement's series of the twelve months.⁹ Moreover, between 1758 and 1762 a number of Pillement prints appeared in *The Ladies Amusement; or, Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy*, published in London by Robert Sayer. That this manual was successful in offering suitable ornament for japanners is illustrated by several objects with chinoiserie based on Pillement's designs.¹⁰ Future research will undoubtedly yield additional examples of the influence of Boucher and Pillement on the decoration of eighteenth-century European furniture.

8. G. de Bellaigue, "Engravings and the French Eighteenth Century Marqueter—1," *Burlington Magazine* 107 (1965) p. 249, fig. 42; this chest of drawers, dated ca. 1775, is in the collection of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. For work by Abraham and David Roentgen see H. Huth, *Roentgen Furniture: Abraham and David Roentgen, European Cabinet-makers* (London/New York, 1974) figs. 88–90, 135, 212; only fig. 212 is identified as based on designs by Boucher.

9. Acc. no. 64.101.1127, ca. 1770–75. See *Highlights of the Undermyer Collection of English and Continental Decorative Arts*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977) pp. 94–95, no. 172, ill.

10. See, for example, D. Kisluk-Grosheide, "A Japanned Cabinet in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *MMJ* 19/20 (1984–85) pp. 85–95.

A Pair of Sphinxes in the Linsky Collection Reattributed

CLARE LE CORBEILLER

*Associate Curator, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*



1. Pair of sphinxes, English, Bristol (Cookworthy period), 1771–74. Hard-paste porcelain, L. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20 cm.), 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (19.3 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982.60.183,184

WHEN THE CATALOGUE of the Jack and Belle Linsky Collection was published in 1984, a pair of hard-paste porcelain sphinxes (Figures 1, 2) was somewhat hesitantly attributed to a German factory, possibly that at Fulda, which was in operation from 1764 to 1788.¹ The chief justification for this attribution was the record of an identical pair in the Ostermann collection in 1928; that pair was marked—like each of the Linsky sphinxes—with a blue-painted cross such as that used at Fulda, and was assigned to Fulda in the sale catalogue.² However, potential objections to such an attribution for the Linsky pair were seen in a pronounced dullness of paste and glaze and in the fact that the mark was applied over rather than under the glaze, contrary to Fulda's usual practice.

It has since been brought to my attention that the Ostermann sphinxes—now on loan to the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich—have been re-examined, and that as a result they have been reattributed to William Cookworthy's Bristol factory.³

1. *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1984) p. 292, nos. 237, 238.

2. Dr. Paul Ostermann Collection, sale cat., Cassirer and Helbing (Berlin, Oct. 30–Nov. 2, 1928) lot 1791 (catalogue by Otto von Falke).

3. "A Miscellany of Pieces," *English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 8, pt. 2 (1972) pp. 228–229, pl. 184. I am grateful to Dr. Rainer Rückert for information and to Miss Kate Foster for telling me of her rediscovery of the Ostermann sphinxes and of the published note concerning her observations.



2. Sphinx seen from the front

In addition to the cross mark, the Munich sphinxes are said to bear impressed numerals and the letters *T*°, all partly ground away. The letters are those identifying the itinerant assembler or “repairer” Tebo, who worked at Bristol from 1771 to 1774. Before then he had been at Bow, Worcester, and Plymouth, and in 1774 he left Bristol for Josiah Wedgwood’s factory at Etruria, where he is last recorded the following year.

Of all the factories at which Tebo was employed, only Plymouth and Bristol produced hard-paste porcelain, and it was only at Bristol that the mark of a cross in blue enamel was used. On late Plymouth and Bristol figures, too, there can be found allover fabric patterns comparable to those on the saddlecloths of

the Linsky sphinxes, with formalized flower heads and gilt foliage, interspersed with circles or dots.⁴

For these reasons, an attribution to Bristol of both pairs of sphinxes seems entirely valid. In addition, a model of a sphinx on a rectangular base, of comparable size to these, was produced in about 1768–70 at Cookworthy’s earlier factory at Plymouth.⁵ It is curious, however, that there is so little correspondence between the models. The earlier one, known from a single example,⁶ is a traditional representation: the body and torso are aligned, the paws rest firmly and in parallel on the ground, and the sphinx stares straight ahead. All this is in marked contrast to the coquettish poses, feminine costume details, and almost flirtatious expressions of the Linsky models.

It is in just these respects, however, that the Linsky sphinxes correspond to models produced at two other English factories: a Chelsea pair of about 1747 and another, dated by J. V. G. Mallet about 1750–54, from Bow.⁷ Although far more playful and rococo with their mobcaps, ruffs, and pearls, and perched on steeply sloped scrolled bases, they establish a precedent for the pose and jewelry that is quite different from the severity of the Plymouth model. The Plymouth sphinx was very likely inspired by a stately, all-white Chelsea model of the raised-anchor period (ca. 1749–52),⁸ while the earlier Chelsea and the Bow sphinxes—and, by extension, the Linsky pair—would seem to have a different origin. It has been suggested that they are derived from French bronze sculpture,⁹ and certainly the form of the bases of the Chelsea and Bow models, the sinuous poses of the sphinxes themselves, and the somewhat whimsical details of costume are all in keeping with the compositional mannerisms and theatrical quality of gilt-bronze andirons being made in Paris about 1750.

4. For example, *Asia*, Plymouth, ca. 1770 (R. J. Charleston, ed., *English Porcelain 1745–1850* [London, 1965] pl. 58B); *Earth*, Bristol, 1771–74, with Tebo’s mark (F. Severne Mackenna, *Champion’s Bristol Porcelain* [Leigh-on-Sea, 1947] fig. 100).

5. F. Severne Mackenna, *Cookworthy’s Plymouth and Bristol Porcelain* (Leigh-on-Sea, 1946) figs. 73, 74; length 12 in.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth’s England*, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984) cat. nos. 05, 017.

8. Margaret Legge, *Flowers and Fables: A Survey of Chelsea Porcelain 1745–69*, exh. cat. (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1984–85) no. 19.

9. Hugh Tait, “Some Consequences of the Bow Special Exhibition, Part III,” *Apollo* 71 (1960) p. 183.

THE JACK AND BELLE LINSKY COLLECTION

in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Addenda to the Catalogue

CONTRIBUTORS

Katharine Baetjer

Clare Le Corbeiller

Guy C. Bauman

James Parker

James David Draper

Mary Sprinson de Jesús

THE PUBLICATION OF *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* coincided with the opening of the Linsky galleries in the Metropolitan Museum in 1984. The scholarly catalogue, like the installation, embraced 373 works of art and represented the Museum's effort to reveal the magnitude of the Linsky gift in a fitting manner. In 1985, Mrs. Linsky relinquished her life interest in a further fourteen objects, which had been listed, without illustration, in an appendix to the catalogue (page 361). On the arrival of these works in the Museum, it struck the curators concerned that it would be the greatest pity if they were not accorded the same attention as the pieces previously catalogued. Fortunately, the *Metropolitan Museum Journal's* format proved flexible enough to allow the description of the additional objects to be included here as a sequel to the 1984 catalogue. As far as is practicable, the entries follow the style and arrangement of that publication.

Paintings

JOOS VAN CLEVE

(also called Joos van der Beke)
and Workshop

Flemish, active by 1507, Antwerp; died 1540/41,
Antwerp

JOOS VAN CLEVE is generally identified with a painter formerly called the Master of the Death of the Virgin, after two paintings of that subject (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, and Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich).¹ The earliest record of the artist is his registration as a free master in the Antwerp painters' guild in 1511; however, two paintings (the exterior wings of a triptych) in the body of works grouped around the two versions of the Death of the Virgin, an *Adam* and an *Eve* (Musée National du Louvre, Paris), are each dated on the frame 1507. In 1519, 1520, and 1525 Joos served as *dekan* (chief officer) of the painters' guild, a post he shared each term with a colleague. There is no documentary reference to the painter in Antwerp between 1529 and 1535; around 1530–31 he presumably served Francis I in Fontainebleau or Paris, as Lodovico Guicciardini reported in 1567 (portraits by Joos of the French king and his queen exist), and subsequently he may have spent time in Italy. In 1535 and after he is again recorded in Antwerp, where he made his will on November 10, 1540. He must have died before April 13, 1541, when his wife is recorded as a widow.

As his acquired name indicates, Joos probably came from Kleve (Cleves) in the lower Rhine region. His early paintings display the influence of Jan Joest (active by 1474, died 1519), in whose workshop in Kalkar (five miles southeast of Kleve) Joos is thought to have received his preliminary training. Because works by Hans Memling (active by 1465, died 1494) and Gerard David (active by 1484, died 1523) appear to have had a formative effect on Joos's style, the painter is thought to have spent time in Bruges after Kalkar and before settling in Antwerp. After 1511 his work shows the influence of Quentin Massys (1466–1530), and Joachim Patinir (active by 1515,

died 1524), with whom he is reported to have collaborated on occasion, strongly affected his style of landscape painting. From about 1528, especially in the 1530s, Joos's work displays an awareness of Italian Renaissance artists, particularly Leonardo da Vinci (1442–1519), who had also worked at the court of Francis I and had left paintings there. Joos must have had a large and productive workshop in Antwerp, and many of his compositions exist in numerous versions of varying quality.

A.1. Virgin and Child

Tempera and oil on wood. Overall $28\frac{3}{8} \times 21\frac{1}{4}$ in.
(72.1 × 54 cm.); painted surface $27\frac{3}{4} \times 20\frac{3}{4}$ in.
(70.5 × 52.7 cm.)

Inscribed (on verso page of prayer book): recordatus misericordiae suae / Sicut locutus est ad / patres nostros abra/ham et : semini eius i[n] / saecula Gloria patri et / filio et spir[itui] / sancto S[icut erat in] / principi[o et nunc et semper] / et in saecu[la saeculorum] ("in remembrance of his mercy; As he spake to our fathers, to Abraham, and to his seed for ever. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. As it was in the beginning, is now, and for ever shall be, world without end"—the last two lines of the Magnificat, Luke 1:54–55, followed by the Gloria Patri); (on recto page of prayer book): De profundis clamavi / [ad te] domine : domine ex/[audi v]ocem : meam / [Fiant aures tuae] intenden/[tes in vocem depreca]tiones / [meae] ("Out of the depths I have cried unto thee, O Lord. Lord, hear my voice: let thine ears be attentive to the voice of my supplications"—the first two lines of the De Profundis, Psalm

130:1–2)

1982.60.47



The painting is in an excellent state of preservation. The panel, which has been cradled, retains the barbed edge of the painted surface on all four sides. A split runs vertically through the panel 9 inches from the right edge. There is minor in-painting of minute losses along the left side, notably in the lower part of the balustrade and in the middle of the town, and also in the Virgin's hair and fur cuffs.

THE VIRGIN, in half-length, is seated in front of an ornamentally carved, composite stone parapet. With a contemplative gaze, her head is tilted leftward. In her right arm she holds the nude, sleeping Christ Child in a white cloth. A prayer book lies open on her lap, with several pages in view. She points with her left index finger to the opening words of the *De Profundis* (Psalm 130:1–2) on a recto page. A verso page of the book displays the closing words of the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:54–55), followed by the *Gloria Patri*. Between the two leaves an illuminated page features a miniature of Saints Peter and Paul; its gilded margins containing naturalistic floral decoration accord with the style of Simon Bening's workshop.

The Virgin wears a white headcloth, which falls across her breast, and a blue dress with loose sleeves folded back to expose a fur lining. The dress, belted with a narrow girdle set with pearls, is worn over a purplish white undergarment with close-fitting sleeves buttoned with pearls at the wrist. A red mantle is drawn across the Virgin's knees. The infant grips an apple under his right arm, and rests his head and left arm on his mother's exposed right breast. He wears a coral amulet on a necklace of coral beads.

In the foreground an irregularly shaped ledge on two levels displays, from left to right: a covered glass beaker of red wine; a medlar; a metal dish containing green grapes, a walnut, a medlar, a split pomegranate, a pear, and a hazelnut; a half walnut; and a knife resting on half a cut citrus fruit, possibly a lemon but in shape more like an orange (see below). A minutely detailed landscape background includes at the left the Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem with the apocryphal Miracle of the Wheat Field in the foreground,² and at the right the Flight into Egypt.

In the 1872 Gilibert sale this painting was catalogued as belonging to the school of Albrecht Dürer.



Raoul de Cazenove (1883) rejected the attribution to Dürer and proposed Jan Gossart.³ In the 1889 Odier sale the painting was catalogued as Gossart, but Alfred Darcel (1889), in his review of the sale, doubted the ascription and also discounted the possibility of Bernaert van Orley's authorship. Eduard Firmenich-Richartz (1909) was the first to assign the picture to Joos van Cleve, and his attribution was maintained by Martin Conway (1921), Friedrich Winkler (1924), Ludwig Baldass (1925), and Max Friedländer (1931, 1972). Alfred von Wurzbach (1910) erroneously listed the work as a forgery (*Fälschung*) under Jan van Scorel, whom he mistakenly identified with the Master of the Death of the Virgin. John Hand (1978), before he had seen the picture, considered it to be a copy perhaps reflecting a lost original by Joos; after seeing it, Hand (1983) now regards the painting as by Joos with workshop assistance. The picture has been dated about 1511 by Conway, shortly after 1515 by Winkler, and about 1525 by Baldass, Friedländer, and Hand. Conway observed that the Virgin's facial type resembles that in a drawing of the head of the Virgin by Rogier van der Weyden of about 1460 (Musée National du Louvre, Paris, inv. 20.664), and he suggested that a prototype by Rogier might have served as Joos's model for the Virgin in this painting.

The Linsky *Virgin and Child*, of exceptionally high quality, is justifiably attributed to Joos van Cleve and dated about 1525. Examination by infrared reflectography reveals in the figures considerable underdrawing of a style that agrees with underdrawings in autograph works by Joos.⁴ The underdrawing is especially close to that found in two works of about the same date at the Metropolitan Museum: an *Annunciation* (32.100.60) and a Crucifixion triptych (41.190.20a–c). However, as Hand (1983) observes, the facial type of the Virgin diverges from Joos's usual form, the still-life elements are more heavily painted than is characteristic, and the landscape (which is not underdrawn) appears to be the work of a specialist in Joos's shop. The landscape in the Crucifixion triptych at the Metropolitan Museum is very similarly painted, also without underdrawing, and may be the work of the same specialist.

The figure of the Christ Child, although reversed, is quite similar to that in another *Virgin and Child* by Joos (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), which Friedländer dated about 1528.⁵ Also related, although fur-

ther removed, is the Child in a *Holy Family with Angels* by a follower of Joos (Royal collection, Hampton Court).⁶ The Linsky *Virgin and Child* is, however, an independent composition.

The background scenes in this painting suggest that the subject in the foreground is meant to be the Rest on the Flight into Egypt. The second of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin comprises the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt, and there is here an allusion to the fifth—the Lamentation (Descent from the Cross). The infant Christ asleep against his mother's breast foreshadows the time when she will hold him dead. The Virgin's pensive expression indicates her premonition of Christ's destiny, and the apotropaic coral necklace he wears hence resonates with poignancy. The prayers in the book suggest Mary's conflicting emotions: joy, expressed in the Magnificat, and sorrow, expressed in the De Profundis. (In an anachronistic detail that makes the devotional aspect of the picture explicit, the miniature in the prayer book depicts the apostles of the Church, Saints Peter and Paul.) The Christ Child's actions convey his and the Virgin's complementary roles in the scheme of Redemption. He grips an apple under one arm and rests his head and other arm on the Virgin's breast. The apple, recalling Original Sin, is an attribute of the New Adam, Christ

DETAIL (UPSIDE DOWN) SHOWING THE VIRGIN'S PRAYER BOOK



the Redeemer. It is paralleled pictorially by the Virgin's breast; she is the New Eve, and her milk, which nourished Christ, flowed, like his blood, for the salvation of man.

The painting is one of many by Joos or from his workshop that show a half-length Virgin and Child with an arrangement of fruits and other still-life elements on a foreground ledge. There is debate over whether such details were intended to carry meaning, as they had in the fifteenth century, or whether they are better viewed as nothing more than a survival of form without content and a manifestation of the incipient development of genre painting. It is, however, possible to find an interpretation of each of the still-life elements here that is appropriate to Christ and/or the Virgin. The fact that in general this is true for almost any fruit or plant whatever should not lessen the credibility of such interpretations; on the contrary, the broad and widely held meanings attached to plant life support the view that symbolic significance was intended.⁷

The still-life elements in this painting all relate to the same theme: mankind's salvation, rendered necessary by Original Sin and made possible through the Virgin by the birth and sacrifice of Christ. The beaker of wine and the bunch of grapes are well-known symbols of the Eucharist.⁸ The medlar was believed to be good for the body, both in health and in sickness, and hence it became an attribute of physicians, particularly of Saint Luke, who is said to have been a physician.⁹ In this context the salutary effect of medlars relates to the salvation of man, and the allusion to Luke is appropriate since his Gospel is the source of the Magnificat, one of the prayers in the book on the Virgin's lap. The pomegranate has several complementary interpretations and can perhaps be viewed here as representing simultaneously all of the following: Christ's Passion (because its juice is blood-red); the Church (because it has an inner unity of countless seeds); the chastity of the Virgin (because its many seeds and red shell were viewed as representative of the Virgin's multitude of good works enclosed by her faith in Christ's Passion); and the Resurrection (because it was the fruit of Proserpine, who returns from Hades each spring, an association from classical antiquity that acquired new meaning in the Christian era).¹⁰

The pear, because of its sweetness, became a common attribute both of the Virgin and of Christ,¹¹ and the hazelnut, because it was thought to be an anti-

dote to the scorpion's bite, became a symbol of salvation.¹² The walnut, particularly when shown halved to reveal the intricate composition of its interior, has a complex meaning: its outer green marrow signifies the flesh of Christ and, because of its bitterness, his Passion; its hard shell signifies the strength of the Spirit and the wood of the cross which saved the world; its convoluted kernel signifies the mystery and sweetness of the Divinity.¹³ The species of citrus fruit at the extreme right is not clear, but whether it is a lemon, an orange, or a type of citrus known at the time as an Adam's apple, it is an attribute of the Virgin, of her mystic marriage as the Church to Christ, or of Christ as the New Adam.¹⁴

Many of the components of the present painting recur in the numerous other half-length Virgin and Child compositions by Joos. An earlier *Holy Family* at the Metropolitan Museum (32.100.57), for instance, shows a similar glass beaker of wine and a dish of fruit containing a very similarly depicted split pomegranate. It includes a nearly identical knife and an identically depicted half walnut. The knife may have been an often-used studio prop, but the walnut depictions appear to indicate the existence of a pattern in the workshop. The *Holy Family* at the Museum is also inscribed with text from the Magnificat, albeit a different passage.¹⁵

NOTES:

1. One scholar doubts the identification: see M. Davies, *Early Netherlandish Schools*, National Gallery Catalogues, 3rd ed. rev., London, 1968, pp. 69, 101.

2. For the Miracle of the Wheat Field see H. Wentzel, "Die Kornfeldlegende," *Aachener Kunstblätter* xxx (1965), pp. 131–43.

3. Cazenove notes that a previous owner of the painting, an amateur d'art named Calamard, considered it to be of the school of Frankfurt. Calamard probably had in mind works by the so-called Master of Frankfurt, an artist whose name derives from paintings in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, but who is now recognized as an Antwerp contemporary of Joos van Cleve.

4. The author thanks Maryan Ainsworth of the Paintings Conservation Department at the Metropolitan Museum for sharing with him her research on underdrawing in paintings by Joos van Cleve.

5. See Friedländer (1972), pp. 29, 62, no. 59, pl. 74.

6. See Campbell (1985), no. 20, pl. 22.

7. For an early argument in favor of symbolic content see I. Bergstrom, "Disguised Symbolism in 'Madonna' Pictures and Still Life," *Burlington Magazine* xcvi (1955), pp. 302–8, 342–49.

8. It is perhaps significant that a Latin cross can clearly be read in the reflection on the glass.

9. For medlar symbolism see M. Levi d'Ancona, *The Garden*

in the Renaissance: Botanical Symbolism in Italian Painting (fasc. 10 of *Arte e Archeologia: Studi e Documenti*), Florence, 1977, pp. 229–30, with further references.

10. For pomegranate symbolism see *ibid.*, pp. 312–18, with further references.

11. For pear symbolism see *ibid.*, pp. 296–99, with further references.

12. For hazelnut symbolism see *ibid.*, pp. 171–72, with further references.

13. For walnut symbolism see *ibid.*, pp. 245–50, and Bergstrom, “Disguised Symbolism,” p. 304, both with further references.

14. For lemon symbolism see Levi d’Ancona, *The Garden in the Renaissance*, pp. 205–9, with further references. In most of the half-length Virgin and Child pictures by Joos and his workshop, the citrus fruit with a knife resting on it is clearly a lemon. Wurzbach (1910), p. 609, reads the brownish red liquid in the glass beaker as wormwood and reports that it and the cut lemon were regarded as indications that the subject of these paintings was the Weaning of Christ. Wormwood was once applied to the nipple in order to discourage an infant’s attraction to it (see, for instance, Shakespeare’s reference of about 1594/95 in the nurse’s speech in *Romeo and Juliet*, act 1, scene 3), and one can only suppose that lemon juice was thought to have been used in the same way. This meaning for the lemon alone is cited by M. Evans, “An Early Altar-piece by Joos van Cleve,” *Burlington Magazine* CXXIV (1982), p. 623, and, skeptically, by Davies, *Early Netherlandish Schools*, p. 102, and Hand (1978), p. 273, n. 34. For orange symbolism see Levi d’Ancona, *The Garden in the Renaissance*, pp. 272–77, with further references. For the Adam’s apple and its symbolism see J. Snyder, “Jan van Eyck and Adam’s Apple,” *Art Bulletin* LVIII (1976), pp. 511–15.

15. Text from the Magnificat is legible in at least one other painting by Joos, also a *Holy Family* (Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, N.H.). In Rogier van der Weyden’s *Christ Appearing to His Mother* at the Metropolitan Museum (22.60.58) the opening words of the Magnificat are embroidered along the border of the Virgin’s mantle. For eleven fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Florentine paintings (five by Botticelli and his workshop) that include text from the Magnificat, see D. Covi, *The Inscription in Fifteenth Century Florentine Painting*, New York, 1986, pp. 524–31.

EX COLL.: Louis Apollinaire Sicard, Lyons (from about 1848–before 1853, sold to Dupré); ?Georges Dupré, Lyons (d. 1853, sold to Gilibert); Dr. Stanislas Gilibert, Lyons (by 1853–d. 1870; sale, Lyons, Mar. 11ff., 1872, F. Odier, expert, no. 90, as school of Dürer, to Calamard); Calamard, Lyons (from 1872, sold to Spiridon); [Louis Spiridon, Rome and Paris, until 1877/78, sold to Odier]; Ernest Odier, Paris (1877/78–89; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, Apr. 26–27, 1889, no. 6, as Mabuse [Gossart], to Mme de Miranda); Mme Angèle de Miranda, née Christine Nilsson, Paris (1889–after 1925); Edward Julius Berwind, The Elms, Newport, R.I. (d. 1936); his sister Miss Julia A. Berwind, The Elms, Newport, R.I. (1936–d. 1961; sale, The Elms, by Parke-Bernet, June 27–28, 1962, no. 222, to Frederick P. Victoria for Linsky); Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1962–80); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–82).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. de Cazenove, *Les Tableaux d’Albert Dürer au Musée de Lyon*, Lyons, 1883, pp. 28–30 // A. Darcel, “La Collection de M. Ernest Odier,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 3, I

(1889), pp. 257–58, ill. p. 253 (engraving) // [E.] Firmenich-Richartz, in *Allgemeines Lexikon . . .*, ed. U. Thieme and F. Becker, Leipzig, III (1909), p. 217 // A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, Vienna, II (1910), p. 609 // M. Conway, *The Van Eycks and Their Followers*, London, 1921, p. 402 // F. Winkler, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 249–50 // L. Baldass, *Joos van Cleve: Der Meister des Todes Mariä*, Vienna, 1925, pp. 26, 31, nn. p. 7 n. 72, cat. p. 24, no. 51, pl. 46b // M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, IX (1931), p. 136, no. 57 // F. Neugass, “Abschluss einer Epoche: Versteigerung der Sammlung Berwind,” *Die Weltkunst* XXXII, no. 15 (Aug. 1962), p. 13, ill. // M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, ed. H. Pauwels, trans. H. Norden, New York, Ixa (1972), p. 62, no. 57, pl. 72 // J. Hand, “Joos van Cleve: The Early and Mature Paintings,” Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1978 (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Mich.), p. 310, no. 83 // J. Hand, unpublished opinion, July 26, 1983 // L. Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 32.

GCB

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

German, born 1472, Kronach; died 1553, Weimar¹

A.2. Venus and Cupid

Oil on wood. Diameter, overall 4¾ in. (12.1 cm.); painted surface 4½ in. (11.4 cm.)

Signed (lower left, on stone): with winged serpent 1982.60.48

The picture, which has a slight convex warp, is in a near-perfect state of preservation.

VENUS STANDS at the center of the composition; her glance engages the viewer although her body is turned three-quarters to the left. She has long blond hair and wears a wide-brimmed red hat trimmed with white feathers. Cupid, standing on a stone pedestal at his mother’s right, holds a bow in his right hand and shields his face with his left; his expression is reproachful, almost pained. The somewhat incongruous elements of Cupid’s grimace and his shielding hand must be a carryover from Cranach’s usual treatment of the Venus and Cupid theme, in which Cupid is depicted as a honey thief, holding a honeycomb rather than a bow, and pursued by angry bees; Venus, according to the fable in classical literature (Theocritus, *Idyll* 19), reminds Cupid that the wounds he inflicts on others with his arrows are far

more painful than bee stings. The stark black background and the strange, pebbly terrain on which Venus stands are often the setting for Cranach's great Mannerist paintings of nudes.

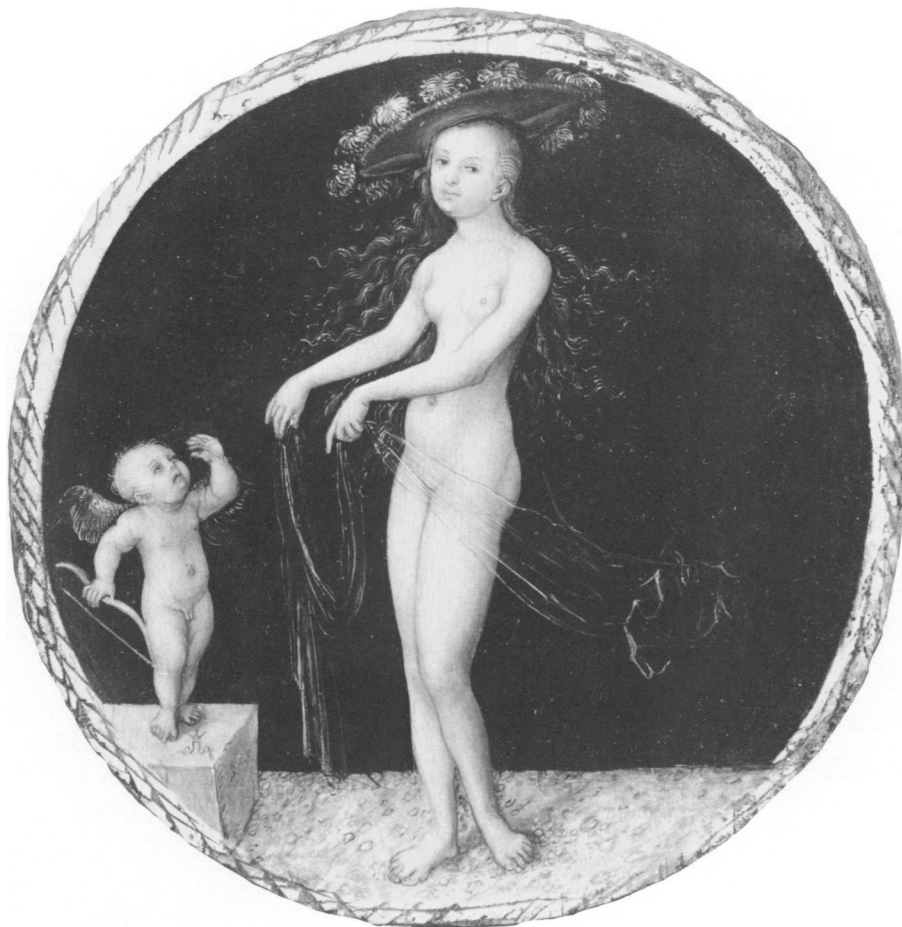
Although Cranach and his workshop produced many paintings of Venus and Cupid, this is the only example known in which the two are depicted in a tondo format. It is one of a group of small roundels produced by the artist and his shop between about 1525 and 1527. Most of these are portraits, but a small number of them represent mythological or religious subjects. The portrait roundels, which probably came first, include the many copies of the pendant portraits of Martin Luther and his wife Katharina von Bora, as well as portraits of Frederick the Wise and John the Steadfast, electors of Saxony. These may be seen as an outgrowth of Cranach's involvement between the years 1507 and 1513 with the design of commemorative medals for Frederick the Wise. The impulse to work in this format may also have come from the interest in Renaissance and antique models prevalent in the humanist circle at Wittenberg.

A group of "subject" roundels, including the Linsky picture, were first reproduced together in the

catalogue of the 1974 Cranach exhibition in Basel.² These small panels, particularly the four which depict nude figures, have a charm and delicacy that is a departure from Cranach's full-scale work of this period. When Eduard Flechsig discussed two of these pictures in 1900,³ he attributed them to Hans Cranach, who would certainly have been too young in 1525/27⁴ to create images of such sophistication, indicative of a late development rather than a beginning. Dieter Koepplin (1974) observes that they are not all of the highest quality, but are of particular interest as an intellectual experiment. He illustrates all eight panels as by Lucas Cranach the Elder, but comments in his text that their authenticity has yet to be examined. Jakob Rosenberg (1978) ascribes the Linsky *Venus and Cupid* to Lucas Cranach the Elder in about 1530. Although it is often difficult with Cranach's later work to distinguish the master from his workshop, both the conception and the technique of the Linsky panel argue in favor of an attribution to Cranach himself.

NOTES:

1. A biography of the artist appeared in *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1984, p. 101.



2. See Koepplin and Falk, I (1974), pls. 143–50. The other panels are *Judith and Two Female Attendants with the Head of Holofernes* (private collection, London); *Virgin and Child* (private collection); *Adam and Eve* (present whereabouts unknown); *Nymph of the Spring* (Veste Coburg, Kunstsammlungen); *Lucretia* (in the collection of Count Gregory Stroganoff in 1911); *Ideal Portrait of a Young Woman* (Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, on loan from the Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen); and *Ideal Portrait of a Young Woman* (Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet).

3. E. Flechsig, *Cranachstudien*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 258, 267–68, asserts that 1525 was the year of the small roundels and attributes the Tübingen *Ideal Portrait* and the *Virgin and Child* to Hans Cranach.

4. Hans Cranach's birth date, which is not documented, is generally accepted as about 1513; see Koepplin and Falk, I (1974), p. 278, and W. Schade, *Cranach: A Family of Master Painters*, first Am. ed., New York, 1980, pp. 77–78. Schade reasons that if the 1513 date is correct, Cranach's sons, Hans and Lucas the Younger (born 1515), must have begun their apprenticeship between 1527 and 1529 and completed their training in 1530.

EX COLL.: Sale, Sotheby's, London, Mar. 24, 1965, no. 100, as Property of a Gentleman; Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1965–80); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–82).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Koepplin and T. Falk, *Lukas Cranach: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik* (exhib. cat.), Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, I (1974), pp. 280, 297, fig. 148; II (1976), pp. 664, 776, n. 78, illustrate this picture with seven other roundels (see note 2 above) as by Lucas Cranach the Elder, but observe in the text that their authenticity has yet to be examined; date them between 1525 and 1527 and comment on their generally modest quality; believe that Cranach made a great many works of this type and that they were quickly produced, probably serving as gift objects; catalogue a round plaque of Venus and Cupid ascribed to Moderno, active in northern Italy about 1500, noting the influence of Italian plaquettes on these works // M. J. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg, *The Paintings of Lucas Cranach*, rev. ed., Ithaca, 1978, p. 119, no. 249, ill., ascribe it to Lucas Cranach the Elder and date it about 1530.

MS de J

NICOLAS-ANTOINE TAUNAY

French, born 1755, Paris; died 1830, Paris

NICOLAS-ANTOINE TAUNAY descended from a Parisian family of goldsmiths. His father decorated porcelains and enamels for the manufactory at Sèvres, his brother Auguste was a sculptor, and his son Félix a painter. As a very young man Taunay entered the studio of Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié, and later he studied with both Nicolas-Guy Brenet and Francesco Casanova. With his friend Jean-Louis De-

marne he traveled to Switzerland in 1776 to make studies from nature. In 1784 Taunay was accepted into the Académie Royale, but he never became a full member. After three years in Rome as a *pensionnaire du roi* he returned to Paris, exhibiting at the Salon for the first time in 1787. His paintings were shown there at regular intervals for forty years. He also had a distinguished career as an illustrator and worked for the manufactory at Sèvres. During the revolutionary period Taunay retired to Montmorency, north of Paris. Under the Empire he received a number of important commissions for battle pictures, and was patronized by the empress Josephine. Subsequently, in 1816, he accepted an invitation to visit Brazil, settling with his family for five years in Rio de Janeiro. The works he sent back for exhibition in Paris were enthusiastically received, and he was awarded the Legion of Honor. Taunay, influenced by Louis-Léopold Boilly and later by Jacques-Louis David, the leading painter of the time, was a prolific artist, preferring to work on a small scale and often painting on wood. His refined technique and varied output—he painted biblical and mythological themes, genre, battle scenes and other suitable imperial subjects, and especially landscapes—won him a wide following. Unfortunately, Taunay has not been well served by modern scholarship and an up-to-date account of his career has yet to be written.

A.3. The Billiard Room

Oil on wood. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (16.2 × 21.9 cm.)
1982.60.49

The painting was cleaned at the Metropolitan Museum in 1982. Despite a minor scratch and some damage along the edges of the panel, which is cradled, it is in excellent condition.

AS HAS BEEN NOTED, Nicolas-Antoine Taunay was a regular exhibitor at the Paris Salon, and the present work is one of seven he showed there in 1808. It is listed in the *livret*, under number 572, as *Salle de billard où figurent différens personnages*.¹ The title is perhaps a little imprecise; the identification, however, is secure, as an anonymous critic writing for the *Journal de l'Empire* noted particularly a curious detail, the statue over the door, which he described as “une figure de la victoire tenant au lieu de palme une

bourse remplie d'espèces."² In the same year Taunay exhibited three works more likely to have attracted public notice on account of their subjects: *L'entrée de S.M. l'Empereur des Français dans la ville de Munich*, *S.M. l'Impératrice recueillant les ouvrages des artistes modernes*, and *S.M. l'Impératrice en voyage, reçoit un courrier qui lui apprend la nouvelle d'une victoire*. He also showed a quasi-historical painting (*Le Cimabué et Giotto*), a view of a Mediterranean port, and another genre picture.

The game of billiards as it is known today was played widely by the seventeenth century, but as a genre theme the subject must be quite rare. Variants of the present work or other representations of a billiard room by Taunay are not recorded. However, Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761–1845) painted *Un jeu de billard*, which was also exhibited in the Salon of 1808, as number 53.³ The painting in the Hermitage, Leningrad, which is signed and dated 1807, is generally regarded as the first version; a replica is in the collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., and another is re-

corded in an engraving of 1828, indicating that the work was well received.⁴ Boilly's billiard players include ladies as well as gentlemen; children and dogs play in the foreground, and refreshments are offered at a table at the left. In the Taunay the players are all men, and the atmosphere is that of a public gaming room or club. The centralized interior space with an arched opening at the back, the tiled floor, and the strong lighting from the left are typical of the artist.⁵ This panel, the only painting by Taunay at the Metropolitan Museum, is a characteristic and exceptionally well preserved example of his work on a small scale. The artist was better known in the nineteenth century than he is today, and his style was much admired, as can be seen from Charles Blanc's comments in the *Histoire des peintres* of 1862: "Il m'a toujours paru que si Louis David . . . avait traité des scènes familières ou anecdotiques, il l'aurait fait exactement dans la manière et dans l'esprit de Taunay," and again, "Pour moi, je le nommerais volontiers le David des petits tableaux."⁶



NOTES:

1. *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure, des artistes vivans, exposés au Musée Napoléon, le 14 Octobre 1808*, Paris, 1808, p. 86, lists Taunay's exhibits under numbers 569 through 575.

2. Jean-Pierre Cuzin kindly confirms this identification, transcribing relevant passages from the *Journal de l'Empire*.

3. *Explication*, p. 9.

4. A. Kostenevich, *The Hermitage: Western European Painting of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leningrad, 1976, n.p., no. 10, ill. opp. (in color), and Jefferson C. Harrison, *French Paintings from The Chrysler Museum*, exh. cat., Norfolk, Va., 1986, pp. 35–37, no. 18, pl. 18.

5. See, for example, two paintings sold at Christie's, London, June 29, 1979, nos. 37 and 38, ill.

6. C. Blanc, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles: Ecole française*, Paris, 1862, II, [Taunay, p. 1].

EX COLL.: Comte de Perregaux (sale, Paris, Dec. 8–9, 1841, no. 55, as *La Partie de billard*, for 261 or 371 fr.); M. L. de Saint-Vincent (posthumous sale, Hôtel des Ventes, Paris, Mar. 8–9, 1852, no. 85, as *Salle de billard. Joueurs et galerie*, for 229 fr.); E. H. . . . (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, Mar. 9, 1951, no. 56, as *La Partie de billard*, for 500,000 fr.); Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1951–80); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–82).

EXHIBITED: Salon, Paris, 1808, no. 572 (*Salle de billard où figurent différens personnages*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The authorities cited below attribute this painting to Nicolas-Antoine Taunay. T. Lejeune, *Guide théorique et pratique de l'amateur de tableaux*, Paris, I, 1864, p. 389, lists *La Partie de billard* in the L. de Saint-Vincent sale, where it fetched 229 francs // T. Guédy, *Nouveau Dictionnaire des peintres anciens et contemporains*, Paris, 1882, p. 116, lists it in the Perregaux sale, noting a price of 371 francs // H. Mireur, *Dictionnaire des ventes d'art . . .*, Paris, VII, 1912, p. 135, lists it in the same sale, noting that it is on wood and measures sixteen by twenty-two centimeters, and recording the price as 261 francs // A. d'E. Taunay, *Nicolau Antonio Taunay: Documentos sobre a sua vida e sua obra*, Rio de Janeiro, 1916, pp. 85–86, lists as three separate entries the Salon exhibit, which was admired by the anonymous critic of the *Journal de l'Empire*, *Partida de bilhar* in the Perregaux sale, and *Partida de bilhar* in the L. de Saint Vincent sale // E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire . . .*, Paris, VIII, 1955, pp. 233–34, lists the Salon picture and notes the sale of the present work from the collection of H. E., recording the price as 500,000 francs // A. de E. Taunay, *A Misão artística de 1816*, Rio de Janeiro, 1956, pp. 140–41.

KB

Sculpture

FRANCESCO BERTOS

Venetian, active 1683–1738

A SCULPTOR working in marble as well as bronze in northern Italy, Bertos is mentioned by one historian as being in Rome in 1683, but nothing is known of his employment there. He is believed to have been in Venice by 1710, and the majority of his works must have been produced in the Veneto. In 1733, he made two bronze candelabra for the Santo in Padua. Almost immediately, these were stolen; by May of the following year, Bertos made replacements and was ordered to fashion an altar cross in proportion to the new candelabra. The last notice of Bertos apparently dates from 1737–38 (bronze groups for the Villa Manin at Passariano).¹

A.4. Vessel with Three Putti

Bronze, remains of brown-black lacquer. Height 15 in. (38.1 cm.)

Italian, Venice, ca. 1720–40

1982.60.110

IF THE DOCUMENTS governing our knowledge of Bertos give a rather sketchy outline, it is altogether otherwise with his figural style and technique, larky and slapdash and leaving an indelible impression of breathlessness and brio. He is known chiefly for spiraling multfigured compositions, which are sometimes signed. Linked to them trait for trait are some curious bronze vessels. They may have served as inkwells (liquid of some sort left deposits in the bowl of the present example). In them, Bertos seems to have wished to revive the bronze table pieces of the Paduan Renaissance, but on his own terms. Allegorical

putti stand in as substitutes for the satyrs and grotesque ornament favored by the earlier school, although there is some remnant of that ornament in the birds' feet supporting the bowl of this example. A trilobed bowl on birds' feet, surmounted by three babies engaged like circus performers in a vertiginous serpentine airlift, was in the collection of Luigi Grassi, Florence.² A shell bowl with dragons' heads for feet, surmounted by four children of unequal size, the uppermost allegorical of Fame, is on the New York art market.³ A related vessel on dragon-head feet, flanked by children holding a laurel crown and shield, the central figure missing, belonged to Sir Francis Cook.⁴ Still another, resting on birds' feet, is in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan.⁵ It has figures possibly emblematic of Prudence: a woman in a running position and carrying a snake, stationed between infants, one gagged and holding grapes, the other holding a mirror.

The Linsky vessel presents a winged babe with attributes suggestive of Fame: a wreath and a "trumpet" terminating in a now-broken pricket meant to hold a candle. He stands with one foot on a crown above a ruined shield; a large blunt pin indicates the attachment for the coat of arms, which was perhaps made of another metal, such as silver. The shield is backed by a military trophy briskly fashioned to incorporate two hooklike protrusions. The child at left, loose on his precarious perch, is turned away from the center. He holds an open book and points to a Latin legend inscribed on its pages: *Virtus / in / puetio / non est*, words to the effect that "childish things do not produce virtue" or "virtue does not reside in puerility" (*puetio* is a contracted form of *pueritia*). The right-hand child raises a ring formed by a snake biting its own tail, symbolizing eternity.

A sign of Bertos's technical nonchalance, as it were, is the large amount of solder used to patch nu-



merous flaws in the extremely thin cast walls of the metal.

Bertos has become perhaps the best-known late Baroque confectioner of acrobatic sculptural images, but he is hardly to be credited as an originator. The word "confection" may serve as a reminder that such works were probably an outgrowth in permanent materials of the cast-sugar centerpieces made for banquets throughout Italy. Fanciful decorations by the Venetian painter Giovanni Antonio Fumiani, much appreciated by the Medici court,⁶ offer striking analogies with some of Bertos's more ambitious, quasi-airborne compositions. Even features that may seem singular in putti by Bertos—tiny eyes, sharp re-troussé noses—are encountered elsewhere in Venetian sculpture, in the work of Antonio Corradini (for

example, marble groups made for Dresden in the 1720s, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum⁷).

NOTES:

1. This information, discovered by Jasminka di Luigi, was transmitted by Alessandra Mottola Molino.

2. L. Planiscig, "Francesco Bertos," *Dedalo* IV (1928), p. 219. Planiscig's study prepared the way for future research.

3. Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, May 21–22, 1982, no. 240.

4. Sale, Christie's, London, July 7, 1925, no. 215.

5. Inv. no. FC 70/68; pointed out by Olga Raggio and seemingly unpublished.

6. *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670–1743* (exhib. cat.), Detroit Institute of Arts, 1974, no. 138a–d.

7. T. Hodginson, "Two Garden Sculptures by Antonio Corradini," *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin* IV, no. 2 (1968), pp. 37–48.

JDD

Furniture

FRENCH CABINETMAKER, UNKNOWN

A.5. Traveling table (*table de voyage, table pliante*)

Walnut, steel, gilt-bronze. Height 28½ in. (72.4 cm.), length 33¼ in. (84.5 cm.), depth 19¾ in. (50.2 cm.), depth of table when fully extended 58¼ in. (148 cm.)

French, ca. 1720

1982.60.83

THE APRONS and legs of this walnut table are ornamented with fine low-relief carvings in the Régence taste: sprays of leaves and berries, flower heads, interlacing strapwork, and shell motifs. These motifs, together with the attenuated curve of the legs, point to a date of about 1720. The raised moldings running along three sides of the table top that prevent papers from sliding off, and the long drawer below, identify the piece, in its more compact form, as a writing table. Pairs of steel struts pull out on either long side, enabling the accordionlike leaves of the

top to unfold to an extent convenient for playing cards (38¼ inches) or for eating (58¼ inches). Furthermore, a system of steel hinges at the corners of the table frame allows the pairs of legs to be tucked under the top in a manner reminiscent of today's folding card tables.

This convertible aspect of the table made it adaptable to the multiple needs of travelers, while its collapsible but sturdy structure took up little space in the jolting baggage vans of the time. The table offers few facilities specifically for women (none of its adjustments permit its conversion into a dressing table, for example); it seems obvious that it was intended for male use, and may even have been made to accompany military commanders on their campaigns in the field.

A closely comparable walnut table, equipped with similar folding mechanisms, is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Brunhammer, *Cent Chefs-d'oeuvre du Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, Paris, 1964, p. 64 // P. Verlet, *Les Meubles français du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1982, p. 132, fig. 29.

JP



A.5. TRAVELING TABLE

Porcelains

A.6. The Thrown Kiss

Hard-paste porcelain. Heights $5\frac{7}{16}$ in. (13.8 cm.),
 $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14.6 cm.)

Marks inside hem of woman's skirt and on under-
side of man's coat: crossed swords in underglaze
blue

Models by Johann Joachim Kändler (1706–1775),
December 1736

German, Meissen, ca. 1736

1982.60.311, 312

A LADY holding a fan between her hands wears a gold-trimmed black bodice and a violet petticoat sprinkled with gold flower heads and hemmed with a wide band of leaves and flowers in green, light blue, iron red, and yellow. Over this costume she wears a brilliant yellow open robe trimmed in iron red and lined in turquoise. On her head is a small black cap with white ruffles and a blue bow. Her underskirts are white and her high-heeled shoes light gray.

The man, his right hand raised, wears a ruffled white shirt and violet breeches beneath a long black robe patterned with stylized bouquets in shades of purple, iron red, green, and blue. The robe is trimmed and lined in yellow. His powdered hair is held in a black bag wig, and he wears white stockings and red-heeled blue slippers.

The subject is derived from one of the *Contes et nouvelles en vers* (1644) of Jean de La Fontaine in which there is an exchange of favors—euphemistically described as a kiss—first between a gentleman and the wife of a peasant and later, following the gentleman's marriage, between the peasant and the bride.¹

Kändler's ultimate pictorial source was one of a pair of paintings illustrating this story by Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater (1695–1736), of which the first engravings were published by Pierre Filloeuil in 1733.² Three years later they were reissued, both independently by Filloeuil and as part of the so-called *Suite de Larmessin*, illustrations of the *Contes et nouvelles en vers* by different artists compiled by Nicolas

iv de Larmessin.³ The engravings—if not the original paintings, which are now lost⁴—were entitled *Le Baiser Donnée* and *Le Baiser Rendu* (fig. a). It is more than likely that the 1736 publication of Filloeuil's engravings was the immediate inspiration for Kändler's figures of the same year illustrating the second part of the story,⁵ but it may be noted that the traditional English title of the model, *The Thrown Kiss*, corresponds neither to the sense of the original story and Filloeuil's title (which would be better rendered as *The Kiss Returned*), nor to Kändler's own interpretation of the subject. In Pater's two paintings each couple was depicted attended by the willing—but watchful—spouse, all clearly identifiable by their manner of dress. Kändler suppressed the third figure and, by representing the couple through costume as social equals,⁶ eliminated the satire of the story, portraying instead simply a gallant and his lady love. That this was intentional is supported by his own description in his *Taxa* of the man as approaching the woman to whisper in her ear.⁷

It has been suggested by Gisela Zick that this change was due to Kändler's misunderstanding of the story.⁸ But even if his education was unequal to the French verse paraphrase underneath Filloeuil's engraving, the picture itself was graphic enough, and Kändler's interpretation—based, I think we may suppose, on images, not words—was probably deliberate.

The figures are dramatically effective. In later years Kändler would compress his narrative compositions onto snug-fitting pad bases, thus requiring a frontal viewpoint and severely restricting the animation of individual pose and gesture. Here he has created figures that are not only independently convincing from any angle, but that also establish a firm dramatic tension however they are placed in relationship to each other. He has further enhanced the vitality of the composition by doing away with any base at all: the figures turn and move freely on the ground, supported by their wide-spreading robes.





a. Pierre Filloeuil after Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *Le Baiser Rendu* (photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

The *Thrown Kiss* appears to be the earliest example in porcelain of this use of separate figures to create a specific composition, as distinct from an aggregation of figures associated by common iconography or symbolism. For some reason the dramatic possibilities of this type of composition were not followed up by Kändler or by later porcelain modelers, a single notable exception being a three-figure composition by Franz Anton Bustelli, modeled for Nymphenburg about 1760.⁹

NOTES:

1. G. Zick, "Kändler und Lafontaine," *Keramos* no. 53/4 (1971), pp. 97–101.
2. F. Ingersoll-Smouse, *Pater*, Paris, 1928, p. 28.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 30; Zick, "Kändler und Lafontaine," p. 100.
4. Ingersoll-Smouse, *Pater*, p. 75; they were recorded in 1820 in the apartments of Voltaire's companion, the marquise du Chatelet, at the Château de Cirey.
5. The most complete list of the numerous examples of these figures can be found in Y. Hackenbroch, *Meissen and Other Continental Porcelain in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*, Cambridge,

Mass., 1956, p. 27. The Linskys owned a second example of the model, sold at Sotheby's, New York, May 21, 1985, lot 46, where additional examples are cited.

6. Had Kändler been following either La Fontaine's story or Filloeuil's engraving, the man would be dressed as a peasant. He wears instead the long kimonolike robe known variously as a nightgown, dressing gown, or Indian gown, popularly worn both in- and outdoors by the eighteenth-century gentleman in place of his tight-fitting coat and waistcoat. See P. A. Cunningham, "Eighteenth Century Nightgowns: The Gentleman's Robe in Art and Fashion," *Annual Journal of the Costume Society of America* 10 (1984), pp. 2–11. I should like to thank Jean L. Druesedow, Associate Curator-in-Charge of the Costume Institute of the Metropolitan Museum, for bringing this to my attention.

7. "Noch eine neue Figur aufs Waaren Lager gefertigt, in einer adriene, wie sie einem Fächer in Händen hält, und eine Mannes-Person im Schlaf-Belze sauber gebutzt kömmt, ihr ins Ohr zu reden." Quoted from Kändler's *Taxa* by R. Rückert, *Meissener Porzellan* (exhib. cat.), Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, 1966, no. 855.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 102–3.

9. *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1984, p. 285, no. 227.

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A.7. Thalia

Hard-paste porcelain. Height 16¾ in. (42.6 cm.)
Unmarked
Model by Johann Joachim Kändler, 1744
German, Meissen, 19th century
1982.60.331

THE MUSE, seated on a high pedestal, holds a child Harlequin who stands on the edge of the pedestal. Thalia's white skirt is patterned with *indianische Blumen* and lined in lime green; she wears a peach-lined blue cloak and high buskins trimmed in green at the



top, with high red heels. Harlequin—his face dotted with black patches—wears a lozenge-patterned tunic of black, mauve, turquoise, and yellow, and his white trousers are parti-striped, the right leg in violet, the left in gray blue and iron red. He holds in his right hand a gray jester's hat decorated with playing cards¹ and wears mauve shoes with yellow pompons.

The square pedestal, on a stepped plinth, is white and is molded with volutes at the corners and with musical trophies in the four panels; below the panel on the front is a molded cartouche with a scrolled and flamelike border. The volutes and moldings are edged in gold. The hollow interior has been closed with a thin, flat, unglazed base slab.

The model originated as one of a set of figures of Apollo and the Muses. Kändler produced two such series—quite different in character—between 1743 and 1745, and both have been said to have resulted from a commission by Frederick the Great. The issue is unclear, but Kändler's biographer Helmuth Gröger and, after him, Otto Walcha consider that the series represented here by Thalia—figures seated on high pedestals—was that made to the order of the Prussian king.²

All but one of the figures had been completed by the end of 1744 (Euterpe was ready the next year), and in January 1745 Kändler noted that he was working on a large mirror frame which incorporated the same models.³ Two examples of this trumeau, neither of which survives, are known to have been made. The first—the one on which Kändler was working in 1745—had evidently been commissioned by Augustus III for his own use, but on the marriage of his daughter Maria Josepha to the dauphin of France in 1747 was instead given to her as a wedding present.⁴ It was taken to Versailles in September 1750 by Kändler himself and the factory official Georg Michael Helbig,⁵ and is said by Walcha to have been destroyed during the Revolution in 1789.⁶ A later cast made from the original molds remained at the factory and is known through a photograph taken before its destruction in 1945.⁷ It is presumably from the same molds that the recorded examples of the individual figures were made.

Of the ten figures examples of six are known: Apollo, Polyhymnia, Erato, Euterpe, Urania, and Thalia.⁸ Of these the representation of Thalia is the most unconventional and unexpected. Apollo and the other Muses are lightly clothed in simple, vaguely

classical drapery that falls gracefully to a point just above their bare feet, and each is shown with one or more attributes. In sharp contrast, Thalia is fully clothed in theatrical costume, with high boots of seventeenth-century style and skirts thrown back to reveal a long bare leg. Were it not for the photographic evidence of the mirror frame this interpretation of Thalia, so out of character with the rest of the group, might be thought suspect. But Kändler has simply transferred his involvement in the Italian Comedy—a theme for which he had been providing models for nearly ten years—to the Muse of Comedy, and shown her not as a timeless allegorical figure like the others of the series, but as a pert and lively Columbine.

Four examples of Thalia are known.⁹ Each is on a different base, and in two versions the Muse holds a mask in her right hand. The high, scrolled pedestal on which the Linsky Thalia is seated corresponds to one designed in 1744 by Johann Gottfried Ehder, not, apparently, for Kändler's models but for a set of allegorical figures by J. F. Eberlein.¹⁰ The use of alternate supports, the addition or suppression of details of costume or, in group compositions, of entire figures, were the factory's normal practice when repeating models. Mrs. Ingelore Menzhausen, former Director of the Dresden Porzellansammlung, has drawn my attention to an order placed in May 1761 by the margrave of Brandenburg-Schwedt for a large number of Meissen figures. Included (somewhat oddly) among those representing court society was a "seated figure with a mask in her hand, a little Harlequin seated on her lap,"¹¹ clearly a repetition of Kändler's Thalia and perhaps as she was originally composed, that is, holding a mask in her right hand.

With the exception of the Linsky version none of the pedestals of the four Thalias is in character with factory style of the mid-eighteenth century, and a consistency of slightly exaggerated details of modeling and decoration among the four indicates that all are of late manufacture. Specific characteristics of the present example are the unnaturally sharp-edged modeling of the trophies on the pedestal, the forced animation of both faces, the absence of any of the bubbling or flaking of the turquoise color which gave the factory such trouble in the 1730s and 1740s,

and the wholly untypical manner in which the interior of the pedestal is formed and finished. W. B. Honey has noted that a reproduction of the mirror frame and its accompanying console table was shown at the Paris Exposition in 1900,¹² and it is entirely possible that the factory reissued the single figures at about the same time.

NOTES:

1. Dr. Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum, kindly informs me that this tall, conical hat, which is not a traditional part of Harlequin's costume, is taken from the hat worn by the Saxon court jester Joseph Fröhlich as part of his Tyrolean folk costume.

2. In the other set each of the Muses is seated against a leafy tree trunk on a flower-strewn pad base, accompanied by her attributes and one or more putti. An example of Thalia was said to be a model of Dec. 1744 for a series for the Prussian king (*Porzellansammlung Gustav von Klemperer*, Dresden, 1928, no. 687); this information was repeated by W. B. Honey, *Dresden China*, London, 1934, p. 113, and again in the sale catalogue of the Emma Budge collection, which included a full set (Graupe, Berlin, Sept. 27–29, 1937, lot 826). The assignment of Frederick's commission to the series of the Linsky type was first offered by H. Gröger, *Johann Joachim Kaendler*, Hanau, 1956, p. 94. It was repeated by O. Walcha, *Meissen Porcelain*, New York, 1982, p. 132, and as Walcha was archivist of the factory he would presumably have corrected Gröger had it been necessary.

3. Walcha, *Meissen Porcelain*, p. 133.

4. Ibid.

5. C.-P. d'Albert, duc de Luynes, *Mémoires . . . sur la cour de Louis XV*, Paris, x, 1862, pp. 229–30.

6. Walcha, *Meissen Porcelain*, p. 132.

7. Gröger, *Kaendler*, pl. 52.

8. K. Berling, *Festschrift zur 200-Jährigen Jubelfeier der ältesten europäischen Porzellanmanufaktur Meissen*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 40, fig. 69 (Apollo and Polyhymnia); Gröger, *Kaendler*, fig. 50 (Euterpe, Erato, Urania); Honey (1949), pl. 148 (this example of Thalia).

9. Sotheby's, Nov. 26, 1963, lot 147 (with Urania); Sotheby's, Oct. 20, 1964, lot 12 (with Erato); Sotheby's, Mar. 27, 1973, lot 1; and the present example.

10. R. Rückert, *Meissener Porzellan 1710–1810* (exhib. cat.), Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, 1966, no. 979, pl. 238, illustrates a variant model of the pedestal as a support for an Eberlein model of Daphne, and cites Ehder's references to the pedestal for "Ovidian figures" in Feb. and Apr. 1744.

11. J. L. Sponsel, *Kabinetstücke der Meissner Porzellan-Manufaktur von Johann Joachim Kändler*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 199.

12. Honey, *Dresden China*, p. 192, n. 172.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. B. Honey, *European Ceramic Art: An Illustrated Survey*, London, 1949, pl. 148 (Honey's description of the figure as being marked is incorrect).

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A.8. Pair of candlesticks

Hard-paste porcelain. Height, each $6\frac{3}{8}$ in. (16.2 cm.)

Austrian, Vienna (Du Paquier period, 1718–44),
1730–35
1982.60.231, 232

OF SQUARE-SECTIONED baluster form, the candlesticks are painted with *Laub- und Bandelwerk* motifs and stylized “Indian” flowers in shades of violet, blue, green, and iron red, with details and moldings in gold. In their present condition—which dates from at least 1928, when they were first published—the candlesticks appear to be slightly out of proportion. They are in fact incomplete: both have been broken at the lowest knop, and a section is missing that would have integrated the square form of that molding with the cylindrical one of the stem on which it now rests, adding about half an inch to the height.

The model is of silver form and corresponds closely to examples found in German silver of about 1730, a date compatible with this uncomplicated version of the factory’s leaf-and-strapwork decoration. These candlesticks represent one of three models, all datable to the same period, known to have been made at Du Paquier’s factory. The second is a single candlestick derived from a different conventional silver prototype;¹ the third is more idiosyncratic, com-

bining a classical columnar form with Hungarian and Oriental figures.² On the underside of one candlestick (1982.60.231) are traces of a red enamel inventory mark resembling a mark associated with the imperial Winter Palace in Saint Petersburg.³ Since Du Paquier is known to have made porcelain for the Russian court (see nos. A.9, A.10), it is quite possible that these candlesticks were once in Russia, but the mark is too fragmentary to be identified with certainty.

NOTES:

1. J. F. Hayward, *Viennese Porcelain of the Du Paquier Period*, London, 1952, pl. 35.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. 65c,d.

3. The transliterated letters are G.U., for Gofmarshalskoye Uchastye (Court Household Administration); they occur, together with a numeral, on a variety of Western porcelains once belonging to the Russian imperial household.

EX COLL.: Berta Floderer-Herzfelder, Vienna; Anton Redlich, Vienna/New York (sale, Kende Galleries, New York, Apr. 5–6, 1940, lot 44).

EXHIBITED: Belvedere, Vienna, *Prinz-Eugen-Ausstellung*, May–Oct. 1933, p. 118, no. 26 (collection Floderer-Redlich); Musée du Jeu de Paume, Paris, *Exposition de l’art autrichien*, May–June 1937, no. 166? (the only pair of candlesticks lent to this exhibition by Redlich is described as a pair of *bougeoirs* rather than *Leuchter*, thus suggesting a chamber candlestick set in a wide saucer with a handle; it is not possible to determine whether this is simply different terminology for the same thing or signifies another object altogether).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Ruprecht, “Porzellansammlung Berta Floderer-Herzfelder, Wien: 1,” *Belvedere* n.s. 12 (Mar. 1928), fig. 1.

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A.9. Covered tureen

Hard-paste porcelain. $10\frac{5}{8} \times 16\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{7}{8}$ in.
($27 \times 41.6 \times 22.5$ cm.)

Austrian, Vienna (Du Paquier period, 1718–44),
ca. 1736–40
1982.60.330a,b

THE TUREEN is painted with the imperial Russian arms framed above by borders of *Laub- und Bandelwerk* in the factory’s typical palette of red violet, iron red, light blue, and green; it is further decorated with applied lion masks and flowering vines, the stylized, partly imaginary blossoms contrasting markedly with the naturalism of painted full-blown roses. The gilt finial of the cover is modeled as a seated Turk

holding a bowl. The scrolled handles are outlined in gold, the rims of the tureen and cover in silver.

The tureen is part of a service whose original size and composition are uncertain. According to Serge Troïnitsky in 1911,¹ it consisted exclusively of "about" forty tureens and wine coolers; three years later thirty-four tureens and coolers—the tureens of six different models—were noted.² While this restricted choice of objects may scarcely seem to qualify as a table service, it should be remembered that ensembles comprising a full range of useful and ornamental tablewares were not common until after the middle of the century; this service exemplifies the complementary use, normal for the period, of silver for plates and such accessories as salts and casters, and glasses or silver beakers for wine.

As no records concerning Du Paquier's factory are known to exist, the occasion for the service can only be guessed at. A suggestive clue is the finial, here a

Turk and on other examples either a Turk or a Circassian. Since 1695 Russia had been intermittently harassing the Turks in Azov and the Black Sea, and in 1736 she was joined by Austria. Hostilities ceased with the Peace of Belgrade in 1739, and Charles VI died the following year. It seems likely that the service alludes to this brief episode of collaboration between the two countries, and is thus datable to the period 1736–40. Such a dating is compatible with the form and decoration of the tureen, in which motifs developed during the first years of the factory are combined with others associated with the last. Characteristic of early Du Paquier production are the thin iron-red line borders, which can also be seen on pieces with chinoiserie of about 1725–30; and the relatively uncomplicated form of *Laub- und Bandelwerk* combined with completely naturalistic flower painting occurs by 1729 on a tankard whose silver cover is dated to that year.³ More in character with



the last decade of the Du Paquier period are the applied flowers; in a smaller format such flowers regularly decorated the bases of the Meissen-inspired figures Du Paquier began to produce in the late 1730s.

The decoration of this tureen is, in fact, not unique in Du Paquier porcelain, occurring in both variant and duplicate forms. Two examples are known of what is evidently a prior stage of the model,⁴ a tureen in which molded latticework cartouches appear in place of the mask and armorial, the handles are simpler in design, and the cover is completed by a knob finial of straightforward silver derivation. Also related to the Russian service, and probably closer in date, are tureens which, although they lack any relief decoration, share with this a similar scheme of *Laub- und Bandelwerk* and flower painting, a finial modeled as a seated figure, and handles of similar baroque exaggeration.⁵ A third model duplicates this one from the Russian service in all respects but the coat of arms;⁶ it has been suggested by one writer that this was a trial model for the Russian service,⁷ but it is just as likely to have been a later repetition.

The circumstances under which the Russian service was dispersed are unclear. It was not sold publicly, as were so many objects from the Hermitage in 1928 and 1929. Robert Schmidt implied that at least the tureens formerly in the Blohm collection, and possibly the entire service then extant, were brought to Berlin in 1918 by the Russian embassy.⁸ On the other hand, John Hayward stated that the service was disposed of by the Russian government in the 1930s.⁹ Since the service was discussed by E. W. Braun none of the wine coolers has reappeared, although several other tureens of different models have survived: there are examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; in the Syz collection at the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C.; in the Blumka collection, New York; and on the Munich art market.¹⁰

NOTES:

1. S. Troïnitsky, "Galerie de porcelaines à l'Ermitage Impérial," part II, *Starye Gody* (Oct. 1911), p. 9.
2. E. W. Braun, "Alt Wiener Porzellan in der Kaiserlichen Eremitage zu Saint Petersburg," *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk* XVII (1914), p. 30.
3. J. F. Hayward, *Viennese Porcelain of the Du Paquier Period*, London, 1952, pl. 45.
4. Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna (Hayward, *Viennese Porcelain of the Du Paquier Period*, pl. 52d);

Budapest Museum of Applied Arts (K. Tasnadi-Marik, *Viennese Porcelain*, Gyoma, 1971, fig. 9).

5. R. Schmidt, *Early European Porcelain as Collected by Otto Blohm*, Munich, 1953, no. 65, pl. 20; Braun, "Alt Wiener Porzellan," p. 40, fig. 13.

6. Tasnadi-Marik, *Viennese Porcelain*, fig. 10.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

8. Schmidt, *Early European Porcelain*, p. 65.

9. Hayward, *Viennese Porcelain of the Du Paquier Period*, p. 211.

10. Two tureens from the Russian service were lent by Anton Redlich in 1937 (*Exposition d'art autrichien* [exhib. cat.], Musée du Jeu de Paume, Paris, May-June 1937, nos. 173, 188). They did not appear in the sale of his collection in 1940, and their relationship to this example and the others mentioned cannot be determined.

EX COLL.: Otto and Magdalena Blohm, Hamburg/Caracas (sale, Sotheby's, London, Apr. 25, 1961, lot 450).

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A.10. Beaker

Hard-paste porcelain. Height 2¹⁵/₁₆ in. (7.5 cm.)

Austrian, Vienna (Du Paquier period, 1718-44),

ca. 1736-40

1982.60.240

PAINTED ON ONE SIDE with the imperial Russian arms and on the other with a single full-blown rose, the beaker is further decorated with *Laub- und Bandelwerk* borders. The interior is gilded.

Two pairs of beakers and saucers and two single



beakers (including this one) are known.¹ Because of the Russian arms they have been attributed to the same service as the tureen just discussed.² They are not mentioned, however, in their descriptions of the tureen service either by Serge Troïnitsky in 1911 or by E. W. Braun in 1914;³ and even by early eighteenth-century practices, before the composition of the table service had become at all standardized, the inclusion of beakers and saucers, associated with the drinking of chocolate, in a service made up of tureens and wine coolers must be considered eccentric. Another indication of the independence of the beakers from the larger pieces is their *Laub- und Bandelwerk* decoration, which is more complex and richer in coloring, suggestive of a separate, although contemporaneous, commission.

NOTES:

1. The pairs: J. F. Hayward, *Viennese Porcelain of the Du Paquier Period*, London, 1952, pl. 51a (Syz collection); and Christie's, Geneva, Nov. 17, 1980, lot 26. A single beaker: Sotheby's, London, Oct. 19, 1976, lot 90.

2. Hayward, *Viennese Porcelain of the Du Paquier Period*, pp. 90–91. Hayward thought they were simply not shown with the larger pieces. This seems unlikely, and as at least one of the tureens was already in private hands at the time Braun was writing, it is possible that the beakers and saucers had been dispersed.

3. S. Troïnitsky, "Galerie de porcelaines à l'Ermitage Impérial," part II, *Starye Gody* (Oct. 1911), p. 9; E. W. Braun, "Alt Wiener Porzellan in der Kaiserlichen Eremitage zu Saint Petersburg," *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk* XVII (1914), p. 30.

CLC



A.11. Shou Lao

Tin-glazed soft-paste porcelain. Height

10¼ in. (26 cm.)

French, Chantilly, 1735–40

1982.60.371

THE STANDING FIGURE carries a fan in his right hand, while his left grasps the end of a long staff that curves across his back from his right shoulder. Behind him is an open, tublike container. His face and hands and the staff are covered with a dark brown unfired paint. The robe and fan are painted in the light Chantilly palette of green, turquoise, blue, iron red, and yellow; the container is painted more sketchily with washes of grass green and brown. The base is open, the interior irregularly glazed; the base rim is unglazed.

The model perfectly illustrates the freedom with which Europeans in the first half of the eighteenth century not only combined Chinese and Japanese (and occasionally Indian) styles but intermixed Oriental symbols as well. The figure is intended to represent the Taoist god of longevity, Shou Lao, identifiable by his high forehead, bald pate, beard, and staff. But instead of holding his traditional attribute, the peach of longevity, Shou Lao here flourishes a decorative fan whimsically painted with Chinese children, themselves sporting with fans and banners. While the fan is an attribute of one of the eight Taoist immortals, Han Chung-li, the substitution here is probably a matter of picturesque effect rather than deliberate symbolism. Further disregard for the conventional representation of Shou Lao appears in his robes, which are usually patterned with the seal form of the character for longevity (*shou*); here they are gaily decorated with roundels and flower sprays of Japanese origin. A probable source for the figure itself is a K'ang Hsi model of Shou Lao, enameled on the biscuit, of which many versions are known (fig. a). The export of these polychrome figures—as distinct from the blanc de chine figures from Fukien—to Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century is apparently undocumented, and their presence in early collections must be inferred from scattered examples in French gilt-bronze mounts of the period. Despite this lack of evidence, the degree of fidelity of the Linsky Shou Lao to the traditional Chinese representation of the god is such that a K'ang Hsi exemplar may be presumed.



The introduction of Japanese style in the decoration of the dress of what is otherwise a figure of Chinese derivation is a reflection of the personal taste of the patron of the Chantilly factory, the prince de Condé. Like Augustus the Strong before him, he amassed a large collection—estimated at about 2,000 pieces—of Oriental art, with a special emphasis on Japanese porcelain. And it was specifically declared in the letters patent granted to the factory in 1735 that the proprietor, Ciquaire Cirou, was entrusted with the manufacture of porcelain “de toutes couleurs, espèces, façons et grandeurs à l’imitation de la porcelaine du Japon.”¹ The influence of the Japanese *kakiemon* style was paramount at Chantilly during the formative years of the factory, being gradually displaced by a more naturalistic westernized manner influenced by competition from Meissen and Vincennes. It is the strong stylization of this figure and



its decoration that places it among Chantilly work before 1740.

In other aspects the figure evokes a more purely European sense of *chinoiserie*, in which traditional Eastern symbolic associations are simply ignored. This model closely resembles another that originated at Chantilly, which springs from quite a different inspiration (fig. b). It is a jolly, fanciful figure holding a fan and standing next to an open container; his broad smile and bare, equally broad paunch are reminiscent of the Buddhist god of happiness, Pu-tai. Of all the Chinese export porcelain sculptures to reach Europe that of the laughing seated Pu-tai was probably the most imitated, and nowhere more so than at Chantilly.² The Wadsworth Atheneum figure seems to be a variant of the traditional representation of Pu-tai, and the Linsky figure represents a further stage of development.³

Even more closely related to the Linsky Shou Lao are two other Chantilly figures. The first, now in the Pflueger collection, is a repetition of this model, at least from the neck down.⁴ But it has been constructed as a nodding pagod, and instead of the fixed head of Shou Lao is fitted with a nodding one of entirely different character. Originally left white, it was decorated later in unfired colors of iron red, blue, and green, which have almost entirely worn away. The second is a seated figure in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, painted with the same brown head and hands and with similar kakiemon patterning of the robes.⁵ This and the Linsky piece are the only two known figures of the kind, and why they should be so decorated must be an occasion for speculation. Even if they do derive fairly directly from Oriental examples, a comparable use of brown is unknown in either Chinese or Japanese porcelain sculpture. But there is another category of figures which may account for its occurrence here, and that is Shiwan stoneware from the Canton Delta, an area of kiln

sites that produced figures in colors of clay ranging from reddish brown to gray, figures decorated with mottled polychrome glazes and occasionally with brown-colored heads and hands. Little is known of the history and dating of Shiwan figures and their export to Europe,⁶ but numerous references in eighteenth-century French accounts to pagods and magots of *terre des Indes* or *pâte des Indes* correspond in description to stoneware models of Pu-tai and Shou Lao that have recently been assigned to the Ch'ing dynasty.⁷ The daybooks of the Parisian *marchand-mercier* Lazare Duvaux record over two dozen such figures between 1748 and 1756,⁸ and twenty-two lots in the sale catalogue of François Boucher's collection in 1771 were figures of *pâte des Indes*, including two pagods "à visage brun."⁹

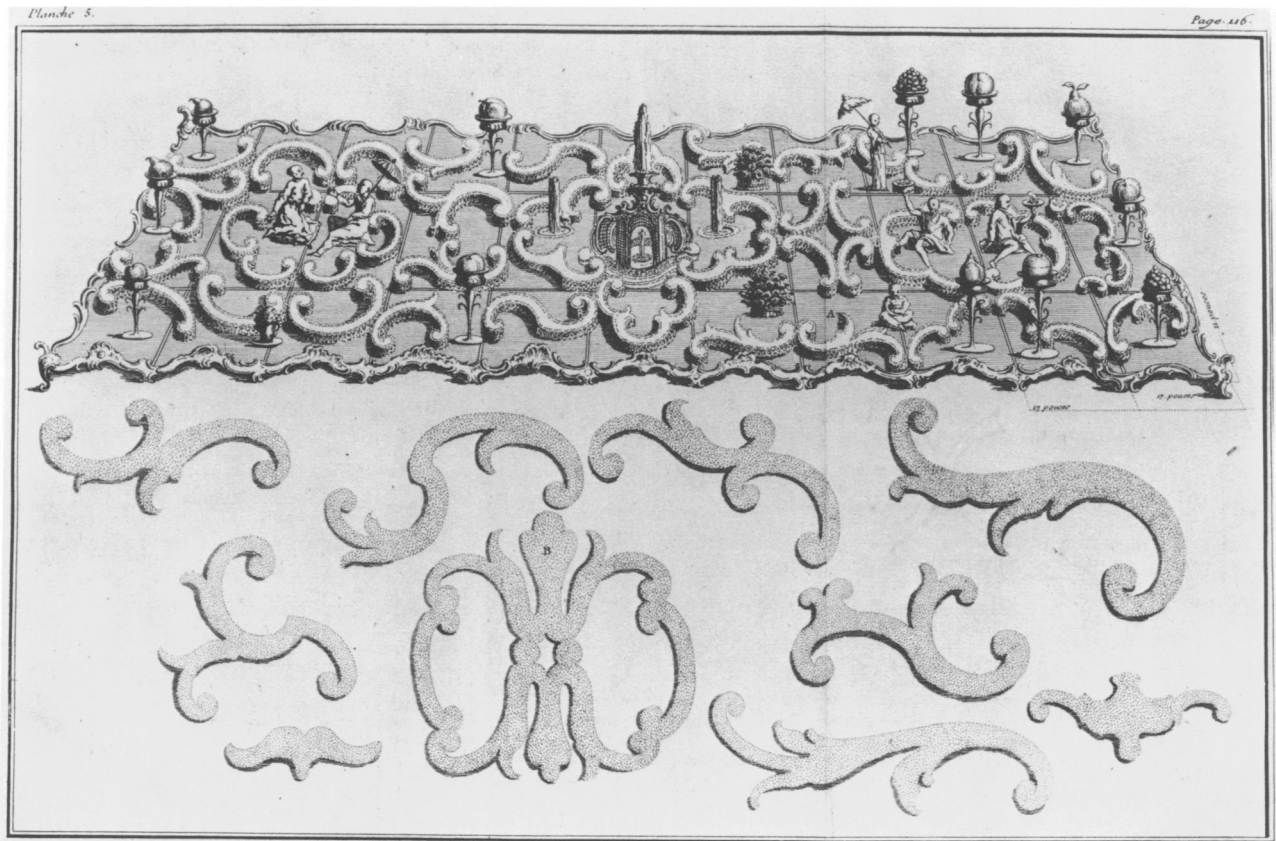
It was R. L. Hobson's opinion that most of the Canton stoneware figures exported to Europe were likely to have been made in the nineteenth century,¹⁰ but the evidence of Lazare Duvaux's daybook indicates a market for them by 1748; and the otherwise

a. *Shou Lao*. Chinese, early 18th century. Hard-paste porcelain. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.203



b. *Oriental*. French (Chantilly), 1735–40. Soft-paste porcelain. Hartford, The Wadsworth Atheneum (photo: Joseph Szaszfai)





c. *Le Cannameliste français*, 1751, pl. 5 (photo: by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University)

bizarre painting of the Linsky Shou Lao and that in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs can be explained by reference to Shiwan models.

One feature of the Linsky Shou Lao remains to be noted, and that is the open container. It was presumably intended to hold either sweetmeats or flowers, identifying the model as an element of a dessert-table decoration. If we assume a stylistic dating of 1735–40, it is thus an exceptionally early instance of this use of porcelain, exactly—and somewhat surprisingly—contemporaneous with the small sculptures then being produced at Meissen by J. J. Kändler for the same purpose. Lazare Duvaux's daybooks describe numerous figures of "porcelaine de Saxe," some specifically for dessert tables,¹¹ but there are no references to French figures other than those of Vincennes and Sèvres. In 1751, however, there appeared *Le Cannameliste français* by S. Gilliers, in which one

proposed layout for a dessert centerpiece included a number of Oriental figures (fig. c). Simplified as they are, these nonetheless seem clearly to correspond to the type of Oriental figures being produced at Saint-Cloud, Chantilly, and Mennecy; and the Linsky Shou Lao may be seen as an early example of the type.

NOTES:

1. X. R. M. de Chavagnac and G. A. de Grollier, *Histoire des manufactures françaises de porcelaine*, Paris, 1906, p. 60.

2. Literal copies of the blanc de chine model were produced by the Du Paquier and Cozzi factories (MMA 64.101.270, 1974.28.120); at Chelsea; and at Chantilly as an element of a mantel clock by Julien Le Roy in the Linsky collection (*The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1984, pp. 241–42, no. 148). A number of variant models, alone or incorporating potpourri jars or globes, were also produced at Chantilly (Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; Musée National Céramique de Sèvres; The George R. Gardiner Museum, Toronto; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [*Linsky Collection*, pp. 318–19, no. 290]).

3. What may be the exact Oriental source for the Hartford figure is described, under the heading "Porcelaines d'ancien céladon du Japon," in the catalogue of the duc d'Aumont's collection in 1782 as "Une Pagode, de ton clair, à gros ventre et riant, tenant un écran, placée sur une terrasse brune à roses blanches et feuillages bleus en relief saillant; hauteur, 9 pouces 6 lignes" (Baron J. C. Davillier, *Le Cabinet du duc d'Aumont*, Paris, 1870, p. 73, no. 122). Dr. Oliver Impey, Assistant Keeper of Oriental Art, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, tells me that he does not know of a corresponding Oriental figure, but suspects from the description that such a model would have been Japanese rather than Chinese.

4. Christie's, London, July 2, 1984, lot 22, ill. A second repetition, decorated like the Pflueger example and with an ill-fitting nodding head by the same modeler, has recently been noted in a Zurich private collection (A. Galleani d'Agliano, "Eine höchst seltene Porzellan-Statuette aus Chantilly," *Keramos* no. 112 [1986], fig. 3).

5. *Les Porcelainiers du XVIIIe siècle français*, Paris, 1964, p. 96.

6. For the most recent account see F. S. Scollard, "The Dating and Classification of Shiwan Pottery in Hong Kong," in *Exhibition of Shiwan Wares* (exhib. cat.), Fung Ping Shan Museum, Hong Kong, 1979, pp. 209–25.

7. See, for example, Kuang-I-Tseng, *Chūgoku Tōji Zenshū*, Kyoto, 1982, pls. 28, 46, 54, 71. I am grateful to Suzanne G. Valenstein, Associate Curator of the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Asian Art, for bringing this to my attention.

8. For example, on Dec. 26, 1748, "Deux magots doubles de terre des Indes" (no. 74); on Dec. 31, 1751, "Un magot de terre des Indes, très beau" (no. 1003); on Jan. 10, 1756, "Une pagode de terre des Indes" (no. 2376). Louis Courajod, ed., *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, Paris, 1865, II.

9. *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux . . . de feu M. Boucher*, Paris, 1771, lots 659–80. Duvaux used the term *terre des Indes* to include both the Shiwan figures and the highly refined teapots and ornamental wares from I-hsing. By the time of the Boucher sale a distinction had been made between the two, *terre des Indes* being reserved for I-hsing wares and *pâte des Indes* for Shiwan stoneware.

10. R. L. Hobson, *The Wares of the Ming Dynasty*, London, 1923, p. 194.

11. On Dec. 31, 1750, "Un plateau de dessert à contours, argenté, avec la glace; sur quoi une corbeille de Saxe soutenue de quatre cygnes, avec la monture argentée, six petites figures de Saxe and six vases de Vincennes" (Courajod, ed., *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, no. 710).

EX COLL.: J. P. Morgan (Parke Bernet, New York, Jan. 6–7, 1944, lot 492, and there described as having come from Cartier, Paris); Forsyth Wickes (Christie's, London, May 2, 1960, lot 149; purchased by Clerke).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: X. R. M. de Chavagnac, *Catalogue des porcelaines françaises de M. J. Pierpont Morgan*, Paris, 1910, no. 6, pl. II // E. Tilmans, *Porcelaines de France*, Paris, 1953, p. 79.

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A.12. Covered cup and tray

Soft-paste porcelain. Cup with cover, height 5¹/₁₆ in. (12.9 cm.); tray, 6¹/₂ in. (16.5 cm.) square
 Decoration attributed to Charles-Louis Méreau (active 1756–79)

Marks on underside of tray: crossed Ls enclosing L, a comma above, in blue enamel; an ampersand, incised

French, Sèvres, 1764

1982.60.180a,b,181

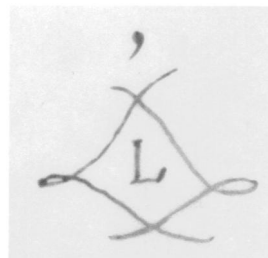
THE ENSEMBLE is painted primarily in shades of rose, lime green, and dark blue with a geometric pattern of ribbons and shells interspersed with diapered cartouches and garlands. The gallery of the lobed tray is pierced and painted as if to represent wind-blown fronds, each section leaning towards a palmette at the corner. The finial of the two-handled cup is modeled as a pink on a short, leafy stem.

Intricate patterns of this sort, in which there is a dense concentration of brilliantly colored stylized and naturalistic motifs, are characteristic of Sèvres designs in the mid-1760s. This particular shell, garland, and ribbon combination appears to have evolved from a simpler design found on an ice cup of 1757.¹ A mature version of 1761 decorated by Louis-Jean Thévenet (active ca. 1741–78) is at Firlé Place,² but most examples occur on pieces dated in 1763 and 1764 attributed to Méreau and Jacques-François Micaud (active 1757–1810). Almost identical to the Linsky set, and made in the same year, is a tray by Méreau in the Carnegie Museum of Art (fig. a); three other pieces with the same painter's mark are dated between 1763 and 1772.³ Four pieces by Micaud, dating to 1763 and 1764, scarcely differ in pattern from the Linsky set.⁴ To the same period probably belong three unmarked versions: a tea service, a pomade pot,⁵ and a remarkable large circular plaque in the Metropolitan Museum, identical to the Carnegie tray, fitted into an upright secretaire of about 1780 attributed to Roger van der Cruse Lacroix (fig. b). The recurring use of the basic composition over several years by different decorators indicates a common source of design, presumably one owned by, and even originating at, the manufactory itself.

A two-handled covered cup of tapered cylindrical form was one of many models of *tasse* or *gobelet* produced at Vincennes and Sèvres. This model, termed

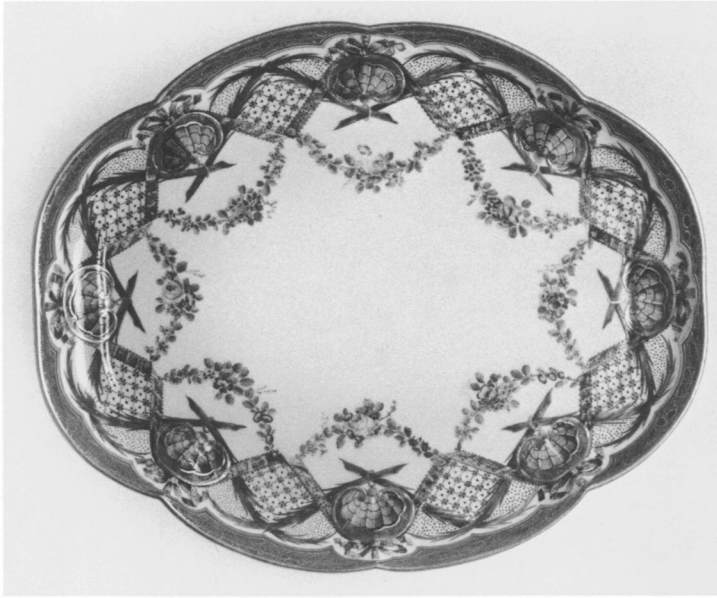


a *gobelet à lait*, is recorded in four sizes and with several variations from 1752, the year of the earliest surviving sales records of the manufactory.⁶ That it existed before that date is apparent from a version in Chantilly porcelain decorated in the kakiemon style, which largely disappeared from that factory's work after about 1740.⁷ A *gobelet à lait* would normally have been accompanied by a saucer with rather deep sloping sides, but other combinations were available: in 1752 the *marchand-mercier* Lazare Duvaux supplied a "gobelet à lait . . . avec son plateau,"⁸ which might have corresponded in type to the stand of the Linsky cup. Much later, in 1782, the catalogue of the collection of the duc d'Aumont listed "Un gobelet couvert, à deux anses . . . sur plateau de laque rouge de Martin."⁹ The Linsky tray is one of several forms of the *plateau carré*, some with solid, some with pierced galleries. The latter variant is considered by Eriksen to occur only after 1756,¹⁰ and is also identified in factory records as a *corbeille carrée*. No other example of a combination of these models of cup and tray is known to survive, and a search of the Sèvres archives has failed to turn up mention of one that might correspond to this set;¹¹ but Rosalind Savill has noted the mention of a "gobelet à lait et corbeille" in the sales records of July 1760–January 1761,¹² confirm-

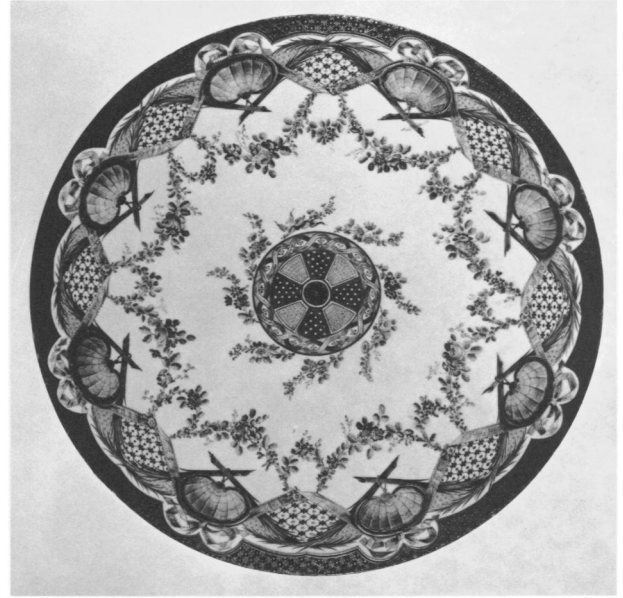


ing the association between a circular cup and a square tray. Another example of this model of *plateau carré*, also dated 1764, is in the Frick Collection. Although decorated in quite a different manner, it bears the same unidentified incised mark.¹³

The painter's mark resembling a comma has been associated with Méreau since it was first recorded in a list of Sèvres decorators drawn up in or about 1775. That the mark has not been assigned to Méreau without qualification is apparently due to its subsequent reproduction as an open numeral 9,¹⁴ a mark which, when followed by a dot, has been tentatively attributed to Méreau, and also to Charles-Nicolas Buteux (active 1763–1801) or Antoine II Buteux (active 1759–84).¹⁵ Of the two, only C.-N. Buteux is identified as a flower painter.¹⁶ Méreau was a painter of flowers and ornament, and is cited in the factory



a. Tray. French (Sèvres), 1764, decoration attributed to Charles-Louis Méreau. Soft-paste porcelain. Pittsburgh, The Carnegie Museum of Art, Museum purchase: gift of Mr. and Mrs. John F. Walton, Jr. (photo: Carnegie Institute)



b. Plaque. French (Sèvres), probably ca. 1764. Soft-paste porcelain. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 58.75.52

records of 1768 for decoration “en rozes entourés de rubans le fonds d’étoffes riches,” and in 1777 for “frises” and “guirlandes et pointillé.”¹⁷ Ten plates in the Metropolitan Museum bearing the mark attributed to Méreau are decorated with bouquets of flowers painted with great vibrancy of drawing and color, and the same mark is found on a group of pieces dating to 1768 and 1769 at Waddesdon Manor,¹⁸ which, like the Linsky ensemble, are notable for the combined clarity and complexity of their decoration and their richness of palette.

NOTES:

1. *Porcelaines de Vincennes* (exhib. cat.), Grand Palais, Paris, Oct. 14, 1977–Jan. 16, 1978, no. 304.

2. A. Lane, “Sèvres and Other Porcelain in the Collection of Viscount and Viscountess Gage at Firlie Place, Sussex,” *Connoisseur* 135 (1955), p. 160, fig. 5.

3. A five-piece cabaret of 1763 (Christie’s, New York, Jan. 29, 1986, lot 68); a cabaret tray (*plateau losange*) of 1765 (Sotheby’s, London, July 8, 1969, lot 68); and a cup and saucer considerably simplified in pattern, 1772 (Christie’s, Geneva, Nov. 11, 1985, lot 210).

4. An écuelle and stand, 1763, formerly in the Maurice Kann collection (Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, Dec. 5–8, 1910, lot 58); another of the same year in the Wadsworth Atheneum; a stand for an écuelle, 1764 (Christie’s, London, June 30, 1980, lot 36); a square tray of 1764 with the painter’s mark of an X, presumed to be the St. Andrew’s cross attributed to Micaud, but possibly a tilted version of the Maltese cross recorded for Philippe Xhrowet (active 1750–74). Some ambiguity exists concerning the attribution of the mark of an X or a cross to these two painters.

5. Sotheby’s, Monaco, June 23–24, 1985, lot 870 (tea service); Christie’s, London, June 30, 1980, lot 35 (pomade pot).

6. *Porcelaines de Vincennes*, p. 108.

7. Y. Dallot-Naudin and A. Jacob, *Les Porcelaines tendres françaises*, Paris, 1983, p. 35. Apparently the same model was described on Dec. 16, 1741, among Chantilly porcelains in the *garde meuble*: “un grand gobelet à lait à deux anses et sa soucoupe” (Henri Cordier, *La Chine en France*, Paris, 1910, p. 12).

8. Louis Courajod, ed., *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, Paris, 1865, II, no. 1256 (Nov. 14).

9. Baron J. C. Davillier, *Le Cabinet du duc d’Aumont*, Paris, 1870, p. 117, no. 230.

10. S. Eriksen, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Sèvres Porcelain*, Fribourg, 1968, p. 102.

11. I am most grateful to Mme Tamara Préaud, Archivist of the Sèvres Manufactory, for making this search on my behalf.

12. Fol. 39v, which Miss Savill has very kindly communicated.
13. M. Brunet, *The Frick Collection*, vol. vii: *French Pottery and Porcelains*, New York, 1974, pp. 256–57.
14. Eriksen, *Rothschild Collection*, pp. 24–25. The earlier manuscript, ms Vj'2, includes some but not all the painters and gilders working in 1775; it is Eriksen's view that this provided the basis for the first printed record of identified marks published in 1845 by Denis-Désiré Riocreux.
15. Eriksen, *Rothschild Collection*, p. 318 (Charles-Nicolas); M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *Sèvres, Fribourg*, 1978, p. 358 (Antoine); and C. C. Dauterman, *Sèvres Porcelain: Makers and Marks of the Eighteenth Century*, New York, 1986, p. 155.
16. Dauterman, *Sèvres Porcelain*, p. 52.
17. Eriksen, *Rothschild Collection*, p. 331.
18. *Ibid.*, nos. 84–86.

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Such bold all-over molded decoration is uncharacteristic of Meissen boxes, on which relief work is commonly limited to small-scale scrolled cartouche frames or discreet, uncolored basketwork grounds. The combination of a severely geometric pattern of authentic Chinese character with a Boucher-like subject implies a date well after the 1750s, when Meissen had abandoned Oriental motifs but when several recently founded German factories were exploring both repertoires simultaneously. Further, the color schemes of the boxes and in particular the sketchiness of the painting on the interior of this one, in a palette dominated by an unusual cool blue gray, are

A.13. Snuffbox

Hard-paste porcelain. Height $2\frac{3}{16}$ in. (5.6 cm.),
diameter $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (8.6 cm.)
German, unidentified factory, ca. 1770
1982.60.336

THE OUTSIDE of the circular box is entirely molded with a vivid ultramarine and gold swastika fret on a white ground. Inside the lid is a scene of two putti, one astride a startled swan, by a riverbank. The box is fitted with plain gold hinged mounts, possibly original.

Porcelain snuffboxes are rarely marked, and it is often difficult, as it is here, to arrive at a satisfactory attribution. This box has been published as Sèvres,¹ and two other examples of the model as Meissen.² On grounds of material and general style it is certainly German, and Barbara Beaucamp-Markowsky's attribution to Meissen of a matching box in the Hermitage cannot be discounted.³ There are several features, however, that call for further consideration.

Of the three known examples, two—this and the Hermitage box—are almost identical. They appear to have been cast from the same mold, the color scheme of the exteriors is the same, the same scene (varying only in details of the landscape) occurs inside the covers. The painting of the Hermitage box, although a little more finished and polychromatic, is attributable to the same hand. The third box is slightly smaller and cast from a different mold, the exterior is colored in pink and gold, and inside the lid is a carefully painted scene of Perseus and Andromeda after François Le Moyne.



elements that strike this writer as inconsistent with Meissen style.

For these reasons I would suggest that the Linsky box was made elsewhere. Comparative material of reliable attribution is scarce, but the three likeliest factories are Fürstenberg, Nymphenburg, and Berlin. All three produced work that was technically and artistically highly proficient, as is the execution of this box; all three included snuffboxes in their repertoire of forms; all three made use of molded decoration. Berlin in particular favored large areas of molded and pierced latticework, not far removed from the molded fret of this box; and at Berlin, too, Chinese subjects and motifs made a rather later appearance than elsewhere. But until documented parallels illustrating either the palette or the painting style of this box are found, no specific attribution can be suggested.

NOTES:

1. Anton Redlich collection, sale catalogue, Kende Galleries, New York, Apr. 6, 1940, lot 193.

2. B. Beaucamp-Markowsky, *Porzellandosen des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Fribourg/Munich, 1985, p. 220, no. 175; Christie's, London, Mar. 29, 1976, lot 205.

3. Beaucamp-Markowsky, *Porzellandosen*, p. 220, no. 175.

EX COLL.: Anton Redlich, Vienna/New York (sale Kende Galleries, New York, Apr. 6, 1940, lot 193, pl. IV).

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A.14. Snuffbox

Soft-paste porcelain with gold mounts. Height $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (6.4 cm.), width $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. (5.4 cm.)

Box unmarked, the mounts marked on the body and cover with a script V in a horizontally striped conforming reserve (Dutch mark for foreign work, in use since 1906)

English, Chelsea(?), ca. 1755–60
1982.60.362

THE BOX is of flattened oval shape with a narrow foot rim. The sides and cover are molded with Chinese figures enameled in bright tones of purple, turquoise, yellow, black, and green on a white ground painted with scattered rose sprigs. The concave underside of the foot is painted with a continuous vine stem on a light green ground. The hinged gold mounts, which are not original, are plain except for a trefoil edging around the body.

The model, of which one other example is known,¹ is apparently unique in the repertoire of “toys” associated with the Chelsea and “Girl-in-a-Swing” factories.

No attempt will be made here to recapitulate the complicated and diverging views concerning the origin of Girl-in-a-Swing. Briefly, it has been considered for some decades to have been a small manufactory operating in London between about 1749 and 1754 as a breakaway from Chelsea.² It has recently been proposed that Girl-in-a-Swing represents not a separate establishment but simply a line of manufacture maintained by Nicolas Sprimont, Chelsea's co-founder and proprietor, in parallel with his factory's main production, and its dates have been pushed back to about 1747–53.³ Whichever the case, the Girl-in-a-Swing repertoire is distinct from that of Sprimont's factory at this period in its specialization in sculpture and figural “toys”—those scent bottles, needle cases, seals, and snuffboxes necessary to a lady's toilette.

Two groups of these toys have been identified. One, of the same paste and exhibiting the same stylistic features of the model of a girl in a swing that gave the factory its name, is generally accepted as Girl-in-a-Swing work. The second group shares affinities of repertoire and models that argue for some connection with Girl-in-a-Swing; the porcelains in this group, however, are quite different in paste (which is much whiter and glassier), and in details of modeling and painting, and there is nothing inherently implausible in the suggestion that the group was produced somewhere else, after the presumed closure of Girl-in-a-Swing in 1754.⁴ It is to this second group that the Linsky box belongs. It is unlike others of the group in not being fully sculptural, the figures being modeled in relief against a flat ground. But the figures themselves are typical: the colors are bright and clearly defined, and both in modeling and in the painting of the faces (which always have slightly startled expressions) there is an attractive, if occasionally stiff, naïveté. The figures probably have a common origin with the Chinese figures of other scent bottles of the type (fig. a),⁵ and discovery of this source will surely permit a closer dating.⁶

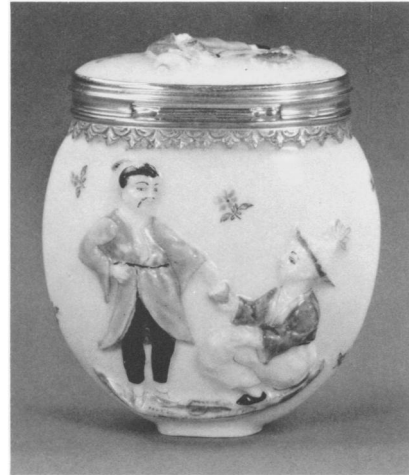
NOTES:

1. Beaucamp-Markowsky (1985), no. 510 (collection of Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Panchaud, Lausanne).

2. A. Lane and R. J. Charleston, “Girl-in-a-Swing Porcelain



A.14. SNUFFBOX



and Chelsea," *English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 5, part 3 (1962), pp. 111–44; J. V. G. Mallet, "Chelsea," in *English Porcelain 1745–1850*, ed. R. J. Charleston, London, 1965, pp. 32–33; J. V. G. Mallet, *Flowers and Fables: A Survey of Chelsea Porcelain 1745–69* (exhib. cat.), National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 1984, pp. 16–21.

3. E. Adams, "A Suggested Chronology of Chelsea Porcelains 1743–54," *Apollo* n.s. 113 (Jan. 1981), pp. 24–28.

4. K. Foster, "Chelsea Scent Bottles—'Girl in a Swing' and Another Group," *English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 6, part 3 (1967), p. 290.

5. Y. Hackenbroch, *Chelsea and Other English Porcelain, Pottery and Enamel in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*, Cambridge, Mass., 1957, pl. 67, fig. 118; pl. 73, figs. 116, 118.

6. Although unexplored at this time, *A New Book of Chinese Designs*, published in 1754 by Matthew Darly and George Edwards, might be pertinent. These scent bottles with Chinese figures were included by G. E. Bryant in his "rose pattern" category, which he considered to date from the Gold Anchor period (1758–69) or later, but a date much beyond 1755 seems too late for this type of unsophisticated chinoiserie (G. E. Bryant, *The Chelsea Porcelain Toys*, London, 1925, p. 8, pl. 24).

EX COLL.: Christie's, London, Nov. 16, 1970, lot 250.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Beaucamp-Markowsky, *Porzellandosen des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Fribourg/Munich, 1985, no. 509 (as Chelsea, about 1760).

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a. Scent bottle, English (Chelsea?), ca. 1755. Soft-paste porcelain. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 64.101.565a,b



continued from front flap

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