

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

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

THIS VOLUME contains articles that range in subject from the time of the Egyptian king Tuthmosis III of the fifteenth century B.C. to the design of The Cloisters, which houses much of the Museum's medieval collection and is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary in 1988. Among the other articles are a discussion of twelve Roman relief mirrors depicting the Three Graces; a study of motifs in Persian inlaid metalwork; a survey of Gobelins tapestries illustrating scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; and a complete catalogue of Dutch tobacco boxes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Museum's collection. Two of the articles are devoted to painting, one to a self-portrait of Salvator Rosa and the other to a series of genre works by Pietro Longhi.

The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty:
A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology
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The Three Graces on a Roman Relief Mirror
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continued on back flap

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ABBREVIATIONS

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

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The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology

CHRISTINE LILYQUIST

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INTRODUCTION

BETWEEN 1974 AND 1983 the Egyptian collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art was subjected to a comprehensive review. Undertaken jointly by the departments of Egyptian Art and Objects Conservation, the investigation led to serious doubts about the authenticity of several pieces within the group popularly known as the “treasure of three Egyptian princesses” from Wady D 1 at Thebes. In order to resolve these questions, my colleagues and I scrutinized all Egyptian gold objects in the Metropolitan Museum from excavations and many excavated gold pieces in the Egyptian Museum Cairo.

The seventeen gold vessels in our Wady D 1 group caused special problems because few Egyptian vessels of precious metal have been found in modern excavations. I thus extended our corpus of comparative material to include a gold vessel in the Musée du Louvre. It has a widely accepted inscription, first published by Jean-François Champollion in 1827; furthermore, the inscription mentions “King Menkheperra” (Tuthmosis III, 1504–1450 B.C.), the Eighteenth-Dynasty ruler during whose reign the “three princesses’ treasure” had been made.

Ultimately, my colleagues and I concluded that the Louvre’s gold bowl raised too many questions to allow us to use it as a reference in our study; and in the course of preparing all Wady D 1 objects for publication, I have subsequently come to the conclusion that the Louvre’s bowl is, in all probability, a forgery of the nineteenth century A.D.

This essay compares the gold bowl to other Egyptian metalwork and examines a variety of related evidence: seventeen additional objects that are thought to name

the same official it does; a Nineteenth-Dynasty tale that is thought to feature him; and a Theban tomb to which most of the small objects have been assigned by Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss’s *Topographical Bibliography*. All eighteen objects came from the art market, most of them in the early nineteenth century. Only the gold bowl mentions Tuthmosis III and has an elaborate list of titles, including “general”; not all of the other small objects have the titles most often present on the eighteen: “royal scribe” (or “scribe”) and “overseer of foreign countries” (or “northern foreign countries”). Consequently, each of the seventeen items has been examined for authenticity and for a Tuthmoside date in comparison with undoubted excavated objects; in addition, each has been studied in terms of its relationship to the other objects, including the gold bowl, during both ancient and modern times. The possibility that a well-inscribed forgery could have been made in the early nineteenth century has also been explored.

What has resulted is a study of selected Tuthmoside archaeological types, foreign relations in the fifteenth century B.C., forgery, and early Egyptology. I conclude that there is an authentic group of objects, excluding the gold bowl, that belonged to an official named General Djehuty, and I hope that this essay will further both the knowledge of Egyptian objects and the appreciation of this important official of Tuthmosis III.

Champollion mentioned the gold bowl in the first catalogue of the Musée Charles X’s collection,¹ but the first person to study it seriously was Samuel Birch, who prepared a paper on its text about 1856.² Birch had seen the vessel at first hand and was immediately doubtful of

the authenticity of the text. He subjected the inscription to a lengthy study, however, and after three months he concluded that it was definitely confirmed by the Annals of Tuthmosis III and “par le langage officiel de l’époque.”³

Birch’s paper inspired Théodule Devéria to look for other monuments belonging to the original owner of the gold bowl, and in 1857⁴ Devéria suggested—on the basis of the name Djehuty, the title “scribe,” and other titles or epithets that appear on some of the objects—that the same individual had also owned the following objects:

a heart scarab and two alabaster vessels in Leiden (one identified by Devéria as a cosmetic vessel and the other—following Conrad Leemans’s suggestion of 1846⁵—as a canopic jar)

an alabaster vessel in the Louvre (also identified as a canopic jar because it “contained calcareous material”)

a silver object that had been described by François Lenormant in the Anastasi sale catalogue as a pendant to the gold bowl⁶

Devéria’s drawing of the silver object omitted several hieroglyphic signs; his essay presented and rejected evidence for assigning additional objects inscribed with the name Djehuty to the owner of the gold bowl; and it pointed out that there was no clue to the location of General Djehuty’s tomb.

In his publication of the tale of Joppa in 1879 (see below), Gaston Maspero linked the owner of all the above objects with a titleless individual named Djehuty, who captured the town of Joppa for “King Menkheperra” (*Mn-hpr-rʿ*, the prenomen of Tuthmosis III).⁷ Maspero reiterated Devéria’s statements that the Louvre’s jar and one of Leiden’s vessels were canopic vases, and he asserted that the former came from Thebes.

Four years later Maspero published the inscriptions on an alabaster palette and three vessels in Turin. He referred to the various Djehutys Devéria had discussed but did not say that the Turin items belonged to the owner of the gold bowl.⁸ A few years later A. Fabretti, F. Rossi, and R. V. Lanzzone published the palette and the jars in Turin (adding a fourth);⁹ they termed the objects vases, but when Heinrich Brugsch published Maspero’s three in 1891 he again called them canopics, although he did improve on Maspero’s transcriptions.¹⁰ In 1890 Karl Wiedemann published an inscription on a dagger in Darmstadt, connecting its owner with the Djehuty of Joppa.¹¹

In 1898–99 the tomb (now called Theban tomb 11) of a Djehuty who was “treasurer” and “overseer of works” in the time of Hatshepsut–Tuthmosis III was cleared at Thebes by the Marquess of Northampton, Wilhelm Spiegelberg, and Percy Newberry.¹² Some inscriptions on the stela in its court had been copied by C. R. Lepsius between 1842 and 1845,¹³ but the tomb was not well known in 1898. W. Max Müller immediately identified this Djehuty with the hero of the tale of Joppa.¹⁴ However, Spiegelberg rejected that idea in 1900:¹⁵ he felt that the titles did not match, and that the name Djehuty was too common at this period to be significant.

The gods invoked and the official titles on the Djehuty objects published by Birch, Devéria, Maspero, Fabretti–Rossi–Lanzzone, and Brugsch were collected by Kurt Sethe in 1909 in his *Urkunden* (using Devéria’s engraving of the silver object).¹⁶ Sethe added the inscriptions on four additional objects—a set of canopic jars in Florence—omitted the invocation of gods on two of the seventeen objects, and differentiated this Djehuty from the owner of tomb 11.¹⁷ The reference to “islands in the midst of the great green” on the gold bowl was especially interesting to Jean Vercouter in 1956;¹⁸ and the title *imy-rʿ mšʿ* (general) that appears on the bowl, as well as *rḥ nswt* (companion of the king) on the Darmstadt dagger, were cited in Wolfgang Helck’s study of Middle and New Kingdom bureaucracy in 1958.¹⁹ “Overseer of northern foreign countries” was discussed as a title in Helck’s 1962 study of foreign relations,²⁰ and in 1969 Helck mentioned the bowl in his *Materialien* as inscriptions evidence of gold, silver, and lapis coming from the north to Egypt.²¹

In 1959 Torgny Säve-Söderbergh published several scenes from Theban tomb 11 and commented once again on the question of its owner’s identification as the General Djehuty whose name appears on the gold bowl and as the Djehuty who figures in the tale of Joppa. Säve-Söderbergh said that the new inscriptions shed no further light on this problem.²² He did point out, however, that the name of the tomb owner had often been chiseled out of the walls, and he connected this act with the defacement of monuments belonging to officials closely identified with Hatshepsut. Furthermore, he illustrated two scenes where the parents of Djehuty were named. In 1960, however, the revised first volume of Porter–Moss’s *Topographical Bibliography* associated all of the objects mentioned so far (excepting the heart scarab, which was not included, for editorial reasons)

with the owner of tomb 11.²³ Jean Yoyotte objected to this association in 1981, when he published the lower part of a statuette that had appeared on the Paris art market about 1975, in which the name of the mother differed from the mother's name in tomb 11.²⁴ Yoyotte also noted that the titles on the small objects were unlike those occurring in tomb 11.

In 1987 Roberto del Francia pointed out that the Djehuty canopic jars in Florence that Sethe published have been associated—at least since the days of Astorre Pellegrini—with a subterranean tomb at Saqqara cited by Giuseppe Nizzoli, the vendor of those jars.²⁵ And Hans Schneider (though he cites Theban tomb 11 as provenance) has now suggested that several objects in Leiden, which have the prenomen of Tuthmosis III (“Menkheperra”) and came into Leiden's collection with Djehuty's jar, palette, and heart scarab from the agent Giovanni Anastasi, could also have belonged to the subject of this paper—even though they lack the name or title of any official.²⁶ Moreover, in 1987, the staff of the *Topographical Bibliography* informed me that it now considers the owner of Theban tomb 11 and the owner of the small objects it had assigned to that tomb to be two different people; it plans to publish the small objects in its forthcoming volume *Objects of Unknown Provenance*.

In recent years three of Leiden's four inscribed Djehuty objects have been published: the gold bowl was included in Boston's “Egypt's Golden Age” exhibition in 1982; Darmstadt published its dagger in 1984; and ten of the above objects associated with General Djehuty appeared in Hildesheim's “Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht” exhibition of 1987. For the first time since the days of Leemans, Birch, and Devéria, there is published descriptive information about and photographs of all but three of the eighteen objects that have been associated with “General Djehuty.”

In the following sections I will present the evidence that the tale of Joppa and related textual and archaeological information yield about the period of Tuthmosis III in the eastern Mediterranean. I will then describe the small objects that have traditionally been linked to the “overseer of [northern] foreign countries Djehuty” and review their dating, history, and probable provenance. Finally, I will consider the inscriptions in Theban tomb 11, discuss the gold bowl as a possible forgery, and present some additional items that could have belonged to this important official of Tuthmosis III.

THE TALE OF JOPPA AND RELATED EVIDENCE

The tale of Joppa, an Egyptian text long associated with the owner of the Louvre's gold bowl, is a story preserved in a Dynasty 19 papyrus known as Papyrus Harris 500.²⁷ The hero of this tale—a “Djehuty” without title—captures the town of Joppa (Jaffa/Haifa) with his troops by sending Egyptian soldiers into the town hidden in baskets. According to the account, this official served “King Menkheperra,” had the use of *iw'yt* (garrison troops),²⁸ and was accompanied by his wife and children.

In fact, the Annals of Tuthmosis III document the campaigns that this energetic ruler made into Palestine and Syria (as far north as Carchemish) during the second half of his reign, and Joppa lay within that sphere. Little archaeological data has been published from this site,²⁹ but James Weinstein has commented that the few published finds indicate destruction there would have been later than the mid-sixteenth century B.C., that is, somewhat later than at most of the other Palestinian sites.³⁰ Weinstein also notes that there is little evidence of Egyptian occupation during this period in Palestine (Late Bronze I);³¹ therefore, although the presence of the hero's family indicates that he must have been in the eastern Mediterranean for some time, the evidence as outlined by Donald Redford³² and Weinstein³³ makes it seem unlikely that the tale's hero was buried there.

Is this Djehuty the owner of any of the eighteen small objects? Their Tuthmoside date will need to be established and the evidence for provenance discussed, but one of the jars naming Djehuty in Turin (Appendix A, no. 8) does list the title “overseer of the garrison,” and other titles and epithets on the small objects are compatible with a person who had a military career. The title “overseer of (northern) foreign countries” would presumably have been given him sometime after the battle of Megiddo, the campaign in which Tuthmosis III established his empire in the eastern Mediterranean.

THE SMALL OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH GENERAL DJEHUTY

Descriptive details and a bibliography for the eighteen small objects associated with General Djehuty are given in Appendix A. Those objects with Arabic num-



1. Canopic jar lid, no. 1. Florence 2222 (photo: author)



2. Canopic jar lid, no. I. Florence 2207 (photo: author)



3. Canopic jar lid, no. 4. Florence 2225 (photo: author)



4. Canopic jar lid, no. 3. Florence 2224 (photo: author)

bers have traditionally been associated with him, while those with Roman numbers are newly presented for consideration. A separate chart lists titles, epithets, and name spellings.

Sixteen of the eighteen traditional objects were acquired by consular agents or adventurers around 1825,^{3*} and that provenance alone suggests a common source for them. Giuseppe Nizzoli sold four items to

Florence; Bernardino Drovetti sold seven to Turin and Paris; Giovanni Anastasi sold three to Leiden, and one went to the Louvre after his death; and Jean-Baptiste de Lescluze sold one (from François Bartho) to Leiden. A summary of the available documentation for these sixteen objects as they entered the collections of Florence, Turin, Paris, and Leiden is presented in Appendix B. The seventeenth object, a dagger, was given to Darm-

stadt in 1875, and the eighteenth, a statue, appeared on the Paris art market about 1975 and is now in the British Museum.

Four canopic jars (Nizzoli to Florence, nos. 1–4, and I?)

Giuseppe Nizzoli wrote the following at the request of the Tuscan officials when he was negotiating the sale of his collection to Leopold II in 1824: “Li quattro vasi d’alabastro con testa di donna, si rinvennero tutti assieme in una camera sepolcrale sotto terra in Saccarah, e vicini ad una mummia quasta, e colla cassa di legno in pezzi.”³⁵

The four Djehuty jars are the only human-headed canopics with blue inscriptions that were in the Nizzoli collection, and it would appear, as del Francia has pointed out, that Nizzoli was generally forthright in his statements concerning provenance: while almost all the provenances he gives are for Saqqara, he does mention sources from Thebes, Medinet Habu, Upper Egypt, the Delta, the consul Henry Salt, and “Defterder Bug”;³⁶ and he sometimes says “were found,” sometimes “I found.” It is true that Carlo Zardetti wrote in 1835 that Nizzoli had told him one of the Bologna reliefs today assigned to the Saqqara tomb of Horemheb came from a tomb at Thebes.³⁷ But leaving the question of Nizzoli’s absolute reliability aside, one has the impression that most of the Nizzoli items in Florence and Bologna came from the Memphite area.³⁸ Saqqara, Memphis, Giza, and Abusir were probably the only sites Nizzoli was able to work in and visit regularly, and the Amenhotep/Huy objects published by my predecessor William C. Hayes form only one instance of a Memphite group shared by Nizzoli and other consular agents in 1820–22.³⁹ Of course, Nizzoli does not claim to have found the Djehuty canopic jars, but the details he provides of their having been in a subterranean tomb at Saqqara, near a despoiled mummy whose wooden coffin was in pieces, suggest firsthand information.

The stone of all four canopic jars is a crystalline alabaster, which has occasional thin reddish veins as well as pits that are sometimes bordered by a reddish ring. The jars seem especially clean, that is, without any layer of grime on the surface either from burial or from presence in an early collection. (Del Francia told me they have not been cleaned under his directorship.) The parts have various numbers on them (from a paper label to numbers written in red paint, black ink, and pencil) as well as spots of red and gray paint.

The jars are large (average height about 41 cm.) and



5. Canopic jar lid, no. 2. Florence 2223 (photo: author)

heavy, with thick walls and solid lids. The inscriptions are not plumb, nor are they as well carved as those on the Turin ointment jars described below; but the canopics all have the same type of inscription, and they all name “the Osiris, overseer of foreign countries, scribe, Djehuty.” Typologically and technically they seem to be a set (except for one lid), and in general they parallel the jars of Maiherperi (generally assigned to the time of Amenhotep II, the son of Tuthmosis III).⁴⁰

Del Francia has already noted that the lids of these jars are stylistically different; in his opinion two of them are similar and two are totally different. I believe that three of them can be accepted as Tuthmoside (Figures 1, 3, 4), but the lid on jar 2223 (Figure 5) belongs to the post-Amarna period, judging by lid shape, wig configuration, and facial features. Furthermore, the alabaster seems to be a more variegated variety, and there is much more bitumen staining on it than on other objects associated with Djehuty.

As del Francia has suggested, it is possible that Nizzoli himself inadvertently mixed up the lids, but I located a lid in the Florence storerooms which I think is a good candidate as replacement (Appendix A, no. I, Figure 2). This lid was given the number 2207 by Migliarini when he inventoried part of the Ricci collection in 1852–54. Del Francia points out that 1852 was the first



6. Canopic vases, nos. 1–4, lids, nos. 1, 3, 4, 1 (photo: author)

time Nizzoli objects (formerly exhibited in the Uffizi) and Ricci objects (formerly exhibited in Santa Caterina) were brought together, and he doubts that objects already inventoried could have been confused with objects yet to be inventoried. However, the lids assigned numbers 2222–2225 by Migliarini have other numbers on them, and lid 2207 (Figure 2, which is too big to fit the jar numbered 2207 by Migliarini) actually seems to have a penciled “2224” on it. It is of a height comparable to two of the Djehuty lids and is made of a similar stone (as far as can be determined, for it is quite dirty). More telling are its triangular shape, the manner in which the face emerges from the wig, with a slight protrusion at the hairline, and the flat head, definite chin, and Tuthmoside features. Especially revealing is the rendering of the eyes. Jar lids 2224 and 2225 (Figures 3, 4) use incision more than modeling to define parts of the eyes; like 2207 (Figure 2), they have incised brows and cosmetic lines that simply stop at the outer extremities rather than ending with vertical lines. This is a small detail but an unusual one. One can also observe that jar lids 2222, 2224, 2225, and 2207 (Figures 1–4) all have straight noses (the one on 2224, Figure 4, is chipped off) and that three of the four have plastic eye accents. The lids seem to pair up (2222 with 2207, Figures 1, 2; and 2224 with 2225, Figures 3, 4), but features overlap on all

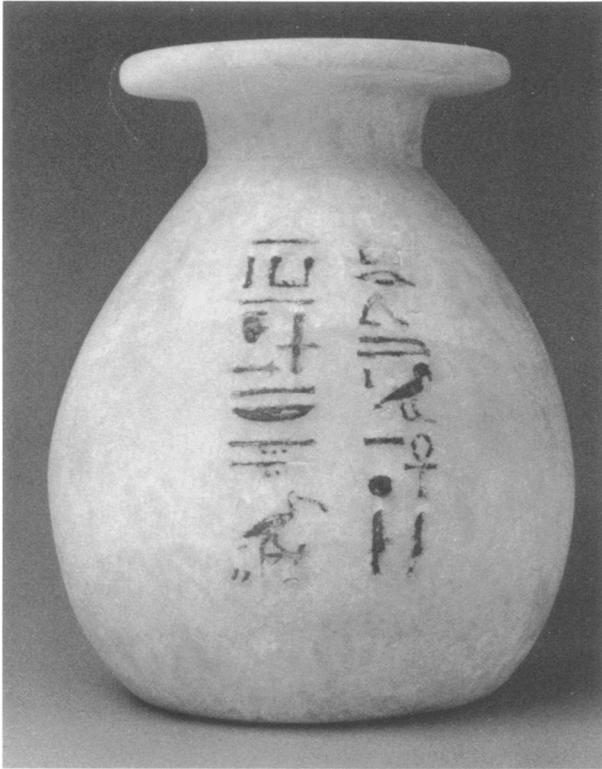
four and variations can be seen on contemporary sets.⁴¹ If lid 2207 is grouped with 2222, 2224, and 2225, each jar has a well-fitting lid. Considering the diameters of the stoppers and of the jar openings, one can link the following, as illustrated in Figure 6: jar 2222 with lid 2225; jar 2223 with lid 2224; jar 2224 with lid 2222; and jar 2225 with lid 2207.

Del Francia has pointed out that the jars appear unused, but there are instances of empty canopic jars being buried with mummies.⁴²

Seven ointment jars (Drovetti to Turin, nos. 5–8, and to the Louvre, no. 9; Anastasi, no. 10, and de Lescluze, no. 11, to Leiden)

Bartho stated about 1827 that Anastasi’s stone vases “came from Saqqara,” and Maspero stated in 1879 that “le catalogue de [the Drovetti collection] (no. 238)” gave the jar in the Louvre the provenance “comme trouvé à Thèbes.”⁴³ The list Drovetti’s nephew made in Marseilles, however—the only list in the Louvre documenting the collection before it entered the museum—does not give any provenance for the jar.

The bag-shaped vases (as in Figure 7), jugs (Figures 8–11), and two-handed jars (Figure 12) are stone vessel forms known in the Tuthmoside period. Workshop scenes in the tomb of Puimra show the bag-shaped vase;⁴⁴



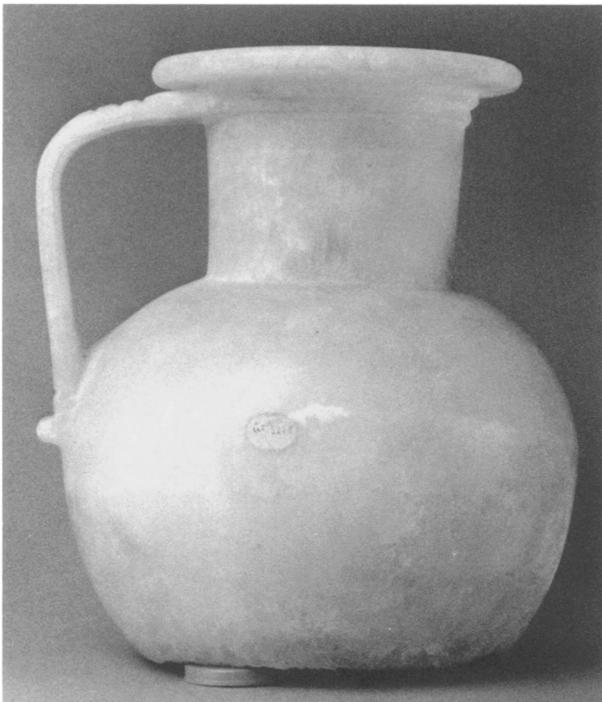
7. Small bag-shaped ointment jar, no. 5. Turin, Cat. 3225 (photo: author)

the two-handled shape is dated by Janine Bourriau from the time of Tuthmosis III onward,⁴⁵ and the jug form from the time of Tuthmosis III to Amenhotep III.⁴⁶ A parallel to the jug was found in the tomb of Maiherperi.⁴⁷

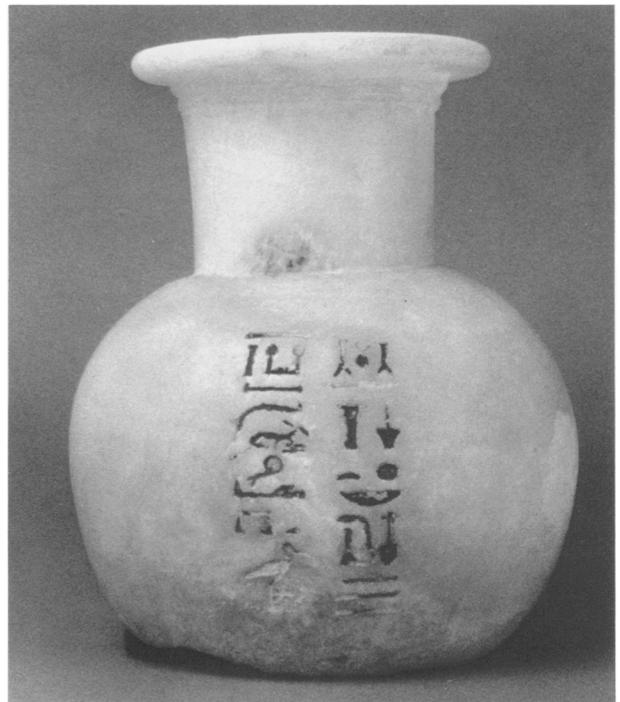
Five of the seven Djehuty ointment jars are within one centimeter of each other in height. The sixth, a jug in Turin (no. 8, Figures 8, 9), has lost its base but could easily have been of similar height, which leaves only the small Turin bag vase (no. 5, Figure 7) as an odd size.

The inscriptions on the vessels are also similar: two columns of incised text filled with blue pigment face right, beginning with the name of a desired offering and ending with a title (or epithet) and the name of the owner.⁴⁸ In five cases the inscriptions use a title or epithet that refers to a foreign territory: “overseer of the garrison,” “follower of the king in every foreign country,” “one who fills the heart of the king in *ḫ3-nṯr*” (an area to the south but also east),⁴⁹ “two eyes of the king,”⁵⁰ and “overseer of northern foreign countries.” (The title

8. Jug-shaped ointment jar, no. 8. Turin, Cat. 3228 (photo: author)



9. Front view of no. 8 (photo: author)



“one who is in the heart greatly of the lord of the two lands” tells us little.)

There are also differences among the vessels, however. The Louvre’s jar (no. 9, Figure 12 right) uses the title “royal scribe,” and Leiden’s bag-shaped jar from de Lescluze (no. 11, Figure 12 left) uses “overseer of northern foreign countries”; these titles do not appear on the other vessels. The de Lescluze jar has the shortest and most tightly written text of all, an inscription that begins with the names of the standard offerings. It is the only one that lacks the *t* and *y* in the spelling of the name, and is thus distinct from all the others. As for the four jars in Turin (nos. 5–8), they appear to be a set even though one is smaller, as they bear similar paleographic details and arrangement of inscription. Drovetti sold them as a group, and the two-handled jar among them does differ from the two-handled example he later sold to the Louvre: Figure 12 illustrates their differences in body shape, foot

and handle detail, general proportions, and density of inscription. As for the two jugs, Leiden’s Anastasi example (no. 10, Figures 10, 11) has a higher, more slender neck, a lower-placed handle, and a more elegant shape than Turin’s Drovetti vessel (no. 8, Figures 8, 9), although the inscriptions are similar.

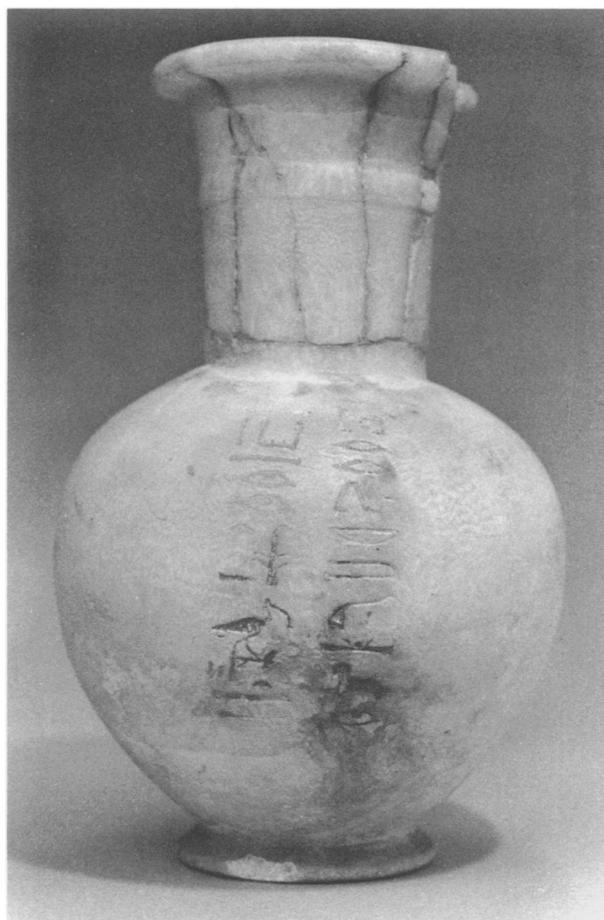
In conclusion, while differences occur in the seven jars, there are interlocking features and histories that suggest the jars were made for the same person but by different craftsmen.

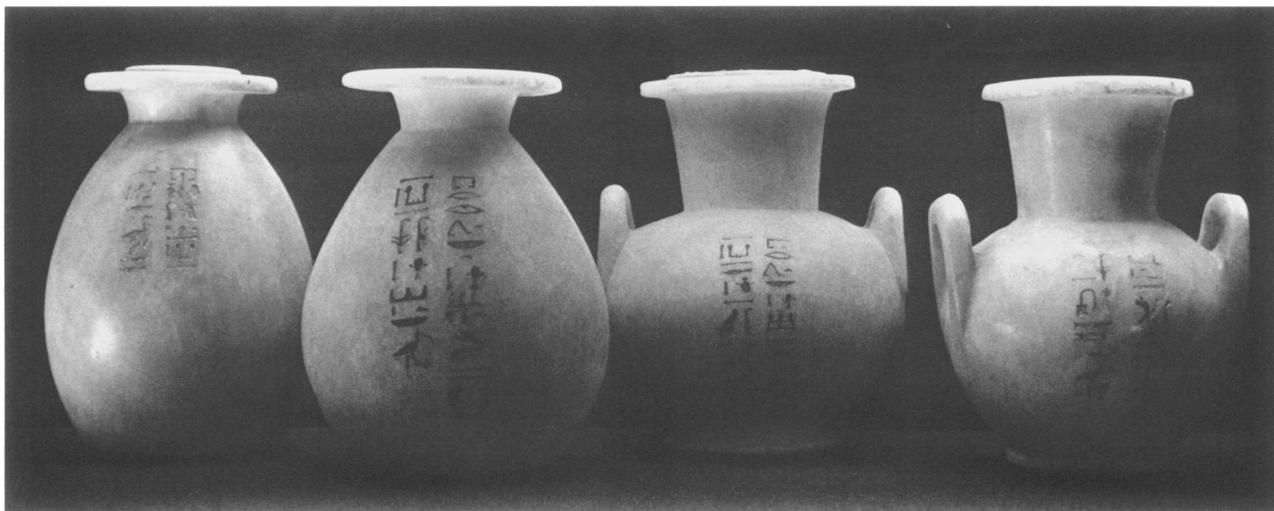
Comparing the ointment jars to the canopic jars, one finds the same crystalline alabaster, similar carved and filled inscriptions, and similar paleographic details (the fewest appear on the de Lescluze jar). The canopics, however, have the major titles “overseer of foreign countries” and “scribe,” and the name Djehuty has a *t* and a *y*; these are features the ointment vessels do not have. I would suggest that the two groups were contem-

10. Jug-shaped ointment jar, no. 10. Leiden, AAL 37 (photo: author)



11. Front view of no. 10 (photo: author)





12. Four Djehuty jars, nos. 11, 6, 7, 9, left to right (photo: author)

poraneous but made by different craftsmen for different purposes.

Four of the seven ointment jars have substantial amounts of resin inside; the others were certainly once filled with it. The idea that some were canopics apparently started with Leemans and continued with Devéria, Maspero, and Brugsch, until Sethe published the inscriptions of the canopics in 1909; Pellegrini's publication of the canopics' texts in 1898 was apparently not widely known.

Two model palettes (Anastasi to Leiden, no. 12, and Drovetti to Turin, no. 13)

The texts of these objects mention gods and cities, a type of information often used to establish the provenance of an object. They invoke gods of Abydos and Thebes: Turin's palette addresses Osiris as "ruler of eternity" and Leiden's as "foremost of the westerners" (with two *tyw*-birds). Leiden's palette also has a *hṯp-di-nsu*-offering formula to Amunra king of the gods. These references occur on other funerary objects of the Tuthmoside period and apparently need not be taken as evidence that the palettes came from either Abydos or Thebes.⁵¹

The Leiden palette (no. 12, Figure 13) differs from the Turin example (no. 13, Figure 14) in format and style, although I have not examined it. It appears more elegant in shape and its hieroglyphs are more detailed,

though in fact the Turin example is nicely made, even if the *ḥn*-signs are less carefully executed than the inscriptions. The Turin palette's material and format are reminiscent of Amenhotep/Huy's palette from the time of Amenhotep III;⁵² there is, however, a wooden example with a similar broad shape, which Stephen Glanville assigned to the time of Tuthmosis III or Amenhotep II.⁵³ The Leiden example finds parallels in a wooden palette with the cartouche of Tuthmosis III from Naga ed-Deir,⁵⁴ and also in a slate example that Glanville assigned to Dynasty 18.⁵⁵

All three of the palettes with Huy's name are similar to each other; Michel Dewachter tells me they may be by the same hand. Two in Cha's tomb are basically similar, even though one has no inscription and the other is inscribed for the "overseer of the treasury, Amenmes."⁵⁶ Of course Tutankhamun had a variety of palettes.⁵⁷

The Turin example uses the title "royal scribe" with both "overseer of foreign countries" and "overseer of northern foreign countries." The Leiden palette uses "royal scribe" preceded by "overseer of a part of northern foreign countries."⁵⁸

Heart scarab necklace (Anastasi to Leiden, no. 14)

This object is the most precious of those discussed so far. The scarab is large and heavy, the chain exceptionally long, and the object conveys an impression of importance. There are similar heart scarabs of the Tuthmoside period from the Metropolitan Museum's excavations;⁵⁹ an even longer chain than this one (1.35 m.) was found with the scarab of Ahhotep (2.01 m.).⁶⁰



13

13. Palette, no. 12. Leiden AD 39 (photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden)

14. Palette, no. 13. Turin, Cat. 6227 (photo: Museo Egizio)



14

The name of the deceased, with a seated determinative-sign, appears only on the back of the scarab, preceded by the title “overseer of northern foreign countries.” It does not accompany chapter 30 of the Book of the Dead on the base.

Dagger (German collection, 1875, no. 15)

It is less certain that this object belonged to the Djehuty of the previous fourteen objects. The dagger does not bear the title “overseer of (northern) foreign countries” or “(royal) scribe”; its inscription invokes a god (Onouris) whose cult center was in the south. It does not have an early-nineteenth-century history pointing to Saqqara, as it was acquired by a person said to have formed a collection “primarily” at Thebes between 1869 and 1871.⁶¹ Furthermore, as Devéria,⁶² Spiegelberg,⁶³ and Hermann Ranke⁶⁴ have noted, the name Djehuty was a common one.⁶⁵

However, five ointment jars do not have the titles “scribe” and “overseer of (northern) foreign countries” either, and they have an early-nineteenth-century history and stylistic similarities to two vessels that do bear those titles. Furthermore, the type of title on the dagger—“follower of his lord”⁶⁶ and “brave one”—is similar to several quasi-military titles on the ointment jars: “follower of the king in every foreign country”; “overseer of the garrison”; and “two eyes of the king.” Even the traditional “companion of the king” is known for an *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* (governor) of the oases in Dynasty 18.⁶⁷

Likewise, the invocation to Onouris lord of Thinis (an Upper Egyptian city, the capital of its nome) may not prevent us from connecting the dagger to Djehuty, overseer of northern foreign countries. Wolfgang Schenkel notes that “Onouris lord of Thinis” appears in New Kingdom temple reliefs at Abydos and was especially venerated in the south. However, he also notes that Onouris was a god of hunting and combat (long worshiped in Thinis);⁶⁸ Eric Hornung briefly notes the god’s connection with the desert and outlying regions,⁶⁹ and the non-Memphite forms of two deities are invoked in two tombs at Saqqara in this period.⁷⁰

As for the actual place where the dagger was acquired, Birgit Schlick-Nolte has kindly attempted to find further details about its donor, but to no avail.⁷¹ The dagger should ultimately have been deposited in a tomb, but it could have been found anywhere, even in the eastern Mediterranean area. W. M. Flinders Petrie discussed the foreign origins of this type of dagger with self handle, localizing examples with a cusp in Egypt

from the beginning of Dynasty 18.⁷² He considered it to be of Anatolian/Caucasian origin. Perhaps Djehuty acquired the weapon abroad and had it outfitted with an Egyptian inscription, an idea of H. W. Müller, according to Nolte. Weapons were brought to Egypt in the Tuthmoside period, as shown in the tomb of Rekhmira; perhaps an analysis of this dagger’s wooden handle would shed some light on its origin.

Part of a scribe statuette (art market, about 1975, no. 16)

This scribe statuette (Figures 15, 16) appeared about 1975 on the Paris art market from a couple who had purchased it in Beirut. According to them, “it probably [came] from Syria as [did] most of the objects one used to find in Lebanon before the war” (personal communication). However, E. Gubel reports that “reliable” sources have stated that the statue came from a chance find at Byblos in the 1960s.⁷³ The appearance of the object in Lebanon, its presumed original placement in a temple, and its probable invocation to Hathor lady of Byblos all indicate that it was not part of the early-nineteenth-century find in Egypt. It has the titles “overseer of northern foreign countries” and “royal scribe,” and they occur in that order, as they do on the Leiden palette.

Yoyotte connected this statuette with the fifteen objects discussed above because of the titles, but he also argued for a Dynasty 18 date in view of the presence of a back pillar and the dextroverse direction of signs on the papyrus. In fact, the title “overseer of the door of northern foreign countries,” which he restores from traces, may be essentially the same title as that on the Leiden palette: both imply a specific part of *Rtnw* (Syria), but perhaps also a fortress.⁷⁴

Yoyotte also restored “Hathor Lady of Byblos” as the goddess invoked and assumed Djehuty to have been a resident in Byblos, where he could control and channel tribute.⁷⁵ Yoyotte referred to Helck’s note that Byblos is scarcely mentioned in Tuthmoside military sources, but he saw the statue as an indication that Byblos was a tactical point for the control and concentration of tribute from Syria and as evidence that, during the reign of Tuthmosis III, northern countries were subjected—like Kush—to a regular payment and agreed to annual contributions.⁷⁶ It is generally believed that Byblos had a special relationship with Egypt throughout ancient times, although there is little material contemporary with Dynasty 18 from the site so far.



15. Statuette, no. 16. British Museum 69863 (photo: F. Antonovich)

16. View of no. 16 (photo: British Museum)



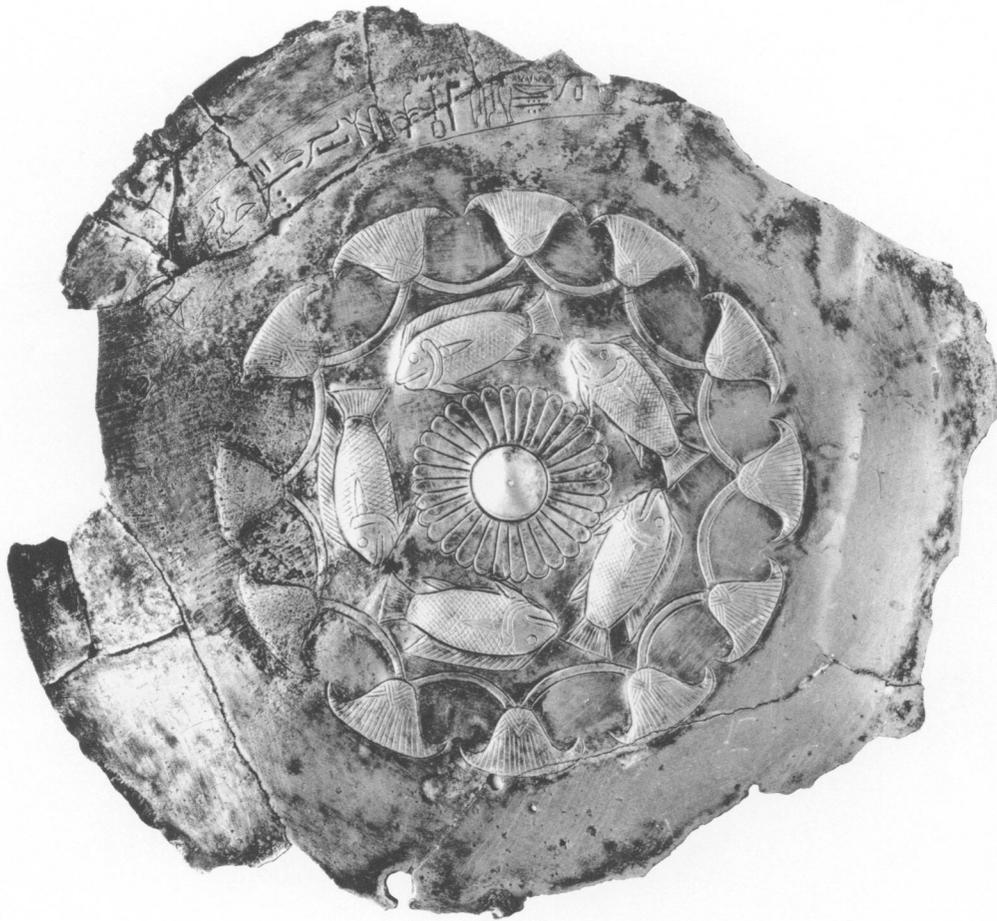
Finally, Yoyotte argued that this Djehuty could not have been the owner of Theban tomb 11 because of the different types of titles and the different filiation. He read the father's name on the statue as "the judge Amenmes," and we see in Säve-Söderbergh's drawing that the father in tomb 11 has the title "judge"⁷⁷ but not the name "Amenmes." Further, Yoyotte read the mother's name on the statue ['Isi]-*snb*, while in the tomb Sethe restored "the lady of the house *Ddiw*" on bits of a stela,⁷⁸ and Säve-Söderbergh illustrated a scene with the phrase "born of the lady of the house *Ddiw*, justified."⁷⁹

The inscription is typical for a scribe statue, being autobiographical and a presumed inspiration to those who would see it set up in a public place. The original owner may indeed have positioned the statuette in a shrine to Hathor at Byblos.

Decorated silver bowl (Anastasi, indirectly, to the Louvre, no. 17)

This object was first noted in the sale catalogue for the Anastasi collection, which was brought from Alexandria to Paris after the agent's death in 1857. Maarten Raven states that the silver plate was definitely not part of the Anastasi collection offered to Leiden at the shipping port of Livorno in the 1820s;⁸⁰ likewise, T. G. H. James says that there is no pre-1857 document in the British Museum attesting to its existence, while Schneider states that it is not mentioned in the mid-1850s offer of Anastasi to Leemans. Nevertheless, the fact that it was in Anastasi's possession and that it has an inscription naming the "royal scribe, overseer of northern foreign countries, Djehuty" connects it to the objects numbered 1 through 14 above. As an object, however, it has no exact parallel (except for the Louvre's gold bowl, no. 18), and must thus be studied in detail.

The object is basically flat, with a raised boss in the center surrounded by chased petals, and with repoussé friezes of *tilapia*-fish (moving leftward) and linked papyrus umbels (Figure 17). Between the umbels and the edge of the object is a short band of chased inscription, reading right to left. The upper surface is smooth, although the decoration of two of the umbels has been effaced. The back is corroded and pitted; it shows slight depressions of the repoussé (Figure 18). Several holes occur where at least fourteen pieces have been joined together, the holes presumably part of the object's modern history. Although there is no X ray of the plate, it seems convincing as a corroded ancient object originally hammered out of silver.



17. Decorated silver bowl, no. 17. Louvre E 4886 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

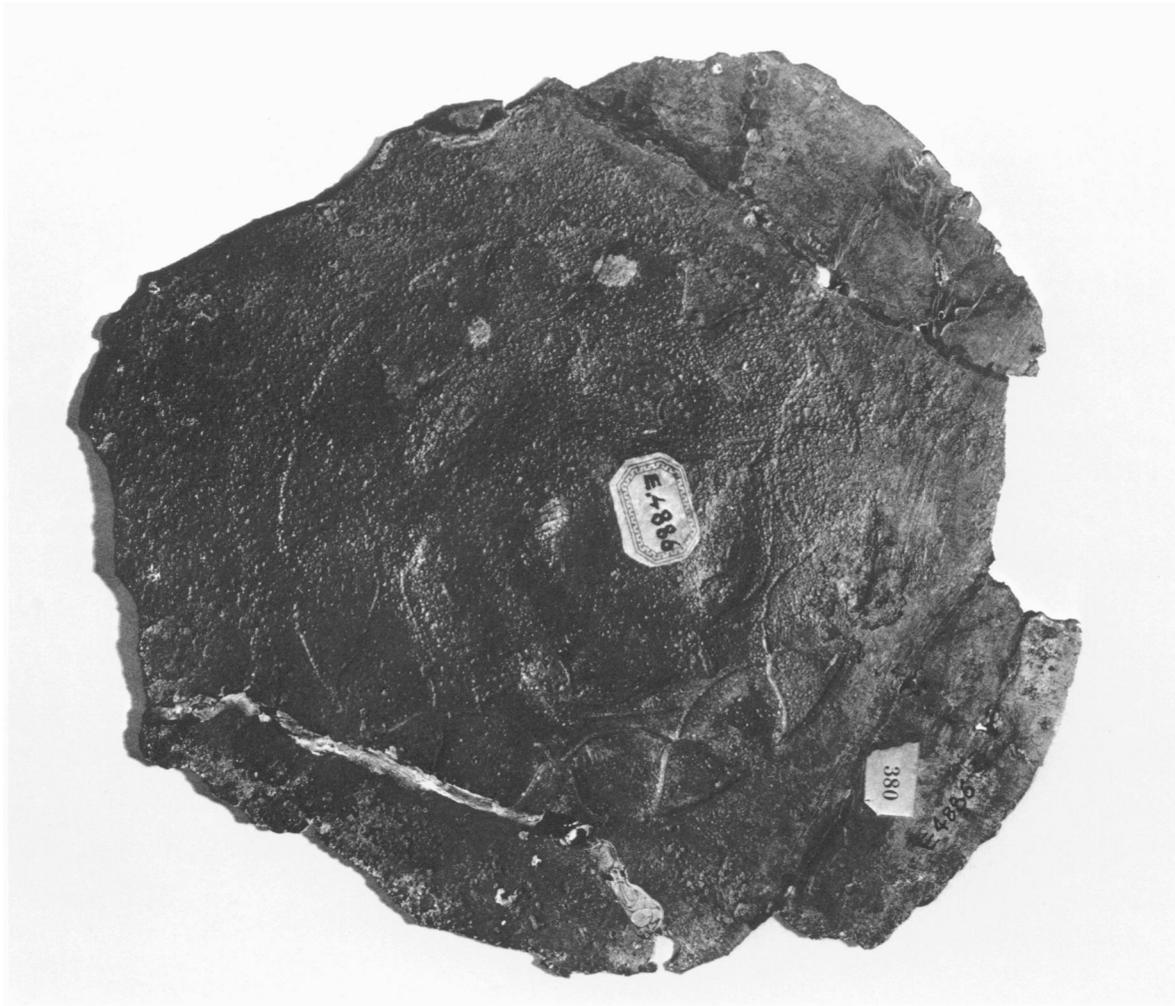
The edge is broken but follows in three places the contour of the umbel ring; it turns up slightly at a point opposite the inscription. Because the design is centered around a boss (a feature of later bowls), and because Dynasty 18 faience bowls show *tilapia*, papyri, and rosettes (see below), one can imagine that this object was originally the bottom of a bowl whose approximate diameter has been preserved. No metal bowls with flat bottom and boss occur in a secure context before the time of Amenhotep III;⁹¹ but all bowls of the New Kingdom with virtually flat bottoms have some type of curve as a transition between bottom and wall,⁹² and this example has such a curve.

The design and execution of the decoration are of high quality. The central boss has the “orientation

point” Ali Radwan notes on copper/bronze bowls beginning in the New Kingdom,⁸⁵ and all lines creating rosette, fish, and papyrus are carefully chased and smoothly executed (Figures 19–21).

Assuming that this was a bowl rather than a plate, we may call the boss an omphalos, a new feature in Egyptian vessels at this period.⁸⁴ In fact, one grave in the Lower Assasif yielded an omphalos bowl and a weapon new to Egypt,⁸⁵ so the possibility of foreign origin could also be considered for the omphalos bowl in this grave.⁸⁶ Omphalos bowls are represented in a private tomb at Thebes in the time of Tuthmosis IV.⁸⁷

Whether for practicality (to help level the bowl⁸⁸ or aid a bearer in holding it⁸⁹), decoration,⁹⁰ or symbolism,⁹¹ the omphalos occurs on Egyptian Empire vessels that Radwan classifies for drinking;⁹² cooking (with



18. View of no. 17. (photo: Bill Barrette)

two handles); washing; food storage;⁹³ and—in the Hatiay bowl with marsh scene, his no. 328—for “regenerative purposes.”⁹⁴ The Hatiay bowl seems to be closest to the silver bowl in type and therefore purpose (see below).

Surrounding the boss on the silver bowl are thirty-two rounded petals that, combined with the boss, create the shape of a marguerite. In decorated New Kingdom faience bowls, Christine Strauss identifies similar petals (sometimes alternately dotted) arranged around a small center as a lotus blossom seen from above.⁹⁵ The rosette on the silver bowl seems different, however, and I believe its identity is relevant to a discussion of Newberry⁹⁶ and Ludwig Keimer.⁹⁷ Newberry wrote that he thought the rosette on Malkata and Amarna faience

was *Anthemis*, while Keimer, in misinterpreting Newberry, stated his own theory about rosettes in Egypt, i.e., that *Chrysanthemum coronarium* Linnaeus was behind most depictions.⁹⁸ Renate Germer has since noted that remains of *Anthemis pseudocotula* Boissier, widespread in Egypt today, were found in the underground chambers of the Zoser complex, while the same or a different variety (*A. retusa* Delile) was found in a Middle Kingdom grave at Abusir.⁹⁹

The rosettes that occur as flowers or decorative motifs in ancient Egypt seem stylized to me, and it is difficult to match them with actual plants. However, the composite flower with rounded petals depicted during the Eighteenth Dynasty¹⁰⁰ appears to be the large-bossered flower represented on the Djehuty silver bowl, and it is closer to *Anthemis* than to *Chrysanthemum* in

19–21. Silver bowl, no. 17 (photos: Bill Barrette)

19. Detail of papyrus, no. 17

20. Detail of *tilapia*-fish, no. 17

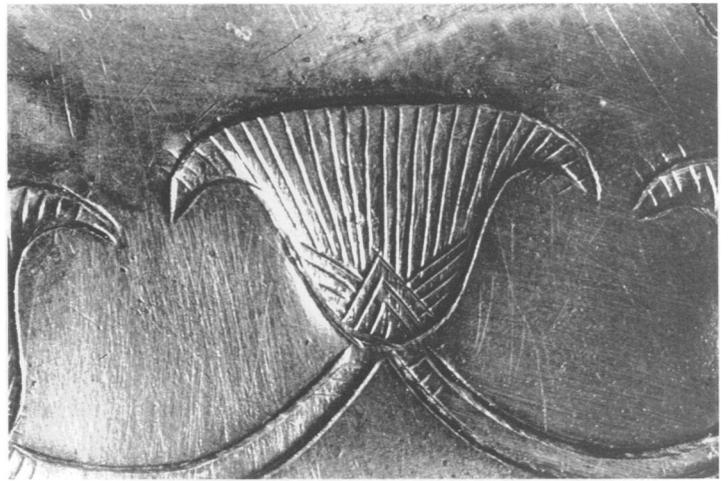
21. Detail of rosette, no. 17

shape.¹⁰¹ In any event, both plants became popular in Dynasty 18, and *Chrysanthemum coronarium* is said to have had its origin in the northernmost areas of land bordering the Mediterranean. It is assumed to have occurred as a cultivar in Upper Egypt.¹⁰²

Regardless of its botanical identity, there is a striking similarity between the silver bowl's rosette and the rosettes on the bottom of silver bowls in the Tod Treasure,¹⁰³ Middle Minoan painted pots,¹⁰⁴ and Yahudiyeh jugs¹⁰⁵ (the rosettes are visible only on the exterior of the pottery vessels, of course). In other words, no matter what plant is being mimicked, the particular shape and placement of the rosettes on these vessels and on the silver bowl seem to be related in the pre-Dynasty 18 period.¹⁰⁶

Continuing to compare the decorative scheme of the silver vessel with that of faience bowls,¹⁰⁷ one considers the five naturalistically formed *tilapia* swimming to the left around the rosette. The upper, liplike jaw of each fish is emphasized; the snout's profile slopes upward toward the long dorsal fin; the pectoral fin lies midway on the body, behind the C-shaped opercular bones that cover the gill; and the scales are represented by cross-hatching, the ventral fins by simple striations. Beyond this "fish ring" is a band of linked papyrus, with each of the twelve umbels linked by a common stalk marked with the ties one normally sees at the top of a column shaft to indicate binding. The umbels are splayed, and the filaments as well as the calyx leaves are rendered by parallel lines. There is some redrawing,¹⁰⁸ but by and large the fish and flora are subtly executed and meticulously drawn.

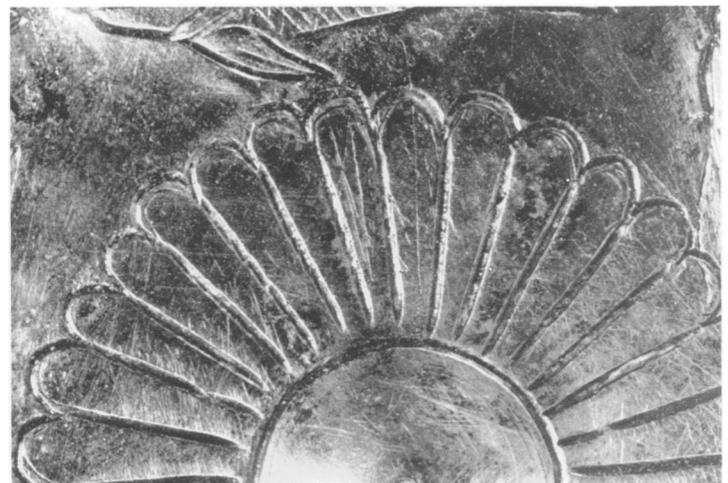
If one considers the object as a whole, one finds a design that is symmetrical, tightly organized, centered around a well-formed omphalos,¹⁰⁹ and (except for the inscription) highly accomplished. It is therefore surprising that no exact parallel has been found. Thus, if its date is Tuthmoside, this is the earliest decorated metal bowl known from Egypt. Radwan illustrates two metal bowls without provenance that have rosette and boss: one with surrounding herringbone ring, which he as-



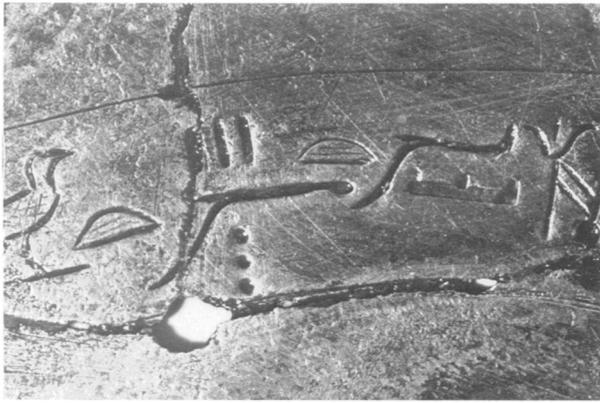
19



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22–27. Silver bowl, no. 17, details of inscriptions, reading right to left (photos: Bill Barrette)

signs to Dynasty 19 (his no. 333), and one with an asymmetrical frieze of birds, fish, water, and papyrus plants, which he dates to Dynasty 18/19 (his no. 334). Within the Tuthmoside period we must look for design parallels and perhaps an ultimate meaning in faience bowls and in private tombs where banquet scenes are represented.

Open faience bowls with papyrus umbels, lotuses, rosettes, and fish were popular in the first part of Dynasty 18, some of these motifs having already appeared on pottery plates of Dynasty 13¹¹⁰ and on deep faience bowls of the Second Intermediate Period.¹¹¹ The open faience bowls, sometimes quite large and with images of Hathor, were most popular during the early part of the dynasty, according to Angela Milward.¹¹² Among those whose designs show some similarity with the Louvre plate are:

- a bowl from the MacGregor collection with four fish carrying lotus buds in their mouths and swimming to the right around a rosette¹¹³
- a similar bowl in Boston with the fish swimming to the left¹¹⁴
- a bowl with blue lotus blossoms radiating outward from a rosette, excavated in an early Dynasty 18 tomb by the Metropolitan Museum¹¹⁵
- a bowl in Karlsruhe with fish, lotuses, papyrus, and rosette in a square¹¹⁶

All of these have elements regularly disposed around a radius, and two of them are assigned by Milward to the middle of Dynasty 18, which she equates with the time of Tuthmosis III–Tuthmosis IV.

Passing to the final element of the decoration on the silver bowl, one comes to the papyrus umbel ring. In fact, papyri appear on the faience bowls¹¹⁷—Strauss



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believes them to be a reference to Hathor—but only in a secondary role to lotuses. As for linked floral elements of any type, Howard Carter found an alabaster fragment with faience-inlaid lotuses in the tomb of Amenhotep I and suggested that it was the rim fragment of a carinated bowl.¹¹⁸ As there was Ramesside material in this tomb, however, the fragment cannot be used for dating. Clearly dated objects with linked floral chains do occur, in the tomb of Maiherperi (a wooden bracelet with linked lotuses,¹¹⁹ and a [foreign-made?] leather quiver with alternating papyri and lilies¹²⁰) and in the tomb of Amenhotep II (a wood-and-horn bow, bearing the name of the king, with linked papyrus and lilies or palmettes, possibly also made though not inscribed by a foreign craftsman).¹²¹ Thus, while the faience bowls of the Tuthmoside period have aligned but separate flowers—and lotuses at that¹²²—linked papyri are found in Egypt on other types of objects during the time of Amenhotep II, and linked lotuses occur on the shoulders/necks of vessels during the time of Tuthmosis IV.¹²³ What is more interesting is that floral elements linked in an allover pattern occur outside Egypt earlier than the time of Tuthmosis III, that is, on Middle Minoan pottery,¹²⁴ on a seal impression from level VII at Alalakh,¹²⁵ and on Kerma faience.¹²⁶ Floral chains occur on a cylinder seal from Ras Shamra,¹²⁷ and on Yahudiyeh pottery from Byblos¹²⁸ and Cyprus.¹²⁹

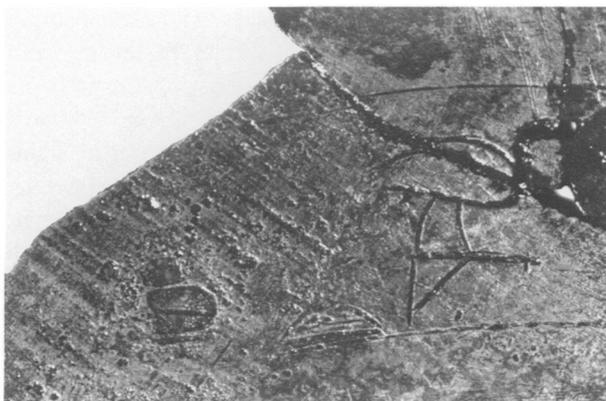
In sum, the silver bowl would be the earliest decorated metal vessel yet known from Egypt. Unexcavated metal examples with similar decoration (though less regularly disposed and precisely drawn) or similar shape (large delineated omphalos and very flat bottom) have been placed by Radwan as somewhat later; and the linked floral chains in Egypt—whether on vessel or kiosk—are lotiform rather than papyriform.¹³⁰ On the other hand, regularly placed *tilapia* and papyrus do ap-



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pear on faience bowls in the Tuthmoside period, and their naturalism on the silver bowl is not out of place then;¹³¹ a kiosk cornice in the time of Amenhotep II has a frieze of lilies;¹³² rosette-centered vessels are represented in Egyptian tombs of the period; and linked flowers, rosette-centered vessels, and omphaloi were known in other parts of the ancient world before the Tuthmoside period, and it is well documented that contacts with Egypt during that period were extensive.

Let us turn to the inscription on this object. Beyond the papyrus ring there are two irregularly parallel lines bordering a right-facing text (Figures 22–27). The beginning of the lower border is preserved, and although the first signs of the inscription are damaged, it is clear that the entire inscription is present. Devéria’s copy shows the first two signs complete (they are not so today), and it lacks two later signs written near the upper border (*ʕ* and *n*), as well as the plural strokes for “northern.” The inscription begins with the epithet “one who greatly fills the heart of the lord of the two lands,” continues with the epithet “praised of the good

god,” and concludes with the basic “royal scribe, overseer of northern foreign countries, Djehuty.” (Devéria saw a seated determinative after the name, no doubt depressions in the metallic surface, unrelated to the inscription.)

It is roughly this type of inscription that the ointment jars, the dagger, and even the heart scarab have. The first epithet is similar to the one on the Turin palette, “one who fills the heart efficiently of the lord of the two lands” and on Turin jar 3225, “one who is in the heart greatly of the lord of the two lands”; the epithet “praised of the good god” does not occur on any of the objects described above; the spelling of “northern foreign countries” is similar to, though not exactly like, that on the heart scarab.

The paleography of the inscription does not have the quality of the decoration. The hieroglyphs are sometimes lightly outlined and detailed within (see parallel strokes in the reed leaf and *t* and cross-hatching in the *tyw*-bird), sometimes deeply incised (*ntr* or *h3swt*) or punched (plural strokes); and the plural strokes vary

from an incised square to strokes to dots. Furthermore, an '3 placed above *n nb t3wy* and an *n* placed above *ntr nfr* make the spacing of the signs uneven. Again, the *tyw*-bird looks like a *wr*, and the ibis is very crude. The name, exceptionally, has a *t* after the ibis and no *y*. And, finally, the uneven borders of the inscription do not follow the curve of the papyrus ring. I do not find the inscription very convincing and shall consider its date below.

As for the use of the silver bowl, faience examples have been found containing solid substances¹³³ and were presumably placed in tombs to hold offerings. But the frequency of water and aquatic life in their decoration is notable, and Strauss may be correct in her reference to the primal water that creates life.¹³⁴ Wall paintings show representations of flat bowls containing drink¹³⁵ and lo-

28, 29. Gold bowl, no. 18. Louvre N 713 (photos: Bill Barrette)

tuses;¹³⁶ sometimes they appear with small pitchers of wine (or scented oil?),¹³⁷ once with a Hathor cow and lotuses¹³⁸—all items associated with the rebirth of the deceased. Such must also have been the purpose of the decorated metal bowls from the grave of Hatiay, the Bubastis temple hoard, and the tomb of Oundjebaounded—the latter bowl having been a present from Psousennes I.¹³⁹

Decorated gold bowl (Drovetti to the Louvre, no. 18)

The earliest reference to the gold bowl is in a letter Champollion wrote from Paris in mid-September 1827. He states that he obtained from Drovetti

bijoux égyptiens d'une incroyable magnificence; des colliers, des bagues, des bracelets, des boucles d'oreille en or et enrichies d'émaux. C'est véritablement la défroque



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d'un Pharaon, et la plupart de ces objets portent des légendes royales, comme par exemple une coupe d'or massive, ornée d'un bas-relief représentant des poissons jouant au milieu de bouquets de lotus, a été offerte au roi Moeris par le Secrétaire Royal de l'étain, de l'argent et de l'or.¹⁴⁰

The bowl had not been mentioned the previous year when the duc de Blacas announced that France would buy the second Drovetti collection, even though five gold royal figures, fourteen rings, and other jewels were specified;¹⁴¹ nor was it inventoried by Champollion that year when he recorded 1,400 jewels and ornaments in Livorno on April 26, 1826.¹⁴² Drovetti arrived in France in July 1827,¹⁴³ and according to Monique Kanaway,¹⁴⁴ he himself brought the fifty or sixty gold pieces of the collection to Paris. On October 11, 1827, when the document of sale was signed in Paris the bowl was grouped

with twenty-three other gold pieces: "Quatre vingts pièces en or, dont plusieurs pièces rares et précieuses pour le travail (On a refusé quinze mille Francs de la seule coupe de Moeris): 40,000 Francs."¹⁴⁵

The gold bowl closely resembles the silver bowl in design, although the inscription differs considerably. Further, this inscription is much more elaborate than those on any other Djehuty object. The object will therefore be examined in some detail.

The gold bowl is basically pan-shaped, with vertical sides and a flat (actually very slightly convex) bottom (Figure 57). There is an omphalos in the middle of the bowl similar to the one in the silver bowl, with the point of orientation made from the top but also visible from below (Figures 28, 29).¹⁴⁶ The walls are absolutely perpendicular to the base and rise to a rim that projects *into* the bowl; this is what is termed an "upset rim," but it is



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of particularly angular form (Figures 55, 57). The vessel is remarkably sturdy although it has several flattened areas caused by pressure (Figure 29). It weighs roughly twice as much as the silver object, but it is hard to form any conclusion from this fact.¹⁴⁷ There is delamination on the inner surface of the walls (Figure 55), perhaps the result of creating this particular rim.

The angular shape of the bowl appears to be unique. When a gold patera was found at Ras Shamra in 1933 and assigned a date of 1450–1365 B.C. (Figure 56), C. Schaeffer, its excavator, compared it to the Djehuty gold bowl (Figure 57) and found the profiles quite different.¹⁴⁸ The proportions are also different: the Djehuty bowl is 17.9 cm. in diameter and 2.2 cm. high, while the Ras Shamra patera is 18.8 cm. in diameter and 3.2 cm. high. In other words, the height of the Djehuty bowl is about one-third less. At the same time, the weight of the Djehuty bowl is 371.7 grams, whereas the Ras Shamra object weighs 218, about one-third more gold having been used for Djehuty's.

The shape of the Djehuty gold bowl resembles shallow utensils of the Archaic Period in Egypt, called pans or lids,¹⁴⁹ and the tray component of offering stands during the Late Period.¹⁵⁰ Representative profiles of New Kingdom copper/bronze bowls in Radwan's book show, as on the Djehuty silver bowl, a curve at the point where base meets wall, even when the proportions of diameter to height are similar to those of the gold bowl (as in Radwan, no. 336).¹⁵¹ There is also a gradual thickening of the rim in such bowls which allows the contents to be poured out easily. Upon consideration of these features, the gold bowl does not seem to convey a definite purpose. The short wall, the sharp angularity between floor and wall and between wall and rim, and the slightly *convex* floor are not functional.

The decoration of the gold bowl is much like the silver bowl's, with an omphalos surrounded by a rosette and friezes of *tilapia* and umbels. But the design is more "expanded" (more space exists between the boss and the fish, less space between the umbels and the rim). There is also much more variety in the worked surfaces: the repoussé is much higher on the boss, fish, and umbels (compare Figures 30–32 [gold] with Figures 19–21 [silver]), yet the rosette petals are virtually flat. The rosette itself has fewer petals (twenty-four) but is larger (4.2 cm. in diameter on the gold, 3.1 cm. on the silver), and a zigzag border has been added beyond its edge.

The design of the gold bowl is less accomplished than the silver bowl's. The spacing of the six *tilapia* swim-

ming right is uneven, so that one fish practically runs into the fish ahead of it. There has also been a good deal of reworking to shape the heads properly and to put the eyes and mouths in the right place. There is far less control of the line than on the silver vessel (compare Figure 31 and Figure 20). And, in our examination of the bowl when it was in Boston, it was not clear that all decorative lines were traced: there were chips of metal removed around the eyes and undercut V-shaped lines, as if a burinlike instrument had been used as a tracer. For understanding the more typical chased lines, without such wide variations, two examples of excavated royal goldwork are illustrated here: the dress pattern on Tutankhamun pectoral 261 p(1) in the Cairo Museum (Figure 58), where the length of one gold fish equals the width of about two and a half columns of text; and the Cairo pectoral CG 52001 of Sesostri II from Dahshur (Figure 59), where two-thirds the length of the fish equals the height of the falcon.

As for the style of the drawing, there is less naturalism in the gold bowl than in the silver. The outline of each fish body is more symmetrical here, without the hump on the head and without the front ventral fin integrated with the body. (The fish on the two bowls are essentially the same size, and several of the gold ones are slightly larger than the silver.) The stylized opercular bones begin immediately below the dorsal fin; the mouth is formed by a symmetrical loop, which begins at the exterior of the fish and creates a snarling expression. Scales as well as light cross-hatching cover the body.

The papyri also seem unconvincing in shape and tentative in execution (compare Figure 30 with Figure 19). Again, the design has been reworked to make the outline, and the shape of the umbel is less naturalistic than decorative, with V-shaped filaments and extra ties along the stem of the papyrus. There is a mannered spirit manifest also in the rosette's "pinked" border, which is composed of separate multiple lines (compare Figure 32 with Figure 21), the double-decorated pattern of the fish bodies, and the double flower petals. The presentation seems both clumsy and mannered, altogether different from the evenly controlled yet natural forms on the silver bowl.

Turning now to the walls of the gold vessel, one finds the exterior surface filled with a continuous band of text reading from right to left (Figures 33–54). The signs are framed by two parallel lines, and there is a third, fugitive line between the upper border line and the top of the rim. The run-on format of the inscription itself is un-

usual if not unique in the New Kingdom:¹⁵² Egyptian craftsmen commonly had a point of orientation on vessels, as on many other objects. If a handle is present, for instance, the inscription is often placed opposite to and facing it;¹⁵³ or sometimes two inscriptions are symmetrically arranged in different directions from a central point.

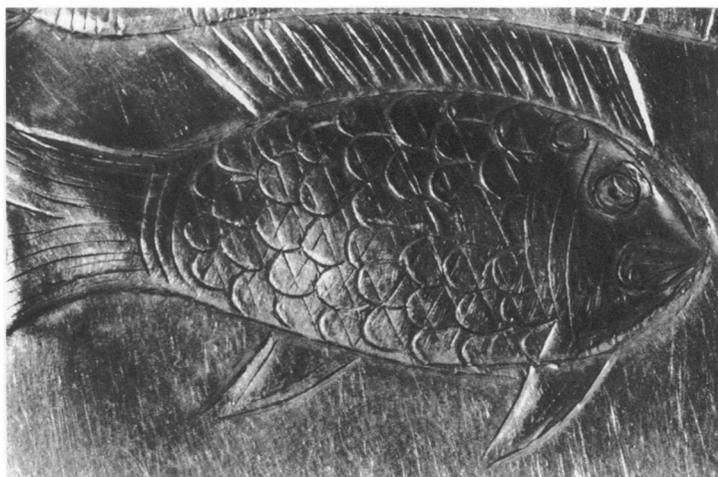
The inscription begins, “given through the favor of the king, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt *Mn-hpr-r*” (in a cartouche). This phrase has a plural *ḥswt* (“favor”) which is paralleled in an unexcavated Tuthmoside stela from Abydos,¹⁵⁴ and the duplication of “king” plus the name and title of a particular king was spotted by Birch in an inscription at Semna.¹⁵⁵

The inscription continues with three titles and an epithet that are rather high-level and occur nowhere in the objects discussed above (“hereditary noble, nomarch, god’s father, beloved of the god”). It then proceeds with two unusual epithets: “one who fills the heart of the king in every foreign country and in the islands which are in the midst of *w3d-wr*” (commonly understood to be the sea and here the Mediterranean) and “one who fills the storehouses with lapis lazuli, silver, and gold.” Elke Freier of the *Wörterbuch* staff in Berlin has confirmed that the first epithet is attested to only on this gold bowl; however, the official named User in the time of Tuthmosis III records tribute brought from “northern foreign countries of the confines of Asia and of the isles which are in *w3d-wr*”;¹⁵⁶ thus these two areas are linked at the time of Tuthmosis III, and the only question is what “one who fills the heart of the king” means in terms of physical presence.

As for the second epithet, it is thought that a person posted abroad at this period would have had both military and trade/tribute responsibilities, and Yoyotte sees evidence of this on the scribe statuette (no. 18). With this epithet, however, we come to the probable reason Porter-Moss once linked the gold bowl and small objects associated with it to the owner of Theban tomb 11. That official was responsible for gathering precious materials, enlarging the treasuries, and overseeing metalworking projects at Thebes during the time of Hatshepsut–Tuthmosis III. It could therefore be suggested that after his military/economic career abroad, the same official came back to Egypt for a career manag-



30. Detail of papyrus, no. 18



31. Detail of *tilapia*-fish, no. 18



32. Detail of rosette, no. 18



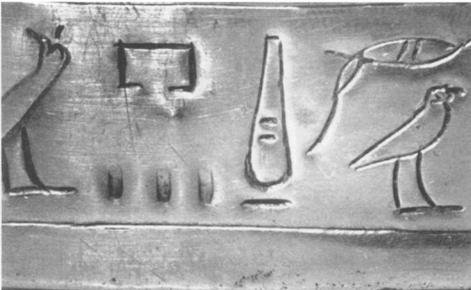
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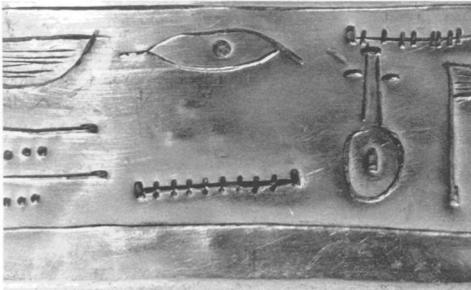
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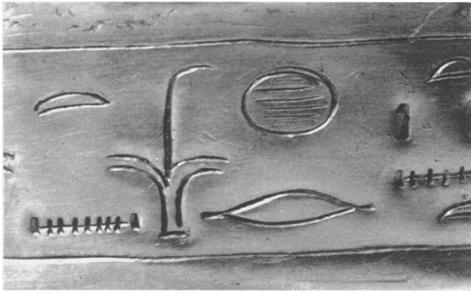


55. Inside of bowl, no. 18
(photo: Bill Barrette)

33-54. Gold bowl, no. 18, details of inscription, reading right to left (photos: Bill Barrette)



54



35



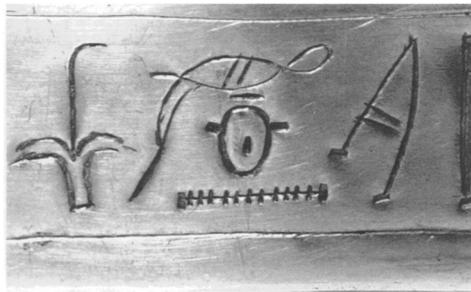
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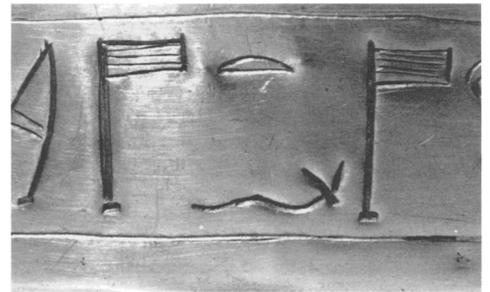
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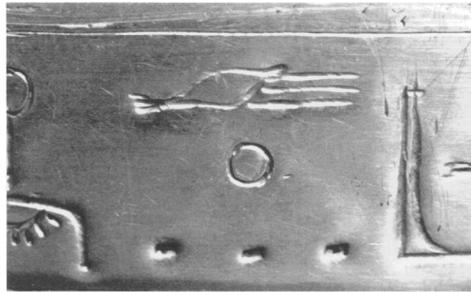
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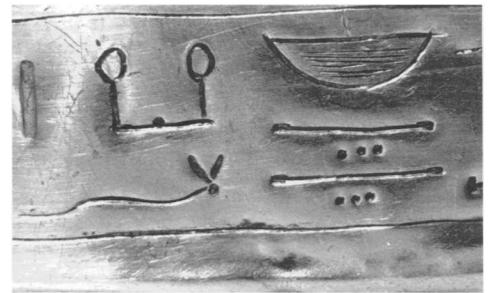
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51

ing raw materials at Thebes. We will see that the “overseer of northern foreign countries Amenmes” was buried at Thebes; and we noted invocations on several of the eighteen objects to gods associated with Abydos or Thebes. On the other hand, there is a specific statement that the canopic jars were found at Saqqara, and it is not unreasonable that a person with the title “overseer of northern foreign countries” would be buried at Saqqara. Little New Kingdom material predating Amenhotep III has been documented there,¹⁵⁷ but Alain-Pierre Zivie has recently uncovered a tomb for a chancellor/overseer of the treasury in the Tuthmoside period,¹⁵⁸ and tombs for two officials nearer the time of Amenhotep III—one a naval officer, and one an overseer of the granaries.¹⁵⁹

The inscriptions of Theban 11, then, belong essentially to a man whose career was at Thebes,¹⁶⁰ whereas the texts on the small objects and the tale of Joppa concern a person whose career was in military or trade matters outside Egypt. The most frequent titles on the small objects are variations of “overseer of foreign countries” and “scribe.”

The inscription on the gold bowl continues, “overseer of foreign countries,” “overseer of the army” (i.e., “general,” which does not occur elsewhere on Djehuty objects), “praised of the good god” (as on the silver bowl), “one whose sustenance/worth the lord of the two lands supplied,¹⁶¹ royal scribe, Djehuty, justified.” “Northern” is not included in “overseer of foreign countries,” and this title is separated from “royal scribe.”

The titles on the gold bowl are clearly more elaborate than on any of the other objects, yet this could be expected on a sizable item that purports to be a royal gift. And in fact the titulary is not so very different from that of an official named Amenmes who must have been almost a contemporary of Djehuty and had the same responsibilities abroad that he did. We know the titles from the tomb of Amenmes at Thebes, which dates to the time of Tuthmosis III–Amenhotep II.¹⁶² Like Djehuty, he was an “overseer of northern foreign countries”—a rather rare title¹⁶³ that may have begun with Djehuty¹⁶⁴—and his titulary was similar to Djehuty’s:

military titles: “two eyes of the king in the country of *Rtnw*”; “eyes of the king of southern Egypt, ears of the king of northern Egypt, throughout the land of wretched *Rtnw*”; “overseer of troops” (*hry pdt*); “stable master” (*hry ihw*)
epithets: “one who fills the heart of the good god”;

“beloved of his lord”; “beloved of the lord of the two lands”; “praised of the good god”

invocations: to Osiris Hekadjet; to Amun lord of the thrones of the two lands

honorifics: “prince”; “count”; “seal bearer of the king of lower Egypt”; “unique friend”

Amenmes is shown on one tomb wall presenting a bowl to a king, probably Tuthmosis III, while inhabitants of Syria bow as they present products.¹⁶⁵ In another scene, a pine forest with a crenellated residence is the background for a chief of *Rmnm* bowing before the Egyptian official; other residents present objects, and Egyptians stand by with spears, axes, small shields, and scribal equipment.

The one notable phrase on the gold bowl that does not occur in Amenmes’ inscriptions is “god’s father, beloved of the god.” Henri Wild has argued that another “overseer of northern foreign countries,” Kenamun—as attested on a wooden Osiride figure said to be from Giza¹⁶⁶—is the same man as the chief steward of Theban 93, time of Amenhotep II, at an earlier stage of his career. If this is true, one could propose in Djehuty’s case that an escalation of status came after the success at Joppa, so that he achieved the designation “god’s father,” as several viziers did at the time.¹⁶⁷

Turning finally from the content of the inscription on the gold bowl to its execution, we notice that despite a dark gray substance and reddish “resin” in many of the signs today, they were originally hammered or impressed with some force (compare the inner surface of the wall, Figure 55, with the outer, Figure 41, 42); normally the inner surface of a vessel shows only a faint version of the exterior inscription.¹⁶⁸ Perhaps the amount of metal displacement was caused by the thickness of the gold and the hardness of the surface against which it was worked, or by subsequent burnishing.¹⁶⁹

The signs on the Djehuty gold bowl appear to be both chased and punched, with both square and round punches. They have a much more uniform character—and better spacing—than the signs on the silver vessel, and at first glance the paleography seems convincing: the conical loaf, first owl and sedge ☉, 𓂏, *p*, viper, second flag, hoe, whips, hearts, faces, baskets, broad collar, reed leaves, and *k3*-sign have details of good Egyptian epigraphy, including the “stops” at the end of a line. There is also a certain “dryness” to the style of writing, comparable to that on the Ahmose ewer (Figure 60).

Yet many of these features become less convincing upon further consideration: the conical loaf with straight tick; the first owl with no inner detail; the beetle with large head but no antennae; the straight-poled flags without selvage; the archer without foreleg.

And there are some unusual features in this inscription. Although the cartouche ring is quite formally drawn, a number of the signs have a semipaleographic character: lion, bee, ox tongue above “foreign countries,” archer, and seated determinative. Further, the island sign has two vertical strokes in it; the sign beyond it is presumably a *nw*-jar, here as a sun disk; the pupil of the eye is centered; the lower arm of the seated determinative appears as a phallus.

Lengthy consideration of this inscription reveals a considerable degree of hesitancy and clumsiness in the signs:

- front-heavy quail chicks throughout (the second of which was read as a *tyw*-bird by a colleague)
- the *n*'s drawn like railroad ties¹⁷⁰
- the first *hs*-vase with fat neck and rim
- the heads of the lion and seated determinative¹⁷¹
- the third sedge, island sign, papyrus column, fire drill, second owl, door bolt, foot, hand
- the signs making *m3* ' *hrw*

There is also a lack of consistency in the way the same sign is drawn:

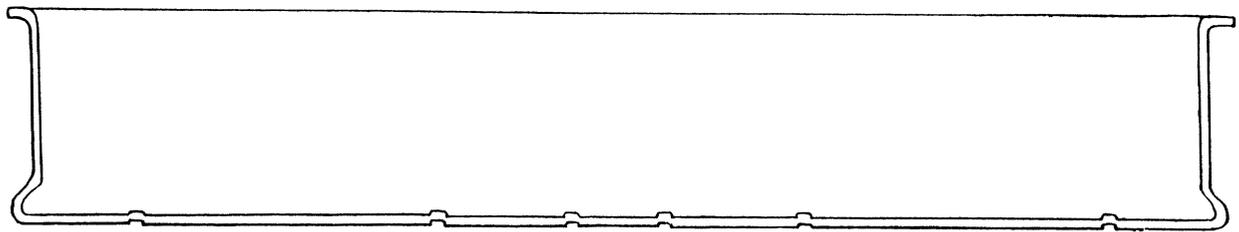
- the two *hs*-vases, owls, quail chicks, arms, whips, faces
- the dots in “lapis,” “gold,” and “two lands”
- the vertical strokes in “reward,” “islands,” “storehouses,” “foreign countries,” *k3*, versus the sign following the *nw*-jar

In making these observations it is important to realize that the hieroglyphic bands on both silver and gold bowls in the Louvre are roughly the same height; and the hieroglyphs are the same height as those on the pectoral of Tutankhamun cited above, while they are approximately twice as high as those on the ewer from Tanis naming Ahmose. In other words, although the photographs of those inscriptions are greatly enlarged here, they illustrate that quality and consistency are present in minute details.¹⁷² And, while our observations attest that variety in goldworking exists in excavated objects—depending on scale, placement of the inscription, originality of the inscription (note the secondary inscription, a rewritten name, on the right side of the Tutankhamun pectoral)—our experience also indicates

that a greater degree of surety and consistency should be present on the gold bowl. Objects from Eighteenth-Dynasty royal tombs do not always have good inscriptions, as one can see in the “Valley of the Kings room” in the Cairo Museum.¹⁷³ The nonexcavated¹⁷⁴ silver libation jars from Wady D 1, for instance, have inscriptions of medium quality for royal work¹⁷⁵ (Figures 63, 64) compared with the sure writing on the gold ewer of Ahmose excavated by Montet at Tanis (Figure 60). But elaborate objects from Wady D 1—such as the inlaid bracelets (Figures 61, 62)—exhibit the finest quality workmanship and most consistent paleography, and these inscriptions appear on inner curved walls. We must expect high quality in an object claimed to be a royal gift for a presumed hero from a major period of Egyptian history—an object that uses a great deal of gold and has an elaborate, unique design, an inscription on an exterior surface (offering easy access for a craftsman), and hieroglyphic signs of considerable size.¹⁷⁶ The Djehuty canopic jars and ointment vessels, the dagger, and the scribe statuette are all of good quality; the heart scarab and the decoration of the silver bowl are of high quality. All indications are thus that the bowl should be a first-rate object, like the only other extant decorated precious-metal vessel from a royal workshop in Dynasty 18, the silver pomegranate vase from the tomb of Tutankhamun.¹⁷⁷ (For consistent paleography on other types of excavated objects in this period, see the burial shrouds of Tuthmosis III and Hatnufer¹⁷⁸ and the funerary papyrus of Cha.¹⁷⁹)

In sum, the inscription's *content* is justifiable, even “ideal,” to use Dewachter's word. And Egyptologists with whom I have discussed the content consistently maintain that the text could not have been created in 1827, “not even by Champollion.” But the paleography of the inscription does not exhibit the consistency expected on the one hand, and it has the unusual character, on the other hand, of being more proficient than the object on which it is placed. As there is absolutely no way to separate the execution of this inscription from the beating out of the bowl and its subsequent decoration—the inscription was undoubtedly formed as the last step—one is forced to consider other means to account for the inscription's characteristics, the bowl's unique shape, the poor goldworking, and the frankly unbelievable drawing of the fish.

I therefore explored the idea that the bowl might have been made by non-Egyptians but inscribed by an



56. Patera from Ras Shamra. Louvre AO 17.208 (from: Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, II, pl. 7)



57. Gold bowl, no. 18 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

Egyptian (albeit one without the level of expertise expected for such an object). In this case the bowl could have been made by a Syrian and inscribed by an Egyptian, but I could find no exact parallels for the shape (straight short sides, sharp platform rim)¹⁸⁰ or any parallels at all for the decoration (lack of design unity and of technical proficiency).¹⁸¹ And I believe that the Ras Shamra patera examined above (Figures 56, 66) as well as the Ras Shamra cup (Figures 65, 67)¹⁸² are useful for comparative purposes. While the patera was executed with areas of flat, broad, raised relief, the Ras Shamra cup (17.5 cm. in diameter and 5 cm. high) was worked with various tools to yield a rich composition with coloristic effects. It shows Syrian as opposed to Egyptian work, without the clear outlines and controlled decoration typical of Egyptian artistry as seen on Djehuty's silver vessel. There is a more active approach here; the craftsman has created a fluid, impressionistic effect rather than arranging a group of similar forms. (One-half of the length of a gold fish would equal the horned

animal's head in Figure 67, nose to ear tip.) For instance, on the Ras Shamra cup there are multiple lines used to create the curve of a horn, but not the large pressed areas around the fish heads or back-and-forth scratching of the papyrus umbel. It shows metalworking with a unified purpose behind it, not the unskilled and lifeless presentation of forms. I find that the decoration on the Ras Shamra patera, the metal stands from Aniba,¹⁸³ the bowl of Oundjebaounded,¹⁸⁴ and the inscriptions on the metal vessels of Cha¹⁸⁵ bear out these observations.

THE GOLD BOWL AS A POSSIBLE FORGERY

Could the gold bowl be modern rather than ancient? We have used excavated material to establish criteria for studying the object from every conceivable vantage point;¹⁸⁶ we have weighed the evidence to find that the

58. Tutankhamun pectoral, detail. Cairo Murray-Nutthall 261 p (1) (photo: Bill Barrette)



59. Sesostris II pectoral, detail. Cairo CG 52001 (photo: Bill Barrette)



60. Ahmose ewer, detail. Cairo JdE 85895 (photo: Bill Barrette)

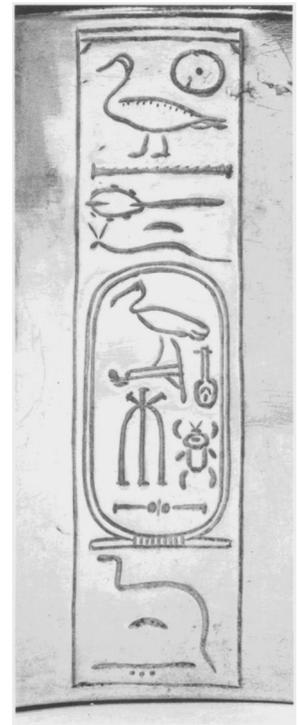
61, 62. Wady D 1 armband, details. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1922, 26.8.130



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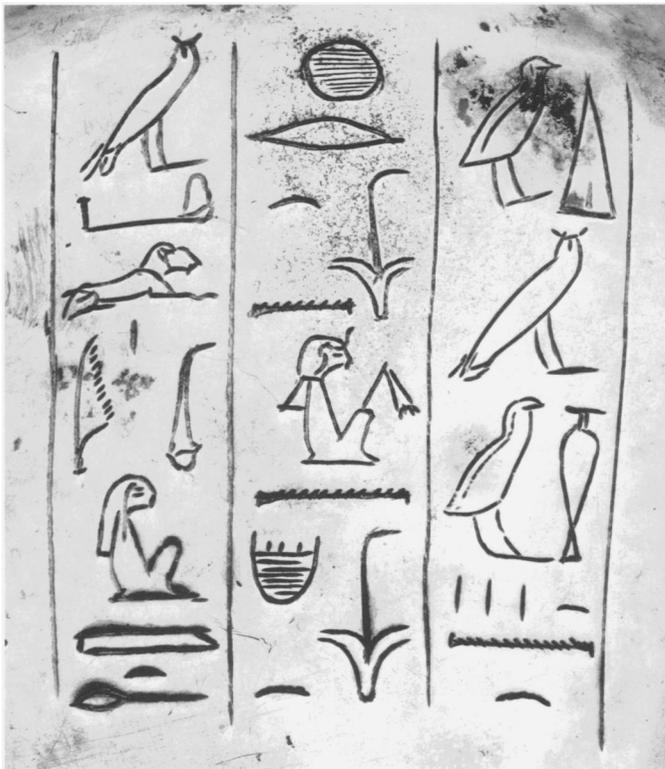


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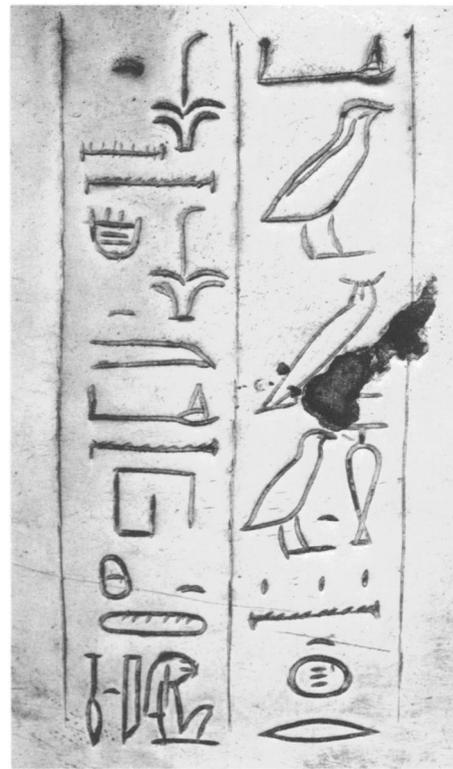


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63, 64. Wady D 1 libation jars, details. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1918, 18.8.20.22



63



64



65. Ras Shamra cup. Aleppo 4572 (photo: J. H. Frantz)



66. Ras Shamra patera. Louvre AO 17.208 (photo: Bill Barrette)



67. Detail of no. 65 (photo: J. H. Frantz)

balance lies somewhere beyond the limits of probability established by excavated material and extended to non-excavated objects. We are therefore forced to consider forgery. I am aware that the discrepancies I see may not be seen by others, and that forgery studies in general are not popular (if they are pursued, they are undertaken more by museum people than by philologists). Further, I realize that most colleagues believe Egyptian forgeries were not made before the second half of the nineteenth century, assuming that there was insufficient interest before the Napoleonic campaign to warrant them and a large enough supply of genuine objects afterward to make forgery unnecessary. In this case I am aware that the inscription on the gold bowl is of some quality. However, I believe that an object can have convincing¹⁸⁷ as well as damning features; and one's judgment of an object must be based upon a wide variety of factors. Detection of a modern hand can emerge through one feature if it is telling enough, but most often it results from the compilation of many pieces of evidence. In this case, the gold bowl's inscription is its best feature, but that feature can, at most, be one-third of its evidence. Birch tells us that he was suspicious of the bowl's inscription when he first saw it, but that the *Annals*¹⁸⁸ and "le langage officiel de l'époque" validated it. We can assume, however, that he did not know the silver bowl since he does not mention it, and herein lies a clue to how even this part of the gold bowl's evidence could be wrong.

I believe that the silver bowl is an ancient fragment because, though it has no exact parallel, it conforms to what we know or can expect from excavated objects, whether they be undecorated or decorated metal examples or vessels of other materials. It and the gold bowl are associated with each other, because of the similarity of their designs, and with General Djehuty, because of the content of their inscriptions and their modern history. However, because the gold bowl is not as convincing in shape, decoration, and epigraphy as the object it is purported to be, and because it is so similar to the silver bowl, an occurrence disturbing in itself,¹⁸⁹ it is possible that one is an original and the other a copy, an idea first suggested to me by Richard Stone.

The silver object may originally have had a rim with the inscription that is now on the gold bowl—the rim was damaged when found because of the cracking known to occur in the curve between wall and bottom of other silver vessels, a curve that is still slightly preserved on the silver fragment.¹⁹⁰ There are cracks and

losses on it today that do not appear on the Devéria drawing of about 1857; it was obviously more complete before that.

Such a rim could have carried an inscription long enough to encircle the gold bowl (whose diameter is approximately the same as that of the original silver object) and provided a copyist with models of paleographic style. It is possible that two craftsmen were involved, one who picked up some subtleties of paleography and another who did not understand the subtleties of bowl shape and rim detail on the silver vessel, or the sophisticated design of its center.

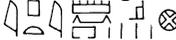
In this hypothetical situation, the forger must have had access to the silver bowl; its rim would have been free enough of corrosion to allow paleographic details to be seen and traced; and its bottom most likely would have been free of the inscription it now has, for bowls normally have inscriptions on the bottom¹⁹¹ or on the wall but not on both.¹⁹² And while the inscription on the floor of the silver vessel is typologically different from what I propose was once inscribed on its rim, it is so very poor paleographically and in design that I believe it to be modern, added to maintain the connection of this object with the Djehuty find.¹⁹³ It can be compared with a retouched inscription on a wooden palette in Bologna, which entered that collection in 1831 from Nizzoli (Figures 73–75, Appendix B, no. XIII); the palette shows a Tuthmoside inscription of good quality on one side, but a reworked inscription on the other.¹⁹⁴

However, if the inscription now on the silver bowl is not ancient, how would it have come to be there in the hypothesis proposed above? One possibility is that the short and complete inscription was taken as is from a now-lost object at some point before 1857 (the bowl cannot be traced before that date in the available sources). Similar inscriptions occur on furniture,¹⁹⁵ game pieces from Cha's tomb, the Djehuty heart scarab, and mid-Dynasty 18 metal vessels (Radwan, nos. 334, 394, 405, 464; 338 is longer).¹⁹⁶

A second possibility is that the inscription on the silver bowl was entirely created by someone before 1857. Such a person would have had access to (or records of) Djehuty objects and been able to extract certain phrases—making slight adjustments or mistakes in them—since the inscriptions on the known objects do not give the exact spellings or sequence of titles that appear on the silver bowl. The first epithet, "one who fills the heart greatly of the lord of the two lands," has its closest parallel on the Turin palette, and if that palette was the

model, one could easily postulate that the copyist mistook the chisel for the wooden column. The second epithet, “praised of the good god,” exists on the gold bowl, and therefore would have theoretically existed on the rim of the silver bowl; “royal scribe” appears on the silver bowl in the same form as on the Turin palette; and “overseer of northern foreign countries” has its closest parallel on the Leiden heart scarab, although the plural strokes for “northern” are at the end of the word rather than before the *tyw*.

Could the short inscription now on the silver bowl have been created before September 1827, when the gold bowl is first mentioned in Paris? The known objects might have been available,¹⁹⁷ but someone would have to have been able to read enough ancient Egyptian to select certain phrases, and Champollion’s grammar did not appear until 1836–41 (his groundbreaking *Lettre à M. Dacier* appeared in 1822).

On the other hand, we know that Anastasi wrote to Champollion late in 1824, stating that he had used his *Précis* that year to decipher names in his collection,¹⁹⁸ and he sent Champollion “more royal cartouches” in April 1826, although they were “nothing new” to Champollion.¹⁹⁹ There may have been correspondence between the two, begun by the tracings that Anastasi sent in 1824, which enabled Champollion to discover the system of writing months in the three forms of Egyptian language. We also know that Champollion saw Nizzoli at Turin in June 1824 with drawings of some of Nizzoli’s objects.²⁰⁰ In other words, if such men as Anastasi, Henry Salt, and William Bankes were interested in hieroglyphs and writing—following Johan Åkerblad, Antoine Silvestre de Sacy, Thomas Young, William Gell, Gustavus Seyfarth, Ippolito Rosellini, John Gardner Wilkinson, and of course Champollion—and if we have such men as Edward Lane labeling the west bank on his map of about 1826–27,  ²⁰¹ can we say today that it was impossible for the inscription now on the silver bowl to have been put together from original objects by someone?²⁰² Karl-Theodore Zauzich has recently discovered that the “horse trader” Giuseppe Passalacqua was translating demotic in 1836!²⁰³

And while duplicity might be suspected in the making of the gold bowl (it entered the Louvre too soon after its supposed forgery for an honorable person not to have come forward), someone could have unknowingly provided a translation or inscription that would have helped a forger. Further, the inscription on the silver bowl need not have been done by the person(s) who made the gold

bowl, or with intent to deceive. And, finally, the falsifications could have been done in Egypt or Europe. The real point is to decide whether anyone in 1820–27 would have been interested enough in making forgeries and as cunning as forgers are today.

Whether or not there is a large supply of genuine articles, some of us believe that as soon as there is collecting there is a market for forgeries.²⁰⁴ Alessandro Castellani wrote in 1862 that the inhabitants of Naples, helped by archaeologists, were making jewelry for visitors to Pompeii and Herculaneum early in that century; and J. P. Rossignol wrote in 1883 that the manufacturing of fakes in precious metal at Naples was recorded as early as 1761.²⁰⁵

For Egypt one might make the case—as Baltrušaitis,²⁰⁶ Jean Leclant,²⁰⁷ Anne Roulet,²⁰⁸ and Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel²⁰⁹ did—that interest never died, and that vestiges of Egypt were at hand from the days of antiquity. While few traces of activity or interest are apparent in medieval times, the Renaissance awakened a desire to return to antique models. Collections were formed and publications circulated showing texts²¹⁰ and objects dug up in Europe or brought back from the East: first by princes, cardinals, and bishops in the Renaissance, and then by officials, professionals, and businessmen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (as Dewachter has shown²¹¹). Leclant and Curto have been studying the survival of Egypt in postancient times for many years, but a staggering amount of material has recently been brought together for exhibitions in France²¹² and Italy;²¹³ and colleagues in Austria,²¹⁴ Germany,²¹⁵ Holland,²¹⁶ Denmark,²¹⁷ Sweden,²¹⁸ England,²¹⁹ Russia,²²⁰ and Italy²²¹ have recorded many instances of early interest in Egypt. Thus, while Napoleon’s presence in Egypt marked a greater volume of attention toward ancient Egypt, the evidence assembled shows that collecting and the appreciation of objects already existed, especially in France and Italy. Soldiers, businessmen, consular agents, and adventurers helped kings, a duke, and a pope to form public museums in the early nineteenth century, both for true interest and to heighten status. But there was much interest and considerable demand for objects before that, and not just for shawabties, the ubiquitous small servants of the dead.²²²

Is there specific evidence for falsifications before the time of Napoleon? One should first realize that this term can be applied to objects created in the Egyptian style but not necessarily meant to deceive, as well as to copies, authentic objects enhanced by the addition of missing

parts or inscriptions, and out-and-out forgeries. Some instances of early forgeries have already been observed by scholars, and I have collected additional evidence from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

“Egyptian objects” were certainly being made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1900 Pellegrini published three bronze shawabties from the Medici collections in Florence, which he doubted;²²³ Dewachter²²⁴ now writes of Renaissance bronze castings. One of the bronze Medici shawabties in Florence seems completely modern to me²²⁵—and apparently to Véronique Laurent²²⁶—as does a (stone) shawabty in the Ashmolean acquired in 1635²²⁷ and of course the “busto isiaco” of 1761. (The last was rather quickly denounced as a forgery on the basis of the signs on it.²²⁸) Marie-Pierre

68. Stela acquired 1821. Vienna AS 161 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Foissy-Aufrère recently published an inscribed canopic jar in the Musée Calvet made sometime before 1778 as a pendant for an authentic jar in the same collection.²²⁹

Toward the end of the eighteenth century there was considerable interest for things Egyptian, in Rome and then in France—even reaching Russia²³⁰—which resulted, for instance, in the Salle Égyptienne at the Borghese’s Villa Pinciani in Rome. Arizzoli-Clémentel has discovered fascinating documentation for the scheme of this room;²³¹ decorated by Antonio Asprucci between 1778 and 1782, and published by Parisi in 1782, it was filled with statues that were sold to Napoleon in 1807 and arrived in Paris in 1808 and 1810. An Isis of alabaster and *nero antico*, an Osiris of *nero antico*,²³² and an Isis of Elbian granite²³³ were made for the room by Antonio Grandjacquet, a sculptor employed by Piranesi for his speciality of working hard stones in the spirit of the antique. Arizzoli-Clémentel explains that the “antiquities” of the Borghese collection were a mixture of real objects restored (presumably in the early eighteenth century) and modern ones in Egyptian style; both were part of a larger creation which aided the contemplation of the antique.²³⁴ No doubt Denon’s encouragement of the Manufacture de Sèvres to make an inscribed faience shawabty in 1812²³⁵ resulted from a popular taste for things Egyptian, but the technique itself could have been used to make objects claimed to be ancient.²³⁶

In 1809, after Napoleon’s conquest of Egypt, Champollion prepared a list of non-Egyptian items and forgeries in Comte Anne Claude Philippe de Caylus’s *Recueil d’antiquités égyptiennes*.²³⁷ In 1825, when he catalogued the Nizzoli collection in Florence, Champollion noted that several of the inscriptions on canopic jars were new and—according to Pellegrini²³⁸—that a black obelisk there was a complete forgery. An inscribed limestone stela in Vienna, which was part of the 1821 Burghart purchase, was published by E. von Bergmann in 1892 with a question,²³⁹ and Helmut Satzinger now believes it to be a forgery (Figure 68). Samuel Sharpe called attention to paintings “restored by Belzoni” on a sarcophagus given to the British Museum in 1820,²⁴⁰ and Nicholas Reeves ascribes “a number of restorations” on objects acquired by the British Museum from Belzoni and Salt to their vendors.²⁴¹ Giovanni Belzoni himself was wary of out-and-out forgeries;²⁴² the painter Philippe-Joseph Machereau, according to Alphonse Karr (1808–90), made hieroglyphs on objects belonging to Vivant Denon (deceased 1825);²⁴³ Christian Reuvsen thought there

were restorations in the de Lescluze collection that he bought for Leiden in 1825,²⁴⁴ and Schneider has suggested that two Osiride figures were probably meant.²⁴⁵ In fact Gustave Flaubert (1821–80) wrote during the nineteenth century, “*les antiquités*: sont toujours de fabrication moderne.”²⁴⁶ In the light of all the above evidence, one wonders why we have become so timid about questioning an object made after antiquity but before our own time.

No doubt it is partly because Achille Prisse d’Avennes wrote in 1846 that Mohammed Ali’s recent revocation of permissions to excavate (seemingly in 1835)²⁴⁷ had caused the Egyptian inhabitants to turn to forgeries as a means of supplying the demand;²⁴⁸ and because Alfred Clerc, “bibliophile,”²⁴⁹ wrote the next year, “il n’y a guère que trois ou quatre ans que l’on fabrique en assez grand nombre de fausses antiquités. . . . Depuis 1843 surtout, un grand nombre de Voyageurs, de Touristes . . . sont tombés comme des nuées de sauterelles sur et dans les catacombes, les hypogées, les grottes, et se sont jetés sur tout ce que les Arabes ou les fouilleurs européens autorisés par le Pacha, exhumaient de reliques des Pharaons.”

But this does not mean that *no* forgeries were made before about 1840, as the evidence cited shows, nor is there any reason to accept the inscriptions (or objects themselves) on two obelisks brought from Egypt in 1839²⁵⁰ and on a statuette collected between 1828 and 1833.²⁵¹ Caroline Ransom Williams was asked in 1924 whether 1832 was too early a date for forgeries, even after she had gathered evidence of one; it seems that we are still reluctant to consider early dates for forgeries, no matter how many warnings nineteenth-century predecessors gave us.

Can we accept early poor shawabties as forgeries but not “beautiful” ones? We are careful to give objects the benefit of the doubt because we see objects of varying quality come from excavations, and because the accidents of excavation can keep more than one example from coming to light. But although Petrie’s typologies were based on excavated material, his corpora have not been extended; our standards for dating are not always defined; we may subconsciously defend our own countrymen, or assume (even Egyptologists!) that earlier man cannot do things as well as modern man.

Let us remember the desire for profit, the need for a steady supply of antiquities, the preference for clean, undamaged examples (even shawabties), and—as Nizzoli tells us²⁵²—for any gold treasures, since in 1822 all

gold hoards were supposed to be turned over to the pasha. Ramond has shown that high-quality forgeries can be produced even when there is only a small profit to be made or a paucity of objects at hand;²⁵³ Dewachter has praised the quality of several eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century facsimiles.²⁵⁴ In the case of the gold bowl I propose that there was an original at hand available for tracing.

Are we able to suggest who could have participated knowingly in deceptions regarding the Djehuty objects? It is now 161 years since the gold bowl entered the Louvre, but some points are worth mentioning. Rosellini²⁵⁵ and Drovetti²⁵⁶ both had Venetian and Islamic objects in their collections, though we cannot expect anyone in the early nineteenth century to have had today’s knowledge, or even to have known when a tomb was intact²⁵⁷ or a findspot wrong.²⁵⁸ On the other hand, had the gold bowl been purchased within five to ten years of its manufacture, an honorable person would have made the error known; we must remember that the gold bowl is not mentioned in the early 1826 list from Livorno but appears first in August or September 1827 in Drovetti’s hands.

It would help if we knew the circumstances of the Djehuty find but we do not. I believe that the tomb of the “overseer of northern foreign countries Djehuty” was most likely at Saqqara because of Nizzoli’s statement and because Nizzoli, Anastasi, and Drovetti shared the Amenhotep/Huy find as well as a jewelry find at Saqqara during the same period (see below). I also believe that these two or three finds were made before August 1822, when the Nizzolis left Cairo for Europe, and after Nizzoli sold his first antiquities collection—in 1820 to Burghart for the Vienna museum, according to Amalia—and moved to Cairo.

Unfortunately, we do not know who made the Djehuty find (Nizzoli says “the jars were found,” not “I found the jars”), whether all objects were found at once, or if all objects were ever in the hands of one agent. When Nizzoli writes that he found the cubit rod of Amenhotep/Huy, we know he also got palettes, a stela, the gray pyramidion, and five alabaster jars; but he did not mention the red pyramidion, the canopic chest, and the leg of a stool that Anastasi acquired, perhaps because Anastasi’s agents had bought them after Nizzoli had left the excavations—as Amalia says such things happened—or perhaps for some other reason.

In the Djehuty case Anastasi seems to have had the finest objects (silver bowl, green heart scarab, and pos-

sibly other jewelry; see below), but Drovetti could have had precious objects other than the gold bowl, since most of the gold pieces in his Paris collection of 1827 were stolen in 1830.²⁵⁹ According to my theory, the only event that would have to have occurred is that the person who made the gold bowl had access to the silver vessel between its discovery and 1827. We know Anastasi had the silver bowl when he died, and he would have been capable of having the inscription added to the silver remnants at some point. Most sources on Anastasi are positive, however;²⁶⁰ only Hayes suggests otherwise, unfortunately not giving his source.²⁶¹ He states that in 1824–25 Anastasi appears to have been engaged in endless squabbles with everybody except Nizzoli. On the other hand, Anastasi could have traded the silver bowl from one of the other principals; if broken it would not have been so valuable. Or someone could have arranged to have had the inscription added to the silver bowl at an unknown time, aware that it had a connection with the Djehuty material. Bartho possessed a Djehuty object, and he was on good terms with both Anastasi (as his agent) and with Drovetti.

Could Drovetti have been involved in deliberately making a gold version of a broken silver bowl? He had great influence with Mohammed Ali throughout his career in Egypt (1803–29); he shared in the Amenhotep/Huy find with Nizzoli and Anastasi by getting stray fragments of the cubit rod and possibly a palette;²⁶² he must have had good connections with Bartho since he countersigned the initial agreement in the Bartho–de Lescluze transfer; he had seven of the Djehuty objects, including the most valuable one, and this he personally delivered to Champollion in Paris. Of all the consular agents he has the worst reputation, no matter how much he contributed to Egyptology by forming collections or to Egypt’s reforms by relations with Mohammed Ali. Curto describes Drovetti as having encyclopedic interests and a taste for beauty though he was protective of his power;²⁶³ and Wolfradine von Minutoli presented Drovetti in a good light.²⁶⁴ But, Belzoni’s (seemingly justified) ravings aside,²⁶⁵ Humbert wrote to Reuven about Drovetti’s tricks,²⁶⁶ and Hermine Hartleben’s work with Champollion’s papers caused her to describe him as “ein ebenso berechnender wie kluger Mann, der überall und immer in erster Linie an den Vorteil seiner Börse dachte”;²⁶⁷ Kanawaty has characterized him to me as a merchant compared to his consular successor, Jean-François Mimaut.

Of course no consular agent need have been know-

ingly involved. Drovetti’s agent, Jean-Jacques Rifaud, for example—“se avido di compensi pecuniari,”²⁶⁸ according to Curto—published atrocious copies of Egyptian monuments yet good examples of flora;²⁶⁹ his original drawings or sculptures are not known, so far as I can tell. However, even Rifaud need not have been the actual craftsman of the bowl. He left Alexandria for Europe in 1826 and arrived in Paris in November 1827 after a year in Tuscany;²⁷⁰ if this seems grasping after straws, one might note Clerc’s 1847 statement that the finest forgeries at that time were coming to Egypt from Italy and Greece.²⁷¹

Frédéric Cailliaud was also an associate of Drovetti, and his publications show engravings with well-formed inscriptions.²⁷² He practiced as a goldsmith in Paris before going east²⁷³ and even in Istanbul in about 1815, according to Dewachter. The *Dictionnaire de Biographie* notes that Cailliaud was with Drovetti at the first cataract in 1815, returned to France in 1819, was in Nubia in 1821, and returned to Paris to publish several works in 1822 and 1823 before resuming life in Nantes. According to Dewachter, a current French study sees Cailliaud as an honorable man, but some of his contemporaries did not. Belzoni wrote that Cailliaud mutilated sixteen blocks on Philae,²⁷⁴ and Giovanni d’Athanasys claimed that he had destroyed a painted tomb at Thebes.²⁷⁵ The story of the pipe that Cailliaud supposedly sold to Salt as an antiquity was told several times (by Belzoni,²⁷⁶ Count Louis Nicolas de Forbin,²⁷⁷ and Prisse d’Avennes²⁷⁸), and Prisse’s report (not firsthand) is of interest because it links Drovetti and Cailliaud in the deception:

[Messrs.] Drovetti et Cailliaud étant à Thèbes voulurent s’amuser aux dépens de [M.] Salt et mettre à l’épreuve son goût et ses connaissances. Un Arabe qui vendait des antiquités aux voyageurs, gagné par Youssouf Kacheff, alla présenter mystérieusement à l’amateur de raretés une pipe Bycharite en calcaire tendre et compact sur laquelle [M.] Cailliaud avait gravé une légende hiéroglyphique et qu’il avait en suite barbouillée de bitume pour modifier l’odeur du tabac et donner un tant soit peu de vraisemblance à son antiquité. Le savant anglais . . . ne reconnut point la fausseté de l’inscription et l’anachronisme de son antique . . . et s’empressa de payer 35 Taleris une pipe antique sur laquelle sans doute il se proposait d’écrire un mémoire pour prouver l’existence du tabac dans l’ancien monde.

Of more interest to the current study, however, is a second extract from the papers of Prisse in the Biblio-

thèque nationale. It is not necessarily to be interpreted as Prisse's own observation (he arrived in Egypt in 1827²⁷⁹ and Drovetti left Egypt forever in 1829); possibly it was a report he had read or heard: "Drovetti et Cailliaud ont abusé au contraire de la confiance du gouvernement en enlevant après la vente, les plus belles pièces de leur collection et en y substituant souvent de fausses antiquités de leur fabrique. . . . Cailliaud fit fabriquer à Paris des scarabées et autres antiquités."

Can this be dismissed? It appears to me that the more carefully and dispassionately we look into archives, the more evidence we may find on this subject of forgery,²⁸⁰ both before 1835 and after.²⁸¹ I cannot propose who made the Djehuty find, when or how the objects were traded, or where they traveled. But the gold bowl could have been made in Egypt as early as 1820 if it was copied from the silver, and the silver inscription could have been added by a different person in Egypt or Europe by 1827—and of course up until 1857.

What about all the Egyptologists who have accepted the gold bowl? Champollion had very little time to study the bowl before it went on exhibition, being overwhelmed—according to his letter of mid-September—with the opulence of the Drovetti objects; he was also preparing for his first trip to Egypt.²⁸² When Birch looked at the text afresh in 1857, it seemed dubious to him,²⁸³ but when he saw the similarity of its content to texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty it became part of Egyptological literature.

One wonders how critically the bowl has been examined up to now. Max Müller admired it, and since he comments on the contrast between deep repoussé and light secondary lines he may have actually examined it.²⁸⁴ Vernier illustrated front and back in *La Bijouterie et joaillerie égyptiennes* (plate 20) with the caption, "Ciselure. Plateau or, donné à Thouti par le roi Thotmes III."²⁸⁵ But the beauty of gold often blinds viewers to what has been done with it, and until quite recently low-power magnification was the only available means of examination. Then too, few Egyptian collections have had the opportunity that the Metropolitan Museum had when Lila Acheson Wallace underwrote a comprehensive review of its Egyptian collection (dating, object importance, cleaning, restoration, and authenticity). Even though the Djehuty bowl was not restudied, it was routinely used in discussions of Joppa, the Aegean, and Tutmosis III.

Still another question must be asked. If the gold bowl is not ancient, why have there not been more gold ves-

sels made for the antiquities market? The answer may be that there never were many Egyptian gold vessels that survived into modern times that could be sources of inspiration. When seventeen gold vessels were offered to the Metropolitan Museum in the 1920s (said to be from Wady D 1 but now thought to be forgeries), there was virtually no pre-Ptolemaic comparative material beyond the following:

- fifteen silver and eight gold/electrum vessels from Bubastis split between Cairo, Berlin, and New York (the Cairo vessels had been published, not the ones in Berlin)

- the two silver Cha vessels in Turin

- a small Late Period silver situla from Abusir²⁸⁶

- the five silver vessels that I believe did come from Wady D 1 but were from the art market (three libation jars, a krateriskos, and a cup)

Subsequent finds include:

- one small silver and two small gold vessels in Hetepheres's tomb²⁸⁷

- a silver pomegranate and two tiny bag-shaped precious-metal models in Tutankhamun's tomb (one silver, one gold/electrum)²⁸⁸

- ten silver, two gold, and two electrum vessels from royal tombs in the Sudan²⁸⁹

- one cup and two small pitchers in Hatnufur's burial, of silver²⁹⁰

- thirteen silver and ten gold/electrum full-size vessels in the royal tombs at Tanis²⁹¹

- a gold cosmetic dish in Sekhemkhet's pyramid²⁹²

- three silver libation vessels in Nefertah's tomb²⁹³

In total I have recorded eighty-one pre-Ptolemaic silver or gold/electrum vessels with good provenance.²⁹⁴

Precious-metal vessels from excavations are uncommon from all ancient cultures, whether Classical, Near Eastern, or Egyptian, but gold vessels seem to be particularly rare. Of the eighty-one Egyptian items cited above, for instance, only twenty-six are gold/electrum, and only half of those are of any size. Thus can one comprehend the chances of an Egyptian gold vessel being preserved until modern times.

The gold forgeries associated with Wady D 1 were probably made after a find during World War I when archaeologists and buyers were absent from the country and there was an opportunity to augment the group with additional jewels and vessels (it seems significant that corroded silver vases were part of that original find and that the gold vases associated with it are believed to be forgeries). The Djehuty bowl seems to be another

isolated occurrence, easy enough to create if a prototype were already at hand and a certain amount of time were available between the tomb find and a presentation to the art market. There was sure to be a notable profit involved.

Some colleagues may come to different conclusions from my observations,²⁹⁵ and the fact that they can display a central problem in authenticity studies in a field already divided into philological and archaeological areas.²⁹⁶ At the very least the gold bowl must be approached with caution. Its shape is unconvincing; its design shows lack of unity, appropriate style, or naturalistic observation; and its decoration shows lack of skill (delamination of surfaces, uneven handling of tools). All this would be admitted if the bowl were from a private workshop, but it is definitely an uncharacteristic product for a large gold object from a royal workshop in Dynasty 18, and I believe this conclusion also applies to the paleography of the inscription. We must be careful to understand that the material of the bowl itself dazzles us but that its workmanship is something to be judged independently. As such an atypical object from the market, it must not be used to authenticate any other object.

ADDITIONAL DJEHUTY OBJECTS?

Hans Schneider recently connected several additional objects with Djehuty, and I can propose others for consideration. None of them has a private name, and only some have the cartouche of Tuthmosis III, but they appeared in the consular collections that yielded the objects already discussed and all are typologically Tuthmoside. The goldworking is of high quality, which implies that—if these objects were part of the find—Djehuty's burial was far richer than the silver bowl and heart scarab alone indicate.

Gold Bracelet (Anastasi to Leiden, no. II)

Schneider suggested that the gold *mstkw*-bracelet (concave-convex-concave profile)²⁹⁷ inscribed with the name of Tuthmosis III (*Mn-hpr-r*) from the Anastasi collection could have belonged to Djehuty.²⁹⁸ Such bracelets are shown singly on the wrists of men (usually on the right, according to Alix Wilkinson²⁹⁹) and were popular in the Tuthmoside period.

Two lighter-weight but larger examples, uninscribed, were also in the Anastasi collection,³⁰⁰ as well as two

iw'w-armlets (vertical profile),³⁰¹ which were normally worn as a pair on the upper arms of an official.³⁰² These bracelets, ridged hoop earrings, scarab rings, and other jewelry from Anastasi could likewise have belonged to Djehuty but—unlike the inscribed *mstkw*-bracelet above—have no precise reference to the time of Tuthmosis III.

Inlaid lotus clasp (Anastasi to Leiden, no. III)

Schneider also linked an inscribed inlaid clasp to Djehuty, again because it has an Anastasi provenance, is of high quality, and is inscribed on the back with the name of Tuthmosis III (*Mn-hpr-r*).³⁰³ He identifies the inlays as red-, blue-, and turquoise-colored glass. However, judging by the translucent quality as it appears in a photograph, the date indicated by the inscription, and comparison with objects IV and V below, I propose that the red inlay is stone, not glass.

The purpose of the clasp is unclear. One could suggest that, with a height of 8.7 cm., two removable side pieces, eight protrusions along the bottom, and an inscription on the back, the clasp was intended for a broad collar, as depicted in tombs of the period.³⁰⁴ However, since one long side is pierced with forty-four holes and the other side with thirty-two (presuming that both removable pieces in fact belong to the inlaid one), it is difficult to suggest a specific usage; the uneven numbers and the small spacing of so many holes seem to be unique. It is therefore impossible to postulate whether the ornament was meant for a man or a woman. The quality of this item and of the inscribed *mstkw*-bracelet certainly equals that of the silver bowl and heart scarab, however.

Twenty-five inlaid mandrake/persea-fruit pendants³⁰⁵ (Anastasi to Leiden, no. IV, and the British Museum, 1839, no. V)

Leiden owns sixteen of these inlaid pendants and the British Museum owns nine. No other examples of this type of inlaid pendant are known, and all have an Anastasi provenance; thus they must have come from the same piece of jewelry, although its form is difficult to determine. Were the pendants strung in a single line, or did they make up the terminal row in a broad collar?

The date of this type of pendant is also unsure. The fruits are often represented in the Amarna period,³⁰⁶ but Keimer—judging them to be mandrakes—stated that they appear first in Egypt at the beginning of the New Kingdom.³⁰⁷ A blue glass example with the car-

touche of Tuthmosis III was found in the tomb of Tutankhamun,³⁰⁸ and actual fruits are depicted as offerings in a scene painted during the reign of Amenhotep II.³⁰⁹ Furthermore, while pendants of this shape are generally dated to the end of the dynasty, the glasses inlaid into these examples appear to be those used in the lotus clasp (no. III) and in jewelry from Wady D 1 in the Cairo and Metropolitan museums, all from the time of Tuthmosis III.

Various broad-collar elements, pendants, and rings

(Nizzoli to Florence, no. VI; Drovetti to the Louvre, no. VII; Anastasi to Leiden, no. VIII)

In the Nizzoli collection sold to Florence, the Drovetti collection sold to Paris, and the Anastasi collection sold to Leiden, there were gold elements whose similarity and provenance suggest that they came from a single find. Could this have been Djehuty's burial? Nizzoli describes the discovery of the Florence examples in "Memorie," p. 375:

Li due scarabei legati in oro, cocodrilli in oro, l'anello, il giglio ecc. furono cose trovate tutte attorno ad una ricca mummia, che gli Arabi barbaramente guastarono per dividersene poi il guadagno. Li due scarabei suddetti, assieme ad alcuni altri che furono acquistati da Drovetti, formavano una specie di collana, unita ai cocodrilli ed altri ornamenti suddetti. L'anima umana fu rinvenuta sul petto della mummia, ed i pezzi di lancetta formavano il viso, ma l'avidità del danaro condusse gli Arabi a tutto deformare, per poter nascondere l'oro alle ricerche del Pacha, nel caso ne avesse avuta cognizione, e per poterlo vendere a comodo. Difatti si seppe poi, che molto oro che serviva a coprire quasi tutto l'esteriore del corpo al disopra, fu venduto ad alcuni orefici in Cairo, che lo gettarono riducendolo in alcune verghe.

La mummia doveva essere superba e magnifica, e chi sa quali altre cose utili a conoscere poteva contenere, ma l'assassinio (dirò così) fu commesso dagli Arabi fra loro, nè vi è alcun Europeo che possa dire di averla veduta. Tutto ciò si seppe per confessione di quegli Arabi, che non poterono aver parte nel bottino, e che per vendetta accusarono poi al Pacha il capo del villaggio con la sua comitiva, che fu poi messa sotto al bastone, e punita per la trasgressione commessa a danno degli ordini del Pacha, il quale nell'accordare il permesso de'scavi, pretende però che appartenere gli debba tutto ciò che possa formar parte di un tesoro, come oro, gioie ecc.

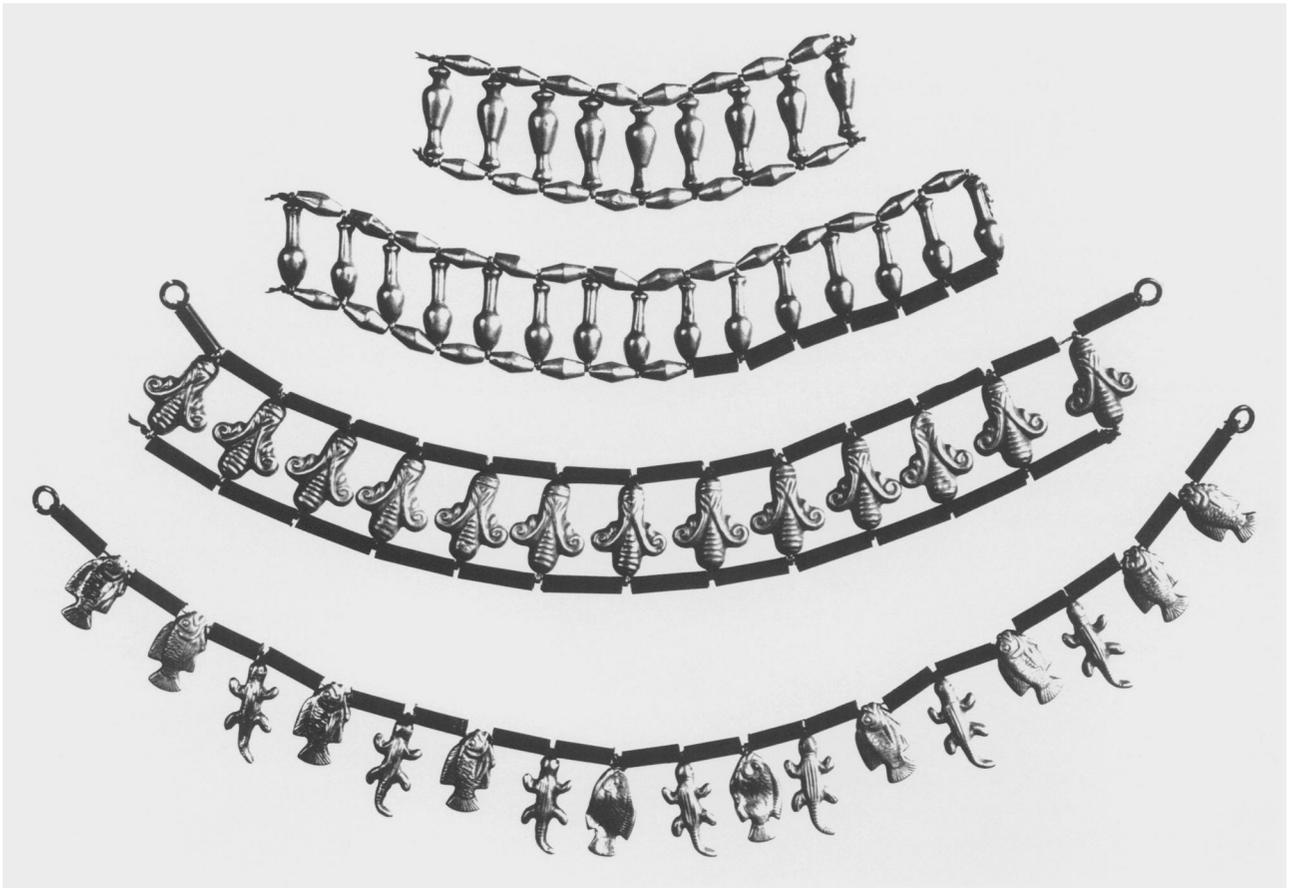
A second reference to the pendants is in the report Champollion sent from Livorno in 1826 describing the Drovetti objects that ultimately entered the Louvre:³¹⁰

"On trouve également dans la collection une suite très-complète de colliers de toute espèce: 1. un, en or est formé de trente-deux pièces représentant des vases de diverses formes, des fleurs de lotus, une espèce de coquillage, des poissons et des lézards, le tout d'un fort joli travail."

We can assume that the mummy Nizzoli described was found at Saqqara, because the Arabs took the gold to Cairo to sell, and Nizzoli—living in Cairo as far as I can reconstruct (see Appendix B)—knew details of the robbery. Of course, his shank rings with scarabs would not have been part of a necklace, but they could have been found in the vicinity of the chest; the *nfrs*, *nefers* (*pezzi di lancetta*) would rightly have been placed around the neck in a collar.

I have not studied the shank rings set with Hyksos scarabs (Florence, 2790–2791), nor the single scarab displayed with the group in Florence (2973); they could have been in a Dynasty 18 grave, but they have no confirmation from the Paris and Leiden groups. Nor do I consider the gold "ba"-bird (Florence, 2775) here; my initial assessment was that its date must be Late Period and that it had been mistakenly included in a group that Nizzoli bought from Arabs (also, the word *granduca* is written next to it in the Migliarini register). However, Nizzoli mentions an *anima umana* in his account, Williams noted that the soul appears in texts and vignettes in Dynasty 18,³¹¹ and a Late Period-type amulet does occur in the treasure of Ahotep (not from excavations, however).³¹²

The main point here is to consider whether the gold elements and pendants could be Tuthmoside; whether they came from one ornament or not is of secondary importance. The elements (that is, the individual units with rings for attachment above and below, consisting of *nefers*, *hs*-vases, drops, lilies) no doubt belonged to one or more broad collars. The *nefers* in Leiden and the lilies and flat-capped *hs*-vases in all three cities certainly seem similar, and could have been used with the drops in Florence (and Leiden?).³¹³ *Nefers* inlaid with blue paste were found in Wady D 1, time of Tuthmosis III; they also make up a collar depicted in the tomb of Kenamun (time of Amenhotep II, the successor of Tuthmosis III), where collars of varied elements—including lilies—are shown.³¹⁴ There are today in total seventy-six *nefers*, thirty-two lilies, nineteen *hs*-jars with pointed caps, and twenty-four *hs*-jars with flat caps. Smaller items should have been near the neck or the outer edges. If all these elements were from the same



69. Gold pendants and amulets, no. VII. Louvre N 1854, AF 2297, AF 2799 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

collar, it would indeed have been an opulent item of apparel; however, considering the long reign of Tuthmosis III and the depictions in the Kenamun tomb, the possibility cannot be ruled out.

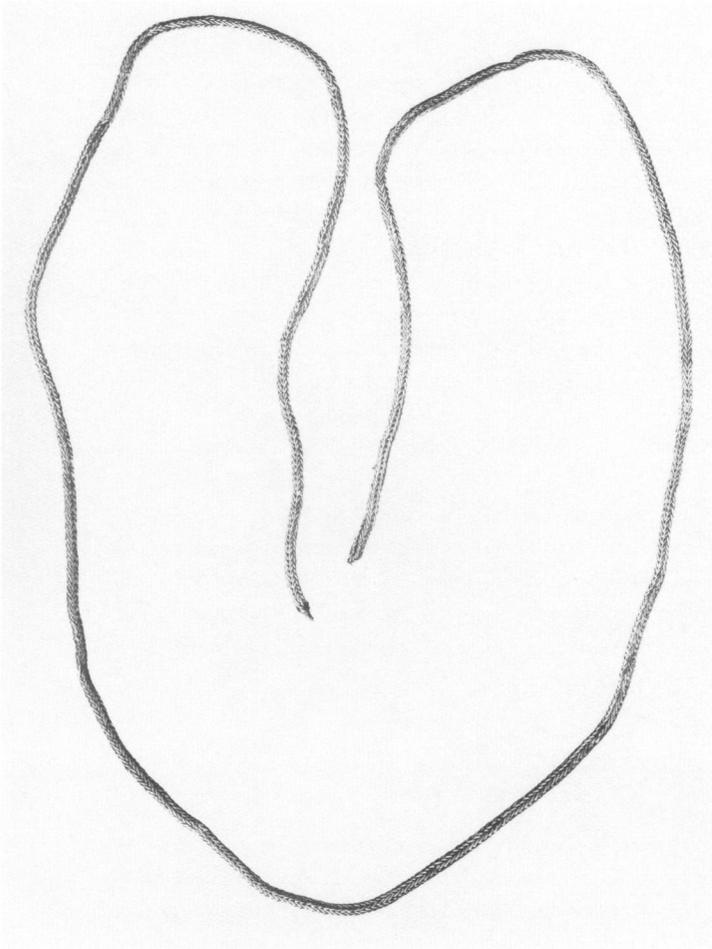
As for the fish and crocodile pendants—which have only one loop for suspension, Figure 69—fish are not mentioned in Nizzoli’s account (there are none in Florence), but Champollion notes them in the group he inventoried at Livorno, and Leiden has some strung with gold drops like the ones in Florence (they are slightly shorter). The fish in Leiden and Paris are all strung by holes that go through the mouths rather than through attached or self rings. The Paris fish are shorter than the crocodiles, and the Leiden fish are longer than the Leiden drops.

Pendant amulets usually occur on individual strings, and in the first part of Dynasty 18 they can be strung by type³¹⁵ or mixed with other amulets and beads of fa-

ience, glass, or stone.³¹⁶ It is thus interesting to note two carnelian fish on the Leiden fish necklace; each has a ring for suspension and a different type of tail but is generally the same size as the gold examples. Combining the pendants in all three museums, there are nine gold crocodiles and eighteen gold *tilapia*-fish.

As for the rings with V-shaped profile in Florence and Leiden, I have found no parallel and cannot propose a function.

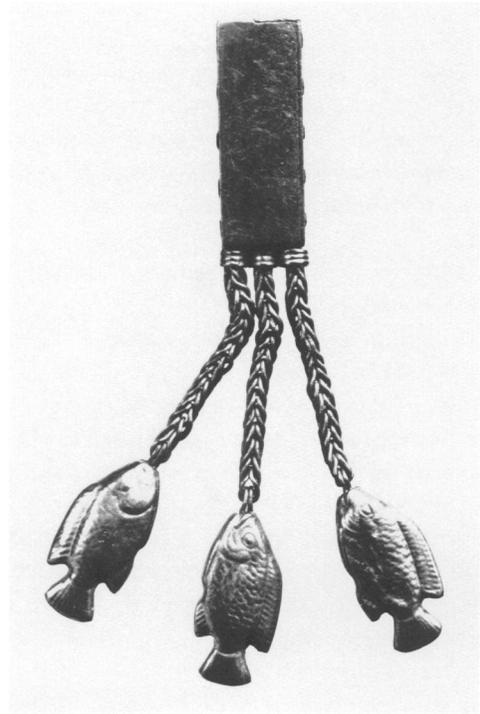
In conclusion, we cannot know how many items of jewelry were on the mummy Nizzoli describes. Champollion mentions thirty-six gold pendants in his group, yet there are fifty-four strung in Paris today, without any shells, and we know that some of the Louvre’s Droveti gold was stolen in 1830. There are biconical gold beads strung with the elements in Leiden and Paris; they too could have been part of this or an associated burial.



70. Gold chain, no. X. Louvre N 1851 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

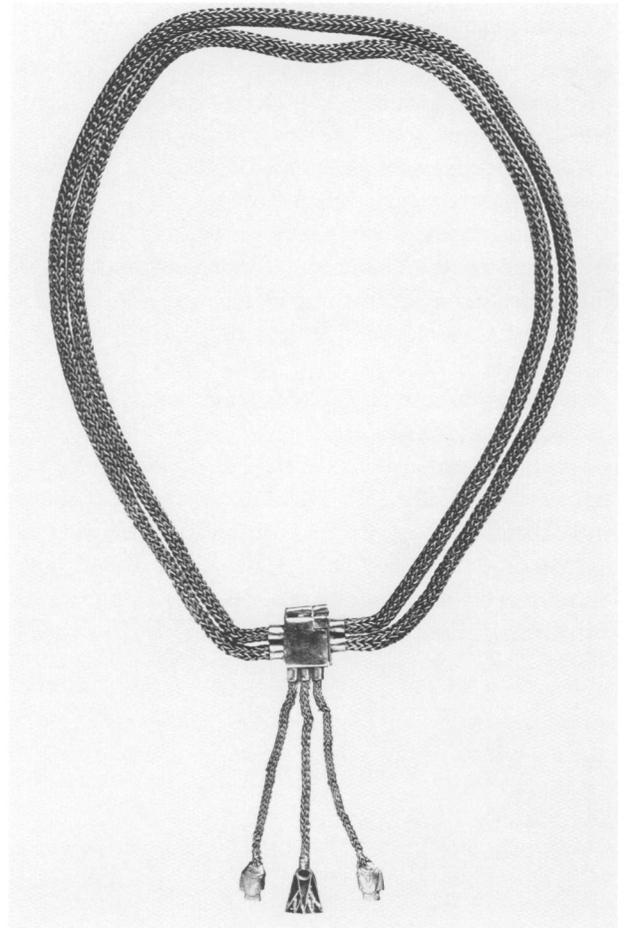
We also do not know whether this was Djehuty's mummy. Nizzoli would presumably have mentioned the connection with the canopic-jar burial if he had known it, but the canopic jars could have been found after the Arabs had taken the gold. The hoard of gold, as well as the heart scarab and silver plate from Djehuty's burial, imply that the burial(s) they were from was intact until about 1820.³¹⁷

However, the quantity of loose objects recovered from Amenhotep/Huy's burial also makes that tomb a possible source for the gold pendants and rings. Nizzoli describes Huy's tomb as a chamber beyond two long shafts; in one shaft were pieces of a palette and three alabaster vases; in the chamber there were some bones and a red granite sarcophagus with a broken lid which contained a gray granite pyramidion, a cubit rod, a palette, and scraps of vases.³¹⁸ The mummy of Cha's wife, Merit, had a faience or stone collar made up of lilies, *nfr*-signs



71. Gold clasp, no. X. Louvre N 1851 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

72. Gold necklace, no. IX. Louvre N 1852 (photo: Musée du Louvre)



(nefers), and other elements (inscriptions in the tomb named Amenhotep II and III),³¹⁹ and a rich gold collar has been put together from elements found in Valley of the Kings 55 (Amarna Period).³²⁰

In sum, the burials of Djehuty and Amenhotep/Huy are the only two recognized so far substantial enough to have been the source of the gold hoard.

Two necklaces with fish pendants (Drovetti to the Louvre, nos. IX, X)

Before describing vessels and a palette that might have been part of Djehuty's tomb, we should consider two further items of jewelry, although they are not fully studied. They have large, long chains like the Djehuty heart scarab and fish pendants reminiscent of the amulet pendants introduced above. Figure 70 is from Drovetti and Figures 71 and 72 may be, but the main question again is whether the items are typologically Tuthmoside.

The fish do not match the eighteen gold *tilapia* above, and each set differs from the other. Moreover, the box clasp pierced for horizontal stringing with loops at the bottom for pendants, as well as the heavy chain, recall Tanis-period jewelry.³²¹ On the other hand, I have not noted the use of fish at Tanis; furthermore, Tutankhamun's chains³²² (thin, like many of the Tanis chains³²³) have sleeves decorated with striations as on the Djehuty heart scarab as well as cloisonné lotuses. *Tilapia* are popular in Dynasty 18: they are depicted on faience bowls, the Djehuty silver bowl, and toilet spoons, and occur as fish-shaped vessels;³²⁴ they are also given as ornaments to high officials;³²⁵ and in jewelry they appear as simple pendants on amulet strings, suspended from a pectoral, or used as counterpoise tassels (in Tutankhamun's jewelry).³²⁶

Whether these items really go back to Djehuty is questionable: representations of broad collars with tassels in the tomb of Kenamun do not show fish, nor have I found the box clasp in Dynasty 18.

Inscribed alabaster jars (Anastasi, no. XI, and de Lescluze, no. XII, for Leiden)

Two crystalline alabaster jars in Leiden have the names of Tuthmosis III ("Menkhperra" and "Djehuty-mes"); one is a bag-shaped jar from Anastasi with the names only, and the other is a shoulder jar from de Lescluze with the names plus a *hnw*-measurement. Both are surprisingly close in size (26.7 and 26.8 cm.) to the

height of the Djehuty jars in Turin (27 and 26.4 cm., one broken, one definitely smaller), Paris (26.3 cm.), and Leiden (de Lescluze 26.7 cm. and Anastasi 27.5 cm.); the pigment is blue on the first and dark gray (seemingly modern) on the second; the first has considerable resin in it, and the second is scraped.

The paleography on both is different from the ointment jars, especially on the bag-shaped example. Other alabaster Dynasty 18 vessels also exist in Leiden, as they do in Turin, Florence, and Paris.

Inscribed wooden palette (Nizzoli to Bologna, no. XIII)

This wooden palette in Bologna (Figures 73–75) is inscribed with the two names of Tuthmosis III and is said in *Catalogo raccolta* to have been "found in a tomb at Memphis." A faint hieratic text on the lower part is of the period and mentions emmer wheat, according to Edward Wente.

CONCLUSION

Concerning the "overseer of northern foreign countries Djehuty," we can say that at least seventeen objects came from his tomb; the gold bowl in all probability did not. The canopic jars are stylistically early, the silver bowl and the Turin palette stylistically late, and the silver bowl—though Egyptian—incorporates foreign features appropriate to the period.

Further, the Annals of Tuthmosis III, the inscriptions of Amenmes, and the archaeological evidence from Syria and Palestine give us a clearer profile of this official, the probable hero of the tale of Joppa and first holder of the title "overseer of northern foreign countries."

It is likely that Djehuty was buried at Saqqara, and, if so, the Mission archéologique française de Saqqarah or the Egypt Exploration Society/Rijksmuseum, Leiden Expedition, may find the remains of the tomb (Nizzoli mentioned only "una camera sepolcrale sotto terra"). If they do, they may discover new information about this son of the "ꜥꜣb Amenmes" and of "[the lady 'Isi]seneb." Likewise, research in early collections and archives³²⁷ or scientific analysis may yield further information about early forgeries or the gold bowl. I am grateful to the many colleagues cited for the opportunity to investigate this complex and interesting subject.

73-75. Wooden palette, no. XIII. Bologna B 3136 (photos: author)



73

74. Detail of no. XIII



74

75. Detail of no. XIII



75

NOTES

1. Champollion, *Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du Musée Charles X* (Paris, 1827) p. 95.
2. Birch, "Mémoire sur une patère égyptienne du Musée du Louvre," *Mémoires de la Société impériale des Antiquaires de France* (later the Société nationale) 24, 3rd ser. IV (1859) pp. 1ff.; the article was reprinted in François Chabas, *Oeuvres diverses I*, Bibliothèque égyptologique, ed. Gaston Maspero, IX (Paris, 1899) pp. 225–274. Chabas had translated the Birch article originally; a Chabas letter to Birch of Feb. 1857, in the British Museum, has questions concerning translation but there is no manuscript there, according to T. G. H. James.
3. Birch, "Patère," p. 226.
4. Devéria, "Notice de quelques antiquités relatives au basilicogramme Thouth ou Teti, pour faire suite au mémoire de M. Samuel Birch sur une Patère égyptienne du Musée du Louvre." The paper was read Apr. 9, published in the same *Mémoire* as Birch's paper, and reprinted in Devéria's *Mémoires et fragments*, I, Bibliothèque égyptologique, ed. Maspero, IV (Paris, 1896) pp. 35ff.
5. Leemans, pls. 35 no. 94, 58 no. 229, 65 no. 386, 95 no. 287.
6. Lenormant, *Catalogue d'une collection d'antiquités égyptiennes . . . Anastasi* (Paris, 1857) p. 80, no. 956.
7. Maspero, "Comment Thouth prit la Ville de Joppé," *Romans et Poésies du Papyrus Harris no. 500 conservé au British Museum*, Études égyptiennes, I (Paris, 1886) p. 69.
8. Maspero, "Rapport sur une mission en Italie," *Rec. de trav.* 4 (1883) p. 137.
9. Reale museo di Torino, *Regio museo di Torino ordinato e descritto da A. Fabretti, F. Rossi e R. V. Lanzone. Antichità egizie* (Turin, 1882–88) I, p. 440, and II, p. 235.
10. Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum. Altaegyptische inschriften*, pt. 6 (Leipzig, 1891) p. 1424.
11. Wiedemann, "Varia, 1," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 13 (1890) p. 34.
12. Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry, *Report on some excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the winter of 1898–9* (London, 1908) p. 4f., pp. 15–17, frontispiece, and pl. 34.
13. Eduard Naville, et al., *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Text III* (Leipzig, 1900) p. 237f.
14. Müller, "Mitteilungen. Neues aus Ägypten," *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung* 2 (1899) p. 127.
15. Spiegelberg, "Die Northampton Stele," *Rec. de trav.*, n.s. 6 (1900) pp. 115–125.
16. *Urk.*, IV, pp. 99ff. See the translations of Angela Onasch in *Urkunden der 18. dynastie, Übersetzung zu den Heften 5–16* (Berlin, 1984) pp. 374–377.
17. Cf. *Urk.*, IV, pp. 419–451.
18. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, Bibliothèque d'Étude, XXII (Cairo, 1956) pp. 129f., no. 31.
19. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden, 1958) p. 280. Like most of those before him Helck distinguished the general from the owner of tomb 11; see pp. 508 and 397ff.
20. Repeated in Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1971) p. 251.
21. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, pt. 6, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1969, no. 4 (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz / Wiesbaden) pp. 951, 969, 990.
22. Säve-Söderbergh, "Eine Gastmahlsszene im Grabe des Schatzhausvorstehers Djehuty," *MDAIK* 16 (1959) pp. 280–291.
23. Porter-Moss, I (1), p. 23f.; I (2), p. xix. The bibliography staff had not made the identification in the first edition of 1927. See now Michel Dewachter, *La Collection égyptienne du Musée Champollion* (Figeac, 1986) no. 34, for a possible new statuette belonging to the owner of tomb 11.
24. Yoyotte, "Le général Djehouty et la perception des tributs syriens: Causerie au sujet d'un objet égaré," *BSFE* 92 (Oct. 1981) pp. 33–51.
25. Del Francia in *Weltmacht*, no. 295, p. 383.
26. *Art from Ancient Egypt*, p. 101, no. 83; p. 103, no. 84.
27. John Wilson, "Egyptian Myths, Tales, and Mortuary Texts," *Ancient Near Eastern Texts, relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1950) p. 22f.
28. Goedicke, "The Capture of Joppa," *Chronique d'Égypte* 43 (1968) pp. 219–221.
29. Helck believes that there is no way to date the capture of this city, *Beziehungen*, p. 304.
30. Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment," *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 241 [1981] p. 4f.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
32. Redford, "A Gate Inscription from Karnak and Egyptian Involvement in Western Asia during the Early 18th Dynasty," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99 (1979) pp. 270–287.
33. Weinstein cautions me that we lack information from Gaza, which would have been a major strategic point, Beth Shan, and Tell el Ajjul.
34. The basic system by which agents were able to build collections by firmans is described by Edward de Montule in *Travels in Egypt during 1818 and 1819* (London, 1821) p. 99f.
35. "Memorie," p. 372.
36. *Ibid.* Nizzoli states that a limestone pyramid was found by "mio zio Dr. Marunla, protomedico del Deftarder Bug." This is probably the uncle of his wife (*Memorie*, p. 1). In 1846 Achille Prisse d'Avennes wrote that the palace of Defatardar-bey in the Ezbekieh had, since 1836, a poor, small collection, the result of urging by the consuls ("Collections d'antiquités égyptiennes au

Kaire," *Revue archéologique* 2 [1846] p. 730f.), and the beginning of a national collection (Mohammed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue, The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz, 1987) p. 9.

37. Zardetti, *Sopra due antichi monumenti egiziani posseduti dal cav. pittore ed architetto Pelagio Palagi* (Milan, 1835) p. 20, as referred to by Edda Bresciani, *La collezione egizia nel Museo Civico di Bologna* (Ravenna, 1975) p. 48. Geoffrey Martin informs me that he has not found any joins for this relief in the Saqqara tomb, but he believes on stylistic and thematic grounds that it came from there.

38. See also Silvio Curto, "L'arte egizia: collezionismo e riviviscenza" in *Pelagio Palagi, artista e collezionista*, exh. cat., Museo Civico, Apr.–June 1976 (Bologna, 1976) p. 372.

39. Hayes, "A Writing-palette of the chief steward Amenhotpe and some notes on its owner," *JEA* 24 (1938) pp. 9–24. On Hayes's subject see Dewachter, "La Date du papyrus de Néféroubenef" *RdE* 35 (1984) p. 199f. and "L'Égypte dans les Musées, Châteaux, Bibliothèques et Sociétés savantes de province," *BSFE* 103 (June 1985) p. 36f.

40. Georges Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898–1899)* [CCG 24001–24990] (Cairo, 1902) CG 24006.

41. See, for instance, the variety in Nebiry's (Claudia Dolzoni, *Vasi Canopi*, Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, 2nd ser., Collezioni, IV [Milan, 1982] p. 18f.) and in Maiherperi's.

42. See Hayes's unpublished notes for the Metropolitan Museum Egyptian Expedition concerning contemporary tomb 729 at Thebes.

43. Maspero, "Joppé," p. 68 n. 2.

44. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemré at Thebes, I* (New York, 1922) pl. 23.

45. In *Egypt's Golden Age*, no. 114.

46. *Ibid.*, no. 118.

47. Daressy, *Vallée des Rois*, CG 24008.

48. This type of text can also occur on a statuette; see an example from Cha's tomb (Theban 8, with objects naming Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III): Ernesto Scamuzzi, *Egyptian Art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin* (New York, 1965) pl. 41.

49. As a reference to the eastern Mediterranean, see *WB*, V, p. 225 (4); Redford, "Gate inscription," p. 270; and Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 272f., and the more complete discussion of the term in Abdel-Aziz Saleh, "Notes on the Ancient Egyptian *tz-ntr*," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 81 supp. (1981) pp. 107–117.

50. By analogy with the career of Amenmes below.

51. Eric Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt, the one and the many* (Ithaca, 1982) pp. 231ff.; Eberhard Otto in "Amun," *LÄ* I, p. 245.

52. Cf. Hayes, "Chief Steward Amenhotpe," pl. 1 no. 2, with G. Bagnani, "Il Primo Intendente del Palazzo, Imenhotpe, detto Huy," *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) fig. 2, and Dewachter, *Musée Champollion*, p. 20f.

53. British Museum, 12786: Glanville, "Scribes' Palettes in the British Museum, part 1," *JEA* 18 [1932] p. 55f., pl. 6.

54. Lowie, 6-15174: Susan Doll in *Egypt's Golden Age*, no. 390.

55. British Museum, 12779: p. 60, pl. 8 no. 4. Glanville stated that the base of this palette has two holes drilled in it, one still filled with a wooden peg. Cf. the apparent drill holes in the Leiden palette.

56. Ernesto Schiaparelli, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha, nelle necropoli di Tebe* (Turin, 1927) p. 10f.

57. Helen Murray and Mary Nutthall, *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tut'ankhamun's Tomb* (Oxford, 1963) nos. 271 b and e(2); 367 l, m, and n; 620 (89), (92), (114).

58. In "northern" there seems to be a third *t* which Sethe read ∇ | . For the 'as "part, section" see Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 251.

59. Ambrose Lansing, "Excavations in the Assasif at Thebes," *MMAB* 12 (May 1917) supp., fig. 21; Hayes, "The Tomb of Nefer-khewet and his Family," *MMAB* 30 (Nov. 1935) sect. 2, fig. 8; Lansing and Hayes, "The Museum's Excavations at Thebes," *MMAB* 32 (Jan. 1937) sect. 2, fig. 34.

60. Emile Vernier, *Bijoux et Orfèvreries* [CCG 52640–53171] (Cairo, 1925) CG 52670.

61. Landesmuseum Darmstadt, *Kunst- und historische Sammlung, verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Sammlung* (Darmstadt) p. 3.

62. Devéria, "Basilicogrammate," pp. 47–53. According to Richard Fazzini, the Abbott scarab referred to does not have the name Djehuty.

63. Spiegelberg, "Northampton Stele," p. 125.

64. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935) I, p. 407 (13).

65. Additional Djehutys appear in *Urk.*, IV, p. 1415 (Theban 45); Porter–Moss, I (2), pp. 610, 616, 813; Günther Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* II, pt. 3 (Leipzig, 1914) p. 286; A. Pellegrini, "Autografi di Champollion a Firenze. IV, Dalle illustrazioni della raccolta Nizzoli" *Bessarione*, ser. 2, vol. 5, yr. 8 [July–Dec.] p. 189, nos. 8 (Florence, 2584) and 12 (Florence, 2565); Vienna, 5088.

66. See Raymond Faulkner, "Egyptian Military Organization," *JEA* 39 (1953) p. 44.

67. *Urk.*, IV, p. 50, and Helck, *Verwaltung*, p. 280.

68. Schenkel, "Onuris," *LÄ*, IV, p. 573f.

69. Hornung, *Conceptions*, p. 280.

70. Alain-Pierre Zivie, "Un Chancelier nommé Nehesy," *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier, 1984) pp. 249, 250 n. 7; see also idem, "La tombe d'un officier de la XVIIIe dynastie," *RdE* 31 (1979) p. 139f.

71. It seems that the only member of the von Titzenhofer family who could have gone to Egypt 1869–71 would be a nephew of Hans Friedrich Moritz von Titzenhofer, who went to Greiz and died in the twentieth century (Nolte personal communication).

72. Petrie, "Daggers with Inlaid Handles," *Ancient Egypt* 1930, pt. 4, pp. 97–102. See also Robert Merrillées, "Metal Vessels of Cypriote Type from the 16th to the 13th centuries B.C.," in *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus 4000–500 B.C.* (ACTA of the International

Archaeological Symposium; Larnaca, June 1–6, 1981) pp. 234, no. k, and 235 for a similar weapon though without cusp; and now H. W. Müller, *Der Waffenfund von Balâta-Sichem und Die Sichel-schwerter*, Abhandlungen, n.f., XCVII (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Munich, 1987) pp. 61–67.

73. “Bulletin d’antiquités archéologiques du levant inédites ou méconnues, IV,” *Syria* 64 (1987) p. 381f.

74. See Henri Wild’s discussion in “Contribution à l’iconographie et à la titulature de Qen-Amon,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire* 56 (1957) p. 231f.

75. Yoyotte, “. . . counting contributions, receiving tribute brought to the power of His Majesty as annual contributions from the hand of the *urw* . . . from *Rtnw*, being sent southward in boats to Egypt.”

76. For a suggestion of tribute as trade, and comparison of pictorial evidence versus archaeological finds, see a study by Merrillees, “Aegean Bronze Age Relations with Egypt,” *AJA* 76 (1972) pp. 281–294.

77. Säve-Söderbergh, “Gastmahlsszene,” fig. 4.

78. Northampton, et al., *Theban Necropolis*, p. 15, pl. 34, line 30; Porter–Moss, I (2), p. 23 (12).

79. Säve-Söderbergh, “Gastmahlsszene,” fig. 2. Although the text in front of the latter is damaged, it does seem to refer to the owner of the tomb (name written with *t, y*, and seated determinative).

80. Raven’s source of information is Ruurd Halbertsma of Leiden, who is studying the papers of Jean-Émile Humbert.

81. See Radwan, no. 265.

82. *Ibid.*, nos. 299, 335–336; 300 and 315 are unprovenanced.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 95, 176.

84. *Ibid.*, nos. 305 and 306, are examples with handles. References to third- and second-millennium vessels with omphaloi—both pottery and metal—in the Near East and Aegean have been collected by H. Luschey (*Die Phiale* [Bleicherode am Harz, 1939] p. 32f.); Ellen N. Davis (*The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware* [New York/London, 1977] p. 73f., see also pp. 65, 328f., 335f.); Ayako Imai (“Some Aspects of ‘Phoenician Bowls’ from Cyprus: The Proto-Cypriote Class and the Cypro-Phoenician Class” [Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1977] pp. 60ff.); and G. Falson (“A Syro-Phoenician Bull-Bowl in Geneva and Its Analogue in the British Museum,” *Anatolian Studies* 35 [1985] p. 139). To these can be added open and closed bowls of pottery in Early Bronze I Palestine, and imported Khirbet Kerak bowls of Early Bronze III date (see Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* [New Brunswick, N.J., 1970] pp. 43, 49, 69). Several comments: the metal bowl published by Radwan (his no. 21; see also his p. 103 n. 26) is difficult to understand, comparing description and drawing; the Assur bowl Berlin, VA ASS. 17698, which Luschey assigns to the Middle Assyrian period (*Die Phiale*, p. 31f.), is apparently first millennium, see Imai, “Phoenician Bowls,” p. 165.

85. The grave that yielded Radwan’s no. 306 had a metal ves-

sel which Merrillees has identified either as a local imitation or an actual import from the Aegean (Merrillees, “Metal Vessels,” p. 234, cat. 1, p. 243f.); Radwan remarked on its similarity to south Palestinian ceramic vessels (his no. 302, p. 111). The grave also had a sword comparable in type to Djehuty’s (object 15 here).

86. For other omphalos bowls see Radwan nos. 262–266, 268, 304–306, 312; 328 is not a true omphalos; 267, 333–334 have no provenance.

87. No. Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth* (London, 1923) p. 6, pl. 4.

88. Davis, *Vapheio Cups*, p. 65.

89. Brian Cook, “A Class of Etruscan Bronze Omphalos-bowls,” *AJA* 72 (1968) p. 343f.

90. *Ibid.*

91. The bottom of the Hatiay bowl is smooth according to Friedrich von Bissing, a button having been attached to the inside surface to form a boss (*Metalgefässe* [CCG 3426–3587] [Vienna, 1901] CG 3553). The surface of the button is rough, and Bissing suggested it was originally covered with gold foil to signify the sun.

92. Radwan, pp. 103, 119.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 111f.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 116f.

95. Strauss, *Die Nunschale, eine Gefässgruppe des Neuen Reiches* (Berlin, 1974) p. 74.

96. Newberry, “Extracts from My Notebooks, VII 56. The Daisy in Egyptian Art,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 25 (1903) p. 361.

97. *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, I (Hamburg/Berlin, 1924) pp. 10–12, 82f., 129, 169, 185.

98. *Gartenpflanzen*, p. 11. Later in “Nouvelles Recherches au sujet du *Potamogeton lucens* L. dans l’Égypte ancienne. . . . B. . . . 6. Fleurs de *Nymphaea* vues d’en haut” (*RdE* 2 [1929] pp. 242ff.) he suggested that it was papyrus umbels and lotus seen from above that were the main prototypes but still allowed for the possibility of rosettes; and in “La Vache et le cobra dans les marécages de papyrus de Thèbes” (*Bulletin de l’Institut d’Égypte* 37, pt. 1 [1956] pp. 242–248) he stated that papyrus and lotus did not exclude the probability that other plants, above all certain Egyptian composites, played the same role.

99. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985) p. 180f.

100. Cf. tomb paintings with rosettes in ceiling patterns and as vessel decoration (time of Tuthmosis III [Rekhmira, Theban 100; Vercoutter, *Le monde égéen*, nos. 381, 383; Menkheperraseneb, Theban 86: *ibid.*, nos. 420, 426, 427] and time of Amenhotep II [Nebamun, Theban 17: *ibid.*, no. 428; Mery, Theban 95: *ibid.*, no. 429]; faience disks in Hatshepsut’s foundation deposits (MMA 27.3.402, .444–.448); and a variety of objects at Malkata and Amarna.

101. See Germer, *Flora*, pp. 180–182. Also note Johanna Ditt-

mar's comment in *Blumen und Blumensträuße als Opfergabe im alten Ägypten* (Munich/Berlin, 1986) p. 18f.

102. Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, I, p. 10f., and Germer, *Flora*, p. 182. On the numerous shapes of rosettes, see also Imai, *Phoenician Bowls*, pp. 122ff.

103. F. Bisson de la Roque, et al., *Le Trésor de Tôd*, Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, XI (Cairo, 1953) pls. 12, 24, 26, 33, 35–36 (CG 70620–22, 70627–70630 and Louvre E 15182); see also pl. 18 (CG 70631).

104. Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos . . . at Knossos*, I (London, 1921) pl. 2a; Davis has stated that she knows this motif only at Knossos.

105. Barry Kemp and Robert Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Mainz am Rhein, 1980) pl. 6.

106. Dorothea Arnold has subsequently suggested that the Egyptians may not have identified the rosette with any particular flower but simply considered it foreign, and that the practice of marking the center of a vessel seems un-Egyptian. The last idea would have to be examined further, however, viz. a Sixth-Dynasty stone vase from Edfu (Bernard Bruyère, et al., *Tell Edfou 1937* (Cairo, 1937) pl. 17.

107. Fifty years ago Wolfgang Krönig compared the decoration of faience bowls to the Louvre's gold bowl, no. 18 here, "Ägyptische Fayence-schalen des Neuen Reiches," *MDAIK* 5 (1934) pp. 156f., 159, 164.

108. Three of the five fish have front ventral fin redrawn, two the belly, and one the tail; one umbel has extra calyx lines.

109. Omphaloi on a metal bowl from Aniba (Radwan, no. 304) and from the tomb of Cha (Turin, Supp. 8401) are quite small, while other metal bowls from Aniba and Cha's tomb (Radwan, nos. 264, 265, 312), and from the Metropolitan grave (Radwan, no. 306), are much larger: these are all more gently formed than the one on the Djehuty silver bowl. See also the pottery bowl with small omphalos described by Elvira D'Amicone in *Weltmacht*, no. 124; Do. Arnold would date this in the second half of Dynasty 18, perhaps to the time of Amenhotep III.

110. Cf. large, crude, oval pottery plates with fish and lotuses in Dynasty 13 (personal communication from Do. Arnold on the date). Arnold believes these bowls were used to peel wheat, as in Near Eastern examples, not to mold bread as in Janine Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab, Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge, 1981) p. 65. Some are quite small, however, and have protrusions in the middle, according to Helen Jacquet and Peter Lacovara.

111. Birds and fish in zones, cf. Angela Milward in *Egypt's Golden Age*, no. 138. On zone decoration in vessels, see Bissing, "Eine Bronzeschale mykenischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut* 13 (1898) p. 50f.

112. Milward in *Egypt's Golden Age*, p. 141.

113. Krönig, "Fayence-schalen," fig. 18.

114. Milward in *Weltmacht*, no. 82.

115. MMA 35.3.43 (field no. 35037 from Thebes MMA 729).

116. Krönig, "Fayence-schalen," fig. 15.

117. Strauss, *Nunschale*, p. 77f., figs. 7, 18, 45, 56?, 59. Also, Krönig, "Fayence-schalen," fig. 4.

118. Carter, "Report on the Tomb of Zeser-ka-ra Amenhetep I, discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon in 1914," *JEA* 3 (1916) p. 153, pl. 21 no. 14.

119. Daressy, *Vallée des Rois*, CG 24065.

120. *Ibid.*, CG 24071.

121. *Ibid.*

122. Krönig, "Fayence-schalen," figs. 11, 12.

123. Howard Carter and Percy Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV* [CCG 46000–46529] (London, 1904) pls. 17, 21, 23. See also the wall of a faience bowl from Abusir assigned to the time of Amenhotep III, Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Sazhu-re' I. Der Bau* (Leipzig, 1910) pl. 14. They are also linked on a kiosk in a tomb painting of the time of Tuthmosis IV/Amenhotep III, Nebamun, Theban 90: No. Davies, *Officials Tuthmosis Fourth*, pls. 21, 35.

124. Wm. Stevenson Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, 1965) fig. 20b.

125. Dominique Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (Neukirchen/Vluyn, 1975) no. 164.

126. Smith, *Interconnections*, fig. 19e.

127. H. Weiss, ed., *Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria*, catalogue for exhibition sponsored by Smithsonian Institution, Sept. 1985–Sept. 1987 (Washington, D.C., 1985) no. 120: dated late Old Syrian/early Middle Syrian by Kay Kohlmeyer; Joan Aruz believes the seal was made in the Levant and notes that specific parallels for the goat appear in Middle Minoan II–III (18th–17th century B.C.); personal communication.

128. Smith, *Interconnections*, fig. 18a. Helene Kantor ("The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.," *AJA* 51 [1947] p. 21f.) and Smith (p. 39f.) have discussed allover designs in the Aegean, Near East, and Egypt; Krönig also touches on it ("Fayence-schalen," p. 156f.); see also Bissing ("Bronzeschale," p. 37f.) and Ora Negbi, "Cypriote Imitations of Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware from Toumba tou Skourou," *AJA* 82 [1978] pp. 143–149.

129. Negbi, "Cypriote Imitations," pp. 143–149.

130. See, however, Carter and Newberry, *Tuthmôsis IV*, pl. 17.

131. For representations of *tilapia* in the Eighteenth Dynasty see Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (New York/Greenwich, Conn., 1959) fig. 65; and Nina de Garis Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* (Chicago, 1936) II, pls. 54, 65, 69; a Ramesside example on pl. 96f is cited for contrast.

132. No. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes* (New York, 1930) I, pl. 43.

133. Milward in *Egypt's Golden Age*, p. 141; Strauss, *Nunschale*, p. 66.

134. *Ibid.*, pp. 69ff.

135. User, Theban 21 (No. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* [London, 1913] pl. 25f); Nebamun and Ipuiky, Theban 181 (*idem*, *The Tomb*

of *Two Sculptors at Thebes* [New York, 1925] pl. 5, with situla, towel, and tiny pitcher—the bowl carinated and with a pedestal); Meryra II, Amarna 2 (idem, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna Part II* [London, 1905] pl. 32, the vessel as in Theban 181, but with situla and strainer).

136. Haremheb, Theban 78: Annilies and Artur Brack, *Das Grab des Haremheb. Theban Nr. 78* (Mainz am Rhein, 1980) pl. 30; carinated bowl, note also the situla and towel.

137. Nebamun, Theban 17 (Vercoutter, *Le monde égyptien*, no. 429, and Sève-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* [Oxford, 1957] pl. 21); Rekhmira, Theban 100 (No. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes* [New York, 1943] I, pl. 64).

138. Keimer, “La Vache et le cobra,” fig. 12.

139. Radwan, no. 328; C. C. Edgar, “The Treasure of Tell Basta,” *Le Musée égyptien, recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d’Égypte*, II (Ministère des travaux publics, Cairo, 1907) pl. 48; Pierre Montet, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis II. Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis* (Paris, 1951) pl. 55, but much better in *Nofret*, no. 67.

140. Champollion, *Lettres*, I, p. 421.

141. *Bulletin Universel* 5 [1826] no. 396; the collection had arrived in Livorno in late 1825.

142. *Ibid.*, no. 513, pp. 380–382.

143. *Epistolario*, p. 515.

144. Kanawaty, “Identification de pièces de la collection Drovetti au Musée du Louvre,” *RdE* 37 (1986) pp. 167, 170. Only these and the cubit rod were at the Musée Charles X for its opening in December (personal communication).

145. *Epistolario*, p. 741.

146. The large gold goblet from Tanis (Cairo JdE 85894: Montet, *Tanis II*, pl. 70) also has the point of orientation visible on both sides, though I did not note where the point(s) originated.

147. The specific gravity of gold to silver is roughly 2:1. But the silver plate lacks its rim, and I was unable to ascertain the thickness of the gold bowl’s floor.

148. Louvre, AO 17.208: Schaeffer, *Ugaritica II*, Mission de Ras Shamra, V (Paris, 1949) p. 5f. For the date of the Ras Shamra gold patera and cup, found Apr. 1, 1933, see *ibid.*, p. viii.

149. Radwan, nos. 4–6, p. 3f., apparently without rim.

150. C. Insley Green, *The Temple Furniture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara, 1964–1976* (London, 1987) pp. 29–31, nos. 55–59. Each tray is 20 to 30 cm. in diameter, occurs at the top of a tall stand, and is fastened to that stand, often with yet another component in its center: the tray is not an independent container. Details of shape are not apparent in the published illustrations.

151. Even in stone or faience vases I have not been able to find such a profile. Bissing referred to a metal bowl in the Louvre with demotic inscription as a bowl similar in shape (“Bronzeschale,” p. 37, n. 11); Jean-Louis de Cenival showed me Louvre, E 7702, essentially a rim with a Demotic inscription, but at the broken bottom edge there was the beginning of a curve, and I presume it

would have the shape of the Late Period pans published by Green, *Temple Furniture*, p. 61, nos. 144–146.

152. The only comparable examples I know are on two model bowls from the burial chamber of Queen Iput, Dynasty 6, Radwan, nos. 149a and 149b. See, however, Jeffrey Spencer’s cautionary review in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 42 (1985) p. 62 ff.

153. I have been informed by Enrica Leospo, for instance, that the situla of Cha (Schiaparelli, *Cha*, fig. 158, Radwan, no. 411) has a space of 8 cm. between the end and beginning of the inscription.

154. British Museum, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (London, 1909) p. 107, no. 371.

155. Birch, “Patère,” p. 233.

156. Theban 131; given by Vercoutter, *Le monde égyptien*, no. 32. Note also the 18th-Dynasty sculpture with titles “overseer of the *h̄tmw* of the northern foreign countries,” and “overseer of the great *h̄tm* of *w3d-wr*” (Jean Capart, “Mélanges, 1. Monument inédit de la Collection Ed. Fétis, à Bruxelles,” *Rec. de Trav.* 22 (1900) p. 105ff. Note that Claude Vandersleyen now argues that *w3d-wr* is sweet water and that “the islands which are in the midst of *w3d-wr*” are in the Egyptian Delta. See “Le sens de Ouadj-our,” *International Congress of Egyptologists’ Abstracts of Papers* (Munich, 1985), pp. 246f.; idem, “Ouadj-our ne signifie pas ‘mer’: qu’on se le dise!” *Göttinger Miszellen* 103 (1988), pp. 75–80. However, Djehuty’s title “overseer of northern foreign countries,” the inscription on and probable provenance of Djehuty’s statuette, the likelihood that he is the hero of the tale of Joppa, and the reference to filling a storehouse with lapis do indicate that he served outside Egypt.

157. See the New Kingdom burials found around the Teti pyramid by the earlier Antiquities Service (Cecil Firth and Batiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* [Cairo, 1926] pp. 66ff.). See also Jaromír Málek, “Two Problems Connected with New Kingdom Tombs in the Memphite Area,” *JEA* 67 (1981) p. 157f.

158. Also the leader of Hatshepsut’s Punt Expedition? See Zivie, “Chancelier nommé Nehesy,” pp. 245–252.

159. The naval officer *Rš* (“Officier de la XVIIIe dynastie,” pp. 135–151) and the overseer of granaries *Mry-Shmt*, both apparently time of Tuthmosis IV–Amenhotep III; cf. also the chancellor *Mry-r*, time of Amenhotep III (idem, “Trois saisons à Saqqarah: les tombeaux du Bubasteion,” *BSFE* 98 [1983] p. 51).

160. Northampton, et al., *Theban Necropolis*, pp. 15–17.

161. Cf. No. Davies, *Ken-Amun*, I, p. 16, no. 77; *WB*, V, p. 89 (III).

162. No. Davies, *The Tomb of Menkheperasonbe, Amenmose, and Another* (London, 1933) pp. 27f. (including p. 34 on date) pls. 32–39, 46; Porter–Moss, I (2) pt. 1, map IV. Cf. Radwan, *Die Darstellung des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. dynastie* (Berlin, 1969) p. 110 for references.

163. Helck cites only three officials with this title besides Djehuty and Amenmes, *Beziehungen* (1971) p. 251: Penhet, time Tuthmosis IV–Amenhotep III, Theban 239; Khaemwaset, time Amenhotep III, two statues found at Bubastis; Penra, time Ram-

esses II, various, see Charles Nims, "A Stele of Penre Builder of the Ramesseum," *MDAIK* 14 (1956) pp. 146ff. Thereafter Helck cites "overseer of foreign countries" in the Ramesside Sinai inscriptions. See also Yoyotte, "Général Djehouty," p. 47, and Wild, "Qen-Amon."

164. Sarah Israelit-Groll believes it to be the equivalent of "king's son of Kush," cf. "The Egyptian Administrative System in Syria and Palestine in the 18th Dynasty," *Fontes Atque Pontes, Eine Festgabe für Hellmut Brunner* (Wiesbaden, 1983) pp. 234–242.

165. No. Davies, *Officials Tuthmosis Fourth*, pls. 33–35.

166. Wild, "Qen-Amon," p. 230; see now I. E. S. Edwards, "The Shetayet of Rosetau," *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker* (Hanover, N.H./London, 1986) p. 30.

167. See especially Alan Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I (Oxford, 1947) p. *50f. with his reference to Weill; Labib Habachi in *LÄ*, II, p. 825f. For the title in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, cf. E. Blumenthal, "Die 'Gottesväter' des Alten und Mittleren Reiches," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 114 (1987) pp. 10–35.

168. The inscription on the large gold basin from Tanis is exceptionally strong but crisp; see Henri Stierlin and Christiane Ziegler, *Tanis. Trésors des Pharaons* (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1987) figs. 51, 53. The more usual treatment is seen in figs. 50, 70.

169. My colleague J. H. Frantz has observed that the metal seems to have been placed against a hard surface such as wood, rather than a soft surface such as bitumen.

170. For good examples of this sign, see the Tutankhamun pectoral. It should be noted that the railroad-tie type can occur on inscriptions that appear to be ancient (cf. Figure 64), but it is not of good workmanship and is highly unusual.

171. Note even that the jaw of the lion was drawn with a finer tool from the rest of the sign.

172. See also the hieroglyphs on the bracelet of Ahhotep illustrated in *Nofret*, no. 28, approximately two-thirds the size of those on the gold and silver Djehuty bowls. For other good color photographs of Egyptian gold objects, see I. E. S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun: His Tomb and Its Treasures* (New York, 1976); and Stierlin, *Égypte. Des origines à l'islam* (Paris, 1984) as well as Stierlin and Ziegler, *Tanis*.

173. Or see the dummy vessel jars from Valley of the Kings 42 in Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Weltmacht*, no. 257, or the model brick and brick mold from a foundation deposit of Tuthmosis III at Gebelein, Leospo in *Weltmacht*, nos. 61–62.

174. The silver libation jars do have the appearance of ancient silver, and their uncleaned and unrestored state is documented in photographs of the 1920s.

175. Note the n 's in Figure 63 and the n 's and quail chicks in Figure 64. The n at the top of the second column in Figure 64 must have had the vertical ticks added as a correction, as they appear to be ancient; indeed, the rest of this inscription is not as proficient as the inscription in Figure 63, and perhaps the ticks were added as an afterthought.

176. The two border lines are 1.6 cm. apart, and the first hs is 1.2 cm. high.

177. See the photograph in Edwards, *Tutankhamun: His Tomb*, 21st page from end; a fish on the gold bowl would roughly correspond to the width of three of the cornflowers with two interspersed leaves.

178. Dows Dunham, "A Fragment from the Mummy Wrappings of Tuthmosis III," *JEA* 17 (1931) pls. 31, 32.

179. Schiaparelli, *Cha*, passim.

180. The closest parallels are first-millennium bowls from Nimrud (A. Layard, *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh* [London, 1853] pls. 57d and 58a; and British Museum, N 47) and Assur (A. Haller, *Die Gräber und Gräfte von Assur* [Berlin, 1954] p. 116, Berlin, VA 14180 from grave 38; and p. 37, Berlin, VA 15079c from grave 470). John Curtis of the British Museum reports that there is a slight outward tilt to the Nimrud bowls with no thickening at the rim. Evelyn Klengel has kindly sent photographs from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, indicating that Berlin, VA 14180an has a slight outward tilt and a thickened rim. Berlin, VA 15079c appears from the published photo to be ca. 14 cm. in diameter and 5 cm. high with straight sides, although it is much corroded. A third Assur bowl to consider is Luschey's fig. 1, which he identifies as Berlin, VA 17698a. Klengel informs me that 17698a is from New Assyrian grave 690 (1st millennium B.C.; Haller, 56, without photo); the Luschey illustration looks like 14180an. I take this opportunity also to note that Luschey's fig. 39, of stone, is Inv. 30219, 904, in the Antikenmuseum of Berlin's Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (thanks to information supplied by Gertrude Platz). Its dimensions are 13 cm. diam., 3.6 cm. high, and according to my examination its rim tilts outward.

181. I noted the mannered ring around the rosette of a first-millennium Luristan bowl (Glenn Markoe, *Phoenician Bowls and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* [University of California, 1985] p. 212f. "Ir9," p. 337), and discussed the broad question with Imai, whose dissertation on first-millennium bowls forced her to consider earlier prototypes. She found the high repoussé on the Djehuty bowl more Near Eastern than Egyptian in spirit, the design inorganic, and the decoration less apt than anything she knew from the ancient world (Sept.–Oct., 1985).

182. H. Weiss, ed., *Ebla to Damascus*, no. 158; it weighs 179 g.

183. Renate Krauspe in *Weltmacht*, nos. 152–153. (I am preparing a study of these and other "cut-out" metal objects of the Middle–New Kingdom.)

184. I have not had the opportunity to study this bowl firsthand. Photos kindly supplied by Dieter Johannes through Rainer Stadelmann indicate an impressionistic effect to the decoration, some buckling of the gold, but no redrawing of lines.

185. Radwan, nos. 332, 411, 464 and the silver Turin, Supp. 8392 and 8394.

186. We have not had the object in New York to analyze it as we have the Metropolitan Museum's objects.

187. As in the mouth on the Mond bust, Cairo JdE 36550, which would have entered the museum in 1903 according to the lists of Bernard Bothmer in American Research Center in Egypt *Newsletter* no. 22 (June 30, 1956) p. 16; Maspero, *Egyptian Art Studies* (New York, 1913) pp. 178ff. Ahmed Fakhry wrote of hearing the story of its forgery in 1934 from Luxor men who had been involved in the deception ("For the Chapter on Forgeries," a typescript he was preparing before his death, shown to me by Susan Weeks in 1985, courtesy of Ali Fakhry).

188. As Yoyotte explains in his "Général Djehouty," p. 48.

189. I have never found duplicates in vessel groups, especially with such elaborate designs: decorated vessels are unique in size, shape, and design. Lenormant didn't think of this problem when the silver plate came to light, as he adopted Champollion's mistaken reading on the gold bowl of "tin" for "lapis" and proposed that a third bowl of tin would still come to light.

190. As in the Bubastis silver; see Edgar, "Treasure of Tell Basta," pl. 47f.

191. Radwan, no. 329; Montet, *Tanis II*, p. 83, no. 775, fig. 31, pl. 55; p. 103, no. 404, fig. 39, pl. 68(b); and Schiaparelli, *Cha*, fig. 52 left, center, and top.

192. Edgar, "Treasure of Tell Basta," pl. 48, and Vernier, *Bijoux* [CCG 52001–53855] (Cairo, 1927) p. 418, CG 53263, pl. 106; Montet, *Tanis II*, p. 83, no. 774, fig. 30, pl. 54; p. 103, no. 403, fig. 42, pl. 69; no. 405, fig. 42, pl. 71; no. 406, pl. 71; p. 104, no. 408, fig. 39, pl. 71; no. 409, pl. 71. One of the vessels from Cha's tomb (Radwan, no. 332) has the cartouche of the king chased into the metal, and a hieratic ink inscription, as a secondary item I believe.

193. Cf. the illustration of the carefully placed inscription on the Oundjebaounded bowl in *Nofret*, no. 67. I have considered whether the Djehuty silver inscription could be original, seeing a poor inscription on Turin's Cha vessel, Supp. 8392. However, this undecorated strainer, while made of silver, is not of high quality, and the inscription does not state that it was made as a royal gift. In fact, the use of outlined parts on the Djehuty silver plate (as in the *hs*-vase) combined with incised signs (as on the whip) parallels what is done on the gold bowl with the plural strokes.

194. Cristiana Morigi-Govi, director of the Museo Civico, tells me that she would not be able to propose whether the reworking was done before or after the palette entered the collection, since there are no records bearing on the matter.

195. Diane Harlé in *Weltmacht*, no. 220.

196. For the difficulties a forger can have in adapting an original text to a new object, see Helen Whitehouse, "A Forgery Exposed," *Discussions in Egyptology* 9 (1987) p. 64f.

197. The heart scarab was presumably in Anastasi's June 1827 shipment and would have been purchased in Livorno Apr. 1828; the Turin palette should have been in the Accademia in Feb. 1824.

198. Champollion, *Lettres*, I, p. 94f.

199. *Ibid.*, p. 326. Anastasi wrote the latter that May concerning his shipment, p. 346.

200. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

201. Peter Clayton, *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1982) pp. 102 and 186, no. 33.

202. Champollion of course was creating inscriptions, as for Leopoldo II: Bresciani, "L'Expédition franco-toscane en Égypte et en Nubie (1828–1829) et les antiquités d'Italie," *BSFE* 64 (1972) p. 6; Maria-Cristina Guidotti, *Il Nilo sui Lungarni; Ippolito Rosellini, egittologo dell'ottocento*, catalogue for an exhibition in the Palazzo Lanfranchi, May–June 1982 (Pisa, 1982) p. 23.

203. Zauzich, "150 Jahre Erforschung demotischer Ostraka," *Enchoria* 14 (1986) pp. 129–134.

204. See Pierre Ramond's experience with a papyrus fragment in 1974, "A propos d'un papyrus invraisemblablement faux!" *RdE* 28 (1976) pp. 162ff.

205. As told in Geoffrey C. Munn, *Castellani and Giuliano: Revivalist Jewellers of the 19th Century* (New York, 1984) p. 14.

206. Baltrušaitis, *La Quête d'Isis, essai sur la légende d'un mythe* (Paris, 1985).

207. Leclant, "De l'égyptophilie à l'égyptologie: érudits, voyageurs, collectionneurs et mécènes" (Paris, 1985), extract from Institut de France, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 4th fasc.

208. Roullet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden, 1972).

209. Arizzoli-Clémentel, "Charles Percier et la Salle égyptienne de la Villa Borghèse," *Actes du colloque Piranèse et les français* (Académie de France à Rome, 1978) pp. 2ff.

210. Erik Iversen, "The Hieroglyphs in Europe before Champollion," *Textes et langages de l'égypte pharaonique*, Bibliothèque d'Étude, LXIV (I) (Cairo, 1973) pp. 67–77.

211. Dewachter, "L'Égypte ancienne dans les 'Cabinetz de Raretez' du sud-est de la France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," *Homages à F. Daumas* (Institut d'Égyptologie, Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier, 1986) pp. 181–206.

212. Dewachter, "L'Académie et l'Égypte ancienne," *L'Institut de France dans le monde actuel*, exh. cat., Musée Jacquemart-André, May–July 1986 (Paris, 1986); and *Égypte et Provence. Civilisation, survivances, et "cabinetz de curiositez"*, exh. cat., Musée Calvet, Nov. 1985–Mar. 1986 (Avignon, 1985).

213. Curto, in *Palagi*, pp. 369–373, 375–376; *Viaggiatori veneti alla scoperta dell'Egitto*, exh. cat., Museo Archeologico del Teatro Romano in Verona, June–Sept. 1985 (Venice, 1985); *Civiltà dell'antico Egitto in Campania* (Naples, 1983) p. 9.

214. Helmut Satzinger, "Die Geschichte einer grossen Sammlung: die Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung in Wien," *Ägyptische Kunst* (Kunstjahrbuch der Stadt, Linz, 1984) pp. 13–17.

215. Jürgen Settgast, "Ouverture," *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Museum series: Braunschweig, 1981) p. 12f. and "Aegyptiaca im Kurfürstlich-Brandenburgischen Besitz," *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 1 (1983) pp. 21ff.

216. *Shabti*s, p. 7.

217. Marie-Louise Buhl, et al., *The Danish Naval Officer Frederick Ludvig Norden* (Copenhagen, 1986) pp. 5–8.

218. Bengt Peterson, "Travelers in Egypt during the Period 1700–1850," *Opuscula Atheniensia* 7 (Lund, 1967) pp. 1–19.

219. P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1970) pp. 2ff.; James, *The British Museum and Ancient Egypt* (London, 1981); idem, "Early Travellers in Egypt," *Ancient Centres of Egyptian Civilization* (London, 1983) pp. 13–15.

220. B. Piotrovsky, N. Landa, I. Lapis, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Hermitage* (Leningrad, 1974) p. 5.

221. R. Lefevre, "La Fondazione del Museo Gregoriano Egizio al Vaticano," *Gregorio XVI: Miscellanea commemorativa, Miscellanea historiae pontificiae, XIII–XIV* (Rome, 1948) p. 228ff.

222. The Borgia collection today at Naples is an example, and one can find other large objects in the *Égypte et Provence* catalogue.

223. Florence, 4716/2502 and 4717/2503: A. Pellegrini, "Statuette funéraire," *Bessarione* 4, nos. 43–44 (Jan.–Feb. 1900) p. 262, no. 268. Medici rule ended in 1743 and Maria Luisa, the last member of the family, declared the collections to be the patrimony of the Florentine people: M. Marini, *Archaeological Museum Florence* (Florence, 1985) p. 3f.

224. Dewachter, "Académie," p. 310.

225. Florence, 4718/298; this may be Pellegrini's 882.

226. Cf. her comments in *Des pharaons aux premiers chrétiens*, exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dec. 1985–Mar. 1986 (Dijon, 1986) nos. 171–172, and *La Revue du Louvre* 35 (1985) p. 447f. She also terms shawabties in the Cabinet des Médailles, Autun, and Florence as possible ancient copies.

227. Moorey, *Ancient Egypt*.

228. Curto, "Storia di un falso celebre," *Bollettino Società Piemontese di Archeologia e di Belle Arti*, n.s., yr. 16–17 (1962–63) pp. 5ff.

229. Foissy-Aufrère in *Égypte et Provence*, §460–461, fig. 94 right for the copy (115c), fig. 94 left for the jar copied (115ab). See also Dewachter, "Académie," p. 309, no. 2. For the other three jars in the set (Imsety and Kebesenuf in the Lady Lever Art Gallery; Hapy in the Louvre, E 13137) see Bernard Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures. . . . Supplément* (Paris, 1724) II, pl. 49 and plate after 50; Kemp, "Canopic Jars in the Lady Lever Art Gallery," *Orientalia* 37 (1968) pp. 63–74; Moss, "By-products of Bibliography," *JEA* 54 (1968) p. 174f.

230. See the "Atlas" figures in the Ostankino palace, and mural with an obelisk in the Hubert Robert hall at Arkhangelskoye (Valeri Turchin in . . . *v okrestnostiakh Moskvy: iz istorii russkoy usadbennoy kul'tury XVII–XIX vekov [Country Estates around Moscow]* (Moscow, 1979) pls. 99, 111.

231. Arizzoli-Clémentel, "Salle égyptienne," see especially pp. 4f., 10–14, 20, 23; nn. 47–48.

232. According to Document VI, *ibid.*, these were made between 1779 and 1781; fig. 19 (Louvre, N. inv. M R 1586), fig. 20 (Louvre, N. Inv. M R 1588).

233. According to Document XIV, *ibid.*, this was made in 1781; fig. 21 (Louvre, N. Inv. M R 20 and n. cat. M A 1364 ac-

ording to Arizzoli-Clémentel, but AF 6937 according to the Egyptian Department of the Louvre).

234. For the phenomenon of 19th-century historicism, see Yvonne Hachenbroch in *MMJ* 19/20 (1984/1985) pp. 163ff.

235. Jeanne Bulté, *Catalogue des collections égyptiennes du Musée National de Céramique à Sèvres* (Paris, 1981) p. 155, pl. 23a.

236. One wonders how much Egyptianizing sculpture was actually created in ancient Rome. See also Fondation Septentrion (Anne and Albert Prouvost), *L'Égypte des Pharaons*, exh. cat., Marq-en-Baroeul, Oct. 1977–Jan. 1978 (Paris, 1977) nos. 99, 100.

237. Dewachter, "Académie," p. 314f.

238. Pellegrini, "Autografi," pp. 25, 198.

239. "Inscriptliche Denkmäler der Sammlung ägyptischer Alterthümer des Österreichischen Kaiserhauses," *Rec. de Trav.* 12 (1892) p. 22f., no. xxiii.

240. Sharpe, *Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum* (London, 1862) p. 100; also, British Museum, *Guide to the Egyptian Collection* (London, 1909) p. 246, no. 913.

241. C. N. Reeves, "Tut'ankhamun and his Papyri," *Göttinger Miszellen* 88 (1985) p. 44 n. 12.

242. Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations and recent discoveries . . . in Egypt and Nubia . . .* (London, 1822) I, p. 9.

243. Auriant (pseud.), *Aventuriers et originaux*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1933) p. 175f.

244. *Shabtis*, p. 11; see also *Laudibus*, p. 15 n. 21.

245. Leemans, pls. 12 no. 46a–e, and 23 no. 128ab.

246. Flaubert, *Dictionnaire des idées reçues* (Paris, 1978).

247. Mohammed Saleh states that the Service des Antiquités was founded that year, with antiquities collected in a building in the Ezbakia, *Official Catalogue*, p. 9.

248. Prisse d'Avennes, "Collections au Kaire," p. 729f.

249. Clerc, "Lettre à M. de Saulcy sur quelques antiquités égyptiennes et sur le boeuf apis," *Revue archéologique* 3 (1847) pp. 649–667.

250. Henry Fischer, "Quelques prétendues antiquités de l'ancien Empire," *RdE* 30 (1978) pp. 91–95.

251. Dows Dunham, "An Ancient Egyptian Forgery?" *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 31 (1933) pp. 79–81.

252. "Memorie," p. 375.

253. He writes that "la sûreté du trait tant dans l'iconographie que dans l'épigraphie" caused him to have great admiration for the forger ("Papyrus . . . faux," p. 164). Ahmed Fakhry tells of two sculptors at Gourna in the 1930s who made stone Osirides about a foot high for peddlers to sell to tourists at 5–10 piastres apiece (unpublished typescript).

254. "Académie," p. 310f., no. 10. See also his note regarding Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Pieresc in "Cabinet de Raretez," p. 206 n. 109, and Mme de Guignes's work in "Le Scarabée funéraire de Néchao II et deux amulettes inédites du Musée Jacquemart-André" (*RdE* 37 [1986] p. 56 n. 14; pp. 59, 61).

255. As the famous snuff bottle: Elizabeth Riefstahl, "Tempest in a Snuff Bottle," *The Brooklyn Museum Quarterly* 25 (1938) pp. 37–48; Bresciani, "Expédition franco-toscane," p. 16; Guidotti, *Il Nilo*, p. 70, no. 166.

256. Curto cites several Arab objects in Turin's Drovetti collection (*Storia*, p. 93) and Anna-Maria Donadoni Roveri mentions Venetian glass of the 16th or 17th century there ("Objets peu connus du Musée de Turin," *BSFE* 104 [Oct. 1985] p. 14).

257. As in the tomb for the nurse of Taharqa's daughter: the early Dynasty 18 kohl pot and mirror (Guidotti, *Il Nilo*, nos. 170, 171) may have been heirlooms, but there is also the possibility that the tomb was not intact when found.

258. Bresciani, "Expédition franco-toscane," p. 15f.

259. Kanawaty, "Collection Drovetti," p. 167.

260. Baroness von Minutoli spoke admiringly of him (*Recollections of Egypt* [Philadelphia, 1827] p. 30), likewise Champollion when visiting him in Egypt (*Lettres*, II, p. 25). Schneider characterizes him as being on good terms with everyone, a respectable man (*Shabtis*, p. 10), and tells me that there is no indication of bad character in the papers in Leiden or any information that would shed light on my investigations. Halbertsma (through Raven) reports that the Humbert papers give no unfavorable impression of Anastasi, though they give little information on him as a person, since Humbert met only Anastasi agents in Livorno and corresponded with him only after the collection was purchased.

261. Hayes, "Chief Steward Amenhotpe," p. 14 n. 3[c].

262. *Ibid.*, p. 15f.

263. Curto, *Storia*, p. 40, and personal communication.

264. Minutoli, *Recollections*, p. 163.

265. Belzoni, *Narrative*, II, pp. 99ff., 126ff., 239ff.

266. Schneider, private communication.

267. Hartleben, *Champollion, sein Leben und sein Werk* (Berlin, 1906) I, p. 484.

268. Curto, *Storia*, p. 46.

269. Dewachter suggested to me that he collected drawings from others.

270. G. Barbie, *Rapports faits par les diverses Académies . . . sur les ouvrages . . . M. Rifaud* (Paris, 1829) p. 7.

271. Clerc, "Lettre de Saulcy," p. 655. One wonders whether the gold scarab he describes on p. 659 with the cartouche of *Mn-hpr-r'* could be one of these items.

272. Cailliaud, *Voyage à méroé au fleuve blanc au delà defâzoql dans le midi du royaume de sennar, à syouah et dans cinq autres oasis; fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821, et 1822* II (Paris, 1823) pls. 71–75.

273. Balteau, Barroux, Prévost, eds., *Dictionnaire de Biographie française* VII (Paris, 1956) p. 863f.

274. Belzoni, *Narrative*, I, pp. 384–386.

275. Athanasy, *A Brief Account of the researches and discoveries in Upper Egypt* . . . (London, 1836) p. 107.

276. Belzoni, *Narrative*, II, p. 7.

277. *Travels in Egypt . . . in 1817–18* (London, 1819) p. 47f.

278. Dewachter has supplied this quote from the unpublished papers of Prisse in the Bibliothèque nationale.

279. Dewachter, "Exploitation des manuscrits d'un égyptologue du XIX^e siècle: Prisse d'Avennes," *BSFE* 101 (Oct. 1984) p. 49.

280. Work still has to be done to sort out the traditional sources: Dewachter puts Belzoni in the same class as Rifaud, though John Lewis Burckhardt called Belzoni enterprising, intelligent, high-minded, and disinterested (Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia* [London, 1819] p. lxxviii).

281. Foissy-Aufrère has discussed objects bought from the artist Lunel in 1835 (*Égypte et Provence* §489–490); C. R. Williams concluded in 1924 that the Menes necklace of the New-York Historical Society had been made between 1833 and 1843 (Williams, *Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects* [New York, 1924] pp. 221–225); Reeves has told me of a completely false roll of papyrus that entered the British Museum's Department of Oriental Books and Manuscripts in 1840. More interesting is the current discussion by Hermann Schlögl and Michel Squaitamatti on the one hand, and Geoffrey Martin with reference to Hans Schneider on the other (Schlögl–Squaitamatti, *Arbeiter des Jenseits, Ägyptische Tötensfiguren [Uschebtis]* [Zurich, 1977] pp. 22–30 and [Zurich, 1984] pp. 34–41; Martin, "Shabtis of private persons in the Amarna Period," *MDAIK* 42 [1986], especially nos. 1–3, 5, pp. 126–129; Schneider, *Shabtis*, I, pp. 289f., 315 n. 135). The discussion concerns a shawabty which appeared in 1867 and is inscribed—along with three shawabties which came to light subsequently—with the so-called Aten formula. Though Martin has now shown that some of Schlögl–Squaitamatti's arguments are invalid, in my view the delineation of the implements, the proportions of the figure, the facial expression, and the detailing of the wig of the Zurich shawabty (Martin's no. 3) are notable; and since the only excavated, inscribed Amarna shawabty (his no. 4) does not have the Aten formula or the above-mentioned features, it cannot authenticate these items on shawabties 1–3 and 5. (A version of the Aten formula does occur on a heart scarab in Turin, which the Zurich colleagues say was in Drovetti's collection of 1824; however, the text does not exactly parallel the other Aten formula texts, and the scarab does not have an excavated provenance. Further, while Schneider cites four excavated shawabties with hoes and baskets in front, he cites only two that apparently have the yoke on the front of the body: Chicago OI 11749 excavated at Sedment [information supplied by Frank Yurko] and Cairo CG 42626, "from Saqqara" in 1859.) Without a corpus of excavated material, and in the presence of anomalies in several of the "Amarna" shawabties, it seems permissible to ask whether by 1867 the text on Martin's no. 3 could not have been copied from an original shawabty (even from no. 1, also unexcavated) or put together from the inscription on another object. Excavations were begun at Amarna in 1883, but travelers record visiting the site since the 1820s (T. E. Peet and C. Leonard

Wooley, *The City of Akhenaten, Part I* [London, 1923] p. v); and according to Warren Dawson, Prisse noted Aten blocks in the Hor-emheb pylons at Karnak in 1839 (*Who Was Who in Egyptology*, rev. ed. [London, 1972] p. 238).

282. Kanawaty, "Collection Drovetti," p. 167.

283. It is interesting that Birch's obituary in 1886 called attention to "an almost unconscious faculty of discerning the true from the false": James, *The British Museum*, p. 19.

284. Müller, *Die Metallkunst* (Berlin [1924]) pp. 19, 21f., pl. 36.

285. *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, II (Cairo, 1907).

286. Heinrich Schäfer, *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten* (Berlin, 1910) p. 67, no. 98, pl. 67.

287. George Reisner and Wm. Stevenson Smith, *The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops, A History of the Giza Necropolis*, II (Cambridge, 1955) p. 45, pls. 40, 41, fig. 45; see also color photograph in *Nofret*, no. 24.

288. Murray-Nutthall, *Handlist*, nos. 394, 620 (37).

289. Dows Dunham, *El Kurru* (Boston/Cambridge, 1950), p. 32 (19-3-664, -665); *Nuri* (Boston, 1955) pp. 80 (18-3-299, -300), 81 (18-3-321), 141 (17-2-241 to 243), 155 (16-12-312, 17-1-8, 17-1-280), 197 (17-2-1973), 208 (16-12-304); *The West and South Cemeteries at Meroe* (Boston, 1963) pp. 46 (23-M-377), 317 (23-3-551), 438 (21-3-85). Note also the gold lids, *Nuri*, p. 81 (18-3-322), 221 (17-3-15).

290. Lansing and Hayes, "The Museum's Excavations," p. 28, fig. 43.

291. Montet, *Tanis II*, pl. 54ff.

292. Zacharia Goneim, *Horus Sekhem-khet* (Cairo, 1957) p. 13, pl. 32bis. Some doubt was raised at the time as to whether the object had been "planted"; I have not examined this object.

293. Nagib Farag and Zaki Iskander, *The Discovery of Neferuptah* (Cairo, 1971) pp. 12ff., pls. 14, 15.

294. This does not count what is described as a thin jar cap of silver from Nagada (Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas. 1895* [London, 1896] pp. 45, 48, pl. 65); a silver "basket" and a cartouche-shaped dish from Dahshur (Jacques de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars-juin 1894* [Vienna, 1895] p. 62, no. 26 [CG 53135, 7.5 cm. long], and p. 70, no. 57 [CG 53102, 5.9 cm. long]); a silver "shen"-sign from Lahun (Guy Brunton, *Lahun I, The Treasure* [London, 1920] p. 37, pl. 11). Nor can I claim to have visited all museum collections to see items from the market (see West Berlin's silver bowl inscribed for Meremphah in Biri Fay, *Egyptian Museum Berlin*, 3rd ed. [Berlin, 1986] p. 48f., which in my opinion is ancient) or located certain sale items (Sotheby's London, 7/11/83, lot 177) or collection items (Henry Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art, Catalogue of The MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, p. 69 [see also Sotheby's London, 6/26 and 7/3/22, lots 1495-1497]). Nor do I count here the Tod Treasure vessels, or two silver bowls that Petrie dates to the Ramesside Period and says were found together at Bubasis (Petrie, *Stone and Metal Vases* [London,

1937] p. 28, nos. 30-31, pl. 40); he thought one was turned and the other cast but I have not seen them.

295. Dewachter agrees that certain signs on the gold bowl are poor (bee, eye, foot, hand, second owl) but that the bad quality of some of them doesn't matter (island sign, seated determinative, *w3d*, fire drill), and that the signs he considers good (sedge, *ntr*, whip, face, heart, cobra, reed leaf, ibis, flail) could not have been made by anyone other than an Egyptian. On the other hand, he doubts the inscription on the silver bowl, as well as on the Turin palette. De Cenival concedes that the signs on the gold bowl could have been made in 1827 if traced; he states that he would fear my arguments about the gold bowl were right if it had only been known since 1900, but in the end he gives the gold bowl the benefit of the doubt. As for the inscription on the silver bowl, he believes several people could have put such a text together by 1857 but does not feel that the inscriptions on it or the gold bowl are unacceptable as ancient Egyptian. Jürgen Osing wrote me that the gold bowl's inscription and paleography compared well with Dynasty 18 texts, but I did not have a chance to discuss my observations with him.

296. As in the case Yoyotte cites, "Général Djehouty," p. 44.

297. *WB*, II, p. 150 (9).

298. *Art from Ancient Egypt*, p. 103, no. 84.

299. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971) p. 101.

300. Leiden, 318: Leemans, p. 24, pl. 41, no. 318; Wilkinson, *Egyptian Jewellery*, pl. 24b. I measured one as 10.4 cm. maximum diameter, 4.8 cm. high, a reddish cast, and hammer marks, both edges rolled under; the other is no. 165 in Schneider, *Weltmacht*.

301. *WB*, I, p. 51 (9).

302. Leiden, 316: Leemans, p. 24; Wilkinson, *Egyptian Jewellery*, pl. 24c. The one I measured was 9.7 cm. in diameter, 1.8 cm. high, .35 cm. thick; Schäfer suggested many years ago that an example in Berlin which had been acquired at the Anastasi sale of 1857 (*Goldschmiedearbeiten* [Berlin, 1910] no. 59) might have belonged with the one illustrated in Leemans, but without all three armlets together and with a discrepancy in measurements (Schäfer gave Berlin's dimensions as 10.4 cm. in diameter, 1.9 cm. wide, and .4 cm. thick) it would be difficult to judge. Two in the British Museum from Castellani measure 11.9 cm. in diameter (EA 66840-1: Hugh Tait, ed., *Seven Thousand Years of Jewellery* (London, 1986) pp. 43, 245, no. 68).

303. *Art from Ancient Egypt*, p. 101, no. 83.

304. No. Davies, *Ken-amun*, I, pl. 15.

305. The identification of this fruit as mandrake or persea is still disputed: see Erica Feucht in *LÄ*, I (Wiesbaden, 1975) p. 144f.; Germer in *LÄ*, IV (Wiesbaden, 1982) p. 942f.; Kate Bosse-Griffiths, "The Fruit of the Mandrake," *Fontes Atque Pontes*, pp. 62-72; and M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Gold Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1985) pp. 19-20 n. 181.

306. See the inner and outer rows of mandrakes in Tutankhamun's collar, Saleh and Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue*, endpaper.

307. Keimer, as quoted in Bosse-Griffiths, "Mandrake," p. 67; Germer (*LÄ*, I) notes that perseae fruit play a great role in ornament from the New Kingdom on.

308. Murray–Nuthall, *Handlist*, no. 535 u.

309. No. Davies, *Ken-Amun*, I, pl. 9.

310. Champollion, *Bulletin universel* 5 (1826) p. 381.

311. Williams, *Gold and Silver Jewelry*, p. 173.

312. Aegis with feline head wearing sun disk: Ahhotep, as in Vernier, *Bijoux*, CG 52693, pl. 52.

313. The pointed-cap *hs*-vases in Leiden seem to be more delicate, though one could not make judgments unless all items were together.

314. No. Davies, *Ken-Amun*, I, pl. 9; these collars all appear with the traditional *wsh* and vulture collars, and the *w3h* floral collars that become popular at this period: cf. No. Davies, *Rekhami-re*, I, pl. 64. Note also the varied elements in Ahhotep's collar, although we cannot be sure that all the elements were for this collar.

315. Lahun K 1–5 (Petrie, *Sedment II* [London, 1924] p. 23, pl. 48, no. 8).

316. As in Passalacqua's group, Schäfer, *Goldschmiedearbeiten*, no. 22; The Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes; a record of work done 1907–1911* (London, 1912) tomb 37, burials 50 (p. 80), 53 (p. 80), and 78 (p. 85).

317. There was not a great deal of damage to the inscribed Djehuty objects: the palettes and jugs in Turin and Leiden are broken; the lids of the ointment jars could have been of cloth.

318. "Memorie," pp. 372ff.

319. S. Curto, E. Delorenzi, D. Spagnotto, "Scavi nel Museo di Torino. X. I Risultati d'una rilevazione radiografica e grafica su mummie," *Oriens Antiquus* 19 (1980) p. 149, fig. 2.

320. Daressy, "Catalogue of Objects Discovered," in Theodore Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Tiyi* (London, 1910) p. 20f., pl. 21.

321. Montet, *Tanis II*, pls. 110, 111, 134.

322. Murray–Nuthall, *Handlist*, nos. 256 qq and vv (TAA negs. 569, 858).

323. *Ibid.*, pls. 115, 135.

324. Bourriau in *Egypt's Golden Age*, no. 86.

325. Edward Wente, "Translations of the Texts," *The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* (The Epigraphic Survey, Chicago [1980]) p. 43, pl. 30.

326. Murray–Nuthall, *Handlist*, no. 269 ij (TAA negs. 583, 584); see Cyril Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (London, 1971) pp. 220, 224, figs. 100, 108.

327. I have inquired at the Griffith Institute, Museo Archeologico in Naples, British Museum, Mendes Israel Cohen collection at Johns Hopkins, in Berlin, and in Vienna, in addition to the museums that already have Djehuty objects.

Appendix A:

THE OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH DJEHUTY

The bibliography here is additional to that of Porter–Moss and to that in the introduction of this essay. Items which have traditionally been associated with General Djehuty are given Arabic numbers; those newly proposed for consideration are given Roman numbers.

1. Canopic jar. Florence, 2222 (Lid, Figure 1; jar, Figure 6, left)

Acquired from Giuseppe di Nizzoli by Grand Duke Leopold II of Tuscany, Sept. 28, 1824; entered the Museo Archeologico in 1882.

“Memorie,” p. 372; “Catalogo Museo Nizzoli,” p. 354, nos. 65–68; *Catalogo della Galleria*, p. 19, no. 67, cat. no. 1207; Migliarini, cat. no. 2222; del Francia, in *Weltmacht*, no. 295.

Total height, 38.5 cm.; jar 29.8 cm.; lid 11.2 cm.

Banded crystalline alabaster; inscription in four columns facing right, bordered by vertical lines, the signs carved and filled with blue pigment [Egyptian blue]; jar relatively clean, a patch of bitumen(?) inside; lid with small, new chips.

Lid solid with disk-shaped recessed stopper; top of head flat, wig flared, face protruding from wig with ears incised in it. Wig line at forehead and eyes not outlined with incision although sculpturally shaped.

Invocations to Nephthys and Hapy for the Osiris, “overseer of foreign countries, scribe, Djehuty, justified.”

2. Canopic jar. Florence, 2223 (Lid, Figure 5; jar, Figure 6, right)

Same provenance as no. 1.

“Catalogo Museo Nizzoli,” p. 354; del Francia, in *Weltmacht*, no. 295; *Catalogo della Galleria*, p. 19, no. 65, cat. no. 1205; Migliarini, cat. no. 2223.

Total height, 41.2 cm.; jar 29.9 cm.; lid 13.5 cm.

Banded crystalline alabaster with some gloss; lid with red veins in stone; considerable resin soaked into lid, including where a large chip has been removed; jar has old chips at rim. Inscription as above.

Lid solid but of vertical more than flared shape; the stopper slants inward and the wig has little overhang. Wig protrudes from forehead and neck, there are hair tabs, the lappets framing the neck have curved edges. Ears well carved with pierced lobes, black pigment(?) in left one; eyes modeled but no details present (once added in paint?); mouth slightly down-turned with left corner drilled; nose tip rubbed, two small nostrils.

Invocations to Isis and Imsety for the deceased as above.

3. Canopic jar. Florence, 2224 (Lid, Figure 4; jar, Figure 6, second from right)

Same provenance as no. 1.

“Catalogo Museo Nizzoli,” p. 354; del Francia, in *Weltmacht*, no. 295; *Catalogo della Galleria*, p. 19, no. 68, cat. no. 1208; Migliarini, cat. no. 2224.

Total height, 39.7 cm.; jar 30.4 cm.; lid 11 cm.

Crystalline alabaster with a little red veining; thin layer of bitumen on bottom of jar; thin, dark ring inside; nose chipped, fresh chip on jar rim, old chips on base. Inscription as above.

Lid triangular shape though top of head more rounded than in 2222. Wig protrudes from face above forehead; ears more modeled than 2222 but still lying against wig; eye sockets, brows, upper lid, and cosmetic line outlined with incision except for ends of brows and cosmetic lines, which are left plain.

Invocations to Neith and Duamutef for the deceased as above.

4. Canopic jar. Florence, 2225 (Lid, Figure 3; jar, Figure 6, second from left)

Same provenance as no. 1.

“Catalogo Museo Nizzoli,” p. 354; del Francia, in *Weltmacht*, no. 295; *Catalogo della Galleria*, p. 19, no. 66, cat. no. 1206; Migliarini, cat. no. 2225.

Total height, 43 cm.; jar 32.3 cm.; lid 13.8 cm.

Banded crystalline alabaster with a slight polish; lid very clean, jar generally so, although stained; chips on jar base, and nose cracked. Inscription as above.

Wig line is cleanly marked with protruding surface and incision; ears and eyes as 2224.

Invocations to Serket and Kebesenuf for the deceased as above.

5. Small bag-shaped ointment jar. Turin, Cat. 3225 (Figure 7)

Acquired by Carlo Felice and the government of Piedmont from Bernardino Drovetti, Jan. 23, 1824.

Height, 21.5 cm.

Crystalline alabaster, polished, one crack but otherwise whole. About half full of brown resin, white incrustation on upper half. The inscription incised and filled with blue pigment, seemingly Egyptian blue.

Two columns of unbordered inscription with abbreviated offering text.

6. Large bag-shaped ointment jar with lid. Turin, Cat. 3226 (Figure 12, second from left)

Same provenance as no. 5.

“Collezione Drovetti,” p. 274, no. 80 with an *; D’Amicone, in *Weltmacht*, no. 293.

Height, 27 cm.

The stone and inscription as in no. 5; the lid a more banded alabaster. Jar three-quarters full of ointment, the rest coated with white incrustation.

Lid is for kohl jar and has different type of label.

7. Two-handled ointment jar with lid. Turin, Cat. 3227 (Figure 12, second from right)

Same provenance as no. 5.

“Collezione Drovetti,” p. 274, no. 79 with an *; D’Amicone, in *Weltmacht*, no. 292.

Height, 26.4 cm.

Same material, pigment, and format of inscription as jars 5 and 6. The lid is of the same type of alabaster, fitting the opening well, with remains of plaster around join. Jar has white incrustation inside, a little loose resin in bottom. Some cracks in jar.

Vertical surface of rim has horizontal line incised around it; strap handles clearly delineated from body; protruding foot; bottom of jar has off-center concavity.

8. Jug-shaped ointment jar. Turin, Cat. 3228 (Figures 8, 9)

Same provenance as no. 5.

“Collezione Drovetti,” p. 274, no. 82.

Height, 22.5 cm.

Same material as in nos. 5–7, although a little more polished; stained inside; piece missing from rim near handle, bottom completely missing. Good deal of white incrustation inside, and brownish ring near top of neck. Same pigment and format of inscription.

Two cordlike ridges encircle the neck just below the rim; these extend outward to form a straplike handle opposite the inscription, curving outward at the bottom. This strap has three incised horizontal lines at the top, two at the bottom, and two vertical ones edging it in between. Break did not run parallel to rim, and wall is thin at this point.

9. Two-handled ointment jar. Louvre, N 1127 (Figure 12, right)

Acquired from Drovetti by Charles X of France, Oct. 24, 1827.

Manuscript packing list of Drovetti’s nephew: case 18, item 1; Champollion manuscript museum inventory no. 238: “vase with two handles with hieroglyphic inscription, sculptured in color, containing an unknown material, perfectly conserved” (both lists kindness of Kanaway); Christophe Barbotin, in *Weltmacht*, no. 291.

Height, 26.3 cm.

Same material, pigment, two-columned inscription as nos. 5–8; there is a limestone plug between the straps of the proper left handle. The vessel is half filled with resin.

The jar has a ring base, the handles a pronounced square cross-section.

10. Jug-shaped ointment jar. Leiden, AAL 37 (Figures 10, 11)

Acquired from Anastasi by Reuvens for the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, Apr. 1828.

Height, 27.5 cm.

Crystalline alabaster but with little or no polish; body filled with resin, neck encrusted with white material. Seven pieces broken out of neck and replaced; part of rim missing; new chip on foot. Pigment and two-columned inscription as nos. 7–11.

A raised band encircles the neck about a third of the way below the rim and extends to form a handle opposite the inscription. Two vertical incised lines divide the handle into three sections until they are met by four incised horizontal lines at the bottom. Projecting foot with concave base; a “C” incised in center.

11. Bag-shaped ointment jar with lid. Leiden, L.VIII.20 (Figure 12, left)

Acquired 1826 by Reuvens from de Lescluze.

Die Egyptische oudheid, no. 68; Schneider, in *Weltmacht*, no. 294.

Height, 26.7 cm.

Polished crystalline alabaster, the lid quite thin and without polish. Incrustation of brown resin on entire inner surface.

Lid does not seem made for jar. Signs tightly spaced, inscription on upper half of jar.

12. Palette. Leiden, AD 39 (Figure 13)

Same provenance as no. 10.

Art from Ancient Egypt, no. 73.

Length, 37.4 cm.

“Black homogeneous stone (schist?),” according to Raven.

Photos show the object to be broken and mended near the top.

There are two drilled and incised “shen”-ringed depressions at one end for ink, and one long depression between two inward-facing columns of offering formulas. These columns are bordered by vertical lines and run all the way to the bottom of the object. In photos and in Leemans’s facsimile it appears that the depression has about five lightly drilled holes.

13. Palette. Turin, Cat. 6227 (Figure 14)

Same provenance as no. 5.

“Collezione Drovetti,” p. 274, no. 85; probably Pier-Camillo Orcurti, *Catalogo illustrato dei monumenti egizi del regio museo di Torino* (Turin, 1882) II, p. 175, no. 14; *Regio museo di Torino ordinato e descritto da A. Fabretti, F. Rossi e R. V. Lanzone. Antichità egizie* (Turin, 1882–88) II, p. 235, no. 6227; Hans Kayser, *Ägyptisches Kunsthandwerk; ein handbuch für Sammler und Liebhaber* (Braunschweig [1969]) fig. 62.

Length, 21.1 cm.; width, 6.5 cm.; thickness, .7 cm.

Compact alabaster, polished, some staining from resin; the bottom broken off, perhaps ca. 6 cm. longer originally. Top band of name/titles and one continuous offering formula divided into two columns bordered by vertical lines; pen area sunk, "shen"-signs incised and have traces of red paint.

14. Heart scarab. Leiden, AO Ia

Same provenance as no. 10.

Leemans, p. 20, pl. 35 no. 94; Devéria, "Basilicogrammate," p. 36; Maspero, "Joppé," p. 69; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, p. 1001 P; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, *Nederlandse Musea* VI (Leiden, 1981) no. 15; *De Egyptische oudheid*, no. 67; Schneider, in *Weltmacht*, no. 296.

Length of scarab including mount, 8.3 cm.; chain 1.35 m.

Scarab a green stone with light specks and one red inclusion in it; scarab mounted in gold bezel suspended from braided gold chain; some damage to gold mount.

The mount made of three pieces of gold; the chain four-sided; the clasp loop and hook. The inscription is filled with chalk, thus it is uncertain whether there is a *t* below *tyw*-bird; a dry angularity to the paleography of text on base.

15. Metal dagger with wood inlaid handle. Darmstadt Hessisches Landesmuseum, Ae: 1,6

Acquired as a gift from Freiherr von Titzenhofer, 1875; he is said to have formed his collection primarily at Thebes, 1869–71.

Vera von Droste zu Hülshoff and Birgit Schlick-Nolte, *Museen der Rhein-Main Region I, Aegyptiaca Diversa*, pt. 1 (Mainz am Rhein, 1984) pp. Rhein-Main 1,7–1,9; Schlick-Nolte, in *Weltmacht*, no. 21.

Length, 34.3 cm.

No doubt bronze, with a polished medium-brown wood handle; knothole wood according to the museum's catalogue.

The handle of this sizable weapon (large enough to be called a short sword) is integral with the blade, the wood being inset into each side and carved with a raised relief inscription facing right. Several of the hieroglyphic signs are lightly incised with interior detail: ibis, snakes, walking crook with knife, and basket.

16. Lower half of a scribe statuette. British Museum, 69863 (Figures 15, 16)

Appeared on the Paris art market about 1975; in 1986 the object was sold at Christie's London to the British Museum. Christie's London, 12/10/86, lot 185. Gubel, "Antiquités archéologiques du Levant," pp. 318–320.

Height, 19 cm.

Black granite, sparkling in the breaks. Concretions on the surface composed of a) a thick whitish layer with sand particles, and b) a thin brown layer partially covering the white; some areas are reddish, as if of resin.

The scribe sits on the usual rounded base, right hand poised for pen; he wears a short kilt knotted at the waist; the torso modeling shows two rolls of fat and a navel; a back pillar extends upward from the base. The inscription has been given by Yoyotte; in my opinion the whip and ox tongue in

column 2 of his copy of the back pillar inscription should be reversed so that the tongue is at the top and the whip below.

17. Decorated bowl. Louvre, E 4886 (Figures 17–27)

Acquired by Raifé from the Anastasi sale in Paris, 1857 (lot 956); acquired by the Louvre from the Raifé collection in 1867, lot 380.

Lenormant, *Description des antiquités égyptiennes . . . composant la collection de feu M. A. Raifé* (Paris, 1867) auction at the Hôtel Drouot, Mar. 18–23, 1867.

Diameter, 16.4 × 18 cm. I measured a thickness of 1.1 mm. next to the inscription, and .9 mm. at the very edge of the object. Weight, 188 g.

Silver.

For a detailed description, see the text.

18. Decorated bowl. Louvre, N 713 (Figures 28–55, 57)

Same provenance as no. 9; Drovetti no. 260.

Epistolario, p. 741: document of sale for the Drovetti collection to the king of France, Oct. 11, 1827; *Lettres*, I, p. 421, mid-Sept. 1827; Champollion museum inventory as no. 9 above: "cup; on the base are figured fish, and on the edge with a hieroglyphic legend"; Bissing, "Bronzeschale," p. 37; idem, "Ägyptisch oder Phoinikisch," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut* 25 (1910) p. 198; Heinrich Schaefer and Walter Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orient* (Berlin, 1925) p. 412; Krönig, "Fayence-schalen," pp. 156f., 159, 164; Montet, *Les Reliques de l'art syrien* (Paris, 1937), p. 168f.; Réalités, *Treasures of the Louvre* (New York, 1966) p. 77; Wilfried Seipel, "Kleinkunst und grabmobiliar," *Die Alte Ägypten*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, ed. Claude Vandersleyen, XV (Berlin, 1975) p. 379f.; Gretchen Spalinger, in *Egypt's Golden Age*, pp. 119ff.; Kanaway, "Musée Charles X," p. 40; idem, "Collection Drovetti," p. 170; Jean Luc Bovot, in *Weltmacht*, no. 290.

Diameter, 17 cm.; height, 2.2 to 2.4 cm.; weight, 371.7 g. The top edge (flattened lip) is 3.4 mm. thick, the middle of the wall, 1.1 mm. thick.

Gold.

For a detailed description, see the text.

I. Canopic jar lid. Florence, 2207 (Figure 2)

Provenance Ricci collection, according to Migliarini.

Ricci, cat. no. 59: "altro vaso della stessa forma [canopic jar] e materia [ordinary alabaster] alto in tutto sold. 16 quattrino 1" in ink, "(copercia a faccia umana)" in pencil, and "6" in pencil; Migliarini, cat. no. 2207: "vaso funebre con coperchio a testa umana. Ricci 59."

Height, 10.5 cm.

Crystalline alabaster, covered with dirt/grease film and some bitumen, left front; fresh chip on front edge of lid.

Lid triangular shape with flat head; eyes accented with plastic brows, cosmetic lines, and upper lids; the brows and cosmetic lines not marked off vertically (except right brow); nose straight, chin protruding, wig line at forehead protruding; ears flat against wig; nose with drilled triangles at nostril; black pigment(?) traces on eyes and brow.

II. Inscribed *msktw*-bracelet (concave-convex-concave profile). Leiden, AO 2b

Same provenance as no. 10.

Leemans, p. 24, pl. 41, no. 320; *De Egyptische oudheid*, no. 69; *Art from Ancient Egypt*, no. 84.

Diameter at opening, 7.1 cm.; height, 3.7 cm.; Leemans's measurement of 9 is presumably the maximum diameter.

Gold.

Edges apparently rolled; inscription incised.

III. Inlaid lotus clasp. Leiden, AO 1b

Same provenance as no. 10.

Leemans, p. 25, pl. 42, no. 362; *De Egyptische oudheid*, no. 70; *Art from Ancient Egypt*, no. 83.

Height, 8.7 cm.; width, 8 cm.; thickness, 4 cm.

Gold; inlays of lapis-, turquoise- and red-colored glass, according to Schneider.

According to Raven, the back of the central inlaid element extends beyond the top surface to the sides, and curls around to form tubes running parallel with the sides. Over these tubes slide sleeves that are open toward the central element but solid away from it. In the solid surface of the left sleeve there are 44 perforations, and in the solid surface of the right sleeve there are 32. In addition, along the bottom of the central part are 8 "irregular projections (sawn off?) [which] may indicate that there once were pendant elements attached to this edge."

IV. Sixteen inlaid mandrake/persea-fruit pendants. Leiden

Same provenance as no. 10.

Leemans, p. 20 and pl. 35, no. 95.

Average height, 2 cm. without ring; width, 1.9 cm.

Gold; according to Raven, inlays of orange stone, turquoise-colored glass, and lapis-colored glass sometimes completely faded. The cement is often reddish, perhaps from resin.

The backs of these pendants have been bent up to form a container, within which separate gold strips form cloisons for inlays; a ring is provided for suspension. The lapis-colored inlay is at the bottom (sometimes deteriorated to a colorless or amber crizzled glass); the next inlay up is turquoise-colored glass; the next a stone deteriorated in a way I have not seen except, perhaps, in the inlaid inscribed clasp (III). The topmost cloisons again have the lapis-colored, sometimes crizzled, glass. Each pendant has some type of numbering system on the back: either lines incised parallel to each other along the edge or punch marks made from the inside of the backplate.

V. Nine inlaid mandrake/persea-fruit pendants. British Museum, 3076

Purchased at the Anastasi sale of 1839.

Miriam Stead, *Egyptian Life* (London, 1986) fig. 52.

Height, 2.2 cm.; 1.9 cm. wide, according to Carol Andrews.

Gold; inlays according to the British Museum Research Laboratory: lapis-colored glass for the lowest sections (color-

ant cobalt); turquoise-colored glass for the next highest; opaque white calcite stained by iron rust for the next highest; lapis-colored glass again at the top. Six of the pendants have punch marks in the back, according to Andrews.

VI. Broad-collar elements, pendants, and ring.

Florence, 2929–2930 (two *hs*-vases with flat caps); 2931–2932 (two *nfr*-signs, *nefers*); 2933–2934 (two drops); 2935 (a lily); 2936–2937 (two crocodiles); 2788 (a *castone*)

Same provenance as no. 1.

Heights according to del Francia: *hs*-vase 1.8 cm., *nefer* 1.6 cm., drop 1.7 cm., lily 1.9 cm., crocodile 2 cm.; *castone* 2.6 to 2.8 cm.

Gold.

All pendants have separate rings for stringing top and bottom except for the crocodiles, which have one self ring at top; most pendants have air holes in the back plates. The *castone* has been made by taking a strip of gold foil, folding it in half lengthwise, and overlapping its ends so that the V's angle is at the exterior and the two long edges on the interior.

VII. Broad-collar elements, pendants. Louvre, N 1854, AF 2297, AF 2799, and some apparently without number (Figure 69)

N 1854 ("de poissons, de fleurs, d'amulettes") recorded in the *Livre d'Entrée* of 1852–57; AF 2297 (two drops, three *hs*-vases with pointed caps, two *hs*-vases with flat caps, seven *nefers*) and AF 2799 (three lilies, five fish, three lizards) found without number after World War II, no doubt including Drovetti 115, 118, 121, gold lizards and fish.

Gold.

The following elements are arranged today in four strings: nine flat-capped *hs*-vases 1.9 cm. long; fifteen *nefers*, 1.65 to 1.9 cm. long; thirteen lilies, 1.97 cm. long; seven crocodiles 1.85 cm. long; ten *tilapia* 1.45 cm. long; all measurements according to Ziegler. The three *hs*-vases with pointed caps of AF 2297 do not appear in these strings.

VIII. Broad-collar elements, rings, and pendants?

Leiden, 341? (seventeen lilies in a necklace); 347 (two types of *hs*-vases, strung diagonally in a necklace: ten with flat caps and twelve with pointed caps); 348 (fifty-nine tête-bêche *nefers* in a necklace); 349 (two types of gold *hs*-vases in a necklace with carnelian Hathor pendant: three with flat caps and seven with pointed caps); 353 (one lily pendant in a necklace); 131–133, 135, 137–138, 140. AO 4a (eight gold fish and six gold drops in a necklace with carnelian fish and pendants): not examined. 143–147 (twelve *castoni*)

Same provenance as no. 10.

341: Leemans, p. 20 and pl. 35, no. 93; 347: idem, p. 19, pl. 35, no. 91; 348: idem, p. 19, no. 92; 349: idem, p. 20, pl.

36, no. 97; 353; idem, p. 20, pl. 27, no. 101; AO 4a: *Art from Ancient Egypt*, no. 80.

Heights: *hs*-vase with flat caps, 1.8 cm. with rings; *hs*-vase with pointed caps 1.9 cm. with rings; *nefers* 1.7 cm. with ring; lilies 1.9 cm. with rings; *castoni* 2.15–2.7 cm. diameter; fish estimated length from Leemans, gold 1.4 cm. and carnelian 1.5 cm.; and of gold drops 1.4 cm.

Gold.

Most backplates have air holes; self loops and separate rings are used.

IX. Two-strand necklace with fish and lotus pendants. Louvre, N 1852 (Figure 70)

Same provenance as no. 9 above.

Elisabeth Delange-Bazin, *Musée du Louvre, Les Bijoux de l'antiquité égyptienne (Petits guides des Grands Musées LXXV: Paris, 1980)* cover and inside cover.

Necklace, 49 cm. long; fish 1.3 cm. long; lotus 1.6 cm. long; box clasp 2.2 × .45 cm.

Gold; traces of inlay?

The ends of two of the small chains enclose the mouth of the fish; all attachments between chains and clasp and lotus pendant are covered by gold sleeves.

X. Chain and “clasp” with three fish pendants. Louvre, N 1851 (Figures 71–72)

The “N” number indicates that the object was inventoried between 1852 and 1857.

Chain 74 cm. long; three fish pendants 1.65 cm. long; box clasp 2.24 × .82 × .35 cm. thick.

Gold.

The “clasp” has five holes on each side; each fish is suspended from a chain by a ring coming out of its mouth.

XI. Inscribed bag-shaped jar. Leiden, XLII 110

Same provenance as no. 10.

Leemans, p. 39, pl. 58, no. 230; B. Striker, “Egyptisch Vaatwerk,” *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, n.s. 24 (1943) pp. 78–80, 100f., figs. 30, 32, pl. 4.

Height, 26.7 cm.

Crystalline alabaster; broken through at base of neck, one piece of rim missing.

XII. Inscribed shoulder jar. Leiden, XLII 109

Same provenance as no. 11.

Leemans, p. 42, pl. 61, no. 328.

Height, 26.8 cm.

Crystalline alabaster; large piece missing from rim.

XIII. Inscribed scribe’s palette. Bologna, 3136 (Figures 73–75)

Acquired by Palagi from Nizzoli in 1831.

Catalogo Raccolta, p. 13, no. 10; Bresciani, *Bologna*, p. 36.

Length, 37 cm.; width, 7.7 cm.; thickness, .9 cm.

Wood; black in the upper “shen”-ring, red in the lower; a red dot below the hieratic.

The “shen”-signs and the inscriptions are incised, the hieratic notations below drawn in ink. There is a depression to hold reed pens, and below the depression on the proper right side of the palette there is a slit 16.1 cm. long.

Appendix B:

HISTORY OF THE EARLY COLLECTIONS WITH REFERENCE TO DJEHUTY OBJECTS

Basic information about the collections and collecting patterns discussed in this essay has been published by Hayes (“Chief Steward Amenhotpe”), Curto (*Storia; Epistolario*; “Carlo Vidua e il Museo Egizio di Torino,” *Carlo Vidua, viaggiatore e collezionista (1785–1830)* [Casale Monferrato, 1987] pp. 27–34), Baudouin van de Walle (“Jean-Baptiste De Lescluze, négociant et armateur brugeois [1780–1858],” *Handelingen van het Genootschap “Société d’Émulation” te Brugge* 96 [1959] pp. 64–88, and 97 [1960] pp. 154–236; idem, “Lescluze,” *Biographie Nationale publiée par l’Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* 32 [Brussels, 1964] pp. 432–440), Schneider (*Shabti; Laudibus*), and Kanawaty, “Musée Charles X,” pp. 31–49; idem, “Collection Drovetti,” pp. 167–171.

Nizzoli objects for Vienna, Florence, and Bologna (see nos. 1–4, I?, VI, XIII):

The primary sources for information on where the Nizzoli objects originated are the *Memorie* of Amalia Nizzoli; the “Memorie” written by her husband, Giuseppe Nizzoli, for the Florence collection noting the provenance of certain objects (unsigned but clearly written by the excavator; published in 1880); and a *Catalogo* printed in Alexandria during 1827 for the Nizzoli collection that Bologna purchased in 1831 (author unstated).

According to Amalia, Giuseppe Nizzoli’s first collection was sold to “Dr. Burghart” for Vienna in 1820 (*Memorie*, p. 84). However, A. Dedekind states that the greater part of Vienna’s 1821 (not 1820) collection purchased from August Burghart was acquired from C. (not A.) Lebolo in Alexandria (*Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Sammlung altägyptischer objecte in Wien* [Vienna, 1907] p. 10f.), the other objects “presumably acquired in the antiquities trade there.” Satzinger has informed me that Nizzoli’s name is not associated with any objects in the Kunsthistorisches Museum and therefore suggests that, if Amalia’s statement is correct, the objects must have been in the group acquired in the antiquities trade. Satzinger further states that there are no Djehuty objects in Vienna, and indeed Nizzoli’s

first collection should have been put together while the official was in Alexandria. Bresciani has a student who has done a thesis on Nizzoli and informs me that Nizzoli was in Alexandria at least from 1817; Amalia tells us that she married him when she was fourteen, and that she moved with him to Cairo a month later, in October 1820.

The Nizzolis lived in Cairo between October 1820 and August 1822, when they left for Italy with a baby daughter and twenty-four or twenty-six cases of antiquities. They were in Italy for two and a half years, and the sale of this “second collection” of antiquities was finalized with Leopold II in mid-1824. Thereafter, the Nizzolis went back to Egypt and lived in Cairo until July 1826; then they moved to Alexandria until sometime after March of the following year, when Nizzoli left for Trieste because of ill health; Amalia followed in July. It was in 1840, thirteen years after she left Egypt and was thirty-five years of age, that Amalia wrote the preface to the *Memorie* that she had just written from her notes.

Giuseppe stated in his “Memorie” (p. 372), “I found the cubit rod [of Amenhotep/Huy]”; and Amalia states (*Memorie*, p. 238) that her husband found the cubit rod some years before her stay at Saqqara.

I therefore propose that Giuseppe did his work at Saqqara between October 1820 and August 1822, when he was posted in Cairo and when his young wife had a small baby. Salt, in a letter of September 1822, mentions the recent discovery of three cubits, one of which belonged to Amenhotep (Hayes, “Chief Steward Amenhotpe,” p. 15). Nizzoli mentions the *khamsin*, the hot desert winds usually of the spring (p. 374), but otherwise he does not date his work. It would have been during Nizzoli’s fieldwork that the canopic jars were collected from Djehuty’s tomb.

As for Amalia’s work, since her book has a chronological framework I conclude that her excavations at Saqqara took place between fall 1824 and summer 1826, when her husband, having begun new excavations at the site of his earlier work, asked her to supervise them because he could not be away from his official duties in Cairo during the week. She would have then been roughly eighteen years of age; she tells us that she lived in a nearby village with her child and a servant, sat in a tent at the work every day

while the Arabs in her employ looked for antiquities, and went with her husband to the site on the weekends. In other words, her work at Saqqara would have had nothing to do with the Amenhotep/Huy find—contrary to Hayes (her description of a tomb on p. 244 does not correspond with the one by Giuseppe of Amenhotep/Huy’s)—nor would it have had anything to do with the Djehuty find. As for Hayes’s claim that the agents of Salt, Drovetti, and Anastasi were at Saqqara while Amalia was there, she tells us only, “and I have known, after having left the excavations, that some pieces of our property were bought by the above-named consuls” (p. 237).

Directly preceding (and used for reference in) Nizzoli’s published “Memorie” is a “Catalogo Museo Nizzoli.” This is today assumed to have been written by Nizzoli although it is unsigned; it is more descriptive of the objects than illuminating for provenance.

There are also notes of Champollion on the Nizzoli collection in Florence. Pellegrini quotes a letter written by Champollion from Bologna to Grand Duke Leopold in October 1826 saying, “le catalogue raisonné des monuments égyptiens de la Galerie de Florence que j’avais commencé l’année dernière a été terminé pendant le séjour que je viens de faire dans cette capitale” (“Autografi,” p. 27f.). Pellegrini did not find this catalogue but rather a series of 156 notecards, which he published in “Autografi” (pp. 22, 29f., 187–205; the Djehuty objects are not described). Del Francia has informed me that Champollion made notecards for the Nizzoli and Medici objects that were of importance or carried inscriptions; and he has also informed me that the Nizzoli objects were inventoried in 1828, in a manuscript catalogue that established “Catal. N.” numbers for them (*Catalogo della Galleria*, vol. 13). I examined this *Catalogo della Galleria* in 1987 and found it to be written in French and to include Greek and hieroglyphic inscriptions, references to the sons of Horus, the use of Nesniv for Netsonof/Kebesenuf, and Nizzoli’s “Memorie” numbers as well as “Catal.” numbers.

Amalia states that there were 1,400 objects in the collection sold to Florence (*Memorie*, p. 84).

The collection acquired by Bologna from Nizzoli was actually purchased by Palagi from the consular agent in 1831 when Giuseppe was in Trieste and the objects in Livorno (Bresciani, *Bologna*, p. 16; in fact Schneider, *Laudibus*, p. 31 n. 45, states that the collection was purchased by the Marquise Busca in Milan). There were 3,109 objects in the collection Palagi gave to Bologna, according to Curto (in *Palagi*,

p. 377); only 885 are mentioned in the catalogue of Nizzoli objects (*Catalogo Raccolta*), which was printed in Alexandria in 1827 when the collection was offered to the grand duke of Tuscany (it was viewed in Egypt by Champollion and Rosellini in 1828). This *Catalogo Raccolta* is, like the “Catalogo Museo Nizzoli,” more descriptive than knowledgeable, not written in the first person, only occasionally giving an object’s provenance. Curto believed it to have been written by Nizzoli himself (in *Palagi*, p. 375); but catalogues were not necessarily done by the collectors (*Laudibus*, n. 33, for the Anastasi case; and van de Walle, *Handelingen* 97 [1960] p. 210, for the de Lescluze catalogue). There are indications of provenance, and the Tuthmosis III–inscribed palette (XIII in Appendix A) is listed as “from a tomb at Saqqara.” Whether the palette could have remained unsold for about ten years following its discovery is of course a question; it, like other Bologna objects, could have come from Amalia’s excavations or purchases of 1824–26.

Yet another source of information for Bologna’s Nizzoli objects is “Catalogo d’una Raccoltina,” a listing of about seventy items. It is similarly descriptive though more abbreviated, and it uses certain terms and misspellings that appear in the *Catalogo Raccolta*. It includes prices and was obviously drawn up in a private house; I was not able to ascertain whether all or only some of the objects mentioned there were purchased by Palagi from Nizzoli.

Drovetti objects for Turin (nos. 5–8, 13) and for the Louvre (nos. 9, 18, IX; VII and X?):

There is little firsthand information as to where Bernardino Drovetti acquired his objects, although Curto states that Thebes was his principal area of exploration, Botti having previously named Abydos, Memphis, and Tuna as sources (*Storia*, p. 95); Curto also noted Rifaud’s work at Tanis. Since Drovetti left no memoir, these clues for provenance come from agents (such as Rifaud) or from travelers; and early writers clearly saw Drovetti as the most widely based and powerful of the consuls.

Drovetti did have a long career in Egypt. He was named French consul in 1803, removed for political reasons in 1815, reappointed consul in 1821 and served until he left Egypt in 1829; he represented Russia during this last period. According to Curto, Drovetti began his collecting more or less in 1811, principally at Thebes by using Antonio Lebolo and Rifaud (*Storia*, pp. 46, 92, 95). During the period 1815–21 he resided in Egypt as a private citizen, col-

lecting antiquities and benefiting French commerce by his intimate relations with Mohammed Ali (L. A. Balboni, *Gl'Italiani nella civiltà egiziana del Secolo XIX* [Alexandria, 1906] I, pp. 231–236). He visited Nubia in 1816, Dakhla in 1818, and Siwa in 1820 (*Storia* [1976] pp. 45f.). In 1817–18 Count Forbin states that Drovetti was at Memphis as well as Thebes (*Travels in Egypt*, p. 23), and Amalia indicates that he was there later (I believe fall 1824–summer 1826 rather than October 1820–August 1822). Baroness von Minutoli mentions a “Father Ladislaus” superintending excavations for Drovetti at Abydos when the Minutolis took their trip upriver in 1821, and she relates that after their departure from Egypt (1822?) Drovetti discovered an avenue of sphinxes at Edfu (*Recollections of Egypt*, pp. 110, 144f.).

Drovetti offered his first “collection” to Savoy (Vittorio Emanuele I and the government of Piedmont in 1816 [*Storia*, p. 93]), and thereafter negotiated its sale until 1824, when Carlo Felice and the Piedmontese government purchased about 3,000 objects (*ibid.*, p. 47) and turned them over to the university to be housed in the Accademia delle Scienze. Curto quotes G. Marro as saying that all objects were in the Palazzo of the Accademia on February 3, 1824 (*ibid.*, p. 94).

Although Curto has undertaken a great deal of research on the history of the Drovetti collection in Turin, there are major gaps, as with the Florence and Bologna histories; the contemporary documentation is not extensive, nor does it seem consistent. While we can presume that the Nizzoli canopic jars left Alexandria in September 1822, it is more difficult to postulate when Drovetti’s objects left Egypt (owing to Drovetti’s more extensive and developed trade and to the loss of original documents).

Today there is a very short list appended to the sale contract of January 23 and February 14, 1824, which was made by Giulio Cordero di San Quintino in Livorno the previous October (*Epistolario*, p. 740); and a catalogue of the Drovetti collection published in 1880 (“Collezione Drovetti”). Curto understands the catalogue to have been put together by Fabretti from a variety of sources (*Storia*, p. 93), and the preface to it (unsigned) suggests that the main source might have been a catalogue solicited by Count Balbo during the negotiations.

However, there may have been more than one catalogue. Giuseppe Botti stated (“La Collezione Drovetti e i Papiri del R. Museo Egizio di Torino,” *Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, ser. 5, 30–31 [1921] p. 29) that the collection was in Livorno in August 1820, and Forbin wrote

that Drovetti had already “shipped off for Leghorn [Livorno] no small part of his collection” in 1817/18 (*Travels in Egypt*, p. 72). A letter from Vidua in Turin to Drovetti [in Egypt], dated May 16, 1822, states that the long-awaited catalogue has arrived from Livorno and that he has given it to First Under Secretary of State for Internal Affairs Roger de Cholex to pass on to the king, but Vidua asks if Drovetti can send a catalogue of “the part of the collection still in Alexandria and of the recent acquisitions” (*Epistolario*, pp. 199–202; see also Curto, “Carlo Vidua,” pp. 31, 34). According to Curto and Donatelli, no original catalogue can be found today, though Marro indicates that he saw one earlier in this century (“Bernardino Drovetti Archeologo,” *Aegyptus* 32 [1932] p. 125). The collection was consigned in Livorno to Cordero in October 1823, and Cordero wrote in December that some of the objects in an inventory he was working with were *not* present, while some objects not in the inventory *were* present (*Storia* [1976] p. 96): altogether he inventoried 8,350 objects in Livorno (*Epistolario*, p. 291), and this number seems very high. The free port of Livorno, with houses displaying the wares of agents whose representatives were making individual lots and prices for museum representatives (*Laudibus*, p. 19), was a lively place; and clearly there are important documents lost from those times.

Four of the five Djehuty Turin objects are identifiable in “Collezione Drovetti,” two with an asterisk. This sign—according to a note on p. 274—means that they were added to the collection after October 1820; thus it is implied that the other three objects were in the collection before that date. Curto has noted that some objects without asterisk actually occur in the Pietro Barucchi inventory of 1814 for items then in the Museo delle Antichità (*Storia* [1979] p. 88); further that the Sekhmet statues and most of the papyri that came from Drovetti are not in the “Collezione Drovetti” list at all.

Champollion prepared a manuscript catalogue when he unpacked the Drovetti collection in mid-1824, but, as verified by Leospo, none of the Turin Djehuty objects are in it.

In sum, it is possible that the Djehuty objects left Egypt before 1818; and they should have been in the Accademia in February 1824; but in fact we know only that they were in Turin when Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzzone published them.

As for the Paris Drovetti collection of 1,940 objects, a statement made at the time of Anastasi’s first offering implies that there was a catalogue available (the catalogues

prepared for Anastasi were said to be better than those for Salt and Drovetti, *Laudibus*, n. 33) but, according to Kanawaty, shipping lists made in Marseilles by Drovetti's nephew are all that are known today. A few objects landed at Marseilles in early September 1825 (Hartleben, *Champollion*, I, p. 590) and the collection was offered to France (*Bulletin Universel* 3 [1825] nos. 255, 256). Drovetti himself arrived in France in July 1827 (*Epistolario*, p. 515), and Paris by mid-August, anxious to sell the collection after at least a year of negotiations with the French (*Lettres*, I, p. 425). The agreement to cede the collection to the crown was made in Paris on October 11, and some objects were already in Paris at that time (*Epistolario*, pp. 741–743) though Kanawaty says that most objects reached the Louvre from Marseilles only in 1828 (“Musée Charles X,” p. 40).

Anastasi objects for Leiden (nos. 10, 12, 14, II–IV, VIII, XI), **the Louvre** (no. 17), **and the British Museum** (no. V)

Giovanni Anastasi—the Armenian merchant who became consul for Sweden and Norway between 1828 and 1857, and the major businessman under Mohammed Ali (Sweden exchanged steel for grain, *Laudibus*, pp. 17–19)—amassed a collection over sixteen years (*Shabtis*, p. 10f., and *Laudibus*, p. 30; Minutoli [*Recollections*, p. 30] reported seeing objects upon arrival in Egypt about 1820). The collection arrived in Livorno in June 1827 (*Shabtis*, p. 10, *Laudibus*, p. 19). Champollion wrote from Paris in September 1827 that Anastasi was asking 400,000 francs (*Lettres*, I, p. 422). This collection comprises 5,600 objects and was purchased by the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden in April 1828.

Concerning the provenance of Anastasi's objects, Reuvs had the impression that Anastasi got much more from trades than from excavation (*Laudibus*, p. 19). Van de Walle says Gérard-Henri Kerssilaers set out in June 1822 to excavate for Anastasi at Thebes (*Handelingen* 97 [1960] p. 177); Schneider has told me that when Bartho was in Leiden, about 1827, as Anastasi's agent for the sale, Reuvs asked him where the objects had come from and was told that the small objects—including vases—came from Saqqara, coffins from Thebes, and the Piccinini material from Abydos.

According to Warren Dawson (“Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and their Papyri,” *JEA* 35 [1949] p. 160), Anastasi

died in Alexandria early in 1857 and the objects in his possession were packed up and sent to Paris for auction; the sale catalogue gives the dates of the auction as June 23–27. Schneider has told me that Anastasi was offering a last collection to Leiden in the mid-1850s, no doubt the objects found in Alexandria when he died.

Bartho/de Lescluze objects for Leiden (nos. 11, XII)

The collection the Bruges trader de Lescluze sold to Leiden in 1826 was actually the collection of the adventurer François Bartho (van de Walle, *Handelingen* 97 [1960] pp. 198ff.; idem, *Biographie*). De Lescluze and his partner, Besson, signed an agreement with Bartho and the French attaché Clairambault on April 8, 1824, in Egypt to buy the collection; Drovetti countersigned. The eleven crates of antiquities were ready to leave Alexandria at the end of 1824 (van de Walle, *Handelingen* 97 [1960] p. 200), but they only arrived in Antwerp in the spring of 1825 (*Shabtis*, p. 11).

Thomas Legh wrote of Bartho in 1813 that he was an American “who had traded many years in the Red Sea, spoke Arabic extremely well” (*Narrative of a journey in Egypt and the country beyond the cataracts* [London, 1817] p. 20); he wrote his name on the temples at Amada and Dendur that year (Dewachter, “Le Voyage Nubien du Comte Carlo Vidua,” *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* 69 [1971] p. 141). Reuvs wrote more than ten years later that Bartho excavated for every major person who wanted to pay him, especially for Drovetti and Anastasi but also for smaller dealers (*Laudibus*, p. 28 n. 15). When Reuvs asked de Lescluze about the provenance of objects in the collection he was offering, de Lescluze was not forthcoming, mentioning that two of the mummies came from “the plain of mummies near the Saqqara desert,” and that a cubit came from “the ruins of Memphis” (*Handelingen* 97 [1960] p. 214 n. 140; see also *Shabtis*, p. 12). Schneider states that he worked at Thebes (*ibid.*, p. 11).

Van de Walle says that Bartho was actually a Frenchman who had adopted American citizenship but enjoyed the protection of the Austrian consulate when the negotiations were taking place with de Lescluze. He was still friendly with Drovetti in January 1826 (*Epistolario*, p. 456) and was in Livorno for Anastasi in 1827 (*Laudibus*, p. 15), offering to excavate for Reuvs that year and the next (*Shabtis*, p. 11).

ABBREVIATIONS

- AJA*—*American Journal of Archaeology*
- Art from Ancient Egypt*—[Hans D. Schneider], *Art from Ancient Egypt, chosen from the collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, the Netherlands*, catalogue for exhibition in Japan, Apr. 17–Dec. 13, 1987 (Leiden, 1987)
- “Autografi”—“Autografi di Champollion a Firenze. IV, Dalle illustrazioni della raccolta Nizzoli,” pp. 187–205 (*Bes-sarione*, ser. 2, vol. 5, yr. 8 [July–Dec.]); preface by A. Pellegrini, pp. 22–32
- BSFE*—*Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*
- Bulletin Universel*—*Bulletin des sciences historiques, antiquités, philologie. Septième section du Bulletin Universel des sciences et de l'industrie* (Paris)
- Catalogo della Galleria*—*Catalogo della Galleria, XIII*, manuscript catalogue in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, describing Nizzoli and Medici objects in 1828
- “Catalogo d’una Raccoltina”—“Catalogo d’una Raccoltina di Antichità Egiziane,” a manuscript catalogue in the Museo Archeologico Civico, Bologna, for Nizzoli items, some or all of which were acquired by Bologna
- “Catalogo Museo Nizzoli”—“XII. Museo Nizzoli, a. 1824, Catalogo ed Inventario” in Ministero della pubblica Istruzione, *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d’Italia* IV (Florence/Rome, 1880) pp. 346–371; preface pp. ix–xi
- Catalogo Raccolta*—*Catalogo dettagliato della Raccolta di Antichità Egizie, riunite da Giuseppe Nizzoli, Cancelliere del Cons. Gen. d’Austria in Egitto. dopo quella nel 1824 dal medesimo ceduta all’I. e R. Galleria di Firenze per la munificenza di S. A. I. e R. Leopoldo II. Gran Duca di Toscana* (Alexandria, 1827). Catalogue of the Nizzoli collection purchased by Pelagi and today in Bologna; copy seen in the Museo Archeologico Civico, Bologna
- CCG*—Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*
- “Collezione Drovetti”—“VIII. Collezione Drovetti, a. 1822, Catalogue de la collect. d’antiq. de mons. le chev. Drovetti” in Ministero della pubblica Istruzione, *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d’Italia* III (Florence/Rome, 1880) pp. 206–292; preface pp. xi–xiv
- Die Egyptische oudheid*—Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, *Die Egyptische oudheid*. . . (s’Gravenhage, 1981)
- Doc. ined.*—Ministero della pubblica Istruzione, *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d’Italia*, III and IV (Florence/Rome, 1880)
- Egypt’s Golden Age*—Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Egypt’s Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558–1085 B.C.*, catalogue for exhibition organized by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Feb. 3, 1982–Jan. 2, 1983 (Boston, 1982)
- Epistolario*—S. Curto and L. Donatelli, *Bernardino Drovetti Epistolario (1800–1851)* (Milan, 1985)
- JdE*—Journal d’Entrée of the Cairo Museum
- JEA*—*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- LÄ*—*Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975–86) 6 vols.
- Laudibus*—Hans Schneider, *De Laudibus aegyptologiae: C. J. C. Reuens als verzamelaar van Aegyptiaca* (Leiden, 1985)
- Leemans—Conrad Leemans, *Aegyptische monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leyden. II. Monumenten behoorende tot het Burgerlijke Leven* (Leiden, 1846)
- Lettres*—*Lettres de J. F. Champollion*, Bibliothèque égyptologique, ed. Gaston Maspero, XXX–XXXI (Paris, 1909) 2 vols.
- MDAIK*—*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, to 1944; *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, since 1970
- “Memorie”—[G. Nizzoli], “Memorie relative al gabinetto di antichità,” in Ministero della pubblica Istruzione, *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d’Italia*, IV (Florence/Rome, 1880) pp. 371–376
- Memorie*—A. Nizzoli, *Memorie sull’Egitto, e specialmente sui costumi delle donne orientali e gli harem, scritte durante il suo soggiorno in quel paese (1819–1828)* (Milan, 1841)
- Migliarini—Manuscript catalogue of the collection today in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, compiled by Angelo Migliarini ca. 1854
- Nofret*—Ägyptische Altertümerverwaltung Kairo, *Nofret-die Schöne, Die Frau im Alten Ägypten*, catalogue for exhibition in Germany, Dec. 15, 1984–Nov. 4, 1985 (Cairo/Mainz, 1984)
- Porter–Moss—Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings: I. The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private tombs*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1960); *Part 2: Royal tombs and smaller cemeteries*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1964)
- Radwan—A. Radwan, *Die Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße Ägyptens Prähistorische Bronzefunde* II, pt. 2 (Munich, 1983)
- Rd E*—*Revue d’Égyptologie*
- Rec. de trav.*—*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*
- Ricci—Manuscript catalogue of the Ricci collection prepared by Migliarini May 1832 for the objects collected by Alessandro Ricci, 1821; in Florence, Museo Archeologico
- Shabtis*—H. Schneider, *Shabtis* (Leiden, 1977) volume II
- Storia*—S. Curto, *Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino* (Turin, 1976)
- TAA—Prefix for negative numbers of photographs made by Harry Burton during the excavation of Tutankhamun’s tomb by Howard Carter
- Urk.* IV—Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, IV. Historisch-biographische urkunden* (Leipzig, 1909)
- WB*—Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1926–31) 5 vols.
- Weltmacht*—*Ägyptens aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, exh. cat. Hildesheim, Aug. 3–Nov. 29, 1987 (Hildesheim/Mainz, 1987)

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The Three Graces on a Roman Relief Mirror

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM has recently acquired an exceptionally well-preserved Roman mirror with a striking representation of the three Graces (Figures 1, 2).¹ It belongs to an interesting class of relief mirrors, of which the Museum already has one example (see Figure 17).² The subject of the relief, one of the most famous compositions of antiquity, was not previously represented in the collection of Greek and Roman art.

The round mirror has no handle but is small enough to fit comfortably in one hand. It is backed by a very thin sheet of bronze which has been worked in repoussé and gilded.³ The outer edge of the bronze is raised to form a simple convex band one centimeter wide; within this frame the group of three Graces stands out in low relief.

The figures are aligned on a straight indication of ground—two facing front and one, in the center, seen from the rear, each with one hand on the shoulder of another. In their free hands the outer Graces hold stalks of wheat; with her right hand, the central figure reaches toward that of her companion to the right. All three heads are shown in profile as the maidens gaze outward and down at the grain. The upper legs of the central figure are covered by drapery which is pulled tightly forward and upward, with corners draped back over the upper arms. The two other figures are undraped. To the left of the group an oinochoe, or pitcher, and to the right a volute krater stand on square pedestals.

Mirrors of this type have no handle or cover, and the relief decoration on the back is usually surrounded by a simple convex frame.⁴ More than seventy examples have been found, the greatest number in Asia Minor and other parts of the Eastern Empire, followed by Africa Romana and the northern provinces.⁵ The reliefs show various classicizing subjects: episodes from the life of Dionysos, Erotes at work and play, mythological scenes,

and representations of goddesses. It is generally thought that the majority were produced in the second century after Christ.⁶

Eleven of the mirrors known today have representations of the three Graces. (A list can be found at the end of this article; in the text each mirror is identified by its number on that list.) This is not surprising, as the subject was particularly appropriate for a toilet article. The Graces, or Charites in Greek, take their name from the word χάρις which means not only charm, beauty, and favor, but also the feelings of good will and gratitude engendered by the bestowal and reception of favors.⁷ Homer mentions the Graces,⁸ and Hesiod describes them as daughters of Zeus and Eurynome; their names are: Aglaia (Beauty), Euphrosyne (Mirth), and Thalia (Abundance).⁹ The Graces bestow what is most pleasurable and beneficent in nature and society: fertility and natural growth, beauty in the arts, harmonious reciprocity between men. They enjoyed important and venerable cults in Greece and Asia Minor. In mythology they play an attendant role, gracing festivals and organizing dances; their closest connection is with Aphrodite, whom they serve as handmaidens. For Aristotle, Chrysippus, Seneca, and Servius the triad served as an elaborate allegory for the cycle of giving, accepting, and returning favors, which Seneca described as “the chief bond of human society.”¹⁰ Through these writings the image of the Graces passed first into medieval and later into Renaissance literature and art.¹¹ From an allegory of liberality, the Neoplatonists of the Renaissance transformed the maidens into symbols of the threefold power of Venus.¹²

In classical art the Graces appear fully clothed, usually holding hands in a dancelike procession. As early as the third century B.C., two poets, Callimachus and Euphorion, described them as nude.¹³ It is not known whether the nude group represented on the mirror was

first designed for a work of sculpture or a painting, but the carefully calculated, friezelike composition is typical of classicizing art of the late Hellenistic period. Instantly recognizable, despite numerous minor variations, this compositional device soon became the canonic formula for depicting the Graces, appearing in every medium and on every possible kind of object.¹⁴

Many of these representations are closely linked with Aphrodite/Venus, both iconographically and by the context in which they were seen. The very nudity of the figures brings the goddess to mind. Like the Aphrodite of Knidos, all the sculptural groups and many reliefs have drapery-covered vases beside the outer figures; moreover, in one group, the outer figures adopt the pudic gesture.¹⁵ The earliest known representation, a wall painting from Boscoreale dated to about 40 B.C., was positioned to the left of Aphrodite and Eros, as a pendant to Dionysos and Ariadne.¹⁶ A relief of the group was part of the decoration of the *ependytes*, or outer dress, on the cult statue of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias.¹⁷

On a limited number of imperial coins of the mid-second century after Christ, the Graces may well have symbolized in some way the fruitful union of the emperor Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Minor.¹⁸ The group appears in the hand of Juno on reverses of Antoninus Pius dated to A.D. 140–144, a period when the young couple was engaged,¹⁹ and in the hands of both Juno and Venus on coins of Faustina Minor, struck at various times during her reign.²⁰ A medallion of Faustina shows her offering a statuette of the group to a seated goddess.²¹ A similar scene appears on a medallion with her daughter, Lucilla, on the obverse, suggesting that both may have been struck in 164 to celebrate Lucilla's marriage to Lucius Verus.²² Another medallion of Faustina Minor shows her crowning a child to whom a goddess offers the group of Graces.²³ Gerhart Rodenwaldt has suggested that the group of three nude Graces may have figured on some official monument celebrating the marriage of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Minor and thus have become closely associated with the idea of Concordia, or conjugal harmony.²⁴

The three Graces appear frequently in a funerary context. Most notably, we know of twenty-five marble sarcophagi that feature the group in relief in the center of the long side.²⁵ Rodenwaldt has argued that they serve here as a substitute for the scene of a married couple clasping hands, with Concordia, so frequently found on sarcophagi, in the background.²⁶ This interpretation is probably too restrictive to apply to all represen-

tations connected with burials; sometimes the Graces may symbolize the beauty of the deceased or simply be potent emblems of all that is desired for life beyond the grave.²⁷

The famous nude group was occasionally adapted for representations of nymphs, divinities with whom the Graces had much in common. They are usually differentiated from the Graces by the addition of drapery and attributes that suggest fresh, running water.²⁸

Of the eleven Roman relief mirrors with representations of the three Graces, nine, including the Museum's new acquisition, are so similar that they must derive from the same design (Nos. 1–9; Figures 1–10). The pose of the Graces is standard²⁹ and the wheat they hold is a common attribute, but the arrangement of their hair, the drapery on the central figure, and the type of vases shown beside them are unparalleled in other representations of the group. These unusual features deserve attention, for they may help determine the artistic environment in which the mirrors were created.

The hair of all three Graces is arranged in the same way. It is pulled straight up from the nape of the neck, frames the face in soft waves, and encircles the head in two narrow coils. On several mirrors these have been carefully articulated to make clear that they represent a single, thick braid (Nos. 2, 3, Figures 3, 4). In back, the hair is drawn into a compact bun, set just below the crown of the head. This combination of braid and bun is rarely found in Classic or Hellenistic hairstyles,³⁰ although each element occurs separately. Cornelius Vermeule has suggested that it reflects Roman fashion of the first four decades of the second century,³¹ and the first official hair style of Faustina Minor dating to A.D. 147 does have a small encircling braid and a bun placed relatively high on the head.³² The hair arrangement on the mirrors, however, is so generalized that it is impossible to identify a specific fashion. The closest parallel for the hair is found in classicizing art of the early Antonine period. A Roman sarcophagus in Verona dated to about A.D. 140, with the relief of a Dionysiac thiasos based on Neo-Attic models,³³ has on the left (short) side a maenad whose hair is arranged exactly like that of the Graces on the mirror (Figure 13). A similar fusing of classical elements in an unusual fashion occurs in the late Hadrianic sculptural group of the Graces in Siena, where the outer figure on the right has a wide braid around her head, topped by a knot of hair (Figure 14).³⁴

The drapery on the central figure is also extremely unusual³⁵ and, as with the hairstyle, the artist appar-



1. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 1). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation Gift, 1987, 1987.11.1

2. View of reflecting surface on reverse side





3. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 2). Seattle, The Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 67.98 (photo: Seattle Art Museum)

4. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 3). Raleigh, The North Carolina Museum of Art, purchased with funds from the North Carolina Art Society in memory of Katherine Pendleton Arrington, 77.1.8 (photo: North Carolina Museum of Art)



5. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 4). Leningrad, The State Hermitage Museum 1894.39 (photo: State Hermitage Museum)

6. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 5). Toronto, The University of Toronto Malcove Collection M82.257 (photo: University of Toronto Malcove Collection)





7. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 6). Basel, H. A. C. (photo: after Merhav)



9. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 8). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AC.59 (photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum)

8. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 7). Paris, Collection Anlen-Padiou (photo: Galerie A la Reine Margot, Paris)

10. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 9). Formerly, Tunis, Musée National du Bardo (Alaoui) (Drawing from G. Zahlhaas, *Römische Reliefspiegel*, pl. 3)





11. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 10). Munich, Prähistorische Staatssammlung 1974, 3898a/b (photo: Prähistorische Staatssammlung)

12. Roman mirror: The Three Graces (No. 11). Paris, art market (photo: Galerie A la Reine Margot, Paris)



ently turned to the repertory of late Hellenistic and Neo-Attic motifs for a variation of the nude group. The maenad on the sarcophagus in Verona again offers a close parallel. The pose itself is similar to that of the central Grace; the drapery exposes the buttocks and is drawn upward and flipped over the left upper arm in exactly the way it is draped over both arms of the figure on the mirror. It is not impossible that the designer of the mirror had this very figure type in mind; enough examples remain in various media to know that it must have been a well-known motif in the sketchbooks and models that circulated in workshops around the Empire.³⁶

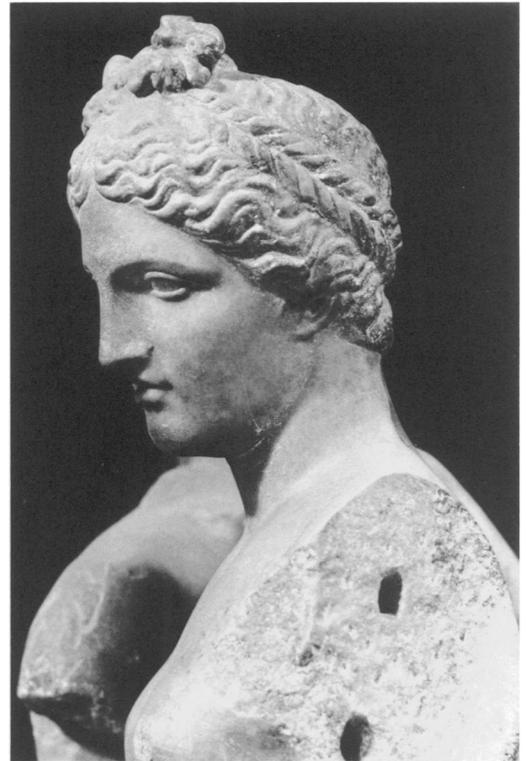
On the mirror the himation is folded into a relatively narrow length of cloth that conceals only the upper legs. Although nude females are very rarely depicted with such a folded cloak in Classic or Hellenistic art,³⁷ they are not uncommon in Roman art. A particularly decorative example appears on an early Antonine sarcophagus in Rome, where nereids ride over the water, with billowing ribbonlike cloaks, and the central figure has hers slung below the buttocks and over the upper arms just as on the mirrors (Figure 15).³⁸ The image of Venus Victrix, surrounded by armor, which appears on imperial coins,³⁹ on seals,⁴⁰ and in fact, on seven of the relief mirrors of this very class (Figure 16),⁴¹ has a folded himation tied at the hips which leaves the lower legs exposed much like that of the central Grace. The folded himation was appropriate for action, martial or maritime. Applied to the Graces, it adds variety without distracting from the sinuous contours of the group.

Not only hair and drapery but also the choice of vessels next to the Graces is unusual. All three-dimensional representations of the group include vases as supports, but they are omitted on paintings and mosaics and on many reliefs. With the exception of one marble group from Cyrene, which has roughly formed vases that may be hydriai or kraters,⁴² the vases are tall, fusiform unguentaria.⁴³ Since such forms would have been too slender to fill the empty space on either side of the figures on the mirror, large, decorative vessels on pedestals were used instead—on the left an oinochoe, on the right a volute krater. The krater is striated to suggest the strigil design frequently found on marble volute kraters and calyx kraters.⁴⁴

Although all of the mirror reliefs representing the Graces derive from the same design, they differ in details. The relief decoration of mirrors of this type was produced by the repoussé technique. A thin, bronze disk was first hammered into a metal or stone matrix, in which

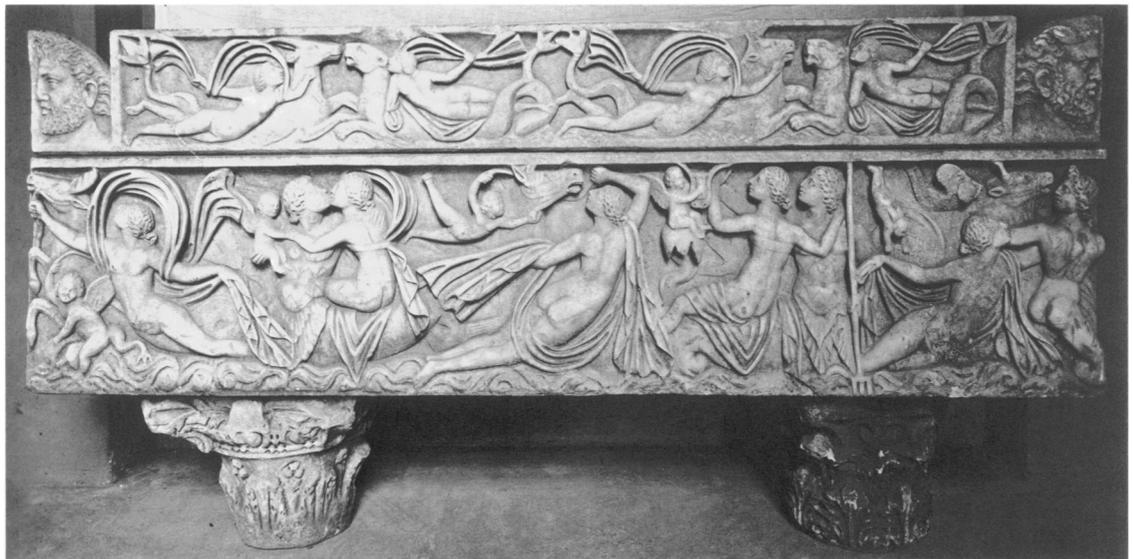


13. Left side of sarcophagus showing maenad and satyr. Verona, Museo Maffeiiano 114 (photo: Museo Maffeiiano)



14. Detail from a statue group of the three Graces, showing the head of one figure. Siena, Museo dell'Opera della Cattedrale (photo: Alinari / Art Resource)

15. Sarcophagus showing Nereids and Tritons. Rome, Palazzo Conservatori, Museo Nuovo 2269 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)





16. Roman mirror: Venus Victrix. Antikenmuseum Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Misc. 7965 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)

the scene to be represented existed in intaglio, or concave form.⁴⁵ After removal from the matrix, the sheet was set, front side up, into a cushioning bed of pitch, and the design was finished with chasing tools. When the relief was finished it was gilded, probably by the mercury amalgam process, and then burnished.⁴⁶ The repoussé disk was then ready to be attached, with supportive and adhesive material, to a mirror composed of a high tin bronze alloy,⁴⁷ which could have been manufactured elsewhere in the workshop or in a different workshop altogether.

It is virtually impossible to ascertain whether two reliefs with the same subject were produced in the same matrix unless one can study the original pieces and actually examine their backs. Nevertheless, in at least two cases, the reliefs on mirrors of this class are so similar that the question of such a relationship can be raised.

17. Roman mirror: The Rape of Europa. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Abraham Foundation, Inc., Gift, 1978.11.4



18. Roman mirror: The Rape of Europa. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1971.822 (photo: Ashmolean Museum)



Gisela Zahlhaas has already pointed out two specific mirrors with representations of three goddesses that must have been formed in the same matrix.⁴⁸ Parts of the Museum's relief showing the Rape of Europa (Figure 17) correspond so closely with a relief of the same subject in Oxford (Figure 18) that the matrices can be presumed to be related.⁴⁹

Each of the nine reliefs that show vessels next to the three Graces and drapery on the central figure (Numbers 1–9, Figures 1–10) must have been formed with three separate negative images, one for the group and ground line and one for each of the vessels on a pedestal. The condition of most of the nine is poor and direct comparison is not possible, yet as far as one can tell from photographs, each was produced in a different matrix. The figures differ not only in details of hair and face, which could have been varied when the relief was worked from the front, but also in the basic disposition of the parts—such as spacing between the figures and angles of heads and arms—which was determined by the matrix itself.

The Museum's mirror (No. 1, Figures 1, 2) is one of the best preserved. It alone has the volute krater on the right side and the oinochoe on the left. The figures have soft, simplified forms, typical of reliefs hammered into a matrix. There is no visible evidence of engraving or chasing on the front except for long, shallow lines on the wheat at the right. Nevertheless, the contours are clearly defined, and the inner forms of the torsos are modeled in considerable detail.

The dating of such matrix-formed decorations is extremely difficult. Whenever possible, it is best approached through study of iconographic motifs rather than through detailed stylistic analysis. Parallels for all the unusual iconographic features of the reliefs with three Graces can be found in classicizing art of the mid-second century after Christ. Moreover, at that time, the group may well have been particularly popular owing to its association with marriage in official imperial art. Zahlhaas and Vermeule dated these mirrors to the first half of the second century after Christ;⁵⁰ the series may have been produced slightly later, around the middle of the century.

The hazards of relying too heavily on stylistic analysis in dating works of this type can be seen in the case of the two mirrors with reliefs of the Rape of Europa (Figures 17, 18). They must have been made at approximately the same time since, as noted above, the matrices appear to be closely related. The New York example

was unknown when Zahlhaas made her study. On the basis of style, she dated the Oxford version to the first half of the third century because the forms are strongly plastic while contours are not clearly defined, and the tree and water appear animated with a baroque movement and expressiveness associated particularly with art of the third century. The treatment of form in the New York relief, however, is no different from that on other mirrors that she dates to the second century; the Graces on the mirror in Raleigh (No. 3, Figure 4) offer a good parallel. In contrast to the Oxford version, outer contours on the Metropolitan Museum's mirror with Europa are very sharply defined; indeed, they are emphasized with engraved lines made on the front with a tracing wheel. Any difference in the treatment of form between the two renditions of the Rape of Europa can best be explained by circumstances of manufacture as well as of preservation. The impression of movement in the two versions is appropriate to the subject and caused by the juxtaposition of several conventional motifs which are treated in a perfectly conventional way. Parallels for the rendition of the tree set against a curving edge can be found in another relief mirror dated by Zahlhaas to the second century as well as in medallions of Marcus Aurelius and of Lucius Verus.⁵¹ Likewise, the waves in the exergue of the Oxford version are conventional; water is indicated in exactly the same way on two medallions of Marcus Aurelius.⁵² There is no justification for dating the two mirrors with the Rape of Europa some fifty years later than the mirrors with the Graces. Indeed, all the Roman relief mirrors of this class are so similar that they were probably produced within a relatively short period of time in the second century after Christ.

The method of manufacture—multiple examples of matrix-formed reliefs with little chasing or finishing—suggests that these mirrors were rather ordinary products, raised above the commonplace primarily by their gilding. Yet, though most of the scenes on the back follow long-established norms, some show unusual, even unique subjects,⁵³ and all are enlivened through new combinations of existing elements drawn from the vast repertoire of classicizing motifs. No subject was better suited to decorate a mirror than the three Graces, and the fact that different matrices can be presumed for each of the preserved reliefs testifies to the great popularity of the design. Emblems of beauty, fertility, and conjugal harmony, the enlaced figures also please in their cool, mannered grace.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My first expression of thanks is to Dietrich von Bothmer who suggested publication of the mirror and gave much valuable help during preparation of the article. I am grateful to Joan R. Mertens for her careful reading of the text. Thanks go to Carlie Cleveland, Richard E. Stone, Mark Wypyski, and Robert Koestler of the Department of Objects Conservation for their assistance with questions of

NOTES

1. MMA 1987.11.1. Elizabeth J. Milleker, in *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1986–1987* (MMA, New York, 1987) p. 6.

2. MMA 1978.11.4. Subject of relief: The Rape of Europa. *Cat. Sotheby Parke-Bernet, February 17, 1978*, lot 47; Dietrich von Bothmer, in *Notable Acquisitions 1975–1979* (MMA, New York, 1979) p. 16; Willers, p. 30, no. 40.

3. Diam. 0.12 m. The mirror itself is cracked. No ancient point of attachment remains between the bronze sheeting and mirror proper. The bronze is in good condition except for losses at the edges and cracks in the area below the groundline of the design. Losses and cracks have been restored with wax. Gilding on the bronze backing is well preserved.

4. The most important studies of these mirrors are: Züchner, pp. 149–152; Zahlhaas; Vermeule; Willers. Zahlhaas (pp. 73–78) lists thirty-five examples. Willers (pp. 30–32) lists an additional twenty-eight. To these should be added: 1) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1986.750. Subject of relief: Woman flogged by schoolmaster while supported by Eros. R. Peyrefitte, *Un Musée de l'Amour* (Paris, 1972) p. 38; H. Cahn, *Le Musée Secret de Roger Peyrefitte* (Paris auction, Dec. 11–12, 1978) no. 434; *Art of the Ancient World IV* (New York/Beverly Hills, 1985) p. 110, no. 324; C. C. Vermeule, in *The Museum Year 1986–87: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1987) p. 31. 2) Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum, 85.1. Subject of relief: Venus Victrix. H. Cahn, *Le Musée Secret de Roger Peyrefitte* (Paris auction, Dec. 11–12, 1978), no. 435; *Record of The Art Museum: Princeton University* 45 (1986) p. 38. 3) Paphos, Cyprus, Regional Museum. Subject of relief: Venus Victrix. V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des Fouilles à Chypres en 1983," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 108 (1984) p. 907, fig. 47. 4) Atlanta, Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology, 1985.5. Subject of relief: Meleager and Atalanta. *Newsletter: Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology* 1 (March–April, 1988) p. 5. 5) New York, art market. Subject of relief: Eros with kithara. 6) Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum, 88.4 Nonreflecting surface incised with intersecting semicircles. In addition see nos. 1, 5, 7, 11 on the list of mirrors with representations of the three Graces, to be found at the end of this article.

5. For the distribution of findspots, see Willers, p. 33.

6. The type was first described as Roman by Züchner (pp. 149–150), who differentiated it from Etruscan relief mirrors and sug-

gested that it originated in the late Hellenistic period and continued to be made through the first century after Christ. C. Vermeule (M. Comstock, C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts* [Boston, 1971] p. 492, no. 400A) dated an example of this type to A.D. 100–200. Zahlhaas revised the date of production of the mirrors to run from about A.D. 130–230, basing her arguments primarily on stylistic comparison of the reliefs to other monuments. Recently Willers has argued that the type was developed from late Hellenistic Etruscan relief mirrors and that the earliest examples should be dated about 100 B.C.

7. On the Graces in general, see A. Furtwängler, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, I (Leipzig, 1884–1890) cols. 873–884, s.v. "Charis, Chariten"; J. Escher, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* III (Stuttgart, 1899) cols. 2150–2167, s.v. "Charites, Charis"; P. Orlandini, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* II (Rome, 1959) pp. 349–352, s.v. "Cariti"; E. Schwarzenberg, *Die Grazien* (Bonn, 1966); E. B. Harrison, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* III (1986) pp. 191–203, s.v. "Charis, Charites"; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratiae," pp. 203–210.

8. Homer *Iliad* 14: 267–268, 275, 276; 18: 382–383; Homer *Odyssey* 8: 364–366, 18: 193–194.

9. Hesiod *Theogony* 907–909.

10. Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* V.v.7. Seneca *De Beneficiis* I.ii–iv. Seneca incorporated into his text passages from a treatise on liberality by the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus, which is now lost. Servius *In Vergilii Aeneidem* I, 720.

11. On the transfer of the ancient literary tradition to medieval and Renaissance writers, and thence to the artists, see E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (New Haven, 1958) pp. 31–39; W. Crelly, "The Iconography of the Elian Graces," *Essays in Honor of Walter Friedlaender*, W. Cahn, ed. (New York, 1965) pp. 23–39.

12. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, pp. 39–56; E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (Harper Torchbooks edition, New York, 1962) pp. 168–169.

13. R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* I, 1949, pp. 14, fr. 7,9, 317, fr. 318,4; Euphorion frg. 91 van Groningen.

14. The most recent and complete listing of all preserved an-

cient representations of the group can be found in *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," pp. 203–210, where 139 representations are listed, with bibliography.

15. Cyrene, Museum of Antiquities, 14.347. E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle Sculture di Cirene* (Rome, 1959) no. 302, pl. 141; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," p. 209, no. 131, pl. 167.

16. *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," p. 204, no. 5. The painting was on the north wall of the largest room in the villa of Publius Fannius Synistor. It was seen by the excavator but faded almost immediately. F. Barnabei, *La villa pompeiana di P. Fannius Sinistore scoperta presso Boscoreale* (Rome, 1901) pp. 54–55. Three paintings from the right wall are now in the Metropolitan Museum: MMA 03.14.5, MMA 03.14.6, MMA 03.14.7.

17. R. Fleischer, *LIMC* II, i, 1984, s.v. "Aphrodite (Aphrodisias)," pp. 151–154 nos. 1–41, pls. 154–156.

18. For a discussion of the new emphasis placed on the imperial marriages in the Antonine imperial cult, see N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Aarhus, 1986) p. 214. Thirteen children were born to the Empress Faustina. K. Fittschen (*Die Bildnistypen der Faustina Minor und die Fecunditas Augustae* [Göttingen, 1982]) postulates that each of the nine official hairstyles of the empress was deliberately associated with the birth of a child.

19. P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* III (Stuttgart, 1937), p. 11, no. 890; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," p. 208, no. 103. For other coins of those years that may refer to the engagement see Fittschen, *Die Bildnistypen*, p. 22.

20. Strack, *Untersuchungen* III, pl. 20, no. 1327; British Museum, *Coins of the British Empire* IV (London, 1940) p. 407, *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," p. 208, no. 102, pl. 165.

21. A. F. Gnechchi, *I medaglioni romani* II (Milan, 1912) p. 40, no. 14, pl. 68:2; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," p. 208, no. 106, pl. 165.

22. Gnechchi, *I medaglioni*, pl. 76:7.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 42, no. 32, pl. 69:7; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," p. 108, no. 105, pl. 165.

24. G. Rodenwaldt, "The Three Graces on a Fluted Sarcophagus," *Journal of Roman Studies* 28 (1938) pp. 63–64. For a discussion of the connection of the Graces with marriage, see E. Schwarzenberg, *Die Grazien* (Bonn 1966) p. 21, n. 17.

25. *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," pp. 204–206, nos. 16–40, 55.

26. Rodenwaldt, "The Three Graces," pp. 60–64.

27. W. Trillmich, "Die Charitengruppe als Grabrelief und Kneipenschild," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 98 (1983) pp. 334–335.

28. Trillmich ("Die Charitengruppe," pp. 324–326) collects and discusses these groups. See also, *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," p. 206, no. 51, and perhaps 45.

29. The placement of the hands, choice of weight leg, and direction of the heads is that found on the majority of representations of the group. For a full discussion of the pose and its variations, see Trillmich, "Die Charitengruppe," pp. 326–331.

30. The only examples known to me occur in a series of late

Hellenistic balsamaria in the shape of a woman's head. Narrow braids emerge from either side of a low-placed bun and are drawn forward and tied above the forehead in a Heracleian knot. S. Haynes, "Etruskische Bronzekopfgefäße aus hellenistischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 6 (1959) pp. 119–120.

31. Vermeule, p. 30.

32. Fittschen, *Die Bildnistypen*, pp. 34–35, nos. 1,2, pl. 1,2 for coins; pp. 44–48, pls. 8–13 for portraits.

33. F. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage* IV (Berlin, 1968) pp. 198–199, no. 83, pls. 106–108.

34. *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," p. 209, no. 124, pl. 166.

35. Apart from adaptations of the group for representations of nymphs (see note 28 above), only two known examples of the group have drapery. *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," p. 205, no. 30, pl. 160; p. 206, no. 46, pl. 162.

36. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage*, p. 40, no. 52, traces the figure back to late Hellenistic types. See especially H. Dragendorff, *Arretinische Reliefkeramik* (Reutlingen, 1948) p. 149, no. 10, pl. 31: 452. A nymph on a silver alabastron dated to the late Hellenistic period is closely related. Athens, National Museum, 13713; *The Search for Alexander*, (New York, 1980) p. 157, no. 110. A relief in Munich (Glyptothek 635, Matz, no. 85) has the same figure as the Verona sarcophagus, only instead of two convex bands around the head there are four, creating a hatlike impression. R. Wünsche has recently suggested that the relief is a modern work probably based on an ancient relief, too damaged to salvage. This would explain the misunderstanding of the hair arrangement. R. Wünsche, "Fälschungen und Ergänzungen: Techniken antiker Plastik," *Studien zur klassischen Archäologie: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Friedrich Hiller* (Saarbrücken, 1986) pp. 215–217, fig. 29.

37. The only example known to me is a nude winged Lasa on the handle of an Etruscan bronze patera, MMA 19.192.65.

38. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Museo Nuovo, 2269. D. Mustelli, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rome, 1939) p. 34, no. 1, pl. 26; G. Koch und H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage, Handbuch der Archäologie* (Munich 1982) p. 196, fig. 244.

39. Z. Kádár, "Venus Victrix ábrázolása a császárkori érmeken," *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, 58/59 (Budapest 1959–60) pp. 7–15.

40. G. M. A. Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Catalogue of Engraved Gems, Greek, Etruscan and Roman* (Rome, 1956), pp. 73, 74, nos. 300, 301, pl. 42.

41. Zahlhaas, pp. 32–33, 37, 38 pl. 21; Willers, p. 31, no. 41; See note 4 above, nos. 2,3.

42. Cyrene, Museum of Antiquities, 14.348. E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle Sculture di Cirene* (Rome, 1959) pp. 108–109, no. 301, pl. 144; *LIMC*, s.v. "Gratae," p. 209, no. 129, pl. 167.

43. On this type of vase see, most recently, Stajanovic-V. R. Anderson, "The Chronology and Function of Ceramic Unguentaria," *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987) pp. 105–122.

44. See, for example, a marble Neo-Attic krater from the Farnese collection. V. Spinazzola, *Le arti decorative in Pompei e nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Milan/Rome, 1928) pl. 48, and a smaller alabaster volute krater, pl. 222. Such vessels were commonly shown in Neo-Attic reliefs and on sarcophagi. H. V. Cain, *Römische Marmorkandelaber* (Mainz, 1985) pp. 163–164, no. 48, pl. 47. H. Sichtermann, “Beiträge zu den Meerwesensarkophagen,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1970) pp. 231–238.

45. On a Hellenistic bronze matrix, MMA 20.2.24, see E. D. Reeder, “The Mother of the Gods and a Hellenistic Bronze Matrix,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987) pp. 423–440. For a marble matrix see E. D. Reeder, “Isis Pelagia and a Roman Marble Matrix from the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 54 (1985) pp. 109–119.

46. A paste of liquid mercury and gold is applied to a metal surface; when it is heated the mercury evaporates, leaving a thin, spongy gold coating. The surface is then burnished to compress the porous metal surface.

47. The reflecting surfaces of the two Roman mirrors belonging to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.11.1 (No. 1, Figures 1, 2) and 1978.11.4 (Figure 17), were analyzed in the Museum’s Department of Objects Conservation, which used the method of Scanning Electron Microscopy Energy Dispersive X-

Ray Spectrometry. The results were as follows: 1987.11.1: 56% copper; 47% tin; 1–2% lead; 1978.11.4: 58% copper; 42% tin.

48. Zahlhaas, pp. 23, 73, no. 5, pl. 6; p. 74, no. 7, pl. 7.

49. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1971.822. Zahlhaas, p. 75, no. 18, pl. 16. The figure of Europa, the ribbonlike himation, the bull, the wheat, and the torch correspond almost exactly; the tail of the bull is lowered on the Metropolitan Museum mirror and raised on the Oxford mirror; the base of the tree trunk and the exergue are also different.

50. Zahlhaas (p. 42) suggested a Hadrianic date. Vermeule (p. 30) dated them to the first four decades of the second century.

51. See, for example, Zahlhaas, pp. 51–52, 75, no. 14, pl. 14. A medallion of Marcus Aurelius (Gnecchi, *I medaglioni*, pl. 65:3) and of Lucius Verus (pl. 66:5) also have similar trees.

52. See, for example, a medallion of Marcus Aurelius with Poseidon on the reverse, where a small area indicating water is treated in exactly the same way as on the Oxford mirror (J. P. C. Kent, *Roman Coins* [London, 1978] pl. 90, no. 311.). Another medallion of Marcus Aurelius shows the whole exergue filled with such water indications (Gnecchi, *I medaglioni*, pl. 61:1).

53. See, for example, four mirrors with a scene of Minerva, Venus, and a seated figure, probably to be identified as Persephone (Zahlhaas, pp. 73–74, nos. 5–8, pp. 19–24, pls. 5–8).

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LIMC, s.v. “Gratiae”—H. Sichtermann, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* III (1986) pp. 203–210, s.v. “Gratiae”

Vermeule—C. Vermeule, “Roman Pictorial Mirrors,” *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* 14 (1980) pp. 21–36

Willers—D. Willers, “Vom etruskischen zum römischen: Noch einmal zu einem Spiegelrelief in Malibu,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986) pp. 21–36

Zahlhaas—G. Zahlhaas, *Römische Reliefspiegel* (Munich, 1975)

Züchner—W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel* (Berlin, 1942)

Appendix

ROMAN RELIEF MIRRORS WITH A REPRESENTATION OF THE THREE GRACES

1. (Figures 1,2) New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.11.1. Diam. 0.12 m. Elizabeth J. Milleker, in *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1986–1987* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987) p. 6.

2. (Figure 3) Seattle, The Seattle Art Museum, 67.98. Diam. 0.13 m. *Seattle Museum, Annual Report* (Seattle, 1967) p. 54; *Art Quarterly* 31 (1968) p. 91; H.-J. Kellner, “Drei Grazien aus Bayern,” *Festschrift für J. Werner* (1974) p. 193, pl. 16:1; Zahlhaas, pp. 35, 73, pl. 2. The mirror has an inscription on the groundline.

3. (Figure 4) Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, 77.1.8. Diam. 0.13 m. Vermeule, pp. 27–28, fig. 1; Willers, p. 30, no. 37; John R. Spencer, “Speculations on the Origins of the Italian Renaissance Medal,” *Studies in the History of Art 21: Italian Medals* (1987) pp. 197–203.

4. (Figure 5) Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, 1894.39. Diam. ca. 0.12 m. Provenance: Kertsch, Mt. Mithradates. *Compte-rendu de la commission imperiale archéologique* (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 144, fig. 68; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, Eng., 1913), p. 378; Züchner, p. 150, no. 8; Zahlhaas, p. 36, 73, pl. 4; *LIMC*, s.v. “Gratiae,” p. 207, no. 75, pl. 163.

5. (Figure 6) Toronto, The University of Toronto, M82.357. Diam. 0.10 m. Provenance: Purchased in Istanbul. *The Malcove Collection: A Catalogue of Objects in the Lillian Malcove Collection of the University of Toronto*, S. D. Campbell, ed. (Toronto, 1985) no. 12.

6. (Figure 7) Basel, H. A. C. Diam. ca. 0.109 m. Said

to be from Anatolia. R. Merhav, in *A Glimpse into the Past: The Joseph Ternbach Collection, The Israel Museum* (Jerusalem, 1981) p. 205, no. 163; Willers, p. 30, no. 38; *Cat. Sotheby's New York, November 24, 1987*, lot 167.

7. (Figure 8) Paris, Collection Anlen-Padiou. Diam. 0.10 m. *Mémoire de la Beauté: La Toilettte et la Parure de l'Égypte Prédynastique aux Mérovingiens*, exh. cat. (Paris, A La Reine Margot, 1987) p. 39, no. 74.

8. (Figure 9) Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 76.AC.59. Diam. 0.12 m. Vermeule, p. 38, n. 1; Willers, p. 30, no. 36, fig. 12.

9. (Figure 10) Present whereabouts unknown; formerly, Tunis, Musée National du Bardo (Alaoui). Diam. 0.12 m. Provenance: Carthage. *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (1915), pp. cxx–cxc, no. 5, fig. 2; A. Merlin, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui 2nd supp.* (1922) p. 149, no. 450; Zahlhaas, pp. 35–36, 73, pl. 3.

10. (Figure 11) Munich, Prähistorische Staatssammlung, 1974,3898a/b. Diam. 0.09–0.093 m. Provenance: Gravefield near Pförring, Lkr. Ingolstadt. H.-J. Kellner, “Drei Grazien aus Bayern,” *Festschrift für J. Werner* (1974) pp. 192–193, pl. 12:1; Zahlhaas, pp. 17–19, 73, pl. 1.

11. (Figure 12) Paris, art market. Diam. 0.168 m. *Mémoire de la Beauté: La Toilettte et la Parure de l'Égypte Prédynastique aux Mérovingiens*, exh. cat. (Paris, A La Reine Margot, 1987) p. 39, no. 73.

The Iron Door Mountings from St.-Léonard-de-Noblat

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF VERA K. OSTOIA

AMONG THE MOST INTERESTING examples of medieval ironwork at The Cloisters is a group of French door mountings, now attached to the double wings of the door that leads into the Fuentidueña Chapel (Figure 1). The group consists of two floriate crosses, two bars with similar floriate finials, and two animals, whose tails end in matching floriate tufts. The animals are especially remarkable for the large foliate clusters issuing from their mouths (Figures 2, 3).¹

For probably more than six centuries these mountings were riveted to the double door at the foot of the bell tower of the church of St.-Léonard-de-Noblat, a small town about fifteen miles east of Limoges, in the department of Haute-Vienne. The church was classified as a *monument historique* by the French government in 1857. Between 1880 and 1890 the building underwent restoration, and the door mountings were taken to Bordeaux for some minor repairs. Unfortunately, the ironworker entrusted with this task went bankrupt before its completion, and the contents of his shop were sold. It seems, though, that the church authorities of St.-Léonard were somehow able to recover their door mountings, for in 1900, 1906, and 1913 these were described and illustrated as in situ (Figure 4).² In 1921, however, the mountings were said to have disappeared,³ and in about 1925 they turned up in the possession of Sumner Healey, a dealer located in Bordeaux and New York.

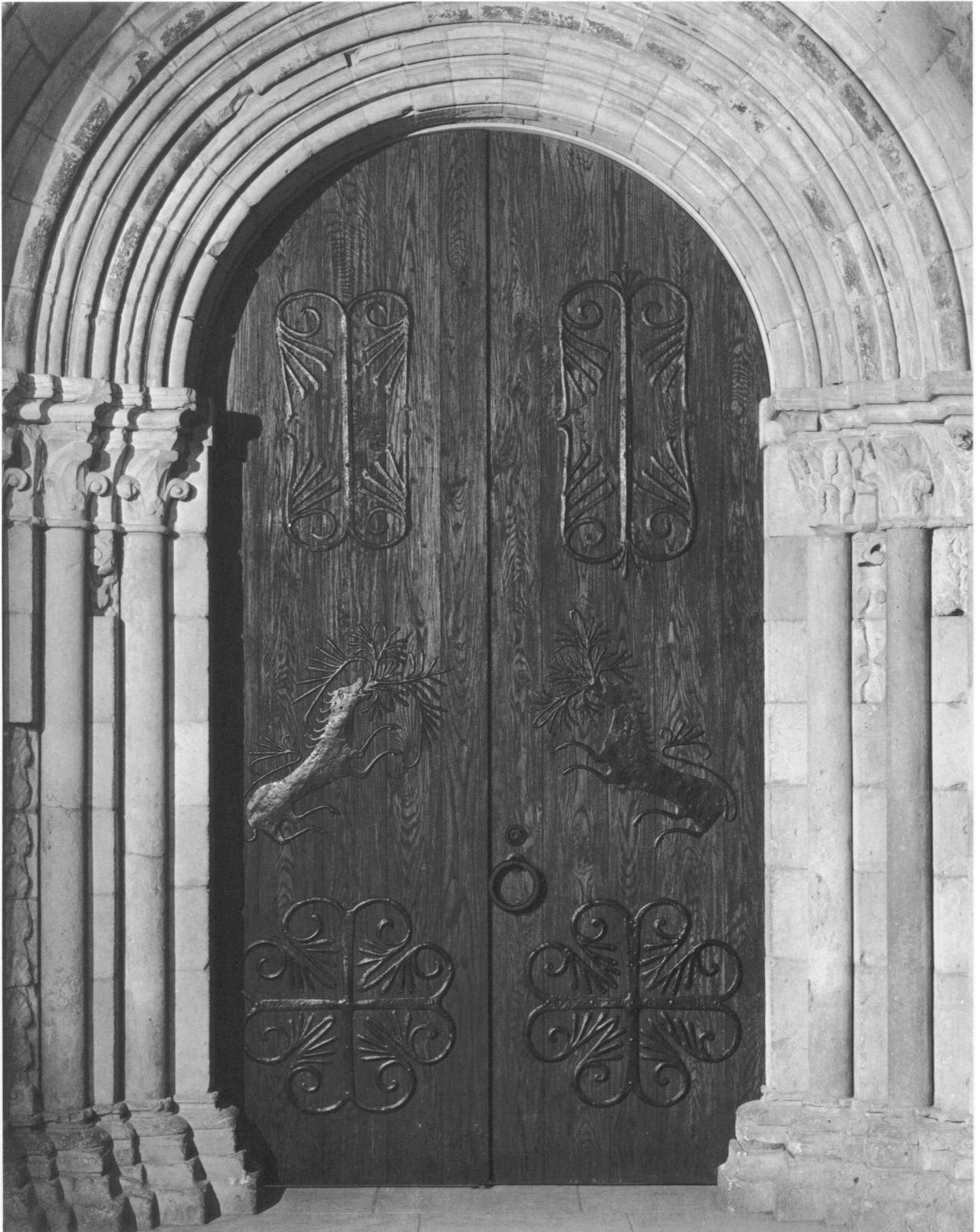
Healey sold the mountings to the sculptor and collector Elie Nadelman, who had them installed in his Museum of Folk Art in the Riverdale section of New York City. In 1938 the Nadelmans sold them with several other objects to the New-York Historical Society. In October 1943 six of the mountings, minus the two crosses,

were put up for auction at the Parke-Bernet Galleries by a "N.Y. State Educational Institution"⁴ and were bought by the Brummer Gallery. When the group was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1947, it was known to be incomplete and a search was made for the missing pieces. These were found to be still on the premises of the New-York Historical Society, and subsequently they were given to the Museum through the courtesy of the society's director, R. W. G. Vail, in 1950.

From their earliest publication in 1857,⁵ the mountings have been generally accepted as among the most important surviving examples of ironwork of the Romanesque period. Yet their possible iconographic significance has never been examined.

The bracing bars were apparently purely structural elements (Figure 5),⁶ and the crosses are ornaments to be expected on any church door. More problematic are the two animals, which have been variously interpreted as "chevaux marins," "deux lions qui tenaient dans leur gueule un bouquet de feuilles," "running horses," or simply as "fantastic beasts." The foliate elements issuing from their mouths were even described as sprays of seaweed in the auction catalogue of 1947.⁷

In heraldry, however, two animals are represented with emissions from their mouths: one is the fire-breathing dragon, and the other is the panther (Figure 6), whose breath is of a different, more attractive nature. Interestingly, when the animal mountings first appeared in a Metropolitan Museum publication, in an article by James J. Rorimer of June 1951, it was in the context of The Cloisters Treasury, on the doors of which they were then fastened; by coincidence they were published along with two beakers from the Bavarian town of Ingolstadt,



1. Door mountings from St.-Léonard-de-Noblat (Haute-Vienne), French, 11th–12th century, on the modern doors at the entrance to the Fuentidueña Chapel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, The Cloisters Collection, 47.101.81–86, Gift of The New-York Historical Society, 1950, 50.65.1,2



whose arms happen to be a blue panther emitting what Rorimer called “tongues of red flame.”⁸

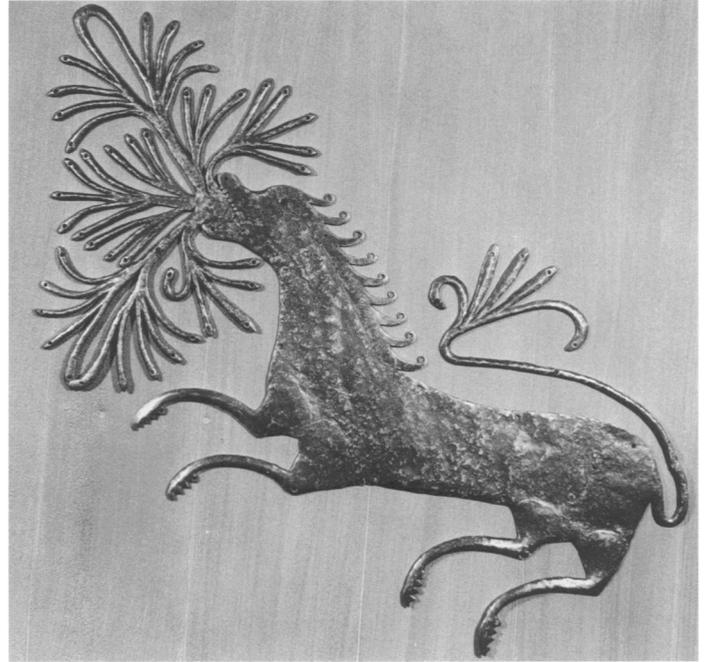
According to the bestiary, that authoritative medieval handbook of interpretative zoology:

There is an animal called PANTHER which has a truly variegated colour, and it is most beautiful and excessively kind. Physiologus says that the only animal which it considers as an enemy is the Dragon.

When a Panther has dined and is full up, it hides away in its own den and goes to sleep. After three days it wakes up again and emits a loud belch [one version has “a lofty, sweet, ringing sound”], and there comes a very sweet smell from its mouth, like the smell of allspice. When the other animals have heard the noise, they follow wherever it goes, because of the sweetness of this smell. But the Dragon only, hearing the sound, flees into the caves of the earth, being smitten with fear.⁹

Thus, the foliate branches of the door mountings from St.-Léonard would be the “sweet smell” from the panther’s mouth made visible as cloudy vapors, like breath on a cold day.

2, 3. Details of the door mountings from St.-Léonard



The bestiary’s descriptions of the real or imaginary nature of its subjects are always followed by moralizations. Those that relate to the panther make it clear that this animal is a symbol of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who snatched us from the power of the dragon—that is, the Devil—when he came out of his death-sleep and “emitted a mighty noise breathing sweetness.” Therefore, just as an odor of sweetness comes from the mouth of the panther, causing all the beasts to follow it, so men should hear the voice and follow the sweet commands of Christ.¹⁰ Originally, when the iron mountings were still in place on the doors of St.-Léonard’s bell tower, there were two figures of birds perched above the right-hand panther (see Figure 4). These birds were probably meant to represent the creatures attracted by the panther’s lovely noise and the sweet smell; possibly they were even meant to represent the lovely sound itself.

In any case, for a meaningful decoration of the door of a church tower, where the ringing of the bells was a call to the faithful to come together and hear the sweet word of the Gospel, a better symbol than the panther could hardly be found.



4. The door mountings at St.-Léonard. After Allemagne in *Congrès Archéologique de France* (1906)

ill. opp. p. 50; and Mme Serge Gauthier, "Recherche sur la date des peintures romanes de St.-Léonard au Musée des Cloîtres à New-York," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 84 (1954) pp. 3-14, fig. 1a-c, ill. opp. pp. 10, 11.

3. René Fage, "St.-Léonard, église," *Congrès Archéologique de France*, 84th session (1921) p. 96, ill. p. 95.

4. Sale cat., Parke-Bernet Galleries (New York, Oct. 13-14, 1943) lots 200 ("... Wrought Iron Ornaments, French XVII Century. Two wall pieces in the form of seaweed sprays"), 211 ("Pair Wrought Iron Ornamental Signs, XVII Century. In the form of running horses with fantastic scrolled manes and tails"), 217 ("... Two Door Ornaments, XVI-XVII Century. Two rectangular panels with scrolled ends, one with fleur-de-lis terminals"); all these were from a "N.Y. State Educational Institution."

5. Abbé J. Texier, *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie, de gravure et de ciselure chrétiennes*... (Paris, 1857) col. 1297.

6. Originally these bars were functional braces, holding the boards of the door together (Figure 4). At The Cloisters they were first mounted on the doors to the Treasury and attached horizontally. In their present location they have been turned 90° and attached vertically, in order to fit the narrower space available on the doors to the Fuentidueña Chapel (Figure 1).

7. Texier (1857): "Des chevaux marins, dont la bouche vomit des enroulements de feuillages"; Fage (1913): "des lions tenant des bouquet de feuilles dans leur gueule"; idem (1923): "deux lions qui tenaient dans leur gueule un bouquet de feuilles"; Parke-Bernet (1943): "running horses"; Gauthier (1954): "grands quadrupèdes pourvus de crinières, de griffes mal distinctes, de longues queues remontant sur l'échine; leurs flancs étirés et la position de leurs pattes leur confèrent l'allure stylisée des lions sculptés aux premiers chapiteaux romans; leur gueule crache une végétation de rinceaux"; and Young (1979): "The leaping animals may have been intended as lions, since they have manes and clawed feet, but may also be examples of the fantastic beasts that held such fascination for the medieval artists and craftsmen. Issuing from the animals' mouths are floral sprays."

8. James J. Rorimer, "The Treasury at The Cloisters and Two Ingolstadt Beakers," *MMAB* n.s. 9 (1951) pp. 249-259, ill. p. 249 (see also p. 258 for an illustration of the Ingolstadt panther); and Klemens Stadler, *Deutsche Wappen: Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bremen, 1964-71) IV, "Freistaat Bayern," p. 80, ill. entry: Ingolstadt.

9. T. H. White, *The Book of Beasts, Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (New York, 1954) pp. 14-17.

10. Richard H. Randall, Jr., *A Cloisters Bestiary* (New York: MMA, 1960) p. 9, ill.; and J. L. Schrader, "A Medieval Bestiary," *MMAB* 44:1 (1986) p. 15, ill. p. 14. The panther illustrated by Randall and Schrader is from the Unicorn Tapestries. Schrader (p. 15) illustrates the tiger by a group of "tigers with ramiform tongues" on a capital from the Fuentidueña Chapel, ca. 1160; conceivably these animals were meant to represent panthers emitting their sweet-smelling breath.

NOTES

1. James J. Rorimer, *The Cloisters: The Building and the Collection of Medieval Art in Fort Tryon Park*, 2nd ed. (New York: MMA, 1951) p. 100, fig. 56; 3rd ed. (1963) pp. 129-130, fig. 61; and Bonnie Young, *A Walk Through the Cloisters* (New York: MMA, 1979) p. 13, ill. p. 12 (the misprint "Noblac" for "Noblat" occurs in both books). The group, which in its present state shows numerous restorations (cf. Figures 1 and 5 with Figure 4), consists of eight pieces, the clusters issuing from the animals' mouths being separate mounts.

2. Henry-René d'Allemagne, *Serrurerie ancienne à l'Exposition Universelle de 1900* (Paris, 1902) p. 32; idem, "Les Peintures de portes au Moyen Age," *Congrès Archéologique de France*, 73rd session (1906) p. 523, ill. opp. p. 524; René Fage, "L'Eglise de St.-Léonard et la chapelle du Sépulcre," *Bulletin Monumental* 77 (1913) p. 51,



5. The door mountings from St.-Léonard on the doors of the Treasury at The Cloisters, 1951–61



6. Heraldic panther, German, ca. 1375. After H. G. Ströhl, *Heraldischer Atlas* (Stuttgart, 1899)

Pen-case and Candlestick: Two Sources for the Development of Persian Inlaid Metalwork

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FROM THE MID-TWELFTH CENTURY, when the technique of inlaying bronze or brass with precious metal first came into prominence in Iran, and for a period of several hundred years, Iranian metalworkers produced some of the finest examples of inlaid metalware known to Islamic art.¹ Sometime between the late fourteenth century and about 1456–57, however, the inlaying technique appears to have undergone a significant change, as is documented by a series of eleven dated inlaid wares that begins in the mid-fifteenth century (five of these are illustrated in Figures 8–16). Although there are no known dated examples of inlaid metalware from the first half of the fifteenth century to document the earlier stages of this transformation,² I intend to demonstrate that a pen-case in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and a related candlestick in a private collection are attributable to this transitional period and as such provide important evidence for the evolution of Iranian inlaid metalwork. I will also briefly consider the sequence of inlaid wares that postdate the mid-fifteenth century in order to establish fully the correspondence between the pen-case, the candlestick, and subsequent metalwork.

These fifteenth-century metalwares were produced during the Timurid dynasty (1370–1506), whose founder, Timur or Tamerlane, the great central Asian conqueror, and his immediate successors, transferred the focal point of Persian art and artistic patronage to the eastern Iranian world, first to Samarkand and later to Herat. The Timurid style of metalwork, like Timurid architecture and miniature painting, owes its origins to developments already underway in the fourteenth century in western Iran.³ Yet, as has been demonstrated elsewhere, the phenomenon of the Timurid invasions of central and western Asia and simultaneous transporta-

tion of artists and craftsmen to eastern Iran led to the development of a distinctive style of metalwork, one that may be termed Timurid.⁴

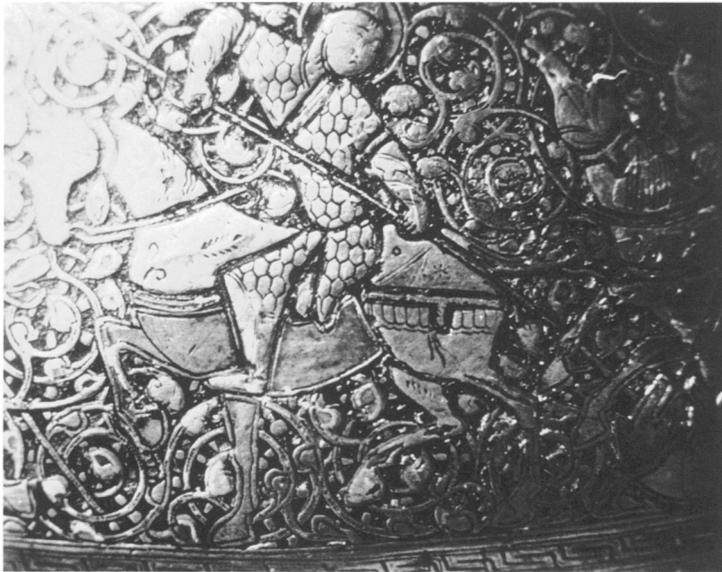
The earliest examples of Timurid inlaid metalwork, produced between 1401–5, are a series of six oil lamps commissioned by Timur, perhaps for a religious structure such as the shrine complex of Khwajah Ahmad Yasawi in Turkestan City, which still preserves three lamps.⁵

These lamps provide an important clue for the subsequent evolution of Timurid inlaid metalwork. A detail from one of these lamps (Figure 1) demonstrates a development in the inlay technique that was already anticipated among certain later-fourteenth-century metalwares from northwestern Iran.⁶ In this bronze lamp extremely fine pieces of silver and gold have been applied to a surface already defined by incised decoration, so that the precious metals merely repeat the surface design, as is visible in the vegetal ornament illustrated in Figure 1. This new manner of applying decoration in precious metal indicates a fundamental change in the ornamental function of inlaid metal, as it is here used purely for the effect of brilliance and perhaps opulence, whereas previously, as can be seen in a detail from a mid-fourteenth-century bowl (Figure 2), and as is graphically illustrated by the areas that have lost their inlay, such inlays also carried their own decoration, for example the facial features or textile patterns, so that they were an integral part of the overall program of design.

This change in the application and decorative function of inlaid ornament was to have a significant impact upon the further development of Iranian inlaid metalwork, in that it seems to herald the decline of large-scale inlaid decoration and the use of spatial inlays, which utilize small pieces of sheet metal. With few exceptions



1. Detail of the upper portion of an oil lamp, Timurid, 1401–5. Bronze inlaid with gold and silver. Leningrad, State Hermitage, inv. no. SA 15931 (photo: Komaroff)
2. Detail of a bowl, Iran, mid-14th century. Brass inlaid with gold and silver. Florence, Bargello, inv. no. 361 (photo: Walter Denny)



such spatial inlays are not found in subsequent fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century metalwork attributable to eastern Iran. Rather, these wares most often bear small-scale decoration that use linear inlays, which are composed of slender strips of sheet metal or wire.⁷

Whether it was a new taste for small-scale design that

necessitated the use of linear inlays, or a preference for linear inlays that dictated the type and the scale of the decoration, is impossible to determine. There does, however, seem to have been a general trend toward the miniaturization of inlaid decoration in later-fourteenth-century metalwork from the western Iranian world, which is most apparent in the figural decoration. The gradual disappearance of nearly all figural imagery, which appears to have been initiated in the later fourteenth century, likewise allowed for an increased use of the smaller-scale, linear inlays, as these would not have been suitable for rendering most human or animal figures.⁸

For whatever reason, this use of small-scale, linear inlaid decoration was initiated (most likely within western Iran in the later fourteenth century), and by the mid-fifteenth century inlaid metalwork from eastern Iran is almost entirely restricted to linear inlays. This is demonstrated by the series of eleven dated inlaid objects from the years 1456–57 through 1505.⁹ The same style of inlaid metalwork, which will presently be defined, continued beyond the period of Timurid rule, as is indicated by the dates and other inscriptions carried by several objects.¹⁰ With the evidence provided by this dated sequence, which extends from the mid-fifteenth century through the first quarter of the sixteenth century, it is possible to postulate an earlier stylistic phase during the first half of the fifteenth century and furthermore to attribute certain objects to this period, namely the aforementioned pen-case (Figures 3–5) and candlestick (see Figure 7). On the basis of their shared technique as well as their common style, these two pieces, along with the dated, as well as several undated, examples form a cohesive class of inlaid metalwork.

The type of object in this group that survives in the greatest numbers is a pot-bellied jug with dragon handle (Figure 14); such vessels also include the greatest number of dated inscriptions, as well as signatures. Two types of pen-case, either rectangular with rounded corners (Figure 3) or wedge-shaped, are also in this group, as well as the candlestick.¹¹

With one exception, all of these objects seem to utilize linear inlays exclusively; the inlays are invariably set against a cross-hatched background, which in most instances appears to have been filled with an unidentified black substance.¹² As I have already indicated, linear inlays became the sole means of inlaying in eastern Iran sometime after the middle of the fifteenth century. I have furthermore suggested that spatial inlays had already

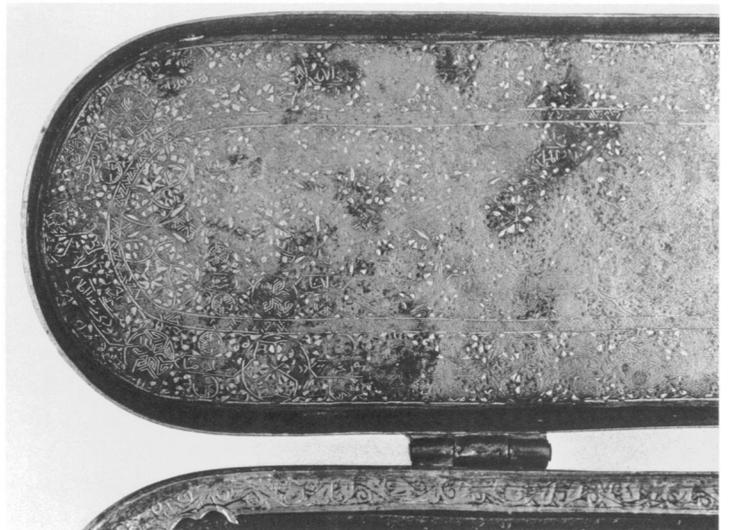


3. Pen-case, Timurid, before mid-15th century (exterior decoration). Brass, exterior inlaid with silver, interior inlaid with gold and silver, $2\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ in. (6 × 26 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of E. C. Moore, 1891, 91.1.536

4. Pen-case, view of the top

undergone a significant transformation by the beginning of the fifteenth century, which may have contributed to the eventual disappearance of this technique and the new ascendancy of linear inlays. Finally, it can be noted that the linear inlays found in the Timurid wares are used in two distinct manners: in the first method the inlaid wires or strips of sheet metal are used to define a given motif, while in the second instance these linear inlays only indicate the outline of the motif.

The sequence of dated inlaid objects indicates that the latter method of inlay, in which the inlay serves only



5. View of the pen-case showing the interior, probably Iran, or Syria, late 14th century



6. Pen-case, Iran or Syria, late 14th century. Brass, inlaid with gold and silver, $2\frac{5}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$ in. (6.6 × 28 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift, J. P. Morgan, 1917, 17.190.822

to denote the outline of the motif, predominates in the third quarter of the fifteenth century but becomes rarer and is eventually totally absent from progressively later wares. Conversely, the method in which the inlays define the decoration increases in importance throughout the last quarter of the fifteenth century and is used exclusively by the beginning of the sixteenth century. Only one object from this group, the pen-case in the Metropolitan Museum, also utilizes some spatial inlays in addition to its linear inlays, which are of the outlining type. This object furthermore includes some areas of incised decoration as does the aforementioned candlestick.¹³

Both the specific decorative vocabulary and the scale of the design elements further serve to unite this group of inlaid wares. Their decoration is dominated by stylized floral and vegetal motifs that include arabesques of lancet or trilobed leaves, and simple rosettes and palmettes. Flowers and leaves are invariably interlaced, paired, or arranged in clusters that are generally circumscribed by a quatrefoil or a polyfoil. These larger units are most often linked and repeated, and are furthermore surrounded by arabesques, so that the end result is a complex pattern or network of design. This network of design evolved gradually during the second half of the fifteenth century, becoming progressively denser, and less varied in terms of the individual elements of design. Eventually the main emphasis of the pattern was provided by the

contrasting coloration of the silver and/or gold inlays and the black-filled background.

The decorative use of inscriptions also shows a parallel development. Initially, from about the mid-fifteenth century, the inscriptions, which are always written in a cursive script (generally *naskh* or *thulth*), are maintained within their own clearly demarcated space, either through their larger scale or through their enclosure within cartouches that are set apart from the overall decorative pattern. By the close of the Timurid period, however, such inscriptions are reduced in scale and are set within bands or cartouches that are more fully integrated within the overall network of design.

For the specific reasons explained above, the pen-case in the Metropolitan Museum may be considered as the earliest surviving object belonging to this group of Timurid inlaid metalware. The exterior decoration of the pen-case is divided into three zones of inlaid and incised silver ornament: the top of the cover, the sides of the cover, and the sides of the lower portion of the case.

Around the outer edge of the top of the cover (Figure 4) is a narrow border outlined in inlay and composed of alternating cartouches and medallions. The cartouches bear either an incised guilloche band or a linear inlaid *naskh* inscription, while the medallions are decorated with an incised inverted Y pattern or an incised lotus blossom. In the center of the top of the cover is an extensive linear inlaid design. It is a symmetrically arranged, interlaced pattern composed of floral and leaf motifs that are only outlined by the inlays, while the interior space, as well as the interstitial areas show the cross-

hatched background, which preserves some type of black substance.¹⁴ The original effect was perhaps that of a slender silver pattern set against a blackened background.

Along the sides of the cover, the decoration is composed of a series of interlocking medallions and cartouches (Figure 4). The latter bear either a linear inlaid *naskh* inscription or a scrolling floral and leaf motif that seems to utilize both spatial and linear inlays. In each of the medallions, which are not inlaid, is a concentric rosette motif or an inverted Y pattern.

The decoration on the sides of the lower portion of the pen-case is organized in a somewhat more complicated version of the traditional scheme found on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Islamic metalwork in which a central band is bordered above and below by narrower bands, all of which are intersected by medallions. Small-scale scrolling or interlaced floral motifs rendered by incising or indicated with spatial inlays, or else incised trilobed blossoms, provide the primary decoration of this area of the pen-case.

Before considering the inscriptions carried by this object, brief note should be made of the interior ornament. Although badly abraded, the interior decoration (Figure 5) of both the upper and the lower portions was originally composed of a small-scale pattern, inlaid in gold and silver, that included roundels filled with flying birds, as well as trefoil and latticework devices, interlocking roundels with star patterns, and a running swastika motif. The decoration is virtually identical to that of a second pen-case in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 6) and to another in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, which have been attributed to Syria or western Iran and are datable to the late fourteenth century.¹⁵

Microscopic examination of the two pen-cases in the Metropolitan Museum¹⁶ has revealed that the second Syrian or Persian pen-case (Figure 6) utilized an inlay technique identical to that of the interior of the Timurid example (Figure 5) and, furthermore, that the exterior of the Timurid pen-case (Figures 3 and 4) was originally decorated in the same manner as its interior but was carefully burnished to remove all traces of the original decoration. The interior decoration is so badly corroded as to suggest prolonged burial, which might explain the apparent time gap between its original manufacture and decoration in the late fourteenth century and its present decoration, which clearly belongs to the fifteenth century. It is possible that the pen-case may have been brought to eastern Iran in the early fifteenth century as

part of the booty from Timur's conquest of Syria or else western Iran.¹⁷ The Metropolitan Museum's Timurid pen-case was then probably redecorated around the middle of the fifteenth century. Its silver-inlaid insert for the ink receptacle with ring-punched background appears to be a still later addition.

There are two sets of inscriptions on the exterior of the Metropolitan Museum's Timurid pen-case. The Arabic inscription on the top of the cover indicates a continuity with the epigraphy of earlier Iranian metalwork, while the Persian and mixed Persian and Arabic verses inscribed on the sides of the cover are especially typical of Timurid metalwork. In each instance the slender *naskh* inscriptions are written in such a manner that the letters appear to be stacked in two or three levels.

Inscriptions:

لصاحبه السعادة والسلامة / وطول العمر ما ناحت حمامة /
 ابدأ سرمداً الى يوم [م] القيامة / ودام لك العز والاقبال والظفر /
 ما طلعت الشمس والقمر / وظلالنا بدوام دمع

To its owner, happiness and well-being and life as long as a pigeon coos, eternally, endlessly, until Judgment Day; and may glory, good fortune and triumph be yours always, so long as the sun and the moon rise, and may you remain a shadow for us as long as there are tears¹⁸

از خون دل نوشتم نزدیک یار نامه / اینی رأیت دهرأ من هجرک القيامة //
 سرز خطت بر ندارم چون قلم / گر سرم برداری از بر چون دوات //
 عاقبت خیر باد .

With my heart's blood I wrote a letter to the beloved
 Verily, since your departure I have beheld endless time [as
 though] till Judgment Day
 I shall not raise my head from this course just as [I raise]
 the pen
 Though you lift my head from your breast just as [you lift
 the cover of] the inkwell
 May the outcome be good (good luck!)
 May the opening [of the pen-case] always bring a good out-
 come (good luck)¹⁹

The first inscription provides a variation on a poem that is commonly inscribed on fourteenth-century Iranian metalwork, but which is also occasionally found on

Timurid wares, including two slightly later jugs dating to the third quarter of the fifteenth century (see Figures 8–13).²⁰ Such Arabic well-wishing verses (which are somewhat comparable to the *du'a*, or an invocation for God's favor) are among the most common types of inscription on Persian metalwork up to the fifteenth century. Beginning in the fifteenth century, however, both the frequency with which Persian poetry is inscribed on metalwork and the repertoire of the verses used show a



7. Base of a candlestick, Timurid, before mid-15th century. Brass inlaid with silver, $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. (24×17 cm.). Private collection (photo: Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art* [London, 1939] pl. 1375)

dramatic increase.²¹ For example, the inscriptions on the sides of the cover of the pen-case include a distich from a *mulamma'* (mixed Persian and Arabic *ghazal*) by Hafiz (d. 1389 or 1390), the most famous of the Persian *ghazal* lyricists,²² from the *Diwan-i Hafiz*.²³ This represents, thus far, the earliest example of Iranian metalwork bearing inscribed verse by Hafiz, who was already renowned throughout the Persian-speaking world in his own lifetime.²⁴ Other *ghazals* abridged from his *Diwan* are inscribed on numerous examples of Timurid metalwork, including the contemporary candlestick, to be discussed below, while the earliest dated example of Ti-

murid metalwork with inscribed verses by Hafiz is from the year 866/1461–62 (see Figures 10 and 11).²⁵

The Persian verses on the pen-case, as well as the candlestick, represent the type of verse most frequently inscribed on subsequent Timurid wares in which some reference is made to the object itself and/or its function. Classical Persian poetry very often projects a multiplicity of images by juxtaposing words that have an ambiguous meaning. When verses of the type quoted above, which allude to the function of the object, or make literal reference to it, are inscribed on the actual object, they would presumably evoke a further image.

To summarize thus far, the use of spatial inlays on the Timurid pen-case in the Metropolitan Museum suggests that the object was decorated about or prior to the mid-fifteenth century, while the linear inlays, such as those in the center of the top of the cover that are of the outlining type only, indicate a date not after the third quarter of the century. The combined use of spatial inlays, which are more closely related to fourteenth-century metalwork, and linear inlays that outline the decoration only, a technique for which the earliest dated instance is from the year 1456–57 (Figure 8), connotes an intermediate stage in the evolution of inlaying with precious metal. Certain aspects of the decoration, such as the traditional manner in which the ornament on the sides of the pen-case is organized and is invariably centered within a carefully defined space, are most typical of pre-Timurid inlaid metalwork. The small-scale pattern or network of design on the top of the cover of the pen-case belongs to the decorative repertoire of Timurid inlaid metalwork that began about the middle of the fifteenth century. Finally, the manner in which the inscriptions are divided into two or three lines, so that the letters of the words appear to be stacked, is likewise characteristic of Timurid metalwork,²⁶ as is the inclusion in the inscription of verses by the poet Hafiz.

The juxtaposition of technical, decorative, and epigraphic features that are either more closely allied to fourteenth-century metalwork, or are unknown prior to the middle of the fifteenth century, allows for dating this object to the first half of the fifteenth century or, at the very latest, to the middle of the century. Furthermore, the use of linear inlays that outline the decoration, the inclusion of an inlaid pattern or network of design, and the style and content of the inscriptions, all serve to unite this object with other examples of Timurid inlaid metalwork, and make it the earliest such example known to me.

A candlestick (Figure 7) in a private collection is extremely close in terms of both style and technique to the Metropolitan Museum's Timurid pen-case, and it also belongs at the beginning of this group of Timurid inlaid wares. The decoration on the base of the candlestick combines incised and linear decoration; the socket, though decorated in a similar manner, appears to be a later replacement.²⁷

Around the tapering mid-section of the base are alternating and interlocking medallions and cartouches. In each of the former is an inlaid interlaced floral-and-leaf pattern in which the motifs are outlined by the silver inlays. This pattern is extremely close to the more extensive design on the top of the cover of the pen-case (Figure 3). The inlaid "stacked" *naskh* inscriptions enclosed by the cartouches are again very similar to the inscriptions on the pen-case. Furthermore, the incised rosettes and peonies that surround the medallions and cartouches, as well as those that are interwoven with an inlaid leaf scroll at the bottom of the candlestick, or below its shoulder, are likewise comparable to the incised floral motifs on the pen-case. Finally, both objects bear small, incised scrolling leaves as a filler motif between certain of the inlaid lines.

Because of its numerous and close affinities to the pen-case, the candlestick can be similarly dated prior to, or about, the middle of the fifteenth century. Once again, the combination of linear inlays outlining the decoration, "stacked" cursive inscriptions, and inscriptions that present verses by Hafiz, which are also found on the candlestick,²⁸ all link this object with Timurid metalwork, and in particular the present group of inlaid wares. The Persian verses on the candlestick again allude to the function of the object:

در وفای عشق تو مشهور خوبانم چو شمع /
 شب نشین کوی سر بازار ورنانم چو شمع /
 روز و شب خوابم نمی آید بچشم غم پرست /
 بس که در بیماری هجر تو گریانم چو شمع /

In constancy of love for you, I am the famous of the fair, like
 the candle,
 I am the night-sitter in the street of the foolhardy and the
 vagrants, like the candle
 Day and night sleep comes not to my grief-worshipping eye
 Since in sickness of separation from you, I am weeping like
 the candle

If we now turn to the earliest examples from the sequence of dated inlaid wares, it will be further demonstrated that these objects are, first of all, stylistically and technically allied with the two preceding objects and, second, that the pen-case and candlestick base clearly represent a slightly earlier phase of development.

The two earliest dated objects are both jugs; one example, in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, is from the year 861/1456–57 (Figure 8), while the other is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and is dated 866/1461–62 (Figure 10). According to the signatures inscribed on the underside of each of these vessels (Figures 9 and 12), they are the work of the same individual—Habib Allah ibn 'Ali Baharjani. Both jugs are inlaid with silver, and the cross-hatched background is filled with a black substance which is especially well-preserved on the earlier example.

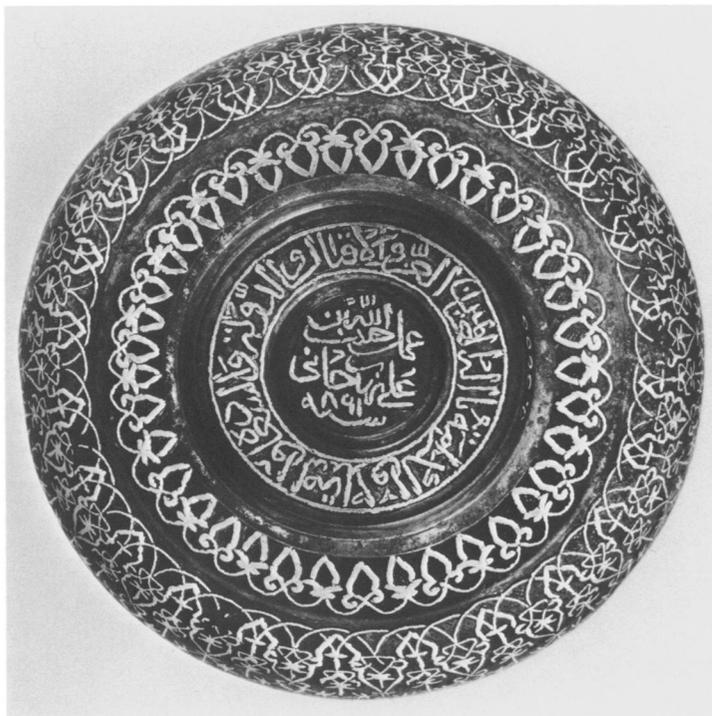
Epigraphy plays a dominant role in the decorative scheme of the two vessels. On both jugs a comparatively large-scale *thulth* inscription circumscribes the neck. The style and texts of these Arabic inscriptions are nearly identical: both include a version of the poem that was also inscribed on the top of the cover of the pen-case. Around the center of the body of the jug dated 861/1456–57 is a second, large-scale *thulth* inscription, again in Arabic, which supplies a royal protocol.²⁹ Above and below this central epigraphic band is a continuous pattern of interlaced palmettes, leaves, and small knotlike devices. The largest elements of the pattern—the palmettes—are outlined rather than defined by the inlays (Figures 8–9).

On Habib Allah's second, slightly later, vessel (Figure 10), the center of the body again bears inscriptions, but in this instance they are written in a small, "stacked" *naskh*, and are contained within four consecutive narrow bands of cartouches. These inscriptions are very similar in style to those of the candlestick; the Persian verses are again by the poet Hafiz.³⁰ Above and below the epigraphic bands of the London vessel is a broad register filled with a pattern composed of interlaced arches with palmettes and clusters of interlaced leaves and flowers. The palmettes are again outlined by the silver inlays (Figure 13). This pattern is closely related to that of the earlier jug in Berlin, while the floral-and-leaf patterns on both vessels are comparable to those of the previously described pen-case and candlestick; certain vegetal motifs shared by the two jugs are also comparable to the large, inlaid palmettelike leaves on the candlestick (Figure 7).



8. Jug, Timurid, dated 861/1456–57, by Habib Allah ibn [°]Ali Baharjani. Brass, inlaid with silver, 5 × 5¼ in. (12.5 × 13 cm.). Berlin (West), Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. no. I.3606 (photo: Museum für Islamische Kunst/J. Liepe)

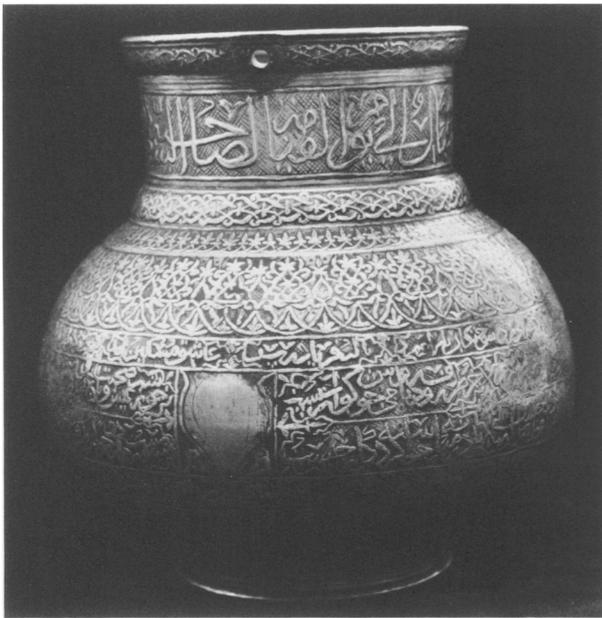
9. Detail of Figure 8 showing the signature and date on the bottom (photo: Museum für Islamische Kunst/J. Liepe)



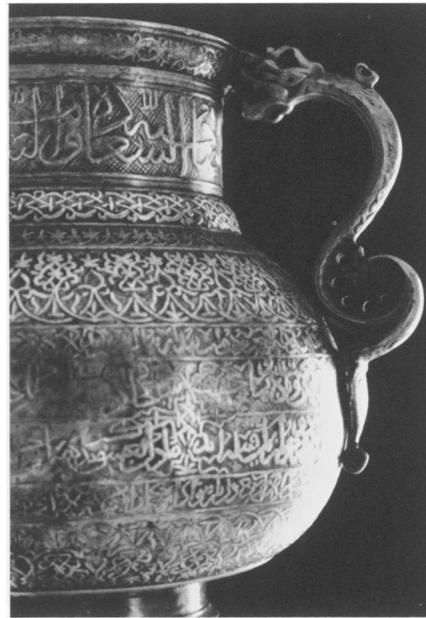
One further dated vessel makes extensive use of inlaid decoration of the outlining variety and that is a jug in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul, from the year 871/1466, which is signed by Husayn Shams [al-Din] Shihab [al-Din] al-Birjandi (Figure 14).³¹ Here the floral and vegetal decoration on the body is characterized by inlays that outline the motifs. Such decoration is organized in a system of intersecting and overlapping cartouches and quatrefoils of a type that is also found in the designs of roughly contemporary bookbindings from Herat. As on the preceding objects, the Persian inscriptions, set within cartouches, are written in a multi-level, or “stacked,” *naskh*. On the neck and cover of this vessel the alternating cartouches are filled with, or surrounded by, interlaces of trilobate leaves or lancet-leaf arabesques that are defined rather than outlined by the inlay. The decoration on the neck is, furthermore, somewhat compressed insofar as less of the background is exposed, while the inlaid pattern covers a greater area. The ornament on the upper portion of the jug dated 871/1466 already points toward a subsequent phase in the development of Timurid inlaid metalwork.³² These three dated jugs, therefore, demonstrate the continuation and further development of the technical and decorative features of the pen-case and candlestick.

By comparison with the three vessels dating to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, or the somewhat earlier pen-case and candlestick, the decoration of five jugs dated or datable to the 1480s shows a denser, smaller-scale, more repetitive and therefore more unified type of patterning in which contrast is provided by the use of silver and gold inlays.³³ In each instance, as in a jug dated 893/1487–88 and signed by Qutb al-Din Najm al-Din Quhistani (Figure 15),³⁴ the elements of the design are defined rather than outlined by the inlays.³⁵

The two latest dated objects from the Timurid period that belong to this group demonstrate the further progression of the decorative style here under consideration. These two jugs, produced during the final years of Timurid rule in eastern Iran, are dated 908/1503 and 910/1505 (Figure 16); they are signed by the same artist—[°]Ala’ al-Din (ibn) Shams al-Din al-Birjandi. The example dated 910/1505 is in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, while al-Birjandi’s earlier work is only known to me from a Christie’s sale catalogue.³⁶ Both are covered by a more compressed, denser network of design that is composed of delicate interlaced leaf arabesques in which, as on the Berlin vessel, the system of quatrefoils and epigraphic cartouches that encircles the



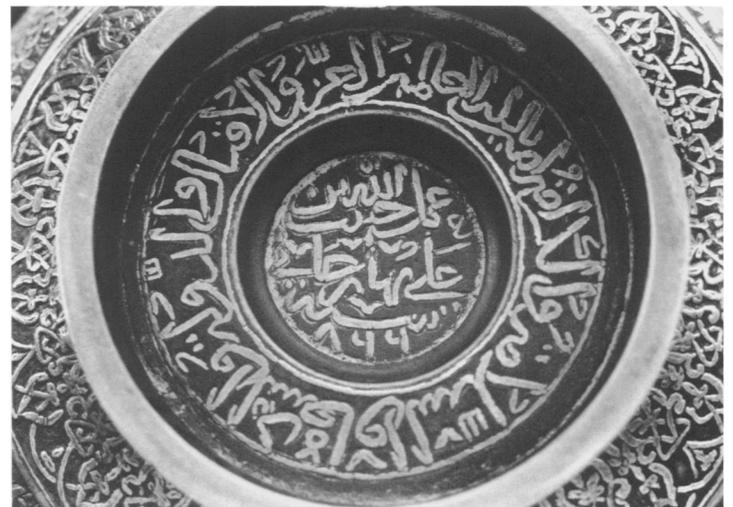
10. Jug, Timurid, dated 866/1461–62, by Habib Allah ibn ‘Ali Baharjani. Brass inlaid with silver, $5\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ in. (13×12.8 cm.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 943–1886 (photo: Komaroff)



11. Detail of Figure 10 showing the handle in place (photo: Komaroff)

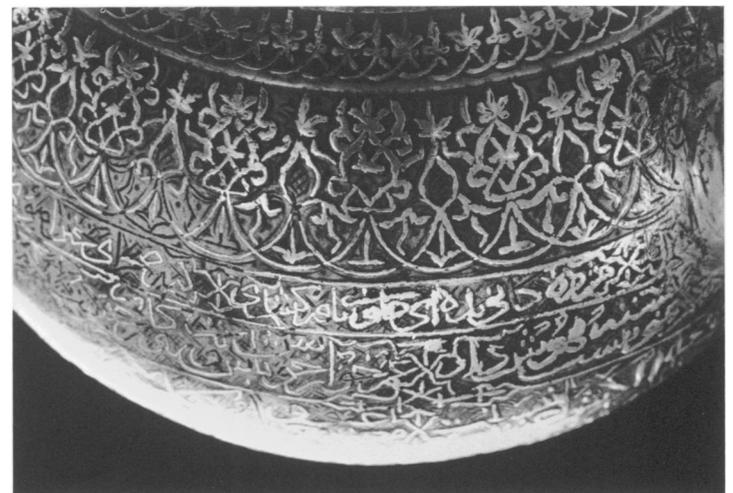
body and neck is barely distinguishable from the all-over patterning. These two vessels are inlaid with silver alone.

To summarize, the objects in our group of Timurid inlaid metalwork, beginning with the Metropolitan Museum’s pen-case and concluding with the jug dated 910/1505, demonstrate an increasingly unified program of design in which the characteristic repetitive floral-and-leaf motifs and leaf arabesques gradually become finer, more closely packed, and less varied in terms of their individual nuances. Inscriptions exhibit a parallel development in that they eventually become fully integrated within the network of design. This clear stylistic progression, culminating in a dense surface patterning made up of small-scale decorative and epigraphic elements that are defined rather than outlined by linear inlays seems to have taken place in Khurasan, the last stronghold of Timurid power.



12. Detail of Figure 10 showing the signature and date on the bottom (photo: Komaroff)

13. Detail of Figure 10 (photo: Komaroff)





14. Jug, Timurid, dated 871/1466, by Husayn Shams al-Din Shihab al-Din al-Birjandi. Brass, inlaid with silver and gold. Istanbul, Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, inv. no. 2961 (photo: David Alexander)

15. Jug, Timurid, dated 893/1487–88, by Qutb al-Din Najm al-Din al-Quhistani. Brass inlaid with gold and silver, H. 4¾ in. (12 cm.). Present location unknown (photo: Christie's sale cat. [London, 1972], lot 76)

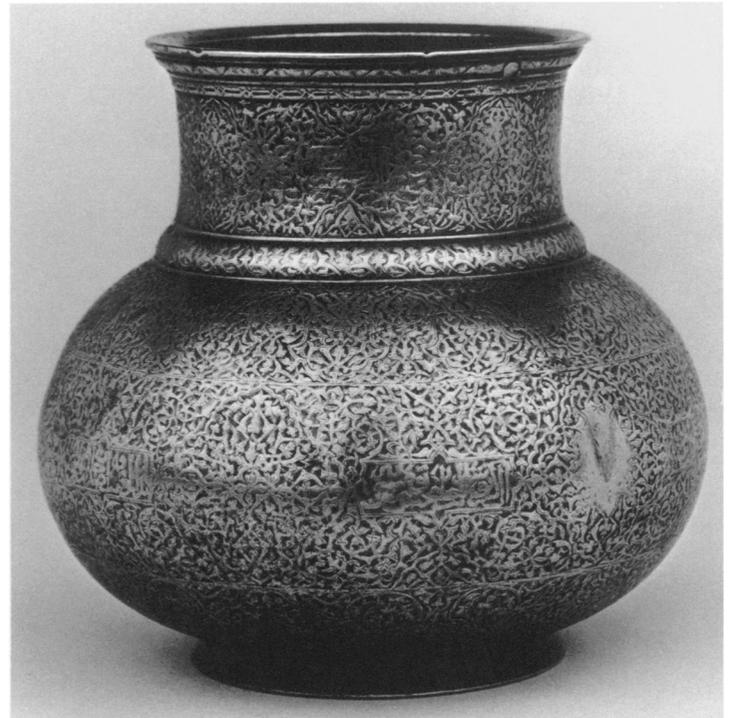


Of the thirteen signed examples of Timurid inlaid metalwork known to me,³⁷ eight of their signatures include the artist's *nisbah*,³⁸ which in every instance is formed after a place name in Khurasan; they are:

1. Habib Allah ibn ʿAli Baharjani (Figures 8–13)
2. Husayn Shams al-Din Shihab al-Din al-Birjandi (Figure 14)
3. Shams al-Din Shihab al-Din al-Birjandi al-Quhistani³⁹
4. Qutb al-Din Najm al-Din Quhistani (Figure 15)
5. Muhammad ibn Shams al-Din al-Ghuri⁴⁰
6. ʿAla' al-Din (ibn) Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Birjandi (Figure 16)

The first *nisbah*, Baharjani, refers to Baharjan, which, according to the late-fifteenth-century text pertaining to the history of the city of Herat (*Rawdat al-Jannat fi Awsaf Madinat Harat*), was one of the nine districts of Quhistan.⁴¹ Quhistan is a mountainous region of Khurasan, as is also noted in the above-mentioned historical work.⁴² The next *nisbah*, al-Birjandi, is formed after the place name Birjand, which, according to the *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, written in 1340, was a provincial town in Quhistan.⁴³ That the Birjand referred to in this *nisbah* is in fact in Quhistan is indicated by the third *nisbah*, al-Birjandi al-Quhistani. It is possible that the owner of the *nisbah* al-Birjandi in this instance felt that his native

16. Jug, Timurid, dated 910/1505, by ʿAla' al-Din (ibn) Shams al-Din al-Birjandi. Brass, inlaid with silver, 5 × 5¼ in. (12.7 × 13.2 cm.). Berlin (West), Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. no. 1.6052 (photo: Museum für Islamische Kunst/J. Liepe)



town was so little known that he had to qualify his *nisbah* by adding the further *nisbah* al-Quhistani. In the fourth instance it is perhaps because the owner of this *nisbah* came from such an obscure town or village that Quhistani is used alone. The fifth *nisbah*, al-Ghuri, refers to Ghur, a mountainous area of Khurasan, as is noted for example in the tenth-century *Hudud al-'Alam* (in the *Nuzhat al-Qulub* called a district).⁴⁴ The sixth and last *nisbah*, al-Birjandi, has already been clarified.

The fact that each of these *nisbahs* is associated with Khurasan and furthermore occurs among the signatures on objects of which every one demonstrates a closely related decorative style and inlay technique would tend to support the supposition that the style and the technique may both be indigenous to Khurasan. This does not of course prove that the owners of these *nisbahs* necessarily worked in Khurasan, but the relative obscurity of the places after which the *nisbahs* are formed tends to militate against their having been understood or used outside of the Timurid East.⁴⁵ One of these objects, a jug signed by al-Ghuri, was made, according to its inscriptions, for the contemporary ruler of Khurasan—Sultan Husayn Bayqara (r. 1470–1506). This further ties the vessel by al-Ghuri and related examples to Khurasan, whose capital—Herat—was the pre-eminent artistic center of the Timurid East and, in fact, for all of Iran in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ It is therefore most likely that a vessel made by someone from Khurasan (al-Ghuri) and for the ruler of Khurasan would have been made in the political and artistic capital of that region, namely Herat.

NOTES

1. For further information on Iranian metalwork see Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World, 8th–18th Centuries* (London, 1982). For general information on Islamic metalwork, including Iranian inlaid metalwork, see James W. Allan, *Islamic Metalwork: The Nuhad Es-Said Collection* (London, 1982); Esin Atil, W. T. Chase, and Paul Jett, *Islamic Metalwork in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, 1985); Eva Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (Albany, 1983); and Douglas Barrett, *Islamic Metalwork in the British Museum* (London, 1949).

2. Glenn Lowry, in "Iskandar Mirza and Early Timurid Metalwork," *Orientalions* (Sept. 1986) pp. 12–20, has recently claimed that a pen-case in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, is dated 1412–13 (presumably 815 *hijra*). I have serious reservations, however, as to whether there is any date inscribed on this object, nor do I concur with the author on his stylistic assessment of this and a related pen-case in The Metropolitan Museum of

With the exception of al-Ghuri, all of the *nisbahs* just noted are associated with Quhistan, which, as Melikian-Chirvani was the first to point out on the basis of information supplied by the aforementioned "history of Herat," seems to have been economically tied to Herat, providing that city with a variety of goods and services.⁴⁷ It is highly likely that Quhistan also supplied Herat with skilled artists and craftsmen, or perhaps such individuals emigrated to, and were trained in, Herat. The same may perhaps be said of al-Ghuri—the man from Ghur, which is located just to the east of Herat.⁴⁸

In the foregoing discussion I have attempted to demonstrate two correlative points. Namely, that the Metropolitan Museum pen-case and related candlestick represent the earliest extant products of the Timurid school of inlaid metalware thus far identified, whose later works help to tie this school to Khurasan. These two early inlaid wares are of further significance insofar as they document a formative phase in Timurid inlaid metalwork, one that presupposes a transference of established inlay techniques and decorative vocabulary from western to eastern Iran, where a final transformation into a uniquely Timurid style of inlaid metalwork was effected at Herat.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Art (17.190.822, Figure 6), which has led him to conclude that these two objects were produced under Timurid patronage in the early 15th century in western Iran.

3. On the connections between a western Iranian, Shirazi, school of architecture and the subsequent development of a Timurid school of architecture whose practitioners were responsible for a number of officially sponsored buildings, see Lisa Golombek, *The Timurid Shrine at Gazur Gah*, Royal Ontario Museum of Art and Archaeology Occasional Paper 15 (Toronto, 1969) pp. 60–62; 71–73, n. 1, items D–G; K; M. On miniature painting, see, for instance, Ernst Grube and Eleanor Sims, "The School of Herat from 1400–1450," *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. Basil Gray (London, 1979) pp. 147–178.

4. See Linda Komaroff, "Patronage or Pillage: The Evolution of Timurid Metalwork," a forthcoming study; also Komaroff's Ph.D. diss., "The Timurid Phase in Iranian Metalwork: Formu-

lation and Realization of a Style" (New York University, 1984), to be published shortly in revised form as *The Golden Disk of Heaven: Metalwork of Timurid Iran*.

5. Two lamps and the base of a third are in the Hermitage, Leningrad, while the upper portions of the third example are in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. One of the three lamps preserved at the shrine complex is incomplete and does not bear any inscribed reference to Timur. The first extensive study of these lamps was published by A. A. Ivanov, "O bronzovykh izdeliakh kontsa XIV v. iz mavoleia Khodzha Akhmeda Yasevi" [On bronze wares of the end of the 14th century from the Khoja Ahmad Yasavi mausoleum], *Srednaia Aziia i ee Sosedii* [Central Asia and its Society] (Moscow, 1981) pp. 68–84, and more recently by Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," pp. 207–233; 622–639.

6. For a detailed discussion see Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," pp. 109–112; 228–230.

7. The differences between spatial and linear inlays are graphically illustrated in James W. Allan, *Persian Metal Technology 700–1300 AD* (Oxford, 1979) figs. 5a–d. Unless otherwise indicated, the observations and comments on the inlay technique included in the present study are based purely upon visual analysis.

8. On the decline and subsequent disappearance of figural imagery from Iranian metalwork, see Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," pp. 78–95.

9. Five of these are illustrated in Figures 8–16; the remaining examples are: a pen-case, dated 865/1460–61, present location unknown; a jug, dated 889/1484, private collection; a jug dated 903/1498, in the British Museum; a jug, private collection, dated 901/1495; and a jug dated 908/1502, present location unknown; see Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," nos. 6, 8, 14, 15 16A, respectively. Also an unpublished jug in the British Museum dated 889/1484. This is by no means a finite list; there are numerous published references to such dated pieces, while inlaid objects of this type, which occasionally bear a date, will most likely continue to appear on the art market.

10. On this topic, see Komaroff, "Timurid to Safavid Iran: Continuity and Change," *Marsyas* 20 (1979–80) pp. 11–16; as well as Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," pp. 577–589. Also, see below, n. 40.

11. As well as a type of bowl; see Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," nos. 1–17, pp. 407–456; for the wedge-shaped pen-cases see nos. 6–7; and for the bowl, no. 17.

12. Such a black material seems to be a common feature of most medieval Iranian inlaid metalwork. In Nov. 1983 the black substance from the pen-case, 91.1.536, and a related late-fourteenth-century Syrian or western Iranian pen-case, 17.190.822, was analyzed in The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Department of Objects Conservation. Apart from the fact that the black substance is a "solvent-resistant organic material," which may have been applied to the metalwork in liquid form, the results of the various tests did not lead to the identification of this substance. I would like to thank Richard Stone, of the Department of Objects Conservation, for his time, as well as for the insight of his comments. On the general question of this black substance and medieval inlaid metalwork, see Atil, Chase, and Jett, *Islamic Metalwork*, p. 40.

13. As it is virtually impossible to distinguish between an engraved and a chased line on medieval Iranian metalwork with

the naked eye alone, I have here, as elsewhere in this article, used the general term "incised" to designate any decoration that was produced by either an engraving or a chasing tool.

14. See above, n. 12.

15. The example in The Metropolitan Museum of Art was first published by Lowry, "Iskandar Mirza," fig. 3; for the pen-case in Paris, see Melikian-Chirvani, *Le Bronze Iranien* (Paris, 1973) pp. 84–85. Also see Allan, *Nuhad Es-Said*, pp. 90–92, where in contrast to Melikian-Chirvani, the author considers pen-cases of this type to be of Syrian, rather than Iranian, provenance. Also see above, n. 2, for reference to Lowry's recent attribution to western Iran, and to his dating of the New York and Paris pen-cases to the early Timurid period.

16. See above, n. 12.

17. On Timur's various conquests, see Jean Aubin, "Comment Tamerlan prenait les villes," *Studia Islamica* 19 (1963) pp. 83–122.

18. The reading of the last segment of the inscription is still tentative. Professor George Saliba, of Columbia University, has suggested in this regard that the last hemistich should probably be scanned by assuming a definite article, pronounced but not written, preceding the last word.

19. The reading of the last line is tentative, although, clearly, it conveys a message quite similar to that of the preceding cartouche. These inscriptions have also been read by Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork*, pp. 245–246.

20. I discuss this topic in detail in a forthcoming study, "An Epigraphic History of Iranian Metalwork, 11th–17th Century"; for specific reference to the Timurid wares on which this same inscription occurs, see Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," nos. 3, 4, and 47, also see Appendix 1, a; n, b; iv; v.

21. Some Persian verses occasionally express good wishes (as in the last two lines on the sides of the cover of the pen-case); such well-wishing verses most often include a distich by the 13th-century poet Sa'di, from his *Bustan*, which is usually found in conjunction with a similar distich by the 10th-century poet Daqiqi and another distich from Firdawsi's *Shah-Namah*, completed in 1010. These specific verses were first identified by Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork*, p. 252.

22. Hafiz was primarily active at the Muzaffarid court at Shiraz during the 14th century. On Hafiz, see Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* III (Cambridge, 1928) pp. 271ff.

23. *Diwan-i Khwajah Shams al-Din Muhammad Hafiz Shirazi*, eds. S. M. Rida Jalali Na'ini and Nazir Ahmad (Tehran, 1974) p. 569.

24. Considering Hafiz's fame—legend has it that Timur himself had an audience with the poet following his conquest of Shiraz in 1387 (see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, pp. 188–189, 282)—it does not seem unlikely that copies of Hafiz's *Diwan* were already available and were well known in the Timurid East prior to the manufacture of this pen-case, around the middle of the 15th century. Two of the oldest extant manuscripts that include *ghazals* by Hafiz—each written in 1410–11, and one of which is the earliest most comprehensive collection of his poetry—were copied for the Timurid prince Iskandar, the contemporary ruler of Fars. See Robert M. Rehder, "The Text of Hafiz," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94, 2 (1974) pp. 145–156, especially pp. 151–152.

25. From two separate *ghazals*, see Na'ini and Ahmad, *Diwan-i Hafiz*, p. 62 (and n. 4) and p. 249. These verses were first identi-

fied by Melikian-Chirvani, "Safavid Metalwork: A Study in Continuity," *Iranian Studies*, 7, 3-4 (1974) pp. 545 and 572 n. 55. In addition to Hafiz, Sa^odi, Daqiqi, and Firdawsi (see n. 21, above) several other poets' verses have thus far been identified among the inscriptions on Timurid metalwork; these include Qasim al-Anwar, Salihi, and Jami, all 15th-century poets who were active in Khurasan. Their verses were first identified by A. A. Ivanov (see "Khudozhestvennaia bronza blizhnego i Srednego Vostoka" [Artistic bronzes of the Near and Middle East] *Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* [Communications of the State Hermitage] 30 (1969) pp. 31-36 for Qasim al-Anwar; for Salihi, see "Osvanie podsvechnika 800 g. kh. (1475-1476 gg.) so stikhami poeta Salikhi" [Base of a candlestick of the year 800 H. (1475-1476) with a verse by the poet Salihi] *Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* [Communications of the State Hermitage] 27 (1966) pp. 67-70; and for Jami, see "Tri predmeta so stikhami dzhami" [Three objects with verses by Jami] *Epigrafika Vostoka* 20 (1971) pp. 97-103.

26. On the epigraphic style of Timurid metalwork, see Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," pp. 313-314.

27. I had the opportunity to examine this piece at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Oct. 1983. While the decoration from the socket includes very much the same floral motifs as those on the base of the object, the two differ considerably in technique and quality. The socket appears to be a later replacement intended to match the base. There is an interior seam at the juncture of the socket and base indicating that the two pieces were separately fabricated and then attached. The present location of this piece is unknown to me; it was first published in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope (London, 1939) pl. 1375.

28. Na'ini and Ahmad, *Diwan-i Hafiz*, pp. 390-391 and n. 12.

29. The inscriptions were first published in Klaus Brisch, ed., *Islamische Kunst: Loseblatt-Katalog unpublizierter Werke aus deutschen Museen. Bd. 2, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Metall, Stein, Stuck, Holz, Elfenbein, Stoffe* (Mainz, 1985) no. 338. I will here supply an English translation of the verses: Around the neck: "To its owner happiness and well-being and life as long as a pigeon coos. Lasting glory, with no humiliation in it, and good fortune until Judgment Day"; around the body: "The most mighty Sultan, the exalted Khaqan, the Master of the Kings of the Arabs and the non-Arabs, the shadow of God in the two lands, the Steward of the water and the soil who spreads the wings of peace and security [in the] year 861/1456-57"; and in a separate medallion: "Its owner is Iskandar ibn Muhammad Mirza"; on the underside of the base: "Made by Habib Allah ibn 'Ali Baharjani [in the] year 861/1456-57"; and surrounding this: "Glory, auspicious fate, good fortune, happiness, well-being, divine favor, O God of the two worlds." The royal protocol has not yet been associated with a particular Timurid prince, nor has the original owner of the vessel, whose name is given in the medallion, been identified.

30. See above, n. 25; also see Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork*, pp. 248-250, where a complete transcription and English translation of the inscriptions are provided.

31. My reading of the signature is slightly different than that of L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Metalworkers and Their Works* (Geneva, 1959) p. 47, who first recorded this inscription. I have not as yet been able to decipher fully the Persian verses on the body, neck, and cover, although these include the word *mashrabah*, or jug. This

vessel, presently in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, was (according to Mayer) formerly in the Topkapu Saray. I would like to thank Dr. David Alexander for his photograph of this piece.

32. It has not been possible to determine whether the spout on this vessel is original. It can be noted, however, that each of the jugs by Habib Allah bears a repair mark in precisely the same area as where the spout is attached on the example in Figure 14.

33. See Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," nos. 8-11A, pp. 429-439.

34. Known to me only from a Christie's sale cat. (London, Oct. 23, 1972) p. 28, lot 76, pl. 13. Also see Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," no. 11.

35. For a detailed discussion that includes a number of examples that are dated or datable to the 1490s see Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," pp. 342-345.

36. London, Oct. 23, 1972, p. 28, lot 77, pl. 10. The signature and date, on the underside of the vessel, reads: "made by the humblest of servants 'Ala' al-Din ibn Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Birjandi in the holy month of Ramadan 908/March 1503." Although the signature on the Berlin example is generally read as "'Ala' al-Din and Shams al-Din," the signature on the example of 908/1503 demonstrates that 'Ala' al-Din (ibn) Shams al-Din is in fact one person, as has also been noted by Melikian-Chirvani, "Safavid Metalwork," p. 545 n. 8. On the Berlin vessel dated 910/1505, see Brisch, *Loseblatt-Katalog*, no. 339.

37. Apart from the eight signed examples that include the artist's *nisbah*, there are five further signed objects, all jugs: two vessels signed by Husayn ibn Mubarak-Shah; another signed by Jawanbakht ibn Husayn; and a vessel by 'Abd al-Khalil Qutb al-Din; see Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," nos. 8, 9, 13, and 15, respectively. The fifth example is an unpublished jug in the British Museum by Jamal al-Din Shams al-Din. This list is by no means finite; further signed examples may very well continue to appear on the art market.

38. A *nisbah* is a type of surname, usually designating where its owner originated; a *nisbah* may also refer to an individual's clan or tribe, religious sect, and occasionally his trade or profession.

39. See Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," no. 7, pp. 338-339, and pp. 427-428. This piece, a pen-case datable ca. 865/1460-61, is in the Iran Bastan Museum, Tehran. I would like to thank Dr. Anatole Ivanov for bringing it to my attention.

40. See Komaroff, "The Timurid Phase," no. 14, pp. 343-344, and pp. 446-448. This object, a jug dated 903/1498, is in the British Museum. For a related jug that is also the work of a craftsman using the *nisbah* al-Ghuri (i.e., 'Ali b. Muhammad 'Ali Shahab al-Ghuri), and which was made in 918/1512, several years after the fall of the Timurid dynasty, see *Art from the Islamic World, Louisiana Revy* 27, 3 (Mar. 1987) p. 105.

41. Mu'in al-Din Muhammad Zamchi Isfizari, *Rawdat al-Jannat fi Awsaf Madinat Harat*, ed. S. M. Kazim Imam, pt. 1 (Tehran, 1959), pt. II (1960); pt. I, p. 327. Similarly, Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork*, p. 238.

42. Isfizari, *Rawdat al-Jannat*, pt. I, pp. 327-328.

43. *Nuzhat al-Qulub (composed by Hamd-Allah Mustawfi of Qazwin in 740/1340)*, trans. G. Le Strange, "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series 23, 2 (London, 1919) p. 143.

44. And located east of Herat; *Hudud al-'Alam*: "The Regions of

the World,” trans. V. Minorsky, “E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series, n.s. 11 (London, 1937) p. 110. *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, p. 152. An alternate, and possibly more logical, interpretation of this *nisbah* is that it is formed after the town of Ghuriyan, a short distance west of Herat, which is mentioned by Qasim ibn Yusuf Abu Nasri Haravi, in 970/1515, in his *Tariq-i Qismat-i Ab-i Qulb*, ed. M. Haravi (Tehran, 1968) p. 89 n. 11, where this town is referred to in the context of Timur’s conquest of Herat. I would like to thank Professor Robert McChesney of New York University for this suggestion and reference.

45. Similarly Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork*, pp. 238–239.

46. Ernst Grube, “Notes on the Decorative Arts of the Timurid Period,” *Gururājanjārīka, Studi in Onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, Istituto Orientale Universitario (Naples, 1974) p. 246, was the first to link these vessels with Herat, but solely on the basis of the inscriptions from the British Museum jug signed by al-Ghuri.

47. Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork*, p. 238. Isfizari, *Rawdat al-Jannat* pt. 1, pp. 327–328.

48. But see above, n. 44.

The Consolations of Friendship: Salvator Rosa's Self-Portrait for Giovanni Battista Ricciardi

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A PAINTING BY SALVATOR ROSA (1615–73) in The Metropolitan Museum of Art of a man writing on a skull has traditionally been considered a self-portrait (Figure 1).¹ The strong, dark features and brooding expression suggest an image of the Neapolitan artist; he was noted as a Cynic, satiric poet, and melancholic personality as well as a painter of landscapes, religious subjects, and highly original allegories. The funereal cypress wreath, somber clothing, books, and the human skull upon which he writes in Greek, “Behold, whither, when,” reflect Rosa’s interest in Stoic moral philosophy as the basis for contemplation and resignation in the face of death.²

Recent cleaning of the painting has revealed two details. A small, transparent teardrop clings to his right cheek below the eye, and the name “Seneca,” faintly visible on the spine of the book, can now be clearly understood as a pentimento that was overpainted by the artist himself.³ These details, although minor, raise questions about the painting’s identity and meaning. Why would Rosa remove the name of Seneca, one of his heroes, and why would a Stoic weep while confronting death?

On a scrap of paper to the left of the skull Rosa included his signature and a dedication: “Salvator Rosa dipinse nell’Eremo e dono a Gio Batt Ricciardi suo Amico” (Salvator Rosa painted this in a solitary place and gave it to his friend Giovanni Battista Ricciardi). The inscription has been understood to mean that Rosa intended the portrait as a gift for Giovanni Battista Ricciardi. Ricciardi (1623–86), an author of comedies and burlesque poetry who would become Reader in Moral Philosophy at the University of Pisa in 1673, was Rosa’s

very close friend during the artist’s years in Florence, between 1640 and 1649, when Rosa returned to Rome, and they continued to correspond until Rosa’s death in 1673.⁴

The portrait’s undated dedication states that it was painted “nell’Eremo,” a phrase that has been interpreted in several slightly different ways to mean “in a retreat,” “in a hermitage,” or “in a solitary place.” Some scholars have assumed that by “retreat” or “hermitage” Rosa meant, literally, an actual retreat, such as Ricciardi’s country villa at Strozze or one of the Maffei family villas at Barbaiano or Monterufoli in Tuscany, where Rosa and Ricciardi visited often during the 1640s. Assuming that the picture was painted while the two men were together, scholars have generally dated it to the 1640s or to 1659, when Rosa once again visited Ricciardi at Strozze.⁵ Only the cataloguer of Rosa’s drawings, Michael Mahoney, proposed a date in the middle to late 1650s, a period when Rosa did not leave Rome or see Ricciardi. His suggestion was based on several drawings associated with the painting that are similar in style and technique to Rosa’s drawings of the mid-1650s (Figures 2, 3).⁶

Some time ago it was suggested that the painting was not a self-portrait of the artist but, rather, a portrait of Ricciardi.⁷ For several years the Metropolitan Museum exhibited the painting as *Portrait of Giovanni Battista Ricciardi(?)*, although subsequently, for lack of secure evidence to the contrary, it was labeled *Salvator Rosa*. Even though many scholars have continued to accept the painting as a self-portrait, the confusion and disagreement concerning the sitter’s identity and the painting’s date persist.⁸ I would argue that the work is a



1. Salvator Rosa, *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 99 × 79.7 cm., dated here 1657. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mary L. Harrison, 1921, 21.105

self-portrait and that Rosa painted it, as Mahoney proposed on stylistic grounds, in Rome during the mid-1650s. In fact, there is evidence to pinpoint the date more precisely to the very end of 1656 or the first part of 1657, and its meaning can be more fully elucidated in terms of Rosa's relationship with Giovanni Battista Ricciardi, the portrait's intended recipient.

Rosa painted very few, if any, portraits of family or friends, and if there were commissions they are not securely documented.⁹ There is no existing likeness of Ricciardi by Rosa or any other artist, and thus his physical appearance remains unknown. However, this did not deter Federico Zeri from proposing that the subject might be a portrait of Ricciardi.¹⁰ Subsequently Ubaldo Meroni claimed that it was indeed Giovanni Battista Ricciardi, and he presented evidence in the form of two unpublished manuscripts.¹¹ The first was an inventory of Ricciardi's property made in 1687 shortly after his death.¹² Among the paintings by Rosa was "un quadro grande con cornice di albero bianche dipintovi un filo-

sofo che scrive sopra una testa di morto" (a large framed picture in which is painted a philosopher who writes upon a death's head). Meroni correctly made the connection between this painting and the portrait of the man writing on a skull in the Metropolitan Museum. However, the text did not specify the identity other than "a philosopher," and elsewhere in the same inventory is "a portrait of Giovanni Battista Ricciardi"; these are two distinct paintings. Assuming the inventory was made by someone connected with the Ricciardi household, it is likely he would have recognized Ricciardi. Thus, while the inventory establishes Ricciardi's ownership of the painting in question, it does not document him as its subject.

In an unpublished manuscript for a history of Tuscan literature by Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli (1625–1705), Meroni found additional evidence that the painting could be a portrait of Ricciardi. In his life of Ricciardi Cinelli Calvoli discussed their friendship and the numerous paintings Rosa had given to Ricciardi as gifts. Among these, he wrote, is a most beautiful picture, in which Ricciardi is portrayed dressed as a philosopher in the act of contemplating a human skull, and he quoted the words of the dedication to Ricciardi as they appear

2. Salvator Rosa, *Man Contemplating a Skull*. Pen, brown ink and brown wash, 7.4 × 6.9 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)

3. Reverse of *Man Contemplating a Skull* (Figure 2)



in the Metropolitan Museum painting.¹³ This seemed to provide convincing proof of the sitter's identity, but Cinelli Calvoli did not make note of the unusual act of writing on the skull. Although he knew both Rosa and Ricciardi between 1645 and 1650, it is not clear whether he actually saw the Metropolitan Museum's painting or was repeating information from another source.¹⁴ In addition, similar passages in other sources on Ricciardi state that Ricciardi's "amico unico," Salvator Rosa, gave Ricciardi "a painting of his own likeness," an ambiguous phrase that does not clarify to whom it might refer, the artist or his friend.¹⁵

Meroni's documentation on its own offers persuasive, if inconclusive, proof that the subject is Ricciardi; but visual evidence, including the painting's resemblance to documented self-portraits by Rosa, and an analysis of its composition cast doubts on his conclusion.

The identification of the Metropolitan Museum's painting as a self-portrait had been partly based on comparison with another picture considered a self-portrait, which is in the National Gallery, London (Figure 4).¹⁶ This painting depicts a half-length figure in a scholar's cap and gown who scowls out of the picture in strikingly direct contact with the viewer. The Latin inscription, "AUT TACE,/AUT LOQUERE MELIORA/SILENTIO," may be translated as "Either keep silent or speak better than silence," which is typical of Rosa's use of terse philosophical phrases. On the basis of style and treatment, scholars have dated it to Rosa's Florentine period between 1640 and 1649, when he self-consciously adopted a cultivated image as a Cynic-Stoic philosopher.

Although that painting has generally been accepted as a self-portrait,¹⁷ documentation for such identification dates only from 1767, when it was included in a Florentine exhibition as one of a pair of pictures belonging to the marchese Lorenzo Niccolini. The exhibition catalogue, *Il Trionfo delle Bell'Arti*, identified the pair as "Due Quadri compagni di mano di Salvator Rosa, che in uno un figura di Filosofo, l'Autore ha ritratto se medesimo nell'altro in figura di Femmina ha rappresentata la Poesia"¹⁸ (Two pendants by the hand of Salvator Rosa, in one the artist has portrayed himself as a philosopher, in the other he has represented Poetry in the figure of a woman). The companion painting, now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, represents, as described, the allegorical image of Poetry, symbolized by the attributes of laurel entwined in her disheveled hair, the book, and poised pen (Figure 5).¹⁹

In addition to sharing the same early provenance,

both paintings are identical in size and format, and the figures show a certain psychological affinity and even a family resemblance with their dark, handsome features and serious, frowning expressions. On the reverse of each canvas is an inscription, numbered consecutively "29" and "30," albeit in different handwritings. The inscription on the painting of the woman names her "La Ricciardi, the favorite of Salvator Rosa, depicted as a Sibyl for the Niccolini," an inaccurate identification, for her attributes show her to be the personification of Poetry, not a Sibyl (Figure 6).²⁰ Moreover, we know from several biographical sources that Rosa's female companion was called Lucrezia Paolina, and the erroneous name "La Ricciardi" suggests that the writer unwittingly confused the identities of Rosa's well-known friend with his mistress.

The inscription on the reverse of the philosopher picture (Figure 7) identifies it as a self-portrait made by Rosa for the Casa Niccolini in Florence; however, a 1677 description of the Niccolini collection does not mention a Rosa self-portrait and cites only "pictures of philosophers."²¹ The Niccolini were neither particular friends nor patrons of Rosa, and such a personal painting or pair of portraits as a special gift or commission seems unlikely. In 1729 the marchese Filippo Niccolini had exhibited two paintings by Rosa identified only as "mezza figura" and "Testa di filosofo," which may be associated with these two pictures.²²

The discrepancies and confused identities may be explained by the fact that on the basis of handwriting, as well as content, the inscriptions appear to have been added at a later time, probably in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.²³ While it is possible that the painting of the man may have been intended as an idealized self-image, the identification of the pair of paintings as the painter and his mistress was most likely made to enhance interest in the works and to increase their value when they were sold in the early nineteenth century. By that time paintings of allegorical personifications popular in Florence in the 1640s had gone out of fashion, but an interest in artists as individual personalities had increased.²⁴

This attribution of a pair of unidentified male and female figures as the artist and his mistress-model is an example of a *topos* of artists' lives, which had appeared

4. Salvator Rosa, *Self-Portrait* (?). Oil on canvas, 115 × 92 cm. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)



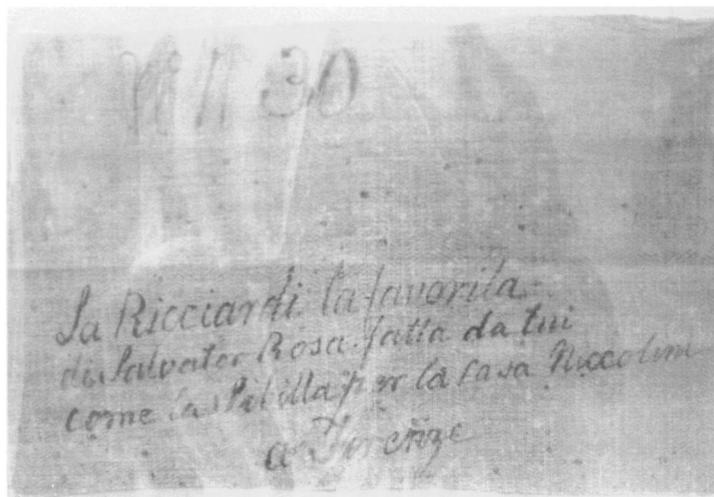


5. Salvator Rosa, *Poetry*. Oil on canvas, 116 × 94 cm. Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection (photo: Wadsworth Atheneum)

in numerous variations since antiquity, including such couples as Apelles and Campaspe or Praxiteles and Phryne, whose relationships reflected the ideal Artist inspired by Beauty as personified by a lovely, mysterious woman.²⁵ There is no evidence to suggest that this pair of portraits was ever intended to record the likenesses of Salvator Rosa and Lucrezia Paolina. While it is possible, if not probable, that Rosa drew upon himself and his mistress as models for these figures, their portrayed identities are by no means definite and would be only part of their overall meaning as allegorical figures. Furthermore, the character of Salvator Rosa as a romantic, melancholy, and dashing figure had by then been made popular through Bernardo de Dominici's 1742 biography, in which Rosa's legendary exploits among brigands in the Abruzzi mountains were mythologized, and in Lady Sydney Morgan's biography-cum-novel, which emphasized the more romantic and colorful aspects of his life.²⁶ The image of the handsome, glowering young genius and his beautiful mistress-model would have fulfilled the Romantic ideal of the antisocial, temperamental artist—an idea that suited the taste of a later time. In any event, the intended meaning of Rosa's National Gallery picture must be considered with its pendant, *Poetry*, in the Wadsworth Atheneum, and cannot be fully ascertained without additional information.²⁷

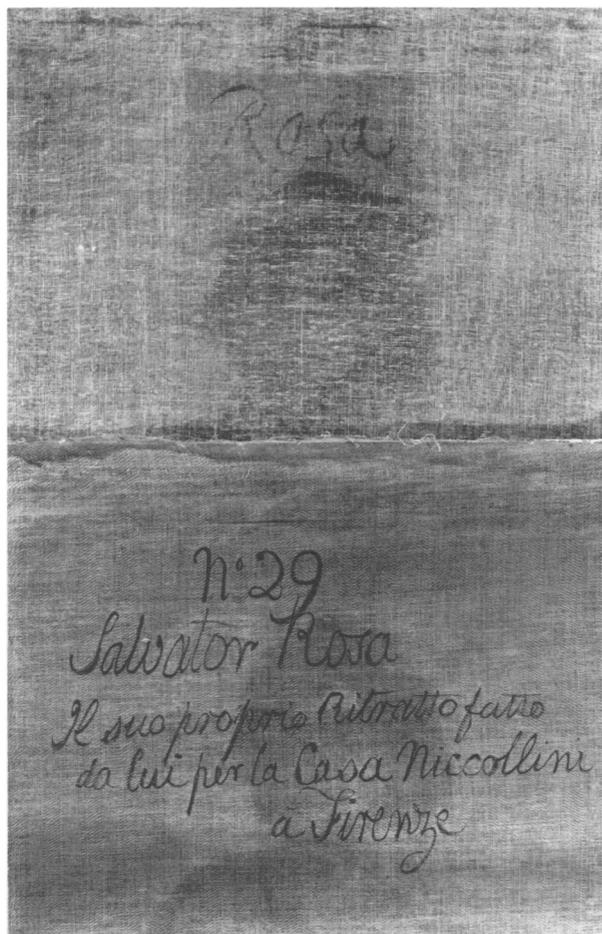
In the same exhibition of 1767 in which the Niccolini pendants were shown, the descendants of Giovanni Battista Ricciardi exhibited a painting by Rosa described as "autoritratto in atto di scrivere sopra un teschio di morto" (a self-portrait in the act of writing on a skull).²⁸ This must be the Metropolitan Museum's self-portrait. In 1706 and again in 1729 the Ricciardi family also exhibited a Rosa self-portrait as recorded in catalogues of the Florentine exhibitions.²⁹ This evidence seems to indicate that at least through the early eighteenth century the Ricciardi picture of a man writing on a skull was considered a self-portrait, while the Niccolini (now National Gallery) painting known as a "philosopher" was not called a self-portrait until 1767, and the "Lucrezia" was so identified even later.

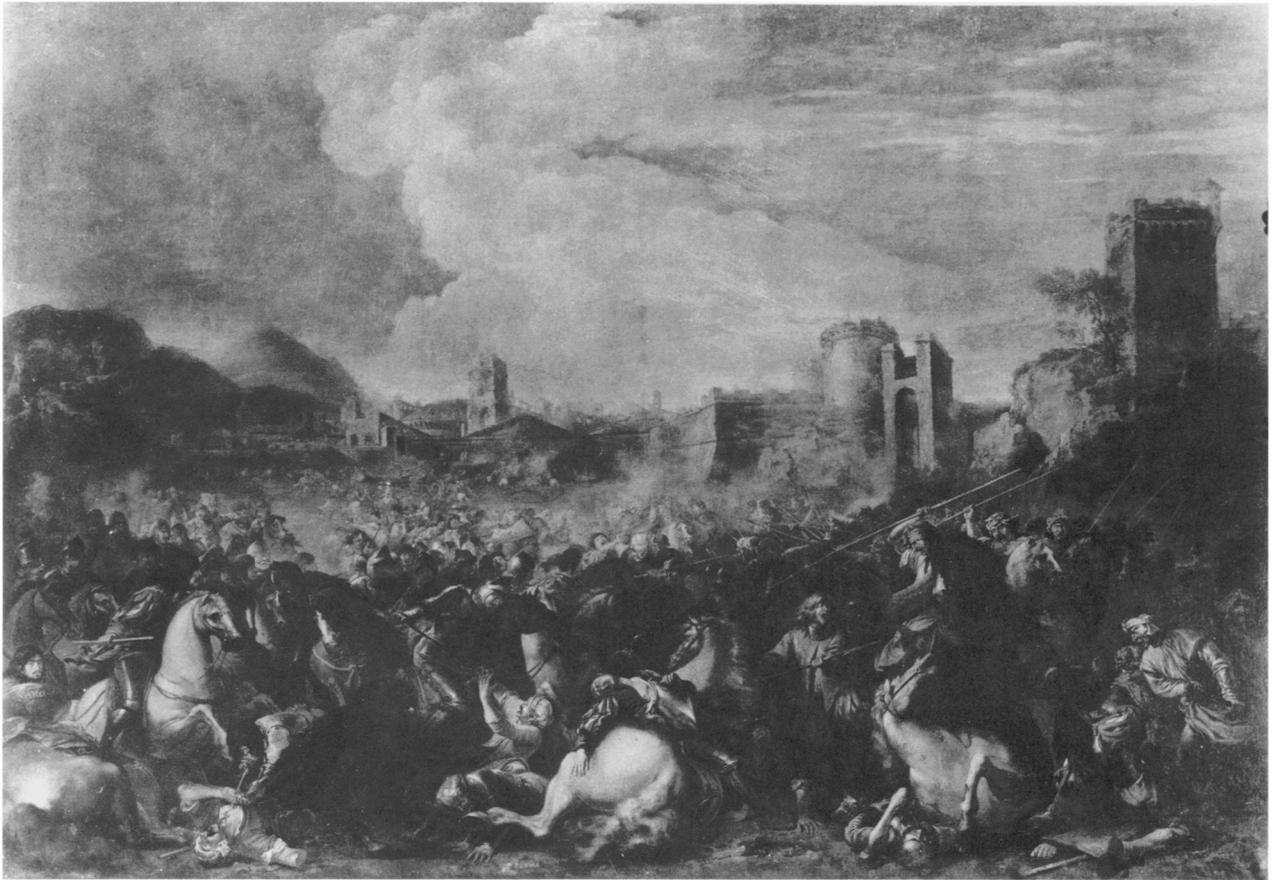
In order to determine if one or both of these paintings in question portray Rosa himself, it is necessary to compare them with the securely identified self-portraits.



6. Inscription on back of *Poetry* (Figure 5)

7. Inscription on back of *Self-Portrait* (?) (Figure 4)





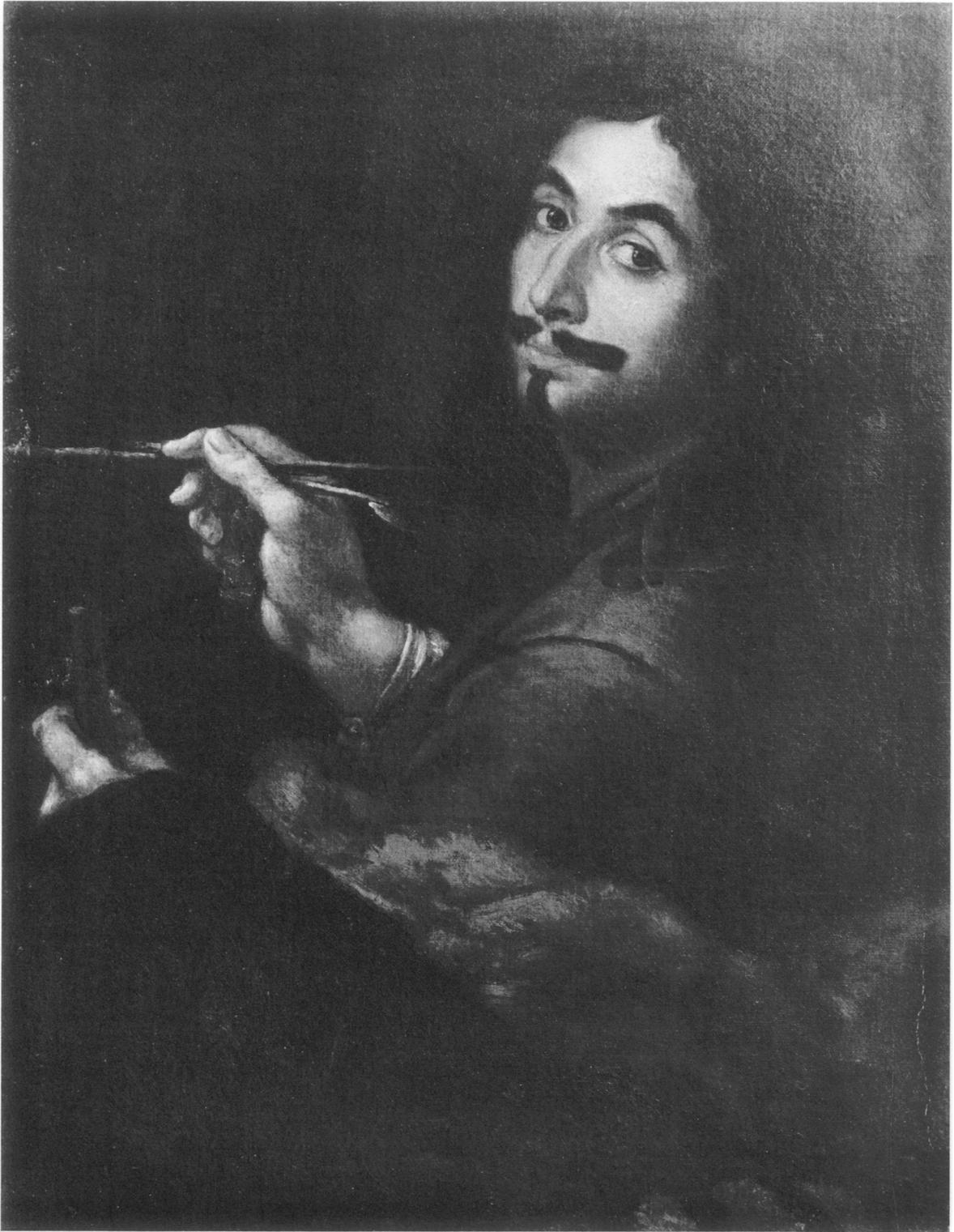
8. Salvator Rosa, *Battle Scene*, 1640. Oil on canvas, 234 × 350 cm. Florence, Pitti (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico)



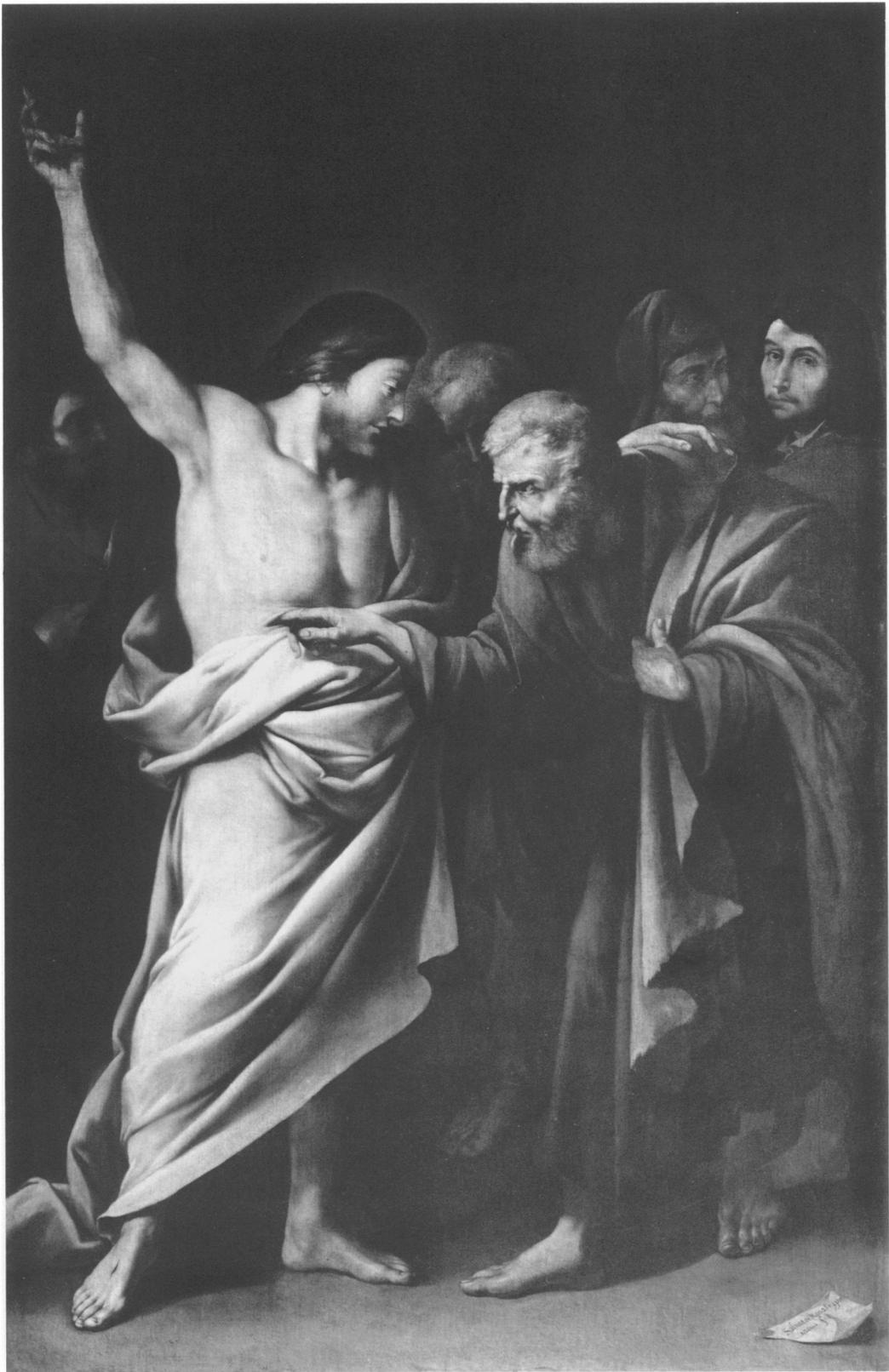
There are actually very few of them, and all were painted between 1639 and the mid-1640s. According to Rosa's biographer Filippo Baldinucci, the first large work Rosa painted when he arrived in Florence in 1640 was a *Battle Scene*, in which he included his own image (Figure 8).³⁰ At the far left edge of this painting, above a large rock on which appear the letters SARO as his signature, the small image of the artist's face looks calmly out at the viewer and seems to bear witness to the horrible, bloody battle scene (Figure 9). The youthful face is round, with broad cheeks, heavy-lidded eyes and thick brows, full lips, prominent nose, mustache, and a small beard. His long, dark, curly hair, parted over a low forehead, frames the face and falls to his shoulders.

A second self-portrait, originally painted for Giulio Maffei, another Tuscan friend, later became part of the Medici collection of self-portraits in the Uffizi (Figure 10).³¹ In this picture a slightly older Rosa looks over his

9. Detail of *Battle Scene* (Figure 8)



10. Salvator Rosa, *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 71 × 57 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico)



shoulder at the viewer in a pose frequently used for self-portraits. He is elegantly dressed with a fur-trimmed cloak and appears to have been interrupted in the act of painting. He holds both a paintbrush and a dart to signify his double role as painter and satiric poet. The features are very similar to those in the Pitti *Battle Scene*. We see the same strong, curved nose, full lips, long hair, mustache, and large, slightly protuberant eyes.

Another self-portrait had been included in Rosa's first major commission, an *Incredulity of St. Thomas* painted in 1639 for the Bishop of Viterbo (Figure 11).³² The image of the artist appears at the far right gazing out of the picture. This face shares the same features as those in the Uffizi *Self-Portrait* and the *Battle Scene*. In addition to these three documented self-portraits, there is one known portrait of Rosa by another artist, an engraving by Giovanni Battista Bonacina of 1662, which became the basis for several later pictures of Rosa.³³ The artist is shown in profile, a view that emphasizes his most distinctive features: prominent nose, low forehead, curly hair, and deep-set, slightly bulging eyes (Figure 12).

The man in the Metropolitan Museum's painting must be the same person. He appears older, perhaps thinner in the cheeks, with the same shape of nose, lips, eyes, hair—perhaps an idealized image of Rosa in his early forties. The figure depicted in the National Gallery's painting bears a general resemblance; there are, however, noticeable differences (Figure 4). His longer face has thinner lips, small, narrow eyes, a distinctly straight, sharp nose, and only the slightest traces of facial hair. This could be an exaggerated self-idealization in which the thick-featured, swarthy Neapolitan represented himself as a more refined, ascetic type to better suit his image as a scholar-philosopher. Nevertheless, the discrepancies are notable, and if, as scholars agree, the National Gallery's painting was made in Florence in the 1640s when he painted the *Battle Scene* (Figure 9) and the Uffizi *Self-Portrait* (Figure 10), the differences in appearance cannot be attributed to age. Another factor to be considered is that in the *Battle Scene*, his first major commission for the Medici, Rosa must have created what he believed to be a proud, flattering self-image, and this would have been equally true for his self-portrait for the Maffei, his friends and frequent hosts in Tuscany. If these are his self-idealizations of the 1640s, the National Gal-

11. Salvator Rosa, *The Incredulity of St. Thomas*. Oil on canvas, 258 × 164 cm. Viterbo, Museo Civico (photo: I.C.C.C.)



12. Giovanni Battista Bonacina (active in Rome, ca. 1650–70), *Portrait of Salvator Rosa*. Engraving, 1662

lery's painting either represents a very different characterization—another person entirely—or, more likely, an allegorical image, which may possibly incorporate the artist's own features.

Two other paintings should be noted, although neither has a certain attribution or provenance. These are the *Self-Portrait as a Warrior* in the Palazzo Chigi-Saracini, Siena (Figure 13),³⁴ and a very similar *Self-Portrait* in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Figure 14).³⁵ The physical features of both resemble those in the Metropolitan Museum's painting, and they may be later works based on this portrait. The bold, dramatic characterization in the Siena painting, especially the drawing of the sword, appears to suggest the legendary Rosa of the nineteenth-century Romantics, although Meroni believes this painting to be a portrait by Rosa of Agostini Chigi, governor of Castel Sant' Angelo, Rome, from 1656 to 1667.³⁶

Analysis of the Metropolitan painting's imagery provides further support for its being a self-representation.



13. Salvator Rosa(?), *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 94 × 107 cm. Siena, collection Chigi-Saraceni (photo: Alinari)

Rosa was influenced by the well-established tradition of the *vanitas* or *memento mori* portrait with a skull.³⁷ Several seventeenth-century Northern European artists portrayed themselves holding or pointing to a skull, usually accompanied by books, manuscripts, and the tools of the trade: palette and brushes. There are examples by Jan Molenaer (about 1640), Gerard de Lairesse (about 1675–80),³⁸ and Samuel van Hoogstraten (1644), who depicted himself as a melancholic, gazing pensively at an open book surrounded by a skull, hourglass, and snuffed candle, symbols of the transitoriness of human life (Figure 15).³⁹

Another example of a *memento mori* portrait with compositional and iconographic similarities is Robert Walker's 1648 half-length portrait of John Evelyn, in which the subject, dressed informally, leans on one hand in melancholic contemplation while the other hand

lightly covers a skull that rests in front of him (Figure 16). A Greek inscription (Repentance is the beginning of wisdom) appears on a column above Evelyn, and a handwritten quotation from Seneca on the importance of preparing for death lies beneath the skull.⁴⁰ As in Rosa's painting, Evelyn is depicted as a Stoic man of letters who reflects on the temporary nature of human life.

The emphasis Rosa placed on the melancholic contemplation of death, as well as his physical appearance and other circumstantial evidence, strongly suggests that the painting was made at the end of 1656 or in early 1657. That year marked Rosa's darkest moment of despair, for he was compelled then to send his beloved Lucrezia and their son, Rosalvo, away from Rome in order to escape persecution from the Church for living in sin. Mistress and child went to Naples and stayed with Rosa's family; but 1656 was the year in which the plague ravaged that city, and by July or early August Rosalvo, as well as Rosa's brother Giuseppe, had died.



14. Salvator Rosa(?), *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 75 × 61 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, John and Rhoda Lord Fund (photo: Detroit Institute of Arts)

15. Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–78), *Self-Portrait*. Oil on panel, 58 × 74 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. (photo: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen)



In August Rosa also learned of the death of his old friend Giulio Maffei. Although Lucrezia survived and returned to Rome, Rosa found it nearly impossible to work for much of that year and was preoccupied with thoughts of death, the arbitrariness of fortune, and the transitoriness of human life. In August 1656 Rosa declared that he was the most unhappy man alive, without hope of ever returning to a state of tranquillity.⁴¹ He was able to continue work on the series of etchings known as the *Figurine* for Carlo de' Rossi, but he found himself unable to pick up his brushes for many months (beginning in the summer) until almost the end of 1656.⁴²

When Rosa was finally able to return to painting by the end of the year, he must have begun the powerfully pessimistic painting known as *L'Umana Fragilità* (Fig-



16. Robert Walker (1607–58), *Portrait of John Evelyn*. Oil on canvas. London, National Portrait Gallery (photo: National Portrait Gallery)

ure 17).⁴³ This allegorical yet highly personal painting of human frailty and the transitoriness of life was described and explained at length by Baldinucci. The grim skeleton, putti burning tow on the end of a distaff and blowing bubbles, cypress-wreathed Terminus, fragile butterflies, monumental obelisk, and other symbols surround the female personification of Human Frailty, who wears roses in her hair, symbolic of love and evanescence, as well as Rosa's own name.⁴⁴ His monogram appears on the knife blade in the foreground—another reminder of abrupt separation through death. The innocent infant, seated like the Christ Child on a woman's lap, his helpless arm in the grip of grinning Death, writes the words: "Conceptio Culpi Nasci Pena Labor Vita Necessesse Mori" (Conception is sinful; birth a punishment; life, hard labor; death, inevitable). Rosa's biographer connected these

17. Salvator Rosa, *L'Umana Fragilità*. Oil on canvas, 186.5 × 133 cm. Cambridge, Eng., Fitzwilliam Museum (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)



18. Salvator Rosa, *Study for Self-Portrait*. Pen, brown ink, and brown wash over red chalk, 9.4 × 8.6 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico)

phrases and the painting in general with a poem dedicated to Rosa by Ricciardi. The words in Rosa's painting are almost exactly those in Ricciardi's *canzone*:

Rosa, il nascere è pena,
Il vivere è fatica,
Et il morir necessità fatale; . . .⁴⁵

The overall theme of Ricciardi's poem is the human condition, but the specific subject is Rosa himself, whom the poet consoles and commends for his virtue and strength in adversity. He praises Rosa's defiance of fortune and describes him as wearing the double laurels of painting and poetry, while his greatest talent is the candid splendor of the moral conduct with which he faces destiny. Rosa is compared to the great Stoic heroes of antiquity: Socrates, Seneca, Scipio, Regulus, Cato. He is counseled to remain strong, for his talents and virtues will eventually be appreciated by those who truly comprehend, and ultimately he will triumph:

Credi, Rosa, al mio canto:
Presto verrà quel giorno
Ch'alle nostre vittorie il Ciel destina;
Tra 'l foco, e 'l vento, i pregi
Dimostran L'Oro e L'Elce,

E l'indurata selce
 Se percossa non è, cela i suoi fregi.
 Sia fulminato e scosso il fragil velo;
 Glorioso è cader per man del Cielo.⁴⁶

Scholars have assumed that Ricciardi's poem was written in 1652 on the basis of information contained in a letter Rosa wrote on July 6, 1652, in which he mentioned an unidentified *canzone* Ricciardi had sent him.⁴⁷ Other evidence, however, suggests that Ricciardi composed the poem in 1656, a more probable date in terms of the poem's theme and its relation to Rosa's desperate unhappiness at that time. This would also establish its composition directly before the painting of *L'Umana Fragilità*, to which it is connected circumstantially and iconographically. In the postscript of a letter dated August 12, 1656, in which Rosa lamented his son's death and described himself as the most unfortunate man alive, he added: "La Sua canzone è degno parte del vostro ingegno" (Your ode is worthy of your genius).⁴⁸ In all likelihood this refers to the poem written for Rosa as a friend's consolation during his period of tragic loneliness.

There are numerous stylistic and iconographic affini-

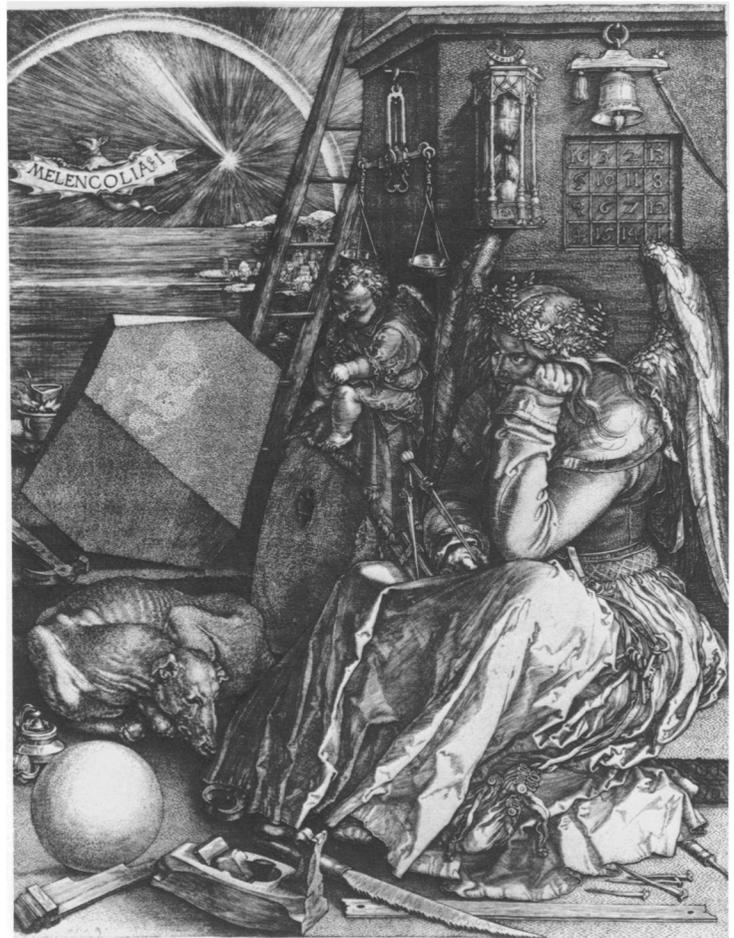
19. Salvator Rosa, *Study for "L'Umana Fragilità."* Pen, brown ink, and wash, 21.6 × 15.2 cm. Collection Nathalie and Hugo Weisgall (photo: S. Wassynng)

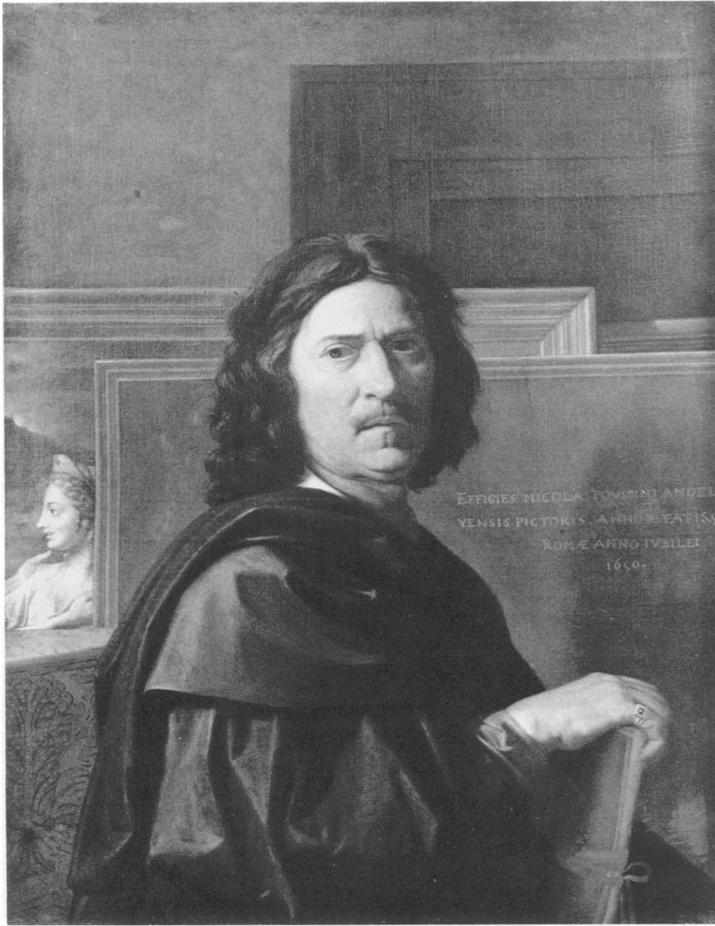


ties between *L'Umana Fragilità* and the Metropolitan Museum's portrait. The brooding atmosphere, dark sky, garlands of funereal cypress, and the physical presence of death as skull and bones are self-evident. Several drawings provide a further link between them.⁴⁹ In one drawing, which appears to be a study for the self-portrait, a long-haired male figure holds a pen poised above a skull, while more skulls and crossbones are lightly sketched above him on a funerary monument and a second base (Figure 18).⁵⁰ Similarly, in a preparatory study for *L'Umana Fragilità* the figures of woman, child, putti, and Death are grouped below the base of a large funerary monument decorated with curved volutes and a skull and crossbones (Figure 19).⁵¹ In the painting *L'Umana Fragilità* this monument is straight-sided and topped by the sculptured bust of Terminus, but in the drawings the ideas for the funerary monument are quite similar.

Wallace has pointed out several strong and direct connections between Rosa's *L'Umana Fragilità* and Albrecht Dürer's engraving *Melencolia I* (Figure 20),

20. Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), *Melencolia I* (B.74). Engraving, 24.3 × 18.7 cm. The Art Museum, Princeton University, Gift of J. Lionberger Davis (photo: The Art Museum)





21. Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 98 × 74 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)

which also shows a seated wreathed woman, a child who scribbles, and symbols of practical and theoretical human activities.⁵² Elements in Rosa's self-portrait also suggest a relationship with Dürer's well-known and influential print, which has been understood to represent the debilitating effects of an artist's melancholy. As symbolized by the actively scribbling putto and the passive, contemplative figure of Melancholy, artistic practice severed from theory results in the impossibility of meaningful creation. The cure for the artist's melancholy is found through strengthening the bond between intellectual and practical skill and pursuing purposeful activity.⁵³ Thus, although Rosa portrayed himself as a melancholic, he is not shown in passive contemplation of the death's head but as writing directly on the skull.

The emphasis on the act of writing in both of Rosa's paintings provides the most significant link between the self-portrait and the allegorical *L'Umana Fragilità*. In the self-portrait the crumpled paper bearing the dedication to Ricciardi features prominently as a distinct visual element tucked between the closed book and the open book, the pages of which are covered with illegible (albeit decorative) script. In fact, the skull is surrounded by various forms of writing, virtually confined between Rosa's writing hands, the paper, and books. In *L'Umana Fragilità* the main focal point is the infant, writing in large, clearly legible script the words that paraphrase Ricciardi's poem. The long, stiff sheet of parchment forms the centerpiece of the composition and commands the attention of the woman, child, and Death, who grasps the child's arm to create a grim contrast between the hard, bony fingers and soft, youthful flesh.

Baldinucci documented the connection between the painting *L'Umana Fragilità* and Ricciardi's poem; similarly, Rosa's self-portrait must be understood as a pictorial response to the *canzone*, functioning as its visual equivalent. The painting was a special gift for a sympathetic friend, "dono a suo amico," to commemorate their personal and intellectual relationship. The portrait is an example of a *Freundschaftsbild* (a friendship painting),⁵⁴ which, in addition to recording the likeness of the artist, self-consciously alludes to the *conchetto* of presence and absence. Rosa appears unaware of the viewer, self-absorbed; he is not depicted as though looking into a mirror (as in most artists' self-portraits), and perhaps ironically—despite his Stoic stance—he does not peer into the mirror of self-knowledge. Rather, we see him as if through Ricciardi's eyes, not just as described verbally by the poet but actually, as if viewed by him.

In most portraits or self-portraits intended for a particular individual, such as the self-portrait painted by Nicolas Poussin for his friend and patron Chantelou (Figure 21), the subject poses as if looking directly and meaningfully out of the picture to link the artist-subject with the viewer-friend. Other mid-seventeenth-century examples are Nicolas Regnier's *Self-Portrait of the Artist at His Easel* (Figure 22), in which he is shown painting the portrait of another man, and the double portrait by Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne and Nicolas de Plattefontaine (Figure 23).⁵⁵ In Regnier's picture both the "real" image of the artist and the painted image on the canvas make eye contact with the spectator. The double portrait shows both friends together looking out of the



22. Nicolas Regnier
(1591–1667), *Self-Portrait
of the Artist at His Easel*.
Oil on canvas, 110.5 ×
137.5 cm. Cambridge,
Fogg Art Museum,
Harvard University, Gift
of Mrs. Eric Schroeder
(photo: Fogg Art Museum)

picture. In contrast, Rosa portrays himself alone, apparently unaware of the viewer. His solitary presence and the friend's implied absence are essential to our understanding of the full meaning of this picture.

In order to justify a date in the mid-1650s, Mahoney had suggested that “nell'Eremo” could refer metaphorically to Rosa's loneliness and solitary existence in Rome, far away from his dear friend, rather than to an actual “retreat” where the portrait was painted. Support for this interpretation can be found in Rosa's own language, for in poetic expression “eremo” can mean a solitary place, an idea consistent with Rosa's attitude toward his situation in Rome during the mid-1650s when, in addition to having had to bear the death of his son, brother, and old friend Giulio Maffei, he was attacked by rival poets, accused of plagiarism, and threatened with excommunication, to which he responded by composing “Invidia” and “Tireno,” his bitterest personal satires.⁵⁶

Ricciardi, too, had employed a variant of the word “eremo,” “èrmo,” which may also be related to this idea. In his *canzone* to Rosa the verses that immediately follow

those paraphrased in the painting *L'Umana Fragilità* continue:

Così forte catena
Ambo gl'estremi implica,
Che distinguer non so Morte, o Natale;
Ci prova eterna forza
In quest'erma palestra;
L'onnipotente destra
Guida i seguaci, e i renitenti sforza;
Il decreto del fato il tutto regge,
Ma pria del fato a noi virtù dia legge. . . .⁵⁷

The literary phrase “erma palestra” (solitary training ground) can be understood, according to seventeenth-century usage of “palestra,” as a place where the individual learns virtue—perhaps in competition with others—through grappling with one's passions in order to gain control.⁵⁸ In 1685 Rome was described as “la palestra nella quale meglio che altrove si apprende la forma da frenar le passioni” (the grappling ground where it is better than anywhere else to learn to restrain the passions).⁵⁹ Thus Rosa may have used “eremo” in the same sense, the lonely place in which he struggles to



23. Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne (1631–81) and Nicolas de Platemontagne (1631–1706), *Double Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 132 × 185 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (photo: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen)

gain control of his passions and to practice virtue. Rosa’s “eremo” could imply the whole world, but at least it suggests Rosa’s separation from his friend and may be identified with his place of exile, the city of Rome. In any case, the dedication need not be understood literally as a country villa or retreat where the work was actually painted.

During the period from August 1656, when Rosa’s son and brother died, to June 1657, Rosa’s letters to Ricciardi were filled with anguish and anger, frustration and sorrow, and he constantly sought his absent friend’s support. The letters allude to his melancholy state of mind, his loneliness in Rome, and how very much he missed Ricciardi’s company. He lamented that even the

philosophy of the Stoics could not console him; for their theory, as written in notes and recorded by history, was quite different from the practice of Stoic behavior. What we read of Seneca’s bravery in the face of death is no greater than that of the common man condemned to the gallows. All Seneca’s “schiamazzo della vita beatà e tranquillità dell’animo” (racket about a happy life and tranquility of the soul) had been supported by the comforts of his own large fortune, while Rosa, who has little, suffers so much more.⁶⁰

The following month Rosa declared that his greatest comfort was to meditate on Ricciardi, “la vostra persona, il vostro amore, la vostra virtù,” joined to the hope that one day soon he would see him again.⁶¹ A few weeks later Rosa wrote that he had no consolation apart from meditation on the great day when he might find himself with Ricciardi, all he cared for in this life.⁶² In October 1656, when he had not heard from Ricciardi for a few weeks, he admonished that “il privar un amico di

mia qualità delle consuete consolazioni son . . . heresie nel Tribunale dell'Amicitia" (deprivation of the usual solace accorded a friend of my quality is heresy in the Court of Friendship).⁶³

During the rest of that year and into the spring of 1657 Rosa continued his outpouring of distress and need for comfort, culminating in June with the statement that his greatest torment was considering himself far away from Ricciardi; he did not know when these increasing maledictions, now hardened into melancholia from which it seemed impossible to rouse himself, would cease. Each day he grew worse, but by now at least he could shield himself from the most extreme agony through the application of paintbrush or pen.⁶⁴ Earlier in the same month he had written that he was feeling some relief from his fiendish afflictions through poetry; he was composing a new satire, most likely the "Tireno."⁶⁵ This bitter satire expresses the pessimistic belief that the world has become too corrupt for anyone to be instructed in good conduct, and the rules of Seneca or Zeno serve only to depress the spirit, thus rendering the cruel Neroes worse.⁶⁶ Rosa, through the voice of "Tireno," claimed that he would now give up satire to concentrate on his own moral conduct with "un cranio spolpato" (a skull) as master,⁶⁷ an image reminiscent of the portrait.

Thus, by the middle of the year, although still depressed, Rosa was back at work painting as well as writing. This is the most likely period for Rosa to have produced the personal allegory of death and loss, *L'Umana Fragilità*, as well as the self-portrait for Ricciardi, his distant yet consoling friend. Ricciardi had sent Rosa the *canzone* in an attempt to lift his spirits, and Rosa responded with

these paintings, one providing a pictorial rendering of Ricciardi's words and sentiments, the other a visual equivalent to Ricciardi's poetic image of his melancholy friend.

Dating the self-portrait at this time may also help to explain the overpainting of the name Seneca on the spine of the book and the tear that runs down Rosa's cheek in contradiction to the Stoic conduct attributed to him by Ricciardi. Initially, inspired by Ricciardi's ode and in accordance with the iconography for a *memento mori* portrait, Rosa had included the book of Seneca. However, he then ironically subverted the Stoic ideal, for as expressed in his letters and in "Tireno," Rosa rejected Seneca and renounced the consolations of Stoic philosophy. Seneca's philosophy had become inappropriate for this particular portrayal; rather than a display of calm contemplation in the face of death, Rosa weeps for his losses and his desire to join Ricciardi. The words inscribed on the skull in Greek—"Behold, whither, when"—allude not only to Death itself, the sinister winged skeleton of *L'Umana Fragilità*, but also to Ricciardi, Rosa's solace. The written word in the poem, letters, and painting and the act of writing as depicted in the painting tie them together, and Rosa's self-portrait completes the bond through which Ricciardi may actually see his friend as he imagines him: reflective, solitary, and sad, yet free of his melancholy inertia.

In conclusion, the Metropolitan Museum's painting seems to be a self-portrait painted for Ricciardi early in 1657 in Rome. It was most likely conceived at the same time as *L'Umana Fragilità* as a response to Ricciardi's ode and to provide a surrogate image for his absent friend.

NOTES

1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mary L. Harrison, 21.105. Oil on canvas, 99.1 × 79.4 cm. Harry B. Wehle, *Metropolitan Museum Catalogue of Italian, Spanish and Byzantine Paintings* (New York, 1940) p. 260.

2. Richard W. Wallace, "The Genius of Salvator Rosa," *Art Bulletin* 47 (1965) p. 474; idem, "Salvator Rosa's *Democritus* and *L'Umana Fragilità*," *Art Bulletin* 50 (1968); idem, *The Etchings of Salvator Rosa* (Princeton, 1979) pp. 43–44, 21–22; idem, *Salvator Rosa in America*, exh. cat. (Wellesley, Mass., 1979) pp. 12–13. See also Luigi Salerno, *L'opera completa di Salvator Rosa* (Milan, 1975) pp. 86–87; and Wendy W. Roworth, "Pictor Succensor": *A Study of Salvator Rosa as Satirist, Cynic, and Painter* (New York/London, 1978) pp. 258–259.

3. According to Keith Christiansen, Associate Curator at the Metropolitan Museum, to whom I am grateful for assistance in

studying this painting. Wallace had noted that "Seneca" was lightly painted out and suggested that Rosa did so when he realized Seneca's writings did not fully support the quietistic attitude expressed by the painting (*The Etchings*, p. 44).

4. On Ricciardi and his relationship with Rosa, see Aldo de Rinaldis, *Lettere inedite di Salvator Rosa a G. B. Ricciardi* (Rome, 1939) pp. xlii–xliv; Uberto Limentani, *Poesie e lettere inedite di Salvator Rosa* (Florence, 1950) pp. 30–34, and *La Satira nel Seicento* (Milan, 1961) pp. 125–128. Earlier sources on Ricciardi's life and poetry include E. Toci, *G. B. Ricciardi, Rime burlesche edite e inedite* (Livorno, 1881); Angelo Fabroni, *Historia Academiae Pisanae* (Pisa, 1795; Bologna, 1971) III, pp. 127–133; and Francesco Inghirami, *Storia della Toscana* (Fiesole, 1844) XIV, pp. 175–177.

5. Salerno had first dated this to 1659 (Salvator Rosa [Milan, 1963] p. 123) and later to June 1640, at Monterufoli ("Salvator

Rosa at the Hayward Gallery," *Burlington Magazine* [December, 1973] p. 827; and *L'opera completa*, no. 27, p. 86); Lucio Festa as at Strozzevolpe, 1659 ("Una redazione inedita del 'Tireno' di Salvator Rosa," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* [Naples, 1979] ser. 3, XVIII, p. 192, and "Salvator Rosa filosofo," *Criterio* [Naples, 1985] p. 58); Wallace, ca. 1650 (*Salvator Rosa in America*, p. 13); and Helen Langdon in *Salvator Rosa*, exh. cat. (London, 1973) p. 22 as the early 1650s at the latest.

6. Michael Mahoney, *The Drawings of Salvator Rosa* (New York/London, 1977) I, group 49, pp. 471–477.

7. See John T. Spike, *Baroque Portraiture in Italy: Works from North American Collections*, exh. cat. (Hartford, Conn./Sarasota, Fla., 1985) no. 58, p. 158.

8. See note 5 above. Salerno originally believed it was Rosa (*Salvator Rosa*), then accepted it as Ricciardi (*L'opera completa*); Wallace has always believed it to be a self-portrait, as have Mahoney (*Drawings*) and Festa (*"Una redazione"*). Langdon (*Salvator Rosa*) was noncommittal and presented both views. Limentani has been unsure but favors it as a self-portrait (letter). Ubaldo Meroni (see note 9 below) has been adamant in insisting on the Ricciardi identification, which was accepted by Spike (*Baroque Portraiture*). I first published it as a self-portrait (*Pictor Succesor*) then accepted it, reluctantly, as Ricciardi, in a review of "Baroque Portraiture in Italy," *Burlington Magazine* 127 (June 1985) p. 406.

9. The one painting identified as a specific individual, Sir James Altham, supposedly a pupil of Rosa in Rome, is at Kingston Lacy (National Trust). See Clovis Whitfield and Jane Martineau, eds., *Painting in Naples 1606–1705 from Caravaggio to Giordano*, exh. cat. (London/Washington, D.C., 1982) no. 137, p. 238. Meroni proposed, with dubious proof, that, in addition to three portraits he has identified as Ricciardi, other paintings of unidentified male figures represent Agostino Chigi and Giulio Maffei ("Salvator Rosa: autoritratti e ritratti di amici," *Prospettiva* [Apr. 1981] pp. 65–70).

10. Catherine Monbeig and Walter Vitzthum, *Le dessin à Naples*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1967). This idea was noted in the catalogue for the exhibition of Salvator Rosa's works held in London in 1973 (*Salvator Rosa*, no. 22, p. 27), and Zeri's intuitive suggestion was accepted by Salerno in his review of this exhibition ("Salvator Rosa at the Hayward Gallery," p. 827); see also Burton B. Frederickson and Federico Zeri, *Census of Pre-Nineteenth-Century Paintings in North American Public Collections* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) p. 177.

11. Ubaldo Meroni, *Lettere e altri documenti intorno alla storia della pittura. G. B. Castiglione, Salvator Rosa, G. L. Bernini*, Fonti per la storia della pittura e della scultura antica, VIII (Monzambano, 1978) pp. 7–8; idem, "Autoritratti."

12. Meroni, *Lettere*, p. 95: "Inventario dei beni di Giovanni Battista Ricciardi, 22 aprile 1687" (Ricciardi had died in 1686).

13. Meroni, *Lettere*, p. 105: "Il Ricciardi in abito dell filosofico ritratto in atto di contemplare un teschio umano, nel cui quadro son queste parole scritte: 'Salvator Rosa dipinse nell'Eremo e dono a Gio Batt Ricciardi suo amico.' . . ." Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli, "La Toscana letterata ovvero Storia degli scrittori fiorentini," unpublished manuscript (Magliabecchiano, classe IX, codice 67, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence).

14. Meroni, *Lettere*, p. 104. *Della biblioteca volante di Gio Cinelli Calvoli* (Venice, 1699) p. 91: "Fu Rosa da me ben conosciuto in

Firenze ed in Pisa in casa del suo amico Ricciardi col quale aveva qualche servitù. . . Era Rosa graziosissimo ed ameno nella conversazione, la quale godei più volte essendo commensale del Ricciardi ch'era buono e leale amico, e questo fu dall'anno 1645 fino al 1650. . . ."

15. Fabroni, *Historia Academiae* III, p. 132: "Ut vero gratissimus erga Ricciardium cognosceretur, amico unico (sic illum appellabat) suam effigiem, aliasque tabulas dono dedit. . . ." I wish to thank Lucio Festa for bringing this passage to my attention. Limentani has noted a passage in Inghirami, XIV, p. 176, which states that among the most beautiful pictures by Rosa given to Ricciardi was one in which he had portrayed "il Ricciardi in abito filosofico, in atto di contemplare un teschio umano." This may refer to the portrait of Ricciardi in the inventory cited above, but it is likely that such statements relied on earlier sources who confused the paintings and identities. See note 4 above.

16. National Gallery, London, no. 680. Oil on canvas, 116 × 96 cm. See Michael Levey, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Italian Schools* (London, 1971) pp. 200–202; Langdon, *Salvator Rosa*, no. 9, p. 22.

17. Most scholars have accepted this as a self-portrait although Ellis K. Waterhouse had expressed doubts (Levey, *Italian Schools*, p. 201), and Langdon found the features of the New York painting difficult, but not impossible, to reconcile with those of the National Gallery painting (*Salvator Rosa*, p. 27). On the other hand, Meroni drew attention to the "striking resemblance" between them and claimed that the London painting also represented Ricciardi, not Rosa ("Autoritratti," p. 65).

18. *Il Trionfo delle Bell'Arti renduto gloriosissimo*, SS. Annunziata (Florence, 1767) p. 21, noted in Levey, *Italian Schools*, p. 201; see also Fabia Borroni Salvadori, "Le esposizioni d'arte a Firenze 1674–1767," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* XVIII (1974) pp. 1–166.

19. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection, 1956.159. Oil on canvas, 104 × 91 cm.; Spike, *Baroque Portraiture*, no. 57, p. 156. See also J. Paoletti, "The Wadsworth Atheneum, The Italian School: Problems and Suggestions," *Apollo* (Dec. 1968) pp. 23–24; and Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1611) pp. 430–432, for the allegorical image of Poetry.

20. "No. 30/La Ricciardi la favorita di Salvator Rosa fatta da lui come la Sibilla per la casa Niccolini a Firenze." I wish to thank the Wadsworth Atheneum for allowing me to examine and photograph the back of their painting.

21. "No. 29/Salvator Rosa/Il suo proprio Ritratto fatto da lui per la Casa Niccolini a Firenze"; Francesco Bocchi and M. Giovanni Cinelli, *Le Bellezze della Città di Firenze. . .* (Florence, 1677) p. 408.

22. *Nota de' quadri e opere di scultura esposti per la festa di San Luca dagli Accademici del Disegno Nella loro Capella, e nel Chiostro secondo il Convento de' PP. della SS. Nonziata di Firenze l'Anno 1729* (Florence, 1729) pp. 27–28; Borroni Salvadori, "Le esposizioni d'arte," p. 27.

23. Meroni, who believes this to be a portrait of Ricciardi, suggested that the identity as Rosa and the inscription were probably fabricated by the marchesi Niccolini. ("Autoritratti," p. 70 n. 6.)

24. See Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion, and Collecting in England and France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1976); and "The Old Masters in 19th-Century French Painting," *Art Quarterly* 34 (1971) pp. 55–85.

25. Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment* (New Haven/London, 1979) pp. 116ff.

26. Bernardo de Dominici, *Le vite dei pittori, scultori, ed architetti napoletani* (Naples, 1742–43); Lady Morgan, *The Life and Times of Salvator Rosa* (London, 1824); see also John Sunderland, "The Legend and Influence of Salvator Rosa in England in the Eighteenth Century," *Burlington Magazine* 115, 849 (Dec. 1973) pp. 785–789.

27. I have argued, in a paper presented in a symposium on Italian Baroque Art at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in 1984, and in a more developed version at the Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies, University of Durham, in 1987, that the National Gallery painting is meant to represent a "speaking picture" and can be understood as a form of visual rhetoric and companion to "silent poetry."

28. *Il Trionfo delle Bell'Arti*, p. 32, in the collection of cav. Niccolò Ricciardi Serguidi. See Borroni Salvadori, "Le esposizioni d'arte," p. 120.

29. Borroni Salvadori, "Le esposizioni d'arte," p. 119.

30. Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua . . .* (Florence, 1773; Florence, 1847) V, p. 448. The painting is now in the Galleria Pitti, Florence. See Salerno, *L'opera completa*, p. 91.

31. The portrait hung in the Casa Maffei, Volterra; see L. Festa, "I lunghi amichevoli rapporti fra Salvator Rosa e i Maffei," *Volterra* II, 12 (Dec. 1963). In 1681 it was acquired by Cosimo III de' Medici; see also Meroni, *Lettere*, VIII, p. 76; idem, "Autoritratti," p. 68.

32. Viterbo, Museo Civico. Salerno, *L'opera completa*, no. 10, p. 85. See also Langdon, *Salvator Rosa*, add., no. 151, p. 87; and Mahoney, *The Drawings*, I, pp. 55–58.

33. Rosa mentioned this engraved portrait in a letter to Ricciardi in Dec. 1662. See Limentani, *Poesie e lettere*, p. 129. See also Meroni, "Autoritratti," p. 67; and M. Rotili, *Salvator Rosa incisore* (Naples, 1984) pp. 68, 114, n. 9.

34. Palazzo Chigi-Saraceni, Siena. Oil on canvas, 94 × 107 cm. See Salerno, *L'opera completa*, p. 87, no. 34; Meroni, "Autoritratti," p. 66; and *Civiltà del Seicento a Napoli*, exh. cat. (Naples, 1984) II, p. 428 n. 215 as "Portrait of an Armed Gentleman."

35. Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, John and Rhoda Lord Fund 66.191. Oil on canvas, 74.93 × 60.96 cm. See Wallace, *The Etchings*, p. 14, fig. 5.

36. Meroni, "Autoritratti," p. 66; Wallace (*The Etchings*, p. 14, n. 7) suggests that the Chigi-Saraceni painting follows the Detroit Institute painting and is probably by another hand.

37. This was suggested by Wallace, "Salvator Rosa's Democritus," p. 21; see also Robert Oertel, "Die Vergänglichkeit der Künste: ein Vanitas-Stilleben von Salvator Rosa," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 3 (1963) p. 108.

38. See H.-J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim, 1984) pp. 266–281, figs. 161, 163; he discusses many other examples and varieties of Northern European self-portraits.

39. Museum Boymans–van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 1386. Raupp, *Untersuchungen*, fig. 164. Raupp noted Rosa's National Gallery painting as a rare Italian example of the artist as

melancholic with the distinguishing characteristic of silence as indicated by the inscription: AUT TACE, / AUT LOQUERE MELIORA / SILENTIO, p. 271, n. 454.

40. National Portrait Gallery, London, L166, on loan from private collection; see also *Catalogue of Seventeenth-Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery, 1625–1714*, compiled by D. Piper (Cambridge, Eng., 1963).

41. Rinaldis, *Lettere*, no. 59, Aug. 12, 1656, p. 84.

42. On Aug. 19, 1656 (Limentani, *Poesie*, no. xxiv, p. 113), Rosa wrote that he had not painted for three months. In September (Limentani, "Salvator Rosa—nuovi contributi all'epistolario," *Studi Secenteschi* 13 [1972] p. 266) he states that it had been five months since he had picked up his brushes. By Oct. 14, 1656 (Limentani, "Salvator Rosa—nuovi studi e ricerche," *Italian Studies* 8 [1953] p. 53) the series of etchings dedicated to Carlo de' Rossi was finished.

43. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Eng. Oil on canvas, 199 × 133 cm. Langdon, *Salvator Rosa*, no. 27, pp. 29–30; Salerno, *L'opera completa*, no. 116, pp. 94–95; and *Civiltà*, no. 2.214, p. 427. The date of 1656–57 is now generally accepted, based on an inventory of Flavio Cardinal Chigi's possessions in 1658. Chigi first came to Rome in 1656 and was made a cardinal in 1657. Stylistic affinities with other paintings of this period also support this date. For a full discussion of the work, see Wallace, "Salvator Rosa's Democritus," pp. 27–31; Mahoney, *The Drawings*, II, no. 48.1; and Roworth, *Pictor Succensor*, pp. 259–261.

44. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, V, p. 445.

45. The entire poem, which begins "Sotto rigida stella/Chi nacque per languire. . ." was published by Giovanni Alberto Cesareo, *Poesie e lettere edite e inedite di Salvator Rosa* (Naples, 1892) II, pp. 138–148, from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome. Ricciardi's source was an obscure poem by the 12th-century Adam of St. Victor. See Wallace, "Salvator Rosa's Democritus," p. 29.

46. Cesareo, *Poesie e lettere* II, p. 148.

47. Rinaldis (*Lettere*, no. 22, July 6, 1652, p. 37, n. 1): "La canzone se me la manderete mi sarà cara, perchè è parto del vostro ingegno. Ma per dirvela con schiettezza, in sentir Cascina mi vien voglia di cacare non essendo soggetto questo da cantar fra i Volluni Bandinelli e Salvator Rosa." The date of 1652 was accepted by Salerno and Wallace. Festa believes the ode was composed in 1656 and that the one of 1652 was actually written for Ricciardi's friend Pietro Cascina, Gran Priore dei cavalieri di Santo Stefano in Pisa, on the occasion of his marriage, printed in 1652 in Pisa for Niccolò Galeotti. "Una redazione inedita del 'Tireno' di Salvator Rosa," *Archivio Storico*, p. 194.

48. Rinaldis, *Lettere*, no. 59, Aug. 12, 1656, p. 84.

49. In Mahoney's chronology of Rosa's drawings, the sketches for *L'Umana Fragilità* (Group 48) precede those related to the self-portrait (Group 49), both dated between 1655 and 1659; Mahoney, *The Drawings*, I, pp. 465–477.

50. Uffizi, Florence, no. 12093F. Pen, brown ink, and brown wash over red chalk, 94 × 86 cm. Mahoney, *The Drawings*, I, no. 49.4, pp. 474–475.

51. Collection Nathalie and Hugo Weisgall. Pen, ink, and wash, 21.6 × 15.2 cm.; see D. C. Miller, "A Preparatory Study for Salvator Rosa's *L'Umana Fragilità*," *Burlington Magazine* 119 (1977) p. 272, fig. 66.

52. Wallace, "Salvator Rosa's Democritus," pp. 27–28; Dürer, *Melencolia I* (B. 74), engraving, 24.3 × 18.7 cm. (1514).

53. See Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (New York, 1964) pp. 388–390.

54. As noted by Spike, *Baroque Portraiture*, no. 58, p. 158, although this catalogue identifies the figure as Ricciardi. On *Freundschaftsbilder* in general see Klaus Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik* (Heidelberg, 1952) chap. 2, "Das humanistische Freundschaftsbild"; and Horst Keller, "Entstehung und Blütezeit des Freundschaftsbildes," *Essays in the History of Art presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London, 1967) pp. 161–173.

55. On Poussin, see Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin* (1967) no. 2, p. 8; Matthias Winner, "Poussins Selbstbildnis im Louvre als Kunsttheoretische Allegorie," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1983) pp. 417–448; O. Bätschmann, *Dialektik der Malerei von Nicolas Poussin* (Munich, 1982) and especially the review by Elizabeth Cropper (*Art Bulletin* 65 [1983] pp. 700–701), who associates the *conetto* of presence and absence with earlier Renaissance portraits created in response to Petrarch's sonnets. On the Regnier (Niccolò Renieri) painting (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., no. 1982.116, Gift of Mrs. Eric Schroeder), see Spike, *Baroque Portraiture*, no. 50, p. 142. For the double portrait of the artists J.-B. de Champaigne and N. de Plattemontagne, see Siegmund Holsten, *Das Bild des Künstlers: Selbstdarstellungen*, exh. cat. (Hamburg, 1978) p. 100, fig. 205. Other examples of 17th-century portraits related to this idea are Michelangelo Cerquozzi's portrait of a gentleman (Rome), which shows the back of the man accompanied by a grinning self-portrait with palette and brushes on the reverse of the canvas, and Johannes Gump's self-portrait (ca. 1650) in the Medici collection, Uffizi, in which he depicts himself from the back, his own face hidden yet seen in the painting within the painting and reflected in a mirror. The "painted" image looks out rather than the "real" artist, who is unaware of the viewer's presence. See also Giuliano Briganti et al., *I Bamboccianti* (Rome, 1983) p. 132; Paul Ortwin Rave, "Das Selbstbildnis des Johannes Gump in den Uffizien," *Pantheon* 18 (1960); Kristina Herrmann-Fiore, "Due artisti allo specchio: un doppio ritratto del Museo di Würzburg attribuito a Giovanni Battista Paggi," *Storia dell'Arte* 47 (1983) pp. 29–38; John Wetenhall, "Self-Portrait on an Easel: Annibale Carracci and the Artist in Self-Portraiture," *Art International* 27 (Aug. 1984) pp. 48–

55, and Caterina Caneva and Antonio Natali, *Painters by Painters*, exh. cat. (New York/Houston, 1988), no. 17.

56. See Limentani, *La Satira*, pp. 193–211, 234–244; Roworth, *Pictor Succensor*, pp. 156–192; and Festa, "Una redazione."

57. Cesario, *Poesie e lettere*, p. 143: "A strong bond links together the extremes that make it impossible to separate Death from Life. An eternal force tests us in this solitary training ground. The all-powerful hand guides its followers, the reluctant hold back; The decree of Fate rules all, But above Fate, virtue is our law."

58. S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (Torino, 1984) XII, p. 400, "palestra," no. 5, defined as used figuratively: "Luogo o ambiente in cui si svolge un'attività, per lo più di carattere intellettuale, spesso in competizione con altre persone, o si manifestano le attitudini e le qualità morali" (A place or milieu in which activity of a most intellectual nature takes place, especially in competition with others, or attitudes and moral qualities are revealed).

59. G. B. Pacichelli, *Memorie di viaggi per l'Europa cristiana* (Naples, 1685) V, p. 364.

60. Limentani, "Salvator Rosa—nuovi contributi," no. iv, Sept. 9, 1656, p. 256–265.

61. Rinaldis, *Lettere*, no. 60, Oct. 9, 1656, p. 85.

62. *Ibid.*, no. 61, Oct. 21, 1656, p. 86.

63. Limentani, "Salvator Rosa—nuovi studi e ricerche," no. 3, Oct. 14, 1656, p. 52.

64. Limentani, "Salvator Rosa: ultimi contributi all'epistolario," *Studi Secenteschi* 25 (1983) p. 241; see also the letters of Jan. 14, 1657 (Limentani, "Salvator Rosa—nuovi studi," p. 53–54); Mar. 3, 1657 (Rinaldis, *Lettere*, no. 62, p. 87): "Quello che sopra ogni altra cosa mi tiene in affezione, è il non essere in vostra compagnia e diviarmi con le solite occupazioni" (That which above all else keeps me in distress is not being in your company, and I divert myself with the usual pursuits).

65. Limentani, *Poesie*, no. xxvii, June 15, 1657, p. 115. Festa has convincingly argued that this satire was "Tireno," not "Babilonia," as had been suggested by Rinaldis.

66. "Tireno," vv. 163–165 (Festa).

67. *Ibid.*, v. 606.

Addenda to the Small-Scale Sculpture of Matthieu van Beveren of Antwerp

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SHORTLY AFTER ITS ACQUISITION, a boxwood *Pietà* in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1)¹ was linked to the circle of Matthieu van Beveren (ca. 1630–90) of Antwerp, a sculptor in wood, stone, and ivory on whom I published a preliminary study in 1975,² a study that has prompted a variety of responses. As it happens, no small works in wood by van Beveren have been identified heretofore aside from various crucifixes only tentatively attributed to him. The pieces on a small scale known to be his are all in ivory. Such is also the case, it may be remarked, with Pieter Scheemaeckers the Elder (1652–1714), who produced both large-scale and smaller works in Antwerp.³

In its rather theatrical conception, its concentration on the front view alone—the back is flat, with only summary carving (Figure 2)—and its lively, pyramidal silhouette, the *Pietà* group is reminiscent of the marble tomb monument for Lamoral Claude-François, count of Thurn und Taxis, erected in the church of Notre-Dame-du-Sablon in Brussels in 1678. This latter work, for which the terracotta model also survives (Figure 3),⁴ shows the distinct influence of Gabriel Grupello (1644–1730).⁵ For further comparison, three other works might be mentioned: the small ivory memorial to King James II of England, which dates from the late 1680s and is preserved in the Royal Collections at Windsor Castle⁶; the pillar monument for Jasper Boest in St. Jacobskerk in Antwerp of 1665 (see Figure 13), together with its reduction in ivory⁷; and the companion piece to the latter, the statuette of the Resurrected Christ in Antwerp's Begijnhofkerk.⁸

It was James David Draper who attributed the New York *Pietà* (Figures 1, 2, 6) to the workshop of Matthieu van Beveren, and this finding is supported in part by

comparison with other works definitely known to be from his circle.⁹ One of these is the altar dating to 1668 of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows and St. Barbara in the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in Dendermonde. This work is adorned with wood figures and reliefs, some larger than life, that have been painted white to resemble stone. Various hands were almost certainly employed in the execution of the work. Its central panel, situated between a pair of twisted columns, contains a similar *Pietà* with two sorrowing putti (Figure 4).¹⁰ The composition is different, to be sure, for here the seated Virgin is turned toward the left. The dead Christ is seated at her feet, leaning against her with his right leg extended and his left foot resting on the ground. His right arm lies horizontally across Mary's lap, supported at the wrist by one of the putti. For all of these variations, not to mention the fact that the one work is executed in small format with a polished boxwood surface, while the other is full scale and of painted wood, there are compelling similarities. Among them are the physiognomies of the respective figures, the disposition of the drapery, the balance of the Virgin's pose, the active concern of the putti, the treatment of the bit of earth at the base, and specific details of the hair, hands, and feet, such as the gesture of the Virgin's right hand. In type and style, for example, the putto supporting Christ's wrist in the Dendermonde altar (Figure 5), with his expression of profound sorrow, could be brother to the one standing on the right in the smaller *Pietà* (Figure 6). The putto kneeling at the latter's feet and looking upward (Figure 1) has something of the same concerned air and the rather too complicated crouching posture we find in the putto to the lower right on the altar panel, his gaze fixed on the sponge lying in the basin of vinegar. It is also instructive



1. Matthieu van Beveren (workshop?), *Pietà with Mourning Putti*. Boxwood, H. 45.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Loretta Hines Howard, 1964, 64.164.242



2. *Pietà with Mourning Putti*, view of the back



RIGHT, ABOVE AND BELOW

3. Model for the marble tomb monument of Lamoral Claude-François, count of Thurn und Taxis (d. 1676). Terracotta, H. 81 cm. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels (photo: A.C.L., Brussels)
4. Matthieu van Beveren (and workshop), *Pietà with Mourning Putti*, central relief of the altar to Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows. Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, Dendermonde (photo: A.C.L., Brussels)



5. Mourning Putto, detail of the relief in Figure 4 (photo: A.C.L., Brussels)

to compare these putti with the wooden ones supporting the busts of Christ, the Virgin, and St. John on the pulpit in *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw* in Dendermonde, from 1681 / 84,¹¹ or the numerous ones from the oak portal of the chapel of the Augustinian convent, now in the Stedelijk Museum, Tirlemont. A partial model in terracotta for this latter work may be seen in the *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, Brussels,¹² the design for which, in turn, is Abraham van Diepenbeeck's, and dates to sometime before 1675.¹³

These works, closely related to architecture and



6. Putto, detail of the *Pietà* in Figure 1

tending somewhat toward the decorative (particularly in the area of the console), may be traced back to designs originating in the circle of Anthony van Dyck, for example, in works by Nicolaus van der Horst as well as by Abraham van Diepenbeeck.¹⁴ The same might well be said of compositions like the *Dendermonde Pietà* and the *Thurn und Taxis* monument. The *New York Pietà*, however, has antecedents of its own, one of them being the small marble group that bears the inscription *QVESNOY*—doubtless referring to Jérôme Duquesnoy—and resides in the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna

(Figure 7).¹⁵ This latter work may perhaps be dated to shortly before the middle of the seventeenth century, thanks to the existence of a reflection of it in wood, with certain deviations, on the tomb of Hadelin de Royer erected in 1640/45 in the church of Notre-Dame in Huy.¹⁶

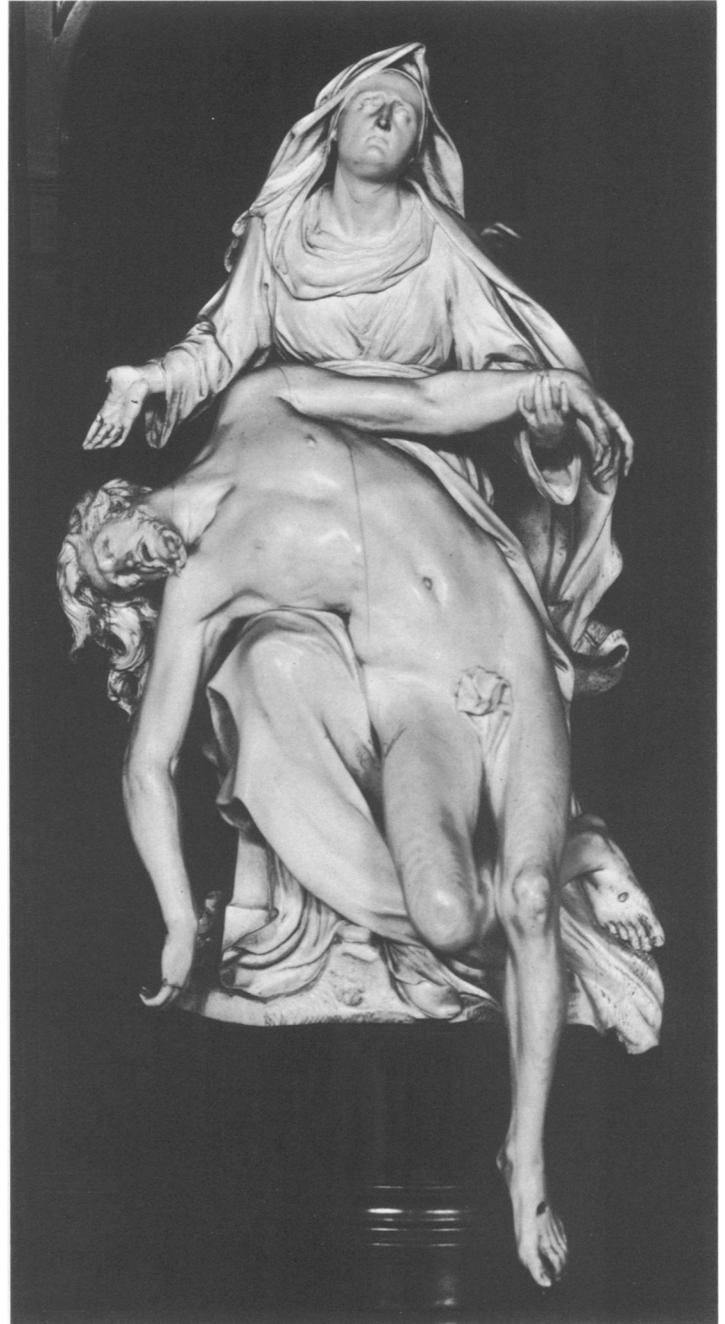
The tomb sculpture, now rather heavily overpainted, reveals, however, a wholly different relationship between the two main figures. The body of the dead Christ lies at a steeper angle, and appears to be almost clamped between the Virgin's knees. His legs fall toward the front,

7. Probably Jérôme Duquesnoy, *Pietà with Mourning Putto*. Marble, H. 35 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



and his left arm lies across his mother's thigh, while she lifts her right hand in a gesture of lament. One of the possible prototypes for the Vienna group by Duquesnoy (Figure 7) is the painting by van Dyck in the same museum,¹⁷ though there—as in the boxwood version in New York (see Figure 1)—Christ's face is turned forward and downward. Duquesnoy's composition tends to isolate the Virgin from the more horizontal corpse of her son, for she sits somewhat straighter, her head inclined to the right, and does not support his arm with

8. Matthieu van Beveren(?), *Pietà*, central group from a small domestic altar. Ivory, H. 31 cm. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels (photo: A.C.L., Brussels)





9. Matthieu van Beveren, *Madonna and Child*. Ivory, H. 58 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (photo: Rijksmuseum).

her hand. With her right hand, however, which is hidden beneath the ample folds of her cloak, she attempts to brace his head. The small putto crouched in front and holding Christ's right hand does nothing to mitigate the isolation of the two figures, the intense sorrow of the mother, and the pitiful lifelessness of her son.

A small-scale ivory *Pietà* without auxiliary figures constitutes the central group of a domestic altar that is much later in conception, now in the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels (Figure 8).¹⁸ In my 1975 article, I chose to attribute the *Pietà*, with some reservations, to Matthieu van Beveren rather than to Jérôme Duquesnoy. It is certainly directly related to the boxwood group in New York (see Figure 1), whose detailing, specifically the hair, the beard, the drapery—odd, the mere wisp of drapery that serves to cover the Brussels Christ's nakedness—and overall modeling strike one as being somewhat less linear and crisp. This is true even in such minor details as the bottom edge of the Virgin's seat and the treatment of the toes and fingers of both figures. Assuming that the ivory work is not a direct copy of the present group (or the reverse, which is scarcely plausible), their extreme similarity would suggest, at least for the two central figures, a common prototype other than the Duquesnoy composition in Vienna. Unfortunately, the existence of the Brussels ivory does not help us in any way to determine the original context for our wooden *Pietà* with its attendant putti, whether it was part of a devotional image or a small domestic altar. It is possible that at one time there were additional auxiliary figures to scale, as in the much later Brussels altar, but this is mere conjecture. We can assume, nonetheless, that as in the case of the altar relief from 1668 in Dendermonde (see Figure 4), a relatively wide cross once rose above the group, and that the whole was set within a more or less architectural frame. The wide groove visible in the back of the Virgin's seat, the various holes, and the indentations along the lower edge of the base would suggest as much.

We know that the large ivory figure of the Madonna in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Figure 9),¹⁹ the small memorial in Windsor Castle, the rapidly modeled *bozzetto* in terracotta for the Tirlmont portal, and the more painstaking terracotta model for the Thurn und Taxis monument in Notre-Dame-du-Sablon in Brussels are largely the work of Matthieu van Beveren's own hand. Comparison with these works, together with the highly sensitive treatment of its surface, lends credence to the attribution of the boxwood group under discus-

sion to the van Beveren workshop. In execution, it is of at least as high quality as the ivory counterpart of the Boest monument in Antwerp (see Figure 14) or of the group of the Resurrected Christ in the Begijnhofkerk.

Two ivory statuettes, previously unpublished, in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, represent the sorrowing Virgin (Figures 10–12) and St. John (Figures 16–18).²⁰ These relatively large figures had been in a private collection until their donation in 1955.

The back of the *St. John* is completely flat (Figure 17), while that of the *Virgin* is essentially flat, with only the most rudimentary carving (Figure 11).²¹ Each stands on a relatively small base that is slightly flared at the top. One is immediately struck by their unusually elongated proportions, most noticeable in their long necks. Both figures, but especially the quietly sorrowing Virgin, recall the sculptural style of Matthieu van Beveren, most notably in the softly billowing drapery and the elegant flourishes of the edges. One is reminded of the Amsterdam *Madonna* (Figure 9), for example, or of the formal idiom of the New York *Pietà* (Figure 1). Yet the *Virgin* and *St. John* fail to achieve the quality of the former; instead they would appear to be the work of a different hand.

The *Virgin* is clearly a reduction, with altered proportions and numerous simplifications and deviations in specific details, of the *Mourning Virgin* in sandstone atop the tomb monument of Jasper Boest in St. Jacobskerk, Antwerp, of 1665 (Figure 13).²² To judge from one relatively minor detail, namely the base with its mere hint of a molding, one suspects that the work was modeled on the ivory reduction of the pillar figure, which survives in the Beguine convent in Antwerp (Figure 14).²³ That reduction would appear to be the work of one of van Beveren's closest associates. In its proportions, the ivory statuette is lighter and thinner than the full-scale sandstone figure. A chalk drawing of the composition, with brown wash highlighted with white, is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Figure 15).²⁴ This is surely not an original design either by van Beveren or one of the painters in his employ; more than likely, it is only a rendering, apparently Flemish, of some particular finished work. The form of the base and certain other details would suggest that it depicts the original monument of 1665 (Figure 13). The drawing reveals an overall simplification similar to that of the ivory statuette in Richmond (Figure 10), but in pointing this out I do not mean

to imply that the two are intimately related. Moreover, the Richmond figure is the only version with the motif of a reverse fold beside and below the Virgin's right foot, and here for the first time the tip of that foot is visible.

In conception and execution, the Richmond figure lacks the brilliance of the Thurn und Taxis monument (Figure 3) and the Amsterdam *Madonna and Child* (Figure 9) in ivory. One cannot help noting, for example, the instability of the Virgin's pose, especially in the side view (Figure 12); the unconvincing disposition of the drapery, most clearly in the area of the right arm and leg; and an awkwardness in the play of folds over the left hip and thigh.

The same observations apply to the figure of St. John (Figures 16–18). Viewed from any angle, he strikes one as being unusually motionless, even stiff. The two were undoubtedly auxiliary figures for a Crucifixion. I am not aware of any representation of St. John by van Beveren that the carver of the present ivory might have used as a model. But this is not to say that he did not have a model, and in fact we need to look no further than the angel in the right-hand niche of the Dendermonde altar of 1668 (Figure 19). The ivory carver has left off the wings, of course, and altered, among other things, the face, the hair, and the position of the hands, but the essential similarity is striking. He has also provided his *St. John* with a long-sleeved garment. The pose as a whole, however—not surprisingly, given the restricted, somewhat hesitant contrapposto—remains rigid and lifeless. The virtuoso sweep of the angel's cloak has been replaced by thoroughly routine drapery, even though the detail of fringe along its lower edge is preserved. The mediocrity of the drapery is particularly clear in the side views, and the face reveals an undeniably empty pathos.

The carver of these ivories has thus created a grieving Mary based on prototypes of the Mourning Virgin in Antwerp, and an altogether less convincing *St. John* out of the Dendermonde angel so profoundly affected by the event taking place in the central relief. Careful study of other figures by van Beveren that are similarly organized in terms of posture and drapery—the Evangelists John and Matthew on the organ loft in Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in Dendermonde of 1659/66, for example²⁵—would suggest that the Richmond figures were not necessarily created during the master's lifetime. To my mind it seems quite possible, judging from the back and side views of the two figures, the carving of their drapery, and especially the execution of the hair and feet of



10. After Matthieu van Beveren(?), *Mourning Virgin*. Ivory, H. 28.5 cm. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond; Gift of Mr. Arthur G. Glasgow, 1955 (photo: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

11. *Mourning Virgin*, view of the back (photo: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

12. *Mourning Virgin*, view of the side (photo: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)



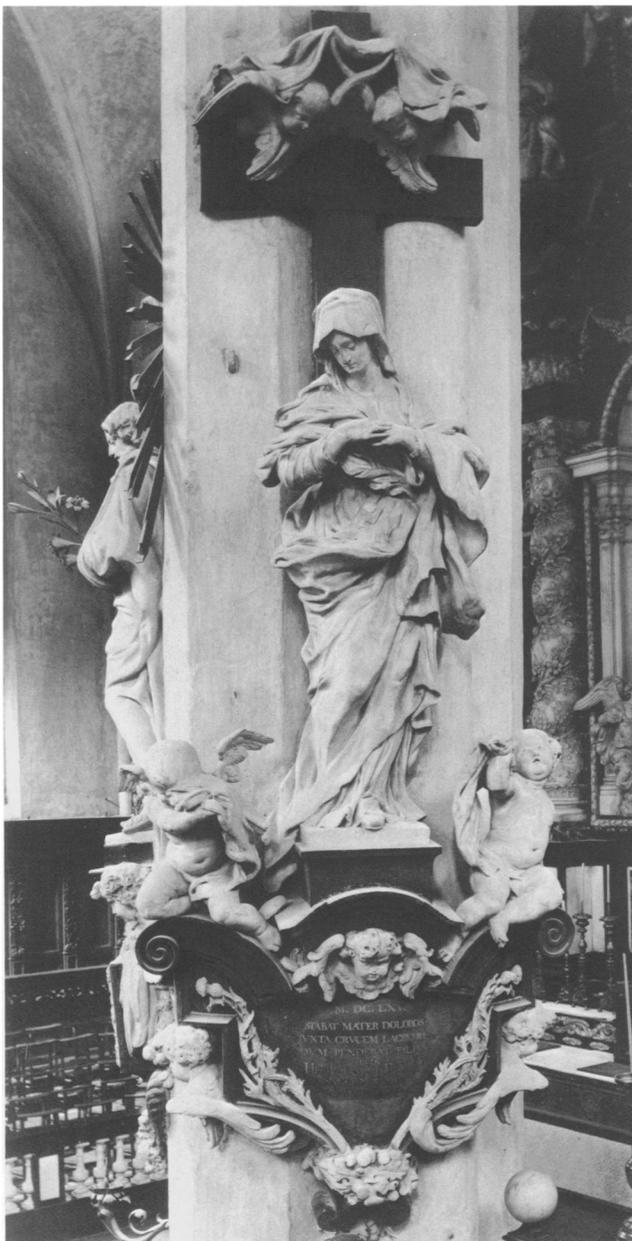
RIGHT

14. *Mourning Virgin*, reduction of the stone figure from the Jasper Boest monument (Figure 13). Ivory, H. 26 cm. Beguine Convent, Antwerp (photo: A.C.L., Brussels)

RIGHT, BELOW

15. Drawing of the Jasper Boest monument (Figure 13), probably Flemish. 36.4 × 17.8 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (photo: Jörg P. Anders)

13. Matthieu van Beveren, *Mourning Virgin*, from tomb monument for Jasper Boest. St. Jacobskerk, Antwerp (photo: A.C.L., Brussels)

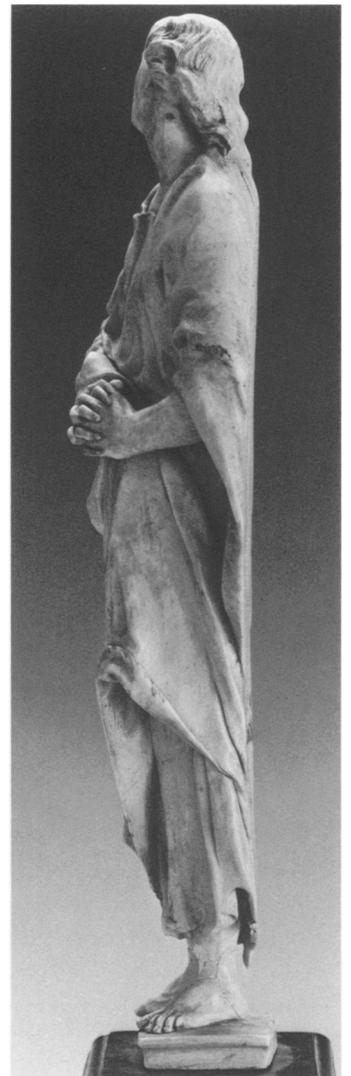
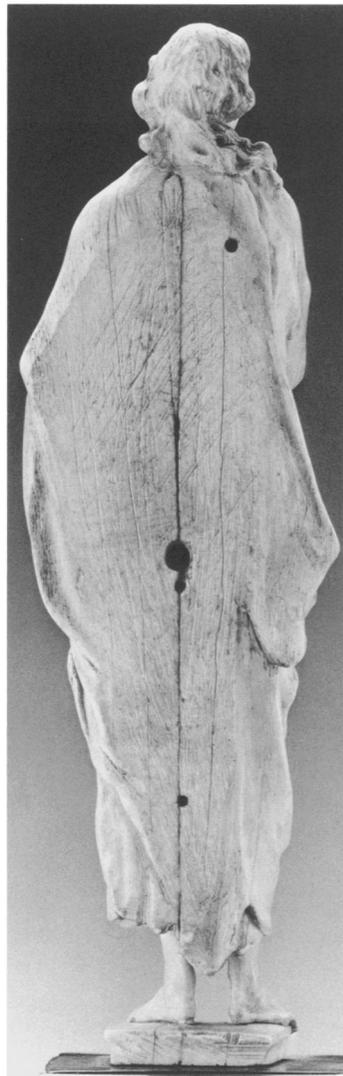




16. After Matthieu van Beveren(?), *St. John*. Ivory, H. 28.5 cm. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (photo: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

17. *St. John*, view of the back (photo: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

18. *St. John*, view of the side (photo: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

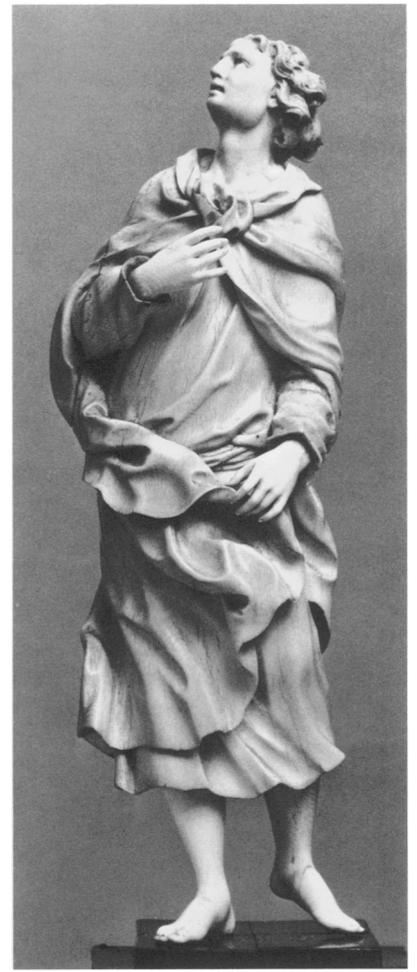




19. Matthieu van Beveren and workshop, *Sorrowing Angel*, right-hand figure from the high altar. Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, Dendermonde (photo: A.C.L., Brussels)



20. *Mourning Virgin*, Flemish(?). Ivory, H. 27 cm. Private collection, Munich



21. *St. John*, Flemish(?). Ivory, H. 27 cm. Private collection, Munich

the *St. John*, that these are relatively late reductions, with variations, of van Beveren's full-scale works.

It is appropriate to mention here two additional ivory statuettes, once again a *Mourning Virgin* and a *St. John*, that came up for sale in Munich in 1986 (Figures 20, 21).²⁶ They were described as being early works by the later "Kammerbeinstecher" Matthias Steinl of Vienna (1644–1727). Clearly, however, they bear no resemblance at all to ivory statuettes by that sculptor that are displayed in Vienna's Geistliche Schatzkammer.²⁷ The weeping woman who serves as an auxiliary figure in the marble *Pietà* in the Kapuzinerkirche in Vienna, long

thought to be a major work of Steinl's, is actually the work of Paul Strudel.²⁸

Though I cannot point to works that are similar, I would argue that these two figures were created in Flanders. To judge from their proportions—especially those of the Virgin—their postures, and the treatment of their drapery, it is by no means certain that they belong together. They both probably do date from the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, however. Particularly striking, and without direct parallels, is the manner in which the Virgin's cloak is drawn across the full length of her elongated figure and caught up in her right hand and in

which John's cloak, tied in front of his chest, billows out from his left hand over his calf-length robe. In the form of the drapery and in his pose, this *St. John* is reminiscent of various sculptures—though more heavily proportioned ones—from the circle around Lucas Faydherbe (1617–97) and by Jérôme Duquesnoy (1602–54) and his followers, for example the pillar statues of the apostles in the cathedral and in the church of Notre-Dame de la Chapelle in Brussels.²⁹ One is also reminded of such figures as the *St. Bartholomew* by Jan Cosyns (active in



22. *Madonna and Child*, Flemish(?). Pearwood, H. 23.2 cm. Sold in London, 1985 (photo: Sotheby's, London)

Brussels between 1659 and 1678).³⁰ In any case, these ivory figures, whose backs reveal only perfunctorily carved drapery folds, have nothing to do with the style of Matthieu van Beveren.

An ivory group of the Madonna and Child on the crescent moon and with a winding serpent was published in 1983 by Ghislaine Derveaux-van Ussel as the work of Matthieu van Beveren.³¹ When compared to the terracotta *Madonna* by Lucas Faydherbe in the British Museum, however,³² it would appear to be the work of this latter sculptor. Saskia Durian-Ress, who was the first to attribute the Brussels group to Faydherbe—long before the publication just cited—will discuss it in detail in her forthcoming study of smaller Flemish sculpture.³³

Another statuette of the Madonna and Child on the crescent moon with serpent, this time in pearwood, appeared for sale in London in 1985 (Figure 22).³⁴ One can say with confidence that it is not the work of van Beveren, or even of anyone belonging to his immediate circle. The Christ Child's head has apparently been incorrectly reset. The slight awkwardness and brittleness that can be sensed in the posture and the drapery details are in contrast with van Beveren's *Madonna* in Amsterdam, for example, and would seem to me to indicate that it is from a relatively late date, roughly the second quarter to second third of the eighteenth century. Contemporary and in part stylistic parallels occur in the works of Walter Pompe (1703–77), who frequently imitated earlier prototypes (notably Michiel van der Voort; see below). Examples of this are Pompe's group of the Holy Family of 1730 in St. Martin in Kontich and his terracotta figure of 1728 in Uden, which is greatly indebted to van der Voort's Madonna on the tomb of Archbishop Count Humbertus Guilielmus de Precipiano in Mechelen of 1709.³⁵ As an aid to the dating of the pearwood group, one might also mention the figures created as confessional ornaments in the 1720s by Adrian and Egid Adrian (1683–1771) Nys.³⁶

This pearwood carving, like the paired ivory statuettes just discussed (Figures 10, 16; 20, 21), is clearly the product of a later artist working in imitation of a seventeenth-century style. At this point it might be useful to list some workshops and sculptors of the eighteenth and even the nineteenth century who continued in the Baroque and late Baroque tradition. For example, there were two sculptors active in Bruges, Hendrik Pulinx (1698–1781)³⁷ and Pieter Pepers (1730–85).³⁸ There was also Pierre-Denis Plumier (born 1688),³⁹ who emigrated to England after 1715 and died there, quite young, in 1721. Then

there were Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen (1654–1724), who became a professor at the Academy in Antwerp after 1691,⁴⁰ and his pupil Laurent Delvaux (1696–1778).⁴¹ A *Madonna and Child* in wood in Brussels, a product of the latter's workshop from around 1740,⁴² reveals the same approach to drapery found in the Munich *St. John* (Figure 21) as well as the pair of ivory figures in Richmond (Figures 10, 16). The works of Delvaux's pupil Adrien-Joseph Anrion (1730–73)⁴³ likewise reflect the earlier tradition, although they tend to imitate the style of Michiel van der Voort (1667–1737) more than van Beveren. Walter Pompe, mentioned earlier above, was another Delvaux pupil. His *Virgin* from the *Holy Family* of 1730, to which I referred in connection with the pearwood statuette in London (Figure 22), is worth citing again for its similarity to the *Mourning Virgin* in Richmond (Figure 10). Another work of his that might be compared to the Richmond statuette is the *Virgin* from a *Calvary*, dated 1740, auctioned in Brussels in 1969.⁴⁴ We know that Walter Pompe restored two crucifixes by Michiel van der Voort.⁴⁵ In addition, we learn that on October 22, 1756, he repaired a boxwood crucified Christ “*van V. Beeveren*.”⁴⁶ A terracotta *Pietà* of his reproduces a lost alabaster group by Andries de Nole (1598–1638),⁴⁷ and his *St. Sebastian* of 1729 in Hilvarenbeek is heavily indebted to a composition by Artus Quellinus the Younger.⁴⁸ Another work reminiscent of the Antwerp tradition in general and that of Matthieu van Beveren in particular is a *Madonna*, with its original paint, in the Ackland Museum of Art in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.⁴⁹ Walter Pompe's name has previously been mentioned in connection with this piece, but I should prefer an attribution to a contemporary of Delvaux's in Brussels, Jean-Baptiste van der Haeghen (1688–1738/40), whose *St. Joseph with the Christ Child*, a painted wood group in Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours, Brussels, bears close kinship to this Mary, although utilizing a different contrapposto.⁵⁰ A look at van der Haeghen's *bozzetto* for the *St. Joseph*, which is preserved in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels,⁵¹ makes it clear that the Chapel Hill *Madonna* was conceived as an independent work, a fact that is already indicated by its format and its polychromy.

An even later artist in the same tradition was Jans Frans van Geel (1756–1830), who was trained by Pieter Valckx at the Academy in Mechelen, where he became first professor in 1783, then director in 1807. He took as his models the works of Pieter Verbrugghen and Jérôme Duquesnoy, among others, and in 1809 he helped to in-

stall in the cathedral of St. Rombouts in Mechelen the famous pulpit by Michiel van der Voort from the Leliendael cloister. Among van Geel's many works are two terracotta models of Mary Magdalene and the Prodigal Son, intended for confessionals in the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in Alsemberg, Brabant. Now in a private collection in Antwerp, these date from the last third of the eighteenth century (Figures 23, 24).⁵² Their surfaces, relatively smooth despite various sharply delineated folds in the drapery, make them appear to have a greater resemblance to the several ivory statuettes in question than van Geel's finished wood sculptures reveal, even his confessional figures of 1786/88 in the church of St. Nikolaus in Putte, near Mechelen.⁵³ I do not mean to suggest that any of these works in ivory should be attributed to him, even though similarities in such details as the hair are striking, but van Geel's works do hint at the span of time to which the ivories might belong. His marble memorial to Cardinal Thomas Philippe d'Alsace in St. Rombouts in Mechelen,⁵⁴ using a *Madonna* design by Michiel van der Voort of 1719, was completed in 1813. His terracotta *Time, the Abductor of Youth* in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, though signed, was long thought to be the work of Lucas Faydherbe, Gabriel Grupello, or some unidentified sculptor from the early eighteenth century.⁵⁵ Many of van Geel's works, especially his terracottas, are altogether retrospective in feeling. They help to give us some idea of the context in which ivory pieces like the statuettes in question (Figures 10, 16) may have been created. It remains true that aside from the considerable production of ivories in Dieppe in the waning years of the eighteenth century, this material only began again to be used for small-scale sculpture in any quantity in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶

Another work attributed to Matthieu van Beveren is the gilt alabaster statuette of the Immaculate Virgin in the Seattle Art Museum (Figure 25).⁵⁷ It is more likely, however, to be a work of the second half of the nineteenth century. In style it is reminiscent of Artus Quellinus the Younger, but various motifs, such as the cherub next to the serpent, the pocket of drapery below the Virgin's left arm, and the distinct linearity of the drapery raise suspicions. The base adorned with putti and rose blossoms may well have been created along with the statuette itself, which would indicate a very late date indeed. The same might be true of an ivory *Virgin* in the collections of the princes of Thurn und Taxis in Regensburg, which is clearly not the work of Lucas Fay-

dherbe.⁵⁸ One would have to examine it more closely in order to determine whether its uncommon richness of detail and ornamentation are the result of its having been executed at a late date or simply reflect the prevalent style in the country of its origin—Spain perhaps, or even more likely Portuguese Goa—in the later eighteenth century. Another example of the same type, simpler in execution, is preserved in a private collection in Santiago de Compostela.⁵⁹

Inasmuch as no van Beveren crucifixes are actually signed by him or confirmed as his by contemporary documents, any attributions in this area are necessarily

23. Jan Frans van Geel, *Mary Magdalene*. Terracotta, H. 55 cm. Private collection, Antwerp

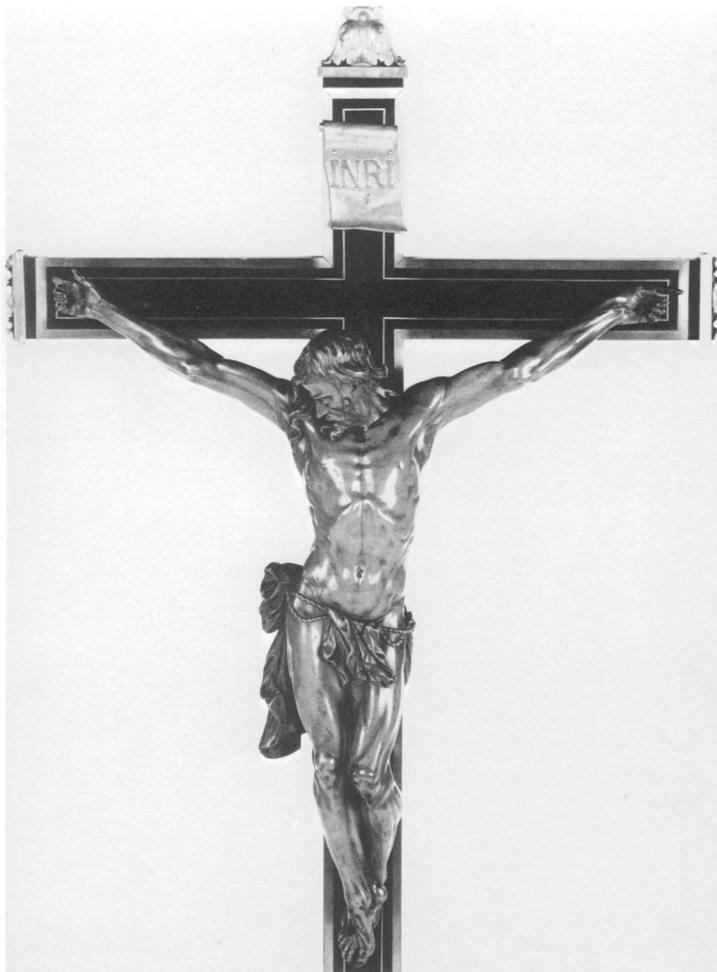
24. Jan Frans van Geel, *Prodigal Son*. Terracotta, H. 55 cm. Private collection, Antwerp



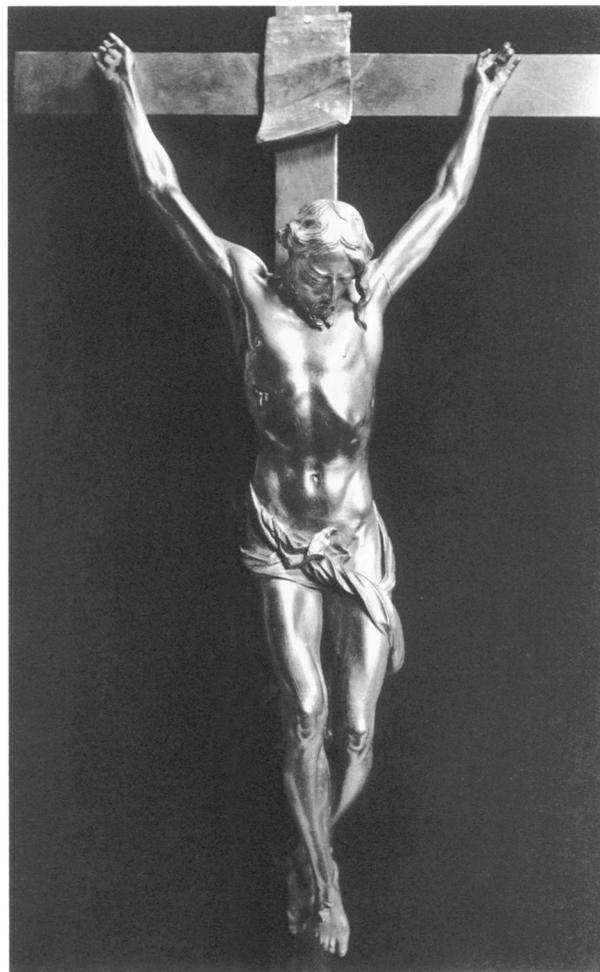
more or less hypothetical. A corpus in boxwood in the Getty Museum, Malibu (Figure 26),⁶⁰ which in its facial type, beard, hair, and details of the loincloth bears distinct similarities to works attributed to the Antwerp master, is more apt to be French in origin as is the considerably later cross on which it hangs. One comparable work that may be by van Beveren is the boxwood crucifix in the Vleeshuis in Antwerp, the one restored by Walter Pompe in 1756 (Figure 27).⁶¹ This, like all the other corpora associated with van Beveren—with the exception of the ivory *crocefisso vivo* in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp,⁶² which resembles the one in Malibu with its relatively wide-

25. *Madonna Immacolata*, Flemish(?). Alabaster with traces of gilt, H. 31.5 cm. Seattle Art Museum, Purchase Fund (photo: Seattle Art Museum)





26. Crucifix, probably French. Boxwood. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (photo: J. Paul Getty Museum)

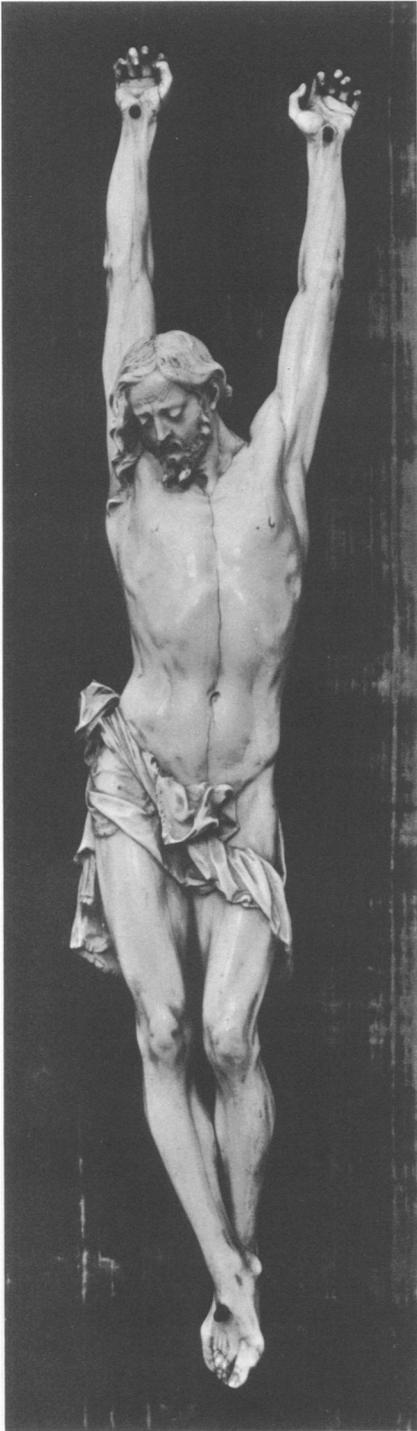


27. Probably Matthieu van Beveren, Crucifix. Boxwood, H. 53.5 cm. Vleeshuis, Antwerp (photo: A.C.L., Brussels)

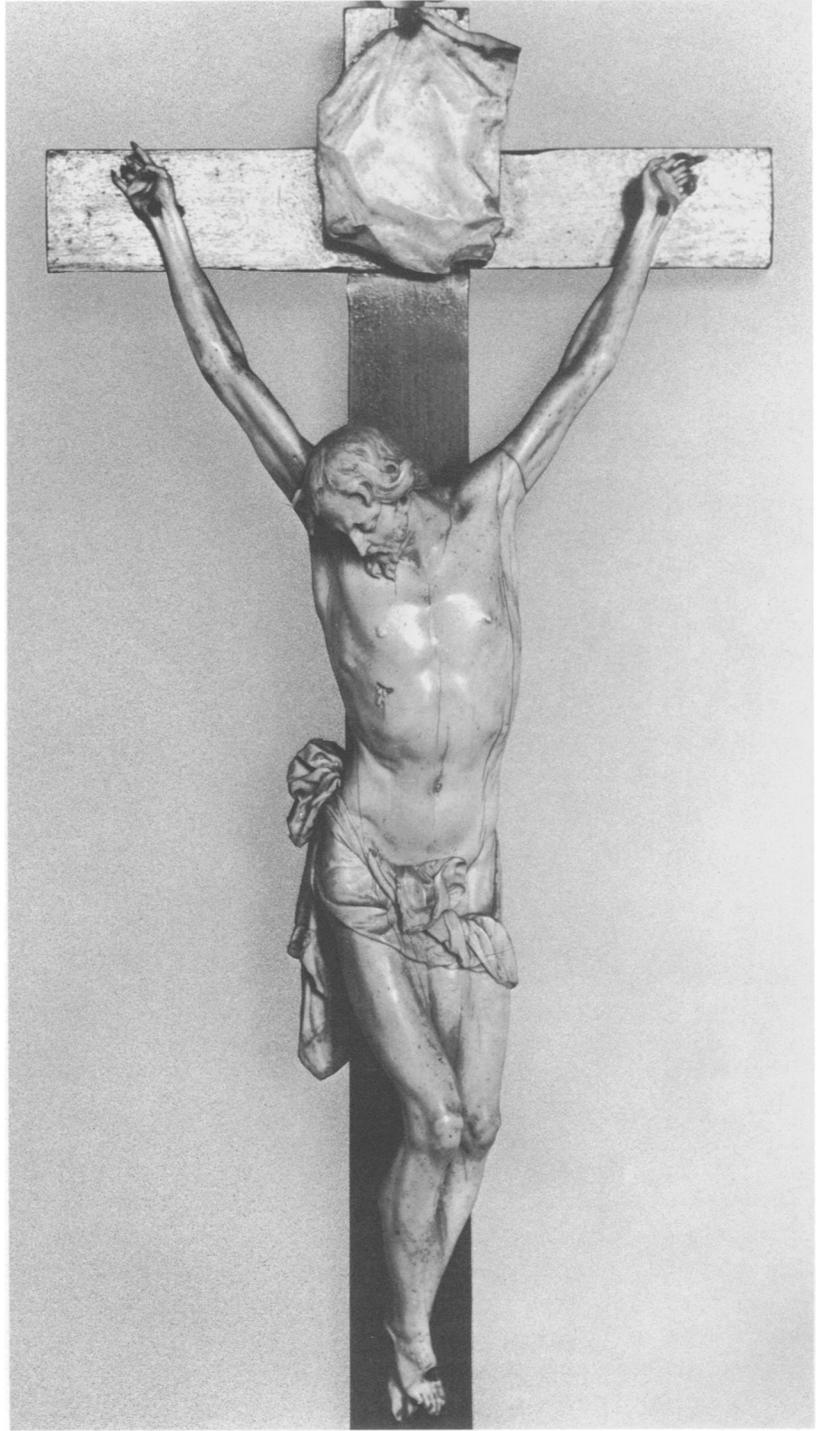
spread arms—presents a narrower silhouette. It is less academic in its depiction of the nude, and is marked by a unifying sense of movement. The same can be said of the ivory corpus in St.-Jacques-sur-Coudenberg, Brussels, which is closer to van Beveren in style than to Englebert Pompe.⁶³

In terms of form, one can trace the derivation of Flemish elements in the Malibu crucifix from the two crucifixes of 1736 and 1737, by Michiel van der Voort, later restored by Walter Pompe.⁶⁴ The Flemish influence is evident in the face, for example, or the treatment of the hair. These traits persist, despite clear differences in expressive style. A second crucifix recently associated with van Beveren is the one in ivory sold in Munich in

1982 (Figure 28).⁶⁵ This work ultimately derives from Peter Paul Rubens's 1615 *Crucified Christ* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. In its physiognomy, especially, and in the treatment of its hair and beard it is quite similar to the corpus in the Vleeshuis in Antwerp. Apart from the more vertical stretching of the arms, other features, even the manner in which the loincloth is gathered at the front, resemble the ivory crucifix attributed to Gabriel Grupello in the Redemptorist monastery of St. Truiden (Figure 29), which may date from no later than 1720/25.⁶⁶ This latter work, in turn, has much in common—except for the position of the head—with the one in the Vleeshuis (Figure 27). In fact, if one compares the St. Truiden work with other crucifixes associated with



28. Crucifix, Flemish(?). Ivory, H. 54.5 cm. Sold at auction in Munich, 1982



29. Attributed to Gabriel Grupello, Crucifix. Ivory. Redemptorist Monastery, St. Truiden (photo: A.C.L., Brussels)

Grupello,⁶⁷ one is tempted to ascribe it rather to the van Beveren circle, or to one of his followers. In any event, it is not by the same hand as the New York *Pietà*. And certainly it cannot have been executed by the artist who carved the dull, hard lines of the loincloth in the Munich corpus (Figure 28).

It happened frequently that particularly noteworthy crucifixes were imitated by contemporaries or slightly later artists, some of them introducing variations, some faithful down to the smallest details. This can be seen in some extraordinary works in ivory that have been associated with Jérôme Duquesnoy: 1) the corpus (H. 63 cm.) from the abbey of St. Michiel's in Antwerp, which is now in the collection of P. Rigaux in that city⁶⁸; 2) the corpus (H. 64.7 cm.) in St. Antoniuskerk in Amsterdam⁶⁹; 3) the corpus (H. 53.3 cm.) sold in London in 1978, which has on the reverse of the ivory titulus the inscription (signature?) *Jean Baptiste van Beveren* and the date 1681, yet does not resemble the works of Matthieu van Beveren⁷⁰; and 4) the corpus (H. 70.5 cm.) sold at auction in London in 1987, which bears on an oddly flattened portion of the back of the loincloth the inscription—added later?—*Duquesnoy* in Latin letters.⁷¹ Directly related to this same prototype—perhaps by Jérôme Duquesnoy—is the ivory crucifix in the Sterckshof Museum in Deurne/Antwerp,⁷² which is there held to be the work of Matthieu van Beveren, but which differs markedly in its *handschrift* from both the composition in the Vleeshuis (Figure 27) and the one in the Koninklijk Museum, Antwerp. I have not seen the original of the *Jean Baptiste van Beveren* corpus, but I would consider that the “signature,” at least, is a very late addition.

From the end of the year 1670 up until October 1685, Matthieu van Beveren is listed as a *tailleur des fers* at the Antwerp mint, where he worked under Graveur Général Jean van Hattem (1672/73–75). The latter is known to have executed a medallion of King Charles II of Spain after a model by Gabriel Grupello in 1683/84.⁷³ Theoretically, it is possible that van Beveren carved ivory medallions as well, as for example the one that surfaced in a private collection in London in 1986, bearing on the obverse the ink inscription *M.v.B.* (Figure 30).⁷⁴ Its highly individualized profile and the treatment of its textures—notably the hair and the sleeve—compare quite favorably with the Minerva figures in the cartouche for the Thurn und Taxis monument⁷⁵ and the carving of the model for that same work (Figure 3). A similarly fluid treatment of the surface can be seen in the figure of Pax



30. Portrait medallion of a young woman, inscribed *M.v.B.* (Matthieu van Beveren?). Ivory. Private collection, London (photo: courtesy Christie's, London)

(?) in the allegory for James II of England from before 1690.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, we are prevented from attributing this charming medallion to van Beveren with certainty for want of conclusive evidence. It is no use comparing it to the portrait medallion of Anthony van Dyck in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, for the van Dyck “iconography” only suggests a hypothetical attribution to van Beveren for that work as well.⁷⁷ Moreover, we cannot know that the terracotta relief was not created later and possibly in England.

An ivory sculpture that we can assume without question to be the work of van Beveren himself is a group depicting Amor astride a lion (Figure 31).⁷⁸ Once again, we are indebted to James David Draper for the attribution. The work is an allegory on the notion of strength and ferocity tamed by love: *amor vincit omnia*. Similarly proportioned putti may be seen in several of the sculptor's larger works whose dates are known, for example, in the Dendermonde altar of 1668 (Figure 4), the pulpit in the same city dating from 1681/84—though here the resemblance is perhaps less striking—and especially the Thurn und Taxis monument in Brussels (Figure 3) of 1678. The relationship of these latter putti to Jan van Delen is deserving of further study.⁷⁹ The motif of the

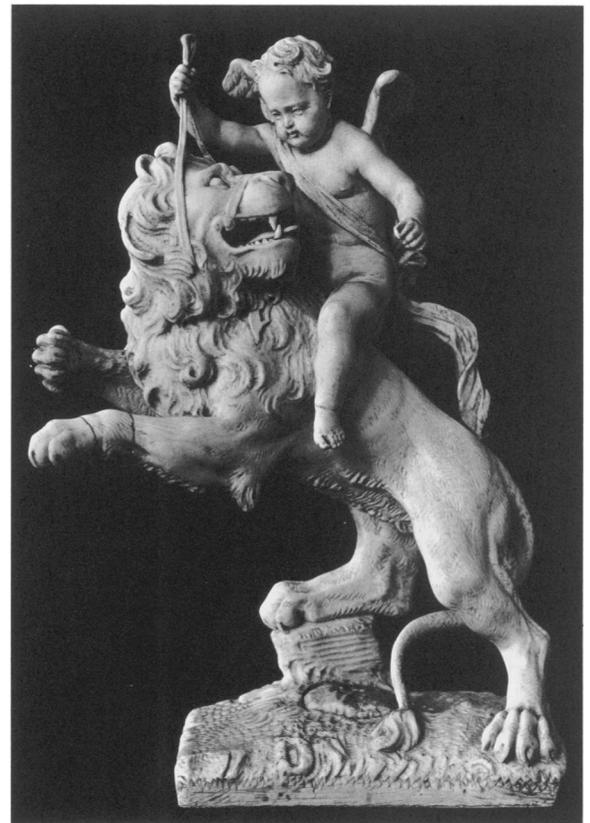
twisted and gracefully billowing wisp of drapery is likewise found in the marble Thurn und Taxis monument, especially in association with its chief figures. And as Draper has mentioned, the Amor, with his robust cheeks and flowing locks of hair, recalls the Christ Child in the Amsterdam *Madonna* (Figure 9). The freshness in the execution of the lion's ample mane, in fact in the surface treatment of the whole work, including that of the body of the beast and the plot of earth below, distinguishes this delightful group from the small memorial to James II of 1688/90, and places it in terms of quality beside the above-mentioned *Madonna*.

31. Attributed to Matthieu van Beveren, Allegorical group of Cupid on a lion. Ivory statuette on ebony-and-ivory base; statuette H. 21.9 cm.; base 10.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Gifts of Ogden Mills and Irwin Untermyer, by exchange, 1980, 1980.220



As for the dating of the work, we have only the date of the Brussels tomb monument to go on, namely 1678. Let us say, then, that it was done around 1680. The base of the work is a different story. Comparing the forms of its decoration to those of the Boest monument in Antwerp of 1665 (Figure 13) and those on its ivory reduction (Figure 14), one can only conclude that the entire base is a product of the nineteenth century. Of course it remains possible that portions of the applied decor are somewhat older. There is a blandness about the floral garlands that is reminiscent of those in Windsor, and especially the ones that adorn the ivory *Resurrected Christ* in the Beguine convent in Antwerp.⁸⁰

A slightly larger version of the New York allegory, formerly in the collections of the Palatinate Electors in Düsseldorf, is now preserved in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (Figure 32).⁸¹ Here, as well, the



32. Allegorical group of Cupid on a lion. Ivory, H. 24.3 cm. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (photo: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum)

torch or staff that Amor once brandished in his left hand is missing. The modeling of the work and the treatment of the various surfaces, more draftsmanlike than sculptural, reveal a journeyman's lack of imagination and show none of the subtlety of the van Beveren original. We have no idea who might have produced the work, nor can we date it with any certainty. The entry in the Mannheim inventory of the Düsseldorf collections for the year 1730 provides only a *terminus ante quem*.

I shall conclude these supplementary remarks on Matthieu van Beveren and the works of his Antwerp circle and followers with a discussion of two fruitwood sculptures acquired in 1964 by the Skulpturengalerie of the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.⁸² One is a lion, the other a wolf or bear. Dangling from the mouth of each beast is a flailing infant clad in a billowing, short-sleeved gown (Figures 33, 34). It has been suggested that they once formed part of a group depicting the wicked children of Bethel, who mocked the prophet Elisha—his figure would have formed the centerpiece—and were in turn cursed by him. The story is recounted in 2 Kings 2:23–24, where we read that it was “two she bears out of the wood” that carried forty-two of the children away.⁸³ Numerous Netherlandish paintings of the subject exist, by Bartholomeus Breenbergh and Philips Wouwermann among others. An engraving by Nicolaes de Bruyn after a painting by Gillis van Coninxloo (1602) presents an isolated group of two children and a bear in front of the prophet in the left foreground, their poses quite like those of the sculptures in question.⁸⁴ These fruitwood animals have been said to be mid-seventeenth-century South German works based on German Renaissance bronzes.⁸⁵ I prefer to compare them instead with Flemish sculptures on similar themes from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Take the lion, for example. With his more compact proportions and clumsy-looking legs, he bears little resemblance to the slenderer, sinewy beast modeled in clay that supports a coat of arms in the Stedelijk Museum, Brussels, doubtless the work of someone from the circle of Jan van Delen (active ca. 1666–1703).⁸⁶

He also differs from the figures on the double tomb monument for the d'Ennetières family in the cathedral in Brussels, which originated in the same workshop and dates from 1690.⁸⁷ Both in temperament and in sculptural style, however, he is not unlike the three couchant lions in silver with balls (globes?) between their front paws that support the frequently mentioned memorial



33. *Lion with Child*, Flemish (Antwerp?). Fruitwood, H. 18.2 cm. Skulpturengalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (photo: Skulpturengalerie)

34. *Wolf or Bear(?) with Child*, companion piece to Figure 33. Fruitwood, H. 18 cm. Skulpturengalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (photo: Skulpturengalerie)



to James II at Windsor, created by Matthieu van Beveren sometime before 1690.⁸⁸ Admittedly, we do not know who executed the models for these beasts. The lion in the New York Amor group (Figure 31) is also entirely different. One thinks rather of the four crouching gilt wood lions executed by Ludovicus Willemsens of Antwerp (1630–1702), later court sculptor to William III of England, as supporting figures for the silver shrine of St. Gummarus in the church of the same name in Lier. The shrine itself was the work of the Antwerp goldsmith Wierick Somers III, and was completed before 1682.⁸⁹ Its lions appear less tame than the one in Berlin; their expressions are more dramatic and the modeling of such details as their manes shows a greater bravura. We are told that this same Wierick Somers III worked from models by various sculptors, among them Michiel van der Voort.⁹⁰ In 1712, for example, the latter provided him with designs for the figures on a monstrelance for St. Andries in Antwerp, and was paid a princely seventeen gulden for them. The goldsmith himself received some 1,533 gulden.⁹¹ It is not known whether van der Voort's models were done in clay or in wood. This sculptor created numerous putti, notably those on the Leliendael pulpit of 1723, now in St. Rom-

bouts in Mechelen,⁹² and others for the high altar in Sts. Sulpicius and Dionysius in Diest, of 1724–26.⁹³ Many of these have features in common with the children dangling from the mouths of the lion and bear, though they are perhaps less robust. A review of van der Voort's heads of children and putti, beginning with his various depictions of the Christ Child (based on the ideal of François Duquesnoy) and including the putto on his monument for Archbishop Humbertus Guilielmus de Precipiano of 1709 in the cathedral of Mechelen,⁹⁴ shows him to have worked squarely within the tradition of Antwerp sculpture from the second third of the seventeenth century, as exemplified by Pieter Verbruggen the Elder and Artus Quellinus the Elder. Indeed, the heads of the children in Berlin (Figures 33, 34) appear related to the putti on a confessional in St. Jacobskerk, Antwerp, which is variously attributed to Artus Quellinus the Elder (1664) or Michiel van der Voort.⁹⁵ For the moment, however, it seems impossible to attribute the "children of Bethel" groups to any particular sculptor, so that we have to make do with the description "probably Antwerp, late 17th or early 18th century."

Translated from the German by Russell Stockman

NOTES

1. Acc. no. 64.164.242. On the whole, the group, consisting of the lamenting Virgin, dead Christ, and three mourning putti, is well preserved. The putto on the left stands on his own carved base, attached with a peg and a screw; his right arm has been broken off and reset. The central group has only minimal cracks in back. Its base is covered with chisel marks, while the figures themselves have been carefully polished. The Virgin's nose was broken off in modern times; the tips of several fingers of her right hand are also missing. A portion of the drapery on her left side has been carved from a separate block. The two putti on the right have also been separately carved. The base of the standing one reveals a second hole at the front. His right wing has been broken off and reset, while his left one is missing. Both wings are missing from the seated putto, who may once have occupied a different position, possibly the arm of a cross.

In turn, the figures have been mounted, doubtless at a relatively recent date, on an ebony base with elaborate moldings and tortoiseshell panels across the front. The tortoiseshell panels are outlined in ivory.

2. Christian Theuerkauff, "Anmerkungen zum Werk des Antwerpener Bildhauers Matthieu van Beveren (um 1630–1690)," *Oud Holland* 89, 1 (1975) pp. 19–62.

3. See my notes in the catalogue of the sculptures in the collection of Dr. Rau, Marseilles, to be published in 1989 by the Département des Sculptures du Musée du Louvre: "Wooden Group of the Virgin with the Infants Jesus and John, after Artus Quellinus the Elder or Erasmus Quellinus."

4. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 21ff., figs. 4–6; Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, *Le Siècle de Rubens*, exh. cat. (Brussels, 1965) p. 350, cat. no. 447, ill.; Cynthia M. Lawrence, *Flemish Baroque Commemorative Monuments, 1566–1725* (New York/London, 1981) pp. 404–405, no. 391, pl. 69 (originally appeared as Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1978).

5. Saskia Durian-Ress, "Das barocke Grabmal in den südlichen Niederlanden: Studien zur Ikonographie und Typologie," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 45 (1974) pp. 290–293, figs. 44–47.

6. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 42–54, figs. 23–25.

7. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 34–37, figs. 15–16; Lawrence, 1981, p. 276, no. 101, pl. 13.

8. *Le Siècle de Rubens*, 1965, pp. 352–353, cat. no. 451; Theuerkauff, 1975, p. 37 n. 42; Musée d'Art Ancien, *La Sculpture au siècle de Rubens dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et la principauté de Liège*, exh. cat. (Brussels, 1977) p. 200, cat. no. 161, ill.; Lawrence, 1981, p. 280, no. 108, pl. 17.

9. I am indebted to Mr. Draper for his generous assistance and for suggesting that I compile these "Addenda."

10. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 26, 30–33, figs. 7, 11, with bibliography and list of illustrations.

11. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 26–27, 37, figs. 9, 20.

12. *La Sculpture au siècle de Rubens*, 1977, pp. 200–202, cat. nos. 162, 163, ill.; Theuerkauff, 1975, p. 34 n. 38.

13. *Le Siècle de Rubens*, 1965, p. 351, cat. no. 448.

14. Durian-Ress, 1974, p. 291, figs. 44, 46; Theuerkauff, 1975, p. 30 n. 26.

15. Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, *Les du Quesnoy* (Gembloux, 1970) p. 41; *La Sculpture au siècle de Rubens*, 1977, pp. 88, 89, cat. no. 54, ill.; see also Theuerkauff, 1975, p. 34 nn. 33–34.

16. Neg. no. of the A. C. L., Brussels, 60388B. See note 15, above; Durian-Ress, 1974, p. 288, n. 164, fig. 42.

17. Emil Schaeffer, *Van Dyck: Des Meisters Gemälde*, Klassiker der Kunst, XXX (Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1909) fig. 447.

18. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 30–34, fig. 12; *La Sculpture au siècle de Rubens*, 1977, pp. 198–199, cat. no. 160, ill. The altar was only acquired by the museum in 1868.

19. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 19–21, figs. 1–3; *La Sculpture au siècle de Rubens*, 1977, pp. 196–197, cat. no. 159, ill.

20. Inv. no. 55.17.9a,b. The gift of Mr. Arthur G. Glasgow. I would like to thank Joseph R. Bliss, of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, for his continuing kind assistance, and for permission to publish these figures and their possible connection to the work of van Beveren after I had first broached the subject in correspondence with Pinkney Near in 1985. I am also grateful to Richard H. Randall of Baltimore for his good offices.

21. The backs of both statuettes are deeply yellowed, almost brown. They are mounted on black wooden bases more recent in origin. A piece has been inserted into the Virgin's neck, similarly, insets in both arms, portions of the drapery, and at the bottom of the back. The feet of the St. John have been broken and reglued. His back has a number of cracks and, like the Virgin, various larger and smaller holes (for bracing?), now closed with pegs. It is possible that flat pieces of ivory were once attached here.

22. See note 7. A. C. L., Brussels, neg. no. 31098B.

23. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 35–36, fig. 16.

24. Inv. no. KdZ8173, II. Garnitur; 364 × 178 mm. The sheet, with the inscription *van Dyck* on the reverse, was classified under "Andreas Schlüter."

25. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 26–29 n. 21, fig. 8.

26. I am indebted for the photographs to Consul R. Neumeister, Munich.

27. Leonore Pühringer-Zwanowetz, *Matthias Steinl* (Vienna/Munich, 1966) pp. 207–208, cat. no. 1, figs. 70–72, cf. fig. 69 and cat. no. 8, figs. 184–190.

28. See note 27, and most recently Ingeborg Schemper-Sparholz, "Skulptur und dekorative Plastik zur Zeit des Prinzen Eugen,"

in *Prinz Eugen und das Barocke Österreich*, ed. Karl Gutkas (Salzburg/Vienna, 1985) p. 343 n. 21.

29. Br. M. Libertus, *Lucas Faydherbe, beeldhouwer en bouwmeester 1617–1697* (Antwerp, 1938) pp. 167–168, fig. 58; Hadermann-Misguich, 1970, fig. 11; Véronique Goblet, in *Trésors d'art des Églises de Bruxelles*, exh. cat., Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles 56, (1979) pp. 137–143, cat. nos. 90–95, ill.

30. H. 220 cm.; Goblet, *Trésors d'art*, 1979, pp. 144–145, cat. no. 99, ill.

31. Inv. no. Sc. 102; H. 23.5 cm.; Ghislaine Derveaux-van Ussel, "Neuerwerbungen (1981)," *Museumleven* 11 (1983) p. 159, ill.

32. Hugh Tait, "An Unknown *Bozzetto* of Lucas Faydherbe," *The Burlington Magazine* 104 (1962) pp. 257–265, figs. 34–36, 43.

33. Kindly related to me in October 1987. I also look forward to Michael Jaffé's announced publication of an ivory Venus figure in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which was on the market for a long time and was held to be the work of Francis van Bossuit.

34. H. 23.2 cm., "in the manner of Mattheus [!] van Beveren." Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1985, lot 143.

35. Museum voor Religieuze Kunst, *Walter Pompe, beeldhouwer, 1703–1777*, exh. cat. (Uden, 1979), p. 78, cat. no. 5, figs. 46a, 46b, p. 49, cat. no. 22, p. 35, fig. 17.

36. Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Das Beichtgestühl der Antwerpener St. Pauluskirche und der Barockbeichtstuhl in den Südlichen Niederlanden* (Brussels, 1970) pp. 208–209, no. 124,1, fig. 147, no. 123, fig. 152.

37. *Drie Vlaamse meesters van de XVIII eeuw*, exh. cat. (Bruges, 1955) pp. 71–88, figs. xx–xxxii.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 91–110, fig. xxv.

39. See, for example, Durian-Ress, 1974, pp. 293–294, figs. 48–49; Charles Avery, *Fingerprints of the Artist: European Terra-Cotta Sculpture from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C./Cambridge, Mass., 1981) pp. 264–267, cat. no. 114, figs. 1–2.

40. Most recently, for example, *La Sculpture au siècle de Rubens*, 1977, pp. 266–281, cat. nos. 234–252, ill.

41. Georges Willame, *Laurent Delvaux, 1696–1778* (Brussels, 1914).

42. H. 110 cm.; Denis Cockelberghs, *Trésors d'art*, 1979, p. 178, cat. no. 133, ill.

43. Christine Sobiesky, *Trésors d'art*, 1979, pp. 182–183, cat. no. 138, ill.

44. *Walter Pompe*, 1979, p. 54, cat. no. 67, fig. 21.

45. Mark E. Tralbaut, *De Antwerpse "meester constbeldthouwer" Michiel van der Voort de Oude, 1667–1737: zijn leven en werken* (Antwerp, 1950) pp. 278–285, cat. nos. 32, 33; idem, *Onbekende archivalia betreffende Michiel van der Voort den Oude* (Antwerp, 1946) pp. 24–26, figs. 15–17.

46. *Walter Pompe*, 1979, p. 61, cat. no. 128 with additional bibliography.

47. Ibid., p. 77, cat. nos. 2, 3, figs. 42–43. For more on this see Marguerite Casteels, *De Beeldhouwers de Nole te Kamerijk, te Utrecht en te Antwerpen* (Brussels, 1961) pp. 90–92, figs. 113–114.

48. Walter Pompe, 1979, p. 79, cat. no. 7, fig. 47.

49. Inv. no. 87.19; H. 65 cm. Sold Sotheby's, London, April 3, 1984, lot 256, ill.

50. H. 165 cm.; Goblet, *Trésors d'art*, 1979, p. 176, cat. no. 132, ill.

51. Avery, 1981, pp. 254–255, cat. no. 109, fig. 2.

52. Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, *Madonna, het beeld in de Nederlandse barok*, exh. cat. (Utrecht, 1936) p. 18, cat. nos. 30, 31, ill.; Zajadacz-Hastenrath, 1970, p. 171, no. 4, 1, fig. 181.

53. Zajadacz-Hastenrath, 1970, p. 204, no. 108, 1, 2, fig. 180, with illustration sources.

54. H. Bussers, "De Bozzetti van Jan-Frans van Geel (1756–1830) in de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten te Brussel," *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen* 87 (1983) pp. 175–214, fig. 5, especially p. 191 nn. 29–31; Tralbaut, *Van der Voort*, 1950, p. 157, cat. no. 15.

55. Bussers, 1983, pp. 175–179, figs. 1–2.

56. See, for example, Christian Theuerkauff, *Elfenbein, die Sammlung Reiner Winkler* (Munich, 1984) pp. 199–209, cat. nos. 122–129, ill.

57. Inv. no. 72.F11.12. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 83 (Feb. 1974) p. 123, fig. 399; Theuerkauff, 1975, p. 34 n. 40.

58. Angelika von Schuckmann, "The Princes of Thurn und Taxis and their Collections," *Apollo* (Oct. 1967) p. 263, fig. 32.

59. Margarita Estella-Marcos, *La Escultura barroca de marfil en España: las escuelas europeas y las coloniales* (Madrid, 1984) I, fig. 370, II, p. 393, cat. no. 910.

60. Inv. no. 82.SD.138; H. of the corpus 48 cm. The cross and base, made of ebony, brass, and gilt bronze, are French, ca. 1766/70.

61. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 37–38, fig. 18, n. 46. The inscription on the reverse of the titulus reads: *W. Pompe / ge re te seert / en in staet ge / stelt 1756 22/10 oct / deese Cristus / van v. beeveren*.

62. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 40–41, fig. 22, n. 51.

63. *La Sculpture au siècle de Rubens*, 1977, p. 336, cat. no. 316, ill.

64. Tralbaut, *Onbekende archivalia . . . Voort*, 1946, figs. 15–17; see also idem, *Van der Voort*, 1950, figs. 61, 64–65, pp. 171–182, cat. no. 17, relief of the Raising of the Cross, 1720.

65. *Kunst und Antiquitäten* 6/82 (1982) p. 101, ill. (Urban und Pierigal, Munich); previously Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., London, April 22, 1982, p. 98, no. 266, ill.

66. Hans P. Hilger, "Die Kruzifixe des Gabriel Grupello," *Europäische Barockplastik am Niederrhein: Grupello und seine Zeit*, exh. cat. (Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, 1971) p. 73, fig. 32, n. 5; see also Theuerkauff, 1975, p. 42 n. 52; and, most recently, regarding the Rubens prototype and Grupello: Wilfried Hansmann, "Der Kruzifixus in der ehemaligen Abteikirche zu Brauweiler, ein

Spätwerk des Gabriel Grupello," *Jahrbuch der Rheinischen Denkmalpflege* 29 (1983) p. 142, fig. 81.

67. See note 66; also Walter Schulten, "Ein Kruzifixus des Gabriel Grupello in der Sakristei des Kölner Doms," *Kölner Domblatt* 33/34 (1971) pp. 207–214, figs. 1–10. The most recent attribution to Grupello is in the illustrated guide *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien: Weltliche und Geistliche Schatzkammer: Bildführer* (Vienna/Salzburg, 1987) p. 332, cat. no. 178, ill.

68. *La Sculpture au siècle de Rubens*, 1977, pp. 333–334, cat. no. 311, ill. (with reference to a crucifix, now lost, in the Rockox House, Antwerp).

69. Inv. no. 167. The wooden cross is later (Theuerkauff, 1975, p. 42 n. 53).

70. Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., London, 1978, p. 84, no. 215, ill.

71. W. of the arms 27.5 cm.; Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., London, October 1987: The problem of the divergence in style between the Mechelen crucifix with the inscription *D. J. [Duchesnoy Jérôme?] me fecit (La Sculpture au siècle de Rubens, 1977, pp. 325–326, cat. no. 295, ill.)* and the works created by his circle awaits further investigation.

72. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 40–42 nn. 50, 52.

73. Theuerkauff, 1975, p. 27 n. 16; *Grupello und seine Zeit*, 1971, p. 101, cat. no. 1, fig. 14a.

74. I am indebted to Charles F. Avery for the loan of a photograph.

75. Theuerkauff, 1975, figs. 6, 4, 5.

76. Theuerkauff, 1975, figs. 25, 23.

77. *La Sculpture au siècle de Rubens*, 1977, p. 203, cat. no. 164, ill.

78. Acc. no. 1980.220; base, including bottom plate, 11 × 18.9 × 14.5 cm. J. D. Draper, in *Notable Acquisitions, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1980/81* (1981) pp. 35–36, ill. The base is made of walnut, cherry, and other woods covered with an ebony veneer and resting on a bottom plate stained to look like ebony. The applied ivory decorations, except perhaps for certain portions on the front (the torches, and so forth) and the right side, are likewise from the (later?) nineteenth century, according to Draper and John Canonico of the Objects Conservation Department.

79. See note 5.

80. See note 9.

81. Rudolf Berliner, *Die Bildwerke in Elfenbein, Knochen, Hirsch- und Steinbockhorn, mit einem Anhang: Elfenbeinarbeiten der Staatlichen Schlossmuseen in Bayern, Part IV of Kataloge des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums 13, Die Bildwerke des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums* (Augsburg, 1926) p. 51, cat. no. 179, pl. 101.

82. Inv. nos. 12, 13/64. The wood is very hard and heavy, possibly pear. A layer of dark brown varnish, in places shading to red and probably not original—in imitation of bronze, perhaps—has been largely removed. The surface of the wood is not altogether in its original condition, but rather heavily rubbed and polished. The only damage is to the hands and feet of the

children. On the underside of each piece there is a dumbbell-shaped cavity (for attaching it to a base?). See Peter Metz, *Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen von der Spätantike bis zum Klassizismus, Aus den Beständen der Skulpturenabteilung . . . Berlin* (Munich, 1966) p. 137, cat. nos. 831, 832.

83. Suggested by the late Heinrich Brauer, Berlin; see *Lexikon der Christlichen Kunst I* (1968) cols. 613–618, VI (1974) col. 141. According to the zoologists at the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, as Fritz Fischer kindly informs me, the animal in question could well be a wolf, only the muzzle is too short. It is impossible to guess in just what sort of scenic context the figures may have served.

84. F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam, 1949–82) IV, p. 14, no. 53.

85. Metz, 1966, p. 137, cat. nos. 831, 832.

86. Neg. no. 43502B in the A. C. L., Brussels. For other depictions of lions by Jan van Delen, see *Grupello und seine Zeit*, 1971, p. 279, under cat. nos. 216–218. Most recently, Anne Verbrugge, “Het Kerkelijk Meubilair van de Brusselse Beeldsnijder Jan van Delen ca. 1644–1703” (Ph.D. diss., Louvain, 1986), which I could not use any more.

87. Durian-Ress, 1974, pp. 298–300, fig. 56.

88. Theuerkauff, 1975, pp. 50–52, figs. 23–24.

89. H. Leemans, *Sint Gummaruskerk Lier* (1972) pp. 335–338, figs. 317–321; H. P. Hilger, “De Monstrans van Niedermörmtter bij Kleve, een ongekend werk van de Antwerpse edelsmid Wierick Somers III,” *Noordgouw* 4, 1 (1964) pp. 27–46, especially p. 42, n. 12, fig. 12.

90. Tralbaut, *Van der Voort*, 1950, pp. 113–116, cat. no. 7, figs. 43–45.

91. Hilger, 1964, p. 39 n. 10, with bibliography.

92. Mark E. Tralbaut, *De Amors en putti, serafijnen en cherubijnen van Michiel van der Voort den Oude* (Antwerp, 1946) p. 54, fig. 53; idem, *Van der Voort*, 1950, p. 203, cat. no. 22.

93. Tralbaut, *Amors en putti*, 1946, figs. 34, 36–38, 41, 43, 45–47.

94. Durian-Ress, 1974, fig. 16; Tralbaut, *Van der Voort*, 1950, pp. 57–70, cat. no. 3, fig. 20.

95. Tralbaut, *Van der Voort*, 1950, p. 358, cat. no. 3, fig. 157; Zajadacz-Hastenrath, 1970, pp. 103–104, 174, no. 10,2, fig. 123.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: A Gobelines Tapestry Series

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IN 1964 Mrs. George S. Amory gave the Metropolitan Museum a tapestry representing Diana changing Actaeon into a stag. It is signed I. JANS, and so must have been woven in the workshop of either Jean Jans the Elder or the Younger, heads of a Gobelines haute-lisse workshop from 1662 to 1668 and from 1668 to 1723, respectively. The subject of the tapestry shows it to be from a series of the *Metamorphoses* that is known to have been woven by the younger Jans and others in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The *Metamorphoses* series is an unusual one that has not been thoroughly studied. It was designed by several artists, most of whom have only recently become better known through the publications of Margaret Stufmann, Pierre Rosenberg, Antoine Schnapper, Thierry Lefrançois, Nicole Garnier, and other scholars. Not all the designs of the tapestries can be firmly attributed, and some, including the *Diana and Actaeon*, remain anonymous; but there are a number of documented names and sources, so that the tapestries throw some light on the activities of these artists.

The earliest records of a set of the Gobelines *Metamorphoses* are found in the archives of the earls of Exeter. The fifth earl succeeded to his title and estates in 1678. He traveled on the Continent from 1679 to 1681, and a number of letters in the family archives mention purchases at this time of tapestries for his principal seat, Burghley House in Lincolnshire. Thomas Stretch, deputy steward and upholsterer, wrote from this house in January 1680, giving wall measurements, and adding, "If you buy tapestry hanging I feare it will be a hard matter to have them of that compas." The earl evidently decided to have his tapestries made to order, for in November 1680 several letters in French about work done for him were sent by "Msr Jans" in Paris, to Culpepper

Tanner, the steward, who was with his master in Lyons. The writer was certainly Jean Jans the Younger, the Gobelines *entrepreneur* mentioned above. On February 8, 1681, Jans wrote again to Tanner, then in Venice, listing the pieces he was making for the earl and acknowledging the receipt of 233 *écus* for a completed set of the "*Métamorphoses d'Ovide*"; on October 27 a second payment for the set is recorded in a letter from Jans to Tanner, who was by now in Tours.

An inventory of the contents of Burghley House was made in 1688; this includes the entry: "The Best bed-chamber. 4 peices of Rich french Tapistry hangings made by Monsr. Jans, storyes out of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*." The tapestries are still at Burghley House.¹

Another documentary evidence for a seventeenth-century Gobelines set of *Metamorphoses* is in the French royal inventory of 1684, among the "Tapisseries de haulte et basse lisse réchaussées d'or":

92. *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*. Une tenture de tapisserie de laine et soye, avec fort peu d'or, fabrique de Paris, manufacture des Gobelines, représentant des *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*, dont les figures de devant sont d'environ 1 pied ½, dans de fort beaux paysages, avec sa bordure fonds aurore remplie de rinceaux et de vazes de fleurs et de fruits, avec deux tourterelles dans les milieux du hault, et deux petits chiens dans les milieux du bas; contenant 22 aunes ½ de cours sur 2 aunes ¾ de hault, en sept pièces.²

And in a 1789 inventory, this set was described as:

No. 92. *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*, à or. Gobelines, 7 pièces, dont 5 à Versailles: A Paris: 1 pièce, 3 aunes cours, 2a.¾ haut; bordure, 12 pouces: *Jupiter*. A Paris: 1 pièce, 4a.⅛: *Diane changeant Actéon en cerf*. Bonne et belle. A Versailles: 1 pièce, 2a.½ cours, 2a.¾ haut. 1 pièce, 1a.¾. 1 pièce, 3a.⅙; à réparer. 1 pièce, 4a.¼; à réparer. 1 pièce, 2 aunes.³

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The set was not listed in a 1691 memoir by Jans;⁴ this was probably because the series began as a private venture. Perhaps the royal set was not originally intended for the king and both it and Lord Exeter's were made in the workshop that Jans is known to have had outside the Gobelins proper; a report of 1694 calls it "l'atelier que M. Jans a hors les Gobelins où se pend pour enseigne le Grand Louis."⁵ The use of looms inside the manufactory to make tapestries for private purchasers is also documented: in 1748, in the course of a dispute about this practice, the official then in charge of the royal manufactories wrote: "Tous les ouvrages sortant de la Manufacture doivent être aussi parfaits, qu'ils soient pour le Roy ou pour un particulier."⁶ The *Metamorphoses*, however, were woven by weavers other than Jans, and they are not known to have had workshops outside the manufactory.

Thanks to the description of the borders of these tapestries, with their doves and little dogs, it has been possible to identify four pieces of the set in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.⁷ A fifth piece with the same border, showing Boreas abducting Orithyia, is known only from a photograph in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. The upright format of these tapestries suggests that they are the pieces that were at Versailles in 1789.

The next mention of the series is an official one, involving money, always a most important consideration. It appears in the *Comtes des Bâtiments du Roi*: painters (not named) were paid in 1704 for work on the "tableaux qui doivent servir de dessins pour la petite tenture des *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*"; in 1705 Jean-Baptiste de Fontenay received payment for "tableaux d'*Arnaud, Armide et Diane*, aux Gobelins," and "ouvriers peintres" continued to be paid for work on the "tableaux des *Métamorphoses*" in that year and in 1706.⁸ Though the king paid for this work, the weaving on a set for him was not begun until 1714. It contained seven pieces, woven by all the three basse-lisse workshops active at the time; the set is fully documented in the factory records and was completed in 1720. There was clearly no urgency to use the cartoons or to finish the set; perhaps it was started primarily to give employment to as many weavers as possible, or to justify the payments to the artists for their work on the cartoons as much as ten years earlier. Neither the dying Louis XIV nor his infant heir would have been interested in new tapestries in 1714. The royal set was in storage in 1736, but its history is not known after 1761.⁹ The word "petite" in the description of the series ("petite tenture") presumably refers to the size of the

figures or to the low height of the tapestries, only about eight feet.

Finally, an inventory of the cartoons at the Gobelins in 1736 lists thirteen large paintings and two *entrefenêtres* of *Metamorphoses* subjects called "Ruinez" and nine copies, with a number of small pieces, called "Gatté."¹⁰ Many artists are named, including copyists. The extant tapestries with scenes from the *Metamorphoses* that can be identified as Gobelins productions can thus be assumed to have been made from about 1680 to about 1736. It remains to locate them and to identify their designers and the workshops in which they were woven.

Maurice Fenaille, whose monumental work on Gobelins tapestries (published 1903–23) has left so little to say about most of the series made at the manufactory, did not know the pieces at Burghley House and in Amsterdam. He was thus unable to identify any seventeenth-century examples of the *Metamorphoses* and believed that the set recorded in the 1684 inventory reproduced old cartoons used in the Paris workshops before the establishment of the royal Gobelins; he treated the eighteenth-century additional subjects as a separate series.¹¹ With the identification of five different subjects in the Burghley House and early royal sets, it has become apparent that the seventeenth-century compositions were used as components of the later, larger series, because they appear in sets with subjects known to have been designed and woven only after 1700. The cartoons, whenever made, were evidently looked upon as a single series from which individual subjects could be taken to make up sets—at random, according to a customer's wishes, or depending on the availability of a cartoon at a particular moment.

The most clearly documented instance of the long life of an early design is *Acis and Galatea* (Figures 1, 2, 4), which is represented at Burghley House, in Amsterdam, and in a set signed by Cozette that was sold from the Hugh Cholmeley collection at Sotheby's, London, May 19, 1950, no. 100(a); the other three subjects of this set were among those woven for the king in 1714–20.¹² Pierre François Cozette did not become head of an haute-lisse workshop until 1735. As only one *Metamorphoses* set was acquired by the king in the seventeenth century and

1. *Acis and Galatea*, French (Gobelins), about 1680, after Charles de La Fosse (1636–1716). Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Foto-Commissie Rijksmuseum)





2. *Acis and Galatea*, French (Gobelins), about 1680, after Charles de La Fosse. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Foto-Commissie Rijksmuseum)

one in the eighteenth, almost all the many Gobelins *Metamorphoses* tapestries must have been sold to private customers, and it is seldom possible to give the exact date when they were woven.

The task of identifying a Gobelins *Metamorphoses* design when the tapestry does not have a weaver's name is made more difficult by the existence of two contemporary Beauvais *Metamorphoses* series. One of these, however, after René-Antoine Jouasse, has been well published.¹⁵ The second Beauvais *Metamorphoses* series has been said to "pose a nearly insolvable problem"; few of its subjects are known and few of the tapestries have been identified.¹⁴ Other *Metamorphoses* tapestries were woven in Brussels; at least one Gobelins design was used there. Nevertheless, nearly all the subjects named in the Gobelins records quoted above can be identified in extant tapestries, and two more can be established as belonging to the series. Sets of six, five, four, and three pieces are known, with many pairs and individual pieces.¹⁵

Acis and Galatea is, as has been mentioned, a subject in the early sets; it exists in two versions, both, strangely enough, in the part of the royal set now in Amsterdam (Figures 1, 2). It is hard to believe that the same subject would have been repeated in a single set while Le Brun ruled the royal manufactories, but his power waned after the death of Colbert, his patron, in 1683; the *Metamorphoses* set listed in the 1684 inventory had perhaps been woven very recently, and no one in authority had checked to see what subjects were included.

The subject appears in the 1736 list of cartoons: "Le tableau d'Acis et Galathée, d'après M. Delafosse de cinq pieds et demy de long sur huit pieds de haut, les figures peintes par M. Mathieu et le paysage par M. Bonnard."¹⁶ A painting by Charles de La Fosse in the Prado (Figure 3)

4. *Acis and Galatea*, French (Gobelins), 1680–1700, after Charles de La Fosse. Wool tapestry. Bayreuth, Schloss (photo: Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser)



3. Charles de La Fosse, *Acis and Galatea*. Oil on canvas. Madrid, Prado (photo: Prado)





5. *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*, French (Gobelins), about 1680. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Foto-Commissie Rijksmuseum)

has the lovers as they appear in the tapestry that shows Galatea seen from the front (Figure 1); there is a related drawing in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.¹⁷ De La Fosse exhibited paintings in the Salons of 1699 and 1704 with the titles *Polyphème menaçant Acis par un rocher* and *Polyphème jouant de la flûte*, neither of which describes the Prado picture, where the giant holds panpipes. De La Fosse also painted an *Acis and Galatea* as an overmantel in the 1680s;¹⁸ as the Amsterdam tapestries were made before 1684, this painting may well have resembled one of them. The composition with Galatea seen from the front (Figure 1) is that of a tapestry in the Brandegge set, which is marked “Jans des Gobelins.” Tapestries of this type have also appeared in a number of sales.¹⁹

The second *Acis and Galatea* tapestry in Amsterdam (Figure 2) shows Galatea with her back turned, Acis pointing to a distant Polyphemus, and palms instead of oaks rising behind the lovers. A cupid on the left imitates Neptune; he stands on a shell drawn by two dolphins and wields a trident. This version of the composition is that of tapestries in the Burghley House and Cholmeley-Cozette sets. A reversed example was sold at Sotheby's, London, July 5, 1985, no. 6,²⁰ and one with Jans's name was in the Paris 1933 set. Another, in the Bayreuth set (Figure 4), has the background of the second version, but Galatea is seen from the front and only the head of one dolphin remains of the group on the left.

An unusual variant with the arms of Maria Ana de Newborgo, wife of Charles II of Spain, is in a private collection in Paris; it was presumably made before the king's death in 1700. The lovers and the trees behind them are like their counterparts in the other tapestries with Galatea seen from the front, although they are reversed; but Polyphemus on the mountain has disappeared and in his place is a large fountain supported by dolphins and surmounted by a winged boy riding a water-spouting swan. A peacock sits on the rim of the fountain; both fountain and bird are found on other tapestries of the series that will be discussed below. It is signed “Jans des Gobelins.”²¹

Another subject in both the Burghley House and Amsterdam sets is *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne* (Figure 5). The cartoon was not included in the 1736 list, so there is no record of the designer. Ariadne, however, can be compared to her counterpart in Charles de La Fosse's paint-



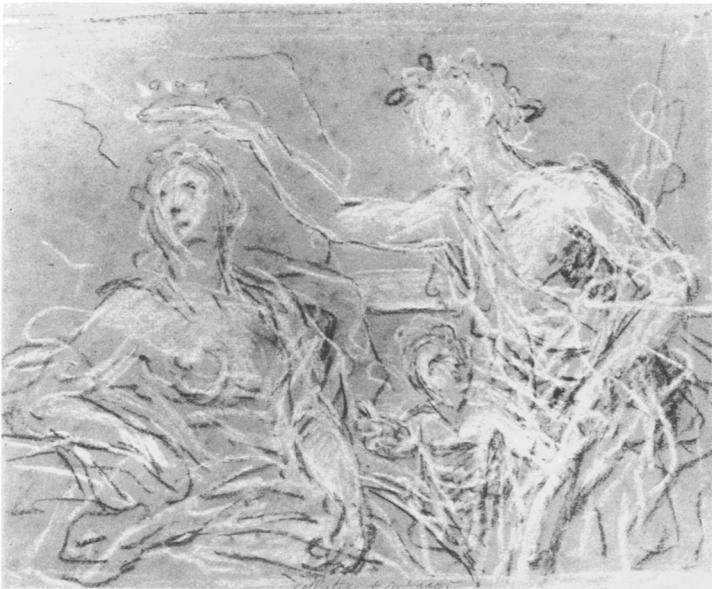
6. Charles de La Fosse, *Bacchus and Ariadne*. Oil on canvas. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon)

ing *Bacchus and Ariadne* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (Figure 6), which was made in 1699 for Marly;²² the head of Bacchus is close to a drawing of the god by the same artist in the Musée d'Alençon (Figure 7).²³ On the other hand, an anonymous drawing in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Figure 8), shows Bacchus with his two panthers much as he appears on the tapestry.²⁴ There are also several paintings and drawings connected with Louis de Boulogne the Younger (the designer of other tapestries of the series) that show the two figures in much the same positions as on the tapestries, but with a cupid between them (Figure 9).²⁵ A related painting in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans, is attributed to Guy Louis Vernansal (Figure 10),²⁶ who is known to have worked for Beauvais. The original idea would seem to have come from Eustache Le Sueur (1615–55). His painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 11) shows a more ardent Bacchus in a pose very like that of his counterpart in the tapestry and some of the drawings.²⁷ Several other examples of the tapestry have been identified.²⁸



7. Charles de La Fosse, *Bacchus*. Black chalk drawing. Alençon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Dentelle (photo: Musée d'Alençon)

8. Unknown artist, *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*. Black chalk and gray wash drawing. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (photo: Statenskonstmuseer)



9. Louis de Boulogne the Younger (1654–1733), *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*. Black and white chalk drawing. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen)



10. Guy Louis Vernansal, *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*. Oil on canvas. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans (photo: Musées d'Orléans)



11. Eustache Le Sueur (1617–55), *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*. Oil on canvas. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Ernest W. Longfellow and Grant Walker Funds (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

Boreas and Orithyia is at Burghley House and, as has been mentioned, was probably also included in the first set made for the king. There is another example at Bayreuth (Figure 12). The designer's name is not known, but the two figures are very like those in a Beauvais version of the same subject, which was designed by Houasse (Figure 13).²⁹ This artist has not previously been connected with the Gobelins *Metamorphoses*, but he did some work for the manufactory at about that time.³⁰ An example of the Gobelins *Boreas and Orithyia* is in the Paris 1933 set.³¹

The *Diana and Actaeon* in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 14)³² has a reversed counterpart at Burghley House, which means that the design must be an early one,³³ although no related paintings or drawings have been located. It shows one of the two subjects mentioned in the 1789 inventory listing of the king's early set.

Pan and Syrinx is at Amsterdam (Figure 15) and Bayreuth.³⁴ No designer is known, but there is a general resemblance of the figures in the clump of rushes to those in the Beauvais tapestry of the same subject in the series designed by Houasse.³⁵

The 1789 inventory lists a *Jupiter* as a component of the early *Metamorphoses* set owned by the king, but no tapestry illustrating one of this god's amorous transformations has been found with the distinctive border of this set. Jupiter appears, disguised, in two scenes in the *Metamorphoses* sets: in *Europa and the Bull* and *Jupiter and Callisto*. The former, as will be shown later, is after an artist not born until 1676, so the early *Jupiter* was more probably *Jupiter and Callisto*, which will also be discussed later.

The five *Metamorphoses* subjects already considered—*Acis and Galatea*, *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*, *Boreas and Orithyia*, *Diana and Actaeon*, and *Pan and Syrinx*—are the only ones known to have been woven by 1684. Twenty years later, from 1704 to 1706, as has been mentioned, the king's accounts list payments to artists for work on *Metamorphoses* cartoons. That the king was charged for the paintings shows that the series, previously a private venture, presumably initiated by Jans, had now been transformed into an official undertaking like other Gobelins series. Only one entry in the accounts mentions subjects and an artist: "Année 1705. Paris, Maisons Royales. Peinture, 12 juillet: à luy, Jean Baptiste de Fontenay, pour les ouvrages qu'il a faits aux tableaux d'*Arnaud, Armide et Diane*, aux Gobelins pendant 1704. 178 l. [livres]."

The words "*Arnaud, Armide*" must mean *Rinaldo and Armida*; tapestries with these figures are included, most incongruously, in several Gobelins *Metamorphoses* sets (Figure 16). The scene shows the hero lying in the lap of the enchantress as cupids play with his discarded armor; two of his companions on the crusade have come to recall him to his duty and they appear in the far distance under a huge arch. Although it was Belin de Fontenay who received a small payment for work on the cartoon in 1705, more complete information about its creator is given in the inventory of 1736: "Le tableau d'*Arnaud et Armide*, d'après M. Boulogne le Jeune, de 18 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut, les figures peintes par Yvart le Fils, le paysage par le Sr Chastelin et les fleurs par le Sieur Fontenay." And there was another, narrower copy, "de 15 pieds 3 pouces de long, sur huit pieds de haut, le paysage peint par M. de Chavanne et les figures par Yvart le Fils" as well as "une bande pour la pièce



d'Arnaud et Armide pour la grandeur, peint par le même Chastelin."³⁶

A closely related painting by Louis de Boulogne, signed and dated 1704 (the year in which it was shown at the Salon), was owned by the New York dealers Stair Sainty Matthiesen in 1986 (Figure 17).³⁷ The intruding knights are seen near at hand among the trees, as they appear in a drawing in a private collection in Paris (Figure 18).³⁸ The two peacocks on the far right of the tapestry illustrated (Figure 16) are not in the painting or the drawing; perhaps they are from the "bande . . . pour la grandeur" by Chastelain. They are found on other tapestries of the series (see Figure 24). The elaborate fountain on the left in the tapestry also appears with other subjects (see Figure 33) and on a panel without human figures sold at the Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, February 8, 1969, no. 143; it and the surrounding forest are enlivened by two cupids though not those of Figure 16. In the Salon, the painting was described as "Reynaud et Armide dans les plaisirs";³⁹ no payment for it appears in the king's accounts, so it, or a drawing, may have been acquired by Jans or another Gobelins *entrepreneur* to be used as the basis for a cartoon.

The *Rinaldo and Armida* in the king's second *Metamorphoses* set was woven from 1717 to April 1720 in the basse-lisse workshop of Jean Souët; it was somewhat over two *aunes* high, like all the pieces of the set, and about five wide. No tapestry of the subject with the name of this weaver is known, but there was an example signed by Jans in the Bourdariat set and one with the name of Jean Lefebvre (either father or son, heads of a basse-lisse workshop from 1662 to 1736) was in the vicomte de Curel sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 2, 1918, no. 60. The subject was in the Menier set (see note 15), which also included an *Acis and Galatea*, a 1680s design. It was very frequently woven, with the composition often reversed; wide examples have the peacocks on one side and the dolphin-supported fountain on the other,⁴⁰ but almost square weavings, showing the main group of figures only, are also known.⁴¹

"Diane" is the other subject mentioned in the notice of a payment to Belin de Fontenay in 1705; it is probably the design called the *Retour de chasse de Diane* that "Sr. Matthieux, peintre" was paid for copying in 1715, rather than one of the other two *Diana* subjects in the series.

12. *Boreas and Orithyia*, French (Gobelins), 1680–1700. Wool tapestry. Bayreuth, Schloss (photo: Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser)



13. *Boreas and Orithyia*, French (Beauvais), 1690–1730, after René-Antoine Houasse (1644/5–1710). Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Francis L. Kellogg, 1977, 1977.435

The 1736 inventory of cartoons lists: “Le tableau du *Retour des chasses de Diane*, d’après Mr. Delafosse de 11 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut, les figures peintes par le Sr. Chevreuille et le paysage par le Sr. Bonnard.”⁴² There was also a copy of the same dimensions painted by Mathieu. The subject was called *Diane* when it was woven

in the basse-lisse workshop of Jean de La Fraye between 1717 and 1719 for the king’s set. The tapestries of the subject (Figure 19) closely follow a painting by Charles de La Fosse in the Hermitage, except for the omission of a standing nymph between the girl stooping to untie Diana’s sandal and the one holding hounds on a leash. Canvases with the central group only are also known,⁴³ and the entire composition was engraved by Pierre-Etienne Moitte from a painting owned by Count Brühl in 1754 (Figure 20). A drawing owned by Mrs. Betty



14. *Diana and Actaeon*, French (Gobelins), 1680–1700. Wool and silk tapestry. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. George S. Amory, in memory of her father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Amory Sibley Carhart, 1964, 64.208

Reitman includes a study for the figure of Diana (Figure 21)⁴⁴ and one related to the woman with two dogs is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyons (Figure 22).

More tapestries of this design and more names of the weavers are known than of any other subject in the series. The example in the Brandegee set is marked “Jans des Gobelins” and one of the Jean Lefebvres put the initials “L. F.” on a tapestry that was owned by the Berlin dealers

A. and L. Bodenheim in 1975.⁴⁵ The weaver who took over Jans’s workshop in 1732, Michel Audran, put his name on the *Diana’s Return from the Hunt* that was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, December 10, 1982, no. 128.⁴⁶ The name “Le Blond” appears on an example sold at the Hôtel Drouot, March 29, 1985, no. 109, which shows that the basse-lisse weavers found it profitable to copy the cartoon in reverse; Etienne Le Blond was a basse-lisse *entrepreneur* from 1701 to 1727. Another basse-lisse

15. *Pan and Syrinx*, French (Gobelins), about 1680. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Foto-Commissie Rijksmuseum)





16. *Rinaldo and Armida*, French (Gobelins), 1705–30, after Louis de Boulogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Paris, Chevalier (photo: Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd.)

example was in the Cholmeley-Cozette set. Two tapestries of the subject are in public collections, the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 19) and the Huntington Galleries, West Virginia.⁴⁷

The two subjects just discussed—*Rinaldo and Armida* and *Diana's Return from the Hunt*—are, as has been said, named in records of 1705; another five (*Apollo and the Python*, *Apollo and Hyacinth*, *Mercury and Argus*, *Narcissus and Echo*, and *Flora and Zephyr*) are first mentioned as part of the set of seven pieces made for the king between 1714 and 1720. The list of this set begins with the “Serpent Python,” put on the loom in 1714 and finished in April of the following year; it was $3\frac{1}{16}$ aunes wide (i.e., a hori-

zontal panel), woven in the basse-lisse workshop of Jean de La Fraye, an *entrepreneur* from 1699 to 1730. The cartoon is listed in the 1736 inventory: “Le tableau d’*Apollon et le serpent Python* de 11 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut, les figures par M. Bertin et le paysage par M. Bonnard.” This was evidently an original painting and no copy of it is listed. No such work by Nicolas Bertin and Robert-François Bonnard is known.⁴⁸ The tapestries can be identified from the example in the Cleve-

FACING PAGE, ABOVE:

17. Louis de Boulogne, *Rinaldo and Armida*. Oil on canvas. New York, Stair Sainty Fine Art, Inc. (photo: Stair Sainty Fine Art)

FACING PAGE, BELOW:

18. Louis de Boulogne, *Rinaldo and Armida*. Black chalk drawing. Paris, private collection



19. *Diana's Return from the Hunt*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Charles de La Fosse. Wool and silk tapestry. Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Matthias Plum (photo: Cleveland Museum of Art)

FACING PAGE, ABOVE:

20. Pierre-Etienne Moitte after Charles de La Fosse. *Préparatifs pour la chasse*. Engraving, The British Museum, London (photo: British Museum)





21. Charles de La Fosse, *Study Sheet with Four Figures*. Red and black chalk heightened with white drawing. Montreal, collection of Mrs. Betty Reitman



22. Charles de La Fosse, *Standing Girl*. Black chalk drawing. Lyons, Musée Lyonnais des Arts Décoratifs (photo: Musée Lyonnais des Arts Décoratifs)





FACING PAGE, ABOVE AND BELOW:

23. *Apollo and the Python*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Nicolas Bertin (1668–1736). Wool and silk tapestry. Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Matthias Plum (photo: Cleveland Museum of Art)
24. *Apollo and Hyacinth*, French (Gobelins), 1706–30, after Louis de Boulogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Location unknown (photo: from Sotheby's, London, catalogue)

land set (Figure 23) and instances where they are found with others of the series.⁴⁹

In 1717, three years after the first tapestry of the king's set was begun, six other subjects were put on the looms of three basse-lisse workshops. One of them, *Apollo and Hyacinth*, was finished the same year by Jean Souët; it was narrow, less than two *aunes* wide. An example of the tapestry was sold at Sotheby's, London, October 14, 1960, no. 86 (Figure 24); it has been made wider by the addition of the two peacocks found on some versions of *Rinaldo and Armida* (see Figure 16). The cartoon is recorded as copied by Yvart in 1715, probably to reverse the design, as Jans, the haute-lisse weaver,

25. Louis de Boulogne, *Apollo and Hyacinth*. Oil on canvas. Versailles, Trianon (photo: Musée de Versailles)



also used it (tapestries in the Brandegee and Bourdariat sets). Yvart was accustomed to this kind of work, as he made copies of the *History of Alexander* cartoons, “peints à gauche pour servir aux basse-lissiers.”⁵⁰ Two cartoons of *Apollo and Hyacinth* are listed in the 1736 inventory: “Le tableau d’Apollon et Jacinthe, en deux bandes de 4 pieds ½ de long sur 8 pieds de haut . . . une autre copie d’Apollon et Jacinthe de 4 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut, peint.” The mention of two *bandes* in the first entry shows that this was the copy used on the basse-lisse looms, for which cartoons had to be cut into strips. No artist is named, but the two figures occur in the painting by Louis de Boulogne made in 1706 for the Trianon, now at Versailles (Figure 25).⁵¹ Most of the known tapestries are narrow, showing only the two figures and, in the background, the temple and waterfall of Tivoli.⁵²

The second tapestry begun in 1717 was *Rinaldo and Armida*, already discussed. The third was called “Argus,” woven in Jean de La Fraye’s workshop. It was three *aunes* wide and was finished in 1718. “Sr. Dequois, peintre,” made a copy of the cartoon in 1715; it appears in the 1736 inventory as “Une autre copie de *Mercuré et Argus*, de 10 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut peint par M. Dequois.”⁵³ The original cartoon, of the same dimensions, is described as “les figures peintes par M. Bertin et le paysage par M. Bonnard.” An example of the tapestry was sold at Sotheby’s, New York, November 29, 1980, no. 450 (Figure 26).⁵⁴ A closely related painting by Nicolas Bertin was formerly in the National Museum, Warsaw (Figure 27), and a fragment of the cartoon, showing the two main figures with Cupid riding on the heifer, Io, behind them, is at Versailles.⁵⁵ In the painting, Argus and Io are much as they appear in the tapestries, but a slightly later moment in the story is depicted: Mercury has discarded his soothing pipe and his caduceus and prepares to cut off Argus’s head. The discarded implements, illogically, lie beside Argus in the tapestry as they do on the painting. The sleeping dog of the tapestry is missing in the painting and may well have been added from the design for another subject, *Diana and Endymion* (see Figure 51). Other examples of the tapestry are in the Louvre and the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Calais.

A “Diane,” the fourth piece, begun in 1717 in de La Fraye’s workshop, was finished in 1719; it was 4½ *aunes* wide and could have been either *Diana’s Return from the Hunt* or *Diana and Actaeon*. The fifth tapestry was called “Narcisse”; it was woven by Etienne Le Blond and finished in 1718. It was almost square, just over two *aunes*



26. *Mercury and Argus*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Nicolas Bertin. Wool and silk tapestry. Sold Sotheby's, New York, November 29, 1980 (photo: courtesy Sotheby's, New York)

wide. No original designer is named in the 1736 list of cartoons, which described only “Le tableau de *Narcisse et la nymphe Echo*, en deux bandes de 5 pieds $\frac{1}{2}$ de long sur 8 pieds de haut” and “Deux bandes pour la pièce de *Narcisse*, pour la grandir, peint par le même [M. Chastelain].” A drawing by Antoine Dieu in the Swedish Nationalmuseum,⁵⁶ however, is so close to the tapestries, especially to the version represented by an example formerly owned by John Hartford, that it must be considered the source of the design or a study for it (Figures 28, 29). This relationship suggests that Jans obtained such drawings from his designers and entrusted them to Gobelins

artists to be enlarged into full-scale cartoons. Dieu’s distinctive style has been entirely lost in the process. Tapestries of *Narcissus and Echo* in the Bourdariat and Brandegee sets were certainly woven in Jans’s workshop.⁵⁷

The final subject in the king’s set, “Zéphire et Flore,” was begun like five others in 1717, but was not finished until January 1720. It was woven in the workshop of Le Blond and was three *aunes* wide. The cartoons were listed in 1736 as “Le tableau de *Flore et Zéphir*, en deux bandes de 9 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut” and “Une autre copie de *Flore et Zéphir*, de 9 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut, peint par le même [M. Duquoy].”



27. Nicolas Bertin, *Mercury and Argus*. Oil on canvas. Formerly National Museum, Warsaw (photo: National Museum)



28. *Narcissus and Echo*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Antoine Dieu (1662–1727). Wool and silk tapestry. Location unknown (photo: from sale catalogue)

The tapestries of *Flora and Zephyr* are of two types: the figures differ, but the landscape is usually the same. One type can be called *Zephyr Crowning Flora* because the god holds a wreath over Flora's head and a cupid beside her raises a basket of flowers. An example is in the Cleveland Museum set (Figure 30). The three figures are found in a painting made for the king by Louis de Boullogne at Fontainebleau in 1701.⁵⁸ A replica was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, March 8, 1985, no. 3; it is signed and dated "Boullogne Jeune. 1702" (Figure 31). A second cupid in the paintings has been omitted in the tapestries.⁵⁹ The same subject, painted by Antoine Coypel for Mme de Maintenon's apartment at the Trianon, was paid for in 1701 and 1702 (Figure 32).⁶⁰ This has points of resemblance to Boullogne's design, especially the draped figure of Flora.

There is a large example of the tapestry in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyons (Figure 33), which includes the dolphin-supported fountain found on some versions of *Rinaldo and Armida* (Figure 16); even Rinaldo's flower-bedecked shield has crept into the scene beside the little cupid. The incongruity of this juxtaposition might have been permitted on a tapestry made for a private customer, but not allowed on one for the king. No weaver's name has been found on a tapestry of *Zephyr Crowning Flora*.⁶¹ A marble group, now in a French private collection, commissioned from Philippe Bertrand and René Frémin in 1713, echoes the paintings and the tapestry design.⁶²

The second design, *Flora Presenting a Rose*, shows the goddess handing a rose to Zephyr, while a basket of flowers rests precariously on a cloud between them. Sometimes there is a seated cupid in the foreground. There is an example in the Mobilier National (Figure 34); another, signed by Jans, was in the Mme C. Lelong sale, Galerie Georges Petit, April 27–May 1, 1903, no. 490,⁶³ and a basse-lisse weaving was in the Cholmeley-Cozette set.⁶⁴

Other *Metamorphoses* subjects are documented only by entries in the 1736 list of cartoons. "Le tableau de *Psyché et l'Amour*, de 4 pieds ½ de long sur 8 pieds de haut," i.e., a narrow upright, was among the "Ruinez" designs. Tapestries of this subject and of similar proportions have appeared in sales in conjunction with pieces known to belong to the series, but unfortunately without illustrations. One was in the Paris 1926 set, when it was described as: "*L'Amour abandonne Psyché*. Psyché est étendue, au premier plan, au pied d'un arbre; un amour



29. Antoine Dieu, *Narcissus and Echo*. Pen and gray ink, gray wash over sketch in red chalk drawing. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (photo: Statenskonstmuseer)



30. *Zephyr Crowning Flora*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Louis de Boulogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Matthias Plum (photo: Cleveland Museum of Art)

voltige audessus d'elle. Fond de verdure. Bordure simulant un cadre. Haut., 3m.07; larg., 2.30."

What is apparently another example was in the collection of Mrs. E. M. Glen Coats, sold at Christie's, December 11, 1952, no. 241, with the *Flora Crowning Zephyr* (see note 61). The description reads, in part: ". . . with Cupid and Psyche depicted in a rocky river landscape with Pan and a Nymph in the middle distance, flowering plants, trees and building in the distance, enclosed in frame-pattern borders . . . 10 ft. 6 in. high, 6 ft. 1 in. wide."

A representation of Cupid leaving Psyche that is consistent with these two descriptions is found at one side of the version of *Diana's Return from the Hunt* that was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, July 2, 1956, no. 123 (Figure 35); pos-

31. Louis de Boulogne, *Zephyr Crowning Flora*. Oil on canvas. Sold Nouveau Drouot, Paris, March 8, 1985 (photo: courtesy M. Paul Renaud)



sibly the narrow design of *Cupid and Psyche* has been added to enlarge the tapestry.

If this hypothesis is accepted, a designer can be suggested, as Cupid is close to his counterpart in a painting by Nicolas Bertin, which is in a private collection in Bremen (Figure 36);⁶⁵ Psyche's head and legs are similarly posed in the tapestry and in the painting. On the other hand, the revolutionary jury of 1794 listed two cartoons: "Psiché abandonnée par l'Amour, de Coypel. Sujet Agréable. Tableau rejeté sous le rapport de l'art" and a copy by Belle père (Clément Belle) after Coypel, which was similarly assessed.⁶⁶ The cupid of the scene added to *Diana's Return from the Hunt* (Figure 35) can also be compared to the same god in Louis de Boulogne's painting of *Cephalus and Procris* in the Musée d'Art et d'Industrie, St.-Etienne (Figure 42).

Another entry in the 1736 list of "ruined" cartoons is "Le tableau de *Venus et Adonis*, en quatre bandes de 9 pieds 2 pouces de long sur 8 pieds de haut." The design of this subject is known from examples of the tapestry in *Metamorphoses* sets, including one most recently sold at Sothe-

32. Antoine Coypel (1661–1712). *Zephyr Crowning Flora*. Oil on canvas. Versailles, Palace (photo: Musée de Versailles)





33. *Zephyr Crowning Flora*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30. Wool and silk tapestry. Lyons, Musée Lyonnais des Arts Décoratifs (photo: Studio Basset, Lyons)



34. *Flora and Zephyr*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Louis de Boullogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Paris, Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)



35. *Diana's Return from the Hunt and Cupid Leaving Psyche*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30. Wool and silk tapestry. Location unknown (photo: from Hôtel Drouot sale catalogue)

36. Nicolas Bertin, *Cupid Leaving Psyche*. Oil on canvas. Bremen, private collection (photo: from Thierry Lefrançois, *Nicolas Bertin*, fig. 46)





37. *Venus and Adonis*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Louis de Boullogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Sold Sotheby's, New York, June 25, 1982 (photo: courtesy Sotheby's, New York)

38. Louis de Boulogne, *Venus and Adonis*. Oil on canvas. Versailles, Trianon (photo: Musée de Versailles)

by's, London, June 25, 1982, no. 15 (Figure 37).⁶⁷ A painting of the same scene by Louis de Boulogne in the Trianon (Figure 38)⁶⁸ shows the main figures in different poses, but a kneeling cupid seen from the back is so much alike in both works of art that an attribution of the tapestry design to the same artist seems plausible. A related drawing is in the Print Room of the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (Figure 39); the cupid with his back turned is missing, but the one trying to stop Adonis is close to his counterpart in the Trianon painting. None of the known tapestries bears a weaver's name.

A wider cartoon was that described in the "Ruinez" section of the 1736 inventory as "Le tableau de *Pomone et Vertumne*, en trois bandes de 10 pieds 11 pouces de long sur 8 pieds de haut"; it was presumably the one described by the revolutionary jury as "Vertumne et Pomone par Louis de Boulogne, 3 bandes. Détérioré."⁶⁹ A tapestry of the subject was exhibited by the dealer Lefortier at the 13th Biennale Internationale des Antiquaires at Paris in 1986 (Figure 40);⁷⁰ it has the border with the trophies of love at the sides that is found on several other *Metamorphoses* tapestries (Figures 28, 34, 41, 43).⁷¹ No related paintings or drawings have been located.⁷² The Beauvais tapestry of the same subject also shows Vertumnus as an old woman kneeling before a seated Pomona, but he is seen from the front instead of from the back.⁷³

A companion piece to the *Vertumnus and Pomona* owned by Lefortier in 1986 is a *Cephalus and Procris*, which was also a subject in the 1736 inventory of "ruined" cartoons: "Le tableau de *Céphale et Procris*, en 2 bandes de 7 pieds 4 pouces de long sur huit pieds de haut." An example of the tapestry is in the Mobilier National set (Figure 41). The design has strong points of resemblance, particularly the figure of Cephalus, with the painting by Louis de Boulogne (Figure 42).⁷⁴ Other examples of the tapestry are known, but without makers' names.⁷⁵ The Beauvais tapestry of the same title shows a later event in the story—Cephalus about to throw the infallible spear at Procris.⁷⁶

Another "ruined" cartoon in the 1736 inventory was "Le tableau de *Bacchus et Ariane*, en cinq bandes de 12 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut." This was the second-widest cartoon in the series, surpassed only by *Rinaldo*



39. Louis de Boulogne, *Venus and Adonis*. Black and white chalk drawing. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (photo: courtesy Corpus Photographicum, Perroy, Switzerland)





40. *Vertumnus and Pomona*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30. Wool and silk tapestry. Paris, Lefortier (photo: courtesy C. Potignon-Lafortier)

and *Armida*, eighteen *pieds* wide. It is therefore extremely unlikely that it represented the design of *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne* (Figure 5), of which only narrow tapestries have been found. A scene, however, that may be called *Bacchus Greeting Ariadne* appears on tapestries in several *Metamorphoses* sets, including that in the Mobilier National (Figure 43). It is after a painting by Antoine Coypel, made for the duc d'Orléans, Louis XIV's brother, in 1693, or, more probably, from an engraving of the work by Coypel and Gérard Audran (Figure 44).⁷⁷ The original painting has not been located lately (it was in Basel in 1953), but there are many copies, as well as adapta-

tions of the composition in ceramics and enamel.⁷⁸ The tapestry designer changed the garlands and frolicking cupids in the upper part of the painting to a large and improbable piece of drapery and omitted several figures, doubtless to make the tapestry less expensive for private customers; the *officiers des têtes*, the weavers of flesh tones, were more highly paid. No weavers' names have been found on tapestries of this subject.⁷⁹

As previously mentioned, the 1789 memorandum that lists the contents of the king's set of the early *Metamorphoses* (no. 92) includes a tapestry described as: "A Paris: 1 pièce, 3 aunes cours, 2a, 3/4 haut; bordure, 12



41. *Cephalus and Procris*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Louis de Boulogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Paris, Mobilier National (photo: Visages de France)

42. Louis de Boulogne, *Cephalus and Procris*. Oil on canvas. St.-Etienne, Musée d'Art et d'Industrie (photo: Musée de l'Art et d'Industrie)





43. *Bacchus Greeting Ariadne*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Antoine Coypel. Wool and silk tapestry. Paris, Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)

44. Antoine Coypel and Gérard Audran (1640–1703), *Bacchus Greeting Ariadne*. Engraving. Paris, Louvre (photo: Musée du Louvre)





45. *Europa and the Bull*, French (Gobelins), 1714–30, after Sébastien II Le Clerc (1676–1763). Wool and silk tapestry. Calais, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts)



46. Edmé Jaurat after Sébastien Le Clerc II, *Europa and the Bull*. Engraving. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962, 62.662.915

pouces: *Jupiter*.” Could this be the *Jupiter and Callisto* of which an example was in the Menier set? Unfortunately, it was not illustrated in the sale catalogue. The description reads:

Gobelins, du début du XVIII^e siècle, présentant une scène tirée de la Mythologie: *Jupiter sous les traits de Diane surprend le sommeil de Callisto*. Dans un paysage boisé, la fille de Lycaon, légèrement drapée, est allongée sur un tertre, le haut du corps reposant près d’un arbre. A gauche, Jupiter sous la forme de Diane, accompagné de trois chiens, contemple Callisto endormie. Au premier plan, des réseaux et des plantes fleuries. Haut. 2 m. 98 cent.; larg., 1 m. 55 cent.

47. *Apollo and Daphne*, French (Gobelins), 1680–1730, after Louis de Boulogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Bayreuth, Schloss (photo: Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser)

No other examples of the tapestry have been located. The Beauvais version of the subject shows both figures standing.⁸⁰

Jupiter in another disguise, as the bull abducting Europa, is also represented in the Gobelins *Metamorphoses* series. The tapestries of this design were certainly made at the Gobelins, as an example in the château of Lunéville is signed by Jans and there is one in the Brandegee set. Another is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Calais (Figure 45) and there is a wider version in the Scott of Kew Green set, with another nymph on the left and two more girls on the right.⁸¹ Though Jans wove the design, it cannot be the “Jupiter” of the seventeenth-century set, as the figures are from an engraving by Edmé Jeaurat, dated 1714 (Figure 46), after a painting by Sébastien Le Clerc II in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk;⁸² a





48. Louis de Boulogne, *Apollo and Daphne*. Oil on canvas. Sold, Sotheby's, New York, January 15, 1987 (photo: courtesy Sotheby's, New York)

lush landscape in the tapestry replaces the desolate sea-shore of the painting and print. Le Clerc was not born until 1676 and so could not have provided the design for the "Jupiter" of the early set. The Beauvais version of the subject shows a very similar group of figures around the bull, which does not, however, throw its head back, and Mercury in the sky is replaced by a wreath-bearing cupid.⁸⁵

Jans's name also appears on a tapestry with another *Metamorphoses* story, *Apollo and Daphne*,⁸⁶ as previously mentioned, this subject was listed by Fenaille as appearing in the king's 1684 inventory and the style of the known tapestries is consistent with this early date. There is an example in the Bayreuth set (Figure 47), of which the other five pieces represent subjects from the early sets. The composition shows points of resemblance, particularly the figure of the river-god, with a painting attributed to Louis de Boulogne that was sold at Sotheby's, New York, January 15, 1987, no. 104 (Figure 48). A drawing signed L. B. in the Louvre, which does not contain the river-god, has been associated with the painting.⁸⁵ Other drawings that can be compared to both the painting and the tapestries are in the Musée de Grenoble (Figure 49),⁸⁶ the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (attributed to the circle of Antoine Coypel) (Figure 50),⁸⁷ and a private collection in Paris (attributed to Bon de Boulogne).⁸⁸ It seems most probable that Louis



49. Louis de Boulogne, *Apollo and Daphne*. Black chalk heightened with white drawing. Grenoble, Musée (photo: Ifot, Grenoble)

50. Circle of Antoine Coypel, *Apollo and Daphne*. Black and red chalk drawing. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (photo: Statenskonstmuseer)



de Boulogne was responsible for the design of the tapestries, of which other examples are known.⁸⁹

A final subject, not mentioned in any document, that can nevertheless be identified as one of the Gobelins *Metamorphoses* is *Diana and Endymion*, as an example with Jans's name was in the M.X. . . . sale at the Hôtel Drouot, December 16, 1932, no. J, and there is another in the Brandegee set. A wider piece, with a nude child on one side, was most recently sold at Sotheby's, New York, November 29, 1980, no. 491 (Figure 51).⁹⁰ A painting, described as "Ecole de Coypel," sold at the Hôtel des Ventes, Fontainebleau, April 26, 1987 (Fig-

ure 52), shows the figures almost exactly as they appear on the tapestries, except that the nude boy is in a different position. Other paintings can be associated with the design. One by Gabriel Blanchard (Figure 53) was made for the Grand Appartement of Versailles before 1701 and is still in the palace;⁹¹ it includes the reclining figure in the foreground and the winged old man, Somnus, who supports the sleeping shepherd, though the latter is in a different position and Diana has her hinds and several companions. A painting by René-Antoine Houasse, made for the Trianon in 1688 and now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Narbonne (Figure 54),⁹²

51. *Diana and Endymion*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30. Wool and silk tapestry. Sold, Sotheby's, New York, November 29, 1980 (photo: courtesy Sotheby's, New York)





52. French, about 1700, *Diana and Endymion*. Oil on canvas. Sold Hôtel des Ventes, Fontainebleau, April 26, 1987 (photo: courtesy Jean-Pierre Osenay, Fontainebleau)

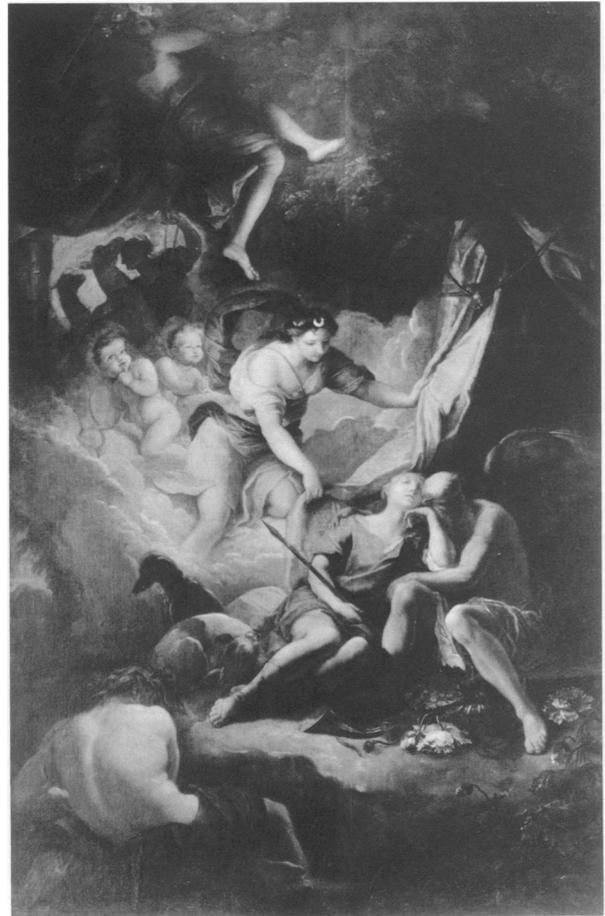
omits Somnus and the foreground figure, but Diana and Endymion are very similar to their counterparts in the tapestries. The curled up, sleeping dog is much the same on all the versions of the subject.⁹³

The idea of showing Endymion supported by Somnus may have been derived from Le Brun. Claude Nivelon wrote in his life of this artist:

De ce même génie [genre?] d'ouvrage pour des tapisseries de ce même temps [about 1658] se voit un tableau d'un sujet d'Endymion, reposant et endormis sur le sommeil dans le moment que Diane ou la lune sur son char tiré de ses biches descend du Ciel. . . . Ce sujet est plus petit que le naturel et est très agréable et riche comme le paysage qui paraît une forêt fort sombre et fraîche étant une nuit par-elle-même [?] exécutée de M. Belin.⁹⁴

The Beauvais version of the subject, after Pierre Sève, is a totally different composition.⁹⁵

Among the cartoons called "Ruinez" in 1736 were "Une petite pièce pour servir d'Entrefenestre pour la même tenture que Paysage, de 3 pieds de large sur 8 pieds de haut" and "Une autre petite pièce aussy de Paysage sans figures, de trois pieds de long sur huit pieds de haut." Fenaille states: "il existe, au magasin du Musée du Louvre, un fragment de paysage portant la désignation Entrefenêtre des *Metamorphoses*, où se trouve une



53. Gabriel Blanchard, *Diana and Endymion*. Oil on canvas. Versailles, Palace (photo: Musée de Versailles)

54. René-Antoine Houasse, *Diana and Endymion*. Oil on canvas. Narbonne, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (photo: J. Lepage)



fontaine rustique” and that the piece “qui se trouve au magasin du Louvre, représente un paysage avec une fontaine d’architecture.”⁹⁶ This painting can no longer be found in the Louvre.

Several types of borders were used on the *Metamorphoses* tapestries, the most elaborate and attractive being that of the early royal set (Figures 1, 2, 5, 15), with its doves, hens, ducks, dogs, and monkeys on a nearly white ground—“fonds aurore” in the 1684 inventory. This must have been expensive and it does not seem to have been used again. Another lively type has heavy garlands of fruit, interspersed with squirrels, monkeys, birds, and butterflies; this appears on the Metropolitan Museum *Diana and Actaeon* (Figure 14) and the Paris 1933 set. The border with trophies of love in the center of each side (Figures 28, 34, 40, 41, 43) has already been mentioned. The Bayreuth set (Figures 4, 12, 47) has thin sprays of leaves encircled by wide ribbons. The most usual types imitate carved wooden frames but at least a dozen varieties exist. Two or more weavings of the same subject with identical borders are not infrequent, which means that it is impossible to estimate the total number of sets by counting the types of borders.

The *Metamorphoses* is a most unusual series for the Gobelins manufactory. Its size is surpassed only by the twenty-eight subjects of *Don Quixote*, woven steadily from 1717 until the end of the monarchy; this also started as a set made by Jans and Lefebvre for a private customer, but it was later taken over by the king more completely than was the *Metamorphoses*.⁹⁷ It is indeed extraordinary that, compared to over a hundred known pieces of the *Metamorphoses*, only fourteen were made for the king, five of which have been identified. The prime mover in the enterprise would seem to have been Jans; his name is found on tapestries of thirteen different subjects and his letters to Lord Exeter’s servant are the earliest documents connected with the series. Jans was clearly a shrewd man and found ways to profit even in adversity; when the manufactory was shut down in 1694, his colleague Lefebvre wrote to the king that he had been paid fifty *livres* less per *aune* than Jans, although he gave his workers the same wages.⁹⁸

It seems probable that Jans commissioned designs, perhaps only drawings, from several artists in the 1680s, so that he could have a new and interesting series to offer customers like Lord Exeter. Some twenty years later, painters’ work on the *Metamorphoses* cartoons was paid for by the king, perhaps at the instigation of the heads of the basse-lisse workshops, envious of Jans’s

ownership of profitable designs; somewhat belatedly, in 1714, they began a set for the king from the cartoons. There is no evidence establishing the exact dates when individual designs were added to those of the early sets. Most of the tapestries exist in two versions, mirror-images of each other, showing they were woven on both haute- and basse-lisse looms.⁹⁹

As described above, several artists are mentioned in the records as responsible for the designs of the *Metamorphoses* tapestries. Charles de La Fosse is listed for *Acis and Galatea* and *Diana’s Return from the Hunt*; *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne* may also be his design. Louis de Boulogne the Younger is credited with *Rinaldo and Armida* and paintings of his are certainly related to *Apollo and Hyacinth*, *Flora and Zephyr*, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Cephalus and Procris*; more tentatively *Cupid and Psyche*, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, and *Apollo and Daphne* may be derived from his designs. Nicolas Bertin has *Apollo and the Python* and *Mercury and Argus* to his credit, and *Cupid and Psyche* might be his rather than Louis de Boulogne’s. Other artists are not named in the records, but Antoine Dieu is probably responsible for *Narcissus and Echo* and René-Antoine Houasse may be for *Boreas and Orithyia*, *Pan and Syrinx*, and *Diana and Endymion*. *Bacchus Greeting Ariadne* is from a print after Antoine Coypel and *Europa and the Bull* from one after Sébastien Le Clerc II; these two compositions have many figures. *Rinaldo and Armida*, *Diana’s Return from the Hunt*, and the unattributed *Diana and Actaeon*, all of which also contain a number of figures, may also have been based on prints, but none has been identified.¹⁰⁰ Two subjects in the 1736 inventory of cartoons, *Apollo and the Python* and *Mercury and Argus*, are described as having figures painted by Nicolas Bertin; all the others in this list are either without an artist’s name or merely “d’après” a certain painter. As suggested above, Jans may have acquired fairly simple drawings with at most three or four figures and no landscapes; full-scale working cartoons would then be made from these by artists attached to the manufactory.

Another unusual feature of the series is the great freedom with which the designs were treated; the versions of *Acis and Galatea* (Figures 1, 2, 4) and of *Flora and Zephyr* (Figures 30, 33, 34) are only the most extreme examples of this rather high-handed nonchalance. The ease, however, with which compositions could be widened by the addition of a fountain or a peacock undoubtedly helped to sell sets to private customers who needed pieces to fit their walls. The artists who were directors of the manufactory between 1680 and 1730—Charles Le Brun,

Pierre Mignard, and Robert de Cotte—seem to have exercised minimal supervision over this series. Jans knew what would please his paying customers. While his official looms were turning out the great, solemn scenes of the *History of the King*, the stories of Alexander and Moses, or the Raphael masterpieces of the *Chambres du Vatican* for royal use, he took pains to have lighter, cheaper, less demanding, and more purely decorative designs available that could compete with the commer-

cial products of Beauvais.¹⁰¹ His colleagues evidently followed his lead with enthusiasm. The *Metamorphoses* tapestries show that the change of taste associated with the Régence penetrated even the august workshops of the Gobelins. They also prove that the *entrepreneurs* did a great deal of work for private individuals between 1680 and 1730, foreshadowing the enormous success of the *Tentures de Boucher* in the second half of the eighteenth century.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Eric Till for the privilege of consulting and quoting from his transcriptions of the English letters in the archives of Burghley House, owned by Lady Victoria Leatham, and from his notes on the contents of the French letters. Dr. Till has also kindly sent me extracts from the 1688 Burghley House inventory; he is preparing an account of the fifth earl and his purchases.

2. Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire général du Mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV* (Paris, 1885) I, p. 314. "Aurore" was a very pale yellow (Anne Ratzki-Kraatz, "A French Lit de Parade 'A la Duchesse,' 1690–1715," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 [1986] p. 99). The *aune* is 1.18 meters; the *piéd* is about the same as the English foot.

3. Maurice Fenaille, *Etat général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins* (Paris) II (1903) p. 419; III (1904) p. 121. The latter reference says that the set included "tableaux de *Jupiter: Actéon changé en cerf, Apollon et Daphné*"; no source is quoted for the third subject. The *pouce* is about the same as the English inch.

4. "L'Etat des tapisseries en haute et basse lisse faites aux Gobelins depuis l'établissement de cette manufacture en 1662, jusqu'au 16 juillet 1691" (Fenaille, *Etat général* II, p. 183, gives the source as Archives nationales, o'2040).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 381.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 355. Edouard Gerspach (*Répertoire détaillé des Tapisseries des Gobelins* [Paris, 1893] p. 17) says that Jans's private workshop was "en communication avec la Manufacture au moyen d'une porte intérieur" and that Jean de la Fraye, the basse-lisse *entrepreneur*, had tapestries he was making for private individuals on looms in the Gobelins building in 1694.

7. A. M. L. E. Erkelens, "Vier wandtapijten met Ovidius' *Metamorphosen*, Manufacture des Gobelins, Ateliers Janss en Lefebvre, van vóór 1684," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 7 (1959) pp. 64–69. The weaver Jean Lefebvre is mentioned because Louis XIV paid for seven sets of tapestries by him and Jean Jans in 1695 (Fenaille, *Etat général* II, p. 420); "quelques *Fables des Métamorphoses*" were included. There is no proof, however, that Lefebvre made any pieces of the king's *Metamorphoses* set. The statement in Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1985) I, p. 320, n. 7, that the Amsterdam tapestries have the French royal arms is incorrect.

8. Fenaille, *Etat général* III, p. 122.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 129–131.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124. The author does not mention the appearance of the cartoons in any later inventories.

11. Fenaille, *Etat général* II, pp. 419, 420; III, pp. 121–132. No further references will be given to these pages, which include all the information taken from the Gobelins archives. The author lists fourteen subjects of the eighteenth-century *Metamorphoses* series, twelve of which he describes from tapestries known to him. He illustrates five and gives a list of thirty individual pieces with their dimensions, marks, and locations in 1900.

12. The Cholmeley-Cozette set was previously sold at Christie's, London, May 27, 1948, no. 168. The description of *Acis and Galatea*, which is not illustrated, shows that the design corresponds to one of the Amsterdam tapestries of the subject.

13. Bertrand Jestaz, "The Beauvais Manufactory in 1690," *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1970*, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (1979) pp. 195–204. Since this article appeared, the *Rape of Europa*, then owned by Mrs. Sheldon Whitehouse, has been sold at the William Doyle Galleries, New York, May 7, 1982, no. 69, and acquired by Daniel O. Tomlin, Jr., Dallas.

14. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," p. 195.

15. The known *Metamorphoses* sets are:

SIX PIECES.

1. In the Neues Schloss, Bayreuth.

2. Owned by the Brandegee Foundation, Boston, Mass. It was lent anonymously to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1919 (S. G. F. [Sarah G. Flint], "The *Metamorphoses*. A Set of Gobelins Tapestries," *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 17 [1919] p. 5). A seventh piece, a landscape, is mentioned as "woven to replace a missing original; it has the mark of the Lille manufactory." This set will be referred to as the "Brandegee set."

3. Sold at Parke-Bernet, Feb. 12, 1955, nos. 486–491; four pieces were later in the Mrs. Gaby Solomon sale, Christie's, London, Dec. 2, 1971, nos. 151, 152, and were sold again at Sotheby's, London, June 25, 1982, nos. 12–15. This set will be referred to as the "Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 set."

FIVE PIECES.

In the Fouret collection, Paris, in 1900 (Fenaille lists three subjects and illustrates two more). Photographs of

all the pieces are in the Département des Objets d'Art at the Louvre.

FOUR PIECES.

1. Owned in 1900 by Don Francisco de Assisi de Bourbon (1822–1902), husband of Isabella II, queen of Spain, at the château of Epinay, Seine (Fenaille lists the set as owned by the king of Spain). This set will be referred to as the “Epinay set.”
2. In the Bourdariat collection in 1900.
3. In the sale of tapestries from the château of Fontbeauzard, Haute-Garonne, Apr. 20, 1863, nos. 56–59.
4. In the collection of Mme Louis Stern, Paris, in 1900.
5. In the Paul Meurice sale, Hôtel Drouot, Mar. 24, 25, 1926, nos. 232–236. This will be referred to as the “Paris 1926 set.”
6. Sold at Sotheby's, May 11, 1928, no. 161. This will be referred to as the “Sotheby's 1928 set.”
7. In the X sale, 19 avenue d'Iéna, Paris, Dec. 16, 1933, nos. h–k. This set will be referred to as the “Paris 1933 set.”
8. In the Gaston Menier sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, Nov. 24, 1934, nos. 122–125.
9. The Cholmeley-Cozette set sold in 1948 and 1950 (see note 10).

THREE PIECES (public collections):

1. Cleveland Museum of Art (Katharine B. Malloy, “Three Eighteenth-Century Gobelin Tapestries,” *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 44 [1957] pp. 24–27).
2. Mobilier National, Paris (Guillaume Janneau, “Au Mobilier National: nouvelles acquisitions de tapisseries et de meubles anciens,” *Revue des Beaux-Arts de France* [Dec. 1943–Jan. 1944] pp. 79–99). The set came from a collection in Perpignan (information from Chantal Gastinel-Coural).
3. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Calais (J. P. Samoyault, “Nouvelles acquisitions d'objets d'art,” *Revue du Louvre* [1968] p. 144).

References to sets of three pieces in private collections and sales, as well as to pairs and single pieces wherever located, are given in the accounts of the different subjects. It is not always possible to say if a set known in the nineteenth century is or is not identical with one recorded later.

16. “Sr. Matthieux” (Pierre Mathieu, 1657–1719) was paid for a copy of *Acis and Galatea* in 1715. Robert-François Bonnart (1652–after 1729) was a pupil of Van der Meulen. The second copy listed in 1736 had the same dimensions and was the work of the same artists.

17. Francis H. Dowley, “Three Drawings by Charles de La Fosse,” *Master Drawings* 2 (1964) pp. 51, 52. The author illustrates the other *Acis and Galatea* tapestry in Amsterdam, not the one more closely related to the painting and drawing. The Prado picture was reproduced in a print by Edmé Jeurat dated 1722, which is too late for it to have been used as the basis for the tapestry design.

18. Margaret Stuffmann, “Charles de La Fosse et sa position dans la peinture française du XVIII^e siècle,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, 64 (July–Aug. 1964) p. 108.

19. Examples were in the Paris 1926 and Menier sets. Single pieces were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Mar. 26, 1927, no. 114, at Sotheby's, London, July 1, 1966, no. 14 (Jack Franses, *Tapestries*

and their Mythology [London, 1973, pl. 25]), and at the Hôtel Drouot, Mar. 26, 1982, no. 85.

20. Previously in the Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 set. *An Acis and Galatea* in the Meurice set was in two parts, but, as it is not illustrated in the sale catalogue, its design cannot be determined.

21. I am indebted to Chantal Gastinel-Coural for knowledge of this tapestry. The relationship between it and the *Acis and Galatea* design was first recognized by Jennifer Montagu in a private letter to Mme Coural.

22. *Catalogue des Peintures françaises*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon (1968) no. 64, pl. 27. Dr. Margaret Stuffmann, in a private letter, has said that she does not consider the tapestry to be after de La Fosse.

23. *Dessins du Musée d'Alençon du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle*, exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Dentelle (Alençon, 1981) no. 24. It is said to date from the artist's early period.

24. Per Bjurström, *French Drawings, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Stockholm, 1976) no. 780. With an 18th-century inscription “Eustache le Sueur,” but said to be more probably connected with Le Brun.

25. In Pierre Rosenberg and François Bergot, *French Master Drawings from the Rouen Museum: From Caron to Delacroix*, exh. cat., National Gallery (Washington, D.C., 1981–82) no. 7. Of the two paintings mentioned, the one in Orléans, described as possibly an old copy, is presumably the work attributed to Guy Louis Vernansal (fig. 10). The drawing in Rouen (fig. 9) is close to a painting signed by Louis de Boulogne and dated 1707, once in the château of Aulteribe (Michel Borjon, “La galerie du château de Guermantes,” *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* 1985 [1987] p. 124, fig. 4 [copy by Pierre-Paul Mérelle, 1708]).

26. Mary O'Neill, *Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, Catalogue critique, Les Peintures de l'Ecole française des XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles* (Orléans, 1980) no. 196.

27. Marguerite Sapin, “Précisions sur l'histoire de quelques tableaux d'Eustache Le Sueur,” *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1984) p. 57, no. 4.

28. The example in the Paris 1933 set was in the M. B. sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 9, 1936, no. 146, when it was said to be signed “J. Jans.” Others are in the Bayreuth and Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 sets.

29. Jestaz, “Beauvais Manufactory,” pp. 197, 198; Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries* II, no. 67.

30. He was paid for work on the *Indes* cartoons in 1688 and 1692 and made copies of the Alexander set (Fenaille, *Etat général* II, pp. 168, 371, 380).

31. Sold again at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 9, 1936, no. 146, when it was said to be signed “J. Jans,” and resold at the same auction house, Mar. 24, 1955, no. 115.

32. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries* I, no. 48.

33. Other examples are in the Bayreuth and Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 sets. Individual pieces were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Rive Gauche, May 16, 1977, no. 67, and the Hôtel des Ventes, Grenoble, Nov. 24, 1986. One without a border was owned by a dealer, Chevalier, in 1987; this piece and those in the Burghley House and Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 sets

show Actaeon on the right; in all the others, the composition is reversed.

34. Other examples are in the Bourdariat and Parke-Bernet 1955 sets. A single piece with the composition reversed was sold at the National Art Galleries, New York, Jan. 28, 1933, no. 262, with an unusual border of widely spaced grotesques, possibly a later addition.

35. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," fig. 11.

36. The artists named, other than Louis de Boulogne, all worked for the Gobelins. Joseph Yvart (1649–1728) became "garde des tableaux" there after the death in 1690 of his father, Baudouin (or Baudrin), who had held the same position. Charles Chastelain (1672–1755) was *inspecteur* from 1732. Belin de Fontenay (1652–1715), the well-known flower painter, was active in the manufactory from 1699. Domenchin de Chavannes (1673–1744) also appears in the Gobelins records (Guillaume Janneau, *La Peinture française au XVII^e siècle* [Geneva, 1965] p. 234).

37. *The First Painters of the King, French Royal Taste from Louis XIV to the Revolution*, exh. cat., Stair Sainty Matthiesen (New York, 1985–86) no. 7. A related drawing in Louisville is reproduced, as well as a smaller version of the painting and an example of the tapestry (called "tapestry cartoon").

38. Antoine Schnapper, "Plaidoyer pour un absent: Bon Boullogne (1649–1717)," *Revue de l'Art* 40–41 (1978) p. 137, fig. 36.

39. Antoine Coypel had a painting with the same title in the Salon, which was later engraved. It shows a very similar scene, but with Rinaldo asleep and not holding a mirror.

40. Examples were in the Epinay, Fontbeauzard, and Stern sets. Others were in the collection of Baron Edmond de Rothschild before 1904; sold at the Hôtel Drouot, May 7, 1897; at Sotheby's, May 11, 1928, no. 161a; in the Krupp von Bohlen und Holbach sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Dec. 5, 6, 1911; sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, Mar. 28, 1968, no. 192; in the Elvedon Hall sale, Christie's, May 22, 1984, no. 1772, owned by the dealer Chevalier in 1986 (Figure 16). An example formerly owned by French & Co. is inscribed "A. C. C. Beauvais," but the guard border on which this appears is an addition.

41. One was formerly owned by the Berlin dealers Altkunst-Margraf, with an elaborate coat of arms in the upper border (Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche. II. Teil. Die romanischen Länder* [Leipzig, 1928] 1, p. 170; 2, pl. 158); others were sold at Parke-Bernet, March 5, 6, 1954, no. 366, from the collection of Mrs. Beverley Bogaert, and at the Nouveau Drouot, Apr. 2, 1987, no. 143, from the collection of Mme Camoin.

42. "Chevreuille" is presumably Robert-François Chevreul (fl. 1676–1714).

43. Stuffmann, "Charles de La Fosse," p. 104, nos. 33, 34; François Bergot, "Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes, Récent Enrichissements," *Revue du Louvre* 23 (1973) p. 55, fig. 1. Stuffmann reproduces a version in the National Art Gallery, Toronto. A picture, now lost, of the same subject was painted by de La Fosse for the Trianon in 1688 (Antoine Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon de marbre, 1688–1714* [The Hague, 1967] p. 78, I 13; the author believes the Hermitage picture to be earlier). The suggestion that the Trianon painting was reproduced in the tapestry is mistaken (Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries* I, p. 319). A somewhat similar painting by Louis de Boulogne the Younger in the Musée

des Beaux-Arts, Tours, was made for Rambouillet and is dated 1707; Diana holds a bow and there is no nymph untying her sandal (Boris Lossky, *Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Peintures du XVIII^e siècle* [Paris, 1967] no. 17).

44. *Selected Drawings*, exh. cat., Charles B. Slatkin Galleries (New York, n.d.) no. 20a, pl. 25.

45. 7. *Kunst und Antiquitäten Messe* (Hanover, 1975) p. 12, illus. It was in the Château de C. . . sale, Hôtel Drouot, Nov. 14, 15, 1955, no. 345 and the Sir Edward Wills sale, Sotheby's, May 5, 1969, no. 11 (Franses, *Tapestries*, pl. 32). The initials L. F. have been considered to be those of the basse-lisse weaver Jean de La Fraye, but the composition is in the same direction as the known haute-lisse examples.

46. The letter C is said to precede the name "Audran," but this is probably the Gobelins "G." The tapestry was sold at the Galerie Jean Charpentier with the Mme Lucien Surmont collection, Mar. 15, 1935, no. 14, when the signature was given as "Audran."

47. *Three Hundred Years of French and Flemish Tapestry*, exh. cat., Huntington Galleries (Huntington, West Va., 1966) illus., cover. Other examples were in the Epinay, Fontbeauzard, Stern, and Paris 1926 sets. One was in a set of three pieces with the arms of Scott, baronets of Kew Green, sold at Christie's, June 25, 1933, no. 144. Others were in a sale at the Galerie Georges Petit, May 7, 1897, no. 119; in the Lowengard collection in 1900; in the de Curel sale, Galerie Georges Petit, May 3, 1918, no. 61; and sold at Parke-Bernet, Dec. 10, 1942, no. 134 (from the James Speyer collection). The central group of Diana and four nymphs was copied in Brussels tapestries, with different figures and landscapes at the sides. One signed by Franz van der Borgh was sold at Christie's, May 19, 1931, no. 145, and one with the names of Leyniers and Reydams at the Hôtel Drouot, Mar. 19, 1983, no. 99; others are, or have been, in British collections (information from the Marillier photographic archive at the Victoria and Albert Museum). These were presumably copied from the engraving by Moitte.

48. Thierry Lefrançois, *Nicolas Bertin, 1668–1736* (Paris, 1981) p. 156, no. 157. The author remarks on the resemblance of Apollo in the tapestry to Louis XIV.

49. Examples were in the Epinay and Fontbeauzard sets and in the Veyvialle collection in 1893. Others were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, May 7, 1897; with the V. Klotz collection at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 21, 1935, no. 78; and at the Palais Galliera, Paris, Nov. 30, 1971, no. 112.

50. Fenaille, *Etat général* II, p. 168.

51. Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, p. 94, no. I 66, figs. 56, 57. The author mentions two preparatory drawings in the Louvre. "Apollon et Hyacinthe, par Coypel, une bande" was among the cartoons rejected by the jury set up in 1794 by the Committee of Public Safety to purge the Gobelins and the Savonnerie (Jules Guiffrey, "Les modèles des Gobelins devant le jury des arts en Septembre 1794," *Nouvelles Archives de L'Art français*, 3rd series, 13 [1897] p. 377).

52. An *Apollo and Hyacinth* was in the Stern set. An example marked "L," presumably for Lefebvre or La Fraye, was in the Anne Keller sale, American Art Galleries, New York, Jan. 25–29, 1923, no. 507. Others were sold at Sotheby's, May 11, 1928, no. 161d, and with the Vicomtesse Vigier collection, Palais Galliera, June 3, 1970, no. 156.

53. Simon Dequoy (ca. 1665–1727) was a “peintre ordinaire du Roi.”

54. Previously sold at Sotheby’s, London, May 17, 1968, no. 12, and at Sotheby Parke-Bernet, Los Angeles, Oct. 30, 1978, no. 21. Other examples were in the Epinay, Stern, and Cozette sets and were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Dec. 9, 1909, no. 102; by Sir Lionel Phillips at Christie’s, London, Apr. 23–May 8, 1913, no. 105 (sold again at the same auction house Mar. 20, 1930, and owned by an Antwerp dealer in 1986); at Sotheby’s, London, May 11, 1928, no. 161e, and in the Francis Guérault sale, Paris, Mar. 21, 22, 1935, no. 141.

55. Lefrançois, *Nicolas Bertin*, pp. 133, 134, figs. 10 (painting), 11 (cartoon), 12 (tapestry in Louvre). The painting was lost during World War II.

56. Bjurström, *French Drawings*, no. 356. Dieu is known to have worked for the Gobelins; the *Naissance and Mariage du duc de Bourgogne*, from the additions to Le Brun’s *Histoire du Roi*, were his work (Fenaïlle, *Etat général II*, p. 101).

57. The composition with a crouching dog seen from the back in the foreground (fig. 28) is also found on a tapestry stolen from a collection in Neuilly-sur-Seine in Feb. 1986 (reproduced in the *Gazette de l’Hôtel Drouot* 44 [Dec. 12, 1986] p. 47). Most examples of the tapestry omit this dog. That in the Maus collection in 1895 was sold at Sotheby’s, May 3, 1939, no. 45. Others were in the Fontbeuzard set; the Veyvialle collection in 1893; sold at Christie’s, July 7, 1932, no. 117; at the Palais Galliera, June 15, 1962, no. 153a, and again at the same auction house, Mar. 25, 1969, no. 167.

58. Nicolas Bailley, *Inventaire des Tableaux du Roy rédigé en 1708 et 1710* (Paris, 1891) p. 446.

59. Jean Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel, *Inventaire général des Dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles. Ecole française* (Paris, 1908) II, p. 71, no. 1463. It is inscribed: pour Fontainebleau.

60. Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, pp. 28, 29, 94, fig. 53. The Metropolitan Museum owns a drawing for this painting (Jacob Bean, *15th–18th Century French Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. [New York, 1986] no. 80).

61. An example in the Paris 1926 set was again sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Dec. 17, 1983, no. 139, and June 25, 1985, no. 171. Another, from the Mrs. E. M. Glen Coats collection, was sold at Christie’s, Dec. 11, 1952, no. 241, and one was sold at Parke-Bernet, Mar. 23, 1973, no. 223.

62. François Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries. The Reign of Louis XIV* (Oxford, 1977) I, p. 59.

63. The signature is not mentioned in the sale catalogue, but it is recorded by Fenaïlle (*Etat général III*, p. 131).

64. Another example was in the Fourret set. Others were sold at Sotheby’s, May 11, 1928, no. 161b and again at the same auction house, Mar. 3, 1939, no. 146; in the Scott of Kew Green set; at the Palais Galliera, June 5, 1962, no. 153b (from the Mme Pierre Lebaudy collection), and at Sotheby’s, July 1, 1966, no. 15 (from the Pannwitz collection).

65. Lefrançois, *Nicolas Bertin*, no. 57, fig. 46. The author dates the painting ca. 1690–1705. A related painting in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Carcassonne (no. 42, fig. 77), dated 1715–19, is less close to the tapestry. Bertin painted the subject again as one of four overdoors made for Nymphenburg in about 1720, also with

the event in a landscape; the painting is now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (Antoine Schnapper, “A propos d’un tableau de N. Bertin,” *Revue du Louvre* [1972] p. 359, fig. 11).

66. Guiffrey, “Modèles des Gobelins,” pp. 374, 376. The latter may well have resembled Antoine Coypel’s painting of the subject made in 1701, now at Fontainebleau (Antoine Schnapper, “Le Grand Dauphin et les Tableaux de Meudon,” *Revue de l’Art*, nos. 1–2 [1968] fig. 15), but “Coypel” seems to have been the jury’s usual attribution of an anonymous *modèle* of this period.

67. Previously in the Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby’s 1982 set. Other examples were in the Fourret set, with a somewhat different design, and the Lowenggaard collection in 1900.

68. Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, no. I 6, fig. 6 (miscaptioned). Painted in 1688.

69. Guiffrey, “Modèles des Gobelins,” p. 378.

70. Another was in the Fourret set with no border and without the parrot behind Vertumnus. One with the same border as the Lefortier example, but slightly narrower, was in the F. L. de Yturbe sale, Hôtel Drouot, Oct. 14, 1982, no. 89.

71. Other pieces with this border are the other tapestries of the Mobilier National set, *Bacchus Greeting Ariadne* in the Darland sale, Galerie Georges Petit, May 21, 1907, the *Flora and Zephyr* sold at the Palais Galliera in 1962 and 1969, and the *Narcissus and Echo* stolen from Neuilly-sur-Seine.

72. Nicolas Bertin’s painting of 1702–6 of the subject in the Trianon does not show similar figures (Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, no. I 73, fig. 62).

73. Jestaz, “Beauvais Manufactory,” fig. 12. An example with the typical Beauvais chinoiserie border was once owned by the dealers French and Co.

74. Schnapper, “Le Grand Dauphin et les tableaux de Meudon,” pp. 60, 63, fig. 6; a preparatory drawing in the Louvre is less close to the tapestry. A version of the painting, attributed to Louis de Boulogne, was sold at Sotheby’s, London, Oct. 24, 1986, no. 70.

75. One was in the Fourret set and another, with the same border as the Mobilier National example, but narrower, was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, May 17, 1926, no. 108, and in the Fournès sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 24, 1935, no. 124. Another tapestry with the same border, but slightly enlarged at the top and on the right, was once owned by the dealers French and Co.; it has an incomplete inscription in the upper right corner, “Besniers et Oudry a,” which must be a later addition.

76. Jestaz, “Beauvais Manufactory,” fig. 14.

77. “L’Oeuvre gravée de Coypel. II,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 64 (1984) p. 148, no. 44. It is inscribed: “Inventé peint et gravé à l’eau forte par A. Coypel C. P. R. et terminé au burin par G. Audran 1693.” The revolutionary jury found a “Bacchus et Ariane, de Coypel, 7 bandes,” described as “Hors d’état de servir.”

78. I am indebted for this information to Nicole Garnier, who kindly gave me an extract from her forthcoming book on Antoine Coypel.

79. Other examples were in the Fourret set (without the drunken group of the sprawling faun and his companions) and in the sales of the duc de Vallombrosa, Paris, 1904; of Mme Darland, Galerie

Georges Petit, May 21, 1907, no. 69 (sold again at the Hôtel Drouot, Apr. 6, 1908, no. 60, and at Galerie Georges Petit, June 23, 1925, no. 153); and in the Bienenfeld sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, May 16, 1934, no. 10.

80. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," fig. 15.

81. Franses, *Tapestries*, fig. 41. A small tapestry of the same design in the Musée Grobet-Labadié, Marseilles, is signed DEVOS F. 1732 (he was a member of a Brussels family of weavers). (J. A. Gibert and Paul Gonzalès, *Le Musée Grobet-Labadié à Marseilles* [Paris, 1930] p. 58. A painting attributed to J.-F. Leclerc in the Musée des Vosges [Epinal] is mentioned as the source of the design.)

82. Antoine Schnapper, "A la recherche de Sébastien II Le Clerc, 1676–1763," *Revue du Louvre* (1973) pp. 243, 245, fig. 6. The author mentions the smaller version in the museum at Epinal. A copy of the painting was in the Comtesse Valdelomar sale, Gebrüder Heilbron, Berlin, Apr. 17, 1913, no. 55, and the design was used on a gold and enamel snuff box of about 1800 by Georges Rémond, sold at Christie's, Geneva, Nov. 11, 1986, no. 402. The gesture of the bull, throwing its head back to gaze amorously at Europa, is found on a painting by Carlo Cignani of about 1680 in the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma, and in one made by Louis de Boulogne in 1697 for the Trianon (Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, pls. 65, 43). It was used by Boucher in an early sketch in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens (*François Boucher*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art [New York, 1968] no. 25).

83. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," fig. 17.

84. On a tapestry in the Amory S. Carhart sale, Parke-Bernet, Nov. 21, 22, 1941, no. 445, sold again in the Gaby Solomon sale, Christie's, London, Dec. 2, 1971, no. 152 (the border differs from that of the four-piece set in the same sale). This tapestry is said to be in the Cabinet royal, Rabat.

85. Guiffrey and Marcel, *Inventaire général*, no. 1466. Noted in the Sotheby's sale catalogue.

86. Antoine Schnapper and Hélène Guicharnaud, *Louis de Boullogne, 1654–1733, Cahiers de Dessin français no. 2* (Paris, n.d.) no. 3.

87. Bjurström, *French Drawings*, no. 351.

88. Schnapper, "Plaidoyer pour un absent," fig. 38.

89. Another was in the Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 set and a wider version was sold at the Palais Galliera, June 27, 1963, no. 123. The latter has a running rabbit on the far side of the river deities.

90. Paired with a *Mercury and Argus*. Both were previously offered for sale at Sotheby Parke-Bernet, Los Angeles, Oct. 30, 1978, no. 20. Other examples are in the Menier and Calais sets.

91. Claire Constans, "Les tableaux du Grand Appartement du Roi," *Revue du Louvre* 3 (1976) pp. 160, 165, fig. 5.

92. Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, cat. I 9, fig. 9.

93. As mentioned, a very similar dog appears on *Mercury and*

Argus (fig. 26), whose master is also asleep, but the animal is missing on the related painting by Bertin (fig. 27). A drawing of a sleeping dog might have been among the stock of useful motifs kept at the manufactory; a comparable instance would be the birds by Pieter Boel (Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, I, p. 394). These were recorded by the revolutionary jury as "Quatre vingt-seize études d'animaux par Boëlle. A conserver sous le rapport de l'Art."

94. I am indebted to Jennifer Montagu for the transcription from Nivelon's manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fond fr. 12987). Le Brun's painting, which would appear to have been the actual cartoon, was seen by Bernini at the Gobelins in 1665 (Henry Jouin, *Charles Le Brun et les Arts sous Louis XIV* [Paris, 1889] p. 555).

95. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," fig. 18.

96. Fenaille, *Etat général* III, pp. 126, 129. The landscapes that have been added to the Brandegeet set were made in Lille.

97. The early-seventeenth-century series, the *Story of Artemisia*, woven in the Comans–La Planche Paris manufactory, consisted of some forty pieces (Fenaille, *Etat général* I, pp. 109–199) but this was entirely a weavers' project and a very successful one. The designs were frequently cut and adapted, sometimes so much so that the meaning of the scenes was lost (Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries* I, no. 42).

98. Both, however, received the same pension, 600 livres, during the shut-down. The manufactory cost the king 96,000 livres in 1693, 20,120 in 1694 (Fenaille, *Etat général* II, pp. 85, 86). For an account of the financial organization of a royal manufactory, see Pierre Verlet, *The Savonnerie, its History, the Waddeson Collection* (London, 1982) pp. 60–62.

99. The haute-lisse *entrepreneurs* known to have made *Metamorphoses* tapestries in their workshops, beside Jans, are Jean Lefebvre (either the father or the son), who wove *Rinaldo and Armida* and *Diana's Return from the Hunt*, and Michel Audran, *Diana's Return from the Hunt*. The basse-lisse *entrepreneurs* are Jean de La Fraye, *Diana's Return from the Hunt*, *Apollo and the Python*, and *Mercury and Argus*; Etienne Le Blond, *Diana's Return from the Hunt*, *Narcissus and Echo*, *Flora and Zephyr*; Pierre François Cozette, *Acis and Galatea*, *Diana's Return from the Hunt*, *Mercury and Argus*, and *Flora and Zephyr*, and Jean Souët, *Apollo and Hyacinth* and *Rinaldo and Armida*.

100. No print of Charles de La Fosse's *Diana's Return from the Hunt* is known to have been made before 1754.

101. A hundred years later, the comte d'Angiviller, then in charge of the royal manufactures, wrote: "les monarques seuls peuvent aujourd'hui étaler une grande tenture, en sept pièces, comme celles d'*Esther* et de *Jason*"; "quatre pièces de médiocre grandeur" would be adequate for anyone else ("Correspondance de M. d'Angiviller, directeur-général des Bâtimens du Roi avec le premier peintre du Roi Jean-Baptiste Pierre," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français*, 3d series, 22 [1906] p. 78, letter of Oct. 11, 1784).

The Elector of Brandenburg's Hunting Sword

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AMONG THE GREAT COURT ARMORIES that existed in Central Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—a list that would include the *Rüstammern* of the Holy Roman Emperors in Vienna and Schloss Ambras near Innsbruck, of the prince-electors of Saxony in Dresden, and of the dukes of Bavaria in Munich—the armory of the prince-electors of Brandenburg in Berlin is one of the least well known. This is owing, in large part, to the facts that the armory was ransacked on several occasions and that the museum housing the armory in this century, the famous Berlin Zeughaus, suffered severe losses during World War II. Documentation shows, however, that the Brandenburg armory flourished during the reign of the “Great Elector,” Friedrich Wilhelm (1620–88, prince-electoral from 1640), and his son Friedrich III (1657–1713, prince-electoral from 1688, and King in Prussia, as Friedrich I, from 1701), and that a large number of gunsmiths flocked to Berlin from France, Switzerland, and various parts of Germany to furnish the court with deluxe hunting weapons and sidearms.¹

One of these émigré craftsmen was Jacques Munier, who was presumably a member of the Munier (Meunier) family of gunmakers from Geneva; indeed, he was probably the gunmaker of that name who was recorded in Geneva from 1672 to 1678. By 1682, however, Munier was known to have been working in Cölln, near Berlin, and on the recommendation of Margrave Johann Friedrich of Ansbach he subsequently moved to Berlin. Munier became court gunmaker (*Hofbüchsenmacher*) to the Great Elector on March 15, 1687, and in 1702/1703 he is last mentioned as *Unter-Rüstmeister* (assistant master of the armory).²

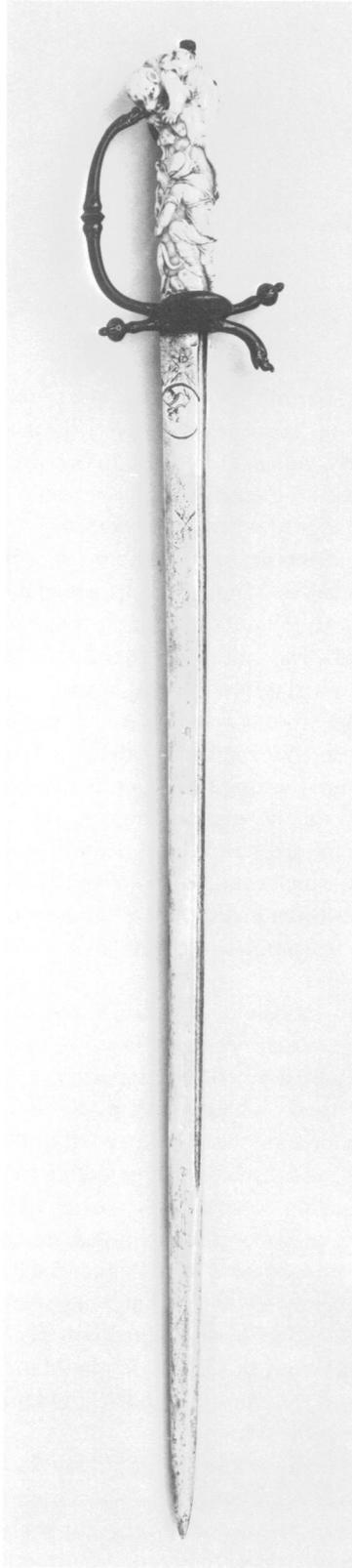
Some thirty guns and pistols by Munier are recorded in the Inventory of the Royal Prussian Armory, begun on September 20, 1718. The brief descriptions indicate that their decoration included hunting scenes and grim-

acing masks (*blarren Gesichtern*), as well as the insignia of the elector, and some were signed “Munier à Berlin.” Unfortunately, none of the firearms mentioned in the inventory can be identified with certainty among the surviving weapons by this gunmaker.³

The 1718 inventory also mentions a hunting sword among the arms by Munier. It appears as number eight on the list, with the notation that it was “deposited [in the armory] by the gunmaker Munier on November 1, 1690.” The sword is described as having a polished iron guard, on the cross of which were an eagle and a lion “with scepter and English Order, an ivory grip on which there are hunting scenes, on the blade the king of Hungary, on the other side Amurath, the Turkish emperor.”⁴ The sword had a black leather scabbard with iron mounts, which contained two small knives. The inventory description is sufficiently detailed to allow us to identify the weapon as one now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The sword (Figures 1–5) comes from the extensive collection of smallswords and hunting swords formed by Jean Jacques Reubell of Paris and presented to the Museum in 1926.⁵ The sword's blackened iron guard consists of a knuckle guard, a forward quillon and two rear quillons, and a solid shell projecting from the outer side of the quillon block at right angles to the plane of the blade. The decoration, chiseled in low relief, is sparse. The straight forward quillon and the rear quillon that curves slightly toward the hand have globular, fluted knobs, which end in acorn-shaped buttons. The second rear quillon, which turns toward the blade, ends in a serpent's head, as does the end of the knuckle guard where it enters the grip.

At the center of the knuckle guard is a flattened globular knob with acanthus foliage above and below. The quillon block on the outside of the hilt is chiseled with two grimacing masks with bared teeth (Figure 4). Simi-



1-5. Hunting sword, the iron guard by Jacques Munier, German (Berlin), 1690. L. overall 33½ in. (85.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 1926, 26.145.240

lar masks, with wings, appear on the heavy molding of the shell. On the inside of the hilt, the quillon block is chiseled with an eagle and lion that support in heraldic fashion the Order of the Garter, inscribed *HONI SORT QVI MAL PENGE* (a misreading of the Garter motto, “*Honi soyt qui mal y pense*”). Within the Garter is a scepter, the traditional symbol of office of the prince-elector of Brandenburg as arch-chamberlain of the Holy Roman Empire. Along the edge of the sockle beneath the guard, where the blade enters the hilt, is the faint but still legible inscription *IAQVE MVNIER A BERLIN ME FECIT*, followed by a leafy branch (Figure 5). A laurel wreath is engraved on the sockle around the opening for the blade, on either side of which are two and three punched dots respectively.

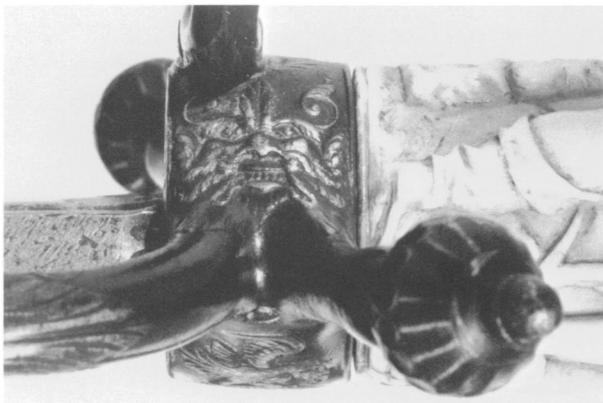
The grip is formed of a single piece of ivory carved in the round with hunting scenes arranged vertically. On the outside, a hunter seen from behind steps upward to spear a lion; the lion in turn bites the arm of a bear. A chamois lies dead beneath the bear. On the inside of the grip a dog lies pinned beneath the bear; below, two hounds pursue a stag. A black iron button at the top secures the tang to the hilt.

The straight, single-edged blade becomes double edged within eight inches of the point, and there is a shallow groove along the back on either side. The blade is etched on both sides near the hilt. On the outside of the blade (reading from the base upward) are trophies of arms, an oval medallion above enclosing the profile of a male and the inscription “*Ian Huniade*” (Figure 2), two scepters crossed in saltire, and a design including a branch that is now almost completely worn off. An acorn-shaped mark, presumably the bladesmith’s, is stamped at the base. The inside of the blade is decorated with trophies of arms and a medallion showing a turbaned and mustachioed figure inscribed “*Amurat*”; the medallion is surmounted by a crescent (Figure 3). Above this are traces of etched decoration: a series of 9 ×’s arranged in diamond formation and crossed laurel(?) branches. At the base of the blade, where it enters the guard, are punched two dots on one side and three on the other; these correspond to the dots punched on the sockle of the guard and were apparently intended to facilitate the correct assembly of the blade with the hilt.



2. Outside of the hilt

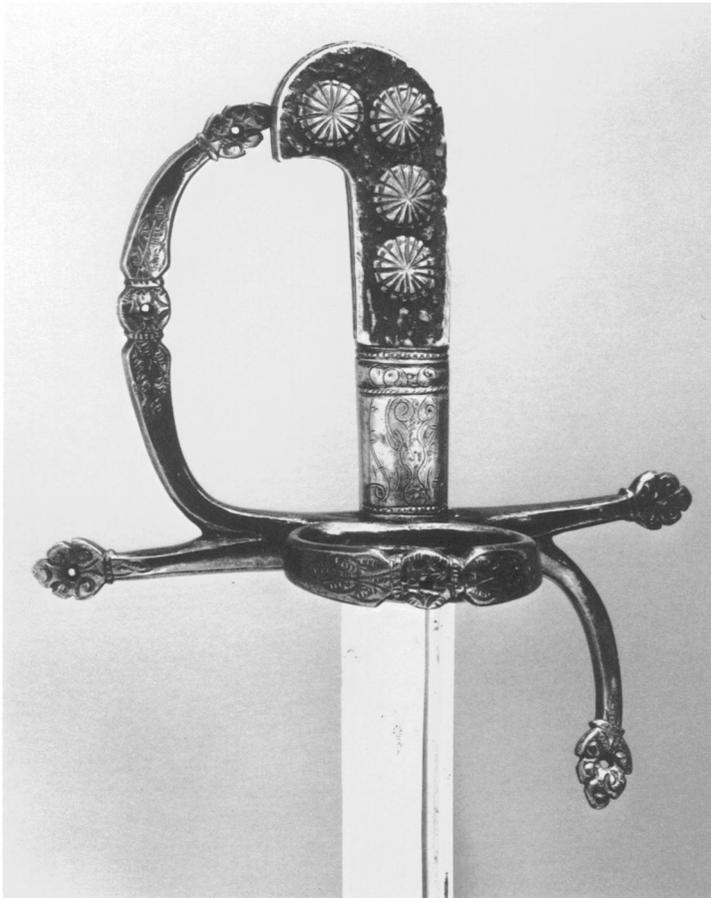
4. Detail of a mask chiseled on the guard



3. Inside of the hilt

5. Underside of the guard, showing the maker's signature





6. Hilt of a Saxon hunting sword, German (Dresden?), dated 1662. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Kretzschmar von Kienbusch Collection of Arms and Armor, acc. no. 1977.167.622a (photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art)

The Metropolitan's sword matches in almost every detail the inventory description of Munier's sword. However, the compiler of that inventory incorrectly identifies János Hunyadi (d. 1456) as "the king of Hungary"; on the contrary, Hunyadi was only the governor of Hungary although he was the father of its future king, Matthias Corvinus. "Amurath, the Turkish Emperor" can presumably be identified as Sultan Murad II (reigned 1421–51), Hunyadi's contemporary and a frequent opponent on the battlefield.⁶ The masks chiseled on the guard also appear to correspond to the "*blarren Gesichtern*" that were mentioned in the inventory descriptions of Munier's firearms. Only the present black color of the iron guard disagrees with the inventory's

description of a guard of polished, that is, "white," iron. However, the black color, which in fact appears to be old, is probably the result of continuous oxidation of the iron over the centuries. The scabbard with small knives mentioned in the inventory seems not to have survived.

The representation of the Order of the Garter on the hilt of the sword is evidence of the elector's great pride in having received the English decoration. The order, founded by King Edward III of England by 1348, was occasionally bestowed on foreign sovereigns, princes, soldiers, and statesmen. Friedrich's father, the Great Elector, had been the first of the Hohenzollerns to receive the Garter.⁷ He established a precedent for his son by incorporating the Garter into the electoral insignia, which he used on coins, medals, and monumental sculpture.⁸ On January 1, 1690, less than two years into his reign, Friedrich III was nominated to take his father's place in the order. On June 6 of that year he was invested with the Garter in Berlin by William and Mary's commissioners, James Johnston, the Lancaster Herald, and Gregory King, deputy to the Garter King of Arms.⁹ Friedrich wasted no time adopting the Garter as a personal badge. Jacques Munier's sword, delivered to the armory on November 2, 1690, must have been among the first of the elector's arms to include the Garter in its decoration.¹⁰

Apart from the obvious historical importance of this sword—it is a signed work by Jacques Munier and a documented sidearm of the prince-electors of Brandenburg—it is also of interest because of its distinctive hilt construction and its handsomely carved ivory grip.

The shape of the guard, particularly its unusual, bifurcated rear quillons, calls to mind the series of hunting swords produced during the second half of the seventeenth century for the court of the prince-electors of Saxony. The majority of the Saxon weapons are dated 1662 and bear the initials of Johann Georg II (reigned 1656–80) (Figure 6).¹¹ The hilt of the Munier sword, however, is much less robust than that of the Saxon examples and is more in keeping with the delicately proportioned guards of late-seventeenth-century smallswords. Still, the bifurcated rear quillons suggest that Munier was influenced by the earlier Saxon swords, which is not unlikely considering the geographic proximity of Saxony to the margravate of Brandenburg and the strong influence of the Dresden court on that at Berlin.

It is the elaborately carved ivory grip, however, that is without doubt the outstanding feature of the sword. While multifigured ivory grips for hunting swords and

knives were commonplace in Central Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,¹² the grip of this sword is exceptional because of the high quality of its carving. Its composition can be shown to derive from a design by the Zurich goldsmith Hans Peter II Oeri (1637–92, master in Zurich in 1672), who specialized in the production of gilt brass sword hilts, gorgets, belt buckles, and other deluxe military equipment.¹³ Oeri produced two versions of the so-called “hunter grip.” One of these, dated by Meier to about 1670–80, is columnar in shape and is ideally suited for swords with symmetrical hilts without knuckle guards. This type is known from two grip models in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum (Figures 7, 8) and from several fully mounted swords (Figures 9, 10). Another version, dated by Meier to about 1665, is better suited to swords with asymmetri-

cal hilts having knuckle guards, because the grip ends in a more pronounced “beak” formed by the projecting head of the bear. This grip type, known from a gilt brass hilt in the Historisches Museum in Basel (Figures 11, 12), served as the model for the grip on the Metropolitan’s sword.

Munier’s sword is the only known example of any of Oeri’s grip models to have been executed in ivory. The carver may have known Oeri’s design from either a mounted sword or a detached grip. In any case, he made some minor changes in the design, simplifying it by eliminating certain details. The bearded face of the hunter, for example, rendered in profile in Oeri’s version, is turned completely inward on the ivory grip, so that only a fringe of hair shows beneath his cap. His pouch and some folds in his costume are eliminated. The hunter has a more active pose; his left leg and arm are cocked at a sharper angle, emphasizing the exertion

7, 8. Pair of model sword grips, the left one of copper, the right one of tin, showing the two sides of a grip designed by Hans Peter Oeri, Swiss (Zurich), ca. 1670–80. L. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11.7 cm.). Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. 11532 (photo: Schweizerisches Landesmuseum)

9, 10. Hilt of a hunting sword, the grip and guard of gilt bronze by Hans Peter Oeri, ca. 1670–80. Bern, Historisches Museum, inv. no. 3813 (photo: S. Rebsamen)



needed to spear the lion. On the back of the grip the number of dogs has been reduced from three to two, and their respective positions have been changed. The overall result is a streamlined and more dynamic composition. Unfortunately, the ivory grip, unlike the iron guard, is not signed.¹⁴

Jacques Munier's name can also be associated with at least one other edged weapon, a cut-down hunting sword that recently appeared on the art market.¹⁵ The sword has an ivory grip carved in low relief with scenes of a boar and stag hunt. The dogs in these scenes have collars carved with the date 1699 and the initials w and cw, presumably those of the ivory carver. The ivory plaque forming the pommel is carved with figures of Diana and a faun and is surmounted by a gilt-iron button. A washer between the grip and pommel is fitted with a ring, which allows for the attachment of a chain or other pendant. The short quillons of gilt brass are octagonal in section and taper slightly toward the blunt ends. The single-edged blade is etched and gilded on one side with the device of the electoral scepter within the Garter, and on the other side with the letter F beneath the elector's bonnet; below this cipher is the inscription MVNIER. There is no doubt that this sword too was made for Elector Friedrich III by his court gunmaker.

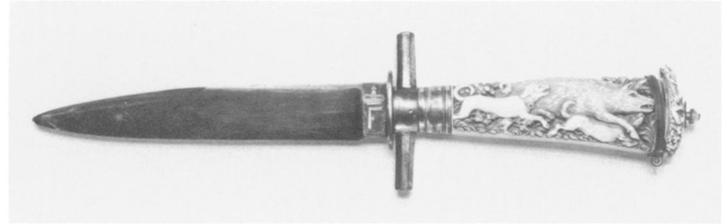
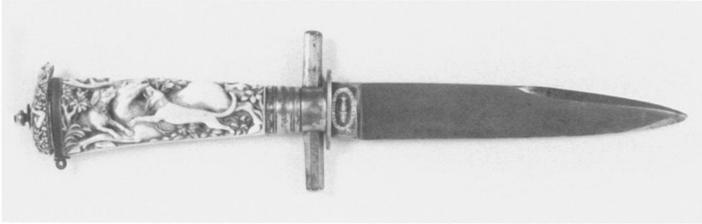
That Munier, a gunmaker by training, should also make swords may at first seem surprising. However, Munier may well have prided himself on being an *Eisen-schneider*, an iron chiseler. In this respect he can be compared with the earlier Bavarian court iron chisellers and gunsmiths Emmanuel and Daniel Sadeler and Caspar Spät, and with his contemporary Armand Bongarde.¹⁶ Bongarde, court gunmaker to Elector-Palatine Johann Wilhelm at Düsseldorf, made for his patron in about 1690 a magnificent garniture, which included a fowling piece, a brace of pistols, a smallsword, and a cane, all mounted in exquisitely chiseled iron. Munier seems to have been expected to show the same versatility as a craftsman. It is ironic that this once-respected and highly placed Berlin court gunmaker is represented in collections today not by firearms but by two ivory-mounted hunting swords.¹⁷

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am especially grateful to Jürg Meier, Christian Theuerkauff, and Helmut Nickel for information and advice in preparing this paper.

11, 12. Hilt of a hunting sword, the grip and guard of gilt copper by Hans Peter Oeri, ca. 1665. L. overall 37¼ in. (96 cm.). Basel, Historisches Museum, inv. no. 1894.185 (photo: Historisches Museum, Basel)





13, 14. Cut-down hunting sword of Elector Friedrich III of Brandenburg, by Jacques Munier, German (Berlin), dated 1699. L. overall 11¾ in. (30 cm.). Private collection, Switzerland (photo: Sotheby's)

NOTES

1. Our knowledge of gunmaking in Berlin is based largely on H. R. Uhlemann's pre-World War II research, which appeared in recent years in a series of articles entitled "Berliner Büchsenmacher," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 15 (1973) pp. 132–138; 16 (1974) pp. 123–127; 18 (1976) pp. 53–64, 141–147; 19 (1977) pp. 137–150. By the same author, see also "Die in der alten Berliner Rüstkammer nachweisbaren Namen französischer und niederländischer Büchsenmacher. Zugleich ein Beitrag über die älteren Inventare der Zeughaussammlung," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 23 (1981) pp. 110–112.

2. The details given here of Munier's career in Berlin and the inventory references to his work are based on Uhlemann, *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 18 (1976) pp. 141–142. The 1718 Inventar der Königlich Preussischen Rüst Cammer, so often quoted by Uhlemann, was at Schloss Monbijou until 1939; its fate following World War II is apparently not known. Whereas part of the former Brandenburg-Prussian archives are preserved today in the Zentrales Staatsarchiv at Merseburg, Germany (DDR), a response from the Staatsarchiv dated Dec. 10, 1986, indicates that the 1718 inventory is not to be found among them.

For the Munier family of Geneva, see T. Lenk, "Les Muniers à Genève," *Armes Anciennes* 4 (1955) pp. 73–78; J. F. Hayward, *The Art of the Gunmaker* 1 (2d ed., London, 1965) pp. 259–260; and E. Heer, *Der Neue Stockel* 2 (Schwäbisch Hall, 1979) pp. 844–845. Uhlemann, *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 23 (1976) p. 141, suggests, without giving his reasons, that Munier's origins lay in Liège.

3. Uhlemann, *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 18 (1976) p. 142, lists as Munier's sole surviving arms a pair of flintlock pistols in former Zeughaus, today the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte, in Berlin (DDR).

4. The inventory description, quoted only in part by Uhlemann, is found in *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 18 (1976) p. 142: "Hirschfänger mit eisernem poliertem Gefäss, auf dem Kreuz Adler und Löwe, 'mitten der Zepter und englische Orden, Elfenbeingriff, darauf allerhand Jagden, auf der Klinge der König von Ungarn, auf der anderen Seite Amurath, der Türkische Kaiser,' schwarz lederne Scheide, zwei Messer mit eisernen Schalen. 'Von dem Büchsenmacher Munier geliefert den 2. November 1690' (Sultan Murad, vier dieses Namens)." In a letter of Sept. 13, 1983, Mr. Uhlemann kindly informed me that, because of the repetitious language of the inventory, only the most important sections of each description were quoted. The descriptions not set

in single quotation marks are, therefore, presumably Uhlemann's paraphrases of the inventory text. As will be noted below, I would suggest that the Turkish sultan referred to is Murad II (1403–51), a contemporary of János Hunyadi, rather than Murad IV (1612–40), as indicated by Uhlemann.

5. Acc. no. 26.145.240. A brief and somewhat inaccurate description of this sword appears in B. Dean, *A Catalogue of Court Swords and Hunting Swords, including the Ellis, De Dino, Riggs and Reubell Collections* (New York, 1929) pp. 69–70, where it is "said to have been made by a French workman in Berlin for Guard of Elector of Brandenburg." This statement was presumably based on information supplied to Dean by Reubell, who must have been aware of Munier's signature on the hilt. Dean evidently did not find the inscription and also failed to recognize the iconographic significance of the Garter and scepter.

While the provenance of this sword is not known, it may be pointed out that the arsenal in Berlin was looted by Russian and Austrian troops in 1760, during the Seven Years' War, at which time numerous arms were stolen (see H. Granier "Die Russen und Oesterreicher in Berlin im Oktober 1760," *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* 2 [1898] p. 126). The sale of the collection of Bernard Brocas by George Robins, London, March 19, 1834, and the following days, included a hunting sword very like this one, no. 122: "A couteau de chasse, with a steel shell guard and exquisitely sculptured ivory hilt, representing a group of dogs, stags and wild boars. The blade engraved with a Turk's head, etc." The grip on the Munier sword has dogs, but only a single stag and no wild boar, and it is therefore impossible to be certain if the sale catalogue is referring to the Museum's sword.

6. The inclusion of representations of János Hunyadi and Sultan Murad II on the blade reflects the historicizing trend that is already evident in the late sixteenth century, most notably with the so-called Dürer Renaissance. From this time onward, sword and knife blades were frequently decorated with portraits of national heroes or scenes from famous battles of the past. For example, a number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Polish sabers are frequently found with blades bearing the portraits of Stephen Báthory, king of Poland from 1576–86 (see S. Meyer, "Klingen mit dem Namen und Bildnis des Königs Stephan Bathory von Polen," *Zeitschrift für historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, n.s. 6 [1937–39] pp. 54–57). Similarly, an Austrian hunting knife, ca. 1740, in the Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor, Kent, is etched

with a scene representing the siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683 (C. Blair, *Arms, Armour and Base-Metalwork* [Fribourg, 1974] no. 51).

7. Friedrich Wilhelm was nominated on Jan. 23, 1654, invested at Berlin on March 31 the same year, and installed by dispensation in his stall in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on April 10, 1661. See G. F. Beltz, *Memorials of the most noble Order of the Garter, from its foundation to the present time* (London, 1841) p. cxcii, no. 458.

8. See P. Seidel, "Der Grosse Kurfürst in der Plastik seiner Zeit," *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* 2 (1898) pp. 98–106.

9. Beltz, *Memorials*, pp. cxix and cxvii, no. 500. For the circumstances surrounding Friedrich III's receiving the Garter, see J. Grossmann, "Jugendgeschichte Friedrichs I., ersten Königs in Preussen," *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* 4 (1900) p. 45, where the date of the Elector's installation is given as June 11, 1690. The date of June 6, given by Beltz, has been confirmed by Mrs. Alison Rider Hill, assistant to Sir Colin Cole, Garter King of Arms (letter of Nov. 18, 1987).

10. A flintlock fowling piece decorated with the Garter, the Elector's scepter, and other devices of Friedrich III was deposited in the Berlin armory by the court gunmaker Jacob Demrath on Dec. 10, 1690 (see Uhlemann, *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 18 [1976] p. 58, item 665 in the inventory of 1718).

11. See *The Kretzschmar von Kienbusch Collection of Armor and Arms* (Princeton, 1963) pp. 200–201, no. 440, for a discussion of the Saxon hunting garniture of 1662. The latest example known to me of this Saxon hilt type is one of 1708 in the Historisches Museum in Dresden, inv. no. X.439 (J. Schobel, *Jagdwaffen und Jagdgerät des Historischen Museums zu Dresden* [Berlin 1976] fig. 21).

The relationship of this hilt type, with its knuckle guard, single forward quillon, and two rear quillons, to the North African *sayf* and *nimcha* cannot be explored here. The problem of East-West influence in this hilt construction was earlier raised by E. von Lenz, "Zur Frage über den Handschutz an orientalischen Blankwaffen," *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde* 2 (1900–2) pp. 80–81. The sword which formed the subject of Lenz's note, inv. no. Z.O. 1512 in the State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, is in fact a composite, although the distinctive guard appears to be European and of late-fifteenth-century date. For swords of similar hilt type, see also A. R. E. North, "A late fifteenth century Italian sword," *Connoisseur* 90 (1975) pp. 238–241.

12. For multfigured ivory grips carved in the round that are generally similar to Oeri's grip models, see especially C. Scherer, *Die Braunschweiger Elfenbeinsammlung. Katalog der Elfenbeinbildwerke des Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museums in Braunschweig* (Leipzig, 1931) nos. 497–498 and 521; and R. Berliner, *Die Bildwerke in Elfenbein, Knochen, Hirsch- und Steinbockhorn*. Kataloge des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums, 13: *Die Bildwerke*, part 4 (Augsburg, 1926) nos. 389–392. Similar multfigured compositions are also found on ivory cane handles made in Germany around 1700 (Scherer, nos. 488, 491).

13. The fundamental study of Oeri was made by J. Meier, "Zürcher Gold- und Waffenschmiede," in *Zürcher Goldschmiedekunst vom 13. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. E.-M. Lösel (Zurich, 1984) pp. 100–111. Oeri will be the subject of a special exhibition entitled "Barocker Luxus—das Werk des Zürcher Goldschmieds Hans Peter Oeri," held at the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich, in the autumn of 1988. The Metropolitan Museum's sword by Jacques Munier and the second Munier sword (Figures 13, 14), discussed below, will be included in the exhibition. I am

grateful to the exhibition organizers, Jürg Meier and Matthias Senn, for providing me with a draft of their catalogue entry for the Metropolitan's sword.

14. An attribution of the Museum's sword grip to the Berlin court ivory carver Johann Michael Döbel (Döbeler, Däbeler; 1635–1702) has been proposed by Meier and Senn in the catalogue of the forthcoming exhibition of Oeri's work in Zurich (see note 13). The attribution is based on the general similarity of the Museum's sword grip to a cane handle that was preserved until World War II in the Kunstgewerkmuseum in Berlin. The handle, carved in the round with six intertwined putti, included the prince-electors' bonnet, scepter, and Order of the Garter, and thus was made for Friedrich III between 1690, when he received the order, and 1701, when he adopted a royal crown. The handle was signed with the artist's monogram, MD (conjoined). Stylistic comparisons between this lost work and the Museum's grip are not conclusive, however, so that an attribution of the grip to Döbel remains speculative.

For the cane handle formerly in Berlin, see C. Scherer, *Elfenbeinplastik* (Leipzig, 1905) pp. 103–104. Döbel's work has recently been discussed by C. Theuerkauff, *Die Bildwerke in Elfenbein des 16.–19. Jahrhunderts*, Die Bildwerke der Skulpturengalerie Berlin (Berlin 1986) pp. 68–71.

The fact that this grip was based on an existing model, hence limiting the individualism of the carver, makes an attribution to a particular artist especially difficult. A somewhat similar, robust style of ivory carving was practiced in Danzig by Christoph Maucher (1642–after 1705), whose works were enthusiastically collected by the Elector of Brandenburg; see the exhibition catalogue *Die Brandenburgisch-Preussische Kunstkammer: Eine Auswahl aus den alten Beständen* (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, 1981) nos. 87, 93, 110–111. Maucher, the brother of Johann Michael Maucher, the famous ivory carver and gunstocker of Schwäbisch-Gmünd, may also have had some role in the decoration of arms, although no documentation for this has as yet come to light.

15. Sold at Sotheby's, New York, March 3, 1984, lot 199, illustrated in the catalogue. The weapon was catalogued as a hunting knife, but the crudely shaped, truncated blade would seem to indicate that the blade had been cut down from a longer single-edged blade suitable for a hunting sword.

16. For the Sadelers, see H. Stöcklein, *Meister des Eisenschnittes* (Esslingen a.N., 1922); for Bongarde, see especially H. Stöcklein, "Das Meisterwerk des Armand Bongarde," *Belvedere* I (1922) pp. 95–98.

17. It will be recalled that the Nuremberg sculptor and medalist Gottfried Leygebe (1630–83) also worked in Berlin for the Great Elector from 1668 and is documented as having made sword hilts and firearm mounts of chiseled steel. None of Leygebe's firearms has been identified, although one signed sword hilt is recorded (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. M. 59–1947), and another unsigned hilt bearing portraits of the Great Elector and members of the House of Orange (Windsor Castle, inv. no. 58) has been convincingly attributed to Leygebe by Norman. For Leygebe, see A. Bruhn, *Der Schwertfeger Gottfried Leygebe*, Tøjhusmuseets Skrifter I (Copenhagen, 1945), and A. V. B. Norman and C. M. Barne, *The Rapier and the Small-Sword 1460–1820* (London/Melbourne/New York, 1980) pp. 327–328. The sword in London is signed beneath the socket of the guard, in the same location as on the Metropolitan's sword by Jacques Munier. The relative stature of the two craftsmen is indicated by their annual salaries: 400 thaler for Leygebe, 100 thaler for Munier.

Dutch Tobacco Boxes in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue

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ALTHOUGH THE USE OF TOBACCO in the New World had already been observed by Christopher Columbus during the last decade of the fifteenth century, it was not until some half century later that seeds of the plant were brought to Europe for cultivation.¹ Initially tobacco was prized for its alleged therapeutic qualities; the plant was thought to be a remarkable panacea.² Smoking began in Europe around 1560, having been introduced by sailors who had become familiar with the practice in America. The custom was rapidly spread by soldiers and traveling merchants.³

Since the Netherlands was a seafaring nation, it is not surprising that the new habit took hold there during the late sixteenth century.⁴ Although tobacco was imported on a large scale by the West India Company it was also increasingly cultivated, especially in the eastern part of the country.⁵ Industry for the curing of tobacco was centered in Amsterdam; from there tobacco was exported, particularly to Russia and the Baltic. The Dutch, however, were themselves heavy consumers of tobacco, and the addiction to the plant at all levels of society soon became notorious. In 1620 a German diplomat at The Hague complained, "I cannot refrain from a few words of protest against the astonishing fashion lately introduced from America—a sort of smoke tipping which enslaves its victims more completely than any other form of intoxication, old or new. These madmen will swallow and inhale with incredible eagerness the smoke of a plant they call *herba nicotiana* or tobacco."⁶

The importance of tobacco in Dutch life is evidenced by the frequent portrayal of smokers and their paraphernalia in seventeenth-century paintings and engravings

(Figure 1). In *The Procuress* by Jacob Duck (ca. 1600–1667), for instance, an open tobacco box, a clay pipe, and a folded paper containing tobacco are clearly visible on the floor (Figures 2, 3).⁷ Still lifes of the period sometimes display a whole range of smokers' articles. A good example of this, a still life by Pieter Claesz (1597/8–1661), incorporates a clay pipe, a bundle of matches, a folded paper of blended tobacco, an earthenware brazier, and an open pewter box for tobacco (Figure 4).⁸

Tobacco boxes were probably the most durable of all the smoking accessories and many have been well preserved. The need for a container in which to store and carry tobacco must have been felt soon after the introduction of smoking. The oldest surviving boxes date from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Whereas during the eighteenth century the upper classes throughout Europe adopted the habit of snuff taking, smoking remained popular with the lower classes, particularly in the Netherlands. There tobacco boxes continued to be made well into the nineteenth century both for local use and, in considerable numbers, for export to neighboring countries.⁹

The shapes and sizes of the boxes changed over the years. Early-seventeenth-century containers were small, reflecting the high cost of tobacco, and were egg-shaped or oval (Figures 3, 4).¹⁰ When tobacco became more readily available owing to the growth of imports and domestic crops, a pipe with a larger bowl came into use and the size of tobacco boxes increased. An oblong form with rounded ends was predominant in the eighteenth century, although rectangular and hexagonal examples are also found. Boxes of this period vary in length from



1. I. I. W. Beintema van Peima, *Tabacologia ofte korte verhandelenge over de Tabak* (The Hague, 1690), frontispiece. The New York Public Library, Arents Collections, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (photo: New York Public Library)

about 4¾ to 7 inches, and all have hinged lids.¹¹ A range of materials was used for the boxes, including wood, pewter, mother-of-pearl, and silver.¹² Most of the examples known today are made of brass and copper, suggesting that a large demand existed for boxes of inexpensive materials. The oldest of the boxes of this type date from the second half of the seventeenth century but most are of eighteenth-century manufacture. They show a variety of engraved ornament. Boxes made later, in the nineteenth century, were of tin and often carried painted decorations. They were usually flat and rectangular in shape.¹³

Generally mass-produced rather than specially ordered, tobacco boxes frequently bore illustrations that seem intended to appeal to smokers with particular interests or religious beliefs or of specific professions. The boxes are therefore an intriguing source of information about the society that produced them.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art owns thirty-eight Dutch tobacco boxes. Of these the earliest are late-

2. Jacob Duck (ca. 1600–67) *The Procuress*, Dutch, painted ca. 1630–35. Oil on wood, 9⅞ × 13 in. (24.9 × 33 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Richard W. Levy, 1971, 1971.102

3. Duck, *The Procuress*, detail





4. Pieter Claesz (1597/98–1661), *Still Life*, Dutch, ca. 1624. Oil on wood, 17 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (45.5 × 75 cm.). Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst, The Hague, inv. no. NK 2451 (photo: Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst)

seventeenth-century examples, but most of them date from the eighteenth century. They are in various states of preservation: some are rather worn as a result of extensive use; others are in better condition.

Although the oldest tobacco boxes were mostly unadorned, late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century boxes such as those in the Metropolitan's collection, with their larger surfaces, were very suitable for a variety of engraved and occasionally flatly chased images, both pictorial and decorative. The outlines were generally executed with a continuous fluid cut of the burin, while parallel, crossed, and hatched lines were used to shade the composition or highlight particular details. When flat chasing was employed, the lines were made with a hammer and small, blunt tools. This technique was used, for instance, on the box bearing an image of Charlemagne (Number III, 5; Figures 79, 80). Decorations on the boxes, often placed in a cartouche or oval field, are generally framed by corded and molded edges. Borders of leaf scrolls are common.

Recurrence of decorative motifs must be explained by the fact that different manufacturers used the same prints as models for their engravings, as well as by the copying of boxes themselves and the production of boxes in series. See, for example, the two Crucifixion boxes (Numbers II, 1 and II, 2; Figures 37–40). Inscriptions often accompany the scenes engraved on a box's cover, underside, and sides. Some of the same texts may also be found on glasses, shop signs, and other objects of daily use, demonstrating their popularity at the time.¹⁴ From the engraved scenes and mottoes much can be learned about contemporary smokers and even the actual owners of the boxes. For example, the oval box showing two female drinkers, inscribed "A glass of beer is our pleasure," was likely meant for a woman (Number I, 3; Figures 10–11), while the box with the image of the Kevelaer Madonna could only have been intended for a Catholic smoker (Number IV, 1; Figures 83, 85).

Little is known about the makers and decorators of tobacco boxes; the boxes are rarely signed or dated. Boxes, both adorned and plain, might have been sold by the brass founders, so-called *geelgieters*, or by copper-smiths. It is obvious that the best craftsmen were not always employed in production of the boxes as the quality

of their pictorial design and of their engraving varies greatly.¹⁵ Although a highly skilled engraver must have been responsible for the box illustrating the story of Jonah (Number II, 11; Figures 59, 61), for instance, that is not the case with the box showing an amorous couple (Number I, 8; Figures 21, 22).

The decorations on the tobacco boxes in the Metropolitan Museum's collection may be divided into several different subject categories. Genre scenes adorn fifteen boxes; images derived from the Bible are found on twelve boxes; and six examples show subjects drawn from history. There are also three souvenir boxes and two calendar boxes.

As religion was an integral part of Dutch society, it is not surprising that religious themes are frequently represented on the tobacco boxes. Protestantism was deeply rooted, although the Dutch Reformed Church was never the official state church. An eighteenth-century oblong box of brass and copper is engraved with two biblical passages (Number II, 7). Its underside (Figure 52) carries the text of Jeremiah 8: 6–7, interspersed with small, lively images. The source for this composition is the *Kleine Print-Bybel*. Translated from German and published in 1720, this Bible consisted of rebuses of passages from the Old and New Testaments devised for the amusement and education of young people. The engraving on the underside of this box is largely based on plate 104 of the *Print-Bybel*, a rebus of verse 7; the words of verse 6 and additional images have also been added (Figure 51). The lid of this box carries the text of Isaiah 11: 6–9, also engraved with illustrations as a rebus (Figure 50). The *Print-Bybel* does not contain a plate devoted to this passage from Isaiah; perhaps the maker of this box made a free adaptation.

Another box, in octagonal form and from the middle of the eighteenth century, has scenes engraved on silvered copper (Number II, 11). The cover depicts four episodes from the adventures of Jonah during his journey to Nineveh (Figure 59). Some of these images reflect an illustration from Mattheus Merian's *Bible*, published in 1627 (Figure 60).¹⁶ Several figures, including Jonah on the shore, the fish nearby, and the sailing vessel in the center, are reverse versions of their counterparts in the Bible illustration. No source has been found for the scene pictured on the underside of the box showing Jonah preaching among the people of Nineveh; it is possible that its architectural background was inspired by certain early Italian prints (Figure 61).¹⁷ Images of apostles appear on the front and back sides of the box. Engraved in silver

on a copper ground, each apostle is accompanied by his name (Figure 59). The box may have been intended for a sailor or fisherman (the apostles' original occupation).

Tobacco boxes designed as souvenirs were often engraved with city views (Figure 5). That these boxes were popular with sailors has become clear from the excavation of the Dutch ship *Kennemerland*, wrecked in 1664 on the Outer Skerries, Shetland Islands, which has yielded three such boxes.¹⁸ The Metropolitan Museum owns two of this type, depicting the views of Amsterdam and 's Hertogenbosch (Numbers IV, 3 and IV, 2; Figures 88, 86).

A special kind of souvenir was a keepsake from a pilgrimage. An eighteenth-century example is illustrated in Figure 83 (Number IV, 1). On its lid is an image of the Madonna of Kevelaer in Germany, close to the Dutch border. In 1642 a chapel was built in Kevelaer in honor of a small engraving of the Madonna of Luxembourg (Figure 84). The miracle-working Virgin was worshipped as *Consolatrix Afflictorum* (comforter of the afflicted). The Madonna on the cover of this tobacco box is accompanied by the following inscription: "Come pilgrims honor this Virgin with diligence; then she will hear your prayer before you return. She is the advocate for us all, therefore visit her at Kevelaer." The box is made entirely of brass, and its underside, like those of similar examples, is adorned with the image of Saint Antony of Padua, who was also venerated in this region (Figure 85).

Some boxes served as more than mere containers for tobacco. Beginning in 1728 and working in Amsterdam, Peter Holm, a Swedish sailor, produced boxes with perpetual calendars and log timers, specially intended for sailors. Holm engraved the calendar on the cover of each box, placing it between a bust of Julius Caesar and a bust of Pope Gregory XIII in reference to the Julian and Gregorian calendars introduced in 45 B.C. and A.D. 1582 (Number V, 1; Figure 90). On certain boxes the date 1482 is engraved by mistake (Number V, 2; Figure 91). All the boxes are dated on the bottom line of the calendar. The undersides carry a log timer or table to measure the speed of ships, and a portrait of Amerigo Vespucci (Figure 92). The date 1497 pertains to Vespucci's voyage to the West.¹⁹ The front side of the Metropolitan Museum box is inscribed "Reght door zee" (Straight ahead) (Figure 91); other Holm boxes have "T Schip reght door zee" (The ship that steers a straight course). This is said to have been the name of the ship on which Holm once traveled around the world. The same name was given to Holm's school in Amsterdam, where he taught

sailors the use of the calendar and the speed table. After Holm's death in 1776, his pupil Arend Swieter continued to make tobacco boxes of the same type until about 1817.²⁰ Several boxes of this kind have been preserved. Some of them bear the appropriate inscription, "He who carries this box in his pocket doesn't need an almanac."²¹

To the category of genre scenes belongs an eighteenth-century tobacco box with openwork decoration depicting a harlequin and a dancing woman (Number I, 6; Figures 17, 18). Oblong in shape, the box has pierced figures and scroll ornament in brass fastened with small screws to a copper ground. Although the box is inscribed "1781," the costumes of both figures indicate that it was probably made some time before that. The date may have been added later along with the initials "I. W. B." on the overlapping edge of the cover.

Tobacco boxes were sometimes engraved with erotic images: one such example in the Metropolitan Museum collection shows on its lid a couple stretched out on a bed in an intimate embrace (Number I, 2; Figure 8). A smiling woman, functioning as a narrator or observer, peers at them from behind one of the curtains. The accompanying inscription reads: "Klaes takes Trientie's breast in his hand, while with desiring heart he longs for the other." On the underside is portrayed another couple looking at each other while smoking pipes (Figure 9). Again a woman peeks from behind the curtains. The text below can be translated: "Dear girl, could I touch your lips, both of us would be in paradise." A box of the same type in the Groningen Tobacco Museum has eight scenes: four of these are rather indecent scenes hidden behind small sliding panels carrying chaster images.²²

Sometimes the engraving on a tobacco box commemorated an historical event. Two oval boxes dating from the second half of the seventeenth century display on their covers the coats of arms of the Republic of the United Provinces, which was officially recognized in 1648 (Numbers III, 1 and III, 2; Figures 64, 66). On the underside of one box are three roundels, the central one occupied by a lion—a symbol of the Netherlands—and each of the flanking ones by a popinjay amid flowers (Figure 65). The roundels also appear on the underside of the second box, as does the Dutch lion; but here the intriguing side figures are reversible portraits. The double head on the left represents a cardinal and reverses to a jester, while on the right side the pope and the devil are depicted in a related pairing (Figure 67). Anti-papal portrayals such as this are probably derived from a group of similar sixteenth-century German medals or from an



5. Tobacco box, Dutch, early 17th century. Brass, $2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ in. (7×3 cm.). The skyline of the city of Leiden is engraved on the cover. Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, inv. no. 5987 (photo: Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal)

illustration of one of these medals in *Papekost, opgedist in Geuse schotelen* by Laurentius Steversloot (Figures 68–70).²³ Originating at the time of the Reformation, these satirical medals embodying anti-Catholic sentiments must have been popular in the Netherlands during the struggle against Philip II and the Counter-Reformation.

Boxes with portraits of historical figures belong to this collection as well. The lid of a rectangular copper box depicts Prince William IV (1711–51), (Number III, 4; Figure 75), while the image of his wife, Princess Anne (1709–51) daughter of King George II of England, is found on the box's reverse side (Figure 76). They are both portrayed with their coats of arms and an inscription below, a composition most certainly derived from contemporary prints such as those illustrated in Figures 77 and 78. The date September 6, 1722, included in the inscription on the box, probably records the day that William was appointed Stadtholder and Captain General of the provinces Gelderland, Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe. Possibly this box was made to commemorate William's marriage to Anne in 1734.

One of the most interesting boxes in the holdings of The Metropolitan Museum of Art is an oval brass example dating from about 1720 (Number III, 3). Its lid is framed by a border of leaf scrolls incorporating symbols—a cask, an hourglass, and the words *den* and *en*—

which make up a rebus (Figure 71). The rebus is continued on the underside (Figure 72). Its interpretation is “Vat den tijd en leer de wereld kenne” (Take the time and get to know the world). The lid’s central field shows a full-length portrait of “Heer Johan Louw,” or John Law (1671–1729), a Scottish financier and gambler. Law developed the concept of establishing banks with the power to issue paper money. In 1716 he received permission of the duke of Orléans, regent of France, to set up a private bank based on that principle. Initial success led to Law’s appointment as the Controller General of Finance in France. His involvement with the Compagnie d’Occident, established to colonize French territory in the Mississippi Valley, was to link Law’s name forever with speculative madness. A rash of wild speculation in the company’s shares and the speculators’ subsequent rush in an attempt to realize their gains led to the general collapse of the bank in 1720. Many, including Law, were ruined.²⁴

In the Netherlands and England comparable speculation in the stocks of a variety of companies, the so-called bubble companies, had similarly disastrous results.²⁵ The speculation, or “Wind Trade,” became the subject of poems, essays, and caricature prints.²⁶ Seventy-four such engravings were published under the title *Het Grootte Tafereel der Dwaasheid* (The Great Picture of Folly). This series was printed as “a warning for descendants in the fatal year of 1720.” One of these engravings is a full-length portrait of John Law (Figure 73), which, except for its French inscription, is faithfully copied on the tobacco box. The oval outline of the box forced the decorator to bend Law’s right arm in order to show the scrolled letter in that hand. In the original print this letter reads “Finance is my gold mine.” Only the word “Finance” is reproduced in the box’s engraving and the garden background has been completely omitted.

The composition on the box’s reverse side is derived

from another plate in the same set of engravings (Figures 72, 74), in which John Law is shown seated on clouds and wind. His hat is surmounted by a windmill and next to it are the words “I walk with [windmills].” This is an expression equivalent to saying “I am crazy.” Some of the figures and inscriptions that surround Law in the print are copied on the box. They all ridicule Wind Trade, bubble companies, and the speculation mania.²⁷ The text next to the man with a candle in his hands translates as “I first thought I was quite somebody, but now I burn my fingers at the end [of the candle].” Only its last words are found on the box. The inscription refers, of course, to Law. Below the picture on the lid, the first line of the poem that accompanies the engraving from *Het Grootte Tafereel* is repeated: “Wind is the beginning, Wind is the end.” The entire decorative scheme of the box was undoubtedly meant to invite reflection on the part of the viewer, just as the images and inscriptions on other boxes were intended to instruct or simply to please.

A great deal remains unclear about these tobacco boxes. In most cases their makers, owners, provenance, original prices, and the sources for their decoration are not known. However, a wealth of insight into the social practices, attitudes, and even history of their times is offered by the images and inscriptions on the boxes. As smoking remained fashionable during the eighteenth century, especially among Dutch lower-class men and women, there was a great demand for boxes of inexpensive materials. The decorations on these tobacco containers reflected the vocations, religious beliefs, patriotic sentiments, or moral attitudes of their owners. The existence of many well-preserved late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century examples attests to their one-time popularity, while the unusual and often amusing scenes pictured on these tobacco boxes ensure their value and interest today.

NOTES

1. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, translated by C. Jane, revised by L. A. Vigneras (London, 1960) describes “highly prized dried leaves,” presumably tobacco leaves (October 15, 1492); p. 31. Columbus mentions “men and women with a brand in their hands, the herbs for smoking which they are in the habit of using” (November 6, 1492); p. 56. See Jerome E. Brooks, *Tobacco, Its History Illustrated by the Books, Manuscripts and Engravings in the Library of George Arents, Jr.* (New York, 1937) I, pp. 17–19. See also B. Laufer, *The Introduction of Tobacco into Europe*, leaflet 19 of the Chicago Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago, 1924) pp. 97–161.

2. Library of Congress, *Books, Manuscripts and Drawings relating to Tobacco from the Collection of George Arents, Jr.*, exh. cat. (Washington, 1938) pp. 24–36, lists various works dealing with the healing qualities of tobacco.

3. Brooks, *Tobacco* 1, p. 44.

4. An early account of smoking in the Netherlands is given by William Van der Meer, a doctor in Delft. While studying at Leiden University in the 1590s, he recorded having seen some fellow students using tobacco. He wrote about it in a letter to Johannes Ne-

ander, dated Oct. 1621, which was published in Neander's *Tabacologia* (Leiden, 1622) p. 212.

5. H. K. Roessingh, *Inlandse tabak, expansie en contractie van een handelsgewas in de 17de en 18de eeuw in Nederland* (Wageningen, 1976) discusses all aspects of tobacco production and consumption in Holland.

6. North Carolina Museum of Art, *Tobacco and Smoking in Art*, by James B. Byrnes, exh. cat. (Raleigh, 1960) p. 81. No source is given for this quotation.

7. In view of the subject of this painting, the reason for the presence of tobacco may be symbolic, since the plant was considered to be an aphrodisiac. See Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (New York, 1987) pp. 204–207.

8. Onno Ter Kuile, *Seventeenth-Century North Netherlandish Still Lives* (The Hague/Amsterdam, 1985) pp. 96–97. Smoking requisites have often been used as a Vanitas symbol. See E. de Jongh, *Still-Life in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat. (Auckland, New Zealand, 1982) pp. 101–105.

9. The popularity of imported Dutch boxes in Westphalia led to the founding of a workshop making tobacco boxes in Iserlohn in 1754. The oblong brass boxes with stamped decoration in relief often depict the victories of King Frederick the Great of Prussia, who had granted the manufactory a monopoly in 1755. Many of the Iserlohn boxes are signed. See Wolf-Dieter Könenkamp, *Iserlohner Tabaksdosen, Bilder einer Kriegszeit* (Münster, 1982). Dutch boxes were probably also exported to England. Rupert Gentle and Rachael Feild in *English Domestic Brass, 1680–1810* (New York, 1975) p. 102, state that in England many smoking accessories were imported until the eighteenth century. Dudley Tomkinson in *The Reasons of Mr. Bays Changing his Religion* (London, 1688) p. 24, mentions “humble dealers in tobacco box inscriptions.” This indicates that tobacco boxes, either English-made or imported, were decorated or completed in England.

10. Several examples are in the collection of the Niemeyer Nederlands Tabacologisch Museum, Groningen. See Georg A. Brongers, *Van gouwenaar tot bruyère pijp* (Amerongen, 1978) pp. 58, 62.

11. The oval brass boxes are cast. The hinge consists of rolled strips from both the back side of the lid and a piece attached to the back side of the box. The others, made of brass and/or copper, are made as follows: for the sides a long narrow strip of metal is bent in the desired shape and soldered at one end. The base is soldered with a small overlapping edge to the sides. The lid is made in a similar way, provided with an overlapping edge, and hinged to the back side. The hinge is composed of several small rolled-up strips from both the lid and the back of the side that are connected with a metal pin.

12. Georg A. Brongers, *Nicotiana Tabacum* (Groningen, 1964) p. 61, illustrates an 18th-century Dutch tobacco box of mother-of-pearl, mounted in silver.

13. See J. de Kleyn, “Een tweetal beschilderde tabaksdozen,” *Antiek* (Jan. 1967) pp. 40–42, “Enkele tabaksdozen met Amsterdamse stadsgezichten,” *Antiek* (Mar. 1967) pp. 5–9; and “Een tweetal gelakte Japon de Commande tabaksdozen uit de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw” *Antiek* (Jan. 1977) pp. 525–529.

14. Hieronymus Sweerts, *Koddige en ernstige opschriften op luyffens,*

wagens, glazen, uythangborden, en andere taferelen, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1682–90).

15. Some boxes were made by prisoners; after visiting a house of correction in The Hague in October of 1725, Albrecht Haller wrote the following lines in his diary: “Wo Männer eingesperrt sind, geht es etwas härter, und müssen dieselben ihr Tagwerk liefern, haben aber daneben müssige Stunden gnug, die sie zur Aussarbeitung grosser kupfernen Tabakdosen anzuwenden pflegen.” Albrecht Haller, *Haller in Holland, 1725–27* (Delft, 1958) p. 58.

16. Illustrations of later Bibles were often based on Merian's engravings; e.g., *Toneel ofte Vertooch der Bijbelsche Historien* by Pieter H. Schut (Amsterdam, 1659) and the *Staten Bijbel* published by Jacob P. Keun (Dordrecht, 1710).

17. See Arthur Mayger Hind, *Early Italian Engraving* pt. 1 (London, 1938) III, pls. 173, 175, 185, and 200; pt. II (London, 1948) VII, pl. 900.

18. Richard Price, Keith Muckelroy, “The Kennemerland site,” *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 3–2 (1974) pp. 264–265 and *ibid.* 6–3 (1977) p. 202, fig. 13.

19. A. O. van Kerkwijk, *Catalogus der Tentoonstelling van Oud Nederlandsche doozen: Expositie in de kunstzaal Kleykamp*, exh. cat. (The Hague, 1913) no. 48, mentions a similar box. The image on the reverse side is said to be that of Copernicus.

20. Brongers, *Nicotiana Tabacum* pp. 67–68. Boxes were available for the sum of five guilders ten pence each at Holm's school in Amsterdam.

21. Julien Van der Linden, “Les boîtes en cuivre dites tabatières hollandaises,” *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 15 (1901) p. 215, describes a Holm box, dated 1797, with the inscription: Die desen doos draagt in sijn sak, heeft niet vandoen een almanak.

22. Collection Niemeyer Nederlands Tabacologisch Museum, Groningen. Illustrated in Brongers, *Van gouwenaar tot bruyère pijp* p. 68.

23. See Georg Habich, *Die Deutschen Schaumünzen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1929) pt. 1, p. 100, nos. 701–704, pl. LXXXI, nos. 4, 10. See also Francis Pierrepont Barnard, *Satirical and Controversial Medals of the Reformation* (Oxford, 1927).

24. H. Montgomery Hyde, *John Law: The History of an Honest Adventurer* (London, 1969).

25. F. Ph. Groeneveld, *De economische crisis van het jaar 1720* (Groningen/Batavia, 1940).

26. W. P. C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (The Hague, 1902) pt. IV, nos. 16481–16518, lists poems, essays, satires, and other writings about the Wind Trade.

27. In her journal Lady Charlotte Schreiber mentions the purchase of “an old copper snuff-box with the portrait of John Law rudely carved on the lid; on the reverse were some satirical devices alluding to the bubbles of 1720. . . .” (May 13, 1878) *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals* (London/New York, 1911) II, pp. 121–122. This box was given to the British Museum, acc. no. M&L 1889, 7–2, 46.

28. The underside of III, 1 has been described here by mistake.

Catalogue

The tobacco boxes have been divided according to subject matter into five categories, and are listed chronologically within each group. Dimensions are given in the order of length, width, height.



6. Lid of Box I, 1



7. Underside of Box I, 1

GENRE SCENES

I, 1 (Figures 6, 7)

Copper

5 × 2⁵/₁₆ × 1³/₈ in. (12.7 × 7.5 × 3.5 cm.)

Some repairs

Last quarter of the 17th century

Bequest of Flora E. Whiting, 1971

1971.180.213

The lid of this oval box shows three roundels surrounded by leaf scrolls. The central medallion depicts an outdoor scene in which a man is attacked by two villains with swords. A terrified woman looks on from a distance. The two flanking roundels are inscribed: Voor mijn schoon lief verheeve / moet ick nu laate mijn ionck leeve (For my pretty, sublime sweetheart / must I now lose my young life).

The underside is similarly decorated with three roundels and leaf scrolls. The outdoor scene in the center shows a man, accompanied by a dog, offering a wreath to his sweetheart. Inscribed: Floora lief mijn waarde glans / ontfangt mijn trou met dese krans (Flora love, my true glory / receive my faithfulness with this wreath).

With lined and corded rims, molded edges, and foliate borders and sides.

The inscription found on the underside of this box is also recorded by Julien van der Linden, "Les boîtes en cuivres dites tabatières hollandaises," *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 15 (1901), p. 210.

I, 2 (Figures 8, 9)

Brass

5½ × 3 × 1¾ in. (14 × 7.6 × 3.5 cm.)

Ca. 1700

Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,
Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957

57.108.9

The box is oval; its lid depicts an amorous couple stretched out on a bed. A second woman peeks around one of the curtains. Inscribed below: *Klaes nemt de borst van Trientie in de hant terwijl hij groen in't haert na't ander wat tertant* (Klaes takes Trientie's breast in his hand, while with desiring heart he longs for the other).

The underside shows another indoor scene framed by brick walls. A couple is smoking, the woman seated on the man's knees, while another woman looks on from behind the curtains. Inscribed below: *Moegt ick lieve meijt u lippen eens genaken wij souden allebij in het paradeijs geraken* (Dear girl, could I touch your lips, both of us would be in paradise).

With lined rims and molded edges, the borders and sides engraved with leaf scrolls.



8, 9. Lid and underside of Box 1, 2



I, 3 (Figures 10, 11)

Brass

5½ × 2¾ × 1½ in. (13 × 7 × 3.8 cm.)

Ca. 1700

Bequest of Mary Mandeville Johnston, 1914

14.102.415

The box is oval; the lid shows an interior scene framed by brick walls. Two seated women, each with a glass, raise a toast to each other's health. Inscribed below: *Een glas bier is ons plasier* (A glass of beer is our pleasure).

The underside depicts an almost identical scene with women similarly posed. Details of the clothing differ somewhat. Inscribed below: *Bij de wijn kan men vrolijk zijn* (With wine one can be merry). This box was most likely made for a female smoker.

With lined rims, molded edges, and leaf-scroll borders. The sides have chevron decoration.

EX COLL.: Mr. and Mrs. Edward W. S. Johnston

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Katharine M. McClinton, "Brass Tobacco Boxes," *Antiques* 50 (1946) pp. 176–177, fig. 1a.



10, 11. Lid and underside of Box 1, 3



I, 4 (Figures 12, 14)

Brass
 $4\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{4}$ in. (11.1 × 8.9 × 1.9 cm.)
 Ca. 1700
 Gift of Mrs. Lucy W. Drexel, 1889
 89.2.22

The lid of this oval box depicts a hefty Neptune with a trident, reclining against an urn. Inscribed below: *Dee Zee Godt* (The Sea God).

The underside shows a scene with a sailing vessel, a walking man, and a tortoise. Inscribed below: *All tini* [?] Although the inscription's meaning is unclear, the scene perhaps relates to an emblem in Jacob Cats's *Silenus Alcibiadis Sive Proteus* of 1622, in which a turtle is depicted against a similar background with sailing vessel (see Figure 13). The motto published with the emblem, "Fugiendo non effugit," means that wherever one goes his burden accompanies him. (This, of course, is particularly true of the turtle.)

With lined and corded rims, molded edges. The borders and sides are decorated with chevron ornament.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: McClinton, "Brass Tobacco Boxes," p. 177, fig. 1d.



13. Jacob Cats, *Silenus Alcibiadis sive Proteus* (Amsterdam, 1622) p. 29

14. Underside of Box I, 4

12. Lid of Box I, 4





15, 16. Lid and underside of Box 1, 5



I, 5 (Figures 15, 16)

Brass

$5\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{16} \times 1$ in. ($14 \times 7.5 \times 2.5$ cm.)

Cracked hinge

First quarter of the 18th century

Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,

Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957

57.108.7

Oval box; its lid shows a landscape scene with two men shaking hands; one of them is reclining. At the left the personification of fortune can be seen, standing on a globe and holding a billowing sail. Inscribed below: *Soo lang t' fortuijn u dient sal u geen vrint onbreken* (As long as fortune is with you, you won't lack friends).

The underside carries another outdoor scene. A distressed-looking man, his head in his hand, is seated next to a tree. His friend and the figure of fortune are shown leaving him. Inscribed below: *Maar als t' fortuijn eens keert dan is u vrint geweken* (But when fortune turns around your friend will be gone).

With lined rims, molded edges, and plain sides. A tobacco box with the same inscription but with slightly different illustrations is in the collection of Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. A similar text was used as a porch inscription in Gronichem (Gorinchem); see Hieronymus Sweerts, *Koddige en ernstige opschriften op luuffens, wagens, glazen, uythangborden, en andere tafereelen* (Amsterdam, 1682–90) II, p. 113.

I, 6 (Figures 17, 18)

Brass and copper

$6\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ in. ($16.8 \times 5.9 \times 3.7$ cm.)

Repairs

First quarter of the 18th century

Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,

Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957

57.108.15

This box is oblong with rounded ends. The lid has openwork decoration in brass against a copper ground.



17, 18. Lid and underside of Box 1, 6





19, 20. Lid and underside of Box I, 7



21, 22. Lid and underside of Box I, 8



A harlequin and two smaller musicians in the background are surrounded by pierced scroll and fretwork decoration.

The underside shows a dancing woman surrounded by the same pierced scroll and fretwork ornament.

Inscribed on front edge of cover, i. w. v.; dated 1781 on front side, among leaf scrolls. The initials and date were probably added at a later time.

With lined rims. The brass sides are engraved with leaf scrolls, the decoration of the rounded ends consists of small squares.

Two openwork tobacco boxes were sold at Christie's in Amsterdam: on May 24, 1985, lot 368, and on September 12–13, 1985, lot 352.

I, 7 (Figures 19, 20)

Lid and underside of brass; sides of copper

6¾ × 2 × 1⅞ in. (17.2 × 5.1 × 4.1 cm.)

With cracks and some repairs

First half of the 18th century

Gift of C. Gustave Mourraile, in memory of his sister,

Miss M. Mathilde Mourraile, 1957

57.108.2

An oblong box with rounded ends. Its lid is divided in three. The central field is engraved with a scene showing a man and a woman before a house, with a sun on the horizon. The side fields show leaf-scroll decoration and a serpentine line. Inscribed below: *De man hout het huijs de vrou gaat loopen* (The man keeps the house, the woman goes out).

The underside has similar leaf scrolls on the side panels; in the center a rendezvous between an amorous couple is watched by a male spectator, who is seen half-length in the left foreground. A similar figure appears on several boxes (see Figures 27, 29) and seems to function as a sort of narrator or commentator. Inscribed below: *Liefde op de seijde daar de taas haangt* (With an affair on the side the trouble starts).

Lined rims. The sides are decorated with running hares and dogs as well as geometrical ornament.

I, 8 (Figures 21, 22)

Lid and underside of brass; sides of copper

5¾ × 1¾ × 1½ in. (14.6 × 4.5 × 3.8 cm.)

Cracks

Mid-18th century

Bequest of George White Thorne, 1883

83.1.57

An oblong box with rounded ends. The lid is engraved with an outdoor scene set in an octagonal field. A man

offers his sweetheart a heart with crossed arrows. The scene is flanked by leaf scrolls and the inscription: *Mijn lief/mijn hart* (My love/my heart).

The underside is similarly decorated. In the center the same couple reach out to each other. The inscription reads: *Mijn trouw/ontfangt* (Receives my/faithfulness).

Lined rims. The front side and rounded ends are decorated with leaf scrolls, the back side has a geometrical ornament.

I, 9 (Figures 23, 24)

Copper lid and underside with brass cartouche; brass sides

5¼ × 2⅞ × 1½ in. (13.3 × 6.7 × 3.8 cm.)

Cracks, small holes; repairs

Mid-18th century

Bequest of Flora E. Whiting, 1971

1971.180.212

The box is oblong with shaped ends. A brass cartouche on the lid repeats the outline of the box. The cartouche shows a couple embracing each other outside a house; a second man is about to enter the house. The scene is framed by leaf scrolls and the inscription: *Ik heb een oude man/die mijn nie kan behage* (I have an old husband/who can't please me). The cartouche on the underside, which is also flanked by leaf scrolls, shows a man and a woman indoors next to a cradle. Inscribed: *Maer thuis [?] vraegt 't werk/dat ik niet heb te klage* (But the work at home [?] is demanding/so I don't have to complain).

The rims are lined, the edges molded, and the borders engraved with leaf scrolls and zigzag line decoration. Leaf scrolls are engraved on the side in front and on the ends. The back of the side has geometrical ornament.

I, 10 (Figures 25, 26)

Brass lid and underside, copper sides

6½ × 1⅓ × 1⅜ in. (15.6 × 4.9 × 3.5 cm.)

Mid-18th century

Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,

Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957

57.108.20

The box is oblong with rounded ends. The illustration on the lid is framed by parts of brick walls and leaf scrolls. Two women and a man seated beneath trees are watching a large bird. Inscribed below: *Ik soen mijn soete lief op het lant* (I kiss my sweetheart in the country).



23, 24. Lid and underside of Box I, 9



25, 26. Lid and underside of Box I, 10





27, 28. Lid and underside of Box I, 11



The underside shows a scene, similarly framed, of a couple walking along the waterside. A bird is depicted in the foreground and sailing vessels in the background. Inscribed below: *En ik soen se aen een klaere waterkant* (And I kiss her at the clear waterside).

Rims are lined and edges molded. The ends and back have geometrical ornament. The front side is inscribed: *Verlaat de weerelt* (Leave the world). This phrase is said to be frequently found on tobacco boxes: see Van der Linden, "Les boîtes en cuivre," p. 203.

I, 11 (Figures 27, 28)

Brass lid and underside with copper cartouche; copper sides

$5\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (13 × 5.4 × 3.2 cm.)

Mid-18th century

Gift of Mrs. Lucy W. Drexel, 1889

89.2.27

An oblong box with shaped ends, its copper cartouche of a shape similar to that of the box. The cartouche on the lid portrays a couple conversing in a landscape. The bust of a second man, much larger in scale, appears in the foreground; this should be seen as the personification of the evil tongue, a gossip, perhaps. (See also Number I, 7.) Inscribed below: *Valsche tong is fel* (An evil tongue is fierce).

In the cartouche on the underside the couple is seated with a pitcher and glass in front of a house. A clergyman stands next to them with a crucifix in his hand. Inscribed below: *Doet geen mens wel* (Doesn't do anybody good).

Rims are lined, edges molded. Leaf scrolls are found flanking the cartouches, on the borders, and on the front and ends of the side. The back side has geometrical ornament. This is one of the inscriptions that frequently occur on tobacco boxes, according to Van der Linden, "Les boîtes en cuivre," p. 203.



29, 30. Lid and underside of Box I, 12



I, 12 (Figures 29, 30)

Copper lid and underside with brass cartouches; brass sides

$4\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4} \times 2$ in. (12.1 × 3.2 × 5.1 cm.)

Some repairs

Mid-18th century

Bequest of George White Thorne, 1883

83.1.59

The box is rectangular, its lid and underside each set with a brass cartouche of elaborate shape. The cartouche on the lid has a scene almost identical to that on Number I, 11, with some small variations in the background and clothing.

The scene on the underside is likewise similar to that on the bottom of Number I, 11; only the pose of the couple varies. The inscriptions on both lid and underside are the same as those on Number I, 11, and the cartouches are also surrounded by leaf scrolls.

Rims are lined, edges are molded, and leaf scrolls ornament the borders and front side as well as the ends. The back side has geometrical decoration.

I, 13 (Figures 31, 32)

Brass lid and underside; copper sides
 $6\frac{3}{8} \times 2 \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (16.2 × 5.1 × 3.5 cm.)
 Mid-18th century
 Bequest of George White Thorne, 1883
 83.1.53

The box is oblong with rounded ends. The lid's central field depicts a couple in a landscape, the man offering a flower to the woman. At either end, surrounded by leaf scrolls, is the following inscription: Daar is het roosien/ mij suijker doosie (There is my rosie/ my sweetie pie).

The underside shows a similar landscape in which the same couple reach out to each other. Inscribed at left and right: Daar is mij trou/ o soeten iuffervrou (There is my faithfulness/ o sweet miss).

The rims are lined. The front side is engraved with a hunting scene. The rounded ends and back side show chevron ornament.



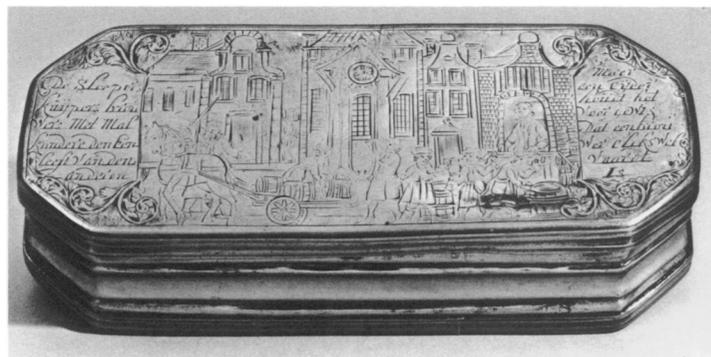
31, 32. Lid and underside of Box I, 13



I, 14 (Figures 33, 34)

Brass
 $6\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (15.6 × 6 × 3.5 cm.)
 Some repairs
 Mid-18th century
 Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,
 Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957
 57.108.3

The box is octagonal. Its lid is engraved with a street scene; against a background of buildings, men are making casks and loading barrels onto a cart. Inscribed at both sides, framed by scroll borders, is: De sleepers kuy-pers brouwers met malkandere den een leeft van den anderen/maer een eijder houdt het voor gewis dat een brouwer elcks welvaardt is (The carters, barrel makers,



33, 34. Lid and underside of Box I, 14



brewers, together they all procure business for each other / but everyone knows that a brewer means well-being for all).

The underside shows three women pointing guns at a cannon in the air. Amorous couples are seated at the sides. The inscription flanking this scene reads: *Dat so een vogel vloeg geelijk een uijl bij de nacht men vont er anders niet als iufferous op de taght / gelijk een mol tragt na sijn hol tot vroeten is geboeren so doet een ionge gast die graeg tast een mooie mijdt van voore* (That a bird flew like an owl at night, one met nobody but young ladies in a draft / as a mole who tries to reach his hole is born to burrow, so does a young man who likes to touch a young maid). It is not completely clear what is meant by this inscription. It could be that the bird flying at night symbolizes a man looking for amorous adventures. The women could be ladies of easy virtue. The firearms and cannons do not seem to fit into any explanation. This box was probably intended for a Dutch beer brewer.

Rims are lined and sides molded. Part of the same inscription was seen on a glass by Sweets; see *Koddige en ernstige opschriften* I, p. 16.



35, 36. Lid and underside of Box 1, 15



I, 15 (Figures 35, 36)

Brass
 $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{5}{8} \times \frac{7}{8}$ in. (9.6 × 6.7 × 2.2 cm.)
 Bent corners, some repairs
 Late 18th century
 Bequest of George White Thorne, 1883
 83.1.61

The box is shaped like a book. Its cover shows a couple seated outside their house, within a hexagonal frame. Flowers are depicted in the corners. Inscribed below is: *Goet begin* (Good beginning).

The underside is similarly engraved, the scene now reversed, and is inscribed: *Goet bekege* (Good end). This box would have been an appropriate gift for a newly married couple.

With lined rims.

BIBLICAL SCENES

II, 1 (Figures 37, 38)

Brass
 $5 \times 2\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (12.7 × 7.3 × 3.5 cm.)
 Late 17th century
 Gift of C. Gustave Mourraile, in memory of his sister,
 Miss M. Mathilde Mourraile, 1957
 57.108.11

An oval box. The lid depicts Christ being nailed to the cross by two men, while a third digs a hole for the cross. Inscribed at top of cross: *Inri*; and below: *Het leijde christi in het leven* (The suffering of Christ in his life).

The underside shows Christ on the cross, flanked by the Virgin and St. John, with the Magdalen kneeling at the foot of the cross. Inscribed at the top of the cross: *Inri*; and below: *En het lijde christi in sijn sterve* (And the suffering of Christ in his death).

With lined rims and molded edges. The borders and sides are engraved with leaf scrolls.

II, 2 (Figures 39, 40)

Brass
 $5 \times 2\frac{1}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ in. (12.7 × 7.5 × 3.3 cm.)
 The hinge is missing
 Late 17th century
 Bequest of Flora E. Whiting, 1971
 1971.180.219a,b

An oval box. The scenes, inscriptions, and decorations are identical to those on Number II, 1. The engraving on this tobacco box is, however, somewhat more refined.

Borders and sides are decorated with leaf scrolls.



37. Lid of Box II, 1



38. Underside of Box II, 1

39. Lid of Box II, 2



40. Underside of Box II, 2





41, 42. Lid and underside of Box n, 3



II, 3 (Figures 41, 42)

Brass
 $5\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (13.7 × 7.5 × 3.2 cm.)
 Ca. 1700
 Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,
 Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957
 57.108.12

The box is oval. The octagonal panel on the lid is engraved with a scene of Moses and the brazen serpent. Three worshippers are looking at the serpent. The panel is framed by leaf scrolls and is flanked by the inscription: *Siet moyses in de wostijn den slang hoog doet verheve / op dat die het soude sien behoude sij en leve* (See how Moses holds high the serpent in the desert / so that they who behold this will be saved and live). The passage illustrated is found in the Bible in Numbers 21:8–9. Moses is portrayed with horns. This tradition derived from the misinterpretation of the word *cornutam*, which in the Vulgate describes Moses' face at the moment he

descended from Mount Sinai with the tablets of the Law. The word was intended to indicate that rays of light shone out from Moses' head, but it also means "horned." See James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York, 1979) p. 213. This representation expresses belief in deliverance.

In the panel on the underside Abner stabs Asahel, an incident described in 2 Samuel 2:23. The inscription reads: *In scheijn van vrindshap boos en fel / doorsteekt abner ahasael zeer snel* (In pretext of friendship, angry and fierce / Abner stabs Asahel very quickly).

With lined rims. Leaf scrolls are found on the border and sides.

II, 4 (Figures 43–45)

Copper lid and underside of copper and partly brass, with brass sides
 $6\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (15.6 × 6.4 × 3.5 cm.)
 The hinge has been reattached.
 First quarter of the 18th century
 Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,
 Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957
 57.108.22

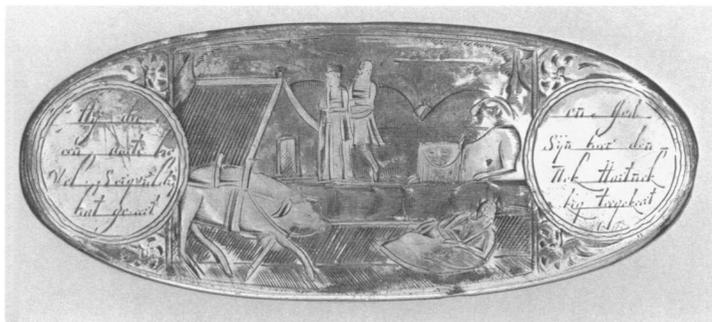
An oval box. The scene on the lid shows the history of Balaam, who rides on his ass and is confronted by the angel with drawn sword. Two of Balaam's servants follow behind the ass. The angel's appearance to Balaam's ass is described in Numbers 22:22–24. The scene is framed at the sides by leaf scrolls and by two roundels which are inscribed: *Wie staat niet voorbaas voorwonderd in den geest / als hij van beliam en van sijn esel leest* (Who is not surprised and astonished in his mind / when he reads of Balaam and his ass).

The underside shows a pastoral scene with a couple outside a farmhouse, a reclining woman in the foreground, an ox, and a lion. Inscribed in the two roundels flanking this scene is: *Hij die een aarts bevel sorgvuldig hat geert / en god sijn heer den nek hartnekkig toegekeert* (He who had carefully honored an earthly order / and who had persistently turned his back on God his Lord). The significance of the scene is unclear; perhaps it reflects the story of Balaam. Numbers 23:1–5 describes Balaam's offering of bullocks, rams, and oxen.

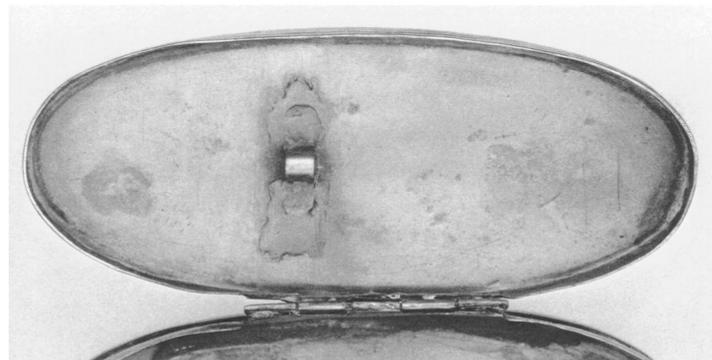
Rims are lined and edges molded. The rounded ends of the box show decoration consisting of squares and crosses. The front and back sides carry the images of apostles and evangelists, each one flanked by his name. From left to right on the front side: Petrus (Peter), Zacarius (Zacharias), Joannes (John), Markis (Mark), Phi-



43. Lid of Box II, 4



44. Underside of Box II, 4



45. Inside of lid of Box II, 4

lipus (Philip), and Tomas (Thomas). The names on the back side include Lucas (Luke) and Matteo (Matthew); the other four are too badly worn to be deciphered.

Attached to the inside of the cover is a small clasp through which a pipe cleaner could be slid.

II, 5 (Figures 46, 47)

Brass
 $4\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{7}{8}$ in. (12.4 × 7 × 2.3 cm.)
 Some repairs
 First quarter of the 18th century
 Gift of Mrs. Lucy W. Drexel, 1889
 89.2.20

The box is oval. On the lid is a roundel showing the prophet Elijah seated in a landscape and receiving food from two ravens (1 Kings 17:4): Inscribed below is: Elias. Two figures in early-18th-century dress, standing on pedestals, flank the medallion. The man holds a hat, the woman a fan. They are rendered against a crudely hatched background with drapery.

The roundel on the underside shows the nude figure of an angel next to a truncated tree. This may illustrate 1 Kings 19:4–5, in which Elijah, resting under a juniper tree, is awakened by an angel who gives him food. Two figures similar to those on the cover flank the medallion.

With lined rims and molded edges. The borders and sides are decorated with chevron ornament.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: McClinton, "Brass Tobacco Boxes," p. 177, fig. 1c.

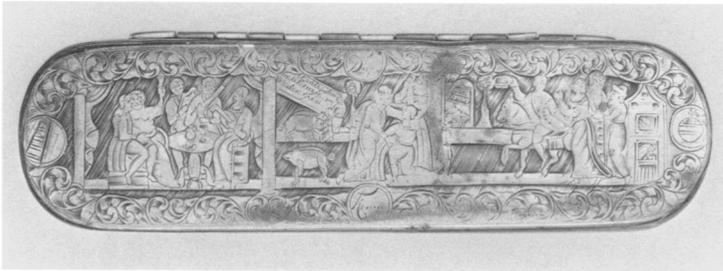


46, 47. Lid and underside of Box II, 5





48, 49. Lid and underside of Box II, 6



II, 6 (Figures 48, 49)

Brass

7 × 2 × 1³/₈ in. (17.8 × 5.1 × 3.5 cm.)

Some repairs

First quarter of the 18th century

Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,
Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957

57.108.24

An oblong box with rounded ends. On the lid several episodes of the parable of the rich man and the poor Lazarus are depicted, the scenes divided by classical columns. To the right the sick Lazarus can be seen sitting in the street while the dogs lick his sores. In the center the rich man is at home, seated behind a banquet table. At the left the rich man is seen burning in hell and Lazarus has come to God's throne in heaven. The entire representation is framed by leaf scrolls which contain the first part of a rebus. The rebus can be interpreted as: Vat [barrel] den tijd [winged hourglass] en . . . , or Take the time and . . . (the rebus is completed on the underside).

The underside illustrates the parable of the Prodigal Son in several episodes, which are similarly divided by classical columns. At the right the son leaves his father's house. At the center in the background the son is tending the swine, and in the foreground he has returned to his father. In the left-hand scene the son embraces a semi-naked woman in the company of three musicians. In-

scribed (in the center background): Ik wil opstan en tot mijn vader gaan (I will arise and go to my father) (Luke 15:18). The scenes are surrounded by leaf scrolls and the second part of the rebus: Leer [ladder] de wereld [globe] kenne (. . . get to know the world).

The front side is inscribed: Het lijkt wel aen den reijcke vreck in zijn wel lustig leeven/Laaserus most neeme zijn vertreck zonder wat brood te geeven/Dat heeft de gierig heijt gedaan laaserus heeft gods troon ontfaan/Maar den reijcke vreck begraaven in de hel bij de helsche slaaven (It seems to the rich miser with his sumptuous life/that Lazarus had to depart without giving him any bread/The avarice has caused this, Lazarus has received God's throne/but the rich miser is buried in hell with the infernal slaves). Inscribed on the back side is: Een reijcke loose zoon was heulps en onbedaegt/Zijn vaders erf en goet zoo schandig door gebrægt (A reckless son, lascivious and inconsiderate/ran disgracefully through his father's fortune). Both stories illustrated, those of Lazarus and of the Prodigal Son, treat the theme of charity.

Rims are lined and corded, edges are molded. The rounded ends are decorated with leaf scrolls.

A. O. van Kerkwijk, "Oude tabaksdoozen," *Het huis oud en nieuw* (1911) p. 154, fig. 4, mentions a similar inscription about the Prodigal Son.

The rebus occurs regularly on tobacco boxes. See Van der Linden, "Les boîtes en cuivre," p. 203.

II, 7 (Figures 50, 52)

Brass lid and underside, copper sides

6¹/₂ × 1¹⁵/₁₆ × 1³/₁₆ in. (16.5 × 4.9 × 3 cm.)

18th century

Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,
Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957

57.108.14

An oblong box with rounded ends. The lid is engraved with a rebus in which small animals and figures interlace with the text of Isaiah 11:6–9. Inscribed: Iesaias 11, v 6–7–8–9 / De [wolf] sal met het [schaap] verkeeren en [de panter] bij den [bok] nederleggen en het [kalf] en de ionge [leeuw] en het mest [vee] te saemen salse een klijn [jongen] drijve de [koe] en de [berin] sulle saemen wijde hare ionge sulle te saemen needer leggen en de [leeuw] sal stroo eten gelijk de [rund] en het stof sal de spijse der [allerlaagste] sijn sijn en sulle geen qaat doen nog verderven op mijn hijlige berg spreekt de heere (The [wolf] shall dwell with the [lamb], and [the pan-



50. Lid of Box n, 7



51. *De Kleine Print-Bybel* (Amsterdam, 1720) pl. 104. Afdeling Oude Drukken, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague (photo: Koninklijke Bibliotheek)



52. Underside of Box n, 7

ther] shall lie down with the [goat]; and the [calf] and the young [lion] and the [fatling] together; and a little [child] shall lead them; and the [cow] and the [bear] shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the [lion] shall eat straw like the [ox]; and dust shall be the food for the [lowest of all] and they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain saith the Lord).

The underside shows a similar rebus incorporating the text of Jeremiah 8:6–7. Inscribed: Ieremias 8 v 6–7/ de [Heere] spreekt ik hebbe geluijstert en toegehoort sij spreke dat niet regt en is/daer en is nimant die berou heeft over sijne booshijt seggende wat hebbe ik gedaen een ijder keert sig om in sijne loop gelijk een onbesuijst [paard] in den strijt/siet selfs een [ooievaer] aen den hemel weet sijne gesette tijt ende een [tortelduij]f ende een [kraanvogel] en de [zwaluw] nemen den tijt haerer aenkomste waer maer mijn [volk] en weet het regt des heere niet (The [Lord] speaks; I hearkened and heard but they spake not aright;/no man repented him of his wickedness, saying, What have I done? Every one turned to his course, as the [horse] rushes into the battle. Behold, the [stork] in the heaven knows her appointed

times; and the [turtle] and the [crane] and the [swallow] observe the time of their coming; but my [people] know not the judgment of the Lord).

The rims are lined. The front side and rounded ends are decorated with leaf scrolls; the back side has geometrical ornament.

See the text, above, for a discussion of a source for this box's engravings. J. de Kleyn, "Een koperkwartet tabaksdozen," *Antiek* 10 (1976) pp. 1011–1012, 1014, figs. 3, 4, illustrates a brass tobacco box from the collection of Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem, which has on its underside a rebus of Jeremiah 8:6–7. J. de Kleyn, "Een koperen tabaksdoos versierd met parelmoer," *Bijdragen en mededelingen van het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum* 35 (1972) pp. 24–27, describes a similar box, its lid inlaid with mother-of-pearl, which carries a rebus based on plate 17 of the *Kleine Print-Bybel*. F. Vanden Bergh, "Een zilveren Antwerpse snuifdoos (1764) met een 'bijbels' deksel in parelmoer," *Antiek* 20 (1985) pp. 77–79, describes and illustrates a silver snuffbox with a mother-of-pearl cover engraved with a rebus based on plate 111 of the *Kleine Print-Bybel*.

II, 8 (Figures 53, 54)

Brass
 $6\frac{7}{8} \times 2 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. (17.5 × 5.1 × 3.3 cm.)
 18th century
 Bequest of Flora E. Whiting, 1971
 1971.180.218

An oblong box with rounded ends. On the lid, surrounded by leaf scrolls, are four medallions depicting, from left to right, three women and a male figure who personify Faith, with a cross; Hope, with an anchor; Charity, surrounded by children; and Fortune with billowing sail. Inscribed in the center is: *Ik hoop door het geeloof en liefde kragtig het vertuijn dat kooft van godt almagtig/Daar (I hope [to receive] strengthened through faith and love the fortune that comes from God almighty./Where . . . [the inscription continues on the reverse side]).*

The underside similar in design to the lid, shows from left to right the female personifications of Abundance, with a cornucopia; Prudence, with a mirror; Justice, blindfolded with a sword and balance; and Temperance pouring liquid from one vessel to another. The inscription reads: *[Daar] Vreede is woont godt hebt vreede in u gemoet gij wort uijt heeren schoot gesegint met veel goet ([Where] is peace is God's dwelling place. Have peace in your heart; you are blessed with many good things from the Lord's hands). Justice, prudence, and temperance are three of the four cardinal virtues; faith, hope, and charity are the three theological virtues.*

The rims are corded; the sides are plain.

A similar box is in the collection of Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. Boxes carrying the same text are mentioned in Brongers, *Nicotiana Tabacum*, p. 53, and also in Van der Linden, "Les boîtes en cuivre," p. 205.



55, 56. Lid and underside of Box II, 9



II, 9 (Figures 55, 56)

Lid and underside of brass partly inlaid with copper;
 sides of brass
 $7\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (18.1 × 4.7 × 3.2 cm.)
 Some small holes
 First half of the 18th century
 Bequest of George White Thorne, 1883
 83.1.52

An oblong box with rounded ends. On the lid is a panel with shaped sides in which are depicted two scenes from the Passion of Christ. At the left Christ bears the cross, flanked by Simon of Cyrene and Veronica holding the veil. At the right is the crucified Christ; John and Mary kneel at the foot of the cross. The panel is flanked by leaf scrolls and two roundels which are inscribed: *Kristus die dragt nu het kruijs / en hangt an het kruijs (Christ who carries the cross / and hangs on the cross).*

On the underside a similar panel displays two other episodes from the Gospels. To the left the Resurrection is pictured. The figure of Christ, encircled by a mandorla, is flanked by an angel and a sleeping soldier. Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalen in the garden (*Noli me tangere*) is shown on the right side. The roundels are inscribed: *De opstandige kristus / vertont hem in den hoof (The resurrected Christ / appears in the garden).*

Rims are lined and edges molded. The front side shows line decoration and the following inscription: *Nout vol makt (Not perfect).* The back side and the ends also have line decoration.

II, 10 (Figures 57, 58)

Lid and underside of copper with brass cartouche; brass sides
5½ × 2¼ × 1½ in. (14 × 5.8 × 3.8 cm.)
Hole in the left top corner
Mid-18th century
Bequest of George White Thorne, 1883
83.1.58

The box is oblong, its ends elaborately curved. The lid and underside each have a central brass cartouche similar in shape to the box. The cartouche on the lid illustrates Christ's resurrection. An angel is lifting the cover of the sepulcher, while a man looks on. The cartouche is framed by leaf scrolls and the following inscription: *Kristus/opstandige* (Christ/resurrected).

The underside has a much-effaced *Noli me tangere* scene. Inscribed: *Kristus verthoont/hem aen mariea* (Christ appears/to Mary).

With lined rims and molded edges. The front and back sides are decorated with running animals. The shaped ends have engraved line decoration.

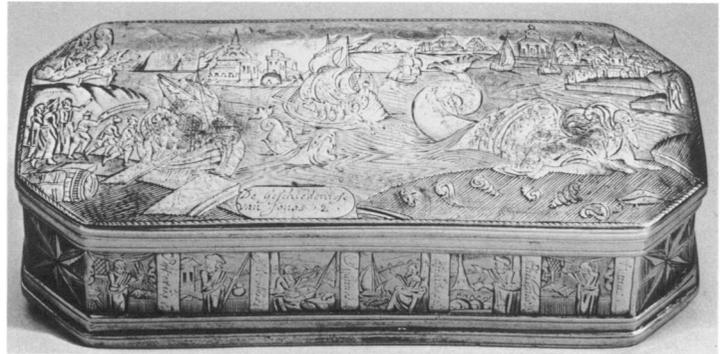


57, 58. Lid and underside of Box II, 10



II, 11 (Figures 59, 61)

Lid and underside of copper, with engravings on silvered copper and brass edges; sides are copper with silvered copper
6¼ × 2⅞ × 1⅞ in. (15.9 × 6.2 × 4 cm.)
Mid-18th century
Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister, Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957
57.108.17

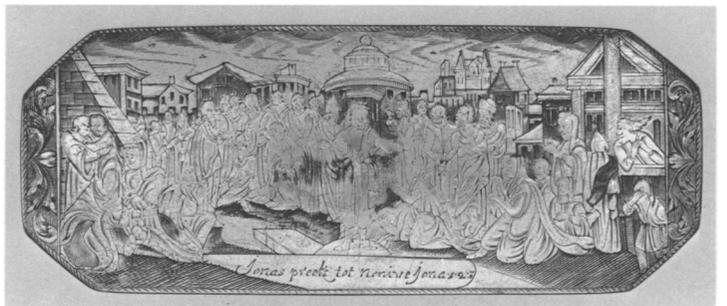


59. Lid of Box II, 11



60. Matthaeus Merian, *Icones Biblicae Praecipuas Sacrae Scripturae, Iconum Biblicarum*, pts. III (Strasbourg, 1627) no. 49. Afdeling Oude Drukken, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague (photo: Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

61. Underside of Box II, 11



The box is a long octagon. Four episodes from the story of Jonah are combined into one scene on the lid. In the upper left corner Jonah ignores God's order and refuses to go to Nineveh. At the lower left he boards a ship. In the center Jonah dives overboard; the fish close by is about to swallow him. In the foreground at the right Jonah crawls ashore. The inscription reads: *De geschiedenis van jonas 2* (The history of Jonah 2).

The underside illustrates Jonah preaching among the people of Nineveh in an elaborate architectural setting. It is inscribed: *Jonas preekt tot nenive jona 1.2.3* (Jonah preaches to Nineveh, Jonah 1.2.3). The rims are lined and the edges molded.

The front and back of the box's sides are engraved with ten apostles and two evangelists, each in an interior or outdoor scene, and each flanked by his name. On the front side, from left to right, they are: Peeterus (Peter) with a key; Jacobus (James Major) with a traveling staff; Joannes (John) writing with a ship and a lamb; Andreas (Andrew) with a ship and a fish; Philipus (Philip) with a herd of sheep; Tomas (Thomas) with a book and a cross. On the back, from left to right, are: Bartoloz (Bartholomew) with an animal; Mateus (Matthew) writing with an angel; Jacobi (James Minor) with a book; Zimon (Simon) with a bird; Juda (Judas) with a book; and Lucas (Luke) standing. At the short ends, inscribed between two stars is: *De 12 apostelen/van christus* (The twelve apostles/of Christ).

This box's scheme of illustration is unusually ambitious: see the discussion of it in the text above.

II, 12 (Figures 62, 63)

Brass
 $5 \times 2\frac{5}{16} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (12.7 × 7.5 × 3.5 cm.)
 Mid 18th century
 Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,
 Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957
 57.108.5

An oval box. The lid's central roundel shows Christ on the cross flanked by two kneeling figures. Outside the roundel, the two thieves who were crucified with Christ are depicted against a crudely hatched background. Inscribed in the roundel is: *JO K*. Flanking the roundel, inscribed at left, is: *17*, and at right: *A*.

The medallion on the underside shows the Adoration of the Shepherds. It is flanked by two kneeling shepherds against a crudely hatched background. Inscribed in the roundel is: *T Ki.t* (The child [?]).



62, 63. Lid and underside of Box II, 12



With lined rims, molded edges, and chevron borders. On the sides are leaf scrolls. Inscribed underneath the added hinge is: *John*. The inscriptions were probably added at a later date.

HISTORICAL SUBJECTS

III, 1 (Figures 64, 65)

Brass
 $4\frac{7}{8} \times 3 \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (12.1 × 7.6 × 3.5 cm.)
 Small holes and repairs
 Second half of the 17th century
 Bequest of George White Thorne, 1883
 83.1.60

The box is oval. On the lid, among the leaf scrolls, the coats of arms of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, officially recognized in 1648, are rendered. The coats of arms are those of, from left to right (top row): Gelderland, Overijssel, Zeeland, Groningen en Ommelanden; bottom row: Friesland, Holland, and Utrecht. A lion bears the central shield of Holland.

The underside shows three roundels. In the central one is depicted a walking lion with a sword, the symbol



64, 65. Lid and underside of Box III, 1



66, 67. Lid and underside of Box III, 2



of the United Provinces. The two flanking medallions contain popinjays and flowers.

Rims are lined and edges are molded; leaf scrolls adorn the borders. The sides are decorated with chevron ornament.



68, 69. Silver medal, German, 16th century, style of Friedrich Hagenauer. Diam. $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. (3.4 cm.) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Rupert L. Joseph, 1959, 60.55.60

III, 2 (Figures 66, 67)

Brass

$5\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (13.3 × 7.3 × 3.2 cm.)

Second half of the 17th century

Gift of Mrs. Lucy W. Drexel, 1889

89.2.24

An oval box. Its lid is similar to that of Number III, 1. The coats of arms in the top row are, from left to right, those of the following provinces: Overijssel, Gelderland, Zeeland, Groningen en Ommelanden. The coats of arms of Utrecht, Holland, and Friesland make up the bottom row. A lion with sword bears the shield of Holland. Inscribed in a banderole below is: De seve/provensi (The seven/provinces).



70. Laurentius Steversloot, *Papekost, opgedist in Geuse Schotelen . . .*, 8th ed. (Blokziel [Leiden], 1720) p. 135. Afdeling Oude Drukken, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague (photo: Koninklijke Bibliotheek)



The underside contains three roundels. The central one shows a standing lion with sword and a bundle of arrows, the symbol of the United Provinces. The accompanying roundels each display reversible portraits. On the left a cardinal reverses to a jester; on the right the pope's portrait reverses to that of the devil. See the discussion in the text, above.

With lined and corded rims as well as molded edges. The borders have leaf-scroll ornament and the sides chevron decoration.

A similar box was sold at Sotheby's in London on April 25, 1985, lot 262. Another, in the collection of Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem, is dated 1750 and inscribed with the English name "W. Emery."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: McClinton, "Brass Tobacco Boxes," p. 177, fig. 1b.²⁸

III, 3 (Figures 71, 72)

Brass
5½ × 3 × 1⅞ in. (14 × 7.6 × 3.5 cm.)
Some small holes
Ca. 1720
Gift of Mrs. Lucy W. Drexel, 1889
89.2.21

The box is oval. A full-length portrait of John Law, holding a document in his hand, is rendered on the lid. Inscribed below is: Heer Johan Louw (Mr. John Law). On the document is the word: Finantie (Finance). The

border incorporates a rebus, the same one that appears on Number II, 6.

On the underside John Law is represented seated on clouds and wind, with a windmill on his hat. In the background at the left a man with a candle is depicted; a man with a bellows is in the center and above him is a cat with balloons tied to its paws. Inscribed (above the windmill): ik loop met (I walk with). This is meant to be read, rebus-style, with the windmill, thus: "I walk with windmills," an expression meaning "I am crazy." Inscribed above the man with the candle is: brant an't entie (Burn at the end), and on the document on the right: Passien (Mania). The inscription below reads: Wind is begin wind is 't end (Wind is the beginning, wind is the end). The border of the underside continues the rebus on the lid's border.

For a more complete discussion of John Law and the meaning of this box's engravings, see the text, above.

Rims are lined and edges molded. Leaf scrolls adorn the borders and sides, and in the center of the front side is an engraved ship.

J. ter Gouw in *De oude Tijd* (Haarlem, 1874) pp. 1-6, discusses a box in the shape of a book with similar engravings. A similar box from the collection of Lady Charlotte Schreiber is in the British Museum, acc. no. M&L 1889, 7-2, 46.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: McClinton, "Brass Tobacco Boxes," p. 177, fig. 1e.

73. Isack [?] Houwens, engraving in *Het Groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid* (1720). Stichting Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam, cat. no. 3455 (photo: Stichting Atlas van Stolk)

71. Lid of Box III, 3

72. Underside of Box III, 3





75. Lid of Box III, 4



76. Underside of Box III, 4

74. Houwens, engraving in *Het Grootte Tafereel der Dwaasheid*, cat. no. 3458-4 (photo: Stichting Atlas van Stolk)



III, 4 (Figures 75, 76)

Copper
 $5\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (13.7 × 8.6 × 3.2 cm.)
 Lid edge is partly missing in back.
 Ca. 1734
 Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,
 Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957
 57.108.19

The box is rectangular. Its lid is engraved with a portrait bust of Prince William IV (1711–51) accompanied by his coat of arms. Inscribed below is: Karel henderik friso prins van oranje stathouder kaptijn geeneeraal van de provins gelderland vriesland stat en landen en het lantschap drentte Ao 1722–6 sep. (Carl Henry Friso, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder Captain General of the province Gelderland, Friesland, City and Country [the former name of the province Groningen] and the county Drenthe; Anno 1722–Sept. 6). Interestingly enough, his first name, William, is not given in this inscription.

A portrait bust of Princess Anne (1709–59), with her coat of arms below, appears on the underside. It is inscribed: Anna van bronswijk linnenburgh kroon prinsesse van groot bretanje etc etc Ao 1709 Nov (Anne of Braunschweig Linnenburgh, Crown Princess of Great

77. *Prince William IV*, anonymous engraving. First half of the 18th century. Stichting Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam (photo: Stichting Atlas van Stolk)

78. W. Jongman after H. Hyning, *Princess Anne*, engraving, first half of the 18th century. Stichting Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague (photo: Stichting Iconographisch Bureau)



Britain etc. etc. Anno 1709 Nov.). Princess Anne, the daughter of King George II, was born on November 2, 1709. William IV and Anne were married in 1734.

See the additional discussion of this box in the text, above.

The rims are lined, the edges molded. The sides are plain.

A similar box is discussed and illustrated in "Queries and Opinions," *Antiques* 30 (1936) pp. 134-135.

III, 5 (Figures 79, 80)

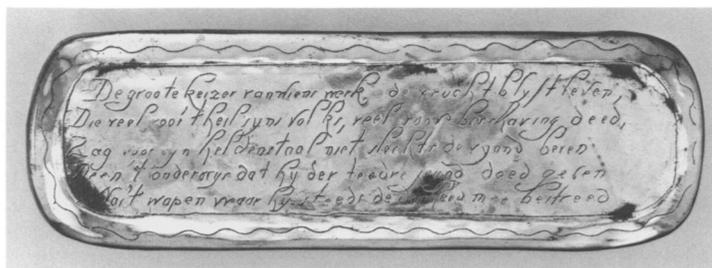
Brass lid and underside; copper sides
 $5\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (14.3 × 4.4 × 3.2 cm.)
 Hinge reinforced; some other repairs
 1746

Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,
 Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957
 57.108.23

The box is oblong with rounded ends. On the lid Charlemagne is depicted, conversing with a monk and surrounded by children against an architectural background. Scrolls and trelliswork decoration flank the scene. Inscribed at the upper right side of the scene, on a mock signboard is: APC. Inscribed at the left end is: Karel de Groote (Charlemagne) and at the right side: In den jare 1746 (In the year 1746).



79, 80. Lid and underside of Box III, 5



On the underside, within a wavy-line border, is the inscription: De groote keizer van wiens werk de vrucht blijft leven, / Die veel voor 't heil sijns volks, veel voor beschaving deed, / Zag voor zijn helden staal niet slechts de vijand beven / Neen 't onderwijs dat hij der teedre jeugd deed geven / Was 't wapen waar hij steeds de domheid mee bestreed (The great emperor, the fruit of whose work still lives, / Who did much for the welfare of his nation, and much for civilization / Saw the enemy tremble not only for his hero's steel / No, the education that he provided for tender youth / Was the weapon with which he always fought stupidity.) Charles the Great (742?-814), who was emperor of the West and king of the Franks, built a residence, De Valkhof, in Nijmegen in 777. Some remains of it still exist.

The front side of the box has leaf scrolls and the back side shows a leaf composition. This is the only box in the collection with chased decoration.

III, 6 (Figures 81, 82)

Brass lid and underside; copper sides
 $6\frac{7}{16} \times 2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (16.4 × 5.1 × 3.8 cm.)
 Ca. 1760

Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,
 Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957
 57.108.16

An oblong box with rounded ends. The lid features a battle scene from the Seven Years' War, framed by leaf scrolls. The Prussian troops have surrounded the Hungarian army. The various troops are identified by small inscriptions: Pruijse (Prussia) to the left, Ongaareijien (Hungary) in the center, and Pruijse at the right. The two roundels carry this inscription: Den 6. majj 1757 is er een velt slag geschiet / tusse den koning van pruijse en de konigin van ongaareijien (On May 6, 1757, a battle took place / between the King of Prussia and the Queen of Hungary [Empress Maria Theresa]).

The underside shows the city of Prague surrounded by Prussian troops. The scene is framed by leaf scrolls and two roundels which are inscribed: Den koning van pruijzen / heeft de stad praag omrent (The king of Prussia / has surrounded the city of Prague).

The rims are lined, the edges molded. The rounded ends are decorated with scrolls. The front side is inscribed: Als hoesaren en pandoeren uijt het ooste koome gereese dan muegen de boeren en huijsluj wel vreesen (When the hussars and soldiers come racing from the East, then the farmers and home folks should

SOUVENIR BOXES

IV, 1 (Figures 83, 85)

Brass

4¼ × 2⅞ × 1¼ in. (10.8 × 6.1 × 3.2 cm.)

18th century

Gift of Mrs. Lucy W. Drexel, 1889

89.2.23

An oval box. The lid is engraved with a representation of the Madonna and Child. Inscribed below her feet is: [?] Vroude Kevelaar (Virgin Kevelaer). A small angel head surmounts this inscription, below: Komt pilgrims met vlijt wilt dese maget eere so hoort sij u gebet, eer gij sult weederkeere, sij is een voorspraak voor ons alle gaar daarom besoekt haar te kevelaar (Come pilgrims, honor this virgin with diligence; then she will hear your prayer before you return. She is the advocate for us all, therefore visit her at Kevelaer).

The underside carries an image of Antony of Padua holding his attributes, the Christ Child and a lily. Inscribed below is: S. Antonius van Padua (St. Antony of Padua).

See the discussion of this box in the text, above.

With lined and corded rims. The borders and sides have leaf scrolls. A number of similar boxes are in the collection of the Niederrheinisches Museum für Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte at Kevelaer.

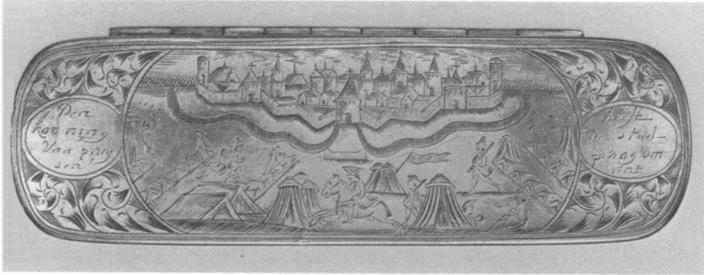
83. Lid of Box IV, 1

84. *The Kevelaer Madonna*, impression from an 18th-century copperplate (photo: Niederrheinisches Museum für Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte, Kevelaer)

85. Underside of Box IV, 1



81, 82. Lid and underside of Box III, 6



be fearful). Inscribed on the back side is: Men agt altyt den vreden niet voor dat men eerst den oorlog siet (Often one does not appreciate peace until one first experiences war).

Frederick II, King of Prussia (1712–86), invaded Bohemia in 1757. On May 6 of that year one of the most severe battles of the Seven Years' War took place outside Prague. The Austrians (not the Hungarians, as is stated on the box) withdrew inside the fortress of Prague, and Frederick celebrated a victory. The Seven United Provinces maintained neutrality throughout this war.



IV, 2 (Figures 86, 87)

Brass

6 × 2¼ × 1⅙ in. (15.2 × 5.7 × 3.7 cm.)

Mid-18th century

Bequest of Flora E. Whiting, 1971

1971.180.220

The box is a long octagon. The lid is engraved with a view of a city, and inscribed: s hertogenbos. The tower of St. Jan's church, probably the most characteristic feature of the 's Hertogenbosch skyline, is not recognizable. This may indicate that an idealized city view is rendered here, to which the name of any town could be added.

The underside shows an empty cartouche which appears to be suspended from the top of the box and is surrounded by leaf scrolls and branches. The cartouche was probably meant to hold the coat of arms of 's Hertogenbosch (similar to the reverse side of Number iv, 3). Two sunbursts are depicted at the sides.

With lined rims and molded edges. On the front side is engraved a vase of flowers from which branches extend.

A similar box is in the collection of Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum in Arnhem.



86, 87. Lid and underside of Box iv, 2



88, 89. Lid and underside of Box iv, 3



IV, 3 (Figures 88, 89)

Brass

6⅙ × 2¾ × 1⅙ in. (15.6 × 7 × 2.9 cm.)

Badly scratched; corners and hinge reinforced

Late 18th century

Gift of C. Gustave Mourraille, in memory of his sister,

Miss M. Mathilde Mourraille, 1957

57.108.8

The box is rectangular. The lid is decorated with a view of Amsterdam and its harbor. The towers at the far sides are probably the Montelbaanstoren and the Schreiertoren, the rampart towers of 1512 and 1487. The box is inscribed: Amsterdam.

The underside shows a cartouche with the coat of arms of Amsterdam. The edge of the front side is decorated in the center with scrolls.

CALENDAR BOXES

V, 1 (Figure 90)

Brass

6¾ × 2 in. (17.2 × 5.1 cm.)

Engraving much effaced; broken hinge, cracked edges

1729

Made by Peter Holm, Amsterdam

Gift of Mrs. Lucy W. Drexel, 1889

89.2.26

This is the cover only of a tobacco box, oblong with rounded ends. It is engraved with a perpetual calendar, flanked by leaf scrolls and two roundels. The roundel on the left shows a bust of Julius Caesar, inscribed: Voor krist 45 (45 B.C.). The right-hand medallion depicts Pope Gregory XIII and bears the date 1582. The lid carries a date on the bottom line of the calendar: 1729. With lined rims.

This is the cover of one of the earliest boxes made by Peter Holm. See the discussion of his work in the text, above.



90. Lid of Box v, 1

V, 2 (Figures 91, 92)

Brass

6⅝ × 1⅞ × 1⅜ in. (16.9 × 4.8 × 3.5 cm.)

1781

Made by Arend Swieter, Amsterdam

Gift of Mrs. Lucy W. Drexel, 1889

89.2.25

The box is oblong with rounded ends. The cover is similar to that of Number v, 1. The calendar is flanked by portraits of Julius Caesar and Pope Gregory XIII, inscribed, respectively: Voor 'chris 45 (45 B.C.), and 1482. The box is dated, on the bottom line of the calendar, 1781.

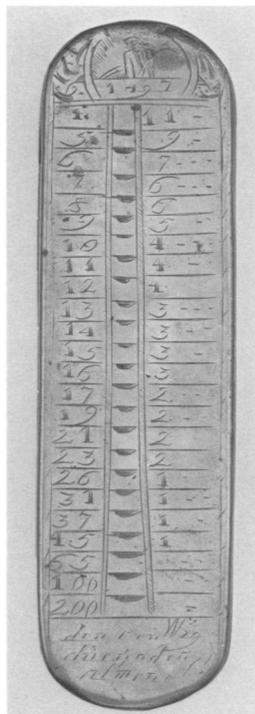
The underside carries a log timer or table to measure the speed of ships. It is surmounted by a medallion containing the image of Amerigo Vespucci. This portrait bears the date 1497. Inscribed at the bottom: Den eeuwig duerenden almenak (The everlasting almanac).

For a fuller discussion of this box, see the text, above.

Rims are lined and edges molded. The front side has the following inscription: Reght door zee (Straight ahead). A similar box is illustrated in Wolf-Dieter Könenkamp, *Iserlochner Tabaksdosen, Bilder einer Kriegszeit* (Münster, 1982) p. 15, fig. 10. See also Ernst Dossmann, *Iserlochner Tabaksdosen erzählen* (Iserlohn, 1981) pp. 21, 22; figs. 9, 10.



91. Lid of Box v, 2



92. Underside of Box v, 2

Pietro Longhi and Venetian Life

ROLF BAGEMIHL

THIS PAPER ADDRESSES THE QUESTION still asked before the four paintings by Pietro Longhi in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: What are they about? (Figures 1, 6, 11, 15). We cannot say now what titles would have been given to these works at the time they were painted (*The Visit* is dated 1745 on the reverse, putting them in the middle of Longhi's career). Nor can we say exactly how they were originally disposed, although they ostensibly formed part of a group of twenty that Longhi painted for the Gambardi of Florence and that were later divided between two Paduan families.¹ To date, there have been only passing references to the content of *The Visit*, *The Meeting*, *The Collation*, and *The Letter* (as we may call them), although these references have often been acute. Rodolfo Pallucchini and Terisio Pignatti, respectively, define *The Collation* as an "intrigo galante" of "carattere equivoco." Michael Levey provides a real analysis of the subject matter in Longhi's work yet finds *The Visit* "like an illustration of the theme of vapidty: one feels the man at the left bends down to welcome with relief the frisking dog—the sole lively creature in the room. But this is already reading too much significance into Longhi."² As we shall see, the pictures are not so devoid of meaning as all that.

Surely the attraction of these pictures is not restricted to their exquisite color harmonies and accomplished handling, but extends to their dramatic content and presentation. Before *The Visit* (Figure 1), we the spectators feel ourselves to be visitors to the patrician *salone*, with a sofa, a curtained doorway, and a portrait on the far wall. We are drawn toward the figures by the table on the right, covered with an oriental carpet (a delicious tangle of turquoise, black, white, and orange) and bearing two leather-bound tomes: the table constitutes one leg of a sort of Baroque \times composition starting deep at the left. The central figure is the lady in warm pink silk, who closes her book and beams a glance directly upon the viewer.

The surrounding men seem to call on her less as outsiders than as familiars of her household. On the woman's left is no doubt the family chaplain, pausing with her in their perusal of some religious or moral tract. The scholarly-looking man bending over in back of her is probably her instructor in music or dance (Figure 2). The other man standing behind her, with his authoritative air, is likely to be her husband. His cloak probably indicates a recent entrance or imminent departure, and he seems to assure himself that his wife and lady is well attended and content.

The seated youth appears to be neither the lady's son nor her servant, as one might easily suppose him to be; nor is he, as has been said, merely "a gentleman." On all points he seems to answer to the description of a Venetian lady's escort.³ His long hair dressed in faint disarray, he wears a dressing gown without committing any impropriety. However, whether Longhi observed the slender distinction between the two kinds of escort is difficult to say. The *cavaliere servente* provided the lady company, did small chores, and protected her when she went out; the *cicisbeo* also spent much of the day with the lady, but was more strictly her lover. Naturally the two offices overlapped, since the close society of the *cavaliere servente* could occasion an amour, and the *cicisbeo*'s constant attendance obliged him to minor duties. If the former label agrees with this youth's ingenuous manner, his arched brow seems to betray a less innocuous assurance.

The tutor's gaze draws attention to the ring-biscuit (Italian *ciambella*, Venetian *buzzolà*) proffered the lady's spaniel by the escort. Venetians awarded this treat to children, deserving adults (playwrights or the finders of lapdogs), and lapdogs.⁴ But here the symbol acquires the same erotic overtone it carries in the famous *Gimblette* of Fragonard and in pictures by Longhi's compatriots. In one version of *The Parlor of San Zaccaria* by an imitator of Longhi (Figure 3) a ring-biscuit seems to amplify the circling gesture made by a suitor, and in another *Parlor*





1. Pietro Longhi (1702–85), *The Visit*, dated 1745. Oil on canvas, 24 × 19½ in. (60.9 × 49.5 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Frederick C. Hewlitt Fund, 1912, 14.32.2

2. Longhi, *The Concert*. Oil on canvas, 23½ × 18⅞ in. (60 × 48 cm.). Venice, Accademia (photo: Osvaldo Böhm)

3. Giuseppe de Gobbis (1730–p. 1787), *The Convent Parlor*. Oil on canvas, 33 × 45 in. (83.8 × 114.3 cm.). San Diego, The Fine Arts Gallery (photo: The Fine Arts Gallery)



4. Francesco Guardi (1712–93), *The Ridotto*. Oil on canvas, 42½ × 81⅞ in. (108 × 208 cm.). Venice, Ca' Rezzonico (photo: Museo Correr)



5. Longhi, *The Artist Sketching an Elegant Company*. Oil on canvas, 24 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (61.3 × 49.5 cm.). Pasadena, The Norton Simon Museum of Art (photo: The Norton Simon Foundation)

the treat is seen held against the dress of a woman being courted.⁵ As in Francesco Guardi's *Ridotto* (Figure 4), our lady wears a flower; the biscuit is an enticement (we rarely see it given); and here too the dog must symbolize the proper recipient of the lady's ultimate favors—a lover affectionate and true.⁶

It seems, then, that a common visual metaphor for courtship has been employed in this vignette. Moreover, it was customary at the time for an admirer to pay a lady his respects by playing with her dog. The importance of this maneuver for an escort can be read between the lines of Venetian poems of the time, where the *cagnolino* often rivals its mistress's lover. One lover, spying the "pretty little animal paw her, kiss her, now lick her breast," concludes that his lady has the heart of a beast.⁷ In Longhi's picture, then, the young man's action seems to mirror in a remarkable way the nature of his relationship with the woman. The painting's subject might be defined as the lady's rule over a coterie, and in

this context the dog biscuit may also allude more generally to obedience and flattery, in line with contemporary Venetian phrases like "respetar el can per el paròn" (honor the master through kindness to his dog) and "non dare del pane al cane ogni volta che dimena la coda" (don't reward every wag of a dog's tail, equivalent to "guardate certe carezze": not all caresses are sincere).⁸

It bears reflection that Longhi frequently cast his group portraits as reading or table scenes. Although it would be wrong to claim that *The Visit* is that kind of conversation piece, it must be noted that in paintings by Longhi portraits are wont to surface alongside heads of generalized types (Figure 5), and that Longhi's critics seemed often to employ the word "ritratto" in a loose sense, to mean a sharp characterization.

In *The Meeting* (Figure 6) two masked couples flank a nobleman gesticulating to a lady, while a fourth man waits on the pair. The solid, coherent construction of these figures is unusual in Longhi's oeuvre (although it is unclear, in the case of the nobleman, whether the figure is in motion). The shop with three large windows set behind two piers is clearly a café; further, it is a café set under the *loggia* of the Procuratie Vecchie on the north side of the Piazza San Marco. The piers in the painting have the sunken faces and bases rising directly from the pavement characteristic of this arcade. The café itself has features depicted by Longhi on other occasions (see Figure 8): bottles arranged on shelves, a tray with a coffee pot and cups ready to be served set on the windowsill (café windows were not glazed in his day), and a painting over the breakfront. The painting seems to depict the Rest on the Flight into Egypt, a fact that does not of itself enable us to say whether an actual café is here shown.⁹

The scene probably takes place during Carnival. Two of the women wear muffs against the chill, and the masked figures appear to be engaged in overtures to the amorous intrigues which customarily flourished at that moment.¹⁰ Since propriety demanded that a woman disguise herself in public during Carnival, we are led to suppose that the lady in the center has only lifted the white mask, the *bautta*, with its black veil, in order to be recognized by the man before her.¹¹ Presumably she had been observing the passing scene during the late after-

6. Longhi, *The Meeting*, ca. 1745. Oil on canvas, 24 × 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (60.9 × 49.5 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Samuel H. Kress, 1936, 36.16





7. Charles Joseph Flipart (1721–97), engraving after Longhi's *The Meeting*. Venice, Biblioteca Correr (photo: Museo Correr)

noon (to judge by the shadows), just before the chairs would be removed to permit the flow of the evening promenade, the *listòn*. In most of Longhi's Carnival pictures the principal actors, caught up in the impersonal motions of the crowd, seem barely to communicate with each other.¹² Here, on the other hand, we seem to witness a real moment of recognition, and the tender familiarity radiating from the two faces appears to bear out the interpretation offered in the lines below Flipart's engraving after the picture (Figure 7):

Di degno Cavalier tenera Moglie
Dama, che a nobil sangue uguale ha il core,
Vede lo Sposo suo, lieta l'accoglie,
Ringrazia il fato, e benedice Amore.¹³

That is, two spouses out on their own and perhaps each



8. Giovanni Gutwein (1702–85), *The Café*, engraving after a lost painting by Longhi. Venice, Biblioteca Correr (photo: Museo Correr)

in search of a lover chance to meet, and to their mutual satisfaction arrange a tryst. It seems fitting that the episode occurs before one of the "temples" of the Age of Reason, since the lines under a print after a lost painting by Longhi (Figure 8, showing, as we have noted, a café under the same arcade and in the same season) attribute to coffee the power to temper the mortal dart of Cupid:

Quegli che ameno al caldo bere alletta,
e al bel piacer delle grand'alme serve,
Sappia, che Amor entro al liquor, che ferve,
Tempra sovente la mortal saetta.¹⁴

Like one of a pair of newly acquainted lovers, the man proposes to the lady that they be off, but not to some "back room" at the café (in many cases a convenient

9. Giovanni Grevenbroeck (1731–61), *Venditore di Chiavi*. Pen and body color. From *Gli abiti de veneziani di quasi ogni età con diligenza raccolti e dipinti nel secolo XVIII*, Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Cod. Cicogna Ms. 149, III, no. 124 (photo: Museo Correr)

nest of gambling and licentiousness), for the keys are displayed too openly and the man holding them is not attired like a café proprietor. Nor are they destined for a casino, as the keys from a gaming-house would probably have remained on the premises. Instead the man has offered a night at the theater, presumably to see an opera, since he looks to be a noble (he has generally been called a *procuratore*, and indeed appears to wear a *stola*), and high-born Venetians evidently avoided the *commedia*.¹⁵ In any event, the man waiting for the lady's decision is clearly a vendor of theater-boxes, or *palchi*. As Giovanni Grevenbroeck explained in the notes to his drawing of the *Venditore di Chiavi* (Figure 9), the owners of boxes, when obliged to miss a performance, employed a vendor to rent out the boxes for the best price.¹⁶ The natural venue for this commerce, which we have already identified as our painting's setting, is named in the lines accompanying Zompini's engraving of the *Fitta palchi* (Figure 10):

In piazza di S. Marco semo avezzi
Fitar palchi ogni sera in sie teatri
D'Opera, e de Comedia a varij prezzi.¹⁷

The various shapes of the key-tags in these images must distinguish the keys belonging to different theaters. As some of these *palchi* were elaborate enough to serve (like the *casini*) as occasional amorous retreats, it seems that our couple's vow of affection is being renewed precisely in the atmosphere most propitious to its dissolution.

Our next picture has been titled both *The Temptation* and *The Visit to the Lord*; to avoid confusion we will call it *The Collation* (Figure 11). In a letter to the publisher Remondini regarding Gutwein's print after the picture, Longhi wrote of the figures employing the following terms: *camarier* (servant); *cavaliere* (gallant); *barcarol* (boatman or *gondoliere*); *puta* (trollup); *vecchia*.¹⁸ "Vecchia"

10. Gaetano Gherardo Zompini (1700–58), *Fitta palchi*. Engraving from *Le arti che vanno per via nella città di Venezia* (Venice, 1785) pl. 27. Venice, Biblioteca Correr (photo: Museo Correr)



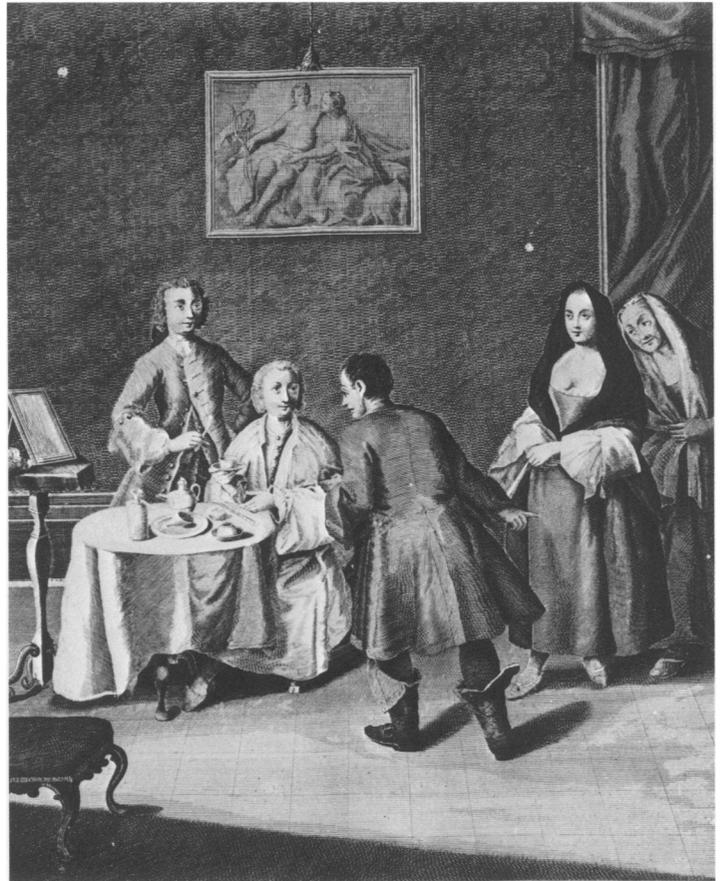


11. Longhi, *The Collation*, ca. 1745. Oil on canvas, 24 × 19½ in. (60.9 × 49.5 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.112
12. Grevenbroeck, *Barcarol con livrea*. Pen and body color. From *Gli abiti de veneziani . . .*, Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Cod. Cicogna Ms. 149, III, no. 99 (photo: Museo Correr)



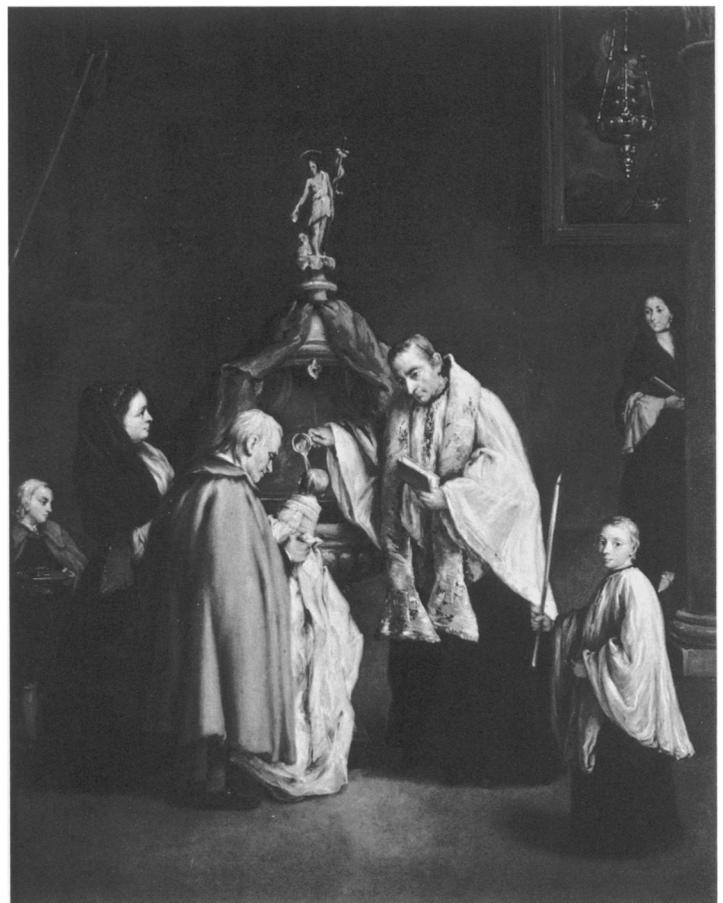
RIGHT:

13. Gutwein, engraving after Longhi's *The Collation*. Venice, Biblioteca Correr (photo: Museo Correr)
14. Longhi, *The Sacrament of Baptism*. Oil on canvas, 23⅝ × 19⅞ in. (60 × 49 cm.). Venice, Pinacoteca Querini Stampalia (photo: Museo Correr)



was a well-established synonym for “bawd,” and there can be no doubt that the old woman in this picture is a procuress with her prostitute, as has been recognized.¹⁹

These words alone intimate the plot of *The Collation*, but that plot has to be disentangled from the composition. Such, in fact, is the ambiguity arising from the awkward placement of figures endemic to Longhi's pictures and from the painter's decorative propensities, that Longhi has been considered a kind of abstract painter *ante litteris*.²⁰ In this composition the two protagonists and their attendants fan out to left and right from the pivot between them and between them and us, the boatman. In assuming the position that fixes this wedge of figures the *barcarol* has made an awkward *volte face*, for he must have just entered, with his charges, through the



doorway from which the *vecchia* still emerges, brushing aside the curtain. A type often reputed to be a competent go-between,²¹ the *barcarol* here seems to be decked out in livery (compare his counterpart of a somewhat earlier period, catalogued by Grevenbroeck: Figure 12), and it is not by chance that his gesture as he introduces the girl is made to indicate the region of the gallant's interest in her.

In the *cavaliere* Longhi has contrived to depict a man of the world. His attentive manservant, the linen of his shirt, the gold thread and buttons of the waistcoat visible beneath his dressing robe, even his pointed and delicately stitched slipper, all bespeak refinement. A refined taste in women as well is probably to be deduced from the animation of his fine and clever features and from the painting of three nudes hanging on the wall. The painting in the reproductive print (Figure 13) shows two women and a cupid, a change evidently designed to reinforce the content of the work.²² The *cavaliere's* expression and gesture probably signify that the *puta*, whom he has not yet caught sight of but perhaps expected, is welcome to his board. A seat is at hand, and the second cup and saucer are unlikely to be adventitious. This collation, given a rather continental air by the bottle of milk (and it may not be for simple metric convenience that the gallant is called a "lord" in the verses we are about to cite), looks to be a breakfast, even if it is difficult to fix the exact hour. The prominent pat of butter might be meant to convey the same notion as the Venetian phrase "star nel botero," to have every comfort.²³ The underlying sense yielded by these various details is surely that earlier than is decent, the gallant is occupied with his day's questionable business.

The inscription below the print injects a note of drama, perhaps to make the picture more acceptable to the buying public:

Di Grandezza il desio, la Vecchia, e'l Messo
 Di semplice fanciulla al cor fan guerra:
 Ma la vista del Lord a un punto istesso
 Del pudor vacillante il scudo atterra.²⁴

These verses describing an innocent's indecision suit the vapid girl of the print, but if the *puta* in the painting is a neophyte casting away virtue out of ambition, her past recedes quickly indeed. The reserve expressed by her folded arms and tentative step are more plausibly ascribed to professional courtesies than to any lingering

modesty, especially since with her eyes she seems to make a seasoned appraisal of the situation. Indeed, the girl's dress affirms her true calling. Although her clothing is not flamboyant, the low décolleté, luxuriant cuffs, and embroidery of the sleeves and footwear befit the *puta's* profession. But over the brick-red and salmon dress she wears a black skirt and the *zendà*, a kind of long shawl. The *zendà* was the usual and fashionable daytime wrap of respectable Venetian women. They were often seen so attired attending church (Figure 14).²⁵ In all likelihood this staid exterior is a camouflage adopted to evade detection and sumptuary laws in a time when even churches had become a common resort for conversation and for meetings to negotiate love arrangements.²⁶

The Letter, also known as *The Milliner*, shows a still less creditable "avventura d'amore" (Figure 15). A woman whose gnarled features and distaff plainly show her to be a procuress has handed a *billet-doux* to a young girl, who is pleasurably taken up with the contents. The crone points toward the letter's author, a man of advanced years who approaches with a coin already extended for his dear reader. His vocation is unclear; the word "abbé," which has been applied to his double in Longhi's *The Seduction* in the Brera, seems open to question. Numerous views of the Piazza San Marco are populated by bureaucrats who wear a similar cravat flopping over a flounce of shirt. The figure is also akin to the drab, rather miserly old men in two scenes of *The Furlana* and to the spectator in *The Sacrament of Marriage*, both by Longhi.²⁷ It would be idle to deny that this man, like his counterpart in the Milan *Seduction*, is attempting to engage a girl's sexual favors.²⁸

The full significance of the scene emerges from the setting and from the double-edged nature of the trade the younger women are there to perform: needlework. In the first place, needlework has often been the occupation of a virtuous woman. But by the same token it was also the corrective to be applied to those not in that state. The wide circle of contacts and clients who frequented a shop where garments were produced must have facilitated love intrigues. It is perhaps relevant that in a sewing shop a young apprentice who was able but not yet expert was at one time known, in the Lombard dialect, as a "mezzana" (the same word that is applied to a measure of cloth, but also more widely used in the sense of "intermediate" and "go-between").²⁹ Additionally, the nature of its motion has at various times lent the needle an erotic charge.³⁰ It is reasonable to suggest that all these associations are in some measure

presupposed in *The Letter*. Very likely the painting was executed in the same spirit as Longhi's numerous depictions of the lower classes, in scenes that abound with erotic suggestions growing from the pursuits of the people represented. Here we encounter women who hold distaffs or spin, resembling or adjacent to procuresses—the distaff being a common phallic symbol, and spinning a metaphor of procreation. Paintings of laundresses and *polenta* makers flash with inquiring stares and leers. The exertion of the laundresses seems to carry an erotic import, while the sticks used to stir *polenta* are brandished with even greater vigor than the distaffs. Finally, the vessels that are handled, scoured, or lying prone in these works probably allude to the female sex.³¹

The two-sided nature of sewing is brought out in a series of central Italian depictions of sewing shops that Longhi would have known in his early years in Bologna. Antonio Amorosi formulated the basic elements: an old man (in one case with a dangling purse ready to be stolen) accompanied by a crone, and a young girl leaving off her sewing to peruse his missive. The Bolognese Giuseppe Gambarini presents an antithesis—outwardly moralizing, but given an ironic touch—between a young girl in the charge of her mistress, and an older girl who has become the object of amorous attentions (Figure 16). Longhi evidently had a general composition of this sort in mind when he painted the now much-damaged picture at Dulwich (Figure 17). In his painting in Hartford the ostensible uprightness of the seamstress is belied by the smirking girls and the friar gazing unabashedly upon the chief girl's bosom.³²

In *The Letter* Longhi retains the easygoing attitude found in these works but compresses the elements into something like a scurrilous Ages of Man. Such are the solidarity and intangible sympathy between the three youngest women that it is hard not to see them as a mother and two daughters, possessing the same brown hair and wide eyes—even though this reading is contradicted by the quatrain below the derivative print (Figure 18).³³ While the mother sleeps, the two girls stray:

one innocently, one not. The opposition is in a sense resolved by the doll-play of the younger girl. At once a toy and a figuration of mankind, the doll came to be emblematic of human weakness, the folly of grown-up pursuits. The message obviously obtains here.³⁴ Moreover, the doll-play seems here to mimic the particular instance of fatuity enacted by the older sister. When we set the wicked but rather gullible old fellow, a victim of his impulses and free with his money, against the girl conning the letter with a critical eye and an indulgent smile—conceivably in league with the procuress, and with a coquettish flower set artfully in her hair—the suspicion arises that he is but a toy in her hands.

The foregoing “readings” of the Metropolitan pictures do not pretend to be definitive, only to be a useful preliminary step on extremely subjective terrain. It must be admitted that no plausible narrative thread links any two of the scenes together, though one might say that all four treat of the common theme of love, in two situations of a domestic vein and in two most decidedly venal. But then, the whole group of twenty pictures mentioned at the outset is likely to have been dispersed over the walls of a *salone* or several rooms of a palace—like the Longhis now decorating the upper floor of the Palazzo Querini-Stampalia—and the painter might well have foregone a conventional unity. In fact, the thirteen paintings in a suite that Longhi evidently painted for the Grimani in the 1750s are as diverse as can be imagined.³⁵

It is easy to lose patience with Longhi's limitations as a painter. But although he never ascends to fantasy or satire, Longhi was esteemed both by a range of critics and elevated patrons and by the wider public (who constituted the market for the engravings we have found so useful),³⁶ and the success of this *maître confiseur* in the *haute cuisine* of Venetian painting is an index of their taste. How remarkable that one ensemble included four scenes that might seem meant for four different audiences—all treated with the tolerance that has ever been a facet of Venetian society, each sharing little with the others save the painter's attention to the flutterings of life in Venice.

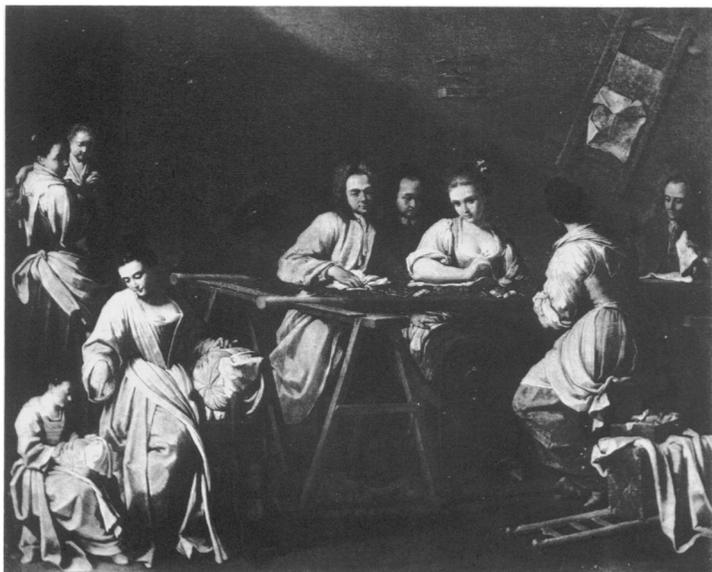
NOTES

1. See the discussions of Federico Zeri with Elizabeth E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings: Venetian School: A Catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1973) pp. 38–39; Terisio Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi* (Venice, 1968) pp. 93–94; idem, *L'Opera completa di Pietro Longhi* (Milan, 1974) pp. 92, 97.

2. Rodolfo Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana del Settecento* (Venice, 1960) p. 181; Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pp. 93–94; Michael Levey, *Painting in Eighteenth-Century Venice*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1980) pp. 141–142; idem, review, *Pietro Longhi*, by T. Pignatti, *Art Bulletin* 52 (1969) p. 464. The valuable article by Philip L. Sohm, “Pietro



15. Longhi, *The Letter*, ca. 1745. Oil on canvas, 24 × 19½ in. (60.9 × 49.5 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Frederick C. Hewlitt Fund, 1912, 14.32.1



16. Giuseppe Gambarini (1680–1725), *The Sewing Shop*. Oil on canvas, 6⅞ × 43 in. (93 × 109 cm.). Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (photo: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)



17. Longhi, *Girls Sewing*. Oil on canvas, 22 × 28⅞ in. (56 × 73.3 cm.). London, Alleyn's College of God's Gift, Dulwich Picture Gallery (photo: by permission of the Governors of Dulwich Picture Gallery)

Longhi and Carlo Goldoni: Relations Between Painting and Theater," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45/3 (1982) pp. 256–273, unfortunately does not aim to explicate the pictures.

3. Margaret D. Sloane, "A Genre Scene by Longhi," *MMAB* 31 (1936) p. 52, for the designation "gentleman." The following account relies upon C. Valmaggi, *I cicisbei, contributo alla storia del costume italiano nel secolo XVIII* (Turin, 1927) and Vittorio Malamani, *La satira del costume a Venezia nel secolo XVIII* (Turin, 1886) pp. 86–99. For youthful escorts, see *ibid.*, pp. 29ff., and Fritz Schillmann, *Venedig; Geschichte und Kultur Venetiens* (Leipzig, 1933) p. 572 (quoting J. K. Goethe).

4. See Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pls. 199, 481 (children); Malamani, *La satira*, pp. 92–95 (lapdog finders); *idem*, *Nuove curiosità e appunti goldoniani* (Venice, 1887) pp. 4–5 (Goldoni's work).

5. See Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pl. 460. Compare the gesture made in two images of a *Ball*, one, by a Longhi imitator, in the Galleria Doria-Pamphilj in Rome: *ibid.*, pl. 469; the other by P. A. Novelli: Antonio Morassi, *Dessins vénitiens du dix-huitième siècle de la collection du Duc de Talleyrand* (Milan, 1958) pl. 50. For the *Gimblette* see Donald Posner, *Watteau: A Lady at Her Toilet* (London/New



18. Giovanni Cattini (1725–ca. 1800), engraving after Longhi's *The Letter*. Venice, Biblioteca Correr (photo: Museo Correr)

York, 1973) p. 83. The heyday of the symbolic ring-cake is delimited by a picture of 1660 by Jacob Ochtervelt in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and *Les Gourmandes* by Gérard, painted some seventy years after *The Visit*. See Sarah Wells Robertson, "Marguerite Gérard" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1976) II.

6. For flowers, see Julius S. Held, "Flora, Goddess and Courtesan," in *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961) I, pp. 300ff., esp. p. 302 n. 2; for the dog, see Leslie Jones, "Giovanni Battista Piazzetta" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1981) II, p. 384; on convent-parlors, see Bianca Tammasia Mazzarotto, *Le feste veneziane: i giochi popolari, le cerimonie religiose e di governo: illustrate da Gabriel Bella* (Florence, 1961) pp. 103–125.

7. Poem by A. Giudici quoted in Malamani, *La satira*, pp. 91–92. See also one by D. Varotari in G. A. Quarti, ed., *Quattro secoli di vita veneziana nella storia, nell'arte e nella poesia*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1937) I, p. 137, and an anonymous and disgruntled lover's description of a "bestiolin galante" fondled in bed in Vittorio Malamani, *Il settecento a Venezia, II: La musa popolare* (Turin/Rome, 1891) p. 273.

8. Giuseppe Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano* (Venice, 1856) pp. 125, 138.

9. See Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pls. 317 (drawing by Longhi in Venice, Museo Correr, no. 486), 488 (G. Faldoni's print after Longhi), and 164 (Longhi's *Essence Vendor*). For café windows see Giuseppe Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane*, 6th ed. (Venice, 1923) p. 110; for a similar painting of the Holy Family in Longhi's *The Pharmacy* see Giuseppe Maria Pilo, "Longhi allievo del Balestra," *Arte figurativa* 49 (1961) pp. 32–33.

10. Tamassia Mazzarotto, *Le feste veneziane*, pp. 109–110; Giuseppe Tassini, *Feste, spettacoli, divertimenti e piaceri degli antichi Veneziani*, 2d ed. (Venice, 1961) p. 127.

11. Compare an observation made by Charles De Brosses in 1739, in Y. Bézard, ed., *Lettres familières sur l'Italie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1931) I, p. 174. For the *listòn* mentioned below see T. Mutinelli, *Lessico veneto che contiene l'antica fraseologia . . .* (Venice, 1857) p. 226; Tamassia Mazzarotto, *Le feste veneziane*, pp. 104–105.

12. See Figure 10 in this article and Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pls. 160, 162, 166, 173. Sohm, "Pietro Longhi and Carlo Goldoni," pp. 268–269, claims, without adducing reasons, that the hand holding the skirts in these pictures signifies a proposition.

13. "The tender wife of a worthy cavalier,/A lady noble of heart and birth,/Sees her husband and receives him joyfully,/Thanks fate, and blesses love." Translation from Sloane, "A Genre Scene," p. 52.

14. "He who delights in the hot drink,/and takes of the pleasure of the great spirits,/Knows, that oft midst the boiling liquor,/Love his arrow tempers."

15. For theaters see Maria Teresa Muraro, "Venezia," *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*, 9 vols. (Rome, 1954–62) IX, cols. 1544–1550; for cafés see Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane*, p. 110; for casinos see Tamassia Mazzarotto, *Le feste*, pp. 130ff.

16. G. Grevenbroeck, *Gli abiti de veneziani di quasi ogni età con diligenza raccolti e dipinti nel secolo XVIII*, Venice, Museo Correr, Ms. Cicogna 149, III, no. 124; see also the facsimile edition (Mirano, 1981). For *palchi*, see Valmaggi, *I cicisbei*, pp. 114–115; Malamani, *La satira*, p. 153; G. Salvioli, *Teatri musicali di Venezia* (Venice, 1899) p. 10.

17. "In the Piazza San Marco I distribute keys/Each evening renting boxes at six theaters/Of opera and comedy, for assorted prices." G. Zompini, *Le Arti che vanno per via nella città di Venezia* (Venice, 1785; 1st ed., Venice 1753; facs. eds., Venice, 1968, and Milan, 1980) pl. 27.

18. Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, p. 64.

19. E. W. Palm, "Ein Grazien-Gleichnis: Goyas Familie Karls IV.," *Pantheon* 34 (1976) p. 39.

20. Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975) p. 110.

21. Giuseppe Baretta, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, 2 vols. (London, 1769) II, p. 153.

22. The painting in *The Collation* seems to replicate a version of the *Graces* by Pietro Liberi. See Zeri and Gardner, *Venetian School*, p. 39; Palm, "Ein Grazien-Gleichnis," pp. 39–40; Homan Potterton, "Aspects of Venetian Seicento Painting," *Apollo* 110 (1979) p. 412 and fig. 9. Since the print interprets the scene as a seduction, the painting in the print is likely to show Jupiter (disguised as Diana) and Callisto (see Pilo, "Longhi allievo," p. 39).

23. Boerio, *Dizionario*, p. 95. The servant holds either a butter knife or a razor for completion of the master's toilet.

24. "The longing for grandness, the old woman, the messenger/War upon the simple girl's heart:/But the sight of the lord all at once/Brings down the shield of wavering modesty."

25. Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pls. 149, 154, 156, 157, 222. On the costume see Baretta, *An Account* II, pp. 207–208; Mutinelli, *Lessico veneto*, p. 7; Boerio, *Dizionario*, pp. 158, 441, 528; Giuseppe Morazzoni, *La moda a Venezia nel secolo XVIII* (Milan, 1931) pp. 76–77; Tamassia Mazzarotto, *Le feste*, pp. 110–111; and compare the servant girl in Zompini's *Le Arti*, pl. 42. For decrees of 1732 and 1744 forbidding women of the lower classes "l'abito nero che è proprio delle donne," see G. Bistort, *Il magistrato alle pompe della repubblica di Venezia* (Venice, 1912) pp. 55–58 and 326n; Vittorio Malamani, "La moda a Venezia nel secolo XVIII," *La nuova antologia* 30 (1895) p. 529.

26. Malamani, *La satira*, p. 106; Valmaggi, *I cicisbei*, pp. 70–71.

27. Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, p. 64 and pls. 104, 106, 151. Compare Grevenbroeck's *Scapinante* (*Gli abiti* III, no. 143); the officials on a signboard of the Arte dei Cuochi in Terisio Pignatti, *Il Museo Comunale di Venezia* (Venice, 1966) pp. 75–76; and figures shown in Aldo Rizzi, *Luca Carlevarijs* (Venice, 1967) pl. 4 and figs. 134–135.

28. Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pl. 102. For the prostitution of young girls in Venice see the reference in Henry Spencer Ashbee, *Catena librorum tacendorum* (London, 1885) p. 54, and Malamani, *La satira*, p. 104.

29. See A. Panzini, *Dizionario moderno delle parole che non si trovano nei dizionari comuni* (Milan, 1963) p. 421. For the foregoing see E. de Jongh, "Erotica in vogelperspectief: De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de eeuwse genrevoorstellingen," *Simiolus* 3 (1969) pp. 38–39, and E. Masetti, *Le donne in Venezia* (Padua, 1891) esp. p. 180; compare Anonymous Victorian, G. Legman, ed., *My Secret Life* (New York, 1962) p. 65.

30. See Francesco Maggioletto's *Sewing Women* in Morazzoni, *La moda*, pl. 56; de Jongh, "Erotica in vogelperspectief," pp. 35–36; A. Delvau, *Dictionnaire érotique moderne* (Basel, n.d.: 1st ed., Brussels,

1864) s.v. "aiguille." For sewing-rooms as meeting places, see Longhi's picture in London (Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pl. 136) and a passage in J. A. Symonds, trans., *The Memoirs of Count Carlo Gozzi* (London, 1890) II, p. 67.

31. For the distaff: Donald Posner, "An aspect of Watteau 'peintre de la réalité,'" in *Etudes d'art français offertes à Charles Sterling* (Paris, 1975) p. 285 n. 17. For laundresses: Eunice Lipton, "The Laundress in Late Nineteenth-Century French Culture," *Art History* 3 (1980) p. 311. A problematic conceit of scrubbing and polishing (perhaps applicable to two scenes with laundresses: Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pls. 16, 25) and other aspects of vessels are touched upon by de Jongh, "Erotica in vogelperspectief," pp. 43–47, and John Stephen Farmer, *Vocabularia Amatoria: A French-English Glossary* (London, 1896) s.v. "fourbir." Concerning *polenta*, compare the stirring-sticks in the painting at Zoppola, in Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pl. 76, with the canes and their supposed erotic symbolism in a dance studied by K. Jeppesen in "Ein altvenezianisches Tanzbuch," *Festschrift Karl Gustaf Fellerer* (Regensburg, 1962) p. 257. Note also the lines of Ludovico Pastò's "La Polenta": "... No vede ste furlanote, /Che papote che le g'a? /Che montagne! ... che arie fine! /Quele e tute polente" ("Don't you see these Friulan girls /What cheeks they have? /What mountains, what fine looks! /They are all made of polenta"). See M. Dazzi, ed., *Il fiore della lirica veneziana* (Venice, 1956) II, p. 277, and Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, p. 24.

32. See Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pls. 108 (Hartford picture) 325 (drawing related to the Dulwich picture, Venice, Museo Correr, no. 457). The *Amorosi*, once in a New York private collection, I know only from a slide made by A. M. Clark at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; for another monogrammed version see Anna Lo Bianco, "Alcune considerazioni sull'attività di Antonio Amorosi," *Antologia di belle arti* 2 (1978) pp. 289, fig. 3, 290.

33. "se 'ndorme la Maestra, e veglia intanto, /La Scolare gentil

leggendo un foglio: /Chi mai lo scrisse? è di quel Vecchio il vanto, /Che con paterno amor la induce al voglio." ("Her mistress aslumber, the kind pupil, awake, reads a page: Who ever wrote it? It is the pride of that old man, who by dint of fatherly affection brings her under his will.")

34. See E. Snoep-Reitsma, "Chardin and the bourgeois ideals of his time," 2, *Nederlands kunsthistorisk jaarboek* 24 (1973) pp. 213, 240 n. 156. It is intriguing that most of the elements of *The Letter* recur, with the exception that the doll is a gift from the man, in a scene painted by Francesco Maggiotto and engraved by Giovanni Volpato. See Gianvittorio Dillon, *Aspetti dell'incisione veneziana nel '700*, exh. cat. (Venice, 1976) no. 328.

35. See Francesco Fapanni, *Tredici quadri dipinti da Pietro Longhi possesi dalla Contessa Loredana Gatterbourg-Morosini*, Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Provv. Divv., Ms. 716 C/39, written about 1840. At least ten of the pictures described can be identified as being among those the Morosini donated to the Ca' Rezzonico (inv. nos. 1299, 1301, 1303–4, 1309–14; compare Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi*, pp. 99–101 and pls. 88, 92, 95–96, 119, 173, 176, 178, 186 and 208). Fapanni assumed that the women dominating eight of the pictures were all the same person, and identified the guitarist in inv. no. 1311 as the "boemo Gian Scumar."

36. On Longhi's inventories for the Sagredo see M. Brunetti, "Un eccezionale collegio peritale: Piazzetta, Tiepolo, Longhi," *Arte veneta* 5 (1951) pp. 158–161; Alice Binion, "Algarotti's Sagredo Inventory," *Master Drawings* 21 (1983) p. 392. See also another little-remarked autograph Mss. of Longhi (Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Provv. Divv., Mss. 2459 C/L; 2750 C/IV; 2753 C/VII). For Longhi and the engravers one must turn to Giovanni Antonio Moschini, *Dell'incisione in Venezia, Memoria . . .* (Venice, 1924) esp. p. 130, and Rodolfo Gallo, *L'incisione nel '700 a Venezia e a Bassano* (Venice, 1941) passim.

A Neo-Renaissance Italian Majolica Dish

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART has a small number of Italian majolicas attributed to Siena that are currently being reassessed. The most elaborate of them is a large dish, or broad, shallow bowl, with a border of grotesques enclosing a representation of Mary Magdalen (Figure 1). The dish came to the Museum in 1922 as a loan from V. Everit Macy, who gave it as part of a large gift of majolica in 1927 in memory of his wife, Edith Carpenter Macy. The provenance of the dish is not known.¹

The Magdalen dish was published as Sieneese, early sixteenth century, in an article devoted to Mr. Macy's gift of majolica, which appeared in the Museum's *Bulletin* for June 1927.² At the time, this seemed an obvious attribution to make. The dish exhibits the organization of grotesques framing a saint found on other early-sixteenth-century Sieneese pieces in well-known European collections,³ and its particular design is close to a Sieneese plate in the Victoria and Albert Museum dated to about 1510. That plate has a wide, horizontal rim and deep well and is decorated with a border of grotesques and a half figure of the Magdalen (Figure 2). In coloring, the Metropolitan Museum's dish resembles that of a pharmacy jar, or "albarello," purchased by the Museum in 1923 from Langton Douglas (Figure 3). The albarello, decorated with grotesques in reserve on an orange ground, is dated 1515. Langton Douglas believed that it came from the famous hospital attached to the church of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena on a site opposite the Cathedral. A devoted student of Sieneese history, Douglas later published an important article which cited documentary evidence to show that the official potter to the hospital in the early sixteenth century was one Maestro Benedetto.⁴ Benedetto's connection with the hospital was dramatically illustrated by a fragment of majolica

discovered by Douglas during an excavation of the hospital garden in the early part of the century. The fragment has a partial inscription that matches one on the underside of a dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum which reads "fata i siena da m^o Benedetto." The obverse of the dish is decorated with St. Jerome contemplating a skull, within a border of leaves on a tightly curling stem and the reverse has a lightly painted wreath of foliage.⁵ This dish, painted in light and dark blue and white, and the Museum's polychrome albarello, painted in blue, orange, yellow, red, turquoise green, and black, suggest a range of wares attributable to Maestro Benedetto; he was apparently both the owner of and an experienced painter in a majolica pottery.

Sieneese potters were making tin-glazed wares in the fifteenth century, but the earliest polychrome pieces attributed to Siena are an albarello in the Musée de Cluny dated 1500⁶ and one in the Victoria and Albert Museum dated 1501.⁷ Both are decorated rather loosely with a few large motifs from the vocabulary of antique ornament: foliage, cornucopias, rosettes, and masks. Pinturicchio arrived in Siena in 1502 to execute frescoes and ceiling decorations in the space in the cathedral recently set aside for the reception of the library of Pope Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, 1405–64). He introduced a large range of "grotesque" ornament,⁸ also derived from the antique but inhabited by fantastic figures such as chimeras, sphinxes, dolphins, trophies, birds, dragons, and serpents, often with human heads, from the ornament of Roman wall decoration from the early first century B.C. Although antique ornament was known from surviving architecture above ground, where it appeared in plastic form, painted grotesques on tinted plaster walls were found for the first time when rooms in villas and palaces dating from the late Republic and the



1. Dish, St. Mary Magdalen, ca. 1840–50 in the manner of Sieneese majolica of about 1510–15. Majolica, Diam. 16¾ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of V. Everit Macy in memory of his wife, Edith Carpenter Macy, 1927, 27.97.37

principate of Augustus were entered underground, in the late fifteenth century, causing a sensation among artists and classicists alike. Pinturicchio used grotesques in the Piccolomini Library frescoes, and this influence must surely be seen in the designs of the floor tiles for an important room in the palazzo of Pandolfo Petrucci, the ruler of Siena.⁹ According to dates found on the tiles themselves, these were produced between 1509 and 1513. It is reasonable to suppose that these majolica floor tiles were made in a workshop capable of producing superior wares, probably that of Maestro Benedetto,¹⁰ from designs supplied, or at least approved, by Pinturicchio, who was in charge of the overall decorative scheme of both interiors.

Some early Siense majolica dishes show an influence coming directly from Piccolomini. This can be seen in the observance of Pinturicchio's idiosyncracies in drawing the human figure—the mythical figures, as on the "Narcissus" plate at the National Gallery, Washington, are rather squat and doll-like and the historical figures are heroically heightened but with tiny feet and a strange articulation of the legs, as seen on the St. James dish in the Victoria and Albert and the St. Bartholomew dish in the British Museum. Another dish in the British Museum, ensigned with the arms of Petrucci and decorated with Pan between two shepherds, within a border of grotesques, demonstrates a slightly different style of draftsmanship.¹¹ It also has bands of knot design based directly on those found in the library frescoes. One consistent small detail in particular, derived from the manner of delineating certain leaf ornaments in the library grotesques, is also seen on Siense majolicas. It is to be observed on the Museum's albarello below the mouths of the dolphins and to each side of the masks. Regardless of the differences in draftsmanship and levels of skill in execution, the character of early Siense majolicas (most of which have tin-glazed, decorated backs) is that of luxury wares for discriminating patrons, who required the work to be made in accordance with the very latest artistic developments.

The Metropolitan Museum's Magdalen dish offers a contrast to these pieces. The draftsmanship is stilted in the center and rather careless in the border, yet it has none of the confident freedom and exuberance of the Museum's albarello. A lively rhythm between borders and central pictorial composition is achieved in other Siense dishes through the placement of a lightly ornamented or totally unornamented space between them; also, the border designs relate asymmetrically to the

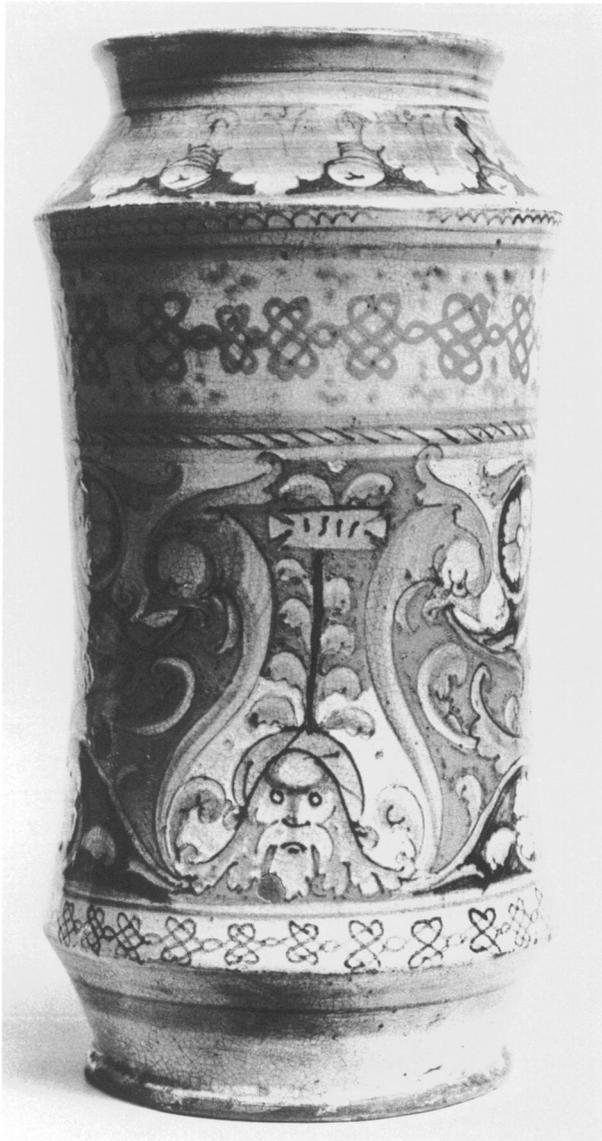


2. Plate, St. Mary Magdalen, Siena, ca. 1510. Majolica, Diam. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. Courtesy the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

vertical axis of the pictorial scene, which gives a sense of continuous circular motion around the circumference. The Museum's dish has none of these aesthetic refinements: the concentric borders are close together, and the strong accent of the outer border lies directly on the vertical axis of the pictorial composition.

There are also differences in color. On the Metropolitan's dish there is a leaf green instead of the usual turquoise green, no black, and no use of white for highlights. The orange ground of the dish is slightly browner and less brilliant than that of the albarello, while the red of the albarello is more vermilion and lively and the yellow is a sharper lemon color than their equivalent tones on the dish. The reverse of the dish is entirely undecorated. The clay body of the albarello is of a brick red color, while that of the dish is a very pale cream.

The shape of the Museum's dish is not found among Siena pieces and appears to be a variant of those made in Caffaggiolo and Florence in the early sixteenth century



3. Albarello, dated 1515, Siena, from the workshop of Maestro Benedetto. Majolica, H. 10 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.166

and in Montelupo from the sixteenth to the early seventeenth century (Figure 4).¹² The base, now almost imperceptibly concave,¹³ has been ground flat at the perimeter, so we must assume that it originally possessed a relatively broad foot rim (Figure 5). The dish warped considerably in its first firing; the underside is ridged (Figure 6).

The body received a white slip before the white tin glaze. The tin glaze, the “bianco,” is exceedingly meager with many tiny round spots or flecks of the opacifying

agent occurring throughout. The bianco was painted in blue, orange, yellow, grass green, and finally red, in that order. The red, which appears crimson when seen with the surrounding colors, is more of a chestnut brown when seen in isolation. It is in fact the fine iron-rich clay, or “bole,” that served for red.

After painting, the dish was given a covering of clear glaze back and front, the “coperta.” The coperta reacted oddly with the red, which caused bubbles or spitting in the firing process, and this left tiny, circular areas on its surface bare of glaze. Deeper pitting in the bianco and down into the body, also caused by spitting during the final firing, can be seen in the flat of the dish. The large smudged area at the rim is also evidence of an accident in the kiln. Another dish or its support may have fallen against it, dragging the surface of the glaze and sticking to the dish, leaving a scar, which has been partly removed by grinding. Much of the rim edge has also been ground smooth down to the body. The obverse has no cracks in its glaze surface and appears relatively fresh. The underside is poorly finished.

The painted decoration is disappointing in execution as well as in design. The larger, outer border is divided into six segments by tall, narrow anthemion motifs (Figure 7). In each segment the decoration is symmetrical, but consistently drifts off center, to the right. The segments are occupied by torches flanked by cornucopias, surmounted alternately by masks and leaf buds. The scrolling ends of the cornucopias meet behind the torches, turn away in a hairpin bend, and finish in tight scrolls at the base of the anthemion motifs. Taken together, these establish a strong rhythm and indeed describe a hexagon around the plate. Within this is a narrow ring of blue on which is painted a circlet of round and rectangular beads in exaggerated perspective, which frames the main scene of the Magdalen. A very similar circlet of beads occurs as a bordering decoration on a Siense plate in Washington.¹⁴

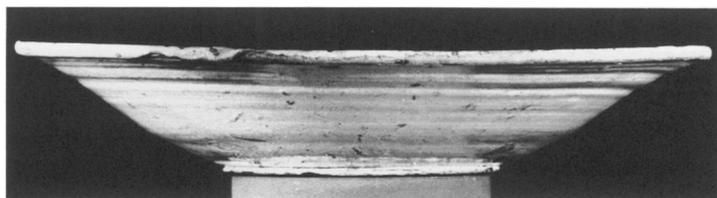
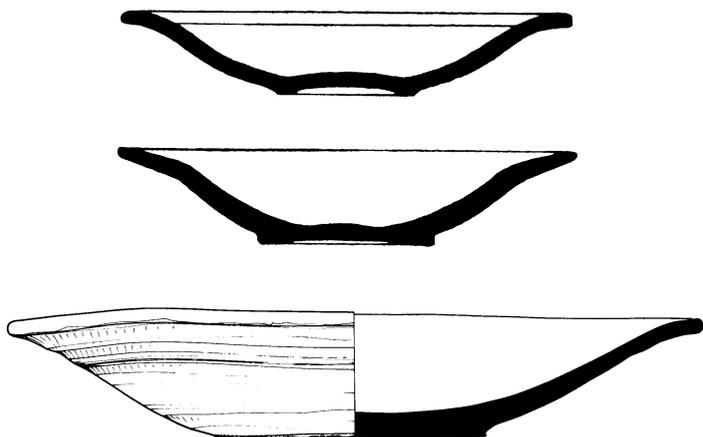
The saint is painted in blue monochrome, overpainted with yellow for the hair and with red for the cord knotted at her breast. She is backed by a cloud achieved by close, horizontally zigzagging brushstrokes in blue with washes of yellow and orange giving the scene a suggestion of sunset.

Below the image of the saint, to the left and right, low hills and mountains of boulders are perfunctorily indicated and placed disconcertingly in the foreground, and two trees—an orange tree and a sapling of some indeterminate species—sprout from the edges of the rocks

as though from invisible footholds between crevices (Figure 8). The orange tree has its trunk, branches, and leaves outlined in blue and then painted in pale green, with touches of red for fruit; but the sapling is rendered entirely by the brush in blue monochrome. Both are totally out of scale with the part they play in the overall composition. Bushes painted in the same blue monochrome calligraphic technique as the sapling are on each side. Fernlike plants, also in blue, are suggested by radiating lines of dots springing from a curved base line. Squeezed into the space between these landscape elements is a town within a crenellated and turreted wall. Within the wall is a large building with a lantern prominently crowning the dome and tall, narrow towers of the type used for dwellings by the Italian nobility before the introduction of Renaissance palazzi.

In general, the Museum's Magdalen dish presents a largely blue monochrome scene within a polychrome double border; but it lacks the tension and unity found in other Sieneese pieces as it is relatively empty in composition, slack in arrangement, and awkward in details. In the hope that at least the question of where it was made might be settled, the piece was included among a group of majolicas tested by thermoluminescence in 1977. The test, conducted by Dr. Gary Cariveau at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, showed that the piece was "not old" and did not share the same elemental composition of clay as a drug jar with strap handle of a

4. Profile drawings of shapes found at Caffaggiolo, early 16th century (top); Montelupo, early 17th century (middle); and of the Museum's dish, drawn by William Shank, 1988 (bottom)



5. Base and underside of the Museum's dish



6. Underside of the dish

type Rackham called "indubitably Sieneese." The finding that it did not match up with a Sieneese example was not unexpected, but the conclusion that it was not old met with some skepticism. In 1987 new drillings from the dish were taken by Mrs. Doreen Stonham, who then tested them at the Oxford Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art in England.¹⁵ The dish was again found to be "young"; this time there was an additional comment that, although the clay was a very difficult one to analyze, in no event could the piece have been fired before the middle of the eighteenth century at the earliest. If the result of the thermoluminescence test is accepted, the date of manufacture can be narrowed to after 1750



7. Border on the dish

and before 1922, when we hear of it for the first time as a loan from Mr. Macy.

A comparison of the two figures of Mary Magdalen helps to find a point of distinction between them which does indicate a difference in time. In the plate in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the saint is presented as a young, beautiful woman enveloped by her hair but with the outline of a perfect feminine form clearly visible beneath, and with an explicit acknowledgment and demonstration of her nudity where her hair does not meet across her front. In a recent study of the iconography of Mary Magdalen in the legendary period of her life in the south of France that followed the Resurrection, Monika Ingenhoff-Dannhauser has shown that the beautiful nude Magdalen was a type of the saint that did not develop until the late fifteenth century. Interest in the nude, characteristic of the Italian Renaissance, was then

carried over into the iconography of Mary Magdalen, which had already received an accumulation of features properly belonging to St. Agnes (with ankle-length, all-concealing hair) and St. Mary the Egyptian (a sun-burned, naked, and emaciated penitent).¹⁶ The moment when Mary Magdalen is surrounded by angels refers to her life as a solitary for thirty years in the desolate country outside Beaune in Provence. Seven times a day, at the canonical hours, she was lifted up to heaven by angels who brought her heavenly food.¹⁷ She was normally shown looking heavenward. However, some pictures of the saint show her looking down at St. Zosima, a hermit who once witnessed her elevation and was considerably disturbed by the event. This is the explanation for the position of the head in the depictions of the saint on both majolica dishes. The type introduced in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century, which is found on the plate in



8. Center composition of the dish

the Victoria and Albert Museum, is understandably found on a dish made in Siena around 1510, a time when a leading artist with his assistants had been working on large schemes for the two most important powers in the city, the Church and the civil ruler, as well as other important private clients. The saint on the Museum's dish belongs to an earlier iconographic type, totally concealed and shrouded by her hair, which leaves only her face and hands in view. (Apparently kneeling, she is in fact a standing figure awkwardly cut off at mid-thigh.) Totally enveloped and concealed by her hair, she is neither

the naked, emaciated penitent of the Early Renaissance nor the long-haired, beautiful sinner of the later Renaissance, but a mere girl with a childlike face recalling a type current in the Middle Ages. This mixture of references is more consonant with a date in the mid-nineteenth century than in the early sixteenth century.

The central composition in the Museum's dish appears to be a conflation of landscape elements from known Sieneese majolicas. The trees,¹⁸ hills, and rocks (themselves derived in turn from contemporary Italian paintings and frescoes, very often from the landscape backgrounds in

the Pinturicchio frescoes) are themselves accurate depictions of common Italian arboreal and geological features. Here they are combined with a figure of the saint possibly obtained from a fifteenth-century woodcut or from an “approved” source of the Counter-Reformation and combined again with a view of a town within its walls, like those found in paintings.¹⁹

The dish thus becomes, most probably, a representative of a nineteenth-century production of neo-Renaissance majolica made by traditional techniques. The impulse for its creation might be the interest, awakening in Italy around the 1830s, in art of the Early Renaissance. The ceramic aspect of this revival has been very little studied, although silver and furniture created in the same spirit have been isolated by art historians for several decades since World War II. It is unlikely that the Museum’s

dish is the only survivor of the workshop where it was devised and made, and there is every possibility that more majolicas made under the same impulse will eventually be identified.

The question as to where the Museum’s Magdalen dish may have been made has not been settled through the analysis of the clay. The dish has a very pale body and possibly is a result of the mixture of clays, which by the nineteenth century had become a fairly widespread practice in potteries all over Europe. Because the procedures used in the manufacture of the dish are traditional majolica ones, it is reasonable to suppose that it was made in Italy. Parallel to the survival of traditional techniques is the fact that convincing large dishes were made in Deruta in the nineteenth century in the style of its own sixteenth-century productions.

NOTES

1. Mr. Macy offered the dish as a loan to the Museum in the summer of 1922, remarking in his letter that he had recently bought it from Jacques Seligmann and Co.

2. C. Louise Avery, “A Princely Gift of Renaissance Majolica” in *MMAB* 22 (1927) p. 163, ill.

3. Bernard Rackham, *Catalogue of Italian Maiolica* (London, 1940) I, nos. 374–376, 380; II, pls. 59, 60; Timothy Wilson, *Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1987) no. 136, p. 98, ill.; Jeanne Giacomotti, *Les majoliques des musées nationaux* (Paris, 1974) no. 408, p. 111.

4. R. Langton Douglas, “A Note on Maestro Benedetto,” *Burlington Magazine* 71 (1939) pp. 89–90. This was a prestigious appointment; the wealthy Ospedale della Scala was the most famous public hospital in Italy, with a significant record of art patronage for the decoration of the hospital itself and branches throughout Tuscany and even farther afield. Such was the confidence placed in the hospital that it often served as a banking agent for the commune, which appointed its rector after 1404, asserting the secular origin of its institution, long a matter of contention between the commune and the canons of the cathedral.

5. Rackham, *Catalogue* I, no. 373, pl. 59, ill.; Wilson, *Ceramic Art*, no. 133, p. 89, ill.

6. Giacomotti, *Les majoliques*, no. 402, p. 110, ill.

7. Rackham, *Catalogue* I, no. 364, pl. 58, ill.

8. The contract for the decoration by Pinturicchio of the Piccolomini Library, dated 1502, expressly calls for the inclusion of grotesque ornament in the ceiling; in the event, however, there are also a notable number of vertically arranged grotesques presented as relief ornament on the pilasters, painted as trompe l’oeil architectural features between the pictorial frescoes on the library’s walls.

9. A number of these have survived; see Rackham, *Catalogue* I, no. 386, pl. 62, ill.

10. Giacomotti, *Les majoliques*, p. 105, notes that Giovanni Andrea da Faenza, another Faventine potter, was also active at

the same time in Siena, although he has not been identified with any surviving Siena pieces.

11. Wilson, *Ceramic Art*, no. 134, col. ill.

12. It is not exactly shape 6 or 8 in Rackham, *Catalogue* I, no. 456; see also Guido Vannini, *La majolica di Montelupo*, pls. XIX, XX, XVIII. There are variations in the thickness of potting, curve of the inner and outer profiles, bases, and presence of foot rims. The Museum’s dish appears originally to have had some kind of foot rim.

13. This was noticed by William Shank, the Museum’s draftsman, in the course of making the profile drawing in Figure 4.

14. A similar circlet of beads is found on the Siena “Narcissus” plate of about 1510 in the National Gallery, Washington. See Deborah Shinn, *Sixteenth Century Majolica* (Washington, 1982) no. 6.

15. Mrs. Stonham also tested drillings from the Museum’s albarelo and concluded that it was last fired between 380 and 590 years ago, a time span whose midpoint falls almost directly on the year 1515, which is the date inscribed on the piece.

16. Monika Ingenhoff-Dannhauser, *Maria Magdalena, Heilige und Sünderin der italienischen Renaissance* (Tübingen, 1984) pp. 4–12.

17. This is explicitly stated in the Golden Legend, a compilation of current legends published in 1235 by Jacobus de Voragine. See E. Willis, ed., *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton IV* (London, 1890) pp. 82–83.

18. The inclusion of two trees, one in monochrome and one colored, to each side of the central scene may have been suggested by those on the Pan dish in the British Museum. This dish has been publicly known since it was acquired for the British Museum from the Bernal collection in 1856.

19. For example, the town lying below a heavenly scene is almost a mirror image of that in a Coronation of the Virgin attributed to the Master of the St. Louis Madonna. See Miklos Boskovits, *Tuscan Paintings of the Early Renaissance* (New York, 1969) fig. 41.

“The Old World for the New”: Developing the Design for The Cloisters

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THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY of The Cloisters, which opened to the public in 1938, is an appropriate moment to review its early history and in particular to examine the architectural design of this remarkable museum (Figure 1). Overlooking the Hudson River from the northern end of Manhattan, The Cloisters, a branch of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, includes five different cloisters and a succession of chapels and exhibition halls, all constructed within an encircling rampart wall and crowned by a tower. This is the setting for a major collection of medieval works of art, some incomparable treasures—such as the Unicorn Tapestries—among them.

Standard accounts of The Cloisters pay deserved tribute to the roles played by three men in its development: George Grey Barnard (1863–1938), the collector and entrepreneur who in 1914 created the first “Cloisters”; John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (1874–1960), the patron to whose generosity and discernment the present building bears witness; and James J. Rorimer (1905–66), the curator who presided over the later stages of the planning and the actual construction and who was in 1955 to become director of the Metropolitan Museum. Relatively neglected in recent years, though no less important, were the contributions made by the Cloisters architect, Charles Collens (1873–1956), and the curator in charge at the outset of the project, Joseph Breck (1885–1933).¹ A study of the original records, hitherto unpublished, serves to bring the work and ideas of these two men into sharper focus.

To understand how the present Cloisters developed, we must first go back to Barnard’s private museum on Fort Washington Avenue.² The display of architectural elements and sculpture there reflected his strong vision of what a museum of medieval art should be (Figure 2).

He wanted his museum to evoke the solemn but vigorous piety of the Middle Ages and to enable Americans to acquaint themselves not only with medieval art but also with the age in which the art was produced.³ To create that atmosphere he artificially weathered his museum, a basilica-plan brick shed, by hosing down the walls while the mortar was still fresh. The interior was lit by the steel and glass roof and the warm glow of candles. Museum attendants, dressed as monks, ushered visitors into the “sanctuary.”⁴ The desired effect of these dramatic and decidedly fanciful touches was, according to Barnard, to create an ambience evocative of the Middle Ages.

While the Metropolitan Museum maintained Barnard’s “cloisters” for two years after its purchase with funds given by Rockefeller in 1925, plans were made for its expansion by adding onto the exterior Romanesque cloister from the monastery of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, which Barnard had installed outside the north flank of the museum building (Figure 3). Before these plans were realized, however, Museum officials and Rockefeller became increasingly dissatisfied with the site and the interior design.⁵ Barnard’s methods of display were viewed as questionable. Objects were exhibited in cluttered arrangements that had no archaeological integrity, and often the original context or function of a work of art was ignored in its presentation (Figure 2).⁶ For example, the numerous freestanding sculptures were perched atop colonettes, balustrades, and capital fragments. Critics felt that Barnard’s construct of a medieval world had been achieved at the expense of the art he so admired.

A passion for things medieval also motivated Rockefeller. In 1930 he donated to the city of New York a fifty-six-acre tract on the northern tip of Manhattan, originally the C. K. G. Billings estate, intending to build



1. The Cloisters in Fort Tryon Park, overlooking the Hudson River

there a new museum to house the Barnard collection. Rockefeller was clear in his priorities. He wanted to create a monument on this wooded promontory that would complement, in similar medieval splendor, his imposing neo-Gothic Riverside Church, a few miles to the south. The exterior of the building should, above all, present impressive views from this new city park, named Fort Tryon after the Revolutionary War fortifications located there. To the Metropolitan Museum director, Edward Robinson, he wrote: "My first object in offering to erect such a building . . . is for the enhancement of the attractiveness of the park. That being the fact . . . should any questions arise in planning the interior of the building that involved the sacrifice of its exterior appearance, I should be strongly inclined to favor the latter rather than the former."⁷

Rockefeller's ideal structure for the site was the romantic ruin of a fortified castle. Remembering his visits to the massive remains of Kenilworth and a well-loved

description in Sir Walter Scott's book of the same name, Rockefeller visualized a model of Kenilworth Castle crowning the highest point in Fort Tryon Park. It apparently did not concern him that the medieval elements in the Barnard collection were from churches and monasteries in southern France and Spain, not from an English castle. What interested him was the air of grandeur evoked by the ruins.

As a philanthropist, Rockefeller had become particularly interested in building monuments to bygone eras. At the end of World War I, he funded the restoration of Reims Cathedral and the palaces at Fontainebleau and Versailles. By 1923 he had also built the neo-Gothic Park Avenue Baptist Church. In the late twenties and early thirties, while working on the Cloisters project, Rockefeller was also supporting the creation of Colonial Williamsburg and supervising the completion of Riverside Church.⁸ Whether it involved new construction or the restoration of existing buildings, Rockefeller was determined to evoke the past.

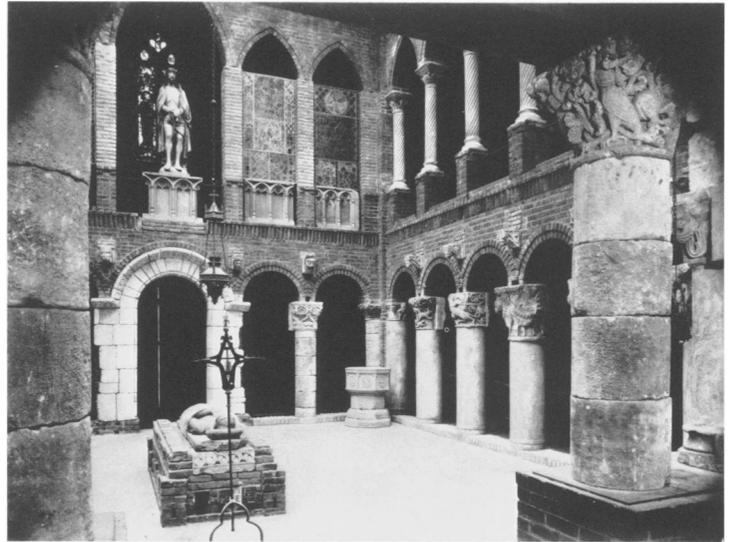
At the same time, Rockefeller was an important col-

lector of world art. By the late twenties he had amassed a collection of splendid medieval objects. Some were donated to The Cloisters, among them sixty-nine Gothic stained-glass roundels and forty-two Gothic sculptures, as well as the famed Unicorn Tapestries.⁹ His view was that the beauty inherent in these works should be evoked architecturally by the museum structure itself. “To the fullest extent possible, consistent with its exterior beauty and charm,” he insisted, “I should want the building to be internally adapted to its purpose of providing an appropriate home for the present cloister collection.”¹⁰

The interior of the new museum was the primary concern of Joseph Breck.¹¹ Educated at Harvard, Breck was appointed assistant curator of Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum in 1909, then under the direction of W. R. Valentiner. From 1917, as curator for decorative arts of all periods, Breck concentrated primarily on the design of gallery spaces and the display of objects. This experience led him to prefer a succession of distinct gallery spaces, a preference that he later applied in planning The Cloisters. He believed that each gallery, through the sympathetic treatment of ceiling, doorways, and windows, should be suited to the exhibition of art from a single period and region. The design of the building itself should ideally establish a clear division of the collection into a chronological, stylistic, and geographic progression. This, to Breck’s way of thinking, was the best way of presenting the material in order to educate the public on the history of art in the Middle Ages. It would straighten out the confusion of mixed styles found in most medieval monuments, which were often built over several centuries, and it would improve upon the disturbing, jumbled nature of the old Barnard installation.¹²

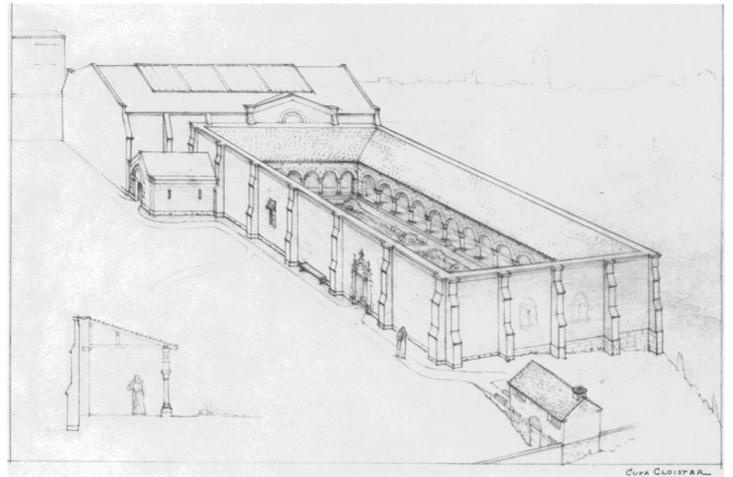
Breck’s attention to the interior design of The Cloisters was meticulous, and his concern for detail led him to study medieval manuscripts for examples of architectural elements, such as walls, railings, windowsills, and stairways. More than any other planner, Breck grounded his design ideas in medieval precedents and his knowledge of original monuments was far-reaching and thorough.

By the end of 1930, Rockefeller came to realize that a fortified castle would not be an appropriate setting for a collection of medieval religious objects. Still, his choice of a dramatic promontory dictated a structure of greater scope and ambition than Barnard’s brick “basilica.” Barnard himself, with characteristic exaggeration, wrote: “In comparing it to the quiet, modest land and



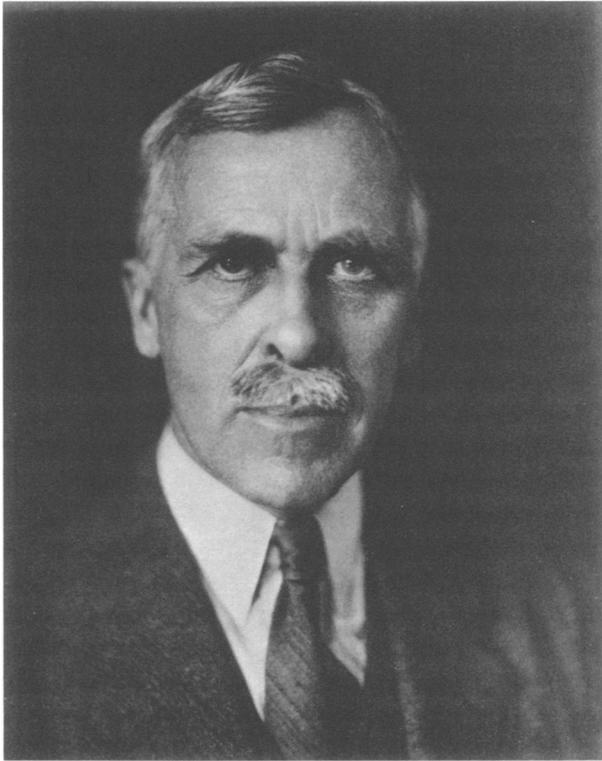
2. Interior view of the Barnard Cloisters

3. Architectural drawing of the Cuxa Cloister addition and the Barnard Museum. Cloisters Archives



plain entailed beside my cloisters, this point and its demands compare with a Pope beside a cloistered monk. The point demands big affects, heavy architectural plans, and much that must be built of ‘modern’ material. . . . We would needs consider something like a Saint Peter’s of Rome.”¹³

Rockefeller turned in January 1931 to the architect he had chosen for Riverside Church, Charles Collins of



4. Charles Collens (photo: Collens family)

the Boston firm Allen, Collens and Willis (Figure 4). Collens was an obvious choice to submit a proposal for the new museum; this would be the third project on which Collens and Rockefeller had collaborated. Their first was the Park Avenue Baptist Church of New York, begun in 1921, and they were still engaged in building Riverside Church, the “Saint Peter’s of Rome” for Rockefeller.

Collens understood Rockefeller’s intentions for the Fort Tryon museum better than anyone else. He knew that the philanthropist wanted an imposing ensemble situated dramatically at the high point of the park, and he had seen Rockefeller’s original idea for building a fortified castle evolve into a preference for some sort of religious complex that would logically house several cloisters. He was also aware of Rockefeller’s “aversion to the use of a chapel or church in connection with the museum, also that [it] should not adhere too strictly to any monastic form.”¹⁴ At the same time, Collens recognized that Rockefeller had no clear image of what he wanted for the museum and that flexibility in providing a number of different schemes was called for. A 1928

proposal incorporating Rockefeller’s romantic ruins of Kenilworth into one possible scheme, drawn up by Otto Eggers of the architectural firm of John Russel Pope, had lacked just this flexibility (Figure 5).

Collens expressed his philosophy to Breck in one of their earliest contacts: “I think it would be well to develop one scheme in which the monastic form is accurately adhered to; a second scheme with a paved courtyard and free buildings about this courtyard, with some of those buildings enclosing the cloisters, and a third scheme in which we develop a pure museum without any attempt at medievalism.”¹⁵ Collens presented seven schemes to Rockefeller and Metropolitan Museum officials in March 1931, all of them integrating the columns and sculpted capitals of Barnard’s “cloisters” (Figures 6–20). The range of building types was impressive and clearly grew out of Collens’s familiarity with medieval structures.

His first contact with medieval monuments had occurred during his teens, when his family moved to Germany and traveled in northern Europe for two years.¹⁶ He returned to the United States to complete a degree in mathematics at Yale but was back in Paris in 1900 for three years of architectural study at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.¹⁷ During these years he traveled with a sketchbook and developed an avid interest in medieval art. Working professionally in the United States, Collens became known as a leading practitioner of neo-Gothic architecture. In New York, he designed Memorial Chapel and the Brown and James Towers at Union Theological Seminary (1910); in Gloucester, Massachusetts, he built a medieval castle for John Hayes Hammond, Jr. (1928). Collens also designed libraries, dormitories, and lecture halls at many universities, including the library (1905) and Taylor Hall (1913) at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, and the library at Columbia University Teacher’s College (1924). These projects had followed the neo-Gothic tradition, derisively labeled “campus gothic” by critics of the style.¹⁸ In fact, by the time of Collens’s professional achievements, the medievalizing taste in architecture was on the wane in America.¹⁹

Collens skillfully turned his position as a late practitioner of the neo-Gothic architectural style to good use. For many of his projects he effected a rigorous evaluation of the preceding century of American design, tallying in his own mind the successes and failures of the style in particular buildings of his predecessors or his contemporaries. Often he was forced to do so, because the

building he was assigned to construct would directly confront an earlier one in neo-Gothic style. To create a building with new ideas, in this well-worn style, he returned to the great medieval monuments of Europe for fresh inspiration. For example, in a proposed reconstruction of the Catholic church of St. Vincent Ferrer, located at the corner of Lexington Avenue and 66th Street in New York, Collens intended "to produce a new structure, following as closely as possible the best examples of the French Gothic. The proximity of St. Patrick's Cathedral makes this a somewhat difficult problem, as it is necessary to vary the architecture in such a way as not to recall too strongly the motifs which Renwick used so successfully on the Cathedral."²⁰

Despite his extensive experience in neo-Gothic design, Collens found no American architectural precedent for the project Rockefeller and the Metropolitan Museum were planning. Although some American museums had already experimented with the exhibition of medieval works of art in period contexts, these installations took the form of isolated rooms in larger buildings of a very different architectural style. Collens's criticism of

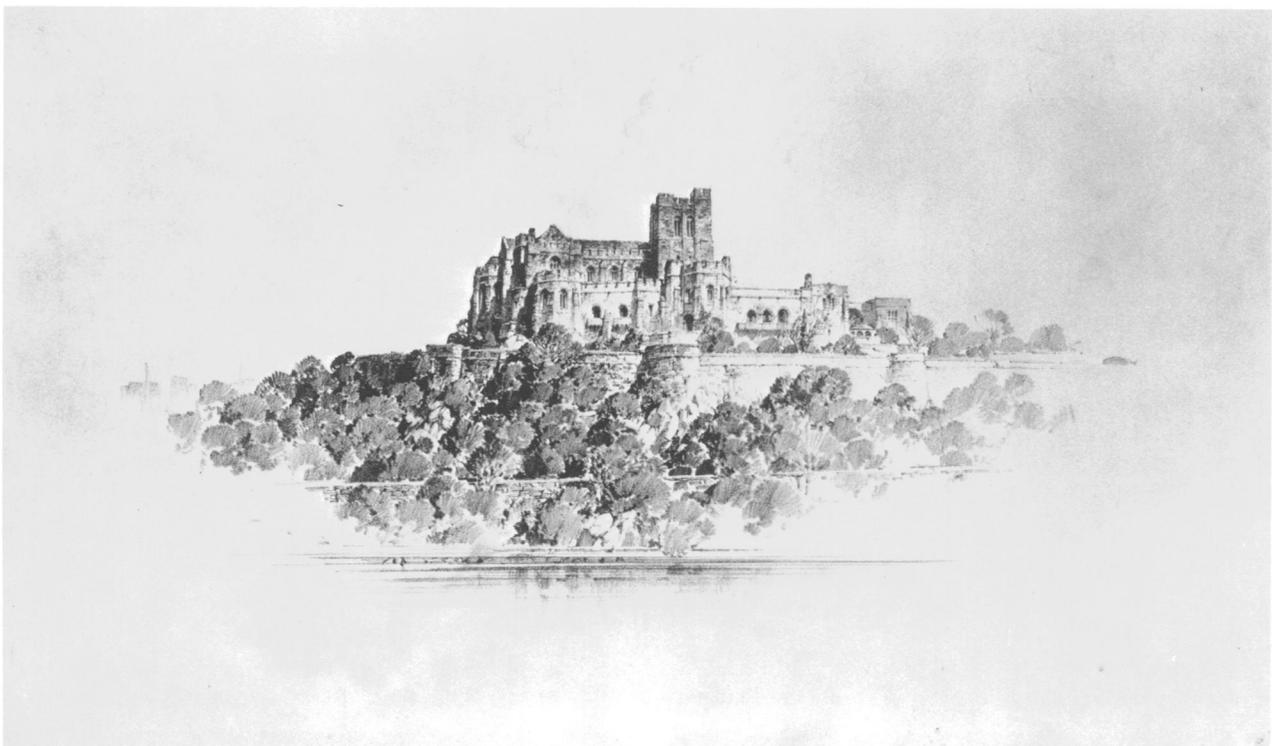
5. Proposal drawing for the Metropolitan Museum's medieval museum by Otto Eggers, 1928. Cloisters Archives

this approach after visiting the Philadelphia Museum of Art was strong: "You are led up to a cold, soulless building and up a stupendous staircase. From there you suddenly enter the Gothic section. Somehow, I could not get in the mood for that Gothic section because my mind had not been attuned to the exhibit by a proper approach through a sympathetic atmosphere."²¹

Similarly, he attacked the placement of medieval objects in a neutral setting, as at the Detroit Institute of Arts, where:

for the art expert the setting and lighting may be such as to enable him to examine all parts of the exhibit with the greatest amount of ease, you cannot feel that those exhibits are in their natural setting. I am afraid that I am one of a very large body of laymen who would much prefer to see a fourteenth century Madonna set in a niche with a sanctuary lamp as its lighting than to have the same Madonna placed on a wooden standard, suitably labeled, and so lighted that every detail is brought out in strong relief.²²

A number of smaller projects, private museum-residences, provided Collens and the planning committee with general inspiration, if not specific ideas. For example, Isabella Stewart Gardner's Fenway Court in Boston had been completed as early as 1902. In it she re-created



a fifteenth-century Venetian palace using original architectural elements, with galleries opening into a flower-filled courtyard surrounded by three stories of Venetian arcades. The General Church of the New Jerusalem in Bryn Athen, Pennsylvania, had erected a “Gothic” cathedral designed by Collens’s contemporary Ralph Adams Cram. Both the church and the adjacent “Romanesque” manor for Raymond Pitcairn, the leader of the religious community, were constructed according to some of the practices of medieval masonry workshops, including the use of full-scale models and a flexible architectural design.²³ Collens could also look back for ideas at his own design of Hammond Castle in Gloucester, Massachusetts.²⁴ Although the planners of the new museum had rejected something similar to Barnard’s museum, they were well aware that they at least shared his intentions for the display of medieval objects, even if they questioned his results. All participants agreed that they wanted to create an evocation of the Middle Ages; the question was how to do so.

Museum officials took the project beyond the Metropolitan and discussed it with a broader community of museum professionals. W. R. Valentiner (1880–1958), who had left the Metropolitan Museum to become director of the Detroit Institute of Arts responded in a seven-page report, dated August 20, 1931, to the members of the Cloisters Museum Building Committee concerning particular features of the seven schemes proposed by Collens.²⁵ Valentiner’s comments are an interesting indication of his theoretical concerns about the museum world at the time, and they reflect both his professional development under Wilhelm von Bode, director of the Berlin Museum and the general level of German idealism in the field of museology.²⁶

Valentiner believed that a primary purpose of any museum was to communicate the spirit of a particular period of art, and to this end he praised the plan of a branch museum devoted to only one period of art: “One of the first principles of education in art is to concentrate the public on one great epoch in history and not let the mind of the museum visitors wander about through collections of other epochs until it has thoroughly absorbed the spirit of this one period.” The dilemma then became how to capture the spirit of an age, whether to place the medieval objects in a neutral surrounding or to incorporate them into a “medievalized” edifice. The problem with the latter solution, according to Valentiner, was the difficulty involved in capturing the spirit of the art in any new building. There were not enough architectural elements from the Barnard collection to

reconstruct an entire monastery, and Valentiner felt, as did many of his contemporaries, that the contrast between old and new stones would be too jarring, or that the general public would confuse the old and the new.

Collens himself had suggested in conversations with Breck, perhaps not entirely seriously, that several medieval European ruins be purchased, dismantled, and shipped to New York to be used as building materials. This, he claimed, would ensure the warmth and ambience of the very walls of the museum.²⁷ In all this discussion the premise was that the materials and the way they were handled were different in the twelfth century than in the twentieth. That modern stone lacked some undefined, unreproducible spirituality of the period was the one point on which all museum officials seemed to agree.

Yet in his report, Valentiner also warned against a slavish imitation of a medieval monastery:

for it has been proved over and over again that it is impossible to bring back to life the style of another epoch or to copy old buildings in such a manner that they are not a disappointment to everyone who has seen the originals. Especially the medieval styles are so much removed from our own period, are so much the expression of the spirit of their epoch, that every imitation will prove to every sensitive person that the essentials, the spiritual part of it, which alone has value, are entirely lacking.

He joined other contemporary critics in deploring the neo-Gothic style of church architecture as “cold, lifeless and empty modern copies of Gothic churches [which] appear only after a generation which were considered true to the originals at the time they were created.” The example he cited was St. Patrick’s Cathedral in New York, the very building against which Collens had recently measured his talents in medievalizing church design. Valentiner’s conclusion was that the American public “has nowhere the possibility of seeing old buildings of a period before 1600, and if a suggestion could be given of the general effect in regard to the masses and outlines of these buildings, and if this suggestion will be vivified as in the present case, by such magnificent originals as the cloister courts, on the inside, it would help to the enjoyment and understanding of the visitors.” Valentiner’s prescription, then, was that in general outlines the new building in Fort Tryon Park should be reminiscent of medieval architecture, but should have no imitated Gothic or Romanesque chapels, portals, windows, or buttresses.

Valentiner’s report drew from Collens an impassioned

defense of his position, summarized in a letter to Rockefeller dated August 25, 1931.²⁸ Collens's goal in designing the new museum was very much to recapture the spirit of the Middle Ages and he believed this could be done.

Mr. Valentiner says that no attempt at imitating any of the earlier styles is successful. I think that many thousands of people have gotten great enjoyment out of Trinity Church at the head of Wall Street. I, myself, frequently go in there and the atmosphere created by that church is one which gives me the greatest amount of pleasure. . . . The Riverside Church, while it is in no sense a copy of Chartres Cathedral, I think gives a good many people some of the same re-action which they get from visiting Chartres.

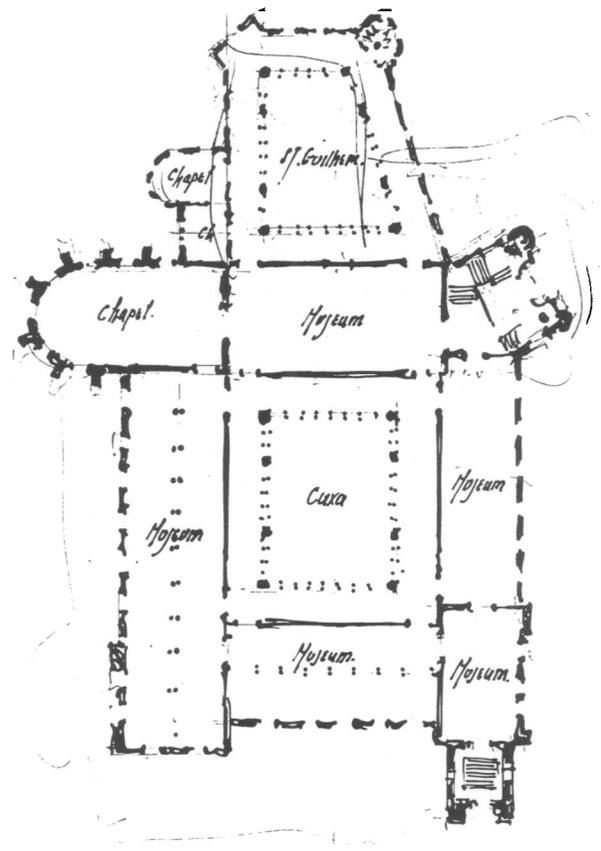
Drawing on his architectural background, Collens saw the starting point for this recapturing of the past in the organization of space in the museum. "A museum of this character should be very intimate, should be self-enclosed, should have no large rooms and the windows should be comparatively small, in order to obtain a subdued light."²⁹ He agreed that "the rooms and chapels should all be treated in a very simple way without any ornamentation which would conflict with the real exhibits. The shape of the room and the character of the ceiling, the general fenestration, and the doorways should all, however, be in agreement with the type of exhibit to which the room would be devoted."³⁰

Collens was against making the museum a composite copy, and here he differed with Breck. In a letter to Rockefeller describing his first scheme, Collens stated: "There has been no attempt made to copy any particular monastery, and when this was originally suggested by Mr. Breck, I argued very strongly against such an attempt. We have simply proceeded along the logical basis of using the chief exhibit of the Barnard cloisters as the nucleus about which we have grouped low exhibition halls, done in a simple sympathetic architecture, and placed a tower in a perfectly logical location in order to give accent to this group." For this general grouping he depended on the character of such monuments as the church at Monsempron or the monastery of St. Trophime in Arles. It was the massing of the buildings and their proportion and relationship that he felt could evoke a medieval setting. Concluding his response to Valentiner's report, he insisted, "I feel so very strongly that any attempt to divorce the three cloisters from the architecture in which they originally existed would entail a serious danger. We owe a certain responsibility to the cloisters themselves."³¹

The seven different schemes—elevation sketches and



6, 7. Scheme No. 1, sketch and plan by Charles Collens. Cloisters Archives



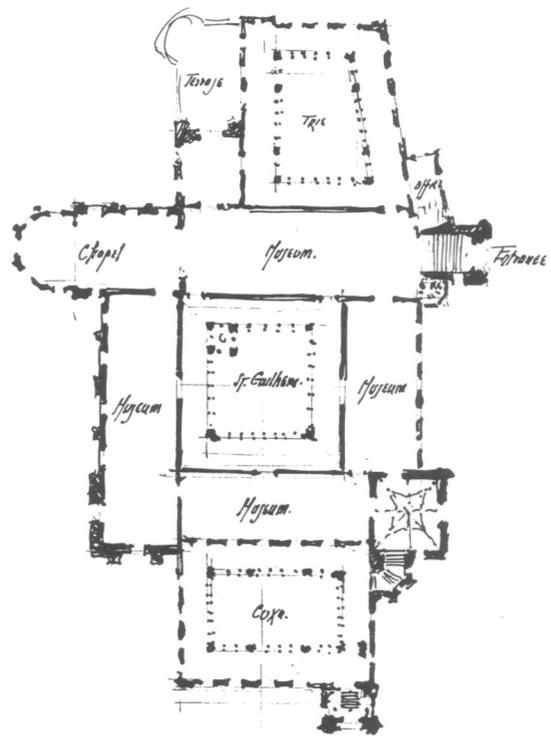
rough plans—that Collens submitted in March 1931 reflected his statements to Rockefeller. In the first scheme (Figures 6, 7) only a Romanesque chapel and the St.-Guilhem Cloister elements would directly reproduce the rooms of a monastic complex. The other, neutral galleries were arranged around the Cuxa Cloister to allow the easy circulation of visitors from the entrance through rooms organized chronologically from

Romanesque to Late Gothic. Outside, a forecourt and ramparts, gatehouse, and fortified entrance were similar to structures at Carcassonne (Figure 8). Scheme 2 developed a much larger plan, still centered on the Cuxa Cloister (Figures 9, 10). It included two more of Bernard's cloisters, those from Trie and St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. Breck was intrigued by this scheme, with its four separate chapels, because each could be representative of a step in the development of medieval architectural styles, and he made sketches to show this neat chronological progression paralleling the traffic pattern (Figures 22, 23). He criticized this plan, however, because its combining of three cloisters with only small chapels was historically inaccurate. Any real monastery with that number of cloisters would have housed a far larger population of monks than could be accommodated in the small chapels. If the cloisters were to remain the focus of the new museum, as they should, since they represented some of the finest architectural sculpture in the collection, a more prominent churchlike structure should be built.³² Collens answered this criticism with scheme

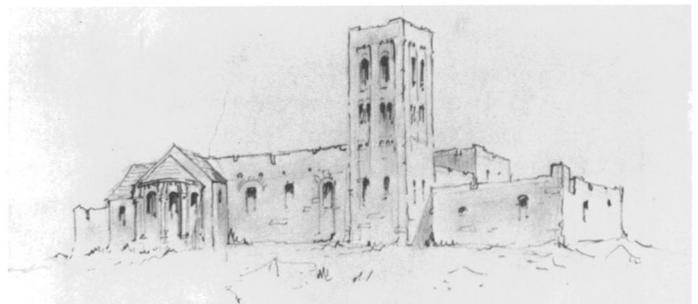
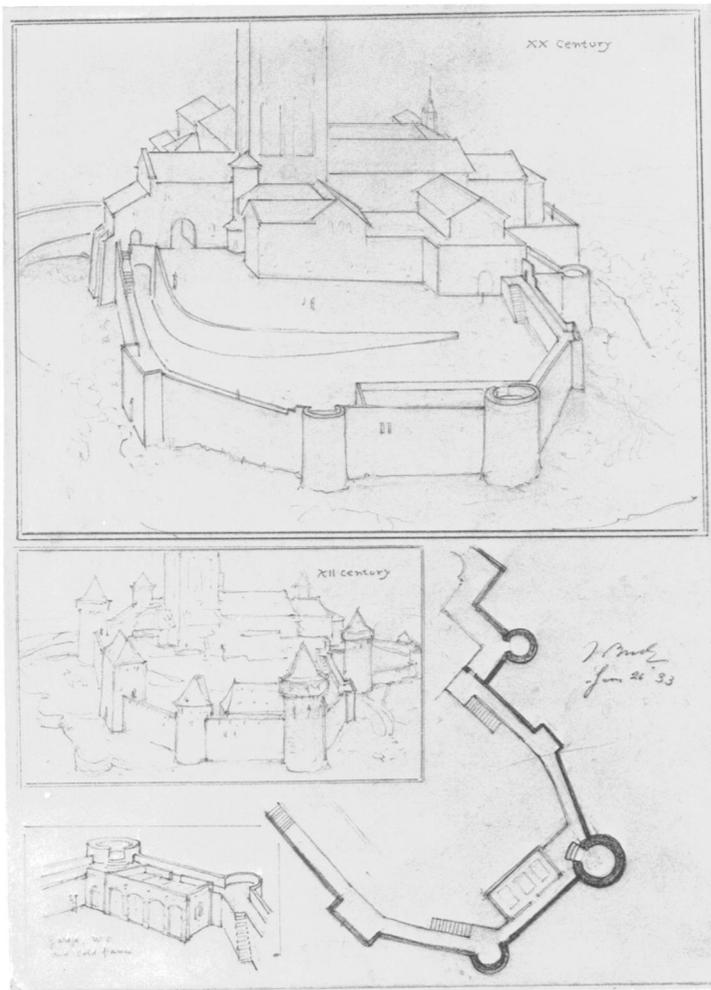


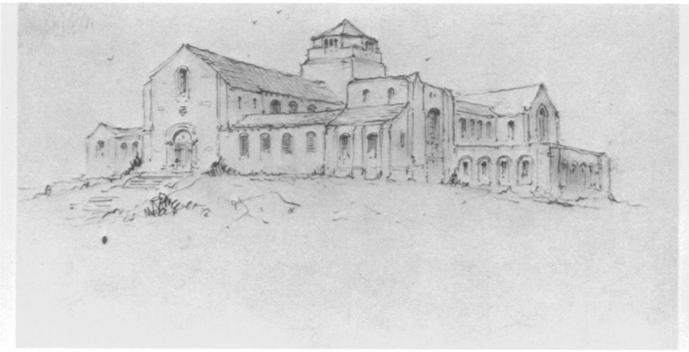
9, 10. Scheme No. 2, sketch and plan by Charles Collens. Cloisters Archives

8. Pencil sketch of Cloisters exterior with inset of Carcassonne by Joseph Breck, June 26, 1933. Cloisters Archives

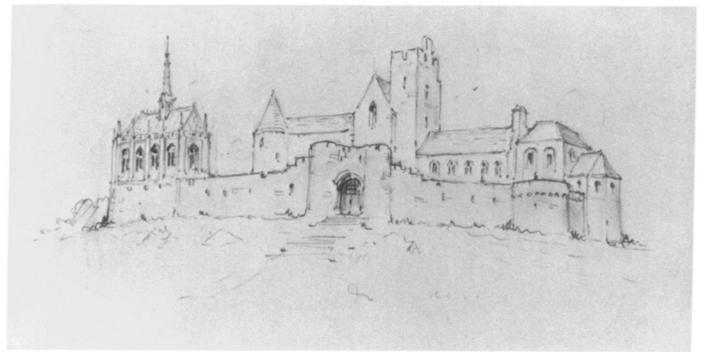


11. Scheme No. 2A, sketch by Charles Collens. Cloisters Archives

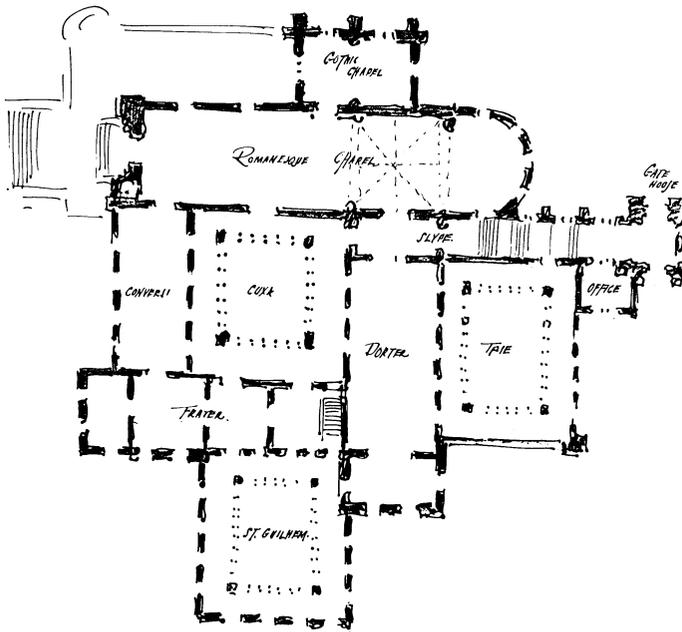




12, 13. Scheme No. 3, sketch and plan by Charles Collens.
Cloisters Archives

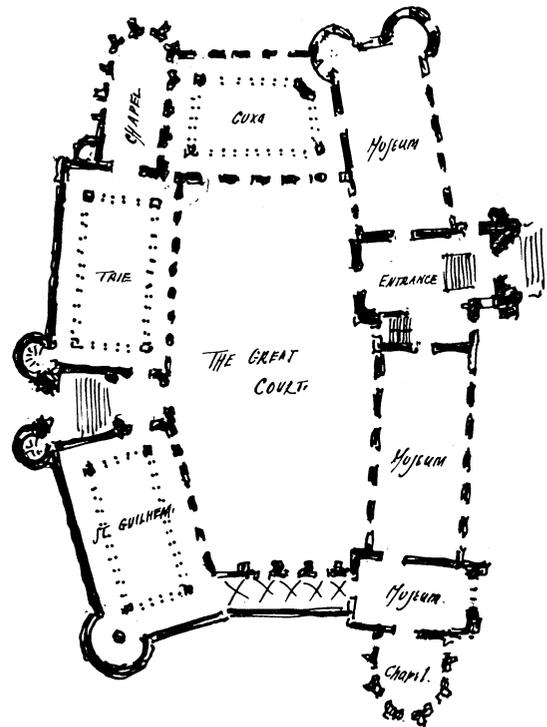


14, 15. Scheme No. 4, sketch and plan by Charles Collens.
Cloisters Archives



3, based on the priory of Grandmont, which had a large "Romanesque Chapel" (Figures 12, 13), to which he appended the Cuxa, St.-Guilhem, and Trie cloisters. Scheme 5 (Figures 16, 17) also featured a major church structure, this one modeled on Romsey Abbey in England. Scheme 4 (Figures 14, 15) represented the greatest amalgam of styles in a single plan; the Romanesque keep and fortifications were crowned in one corner by a replica of the Sainte Chapelle of Paris. Scheme 6 (Figures 18, 19) included an English Gothic chapel and scheme 6A (Figures 19, 20) was a considerably reduced plan focusing on the cloisters themselves.

Collens produced a plaster model of the first scheme by the end of March and a full model by mid-May 1931. Having supplied the Metropolitan Museum with an impressive array of options, the architect left for a sum-

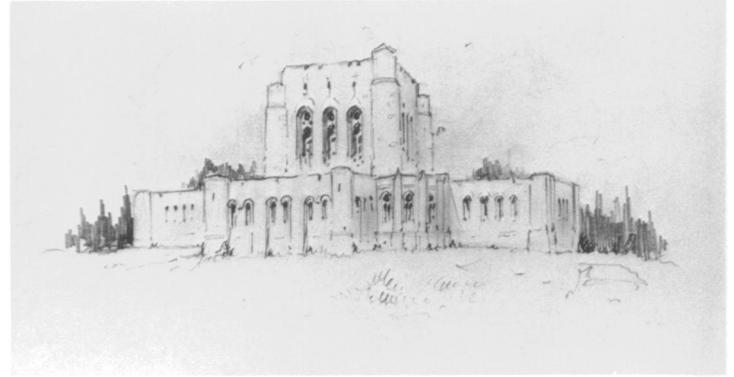


mer study trip to the south of France and Spain, financed by Rockefeller, to search for architectural inspiration and for facts about the original setting of the antique elements that would be incorporated into the new museum. The Cloisters project was fresh in his mind and his route was planned to cover those areas from which the collection originated. As he traveled, he recorded detailed impressions of numerous medieval monuments in a journal, which he submitted to Museum authorities along with a sketchbook upon his return.³³

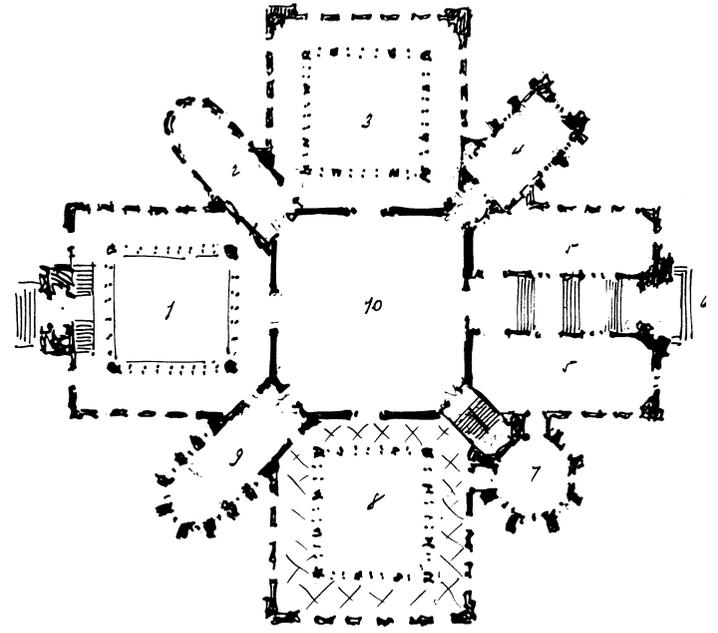
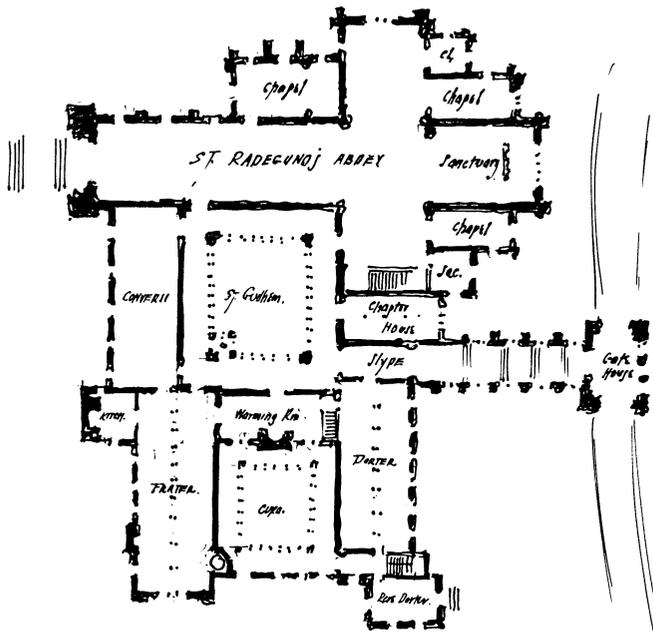
In November Collens's appointment as project architect and the first scheme (Figures 6, 7) in its rough



16, 17. Scheme No. 5, sketch and plan by Charles Collens. Cloisters Archives

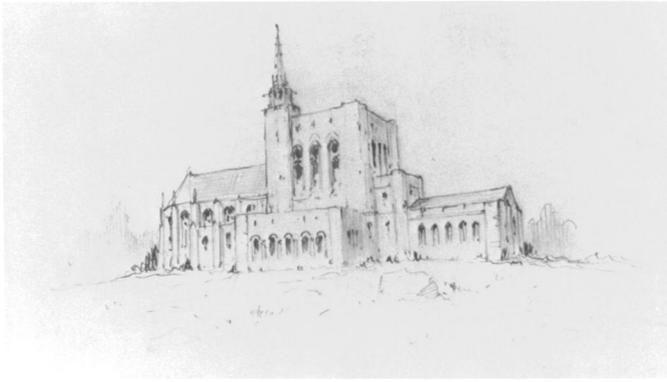


18, 19. Scheme No. 6, sketch and plan by Charles Collens. Cloisters Archives

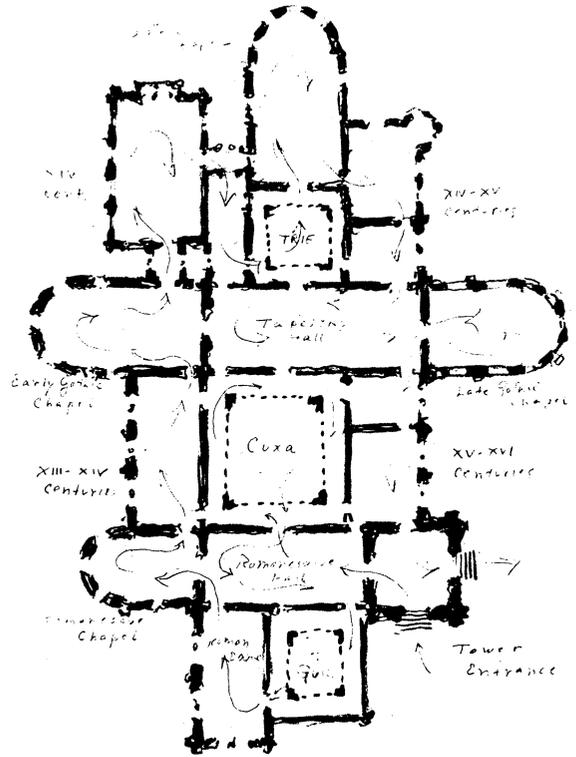
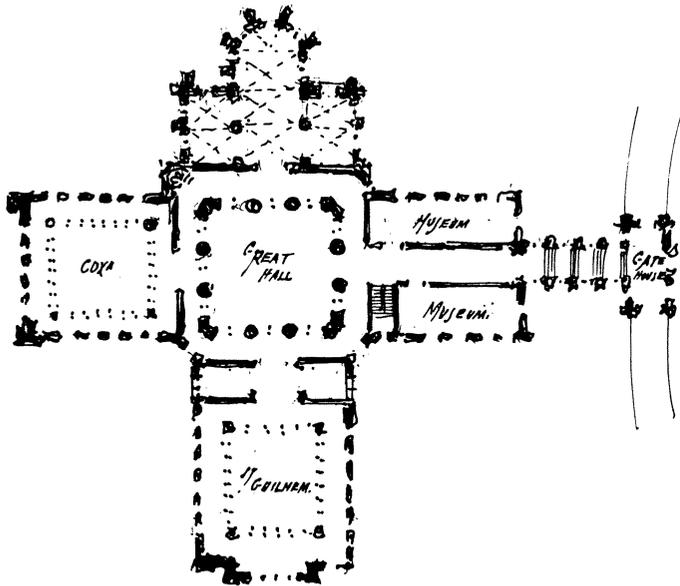


state were approved by the Board of Trustees.³⁴ Collens and Breck were charged with the detailed development of the plans, and the correspondence between them, letters often exchanged daily, provides an exceptionally full record of their progress. As they evolved the details of the interior design, certain differences in philosophy became apparent. Breck was more literal-minded than Collens; he wanted to go further in assigning actual monastic functions to all the rooms of the proposed museum, some of which the architect had indicated as neutral gallery spaces. For example, in his variant of Collens's scheme 3 (Figure 23) Breck added a "kitchen," "chap-

ter" (chapter house), and undefined "prior" (abbot's lodgings?) to the areas assigned as "frater" (refectory) and "dorter" (dormitory) by Collens. Breck also advocated a direct relationship between the design and the size of a fictitious monastic community. In October 1931 he had written to Collens: "Concerning the Romanesque Chapel, were your sketches based on any definite model? I should be glad if you would let me know if you have any existing chapel in mind. If we could find one that came near to meeting our requirements, would it not be better to follow this than invention?"³⁵ And over a year later, he reiterated, "In principle,



20, 21. Scheme No. 6A, sketch and plan by Charles Collens. Cloisters Archives



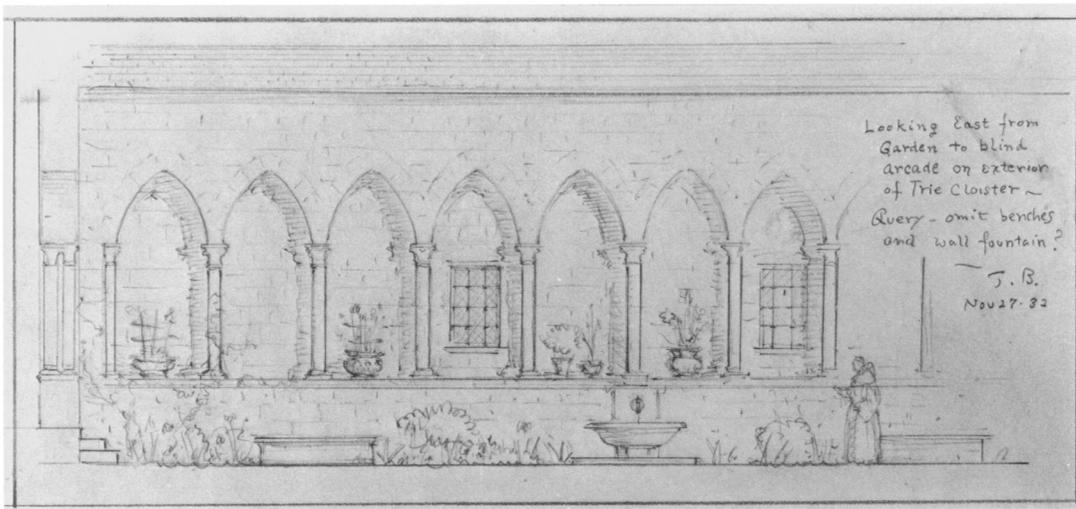
22. Variant of Scheme No. 2 by Joseph Breck. Cloisters Archives

23. Variant of Scheme No. 3 by Joseph Breck. Cloisters Archives



I think we should follow the perfected styles rather than provincial variants or experiments. When we start to invent there are so many pitfalls ahead of us."³⁶

Breck's correspondence with Collens is filled with references to buildings in Europe, and his suggestions were always accompanied by careful pen-and-ink sketches. For example, working on the exterior cloister gardens, he sent Collens ideas gleaned from manuscripts (Figure 24). This project seems to have rekindled Breck's artistic talents, which had first been developed at Harvard, where he illustrated the *Harvard Lampoon*. His watercolor drawings of proposed rooms were used

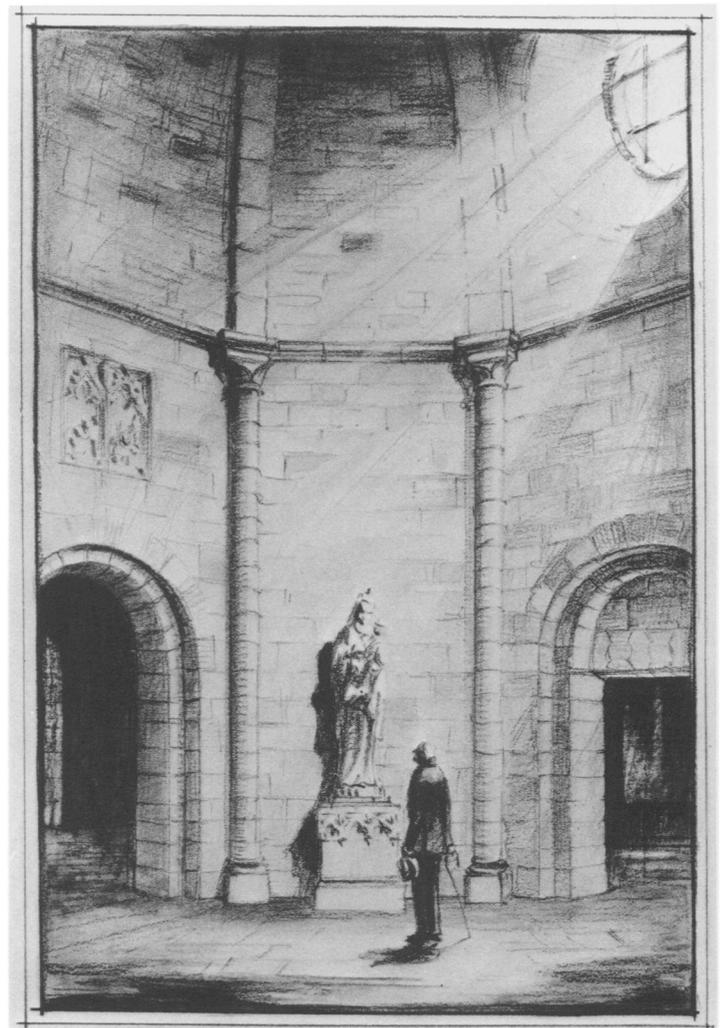


24. Trie arcade, corner of enclosed garden by Joseph Breck. Cloisters Archives

25. Entrance hall with figure of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., by Joseph Breck, March 3, 1933. Cloisters Archives

by the Museum Building Committee to assess and approve the design (Figures 25, 26). There are also a number of finished, rather fanciful drawings in the Cloisters archives that are unrelated to the actual project, drawings that Breck seems to have created for sheer pleasure (Figure 27).

In March 1932 Collens argued for a mixture of Gothic and Romanesque arches, combining the capitals of Trie and St.-Guilhem-le-Désert in one cloister to represent a protracted period of construction, common in the Middle Ages.³⁷ Running counter to Breck's didactic organization of material by style, Collens appealed to the organic evolution of medieval structures, whose elements often reflected building campaigns stretching over several centuries. This was the composite effect he had achieved at Hammond Castle, where a "Romanesque" tower section abutted a fourteenth-century style great hall, and yet later buildings flanked the courtyard.³⁸ Collens was also motivated in this suggestion by the practical necessity of having too few architectural elements from Trie, St.-Guilhem-le-Désert, or Bonnefont-en-Comminges for each to form a spacious four-sided cloister. In this instance Breck won his point and got all four cloisters—a four-sided circuit for the largest one, Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, two sides of the arcade from Bonnefont, and a very small Trie and St.-Guilhem.



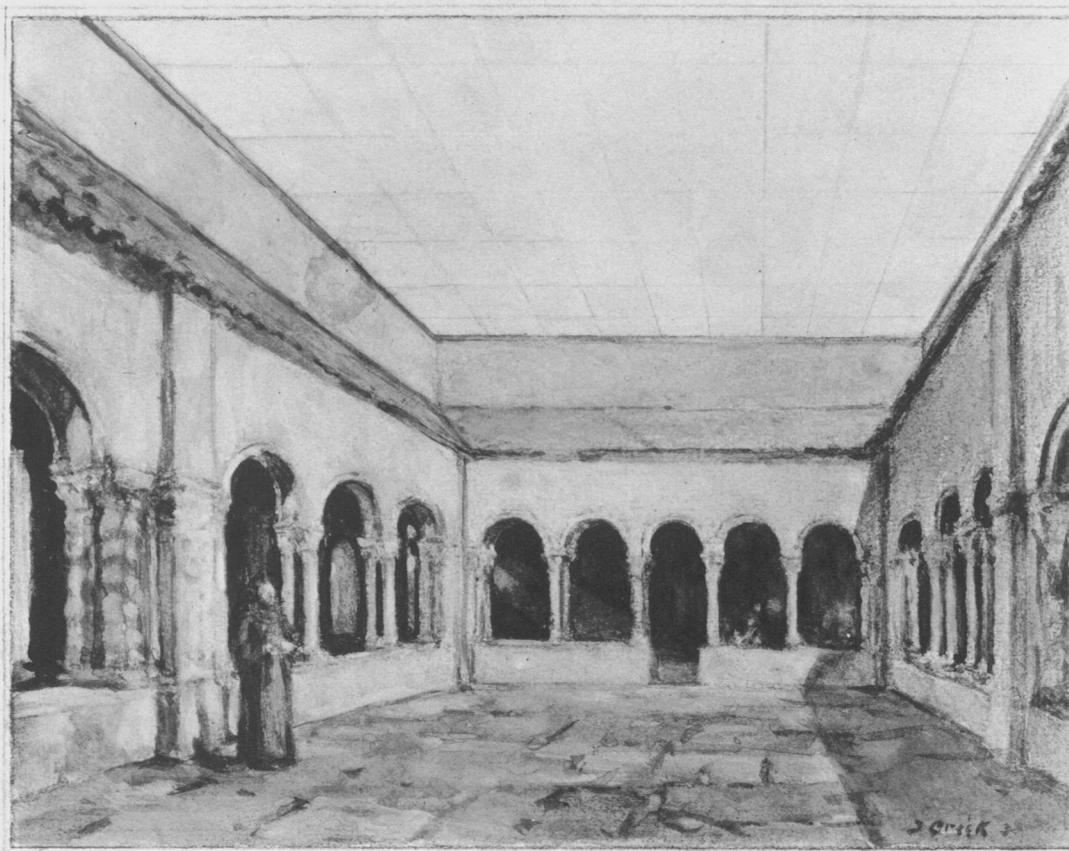
The design of the St.-Guilhem-le-Désert cloister proved particularly difficult. The sculptures were deemed too fragile for exposure to the elements, yet no satisfactory covering could be designed. One sketch shows a full second story of windows and a rather ghoulish monk (Figure 28). The solution at the Philadelphia Museum—electric lighting and an upper story—were rejected, and finally Collens devised a glass roof that gave the impression of an atrium space without the hazards.

Problems invariably arose with the introduction of undisguisedly modern elements, such as windows,

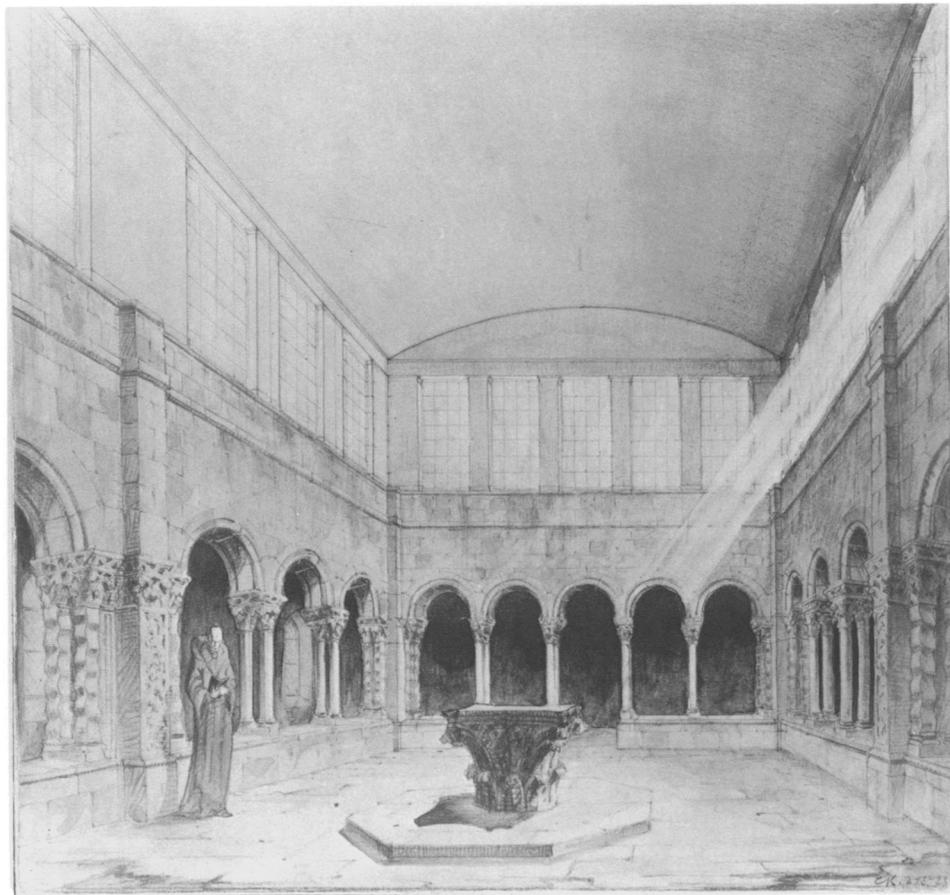
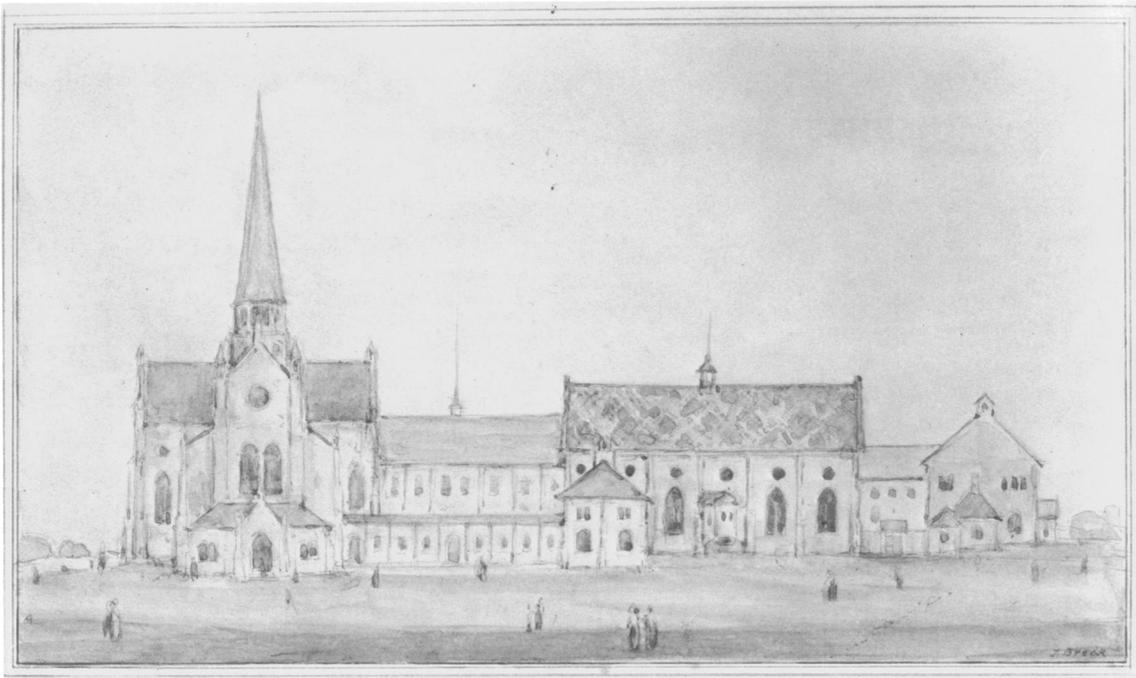
26. The Cloister of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert (stamped: "Design approved as shown. Building Committee for Cloister Museum") by Joseph Breck. Cloisters Archives

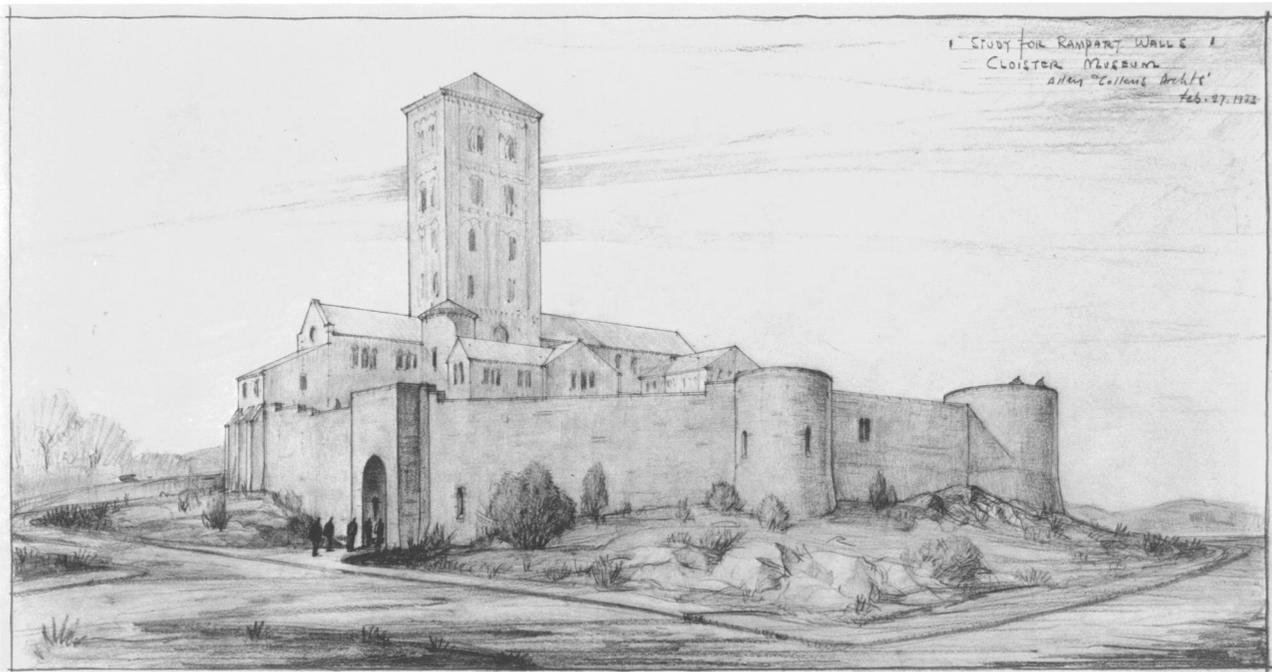
heating grates, and electric lights. Breck wrote to Collens about the boiler chimney. "It is a temptation to make a campanile or a belfry or something other than a chimney out of it, but we must resist! There are some existing Romanesque chimneys that might give you a suggestion."⁹⁹ Breck referred Collens to the entry "cheminée" in Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné* (1868–75).

By May 1932 the rampart walls had been designed. Their placement and height and the choice of stone were planned so that they appeared to be a natural outgrowth of the rock promontory (Figure 29). In fact, the museum was designed and built around the highest point in the accented stone promontory, and its rock juts up into the lowest level of the building, much like the "mont" of Mont-Saint-Michel. That Collens and Breck had by this point reached a common vision of the



Design approved as shown
Building Committee for
Cloister Museum
March 31, 1933





29. Study for rampart walls by Charles Collens. Cloisters Archives

museum is reflected in numerous watercolor sketches each man made of the finished building in its wooded setting (Figures 30, 31). At times these studies seem to have been made as the amateur artists sat side by side looking at the project site. Breck urged the start of construction of the museum, but Collens, who was always in close touch with Rockefeller, replied, "Our purpose is to completely clean up this building so that when construction goes ahead the contractor will have all the information necessary to build the job."⁴⁰ Before leaving for a winter of travel, Collens summed up a busy year and a half of work: "I am leaving this job with a feeling of confidence because it looks to me as though we have practically everything settled except for minor details. I do not believe that construction will start next spring unless something very radical takes place in the general condition of things."⁴¹

During Collens's absence, however, the relationship between his partner, Harold Willis, and Breck was less smooth. Willis was much younger than Collens and

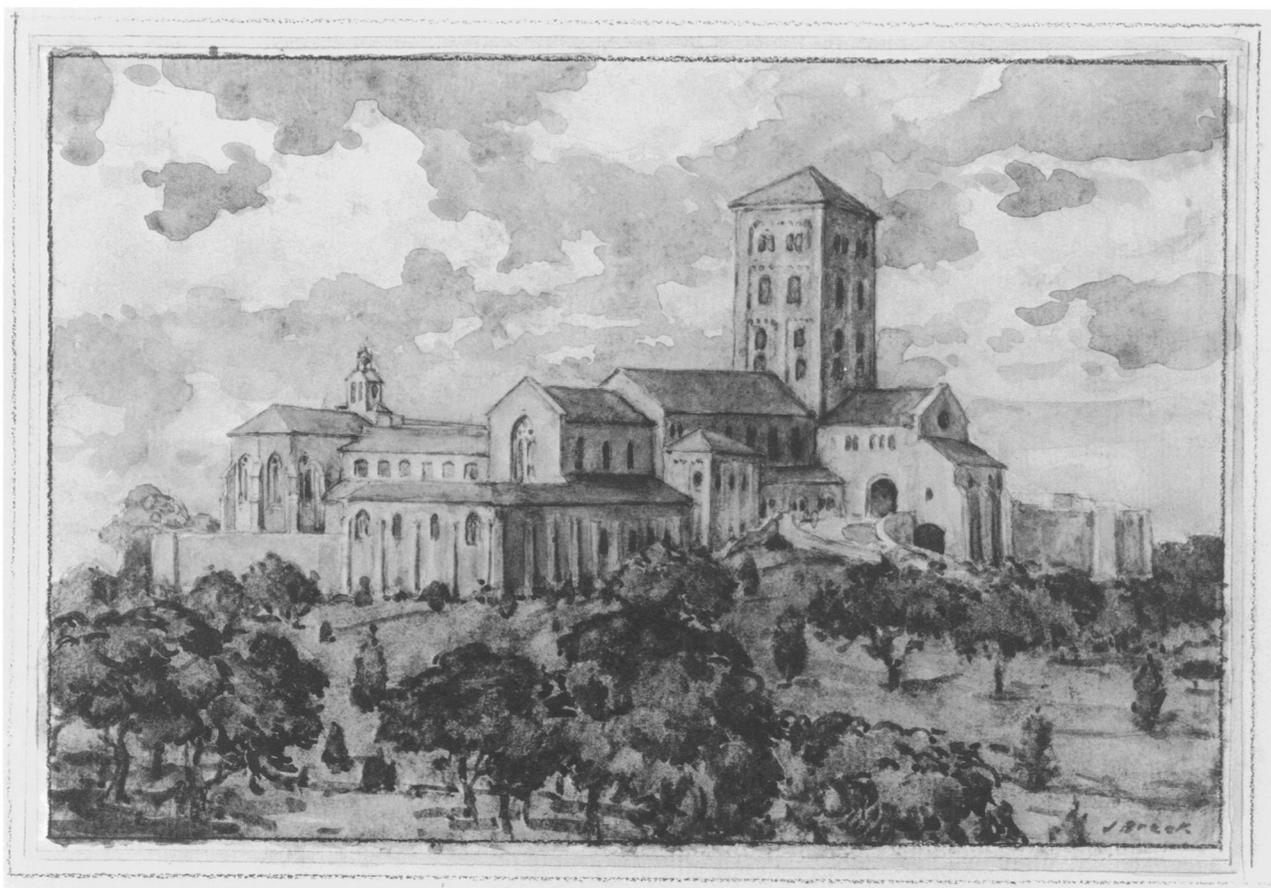
27. Scheme A, the new museum: "Cistercian Plan" by Joseph Breck. Cloisters Archives

28. The Cloister of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert by Joseph Breck.

Breck and was frequently impatient with Breck's suggested changes. By February he warned Breck that the very paper of the drawings was wearing out with constant erasures.⁴² Breck may have used this opportunity of working with the junior partner of the firm to push certain major changes he would not have put before Collens. In any case, it seems that the suspension of the close collaboration between Breck and Collens put the project on shakier ground. Willis lamented, "We have lost two months in restudying and redrawing,"⁴³ and he reminded Breck:

At the time of Mr. Collens' departure we had a complete set of working drawings, structural drawings, heating and ventilating and lighting drawings, and Mr. Collens and Mr. Rockefeller and I did not consider these drawings as studies. Mr. Collens understood at the meeting, which consisted of Mr. Collens, Mr. Blumenthal, Mr. Eidlitz, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller and yourself, that the plans of the museum as presented were accepted and approved.⁴⁴

By spring of 1933, James J. Rorimer, Breck's assistant, was increasingly involved in the meetings between Breck and Willis and had developed a good rapport



30. Watercolor of Cloisters exterior, view from south, by Joseph Breck. Cloisters Archives

with the younger architect. Rorimer spent much of that spring photographing and pacing off the construction site and supervising the laying out of the contour plans. When Collens returned in May, Breck, Rorimer, and Willis hurriedly updated him on the progress, or lack thereof, in the plans. Collens then met with Rockefeller, and his dissatisfaction with the intervening months must have been a topic of discussion. In a Building Committee meeting of May 26, a document was drawn up committing the plans to no further changes.⁴⁵ In view of the events of the winter, this must have been directed at Breck, and Collens took on the task of soliciting his signature before those of the other committee members. He discouraged Breck's repeated requests for another meeting of the committee and for another chance to talk with Rockefeller, and he even avoided seeing Breck when he came to New York to meet with Rockefeller about the museum. It seems clear from his actions

that Collens was distancing himself from Breck, who left for his summer travels in Europe on June 25.⁴⁶ While walking at Villars-sur-Ollon in Switzerland, Breck died suddenly of a heart attack. This unexpected news, wired to the Metropolitan Museum on August 2, marked a turning point in the progress and collaboration of the planners.

The day after Breck departed, Rockefeller had written to Collens urging him to complete the project, and by August 16, the fortification walls were begun. After Breck's death, Collens entered into a closer collaboration with Rorimer, who had assumed Breck's position as curator of Decorative Arts. Rorimer had strong feelings about the window and doorway treatments designed by Collens, and he frequently took liberties in fitting authentic material into the fabric of the building. In contrast to Breck's literal-mindedness, he occasionally argued for a dramatic effect rather than authentic ensembles.

He suggested, for example, that a “stunning [stained-glass] window” be placed in the wall of the Romanesque chapel only several feet from the floor.” In this instance, Collens dissuaded him from anything close to a Barnard installation.

Rorimer was decisive about one of the two areas of the museum that at this late date remained unfinished. On the east side of the building, a long Gothic gallery was to have above it a second-floor room for special exhibitions. Access to this second story was indicated on the plans by a stairway and balcony; the design had been modified many times with no satisfactory solution. Rorimer argued for the suppression of the upper space altogether, since it would contain no original medieval architectural elements. Instead, the ceiling of the first-floor gallery was raised and the balcony/stairway was omitted.

The second and last lingering problem area of the museum, the southeast corner, was not worked out until construction was well underway. It was stalled by delicate negotiations with the French government over the chapel of Saint Hubert from the town of Chauvirey-le-

Châtel. In July 1936 this chapel was officially presented to Rockefeller in appreciation for his generous funding of restoration work in France after World War I. Rumors of the gift were strong enough in 1933 for Collens to have included it in the plans and model, extending from the southeast end of the museum into the Trie Cloister (Figures 32–34). But popular French outrage over this donation of a national treasure to an American millionaire was forceful enough to scuttle the plan, and the Gothic chapel remained in France. Collens finished the southeast wing of the building with a room devoted to the six stained-glass panels from the Carmelite convent of Saint Severinus at Boppard, on the Rhine.

What Charles Collens managed to create in his design for The Cloisters was a unique integration of object and architecture, of medieval and modern stone. The project drew from Collens his finest performance, for in The Cloisters he culled the best from the previous century of neo-medieval architecture in America. With Breck, he drew inspiration from the monuments of Europe for validation of the architectural composition they created in sympathy with the art objects to be housed.

31. Watercolor of exterior view from south by Charles Collens. Cloisters Archives



He steered a satisfying middle course between a building style at odds with the period of art represented and an overbearing medieval replica that would have submerg-ed the original objects. What he achieved was a harmonious setting for the Museum's authentic architectural elements and objects.

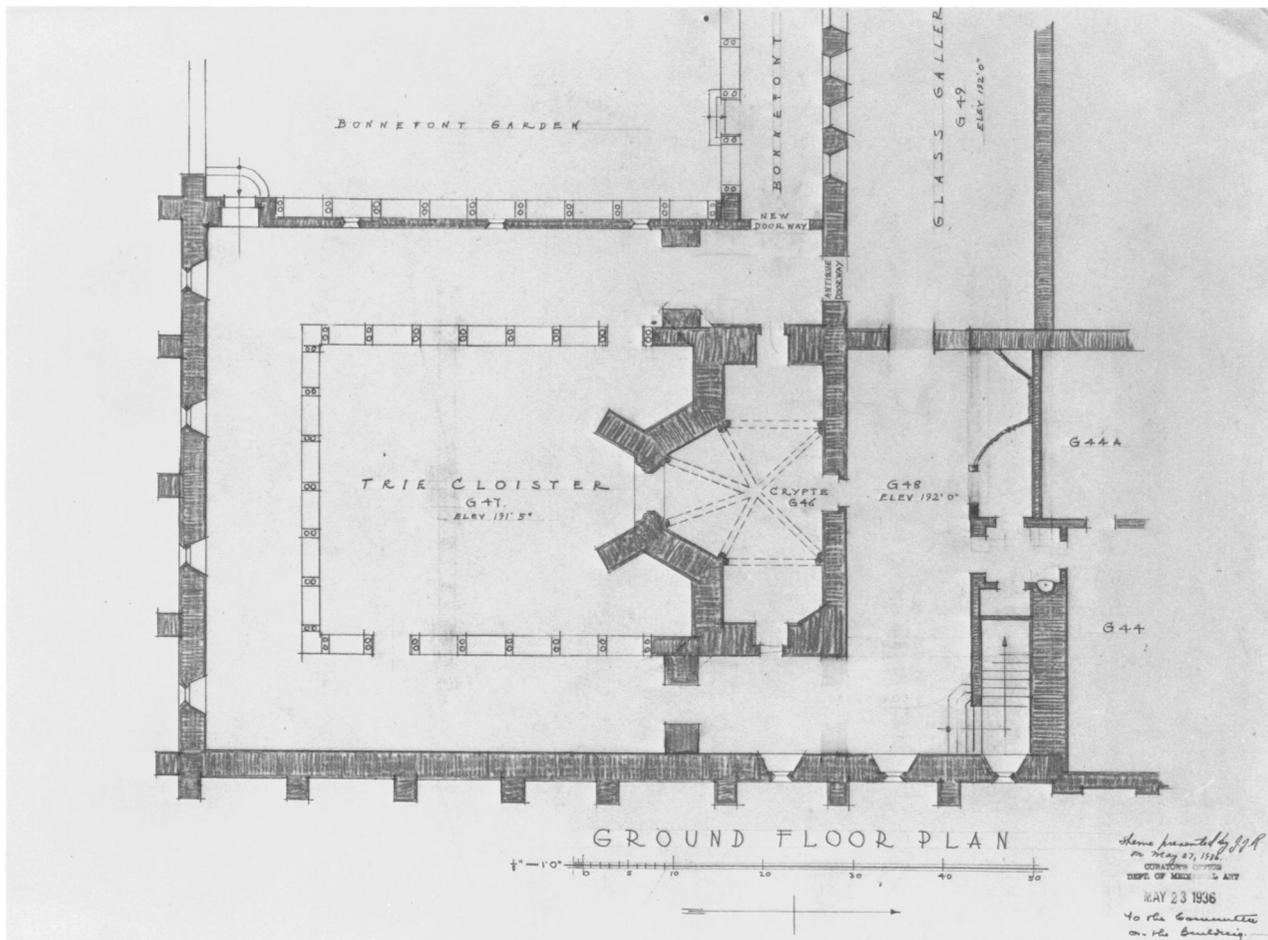
The Cloisters was much praised at its opening on May 14, 1938. Lewis Mumford lauded Charles Collens for the creative evocation of a medieval building.⁴⁸ George H. Edgell, director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, remarked, "I visited the Cloisters yesterday for the first time, and feel that you [Collens] have produced one of the most beautiful things existing in the Old World for the New."⁴⁹ Rockefeller, reflecting on his collaboration with Collens, wrote to the architect, "With the Riverside Church and The Cloisters, both in New York, you have two monuments to your creative genius and artistic skill that will endure for generations

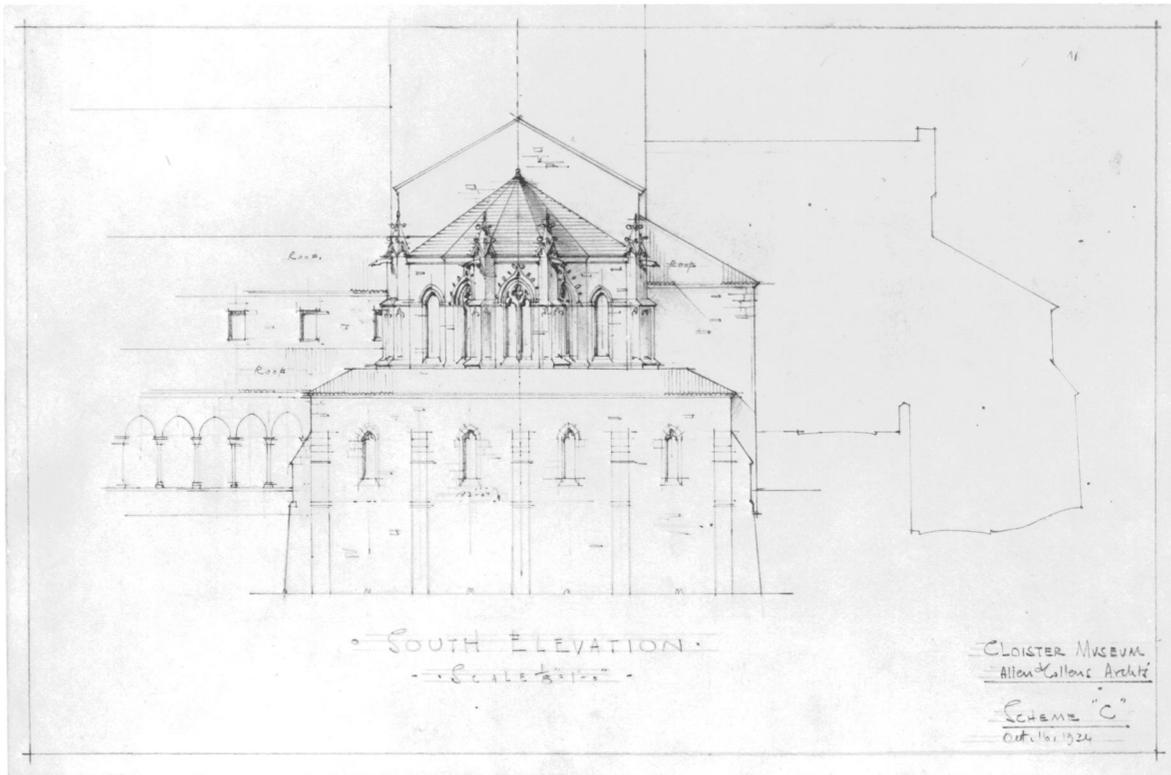
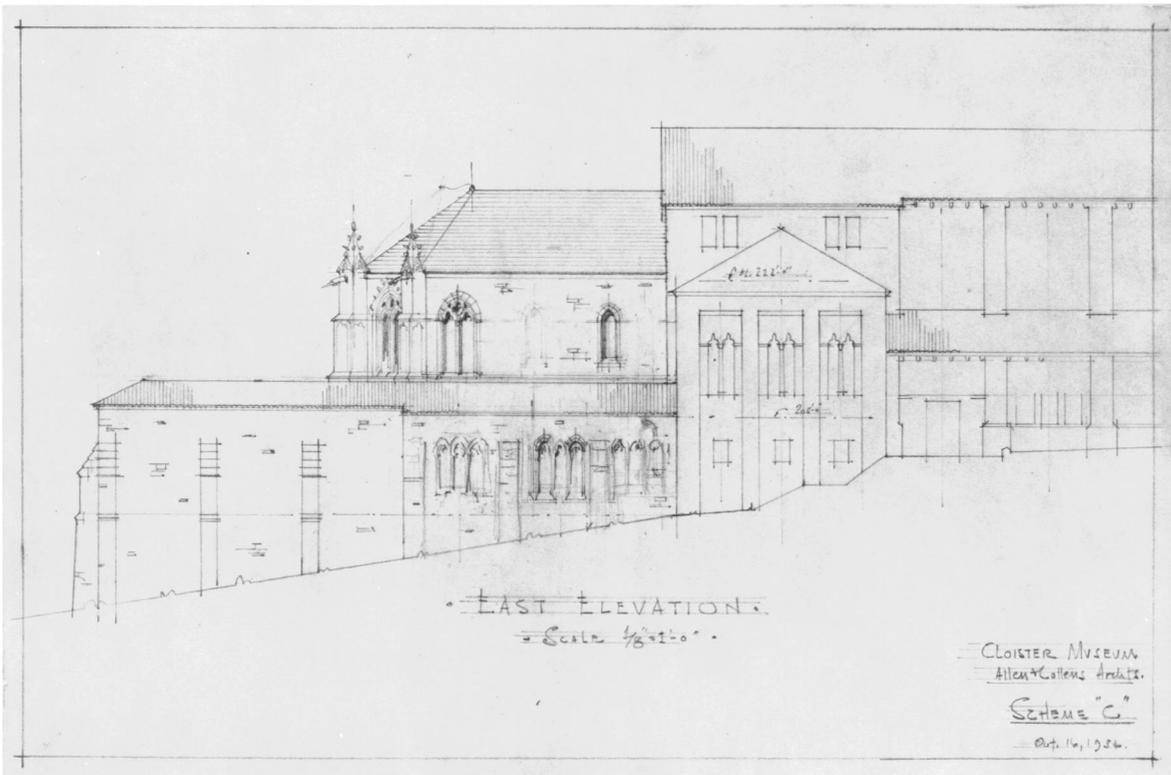
and generations to come."⁵⁰ The celebration this year of the fiftieth anniversary of The Cloisters is also a celebration of the work of this talented architect, who together with Rockefeller, Breck, and Rorimer, provided a worthy setting for a major part of the Metropolitan Museum's outstanding collection of medieval art.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It was in preparation for the anniversary that I began this research, thanks to a Summer Graduate Assistantship from The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The initial direction and continued support of Mary B. Shepard, Associate Museum Educator, and the help of Robert Goldsmith, Head of Operations, and Lauren Jackson-Beck, librarian at The Cloisters, and Jeanie James, archivist at the Metropolitan Museum, are greatly appreciated. I would also like to thank the family of Charles Collens for their generous cooperation.

32, 33, 34. Scheme C by the architectural firm of Allen, Collens and Willis, ground-floor plan, east elevation and south elevation. Cloisters Archives





NOTES

1. Two accounts of the creation of The Cloisters underestimate the contributions of Collens and Breck: see Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1970) p. 256; and J. L. Schrader, "George Grey Barnard: The Cloisters and the Abbaye," *MMAB* 37 (1979) p. 46. For a more balanced view of each man's contribution see Katherine S. Rorimer, in her introduction to the revised edition of James J. Rorimer's *Medieval Monuments at The Cloisters. As they were and as they are* (New York, 1972) p. 7; and Robert A. M. Stern, G. Gilman, and T. Mellins, *New York 1930: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Two World Wars* (New York, 1987) pp. 126–131.

2. For histories of Barnard and his collections see Harold Dickson, "The Origins of the Cloisters," *The Art Quarterly* 28 (1965) pp. 253–274; Mahonri Sharp Young, "George Grey Barnard and The Cloisters," *Apollo* 106 (1977) pp. 332–339; and J. L. Schrader, "Barnard." The standard biography of John Davison Rockefeller, Jr., is R. B. Fosdick's *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.: A Portrait* (New York, 1956). For background on James J. Rorimer, Rockefeller, and Barnard, see Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, chap. 19.

3. Schrader, "Barnard," p. 46.

4. Dickson, "Origins of the Cloisters," p. 257.

5. Germaine Bazin, former director of the Musée du Louvre, compares Barnard's composite structure to Alexandre Lenoir's pastiches for his Musée des Monuments Français in *The Museum Age* (New York, 1967) p. 255.

6. Schrader, "Barnard," p. 43.

7. Letter from Rockefeller to Robinson, Dec. 4, 1930, The Rockefeller Archives, Pocantico Hills, North Tarrytown, N.Y.

8. In chapters 14 and 19 of his biography *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, Fosdick discusses these and other building projects of his fruitful career.

9. Schrader, "Barnard," p. 44.

10. Letter from Rockefeller to Robinson, Dec. 4, 1930. The Rockefeller Archives, Pocantico Hills, North Tarrytown, N.Y.

11. All biographical information that follows is taken from an obituary in *The New York Times* (Aug. 3, 1933).

12. Letter from Breck to Collens, Feb. 2, 1931. Cloisters Archives.

13. Letter from Barnard to Rockefeller, June 20, 1916. The Rockefeller Archives.

14. Letter from Collens to Breck, Mar. 9, 1931. Cloisters Archives.

15. *Ibid.*

16. The following biographical information is taken from a five-page typescript autobiography, property of the Collens family.

17. The architect's own words, "At the beginning of this century, every aspirant for architectural fame felt that his education

could not be completed without some years spent at the Beaux-Arts," appear in the first of a three-part article, "The Beaux-Arts in 1900," *American Institute of Architects Journal* 7 (1947) pt. 1, Feb., pp. 80–86; pt. 2, Mar., pp. 144–151, and pt. 3, Apr., pp. 187–196. These essays constitute a delightful series of personal reminiscences of an American architecture student in the ateliers of Paris. See James P. Noffsinger, "The Influence of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts" (Ph.D. diss. Catholic University, Washington, D.C., 1955), for a study of the influence of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts on American architects.

18. For an example of the criticism raised over Riverside Church see W. A. Taylor in *American Architect* 139 (1931) pp. 32–33, 68, 70, 72; for the architects' rebuttal, see C. Crane, "Why We Made It Gothic," *American Architect* 140 (1931) pp. 26, 27, 122, 124.

19. For a survey of the medievalizing movement in American architecture, see Wayne Andrews, *American Gothic: Its Origins, Its Trials, Its Triumphs* (New York, 1975); Calder Loth and Julius Trousdale Sadler, Jr., *The Only Proper Style: Gothic Architecture in America* (Boston, 1975); and M. Whiffen, *American Architecture: 1607–1976* (London, 1981).

20. "Reconstruction of the Church of St. Vincent Ferrer: Allen and Collens and J. W. O'Connor, Associated Architects," *American Architect* 96 (1909) p. 76.

21. Letter from Collens to Rockefeller, Aug. 25, 1931. MMA Archives.

22. *Ibid.*

23. For the background on the building of the church and residence, see the introduction by Jane Hayward in J. Hayward and W. Cahn, *Radiance and Reflection, Medieval Art from the Raymond Pitcairn Collection* (New York, 1982) pp. 32–47.

24. C. B. Witham, "A Visit to Medieval Europe in America," *Stained Glass* 64 (1969–70) pp. 22–24.

25. Report of W. R. Valentiner to the Metropolitan Museum (1931). MMA Archives.

26. While his innovative contributions to the Metropolitan were many, his creation of separate galleries incorporating painting, sculpture, and decorative arts of each period arranged in historical sequence anticipated the plans for The Cloisters by twenty years. See M. Stern, *The Passionate Eye: The Life of William R. Valentiner* (Detroit, 1980), and the preface to the catalogue *Masterpieces of Art* for the W. R. Valentiner Memorial Exhibition at the North Carolina Museum of Art, April 6–May 17, 1959.

27. Charles Collens, "Report of Trip in Connection with the Medieval Museum at New York [1931]" (typescript) MMA Archives.

28. MMA Archives.

29. Remarks taken from "Explanation of Preliminary Sketches Proposed Medieval Museum. Fort Tryon Park, New York." MMA Archives.

30. Charles Collens, "General Explanation of Preliminary Layout #1," Apr. 29, 1931, MMA Archives.

31. Letter from Collens to Rockefeller, Aug. 25, 1931. MMA Archives.

32. Letter from Breck to Collens, Mar. 10, 1931. Cloisters Archives.

33. Collens's itinerary began at Bordeaux and included Pons, Saintes, Ecoyeux, Angoulême, Périgueux, Sarlat, Souillac, Rocamadour, Cahors, Monsempron, Moissac, Toulouse, Tarbes, Pau, Lourdes, St.-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Saint-Gaudens, Saint-Lizier, Foix, Aix, Saint-Martin-de-Canigou, Prades, the monastery of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, the monastery at Elne, Perpignan, Carcassonne, Font Froide, Aden, Aigues-Mortes, Montmajour, Arles, Aix, Cluny, Nevers, Bourges, Sens, and Paris.

34. Letter from Rockefeller to William Sloane Coffin, Building Committee Member and Museum Trustee, Nov. 11, 1931. MMA Archives.

35. Letter from Breck to Collens, Oct. 27, 1931. Cloisters Archives.

36. Letter from Breck to Collens, Nov. 9, 1932. Cloisters Archives.

37. Letter from Collens to Breck, Mar. 9, 1932. Cloisters Archives.

38. Witham, "A Visit to Medieval Europe in America," pp. 22-24.

39. Letter from Breck to Collens, Feb. 19, 1932. Cloisters Archives.

40. Letter from Collens to Breck, July 18, 1932. Cloisters Archives.

41. Letter from Collens to Breck, Dec. 5, 1932. Cloisters Archives.

42. Letter from Willis to Breck, Feb. 8, 1933. Cloisters Archives.

43. Ibid.

44. Letter from Willis to Breck, Mar. 3, 1933. Cloisters Archives.

45. Letter from Coffin, N. Rockefeller, Winlock, and Breck to Rockefeller, June 6, 1933. Cloisters Archives.

46. See correspondence of June 6, 1933, Breck to Collens; June 13, 1933, Collens to Breck; June 14, 1933, Breck to Collens; and June 21, 1933, Collens to Breck. Cloisters Archives.

47. Letter from Rorimer to Collens, Sept. 25, 1933, and Collens to Rorimer, Sept. 28, 1933. Cloisters Archives.

48. Letter from Rockefeller to Collens, Aug. 19, 1938. Property of the Collens family.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

continued from front flap

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