

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

Volume 24 / 1989

JOURNAL



The Metropolitan Museum of Art
is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve, and extend access to
Metropolitan Museum Journal



www.jstor.org

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
JOURNAL Volume 24/1989

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works in the Museum's collections and the areas of investigation they present. Contributions, by members of the Museum staff 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 is the first issue of the *Journal* to be dedicated to an individual upon his retirement: Dr. Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor. Dr. Nickel first came to the Museum in 1960 as a curatorial assistant in the Department of Arms and Armor. In 1969 he was appointed to the original Editorial Board of the *Journal*. His tenure at the Museum of nearly thirty years and his prolific and wide-ranging contributions to its scholarly publications make it doubly fitting for Volume 24 to be published in his honor. This volume includes a bibliography of his writings and three of his own articles, as well as twenty-two articles written by colleagues. Many authors have focused on arms and armor, Dr. Nickel's specialty, while others have selected from the vast array of other subjects in which he is knowledgeable. The contents of this volume, therefore, reflect to a large extent the breadth of knowledge and interest of this erudite and gifted man.

Distributed by

The University of Chicago Press

For information about the price and availability of previous issues of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, write to the University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, Ill. 60637.

JACKET ILLUSTRATION:

Hans Burgkmaier the Elder (1473–1531), "Bundrennen," a woodcut from *The Triumph of Maximilian I*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Volume 24 / 1989

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM
JOURNAL

Essays in Honor of Helmut Nickel

Editorial Board for volume 24:

KATHARINE BAETJER
Curator, European Paintings

GUY C. BAUMAN
Assistant Curator, European Paintings

MARIAN BURLEIGH-MOTLEY
Head, Office of Academic Programs

JAMES DAVID DRAPER
Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts

JULIE JONES
Curator, Primitive Art

JOAN R. MERTENS
Curator, Greek and Roman Art

The Board gratefully acknowledges the active participation of STUART W. PYHRR, Curator, Arms and Armor, in the preparation of this volume.

Manuscripts submitted for the *Journal* and all correspondence concerning them should be addressed to James David Draper. Guidelines for contributors are available on request.

Executive editor, Barbara Burn

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fifth Avenue and 82d Street, New York, N.Y. 10028, and is distributed by the University of Chicago Press, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, Ill. 60637.

ISSN 0077-8958

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number 68-28799

Copyright © 1989 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing by the publisher.

Designed by Peter Oldenburg

Composition by Graphic Composition, Inc.;

printed by Meriden-Stinehour Press;

bound by Acme Bookbinding Co., Inc.

DEDICATION

One of my great joys as a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum has been my close association over the years with its genial curator of Arms and Armor, Dr. Helmut Nickel. All who have had the good fortune to be in contact with him—trustees and staff, scholars at home and abroad, and members of the general public fascinated by his arsenal—will join me in welcoming this publication. Inspired by his example, it is intended to serve as a sign of the lasting mark he leaves on the institution and on his profession.

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER

Chairman of the Board of Trustees

Contents

Dedication <i>by Arthur Ochs Sulzberger</i>	3
Foreword <i>by Philippe de Montebello</i>	7
Helmut Nickel: An Appreciation <i>by James David Draper for the Journal Editorial Board</i>	9
The Publications of Helmut Nickel	13
The Emperor's New Saddle Cloth: The Ephippium of the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius	17
HELMUT NICKEL	
Of Dragons, Basilisks, and the Arms of the Seven Kings of Rome	25
HELMUT NICKEL	
Some Heraldic Fragments Found at Castle Montfort/ Starkenbergen and the Arms of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights	35
HELMUT NICKEL	
Organology and Iconography of Ancient Egypt and the Renaissance	47
HENRY G. FISCHER	
Timeas's Scarab	53
JOAN R. MERTENS	
Footwork in Ancient Greek Swordsmanship	57
BRIAN F. COOK	

Armorial Adjuncts	65
DIETRICH VON BOTHMER	
The Morgan Scramasax	71
KATHARINE R. BROWN	
A Famous Fourteenth-Century Japanese Armor	75
MORIHIRO OGAWA	
European Armor from the Imperial Ottoman Arsenal	85
STUART W. PYHRR	
Popular Imagery in a Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Crèche	117
WILLIAM FORSYTH	
A Paternoster Pendant in the Robert Lehman Collection	127
YVONNE HACKENBROCH	
A Rosary Picture with a View of the Park of the Ducal Palace in Brussels, Possibly by Goswijn van der Weyden	135
GUY C. BAUMAN	
Francesco Granacci and Some Questions of Identity	153
M. E. D. LAING	
With Bells on His Toes	167
ALICE ZREBIEC	
“Ick Sorgheloose . . .”: A Silver-Stained Roundel in The Cloisters	173
TIMOTHY B. HUSBAND	
Model of a Basilisk by Petrus de Arena	189
LEONID TARASSUK	
The Guarded Tablet	199
DAVID ALEXANDER	

A Beam Compass by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and the Origin of the Micrometer Screw	209
CLARE VINCENT	
Arms for Aeneas: A Group Reattributed to Jean Cornu	223
JAMES DAVID DRAPER	
<i>Repraesentatio Belli, ob successionem in Regno Hispanico . . . :</i> A Tea Service and Garniture by the <i>Schwarzlot</i> Decorator Ignaz Preissler	239
MAUREEN CASSIDY-GEIGER	
Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier and Two Revolutions	255
EDITH A. STANDEN	
A Nineteenth-Century Album of English Organ Cases	275
LAURENCE LIBIN	
Ephemera and the Print Room	285
JANET S. BYRNE	
Mother Cassowary's Bones: Daggers of the East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea	305
DOUGLAS NEWTON	

Foreword

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO

Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE DEDICATION of a volume of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* to Helmut Nickel is extraordinarily fitting. In the first place, he is the only member of the Editorial Board who has served since the *Journal's* inception in 1968. It is worth quoting from the foreword to the first volume, because Helmut's own contributions so fully bear out the new publication's stated purpose: "The *Journal* will be published annually and will contain articles and shorter notes in all fields of art represented in the Museum. . . . They will reflect in their diversity the wide range of our holdings."

As one peruses the titles in Volume 24, one notes that only Helmut, with his irrepressible creativity and good humor (and with collusion from the Editorial Board), would contribute unwittingly to his own *Festschrift*—not just one piece but three. Indeed, so broad are his curiosity and range of knowledge that his name could plausibly be substituted for any and every one of the contributing authors.

The outpouring of articles in Helmut's honor demonstrates, as nothing else can, that the substance of a museum lies in the interaction between the professional staff and the works of art. From his outpost in the Department of Arms and Armor, Helmut influenced the culture of the whole institution, because he was the *animateur par excellence* of his collections, in their every ramification. Perhaps his greatest quality is this spontaneous predisposition to enjoy and communicate his knowledge and his objects. He would not only command the scholarship on a helmet or corselet, but he was equally likely to wear it—just as he regularly appeared in costume at the medieval festivities organized by The Cloisters. He mesmerized children, he charmed grown-ups, and within the Museum he indulgently enlightened his colleagues, whether at coffee, at an acquisition meeting, or in the galleries before an object. Helmut is not only *Homo sapiens* and *Homo faber* but also, and quintessentially, *Homo ludens*.

Helmut Nickel: An Appreciation

JAMES DAVID DRAPER for the *Journal* Editorial Board

THIS FESTSCHRIFT VOLUME of the *Journal* is in many ways an offbeat production. For one thing, the dedication of a publication to a staff member is something of a departure at the Museum. For another, the honored party's own essays seldom appear in a Festschrift, but the man we celebrate has been generating articles at such a rate—pieces of sterling merit, produced seemingly without effort—that we are able to include a full trio of them. We are pleased to publish a list of his writings here, compiled with the aid of Stuart Pyhrr, his successor in the Arms and Armor department. We also take the opportunity to mention some events that have shaped the life of this man and may account in some measure for the momentous contributions he has made.

Helmut Nickel first saw the light of day on March 24, 1924—and thus we have missed by a few months feting him on his actual birthday. His place of birth, Quohren, is a small village in the county of Dippoldiswalde in Saxony. His memory of the sights of the neighborhood is indelible; those who went to Dresden to prepare for *The Splendor of Dresden* exhibition held at the Museum in 1978–79 testify to the enraptured enthusiasm with which he revisited Pirna and other scenes of his boyhood. His parents were schoolteachers, booklovers who must have encouraged his passion for investigation. For a time he pursued the study of animals, a field that has never failed to fascinate him. It can only be expected that the move to Florida is now affording him acquaintance with several diverting New World species.

As a young man, having experienced the miseries of war, Helmut made his way westward and in 1950 enrolled in the Freie Universität in Berlin. Simultaneously, from 1951 through 1957, he was a lecturer-guide in the Völkerkundemuseum in Berlin, and it



Helmut and Hildegard Nickel at the Cloisters Medieval Festival in 1972

was in the middle of this period, in 1953, that he took the important step of marrying Hildegard Wesemann. His university curriculum matched a broad appetite, balancing art history with studies in classical, Near Eastern, and Precolumbian archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology, and in medieval history and literature. In this he reflected the multiple interests of a cherished mentor, Edwin Redslob, cofounder and rector of the Freie Universität. His first publication, in 1955, was an article for Redslob's Festschrift, on the tomb of a Grand Commander of



A vignette from *Winnetou*, illustrated by Helmut Nickel for the Karl May comics: The young brave is sheltered by a tall pair of boots.

the Teutonic Knights, illustrated in the main by his own drawings. In 1958, Helmut took his doctorate magna cum laude from the university with a dissertation on medieval equestrian shields, subsequently published in serial form.

Helmut's gift for draughtsmanship may surprise readers unfamiliar with all facets of his career. His vivid style and ethnographic perceptions enabled him to support himself during his student years by producing a staggering number of drawings for adventure comic books. His unsigned drawings detailing the escapades of the Indian brave Winnetou, the swashbuckling Don Pedro, and the voyager Robinson entertained countless German children. He is to be found in *The World Encyclopedia of Comics* under the heading "Robinson." The entry writer, "W. F.," observes: "The anatomy of Nickel's figures is perfect, and the artist has a knack of adding a cartoony touch to some of the characters, thus providing the comic relief that so often is the frosting on the cake in adventure stories." W. F. then laments that "Nickel, who dropped out of sight after a decade or so of comic book work, is sorely missed on the German comics scene." That loss is the museum world's gain, but it would be wrong not to take this occasion to hint at the dramatic choice of viewpoint and the shifting play of blacks and whites in Helmut's best efforts. His unhes-

itating accuracy can also be attested by anyone who has watched him sketch an armorial shield. Indeed the draughtsman's informed, selective eye may help to account for the way in which many of Helmut's curatorial acquisitions linger in the mind as singularly strong images.

In 1958–59, Helmut worked as a curatorial assistant in the Lipperheidesche Kostümbibliothek in Berlin and in 1959–60 as a researcher for the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft in Berlin, preparing a survey of local manuscripts entitled *Schrifttum zur deutschen Kunst*. It was then that he came to the attention of James Rorimer, director of the Metropolitan Museum, as a candidate for an opening in the Arms and Armor department. Helmut arrived at the Museum as a curatorial assistant in 1960. English cannot have been much of a problem for this astonishing polyglot, and the Nickels took to New York immediately, although Hildegard recalls some trying experiences finding available housing. The hurly-burly of our ambitious, multifaceted institution must have been bracing, in any case, and it immediately engaged Helmut's talents for research and communication.

In his first years here Helmut gave little evidence of the zest for writing that would result eventually in a flood of publications. His first *Bulletin* article did not appear until 1965, but this was surely not a matter of writer's block. One factor that unquestionably slowed down his publications was the Museum's accelerating program of special exhibitions. There was no Department of Primitive Art in 1965, so it fell to Helmut to coordinate an exhibition of the Nathan Cummings collection of Precolumbian pottery. So much value was placed on Helmut's breadth of knowledge and the harmonious working relationships he was able to establish that he was given the curatorial responsibility for such major exhibitions as *In the Presence of Kings* in 1967 and the aforementioned Dresden exhibition.

Once Helmut's articles began to appear, they flowed without cease from a pen never less than brilliant. We note with pleasure how many have appeared in the *Journal*. In fact, he has been its most regular contributor, starting with the first volume in 1968. Until his retirement last year, he was the only member of the original *Journal* board still serving, and he actually helped edit some of the articles for this volume, little knowing the issue was destined to be dedicated to him.

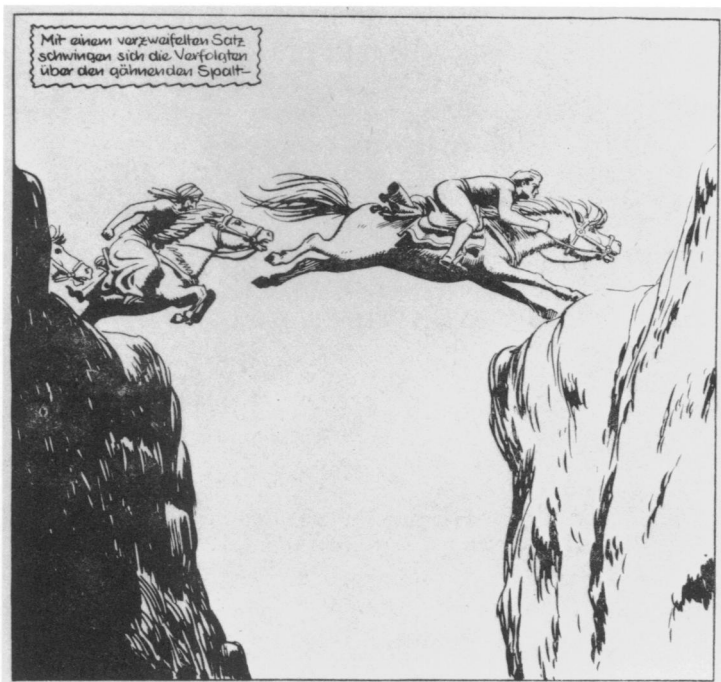
Helmut relates with relish how Thomas Hoving, then director, charged the newly formed *Journal* board to edit a yearly compilation of “dull, scholarly articles in the German *Jahrbuch* style.” As those who have served on the board know full well, Helmut’s patient tolerance of well-intentioned but “dull” authors is nearly as great as his liking for headier scholarship; that blue gaze of his is as kindly as it is keen. In any case, the word *dull* would never apply to one of his own manuscripts. Well-shaped gems they are, making all sorts of telling points while written with admirable economy, indeed rewriting aspects of history across the wide range of studies in medieval and Renaissance iconography, heraldry, and weaponry. Invariably his manuscripts are clearly thought through, a quality that has always endeared him to editors. We look forward to many more.

The list of Helmut’s writings does not even touch upon a category in which he has always excelled, and that is the reporting of new accessions. His latest effort in this vein, for *Recent Acquisitions 1987–1988*, is a model of its sort, telling us what we need to know about a giant Bohemian ceremonial arrowhead of the

fifteenth century. We learn along the way that it is one of only four of its size and type in existence and that two of these are already in the Museum’s collection, having also been acquired during Helmut’s tenure—but this fact is expressed with characteristic modesty. Only one familiar with the Museum’s inventory numbering system would catch it. Equally modestly, the entry declines to mention that the new find constitutes an addition to Helmut’s prior study of the subject, “Ceremonial Arrowheads from Bohemia,” his first *Journal* article.

Speaking of Helmut’s purchases, masterpieces spring readily to mind: a flintlock fowling piece made for Louis XIII, bought in 1972, or the Hever Castle Hispano-Moresque helmet, acquired in 1983. As for gifts, were not their majesties King Bhumidol Adulyadej and Queen Sirikit of Thailand moved to commemorate his exhibition *In the Presence of Kings* by presenting a Siamese ceremonial sword? The collecting of objects rich in historical association is a tradition of the Arms and Armor department, a tradition never more stoutly upheld than under Helmut’s guidance. John T. Schiff’s gift of the ivory-stocked pistols

A Nickel illustration for *Robinson*: The hero, pursued by Tartars, leaps to safety.



of Catherine the Great provides but one reminder. And, most fittingly, our Chairman of the Board, Mr. Sulzberger, observed the occasion of Helmut's retirement by giving in his honor the magnificent gold-handled sword of a Langobardic chieftain.

From a colleague's day-to-day point of view, the main point to be made about Helmut Nickel does not concern acquisitions or publications. Put simply, it is his extreme generosity in sharing his vast reserves of information, a chivalrous habit that was regularly and memorably in evidence at our monthly *Journal* board

meetings. A moment would typically arise when, the business at hand having been dealt with, Helmut would launch into a mesmerizing exposition of some topic, brief but laden with all manner of linguistic and ethnological relevance. That erudition and that liberality have prompted us to respond in the form of this *Festschrift*. Reasons of space have obliged us to limit the contributors to past and present Museum staff members, but we have no doubt that friends far and wide will echo our feelings of indebtedness and affectionate thanksgiving.

The correct way for a Museum professional to carry a sword, drawn by Helmut Nickel for *The Care and Handling of Art Objects* (New York, 1986)



The Publications of Helmut Nickel

The items are listed chronologically according to the year of publication or, in the case of periodicals, the year of the volume. Books and pamphlets appear first, in capital letters, followed by articles and occasional papers; these are organized alphabetically, first by the publication in which they appear and then by the first significant word of the title.

ABBREVIATIONS

MMA—*The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

MMAB—*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*

MMJ—*Metropolitan Museum Journal*

MGHKW—*Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für historische Kostüm- und Waffenkunde*

ZHWK—*Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde*

1955

Die Grabplatte des Grosskomturs Kuno von Liebenstein zu Neumark in Westpreussen. *Festschrift, Edwin Redslob zum 70. Geburtstage*. Berlin. 284–291.

Waffengeschichtliches zur Messinggrabplatte des Kuno von Liebenstein (1391) in der Pfarrkirche zu Neumark in Westpreussen. *MGHKW*, no. 1, 8.

1956

Trachten und Feldzeichen in Mexiko zur Zeit der Conquista. *MGHKW*, no. 3, 10–11.

1958

DER MITTELALTERLICHE REITERSCHILD DES ABENDLANDES. Ph.D. diss., Freie Universität, Berlin. Published in *Der Herald, Vierteljahresschrift für Heraldik, Genealogie und verwandte Wissenschaften* 4 (January 1959–December 1962).

Tracht und Ausrüstung der Konquistadoren und Entdecker im frühen 16. Jahrhundert. *MGHKW*, no. 6, 4–9.

Der mittelalterliche Reiterschild. *MGHKW*, no. 7, 1–9.

1959

Die Kremper Gilde. *MGHKW*, no. 8, 7–11.

Männertracht und Waffen in Knossos und Mykene. *MGHKW*, no. 9, 8–12.

Review of Claude Blair *European Armour* (London, Batsford, 1958). *MGHKW*, no. 8, 20–22.

1965

The Battle of the Crescent. *MMAB* n.s. 24, November, 110–127.

1966

The Man Beside the Gate. *MMAB* n.s. 24, April, 236–244.

The Little Knights of the Living Room Table. *MMAB* n.s. 25, December, 170–183.

1967

IN THE PRESENCE OF KINGS. New York: MMA.

1968

The Ottoman Empire [contributions]. *MMAB* n.s. 26, January, 219–221.

Ceremonial Arrowheads from Bohemia. *MMJ* 1, 61–93.

1969

WARRIORS AND WORTHIES: ARMS AND ARMOR THROUGH THE AGES. New York: Atheneum. Published in *Great Britain as ARMS AND ARMOUR THROUGH THE AGES*. London: Collins, 1971.

1969 *continued*

Böhmische Prunkpfeilspitzen. *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae* 23, no. 3, 101–163.

English Armour in The Metropolitan Museum. *The Connoisseur* 172, no. 693, 196–203.

A Knightly Sword with Presentation Inscriptions. *MMJ* 2, 209–210.

Sir Gawayne and the Three White Knights. *MMAB* n.s. 28, December, 174–182.

The Armorers' Shop. *MMAB* n.s. 28, December, 183–188.

1970

Über die Bilddevise in Deutschland bis zur Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. *Genealogia et Heraldica* 2, Vienna, 661–666. (Paper read at Tenth International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences, Vienna, September 14–19, 1970.)

1971

ARMS AND ARMOR IN AFRICA. New York: Atheneum.

The Heraldry in the Manuscript, in *The Cloisters Apocalypse*. New York: MMA. 18–26.

Addenda to "Ceremonial Arrowheads from Bohemia." *MMJ* 4, 179–181.

Der Bolzenkasten des Hans Wagner, Pixnschifter, 1539. *ZHWK* 13, no. 1, 26–34.

1972

Die Schweizerdolche des Blattfriesmeisters. *Congress Report, 6th Congress of the International Association of Museums of Arms and Military History*. Zurich (unpag.).

A Mamluk Axe. *Islamic Art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: MMA. 213–225. Reprinted in *Islamic Arms and Armor*. London: Scolar Press, 1979. 149–161.

"a harnes all gilte": A Study of the Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac and the Iconography of Its Decoration. *MMJ* 5, 75–124.

A Theory about the Early History of the Cloisters Apocalypse. *MMJ* 6, 59–72.

1973

Stone Bows in the Old and New Worlds. *Arms and Armor Annual* 1, 66–71.

About the Sword of the Huns and the "Urepos" of the Steppes. *MMJ* 7, 131–142.

Tamgas and Runes, Magic Numbers and Magic Symbols. *MMJ* 8, 165–173.

1974

ULLSTEIN WAFFENBUCH: EINE KULTURHISTORISCHE WAFENKUNDE MIT MARKENVERZEICHNIS. Berlin/Frankfurt/Vienna: Ullstein.

Arms Design and Decoration. *Encyclopedia Britannica* III (Macropaedia), 30–35.

The Art of Chivalry. *MMAB* n.s. 32, no. 4, 56–104.

Two Falcon Devices of the Strozzi: An Attempt at Interpretation. *MMJ* 9, 229–232.

The Boar-Badge of Richard III. *The Ricardian* 3, no. 46, 2–3.

1975

The Long Wait and the Quick Draw. *The Chase, the Capture: Collecting at the Metropolitan*. New York: MMA. 171–179.

The Dawn of Chivalry. *From the Land of the Scythians*. *MMAB* n.s. 32, no. 5 (special issue), 150–152.

Wer waren König Artus' Ritter?—Über die geschichtliche Grundlage der Artussagen. *ZHWK* 17, no. 1, 1–28.

1977

And Behold, a White Horse . . . —Observations on the Colors of the Horses of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. *MMJ* 12, 179–183.

1978

Dorsal Devices: Polish Hussars' Wings, Japanese Sashimono and Aztec Tlahuitzli. *Congress Report, 8th Congress of the International Association of Museums of Arms and Military History*. Warsaw. 19–23. Published in Germany as: Über Rückenstandarten: polnische Husarenflügel, japanische Sashimono und aztekische Tlahuitzli. *ZHWK* 21, no. 2, (1979) 97–106.

1979

Armor in the Italian Renaissance. *Gloria dell'Arte: A Renaissance Perspective*. Exh. cat. Tulsa, Okla.: Philbrook Art Center. 9–13.

1980

About divers precious stones of colours and their virtues. *Heraldry in Canada* 14, no. 3, September, 18–21.

The Graphic Sources for the *Moor with the Emerald Cluster*. *MMJ* 15, 203–210. Published in Germany as: Über die graphischen Vorlagen des *Mohren mit der Smaragdstufe* im Grünen Gewölbe zu Dresden. *Dresdener Kunstblätter* 25, no. 1 (1981) 10–19.

The Great Pendant with the Arms of Saxony. *MMJ* 15, 185–192.

1981

About the Arms of Reinhard of Winterthur and Other Canting Crests. *Arms, Armor, and Heraldry: Essays in Honor of Anita Reinhard*. New York. 1–12.

Über den Fahنشwenkel. *Arms, Armor, and Heraldry: Essays in Honor of Anita Reinhard*. New York. 41–76.

The Judgment of Paris by Lucas Cranach the Elder: Nature, Allegory, and Alchemy. *MMJ* 16, 117–129.

Zusätzliche Bemerkungen zum Problem der Klingensmarke “Gekröntes Pi.” *ZHWK* 23, no. 2, 101–109.

1982

THE ART OF CHIVALRY: EUROPEAN ARMS AND ARMOR FROM THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (in collaboration with Stuart W. Pyhr and Leonid Tarassuk). Exh. cat. New York: American Federation of Arts.

Unter den gekreuzten Schwerter: Bemerkungen zu den Blankwaffen der kursächsischen Schweizergarde zu Dresden, 1656–1814. *Blankwaffen/Armes blanches/Armi bianche/Edged Weapons: Festschrift Hugo Schneider zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*. Stäfa, Switzerland: Th. Gut. 168–190.

Arms and Armor. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* I. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons. 521–536.

An Iconographical Remark to “Simulated Reliefs in a Painting by Juan de Flandes.” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 1, no. 4, 28–31.

1983

Über einen ritterlichen Siegelring in der Schatzkammer der Residenz München. *Studien zum europäischen Kunsthandwerk: Festschrift für Yvonne Hackenbroch*, edited by Jörg Rasmussen. Munich: Klinkhardt und Biermann. 39–43.

About Arms and Armor in the Age of Arthur. *Avalon to Camelot* 1, no. 1, 19–21.

The Arming of Gawain. *Avalon to Camelot* 1, no. 2, 16–19.

Bow and Arrow / Crossbow. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* II. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons. 350–354.

Catapults. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* III. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons. 179–181.

Orders of Chivalry (s.v. Chivalry). *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* III. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons. 303–307.

Armor. *Funk & Wagnall’s New Encyclopedia*. New York. 369–371.

Über einige Inventionsstücke zum Grossen Aufzuge des Caroussell-Rennens der Vier Weltteile zu Dresden im Jahre 1709. *ZHWK* 25, no. 2, 81–94.

1984

The Arms of Sir Perceval and His Kin. *Avalon to Camelot* 1, no. 4, 11–12.

Ladies’ Service and Ladies’ Favors. *Avalon to Camelot* 1, no. 4, 31–34.

About the Sequence of the Tapestries in *The Hunt of the Unicorn* and *The Lady with the Unicorn*. *MMJ* 17, 9–14.

A Note on the *macquauitl*: Gedenkschrift Gerdt Kutscher. *Indiana* 9, 159–173.

Carpaccio’s *Young Knight in a Landscape*: Christian Champion and Guardian of Liberty. *MMJ* 18, 85–96.

1985

Games and Pastimes. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* V. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons. 347–353.

Heraldry. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* VI. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons. 172–177.

The Fight about King Arthur’s Beard and for the Cloak of Kings’ Beards. *Interpretations: A Journal of Idea, Analysis, and Criticism* 16, no. 1, 1–7.

Some Remarks on the Armorial Tapestry of John Dymham at The Cloisters. *MMJ* 19/20, 25–29.

Introduction. *Powderhorns: In the Southern Tradition*. Exh. cat. Tallahassee, Fla.: Museum of Florida History. 1–4. Reprinted as: Keeping His Powder Dry. *American Rifleman*, June 1987, 24–25, 78–79 and in *Outdoor Life/Guns and Shooting Yearbook*, 1989, 135–139.

Arms and Armor. *Songs of Glory: Medieval Art from 900 to 1500*. Exh. cat. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Museum of Art. Cat. nos. 147–167.

1986

Arms and Armor. *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*. New York and London: Garland Press. 11–17.

Heraldry. *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*. New York and London: Garland Press. 278–283.

1986 *continued*

The Arms of King Arthur. *Avalon to Camelot* 2, no. 2, 22–23.

Lance. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* VII. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 323–325.

[Entries in] *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg: 1300–1550*. Exh. cat. New York: MMA. Cat. nos. 60, 62, 63, 265, 267–272, 274–278. Published in Germany as *Nürnberg 1300–1550: Kunst der Gotik und Renaissance*. Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

1987

The Arms of Sir Yvain, the Knight of the Lion, as Well as Those of His Kin. *Avalon to Camelot* 2, no. 3, 4–7.

Merlin, Magic, and Swords of Power. *Avalon to Camelot* 2, no. 4, 28–34.

Swords and Daggers. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* XI. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 546–552.

A Heraldic Note about the Portrait of Ladislaus, Count of Haag, by Hans Mielich. *MMJ* 22, 141–147.

1988

Why Was the Green Knight Green? *Arthurian Interpretations* 2, no. 2, 58–64.

The Iron Door Mountings from St. Léonard-de-Noblat. *MMJ* 23, 83–87.

The Tournament: An Historical Sketch. *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, edited by Howell Chickering and Thomas H. Seiler. Kalamazoo, Mich. 213–262.

The Emperor's New Saddle Cloth: The Ephippium of the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

FOR DIETRICH VON BOTHMER IN HONOR OF HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

AMONG THE WORKS OF ART surviving from classical antiquity, one of the most influential is doubtless the equestrian statue of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (reigned A.D. 161–80) (Figure 1). For centuries it stood in the Lateran, until it was transferred, in 1538, to the Campidoglio by Michelangelo; it survived largely because it was erroneously believed to be an effigy of Constantine, the first Christian emperor. By a combination of this unjustified attribution, its own artistic merits, and its conspicuous presence, it served as a model for the majority of equestrian statues throughout the entire history of European art.¹

A reduced free copy by Filarete (1400–ca. 1465) is the earliest known dated small bronze of the Italian Renaissance (Figure 2). Its plinth bears a presentation inscription to Piero de' Medici (Filarete's benefactor) and the date 1465.² Although Filarete permitted himself some artistic liberties by adding an oversize helmet as a support for the horse's raised foreleg, and by completing the fragmentary breaststrap of the original, he took great pains to duplicate the ephippium, the saddle blanket of the emperor's mount, with its elaborate border of zigzag cuts, stepped lappets, and sawtooth patterns.

Half a century later, François I had a plaster cast made of Marcus Aurelius's horse and it was displayed in one of the courtyards of Fontainebleau, which, from then on, became known as la Cour du Cheval Blanc. It remained there until 1626, when it had to

be removed because of weather damage. This horse was the inspiration for several works of the School of Fontainebleau—such as an enamel plaque, formerly in the Lenoir collection, with an equestrian portrait of Henri II wearing a Roman toga and Diane de Poitiers riding pillion (Figure 3),³ and also the Louvre's marble relief of Charles IX of France as a Roman emperor on horseback; he wears classical parade armor and strikes a more dramatic pose than the pensive philosopher emperor (Figure 4).⁴ In spite of the changes made in the representations of their riders, the horses in these effigies are faithfully modeled after Marcus Aurelius's steed, as shown by their meticulously reproduced saddle blankets. This exact copying even went as far as to include the fragment of the breaststrap, which in the original is now without a purpose, since the once separately applied center piece of the breast harness has been lost.⁵ Quite obviously, this particular saddle was considered to be an authentic piece of Imperial Roman horse equipment; otherwise, it would not have been so carefully copied.

And as recently as 1951, in a reconstruction of the lost equestrian statue from the Column of Justinian at Istanbul, the Byzantine emperor's horse was given a saddle blanket that bore the pattern of Marcus Aurelius's ephippium (Figure 5),⁶ though, according to late-medieval illustrations of Justinian's statue, he was originally represented as riding bareback.⁷

However, the triple-layered construction of the



1. Bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. Roman, A.D. 2d century. Rome, Campidoglio (photo: Anderson)



2. Bronze statuette, reduced copy of the statue of Marcus Aurelius, by Antonio Averlino, called Filarete (1400–ca. 1465), dated 1465. Dresden, Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

3. Drawing after an enamel representing Henri II and Diane de Poitiers on horseback; formerly Lenoir collection (after Steinmann)



4. Marble relief of Charles IX on horseback. Paris, Louvre (photo: Arch. Phot. Paris)

5. Reconstruction of the Column of Justinian (or Theodosius). Istanbul (after Mamboury)





6. Mosaic of the *Battle of Alexander and Darius*, found 1831 in Pompeii. Naples, National Museum (photo: Anderson)

ephippium in Marcus Aurelius's statue—with a zigzag-edged element on top of one with a border of stepped lappets, which in turn overlaps one with a sawtooth border—is actually quite out of the ordinary. Roman saddle blankets of the second century A.D., as shown in the reliefs of the Trajan and Marcus Aurelius columns, were mostly simple rectangles of cloth, sometimes with a heavy fringe at the bottom edges that hung down below the horses' bellies. The mounts of the emperors themselves, and those of their cavalry guard units, sported more elaborate saddles that had a shorter, zigzag-edged seat cover on top of the longer fringed blanket.⁸ This top layer seems to have been loosely attached to the lower saddle cloth, because it is sometimes shown draped over shields hanging on the saddle horns with riders dismounted; this was probably done to protect the painted surfaces of the shields in inclement weather.⁹ Incidentally, the Germanic hostiles are, as a rule, represented as riding bareback.

The two fragmentary equestrian statues from Caroteto di Pergola, found in 1946, have ephippia of similar shape, but simpler construction than that of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁰ They have single-layer saddle blankets: one has a sawtooth edge at its bottom and stepped lappets along its crupper edge, and the other has stepped lappets all around.

Very similar design arrangements are to be found in the celebrated mosaic of the Battle of Alexander and Darius, which was found at Pompeii (Figure 6),¹¹ where two of the horses on the Persian side are depicted with clearly identifiable saddle blankets. On the collapsing horse of the hapless rider struck by Alexander's lance, there is an ephippium with a sawtooth border along its bottom and a dagged version of stepped lappets at its rear edge, while the other horse—in the center of the composition, in front of Darius's chariot wheel, where it is held by its dismounted rider, who loyally offers his steed to his king for a speedier flight—bears a saddle blanket bordered by stepped lappets. Evidently these saddle blankets with stepped edges were considered to be typical for Eastern horsemen, and, indeed, they can

be regularly found on Achaemenian seals and coins, in the reliefs of Persepolis, on decorated Scythian sword scabbards, and on Iranian horse rhytons (Figures 7, 8, 9).¹² In 1984, Bernard Goldman coined the term “the Persian Saddle Blanket” for this peculiar saddle cloth, although he had to admit that its origins seem to have been with the steppe nomads in the North, because the “half merlon,” as he calls the stepped lappet, would be an impractical decoration for woven fabrics, but eminently suited for felt, the material favored by the nomads.¹³

A surviving example of such a saddle blanket of felt, with stepped lappets along its lower edge, was

found in a state of perfect preservation in one of the frozen tumuli, known as kurgan V, at Pazyryk in Siberia (Figure 10).¹⁴ This burial mound of a nomad prince, from around 300 B.C., also yielded a large felt tapestry with appliqué figures of horsemen displaying the same saddle blankets with stepped lappets (Figure 11), and among its further treasures was one of the earliest known Oriental pile carpets (Figure 12), also with representations of horsemen going around the border, as if in solemn procession.¹⁵ Each horse bears a saddle blanket edged in stepped lappets.

It seems that these saddle blankets with stepped

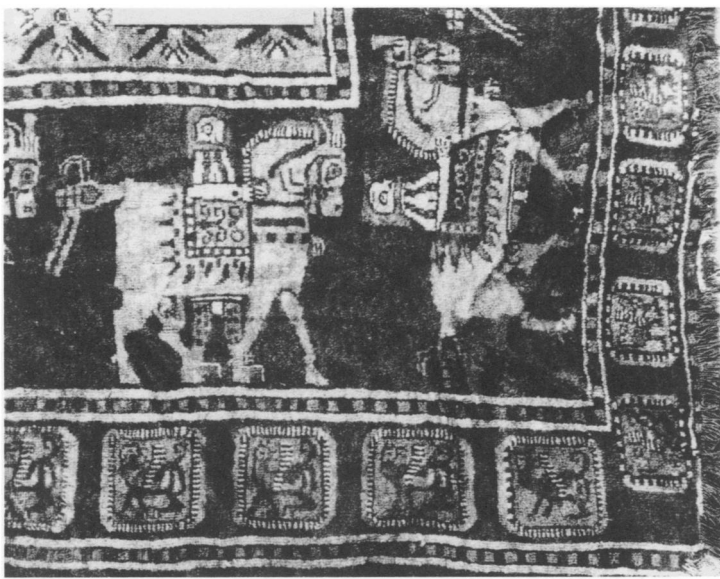


7. Seal, Iranian, first millennium B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, funds from various donors, 1893, 93.17.17

8. Detail of a gold akinakes scabbard, Scythian, ca. 300 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1930, 30.11.12



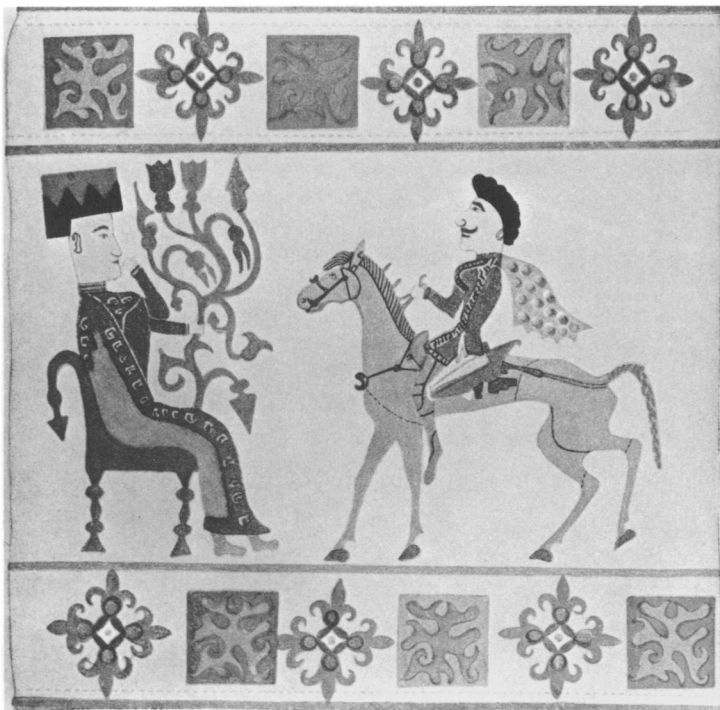
9. Clay horse rhyton, Iranian, 8th–5th century B.C., Teheran Museum (after Ghirshman)



10. Saddle blanket of felt, found in kurgan V, Pazyryk, Siberia; probably Sarmatian, ca. 300 B.C. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum (after Jettmar)

edges were an element of material culture shared among the horsemen of Iranian stock, whether highly civilized Achaemenian Persians or “barbarian” nomads, such as Scythians and Sarmatians.¹⁶ The nomad princes of the Siberian kurgans are thought to have been Sarmatians. By the first century A.D. Sarmatian tribes had drifted so far westward that their outriders made contact with the Romans in the Danube region.¹⁷ These tribes—Alani, Roxolani, Antae,

11. Horseman, detail of a felt tapestry, found in kurgan V, Pazyryk, Siberia; probably Sarmatian, ca. 300 B.C. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum (after Jettmar)



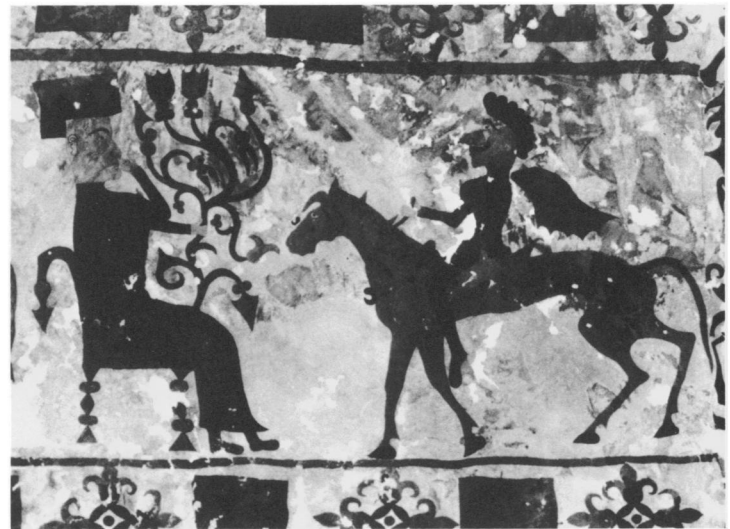
and Jazyges—were horse nomads and in warfare rode as heavy armored cavalry (the Late Roman heavy cavalry, *cataphractarii* and *clibanarii*, was modeled after Sarmatian prototypes).¹⁸ In A.D. 175 Marcus Aurelius succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the westernmost of these Sarmatians, the Jazyges of Pannonia, which is now Hungary.¹⁹ After this military success Marcus Aurelius added the honorific “Sarmaticus” to his name.

From this it seems most likely that Marcus Aurelius’s mount in his equestrian monument is a captured Sarmatian war steed, which he rides, demonstratively saddled in Sarmatian fashion, in celebration of his victory in far-off Pannonia.

APPENDIX

Part of the peace terms with the defeated Jazyges was that in A.D. 175 they had to contribute 8,000 warriors as cavalry auxiliaries to the Roman army; 5,500 of these were sent to Northern Britain attached to the Legio VI Victrix to fight Pictish would-be invaders.²⁰ These Sarmatians in Britain, incidentally, were not returned to their homeland after their twenty-year term of service had expired, but were settled in a kibbutzlike military colony at Bremetennacum, now Ribchester, in present-day Lancashire, to raise horses for the Roman cavalry and to guard the coastal area at the mouth of the river Ribble against Irish pirates. This *cuneus veteranorum Sarmatarum* at Bremetennacum is still listed in the official

12. Reconstructive drawing of a pile carpet, found in kurgan V, Pazyryk, Siberia; probably 4th century B.C. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum (after Jettmar)



muster roll of the Late Roman army, *Notitia Dignitatum*, ca. A.D. 428.²¹ Considering this late survival, combined with the facts that Sarmatians were heavy-armored cavalry, fought under battle standards in dragon-shape, had as representations of their tribal god of war a naked sword thrust in the ground or a platform,²² and finally, that in A.D. 175 the praefectus of the Legio VI Victrix was a certain Lucius Artorius Castus,²³ it is possible that Marcus Aurelius's victory had another lasting influence,

NOTES

1. Kurt Kluge and Karl Leo Heinrich Lehmann-Hartleben, *Grossbronzen der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 3 vols. (Berlin/Leipzig, 1927) II, p. 85; S. A. Callisen, "The Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV in Dijon and Related Monuments," *The Art Bulletin* 23 (1941) pp. 131–140; Harald von Roques de Maumont, *Antike Reiterstandbilder* (Berlin, 1958) pp. 56–60, fig. 29; Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (New York, 1973) pp. 172–173; P. Fehl, "The Placement of the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* (1974) pp. 362–368; Licia Borelli Vlad, Giulia Fogolari, and Anna Guidi Toniato, "The stylistic problem of the Horses of San Marco" in *The Horses of San Marco, Venice* (London, 1979) pp. 15–41, fig. 49; and *Die Pferde von San Marco in Venedig*, exh. cat. (Berlin, 1982) cat. nos. 177, 178, 180–184.

2. Wolfgang von Oettingen, *Antonio Averlino, genannt Filarete*, in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 6 (Leipzig, 1888) pp. 13–14; and Joachim Menzhausen, "Marcus Aurelius on Horseback," *The Splendor of Dresden*, exh. cat. (Washington/New York/San Francisco, 1978) no. 47, p. 85, ill. The statuette came to the Kunstkammer of Prince Elector Christian I of Saxony (r. 1586–91) as a present from Guglielmo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in the late 16th century, and is now inv. no. H 155/37 in the Skulpturensammlung, Dresden.

3. Ernst Steinmann, "Die Zerstörung der Königsdenkmäler in Paris," *Monatshefte der Kunstwissenschaft* (1917) pp. 337–380, pl. 52, fig. 9; and Callisen, "Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV," p. 136, fig. 8.

4. Michèle Beaulieu, "Le Roi Charles IX à Cheval," *Fontainebleau: Art in France, 1528–1610*, 2 vols., exh. cat. (Ottawa, 1973) II, no. 540, p. 117, cover ill.; Musée du Louvre, inv. R. F. 1474, attributed to Germain Pilon (1528–90). The reversal of the position of the horse might be the result of its being copied after a print.

5. The now-lost center section of the breaststrap and the medallions, also lost, on the horse's headstall were possibly enameled (as in Filarete's reduction) and were therefore made separately.

6. Ernest Mamboury, *Istanbul Touristique* (Istanbul, 1951) p. 261; and Guido Perocco, "The Horses of San Marco in Venice," in *The Horses of San Marco*, pp. 49–79, fig. 81; see also "Die Pferde von San Marco in Venedig," in *Die Pferde von San Marco*, pp. 55–72, fig. 36.

this time on medieval literature, by contributing to the development of legends about King Arthur.²⁴

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For much appreciated help and generously shared information I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Elfriede R. Knauer, Joan R. Mertens, Stuart W. Pyhrr, and George Szabo.

7. Phyllis Williams Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider," *The Art Bulletin* 41 (Mar. 1959).

8. Lino Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971) p. 135, figs. 7, 8; p. 142, fig. 19; p. 149, fig. 31; p. 151, fig. 32; p. 157, figs. 42, 43; p. 159, fig. 44; p. 178, figs. 78, 79; and C. Caprino et al., *La Colonna di Marco Aurelio* (Rome, 1955) pl. iv, fig. 9 (IIC); pl. xviii, figs. 36, 37 (xxvi, xxvii, xxviii); pl. xxxii, fig. 65 (LI); pl. xxxvi, figs. 71, 72 (LVI); pl. xlvi, figs. 91, 92 (LXXIV, LXXV); pl. l, fig. 99 (LXXIX); pl. lv, fig. 109 (xci); pl. lvii, fig. 114 (xcv); pl. lviii, fig. 115 (xcv); and pl. lxiv, fig. 128 (cviii); see also H. Russell Robinson, *The Armour of Imperial Rome* (New York, 1975) chap. 7, "Horse Armour," pp. 190–196; and Paul Holder and Peter Connolly, "Cohortes Equitatae from Augustus to Hadrian," *Military Illustrated: Past & Present* 13 (June–July 1988) pp. 21–32, ill.

Among the sixteen monuments with saddle blankets illustrated in Roques de Maumont, *Reiterstandbilder*, only the ephippium of Marcus Aurelius's mount (fig. 29) shows stepped lap-pets; on one statuette from Pompeii (fig. 11), perhaps representing Alexander the Great, the ephippium has a crenelated fringe; on three other statues (figs. 10, 30, 50) the saddle blankets are animal skins with the paws still attached.

9. Rossi, *Trajan's Column*, p. 157, figs. 42, 43; p. 159, fig. 44.

10. *Bronzi Dorati da Cartoceto* (Cantini, 1987) pls. 34, 39, 40; and in *Die Pferde von San Marco*, pp. 188–189, cat. nos. 91, 92.

11. Unfortunately, there are great lacunae in the mosaic. Therefore, neither Alexander's saddle nor any of those of the other Greek horsemen have been preserved; they could have offered a comparison.

12. Hans Henning von der Osten, "The Ancient Seals from the Near East in the Metropolitan Museum," *MMAB* 13 (1931) 2, no. 14; idem, *Die Welt der Perser* (Stuttgart, 1956) pls. 18, 86; Roman Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran: From Its Origin to the Time of Alexander the Great* (New York, 1964) p. 261, fig. 345; p. 288, fig. 346; p. 289, fig. 347; p. 291, fig. 348; and idem, "La Selle en Iran," *Iranica Antiqua* 10 (1973); pp. 94–107, figs. 2, 3, pl. L.

13. Bernard Goldman, "The Persian Saddle Blanket," *Studia Iranica* 13 (1984) pp. 7–18, pls. 1–vi; and Elfriede R. Knauer, "Gleanings," *Studia Iranica* 15 (1986) pp. 265–266, pl. 1.

Knauer draws attention to the statue of Marcus Aurelius, in

response to Goldman, who had stated that the "Persian Saddle Blanket," formerly a status symbol of nobility, had disappeared in the second century B.C.

14. Karl Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes* (New York, 1964) p. 113, pl. 17 (saddle blanket), p. 115, pl. 18 (tapestry), pp. 118–121, pl. 19, fig. 103 (carpet); Tamara Talbot-Rice, *Ancient Arts of Central Asia* (New York, 1965) p. 35, fig. 26 (carpet), pp. 38–39, fig. 30 (tapestry); E. D. Phillips, *The Royal Hordes: Nomad Peoples of the Steppes* (London/New York, 1965) pp. 83–85, fig. 92 (carpet), 93 (tapestry); Mikhail P. Gryaznov, *The Ancient Civilization of Southern Siberia: An Archaeological Adventure* (New York, 1969) pl. 118 (saddle blanket), pls. 134–135 (carpet), pl. 137 (tapestry); and Ghirshman, *Arts of Ancient Iran*, pp. 360, 361, figs. 466, 467 (carpet).

It is interesting that the surviving saddle blanket has a fragment of the breaststrap remaining at exactly the same spot as in Marcus Aurelius's statue.

15. The carpet measures 200 by 190 cm. and has 36 knots per cm. (215 knots to the square inch). In the outer bordures (griffin medallions, horsemen, and star bursts) are markings suggesting starting points for a dicing game.

16. In *Die Pferde von San Marco*, cat. no. 143, there is a bronze statuette of a centaur, described there as workshop of Riccio, ca. 1500, which has a caparison with a triple border of stepped lapets and sawtooth patterns copied from Marcus Aurelius's ephippium. Cat. no. 43 is a terra-cotta relief plaque of the second half of the 6th century B.C., from Southwestern Turkey, which shows a horseman pursuing a griffin. Here the saddle blanket is painted on with a large sawtooth pattern (N. Thomas, "Recent Acquisitions by Birmingham City Museum," *Archaeological Reports for 1964–1965* [1965] pp. 64ff.). Cat. no. 140 is a drawing by Polidoro da Caravaggio (1490/1500–48?) after the Ammendola sarcophagus, ca. A.D. 180 in the National Museum, Rome, which shows the hindquarters of a horse with a saddle blanket edged in a sawtooth cut. This horse, ridden by a Roman officer slaying a barbarian, was possibly meant to be a captured steed; the same might be true of the saddle horses wearing seat covers with zigzag edges that are found among the cavalry campaigning in the Balkans against Dacians and Sarmatians in the friezes of Trajan's Column. For the Ammendola sarcophagus, see Bernard Andreae, *Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den römischen Schlachtsarkophagen* (Berlin, 1956) pl. 4.

One of the Three Wise Men on horseback in the sculptural decoration of the so-called Trivulzio candelabrum in the cathedral of Milan has an unusual saddle blanket with stepped lapets. Apparently, the 12th-century artist was still aware of a tradition that saddles of this type were "Eastern," and therefore appropriate for the Three Kings from the Orient. For the Milan candelabrum, see Otto Homburger, *Der Trivulzio-Kandelaber* (Zurich, 1949) pl. 45.

17. Tadeusz Sulimirski, "The Forgotten Sarmatians: A once-mighty folk scattered among the nations," chap. 12 in *Vanished Civilizations* (London/New York, 1963) pp. 279–298; and idem, *The Sarmatians* (New York, 1970).

18. Ortwin Gamber, "Dakische und sarmatische Waffen auf den Reliefs der Trajanssäule," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen zu Wien* 60 (1964) pp. 74ff.; J. W. Eadie, "The Development of Roman Mailed Cavalry," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 57 (1967) pp. 161–173; and Ortwin Gamber, "Kataphrakten, Clibanarier, Normannenreiter," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen Wien* 64 (1968) pp. 7ff.

19. Earnest Cary, *Dio's Roman History* (London/New York, 1927) epitome of Book LXXII, 22.1, pp. 35–36; Roques de Maumont, *Reiterstandbilder*, p. 58, rejects Max Wegner's theory in *Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1939) p. 114, that the statue should have been erected when Marcus Aurelius added the title "Armenicus" to his name in A.D. 164. Instead, he suggests that it might have been shortly after A.D. 147, when Marcus Aurelius became co-regent.

Armenia, though, is within the range of distribution of the "Persian Saddle Blanket"; see Burchard Brentjes, *Drei Jahrtausende Armenien* (Leipzig, 1973) pl. 5, where he illustrates the horseman rhyton found at Erebuni, Armenia, in 1968. The ephippia of the Cartoceto statues, which are thought to date from the early first century B.C., might originate from Asia Minor as they are too early to be Balkan booty; but they might be diplomatic presents from somewhere in the steppes.

Richard Brilliant, *Roman Art from the Republic to Constantine* (London, 1974) p. 115, fig. II.33, dates it at "about A.D. 176" in the caption.

20. Cary, *Dio's History*, Book LXXII, 22.1, 2, pp. 35–36; Sulimirski, "Forgotten Sarmatians," p. 293; and idem, *Sarmatians*, pp. 175–176, fig. 65.

21. Otto Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* (Berlin, 1876) OC. XL, 54, p. 212; and I. A. Richmond, "The Sarmatae, Bremetennacum Veteranorum and the Regio Bremetennaciensis," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 35 (1945) pp. 16–29.

22. Herodotus VI, 62, and Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI, 2.23.

23. Kemp Malone, "Artorius," *Modern Philology* 22 (1924) pp. 367ff.

24. Helmut Nickel, "Wer waren König Artus' Ritter? Über die geschichtliche Grundlage der Artussagen," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* (1975) Heft 1, pp. 1–28; idem, "The Dawn of Chivalry," *From the Lands of the Scythians: Ancient Treasures from the Museums of the U.S.S.R., 3000 B.C.–100 B.C.*, exh. cat. (New York, 1975) pp. 150–152; and C. Scott Littleton and Ann C. Thomas, "The Sarmatian Connection: New Light on the Origin of the Arthurian and Holy Grail Legends," *Folklore* 91 (1978) pp. 513–527.

Of Dragons, Basilisks, and the Arms of the Seven Kings of Rome

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

FOR OTTFRIED NEUBECKER

AMONG THE HUNDREDS OF SEALS that came to the Museum with the W. Gedney Beatty Bequest in 1941 there is a silver signet ring that poses intriguing iconographical questions. This ring (Figure 1) is thought to be Byzantine, probably of the fifth or sixth century.

Carved on the round bezel of this ring is a standing figure in Late Roman scale armor, accompanied by an inscription in Greek letters. The warrior's helmeted head is surrounded by a halo; he leans to his right with his hand on an upright lance, while the left hand rests on the top of his shield set on the ground. This heroic pose is familiar from many such representations since classical times. In striking contrast to the quiet stance of the warrior, a wildly wiggling dragon is hanging from the tip of his lance.

Because of his halo this warrior has been identified as Theodore Stratelates of Heraclea, the knightly saint who was credited with having slain a dragon.¹ However, aside from the thorny problem that the warrior is more likely the other, earlier Theodore, St. Theodore Tiro of Amasea, who was the patron saint of the Byzantine army,² the dragon seemingly impaled on his lance is not a specimen of the virgin-devouring mythical monsters, but a *draco*, a military standard. The *draco* was a dragon-shaped battle-ensign, constructed like a wind sock from fabric attached to a metal head with open jaws, designed to catch the wind, making it billow out and writhe like a live serpent. These standards were introduced into the Roman army by Sarmatian cavalry auxiliaries from the Danube regions of Dacia and Pannonia after A.D. 175. In the third and fourth centuries the

draco was carried by Late Roman and Byzantine cavalry units, and at times it was even used as the distinctive signum of the cohort.³ The bearers of the *draco*, the *draconarii*, formed a special group within the class of standard-bearers, the *signifers*. Because the ring's inscription, ΒΡΑΘΗΑΑ ("bratila"), appears to be an archaic Balkan-Slavic diminutive for "brother,"⁴ and taking into consideration that there is a nearly identical gold ring (bearing the same inscription) preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, it is tempting to speculate that these were "class rings" of *draconarii*, most likely of the East Roman mercenary units recruited from Slavic tribes (Figure 2).

Most intriguingly, a very similar motif—a knight armored in blue, standing on a small red dragon and clutching in his right hand a golden staff and a green snake—appears nearly a thousand years later, in the fifteenth century, as heraldic charge in the imaginary arms of Servius Tullius (578–534 B.C.), the sixth of the seven semilegendary kings of Rome (Figure 3). The only difference in the rendering of this knight as compared to the warriors on the ΒΡΑΘΗΑΑ rings is that the knight holds his golden shield braced at the ready and there is no halo. The shape of the shield and the body armor, with its carefully detailed *pteryges* (shoulder straps), indicate a conscious effort to copy a Late Roman model. The dragon under the knight's feet is clearly a misinterpretation of the rocky ground upon which the saintly warriors of the rings stand. There seems to be little room for doubt that the alleged arms of Servius Tullius were styled after such a *draconarius* ring. Since the field of



1. Silver signet ring, with inscription ΒΡΑΤΗΛΑ, Byzantine, probably 5th or 6th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941, 41.160.279

Servius Tullius's arms is argent, in all probability this was a silver ring, but it would be too much to hope that our silver ring was the direct model.

These armorial bearings of Servius Tullius are part of a series, the arms of the Seven Kings of Rome, "who existed before the Empire originated" (*die gewessen sind zuvor, e dz keisertumb uff erstund*), il-

2. Gold signet ring, with inscription ΒΡΑΤΗΛΑ, Byzantine, probably 5th or 6th century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. M 175 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

OPPOSITE PAGE:

4. The arms proposed for "the Emperor who would reconquer the Holy Sepulcher and the Holy Land Jerusalem," surrounded by the arms attributed to the Seven Kings of Rome (after Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; folio IIb)

lustrated on folio IIb of one of the most important rolls of arms of the fifteenth century, the *Wappenbuch* of Konrad Grünenberg, knight, patrician, and mayor of Constance; it was completed in 1483 (Figure 4).⁵

The inclusion of the arms of the Seven Kings of Rome in Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* grew out of the conviction (shared by most medieval heraldists) that every historical, biblical, or mythical personality—who by the standards of medieval society would have been entitled to a coat of arms, as for instance the Knights of the Round Table or the Nine Worthies—should have one assigned for propriety's sake. Therefore, a herald compiling a comprehensive roll of arms was practically forced to fill in gaps. From this *horror vacui* derived some very peculiar creations, including the arms of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Holy Trinity. Incidentally, the arms attributed to the Twelve Caesars of Rome are included on folio III of Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* (Figure 5).⁶

The imaginary arms of the Seven Kings of Rome are grouped around another hypothetical shield and crest, a highly original augmentation of the arms of

3. The arms attributed to Servius Tullius, sixth King of Rome, 578–534 B.C. (after Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; detail of folio IIb)



Item welcher Römischer kaiser Gewinne dz hailig grab vnd des selb
hailig land jersusalem der macht sine wappen vnd banner vore der adler
vor schwarz mit dreyen hohren vns, also guldm vortext an der vnderfa
zu amen zucken großer freuden vnd ligen Des zu amer ewig gedächtnis

Wie stund die ersten sieben
kuny die gewissen sind zu
vns dz künstlich
uff erhand

Numerus Pompeius der ander



Tullius Pompeius der drit



Severus Aemilius
ist der fünfte



Tullius Aemilius
oder Tullius
der sechste



Des allerduerlichstgosten und grafmüchtigsten
vnses gnedigsten heyligen kaiser rudolffs
praktor den er an vil dinsten hat
ygen gar lieb und gezeichnet

Bedutnis der funff vocalen
A ere ist osterreich vnderthon

HAPE
HOES
IVV



Nere ist ob vns 21
Ner nach stat gezeichnet der sigel Rom / darumb der erst kaiser und die naechste
Zweiff vnter kaiser die andern / der am groesste ist / hat in durch krieg vnter
wollen vnderwerthen gelauffen / won sy gar nach amts aischen buech bedorfften

der ander kaiser
octavianus
augustus kaiser

der erst kaiser
julius

der zehend kaiser
georg galba

der aehntend kaiser
otto silarius

der drit kaiser
tribonianus
der kaiser

der vierd kaiser
caligula

der funff kaiser
claudius caesar

der sechst kaiser
nero claudius

der zuehnt kaiser
vespasianus

der zuehnt kaiser
agrippa

der zuehnt kaiser
domitian

Senat populus
as romanus
vnter alles folgt
se Rom

der nimm kaiser
aurelianus

the Holy Roman Empire: a sable, a triple-headed and -haloed eagle Or. These arms were waiting to be awarded to the emperor “who will reconquer the Holy Sepulcher and the Holy Land Jerusalem.” The actual imperial arms at Grünenberg’s time were Or, a double-headed eagle sable, armed gules.⁷

The shields of the Seven Kings of Rome are as follows:

1. Romulus (*Romullus der erst*): gules, the She-wolf suckling the Twins, Romulus and Remus, argent;
2. Numa Pompilius (*Numen Pompilius der ander*): Or, a basilisk vert, beaked and crested gules, devouring a scorpion sable;
3. Tullus Hostilius (*Thullus host/ilius der drit*): argent, a standing woman, barefoot in a short gown azure, her hair done up in two coils Or, holding in either hand a snake vert;
4. Ancus Marcius (*Anc’ martius d’ fierd*): argent, the shield’s upper part shaded azure, Fortuna, nude and blindfolded, holding up a billowing sail argent, standing on a large fish vert;
5. Tarquinius Priscus (*Tarquinius/pristus der all/ist der fimffte*): sable, a winged Cupid, holding a lighted fire-basket, riding a lion passant Or;
6. Servius Tullius (*Servius tullius/ist der sechste*): argent, an armored knight azure, with a shield Or, holding a staff Or together with a snake vert in his right hand, standing on a dragon gules;
7. Tarquinius Superbus (*Tarquinius subp’/oder tarquinius der hochfertig*): azure, a nude man with a cloak vert draped over his right shoulder, is seated on a square chest Or, holding in his left hand a short sword argent together with a laurel branch vert, and in his right hand an indistinct torchlike object argent.

In the preface to his *Wappenbuch* Grünenberg takes care to point out that he did extensive research for his armorial illustrations; indeed, direct models can be found for most of these fictitious arms of the Seven Kings of Rome.

Aside from the arms of Servius Tullius, with their charge based on one of the ΒΡΑΘΗΑΑ rings,⁸ the most obvious case is the She-wolf with the Twins in the shield of the first king, Romulus (753–715 B.C.) (Fig-

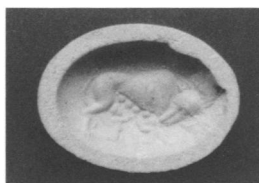
5. The ciphers of Emperor Friedrich III (1440–93), and the arms attributed to the Twelve Caesars, surrounding the arms [+ SPQR] of the City of Rome. (after Grünenberg’s *Wappenbuch*, 1483; folio III)



6. The arms attributed to Romulus, founder and first King of Rome, 753–715 B.C. (after Grünenberg’s *Wappenbuch*, 1483, detail of folio IIb)

ure 6). The story of Romulus and Remus and the founding of Rome, as told by Livy (I, 4), was of course familiar to every educated person in the fifteenth century and makes the choice of this charge self-evident. However, there is a possibility that this motif was not taken only from literary tradition.

The She-wolf with the Twins could be found on countless works of Roman art, ranging from altar reliefs to coins. In most of these representations from classical antiquity the She-wolf is turning her head, watching the suckling infants (Figures 7, 8). With the



7. Impression of an almandine sealstone, representing the She-wolf with the Twins, Roman, 2d century B.C.–A.D. 3d century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941, 41.160.693
8. Reverse of bronze coin, representing the She-wolf with the Twins, Roman, 2d–1st century B.C. Private collection
9. The Capitoline *lupa* with the Twins. Bronze. Rome, Museo Capitolino (photo: Alinari/Anderson)



exception of her heraldically raised tail, though, the forward-facing stance of the She-wolf in Romulus's arms and the positioning of the Twins—one sitting up and one kneeling—are the same as in the bronze group on the Capitoline Hill (Figure 9). Evidently Grünenberg took the famed Capitoline *lupa* as his model; it was the most authoritative representation he could find.⁹

Similarly, the seventh and last king, Tarquinius Su-



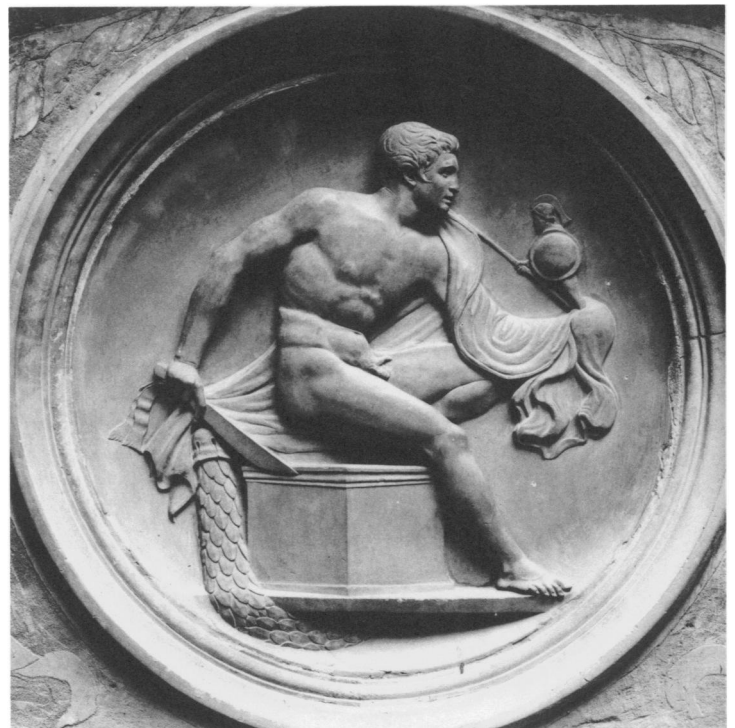
10. The arms attributed to Tarquinius Superbus, seventh and last King of Rome, 534–510 B.C. (after Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; detail of folio IIb)
11. Chalcedony intaglio, representing Diomedes seizing the Palladium of Troy, by Dioskourides, ca. 30 B.C. Florence, Museo Mediceo (after Dacos, Giuliano, and Pannuti, *Il tesoro di Lorenzo*, fig. 19)



perbus (534–510 B.C.), has a most distinguished work of classical art for the model of his shield blazon (Figure 10). This is the much admired intaglio by Dioskourides, about 30 B.C., of Diomedes seizing the Palladium. It was famous enough to be copied in antiquity. In the fifteenth century there were already four examples of it in the collection of Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who would become Pope Paul II. The most celebrated of these gems, the so-called Niccoli chalcedony, was later acquired by Lorenzo il Magnifico, and it became the model for one of the relief medallions in the cortile of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (Figures 11, 12).¹⁰ The fact that Grünenberg represents Diomedes with his sword in his left hand indicates that he must have copied his design directly from an actual gemstone and not from an impression.

Surprisingly, the iconography of the highly praised Niccoli chalcedony was not recognized in Grünenberg's time; the inventory of the Barbo collection, in 1457, speaks only of "a nude man sitting, with a sword in his right hand, and [a figure of] the god Mars in his left." Apparently, Grünenberg, or whoever brought this motif to his attention, saw in it a representation of Tarquinius's usurpation of the king's chair in front of the Senate House (Livy I, 47), instead of one of the crucial events that led to the Fall of Troy.

12. Relief medallion, representing Diomedes seizing the Palladium; workshop of Donatello. Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (photo: Alinari)





13



14



15

13. The arms attributed to Tarquinius Priscus, fifth King of Rome, 616–578 B.C. (after Grünberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; detail of folio IIb)

14. Bronze medal, representing Eros riding a lion and carrying a lighted incense burner on a pole, by Gian Francesco Enzola (act. 1456–78). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (photo: National Gallery of Art)

15. Almandine ringstone, representing Eros riding a lion, which is tearing a goat's head, Roman, undated. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, x.327

16. The arms attributed to Ancus Marcius, fourth King of Rome, 641–616 B.C. (after Grünberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483, detail of folio IIb)

17. Reverse of bronze medal of Gianozzo di Bernardo Salviati, representing *Fortuna audax*, holding a sail and standing on a dolphin, in the manner of Niccolò Fiorentino, late 15th century. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (photo: National Gallery of Art)

The unheraldic posture of the lion in the shield charge of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king (616–578 B.C.) (Figure 13), and its color scheme of light-colored figures on a dark background suggest that its source was a cameo gem cut in layered agate. If there was such a gem, it seems to be lost; but the motif is found on an Early Renaissance medal by Gian Francesco Enzola (active 1456–78) (Figure 14).¹¹ The little Eros taming a lion or other wild beast is an allegory for the Power of Love (Figure 15).¹² The reason for choosing this device for Tarquinius Priscus is obscure; it was possibly an allusion to the dominant personality of Tanaquil, his wife, who steered him into the kingship (Livy I, 33–35).

Blindfolded Fortuna with her sail, and as *Fortuna audax* represented as standing on a dolphin skimming over the waves, was a well-known symbol for braving and overcoming the dangers of maritime trade, and was therefore very appropriate for Ancus Marcius (640–616 B.C.), the fourth king and by tradition the founder of the harbor of Ostia (Livy I, 33) (Figure 16). Again, the direct model for these arms seems to have been not a work of art from classical antiquity but a fifteenth-century medal (Figure 17).¹³

On the other hand, it seems that ancient Greek



16



17



18. The arms attributed to Tullus Hostilius, third King of Rome, 673–641 B.C. (after Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; detail of folio I1b)



19, 20. Obverse and reverse of a *cistophorus*, Pergamum mint, 2d century B.C. New York, American Numismatic Society (photo: American Numismatic Society)

21. Tetradrachm (*cistophorus*) of Mark Anthony, Roman, ca. 40 B.C. (after Sydenham)

and Roman coins were the prototypes for the arms of the remaining two kings, Tullus Hostilius (ruled 672–641 B.C.) and Numa Pompilius (715–672 B.C.).

The enigmatic female figure holding a pair of snakes in her hands on Tullus Hostilius's shield (Figure 18) seems to have no readily identifiable model. The motif was probably influenced by the story of the youthful Herakles strangling the two serpents Hera sent to his cradle in a fit of jealousy. More likely, however, it was derived from the snake design on coins first minted at Pergamum in the second century B.C. (Figures 19, 20).

The rulers of Pergamum claimed to be descended from both Dionysos and Herakles. Therefore a lidded box, from which a snake is crawling—a motif from the Dionysian mysteries—is to be found on the obverse of their coins; it was the box, *cista*, that gave these coins their popular name, *cistophori*. On the reverses are pairs of snakes entwined around a *gorytus*

(quiver/bowcase) as an allusion to Herakles. In Roman times the *gorytus* was replaced by the *cista* itself, surmounted by either a small statue or a portrait bust, such as in the *cistophorus* of Mark Antony (Figure 21).¹⁴ The fluted surface of the *cista* with a hoop around its middle could be easily misinterpreted as the pleats of a short, belted gown.

There seems to be no ready explanation why the figure with the snakes was assigned to Tullus Hostilius; but for the basilisk of Numa Pompilius such an explanation can be found in an extraordinary combination of literary source and pictorial prototype.

Livy (I, 19) credits Numa with the building of the Temple of Janus. Beginning with the *aes grave*, the very first coin of Rome, cast as a one-pound disk of bronze in the third century B.C., a large number of Roman coins bear the head of Janus on the obverse, and on the reverse a *rostrum* (ship's prow) or an entire warship (Figures 22–25). Apparently Grünenberg

22, 23. Obverse (head of Janus) and reverse (ship's prow) of copper *as*; Roman, 5th–4th century B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John van Benschoten Griggs, 1946, 46.129.7



24, 25. Obverse (faces of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, joined as Janus head) and reverse (trireme) of a silver denarius, by the moneyer C. Fonteius, Roman, ca. 114–113 B.C. London, British Museum (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)



was led to believe that such a coin was issued by the founder of the Janus temple, Numa Pompilius, and he quite naturally assumed that the device on the reverse must be his coat of arms.

The image of the Roman trireme, especially on a somewhat worn specimen, would not be easy to identify as a ship, even for someone residing in a busy port like Constance. After all, it looked very different from the craft that could be seen daily crowding her harbor and dotting the blue waters of the Lake of Constance with their sails. Thus, it appears that Grünenberg, in an honest mistake, turned this image upside down—and saw a basilisk in it. This creature was believed to be the king of the serpents, hatched from a rooster's egg, incubated by a toad, and said to be so venomous that its mere glance could kill (Figures 26, 27).¹⁵ The ship's stern, with its decorative roundel shield and trailing streamers, became the crested and wattled rooster's head of the basilisk, the rudder, bank of oars, and the *rostrum* were turned into its dragon wings, and the ship's prow into its curled tail. The scorpion must have been made up from the fish-tail top of the ship's stern and of blurred remnants of the inscription that extends between stem and stern.

It would be interesting to know whether all these coins and gems were in one collection in the fifteenth century, and who the antiquarian was from whom Konrad Grünenberg might have learned their significance as the alleged arms of the Seven Kings of Rome.

NOTES

1. *ROMANS & barbarians*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, 1976) cat. no. 207, ill.

2. *Biblioteca Sanctorum* XII (Rome, 1969) pp. 238–248. Theodore (the Soldier) Tiro was martyred at Amasea between 306 and 311. He is first documented in a sermon by St. Gregory of Nissa (d. 394), and he was made patron saint of the Byzantine army by Belisarius during the Gothic Wars (534–55). At the end of the ninth century a duplication occurred: Theodore (the General) Stratelates was martyred at Heraclea, and parallel miracles, such as the slaying of dragons, were attributed to him.

3. Graham Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army* (New York, 1969) p. 136.

4. For the interpretation of this word I must thank my colleague Dr. Leonid Tarassuk.

Numen Pompili
König der Römer



26. The arms attributed to Numa Pompilius, second King of Rome, 715–673 B.C. (after Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; detail of folio 11b)
27. Reverse (trireme) of denarius in Figure 25, shown upside down

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My sincerest thanks are due to my teacher at the Free University, Berlin, Otfried Neubecker, who more than thirty years ago first introduced me to the fascinating world of *Phantasiewappen* and to whom I dedicate this essay. Furthermore I would like to thank my friends and colleagues in the Metropolitan Museum Stuart W. Pyhrr and Leonid Tarassuk, as well as George Szabo, former curator of the Robert Lehman Collection, and Claude Blair, formerly of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for their kind and generous help in sharing information and bringing to my attention sources that otherwise might have escaped my notice.

5. *Des Konrad Grünenberg, Ritters und Burgers zu Constanz, Wappenbuch*, 1483 R. Graf Stillfried-Alcantara and Adolph M. Hildebrandt, eds. (Görlitz, 1875) pl. 11b; Otfried Neubecker, with contributions by J. P. Brooke-Little, *Heraldry: Sources, Symbols and Meaning* (New York, 1976) p. 225, ill. The Stillfried–Hildebrandt publication is a facsimile edition of the manuscript on paper, formerly in the library of the genealogical society "Herold," Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin; it disappeared at the end of World War II and for years was thought to be lost, but it was eventually found in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Abt. Merseburg. The paper manuscript seems to have been Grünenberg's personal copy. The illustration in Neubecker's *Heraldry* is taken from the contemporary deluxe copy on vellum, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cgm 145.

6. The names of the Twelve Caesars are listed according to

Suetonius; their arms are as follows: I. Julius Caesar (per pale, 1. Or, a double-headed eagle sable, 2. argent, a dragon sable, spewing flames gules); II. Octavianus Augustus (per pale, 1. Or, a double-headed eagle sable, 2. gules, a double-headed lion argent); III. Tiberius (Or, a double-headed eagle sable, on its breast an escutcheon argent, charged with a mountain azure [possibly an allusion to Capri and its Blue Grotto, which was known as a legend, but had not yet been rediscovered]); IV. Gaius Caligula (per fess, 1. Or, a double-headed eagle sable, 2. vert, two crossed swords gules, hilted Or [perhaps an allusion to Caligula's two hit lists, *The Sword and The Dagger*, mentioned by Suetonius]); V. Claudius (Or, a double-headed eagle sable); VI. Nero (argent, an eagle sable [apparently the argent field and the single head of the eagle were meant as abasements for Nero, as the notorious persecutor of Christians]); VII. Galba (per fess, 1. Or, a double-headed eagle sable, 2. rayonny of gules and argent [probably an allusion to Suetonius's explanation of the name Galba, from resin-torches, "galbanum"]); VIII. Otho (per bend sinister, 1. Or, an eagle sable, 2. vert, a staff gules in bend sinister, entwined by a snake argent); IX. Aulus Vitellius (per pale, 1. Or, a double-headed eagle sable, 2. per fess, in chief argent, a rose gules, in base bendy, gules, and argent, with a chief Or [the family arms of Orsini]); X. Vespasianus (barry, argent, and gules, overall a pile Or, charged with a double-headed eagle sable [according to Suetonius, the troops of Pannonia, i.e., Hungary, were the first to swear allegiance to Vespasian. Barry of gules and argent are the arms of Hungary]); XI. Titus (azure, two stars argent, a pile Or, charged with a double-headed eagle sable); XII. Domitian (sable, an escutcheon Or, charged with an eagle sable, flanked by a pair of wings Or).

7. Johann Karl von Schroeder, "Dreiköpfige Reichsadler," *Der Herold*, n.s. 7, 5 (1970) pp. 106–112, ill.

8. Servius Tullius was considered to be the creator of the Roman military organization (Livy I, 43), and therefore this martial device would have seemed to be most appropriate for him.

9. The She-wolf is generally accepted as being Etruscan; the Twins are thought to have been added in the Renaissance. Their appearance in Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* would give a date ante quem.

10. Nicole Dacos, Antonio Giuliano, and Ulrico Pannuti, *Il tesoro di Lorenzo il Magnifico: Le gemme I*, exh. cat., Museo Mediceo (Florence, 1972) no. 26, ill., also "Appendice Documentaria," pp. 85, 86, 88, 160. The Diomedes intaglio first became known as the prize possession of the Florentine collector Niccolò Niccoli (ca. 1364–1437), who made it a special point to single it out in his testament (Jan. 22, 1437). In 1457 it appears [valued at 80 ducats] in the inventory of Cardinal Pietro Barbo, later Pope Paul II. It is mentioned in the "Ricordi" of Lorenzo il Magnifico by March 1472. Marie-Louise Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden, 1966), does not mention the Niccoli/Medici Diomedes at all. Four distinct versions of the motif of Diomedes leaping across the altar in seizing the Palladium were found in intaglios by both classical and Renaissance

artists, and in Renaissance bronze medals. The Niccoli/Medici intaglio is of the most restrained type; the most ambitious version, which also includes the second figure of Odysseus, is by Felix (Vollenweider, pl. 39, figs. 1, 2). The Felix gem was also in the Barbo collection (valued at 100 ducats). See also Michael Vickers, "The Felix Gem in Oxford and Mantegna's Triumphant Programme"; Clifford M. Brown, "Appendix: Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga's Collection of Antique Intaglios and Cameos: Questions of Provenance, Identification and Dispersal," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 101 (Mar. 1973) pp. 97–104, ill.; and Ursula Webster and Erika Simon, "Die Relieffmedaillons im Hofe des Palazzo Medici zu Florenz," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 7 (1965) pp. 15–91, ill.

11. John Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes from the Samuel H. Kress Collection* (London, 1965), no. 66, fig. 62; Seymour de Ricci, *The Gustave Dreyfus Collection: Reliefs and Plaquettes* (Oxford, 1931) nos. 60 (pl. xx), 64 (pl. xxxi).

12. Dacos–Giuliano–Pannuti, *Tesoro*, I, no. 3 (pl. iv), cameo, attributed to Protarchos: Aphrodite riding a lion, led by Eros; see also Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst*, pl. 12, fig. 1, cameo, signed by Protarchos: Eros playing a cithara, riding on a lion, in the Museo Nazionale, Florence; and J. G. Jacobi, *Beschreibung einiger der vornehmsten geschnittenen Steine mythologischen Inhalts aus dem Cabinet des Herzogs von Orleans* (Zurich, 1796) pl. iv, "Die Macht der Liebe," pp. 60ff. Jacobi also mentions an impression of an antique intaglio (Löhr collection), with the lion holding a goat's head in his paws; this could refer to our almandine ringstone, acc. no. X.327.

13. G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini* (London, 1930) no. 1065, pl. 177 (the Salviati medal). Slightly closer than the Florentine medals may be a Roman one, reverse of a medal of Thomas Bakocz, Primate of Hungary (Hill, *Corpus*, no. 857, pl. 138); and G. F. Hill and G. Pollard, *Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at The National Gallery of Art* (London, 1967). Medals with *Fortuna audax* on the reverse, in the manner of Niccolò Fiorentino, no. 290: Alessandro di Gino Vecchietti, no. 294: Gianozzo di Bernardo Salviati.

14. Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia, British Museum* (London, 1892) nos. 86–125, pl. xxvi; Harold Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire* (London, 1928) pl. vi, figs. 15a, b; Edward Sydenham, rev. by G. C. Haines, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952) no. 1197, pl. 29; and J. P. C. Kent, *Roman Coins* (New York, 1978) no. 110.

15. T. H. White, *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts* (New York, 1960) pp. 168–169: "The Basilisk is translated in Greek and Latin as 'Regulus' (a prince), because it is the king of serpents—so much so, that people who see it run for their lives. . . . Even if it looks at a man, it destroys him. At the mere sight of a basilisk, any bird which is flying past cannot get across unhurt, but, although it might be far from the creature's mouth, it gets frizzled up and is devoured. . . . The basilisk, moreover, like the scorpion, also frequents desert places. . . ."

Some Heraldic Fragments Found at Castle Montfort/Starkenberg in 1926, and the Arms of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

AMONG THE OBJECTS FOUND during the excavations conducted by the Metropolitan Museum in 1926 at Castle Montfort/Starkenberg (Figures 1, 2), in what was then the British mandate territory of Palestine, were several pieces of the greatest historical and iconographical interest though their importance was not immediately recognized.¹

Castle Montfort was built by French Crusaders at an unknown date, probably in the twelfth century, but in 1220 it was sold for 7,000 marks of silver and 2,000 bezants by the heirs of the last count of Edessa and the lords of Mandelée to the Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary of the Germans, better known as the Teutonic Knights (*Deutschordensritter*), under Hermann von Salza, Grand Master (*Hochmeister*) from 1210 to 1239.² The Teutonic Knights renamed it, translating its name *Montfort* into *Starkenberg*. By 1229, when their order (founded as a Hospitaller order in 1198 at the siege of Acre) had been in existence for just thirty years,³ Starkenberg, having been extensively rebuilt, was the strongest castle the Teutonic Knights owned.⁴ In 1229, therefore, the Grand Master, who until then had resided at Acre, made Montfort/Starkenberg the new headquarters of the order, where the archives and the treasury were to be kept. In the same year Emperor Friedrich II succeeded in making a treaty with the sultan of Egypt that gave Jerusalem and other holy places, such as Bethlehem and Nazareth, into Christian hands. The Teutonic Order received what before Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, in 1187, had been the venerable

Hospital of St. Mary of the Germans at Jerusalem, founded in the early twelfth century. From then on the Teutonic Order was usually called *Ordo domus hospitalis S. Mariae Theutonicorum Iherosolimitani*.

Though the Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land were relatively few in number—their original total strength was forty knights⁵—they very soon acquired such a reputation as doughty fighters there, as well as in the Spain of the *reconquista*, that in 1211 King Andreas II of Hungary asked their help against heathen raiders, the Cumans, and in 1225 Duke Konrad of Masovia invited the Landmeister Hermann Balk, with thirteen knights, to help him subdue his heathen neighbors in Prussia. In 1226 Emperor Friedrich II enfeoffed Grand Master Hermann von Salza with the conquered Prussian lands. This grant raised the Grand Master to a secular rank equal to that of a prince of the Empire, though as a religious order the knights and their territory were under the direct suzerainty of the pope. Two other orders of German knights, the *Milites Christi* of Dobrin and the Brethren of the Sword (*Schwertbrüder*) of Livonia, had been fighting heathen tribes, the Prussians and Lithuanians, on the Baltic coast. These orders, never numbering more than a few dozen knights, were almost wiped out after more than a decade of bitter battles, and they asked to be taken into the Teutonic Order, the Knights of Dobrin in 1235 and the Brethren of the Sword in 1237.⁶

In the second half of the thirteenth century, the Muslims in the Holy Land gathered in strength for a

supreme effort to oust the Christians from what was still called the Kingdom of Jerusalem, though the Holy City itself had fallen back into Saracen hands after the expiration of Friedrich II's twenty-year treaty. The Muslim forces proceeded relentlessly to reconquer the remaining territory step by step, and castle after castle fell. Montfort/Starkenberg succeeded in withstanding a siege by the Mamluk sultan Baibars "the Panther" in 1266, but five years later, in November 1271, the Panther returned with superior siege engines, undermining and breaching the outer wall on June 11, 1272, and on June 18 the keep.⁷ What was left of the garrison surrendered, and the survivors were allowed to withdraw to Acre, the last bastion of the Christian faith in the Holy Land, which in its turn fell in 1291.⁸ Montfort/Starkenberg was thoroughly destroyed, its fortifications dismantled, the wooden structures burned, and the site laid waste and uninhabited to the present day.

Evidently the victors searched and sacked the castle before they put it to the torch. Of movable items, only seemingly worthless or unusable broken objects—such as heaps of smashed glass vessels in the kitchen area—were left behind, to be found by the excavators of 1926. How thorough this search was, is indicated by the fact that of what could be considered treasure only a few small silver coins were found, deniers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, minted by Henry I of Cyprus (Figure 3).

One of the most interesting objects discovered is a lump of rusted-together iron rings, the remains of a knight's mail shirt (Figure 4). Because the destruction of 1272 gives an indisputable *terminus ad quem*, this relic can be confidently identified as the only known bona fide piece of "crusaders' armor."⁹

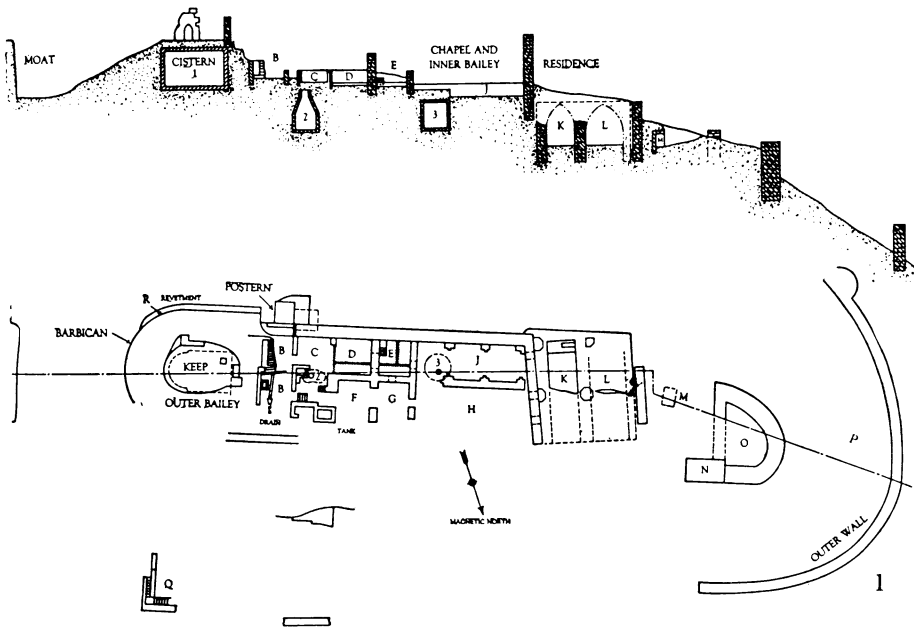
Among the other objects that came to the Museum's collection are several arrow and javelin heads (acc. nos. 28.99.30–33); five broken arrow shafts (acc. nos. 28.99.38a–e), which had somehow escaped the conflagration; two damaged crossbow nuts of bone (acc. nos. 28.99.28,29), which formed part of the trigger mechanisms; two bronze probes from the medical kit of the castle surgeon (acc. nos. 28.99.44, 45); and—somewhat incongruously—a silver thimble (acc. no. 28.99.52) thought to be the oldest surviving specimen of its kind.¹⁰ These small objects, like the scattered coins, were probably lost among the debris and therefore overlooked by the searchers.

The most intriguing object, however, did not find its way into our collections; it is now in the Israel Museum, at Jerusalem (Figure 5). Fortunately, a plaster cast of it was made and is now in the Department of Medieval Art, at The Cloisters (Figures 6–9). This object is an oblong block of lithographic stone, some 10 by 7 by 4 inches, incised on four of its carefully planed sides with various heraldic devices, rosettes, and other ornamental elements, which were evidently intended as matrices for some kind of relief decorations. Bashford Dean, Curator of Arms and Armor and a member of the excavating team, interpreted these matrices as molds for embossed leatherwork, clearly thinking of armor in *cuir-bouilli*; Niels von Holst, in his work about the castles of the Teutonic Order (1981), suggested that these matrices were used to impress heraldic patterns into freshly plastered stucco walls in the Islamic fashion.¹¹

The most conspicuous design among these matrices is a heraldic shield of the triangular shape used during most of the thirteenth century, emblazoned with an eagle on a diapered field (13 by 11.5 cm.; 5¹/₈ by 4¹/₂ inches). Below the point of the shield, but at right angles to it, is a large (12 cm.; 4³/₄ inches) truncated fleur-de-lis. A slightly smaller fleur-de-lis is carved onto the opposite face of the stone, together with a large eight-pointed star, and a small six-pointed star in a circle (Figure 7). One of the narrow side panels bears four rosettes of different sizes, one with a fleur-de-lis, one with a cinquefoil, and two with stars (Figure 9); the opposite side panel is engraved with a straight, ribbonlike strip (3 by 28 cm.; 1⁵/₂ by 11 inches) filled with a diaper pattern (Figure 8).

In his excavation report Bashford Dean raises the question whether the fine decorative architectural stonework found on corbels and keystones should be attributed to French artists working under the castle's first owners. He is inclined to think that the stone with the matrices may not be French in origin, in spite of the presence of fleurs-de-lis among the designs, because the shield with the eagle "is evidently the badge of the German Ritterorden." Indeed, these armorial elements—whoever their creators were—are definitely connected directly with the peculiar heraldry of the Teutonic Knights, and offer evidence about its chronological development.

The Teutonic Knights wore white cloaks and surcoats with black crosses; the black cross was also



1. Cross section and ground plan of Montfort/Starkenberg

2. Present-day view of Montfort Castle (photo: Department of Antiquities, Israel)



2

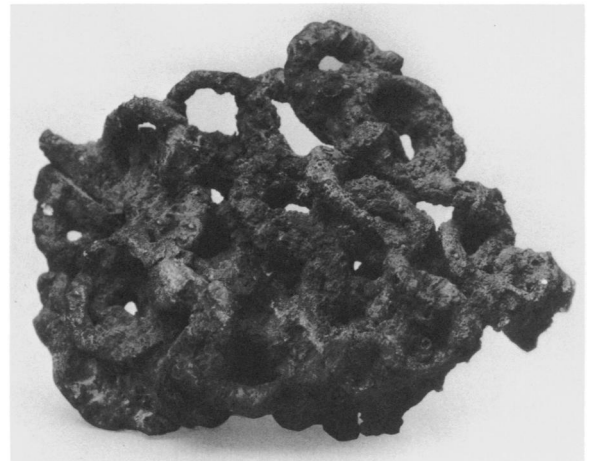
3. Denier of Henry I of Cyprus, King of Jerusalem (1218–53), silver. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Clarence Mackay, Archer M. Huntington, Stephen H. Pell, and Bashford Dean, 1928, 28.99.72

4. Remains of a mail shirt, iron. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Clarence Mackay, Archer M. Huntington, Stephen H. Pell, and Bashford Dean, 1928, 28.99.37

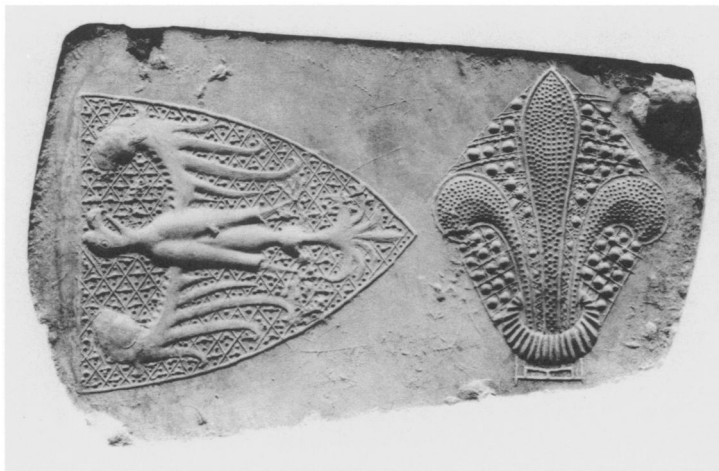
3



4



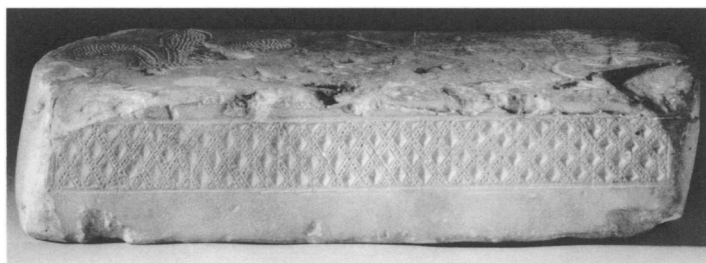
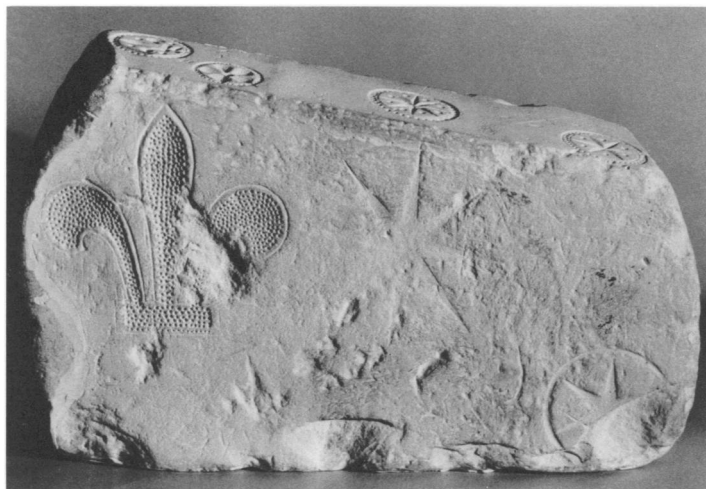
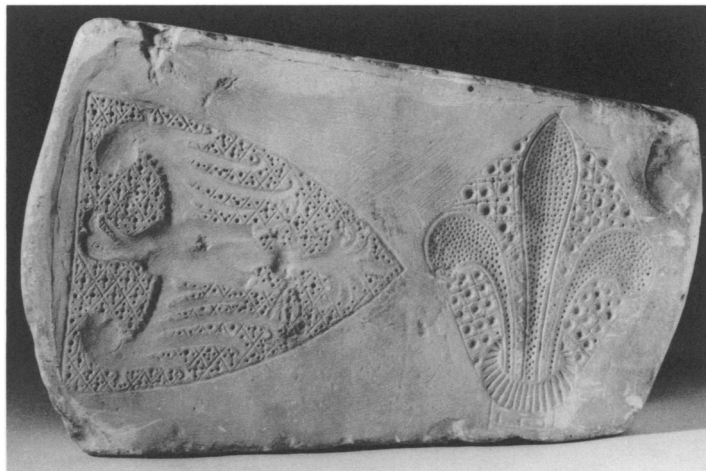
5. Lithographic stone incised with heraldic designs (25.4 × 17.8 × 10.2 cm.; 10 × 7 × 4 in.). Jerusalem, Israel Museum (photo: Department of Antiquities, Israel)

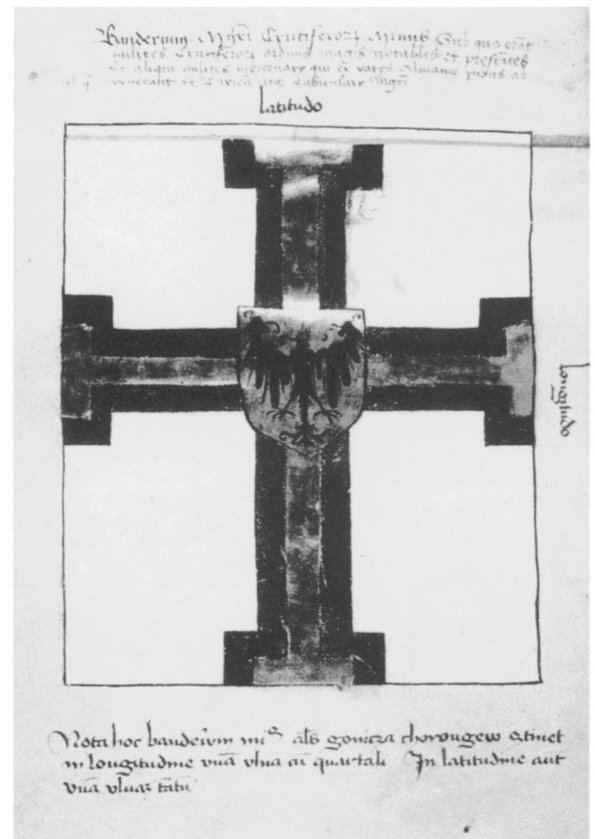
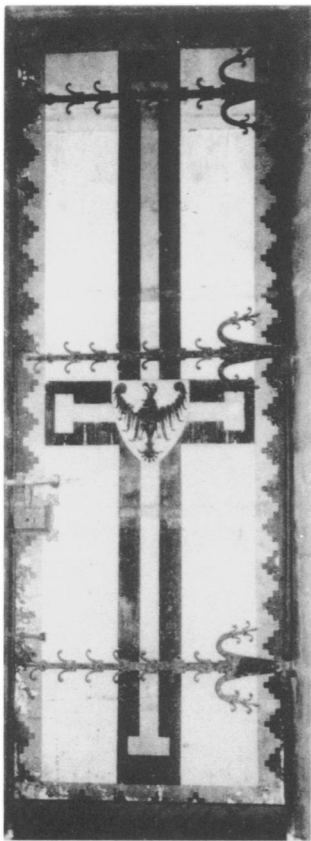


Painted on their white shields.¹² (Out of a sense of ascetic humility, they insisted that the field of their arms was not “argent,” i.e., silver, but “white.”) The only deviation from this austere practice was in the personal arms of the Grand Master: *white, a cross sable charged with a “Cross of Jerusalem” Or, and an inescutcheon “of the Empire”: Or, an eagle sable, beaked and armed gules.* These augmentations were said to have been granted, respectively, by King John of Jerusalem in 1219, and by Emperor Friedrich II in 1226. However, the Golden Bull of Rimini of March 1226, the document with which Friedrich II enfeoffed Hermann von Salza with the Prussian lands, does not mention any such armorial grant. It was the chronicler Peter von Dusburg, in his *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, written in 1326, who first reported that the Grand Master had been given the privilege of bearing the *insignia regalia imperii* on his banner for this fief. This statement, though made one hundred years after the alleged fact, might have been influenced by the chronicler’s knowledge that fiefs were transferred by the presentation of a banner as the visible symbol of the grant (*Bannerlehen*).¹³ Another tradition, also regarded with suspicion by most heraldists, would have it that in 1250 St. Louis of France granted the right to use fleurs-de-lis as finials on the golden cross.¹⁴

The Cross of Jerusalem is a cross potent, that is, its arms terminate in T-shapes. Most of the representa-

- 6–9. Casts of each side of lithographic stone (25.4 × 17.8 × 10.2 cm.; 10 × 7 × 4 in.), incised with heraldic designs, plaster. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Clarence Mackay, Archer M. Huntington, Stephen H. Pell, and Bashford Dean, 1928, 28.99.11





10. Doors in St. Elizabeth's Church, Marburg, painted with the arms of the Grand Master, ca. 1300 (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

13

11. Full arms of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, miniature from the Herald Gelre's Roll of Arms, 1355-70 (after Neubecker)

12. Banner of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, taken in the Battle of the Tannenberg, 1410. Miniature in Jan Dlugosz's *Banderia Pruthenorum*, 1448 (after Ekdahl)

13. Ceremonial shield (*Vortrageschild*) with the full arms of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and inscribed around its rim: + CLIPPEVS • CVM • GALEA • MAGISTRI • ORDINIS • FRATRVM • THEVTONICORVM. Made for Grand Master Karl Beffart von Trier, ca. 1320. Innsbruck, Museum Ferdinandeum (photo: Museum Ferdinandeum)



tions of the Grand Master's arms from before the late fifteenth century show this form (Figures 10-12), with the single exception of the surviving ceremonial shield (*Vortrageschild*) of Grand Master Karl Beffart von Trier (in office 1311-24), now in the Museum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, Austria. In this case the



14. Seal of Grand Master Friedrich of Saxony (in office 1498–1510). This seal in the quarters of the shield also shows the personal arms of Friedrich as Duke of Saxony (after Neubecker)

15. Breastplate with the arms of a Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, ca. 1510–15. Probably made for the last Grand Master in Prussia, Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg (in office 1511–25). Dresden, Historisches Museum (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

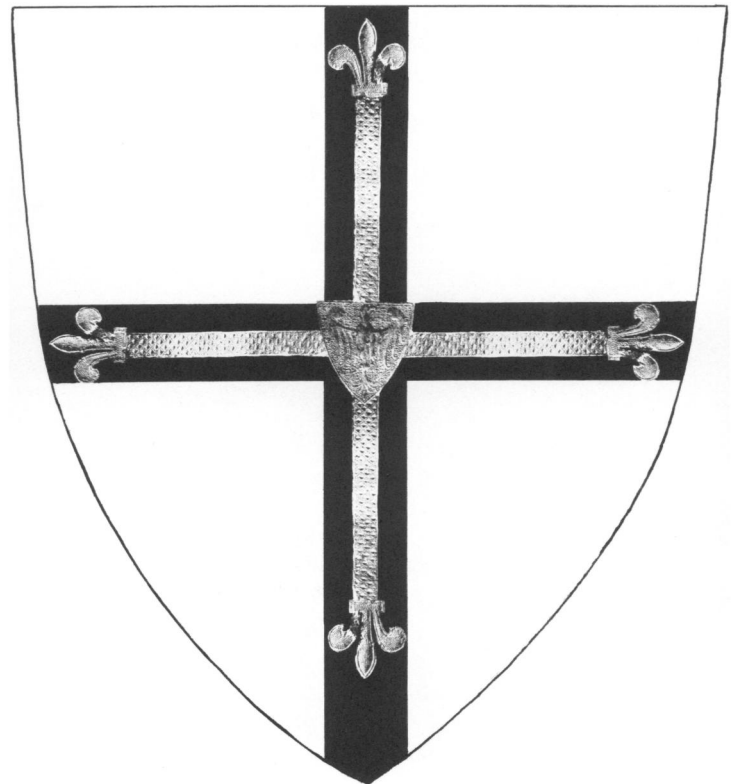


arms of the golden cross end in trefoils (Figure 13). From 1489 on, the golden cross as a rule had fleurs-de-lis as finials (Figures 14, 15).¹⁵

It seems, though, that a cross *fleurette* was the original form, before the cross potent, because the matrices from Montfort/Starkenberg must have been made for the decoration of a Grand Master's shield.

Thirteenth-century knightly shields were of half-inch-thick wood, overlaid with glued-on leather (to prevent the wood's splitting apart under a heavy blow), which was then covered with a layer of gesso as a base for the painted heraldic design.¹⁶ In most of the surviving shields of this period (ten out of fourteen) the gesso ground has been molded in shallow relief to outline and enhance the armorial charges and to enliven—the procedure and its results are known as “diapering” or “damascening”—the surface of the field. Looking at the matrices of the stone as heraldic designs, it becomes clear that these are the very elements that form the distinctive arms of the Grand Master. It is important to notice that these fleurs-de-lis are actually cut short and have their

16. Reconstruction of a Grand Master's shield, using matrices from the incised stone found at Montfort/Starkenberg





17. Shield of Konrad II, Landgrave of Thuringia and Grand Master of the Teutonic Order (in office 1239–40). Arms of Thuringia: *Azure, a lion barry of gules and argent, crowned Or*, applied in molded leather; an escutcheon: *white, a cross sable*, added later. The crown of the lion was applied separately and is now lost (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

bases squared off, and the recessed base of the larger one is exactly 3 cm. ($1\frac{5}{32}$ inches) wide, precisely the width of the diaper strip carved on one of the side panels. The matrices were made for stamping these charges—eagle shield and superimposed cross—directly into the fresh gesso of a Grand Master's shield. Alternatively, as had already been suggested by Bashford Dean, they could have served to mold pieces of moistened leather, which were then applied to the shield (Figure 16). Such embossed appliqué—in leather and also in gesso-soaked canvas—are still preserved on the shields of two landgraves of Thuringia, Konrad II (died 1240) and

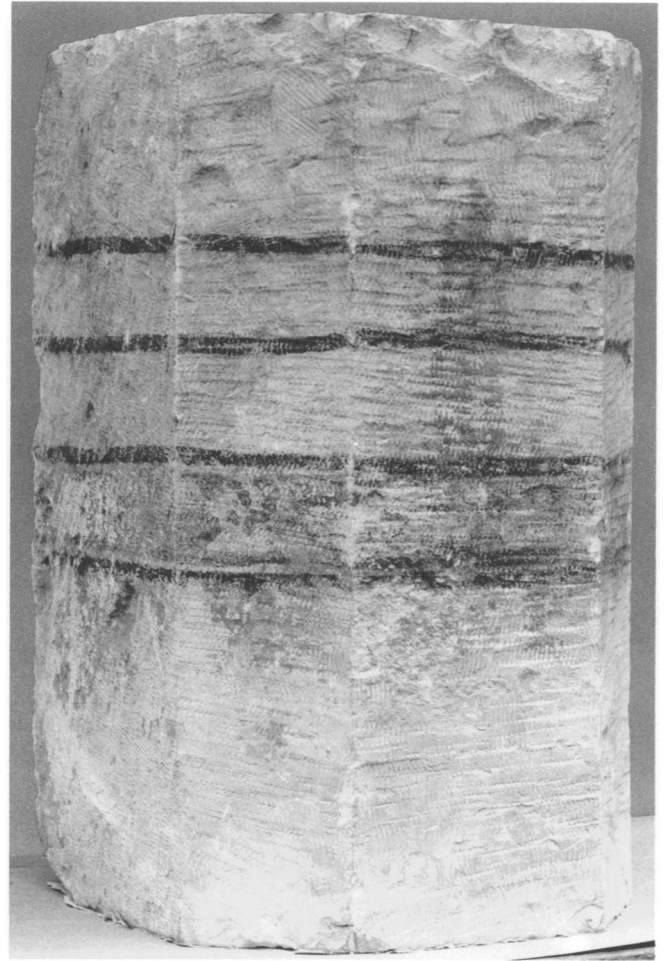


18. Shield of Heinrich "der Junker," Landgrave of Thuringia (died 1298). Arms of Thuringia molded in gesso on pierced fabric overlay, over gilded background (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

Heinrich "der Junker" (died 1298), which hung as their funeral monuments in St. Elizabeth's Church at Marburg, in Germany (Figures 17, 18).¹⁷ Konrad, the brother-in-law of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia,¹⁸ had been a member of the order since 1234, and was elected Grand Master as the successor to Hermann von Salza, in 1239, just one year before his own death. Both these shields bear the arms of Thuringia: *Azure, a lion barry of gules and argent, crowned Or*. On Konrad's shield the lion is of molded leather separately applied; on Heinrich's it is worked into a lacelike overlay of finely shaped and pierced gesso-stiffened linen fabric. Konrad's shield has a small escutcheon added, white with the black cross of the Teutonic Knights, but not the full arms of the Grand Master.¹⁹



19. Fragment of a cross vault rib with polychromed decoration representing the arms of the Grand Master, found at Montfort/Starkenber. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Clarence Mackay, Archer M. Huntington, Stephen H. Pell, and Bashford Dean, 1928, 28.99.3

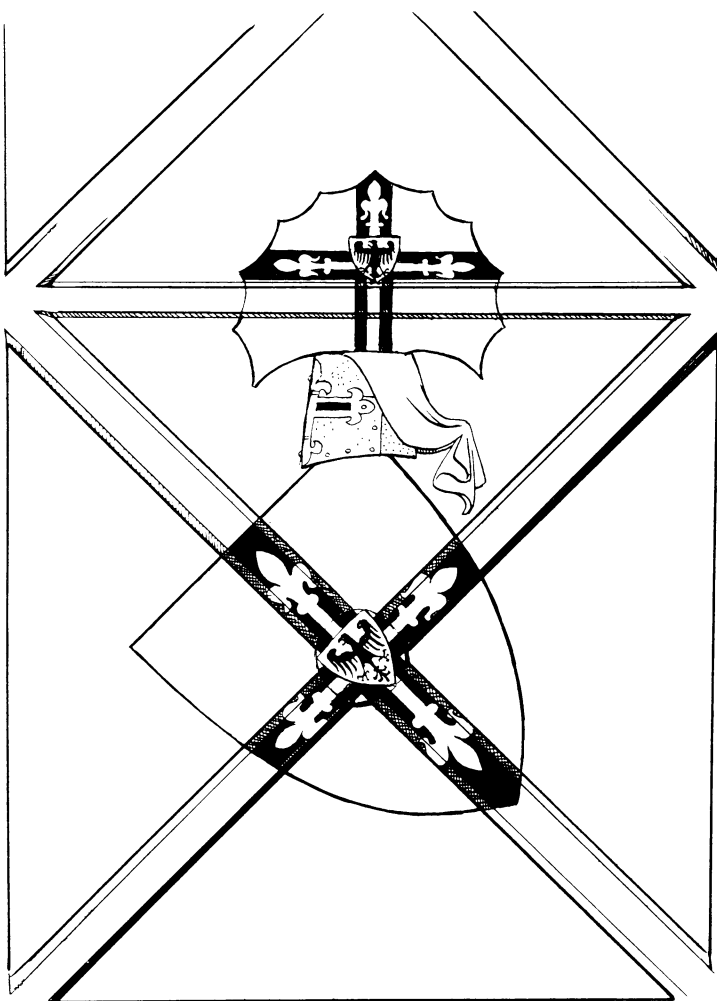


20. Fragment of a cross vault rib with polychromed decoration. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Clarence Mackay, Archer M. Huntington, Stephen H. Pell, and Bashford Dean, 1928, 28.99.4

Some other objects, found under the ruins of Montfort/Starkenber, and up to now not fully appreciated, are fragments from a rib of a groined ceiling which still have some of their polychromed decoration, namely black and yellow stripes and a long-stemmed fleur-de-lis of faded yellow on a blackish background (Figures 19, 20).²⁰ Found in the ruins of the chapel, they must have been part of a painted ceiling, representing the Grand Master's arms. The painter skillfully integrated the ribs of the cross vault into the design; the inescutcheon with the Eagle of

the Empire would have been on the keystone, which—alas—did not survive (Figure 21).

A seal of the *Komtur* (district commander) of Elbing, attached to a document of 1310, is the earliest dated example of the Grand Master's arms with the superimposed inescutcheon "of the Empire."²¹ However, the stone with the incised matrices for a Grand Master's shield, and the fragment of the painted armorial ceiling, from the ruins of Montfort/Starkenber, the order's headquarters, with a cutoff date of 1272, are sufficient proof that these arms were al-



21. Reconstruction of the cross vault with the Grand Master's arms painted on the chapel ceiling

ready fully developed in the thirteenth century, complete with cross arms *fleurettées*. Leaving the alleged grant by St. Louis aside, the fleurs-de-lis, as stylized lilies, might have been chosen in honor of the order's patroness, the Virgin Mary.

It is very tempting to think that the matrices on the stone were made for the illustrious Hermann von Salza's very own shield.²² Since the painted ceiling with the arms of the Grand Master was in the chapel,

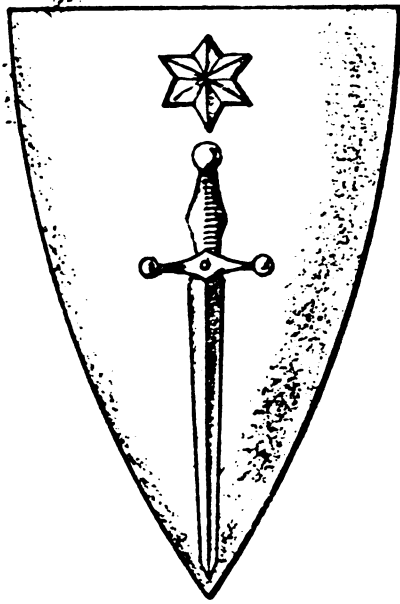
22. Shield of a Herr von Raron, from the monastery of S. Valeria ob Sitten (Sion), ca. 1300. Sion, Museum S. Valeria ob Sitten

which was likely to have been built during the first phase of rebuilding, these arms would have been in place by 1229, when the order's headquarters was moved to Montfort/Starkenber.

Interestingly, Hermann von Salza's immediate successor, Konrad of Thuringia (in office 1239–40) did use the cross potent in his own Grand Master's arms, as they are displayed painted on the doors of St. Elizabeth's Church at Marburg, his burial place. Konrad died at Rome, presumably on his way to the Holy Land, without reaching the order's headquarters at Montfort/Starkenber. We do not know the exact shape of the arms of the following five grand masters, who resided there.²³ It is possible that the change from cross *fleurettée* to cross potent, the prestigious Cross of Jerusalem, was already made during the term of office of Hermann von Salza, in honor of the acquisition of the venerable Hospital of St. Mary in Jerusalem in 1229. If this assumption is correct, it could narrow down the date of the stone matrices to between 1220 and 1229. The reason for the change back to cross *fleurettée*, which occurred in the late fifteenth century, is not known, however.

On one of the side panels of the matrix stone are carved several rosettes (Figure 9). So far no specific purpose has been suggested for them; possibly they were molds for ornamental washers. The handgrips



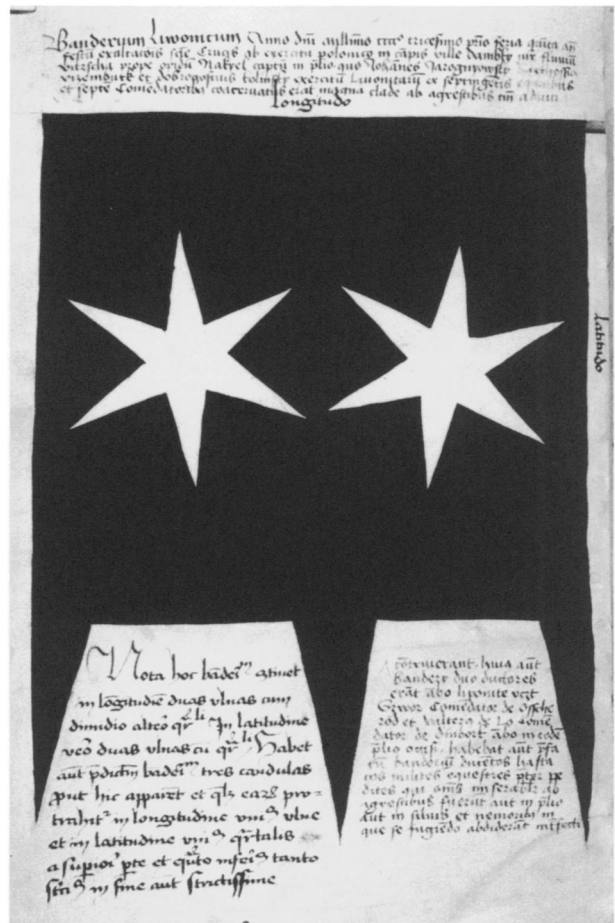


23. Arms of the Knights of Dobrin, ca. 1230 (after *Siebmachers Wappenbuch*, pl. 26.)

of knightly shields of the thirteenth century were attached by large rivets, hammered through the shield board from the front, and visible as the “four nails” that were the target for the expert joust. On some of the more richly decorated shields, such as the shield of a Herr von Raron, now in the Museum S. Valeria ob Sitten (Sion), Switzerland, these rivet heads are set on rosette-shaped washers (Figure 22).²⁴ It would be in keeping with the elaborate charges of the Grand Master’s shield for it to have specially decorated washers for its rivets.

It is also possible that the large star matrices were shield charges too. The castellan of Montfort/Starkenberk, recorded in 1244, was Johannes “de Niflanda.”²⁵ *Niflanda* is a scribal corruption of *Livland*, the German term for *Livonia*. Presumably the castellan Johannes was a former member of either the Knights of Dobrin or the Brethren of the Sword, transferred to the Holy Land. The Knights of Dobrin had as cognizances on their white shields a red sword under a red star (Figure 23); the Brethren of the Sword bore a red sword surmounted by a small red cross.²⁶ The charges on the seal and banner of the Livonian *Komturei* (commandery) of Ascheraden were two silver stars in a black field (Figure 24).²⁷

24. Banner of the Livonians, captured at Nakel, 1431. Miniature in Jan Długosz’s *Banderia Pruthenorum* (after Ekdahl, *Die “Banderia Pruthenorum”*)



The Livonian Brethren of the Sword were able to keep a limited autonomy after their merger with the Teutonic Knights, in 1237, and Johannes “de Niflanda” might have made a special point of this.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For generously given help and freely shared information I would like to thank my friends and colleagues at the Museum, Stuart W. Pyhrr, Charles T. Little, and Timothy Husband; also George Szabo, New York, and Friedrich Benninghoven, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, West Berlin.

NOTES

1. Bashford Dean, "A Crusader's Fortress in Palestine: A Report of Explorations Made by the Museum, 1926," *MMAB* 22, 3, Pt. II (Sept. 1927) pp. 5–46.

2. Hans Prutz, *Die Besitzungen des Deutschen Ordens im Heiligen Lände* (Leipzig, 1877) pp. 38–41. The heirs were Beatrix and Agnes, daughters of Joscelin III, Count of Edessa. Beatrix was married to the German crusader Otto, Count of Henneberg; Agnes to Guillaume de la Mandelée. Dean, "Crusaders' Fortress," p. 7, gives the date of the sale as 1229. There are some other errors in dates and facts, such as p. 10: "The Teutonic knights retired to Acre, then to their island outposts. Rhodes held out until 1522." This is because the Hospitaller Knights of St. John were mistaken for the Hospitaller Knights of St. Mary.

3. At the siege of Acre, 1190–91, shipmasters from Bremen and Lübeck had dedicated the spare sails of their cogs for tents for the wounded and sick. From this field hospital originated a permanent institution at Acre, the Hospital of St. Mary of the Germans. In March 1198, a knightly order was created out of the hospital staff and named *Ordo domus hospitalis S. Mariae Theutonicorum*; it was officially recognized by Pope Innocent III on Feb. 19, 1199. The new order followed the rules of the Hospitallers Knights of St. John for its charitable work, but for its military role it adopted the rules of the Templars.

4. The first major castle acquired by the order, ca. 1225, was Toron, north of Acre, originally built by the counts of St. Omer. In 1229 it was bought back by their heirs. Two years later the first castle built in Prussia was named Thorn, in memory of its forerunner in the Holy Land. The territory around Montfort/Starkenber, acquired with the help of Duke Leopold VII of Austria, also included several smaller strongholds.

5. Prutz, *Besitzungen des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 73. It is reported that when Hermann von Salza was elected the fourth Grand Master of the order in 1210, he considered his most desirable goal to have ten fully armed knights at hand at any time.

6. *Siebmachers Grosses und Allgemeines Wappenbuch*, I (1881) pt. 5, "Bistümer und Klöster," pp. 32–33. The Knights of Dobrin were founded in 1225 by Christian, first bishop in Prussia; the Brethren of the Sword had been founded about 1200. Wilhelm Kotzde, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden und Vergehen* (Jena, n.d.) p. 29; Niels von Holst, *Der Deutsche Ritterorden und seine Bauten, von Jerusalem bis Sevilla, von Thorn bis Narwa* (Berlin, 1981) pp. 121–146.

7. Holst, *Ritterorden*, pp. 43–44, quotes from an Arabic chronicle in the National Library, Vienna: "During his campaign against Acre the Sultan saw that he could not leave *Kalatkurein* [Montfort], one of the mightiest Christian castles of them all, to threaten his rear, and therefore he decided to lay siege to it. During this siege our archers succeeded in shooting down a carrier pigeon with important letters. On June 11 the outer bailey

was taken, and on June 18, after heavy fighting, entry to the keep was forced through a breach. Now were begun negotiations, which led to a treaty, written and notarized by Kadi Muhioddin. The knights were let go free but had to leave their arms and possessions. The Sultan's standard was raised." After the siege of 1266, Grand Master Anno von Sangerhausen relocated the headquarters, archives, and treasury to Acre.

8. After the fall of Acre, Konrad von Feuchtwangen, Grand Master from 1290 to 1296/97, transferred the order's headquarters to Venice. In 1309 it was moved to the newly built Marienburg, in Prussia, the largest castle in Europe.

9. Dean, "Crusaders' Fortress," pp. 36–39, fig. 53.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 39, fig. 54. The medical instruments found indicate the important role that care for the sick played for the Teutonic Order as a hospitaller order. Since a reform in 1809 the order, like the Knights of Malta, has done exclusively charitable work.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 32, fig. 39; Holst, *Ritterorden*, pp. 39–42.

12. Philipp Bonanni, *Verzeichniss der Geist- und Weltlichen Ritterorden* (Nuremberg, 1720) pp. 126–129; Otfried Neubecker, "Ordensritterliche Heraldik," *Der Herold*, n.s. I (1940) pp. 18–19; Major T. R. Davies, "The Teutonic Knights and their Arms," *The Coat of Arms* 6, 41 (Jan. 1960) pp. 15–23; 6, 42 (Apr. 1960) pp. 73–81; Holst, *Ritterorden*, pp. 36, 39–42, fig. 19.

13. Johannes Enno Korn, "Adler und Doppeladler," *Der Herold* 6, 8 (Oct.–Dec. 1967) p. 450.

14. H. G. Ströhl, *Heraldischer Atlas* (Stuttgart, 1899) pl. XLVI, fig. 5.

15. R. A. Vossberg, *Geschichte der preussischen Münzen und Siegel bis zum Ende der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens* (Berlin, 1842) passim; Bernhard Engel, "Ein Original-Deutschordens-Hochmeisterschild," *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde* 2 (1900–1902) pp. 94–100; A. B. E. von der Oelsnitz, *Herkunft und Wappen der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens, 1198–1525* (Königsberg, 1926) passim; Otfried Neubecker, "Ordensritterliche Heraldik," pp. 17–23; Oswald, Graf Trapp, "Die Deutschordensschilde aus der Burg Reifenstein," *Veröffentlichungen des Museums Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck* 20–25 (1940–45) pp. 27–54; Helmut Nickel, "Der mittelalterliche Reiterschild des Abendlandes," Ph.D. diss. (Berlin, 1958) pp. 60–63, fig. 64; John A. Goodall, "The Arms of Military Religious Orders and of the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order from a 15th Century Wappenbuch," *The Coat of Arms* 5, 40 (Oct. 1959) pp. 293–301; Korn, "Adler und Doppeladler," p. 450; Johannes Schöbel, *Prunkwaffen: Waffen und Rüstungen aus dem Historischen Museum Dresden* (Leipzig, 1973) p. 27, pl. 1.

16. Wendelin Boeheim, *Handbuch der Waffenkunde* (Leipzig, 1890) pp. 169–192; idem, “Der Reiterschild von Seedorf,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffenkunde* 1 (1897) pp. 69ff.; Nickel, “Reiterschild,” p. 22ff.; Claude Blair, *European Armour* (London, 1959) pp. 181–183; Paul Martin, *Armour and Weapons* (London, 1967) pp. 200–205; Claude Blair and Leonid Tarassuk, *The Complete Encyclopedia of Arms and Weapons* (New York, 1979) pp. 422–423.

17. Friedrich Warnecke, *Die mittelalterlichen heraldischen Kampfschilde in der St. Elisabethkirche zu Marburg* (Berlin, 1884) pp. 22–26, pls. 1, 2, 12a; Nickel, “Reiterschild,” pp. 27–32, 39–41, figs. 34, 44; *Die Zeit der Staufer*, exh. cat., Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart (1977) I, no. 315; II, pl. 154.

18. Born in 1207 as the daughter of Andreas II, King of Hungary, Elizabeth was married in 1221 to Landgrave Ludwig IV of Thuringia, who died on crusade in 1227. In 1228/29 she founded a Franciscan hospital at Marburg, where she tended the sick in self-sacrificing charity; she died Nov. 17, 1231. Her grave in the hospital chapel immediately became a pilgrimage shrine. Her brothers-in-law Landgraves Heinrich and Konrad, spared no effort to have her canonized, which was done in 1235 by Pope Gregory IX. In 1234, the year Konrad entered the Teutonic Order, the hospital had been donated to the order. The newly built church of St. Elizabeth received her relics in 1236.

19. The Teutonic Knights did not use shields with their own family arms. Konrad's shield, for this reason, must be from before 1234, when he entered the order. At his burial at Marburg, however, it was apparently felt that his position as landgrave took precedence over his rank as Grand Master.

20. Dean, “Crusaders' Fortress,” p. 32, where the colors are mysteriously reversed: “Fleurs-de-lis are represented in black against a yellow background.”

21. Oelsnitz, *Herkunft und Wappen*, pp. 32ff.; Korn, “Adler und Doppeladler,” p. 449.

22. According to the *Grosse Gewohnheiten* (bylaws to the statutes of the order), the Grand Master's shield was a strictly personal symbol of his rank; though his deputy was permitted to use the Master's banner for official business in the Master's absence, he was expressly forbidden to use the Grand Master's shield. Engel, “Original-Deutschordens-Hochmeisterschild,” p. 98: “. . . Der Bruder der an des meisters stat ist, mag seinen vanen vuren unde tepte. Vnde das grosze gezelt. Vnde die ding der her bedarff. Wenne her die geste an des meisters stat enfaen sal. Des meisters schilt vnde wapenrok sal her nicht vuren. . . .”

23. Goodall, “Arms of the Grand Masters,” pp. 296–299, Gerhard von Malberg (1240–44), Heinrich von Hohenlohe (1244–49), Günther von Schwarzburg 1249–53), Boppo von Osterna (1253–57), and Anno von Sangerhausen (1257–74). Gerhard von Malberg was forced to abdicate and had to lay down the Master's seal on the altar of the chapel of Montfort/Starken-berg. Erich Kittel, *Siegel* (Braunschweig, 1970) pp. 403–404, figs. 244a–c.

24. E. A. Gessler, “Die ritterliche Bewaffnung von 1386,” *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde* 6 (1912–14) p. 201; Donald Lindsay Galbreath, “L'Écu de Rarogne,” *Schweizer Archiv für Heraldik* 61, 1–2 (1942) pp. 11–14, pl. 1; Nickel, “Reiterschild,” pp. 41–43, fig. 46.

25. Prutz, *Besitzungen des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 79.

26. *Siebmachers Wappenbuch*, I, p. 5; *ibid.*, pp. 32–33, pl. 61; Holst, *Ritterorden*, p. 122, fig. 102.

27. Sven Ekdahl, *Die “Banderia Pruthenorum” des Jan Dlugosz—eine Quelle zur Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410* (Göttingen, 1976) pp. 278–279.

Organology and Iconography of Ancient Egypt and the Renaissance

HENRY G. FISCHER

Wallace Research Curator in Egyptology, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

HAVING COME UNDER well-merited criticism, some years ago, for subjecting readers of the *Journal* to the “introductory trumpet blasts” of my incessant Egyptological contributions, I feel some misgivings in embarking on a subject that is not only Egyptological but literally concerns trumpets. But since it also makes a comparison with Renaissance iconography, I hope that it may nonetheless serve as an appropriate tribute to Helmut Nickel, whose range of knowledge is probably more diverse than that of any curator in the history of our institution. My trumpet blast will be brief—despite its lengthy title—but it is a heartfelt salute.

Although I have written elsewhere about the Egyptian trumpet,¹ it did not occur to me, at that time, how very faithfully its form is displayed in the two-dimensional representations that constitute the bulk of our evidence. Nor did I fully perceive the inferences that might be drawn from that fidelity. The earlier examples, dating from the reign of Queen Hatshepsut down to the Amarna Period, show a funnel-shaped bell. This is most clearly pictured in the tombs of Tjanuny² and Nebamun, both dating to the reign of Tuthmosis IV (Figures 1, 2). A relief depicting dancing girls from the Amarna Period shows that the same type of instrument was still in use at that time (Figure 3).³

A funnel-shaped bell is also exemplified by the bronze trumpet of Tutankhamun (Figure 4)—one of the only two instruments of its kind that have survived from pharaonic Egypt. In contrast to this, the other trumpet, which is made of silver, has a bell that is slightly but unmistakably flared (Figure 5). To show the contrast more clearly, I have made a pair of

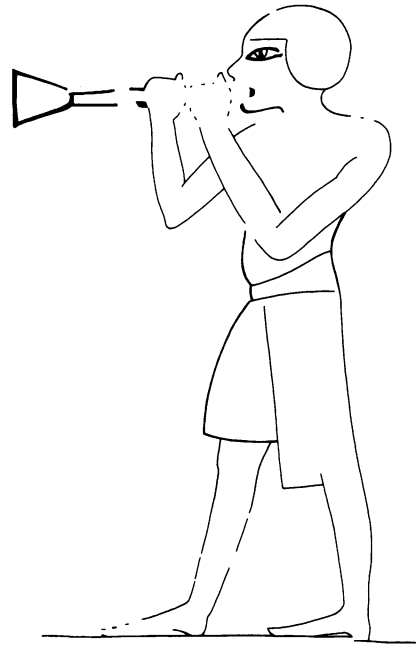
drawings that straighten the shanks, both of which were bent to some extent by the warping of the wooden cores placed within them (Figure 6).⁴

The dating of these trumpets deserves closer attention. The one made of silver is redecorated with a scene showing Tutankhamun in the presence of the principal gods; but it already bore his name as part of the original decoration, and may therefore be attributed with certainty to his brief reign. The bronze trumpet bears a similar scene, which, although more carefully executed, was undoubtedly added at the same time as its counterpart, in preparation for the burial. This bronze trumpet had not been inscribed previously, however, and its date of manufacture is therefore less secure. The difference in form between the two instruments strongly suggests that the bronze trumpet is of somewhat greater antiquity, dating to the reign of Akhenaten, while the silver trumpet embodies a new design. But, like the bronze one, the silver trumpet has a bell made separately from the tube; it is perhaps to be regarded, therefore, as transitional.

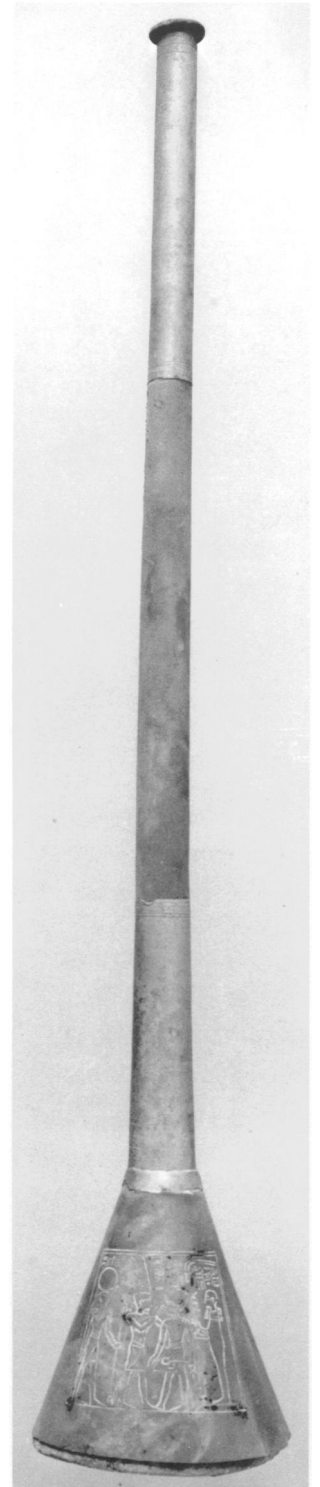
From the time of Tutankhamun onward trumpets were consistently represented with this new form of bell, gradually flared, and there is no further evidence of a separation between bell and shaft.⁵ A particular nicety of observation appears in those cases where the trumpeter is shown blowing his instrument while holding, beneath one arm, the wooden core that was slipped inside it for reinforcement when the trumpet was not in use (Figure 7); it may be noted that the core is slightly smaller than the trumpet itself. Thus, while one must always make due allowance for the conventions and limitations of

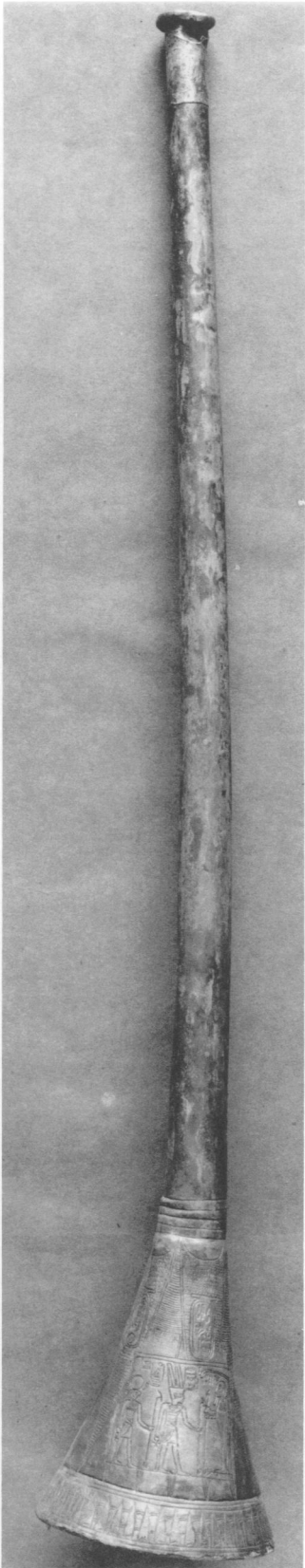


1. Trumpeters, painting from the tomb of Tjanuny, time of Tuthmosis IV, Theban Tomb 74 (photo by Egyptian Expedition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)
3. Dancers and Musician, relief from Hermopolis, Amarna period. Limestone. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel, 1985, 1985.328.11

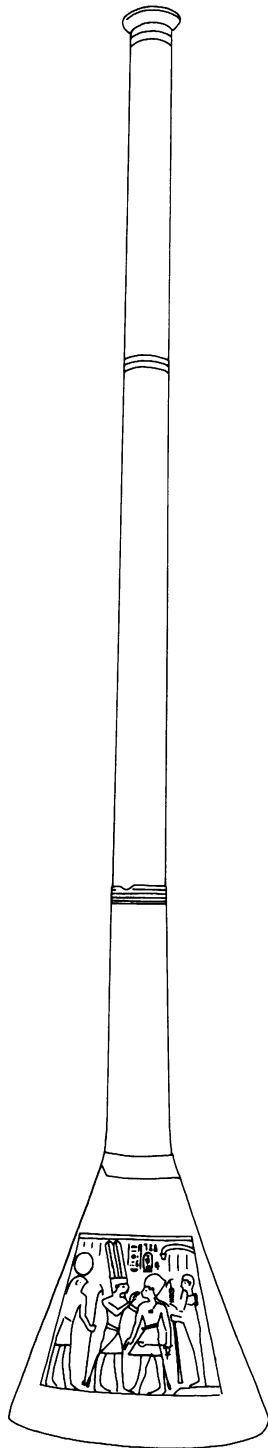


2. Trumpeter, after painting from the tomb of Nebamun, time of Tuthmosis IV–Amenophis III, Theban Tomb 90 (redrawn from Norman Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth* [London, 1923] pl. 27)
4. Bronze trumpet from the tomb of Tutankhamun. Cairo Museum (photo: Harry Burton)

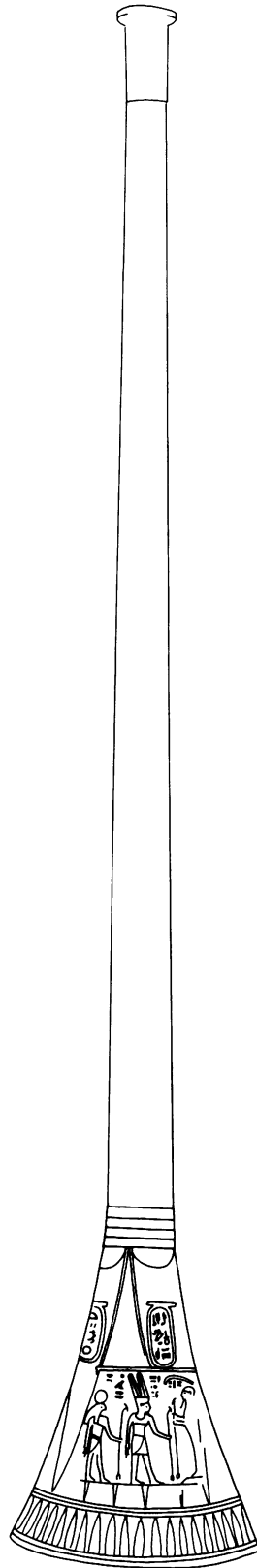




5



6



6

- 5. Silver trumpet from the tomb of Tutankhamun. Cairo Museum (photo: Harry Burton)
- 6. Schematic drawings of Figures 4 and 5, with shaft straightened
- 7. Trumpeter, after a relief in the temple of Abu Simbel, reign of Rameses II (redrawn from C. Desroches-Noblecourt et al., *Le grand temple d'Abou Simbel: La Bataille de Qadesch* [Cairo, 1971] pl. 4)



8. Heinrich Aldegrever (1502–ca.1558), *Music for a Wedding Dance. The Great Dance*, 1538 (from Tom L. Naylor, *The Trumpet and Trombone in Graphic Arts 1500–1800* [Nashville, 1979] p. 22)

two-dimensional Egyptian art, the iconography of that culture is, where trumpets are concerned, surprisingly reliable and accurate.

The same cannot be said, however, for the iconographic evidence concerning brass instruments of the European Renaissance. From one and the same period—early in the sixteenth century—we have quite different representations of trombones. Some, as for instance the well-known engraving by Heinrich Aldegrever dated 1538 (Figure 8), show a very narrow, conical bell. Others, notably the woodcut by Hans Burgkmair entitled *The Triumph of Maximilian I*, show a bell that is wider at the end and much more flared (Figure 9). A glance at the adjacent krummhorns, which display even more improbably flared bells, is sufficient to confirm the suspicion that this feature is a stylistic embellishment—one in keeping with the ornate convolutions that permeate the entire scene.⁶ The artist has also strayed from reality by



9. Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531), *The Triumph of Maximilian I*. Woodcut. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932, 32.37 (1–20)





10. *Angel with Trombone*, decorated panel on organ balcony, 1508. St.-Pierre de Gonesse (photo: Michel Foussard)

making the slide of the trombone much too short. An improbably wide and everted bell likewise appears on the trombone in a panel decoration on the organ at Gonesse, dated 1508 (Figure 10); adjacent panels show the same peculiarity in the representation of both the krummhorn and the trumpet.⁷ The recurrence of an exaggeratedly flaring bell in depictions of all these instruments suggests, once again, that it is a purely stylistic feature.

For one seeking knowledge about the history of the instrument, such stylistic liberties are unfortunate. The oldest trombones that have been preserved belong to the second half of the century, about a hundred years after the instrument had come into use.⁸ The two earliest examples—both fragmentary⁹—have straighter, more conical bells than their successors, confirming our reservations about Burgkmair's accuracy. One of these, dated 1557, was in fact made by Jörg Neuschel of Nuremberg, the adoptive son of the trombonist portrayed by Burgkmair. I therefore feel compelled to conclude that iconography cannot, except in the most general way, provide us with a picture of Renaissance trombones of earlier date than the surviving examples. Nor can we even be quite sure that the Aldegrever

11. Jost Amman (1539–91), *Musicians*, late 16th century. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949, 49.95.138



engraving (Figure 8) proves that trombones were reversed in order to be played left-handed, although that seems likely enough in view of the fact that Renaissance woodwinds made provision for both right- and left-handed players.¹⁰ But what is one to make of a later sixteenth-century engraving by Jost Amman (Figure 11), which shows the trombone similarly reversed with the bell section over the right shoulder, yet played by a man who is clearly right-handed? This impossibility conjures up visions of Laocoön attempting to play the serpent. It is a hopeless struggle.

Despite its sophisticated standards, Renaissance draftsmanship entails a measure of artistic license and stylistic individuality, qualities of which the an-

cient Egyptians were relatively innocent. Their keenness of observation, combined with an adherence to tradition, did not admit to such vagaries, although it must be conceded that the adherence to tradition often prevented their art from keeping abreast of current reality. In the representation of trumpets this did not occur, apparently because a change in the instrument's design coincided with a point of time—the Amarna Period—in which artistic tradition was sufficiently interrupted as to permit the delineation of new forms. Thanks to this circumstance we can follow a transformation in the shape of trumpet bells that is paralleled, to a lesser extent, in the bells of brass instruments of the Renaissance from about 1560 to 1580.

NOTES

1. "The Trumpet in Ancient Egypt," in *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards*, John Baines et al., eds. (Oxford, 1988) pp. 103–109.

2. Cf. Annelies and Artur Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni* (Mainz, 1977) pl. 9.

3. In the aforementioned article I suggested that this relief may display a touch of humor, since at that time the trumpet was used for military signals and would not have been used to accompany a group of female dancers.

4. Cf. Lise Manniche, *Musical Instruments from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun* (Oxford, 1976), who advances this idea more tentatively. The correctness of the theory is proved by the fact that, in the bronze trumpet, the incised bands that circle the shank at its base where it joins the bell are compressed on one side.

5. A regression to the earlier form is to be found on a panel from a coffin of the Roman period in the Berlin Museum: see Hermann Ranke, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Vienna, 1936) pl. 277.

6. There is a single piece of evidence for a krummhorn with an everted bell, a surviving example in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna, dating to the 16th century; but the end curves sharply upward and this part is a separate addition to the body of the instrument. As Barra R. Boydell says, it thus "differs radically from all other types" (*The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* [London, 1984] I, p. 520).

7. See Daniel Bontemps, *L'Église Saint-Pierre Saint-Paul de Gonesse (Val d'Oise)* (Gonesse, 1981), remarks by Michel Foussard, p. 39. The slide trumpets of Memling's panel of angels at Antwerp show an even more everted bell, as Robert Barclay has

reminded me; Mr. Barclay also points out that, in the case of the trumpeter with the slide exposed, the tubing is hopelessly out of alignment on either side of the extended hand. Following a telephone conversation on this subject, he has written: "I find it unlikely that the bell flare would *devolve* from a sharp flare in the previous century to the funnel-like bells of Neuschel, Steiger, etc., and then evolve again to a sharper flare." He accordingly concludes that Memling too took stylistic liberties despite the apparently meticulous detail of his rendering of the instrument.

8. For this estimate, see Anthony Baines, *Brass Instruments: Their History and Development* (London, 1976) pp. 107–108.

9. These are: the Erasmus Schnitzer tenor dated 1551, which has a trumpet bell, with the other elements subsequently added (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg MI 170); and a tenor made by Jörg Neuschel and dated 1557, a cut-down bass of which only the end of the bell can be regarded with certainty as original (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). Both will be discussed in the forthcoming revision of my booklet *The Renaissance Sackbut and Its Use Today*.

10. The bottom hole was reduplicated side by side, the unused one to be sealed with wax. On instruments where the bottom hole was closed by means of a key, the key had a double prong, extending both rightward and leftward. This arrangement may not have been expressly intended for left-handed players, however, since Tinctoris says the double hole was meant to accommodate two styles of playing, some players preferring to place the right hand above the left: see Anthony Baines's translation in the *Galpin Society Journal* 3 (1950) p. 20.

Timeas's Scarab

JOAN R. MERTENS

Curator, Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ONE FRIDAY AFTERNOON IN APRIL 1986, a colleague from the American Museum of Natural History came to the Metropolitan Museum to show the Greek and Roman Department a "bead" that had no place in his institution's collection of minerals. The "bead" proved to be a fine Archaic Greek gem that has since been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 1–3). In its artistic qualities, which inform and transform the rendering of a martial motif, the gem seems an appropriate subject to offer Helmut Nickel, civilized and most unbellicose champion of arms and armor.

The gem is a chalcedony scarab¹ of a type characteristic around 500 B.C. The lower edge of the beetle's thorax is articulated with a small arc, and the ridge separating the thorax from the wing cases shows light hatching. The carination along the back where the wing cases meet is of the variety identified by John Boardman as a spine,² a slight projection divided by an incision. At their upper outer corners, the wing cases have small U-shaped markings.³ The insect's legs are individually rendered without additional detail, and the plinth on which the beetle sits is also plain.

The engraved surface is framed by hatching and is provided with a ground line at the bottom. The image is that of a nude youth who bends to lift a Corinthian helmet with his left hand. At the very top of the field, as a counterpart to the small exergue below, appears his shield, which covers a bit of his upper torso and his right arm; when reversed in the impression, the shield appears on the correct, left arm.

The simplicity of the subject is deceptive, because in reality the composition is remarkable for its small scale, and the articulation of detail is extraordinary. The youth's nose, lips, and lower jaw are clearly defined, while the eye appears as a point within the

bony ocular orbit. The hair is indicated by ridges, as well as by small dots around the face and at the nape of the neck. For the sake of clarity and composition, the profile head gives way to a frontal torso. The collar bones, the pectoral muscles and nipples, the abdominal muscles and iliac crests are rendered precisely yet fluidly within the bending form. The proper right leg is shown straight on, the left leg from the side, with the heel slightly raised, to allow the kneecaps, shinbones, toes, and muscles of both the thigh and calf to be clearly defined. The shoulders, left arm, and even the left hand in profile show similarly careful articulation. On the warrior's Corinthian helmet, the nosepiece, the crest with its flowing tail, and the additional attribute of two bull's ears are all distinctly delineated. Moreover, even the volume of the calotte is modeled to convey the three-dimensionality of this piece of armor, which occupies a prominent place in the representation.

The engraved surface reveals one further detail of interest, the name Timeas inscribed between the warrior's straight right leg and the hatched border. Although rare,⁴ the inscriptions on Archaic gems, in their placement and execution, are usually treated as part of the whole representation. Here, by contrast, we have a graffito added, rather awkwardly, after the gem was cut—but probably soon after, as Boardman has surmised.⁵ Timeas's relationship to the gem cannot be surely determined; the name of the owner would normally be written in the genitive rather than nominative case, but the apparent spontaneity of the inscription may also explain the lack of grammatical rigor. The name itself is well attested throughout Greece;⁶ its most illustrious bearer was the son of Polyneices, himself one of the four ill-fated children of Oedipus and Jocasta. Nothing on the gem, however, suggests any necessary connection between the



1



2



3

1. Chalcedony scarab, Greek, ca. 500 B.C. L. 1.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Helen H. Mertens, David L. Klein Jr. Memorial Foundation, and Mrs. Martin Fried Gifts, 1987, 1987.11.7

2. Side view of scarab in Figure 1

3. Intaglio of scarab in Figure 1: young warrior lifting helmet



4. Chalcedony scaraboid attributed to Epimenes, Greek, ca. 500 B.C.: archer testing his arrow. H. 1.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1931, 31.11.5

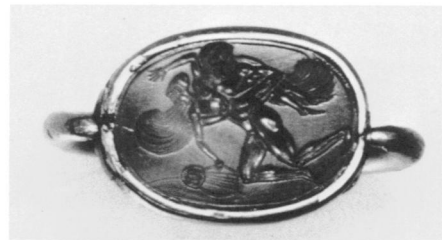


5. Impression of gem in Figure 4

name, the young warrior, and this mythological personage. Nor does the name Timeas link the gem to any specific part of the Greek world.

On stylistic grounds, however, the scarab can be assigned to eastern Greece which, during the Archaic period, was the creative center of gem-engraving⁷ and the major source of influence—probably also of craftsmen—for the second important area of glyptic production, Etruria. During the closing decades of the sixth century B.C., two artistic personalities stand out within the eastern ambient. Both of them—Epimenes (Figures 4, 5) and the craftsman conventionally known as the Semon Master (Figures 6, 7)—are represented by works in the Metropolitan Museum. Boardman attributed the example we are now considering to the immediate circle of the Semon Master, allowing for the possibility that it was made by the artist himself. While the stylistic connection is in-

disputable, the new piece differs from those attributed to the Semon Master⁸ in such details as the treatment of the eye and of the hair, both on the crown of the head and around the face. Given the Semon Master's particular penchant for feathers,⁹ which require much the same articulation as horse-hair, the crest on the new gem once again appears stylistically different. The scarab, therefore, seems best included among a number of pieces which, in Boardman's words, "closely resemble the work of Epimenes and the Semon Master."¹⁰



6



7

6. Ring with carnelian scaraboid attributed to the Semon Master, Greek, ca. 500 B.C.: winged youth (Eros?) carrying off girl with lyre. W. 1.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874-76, 74.51.4223

7. Impression of gem in Figure 6

One of these pieces is a carnelian scaraboid, formerly in the de Clercq collection, which shows a youth with a shield atop his torso bending to lift a helmet.¹¹ As in the Museum's new acquisition, the field is framed with hatching and subdivided at the bottom by a small ground line. Between the figure's straight leg and the border appears an inscription in the Cypriot syllabary giving the name of Akestos, the probable owner. With slight variations, the motif of a warrior lifting a helmet occurs frequently on Archaic gems, particularly in Etruria;¹² a fine example was stolen from the Metropolitan Museum in 1961 (Figure 8).¹³ While the warrior, like the symposiast and the athlete, afforded Late Archaic artists in all media the opportunity of studying the body in motion, the specific motif concerning us here seems extraordinarily well suited to a gem.

Obvious as the point may be, it is worth noting first that, insofar as the function of a gem was to mark the property or identity of an individual, the device of a single figure or other symbol framed by a border is inherently more appropriate than a narrative vignette. In a remarkably direct way, the image on a gem parallels and expresses the individuality of its owner. Furthermore, since one looks to the head as the key part of a figure, the inclusion of a helmet on the Museum's scarab and on related examples allowed the artist to render the head a second time, from a different aspect: his emphasis was not on the facial features, hair, or occasionally even the expression,¹⁴ but rather on the definition and modeling of volumes, which, as we have seen, are remarkably detailed on the Museum's new piece. In order to show the human body clearly in the diminutive scale of a gem, transitions had to be minimized. The helmet, therefore, serves as a kind of reassertion of volume. Similarly, the shield introduces the elements of depth and foreshortening to the youth's otherwise shallow stage. On a related gem in Boston (Figure 9),¹⁵ the artist has omitted the warrior's lower legs in order to depict more fully a foreshortened shield seen slightly from below.

Before leaving the helmet and shield, we might further observe that the warrior's attributes do not include a spear. In contemporary vase paintings of subjects other than combats, spears are often held or shown propped up in the background. As strong and sharp directional indicators, spears are difficult to integrate into the oval format of a gem; their shafts also tend to cut up the pictorial surface. Indeed, in



8. Impression of a carnelian scarab, Etruscan, late 6th–early 5th century B.C.: young warrior lifting helmet. H. 1.2 cm. Stolen from The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Rogers Fund, 1925, 25.78.95

Archaic Greek glyptic, they seem to occur mainly when essential to a battle or as an attribute of Athena; in Etruscan works they occur somewhat more frequently. Thus, the rounded forms of helmets and shields presented the additional advantage of being more consonant with the fields within which they were used.

In composition and execution, the representation we have been considering reveals the artistic concerns and solutions pervasive throughout Greek art of the late Archaic period and, in all respects, is indisputably Greek. Not so, however, the beetle into which it is cut. This originally Egyptian form of seal, together with the use of semiprecious stones such as chalcedony, was introduced to the Greek world by the Phoenicians around the turn of the seventh century B.C.¹⁶ In the context of Oriental borrowings that became assimilated into Archaic art, the scarab documents a point of some interest. Consisting as it does of two components, the beetle and the intaglio, we find that in the course of the sixth century the intaglios, i.e., the pictorial motifs, developed ever more in accordance with the contemporary Greek study of the human figure. The beetle, by contrast, undergoes

9. Impression of a carnelian scaraboid, Greek, late 6th–early 5th century B.C.: young warrior lifting helmet. H. 1.3 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.1195 (photo: courtesy of Cornelius C. Vermeule III and John Boardman)



no comparable incarnation. Indeed, of the many forms or types of object—from kouroi to phialai—that came to Greece from the East and were produced in some quantity, the scarab seems one of the exceptionally few that maintained its foreign identity after the others had become assimilated; it really only became hellenized when it was superseded by the scaraboid.

I should also like to suggest that the persistence of the beetle form is bound up with the fact that Archaic glyptic was very much an art of the Greek East, with strong ties to the West. In Archaic Ionia, up to the Persian Wars, Greek and Oriental elements combined more freely and frequently than on the mainland, in Athens, for example. To put it starkly, the glyptic counterpart of a Euthymides or Epiktetos was not likely to depict the Athenian *jeunesse dorée* on the belly of a beetle. Pertinent in this connection are Boardman's observations concerning the popularity of engraved metal finger rings in mainland Greece during Archaic times.¹⁷ The preference for engraved metal rings over engraved intaglios undoubtedly depended on a variety of factors; nonetheless, even though many bezel types were ultimately of Eastern

origin,¹⁸ they had been accommodated to Greek taste, so that the form and its embellishment presented a homogeneous whole.

The ramifications of the Museum's scarab prove more extensive than its small size and well-attested typology may at first suggest. In addition to its purely technical and artistic qualities, it affords some insight into regional diversity and the assimilation of foreign influence into Archaic Greek art. If I have emphasized the disparity between the form and certain types of decoration in a scarab, the purpose was not to render a critical judgment but to pinpoint a fundamentally East Greek phenomenon. Indeed, in a remarkably telling and succinct way, the gem embodies one of the primordial achievements of the sixth century: the fusion of its Geometric legacy and orientaling stimuli for the ever fuller elucidation of the human figure.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to thank Dietrich von Bothmer for reading the typescript. John Boardman and Cornelius C. Vermeule III generously helped with photographs.

NOTES

1. L. 1.4 cm., W. 1.0 cm., H. 0.8 cm. The left side of the scarab's head has broken away.

2. John Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems* (London, 1968) pp. 14–15.

3. Rounded variants of Boardman's "V-winglets," Boardman, *Archaic Gems*, p. 13.

4. See, for example, Boardman, *Archaic Gems*, p. 234.

5. In a description of the gem to its previous owner.

6. G. Lippold, "Timeas," *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1937), VI cols. 1247–1250.

7. For a recent consideration from the standpoint of provenances, see John Boardman, "Greek Gem Engraving: Archaic to Classical," in *Greek Art: Archaic into Classical*, C. G. Boulter, ed. (Leiden, 1985) especially pp. 84–91.

8. See Boardman, "Gem Engraving," pl. 76c; John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (London, 1970) p. 184 and pls. 358–366, pp. 148 and 151.

9. See, for example, New York 74.51.4223 (Boardman, *Gems and Rings*, pl. 359), Boston 23.578 (ibid., pl. 361), London

1933.10–15.1 (ibid., pl. 362), London 998 (ibid., pl. 364). See also the crest on London 1933.10–15.1 (ibid., pl. 362).

10. Ibid., p. 151.

11. Ibid., pl. 367.

12. Greek: Boston 21.1195 (Boardman, *Archaic Gems*, p. 96, no. 261); private collection (John Boardman, *Intaglios and Rings From a Private Collection* [London, 1975] p. 86, no. 19). Etruscan: see Peter Zazoff, *Die etruskische Skarabäen* (Mainz, 1968) pp. 179–180, nos. 951–959.

13. 25.78.95 (G. M.A. Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art: Catalogue of Engraved Gems* [Rome, 1956] no. 162; Zazoff, *Skarabäen*, p. 54, no. 59).

14. Most notably Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen 5 (Boardman, *Archaic Gems*, no. 118); see also London 468 (ibid., no. 238), London 337 (ibid., no. 337).

15. See note 12.

16. Boardman, "Gem Engraving," pp. 83–85.

17. Ibid., p. 90.

18. Boardman, *Gems and Rings*, pp. 155–156.

Footwork in Ancient Greek Swordsmanship

BRIAN F. COOK

Keeper, Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum

IN HONOR OF MY OLD friend and colleague Helmut Nickel, I should like to offer some speculations in an area where his interest in arms and armor overlaps mine in Greek and Roman art, in particular to explore the possibility that evidence for one aspect of ancient Greek swordsmanship can be found in Greek sculpture and vase-painting. Such an exploration can only be tentative in the absence of supporting evidence from ancient literary sources, especially in the period around 500 B.C. Such literary evidence as does exist comes from later periods and deals mainly with tactics and the movement of troops in formation, of concern to the ancient equivalent of Clausewitz rather than the drill-sergeant.¹ Detailed evidence for basic drill-movements is totally absent from the literary record at all periods.²

The evidence in Xenophon for spear-drill in the fourth century B.C. has been treated in detail by J. K. Anderson, who warns that in trying to reconstruct ancient arms drill, it is safer “to use works of art mainly to provide illustrations of the ancient texts, while admitting that there must have been several movements for which no literary evidence has survived.”³ Anderson follows his own principle by using illustrations in ancient art to flesh out Xenophon’s description of spear-drill with commands given by trumpet-calls.⁴ Although Anderson concludes that training in ancient drill was restricted to a few simple movements, he concedes that they were not necessarily limited to those for which literary evidence survives. He even accepts that “the repetition of certain poses in works of art raises the interesting possibility that the artists, or their models, had been regularly taught the movements represented.”⁵

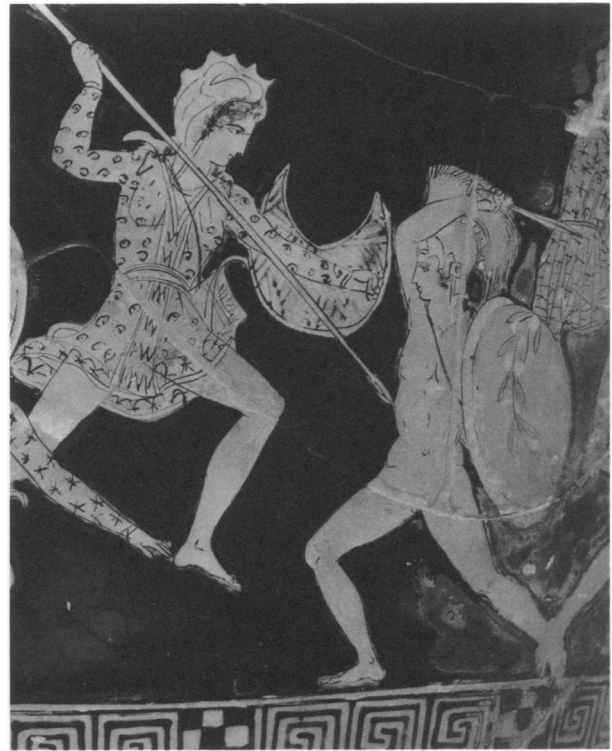
The specific example cited by Anderson of sword-movements represented so often in works of art that it seems reasonable to accept them as representations

of a standard action from real swordsmanship is the so-called “Harmodios blow” studied by Shefton, who coined the useful term by which it is now fairly generally known.⁶ This is a slashing movement named for the action of Harmodios in the marble statuary group of the Tyrant-slayers best known from a Roman copy in Naples.⁷ The moment most frequently represented is the point of stillness when the sword-hand has been raised head-high with the sword pointing backward over the shoulder in readiness for a downward slash. The blow may be delivered either forehand (Figure 1) or backhand (Figure 2).⁸ Philip Lancaster, of the Department of Edged Weapons at the Tower of London, who kindly gave advice on some practical aspects of swordsmanship, pointed out that this movement would be hazardous under normal combat conditions: not only is there some danger that it would put a swordsman off balance, but the action would also leave the sword-arm unprotected and vulnerable. B. B. Shefton had already noted that the sword when raised could not be used for parrying, and that in close combat the blow therefore required careful timing.⁹ It would have been particularly dangerous for a Greek hoplite in leaving the armpit exposed above the edge of the cuirass.¹⁰ A further disadvantage of the Harmodios blow is that it was less effective than a thrust against a well-equipped opponent: it would probably have been resisted even by a padded linen corselet, which would have been vulnerable to a thrust, and would certainly have been ineffective against a metal cuirass.¹¹

In combat, then, the Harmodios blow can only have been a desperate measure, employed when the vulnerability it imposed was outweighed by a greater danger. There is evidence for this in both literature and art. The problem arises when a swordsman faces



1. The forehand “Harmodios blow.” Drawing of an Attic red-figured hydria, 460–450 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1925, 25.28 (drawing: Lindsley F. Hall)



2. The backhand Harmodios blow used against a spear. Detail of an Attic red-figured squat lekythos, ca. 420 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1931, 31.11.13

the longer weapon of a spearman: the classic solution was that of Hector, who cut off the end of Ajax’s spear with his sword.¹² This is precisely the aim of the Greek in Figure 2: so great is his danger from the Amazon’s spear that he must attempt to cut its wooden shaft, even at the risk of exposing his whole body to attack, since he must swing back his shield to maintain his balance.¹³

A safer use of the Harmodios blow, as pointed out by Shefton, was to deliver a “butcher’s blow” to a fallen opponent.¹⁴ Indeed, the blow could only be used safely when the opponent was not in a position, or not suitably armed, to strike back. The unfortunate centaur in Figure 3 has no weapon for a counterstroke and only a cushion to ward off an overhead blow, here from a battle-ax rather than from a sword.¹⁵ The principle of the Harmodios blow still applies: an overhead blow by sword or ax normally leaves the striker vulnerable. Amphytrion may also safely use the Harmodios blow (Figure 1), since it is aimed not at an armed warrior but at the snakes that

have attacked the infant Herakles. Here too, no doubt, there was an element of desperation.

Finding no examples of the use of the Harmodios blow before the closing years of the sixth century B.C.,¹⁶ Shefton connected it with the introduction of the spatulate sword, a more versatile weapon than the straight-edged sword, which is most effective in an underhand stabbing or thrusting movement.¹⁷ It is around the same time that warriors began to be represented in Attic red-figure in a stance that, although it soon became conventional, may reflect the kind of simple drill-movement for which no literary evidence survives. The movement is in fact so simple that no specific comment was made by ancient authors: like so many minor details of life, it was too familiar at the time to call for explanation.

The stance is simple enough and may be observed in conjunction with the Harmodios blow in the representations already discussed: one foot is simply placed in advance of the other. This is not merely a walking posture, for, as Borthwick has pointed out,¹⁸

right-handed swordsmen commonly advance the left leg and left arm simultaneously, as in Figure 4, which shows a swordsman using a straight-sided sword for a conventional upward thrust against an Amazon.¹⁹ In what may be called the “attack” posture, the forward leg is bent at the knee while the other leg is straight.²⁰ Should the need arise to evade an opponent’s counterblow, it is possible to move the body back into the “defense” posture without even moving the feet, simply by straightening the forward leg and, if necessary, bending the other. The Amazon in Figure 4 has straightened her forward right leg and has bent her left. The painter has even shown her left foot turning away to produce a posture that is scarcely possible physically. It was presumably intended to convey a continuous action, beginning with a backward movement into the defense posture and freeing herself from her opponent’s grip, to be followed (at least in intent) with flight. The frequency with which these postures appear in scenes of combat in Greek vase-painting suggests that they represent a standard drill-movement, so familiar as not to require comment in the literary sources.

Familiar though it was, it must at some stage have been learned. The Athenians did not provide “training in the art of war at public expense,” at least not for adults;²¹ indeed they seem to have taken an amateurish pride in being unlike the Spartans in this respect, although they were expected to keep themselves physically fit for warfare by regular exercise.²² It is generally assumed that basic drill was taught to *ephebes* during their two-year period of military training, undertaken at the age of eighteen.²³ In Plato’s ideal state, the military training of youths was to include fighting in armor—*hoplomachia* (translated by Anderson as “fencing with hoplite weapons”)²⁴—and it seems reasonable that this would have included elementary drill as a basis for concerted action in the field, at least if modern military experience can be accepted as a substitute for the nonexistent ancient literary sources.²⁵

Private training in *hoplomachia* seems to have been available in Athens, at least from the later fifth century, for the discussion of courage in Plato’s *Laches* begins with a demonstration of the art by a professional instructor.²⁶ The Greek term for such an instructor, *hoplomachos* (or, as we would say, drill-sergeant), does not appear in surviving literature before Theophrastus (fourth–third century B.C.), but it may well have been in use earlier.²⁷ The comment



3. Use of battle-ax in the attack posture. Detail of an Attic red-figured volute-krater, ca. 450 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907, 07.286.84

4. A Greek in the attack posture using a sword in an underhand thrust. Detail of an Attic red-figured volute-krater, ca. 450 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907, 07.286.84





5. Satyrs in defense and attack postures confronting maenads. Detail of an Attic red-figured volute-krater, ca. 430 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1924, 24.97.25

by Nicias, that such skill would be most useful in single combat after the ranks had broken, is not inconsistent with a supposition that *hoplomachia* may have included the attack and defense postures seen in depictions of single combat on vases.²⁸

The appearance of the attack and defense postures in Greek art is not restricted to vases and begins long before Plato's time, toward the end of the sixth century B.C. Although this is about the same

6. The Deeds of Theseus: variations on the attack posture. Interior of an Attic red-figured kylix, 440–430 B.C. London, British Museum, Vase E 84 (photo: British Museum)



time as the first appearance of the Harmodios blow, there is not necessarily a connection with either the Harmodios blow or the introduction of the new type of sword. Indeed, as we have already seen, the attack posture lends itself to the use of other weapons, including the battle-ax and thrusting spear. Its appearance in Late Archaic red-figure seems more likely to be connected with the improved opportunities for representing movement in a lifelike way that were offered by the red-figure technique and gradually developed by its early practitioners. In the black-figure technique, by contrast, as well as in sculpture of the sixth century, warriors in action were commonly represented with both legs straight. Indeed, the convention of representing the torso in frontal view and the legs in profile, which went back as far as the Geometric Period (eighth century B.C.), seriously inhibited a more realistic representation of bodies in motion.²⁹

Among the earliest appearances of the new attack posture in red-figure are a warrior delivering a back-hand Harmodios blow and Herakles (wielding a club) on the volute-krater by Euphronios in Arezzo, dated about 510–500 B.C.³⁰ Almost as early is a cup in Boston, dating to about 500 B.C. and attributed to Douris in an early phase of his career. This cup shows two swordsmen converging on a fallen opponent, both in the attack posture, one seen from the front and the other from the rear.³¹

In sculpture, the posture was already used in the pediment of the temple of Aphaia (about 490 B.C.) and in the Tyrannicide Group (477/6 B.C.), and it appears almost as a matter of course in the pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (about 465 B.C.).³² It soon became popular—as Anderson reminds us, Greek artists were inclined to copy one another³³—and examples in red-figure become too numerous to mention. It appears, too, in scenes of unconventional warfare: for example, in an engagement between satyrs and maenads on a volute-krater of about 430

B.C. (Figure 5).³⁴ On the right, a satyr adopts the canonical attack posture, with left leg and arm advanced simultaneously, against a retiring maenad. His companion on the left, however, is forced back into the defense posture as a more aggressive maenad threatens to deliver a particularly painful blow with the butt end of her *thyrsos*.

As the stance proved not merely useful but versatile, it was adopted by Greek artists for use in a variety of circumstances. A selection is conveniently illustrated on a single cup in the British Museum showing the Deeds of Theseus (Figure 6).³⁵ Against the sow of Crommyon, Theseus uses the attack posture with a conventional underhand sword thrust (upper left). Procrustes is attacked with his own ax (upper right), wielded overhead as in the Centauro-machy discussed earlier: again there is no danger of a counterattack. Sciron's footbath, also conveniently at hand, provides an unconventional weapon to be used in the same fashion. In the central tondo, Theseus is no longer in actual combat, but the artist shows him using the same stance as he pulls the Minotaur's corpse out of the Labyrinth.

Sculptors were also quick to share the enthusiasm of vase-painters for this posture, which lends itself so freely to a variety of situations and, especially in battle-scenes, both serves (or so it seems) as a reminiscence of a movement used by actual swordsmen and provides the artist with figures in a whole range of poses for incorporation in his composition.

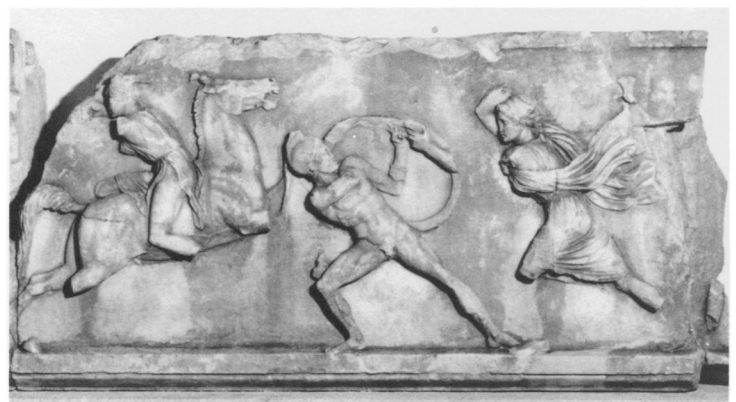
Throughout the Greek world, the posture appears constantly in sculptured scenes of battle. By the time of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (mid-fourth century B.C.) it had become a cliché, employed particularly blatantly on a slab formerly attributed to Scopas (Figure 7).³⁶ Here, separated only by an Amazon in the defense posture, desperately wielding her battle-ax in a manner that leaves her totally exposed to a sword-thrust, are two Greeks shown facing to the right in the attack posture. Each leans forward on a bent left leg, his body continuing the line of his right leg stretched out in a straight line behind. The only significant difference is that one leans farther forward, at a sharper angle to the ground. From the sculptor's point of view, both contribute conveniently to the system of interlocking diagonal lines that binds together the whole composition of the Amazon frieze of the Mausoleum. On the adjacent slab (Figure 8) a Greek provides a corresponding set of diagonals pointing in the opposite direction as he adopts an extreme form of the defense posture under the onslaught of an Amazon, who herself uses the attack posture, wielding her battle-ax overhead with one hand as she pushes the Greek's shield aside with the other.³⁷

The posture was to have a long history in ancient art, lasting well into the Roman period. Its nadir is perhaps to be found in Macedonia, on the celebrated lion-hunt mosaic from Pella.³⁸ Hunting lions and other dangerous game with spears had been an artis-

7. Greeks in the attack posture against Amazons. Detail of a frieze from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, ca. 350 B.C. London, British Museum, Sculpture 1014 (photo: British Museum)



8. A Greek in the defense position yielding to an Amazon. Detail of a frieze from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, ca. 350 B.C. London, British Museum, Sculpture 1015 (photo: British Museum)



tic convention in Greece for several centuries.³⁹ In the Macedonian mosaic, the lion is attacked from both sides, by a swordsman on the spectator's right and by a spearman on the left. The swordsman adopts the attack posture, with his weapon held overhead for a Harmodios blow. Neither his weapon nor the way he uses it is really suitable for engaging a lion. A spear is certainly a more sensible weapon for the task, but only when properly used. The spearman's legs are in the attack position, but turned in the wrong direction. In fact, the legs of both men are represented in similar fashion, although both their actions and their positions relative to the lion are different. The stance, therefore, is used merely as an artistic convention, without regard for its original form and function. Unfortunately, the sort of comment on such inept footwork that might have been made by one of the *hoplomachoi* who drilled the *ephebes* remains among the many things not recorded by ancient authors.

NOTES

1. Anderson, p. 84; Pritchett, II, pp. 208ff., esp. 219–221 for training during campaigns.
2. Anderson (p. 87 with n. 7) points out that there is no Greek account of sword exercise like that recommended for the training of Roman legionaries in Vegetius, *De re militari* I, 12.
3. Anderson, pp. 87–89.
4. Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 2.17; VI, 5.25–37. For company-drill, see Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* II, 3.21–22; drill for larger units, see *ibid.* 4.2–5.
5. Anderson, p. 87.
6. Shefton, pp. 173–179.
7. Naples, G 103, 104; G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik* (Munich, 1950) p. 107 n.1 (bibl.), pl. 34, nos. 3–4; Martin Robertson, *History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975) pp. 185, 647 n.49 (bibl.).
8. Red-figured hydria attributed to the Nausikaa Painter, New York, MMA, 25.28; *ARV²*, p. 1110, no. 41 (bibl.). Red-figured squat lekythos attributed to the Eretria Painter, New York, MMA, 31.11.13; *ARV²*, p. 1248, no. 9 (bibl.).
9. Shefton, p. 173.
10. On a wound in the armpit, see J. Frel, "The *Volneratus Deficiens* by Cresilas," *MMAB* n.s. 29 (1970–71) pp. 170–177,

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The ideas put forward here have been discussed with various colleagues, and I am particularly grateful to Michael Crawford for help with the bibliography of ancient warfare and to Philip Lancaster for advice on swordsmanship and its terminology. For any errors of fact or interpretation I remain solely responsible.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Anderson—J. K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1970)
ARV²—J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (2d ed. Oxford, 1963)
Pritchett—W. Kendrick Pritchett, *The Greek State at War II* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1974), IV (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1985)
Shefton—B. B. Shefton, "Some Iconographic Remarks on the Tyrannicides," *American Journal of Archaeology* 64 (1960) pp. 173–179

esp. fig. 9; *idem*, "The Wounded Warrior in New York and London," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1973, pp. 120–121.

11. On linen corselets, see Anderson, p. 23 with nn.47–51.
12. Homer, *Iliad* XVI, 114–123. For a discussion, with other references to spears broken in combat, see Pritchett, IV, p. 56 with n.167; see also Shefton, p. 174. In Attic red-figure, representations of a sword-slash used against a spear-blow are particularly frequent in scenes of combat between a Greek hoplite armed with a spear and a Persian with a sword: see Anne Bovon, "La représentation des guerriers perses et la notion de barbare dans la 1^{re} moitié du V^e siècle," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 87 (1963) esp. pp. 579–591.
13. Shefton, p. 173: The Harmodios blow is often represented with the shield moved back, perhaps for balance, but Shefton, p. 176, also sees the forward thrust of the left arm (without shield) as intended to maintain balance.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 173, with n.6.
15. Red-figured volute-krater attributed to the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, New York, MMA, 07.286.84; *ARV²*, p. 613, no. 1 (bibl.).
16. Shefton, pp. 173 with n.3, 174.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 175. On the use of straight swords (for thrusting) and curved swords (for slashing) in vase-painting, see Ander-

son, p. 37. The archaeological evidence for the two types is assembled by A. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (London, 1967) p. 97; see also Pritchett, IV, p. 61 n.183. On the “cut and thrust” sword, see also A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (Edinburgh, 1964) pp. 104 (use), 205 (origin). At this early period, at least in art, a blow with the edge of a sword was more common than a thrust: G. Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art* (Stockholm, 1971) pp. 47ff. The use of the edge and the point in vase-painting was also studied by H. Lorimer, “The Hoplite Phalanx,” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 42 (1947) pp. 76–138, esp. 119, cited by Pritchett, IV, p. 60, where he quotes Vegetius, *De re militari* (I.12), to the effect that in practice a blow with the edge of a sword rarely kills, while a stab is generally fatal.

18. E. K. Borthwick, “Two Scenes of Combat in Euripides,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 90 (1970) p. 18.

19. Detail from the same vase as Figure 3; see note 17.

20. The “underarm thrusting position” for the use of the spear, illustrated in Peter Connolly, *The Greek Armies* (London, 1977), is very similar, the rear leg being almost straight with the heel off the ground. On the overhead and underhand use of the spear, see Pritchett, IV, p. 60 with nn.177–179. Drill-movements with the spear and the words of command are discussed by Anderson, pp. 88–89, 91 n.22.

21. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* III, 12.5, discussed by Pritchett, II, p. 211 and IV, pp. 63–64 with n.195.

22. Thucydides II, 38–39 (Pericles’s Funeral Oration). Pritchett (II, p. 211) comments that the Athenians were nonetheless panic-stricken on confronting the Spartans at Sphacteria (Thucydides IV, 34.1). For a discussion of what was almost a literary commonplace (references in Galen, Lucian, Philostratus, Plato, Plutarch, and Xenophon), see Pritchett, II, pp. 213ff. Plato (*Laws*, 829ab) stressed that athletic training should be aimed at agility rather than mere strength. Agility was also fostered by the dance in armor (Pyrrhic), and Anderson (pp. 92–93) suggested that it may have been used to teach basic drill-movements, but representations in vase-painting do not include postures like those discussed here in connection with swordsmanship. The Pyrrhicist is often shown looking back over his shoulder: see J.-C. Poursat, “Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique,” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 92 (1968) pp. 550–615. For further references on the Pyrrhic with discussion of various controversies, see Pritchett, IV, pp. 61–63. For Etruscan parallels see G. Camporeale, “La Danza Armata in Etruria,” *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome, Antiquité* 99 (1987) pp. 11–42.

23. Pritchett, II, p. 208 n.3; see also Anderson, p. 86, citing J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris, 1960) 27; contrast Humphreys, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 94 (1974) p. 90, who sees “little evidence of [Delorme’s] association between the gymnasium and the hoplite.”

24. Plato, *Laws*, 813c; Anderson, p. 86.

25. G. L. Cawkwell, “Epaminondas and Thebes,” *Classical Quarterly* 66 (n.s. 22, 1972) p. 262 n.4. I remember introducing Helmut Nickel to Evelyn Waugh’s trilogy, *Sword of Honour*—and his comment: “All armies are alike!”

26. Plato, *Laches* 181e–183d; Anderson, p. 86.

27. H. D. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (new ed., H. Stuart Jones and R. McKenzie, eds., Oxford, 1925–40) s.v.

28. Vase-painters generally chose to portray scenes consisting of a series of single hand-to-hand combats rather than fighting in formation. For the Chigi jug with its massed ranks, and other early examples, see Lorimer (n.17). Pritchett (IV, p. 91) comments that vase-painters’ preference for open scenes also ruled out representations of concerted pushing (*othismos*).

29. Among rare examples in black-figure vase-painting of striding figures with a bent forward leg is a warrior on the hydria, Leyden P.C. 44 (J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* [Oxford, 1956] p. 106, no. 132; D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* [Oxford, 1957] p. 8, no. 24, pl. 13). A warrior near (and partly below) the handle of a neck-amphora attributed to the Polyphemos Group, at first sight in the classic attack posture (left knee bent, right leg stretched out behind, left arm bent, sword in hand for an underarm thrust) is actually being forced to his knees by an overarm spear-thrust from his opponent (E. Langlotz, *Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg, Griechische Vasen*, p. 87, no. 455, pl. 133). A similar posture occurs in Laconian black-figure as early as about 550 B.C. for a hunter pursuing a boar with a spear, perhaps an anomalously early version of the attack posture: Louvre E 670; P. E. Arias, B. B. Shefton, M. Hirmer, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (London, 1962) p. 309 (bibl.), pl. 73 above.

30. Arezzo 1465; *ARV*², p. 15, no. 6 (bibl.).

31. Boston 00.338; *ARV*², p. 427, no. 4 (bibl.).

32. D. Ohly, *Die Aegineten* (Munich, 1976) I, esp. Beilage E and pls. 12, 55; note also on pl. 58 that the rear heel is off the ground: see also n.20. For the temple of Zeus at Olympia, see B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia, The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus* (London, 1967) pl. 95.

33. Anderson, p. 87.

34. Red-figured volute-krater with stand, New York, MMA 24.97.25. G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1936) pp. 161–162, pl. 127.

35. London, British Museum E 84 (GR 1850.3–2.3), kylix attributed to the Codrus Painter, *ARV*², p. 1269, no. 4 (bibl.). The scene of Theseus wrestling with Kerkyon is cited by Borthwick, “Two Scenes of Combat,” p. 19, to illustrate the “Thessalian trick,” a wrestling movement adapted to swordsmanship by Eteocles in Euripides, *Phoinissai* 1407–1413.

36. London, British Museum, Sculpture 1014 (GR 1857.12–20.269). The attribution to Scopas was first made by the exca-

vator of the Mausoleum, C. T. Newton, in 1857 and has been widely accepted. For reasons why the attribution is no longer tenable, see B. F. Cook, "The Sculptors of the Mausoleum Frieze" in *Architecture and Society in Hecatomnid Caria* (conference proceedings, Uppsala, 1987, forthcoming).

37. London, British Museum, Sculpture 1015 (GR 1857.12–20.268).

38. Ph. Petsas, "Mosaics from Pella" in *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* (colloquium papers, Paris, 1963 [1965]) pp. 41–56, figs. 3, 4.

39. K. Friis Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens* (Paris/Copenhagen, 1923) p. 149.

Armorial Adjuncts

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

*Chairman, Department of Greek and Roman Art,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

WHEN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM'S Department of Arms and Armor was established in 1912, the agreed chronological limits excluded arms and armor made before the fall of the Roman Empire, thus allowing the older Classical Department (later renamed the Department of Greek and Roman Art) to continue collecting classical body armor and weapons without encroaching on the interests of the new department or competing with it. Fences make good neighbors, and relations between the two departments have been excellent for several generations. The fourth curator of Greek and Roman Art thus welcomes the opportunity to salute the fourth curator of Arms and Armor with some newcomers to our arsenal¹ that were acquired too late for Helmut Nickel to include in his splendid survey of the Museum's armaments, his highly readable and most instructive *Warriors and Worthies* (1969).

Unlike the panoply of medieval knights who were encased in metal from head to toe, allowing at best a chink in the armor, Greek body armor was makeshift and piecemeal. Its basic components were a helmet, a cuirass, greaves, and a shield, and instead of chinks, a Greek warrior displayed vulnerable gaps: the neck, the armpits, the hands and arms, most of the trunk below the waist, and the thighs, feet, and ankles. He was exposed to hostile missiles—arrows, slingshot, and spears—as well as to swords, battle-axes, and spears used in close combat. Even the best-trained and most agile hoplite could not defend himself simultaneously against everything that was hurled at him from all sides; bronze, moreover, the favorite material for helmets, cuirasses, and greaves, was easily pierced by the stronger iron of spears, swords, and arrowheads. Additional armor devised for the

obviously unprotected parts includes rerebraces and vambraces for the arms, especially the right arm, and thigh guards (*parameridia*) for the tops and sides of the thighs. A semicircular plate fastened with rings to the lower front edge of the corslet, the so-called mitra, shielded the groin without impeding the movement of the hoplite. Beginning in the sixth century B.C., overlapping strips of leather (*pteryges*) served the same purpose. Mail armor of interlinked rings—the revolutionary invention of Celtic armorers—did not become part of the Greek repertory, although tribal invasions of Italy and Asia Minor in the third century B.C. could not have left the Hellenistic world in total ignorance of the Gauls and their armaments.

Helmut Nickel's *Ullstein Waffenbuch* (1974), a true encyclopedia of arms and armor, while making it unnecessary for me to go into details, has prompted me to investigate one type of supplementary armor that has received rather short shrift: the ankle guard. Its relative rarity—fewer than fifty have been discovered in the last 150 years—may reflect a lack of popularity in antiquity. To my knowledge, in this country there are only a singleton in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore² and two pairs in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 1, 3, 5, 6).³ The Walters ankle guard, acquired in 1949 at the Brummer sale,⁴ is of the short type best known from more than sixteen examples found over the years at Olympia.⁵ The Metropolitan pairs, bought at auctions in Basle and New York, rise in back to the beginning of the calf and belong to the other type, of which those with known provenances come from Magna Graecia, more specifically Apulia. Its area of use thus comprised the heel and "Achilles tendon" of the Italian "boot," coincid-



1. Guard for left ankle, front view, Apulian, 5th–4th century B.C. Bronze, H. 23 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Helen H. Mertens Gift, 1975, 1975.11.2

ing fortuitously with the very portion of the human anatomy that ankle guards of Apulian type were meant to protect.

While the eastern, or mainland Greek, ankle guard resembles a low boot without its front, or a sole, cut off just above the ankle, the Apulian variation was hammered from a leaf-shaped sheet of bronze with its back rising well above the level of the ankle. The sheet was then embossed, often in the shape of teardrops, for the protruding inner anklebone, the *malleolus medialis*. Three carinations, a central vertical flanked by two curvilinear ridges, reinforced the



2. Right profile of ankle guard in Figure 1

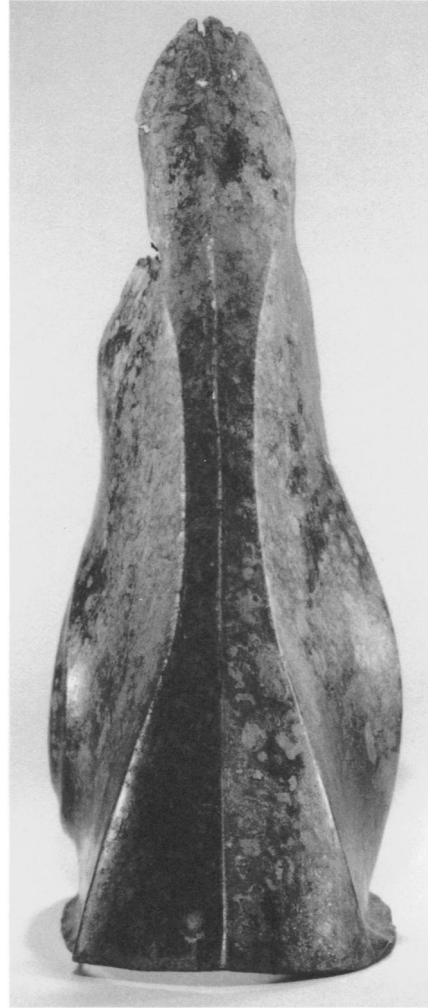
back of the ankle guard and gave special protection to the Achilles tendon against slashing blows of sabers and swords. The outside of the anklebone, the *malleolus lateralis*, protrudes more and is more vulnerable than the inner bone; hence, on the two Museum pairs the armorer has created more space by hammering a rather long vertical ridge that kept the metal a safe distance away from the bone itself. Special padding for the outer anklebone, now lost, must have kept the bronze guards firmly in place. The metal was bent slightly outward along the edges to prevent chafing; holes at the sides served as eyelets for tying the armor over the instep. Unlike the mainland Greek examples, the Apulian guards are not



3. Guard for right ankle, front view, Apulian, 5th–4th century B.C. Bronze, H. 23.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Helen H. Mertens Gift, 1975, 1975.11.1

perforated along the edges and so presumably were not worn with a lining of leather, felt, or cloth. These ankle guards were probably worn over stockings or gaiters.

So far I have avoided calling the ankle guards by the Homeric Greek word *ἐπισφύρια* (*episphyria*) with which A. Furtwängler a hundred years ago attempted to identify them.⁶ My caution calls for an explanation. In *The Iliad* the word occurs four times, thrice in an identical couplet used in the arming of Paris (III, 330–331), Agamemnon (XI, 17–18), and Patroklos (XVI, 131–132):



4. Back view of ankle guard in Figure 3

κνημίδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκε
καλὰς, ἀργυρέοισιν ἐπισφύροισι ἀραρυίας

(first he put around his shins beautiful greaves fastened with silver *episphyria*). The word is mentioned a fourth time in the passage (XVIII, 458–460) in which Thetis implores Hephaistos to make new armor for her son, Achilles, to replace the first armor, which he had lent to Patroklos, who was killed by Hektor, and which was lost to the Trojans. She enumerates the need for a shield, a helmet, and

καλὰς κνημίδας ἐπισφύροισι ἀραρυίας καὶ θώρηχ'

(beautiful greaves fastened with *episphyria*, and a cuirass).

In the subsequent account of how Hephaistos set to work honoring Thetis's wishes (XVIII, 468–613) the poet's attention is devoted almost entirely to the marvelously decorated shield, while his work on the cuirass, the helmet, and the greaves is described in a scant four lines at the end. In this passage nothing is said about the *episphyria* or their material, but the greaves are characterized as being made of tin.

Viewed in this context two facts emerge: the *episphyria* were the means by which the greaves were fastened above or near the ankles and were not an essential, separate piece of body armor.

Another question is whether ankle guards were worn alone or in conjunction with greaves. Furtwängler was the first to observe that the posterior extension of the ankle guard in the Apulian examples is cut in such a way as to complement the greaves by protecting that part of the leg not covered by them,⁷ yet in complete panoplies that have come down to us,

or in *tropaia*, ankle guards are not included. It may be tempting to think that ankle guards were on occasion used in lieu of greaves, and some have gone so far as to suggest that such equipment was “intended for horsemen whose feet were more vulnerable than those of the infantry.”⁸ In archaeology one learns early not to generalize from the scant remains known to us at any given moment, since many of our most erudite theories are often upset by unexpected new discoveries. Quite recently, a collector in Geneva allowed me to study four pieces of armor that he had acquired in Sion as a group—two greaves and two ankle guards of the Apulian type. The state of preservation of all four pieces suggests strongly that they were found together; they are now on loan to the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva and are illustrated here thanks to the generosity of its curator of Greek art, Jacques Chamay (Figure 7).

Another oddity worth noting is the total absence of

5. Guard for left ankle, back view, Apulian, 5th–4th century B.C. Bronze, H. 22.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Norbert Schimmel Gift and Arthur Darby Nock Bequest, in memory of Gisela Richter, 1982, 1982.11.5



6. Guard for right ankle, back view, Apulian, 5th–4th century B.C. Bronze, H. 23.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Norbert Schimmel Gift and Arthur Darby Nock Bequest, in memory of Gisela Richter, 1982, 1982.11.6



representations of metal ankle guards on vases, especially Apulian vases of the fourth century. On Attic red-figured vases of the Archaic Period we sometimes see tassels below the lower edges of greaves above the ankles. These fringes are not part of the greaves or their linings but represent the lower edge of spatlike triangular pieces of leather worn on the legs above the ankles, where the edges of the metal greaves might chafe the shins. On a calyx krater by the Eucharides Painter in the Louvre⁹ in a scene depicting Sarpedon's body deposited in Lycia by Sleep and Death the ankle guards are shown in their entirety, not half hidden by the greaves, since after Sarpedon's death in battle his body was stripped of its armor, leaving him naked except for the anklets. The guards recur on a fragmentary amphora by the same painter at the Getty Museum.¹⁰ Clearly, they are to be differentiated from the red fillets worn on Brygan cups¹¹ and from the plain strips tied above the ankles of *hoplitodromoi* arming themselves for the race in armor on a cup by the Antiphon Painter in the Louvre¹² and on the neck of a pointed-neck amphora by the Kleophrades Painter in the Antikenmuseum,

Berlin.¹³ In each of the instances cited, the anklets leave the ankles themselves unprotected but act as a buffer or cushion between the lower edge of the metal greaves and the skin.

Bronze ankle guards, whether of Greek or Apulian type, do not limit the movement of the foot, as has sometimes been claimed.¹⁴ As the guards stop at the instep, the feet can be flexed without discomfort in ordinary exercises such as walking, running, or climbing, although toe-dancing might be more difficult with the Apulian type, which makes the lower back of the leg more rigid. The ankle guards are certainly less clumsy than ski boots and weigh much less: of our two pairs, the larger ones (1975.11.1 and 1975.11.2) weigh little more than eleven ounces each, while the smaller ones, made of somewhat thinner metal, weigh less than six ounces each. I can well imagine that a hoplite equipped with this special armor was grateful for the additional protection in the heat of battle as a defense against a strong missile, or *ἔρκος ἰσχύρω βέλεος*, as Alcaeus called the greaves.¹⁵

7. Pair of ankle guards, back view, Apulian, 5th–4th century B.C. Bronze, H. 27 cm. On loan to the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (photo: Y. Siza)



NOTES

1. Acc. nos. 1975.11.1 and 1975.11.2. H. $9\frac{3}{16}$ in. (23.3 cm.), $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. (23.2 cm.) Münzen und Medaillen (Basel, 1975) *Auktion 51, 14–15 März 1975*, p. 99, no. 219; H. A. G. Brijder, "A Bronze Ankle-Guard and Belt in Amsterdam" in *Festoon A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta* (1976) p. 188 n.12b. Acc. nos. 1982.11.5 and 1982.11.6. H. $8\frac{3}{8}$ in. (22.8 cm.), $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. (23.2 cm.). Cat. Sotheby-Parke Bernet (New York, May 20, 1982) p. 130, no. 130 (ill.); MMA, *Notable Acquisitions 1981–1982*, pp. 10–11 (ill.).

2. 54.2337. H. $4\frac{15}{16}$ in. (12.5 cm.) D. K. Hill, "Five Pieces of Early Greek Armor" in *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 9 (1952) pp. 316–317, fig. 7.

3. See note 1.

4. Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., *Part Two of the Notable Art Collection Belonging to the Estate of the Late Joseph Brummer* (New York, May 11–14, 1949) p. 183 (there called a "bronze equine muzzle").

5. A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (Edinburgh, 1964) p. 240 n.55.

6. *Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia 4* (Berlin, 1890) pp. 160–161.

7. Ibid.

8. H. A. G. Brijder, "A Bronze Ankle-Guard," p. 188, paraphrases E. Kunze (*VIII Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* [Berlin, 1967] p. 212) but does not seem to have realized that

Kunze talks about bronze *foot* guards that protect the top of the feet from the toes to the instep.

9. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1963) p. 227, no. 12; D. von Bothmer, "Euphronios and Memnon? Observations on a Red-figured Fragment," *MMJ* 22 (1987) p. 9, fig. 5, n.17.

10. J. Paul Getty Museum 85. AE. 499 (unpublished).

11. See J. D. Beazley, *ARV*², p. 373, no. 48; p. 402, no. 15.

12. Louvre Cp 10905. J. D. Beazley, *ARV*², p. 340, no. 76 (since augmented by MMA 1973.212.2).

13. Inv. 1970.5. A. Greifenhagen, *Neue Fragmente des Kleophradesmalers* (Heidelberg, 1972) p. 20, pl. 11, n.37. Greifenhagen cites the MMA calyx-krater by the Kleophrades Painter 08.258.58 (J. D. Beazley, *ARV*², p. 185, no. 36) as another example, but there the bandagelike device is painted as being *on top* of the lower edge of the greave, not under it, where it would keep the greave from chafing the skin. If, conversely, these strips of cloth were intended to hold the greaves in place (like the Homeric *episphyria*), there would have been no point in tying them on the legs *before* putting on the greaves.

14. H. A. G. Brijder, "A Bronze Ankle-Guard," p. 188, misquoting Emil Kunze.

15. The Loeb Classical Library, *Greek Lyric I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) p. 304, no. 140, line 10.

The Morgan Scramasax

KATHARINE R. BROWN

Senior Research Associate, Medieval Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

TWO OBJECTS IN THE MORGAN COLLECTION of Migration Art are illustrative of an early type of short sword known as the scramasax. This artifact may be distinguished from the long sword by its single cutting edge, its wide blade, and its long handle. The scramasax was, it is believed, not solely a weapon but also served such domestic purposes as cutting wood. It is associated primarily with the Franks, but also with other Germanic tribes, and it was in use at least from the sixth to the ninth century. Examples vary in length from 4 to 20 inches.

The first item from the Morgan Collection is an actual scramasax, measuring 10½ by 1¾ inches (Figure 1).¹ Along with two other scramasaxes and a number of swords, it was given to the Museum in 1917 as part of the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, who had purchased them from the estate of their discoverer, a German postmaster named Queckenberg. Queckenberg had excavated a large Frankish cemetery in Niederbreisig, near Bonn, about 1900.

Only the iron core of the scramasax handle is extant, but if it followed the pattern of other examples, the handle was made of wood.² However, one feature of this scramasax is so unusual that when I first began to study the Morgan Collection, it was among the objects that I suspected to be of questionable authenticity. Perched on its cutting edge are four stylized bronze human heads, whose function is far from clear. The eyes are formed by rings containing dots; a long, straight nose between them merges with the hairline. The hair outlines the eyes and sides of the head and then rolls up on itself. There are no beards on the two heads on the ends, but faint striations on those in the center may indicate that they were originally fashioned with beards.

To investigate these heads in relation to the scramasax, I turned to Bashford Dean's *Catalogue of European Daggers*, where this and the other two scramasaxes that came to the Museum in the Morgan Collection were published. In discussing the development of sheaths for scramasaxes, Dean notes that they were at first sewn. In a later stage the sewing was reinforced by several large rivets, and in the third developmental stage the sewing was replaced by small rivets.³ This Metropolitan Museum example appears to represent the second stage: none of the sheath itself remains, but the heads are the four large rivets that had once held the sheath together and are now rusted onto the edge of the blade. The scramasax can therefore probably be dated to the seventh century. The presence of the rivets in conjunction with the blade gives us some idea of what a sheathed scramasax must have looked like.

Although the only example of a preserved sheath secured by several rivets, each decorated with a human head, is the one from Lausanne–Bel-Air (tomb 48),⁴ rivets and tacks decorated with human heads have been found in conjunction with short swords, and some of these heads have the same features as those on the Museum's scramasax.⁵

Similar stylized heads, but with beards, are found on Alemannic gold sheet crosses from Wurmlingen and Gammertingen. Günther Haseloff has shown that these heads derive from or are a Germanized version of Byzantine imperial portraits as depicted on coins, for example, coins of Phocas (602–10).⁶ Heads with these basic features seem to be one of the most characteristic types of the Migration period, appearing on buckles, belt plates, fibulae, and the like.⁷ Somewhat similar heads of the same period have

71



1. Scramasax (short sword), Frankish, 7th century. Iron, bronze, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in. (26.7 × 4.5 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.193.353
2. Openwork plaque, Frankish, 7th century. Silvered bronze, H. 4 in. (10.2 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.193.163



been interpreted as images of Christ or of the god Wotan.⁸ Since the heads on the Museum's scramasax have neither the halo nor the cross associated with them, they were surely not meant to represent Christ. Whether they were fashioned merely as human masks or as representations of Wotan is less clear. But such ambiguous iconographic symbols and images seem to be typical of Germanic art of the seventh century.

The second item from the Morgan Collection, an openwork plaque from Wanquetin (Figure 2), has an equally obscure iconography. However, the equestrian figure it depicts is undoubtedly wearing a scramasax suspended from his belt.⁹ Such a portrayal is rare if not unique in this period.

The openwork silvered bronze plaque is one of several hundred such plaques that have been found in women's graves and that are thought to have been worn, suspended from the belt, to carry keys and other personal items. Dorothee Renner has found that the plaques fall stylistically into nineteen groups, of which those with horses form group XII. This group is divided into three subgroups, the first of which includes four types, all depicting a rider without a lance and with either both arms raised, the right arm raised and the left lowered, the left raised and the right lowered, or both lowered. The second group shows a rider with a lance, and the third depicts a horse with no rider.¹⁰

On the Metropolitan Museum's plaque the mounted figure is shown full face with his left hand partly raised and his right hand clutching the braided mane of the horse. Although he does not carry a lance, he wears a prominent belt from which is suspended a scramasax. Thus this representation falls between two of Renner's four types: the type

with both arms raised, usually interpreted as a saint orans and most probably Coptic in origin,¹¹ and the type representing the mounted warrior bearing a lance, frequently identified as Odin or Wotan and considered to be Scandinavian in origin.¹²

This figure has a divided shock of hair that is very unusual and led Wallerstein to interpret him as a god.¹³ Pilloy interpreted him as a nobleman, Tackenberg as a holy rider; and in the Boston Catalogue he was identified with Wotan, the chief Germanic god.¹⁴

NOTES

1. Seymour de Ricci, *Catalogue of a Collection of Germanic Antiquities Belonging to J. Pierpont Morgan* (Paris, 1910) nos. 353–355, pl. xxx.

2. Cl. Boulanger, *Le Mobilier funéraire Gallo-Romain et Franc en Picardie et en Artois* (Paris, 1902–5) p. 186; Patrick Périn and Laure-Charlotte Feffer, *Les Francs, À l'origine de la France* (Paris, 1987) II, p. 93.

3. Bashford Dean, *Catalogue of European Daggers* (New York, 1929) p. 18.

4. Rudolph Moosbrugger Leu, "Le Scramasax décoré de Lausanne, Bel-Air (tombe 48)," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 23 (1963–64) pp. 10, 12, fig. 1.

5. Eduard M. Neffer, *Der Reihengräberfriedhof von Donzdorf* (Stuttgart, 1972) grave 26, pl. 6; Marius Besson, *L'Art barbare dans l'ancien diocèse de Lausanne* (Lausanne, 1909) pp. 198–200.

6. Günther Haseloff, "Goldblattkreuze nördlich der Alpen," *Die Goldblattkreuze des frühen Mittelalters*, Wolfgang Hübner, ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975) see esp. pp. 65–68.

7. In addition to the study by Besson, *L'Art barbare*, pp. 199–200, and to that by L. Coutil, cited by Besson but unavailable to me, attention should be drawn to Wilfried Menghin, *Das Schwert im frühen Mittelalter* (Nuremberg/Stuttgart, 1983) pp. 39–40, 256–257, 258–259, 361, where numerous belt mounts decorated with human heads are portrayed; and Helmut Roth, ed., *Kunst der Völkerwanderungszeit*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, supp. vol. IV (1979) no. 185b, buckle from Åker in Oslo with a similar head, and a disk fibula from Esslingen with a similar head in the center.

8. Patrick Périn, "Six plaques-boucles mérovingiennes de bronze à plaque ronde ornée d'un masque humain et de motifs

The absence of any Christian motif or gesture and the prominence of the belt (a symbol of power in German mythology)¹⁵ and of the scramasax (the predominant weapon of the Germanic people in the seventh century) would certainly seem to indicate that the artist wished to portray a hero rather than a saint. Whether he had Wotan in mind eludes us. The plaque then, like the heads on the scramasax, remains one of the many mysterious legacies from the seventh century.

géométrique du Musée Carnavalet," *Bulletin de Groupement archéologique de Seine et Marne* 14–15 (1973–74) p. 39; Herbert Kühn, "Die Christus-Schnallen der Völkerwanderungszeit," *Ipek* 23 (1970–73) pp. 52–55.

9. M. Pilloy, "L'Équitation aux époques franque et carolingienne," *Bulletin Archéologique* (1894) pp. 154–155; Seymour de Ricci, *Catalogue of a Collection of Merovingian Antiquities Belonging to J. Pierpont Morgan* (Paris, 1910) no. 163, pl. xiv; Stephen Foltiny, *Catalogue of the Morgan Collection* (unpublished) pt. 4, p. 7, fig. 15; Line Wallerstein, *Der Mensch als künstlerisches Motiv bei Franken, Alemannen und Burgunden* (Düsseldorf, 1934) p. 36; Herbert Kühn, "Die Reiterscheiben der Völkerwanderungszeit," *Ipek* (1938) pp. 101, 114, no. 23; E. B. Ricketson, "Barbarian Jewelry of the Merovingian Period," *MMAB* 5 (1947) p. 141; Kurt Tackenberg, "Über einige bekannte Reiter Scheiben," *Germania* 28 (1944) p. 257; Édouard Salin, *La Civilisation mérovingienne, quatrième partie* (Paris, 1959) p. 286; *Romans and Barbarians*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, 1976–77) p. 142, no. 173; Dorothee Renner, *Die durchbrochenen Zierscheiben der Merowingerzeit* (Mainz, 1970); Katharine R. Brown, *Frankish Art in American Collections* (New York, 1984) pp. 24–25, fig. 16.

10. Renner, *Die durchbrochenen Zierscheiben*, pp. 38–41.

11. See especially Pilloy, "L'Équitation," p. 154; and Wallerstein, *Der Mensch*, pp. 33ff.

12. See Salin, *La Civilisation mérovingienne*, pp. 292–294; and Kühn, *Die Reiterscheiben*, for a summary of all these views.

13. Wallerstein, *Der Mensch*, p. 36.

14. Pilloy, "L'Équitation," p. 154; Tackenberg, "Über Reiter Scheiben," p. 257; *Romans and Barbarians*, p. 142.

15. Kühn, "Die Christus-Schnallen," pp. 62–66.

A Famous Fourteenth-Century Japanese Armor

MORIHIRO OGAWA

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

THE LARGE AND DISTINGUISHED COLLECTION OF Japanese arms in the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Arms and Armor, which numbers about 6,000 pieces, is generally accepted as the finest outside Japan. Indeed, the collection is so rich that in some areas it surpasses that of the Tokyo National Museum. One object in the collection stands out from the rest: a rare armor of the *yoroi* type, which dates to the late Kamakura period of the early fourteenth century (Figures 1–3). According to tradition, the armor is said to have belonged to Takauji Ashikaga (1305–58),¹ founder of the Ashikaga shogunate.

Japanese body armor is typically of lamellar construction, formed of lacquered leather and iron lames laced together in overlapping horizontal rows to provide a balance between strength and flexibility. The term *yoroi* refers to an early form of lamellar armor that wraps around the torso and is closed on the right side by a separate side panel (*waidate*) and a pendant skirt section; these are tied to the front and back plates. The skirt (*kusazuri*) of the *yoroi* has a distinctive boxlike form. In addition to the cuirass (*dō*) and the skirt, the complete armor would have included a helmet, large, rectangular shoulder guards (*sode*), and armor for the arms and legs. The *yoroi* was generally worn by a warrior mounted on horseback with the skirt telescoping upward when he was seated in his saddle. This type of armor had gone out of fashion by the late fourteenth century and was gradually replaced by armors of the *dōmaru* type (which opened with a single seam on the right side and a more flexible skirt of eight, eleven, or thirteen vertical panels) and of the *haramaki* type (which opened at the center of the back rather than on the right side).

Yoroi are exceptionally rare today; only about thirty-five complete examples and about twenty incomplete ones are known. Of the complete *yoroi*, thirty-one are in shrines or temples and two are in private collections in Japan. The two remaining examples are in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.²

As exhibited today, the Museum's *yoroi* consists of a helmet and cuirass with skirt. The cuirass retains its characteristic shoulder straps, the right one (*sendan no ita*) of lamellar construction, the left one (*kyūbi no ita*) of solid iron. The front of the cuirass and the main panel of the *waidate* are covered with stenciled-dyed doeskin; the design on the breast includes an image of Fūdo Myōō, the god of war. Most of the lacings have been lost, but those that remain enable us to identify the armor as a *shiroito tsumadori odoshi yoroi*, that is, a *yoroi* laced mostly with white fabric but that would have had multicolored lacings arranged in a diagonal pattern on the corners of the skirt and on the edges of the shoulder guards. The colored laces presumably allude to a rainbow, a thing of beauty and good fortune. A slightly later example of the *shiroito tsumadori odoshi yoroi*, in which the original pattern is still preserved, is in the Kushibiki Hachimangū, a shrine in the Aomori Prefecture in northern Japan (Figure 4). Only eight armors laced in this fashion are known, so the Museum's example is of considerable importance.

The armor came to the Museum from the private collection of Bashford Dean (1867–1928), the first curator of the Department of Arms and Armor. Before his curatorial appointment in 1912, Dean's interest in arms and armor was an avocation, for his profession was that of a zoologist. He held the titles of professor of vertebrate zoology at Columbia Uni-



1-3. Armor of the *yoroi* type. Japanese, Late Kamakura period, early 14th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Bashford Dean, 1914. 14.100.121

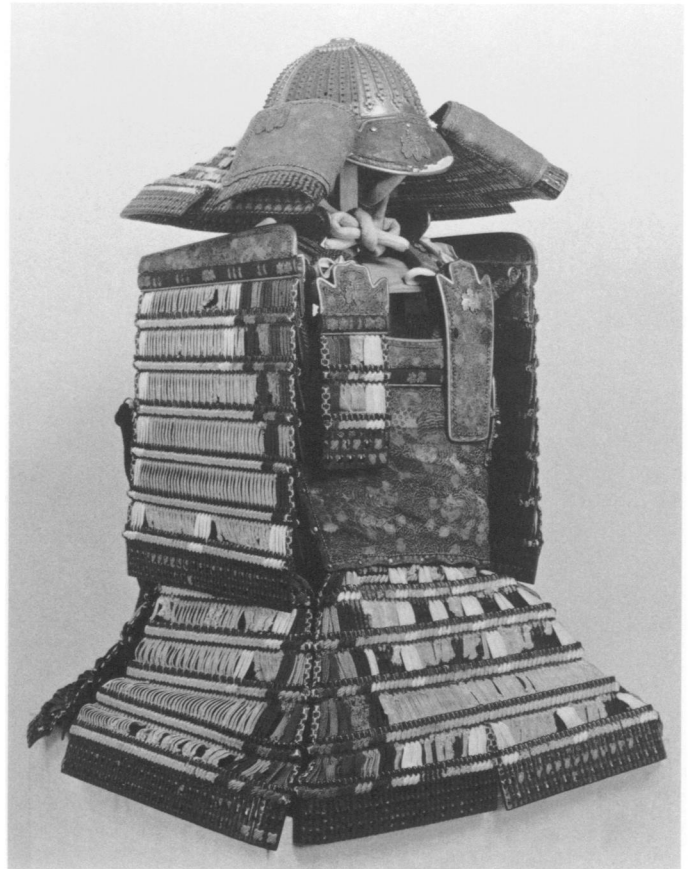
versity and curator of fossil fishes at the American Museum of Natural History. Dean made two trips to Japan, in 1900 and 1905, when he was invited by the Japanese government to study the nation's fish hatcheries. These trips gave Dean an opportunity to de-

velop a taste for and an expertise in Japanese armor, and it was in Japan that he formed two important collections of Japanese arms and armor. The first of these he sold to the Metropolitan in 1904 (just before his return to Japan); the second he donated in 1914. This *yoroi* belongs to Dean's second collection.

Very little is known about the armor before Dean acquired it. As mentioned above, tradition held that it had belonged to Takauji Ashikaga, who is said to have donated it to the Shinomura Hachimangū,

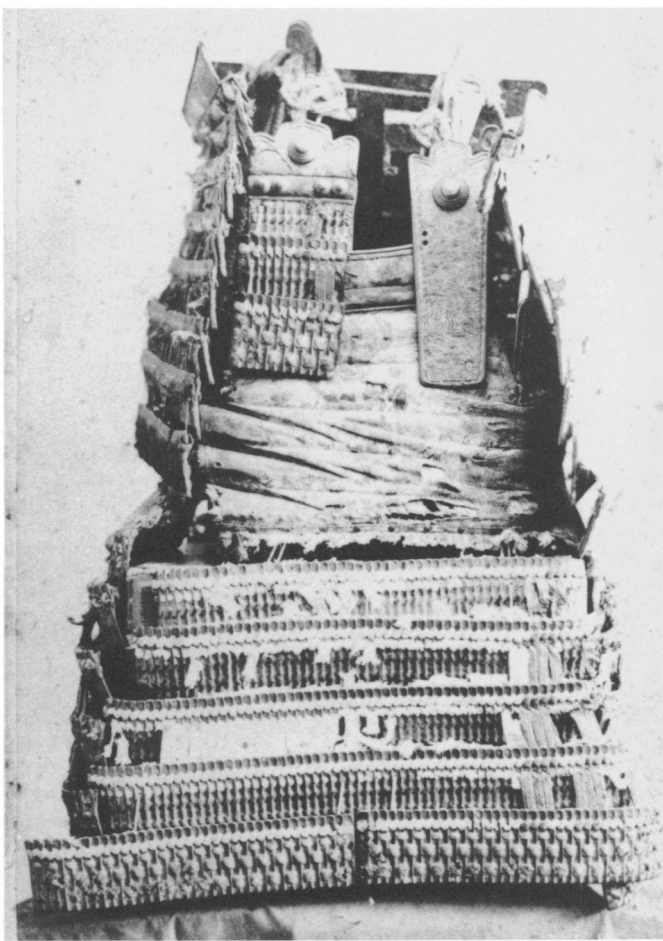


about fifty miles from Kyoto, on March 29, 1333, on his way to battle against the armies of the reigning Kamakura shogun.³ In 1902 the armor is recorded as being in the Matsui family house, near the shrine. Shortly after that date the armor was sold by the family to Ide Zembe, owner of the well-known Jidaiye antiques firm in Kyoto. Once on the art market, the armor attracted great interest and competition among the leading collectors of Japanese arms and armor, including Baron Mitsui, Professor Seki



4. Armor of the *shiroito tsumadori odoshi yoroi* type. Japanese, Late Kamakura period, early 14th century. Kushibiki Hachimangū, Aomori Prefecture (photo: Aomori Prefecture)

Yasunosuke, and Kobori Tomoto. However, it was Dean who eventually prevailed. The dealer's receipt preserved in the archives of the Department of Arms and Armor indicates that Dean purchased the armor on July 19, 1905 for 1200 yen (approximately \$600),



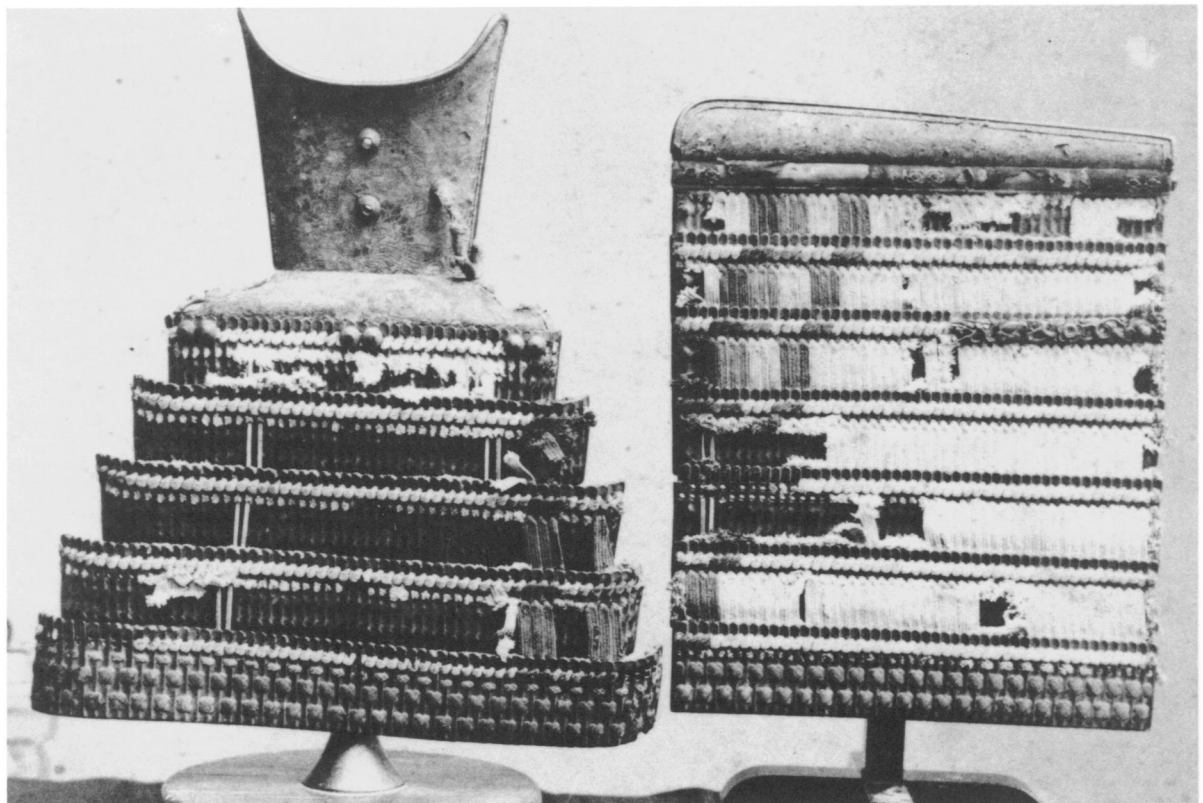
5. Photograph of the armor in Figures 1–3, ca. 1905 (photo: Bashford Dean)

a record price at that time for an armor in Japan. Since 1914, when Dean gave it to the Museum, the *yoroi* has appeared in every major study of Japanese armor⁴ and it has been the object of keen interest for all students of the subject.

Two photographs of the armor in its unrestored state are known; these were presumably made for Dean shortly after he purchased it. One (Figure 5) shows the armor from the front, mounted with two shoulder guards but without a helmet; the skirt is present but appears to have different colored laces from those now on the armor. The other (Figure 6) shows the separate side panel and a left shoulder guard laced in the same *shiroito tsumadori odoshi* design, with a diagonal section of multicolored lacing at the front. A comparison of these photographs to the armor as it has traditionally been displayed at the Metropolitan Museum—with a helmet but without *sode*—has raised a number of questions among anxious Japanese scholars.⁵ What has happened to the *sode*? What has happened to the skirt, which appears to have been relaced and to have different colors? Where did the otherwise unrecorded helmet come from?

These questions can now be answered, at least in part, as the result of a close examination of the ar-

6. Photograph taken ca. 1905 of the side panel (*wai-date*) and left shoulder guard (*sode*) associated with the armor in Figures 1–3 (photo: Bashford Dean)



mor, the study of Bashford Dean's photographs and papers in the archives of the Department of Arms and Armor, and the discovery of an unpublished series of drawings in the Imperial Library in Tokyo.

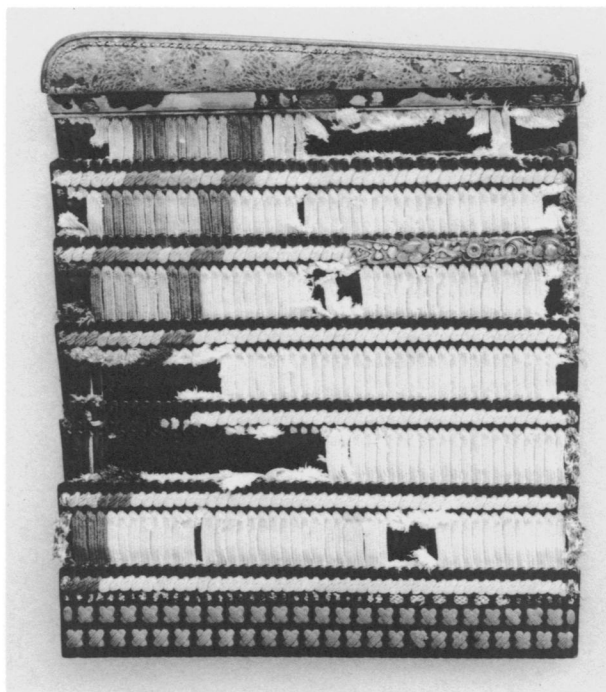
In the course of an ongoing study of the collection of Japanese arms and armor, this writer discovered that one of the two *sode* formerly associated with the armor, the left one, is still in the Museum (Figure 7). The *sode* is reproduced in both of the old photographs, although in that of the mounted armor it can only be identified by counting the number of lames and by the study of such hard-to-see details as the metal mounts and the pattern of damage along the edges. The *sode* is of the mid-fourteenth century, and it is in relatively well-preserved and unrestored condition; its lacings show that it once belonged to an armor that was laced in the *shiroito tsumadori odoshi* style like the example under discussion. However, when it is mounted on the Museum's *yoroi*, a number of differences become clear. The most noticeable difference is in the metal fittings: those on the left *sode* are decorated with plum blossoms rather than the chrysanthemums found on the cuirass. Furthermore, the curvature of the *sode* scales, which are slightly rounded, differ from those of the skirt, which are flat, and the color of the lacquer on the *sode* is also slightly different from that of the armor. It was disappointing to have to admit that this fine fourteenth-century *sode* belonged to a *yoroi* other than the Museum's. The right *sode*, no longer in the collection but recorded in an old photograph, is completely unrelated to the *yoroi* and therefore need not be considered further here.⁶

The old photographs of the armor also raised disturbing questions about the condition and apparent restoration of the skirt. As illustrated in Figure 5, the section of the skirt facing front is shown with colored lacings on the (armor's) left side, with very little lacing remaining on the right. Compared with the present appearance of the skirt, it seemed likely that considerable relacing had been done before the armor left Japan, restoration that would have employed modern, chemically dyed laces to replace the rare, older lacing. That this was not the case is proved by a photograph of the armor taken in Bashford Dean's house at Misaki, near Tokyo, in 1905 (Figure 8). The armor can be seen on a table by the window, with the back of the armor facing the camera. What is surprising is that we are also looking at the true front of the

skirt, with its few original, colored lacings on the right side (the lowermost left skirt lames, shown here to be missing, were replaced with genuine fourteenth-century lames from a different armor before the *yoroi* left Japan). Obviously, the entire skirt had become separated from the body, perhaps even before it was sold by Matsui, with the result that (as seen in Figure 5) it was turned around, back to front. This error was corrected before the armor left Japan, when some additional laces were added to hold the cuirass and skirt together and the missing lower front skirt plate was replaced.

Japanese armor is unique in the importance accorded to fabric—in the form of lacing—as a major element of its aesthetics. Armors that have not been substantially relaced are extremely rare. The original laces of the Museum's armor are few in number. The remaining original laces on the right side of the skirt at the front are the four dark purple (now dark brown) ones and one green lace on the third row (counting from the top); four dark purple and three green laces on the fourth row; and three dark purple, three green, and three orange-red laces on

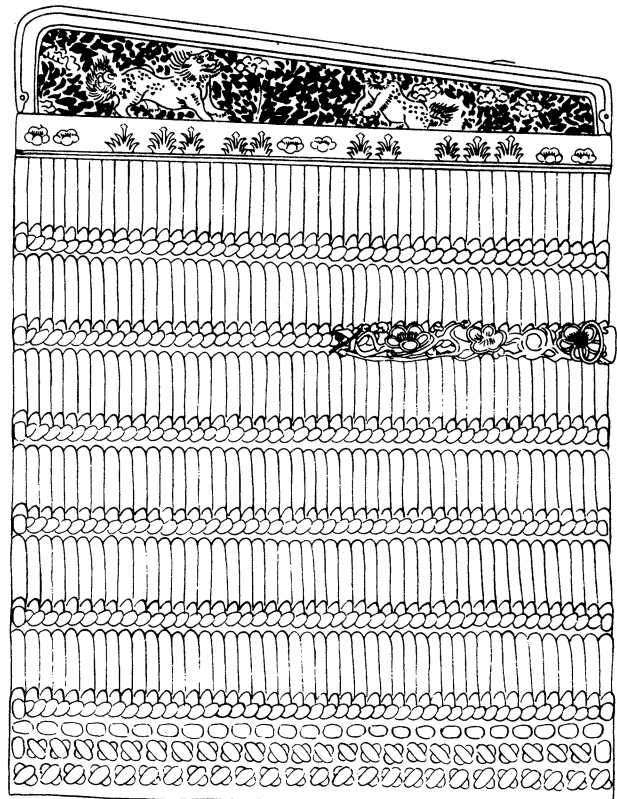
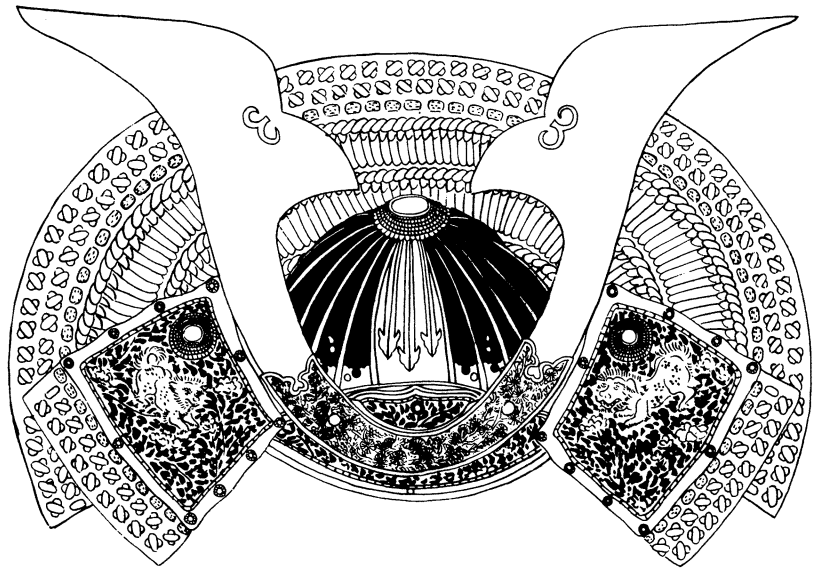
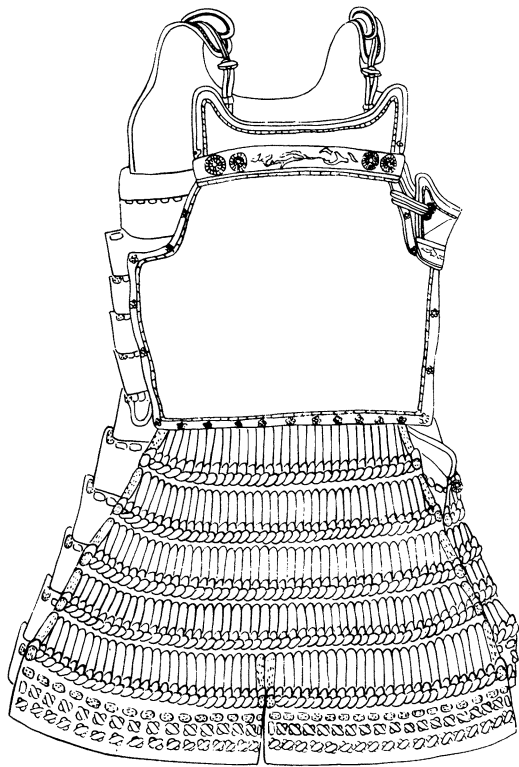
7. Shoulder guard (*sode*). Japanese, mid-14th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Bashford Dean, 1914, 14.120.50





8-9. Photographs showing Bashford Dean's collection of Japanese armor in his house at Misaki in 1905 (photos: Bashford Dean)





the fifth row. On the back of the skirt the original laces appear to be the two white and four dark purple ones on the third row; thirteen white, four dark purple, and two green laces on the fourth row; and three dark purple, three green, and two orange-red laces on the fifth row. On the skirt lames of the *waidate* the original laces are the two of dark purple on the second row; three dark purple and one green on the third row; three dark purple and three green on the fourth row. Aside from these, the colored replacement laces are chemically dyed and have discolored.

The photograph of Dean's study at Misaki is equally valuable in showing the rest of his collection, including the two *sode* formerly associated with the armor. The *sode* are shown side by side on the left wall, and it is obvious that they are not a pair. The *waidate* for the *yoroi* is displayed separately at the back of the room.

A second photograph of Dean's study (Figure 9), apparently taken in the opposite direction from the first, shows the helmet that is now exhibited with the *yoroi*. This is the only photograph known to have been taken of the helmet when it was in Japan. However, a detailed examination of the armor in connection with the questions about the *sode* and skirt revealed that the helmet, although long associated with the armor, does not in fact belong to it. The helmet

10–12. Ink tracings made from a series of original drawings in the Imperial Library, Tokyo, showing the cuirass and skirt, the helmet, and the left *sode* of the *yoroi* in Figures 1–3 (photos: Suzuki Keizo)

is slightly younger than the armor, dating to the mid-fourteenth century, although like the *yoroi* it has fittings with chrysanthemum motifs. However, it is of the ridged-helmet (*suji kabuto*) type used with *dōmaru*-style armors. A *yoroi* was typically accompanied by a helmet constructed like that of the *suji kabuto*, with a shallow, domed skull built up of overlapping iron segments and a wide, flaring, semicircular neck guard; distinguishing it from the *suji kabuto* type, however, are the vertical rows of large, domed rivet heads within each segment. A helmet of this type, known as the star helmet (*hoshi kabuto*) because of its knobbed appearance, is mounted on the *yoroi* in the Kushibiki Hachimangū (Figure 4). The lacing of the helmet's lamellar neck guard does not match that of the armor, either. Its lacing style, which consists of two rows of white laces between rows of blue-black leather laces above and below, is much closer to that of the right *sode* once associated with the armor and might even have come from the same armor as the *sode*. The original helmet belonging to our *yoroi* would have had predominantly white laces with diagonal bands of three of the "rainbow" colors.

The dealer's receipt described above gives further evidence to support the aforementioned conclusions. The receipt itemizes the purchase, indicating one helmet, one armor including *waidate*, and four skirt lames. The two *sode* are noted as two things (*ni-mai*) rather than as a pair (*issō*), indicating that from the start Dean knew he was acquiring associated but not matching elements.

These conclusions about the armor can now be confirmed by the discovery of a series of drawings of this armor, as well as of a separate volume of detailed notes explaining the drawings, in the Imperial Li-

brary, Tokyo.⁷ These drawings, of which only a few tracings after the originals can be reproduced here (Figures 10–12), provide the earliest record of the armor. Made by Matsuoka Tokokata, or by his son Yuki Yoshi,⁸ in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, the drawings render each part of the armor, with detailed descriptions of the lacings and mounts. The drawings show the cuirass and skirt, the *waidate*, and the present, associated helmet.⁹ One *sode*, the left one now in the Museum but no longer exhibited with the armor, is also illustrated, indicating that these pieces had been associated by that date. Significantly, the right *sode*, acquired by Dean with the armor in 1905 but obviously unrelated to it, is not represented in the drawings and must therefore have been associated with the armor at a later date. The drawings also indicate that, by around 1800, the armor was no longer in the Shinomura Hachimangū but belonged to Matsui Kyosaku. A noted physician, Matsui was one of the patrons of the shrine and may have kept the shrine's armor for safekeeping at his home, following established practice. With the passage of time, the ownership of the armor seems to have been forgotten, as is evident from its sale by members of a later generation of the Matsui family.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest thanks to Professor Suzuki Keizo for his valuable advice on the armor, and especially for having given me information about as well as tracings after the original designs now in the Imperial Library. I owe special gratitude to Stuart W. Pyhrr for having edited and proofread this essay and also to Mrs. Ann Willard, who helped in the preliminary stages of gathering information.

NOTES

1. Throughout this article the names of Japanese individuals are given in the traditional form, with the family name given first.

2. The second *yoroi* in the Metropolitan Museum is acc. no. 28.60.1.

3. The attribution to Takauji Ashikaga was made by Yamagami Hatirō, *Nippon Katchu no Shin Kenkyū* (Modern Study of Japanese Armor) I (Tokyo, 1928) p. 7.

4. The *yoroi* was first published by Bashford Dean in "A Specimen of Early Japanese Armor," *MMAB* 3 (1908) pp. 23–24,

while it was still in his private collection. The three most important Japanese publications in which it is discussed are Yamagami, *Nippon Katchū no Shin Kenkyū*, I, pp. 71, 887, and Yamagishi Motoo, "Metropolitan Bijitsukan zō Shiroito Tsumadori Odoshi Ōyoroi" (The White Lace Armor in the Metropolitan Museum) *Katchū Bugu Kenkyū* (Study of Japanese Armor) 32 (1974) p. 5–11; 33 (1975) pp. 5–9; 34 (1975) pp. 6–11; and Ogawa Morihiro, "Zaigai Nippon Token Bugu no Rekishi" (History of Japanese Arms and Armor outside Japan) *Zaigai Nippon no Shihō* (Japanese Art: Selections from Western Collections) (Tokyo, 1979–81) X, pp. 131–132..

5. Notably in Yamagami, *Nippon Katchū no Shin Kenkyū*, I, p. 71, and in Yamagishi, *Katchū Bugu Kenkyū*, 32, p. 9.

6. Originally part of Dean's gift of 1914, this *sode*, acc. no. 14.100.48, was deaccessioned because of its bad condition and was sold at Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, Nov. 15, 1956, lot 198.

7. Registration numbers 12921-1-B6-185 for the volume of drawings and 11101-1-209-1544 for the volume of notes. The relationship of the two volumes, inventoried separately in the Imperial Library, was recognized by Professor Suzuki Keizo. As permission to publish the original drawings was not received in time for publication, Professor Suzuki's tracings after the original drawings have been substituted.

8. The surname of the artist is not noted on the drawings. It is also conceivable that one of the Matsuoka artists, father or son, was in fact copying earlier drawings produced by another artist.

9. The drawings also indicate that, on the second row of lamellae on the back of the cuirass, there was a large copper-alloy mount of chrysanthemum shape, with a circular knob pierced by a large ring. This mount is not visible in the photographs of the armor in Dean's house at Misaki in 1905 (Figure 9) but is present today. It would appear that the chrysanthemum base of the present mount, inexplicably absent in the earlier photograph, is original, although its faceted knob and ring are clearly modern replacements.

European Armor from the Imperial Ottoman Arsenal

STUART W. PYHRR

Curator, Department of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ON NOVEMBER 20, 1919, Dr. Bashford Dean, the Metropolitan Museum's first Curator of Arms and Armor, sailed for Europe on a six-month journey that would take him to England, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, Turkey, Greece, and Spain. The principal purpose of Dean's trip, his first curatorial travel abroad since the outbreak of World War I, seems to have been the purchase of objects both for the Metropolitan Museum and for his own important private collection. To this end, Dean traveled to forty-eight cities, where—by his own count—he visited a total of 649 antiquaries' shops and sixty private collections. The recent discovery of the notebooks Dean kept on this trip, together with the photographs he made at that time, have shed new light on his collecting activities and provide documentation for the date and place of purchase, and for the provenance of many of his acquisitions. Since much of this information is unrecorded elsewhere, these notebooks and photographs constitute important new sources for the history of the collections of the Department of Arms and Armor.¹

Dean's notebooks are especially useful in establishing his travel in 1919–20 as the occasion on which he acquired three important groups of early European armor, most of which came to the Metropolitan Museum following his death in 1928. Armor from before 1500 is exceedingly rare—most of it seems to have been used up or to have rusted away—and therefore was particularly prized by Dean, who considered himself a medievalist. Two of the three groups are well known to armor specialists and come

from island fortresses in the Aegean Sea—Chalcis and Rhodes.

Chalcis was the chief Venetian stronghold on the Greek island of Euboea (Negroponte), which fell to Turkish invaders in 1470. A hoard of armor was discovered there in 1840 during repairs to the military hospital that occupied the site of the former fortress. The hoard originally consisted of about one hundred helmets and several hundred elements of body armor (brigandine plates and defenses for the arms and legs), all of which had presumably belonged to the island's defenders. The ownership of the armor eventually passed to the Historical and Ethnological Museum (today the National Historical Museum) in Athens, from which Dean acquired, by exchange, virtually all of the body armor and about a dozen helmets, approximately two hundred pieces in all.²

The armor from Rhodes, like that from Chalcis, was discovered in the nineteenth century, presumably in the castle. The fortress had fallen to the Turks in 1522 after a fierce defense by the stalwart Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (who subsequently transferred their headquarters to Malta and were henceforth known as the Knights of Malta). About two hundred of the better-preserved elements of armor were purchased on the island by General J. H. Lefroy, Secretary of the Royal Artillery Institute, who sent them to the Royal Artillery Museum at Woolwich in 1866; the majority of these were transferred to the Armouries in the Tower of London in 1927.³ The remainder of the armor, much of it very badly corroded and broken, went on the art market and ended up in the hands of the Parisian antiquary



1. The Byzantine church of Hagia Eirene (St. Irene), the former imperial Ottoman arsenal. View from the west, with the outer wall of the Topkapi Sarayı in the foreground (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C.)

Louis Bachereau, who sold Dean about a hundred pieces in April 1920.⁴ The majority of the Chalcis and Rhodes pieces eventually passed from Dean's estate to the Metropolitan Museum by means of bequest, gift, or purchase after the curator's death in November 1928.

Purchases of this kind were characteristic of Dean, a zoologist by training, who considered armor fragments his "fossils."⁵ With only a handful of complete, homogeneous fifteenth-century armors in existence, and with little hope that any of them would come on the market, Dean saw in these elements the possibility of reconstructing "Gothic" armors (i.e., those dating from before 1500) from genuine but disparate elements, much as a paleontologist would reconstruct a complete dinosaur from a few excavated bones. Indeed, a number of the Chalcis and Rhodes elements,

thoroughly cleaned and repaired, eventually were incorporated into composite armors, *cap à pie*, including eight harnesses now in the Metropolitan Museum.⁶

Dean's notebooks also reveal that the trip of 1919–20 netted him a third, previously unrecorded group of early armor of Eastern Mediterranean origin, closely related to those from Chalcis and Rhodes. This group comprises five European helmets that Dean purchased directly from the authorities of the Military Museum (Askeri Müze) in Constantinople (modern Istanbul). As the Military Museum contains the core of the former Ottoman arsenal, it is generally assumed that most of the European arms and armor in that collection are booty captured from Christian knights who fell in battle against the Turks in the Holy Land, in the Mediterranean and Aegean regions, or in Eastern Europe. Four of the helmets are now in the Metropolitan Museum's collection; the fifth is in the Kienbusch Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Although all of these helmets have been published on earlier occasions, nothing was hitherto known of their provenance. The pur-

pose of this article is to examine these helmets once again in the light of their newly discovered Turkish source and at the same time to focus attention on what must be one of the last great and still largely unknown holdings of European arms and armor, the former imperial Ottoman arsenal in Istanbul.

THE ARSENAL OF ST. IRENE

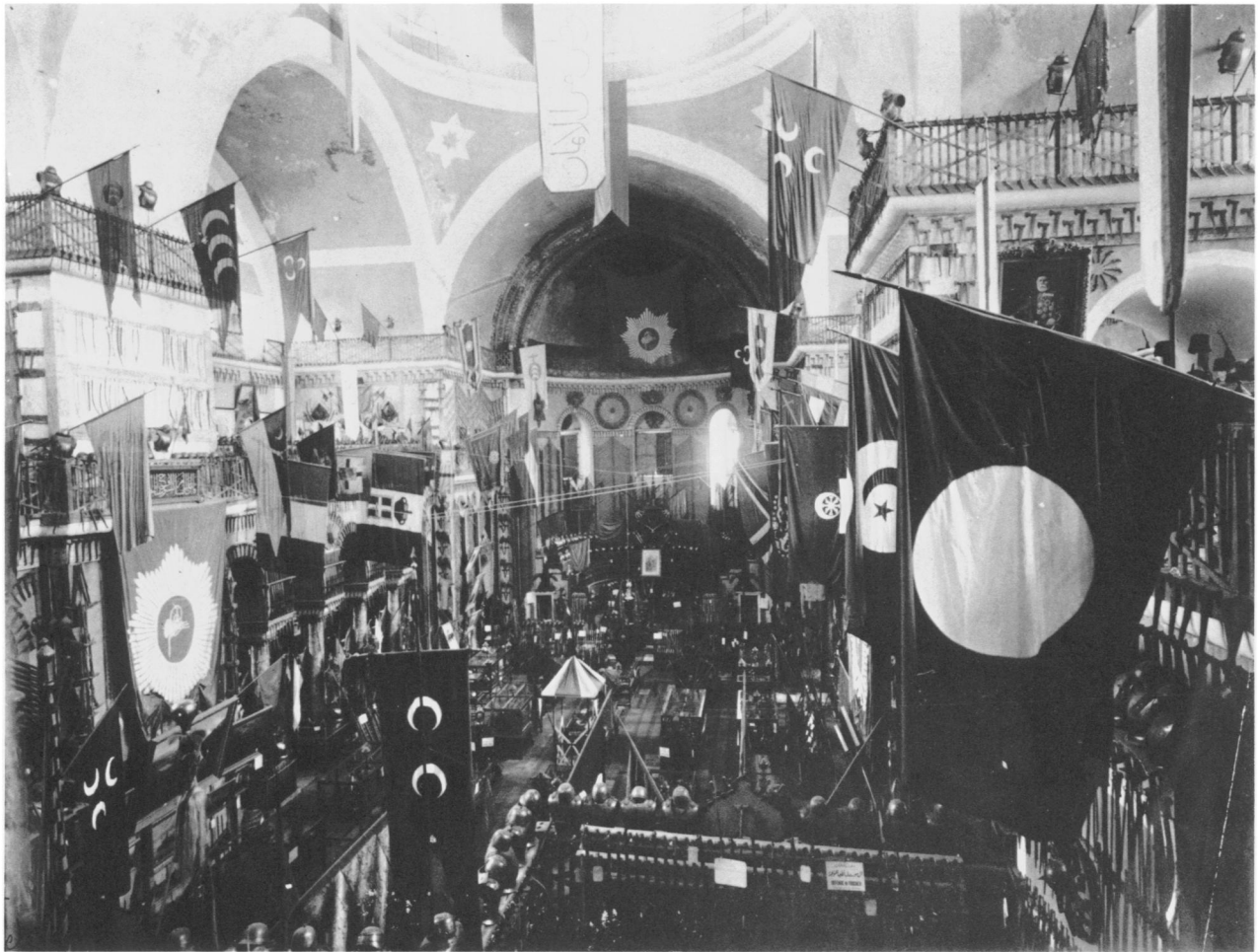
Following the fall of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II, known as the Conqueror, ordered the construction of a palace complex on the hill overlooking the city and the Bosphorus. This palace, the Topkapi Sarayı, enclosed within its precinct the Byzantine church of Hagia Eirene, known in English as St. Irene (Figure 1). Under the new Muslim rule, the church was taken over as an arsenal.⁷ Thus it was that the former Christian church, built by Emperor Justinian in the sixth century, came to serve as a depot for the military equipment of the sultan's guard and as a repository for the trophies of arms and military regalia taken by the Turks. These trophies eventually came to include those of the Persians, defeated in 1514, and of the Mamluk kingdom in Egypt and Syria, which fell in 1517, not to mention the arms of Christian knights. Located in the first, or outermost, courtyard of the palace complex, where the sultan's guard were housed and which was accessible to the public, the arsenal not only served a practical military purpose but also had propagandistic value as a symbol of imperial Ottoman conquest.⁸

During the reign of Sultan Ahmed III (1703–30), it was decided to create a national military museum after the manner of European examples. The collections of the arsenal were reorganized and the new *dâr al-asliha* ("maison d'armes") was opened in 1726. In the years that followed, however, the arsenal suffered many losses. During the reign of Selim III (1789–1807), the revolution of the Janissaries, the sultan's politically powerful elite troops, led to the looting of some of the arsenal's holdings. The subsequent abolition and brutal destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 entailed the eradication of all traces of the corps, including their equipment. As a result, many objects associated with the Janissaries were removed from the arsenal and destroyed. At about the same time, a number of precious arms were trans-

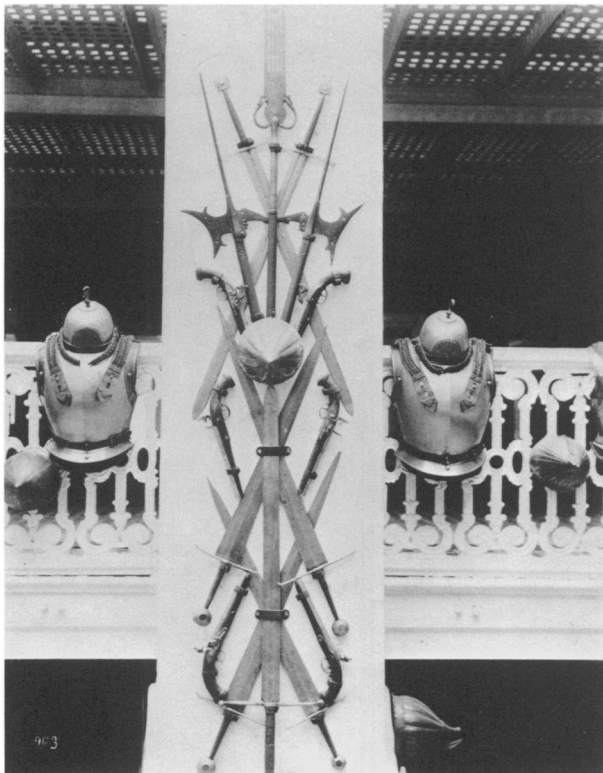
ferred to the imperial treasury and others were presented as gifts to foreigners.⁹

Perhaps the greatest loss to the arsenal's collections occurred about 1839–40, at the beginning of the reign of Sultan Abdul Mejid I (ruled 1839–61), when vast quantities of European and Islamic armor and weapons were thrown out of St. Irene, apparently as scrap. Many of these arms, recognizable by the so-called arsenal mark¹⁰ incised into the iron surfaces, found their way to Europe and are now in museums and private collections around the world. The Metropolitan Museum alone possesses more than one hundred pieces bearing this mark, an indication of the enormous amount of material that must have originally been discarded.¹¹ The circumstances surrounding this event were fortunately recorded by Robert Curzon (1810–73), Baron Zouche of Parham, a frequent traveler to the Middle East and former consular attaché in Constantinople (1841–44), as well as a collector of arms and armor:

When the present Sultan, Abdul Medjid, came to the throne, he was introduced, according to ancient custom, to the various places, public buildings, and treasuries of his predecessors. . . . The new sultan went to St. Sofia and the Seraglio. Here the first building he entered was the ancient church of St. Irene, which had been converted into an armory by Mahomed II, who filled it with his own armour, that of former sultans, and the spoils of the Christian defenders of Constantinople. All this collection the new sultan ordered to be cleared away and the walls new whitewashed, which was done accordingly. The inferior authorities, however, preserved the swords of Abu Bekir, and the arms and armour of several famous personages, as well as some pieces of armour that were covered with gold and richly ornamented. The plague was then raging at Constantinople, and a Genoese vessel, fearing to lade an infectious cargo, bought as much of this armour, at the price of old iron, as could be stowed away in her hold. On arriving at Genoa it was shovelled out upon the quay: nobody bought it, and [a] great part was carried away by the boys for playthings, and many old helmets were used by poor people as kettles or cooking vessels. The remainder, much damaged by the salt water, rain, and breakage, was at length purchased by a Genoese gentleman, in whose hands I found it. I bought as much as he would then sell, but subsequently he became wearied with ineffectual attempts to arrange the suits with historical propriety, and disposed of much more of the collection. Some was purchased by persons at Milan, other portions found buyers in other parts of Italy, and the remainder was brought to England.¹²



2. The interior of St. Irene when utilized as the Turkish Military Museum. View looking toward the nave and sanctuary at the east end, ca. 1900



Curzon's report indicates that, with the exception of certain pieces of particular artistic value or historical associations, the majority of the arms in the arsenal were disposed of at that time. Photographs of the interior of St. Irene taken around 1900 (Figure 2) show that, on the contrary, a vast collection remained. The walls of the cavernous interior were covered with tightly packed military arms, and there can be seen numerous vitrines filled with oriental armor and weapons, manikins dressed in ethnic costumes, decorative trophies mounted high on the walls, and banners hanging from the balconies above.

3. A panoply of arms, including European swords dating from the 14th and 15th centuries, forming part of the decoration of the Military Museum, ca. 1900

The photographs appear to record the arrangement made by Marshal Fechtî Pacha, who, during the reign of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II (1876–1909), was



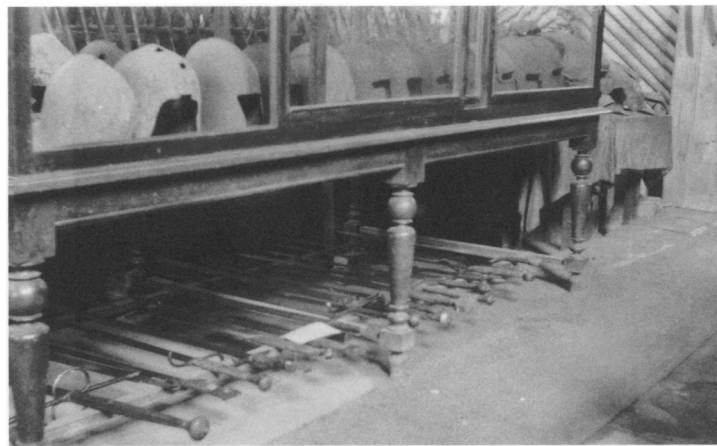
4

charged with the rearrangement of the arsenal. Fechtî Pacha was especially praised for his introduction of the panoplies of arms, which are, as may be seen in the photographs (Figure 3), so distinctive a feature in the collection's arrangement.¹³

Curzon's account and the photographs of the interior of St. Irene, which show mostly Turkish arms and armor, gave rise to the widely held belief that, with the exception of the European swords incorporated into the panoplies, no European arms and armor remained in the arsenal.¹⁴ That this was not the case is demonstrated by a remarkable series of photographs (Figures 4–20) taken by Dean in the Military Museum in Istanbul in 1920. These photographs show numerous European helmets, elements of armor, and swords in vitrines, on tabletops, and on the floor. In the courtyard of the Military Museum

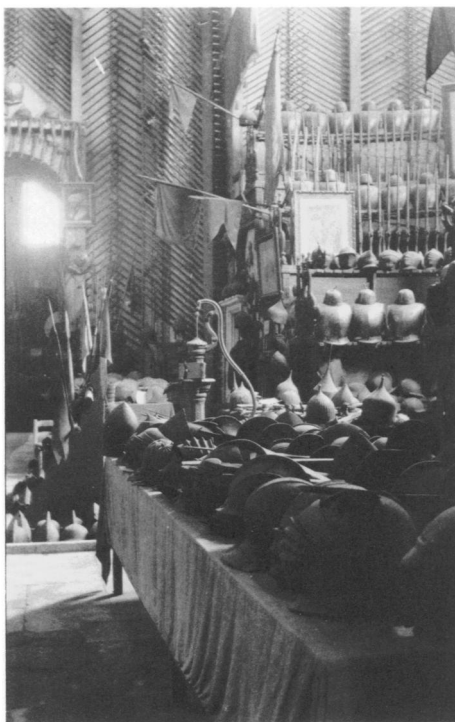


5



6

4–8.
The interior of the Military Museum in 1920, showing the great stores of helmets, armor parts, and swords, mostly of European origin (photos: B. Dean)



7



8



9



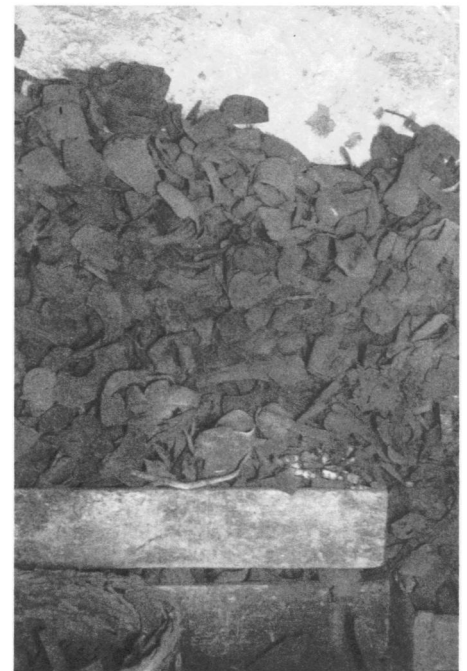
10

(originally the atrium of the former Byzantine church), among the cannon, there were about a dozen rough crates filled with hundreds of armor fragments, with more fragments spilling onto the pavement between the boxes (Figures 9, 10). These seem to have been brought outside, presumably from storage areas within the building, for Dean's benefit. The condition of these fragments was ruinous, the majority of them being heavily corroded and many badly broken. Recognizable among the pieces are several sixteenth-century Italian pauldrons and tassets, and it is safe to assume that a great many of the other pieces were likewise of European origin. The saddest sight of all is the mound of armor fragments piled high against a wall like a rubbish heap (Figure 11). A similar sight may have presented itself on the quay in Genoa, when the arms discarded in Constantinople in 1839–40 were unloaded from the ship's hold.

The discovery of such an enormous, unpublished collection of European armor must have thrilled Dean. He evidently set about to record as much of it as possible, concentrating on the helmets, which were more readily accessible and therefore easier to study and photograph than the armor fragments. Nine of Dean's photographs are preserved (Figures 12–20),

9–10. The courtyard of the Military Museum in 1920, showing the unpacking of crates of rusted armor parts of both European and Islamic origin (photos: B. Dean)

11. A pile of armor parts, apparently in the courtyard of the Military Museum, 1920 (photo: B. Dean)



11

each showing six to eight helmets arranged in two tiers on a table. In all, sixty-six examples are recorded, representing almost every helmet type in use between the late fourteenth and the mid-seventeenth century: basinets, barbutes, sallets, war hats, armets, close helmets, burgonets, and *Zischägge*. Not only do

these photographs illustrate dozens of helmets, many of unusual construction or shape not previously known to arms and armor specialists, but they also record a large number of pieces that are no longer to be found in the Military Museum in Istanbul.¹⁵ For these reasons it is important to reproduce all of Dean's photographs.

The photographs have been arranged in the approximate chronological order of the helmets they illustrate, and what follows is a brief commentary of the types of helmets shown in each photo. In the absence of firsthand knowledge of the helmets, it seems best to keep the descriptions to a minimum and to let the photographs speak for themselves. For ease of identification, the helmets in each group are lettered consecutively, reading from left to right across the top row and then across the bottom.

12–20. European helmets photographed by Bashford Dean in the Military Museum in 1920

Figure 12

This group includes the earliest datable helmets among those photographed by Dean and is of particular interest because several of the helmets correspond closely to those found at Chalcis, which, as noted earlier, fell to the Turks in 1470. While it is conceivable that some of the helmets in Istanbul might originally have come from Chalcis as booty, there is no evidence to substantiate such a claim.¹⁶

The earliest helmet in this group is the second one from the left on the top row (b). The tall, conical skull is formed of one plate; the point at the apex is set slightly to the rear, the nape is deep and bell-shaped, and the face-opening is shaped like an inverted U, with a slight depression at the center of the brow. A series of closely set rivet holes descends diagonally from the face-opening toward the bottom edge and continues around the back; these probably served for the attachment of the helmet lining. A second series of more widely spaced holes (some apparently rusted closed) follows the same line; these formerly held the pierced staples (*vervelles*) to which would have been attached an aventail, a curtainlike defense of mail that covered the lower face, neck,

and shoulders. Two upward-pointing hooks placed one above the other are located at the front of the skull above the face-opening; these presumably held either a nasal or a centrally pivoted visor (*Klappvisier*).

Conical helmets fitted with aventails, with or without nasals or visors, were worn throughout most of the fourteenth century and are generally known in English as basinet. A very similar basinet is found in the Wallace Collection, London, and three others, all of them from Chalcis, are found in the Historical Museum, Athens, in the Cleveland Museum of Art, and in the Metropolitan Museum.¹⁷ These examples are usually dated to the end of the fourteenth century, a date that would be equally appropriate for the basinet in Istanbul.

Very similar to the basinet are the two deep barbutes (a,c), which differ from the basinet in that they were not intended to be worn with an aventail and were never fitted with a nasal or visor. Like the basinet, these barbutes tend to be dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.¹⁸ Similar examples of this early form of barbute are found among the Chalcis material in Athens and New York.¹⁹

Also related to the Chalcis group is the visorless helmet with pointed skull (e), which has a pronounced vertical ridge, or keel, down the sides and a series of holes for lining rivets along the edge. A number of barbutes and sallets from Chalcis have faceted skulls, a feature rarely found elsewhere.²⁰ This helmet would appear to be a form of late-fourteenth-century basinet, though no holes for the *vervelles* are visible in the photograph.

This group also includes a "Spanish" sallet (d), a distinctive helmet type usually dated to the late



fifteenth century. Similar close-fitting head coverings, distinguished by their cusped face-openings and slits at the sides to accommodate the ears, with lining holes pierced along the edges, frequently appear in Spanish paintings. However, a helmet of this type was found among the Chalcis hoard and is stamped with an armorer's mark of Italian character.²¹ It is likely, therefore, that the type was also used in Venice and generally earlier than has been thought, certainly before 1470.

Another helmet (g) poses something of a mystery. At first glance it might be the skull of a two-part "great sallet"—as it is called by Boccia—of a type usually associated with the Chalcis armor. This type of helmet was constructed of a skull, usually with an ogival pointed apex and a cusp over each eye, and, riveted along the bottom edge of the skull, a deep neck guard, which encircled the sides and back of the head and neck.²² The helmet in Dean's photograph, however, appears to have a rounded skull, possibly ending in a knob at the apex (on the other hand, what appears to be a damaged knob may be a blemish in the fabric in the background or a blemish on the negative), with a relatively straight lower edge (pierced irregularly with rivet holes) and no indication of a face-opening. It is therefore not possible to identify it as part of a great sallet, though it is difficult to classify the helmet otherwise.

The last two helmets (f,h) in this group are kettle hats, or war hats: wide-brimmed, open-faced helmets generally worn by the infantry throughout the later Middle Ages and well into the seventeenth century. One of these (f), with a rounded skull and downturned brim, has lining holes around the base of the skull and an unusual bracketlike feature at one end. The form of this helmet points to an origin in the fifteenth century, although the presence of the bracket suggests that the helmet may have been adapted in the seventeenth century with a sliding nasal, a common feature on Turkish and Eastern European helmets of that period.²³ The second war hat (h) is unique. Its tall, pointed skull with its dramatically countercurved, or ogival, profile is a marvel of metalworking. The profile of the skull, with its apex set almost vertically at the back, calls to mind basinetts of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, although similar-looking war hats with pointed skulls are depicted in paintings over a long period.²⁴

Figure 13

This group comprises eight open-faced Italian helmets of sallet and barbute type, dating from between about 1450 and 1500–10. The term "sallet" (from the Italian *celata*) refers to a large category of head covering worn throughout the fifteenth century. Usually formed from one plate, the sallet generally had a rounded profile and was shaped to the back of the head, flaring out at the nape to form a short tail. The comb was often pierced by a small circular or keyhole-shaped aperture for fixing a crest-holder. Both deep and shallow variants are common, some open-faced, others with visors. A distinctive subgroup of the sallet, generally referred to as the barbute (*barbuto* in Italian), has a particularly deep shape, reaching almost to the shoulders, and a characteristic T-shaped face-opening invariably reinforced by a riveted-on iron rim.²⁵ This photograph illustrates six barbutes (a–d, f, h), three of which retain the reinforcement at the face-opening. The sallet located third from the left on the bottom row (g) is very similar in form to the barbutes nearby, differing from them only in its rounded face-opening, the edges of which are rolled outward for reinforcement. Similar barbutes and sallets were found at Chalcis, and they can be dated to approximately 1450–70.²⁶ The sallet at the left on the bottom row (e) differs from the other helmets in having the sides of the face-opening cut away in a sweeping curve that carries back to the nape. The swept profile and the tall comb suggest an early-sixteenth-century date.²⁷ The metal strip that covers the keel of the skull may be an old repair, and is reminiscent of a similar repair made to the skull of a basinet found at Chalcis and still preserved in Athens.²⁸

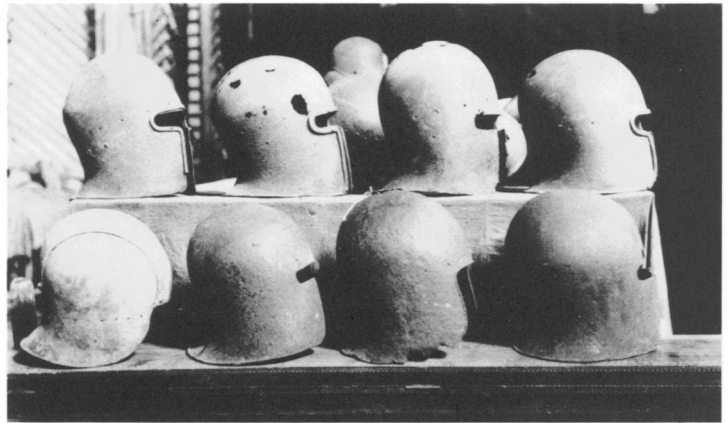
Figure 14

Eight more Italian sallets are shown in this photograph, with a similar range in date between about 1450 and 1510. The tall sallet, second from the left on the top row (b), has a series of holes pierced along its edges, probably for the attachment of a fabric cover; sallets covered with fabric (usually red velvet) and gilt-metal mounts are known from contemporary records as *celate alla veneziana*, as they seem to

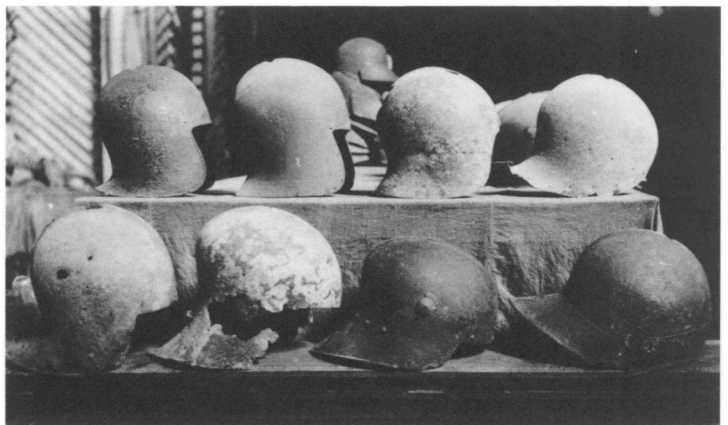
have been a Venetian specialty and continued to be worn on ceremonial occasions well into the seventeenth century and apparently even later.²⁹ The first three sallets from the left on the bottom row (e,f,g) were formerly fitted with visors, of which the right pivot, together with a fragment of the visor's arm, remains on one (g). A similarly shaped sallet skull was also found at Chalcis, though it seems never to have had a visor.³⁰ The last of the sallets on the bottom row (h) is also the latest type in terms of development. The skull is no longer formed of one plate but has a separate riveted-on brow reinforce and tail plate. Whereas this distinctly Italian type of infantry helmet was common at the end of the fifteenth century, its presence among the Chalcis group indicates that it was fully developed by 1470. Twelve helmets of this type, only one of them complete in all its parts, remain in Athens³¹ and, according to Dean's notes, there were twenty-eight examples in Istanbul.³² A stack of these sallets, one atop the other, can be distinguished in the background of this photograph and is even more clearly visible in Figure 15.

Figure 15

This group comprises six sallets of distinctly northern European type. Presumably all are of German or Austrian manufacture and the majority of them can be dated to the last third of the fifteenth century. Two of the sallets are made in one piece pierced with a horizontal sight (a,e). The third helmet from the left on the bottom row (f) is of unusually large proportions and seems to have a hole in the side of the skull for a pivoted visor. Two more or less complete visored sallets are seen on the top row. The first of these (b) is notable for its decoratively cusped brow plate and for the exceptional number (five) of tail lames. The severe damage to the skull suggests that the helmet may have been a battlefield souvenir. The second of the visored sallets (c) is also fitted with a brow plate and an articulated tail (of which only two lames remain), and is notable for the unusual shape of its visor, with its sharply arched arm and diagonal rear edge. The latest sallet in the group, the first at the left on the bottom row (d), is a special kind of sallet used in a German form of joust known as the *Rennen*. This helmet, now in the Metropolitan Museum, will be discussed below.

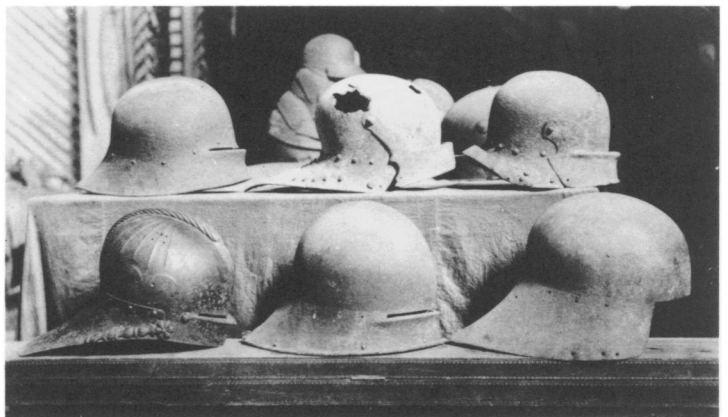


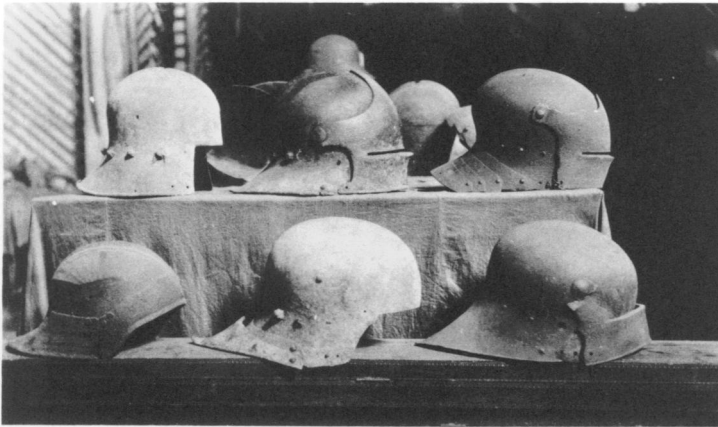
13



14

15





16



17

Figure 16

This photograph shows six more sallets, all but one of which (d) are clearly of German origin and datable to about 1460–90. Three of the sallets (b,c,f) retain their visors, and two others (a,e) have holes for the missing visor pivots. One (a) of the six helmets is still in the Military Museum,³³ and another (b) was acquired by Dean and is now in the Kienbusch Collection in Philadelphia (discussed below and illustrated in Figure 21). It should be noted that each of the visored sallets is, or once was, fitted with a spring-catch on the right side of the skull by which to lock the visor closed. (The visored sallets in Figure 15 [b,c] also have this feature.) The third sallet from the left on the top row (c) is the latest of these, from about

1490–1500, as seen from its rather tall, rounded skull, narrow visor, and articulated tail.³⁴ The remaining helmet (d), a small visorless sallet with brow and neck lames, is of the Italian type already discussed under Figure 14. However, its fluted, fan-shaped decoration on the side of the skull, the cusped upper edge of the brow reinforce, and the horizontal ribs across the neck plate and along the comb suggest a date later than the others, about 1500–10. Fluted surfaces reminiscent of this example are found on several sallets in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, and in the Wallace Collection, London, all of which have etched and gilt decoration in the style of the early sixteenth century.³⁵ The example in Istanbul may also have similar decoration, though it is not visible in Dean's photograph.

Figure 17

Eight German helmets of visored-sallet and close-helmet types, dating from about 1490 to 1520, are illustrated in this photograph. The sallet fourth from the left on the upper row (d), the earliest of the group, about 1490–95, is now in the Metropolitan Museum and will be discussed below. The group includes five examples (b,c,f,g,h) of a peculiar form of German sallet, about 1500–10, each with a high, rounded skull, articulated tail, and a large, one-piece pivoted visor. It will be noted that each visor is distinctively different. Two of these helmets (b,g) are now in the Metropolitan Museum and are discussed below. The two remaining helmets (a,e) are close helmets, a type in which the front of the skull is closed by a visor (covering the face) and a bevor (covering the chin and neck), both of which pivot on the same rivets at the sides of the skull. Both close helmets are now missing their bevors. The earlier of the two (e) has a smooth, almost globular skull similar to that of the adjacent sallets and is also related to them in having had an articulated tail, now lost. The bellows-shaped visor is a more modern feature, one that apparently developed from the sallet visors (as on helmets b and f). This helmet (e) is datable to about 1510. The second close helmet (a) is more characteristic of the "Maximilian" style of German armor worn about 1505–30, the distinguishing trait of which is its fluted surfaces. (A complete armor decorated in this manner is illustrated in Figure 39.) This close helmet is considerably more developed than the first, having

a roped comb and groups of flutes on the rear half of the skull, with the lower edge of the skull boxed out so as to rotate on the gorget. The bellows visor is also more developed than that on the earlier example and is more characteristic of Maximilian helmets dating from about 1520.

Figure 18

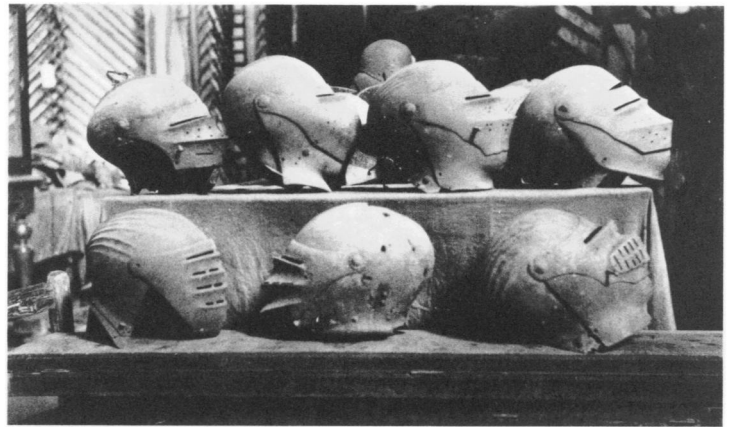
This group shows a variety of German helmets dating from 1510–25. Two (a,f) are armets, a type of visored helmet in which the hinged cheek plates close at the front of the chin. The others are of close helmet type. Both exhibit a variety of visor shapes: the pointed “sparrow’s beak” (a,c,d); the boxed, so-called monkey-face form (g); two variations on the bellows visor (e,f); and a rounded visor (b).³⁶ This last, a Western European type, is rarely found on German helmets, although it was used on several occasions by the Helmschmid family of armorers at Augsburg in the 1520s and 1530s.³⁷

Figure 19

Eight helmets of different types, all of them German and dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, are illustrated here. These include one with a rounded visor and articulated tail (f); three fluted close helmets of “Maximilian” type with boxed visors (a,e,h); a helmet of armet construction with a bellows visor (g); a close helmet (b) of about 1530, with a roped comb and a large, sharply pointed one-piece visor embossed with a curved lower edge beneath the breaths; a fragmentary open helmet of burgonet type (c), with peak and hinged cheek plates; and a burgonet (d) with three raised and roped combs on the skull and large hinged cheekpieces. This last is probably the latest in date of the eight helmets, about 1550.

Figure 20

The last of Dean’s photographs shows seven helmets of diverse types, origins, and dates. On the upper tier is an Italian armet (a), now lacking its visor, that dates to about 1470–80; a fragmentary Polish or Hungarian open helmet of *Zischägge* type (b), about 1650, with ribbed skull fitted with decorative star-shaped rivets and a long tail of seven lames; and a



18



19



20

German close helmet (c) with an articulated tail dating from about 1530. On the bottom row are four burgonets of similar form, of which at least two (e,g) are decorated with crossed palm branches embossed on the sides of the skull; all four lack their cheekpieces. These helmets, which are of Italian form and probably date from the mid-sixteenth century, were presumably part of the equipment of a nobleman's bodyguard. Two other examples apparently from the same series are found in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan,³⁸ and in the Museo Stibbert, Florence.³⁹ It is interesting that the examples in Milan and Florence also lack their cheekpieces—a circumstance that leads one to wonder if they might originally have come to Italy from Istanbul in 1839–40.

BASHFORD DEAN'S FIVE HELMETS

The photographs taken by Bashford Dean in Istanbul in 1920 constitute the only evidence by which the Turkish provenance for the five helmets he acquired from the Military Museum can be established, as none of them is stamped with the so-called arsenal mark. Moreover, the photographs document the original condition of the helmets prior to their restoration in New York.

The earliest of the helmets is the visored sallet, of about 1460, that now forms part of a composite "Gothic" armor in the Kienbusch Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Figure 21).⁴⁰ The skull has a rounded profile and is drawn out at the back into a short, pointed tail; a low keel-shaped comb across the top is pierced at the apex with a circular hole for a crest. The nine fluted rivet heads encircling the skull originally secured a canvas strap on the inside to which the padded lining was sewn. (As is usual on most helmets of this date, the lining is no longer preserved.) The two rivets at the tail presumably secured a loop through which a strap was threaded; this strap, which also passed through loops riveted at each side of the skull and tied beneath the chin, thus held the helmet firmly on the wearer's head. The large one-piece visor covering the face-opening is pierced with a horizontal sight. The visor rotates at the sides of the skull and is fastened closed on the right side by a spring catch. The lower edge of the skull and visor are rolled outward for reinforcement.

Visored sallets of this general shape were the typical head covering in Germany and Western Europe (France, the Netherlands, and England) during the second half of the fifteenth century, although similar helmets in the German fashion (*alla tedesca*) were also



21.
Sallet, probably German, ca. 1460. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Carl Otto von Kienbusch, acc. no. 1977-167-1 (photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art)



22. Sallet, German (Augsburg), ca. 1495. Probably made for Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) by his court armorer Lorenz Helmschmid of Augsburg. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1929, 29.156.45

made by Italian armorers for export to the northern markets. Indeed, the compact form and the emphasis on the vertical rather than horizontal profile bespeak a strong Italian influence; comparable sallets bearing Milanese or Brescian marks are (or were formerly) found in the ancestral armory at Churburg Castle,⁴¹ in the north Italian Tirol. On the other hand, the presence of a spring catch securing the visor to the skull (a feature found on northern European sallets but rarely on Italian examples) and the absence of an armorer's mark (Italian armorers stamped their products with their personal or shop marks more consistently than did their northern counterparts) suggest that this sallet was probably made in Germany under Italian influence.⁴²

Dean's photograph of the sallet (Figure 16b) serves as a useful record of the badly rusted condition in



23. The front of the sallet shown in Figure 22

which he found it. Subsequent restoration involved the reinforcement of the breaks in the lower right edge of the skull and visor and the replacement of missing lining rivets. The original visor pivots, with their large flat heads, were replaced by modern ones of rosette shape. The spring catch on the right side of the skull is old, but the push button is a restoration. The extensive surface corrosion, visible on all the helmets in Istanbul, has been removed, though the polishing was not so extensive as to eliminate all traces of patination. Several welded repairs to close rust holes are also visible inside the skull and visor.

The second of Dean's helmets, which appears in Figure 17d, is now in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 22, 23).⁴³ At first glance, it appears to be a typical German sallet with a pivoting half-visor. It is unusual, however, in that the bevor (the plates protecting the lower face and neck regions), which in a sallet was usually a separate element of armor strapped around the wearer's neck or fixed at the top of his breastplate, is directly attached to the sallet and

rotates on the same pivots as the visor. Both the visor and bevor are locked in a closed position by separate spring catches on the right side. This construction foreshadows the appearance of the close helmet in the early sixteenth century. The right side of the visor retains about six inches of the applied border of gilt brass decoratively pierced in a crocketed (*fleur-de-lisé*) design; holes along the tail of the sallet indicate that this border originally extended completely around the edges of the skull as well. The lower lames of the bevor are missing.

The Metropolitan Museum's sallet has been described and discussed in detail in an article by A. V. B. Norman, who noted that its construction is exactly like that of two sallets in the Waffensammlung, Vienna, both of which were made for Maximilian I (1459–1519, King of the Romans from 1486, emperor from 1508) by Lorenz Helmschmid in about 1495.⁴⁴ Whereas neither of the Vienna helmets has an applied brass border, similar borders are found on several armors in the same collection—armors that were made by Helmschmid for Maximilian and for his uncle Archduke Sigmund (1427–96) during the last two decades of the fifteenth century. The features of construction and decoration of the Mu-

seum's sallet leave little doubt that the helmet comes from the same Augsburg workshop and was quite likely made for Maximilian himself. The intriguing question of how the future emperor's helmet might have come into Turkish possession will be addressed below.

Two other helmets now in the Metropolitan Museum can also be identified among the Istanbul photographs (Figure 17b,g). Both are German sallets with tall, rounded skulls shaped to the head, articulated tails, and large, one-piece visors pierced with horizontal sights and turned under at the chin. Datable to about 1500–10, they represent the latest form of the sallet before it was superseded by the close helmet. One of these (Figures 24, 25)⁴⁵ has a wide, slightly rounded comb worked in a series of raised ribs that are arranged in a chevron pattern pointing to the front; the comb is pierced at the center by a small circular hole for a crest. Spreading across the rear half of the skull are eight raised ribs with engraved outlines, four on either side of the comb. The skull is sharply boxed at the back, as is seen in a profile view, and its bottom edge is reinforced with an outward turn. The skull was originally encircled by a series of twelve iron lining rivets, the five at the front (beneath the visor) set flush with the exterior surface, the seven at the back with domed brass caps. Of the

24. Sallet, German, ca. 1500–10. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Bequest of Bashford Dean, 1929, 29.150.4a

25. The front of the sallet shown in Figure 24





26. Sallet, German, ca. 1500–10. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Funds from various donors, 1929, 29.158.27

later helmet, one brass-capped rivet is now missing at the back, and only four or five of the remaining six are original. The articulated tail, comprising four lames overlapping downward, is original. The bottom lame has an outward-turned edge and is pierced by two holes through which the bottom of the lining was tied.

The large visor is of an unusual form that gives it an almost menacing appearance. It is pierced by two side-by-side horizontal slits, and below these it is boxed outward into two bulbous horizontal sections, which are pierced by a series of horizontal and vertical ventilation holes; the horizontal piercings are framed by engraved lines. At the base of the visor, a crescent-shaped plate is riveted on the inside to narrow the gap between the neck and the lower edge of the visor. A series of V-shaped notches cut into the right edge of the visor indicates that the helmet was originally equipped with a small pivoted fork by which to prop the visor open. This fork, which would have rotated on one of the lining rivets, is now missing. The visor is secured to the skull by a spring-operated catch on the right side.

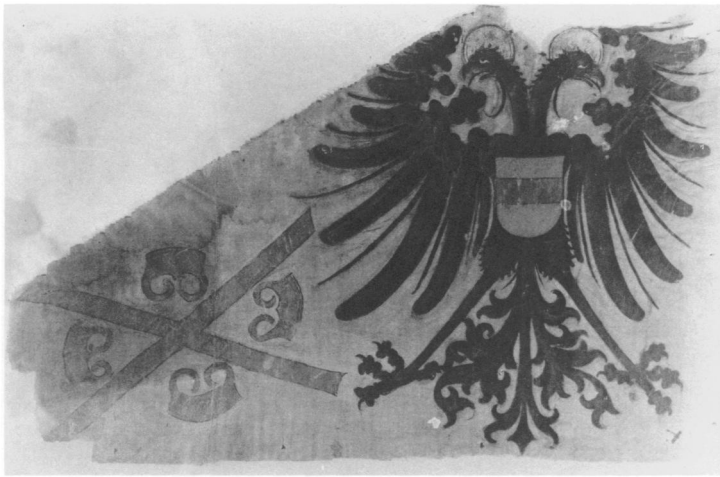
The sallet is genuine in all its basic parts, including



27. The front of the sallet shown in Figure 26

the spring catch, as can be verified from Dean's photograph. An examination of the piece shows evidence of old repairs—perhaps made during its working life—on the lower right side of the skull, to which a new piece of metal has been added, and at the left bottom edge as well. Under Dean's direction, further repairs were made in New York: a number of patches were added to close the rust holes in the skull; patches were also added to reinforce breaks in the tail lames; and the missing rivets were replaced.

The second of the sallets (Figures 26, 27)⁴⁶ has a rounded skull without a comb and is decorated on the rear half with a spray of seven raised and pointed ribs with engraved outlines. Fourteen lining rivets encircle the skull; all but the two under the visor were originally brass-capped. Judging from Dean's photograph and from the one brass rivet-cap that remains on the left side of the skull, the caps around the back of the skull were originally quite prominent and decorative. Four circular holes are pierced at the sides of the skull, presumably to facilitate hearing, and two more holes are pierced at the center of the back, perhaps for laces by which to secure the lining. This helmet is less well preserved than the previous one: the lower edge of the skull on either side is repaired with new metal; the tail lames, missing in the



28. Banner of Emperor Maximilian I, showing the imperial eagle emblazoned with the arms of Austria, and the cross of St. Andrew and the fire steels of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Austrian, ca. 1515. Vienna, Waffensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums, inv. no. A 146 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

29. Imperial troops bearing the cross of St. Andrew. Detail from a woodcut illustration to *Der Weiss König*, completed about 1516 (first printed edition Vienna, 1775). Thomas J. Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



photograph of 1920, have since been restored; and the visor pivots have been replaced.

Unlike the previous example, this helmet is fitted with a half-visor, so that the wearer peers between the lower edge of the brow and upper edge of the visor. The form of the visor is unusual in that it is boxed outward below the sight, with a sharp vertical keel down the center. The “shelf” that is formed under the sight is pierced by three holes (two over one), and each side of the visor has twelve ventilation holes arranged in an X-shape, or saltire; the bottom hole on each of the outer arms of the X is filled with a brass-capped iron rivet, one of a row of seven rivets near the bottom edge of the visor. Below this row are seventeen close-set holes. Presumably these rivets and holes secured some sort of chin pad.⁴⁷ The visor rotates at the side of the skull and is closed on the right side by the original spring catch.

Apart from its unusual form, this helmet is of special interest because the saltire arrangement of the visor’s ventilation holes can be interpreted as a cross of St. Andrew, a Burgundian emblem and part of the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece.⁴⁸ This Order was founded by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in 1430, with St. Andrew as its patron. The Burgundian territories included the Low Countries, and with the marriage in 1477 of Archduke Maximilian of Austria (later Emperor Maximilian I) to Mary, daughter of Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy and heiress to the Burgundian lands, the Netherlandish provinces became an imperial fief. The Burgundian traditions, ceremonies, and accoutrements (including the Order of the Golden Fleece) were likewise appropriated by the Holy Roman Emperors. The various elements of the insignia of the Order—St. Andrew’s cross, the fire steels and briquets striking sparks, not to mention the Fleece itself—were widely used as imperial emblems or cognizances (Figure 28). The most common of these was the saltire-shaped cross, which is frequently found in the woodcut illustrations of *Der Weisskunig* (*The White King*, an allegorical “autobiography” of Emperor Maximilian I) to distinguish imperial troops from their enemies in the field (Figure 29).

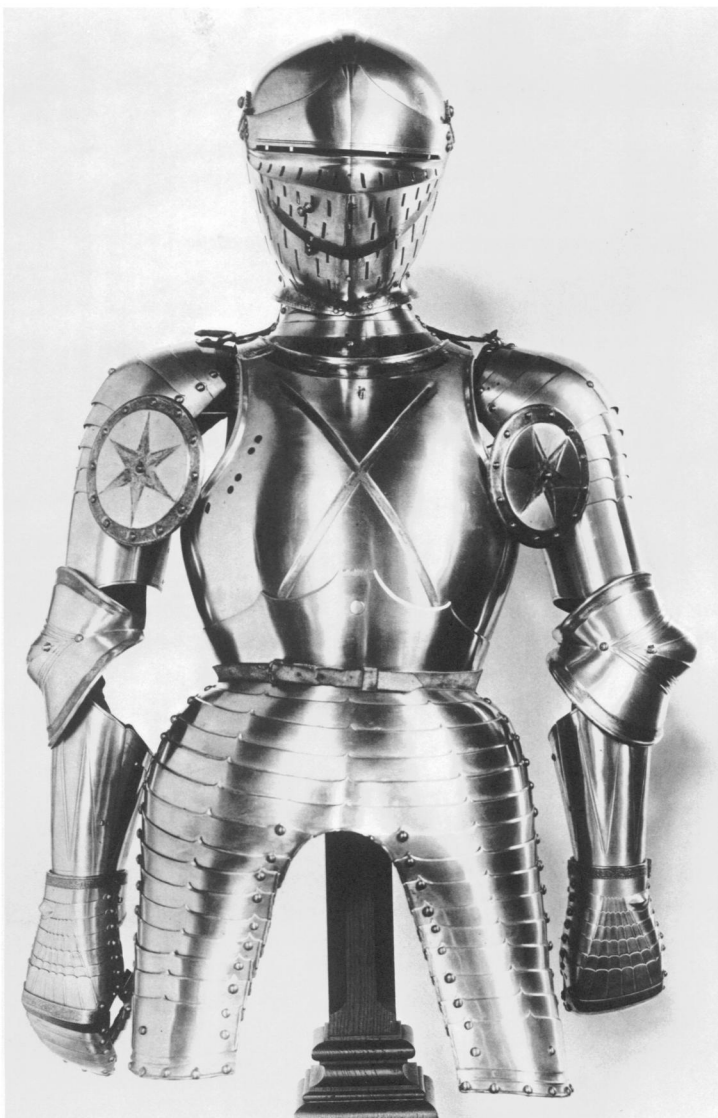
A number of armors dating from between 1490 and 1510 display Burgundian crosses in their decoration. Arranged in chronological order, they include: the armor of Philip the Handsome (1478–1506), King of Castile, made by Lorenz Helmschmid

of Augsburg in about 1495–1500, in the Waffensammlung, Vienna (Figure 30);⁴⁹ a *Rennzeug* of Maximilian I attributed to Innsbruck manufacture, about 1500, also in Vienna (Figure 31);⁵⁰ a chanfron belonging to a horse armor made for Philip the Handsome, a Flemish work of about 1505, in the Real Armería, Madrid;⁵¹ the armor of Wolfgang von Polheim (1458–1512), made in Innsbruck about 1510, in Vienna;⁵² a breastplate of German or Austrian manufacture, about 1510, in the Royal Armouries, H. M. Tower of London;⁵³ an Italian breastplate of about

1500–10 in the Odescalchi collection, Rome;⁵⁴ and another, of about 1515, in the Royal Armouries;⁵⁵ the armor for the young Archduke Charles (later Emperor Charles V), made by the Innsbruck armorer Konrad Seusenhofer in about 1512–14, in Vienna;⁵⁶ and the famous “Burgundian bard” in the Royal Armouries,⁵⁷ a horse armor bearing the arms of Burgundy that is presumed to have formed a gift from Emperor Maximilian to Henry VIII of England, and which is probably of Flemish manufacture, about 1515–20.

30. Armor of Philip the Handsome of Castile, by Lorenz Helmschmid, German (Augsburg), ca. 1495. Vienna, Waffensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums, inv. no. A 7 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

31. *Rennzeug* of Emperor Maximilian I, Innsbruck, ca. 1500. Vienna, Waffensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums, inv. no. S. VII (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)





32. Sallet (*Rennhut*), here identified as having belonged to Louis II, King of Hungary and Bohemia and attributed to Kolman Helmschmid, German (Augsburg), ca. 1522–26. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander McMillan Welch, 1929, 29.156.45

On the majority of these armors the cross of St. Andrew occurs as part of the full insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece. This is perfectly logical, as the identifiable owners of the principal harnesses were members of the Order (as sovereigns of the House of Hapsburg, Philip the Handsome, Maximilian I, and Charles V were also successive Grand Masters of the Order). It should be noted, however, that on the armor of Philip the Handsome (Figure 30), on Maximilian's *Rennzeug* (Figure 31), on the Polheim armor, and on the Italian breastplates in the Royal Armouries and in the Odescalchi collection, the cross appears as a simple saltire on the breastplate. In the light of these examples, there can be little doubt that the prominent saltires found on the visor of the Museum's helmet from Istanbul were intended to identify its owner as a knight in imperial service, if not a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

The last and chronologically latest of Dean's five



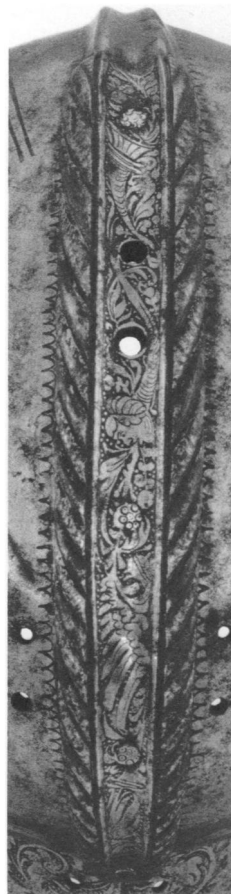
33. The front of the sallet shown in Figure 32

helmets is by far the most intriguing. It is a *Rennhut* (Figures 32–35), a special form of sallet for use in the German joust known as the *Rennen*, which was fought between two mounted combatants armed with sharp lances. The *Rennen* and the *Gestech* (the joust with blunted lances) were the two principal forms of joust practiced in German-speaking Central Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century, and each required armor of a special type. The complete armor for the *Rennen* (the *Rennzeug*) consisted of a sallet; a bevor covering the lower face and neck which was bolted in a fixed position to the breastplate; a breastplate with long tassets, the breast's right side being flattened to take a lance rest with a backward-projecting arm (queue) that gave additional support to the lance; and an X-shaped backplate used merely to give support to the breast. Armor for the shoulders, arms, and hands was unnecessary, as the entire left side was covered by a large capelike shield (the *Renntartsche*) bolted to the breastplate, and the right arm by the large protective plate (vamplate) that fitted around the shank of the lance directly in front of the hand. Leg armor was similarly unnecessary, as the thighs and lances were protected by fitted plates known as tilting sockets (in German, *Dilgen*), which were suspended from the saddle. The complete panoply is illustrated in Figures 31, 36, and 41.

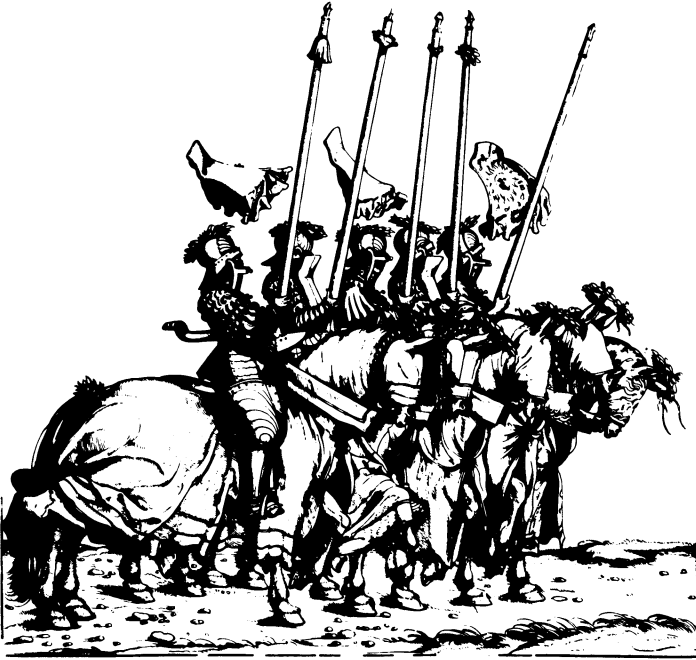
The *Rennhut* in the Metropolitan Museum is a development from this Late Gothic type of sporting helmet, but its construction and decoration indicate a sixteenth-century date. Unlike the late-fifteenth-century *Rennhut*, invariably made in one piece with a long, pointed tail, the Museum's example is constructed of two plates: a domed skull pierced by a horizontal sight, and a separate riveted-on tail. The skull has a double-ridged comb, concave down the center, framed by a border of etched zigzag lines. The comb is overlaid with a gutter-shaped reinforcing plate, concave at the front end and pointed at the back, which covers all but the front five inches of the comb. It is etched down the center with foliate scrolls, a cornucopia, a wing, and a bonneted female head on a dotted black ground; at the center two threaded holes have been drilled to accommodate a crest. The sides of this reinforcing plate are worked

as a roped band, the twists etched with crescents and gilt. At the top of the skull, on either side of the comb, is a semicircular recessed field. The rear half of the skull is vertically fluted in the so-called Maximilian style, with the concave areas divided by raised ribs with engraved outlines. The front half of the skull is smooth, though it appears to be fluted because the raised ribs have been simulated by etched lines. A smooth surface in the forehead region was required because it was originally covered by a pair of arched reinforcing plates that served as a target to be struck off with a well-aimed lance blow. These plates were held in place by studs on either side of the sight (still present) and by a forked spring riveted at the front of the crest (now missing). Plates of this type, and the fixtures securing them, are shown mounted on the sallets illustrated in Figures 31, 36, and 37.

34. The back of the sallet shown in Figure 32



35.
Detail of the etched decoration
on the comb of the sallet
shown in Figure 32



36. Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531), “Bundrennen,” a woodcut from *The Triumph of Maximilian I*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932, 32.37

Around the sides of the skull are a series of twelve round-topped arches, the four at the front flat (to accommodate the reinforcing plates), the remaining ones in low relief. The arched areas are etched with foliage on a dotted black ground; a monogram formed by the conjoined letters L and M alternates with motifs of harpies or trophies of arms. Below the arches runs a horizontal band of foliage on a dotted ground that was once completely gilt. A band of ornament in imitation of roping, gilt on a dotted ground, is etched around the edge at the front.

The tail plate has a strong median ridge and its end is cut almost straight across. Etched along its top edge is a band of scrolling foliage with cornucopias on a dotted black ground; a zigzag border follows the lower edge of the band. Extending down the center of the tail is a branch of acanthus foliage. Riveted along the right side of the tail is part of an applied border of gilt iron in the form of a continuous series of balusters, with a six-petaled rosette at the front end that covers the join of the skull and tail plates. This applied band originally extended around the edges and, to judge from the numerous rivet holes



37. Sallet for the *Bundrennen*, by Matthes Deutsch, German (Landshut), about 1495. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. no. G. 1 (photo: Musée de l'Armée)

that remain in that area, apparently continued half-way up the center of the tail. The series of holes on the rear half of the skull, and larger ones at the sides of the tail plate (just below the rivets that hold the tail to the skull) were intended for laces that secured the heavily padded lining (now lost).

Two closed holes at the front of the sallet, below the sight, suggest that it was probably once fitted with a fixture for a roller. (A small plate riveted inside the front of the sallet presumably gave support to this fixture.) Sallets with rollers seem to have been intended for use in a rare form of joust known as *Bundrennen*. In this sport, a large shield of leather-covered wood, the *Renntartsche*, was affixed to an ingeniously designed “mechanical” breastplate fitted with springs and rollers; when the shield was properly hit, it would be ejected from the breastplate and fly up and over the jousting’s head. The roller attached at the front of the sallet presumably facilitated an easier discharge of the *Renntartsche*.⁵⁸ One of Hans Burgkmair the Elder’s woodcut illustrations from *The Triumph of Maximilian* shows the equipment worn in such a joust (Figure 36). Only two sallets fit-

ted with rollers (one of which is shown in Figure 37) and three mechanical breastplates are known; this suggests that the *Bundrennen* was an extremely rare tournament game, probably one that took place only in the imperial court.⁵⁹

Since Bashford Dean's acquisition of this helmet in 1920, it has been catalogued as the work of the Nuremberg armorer Kunz Lochner and dated to about 1545, and the ML—or LM—monogram identified as that of Moritz of Leipzig.⁶⁰ However, renewed stylistic analysis of the helmet's form and decoration now suggests that it was produced by a different armorer working elsewhere in Germany in an earlier period, and a more careful study of the monogram has yielded an entirely new, and more defensible, identification of the sallet's original owner.

Several features of the helmet suggest that it was made about twenty years earlier than the traditional date of 1545. The fluted skull reflects the so-called Maximilian style of armor popular in Germany between about 1505 and 1530; by 1545 fluted decoration had been out of fashion for more than a decade. The presence of an applied decorative border around the tail recalls the same Late Gothic tradition evidenced by the Museum's sallet of about 1495 (Figures 22, 23), and thus suggests a date earlier, rather than later, in the sixteenth century. The border on the *Rennhut* differs, however, from that on the earlier sallet in that it is of gilded iron rather than of brass, and its robust baluster form reflects the influence of the Italian Renaissance without any trace of florid Late Gothic design. No other sixteenth-century *Rennhut* with an applied decorative border of this type is known.

The *Rennhut*'s narrow bands of etched decoration also suggest a date in the 1520s. The ornamental motifs, particularly the repeated harpies, reflect the influence of Daniel Hopfer (ca. 1470–1536), the famous Augsburg printmaker. Hopfer etched not only iron plates for graphic reproductions but also armor. Hopfer's signature is found on only one piece, a tilting targe dated 1536 in the Real Armería, Madrid,⁶¹ but a number of other armors, most of them from the Helmschmid workshop in Augsburg, are etched in the so-called Hopfer style. James Mann characterized the ornamental motifs found on these harnesses: "They all show foliage or candelabrum ornament intermixed with grotesque birds and beasts, putti and harpies, all vigorously drawn and deeply etched on a granular ground on which the grains are

not all similar in size nor too closely placed. These etched compositions have in common certain noteworthy details, such as a wriggling tendril, a certain globe-like ornament, and a characteristic snub-nosed harpy or cherub in profile, and sometimes a tablet with Roman numerals, probably indicating a date."⁶² Many of these motifs appear in the margins of Hopfer's prints, such as in his portrait of Charles V (Figure 38).

The best examples of Hopfer-style etching on armor are found on the harnesses made in the workshop of Kolman Helmschmid (1470/71–1532), Augsburg's leading armorer in the first third of the sixteenth century.⁶³ The son of Lorenz Helmschmid, Emperor Maximilian I's favorite armorer, Kolman produced work that typifies German Renaissance armor design in much the same way that his father's armors capture the spirit of the Late Gothic. Kol-

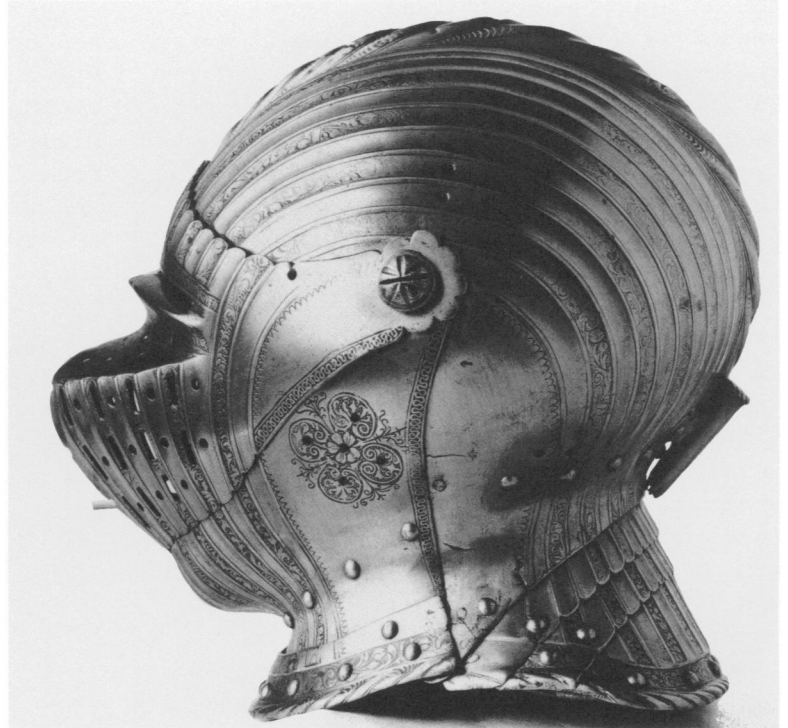
38. Daniel Hopfer (ca. 1470–1536). Emperor Charles V. Etching, 22.4 × 15.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Junius S. Morgan, 1919, 19.52.19



39. Armor of Bernard Meuting of Augsburg, attributed to Kolman Helmschmid, German (Augsburg), ca. 1525. Vienna, Waffensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums, inv. no. A 235 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



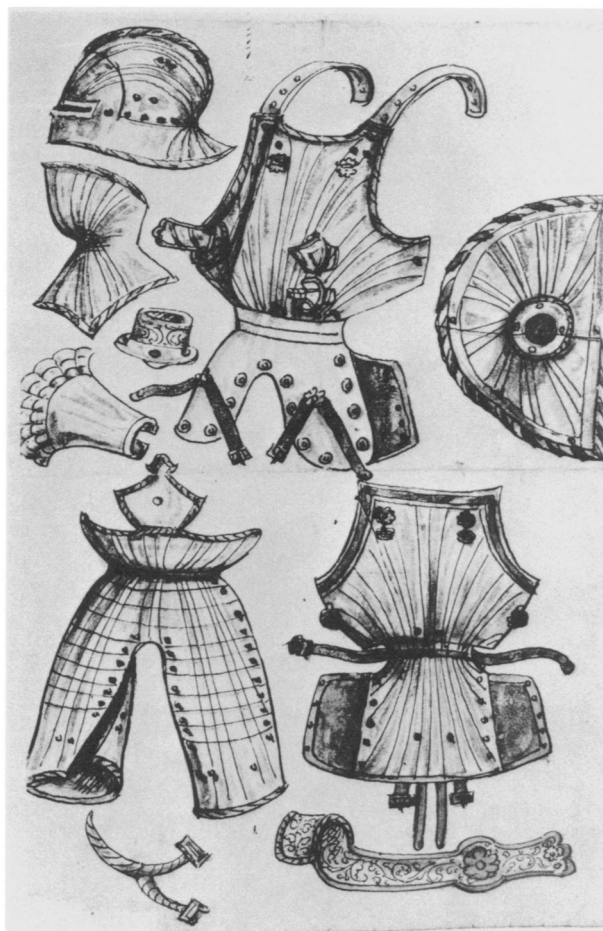
40–41. Helmet and upper half of the breastplate of the armor of Bernard Meuting illustrated in Figure 39



man's patrons and customers were the leading princes of Europe: the Hapsburgs, including Maximilian himself, Charles V (1500–58, emperor from 1519), and Charles's brother Ferdinand I (1503–64, King of Bohemia from 1526, emperor from 1558); members of the imperial court, such as Count Andreas von Sonnenburg (died 1511), Count Eitel Friedrich II von Zollern (died 1512), and Wilhelm von Roggendorf (1481–1541); other German princes, such as Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490–1568); and Italian patrons, notably Gianfrancesco II Gonzaga (1466–1519) and his son Federigo II (1500–40, duke from 1530), rulers of Mantua. A comparison of the decoration found on some of Kolman's armors, such as that of the Augsburg patrician Bernard Meuting (Figures 39–41),⁶⁴ shows the characteristic Hopfer-style etching, which is also found on the Museum's sallet. The ornament includes not only the snub-nosed harpies but also the large-petaled flowers and the cornucopias and wings within the foliate ornament, as well as the zigzag line along the edges of the etched areas. One notices on the Meuting armor, as well as on other armors by Kolman, what may be a distinctive detail of his workshop: the closely set crescents etched on the roped turnovers at the edges. The presence of these crescents on the roped edge of the reinforce on the sallet further suggests that it is the work of Kolman Helmschmid.

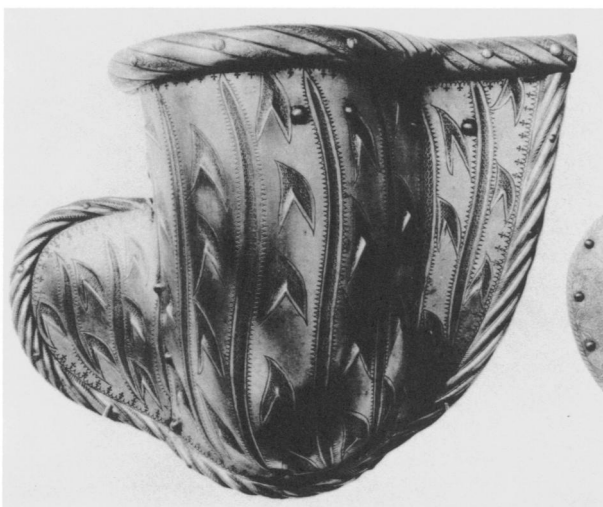
Kolman's surviving oeuvre does not include a *Rennzeug*, though the armorer is recorded as having made several of them. In 1525 he received payment for a *Rennzeug* ordered by Albrecht of Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and Duke of Prussia.⁶⁵ Visual evidence survives for a second *Rennzeug*, one with fluted decoration, in the so-called Thun Sketchbook (Figure 42), a volume of pen and wash designs for armor believed to have originated in the Helmschmid workshop. This particular drawing has been identified by Ortwin Gamber as representing a *Rennzeug* made by Kolman around 1525 for Ferdinand I.⁶⁶

Whereas Kolman evidently made few *Rennzeuge* and *Stechzeuge* (specialized armors for the *Gesteck*, or joust with blunted lances) of the traditional late-fifteenth-century type, the workshops of his father Lorenz and of his uncle Jörg yielded dozens of these armors for the sporting contests sponsored by Maximilian I.⁶⁷ What must be the latest of Lorenz



42. Pen and watercolor drawing showing elements of a *Rennzeug*. From the Thun Sketchbook, Codex a/8, formerly in the library of the counts Thun-Hohenstein at Tetschen, Bohemia (missing since 1945)

Helmschmid's *Rennzeuge*, of which only the sallet and the right tilting socket are preserved, was formerly in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris (Figures 43, 44).⁶⁸ The surfaces are decorated alternately with S-shaped and chevron-shaped recesses, etched and gilt with a chain motif, in imitation of the puffed and slashed *mi-parti* civilian costume of the first third of the sixteenth century. So-called costume armors enjoyed a limited vogue between 1510 and 1530, and this seems to be a unique example of a *Rennzeug* decorated in this fashion. Lorenz's mark (a tilting helm surmounted by a cross), long overlooked,⁶⁹ is stamped on the socket's upper border. This armor must have been made at the very end of his life (born in 1445, Lorenz died in



43–44. Sallet (*Rennhut*) and tilting socket (*Dilge*) for the *Rennen*, by Lorenz Helmschmid, German (Augsburg), ca. 1515–16. Formerly in Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. nos. H. 51 and G. 536 (photos: Musée de l'Armée)

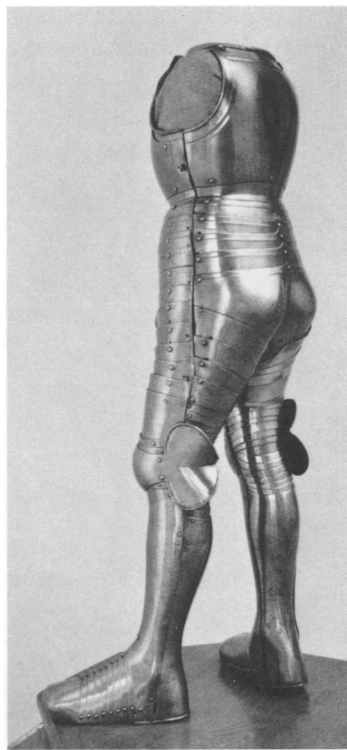
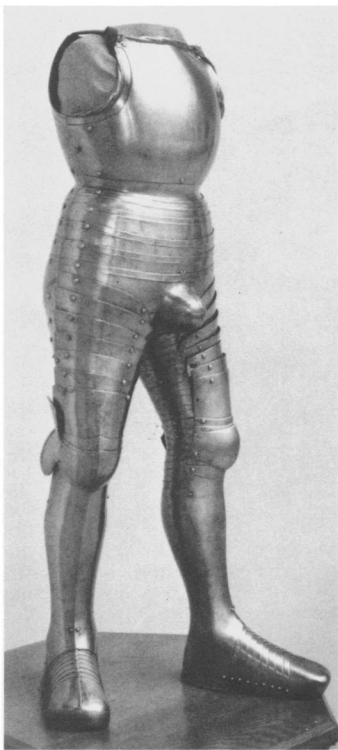
1516), perhaps about 1515–16, when the work of the two Helmschmids, father and son, became very similar.⁷⁰ In fact, were it not for the presence of the father's mark on the socket, these two pieces could quite reasonably be attributed to Kolman. A comparison of the sallet formerly in Paris and that in the Metropolitan Museum shows the general similarity of shape (especially the bulbous skull), construction (note the method of joining the tail plate to the skull), and decoration (the sculptural band applied to the tail, the zigzag borders around the etched areas,

and the crescents etched on every other band on the roped borders). The two works were evidently made in the same family workshop and not very distant in time from one another.

To summarize, the Museum's sallet can be attributed with reasonable certainty to the workshop of Kolman Helmschmid of Augsburg, about 1520–25, an attribution based on the comparison of the helmet's form, construction, and decoration with other harnesses by that armorer. In addition, a new identification of the helmet's original owner further confirms its date and illuminates its history.

After acquiring this helmet in 1920, Bashford Dean identified the etched monogram as that of Moritz of Leipzig, that is, Elector Moritz of Saxony (1521–53, Prince-Elector from 1541). This attribution was apparently inspired by the row of arches encircling the skull, which reminded Dean of the upturned ermine edges of an elector's bonnet (*Kurfürstenhut*);⁷¹ with this in mind, Dean apparently sought out a likely candidate whose initials corresponded to those in the monogram. Although arched fields of this kind do not occur on any other helmet, the motif does not seem to be an intentional allusion to the electoral bonnet. Furthermore, a monogram of this kind, consisting of two conjoined letters, usually refers to a husband and wife (Moritz married Agnes, daughter of Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, in 1541) rather than to a ruler's titles. In any case, there is no contemporary evidence that this Elector of Saxony was closely associated with the city of Leipzig; on the contrary, he was strongly identified with the city of Meissen and was at one time referred to as Moritz von Meissen.⁷² It may be pointed out that the electoral insignia (the crossed swords, symbols of the elector's position as Archmarshal of the Empire) and the arms of Saxony are also conspicuously absent. The total lack of evidence for a connection with Elector Moritz of Saxony, and the revised dating of the helmet to 1520–25—a date much too early for Moritz—proves that Dean's interpretation of the monogram was wide of the mark.

The solution to the identification of the monogram on the Museum's helmet is found on a silver thaler issued in 1525 by Louis II (1506–26), King of Hungary and Bohemia (Figures 45, 46).⁷³ The king is shown on horseback on the obverse, with both man and steed in full armor; on the reverse are the arms of Hungary and Bohemia beneath a royal crown, the monogram comprising the letters L and M, and



47–48. Incomplete foot-combat armor of Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia, attributed to Konrad Seusenhofer, Austrian (Innsbruck), ca. 1514. Vienna, Waffensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums, inv. no. E 1 (photos: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

intended for a young boy. It is recorded that, in 1514, Maximilian I ordered a “tonlet” armor (i.e., one with a deep metal skirt) for Louis from his court armorer Konrad Seusenhofer in connection with the upcoming betrothal ceremonies in Vienna. For this reason it is has been conjectured that the foot-combat armor may have been ordered at the same time. The armor appears to correspond to one, said to have been Louis II’s, described in an inventory of 1583, though there is no internal (i.e., heraldic or iconographic) evidence to confirm the attribution.

A second piece of armor in the *Waffensammlung*, a pauldron for the right shoulder of a costume armor (Figure 49), has also long been ascribed to Louis II.⁷⁷ Like the boy’s armor discussed above, the pauldron is attributed to Konrad Seusenhofer and dated about 1514. Given the pauldron’s large size—it was clearly made for an adult rather than for a boy of nine or ten—this attribution can no longer be maintained.

In the light of the incomplete documentation of the pieces in the *Waffensammlung*, the Metropoli-

49. Right pauldron, traditionally said to belong to an armor of Louis II, attributed to Konrad Seusenhofer, Austrian (Innsbruck), ca. 1514. Vienna, Waffensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums, inv. no. A 179 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



50. *Louis II, King of Hungary and Bohemia*, ca. 1530. Pen and watercolor drawing from the Thun Sketchbook, Codex a/8, formerly in the library of the counts Thun-Hohenstein at Tetschen, Bohemia (missing since 1945)



tan's sallet is the only piece of armor that can be securely identified as having belonged to Louis II. This may explain the presence of the king's portrait in the Thun Sketchbook (Figure 50), where it is one of four portraits of enthroned rulers (the others are of Philip of Castile, Charles V, and Ferdinand I) bound together with this famous series of armor designs coming from the Helmschmid workshop. These portraits, which Gamber dates to around 1530,⁷⁸ thus seem to have constituted a record of Lorenz and Kolman Helmschmid's most important clients, to whom Louis II can now definitely be added.⁷⁹

One intriguing question remains to be answered: How did the sallet of Emperor Maximilian I, the *Rennhut* of Louis II, and the other helmets photographed by Bashford Dean come to be found in the imperial Ottoman arsenal in Constantinople? The majority were certainly captured by the Turks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries during their campaigns in the Mediterranean and Aegean regions, in the Balkans, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria—literally up to Vienna's doorstep. Judging from the severe damage evident in certain helmets illustrated in Dean's photographs, some of them may have been picked up as battlefield souvenirs, although the majority were no doubt taken as booty from the castles and arsenals overrun by Ottoman troops. In the case of Maximilian's sallet (Figure 22), Ortwin Gamber has noted that the emperor had a habit of leaving his arms behind in the castles he visited.⁸⁰ Thus one of his helmets is in Churburg Castle in the north Italian Tirol (left after the battle of Mals

nearby), his knives are in the monastery of Kremsmünster, and a *Rennzeug* was forgotten in Mödling, near Vienna. The sallet was very probably taken when one of the Hapsburg properties was overrun on the Turkish march to Vienna in 1529.

Similar circumstances probably account for the presence of Louis II's *Rennhut*. It is unlikely that it came into Turkish possession at Mohács, as helmets of this type would never have been worn in battle, and such expensive sporting equipment is not likely to have been included in the king's baggage train for a serious campaign in the field. More likely, it formed part of the royal Hungarian armory that fell into Turkish hands when Buda, the capital, was occupied by Ottoman troops in the aftermath of the disaster at Mohács. Records indicate that considerable booty, including the library of Matthias Corvinus, was removed from Buda to Constantinople by the victors, and it is likely that finely decorated European arms and armor were also included. The recent discovery in the Military Museum, Istanbul, of several fifteenth-century ceremonial swords from Hungary, including a processional sword bearing what may be the arms of László V (1452–57), tends to confirm this theory.⁸¹

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to a number of colleagues who have assisted me with valuable information and photographs: Helmut Nickel, David Alexander, Donald J. LaRocca, Christian Beaufort-Spontin, Ortwin Gamber, Claude Blair, Ian Eaves, and A. V. B. Norman.

NOTES

1. Information about Dean's European trip of 1919–20 is derived from his notebooks, correspondence, and photographs preserved in the archives of the Department of Arms and Armor in the Metropolitan Museum. Most of this material was previously in the private possession of Stephen V. Grancsay (1897–1980), the Metropolitan's second Curator of Arms and Armor, and came into the Museum's possession with the bequest of Grancsay's library and papers in 1980. Grancsay had been one of the executors of Dean's estate, not to mention his pupil, confidant, and chosen successor, and so it was natural that Dean's private papers and notebooks came into his hands. Surprisingly, however, Grancsay never utilized this material, and its very existence seems to have been forgotten.

For Dean's activities as Museum curator and private collector, see "Biographical Outline," by C. O. von Kienbusch, in C. O. von Kienbusch and S. V. Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection of Arms and Armor in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Portland, Me., 1933) especially pp. 24–41; and D. J. LaRocca, "Carl Otto Kretzschmar von Kienbusch and the Collecting of Arms and Armor in America," *Bulletin, Philadelphia Museum of Art* 81 (1985) pp. 6–11, 23 n.27.

2. The earliest account of the Chalcis armor in English is given in C. Ffoulkes, "On Italian Armour from Chalcis in the Ethnological Museum at Athens," *Archaeologia* 62 (1911) pp. 381–390. On the same subject, see L. G. Boccia, "The Xalkis Funds in Athens and New York" (an unpublished, privately cir-

culated typescript of a talk delivered in New York on Oct. 3, 1981, at the Ninth Triennial Congress of the International Association of Museums of Arms and Military History), where the helmets from this group are classified by type; and C. Blair, "Notes on Armour from Chalcis," *Arms and Armour at the Dorchester* (London, 1982) pp. 7–14, where Dean's negotiations for the acquisition of the Chalcis armor are discussed.

Dean did not acquire all of his Chalcis armor at one time. Having first come across the Chalcis armor in 1891 (B. Dean, "Early Gothic Armor," *MMAB* [1925] p. 133), he obtained three pieces (a brigandine plate, a basinet, and an armet) during a visit to Athens in 1913. It was only in 1920, however, that he secured the larger part of the hoard, which was shipped to New York over a two- or three-year period.

Sixty-eight helmets or helmet parts, five brigandine plates, and two lower vambraces (plates for the forearm) remain today in the National Historical Museum, Athens. I am especially indebted to A. V. B. Norman for information on the Chalcis armor in Athens.

3. For the history of the Rhodes armor now in the Royal Armouries, see C. Ffoulkes, "Armour from the Rotunda, Woolwich, Transferred to the Armouries of the Tower, 1927," *Archaeologia* 78 (1928) pp. 66–69, and idem, "The Rotunda Museum, Woolwich, and the Armouries of the Tower of London," *Apollo* 8 (1928) pp. 19–23.

4. The terrible condition of the Rhodes armor is evident in a well-known series of photographs made in Bachereau's shop. Dean visited Bachereau twice during his trip of 1919–20. His notebooks indicate that he received a small group of Rhodes fragments as a gift from the dealer in Dec. 1919 and, returning to Paris in April, purchased the majority of Bachereau's remaining Rhodes pieces for 70,000 francs (about \$7,000). A monographic study of the Rhodes armor is being prepared by W. J. Karcheski, Jr., of the Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Mass., together with I. D. D. Eaves and T. Richardson of the Royal Armouries, H. M. Tower of London.

5. Dean was professor of vertebrate zoology at Columbia University and curator of fossil fishes at the American Museum of Natural History before becoming Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum. For Dean's scientific career, see Kienbusch and Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection*, pp. 8–11.


6. Acc. nos. 29.150.5 (both lower vambraces and possibly the left greave from Chalcis); 29.150.7 (the armet, but not its visor, both vambraces and gauntlets, the right tasset, right cuisse, left poleyn, and right greave from Chalcis; the right pauldron from Rhodes); 29.150.8 (the main plate of right cuisse from Chalcis); 29.150.9 (the left cowler probably from Chalcis); 29.150.91 (an incomplete "brigandine" armor, made up from Chalcis elements); 29.154.3 (except for the helmet and minor restored plates, largely from Chalcis); 29.156.66 (the left cowler, left tasset, both cuisses, and the right greave from Chalcis); and 50.160 (left and right vambraces and cowters, the right gauntlet, and the left cuisse from Chalcis). The majority of these armors were described in Kienbusch and Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collec-*

tion, nos. 1–5, though not all of the Chalcis and Rhodes elements were correctly identified at that time.

7. For the architectural history of St. Irene, see W. S. George, *The Church at Saint Irene at Constantinople* (London, 1913) and T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pa./London, 1971) pp. 77–88. The history of the arsenal and its collections is discussed in O. S. Moukhtar, *Musée Militaire Ottoman situé à Sainte Irène, Place de Top-Kapou-Sérail, Guide* (Constantinople, 1920) pp. 6–48; and L. Kalus, "Collection des armes et armures islamiques du Musée Militaire Istanbul," *Études médiévales et patrimoine turc* (Paris, 1983) pp. 135–144.

8. For the location of the arsenal within the palace precinct, see E. Atil, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C., 1987) pp. 113, 147.

9. Atil, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman*, pp. 113–114, 147. As evidence of such gifts, see for example the sale catalogue of the collection of arms and armor of the duc d'Istrie, Paris, Jan. 23–25, 1839, which included a Turkish armor (no. 1) said to have been given to the duc d'Istrie by Count Guilleminot, the former French ambassador at Constantinople. The ambassador apparently had received it as a gift, with the understanding that the armor had originally belonged to one of the first sultans.

10. The so-called arsenal mark, , is thought to derive from the tribal mark, or tamga, of the Kayi, one of the twenty-four original Oghuz (tribes) of the Turks, from which the Ottomans claimed descent. See H. Nickel, "Ceremonial Arrowheads from Bohemia," *MMJ* 1 (1968) p. 63 n.3; and idem, "Tamgas and Runes, Magic Numbers and Magic Symbols," *MMJ* 7 (1973) p. 168. Earlier theories of the meaning of this mark are discussed by E. von Lenz, "Arsenalzeichen oder Beschau," *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffenkunde* 6 (1912) pp. 299–303. Lenz also suggested that the arsenal mark was not limited to use in Istanbul, but was also probably used in the Ottoman arsenals at Edirne and Erzerum, and that it may have served as a proof mark denoting the serviceability of captured weapons.

The statement of Atil, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman*, p. 147, that all Ottoman arms and armor in the arsenal in Istanbul were stamped with the arsenal mark is not completely accurate. It would seem that the mark is found on the majority of Islamic armor, but on relatively few weapons. The European armor seems to have been stamped less frequently. None of the five European helmets discussed in this article bears this mark.

11. Apart from the numerous pieces of Turkish armor in the Metropolitan's collection that bear the arsenal mark, it is also found on four pieces of European armor: a mail shirt of 15th- or 16th-century date (14.25.1564); the bottom plate of a cuilet, German, ca. 1480 (29.150.71); a gauntlet for the left hand, Italian, second half of the 15th century (29.156.69d); and a German gauntlet for the left hand, ca. 1490 (29.158.256). The mark is also found on a German sword of the early 16th century (1988.26).

12. Quoted by John Hewitt, *Official Catalogue of the Tower Ar-*

mouries (London, 1859) pp. 116–117, note. C. A. de Cosson's preface to the sale catalogue of the Zouche collection, sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge in London on Nov. 10–11, 1920, pp. i–iii, refers to a manuscript catalogue of armor at Parham, unfortunately no longer traceable, in which a similar story was related by Lord Zouche. According to de Cosson, Samuel Pratt, the well-known dealer of arms and armor in London, had also told a similar story.

At variance with Curzon's account is the report of Gros Malo, "Vieilles armures et vieux manuscrits," *Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux* 46, no. 974 (July 20, 1902), col. 64, who gives the date of the arsenal's dispersal as 1823, following an oral tradition in circulation in Istanbul in 1859. Moukhtar, *Musée Militaire Ottoman*, p. 29, likewise dates the dispersal to the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39). In light of the fact that Curzon was in Constantinople within a year or two after the event, his account still seems to me the most reliable.

13. Moukhtar, *Musée Militaire Ottoman*, pp. 30–32.

14. De Cosson, Zouche sale catalogue, p. ii: "Photographs which I have show that, twenty years ago [i.e., about 1900], the arsenal of St. Irene contained many European swords of the fifteenth century, some Saracenic helmets and weapons, but no European armour." The swords to which de Cosson refers, visible in Figure 3, belong to the famous group whose blades bear Arabic inscriptions. These inscriptions, which were presumably added soon after the swords were captured or received as gifts, frequently include dates that afford an important chronology for specialists studying the development of the late-medieval sword hilt. For this group of weapons, see especially D. G. Alexander, "European Swords in the Collection of Istanbul, Part I," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 27 (1985) pp. 81–118, and "Part II," *ibid.* 29 (1987) pp. 21–48.

15. The former church of St. Irene continued to house the Military Museum until the outbreak of World War II, when its contents were evacuated to Central Anatolia. The collections returned to Istanbul after the war, but not to St. Irene. The Military Museum was eventually reestablished in the Military Gymnasium in the Harbiye district of the city and opened to the public in 1959.

I am grateful to my colleague D. G. Alexander for photographs and the inventory numbers of the European helmets that remain in the Military Museum and for the information that the fate of the bulk of the collection of European armor fragments photographed by Dean in 1920 appears not to be known.

16. Conspicuously absent from the helmets in Istanbul are the "great sallets" formed of a skull and large separate wrap-around neck guard. For this distinctly Chalcis type of helmet, see C. Blair, "Notes on Armour from Chalcis," pp. 9–12.

17. For the Wallace Collection basinet, inv. no. A74, see J. G. Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues. European Arms and Armour* (London, 1962) I, pp. 95–96; and A. V. B. Norman, *Wallace Collection Catalogues: European Arms and Armour Supplement* (London, 1986) p. 41. The related Chalcis helmets are those in Ath-

ens, no. B 1 (called a *barbuta* by Boccia, "The Xalkis Funds," pp. 5–6); in Cleveland, acc. no. 23.1065 (H. I. Gilchrist, *A Catalogue of the Collection of Arms and Armor Presented to The Cleveland Museum of Art by Mr. and Mrs. John Long Severance, 1916–1923* [Cleveland, 1924] p. 41, no. B 1); and in the Metropolitan Museum, acc. no. 29.158.43 (Kienbusch and Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection*, p. 117, no. 26).

In referring to the Chalcis helmets in Athens, I am following L. G. Boccia's numbering, which is preceded by the letter B.

18. Boccia, "The Xalkis Funds," p. 6, who calls these helmets "great sallets," suggests a date "not before the last years of the 14th century and perhaps after."

19. For the helmets still in Athens, see Boccia, "The Xalkis Funds," p. 6, helmet nos. B 2 and B 7. For the two examples in the Metropolitan Museum, acc. nos. 29.158.45 and 42.50.33, see Kienbusch and Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection*, p. 115, no. 23, and *Loan Exhibition of European Arms and Armour*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1931) no. 49 (lent at that time by Clarence H. Mackay).

20. Sallets with faceted skulls are still found in Athens, nos. B 7 and B 27 (Boccia, "The Xalkis Funds," p. 7) and in the Metropolitan Museum, no. 29.158.44 (Kienbusch and Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection*, p. 114, no. 21).

21. For the "Spanish sallet," see J. G. Mann, "Notes on the Armor Worn in Spain from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century," *Archaeologia* 83 (1933) p. 301; and C. Blair, *European Armour* (London, 1958) p. 110. For the Chalcis example in Athens, no. B 41, see Boccia, "The Xalkis Funds," pp. 7, 9.

22. Boccia, "The Xalkis Funds," pp. 6–7.

23. Originally a feature of oriental helmets, the nasal was adopted, probably after Turkish examples, by armorers in Eastern and Central Europe beginning around 1550. It was usually fitted to open-faced helmets with peaks (either burgonets or *Zischägge*) that tended to imitate the appearance of Turkish helmets with their conical skulls and articulated cheek and nape plates. A rigid, usually slightly curved bar, the nasal passed through a slot in the peak and entered a bracket above, to which it was fixed in an adjustable position by a wing nut. It is tempting to speculate that the Istanbul helmet may be an old kettle hat adapted in the 17th century for use in Poland, where husars wore similar helmets, though usually with fluted skulls, which were fitted with nasals, cheekpieces, and long, articulated tails (Z. Żygulski, *Stara Brón w Polskich Zbiorach* [Warsaw 1982] pp. 30–32, figs. 16–17).

24. Similar war hats with pointed skulls are frequently found in Italian frescoes of the 14th and early 15th centuries: Simone Martini's *Saint Martin Renouncing Arms*, in the Montefiore Chapel in the Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi, ca. 1317–20; Barna da Siena's *Betrayal of Christ* in the Collegiata, San Gimignano, ca. 1335–50; Altichiero's *Battle of Clarno*, dated 1378, in the Basilica of the Santo, Padua; and in Spinello Aretino's frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, ca. 1407–10. These examples could be multiplied tenfold and are

not intended to suggest that such helmets were worn only in Italy; on the contrary, ogival pointed basinet and war hats were common throughout Europe in the 14th century. An English war hat comparable to those in Italian paintings is worn by one of the side figures in the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, 1347, in Elsing Church, Norfolk (J. S. Cotman, *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses* . . . [London, 1839] I, pl. 1).

Extant war hats of this pointed type dating from the 14th century are unknown, although a war hat with pointed skull and down-turned brim reminiscent of the one in Istanbul has been reconstructed from fragments found in the recent excavations in the courtyard of the Louvre. This extraordinary example, covered in gilt copper with enamel appliqué, bears devices that identify it as the helmet of Charles VI of France (1368–1422); what is almost certainly the same helmet is described in a royal inventory of 1411 (M. Fleury and V. Kruta, "Le Casque de Charles VI découvert dans la Cour Carrée du Louvre, restauré à Nancy," *Archaeologia* 230 [Dec. 1987] pp. 18–24; and M. Fleury, "La Résurrection du casque brisé de Charles VI," *Connaissance des Arts* 439 [Sept. 1988] pp. 150–155).

Another war hat of related form to that in Istanbul is in the Musée Gruérin, Bull (Canton Fribourg), Switzerland, where it is thought to be of late-15th-century date (H. Schneider, "Zwei Helme aus der Burgruine Innerjuvalta," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 28 [1986] p. 31, fig. 14). It should be noted, however, that there is a photograph of this helmet in the files of the Department of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum which is annotated in Bashford Dean's hand to indicate that it was owned ca. 1920 by the well-known collector Georges Paulhac in Paris, and that Dean considered the piece to be a modern work fabricated by the famous forger Louis Marcy (act. ca. 1870–1914).

25. The first barbute in the top row (a) is still preserved in the Military Museum, inv. no. 6407.

26. Boccia, "The Xalkis Funds," p. 7.

27. Cf. a sallet in the Metropolitan Museum, acc. no. 11.89.5, which bears the marks of a two-towered castle and the letter *p* beneath a split cross. These marks have tentatively been attributed to Pietro Giacomo da Castello by L. G. Boccia, *Le armature di S. Maria delle Grazie di Curatone di Mantova e l'armatura lombarda del 1400* (Busto Arsizio, 1982) p. 291, where the sallet is dated 1510–20.

28. No. B 19; see Boccia, "The Xalkis Funds," p. 7.

29. L. G. Boccia and E. T. Coelho, *L'arte dell' armatura in Italia* (Milan, 1967) pp. 143–144, figs. 124–127.

30. No. B 46; see Boccia, "The Xalkis Funds," p. 8.

31. *Ibid.*

32. This notation is found in Dean's notebook of 1920. One of these is currently on display in the Military Museum, inv. no. 9491.

33. Inv. no. 11674.

34. These features anticipate, and this sallet seems to be a

development leading toward, the latest type of German sallet, ca. 1500–10, which will be discussed with the group illustrated in Figure 17.

35. For the helmets in Paris, see L. Robert, *Catalogue des collections composant le Musée d'Artillerie en 1889* (Paris, 1889–90) II, p. 4, inv. no. G. 8, and p. 173, inv. no. H. 38. For that in London, see Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues*, I, pp. 104–105, inv. no. A89.

36. Helmets very similar to 18a and 18g are still in the Military Museum, inv. nos. 6409 and 14208 respectively. Another helmet almost identical to 18a recently passed through the art market on two different occasions: Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, sale of Nov. 27, 1961, no. 126; and Hôtel Drouot, Paris, Oct. 19, 1983, no. 1.

37. The adoption of the rounded visor by the Helmschmid workshop is discussed by O. Gamber, "Kolman Helmschmid, Ferdinand I. und das Thun'sche Skizzenbuch," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 71 (1975) p. 30.

38. Inv. no. 344; see L. G. Boccia and J. A. Godoy, *Il Museo Poldi Pezzoli: Armeria I* (Milan, 1985) pp. 92–93, no. 50 (called Mantuan?, ca. 1540–60).

39. Inv. no. 1818; see L. G. Boccia, *Il Museo Stibbert a Firenze: vol. III, L'armeria europea* (Milan, 1975) p. 70, no. 66 (called Mantuan?, ca. 1560).

40. Acc. no. 1977–167–1; see C. O. von Kienbusch, H. Schedelmann, J. F. Hayward, R. H. Randall, Jr., and A. Reinhard, *The Kretzschmar von Kienbusch Collection of Armor and Arms* (Princeton, 1963) pp. 13–14, no. 1.

41. O. Trapp and J. G. Mann, *The Armoury of the Castle of Churburg* (London, 1929) nos. 23 and 61, the latter now in the Royal Armouries, H. M. Tower of London, inv. no. II. 168. Another sallet of the type bearing Italian armorers' marks was sold at Sotheby's, London, on May 15, 1972, no. 207, and now is in an American private collection.

42. The armorers of Innsbruck were strongly influenced by Italian armor fashions, and this sallet might conceivably have been made there, though in the absence of any armorers' marks this suggestion is purely conjectural. For the Italian influence on the development of Innsbruck armor in the 15th century, see B. Thomas and O. Gamber, *Die Innsbrucker Plattnerkunst*, exh. cat. (Innsbruck, 1954) p. 18.

43. Kienbusch and Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection*, p. 125, no. 40, where it was mistakenly catalogued as a *Rennhut*.

44. A. V. B. Norman, "A Comparison of Three Helmets," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 1 (1959) pp. 16–21.

45. Kienbusch and Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection*, pp. 68–70, no. 6, where it was part of a composed armor.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 132–133, no. 48.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 133. The majority of helmets of this type (for example, MMA acc. nos. 29.158.34 and 29.158.36; *ibid.*, nos. 49–50) are without rivets or lining holes along the lower edge

of the visor. On the other hand, an example in the Kienbusch Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, acc. no. 1977-167-72, has a series of closely set holes along the visor's bottom edge, which are described in the catalogue as serving for the attachment of mail (see Kienbusch et al., *The Kretzschmar von Kienbusch Collection*, no. 60). This explanation is not convincing, as gorgets of plate are likely to have been worn by this date (ca. 1500), rendering unnecessary a mail "bib." Furthermore, any mail that was attached to the front edge of the visor would have hung in the wearer's face when the visor was raised, thus being a greater hindrance than help.

48. For a concise history of the Order, see *La Toison d'or: Cinq siècles d'art et d'histoire*, exh. cat. (Bruges, 1962) pp. 19–33.

49. B. Thomas and O. Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrückkammer*, Part I: *Der Zeitraum von 500 bis 1530* (Vienna, 1976) pp. 113–114. The decoration of the gorget includes the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece in gold (*Goldschmeltz*) on a blued ground, leaving little doubt that the simple saltire on the breastplate is meant to be a cross of St. Andrew.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 162–163.

51. Inv. no. A. 15; see Conde Viudo de Valencia de Don Juan, *Catálogo histórico-descriptivo de la Real Armería de Madrid* (Madrid, 1898) p. 11. For the decoration of this chanfron, see C. Blair, "The Silvered Armour of Henry VIII in the Tower of London," *Archaeologia* 99 (1965) p. 27 and pl. xvic.

52. Inv. no. A 107; see Thomas and Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrückkammer*, p. 214.

53. Inv. no. III. 1246. The breastplate is part of a heavily restored, composite armor formerly in the collections of Duke Victor of Ratibor, Grafenegg Castle, and William Randolph Hearst. See the sale catalogue, *Waffensaal des Schloss Grafenegg*, Pt. II (Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, May 2, 1934) no. 93. I am informed by Ian Eaves at the Royal Armouries (letter of May 16, 1988) that the gorget, lance rest, backplate, and gauntlets are associated and have been etched in modern times to match the genuine decoration on the breastplate.

54. Inv. no. 1267; see N. di Carpegna, *Armi antiche dal sec. IX al XVIII già collezione Odescalchi*, exh. cat. (Rome, 1969) p. 22, no. 108.

55. Inv. no. III. 76; unpublished.

56. Inv. no. A 109; see Thomas and Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrückkammer*, pp. 216–217.

57. Inv. no. VI. 6–12; see C. Ffolkes, *Inventory and Survey of the Armouries of the Tower of London* (London, 1916) I, pp. 199–200, and C. Blair, "The Silvered Armour," pp. 37–38.

58. The roller on the sallet presumably supplemented those on the metal framework "bevor" that was bolted to the mechanical breastplate and hooked over lugs at the side of the sallet (thus holding the helmet in a rigid position, not to be easily dislodged with the shock of the opponent's blow). Curiously, none of the *Bundrennen* jousters depicted in *The Triumph of Maximilian* (Figure 37) wears a sallet with a roller.

For the *Bundrennen* and related "mechanical" jousts, see O. Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zur Zeit König Maximilians I. und das Thun'sche Skizzenbuch," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 53 (1957) pp. 68–69.

59. The two sallets for the *Bundrennen* are those in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris (Figure 37), and in the Wallace Collection, London (inv. no. A80). The Paris sallet, which bears the mark of the Landshut armorer Matthes Deutsch, is a true *Rennhut*, whereas the Wallace Collection example was originally a field helmet that was subsequently modified, by the addition of a roller, for use in the *Bundrennen*. Both helmets are discussed by Norman, *European Arms and Armour Supplement*, p. 43.

Two mechanical breastplates are preserved in the Waffensammlung, Vienna, inv. nos. B21 and B25 (Thomas and Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrückkammer*, pp. 172–173), while a third, formerly in Vienna, is now in the Musée de l'Armée, inv. no. G. 528 (J.-P. Reverseau, *Les Armes et la vie* [Paris, 1982] p. 71, fig. 8).

60. Kienbusch and Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection*, p. 136. In his catalogue, *Loan Exhibition of Medieval and Renaissance Arms and Armor from The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat., California Palace of the Legion of Honor (San Francisco, 1953) no. 25, S. V. Grancsay maintained the attribution of this sallet to Kunz Lochner, ca. 1545, but dropped the association with Moritz of Leizpig.

61. Inv. no. A 54; see Valencia de Don Juan, *Catálogo histórico-descriptivo de la Real Armería*, p. 29.

62. J. G. Mann, "The Etched Decoration of Armour: A Study in Classification," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 27 (1940) p. 8.

63. The fundamental study of Kolman Helmschmid and his armors is that of Gamber, "Kolman Helmschmid," pp. 9–38.

64. Thomas and Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrückkammer*, pp. 225–226.

65. Gamber, "Kolman Helmschmid," p. 9.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

67. For Lorenz Helmschmid, see Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch," pp. 33–70; for Jörg Helmschmid, see B. Thomas, "Jörg Helmschmid d. J., Plattner Maximilians I. in Augsburg und Wien," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 52 (1956) pp. 33–50.

68. Robert, *Catalogue des collections composant le Musée d'Artillerie*, II, pp. 175, 127, respectively; album, pls. 25, 63 (see note 69). Both pieces disappeared in World War II and are now in Moscow ("Spoils of War in the State Historical Museum, Moscow," *Connoisseur* 165 [1967] pp. 1–3, figs. 8–9).

69. The first and only published reference indicating the existence of Lorenz Helmschmid's mark on the tilting socket is found in F. Bernadac, *Appendice au catalogue du Musée d'Artillerie* (Paris, 1899) p. 41. The Helmschmid mark is, however, clearly visible in the photographs published ca. 1890–1900 by the Musée d'Artillerie (from 1927 the Musée de l'Armée) in an untitled album of 150 photographs, pl. 63.

70. Other armors made by Lorenz Helmschmid at the end of his life that came very close to the style of his son's include the armor of the Count Palatine Ottheinrich (1502–59), dated 1516, in the Waffensammlung, inv. no. A 239 (Thomas and Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, pp. 223–224); and an armor of about 1515–16 in Bern, inv. no. 101 (R. Wegeli, *Inventar der Waffensammlung des Bernischen Historischen Museums in Bern I* [Bern, 1920] pp. 55–60, no. 81).

71. In an incomplete MS. inventory of Dean's collection, now in the Kienbusch Library of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Dean described his sallet as follows: "Salade, for tilting, German, ca. 1545. Workmanship of Kunz Lochner. Engraved, gilded, cannulated and embossed, the embossing shown in an electoral crown. Piece of highest importance historically and artistically. There is reason to believe that it belonged to Moritz of Leipzig, whose monogram it bears and whose electoral crown is represented. . . . The present object was discovered in the store-room of the small fortress in the island of Crete." The obviously incorrect provenance is at first startling, though it probably reflects a promise from Dean to the Military Museum that he would never reveal the source of his acquisition. In the 1920s, when many titled owners and even national museums in Europe sold arms and armor from their collections because of the depressed economic conditions, discretion about provenance was often a condition of sale.

72. For Moritz, see W. von Seidlitz, *Die Kunst in Dresden vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, vol. I: 1464–1625 (Dresden, 1921) pp. 139–192.

73. *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541*, exh. cat., Schloss Schallaburg (Austria, 1982) no. 548.

74. For the background of the double betrothal and Maximilian's ambitions for the union of the Hapsburg hereditary lands (*Erblände*) and the eastern territories of Hungary and Bohemia, see R. A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526–1918*, 2d ed. (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977) pp. 1–24.

75. For Süleyman's European campaigns, see Atil, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman*, pp. 21–22.

76. Thomas and Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, p. 218 (with earlier bibliography). The attribution to Louis II dates from a 1583 inventory description of what is in all likelihood

this armor (Thomas and Gamber, *Die Innsbrucker Plattnerkunst*, p. 69, no. 74).

77. Thomas and Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, p. 208. The pauldron has long been associated with Louis II on the basis of a portrait of the monarch published by J. Schrenck von Notzing, *Der . . . Keyser . . . Bildnissen und . . . Beschreibungen ihrer Taten, deren Waffen . . . in Schloss Ombras . . . aufbehalten werden* (Innsbruck, Latin ed. 1601, German ed. 1603); see the new edition, annotated by B. Thomas, *Jakob Schrenck von Notzing, Die Heldenrüstkammer (Armamentarium Heroicum), Erzherzog Ferdinands II. auf Schloss Ambras bei Innsbruck* (Osnabrück, 1981) no. 11. The engraved portrait shows the king wearing a fluted armor, with "slashes" on the poleyns (knees), and with both shoulders covered by a cloak! This evidence alone seems too scanty to support the attribution, which was already questioned by Thomas and Gamber in 1954 (*Die Innsbrucker Plattnerkunst*, p. 71, no. 84).

78. Gamber, "Kolman Helmschmid," p. 11, noting that the portrait of Charles V shows him wearing a beard, which he grew only in about 1530. The first mention of the Thun Sketchbook was published by Q. von Leitner, "Artistisches Quellenmaterial aus der Gräfl. Thun-Hohenstein'schen Fideikommiss-Bibliothek in Tetschen," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7 (1888), pt. 2, pp. 1–6, where the four portraits are reproduced (Register nos. 4578–4581). Von Leitner related the portraits to woodcuts in *Die Genealogie Kaisers Maximilian I*, attributing the original sketches to Hans Burgkmair the Elder and dating them to between 1516 and 1519. This portrait of Louis II was overlooked by I. Schlegel, "Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie König Ludwigs II von Ungarn," *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger* (Ghent, 1968) I, pp. 153–168. Judging from the portraits reproduced by Schlegel, the likeness of Louis II in the Thun Sketchbook is either a fairly early one, before the king grew a beard (by 1522), or is merely an idealization.

79. The sketch of a culet (tail plate) from a backplate, on the same page as Louis II's portrait, is puzzling: its style suggests a date of ca. 1495 (a comparable backplate is on Lorenz Helmschmid's armor for Philip the Handsome, Figure 30).

80. Letter of Sept. 12, 1983.

81. D. G. Alexander, "European Swords in the Collections in Istanbul, Part II," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 29 (1987) p. 22.

Popular Imagery in a Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Crèche

WILLIAM H. FORSYTH

Curator Emeritus, Department of Medieval Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

A SMALL LIMESTONE CRÈCHE (Figure 1)¹ exhibited in the main medieval sculpture hall of The Metropolitan Museum of Art is an unusual representation of the traditional Christmas theme.² Many different elements, all of them vivid and anecdotal and each deriving from a different source, are here interwoven in a manner not found in other depictions of Christ's birth.

The outer sides of the crèche are carefully carved and painted, proving that it was isolated, neither placed in a niche nor part of a series of the life of Christ. The condition of the back face, smoothly chiseled but unfinished, indicates that it was not meant to be seen and that it must have been set directly against a wall, perhaps on a corbel or on a plinth resting on an altar. Small portable crèches are known to have been displayed on or near altars during the Christmas season and packed away in boxes the rest of the year.³ The Museum's is made of stone and, although not large, was probably too heavy for such temporary display.

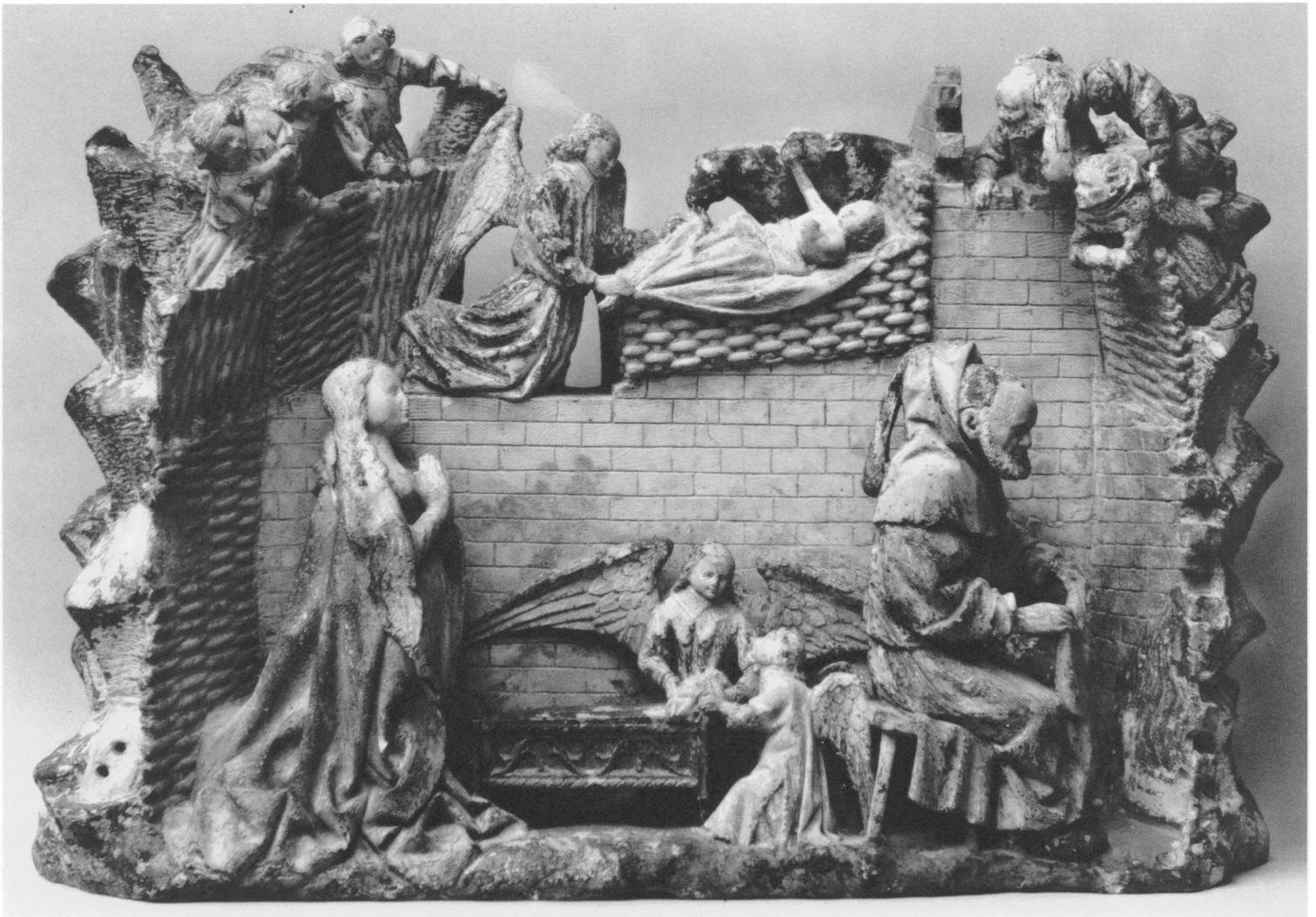
The carving is in sound condition except for the mutilation of the Virgin's nose and scratches on several faces. Most of the wings and a scroll are missing from the group of angels in the upper left corner. There has been structural damage in the area of the shepherds on the upper right. The right arm of the middle shepherd is missing, as are the tops of the animals' heads. The Child in the manger originally held a now-unidentifiable object. Two small dowel holes in the smoothly rounded area of rock at the lower left corner may indicate that there was once attached here a coat of arms or a miniature donor figure. There are minor chips on the base. The existence of several layers of paint, inconsistently applied, would seem to indicate that the original surface was poly-

chromed, although most of the old paint has disappeared.⁴

Three traditional versions of the scene of the birth of Christ are implied here. The base and the rocky formation of the outer shell indicate a grotto or cave, Christ's birthplace according to the Eastern Orthodox Church. Similar caves still exist beneath the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The back and the right walls of the enclosure are composed of carefully cut stone in allusion to a second tradition, the house of David, Christ's earthly ancestor, who also came from Bethlehem. The uneven height of the wall suggests the house in its traditionally ruined state, and the higher section above Joseph's head may refer to the tower of David. Reference to the Western tradition of the poverty of Christ's birth in a stable among the animals is seen in the wattled matting that patches the walls against the cold and in the crude manger holding the Child.⁵

Within this setting the composition is divided into two sections. In the upper part, adoring angels and the shepherds visit the stable where the Christ Child, attended by another angel, lies on a wattled manger. In the lower section, an elaborately carved cradle (as distinguished from a manger)⁶ is being prepared by two more angels, and Joseph sits at its foot. The two scenes are linked by the majestic figure of the Virgin, who looks up at the Child above her.

The Virgin (Figure 2) kneeling in solemn adoration is an iconographic theme that became common in France only during the fifteenth century.⁷ The sharp folds of her mantle, beautifully complex, break into soft, puffy clusters, ending in a series of scallops. The simple gown, with its low, curving neckline, contrasts with the mantle. This rich display of drapery is crowded between the wattled left wall and the cradle.



1. Crèche, Burgundian, third quarter of the 15th century. Painted limestone, 17 $\frac{9}{16}$ x 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (45 x 70 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1916, 16.32.158

The Virgin's hair, delicately carved and engraved in deep waves, falls uncovered over her shoulders as a sign of her maidenhood.

The contrast between the youthful wife kneeling like a donor queen and the burly old husband (Figure 3) is surely intentional. Joseph, the master carpenter and the goodman of the house, sits in simple dignity.⁸ Extending down below his shoulders is a heavy cowl, which enlarges his already massive head and ends in an extension of the peak of the hood, known as a liripipe. The forehead is slightly puckered with delicately carved veins across the temple below a lock of curling hair. A short beard frames the gentle face, whose wide nose and sunken cheeks are

heavy rather than coarse. In contrast, his finely modeled hands are not those of the average workman. He sits squarely on a low stool, his legs spread and his feet awkwardly pigeon-toed, the stereotype of a rustic. He turns his back on the scene as he warms before the fire a cloth in which to wrap the Child.

Joseph's role grew in importance during the fifteenth century.⁹ He was no longer the isolated old man, sunk in gloomy meditation, as in earlier Nativity scenes, but he became the fostering parent, helping with the infant and using his carpenter's skill to construct the wattle.¹⁰ The elaborate cradle (Figure 4) is also Joseph's handiwork. It is carved with moldings in the Flamboyant style of tracery used in fifteenth-century furniture and architectural ornament. Two angels with spreading wings prepare a pillow. They and the cradle serve to connect the figures of Joseph and the Virgin.

In the upper right corner of the composition,



2. Detail of Figure 1, the Virgin

3. Detail of Figure 1, Joseph

4. Detail of Figure 1, the cradle with angels

three cleverly intertwined shepherds (Figure 5) strain toward the Child with engaging eagerness.¹¹ The eldest, at the top of the group, resembles Joseph in features, beard, and balding pate and is similarly hooded. He leans on the top of the wall and peers around another section of it, which rises at right angles between him and the manger. Next to him a middle-aged shepherd wears the same type of hood, and a youth scrambles up between them to see, stepping on the back of the man below him. This lively group has a rollicking, picturesque air, in marked contrast to the solemnity of the lower scene.

In the opposite corner, three angels have just





5. Detail of Figure 1,
the three shepherds

alighted (Figure 6). The top angel once held a scroll (now missing),¹² not to be confused with the carving below and behind his hand. The middle angel puts his left hand on the shoulder of his companion, somewhat in the manner of the middle shepherd. The lower angel crosses his arms in adoration and gazes down at the Virgin. Two of the angels have narrow bands around their temples, tightly binding the hair on top of the head but allowing it to curl freely at the sides.

The Christ Child in the wattled manger (Figure 7) is the focus of his mother's attention. He is half-nude, with a cloth covering the lower part of his body.¹³ His head rests on the rolled-up pillow. He holds up his right hand to the mouth of the ox for warmth, while the ass licks his feet. Although the manger is placed precariously high in the composition, it is stabilized at the head by the projection of the ruined wall and at the foot, visually and aesthetically, by an attending angel. The manger's illogical



6. Detail of Figure 1,
the three angels



7. Detail of Figure 1, the manger with attending angel and Christ Child

height may be the result of the exigencies of the crowded composition. In any case, I know of no other crèche with this duplication of cribs.

The elegant silhouette of the attending angel holding the cloth is poised between flying and kneeling. His drapery sweeps in a series of broad curves more dynamic than those of the other, more static figures below him. The change in rhythm between the angel's drapery and the straight creases of the Child's linen, which converge at the angel's hand, points to a sculptor of dexterity and originality who understood the effect of contrast.

Although the scene is essentially in high relief, set in a shallow enclosure only four to five inches in depth, the figures, carved in the round, have a sense of three-dimensionality. The central angel above is out of scale with the other two groups of angels. A similar discrepancy in size appears between Joseph, the Virgin, and the shepherds. The manger is insecurely tilted and the animals float in the air behind it. The eye forgives these inconsistencies in the depiction of a well-loved story. The liveliness of the upper



8. Antoine le Moiturier, Angel supporting a cross, 1463–65. Limestone, H. 38 in. (96.5 cm.). Avignon, St. Pierre (photo: Baudouin)



9.
The Death of the Virgin,
Burgundian, third quar-
ter of the 15th century.
Limestone, 17 x 21 in.
(43.2 x 53.3 cm.). From
vicinity of Semur-en-
Auxois. Paris, Musée du
Louvre, inv. R. F. 2029
(photo: Musées Nation-
aux)

figures is a foil to the composure of those below. Thus the composition is divided not only horizontally but also vertically, with the ethereal angels above the Virgin on the one side and the earthy shepherds above Joseph on the other.

The style of the crèche and its date accord generally with the work of Antoine le Moiturier, sculptor to Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy after 1462.¹⁴ Specifically, the sharply indented clusters of fabric around the bottom of the Virgin's mantle are found on an angel and a bishop in the Musée Rolin at Autun and on a figure of St. Anthony at Manlay, all attributed to this sculptor.¹⁵ The angel kneeling by the cradle at the base of the Museum's crèche wears the same kind of outer garment, fringed and split at the side, as one of the four life-size angels in Avignon (Figure 8) carved by Moiturier between 1463 and 1465.¹⁶ He consistently used the same broad collars seen on the angels in the Metropolitan's crèche.¹⁷ On several of these angels the hair curls out from under the fillets in the same way as on Moiturier's angel in Avignon.

The bulky proportions and the facial type of the Museum's Joseph and of the eldest shepherd are cur-

10. Entombment of Christ, Burgundian, ca. 1459. Painted limestone, slightly less than life-size. Detail showing Joseph of Arimathea. Dijon, General Hospital (former Chapel of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem) (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)





11. Crèche or Nativity, Burgundian, second half of 15th century. Painted limestone, half life-size. Detail showing Joseph. Dijon, Musée Archéologique (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)

rent in Burgundian sculpture of the second half of the fifteenth century. In a relief of the Death of the Virgin in the Louvre (Figure 9), most of the apostles have the same wide face, high cheekbones, and short beard as the figure of Joseph in the crèche. These features reappear in another relief, the Raising of Lazarus, in the Musée Rolin at Autun.¹⁸ The same type of face, although with a longer beard, appears on Joseph of Arimathea in two Entombment groups, one in the General Hospital at Dijon (Figure 10) dated about 1459, the other in the church of St. Désiré at Lons-le-Saunier (1470s or 1480s).¹⁹

In a Nativity relief in the Archaeological Museum at Dijon (Figure 11), Joseph has similar features and a cowl with liripipe pushed back off his bald forehead. His feet are more pigeon-toed than in the Museum's crèche, and the rough wattling rising behind him is slightly larger in scale. He sits at the feet of the Virgin, watching as she nurses the Child. At Prâlon (Figure 12),²⁰ near Dijon, a crèche of approximately



12. Crèche or Nativity, Burgundian, 15th century. Painted limestone, 16 x 16 in. (40.6 x 40 cm.). Prâlon, Église de l'Assomption (photo: Inventaire Général de Bourgogne)

the same size as the Museum's repeats the figure of Joseph seated in the lower right corner warming the cloth before the fire. While fairly close in iconography, these last differ completely from the Museum's sculpture in style and composition.²¹

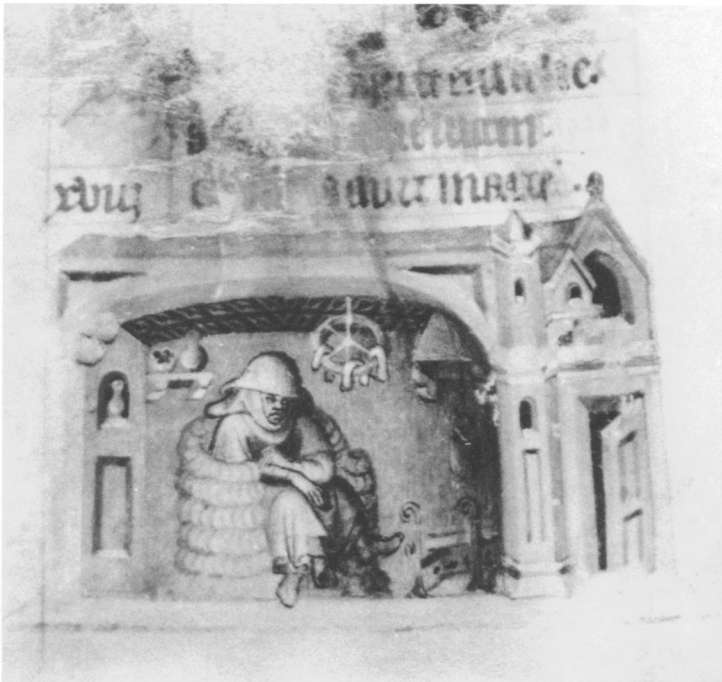
These comparisons indicate the source of the imagery in the Metropolitan's crèche to be Burgundian, but the addition of a carved cradle at the base suggests the influence of other lands controlled by the dukes of Burgundy, namely the southern Netherlands.²² There devotional cradles were used with or without posts and rockers, and with or without an image of the Christ Child. The Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibits near the limestone crèche such a cradle from a Brabant workshop (Figure 13),²³ and it can in turn be closely compared in shape and ornament to others in Utrecht and Antwerp.²⁴

Certain iconographic elements of the limestone crèche are organized in a painterly rather than sculptural manner. The motif of an old peasant warming



13. Christmas cradle, Brabant (from the Grand Béguinage, Louvain), 15th century. Painted and gilded wood, 12½ x 11 x 7¾ in. (31.8 x 27.9 x 18.3 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ruth Blumka in memory of her husband, 1974, 1974.121

14. Jean Pucelle, fol. 2v., from *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*, Ile-de-France, 1325–28. The Cloisters Collection, 1954, 54.1.2



himself before a fire was used to illustrate the month of January or February in the calendars of medieval French illuminated manuscripts (Figure 14).²⁵ The motif is borrowed in several fifteenth-century versions of the Nativity, in which Joseph warms his hands before the fire,²⁶ warms the Child's cloth,²⁷ or holds the cloth ready to cover him.²⁸ In the last example, Joseph's hood is pushed back from his forehead, and there is the same kind of wattling on walls and manger as in the Museum's crèche. Several manuscripts repeat the theme of the Christ Child sharing the warmth of the animals.²⁹

Contemporary Flemish painting reflects the general devotional content and traditional personages of the Metropolitan's crèche but not, significantly, some of the specific iconographic elements in this sculpture. Familiar elements shared by the crèche and by painting of the same period may be seen, for example, in a large panel in the Dijon museum and in the Portinari Altarpiece in Florence.³⁰ These include the kneeling Virgin, the trios of angels and shepherds of different ages, as well as references to the house of David, the cave, and the stable. The specific motif of Joseph at the fire with his cloth appears in a small painted polyptych by a follower of Melchior Broederlam, in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp.³¹

A likely source for some of the iconography of the crèche is the Christmas liturgy. The angels wear

15. The Nativity, Mosan, 12th century. Champlévé enamel on copper-gilt, 4¼ x 4⅞ in. (10.8 x 11.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.417



robes with wide collars of the same sort as those worn by deacons.³² At some periods, priests officiated in the Christmas Mass clothed as shepherds.³³ The elevated position of the manger possibly harks back to a liturgical interpretation. Examples of similar arrangements include a twelfth-century Mosan plaque in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 15) and two twelfth- and thirteenth-century windows of Chartres Cathedral.³⁴

Mystery plays, evolving from the performance of the liturgy during the fifteenth century, brought to life scenes from the Christmas story for the popular mind. Some of the iconographic elements of such plays—the wattled manger and walls, Joseph with the Child’s cloth, and the trio of adoring angels—are seen in the Museum’s crèche.³⁵ The angled sides of the sculpture suggest to me the wings of a stage set, opened out for all to see.

The traditional simplicity of the Nativity has been enriched and enlivened here by three sets of adoring

angels and two resting places for the Child. The sculpture is an adroit conflation of the traditional cave, stable, and house of David, and the colorful elements introduced from the mystery plays give it a sense of heightened activity. Despite its small size and the complexity of motifs, the crèche is distinctive and creates a successful illusion of monumentality.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Special thanks go to Jo Ann Dallas Connell for her help in the preparation of this manuscript. Thanks are also due to the staff of the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Department of Medieval Art, in particular Terri Taggart, and to Martin Fleischer for his assistance in obtaining photographs. The staff of the Marquand Art Library and the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University have been a constant source of help. I am indebted, as always, to the late Pierre Quarré of Dijon for many fundamental ideas. Finally, my gratitude goes to Professors Pierre Rat and André Pascal of the University of Dijon for examining a stone sample of the sculpture.

NOTES

1. The crèche was given to the Metropolitan Museum by J. P. Morgan in 1916, along with other objects from the extensive collection of his father, J. Pierpont Morgan, who had acquired the piece as part of the collection of Georges Hoentschel, a well-known French architect. Hoentschel had in turn acquired it from a curator at the Louvre, Émile Molinier, who was well versed in sculpture. A distinction is to be made between a crèche—an independent scene such as the Metropolitan Museum’s—and a Nativity, one of a series of scenes that were common in retables of the period. The term *crèche* originally referred only to a manger. The crèche is known in Italy as a *presepio* and in Germany as a *Krippe*.

2. See André Pératé and Gustave Brière, *Collections Georges Hoentschel* (Paris, 1908) I, p. 8, pl. xvi, and Ramond Louis et al., *La Nativité de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ* (Paris, 1911) p. 39.

3. Rudolf Berliner, “The Origins of the Crèche,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 30 (1946) pp. 249–278, esp. p. 270. Such a crèche, or “Bethlehem,” was set up at Delft near the high altar.

4. Detailed notes on condition and paint, prepared by Elayne Grossbard in 1985, when the piece was cleaned and repaired by the Department of Objects Conservation, are to be found in the Medieval Department files.

5. For the traditional locations of the Nativity, see Paul Guérin et al., *Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints*, 7th ed. (Paris, 1875) XIV, p. 417. For the first tradition, see Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l’iconographie de l’évangile* (Paris, 1916) figs. 36, 37, 41–43, 51, 52, 78, 86, etc. For the tradition of the house of David, see Amos 9:11, Acts 15:16, and Luke 2:4 and 11. For the third tradition, see Luke 2:7.

6. Guérin, *Petits Bollandistes*, XIV, p. 454, cites two resting places for the Child.

7. According to Erwin Panofsky in *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) I, pp. 46, 377–379 n.3, this type of adoring Virgin was first described in the *Meditations of the Life of Christ*, an apocryphal work of the 15th century once attributed to St. Bonaventura. See also Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (Princeton, 1961) p. 34; Gustave Cohen, *Histoire de la mise-en-scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1905) p. 109; and Émile Mâle, “Le Renouveau de l’art par les Mystères,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3d ser., 31 (1904) pp. 220–221.

8. Millard Meiss, *Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London/New York, 1967) p. 171.

9. In 1479 Pope Sixtus IV authorized the feast of Joseph as part of the Church’s calendar. Joseph’s importance was also stressed by Jean Gerson, a leading French theologian of the century. See Francis L. Filas, *Joseph, the Man closest to Jesus* (Boston, 1962) pp. 220–225, 531–532, 537–540; and Mâle, “Le Renouveau,” p. 284.

10. Millet, *Recherches*, figs. 36–39, 41–43, 51; Meiss, *Jean de Berry*, p. 171; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, p. 164–165; Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 32; and Émile Mâle, *L’Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1925) pp. 51, 52.

11. Margaret Freeman, “Shepherds in the Fields,” *MMAB* 11 (1952) pp. 108–115, relates the shepherds to the Nativity. They do not enter Nativity scenes until the 15th century. See Mâle, *L’Art religieux*, p. 53.

12. Undoubtedly the scroll contained in Latin the Christmas hymn "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men" (Luke 2:14).

13. In earlier Nativities the Virgin lies on a couch and the Child lies in the manger on a bed of straw, tightly swaddled. See Millet, *Recherches*, figs. 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 45.

14. Pierre Quarré, *Antoine le Moiturier, le dernier des grands imagiers des ducs de Bourgogne*, exh. cat. (Dijon, 1973) pp. 5–16; Jacques Baudoin, "De Jacques Morel à Michel Colombe" (diss., University of Dijon, 1977) pp. 109–154.

15. See Quarré, *Antoine le Moiturier*, no. 46 pl. xviii, no. 44 pl. xx, no. 59 pl. xxxv; see also Baudoin, "De Jacques Morel," p. 152.

16. Quarré, *Antoine le Moiturier*, p. 10.

17. *Ibid.*, nos. 30–31 pls. viii–ix, no. 43 pl. xix; nos. 25–27 pls. xxv–xxvii.

18. For the Louvre relief, see Marcel Aubert and Michèle Beaulieu, *Musée National du Louvre, Description raisonnée des sculptures du Moyen-Âge, de la Renaissance, et des temps modernes: I. Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1950) no. 339. For the Autun relief, see Pierre Quarré and Georges Vuillemot, *Statuaire autunoise de la fin du Moyen-Âge*, exh. cat. (Autun, 1968) p. 4, no. 30, fig. 8; reprinted in *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne* 51 (1968) pp. 193–212.

19. For the Dijon sculpture, see William H. Forsyth, *The Entombment of Christ. French sculpture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) pp. 70–73, 76, fig. 94; for Lons-le-Saunier, *ibid.*, pp. 75, 179, fig. 99.

20. *Canton de Sombornon, Côte-d'Or: Sculptures, XVe au XVIe siècles*, exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts (Dijon, 1968) no. 10, pl. xiv, pp. 30–31, 43; Pierre Quarré, *Sculpture en Bourgogne à la fin du Moyen-âge* (Paris/Fribourg, 1978) nos. 15–17.

21. Other Late Gothic examples of the scene in sculptures at Bellefond, Chambéry Cathedral, and the church of Mouthier-le-Vieillard at Poligny bear even less relationship to the Metropolitan Museum's crèche. Nevertheless, the geological analysis of a small stone sample from the Museum's crèche by Professors Pierre Rat and André Pascal of the University of Dijon indicates a similarity to the fine-grained limestone with rhomboidal calcite crystals quarried during the fifteenth century at Norges, only seven miles from Dijon. This would seem to support a Dijon origin for the crèche.

22. Edmond Niffle-Anciaux, *Le Repos de Jésus et les berceaux reliquaires* (Namur, 1896); Rudolf Berliner, "Origins of the Crèche," esp. pp. 269–270; Hans Wentzel, "Eine Wiener Christkind Wiege in München und das Jesuskind der Margaretha Ebner," *Pantheon* 18 (1960) p. 281; and *idem*, "Ein Christusbettchen in Glasgow. Addenda aus der Burrell Collection," *Pantheon* 20 (1962) p. 2, fig. 3.

23. Otto von Falke, *Die Sammlung Dr. Albert Figdor, Wien, Erster Teil* (Berlin/Vienna, 1930) IV, p. 161; *Flanders in the 15th Century: Art and Civilization*, exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Art (1960) no. 161; and Wentzel, "Ein Christusbettchen in Glasgow," p. 2.

24. For the cradle in Utrecht in the Archepiscopal Museum, inv. B. 352, see Wentzel, "Eine Wiener Christkind Wiege," pp. 278, 281, fig. 8. For the Antwerp cradle, see Jozef de Coo, *Museum Mayer van der Bergh: Catalogus 2* (Antwerp, 1969) pp. 158–160, no. 2152.

25. See Léopold Delisle, *Les Heures dites de Jean Pucelle; manuscrit de M. le Baron Maurice de Rothschild* (Paris, 1910); Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, pp. 29–32; James J. Rorimer, *The Cloisters* (New York, 1963) pp. 149–150; and *idem*, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France, in The Cloisters* (New York, 1957).

26. See Meiss, *Jean de Berry*, p. 18, fig. 329; and *idem*, *Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, the Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968) p. 80, fig. 324.

27. Meiss, *Jean de Berry*, pp. 334–337, fig. 131; and Mâle, *L'Art religieux*, pp. 51–52.

28. Meiss, *Jean de Berry*, pp. 321–323, fig. 184.

29. *Ibid.*, fig. 619; and *idem*, *The Boucicaut Master*, fig. 270, p. 76.

30. For the Dijon sculpture from Champmol, see Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, pp. 126, 158–160, pls. 88–89; and Mâle, "Le Renouveau," p. 285. For the Portinari Altar, see Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting IV Hugo van der Goes* (Leiden/Brussels, 1969) pp. 15–19, pls. 14–18; and Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, pp. 331–336, pl. 305, fig. 463.

31. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 95–96; II, pl. 56, fig. 111. See also de Coo, *Museum Mayer van den Bergh: Catalogus 1* (Antwerp, 1968) pp. 120–123, pl. 5. The piece (no. 359) is datable shortly before 1400 and attributed to an anonymous Lower Rhenish painter.

32. See Quarré, *Antoine le Moiturier*, nos. 43, 50, pls. xix, xxv.

33. Berliner, "The Origins of the Crèche," p. 263.

34. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (Baltimore, 1959) pp. 12–13, n.23. For the Mosan plaque, see Philippe Verdier, "Émaux Mosans et Rheno-Mosans dans les collections des États Unis," *Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* (1977) pp. 75–77; *MMAB* n.s. 10 (1952) p. 109, ill. For illustrations of the Chartres windows, see Yves Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres, 1926) I, pl. iv, and III, pl. ccxlv.

35. Cohen, *Histoire de la mise-en-scène*, pp. 109–110; Mâle, "Le Renouveau," pp. 296–297; and *idem*, *L'Art religieux*, pp. 51–53.

A Paternoster Pendant in the Robert Lehman Collection

YVONNE HACKENBROCH

*Curator Emeritus, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

AMONG THE LEAST KNOWN yet most remarkable objects in the Robert Lehman Collection is a fifteenth-century pendant that probably hung from a paternoster.¹ Worked in precious materials in a rare combination of techniques, it must be the product of a workshop of great distinction.

The pendant, principally an oval 1½ inches high and 1 inch wide, has a cameo front and an enamel back, the two sides bound in a gold frame, which carries an inscription (Figures 1, 2). The chief ornament is the onyx cameo; from its dark brown ground emerge the deeply carved figures of the Virgin and Christ Child. The erect stance of the Virgin is emphasized by the columnar central folds of her gown; her clasped hands support the Child as she leans gently leftward to counterbalance his weight. The naked infant clutches her veil and turns his head to look across his arm in a graceful, unusually twisted gesture. The crisp verticals and diagonals of drapery that enfold the Virgin's form lend sculptural strength to the carving.

The enamel on the reverse is executed in the *basse-taille* technique, in which the design is worked into a bed of silver (as here) or sometimes gold, and shows through the translucent enamel applied over it. Glowing colors can be obtained in this fashion, reminiscent of manuscript illumination or stained-glass windows. The intensity of color in each area depends on the depth of the silver chasing and also the thickness of the enamel layer. A skilled artisan can produce fine detail and achieve subtle gradations like the fluid gathers of fabric visible in this example.

The subject of the enamel is the Meeting of Joa-

chim and Anna, the future parents of Mary, at the Golden Gate. Depictions of that meeting traditionally allude to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, prefiguring Christ's birth without sin. The Golden Gate was compared to the *Porta Clausa*, symbol of Mary's virginity. Here Anna and Joachim embrace, their faces appearing to touch. Anna's mantle is rich blue, Joachim's brilliant red. Behind them stand the crenellated towers of the gate and a figure (perhaps the woman who doubted that Anna could conceive?) seen from the back, who wears a brown cloak and a red hood. There is green grass and shrubbery, and a deep blue sky.

The gold casing has a loop at the top for suspension, a pendant pearl below, and an inscription, executed in black enamel in Roman capitals, in two registers that circumscribe the ornament on both sides. The inscription reads, on the cameo side: *CONCEPTIO TUA DEI GENITRIX VIRGO GAUDIUM AN[NUN]CIAVIT IN UNIVERSO MUNDO* (Your [Immaculate] Conception, Virgin Mother of God, has announced joy to the entire world); and on the enamel side: *OGLORIOSA DOMI[N]A EXCELSA SUPRA SIDERA QUI TE CREAVIT P[RO]VIDE LACTASTI SACRO[]UBERE* (O glorious lady, raised above the stars, caringly you suckled with your holy breast the one who created you).²

The pendant's form and iconography suggest that it was intended as an attachment to a string of prayer beads—that is, a paternoster or a rosary. By the fifteenth century prayer beads were extremely important devotional aids. In earlier times they had been used mainly in association with the Pater Noster prayer; the addition of Ave Marias to the recitation



1. *Virgin and Child*, 15th century. Pendant, onyx cameo and gold, with translucent enamel and silver on the reverse, H. 2 ¼ in. overall, W. 1 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.1522.

2. *The Meeting at the Golden Gate (Anna and Joachim)*. Enamel side of pendant in Figure 1.

became widespread late in the fifteenth century. The incentive for the change came from the foundation in 1475 of the *Rosenkrantz Bruderschaft* in Cologne, with a membership that included the Hapsburg Emperor Friedrich II, his consort, and his son, the future Maximilian I.³ The growth of these societies was part of the general trend away from religious orders and toward more worldly, frequently civic associations of knights and burghers. The term *paternoster*, however, was used to denote a string of prayer beads in general, and did not imply association with a particular type of devotion.⁴

The demand for prayer beads was great, particularly in the Low Countries. In 1302 a guild of *patrenotiers* (manufacturers of prayer beads) had been founded in Bruges, where up to seventy masters and three hundred apprentices found employment. In 1420 one of the guild's officers besought Philip the Good, third Duke of Burgundy (1396–1467; r. beginning 1419), to intervene when the merchants of Koenigsberg raised the price of amber, needed for

beads, in disregard of previous agreements. Philip immediately acted to defend the guild's rights and to protect that important source of income for his town.⁵

It may not be entirely accidental that when Louis of Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse (1422–92), had his portrait painted to display his recently awarded collar of the Golden Fleece, the paternoster in his hands, perhaps of turned amber, appeared almost more conspicuously than that highest order of Burgundy (Figure 3).⁶ In addition to testifying to his devotion, this feature might have been intended to demonstrate the importance of the paternoster as a favorite religious accessory in Burgundy under Philip the Good and thus to promote its usage. Producing paternosters had become a source of considerable income for his native Bruges. Councillors (of whom Louis was one) of the commercially oriented Burgundian cities, on whose tax contributions the duke depended, missed no opportunity to combine liturgical and commercial needs for general benefit.

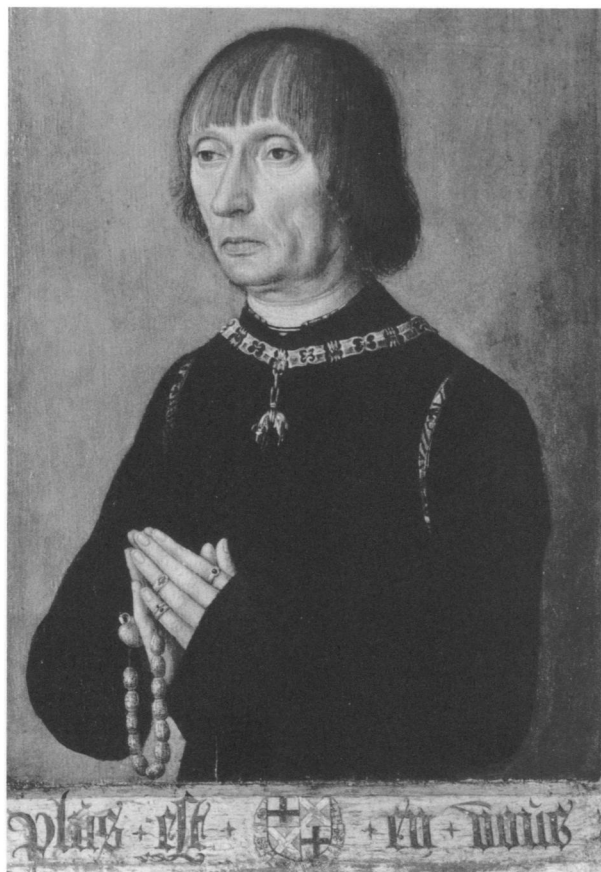
Widely employed by all levels of society, prayer beads were often exchanged at weddings as a symbol of mutual trust and faith; in that capacity they appear in the background of Jan van Eyck's wedding picture of the Arnolfini. French and Burgundian court society of the fifteenth century greatly favored paternosters fashioned of precious materials, such as amber, gold, jet, coral, and crystal. Gentlemen often attached a crucifix or silk tassel to mark the end of their beads, while ladies favored jeweled pendants of great variety. A very early description of such an object is that of a paternoster belonging to a noble Burgundian lady, Yolande de Bar, Dame of Cassel, which is given in a robbery report dated March 7, 1362: "An especially precious paternoster of fifty Oriental pearls, big like peas, with big sapphires as divisions, and a cameo hanging below. . . ."

As might be expected, Philip the Good—a great patron of the arts as well as a powerful prince—owned many paternosters made of precious materials. Thirty-five paternosters were listed among the duke's effects after his death. One of them was made by his personal goldsmith and jeweler, Jean Peutin (or Pentin) of Bruges, who received payment in 1431–32 "pour la façon d'unes patrenostres qu'il a faictes a ymaiges à la devise d'icellui S . . ." (for the making of a paternoster which he adorned with the device of that lord).⁸ Another seems, from its description, rather similar to the Museum's pendant: "Ung camahieu enchassé en or, esmaillié, et de l'autre cousté esmaillés de Notre Dame et son enfant, tenant un molenet en sa main" (A cameo encased in gold, enameled, and on the other side enameled with Our Lady and her child, holding a molinet in his hand).⁹

A paternoster pendant similar to the Lehman example and to the one described in the list of Philip's effects can be seen in the presumed portrait of a member of the Burgundian ducal family (Figures 4, 5). The wearer is believed to be Madeleine, a natural daughter of Philip the Good; she is depicted with her patron saint, Mary Magdalen. This panel once formed the interior left wing of an altarpiece that had as its center the Nativity in Autun.¹⁰ The altarpiece was painted by the Master of Moulins, now identified as Jean Hey. The donor's brooch is in the shape of Philip the Good's device: a steel shaped as a B (for Burgundy, but also for inserting two fingers when being used) striking a flintstone surrounded by

golden flames. A precious sapphire represents the flint. The donor also wears a golden link chain and, suspended from her girdle, a paternoster of pearls, with an oval cameo pendant that has a half-length representation of the Virgin and Christ Child.

Although a very few cameos of fifteenth-century Franco-Burgundian origin have survived,¹¹ none is at all comparable to that of the Lehman pendant. The dearth of fifteenth-century cameos is particularly frustrating because *camahieux* are repeatedly mentioned in French and Burgundian court inventories (where no distinction is made between cameos and intaglios). Although many of these gems must have been of ancient Greek and Roman origin, others were surely contemporary. Workshops in Paris and Burgundy vied to surpass each other in the arts of



3. Master of the Princes' Portraits, *Louis of Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse*, Flemish, last quarter of 15th century. Tempera and oil on wood. Bruges, Groeningemuseum, inv. no. o.1557 (photo: Groeningemuseum)

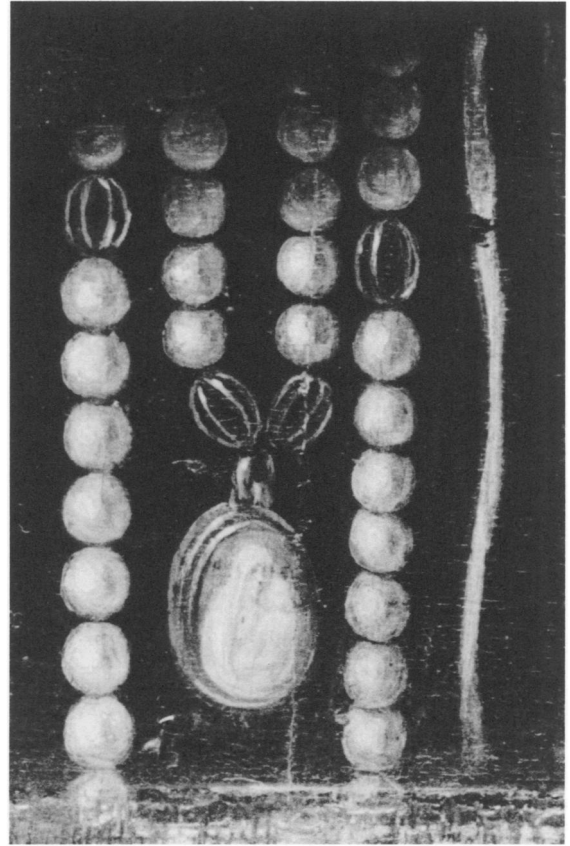


4. Jean Hey, also called the Master of Moulin, Portrait of a woman, thought to be Madeleine of Burgundy, with St. Mary Magdalen; French, ca. 1490. Tempera and oil on wood, 22 × 15¾ in. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 1005A (photo: Musées Nationaux)

gem and crystal cutting, and perhaps traded artists and samples.¹²

Lacking gems that might elucidate the pendant cameo, we must look to monumental sculpture for stylistic comparisons. But the Gothic sculptures found in many French cathedrals—the trumeau Madonnas with their characteristic rhythmic sway, who hold, typically, a fully clothed child facing his mother—do not provide anything that would seem to be a model for the Museum cameo. However, closer parallels appear if we look at fifteenth-century Burgundian sculptures, which continue to exhibit, in their sturdy proportions, powerful gestures, and ample, voluminous drapery folds, their dependence

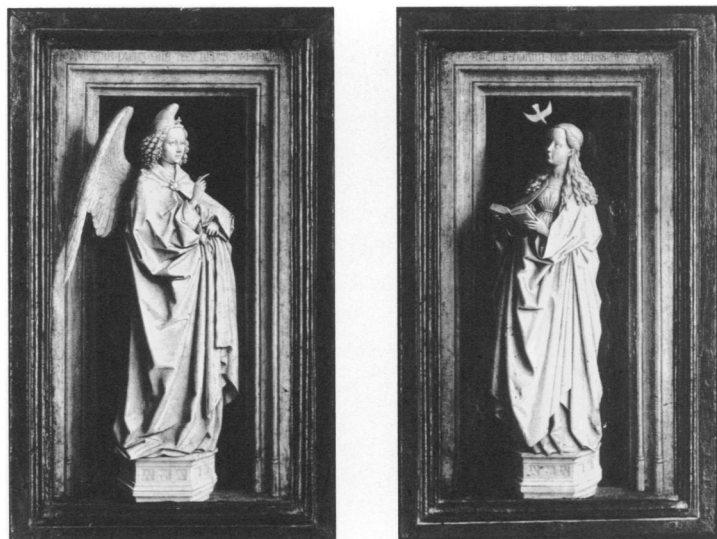
5. Detail of Figure 4 (photo: Musées Nationaux)



on the heritage of Claus Sluter.¹³ The Lehman cameo Madonna bears a family resemblance to these works in proportions and particularly in the heavy, deep-folded drapery.

Presumably, important sculpture was being produced in Flanders, where the Burgundian dukes, all enthusiastic patrons of the arts, held court. However, the wave of iconoclastic destruction that swept the area in the next century, during the Wars of Religion, wiped out virtually all its sculpture. For comparative material from this region we can profitably look to painting, and particularly to the grisaille paintings, simulating sculpture, that adorned the exterior wings of triptychs. Duke Philip the Good's great court painter Jan van Eyck perfected this type of painting. His Archangel Gabriel and Virgin Annunciate on the exterior wings of a triptych in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in Lugano (Figure 6),¹⁴ which exemplify the form, do show a likeness to

6. Jan van Eyck, *Archangel Gabriel and Virgin Annunciate*, Flemish, 1437. Tempera and oil on wood, each panel $10\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ in. Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (photo: Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection)



the Lehman cameo Madonna. The volume of the figures, the crisp drapery with its combination of long straight folds and V folds, even the shapes of the heads are similar. Also apparent is the cameo's resemblance to the early grisaille panels by and after the Ghent-born painter Hugo van der Goes, such as the St. Genevieve at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.¹⁵

Particularly interesting is a fifteenth-century illumination that depicts an actual Flemish sculpture, a cult statue of St. Anne with the Virgin and Child that occupied a shrine in the church of St. Nicolas in Ghent. The *Register of the St. Anne Brotherhood*, ms. 1132 in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle,¹⁶ contains but a single illustration, a depiction of that shrine (Figure 7). Worshipers are shown kneeling before the cult statue, which stands in a high niche. Although the illumination may not fully convey the appearance of its model, the lost sculpture appears to have shared certain features with the Lehman cameo carving. Especially noteworthy are the voluminous drapery and the rhythms of its folds, and the twisted posture of the infant.

Moreover, the Museum's pendant, with its representation of the Meeting at the Golden Gate and its inscription that refers to the conception of the Virgin, may be connected to the cult of St. Anne. In Ghent that cult can be traced back to the eleventh century, when Godefroy de Bouillon returned from Jerusalem with relics of St. Anne. He presented them to Baldwin of Flanders, who established the shrine at the church of St. Nicolas in Ghent. A St. Anne Society was founded soon thereafter—in about 1101—with special appeal for expectant mothers. Periodic revivals of the saint's cult followed, notably in 1384, 1443, and 1476.



7. *The Shrine of St. Anne in the church of St. Nicolas, Ghent*, illumination from *The Register of the St. Anne Brotherhood*, Flemish, 15th century. Windsor, the Royal Library, ms. 1132 (photo: courtesy of the Royal Library, Windsor Castle)

The revival of 1443 was occasioned by the arrival in Ghent of St. Colete of Corbie to reorganize the order of Poor Clares. St. Colete had visions of St. Anne, which her confessor, Pierre de Vaulx, wrote down after her death in 1447. A new St. Anne's Brotherhood then came into being, personally supported by Philip the Good and his family, and the revival culminated in the erection of the shrine of St. Nicolas. That event may conceivably have prompted the commission of a paternoster pendant honoring St. Anne. If the commission was offered to a local workshop patronized by Philip the Good, the presence of a related cameo pendant in a portrait of one of the duke's daughters would also be explained.

Thus, the stylistic characteristics of the cameo carving, the pendant's possible association with the cult of St. Anne, and the work's very high quality all favor the suggestion that this piece of jewelry emerged from a Burgundian court workshop. The *basse-taille* back of the pendant fits equally well into the same ambience. The sturdy proportions of Anna and Joachim and the clarity of their gestures, emphasized moreover by the ample folds of heavy, homespun cloth, recall once again the monumental gravity of Claus Sluter's sculptures and their Burgundian legacy. The rich color, fine detail, and carefully depicted architecture suggest a kinship with the lavish manuscript illuminations executed for the Burgundian dukes.¹⁷ The architecture of the Golden Gate resembles that of a fortified gateway leading to a castle, like those seen repeatedly in the contemporary illuminations of Jean de Pestilien, better known as the Master of Mansel, who illustrated *La Fleur des Histories* (1455–66) for Philip the Good.¹⁸ That architecture is typical of the duke's fortifications as seen on Arras and Tournai tapestries and also on the town plan of the city of Ghent at the Oudheidkundig Museum van de Bijloke there.

We return now to the presumed portrait of Madeleine, natural daughter of Philip the Good, and her pendant with its cameo depicting the Virgin and

Child, which hangs from her paternoster. If she is Madeleine, her personal ornaments were almost certainly part of her Burgundian dowry (Madeleine made a late marriage, in 1486, to Bompon of Laage and Counon). Her father was known to have cared for his numerous children, legitimate and illegitimate alike, and to have provided for them generously with territories or substantial dowries. Although no description of Madeleine's dowry has been found, a description of that of her half sister Mary, who married in 1449/50, reads: "La dite damoiselle sera vestue et habillée bien et honorablement, selon son estat . . . enjouillée en manière que ses joyaulx et vaisselle vaudront jusques à la valeur et estimation de deux mil salus d'or" (The aforementioned young lady will be dressed and well and honorably clothed, befitting her station . . . bejeweled in such a way that her jewels and table service are worth as much as the value of two thousand *salus* of gold).¹⁹

The Lehman pendant, too, may have been a gift from Duke Philip the Good to someone close to him. It is similar to Madeleine's pendant in shape, material, and subject, although it is a full-length depiction of the Virgin, while Madeleine's is half-length. Representations of the Virgin and Child were commonly of a full-length format during the second quarter of the fifteenth century. This is true of works by Jan van Eyck (d. 1441), the dominant artist of the period. Not until mid-century were half-length depictions of the Virgin and Child popularized, principally by Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400–64). We suggest, then, that the pendant worn in the portrait of Madeleine was made sometime between the middle of the century and 1467 (the date of Philip the Good's death), and the cameo of the Lehman pendant somewhat earlier, around 1440–50.²⁰

At the court of Philip the Good, the paternoster was worn both as an outward sign of religious commitment and as an adjunct to fashionable dress. The Lehman pendant, an outstanding example of Burgundian court art, surely served both purposes well.

NOTES

1. The MMA, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, 1975.1.1522. The pendant was formerly in the Carisbrooke Collection, the Isle of Wight. It has been exhibited in Paris, Cincinnati, and Oklahoma City; see Musée de l'Orangerie, *Exposition de la Collection Lehman*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1957) no. 207, p. 133; The Cincinnati Art Museum, *The Lehman Collection*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati, 1959) no. 499, p. 39; Oklahoma Museum of Art, *Songs of Glory: Medieval Art from 900–1500*, exh. cat. (Oklahoma City, 1985) no. 120, pp. 307–308, ill. p. 308. See also William D. Wixom, *Treasures from Medieval France*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, 1967) pp. 322, 385.
- This paper is the outcome of preparations for part of a comprehensive catalogue of the Robert Lehman Collection in the MMA, New York. I would like to thank the Robert Lehman Foundation for having graciously granted permission to publish this separate study.
2. These are suggested translations. The inscription on the enamel side is a stanza from a hymn probably by Venantius Fortunatus, a well-known writer of hymns who was active in the sixth century. The hymn may be read in A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (Cambridge, 1922; reprint, Hildesheim, 1966) Hymn 39, pp. 198–199. The stanza in question (here worded slightly differently) is lines 21–24.
- Each of the pendant's inscriptions seems to accord better with the decoration on the opposite side of the pendant than with its own side. Perhaps the piece was at one time disassembled, then reassembled incorrectly. The overall length of the pendant, including the pearl below and the loop and chain above, is 2¾ in.
3. Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die heilige Anna* (Düsseldorf, 1930); Erzbischöfliches diözesan museum, *500 Jahre Rosenkranz, 1475–1975*, exh. cat. (Cologne, 1975).
4. For a discussion of the rise of rosary prayer, see the following article in this *MMJ*, Guy C. Bauman, "A Rosary Picture with a View of the Park of the Ducal Palace in Brussels, Possibly by Goswijn van der Weyden."
5. See L. Gilliodts-van-Severen, *Cartulaire de l'Ancienne Estaple de Bruges* (Bruges, 1904) I, pp. 530–532. On the importance of the amber trade, see also L. Hommel, *L'Histoire du noble ordre de la Toison d'Or* (Brussels, 1947), and E. Maschke, *Domus Hospitalis Theutonicorum* (Bonn, 1970).
6. Groeningemuseum, Bruges, o.1557. See Groeningemuseum, *La Toison d'Or*, exh. cat. (Bruges, 1962) no. 31, pp. 111–113, ill.
7. Gisliind M. Ritz, *Der Rosenkranz* (Munich, 1962) pp. 30–31.
8. Le Comte de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1849) I, p. 264, no. 923 (1431–32), repeated in Florens Deuchler, *Die Burgunderbeute* (Bern, 1963) p. 170, no. 72.
9. Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne* (1851) II, p. 14, no. 2120, 123.
10. It is now in the Louvre, inv. no. 1005A. See Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting 1400–1500* (London, 1945) p. 238, and J. Dupont, "Jean Prévost, peintre de la cour de Moulins," *Art de France* 3 (1963) pp. 76–89.
11. For an overview of jewelry during this period, see Erich Steingraber, *Antique Jewelry* (New York, 1957) pp. 55–72, and Joan Evans, *A History of Jewellery 1100–1870*, 2d ed. (Boston, 1970) pp. 68–80. See also Deuchler, *Die Burgunderbeute*, pp. 113–136.
12. Italian carved gems were also prized; see Wixom, *Treasures from Medieval France*, pp. 322, 385.
13. For examples in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, see William H. Forsyth, "Three Fifteenth-Century Sculptures from Poligny," *MMJ* 22 (1987) pp. 71–91, figs. 1, 18, 19.
14. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) pl. 124.
15. *Ibid.*, pl. 300; F. Winkler, *Hugo van der Goes* (Berlin, 1964) p. 42, pl. 24.
16. I owe this reference to the generosity and personal interest of Dr. Elisabeth Dhanens; to her my sincerest thanks.
17. For many examples, see Palais des Beaux-Arts, *Le Siècle d'or de la miniature flamande: le mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, exh. cat. (Brussels, 1959); Georges Dogaer and Marguerite Debae, *La Librairie de Philippe le Bon*, exh. cat., Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier (Brussels, 1967); Frédéric Lyna, *Philippe le Bon et ses beaux livres* (Brussels, 1944); Georges Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987).
18. See Palais des Beaux-Arts, *Le Siècle d'or*, nos. 58, 59, pp. 64–66, pls. 56, 57.
19. Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, II, p. 392, no. 92.
20. This is also the date that Hans Wentzel gave the pendant cameo. The entire jewel has been dated to the last decade of the 15th century by George Szabo. See Oklahoma Museum of Art, *Songs of Glory*, pp. 307–308.

A Rosary Picture with a View of the Park of the Ducal Palace in Brussels, Possibly by Goswijn van der Weyden

GUY C. BAUMAN

Assistant Curator, Department of European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN 1984 THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM received, in an anonymous bequest, a group of sixteen panel paintings by an unknown sixteenth-century Flemish artist. Fifteen of the panels depict events in the lives of Christ and the Virgin; the sixteenth, larger than the others, represents the Virgin of the Rosary. She is flanked on the left by St. Dominic, behind whom are a pope, an emperor, and a king, and on the right by a kneeling gentleman, who is attacked by three men in armor. Except for their inclusion in various sale catalogues, the paintings were unpublished.¹

The pictures arrived at the Museum in individual twentieth-century tabernacle frames mounted in no particular order within a large shadowbox frame. Once they were removed from their frames, it was discovered that the combined widths of five of the smaller panels equal almost exactly that of the larger one.² When the fifteen small panels were arranged in narrative order in three registers of five and placed above the larger panel, it was apparent that their original configuration had been discovered (Figure 1). It was also evident from the condition of the panels that all sixteen scenes had been painted initially on a single panel, which only much later was cut into parts.³ A nearly vertical split just to the left of center in the once-single wooden support runs continuously (on a slight diagonal to the left) through the three central small panels and on down through the larger one, along the left side of the arch of roses framing the Virgin.

With the intended arrangement restored, the sense of the work becomes manifest. The small pan-

els represent the fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary. The first register depicts the five Joyful Mysteries: the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity of Christ, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and the Finding of the Child Jesus in the Temple; the second register depicts the five Sorrowful Mysteries: the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Scourging of Christ, the Mocking of Christ (Crowning with Thorns), Christ Carrying the Cross, and the Crucifixion; the third register depicts the five Glorious Mysteries: the Resurrection, the Ascension of Christ, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the Death (rather than the more usual Assumption) of the Virgin,⁴ and the Coronation of the Virgin.

At the center of the larger panel below, the Virgin of the Rosary stands on a tiled dais beneath a red-canopied baldachin. She is crowned as Queen of Heaven. The Christ Child in her arms makes a gesture of benediction with his right hand and in his left holds one end of an oversized chaplet (one-third of a full rosary), which hangs down and arches back up over the Virgin and Child. The chaplet is depicted literally as a garland of roses; in German the word *Rosenkranz* means both a rosary and a wreath of roses. It is made up of fifty white roses in rows of ten, or decades, separated by five larger red roses.⁵

St. Dominic, who traditionally was credited with instituting rosary devotion, kneels in prayer to the left of the Virgin; beside him is his attribute, a dog holding a flaming torch in its muzzle.⁶ Dominic is accompanied by representatives of the Christian estates: a pope, an emperor, and a king. The group of



1. *The Fifteen Mysteries and the Virign of the Rosary*, Flemish. Tempera and oil on wood, overall $24\frac{7}{8} \times 21$ in. (63.2×53.3 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Anonymous Bequest, 1984, 1987.290.3a-p



2. Francisco Doménech (b. ca. 1460, d. after 1494), *The Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin of the Rosary*, Spanish, 1488. Engraving, 16 × 12 in. (40.6 × 30.5 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957, 57.526

figures at the right—three armored assailants and a kneeling gentleman, from whose mouth issues a stem of three roses—illustrates an early miracle associated with the origin of the rosary.

The rosary has a long and complicated history.⁷ The use of strung beads to count recitations of prayer is nearly as ancient as religion itself and is hardly peculiar to Christianity. In English, the very word *bead* (or *bede*) initially meant “prayer,” and only later came to denote the object that was used in conjunction with devotions. Already in the fourth century the hermit Paul of Thebes was using small stones to keep track of his daily recitation of three hundred Pater Nosters. A type of prayer to the Virgin Mary consisting of the recitation of 150 Angelic Salutations (Ave Marias) in three groups of fifty was common by the twelfth century. The number 150 derived from the number of Psalms of David, so the rosary also came to be known as Our Lady’s Psalter. The introduction in about 1360–65 of the practice of reciting a Pater Noster between each two decades of Ave Marias is generally credited to Hendrik Egheer van Kalkar (1328?–1408), a Carthusian who in 1373 founded a cloister in Roermond, in the southern Netherlands. In about 1410, in Trier, Dominikus of Prussia (died 1461), another Carthusian, appears to have been the first to propose the contemplation of fifty different events (Mysteries) from the lives of Christ and the Virgin, one for each Ave Maria in a chaplet.

However, it was a Dominican, Alanus de Rupe (1428–75), who was most fully responsible for the subsequent widespread popularity of the rosary as an expression of individual piety. In 1470 he established in Douai the first confraternity of the rosary, and in 1475 his disciple, Jacob Sprenger, founded the second in Cologne. To become a member of the confraternity, all that was required was to inscribe one’s name in a book and to practice the private devotion. The cult grew quickly, and in 1478 Sixtus IV became the first pope to grant indulgences to members of the Cologne confraternity for reciting the rosary. Confraternities soon sprang up in cities throughout Europe—in Lisbon in 1478, Venice in 1480, Florence in 1481.

Evidently it was Alanus de Rupe who originated the notion that the founder of his order, St. Dominic (1170–1221), had instituted the rosary. (It has been suggested that the rivalry between the Carthusians

and the Dominicans led de Rupe, in his zeal, honestly to confuse the name of the founder of his order with that of Dominikus of Prussia.) De Rupe’s influence was so pervasive, and the Dominicans subsequently identified themselves so closely with the rosary, that the myth has adherents to this day.

De Rupe advanced various methods of rosary recitation. (It should be stressed that until well into the sixteenth century an abundance of differing methods flourished; only in the seventeenth century did the practice become more or less standardized.) In the earliest printed manual of the confraternity of the rosary, the *Quodlibet de veritate fraternitatis Rosarii* . . . (Cologne, 1476), no contemplation of the Mysteries is mentioned. Instead, the devotee is advised to call to mind the five wounds of Christ (the nail holes in his hands and feet and the lance wound in his side), one for each of the five decades in a chaplet. However, in a later rosary handbook, the *Unser lieben Frauen Psalter* (Ulm, 1483), which was composed under de Rupe’s influence, this manner of prayer is referred to as the “second” method. The primary method put forward therein recommends that the first chaplet of the rosary be said in honor of the Incarnation, the second in honor of the Passion, and the third in honor of Christ’s Resurrection, Ascension, and Glory. Three woodcut illustrations, each showing five Mysteries, are accompanied by instructions directing the devotee to say one Pater Noster and ten Ave Marias for each Mystery.⁸

The *Unser lieben Frauen Psalter* of 1483 contains the earliest known formulation of the fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary. The original copper plate for a little-known engraving, made just five years later, is an important document in the history of the dissemination of the concept of the fifteen Mysteries. Curiously, all extant impressions of the plate, which is preserved in the Chalcographie Royale de Belgique in Brussels, are modern; one is in the Department of Prints of Photographs at the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 2). It is signed and dated at bottom center: fr[at(er) (or fray)] francisco domenech (A[nno] d[ivine] g[rati]ae)) + 1 + 4 + 8 + 8 + (Brother Francisco Doménech, in the year of divine grace 1488).⁹

Doménech, who was probably born about 1460, was a Dominican monk first documented in 1487—one year before the plate was engraved—when he was assigned by the Dominicans of Játiva to the Estudio General dominicano de Santa Catalina virgen y

màrtir in Barcelona as a student of theology.¹⁰ He appears to have completed his course of study in 1489, and it seems from documents of 1491, 1493, and 1494 that he subsequently was attached to the cloister of Valencia. As he is not mentioned in documents after 1494, he may have died at an early age.

Doménech's engraving is remarkably similar in design to the Museum's painting and may have served as a model for the later artist. It is the only prototype known to this author for the format and iconography of the Metropolitan's paintings. The engraving contains the fifteen Mysteries arranged in exactly the same way—in three registers of five—above a larger horizontal compartment. Each row of five is labeled, on the central scene, in Catalan: *de goig* (of joy) for the first; *de dolor* (of sorrow) for the second; and *de gloria* (of glory) for the third. The Death and Assumption of the Virgin, with the Death the more salient, is represented as the fourteenth Mystery, establishing a close precedent for the depiction of the Death of the Virgin without the Assumption, as occurs in the Museum's painting. The central part of the engraving's large lower compartment prefigures the large panel in the Museum's series as well. The Virgin of the Rosary, holding the Christ Child, appears in the center, set off within a mandorla to indicate her miraculous apparition. The mandorla is composed of fifty small and five slightly larger roses intertwined by a sinuous vine. This literal representation of a rosary is echoed within by a second, beaded rosary, one end of which is held by the Christ Child; it falls down, then arches back up and over the Virgin, as in the Museum's painting. The end of the rosary held by the child terminates in a single rose, and the Virgin holds a stem of three roses.

Portrayed to the left of the Virgin is not St. Dominic, as in the panel painting, but St. Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419), who was canonized just thirty-three years before the print was made. He is depicted on his knees, his cardinal's hat before him. He points with one hand to the Virgin and Child; in the other he holds a phylactery, its inscription the Latin phrase with which he habitually began his sermons: *Time deum et date illi [honorem]* (Fear God and honor Him). Perhaps Vincent is featured in the print rather than Dominic because the engraving was made at the Dominican university in Barcelona, where Vincent, who had been active there, was a particularly important figure. Standing behind Vincent, as behind Dominic

in the Museum's painting, are a pope, an emperor, and a king. The pope is identified in the print by an inscription in the band which runs across the top of the lowermost scene: *innocentius papa octavus* (Pope Innocent VIII). Innocent VIII was elevated to the Holy See in 1484. In a bull dating from that first year of his papacy he added new indulgences for saying the rosary to those already granted by his immediate predecessor, Sixtus IV. A phylactery engraved beside the figure of the pope is inscribed *indulgentia* (indulgence).

To the right of the Virgin the print illustrates a version of the same early miracle of the rosary found in the Museum's painting. The inscription in the band overhead identifies it as the *miraculum militum [sic]* (Miracle of the Knights). A gentleman (a knight or nobleman), having removed his sandals, hat, and sword, which lie on the floor along with his prayer book, kneels with a rosary in his hands. A stem of three roses emerges from his mouth and a garland of roses rests on his head. Standing behind him are four assailants, one of whom is poised to strike with a dagger, in a composition similar to that in the Museum's painting.

Unlike the painting, the engraving contains elements that amplify the legend of the "Miracle of the Knights" and that underscore the Dominicans' involvement in rosary devotion. The upper register of the engraving's large lower compartment includes, on the right, two angels who point to the knight and hold a rose garland with which to crown him. At the left are Catherine of Alexandria (putatively a fourth-century saint) and Eulalia of Mérida (died ca. 304), then believed to be of Barcelona; between them are a plate of roses and a phylactery inscribed *coronemus nos rosis* (let us crown ourselves [or him?] with roses). The inclusion of Catherine and Eulalia is natural, since the first was the patron of the Dominican university in Barcelona to which Doménech was assigned and the second was the patron of Barcelona itself. But in addition, specific legends link them to the theme of the rosary. The sermons of Vincent Ferrer include an account of a knight who had been taken prisoner. He began to recite the rosary, and Sts. Catherine and Agnes, together with the Virgin, appeared before him. Catherine held a plate of roses, Agnes a needle and thread. The knight's Ave Marias changed wondrously into roses, which were strung together to form a garland with which he was



3. *The Miracle of the Gentleman of Cologne*, Spanish (Aragonese), upper left panel of a retable dated 1483. Tempera on wood, 52 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 32 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (133.7 × 81.9 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Herbert Shipman in memory of her father and mother, Edson and Julia Wentworth Bradley, 1938, 38.141e

crowned. This so astounded the knight's captors that they released him and became converts to Christianity.¹¹ Another legend of the rosary tells of the Virgin's appearance before Eulalia to suggest that the saint might better say fifty Ave Marias slowly and reverently than thoughtlessly rush through an entire 150.¹²

The lower compartment of the engraving is bracketed by Dominican saints, two at each side. All four

are identified by inscriptions in the bands overhead, and each holds a rosary and is flanked by a phylactery containing an epithet of the Virgin of the Rosary. At the upper left is the founder of the order, Dominic, with the salutation *ave rosa speciosa* (hail, lovely rose); at the upper right Peter Martyr (1205–52) with the salutation *ave juvar mundi rosa* (hail, rose, radiance of the world). At the lower left is Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–74) with the salutation *ave rosa spina carens* (hail, rose without thorn); at the lower right Catherine of Siena (1347–80) with the salutation *ave rosa coelorum* (hail, rose of the heavens).

The *miraculum militum*, the miracle of a gentleman or knight whose utterances of Angelic Salutations become wondrously transformed into flowers, is a legend that can be traced back at least to the thirteenth century, when versions of the story appeared both in Germany and in the Iberian peninsula.¹³ By about 1500 the story had circulated so widely and for so long that it existed in many differing forms. In one version, particularly popular in Spain, the knight is said to be of Cologne; hence in art-historical literature the legend is sometimes referred to as the miracle of a gentleman of Cologne. As we shall see, this can be a misnomer.

The miracle of the gentleman of Cologne is illustrated in a painting at The Cloisters (Figure 3), the upper left panel of a retable dated 1483, by an unknown Aragonese painter.¹⁴ This variant of the legend tells of a gentleman in Cologne who killed a comrade in a quarrel. When the dead man's brother sought to avenge the murder the gentleman took refuge in a church, and there began fervently to recite the rosary on his knees before an image of the Virgin. The vengeful brother and his family burst in, intending to kill the gentleman, but they were constrained by their astonishment at the miraculous appearance of the Virgin, whom they saw take roses from the mouth of her devotee and bind them into a wreath which she placed on his head.¹⁵

The Museum's rosary painting appears to illustrate a different version of the story, one more prevalent in the Lowlands and Germany. The tale is recounted in two little rosary pamphlets, printed in Strasbourg about 1480, which are preserved in the British Library in London.¹⁶ They each contain, in slightly differing forms of a Rhenish dialect of medieval German, the same two stories, each story being accompanied by a woodblock illustration. The first

story and woodcut (Figure 4) concern the miracle under discussion. This narrative is a nearly contemporary textual source for the image in the Museum's painting, and as previously it has never been more than paraphrased, the relevant passage deserves full quotation here. The text begins:

This is Our Lady's rosary and how it first came about. A while ago there was a man whose custom it was to make each day for Our Dear Lady a wreath of roses or flowers or whatever else he might then have had at hand. This man entered a religious order. He was a lay brother in the order and he had so much to do there that he was not able to make each day for Our Dear Lady her wreath, as was his custom. He was so troubled by this that he wanted to leave the order. There was there an old father who asked him what was the matter. The lay brother bemoaned his troubles to him. The old father then said, "Do not trouble yourself. I will teach you how to make each day for Our Dear Lady a wreath of roses that will be dearer to her than if you were to gather all the flowers on earth." And he taught him to say fifty Ave Marias in place of a wreath of roses. The lay brother was then glad, and prayed thus the rosary each day.

One day he rode out on behalf of the monastery and came into a forest and thought of his rosary, which he had not yet said. He dismounted and said the rosary to Our Dear Lady on his knees. Cutthroats were there who wanted to kill him. But they saw how a beautiful maiden holding a circlet with which one makes a little wreath stood before him, and no sooner had he said an Ave Maria than she took from his mouth a rose and bound it to the circlet until the wreath was full. She then took the wreath and set it on her head. And then she vanished, so that the cutthroats could no longer see her, and the lay brother, he had not seen her at all. The cutthroats went to him and asked who the beautiful maiden was who stood before him. The brother answered them saying there was no maiden with him. They insisted there was one with him and asked what he had been doing. Then they perceived for the first time that it was the dear Mother of God who had been with him and who had fetched her wreath from him and they did not kill him. [Author's translation]¹⁷

In this account, it should be noted, there is no mention of Cologne. Indeed, this version of the miracle seems to be the one most fully in agreement with the image in the panel painting (Figure 6). In the painting, as in the story, the action is set out of doors (not within a church, as in the Aragonese painting); the kneeling gentleman is not crowned with a rose garland (as in Doménech's engraving); and the armored assailants appear to be brigands rather than



Is ist vnser liebē fra-
wen rosenkrantz vnd
wie er von ersten ist
vffkummē. Die vor
einer tzt Ein mā hat
die gewonheit Das
er alle tag vnser liebē

4. *Vnser liebē frowen rosenkrantz*, fol. lv (Strasbourg: H. Knoblochzer), 1480? London, The British Library, IA.2506 (photo: British Library)

knights. Helmut Nickel has kindly informed the author that their armor is fantastic and deliberately archaizing in design. It serves to evoke the storybook quality of the subject, as if to say "in days of yore . . ." The clothing of the kneeling devotee, on the other hand, is contemporary and secular. He wears an ermine-lined mantle, with slits for the arms and an open cowl, over a black bodice with a red border and sleeves, and a linen shirt. It is the costume of a gentleman or nobleman and conceivably accords with the legend, since in this telling the protagonist is a lay brother. Nonetheless, because the clothing is



5. St. Dominic with a pope and an emperor (detail of Figure 1)

modern and because the depiction of the gentleman conforms to the conventions of donor portraiture of the period, it is tempting to speculate that this figure incorporates a portrait of the man for whom the picture was painted.¹⁸

The viewer is also likely to ponder the identities of the pope, emperor, and king represented in the painting. On the evidence of Doménech's engraving it could be argued that this pope is meant to be Innocent VIII. Yet it might equally well be supposed that Sixtus IV, the first to grant indulgences for rosary devotion, was intended, or for that matter Innocent III, who was pope during St. Dominic's lifetime. If the pope, emperor, and king are meant to represent contemporary individuals, then Leo X, Maximilian I, and the youthful Charles V would be likely candidates. However, as the artist made little attempt (or was not able) to portray anything beyond generic

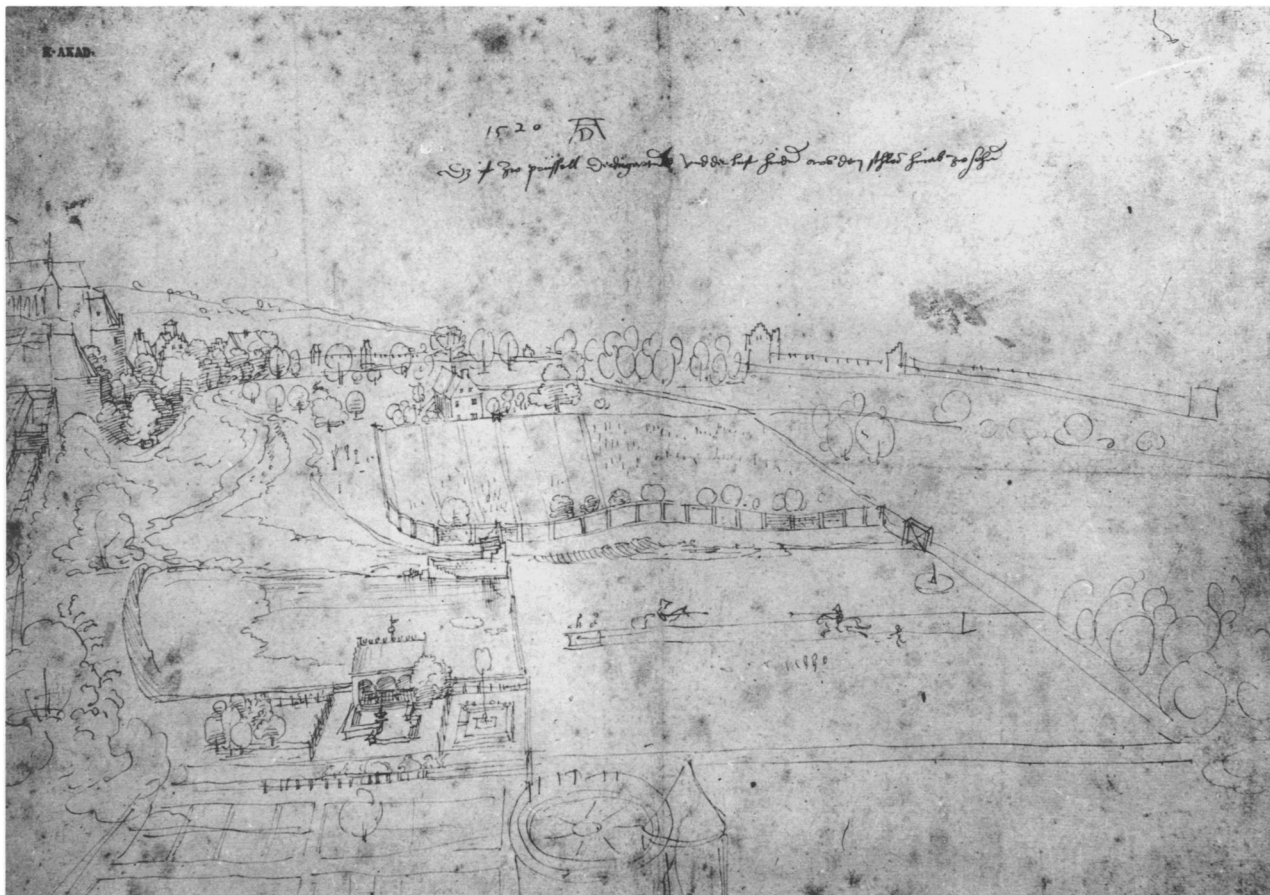


6. The "Miracle of the Knight" (detail of Figure 1)

types, the most prudent conclusion is that these figures are no more than universal representatives of the Christian estates.

Although it is not possible to identify the figures in the foreground of the larger panel, one can identify with remarkable precision the terrain depicted in the background, beyond the parapet. Nearly cartographic and with surprisingly accurate topography for the art of its day, the landscape portrays the park (the *Warande*, or pleasure grounds) of the palace of the dukes of Brabant in Brussels. Commonly known as the Coudenberg, the palace was a residence of the dukes of Burgundy and later of their successors, the Hapsburg regents.

The church at the upper left corner of the painting, clearly recognizable as the cathedral of St. Gudule in Brussels, is reason to suspect that the land-



7. Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), *View of the Park of the Ducal Palace in Brussels*, 1520. Brown ink drawing, 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (28.8 × 40.9 cm.). Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 2475 (photo: Akademie der bildenden Künste)

scape depicts the ducal park as it appeared in the early sixteenth century. But the landscape's identification is conclusively established by the eyewitness record of no less authoritative an observer than Albrecht Dürer. From August 28 to September 1, 1520, during his travels through the Lowlands, Dürer visited Brussels, where he was shown the Coudenberg and its pleasure grounds. He wrote in his journal: "Out behind the royal palace in Brussels I have seen the fountains, labyrinth, and game park. I have never seen more amusing things, things more pleasing to me—like a paradise."¹⁹ Dürer also drew, on the spot, a rapid quill-pen-and-ink sketch which records his view of the pleasure grounds from one of the upper windows at the back of the palace (Figure 7). It is

signed with his monogram, dated 1520, and inscribed in his hand: "Dz ist zw prüssel der dirgartn und die lust hindn aws dem schlos hinab zw sehn" (This is the game park and pleasure grounds in Brussels looking out from the back of the palace).

The landscape background in the Museum's painting (Figures 5, 6) agrees in every detail with the view in Dürer's drawing, the topography of which has been thoroughly studied by Fedja Anzelewsky.²⁰ Each element in the landscape can be identified precisely. In the painting, the low wall behind the figures obscures the view shown in the foreground of the drawing, which includes the park's flower garden and pavilion at the left and its tournament field at the right. Clearly visible in both works, however, are the old twelfth-century town wall and the back of the cathedral of St. Gudule, at the left, and the body of water called the Clutinck. The Clutinck terminates on the right at a wall, which separates it from the tournament field and which meets at right angles a

second wall parallel to the picture plane. In the corner juncture is a stone gate giving access to paths on the far side of the Clutinck that curve up the steep hillside and into the game park. In both the drawing and the painting, trees on the slope are shown to have been felled; in the painting deer graze at the foot of the hillside. The embankment behind the wall, traversed by rows of steep steps, is the vineyard planted by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy with seedlings imported from his homeland. In the painting a small wooden door that provides access to it is shown in the lower wall, next to the stone gate. At the top of the steps just behind the door, the gable-roofed gardener's house nestles in trees. In the distance on the right—better seen in Dürer's sketch, which was drawn from a higher vantage point, but also clearly evident in the painting, between the heads of the first and second assailants—is the *Porte de Louvain*, one of the gates in the town's newer fourteenth-century fortifications. Farther to the right in both views (over the head of the third assailant in the painting) is one of the wall's gabled turrets.

The vantage points in the two works are distinctly different. Dürer's position was not only higher than that of the panel painter, but also farther to the left; the difference is seen most clearly in the depictions of the stone gate, which is observed from the rear in the drawing but from the front in the painting. The discrepancy between the viewpoints demonstrates that the painting was made independently of the drawing and bespeaks first-hand observation of the site on the part of both artists. There are also clear indications that the drawing and the painting are very near in date, such as the appearance of felled trees in both works.

Later pictorial records of the ducal palace and its grounds, including a drawing by Bernaert van Orley made not long after 1538 (Figure 8), make it possible to locate the very positions from which the drawing and painting were executed. Van Orley's drawing, which is inscribed "*La court de bruxelles quand on voit par derriere dedans La parck*" (the court of Brussels as one sees it from the rear within the park), looks west toward the heart of the town—the spire of the town hall appears in the center—whereas Dürer's drawing and the Museum's painting look to the north. Just one of the towers of St. Gudule is glimpsed at the far right edge of van Orley's drawing. The twelfth-century town wall runs across the

middle of the drawing; Philip the Good's vineyard and the stone gate in front of the Clutinck are just to the left of the two mounted noblemen in the lower right corner.

The imposing edifice at the left of van Orley's drawing is the palace of the dukes of Brabant. At its far right corner stands the chapel added by Charles V, appearing as it did during the years 1538–48, between its initial and secondary phases of construction. At the base of the Coudenberg, parallel to the tournament field, is a flat building, the enclosed tennis court (*jeu de paume*). Above it is a terrace, and just behind that the back entrance to the palace from which a ramp curves down to the tournament field. It must have been from the center of this terrace that the painter of the Museum's panel observed the view toward the vineyard.

Van Orley's drawing shows a small turret at the far end of the tennis court. One sees, from the center foreground of Dürer's drawing, that he looked down onto this same turret. A crenelated roundtower also appears in Dürer's drawing and, partially, in van Orley's (to the immediate right of the turret). As Anzelewsky has observed, Dürer's vantage must hence have been from one of the farthestmost windows in an upper story of the wing of the palace adjacent to the chapel.

Its depiction of the park of the ducal palace from so privileged a vantage point as the palace terrace suggests that the Museum's painting was commissioned by someone in Brussels closely connected to the Hapsburg court. (The inventories of Margaret of Austria seem to rule out the possibility that Margaret, who served as governess from 1507 to 1515 and from 1518 until her death in 1530, was the patron. No work described therein agrees with the Museum's paintings.)²¹ Moreover, it is obvious that whoever commissioned the picture was closely involved with the Dominicans and the cult of the rosary.

According to Alexandre Henne and Alphonse Wauters, the first confraternity of the rosary in Brussels was established only during the first half of the seventeenth century, by the Dominican Ambroise Druwe.²² There had, nonetheless, been a Dominican convent in the town since the middle of the fifteenth century. A papal bull dated November 5, 1457, empowered Isabella of Portugal, third wife of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, to found it; the Do-

minicans, however, did not take up residence until March 5, 1464. In an act of August 8, 1468, Duke Charles the Bold, Philip's son, took the Dominicans under his personal protection. The Dominican church and convent, which were demolished in 1797, once stood not far to the northwest of the Coudenberg (facing on the rue l'Écuyer, opposite the petite rue des Dominicains, and near the present place de la Monnaie). The lords of Ravensteyn, members of one of the greatest patrician families of Brussels (indeed, of the Burgundian Lowlands), ceded to the Dominicans the part of their *hôtel* that was contiguous with the convent. Adolf of Cleves, lord of Ravensteyn (1425–1492), grandson of Duke John the

Fearless and nephew of Philip the Good, and whose second wife was Philip's natural daughter, paid for stained-glass windows in the Dominican church. In 1524 his son Philip (ca. 1459–1527) erected a chapel in the church to serve as a mausoleum for himself and his wife. Further research may establish what today is no more than pure conjecture, based on circumstantial evidence: that the Museum's paintings were commissioned by Philip of Cleves, lord of Ravensteyn.²³

The authorship and date of the Museum's paintings remain to be determined. In 1878, when the paintings were first recorded in the sale of the collection of Zacharie Astruc (the well-known author and critic who first championed Manet), they were attributed to Hans Memling (active by 1465; died 1494) and entitled rather fancifully, "The Triumph of the Red Rose" (an allegory of the War of the Roses).²⁴ The title is repeated in the Haro sale of 1892, when they were catalogued as School of Memling. In the twen-

8. Bernaert van Orley (ca. 1492–1541/2), *The Month of March: Departure for the Hunt*, preparatory study for the cartoon of one of twelve tapestries in the series *The Hunts of Maximilian*. Pen and wash drawing, 15³/₈ × 21¹/₂ in. (39 × 54.5 cm.). Leiden, Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Rijksuniversiteit, Prentenkabinet (photo: RKD, The Hague)





9. Workshop of Goswijn van der Weyden, *Virgin of the Rosary*. Tempera and oil on wood, 73 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 62 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (187 × 158 cm.). Whereabouts unknown

tieth century these patently untenable attributions were abandoned. By 1938, in the Macy sale (and again in 1943, in the Schnittjer sale), they were recognized to be of the sixteenth century and were assigned to an unknown painter in Antwerp.²⁵

W. R. Valentiner, in a certificate of February 26, 1943, attributed the paintings to a Brussels painter of about 1520 in the circle of Bernaert van Orley; and Julius Held, in an expertise of March 23, 1943, considered them to be in the manner of Goswijn van der Weyden of about 1515–20.²⁶ Held drew attention to a *Virgin of the Rosary* attributed by Georges Hulin de Loo to Goswijn's workshop.²⁷ Unfortunately, it has

10. Goswijn van der Weyden (b. ca. 1465, d. after 1538), *Triptych of Antonius Tsgrooten*, Flemish, 1507. Tempera and oil on wood, overall, with engaged frames, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 26 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (41.8 × 66.4 cm.). Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 5091 (photo: A.C.L.-Brussels)



11. *The Resurrection* (detail of Figure 1)

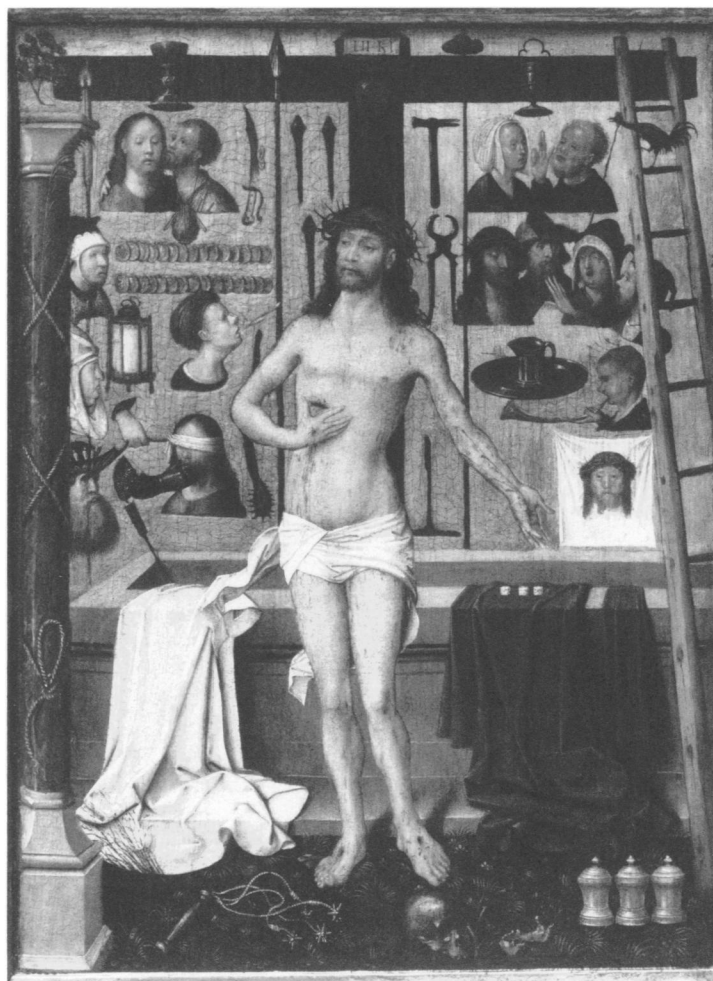
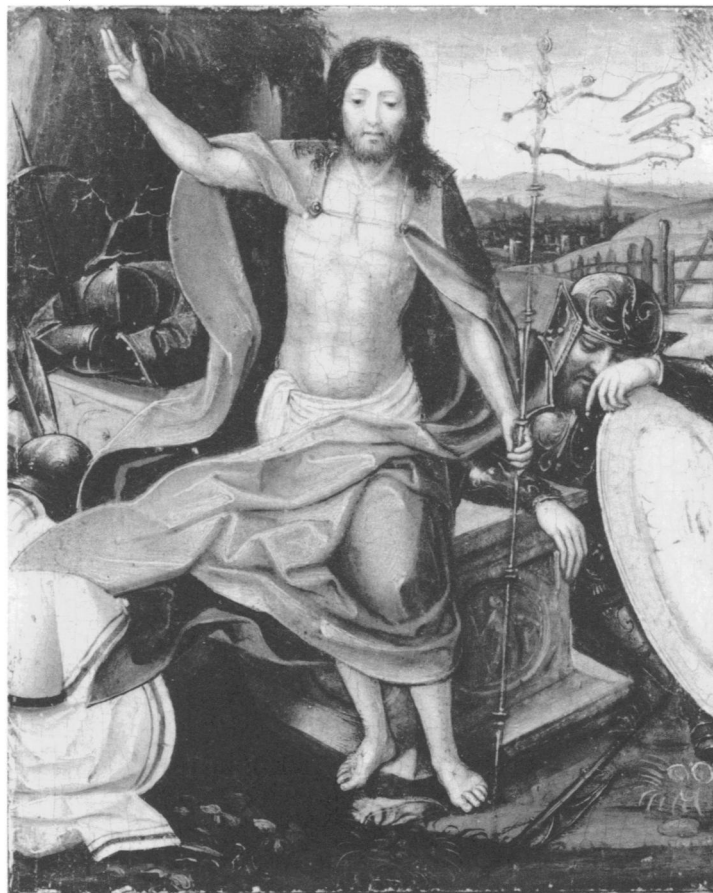
not been possible to trace the whereabouts of this picture, which was in a private collection in Germany in 1913. From the murky reproduction in Hulin de Loo's article (Figure 9) it appears closely related to the Museum's larger panel, especially in the treatment of the figures of the Virgin and Child. The similarity suggests that Goswijn van der Weyden may have painted the Museum's pictures, a possibility to which the circumstances of his biography lend support.

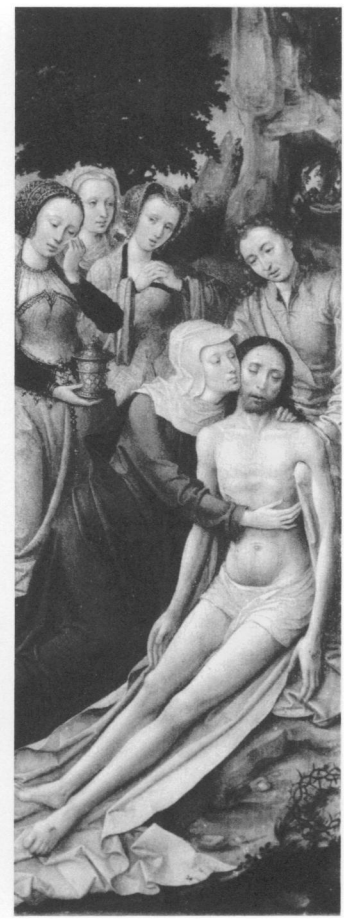
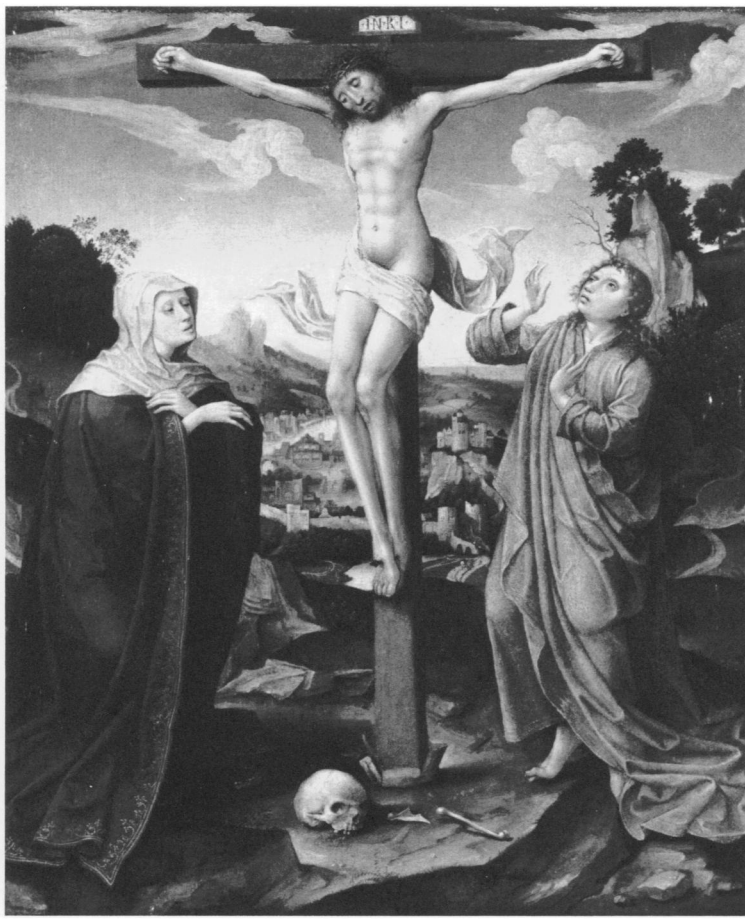
Goswijn (also spelled Goswin or Goossen) was the grandson of the renowned fifteenth-century artist Rogier van der Weyden, the official painter of the city of Brussels. He was born in about 1465 in Brussels, where he was presumably trained in the workshop of his father, Pieter, also a painter. By 1492 Goswijn was working in Lier (about twenty-two miles northeast of Brussels), and in 1498–99 he became a citizen of Antwerp, where he established his workshop; nevertheless, he may well have maintained contact with patrons in Brussels. Between 1499 and 1536 he was closely associated with the abbey of Tongerlo, east of Lier, for which he produced numerous works.

A touchstone for attributing works to Goswijn is provided by a documented triptych that he painted in 1507 for the abbot of Tongerlo, Antonius Tsgrooten (Figure 10).²⁸ Stylistic analogies between the triptych and the Museum's paintings are evident. The millefleurs-carpet treatment of the ground beneath Christ's feet in the triptych is virtually identical to that in the Museum's larger panel. Similar in scale, both works display a retardataire style characteristic of the artist—although the advanced *contrapposto* and articulated musculature of the figure of Christ in the Museum's *Resurrection* (Figure 11), compared to that of the figure of Christ in the Tsgrooten triptych (Figure 12), would seem to indicate that the Museum's painting represents a much later phase of the artist's development.

A *Crucifixion* triptych in the Museum of Fine Arts in Springfield, Massachusetts (Figure 13), which is securely attributed to Goswijn van der Weyden and datable shortly after 1517, offers an analogy that ap-

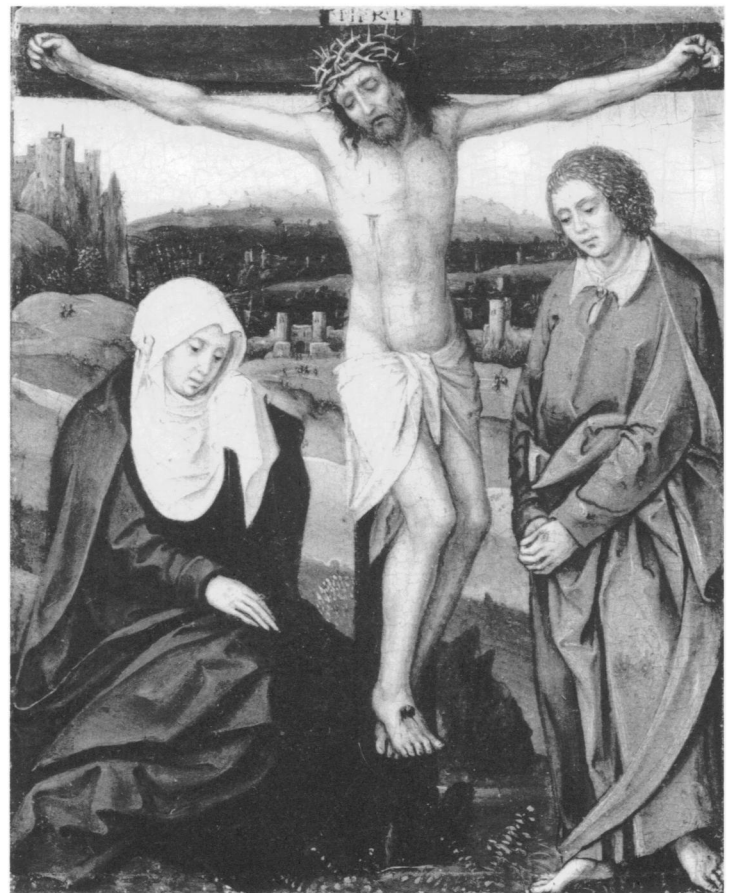
12. *Christ Showing His Wounds, with the Instruments of His Passion* (detail of Figure 10). 13¼ × 9⅞ in. (33.7 × 25.2 cm.)





13. Goswijn van der Weyden, *Crucifixion Triptych, with Christ Carrying the Cross and the Lamentation*. Tempera and oil on wood, center panel 19 × 16 in. (48.3 × 40.6 cm.), wings each 20 × 7 in. (50.8 × 17.8 cm.). Springfield, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts, James Philip Gray Collections, 58.10 (photo: Paramount Commercial Studios, Springfield)

14. *The Crucifixion* (detail of Figure 1)



appears to be closer in date to the Museum's paintings.²⁹ The center panel of the triptych is best compared with the Museum's *Crucifixion* (Figure 14). The similarity between the two figures of Christ, particularly in the curl of the hands and extension of the arms across the beam, suggests a common authorship. The mourning Virgin in New York has less individuality than the one in Springfield, but is more closely related to the figure of Mary Magdalen at the left of the triptych's right wing, which depicts the Lamentation.

Like the triptych in Springfield, several of the Museum's panels display a predilection for drapery that falls in long, scythelike folds and for fingers that are exceedingly long and spindly. The paintings also

15. *The Annunciation* (detail of Figure 1)

share similarly restricted palettes in which raspberry-red and a deep greenish-blue predominate, with yellow and purplish-blue accents elsewhere. A tendency to model flesh tones with chalky-white highlights, although more pronounced in Springfield, is seen in New York as well; discrepancies may in part be owing to the differences in scale: the triptych figures are four times the size of those of the Museum panels. For this author, the overall kinship between the paintings at the Museum and the triptychs in Antwerp and in Springfield is sufficiently strong to propose the attribution of the Metropolitan's new acquisition to Goswijn van der Weyden.

There are reasons other than stylistic ones for assigning the paintings at the Museum a date in the second decade of the sixteenth century. They must have been painted sometime after 1511 at the earliest, since one of the panels, the *Annunciation* (Figure 15), derives from Dürer's woodcut of the same subject from the *Small Passion* (Figure 16), which was published that year.³⁰ Because of the close resemblance of the landscape in the larger panel to the dated drawing by Dürer, a date nearer 1520 is likely. The date preferred here is that first advanced by Held: about 1515–20. If it is correct, the Museum's painted depiction of the park of the Coudenberg precedes Dürer's drawing, hitherto believed to have been the earliest accurate visual record of that site.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author thanks the following individuals: Anne M. P. Norton of the European Paintings Department, for assisting with the translation of Spanish and Catalan sources; Christopher Baswell of Barnard College, for help with Latin inscriptions; Maryan Ainsworth of the Paintings Conservation Department and Arnout Balis of the Rubenianum in Antwerp, for suggesting that the landscape in the Museum's painting might depict the park of the Coudenberg; and Katria Czerwoniak of the Museum's Watson Library, for securing a number of articles through interlibrary loan.

16. Albrecht Dürer, *The Annunciation*, 1511. Woodcut, 5 × 3⁷/₈ in. (12.8 × 9.8 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1919, 19.73.173



NOTES

1. Acc. no. 1987.290.3a-p. The history of the paintings' ownership is as follows (bracketed names are those of dealers): Zacharie Astruc, Paris, until 1878; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, Apr. 11-12, 1878, no. 1, as Hans Memling; [Mssrs. Henri Haro, Sr. and Jr., Paris, until 1892; sale, Galerie Sedelmeyer, Paris, May 30-31, 1892, no. 30, as School of Memling]; Claude Lafontaine, Paris; [Jacques Seligmann, New York, by 1922-1924]; V. Everit Macy, New York, 1924-38; sale, American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, New York, Jan. 6-8, 1938, no. 325, as School of Antwerp, early 16th century; [F. Schnittjer and Son, New York, until 1943; sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, Jan. 14-16, 1943, no. 71, as School of Antwerp, early 16th century]; Maurice Dekker, New York, from 1943; private collection, Honolulu, by 1956-1984.
2. Each small panel measures $5 \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ in. (12.7×10.5 cm.). The large one measures $9\frac{7}{8} \times 21$ in. (25.1×53.3 cm.). Each panel is cradled separately and has strips $\frac{1}{16}$ in. wide added laterally. The paintings were cleaned at the Museum in 1987 and proved to be in a fine state of preservation.
3. Before the panel was dismembered, its individual scenes were presumably set apart from one another by narrow painted or gilded bands. The following works, each with multiple scenes on a single field, give an idea of the panel's original appearance: a panel of about 1500 with the Last Judgment, the Seven Acts of Mercy, and the Seven Deadly Sins, by an unknown Antwerp painter, in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (reproduced in Paul Vandenbroeck, *Catalogus Schilderijen 14^e en 15^e Eeuw: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* [Antwerp, 1985] pl. 2); the center panel of a triptych of the 1480s with nine scenes from the life of St. Anne by the Master of Sainte Gudule, at the Faculté de Médecine, Paris (reproduced in M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* [New York, 1969] IV, pl. 68); and a panel of about 1435 with eighteen scenes from the Passion by an unknown Dutch painter, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (reproduced in Friedländer, *E.N.P.*, III [1968] pl. 57).
4. The death of the Virgin and the assumption of her soul into heaven are very closely related and, in essence, identical events, occurring at virtually the same point in time. The Virgin's body was assumed into heaven and reunited with her soul three days after her death.
5. A crown of roses was an ordinary tribute of admiration and respect during the Middle Ages. The rose has also been an attribute of the Virgin Mary since early Christian times. "Rose without thorn" is a common epithet of the Virgin, derived from the writings of St. Ambrose. Rose garlands hence came to be associated with prayers of devotion to the Virgin Mary.
6. According to Dominic's legend, before his birth his mother dreamed she would bring forth such a creature. The image embodies a Latin pun on Dominic's name, *Domini canis* = dog of God, which characterizes the Dominicans' view of themselves as God's watchdogs (hence the torch).
7. Rosary literature is extensive and often contradictory. The standard reference is Thomas Esser, *Unserer Lieben Frauen Rosenkranz* (Paderborn, 1889). A particularly helpful and balanced overview is provided by Herbert Thurston, "Our Popular Devotions. II. The Rosary," *The Month, A Catholic Magazine* 96 (1900) pp. 403-418, 513-527, 620-637; *ibid.*, 97 (1901) pp. 67-79, 172-188, 286-304, 383-404. The catalogue of the exhibition *500 Jahre Rosenkranz: 1475 Köln 1975*, Erzbischöfliches Diözesan-Museum, Cologne, Oct. 25, 1975-Jan. 15, 1976 (Cologne, 1975) is a useful guide.
8. See Thurston, "Popular Devotions. II," 96, pp. 625-630, where two woodcuts from later editions of the *Unser lieben Frauen Psalter* (1489 and 1495) are reproduced. The fifteenth Mystery depicted in the woodcut of 1489 is the Last Judgment, not the Coronation of the Virgin. The penultimate Mystery, as in the Museum's painting, is the Death of the Virgin, not the Assumption. (Thurston seems not to have been aware of the original edition of 1483, for which see *500 Jahre Rosenkranz*, p. 201.)
9. For Doménech's engraving, see Isidoro Rosell y Torres, "Estampa Española del siglo XV grabada por Fray Francisco Domenec," *Museo Español de Antigüedades* II (Madrid, 1873) pp. 442-464, especially pp. 460ff., and Valerio Serra y Boldú, *Llibre d'or del rosari a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1925) pp. 256-259. Rosell y Torres mistakenly reads the letters of the abbreviation as *AdS* for *Anno domini salutis* (p. 463). See also Paul Kristeller, *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in vier Jahrhunderten*, 3d ed. (Berlin, 1921) pp. 125-126, and F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700* (Amsterdam, 1949-82) V, p. 265.
10. For what little is known of Doménech's life, see José María Coll, "Dos artistas cuatrocentistas desconocidos (Pablo de Senis y Fr. Francisco Doménech)," *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia* 24 (1951) pp. 141-144.
11. See Serra y Boldú, *Llibre d'or del rosari*, p. 22.
12. See Thurston, "Popular Devotions. II," 96, pp. 410-413.
13. For a 13th-century German legend in which Ave Marias are transformed into lilies, see Franz Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden: Dichtungen des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts mit erläuternden Sach- und Wort-Erklärungen*, new ed. (Vienna, 1863) pp. 105-109, no. xv. For a 13th-century version of the miracle in a variant of Portuguese, see Thurston, "Popular Devotions. II," 96, p. 520 n. 1.
14. See Margareta Salinger, "A New Spanish Retable at the Cloisters," *MMAB* 34 (1939) pp. 174-177; and Harry B. Wehle, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue of Italian, Spanish and Byzantine Paintings* (New York, 1940) pp. 220-221.
15. See Serra y Boldú, *Llibre d'or del rosari*, pp. 22-23. See also Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting* VII, pt. 1, *The Catalan School in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938) p. 260.

16. The British Library, IA.2506: *Vnser liebē frowen rosenkrantz* (Strasbourg: H. Knobloch, 1480?); IA.8719: *Vnser lyeben frowen Rosenkrantz* (Strasbourg: Georgius de Spira, 1480?). Thurston mistakenly states that these booklets were printed in Nuremberg and Spire, respectively ("Popular Devotions. II," 96, p. 519 n.2).

17. The author thanks Helmut Nickel for correcting his translation of the text of IA.8719: Dis is Vnser lyeben frowen Rosenkrantz vnd wie er von ersten is vffkommen. Hye vor eyner tzijt Eyn man het die gewonheydt Das er alle tag Vnser lieben frowen macht eyner krätz vō Rosen oder von blumen / oder was er den zu denen zijtē gehabē mocht / d'selb gab sich in eyner orden / Da was [sic] er eyn leyen bruder in / da wart im so vil zu thun dz er vnser lieben frowen iren krätz nit noch syner gewōheydt alle tag machē kundt / das wart er so betrubet dz er wyder uss dē orden wolt sin / des wart ein altvatter innen uñ forschet in was im were / Der bruder claget im synē kümer Da sprach d'altvatter zu im / du solt nit truren / ich will dich lernē vnser lyebē frowen alle tag machē eyne Rosenkrätz der ir lieber ist / dē ob du ir al die blumē gebest die uff erdē sindt / uñ leret in · 1 · Ave maria sprechē fur eyne Rosen krätz / do wart der bruder fro / und bettet also den Rosenkrantz alle tage Eyntz tages reyter uss vō des closters wegen da kam er in eyner walt und gedocht an synen Rosenkrätz / das er in noch nit gebettet het / do sass er ab und bettet vnser lieben frowen den rosenkrantz uff synen knyen / Da waren die morder do / die in wolten gemorde habē / Und sahent wie das ein schone jūgfrawe vor ime stundt / und hat eyn schyne in der hant da man eyn krentzlin uff machet / Und alss dick er eyn Ave maria bettet / so nam sy ime eyn Rose uss dem munde und bandt die uff die schynen / biss das d'krantz vol ware / da nam sy den krantz uñ satzt in uff ir haut / Vnd fur hyn wege / das sy die morder nyeme mochten gesehē und der bruder der hat sy nit gesehen / Da komēt die morder zu ime gangen uñ frogten in wer die schone jungfraw wer gewesen die vor ime gestanden were / Da antwort inen der bruder und sprach / er enette keyn jungfraw by im gehabt / da jahren sy er hette eyne by im gehabt / und fragten im was er da hette gethan / Da vernoment sye erst / Da die liebe mutter gottes da by im were gewesen / und iren krantz by ime geholet het / und daten im nicht.

18. A patron's desire to have himself cast in the role of the gentleman in the legend might be regarded as an extension of the painting's function. It no doubt was made to serve as a visual aid to rosary recitation. The three woodcut illustrations in the *Unser lieben Frauen Psalter* mentioned in note 8 served the same purpose.

19. *Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass*, Hans Rupprich, ed. (Berlin,

1956) I, p. 155, lines 21–23: "Jch hab gesehen jns königs hauss zu Prüssel hinden hinaus die brunnen, labÿrñth, thiergarten, das jch lustiger ding, mir gefälliger, gleich einen paradÿss, nie gesehen hab."

20. Fedja Anzelewsky, "À propos de la topographie du parc de Bruxelles et du quai de l'Escaut à Anvers de Dürer," *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 6 (1957) pp. 87–107, esp. pp. 87–100. Further references are contained in the article.

21. See, for the 1516 inventory, M. Le Glay, *Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien I^{er} et de Marguerite d'Autriche* (original ed., Paris, 1839; reprint, New York, 1966) II, pp. 468–489, and for the 1523 inventory, H. Michelant, "Inventaire . . . de Marguerite d'Autriche," *Académie royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-arts de Belgique. Commission royale d'histoire. Bulletin*, ser. 3, XII (Brussels, 1871) pp. 5–78, 83–136.

22. Alexandre Henne and Alphonse Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1845) II, p. 56; III, pp. 204–211. The account that follows of the history of the Dominicans in Brussels is also drawn from this work.

23. For the life of Philip of Cleves, see Edmond Poulet, "Clèves et de la Marck (Philippe de), seigneur de Ravensteyn, etc.," *Biographie Nationale [de Belgique]* IV (Brussels, 1873) cols. 152–163.

24. See note 1 for complete sale information.

25. In 1938 the large panel of the series was described as a "Virgin and Child with Saints," and in 1943 as "The Madonna of the Rosary with Donors and Saints"; in both sales the small panels were described merely as "Fifteen scenes from the Passion."

26. Copies of Valentin's certificate and Held's expertise are in the archives of the Department of European Paintings.

27. Georges Hulin de Loo, "Ein authentisches Werk von Goossen van der Weyden im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum," *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 34 (1913) pp. 86–87, fig. 10.

28. See Paul Vandenbroeck, *Catalogus Schilderijen 14^e en 15^e Eeuw: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Antwerp, 1985) pp. 146–150, inv. no. 5091.

29. See *The American and European Collections: Museum of Fine Arts* (Springfield, Mass., 1979) pp. 94–95, no. 167, and Frederick B. Robinson, "An Early Flemish Triptych," *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* (Springfield) 25 (1959) no. 3, n.p.

30. See *Albrecht Dürer Woodcuts and Wood Blocks*, Walter Strauss, ed. (New York, 1980) pp. 342, 408–409, no. 139.

Francesco Granacci and Some Questions of Identity

M. E. D. LAING

Senior Editor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THERE ARE two panels in the Metropolitan Museum by the Florentine painter Francesco Granacci (1469–1543). To be exact, although both are catalogued under his name, only the shorter of the two—described as cut on the right side—is said to have been painted by Granacci himself. The other is attributed to a workshop hand, possibly Raffaello Botticini (1477–after 1520).

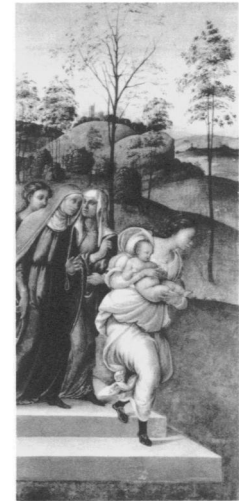
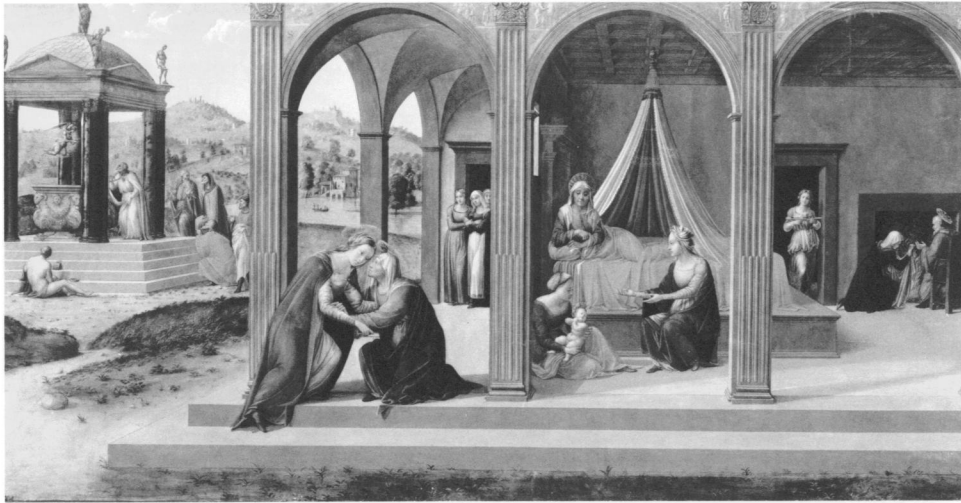
These panels illustrate scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist: the saint's birth and its attendant circumstances (Figure 1); and his preaching in the wilderness (Figure 4).¹ They constitute the first and last—chronologically speaking—of four surviving parts of the same cycle. One of the other two is a much smaller panel, a fragment by comparison, in the Cleveland Museum of Art, whose subject has been identified as the infant John being carried to his father, Zacharias (Figure 2).² Following this in the narrative sequence is a panel in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, which depicts scenes from the infancy and youth of the Baptist (Figure 3).³ The four panels, though they vary in width, are much of a height, ranging from 29¾ to 31½ inches (75.5 to 80 centimeters), and their thematic connections are evident, even if they were executed by different artists. All have been dated within the first decade of the sixteenth century. Missing and presumed lost from this series are the major scenes of John's adulthood: his Baptism of Christ,⁴ and his beheading, with Salome's dance before Herod and the presentation of John's head to her mother, Herodias.⁵

So much for what is generally agreed. Behind these facts and suppositions lies a plethora of uncertainties.

Reference to the volumes in which the four panels are now catalogued shows how much debate has

gone into the attributions to Granacci both as designer of the series and as executant; questions of the workshop hand or hands remain to be resolved.⁶ The Cleveland panel, for long called *The Dismissal of Hagar*, was only identified as part of this series by Christian von Holst in 1966.⁷ The paintings were once thought of as cassone panels, an explanation now rejected on grounds of size; conjecture surrounds their original function. If too large for the sides of a chest, they certainly seem too small for the decoration of a public space. These paintings call for the attention of one viewer at a time, fairly close to.

The Metropolitan Museum's panels, and the sequence to which they belong, are said to "have decorated the walls of a chapel or oratory in a private dwelling in Florence."⁸ Phrases used by other authorities—"room decoration," "decoration of an interior"⁹—suggest something more secular. Whatever the original intention, the history of the panels sheds little light on it. All four seem to have surfaced in Florence and found their way into English hands during the second quarter of the last century, the Cleveland panel, which came from the Gerini collection,¹⁰ independently of the others. When the latter were auctioned in London in 1860, the panel that would end up in Liverpool went to one collector, the two now in New York—which thereafter traveled as a pair—to another. At the time the three panels were attributed to Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449–94) and were said to have come from the Tornabuoni family. Even if the attribution to Ghirlandaio no longer stands, the Tornabuoni association is a suggestive one. It was Giovanni di Francesco Tornabuoni (1428–97), "civis et mercator florentinus,"¹¹ who commissioned Ghirlandaio to paint frescoes of the lives of the Virgin and of John the Baptist in S. Maria



1. Francesco Granacci (1469–1543), *The Birth of St. John the Baptist*, ca. 1500–1510. Oil on wood, 31½ x 60 in. (80 x 152.4 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gwynne Andrews, Harris Brisbane Dick, Dodge, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds, funds from various donors, Ella Morris de Peyster Gift, Mrs. Donald Oenslager Gift, and gifts in memory of Robert Lehman, 1970, 1970.134.1

2. School of Granacci, *St. John the Baptist Being Carried by a Maid to His Father Zacharias*, ca. 1500–1510. Oil on wood, 30¹/₁₆ x 13¼ in. (78.2 x 33.7 cm.). Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, The Elisabeth Severance Prentiss Collection, 44.91 (photo: Cleveland Museum of Art)

Novella (1486–90). With his slightly younger contemporary Michelangelo, Granacci was a pupil of Ghirlandaio at the time this commission was being executed. He could hardly have been involved later in producing a series on the Life of the Baptist, however different in scale and intention, and have himself painted the *Birth*, without recalling the older man's work (Figure 5).

The three panels were briefly reunited in Liverpool in 1970, before the *Birth* and the *Preaching*, bought at auction in London that year, went to New York. The Cleveland fragment has never been hung with the others to test its relationship with the *Birth* on one side and the *Childhood and Youth* on the other; nor has it been examined to see if it belongs to the right side of the *Birth* panel, where that is said to have been cut. In photographs its two steps, otherwise unexplained, align with those of the house in the *Birth*, apparently completing our view of this house from the outside, now cut off abruptly in mid-pillar. The servant carrying the infant wears a white, filmy dress caught up around the hips in a sort of pepulum. The dress and the haloed baby in her arms make her instantly recognizable in the left-hand

group of the *Childhood and Youth*, where she stands, facing forward, on the loggia of the house while Zacharias writes the name of his son. The same dress appears in the *Birth*, worn by one of Elizabeth's servants, who is coming through the door at the back with refreshments for the new mother—presumably the same servant; in this scene she is a clear echo of the maid in Ghirlandaio's fresco who, similarly dressed, enters from the right bearing a large platter of fruit on her head.

The young woman's role in the narrative series seems convincingly established. What is not so satisfactorily explained is why she carries the baby out of the house on the right in one frame, to use a cinematic term, only to reappear in the next on the loggia of the same house. True, a different view of the house is shown on the left of the *Childhood and Youth*, an angled view of one side with a projecting porch; and no attempt has been made to render this building, except in its general structure, as a repeat of the one whose stylish exterior appears in the *Birth*. It is, however, evidently the same house, the home of Elizabeth and Zacharias, which the child John is shown leaving in the next scene, and the awkwardness of



3



4

3. Associates of Granacci, *The Childhood and Youth of St. John the Baptist*, ca. 1500–1510. Oil on wood, 30½ x 90 in. (77.4 x 228.6 cm.). Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, inv. no. 2783 (photo: Walker Art Gallery)

4. Granacci Workshop (?Raffaello Botticini, 1477–after 1520), *The Preaching of St. John the Baptist*, ca. 1500–1510. Oil on wood, 29¾ x 82½ in. (75.5 x 210 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gwynne Andrews, Harris Brisbane Dick, Dodge, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds, funds from various donors, Ella Morris de Peyster Gift, Mrs. Donald Oenslager Gift, and gifts in memory of Robert Lehman, 1970, 1970.134.2

5. Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449–94), *The Birth of the Baptist*, 1486–90. Fresco. Florence, S. Maria Novella (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)



the nursemaid's action in running around the outside of it with a naked, week-old baby is inescapable. One wonders, too, why the group in the Cleveland panel seems disproportionately large by comparison with the figures in the much more significant scenes that appear in the panels to either side. Perhaps the original installation of the series would have obviated such problems; or perhaps they account for the Cleveland panel's separation from the others at some date before they came on the market.

The woman in white is not the only recognizable figure to be carried over from one panel to another. Elizabeth and Zacharias maintain the same general appearance in the *Birth* and the *Childhood*. The servant holding the baby in the former reappears in her blue dress and yellow wrap at the extreme left of the latter, hands raised in amazement. Despite certain discrepancies of costume, the two veiled women following the nursemaid in the Cleveland panel are probably to be seen behind her at the naming of John.¹² All the stranger, therefore, that the two views of the outside of the house are not more alike.

Their respective places in the narrative sequence must originally have put a distance between the panels now in the Metropolitan Museum, making it less obvious that very different skills and sensibilities seem to have gone into their creation. Where the panel attributed to Granacci's own hand is all vitality and airiness, its coloring a counterpoint of harmonies and contrasts, the other is static, almost lumpish by comparison, the colors heavy-handed. The background landscape in the *Birth* is full of affectionate details; in the *Preaching* it is much more cursorily rendered.¹³ There are clumps of greenery in this picture (on the right-hand side and in the neighborhood of the buildings to the left of the center) that look for all the world like giant cacti; if these were underpaintings intended to be softened by a suggestion of foliage,¹⁴ the panel must have left the workshop without its finishing touches.

While the people in the *Birth* assume their allotted roles as if caught in mid-gesture, those in the *Preaching* seem deliberately posed in attitudes expressive of speech and attentiveness. There is a curious air to this panel, a touch of conscious piety about some of its frozen figures. One can imagine the scene rendered in a nineteenth-century line engraving with no great loss of character. The "romantic" attitude of a

couple in the Baptist's audience, reminiscent of "many nineteenth-century paintings," has, indeed, been commented on.¹⁵ The aspect is one that may have influenced the decision in 1860 to buy this panel as a pair with the *Birth*, instead of the *Childhood and Youth*, which in terms of its general appearance and the narrative sequence is a more congruent painting.

Part of the difference between the two panels lies in the subject matter and the way this is handled. The *Preaching* is essentially a single scene, in which the protagonist stands downstage and center, with a line of auditors strung out to either side of him; the only movement suggested is in the group of Christ with five nimbed disciples approaching from the left rear, and the two men at the left—plausibly described as Pharisees by one observer¹⁶—who remark on their arrival. The Baptist faces the viewer, almost as a devotional image. This kind of composition is in marked contrast to the self-contained system of the *Birth*, which represents several consecutive scenes, spanning a period of some nine months, and zigzags from the middle to the foreground and points between in order to encompass them. There is a similar disposition of figures in the Liverpool panel, although there the action takes place over a period of years not months, from the naming of the infant John to his adolescence.

The precise episode represented in the *Preaching of St. John the Baptist* seems never to have been questioned; that the Baptist preached in the wilderness is a well-known feature of his mission (Matt. 3:1–2). The Gospel accounts make it clear, however, that Christ began to gather disciples only after his Baptism by John and his own sojourn in the desert. To be shown approaching with a band of five apostles should signify that his Baptism has already taken place.¹⁷ The panel would then have been intended to follow the missing *Baptism of Christ*, rather than, as has been suggested, the Liverpool panel, with its scenes of John's childhood and youth.¹⁸ In fact, the Gospels contain no record of an incident such as the one depicted here. According to two accounts even (Matt. 4:12, Mark 1:14), the Baptist was already in prison when Christ was joined by the first two apostles, although the Gospel of John has him still at liberty at that point.¹⁹ Either the artist was mistaken in his recollections of the Gospel story, or he was re-

lying on an embroidered version of the Baptist's life.

The Liverpool panel is a reminder that such versions once flourished. Only the scene at the left of this painting can be described as canonical: Zacharias, struck dumb since his failure to believe the news of his impending fatherhood—a scene in flashback that launches the narrative sequence of the *Birth*—writes the name of his son (Luke 1:63). The Gospels are silent on the Baptist's upbringing, leaving it to a succession of commentators to invent the details.

The legends, Eastern in origin, that grew up around John's youth included his departure from home at an early age, blessed by his grieving parents; his wanderings in the desert; and a meeting there with the Christ Child—incidents depicted in the Liverpool panel. The popularity of such scenes in Renaissance Italy, and of the figure of John as a boy, has been ascribed to a vernacular account of the saint's life dating from the early fourteenth century. The *Vita di S. Giovambatista* not only provided a compendium of the early legends; it also clothed them with a wealth of circumstantial detail, adding to their human interest. No doubt this *Life of St. John the Baptist* had a special significance for the citizens of Florence, since the Baptist was their patron saint. At all events, "St. John as an infant hermit became an established part of Florentine iconography by the mid-fourteenth century."²⁰

By contrast with the *Childhood and Youth of the Baptist*, the panel depicting his birth seems firmly anchored in the Gospel account, Luke's to be exact, for Luke is the only Evangelist to have recorded the story from its inception (Luke 1:5–57). It begins at the left in the middle distance, with the Annunciation to Zacharias, a priest "well stricken in years," whose "lot was to burn incense when he went into the temple of the Lord." The temple is shown as an elegant, classical-style pavilion surmounted by large sculptures of Old Testament worthies (Abraham and Isaac at the top, and on the cornice David standing with one foot on the head of Goliath, Judith with the head of Holofernes, and an unidentified figure). The angel Gabriel, announcing to the incredulous Zacharias that he will have a son by his elderly, childless wife, is depicted not "standing on the right side of the altar," as the text calls for, but hovering above it. The altar, far from suggesting Jewish ritual, is carved in relief with markedly classical motifs.

The house of Zacharias and Elizabeth, to which the action then moves, is rendered—at least on the outside—with similar references to antiquity.²¹ Set in the Tuscan hills ("And Mary arose . . . and went into the hill country with haste," Luke 1:39), it has been described as a Florentine villa built in the style of Granacci's time.²² Its architecture, seen simultaneously from without and within, is cleverly used to articulate the story.

The scene of the Visitation takes place on the steps of a loggia, overlooked from a doorway at the back by three women of Elizabeth's household (Figure 6). Elizabeth, by this time six months pregnant, kneels in greeting while Mary seeks to raise her. Elizabeth's clothing, a subdued lavender robe and light olive-green cloak, is a foil for the younger woman's red and blue—the Virgin's traditional colors;²³ the white cloth that covers her head contrasts with the other's gracefully dressed hair and transparent veil.

For the Birth of the Baptist (Figure 6), the house is seen in section behind its gray-pillared facade. The room represented extends across at least two of the bays created by these pillars; the fourth pillar, or rather what remains of it, marks the present end of the panel. On a large raised platform, Elizabeth's canopied bed, with its eye-catching scarlet cover, dominates the scene. The new mother looks gravely down at her son in the arms of a nursemaid seated on the floor, while a woman on the right holds out her arms to the baby. Entering through a door to the right of the bed is a maidservant in white—mentioned earlier in connection with the Cleveland panel—carrying a tray with two flasks on it.

Even when the habit of pictorializing narrative as an uninterrupted sequence, or as a main scene with contiguous renderings of ancillary events, was a familiar convention, the artist provided signposts along the way. In addition to using the architecture as a framework for the different episodes, Granacci offers several details of physiognomy and costume to establish continuity. Elizabeth, for instance, who wears the same lavender-gray dress in the Visitation and when next seen sitting up in bed, has a recognizable face, pleasing but not idealized: broad and squarish, with high cheekbones, a slightly snub nose, widely spaced and deep-set eyes. It is a face that shows its age. Elizabeth in the Liverpool panel is similarly portrayed.

At the back of the room on the right are two figures that remain to be identified (see Figures 1, 15). According to one account, they represent a fourth scene in the panel: “an angel announcing to Zacharias the birth of his son.”²⁴ This description, though it cannot be correct, raises a number of interesting points.

For the conscientious viewer of the original, recognition of Zacharias in the old man warming his hands before a blazing fire presents no problem; but where is the angel? The kneeling figure seen from the side and back to the left of Zacharias is a woman holding up a cloth. The white kerchief on her head and her dark olive-green dress, with a fine white line at the waist denoting an apron string, identify her as one of the three women overlooking the encounter between Mary and Elizabeth at the left (the midwife?). The two figures seem brought together by a common interest in the fire rather than by any need for dialogue.

Despite a relatively youthful appearance,²⁵ the woman is solidly built and grounded, a far cry from the small, evanescent Gabriel who hovers—a sort of heavenly Tinker Bell—over the altar at the extreme left of the panel.²⁶ Impossible to believe that the same artist would have rendered the species archangel so differently in the same painting. Nor would a heavenly messenger have been required to bring Zacharias the good news in his own house.²⁷

As it turns out, the woman with a cloth held up to the fire is not an exceptional touch;²⁸ she appears in other birth scenes, performing what seems to have been a standard task (Figures 7–11). The apocryphal *Life of the Virgin* and the *Life of St. John the Baptist* were the two major cycles that gave artists an opportunity to paint domestic interiors and scenes of contemporary life among the comfortably off, which the Nativity of course denied them. The twentieth-century observer cannot fail to be struck in these scenes by how much of the activity takes place on the floor, where the baby is bathed and cuddled, the focus usually of more than one attendant. At a distance in her raised bed, the new mother rests after her ordeal; frequently, like Granacci's Elizabeth, she is sitting up, fully dressed and alert; she may be fussed over by one or more women; more often than not she is plied, or about to be plied, with refreshments, sometimes quite substantial.

The cloth being aired before the fire was clearly intended to be wrapped around the baby before the

swaddling bands were tied.²⁹ The bands themselves are shown comparatively infrequently, but examples exist: in the *Birth of the Virgin* by the Master of the Barberini Panels there is what would now be seen as a roll of bandages beside the young woman with a white cloth across her knees, who is seated on the floor to the right, waiting for the baby's bath to be completed (Figure 12).³⁰ This panel, incidentally, is unusual in that it depicts the mother—St. Anne is portrayed as a very young woman—naked under a sheet and, like several of her attendants, obviously exhausted. There must have been considerable latitude in the choice of stock elements to characterize the scene of a birth. In Granacci's painting, the paraphernalia of the baby's bath has been cleared away, leaving him still to be wrapped and swaddled.

The number of attendants—always women—also varied, depending no doubt on the composition and the space available as much as on the demands of verisimilitude. The young woman on the right in Granacci's *Birth of the Baptist* holds out her arms to the infant in a very human gesture; it also repeats, in reverse, the gesture of one of the women in Ghirlandajo's fresco in S. Maria Novella (see Figures 5, 6), a reference that could hardly have been lost on Granacci's audience. Despite this relationship with an older and better-known model, there are details of the woman's appearance that are cause for thought, especially in a painting where internal consistency was so evidently a concern. If her double is looked for elsewhere in the panel, she is not to be found among the servingwomen but in the figure of Mary in the Visitation: the same crimson-red dress and blue, green-lined cloak, a similar arrangement of hair and veil, the same face, though its youth and idealized features make it less immediately recognizable than Elizabeth's. The fact that this young woman is seated on a stool seems to confirm her status as a guest, not a servant, of the household.

The major difficulty about this identification, which is overwhelmingly convincing when applied to the original work, is the unaccountable absence of a halo. It is the halo, of course, that provokes recognition of Mary in other scenes of the Baptist's birth (see Figures 9, 10). In the *Birth* and *Childhood* panels halos are painted in with great delicacy and are sometimes awkward to spot because of the angle of the head. Nonetheless, wherever hagiography requires them, halos seem always to be present. The Virgin's halo is not the kind of detail that the artist could have over-



6. Granacci, detail of Figure 1 showing the Visitation and the Birth of the Baptist

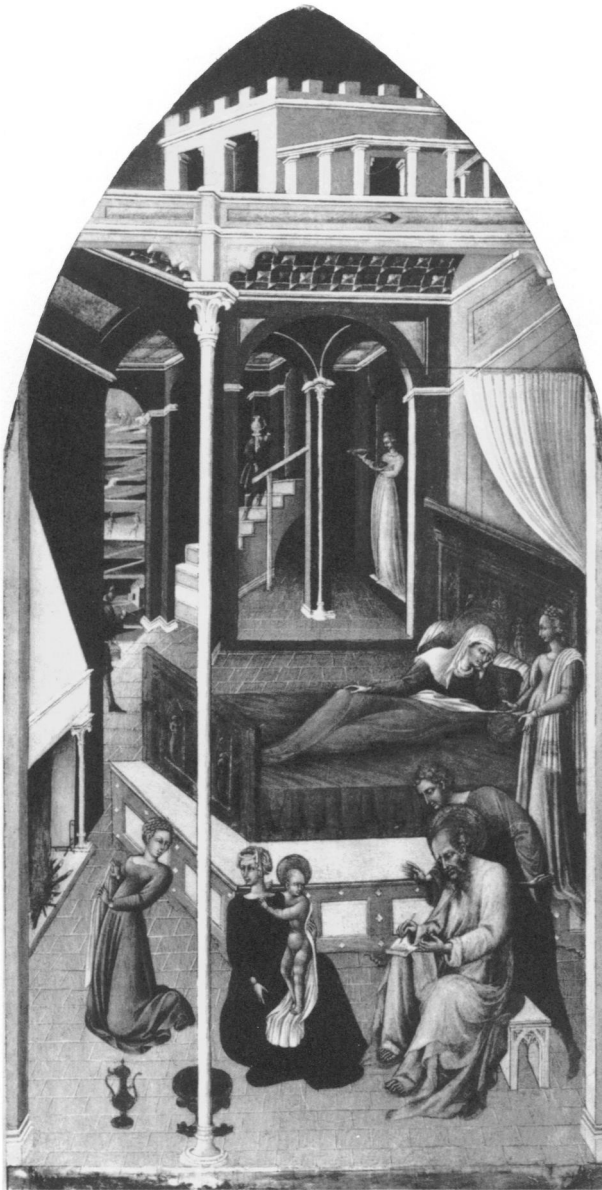
looked; conceivably, perhaps, it is something that might have been taken out if the identification was not understood or recognized. Scenes of the Birth of the Baptist with Mary in attendance seem never to have become the rule, and once the devotional ambience and literature on which they depended had ceased to be current, they may have appeared puzzling, even unorthodox, to later generations.³¹

The Gospel of Luke recounts John's birth as if the Virgin had by then gone home: "And Mary abode with her about three months, and returned to her own house. Now Elisabeth's full time came that she

should be delivered; and she brought forth a son" (Luke 1:56–57). Simple arithmetic thus puts Mary's departure just when the baby's birth was imminent. Human probability, to say nothing of human interest, suggested a revised version of events.³²

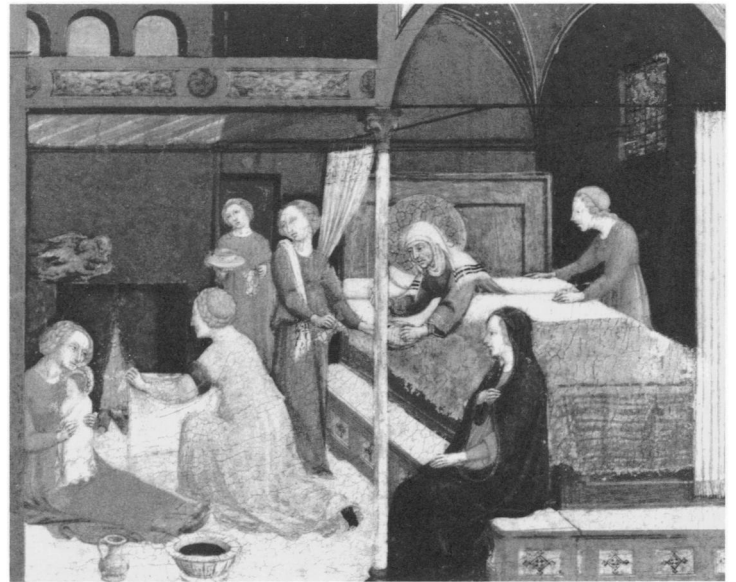
The enormously influential *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (1228/30–98), a Dominican who became archbishop of Genoa, was categorical on the subject. Voragine's account, as Englished by William Caxton in the fifteenth century, reads:

Our Lady abode with S. Elizabeth three months or thereabouts till she was delivered and laid abed, and it is said that she did the office and service to receive S. John Baptist when he was born.³³

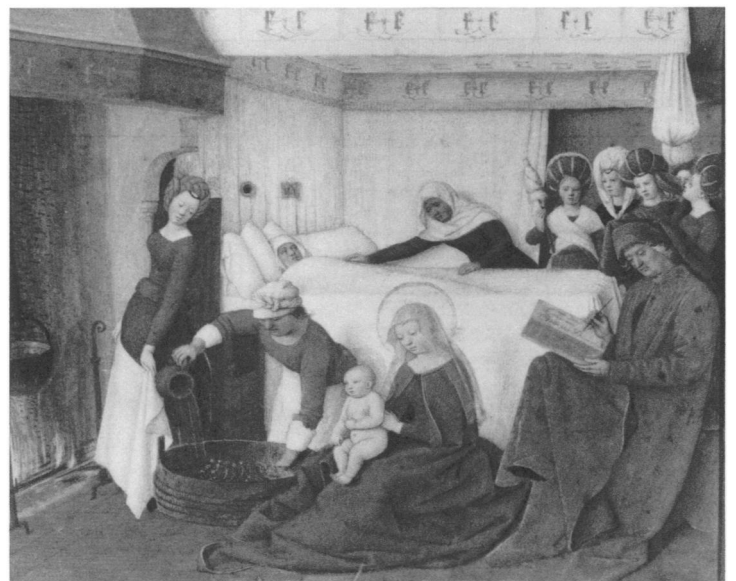


7. Giovanni di Paolo (1400–1482), *The Birth and Naming of the Baptist*, late 1450s. Panel. Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte (photo: Westfälisches Landesmuseum)

8. Sano di Pietro (1404–81), *The Birth of the Virgin* (detail), ca. 1450. Tempera and gold on wood. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Museum of Art, Acquired with funds from the Thirtieth Anniversary Project and The Friends of the Museum, 1977/2.1 (photo: University of Michigan Museum of Art)



9. Jean Fouquet (ca. 1420–by 1481), *The Birth and Naming of the Baptist*. Manuscript illumination, from the *Hours of Étienne Chevalier*. Chantilly, Musée Condé (photo: Giraudon/Art Resource)





10. Fernando Gallegos (ca. 1440–after 1507), *The Birth of the Baptist*. Madrid, Prado (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

A more imaginative and circumstantial account of Mary's stay appeared in Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditationes vitae Christi*, now attributed to an unknown Franciscan monk in Tuscany during the second half of the thirteenth century:

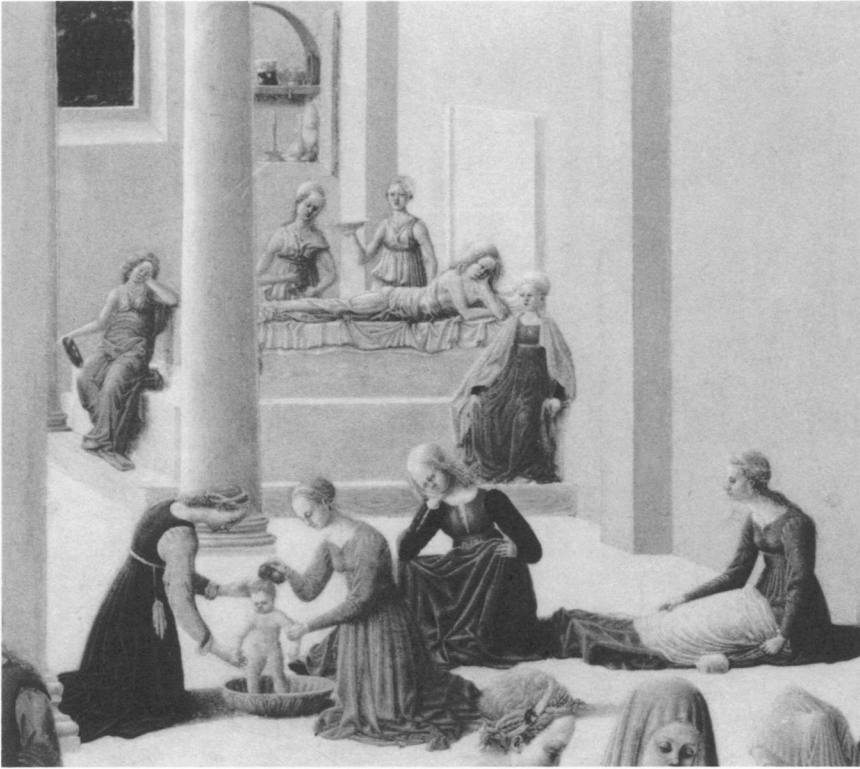
When her time had come Elizabeth gave birth to the son whom our Lady lifted from the ground and diligently



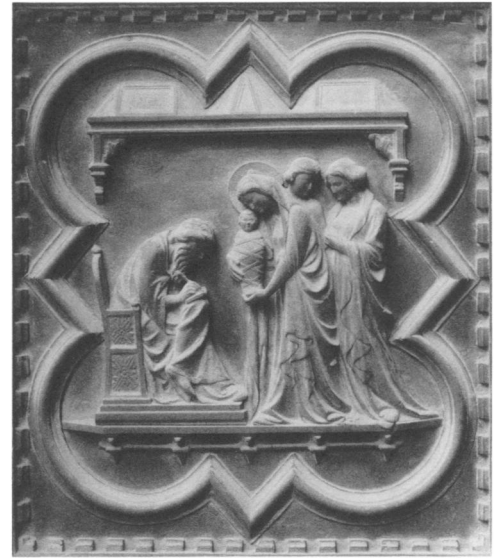
11. Attributed to Francesco Morandini, called Il Poppi (1544–97), *The Birth and Naming of the Baptist*. Pen and ink and wash, heightened with white, on squared paper. London, British Museum, 1953-12-12-7 (photo: British Museum)

cared for as was necessary. The child loved her deeply, as though he understood her, and even when she gave him to his mother he turned his face to the Lady, delighting only in her. She played with him, gaily embracing and kissing him with joy.³⁴

The early-fourteenth-century *Vita di S. Giovambattista*, with its many psychological touches, elaborated the story even further:



12. Master of the Barberini Panels (probably Fra Carnevale, d. 1484), *The Birth of the Virgin*, detail. Tempera on wood. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers and Gwynne Andrews Funds, 35.121



13. Andrea Pisano (ca. 1290–1348), *The Naming of the Baptist*, detail of bronze doors, 1330–36. Florence, Baptistery (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

Now we come to the delivery of the lady St. Elizabeth, how when she felt she was about to give birth, and how suddenly she wanted Our Lady to be near her and not to leave at all. . . . And all of a sudden this blessed child was born, and the lady Elizabeth ordered the nurse not to touch him, and turned to Our Lady and reverently asked her if she and no other would be the first to touch him and to lift him from the floor. . . . And lifting the baby from the floor, Our Lady wrapped him in a beautiful white cloth and gathered him into her lap; and at once the blessed infant, who before had been crying, was quiet in Our Lady's lap and seemed to draw close to her and to her womb, as if to say: "Now I am near him who made me." And Our Lady had water and a basin brought and washed and swaddled the blessed infant, and lifted him in her arms and carried him to Zacharias, and he looked on him with great joy and blessed him with his hand and began to praise God.³⁵

It was this account, apparently, that inspired the relief on Andrea Pisano's Baptistery doors in Florence, a relief of the Virgin presenting John to Zacharias that Granacci must have known well (Figure 13).³⁶ If so, Pisano confused, perhaps intentionally, the pre-

sentation by Mary of the newborn John to his proud father with the presentation of John for his circumcision and naming eight days later; neither Pseudo-Bonaventura nor the author of the *Vita* describes the Virgin as being more than an auditor at this event.³⁷ The conflation of the two episodes was obviously an attractive economy (Figure 14); by the same token, to show the naming scene taking place in the lying-in chamber both compressed the narrative and helped to identify it (see Figures 7, 9, 11). Certainly, well before the time Granacci was at work, artists seem to have been free to draw on a body of legend at will. It is not so much the specifics in the *Meditations* and in the vernacular *Life* that Granacci represents in the *Birth of the Baptist* as the atmosphere and the relationships among those concerned.

The identification of Mary in this scene explains the central importance of the little group in front of Elizabeth's bed. The infant John, a marvel of neonatal precocity, twists his head to look over his left shoulder.³⁸ He is eager to go, not to his mother behind him, but to the arms of Mary and to the unborn



14. Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, also known as Silvestro Camaldolese (1352–99), *The Birth and Naming of the Baptist*. Manuscript illumination. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, inv. no. 2764 (photo: Walker Art Gallery)

Child she is carrying: “There cometh one mightier than I after me” (Mark 1:7).

If Granacci’s pleasant painting turns out to have a note of *gravitas* at its core, a parting look at the figure of Zacharias before the fire may be in order (Figure 15). His position there, unlike the woman’s, is unusual. To misconstrue this group as a scene of angelic annunciation points up the fact that it seems to be the only one in the panel that occupies a distinct space without representing a distinct episode.

15. Granacci, detail of Figure 1 showing Zacharias and a servant before the fire



Fires and fireplaces that occur in scenes from the Life of Christ, functioning on one level as items of domestic realism, have been connected with an elaborate symbolism for the sacrificial ritual of the Old Law, an antetype of the sacrifice of Christ that ushered in the New. Because of John's association with Christ, "holocaust symbolism would therefore seem appropriate for the fireplace that appears in some representations of the birth . . . of the Baptist."³⁹ Although Zacharias's priestly function seems not to have been connected with the sacrifice of burnt offerings in the temple, his raised left hand before the fire is held in an orant position, a hint perhaps of the canticle "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people" that he will

utter on regaining his powers of speech.⁴⁰ Then the fire, shooting its sparks up the chimney, seems remarkably fierce for a Tuscan villa on the twenty-fourth of June. Granacci's contemporaries, versed in the Scriptures, might have recalled the words with which the grown Baptist would one day exhort his audience:

And now also the ax is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. . . . he that cometh after me. . . . shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire: Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire. (Matt. 3:10–12)

NOTES

1. F. Zeri and E. E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings. A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Florentine School* (New York, 1971) pp. 180–186; MMA 1970.134.1 entitled *Scenes from the Life of St. John the Baptist*.

2. Cleveland Museum of Art, *Catalogue of Paintings: III. European Paintings of the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries* (Cleveland, 1982) pp. 351–354, entry by N. C. Wixom.

3. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, *Foreign Catalogue* (Liverpool, 1977) I, pp. 86–87, II, p. 104; entitled *Scenes from the Life of St. John the Baptist*. I am grateful to Edward Morris, Keeper of Foreign Art at the Walker Art Gallery, for his consideration and help.

4. According to Zeri and Gardner (*Italian Paintings*, p. 182), a *Baptism of Christ* with dimensions comparable to those of the other panels was, like the Cleveland fragment, in the Gerini collection in Florence, but it was destroyed by damp in 1944 and no photographs of it have survived.

5. For the Baptist's life and cult, see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome, 1961–70) VI, pp. 599–623; and *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. H. Thurston, S.J., and D. Attwater (New York, 1956) II, pp. 631–633 (June 24, Birthday), III, pp. 440–442 (Aug. 29, Beheading). For the Baptist in art, see E. Kirschbaum, S.J., and W. Braunfels, eds., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie: VII. Ikonographie der Heiligen* (Rome, 1974) pp. 163–190; E. Mâle, *Les Saints compagnons du Christ* (Paris, 1958) pp. 7–55; A. Masseron, *St. Jean Baptiste dans l'art* (Paris, 1957); L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1956) II:1, pp. 431–463; I. Falk, *Studien zu Andrea Pisano* (Hamburg, 1940) pp. 86–178, 208–209; and R. Plus, S.J., *St. Jean-Baptiste dans l'art* (Paris, 1937).

6. See notes 1–3 above and C. von Holst, *Francesco Granacci* (Munich, 1974) pp. 132–135, cat. 7 (MMA 1970.134.1) and 8 (Cleveland); p. 194, cat. 162 (Liverpool); p. 199, cat. 182 (MMA 1970.134.2); figs. 15–26, 143, 145, 146. Von Holst attributes cat. 7 and 8 to Granacci's own hand, the other two to his circle.

7. Von Holst, *Granacci*, p. 134; the information apparently first appeared in print in the author's dissertation of 1968, the basis of his 1974 publication. See also C. von Holst, "Three Panels of a Renaissance Room Decoration at Liverpool and a New Work by Granacci," *Annual Report and Bulletin of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool* 1 (1970–71) pp. 32–37; and Cleveland, *Catalogue*, pp. 351–354.

8. Zeri and Gardner, *Italian Paintings*, p. 181. Cf. E. P. Pillsbury, *Florentine Art in Cleveland Collections. Florence and the Fine Arts: Five Centuries of Patronage* (Cleveland, 1971) no. 12; the series is described as the primary wall decoration of a small room such as a sacristy, baptismal chapel, or private chapel. I am indebted for this reference and certain others to the files of the Department of European Paintings, MMA, and to Katharine Baetjer for kindly allowing me to consult them.

9. Von Holst, "Three Panels," p. 32; and Liverpool, *Foreign Catalogue*, I, p. 86.

10. See note 4.

11. So described in the contract of Sept. 1, 1485, between him and the artist for the frescoes in S. Maria Novella (see G. S. Davies, *Ghirlandajo* [London, 1908] app. vi). Giovanni was treasurer to Pope Sixtus IV and spent much of his life in Rome. His sister, Lucrezia (1424–82), married Piero di Cosimo de' Medici and was the mother of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

12. To claim that the four women on the Cleveland panel are nearly identical with the women in the doorways of the *Birth* and that these figures appear a third time in the naming of John in the Liverpool panel is an overstatement (Zeri and Gardner, *Italian Paintings*, p. 181; cf. Cleveland, *Catalogue*, p. 354).

13. H. Brigstocke, *Italian and Spanish Paintings in the National Gallery of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1978) no. 645, compares for attribution purposes the "schematic representation of the rolling hills and the foliage of the trees" in Edinburgh's *Madonna and Child with the Young St. John* with similar features in the *Preaching*.

14. I am grateful to Ellen Callman for this suggestion and for advice on *spalliere* in general.

15. Von Holst, "Three Panels," p. 37. If the reference is to the third and fourth figures to the right of the Baptist, one with an arm over the other's shoulder as they pore over the same book, it should perhaps be pointed out that the left-hand figure is a boy: his tunic ends just above his red-stockinged knees. The youth to the left of the Baptist is similarly clad. Such details are difficult to make out in black-and-white reductions.

16. Sotheby's sale cat. (London, June 24, 1970) no. 40.

17. John (1:37–49) enumerates five disciples, Matthew (4:18–21) and Mark (1:16–20) only four.

18. Cleveland, *Catalogue*, p. 354.

19. According to John 1:35–37, the first two apostles were originally followers of the Baptist; hearing the latter say of Christ "Behold the Lamb of God!," they turned and went after him.

20. M. A. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista: A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism," *Art Bulletin* 37 (1955) pp. 85–101, esp. pp. 87–89; and idem, "Giovannino Battista: A Supplement," *Art Bulletin* 43 (1961) pp. 319–326, esp. pp. 320–321 and nn. 11, 12. The "Supplement" corrects an earlier attribution of the manuscript in question to the Dominican writer Fra Domenico Cavalca (d. 1342).

21. See Zeri and Gardner, *Italian Paintings*, pp. 181, 183; and von Holst, *Granacci*, p. 132. The precise significance of these decorations and of the Old Testament figures surmounting the roof of the temple has yet to be explained.

22. Von Holst, *Granacci*, p. 24.

23. Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna . . .*, rev. ed. (Boston, 1866) p. 63: "The proper dress of the Virgin is a close red tunic, with long sleeves; and over this a blue robe or mantle." A glance around the galleries in which Granacci's *Birth of the Baptist* now hangs is enough to demonstrate the truth of this observation.

24. The wording is that of the Metropolitan Museum's label. This particular identification seems not to appear elsewhere.

25. But see von Holst, "Three Panels," p. 35: "the two old figures by the fireside," a reading maintained in idem, *Granacci*, p. 24.

26. For other examples of the Granacci angel, see von Holst, *Granacci*, figs. 13, 14, 100.

27. According to the apocryphal *Protoevangelium*, an angel was sent to Joachim, Mary's father, when he was in the wilderness, to tell him to return to his childless wife, who thereafter conceived; this story, with its parallels to the Gospel account of the Annunciation to Zacharias, seems to have no bearing on the present misconstruction. In a dark black-and-white reproduction of the scene the fireplace and chimneypiece tend to lose definition, merging with the wall and leaving the two figures without a context, backlit from some unknown source; see, e.g., M. N. Rosenfeld, "A Florentine Quattrocento Altarpiece: A Witness to Artistic, Religious Trends," *M26* 7/2 (1975) fig. 8.

28. Zeri and Gardner (*Italian Paintings*, p. 181) describe her as a woman drying clothing. For a similar interpretation, applied to another birth scene, see K. Christiansen, L. B. Kanter, and C. B. Strehlke, *Painting in Renaissance Siena 1420–1500*, exh. cat. (New York: MMA, 1988) p. 149: a "servant is . . . drying a linen cloth before a fireplace."

29. Von Holst, *Granacci*, p. 24: "der Alten, die die Windel wärmt." Cf. Mâle, *Les Saints compagnons du Christ*, p. 13, apropos of Jean Fouquet's miniature of the Birth of the Baptist (Figure 9): "Une autre, devant la cheminée, fait chauffer les langes."

30. For other examples of swaddling bands, see A. Schiaparelli, *La Casa fiorentina e suoi arredi nei secoli XIV e XV*, ed. M. Sframeli and L. Pagnotta (Florence, 1983) II, pl. 85 (Benozzo Gozzoli [1420–97], *Birth of Esau and Jacob* [detail], Pisa, Camposanto); and G. Bauman, "Early Flemish Portraits 1425–1525," *MMAB* 43:4 (1986) fig. 20 (Gerard David [d. 1523], *Nativity*, MMA 49.7.20a–c).

31. Mrs. Jameson, in *Legends of the Madonna* (1852), knew of commentaries that placed Mary at the scene but not of any representations of the Baptist's birth that included her; a footnote, evidently an afterthought, refers to a miniature in Liverpool (see Figure 14) "in which the female figure standing near represents, I think, the Virgin Mary" (*Legends of the Madonna* [Boston, 1866] pp. 311–312). In her last work, published posthumously (1864), Jameson declared that the legend had been "so seldom adopted that I know but two instances"; Lady Eastlake, however, who completed the book, was aware of "numerous examples" and referred to St. Bonaventure's *Life of Christ* (i.e., *Meditations*, see note 34 below) as their probable source (Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake, *The History of Our Lord as Exemplified in Works of Art*, new ed. [London, 1890] p. 290).

32. According to P. Guérin, *Vies des saints . . .* (Bar-le-Duc, 1872) VII, pp. 267–268, despite the ambiguity of the Gospel account, early commentators—among them Origen, St. Ambrose, the Venerable Bede, and Peter Comestor—were generally agreed on Mary's presence at the birth of the Baptist.

33. F. S. Ellis, ed., *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton* (London, 1900) III, p. 257; cf. G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, trans., *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine* (London/New York/Toronto, 1941) I, p. 323. Caxton's "it is said" is a note of caution not found in the 20th-century translation.

34. I. Ragusa and R. B. Green, trans. and eds., *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1961) pp. 24–25; for the authorship, see *ibid.*, pp. xxi–xxii n. 2.

35. “Vita di S. Giovambatista,” in *Volgarizzamento delle vite de’ SS. Padri*, ed. D. M. Manni and A. Cesari (Milan, 1830) IV, pp. 266–267: “Ora vegnamo al parto di madonna santa Lisabetta, che quando ella si senti apparecchiare il partorire, e quella incontanente volle che la nostra Donna istesse allato a lei e non si partisse punto. . . . Or ecco che nacque questo benedetto fanciullo; e madonna Lisabetta comandò alle balie che’l non toccassono, e rivolsesi inverso la Donna nostra e reverentemente la pregò che ella il dovesse prima toccare che niun’altra persona e levarlo di terra. . . . E levando la nostra Donna questo figliuolo di terra, si lo ’nvolve in uno bellissimo panno bianco e recosselo in grembo; e incontanente questo benedetto figliuolo, che prima piagnea, istette cheto nel grembo di Madonna e parve che s’accostasse a lei e al ventre suo così, come gli dicesse: Ora sono presso a colui che mi fece. E la nostra Donna si fece venire l’acqua e la conca e lavollo e fasciollo questo benedetto figliuolo, e levosselo in collo e portollo a Zaccheria, ed egli il guardò con grande allegrezza e benedisselo colla sua mano e incominciò a lodare Iddio.” My thanks to Gabriella Befani Canfield for reviewing this translation.

36. Lavin, “Giovannino Battista,” pp. 87–88. For a discussion of Mary presenting the infant John to Zacharias in Rogier van der Weyden’s St. John Altarpiece (Berlin), see B. G. Lane, “Rogier’s Saint John and Miraflores Altarpieces Reconsidered,” *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978) pp. 659–662, fig. 1; fig. 7 is a Flemish miniature of 1290 of Mary assisting both at the birth of the Baptist and at his naming; figs. 8–10 are French and Italian miniatures of the birth and naming without Mary. The Northern tradition, in literature and art, of Mary’s presence at the Baptist’s birth seems not to have been explored.

37. The textual confusion appears pervasive: see E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) I, p. 281; Lavin, “Giovannino Battista,” p. 88; and Lane, “Rogier’s Saint John,” p. 659 n. 23.

38. For a much later version of the scene, by Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619), in which the baby is more naturally posed, see Plus, *St. Jean-Baptiste dans l’art*, fig. 21.

39. C. F. O’Meara, “‘In the Hearth of the Virginal Womb’: The Iconography of the Holocaust in Late Medieval Art,” *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981) pp. 75–88, esp. p. 86.

40. “Thus two beautiful canticles were created in this house, the Magnificat and the Benedictus” (Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 25); “quel bellissimo cantico” (*Vita di S. Giovambatista*, p. 268).

With Bells on His Toes

ALICE ZREBIEC

*Associate Curator in Charge, Textile Study Room,
European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

IN 1983 THE MUSEUM ACQUIRED a most intriguing object, an embroidered emblem of a sixteenth-century shoemakers' guild (Figure 1).¹ This medalion, which is about 40 cm. in diameter, is expertly and exquisitely made in a combination of metal thread, raised work, and appliqué embroidery techniques.² Set against a blue-green silk satin background³ the central image is a red silk Gothic shoe, whose long, pointed toe ends in a golden acorn-shaped bell. The body of the shoe is in high relief, elaborately decorated with floral and foliate motifs worked in gilt metal thread and pierced by a golden arrow. Surmounting the shoe is a crown with fleurons on points. In the band of the crown one pierced piece of gilt glass⁴ is still attached, and cut or broken sewing threads suggest that similar ornaments originally appeared above, below, and to the sides of the star-shaped settings, the centers of which were initially further embellished.

A shield with floral decorations similar to those on the shoe encloses these two main motifs, and to either side of it appear two figures of the date 1584. The whole is encircled by a stylized laurel wreath with appliqué leaves of green silk outlined by green silk cords, and raised buds of woven silk and silver metal-thread material, formerly painted. At the top and bottom of the wreath is an applied metal-thread embroidered blossom, possibly an extremely stylized edelweiss. Leaves or tongs in a curving X-form, worked in a similar manner to the flowers and now missing part of their decorative side elements, bind the wreath at right and left.

Medallions such as this had a specific use in the funeral ceremonies of the guilds of the German empire during the sixteenth century and later. Used in pairs connected by a ribbon, they were hung over the cof-

fin, which was covered with a black velvet pall, whose corners bore additional guild emblems. Resting on top of the pall was the crown of the dead, an elaborate construction of leaves and silver and gold lace. The burial of a guild member was a very important obligation and all members, masters and journeymen alike, had to attend, under pain of strict penalties. As for the deceased, this final ceremony was yet another moment of his life governed by the regulations of the guild.⁵

All of the funeral regalia—coffin to shields to crown—belonged to the guild, with the most valuable and valued objects often being the embroidered pall shields. The most sumptuous of these date from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century; they were professionally embroidered with fine materials, often in high relief, and depict emblems or pictorial scenes directly related to the specific guild. Less ambitious shields exist in chased silver or gold-plated copper, or, for smaller guilds or guilds of restricted means, in carved wood or painted sheet metal. The embroidered shields, however, remain the masterpieces of this genre.⁶

Because of their great symbolic and monetary value it is not surprising that a number of these respected objects survive. A sizable collection is in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, a city considered to be a center of production for this type of work.⁷ Although two examples bear the same date as the Museum's shield and several employ the Renaissance framing device of a wreath, none is identical to the Museum's nor does any represent a shoemakers' guild.⁸

While a date is often part of the composition, authorship or place of execution is much more difficult to ascertain unless tradition or iconography connects

a shield with a specific local guild. Two fortunate exceptions are a bakers' and a fishermen's guild shield dating from 1574/5, in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich. These are signed on the back by the maker, Wolfgang Popp, who is known from records to have been a silk embroiderer in the painters' guild of Passau from 1563 to 1574.⁹

Nearly all the embroidered guild shields employ raised work, a technique particularly popular in Central Europe at this time and carried to its greatest extremes in Hungary and Poland.¹⁰ The artistic results,

1. Shoemakers' guild shield, German or Polish, 1584. Silk and metal-thread embroidery, Diam. ca. 16 in. (40.6 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1983, 1983.364

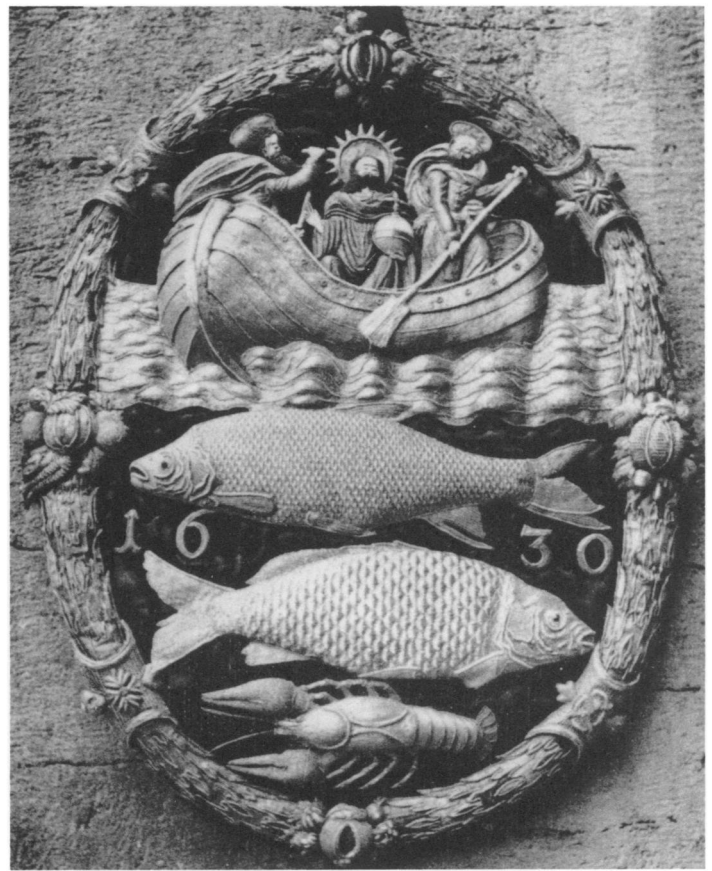
however, vary greatly. In the Passau fishermen's guild shield (Figure 2) the main figures and boat are in very high relief and appear quite three-dimensional in contrast to the background cityscape painted over silk and metal threads.¹¹ This approach differs dramatically from that of a Regensburg fishermen's guild pall shield (Figure 3) made more than fifty years later; in this exuberant example, the boat with Christ and the apostles, as well as the fish and crayfish, are in such high relief as to appear sculpted.

The Museum's guild shield achieves yet another effect. The raised work is in varying heights—slight for some details, extreme for the shoe. When contrasted with the flat, couched metal-thread embroidery of





2. Wolfgang Popp, Fishermen's guild shield, German (Passau), 1574–75. Silk and metal-thread embroidery, H. 29 in. (73.7 cm.). Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (photo: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum)



3. Regensburg fishermen's guild shield, German, 1630. Silk and metal-thread embroidery. Regensburg, Museen der Stadt Regensburg (photo: from Gröber, *Alte deutsche Zunft Herrlichkeit*, p. 115)

other elements, these differences in relief produce a three-dimensional but not realistic image, which stresses the importance of the anachronistic shoe as a symbol or icon. The directness of this presentation is all the more apparent when compared to that of the more complicated and sophisticated emblem of the Prague shoemakers' guild (Figure 4), in which not a shoe but three stockings in a whorl within a shield supported by two fashionably dressed bearers.

The form of the Museum's shoe, which went out of fashion by the late fifteenth century, does not suggest that the embroidery is retardataire in style; rather it conforms to a type, the Gothic *Schnabelschuh*, or beaked shoe, which was also the model for drinking vessels for ceremonial guild use (Figure 5) and non-guild love tokens.¹² Made of leather, like the example illustrated, or of tin, silver, or gilt silver, these cups, a number of which survive, date primarily from the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Although

4. Prague shoemakers' guild shield, Czech, 1591. Location unknown (photo: from *CIBA Review* 13, p. 43¹)





5. Guild cup, German, late 16th century. Leather and silver, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ in. (13.7 × 20.6 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.608ab

tradition probably accounts for the continued use of this form, one might well wonder why the guild adopted as its symbol this particular shape of shoe—with a high, well-defined arch and a long, pointed, curved toe—especially as its use had long been proscribed by civil and religious authorities as frivolously excessive and indicative of immoral behavior.¹³

Introduced in the eleventh century in France, this exaggerated type of footwear—also called a *poulaine* or *cracowe* or *pointaine*—found favor in numerous countries. Although it began as a modest extension, the length of the toe continued to grow and reached a preposterous dimension, sometimes as long as twenty-four inches; in extreme instances the end had to be attached to the knee or lower leg to prevent tripping. Moss, wool, or a similar filler material kept the toe erect, and a bell was sometimes added to the tip. Jingling as the wearer walked, the bell drew attention to him and to the obvious phallic symbolism of the extended toes.¹⁴ This particular form of shoe is also considered a fertility symbol,¹⁵ an idea reinforced in our shield by the piercing arrow and the acorn-shaped bell.

While it is not clear to what extent these different

meanings and traditions overlap in explaining this particular example, it is obvious that its imagery is highly evocative with many implications, not the least puzzling of which is the interpretation of the arrow with reference to the guild. When standard research sources yielded no answers, I consulted Helmut Nickel. Searching into his vast archival memory, he recalled a story he had heard as a student that might offer a clue.

Hans von Liegnitz, a legendary Silesian hero, fought valiantly to defend his city successfully, despite being wounded in the foot. Dr. Nickel suggests that this apocryphal story may have been devised to explain the motif of the arrow-pierced shoe. It is also possible that this explanation could have been used to make the traditional but proscribed shoe type more legitimate and acceptable as a symbol, while perhaps providing the latitude for an inside joke. Dr. Nickel further observes that the crown depicted on the shield is not the imperial one, but rather a type that was a mark of distinction in eastern Germany, Bohemia, and parts of Poland.

Liegnitz, once the seat of a duchy, passed from Polish control to Hapsburg rule. Today known as Leg-

nica and again in Poland, the city is not at an altitude high enough to sustain the edelweiss pictured on the Museum's shield but could have been included solely for its symbolic value. In addition, the medallion came to the Museum from a Polish collection. Since there are no technical or stylistic reasons to suggest

otherwise, one may attribute the shield to Silesia or a nearby region.

Although the riddle of this object's iconography is not fully explained, this attempt to solve its mystery would not have been possible without Dr. Nickel's provocative thoughts and erudite insights.

NOTES

1. MMA, Acc. no. 1983.364.

2. The embroidery is executed primarily in couched metal threads worked without padding or over it to give different levels of relief. The types of metal threads used include the following: (1) a gilt metal strip of varying widths wrapped in an S direction—sometimes closely, sometimes spaced—about a yellow silk core thread, used singly and in pairs. A sample examined with a scanning electron microscope and an energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometer by Mark Wypyski, research assistant in the Museum's Department of Objects Conservation, was found to be a silver and copper alloy gilt on only one side. When closely wrapped, these threads are used in areas requiring a dense gold color and are couched, as for the numbers of the date; alternatively, they are worked over slight padding to achieve a low relief, as for the arrow and acorn; (2) two or three of the same types of thread with spaced wrapping, but plied together in a Z direction; (3) the same type of thread, single, but plied Z with a metal wire and subsequently twisted about a yellow silk sewing thread to produce an effect similar to purl; (4) gilt wire wrapped about a thick core of silk with a metal-wire spine.

Some areas are in appliqué: the shoe, the wreath, and its decorations. The latter two areas use woven silks with a metal thread supplementary weft. Mark Wypyski examined a sample of this weft and found it to be silver with a significant amount of sulfur and a small amount of chlorine corrosion. Padding for the metal-thread embroidered and appliqué areas includes thick linen cords (Z), and plain-weave woven linen (top layer of padding for the shoe).

3. Both the blue-green and red silk fabrics are 7.1 satins with an interruption of 4.

4. George Wheeler, associate chemist in the Department of Objects Conservation at the Museum, kindly provided the iden-

tification of this decoration as a vitreous material, gilt and cut to allow the passage of the thread.

5. Karl Gröber, *Alte deutsche Zunft herrlichkeit* (Munich, 1936) pp. 114–116; G. de Francesco, "Guild Emblems and their Significance," *CIBA Review* 13 (1938) p. 431.

6. Gröber, *Alte deutsche Zunft herrlichkeit*, pp. 116–117; de Francesco, "Guild Emblems," p. 431.

7. My thanks to Dr. Leonie von Wilckens for bringing these examples to my attention. The shields are described in the detailed catalogue by Hans Stegmann, *Katalog der Gewebesammlung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (Nuremberg, 1901) II, p. 21, nos. 2492–2502.

8. *Ibid.*, nos. 2492 and 2493 are dated 1584.

9. Sigrid Müller-Christensen, "Passauer Reliefstickerei des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Pantheon* 6 (1942) p. 145; Heinrich Kohlhaussen, *Geschichte des deutschen Kunsthandwerks* (Munich, 1955) p. 419 and p. 417, fig. 390; Sigrid Müller-Christensen, *A Pictorial History of Embroidery*, Donald King, trans. (New York, 1963) p. 320.

10. Müller-Christensen, "Passauer Reliefstickerei," p. 146; Kohlhaussen, *Geschichte*, p. 418.

11. Müller-Christensen, *Pictorial History*, p. 320.

12. Paul Weber, *Schuhe* (Stuttgart, 1980) pp. 44–45.

13. Paul Lacroix, *Histoire de la Chaussure* (Paris, 1862) p. 51.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 47ff., discusses the history and development of this type of shoe, as does William A. Rossi, who in *The Sex Life of the Foot and Shoe* (New York, 1976) pp. 105ff., further elaborates on its socio-sexual interpretation and its use as a dildo.

15. Weber, *Schuhe*, p. 44.

“Ick Sorgheloose . . .”:

A Silver-Stained Roundel in The Cloisters

TIMOTHY B. HUSBAND

*Associate Curator, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

SINCE 1970 SOME thirty silver-stained roundels have entered the collections of The Cloisters.¹ Originating in both the North and the South Lowlands and in Germany and all dating to the end of the fifteenth century or the opening decades of the sixteenth, these small-scale glass paintings encompass a rich variety of styles and subject matter.² One of these roundels, representing an elegant table scene (Figure 1), raises questions of iconographic interpretation and provides an insight into the changing moral values and preoccupations of an increasingly prosperous and independent-minded society in the North Lowlands.

The central figure of the composition is a fashionably attired, if not dandified, young man seated at a table amply laid with food and drink while two attentive maids see to his immediate wants. A woman of high fashion, seen from the back, shares the table. Both figures fix their gazes on a man who wears a ragtag costume and has a knapsack and a canister-shaped object strapped over his shoulder. He carefully eyes the table, but the focus of his attention is enigmatically concealed by the seated woman, thus casting the subject of the roundel into doubt.

By the second decade of the sixteenth century, the production of silver-stained roundels in the Lowlands had reached quasi-industrial proportions. Individual subjects such as patron saints and, more commonly, series of popular histories, allegories, parables, and the like were produced in considerable numbers. The more successful series were reproduced over and over; as a consequence several rep-

licas or versions based on a common design have often survived. Designs commissioned from eminent artists³ were duplicated as working drawings and placed under the glass for the painters at the bench to trace. Depending on the talent and initiative of individual painters, these drawings were slavishly copied or freely interpreted. In larger workshops one series may have been executed by as many as three or four different hands. In these circumstances, mistakes occasionally occurred as a result of carelessness and ignorance of the subject matter. This was evidently so in the case of The Cloisters roundel: the painter did not comprehend, or at least he misconstrued, the subject, for in no other version is the activity of the standing figure obscured.

The best version in glass of this composition is now in the Toledo Museum of Art (Figure 2). Another, in fragmentary condition, is installed in a composite window in the Royal Museum and Free Library, Canterbury, Kent.⁴ A slightly later replica of the Toledo roundel is now exhibited in Cranbrook House, Bloomfield Hills.⁵ The composition, in a slightly variant form, is also preserved in a design now in Hannover (Figure 3). And finally, the identical composition appears in a tondo now in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel (Figure 4). In all five instances, the ragtag man with the barrellike case on his back is moved to the left side of the table, and the focus of his attention is thus made visible: he is pointing to a pair of dice. The Basel tondo is, furthermore, accompanied by three others⁶ that expand the narrative of the series.



1. Silver-stained roundel, *Sorgheloos and Lichte Fortuna*. North Lowlands, probably Leiden, after an Antwerp design(?), ca. 1520. White glass, silver stain, vitreous back-paint, Diam. 9¹/₁₆ in. (23 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1976, 1976.47



2. Silver-stained roundel, *Sorgheloos and Lichte Fortuna*. South Lowlands, probably Antwerp, ca. 1520. White glass, silver stain, vitreous paint, Diam. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (20.6 cm.) without modern border. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Rosenberg and Stiebel, Inc., 57.49 (photo: The Toledo Museum of Art)



3. Design for a silver-stained roundel representing *Sorgheloos and Lichte Fortuna*. South Lowlands, Antwerp, ca. 1510–20. Ink on prepared paper with white highlighting, 8 $\frac{7}{16}$ x 8 $\frac{11}{16}$ in. (21.5 x 22.1 cm.). Hannover, Kestner-Museum, Z 81 (photo: Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Landesgalerie)

The first of these (Figure 5) shows the extravagantly dressed young man being clubbed by a man in tattered clothes and being bitten by a woman. The second (Figure 6) depicts the young man, his clothes now in shreds, carrying an old woman on his back; three stylishly dressed men standing before an elaborate architectural edifice disdainfully reject the vagabond. In the last of the series (Figure 7), the young man sits disconsolately in front of a hearth feeding the meager flame with straw; a dog and a cat keep him company.

The series of tondi in Basel (as well as the glass and drawings that rely on common designs) has long been thematically associated with the parable of the Prodigal Son. Hoogewerff assembles around the four tondi a number of drawings in an attempt to reconstruct a series of some ten to twelve scenes from a

4. *Sorgheloos and Lichte Fortuna*. South Lowlands, Antwerp, ca. 1520. Distemper on linen, Diam. 31 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (81 cm.). Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, inv. no. 359 (photo: Kunstmuseum Basel)





5. *Sorgheloos Smitten by Pouer and Bitten by Aermoede*. South Lowlands, Antwerp, ca. 1520. Distemper on linen, Diam. 31¹⁵/₁₆ in. (80.8 cm.). Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, inv. no. 360 (photo: Kunstmuseum Basel)



6. *Sorgheloos Carrying Aermoede and Being Rejected*. South Lowlands, Antwerp, ca. 1520. Distemper on linen, Diam. 31¹⁵/₁₆ in. (80.5 cm.). Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. 1579 (photo: Kunstmuseum Basel)

Prodigal Son cycle, which he attributes to Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst.⁷ He erroneously cites as the literary source of this series a chapbook, *De Historie van den verloren Sone*, which was published in 1540 but is thought to derive from a French version of about 1500.⁸ In 1970 Konrad Renger reassembled this purported Prodigal Son series, which he asserts is the earliest sixteenth-century example and which he also attributes to Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst.⁹ More recently, this grouping was repeated by Christine Armstrong in her excellent study of the moralizing prints of Cornelis Anthonisz.¹⁰

Of these scenes, however, the only drawing that assuredly belongs to a Prodigal Son series is the sheet in Amsterdam dated 1528 and representing the feast celebrating the son's return.¹¹ The other three drawings by Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst have been consistently identified as "The Birth of the Prodigal Son" (Figure 8), "The Prodigal Son in Luxury" (Figure 9),¹² and "The Prodigal Son in Wealth."¹³ These subjects are otherwise unknown in any Prodigal Son cycle. Furthermore, on the basis of inscriptions on the backs of both the Amsterdam and the Oxford

sheets, K. G. Boon conclusively demonstrated that these drawings, all dated 1517, in fact represent scenes from the popular story of Gauthier and Griselda or Patient Griselda, which appears in Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Chaucer and is known in the Netherlands as *Eene schoone Historie van de goede vrouw Griseldis*.¹⁴

The details of the Basel compositions, likewise, cannot be reconciled with any known version of the Prodigal Son. Moreover, a series of six woodcuts fully explicates the iconography of the four Basel tondi entirely outside the context of the Prodigal Son. These woodcuts illustrate the story of a profligate called Sorgheloos (Careless). Below each scene are two parallel stanzas of text, twelve lines each, the first of which gives Sorgheloos's unrepentant account of the tale and the other the moralizing commentary of the author, Jacob Jacobsz. Jonck.¹⁵ The designs are attributed, largely and convincingly on stylistic grounds, to Cornelis Anthonisz. of Amsterdam, the grandson of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen, who was the only important woodcut artist active in the North Lowlands until Lucas van Leyden first used



7. *Sorgheloos in Poverty*. South Lowlands, Antwerp, ca. 1520. Distemper on linen, Diam. 31 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (80.3 cm.). Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. 1578 (photo: Kunstmuseum Basel)

the medium in his 1512–16 series, the *Power of Women*.¹⁶ The blocks were published by Jan Ewoutsz., whose monogram and address appear on the last sheet and who enjoyed a productive partnership with Cornelis Anthonisz. The final sheet is also dated 1541, placing the series around twenty years after the tondi and the roundels.

The first scene shows Sorgheloos (Careless) accompanied by Weelde (Luxury), both on horseback, while Gemack (Ease), along with two dogs, marches along on foot (Figure 10). In the first stanza,¹⁷ Sorgheloos asserts that he is without a care and that he intends to squander in feasting and drinking all that his parents have earned through hard work. In the second scene, Sorgheloos and Weelde settle down to a feast in the “house of Spendthrift” (Figure 11); he tells his companions that he has pawned all he owns, so there is plenty of money to spend. In the next scene, the table is cleared and the carefree couple dance to the tune *Folly’s Delight* (Figure 12). Dancing, far from being considered an innocent pastime, was thought to stir up lust and lewd behavior; the empty bedchamber in the background alludes to



8. Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst (ca. 1490–1551), design for a roundel representing the birth of the son of Gauthier and Griselde. North Lowlands, Leiden, 1517. Ink on paper, Diam. 9 in. (22.9 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 21:475 (photo: Commissie Rijksmuseum Amsterdam)

9. Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst, design for a roundel representing Griselde beseeching Gauthier. North Lowlands, Leiden, 1517. Ink on paper, Diam. 9 in. (22.9 cm.). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, cat. no. P 1 36 (photo: Ashmolean Museum)





13. Cornelis Anthonisz., *Sorgheloos and Lichte Fortuna*. North Lowlands, Amsterdam, published in 1541. Woodblock with color, 14¹⁵/₁₆ x 7⁷/₈ in. (37.9 x 20 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 32:121d (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting Amsterdam)

14. Cornelis Anthonisz., *Sorgheloos Driven from the House of Luxury*. North Lowlands, Amsterdam, published in 1541. Woodblock with color, 14¹⁵/₁₆ x 7⁷/₈ in. (37.9 x 20 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 32:121e (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting Amsterdam)

15. Cornelis Anthonisz., *Sorgheloos Carrying Aermode and Sorgheloos in Poverty*. North Lowlands, Amsterdam, published in 1541. Woodblock with color, 14¹⁵/₁₆ x 7⁷/₈ in. (37.9 x 20 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 32:121f (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting Amsterdam)



this. In the fourth scene, which corresponds to The Cloisters roundel, Sorgheloos loses all his remaining money playing dice with Lichte Fortuna (Fickle Fortune) (Figure 13). This canister-carrying figure has been interpreted as a crullerman;¹⁸ in the Basel tondo (Figure 4), crullers and wafers can be seen on the table. At the time it was customary to gamble with crullermen for their wares, which they carried about in the canister-shaped containers on their backs; these wandering peddlers were considered tavern frequenters, dissolutes, and ne'er-do-wells. Meanwhile, Sorgheloos's new ragtag companions, Aermoede (Indigence) and Pouer (Poverty), have just entered the room. In the fifth scene, Weelde and Gemack walk away, leaving Sorgheloos, stripped of his luxurious coat, to fend off Aermoede, who smites, and Pouer, who bites (Figure 14). The final sheet contains two scenes (Figure 15): through a hole in the wall of the hovel, Sorgheloos, pushed along by Pouer, can be seen carrying Aermoede on his back and being spurned by his friends and relations. In the main scene, Sorgheloos in total poverty shares a ramshackle abode with Pouer and Aermoede, who stirs a pot of thin brew over the fire. The sheaf of straw with which Sorgheloos will fuel the fire, the cat in the empty larder and the dog licking the empty

pot, the rancid sprats and herring on the grill, and Sorgheloos's lack of shoes are all symbols of his impoverished condition.¹⁹ The author then admonishes the reader to heed this example and know which life to shun.

The Cornelis Anthonisz. woodcuts allow several heretofore unexplained scenes in a number of roundels to be correctly identified and to be grouped together in a partial reconstruction of the original series. No known executed roundels or designs have survived that correspond to the first two scenes, Sorgheloos setting out and Sorgheloos feasting.²⁰ A roundel now in Leiden appears to be a variant of the composition of the third scene, Sorgheloos dancing with Luxury (Figure 16). A replica of this roundel is in Castle Cholmondeley, Cheshire,²¹ and another, rather weak version is in the parish church at Dundalk, County Cork, Ireland. Six examples of the fourth scene, Sorgheloos gambling with Fickle Fortune, are mentioned above. In addition to the Basel tondo, versions of the fifth scene, Sorgheloos attacked by Pouer and Aermoede, are found in a roundel in Aerdenhout²² and one formerly in Baltimore (Figure 17).²³ The sixth scene of the Anthonisz. woodcut series conflates two scenes that are presented separately in all earlier versions. The first of

16. Silver-stained roundel, *Sorgheloos Dancing with Weelde*. North Lowlands, Leiden(?), ca. 1520. White glass, silver stain, vitreous paint, Diam. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (22.5 cm.). Leiden, Stedelijk Museum "de Lakenhal," inv. no. 7684 (photo: A. Dingian)



17. Silver-stained roundel, *Sorgheloos Smitten by Pouer and Bitten by Aermoede*. South Lowlands, Antwerp(?), ca. 1520–30. White glass, silver stain, vitreous paint, Diam. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (22.5 cm.). Private collection, Crowlink, Rotten Row, Lewes, Sussex (photo: Lightner Photographs)



these, Sorgheloos carrying Aermoede and prodded along by Pouer is found in a number of executed roundels, in addition to the Basel tondo. One is now in Darmstadt;²⁴ two replicas are in Christ Church, Llanwarne, Hereford and Worcester, one of which is shown in Figure 18;²⁵ one is in London;²⁶ another is in Vienna;²⁷ and a somewhat later version is in a private collection at Melksham Court, Wiltshire. The final scene, Sorgheloos in poverty, is depicted in a drawing, now in Stockholm,²⁸ and in three other roundels: one of which is now in a private collection in Sussex,²⁹ one at Llanwarne (Figure 19),³⁰ and one in London.³¹

The iconographic and compositional correspondences between the various series of roundels and the Anthonisz. woodcuts controvert any substantive connection of Sorgheloos with the parable of the Prodigal Son. The Jacob Jacobsz. Jonck text reinforces the distinction. Unlike the parable of Luke 15:24, in which the repentant sinner is forgiven and returned to grace—"For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found"—there is no such homecoming and forgiveness for Sorgheloos.³² He is rejected by family and friends—"My friends and relations all turn away. Through my folly and wickedness all is quite spoiled."

18. Silver-stained roundel, *Sorgheloos Carrying Aermoede and Being Rejected*. North Lowlands, Leiden(?), ca. 1520. White glass, silver stain, vitreous paint, Diam. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (23.2 cm.) without modern border. Christ Church, Llanwarne, Hereford and Worcester (photo: author)



Other roughly contemporary texts, such as Gregorius Macropedius's *Asotus Evangelicus*, written about 1507, or Guglielmus Gnapheus's *Acolastus*, written about 1529, were allegorical school plays in Latin based on the Prodigal, in which the central figure is a drunken spendthrift who eventually repents, returns home, and is forgiven.³³ But Sorgheloos cannot even be considered an imitation of the Prodigal.³⁴ The saga of Sorgheloos conveys the simple lesson that wanton spendthriftiness, the most vitiating manifestation of concupiscence, leads ineluctably to material ruin and a life of unremitting, relentless poverty. In a period of economic expansion, it is not surprising that popular culture would reflect the very ethical values that were much credited for the new prosperity. Sorgheloos was a pointed morality tailored for an audience of sober, hardworking, industrious town folk who took an ever-increasing interest in their material well-being.

Although the name "Sorgheloos" does not appear in popular literature prior to the sixteenth century, the *topos* is frequently encountered in moralities that have similar themes of concupiscence and date back to the early fifteenth century. Close parallels can be found in Laurent Gallus's 1408 *Somme le Roi*, known in the Netherlands as *Des Coninx Summe*, in *De Blauwe*

19. Silver-stained roundel, *Sorgheloos in Poverty*. South Lowlands, Antwerp(?), ca. 1520–30. White glass, silver stain, vitreous paint, Diam. 8 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (22.8 cm.) without modern border. Christ Church, Llanwarne, Hereford and Worcester (photo: author)





20. Silver-stained panel representing Rhetorica, from a series of the Liberal Arts, based on an engraving of Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris, after 1565. Through the window at the left is a view of a *rederijker* play being publicly performed on a temporary stage set up against a wall of a building. White glass, silver stain, vitreous paint, 8 x 6½ in. (20.3 x 16.5 cm.). Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum (photo: author)

Schuit, a poem also written in the early fifteenth century, and in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, which also uses the navicular metaphor but was written toward the end of the century.³⁵ Included in a sixteenth-century anthology of assorted poems, table plays, and refrains, all conveying similar themes, is a piece entitled *Oorden der Aernoet Broeder* populated by close relatives of Sorgheloos such as "Spil penning" (Spend-penny), "Droogh-pot" (Dry-pot), and "Sondert geldt" (Moneyless).³⁶ The name "Sorgheloos" apparently first appears in an almanac of parodic forecasts, or prognostications, compiled by "heer Sorgheloos van Kommerkercke" and printed in Antwerp around 1540.³⁷ By this time the Sorgheloos narrative had already coalesced, as the roundel series indicate, into a conventionalized pictorial cycle, and Sorgheloos himself had become a recognizable type absorbed into other forms of popular culture.

The origins of the Sorgheloos story are uncertain, but it has often been suggested that it derived from a *rederijker* drama.³⁸ By the fifteenth century virtually every sizable town in the Lowlands had at least one

rederijker kamer—a rhetoricians' society or amateur theatrical group—composed largely of artists, merchants, and craftsmen. The *rederijkers* wrote and performed their own material in festivals and processions, at *landjuwelen*, or outdoor literary competitions, and at other celebrations both public and private (Figure 20).

The *rederijker* dramatic literature can generally be subdivided into the categories of *facties*, or humorous works of moralizing or satirical content; *kluchten*, or farces; and *spelen van sinne*. The last group, to which the story of Sorgheloos would belong, abounds with personifications of virtues and vices, or *sinnekens*. The names of the characters in the Sorgheloos story are typical *sinnekens*. These plays, which tend toward broad allegorical and moralizing themes, descend from medieval mystery and morality plays.³⁹ Perhaps the best known of these is *Elckerlijc*, of which *Everyman* is considered a translation.⁴⁰

The text of the Sorgheloos woodcuts published by Jan Ewoutsz. can be associated with *rederijker* drama with greater certainty. The author, Jacob Jacobsz. Jonck, was active in at least two Amsterdam *rederijker kamers*, "In Liefde Vierdich" and "In Liefde Bloeyende," and three of his plays have survived.⁴¹ It is therefore probable that the Sorgheloos verses were based on a lost play and that the sheets were published for one of the Amsterdam *kamers*. It is even possible that they were intended to be read to an audience.⁴²

The compositional and iconographic sources for the Sorgheloos series are unknown. The Anthonisz. woodcuts are stylistically conservative, and many details were drawn from a variety of sources. Weelde on horseback in the first sheet of the series (Figure 10) is based on Anthonisz.'s own composition of a year earlier representing Isabella of Portugal on horseback.⁴³ Gemack in the second sheet (Figure 11) and Sorgheloos dancing with Weelde in the third sheet (Figure 12) are based on the corresponding figures in Jörg Breu the Younger's woodcut of a Venetian Banquet,⁴⁴ also dating from 1540. The fool and the embracing couple in the third scene (Figure 12) and Gemack in the fifth scene (Figure 14) are based on figures in Hans Schäufelein's woodcut series of a Wedding Dance,⁴⁵ dating from 1530–35. Sorgheloos on horseback in the first sheet (Figure 10) is modeled after Dürer's horseman Famine, in the woodcut of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.⁴⁶ In this case the



21. Attributed to the Master of the Death of Absalom, design for a silver-stained roundel representing Sorgheloos carrying Aermoede and being rejected. North Lowlands, ca. 1500–20. Ink on prepared paper with white highlighting, Diam. $7\frac{15}{16}$ in. (20.2 cm.). Amsterdam, P. and N. de Boer Stichting (photo: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam)

model was undoubtedly not merely a formal convenience; rather, given the protagonist's eventual fate, it was employed for its ironic bite.

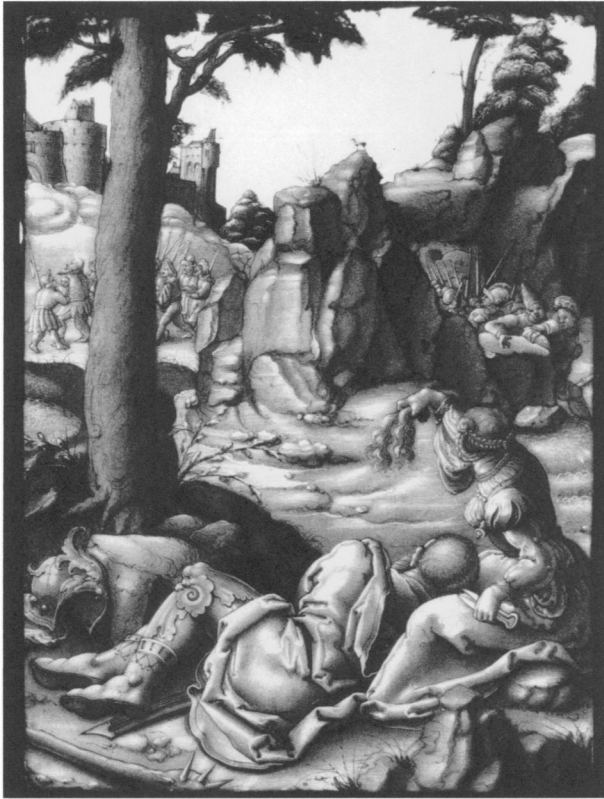
Although these details were almost all drawn from material dating to the decade immediately preceding the publication of the woodcuts, Anthonisz. seems to have relied on an older source for the overall iconographic format of the scenes. This is indicated by a North Netherlandish drawing, generally dated between 1500 and 1510 and attributed to the Master of the Death of Absalom, that represents Sorgheloos carrying Aermoede (Figure 21).⁴⁷ The close correspondence of the formal and iconographic elements indicates that Anthonisz. and, more immediately, the designer of the roundel series relied upon a narrative convention that, like the literary sources, was already established by the beginning of the century.

The identity of the author of these designs remains elusive. J. Bruyn maintained that the style of



22. Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst, design for a silver-stained roundel representing St. Peter and Simon Magus. North Lowlands, Leiden, 1516(?). Ink on paper, Diam. $9\frac{3}{8}$ in. (23.8 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 68:41 (photo: Commissie Rijksmuseum Amsterdam)

the roundels pointed unmistakably to an Antwerp artist, although visits by Leiden artists to the South Lowlands may have had some influence.⁴⁸ He, like Friedländer before him,⁴⁹ looked to Jan de Beer as a possible author.⁵⁰ While no designs of Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst (whom van Mander mentions only as a glass painter)⁵¹ relating to the Sorgheloos series have survived, close parallels can be found in his work.⁵² The striking pose of the seated woman seen from the rear in his drawing of St. Peter and the magician Simon (Figure 22), for example, has much in common, both in figure style and drapery treatment, with the woman assuming the same pose in the Toledo roundel (Figure 2). By comparison, the handling of the corresponding woman in *The Cloisters* roundel (Figure 1) is weightier, less attenuated, and the drapery is rendered with an abundance of stiff, crumpled folds. The pose is more mannered and robust, traits whose effect is heightened by the strong contrasts in



modeling. A very similar stylistic treatment is found in a roundel representing Delilah cutting the hair of Samson (Figure 23). This panel and two others representing the Idolatry of Solomon and Jezebel promising Naboth's Vineyard to King Ahab⁵³ may well be

23. Silver-stained panel, *Delilah Cutting the Hair of Samson*. North Lowlands, Leiden(?), ca. 1520. White glass, silver stain, vitreous paint, 11 x 7¹/₁₆ in. (28 x 19.5 cm.). Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. KG 70:3 (photo: Erwin Küenzi)

part of a series of the Power of Women designed by Lucas van Leyden around 1520.⁵⁴ As designs were freely circulated, the series of the Sorgheloos story could have been produced in a number of widely separated workshops. This raises the possibility that The Cloisters roundel was executed in Leiden and the Toledo roundel in Antwerp. If so, it would account for the contrasts in treatment, which are considerable enough to suggest altogether different workshops rather than merely different hands.

The designs for the Sorgheloos roundel series are highly theatrical. Gestures are broad, movements exaggerated, poses overly mannered, and costumes caricatured. One is led to wonder whether these designs originated, as the story itself apparently did, with the *rederijkers*. The relationship between artists and the *rederijkers* is well established,⁵⁵ and if the Sorgheloos story was created for such a group, an artist would have undoubtedly been at hand to give it visual rendering. Sorgheloos, in any event, was a compelling character on the stage of a worldly people who thoroughly believed that "if a place in heaven is deemed crucial, so too is a solid position in this world."⁵⁶

NOTES

1. Some of this material was first presented in a paper given at the Twelfth International Colloquium of the Corpus Vitrearum, held in Vienna in 1986. I am grateful to Michael Hoyle, who provided the translation of the Jacob Jacobz. Jonck text of Sorgheloos, and to Jan Piet Filedt Kok of the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, for his valuable help and suggestions.

In 1932 sixty-nine silver-stained roundels were purchased from Roy Grosvenor Thomas in New York and were installed in the windows of the Glass Gallery by the time the building opened in 1938. No other roundels were added to the collections until 1970; since then a concerted effort has been made to upgrade the collections, by replacing roundels of questionable authenticity or lesser quality, and by achieving a more balanced and representative collection in terms of dates and styles.

2. These roundels and all others in the Metropolitan Museum, as well as those in collections throughout the United States, will be published in *Stained Glass before 1700 in American*

Collections: Silver-Stained Roundels and other White Glass Panels (Corpus Vitrearum Checklist IV), Studies in the History of Art, Monograph Series, I (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) compiled by this author. Any circular—or rectilinear—clear, unleaded glass panel painted in matte, vitreous paint, and tinted with fired silver oxide to produce translucent hues of pale yellow to rich, deep gold or even copper is referred to as a silver-stained roundel.

3. The relationship of designer to glass painter is, for example, documented in the case of Rijnsburg Abbey, where roundel designs commissioned from Cornelis Engebrechtsz. were executed by Ewout Vos and two assistants. See Jeremy Bangs, "Rijnsburg Abbey: Additional Documentation on Furniture, Artists, Musicians, and Buildings, 1500–1517," *Bulletin van der Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* (1974) p. 186.

4. See W. Pugin Thornton, *Catalogue of Two Old Dutch Painted*

and Stained Windows in *The Royal Museum and Free Library of Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1899) pl. entitled "Window on the Staircase," II e, lower right corner.

5. Cranbrook Art Museum, Cranbrook Educational Community, Bloomfield Hills, Mich. White glass, silver stain, and vitreous paint, Diam. 9 in. (22.8 cm.), 1939.57.

6. Inv. nos. 360, 1579, 1578.

7. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst* III (The Hague, 1939) pp. 327–334. He comments (p. 331) that in folk art the Prodigal Son takes on the allegorical name "Sorgheloos." This, to my mind, is a misconception, and will be discussed below.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 330–331. Hoogewerff was referring to a version published in 1655 (1635?); for the text, see *De Historie van den Verloren Sone*, G. J. Boeknoogen, ed., *Nederlandsche Volksboeken* XI (Leiden, 1908). He was apparently unaware of the 1540 edition in the British Library cited by W. Nijhoff and M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliografie van 1500 tot 1540* (The Hague, 1923) I, no. 1909. See also Konrad Renger, *Lockere Geselschaft: Zur Ikonographie des Verlorenen Sohnes und von Wirtschaftsszenen in der Niederländischen Malerei* (Berlin, 1970) p. 35 and n.80. As there are no specific details in common, it is hard to understand why Hoogewerff felt this text (or any version of it) was the source for the scenes he grouped together.

9. Renger, *Lockere Geselschaft*, pp. 38–42.

10. Christine Armstrong, "The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz." (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1985) pp. 33–34. Although I disagree with Dr. Armstrong's interpretation of Sorgheloos as a version of the Prodigal Son, her otherwise sound and well-documented treatment of the Anthonisz. series was very helpful in the preparation of this paper.

11. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, inv. no. A 4249. Renger, *Lockere Geselschaft*, fig. 24. The drawing is inscribed, "Den vader heeft den Zoon en maeltijt berijt / dies halbe den bruder toren sonder bescheijt." Also belonging to a Prodigal series are the two late and very weak copies of lost compositions representing the Prodigal seeking work and the Prodigal's return (*ibid.*, figs. 22, 23). An additional tondo, formerly in the Figdor Collection, Vienna (*ibid.*, fig. 21), is clearly a late and weak copy of the Basel tondo (see Figure 4).

12. K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1938) I, no. 36.

13. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Renger, *Lockere Geselschaft*, fig. 15.

14. K. G. Boon, *Catalogue of the Dutch and Flemish Drawings in the Rijksmuseum* II, *Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (The Hague, 1978) I, p. 55, no. 151. The partially cut distich on the verso reads, "... rken Gautier nu doende als voren . . . bleef patienlich die wort vercoren."

15. There are two complete sets of these woodcuts in the Rijksprentenkabinet, a unique one with frames, text, and hand coloring, illustrated here (inv. nos. 32:121a–f) and another

without frames, text, or coloring. Two other sets of the latter type are in the Albertina and the Teyler Stichting, Haarlem, and broken sets are in the print rooms of Berlin, Rotterdam, and London. See *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts* XXX (Amsterdam, 1986) pp. 30–32, nos. 29–34. Jan Piet Filedt Kok has pointed out that the Rijksprentenkabinet set with the frames is the only contemporary set to survive; all others are late impressions from worn blocks, probably of the 17th century or later.

16. See *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, 1986) p. 271, no. 151.

17. For a translation of the complete text, see the Appendix.

18. Bernet Kempers, "De speler met de ronde bus," *Oud Holland* 87 (1973) pp. 240–242, and Armstrong, "Moralizing Prints," pp. 51–52.

19. Virginia C. Tuttle, "Bosch's Image of Poverty," *Art Bulletin* 43 (1981) p. 94, and Armstrong, "Moralizing Prints," pp. 54–56.

20. A roundel in the Institut Néerlandais (inv. no. 8575a); a replica that was published in *The Grosvenor Thomas Collection of Ancient Stained Glass, part II*, exh. cat., Charles Gallery (New York, 1913) no. 54; and a variant in the Victoria and Albert Museum (5643–1859) probably all represent the Prodigal in the Brothel, as Gemack is not present and cards, rather than dice, appear on the table.

21. I am grateful to Dr. William Cole, who generously gave me access to his remarkable inventory of roundels in English parish churches; without the use of this resource, many of the versions and variants cited here would be unknown to me.

22. The K. G. Boon Collection, Aerdenhout.

23. This roundel was formerly in the James Rawlings Herbert Boone collection, Oak Hill House, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, and was sold at auction (*European Works of Art, Arms and Armor, Furniture and Tapestries*, sales cat., Sotheby's [New York, Nov. 22–23, 1988] lot 61).

24. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, inv. no. KG 31:35.

25. These are set in a 19th-century glazing in a window on the south side of the nave (sI 3a and sI 2c).

26. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 66–1929.

27. Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna, inv. no. GL 2798.

28. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. Ankarsvärd Collection, 432.

29. Private collection, Crowlink, Rotten Row, Lewes, Sussex.

30. Set in a 19th-century glazing in a window on the south side of the nave (sI 3c).

31. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. From the same series as 66–1929 (*Sorgheloos Carrying Aermoede*), 65–1929.

32. In addition, as Renger points out (p. 45), the name

"Sorgheloos" has no connection in either origin or meaning with the biblical text, further weakening any possible argument linking the morality with the parable.

33. These plays were intended to improve the linguistic abilities as well as the moral character of schoolchildren. See Renger, *Lockere Geselschaft*, p. 35; P. J. De Jong, "Sorgheloos, een zestiende eeuwse rijmprentenreeks; tekst en commentar," *Spektator* 7, 2 (1977-78) pp. 110-111; and Armstrong, "Moralizing Prints," pp. 41-43.

34. For further discussion differentiating the Prodigal from Sorgheloos, see De Jong, "Sorgheloos," pp. 109-111.

35. Renger, *Lockere Geselschaft*, pp. 17-18, and Armstrong, "Moralizing Prints," pp. 36-37.

36. For the text, see *Veelderhande geneuchlijke Dichten, Tafelspelen ende Refereynen*, Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden (Leiden, 1899) pp. 97-103. See also Renger, *Lockere Geselschaft*, p. 19, and Armstrong, "Moralizing Prints," p. 38.

37. The piece is entitled *Die seer vreemde warachtige ende wonderlijke Prognosticatie Ghecalculeert op eene Rooster, in die langhe weke voor Sinxten, by mi heer Sorgheloos van Kommerkercke*. The title page is illustrated in Renger, *Lockere Geselschaft*, p. 44. This text obviously has nothing to do with the Sorgheloos morality. For further discussion of this text, see Herman Pleij, "Sorgheloos," in *Het zal koud zijn in 't water als 't vriest: Zestiende-eeuwse parodieën op gedrukte jaarvoorspellingen* (The Hague, 1980) pp. 118ff. Jan Piet Filedt Kok kindly brought this reference to my attention.

38. De Jong, "Sorgheloos," pp. 111-113; Walter S. Gibson, "Artists and *Rederijkers* in the Age of Breughel," *Art Bulletin* 43, 3 (1981) p. 435; and Armstrong, "Moralizing Prints," pp. 40-44.

39. J. J. Mak, *De rederijker*, *Patria Vaderlandsche Cultuurschiedenis in Monografieën* 34, J. H. Kernkamp, ed. (Amsterdam, 1944) pp. 48-49.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-68, and Gibson, "Artists and *Rederijkers*," p. 428.

41. *Naboth, Heymelic Lijden, and Weereltsche Gheleerde*. De Jong, "Sorgheloos," p. 104.

42. De Jong, "Sorgheloos," pp. 111-113, and Gibson, "Artists and *Rederijkers*," p. 435.

43. Wouter Nijhoff, *Nederlandsche Houtsneden 1500-1550* (The Hague, 1933-36) no. 242.

44. Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut: 1500-1550* I, rev. ed. (New York, 1974) p. 372, nos. 402-404.

45. Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf*, III, p. 1030, no. 1079; p. 1019, no. 1068; p. 1026, no. 1075, respectively.

46. *The Illustrated Bartsch* X (New York, 1980) p. 159, no. 64.

47. A. E. Popham first pointed out this master's activity as a roundel designer ("A Dutch Designer for Glass," in *Mélanges Hulin de Loo* [Brussels and Paris, 1931] pp. 272-277) and placed his work about 1500 to 1510. He later attributed the de Boer

drawing to the Master of the Death of Absalom and dated it to the beginning of the 16th century (*The Well-known Collection of Old Master Drawings . . . formed in the 18th century by John Skippe*, sales cat., Christie's [London, Nov. 20-21, 1958] lot 275). Jan Piet Filedt Kok kindly brought this reference to my attention. The de Boer drawing is stylistically very close to a sheet with a number of studies of heads also attributed to the Master of the Death of Absalom (see Boon, *Drawings in the Rijksmuseum*, p. 192, no. 515). Boon accepts a date near the beginning of the century, but Filedt Kok prefers a date about 1520. The de Boer drawing appears to predate the designs for the roundel series; this would indicate that the roundel designer was relying on traditional imagery, and seems to justify the earlier dating. The number "iii" inscribed on the de Boer sheet in an early hand suggests that it formed part of a series.

48. J. Bruyn, "Lucas van Leyden en zijn Leidse tijdgenoten ein hun relatie tot Zuid-Nederland," *Miscellanea I.Q. van Regteren Altena* (Amsterdam, 1969) pp. 44-45.

49. Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* XI, *The Antwerp Mannerists. Adriaen Ysenbrant*, rev. and trans. (New York, 1974) p. 68, no. 12, pl. 12. The tondi are here attributed to "the putative Jan de Beer."

50. The tondi are also attributed to Jan de Beer by Dan Chalmers Ewing, "The Paintings and Drawings of Jan de Beer" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1978) pp. 332-333, no. 55.

51. Carl van Mander, *Dutch and Flemish Painters*, trans. from the *Schilderboeck* (New York, 1936) p. 517.

52. Hoogewerff, *Schilderkunst*, III, pp. 329-334, attributes the tondi to Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst while Walter S. Gibson, "Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst as a Panel Painter," *Simiolus* I (1966-67) p. 38, gives them to the Antwerp School.

53. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. nos. OA 1191 and 1192. See *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, 1986) pp. 173-174, nos. 57, 58.

54. The roundels are loosely dependent on Lucas van Leyden's two known series of the Power of Women, ca. 1514 and ca. 1517-18. Two detailed pen-and-ink drawings, one representing Jael and Sisera and the other Judith and Holofernes, thought to be designs for glass, are stylistically very close to the Paris and Darmstadt panels; this resemblance strengthens the argument that Lucas designed another series of the Power of Women for stained glass. See Wouter Kloek and Jan Piet Filedt Kok, "'De Opstanding van Christus,' getekend door Lucas van Leyden," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 31, 1 (1983) pp. 16-17. K. Berserik (*Kunst voor de beeldenstorm*, pp. 172-173, no. 56) attributes the roundels to the circle of Lucas and dates them somewhat later, ca. 1525-30.

55. Gibson, "Artists and *Rederijkers*," pp. 426-446. Artists were frequently members of the *rederijker kamers*; the famous "Violieren" ("Gillyflowers") was closely associated with the painters' guild of St. Luke in Antwerp.

56. Armstrong, "Moralizing Prints," p. 57.

Appendix

Careless am I, at sport gay and lively
With Luxury, my darling, my love.
My page is Ease, dressed all in his finery.
Here are the two who have my heart and my mind,
Who soothe me as I gaze upon them.
Troubles I know not
If I stand in their favor
For sorrow and care are rank strangers to them.
Possessions I scorn, hard earned by my parents,
I shall squander them all in feasting and drinking.
The days draw in when money is shrinking.

Ye young stalwarts, so fine and so strong,
Play not the careless, let measure prevail.
Remember that life in this vale is but fleeting.
The careless are damned in the eyes of God,
And shall never ascend to lofty estate.
Yea, after one joy come a thousand sighings,
So devote your purse to the relief of the poor,
And the fruits that ye bear shall be righteous.
Fear not that luxury or ease will desert you,
For wealth shall immediately grow.
Pause for a moment and learn from the old.

Come let us squander, feast and carouse,
Here in the house of Spendthrift.
Luxury, my love, be free and make merry,
Here is food and drink in abundance.
Ease, my page, relinquish all care,
My purse is still weighty with many a pound.
For your well-being is my dearest desire,
And my heart is yours to command.
I live for the flesh, so round out your bellies,
Not for this hour either sorrow or care.
I have pawned all I have, so there's money to spare.

All ye young stalwarts, hark to my words,
Let temperance govern your bold young lives.
Scorn is the price for a life such as this.
One may drink, to be sure, small ale and wine,
And pay court to luxury—moderately, mind.
But lodge not with Spendthrift
For indulgence decays, as daily you see.
Ease is also a worthy desire
But employ it as soon as it comes.
Enjoy yourselves thus as you see fit,
For a handful of money just passes like shit.

Come piper, play up, the banquet is cleared,
It is time for a dance and a roundelay:

You shall be paid, and well never fear.
Luxury and I, Careless, we two between us
Shall now dance a measure to dissipate care,
So that Ease, my page, may savor our joy.
So come, play up, play *Folly's Delight*,
E'en if you make my purse feather light;
For unlucky in money is lucky in love.
Let us dance, let us feast, and tedium spurn,
Even if fortune to misfortune turn.

Ye young flowers, be ye lad be ye maid,
Reflect on the life of Careless, here.
Think of the Scriptures, the story they tell
Of folk who sat feasting then rose for their pleasure
To cavort and to play; shun their example.
Instead give thanks for your heavenly gifts,
And take your delights in seemly style.
Visit each other, sweet and kindly.
Yea, dance with measure, avoid profligate ways.
Remember my teaching, take this rule from me:
'Tis better to reflect than a mirror be.

Ah cruel fortune, why cast me so low
That nothing remains of my patrimony?
My heart is stricken, I grieve within,
For Luxury, my love, is turning to go
With Ease, my page, who both have my heart.
Indigence and Poverty have just started beckoning.
From good I am cast down to evil,
For I have naught to pay my reckoning.
My money, my pledge, and all my fine gowns
Have I lost at the table of chance.
But even in my tunic with Luxury I'll dance.

All ye young spirits, use sweet moderation
Throughout your lives, short though they be.
Do not hasten to wager for nobles and ducats.
Note Careless, presented symbolically here,
And live your lives purely
As true Christians should.
Do not boast of it openly, but live by the Gospel.
Hasten not to learn evil, for it comes of its own.
Embrace marriage with hearts full of joy,
So that none your loved one shall steal,
For they learn soon enough what the heart conceals.

Alas and alack, what am I to do?
Luxury and Ease ignore me entirely;
And despair is my master now,
For upon them I had pinned all my hopes.
And now, if I cry, they would turn a deaf ear,

Forgetful of all I have done,
Because now my purse is fast closed.
For Indigence bites me, yea Poverty smites me
Oh, would that I had a morsel to eat.
I bathed in abundance but a short while ago,
But now I must lie in the straw with the rogues.

The end of joy is sadness truly
As Solomon explained most purely
So all should keep their lives in order,
Be moderate and be prepared,
Lest you rue your life's beginning,
Like Careless does, as all can see,
Felled by women's hearts so variously.
There is little to place one's trust in here.
With their faithless words they will lead you a dance.
The sorrow is heavy when it finally comes,
For often the heart and the words are not one.

Poverty rides me, I shrink at the pain,
While Indigence urges me onwards.
My friends and relations all turn away.
Through my folly and wickedness all is quite spoiled;

The dog and the cat pipe their agreement.
The cat's in the larder, the dog licks the pot,
And Poverty cooks with a sullen air.
Our fuel is straw, old stools and clogs,
For there's nothing to pay for peat and logs.
Yea, with stinking sprats and rancid herring,
Must Careless now seek to fill his belly.

Take this now, everyone, be grateful,
It was brought to you by the spark of love
To show you of the life to shun.
Take this now, everyone be grateful,
Our tale was not of honest enjoyment,
Of a good glass raised with friends and relations.
Take this now, everyone, be grateful,
It was brought to you by the spark of love
Of one named Jacob Jacobszoon Jonck.

Imprinted at Amsterdam on the Old Side in
Kerkstraat by me, Jan Ewoutzoon, woodcutter,
At the sign of the Golden Compasses.

*Translation by Michael Hoyle,
Amsterdam, 1985*

Model of a Basilisk by Petrus de Arena

LEONID TARASSUK

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

THE VALUABLE COLLECTION of arms and armor donated in 1913 by William H. Riggs to The Metropolitan Museum of Art included an early firearm dated 1523 (Figure 1), acquired by the donor in 1895 at an auction sale of the famous Spitzer collection. Of unusual appearance and construction, this 29-inch-long bronze barrel had been dubbed *coulevrine* (culverin) in the printed catalogues of the Spitzer collection¹ and was so recorded in the Museum's files.

The barrel consists of three sections screwed together, with spiral threads at the end of the frontal section indicating that the barrel originally consisted of four parts. The muzzle section was already missing by the time the barrel was published in the Spitzer catalogues, which describe it as being in three pieces. Screwed together by rotation to the left, less usual than rotation in the opposite direction, the sections formed one barrel tapering from the breech to the muzzle.

The rear, or breech, section (Figure 2) has at each end a massive and wide molding bordered by concentric rings. Each molding forms a hollow housing with rectangular perforations; between them are cast sunken squares with ornamental devices. A similarly perforated molding is on the cascabel (a knob and its base behind the breech), whose button displays a frowning male face with a cloth headdress, reminiscent of an Arab wearing a burnoose (Figure 5). The forward end of the breech section is made as a screw-plug fitting a threaded socket inside the rear molding of the next section. The vent (ignition channel) starts from an oblong recessed pan, which is protected by a pivoted cover. On the underside is a solid lug with a hole for the attachment of the barrel to a stand or a carriage.

Behind the front molding of the breech, an ar-

chitectural composition is formed by decorative columns placed between a dado and a cornice. A reinforcing ring below this arcade bears the Latin inscription in Roman capital letters: PANORMO FVIT HE DEFICATVS. Two letters are clearly incorrect renderings of an *N*, so the inscription should read "Panormo fuit ne deficatus" (Palermo did not fail).

Prominently placed on the breech is a coat of arms with heraldic charges representing all major dominions of Charles (1500–58), King of Spain as Charles I (1516–56) and Holy Roman Emperor as Charles V (1519–56). The large shield is surmounted by four crowns and is superimposed on the imperial eagle. On both sides of it is the emperor's personal device, crowned columns of Hercules and a banderole with the motto *PLVS VLTRA* (more beyond).

The second section of the barrel (Figure 3) also has two large perforated moldings at each end. The rear one, decorated with large floral ornaments, has a threaded socket inside for the screw of the breech section, while the forward end has a screw thread cut on it for attachment to the next part of the barrel. In the middle of this section is a reinforcing ring flanked by moldings. Above the ring is a bust of Emperor Charles V seen in three-quarter view and wearing the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Charles became grandmaster of the Order in 1516 as king of Spain and successor to the dukes of Burgundy, original sovereigns of the Order). The bust is placed over the Order's emblems, the fire-striking steel, and the rugged staves of St. Andrew's cross. This bust seems to have been copied in mirror image, in a fairly amateurish way, from one of the numerous woodcut portraits, like the one in Figure 6,² rather than from a small effigy on a medal (also, medals struck prior to 1523 show this monarch in profile only).³

1. Model of basilisk barrel (assembled, viewed from the top) by Petrus de Arena, Italian (Sicily), dated 1523. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.1814

2. Detail of Figure 1, showing breech section of barrel

3. Detail of Figure 1, showing second section of barrel

1



2



3



- 4. Detail of Figure 1, showing third section of barrel
- 5. Detail of Figure 1, showing the button of the casca-
bel of the barrel

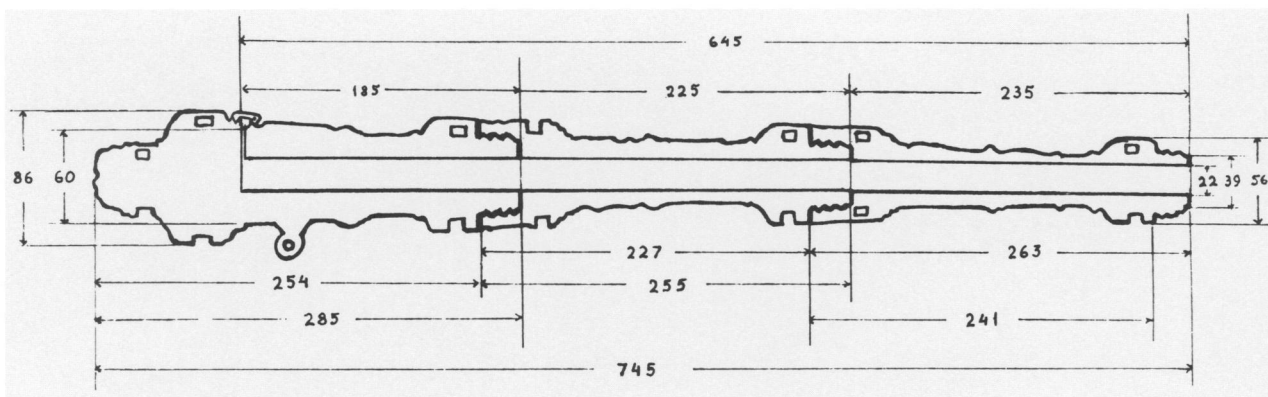
4



6. Woodcut portrait of Emperor Charles V, South German, 1519. Vienna, Albertina (after Campbell Dodgson, pl. xLI)

5





7. Diagram of the barrel of Figure 1 (dimensions are in millimeters)

Under the reinforcing ring runs the inscription in Roman capital letters: *MAGISTER PERTVS/DE ARENA SICVLVS/MEFECIT, 1523*. In fashioning the mold for casting this barrel, the *R* and *T* in the master's name seem to have been mistakenly placed in reverse order, while the *N* in his surname was in mirror-image (as in the previous inscription). The signature thus can be read "Magister Petrus de Arena Siculus Me Fecit 1523" (Master Petrus de Arena the Sicilian Made Me [in] 1523). Since the master was, most likely, an Italian, his name can probably correctly be interpreted as Pietro d'Arena.

The third section of the barrel (Figure 4) is of the same construction as the second but is slightly longer. Its rear molding is decorated with a band of floral scrolls, and on both ends rectangular perforations alternate with ornamental squares showing an animal's head (a howling dog?). The emperor's device and motto, exactly as on the breech, are cast above the rear molding.

Dimensions of the barrel are given in the chart below and in a diagram (Figure 7).

Length of breech section overall	11.25 in. (286 mm.)
Length of breech without cascabel and plug	7.87 in. (200 mm.)
Length of bore in breech (with plug)	7.28 in. (185 mm.)
Length of second section	10.03 in. (255 mm.)
Length of bore (with plug but excluding socket)	8.85 in. (225 mm.)
Length of third section	10.35 in. (263 mm.)

Length of bore (with plug but excluding socket)	9.25 in. (235 mm.)
Total length when assembled	29.33 in. (745 mm.)
Total length of bore	25.39 in. (645 mm.)
Caliber	0.86 in. (22 mm.)
Length in calibers	29 (645 mm.: 22 mm.-29.3)
Weight	27 lbs. (12.247 kg.)

With an adjustment for windage—that is, a clearance between the projectile and the bore—the diameter of the round shot can be taken as about 0.78 inch (20 mm.). Proceeding from this figure, one may be able to determine that the weight of a spherical lead shot for the barrel of this caliber would be about 0.1 pound (about 45 g.).⁴ Whenever it was practical to cast iron shots for guns of such a small caliber, an iron ball for this firearm would weigh 0.66 pound, or about 30 grams.⁵

The now-missing muzzle section of the barrel probably had approximately the same length as its two middle parts, i.e., about 10.2 inches (260 mm.), with the bore about 9.25 inches (235 mm.) long. The overall length of the assembled barrel would originally have been 38.5 inches (980 mm.), and its bore length 34.64 inches (880 mm.). In round figures, the whole barrel was thus forty calibers long.

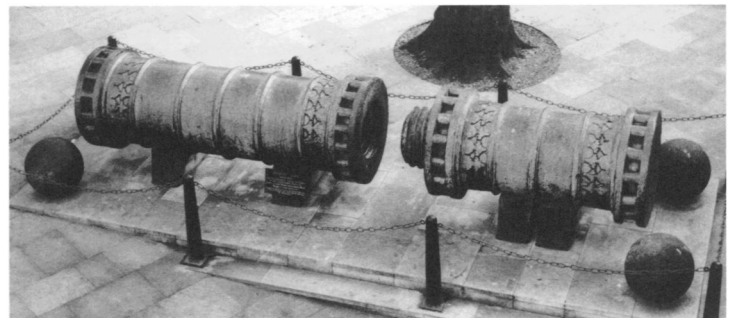
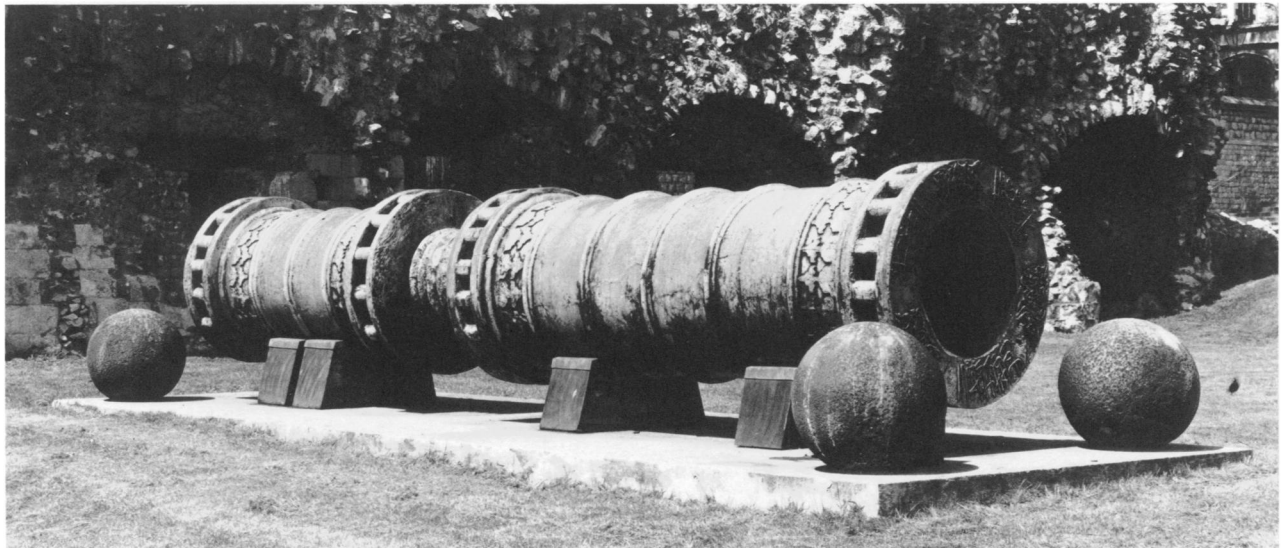
The construction and technical characteristics of the barrel raise the question as to what kind of firearm it represents. The barrel cannot be properly called a culverin, since this term was applied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to heavy artillery

pieces so nicknamed (from the Latin *colubra*, snake) because their barrels were long in proportion to their bores, which made them look different from other cannons of heavy ordnance. The caliber of this barrel would have been proper for rampart guns, that is, smoothbore or rifled firearms, with the calibers in the range of about .80 to .100 inch (19–25 mm.); they closely resembled infantry arquebuses and muskets but were considerably larger and heavier. Rampart guns were usually mounted on, and fired from, the fortress walls, being too cumbersome for foot soldiers but too light and inefficient to be used as field-artillery pieces. The complicated construction and time-consuming, expensive production of this cast-

bronze barrel, however, make it highly unlikely that it was intended as a rampart gun. A cheap, large-caliber, heavy arquebus, with a simple and sturdy one-piece steel barrel, used as a rampart gun, would fire a bullet of a similar weight with the same or even better efficiency, without inevitable gas leakages at the joints of a screwed barrel.

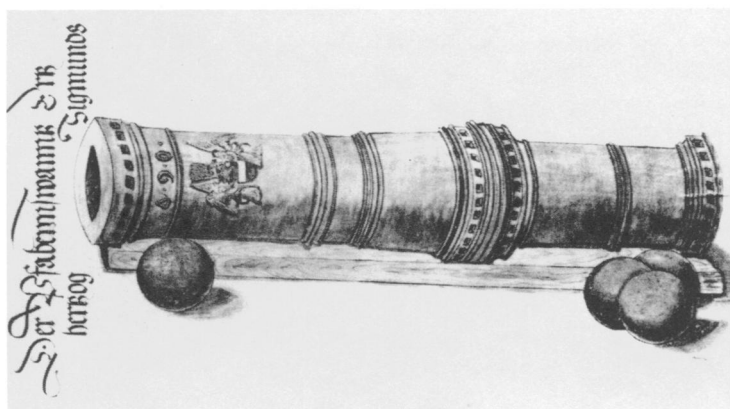
Looking for analogous pieces among firearms of the period, one finds this barrel structurally similar to some gigantic guns of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, whose barrels were made in two or three parts screwed together. Much more easily transported separately, these sections were assembled into one barrel on a wooden bed in a stationary position, usually opposite a besieged fortress, to be used as a wall-breaker. The huge bronze cannon of this construction known as the “Dardanelles Bombard,” made in Turkey in 1464 (Figures 8–10), consists of two sections screwed together, the breech and the

8–10. The “Dardanelles Bombard,” Turkish, dated 1464. The Royal Armouries of the Tower of London, XIX.164 (photo: Board of Trustees of the Royal Armouries, H.M. Tower of London)

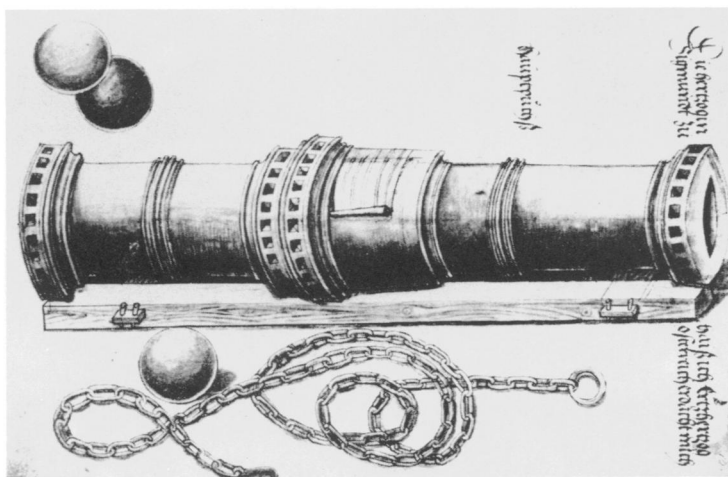


chase. At the ends of both sections, massive moldings with square receptacles served to accommodate properly shaped levers that facilitated the process of assembly. Handled by strong men, such levers kept the breech section steady with its vent up, while the chase was rotated with levers until both parts were tightly screwed together. The weight of this mon-

11. Bombard (*Hauptstück*), Austrian, dated 1490. Illustration in *Zeugbücher* (I, fol. 5) of the Emperor Maximilian I (1493–1519), a manuscript in the Ambraser Sammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (after Egg, *Der Tiroler Geschützguss*, pl. VIII, fig. 15)



12. Bombard (*Hauptstück*), Austrian, ca. 1490. Illustration in the *EntwurfsCodex* 10.824, a manuscript in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (after Egg, *Der Tiroler Geschützguss*, pl. VIII, fig. 16)



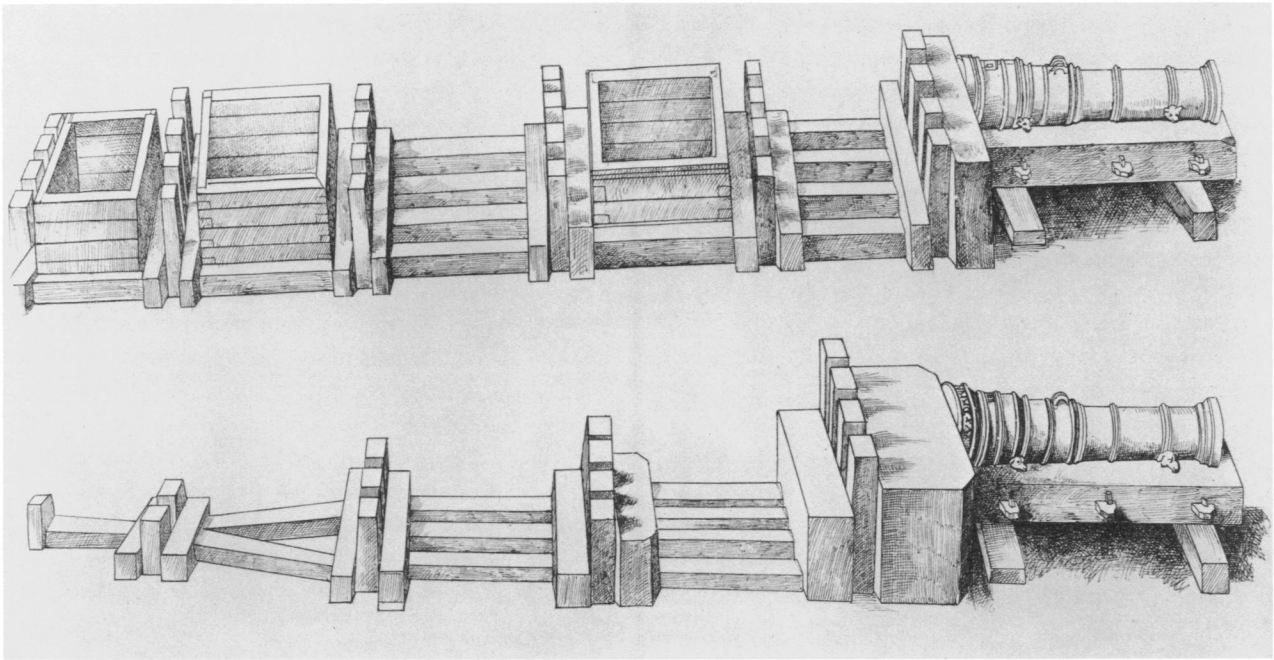
strous cannon is 37,630 pounds (17,069 kg.), its total length is 17 feet (518.2 cm.), and the caliber is 25 inches (63.5 cm.).⁶

Two late-fifteenth-century Austrian heavy cannons of the same construction are depicted and described in the inventories of the ordnance of Emperor Maximilian I (1493–1519). These large bombards (*Hauptstücke*) had a two-part barrel screwed together, with moldings perforated to fit the assembly levers (Figures 11, 12). Nicknamed *Pfauenschwanz* (Peacock's Tail) and *Weckauf von Österreich* (the Wake-up of Austria), the cannons weighed 22,707 pounds (10,300 kg.) and 18,188 pounds (9,250 kg.), respectively.⁷ Since the wheeled carriages would not have withstood for long such payloads and the powerful reverberations caused by discharges, the heaviest siege cannons were mounted on sturdy wooden beds with strong recoil fenders, whose construction is illustrated in contemporary documents (Figure 13).⁸

While the barrel made by Petrus de Arena is designed like these heavy ordnance pieces, it is so light and manageable that it does not require assembly tools and a special support bed. On the other hand, as has been already noted, for a rampart gun this barrel is unnecessarily complicated and expensive. It must therefore be concluded that the barrel represents a scaled-down model of a heavy cannon, which was cast either as a proposed design or, perhaps, as a small replica of an actual cannon.

The Italian metallurgist and gun founder Vannoccio Biringuccio Senese (1480–1538/39) describes in his treatise *Pirotechnia*, first published in 1540, various artillery pieces of the period and mentions, among them, the basilisk. He writes that the great guns “in old times” were the bombards (*bombardi*), while smaller but much longer pieces were the basilisks (*basilichi*).⁹ To produce a longer basilisk barrel, some gun founders made it in three pieces, joining them together in the same manner that was used with the breeches of the bombards.¹⁰ Both the Dardanelles Bombard and the barrel by Petrus de Arena illustrate well Biringuccio's expert description.

Longer barrels provided for a fuller consumption of the gunpowder charge, considerably increasing the propulsion force acting on the missile inside the bore. Consequently, such barrels, compared with shorter ones, were more efficient at longer distances and produced better trajectories and more accurate hits. The appearance, sound, and destructive action



13. Beds for heavy ordnance pieces, ca. 1470–80. Illustration in the *Codex Germ.* 599, a manuscript in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (after *Quellen zur Geschichte der Feuerwaffen*, pls. A.LIII–LIV)

of a firing basilisk must have been very impressive and were probably responsible for its nickname. In legends of classical antiquity, the basilisk was a serpentlike monster capable of destroying life in animals and plants by merely looking at them.

Since a full-size cannon represented by this model is not known, it is hard to determine precisely the model's reduction scale. According to Biringuccio, the forms and sizes of cannons varied greatly from master to master and from piece to piece, depending each time on the gun founder's ideas, particular design, and professional secrets.¹¹ A Venetian basilisk made in 1504 is recorded as firing twelve-pound (5.45-kg.) shots,¹² which would approximately correspond to the caliber of $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches (about 114–120 mm.). Another cannon, cast in Utrecht in 1544 and classified as *basilisco* by an early-seventeenth-century master gunner, is still preserved in Dover Castle. It was presented by the States of Holland to the British monarch and was subsequently nicknamed "Queen Elizabeth's Pocket Pistol." This cannon has a caliber of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (about 114 mm.) and a barrel length of $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet (7.16 m.); in other words, the bar-

rel is 63 calibers long.¹³ Some English sources contain disparate data on other basilisks whose calibers range from 5 to $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches (127–222 mm.) with spherical iron shots weighing, respectively, 17 to 90 pounds (about 7.7 to 40 kg.).¹⁴ One of these cannons was recorded in 1639 as having the barrel 26 calibers long.¹⁵ Proceeding from this information and the calculated ratio of approximately 1:40 between the caliber and the full length of the barrel model by Petrus de Arena, it is possible to conjecture that the length of the real basilisk represented by the model would have been in the range of 15 to 29 feet (about 4.6 to 8.9 m.).¹⁶

During the period 1510–30 the production of the heaviest forms of siege cannons, including the basilisks, was discontinued in the Holy Roman Empire owing to their tremendous weight (in the range of 8,000–13,000 pounds) and the related difficulties of transportation and installation.¹⁷ In light of this development, it seems that the design of a new long-range "super-cannon" conceived by the Sicilian master had been outdated by 1523 and would not have been accepted by the emperor's artillery experts. It can be surmised that at this time Petrus de Arena was an elderly master of the traditional school, possibly trained even before the turn of the century. An Italian cannon dated 1503 in Istanbul bears the strikingly similar name of Master Petrus the Sicilian, son of Master Anton.¹⁸ It is probable, therefore, that

both this cannon and the Metropolitan Museum's model cannon, chronologically separated by only twenty years, were produced by the same gun founder. The master's reference, on the earlier piece, to his father—and almost certainly his teacher—can be understood as a reverent tribute to his parent, himself probably a gun founder who had died not long before 1503. By 1523 Petrus the Sicilian might have won a professional reputation of his own and felt it sufficient to refer only to his family's origin in Arena, a small town in Calabria, on the Italian mainland, about forty miles from Sicily.

The date 1523 and the proud statement "Palermo did not fail" on the model cannon recall an event in the history of Sicily that put to the test the political loyalties of the local population. The Kingdom of Sicily was a Spanish possession inherited by the grandson of the *Reyes Católicos* in 1516 when he became King Charles I of Spain, and he remained Sicily's sovereign after he had been elected king of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor, as Charles V, in 1519. Ruled by Spanish viceroys residing in the capital city of Palermo, Sicily had been going through a period of internal strife fed by feudal rivalries, political ambitions, and economic problems. In 1523, when Charles V was already engaged in a war with France, a group of nobles, including four brothers of the Imperatore family and some government officers, formed a plot to secede from Spain and proclaim Sicily an independent monarchy. Instigated from France and encouraged from Rome by Cardinal Francesco Soderini, the conspirators counted on French invasion and subsequent protection, but their rebellion lacked any substantial popular support and was swiftly and cruelly crushed by forces loyal to the Spanish crown.¹⁹

It is possible that the basilisk model, with an inscription commemorating this event, was presented to the victorious monarch both as the master's expression of loyalty and as a proposal to engage his professional services to produce a cannon of this particular design.

Apart from the rather unusual four-part construction, the barrel by Petrus de Arena has a certain exotic appearance in its general structure. The mask on the cascabel, reminiscent of a burnoose-wrapped Saracen head, the assembled barrel with its wide flanges, and the sculptured colonnade and ornaments make one think of some structures in Islamic architecture, especially minarets, those tall, slender mosque towers encircled on one or several levels by balconies. For more than two centuries, before the Norman conquest (1061), French, Swabian, and, finally, Aragonese rule (from 1282), Sicily had been an Arab dominion and retained a strong Islamic architectural heritage, particularly evident in the capital city of Palermo, which was almost as famous for its palaces and hundreds of mosques as Córdoba. As strange as comparisons between a basilisk and a minaret may seem at first glance, the architectonic resemblance appears too strong in this case not to surmise that a gun founder familiar with Islamic architecture was indeed inspired, or influenced, by such highly visible landmarks as minarets when he was conceiving a very long cannon of this particular proportion and construction.

While model cannons of the early sixteenth century are extremely rare,²⁰ the barrel by Petrus de Arena remains, so far, the only known model of a heavy siege gun with a barrel in sections that are screwed together.

NOTES

1. [Eugène Müntz, Jean-Baptiste Giraud, and Émile Molinier] *La Collection Spitzer VI: Les Armes* (Paris, 1892) p. 103, no. 533; *Catalogue des Armes et Armures faisant partie de la Collection Spitzer* (Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, June 10–14, 1895) p. 61, no. 302. No provenance for the barrel is given in either publication.

2. Campbell Dodgson, "Eine Gruppe von Holzschnittporträten Karl V. um die Zeit der Kaiserwall," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistor-*

ischen Sammlungen der allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 25 (1905) pp. 237–244.

3. Max Bernhart, *Die Bildnismedaillen Karls des Fünften* (Munich, 1919) pp. 33–38, nos. 1–23, pls. I–III.

4. To determine weight (W) of a sphere, its volume (V) is first calculated by the formula $\frac{1}{6} \pi \times d^3$, where π is taken as 3.1416 and d is the diameter of the sphere; $\frac{1}{6} \pi = 0.5236$. For the ball with d = 0.78 in., $V = 0.5236 \times 0.78^3 = 0.248$ cu. in. $W = V$

× weight per cubic inch of material, which for lead is 0.4096 lb., i.e., $0.248 \times 0.4096 = 0.101$ lb. or 46 g. An iron ball of the same caliber would weigh 0.066 lb. or about 30 g.

5. Special equipment was needed to cast iron shot because of a much higher melting point of this metal, compared with lead, namely the temperature in the range of 2000–2300 F. (1100–1240 C.), compared with 621 F. (326 C.) for lead. Since lead shots could easily be cast with simple tools under almost any condition, hand firearms, wall guns, and sometimes even one-pounder falconets, the latter with calibers of about two inches, were supplied with lead bullets (see Erich Egg, *Der Tiroler Geschützguss 1400–1600* [Innsbruck, 1961] p. 29).

6. Howard L. Blackmore, *The Armouries of The Tower of London*. I: *Ordnance* (London, 1976) p. 172, no. 242, pl. 3.

7. Egg, *Der Tiroler Geschützguss*, p. 42, pl. VIII: 15, 16.

8. [August von Essenwein] *Quellen zur Geschichte der Feuerwaffen* (Leipzig, 1877) p. 49, pl. A.LIII–LIV.

9. Vannoccio Biringuccio Senese, *Pirotechnia* (Bologna, Gioseffo Longhi, 1678) p. 297.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 299.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 295, 299.

12. Egg, *Der Tiroler Geschützguss*, p. 64.

13. Oliver F. G. Hogg, *Artillery: Its Origins, Heyday and Decline* (London, 1970) pp. 70–75; Blackmore, *The Armouries*, p. 219.

14. William Bourne, *The Arte of Shooting in Great Ordnance* (London, 1587; facsimile ed., Amsterdam/New York, 1969) p. 14.

15. Blackmore, *The Armouries*, p. 219.

16. For $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. caliber: $4\frac{1}{2} \times 40 = 180$ in., i.e., 15 ft. (4.57 m.). For $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. caliber: $8\frac{3}{4} \times 40 = 350$ in., i.e., 29 feet, 2 in. (8.89 m.).

17. Egg, *Der Tiroler Geschützguss*, pp. 66, 101.

18. Arthur N. Kennard, *Gunfounding and Gunfounders. A Directory of Cannon Founders from Earliest Times to 1850* (London, 1986) pp. 35, 127. Pietro Arena is also recorded by another scholar but only in connection with the barrel under discussion (see Enzio Malatesta, *Armi ed Armaioli* [Milan, 1939] p. 28).

19. Denis Mack Smith, *A History of Sicily: Medieval Sicily 800–1713* (New York, 1969) pp. 108–112.

20. Bruno Thomas and Ortwin Gamber, *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Waffensammlung. Katalog der Leibrückammer*, I: *Der Zeitraum von 500 bis 1530* (Vienna, 1976) pp. 198–199, fig. 100 (A74: model cannon dated 1507) pp. 208–209, fig. 101 (A175: model mortar dated 1515).

The Guarded Tablet

DAVID G. ALEXANDER

THE BASIC SYMBOLS used in Islamic art derive from the concept of creation, which proceeds from God and encompasses all that exists. Muslims, like Jews, regard the universe as having been created by God through the power of the letters of the alphabet. Words, therefore, or rather the letters (and by extension sound and number) from which they are formed, are regarded as the basic substructure of the universe and consequently form much of the subject matter of Islamic art. The Koran as given to the Prophet in the Arabic language is described as part of the infinite word of God taken from a tablet guarded or preserved, *al-lauh al-mahfuz*, in heaven.¹

For these reasons Islamic art does not generally use an iconography in the accepted Western sense of the term. Indeed, only a relatively small proportion of Islamic works of art bear figural representations, while the majority are covered with vegetal and geometric designs and with words. The words especially must be regarded as a major force in the iconography and should be analyzed and treated in the way that we in the West analyze pictorial imagery. We must keep in mind always that these words and the letters from which they are formed are an aspect of the very structure of reality. It should also be remembered that only an approximation of this very different worldview can be glimpsed through translation.

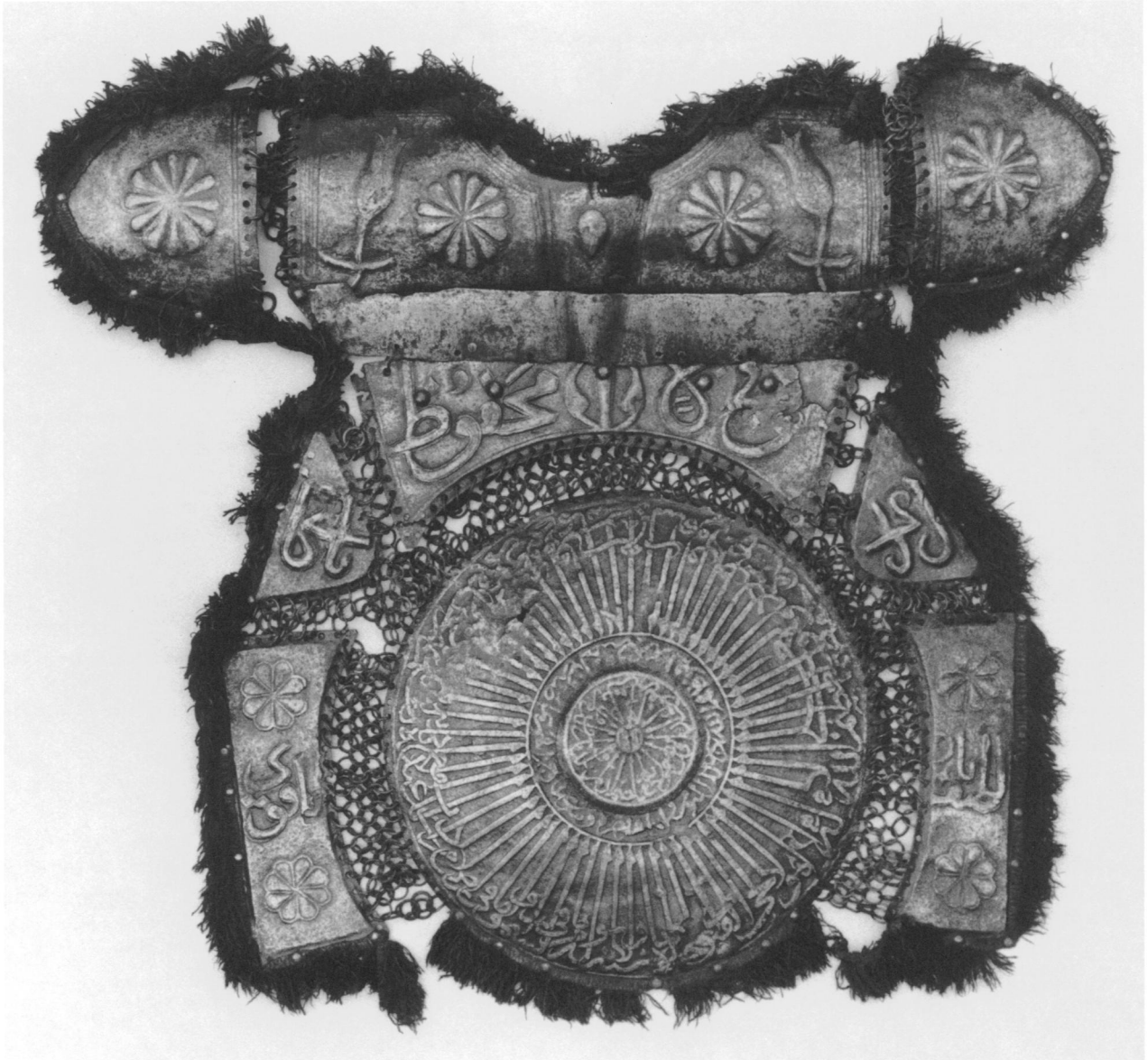
Perhaps because of the centrality of the concept of the Holy War, *jihād*, one of the largest corpora of inscriptions is found on Islamic arms and armor. Indeed, most pieces of Islamic arms and armor bear inscriptions, and a large proportion of these are koranic. One such piece is an Ottoman breastplate with a pectoral disk, which dates to between 1557 and 1600, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1). This pectoral is important because the Arabic inscriptions with which it is covered include much that is essential to an understanding of Islam,

because no other object in the Museum's collection of Islamic arms and armor bears a mention of the *al-lauh al-mahfuz*, and because in formal terms the pectoral seems to continue solar imagery that can be traced back to about fourteen hundred years before the birth of Christ.

Pectoral and dorsal disks, suspended by straps in the center of the chest and at the back, seem to have been first used in Iran during the fourteenth century B.C., from which period is preserved an Elamite example (Figure 2), decorated with rams surrounding a radiating sunburst. From Iran the style spread to Assyria, where it appears in relief sculpture from the Palace of Sargon (721–705 B.C.), and to the steppes of Central Asia as is witnessed by a Scythian example of about the fourth century B.C., which has a disk incorporated into a lamella breastplate (Figure 3).²

The style also traveled to Italy and Central Europe. Two sixth-century B.C. examples from these regions are decorated, respectively, with a sunburst design and with concentric rings.³ In the Sasanian period pectoral disks were often depicted on silver-gilt plates, such as a fourth-century plate that shows an unidentified king slaying lions;⁴ they also appear in the royal hunting and investiture scenes at Taq-i-Bustan (Figure 4). The latter include a pectoral disk decorated with what is probably a sunburst motif of exactly the same type as the Elamite example. Pectoral disks continued to be used in Central Asia, and a sixth-century example from Panjikent shows a rider in the boar-drawn chariot of Veshparkarn wearing a disk of this type decorated with small circles and triangles.⁵

In the Islamic period, depictions of pectoral and dorsal disks occur with great frequency in miniature painting, especially in Iranian paintings from the fourteenth century onward.⁶ Later Islamic armors with large central disks of the type under discussion



1. Cuirass with pectoral disk, Turkish, Ottoman period, 1557–1600. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George C. Stone, 1936, 36.25.345

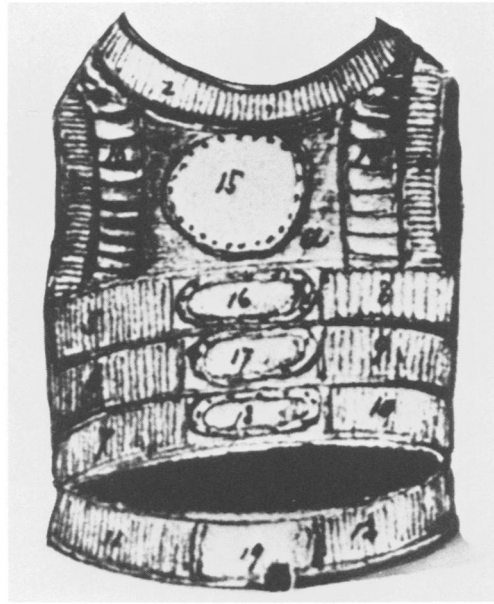
are essentially a variation of these early forms. However, later examples differ from the earlier ones in that the pectoral and dorsal disks are usually larger and are incorporated into an armored shirt or body armor. The earliest surviving examples from the Islamic period are an armor with a small disk incorporated into a plate and mail armor, which can be dated

to the fifteenth century, and an armor with both pectoral and dorsal disks, which cannot be later than the early fifteenth century (Askeri Museum, Istanbul, nos. 4326/2 and 21301; for the latter see Figure 5). Two other examples of the early sixteenth century with larger disks, one Safavid and the other Syrian, are in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul, and the Stibbert Museum, Florence (no. 3514).⁷

It is tempting to suggest that these disks originally had a solar significance. Some of the early examples are certainly decorated with solar motifs identical to

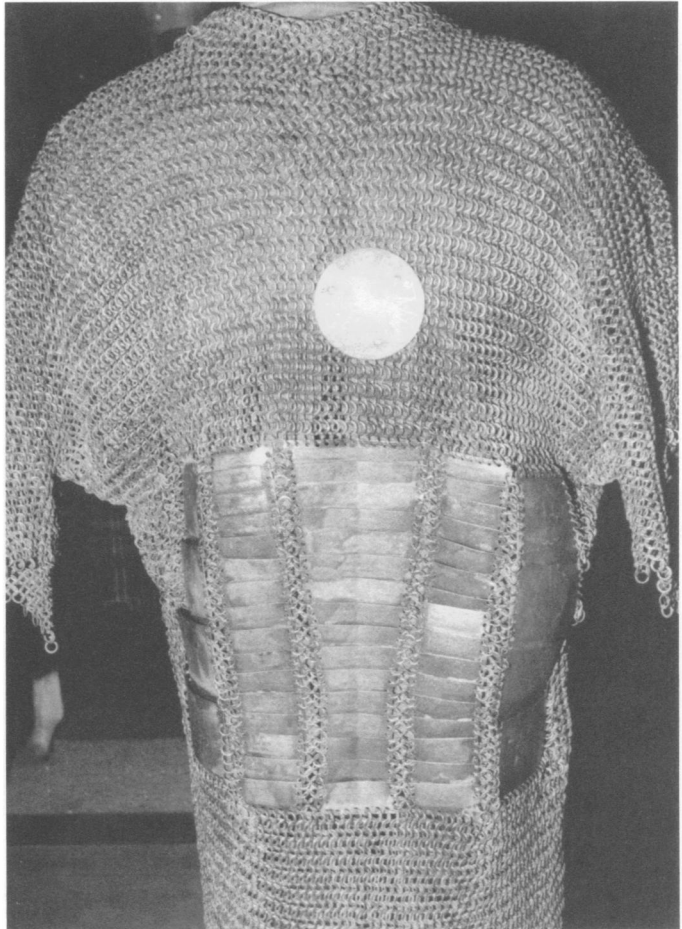


2. Elamite disk, Iranian, 14th century B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962, 62.115



3. Scythian cuirass, Russian, Pasterkaja, 4th century B.C. (from Gamber, *Waffe*, fig. 324)

4. Warrior with pectoral disk, Iranian, Taq-i-Bustan, A.D. 6th century (from Fukai and Horiuchi, *Taq-i-Bustan*, pl. LXVII)



5. Coat of mail with pectoral disk, Iranian, A.D. 15th century, Istanbul, Askeri Museum, no. 21301 (photo: Askeri Museum)

those on some of the later Islamic armors. The Elamite disk, the disk on the armor illustrated in Figure 5, and a sixteenth-century Ottoman example in the Askeri Museum in Istanbul (no. 16468) have exactly the same radiating solar motif that also occurs on the outer plates of the Museum's armor. A disk with a spiraling sunburst is depicted in a miniature painting in an Iranian *Shahnama* of 1648.⁸ Solar worship would not have been possible in an Islamic context, but it is very possible that an ancient solar motif could have been transformed into one evoking the power of God, especially God in the sense of Lord of the Heavens, who created "the sun and moon to revolve to a computation" (Koran 55:5).⁹

In order to understand this piece properly it is necessary to examine the inscriptions with which it is covered.

INSCRIPTIONS:

A. Inner circle

قل هو الله أحد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفواً أحد

Say: "He is God, the one the most unique, God the immanently indispensable. He has begotten no one, and is begotten of none. There is no one comparable to Him" [Koran 112].

B. Around circle

فوقهم الله شر ذلك اليوم ولقهم نضرة وسروراً وجزيم بما صبروا
جنة وحريراً

So God will protect them from the evil of that day, and grant them happiness and joy, and reward them for their perseverance Paradise and silken robes [Koran 76:11–12].

C. Outer circle

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموت وما في الارض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علمه الا بما شاء
وسع كرسيه السموت والارض

God: There is no god but He, the living, the eternal, self-subsisting, ever sustaining. Neither does somnolence affect Him nor sleep. To Him belongs all that is in the heavens and earth; and who can intercede with Him except by His leave? Known to Him is all that is present before men and what is hidden (in time past and time future) and not even a little of His knowledge can they grasp except what He will. His seat extends over heavens and the earth and He tires not protecting them: He alone is all high and supreme [Koran 2:255].

D. Side plates

بالطيف ياما جد ياكافي ياقوي في لوح محفوظ

O most one, o glorious one, o sufficient one, o strong one (four of the ninety-nine names of God).

Preserved on the guarded tablet [Koran 85:22].

The major series of inscriptions is carved onto the pectoral disk and in formal terms can be associated with the circular fields that were often used by Islamic artists. Roundels inscribed with koranic verses were a specialty of Ottoman calligraphers. Large roundels of this type adorn the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, and other fine examples can be seen on ceramic tiles of the sixteenth century. These designs were composed by the best calligraphers, such as Ahmed Qarahisari (1469–1566), whose inscribed roundels in the *çeli* script adorn the Süleymaniye Mosque of about 1557.¹⁰ In fact the inscription (Koran 112) used by Qarahisari for the roundels surrounding the mihrab in the Süleymaniye Mosque is the same one used in the inner circle of the Museum's armor. It is very likely that the armorer based his design on that of Qarahisari.

The use of *Sūra* (chapter) 112 to flank the mihrab in the Süleymaniye Mosque is indicative of its importance. This *sūra* is called *Al-Ikhlās*, which can be translated as either the "verse of pure faith" or the "verse of purity." The Sufis regarded it as especially important for the *dhikr*, or invocation of God, because according to Ibn 'Atā' Allāh (died 1309) each of its words possessed its "own quality, an allusive value, a profound significance, of the astonishing benefits, of secrets, wisdom, science and majestic and exceptional knowledge." Ibn 'Atā' went on to analyze each of its words, explaining how it flows "from the divine commandment, affirms His being and the name of His divine function, unity and transcendence and signifies that He has no rapport with any other than Himself nor has He created any other." The latter, since it is given in terms of positive and negative, alludes to a unity beyond human understanding. The chapter is also important because it contains not only the great names of God (i.e., Allāh and Hu) but also the second name of God, Aḥad ("the One"), which is bounded on either side by the word *Allāh*, thereby amplifying and repeating the divine unity.¹¹

The second inscription is from Koran 76:11–12. Its use supports the view that these disks retain in a

veiled form, their original significance long forgotten, the solar associations probably attached to them in pre-Islamic times, for the very next verse (Koran 76:13) reads, “where they will recline on couches feeling neither heat of sun nor intense cold.” This inscription is clearly talismanic and praises God as Lord of the heavens, of sun and moon, who will protect His servants on the Day of Judgment. That large numbers of the surviving pectoral armors are engraved, incised, or embossed with lines radiating from their centers also suggests the validity of this hypothesis.

The third inscription is from Koran 2:255. This is the *Āyat al-kursī*, or “Throne” *sūra*. This verse occurs frequently on arms and armor, especially on helmets. According to a ḥadīth, as reported by Anās Ibn Mālik and recorded by Abu ‘Isā al-Tirmidhī (died ca. 892), the Prophet said that the lord of all the verses in the Koran was the *Āyat al-kursī*. Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh gave four reasons for this: first, it has no equal in the way it mentions the infinite essence of God, especially as it gives five of the divine names and uses the pronoun *hā* (him) eleven times. He described every other verse in the Koran as a tributary of this verse, just as all things are tributaries of the divine essence. Second, the pronoun *hā* is the synthesis of all the principal realities of the name of the divine essence, and whoever invokes the name *hā* will be covered with light and will understand the divine mysteries. Third, it is called the “Throne” *sūra* because the throne of God extends from heaven to earth, just as all things temporal proceed from God, and just as all of creation exists within a hierarchy with God as sovereign at the summit. Fourth, when the Prophet called this verse the lord of all the other verses, he expressed its hierarchical perfection and its summation of the most noble qualities. It is analogous to the relationship of the Prophet to other men, which is expressed in a ḥadīth that calls the Prophet the lord of the children of Adam because of his perfect humility, patience, and thankfulness.¹²

The word *Aḥād*, which occurs in the central inscription, is one of the ninety-nine names of God. Another four are embossed on the side plates. The importance of these names is explained in Koran 59:23–24:

He is God; there is no God but He, the King, the Holy, the Preserver, Protector, Guardian, the Strong, the Pow-

erful, Omnipotent. Far too exalted is God for what they associate with Him. He is God, the Creator, the Maker, the Fashioner. His are all the beautiful names. Whatever is in heaven and earth sings His praises. He is all-mighty and all-wise.

The concept that the names or attributes of God are crucial for understanding the true nature of reality is found in both Jewish Cabala and Islamic mysticism, where it is said that God created the universe through the power of his names. These names are found not only in the verse quoted above but throughout the Koran as revealed to the Prophet; indeed, the entire Koran can be regarded as one of the names of God. The number of the names varies according to different philosophers and mystics, but generally it is put at ninety-nine. The mystics regarded knowledge of the names of God as capable of giving power to men. This is expressed in a ḥadīth of the Prophet: “To God belong 99 names, a hundred less one; for He, the Odd Number, likes one by one; whosoever knows the 99 names will enter paradise.”¹³ As the names were regarded as being invested with such power, it is easy to see why they were used on weapons as talismans that might protect the warrior from physical harm in this world.

The names of God are often compared to a ladder by which the believer can ascend to knowledge of the Divine. This, incidentally, is why ladder patterns on Islamic sword blades were so highly prized and why these patterns were called “Muḥammad’s ladder.” The ladder represents the means of ascent to knowledge of the Divinity as in Jacob’s ladder: “And he dreamed and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it” (Genesis 28:12). This idea appears in Koran 70:2–4: “No power can hinder Allāh from punishing them. He is the Lord of the steps, to whom the angels and the soul take a day to ascend, whose length (to you) is fifty thousand years” and in Koran 32:5: “He regulates all affairs from high to low, then they rise to perfection step by step in a (heavenly) day whose measure is a thousand years by your reckoning.”

The koranic word *ma’arīj* is often translated as ladder but literally means steps in the sense of a progression toward perfection. This ascent is generally regarded as the highest of mystical experiences, and Muḥammad, like Jacob, made such a journey, which

is called the *mīrāj*. The traditions differ as to when this occurred, but it is sometimes said to have been on the twenty-seventh night of the seventh month in the year 620. The Prophet lay asleep and was visited by Gabriel, who first purified him with water from the paradisiacal river Zamzam. Then Gabriel mounted Muḥammad upon a winged creature called *burāq*, and they flew to Jerusalem, which became the gateway to an ascent through the seven heavens, where Muḥammad met all the previous prophets and finally experienced the Divine Essence. The journey also included a visit to hell, where the Prophet witnessed the tortures inflicted on sinners and unbelievers. The *mīrāj* inspired many commentaries, the most famous being that of Ibn Sina (Avicenna), who noted that the Prophet saw the greatest name of God, *La ilāha illā Allāh* (“There is no God but God”), written in words of fire around the head of the archangel. The journey is frequently depicted in miniature painting.¹⁴ Following this journey Koran 17:1 was revealed: “Glory to Him who took his votary to a wide and distant land from the Sacred Mosque at Mecca (to the remote temple in Jerusalem), that we may show him some of Our signs.” The Sufis developed an elaborate mysticism around the concept and linked the idea of the ascent to the Divine with the beautiful names. Ibn al-ʿArabī (1165–1240), for instance, describes the steps leading up to a *mimbar* (pulpit) as “the ladder of the Most Beautiful Names, to climb this ladder is to be invested with the qualities of the Names.”¹⁵

To understand the meaning of the one-line verse on the top plate, it is necessary to read it in conjunction with the preceding line, Koran 85:21. Both lines together translate as: “This is indeed the glorious Qur’an, preserved on the guarded tablet.” This verse refers to the idea that the Koran as revealed to the Prophet was taken from an archetypal book conserved in the heavens. It underlines the idea that creation proceeds from the power of the Word and that—since this power is infinite—only knowledge of a portion of it can be revealed to mankind. God’s omniscience and omnipotence in relation to the tablet is also mentioned in Koran 6:59: “Not a leaf falls without His knowledge, nor a grain in the darkest (recess) of the earth, nor any thing green or seared that is not recorded in the open book.”

Because he is infinite his creation is continuous and so is his revelation to humanity. Because the to-

ality of God is viewed as essentially unknowable to man, this revelation contains only portions of the truth, which is verbalized in keeping with the Semitic idea that all of creation proceeds from God through the power of the Word. It is in this sense that Muslims see the prophetic role. Each of the prophets, beginning with Adam and continuing through Abraham, Moses, and Jesus to Muḥammad, was able to reveal, by the grace of God, a part of the truth. Each was given a portion of the knowledge contained on the “guarded tablet.” *Al-lauh al-mahfūz* is given here as “the guarded tablet,” but it is also translated as “the well-preserved tablet,” “safely preserved,” or “the preserved tablet,”¹⁶ which God is said to have “written” before the creation and which contains the “reality of all things.”¹⁷ The idea of a continuing revelation sustains the concept of the *ahl al-kitāb*, or “people of the Book,” and is why Muḥammad regarded Jews, Christians, and Muslims as members of one family, in contrast to the polytheists and unbelievers. It is at the core of the Sufis’ view that all paths lead to God expressed by Ibn al-ʿArabī, who wrote that the Torah of light had four faces—the Koran, the Psalms, the Pentateuch, and the Gospel—and that:

My heart has become capable of every form; it is a pasture for gazelles and a convent for Christian monks,

And a temple for idols [ed., the Divine realities] and the pilgrim’s ka’ba and the tables of the Tora and the book of the Koran.¹⁸

The verses on the “guarded tablet” tap the very essence of the Koran. The word *koran* means a recitation or discourse, and the entire book can be regarded as a single recitation of a revelation from God that men should also recite (*Sūra* 75:18) and not forget (*Sūra* 87:6). That part of the guarded tablet revealed in Arabic to Muḥammad is the Koran. The Koran is in turn divided into *sūras*, each of which seems to indicate a specific revelation, and then into *Āyat*, or verses, that are its individual, miraculous parts.¹⁹

The germ of the idea of a “guarded tablet” can be seen in the Torah as revealed to Moses, which in later Islamic times was said to have been inscribed on tablets of emerald brought from Paradise. According to this version, when Moses died the tablets were sealed

in a mountain and only uncovered for Muḥammad, who was able to understand the Hebrew text with Gabriel's aid and then with Ali's help to compose a book containing "all science or knowledge past and future."²⁰

The idea that the Prophet, in conjunction with Ali, composed a book containing "all science or knowledge" is directly linked to the claim that an esoteric knowledge had been passed from Ali through the line of Shia imams to the sixth imam, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (ca. 699–765). This secret knowledge is directly related to the story of the emerald tablet, which is also inspired by the koranic idea of the tablet preserved in heaven. The earliest reference to the emerald tablet seems to be of the eighth century. At that time Jabir ibn Ḥayyān, who claimed Ja'far al-Ṣādiq as his source, wrote a treatise in which he described an emerald tablet inscribed with the "ultimate secrets of nature."²¹ According to Jabir this esoteric knowledge originated with Hermes Trismegistus and was then passed on by Balinus (Apollonius of Tyana). It has been suggested by Kraus that the real origin of this might lie in Mesopotamian folklore, where reference can be found to an inscribed emerald called the "eye of the dragon."²² This Arab source for the emerald tablet of Hermes Trismegistus has had a profound influence on Western thought and literature. For instance, it is the origin of the concept of the Grail in *Parzival* by Wolfram von Eschenbach, who following Sufi and cabalistic speculations on the tablet described the Grail as a stone on which names are inscribed.²³

Armors of the pectoral-disk type are called in Persian *char aina* (four mirrors)²⁴ because they are often composed of shiny mirrorlike plates and because such armors were probably made after the inspiration of mystical Sufi writings that abound in mirror symbolism. This symbolism occurs for example in the work of the founder of the Mevlani order, Jalāl-uddīn Rūmī (1207–73), who often compared the mirror to the heart or to the visible world itself as a place that reflects the divine: "The world is a mirror, an imaging of Love's perfection."²⁵

The Mevlani were very influential in the Ottoman period and the sheikh of the order generally performed the girding of a new sultan.²⁶ The Mevlani grand sheikh Emir Adil composed a verse in which he likened the heart to a mirror that was able to receive impressions from the preserved tablet:

Yonder heart by tracery of earth unscored,
Cometh keeper of the mysteries to be;
Mirror-holder to the tablet the preserved,
Double grows it of the script from doubt that free.²⁷

During the reign of Mehmet II, Aḥmad Pasha, the foremost court poet and tutor of the sultan, composed a poem in which he compared the marble in the conqueror's new palace (built in 1460–61) to the preserved tablet:

Thy marble white a mirror is that showeth things
unseen, for lo, it pictures either world day-like in
clarity.²⁸

The Ottomans certainly made a connection between the pure heart/mirror and the preserved tablet, and if they also thought of armors with pectoral disks as a type of *char aina*, then it seems most likely that the armorer who inscribed the verse on the preserved tablet on the Metropolitan Museum's armor was making a pun on the relationship of armor (as mirror), heart, and the preserved tablet.

The four sets of inscriptions on this armor contain many of the essential ideas of Islam: they stress the unity of God, his beautiful names, his omnipotence and mastery of sun, moon, and mankind, the rewards awaiting the believers. Finally, by use of the "sovereign of all the verses in the Koran" (the "Throne" *sūra*) in conjunction with Koran 85:22, stress is given to the eternal tablet of the heavens and its earthly counterpart the Koran. An armor inscribed with koranic verses does not just make a statement about belief. It must also be seen in the context of the jihād, which in certain circumstances may involve physically fighting an unbeliever.

The jihād is frequently mentioned in the Koran:
Fight those in the way of God who fight you,
but do not be aggressive:
God does not like aggressors.
And fight those (who fight you) wheresoever you find
them,
and expel them from the place
they had turned you out from . . .
But if they desist, God is forgiving and kind.

These ideas are explained and reinforced in a number of hadith in which the Prophet stressed the merit

to be earned by fighting in the jihād.²⁹ In such passages the believer is urged to fight in the cause of God, which is regarded primarily as struggle in the service of all that is good, for the light, against the forces of darkness. A warrior clad in armor covered with koranic inscriptions proclaims himself to be a *mujahaddin* engaged in fighting in God's cause.

The *tamga* (تڨا) incised into the center of the Museum's pectoral armor is marked on many of the arms and armor from the Ottoman arsenals and is sometimes mistakenly called the mark of the St. Irene arsenal.³⁰ This is because most of the pieces of armor from the Ottoman arsenals that have entered Western collections were originally stored in the church of St. Irene in Istanbul. This church was turned into an armory by Mehmet II in 1453 and continued to be used as such until after the First

World War, when the contents were transferred to the military museum in Harbiye (Askeri Museum).

A number of objects bearing this mark are known to have come from other arsenals. These include a series of "turban" helmets now in the Hermitage, Leningrad, which were taken as booty from the arsenal of Erzurum in 1829,³¹ and several Bohemian arrowheads and a cranequin, which were captured by the Ottomans in 1444 and must have been stored in the arsenal at Edirne, their capital.³² It cannot be demonstrated with certainty that these *tamgas* were added at the time of their capture and not when the objects were transferred to Istanbul, but if they were, then the arrowheads and cranequin would provide the earliest examples of the mark, confirming von Lenz's view that the mark was used by the various Ottoman arsenals.³³

NOTES

1. A. J. Wensinck and C. E. Bosworth, "Lawh," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, 1986) V, p. 698, for various translations of the term.

2. O. Gamber, *Waffe und Rüstung Eurasiens* (Braunschweig, 1978) figs. 192, 193, 269, 271, 324. The Elamite roundel is discussed by O. W. Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron: Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1988) fig. 16.

3. P. O. Harper, *The Royal Hunter: Art of the Sasanian Empire*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1978) no. 3; or on a series of 5th- to 6th-century plates, one depicting Hormizd II (303-309), as a lion slayer, another showing either Peroz (459-484) or Kavad I (488-531) hunting rams, or one representing Bahram V (Gur) (420-438) and Azada hunting gazelles, *ibid.*, nos. 6, 7, and 12.

4. S. Fukai and K. Horiuchi, *Taq-I-Bustan* (Tokyo, 1969) pls. XII, LXVI, and LXVII.

5. G. Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting: The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1981) fig. 14.

6. M. Gorelik, "Oriental armour of the Near and Middle East from the eighth to fifteenth centuries as shown in works of art," in R. Elgood, ed., *Islamic Arms and Armour* (London, 1979) figs. 171, 172, 173, 189, 192, 193, 194; H. Robinson, *Oriental Armour* (London, 1967) fig. 20, A, C, D; D. G. Alexander, "Two Aspects of Islamic Arms and Armor," in *MMJ* 18 (1984) fig. 9.

7. A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* (Oxford/London, 1938-39) XII, pl. 1406; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933); and M. Herz Bey, "Armes et armures arabes," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 7 (1910) pl. VIII.

8. Robinson, *Oriental Armour*, fig. 20, D.

9. The translations of the Koran used throughout this article are from Ahmed Ali, *Al-Qur'an* (Princeton, 1988).

10. E. Akurgal, ed., *The Art and Architecture of Turkey* (New York, 1980) pl. 92.

11. Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh, *Traité sur le nom Allah*, M. Glotton, trans. (Paris, 1981) pp. 171-172.

12. Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh, *Traité*, pp. 149-152; also Cl. Huart and J. Sadan, "Kursi," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, V, p. 509.

13. L. Gardet, "Al-Ā'sma Al-Ḥusna," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, 1960) I, pp. 714-717.

14. M. Seguy, *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet* (New York, 1977) for a 15th-century manuscript and a detailed analysis of the *mī'rāj*.

15. Muhyi'ddīn Ibn al-'Arabī, *Tarjumān al Ashwāq*, R. Nicholson, trans. (London, 1978) p. 89.

16. A. Schimmel, *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture* (New York/London, 1984) p. 78; *The Koran*, N. J. Dawood, trans. (London, 1964) p. 48.

17. S. Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam*, (London, 1985) p. 53.

18. Ibn al-'Arabī, *Tarjuman al Ashwaq* (1978) pp. 51, 67-68.

19. F. Buhl, "Koran," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1927) II, pp. 1073-1076.

20. 'Allāma Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisi, *The Life and Religion of Muhammad II*, J. Merrick, trans. (Boston, 1982) p. 105.

21. M. Ullmann, "Al-Kīmiyā," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, V, p. 111.

22. P. Kraus, *Jabir ibn Hayyan* (Paris, 1986) p. 74.

23. The Sufi 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Jāmī (d. 1492) wrote that the names of his future disciples had been inscribed on the preserved tablet; see A. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, 1986) pp. 101–102. Wolfram claimed as his source a Jewish scholar, Flegetanis, who had described the Grail as a heavenly stone on which names were inscribed. Wolfram, elaborating on this, says that the stone was an emerald. This writer is preparing an article on the subject.

24. G. Stone, *A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armor in all Countries and all Times* (New York, 1961) p. 175.

25. Jalāluddīn Rūmī, *The Ruins of the Heart*, E. Helminski, trans. (Putney, 1981) pp. 30–32; idem, *Open Secret*, J. Moyne, trans. (Putney, 1988) p. 56.

26. F. W. Hasluk, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, M. Hasluk, ed. (Oxford, 1929) chap. 46.

27. E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1901) I, p. 423.

28. Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, II, p. 58.

29. Koran 2:190, 191–192. There are many passages in the Koran that deal with fighting such as:

Enjoined on you is fighting,
and this you abhor.
You may dislike a thing
Yet it may be good for you;

or a thing may haply please you
but may be bad for you.

Only God has knowledge, and you do not know [Koran 2:216].

You will fight them till they surrender.
If you obey, then He will give you a good reward . . .
those who obey God and His apostle,
Will be admitted by God to gardens with running streams
. . . [Koran 48:16–17].

A number of ḥadīth regarding the jihād are given in B. Lewis, ed. and trans., *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* (New York, 1974) I, pp. 210–211:

Swords are the keys to Paradise.
A day and night of fighting on the frontier is better than a
month of fasting and prayer.
He who fights so that the word of God may prevail is on the
path of God.

30. S. V. Grancsay, *Arms and Armor* (New York, 1986) p. 170.

31. E. von Lenz, *Collection d'armes de l'Ermitage Impérial* (St. Petersburg, 1908) pl. vi.

32. D. G. Alexander, "European Swords in the Collections of Istanbul Part II," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* (Munich, 1987) pp. 21–22.

33. E. von Lenz, "Arsenalzeichen oder Beschau," *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde* 6 (Munich, 1912–14) pp. 299–302.

A Beam Compass by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and the Origin of the Micrometer Screw

CLARE VINCENT

Associate Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

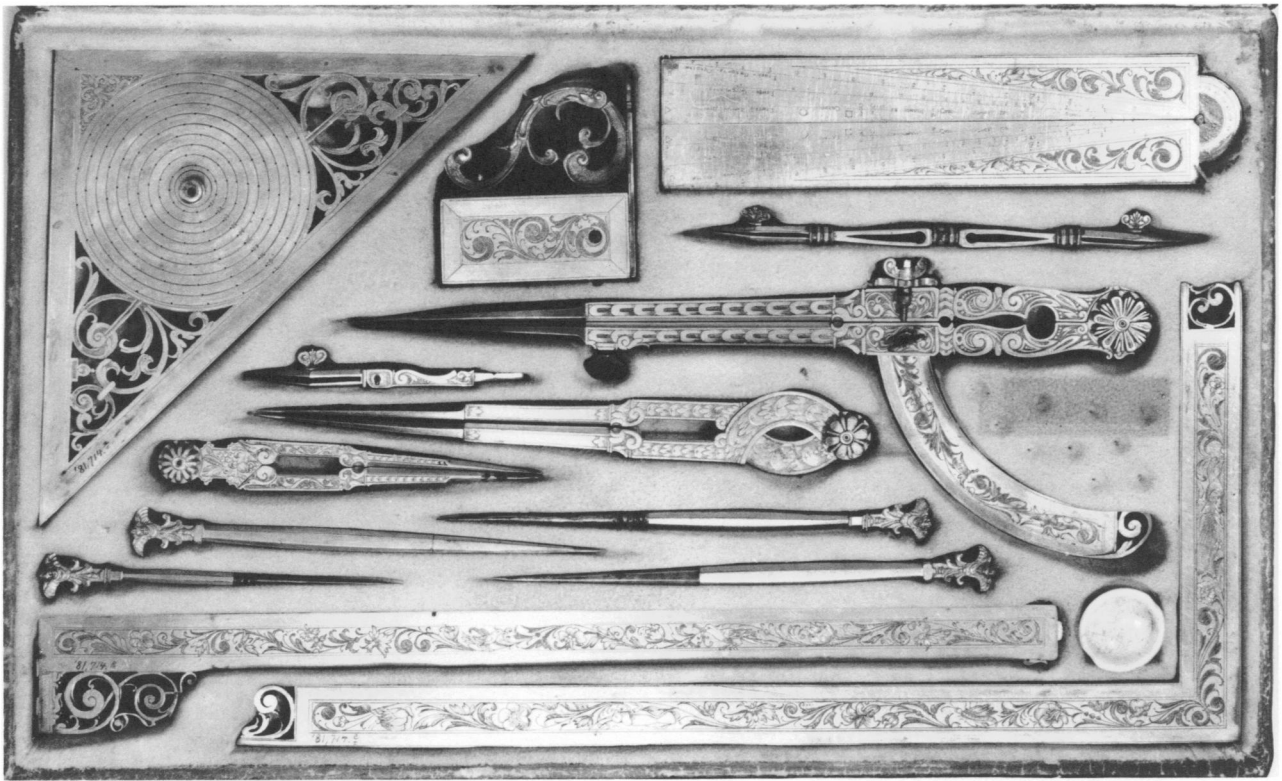
FROM THE TIME OF ITS FOUNDING in 1560 by the Elector of Saxony, Augustus I (1526–86), the Dresden *Kunstammer*'s collections were heavily oriented toward the scientific and technological interests of this remarkable prince. By the end of his reign, the *Kunstammer* contained what has been described as the most "comprehensive collection of technical tools and scientific instruments in the world."¹ This technological bent continued during the reigns of Augustus's immediate successors—Christian I (1560–91), Christian II (1583–1611), and Johann Georg I (1585–1659). The *Kunstammer* served as a repository for a great variety of instruments ranging from surveyors' quadrants, hodometers, and compasses to mathematical instruments, gunners' levels, terrestrial and celestial globes, and the most elaborate of astronomical clocks.² It also employed mathematicians and instrument makers who contributed to the scientific and technical development of Saxony.³

This prosperous central European state had, in fact, protracted experience with the technologies of both mining and metallurgy. Silver mines were opened in the Saxon *Erzgebirge* during the twelfth century, and this was followed by the discovery and exploitation of rich deposits of iron, copper, and tin. Saxon preeminence in mining and metallurgy is reflected in Georgius Agricola's *De Re Metallica*, a classic treatise that was first published in Basel in 1556 and afterward reprinted in numerous editions in three languages. Agricola's account of the methods used in his native Saxony in the first half of the sixteenth century was, in fact, the standard work on the subject for nearly two hundred years.⁴ The local production of high-quality metals for Dresden's armorers, tool-

makers, and instrument makers expanded considerably with the opening of Saxon coal mines in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

Among the highly skilled craftsmen who flourished in Dresden—because of the convergence of a plentiful supply of high-quality materials, a strong scientific and technical tradition, and the enlightened patronage of a succession of rulers—was Christoph Trechsler the Elder, who produced some of the most beautiful and most precise instruments of his time. Trechsler, born in 1546,⁵ was the son of Lorenz Trechsler, a Dresden gunsmith. He married in 1571, and his earliest signed and dated instruments were made in the following year. By the end of the century he was employed by the *Kunstammer* as a geometrician (*Geometrischer Arbeiter*) as well as by the Dresden Armory (*Zeughaus*), where he was one of the participants in the building of an early version of the machine gun in 1595. From 1602 until 1605 he was administrator of the gun collection belonging to the *Kunstammer*, and from 1605 until his death in 1624 he held the title of Mathematical Instrument Maker (*Mechanicus*) to the *Kunstammer*.⁶

Trechsler's son Christoph was also an instrument maker. The date of his birth remains uncertain, but instruments made by his father were signed with the initials C.T.D.E.M. (Christoph Trechsler der Ältere Mechanicus) in 1611, apparently for the first time, and presumably to distinguish the work of the father from that of his son.⁷ There are few instruments by the son, but a comparatively large number signed with the father's initials still exist, even after the destruction of Dresden in 1945. Among the survivors is a traveling set of instruments for drafting, measur-



1. Set of mathematical instruments signed by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and dated 1619, German (Dresden). Gilded brass and steel. Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. no. 81,714 (photo: Kunstgewerbemuseum)

2. Combination spoon, fork, and sundial signed by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and dated 1583, German (Dresden). Silver, L. 7⁵/₈ in. (19.3 cm.). Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. no. K 9506 (photo: Kunstgewerbemuseum)

ing, and calculating that is now in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin (Figure 1).⁸ Trechsler also made sundials of various sorts, including a whimsical “astronomical spoon” (Figure 2), also in Berlin, which is really a combined spoon and fork with a handle in the form of a calibrated scale and with a retractable gnomon that serves as a vertical sundial. Attached to the top of the handle is another sundial, a tiny local ring dial usable for 51° north,⁹ the latitude of sixteenth-century Dresden.

Gunners’ levels are the most numerous of the instruments that still exist, and Trechsler made a large variety of them in gilded brass. They were often splendidly decorated with pierced scrollwork and engravings of martial scenes, military trophies, or with the owner’s coat of arms. Instruments in the collection of the Adler Planetarium in Chicago (Figure 3)¹⁰ and the Astronomisch-Physikalisches Kabinett of the

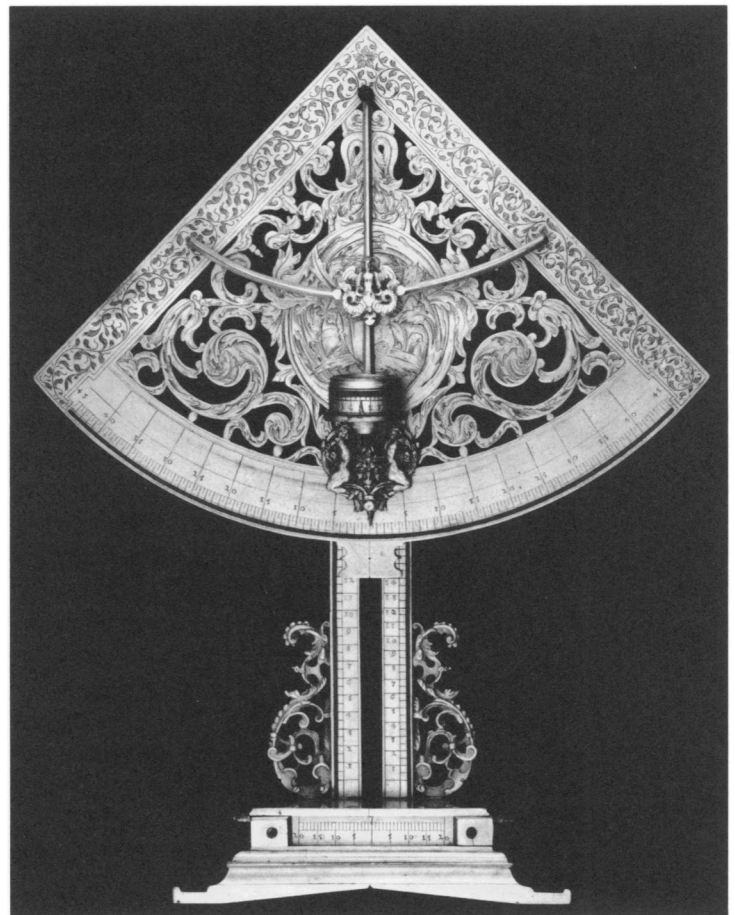


3. Gunner's level signed by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and dated 1609, German (Dresden). Gilded brass, H. 9½ in. (24 cm.). Chicago, The Adler Planetarium, inv. no. M-200 (photo: The Adler Planetarium)

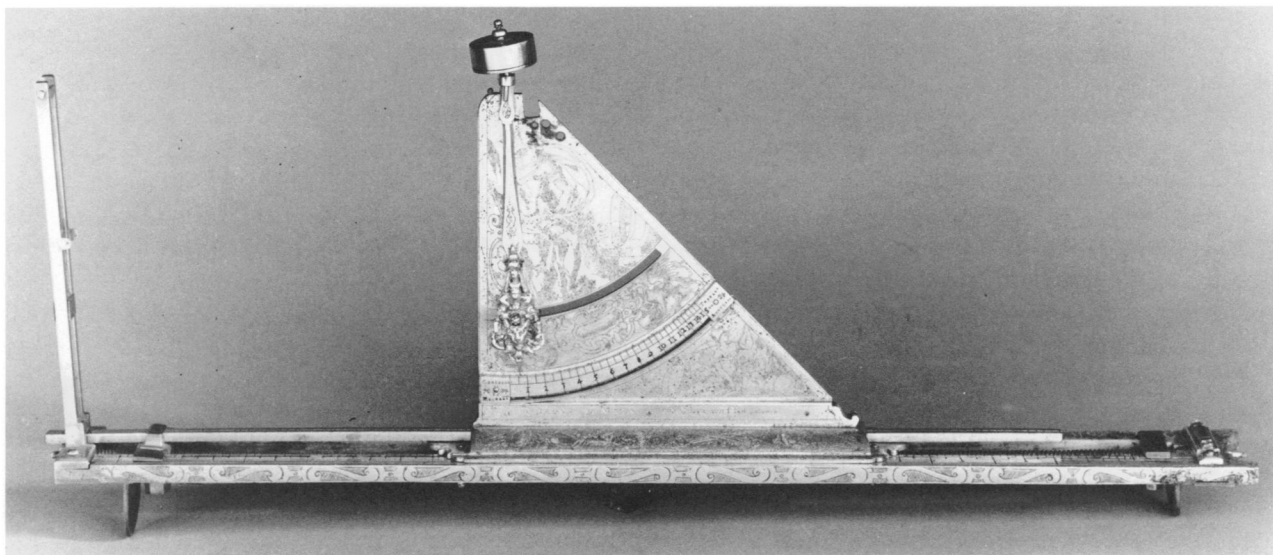
Hessisches Landesmuseum in Kassel (Figure 4)¹¹ are typical examples of this class.

Among the most impressive instruments in the Staatlicher Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon in Dresden is the etched and gilded brass hodometer (Figure 5) that could be attached to a wagon or some other moving vehicle.¹² By recording the number of revolutions of a wheel and, thus, the distance traveled, the instrument could register up to twenty Saxon miles, as well as smaller divisions thereof, on three concentric scales that rather closely resemble the chapter rings of clocks. The scroll, mask, and lambrequin ornament and the decorative leaf-shaped hands of the hodometer rival those found on the better clocks of the period.

More remarkable, still, was a universal measuring instrument that Trechsler constructed in 1609 for the mathematician Lucas Brunn (ca. 1575–1624). Brunn was a student in Leipzig from 1598 until 1601 and later studied with the Nuremberg mathematician and instrument maker Johann Praetorius (1537–1616). Brunn's publications include the *Praxis Perspectivae* (Nuremberg, 1615) and a *Euclidis Elementa practica* (Nuremberg, 1625), but he also left manuscripts on mathematics, astronomy, and astrol-



4. Gunner's level signed by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and dated 1599, German (Dresden). Gilded brass, L. 15¾ in. (40 cm.). Kassel, Astronomisch-Physikalisches Kabinett, Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. 1104 (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel)





5. Hodometer signed by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and dated 1584, German (Dresden). Gilded brass, H. 16½ in. (42 cm.). Dresden, Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon (photo: Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon)

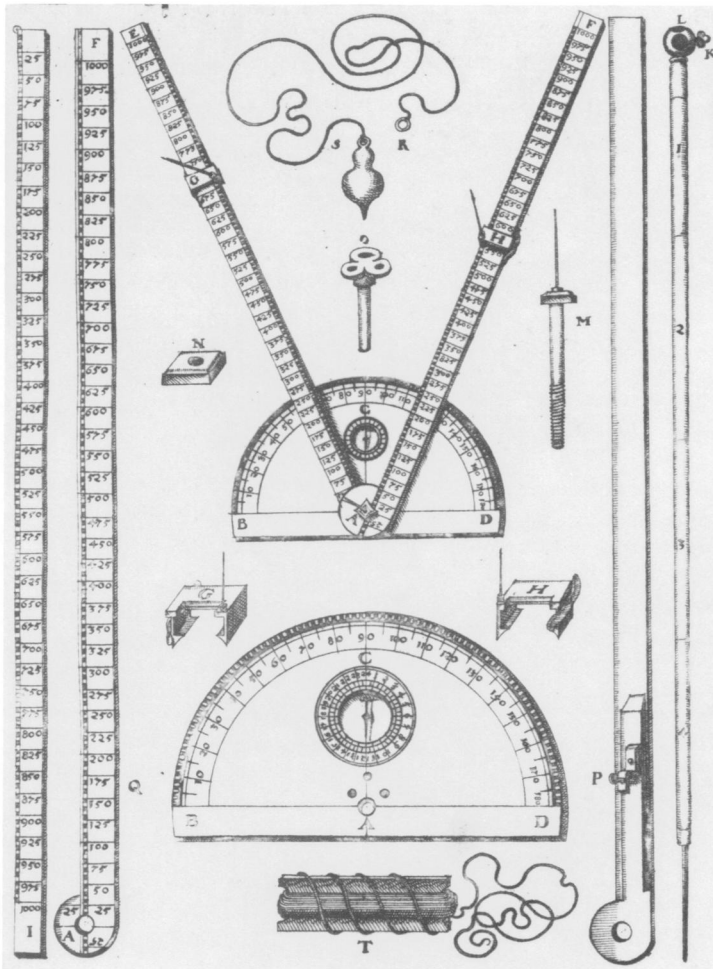
ogy that are to be found in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden. Sometime after 1611, he was appointed mathematician to Elector Johann Georg I. Brunn's duties as court mathematician included tutoring the young prince who would become Elector Johann Georg II. In 1619 Brunn obtained an official position in the Dresden Kunstkammer,¹³ and in that year he gave his universal measuring instrument to the Kunstkammer.¹⁴

The instrument entered the collection of the Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon when the collections of the Kunstkammer were dispersed, and it remained there until 1945, when it was destroyed in the bombing of Dresden. A detailed description of it has been published by Herbert Wunderlich, how-

ever, who based his work on prewar photographs and notes made from Brunn's own manuscript description.¹⁵ The instrument consisted of two movable arms that were attached to the midpoint of the diameter of a calibrated semicircle. By manipulating the two arms, it could be made to simulate two sides and an angle of any small, measurable triangle. Using the principle of similar triangles, one could use the measurements of the small triangle to calculate those of a larger triangle of which one or more of the sides was difficult or impossible to measure directly. The instrument could also be used in other ways for problems in land surveying, geometry, and astronomy, hence its title.

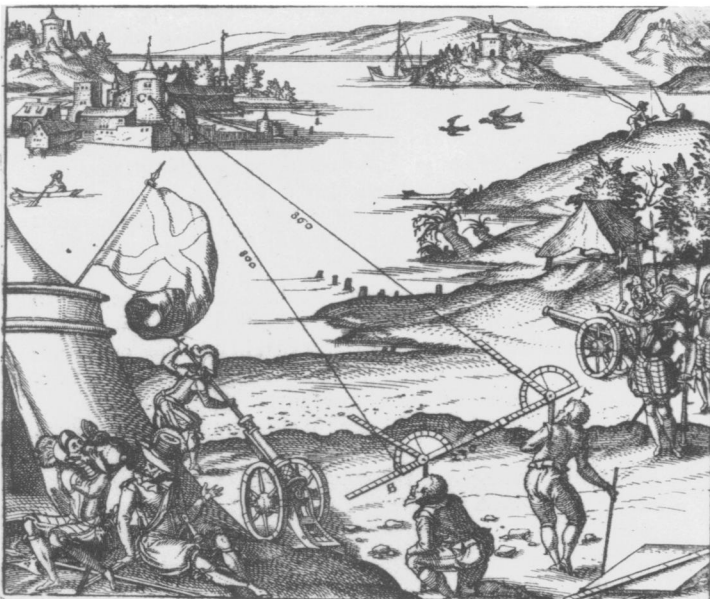
As Wunderlich demonstrated, Brunn's universal measuring instrument was very similar to another instrument (Figures 6, 7) invented by the Swiss instrument maker Leonhard Zubler (1563–1609) and described in Zubler's *Novum Instrumentum Geometricum*, first published in Zurich in 1603.¹⁶ Both Zubler's and Brunn's instruments belong to a class that proliferated in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and have been referred to as "universal gadgets." This class was soon to be superseded by a variety of specialized instruments that were much more closely adapted to the special needs of each field of scientific investigation.¹⁷ Brunn's instrument was an improvement on Zubler's in that it was capable of much more precise measurements. In the inventory of the Dresden Kunstkammer made in 1620, a ruler was listed with Brunn's instrument, but it, too, was destroyed during World War II. Surviving photographs of details of the ruler (Figure 8) show it to have had calibrated scales with diagonal lines, or transversals, as they are called, to facilitate reading the fine divisions of the units of measurement. Its most remarkable feature, however, was the slide, which could be moved along the surface of the scale on one side of the ruler and was capable of subdividing each of the basic units of the scale into sixty parts. In addition, the slide was fitted with a micrometer screw that was—in theory, at least—capable of further subdividing each sixtieth part of the basic units by another sixty. A second micrometer screw on the other side made further subdivisions of one hundred parts.

The ruler was signed with the initials of Christoph Trechsler the Elder and dated 1609 and with the initials of Christoph Trechsler the Younger and the date 1619. Because Brunn is known to have used the

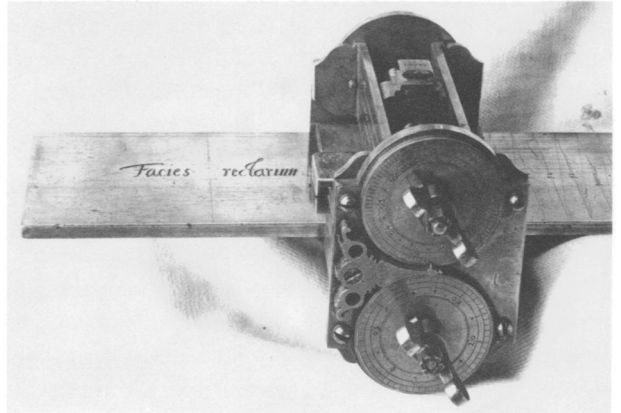
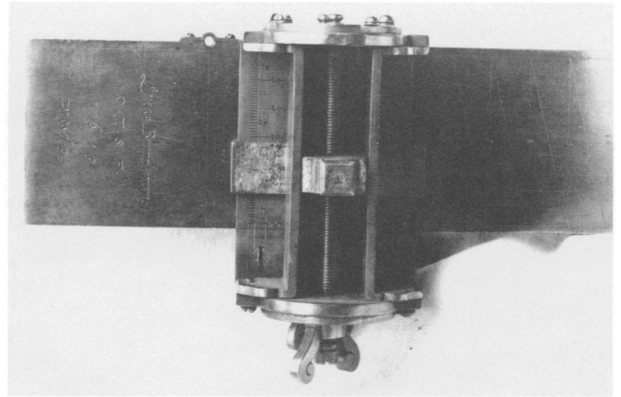


6. The construction of Leonhard Zubler's "New Geometrical Instrument," *Novum Instrumentum Geometricum* (Basel, 1607) pl. 5 (photo: The New York Public Library, Science and Technology Division)

7. The use of Leonhard Zubler's instrument for military purposes, *Novum Instrumentum Geometricum* (Basel, 1607) pl. 9 (photo: The New York Public Library, Science and Technology Division)



1609 instrument for taking geodetic measurements, Max Engelmann, who described Brunn's instrument in 1927, raised the question of whether the micrometer screws had not been added as the result of Brunn's practical experience with the instrument.¹⁸ Whether they were part of the equipment originally made for use with the instrument in 1609 or additions to it made in 1619, these two devices have been cited as the earliest known examples of micrometer screws.¹⁹



8. Details of the ruler made by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and Christoph Trechsler the Younger showing the slide with micrometer screw adjustments. The side pictured at the top was signed: Lucas Brunn inven./c.T.S.F./1619/Dresdae, but there was another inscription on the instrument, which has been recorded as: M.LUCAS.BRUNN.ANNAEB.INVENT. .C.T.M.F.D.1609..SOLI.DEO.GLORIA, German (Dresden), 1609 and 1619 (photo: Dresden, Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon)

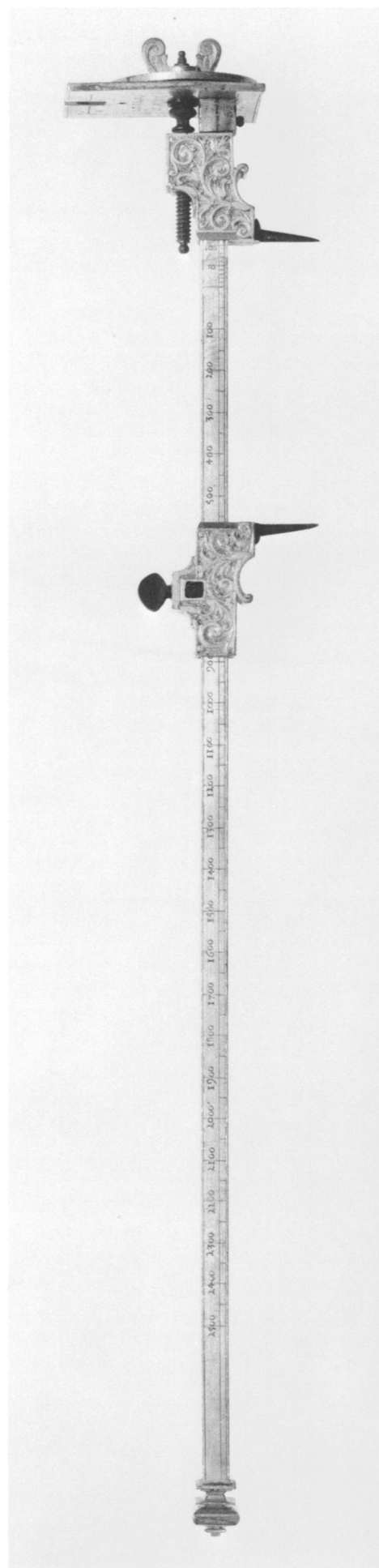
Although it was not discussed by Engelmann, a second question arises: Were the threaded micrometer screws the work of the elder instrument maker or were they added by his son? In all probability, the answer lies in the existence of two more instruments signed by Christoph Trechsler the Elder. Both are beam compasses with micrometer screw adjustments—one is in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 9, 10) and the other is in the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen (Figure 11).²⁰ Both instruments are somewhat less than a foot in length, and they are similar in construction. A square-sectioned beam, or bar, made of gilded brass is fitted with cursors with sharp steel points that are adjusted by means of steel screws. The screw on the right side of the beam has a long, finely threaded shaft that passes through a rectangular plate with a slot at the top and is attached to a wing nut and a gilt-brass disk, which is engraved with a circular scale divided into one hundred parts. The screw can be turned by means of the wing nut, and it moves the right-hand cursor through one unit of the scale on the beam that is subdivided into ten portions (Figure 12). The disk on the end of the beam registers further subdivisions of the same unit of the scale, thus allowing the division of each turn of the screw and consequently each tenth of the basic unit of the scale into one hundred parts (Figure 13). In theory, therefore, the instrument is capable of measuring 1/1000th of a unit of measurement that equals 8 mm.

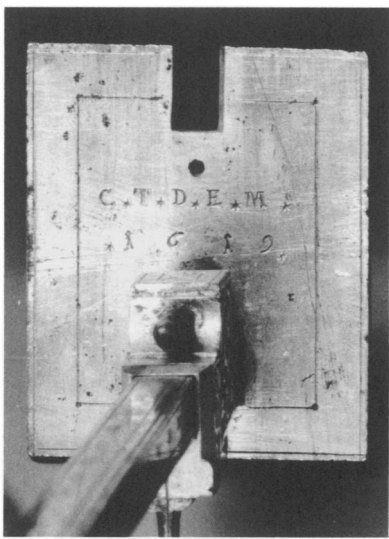
The remaining portions of one side and the top of the beam contain two scales, each divided into the same 8-mm. unit of measurement, but differently numbered. The scale on the side is marked 100 through 2,500 in steps of one hundred and reads from left to right, and the one on the top is marked 1,000 through 25,000 in steps of one thousand.²¹ The larger units are read from right to left on the beam, while the ten subdivisions of the basic unit are read from left to right on the beam, and the subdivisions of the tenths are read from the revolving disk.

The primary use of the instrument is for constructing circles, and when the two cursors are set to the length of the radius desired, they can be used to construct very precise circles, or several circles with exactly proportional radii. Conversely, the instrument is capable of making accurate measurements of existing circles.

The basic construction of Trechsler's instrument

9. Beam compass with a micrometer screw adjustment signed by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and dated 1619, German (Dresden). Gilded brass and steel, L. 11¼ in. (28.6 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941, 41.160.721





10.
Detail of Figure 9 showing the initials used by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and the date 1619

11.
Beam compass with a micrometer screw adjustment signed by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and dated 1616, German (Dresden). Gilded brass and steel. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, inv. no. D-1507 (photo: Nationalmuseet)

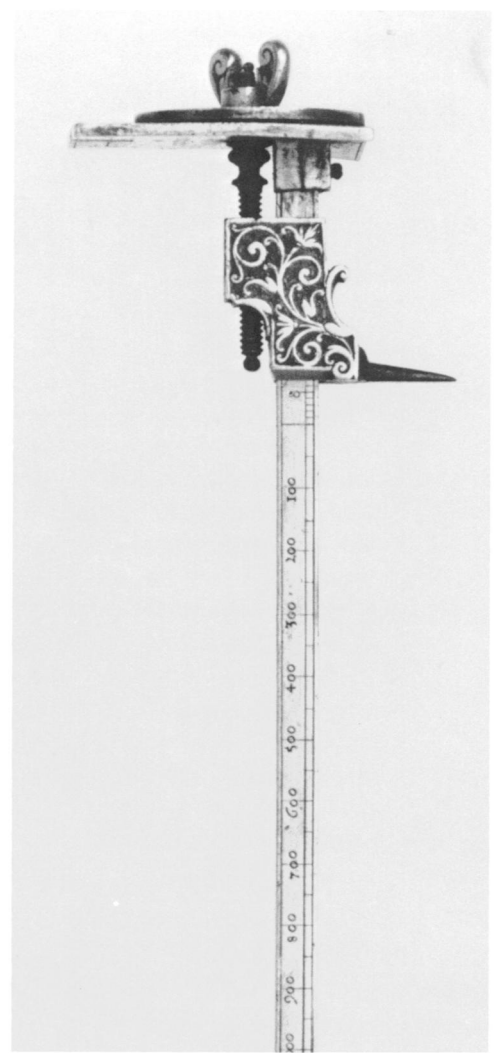
RIGHT COLUMN

12.
Detail of Figure 9 showing the subdivisions of the basic unit of the measurement scale

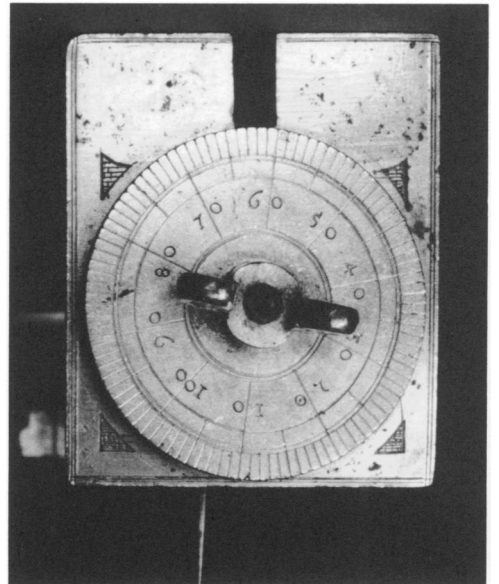
13.
Detail of Figure 9 showing the micrometer scale that divides each tenth of the basic unit of the measurement scale into one hundred parts



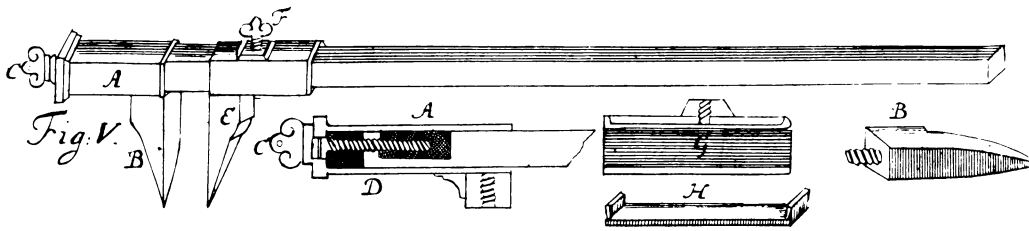
11



12



13



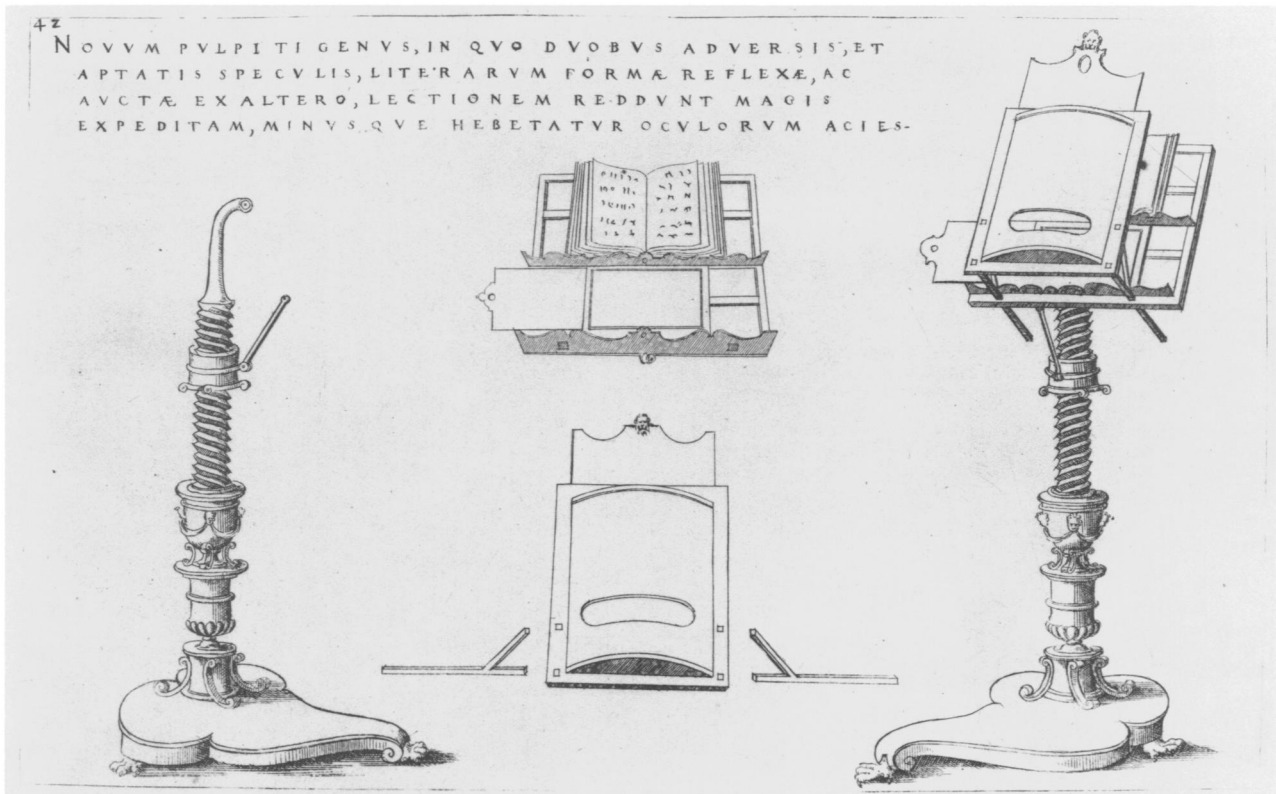
14. Detail of Plate xxv from Jacob Leupold's *Theatrum Arithmetico-Geometricum* (Leipzig, 1727) showing the construction of a beam compass with two screw-adjusted cursors (photo: The New York Public Library, Science and Technology Division)

can be seen more clearly in an illustration from a tome on the construction and use of mathematical instruments published in Leipzig more than one hundred years later by Jacob Leupold (Figure 14).²² Leupold's beam compass not only lacked the decorative knob at the end of the beam and the luxuriantly scrolled ornament of Trechsler's cursors, but also lacked Trechsler's micrometer screw. The screw marked "c" in Leupold's design is an adjustment screw for the cursor, not a micrometer screw. Trechsler also used similar screw adjustments in many of his

instruments, but even in his time they were hardly unique.²³

The sixteenth century seems to have been a time of exuberant exploration of the possible applications of screws to various kinds of mechanical devices. Leonardo da Vinci's notebooks from the last years of the fifteenth century already contained a number of them, but more important to the widespread use of the screws were publications such as Jacques Besson's *Theatrum instrumentum et Machinarum*, first published

15. Lectern engraved by Jacques Androuet Ducerceau the Elder (ca. 1510–ca.1584). Plate 42 from Jacques Besson's *Theatrum Instrumentum et Machinarum* (Lyons, 1578). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933. 33.103





16. Armorer's vise signed by Jacopo da Ferrara and dated 1588, Italian. Iron, H. $10\frac{3}{16}$ in. (25.9 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1958, 58.16.5

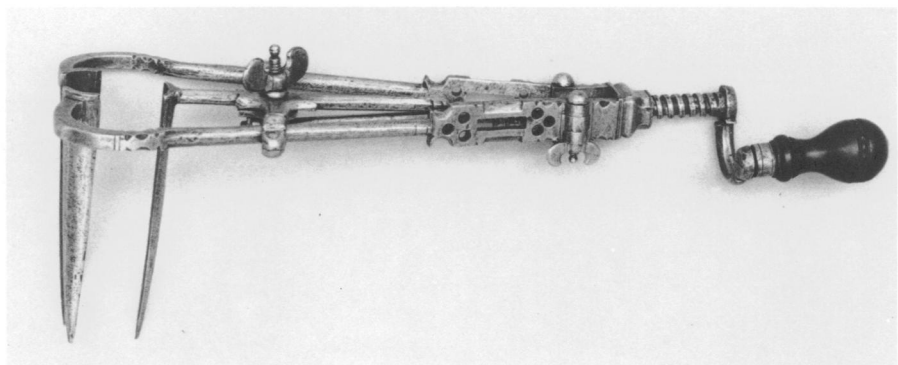
17. Screw press, probably Italian, second half of the 16th century. Iron, H. $7\frac{3}{16}$ in. (18.3 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1961, 61.194

18. Gynaecologic speculum, probably South German, last quarter of the 16th century or early 17th century. Iron, L. $11\frac{7}{8}$ in. (30.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.1769

as the *Livre 1^{er} des instruments mathématiques et mécaniques* in 1569, which contained splendid illustrations of applications of screws to various types of machines and devices such as mills, cranes, and presses.²⁴ An adjustable lectern was included (Figure 15).

Several rather typical examples of sixteenth-century screw devices can be found in the Metropolitan Museum's own collections. The clamp of an armorers' vise,²⁵ made in Italy and dated 1588 (Figure 16), is adjustable by means of a large screw that besides its functional purpose adds a wonderfully satisfying pattern to the surface of the lower end of its shaft. The maker of a small press (Figure 17), like the maker of the armorers' vise, made a virtue of the ornamental value of its robust screw.²⁶ Screw adjustments were applied to medical and scientific instruments as well. A gynaecologic speculum (Figure 18) with three blades manipulated by a screw is neither signed nor dated, but it was probably made in South Germany in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.²⁷

A screw-adjusted gunner's level dated 1567 in the Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon in Dresden²⁸ is



probably more directly the prototype of Trechsler's instruments. It was made by Christoph Schissler the Elder (1530/32–1609), the best of the instrument makers in sixteenth-century Augsburg. Schissler made a number of instruments for the Elector of Saxony, and Trechsler may perhaps have had first-hand knowledge of this one. Trechsler, himself, was making gunners' levels with screw adjustments only five years later (Figure 19),²⁹ and the gunner's level now in the Adler Planetarium in Chicago, although fragmentary, is one of his earliest surviving instruments.

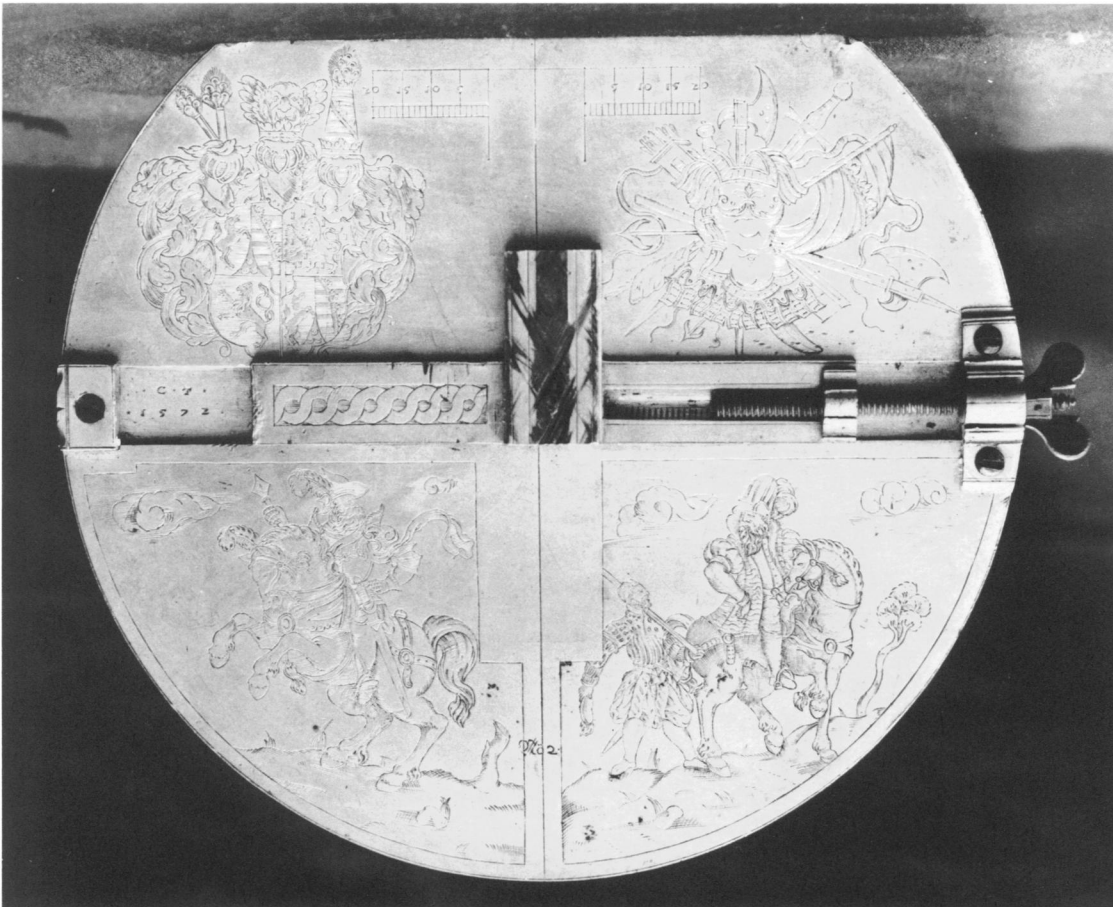
The third great instrument maker of Central Europe in the latter part of the sixteenth century was Erasmus Habermel (active probably about 1576–d. 1606), instrument maker to the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) in Prague. Habermel may also have made screw adjusting instruments.³⁰

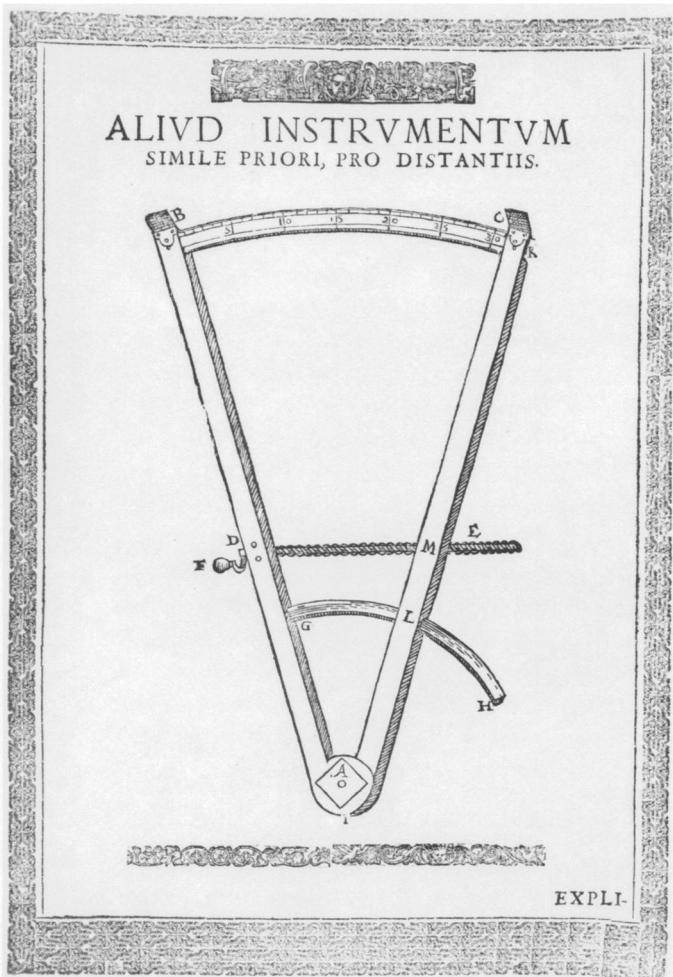
19. Fragment of a gunner's level signed by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and dated 1572, German (Dresden). Gilded brass, Diam. $9\frac{7}{16}$ in. (24 cm.). The arms are those of Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy (d. 1580). The banner with the military trophy bears the arms of Saxony. Chicago, The Adler Planetarium, inv. no. M-194 (photo: The Adler Planetarium)

One of the best examples of a Prague instrument with a screw adjustment, however, is by Heinrich Stolle. Stolle learned clockmaking early in the seventeenth century as an assistant to the imperial clockmaker, Jost Bürgi (1552–1632), but he also produced some beautifully precise instruments. The gunner's level by Stolle in the collection of the Uměleckoprůmyslové Muzeum in Prague has a long, finely threaded screw adjustment similar to some of Trechsler's.³¹

The application of the screw adjustment to astronomical instruments would in the long run prove to be the most fruitful one for scientific investigation. Several astronomers' sextants with screw adjustments were among those used by the great Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) and recorded in Brahe's *Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica* (Figure 20).³² These were among the instruments with which Brahe made the innumerable astronomical observations that served as the basis for Johannes Kepler's formulation of the laws of planetary motion, as well as for the planetary tables of the *Tabulae Rudolphinae Astronomicae* (Ulm, 1627). The Kepler tables were not supplanted by more accurate ones for nearly a century.

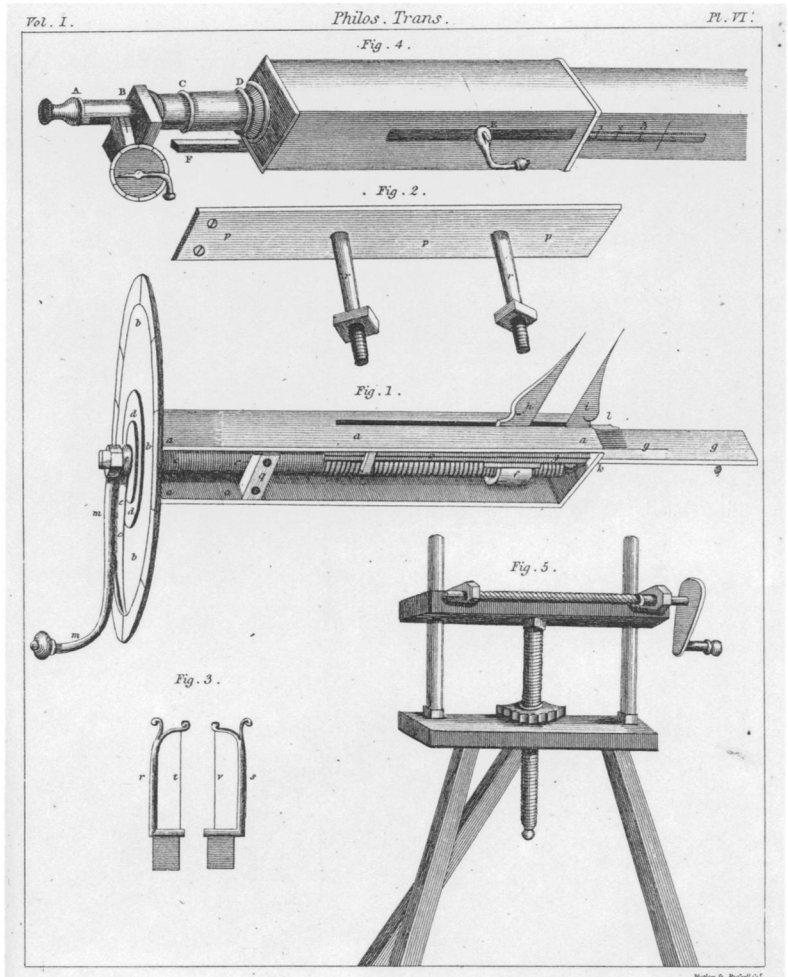
The sighting devices of Brahe's instruments would





20. Astronomer's sextant with screw adjustment illustrated in Tycho Brahe's *Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica* (Wandesburg, 1598) n.p. (photo: The New York Public Library, Rare Book Division)

soon be superseded by telescopic sights; and the subsequent application of the micrometer screw to the telescopic sight permitted enormous advances in seventeenth-century observational astronomy. The invention of the micrometer is usually credited to an English astronomer, William Gascoigne (ca. 1612–44), who first applied a micrometer screw adjustment to the sight of a telescope about 1639–40. He evidently used this improvement for measuring the apparent diameters of planets and for measuring angular distances necessary in land surveying. The device was adopted by a small circle of English mathematicians and astronomers—William Oughtred (1574/5–1660) and Richard Towneley (1629–1707) were among the earliest—but other versions were



21. Plate VI of *Philosophical Transactions* I, Royal Society (London, 1803), showing William Gascoigne's form of the micrometer screw with improvements by Richard Towneley (fig. 1)

also used by Christopher Wren (1632–1723), an astronomer and mathematician before he turned to architecture, and by Robert Hooke (1635–1703), the experimental philosopher who was curator of experiments for the Royal Society. It was not generally known, however, until about 1667, when a debate broke out about the priority of the invention after an account of a similar device—developed by the French astronomers Adrien Auzout (1622–91) and Jean Picard (1620–82)—was sent to the Royal Society in London.³³ Towneley's comments in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society on the Auzout-Picard invention and the Gascoigne model were accompanied by a diagram of Gascoigne's invention (Figure 21)³⁴ that shows it to have been fairly

close in principle to Trechsler's micrometers.

In the history of scientific instruments, Trechsler's micrometer screws must remain precocious and isolated examples. They were apparently unknown to any of the western European contenders claiming priority for the invention, and one can only speculate about why this might have been the case. Perhaps it was because Saxon court patronage in the seventeenth century, like that of the Bavarian court in Munich, turned away from scientific research owing to its rulers' lack of interest.³⁵ Of central importance, however, must have been the harmful effects of the Thirty Years' War, which broke out in nearby Prague in 1619, the very year that Lucas Brunn gave the Trechsler's universal measuring instrument to the Dresden *Kunstammer*. The war proved to be partic-

ularly savage and devastating, and it finally succeeded in exhausting all of Germany. One of its evils was the blighting of what had been an inventive and flourishing scientific and technological community.

FREQUENTLY CITED SOURCES

- Treue—Wilhelm Treue, *Kulturgeschichte der Schraube von der Antike bis zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1954)
- Wunderlich—Herbert Wunderlich, *Kursächsische Feldmesskunst, artilleristische Richtverfahren und Ballistik im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1979)
- Zinner—Ernst Zinner, *Deutsche und Niederländische Astronomische Instrumente des 11. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1956)

NOTES

1. Joachim Menzhausen, "Five Centuries of Art Collecting in Dresden," *The Splendor of Dresden*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1978) p. 19. See also "Elector Augustus's *Kunstammer*: An Analysis of the Inventory of 1587," *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds. (Oxford, 1985) p. 71, in which Menzhausen states that the tools and instruments listed in the inventory of the *Kunstammer* made after the death of the elector "numbered 7,353, almost 75 per cent" of the collection. The large collections of instruments and scientific apparatus assembled elsewhere in Europe were to be made in the 17th and 18th centuries. For a summary discussion of these, see Gerard l'E. Turner, "The Cabinet of Experimental Philosophy" in Impey and MacGregor, pp. 214–222.

2. For some examples of the surviving instruments from Augustus's *Kunstammer*, see Helmut Grötzsch and Jürgen Karpinski, *Dresden: Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon* (Leipzig, 1978) pp. 11–12, 15–16, 20, 123, 126–127, and figs. 42–48, 113–115, and 137–139; see also Joachim Menzhausen, *Dresdener Kunstammer und Grünes Gewölbe* (Leipzig, 1977) pp. 79–100, for other instruments and clocks that were in the late-16th- and early-17th-century collections of the Dresden *Kunstammer*.

3. Wunderlich, pp. 198, 208.

4. Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover, *Georgius Agricola, De Re Metallica, Translated from the First Latin Edition of 1556*, new ed. (New York, 1950) p. iv.

5. The date is usually given as about 1550, but it can be determined through an inscription on a gunner's level in the collection of the Observatoire at Paris: Inventor C.T.D.E.M. aetatis suae 68 (Made by Christoph Trechsler the Elder, Mechanic, aged 68 years); the level is dated 1614. See Henri Michel, *Scien-*

tific Instruments in Art and History, R. E. W. Maddison and Francis R. Maddison, trans. (New York, 1967) p. 87, no. 23, fig. 23.

6. See Zinner, pp. 547–551, and Wunderlich, p. 198.

7. The majority of Trechsler's instruments are signed with initials, usually C.T. (Christoph Trechsler) or C.T.F. (Christoph Trechsler Fecit) in the years between 1572 and 1589. After 1595 various combinations appear, including C.T.D. (Christoph Trechsler Dresden), C.T.M.F. (Christoph Trechsler Mechanicus Fecit), C.T.M. (Christoph Trechsler Mechanicus), and C.T.M.D. (Christoph Trechsler Mechanicus Dresden). The younger Trechsler signed at least one of his instruments with the initials C.T.S.F. (Christoph Trechsler Sohn Fecit). C.T.S.M.F. (Christoph Trechsler Sohn Mechanicus Fecit) and C.T.S.M. (Christoph Trechsler Sohn Mechanicus) are other initials used by the younger instrument maker.

8. Inv. no. 81,714. The sector from this set is signed C.T.D.E.M., 1619. See Franz Adrian Dreier, *Winkelmessinstrumente vom 16. bis zum früher 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1979) pp. 110–111, no. 24; p. 110, fig. 24; and p. 111, fig. 24. Another set by Christoph Trechsler the Elder and Viktor Stark, dated 1622, was in the collection of the Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon in Dresden until 1945. A photograph of the set appears in Wunderlich, p. 169.

9. Inv. no. K 9506. Signed and dated: C.T. 1583. See Zinner, p. 548, and Klaus Pechstein, *Goldschmiedewerke der Renaissance* (Berlin, 1971) no. 28.

10. Inv. no. M–200. Signed and dated: C.T.M.D. 1609. See Max Engelmann, *Collection Ant. W. M. Mensing, Amsterdam: Old Scientific Instruments (1479–1800)* (Amsterdam, 1924) p. 30, no. 20, pl. 1, and Zinner, p. 549.

11. Gen.-Inv. no. 1104. Signed and dated: Christof Treschler Mechani Anno 1599. Made for Johann Sigismund von Hohenzollern, later Elector of Brandenburg (r. 1608–19). See Zinner, p. 549, and Michel, *Scientific Instruments*, p. 87, no. 22, fig. 22.

12. Signed and dated: c. T. 1584. See Alfred Rohde, *Die Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Instrumente vom Beginn der Renaissance bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1923) p. 62 and p. 61, fig. 82; Wunderlich, pp. 60–62, fig. 16; and Grötzsch and Karpinski, *Dresden Salon*, pp. 126, 131, nos. 137–139, figs. 137–139.

13. Wunderlich, pp. 20–21, 130–131, 208–209; and Zinner, pp. 266–267.

14. Wunderlich, p. 135. The inventory of the Kunstkammer has the notation: “einkommen . . . Proportional Instrument—dies ist das Universal-Instrument—mit regula trigonometria.” under the date May 13, 1620.

15. Wunderlich, pp. 130–143, figs. 44, 45. For a prewar description of the instrument, presumably made from first-hand observation, see Max Engelmann, “Schraubenmikrometer-Erstlinge,” *Archiv für Geschichte der Mathematik, der Naturwissenschaft und der Technik*, 10, n.f. I (1927–28) pp. 295–297.

16. The 1607 edition published in Zurich illustrates its uses not only for gunners, but also for land surveying, for measuring heights of distant objects and depths of wells, etc.

17. J. A. Bennett, *The Divided Circle: A History of Instruments for Astronomy, Navigation, and Surveying* (Oxford, 1987) pp. 44–46.

18. Engelmann, “Schraubenmikrometer,” p. 297.

19. See *ibid.*, p. 295; Treue, pp. 112–114; and Zinner, p. 266.

20. MMA, acc. no. 41.160.721, and Nationalmuseet, inv. no. D-1507. The example in the Nationalmuseet is signed C.T.D.E.M. and dated 1616. Neither instrument was known to Zinner, but he did list (p. 551) two similar instruments that are unsigned and dated; they are in the collections of the Skokloster Schloss in Sweden and the Stuttgart Landesmuseum. The Metropolitan Museum’s beam compass is listed in *The Triumph of Humanism: A Visual Survey of the Decorative Arts of the Renaissance*, exh. cat., Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (1977) p. 88, cat. no. 157.

21. The unit of measurement is not a subdivision of the Saxon foot (28.3 cm.), which was variously divided into twelve parts (*Zolls*) and sixteen parts (*Fingers*), nor does it apparently correspond to units known to have been used in neighboring territories. It may have been an arbitrary choice, as the difference between the scale on the side of the beam and the one on the top seems to indicate that the use of the instrument is mainly for proportional measuring. The two sharp ends of the cursors can be placed on an ordinary ruler so that measurements in locally used units may also be obtained.

22. Jacob Leupold, *Theatrum Arithmetico-Geometricum, Das ist Schau-Platz der Rechen- und Mess Kunst* (Leipzig, 1727) pp. 130–131, pl. xx, fig. v. Leupold describes the inventions of a number

of 17th-century instrument makers, but does not discuss the origin of the beam compass. A form of beam compass appears in one of the late-15th-century notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Institut de France, Manuscript B, 2173, fols. 57v and 58v). See Charles Ravaisson-Mollien, *Les Manuscrits de Léonard de Vinci: Les Manuscrits B&D de la Bibliothèque de l’Institut* (Paris, 1883) pp. 56–57, or Reale Commissione Vinciana, *Il Manoscritti e i disegni de Leonardo da Vinci V* (Rome, 1941) fols. 111v, 112r, 113v, and 114r. An engraving of a beam compass with two cursors, one of them adjustable by means of a screw at the top, appears on fol. 14r of the book titled “Della Specchio che Accende il Fuoco ad una Data Lontanza,” included in Oronce Fine’s *Opera* (Venice, 1587).

23. See Treue, pp. 31–34, 67–81; Leonardo da Vinci, *Facsimile Edition of Codex Madrid I, Original Spanish Title: Tratado de Estatica y Mechanica en Italiano, Library Number 8937 I* (New York, 1974) fols. 4v, 14v–15r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 23v, 25r, 33v, 34r, 35r, 36r, 58r, 70r, and 86v; and Ladislao Reti, “Elements of Machines” in *The Unknown Leonardo* (New York/Toronto, 1974) pp. 275–280.

24. See Henry de Geymüller, *Les Du Cerceau, Leur Vie et leur Oeuvre* (Paris/London, 1887) p. 322; and Treue, pp. 81–90. Besson’s book was translated into Latin, Italian, and Spanish. A German edition appeared in 1595, and as late as 1626 an edition in French was printed in Geneva.

25. Acc. no. 55.16.5. See Clare Vincent, “Precious Objects in Iron: Two Collections of European Smithing,” *MMAB* 22 (April 1964) pp. 277, 280, fig. 10, and Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, *Humanism*, p. 87, no. 128, fig. 80.

26. Acc. no. 61.194.

27. Acc. no. 14.25.1769. Formerly in the collection of the Musée Carnavalet in Paris. For a medical instrument with somewhat similar decorative treatment of the metal, see a brass and steel bullet extractor in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, illustrated by Elizabeth Bennion, *Antique Medical Instruments* (London, 1979) p. 156. See also Treue, p. 110.

28. See Maximilian Bobinger, *Christoph Schissler der Ältere und der Jüngere* (Augsburg/Basel, 1954) pp. 73, 135, fig. 21.

29. Chicago. Adler Planetarium, inv. no. M-194. Signed and dated: c. T. 1572. The arms are those of Savoy. See Engelmann, *Mensing*, p. 29, no. 194, pl. 1; and Zinner, p. 548.

30. The late Wolfgang Eckhard once said that Habermel made instruments with similar screw adjustments, but I have been unable to locate an example of one. In any case, both Schissler and Trechsler were making gunners’ levels with screw adjustments a decade before the earliest verified instrument by Habermel. For Habermel’s early instruments see Wolfgang Eckhard, “Erasmus Habermel—Zur Biographie des Instrumentenmachers Kaiser Rudolfs II.,” *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 21 (1976) pp. 59–60, and “Erasmus und Josua Habermel: Kunstgeschichtliche Anmerkungen zu den Werken der Beiden Instrumentmacher,” *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 22 (1977) p. 23.

31. Inv. no. 6762. Signed Henricus Stolle Uhrm. prag (Heinrich Stolle Clockmaker Prague). See Jiří Lenfeld, "Sluneční Hodiny ze sbírek UPM v Praze," *Acta Uměleckoprůmyslové Muzeum v Praze* 16, D. Supplementa 4 (1984) p. 151, no. 44, pp. 152–153, figs. 44a, 44b.

32. Published by the author in Wandesburg in 1598, n.p. See also Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, *Tycho Brahe's Description of His Instruments and Scientific Work as Given in Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica (Wandesburgi, 1598)*, Hans Raeder, Elis Strömngren, and Bengt Strömngren, trans. and eds. (Copenhagen, 1946) pp. 80–83.

33. See A. Wolf, *A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London, 1935) pp. 168–174. The

debate is also summarized by Bennett, *Divided Circle*, pp. 63–65, and by Anthony Turner, *Early Scientific Instruments, Europe 1400–1800* (London, 1987) pp. 132–133. The Dutch mathematician Christiaan Huygens (1629–95) independently invented a form of micrometer, which he published in 1659. The essay on micrometers in Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* 10 (Paris, 1751) p. 488, credited Huygens with the first continental European application of the principle.

34. Richard Towneley, "On Mr. Gascoigne's Micrometer," *Philosophical Transactions* 2, Anno 1667 (London, 1803) p. 161.

35. See Lorenz Seelig, "The Munich Kunstkammer, 1568–1807" in Impey and MacGregor, p. 88.

Arms for Aeneas: A Group Reattributed to Jean Cornu

JAMES DAVID DRAPER

Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

MICHAEL FRIEDSAM is one of those collectors to whom the Metropolitan Museum has the greatest number of reasons to be grateful. The 1932 bequest of Colonel Friedsam, best known for its Northern European paintings,¹ also included some exceptionally fine medieval and later works of art, such as an impressive array of Limoges enamels and several sculptures. One of the choicest objects in the bequest, a Late Baroque terracotta three-figure group, is unexpectedly flamboyant for a Friedsam property (Figure 1).² In this group the participants swell above an oaken base, which is painted to match the clay and rests on squashed ball feet as typical of the Louis XIV period as the grandiloquent gestures of the actors. The sculpture derives uncommon energy from the organization of its diagonal elements, as it reenacts Virgil's story of Venus descending from the skies to endow an enraptured Aeneas with her spectacular gift of armor.³ This retelling closely follows Virgil except for the addition of Cupid, who struggles under the weight of a shield on which the Flight from Troy is shown in relief (Figure 2): Aeneas bearing his father, Anchises, accompanied by his son, Ascanius, and followed by his wife, Creusa.⁴

The Friedsam bequest was unveiled to the public in 1932. In the Museum's *Bulletin*, Joseph Breck, Curator of Decorative Arts, found somehow that *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas* evoked "memories of preposterous palaces and of formal parks where white marbles gleam against the green *charmilles*."⁵ Shortly afterward, John Goldsmith Phillips, Jr., joined the curatorial staff and gave the terracotta his more considered attention, attributing it to the little-known French sculptor Jean Cornu (1650–1710). Phillips

recognized in it one of two models exhibited by Cornu in the Salon of 1704 and described in the Salon *livret* as follows:

Entre les deux croisées, qui sont au dessous du trumeau VII. au milieu de la Gallerie, Deux Groupes de Sculpture, l'un de Venus qui donne des armes à Enée, l'autre d'Enée qui emporte son pere Anchise, où sont aussi Creuse & Ascanius, par M. Cornu, Adjoint Professeur.⁶

Both episodes from the story of Aeneas center on his rapport with his parents, Venus in one and the Trojan Anchises in the other.

Although details about Cornu were sketchy at best forty years ago, Phillips's wish to associate model with document was natural enough. The subject, Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas, is rare in sculpture, and the group displays in abundance a theatrical, pictorial strain found in much French sculpture around 1700 but manifested especially in bronze sculpture. In 1940, however, a letter, superb in its condescension, from the doyen of French sculpture studies, Paul Vitry, dampened Phillips's speculation.⁷ The Cornu idea seems to have been dropped, or rather to have gone underground. The group was retired from exhibition for several decades, although memoranda in the department's archive folder written by Phillips's younger colleagues—James Parker, Clare Le Corbeiller, and Clare Vincent—suggest that Phillips continued to explore the work of Cornu, nursing the hope that something might turn up to support his authorship of the piece. Students subsequently investigated other possibilities, Italian as well as French, but without result.⁸ In fairness to Vitry, it may be said that books would not have yielded much on Cornu

223



1. Jean Cornu, *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas*, 1704. Terracotta, H. 108 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931, 32.100.158

before François Souchal's dictionary of sculptors was published, beginning in 1977.⁹ Now, Souchal's pages offer enough comparisons to vindicate the old attribution. The newly cleaned terracotta¹⁰ at last occupies its rightful place on view in the Louis XIV galleries as one of the Museum's most engaging works of French sculpture.

Jean Cornu, born in Paris in 1650, was apprenticed to an ivory carver of Dieppe.¹¹ In 1673 he won second prize in sculpture at the Académie Royale de

Peinture et de Sculpture. In Rome from 1675 to 1679, Cornu produced a terracotta relief, *The Rape of the Sabines*, and copies after the antique. Returning home, he supervised the uncrating of Louis XIV's Italian purchases of sculpture on their arrival at Le Havre. His *morceau de réception* for the Académie in 1681 was a marble relief, *The Roman Charity*, which has been rather ill-used (Figure 3).¹² Cornu rose steadily in the ranks of the Académie and, like so many of his generation, he found most of his employment at the royal residences. The bulk of his work is at Versailles—grand marble vases and an *Africa* of 1682 (Figure 4) for the gardens. Also his is the full-scale copy in the park of the Farnese Hercules.¹³ Cornu and Joseph Rayol collaborated on at least

2. Detail of shield in Figure 1



3. Cornu, *The Roman Charity*, 1681. Marble relief. Paris, École des Beaux-Arts (photo: Thierry Prat, Mareil-sur-Mauldre)



thirty-two statues for the palace's north wing: personifications of the Sciences and the Arts, the Seasons, the Four Genres of Poetry and the Muses, all done in a great rush in 1687–88 (Figures 5, 6).¹⁴

Cornu's six stone angels for the Invalides cupola were subsequently destroyed, as were stucco decorations for Saint-Cloud and reliefs at Meudon, the latter made in association with Simon Mazzière.¹⁵ But some of Cornu's bronze decoration on the high altar of Narbonne Cathedral, made in 1694, survives to hint at its original splendor.¹⁶ By 1698 Germain Brice had seen small bronzes after the antique in Cornu's studio.¹⁷ The inventory taken after his death in 1710 names copies of the Farnese Bull and the Laocoön as well as bronzes of a river god and a naiad and a gilt three-figure Rape of the Sabines,¹⁸ no doubt after

Giovanni Bologna. Cornu's interest in the grand multfigurative groups of antiquity and the more recent past is therefore a matter of record. He also produced figural bronze mountings for clock cases, which were highly regarded.¹⁹

Most relevant to the terracotta group, because of its date and the wealth of ornamental comparisons it offers, is Cornu's spandrel relief in the Chapelle Royale at Versailles. Representing the Penitence of St. Peter in allegorical fashion, the relief dates from 1709 (Figure 7). It rises above a pilaster of the same stone richly decorated with an ecclesiastical trophy, carved the same year (Figure 8). Cornu's authorship of these Chapelle Royale reliefs is guaranteed by his carefully minuted drawing,²⁰ as well as by financial records.

4. Cornu, *Africa*, 1682. Marble. Versailles, Château, garden (photo: Thierry Prat, Mareil-sur-Mauldre)



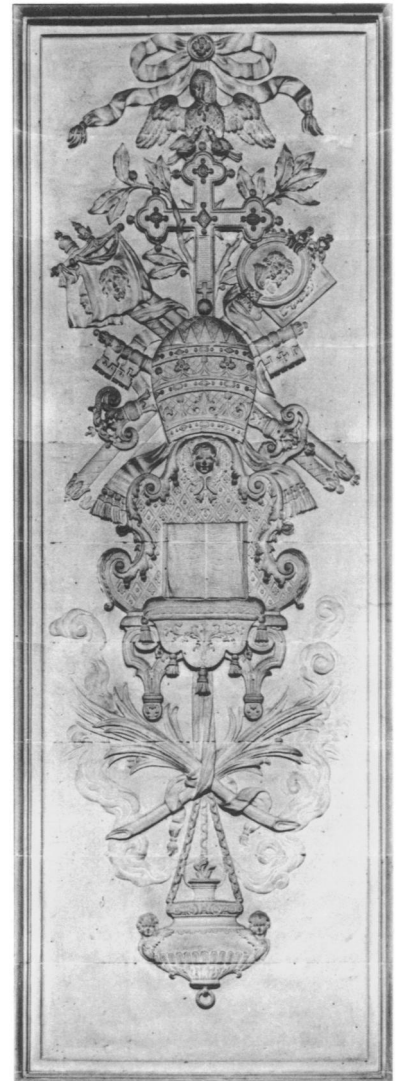
5. Cornu, *Architecture*, 1687 or 1688. Marble. Versailles, Château, facade of the north wing (photo: Thierry Prat, Mareil-sur-Mauldre)





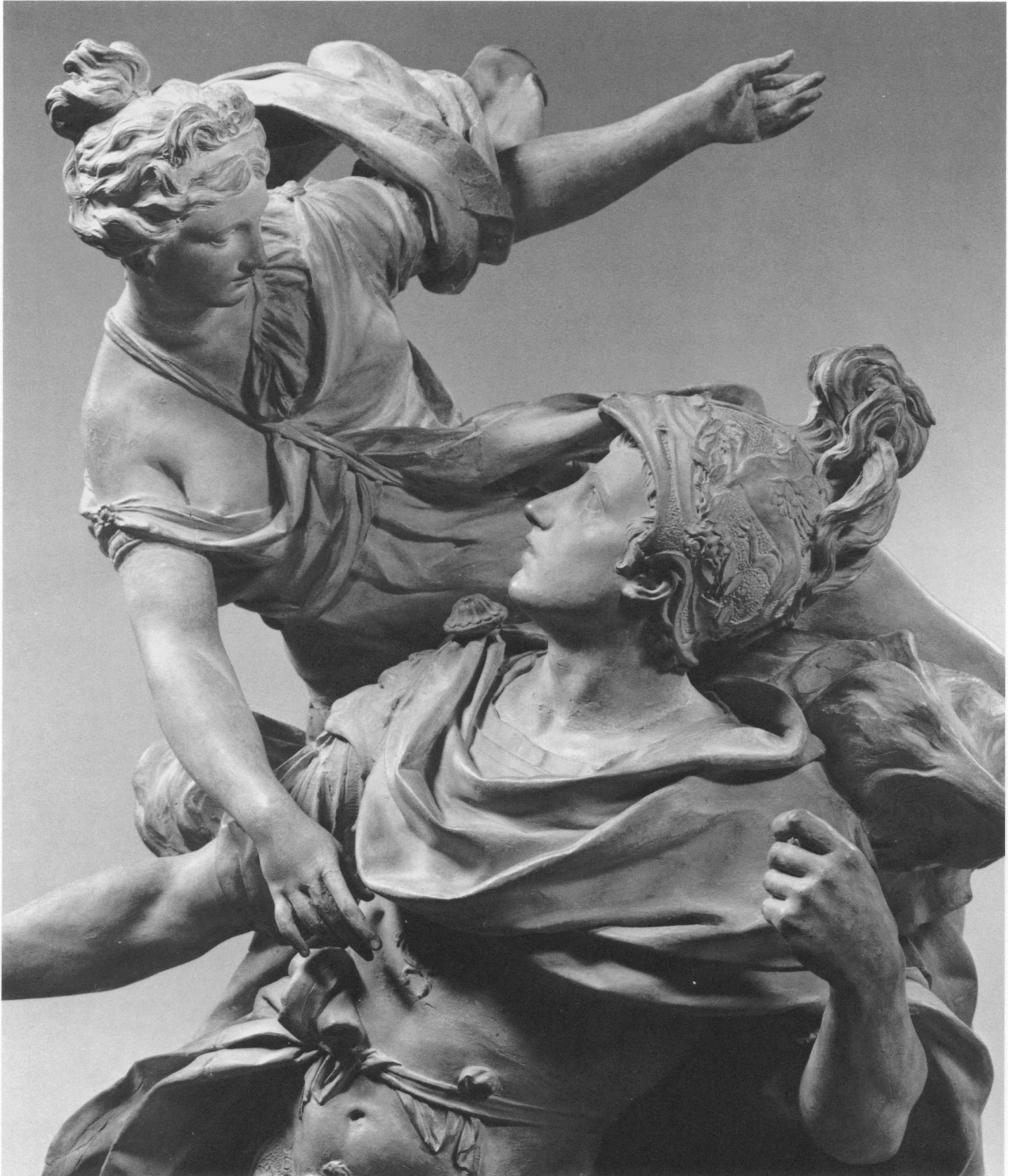
6.
Cornu, *Clio*, 1687 or 1688. Weathered marble fragment. Versailles, Château, from the facade of the north wing, now in storage (photo: Thierry Prat, Mareil-sur-Mauldre)

7.
Cornu, *Allegory of the Penitence of St. Peter*, 1709. Limestone. Versailles, Château, Chapelle Royale (photo: Thierry Prat, Mareil-sur-Mauldre)



8.
Cornu, *Ecclesiastical Trophy*, 1709. Limestone. Versailles, Château, Chapelle Royale (photo: Thierry Prat, Mareil-sur-Mauldre)





9. Detail of Figure 1

Without the Salon entry, it is unlikely that anyone would have attributed the Museum's terracotta to Cornu. The group was almost certainly modeled with a view toward casting it in bronze, as will be made clearer below, but that and the fact that Cornu was an accomplished *bronzier* are not sufficient evidence for an attribution. Enough specific traits exist in the terracotta, however, to establish a link to Cornu's style, although they are neither obvious nor

glimpsed without effort. The amplitude of Venus's drapery, for example, is a convention widespread in French classical Baroque statuary, but the way the folds cling and eddy seems to be consistent with Cornu from the time of his *Roman Charity* and *Africa* (Figures 3, 4). The head of Aeneas (Figures 9, 10) is at once long and idealized, with a scooped-out profile, much like those of the façade figures at Versailles, visible even in badly eroded fragments (Figure 6).²¹ The angel embodying St. Peter's penitence is even more closely akin to Aeneas in face and physique; in both Aeneas and the angel, the long limbs are as finely tapered and flexed as those of tennis players. Venus conforms to the noble feminine type established in *The Roman Charity* and in the Versailles Muses (Figures 1, 3, 5, 6)—adumbrations of the features of the Medici Venus. The spandrel's junior angels and the group's Cupid (Figure 11) could pass for brothers. The clouds in the spandrel and those at the back of the group (Figure 20) are similarly swirled.



10. Detail of Aeneas in Figure 1



11. Detail of Cupid in Figure 1



12. Corner view of Figure 1



13. Corner view of Figure 1

In fact, the relief is the most linear and least three-dimensional sculpture in the chapel, where the contributions of other sculptors show far greater ease of movement, looking toward the style of the *Régence*. Apart from individual traits, however, it would be difficult to prove that the relief and the group were carved by the same hand, because the group occupies space with some authority, while Cornu's pilaster relief (Figure 8) is relatively timid, symmetrical, and flat in the overall context of the chapel sculptures. But its array of pure ornament easily recalls the command of detail shown in the shaping of Aeneas's armor (Figures 2, 21).

The controlling vision of Charles Le Brun, Louis

XIV's *Premier Peintre*, who directed the efforts of teams of highly skilled artists, placed certain constraints on sculptural initiative. To be sure, the personality of a first-rate sculptor such as François Girardon or that of a titan such as Pierre Puget was bound to rise to the surface, but this was hardly the case with the majority involved in chopping out rows of garden figures based on the designs of Le Brun. One convention that resulted was an insistent emphasis on the corners of a composition, which arose from the general desire for sculptures to be apprehended from various axes in formally laid-out gardens. This stress, evident in Cornu's *Africa* (Figure 4), recurs in the Aeneas group, where views of the



14. Side view of Figure 1

corners (Figures 12, 13) offer almost as much interest as the front and side views (Figures 1, 14). The shield-bearing Cupid accentuates the right corner by leaning diagonally into the composition. The Cupid is lacking in a plaster replica of the group in Amsterdam, and the overall expression is a bit blank (Figure 15).²² It does not help that the plaster hero's gesticulating arms have been rearranged, making the subject less than clear. Fingers in the terracotta group have also been altered as damages have occurred, but Aeneas's left arm is clearly positioned to hold a missing spear (part of Venus's gift). His left arm in the plaster has no apparent function.

Opportunities for sculptors to relax somewhat, to

depart from grandiose norms, and to expand their range began to open up after Le Brun's death in 1690, as projects more intimate in nature gained favor. One new direction was pointed by the theatrical bronze group, a form that came into fashion around 1700, partially as a revival of Florentine grand-ducal taste of a century earlier. The species of pictorial bronze groups had originated in Florence, and the balletic lifts that are so much a feature of the French derivations are often recapitulations of Giovanni Bologna's *Rape of the Sabines*. Figure 16 reproduces one

15. After Cornu, *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas*. Plaster, H. 115 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)



of the two-figure groups after Giovanni Bologna; the gilt reduction owned by Cornu was of the three-figure type.²³ The Gallic assimilations often appear more earthbound than the Florentine groups, as if filtered through a second source, this time a French one: Pierre Le Pautre's much-admired *Aeneas Carrying Anchises* in the Tuileries gardens.²⁴ The format of the bronze group afforded the sculptor an opportunity to orchestrate a close-up display of movement

and musculature and a rhetorical description of contrasts, such as that between old and young or male and female. The ability to state these qualities with eloquence was one of the ends advanced most conspicuously in French academic training.

Thomas Regnaudin exhibited several groups in the Salon of 1699. One was a marble and three were possibly terracottas for compositions he hoped to see realized in bronze: *Time Discovering Truth*, *Aeneas Car-*

16. After a composition by Giovanni Bologna (1529–1608), *Rape of a Sabine*, Florentine cast of the late 16th or early 17th century. Bronze, H. 98.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William B. Jaffe and Evelyn A. Jaffe Hall, 1963, 63.197

17. Philippe Bertrand (1663–1724), *The Rape of Helen*, 1701. Bronze, H. 64.8 cm. Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau (photo: Thierry Prat, Mareil-sur-Mauldre)



rying *Anchises*, and *Adam and Eve*.²⁵ The first was a reduction of his marble *Saturn Abducting Cybele*, now in the Louvre.²⁶ In 1700 Philippe Bertrand received a royal commission for a *Rape of Helen*, which he cast and presented to the Académie the following year (Figure 17),²⁷ and whose psychological interplay and diagonal thrusts continue to reverberate in the Museum's terracotta. Commissions from the crown had unquestionably dwindled by this time, owing to the disastrous price of warfare during the later reign of Louis XIV. It was perhaps as an economic consequence that artists courted the private sector by showing bronzes, or the models for them, at the Salon.

Models for bronzes figured importantly at the Salon of 1704; the Grande Galerie was virtually peppered with groups. The Salon *livrets* do not always specify materials, and it is likely that many terracottas were displayed in the hope they might be cast if orders were forthcoming. Regnaudin repeated his *Aeneas Carrying Anchises*²⁸ and Bertrand his *Rape of Helen*, adding *The Rape of Psyche*, *Lucretia*, and *Prometheus*.²⁹ In addition to Cornu's two Aeneas subjects, Corneille van Clève showed a *Diana and Endymion* and a *Bacchus and Ariadne*,³⁰ René Frémin a *Rape of Pandora* and his model for *Hercules and Deianira*,³¹ Robert Le Lorrain bronzes of *Vertumnus and Pomona* and a *Bacchante*,³² and Jean-Louis Le Moyne a *Cephalus and Procris*.³³ Jean Poultier entered *Adam and Eve*, *Apollo and Daphne*, and *Susannah and the Elders*, as well as lesser bronzes.³⁴ Surviving bronzes that correspond to these Salon entries have more or less the same sizable format as the Museum's terracotta, which is scrupulously finished and thus unlikely to have served as a study for a work of greater size.

During the short period when bronze groups were so swiftly promoted, there was no *Premier Peintre* to channel taste, and the Salon was not yet held on a regular basis. The prominence of sculptural groups at the 1704 Salon cannot have been a matter of spontaneous choice. The exhibiting sculptors were probably acting in concert to enforce a decorative unity along the *trumeaux* of the Grande Galerie. Afterward, the popularity of these groups suffered something of a decline, surfacing only rarely in the *Régence*. Four bronzes at Windsor Castle may illustrate an exceptional resurgence of the species. These airy assemblies, in which mythological pairings represent the Seasons,³⁵ are conventionally ascribed to Jacques Des-



18. By or after Bertrand, *Venus at the Forge of Vulcan*, ca. 1720. Bronze. Windsor Castle, Royal Collection (photo: Courtauld Institute)

jardins.³⁶ However, Desjardins, the nephew of the better-known sculptor Martin Desjardins, is documented in the role of founder more than that of modeler, and there are clear signs that Philippe Bertrand was involved in this project. The Windsor *Zephyr and Flora* (for Spring) restates the model for a marble group begun in 1713 and finished after Bertrand's death.³⁷ At Windsor the subject of Winter is realized in the form of Venus commissioning Aeneas's arms from Vulcan (Figure 18), the episode preceding Cornu's in Virgilian chronology. Bertrand's authorship of the model for this bronze is suggested not only by its resemblance to *The Rape of Helen* (Figure 17), but also by the fact that he was named as the author of a terracotta of this subject in the sale of Jean de Jullienne in 1767.³⁸ Bertrand emerges as a likely motivating force in the history of these bronze picturings of abduction and apparition.



19. Pietro Testa (1612–50), *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas*, ca. 1638–40. Etching. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926, 26.70.33 (45)

The question of bronze statuettes aside, another arena for the display of unfettered talent proved to be the Chapelle Royale enterprise.³⁹ As noted above, Cornu's reliefs of 1709 (Figures 7, 8) contrast with those of the other chapel sculptors in their linearity and symmetry. This may indicate a sort of vitiation in Cornu's late work, or he may have attempted deliberately to resist the general trend toward less formal configurations. In either case, Cornu was less in step

stylistically with the times than he had been in the terracotta group.

More than likely, *Venus Giving Arms to Aeneas* was conceived from the beginning as a pendant for the four-figure *Aeneas Carrying Anchises* shown in the same Salon of 1704—in which case the weight of the latter would have shifted complementarily to the right. It has been suggested that the subject of Aeneas Bearing Anchises, or the Flight from Troy, had special relevance for the French monarchy, as it is a theme telling of succession and tradition transmitted through the male line.⁴⁰ Venus's gift of armor to her son Aeneas can be interpreted in terms no less

royal, as the leader is being given divine succor and enhanced authority in the form of these arms. The relief on the shield, showing the Flight from Troy (Figure 2), was doubtless meant to mirror Cornu's now-lost companion group. The embellishment of the shield, a departure from Virgil, is otherwise inexplicable. Rather than this episode, Virgil describes a fantastical summation of the history of Rome worked into the shield's design.⁴¹

The putto who struggles so gamely with this shield is an interpolation intended from the start, as can be judged by the Rijksmuseum's plaster (Figure 15), where his absence leaves a gap, both compositionally and psychologically. He is to be taken for a Cupid; it would be only natural for an artist to suppose that Cupid might assist his mother in the arming of his older half brother. If the spiral of the main group harks back to the *figura serpentina* of Giovanni Bologna (Figure 16), the added figure of the love god derives from pictorial sources. Poussin includes amorini in his two versions of the tale.⁴² The source Cornu followed most closely is an engraving by Pietro Testa (Figure 19), in which several erotes lend their aid.⁴³ Cornu's single Cupid is more cogent and is not, strictly speaking, traceable to Testa's print, but the print definitely prompted Venus's position canted to the left and also influenced the form of Aeneas's helmet and the intimation of gratified surprise in his outstretched right arm.

The delight Aeneas takes in his armor comes straight from Virgil. The poet's hero, "rejoicing in the divine gift and in honour thus signal, cannot be sated as he rolls his eyes from piece to piece" of the battle gear.⁴⁴ Cornu adheres to the text in supplying the goddess with a bank of clouds as she draws nigh (Figure 20); and at the back of the group is the oak beneath which Venus spread out "the arms all radiant."⁴⁵ Aeneas will now exchange the arms he wears—impressive ones at that—for this exciting new set. He is already testing the new spear (now missing). Through the perfection with which he has fashioned this Baroque panoply, Cornu does not let us forget its divine origin. One might find the sword more stage-worthy than "death-dealing" but the helmet is certainly "terrific with plumes" (Figure 21) and the shield's "ineffable fabric" cannot fail to impress (Figure 2).⁴⁶ Cornu's powers are most in evidence in these details, as if he were actively, consciously striving to equal the workmanship of Vulcan's shop.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly beholden to Betsy Rosasco for her constructive comments on the manuscript and to Françoise de la Moureyre for generous help in assembling comparative photographs. Special thanks are also due to Carmel Wilson of the Museum's Photograph Studio for her excellent photographs of the terracotta group.

20. Detail of the back of Figure 1



21. Detail of Figure 1



NOTES

1. See notes of Katharine Baetjer in "Pleasures and Problems of Early French Painting," *Apollo* 106 (1977) pp. 340–349. Friedsam was the cousin and heir of Benjamin Altman, another important Metropolitan Museum benefactor.
2. The sculpture earlier passed through a sale of the Florentine dealer Elia Volpi, at American Art Galleries, New York, Dec. 17–19, 1917, no. 429, as by Pierre Puget. The Museum's marked copy of the catalogue indicates it was knocked down to Joseph Dabissi for \$425, but the sale apparently did not go through. Kleinberger Galleries, acting on behalf of Colonel Friedsam, bought it from Volpi in 1920.
3. Virgil, *Aeneid* VIII, 608–625.
4. *Aeneid* II, 707–730. Soon after the exiles set forth, Creusa, detained by Cybele, fell behind and perished (II, 771–794).
5. Joseph Breck, "The Gift of the Michael Friedsam Collection," *MMAB* 27 (1932) p. 62.
6. *Liste des Tableaux et des Ouvrages de Sculpture, exposez dans la Grande Galerie du Louvre, par Messieurs les Peintres, & Sculpteurs de L'Académie Royale, en la presente année 1704* (Paris, 1704) p. 16—hereafter referred to as *livret*.
7. "En ce qui concerne votre terre cuite et son attribution à Cornu, je suis encore moins disposé à adopter sans hésitation votre identification. L'origine de la pièce est vague et semble plutôt vers l'Italie. Le sculpteur Cornu est encore moins célèbre et moins particulier comme manière. Enfin le sujet peut avoir aussi été traité à plusieurs reprises. Or cette identité de sujet est le seul argument que vous puissiez invoquer: car le style compliqué et un peu confus du groupe ne fait même pas penser forcément à une oeuvre française. Il s'agirait d'une oeuvre italienne ou originaire de l'Allemagne du Sud ou de l'Autriche du début du XVIIIe siècle que je n'en serais pas entièrement étonné. Donc ici double point d'interrogation?? En [illegible] y peut être un peu d'hypercritique pour des attributions vraisemblables peut-être et devant lesquelles on n'hésiterait pas dans le domaine de la pure curiosité" (letter of May 1, 1940, in the department's archive).
8. Thus the resemblance to Bertrand's *Rape of Helen* (Figure 17) was observed by Olga Raggio in a penciled note of 1964. In a letter of 1961, in the department's archive, Hugh Honour recommended investigating Piedmontese comparisons. In the late 1960s, around the time I joined the department, Roman followers of Domenico Guidi were being discussed as possibilities.
9. François Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries. The Reign of Louis XIV*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1977–87).
10. Cleaned by conservator Jack Soultanian in the winter of 1988. Consistent with Baroque models on this large scale, the group is an assembly of many separately cast pieces, which had discolored considerably at the joins. I am grateful to Mr. Soultanian for information shared during our many consultations.
11. These and the following notices are from Souchal, *French Sculptors*, I, pp. 112–123.
12. Frédéric Chappey, conservateur chargé des sculptures at the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, has kindly signified the existence of a bronze relief of this composition in a collection at Maubeuge, apparently bearing a stamp indicating royal ownership.
13. Illustrated by Souchal, *French Sculptors*, I, p. 115.
14. See François Souchal, "Les Statues aux façades du château de Versailles," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 79 (1972) pp. 99–107, and *French Sculptors*, I, pp. 116–119. These have deteriorated and have been heavily restored.
15. Souchal, *French Sculptors*, I, pp. 120–122.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 120. The heads of the cherubim hark back to François Duquesnoy.
17. Germain Brice, *Description nouvelle de la ville de Paris*, 3d ed. (Paris, 1698) I, p. 81, quoted by Souchal, *French Sculptors*, I, p. 121.
18. Souchal, *French Sculptors*, I, pp. 121, 123. The river god and naiad were perhaps the *fleuve* and *reine esclave* that Cornu contributed to a monument to Louis XIV executed by students at the French Academy in Rome, 1675–79 (*ibid.*, p. 112).
19. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
20. Illustrated in Souchal, *French Sculptors*, I, p. 122, and translated p. 123. Cornu analyzes each element in the pilaster relief, whose overall signification is "the mystical symbol of Jesus Christ."
21. This *Clio* is one of the figures replaced on the façade by modern copies; the original fragments have been retired to storage.
22. Inv. no. RBK 1957–25, acquired in Paris, catalogued as school of Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, and believed to represent Rinaldo and Armida. Because of doubts about its authenticity, the piece was not included in Jaap Leeuwenberg and Willy Halsema-Kubes, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum* (Amsterdam, 1973).
23. The Florentine derivation holds true whether one has in mind Giovanni Bologna's three-figure marble group in the Loggia dei Lanzi or the two- and three-figure groups that emanated from his workshop. The inventory of works found in Cornu's studio after his death, taken on Oct. 13, 1710, is characterized by Souchal, *French Sculptors*, I, p. 123. *The Rape of the Sabinas* did not appear in the inventory of Cornu's widow in 1715. The popularity of French bronze groups around 1700 was of course paralleled in contemporary grand-ducal Florence by the groups of Massimiliano Soldani and Giovanni Battista Foggini.
24. See Souchal, *French Sculptors*, II, pp. 377–378. Betsy Rosasco, "A Terracotta *Aeneas and Anchises* Attributed to Laurent

Guiard," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 45 (1986) pp. 3–15, offers abundant proof of the influence of Le Pautre's group.

25. *Livret* of the Salon of 1699, pp. 6, 16.

26. Souchal, *French Sculptors*, III, pp. 250–251. The *Aeneas and Anchises* appears to survive in two bronze versions: the earlier one in the Hermitage, Leningrad (ill. in Rosasco, "A Terracotta *Aeneas and Anchises*," fig. 22), the later one a more strictly frontal group, in 1989, with Agnew's, London. Neither is a true compositional pendant to the Saturn and Cybele group, although one was paired decoratively with it at the Salon.

27. *Ibid.*, I, p. 51.

28. *Livret*, p. 12, possibly the second version mentioned in note 26.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 17. See Souchal, *French Sculptors*, I, pp. 51, 52.

30. *Livret*, p. 14. See Souchal, *French Sculptors*, III, pp. 385–386, for bronze casts. The solicitous Diana bears a generic resemblance to the Venus of our group.

31. *Livret*, pp. 19, 21. See Souchal, *French Sculptors*, I, pp. 304–305.

32. *Livret*, p. 25. *Vertumnus and Pomona* later gained a pendant *Venus and Adonis*. See Souchal, *French Sculptors*, II, pp. 337–339.

33. *Livret*, p. 32, no further trace.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 30. *Apollo and Daphne* depended closely upon Bernini. Souchal, *French Sculptors*, III, p. 159.

35. Courtauld Institute neg. nos. B69/517–520 for images of all four. Besides the two discussed, Summer is represented by *Ceres and Triptolemus*, Autumn by *Bacchus and Ariadne*.

36. See Émile Dacier, *Catalogue de ventes et livrets de Salons illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin XI: Catalogue de la vente L.-J. Gaignat (1769)* (Paris, 1921) pp. 47–48 and notes on p. 74; *George IV and the Arts of France*, exh. cat., The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace (London, 1966) pp. 31–32; Christian Bauliez in *Le Faubourg Saint-Germain: La rue de Varenne*, exh. cat., Musée Rodin (Paris, 1981) p. 67.

37. Bertrand and Frémin were commissioned jointly for this marble, now in a private collection. After Frémin departed for

Spain (1721) and Bertrand had fallen ill, the marble was completed by Jacques Bousseau in 1726. Souchal, *French Sculptors*, I, pp. 59–60.

38. Pierre Rémy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, desseins et estampes, et autres effets curieux, après le décès de M. de Jullienne* (Paris, 1767) no. 1296: "Vulcain assis, forgeant un casque, à la prière de Vénus, qui est debout derrière lui, & un Amour qui tient une épée. Cinq figures, pour donner l'idée du massacre des Innocents. Ces deux groupes sont de Philippe Bertrand; sur des piédestaux en marqueterie d'écaillé, avec des bronzes dorés." The bronze Venus does not exactly stand but is airborne in an upright position. It is easy to see that the Cupid could have raised a sword horizontally. Bertrand's composition is in several respects a reworking of Antoine Coppel's scene in the Galerie d'Énée of the Palais Royal. See Guy de Tervarent, *Présence de Virgile dans l'art*, Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts, *Mémoires* XII, fasc. 2 (1967) pl. VIII.

39. See the plates in Pierre de Nolhac, *La Chapelle Royale de Versailles* (Versailles/Paris, 1913), and Souchal, *French Sculptors*, starting with Bertrand in I, pp. 56–59.

40. Rosasco, "A Terracotta *Aeneas and Anchises*," p. 15 n.45.

41. *Aeneid* VIII, 608–625.

42. Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin* (New York, 1967) pls. 101, 126.

43. Elizabeth Cropper, *Pietro Testa 1612–1650, Prints and Drawings*, exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art (1988) no. 59. In turning to this source, Cornu bypassed French examples, not just Poussin but also the painting by Jean Cotelle le jeune for the "Cabinet des bijoux" of the duc d'Orléans at Saint-Cloud. Scenes from the *Aeneid* decorated that room as well as the Galerie d'Énée at the Palais Royal, and thus were found to have significance for the Orléans branch quite apart from the royalist application just mentioned. See Tervarent, *Présence de Virgile dans l'art*, pl. xvii.

44. *Aeneid* VIII, 617–619, H. Rushton Fairclough, trans. (London/New York, 1918) p. 103.

45. *Ibid.*, 616, Fairclough trans., p. 103.

46. *Ibid.*, 620–625, Fairclough trans., p. 103. Virgil also mentions the spear that is missing here, the corselet, and the jambs.

Repraesentatio Belli, ob successionem in Regno Hispanico . . . : A Tea Service and Garniture by the Schwarzlot Decorator Ignaz Preissler

MAUREEN CASSIDY-GEIGER

*Former Research Assistant, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Department,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION erupted on the death of Charles II (1661–1700), the last of the Spanish Hapsburg kings. In his will the childless monarch had named as his successor Philippe, duc d'Anjou (1683–1746), of the House of Bourbon and a grandson of Louis XIV. The accession of Philip V was opposed, however, by the English and the Dutch; attempting to block French domination of Europe, they joined Austria in supporting the Hapsburg pretender to the throne, Charles III (1685–1740), second son of Leopold I and King of Hungary. Prussia, Portugal, and Hannover and other German states joined this imperial alliance. They were opposed by Bavaria, Cologne, Mantua, and for a short time Savoy, all allied with France to champion Philip V's claim to the throne.

Under the outstanding military leadership of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, and of others including Prince Eugene of Savoy, the imperial alliance enjoyed a long series of impressive victories over the French. The alliance collapsed, however, in 1711, when the death of Joseph II brought Charles III to the Hapsburg throne and to election as Emperor Charles VI. Fearing the restoration of the powerful empire of Charles V (1500–58), who had been Holy Roman Emperor and also King of Spain, the English and the Dutch abandoned Charles VI, switched sides, and recognized Philip V as the legitimate heir to the Spanish throne. Peace negotiations were be-

gun in 1712. The resulting treaties between France and the imperial allies were concluded in 1713 and 1714.

In the end, neither side could claim final victory. Philip V retained his crown but lost his territories and colonies to those in the imperial alliance. France and her allies suffered humiliating military defeats. Charles VI lost his claim to the Spanish throne, but in compensation gained territories in Italy.

Although the outcome of the War of the Spanish Succession satisfied none of the participants, many of its battles and sieges were admired as remarkable military events and were commemorated by series of paintings, tapestries, and engravings, following the tradition established by Louis XIV. Jan van Huchtenbergh (1647–1733), who accompanied Prince Eugene on his campaigns, produced a series of paintings commemorating the prince's victories; they recall the bold military panoramas of Charles Le Brun and Adam van der Meulen, which were the models for tapestries celebrating the life and military conquests of Louis XIV, and which were reproduced in engravings by Sébastien LeClerc.¹ The van Huchtenbergh canvases were not used as cartoons for a set of tapestries but were engraved and published in The Hague in 1725. The sixteen plates and 132 pages of text by Jean Dumont (d. 1726) were entitled *Batailles Gagnées par le serenissime prince Fr. Eugene de Savoye sur les ennemis de la foi, et sur ceux de l'empereur*

de l'empire, en Hongrie, en Italie, en Allemagne & aux Pais-Bas.² The Duke of Marlborough also commissioned a series of ten tapestries depicting his principal victories, which were woven in Brussels between 1712 and 1724. The designs are attributed to Lambert de Hondt, the author of the so-called Art of War tapestries, which exist in many versions.³

The largest engraved series to commemorate the battles, sieges, and ceremonial events of the War of the Spanish Succession⁴ was that published in Augsburg by Jeremias Wolff: *Repraesentatio Belli, ob successionem in Regno Hispanico . . . Der Spanische Successions-Krieg unter drey Grossmächtigst-Unüberwindlichst- und Glorwürdigsten Keyssern Leopoldo I. Josepho I. und Carolo VI. innerhalb 14 Jahren mit Siegreichsten Progressen biss zu dem Baadischen Frieden so heldenmässig als glücklich geführt; davon die merckwürdigst und fast ungläubliche Belagerungen, Bataillen zu Land und Wasser, Forcierungen, verschantzter Lager u. andere grosse Unternehmen und solenne Actus durch gegenwärtig anmuthiges Werck in 56 schön inventierten und mit curieusen Einfassungen gezierte Kupffer-Platten samt gantz neu beygefügtten Wahrhaftt und nervosen Beschreibungen der Nach-Welt zu beharrlicher Verwunderung und historischen Angedencken vorgestellt worden*. It comprises a title plate, a description in Italian, and fifty-six large engravings, printed from plates measuring 17 $\frac{1}{8}$ –19 by 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ –15 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches (Figures 1, 5, 7, 11, 15, 18, 22, 29–32).⁵ Produced after 1714, none of the plates is dated, although each carries the date of the event it depicts. It is obvious that Jeremias Wolff modeled his series after those by LeClerc. As with LeClerc's engravings, each plate contains a central scene framed by panels of strapwork or enclosed in an architectural setting or an elaborate Baroque frame. Adjacent to or overlapping the central scene is a device of some sort: a framed map or plan of the site, or an emblematic tribute to the emperor or empress and a cartouche, banner, or drapery with panegyric commentary. Some of the plates were designed by Paul Decker d. Ä. (1677–1713) and Paul Decker d. J. (1685–1742); others combine a principal scene by Georg Philipp (I) Rugendas (1666–1742) with framework by Abraham II Drentwett (1647–1729).

Such commemorative series were considered works of art as well as encapsulations of recent events and were highly valued by collectors of the period, who acquired them for their libraries or print cabinets. Although filled with decorative motifs, these

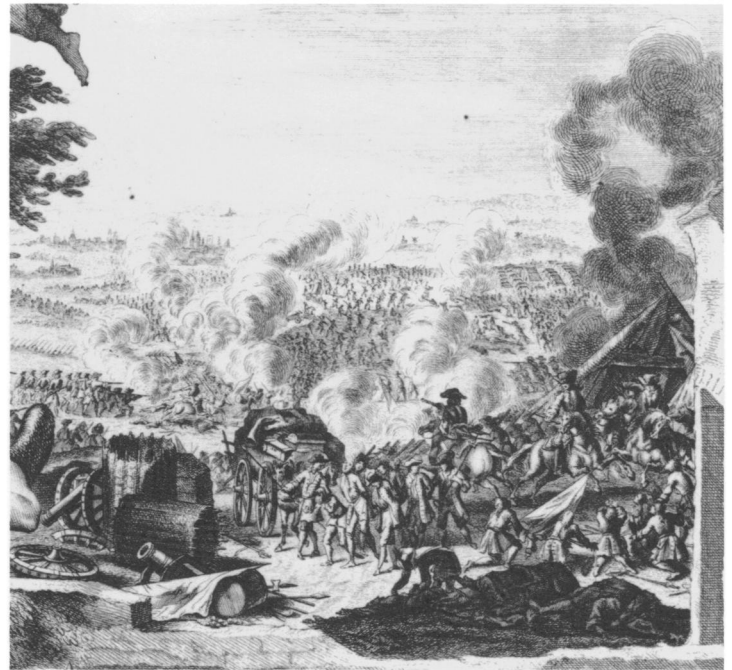
sheets were not the type to be purchased for use by local artists and craftsmen. Those artists generally bought small, inexpensive pattern books of six pages at most, which were discarded when they became worn out or fell out of fashion. Therefore it is a measure of both the patron's position and the importance of this commission that the painter Ignaz Preissler was provided with plates from the *Repraesentatio Belli, ob successionem in Regno Hispanico . . .* to use as the source of designs for his decoration of a tea service and garniture, parts of which are in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Preissler worked in the tradition of the Nuremberg *Schwarzlot* decorators (*Schwarzlot* literally means "black lead"). He belonged to the class of artist now known as *Hausmaler* (literally "painter/s [working] at home") because they decorated glass and faience originally, and porcelain beginning in the eighteenth century, on a free-lance basis.⁶ *Hausmaler* activity flourished in the imperial free cities of Nuremberg and Augsburg, in the Silesian capital city of Breslau (present-day Wrocław, Poland) and elsewhere during the last half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century.⁷

The patrons of the *Hausmaler* were individuals of power and wealth in the local community or members of the nobility. They commissioned works to commemorate important events, both for their own use and for presentation pieces. Contemporary accounts reveal the names of two notable patrons of Ignaz Preissler,⁸ and a large number of commissions which remain anonymous indicate a similarly distinguished clientele.

The *Schwarzlot* technique practiced by the Nuremberg *Hausmaler* and by Preissler originated as a method of decorating window glass. A transparent black enamel was painted onto the surface of the glass, faience, or porcelain; then, before the piece was fired in a muffle kiln, fine linear detail was scratched into the enamel with a needle. Occasionally red iron oxide and other colors were employed, using the same technique. Some decorators, including Preissler, used gold to highlight the decoration. Preissler was one of the last of the *Hausmaler* working in the Nuremberg *Schwarzlot* technique; in a letter written in 1731 he described painting in black and red (meaning iron-red) as "the finest and most subtle form of decoration."⁹

Preissler's mastery of the *Schwarzlot* technique and



1. Johann Jakob Kleinschmidt after Paul Decker d. J., *Sieg über die Galli-Spanier bey Saragossa*, after 1714. Engraving, 18 x 15 in. trimmed. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

2. Detail of Figure 1

his skill as a draftsman are boldly displayed on the tea service and garniture which commemorate the War of the Spanish Succession. The Metropolitan Museum of Art owns three teabowls with saucers from the service (Figures 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17);¹⁰ the teapot is in a private collection in New York (Figures 20, 21),¹¹ and the waste bowl was formerly in the Hermann Emden collection in Hamburg (Figure 19).¹² The Metropolitan Museum and the Art Institute of Chicago each own a pair of vases from the garniture (Figures 23–27).¹³ A beaker decorated en suite with sea battles is in the Corning Museum of Glass (Figure 28).¹⁴

3. Ignaz Preissler, decorated saucer, ca. 1720–25; overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Saucer, ca. 1713–19, of hard paste Meissen porcelain; Diam. 3¼ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964, 64.101.238





4. Ignaz Preissler, decorated saucer, ca. 1720–25; overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Saucer, ca. 1713–19, of hard paste Meissen porcelain; Diam. 4½ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1940, 40.65.5

All the known pieces from the tea service and garniture, despite some attributions to the contrary, are of Meissen porcelain dating from about 1713 to 1719. The models of the teapot (Figures 20, 21) and the vases (Figures 23–27) are attributed to Johann Jacob Irminger (active ca. 1682–1721), court goldsmith to Augustus the Strong in Dresden. *Hausmaler* generally worked on outdated models or on seconds provided by their patrons, and these pieces show that Preissler was no exception. All the models are among the first produced in the white Böttger porcelain discovered in 1713. The saucers are slightly warped and the vases exhibit firing cracks and kiln dirt. The Chicago vases (Figure 23) are fitted with lids that were modeled for a coffeepot also designed by Irminger. They vary slightly in size and shape and were obviously substituted for the original lids, which were high-domed and had foliate ornament in relief.¹⁵ It



5. Johann August Corvinus, after the designs of Georg Philipp Rugendas and Abraham Drentwett, *Sieg bey Oudenarde*, after 1714. Engraving, 18½ x 14¾ in. trimmed. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

is not known when the vases in the Metropolitan Museum, the larger of the two pairs, lost their lids.

The pieces from the tea service depict scenes of battle on land, while the vases illustrate battles at sea. The scenes are executed entirely in *Schwarzlot* with gold highlights. The raised ornament on the vases and covers is gilded. The scenes which constitute the primary decoration represent a range of military conditions in animated fashion; the action is often engulfed in the billowing clouds of smoke from cannon and musket fire. The land scenes recede deeply, often showing an embattled fortified city against distant hills. Trees, foliage, and piles of discarded equipment anchor the foreground, while broad panoramas of battlefields or encampments fill the middle ground. On the ocean ships are engaged in vigorous battle, their flags and sails—some in tatters—whipped by the wind. The detailing of the

ships and their riggings, the delineation of the regiments massed in formation on the battlefields, and the convincing depictions of smoke and stirred-up seas all demonstrate Preissler's special talent with the *Schwarzlot* painter's needle.

The richly detailed decoration of these pieces mirrors that of the print series from which Preissler also borrowed both theme and general design. Preissler's skill as a draftsman permitted him to adapt printed designs of impressive scale and complexity to objects of varied configuration. Entire vignettes were reproduced on the saucers of the tea service, probably because of their broad, nearly flat surfaces. On the other pieces from the service the artist's direct borrowings were restricted to isolated figures or elements; these he inserted into settings of his own design which successfully imitated the character and mood of the densely conceived print images. He did not incorporate any of the explanatory motifs from the frameworks of the engravings. The scrolling foliate strapwork on the lid of the teapot, which appears frequently in Preissler's work, derives from contemporary pattern books.¹⁶

The *Sieg über die Galli-Spanier bey Saragossa* (Zaragoza, Spain; 1710), an engraving by Paul Decker d. J. (Figures 1, 2), is the source for the decoration of one saucer (Figure 3). A group of prisoners is escorted past a supply cart while the battle rages in the distance and mounted soldiers charge. The figure with a flag who kneels at the right of the print has been retained; the other kneeling figures and the tent are omitted from the saucer decoration. In the left and center foreground, jumbled gabions, guns, carriages, a drum, and a flag rest at the base of a tree, as in the Decker design. Preissler has sharpened the outline of the city under siege in the distance and has introduced into the background a network of trenches and additional cavalry troops.

A second saucer (Figure 4) is painted after the *Sieg bey Oudenarde* (Oudenaard, Belgium; 1708) by G. P. Rugendas (Figure 5). The cavalry charges into battle under the direction of the figure brandishing a sword at center, perhaps Prince Eugene or the duke of Marlborough. The embattled city in the background, which in the engraving appears only at the right, has been extended in Preissler's version, and the explosion of a mine sending troops into the air has been borrowed from a different print depicting the siege at Douai (Figure 11).

The most vivid and intense military encounter appears on the third saucer (Figure 6), which depicts the *Bataille in der gegendt Mons* (Belgium; 1709) after Paul Decker d. Ä. (Figures 7, 8). Against a backdrop of smoke, cavalrymen raise their swords and aim their guns while their mounts rear and fall, and some troopers are thrown. The mounted figure at the right in the print is not included in the decoration of the saucer, and the fallen horse and rider in the extreme left foreground of the print appear instead on one of the teabowls (Figure 9). (The scene on the other side of the teabowl [Figure 10] showing two soldiers stripping a dead soldier of his clothing and purse cannot be traced to any of the plates from the series.) In the midst of the battle depicted on the saucer a flag with a rampant lion¹⁷ is raised, an element which does not appear in the print, and jackets and tricorne hats have replaced the helmets and armor worn by some of the soldiers. The tree in the left foreground has been retained to anchor the scene, and, as in the print, columns of troops advance into battle across the background.

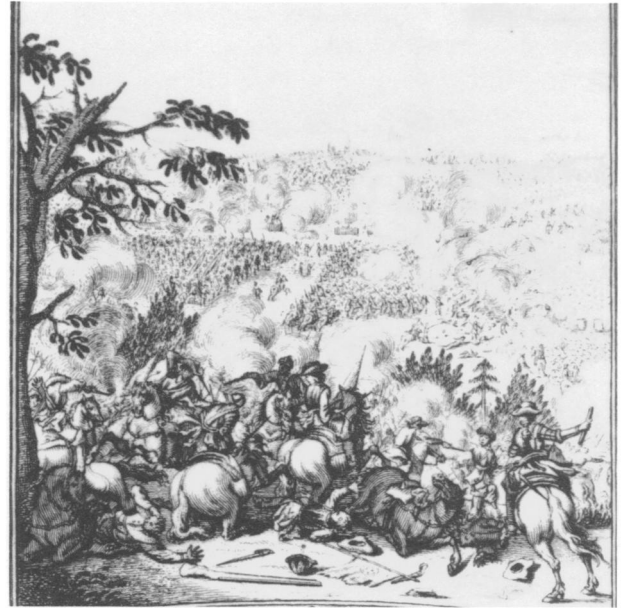
The engraving of the siege at Douai (France; 1710) after Paul Decker d. Ä. and Paul Decker d. J. (Figures 11, 12), from which was drawn the image of an explosion of a mine breaching the city walls—found on one of the saucers (Figure 4) and on the teapot (Figure 20)—is also the source of the three mounted figures pictured on another of the teabowls (Figure 13). Preissler altered the central mounted figure, opening the gesture of his right arm. The sentry to the right of the teabowl grouping, and, on the other side (Figure 14), the camp scene showing the peaked tents of the troops (with side flaps open to reveal, in one, a seated figure smoking a pipe) are all adapted from images in the engraving. The print's battlefield and distant city under siege, however, do not appear in the tea-service decoration.

Preissler borrowed the foreground figures of a sentry and his comrade from the engraving of the *Eroberung St. Venant* (France; 1710) after Paul Decker d. Ä. (Figure 15), employing the figures similarly to anchor the foreground on the side of a third teabowl (Figure 16). The array of gabion, guns, and carriages that litters the foreground on the other side (Figure 17), an accurate portrayal of the somewhat casual way equipment was left around the camps, was obviously also a favorite conceit of the engravers—one Preissler adopted and used, as they did, to close, an-

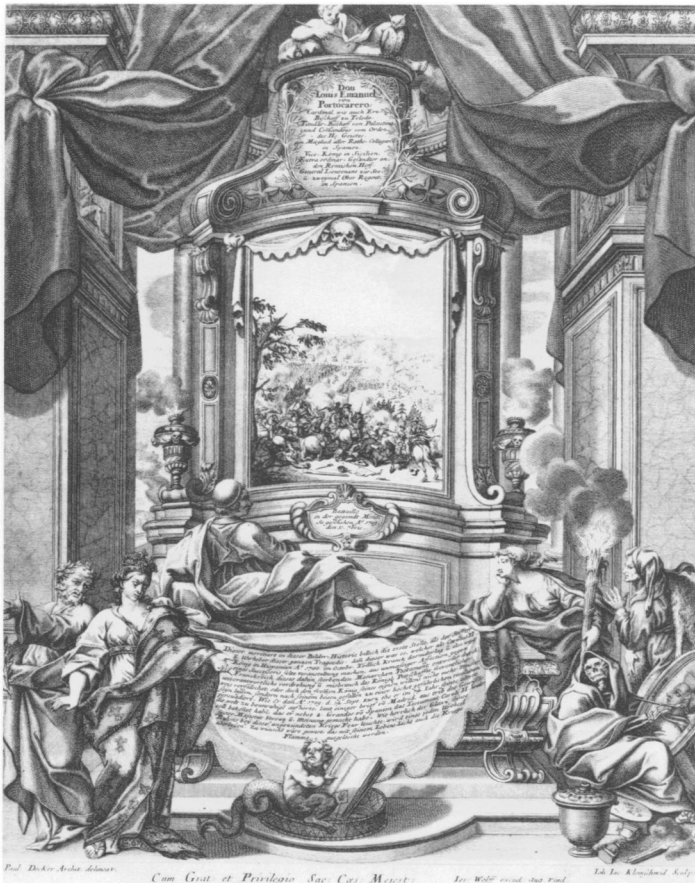


6. Ignaz Preissler, decorated saucer, ca. 1720–25; overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Saucer, ca. 1713–19, of hard paste Meissen porcelain; Diam. $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964, 64.101.240

7. Johann Jakob Kleinschmidt after Paul Decker d. Ä., *Bataille in der gegendt Mons*, after 1714. Engraving, $19\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{5}{8}$ in. trimmed. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)



8. Detail of Figure 7



OPPOSITE PAGE:

9. Ignaz Preissler, decorated teabowl, ca. 1720–25; overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Teabowl, ca. 1713–19, of hard paste Meissen porcelain; H. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1940, 40.65.4

10. Teabowl shown in Figure 9; opposite side

11. Joseph de Montalegre after Paul Decker d. Ä. and Paul Decker d. J., *Dovay*, after 1714. Engraving, $18\frac{5}{16} \times 15\frac{13}{16}$ in. trimmed. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

12. Detail of Figure 11

13. Ignaz Preissler, decorated teabowl, ca. 1720–25; overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Teabowl, ca. 1713–19, of hard paste Meissen porcelain; H. $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964, 64.101.239

14. Teabowl shown in Figure 13; opposite side



15. Johann August Corvinus after Paul Decker d. Ä., *Eroberung St. Venant*, after 1714. Engraving, 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. trimmed. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

chor, or set off a scene. The artillery position with a discarded gun at the end of the rampart, which appears in the same scene on the teabowl, probably derives from the engraving of the *Eroberung Dornik* (Tournai, Belgium; 1709) after Paul Decker d. J. (Figure 18); here the gun lies in the right foreground.

The same print also provided models for the decoration on one side of the waste bowl (Figure 19). In the print's foreground men are shown collecting branches, which they bundle into fascines or weave into gabions. Preissler borrowed the group at the right, a drummer, a man with an armful of brush, and another at work on a gabion, and placed them in a foreground clearing. The figure with ax upraised, who in the print stands high above the group on a tree limb, has on the waste bowl been transposed to



16. Ignaz Preissler, decorated teabowl, ca. 1720–25; overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Teabowl, ca. 1713–19, of hard paste Meissen porcelain; H. 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964, 64.101.237



17. Teabowl shown in Figure 16; opposite side

the left, planted firmly on the ground, and given a jacket and boots. Preissler filled the middle ground with stands of trees and rows of tents, and set in the right background a hilltop village. The hill's inclination to one side and the slender overlapping or entwined tree trunks are characteristic features of Preissler's style. According to the entry in the sale catalogue, the inside of the bowl is painted with a wide border of foliate strapwork around the rim and a trophy in the bottom.¹⁸

The teapot is decorated with a continuous scene depicting a fortified encampment. On one side (Figure 20) the rampart with gun battery, terrain crisscrossed by trenches, and view of an embattled city with columns of smoke rising from an explosion at



18. Johann Jakob Kleinschmidt after Paul Decker d. J., *Eroberung Dornik*, after 1714. Engraving, 19 x 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. trimmed. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

the wall all seem to derive from the engraving of the siege at Douai (Figures 11, 12), although the actual rendering of the guns with gabions on the edges of the rampart is closer to that in the engraving of the conquest of Dornik (Figure 18). On the other side of the teapot (Figure 21), the mounted figures on an embankment and the discarded equipment at the right were taken from an engraving of the *Belagerung und Eroberung der Festung Dendermonde* (Belgium; 1706) after G. P. Rugendas (Figure 22). The print's active battlefield and distant city under siege are replaced on the teapot by an encampment with a peaceful city and hilltop settlement in the background.

While the decoration of the vases in Chicago and New York and of the beaker in the Corning Museum does not directly copy any of the prints from the series, there can be no doubt that Preissler was inspired



19. Ignaz Preissler, decorated bowl, ca. 1720–25; overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Bowl, ca. 1713–19, of hard paste Meissen porcelain; H. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; Diam. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Formerly in the collection of Hermann Emden, Hamburg; present location unknown (from *Sammlung Hermann Emden, Hamburg*, see note 12, pl. 49)



20. Ignaz Preissler, decorated teapot, ca. 1720–25; overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Teapot, ca. 1718–19, designed by Johann Jacob Irminger, of hard paste Meissen porcelain. Private collection, New York (from *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk* 6 [1903] p. 446)

21. Teapot shown in Figure 20; opposite side (photo: courtesy Verlag Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart)



22. Johann August Corvinus after a painting by Georg Philipp Rugendas and ornament by Abraham Drentwett, *Belagerung und Eroberung der Festung Den dermonde*, after 1714. Engraving, 17⁵/₁₆ x 14¹³/₁₆ in. trimmed. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

by the series when he executed his designs (Figures 23–28). The detailing and sometimes battered condition of the ships and open boats, as well as the choppy seas and smoke-filled atmosphere, echo the engraved views of *Das See Treffen bey Malaga* (Spain; 1704), *Das Glückliche Entsezung der Haupt Vestung Gibraltar* (1704), and *Die Wunder Glückliche Eroberung der Haupt Vestung Ostende* (Ostend, Belgium; 1706), all after designs by Paul Decker d. Ä. (Figures 29–31). The friezes of small ships traveling around the neck and foot rings of the vases (Figure 27) may derive from the engraving of the *Ergebung der auf dem Mitteländischen Meer gelegenen Balearischen Insul Maiorica* (Island of Majorca, Spain; 1706), also after Paul Decker d. Ä., which was conceived on a smaller scale (Figure 32). Most of the flags, banners, and coats of arms on the ships executed in *Schwarzlot* cannot be

23. Ignaz Preissler, pair of decorated vases and lids, ca. 1720–25; overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. Vases and lids, designed by Johann Jacob Irminger, after 1713, of hard paste Meissen porcelain. With lids, H. 8¹/₄ in. and 8¹/₂ in. The Art Institute of Chicago, 1984.80a-b, 81a-b (photo: The Art Institute of Chicago)





24. Ignaz Preissler, pair of decorated vases, ca. 1720–25. Vases, designed by Johann Jacob Irminger, after 1713, of hard paste Meissen porcelain; overglaze decoration in *Schwarzlot* and gold. H. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. and 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964, 64.101.146, .145

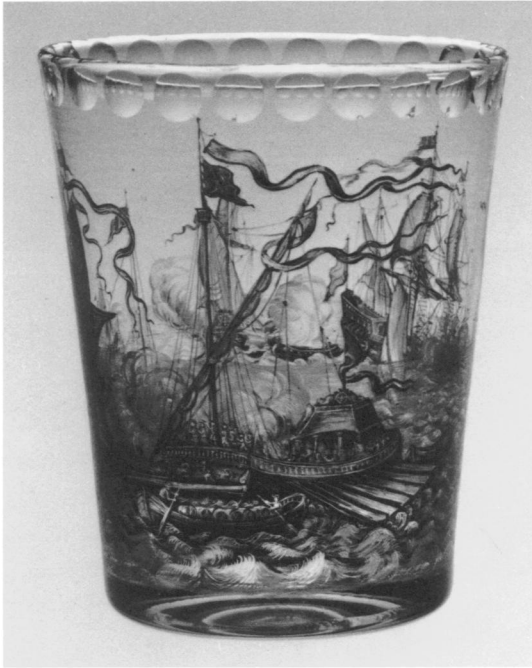
25. Vase shown at right in Figure 24 (64.101.145); side view

26. Vase shown at left in Figure 24 (64.101.146); detail



27. Vase shown at left in Figure 24 (64.101.146); detail





28. Ignaz Preissler, decorated beaker, first quarter of 18th century. Colorless glass, dip-molded for form and cut; enameled in *Schwarzlot* and gold; H. 3¾ in. Corning, New York, The Corning Museum of Glass, 51.3.121 (photo: The Corning Museum of Glass)



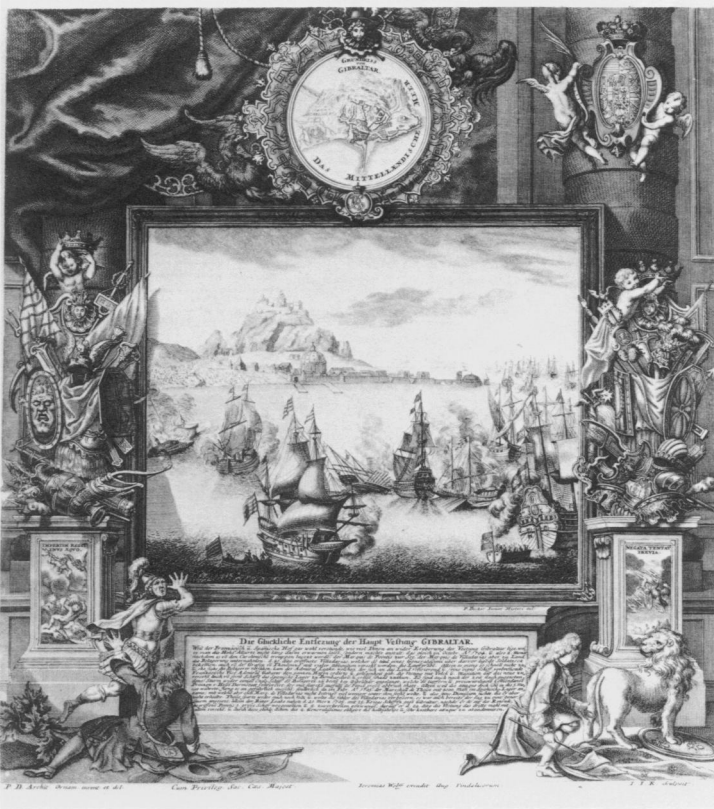
29. Johann August Corvinus after Paul Decker d. Ä., *Das See Treffen bey Malaga*, after 1714. Engraving, 18½ x 16 in. trimmed. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

easily identified. The flags with horizontal stripes, however, may be the Dutch tricolor.¹⁹

The decoration of the tea service and garniture can be dated to about 1720–25, when Preissler was in his forties and was working for patrons with ties to the courts at Dresden and Vienna. In 1721 thirteen pieces of porcelain with decoration by Preissler were added to the porcelain collection of Augustus the Strong, and in 1722 four more pieces were presented to the king by Count Lagnasco.²⁰ In the Historické Muzeum in Prague there is a small cup, used in its undecorated state by Empress Elizabeth in 1721, to drink the therapeutic waters at Carlsbad; it was later decorated by Preissler with scenes and chronograms to commemorate the visit.²¹ The imperial eagle appears on a small wineglass in the Uměleckoprůmyslové Muzeum in Prague which is also painted with a shield blazoned with “c vi” for Charles VI, and on two glass beakers with chronograms for 1721, in the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna and the Gewerbemuseum der Landesgewer-

beanstalt Bayern in Nuremberg.²² These last three glasses were not necessarily gifts to or from the emperor, since such pieces were also exchanged by members of the nobility.

Some of Preissler's pieces which do not carry such obvious associations with a noble court or patron are nonetheless recognizable as important commissions by the extent of their decoration and the significance attached to the large-size engraved sources. A large standing cup with cover in the Uměleckoprůmyslové Muzeum is one example. The masterful painting of the triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne displayed on the cup and that of the parade of Peleus and Thetis on the cover are both after Annibale Carracci (d. 1609); the foot, stem, and finial are ornamented with rich patterns of foliate strapwork. Preissler probably utilized the engravings of Pietro Aquila (ca. 1650–92), who prepared the twenty-four plates to the series *Galeriae Farnesianae* . . . published in Rome (n.d.). The two engravings Preissler would have used as models measure 16⅞ by 27½ inches and 11⅞ by



30. Johann Jakob Kleinschmidt after Paul Decker d. Ä., *Die Glückliche Entsezung der Haupt Vestung Gibraltar*, after 1714. Engraving, 17 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. trimmed. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

17 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, respectively.²³ Two large dishes of Chinese porcelain with accompanying bowls, each painted with mythological scenes in *Schwarzlot* and gold on both inside and outside, were certainly commissioned as cabinet pieces as well. One pair shows allegories of the seasons after the cycle by Pierre Mignard (1612–95). Two series engraved by Jean

31. Martin Engelbrecht after Paul Decker d. Ä., *Die Wunder Glückliche Eroberung der Haupt Vestung Ostende*, after 1714. Engraving, 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. trimmed. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

32. Johann August Corvinus after Paul Decker d. Ä., *Ergebung der auf dem Mittelländischen Meer gelegenen Balearischen Insul Maiorica*, after 1714. Engraving, 18 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. trimmed. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

31



32

Baptiste de Poilly (1669–1728) were published, one (ca. 1710) with plates measuring about 20¼ by 27¼ inches. The source for the decoration of the other large dish, and presumably for the bowl which is lost, were the engravings by Benoît (I) Audran (1661–1721) after the paintings by Francesco Albani (1578–1616), which also were the models for the so-called Venus and Adonis Tapestries. Two of these engravings measure about 11¾ by 13¾ inches.²⁴

The tea service and garniture clearly belong with this group of important commissions. The discovery of the engraved sources of its decoration provides a context for the suite and sheds some light on

Preissler's anonymous patron. He presumably lived in Bohemia or Silesia, regions where Preissler is known to have worked, and thus would have been a supporter of the imperial allies in the war. He may have been a high-ranking officer. He was certainly a collector of prints as well as of porcelain, for the series employed by Preissler, with its large-scale format and rich detailing, was of precisely the type collected by noblemen and wealthy gentlemen. With those rich compositions skillfully transposed onto the porcelain in *Schwarzlot* and gold, the resulting suite commemorating the War of the Spanish Succession was surely a highly valued collector's item as well.

NOTES

1. LeClerc (1637–1714) additionally produced two series, the *Petites Conquêtes du Roi* (eight plates completed in 1702) and the *Grandes Conquêtes du Roi* (twenty-eight plates engraved between 1683 and 1694). See Maxime Préaud, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVII^e siècle, VIII: Sébastien Leclerc I* (Paris, 1980) pp. 160–175, nos. 617–644.

2. Prince Eugene commissioned the paintings in 1708. They depict the battles at Zenta (1697), Chiara (1701), Luzzara (1702), Blenheim (1704), Cassano (1705), Turin (1706), Oudenarde (1708), Malplaquet (1709), Peterwardein (1716), and Belgrade (1717). The paintings are presently in the Galleria Saubauda, Turin. They may have been engraved as early as 1720. See Gerda Mraz, *Prinz Eugen* (Vienna, 1985) p. 196 n.54; Alan Wace, *The Marlborough Tapestries at Blenheim Palace* (London, 1968) pp. 115, 116, 136, section VIII, nn.3, 4; *The National Union Catalogue: Pre-1956 Imprints* 258 (London, 1973) p. 285. See also Peter Broucek, "Die Feldzüge Prinz Eugens," in *Prinz Eugen und das barocke Österreich* (Salzburg/Vienna, 1985) pp. 111–128.

3. See Wace, *The Marlborough Tapestries*, and Phyllis Ackerman, *Five Tapestries in the Collection of Margraf & Company illustrating scenes from the War of the Spanish Succession after cartoons by Lambert de Hondt . . .* (New York, 1926).

4. Broadsheets and other engravings illustrating scenes of the primary battles were produced by Andreas Matthäus Wolfgang (1660–1736) and others, and appear in volume 17 of the *Theatrum europaeum*. See Mraz, *Prinz Eugen*, pp. 51–53, 85, 97; Broucek, "Die Feldzüge Prinz Eugens," pp. 112, 117, 118.

5. For a complete listing of the plates in the set, see the index by Ilse Baer in Winfried Baer, Ilse Baer, and Suzanne Grosskopf-Knaack, *Von Gotzkowsky zur KPM* (Berlin, 1986) pp. 300–302, nos. G853–G897. Very little has been published on this major series of engravings. Although the authors of the engravings are known, differing dates for the series have been given

by modern writers. For further information, see ICOM, *Augsburger Barock*, exh. cat., Rathaus (Augsburg, 1963) p. 446, cat. no. 667; and Marie Lanckorońska and Richard Oehler, *Die Buchillustration des XVIII Jahrhunderts in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz* (Leipzig, 1932) I, pp. 26, 27, 94, pls. 8, 9.

6. Ignaz Preissler (1676–1741) was raised in Kronstadt (present-day Kuřstát), Bohemia, the son of Daniel Josef Norbert Preissler (ca. 1636–1733) and his wife, Dorota (d. 1723). He is known to have worked as a *Hausmaler* in Breslau from about 1719 to 1726 and perhaps earlier, and from about 1729 he worked in Kronstadt. Preissler may have received some training in Nuremberg, which in the second half of the seventeenth century was the center of *Hausmaler* activity and was home to the *Schwarzlot* decorators Johann Schaper (1635–70), Hermann Benckert (b. 1652), and Johann Ludwig Faber (b. 1660; active in Nuremberg ca. 1690). For more on the Nuremberg *Hausmaler*, see Helmut Bosch, *Die nürnbergere Hausmaler* (Munich, 1984). For the most recent literature on Ignaz Preissler, see Rudolf von Strasser, "Ignaz Preissler: Frühe Arbeiten, Weniger bekannte Meisterwerke und die Nachfolge," *Journal of Glass Studies* 29 (1987) pp. 81–112, Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Two Pieces of Porcelain Decorated by Ignaz Preissler in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987) pp. 35–52; Annedore Müller-Hofstede, "Der schlesisch-böhmische Hausmaler Ignaz Preissler," *Keramos* 100 (1983) pp. 3–50.

Church records contain references to Daniel Preissler as a painter in 1675, a glass painter in 1680, and a porcelain painter in 1733. In a region rich with glassworks it is most likely that he was trained as a glass painter, and only late in his life began to accept outside work on faience and porcelain. Strasser, "Ignaz Preissler," p. 87, figs. 3, 4, illustrates a group of tumblers, formerly in the possession of the Kolowrat family at Reichenau Castle, which he dates to ca. 1700. The decoration is attributed to Ignaz Preissler, who would have been about twenty-five at the time; but he is not known to have worked on commissions from

the Kolowrats until about 1729, when he returned to Kronstadt, perhaps from Breslau, to care for his then-ailing father. It is therefore possible that the tumblers were executed by Daniel Preissler, who may by then have been accepting work from the Kolowrats on a free-lance basis. The supposition that father and son worked in the same style and tradition is supported by Ignaz Preissler's stated preference, like his father's, for decoration in *Schwarzlot* and iron-red. The parallel hypothesis would be that Ignaz Preissler, after establishing his own career elsewhere, assumed his father's business and commissions from his patrons when the older man's health was failing. This remains an area for further research.

7. It is of interest that patronage of the *Hausmaler* did not diminish with the opening of the first hard paste porcelain manufactories at Meissen and Vienna in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Although factory-made and -decorated porcelain then became available, factory policy dictated that their painters work anonymously and only in the factory style; thus patrons seeking personalized designs continued to employ the *Hausmaler*. In the regions where the *Hausmaler* practiced, moreover, employing an individual craftsman was certain to carry a measure of prestige. The relationship between the *Hausmaler* and his patron was loosely comparable to that between the factory and the state, for the earliest porcelain manufactories opened with state privilege or sponsorship, and the head of state was often their chief patron.

With porcelain factories in operation, it became routine for the *Hausmaler* to obtain blank factory seconds to decorate. Meissen at first regarded these transactions merely as a source of additional income, but very quickly came to recognize the *Hausmaler* as competition, and introduced a factory mark to guarantee the authenticity of factory-decorated wares. This is an indication of just how established and legitimate an artistic tradition the occupation of the *Hausmaler* had become.

8. Early patrons of Preissler in Breslau may have included Ernst Benjamin von Löwenstädt und Ronneburg (d. 1729) and Franz Karl Joh. Liebsteinsky (1684–1753), Reichsgraf von Kolowrat, K. k. Geheimrat, Kämmerer und Reichshofrat. From about 1729 Preissler worked in Kronstadt on a series of commissions for Liebsteinsky, the owner of a large estate and castle in Reichenau (present-day Rychenov) located about 30 kilometers from Kronstadt, as well as of properties in Prague and Vienna.

9. “. . . ich allzeit schwarz und roht bemohlet, disses, undter aller Parcellan Mahlerey dass feinst und Suptieleste ist.” Müller-Hofstede, “Schlesisch-böhmische Hausmaler,” p. 49; originally transcribed and published by F[rantisek] X[aver] J[ir]ík, “K dejinám porculánu v Cechách. Domácký malir skla a porculánu v Kunstátu Ignatius Preissler (1728–1732),” in *Zpráva Kuratoria za Správní Rok 1923* (Prague, 1923) pp. 24–41.

10. One set came from the collection of Anton Redlich; see *Rare Vienna Porcelains . . . The Collection of Anton Redlich*, sale cat. Kende Galleries (New York) April 5–6, 1940, lot 50; p. 12, where its provenance is called Vienna, ca. 1730. The other tea-

bowls and saucers were in the Untermyer Collection (Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Meissen and Other Continental Porcelain, Faience and Enamel in the Irwin Untermyer Collection* [Cambridge, Mass., 1956] pp. 164, 165, fig. 154, pl. 103) and were also described as Viennese (DuPaquier) porcelain; they were assigned a date of 1720–25, and their decoration was attributed to Ignaz Preissler.

Hackenbroch cites a tea service of Vienna porcelain painted with “battles in black” which was sold from Strawberry Hill in 1842. The service was presented to Lady Catherine Walpole by Count Dehn, envoy from the duke of Wolfenbüttel. Preissler decorated a cup for Empress Elizabeth of Austria, a member of the Wolfenbüttel family, and thus there is some reason to believe that the tea service was decorated by Preissler. However, its pieces had gold borders and its cups had handles, features absent from the works illustrated in this article, and so one can be certain that the service under discussion is not from Strawberry Hill. Additionally, the *Hausmaler* Ignaz Bottengruber produced at least one tea service decorated with battle scenes in black monochrome and with gold borders. Since Bottengruber painted a covered bowl for Empress Elizabeth, it is quite possible that the tea service presented to Lady Catherine was his work rather than Preissler's. The covered bowl is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1974.356.489). A teabowl, saucer, and waste bowl from the tea service painted by Bottengruber are in the George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art in Toronto; the bowl is illustrated in J. P. Palmer and Meredith Chilton, *Treasures of the George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art* (Toronto, 1984) p. 56.

11. The teapot was formerly in the collection of Prof. R. Kristinus, Budweis. Illustrations of it were published in Josef Folnesics, “Ausstellung von alt-Wiener Porzellan in Troppau,” *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk* 6 (1903) p. 446, and in Gustav Pazaurek, *Deutsche Fayence-und Porzellan-Hausmaler* (Leipzig, 1925) p. 230, fig. 199. It was purchased by the parents of the present owner from A. and R. Ball in 1928. I wish to thank the collector for providing this information and for permitting me to examine the piece.

12. *Sammlung Hermann Emden, Hamburg I*, sale cat. Lepke (Berlin) Nov. 3–7, 1908, lot 601; p. 108, pl. 49.

13. On the Metropolitan Museum pair from the Untermyer collection, see Hackenbroch, *Meissen and Other Porcelain*, pp. 126, 127, fig. 113, and pl. 69. The decoration is attributed to Ignaz Preissler, ca. 1730. Dutch delftware is cited as the general source for the battle scenes.

The pair in Chicago was illustrated by Müller-Hofstede, “Schlesisch-böhmische Hausmaler,” p. 27 and abb. 38, when it was owned by Kate Foster Ltd., England. The vases were sold in 1925 from the Darmstädter collection (*Sammlung Darmstädter, Berlin*, sale cat. Lepke [Berlin] Mar. 23–26, 1926, lots 399–400, p. 84, pl. 90), where they were described as Vienna porcelain with decoration by “Preussler,” Breslau, ca. 1730. They may be the pair of covered vases sold in 1894 from the collection of Octave Du Sartel (*Catalogue des Porcelaines et Faiences Européennes*

et de l'Extrême-Orient . . . Formant la Collection de feu M. O. Du Sartel, sale cat. Hôtel Drouot [Paris] June 4–9, 1894, lot 281, p. 61), which were called Venetian soft paste porcelain. Du Sartel attributed this type of decoration to Venice as well.

14. Von Strasser, "Ignaz Preissler," places this beaker with a group of decorated glasses that he dates to within the period 1695–1715.

15. See Willi Goder et al., *Johann Friedrich Böttger: die Erfindung des europäischen Porzellans* (Leipzig/Stuttgart, 1982) fig. 180, for two vases of related shape with lids like those originally designed for the vases in the garniture decorated by Preissler; and see fig. 190 for a coffeepot with a lid similar to those on the pair of vases in Chicago. The vases, lids, and coffeepot are all regarded as Irminger models, dated after 1713.

16. See, for example, the ornamental designs of Paul Decker d. Ä. in Rudolf Berliner and Gerhart Egger, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter des 15. bis 19. Jahrhunderts* III (Munich, 1981) nos. 1211–1217.

17. Dr. Helmut Nickel suggests that this may be the lion of Flanders.

18. *Sammlung Hermann Emden*, sale cat. Lepke, p. 108.

19. I wish to thank Dr. Nickel for this observation.

20. Parts of the 1721 inventory, including the entries for these pieces, are transcribed in *Böttgersteinzeug Böttgerporzellan aus der dresdener Porzellansammlung* (Dresden, 1969); see p. 36 nn.7, 8, and (for the tankards added in 1722) p. 40 nn.64, 65. See also Cassidy-Geiger, "Two Pieces of Porcelain Decorated by Preissler," pp. 35, 36.

21. For an illustration of this cup and a summary of its history, see Rudolf Just, "Karlsbader Sprudelbecher," *Keramos* 17 (July 1962) pp. 3–8 and abb. 1.

22. The wineglass is illustrated by von Strasser, "Ignaz Preissler," p. 94, abb. 25. The Nuremberg beaker is illustrated by Müller-Hofstede, "Schlesische-böhmische Hausmaier," p. 10, fig. 10.

23. For an illustration of the cup (UPM 10017/1906), see The Corning Museum of Glass and Uměleckoprůmyslové Muzeum, *Czechoslovakian Glass 1350–1980*, exh. cat. (Corning, N. Y., 1981) no. 28, pp. 63 (color ill.), 149. For the engraved sources see École Française de Rome, *Annibale Carracci e i suoi incisori*, exh. cat. (Rome, 1986) section XLII: La Galleria Farnese, pp. 169–183, nos. 10, 17.

24. For further discussion and illustrations, see Cassidy-Geiger, "Two Pieces of Porcelain Decorated by Preissler," pp. 37–50, figs. 1(a-h)–5(a-b).

Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier and Two Revolutions

EDITH A. STANDEN

*Consultant, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

ENTHUSIASM FOR THE American Revolution ran high in France in the 1780s, and many works of art reflected it. In the Paris Salon of 1783 two painters showed “tableaux allégoriques” that referred to the happy coincidence of the announcements, in 1781, of the birth of a Dauphin and of the victory of the insurgent colonists at Yorktown.¹ Two publications dealing with the war in America illustrated by French artists had already appeared: Hilliard d’Auberteuil’s *Essais historiques et politiques sur les Anglo-Américains* (Brussels, 1781–82) and a *Recueil d’Estampes représentant les différents événements de la Guerre qui a procuré l’Indépendance aux États-Unis de l’Amérique*, a collection of sixteen prints engraved by François Godefroy and Nicolas Ponce. The second work included a summary of the Treaty of Versailles, concluded early in 1783.²

A contributor to both these publications was Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier (1739–1821), called “l’aîné.”³ The *Mercur de France* for July 1782 advertised his “Frontispice des Essais Historiques et Politiques,” which shows the *Première Assemblée du Congrès* (the Continental Congress) (Figure 1), and explained the subject:

À l’ouverture du Congrès, Peyton Randolph ayant été élu Président, se fait apporter une couronne, & la partage en douze parties égales, qu’il délivre aux Délégués des douze Colonies confédérées [Georgia was not represented] comme le symbole de l’égalité qui doit regner dans les Délibérations, & le gage de l’anéantissement du Pouvoir Royal.

The *Mercur* added: “Cette Estampe est d’une composition sage et très bien gravée.”

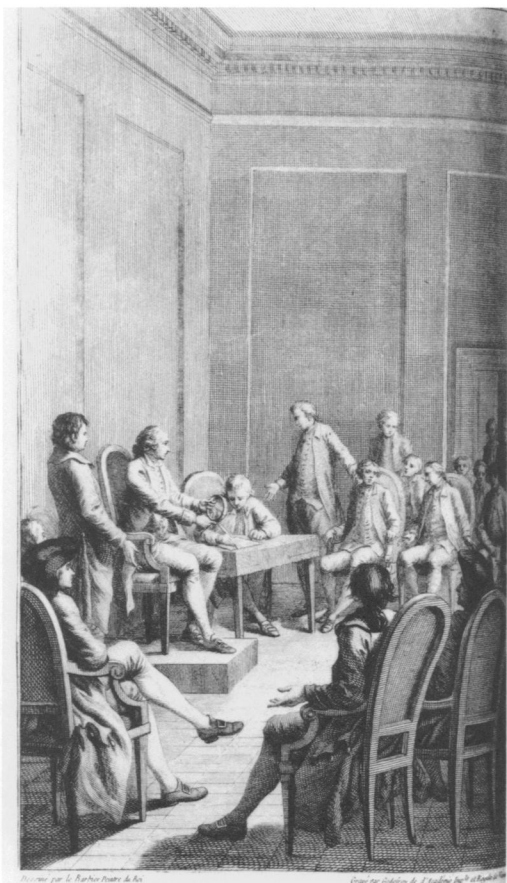
In October of the same year, the *Mercur* an-

nounced four “Estampes majeures” after Le Barbier, which are, in fact, other illustrations of the *Essais historiques*:

1. Éloge funèbre du Docteur Warren.
2. la garnison de Québec enlève le corps de Montgomery [*sic*] pour lui rendre les honneurs funéraires.
3. l’incendie de New-York; elle est d’un très-belle effet, & les Artistes [designer and engraver] y ont donné un soin particulier [Figure 2].
4. la mort de Molly, blessée involontairement par Seymours, son amant, le jour de son mariage [Figure 3].

For the *Recueil d’Estampes*, Le Barbier contributed only the *Reddition de l’Armée du Lord Cornwallis, 19 Octobre 1781* (Figure 4), which was not noticed as a separately published print in the *Mercur*.⁴

If Le Barbier chose his subjects for the *Essais*, as seems probable, the selection is interesting. Except for the opening of Congress, with its suggestion of ancient myth, they are all scenes of intense emotion, dramatic, tragic, heroic, or pathetic. Dr. Warren was killed at Bunker Hill; the text begins, “Contemplez l’ouvrage du Pouvoir arbitraire.” Of General Richard Montgomery, killed December 31, 1775, in the attack on Quebec and honorably buried by his opponents, the text states, “Son mérite personnel l’emporte sur toutes les considérations.” New York City, occupied by the British, suffered a fire on September 21, 1776, supposedly set by some of its citizens, especially the women: “Dans leur désespoir elles veulent tout embraser.” These prints, with the possible exception of Randolph dividing the crown, illustrate actual events; the “Histoire de Seymours et de Molly,” how-



1



2



3

1. François Godefroy after Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Première Assemblée du Congrès*, 1782. Engraving. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)
2. Louis-Michel Halbou after Le Barbier, *Incendie de New-York*, 1782. Engraving. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)
3. Halbou after Le Barbier, *La balle a frappé son amant*, 1782. Engraving. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

OPPOSITE PAGE:

4. Godefroy after Le Barbier. *Reddition de l'Armée du Lord Cornwallis*, 1782. Engraving. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

ever, reads like a romantic invention: Seymours, a captain in the American army, is said to have accidentally killed his bride, Molly, when he fired on two approaching British soldiers during the marriage festivities. The palm tree on the left of the print is frequently found in European representations of American scenery (cf. Figures 7, 12, 16).

Something of the same feeling for the pathetic appears in another work with an American subject. Le Barbier's most successful entry in the Paris Salons, it was shown in 1781 and is described in the catalogue as:

Un Canadien et sa femme pleurant sur le tombeau de leur enfant. Les Canadiens aiment si fort leurs enfants, que l'on a vu quelquefois deux époux, six mois après la mort de leur enfant, aller pleurer sur son tombeau, et la mère y faire couler du lait de ses mamelles.

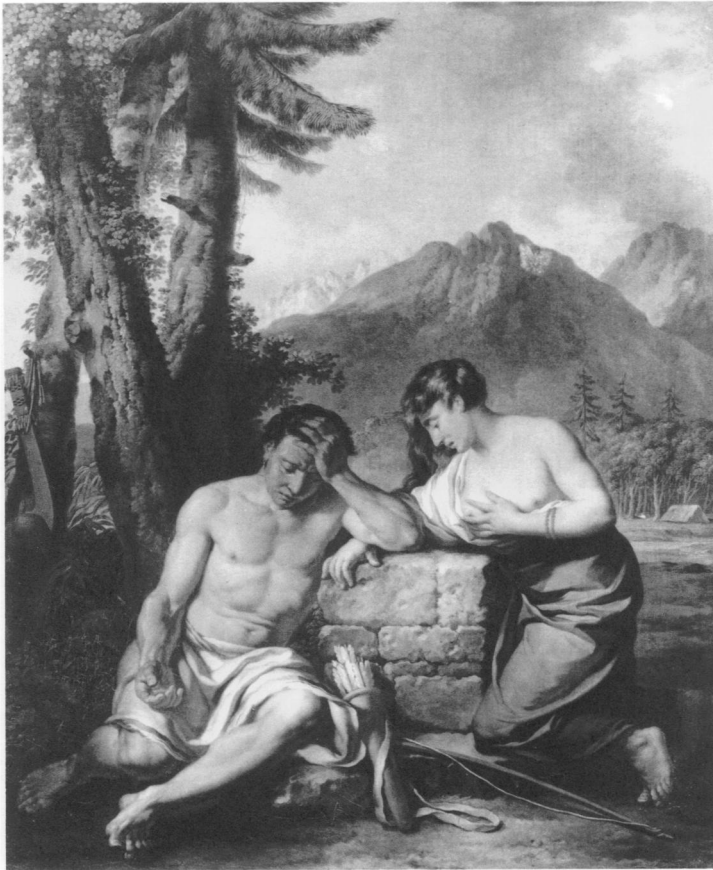
These Canadian Indians (Figure 5), who, performing an improbable and slightly distasteful act, may seem to us sentimental and even faintly ludicrous, were certainly to Le Barbier's contemporaries tender and pitiful; the subject was surely a deeply moving one, true to the highest ideals of human nature and worthy of the Noble Savage. The artist had heeded Diderot's injunction:

Touche moi, étonne moi, déchire-moi, fais-moi tressailler, pleurer, frémir, m'indigner d'abord; tu récréeras mes yeux après, si tu peux.⁵

Diderot did not, however, have high praise for the *Canadiens*; without mentioning the subject at all, he described the painting as: "Sec et cru; bien de composition, dessin correct, la touche n'en est pas grande, la couleur n'est ni mauvaise ni bonne. Il n'y a point d'harmonie dans le tout."⁶ Perhaps it was the exotic setting, so remote from those of the paintings he admired by Greuze and Chardin, that repelled him.

The subject of the painting comes from a 1780 book by Thomas Raynal, in which the custom is reported as a fact.⁷ An engraving after Le Barbier's *Canadiens* was announced in the *Mercure de France* of May 1787; the painting was said to have had "un succès décidé et très-merité." It was engraved again by François Robert Ingouf in 1795 and reproduced by Joseph Charles Marin as a terracotta group, shown in the Salon of 1795 (no. 1066) and now in the Musée du Nouveau Monde, La Rochelle (Figure 6).⁸ The holes in the tomb show that the terracotta was the model for a clock. To modern minds the idea, again, is not a happy one, but it probably seemed





5. Le Barbier, *Indiens du Canada sur le tombeau de leur enfant*, 1781. Oil on canvas. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts)

touchingly appropriate in the late eighteenth century. Time, not yet worn on every wrist, was still, like death, a solemn thing. The clock face inserted between the mourning parents would not then have seemed laughably incongruous.⁹

A second entry of Le Barbier's in the 1783 Salon shows another of his characteristics, conscientiousness—a willingness to go to some trouble to get details right. The painting was the *Siège de Beauvais*, which illustrated the heroism of a local woman, Jeanne Hachette, in 1472; even today, her courage is remembered in the city. The Salon catalogue includes a statement presumably supplied by the artist: “Le site de ce tableau est pris sur les lieux même.”¹⁰ The painting must have been finished by 1780, as the *Mercure* for October of that year published a very poor poem, probably contributed by a friend of the

artist's, dedicated “A M. Le Barbier l'aîné, Peintre du Roi, sur son Tableau du Siège de Beauvais, où la valeur des Dames fut si utile.” The poem concludes: “son art ravit tous les suffrages.”

The wording of this dedication shows that as early as 1780 Le Barbier was known as a Peintre du Roi. In the Salon of 1783 he showed a painting, *Henri IV et Sully*, which had been “ordonné par le Roi”; it was one of the nine compositions commissioned by the comte d'Angiviller, Directeur des Bâtiments, “des traits nobles et vertueuses de notre histoire.” They were to be used as cartoons for tapestries in the Gobelins manufactory.¹¹ The Salon catalogue, again surely informed by Le Barbier, notes that the incident had been included in a play, the *Chasse de Henri IV*,¹² but that the playwright had set the event in the Gallery at Fontainebleau, although it actually took place “dans l'allée anciennement dite des Muriers-Blanc.” Again Le Barbier shows his concern with accuracy, for the painting does indeed depict the king and his minister in a tree-shaded alley, with the palace of Fontainebleau in the background. The painting is now in the Château of Pau. In the Salon of 1787 Le Barbier exhibited another painting made for the Gobelins, the *Courage des femmes de Sparte*.¹³ Like the *Incendie de New-York* and the Beauvais subject, it celebrated the heroism of women.

It was probably in 1786 that Le Barbier received an even more important commission for tapestry designs, although it came from the Beauvais manufactory, not the comte d'Angiviller. Perhaps Le Barbier had met the director of the manufactory when he visited the city to identify the setting for his picture of Jeanne Hachette. A letter written to the minister of finance on July 12, 1783, from the comte de Vergennes, the minister of foreign affairs who did so much for the American colonists, provides a background for the commission:

On promet depuis longtemps de nouveaux tableaux à la manufacture de Beauvais, dont le travail languit parce que le public parait dégoûté des anciens genres, et il serait bien essentiel que ce projet fut suivi avec activité . . . le Sr. De Menou, directeur-entrepreneur, demande que vu la préférence que l'étranger semble accorder à cette manufacture [here one suspects an allusion to the Gobelins], les demandes considérables qu'on lui fait des dites tapisseries et le nombre des ouvriers qui augmente chaque année, il lui soit alloué la somme de 1800 l. [livres] qui reste due à laditte manufacture pour lui pro-

curer les tableaux de deux tentures extraordinaires des sujets choisis de goût et distingués.¹⁴

Three years later, perhaps to his surprise, De Menou received twenty thousand *livres* for two tapestry series, the “*quatre parties du Monde*” and “*tableaux des arts, sciences, agriculture, commerce,*” both to have furniture upholstery *en suite*.¹⁵ The second series, with its earnest, “modern” subjects so typical of the period, was to be designed by Jean-Jacques Lagrenée the Younger. The *Quatre Parties* was to be by Le Barbier. His cartoons for the wall hangings, cut

6. Joseph Charles Marin, *Indiens du Canada sur le tombeau de leur enfant*. Terracotta clock model. La Rochelle, Musée du Nouveau Monde (photo: Musée du Nouveau Monde)

into the strips needed for the Beauvais looms, were listed in the 1820 inventory of the manufactory, but are not known to exist now; several for the upholstery are in the Mobilier National, Paris. A complete set of the tapestries, probably woven in 1790–91, is in the Metropolitan Museum.¹⁶

Of the four hangings of the continents, the designs of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia* are fairly conventional in their iconography. The value of trade is given prominence; there are barrels and corded bales ready for shipment in *Europe*, and in *Asia* camels are being laden with goods. On one sofa-back the personification of *Africa* offers chained slaves as well as elephant tusks.¹⁷ *America*, however, is given a new interpretation (Figure 7).

America, a timid young girl wearing a feather headdress and a short skirt of blue feathers, shrinks



back, although her arm is reassuringly grasped by the stalwart goddess of liberty. America has the bow and quiver of earlier personifications of the continent, but lacks the alligator and severed head pierced by an arrow that accompanied her savage predecessor (Figure 16). The Stars and Stripes, topped by a liberty cap, waves above. A tiny yellow fleur-de-lis appears among the stars, but this juxtaposition of the Bourbon lily and the liberty cap was not, at the time, incongruous.¹⁸

Reclining on the clouds beside this couple are Prosperity with her cornucopia and Peace with her

7. *L'Amérique*, French (Beauvais) after Le Barbier, 1790–91. Wool and silk tapestry, 12 × 15 ft. (3.66 × 4.57 m.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow Gift, 1978, 1978.404.1

olive branch, but the woman flying below them is decidedly warlike. She is France, holding a shield with fleurs-de-lis and brandishing a thunderbolt as she swoops down upon a cowering foe (Figure 8). The enemy, Britannia, vainly raises her shield while the scepter falls from her hand; her leopards (precursors of the British lion) sprawl in impotent rage beside her,¹⁹ and dismantled cannon and cannonballs lie nearby in total disarray.

Above this disconsolate group rises a sturdy column of the Tuscan order, the simplest and purest, symbolizing the pristine virtue of the young republic; to it, a winged Victory or Fame attaches garlands of laurel, from which hangs a medallion with the head of George Washington (Figure 9). This is probably copied from a print by Benoît Louis Prévost after a



profile portrait by Pierre Eugène du Simitière (Figure 10).²⁰ The bird on the far right, about to leave the ground, may be a symbol of the freedom now attained by the former British colonies—for it is clear that the subject of the tapestry is not so much the continent as it is the United States of America. The image is so striking that a few years later the entire set of tapestries was described as “emblématique de la Révolution Américaine.”²¹

The basic idea of France as the protector of the young nation is the same as that on the reverse of the *Libertas Americana* medal of 1783 by Augustin Dupré (Figure 11), which is well known to have been suggested by Benjamin Franklin.²² The United States is shown as the infant Hercules strangling two serpents, representing the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga and

the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Franklin, however, wanted to have France “sitting by as his nurse, with her spear and helmet,” whereas on the medal, and especially on the tapestry, she plays a much more active role; on the latter, the Herculean achievements of the Americans are not even suggested.

Another possible source for Le Barbier’s conception is a print of 1778 by Jacques Le Vasseur after Antoine Borel, *L’Amérique Indépendante* (Figure 12), which is dedicated to the “Congrès des Etats unis de l’Amérique.” Here America is still the Indian maiden, though with a turtle at her feet instead of an alligator; she clings to a pedestal on which stands the goddess of freedom, who holds a liberty cap on a pole. Minerva, with spear and shield, rushes down upon a

8. Detail of Figure 7





9. Detail of Figure 7



10. Benoît Louis Prévost after Pierre Eugène du Simitière, *George Washington*. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 17.3.756.1924

11. Augustin Dupré, *Libertas Americana*, 1783. Bronze. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1936, 36.110.41



defeated Neptune, who has the three leopards of England on a broken panel (a rudder?) beside him. A somewhat mysterious Hercules also attacks with his club, and Mercury (or Commerce) and Ceres (or Agriculture) look on. Benjamin Franklin presides benignly, his hand placed reassuringly on America's shoulder, and a palm tree rises behind them.

France is also a prominent figure on the sofa-back designed by Le Barbier that portrays Europe and America (Figure 13). She holds her fleurs-de-lis shield and extends her hand across the ocean, where Neptune rides in his chariot, to America—as if introducing her to the Old World. Victory hovers above, holding a palm frond and a wreath. Europe has her usual attributes beside her, including the horse, and America is here again the Indian maiden; the feathers on her head are red, white, and blue, and she has a turtle shell at her side (Figure 14). One hand, however, rests on a fasces, without the ax head, which symbolizes the union of the states. The round shield,



12. Jacques le Vasseur, after Antoine Borel, *L'Amérique Indépendante*, 1778. Engraving. Providence, John Carter Brown Library at Brown University (photo: John Carter Brown Library)

like those of some Indian tribes, and the confused trophy held by America's companion, suggest that Le Barbier saw imported American Indian objects. A cartoon for one *America* chair-back in the *Mobilier National* (Figure 15) clearly shows a banded, feathered peace pipe. A contemporary iconological dictionary states: "Le columet . . . est chez ces peuples le signe heureux de la paix, c'est pour cela qu'on y a attaché les ailes du caducée de Mercure, symbole connu de la paix" (Figure 16).²⁹

The seat of the *America and Europe* sofa, which, as is usual in French upholstery, contains no human figures, shows on the left a parrot and a monkey holding a feather headdress for America, and on the

13. *L'Amérique et l'Europe*, French (Beauvais) after Le Barbier, 1790–91. Wool and silk tapestry sofa covers. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow Gift, 1978, 1978.404.5





14.
Detail of Figure 13

15.
Le Barbier, *L'Amérique*. Cartoon for a chair-back, oil on canvas. Paris, Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)

16.
Nicolas de Launay after Hubert François Gravelot, *L'Amérique*. Engraving. From Gravelot and Charles Nicolas Cochin, *Iconologie par Figures ou Traité complet des Allégories, Emblèmes, etc. . . .* (Paris [1789–91]) I, p. 21. Thomas J. Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



16



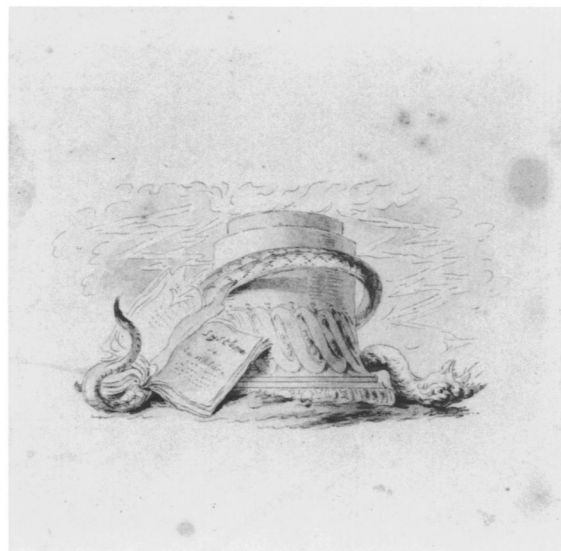
right symbols of Europe, dominated by the Gallic cock perched triumphantly on a globe. In the background is a more unusual object: a broken column with a snake twined around it that is attacked by an eagle. The eagle became a symbol of the United States in 1782,²⁴ and since a snake almost always represents an enemy, it may here stand for Great Britain. The same motif is on the seat of one of the three *America* chairs; it also appears, however, on an *Africa* chair (Figure 17), and so must be supposed to have a wider meaning. A comparable image may be seen in a drawing in the Morgan Library by Pierre Clément Marillier showing a dead snake twisted round a column base or altar (Figure 18).²⁵ The clue here is an open book inscribed “*Système de la nature*”; this is the title of Baron d’Holbach’s famous attack on religion and government. Perhaps Le Barbier was thinking in general terms of man’s struggle against oppression,

but expressing his then-dangerous sentiment cryptically.

An aquatint by Jean Baptiste Chapuis after Le Barbier (Figure 19) includes broken columns and other shattered remnants of classical architecture. The meaning here is certainly the victory of freedom over ancient tyranny, for the subject of the print is the liberation of the enslaved. It must date from between 1794, when slavery was abolished in the French colonies, and 1802, when Napoleon reinstated it. The majestic seated armed woman places one foot on a lion and a pile of weapons. Behind the lion is a sheep and a fallen fortress, presumably symbolizing a time of peace (the lion lying down with the lamb), but the huge globe of the world on the right is still encircled by chains. The woman must be France; the young girl in a helmet gesturing toward the released slaves perhaps represents the colonies. The markings on

17. *L’Afrique*, French (Beauvais) after Le Barbier, 1790–91. Wool and silk tapestry chair covers. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow Gift, 1978, 1978.404.4

18. Pierre Clément Marillier, drawing for vignette. Pen and ink and sepia wash over graphite. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Gordon N. Ray Collection (photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library)



the globe are not very readable, but France seems to place her left hand on America.

Le Barbier was primarily an illustrator: some three thousand engravings are said to have been made from his drawings. He must have accepted what commissions came his way, but one may suspect that some were more congenial than others. One drawing not known to have been engraved, which may have been his own conception, shows Minerva holding a medallion with the head of Rousseau that Glory is about to attach to a column as a pendant to a medallion of Socrates (Figure 20).²⁶ The drawing was formerly in the Marillier collection, and is signed: Le Barbier l'aîné 1770. Rousseau was evidently a hero to Le Barbier, as he was to the men who made the French Revolution.

The effect of the Revolution on art and artists began unobtrusively. The Salon of 1789 opened as usual on August 25, the feast day of St. Louis. One of the Academy professors, Louis Jean Jacques Durameau, showed a small sketch (no. 6), "le projet d'un Tableau de 14 pieds de haut, sur 30 de large,

19. Jean Baptiste Chapuis after Le Barbier, *La libération des esclaves*. Aquatint. La Rochelle, Musée du Nouveau Monde (photo: Musée du Nouveau Monde)

que l'on supposoit placé au Château de Versailles, dans le Salon d'Hercule"; it represented the "Séance des États-Généraux de France à Versailles, le 5 Mai 1789." The sketch is not known to exist still and the large picture was never made. Drawings of the same event and of the "Constitution de l'assemblée Nationale, du 17 Juin suivant" were contributed by Jean Michel Moreau (nos. 324, 325); the first of these is now at Versailles.²⁷ Two works illustrating an even more recent occurrence were a large painting by Hubert Robert (no. 36), *La Bastille dans les premiers jours de sa démolition* (probably the work now in the Carnavalet Museum, Paris), and one of Le Barbier's contributions: "99. Henri, dit Dubois, Soldat aux Gardes-Françoises, qui est entré le premier à la Bastille." Le Barbier was lucky to have had this portrait hung, since, according to a news item in the *Observateur* for August 12, 1789, the comte d'Angiviller had "défendu, de la part du roi, à M. Le Barbier, de l'Académie de Peinture, d'exposer aux hommages du public le portrait du Grenadier qui arbora le drapeau sur les tours de la Bastille."²⁸ But the count's orders no longer had the force of law and he had gone into exile before the Salon of 1791 opened on September 8 of "L'An III.^e de la liberté"²⁹ "par ordre de l'assem-



blée Nationale” instead of “suivant l’intention de sa Majesté, par M. le comte De La Billardrie d’Angiviller, Directeur Général des Bâtiments, Jardins, Arts et Manufactures du Roy.” Since 1737, these words had been part of the formula used on the title page of the Salon catalogues, only the names and titles of the director general varying. D’Angiviller’s name appeared first for the 1775 exhibition.

The Salon of 1791, unlike its predecessors, was open to anyone who wished to submit a work; the Revolution had changed the world of art as it had everything else. Le Barbier showed “Lycurgus présente son Neveu aux Spartiates, en leur disant: Seigneurs! Voici votre Roi qui vient de naître” (no. 43), a subject that, with its mention of kingship, could not possibly have been exhibited a year later.³⁰ Le Barbier’s *Le Pouvoir de l’Amour* (no. 737) was politically neutral; neither work could have been much noticed, however, in the enormous exhibition that included David’s four-foot-wide *Dessin du Serment du Jeu de Paume* and his *Serment des Horaces*, *Brutus*, and *Mort de Socrate* (nos. 132, 134, 274, 299). Le Barbier had played his part nonetheless in the revolution that had taken place in the Académie over the two previous years.³¹

A *Conseiller* at the Académie (that is, an officer of a rank below that of professor),³² the engraver Johann Georg Wille, kept a diary in which he noted what happened at the “assemblées de l’Académie.” These he attended fairly regularly, even if “il ne s’y passe rien d’intéressant excepté les embrassades de part et l’autre,” the annual custom at the last meeting in December.³³ The year 1789 began peacefully with a formal visit of the members to the comte d’Angiviller; the Seine was frozen over until January 20; Wille bought “un gilet d’écarlate, supérieurement brodé en diverse couleurs, selon la mode d’aujourd’hui.” But on July 14 he notes, “Ce jour fut le plus terrible que j’ai jamais vu,” and gives a vivid, often-quoted description of what he had seen on that momentous day. By August the students at the Académie had set up an armed guard at the premises, although they saluted Wille and the other officers. In September a satirical attack on d’Angiviller was read; it was disavowed by all the Académie members. On October 3, however, a dispute arose between Joseph Marie Vien, who had become director the previous May, and David. Nevertheless, at the last meeting of the year “tout le monde s’embrasse selon l’usage,” and it was



20. Le Barbier, *Hommage à Rousseau*, 1770. Drawing. Location unknown (from Hippolyte Buffenoir, *Les portraits de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* [Paris, 1913] pl. 11)

not until February of 1790 that the *Académiciens*—including Le Barbier, who had held this rank since 1785—presented unacceptable demands to the officers. Wille reports what happened:

MM. David, Giraud et Moreau parlèrent le plus et avec beaucoup de feu. M. Le Barbier fit une motion très-longue et paisiblement, quoique interrompu souvent par plusieurs de nos officiers. Enfin la chaleur de la dispute fut grande. Cependant nous ne pouvons accorder, selon nos statuts, leur demande, qui étoit l’égalité de tous les membres du corps en général.

The peaceful nature of Le Barbier’s speech comes as no surprise. In addition to the indications in the works already discussed, a drawing in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (Figure 21), provides evi-



21. Le Barbier, design for a candlestick, ca. 1790. Drawing. New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Given by the Council, 1911.28.204 (photo: Art Resource, New York; Scott Hyde, photographer)

dence that one of his outstanding characteristics was a love of peace. The drawing presents a personification of Peace, holding laurel wreaths and gazing wistfully at a lighted candle in an upright gun barrel. Cannonballs and other weapons lie at her feet.³⁴ The design has the cluttered but not usually abstruse symbolism that Le Barbier and many of his contemporaries favored; and that the figure is a contemplative Peace rather than Victory or Glory is typical, in particular, of Le Barbier. His address to the Académie was unsuccessful, but the equality he supported

would soon become official government policy.

After the *Académiciens* had made their requests, the lowest-ranking official group in the Académie, the *Agréés*, presented their demands the following month, and Le Barbier was appointed to a committee to study them. New statutes were proposed in June: “le y eut de tapage, etc. . . . Disputes san fin.” In September, “le y a eu dispute, etc., et beaucoup de motions, etc.” The members were now meeting three times a week, with “beaucoup de motions et de disputes, mêmes quelquefois assez violentes.” On one occasion Vien walked out with most of the other officers; those who remained with the *Académiciens* chose a group that included Le Barbier to present the new statutes to the Assemblée Nationale. The petition claimed that the authorities at the Académie were opposed to the “Décrets sur l’égalité et la Liberté que l’Assemblée Nationale et la justice du Roi viennent de consigner dans la Constitution.”³⁵

The conflict, with some incidents not reported by Wille, can be followed more drily in the *procès-verbaux* of the Académie.³⁶ Le Barbier represented the *Académiciens* as secretary in their quarrel with Vien and the other officers, but he is recorded as approving the gift to the Académie of an engraved portrait of Vien, “comme restaurateur de bon goût dans la Peinture,” at the last meeting in 1790. This goodwill, on the usual day of “embrassades,” did not last; by February 1791, d’Angiviller had written to Vien that he could not accept the new statutes presented to him by Pajou, Le Barbier, and Vincent. Le Barbier is mentioned as asking for a charitable action on March 31, 1792, but he attended very few meetings during the last years of the Académie before it was suppressed by the Assemblée Nationale on August 8, 1793. He did not exhibit that year. The Salon opened on August 10, the anniversary of the attack on the Tuileries of the previous year, and was held in what was no longer called the Louvre, but the Palais National des Arts.³⁷

The Conservatoire, the governing body of this Palais National, nevertheless purchased Le Barbier’s large painting, which they called *Le courage héroïque du jeune Desilles, le 30 Août 1790, à l’affaire de Nancy* (Figure 22), in December 1794, and ordered it to be exhibited “dans la salle circulaire dépendante de la ci-devant académie, en attendant qu’il puisse être exposé dans le grand salon.”³⁸ The painting, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy, had already had a checkered history. Although begun much earlier, ap-

parently shortly after the event it commemorated, it was not shown at the Salon until 1795 (no. 303); the catalogue gave no account of the subject, merely stating: "Ce fait historique de nos jours est si connu qu'on s'est cru dispensé d'en donner les détails." Perhaps even five years later it was thought more prudent not to give details of Desilles's heroism, for his action at Nancy had not been continuously admired.³⁹ Lt. André-Joseph-Marc Guiller Desilles (or Des Iles) had placed himself between the cannon of his own rebellious troops and the government forces sent to Nancy to suppress them. "Ne tirez pas! Ce sont vos amis, nos frères, l'Assemblée Nationale les envoie" were his last words before the cannon fired.⁴⁰

Le Barbier showed a sketch of this scene to the Assemblée Nationale (the Assemblée Constituante) only a few months later, on December 23, 1790, and on January 29 the secretary to the assembly proposed

22. Le Barbier, *Le dévouement héroïque de Desilles*, ca. 1790–91. Oil on canvas. Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Gilbert Mangin)



that a full-scale painting be commissioned, "pour faire pendant à celui que fait M. David." The prospectus for an engraving of the work reads:

... une société vient de choisir M. Le Barbier l'aîné, peintre du roi, qui s'est transporté à Nancy pour dessiner la vue du lieu où ce jeune officier a donné un si grand exemple de courage. Il a consulté plusieurs militaires qui ont été témoins de cette action, et n'a rien négligé pour le représenter avec plus d'exactitude et de vérité.⁴¹

Le Barbier's scrupulous attention to detail is again apparent. His choice of this subject, so soon after its occurrence, is another instance of his pacific nature and his feeling for brotherly love.

The Assemblée Constituante commissioned only two paintings, David's *Serment du Jeu de Paume* and Le Barbier's; the contrast, had both been completed and hung, would have been striking indeed. David's, the most discussed of all great pictures that were never painted, was canceled for political reasons: several of

the men to be represented in it were executed during the Terror. Le Barbier's painting had another fate: Desilles came to be condemned as a royalist rather than admired as a heroic martyr to the cause of fraternity. Le Barbier did not finish the painting until after Robespierre's death in 1794; he was paid 1,800 *livres* for it in October of that year.⁴² At a meeting on December 7 the Conservatoire du Museum (the Louvre) announced the purchase, and two days later the picture was ordered to be put on exhibition. Le Barbier also designed a print, which was published in 1791, showing Desilles received by Henri IV in the Elysian fields.⁴³

The Salon of 1795, in which Le Barbier's *Desilles* was shown, included other evidence of the changed mood of the nation; there was a portrait by Joseph Benoist Suvée, a royalist, made while he was in prison, of the poet André Chénier on the day before

23. Le Barbier, *Barthélémy de las Casas sauvé de la mort par le lait d'une Indienne*, 1810. Drawing. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts)

his execution (no. 460), and a sketch (no. 49) by François Nicolas Mouchet described as:

L'Ordre du jour. Esquisse du Tableau dont l'Artiste est chargé par la Nation, comme prix d'encouragement par concours: La Génie de la France, après avoir précipité la terreur dans la fleuve de sang, qu'elle avoit fait coulais, rétablit le règne de la Justice; celle-ci jure de faire observer la Loi, & appellé à son Conseil la Vérité.⁴⁴

For Le Barbier, however, the best days were over. Now nearly sixty, he was not named a member of the Section des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France at its formation in 1795.⁴⁵ He continued to exhibit in the Salons, though often showing only drawings; his subjects were usually classical.⁴⁶ He had become, like many of his contemporaries, an enthusiast for what he considered Greek art,⁴⁷ and in 1801 published a treatise, *Des causes physiques et morales qui ont influé sur les progrès de la peinture et de la sculpture chez les Grecs*. In this, Le Barbier attributed the beauty of the Grecian nose to the climate of the country, and asserted



that Greek mythology, institutions, and manners, such as public nudity, had given rise to the world's greatest art. He recommended that the government bring Greeks to Paris to serve as artists' models.⁴⁸ Le Barbier's other publications express similar views.⁴⁹ He wrote to his Venezuelan friend Francisco de Miranda, "Je m'environne de tous les éléments grecs afin de donner à mes compositions le caractère national."⁵⁰

The works of Le Barbier's later years elicited some admiration, though it was less than fervent. His painting of Virginia seized by her lover, Cecilius, shown in the Salon of 1796, was mentioned in an anonymous poem about the exhibition:

J'admire cette Virginie;
Je suis content de Lebarbier;
Il n'a pas beaucoup de génie,
Mais ce qu'il fait sent le métier.⁵¹

(One is reminded of David's caustic remark: "Quant à moi, le métier, je le méprise comme la boue.")⁵² Charles Paul Landon reproduced prints after paintings by Le Barbier in his *Annales de Musée et de l'École moderne des Beaux-Arts* for the years 1802, 1803, and 1806; of Le Barbier's *Hector adresse des reproches à Paris*, Landon wrote: "La scène est bien pensée, le dessin correct; le coloris vif et brillant." He added that the painting does "obtient les suffrages du public." However, in 1803 when Napoleon asked for the names of the best painters in France, Le Barbier was not among the thirty-five that were given him.⁵³

In these years Le Barbier's name is sometimes found on lists with others supporting worthy and charitable causes. These included a petition of 1796 to the Directoire asking that a committee be appointed to study the transfer of works of art from Rome to Paris (clearly in the hope of averting what in fact took place),⁵⁴ and another of 1799 pleading for Mme Vigée-Le Brun, on the specious grounds that she was not an émigrée, and had gone abroad only to study works of art.⁵⁵ David's name also appears on both these petitions; rancor does not seem to have been virulent among artists of the period. In 1814 Le Barbier was president of a committee of four former *Académiciens* who attempted to effect a reconciliation with the members of the Beaux-Arts section of the Institut de France, but to no avail.⁵⁶

Le Barbier continued to make drawings for book illustrations, which presumably were his main source

of income. Choderlos de Laclos (1794), La Fontaine (1795), Racine (1796), Cervantes (1799), Chateaubriand (1803), and Ovid (1806) are among the authors whose works he illustrated.⁵⁷ His drawings for Marmontel's *Les Incas* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, are dated 1810 and show his style at its most classical (Figure 23).⁵⁸ His political feelings at the end of the Napoleonic period are succinctly expressed in a drawing in the Musée Dobrée, Nantes (Figure 24);⁵⁹ a weeping woman holding a fleurs-de-lis shield gazes at a royal crown on the table beside her. The drawing is inscribed 21. mars 1815; the day after Louis XVIII's flight from Paris and Napoleon's return to the Tuileries. Le Barbier's revolutionary days were long past.

The final years of Le Barbier's long life may well have been comparatively happy. He was instrumental in having the Académie reestablished in 1816, and was the sole painter of the four artists appointed to it by the king.⁶⁰ His book *Principes élémentaires de dessin à l'usage de la jeunesse*, first published in 1801, was



24. Le Barbier, *La France*, 1815. Drawing. Nantes, Musée Dobrée, Musées départementaux de Loire-Atlantique (photo: Ch. Hémon)

evidently successful, since it is mentioned, though not favorably, by a number of nineteenth-century writers. Henri Delaborde described Le Barbier as a mediocre painter of whom little was known except his “modèles de dessin,” copied from the beginning of the century “dans les lycées et dans les maisons d’éducation de tout ordre, avec un ennui que chacun de nous se rapelle.”⁶¹ Charles Blanc was even more scathing:

Les souvenirs de l’enfance et de la jeunesse nous ferons consacrer ici quelques lignes à la mémoire de Le Barbier l’aîné dont les misérables modèles de dessin, misérablement gravés au pointillé, nous ont fait tant de plaisir au collège. . . . Dire que de pareils exemples ont été pendant un demi-siècle proposés à notre admiration dans tous les collèges de l’Université, et que personne ne protestait et que notre éducation s’est faite ainsi! . . . Ses Canadiens sensibles, ses caciques vertueux, ses prêtresses du soleil douées d’un profil grec et ornées d’une

ceinture en plumes d’autruche, nous semblent aujourd’hui si ridicules qu’on a peine à comprendre une époque où un tel art pouvait se produire au Salon, sous le nom d’un *peintre du roy*.⁶²

A century later, young students are no longer taught to draw this way, if at all, and Le Barbier can be judged less harshly. Something of his character has been revealed by his activities during the two revolutions of his age. He welcomed the American Revolution and was in sympathy with the French Revolution at its beginning. Wordsworth wrote, “Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive!” but the poet later changed his politics; the painter Le Barbier similarly ended up a royalist. He had, however, succeeded in expressing some conceptions of the happier sides of both these great events. One is left with the impression of a conscientious, gentle, and good man—even something of a feminist—with whom a later, war-torn century can sympathize.

NOTES

1. The first work in the Salon catalogue of 1783 is no. 30, by François-Guillaume Ménageot, a painting ordered by the City of Paris, later destroyed in the French Revolution, but known from a small replica now at Versailles; it included personifications of Wisdom, Health, Justice, Peace, and Abundance, and in the background, portraits of the king and queen on a Pyramid of Immortality, with Victory recording the date: “ce qui fait allusion à la prise de Yorck Town, dont la nouvelle est arrivée le même jour de l’accouchement de la reine” (Nicole Willk-Brocard, *François-Guillaume Ménageot, 1744–1816* [Paris, 1978] nos. 13, 14, 179). The second work is no. 58, by François Guérin, for which the catalogue entry noted that the royal birth had been announced “à l’Hôtel de Ville aussitôt que la reddition de l’armée aux ordres de Général Cornwallis.”

2. Pierre de Nolhac, “Le premier livre français sur les États-Unis,” *Les Arts* 15, no. 72 (1918) pp. 15, 16. The designers of the illustrations were Le Barbier, Fauvel, William, Le Paon, Lausan, Marillier, and Godefroy and Ponce themselves. Most of the plates show French victories in the West Indies (including the capture of Grenada) and elsewhere. It has been suggested that Godefroy and Ponce received “croquis d’amateurs envoyés d’Amérique” as the basis for the illustrations: see André Girodie, “Le peintre Gabriel Lemonnier et l’Iconologie de l’Indépendance américaine,” *Bulletin de l’histoire de l’art français* (1929) pp. 230, 231. When the prints were exhibited in Paris in 1793, they served as French revolutionary propaganda, as did the engravings of John Trumbull’s *Death of Montgomery*, *Battle of Bunker Hill*, and the *Surrender at Yorktown*, which were not made until the 1790s (William Olander, “Pour Transmettre à la Pos-

térité: French Painting and Revolution, 1774–95” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1983) pp. 70, 425, 426 n.20).

3. Le Barbier almost always signed himself “l’aîné,” but “Le Barbier le jeune” is a shadowy figure indeed. He is known only by a competent and agreeable pastel portrait of the young prince Friedrich Franz I of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, inscribed on the back “Peint à Paris en 1783 Par Le Barbier le Jeune,” in the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin. The name Le Barbier is not uncommon, and it may be merely a coincidence that “un M. le Barbier le jeune” read a play with an American subject to a committee of the Italian Comedians on August 7, 1783 (Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets* 27–28 [1786] p. 112).

4. Musée Dobrée, *Nantes et les États-Unis, 1775–1783*, exh. cat. (Nantes, 1976) no. 58. The scene may show Rochambeau motioning to Cornwallis’s deputy, General Charles O’Hara, to present his sword to the American commander-in-chief. See Donald H. Cresswell, *The American Revolution in Drawings and Prints: A Checklist of 1765–1790 Graphics in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1975) no. 324.

5. Denis Diderot, *Essai sur la peinture*, Gita May, ed. (Paris, 1984) p. 57.

6. Else Marie Bukdahl, *Diderot, critique d’art* (Copenhagen, 1980) I, p. 216.

7. Robert Rosenblum, “Caritas Romana after 1760: Some Romantic Lactations,” *Art News Annual* 38 (New York, 1972) p. 53, citing Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les Deux-Indes* (Geneva, 1780) IV, pp. 22, 23.

8. Grand Palais, *L'Amérique vue par l'Europe*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1976) no. 189.

9. From the late fifteenth century, "every timepiece was apt to become associated with the idea of death" (Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* [New York, 1939] p. 82 n.50). Another clock model including a tomb is the *Three Fates* by Johann Heinrich Dannecker, dated 1791, in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart (Sibylle Einholz, "Johann Heinrich Dannecker," *Kunstchronik* 40 [1987] p. 534, pl. 4).

10. The painting was destroyed in 1940, but a sketch for it exists. See Jean Vergnet-Ruiz, "Une inspiration de Delacroix? La Jeanne Hachette de Lebarbier," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 21 (1971) pp. 81–85.

11. Edith A. Standen, "Lessons in Moral Values: Two Gobelin Tapestries from the *Histoire de France* Series," *Apollo* 106 (1977) pp. 402–405, figs. 2, 3.

12. Presumably the popular play *La partie de chasse de Henri IV* by Charles Colle, performed at the Comédie Française in 1774.

13. The first weaving was put on the loom in 1792, but was still unfinished in 1794, when it was seen by the committee appointed by the revolutionary government to purify the royal manufactures, the Jury des Arts. The verdict was: "Rejeté sous le rapport de l'art, quoique le sujet soit digne d'être conservé sous le rapport moral. La tapisserie sera continué, comme étant d'une belle exécution" (Jules Guiffrey, "Les modèles des Gobelins devant le jury des arts en septembre 1794," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français* ser. 3 [1897] p. 357). The composition was woven again twice between 1800 and 1808; one example was on the art market in 1959 ("Fine Works on the Market," *Apollo* 69 [1959] p. 156). The cartoon is in the Louvre.

14. Quoted in James H. Hyde, "L'iconographie des quatre parties du monde dans les tapisseries," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 5th ser., 10 (1924) p. 270. The author adds after "ce projet": "la vente de tapisseries provenant du dépôt des Affaires Étrangères." He gives no source for the quotation. The set of Beauvais tapestries that the king bought every year usually went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be used as a gift to an ambassador or other dignitary.

15. Hyde, "L'iconographie," p. 270, citing Archives Nationales O' 2038³. A tapestry representing *Painting and Sculpture* in the Corcoran Gallery, Washington, is from the *Arts and Sciences* series, and there is a set of the hangings at Chantilly. The covers of a sofa and six armchairs are in the palace of Fontainebleau and those of a sofa in the Metropolitan Museum (Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* [New York, 1985] II, no. 85).

16. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, II, no. 86. The attractive and not impossible suggestion that the set was intended to be a gift from Louis XVI to George Washington was made by the first scholar to publish the work and has been frequently repeated, but it is not supported by any contemporary evidence.

17. A large painting of 1787–91 by Gabriel Le Monnier for the Chambre du Commerce of Rouen was described as "Le Génie du Commerce découvre l'Amérique et condamne l'Afrique à la servitude" (Girodie, "Le peintre Gabriel Lemonnier," pp. 225, 226, 235. The author believes this painting to have been influenced by Le Barbier's tapestry design).

18. The rounded liberty cap, of classical origin and used by Paul Revere in the 1770s, was a standard symbol of the American Revolution; the floppy-tipped Phrygian type became the revolutionary French version because of its similarity to the stocking cap worn by workingmen (Yvonne Korshak, "The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 1, no. 2 [Fall 1987] pp. 52–69).

19. The British leopard, the imperial eagle, and the Dutch lion, all in postures of dismay, are the defeated enemies on Pigalle's 1777 monument to the Maréchal de Saxe in the church of St. Thomas, Strasbourg. See Jean-René Gaborit, *Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, 1714–1785. Sculptures du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1985) p. 64.

20. Edna Donell, "Portraits of Eminent Americans after Drawings by Du Simitière," *Antiques* 24 (1933) pp. 17–21.

21. Document of 24 pluviôse an 4 (Feb. 13, 1796) dealing with an offer by Citoyen Salder of the United States to buy the tapestries; J. J. Guiffrey, "Destruction des plus belles tentures du Mobilier de la Couronne en 1797," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 14 (1887) p. 293, Appendix A, reproduces the document. It is also possible that the title was designed to appeal to the prospective American purchaser, who, however, found the price too high.

22. J. F. Loubat, *The Medalllic History of the United States of America, 1776–1876* (1878; reprint New Milford, 1967) p. 90.

23. Hubert François Gravelot and Charles Nicolas Cochin, *Iconologie par Figures ou Traité complet des Allégories, Emblèmes. . .* (Paris [1789–91]) I, p. 21, s.v. "Amérique." The figure is in accordance with the older iconographical conception of the continent, portrayed with the somewhat infantile charm so popular in the eighteenth century.

24. E. McClung Fleming, "The American Image as Indian Princess," *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 (1965) p. 69.

25. Gordon N. Ray, *The Art of the French Illustrated Book* (New York, 1982) p. 86.

26. Hippolyte Buffenoir, *Les portraits de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Paris, 1913) pp. 85, 86, pl. 11.

27. Olander, "Pour Transmettre," p. 111. An account of the revolutionary subjects in the 1789 Salon is given on pp. 98–133. Many of the quotations in the present article have been taken from this dissertation.

28. Philippe Bordes, *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume de Jacques-Louis David* (Paris, 1983) p. 135.

29. July 14, 1790, had been proclaimed the first day of "l'An

l" at the Fête de la Fédération (Olander, "Pour Transmettre," p. 154). The official republican calendar started a new era in 1792 and came into force in 1793; the Salon of that year was held in "l'An 2^e de la République Française, une & indivisible."

30. A sketch for this picture is in the Musée Historique, Blois (Olander, "Pour Transmettre," p. 193).

31. A full account of the conflict in the Académie is given in Olander, "Pour Transmettre," pp. 139–156. It is also discussed in Yvonne Luke, "The Politics of Participation: Quatremère de Quincy and the Theory and Practice of 'Concours publiques' in Revolutionary France, 1791–1796," *Oxford Art Journal* 10 (1987) pp. 17–25.

32. The ranks were Recteur, Professeur, Adjoint à Professeur, Conseiller, Académicien, and Agréé; all but the last two classes were officers.

33. Johann Georg Wille, *Mémoires et journal* (Paris, 1857) II. The quotations are from pp. 195–266, covering the period from Dec. 30, 1788, to Sept. 6, 1789.

34. Henry Hawley, *Neo-Classicism: Style and Motif*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art (New York, 1964) no. 58 (date ca. 1790).

35. Olander, "Pour Transmettre," p. 144.

36. Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture 1648–1793* (Paris, 1875–92) X, pp. 62–224.

37. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, *The Triumph of Art for the Public: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics* (Washington, 1980) p. 39.

38. Yveline Cantarel-Besson, *La naissance du musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1981) I, pp. 119–120.

39. François Pupil, "Le dévouement du chevalier Desilles et l'affaire de Nancy en 1790: essai de catalogue iconographique," *Le Pays Lorrain* (1976) no. 2, pp. 73–110. Desilles's action enabled the government troops to enter Nancy, and Louis XVI gave him posthumously the Cross of St. Louis (*Dictionnaire de biographie française* X [1965] s.v. Des Iles). See also Olander, "Pour Transmettre," pp. 200–206; Philippe Bordes, "Les arts après la Terreur: Topino-Lebrun, Hennequin et la peinture politique sous le Directoire," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 29 (1979) p. 203, and idem, *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume*, p. 37.

40. Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton, 1970) p. 91.

41. Bordes, *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume*, p. 103 n.112.

42. Pupil, "Le dévouement," p. 95.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

44. The painting was destroyed in World War II; a drawing for it is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Olander, "Pour Transmettre," p. 451 n.17, fig. 230).

45. Holt, *Triumph of Art*, pp. 43, 211; Alexander Tuety, "Notices sur les artistes candidats à la classe des beaux-arts de l'Institut," *Archives de l'Art français*, n.s. 4 (1910) pp. 244–289.

46. Henri Bardon, "Les peintures à sujets antiques aux xviii^e siècle d'après les livrets des Salons," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 60 (1963) pp. 220–239.

47. A. D. Potts, "Political Attitudes and the Rise of Historicism in Art Theory," *Art History* 1 (1978) pp. 200–204.

48. Jules Renouvier, *Histoire de l'Art pendant la Révolution* (Paris, 1863) p. 72.

49. François Benoît, *L'Art français sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (Paris, 1897) p. 100.

50. Michel N. Benéssovitch, "Le Général Francisco Miranda et ses Amis parisiens (1792–1798)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 59 (1962) p. 347.

51. Quoted in Renouvier, *Histoire de l'art pendant la Révolution*, p. 12, citing *Les Étrivières de Juvenal ou satire sur les tableaux exposés de l'an V*.

52. Quoted in Thomas Crow, "The Oath of the Horatii in 1785: Painting and pre-Revolutionary Radicalism in France," *Art History* 1 (1978) p. 453.

53. Tuety, "Notices sur les artistes," pp. 245–286.

54. Charles Saunier, *Les Conquêtes artistiques de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Paris, 1902) pp. 48, 49.

55. André Girodie, *Un peintre des fêtes galantes, Jean-Frédéric Schall (Strasbourg 1752–Paris 1825)* (Strasbourg, 1927) pl. 45, shows signatures to the petition: 255 painters and other intellectuals.

56. Henri Delaborde, *L'Académie des Beaux-Arts depuis la fondation de l'Institut de France* (Paris, 1891) pp. 141, 142.

57. Roger Portalis, *Les Dessinateurs d'illustrations au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1877) pp. 323–337.

58. Grand Palais, *Néo-Classicisme*, no. 91a. The scene illustrated was engraved by Mariage. Both this scene and Le Barbier's *Canadiens* are discussed in Rosenblum, "Caritas Romana," pp. 52–59.

59. Jacques Vilain, "Nantes. Musée Thomas-Dobrée—Desins de l'époque néo-classique," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 29 (1979) p. 468, fig. 12.

60. Delaborde, *L'Académie*, p. 170.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

62. [Auguste A. P.] Charles Blanc, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles. École française* (Paris, 1863) III, Appendix pp. 29, 30.

A Nineteenth-Century Album of English Organ Cases

LAURENCE LIBIN

Curator of Musical Instruments, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

AMONG MATERIALS IN The Metropolitan Museum of Art relating to organ history and design is an early-nineteenth-century album of 114 pen-and-ink silhouettes of English organ cases. The album was purchased in 1966 from a London dealer; nothing is known of its provenance. The paper bears an 1818 watermark, except for the front and back fly leaves, which are marked 1829. Thus the series, begun no earlier than 1818, was probably completed and bound a little over ten years later.

The album is quite small, measuring 6 by $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Only the recto sides of the folios are used. The drawings and the accompanying inked captions, which give the location of each organ, all display a single, consistent hand. The uniform paper, inking, and style, and the absence of corrections, suggest that the images were prepared over a relatively brief time, and that the artist worked from sketches rather than on site. Certain discrepancies indicate that the artist did not actually see each of the organs depicted, but relied, at least occasionally, on another's view. For example, the broken pediment atop Thomas Harris's 1667 case at St. Sepulchre's (fol. 5, Figure 4) has been transformed into flying buttresses, and the hemispheric caps added above its towers are out of proportion, judging from a more realistic depiction of the same instrument (Figure 5).¹

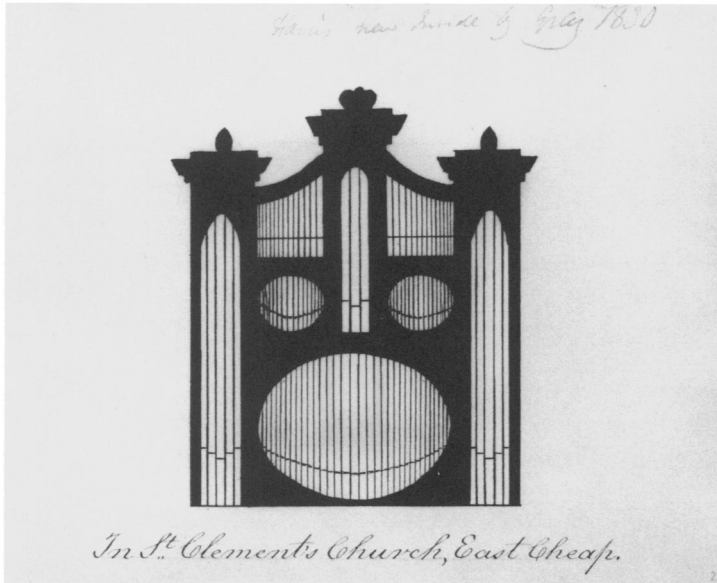
The simple black silhouettes, painstakingly drawn over pencil guidelines with the aid of a straightedge, represent only the case facades which appear above the impost moldings that presumably support them. Key desks and separately mounted chaire organs, such as those at St. Sepulchre's and St. Lawrence Jewry (fol. 10) are omitted in these drawings. Detail is lacking; for instance, pipe feet do not taper and

mouths are indicated by horizontal dashes. Ornaments such as miters and crowns surmounting towers (fols. 2, 18, Figures 1, 8) are indicated only schematically.

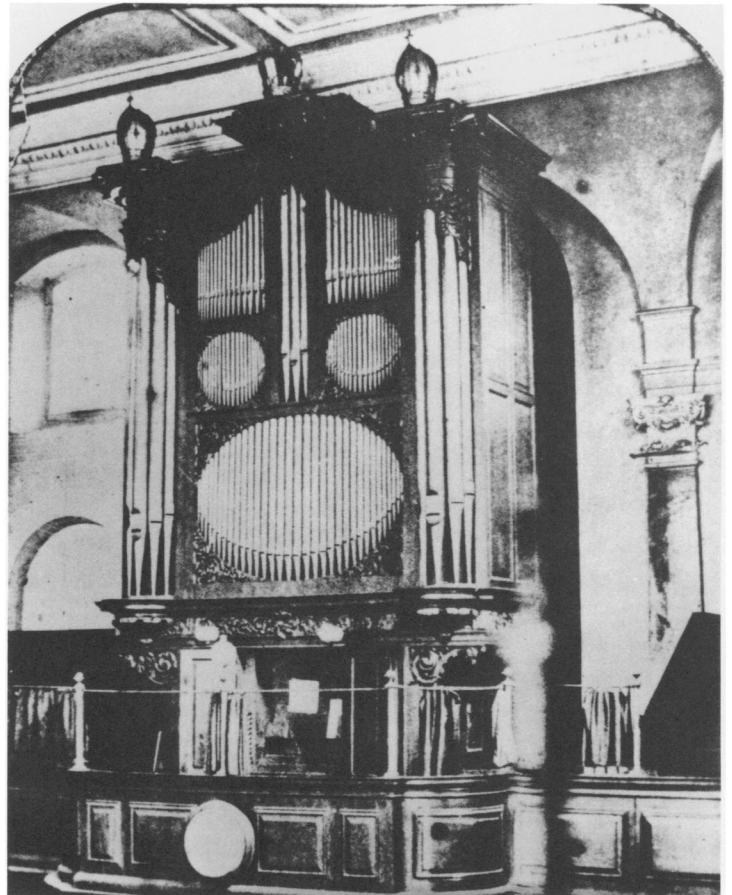
Were it not still in existence, the demure monkey-like facade of Renatus Harris's 1696 organ for St. Clement's, Eastcheap (fol. 2, Figures 1, 2), would be hard to believe. Although the drawings are not very descriptive and are occasionally inaccurate, some (for example, fols. 70, 113, 114, Figure 19) may be the sole extant depictions of organs now lost. Others represent the earliest-known view of an instrument (fol. 10) or provide rare images of cases before alteration (fols. 1, 4, Figure 3).

A later, less formal hand—possibly more than one—penciled notes identifying many of the builders of the organs and contributing other remarks of interest to organ historians. Calligraphic differences make it likely that these annotations were added over a period of years. The latest year cited by the annotator(s) is 1878 (see fol. 42, Figure 14). All other dates are 1840 or earlier, but many post-1840 events are mentioned, although not dated. For example, William(?) Allen's 1811 Bedford Chapel organ (fol. 56) was "replaced by one by Gray" in 1845. However, other presumably well-known instances of rebuilding or replacement are not noted; for example, William Hill's 1840 organ for St. Peter's on Cornhill (fol. 1), incorporating parts of the church's earlier Bernard Smith organ, was in turn rebuilt by Hill & Sons in 1867; Thomas Elliot's 1818 organ for St. Michael's (fol. 77) was enlarged in 1858 by George, James, and John Eagles. That these facts are not recorded in the album suggests that the annotations represent casual gleaning or hearsay rather than systematic research.

1, 3, 4, 6–19. Untitled album of pen-and-ink silhouettes of organ cases, English, ca. 1818–30. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Mary Martin Fund, 1966, 66.538



1. In St. Clement's Church, East Cheap (folio 2)



2. Photograph taken of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, before 1872 (photo: courtesy of James Boeringer)

A few of the annotations reflect critical judgment: "the best Trumpet in the world" (fol. 5); "one of his early productions but not one of his best" (fol. 4). Occasional remarks illuminate the obscure origins of relocated organs, such as that at Fitzroy Chapel (fol. 83, Figure 18), "originally [Samuel] Green built for the Italian opera house & altered by [John] Lincoln." The only record of the disposition of the original organ at St. Mary's, Ealing (fol. 114), which occurs in this album, is frustratingly illegible. Several attributions are unique to this source; the organ at St. John's, Wapping (fol. 71), for example, given here to [Richard] Bridge, is otherwise anonymous, while only here is Abraham Pether named in connection with St. Mildred's, Bread Street (fol. 79), where Thomas Griffin was merely a broker.

Although many of the attributions and citations are confirmed by independent evidence, others seem to be inaccurate or may require reevaluation of previous information. For example, Griffin may be cited

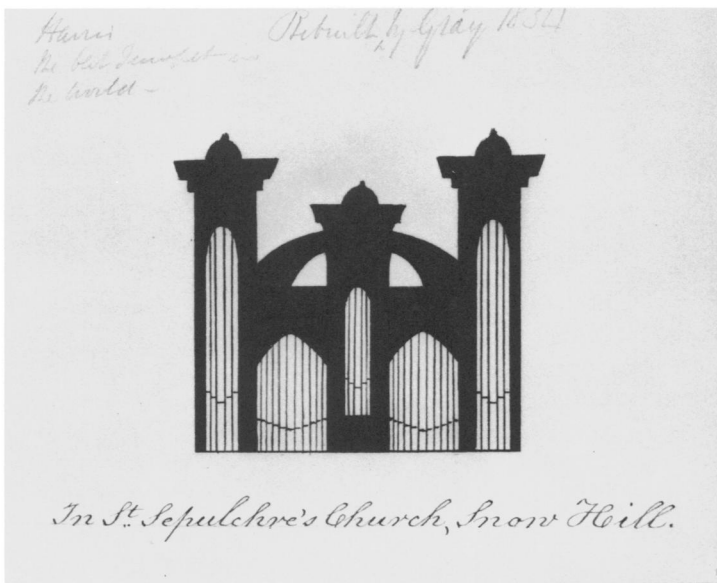
3. In Islington Church, Middlesex (folio 4)



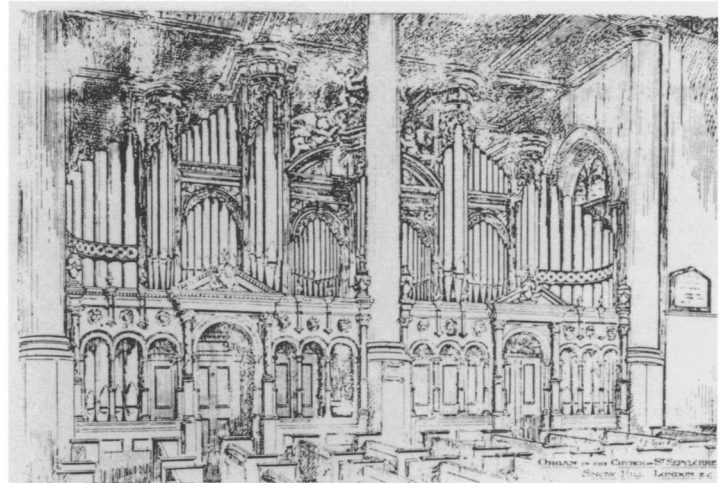
erroneously in connection with St. Nicholas's, Deptford (fol. 97), whose organ was in fact built by Bernard Smith in 1697; however, Griffin was involved with procuring an organ for another Deptford church, St. Paul's, in 1744.

Most of the churches are in greater London; Brighton, Cambridge, and Hertfordshire are among the other places mentioned in no particular geographical or alphabetical order. Indeed, no scheme of organization is evident (and no title page or index describes the contents), nor is any direct connection apparent to other nineteenth-century English manuscript collections of stop lists and historical remarks.² This work is the earlier of only two large assemblages on the subject that are fundamentally pictorial.³ Such compilations seem to represent the fruits of a popular hobby, not of concerted research efforts. Cathedral organs are conspicuously absent from the album, as are examples from Oxford. The number of Cambridge organs included suggests special familiarity with that town on the part of the artist; however, with the exception of a reference to a document in the buttery of King's College (fol. 26, Figure 10), added annotations for the Cambridge organs are scanty. Was the album conceived by a Cambridge scholar, a devotee of the ecclesiological movement, an organist, or an enthusiastic amateur? Although

4. In St. Sepulchre's Church, Snow Hill (folio 5)



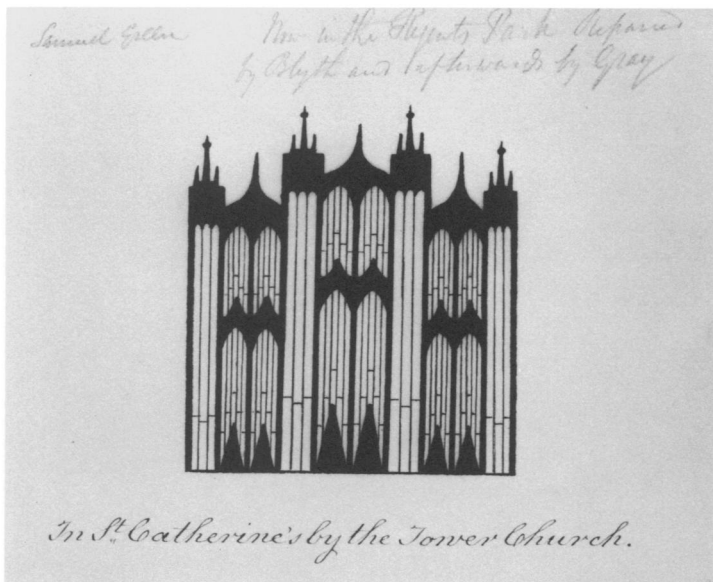
5. Sketch of St. Sepulchre's, Snow Hill (photo from *Choir* 15 [1924] p. 145)



that question cannot now be answered, both the album's drawings and its remarks shed new light on English organ history, and no doubt they themselves will be elucidated in the future.

In the following transcriptions, the numbering corresponds to folio numbers penciled at the lower right corners. For each entry, the folio's inked title is transcribed first; subsequent lines give the penciled annotations, which generally occur at the tops of pages. Sparse punctuation and deviant spellings—Gloster for Gloucester (fol. 12), Shrieder for Schreider (fol. 14, Figure 7), Kirkam for Kirkham (fol. 34, Figure 13), Ohrmond for Ohrmann (fol. 48, Figure 15), Mayer for Mayor (fol. 107), Surry for Surrey—are less problematic than are indistinct words. Dots indicate illegible letters.

No attempt has been made to correct the annotations, but names of persons and churches have been given in more complete form whenever possible. A surname alone appears if the builder is otherwise unknown or is unidentifiable within a family of builders having the same surname. Editorial additions are bracketed.



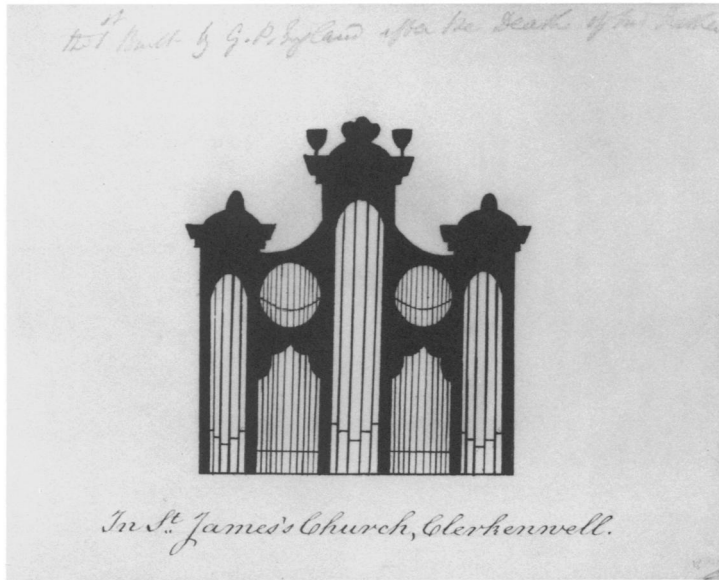
6. In St. Catherine's by the Tower Church (folio 9)



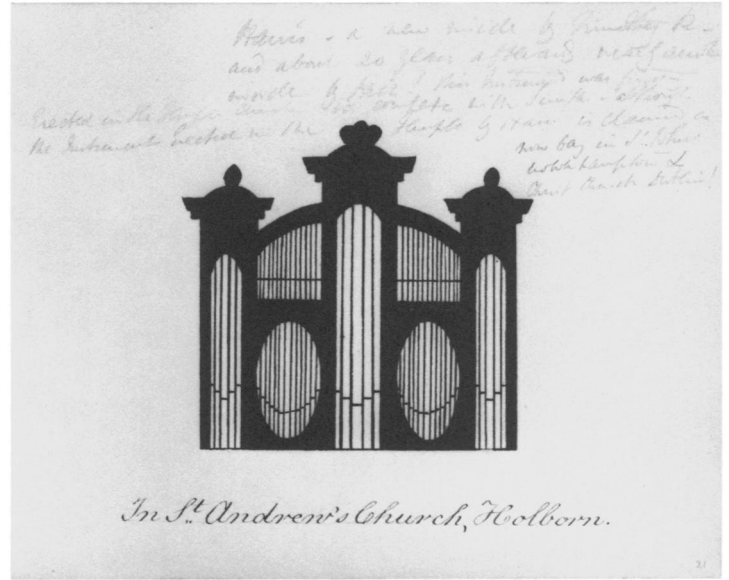
7. In St. Mary's Whitechapel Church (folio 14)

TITLES AND ANNOTATIONS TRANSCRIBED FROM THE FOLIOS

1. In St. Peter's Church, Cornhill.
New organ built by [William] Hill old case with middle tower 1840
2. In St. Clement's Church, East Cheap.
[Renus] Harris new inside by [John] Gray 1830
3. In Whitehall Chapel.
Father [Bernard] Smyth—new inside by [Thomas] Elliot
4. In Islington [Parish of St. Mary] Church, Middlesex.
The celebrated Samuel Green one of his early productions but not one of his best
5. In St. Sepulchre's Church, Snow Hill.
[Thomas] Harris rebuilt and enlarged by [John] Gray 1834 the best Trumpet in the world
6. In St. George's Church, Hanover Square.
[John] Snetzler
7. In St. Saviour's Church, Southwark.
[John] Crang w[ith] whom Robert Gray was apprenticed
8. In St. Pancras's New Church.
Built by [Robert and William] Gray 1818
[Lightly penciled ornaments atop the case, including a central lyre, and some details of the pipe mouths and feet have been added to the inked drawing.]
9. In St. Catherine's by the Tower Church.
Samuel Green Now [after 1824] in the Regents Park [church]
Repaired by [Benjamin] Blyth and afterwards by Gray
10. In St. Lawrence Jewry Church, Guildhall.
Father [Bernard] Smyth—a new inside by Timothy Russell son of the excellent workman Hugh Russell
11. In Chelsea [Old] Church, Middlesex.
Henry Bevington the 1st! originally a chamber organ built for [Edward] Howard the chemist
12. In Quebec Chapel, Oxford Street.
John Avery built for the last com[m]emoration of Handel, about the year 1795 when the performance took place in the Pantheon. Avery was brought up in the trade of a cooper in Gloster
13. In St. Catherine Cree Church, Leadenhall Street.
[Richard] Bridge apparently
14. In St. Mary's Whitechapel Church.
Shrieder [Christopher Schreider] the son in law & successor of Father Smith—to whom [John] Crang was apprenticed—hence the Gray's are the successors of Father Smith the organs in the hands of Crang falling with those of Robert Gray

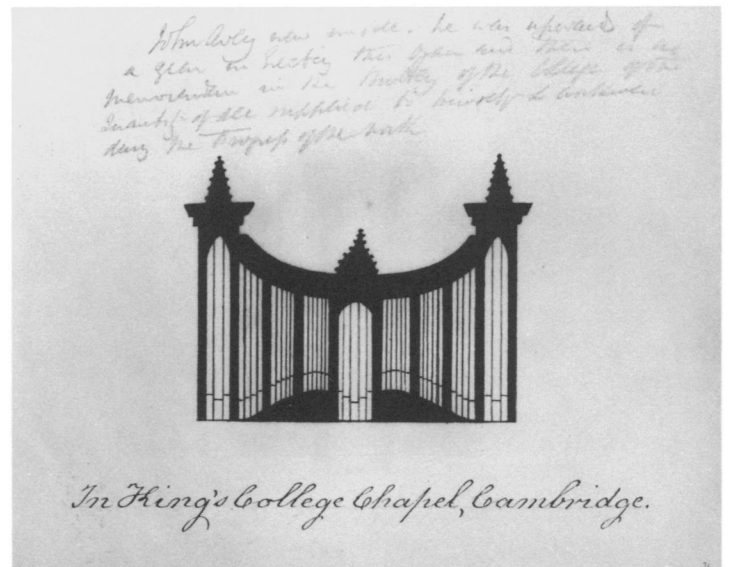


8. In St. James's Church, Clerkenwell (folio 18)



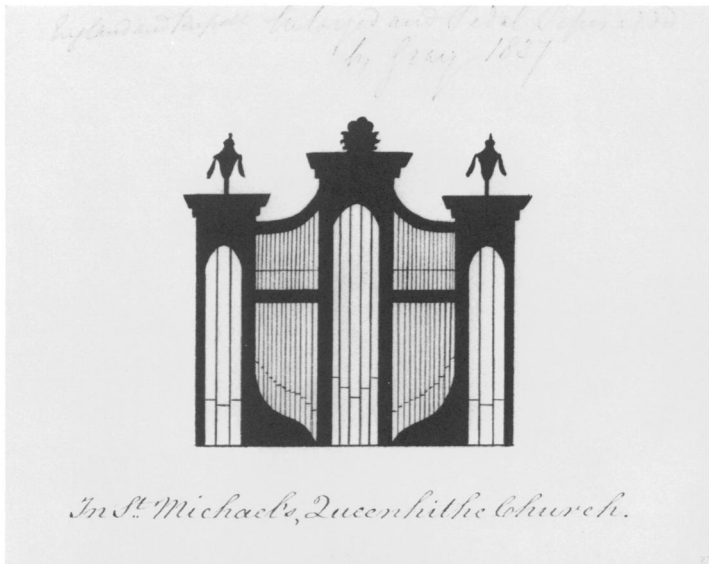
9. In St. Andrew's Church, Holborn (folio 21)

- 15. In St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row.
Built by Lincoln [crossed out]/[John] Byfield—
now in Blackheath Church Chapel—replaced by
one by [Henry Cephias] Lincoln now.
- 16. In St. Giles's in the Fields Church.
[Richard] Bridge
- 17. In St. George's [the Martyr] Church, Queen
Square.
[John and James] Hancock—Rebuilt and en-
larged by Gray [& Davison?] 1838
- 18. In St. James's Church, Clerkenwell.
The 1st built by G. P. [George Pike] England af-
ter the death of his father [John England]
- 19. In St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.
John Avery
- 20. In St. Ann's Church, Westminster.
Robert and Wm Gray 1795
- 21. In St. Andrew's Church, Holborn.
[Renuus] Harris—a new inside by Timothy
R[ussell] and about 20 years afterwards an-
other inside by Hill! This instrument was first
erected in the Temple Church to compete with
[Bernard] Smith's—although the instrument
erected in the Temple by Harris is claimed as
now being in St. John's Wolverhampton & Christ
Church Dublin!
- 22. In Trinity College Chapel, Cambridge.

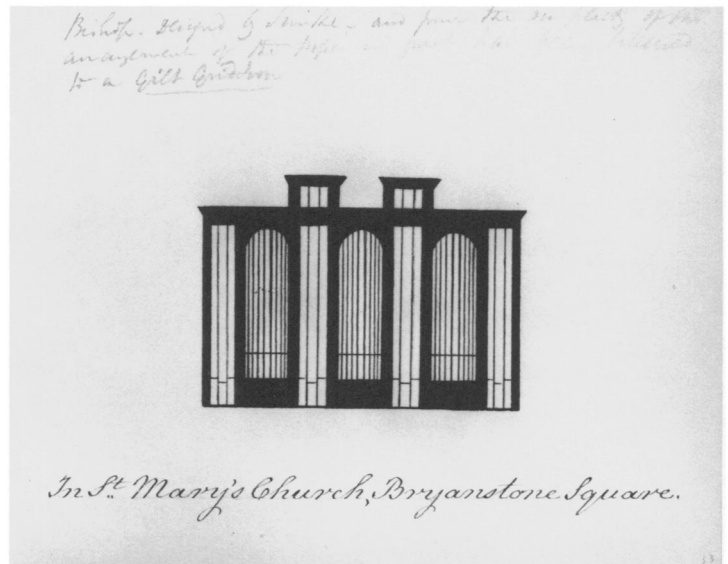


10. In King's College Chapel, Cambridge (folio 26)

- Father Smith Rebuilt & enlarged by [John] Gray
1836
- 23. In Edmonton [Parish of All Saints?] Church,
Middlesex.
John England
- 24. In St. Ann's Chapel, Wandsworth, in Surry.
Timothy Russell



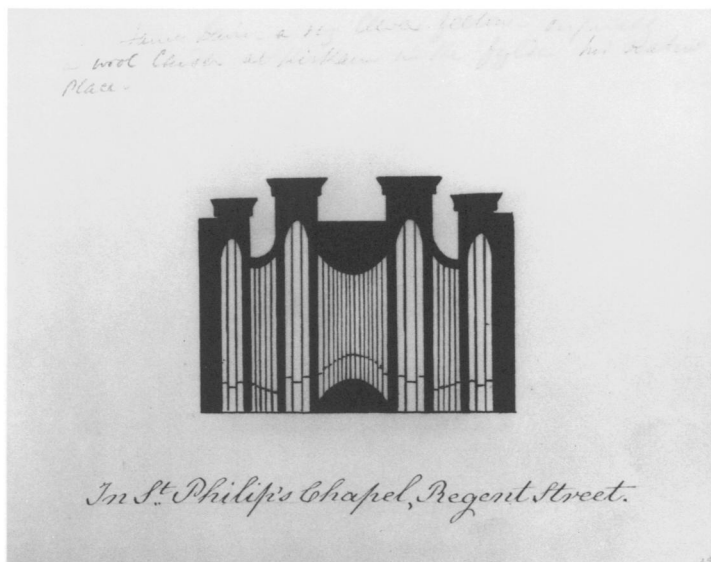
11. In St. Michael's Queenhithe Church (folio 27)



12. In St. Mary's Church, Bryanstone Square (folio 33)

25. In St. Mary Aldermary Church, Watling Street.
[John] England and [Hugh] Russell
26. In King's College Chapel, Cambridge.
John Avery new inside. He was upwards of a year in erecting this organ and there is a memorandum in the Buttery of the College of the quantity of ale supplied to himself & workmen during the progress of the work
27. In St. Michael's Queenhithe Church.
[John] England and [Hugh] Russell enlarged and pedal pipes added by [John] Gray 1837
28. In St. Margaret's Church, Lothbury.
G. P. England
29. In St. Bartholomew's by the Exchange Church.
[Renus Harris and John] Byfield
30. In St. Mary Magdalen's Church, Bermondsey.
probably [Renus] Harris—spoiled by a Prebender named F..... a Duetchman [sic]
31. In Stepney Church, Middlesex.
[Renus] Harris
32. In St. James's Church, Piccadilly.
[Renus] Harris
33. In St. Mary's Church, Bryanstone Square.
[James C.] Bishop—designed by [Bernard] Smithe—and from the simplicity of the arrangement of the pipes in past has been likened to a Gilt Gridiron
34. In St. Philip's Chapel, Regent Street.

- James Davis—a very clever fellow—originally a wool carder at Kirk[h]am in the fylde his native place
35. In St. Stephen's, Walbrook Church.
[George] England
36. In St. Mary at Hill Church, East Cheap.
Father Smith, I believe
37. In the Temple Church.
Father Smith—the one now in St. Andrews Holborn for the controversy respecting this work[?] see [Charles] Burney & [Sir John] Hawkin[s] [who published accounts of the notorious "battle of the organs"]
38. In Holloway Chapel [of Ease, St. Mary Magdalen], Islington.
Built by G. P. England his last
39. In Trinity Church, Cambridge.
40. In St. Giles's, Cripple Gate Church. [moved from St. Luke's, Old Street]
Bridge [& Jordon] enlarged by Gray 1820
41. In St. Clement Danes Church, in the Strand.
Father Smith
42. In Allhallow's Barking Church.
Erected 1677 Renatus Harris/Restored [Gerard Smith] 1720/[G. P. England] 1813/[John Bunting] 1878
43. In All Saints Church, Hertford.
[Justinian Morse,] Replaced by new organ built



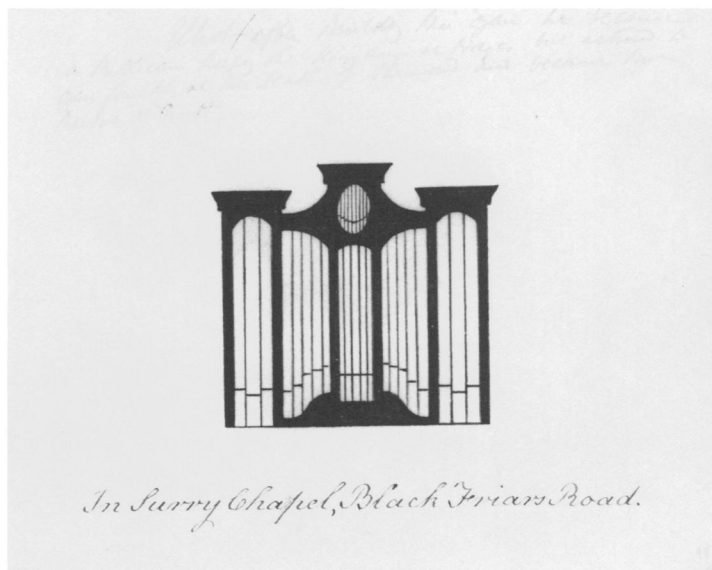
13. In St. Philip's Chapel, Regent Street (folio 34)

by Gray [& Davison] 1840

- 44. In Finchley [St. Mary's] Church, Middlesex.
- 45. In Peter House College Chapel, Cambridge.
- 46. In Pembroke College Chapel, Cambridge.
- 47. In Kensington Church, Middlesex.
- 48. In Surry Chapel, Black Friars Road.
[Thomas] Elliot—after building this organ he became a publican keeping the Kings Arms at Hayes but returned to organ building at the death of Ohrmond [Jonathan Ohrmann] and became the partner of [John or W.] Nutt
- 49. In Hampstead [St. John's] Church, Middlesex.
[David or James] Davis for [James] Longman whose name it bears
- 50. In Emanuel College Chapel, Cambridge.
- 51. In Cheshunt [St. Mary the Virgin] Church, Hertfordshire.
[David or James] Davis for [James] Longman
- 52. In All Saints Church, Cambridge.
New inside by Gray
- 53. In St. Botolph, Aldersgate Church.
Samuel Green
- 54. In St. John's College Chapel, Cambridge.
Replaced by new organ built by [William] Hill 1838
- 55. In St. George's Chapel, Albermarle Street.
This is [James] Ball's organ—replaced by one supplied by Baker! which has since given place to



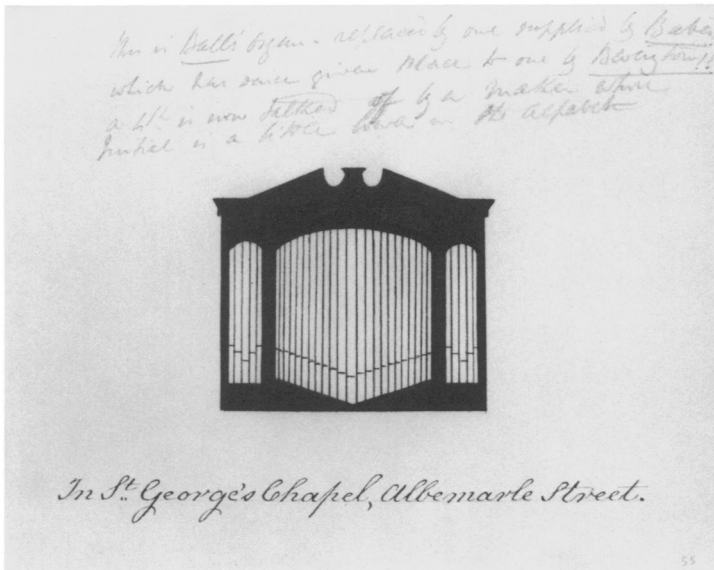
14. In Allhallow's Barking Church (folio 42)



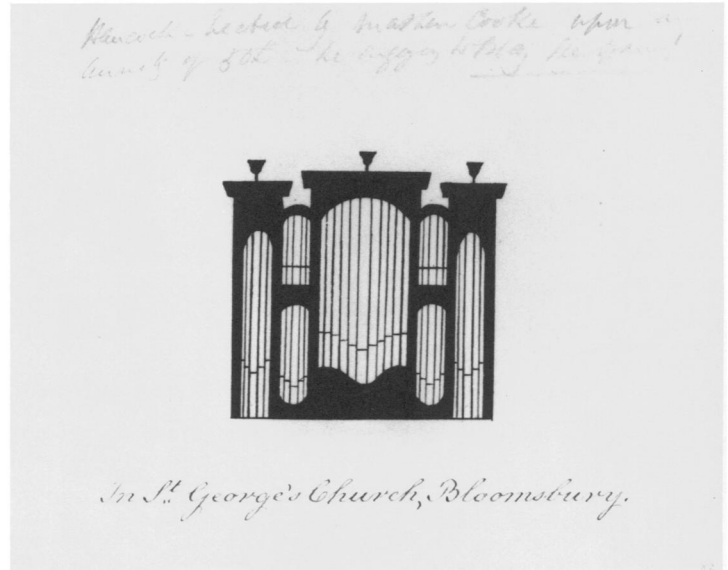
15. In Surry Chapel, Black Friars Road (folio 48)

one by [Henry and Martin] Bevington!! A 4th is now talked of by a maker whose initial is a little lower in the alp[h]abet

- 56. In Bedford Chapel, Bedford Square.
This is [William?] Allen's organ—replaced by one by Gray [& Davison, 1845]
- 57. In St. Botolph, Bishopsgate Church.
[John] Byfield



16. In St. George's Chapel, Albemarle Street (folio 55)



17. In St. George's Church, Bloomsbury (folio 82)

58. In Berwick Street Chapel, Soho.
59. In Ware [St. Mary the Virgin] Church, Hertfordshire.
[Edward or John] Pistor replaced by one of [James Chapman] Bishop's
60. In Allhallow's Church, Bread Street.
Father Smith
61. In St. Matthew's Church, Bethnal Green.
62. In Hanover Street Chapel, Long Acre.
Father Smith—the old organ from St. James Chapel Royal
63. In St. Olave's Old Jewry Church.
... [?]
64. In Baker Street Chapel, Portman Square.
[James] Ball replaced by one by Gray now in Trinity Church Leicester
65. In St. Peter's-le-Poor Church, Broad Street.
Samuel Green
66. In St. Margaret's Chapel, Westminster.
I think this must be in St. Paul's Chapel Westminster
[John] Snetzler
67. In Ship Street Chapel, Brighton.
68. In St. Mary Woolnoth Church, Lombard Street.
Father Smith
69. In Newington Church, Surry.
England

70. In St. Antholin's Church, Watling Street.
[Richard] Bridge
71. In St. John, of Wapping Church.
[Richard] Bridge
72. In St. George's Church, Southwark.
Rebuilt by [George, Henry, or Theodore] Buckwell 1840
73. In St. James's Chapel, Brighton.
74. In Union Chapel, Brighton.
75. In West Hackney [St. Barnabas] Church, Middlesex.
Tim Russell [preceding line crossed out]
76. In Allhallow's Church, Lombard Street.
[Renatus] Harris [preceding line crossed out]
77. In St. Michael's Church, Wood Street.
[Thomas] Elliot
78. In St. Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane.
[James Chapman] Bishop his first church organ in London—1822
79. In St. Mildred's, Bread Street Church.
[Thomas] Griffin a Barber—professor of music in Gresham College & the work (of the organ) was done by Abraham Pether
80. In Lincoln's Inn Chapel.
[Benjamin] Flight [Jr.] & [Joseph] Robson
81. In St. Edmund the King's Church, [Lombard Street] London.



18. In Fitzroy Chapel, Fitzroy Square (folio 83)



19. In Ealing Church, Middlesex (folio 114)

- [John] Byfield—a new one by [James Chapman] Bishop
82. In St. George's Church, Bloomsbury.
[John and James] Hancock—erected by Mather Cooke upon an annuity of 50£—he engages to play the organ!
83. In Fitzroy Chapel, Fitzroy Square.
originally [Samuel] Green built for the Italian opera house & altered by [John] Lincoln
84. In Tavistock Chapel, Tavistock Square.
Gray
85. In St. John's Chapel Mary-le-bone.
[Robert and William] Gray
86. In St. Alban's Church, Wood Street.
[Richard] Bridge
87. In St. James's Chapel, Hampstead Road.
Gray
88. In St. John's Church, Clerkenwell.
[Richard] Bridge
89. In Christ's Church, Black Friars Road.
[Thomas] Elliot
90. In St. Michael's Bassishaw [*sic*] Church.
Repaired by Gray [& Davison] 1839 [preceding name crossed out and illegible]
91. In Percy Chapel, Rathbone Place.
Enlarged by [William?] Hill 1836 & 9 [preceding name crossed out and illegible]
92. In Long Acre Chapel.
93. In St. Vedast's Church, Foster Lane.
[Richard] Bridge Repaired by [John and Robert] Gray 1838
94. In Camden Town Chapel, Middlesex.
Built by [William] Gray 1824
95. In St. Mary Magdalen's Church, Old Fish Street.
[Samuel Green]
96. In All Souls Church, Portland Place.
Built by [James Chapman] Bishop
97. In St. Nicholas's Church, Deptford in Kent.
[Thomas] Griffin
98. In Hanover Chapel, Regent Street.
Built by [John Chapman] Bishop
99. In Christ's Church, Stafford Street, Mary-le-bon[e].
[John Chapman] Bishop
100. In Fulham [All Saints] Church, Middlesex.
[John] Byfield
101. In Holland Chapel, Brixton in Surry.
T. [Timothy] Russell bought by [Theodore or William] Bates upon a consideration! by Messrs Gray & Walker
102. In Paddington Church, Middlesex.
[Richard] Bridge altered by [James Chapman] Bishop
103. In Gate Street Chapel, Lincoln's Inn Fields.
[John?] Lincoln Sen[io]r

104. In Stoke Newington Church, Middlesex.
 105. In Putney Church, Surry.
 106. In Kennington Lane Chapel, Surry.
 107. In West Street Chapel, Seven Dials.
 [Thomas] Mayer [Mayor]
 108. In Orange Street Chapel, Leicester Square.
 [John] Byfield—a new one by [Joseph William?] Walker
 109. In the Chapel Royal, Brighton.
 England

110. In Trinity Chapel, Conduit Street.
 111. In St. Andrew's Church, Hertford.
 112. In St. Michael's Church, Cambridge.
 113. In St. Andrew's Church, Cambridge.
 114. In Ealing [St. Mary's Parish] Church, Middlesex.
 [Benjamin Blyth? successor to Samuel] Green
 now in ...sford Church—new one by [Joseph
 William] Walker [A grotesque figure has been
 added atop the case with the inscription "The
 Devil."]

NOTES

1. Reproduced in James Boeringer, *Organa Britannica; Organs in Great Britain 1660–1860* (Lewisburg, Pa., 1986) II, p. 208.

2. These are discussed by Nicholas Thistlethwaite in "Source-materials from the Early 19th Century," *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies* 1 (1977) pp. 75–100.

3. The other major pictorial compilation is an extensive set of watercolors executed by John Norbury between 1867 and about 1905, described by Susi Jeans in "The Catalogue of the John

Norbury Collection of Organ Case Sketches at the Royal College of Organists," *Organ Yearbook* 12 (1981) pp. 120–159; *ibid.*, 13 (1982) pp. 107–117. Late in his life Norbury owned the six notebooks of organ specifications and drawings assembled in the mid-nineteenth century by Rev. John Hanson Sperling, formerly a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. The Sperling notebooks are being edited by James Boeringer; see note 1 above.

Ephemera and the Print Room

JANET S. BYRNE

Curator, Department of Prints, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

CONVINCED THAT evanescent printed-paper objects are unimportant, many people feel that ephemera do not belong in an art museum. A little reflection, however, makes it apparent that some of the Museum's most important prints, often by well-known artists, are indeed ephemera. We only wish we had more examples like the famous *Otto Prints*, which are so ephemeral that not one is recorded in this country: those charming oval and circular prints with Renaissance lovers in gardens were engraved about 1445 to be pasted on ladies' workboxes. The Museum's Print Room is proud to own ephemera like these: Francesco Rosselli's engraved circles and strips of ornament from the 1470s, made to be cut out and pasted around other prints to form borders or picture frames; woodcut bookplates by Albrecht Dürer and his two woodcuts of the *Satyr Family in a Vine* made about 1515 to be pasted on walls in multiples, as wallpaper; Stefano della Bella's etched playing cards, made at the order of Cardinal Mazarin for the instruction and entertainment of six-year-old King Louis XIV; eighteenth-century invitations and tickets engraved by William Hogarth or Francesco Bartolozzi; and Giovanni Battista Piranesi's decorative, etched broadside of 1761 listing his prints for sale. Examples of works of art that are ephemera are myriad and infinitely varied. From its beginning in 1916, the Department of Prints has collected prints of all kinds because they were prints, and (almost unintentionally) has thus acquired many works of art that are ephemera.

The department has been fortunate enough to receive magnificent gifts of collections of special kinds of ephemera; all of these collections contain prints by well-known artists. For example, the more than fifty volumes of bookplates given to the Museum in 1920 by William E. Baillie contain among other treasures

Dürer's woodcut bookplate for his friend Willibald Pirckheimer, Paul Revere's engraved bookplate for Perez Morton, and Gordon Craig's bookplate for Ellen Terry. Eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century engraved British and French trade cards, menus, programs, calling cards, billheads, posters, handbills, broadsides, labels, invitations, tickets, and lottery items were given by Mrs. Bella C. Landauer during a period extending from the 1920s into the 1950s. This material demonstrates over and over that print-makers, especially when young, turn for ready cash to the production of fans, calling cards, greeting cards, posters, and other advertising.

Large collections of profiles and silhouettes came to the Museum by the bequests of Mary Martin in 1938 and Glenn Tilley Morse in 1950. American cards of all kinds (advertising or trade cards, playing cards, greeting cards, postcards, Sunday-school cards, souvenir cards), including a Prang sample album of calling cards by Winslow Homer, were the gift of Jefferson R. Burdick in the 1950s. French eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century wallpaper came from D. Lorraine Yerkes, Josephine Howell Associates, and Harvey Smith, from the 1950s through the 1970s. Devotional pictures of the seventeenth through the nineteenth century (including some by Augsburg designers and publishers such as J. E. Nilson and Martin Engelbrecht), cut-paper and vellum-lace pictures, eighteenth-century greeting and calling cards, nineteenth-century English and American valentines (with examples by Walter Crane, Kate Greenaway, and Esther Howland), a magnificent collection of Biedermeier greetings (Viennese, about 1810, *Glückwunschkarten* and *Kunstabbillets*), and drawings for almanacs were given by Mrs. Richard Riddell over the last twenty-five years.

For at least seventy years the department has

bought trade cards, pattern books, dealers' catalogues, and other ephemeral material concerning the decorative arts, especially furniture, silver, glass, and ceramics. Never chosen at random, each purchase was considered for its ultimate usefulness in illustration, documentation, or exhibition in an art museum.

The following illustrations, a small selection of the Print Room's eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Germanic ephemera (examples from Austria and Switzerland have been included but are identified as such) may be divided into three groups. The

1. Sheet of decorated paper by the designer, printer, and publisher Johann Carl Munck (ca.1730–94). From a family of Augsburg paper decorators, Munck engraved his name in the metal plate with which he printed the gold hunting scene on rose-red paper. Used for pamphlet covers and book endpapers, or pasted on boxes, chests, and other furniture, decorated paper frequently survives only in fragments. This unused sheet is complete, although shown here in detail; Munck signed it across the lower edge, numbering it 7. Of the thirty-three numbered patterns by Munck that are known, one is numbered 224. Surely number 7 comes near the beginning of the series, probably dating to the early 1750s.

Gift of Harry G. Friedman, 1956, 56.648.2

2. Engraved wrapper for a booklet of gold leaf produced by Paulus Linz, goldbeater, of Frankfurt. Exactly when in the eighteenth century Paulus Linz lived and worked is unknown. He signed his engraved wrappers *Paulus Linz Goldschlager in F.* The Museum's Bella C. Landauer Collection contains nine of his wrappers, of which seven are titled *Ein Buch Metall enthält 250 blatt*, but do not stipulate the kind of metal. The wrappers vary in size by as much as an inch, implying that the sheets of gold leaf did as well. The leopard was not Paulus Linz's trademark, for he used a crowned eagle, a stork, a dove, or a Risen Christ on other covers.

The Bella C. Landauer Collection, 1928

3. A sheet of etched, hand-colored decorations for box tops, etcher unknown. Eighteenth-century print

most ephemeral category, that of paper ordinarily destroyed by its first use, contains printed papers used in conjunction with other objects: decorations or labels cut out and pasted on something, wrappers, or patterns. The least ephemeral group consists of useful paper objects bound to wear out but preserved as long as possible: fans, certificates, sheet music, and games. Finally come ephemera saved temporarily for the information supplied or out of sentimentality: trade cards, calling cards, and greeting cards.

publishers and stationers carried on a 400-year-old tradition of printing circular and oval decorations to be cut out and pasted on box tops. There were birds, flowers, lovers, gardens, and butterflies suitable for use on containers of powder, patches, snuff, or trinkets. Pillbox labels were usually decorated only with a chaste classical border around an empty space in which the chemist wrote the name of the drug and the dosage.

The Bella C. Landauer Collection, 1928

4. Etched decorations for cutting and pasting. The eighteenth-century taste for *découpage* was recognized and catered to by the enterprising print publishers of Augsburg, who developed an old idea into new business. Engravers and publishers like Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756) etched pictures and vignettes to be hand-colored and pasted on furniture, trays, musical instruments, boxes, or walls. The fifth plate of Engelbrecht's 463d set of etchings is so small (about 5 by 7 inches) that it would have required expert fingers to cut out and apply the coach and horses, the hay wagon, cardplayers, or tennis game (the ball is a dot in midair), to say nothing of the birds and flowers. Part of Engelbrecht's extensive business was supplying patterns for furniture and for ornamental woodwork for churches—altars, pulpits, doorways, and picture frames. These are better known because more of them have survived, never having been cut out and pasted on anything.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1954, 54.636.11(5)



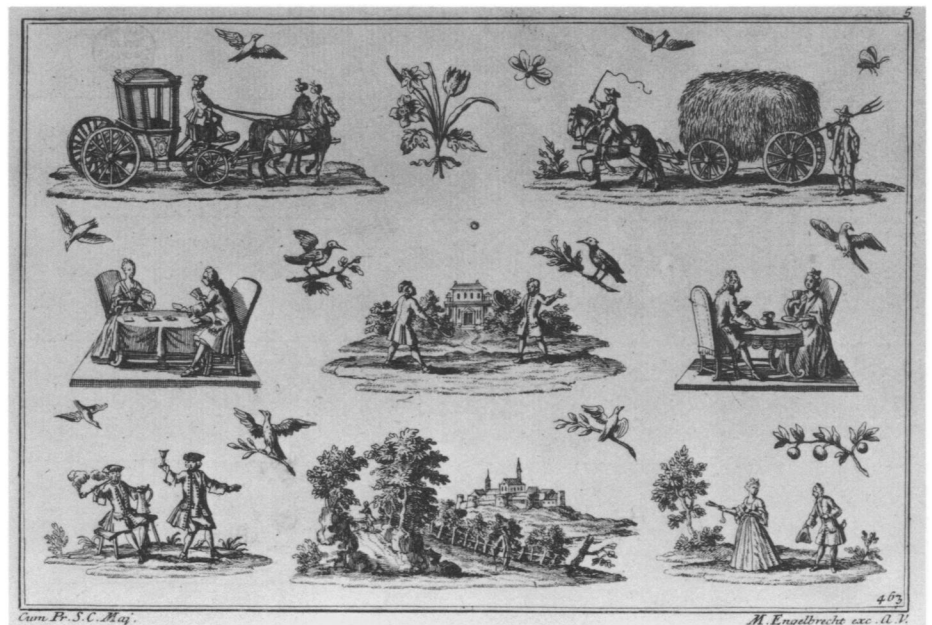
1



2



3



4



5

5. Fashion plate for use in a peep show. Printmakers who design decorative arts objects (furniture, jewelry, embroidery, lace, pottery, etc.), ornament, and all kinds of stationers' decorations must keep an eye on the market. They need to produce inexpensive prints with a certain ambiguity so that they may be used in as many ways as possible. A miniature painter and designer of rococo ornament, Johann Esias Nilson (1721–88) also etched prints to be hand-colored, cut out, and pasted on furniture and boxes. Some of his prints were intended to go on cardboard for insertion into peep-show boxes. Exactly why Nilson made sets of prints like the *Four Seasons*, the *Four Elements*, or the *Four Quarters of the Globe* can hardly be definitely known. It is not likely that these sets were framed and hung, although they might have been pasted on a

wall. As a sheaf of loose fashion plates on a drawing-room table, as candidates for pasting in scrapbooks, as plates stiffened for insertion into viewers, or as cut-outs pasted on furniture or boxes: those are the more likely destinations for these plates.

One set of four plates of diversions (*Vergnügen*, or entertainments, for the eighteenth-century version of the Beautiful People) includes the café, cardplaying, a game of chess, and this enchanting billiard game played under ten candles with individual metal reflectors. The spacious room is filled with movement, all contained within a constantly varying frame of leaves, rocks, and shells.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949, 49.95.258

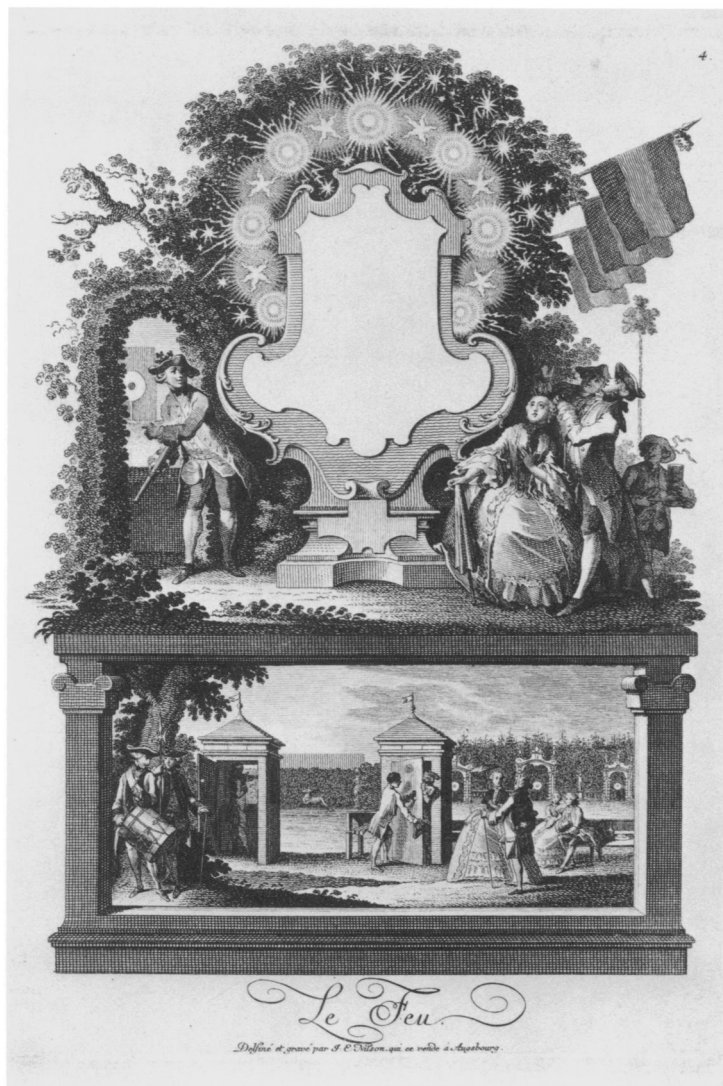
6. *Fire*, from a set of *Four Elements*, by Johann Esias Nilson. Instead of the usual representation of a young god with flames around his head, Nilson chose to illustrate Fire as a command to pull the trigger of a gun. The heavens are filled with the flames and loud reports of bursting fireworks. The target range, with two shooting boxes, is equipped with a mechanical moving stag. The presence of ladies implies a love emblem, for those who like emblems. In any case, the ladies only came to flirt; they have turned their backs to the range.

Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1945. 45.54.7

7. *La Masquerade*, by Johann Esias Nilson. The exciting candlelit world of masked revelers is presented as though it were a fashionable production of a Mozart opera, with a secret rendezvous, whispered intrigues, disclosures of hidden identities, and wise-acre, interfering servants.

Rogers Fund, 1966. 66.620.6

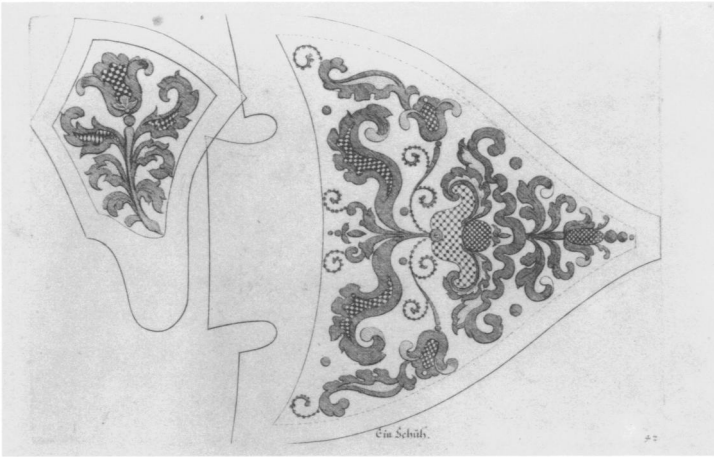
6



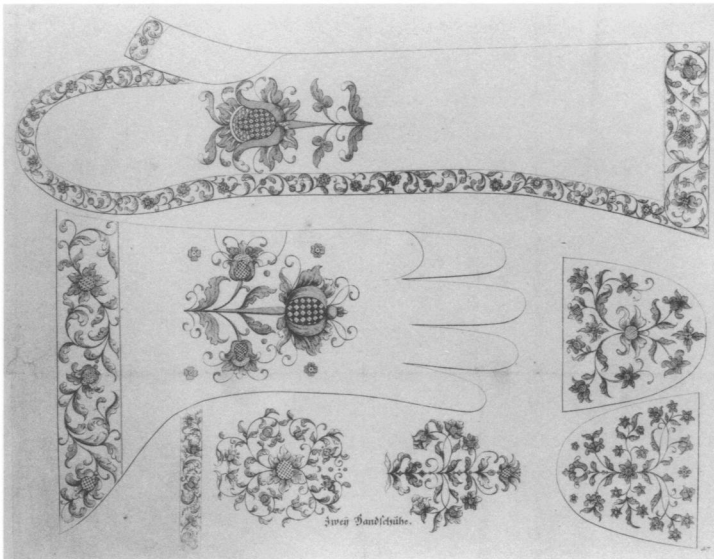
8, 9. Embroidery patterns, plates 42 and 47 from Margarethe Helm's book *Kunst- und Fleiss-übende Nadel-Ergötzungen*, published about 1720 in Nuremberg by Johann Christoph Weigel. Embroidery patterns are always subject to destruction by embroiderers. Although many embroidery pattern books were printed from the 1520s until the 1920s, most are no longer complete or in good condition. Plates have been torn out, some have been drawn upon with changes and corrections, some have been pricked and chalked in red for transfer, others have been fingered to death. Many of Margarethe Helm's patterns were for decorating clothing, and are drawn and etched to human scale, a phenomenon never encountered in the sixteenth century, when professional embroiderers needed no instructions and could easily enlarge and adapt patterns. Margarethe Helm's design for embroidering the heel and the toe of *Ein Schuh* fits on a page even though it is full size, but her *Zwey Handschuhe* (a glove and a mitten, with alternative suggestions for details) is more than 14 by 16 inches and

7





8



9

required folding in two directions in order to fit into the bookbinding. Repeated unfolding and refolding for more than 250 years have damaged this plate, now repaired. Patterns for hats included different styles for Nuremberg and for Augsburg; the hats, shoes, gloves, and *Ein Pistolhulster* were to be made of soft leather—lamb or doeskin.

Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1930, 30.68.18(1)

10. A collection of carriage designs with minimal descriptions was produced by Samuel Heinrich Matthias von Tabbert in Berlin in 1756. An enormously rare booklet, *Erste und zweyte auch dritte Sammlung aller zur Zeit üblichen Wagens, Carossen, Chaisen, Cariols, Schlit-*

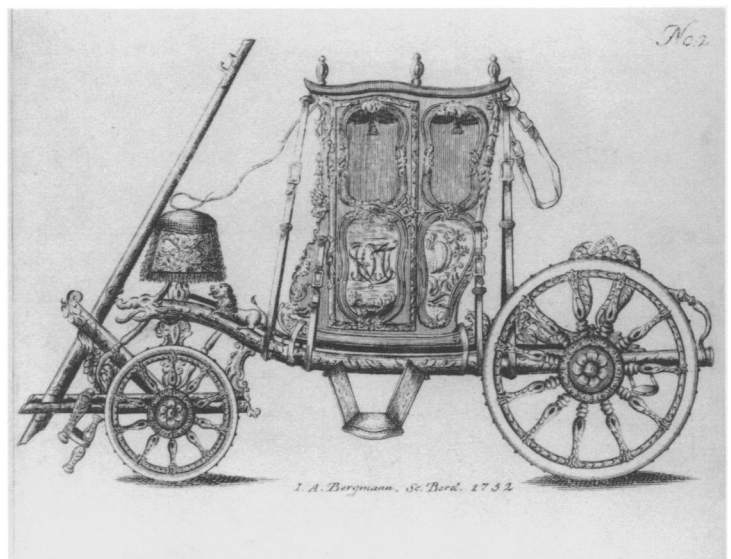
ten, Sättel, und Geschirre, dem Publico zum Besten entworfen, was a labor of love. Tabbert was not a carriage designer but an educated gentleman who had read widely in books on carriages. Giving a critical bibliography, he complained that those treatises did not explain or instruct. He took the trouble to find out and publish some information for the edification of the “Public,” not professional coach builders. This volume was probably never used in a shop, for it shows no signs of greasy fingers, no pencil notations or design changes, no holes or tears, no ragged stubs where a whole plate would have been torn out. The life expectancy of any paper pattern in a carriage builder’s shop classifies it as ephemera.

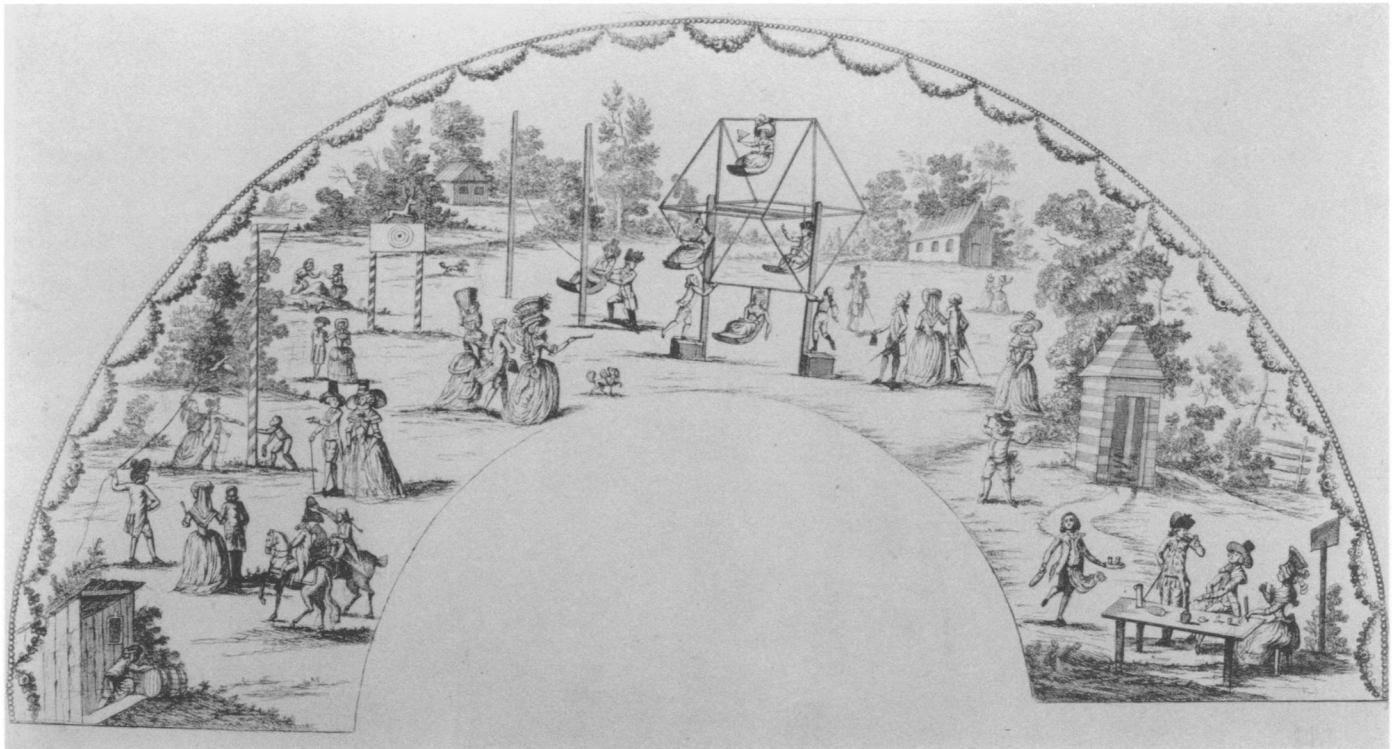
Evidently, Tabbert wanted to show the possible kinds of vehicles, the number of horses required, the number of seats, any unusual features, and what sorts of workmen were responsible for specific parts of the carriages. He lists the wheelwright, smith, locksmith, woodworker, glazier, painter, harness maker, brass-founder, sheet-metal worker, and lace (braid) maker, but he does not tell anybody how to build a coach.

An unknown engraver, I. A. Bergmann, signed and dated (1752) plate 2 at Berlin. In his short text Tabbert describes the elaborate coach shown here as “all-over sculptor’s work, painted, gilt, and silvered,” calling it a two- or three-seated *Schwemmer*.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1957, 57-593.2

10





11

11. Engraved paper fan. Fortunately, many eighteenth-century printed-paper fans were never mounted and folded. Before the stock waiting for mounting ran out, tastes would change, or the current events shown were no longer news, or last year's topical caricatures were no longer funny. To miss any of the goings-on in a fan such as this because they were obscured by worn and rubbed folds would be too bad. A visitor to this amusement park (can this be the Prater in Vienna? Can the maker be Johann Hieronymus Löschenkohl, the only Viennese fan printer with a royal privilege?) could take a ride in the sky on a prototype of the Ferris wheel, its swinging gondolas propelled and brought to a stop by two boys standing on boxes—no motor, no brake, no safety belts, no attendants to help riders on and off. The ride offered a fine view of park-goers promenading in absurdly exaggerated fashions. Refreshments were available: a man is literally rolling out a barrel at left, and at right the waiter is serving wine and schnapps.

In late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America, many paper fans were vehicles for advertising and were distributed free in theaters, concert halls, circuses, restaurants, and churches. They are

the descendants of eighteenth-century printed fans like this one.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949. 49.95.65

12. A certificate of recommendation was issued in 1785 to Caspar Legman, journeyman bookbinder (of middling height, nineteen years of age), who satisfactorily worked for seventeen weeks for two bookbinders appointed to the Monastery of St. Gall, Switzerland. Earlier, the monastery employed a topographical draughtsman to portray ("take a view of") St. Gall, including the monastery and showing the main local product, linen, spread out to bleach in parallel strips in the surrounding fields. A local engraver, who may have been a writing master, then etched the view and added the monastery's official commendation form for artisans, with empty spaces where names and dates were to be added by hand. At the bottom of the certificate two winged genii support a wreath containing the monastery's seal (red sealing wax covered with paper), which makes everything official.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949. 49.50.374

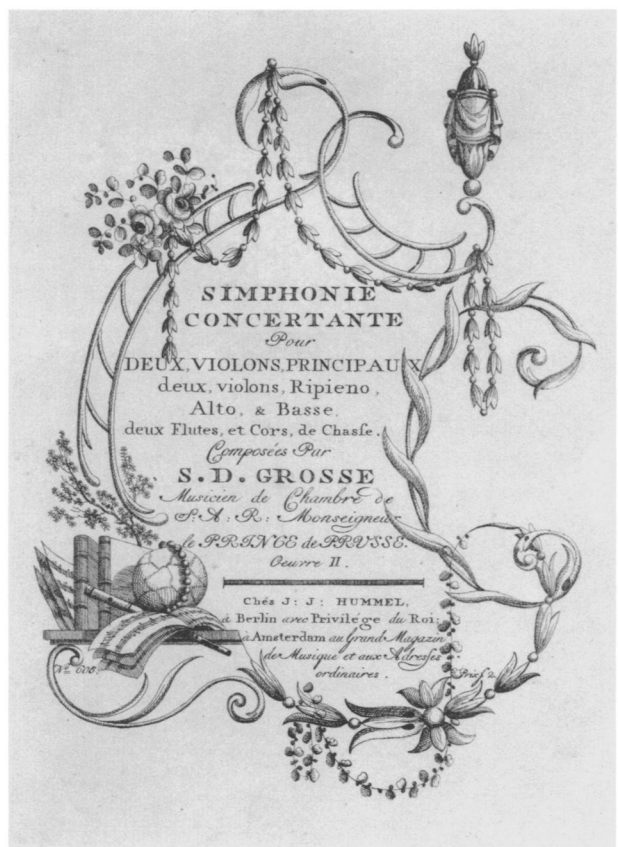


12

13

13. Sheet-music cover. Eighteenth-century composers were able to buy paper printed with etched lines on which to write musical notations. Music publishers soon began to engrave sheet music and add decorated covers. J. J. Hummel, of Berlin and Amsterdam, published *Simphonie Concertante . . . Oeuvre II* by Samuel Dietrich Grosse with a delightful rococo cartouche on the cover. By using his personal title, *Musicien de Chambre de S. A. R. Monseigneur le Prince de Prusse*, Grosse inadvertently dated the music 1779 or slightly later, for he was not named violinist to the Royal Chapel of the Prince of Prussia until 1779, and he died in 1789. In this instance, the score was truly ephemeral: our collection contains only the etched cover.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1963, 63.677



292

14, 15. Rebuses for children: the Forty-second and Fifty-fifth Psalms. Paper games and amusements proliferated in the eighteenth century. Painted playing cards and inlaid-wood board games played with men and dice had been used for centuries, the games easily adapting to printed cards and printed boards before 1550. Printed-paper playing cards, extremely affordable, were popular with all classes of people, but in the eighteenth century, thanks to the new interest in perspective and optics, came trick, metamorphic, and anamorphic images, hidden silhouettes, rebuses, and peep shows in great variety.

Familiar verses from the Bible were used in the late seventeenth century for rebuses. Booklets with as many as 750 hand-colored engravings with vignettes or pictures of objects substituted for key words became so popular that they were endlessly copied and recopied for two centuries. The booklets were often cut apart and the plates were distributed singly to children as rewards, making the editions and dates of the booklets unknowable. Illustrated here are: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks so panteth my soul after thee O God!" and "And I said Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away and be at rest."

Gift of Mrs. Richard Riddell, 1961, 61.688.59(1-2)



14



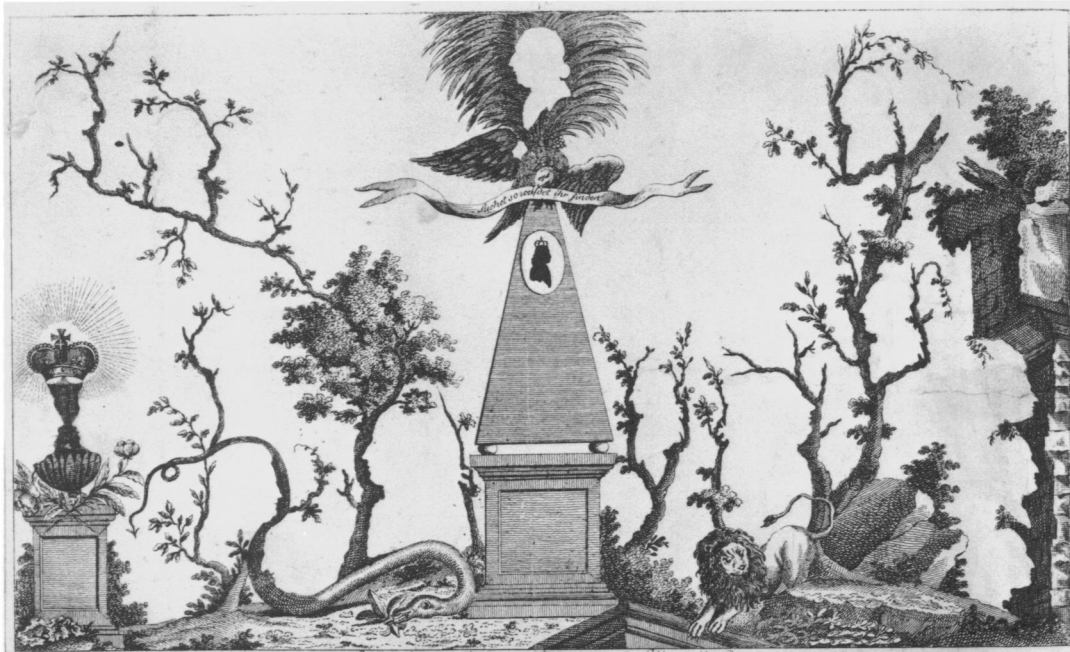
15

16. Metamorphosis: a moralizing folding paper toy with a trick image, etched about 1700. A three-inch-square packet, after its first unfolding, displays a banquet (not shown here). Another unfolding reveals a man and a woman dancing, accompanied by musicians in the background. A final unfolding shows the dancers and the musicians to be skeletons, surrounded by hellfire.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1966, 66.541.64



16



Sechzehn geheim verborgene Silhouetten
Das VI. Franz II. Wilhelm II. die Churfürsten von Mainz, Trier und Coeln, König von England nebst Königin, König von Spanien, Sar-
dinien, Portugal, Neapel, Carl Theodor Churfürst von Pfalz-Bayren, wie auch dem unglücklichen König und Königin von Frankreich und Schwed VII.
Luigiano geschnitten und inventirt von Christian Kluwin 1794.

17
 18



Collection des Prospects

NOUVEAU MARCHÉ DE LA FARINE A VIENNE

Gravé par J. C. F. 1801

Gravé par J. C. F. 1801

Vue du nouveau Marché de la Farine à Vienne
avec la Représentation d'une Course en Traqueaux de la Cour Impériale

17. Etched puzzle picture by Christian Schwan. Not a view of a disaster area after a bombing raid, this picture is a current-events parlor pastime for 1794: Find the Sixteen Hidden Silhouettes of the Rulers (and ex-Rulers) of Europe. “The unlucky king and queen of France” and Louis XVII are at the right, facing into the masonry.

Bequest of Glenn Tilley Morse, 1950, 50.602.203

18. *Vue d'optique*, Viennese. An internationally enjoyed activity that offered amusement and instruction—looking at engraved views through a viewer containing a lens and a mirror—stimulated the production of thousands of hand-colored engraved or etched views. Whether the views were made in Augsburg, Paris, Vienna, or Amsterdam, they were called *vues d'optiques* and were usually labeled in French, with a legend in reverse because of the mirror in the viewer. *Vues d'optiques* tended to be large (about 12 by 18 inches) and were published from the 1740s into the nineteenth century. Because they were handled so much, many of them are tattered and stained. Quality varied according to the artists and publishers: some views were accurate, but others were bad copies of paintings or book illustrations, or views of places where European artists had not been but about which they were willing to use their imaginations.

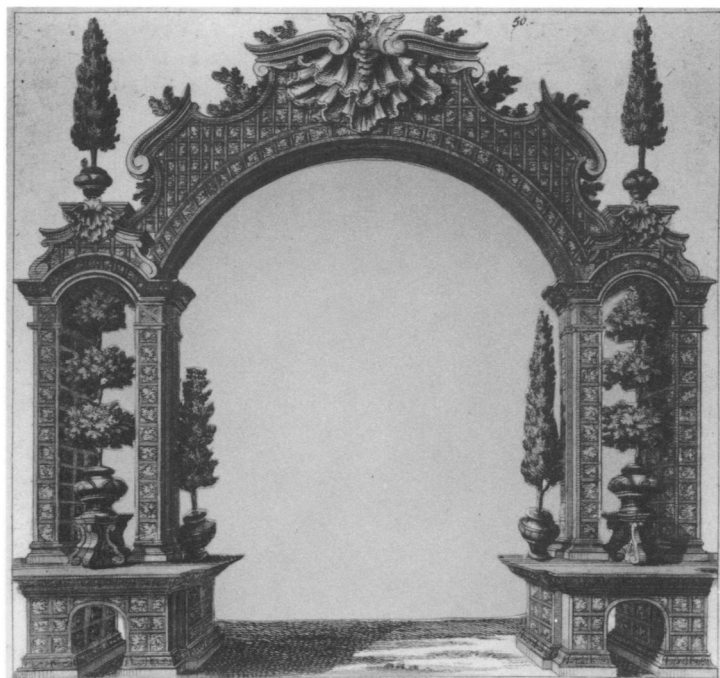
F. X. Habermann (1721–96) of Augsburg issued what is probably the most famous set of fictitious views. It included a scene of the destruction of a statue of George III in New York. Habermann used an unidentifiable but definitely European city street filled with a crew of Indians pulling down the statue; the Indians are turbaned black men wearing only romperlike loincloths.

A view of the new market in Vienna, with an imperial court sleighing party, is signed in the copper plate *dessiné par J. E. F. d'Erl. Gravé par I. M. Siccris*. The subject was so popular that Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach's name did not need to be spelled out. His original drawing, without the sleighing party, had been engraved by Johann Adam Delsenbach and published in 1719. No one is quite sure who I. M. Siccris is, but perhaps he is really Johann Sigris (born in Augsburg in 1756; died in Vienna in 1807). Another etching exists of the same marketplace in Vienna, with the same sleighing party, described as the party of 1774 by an etcher named Martin Schmidt

(1754–1804); there is no way to tell who copied from whom, or when.

Gift of Mary Buyck Freund, 1970, 1970.717.45

19, 20. This palace garden, an optical parlor toy designed by Jeremias Wachsmuth (1711–71), was published in Augsburg by Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756). It needed no wooden box or other viewer. Six etchings of a castle and its garden, each viewed from a different stage on the same axis, were mounted on separate sheets of cardboard. The centers were cut out of all but the last (the view of the castle) and the



19



20

plates were fastened together at the sides by means of accordion-pleated paper hinges. Then it was possible to walk, in the mind's eye, through the trellised portal, down the steps past gardeners and serving maids, across several trelliswork pavilions wherein ladies and gentlemen flirted, and through a *bosquet* to approach the castle. Illustrated here are the trellised portal alone and all six cutout etchings together.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1958, 58.643.35(2-7)

21, 22. Target shooting, engraved fashion plates for a peep show. Martin Engelbrecht of Augsburg (whose engraving for *découpage* is illustrated in Figure 4), published more than 4,000 prints, among them sets illustrating occupations, seasons, times of day, quarters of the globe, temperaments, diversions, and games. Fashions of the day were really his overall subject, and he expected his prints to be used as amusements, as decorations, and as patterns for costumes,

21



furniture, and architecture. Two plates, from different sets, show shooting ranges where entertainment by clowns dressed in harlequin costumes is provided for those waiting for a turn to shoot. It is remarkable that crossbows, several hundred years after they had reached the peak of their usefulness for hunting and defense, became mere entertainment for sportsmen who shot at fixed targets while sitting down.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1957, 57.559.22(3) and 57.559.23

23. Trade card, early eighteenth century. Some ephemera are impossible to identify at first glance, and often the uncertainties persist. On occasion, ephemeral paper objects were deliberately designed to serve in more than one capacity. Trade cards were sometimes used for bill heads, calling cards for book-plates and greetings, playing cards for calling cards,

22



decorated box-lining paper for wallpaper, and vice versa.

By the mid-eighteenth century bookplates were usually quite clearly designed to be bookplates, with such inscriptions as *Ex bibliotheca . . .* or *Ex libris . . .* They were no longer as large as this card (8 by 5¾ inches) since small books and pocketbooks were becoming fashionable. Later impressions of the plate bear the signature of the engraver, Stock, possibly Johann Stock (1733–73) of Nuremberg and Leipzig. Mercury, the God of Commerce, is accompanied by Fame blowing her trumpet overhead; he stands surrounded by four unmounted cannons and bales of goods waiting to be shipped. One large bundle is trademarked by the manufacturer. Surely the initials G E W represent a commercial firm, making this a trade card, not a bookplate.

Trade cards are commercial advertising cards with a shop name, an address, and commodities listed for sale. The most interesting early ones were illustrated, often with a view of the shop and its heraldic shop sign. (They are not to be confused with present-day trading cards, which are prized by youthful collectors.) Trade cards have a long history, especially in England, where Samuel Pepys collected contemporary seventeenth-century examples and in 1700 pasted them in a scrapbook under the heading *Vulgaria*.

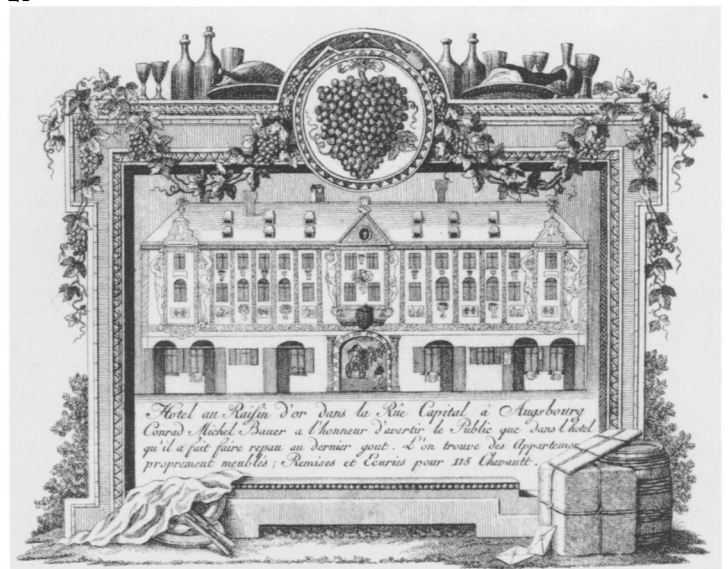
The William E. Baillie Bookplate Collection, 1920

24. Trade card for a hotel in Augsburg, late eighteenth century. Issued by the proprietor of the Golden Grape Hotel, this card shows the hotel and its signboard bearing a bunch of grapes, and within a decorative frame the signboard is repeated as a crest. But ephemera have an exasperating way of producing unanswerable questions by the dozen. Why in this case does the grapevine garland encircle the giant bunch of grapes at the sides but unaccountably at the summit turn into three architect's tools: a T-square, dividers, and a trowel? Are they Masonic emblems? The nearby bottles, glasses, and platters of meat and game are easier to understand as emblems of a hotel. The legend is stylishly given in French for a practical reason: the card is also intended for traveling foreigners, not only Germans. Herr Bauer advertises his well-furnished rooms, superior cuisine, and coach house with stables for 115 horses.

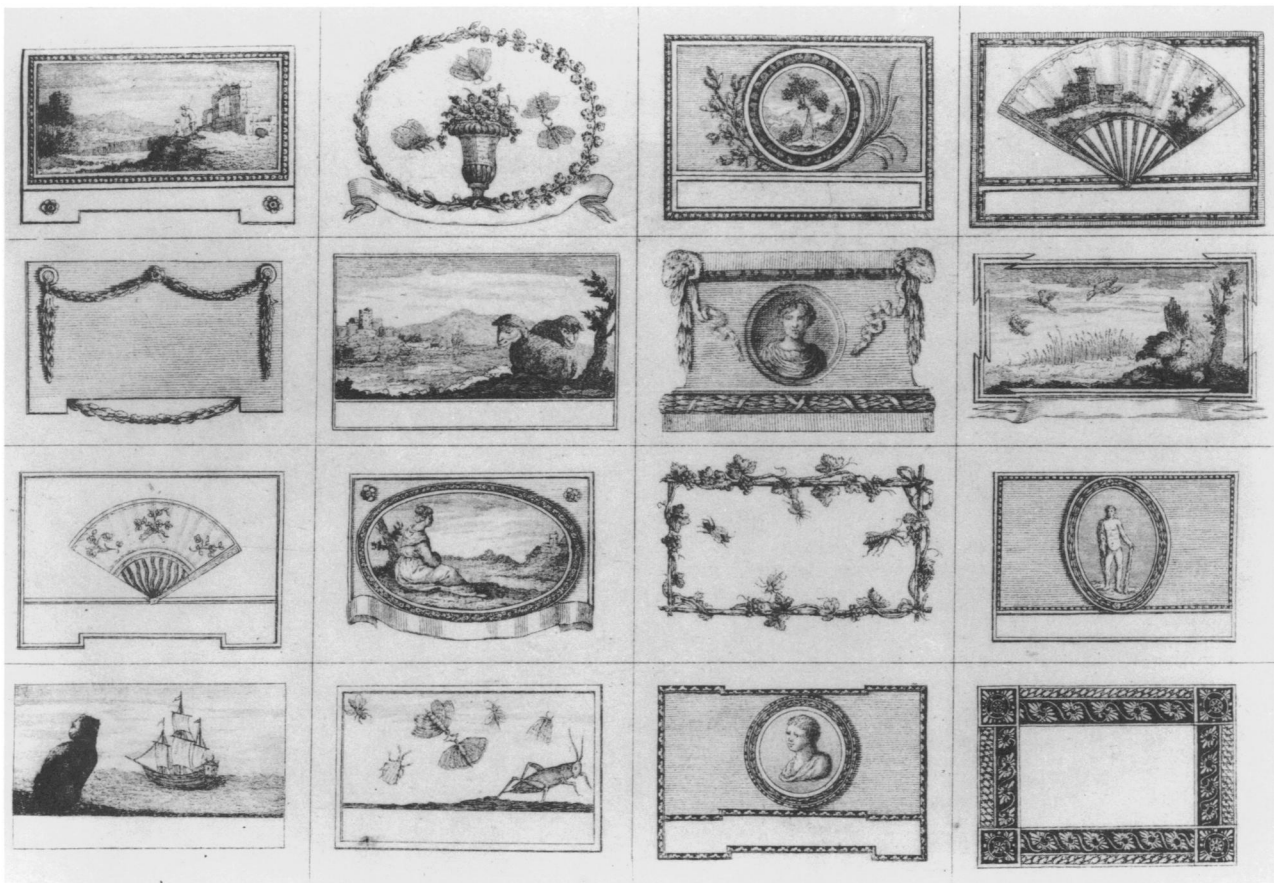
The Bella C. Landauer Collection, 1928



23



24



25

25. Uncut sheet of etched calling cards. Personal calling cards (not business or trade cards) were so popular in the eighteenth century that etchers and engravers made whole plates with twelve or more designs. These were to be pasted on thin cardboard, cut apart, then signed by the buyer and given to friends and acquaintances. Landscapes, flowers, classical antique motifs, coins, and sculpture, along with fans and butterflies, are printed on this uncut sheet with greenish-blue ink. Black ink was more usual, but orange, light brown, and rosy-red were also used. Just in case the purpose of calling cards was not clear, one Augsburg engraver, Johann Thomas Hauer (1748–1820), working in Paris at the time, published *Cahiers de Billets à rendre visite pour l'usage décrire de dans le Noms*. Calling cards were especially useful if the visitor did not intend to visit but wanted only to make a polite gesture. Many examples in the Museum's collection are signed with *Pour prendre congé* or *p.p.congé* or even *p.p.c.* Calling cards were sometimes sent as greetings, especially

at New Year's, and were occasionally used as book-plates.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1950, 50.611.85

26, 27. Two calling cards engraved for specific clients. Deluxe versions of calling cards were designed for individuals, often with their arms or a view of their homes, but above all with printed names. I. M. Söckler of Munich designed an allegorical card for Le Comte de Spreti. A. Kohl of Vienna engraved a view of the town of Liebwerda, near the medieval *Schloss* of Le Comte de Clam-Gallas.

Gift of Mrs. Richard Riddell, 1984, 1984.1164.157, 159

28. New Year's greeting for 1778, by Christian Gottlob Winterschmidt (1795–after 1809) of Nuremberg. Printed religious greetings for Christmas and New Year's had been made as far back as the fifteenth century, but by the eighteenth century subjects were

mainly secular: good wishes for the New Year, health, wealth, happiness, and good luck. Famous for his trompe l'oeil, Winterschmidt etched, printed, and hand-colored everything but the center and the background of this card. The reserved spaces he later painted with a variety of subjects in the centers and differing wooden backgrounds, so that each card he made is unique. The illusionistic assemblage of paper oddments, carefully chosen, carefully arranged, and fastened on an illusionistic wooden wall with illusionistic red sealing wax, implies a multiplicity of New Year's wishes for 1778. Flowers (especially roses) are for love, playing cards (including the knave of hearts) are for good fortune, and a view of the astronomical observatory on the Nuremberg city wall signifies helpful conjunctions of the stars.

Gift of Mrs. Richard Riddell, 1984, 1984.1164.27

29. New Year's greeting for 1778, a woodcut edged in black, from the *Lame Messenger Service* of Bern, Switzerland. The crippled messenger, accompanied by a large snail and a shouting boy, is delivering a letter to two officials wearing sashes as they excitedly talk to a farmer. No doubt the message contains news of the disasters in the background, where flames billow up from a fortified city; a ship struck by lightning

26



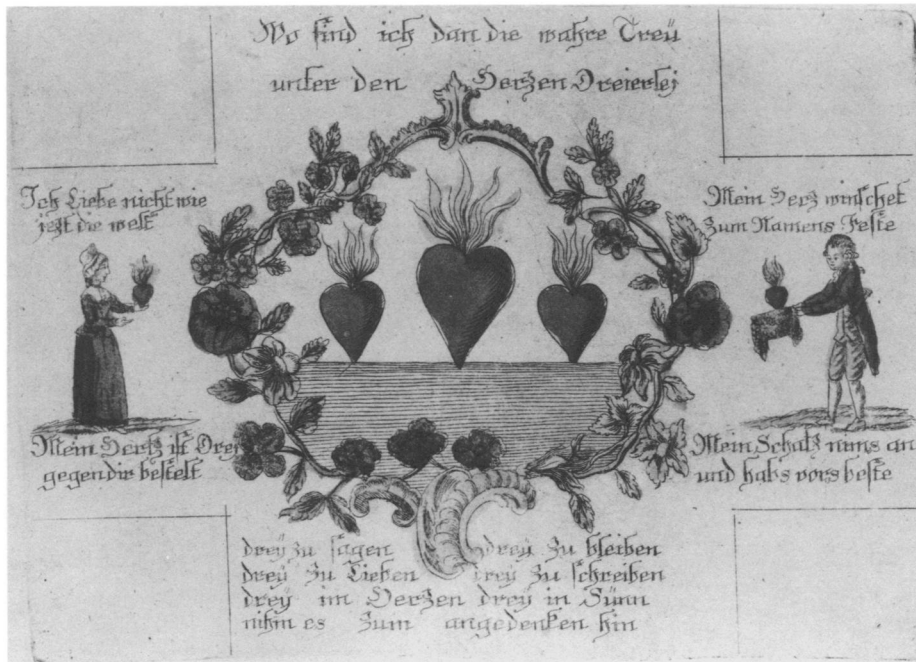
27



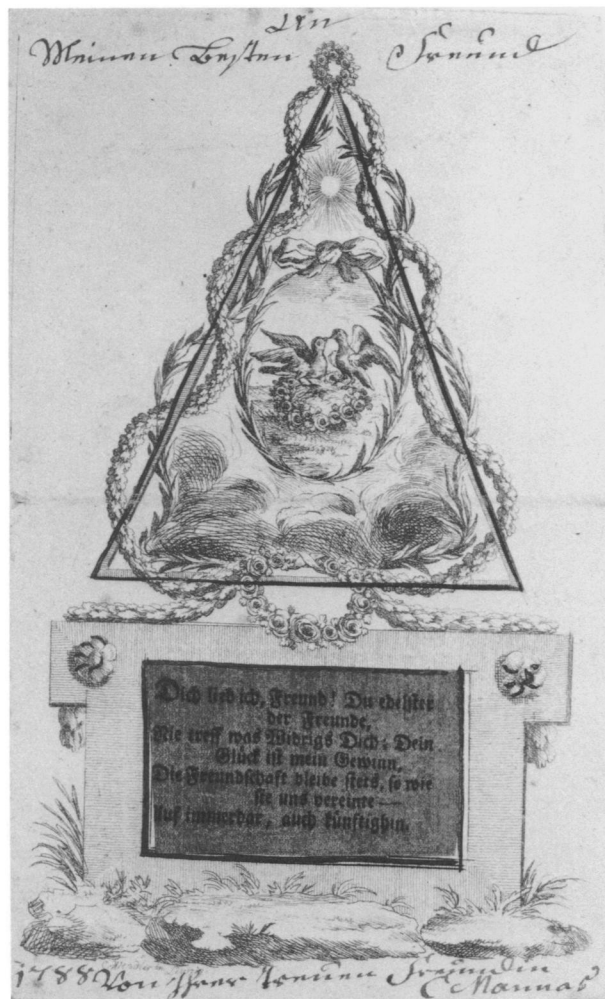
28

29





30



31

is sinking; and mounted soldiers with guns are outnumbered by a saber-wielding troop of cavalry in hot pursuit. The printmaker's ignorance of marine niceties is an additional disaster: he has shown a man-of-war shooting her biggest gun, but doomed because her square-rigged sails are so hitched to the masts that they are pushing her stern first, forcing her to back up.

On the verso of the greeting card are tables of the rates of exchange for the Canton of Bern and of the taxes on the exchange of silver. A tradesman's greeting with some useful information, the card is a polite request for a tip. Calendars, almanacs, and greeting cards still arrive at Christmas and New Year's from newsboys, porters, and delivery men. In the past they also came from waiters in coffeehouses, the lamp-lighter, and the nightwatchman.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1964, 64.677.11

30. A greeting for a name day (before 1750) looks very much like a love letter or a valentine. This unstiffened sheet of paper was to be folded on all four sides over the etched image and sealed with wax, thus forming its own envelope; the name and address could be written on the back. Emblems of love—



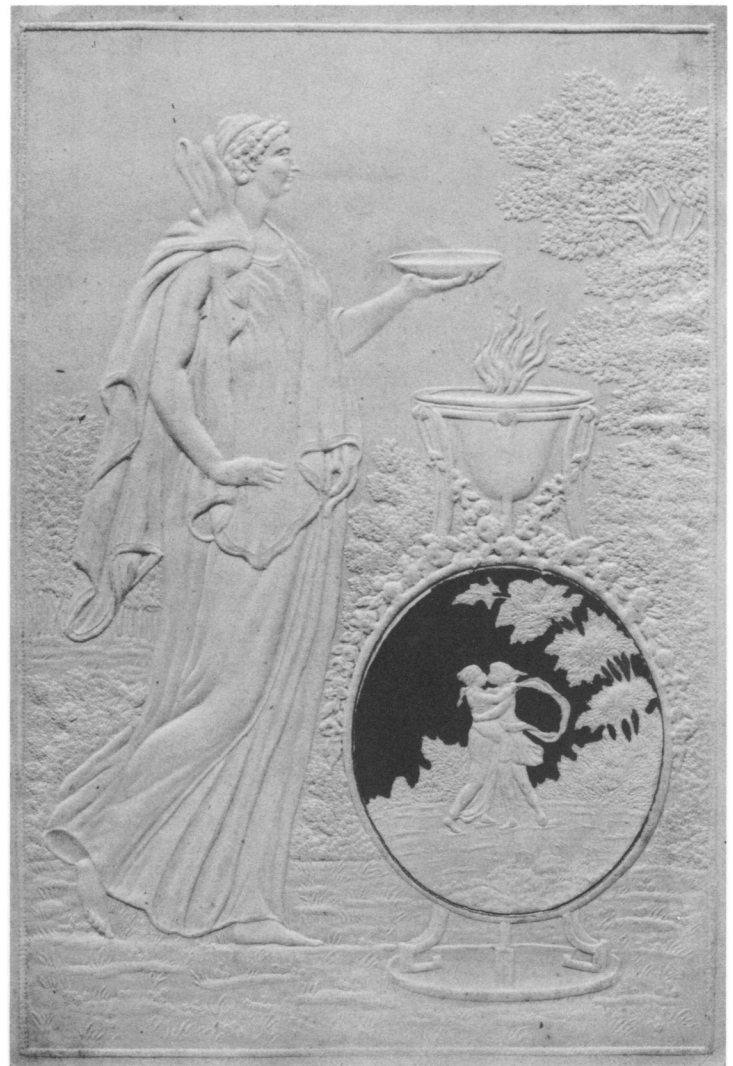
roses, forget-me-nots, and burning hearts—accompany a message with a play on words and heartfelt wishes to “my Treasure.”

Gift of Mrs. Richard Riddell, 1984, 1984.1164.82

31. A friendship greeting card sent in 1788 makes use of a popular design. Etched and printed in light-brown ink, a pyramid (symbol of eternity) shelters kissing doves as it hovers inexplicably above a classical pedestal. On the pedestal has been pasted a rectangle of blue satin, on which is printed a typeset quatrain beginning “Dich lieb ich, Freund!”

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1950, 50.611.23

32. Greeting card for love and friendship. A late-eighteenth-century German publisher embossed, by means of a sharply cut die, a lady sacrificing at the

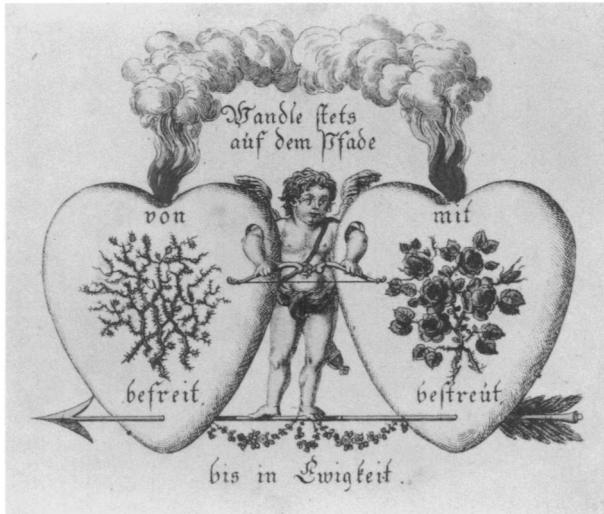


altar of love. The oval flap of the ivory-colored card lifts up to reveal a poem printed on pale pink satin.

Gift of Mrs. Richard Riddell, 1984, 1984.1164.1122

33. A good-luck greeting card (*Glückwunschkarte*) from eighteenth-century Germany is embossed and colored ivory and blue in Wedgwood style. An attenuated lady pours a libation. The oval panel, which shows a pair of lovers against the sky, lifts up to disclose a poem printed on light-blue satin. The poem is addressed to the lady’s brother (“Bruder lebe mir! Alles wunsch ich Dir Was Dein Herz begehrt”). In other cards of the period, printed texts address Father or Mother or Sister or Grandparents. Two hundred years later, greeting-card manufacturers have added nothing new except specifics: “Greetings to Mother on her Fortieth Birthday.”

Gift of Mrs. Richard Riddell, 1984, 1984.1164.1133



34



35

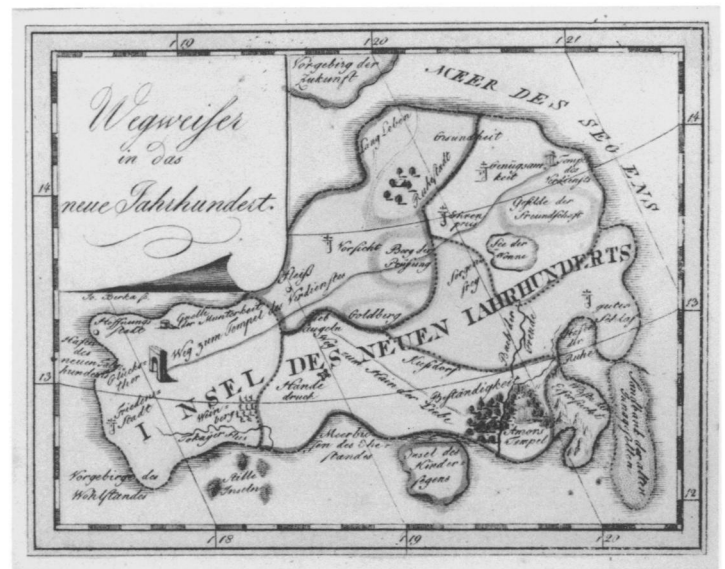
34, 35. Greeting cards published about 1785 “bei Döring” were etched and hand-colored. Döring, about whom little is known, must have found that trick images sold well in his shop in Frankfurt. One of his trick cards (not shown) contains a verse and an illustration that are meaningless until the card is folded in half and held against the light: a silhouette appears, explaining the verse. Here Döring used a Cupid standing on an arrow between flaming hearts to wish for his love that she walk down a path free of thorns but strewn with roses forever and ever. One of his sentimental and possibly ignorant innovations is a

girl Cupid, although Cupids elsewhere are always boys. She is wearing a skirt and kissing a boy Cupid in breeches. The message reads, “My wish for you is You and Me, As in the New Year, So until Death.”

Gift of Mrs. Richard Riddell, 1984, 1984.1164.1153, 1155

36. New Year’s greetings and signpost of the new century (*Wegweiser in das neue Jahrhundert*) was etched and hand-colored in 1800 by Johann Berka, greeting-card maker in Vienna. The map shows the way to the Sea of Blessings, the Temple of Profit, the Grove of Love, the Sea of Delight, and other marvelous spots to be found on the Island of the New Century.

Gift of Mrs. Richard Riddell, 1984, 1984.1164.169



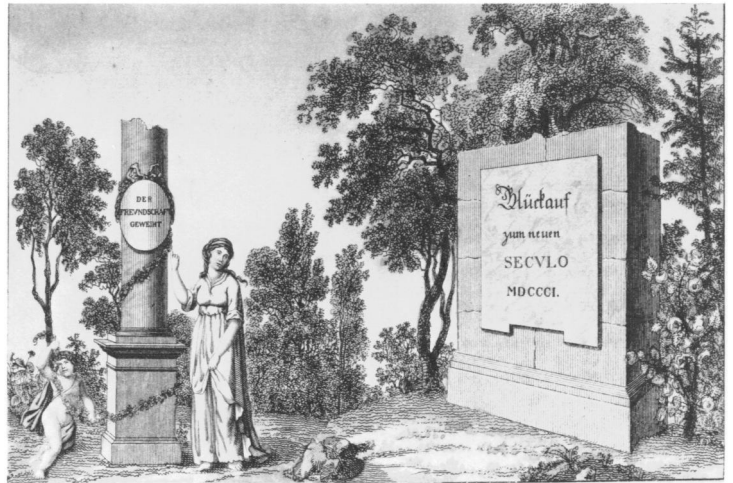
36

37. Greeting for the new century, 1801. The large size, the careful printing and hand-coloring of the etching, the formal, hackneyed classical subject, and the stiff message add up to the dull, expensive kind of card one sends to one's employer.

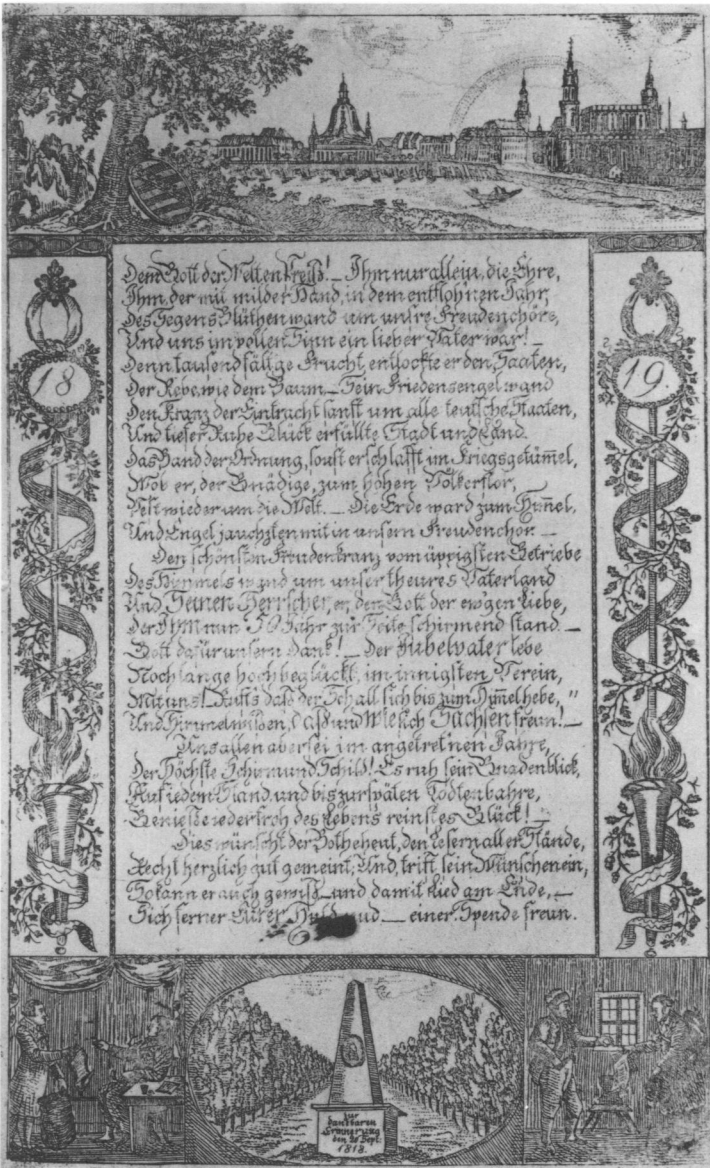
Gift of Mrs. Richard Riddell, 1984, 1984.1164.216

38. A New Year's greeting for 1819 celebrates fifty years of the reign of Elector Friedrich III with a flowery, patriotic poem below a view of the city of Dresden under a rainbow. Another tradesman's greeting, the large etched sheet is a tipping reminder from the messengers shown in the side panels at the bottom.

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1950, 50.611.3



37



38



39. A Viennese greeting card, etched and hand-colored about 1810, shows Love, the rascal, hiding under a helmet (*Auch hinter dem Helm, verstekt sich der lose Schelm*).

Gift of Mrs. Richard Riddell, 1984, 1984.1164.2493

303

Mother Cassowary's Bones: Daggers of the East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea

DOUGLAS NEWTON

Chairman, Department of Primitive Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

I.

LAND AND PEOPLE

THE MAJOR SEGMENT of northeast Papua New Guinea, the eastern part of the island of New Guinea, consists of the East and West (or Sandaun) Provinces. The far western border marches with that of Irian Jaya, the part of New Guinea belonging to Indonesia. Together the two provinces comprise about 30,000 square miles, forming an irregular right-angled triangle, with the coast of the Bismarck Sea as its hypotenuse. The triangle is bounded by low ranges of hills and mountains, which surround a huge, level alluvial plain across which winds, from the west to the east, the broad and sluggish Sepik River, fed by tributaries from both north and south.

The population consists of about 300,000 people divided by their use of separate languages into more than two hundred groups, which vary in numbers from a few with 40,000 people to several with less than a hundred. In the Sepik Provinces (Figure 1)¹ 214 Papuan languages are spoken, while a few Austronesian languages are found on the coast. The people were once as culturally diverse—a certain amount of homogenization has taken place in recent years—but some cultural features were so widespread as to be practically universal. For one, the Sepik people were notably warlike. As might be expected of people with basically neolithic cultures, their weaponry was limited to the usual archaic modes of piercing, crushing, and defense; they used spears, spearthrowers, shields, bows and arrows,

clubs, slingshots, and—the present subject—daggers made of human or cassowary bone.

The cassowary deserves a special introduction at this point: it is a large ratite bird resembling an ostrich or emu, which inhabits some eastern Indonesian islands, New Guinea, northern Australia, and New Britain (Figure 2). There are three species: the one commonly found in the Sepik Provinces is the Single-wattled or Northern Cassowary (*Casuarius unappendiculatus*). It is the largest land creature of the area, standing nearly as tall as the average man. It is, besides, an imposing sight in its black, wispy plumage, with its garishly colored head crowned by a bony casque, and its long single wattle conceptualized by the natives as a female breast. (Natural facts notwithstanding, the cassowary is always considered female.) The cassowary, moreover, is in both mythology and real life a large, dangerous, and aggressive creature.

Not all of the repertoire of weapons was used by all groups; indeed, there were very marked regional differences, dictated to a certain extent by environment, between the chosen types of armament. In keeping with the restrictions of a simple technology, the weapons could be used for hunting as well as hostilities; they were, in fact, part of a man's everyday equipment. In spite of this, they have never been studied quite as fully as they might have been. Shields in particular,² and bows and arrows³ and

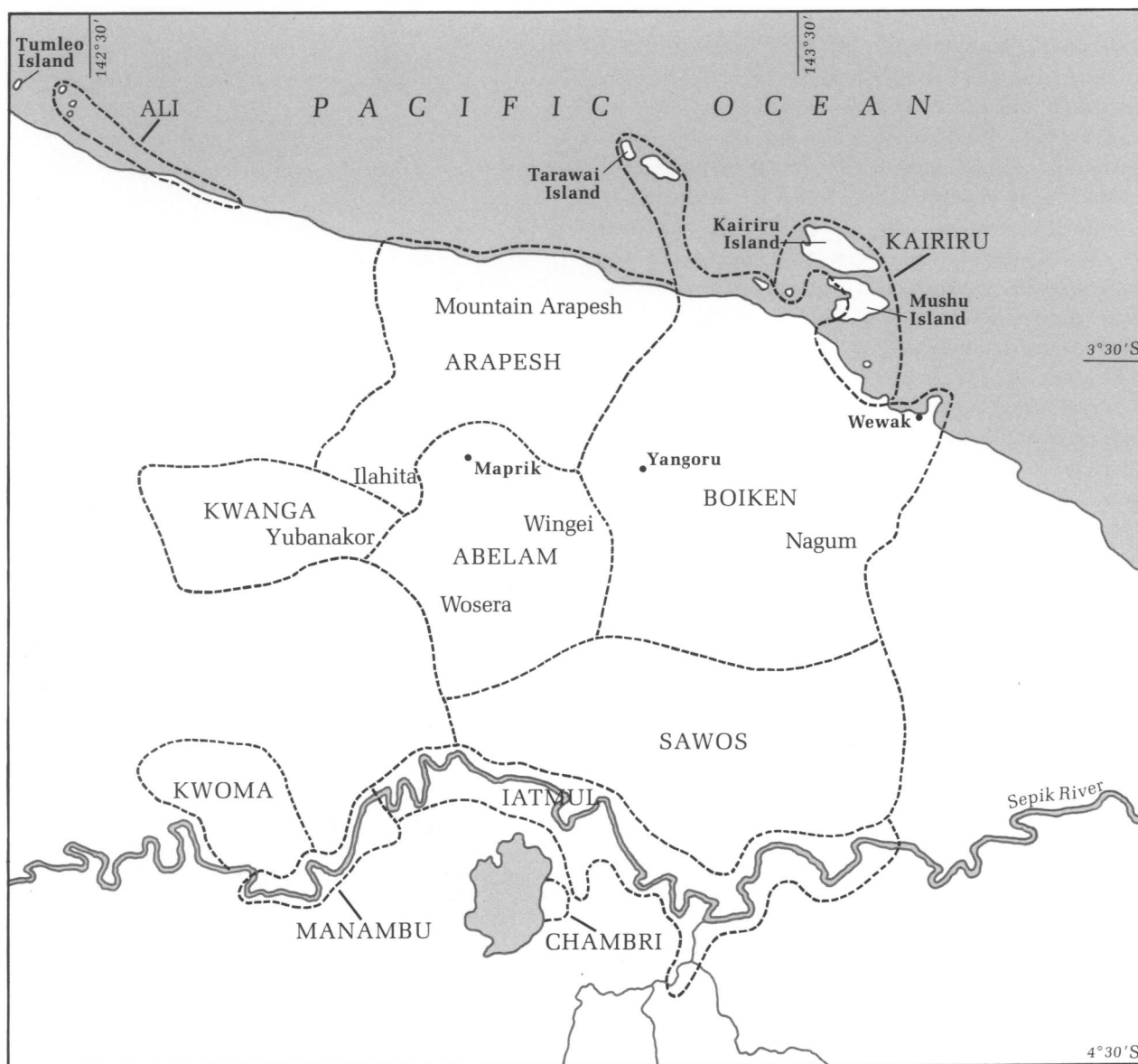
spears⁴ to a lesser extent, have received some attention in the literature; but daggers, strangely enough, hardly any, although some of them are among the most beautiful small objects produced in an area distinguished for its visual arts.

BONE DAGGERS

A Sepik man will say in Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin) of some important part of a ritual "*Emi bun bilong singsing*" (It is the ritual's bones), or of the ritual itself "*Emi bun bilong yumi*" (It is our bones). "Bone" is recognized as not merely the scaffolding of the vertebrate body, but also as a metaphor for strength.

For cultures whose environment afforded a narrow range of materials, each of which had to be employed to its utmost potential, bone was very valuable. It proved a highly versatile asset to people who, as a rule, sought as much elaboration and variety as they could achieve. In ascending order of importance, Sepik people used the bones of small birds, dogs, pigs, cassowaries, and humans; with these they made pins, awls, gouges, scrapers and peelers, lime spatulas for betel-chewing equipment, ritual asperges, ornaments (such as combs and decorative slips), and daggers. Human bones (skulls, of course, but also others) were preserved as mementos of the dead, beloved or otherwise, ancestral relics of great significance. All the creatures that served as sources

1. Map of the East Sepik Provinces. Only language groups mentioned in the text are indicated (from Wurm and Hattori, map 6)



of bone figured in mythology; thus bone was not only useful, versatile, and figuratively “strong” but its “strength” derived from the powers of the supernatural world. Even the daily use of bone objects must have conveyed a sense of communion with the supernatural, which became profoundly enhanced on ritual occasions. The daggers, then, were highly charged with supernatural and symbolic affects—like many other items of New Guinea material culture—which made them fit objects to be used in ritual and magic. As this essay progresses, glimpses of these functions will appear. At the same time, it must not be ignored that, like all weapons of offense, daggers had the primary purpose of killing people. They were mainly used for finishing off victims brought down by arrows or spears, or marked for assassination, by stabbing them in the neck⁵ or behind the clavicle.⁶

The dagger was undoubtedly a popular weapon, but in a limited area. Otto Finsch (who discovered the Sepik River in 1885) describes it as found everywhere on the northeastern coast from what was then the Dutch colonial border (now the border of Irian Jaya) to Hatzfeldhafen, a station of the Neu Guinea Compagnie, established in 1885 on the coast directly southeast of Manam Island.⁷ (There were no daggers along the coast to the east.) Subsequent exploration has shown that it was also common inland, but the distribution of the dagger in the Sepik area is still hard to define—even harder, its distribution in the whole of New Guinea. Neither anthropologists’ reports nor museum collections are as complete as one could wish. Even so, it would seem that the Sepik Provinces (one should include the area of Humboldt Bay, now on the west side of the international border, and the Ramu River and its tributaries) were the part of the country where daggers were most prevalent. Elsewhere on the island daggers were made in a limited stretch of the south coast, from the Asmat region to the eastern border of the Gulf of Papua.⁸ In the mountainous central highlands they were used by only a few groups, who were possibly influenced in this respect by the coastal people.

The bones used for daggers are sometimes human femurs but more frequently cassowary tibiotarsi. Two overall aspects of the daggers must be described first: the topography and treatment of the bones.

Unlike daggers from elsewhere, the Sepik dagger has no separate or clearly demarcated grip and no

guards: it is a length of bone, pure and simple. The average length is about 33 to 40 centimeters; some miniatures are no more than 26 centimeters, but these are unusual. In all cases, the dagger was intended as a stabbing weapon, so the edges were not deliberately sharpened, but the tips were worked to needlepoints. Nevertheless, the daggers were shaped according to a number of styles dictated by local preferences (Figures 3–6).

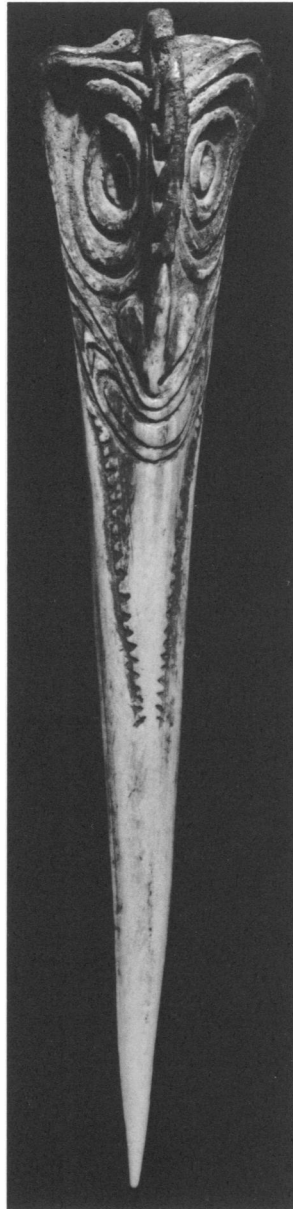
In the case of human bone, a man inherited the femurs of his father after the corpse was reduced to a skeleton,⁹ or he took those of an enemy.¹⁰ The section of the femur used comprises the condyles and

2. Painting on sago bark, Keram River, Kambot. A large cassowary is shown, the ovals in its body representing her eggs. The significance of the head and the animal (a cuscus?) is unknown. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979, 1979.206.1568.





3



4



5



6

3. Human-bone (femur) dagger, Kwoma. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1977, 1977.84. Note the shaping of the condyles.

4. Cassowary-bone dagger, Chambri or Iatmul, middle Sepik River. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur A. Cohen, 1964, 1978.412.835

5. Cassowary-bone (tibiotarsus) dagger, probably Abelam. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979, 1979.206.1788

6. Cassowary-bone (tibiotarsus) dagger, Sunuhu village, Kwanga. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1978, 1978.124.1a. Note the use of the proximal end of the bone as the terminal.

part of the shaft; the trochanter is discarded. The condyles are never left unaltered: the outer surface is always removed, exposing the mass of cancelli, although sometimes part of the surface of the intercondylar notch is left. In the upper Sepik, among the Kwoma, Senap, and Iwam, the condyles are often cut in deeply at the junction with the shaft, producing a form like that of European "eared" daggers (Figure 3). In human bones, the removal of the posterior surface usually begins well below the condyles, with a narrow, expanding V-shaped cut (the apex to the top), which leaves at least three-quarters of the circumference intact for most of the length.¹¹ To judge by traces found in some Kwoma daggers, this was probably done to allow the insertion of materials such as parts of magic plants (ginger, for example).

The part of the cassowary tibiotarsus generally used is also the shaft extending upward from the condyles (Figure 5). It is unusual for the proximal end of the bone to be used, though this is done by the Kwanga (Figure 6). The condyles are often cut so that their flattened outer surfaces form a continuous plane with the shaft; in this case, the surfaces are often engraved, usually with a subspiral line, showing a parrot's beak, or are formed into a parrot's head. (This is particularly true of Abelam and Kwoma daggers, but is occasionally seen elsewhere.) Again, in the Abelam *suwega* type of dagger (see below) the joints were notched vertically, with each of the ridges so produced carved as a parrot's head. The outer segments (on both human and cassowary bones) are often pierced, with tassels of fiber or feathers attached to each hole or, more often, to a supporting bar made of a smaller bird's(?) bone, or a quill, inserted through the holes. Generally speaking, the posterior surface of cassowary-bone daggers is removed from the end up to the joint, leaving about only half the circumference or even less: many such daggers are almost as flat as a conventional knife blade.

The shafts of daggers are often marked with patterns or images, the most important area of which is placed below the condyles on the anterior surface. This is the natural position for the hand to grip the weapon, and it is more than likely that physical contact with the designs was believed to provide supernatural reinforcement to the wielder.

Tarsometatarsal bones, which are relatively small and thin, were shaped as objects that have often been

called daggers, but probably inaccurately. To judge from their size and from traces of wear, they were tools used for splitting or peeling, and they are not further described here.

Designs on the daggers are executed in three ways. Some are *incised* with lines (usually quite fine and shallow) expressing the outline of a motif. Others are *engraved*, with parts of the surface lowered to leave the design in relief, its surface continuous with the original surface of the bone. A rare technique is *carving*, in which the ground is lowered to the extent that the design stands proud of the rest of the surface. The Chambri (or Tchambuli) of the middle Sepik River were the only group to do this consistently, though among some other groups a panel was raised with an engraved design within it.

MYTHOLOGY AND CULT

Why, one may ask, should human and cassowary bones be used for making daggers? The reasons for the use of human bone are fairly simple but also diffuse. In a cosmology in which the ancestors were models of behavior, of rights and duties, the simple fact of their existence in the past validated the present. The ownership and display of ancestral bones thereby established the reality of the past, and proved the justice of the descendants' claims to the rights and powers that the ancestors held.

The reasons for the specific use of cassowary bone, rather than that of some other creature, may well lie not merely in its physical "fitness for purpose" but in two complexes of beliefs that are particularly widespread in northeast New Guinea. They are based on important myths about cosmogony. One group of them relates, in several versions, the adventures of two human brothers who were the creators of human institutions. The protagonist of the other group, again in several versions, appears as a female cassowary who was the creator of the world, including humanity. From place to place the human brothers may operate as crocodile avatars; the cassowary's children aid in and benefit from her creative functions.

The myth of the cassowary exists in two important versions, each consisting of two major episodes. In the first a scene is set; next a transformation takes place, the result of which is the second episode, the creation of human society.

Version 1: (a) In outline, the leading figure is a

being who can transform herself into a woman by doffing her cassowary feathers; a man steals the feathers and becomes her husband. (b) The mother of many human children, she is restored to her cassowary form by one of her sons, who finds and returns her cassowary garb. (c) She then creates for the children the “civilized” world of the village, the garden and its food plants, and the cults.

Version 2: (a) A cassowary gives birth to a human boy, who lives with her in a sort of pre-Adamic world. (b) The boy is kidnapped by a couple who mistreat him, but he is eventually rescued by his mother. (c) The cassowary tricks the boy into killing her, and humanity and yams are created from her feathers and bones. The creation of yams is almost as significant as the creation of people, for cults associated with yams are paramount among the Arapesh, Abelam, Kwoma, and other groups.

Myths of the cassowary-woman, as creator of cults, exist among the Abelam.¹² Version 1 exists among the Mountain Arapesh¹³ and the Southern Arapesh,¹⁴ who call the cassowary Nambweapa’w. The southern (Wosera) Abelam¹⁵ and the Kwoma¹⁶ have version 2, which is conflated among the Kwoma with still other origin myths. The myth does not exist in a standard text; variant incidents occur at equivalent points, although its basic structure remains constant. Elements of version 2 also appear in the mythology of upper Sepik groups (including the Manambu, Mayo, Wongamusin, Ngala, and Hauna Iwam).¹⁷ The western (Bongos) Kwanga¹⁸ version combines elements of the Abelam, Arapesh, and Kwoma versions. It also appears on the coast as far east as Hatzfeldhafen, among the “*moándo*” (?Pay-speaking people).¹⁹ It is striking that, in spite of Boiken initiatory practice (below), the myth does not exist—except for a single incident, version 1 (a)—among the Yangoru Boiken.²⁰

The cassowary is not in any sense a “goddess”; she is not worshiped, nor is she even represented very often in visual art. But she stalks through the undergrowth of much Sepik religion and her myth underlies a good deal of ritual action that alludes to the cassowary, rather than expresses it in any overt manner or incident. In the areas I have mentioned the cassowary is constantly immanent in one of the great human crises, the initiations that bring boys into manhood.²¹ Briefly, the cassowary symbolically devours the preadult novice, and then disgorges him, or gives

birth to him, as an adult. Part of the ritual, throughout a great part of the Sepik area, was (perhaps) the drawing of blood from the novice in order to eliminate from his body the “weak” or “bad” blood contributed by his mother during gestation. There were various ways of going about this; the best-known way, because it was highly conspicuous, is the patterned and often very extensive scarification practiced by the middle Sepik River groups, whose “devouring monster” is the crocodile. The most common procedure, however, appears to have been the drawing of blood from the penis. A number of methods were used, some of them carried out with cassowary-bone implements. Actual bone daggers were used by the Boiken at the second stage of initiation.²²

It is clear that during initiation not only was the whole process symbolic of “devouring,” but the operators themselves to some degree impersonated the cassowary. To give a few instances, the (Nagum) Boiken initiator was actually termed *amia*, the “female cassowary.”²³ The cassowary figures largely in cults throughout the Arapesh area, both in mythology and initiatory ritual. The religious complex of the coastal Arapesh belongs to the eastern Parak (Paraik) system, with the cassowary as the dominant *Parakgeist*. Its position and function were dramatized in initiation when the officiant stood with legs wide-spread, holding a dagger in each hand. The novices crawled between his knees and the daggers, being careful not to touch them, on pain of being stabbed—in theory to death.²⁴ This is not only a crucial moment because of its ostensible danger; it is a vivid symbolization of rebirth from childhood into adulthood practiced in many New Guinea societies—for instance in the adoption ceremonies of the Asmat.²⁵ The cassowary was also the main initiatory being of the Mountain Arapesh, among whom “swallowing by the cassowary” involved penile incision and the apparition of a man “wearing a ferocious pair of cassowary-feather eye-pieces, and having suspended from his neck a shell-covered bag in which are stuck two sharpened cassowary-bones.”²⁶

These few examples hint, even if lamely and disjointedly, at this extraordinary creature’s role in Sepik life and imagination. To sum up, the cassowary in myth is the maker of men and their world. Men in turn become cassowaries in ritual and, generation by generation, replay the cassowary’s role in creation. Besides, the cassowary not only “makes” men; it has

the qualities of aggressiveness a Sepik man desires for himself. We may at least guess that there are many men who could say of the cassowary that it "has bones," it is "our bones"—"ourselves, our yams, and our daggers."

II.

DISTRIBUTION, SPACE, AND LANGUAGES

There are three areas in the Sepik where daggers are decorated with any frequency and elaboration, and where they can be differentiated on stylistic grounds. They are (1) a small area on either side of the international border including Humboldt Bay, Lake Sentani, and Attack Harbour (Vanimo); (2) the coastal strip around the present town of Wewak, the islands opposite, and the hinterland to the south; (3) the coast east of Wewak to the mouth of the Sepik, the course of the Sepik itself, and some of its tributaries. Elsewhere, decoration is apt to be rudimentary and rarely consists of anything but minor, usually geometric incising.

The recurrence of individual themes throughout the Sepik Provinces is a well-known phenomenon, and other writers have pointed out that art styles, not to mention other aspects of culture, cannot be reliably demarcated by linguistic borders. My intention here is to describe the situation in the second area listed above in terms of a series of relationships and disjunctions between the designs on daggers and other aspects of local styles. This inevitably includes some aspects of the distribution of myths, ceremonial-house types, and some sculpture and painting styles.

DAGGERS OF THE COASTAL MOUNTAINS AND INLAND PLAINS

The groups to be discussed here include the Arapesh (speaking western Torricelli Phylum languages) and a number of Sepik-Ramu language speakers: the Kwanga, who live south of the Arapesh, and the linguistically related Kwoma, and the Ndu Family language speakers east of them, including the Boiken and Abelam. Together they amount to approximately 110,000 people, about a third of the Sepik Provinces' population.

The environment in which most of these peoples live is mountainous to hilly. Beyond a narrow littoral the Prince Alexander Mountains run east to west; rising abruptly and deeply dissected, they are largely covered with tropical forest. Southward they decline to ranges of low hills, which in turn grade into rolling plains succeeded by the alluvial floodplain of the Sepik River. The hill and mountain people are horticulturalists; like the river-dwelling groups, they exploit the sago palm for its starch, but they are mainly intensive growers of banana, breadfruit, taro, and, above all, the yam, around which some groups have constructed their most important cults.

In the northern part of this area, about two-thirds of the way eastward along the coast of the Sepik Provinces, there exists a linguistic and cultural situation of some complication, mainly in the small islands off the coast. Two of the islands—Kairiru and Rabuin—half of a third island, Mushu, and the adjacent coast are inhabited by speakers of Kairiru (an Austronesian language). Walis and Tarawai islands and the mainland for seventy kilometers to the south are peopled by speakers of Boiken. This is the northernmost language of the Ndu Family, which forms part of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum of languages.

THE BOIKEN

A number of daggers are attributed to "Dallmannhafen," a German colonial name for the area with no explanatory merit.²⁷ They are decorated in two distinct styles. In one, the designs are engraved, but the elements are isolated from each other or only loosely connected: the design occupies a relatively small area of the surface (Figure 7). In the other style, three or more oval apertures with pointed ends perforate the part of the bone just below the condyles; and the design is dense and highly integrated, with the lowered areas relatively small (Figure 8). Daggers in both styles were widely traded. However, on the basis of some exact provenances it would be reasonable to assume that daggers in the first style are Boiken²⁸ and the others Kairiru. Several daggers show a very distinctive design; a couple of them come from Sup (Kairiru speakers) on Mushu Island and from Tarawai Island (Figures 9, 10). The likelihood is that they are Boiken in origin. They have human faces at the upper end and a lateral row of hocker figures below.



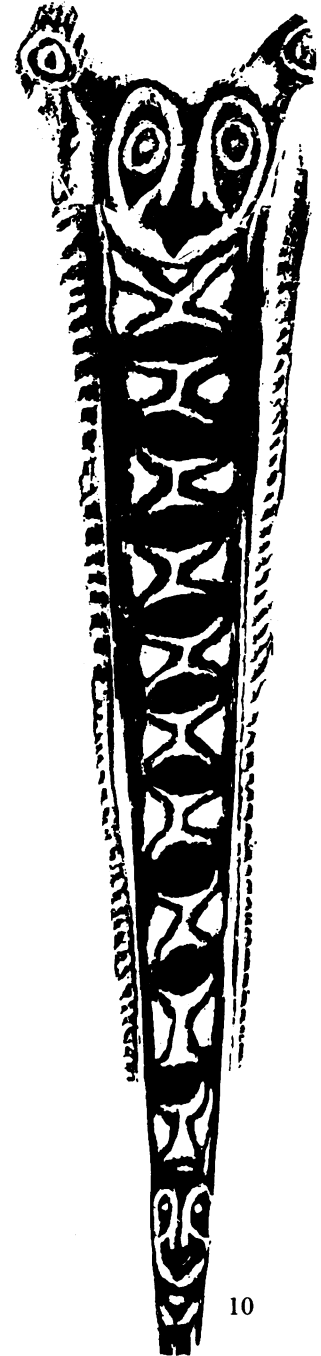
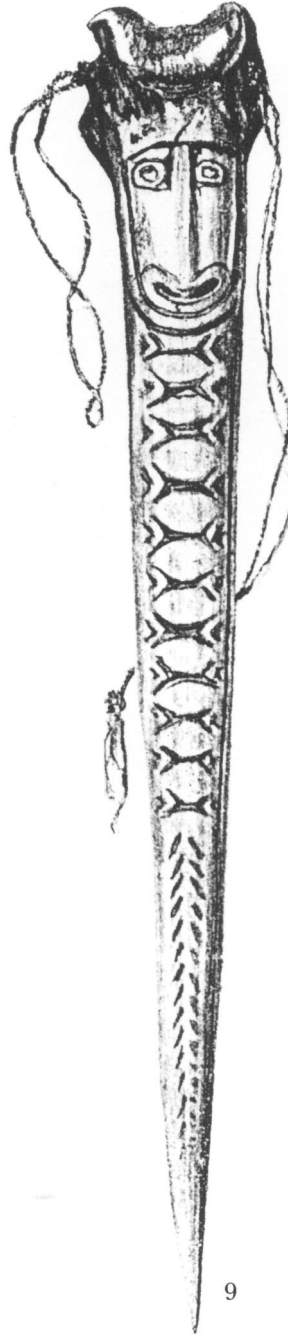
7. Cassowary-bone dagger, Tarawai Island, Boiken (from Janos Janko, *Beschreibende Catalog der ethnographischen Sammlung Ludwig Biro's aus Deutsch-Neu-Guinea* [Berlinhafen] [Budapest, 1899] pl. 14, 7)



8. Cassowary-bone dagger, Gnaussbucht, Dallmannhafen, probably Kairiru. New York, American Museum of Natural History, no. S867/204. Examples of this type have been founded traded as far as the Irian Jaya border (see Finsch, *Südseearbeiten* [Hamburg, 1914] table 14, 311). The design is also used on shields of the north coast peoples, such as the Tumleo.

9. Cassowary-bone dagger, from Tarawai Island, Boiken. (From Janko, *Beschreibende Catalog* pl. 13, 1)

10. Cassowary-bone dagger, from Sup village (Kairiru speakers), Mushu Island. Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, no. 148467. Collected by G. Dorsey, 1908 (from a rubbing)



In other examples, the figures are reduced to a series of spindle forms.

The Boiken are one of the largest groups in the Sepik Provinces, numbering about 30,000 people who speak seven dialects divided into no fewer than sixteen subdialects, including Nagum and Yangoru. They occupy the Sepik's most extensive single territory but, despite this, they have been very little studied until recently.²⁹ They are apparently culturally diverse—for example, “Boiken ritual form varies considerably from one area to another, even from one village to another”³⁰—influenced by the Torricelli Phylum speakers to the east, the Iatmul (or Sawos) to the south, and the Abelam to the west.

In this general area, men's ceremonial houses differ from those of the coast and the lower Sepik River, which are pile-built, a necessity in potential flood areas. These houses have pitched horizontal roofs and overhanging gables at each end; the outer surfaces of the gables are clad with richly painted sago-spathe sheets.³¹ A carved wooden frieze often extends from side to side below the overhang. The inland houses exist in several local models, usually built on the ground; these have one high triangular gable sheathed with paintings on sheets of sago bark, with crosspiece friezes below the painted area. But the ridgepole slants down toward the back, ending not far above the ground, so that the building has a pyramidal appearance (Figure 11).

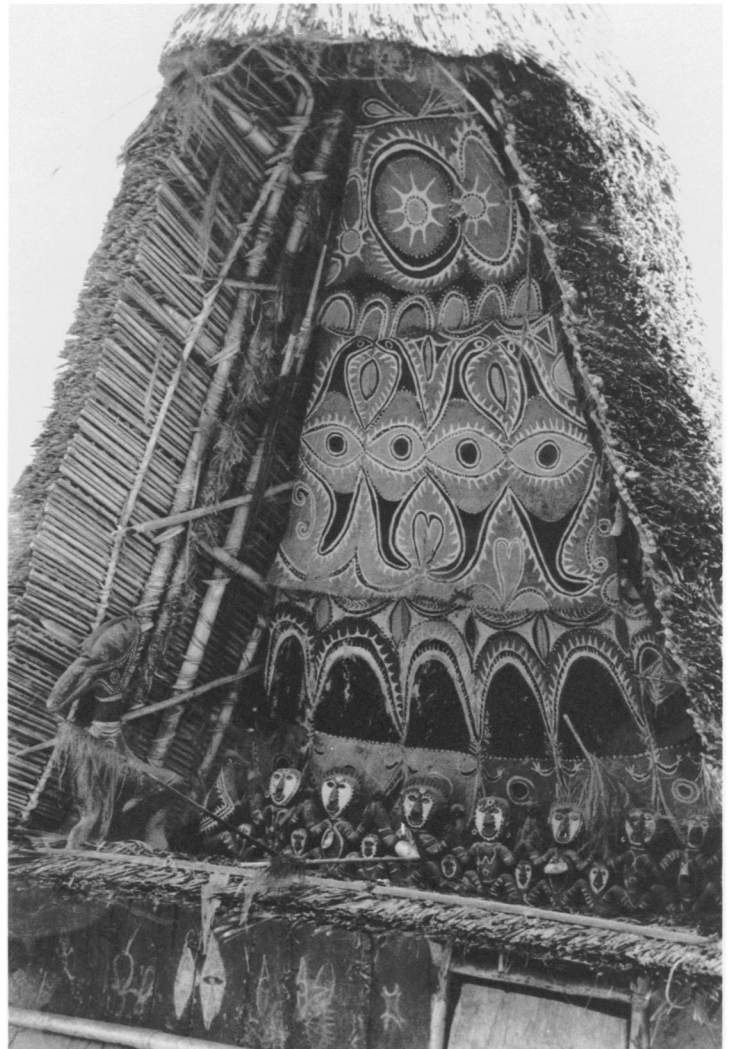
Boiken architecture follows the latter pattern. The paintings show a relationship to those of the Abelam, and Boiken sculpture is also highly reminiscent of the northern Abelam, as it is similarly based on large, oval, convex forms with much of the necessary detail expressed in paint rather than in carving.³² The Nagum Boiken have friezes with a row of small figures, sometimes with a bird at each end (Figure 12). The Yangoru Boiken, however, have a large horizontal face at either end, and a row of alternate birds and small male and female hocker figures between them (Figure 13).³³ A comparison of Figures 9, 10, and 13 makes the coincidence of the designs of the daggers and the friezes immediately clear, though sometimes the daggers have only one terminal face, placed at the condyle end.

13. Frieze from a ceremonial house. Yangoru Boiken. West Berlin, Abteilung Südsee, Museum für Völkerkunde, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nr. VI 48 128 (photo: Fotoatelier des Museums für Völkerkunde)



11. Nagum Boiken ceremonial house at Halik village, side view, 1970 (photo: Douglas Newton)

12. Gable of the ceremonial house in Figure 11, showing its frieze and paintings, 1970 (photo: Douglas Newton)



THE ARAPESH

The name Arapesh refers to a large group of 23,000 people located to the west of the Boiken, speakers of a three-language Family of the Torricelli Phylum, who live in a belt of land extending from the coast southwest across the Torricelli Mountains. The languages are (from north to south) Mountain Arapesh, Southern Arapesh (which includes the Ilahita dialect), and Bumbita.

The daggers of the Mountain Arapesh living on the coast are very clearly related in their designs to

those of the Kairiru and might indeed in some cases have been traded from them (Figures 14, 15). In turn, the Arapesh living in the Prince Alexander Mountains to the south get daggers from the coast and make rather feeble copies of them. The relationship of cassowary mythology and ritual among the Mountain Arapesh studied by Mead has already been mentioned.

Ilahita Arapesh cassowary-bone daggers are not elaborately decorated; they have some geometric engraving and ends carved as parrots or cassowaries. Their ritual functions, however, are very important,



14. Cassowary-bone dagger, Dallmannhafen, probably Kairiru. Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, no. 144786. Collected by G. Dorsey, 1908 (from a rubbing)



15. Cassowary-bone dagger, Mountain Arapesh. New York, American Museum of Natural History, no. 80.0.7111. Collected by M. Mead and R. F. Fortune, 1931-32 (from a rubbing)

and fortunately they are documented in much fuller detail than any others. The daggers were used in fighting, but were equally, if not more so, cult objects; among them are daggers reputed to have descended from the first ancestors. Daggers were worn through the loop noses of basketry masks (*hangahiwa wandafunei*) identical in form with Abelam *baba* masks,³⁴ which appeared mainly at early grades of initiation. Some of the daggers were imbued with supernatural power, which constrained their bearers to a type of ritual murder called *laf*, like the daggers themselves. The actual deeds were carried out with spears and were credited to clan spirits, not the anonymous masqueraders. Such murders were also committed with the more important daggers toward the end of Nggwal Bunafunei, the fourth and greatest initiatory grade.

As part of Nggwal Bunafunei, the novices crawled into the ceremonial house between the legs of the initiators—some of whom made passes at the novices with their daggers, but did no worse. What the novices saw inside the ceremonial house was a dense, magnificent display of carved figures and paintings “festooned with decorated cassowary daggers, mounted birds of paradise, and a multitude of shell arrangements. . . . All the remaining floor area was crammed with shells, feathers and daggers.”³⁵

The ceremonial house in and around which these transactions took place was a notably grand structure. It resembles closely those of the Abelam and Boiken in having a triangular gable covered with paintings, in horizontal registers, of hocker figures representing who or what exactly the Arapesh are somewhat at a loss to say. They may be ancestors or

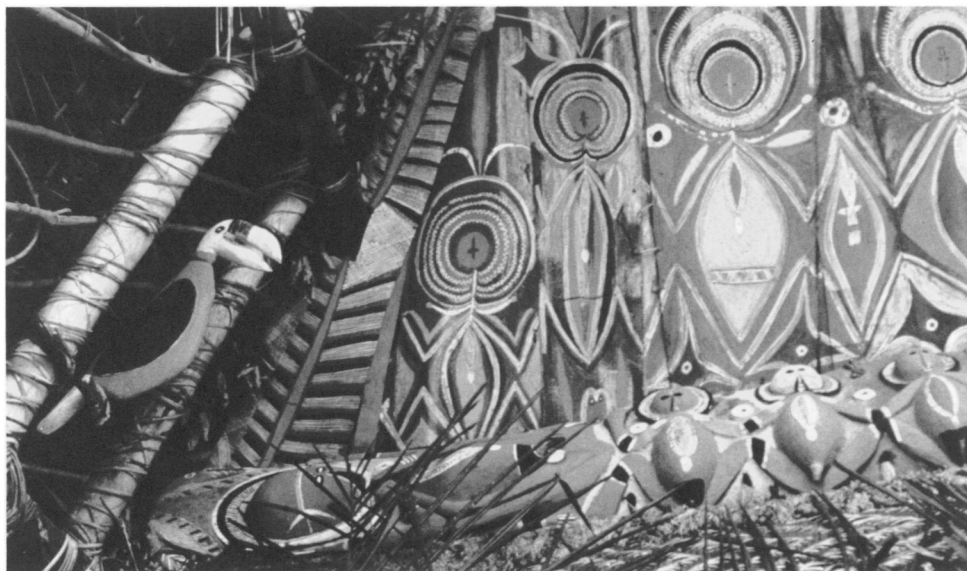
the paramount Nggwal spirits. Below them, however, is a long frieze about the import of which there is no doubt (Figure 16). “Each end is shaped and painted as a large adult figure lying on its side, one male and the other female. Stretching between them is a tightly spaced row of eighteen alternately sexed children. The explicit association is with the primordial Motherhood of Nambweapa’w.”³⁶ As an image this of course replicates in slightly more elaborate form the scheme of Boiken ceremonial house friezes and, more or less, the daggers. The point here is that it does not appear on Arapesh daggers.

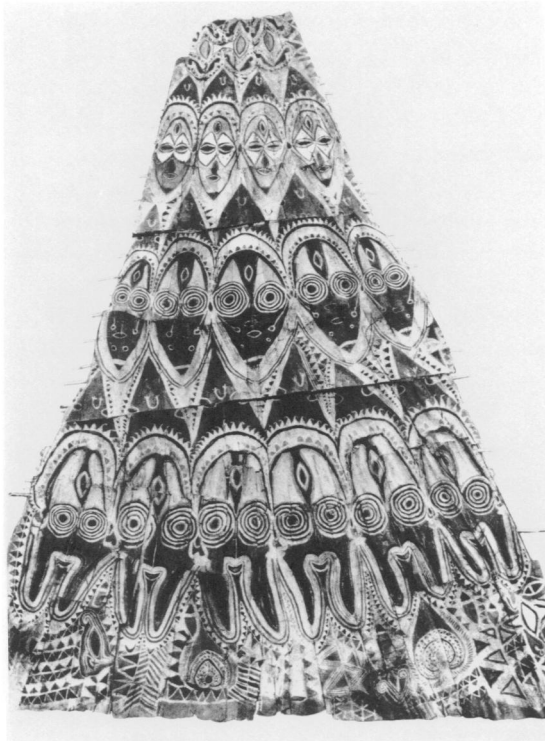
It is worth noting that the ceremonial house type of the Ilahita differs markedly from that of the southern Mountain Arapesh, who appear to have ceremonial houses with gables painted in northern Abelam style (except for small modifications) and slanting matting aprons below it in southern Abelam style. The frieze is carved with alternating large heads and small figures.³⁷ (It is always possible that the Arapesh employed Abelam artists for paintings and carvings.) The Ilahita form is thus closer to the Boiken in its details than to either the Mountain Arapesh or the Abelam.

THE ABELAM

The most justly famous of all ceremonial houses in New Guinea are those of the Maprik (northwest) and Wingei (northeast) Abelam. They are enormous structures, with gables towering up to ninety feet in height, covered with paintings above carved friezes (Figure 17). The lowest register of the paintings represents a row of several giant faces of spirits (*nggwal-ndu*) crowned with towering triangular panels

16. Ilahita Arapesh ceremonial house gable, Ningalimbi village (photo: Donald F. Tuzin)

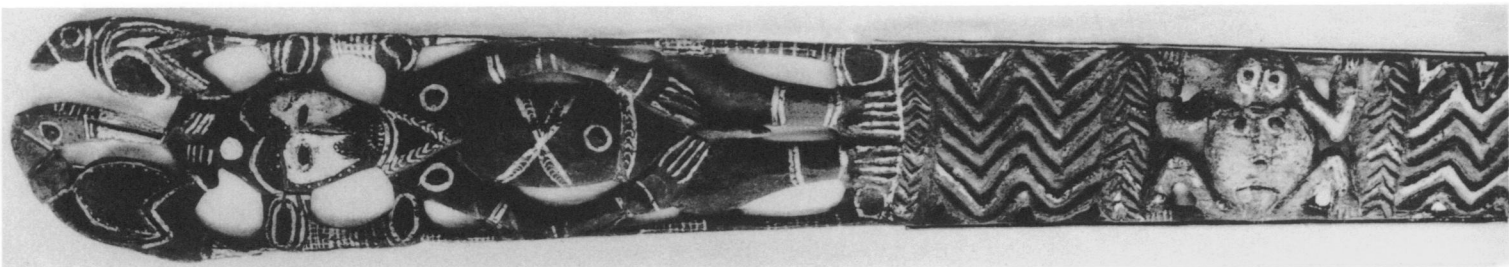




17. Gable of a ceremonial house. Abelam. West Berlin, Abteilung Südsee, Museum für Völkerkunde, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nr. VI 47 057 (photo: Fotoatelier des Museums für Völkerkunde)

(*wakan*), which are related to the huge panels of featherwork worn in some rituals. (In much smaller form, similar coronals in basketry are actually worn by Boiken men; they are part of small masks the Abelam fix on prize yams and are also shown on Arapesh and Kwanga gables.) The faces have huge eyes shown as concentric circles; bands of parallel lines swing down from their noses, framing the mouths and sweeping up again. Registers of lesser heads and figures appear above, some of them with female references.³⁸ The interstices between them are packed with other designs from the Abelam design repertoire.

18. Frieze or beam from a Wosera Abelam ceremonial house (from A. Portier and F. Poncetton, *Décoration Océanienne* [Paris, 1930] pl. 14)



Many Maprik and Wingei Abelam lintels differ from Boiken lintels in being carved only with faces of *nggwalandu*, *baba* spirits, birds, and famous men killed in fighting, but without the Boikens' large faces at each end. In one village, Kimbangwa, however, the lintels show recumbent pairs of ancestors in sexual intercourse, with their children on either side.³⁹ A similar conformation appears frequently among the Wosera (southern) Abelam with groups of paired ancestors, birds, and heads disposed in varying arrangements (Figure 18).

The Abelam probably made a larger range of bone objects than any other Sepik group. In keeping with the general lavishness of their culture, they decorated their bone tools, ornaments, and ritual objects to the greatest degree of elaboration. They made bone daggers in large numbers, and these evidently had great symbolic value. Forge remarks that "the cassowary bone dagger, *yina* . . . plays a vital part in ceremony, where it is very definitely a symbol of male aggression"⁴⁰ and is equated with the phallic shape of the hornbill's beak. Like the Arapesh, the Abelam incorporated their daggers into rituals with differing degrees of secrecy. Some bone daggers were displayed to initiates as ritual secrets: a sight that, as in the Nggwal Bunafunei ritual, inflamed the initiates to seize them and commit murders.⁴¹ One is inclined to speculate on these killings as distantly related to some form of human sacrifice. Daggers were also used during initiatory rituals, as tokens of obligations between ceremonial friends (*tshambera*) and as tokens of peace.⁴²

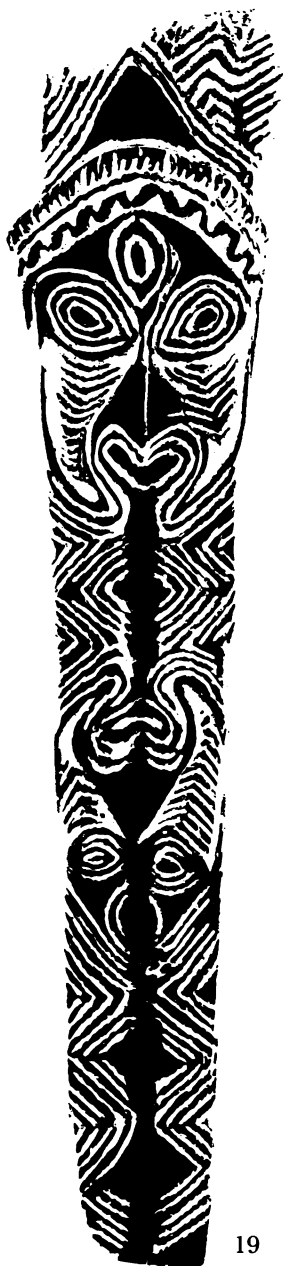
The cassowary-bone daggers take two forms (if human-bone daggers existed they were rare).⁴³ One (*tipakowgihe*) is the usual form with the posterior surface removed; the sides of the joint are frequently carved into detailed parrots' heads. The other type (*suwega*) is perhaps unique to the Abelam: the joint area is notched vertically and the resulting ridges are carved into three pairs of parrots' heads, facing as usual to the posterior side. The anterior surface of the shaft is removed, and the upper end is squared off. The posterior side then becomes the field for engraving.

The designs on the daggers (Figures 19–21) usually cover the whole front of the shaft. They are

19. Cassowary-bone dagger, Abelam. New York, American Museum of Natural History, no. 80.o.7024. Collected by M. Mead and R. F. Fortune, 1931-32. Note that all Abelam daggers illustrated are of the *tipakowgihe* type (from a rubbing).

20. Cassowary-bone dagger, Abelam. New York, American Museum of Natural History, no. 80.o.7073. Collected by M. Mead and R. F. Fortune, 1931-32 (from a rubbing)

21. Cassowary-bone dagger, Abelam. New York, American Museum of Natural History, no. 80.o.7068. Collected by M. Mead and R. F. Fortune, 1931-32 (from a rubbing)



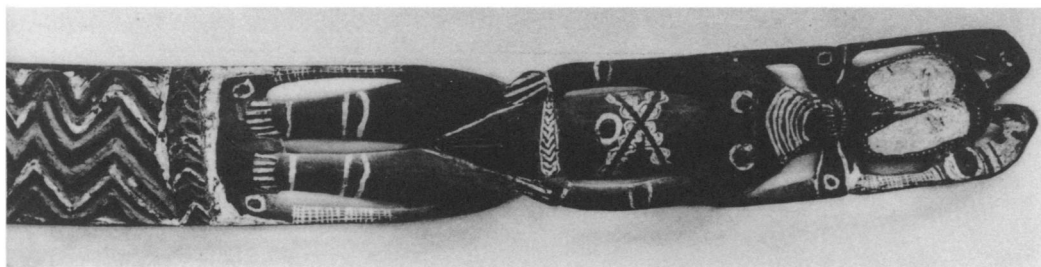
19



20



21



based entirely on the designs used in painting, and the engraving technique resembles fine-line brushwork: the entire surface is covered with close-set, often geometric, parallel grooving. When abstract (referential rather than representational), as many Abelam designs are, the groupings on daggers tend to be based on vertical axes. When they are used, facial designs also correspond closely to those of the gables, though the headdress area is much abbreviated—no doubt by choice, as the field available could easily be adjusted to allow for its greater prominence. This kind of design in effect is the transfer of a vertical segment of a gable to another medium. One also finds an image in which two faces are opposed and joined at the chin. This suggests a sort of drastic abridgment of the frieze groups of Kimbangwa, with the bodies eliminated, or the friezes of the Boiken, Iahita Arapesh, and the Wosera Abelam, with the intermediate figures eliminated.

THE KWANGA

The 14,000 Kwanga live to the west of the Abelam and southwest of the Southern Arapesh, sharing a narrow border with both. Their language is in the same Nukuma Family (Sepik-Ramu Phylum) as Kwoma and has five dialects. The most firmly attributed cassowary-bone daggers are from the village of Sunuhu (Yubanakor dialect), which lies close to the Abelam and Arapesh areas.⁴⁴ It would appear that daggers are rare, if not nonexistent, among the Kwanga west of Sunuhu.⁴⁵

All but two of this group of daggers share a consistent design scheme with a few variations (for an exception, see Figure 6). The principal element in the engraved design is an extremely stylized figure in hocker position: the body is an oval pointed at both ends; the bent limbs are minuscule. The head is circular and the eyes are the only features indicated; it is crowned by a triangular form outlined by everted scrolls at the top, which is practically identical to the *wakan* headdress of the Abelam (Figure 22). In less than half the examples, this image is doubled by the placement of a second face at the lower end of its body, which also has a small triangular headdress (Figure 23). The image may be reduced to a geometric version showing little more than two circular faces, or the lower head may be expressed as male genitals. This again suggests the male-female pairs of

ancestors of the Boiken and Abelam. Below these main panels of design there are almost always several registers of chevrons separated by plain bands.

On some daggers two smaller subsidiary figures appear below the main figures (Figure 24). In another example, a row of three hocker figures is set transversely below a double figure (Figure 25). Here again one remarks a close resemblance to Boiken and Iahita daggers and lintels, but a divergence from Abelam models of both. The conventional figure, in a form identical to that of the daggers, also appears painted in horizontal rows on a ceremonial house gable at Sunuhu itself.⁴⁶

THE KWOMA

The Kwoma—a group of 3,000 people—live in a small range of hills near the Sepik River, south of the Kwanga and southwest of the Abelam. While they are closely related to the Kwanga linguistically, oral tradition suggests that some of their clans are immigrants from the Abelam area.

In both the yam cult and the Kwoma epos (which is what their mythological corpus amounts to), the cassowary is in many ways a dominant figure. Like other aspects of their culture, the Kwomas' cults and myths are similar to the broad aspects of the other cultures mentioned here. The variations that the Kwoma display raise the interesting question of whether they are superficial or fundamental.

Kwoma daggers as a group are unique in that human bone was used far more often than cassowary bone. Ritual use of daggers seems to have been minor, although that the daggers had supernatural power is attested by the fact that they were carried at

22. Cassowary-bone dagger, Kwanga, Sunuhu village. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1974, 1974.29.1g
23. Cassowary-bone dagger, Kwanga, Sunuhu village. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1974, 1974.29.1d
24. Cassowary-bone dagger, Kwanga, Sunuhu village. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1974, 1974.29.1j
25. Cassowary-bone dagger, Kwanga, Sunuhu village. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1974, 1974.29.1h



22



23



24



25



26

night to “frighten ghosts.”⁴⁷ They were also used in ritual murders, as of women who had spied on ritual secrets, and in fighting.

The Kwoma ceremonial house differs radically from the other types discussed here. (Figure 26 shows a house built by the Nukuma people, who

- 26. Ceremonial house at Weiwos village, Nukuma, 1970. The Nukuma speak a dialect of Kwoma, are their near neighbors, and have a very similar culture. The architectural style is identical. As this house stands on fairly open ground, its form is unusually visible. The front is screened for Mindja, a yam-cult ceremony (photo: Douglas Newton)
- 27. Human-bone dagger, Kwoma. Collected 1964–65; present location unknown. Note that in Kwoma daggers the engraving covers the entire cylinder of the shaft (from a rubbing)
- 28. Human-bone dagger, Kwoma. Collected 1964–65; present location unknown (from a rubbing)
- 29. Human-bone dagger, Kwoma. Collected 1964–65; present location unknown (from a rubbing)



27



28



29

speak a dialect of Kwoma, are their near neighbors, and have a very similar culture. The architectural style here is identical to that of the Kwoma.) It does not follow the architectural forms of the river or of the other hill peoples. It is not pile-built, having developed in hilltop villages. Instead of being pyramidal, the building is essentially a long, pitched roof with sharply elevated ends. It is completely open at front and back (although temporarily screened for some rituals), and therefore it has no gables to be decorated with paintings and no equivalents to Boiken, Arapesh, and Abelam lintels. The Kwoma indeed have a rich tradition of painting, but the paintings are attached to the interior of the house, along and between the rafters.

The main engraved panels of the daggers (Figures 27–29) are all based on the design elements found on the painted sago-spathes and the chip-carved ceramic

30. Painting on sago bark, Melawei village, Kwoma. Painted by Yindaka, 1973, represents a totemic eagle. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. David Nash, Anonymous gift. 1975.372.78

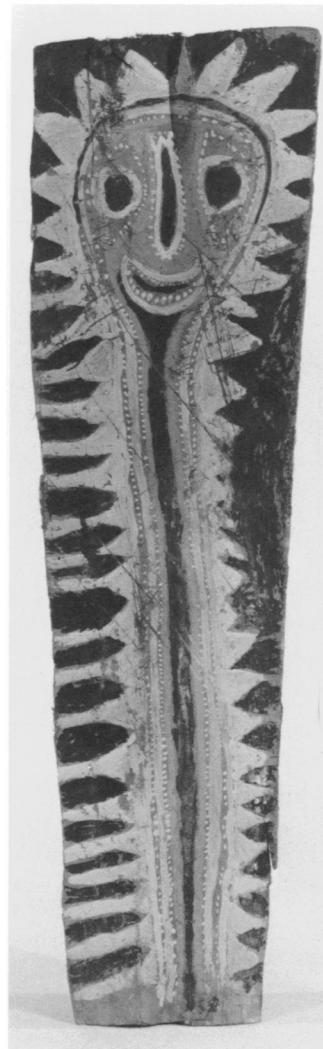


30

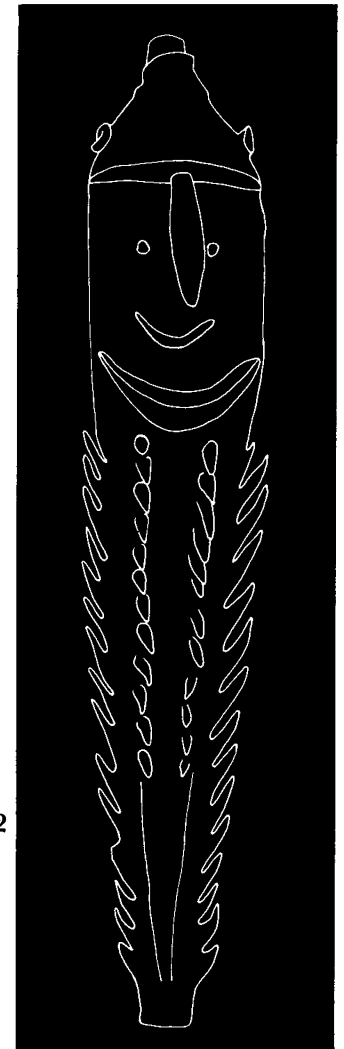
ceremonial bowls. Technically, in fact, the dagger designs are close to those of the bowls; both have decisively lowered backgrounds that stress a generous, open, and rhythmic layout of the designs. But since Kwoma motifs are highly standardized, all the dagger designs could be used for paintings, and indeed some replicate the paintings very closely (Figures 30, 31). The most common design, also frequently used in painting, seems to be that of two faces opposed vertically and joined at the chin; it is also seen on the Abelam daggers. Others replicate the faces of Abelam *nggwalndu* paintings, with their characteristic lines around the chin. Again, certain Kwoma designs appear simultaneously in paintings, on daggers, and as wood carvings (Figure 32).

31. Painting on sago bark, Melawei village: Kwoma. Painted by Kwurumbei, 1973, represents Waswendj, a mythical snake. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. David Nash, Anonymous gift. 1975.372.58.

32. Carving of a figure used in the Mindja yam-cult ceremony (from a field photo, about 1966)



31



32

III.

A NOTE ON HISTORY

Does the distribution of the dagger give us any clues to its history in this part of the world? As far as New Guinea is concerned, the dagger's geographical irregularity as a trait may suggest an exotic origin. Not only is its use limited to a few areas in New Guinea; it is far from common in the rest of the Pacific. It was used in the Hawaiian Islands⁴⁸ and—on flimsy evidence—in Tahiti,⁴⁹ but not elsewhere in Polynesia, nor, with one exception, in Melanesia. One might link this to the absence of cassowaries, but human bone was in constant supply, as were other materials. Hawaiian daggers (*pahoa*) were made of wood or the rostrum of the swordfish (*Xiphias gladius*); one surviving example of the latter has "a good claim" to have been used in Captain Cook's murder.⁵⁰

The Melanesian daggers were made in the Admiralty Islands, northeast of Papua New Guinea (and at the northwestern end of the Bismarck Archipelago now politically part of it). They have obsidian blades hafted into wooden handles, very often with a face carved just below the juncture.⁵¹ The Admiralties, with an active trading complex, were well within the range of Papua New Guinea's north coast. Possibly the original models for daggers were introduced from the island group to the mainland and spread from the coast into the hinterland.

To take the matter even further back in time, it is suggestive that Lou Island, in the Admiralties, was a source of obsidian for communities of the widespread Lapita culture (of about 3,600 to 2,500 years ago), which existed 270 kilometers away in the northwestern Bismarck Archipelago. These communities also drew on sources at Talasea, in New Britain, 390 kilometers to the south.⁵² Any degree of Lapita presence on the New Guinea mainland is at present attested only by a single shard from Aitape (West Sepik Province). However, flaked obsidian from Admiralty Islands sources has been found at a number of sites between Wewak and the border of Irian Jaya, although the dates at which they were imported are unknown. Besides these, a few finds of worked obsidian have come from inland in the East Sepik Province.⁵³ One example is from an undefined site south of Wewak (conceivably in the Boiken area), and another is from the Adjora area south of the lower

Sepik. (In both cases, the obsidian is from Talasea.) The latter could well have been a serviceable knife or dagger blade. It is an attractive thought, even without any solid base, that the dagger might have been originally a Lapita trait—though, it must be said, the known Lapita uses for obsidian do not support this idea.

IV.

CONCLUSION

The proposition that the visual arts of the Boiken, Abelam, Arapesh, and Kwanga constitute a regional style-area has already been made by Kaufmann,⁵⁴ who assigns the Kwoma to a separate area. His scheme is confirmed by the details given here about a few motifs more or less common to all the groups, but they also suggest a closer relationship between the Kwoma and the others than is at first apparent. In some respects, it would seem, the northern Abelam are stylistically closer to the south Mountain Arapesh, the Sunuhu Kwanga to the Ilahita Arapesh and southern Abelam, while the Boiken have somewhat tenuous links to the Ilahita and to both northern and southern Abelam. It has also become evident, in the preceding pages, that there is considerable common ground in the area's ideologies.

When one considers the art and the religious symbols of Sepik peoples—the two are always closely linked—it is often striking that they seem to consist of loosely assembled but in practice discrete units. They have no overriding unity and are not susceptible to exegesis by their adherents. They simply exist. The visual motifs refer to realities or mythical elements; the myths expound nothing; they describe origins and exemplify conduct. No New Guinea group has yet found its Ogotommeli, the Dogon sage who elucidated for Griaule the theology of his people. Perhaps it is a matter of time. It may have taken the Dogon ten years to begin explaining themselves to Griaule because it took that long for them to find a language of explanation that he would understand. But as far as the Sepik area is concerned, it seems to be generally assumed that indigenous systems of exegesis probably do not exist and that the onus of interpretation must be borne, if at all, by the researcher.⁵⁵

If we select, or if the material seems to select for itself, a group of units, even a rather exiguous one, we begin to find they are not necessarily individuals but that they have intimate links with each other. In the present case, such units include details of a mythological world—the cassowary, her feathers and bones, her children—and distinctly material items—ceremonial houses and their friezes, yams, and daggers. (To describe the units as either “material” or “mythological” is not intended to disguise the fact that all of them can be thought of as both.) Albeit units, each connects to at least one other; one might use the metaphor of a chain whose links had no fixed position. A better metaphor would be a constellation in which almost all the points are connected with each other. In several if not all cases, the “connections” are, of course, more properly transformations. Transformation is the mechanism by which events in Sepik mythology often take place, because more than one state of being is always latent in the mythical beings. One is simultaneously bird and woman, old and young, head and yam, and so on, even if for the sake of clarity these states are expressed sequentially. A being remains the same, but by exploiting one potentiality after another, it advances the drama and reinforces its reality.

As far as the Abelam in particular are concerned, the metaphor of the constellation is not entirely fanciful. In discussing his interpretation of their art, Forge speaks of “non-verbal communication” in which motifs can change shape and meaning. Huber-Greub puts it another way in remarking that “the Abelam are fond of making all kinds of ‘interdisciplinary’ correlations in the spheres of thought, knowledge and action . . . between all sorts of things, facts, beings, ideas and cultural spheres.”⁵⁶ It is also true that the lines of connection cut across what to Western thinking would be quite different categories of phenomena, material or ideological. Where there seems to be an absence of connections, it may be owing merely to our inadequate information. But as one reads what information is extant, more connections and transformations become apparent than are visible in the mere physical fact of the dagger, the subject here. Thus the cassowary mother bestows on man her bones, which in the idiom of mythology are transformed into yams and as physical objects are transformed into daggers. The principle of transformation raises some interesting possibilities not ex-

PLICIT in the existing data—for instance, since daggers are phallic symbols, and so are yams, is there a connection, or transformation, between yams and daggers?

The cassowary herself, in her human incarnation, is figured on the frieze that spans the front of the ceremonial house, her femaleness balanced by a male image. In the realm of material representations, the frieze is replicated on the dagger. The ceremonial house—mythologically speaking a female being, a womb that houses the males of a society at important times—is topped by a symbolically male finial. This gives to the whole house a symbolic sexual balance that is expressed with greater conciseness and precision by the frieze. If we return to the dagger, with its phallic symbolism on one hand and on the other its depiction of what surely must be the cassowary mother and her children, we find the same male-female symbolic balance again. In a sense the dagger is a portable reminder of a whole complex of ideas.

In the end, the inadequacy of our diagram is apparent: It is self-contained, finite, and regular. A number of cultural variations are here melded into a unity (on the presumption that this reflects the existence of common ground between the variations). But it reveals in the area under discussion something of what Barth calls a “tradition”—“the conglomerate stream of ideas and symbols of a plurality of genetically related and intercommunicating communities,” rather than a group of “sub-traditions,” which are “the ideas which a local community or single language group regard as true.”⁵⁷ It is noteworthy that in the cultures mentioned here, the “tradition” cuts across linguistic boundaries, and is at least one element that defines the cultures as belonging to an area.

Besides the probable inadequacy of our information, we have no guarantee that any individual member of any single society is privy to all the units mentioned here. One can be quite sure, however, that he is aware of a great many more, and that all of them might connect—or transform—to others in a huge and widespread series. This is not to suggest that there actually exists a canonical body of information common to all the groups involved, even though only imperfectly known by each of them—a dubious proposition indeed. The commonality of values can hardly be disputed, nor the fact that it lies at a profound level, finding coincident expressions through

mythology and material culture, those primary achievements of man as artificer. As they stand, the fragments described here may lift a corner of the veil concealing the rich complexity of a Sepik society's thought and indicate that even such a relatively minor trait as a dagger has its own part in a grander intellectual scheme.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A number of colleagues were generous with information and help during the preparation of this article. I am indebted to Professor Donald F. Tuzin for an illuminating discussion of Iahita Arapesh and Kwanga daggers, and for Figure 16. Dr. Markus Schindlbeck obtained Figures

13 and 17 for me at the Museum für Völkerkunde, West Berlin. Professor William E. Mitchell, Professor Paul Roscoe, and Dr. Dirk Smidt gave me valuable information from their fieldwork. Paul Beelitz, at the American Museum of Natural History, and Dr. Phillip H. Lewis, Dr. John Terrell, and Dr. Robert Welsch, at the Field Museum of Natural History, gave generous access to the splendid collections in their institutions. Dr. Mary Lecroy kindly advised me on cassowary osteology. Professor Mary Catherine Bateson and the Institute for Intercultural Studies, Inc., graciously gave me permission to cite unpublished work by Gregory Bateson, although changes in the form of the article eventually precluded my doing so. Like innumerable others, I am once again, as so often before, indebted to The Robert Goldwater Library of the Metropolitan Museum, its staff and resources.

NOTES

1. The basic references used here are D. C. Laycock, *Sepik Languages Checklist and Preliminary Classification* (Canberra, 1973), and S. A. Wurm and S. Hattori, *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area* (Canberra, 1981).

2. Major references are listed in Douglas Newton, "Shields of the Manambu (East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea)," *Baessler-Archiv* n.f. 35 (1987) pp. 249–259, to which should be added Frank Tiesler, "Tragband Schilde aus dem Hatzfeldhafen-Gebiet. . .," *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 27 (1970) pp. 185–217.

3. See Peter Valentin, *Die Melanesischen Pfeile und Bogen im Basler Museum für Völkerkunde* (Munich, 1968).

4. See Otto Reche, *Der Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss* (Hamburg, 1913) pp. 314–334; A. B. Lewis, *Decorative Art of New Guinea. Incised Designs* (Chicago, 1925); Ulli Beier and Michael Somare, "The Kakar Images of Darpoap," *Records of the Papua New Guinea Museum* 3 (1973).

5. Dirk Smidt, personal communication concerning field information on Ramu River groups, including Rao, Igom, Breri, and Aiome.

6. Field information from Nukuma people, 1973, concerning a woman who had spied on male cult objects.

7. See Otto Finsch, *Südseearbeiten* (Hamburg, 1914) p. 215. The Manam islanders are perhaps the only group of whom we are categorically informed that they had no daggers: see Karl Boehm, *The Life of Some Island People of New Guinea* (Berlin, 1983) p. 134.

8. Gunnar Landtman, *Ethnographical Collection from the Kiwai District of British New Guinea* (Helsinki, 1933), describes (p. 57) cassowary-bone daggers from the Kiwai, Gogodala, and Gulf tribes. The latter had the unlovely habit of "stabbing prisoners

. . . through their hip-joints, knees or ankles . . . the prisoners were prevented from running away, and could be kept alive until needed for a later cannibal feast." The Asmat use both cassowary and human bone, but while their daggers are often decorated with netted snoods hung with feathers, coix, and abras seeds, they are rarely carved. (For examples, see Michael C. Rockefeller, *The Asmat of New Guinea* [New York, 1967] p. 338.) The Asmat also make monstrous daggers from crocodile mandibles.

g. Among the Kwoma and the Iwam of the May River.

10. For example, the Alablak: see Eike Haberland and Siegfried Seyfarth, *Die Yimar am Oberen Korowori (Neuguinea)* (Wiesbaden, 1974) pp. 136–142, for a detailed account.

11. This is always the case with Alablak and Kwoma daggers, but the backs of rare human-bone examples from the Abelam and Murik are treated like cassowary-bone daggers.

12. See Henry Aufenanger, *The Passing Scene in North-East New Guinea* (St. Augustin, 1972) pp. 254, 275–276.

13. See Margaret Mead, *The Mountain Arapesh* (New York, 1938–49) II, pp. 364–365, 376–377, 388; and equivalent texts in R. F. Fortune, *Arapesh* (Washington, 1942).

14. Donald F. Tuzin, *The Voice of the Tamberan. Truth and Illusion in Iahita Arapesh Religion* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1980) pp. 1–8, for a full text.

15. See Aufenanger, *The Passing Scene*, pp. 350–352, 395–397.

16. The text of the myth is given at length in Ross Bowden, *Yena. Art and Ceremony in a Sepik Society* (Oxford, 1983) pp. 106–110, in a version with an alternative ending.

17. See Douglas Newton, "Why is the Cassowary a Canoe Prow?" *Art Journal* 23 (1973) pp. 41–45.

18. See Aufenanger, *The Passing Scene*, pp. 433–434.
19. For this extremely abbreviated version, see W. Tranel, “Völkerkundliche und sprachliche Aufzeichnungen aus dem moándo-Sprachgebiet in Nordost-Neuguinea,” *Anthropos* 47 (1952) pp. 465–466.
20. Paul Roscoe, personal communication.
21. A remarkable early article on the subject by A. B. Deacon (“Thè Kahikan society of Ceram and New Guinea initiation cults,” *Folklore* 36 [1925] pp. 332–361) was once celebrated, but now seems almost forgotten.
22. Among other descriptions, see especially Patrick F. Gesch, *Initiative and Initiation. Studea Instituti Anthropos* 33 (St. Augustin, 1985) p. 235.
23. See Aufenanger, *The Passing Scene*, p. 21.
24. See H. Meyer, “Das Parakwesen im Glaube und Kult bei den Eingeborenen an der Nordost-Küste Neuguineas,” *Annali Lateranensi* 7 (1943) pp. 170–171.
25. The adoption ceremony of the Asmat is a particularly spectacular example; see an account and illustrations in Tony Saulnier, *Headhunters of Papua* (New York, 1963) pp. 43–48.
26. See Mead, *The Mountain Arapesh*, I, p. 309.
27. A large collection of daggers from the north coast is in the Field Museum, Chicago. Some were obtained from J. F. G. Umlauff, the Hamburg dealer (1909–10); others were collected in the field by George Dorsey (1908) and A. B. Lewis (1909–10).
28. Andreas Gerstner has a small, almost illegible photograph of four daggers illustrating his article “Aus der Gemeinschaftsleben der Wewäk-Boikin-Leute, Nordost-Neuguinea,” *Anthropos* 48 (1953) p. 430, pl. 1.
29. Patricia May, “Art Styles of the Boiken People,” *Sepik Heritage*, Nancy Lutkehaus et al., ed. (Durham, N.C., in press).
30. Paul Roscoe, “Male Initiation among the Yangoru Boiken,” *Sepik Heritage*.
31. For illustrations, see Reche, *Der Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss*.
32. See Aufenanger, *The Passing Scene*, pl. 9 (11).
33. Pamela Swadling et al. illustrate Yangoru Boiken gables and friezes in *The Sepik-Ramu: an Introduction* (Boroko, 1988) figs. 186, 188.
34. See Tuzin, *The Voice of the Tamberan*, pp. 40–43, 47–54 and fig. 6. For *baba*, see Gerd Koch, *Kultur der Abelam. Die Berliner “Maprik”-Sammlung* (Berlin, 1968) figs. 67–79; and for Arapesh masks (*hangamor*), figs. 87–95.
35. Tuzin, *The Voice of the Tamberan*, p. 238.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
37. Photographs taken by E. A. Briggs in 1924 at Kaboibus, a Mountain Arapesh village near the Maprik Abelam.
38. See Barbara Huber-Greub, *Kokospalmenmenschen* (Basel, 1988) pp. 227–230.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 231–234.
40. Anthony Forge, “Art and Environment in the Sepik,” *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 1965* (1966) p. 30. Note that G. Koch spells the Abelam word *ina*; note also the other terms used by Mead and Fortune for types of daggers (see note 43).
41. See Aufenanger, *The Passing Scene*, p. 419.
42. See Anthony Forge, quoted in George A. Corbin, *Native Arts of North America, Africa, and the South Pacific, an Introduction* (New York, 1988) p. 226; Ingrid Heermann, “Ein Lunggwalndu-Initiationsraum der Abelam,” *Tribus* 32 (1983) pp. 127–162.
43. These descriptions are based on the Mead-Fortune collection in the American Museum of Natural History; the terms *tipakowgihe* and *suwega* are from their catalogue.
44. MMA, New York, acc. nos. 1974.29.1a–u.
45. Dr. Karen Borison, quoted by Tuzin, saw only a couple of undecorated daggers at Inakor (Yubanakor dialect), but pots in the same village were decorated with very similar figures.
46. See Swadling, *The Sepik-Ramu*, fig. 184.
47. See J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941) p. 135.
48. See Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck), *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1964) pp. 424–438.
49. See Adrienne Kaeppler, ed., *Cook Voyage Artifacts in Leningrad, Berne, and Florence Museums* (Honolulu, 1978) p. 122.
50. See Kaeppler, “Artificial Curiosities” (Honolulu, 1978) p. 25.
51. See H. Nevermann, *Admiralitäts-Inseln* (Hamburg, 1934), for illustrations.
52. See Patrick V. Kirch, “Lapita and Oceanic Cultural Origins: Excavations in the Mussau Islands, Bismarck Archipelago, 1985,” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 14 (1987) pp. 172–173, 178.
53. Swadling, *The Sepik-Ramu*, figs. 44, 50, 52.
54. See Christian Kaufmann in *Art and Authority. Art of the Sepik River Papua New Guinea*, S. Greub, ed. (Basel, 1985) pp. 40–41.
55. The question of interpretation is central to the work of Barth, Bowden, Forge, Kaufmann, Huber-Greub, Brigitte Hauser-Schäublin, and Tuzin.
56. See Barbara Huber-Greub, “*k + pma* (Land) in the Abelam Village of Kimbangwa,” *Sepik Heritage*.
57. See Fredrik Barth, *Cosmologies in the Making* (Cambridge, 1987) p. 1.

Distributed by
The University of Chicago Press

ISBN 0-226-52121-4

