

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

Volume 29/1994

JOURNAL



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JOURNAL Volume 29 / 1994

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 represent. 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.

Like the Museum's collection, this volume ranges from ancient archaeology to the modern era. First, a new evaluation has been proposed for a famous excavated hoard of ancient Near Eastern jewelry on the basis of new research. Three conservators have contributed a technical study of an extraordinarily rare silver Egyptian figure, while a Turkish scholar investigates the stylistic aspects of an important Persian double-folio miniature in the Museum's collection. A silver monstrance, long thought to be Mexican but now believed to be of Peruvian origin, is the focus of two articles on Hispanic silver. Four essays are devoted to French subjects: a funerary chapel at Montepellier cathedral, a portrait bust by Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, images of children in Gobelins tapestries, and a sketchbook by Eugène Delacroix. A settee that came to the Museum from the collection of an important donor, Henry G. Marquand, is the centerpiece of a fascinating study of the decorative arts commissioned by Marquand for his New York mansion.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA—The Metropolitan Museum of Art

MMAB—The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin

MMJ—Metropolitan Museum Journal

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Dilbat Hoard

CHRISTINE LILYQUIST

Lila Acheson Wallace Research Curator in Egyptology, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN APPRECIATION OF EDITH PORADA

INTRODUCTION

THE GOLD NECKLACE said to be from Dilbat in the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1) has long been understood as the most exquisite and important example of extant jewelry from the Old Babylonian period (ca. 1894–1595 B.C.). Comprising four richly granulated pendants, a central disk weighing more than fifteen grams, two tiny goddess figures, and variously shaped gold beads, the necklace has been cited as a superb and miraculous survival of jewelry from eighteenth-century-B.C. Mesopotamia.¹ Granulated gold seal caps, said to have been found with the necklace, were dated with it,² while four associated seals were dated to the early part of the subsequent Kassite period because of their texts. The precision and beauty of the granulation on the smallest rosette pendant (see Figure 43) is not equaled in the second millennium B.C.

While preparing a new publication of objects from a mid-fifteenth-century-B.C. tomb that belonged to three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III and is now in the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum, I had the privilege of examining the Dilbat necklace for craftsmanship, style, and function. The diverse types of beads, number of pendants, and lack of any colored elements led me to investigate both the origins of the necklace and ancient Near Eastern jewelry of the second millennium in general. My conclusion is that the necklace and objects long associated with it were most probably a hoard of wonderful but individual items buried together in a pot at Dilbat and that their manufacture date is plausibly in the seventeenth rather than eighteenth century B.C. (see

Figures 11–23 for all items in the Metropolitan Museum). This essay collects information from earlier descriptions of the objects, describes the individual components (see Appendix), and reviews the comparative data that support a late Old Babylonian date. At the same time that this study attempts to assess the jewels, it seeks to create greater appreciation of these most remarkable products of goldsmiths' art from ancient Babylonia.

THE ALLEGED PROVENANCE

Dilbat, the ancient name for Tell al-Deylam, is a mound twenty kilometers south of modern Hilla and thirty kilometers south of Babylon,³ below the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers of modern Iraq. Until 1989 no scientific excavation had been undertaken at this ancient city, but a good deal of information from texts had been gathered by Eckhard Unger in the 1930s. Above all, this information came from tablets obtained previously by Hormuzd Rassam and illicit diggers, but some was also obtained through the occasional boundary stone, stela, or relief that mentioned the site.⁴ From the textual sources Unger was not able to say whether Dilbat/Deylam played a significant historical role in ancient times. He did suggest that Dilbat may have been an important distribution center for agricultural products and that proper excavation might demonstrate this.

Texts originating at Dilbat, or referring to it, are primarily Old Babylonian (first half of the second millennium B.C.) and New Babylonian, Assyrian, or Persian (first millennium B.C.). Texts also exist from the Akkadian (ca. 2334–2154), Ur III (ca. 2095–

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The notes for this article begin on page 29.

2004), and Kassite (ca. 1425–1225 B.C.) periods. The Kassite period is dated from the Fall of Babylon, commonly placed at 1595, but no Kassite texts are datable until about 1425. Of interest are the Old Babylonian texts mentioning rulers Sumuabum, Sabinum, Hammurapi, Ammiditana, Samsuditana, and the family of Ammisaduqa; seal impressions in Berlin from this period and “probably” from this site have recently been published by Evelyn Klengel-Brandt.⁵ Also of interest is the mention of Kassites in late Ammiditana and Ammisaduqa texts from Dilbat (end of the seventeenth century B.C.).⁶ The city god of Dilbat was Urash, a god of agriculture and war; there were apparently temples for him, his consort Ningal, the gods Adad, Shamash, and Sin, and other deities.

Today an expedition from the University of Chicago considers Dilbat—on the basis of surface sherds—to be a city where more or less continuous history might be traced from the beginning of the third millennium B.C. to the middle of the first (Figure 2). In his first season at the site in 1989–90, James Armstrong found mostly Sasanian and Islamic pottery on the surface of the western mound, but on the eastern mound, he gathered pottery dating from 3000 to 300 B.C. and noted traces of the earlier illicit digging at the northern end. He found Old Babylonian sherds in his area A; at B, late Old Babylonian houses with burials (seventeenth century) in which late Kassite kilns and burials had been dug (thirteenth century);⁷ and in C, mainly Akkadian and/or late Early Dynastic domestic and



Figure 1. Necklace, perhaps from Dilbat, ca. 17th cent. B.C.. Gold, l. 43.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1947, 47.1a–h

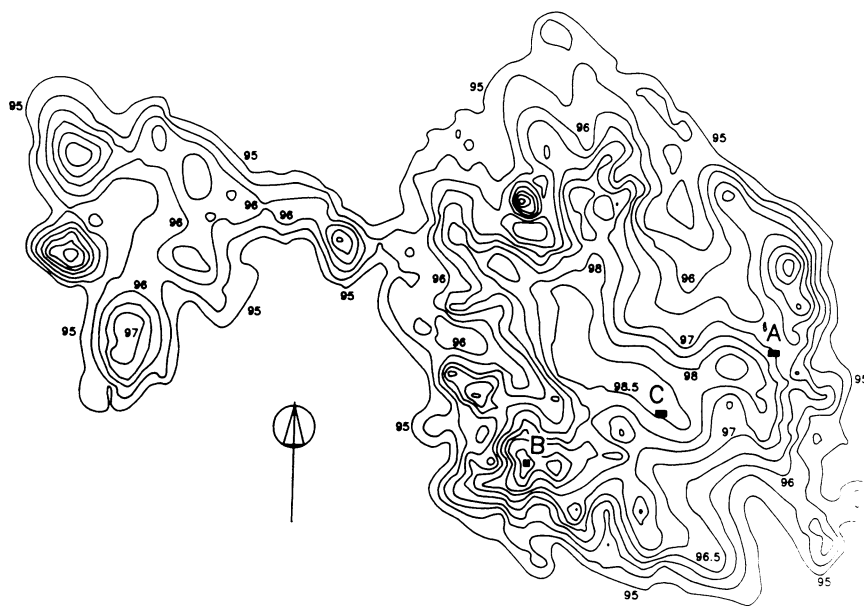


Figure 2. Contour map of modern Daylam in central Iraq. The larger eastern mound, ca. 500 x 400 m, contains the ruins of ancient Dilbat (prepared by Archaeological Graphic Services, from Armstrong, "West of Edin," p. 220)

funerary remains, with Ur III–Isin/Larsa material (ca. 2093–1763 B.C.) dug into them. While it is possible, therefore, that the objects in the Metropolitan originally came from Dilbat, it must be borne in mind throughout this study that they were not scientifically excavated there. Considering all the evidence, the alleged provenance is a probability, not a certainty.

EARLY DESCRIPTIONS OF THE HOARD FROM DILBAT AND DISCUSSIONS OF ITS DATE

The first mention of the Dilbat necklace was made by Bruno Meissner in a 1914 study of Old Babylonian sculpture.⁸ Commenting on how few precious objects of this period had been preserved, he welcomed the important gold jewelry "recently" entering a Berlin private collection, and he printed a photograph of a necklace belonging to "Herrn Dr. [Georg] Hahn" of Berlin (Figure 3). Meissner suggested that a Hammurapi-period date for the necklace was established by the seals said to be found with it. Apparently, granulation—as on the necklace's pendants and on seal caps of the find (hereafter to be understood with qualification)—had not been attested in ancient Babylonia before. He identified the pendants as symbols of the sun, the moon, lightning, and "the Venus star" but doubted that the figures of goddesses belonged on the necklace for lack of parallels.

Meissner made two further references to the necklace and caps,⁹ and the Egyptologist and art historian Wilhelm von Bissing suggested that the necklace might be mid- rather than early second millennium.¹⁰ But it was Eckhard Unger, with a special interest in Dilbat, who published the most informative details of the find and discussion of its objects. In 1929 he reproduced one of the goddess figures by permission of the owner, "Frau Dr. [Frida] Hahn, Berlin," dating it—like Meissner—to the period of Hammurapi, at that time 2000 B.C.¹¹ The next year Unger referred to the necklace as having been found in the city of Dilbat, south of Babylon, together with a few cylinder seals.¹² He also published a photograph (Figure 4) which allowed him to describe the goddess figures with



Figure 3. The Dilbat necklace, published in 1914 (from Meissner, *Grundzüge der altbabylonischen Plastik*, p. 64)

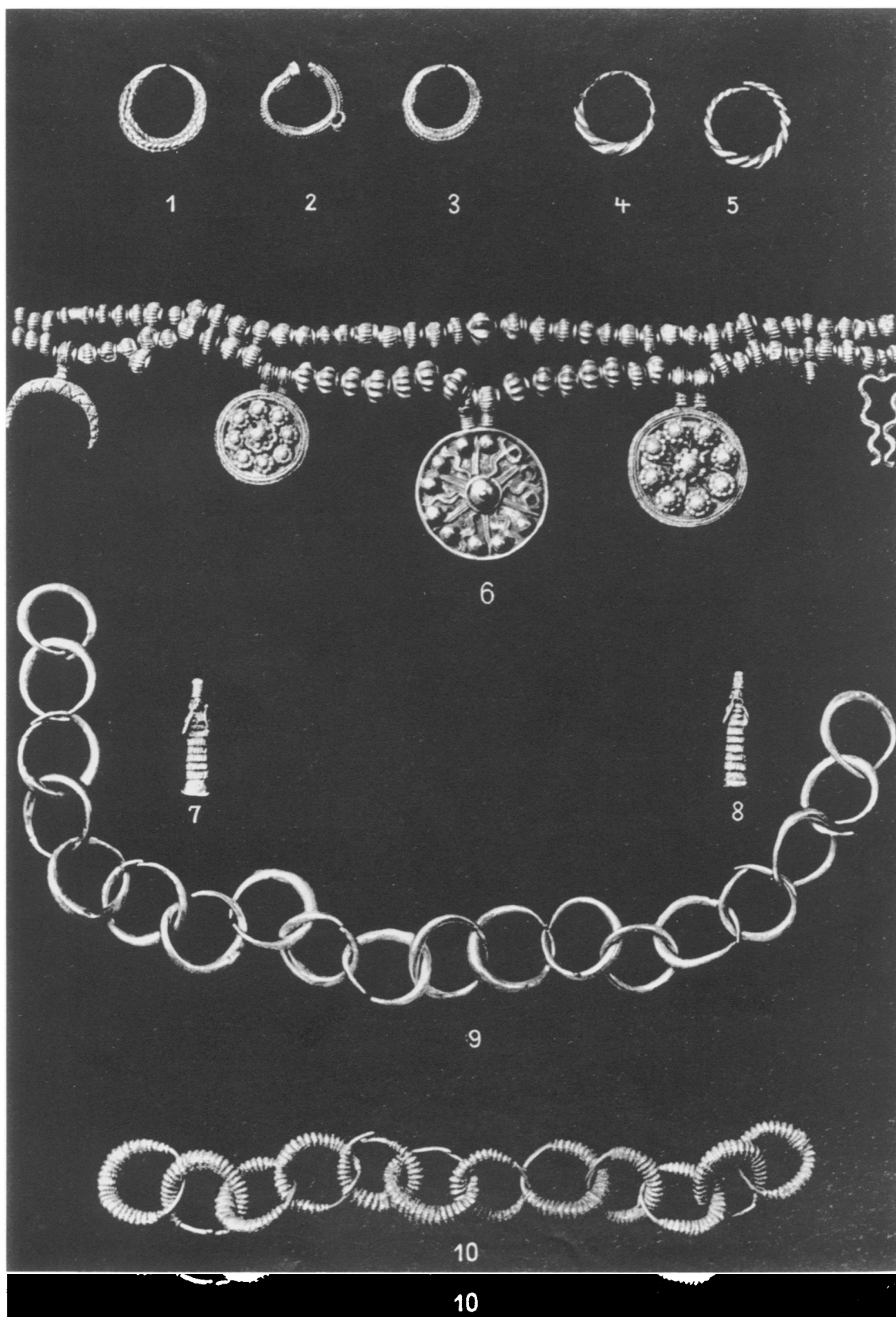


Figure 4. Gold items from the "Dilbat hoard" published by Unger in 1931 (from Unger, "Topographie der Stadt Dilbat," pl. 2)

horned headdresses and to link the lightning forks, crescent, and ray disk to the weather god Adad, moon god Sin, and sun god Shamash, respectively. Both goddesses were illustrated separately from the necklace, and two series of interlocked rings (nineteen plain, twelve knurled), two pairs of earrings (one braided, one twisted), and a “nose-ring(?)” were included. Unger found the pendants much finer than the seals associated with them and attributed the difference to the materials used. He understood the treasure’s owner to be Parbi, son of Azia, priest of Sin, as named on one seal (now MMA 47.115.1), and gave the name of another seal owner as Adad-gamil, son of Raïmkiti, a priest of Sin and of Anmartu (now MMA 47.115.4). He included a photograph of a third seal (now MMA 47.115.2) with its impression and the caps Meissner had illustrated in 1920.

The next year Unger used the photograph in his 1931 article, “Topographie der Stadt Dilbat,” and gave details of the “unique Old Babylonian treasure found in Dêlâm,” made available to him for publication by its owner, Frau Dr. Hahn of Berlin.¹³ This time he termed the seals very decadent and dated them to the end of the (Old Babylonian) period “(1850 v.Chr.),” suggesting that they and the jewelry had been buried at the onslaught of the Hittites and Kassites (today referred to as the Fall of Babylon and dated ca. 1595 or 1530 B.C., depending on the chronology chosen). The objects in the treasure, “found in Dêlem south of Hilleh, in a pot as treasure [*Schatzfund*] and as described in notes of the owner,” included:

- Four cylinder seals, 8 mm high, 19 mm broad, inscribed with Old Babylonian signs [MMA 47.115.1–4, as below];
- Necklace comprising
 - 188 gold beads; 7 pendants (sun, two Ishtar stars, crescent moon, lightning, two goddesses);
- Gold wire 20 cm long, 3.5 mm thick, bent;
 - 19 smooth, 12 knurled, 2 twisted, 2 braided “hair rings(?)”;
- “Nose-ring(?)” with ring for suspension;
- 2 caps for cylinder seals, 11 mm high, 12 mm broad;
- 1 cap for cylinder seal;
- 2 small gold bowl-like disks, perhaps remnants of cylinder seal caps.

Also said to be in the hoard were much oxidized silver, more gold rings, and a cylinder seal by then lost.

A few years later Dietrich Opitz discussed the Hahn objects from photographs¹⁴ and concluded

that the seals and necklace were later than Meissner thought. He considered the seals to be most likely of Kassite date,¹⁵ and, noting that granulation was not known in Babylonia much before the end of the Old Babylonian or beginning of the Kassite period, he further observed that there were no parallels in the Babylonian (or any earlier) period of a necklace with so many symbolic pendants. On the assumption that all objects were from one find, he felt that the rosette pendants spoke for a comparatively late date.

The last of the scholars who could have had some firsthand or secondhand information of a Dilbat find was Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948), who published, in 1941, a few more details and a drawing of two pendants (labeled “F. H.”). He stated that the pendants belonged “to a complete necklace of 200 gold beads with seven pendants, found in 1911 in a place south of Hillah-Babylon, in a closed jar together with many other ornaments of gold and silver, and with four agate [*sic*] seals with their gold mountings.”¹⁶ He dated the jewelry to the First Dynasty of Isin (ca. 2017–1837 B.C.), rather than the subsequent Old Babylonian period, referring back to Meissner’s earliest publication, but he illustrated a medallion from the In-Shushinak deposit at Susa, about 1300 B.C., as comparative material.

Various types of evidence in the Ernst Herzfeld papers in the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives at the Smithsonian Institution indicate that Herzfeld probably knew the Dilbat objects before their first published account by Meissner (Figures 5, 6).¹⁷ Herzfeld had included “Tell Dilaim” on a map he published in 1911 of a trip along the Euphrates, and his Notebook S-7 reveals that in June of that year he was in touch with dealers in Baghdad and Hillah. Most importantly, the photograph Meissner used appears to be one of those Herzfeld took in Iraq. Unger’s “gold wire,” cap parts, and four seals appear in other Herzfeld negatives, although only twelve of Unger’s nineteen plain gold rings are shown, while a two-part earring appears that Unger did not list (Figure 5, upper right, and Figure 39). More puzzling is the appearance in two photographs of part of a Parthian earring set with cabochons (center top). Unfortunately, no notes have been located that would clarify on what basis this earring (and two Islamic necklace elements photographed alone in another negative, perhaps at the same time) was included with the Dilbat objects. Records in Washington and New York show that Herzfeld sold seals and gold jewelry



Figures 5, 6. Seals and jewels from the Dilbat hoard, photographed by Ernst Herzfeld with a Parthian earring (photos: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution neg. nos. 3236, above, and 3233, below)

to the Hahns in the 1920s (see note 18) and offered the Dilbat necklace for sale on Mrs. Hahn's behalf sometime before December 1946. Whether he was the means by which the Dilbat objects and provenance information reached the Hahns before 1914 cannot be proved, but it is a reasonable possibility.

During the summer of 1939, when the Hahns and their son Peter were in England, the Dilbat necklace, four seals, and a few gold items were photographed in the British Museum with a Protoliterate-period stamp seal and three sets of Parthian or south Russian earrings. (This information, kindly supplied by Jonathan Tubb, is preserved in a "deposit book" entry and two photographs taken by the museum; Figure 7 shows the gold items and the later earrings.) The Protoliterate seal and two of the three pairs of late earrings had been purchased by Herzfeld in the Near East.¹⁸ It will be noted that the plain and knurled rings in the Unger and Herzfeld photographs, as well as the two-part earring in the Herzfeld photograph, are missing from the British Museum photograph, presumably left behind in Berlin. Herzfeld died in 1948; when the Dilbat necklace was offered to the Metropolitan Museum in December 1946, it was through a New York dealer on behalf of Dr. Hahn, who was then living in Mexico. After the Museum purchased the necklace in 1947, Dr. Georg Hahn gave the four seals to the Museum.

Since 1970 scholarly discussion of the Dilbat objects has been limited to the necklace and seals, with the question of date eliciting varied opinions, as it had in earlier years. K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop adopted a Kassite date for the seals, on the basis of Edmond Sollberger's opinions forwarded by Prudence Harper of the Department of Near Eastern Art at the Metropolitan Museum;¹⁹ she illustrated seal 47.115.2 with its impression, as Unger had in 1930. But for the necklace—which she took to be arranged as it had been in antiquity—she advocated an Old Babylonian date and one closer to 1800 than 1600.²⁰ Of interest here was her citation of two pendants in Leiden of "Ajjul type . . . so close to the Dilbat [rosette] that it could have come from the same workshop as the Babylonian piece" (see p. 24 below).²¹ Her date for Tell el-Ajjul ("Ajjul") was Middle Bronze II, about 1700–1550 B.C. (for gold objects from this site, see note 10, Lilyquist 1993).

R. M. Boehmer discussed several Dilbat pendants in 1972 and acknowledged the earlier "circumspect

and sensitive" opinion of Opitz that he understood to be for a Kassite date.²² Boehmer discounted the dating of the necklace by means of the seals, since even if all items had been found together, the necklace could be later than the seals;²³ he inclined toward a Kassite date of about 1500–1300 B.C.²⁴ According to a private communication (August 1993) from Peter Calmeyer, however, Boehmer feels that his opinion may need modification due to a hoard found in 1976 at Larsa, somewhat south of Dilbat. Two pendants were found here with features comparable to those on several Dilbat pendants (cf. Figures 14, 17, 28), and the Larsa hoard was dated by its excavators to the eighth year of the Old Babylonian ruler Samsuiluna, about 1736 B.C.²⁵ This was the first richly granulated object with an archaeologically derived Old Babylonian date.

Winfried Orthmann's entry in the *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* also predated the discovery of the Larsa hoard. Understanding the Dilbat necklace to be part of an Old Babylonian or Kassite deposit, of about 1800–1500 B.C., he thought a definite date impossible due to the continuity of goldworking traditions between the two periods.²⁶ Congruent with a late Old Babylonian or early Kassite date were the long proportions of the goddess figures; familiar from the Kassite period were the granulated seal caps. He also suggested that, as kings of the Neo-Assyrian period wore necklaces with divine symbols during the first millennium B.C., the Dilbat necklace might also have been made for a ruler.

In 1978 and 1979, excavations at Ebla (in modern Syria) yielded the second important archaeological find of Near Eastern goldsmithing from the pre-Fall of Babylon era (Figure 32). As published by the excavator, Paolo Matthiae, the Ebla finds provide comparative material for the Dilbat objects—even though they came from a kingdom centered at modern Aleppo rather than near Baghdad.²⁷ These finds were not cited by Jochem Wolters in his 1983 study of granulation; Wolters termed the Dilbat necklace "early Kassite (1700–1600 B.C.)."²⁸ In 1985 Madeleine Trokay noted a connection between pre-Kassite Dilbat granulated objects, the large Larsa disk, and granulated earrings at Ajjul, "approximately 1625–1550."²⁹ On the basis of Neo-Assyrian representations and the jewels recently found in Neo-Assyrian tombs at Nimrud, Trudy Kawami raises the possibility in a forthcoming article of a first-millennium date for the Dilbat necklace.³⁰

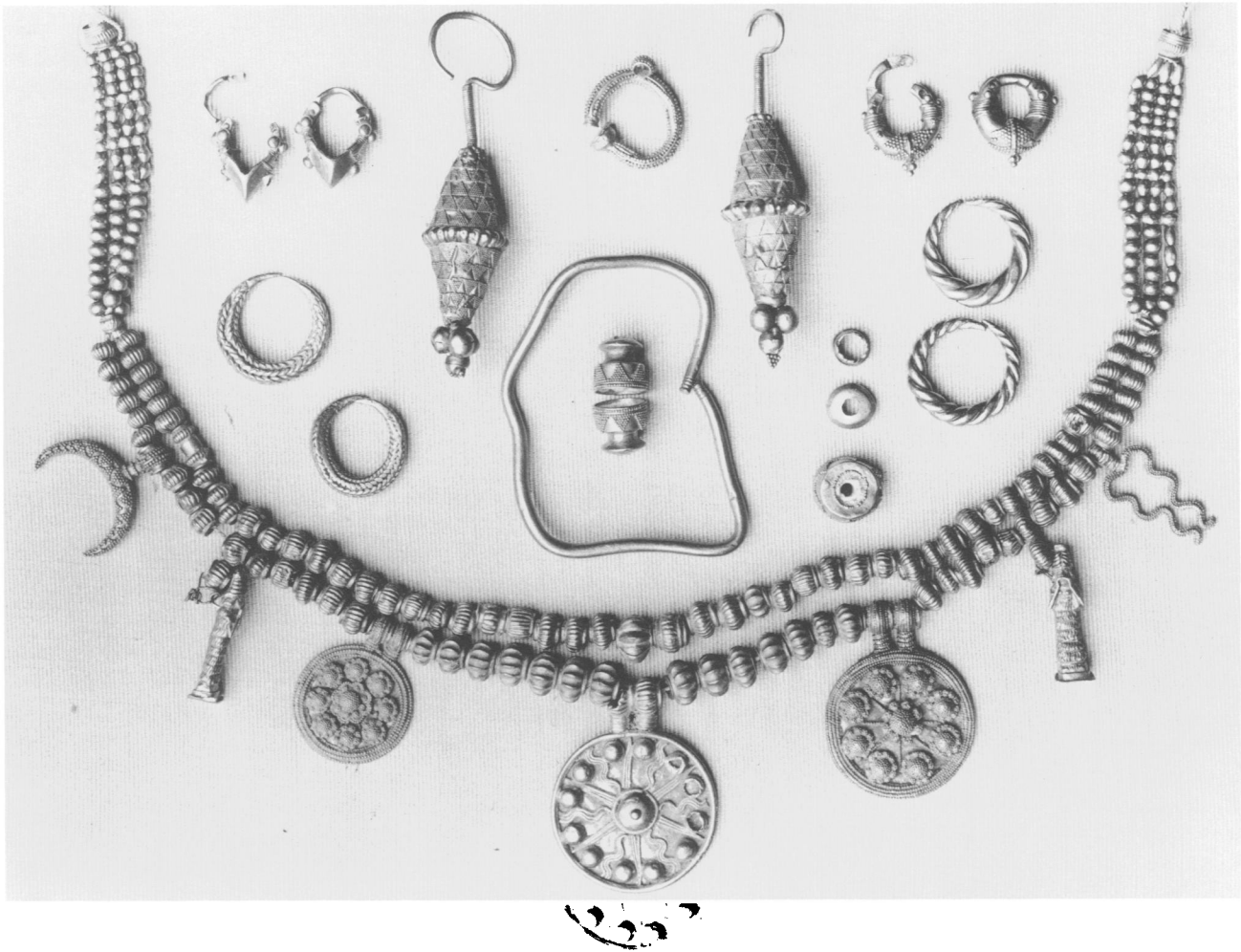


Figure 7. Jewels from the Dilbat hoard, photographed with later earrings by the British Museum in 1939 (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the British Museum)

NEW OBSERVATIONS OF THE OBJECTS

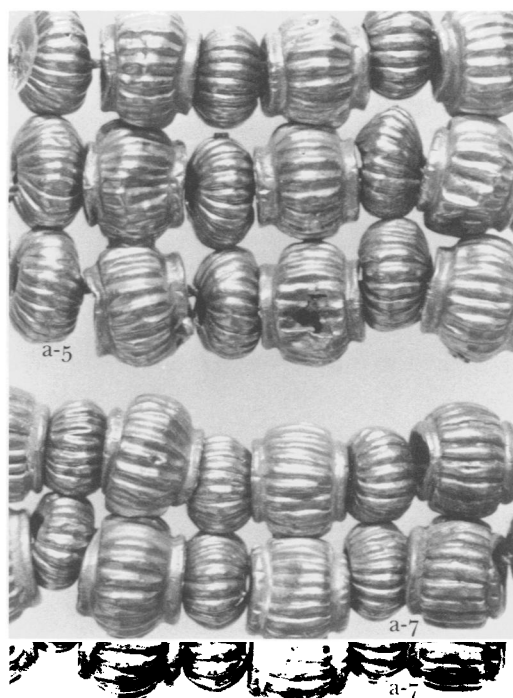
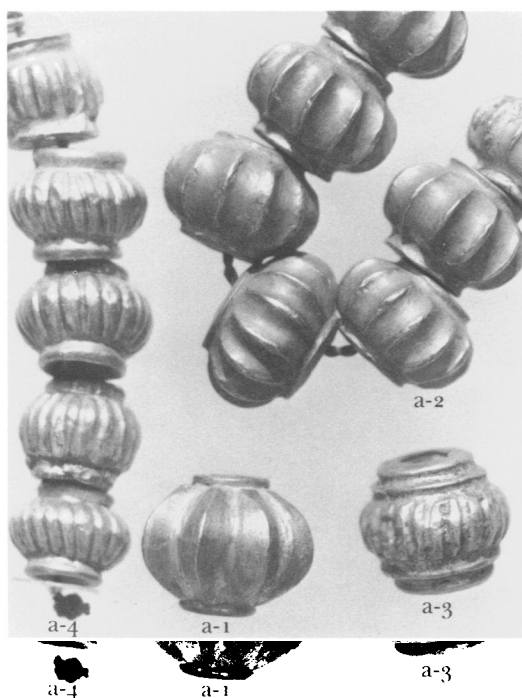
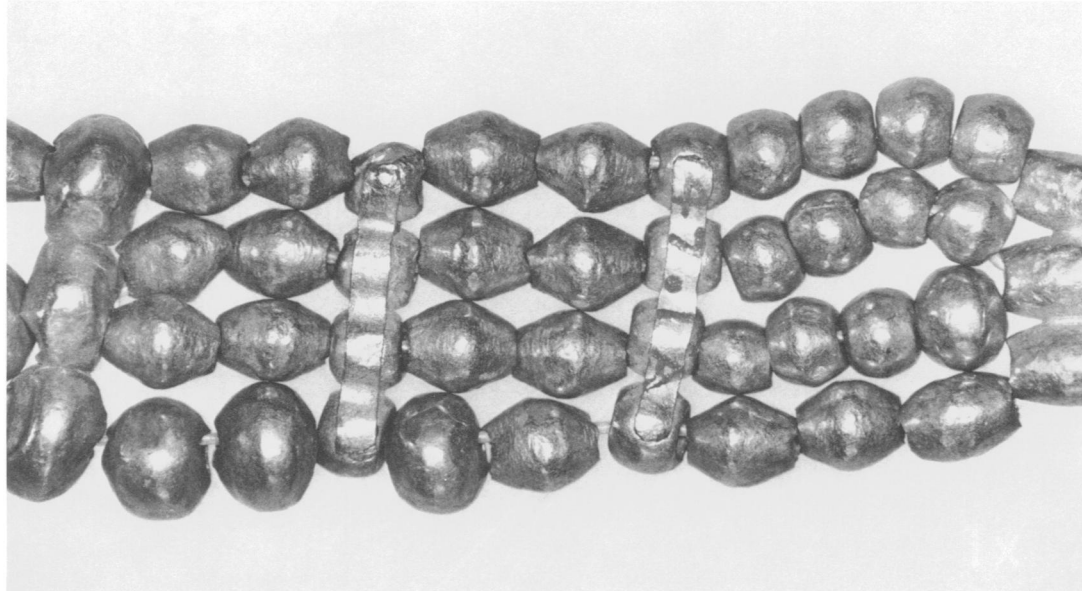
It will readily be agreed that the beads and pendants that appear strung together in Figures 1, 3–5, and 7–10 show many styles. The small four-bead spacers at the ends in Figure 1, for example (a-12; see Appendix and Figures 11–22 for this and subsequent gold items, all of which are part of accession number MMA 47.1), are too numerous and too small for the large fluted beads on the bottom row near the center of the necklace (a-2). At the same time, the goddesses (e, f)—with a loop on the back of each head unlike the bails on the disk, crescent, and lightning pendants—were connected to three-bead spacers by modern wires. Also, the small clasp (a-9.1 and a-9.2) was positioned above the crescent, closed and without function. Furthermore, there were no colored beads in the assemblage, an uncommon if not unknown feature of ancient Near Eastern jewelry.

Ancient sources do not support such an assemblage either. Textual references are equivocal,³¹ although representations from the Old Babylonian period usually show necklaces made of rows of beads, with only an occasional single disk, or a crescent with a disk, in the middle (see Figure 29; cf. also a single pendant from a first-millennium-B.C. burial, Figure 30).³² Three or more identical disks may be represented on terracotta figurines of the second millennium,³³ and an actual example of one such collar may have been found at Ebla (Figure 32a).³⁴ A recently excavated terracotta from Uruk depicting a god of the Underworld (Figure 31) has various adornments on the torso; the Dilbat pendants, with their sturdy bails, could in theory have been similarly fastened to a life-size statue—or have been suspended from a cord on a living person.³⁵ But there is no evidence for varied types of symbols strung together during the Old Babylonian period or, apparently, the Kassite period.³⁶ And, although

we may be hampered by not knowing who was allowed to wear such symbols in the second millennium, that they were potent, awe-inspiring entities cannot be doubted.³⁷

Technical considerations also indicate that all five pendants were not made for the same object. The bails show different characteristics: the two rosette disks have a double granulated bail, the crescent a single granulated bail, the ray pendant a double melon bail, and the lightning pendant a single

melon bail. The pendants also differ in quality: the smallest rosette is the finest and the ray disk the least proficient. (Kim Benzel, a curatorial member of the Museum's Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art and an accomplished goldsmith, states that the goldworker responsible for the errors on the ray disk is unlikely to have made the two rosette disks as judged by quality and style.) Compositional analyses of some of the items, undertaken by M. T. Wypyski at the Metropolitan Museum, found similar alloys



Figures 8–10. Details of various beads and spacers as strung in the Dilbat necklace in Figure 1 (photos: Bill Barrette)

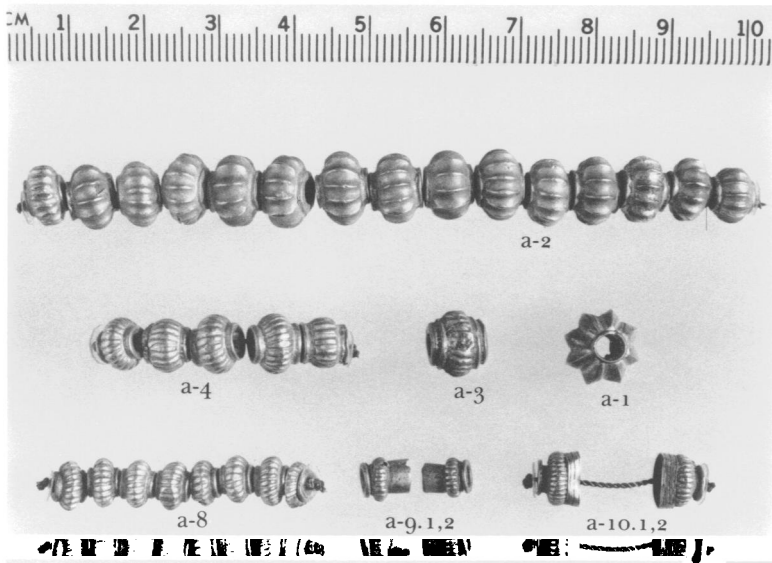


Figure 11. Various types of melon beads and parts from the Dilbat necklace, actual size (photo: Bill Barrette)

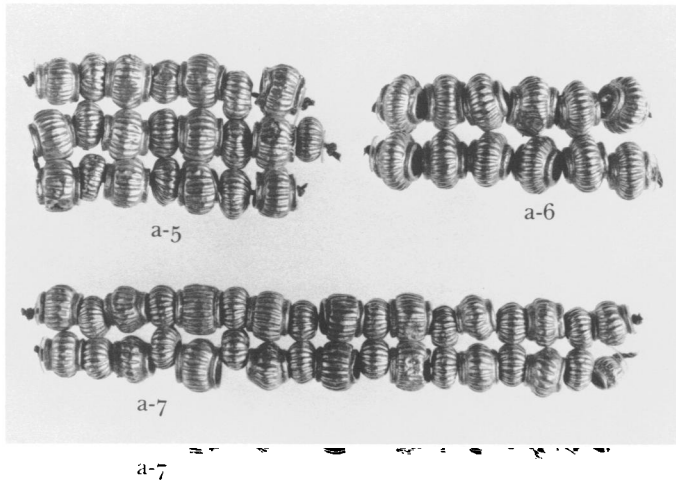


Figure 12. Three types of melon-bead spacers from the Dilbat necklace, actual size (photo: Bill Barrette)

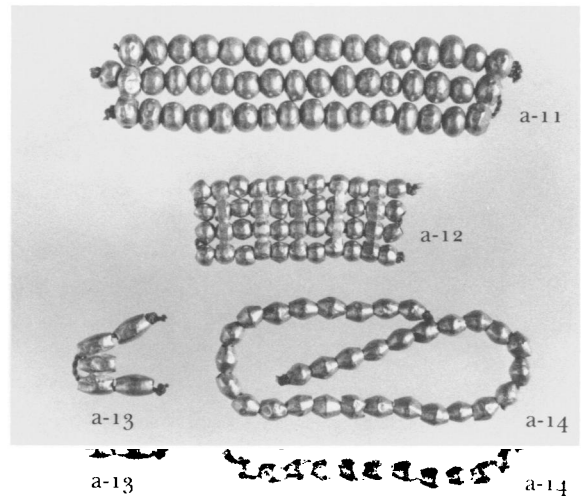
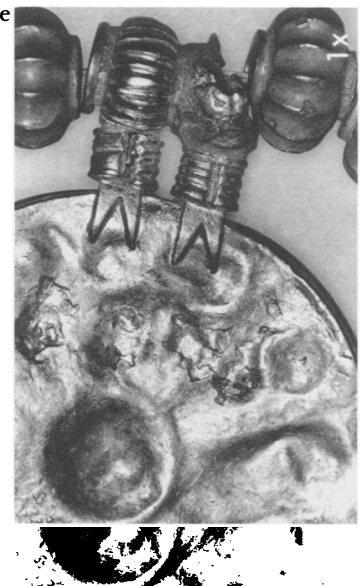
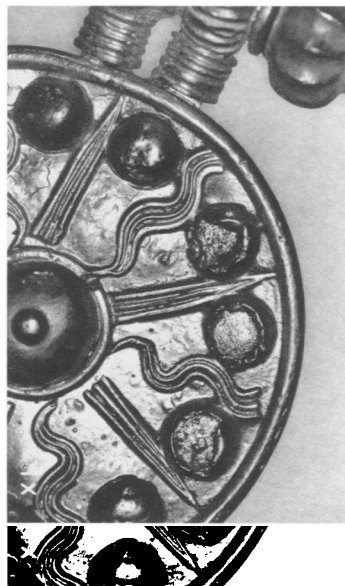
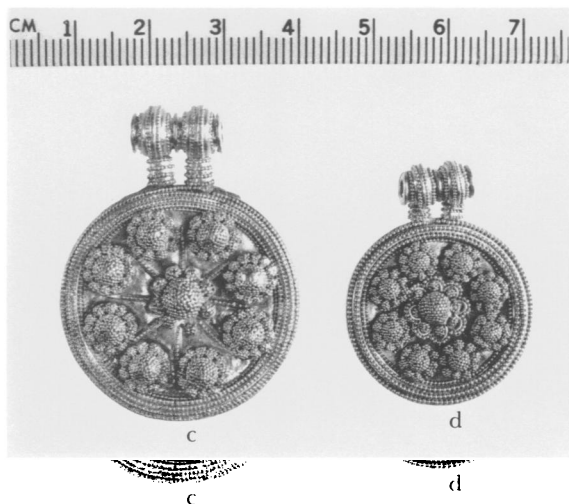


Figure 13. Ball, barrel, and biconical beads with spacers from the Dilbat necklace, smaller than actual (photo: Bill Barrette)



Figures 14–16. The Dilbat ray disk (MMA 47.1b). Diam. 3.5 cm. Note the incomplete bail at the top, the collapsed hemispheres on the face, and the notched tabs of the bail on the reverse. (photos: Bill Barrette)



Figures 17, 18. The Dilbat rosette pendants (MMA 47.1c-d). Left to right, c: diam. 3.3 cm; d: diam. 2.1 cm (photos: Bill Barrette)

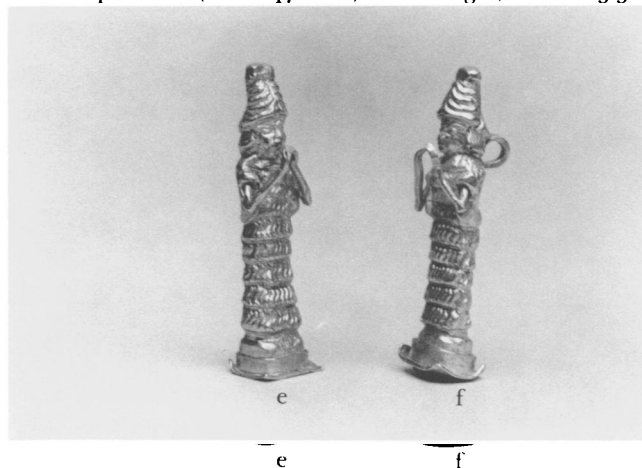


Figure 19. The Dilbat suppliant goddesses (MMA 47.1e-f). H. 3 cm. Note the loop ring on the back of the head for

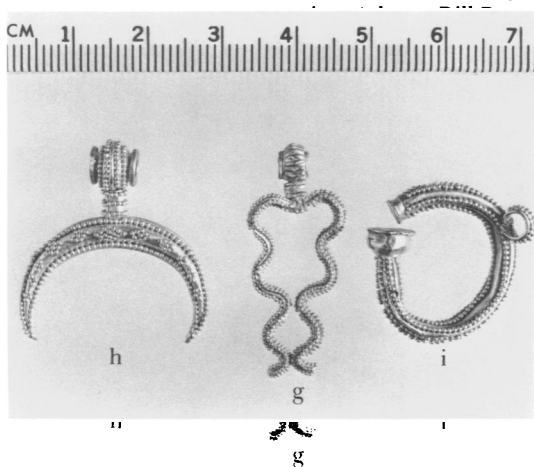


Figure 20. Dilbat pendants (MMA 47.1g-i). Left to right, h: w. 2.6 cm; g: w. 1.4 cm; i: greatest diam. 2.3 cm). Note the bails on left and center and the untrimmed plate and off-center loop on right. (photo: Bill Barrette)

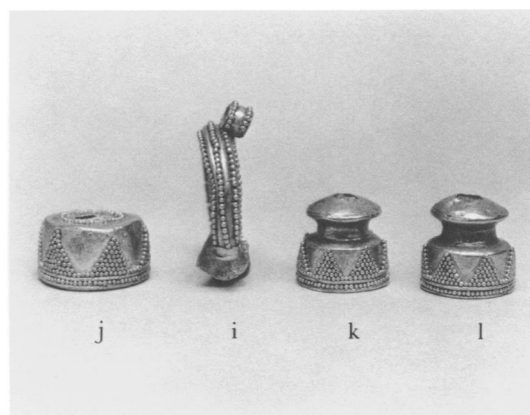


Figure 21. The Dilbat seal caps and ear ornament (MMA 47.1i-l). Left to right, j: h. 1.4 cm; i: greatest diam. 2.3 cm; k: h. 1.1 cm; l: h. 1.2 cm (photo: Bill Barrette)

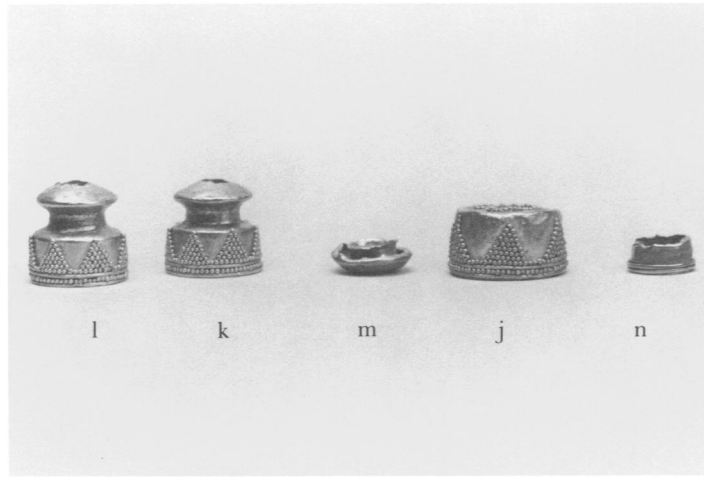


Figure 22. Dilbat seal caps and additional parts (MMA, Fletcher Fund, 1947, 47.1j–n). Left to right, l: h. 1.2 cm; k: h. 1.1 cm; m: diam. 1 cm;



Figure 23. Dilbat cylinder seals, ca. 17th cent. B.C.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Dr. Georg Hahn, 1947, 47.115.1–4. Left to right, .4: h. 2.1 cm; .3: h. 2.1 cm; .1: h. 2.9 cm; .2: h. 2.3 cm (photo: Bill Barrette)

in some objects (expressed in relative weight percentages) but not those that fit together typologically or stylistically:

- small rosette pendant, an a-5 or a-6 melon bead, and an a-14 biconical bead (ca. 78% gold, 22% silver);
- ray disk, large rosette, crescent pendant, and a goddess figure (ca. 89% gold, 10% silver, 1% copper);

bead in a-2 (ca. 89% gold, 8% silver, 3% copper); lightning pendant (ca. 96% gold, 3% silver, less than 1% copper).

The two rosette disks were cleaned by J.-F. de La-pérouse of the Museum during the course of the present study, and it became apparent that only the lightning forks and crescent (and possibly the “nose-ring”) were visually similar; the ray disk is a rich gold, the large rosette quite yellow, and the small

rosette pale, almost silvery, with patches of red around areas of granulation.

As for possible relationships according to weight, while the smaller of the Larsa disks was one-third the weight of the larger (2.5 vs. 7.5 grams), measurements of the weights of each Dilbat pendant did not show definite relationships:

ray disk (with collapsed hemispheres and melon bail): 15.75 grams;
large rosette (with modern reinforcement on back): 15.7 grams;
small rosette: 7.1 grams;
lightning: 2.3 grams;
crescent: 4.5 grams;
"nose-ring": 3.5 grams;
goddess figures: e, 1.95 grams; f, 1.8 grams.

I would suggest that one craftsman made the two rosettes and the crescent (but either at different times or for different necklaces) and that he could have made the lightning forks but would not simultaneously have made the large ray disk or the spacers of Figure 8.

Several general features suggest that the Dilbat objects as listed by Unger were indeed a hoard, that is, a mixed group of scrap and finished objects brought together for an unknown reason. These features are: (1) reported burial in a pot, (2) seals made for at least four different owners (a fifth one was lost), (3) plain and textured rings in large series (additional rings were also reported),³⁸ (4) condition of bangle (Figure 36), (5) reported quantity of oxidized silver, (6) damaged ray disk and large rosette disk, and (7) "nose-ring" (ear ornament?) if it is considered untrimmed (Appendix, 47.11). At Larsa, the jar-hoard referred to above contained the following:

gold granulated disk-pendant (Figure 28);
smaller electrum disk also said to be granulated;
silver crescent-pendants;
gold beads and earrings;
shell ornaments;
stone beads;
gold and silver scrap from jewels;
unworked stone;
cylinder seal;
sealings;
weights;
stone and metal tools.

Collections of metal are known from Tell el-Ajjul in Palestine (ca. 1650–1450 B.C.)³⁹ and from the Kaş shipwreck (ca. 1300 B.C.), to name only two sites that yielded objects that will be discussed below. Such assemblages could have belonged to looters, traders,

or temple workshops. Texts from the Old Babylonian temple at Ishchali, for instance, indicate that jewelry deliveries were made monthly, presumably as gifts for a goddess.⁴⁰ First-millennium Neo-Babylonian texts from Sippar concerning metal-smiths' work indicate that at that time "the main duty [of goldsmiths] was limited to the repairing of golden objects . . . which [according to texts] were used in very great numbers as adornments of [gods'] garments."⁴¹ While the excavators of the Larsa hoard believed their find to have been the property of a temple goldsmith, buried during a period of danger, other possible owners and reasons could have brought the items together.⁴² For the Dilbat objects it is enough to understand that the items are quite disparate and unlikely to have been used together or to have been made at the same time by the same craftsman. Given these variables, the dating of individual objects must be carefully considered.

COMPARATIVE DATING FOR THE OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH DILBAT

The objects above have been dated to both the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods. To choose one period over the other, let alone narrow the date within one of those periods, one must wrestle with two factors. First of all, absolute chronology does not exist for those periods. Dates for the Fall of Babylon—the event that brings the Old Babylonian period to an end—can be placed at least half a century apart, depending on which of the currently popular chronologies is chosen. Second, although the arrival of the Kassites in Babylonia is known to have been one of the contributing factors to the Fall of Babylon, there are no extant texts that can be dated to the Kassites until about 1420. In other words, there is a one- to two-hundred-year gap in which there are no dated documents from Mesopotamia.

Notwithstanding these factors, two questions are posed here: (1) can the seals be used to help date the other objects, and (2) does the rich style, fine craftsmanship, and wealth represented by the pendants date to the Old Babylonian period or the Kassite period, and when?

SEALS AND SEAL CAPS

The Metropolitan Museum seals are as follows (see Appendix for translations kindly provided by W. G. Lambert):

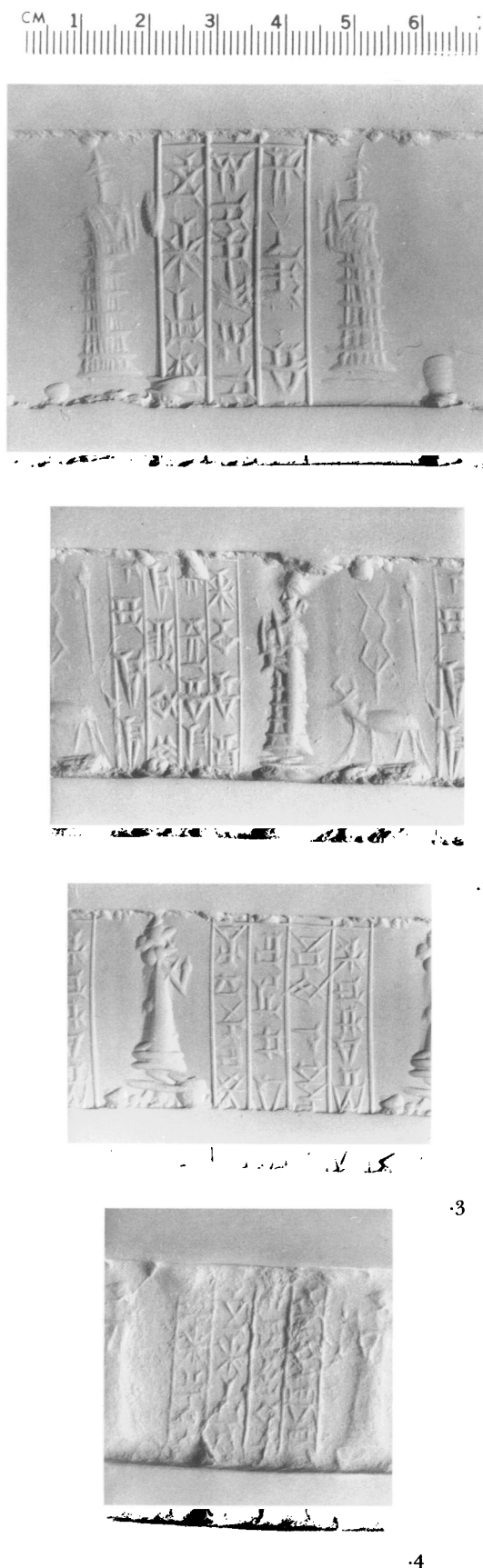
- 47.115.1, banded brown and white agate; Figure 23, second from right, and Figure 24 impression. Two suppliant goddesses frame a three-line inscription, open space between their backs. The inscription names the owner, a (m) servant of the god Šin;
- 47.115.2, banded brown and white agate; Figure 23, right, and Figure 25. A four-line inscription invokes the god Nabû; a suppliant goddess is followed by a bull, lightning fork, and vertical object less deeply carved than the goddess and inscription;
- 47.115.3, carnelian; Figure 23, second from left, and Figure 26. Four-line inscription with figure, presumably a suppliant female deity. Inscription is a dedication to the goddess Zarpānītum, consort of Marduk, and gives the name of (f) owner;
- 47.115.4, microcline [feldspar]; Figure 23, left, and Figure 27. Worshiper or suppliant female deity facing a four-line inscription. Like .1, seal names (m) owner, a servant of the gods Šin and Amurru.

Each of the four seals belonged to a different owner and shows different degrees of wear (see Appendix); two of them—.1 and .2—might have been used with caps (cf. j through n, Figure 22). They appear to have been the work of four different seal carvers. They could well have come from a hoard.

In determining the manufacturing dates of the seals, the problem of a time gap is compounded by the facts that “Old Babylonian” features continue into the Kassite period and “Kassite” features make their appearance already in Old Babylonian.⁴³

All four seals have inscriptions with one or two (divine) female figures. Lambert, in a consideration of the texts on the four seals, dates them to the Old Babylonian period. The type of inscription on seals .1 and .4 is generally considered Old Babylonian, but he goes on to state that the inscriptions of .1 and .4 are “never” Kassite.⁴⁴ And while the inscriptions on .2 and .3 are typologically Kassite, he states that he can cite examples within the Old Babylonian period for almost all textual features on the four seals (no signs of recarving being evident in the photographs).

Considering other aspects of the seals, a late Old Babylonian date is also justified, although the overlap of styles does not allow certainty.⁴⁵ In 1948 Porada pointed out that seals with suppliant goddesses and inscriptions “bridge the transition from the Old Babylonian style to that of the early Kassite period when inscriptions became the most prominent part of seal designs.”⁴⁶ She also pointed out the colorful



Figures 24–27. Impressions of the Dilbat cylinder seals in Figure 23 (MMA 47.115.1–4) (photos: Bill Barrette)

nature of the stones used, a feature Dominique Colton also notes.⁴⁷ Porada—who was preparing the British Museum Kassite seals for publication at the time of her death and who particularly studied the dating of the Dilbat seals for me—believed all four seals to be Old Babylonian rather than Kassite,⁴⁸ although she considered one of them to be quite late⁴⁹ and none outstanding or particularly well carved. Klengel-Brandt—who, like Porada, examined the seals first-hand—sees .1 and .3 as seventeenth century but notes that the three shallow symbols on .2 could indicate recarving.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the condition of seal .4 is such that Porada had suggested it was worn horizontally and Klengel-Brandt that it was recarved. These indications mean that the seals could have been used for some time before burial in a hoard, and—as Boehmer pointed out—could predate the gold.

As for the seal caps from our Dilbat hoard—each with a series of granulated triangles—they reflect patterning on impressions from the reign of the Old Babylonian ruler Samsuiluna (1749–1712 B.C.) to the end of the dynasty.⁵¹ However, granulated seal caps are associated most with the Kassite period (none exists except for the Dilbat caps).⁵² And while Kassite impressions often show more elaborate designs than the triangles on our three caps, the date of about 1425 for the first dated texts leaves open more than a century within the Kassite period where the simpler cap-types may have been used.⁵³ Interestingly, none of the late Old Babylonian impressions thought to be from Dilbat and published by Klengel-Brandt show granulation. Cap j (and m?) might have been used with seal .1, while caps k and l could have been used with seal .2 (cf. Figures 22, 23). But the caps are not intrinsically dated and are apparently the only granulated examples extant from the Old Babylonian or Kassite period.

PENDANTS

Among the Dilbat pendants, the two rosette disks probably offer the best evidence for date of manufacture. Each pendant (Figure 17) has eight rays, eight subsidiary flowers, and eight petals on each flower. F. A. M. Wiggermann states that eight-part flowers are associated with Ishtar,⁵⁴ and at least one terracotta plaque of the Old Babylonian period shows such flowers worn at the breast and ears of a female figure.⁵⁵ But the rosette was not restricted to one deity, and therefore the association of these disks to a particular deity cannot be definite. The

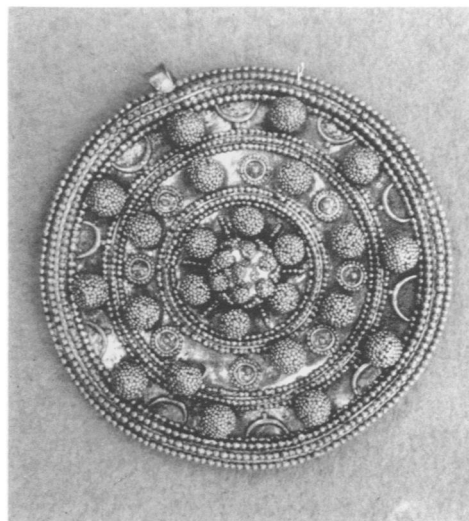


Figure 28. Granulated gold disk from Larsa (photo: Jean-Louis Huot)

similarity of one disk to the other, however, cannot be ignored.

An Old Babylonian date for the rosettes is suggested by the largest Larsa medallion (Figure 28)⁵⁶ and the three Ebla disks (Figure 32a). The Larsa pendant compared with the largest Dilbat disk (Figure 17, left) shows that on both pendants the outer edge is rounded—and lined with rows of granules—and that a dominating central rosette is present; the Larsa disk has six rays and the Dilbat eight; and the Larsa disk has a notched tab on the reverse side below the bail,⁵⁷ while the large Dilbat rosette has two such tabs (like the other two Dilbat disk-pendants). However, these similarities should not obscure the fact that the Larsa disk (dated ca. 1736 by its excavators) is simpler and more geometric than the large Dilbat rosette pendant. It has only a small hook for suspension, not a substantial bail;⁵⁸ the large Larsa disk has a central field and two concentric rings rather than one unified field (which is also the case with the three Ebla disks); it has hemispheres covered with granules rather than flowers made of granule-covered hemispheres with subsidiary clusters of grains; and it has dotted crescents interspersed with the hemispheres in the outer field. True, the center of the Larsa disk gives the effect of a flower, but the disk is generally geometric and without the rich floral character of the Dilbat disk.

The small Dilbat rosette pendant (Figure 17, right) is even more richly granulated than the large one. While it also has eight rays, the rays are almost

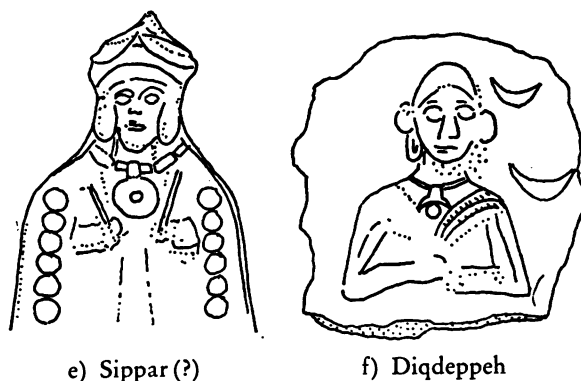


Figure 29. Old Babylonian representations of necklaces with central pendants (from Boehmer, *Die Kleinfunde von Bogazköy*, fig. 7)



Figure 30. A necklace found in a 10th-century B.C. burial at Lefkandi, Greece (photo: Mervyn Popham)

invisible because of the crowding of the central flower by subsidiary flowers. Compared to the large Larsa disk, this pendant is naturalistic and decorative rather than abstract and symbolic (see Figure 48 for the relative sizes of the disks being discussed). The date of the two Dilbat rosettes compared to that of the large Larsa disk will be discussed in the next section.

The goddess pendants (Figure 19) have “Old Babylonian” connotations. Such figures are often considered representations of the goddess Lama, a

protective goddess who is occasionally mentioned in pairs in Old Babylonian texts;⁵⁹ texts state that both Samsuiluna and Ammiditana dedicated two statues of her. Agnès Spycket has no suggestion as to how these particular figures were used.⁶⁰ A small gold pair is in the Louvre (from “Babylon” in 1909, Figure 33), and a single example is in the British Museum (acquired in 1910, Figure 34).⁶¹ For dating, however, it is perhaps safer to refer to the examples as suppliant goddesses (as on Dilbat seal .1, Figure 24) and to recognize that similar figures appear also in the Kassite period—on seals⁶² and stelae and as architectural ornament.⁶³ Seidl, who has studied Kassite stelae, considers the Dilbat pendants to be Old Babylonian and the earliest items from the group in the Metropolitan Museum.

The large ray disk is probably a symbol of the sun god Shamash, who, as mentioned above, was worshiped at Dilbat (Figure 14). E. Douglas Van Buren wrote that Shamash’s symbol was a disk with four pointed rays, interspersed with undulating streams,⁶⁴ but Wiggermann finds six points and undulating rays—as on the Dilbat disk—more indica-



Figure 31. Old Babylonian terracotta underworld god from Uruk (photo: Rainer Boehmer)

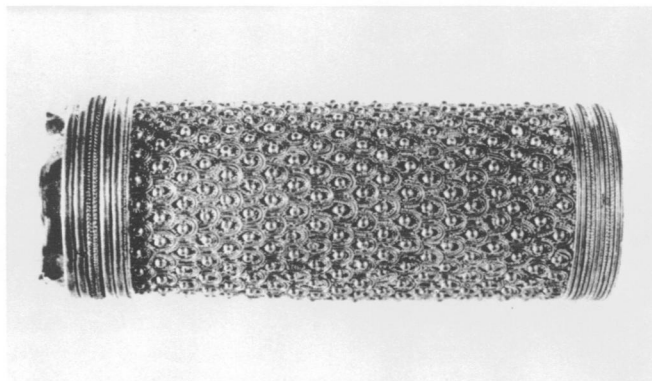
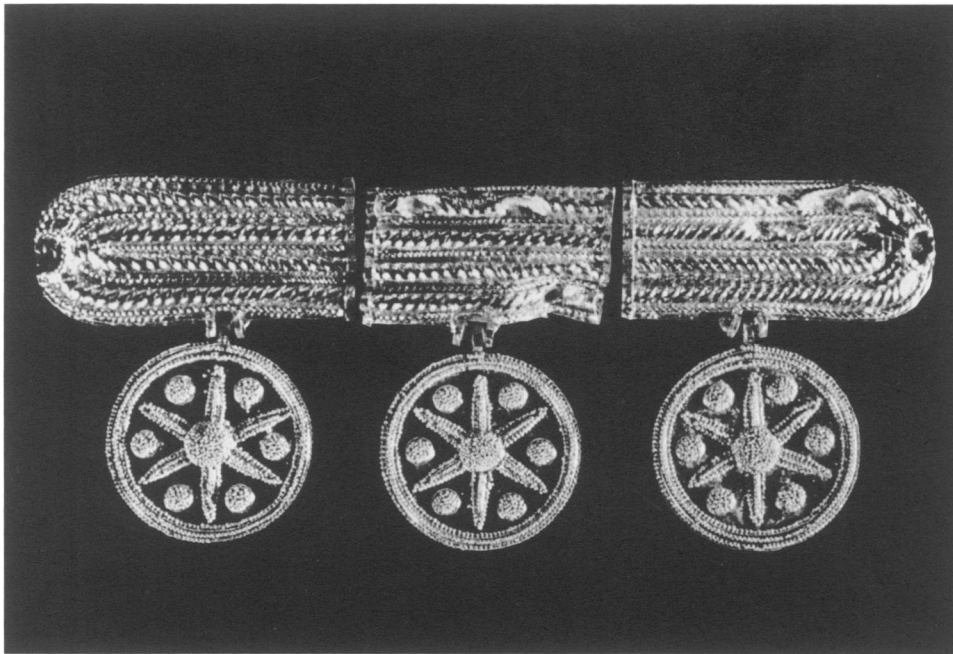


Figure 32. Gold granulated items from Ebla (from H. Weiss, ed., *Ebla to Damascus*, frontis.; P. Matthiae, *Ebla, un Impero ritrovato; dai primi Scavi alle ultime Scoperte* [Turin, 1989] pl. 145; P. Matthiae, *I Tesori di Ebla*, pl. 78; *Ebla to Damascus*, p. 240)



Figure 33. Gold suppliant goddesses “from Babylon,” 1909 (photo: Musée du Louvre)



Figure 34. Gold suppliant goddess acquired in 1910 (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the British Museum)

tive of Shamash, and Kawami identifies the Dilbat example as a *shamshatu*. Boehmer studied such features in 1972 and connected some starlike disks with the goddess Ishtar; but the Dilbat disk, with its large central boss and undulating rays, certainly gives the impression of a sun symbol, notwithstanding the occurrence of undulating strands on a more decorative object from Ebla (Figure 32c).⁶⁵ The tab on the back of the disk is notched.

The lightning fork (Figure 20, center), symbol of the weather god Adad (also worshiped at Dilbat), offers one particular characteristic for dating: its bail is wrapped with wire as on the bail for the smallest Larsa disk.

The crescent pendant (Figure 20, left) is a symbol of the moon god Sîn, also worshiped at Dilbat. It finds its closest parallel in shape among examples gathered by Boehmer from Kültepe level Ib (ca. 1810–1740 B.C.) and Boghazköy (after 1500 B.C.).⁶⁶ Its staggered-triangle pattern of granulation occurs about 1750–1400 on a nose-ring/earring from Ebla (Figure 32b), earrings from Ajjul, and pendant and cylinder beads from Kamid el-Loz in the Levant (Figures 41–43); the pattern has a history even in the first millennium B.C.⁶⁷

BEADS

Gold beads from our Dilbat hoard could date to the Old Babylonian or the early Kassite period. The ball, barrel, and biconical beads of Figure 13 are

ubiquitous, and even the melons of Figures 11 and 12 go back to the Uruk period before 3000 B.C.⁶⁸ (round beads with flat ends, ribbing in between, sometimes a distinctive collar between the bead proper and its end). However, melon beads were found in the Ebla tombs cited above (ca. 1800–1600 B.C.), at Ajjul, and at Kassite Aqar Quf (ca. 1400 B.C.).⁶⁹ Fluted beads (having concave channels) with wire around each end (Figure 11, a-1 and a-2) are less common; they occur in the necklace of the priestess Abbabashti from the Ur III period (ca. 2112–2004 B.C.) and perhaps in a late Ur III grave at Nippur,⁷⁰ all with six to eight flutes (a-1 has eight; the beads of a-2 have more). As the terminology for melon and fluted beads does vary, the references to Ur III times should not be taken to mean that fluted beads date only from that period; several types were found at Ebla.

EAR ORNAMENT AND EARRINGS

The “nose-ring” (Figures 20, 21, i) is thought by Benzel to be a complete object, finished in all respects except for the filing of the two plates at the ends of the curved tube. It thus could be an ear ornament, with the off-center loop designed to carry a suspended ornament. No parallel exists.

The current location of the earrings (“hair-rings”) in the Unger and Herzfeld photographs is not known today (Figures 35, 37–39; cf. Figures 4–7). The smooth examples, more than nineteen, could



Figure 35. Gold twisted earrings from Dilbat, detail of Figure 7

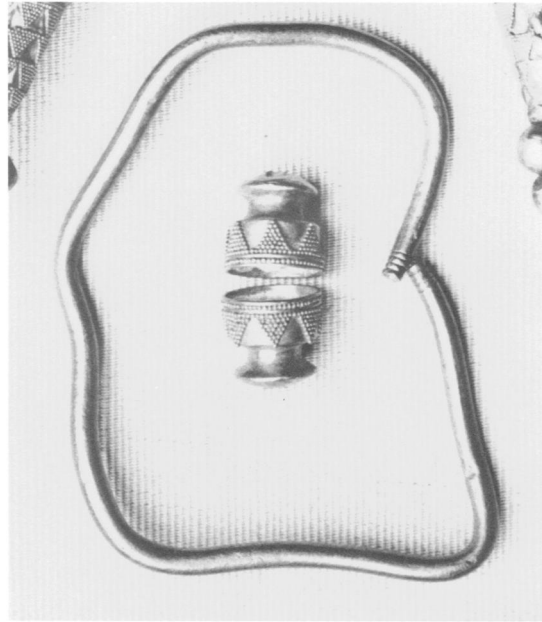


Figure 36. Gold bangle and seal caps from Dilbat, detail of Figure 7

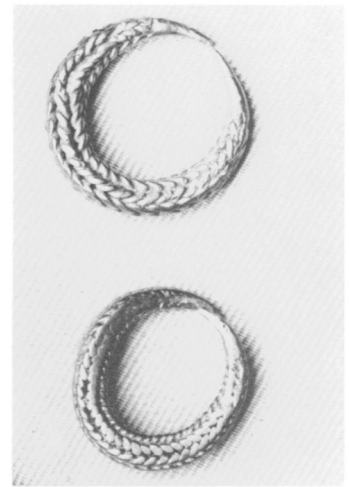


Figure 37. Gold braided earrings, detail of Figure 7

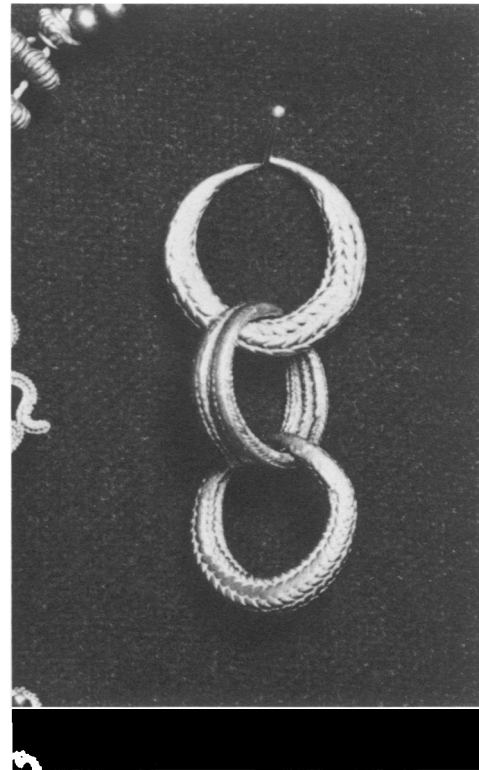
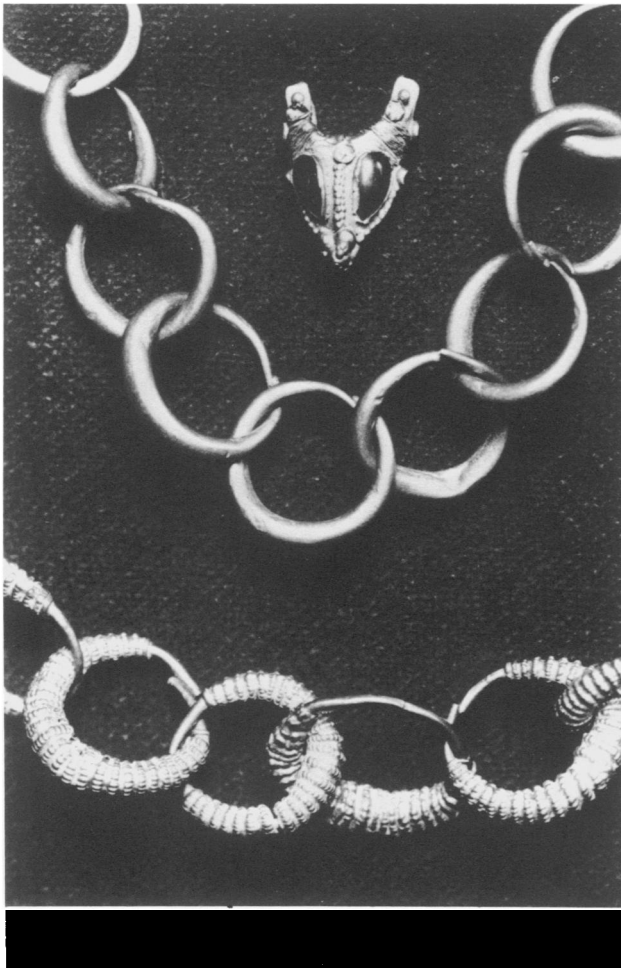


Figure 39. Gold two-part earring with braided earrings from Dilbat, detail of Figure 5

Figure 38. Gold smooth and knurled earrings from Dilbat with Parthian earring, detail of Figure 6



Figure 40. Gold ridged earrings from Tell el-Ajjul (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the British Museum)

probably date to many periods and certainly to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.⁷¹ The braided⁷² and twisted rings⁷³ have parallels at Tell el-Ajjul, although the correspondence is not exact. The most unusual items are the twelve knurled rings. These appear to be formed of an ear wire that meets in the center with a hollow beaded sheath suspended from it. Two ridged pairs were found at Ajjul (Figure 40),⁷⁴ and another example there appears to have been textured.⁷⁵ But assuming our rings are second millennium, their closest parallels are fourteenth-century Kassite earrings where the ear wire fastens at the side.⁷⁶

BANGLE

The large ring with incised ends (Unger's "gold wire," Figures 5, 7, 36) would have been about 7 centimeters in diameter. Parallels exist in both the Middle Bronze and the Late Bronze Ages.⁷⁷

FURTHER DISCUSSION OF DATE

We return now to the question of whether additional indications of date might be extracted from the Dilbat rosette disks. There are two general factors that could make such an endeavor promising: (1) the size of the ray disk and the exceedingly high quality of the rosette, crescent, and lightning-fork pendants presuppose a stable culture, wealthy clients, and expert craftsmen; (2) if their provenance is Dilbat, 30 kilometers south of Babylon, its Babylonian rulership could have terminated when the Hittites and Kassites descended in either 1595 or 1525 B.C. On the other hand, these two factors are

not aided by a third, namely, that there is very little extant Kassite granulation for study.⁷⁸

The Larsa pendant from southern Iraq and the Ebla jewels from northwest Syria show that high-quality granulated jewelry was created before the Fall of Babylon.⁷⁹ The Ebla nose/earring (Figure 32b) has a pattern similar to that on the Dilbat crescent (Figure 20, left, and Figure 43), while a ferrule from the Ebla tombs (Figure 32d) shows that the overwhelming opulence of the small Dilbat rosette was in existence then too.⁸⁰ (Even the undulating strands of the Dilbat ray disk are found at Ebla, Figure 32c.) However, the precise, rather dry style of the Larsa and Ebla disks (Figures 28, 32a) also appeared at Ajjul (more crudely)⁸¹ and continued at Kassite Aqar Quf (ca. 1400)⁸² and Middle Elamite Susa (thirteenth century).⁸³

The dates of the Dilbat pendants do not appear to be far apart, as indicated by bails and tabs, style of granulation, format, and quality. Is there anything that can anchor them more specifically between Ebla and Aqar Quf, no matter what their provenance? Jewels of the Levant (Tell el-Ajjul, Kamid el-Loz) and from the Kaş shipwreck are less fine than those at Larsa and Ebla (see Figure 43 for our objects compared with beads believed to come from Kamid el-Loz), but is this owing to a difference of time or culture? In contrast to Maxwell-Hyslop's published opinion, I do not believe that all high-quality gold craftsmanship originated in Mesopotamia.⁸⁴

There is no sure answer to this question, but finds from the Levant, Anatolia, and probably Egypt provide additional documentation for consideration, as follows. The Dilbat rosettes have a more decorative, less abstract format than the Larsa medallion. The former have rather naturalistic flowers—the latter, a series of lunar crescents and hemispheres. Wiggermann states that there is too little evidence to say whether this iconographic variability means a chronological difference; Benzel believes—from a technical standpoint—that the stylistic differences need not mean a different date.⁸⁵ However, it should be noted that a further step toward decoration can be observed on two disk-pendants now in Leiden that should be dated after 1500. These pendants are identical to each other except for slight differences in size and detail (Figures 44, 45 for one of them); they are the medallions Maxwell-Hyslop called "so close to the Dilbat [rosette pendants] that [they] could have come from the same workshop as the Babylonian piece[s]." ⁸⁶ In fact, no rays are present

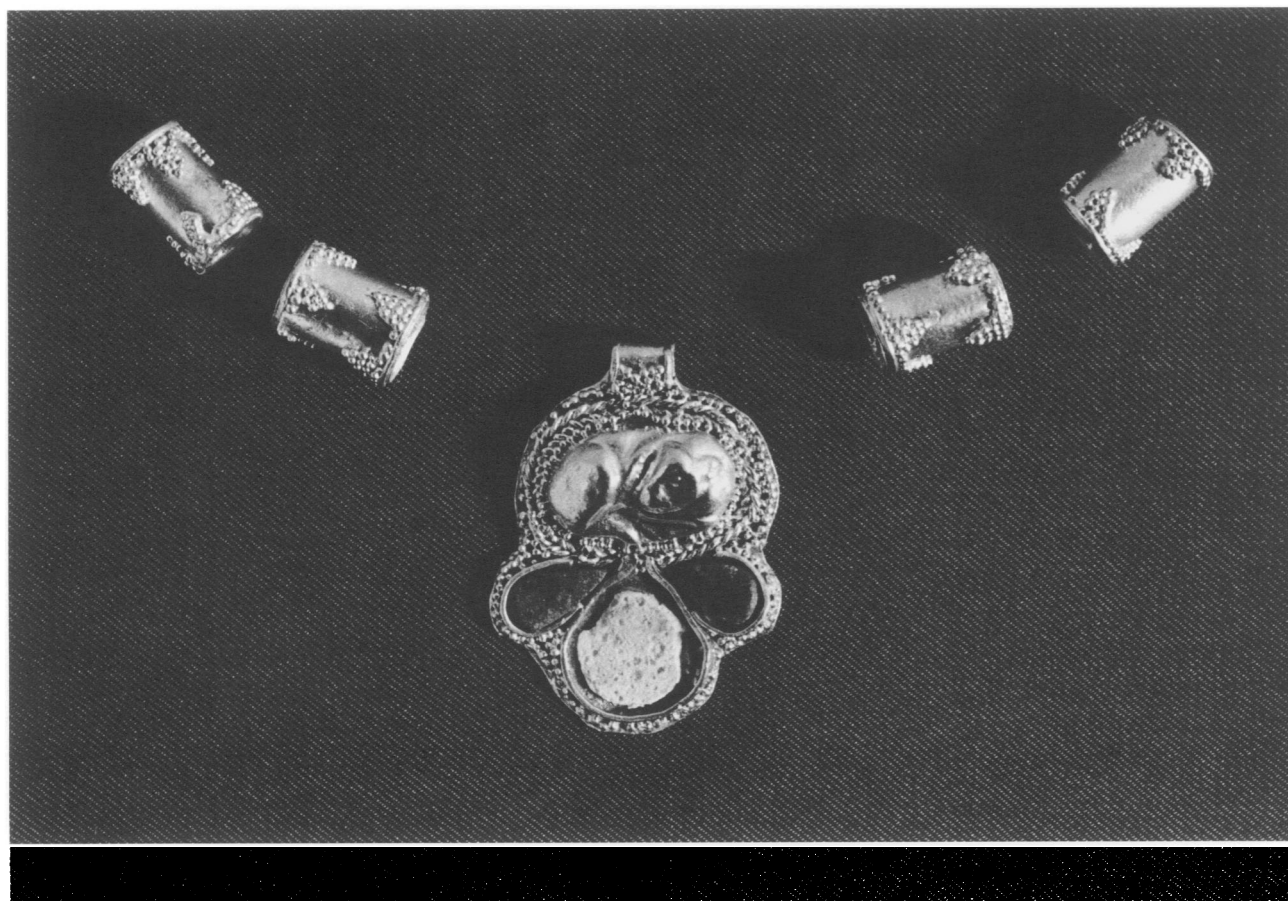


Figure 41. Gold cylinder beads and pendant with inlay from Kamid el-Loz (photo: Monika Zorn from Rolf Hachmann)

on the Leiden disks, only a central flower with five petals and seven such subsidiary flowers. Projecting inward from the edge of each pendant is a series of isolated triangles, and each bail is decorated with staggered and facing triangles. On the back of each disk, a single tab comes to a point rather than a notch, a feature noted on an Astarte-type pendant of the Kaş shipwreck.⁸⁷ It is evident from photographs that some of the Leiden petals are dotted, the center of each flower is surrounded by a wire ring, the triangles of the larger disk are poorly shaped, and the back plates of both pendants are bumpy because of impurities in the gold or poor preparation.

While the Leiden pendants have no archaeological context, the pendant from Kaş just cited has a terminus ad quem of about 1300 B.C. Dated perhaps a century earlier are jewels excavated at Kamid el-Loz in modern Lebanon, in which staggered facing triangles decorate the bail of a pendant, gold cylinder beads (Figures 41, 42), and biconical beads that I believe are from the same find (Figure 43, shown with Dilbat objects d, g, h). The Kamid el-Loz pen-

dant has a notched tab in back like the Larsa and Dilbat configuration (cf. Figures 16, 18, 42, and note 57), although its edges are folded as in later Late Bronze II or III pendants from Kaş.⁸⁸ Elsewhere I have argued that the tomb in which the Kamid el-Loz jewels were found dates to Late

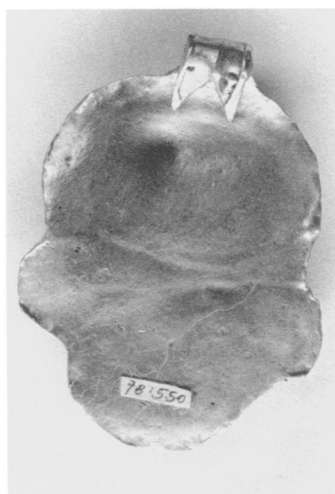


Figure 42. Reverse of Kamid el-Loz pendant (photo: author)



Figure 43. Dilbat pendants d, g, h with beads believed to come from Kamid el-Loz (gold cylinders and biconical beads, blue frit collared beads) (photo: author)



Figures 44, 45. Front and back of one of two gold pendants in Leiden (photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden)



Figure 46. One of two gold falcon earrings in Leiden (photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden)



Figure 47. Gold falcon earring in the Musée du Louvre (photo: Bill Barrette)

Bronze I, the pre-Amarna period about 1550–1400 B.C.,⁸⁹ after the end of the Old Babylonian period in Mesopotamia and before substantial remains of the Kassites are documented about 1420 B.C.

The Leiden disks were almost certainly found in Egypt; they were acquired by the Rijksmuseum in 1828 from Giovanni Anastasi, a Swedish consul who formed a collection in Egypt.⁹⁰ From that Anastasi collection also came two falcon earrings (see Figure 46 for one of them) with features similar to those on earrings from Tell el-Ajjul.⁹¹ It is curious that there were two floral disks from Anastasi, one slightly larger and differently detailed than the other, as in the Dilbat group. Also curious is the fact

that a falcon earring in the Louvre—acquired in 1827 from the Piedmontese consular agent for France, Bernardino Drovetti (Figure 47)⁹²—is virtually identical to the Leiden pair of earrings. There are several instances where Egyptian groups were split up by consular agents,⁹³ and, as the Leiden and Paris objects are otherwise unparalleled, it is likely that all three earrings and the two rosette disks were from one find in Egypt.⁹⁴ In any event, the glittery earrings excavated at Ajjul are no earlier than the end of the Middle Bronze Age and could be Late Bronze I, about 1550–1450 B.C., a period in Mesopotamia that covers the Fall of Babylon up to the time when texts of the subsequent Kassite dynasty can be dated. The Kaş shipwreck referred to above, of about 1300 B.C., yielded a granulated pendant which George Bass, its excavator, thought had its closest parallel in the Leiden earrings.⁹⁵

In summary, the following points have been made: (1) the four seals could have been made in the late Old Babylonian period and deposited before the fall of the dynasty; (2) features on our Dilbat pendants can be compared with jewels from Larsa and Ebla and seal impressions to indicate a date no earlier than 1750; (3) while the Dilbat bails are more complicated than those on the Larsa disks⁹⁶ and the fifteenth-century Kamid el-Loz pendant, their notched tabs are not the type used on the Leiden disks or a plaque in the Kaş shipwreck from about the fourteenth century; (4) the Larsa medallion has six rays and a six-lobed central rosette⁹⁷ and the Dilbat rosette disks have eight rays,⁹⁸ but the Leiden pendants have no rays at all, only a central flower with eight subsidiary flowers. Furthermore, all Leiden flowers have five petals (like examples from Tell el-Ajjul and Late Bronze Age Megiddo),⁹⁹ rather than the eight or ten of the Dilbat pendants.

CONCLUSION

The parallels for the objects associated with Dilbat range from late Old Babylonian to Kassite. Ancient texts and a recent archaeological survey indicate that Dilbat was occupied in both periods. Various features indicate that the objects could have formed a hoard. Virtually all of the objects have second-millennium parallels.

In my opinion, the manufacture date of the granulated Dilbat pendants is later than the granu-

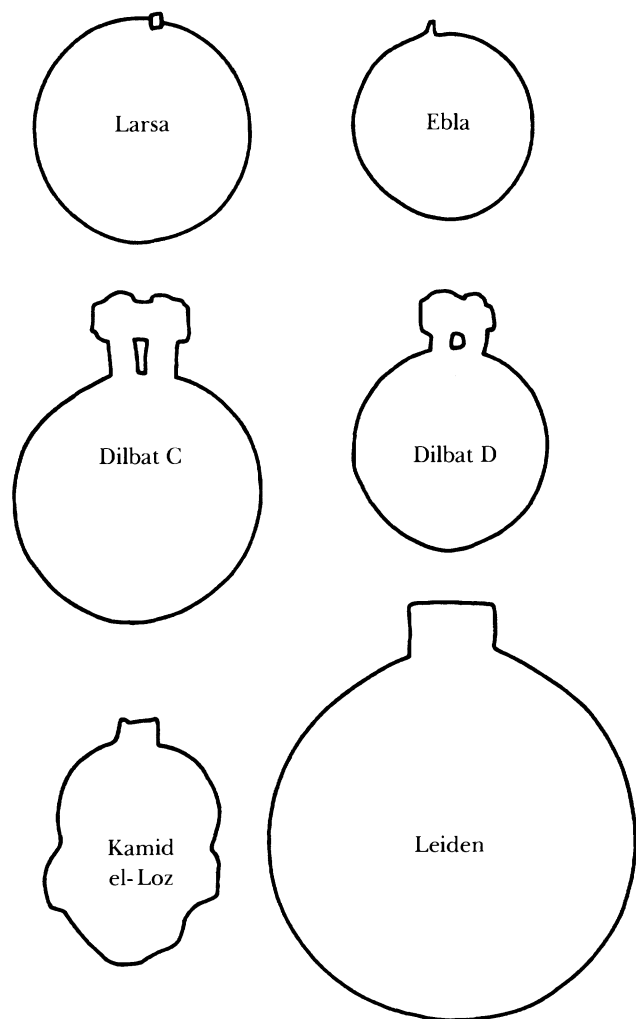


Figure 48. Actual-size drawings of pendant contours

lated Larsa disk. Goldsmithing is of high quality in the first half of the second millennium at both Larsa and Ebla. If items in the West can be taken as representative of the quality of goldsmithing in Babylonia, the Dilbat items are earlier than the Ajjul/Kamid el-Loz/Leiden-Louvre/Kaş objects (dated generally to the second half of the second millennium). The lack of wealth attributable to the early Kassite dynasty indicates that the very end of the Old Babylonian period, 1700–1600 B.C., is the best estimate for the manufacture date of all of the Dilbat objects. As for the deposition date of a presumed hoard at Dilbat, the good condition of the small rosette, crescent, and lightning forks should mean that little time had expired between their use and their burial. Perhaps the two seals naming Sin, the scrap, the damaged and incomplete objects, and the pendants in good condition were from a temple storehouse and the event that brought about their burial was the Fall of Babylon. In all events, our Dilbat objects, probably from a hoard, are unique and precious documents from the ancient world.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank colleagues in the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art for encouragement, references, expertise, and access: Prudence O. Harper, Joan Aruz, Kim Benzel, Ira Spar, Eva von Dassow (Fellow), and John Morariu. To Edith Porada I am grateful for inspiration, interest, and the consideration of problems over many years.

NOTES

1. K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery, c. 3000–612 B.C.* (London, 1971); Paolo Matthiae, "Osservazioni sui gioielli delle tombe principesche di Mardikh IIIB," *Studi Eblaiti* IV (1981) p. 212; Jean-Louis Huot, in Daniel Arnaud, Yves Calvet, Jean-Louis Huot, "Ilsu-ibnisu, Orfèvre de l'E.BABBAR de Larsa; le Jarre L. 76.77 et son contenu," *Syria* 56 (1979) p. 50.

2. Dominique Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago, 1987) pp. 108–109, no. 477.

3. James A. Armstrong, "West of Edin: Tell al-Deylam and the Babylonian City of Dilbat," *Biblical Archaeologist* 55, no. 4 (Dec. 1992) pp. 219–226.

4. Eckhard Unger, "Topographie der Stadt Dilbat," *Archiv Orientalní* 3 (1931) pp. 21–48; idem, "Dilbat" in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II, Erich Ebeling and Bruno Meissner, eds. (Berlin, 1938) pp. 218–225.

5. "Altbabylonische Siegelabrollungen (VS VII-IX)," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 16 (1989) pp. 253–256, nos. 90–99. I thank Joan Aruz for this reference.

6. Cf. Svend Aage Pallis, *The Antiquity of Iraq* (Copenhagen, 1956) p. 477; Unger, "Topographie der Stadt Dilbat," p. 219.

7. These Kassite remains were not of a culture that would have yielded the Dilbat hoard: Armstrong, personal communication, April 1991.

8. Bruno Meissner, *Grundzüge der altbabylonischen Plastik* (Leipzig, 1914) pp. 5–6.

9. In 1920 he stated that the objects belonged to "Frau Dr. Hahn" and was slightly less definite that they belonged to the period of Hammurapi; Meissner also republished his earlier photograph and a photograph of two cylinder-seal caps (*Babylonien und Assyrien* I [Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek, 1. Reihe: Ethnologische Bibliothek 3] [Heidelberg, 1920] pp. 63–64). In 1926 Meissner identified the period of Hammurapi as dating "ca. 2000 v.C." ("Goldschmiedekunst, D. Vorderasien" in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* IV, part 2, Max Ebert, ed. [Berlin, 1926] p. 394; the Old Babylonian period was dated 2150–1850 B.C. in that publication.)

10. W. Freiherrn von Bissing, "Die Funde in den Tempeln von Byblos und ihre zeitliche Bestimmung," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 4 (1927) p. 66. He states that it was at least 100 years later and perhaps not Babylonian but Phoenician, but his dating was somewhat compromised by his estimation that a medallion excavated at Byblos by Pierre Montet was not only a forerunner of the Dilbat pendants but dated as late as 1500 B.C., rather than approximately 1900 B.C. See C. Lilyquist, "Granulation and glass: chronological and stylistic investigations of a specialized technique and technology ca. 2000–1400 B.C.E.," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 290–291 (1993) pp. 38–41.

11. Eckhard Unger, "Die Offenbarung der Gottheit durch den Windhauch," *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 5 (1929) pp. 270–271.

12. Unger, "Das Kunstgewerbe des Alten Orients, I. Schmuck," p. 355 and "VII. Glyptik, Steinschnitt," pp. 421 nos. 2 and 11, 425, in *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes, aller Zeiten und Völker* III, H. Th. Bossert, ed. (Berlin, 1930).

13. Unger, *Archiv Orientalní* 3 (1931) pp. 24–25.

14. Dietrich Opitz, "Altorientalische Gussformen," in *Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur: Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim zum 70. Geburtstage, gewidmet von Freunden und Mitarbeitern*, *Archiv für Orientforschung* Beiheft I (Berlin, 1933) pp. 184–185.

15. Opitz, "Beginning of the second millennium" at the earliest. The seal with inscription mentioning Nabium [47.115.2] could be Kassite in all probability, while two others [47.115.1 and .4] were probably also Kassite on the basis of names: that of Ra'im-ketty occurred in the Kassite period and that of Aziza "also seemed foreign" (the Kassite dynasty was Indo-European and the Old Babylonian, Amorite).

16. Ernst Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London, 1941) p. 145.

17. Prudence Harper first noticed the Dilbat necklace in the Herzfeld negatives, and Colleen Hennessey very patiently worked with me in using the papers. The negatives referred to

are nos. 310–316 in Photo File 13 (3). Edith Porada did not remember seeing Dilbat objects in the Hahns' home before World War II, which suggests that they were probably kept in a safe (letter of July 27, 1993).

18. Herzfeld Coll. no. 28 (Notebooks N-20 and N-89); Photo File 13 (1) no. 10 and Sketchbook XXVIII p. 47; Photo File 13 (2) no. 257. For the earrings, cf. Brigitte Musche, *Vorderasiatischer Schmuck zur Zeit der Arsakiden und Sassaniden*, Handbuch der Orientalistik VII; Kunst und Archäologie 1, Der alte Vordere Orient, part 2, Die Denkmäler, B: Vorderasien, fasc. 5 (Leiden, 1988) type 7, pp. 78–80, pls. 14–15, and type 14, p. 96, pl. 18. Cf. also Joachem Wolters, *Die Granulation, Geschichte und Technik einer alten Goldschmiedekunst* (Munich, 1983) p. 112, fig. 84.

19. Sollberger pronounced the seal with prayer to Nabu [.2] Kassite and the seals naming Parbi and Adad-gamil [.1 and .4] also Kassite because the names of the fathers were well known in Kassite texts.

20. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery*, pp. 88–91; cf. also pp. 100, 117–118, 125–126, 160.

21. Maxwell-Hyslop mentions several points which would support an “early Kassite, c. 1600” date for the necklace: a goddess with flounced dress, raised hands, and horned crown—as worn by the two small Dilbat goddesses—appearing on a Kassite stela; the quality of granulation on examples from Canaanite Tell el-Ajjul and Kassite Aqar Quf (ca. 1400; see nn. 78, 82); and the technique of a roundel in Leiden (see p. 25 below). Features suggesting an earlier dating occurred at the Syrian palace of Mari: a frescoed representation of a moon god wearing a crescent, and a costume on the Goddess with Streams like that worn by the two Dilbat figures. She also mentions the Dilbat rosette disk, where nine hemispheres are juxtaposed with an eight-rayed star, but does not explain its significance.

22. R. M. Boehmer, *Die Kleinfunde von Bogazköy aus den Grabungskampagnen 1931–1939 und 1952–1969*, Bogazköy-Hattusa VII (Berlin, 1972) pp. 25–28, 32ff.

23. Boehmer pointed out that figure pendants are known from Ugarit and Bogazköy in the late Bronze Age, and protective (or suppliant) goddesses appear on Kassite stelae and on seals of ca. 1400–1200 B.C.

24. In fact, Boehmer's supportive evidence for the pattern of granulation on the crescent, the existence of melon beads, and punctate decoration are not specific to the Kassite period: see Lilyquist, “Granulation and glass.”

25. Arnaud, Calvet, and Huot, “Ilsu-ibnisu, Orfèvre”; through a combination of stratigraphy and texts.

26. Winfried Orthmann, “Babylonisch-Assyrisches Kunsthandwerk” and entry 253a (“Schmuck”) in W. Orthmann, ed., *Der alte Orient* (Berlin, 1975) pp. 327, 330.

27. Matthiae, “Gioielli.” For a recent consideration of the dating of the Ebla tombs, see Lilyquist, “Granulation and glass,” pp. 44–47.

28. Wolters, *Die Granulation*, pp. 69, 101.

29. Madeleine Trokay, “Montures de sceaux-cylindres cassites et ornements de pendentifs chypriotes,” *Studia Phoenicia* III (Louvain, 1985) pp. 21–44.

30. Trudy Kawami, “*Melammu and Puluhtu*: The Aesthetic, Re-

ligious and Political Significance of the Ancient Near Eastern *Shamshatu* Medallion,” Jewelry symposium (Bloomington, Ind., Sept. 1991). I thank Dr. Kawami for providing her manuscript.

31. Cf. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery*, pp. 149–157.

32. A disk with crescent may be represented on an Old Babylonian figurine from Tello; see Ernest de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris, 1884) pl. 44ter, no. 1a. The granulated gold pendant in the ca. 1000 B.C. burial at Lefkandi, Greece, must have been an heirloom when buried (Mervyn Popham, E. Touloupa, and L. H. Sackett, “The Hero of Lefkandi,” *Antiquity* 56 [1982] p. 172, pl. 23); the melon beads are gold and the date beads faience.

33. Du Mesnil du Bisson, “Souran et Tell Masin,” *Berytus* 2 (1935) p. 132, pl. 50. The interpretation of three or more disks on the Syrian terracottas is not always clear: M. Mallouan suggested that incised disks might be tattoos, and cf. Selenkahiye, nos. 156 (p. 342, pl. 46) and 58 (pl. 42), in Leila Badre, *Les figurines anthropomorphes en terre-cuite à l'âge du bronze en Syrie*, Institut français d'Archéologie du Proche Orient, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique CIII (Paris, 1980). Other examples are Sélémiyeh no. 5 (p. 195, pl. 10), Tell Ta'yinat no. 3 (p. 253, pl. 21), and Chagar Bazar no. 6 (p. 285, pl. 30).

34. Entry no. 109 in *Ebla to Damascus; Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria*, exh. cat., H. Weiss, ed. (Washington, 1985). The representation from Tell Toukhan (Matthiae, “Gioielli,” p. 218 n. 54) is not yet published.

35. R. M. Boehmer, p. 33, no. 62, in B. Böck et al., “Uruk 39 (1989),” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 24 (1993); see also p. 126, no. 235. The lower part of this god's body is in a net, the upper part is presumably bare. The crescent and rosette below the beard have parallels but not the large rosettes on the shoulders or the crescent(?) and rosette to either side of the beard. The latter are probably not part of a necklace; Nadjé Wrede suggests they are earrings. The Dilbat pendants are too heavy to be worn as earrings.

36. Ursula Seidl, personal communication, Jan. 1993; the scale of representations often precludes such details from being shown, however. Opitz had called attention to the lack of early evidence in 1933.

37. See Kawami, “*Melammu and Puluhtu*,” n. 52, and Irene Winter, “Radiance as an Aesthetic Value in the Art of Mesopotamia (with Some Indian Parallels),” pp. 123–132, in *Art, the Integral Vision: A Volume of Essays in Felicitation of Kapila Vatsyayan*, B. N. Saraswati, S. C. Malik, and Madhu Khanna, eds. (New Delhi, 1994).

38. Tombs have produced series of rings: Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery*, pls. 68, 131; A. Haller, *Die Gräber und Gräfte von Assur*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur, A. Die Baudenkmäler aus assyrischer Zeit (Berlin, 1954) p. 129, pl. 36-i, -k (the female burial in tomb 45 had three ridged earrings near one ear, five near the other). Elizabeth Goringe suggests that multiple rings at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios tomb 11 (Cyprus) represent specific units of weight: “Death in Everyday Life: Aspects of Burial Practice in the Late Bronze Age,” in *Early Society in Cyprus*, Edgar Peltenburg, ed. (Edinburgh, 1989) pp. 103–104.

39. Ora Negbi, *The Hoards of Goldwork from Tell el'Ajjul*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XXV (Göteborg, 1970).

40. M. de Jong Ellis, "Delivery Records from the Archive of the Kititum Temple at Ishchali," in *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, Klaas R. Veenhof, ed. (papers read at the 30th Rencontre Assyriologique internationale, Leiden, July 4–8, 1983) (Istanbul, 1986) pp. 112–120.

41. Stefan Zawadzki, "Ironsmiths, Bronzsmiths and Goldsmiths in the Neo-Babylonian Texts from Sippar," *Die Welt des Orients* 22 (1991) pp. 21–47.

42. Judith Bjorkman, "The Larsa Goldsmith's Hoard, New Interpretations," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52 (1993) pp. 1–23.

43. Briggs Buchanan, "On the Seal Impressions on Some Old Babylonian Tablets," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11 (1957) pp. 46–47, and idem, "Cylinder seal impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection illustrating a Revolution in Art circa 1700 B.C.," *The Yale University Library Gazette* (Oct. 1970) pp. 53–65. I thank Peter Calmeyer for this reference.

44. Letter of July 1992 from W. G. Lambert.

45. See Donald M. Matthews, *Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the Later Second Millennium B.C.*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica VIII (Fribourg, 1990) chap. 2 and pp. 55–58.

46. Edith Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Bollingen Series XIV: Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections 1 (Washington, 1948) pp. 62–65.

47. Dominique Collon, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum: Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods* (London, 1986) pp. 25, 199–200. For the vertical object on MMA 47.115.2, see Collon's no. 573. I thank Barbara Porter for this reference.

48. Porada, letter of July 27, 1993.

49. Porada, letter of May 22, 1992. Seal .3 has the clearest indication of a late date, being stylistically similar to a British Museum seal she considered post-Old Babylonian (BM 89062: Collon, *Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods*, no. 591). This seal also has a line of inscription similar to that on an unquestionably Kassite seal in the Walters Art Gallery (Cyrus H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq* 6 [1939] p. 15, no. 31) as mentioned in Lambert, review of H. Limet, *Les Légendes des sceaux cassites*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 32 (1975) p. 223. In comparison to the latest Old Babylonian seal impressions from Babylon published by Evelyn Klengel-Brandt, the carving of seal .3 "seems more simplified and made with drill and rotating disk" (see Evelyn Klengel-Brandt, "Altbabylonische Siegelabrollungen," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 16 [1989] pp. 253–356). Collon dates examples in the British Museum similar to those here to the late 18th or 17th century.

50. Personal communication, Sept. 1993. Symbols of gods do not necessarily correspond to deities mentioned in inscriptions: Collon, *Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods*, pp. 22–24.

51. Comparative material is gathered in Lilyquist, "Granulation and glass," pp. 33–34.

52. Trokay, "Montures."

53. A fragment of gold foil with granulation (presumably part of a large bead) was found in a Mitannian temple at Tell Brak in northeastern Syria (David Oates, "Excavations at Tell Brak 1985–87," *Iraq* 49 [1987] pl. 39c). The temple is thought to have been built after 1550 and destroyed about 1270 B.C. On the basis of

large granulated beads from Ugarit and Cyprus, this bead is probably no earlier than the Kassite granulated items in note 82.

54. Wiggermann, personal communication, Feb. 1994.

55. Marie-Thérèse Barrelet, *Figurines et Reliefs en Terre cuite de la Mésopotamie antique*, IFA de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique LXXXV (Paris, 1968) pl. 29, no. 308. The identity of such figures is not clear.

56. Arnaud et al., "Ilsu-ibnisu, Orfèvre."

57. Confirmed for the Larsa disk by Harper in Baghdad. The strip has two horizontal incised lines. Each tab of the smallest Dilbat rosette has three horizontal lines incised on it. The purpose of such notched tabs—according to Benzell, to whom I am grateful for numerous discussions—is to create a stronger bond by allowing the solder to flood the joined area more evenly. The small Larsa disk also has a notched tab.

58. This difference has more to do with function than date, according to Benzell, who suggests that the Larsa disk required a different type of mount than the disks for the Ebla "collar" (Figure 31a). The Larsa suspension ring is not temporary; soldering it to the disk would have been done after granulation.

59. Agnès Spycket, "La Déesse Lama," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 54 (1960) pp. 73–84.

60. Spycket, personal communication, Feb. 1991. Maxwell-Hyslop has asked if they were made for statues, personal communication, Sept. 1990.

61. Louvre AO 4636; H. 2.5 cm; British Museum WA 103057, H. 3.55 cm.

62. Boehmer, entry 269a in Orthmann, *Der alte Orient*.

63. Spycket, "La Déesse Lama"; D. J. Wiseman, "The Goddess Lama at Ur," *Iraq* 22 (1960) pp. 165–71.

64. E. Douglas Van Buren, *Symbols of the gods in Mesopotamian art*, *Analecta Orientalia* XXIII (Rome, 1945).

65. Paolo Matthiae, entry no. 110 ("Round Lid") in *Ebla to Damascus*, H. Weiss, ed., pp. 238–239. For a dating ca. 1750–1650 B.C., see Lilyquist, "Granulation and glass," pp. 44–47. The small disk from the Larsa hoard is similar to the ray disk from Dilbat but lacks undulating rays.

66. See Boehmer, *Kleinfunde von Bogazköy*, pp. 32–33.

67. Cf., for example, Brigitte Musche, *Vorderasiatischer Schmuck, von den Anfängen bis zur Zeit der Achaemeniden* (ca. 10,000–330 v. Chr.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik VII: Kunst und Archäologie* 1, *Der alte Vorderorient* 2, *Die Denkmäler B: Vorderasien*, fasc. 7 (Leiden, 1992) pls. 71, 94, 103–104. See also note 53.

68. Klaudia Limpner, *Uruk: Perlen, Ketten, Anhänger*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Baghdad; *Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte II* (Mainz, 1988) p. 108 F 226, p. 181. See also the Shamshi-adad I example (ca. 1813–1781 B.C.) from Assur: p. 126 F 229, p. 181.

69. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery*, pls. 60, 94b, p. 163; the author also states that fluted beads occur at Mari (p. 91), but I have not been able to locate them.

70. Donald Eugene McCown and Richard C. Haines, *Nippur: Excavations of the Joint Expedition to Nippur of the University Museum of Philadelphia and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Oriental Institute Publications LXXXVIII and XCVII (Chicago,

1967) pl. 150, no. 11 from level TB IV 2, burial 3B9; pp. x, 50–51, 141.

71. See note 38 and Negbi, *Hoards*, nos. 41–61.

72. W. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza IV, Tell el Ajjul* (London, 1934) pls. 17–18, 19.

73. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III, Tell el Ajjul* (London, 1933) pls. 14–15, 29; *Ancient Gaza V, City of Shepherd Kings* (London, 1952) pls. A, 7, 30 (= Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery*, pl. 75b).

74. British Museum WA L 1002 and 1010, kindness of J. Tubb (Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III*, pls. 14–15, 29), and *Ancient Gaza I, Tell el Ajjul* (London, 1931) pl. 15, 34. A thinner example—*Ancient Gaza II, Tell el Ajjul* (London, 1932) pl. 1, 29 (= Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery*, pl. 76)—may be solid.

75. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza IV*, pl. 22, no. 250, 24.

76. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery*, p. 175, fig. 108; formerly Berlin Museum.

77. Lilyquist, “Granulation and glass,” n. 82; idem, “Objects Attributable to Kāmid el-Lōz, and Comments on the Date of Some Objects in the Schatzhaus,” no. 19 in *Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* (in press).

78. Porada stated that Kassite granulation is less fine than Old Babylonian (personal communication, Oct. 1, 1991), and, judging from photographs and the present condition of the Aqar Quf “bracelet,” it is less precise than on the Larsa disk: Ezio Quaranelli, ed., *The Land between Two Rivers, Twenty Years of Italian Archaeology in the Middle East: The Treasures of Mesopotamia*, Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l’Asia; Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali (Turin, 1985) p. 317. See, however, the granulated fragment from a Mitannian temple in northeast Syria, note 53.

79. The end of the Middle Bronze period in Syria could have come somewhat before the Fall of Babylon, see Lilyquist, “Granulation and glass,” pp. 44–47.

80. For the granulated ferrule and a fluted bead from the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats, see Paolo Matthiae, *I Tesori di Ebla* (Rome, 1984) pl. 82; idem, “Gioielli,” fig. 52b, and for six glittery bangles from the Princess Tomb, see Figures 46a, 46b.

81. Lilyquist, “Granulation and glass,” p. 50.

82. The “bracelet” of note 78 and a fragment with granulation are published in Taha Baqir, “Iraq Government Excavations at ‘Aqar Quf,” *Iraq* 8 (1946) pl. 21.

83. See finger rings in the Musée du Louvre, AS 5431/Sb 6656; AS 5433/Sb 6658; AS 5435/Sb 6659.

84. Lilyquist, “Granulation and glass.” Nor does Maxwell-Hyslop believe this now, following experiments with granulation (Maxwell-Hyslop, letter, Nov. 1993; see K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, “Sources of Sumerian Gold, the Ur Goldwork from the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds. A preliminary report,” *Iraq* 39 [1977] pp. 83–86).

85. In Lilyquist, “Granulation and glass,” I pointed out that there was no evidence for rich granulation in Mesopotamia before about 1750 and that Syro-Mesopotamian seal evidence supported a similar date for its occurrence at Byblos. Barbara Porter—a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia—and Kim Benzel have since

pointed out to me that the headdress on Byblos fitting 16700 is most likely a peaked cap rather than the horned miter in profile, and that the only dated evidence for the cap is on impressions from Kültepe II (1920–1840 B.C.), not Ib (1820–1740 B.C.) (communications, Feb. 1994; Beatrice Tiessier states that the cap appears elsewhere only on Middle Bronze Age basins from Ebla: “The Ruler with the Peaked Cap and Other Syrian Iconography on Glyptic from Kültepe in the Early Second Millennium B.C.,” pp. 601–612 in *Aspects of Art and Iconography, Anatolia and its Neighbors*; Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç [Ankara, 1993]). Furthermore, Benzel sees the Byblos fitting as integral with Old Syrian seals (and the Ebla basins) where the style is linear, compartmentalized, and repetitious as opposed to circular, well conceived, and opulent—a style that can also be seen on seals from Babylonian Sippar and granulated jewelry at Ebla (“nose-ring,” ferrule, and acorns). Technically, Benzel sees the granulation at Byblos as unique, independent of Mesopotamia, and—although unique in design and highly skilled in the “line” technique—not as well conceived as that in Mesopotamia. Therefore she sees it altogether appropriate to date the Byblos fitting to the 19th rather than 18th century as I had done. I would still date the Egyptian/Egyptianizing objects in the Byblos deposits to late Dynasty 12–Dynasty 13 (further on the fenestrated ax, see Oscar White Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron: Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* [New York, 1988] p. 387). Relevant to the case at hand—the date of rich granulation at Dilbat—is the date of the Ebla tombs, which I maintain as before. Interestingly, and again from a technical perspective, Benzel does not believe that the granulated earrings of my Ajjul Group 1 (Lilyquist, “Granulation and glass,” p. 48) could have been made simultaneously—at the same location—as the earrings of my Ajjul Group 2. (Note, however, the naturalism of the stag head versus the angular rosettes in idem, fig. 24b.) The important point at this stage of research is to define style and iconography in these luxury items.

86. Leiden Rijksmuseum inv. AO 1c, Leemans cat. G 337 (diam. 4.8 cm) and G 338 (diam. 4.2 cm); Conrad Leemans, *Aegyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leyden. II. Monumenten behorende tot het Burgerlijk Leven* (Leiden, 1846) pp. 24–25, pl. 42, no. 337; R. B. Halbertsma, ed., *Ancient Art: Greece, Etruria and Rome, Chosen from the Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, the Netherlands* (Leiden, 1990) p. 147, no. 110 (Leemans G 338). I am grateful to Maarten Raven for photographs and descriptions of the pendants and falcon earrings below.

87. I thank George Bass for the privilege of examining Kaş gold items in 1989 and for referring to this detail. The Astarte plaque, KW 703, is fig. 3 in G. F. Bass et al., “The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1986 campaign,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 92 (1989) fig. 3; and p. 718 in G. F. Bass, “Oldest Known Shipwreck Reveals Splendors of the Bronze Age,” *National Geographic* 172, 6 (1987).

88. Bass et al., “1986 campaign,” p. 4; Bass, “Oldest Known Shipwreck,” pp. 718–719.

89. C. Lilyquist, “Objects Attributable to Kāmid el-Lōz” (in press).

90. For a history of the early consular collections and the division of finds between museums in Europe, see Lilyquist, "The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty; A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology," *MMJ* 23 (1988) pp. 5–68.

91. Leiden Rijksmuseum inv. AO 1d, Leemans cat. G 1272 and 1273; diam. 4 cm according to Olga Tufnell, for which see "Some Gold Bird Ornaments: Falcon or Wryneck?" *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983) pl. 22 (G 1273). G 1272 appears in Leemans, *Aegyptische Monumenten*, p. 29, pl. 46, no. 1272; George Bass states that one weighs 11 grams and the other 12.2, in "A Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun (Kas); 1984 campaign," *American Journal of Archaeology* 90 (1986) p. 287.

92. Acc. no. N 1855a, 4.4 cm diam. including granulation; kind reference from Diane Harlé to the J.-F. Champollion cat. of 1827 (*Notice descriptive des monumens égyptiens du Musée Charles X* [Paris] p. 81, no. 178).

93. Lilyquist, "General Djehuty."

94. The Louvre acquired a penannular earring with braided wire decoration (N 1855b) with its falcon earring; a close parallel

for it is in the British Museum (EA 14346: British Museum, *Jewellery through 7000 Years* [London, 1976] no. 55b), of unknown provenance when acquired in 1967 (details kindly provided by Carol Andrews). In addition to the jewels in the British Museum that belong with elements in the Louvre and Leiden referred to in Lilyquist, "General Djehuty," should be mentioned lizard and drop pendants (EA 3081: Carol Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* [London, 1990], fig. 160b).

95. Bass, "1984 campaign," pp. 287–288, pl. 17–3, and idem, "Oldest Known Shipwreck," p. 693.

96. Note also the melon-type bails on two glass pendants from Nuzi, after 1500 B.C.: R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi: Report on the Excavations at Yorgan Tepe . . . 1927–1931* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939) pls. 120-N n1 and -O o1.

97. Disks from the Montet Jar, Ebla tomb of the Cistern, and Lefkandi tomb have six petals or rays around a central boss.

98. As the petals of small flowers from Tod, Mari, and Ajjul; see Lilyquist, "Granulation and glass."

99. Lilyquist, "Granulation and glass," pp. 47–50.

Appendix

CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS

GOLD OBJECTS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART; acc. nos. 47.1a-1 to a-14 and b-n, Fletcher Fund, 1947. All measurements are given in centimeters.

BEADS, SPACERS, AND FINIALS: MMA 47.1a-1 to a-14
I. fluted (concave channels)

a-1: one large bead with eight channels, no core, a wire ring around each snapped hole. Diam. 1 (Figure 11, center right; Figure 9, center bottom).

a-2: fifteen coppery-gold beads with vitreous cores; concave collar, flat ends (Figure 11, top; Figure 9, upper right). No seam visible. String length 9.8; bead diam. 0.8.

II. melon (rounded convex ribs)

A. standard type (convex ribs, pseudo-wire ends, holes turned inward or left with cut edges exposed) with vitreous core.

a-3: one light gold, two pseudo-rings around each hole (Figure 11, center; Figure 9, lower right). Width 0.8.

a-4: five smaller, one pseudo-ring around each hole (Figure 11, center left; Figure 9, left). String length 3.5, bead width ca. 0.6.

B. standard type, no core

(1) large

a-5: one triple-bead spacer, and parts that would have made three additional such spacers: three broken doubles and three broken singles (Figure 12, upper left; Figure 10, top). Strung with slim triples (see below). String length 4; standard melon 0.5 wide, slim 0.3 wide.

a-6: three doubles and six singles strung together (Figure 12, upper right). String length 3.8; width of bead 0.5 +.

(2) medium to small

a-7: two doubles and fourteen individuals (Figure 12, bottom; Figure 10, bottom): strung with eight small slim doubles (see below). One of each type of spacer (standard and slim) damaged by heat. String length 8.2; bead width, 0.4 to 0.6 for standard melons, 0.3 for slim melon.

(3) small

a-8: eight slim (Figure 11, bottom left). Note flat ends with holes punched in. String length 3.5, bead width 0.4. Several may have core inside but their shape is more similar to a-8 than a-4.

a-9.1 and a-9.2: one clasp with sleeves that fit one into the other (Figure 11, bottom center). Basic unit is a slim melon with a sleeve fused over one end; a concave ring over other end, on the outer edge of which is a pseudo-wire edge. Width of each half of clasp, 1.

a-10.1 and a-10.2: two caps, for a cylinder bead? (Figure 11, bottom right). Each 0.6 wide. Each formed of a slim melon; a ring (incised with three parallel lines) fused to one end, a collar and disk (with core?) fused to other, a wire ring

covering the join. Diam. of incised rings same, so that one cannot fit inside the other.

C. slim, no collars

- (1) medium: one triple; two doubles and three singles with tears or residue that indicate beads would have made two more complete triples; one single with residue that could have been part of a double or triple. All strung in a-5 (Figure 12, upper left; Figure 10, top).
- (2) small: eight doubles. All strung in a-7 (Figure 12, bottom; Figure 10, bottom).

III. ball

- A. a-11, brassy: two triples, fused; forty-six singles. Holes cut in (Figure 13, top; Figure 8). String length 5.7; 0.2 width bead.
 - B. a-12, small: five quadruples, fused and with reinforcing strips on back; twenty-four singles (Figure 13, center; Figure 8). Holes turned in. String length 2.7; bead width 0.2.
4. barrel
- a-13, two individual, one triple spacer (Figure 13, bottom left; Figure 8). String length 1.3; bead width ca. 0.4.
5. biconical
- a-14, thirty-two small individual (Figure 13, bottom right; Figure 8). Ends cut. String length 11.5; bead width ca. 0.3.

PENDANTS: MMA 47.1b-h

b, Sun or star (Figures 14-16):

- H. 4.6, diam. 3.5. Round disk. Object was made by first attaching two strips at the top that clamp the disk. In the back, these strips are notched; in the front, they have been worked into the surface of the disk so that they are not visible. Each of the strips—covered by an incised sleeve with its opening at the back—runs into a melon bail of standard type. The melons appear to have a collar at each end that is capped by a disk with a band fused to its outer edge.

Decoration of disk consists of a rounded wire along the edge, passing over the suspension strips; a flattened hemisphere surrounded by a round wire, a small ball on top; radiating "V's" and wavy lines (each set made of two wires that converge at a point, a wire between them; the straight rays point outward, the undulating rays point inward); and a series of twelve hemispheres.

Three hemispheres on the face are broken open (Figure 15), and part of the double bail is

missing (Figure 16). Benzel states that these features are evidence of overheating, and, in fact, the entire disk has a melted look. Some areas are extremely shiny; this brightness and layering and blistering are indications of overheating, according to Benzel; and the surface is uneven due to impurities or poor preparation.

c, Large rosette (Figures 17-18, left):

- H. 4.4, diam. 3.3. Round disk. Suspension seems to be effected only by notched strips on back sheet that run up through sleeves and merge into the bail itself. Each strip covered by a sleeve lined with four rows of granules. Bails may be series of five wires laid side by side, a concave collar at either end which is faced off by a disk with a wire edge. Reinforcing strip on back is modern, strengthening a tear.

Disk has convex strip of gold placed along its outer edge; three rows of granules line it and two rows edge it. In the center of the disk sits a large eight-petaled flower from which radiate eight square-cut rays, each with a row of grains on it. The flower is formed as follows. A collar supports a lobed plate with a hemisphere in its center. This hemisphere is covered by grains and surrounded by a square-cut wire. On each of the lobes rest clusters of granules surrounded by a round or square-cut C-shaped wire.

Beyond the central flower are eight subsidiary flowers, also composed of a supporting collar, lobed plate with a clump of granules on each petal, and a central hemisphere covered with grains; these flowers have ten rather than eight petals.

d, Small rosette (Figures 17, 18, right; Figure 43):

- H. 3.4, diam. 2.1. Generally the scheme of c, but the flowers are more closely packed; the workmanship and condition are finer; the granulation is more elaborate (a row of granules is added along the edge of each petal of the central flower). All wire is square-cut except for that bordering each petal of the central rosette. The bail is similar to c's, but each strip is covered by a band with three rather than four rows of granules, and each notched strip in back is incised with three lines.

Suspension strips clearly go into the bail melons. The convex gold strip along the circumference of the disk is lined and edged with four rather five than rows of granules. The petals of the central rosette sometimes show a larger ball

as a nucleus.

e and f, Goddesses (Figure 19):

H.3. Each goddess is made of a piece of sheet gold with a seam down the back. Wire arms and striated suspension loop emerge from within the body, and the loop curves upward to fuse to the hair. The base plate has a hole in its center; its corners turn up (untrimmed, as suggested by Benzel), and the collar placed in its center receives the figure. The headdress has four sets of horns and is flat on top; the dress has six rows of flounces. The hands are held in a way that makes one of them fairly vertical, while the other is below and cupped toward it. Unger mentions damage ("Kunstgewerbe, I. Schmuck," p. 356); microscopic examination shows that the right arm and shoulder area of e are damaged, and a bit of gold adheres to the face. The right cheek of f has an indication that the right hand was once against it.

g, Lightning (Figure 20, center; Figure 43):

H. 3.3, W. 1.4. Each fork is made of a length of strip square in cross section (or possibly one continuous strip); a row of granules lines each face. At the top, wide suspension strips grasp the forks from front and back and run upward into a bail with standard melon form. These suspension strips are wound with twisted wire, square in cross section; the melon is the type used in a-6.

h, Crescent (Figure 20, left; Figure 43):

H. 2, W. 2.6. Crescent hollow. Rounded wire lies along top and bottom edges; these are pinched together at ends and are bordered with granules that get smaller at the crescent tips. Between the granules are small-gauge grains that make a staggered-triangle pattern on the front and a diamond pattern on the back. The flat suspension strips emerge from the top of the crescent top on either side of the wire, pass through a sleeve lined with three rows of granules, and merge into a bail bead. The bail is like the two rosette pendants, but single.

EAR ORNAMENT?: MMA 47.1i (Figure 20, right; Figure 21, second from left)

i, Greatest diam. of ring, 2.3. The object is composed of a tube with six rows of granules along its length; each end is covered by a sleeve and a plate. The smaller plate is square; the larger has only one straight side. A ring with two rows of granules is placed on the side of the tube.

Benzel thinks the larger plate looks untrimmed, a sign that the object was never completed; filing would have been the last step in production, after granulating and soldering.

SEAL CAPS: MMA 47.1j-l

j, Large (Figure 21, left; Figure 22, second from right):

H. 1.4, inner diam. 1.3. Top surface has a hole with one row of granules (of various sizes) surrounding it; a knob was probably pulled away from the center of it. Circumference has series of six triangles, each with nine grains to a side (nine grains = 0.5); triangles rest on edging consisting of wire, row of granules, and second wire and are connected to one another by several grains. Gritty "plaster" inside cap, almost flush with edge; sides quite straight. Diam. roughly that of seal 47.115.1; could be used with it (for instance on a necklace), as long as seal did not have to fit into caps.

k and l, Pair (Figures 21, right; Figure 22, left):

H. 1.1 and 1.2, inner diam. 1. Same scheme as j, but triangles total eight and are close together, each side made of eight grains (also equaling 0.5). Sides taper in toward top, where there is a button. Top of button was a separate piece; hole in its center has ridge around it. Gritty "plaster" inside cap recessed 0.1 from bottom. Diam. approximately that of seal 47.115.2; could be used with it as long as seal did not have to fit into caps.

PARTS FOR SEAL CAPS?: MMA 47.1m-n (see also a-10.1 and a-10.2 above)

m, Fitting (Figure 22, center):

Diam. 1.0. Not from j (contra Herzfeld photo), but possibly from (missing) cap paired with j. Outer surface shaped like a bowl turned inward at the edges; in its center, a hole. Within the bowl sits a ring, the upper edges of which are torn.

n, Tapered cylinder (Figure 22, right):

Diam. 0.8. One edge is torn; the other has two parallel wires along its edge.

CYLINDER SEALS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART; acc. nos. 47.115.1-4, Gift of Georg Hahn. Translations and comments on date supplied by W. G. Lambert. The inscriptions on seals 0.1-0.3 lack a boxing line at the bottom.¹

o.1 (Figure 23, second from right; impression Figure 24):

H. 2.9, diam. 1.4. Brown and white agate, edges least chipped.

pa-ar-GA(?)	ParGA(?)
dumu a-ZI/GI-ia	son of Aziya/Agiya.
ir ʿEN.ZU	servant of Sîn.

The reading of the father's name is unsure. Aziya occurs in an Old Babylonian text from Ur;² Sollberger, however, read Agiya, which is attested in the Kassite period. It is impossible to know which reading is correct.

o.2 (Figure 23, right; Figure 25):

H. 2.3, diam. 1.1. Brown and white agate; edges chipped.

ʿna-bi-um	Nabû,
[P]A(?) sag bi gál
ur ₄ /kin nir di/ki(?)	
su[m](?)	
me kilib ur ₄ .ur ₄	who gathers all decrees.

Although the inscription type is Kassite, it occurs rarely on dated Old Babylonian tablets.³

o.3 (Figure 23, second from left; Figure 26):

H. 2.1, diam. 1.0. Carnelian; edges chipped.

ʿzar-pa-ni-tum	Zarpānītum,
nin šà.lá.sù	merciful lady,
la-ma-sà-ni	Lamassani,
géme úh-la/ra-AN	slave girl of

The style of the text is better known as Kassite, but the name of the owner does occur in an Old Babylonian letter.⁴

“[The] title is the mystery. After “slave girl” one must have a divine or royal name, and if it is a god, then it must be a foreign god, since there is no divine determinative. There is no known king with a name which fits the somewhat difficult signs. However, unknown kings did exist, e.g., the Hana kings are partly known, and no doubt others existed of which we know nothing. So it could be a royal name. In other periods “slave” or “slave girl” can be used before an official's name, but I do not remember any Old Babylonian seal with this feature.”

o.4 (Figure 23, left; Figure 27):

H 2.1, diam. 1. Microcline. No border top or bottom.

ʿadad-ga-m[il]	Adad-gamil,
----------------	-------------

dumu ra-im-ki-ti	son of Ra'im-kitti,
ir ʿEN.Z[U]	servant of Sîn
ù ʿmar.d[ú]	and Amurru.

The name of the father is attested in Kassite period documents, but occurs in fuller orthography in the reign of Abi-esuh [Old Babylonian ruler between Samsuiluna and Ammiditana, 1683–1639 B.C.].⁵

ITEMS IN EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS SAID TO BELONG TO THE HOARD, PRESENT LOCATION UNKNOWN

Two gold twisted earrings (Figure 35). Wires quite thick and tapered toward each end, twisted all the way to the ends.

Two gold earrings with braided pattern (Figures 37, 39). Commonly such patterns were created by placing wires twisted in opposite directions side by side. The ends of these earrings are smooth; one earring is very worn.

[Gold] “double” earring (Figure 39). Two rings placed side by side; some texture on the surfaces.

Plain gold rings (Figure 38). Hollow, ends tapered.

Knurled gold earrings (Figure 38). Apparently a wire tapered at each end with a beaded sheath—tapered toward each end—suspended from it.

Gold bangle (Figure 36). According to Unger, 20 cm long, 3.5 mm thick. Four incised lines around each end.

NOTES

1. Cf. Collon, *Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods*, p. 20.

2. H. H. Figulla, W. J. Martin, *Letters and Documents of the Old-Babylonian Period*, Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia to Mesopotamia: Ur Excavation Texts, V (London, 1953).

3. W. G. Lambert, review of Wolfram von Soden, *Einführung in die Altorientalistik in Orientalia* 57 (1988) p. 88.

4. F. R. Kraus, *Briefe aus dem British Museum*, Altbabylonische Briefen, in *Umschrift und Übersetzung*, 1 (Leiden, 1964) no. 61 line 3.

5. In fuller orthography *ra-i-im-ki-it-tim*: Jacob J. Finkelstein, *Late Old Babylonian Documents and Letters*, Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts XIII (New Haven/London, 1972) no. 507, line 13, pl. 163.

An Egyptian Silver Statuette of the Saite Period— A Technical Study

LAWRENCE BECKER

Conservator of Objects, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

LISA PILOSI

Assistant Conservator, Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

DEBORAH SCHORSCH

Associate Conservator, Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Tuesday, Feb. 7 [1905]

A calm, warm day. Theo came back from Luxor this noon, with a most beautiful statuette in silver he had bought of Mohassib. In style and treatment it suggests that Egyptian statuette in bronze and silver, the Lady Takûshit now in Athens and shown in the “Struggle of Nations” by Maspero.¹

THIS FIRST REFERENCE to an exquisite silver figure now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 1–4) appears in the diary of Mrs. Emma B. Andrews, a traveling companion of Theodore M. Davis.² Davis was a wealthy collector, generous donor, excavator, and patron of Egyptian archaeology.³ The silver statuette, together with over one thousand other Egyptian antiquities and non-Egyptian works of art, was bequeathed by Davis to the Metropolitan Museum and accessioned in 1930.

The silver figure, which was dated on stylistic grounds to the Twenty-sixth, or Saite, Dynasty (664–525 B.C.), was placed on display but did not receive scholarly attention until 1986, when a detailed technical examination was carried out to determine the feasibility of cleaning the statuette, as well as to study its manufacture and to obtain evidence concerning the identity of the woman repre-

sented.⁴ The results of this examination, including a discussion of the cleaning of the statuette, are the subject of this paper.

The statuette represents a graceful woman standing with her legs straight and her feet together. Her right arm hangs at her side with the fingers of the hand extended.⁵ Her left arm is bent at the elbow with the clenched fist held over her right breast.⁶

The woman wears a bobbed wig that bulges out above the ears (Figures 5, 6). In outline the wig is straight across the forehead, angled downward on the sides, and gently rounded across the nape of the neck. It curves up over the ears, which are fully exposed. A thin band, perhaps representing a cloth beneath the wig, separates the wig from the forehead. At each end of the band a small rectangular tab extends down in front of the ear. These tabs, which are separated from the band by scored horizontal lines, may represent the woman’s natural hair peeking out from under the cloth.

The locks of the wig are depicted as raised, eche-loned, slightly tapered rectangles with rounded corners. A thin horizontal strip crosses over near the bottom of each lock. The top of the wig consists of a flat unadorned circle approximately one centimeter in diameter (Figure 7). The locks emanate from this circle, gradually increasing in size until the point where the wig bulges out to its greatest extent and then gradually becoming smaller.

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 29

The notes for this article begin on page 52.



Figure 1. Statuette of a woman. Egyptian, Twenty-sixth Dynasty, reign of Necho II (601–595 B.C.). Silver, h. 23.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1930, 30.8.93



Figure 2. Front view of the statuette in Figure 1



Figure 3. Right profile view of the statuette



Figure 4. Back view of the statuette



Figure 5. Three-quarter view of the right side of the statuette's head



Figure 6. Left profile view of the head

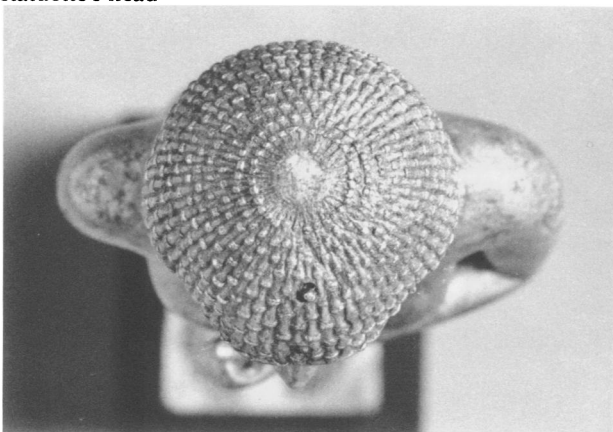


Figure 7. Detail of the statuette's wig



Figure 8. Detail of the statuette's head and shoulders

The woman's ears are pierced but only the left earring is extant. The earring consists of two interlocking silver bands, the larger of which tapers as it enters the pierced earlobe (see Figure 6). The woman's narrow, slanting eyes have raised cosmetic lines and eyebrows, and her pupils are slightly recessed. Her mouth is narrow with full lips turned up in the suggestion of a smile. Her chin is small and rounded, her cheeks are full, and her nose is straight with a high bridge.

Around her slender neck the woman wears a broad collar consisting of eight alternately raised and recessed concentric bands bordered on the outer edge by a row of raised flower-petal pendants in imitation of a beaded *usekh* collar (Figure 8). She wears a bracelet on each wrist and an anklet on each leg; the anklet on the right leg is partially lost. The bracelets and anklets both consist of a flat band decorated with three parallel, raised ridges.

Except for her wig and jewelry the woman is unclothed.⁷ Her breasts are full without any indication of nipples. The musculature of the abdomen is sensitively rendered and anatomically well observed. The woman is slender with a high waist and prominent hipbones. Her right hip is higher and more angular than the left, a feature more noticeable from the back. The pubic triangle is defined by a raised pubis and a series of round holes in horizontal rows. The median line of her back and the triangular indentation above her small buttocks are summarily indicated.

The musculature of the woman's long arms is simplified, with no definition of the elbow on the right arm. The fingers of the outstretched hand are attenuated and without articulation other than that of the fingernails.

Her legs are long, muscular, and well proportioned. Her knees are flat but the anklebones are defined. She has large, slender feet with high insteps, and the toenails are shown. The figure stands on an undecorated, low, rectangular base only slightly larger than her feet.⁸

The upper arms bear raised cartouches of Necho II (610–595 B.C.). On the right arm is "Wehem-Ib-Re," a prenomen given upon accession to the throne, and on the left arm is the nomen "Nikau" (Figures 9–11). There are no other inscriptions on the figure or the base.

Technical studies provide information about the physical aspects of works of art that help to determine their date and place of manufacture, the ma-



Figure 9. Detail of the right cartouche



Figure 10. Detail of the left cartouche

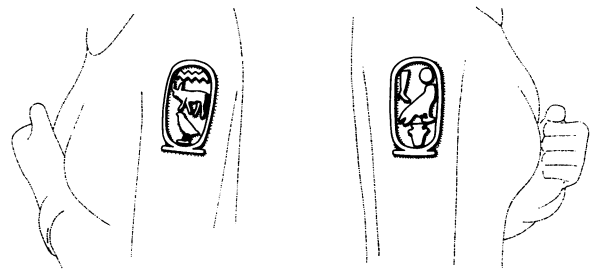


Figure 11. Drawings of the cartouches in Figures 10 and 9 (by Barry Girsh)

terials and techniques used by the artist, the original appearance of the object, and the changes it has undergone over time. Choices regarding the manufacture and materials are not merely based on pragmatic or aesthetic considerations. They often are influenced as much by an artist's particular relationship to his craft and the materials he manipulates, as well as by his perceptions of the physical world. While to some extent personal, these choices ultimately express the cultural and spiritual values of the society in which the artist lives.

The technical examination of the Metropolitan Museum's silver statuette included visual examination under magnification, X-ray radiography from multiple viewpoints,⁹ and instrumental analyses to determine the composition of the metal and to identify corrosion products and inclusions.¹⁰ As the examination progressed, a clearer picture emerged of the sculpture's original appearance and its state of preservation beneath the corrosion layer. This information was necessary in order to make informed



Figure 12. Front view of the statuette before cleaning

decisions regarding the desirability and feasibility of cleaning the figure. Moreover, technical studies undertaken both before and after cleaning provided new insights into the production of silver statuary in ancient Egypt and illustrated the high level of achievement attained by Egyptian craftsmen in this medium.

When first examined in 1986, the statuette was covered with massive silver and copper corrosion products with an admixture of several mineral inclusions (Figure 12). This corrosion layer consisted predominantly of a waxy, sectile, purplish-brown material. Three samples from the outer layer of the silver corrosion were examined using X-ray diffraction and identified as bromium chlorargyrite [$\text{Ag}(\text{Cl}, \text{Br})$].¹¹ Elemental analysis indicates a wide range in the relative proportions of bromine and chlorine in the samples examined, although the latter always predominates. The presence of bromine in silver archaeological corrosion products was first noted in 1976,¹² but the extent to which the presence of bromine may provide information concerning burial environment is a subject that has not been well explored.

Scattered occurrences of a bright green corrosion product were observed in the bromium chlorargyrite layer. This material was identified by X-ray diffraction as paratacamite [$\text{CuCl}_2 \cdot 3\text{Cu}(\text{OH})_2$], a common copper corrosion product on copper and copper-containing metallic archaeological objects from saline environments.¹³ In addition, scattered white, black, and yellow inclusions, as well as sand, were present in the corrosion layer. X-ray diffraction analysis identified the yellow particles as gypsum ($\text{CaSO}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$) and quartz (sand), presumably stained by iron, which was detected by elemental analysis along with silicon, calcium, sulfur, potassium, and aluminum. Gypsum was also detected in X-ray diffraction scans of the silver corrosion samples.¹⁴

Upon probing, a powdery white material, identified by X-ray diffraction as aragonite (CaCO_3), was noted in many areas between the corrosion layer and the silver surface.¹⁵ Distinct aggregates of a red powdery material were also observed, particularly on the head.¹⁶

When the figure was first examined, basic features of the underlying sculpture were discernible beneath the thick corrosion layer. While the corrosion layer remained largely intact, it clearly had been abraded or smeared in isolated areas, such as the face (Figure 13). This may have resulted from



Figure 13. Detail of smeared corrosion on the statuette



Figure 14. Detail of "carved" corrosion on the statuette

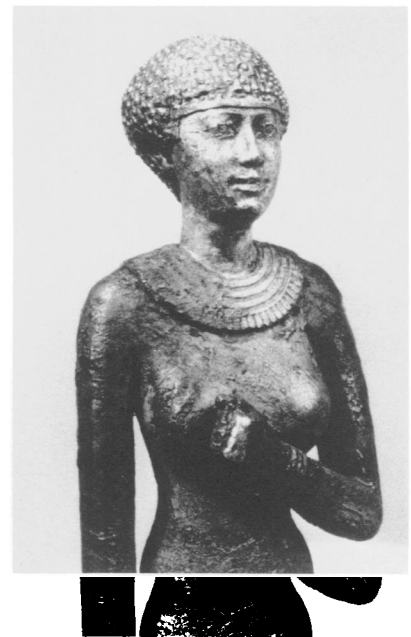


Figure 15. Head and shoulders of the statuette during cleaning

an abortive attempt to clean the statuette or, more likely, to even out the corrosion layer so that it would correspond more closely to the original contours of the figure. Series of parallel tool marks, especially visible on the upper right arm (Figure 14), the right side of the back, the small of the back, and the buttocks, suggest the use of a file in these areas. Other scattered scratches and gouges were also evident. There is a cut into the metal on the bottom of the right front side of the base, which is probably the result of an attempt to remove the figure from a modern mount with a saw.

The knuckles of the left hand and the arch of the right foot had been cleaned down to the bare metal and then polished to display a reflective surface.¹⁷ Such localized cleaning, which left several deep V-shaped gouges on the hand, was probably not the prelude to a more extensive treatment but an attempt to illustrate the presence of an intact underlying silver layer to a prospective purchaser (Figures 12, 15).

Both of the figure's legs had been broken just above the ankles. The anklet on the right leg was broken into several pieces, and only about half survives. The metal of the left leg is bent forward at the break, indicating that the force came from behind. Radiographs revealed that the legs and ankles had been drilled to accommodate metal dowels (Figure 16). The dowels began one centimeter above the breaks and continued through to the underside of

the base. The metal above the breaks is cracked. When the feet were rejoined to the legs, they were improperly aligned and the figure leaned backward (Figure 17). These repairs predate a 1931 record photograph.

The corrosion on the fragment consisting of the feet and base was stained a rust color in many areas, perhaps from contact with iron or an iron-rich soil during burial. The disparity in appearance between the base and the body suggests that the statuette was probably already broken in antiquity.

The decision to clean the statuette was based on a number of considerations. Since the corrosion layer had been burnished and distorted by previous interventions, it was no longer representative of the original archaeological surface. In addition, X-ray radiography, supplementing visual examination, had indicated that the sculpture was essentially intact and retained a wealth of surface detail beneath the corrosion layer. The most surprising elements revealed in the radiographs were the cartouches on each of the figure's shoulders present underneath the corrosion layer (Figures 16, 18).¹⁸ A further consideration in favor of cleaning was the probability that additional evidence relevant to technological and art-historical issues would be revealed. For example, the question of whether or not the figure is unclothed could not be definitively answered before cleaning.

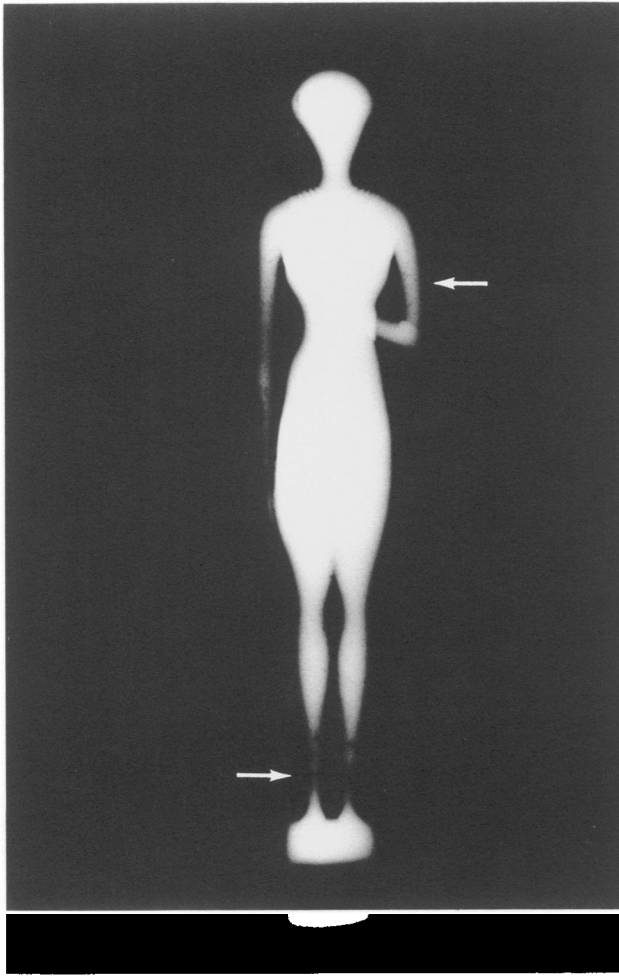


Figure 16. Front view X-ray radiograph of the statuette



Figure 17. Detail showing unaligned repairs on the statuette

The cleaning of archaeological silver has always been problematic. Chemical and electrochemical methods, which in the past were the most common means of cleaning silver, are now used to a much more limited degree. They are difficult to control; moreover, these methods can radically alter the original surface of an object and destroy technical evidence.

Mechanical cleaning,¹⁹ while currently the method of choice for archaeological silver, is not without its limitations. The physical characteristics of silver and silver alloys—principally their softness and tendency to become embrittled when corroded²⁰—and of chlorargyrite—its sectility and tendency to take a metallic luster when burnished—make it difficult for the conservator to locate the original surface without scratching, fracturing, or distorting the silver. In addition, pits of corrosion that extend below the original surface can produce an unattractive, splotchy appearance. Sometimes,

particularly in the cases of smaller figures or hammered objects, such as vessels with thin walls, corrosion may extend through the object. In extreme instances, the silver is entirely replaced by corrosion products. The extent of the mineralization is sometimes difficult to ascertain before cleaning. In the present case, the relative thickness of the figure, which was revealed in the radiographs to be a solid cast, provided grounds for optimism regarding both the survival of the silver and sufficient retention of its metallic properties. The Metropolitan Museum's figure provided an opportunity to study a relatively well-preserved silver surface on an ancient object of the highest quality. Unfortunately, such an opportunity is rare, because of the poor state of preservation characteristic of archaeological silver and because of the aggressive cleanings that have been undertaken on most ancient silver artifacts in public and private collections.

Several mechanical test cleanings were carried out

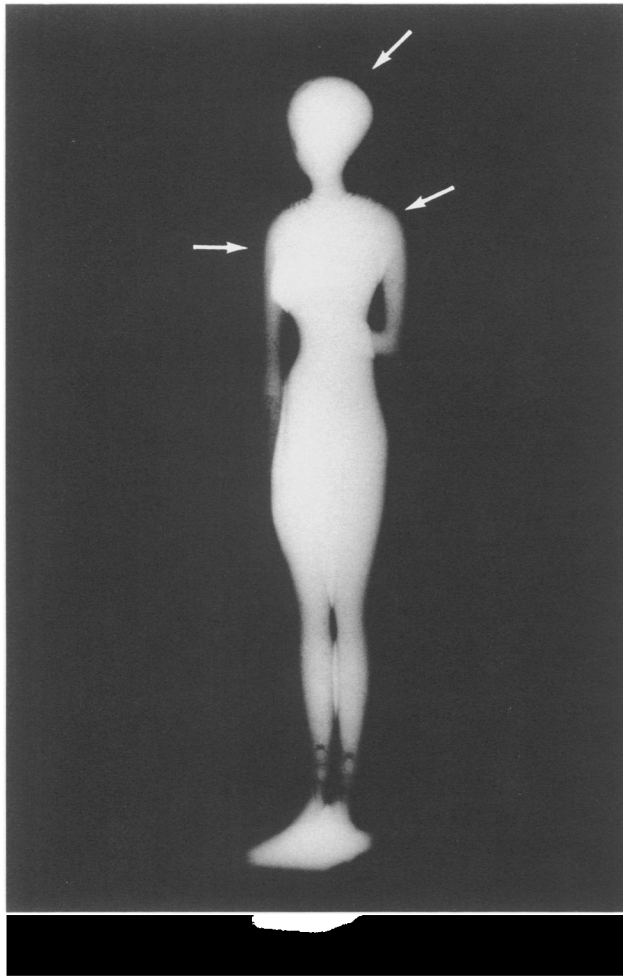


Figure 18. Right oblique view X-ray radiograph of the statuette

and in each case a visually presentable silver surface resulted. Cleaning proceeded slowly with a variety of specially shaped tools made from silver, steel, bamboo, and ivory (Figure 15). In many areas the mechanical cleaning was facilitated by forming a water-soluble complex with the aragonite inclusions present in the chlorargyrite layer.²¹ In three areas (the forehead, pelvis, and cartouches), where the corrosion was particularly tenacious and mechanical cleaning without damage to underlying surface detail was not feasible, localized chemical cleaning was undertaken.²² The figure's overall appearance after cleaning was silvery but irregular in color, luster, and surface morphology. It was decided, however, to refrain from polishing the surface, in order to retain some of the visual character and physical evidence of the figure's archaeological origin and to preserve evidence of its manufacture. Aesthetic considerations also played a role in this decision. Fine modeling and delicate details are easily altered

by the abrasion, compression, and smearing of the metal that result from polishing.

Before the surface cleaning was begun, a modern fill material was removed from the repairs in the legs and the exposed dowels were cut in half with a jeweler's saw. When the cleaning was finished, the old dowels were removed and replaced with stainless-steel dowels. The two pieces were correctly aligned so that the figure no longer leans backward.

Although gold and silver were already in use in ancient Egypt during the Predynastic Period, their frequency and relative value varied considerably during different historical epochs. Until the Middle Kingdom silver was more highly valued than gold, as evidenced by its primacy over gold in texts.²³ By the time of the New Kingdom, gold was considered to have twice the worth of silver,²⁴ although the latter continued to be more highly valued in Egypt than elsewhere in the Mediterranean world.²⁵

Geological sources of silver in Egypt are limited.²⁶ While notable exceptions do exist, works of art in silver were comparatively rare before the New Kingdom.²⁷ From the Eighteenth Dynasty onward silver objects were more plentiful, probably due to closer contact between Egypt and the civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean where silver was more readily available. Eighteenth Dynasty texts, for example, describe the large amounts of silver received in tribute by the Egyptians.²⁸ However, despite its lesser value relative to gold, until the Ptolemaic Period silver still appears to be the less frequently used metal.

There are relatively few extant Egyptian examples of large silver statuary representing human figures.²⁹ In any case, a consistent production of figural sculpture in metal, even of the more common copper alloys, must be considered a relatively late development in ancient Egypt. Surviving from the Old Kingdom is a pair of sheet-copper statues of Pepy I and Mernera(?) in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Dating to the Middle Kingdom is a modest number of small and large copper and copper-alloy figures in various collections. The production of small bronzes became more common in the late New Kingdom, and bronze statuary reached its height in terms of ambition and technical mastery during the Third Intermediate Period. Although vast amounts of gold were used in ancient Egypt, surviving examples of gold statuary of any size are rare at all times.³⁰

There are textual references to silver statuary



Figure 19. Statuette of a king offering a figure of Maat. Egyptian, New Kingdom. Silver with gold leaf, h. 19.5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, Donation Ganay (photo: Musée du Louvre)



Figure 20. Statuette of Amun. Egyptian, Eighteenth Dynasty, Silver with gold leaf, h. 23 cm. London, British Museum (photo: courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

from early in the Eighteenth Dynasty.³¹ Three notable large silver statuettes said to date from later in the New Kingdom are a figure of a king presenting Maat in the Louvre (E 27431) (Figure 19),³² a striding figure of Amun in the British Museum (EA 60006) (Figure 20),³³ and a seated figure of Horus in a private collection.³⁴

More silver figures are known from the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, but most of them are small. An unpublished amulet in the British Museum (EA 32770) is of particular relevance since it may be the only other extant Saite Period sculptural representation in silver of an unclothed woman (Figure 21).³⁵ This representation is also noteworthy, because amulets have a protective function and those with human attributes generally represent deities or parts of the body, and only rarely

mortal beings. In addition to the Metropolitan's female figure, large silver statuettes dated to the Late Period include figures of Nefertem in the Saint Louis Art Museum (223:1924) (Figure 22),³⁶ the State Museum of the History of Art, Moscow (no. 5451),³⁷ and a Swiss private collection.³⁸ Three additional large representations of Nefertem appeared in sales catalogues of the 1890s, but their present locations are not known.³⁹ Other documented pieces include an Osiris,⁴⁰ a Horus,⁴¹ and a figure of Imhotep seated as a scribe.⁴² There are a number of Ptolemaic Period silver statuettes, some of which exceed fifty centimeters, from the temple at Dendara.⁴³

In ancient Egypt, many natural substances had symbolic meanings that sometimes influenced the contexts in which they were used. The three main

symbolic associations of silver were the moon, ritual purity, and the bones of the gods.⁴⁴ Thoth is the god primarily associated with the moon, but silver may have had a symbolic connection to the nocturnal aspects of other deities principally associated with the sun, such as Horus and Hathor.⁴⁵ None of these conventional associations of silver seems to relate to the Metropolitan Museum's statuette but there may be other, more esoteric associations that could explain the identity of the woman represented or her status in Egyptian society.⁴⁶

In addition to clarifying the original appearance and state of preservation of the Metropolitan Museum's silver statuette, the technical examination provided information about the materials and methods used in its manufacture. Elemental analysis carried out on a polished cross section indicated that the figure was made from an alloy containing approximately 96.7 percent silver and 2.6 percent copper.⁴⁷ Lesser amounts of gold (0.6 percent) and iron (0.1 percent) were also detected.

The two main sources of silver traditionally believed to have been available to ancient Egyptian metalworkers are auriferous alluvial silver and argentiferous galena.⁴⁸ For the earlier periods it has long been assumed that local auriferous silver was used, whereas from the New Kingdom onward imported silver derived from argentiferous galena is believed to be the primary source of silver.⁴⁹ Because of the figure's relatively late date and the presence of only a small amount of gold in the silver, it is likely that argentiferous galena is the source of metal for the Metropolitan Museum's statuette. The failure to detect lead in the silver does not preclude galena as a possible source, because efficient cupellation can reduce the level of lead in cupelled silver to as low as 0.05 percent,⁵⁰ which is considerably below the limit of detection for lead (0.5 percent) under the prevailing operating conditions of the analysis. Copper impurities in silver derived from argentiferous galena rarely exceed 0.5 percent;⁵¹ it is therefore likely that the copper in the alloy is an intentional addition.

The Egyptian tradition of silver working included both hammering and casting, although it appears that statuary was produced almost exclusively by casting.⁵² Whereas there are no known surviving examples of Egyptian silver statuary made from hammered sheet, at least before the Ptolemaic Period, it is nonetheless possible to create elaborate hollow thin-walled silver forms by hammering. In fact,

much hollow silver statuary from other ancient cultures is hammered.⁵³ Considering the entire corpus of silver objects from ancient Egypt, artistic production appears to be limited in scope and quantity when compared to that of the cultures of the Aegean and the Near East, where local silver ores could be exploited.

As mentioned earlier, the Museum's figure and its integral base are a solid cast.⁵⁴ The statuette weighs approximately 1.13 kilograms. The seated Horus figure in a private collection and the figure of Nefertem in the Saint Louis Art Museum are also known to be solid and weigh 16.5⁵⁵ and 1.03 kilograms, respectively. On the other hand, the Louvre king⁵⁶ and at least some of the figures from Den-dara are hollow.⁵⁷

There are advantages and disadvantages inherent in the techniques of both solid and hollow casting. In ancient Egypt both methods would have proceeded from wax models. Large solid casts tend to be porous and require considerable surface finishing; they also necessitate a greater expenditure of metal and fuel. Hollow casts demand greater skill in the preparation of the core, wax model, and investment before casting but have fewer of the shrinkage and porosity problems that are associated with the



Figure 21. Amulet in the form of an unclothed woman. Egyptian, Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664–525 B.C.), Silver, h. 4.5 cm. London, British Museum (photo: courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

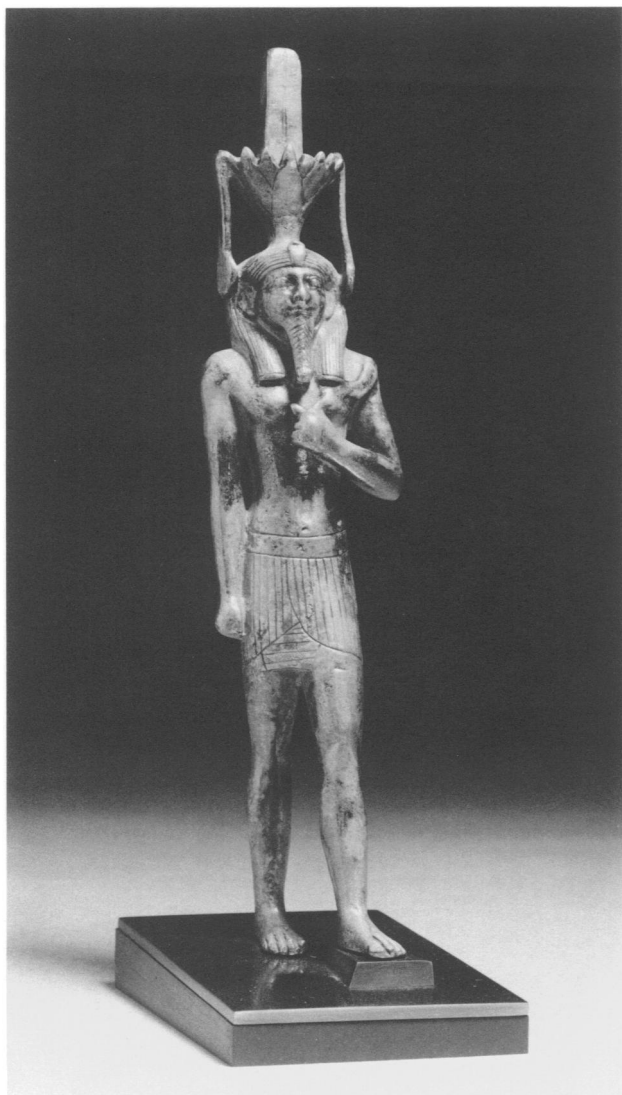


Figure 22. Statuette of Nefertem. Egyptian, Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664–525 B.C.), Silver, h. 24.8 cm. The Saint Louis Art Museum (photo: The Saint Louis Art Museum)

solidification of large masses of metal. Perhaps most important in a culture where metal is valuable, hollow casting conserves resources. However, sometimes the desire to express wealth or power or to conform to ritual specifications supersedes the need to save metal.⁵⁸

The Metropolitan Museum's figure has considerable porosity. The parts of the body thin enough to be penetrated by the X-radiation display a relatively uniform distribution of small pores caused by gases that were trapped in the metal when it cooled (Figures 16, 18). Examination of the figure clearly shows that the surface was covered with casting flaws when it was first removed from its investment.

These flaws, in the form of rounded pits, were the result of gases that migrated toward the surface but were unable to escape through the investment. In order to finish the surface, the craftsman enlarged and squared off the pits with a chisel and filled them with shallow, rectangular silver plugs that were hammered and burnished in place (Figures 23, 24). The plugs are of various sizes and in some cases they overlap. Overlapping plugs may have been necessary to repair large irregular pits or to fill separate but adjacent pits. The plugs would not have been visible in ancient times but are now clearly outlined by corrosion that has formed at the junctures between the plugs and the surrounding metal.

Radiographs of the figure of Nefertem in the Saint Louis Art Museum display a similar internal distribution of small pores, although there is no evidence of porosity on its surface, in the form of either pits or plugs (Figures 22, 25). This may be the result of the destruction of the surface by the harsh chemical cleaning, followed by heavy burnishing that was carried out before the figure was acquired by the Museum in 1924. The seated Horus figure in a private collection has many small unplugged pits visible on its surface, in addition to large and small plugs and several square cavities where plugs have fallen out.⁵⁹

After the casting flaws were filled, chasing tools were used to remove surface irregularities left from casting as well as to further define existing features and introduce additional details. For example, the pubic hairs were indicated by holes made with a round punch (Figure 26), and there is evidence of the use of chasing tools in the delineation of the fingers and toes. While the evidence on the face, where the surface of the metal is somewhat smeared, is not so clear, chasing tools were probably used there as well to refine details. The ears were probably pierced with an awl-like tool.

As a final step the surface was polished with increasingly fine abrasives. Evidence of the use of coarse abrasives is visible as long, roughly parallel scratches in less accessible areas—such as on the front of the body adjacent to the right arm—that inadvertently did not receive a final polishing (Figure 27).

The cartouches on the Metropolitan Museum's figure are unusual because they are raised rather than recessed (Figures 9, 10).⁶⁰ While the backgrounds of the cartouches are as highly polished as the rest of the figure, for reasons that are unclear the surface of the raised relief is uneven. The car-

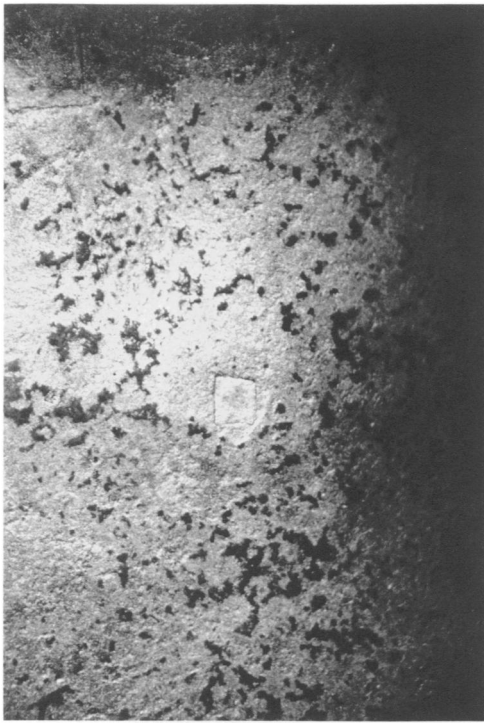


Figure 23. Detail of plugs on the statuette in Figure 1



Figure 24. Detail of overlapping plugs on the statuette in Figure 1

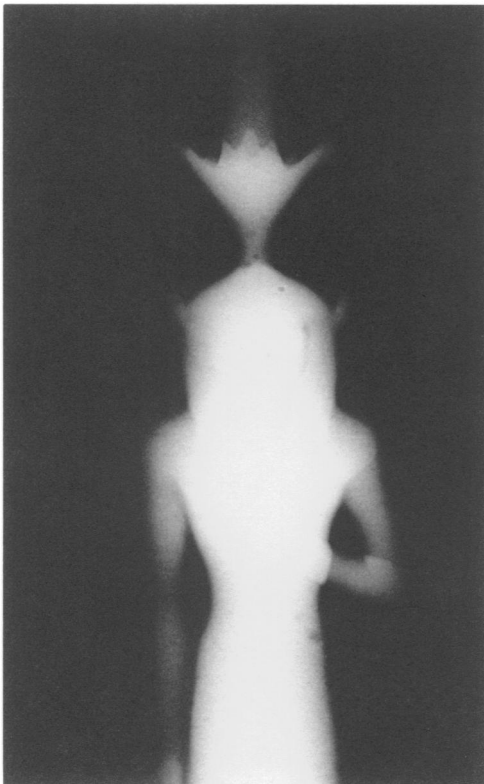


Figure 25. Detail of frontal X-ray radiograph of statuette in Figure 22



Figure 26. Detail of the pubic triangle of the statuette in Figure 1

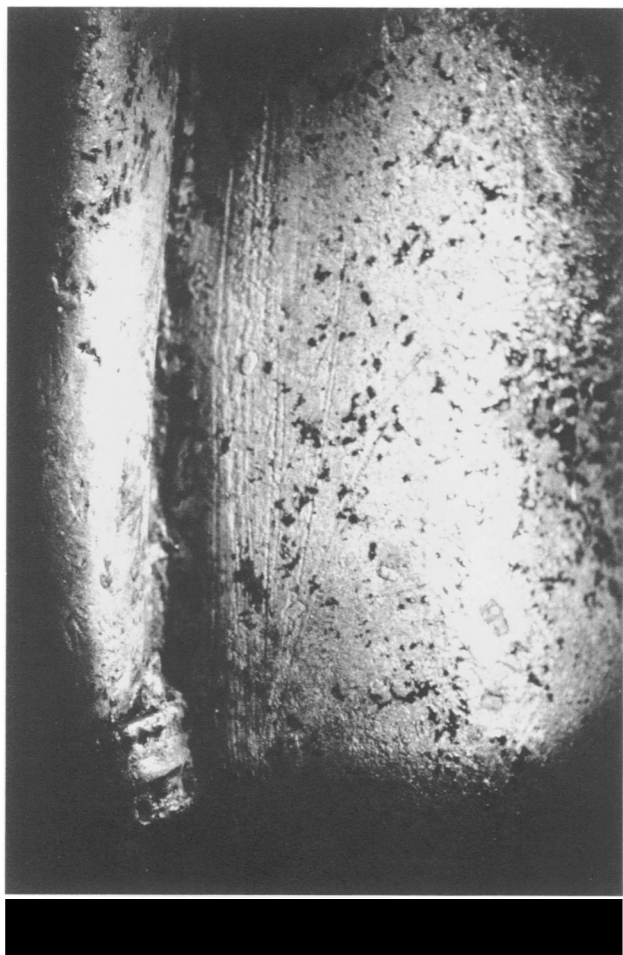


Figure 27. Detail of polishing marks on the statuette in Figure 1

touches are likely to have been included in the wax model. It is not evident whether the raised areas were simply left as cast or were further roughened by cold-working. It is possible that the uneven surfaces of the relief were intended to exploit the visual contrast between them and the adjacent polished surfaces. A less likely possibility is that the rough surface was intended to receive a painted gesso layer.

The radiographs show a distinct boundary between the inside of the wig and the head, indicating that the wig is a separate element (Figure 18). They also show that the basic shape of the head beneath the wig is rounded. The wig seems to have been merely slipped over the head and its edges burnished to secure it. Whether the wig was cast or hammered could not be determined.

Two circular holes, one above the other and approximately one centimeter apart, have been cut slightly to the left of center in the front of the wig

(Figure 8). A silver wire protrudes from each of these holes. These wires do not appear to have been used in attaching or aligning the wig. While the wires may be the remains of a uraeus or other attachment, the presence of a uraeus would be problematic.⁶¹

Radiotransparent lines on each shoulder visible in the frontal radiographs indicate that the collar was also a separate element (Figure 16). The collar must have been open when it was applied, or made in two sections, because when closed it would have been too small to fit over the head, even before the wig was added. A faint line running diagonally across the width of the collar on the left shoulder probably indicates a seam (Figure 28). The collar was set into a shallow recess in the body. This is evident in the radiographs and visible on the back of the figure where an edge of the recess was not burnished (Figure 29). All of the petals on the collar are in relief except for one on the left shoulder, which is recessed (Figure 30). It is unclear if this was intentional, and its significance is not known.

In contrast to the elegant design and precise workmanship manifest in the fabrication and fitting of the wig and collar, the execution of the anklets and bracelets seems cursory. Each was made from a single overlapping strip of hammered silver sheet with simple chased decoration. Only a clumsy attempt was made to hide the overlaps by placing them between the inner arm and the figure in the case of the bracelets and on the insides of the legs for the anklets. Although some excess metal is coiled between the inside of the wrist and the body, the bracelet on the left arm is still too long to be drawn tightly around the wrist (Figure 24). These

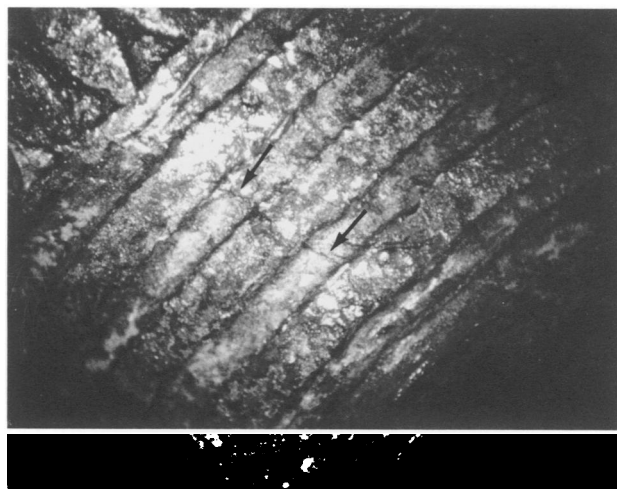


Figure 28. Detail of join on top of the broad collar on the statuette in Figure 1

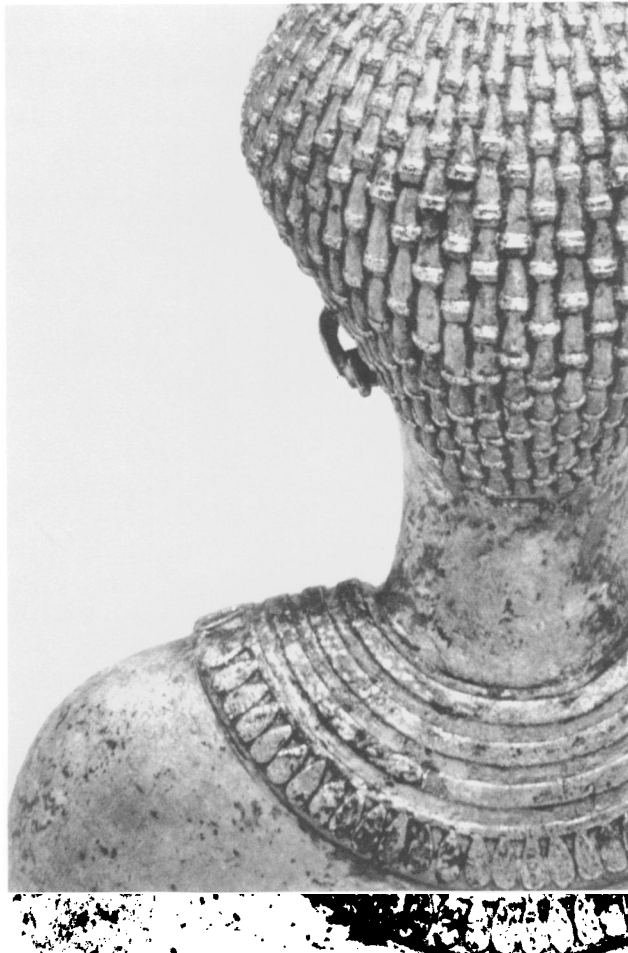


Figure 29. Detail of the broad collar and recess on the statuette in Figure 1

observations raise the possibility that the anklets and bracelets may be a later addition.⁶²

As mentioned earlier, aggregates of a friable red material were observed in the corrosion layer. As the cleaning progressed, this red material was found to be concentrated on the surface of the wig. Elemental analysis indicates that iron, calcium, and silicon are the predominant components; silver, bromine, chlorine, aluminum, copper, and sulfur were also detected. However, only bromium chlorargyrite was detected in X-ray diffraction analyses of several samples of this material. It is difficult to interpret these results. Chlorargyrite is not red, and the material does not have the appearance of iron-stained silver chloride. Its presence almost exclusively on the wig and concentrated directly on the surface of the metal suggests that it might be intentional. On the other hand, red wigs are rare in ancient Egypt and the figure is otherwise strikingly monochromatic. Red grounds are sometimes used

for the application of gold leaf, but this practice is generally limited to nonmetallic substrates.⁶³ In any case, no trace of gilding was found on the wig.

In fact, there is no evidence of gilding or inlay anywhere on the Metropolitan Museum's figure,⁶⁴ although these features occur on many of the large silver statuettes mentioned above. For example, the figures of the striding king in the Louvre (Figure 19), the British Museum Amun (Figure 20), and the standing Horus, whose present location is not known, are partially gilded.⁶⁵ In each of these cases, it is the clothing, wigs, crowns, jewelry, or other attributes that are gilded.⁶⁶ The seated Horus in a private collection was completely covered with gold sheet, most of which is now lost, and some of the Dendara figures may also have been entirely gilded. The eyes and the headdress of the seated Horus were inlaid with rock crystal and lapis lazuli, respectively. Some of the Dendara figures also have inlaid eyes as did, most probably, the royal figure in the Louvre.⁶⁷

Among extant Egyptian statuary the Metropolitan Museum's silver figure is unique. The sumptuous use of silver, in conjunction with the woman's nudity and several other unusual characteristics, particularly in the absence of an inscription qualifying the cartouches, has made it difficult to determine her identity. The problem of identification is compounded by the general decline in the number of stone sculptural representations of women during the Late Period, leaving only a few contemporaneous female figures of high artistic quality to which the Metropolitan Museum's statuette can be compared.⁶⁸

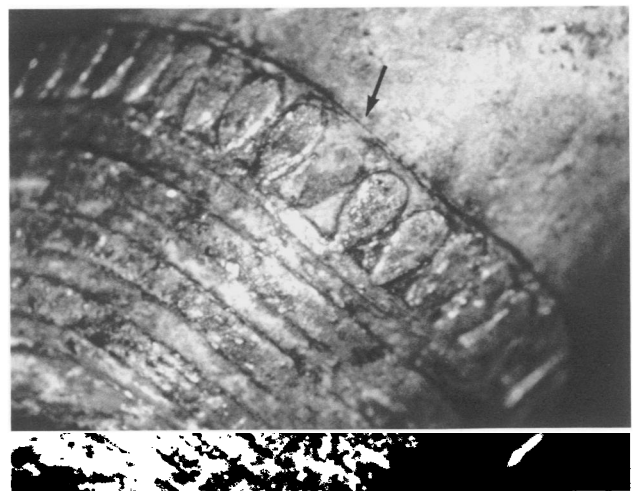


Figure 30. Detail of the "recessed" petal on the broad collar of the statuette in Figure 1

Although the identity of the woman remains ambiguous and the function of the statuette is not known, the visual impact of the sculpture is undeniable. The woman's assertive, powerful stance conveys a strong sense of individuality. Despite her slenderness, she possesses weight and solidity. The overall representation is austere but punctuated with exquisite details, such as the wig, while the lustrous quality of silver is beautifully exploited in the sensitive modeling of the woman's body.

The importance of the statuette is asserted by the wealth of silver and the high quality of workmanship, as well as by the presence of King Necho's cartouches. These features, together with the artistic refinement of the sculpture and the clarity with which it exemplifies the aesthetic standards of the Saite Period, lead one to conclude that the Metropolitan Museum's figure is the product of a royal workshop.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to acknowledge the contributions of their generous colleagues in the research and publication of this paper. Our greatest appreciation goes to Dorothea Arnold of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for the opportunity to examine the statuette at length. She, as well as Marsha Hill of the Egyptian department, Christine Lilyquist of the Wallace Curatorship in Egyptology of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Edna R. Russmann, took part in many long discussions regarding the figure. We would like to acknowledge the participation of James H. Frantz and Richard E. Stone of the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation in all the stages of the examination and cleaning of the statuette. Our thanks go also to Ann Heywood, Hermes Knauer, and Mark T. Wypyski, all of the Sherman Fairchild Center, to Joan R. Mertens of the Department of Greek and Roman Art, to Bruce J. Schwarz of the Photograph Studio, and to James Allen, Susan Allen, Robert Edmonds, and Judith Hanson of the Egyptian department for their contributions. Sidney M. Goldstein, Diane Burke, and Suzanne Hargrove made it possible for us to examine and radiograph the silver statuette of Nefertem in the Saint Louis Art Museum. W. V. Davies and Jeffrey Spencer allowed us to examine the British Museum statuette of Amun, and Christiane Ziegler,

Geneviève Pierrat, and Christophe Barbotin allowed us to examine the royal figure in the Louvre. This article is dedicated to the late Bernard V. Bothmer, whose encouragement and advice were instrumental to the initiation of this project.

NOTES

1. E. B. Andrews, "A Journal on the Bedawin 1889–1912: The Diary Kept on Board on the Dahabiyeh of Theodore M. Davis During Seventeen Trips up the Nile" (unpublished typescript, 1918) II, pp. 72–73.

2. The Mohassib mentioned in Andrews's diary was an important, if not the most important, antiquities dealer in Luxor during the late 19th and early 20th century. Given Mohassib's widespread activities, the place of purchase does not necessarily provide information about the figure's provenance.

3. See D. Gordon, "The Robber Baron Archaeologist—An Essay About the Life of Theodore M. Davis," unpublished M.A. diss., Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, 1991).

4. The examination was initiated as part of an art-history project undertaken by L. Pilosi, "A Silver Statuette of the Saite Period," unpublished M.A. qualifying paper, Institute of Fine Arts (New York, 1988). Prior to this, the figure had been mentioned briefly and illustrated in A. Lansing, "The Theodore M. Davis Bequest, The Objects of Egyptian Art," *MMAB* 26, 2 (1931) pp. 3–7, fig. 11, and N. E. Scott, *Egyptian Statuettes* (New York, 1946) p. 34, pl. 35. An art-historical treatment of the statuette is being prepared by E. R. Russmann.

5. The designations "right" and "left" in the text indicate proper right and proper left, respectively.

6. The general stance of the MMA figure is not uncommon; see B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* (Copenhagen, 1966) VII, pp. 869–879. However, it is rarer to find the left clenched fist directly on the right breast. In those instances, the figure usually holds some attribute, such as a sistrum or a flower. Representations of unclothed women in this stance without attributes occasionally appear as mirror handles. One New Kingdom example, excavated at Akko, is in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem (IAA 71–95); see MMA, *Treasures of the Holy Land*, exh. cat. (New York, 1986) cat. no. 62.

7. Nudity is not common in ancient Egyptian art; see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* s.v. "Nacktheit" (Wiesbaden, 1975–91) IV, cols. 292–294; see also O. Goelet, "Nudity in Ancient Egypt" (forthcoming). Many of the representations of unclothed women that do exist can be grouped, with a great deal of overlap, into several loosely defined categories. The representations in these groups often span several epochs of Egyptian history, but some chronological developments can be recognized as well. "Fertility figures" form one large group of unclothed women. This designation is broad, probably conflating a number of subgroups, and includes

those figures formerly known as "concubines." The clarification of the concept of "fertility figures" appears in G. Pinch, "Child-birth and Female Figurines at Deir el-Medina and el-Amarna," *Orientalia* 52 (1983) pp. 405–414. In general, the figures of this type are generic women, but a subgroup of wooden figures dated to the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom from As-siut and other sites, some of which are finely carved and seem to represent individuals, may also have functioned as "fertility figures." At least some of these last-mentioned wooden nude figures were wrapped in linen "clothing"; see, most recently, E. Delange, *Statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1987) pp. 156–157, 188–189.

Another large group of unclothed women consists of maturing adolescents, some of whom are recognizable as servants. These figures often exhibit a high level of workmanship and include both freestanding examples and figures that are part of luxury objects, such as mirrors, cosmetic spoons, cosmetic vessels, and small pieces of furniture; see *Egypt's Golden Age—The Art of Living in the New Kingdom*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, 1982) pp. 204–205. A finely carved ivory figure in the Louvre (E 27429) dated to the Third Intermediate Period may belong to this group. However, the question of her identity and function is complicated by the remains of a broken-off element on the top of her wig, which may have been a crown, an emblem, or an attachment to a larger object.

A further group of representations includes poorly known minor goddesses of apparently foreign derivation; see R. Stadelmann, "Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten," in *Probleme der Ägyptologie V* (Leiden, 1967). Possibly belonging to this category is a series of representations in various media of full-figured women, some of whom wear uraei, dated to the 25th Dynasty; see E. Riefstahl, "Doll, Queen, or Goddess?," *Brooklyn Museum Journal* (1943–44) pp. 7–23.

Finally, there are rare instances of unclothed, individualized mortal women. One example is the early-19th-Dynasty figure of Rennutet, wife of Yuny, carved in very high relief on the sides of the deep back pillar of her husband's limestone *naophoros* statue in the MMA (33.2.1); see *Masterpieces of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Boston / New York, 1993) pp. 20–21. Rennutet wears only a festive wig and holds a necklace in her hand, which along with the inscribed texts suggests a connection to the goddess Hathor; Do. Arnold, personal communication, Sept. 9, 1993. Another example is found at Medinet Habu in relief scenes of Ramesses III attended by several young women. The latter, unclothed except for their necklaces and unusual headdresses, serve the king and receive his caresses; see *Medinet Habu, The Eastern High Gate with Translations of the Text*, Oriental Institute Publications 94 (London, 1970) pls. 630–633, 636–642, esp. 637.

Several Late Period figures representing unclothed women, whose identities or social status are unclarified, are also of potential interest in the study of the MMA figure. Slightly earlier in date are two 25th-Dynasty statuettes in the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, one of wood (16999, H. 20.5 cm) and one of ivory (17000, H. 15.5 cm), from the grave of Taza at Abusir-el-Meleq; see K. Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit von der XXII bis zur XXX Dynastie* (Glückstadt / Hamburg / New York, 1936) p. 64. A problematic representation of an unclothed woman of the Saite Period is an amulet in the British Museum; see text, p. 46.

Formerly dated to the 25th Dynasty is a bronze unclothed female figure (H. 18.2 cm) in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels (E 7278). This statuette wears a uraeus and a fish pendant necklace and has been published as a representation of a divine consort; see M. Werbrouck, "Princesse égyptienne," *Chronique d'Égypte* 15 (1940) pp. 197–204. However, recent technical findings have prompted a reassessment of the figure; L. J. H. Limme, personal communication, July 2, 1993.

8. The base measures 3.1 cm in width, 3.9 cm in depth, and 0.8 cm in height.

9. Initial radiographs of the MMA figure were taken with a Philips-Norelco MG 300 Industrial X-ray unit with a 36-inch film-to-target distance. Exposures were made at 300 kilovolts with Kodak Industrex M-5 Industrial X-ray film between .005-inch lead filters. Subsequent radiographs of the figure and the Saint Louis Art Museum Nefertem were taken with a Philips Industrial MG 321 X-ray unit. Exposures were made at 320 kV, using the same film-to-target distance and lead filters. All radiographs were taken at 3 milliamperes with exposure times between 60 and 180 seconds and developed manually using standard Kodak products.

10. Elemental analyses were carried out using an Amray 1600I scanning electron microscope coupled to a Kevex Delta IV energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometer using MAGIC IV ZAF corrections. For this analysis a sample was removed from an area adjacent to the drill hole on the inside of the right leg (see text) and prepared as a polished cross section. Samples of corrosion products and accretions were also removed from the surface of the statuette and mounted on carbon stubs. X-ray diffraction analysis of crystalline corrosion products and inclusions was carried out with microsamples in a Debye-Scherrer powder camera.

11. Chlorargyrite, also called cerargyrite, is commonly known as horn silver. The name embolite was formerly used to describe intermediate members of the solid solution series between chlorargyrite (AgCl) and bromyrite or bromargyrite (AgBr).

12. R. E. M. Hedges, "On the Occurrence of Bromine in Corroded Silver," *Studies in Conservation* 21 (1976) pp. 44–46.

13. The statuette contains a small amount of copper, which is the source of the copper in the corrosion product. The analyses of the metal are described in the text.

14. Several other unusual corrosion products or accretions could not be identified. In a few areas, where the chlorargyrite layer was discontinuous, black tabular hexagonal crystals were observed in close contact with the silver. This material, which upon probing was found to extend somewhat beneath the predominant corrosion product, may be a silver sulfide, although this is rare in archaeological contexts. Occasionally interspersed in the corrosion layer were relatively large euhedral dark pink translucent crystals. Only bromium chlorargyrite was detected in the X-ray diffraction scans of the pink crystals.

15. White particulate accretions are often observed in the corrosion layers on archaeological silver. Such accretions have generally been identified as calcium carbonate (CaCO₃) on the basis of microchemical tests. As these samples have rarely been examined using X-ray diffraction, it is not possible to establish which species of calcium carbonate—calcite or aragonite—is more common. The chemistry of this phenomenon and its possible relationship to silver corrosion processes have not yet been explored.

16. This material is discussed in the text on page 51.
17. The cleaned area on the knuckles of the left hand can be seen on a 1931 record photograph.
18. Composite images derived from X-ray radiographs taken from oblique angles made it possible to decipher the hieroglyphs before the figure was cleaned.
19. Mechanical cleaning, as distinguished from chemical cleaning, is a term commonly used by conservators to describe the use of tools to physically remove unwanted material from the surface of a work of art.
20. Since much of the corrosion that attacks silver is intergranular, that is, proceeding along grain boundaries below the surface of the object, the extent of embrittlement may not be evident from visual examination.
21. The aragonite (CaCO_3) between the metal and the silver corrosion was complexed with an 8 percent solution by weight of 1:1 sodium carbonate (Na_2CO_3) and sodium metaphosphate [$\text{Na}(\text{PO}_3)_n \text{Na}_2\text{O}$] in distilled water. After treatment the figure was rinsed in distilled water. The dissolution of the aragonite facilitated cleaning by undermining the layer below the silver corrosion.
22. Chemical treatment consisted of limited local applications of a saturated solution of sodium thiosulfate ($\text{Na}_2\text{S}_2\text{O}_3 \cdot 5\text{H}_2\text{O}$). The areas treated were immediately flushed with distilled water.
23. J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961) p. 41.
24. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, p. 42; J. Cerny, "Prices and Wages in Egypt in the Ramesside Period," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 1 (1954) pp. 903–921, esp. 904–906.
25. R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1950) p. 186.
26. See note 49 below.
27. Examples of silver artifacts predating the New Kingdom include a group of some 20 inlaid silver anklets that belonged to the Fourth Dynasty Queen Hetepheres (G. Reisner, "The Tomb of Queen Hetep-Heres," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 25, supplement [1927] pp. 2–36, esp. 21–22) and the two scarabs (40.3.11–12) and a necklace (40.3.19) from the Middle Kingdom burial of Wah, now in the MMA (H. E. Winlock, "The Mummy of Wah Unwrapped," *MMAB* 35 [1940] pp. 253–259). This burial has recently been redated to the early 12th Dynasty; see Do. Arnold, "Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes," *MMJ* 26 (1991) pp. 5–48. A substantial find of silver, also dating to the Middle Kingdom, is the so-called Tod Treasure. This hoard, which was found in wooden coffers bearing the name of Amenemhat II, includes large silver chains, gold and silver ingots, and small objects of gold and lapis lazuli, as well as a few small objects of silver and a substantial number of silver vessels that are probably of foreign manufacture; see *Un Siècle de fouilles françaises en Egypte, 1880–1980* (Paris / Cairo, 1981) pp. 137–163.
28. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, p. 186.
29. For the purposes of this paper, large silver statuettes are defined as those greater than 15 cm.
30. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, p. 33, esp. n. 18. A noteworthy example of Egyptian gold statuary (H. 17.4 cm, without feather crown) is the Third Intermediate Period figure of Amun (26.7.1412) in the MMA; see C. Aldred, "The Carnarvon Statuette of Amun," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 42 (1956) pp. 3–7.
31. K. Sethe and W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, in *Urkunden des Aegyptischen Altertums*, G. Steindorff, ed. (Leipzig / Berlin, 1903–61) IV, pp. 23, 634, 666; cited in Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, p. 42 n. 23. A Ramesside inscription describes silver statues of deities with a total weight of one ton that were dedicated by Ramesses III. W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I Hieroglyphische Transkription*, in *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* V (Brussels, 1932–72) p. 67, ll. 11–68a, 5; cited in C. Ziegler, "Jeune pharaon présentant l'image de la déesse Maât," *Revue du Louvre* 3 (1988) pp. 181–185, p. 183.
32. H. 19.5 cm. This figure has been attributed to the 19th Dynasty in a recent publication; see Ziegler, "Jeune pharaon."
33. H. 21 cm; S. Quirke and J. Spencer, *British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1992) p. 76, fig. 55.
34. H. 42 cm; N. Reeves and J. Taylor, *Howard Carter Before Tutankhamun*, exh. cat., British Museum (London / New York, 1993) p. 172.
35. H. 4.5 cm; unpublished.
36. H. 24.8 cm; see S. M. Goldstein, "Egyptian and Near Eastern Art," *Bulletin of the Saint Louis Art Museum* n.s. 19 (1990) pp. 1–52, esp. 26–27.
37. H. 22 cm; V. V. Pavlov and S. E. Khodach, *Egyptian Statuettes* (Moscow, 1985) no. 142 (in Russian).
38. H. 15 cm; unpublished.
39. *Collection de Monsieur le Baron de Menascé*, sales cat., Hôtel Drouot, March 23–24 (Paris, 1891) p. 34, no. 299, pl. vii; H. 19 cm; G. Legrain, ed., *Collection H. Hoffmann, Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes* (Paris, 1894) p. 108, nos. 336, 337, ill.; H. 19.5 and 19 cm.
40. H. 19.5 cm; *Connoisseur* 198, 796 (June 1978) back cover.
41. H. 16 cm; Legrain, *Collection H. Hoffmann*, p. 110, no. 339, ill.
42. H. 17 cm; *Collections de Feu M. Jean P. Lambros d'Athènes et de M. Giovanni Dattari du Caire, Antiquités égyptiennes, grecques et romaines*, sales cat., Hôtel Drouot, June 17–19 (Paris, 1912) p. 62, no. 569, pl. LVIII.
43. This group includes human and animal representations. S. Cauville, "Les Statues culturelles de Dendera d'après les inscriptions pariétales," *Bulletin de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 87 (1987) pp. 71–117, esp. p. 116 and pl. xvi.
44. *Lexicon der Aegyptologie* s.v. "Silber" (Wiesbaden, 1975–91) V, col. 941; S. Aufrère, *L'Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* (Cairo, 1991) II, pp. 409–423.
45. Aufrère, *L'Univers minéral*, pp. 411–412.
46. The case of Nefertem presents an interesting question. Nefertem, the third member of a triad with his parents Ptah and Sakhmet, manifests himself in the form of a lotus blossom, a symbol of daily rebirth; *Lexikon der Aegyptologie* s.v. "Nefertem,"

IV, cols. 378–380. Although there are no textual or traditional associations linking silver to this deity, by far the largest proportion of published silver figures are representations of Nefertem.

47. Analysis was carried out using an energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometer (see note 10 above).

48. N. H. Gale and Z. A. Stos-Gale, “Ancient Egyptian Silver,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 67 (1981) pp. 103–115, esp. 108, suggest the possibility that pyrite ores also may have been exploited in the Mediterranean as a source of silver as early as about 550 B.C.

49. Although galena deposits exist in Egypt, to date none containing enough silver to be considered commercially exploitable has been found. For discussions of ancient silver sources in the Mediterranean world, with particular reference to Egypt, see, for example, A. Lucas, “Silver in Ancient Times,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 14 (1928) pp. 313–319; J. Mishara and P. Meyers, “Ancient Egyptian Silver: A Review,” in *Recent Advances in Science and Technology of Materials* (Cairo, 1974) III, pp. 29–45; Z. Stos-Fertner and N. H. Gale, “Chemical and Lead Isotope Analysis of Ancient Egyptian Gold, Silver and Lead,” in *Proceedings of the 18th International Symposium on Archaeometry and Archaeological Prospection* (Cologne / Bonn, 1978) pp. 299–313; Gale and Stos-Gale, “Ancient Egyptian Silver”; Z. A. Stos-Gale and N. H. Gale, “Sources of Galena, Lead and Silver in Predynastic Egypt,” *Revue d’Archéométrie, Supplément* 3 (1981) pp. 285–295.

50. Gale and Stos-Gale, “Ancient Egyptian Silver,” p. 107.

51. Ibid. Auriferous silver rarely contains more than 1.5 percent copper; Stos-Fertner and Gale, “Chemical and Lead Isotope Analysis,” p. 306.

52. Although casting was the predominant method of producing silver statuary in ancient Egypt, hammering was routinely employed for the manufacture of silver vessels. In addition, there are, for example, full-sized silver anthropoid coffins and smaller canopic vessels dating from the 22nd Dynasty from Tanis that were manufactured by hammering; P. Montet, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis, Fouilles de Tanis* (Paris, 1947–60) II, pp. 37–38, 57–58, 130–132 and pls. xvii–xx, xxxiv–xxv, and c–ciii.

53. Early examples of hollow silver statuary include Proto-Elamite figures of a bull (66.173) and an antelope (47.100.89) in the MMA. These are constructed from a number of separate hammered sheet elements sleeved together and soldered in place; see D. Hansen, “A Proto-Elamite Silver Figurine in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,” *MMJ* 3 (1970) pp. 5–11, and K. C. Lefferts, “Technical Examination,” in *ibid.*, pp. 15–24.

54. The figure does not stand securely on its small, low base. Without knowledge of its function or significance in ancient times, it is difficult to suggest how the figure originally might have been mounted.

55. Reeves and Taylor, *Howard Carter Before Tutankhamun*, p. 172.

56. This figure has been radiographed and is known to be a hollow cast; see Ziegler, “Jeune pharaon,” pp. 182–183, fig. 6.

57. This statement is based on visual observation of a few of the figures on display in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

58. Without more knowledge of how, when, and where various types of ancient Egyptian statuary were displayed or used, and of workshop practices, the evidence of surviving metal casts is difficult to interpret. Using the example of copper-alloy casts, for which we have the largest corpus of surviving material, one finds that there are hollow-cast examples even among quite small objects. The larger statuary is generally hollow, although there are examples of figures of more than 80 cm that are solid. A Near Eastern example for which there appears to be a relationship between manufacturing method and cultural prerogative is a life-size statue of Queen Napir-Asu from Susa dating to the 14th century B.C. The figure, which weighs 1,750 kg, consists of an unalloyed copper shell cast over a solid bronze “core”; see P. O. Harper, J. Aruz, and F. Tallon, eds., *The Royal City of Susa*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1992) pp. 132–135.

59. This method of repairing casting flaws is relatively rare on Egyptian bronzes. Stone patches, fitted into cavities chiseled out around damages or flaws, and later disguised with plaster, were quite typical for ancient Egyptian construction; see D. Arnold, *Building in Egypt* (New York / Oxford, 1991) pp. 241–242.

60. There are also typological considerations with regard to the cartouches. From the New Kingdom onward representations of the king sometimes show his own cartouches on his upper body. A king’s cartouches may likewise mark the upper body of his officials, but they are not found on female figures. In addition, isolated raised cartouches are extremely rare in any context. The cartouches on the figure indicate some connection to King Necho II, but as there is no accompanying text the nature of this connection remains obscure.

61. The use of a divine and royal symbol such as a uraeus would seem to be inconsistent with the figure’s nudity since Egyptian goddesses, queens, princesses, and divine consorts are generally depicted clothed. However, nudity in conjunction with divine or royal insignia is typical for a group of female figures published by Riefstahl (see note 7), whose identities also are unclear.

62. It has been suggested that the figure’s earrings, bracelets, and anklets are more unusual than the broad collar, which is of a traditional Egyptian type; C. Lilyquist, personal communication, June 28, 1993.

63. The use of a red ground as a support for gold leaf is unusual in ancient Egyptian contexts but is common in many other cultures. Egyptian examples of the Roman Period have been cited; see P. Hatchfield and R. Newman, “Ancient Egyptian Gilding Methods,” in *Gilded Wood, History and Conservation*, D. Bigelow et al., eds. (Madison, Conn., 1991) pp. 27–47, esp. 39.

64. In the recessed petal on the collar discussed earlier there are traces of a red material similar in appearance to that observed on the wig. The material in the petal probably migrated from the wig during burial and is unlikely to be the remains of an inlay.

65. The applied metal on the Horus figure is described as being gold or electrum; see Legrain, *Collection H. Hoffmann*, p. 110, no. 339.

66. Of interest in this regard is a small silver figure (H. 5.5 cm) of the 18th Dynasty in the National Museum of Antiquities, Lei-

den; see *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (Haarlem, 1981) p. 68. The figure is clothed in a curious gold outfit, which suggests that the woman represented may be a foreigner. Her hair or head covering is gilded. Along with some Middle Kingdom wooden figures mentioned in note 7, she raises the possibility that the MMA statuette originally had clothing that is now lost. The Leiden figure is also notable because its unusual “stepped” wooden base bears a cartouche of Tuthmosis III without an accompanying inscription describing the woman’s relationship to the king.

67. Ziegler, “Jeune pharaon,” p. 181.

68. B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, exh.

cat., Brooklyn Museum (New York, 1960) p. xxxvii; *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1987) p. 57; E. R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture* (Austin, 1989) p. 182. Statues of female deities and especially queens and princesses or private individuals are unusual. The women most commonly represented in statuary during the Kushite and Saite Periods were the divine consorts of the god Amun. There are many small bronze figures of a few goddesses, such as Isis and Neith, conventionally dated to the Late Period. In general, these latter figures are not of a quality that permits comparison to the MMA figure or to contemporaneous stone statuary.

A Persian Epic, Perhaps for the Ottoman Sultan

LÂLE ULUC

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART owns a double-folio battle representation from a dispersed copy of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī dated A.D. 1562–83/A.H. 970–91 (Figures 1, 2). Although the scene illustrates the Persian “Book of Kings,” scholars who have studied the folios consider them to be Ottoman.¹ This essay will attempt to demonstrate the close relationship of these folios to a group of Safavid Shirazi manuscripts, although they may well have been illustrated with an Ottoman patron in mind.

The identity and characteristics of the Shiraz school of painting during the sixteenth century were first recognized and published in 1949.² Since then, no detailed study has been conducted on the Safavid Shirazi illustrated manuscripts, although they outnumber all the others of the same period. The Shiraz style was mostly designated as provincial or commercial, or both, and while it is occasionally said that some sixteenth-century Shirazi manuscripts are of high quality, most scholars usually ignore them.

The Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library (TSML) in Istanbul owns a large number of Safavid Shirazi manuscripts. A specific group among these is of very high quality and was produced on a lavish scale, from the point of view of both size and magnificence.³ There are also other examples of the same group scattered in collections in other parts of the world. Although more research is necessary to date them with accuracy, it has now been possible to date copies from 1572 to 1590. These manuscripts share a remarkable number of characteristics with the folios in the Metropolitan Museum.

It is possible to date the Metropolitan Museum’s pages relatively accurately, because the last two pages of text of the same dispersed manuscript and its endpiece are owned by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Figures 6–9)⁴ and contain a colophon

with the name of the scribe, Muḥammad al-Qivām al-Shīrāzī. The margins of the last two pages of text of the *Shāhnāma* (Figures 8, 9) are embellished with ten lines of calligraphy written in decorative cartouches, composed and appended to the book by a later calligrapher-illuminator, Muḥammad ibn Tāj al-Din Ḥaidar *muzahhib* Shīrāzī, who gives an account of both the book and its original scribe. He also states that in A.D. 1583/A.H. 991 he himself completed, with the help of some unnamed patrons, the book begun in A.D. 1562/A.H. 970.⁵

There is some information available in the related literature about Muḥammad al-Qivām, the scribe of the original text of the Metropolitan’s folios. Almost twenty manuscripts bearing his name are known, providing a range of dates from 1533 to 1567, while the colophon of one states that it was written in Shiraz.⁶ We therefore understand that the text of this *Shāhnāma* was copied by this well-known scribe in 1562 in his hometown of Shiraz. However, it seems not to have been supplied with illustrations until the later date of 1583. This view is supported by the fact that not only is the text of the manuscript re-margined but also that the illustrations and the decorative cartouches of the panegyric are painted on these new margins. Moreover, the illustrations are painted on a separate sheet, which was cut to size and stuck on the entire area that was to be illustrated. This procedure again points to a later date for the miniatures, when the new margins were used to give these pages the magnificence and larger size that are also seen in the group of lavishly produced Safavid Shirazi manuscripts mentioned above.

In the original 1562 arrangement only the left-hand page (Figure 1) was provided with space between the text areas for a much smaller illustration, and the right-hand page (Figure 2) was not designed to have a miniature at all. However, when the program of illustration was conceived twenty-one years later, in conjunction with the new arrangement of the manuscript, it was intended to

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The notes for this article begin on page 69.



Figure 1. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi, *Battle between Iranians and Turanians*. Turkey, A.D. 1562–83/A.H. 970–91. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 43.2 x 25.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952, 52.20.9a

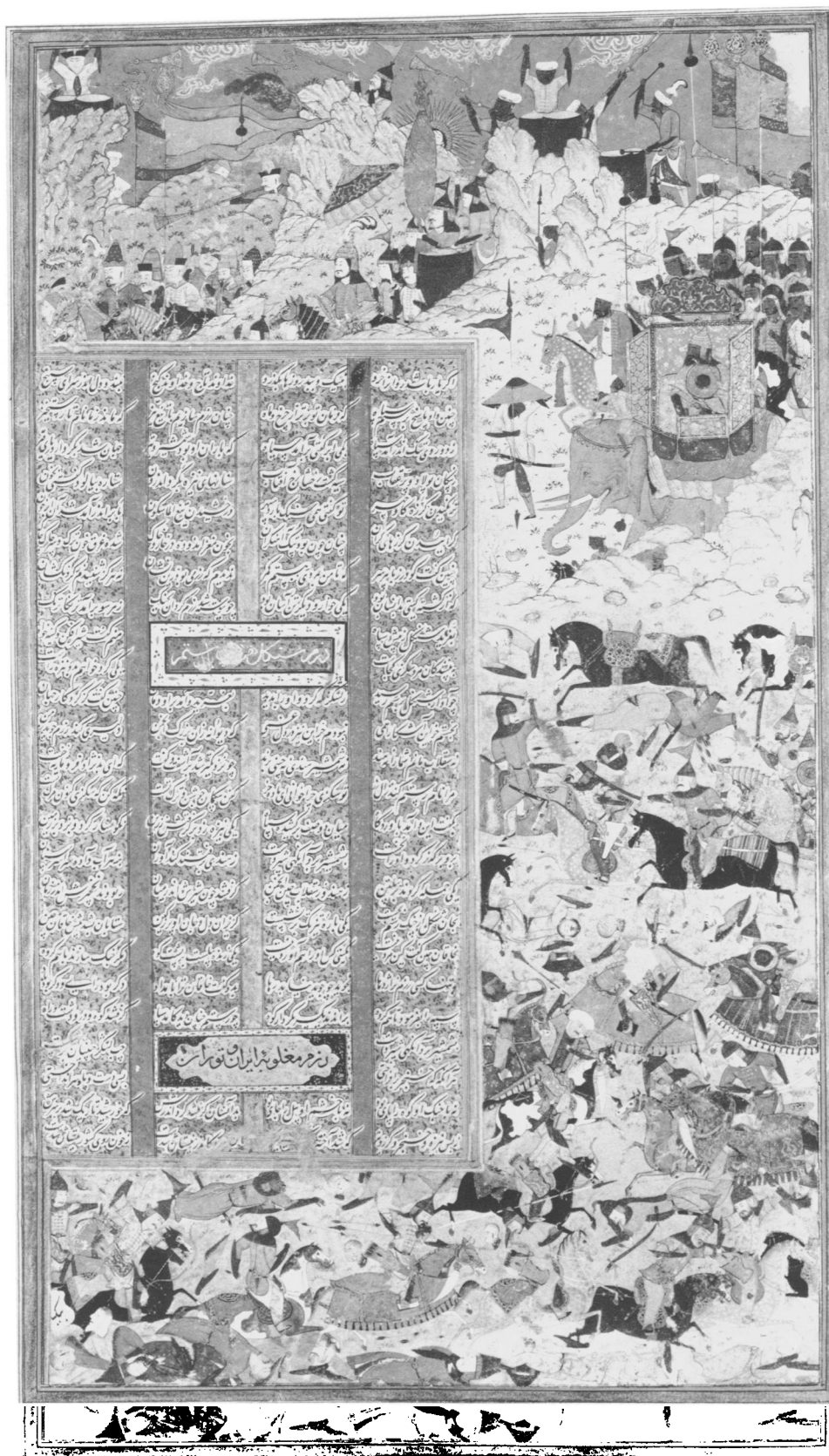


Figure 2. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi, *Battle Between Iranians and Turanians*. Turkey, A.D. 1562–83/A.H. 970–91. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 43.2 x 25.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952, 52.20.9b

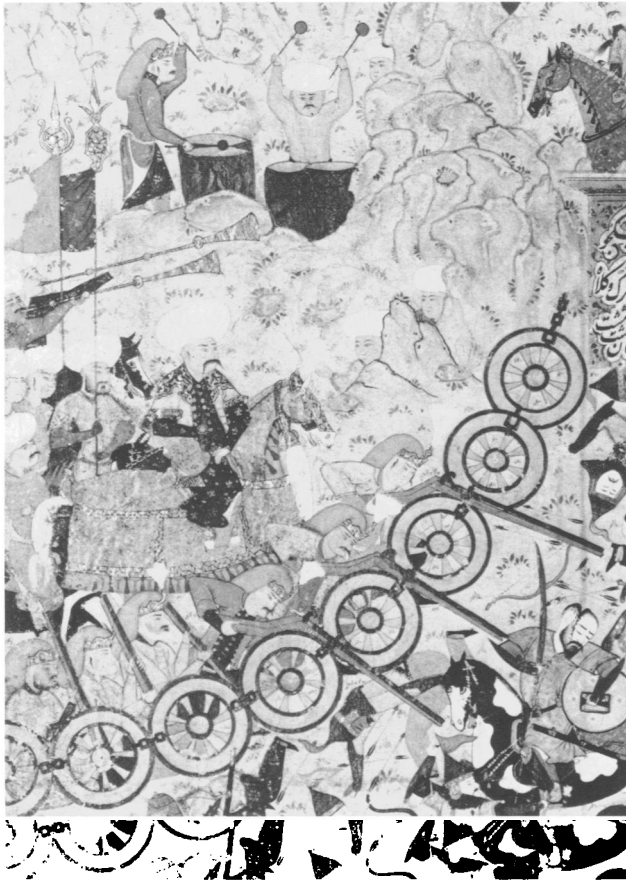


Figure 3. Detail of the army on left side in Figure 1



Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1



Figure 5. Detail of the army on right side in Figure 2

cover the space between the text areas of the left-hand page, as well as the margins of both pages. Therefore, the painter would have had to paint it on two different kinds of paper, since the text paper is not the same as the paper used in the margins. Using a third kind of paper to fit all the areas to be illustrated was an ingenious solution.

Possibly because of this rearrangement, the format of the illustrations on these pages is highly unusual. Among the many extant Shirazi paintings, either within the Topkapi collection or published, there are no miniatures that are painted only in the three margins as occurs on the right-hand page (Figure 2). Although strictly marginal painting does occur in Shiraz, these have neither the same manner nor the same quality of the Metropolitan's example. The format of the left-hand page (Figure 1) is also relatively rare. No miniatures with a clear attribution to Safavid Shiraz with this format have been published. On the other hand, it is frequently seen in the above-mentioned group of lavishly produced Shirazi manuscripts in the TSML in Istanbul (Figures 10, 12, 14).⁷ The illustrator of the Metropolitan's pages therefore seems not only to have devised



Figure 6. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, endpiece. Turkey, A.D. 1562-83/A.H. 970-91. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 47.5 x 33 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund, 14.691 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

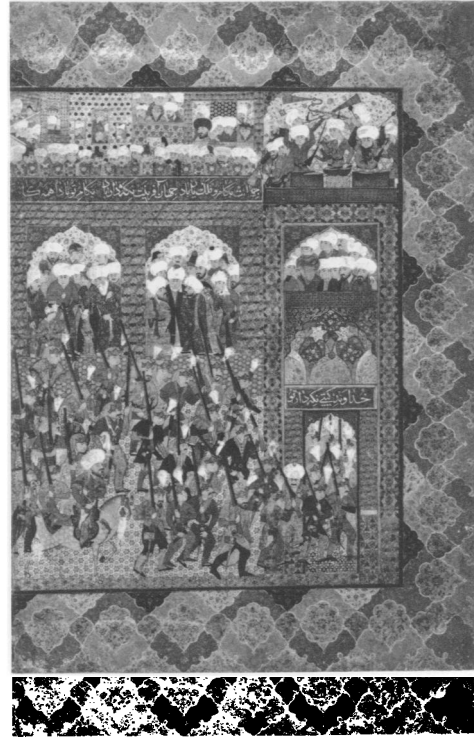


Figure 7. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, endpiece. Turkey, A.D. 1562-83/A.H. 970-91. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 47.5 x 33 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund, 14.692 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

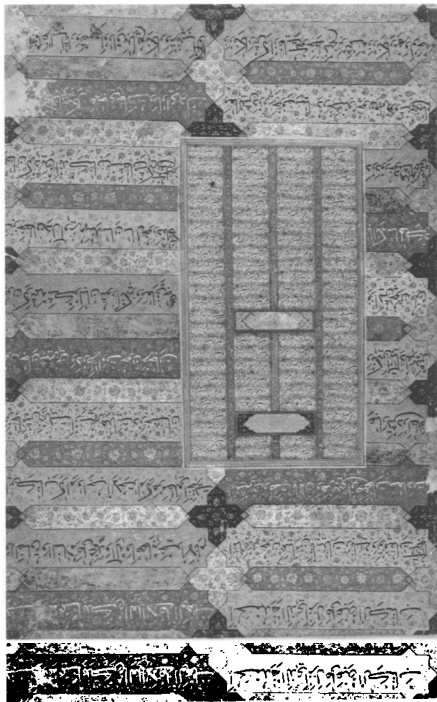


Figure 8. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, the colophon and the last page of text on the reverse of MFA 14.691 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

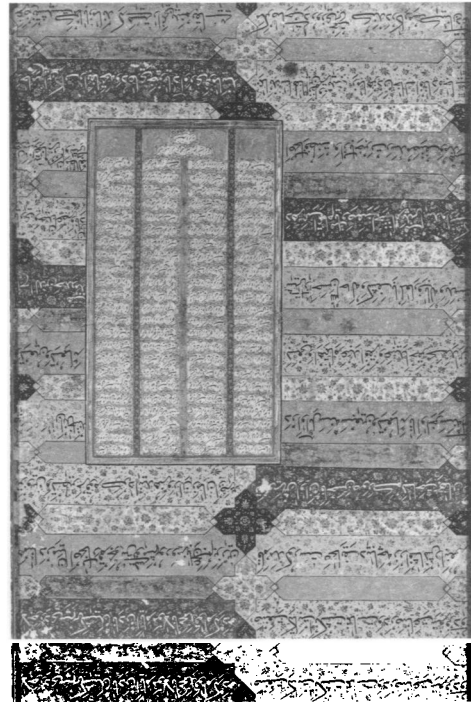


Figure 9. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, the penultimate page of text, MFA 14.692 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)



Figure 10. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, *Battle between Iranians and Turanians*, folio 287r. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1475 (photo: Topkapı Sarayı Museum)



Figure 11. Detail of Figure 10 (photo: Topkapı Sarayı Museum)

this ingenious way of enlarging the area which was to be painted on one page but by using the margins of the second one, a hitherto unused setting for illustrations of this type, has achieved a double-page composition.

The unanimous attribution of the Metropolitan's folios to the court school of Istanbul was based on both iconographical and stylistic considerations. Since the members of the left-hand army seem to be in Ottoman attire, there is some reason to consider a Turkish element in connection with their iconography, although it is completely unnecessary to search further than Shiraz for their style.

The current attribution at the Metropolitan follows the opinion of Ernst Grube, who was the curator of the Museum's Department of Islamic Art from 1965 to 1968. He wrote extensively about the folios in an article⁸ and later illustrated them in an

issue of the *Museum Bulletin*.⁹ Because the article was the most comprehensive piece of work on the folios, the reasons he gives there for assigning them to the Ottoman court school are considered here. He remarks on "a feeling for reality" and "a sense of action" which seem to him "to be taken right out of the many historical texts that were illustrated in Turkey in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."¹⁰

When the pages are compared with Ottoman court painting, they have many significant differences. An almost contemporary Ottoman battle scene is found on folio 256v (Figure 15) of the *Hünernama* of Lokman dated A.D. 1588/A.H. 996, H. 1524 in the TSML in Istanbul,¹¹ while an earlier one is seen on folios 219v and 220r (Figure 16) of the *Süleymanname* of Arifi dated A.D. 1558/A.H. 965, H. 1517 in the TSML.¹² These bona fide Turkish illustrations can be of further use for a comparison of

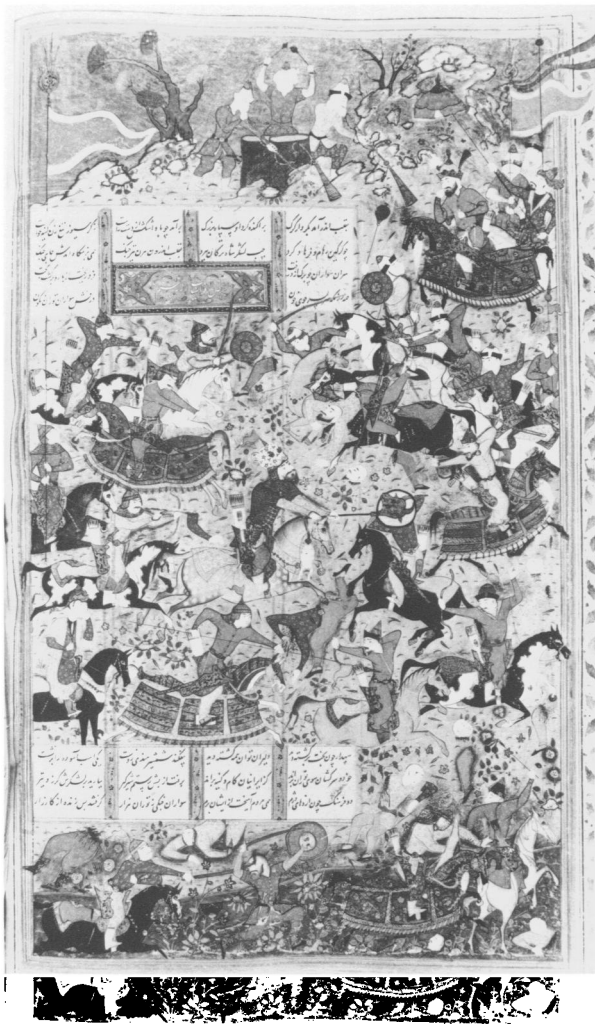


Figure 12. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi, *Rustam's Battle with Afrāsiyāb*, folio 205r. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1475 (photo: Topkapı Sarayı Museum)

the headgear of the janissaries (undoubtedly illustrated by Ottoman court artists) with that of the Metropolitan's pages (Figures 3 and 17).¹³ This comparison shows that the painter of the latter could not have been fully conversant with the correct form of headdress, since those worn by the Ottomans never have the crownlike base found in the Metropolitan's pages. On the other hand, a Sa'favid Shirazi *Shāhnāma* owned by the TSML, H. 1485, dated A.D. 1522/A.H. 928 signed by its scribe, Muḥammad ibn Jamāl al-Dīn al-Kātib, who gives its place of production as Shiraz, has two solitary janissary figures on folios 382 and 516 (Figure 18). These janissaries, definitely painted by Shirazi artists at Shiraz, share the same type of headgear with the janissaries of the Metropolitan's pages, thus showing that Shirazi artists sometimes included these figures in their manuscripts.



Figure 13. Detail of Figure 12 (photo: Topkapı Sarayı Museum)

The TSML owns yet another *Shāhnāma*, which also has a Shirazi-style janissary figure. This one, H. 1495, dated A.D. 1553/A.H. 960 and signed by its scribe, Fānī al-Kātib al-Shirāzī, can be considered Shirazi on stylistic grounds. Folio 275v of the manuscript depicts the beheading of Afrāsiyāb while a solitary janissary figure watches the action (Figure 19). A later note, written on the flyleaf of this particular manuscript, informs us that this was the *Shāhnāma* that came to the Royal Library in January A.D. 1686/A.H. 1097 from the estate of the murdered Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa.¹⁴ This note makes it clear that this manuscript was originally owned by a member of the Ottoman ruling elite and was definitely not produced for an Ottoman sultan.

All the features of the Metropolitan pages mentioned by Professor Grube as characteristic of a Turkish painter are in fact standard stylistic devices



Figure 14. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, *Death of Dārā's Murderers*, folio 330r. Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1475 (photo: Topkapi Sarayı Museum)

commonly used by Persian and specifically by Shirazi painters during the pre-1580s Safavid period. Thus, the sun “hides his face” both on the upper-right corner in folio 330r of a late-sixteenth-century Shirazi *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī (H. 1475 in the TSML [Figure 14]) and next to the drummers at the top of the right-hand page of the Metropolitan’s illustration (Figures 2 and 5); the dark complexion of the warriors on the Metropolitan’s right-hand page was a convention used by Persian painters for the depiction of Indians (Figure 5);¹⁵ and the complicated pose of the attendant in front of the emperor on the elephant of the same army (Figure 5) is duplicated by the uppermost warrior on the ladder in front of the fortress being stormed in folio 548 (Figure 20) of the Shirazi *Shāhnāma* dated 1539 from the Kraus collection.¹⁶ Although an array of artillery

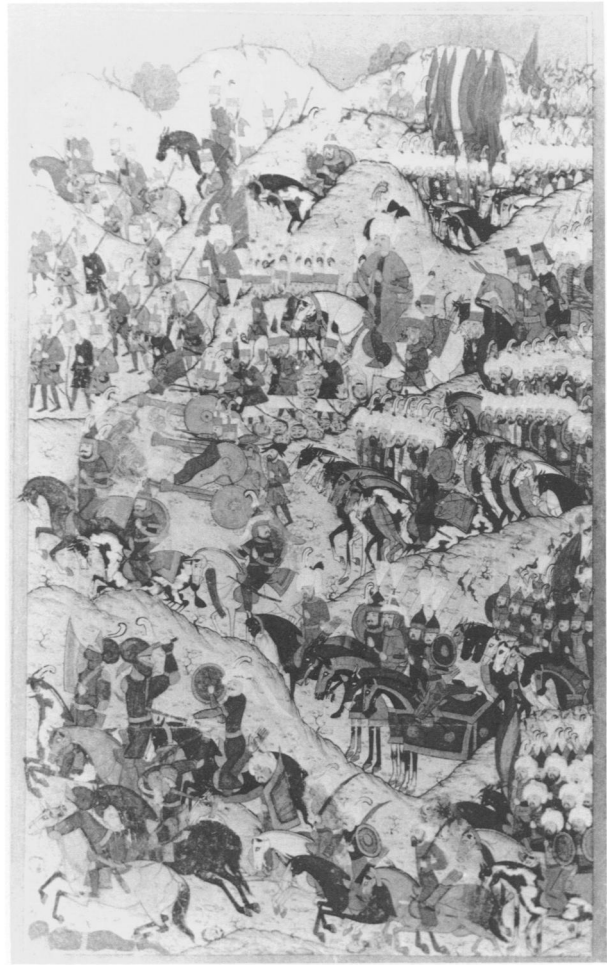


Figure 15. *Hünernâme* of Lokman, volume II, *Battle of Mohács*, folio 256v. Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1524 (from N. Atasoy and F. Cayman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, pl. 25)

with its wheels chained can be seen in Ottoman miniatures, an example of which exists in folio 219v (Figure 17) of the *Süleymannâme* of Arifi dated 1558, H. 1517 in the TSML,¹⁷ it also exists in Shirazi battle scenes, as can be seen in folio 232r (Figures 21 and 22) of another Shirazi *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī of about 1580 (Ethé 867 in the India Office Library in London).¹⁸ Therefore the chain connecting the cannons of the army of the Metropolitan’s left-hand page¹⁹ (Figure 3) need not indicate an Ottoman origin. Finally, the depiction of body parts strewn on the battleground is a characteristic seen more often in Persian than in Ottoman illustrations.

A final comparison of the left-hand page of the Metropolitan’s illustration (Figure 1) with the two battle scenes (Figures 10, 12) from the above-mentioned late-sixteenth-century Shirazi *Shāhnāma*,

H. 1475, displays not only the same compositional format but also the traditional battle motifs duplicated in both, such as the person with his head cleft in two, seen in the middle of the Metropolitan's left-hand page²⁰ (Figure 4) and in folio 287r of H. 1475 (Figures 10, 11); the figure of a soldier being pushed down from his horse, just above the person with his head cleft in two on the Metropolitan's page (Figure 4)²¹ and in the upper-right corner just below the text area in folio 205r of H. 1475 (Figures 12, 13); and the body parts strewn on the ground in all three scenes (Figures 1, 10, 12).

Since the overall style, proportions, colors, landscape details, and the setting of the illustration within the entire page of the Metropolitan's folios are found only within the Shirazi idiom, stylistically they can be accepted as a product of the Shirazi school, painted by a Shirazi painter trained in Shiraz.

Although the name of this painter is not known, new information has come to light about the illu-

minator who signed his name in the concluding pages of the text owned by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The TSML owns a large-size Qur'an, E.H. 48,²² dated A.D. 1572–86/A.H. 980–95, which bears two artists' signatures. The colophon at the end of the Qur'an text (folio 245r) is signed by the scribe, 'Abd al-Qadīr al-Ḥusainī. This is followed by a Persian *falnāma* (a treatise on how to use the Qur'an for divination), which terminates with a colophon (folio 252r) signed by the illuminator, Muḥammad ibn Tāj al-Dīn Ḥaidar *muzahhib* Shīrāzī. The illuminator of this Qur'an is undoubtedly the same artist as the scribe-illuminator who signed his name in an identical manner in the Boston pages. Also, the illumination seen on the borders of the illustrated endpiece and the decorative cartouches on the concluding folios of text in Boston (Figures 8, 9)²³ can both be matched almost exactly with illumination from this extremely lavishly illuminated Qur'an (Figure 23). Although the colophons of the Qur'an E.H. 48 do not mention its place of produc-



Figure 16. *Süleymanname* of Arifi, *Battle of Mohács*, folio 219v. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1517 (from E. Atıl, *Süleymanname*, pl. 20)

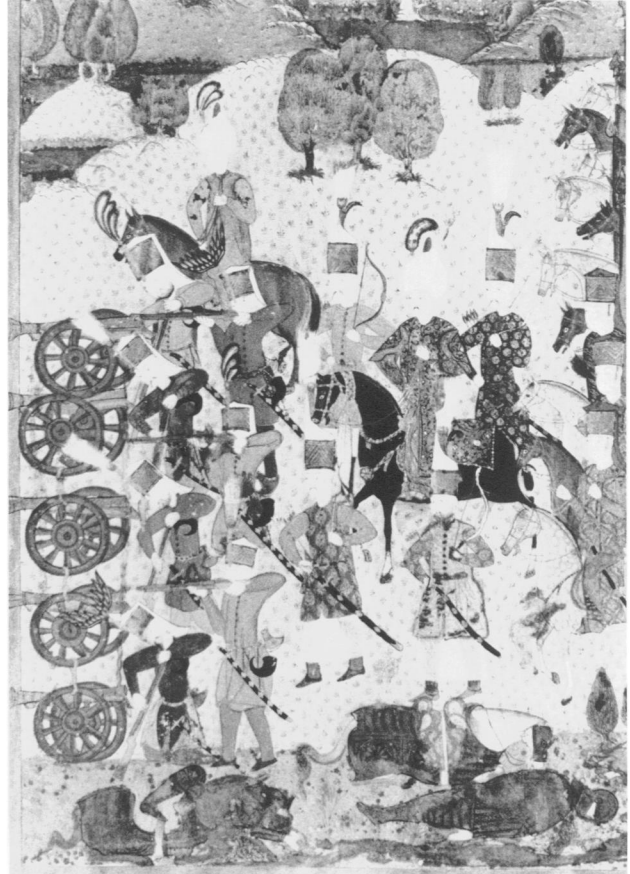


Figure 17. Detail of Figure 16

tion, its illumination, as a whole, fits extremely well within the Shirazi idiom. Moreover, there is another Qur'an, K.104 in the TSML, which can also be placed in Shiraz on stylistic grounds. This Qur'an was also transcribed by the same scribe responsible for the Qur'an E.H. 48, since he uses the identical name, 'Abd al-Qadīr al-Ḥusainī. These series of matching names and similar illumination and illustration styles thus indicate that the Metropolitan's folios were not only painted by a Shirazi painter but also that they were actually painted in Shiraz.

The left-hand army in Ottoman clothes makes it impossible to assign the Metropolitan's pages to a Shirazi painter working in Shiraz for a Safavid Shirazi patron. On the other hand, the choice of text illustrated in the manuscript of the Metropolitan's pages, which is the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī in Persian, indicates that it could not have been produced for the Ottoman sultan. Although there seems to be a relatively accepted view that the Ottoman sultans liked to have Persian copies of the *Shāhnāma* of Fir-

dausī produced for their own libraries, this belief is not borne out by observation of the available material. Persian was indeed used as a court language by the Ottomans, who had some of their own histories written in Persian and in the same meter as Firdausī's *Shāhnāma*. But it is not likely that the Ottoman sultans ever commissioned a copy of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī in Persian. It is interesting to note that during the reign of Sultan Murad III (1574–95) a translation of the *Shāhnāma* was prepared for him in Turkish while he was having the history of his own ancestors written in Persian. None of the forty-two illustrated Persian copies of the *Shāhnāma* in the TSML is a product of Ottoman court artists. Their presence may be explained as booty from the Persian campaigns, presents to the Ottoman sultans or dignitaries, or purchases by the Ottoman elite, but none was produced at the Ottoman court atelier.

The double-folio endpiece miniature of the same dispersed manuscript that the Metropolitan's pages belong to, owned by the Boston museum, depicts



Figure 18. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, *Dārā's Death*, folio 382, detail. Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1485 (photo: Topkapi Sarayı Museum)

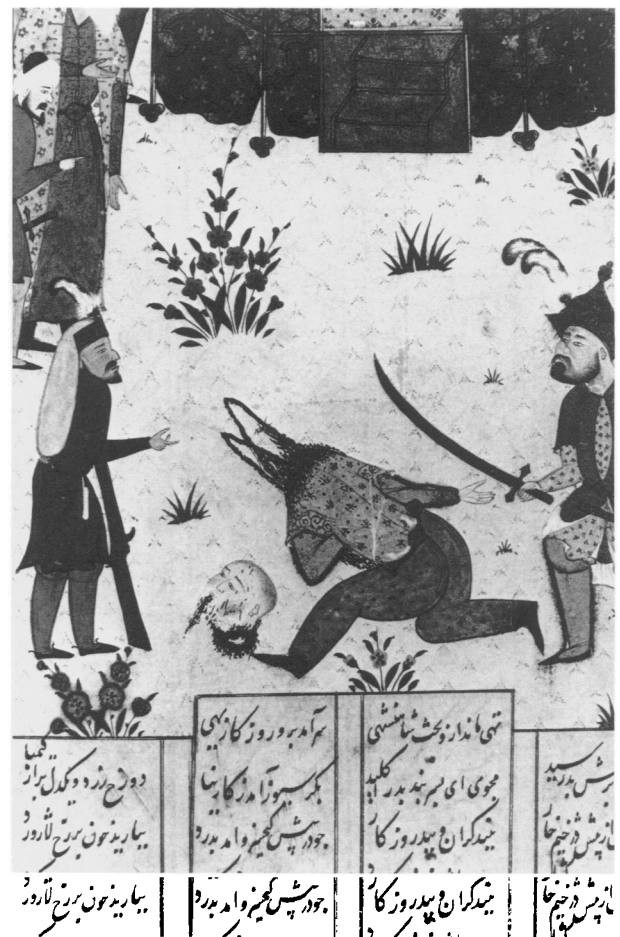


Figure 19. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, *Death of Afrāsiyāb*, folio 275v, detail. Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1495 (photo: Topkapi Sarayı Museum)

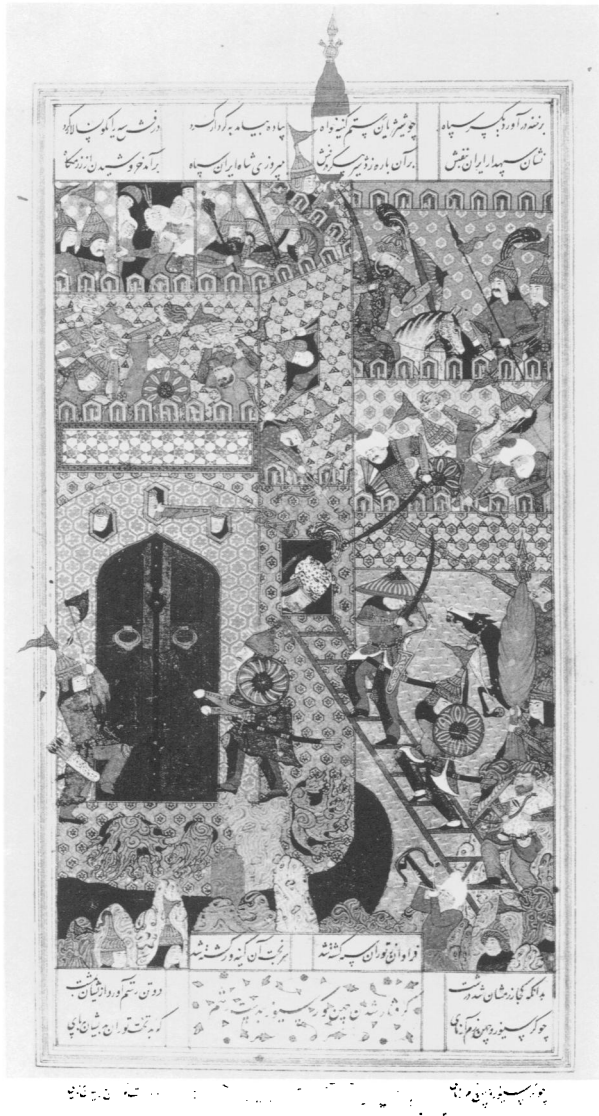


Figure 20. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi, *Rustam Storms a Fortress*. New York, The Kraus Collection (from E. Grube, *Islamic Paintings: The Kraus Collection* [New York, 1972] pl. xxvi)

the triumphal entry into a city of a personage accompanied by his army in the same strange style of Ottoman clothing. Also, there are panegyric verses to a sultan written on the miniatures themselves (Figures 6, 7). This may possibly indicate that the manuscript was intended to be a present to the bibliophile sultan Murad III himself, either from the Safavid shah or through an Ottoman official who may have either received it as a gift himself or purchased it.

The year 1583 falls in the middle of the twelve-year conflict (1578–90) between the Ottomans and the Safavids. Thus, major military campaigns were being conducted at the Ottoman-Persian border and major Ottoman officials were wintering at

the Eastern outposts of the empire year after year.²⁴ Interestingly, these were also the years when Ottoman court manuscripts were written and illustrated on the military exploits of Ottoman pashas, independently from their inclusion within a general court history book. Furthermore, three of the total number of four started during the reign of Murad III, all illustrated, are precisely about the Persian campaigns of the three pashas who were the commanders-in-chief of the Eastern forces for these twelve years.²⁵

Of the three pashas, Ferhad Paşa became the commander-in-chief of the Eastern campaign twice. Thus, he spent two years, from the summer of 1583 until the summer of 1585, during his first command, and about four years, from the summer of 1586 until the beginning of 1590, during his second command, at the Persian border. He was called back to Istanbul in 1585 and was reappointed commander-in-chief of the Eastern forces in 1586. Also in 1586, the Safavid shah Khudābanda sent a Safavid officer to Ferhad Paşa to negotiate for peace. Ferhad Paşa asked for a Safavid prince to be sent as hostage to the Ottoman court as one of the conditions for peace. This proposal was received favorably by the shah Khudābanda and his son Ḥamza Mīrzā. It was also decided that Ḥamza Mīrzā's son Ḥaidar Mīrzā would be the Safavid prince who would be sent as the hostage. However, at this stage of the negotiations, Ḥamza Mīrzā was murdered and Khudābanda's son ʿAbbās Mīrzā became the Safavid shah as ʿAbbās I. The new shah stopped the negotiations for peace and the war continued until 1590, to end with a peace treaty again at the instigation of the Safavid shah. Ferhad Paşa was again involved in the peace negotiations because he was still the commander-in-chief of the Eastern forces. The Safavid prince Ḥaidar Mīrzā was indeed sent as a hostage. He reached Ferhad Paşa's headquarters in Erzurum on October 15, 1589, and the Ottoman court in Istanbul on January 15, 1590. A large number of officials bearing many gifts accompanied the young prince.²⁶

The Ottoman manuscript about the Persian campaign of Ferhad Paşa, *The Conquest of Gandja*, TSML R. 1296, dated A.D. 1589–90/A.H. 998, lists the manuscripts sent as gifts on this occasion and includes a copy of the *Shāhnāma*.²⁷ The *Shāhnāma* that used to contain the Metropolitan's illustration might have reached the Ottoman court through a variety of channels, but most probably as a gift to the Ottoman sultan. It might be one of the gifts and the



Figure 21. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, *Rustam Shoots Askabūs*. London, India Office Library, E. 867 (from B. W. Robinson, *India Office*, fig. 369)

Shāhnāma mentioned in *The Conquest of Gandja* as having been brought by Ḥaidar Mirzā; it might have been a gift to Ferhad Paşa himself, who might have offered it to the bibliophile sultan Murad III when he was called back to the capital. It might have been acquired either as a gift or through purchase by a member of the Ottoman elite and then given as a gift to his sultan. Or it might have come as a gift by a later Safavid embassy to Istanbul, for example, Zu'l-Faqar Khān's, in 1595.²⁸

To sum up, the manuscript of the *Shāhnāma* that included the Metropolitan's illustration was painted in a prolific atelier in Shiraz which produced manuscripts for an extended market, including the Ottoman. This solution not only provides the necessary

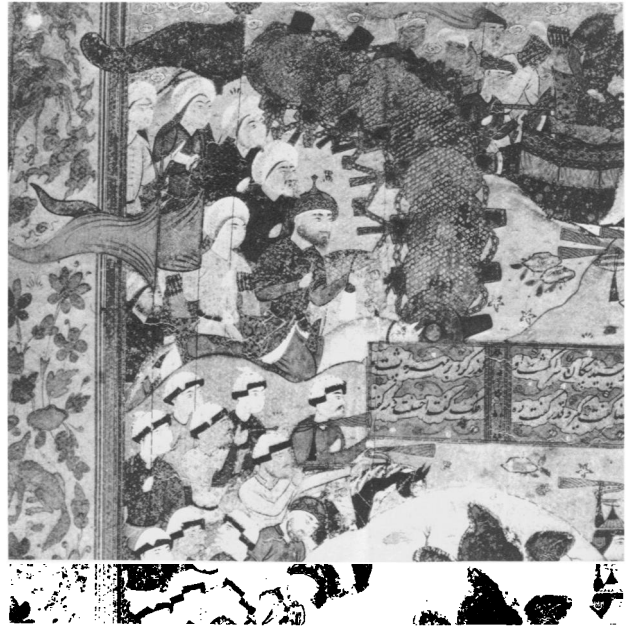


Figure 22. Detail of Figure 21

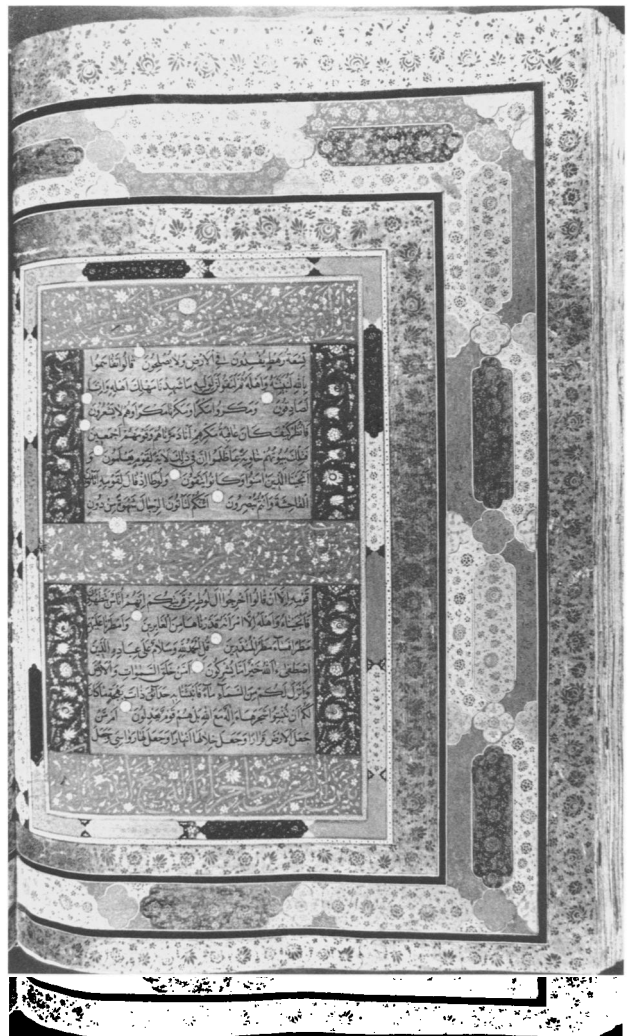


Figure 23. Qur'an, folio 154v. Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Museum Library, E.H. 48 (photo: Topkapi Sarayi Museum)

framework for the creation of an illustrated Persian copy of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī in the Shirazi style for an Ottoman patron and explains its choice of text and iconography, but it also fits remarkably well within the historical context of the time.

NOTES

1. E. J. Grube, "Four Pages from a Turkish 16th-Century Shahnama in the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York," in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens. In Memoriam Ernst Diez*, Oktay Aslanapa ed., (Istanbul, 1963) pp. 237–255; I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966, 1971) pp. 72–73; and A. Welch, *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World* (Austin, Texas, 1979) pp. 98–99.
2. G. Guest, *Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, 1949).
3. The range of their sizes is 40–53 cm x 26–34.5 cm; both MMA folios measure 43.5 x 25.7 cm.
4. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Les Miniatures orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston* (Paris, 1929) (*Ars Asiatica*, vol. XIII) pp. 60–63, pls. LIV–LVII.
5. Coomaraswamy, *Les Miniatures*, pp. 61, 62, pls. LVI, LVII; and Welch, *Calligraphy*, p. 98.
6. Guest, *Shiraz Painting*, p. 59, no. 18. A *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul, TIEM 1984. While it is possible that the scribe of this manuscript may be another person with a similar name, both the illumination and the illustration of all the works signed by our scribe are completely within the Shirazi idiom. It therefore seems safe to assume that he was indeed a Shirazi scribe working in Shiraz.
7. Figures 10, 12, and 14 are from an undated Shirazi manuscript, Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library (TSML) Hazine (H.) 1475, and it is considered to be Shirazi because of stylistic reasons. There is also another manuscript, TSML H. 1497, dated 1574, that has a colophon giving Shiraz as its place of production. The same format can also be seen in this latter manuscript on fols. 220v, 247v, 248r, 284r, 301r, 312v, 333r, and 366v.
8. Grube, "Four Pages."
9. E. J. Grube, "The Ottoman Empire," *MMAB* 25 (Jan. 1968) pp. 204–254.
10. Grube, "Four Pages," pp. 249–250.
11. N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1974) pl. 25.
12. E. Atil, *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, 1986) pl. 20.
13. Grube, "Four Pages," fig. 11.
14. This was Grand Vizier Kara-Ibrahim Paşa, who was in office between Nov. 15, 1683, and Nov. 18, 1685/25 Zulhicce 1094–21 Muḥarram 1097.
15. Therefore, it seems more likely that this army was also Indian rather than Chinese, as Professor Grube remarked. Grube, "Four Pages," fig. 12.
16. E. J. Grube, *Islamic Painting: The Kraus Collection* (New York, 1972) pl. xxvi.
17. Atil, *Süleymanname*, pl. 20, right-hand side.
18. B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library: A Descriptive Catalogue* (London, 1976) fig. 369, p. 121.
19. Grube, "Four Pages," fig. 11.
20. Ibid., fig. 9.
21. Ibid.
22. Its measurements are 48 x 30.5 cm.
23. Coomaraswamy, *Les Miniatures*, pls. LIV, LV, LVI, and LVII.
24. B. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı—üran Siyasi Münasebetleri* (Istanbul, 1962) passim.
25. *Nusretname* of 1584 in the TSML, H.1365, describing the campaign of Lala Mustafa Paşa, the *Şecaatnâme* executed in Istanbul in 1586 in the Istanbul University library T. 6088 describing the campaign of Özdemiroğlu Osman Paşa in Georgia and Shirvan, and the *Conquest of Gandja* of 1589–90 in the TSML R.1296, describing the conquest of Gandja by Ferhad Paşa.
26. TSML, *Conquest of Gandja*, R. 1296, İbrahim Çavus, fols. 42–54. (This event was given so much importance that three of the twenty miniatures in TSML R. 1296 depict Haidar Mîrzâ in various stages of his trip.) I. H. Danişmend, *İzahli Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 3 (Istanbul, 1947); and Eskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great (Tārīkh-e 'Ālamārā-ye 'Abbāsī)*, trans. R. M. Savory, 2 vols. (Boulder, Colorado, 1979) pp. 479–483, 612.
27. TSML R. 1296, fol. 54. The same list also mentions three Qur'ans, two of which are recorded as "large" copies. It is highly likely that the above-mentioned Topkapı Qur'an E.H. 48 dated 1572–86 and measuring 48 x 30.5 cm was one of these. It is a lavishly illuminated copy, where not only were all the pages illuminated but not a single section of any of the pages was left empty. It also has a very richly decorated lacquer binding with mother-of-pearl insets. However, its colophon does not mention a patron's name.
28. Eskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Shah 'Abbas*, p. 688.

A Peruvian Monstrance of 1649

CRISTINA ESTERAS

Universidad Complutense, Madrid

THE AMERICAN WING of The Metropolitan Museum of Art houses a fine silver monstrance from the distinguished collection bequeathed in 1931 by Michael F. Friedsam (Figure 1). The monstrance was long believed to be Mexican, but my research has proved it to be a Peruvian work of considerable importance. It has already figured prominently as such in an exhibition assembled by the Santa Barbara Museum of Art in 1992;¹ some further information about it may be of interest to readers of the *Journal*.

This portable sun-type Peruvian monstrance in silver gilt with applied enamels dates from 1649. The square planar base is supported by four balled feet beneath scrolled foliate devices with lambrequin ends that bracket each corner. From its center rises a flaring square block topped by a boldly projecting square plate with a quarter-round upper edge. The stem is composed of a cylindrical pedestal, then an urn-shaped knob affixed along the sides with four cast brackets with beaked projections, and then a torus molding mounted with four beaded, scrolled handles; the neck is in the form of a truncated cone. At the base of the impressively large gloria, or nimbus, where it fits into the shaft, are back-to-back winged and rayed cherub heads flanked by projecting foliate scrolls. The elaborate gloria surrounds a transparent case for the host, which is framed by a circular enameled band, curved in profile; from it emerge fifteen rays of alternating design (plus one for the mount) sprouting a dense network of interlaced beaded and foliate scrolls; the rays terminate, again alternately, in simple finials and more complex openwork ornamentation. Silver and champlevé enamel plaques of differing sizes and shapes covered with geometric floral designs decorate the rays as well as the stem and base; the dominant color of the enamel is blue with touches of green and yellow-orange.

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The notes for this article begin on page 76.

An inscription engraved in capital letters runs around the edge of the base (Figures 3–6): EL PADRE FR Pº DE URREA NATURAL DESTA Vila DE XADARQVE DIO ESTE SAGRARIO A ESTA IGLESIA MAIOR DONDE FVE BATICADº RVEGEN A DIOS POR EL AÑO 1649 (Padre Fr. P. de Urrea Native of This Town of Xadarque Gave This Monstrance to This Great Church in Which He Was Baptized Pray to God for Him in the Year 1649). Thanks to this inscription, we possess valuable information that allows us to arrive at a correct classification of the piece—supremely important material when we consider that the absence of legal marks eliminates the source of such significant data as the work's place of origin or the name of the artist who crafted it.

The donor of the monstrance was in fact the revered Fray Pedro de Urraca,² who was born in 1583 in the Spanish town of Jadraque in the province of Guadalajara (Figure 2). When still very young, he traveled to Quito (Ecuador), where in 1603 he entered the Orden de la Merced. Five years later, in 1608, he moved again, this time to Lima, Peru, where he lived until his death in 1657.³ Urraca is buried in the chapel of San Pedro Nolasco in the church of the Merced monastery in Lima. His reputation for saintliness was such that procedures for beatification are currently under way. The man responsible for the monstrance, then, was one of the best-known and best-loved religious figures of colonial Peru, a fact that bestows additional historic value upon the piece.

The monstrance was commissioned for use during services in the parish church of Jadraque in Guadalajara, Spain, where Fray Pedro was baptized,⁴ a fairly typical oblation among Spaniards who immigrated to the New World. We know that the gift was effected in 1649, as indicated by the inscription and confirmed by the style.

In typology and ornamentation, including the enamels and their coloring, the monstrance adheres faithfully to the solutions and designs employed by silversmiths in Lima between the middle and end of

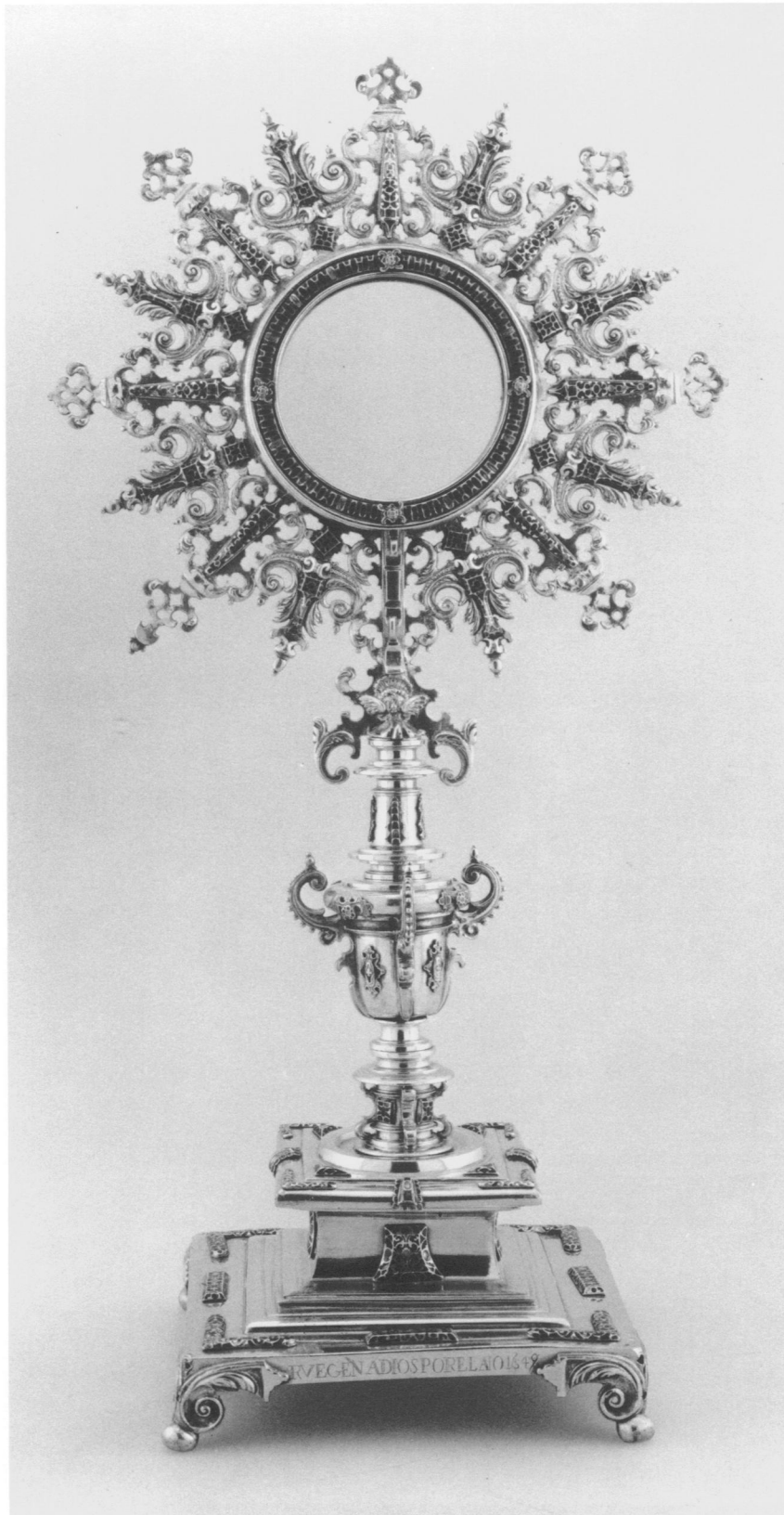


Figure 1. Monstrance. Peruvian, Lima, 1646–1649. Silver-gilt with applied plaques of blue, green, and honey-gold champlevé enamel, h. 57.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931, 32.100.231



Figure 2. Fray Pedro Urraca (1583–1657), frontispiece in Felipe Colombo, *El Job de la Ley de Gracia* (2nd edition, Madrid, 1790) (photo: General Research Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations)

the seventeenth century. There is, therefore, no reason to hesitate in attributing the monstrance to the silver workshops of that city, and careful comparison with other known examples reinforces this affirmation.⁵ The closest analogue is a monstrance in the church of Embid de la Ribera, in Zaragoza, Spain.⁶ It is possible that both monstrances were created by the same artisan (Figure 7). The Zaragoza piece, however, could be of slightly ear-

lier execution, since the sun is less elaborate and the stem lacks the typical projecting handles that became an ornamental code of Baroque silver in viceregal Peru.

In style, the Friedsam monstrance corresponds to the early Baroque, since the foot and stem still manifest the rigidity and schema characteristic of Mannerist formulas, while the sun already displays the structure and diffused organization typical of the



Figures 3–6. Details of monstrance in Figure 1, showing inscription



Figure 7. Monstrance. Probably Peruvian, Lima, ca. 1645. Silver-gilt. Zaragoza, parish church of Embid de la Ribera (photo: Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispanico)

Peruvian Baroque aesthetic. As a particular characteristic of Lima monstrances, we can point to a fondness for foliate ornamentation on balled feet and to the absence of any cross on the colophon of the sun.

At present, we do not know who created this splendid work. It may have come from the hands of the renowned master Benito Pereyra, who was famous for handsome monstrances and reliquaries.⁷ More likely the monstrance is the work of the sil-

versmith Diego de Atienza, who at the midpoint of the seventeenth century owned one of the most important silver shops in Lima. The surname of this master craftsman corresponds to the toponym "Atienza," a town in the province of Guadalajara. This designation may indicate his origins, and, in that case, we would find that the Lima silversmith and Fray Pedro de Urraca came from the same region, even from neighboring towns—Atienza and

Jadraque—allowing for speculation that a close relationship existed between the two based on regional origins. The possibility then arises that the latter entrusted to the former the crafting of the monstrance intended as a devotional gift to the church in Jadraque.⁸

The Metropolitan Museum's monstrance is the earliest dated example known of its type and, as a result, is a key to the formal, and even decorative, evolution of Baroque Peruvian monstrances. It is also of interest for its extraordinary technical execution, the exceptional beauty and originality of the sun, and the quality of the enamels, which add ornamental and chromatic notes to the work. For all these reasons, as well as the fact that its donor was a significant figure in the religious history of Peru, this monstrance may be cited as a true paradigm of Lima silvercraft.

NOTES

1. Cristina Esteras, entry in *Cambios: The Spirit of Transformation in Spanish Colonial Art*, exh. cat., Santa Barbara Museum of Art (1992) pp. 63–64, cat. no. 42.

2. Although the name, abbreviated in the inscription, reads URREA, I have no doubt that it refers to Urraca and that the spelling must be taken as an error on the part of the engraver. We notice that a similar error occurs in the rendering of the place

of birth: XADARQVE for Xadraqve. Even the date of the gift was corrected; it was originally 1646, then changed in the inscription to read 1649.

3. See Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la iglesia en el Perú* (Burgos, 1959) p. 486.

4. In local and regional bibliographies of Guadalajara—prior to 1930—we have found no reference to this Jadraque monstrance (although we expected to find a citation in Juan Catalina García's unpublished two-volume "Catálogo monumental de España: La Provincia de Guadalajara," 1906).

5. Among other examples are the monstrance of the Seminario de San Atón, in Badajoz, Spain, and those in San Miguel de Heras y Sámano, in Cantabria, Spain. See Cristina Esteras, *Platería hispanoamericana, siglos XVI–XIX* (Bajadoz, 1984) pp. 36, 37; and idem, *Orfebrería hispanoamericana, siglos XVI–XIX* (Madrid, 1986) pp. 51–54.

6. The photographs were first published in 1952, accompanied by Manuel Trens's brief text "Custodia de sol renacentista, Embid de la Ribera, Zaragoza; Plata dorada, Siglo XVII," *La custodias españolas* (Barcelona, 1952) p. 74, pl. 91. Francisco Abbad later described the piece but without classification, definitive provenance, or documentation as to how it came to that parish. He dates it tentatively to the beginnings of the 17th century—in our opinion, incorrectly, as it should be ascribed a date ca. 1645 (see García, *Catálogo monumental de España: Zaragoza* [Madrid, 1957] I, p. 367, and II, fig. 995). As far as we know, the ostensory in Embid de la Ribera had never been classified nor its Lima origins recognized. This was also the case with a chalice we estimate to be of the same period and provenance (García, *Catálogo monumental de España: Zaragoza*, II, fig. 99).

7. His shop was situated beside the Recoleta de los Padres de Santo Domingo. See Emilio Harth-Terre, "Un Taller de platería en 1540," *Mercurio Peruano* (1984) p. 503.

8. For more about the silversmith Diego de Atencia, see Harth-Terré, "Un taller de platería en 1540."

New Identities for Some Old Hispanic Silver

JOHANNA HECHT

Associate Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN 1932 AND 1933 The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired three pieces of liturgical silver mistakenly thought to have been made in Spain. One of them, a gilded seventeenth-century¹ silver monstrance (see Figure 11), bequeathed to the Museum by Michael Friedsam as a Spanish object, was eventually reassigned to colonial Mexico.² However, research for the Museum's 1990 Mexican exhibition cast doubt on this classification, and the monstrance was then tentatively reattributed to Peru, a change subsequently confirmed by Cristina Esteras, who presents her evidence in the preceding essay. My discussion is intended to illuminate the context in which her information is best understood and to amplify the significance of her discovery, which in effect identifies this monstrance as a "missing link" in the transmission of Spanish peninsular style to the Andean region and in the evolution of the Peruvian Baroque. However, it will be shown that the other two misattributed Hispanic pieces in the Museum's collection do in fact originate in viceregal Mexico, or Nueva España (New Spain), as it was called before 1821.

Clear stylistic distinctions of origin for silver crafted in the New World could not, until recently, be easily made for objects produced in the first century of Spanish rule. Only with the blossoming of a local Baroque idiom very late in the seventeenth century did recognizable Mexican or Peruvian styles emerge. Only then did silversmiths begin producing objects or styles that aficionados associate with Spanish colonial silver. Some pieces were functional in purpose, including South American domestic implements—maté cups, *sahumadores* (domestic incense burners), and *topos* (large garment pins); others added a new, locally evolved aesthetic plumage to traditional religious objects, as in the fabulously wrought monstrances of Mexico and the Andean region.³

Before this emergence of their own fully Baroque regional styles, the production of colonial workshops more nearly resembled silverwork made in the Iberian peninsula, exhibiting striking elements of Renaissance, Mannerist, and so-called Purist workmanship. As our understanding of artistic traditions has sharpened, many such examples of liturgical silver previously taken for Spanish have now been correctly identified as products of the Americas. Among the most notable of these recently identified objects are several mid- to late-seventeenth-century monstrances, a few of which are illustrated here (see Figures 7, 10, 12, 13). The correct placement of the Friedsam monstrance in their ranks has further amplified our growing understanding of the stylistic progress of Hispanic viceregal silver, from its origins as a colonial clone to its zenith as an independent offshoot—distinctive, eccentric, and often flamboyant.

Beneath its lavish sunburst "gloria," or nimbus, surrounding the enclosure for the Host, the Friedsam monstrance reflects the austere Purist style that marked much Spanish silverwork of the first half of the seventeenth century, a uniquely Hispanic interlude between the Renaissance and the full Baroque.⁴ The sobriety of such work no doubt reflects the influential dourness of the Escorial, Philip II's monastery/palace, where Purism first emerged as a full-blown Spanish architectural style in the mid-sixteenth century.⁵ In the world of silversmithing, Purism primarily affected processional crosses and so-called *piezas de astil*, a term that refers to objects with baluster stems, such as chalices, ciboria, and monstrances. These objects show their Purity, so to speak, through characteristically dynamic permutations and combinations of unworked geometric shapes—truncated cones, spools, molded vase forms—of swelling and contracting volumes and of bold contrasts of light and shadow. Although its earliest manifestations date to the last third of the sixteenth century and the reign of Philip II, it was only later, at the court of Philip III, that the Purist

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silver style reached its full maturity. It then spread to the Crown's outlying peninsular regions and its American viceregencies during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Transported overseas by immigrant silversmiths, Purism was perpetuated by craftsmen of both Spanish and indigenous descent;⁶ outside of Spain, aspects of the style lingered, intertwined with persistent Mannerist ornamentation, long after their popularity had waned in Europe.

At its most pristine—at court after about 1600 and throughout the rest of the Iberian peninsula from about 1625—Purism was a style purged of nearly all of the sixteenth-century ornamental repertoire. In place of old-fashioned embellishments, silversmiths introduced a highly restrained ornamental vocabulary in keeping with the new austerity. Applied enameled bosses accent the gleaming, gilded, smooth-surfaced baluster stems and bases, augmenting the chiaroscuro effect of the swelling and shrinking forms. On occasion, *pointillé* cartouches, C-scrolls, and framed panels, pricked with a chasing tool, contribute a ghostly, stippled texture, enriching the smooth-surfaced forms without muting the bold articulation of the Purist volumes. Also on occasion, some of the simpler, more geometric elements of the Mannerist vocabulary, such as raised panels, ribs, and tight handlelike forms (which the Spanish call *contrafuertes*), were retained.

As their ornamental repertoire became simpler, many silversmiths abandoned the earlier, more labor-intensive hand techniques of chasing and embossing, as well as the exuberant and fantastic ornament of sixteenth-century Spanish Renaissance design and the intricate abstractions of Mannerism. In doing so, they surrendered the aesthetic language through which they had expressed their artistic personalities. Not only are individual styles of Purist silversmiths largely unidentifiable, but even their work is often hard to localize. Because of the lax enforcement of hallmarking in many parts of seventeenth-century Spain, it is often difficult to tell if something was produced in, say, Castile or Andalusia, much less in Mexico or Peru.⁷

A paradigm of this intercontinental indeterminacy can be found in another Friedsam object, a gilded seventeenth-century Hispanic silver chalice with applied oval enamels (Figure 1). Even more than the Friedsam monstrance (Figure 11), it displays classic features of the early-seventeenth-century style, and for years the chalice has been exhibited as Spanish. In each of its parts, it is worked with slightly different systems of ornamen-



Figure 1. Chalice. Mexican, mid-17th century. Silver-gilt with enamels, h. 27.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam,



Figures 2, 3. Details of the chalice in Figure 1, showing indistinct Mexican marks of locality (Mexico City?): a crowned head(?) between pillars of Hercules (only one visible)

tation. On the cup and the urn-shaped knob, applied *champlevé* bosses appear between raised rib ornaments, while on the foot the enamel appliqué are separated not by ribs but by raised panels;

pounded cartouche designs frame the enamels on the knob and the foot but not on the cup itself. The enamels also differ slightly from one area to another.⁸ There seems to be little stylistic evidence of provinciality to indicate that this chalice was made in the Americas. Like many examples of this austere style, it fell victim to an assumption that categorized all Purist silver as Spanish, *faute de mieux*, an assumption that has been increasingly challenged by some recent scholarly discoveries.

Despite the fact that the Friedsam chalice bears fragmentary marks—on the foot and on the tang fitted into the spool-like element above the foot (Figures 2, 3)—which appear to indicate that it was made in Mexico City,⁹ a preliminary classification as Mexican was discarded in 1934, when the eminent Spanish scholar José Ferrandis apparently insisted on its peninsular manufacture.¹⁰ Nonetheless, the Mexican attribution is no longer surprising, as scholars continue to identify a considerable body of liturgical objects, at once technically refined and

formally correct, originating in viceregal Mexico. Dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they are variations of Renaissance, Mannerist, and Purist models, indistinguishable at first glance from those produced in the motherland (Figure 4). Among the Purist pieces from New Spain are several versions of the type exemplified by the Friedsam chalice (Figure 5).¹¹

Also among these Mexican pieces are a number of monstrances with enamel-decorated baluster stems, such as the example from Tepotzotlán (Figure 7),¹² generically related to peninsular examples, such as the one in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 6).¹³ Some eccentric Mexican examples also loosely resemble the Friedsam monstrance,¹⁴ which may explain in part why this slightly-too-elaborate-to-be-Purist object was also believed to be Mexican.¹⁵ The other reason for the failure to identify the Friedsam monstrance as Peruvian is that, unlike their Mexican contemporaries, Peruvian silver-smiths rarely appear to have marked their wares.



Figure 4. Chalice. Spanish, 1628. Gilt bronze with enameled silver bosses and parcel gilt bowl, h. 26 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Hildburgh Bequest (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



Figure 5. Chalice. Mexican, ca. 1670. Silver-gilt with enamels, h. 28.7 cm. Mexico City, Museo Franz Mayer



Figure 6. Monstrance. Spanish, about 1620. Silver gilt with enamels and crystals, h. 35 in. (89 cm.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Alfred Williams Hearn Gift (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

Accordingly, the identification of liturgical silver produced in Peru had long been confined to the flamboyantly Baroque works, most still in Peru, dating from the eighteenth century, when the Peruvian national style had fully evolved.¹⁶

This extravagant body of work, however, does not present a complete picture of the silver produced in Peru. As a further complication in the study of Hispanic silver, it is necessary to realize that a great deal of earlier, in many cases more conservatively styled, seventeenth-century viceregal silver from all over Latin America did not remain in its birthplace, having experienced a sort of reverse mi-



Figure 7. Monstrance. Mexican, ca. 1650–75. Silver-gilt with enamels, h. 65 cm. Tepotzotlán, Mexico, Museo Nacional del Virreinato (photo: Suter/Almeida)



Figure 9. Dish. Probably Spanish, 17th century. Silver, diam. 40 cm. Private collection

Figure 8. Chalice/monstrance by Fernando Ruíz. Spanish, Cuenca, last quarter of 16th century. Silver-gilt, h. 50.5 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Mrs. Chauncey McCormick (photo: The Art Institute of Chicago)

gration from America to Europe. Many objects found their way back to Spain as gifts of peninsular expatriates, the *gachupines* who formed the bulk of the political, administrative, or ecclesiastical hierarchies in the colonies and who would customarily present to their native parishes objects reflecting the vast riches of the overseas empire on which Spain's prosperity depended. Over the course of time, the sources of their gifts were forgotten and the pieces languished, unregarded and unrecognized by scholars, undistinguished from their peninsular cousins, in the treasuries of cathedrals and parish churches located in outlying regions of Spain. Many such gifts have now been studied and identified as Mexican or Peruvian in origin through an analysis of style, marks, inscriptions, and archival documents. Together with material still in America, this evidence makes up a newly defined and still growing corpus of material that has significantly enriched our knowledge of the Baroque (not only in Mexico but also in the Peruvian centers of Lima and Cuzco) and our understanding of the international flow of ideas that influenced this style.¹⁷

Of particular relevance to the Friedsam monstrance has been the rediscovery of a range of Peruvian monstrances (Figures 10, 12)¹⁸ distinctly less ornate than the types previously held to be standards of the Baroque style (Figure 13). The Friedsam monstrance, once considered Mexican for lack of any parallel pieces from Peru, may now be seen as a link between these recently identified late-seventeenth-century pieces. Its firm association with a Lima provenance not only suggests the production of comparatively "uninflected" silverwork in Peru as early as the mid-seventeenth century but also establishes the early presence in Peru of nascent design elements that would come to characterize the numerous, more obviously Peruvian monstrances of the full Baroque. As a transitional work,¹⁹ the Friedsam monstrance helps chart the evolution of distinctly Mannerist and Purist peninsular motifs into stylistic hallmarks of the Peruvian Baroque monstrance style, a style that was less truly Baroque than an accretion and explosion of Mannerist detail and Purist form.²⁰

The Friedsam monstrance displays in embryo



Figure 10. Monstrance. Probably Peruvian, Lima, ca. 1645. Silver-gilt. Zaragoza, parish church of Embid de la Ribera (photo: Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispanico)

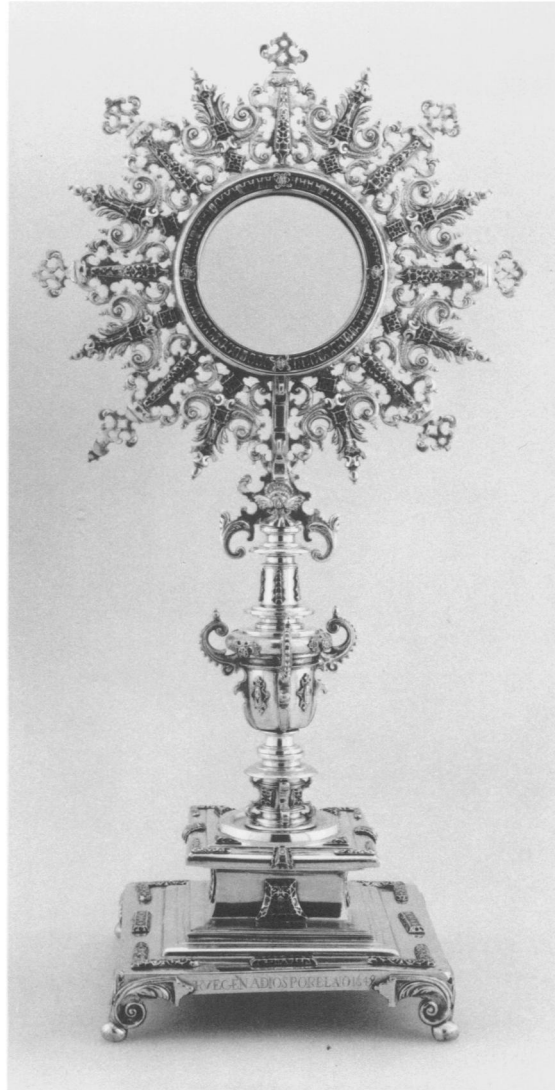


Figure 11. Monstrance. Peruvian, Lima, 1646–1649. Silver-gilt with applied plaques of blue, green, and honey-gold champlevé enamel, h. 57.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931, 32.100.231

many of the characteristic tendencies and forms of embellishment that were eventually codified in Peru. Thus, in addition to the severe underlying structure of its Purist stand and the voluted buttresses appended to the shaft (a Mannerist survival also typical of Spanish Purist silver), a number of its quasi-Purist ornamental elements are more elaborate than in their traditional peninsular counterparts. The applied champlevé enamel plaques, for example, already show the ornate outlines characteristic of the efflorescent Peruvian Baroque. Also notable are the projecting foliate-scroll “handles” that protrude downward from the base of the gloria

and the set of four earlike beaded “handles” curving upward in the middle of the shaft. This striking eruption of peculiarly organic and flamboyant sprouts appended to the ribbed knop of the monstrance anticipates the profusion of delicate and airy projections that came to encage monstrances in Cuzco and Lima during the later Baroque.

These scrolled handle forms are among several features on the Friedsam monstrance that have led Dra. Esteras to pronounce it a more evolved work by a goldsmith who crafted another monstrance in Embid de la Ribera, Zaragoza (Figure 10). While the square bases of the two monstrances—with

incurved, truncated pyramids, similar ball-and-foliolate-scroll feet, and a similar disposition of applied enamels—are virtually identical, indicating the same craftsman, the Zaragoza piece lacks the numerous projecting handles that link the Metropolitan Museum’s monstrance to later Peruvian examples. Another forward-looking element that appears more prominently on the Friedsam monstrance is the series of naturalistic leafy scrolls sup-

porting the lacy gloria. Most suggestive of all is the elaborate, enameled rayed gloria itself, which dominates and nearly overwhelms the sober structure below.

The elaborate sunburst provides the most striking point of comparison with the Embid monstrance. The finial-tipped scrollwork of the Embid gloria looks to the past and may be construed as a descendant of late Renaissance/Mannerist works, such as



Figure 12. Monstrance. Here called Peruvian, last quarter of the 17th century. Silver-gilt with applied plaques of blue enamel, h. 52.1 cm. On the art market, London, 1989. (photo: © 1989 Sotheby's, Inc.)

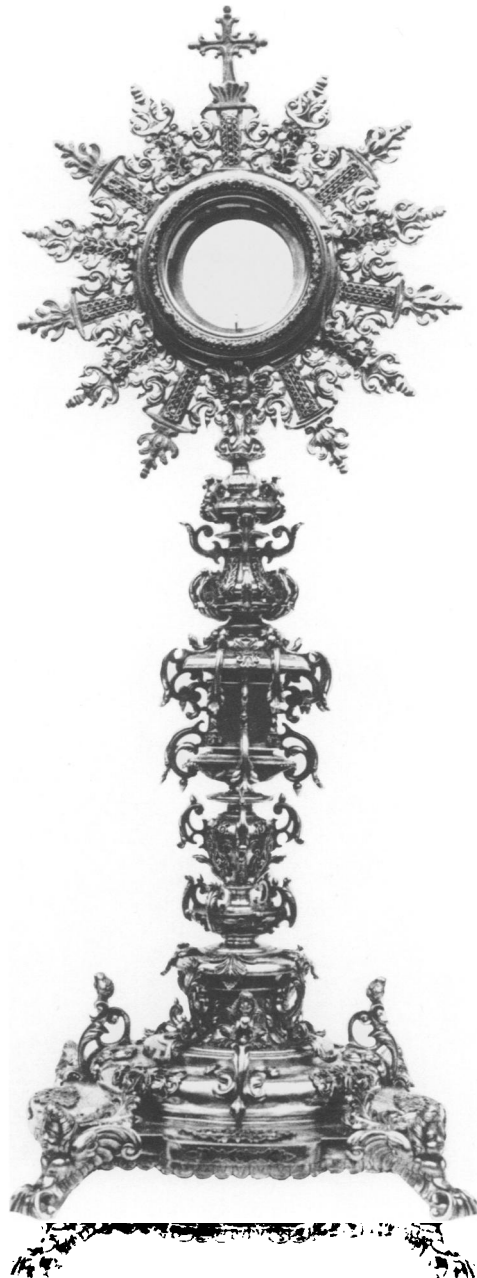


Figure 13. Monstrance, attributed to Luis de Lezana. Peruvian, Cuzco, ca. 1690. Silver-gilt with enamels, h. 70 cm. Santander, Spain, Cathedral

those by Cristóbal Beccerril and his followers in Cuenca (examples now in London, Requena, and Chicago) (Figure 8).²¹ But even more, in its clear-cut design of double cruciform axes, the form of the Embid gloria resembles the alternating patterns of finial-crowned scrolls and tablets engraved on Spanish patens and salvers of the early seventeenth century (Figure 9),²² patterns hardly ever adapted to peninsular monstrances in the seventeenth century.

By comparison, the gloria of the Friedsam monstrance, while not devoid of these links to Mannerist style, appears far more evolved, not so much truly Baroque as an accretion of Mannerist details. Although its glittering fretwork still falls a bit short of the uniform effect conveyed by later fully Baroque Peruvian examples, its composition is more diffuse and edges further into the future than does the clearly articulated Embid piece. The underlying Mannerist formalism of the Friedsam monstrance is also clearly enlivened by a freer incorporation of

naturalistic foliage. Thus its gloria (although descended from a type already out-of-date in Spain) constitutes a nearly mature version of the extravagant aureoles that would eventually become a trademark of the Peruvian Baroque.

A comparison between this Peruvian example and one of the contemporary Mexican monstrances with which it was once confused (Figure 7) shows how even at this stage Peru was developing a taste different from Mexico's. Although Mannerist and Purist styles dominated seventeenth-century monstrance production in both regions, they developed in different directions virtually from the start. The specific areas in which their distinctive approaches are displayed—the glorias, the bases, the massing of the elements, and the general outline—forecast the wider divergences of the eighteenth century.

The lacy roundels that constitute the signature of Peruvian monstrances differ from the conventional form of the “sol” in mid-seventeenth-century Mex-



Figure 14. Rafael Jimeno y Planes, Spanish (ca. 1757–1825; to Mexico, 1794), *Portrait of the Silversmith José Maria Rodallega*, after 1794. Oil on canvas, 113 x 83 cm. Mexico City, Collection of Felipe Siegel, Anna and Andrés Siegel (photo: The Dallas Museum of Art)



Figure 15. José Maria Rodallega, Mexican (1772–1812), Chalice. Marked by Antonio Forcada, assayer 1790–1818. Mexico City, dated ca. 1795. Silver with silver-gilt cup, h. 24.5 cm. Mexico City, collection of Isaac Backal (photo: Suter/Almeida)



Figure 16. Chalice. Mexican, ca. 1795–1800. Silver-gilt, h. 24.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Alphonso T. Clearwater, 1933. 33.120.68a



Figure 17. Detail of the chalice in Figure 16, showing three marks on the foot: crowned M, flying eagle, and FCDA (Antonio Forcada y la Plaza, Assayer, Mexico City, 1790–1818)

ico, where goldsmiths adopted the Spanish taste for a simple burst of alternating straight and wavy rays (often tipped with jewels). The emphatically four-square base, a type often encountered in Seville,²³ also points toward the variant ultimately embraced in Peru, where monstrances are generally set on square bases and raised, most frequently, on paw feet. Although square bases were not unknown in Mexico, even by the middle of the seventeenth century taste in the northern viceregency was favoring the circular or octagonal pedestals that became customary in eighteenth-century Mexico. In addition, Mexican seventeenth-century monstrances tend to present a more solid appearance; wide, flattened



Figure 18. Alejandro Antonio de Cañas, Mexican (1755–after 1804), Chalice, marked by Antonio Forcada, assayer 1790–1818. Mexico City, ca. 1795–1800. Silver-gilt, h. 23 cm. Santa Fe, Collections of the International Folk Art Foundation of the Museum of International Folk Art, Museum of New Mexico (photo: Blair Clark)

ribs and scrolled appliqués adhere more closely to the body of the piece, and the individual Purist forms of the shaft are themselves composed in a denser, more compacted manner than in Peru.

The enamels on the Friedsam monstrance also exhibit a taste for the formal variety that proliferated as the Baroque style matured in Peru, evolving beyond the rhomboidal and obelisklike shapes still predominant here into undulating forms with florid, scalloped outlines and naturalistic patterning.²⁴ In contrast, the enamels on most Mexican silver continue to follow earlier peninsular style: they are colored versions of the self-contained Mannerist oval bosses of the sixteenth century.²⁵ Conservative Mexican craftsmen regularly applied these ornaments through the end of the century, long after the fashion had died out in Spain, much as they continued to indulge the taste for densely chased Mannerist strapwork ornament on many objects.

The grip of the sober Purist style eventually relaxed even in the Americas, and by the early eighteenth century effervescent regional variations of the Baroque had begun to emerge there. In Mexico

embossing returned with a vengeance to enliven curvaceous Baroque forms, including those of monstrances, with a profusion of ebullient, florid decoration.²⁶ In eighteenth-century Peru as well, dense carpets of raised ornament cover the buoyant surfaces of many types of silver objects. Peruvian monstrance design, however, continued along the path set in the seventeenth century. The underlying geometric shapes of earlier times, reiterated, bedizened with scrolling projections, and occasionally embossed with foliate patterns, continued to survive in Lima and Cuzco. Beneath an overlay of Baroque ornament, the ghost of Mannerism lingered on.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the mature Baroque styles of Mexico and Peru were once again subjected to the imposition of imperial standards as new European tastes encroached. When the Bourbon monarchs shattered the insularity that had marked Spain under Hapsburg rule, the overseas empire was likewise exposed to alien influences, influences somewhat less strictly mediated by Spanish prototypes than in the seventeenth century. First the spirit of the French Rococo and then the various waves of Neoclassical style made their inroads, and American artists were stimulated to formulate their own responses to the new stylistic currents sweeping across international frontiers.

The result may be seen in yet another previously misidentified silver object in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, a silver-gilt chalice bequeathed by Alphonse T. Clearwater in 1933 (Figure 16). Although Judge Clearwater, whose collection consisted primarily of North American colonial silver, believed this chalice might have been English, curators here correctly recognized its Hispanic style but mistook its marks inside the base molding (Figure 17) for those of Madrid. In fact, they are three of the marks regularly applied to silver by the chief assayer of Mexico City between 1790 and 1818, Antonio Forcada y la Plaza,²⁷ and this chalice can be seen to represent a significant moment in the transition between the last phases of viceregal style—the moment when the flamboyant Mexican Baroque was finally ground down by international academic classicism.

In 1789, the newly arrived Spanish viceroy Revillagigedo declared that apprentice silversmiths as well as practitioners of the fine arts would be required to attend drawing classes at the recently founded Academy of San Carlos, established to teach the international modern Neoclassical style to the painters and architects of the “retrograde” provinces. Even

silversmiths who matured before the imposition of this academic instruction eventually fell in with the new style. The famed José Maria Rodallega (1741–1812), known primarily for his work in the Rococo style, chose to be portrayed by the Valencian painter Rafael Jimeno y Planes at work on a commission designed in the new mode. The flaring conical foot of the piece is densely embossed with wreathed medallions (Figure 14).

The model shown in the painting, however, while popular in peninsular Spain well into the nineteenth century,²⁸ appears to have found less favor in Mexico, where “transitional” silver tended to follow the pattern of early Louis XVI style, represented by the foot of the Clearwater chalice (and in much of Rodallega’s own transitional work) (Figure 15). The style’s classicizing pastoral ornament included delicate naturalistic garlands of ribbons and flowers, rosettes, and laurel wreaths, all superimposed on curvaceous Rococo bodies. Typical of the late Rococo in New Spain, the doubly curved, bell-shaped form of the Clearwater chalice is embellished with crisply faceted and polished spiral pleats. Also, typically, a touch of creeping Neoclassicism appears: between these swirling ridges are wide panels showing pendant bouquets that displace the sinuous cartouches of the high Rococo style.

Standing in sharp contrast to the syncopated rhythm of the foot, however, the upper portion of this piece embodies the standard formula for the Mexican Neoclassical chalice, a compilation of simple forms embellished with even bands of repetitive pattern. The cup’s flattened bowl, in this case chased with radiating lanceolate leaves, is joined to a smoothly flaring lip by a vertical band, here graced with a motif of twisted ribbon. The typical circlet of silver beading around the cup itself (called “pearls”—*perlas*—in Spanish descriptions, although more luxurious examples occasionally feature diamonds or other jewels) is left ungilded, in austere contrast to the gilded body. The cast stem, with its simple drum-shaped knop, is of a type encountered on countless other chalices of the era (Figure 18).²⁹

Such a combination of Rococo and Neoclassical features might suggest a pastiche, a cobbling together of disparate upper and lower parts, were it not for the clearly classical resolution effected by the circular molding at the very base of the chalice foot, which further diminishes its Rococo effect. Rather than following the mixtilinear³⁰ profile generated by the pleated bell, as is typical with this form in Mexico (Figure 15), the lowest edge is purely circu-

lar, bearing quatrefoils arranged in a continuous diaper pattern, a classicizing motif repeated in miniature on the lowest molding of the stem itself.

The Clearwater chalice, its rocaille-curved foot dominating an otherwise up-to-date design, displays in a particularly vivid manner the persistence of the Rococo in Mexican liturgical design. It makes clear that stylistic lags in Spain's overseas empire, in the nineteenth century as in the seventeenth, resulted less from a lack of awareness of new modes than from a deeply conservative positive attachment to the old ones, once-new modes that had been thoroughly assimilated and converted and, on some level perhaps, experienced as emblems of regional identity.

NOTES

1. Dated, on the basis of its inscription, to 1649; the numeral 9 is scratched over the final digit of the date, which originally read 1646.

2. By 1943, according to internal Museum records, it had been reclassified as Mexican, in comparison with a monstrance said to be Mexican, 1655, in Santo Domingo de la Calzada, published by Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Las Artes industriales en la Nueva España* (Mexico City, 1923) p. 33. A number of losses have somewhat diminished the complexity of the Friedsam monstrance. On the sunburst itself only one of the finials that originally terminated in alternate rays survives, a loss that affects the composition's articulation and structural organization. In addition, the corners of the base also apparently bore superimposed mounts, presumably foliate scrolls, which would have curled up over the top surface of the foot, as indicated by the holes pierced in each corner and intended for the pins that would have fastened them.

3. These two categories constitute the majority of objects drawn from Peruvian collections in *Three Centuries of Peruvian Silver: Objects from the Viceroyalty Through Early Independence*, exh. cat., Smithsonian Institution and MMA (Washington, 1967–68). See also A. Taullard, *Platería sudamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1941), and J. A. Lavalle, *Platería virreinal: Colección artes y tesoros del Perú* (Lima, 1974), again drawn exclusively from South American collections.

4. Nomenclature for the silver style of this period is still unsettled. Although it did not reach its apogee until the 17th century, Charles Oman (*The Golden Age of Hispanic Silver 1400–1665* [London, 1968]), among others, including Jesús Hernández Perera (*Orfebrería de Canarias* [Madrid, 1955]), calls it the "Philip II style," after the Spanish monarch who reigned 1556–98. Diego Angulo Iníguez (*La Orfebrería en Sevilla* [Seville, 1925] pp. 15–35) calls the period from 1580 to 1650 "Late Renaissance." Contemporary Spanish scholars often call the period before 1600 Mannerist and after 1600 "Philip III," "Court," or "Official."

José Cruz Valdovinos (*Catálogo de Platería del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* [Madrid, 1981]) distinguishes three major styles that flourished during the final decades of the 16th century, all contained under the rubric of Mannerism. The first of these styles, of Italian origin, is marked by elaborate figured-relief ornament, of which hybrid grotesques form the most prominent feature; the second, also ultimately Italianate, features more abstract surface ornament exemplified by interlacing strapwork patterns derived via imported Flemish design books from the school of Fontainebleau; the third is distinguished by an even greater tendency toward architectonic structural simplification and narrowly defined areas of formal ornament.

Dra. Esteras applies the term Mannerist to works in the 17th-century style, as well as to earlier works. Maria del Carmen Heredia Moreno (*La Orfebrería en la provincia de Huelva* [Huelva, 1980] I, pp. 75–85) outlines the difficulties with this imprecise usage, proposing that there are distinctions in the way silver was conceived before and after 1600. She sees "Mannerism" as a broad phenomenon that encompasses widely varied tendencies and that in silver is signaled by the use of cartouches and enameled bosses. She calls the period in which the first element dominates "Late Renaissance," inasmuch as it derives from Fontainebleau and includes a strong contingent of Renaissance elements; she terms "Purist" the later period (1600–50) in which enamels dominate. We have followed her in this distinction, assuming that an ideal form of Purism exists despite its frequent melding in practice with earlier forms of decoration.

5. See Oman, *The Golden Age*, for a discussion of links between Herreran architecture and Hispanic silver style.

6. María Jesús Sanz Serrano ("La Orfebrería en la América española," *Primeras Jornadas de Andalucía y América* [La Rábida, 1981?] pp. 295–304ff.) notes that the emigration of goldsmiths from Seville swelled during the second half of the 17th century with the decline in that city's economy. Serrano believes that, despite numerous prohibitions in the Americas, craftsmen of native stock must have also worked surreptitiously or as assistants to the Spanish. Carmen Heredia Moreno ("Cálices peruanos en Navarra," *Príncipe de Viana* [Pamplona, 1980] pp. 561–562, and "Problemática de la orfebrería peruana en España," *Príncipe de Viana* 46, no. 175 [1985] p. 343) also discusses the unlikelihood that stringent guild regulations prohibiting Indians from working silver were actually followed. Cristina Esteras ("Aportaciones a la historia de la platería cuzqueña en la segunda mitad del siglo xvii," *Anuario de estudios americanos*, ser. 1a, 37 [1980] pp. 709–739) lists silversmiths in Cuzco in the second half of the 17th century, among them several of indigenous stock.

7. In fact, however, silver was more consistently marked in Mexico than in Castile itself during this era; Oman, *The Golden Age*, pp. xxi–xxxiv. For a recent discussion of the absence of marking in Seville, see José Cruz Valdovinos, *Cinco Siglos de Platería Sevillana* (Seville, 1992) pp. lxxxii–lxxvi.

8. At some point in its history, perhaps when provided with a new bowl, the upper segments of the chalice (from the knop upward) were filled and attached together in a way that precludes easy disassembly. This may account for the failure of the parts to align properly.

9. An early note on its catalogue card refers to a similar mark identified as Mexican in P. M. Artiñano y Galdácano, *Catálogo de*

la *Exposición de Orfebrería Civil Española* (Madrid, 1925) p. 85. Since that time there has been much more extensive publication of Mexican marks (see note 11 below), but the marks on the Friedsam chalice, although of the general type indicating locality on silver from New Spain, are too fragmentary to identify with any specific published examples.

10. It now seems clear that this form of mark was not used in Spain. The chalice was published as Spanish by Ada Marshall Johnson (*Hispanic Silverwork* [New York, 1944] p. 101, fig. 80), who noted its enamel bosses as a sign of the increasing trend toward ornamentation as the style evolved.

11. Similar chalices bearing Mexican marks appear in Alejandro Fernández, Rafael Munoa, and Jorge Rabasco, *Encyclopedia de la Plata Española y Virreinal Americana* (Madrid 1984) p. 520, fig. 1686 (private collection), and Cristina Esteras, "Platería virreinal novohispana," in Centro Cultural/Arte Contemporanea, *El Arte de la Platería Mexicana, 500 años* (Mexico City, 1989) pp. 206–207, cat. no. 40, dated ca. 1670 (Museo Franz Mayer).

12. Identified as probably from Mexico City, 1650–75, by Cristina Esteras in MMA, *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries*, exh. cat. (New York, 1989) cat. no. 175, p. 402, and idem, "Platería virreinal," cat. no. 38, pp. 202–203. Illustrated there are other comparable Mexican monstres now in Spain, one in Castromocho (Palencia) dated 1634 (cat. 30, pp. 186–187) and another in Higuera de la Real (Badajoz), ca. 1662, cat. 42, pp. 210–211.

13. Oman, *The Golden Age*, cat. 233, fig. 135.

14. Cf. Cristina Esteras, *Platería hispanoamericana. siglos XVI–XIX* (Badajoz, 1984) cat. no. 12, pp. 44–46.

15. Most Mexican monstres are stylistically more subdued than the one in Santo Domingo de la Calzada illustrated by Romero de Terreros, note 2 (first published by Anselmo Gascón de Gotor, *El Corpus Christi y las custodias procesionales de España* [Barcelona, 1916] p. 122, pl. 18), which appears to have originally prompted the Mexican attribution of the Friedsam example. This piece, however, has recently been called Peruvian by Carmen Heredia Moreno, *La orfebrería en la provincia de Huelva*, II, p. 290.

16. See note 1.

17. Cf. Carmen Heredia Moreno, *La orfebrería*; idem, "Unas piezas de orfebrería hispanoamericana en Navarra," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Mexico* 51 (1983); Cristina Esteras, *Platería hispanoamericana and Orfebrería hispanoamericana. siglos XVI–XIX* (Madrid, 1986). For an up-to date (although not exhaustive) bibliography, see Esteras, *La Platería del Museo Franz Mayer* (Mexico City, 1992) pp. 333–336.

18. The monstres shown in Figure 12, here identified as Peruvian, was sold at Sotheby's, London, April 20, 1989, lot 273, as Spanish or South American.

19. The earliest (1636) dated monstres to be identified as Peruvian (by Heredia Moreno, "Problemática de la orfebrería," pp. 342, 346) is in Portugalete (ill. J. Ybarra y Berge, *Catálogo de monumentos de Vizcaya* [Bilbao, 1958] p. 194, pl. 261); it shows no signs of its regionality.

20. Heredia Moreno ("Problemática de la orfebrería," p. 344) formulates the analysis of Peruvian Baroque as an accretion of Mannerist form and detail on an archaizing structure rather than the organically linked development of voluptuous form and detail that characterizes the Baroque in Europe.

21. Oman, *The Golden Age*, figs. 179–181, 183.

22. Fernández et al., *Enciclopedia*, pp. 470–471. This circular motif was also current in Mexico on salvers and alms plates. See Lawrence Anderson, *The Art of the Silversmith in Mexico 1519–1936* (New York, 1941) II, figs. 84, 85.

23. See José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, *Cinco Siglos de Platería Sevillana*, exh. cat., Real Monasterio de San Clemente (Seville, 1992) cat. no. 58, pp. 96–98, for a monstres made in Seville in 1619, presented to a parish church by a wealthy Vizcayan merchant family with extensive American ties. Seen as a major prototype of the Peruvian monstres form in its square, truncated pyramid base, etc.

24. It seems likely that such scrolling foliate enamels did, in fact, also once augment the corners of the Friedsam monstres (see note 2).

25. In Peru it appears that the enamel plaques tend to be pinned to the silver base, while in Mexico they are set into soldered rims.

26. Many entirely plain objects show the Baroque spirit only in their rhythmically curving outlines.

27. The crowned M is said to resemble a mark illustrated in Pedro de Artiñano y Galdácano, *Catálogo de la Exposición*, p. 84. Two crowned M marks are there identified as Madrid marks, but one appears to be a 19th-century Murcia mark (Fernández et al., *Enciclopedia*, p. 182, nos. 864–868), and the other must in fact be Mexican. The simple crowned M (without the profile head or pillars of Hercules) came into use in Mexico in the late 18th century. Variations of this mark were employed by Forcada, as illustrated by Fernández (pp. 506–508, nos. 1719–1738), who also shows similar makers' marks and variations of the flying eagle in the flat octagon. These are also illustrated in Anderson, *The Art of the Silversmith in Mexico*, I, p. 349. The upper portion of the crowned M in the MMA chalice is unclear but is close to that shown in Anderson's mark 11. The flying eagle is that of his mark 12.

28. Cf. Fernández et al., *Enciclopedia*, p. 365, no. 719, dated 1818.

29. Cf. chalices in the Basilica of Guadalupe, in Centro Cultural, *El Arte de la platería mexicana*, cat. no. 111, pp. 350–351; Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, in MMA, *Mexico, Splendors of Thirty Centuries*, cat. no. 192, p. 420; parish church, Los Arcos, Navarra, in Carmen Heredia Moreno, "Unas piezas de orfebrería hispanoamericana en Navarra," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 51 (1983) pp. 59–71, fig. 11.

30. From the Spanish *mixtilíneo*, originally an architectural term employed to describe an arch of broken outline, often of alternating pointed and lobate forms.

An Unknown Work by Pierre Puget: The Deydé Funerary Chapel in Montpellier Cathedral

ALAIN CHEVALIER

Curator, Musée de la Révolution Française à Vizille

SAINT-PIERRE CATHEDRAL IN MONTPELLIER suffered heavy damage during the Religious Wars at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, as well as during the siege of the city in 1622. In order to pay for needed repairs on the building, the cathedral chapter was willing to grant the side chapels to private individuals wishing to use them for their burials. Thus, on April 6, 1643, one of the city's principal dignitaries, Jean Deydé (1617–1687), counselor at the Cour des Comptes, Aides et Finances de Montpellier (the City Audit Office), was granted one of these chapels.¹ This grant was described as “la troisième chapelle, devers le grand autel de l'église cathédrale Saint-Pierre, du côté de la rue qui descend vers la porte des Carmes, joignant la chapelle de Messieurs de Girard, trésorier général de France et de Rignac procureur général du roi,” a space occupied now by the chapel of Saint-Roch.² A few months later, on October 15, 1643, Jean Deydé commissioned Jacques Jourdan, a master sculptor of the city, to decorate his chapel.³ The chapel was accordingly decorated at its four corners by columns and corresponding pilasters supporting a cornice and enclosed by a balustrade made of Saint-Génies stone. This in turn supported a walnut baluster rising to the height of the cornice. Finally, an ornamental cartouche bearing the family arms was placed on the handrail. Jean Deydé dedicated the chapel to Saint Joseph, in memory of his father, Joseph Deydé, who had died on March 28, 1637, and was the first member of the family to be buried in this sepulchral space.

The exceptional decoration of the Deydé Chapel was realized at a later date in two distinct stages. The first reworking was rather limited, as the chapel's original plan was kept intact. Thus, be-

tween 1664 and 1666, the original paving stones were replaced by marble slabs⁴ and a painting was hung above the altar; it was meant either to fill an empty space or to replace a temporary painting. This work, representing *The Angel Appearing to Joseph and Ordering Him to Flee* (Figure 1), was commissioned by Jean Deydé from Nicolas Mignard d'Avignon (1606–1668), who had lived and worked in Paris since 1660, when the king had requested his services in the capital.⁵ The iconography illustrates perfectly the theme of the chapel's patron saint. Twenty years later, Mignard's painting was the first major decorative element to be installed in the Deydé Chapel.

In 1666 Jean Deydé lost his mother, Anne de Rignac, on May 28, and a son, François, on June 8. Both were buried in Saint-Pierre. These deaths led Jean Deydé to change the decoration of the family chapel. About 1668, he asked Pierre Puget (1620–1694), who was very skilled in directing such decorative enterprises and was then working in Genoa, to draw and execute a marble decoration for his chapel. In June 1668 Puget asked Francesco Massetti (1619–1687), one of Genoa's major marble sculptors with whom he had been working regularly, to carry out his plans and execute the decoration intended for the chapel in Montpellier Cathedral over the next eight months.⁶ Because of various delays, resulting from the long blockade of the Mediterranean that followed the Holland war, the works for the Deydé Chapel could be installed only from May 1677 to April 1679.⁷ Beginning in May 1677, after repairs on the shell were completed,⁸ Jacques Massetti, a marble sculptor related to Francesco Massetti, with the help of Esprit Chaudi, a marble polisher and sorter from Marseilles, installed the famous marble paneling whose magnificence was much admired at the time.⁹ Thus for the most part the decorative elements had been executed in Genoa (Figure 2), by Francesco Massetti

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Figure 1. Nicolas Mignard (1606–1668), *The Angel Appearing to Joseph and Ordering Him to Flee*. Oil on canvas, 320 x 260 cm. Montpellier, Saint-Pierre Cathedral (photo: J.-Cl. Jacques, Inv. Gen. © S.P.A.D.E.M.)

("pilastres avec leur base et chapiteau, cadres de marbre, pavé, balustre de marbre noir et blanc"), but some also in Lyons ("grand degré de marbre noir"). In addition to assembling these elements, some decorative pieces were executed in situ by Jacques Massetti, such as the two festoons and the marble cross destined to rise above the altarpiece. The Deydé Chapel was the only private chapel in Saint-Pierre Cathedral to be decorated entirely in marble. The chapel of Richer de Belleval, for instance, was decorated with polychromed wood imitating marble; only the altar and its step were made of actual marble.¹⁰

Jean Deydé, no doubt aware that Nicolas Mignard's Parisian painting of the previous decade did not fit into the new altar's decor, also asked Puget to arrange for a new one to be painted in Genoa. An artist working in the circle of Puget and Massetti, Giovanni Battista Carlone (1603–1684), painted *The Flight into Egypt or the Miracle of the Dates* (Figure 3), whose subject formed a logical complement to Mignard's painting.¹¹ Carlone often worked on commissions for French patrons through Puget; in fact, in 1665, Puget had already asked him to paint two large works to be sent over the Alps, one representing the Three Graces and the other the



Figure 2. Francesco Massetti (1619–1687), Bas-relief on the front of the altar representing St. Joseph in prayer. Marble, 77 x 95.5 cm. Montpellier, Saint-Pierre Cathedral (photo: J.-Cl. Jacques, Inv. Gen. © S.P.A.D.E.M.)



Figure 3. Giovanni Battista Carlone (1603–1684), *The Flight Into Egypt or The Miracle of the Dates*. Oil on canvas, ca. 350 x 300 cm. Montpellier, Saint-Pierre Cathedral (photo: J.-Cl. Jacques, Inv. Gen. © S.P.A.D.E.M.)

Three Fates.¹² *The Flight into Egypt* may have been painted in the 1670s and hung after the sculptural decoration was installed.

On December 9, 1679, while new arrangements for the chapel were being completed, a tragic event occurred: the premature death of the Deydés' third child and only daughter, Constance, aged five. Her sudden death deeply affected her parents, particularly her father, who soon thereafter commissioned a marble bust of his young daughter.¹³ Constance Deydé's bust, now in a private collection, was probably intended to remain in an intimate setting (Figure 4). Indeed, in 1703 there is mention of it as being installed in a salon of the Deydé town house: "... plus deux pieds d'estal de marbre de différentes couleurs sur lesquels sont les bustes de feu M. Jean Deydé et Constance Deydé sa fille. ..." ¹⁴ According to Jean-René Gaborit (private communication), the artist was probably a Parisian sculptor born about 1650 and working in the circle of Antoine Coysevox (1640–1720).

Later, no doubt captivated by the evocative power of sculpture and in anticipation of his own death, Deydé commissioned three busts and a funerary urn. We owe to François Tronchin (1704–1798), a famous Swiss doctor, the only known description of the funerary sculptures in the Deydé Chapel, which he saw during his 1769 visit to Montpellier: "Il faut y admirer les bustes en marbre d'un Joseph [*sic*] Deydé et de sa femme par le Puget: ils sont à droite



Figure 4. Unknown French sculptor, *Bust of Constance Deydé*. Marble, h. ca. 50 cm. Private collection (photo: J.-Cl. Jacques, Inv. Gen. © S.P.A.D.E.M.)



Figure 5. Christophe Veyrier (1637–1689), *Deydé Urn*. Marble, h. ca. 100 cm. Private collection (photo: A. Morin)

dans la chapelle contre le mur des deux côtés de l'építaphe, et aux pieds est une urne, aussi de Puget, très chargée d'ornements et entre autre d'un bas-relief que j'ai trouvé un peu pesant; et le pied de l'urne a trop peu de base relativement à la grosseur de l'urne qui est aplatie par les faces. Les bustes ont la vérité et la mollesse de la chair."¹⁵ Since the eighteenth century we have known that the funerary urn (Figure 5), the so-called Deydé urn, is the work of Christophe Veyrier (1637–1689), a nephew and pupil of Puget. In 1847 Philippe de Chennevières included it in the catalogue of Veyrier's sculptures as established by a manuscript by Father Joseph Bougerel.¹⁶ Recently Klaus Herding's work has confirmed the attribution of the urn to Veyrier and has

dated it to just before March 1686.¹⁷ On the body of the urn, from left to right, are represented Justice, Concord, Charity, and Truth wearing mourning in obvious reference to Deydé's qualities and demise.¹⁸ There was an epitaph above the urn, and flanking it were the busts of Jean Deydé and his wife, Catherine d'Ortholan (Figure 6), facing one another. Contrary to what Tronchin believed, the tomb he described is that of Jean Deydé and his wife and not, as he suggested, that of the patron's parents. An engraved inscription on the back of the female bust reads "CATHERINA D'ORTOLAN/1684" (Figure 7).¹⁹ The lower part of that sculpture is a scroll carved into the depth of the marble, serving as a socle for the bust itself while concealing a system of peg and mortise that allows the sculpture to be attached to the wall. At the back of the bust we may also note a few hollow spaces meant to accommodate part of the chapel's wall decoration (Figures 8, 9). The pendant bust of Jean Deydé has not been found²⁰ but is known through plaster casts (Figure 10).

Although no document has surfaced to corroborate it, the attribution of these two busts to Veyrier is certain, because comparison with a more ambitious bust, also representing Jean Deydé, now in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 11), leaves no doubt as to their paternity. Tronchin, still discussing Puget, also saw the second bust in 1769: "Chez M. Deydé Conseiller à la Cour des Aides est un buste en marbre blanc de son grand-père par le Puget. Il est du même Deydé qui est à Saint Pierre, mais celui qui est chez le petit fils est le plus précieux: les vérités de nature, les détails, la mollesse de la chair, tout y est au plus haut point et je n'ai rien vu d'aussi beau du Puget."²¹ The archives published by Klaus Herding clearly indicate that the bust was executed by Veyrier in 1684,²² along with its pedestal, which bears the Deydé coat of arms,²³ thus made at the same time as the bust of Catherine d'Ortholan. The sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum, despite the corresponding dates of commission and execution, was not intended to be part of the chapel's decorative program.

Puget's role was fundamental in the elaboration of the chapel's decor; not only did he furnish the drawing but he was also the project's manager. At the end of the 1660s he put his Genoese friends Francesco Massetti and Giovanni Battista Carlone to work, and then, ten years later, again solicited by Jean Deydé, he entrusted his pupil and relative Christophe Veyrier with the realization of several



Figure 6. Christophe Veyrier, *Bust of Catherine d'Ortholan*. Marble, h. ca. 50 cm. Private collection (photo: author)

sculptures. In that way the invocation of Puget's glorious name by the descendants of Jean Deydé since the eighteenth century, as indicated by the attribution given by Tronchin, is not an abuse but merely a confusion as to the actual extent of Puget's intervention.

Jean Deydé died on October 4, 1687, and was buried in Saint-Pierre on October 14.²⁴ In 1794, a little more than a century later, the Deydé Chapel was completely dismantled. Surprisingly enough, the destruction that began in the revolutionary period was only the spectacular final step of a deterioration process that had started as early as the 1770s. In 1764 the three children of Joseph Deydé (Jean Deydé's eldest son) died without heirs, and their first cousin Jean-François²⁵ inherited the entire estate and family rights. While François Tronchin had seen Jean Deydé's bust and that of his wife along with the urn in the chapel in 1769, in 1776 Jérémie-Jacques Oberlin saw them in Jean-François Deydé's study, where he noticed "quelques bustes faits par Puget" and "une urne en marbre sculptée par Puget" on which "il y a les 4 vertus."²⁶ After 1769 these sculptures had obviously been removed from the chapel and placed in the Deydé town house, along with two paintings.

In the inventory drawn up after Jean-François Deydé's death in 1778,²⁷ there is mention of a "tableau long qui était ci devant dans la chapelle" in the "concert room" and of a "tableau qui était dans



Figure 7. Detail of Figure 6, showing inscription (photo: author)



Figure 8. Detail of Figure 6 (photo: author)

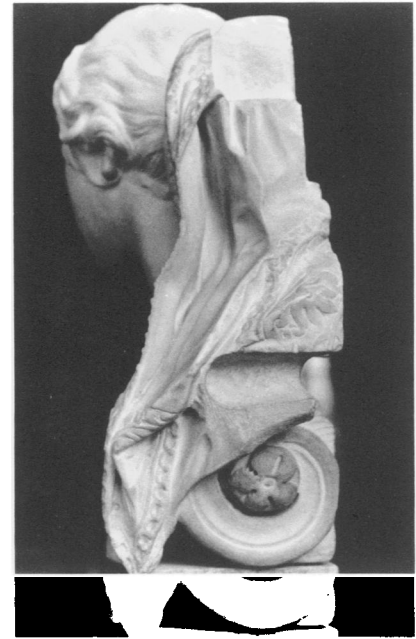


Figure 9. Detail of Figure 6 (photo: author)



Figure 10. After Christophe Veyrier, *Bust of Jean Deydé*. Plaster, h. 52 cm. Private collection (photo: author)



Figure 11. Christophe Veyrier, *Bust of Jean Deydé*. Marble, h. 66 cm. Purchase, Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation Inc. Gift and Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation Inc. Gift, in memory of James J. Rorimer, 1966, 66.129

la chapelle faisant pendant au premier." These works probably represented other episodes of Saint Joseph's life and must have been fairly small in size, compared to the large paintings, to be able to hang in the "concert room," which was already filled with works of art. Mignard's painting and Carlone's *Flight into Egypt* remained at Saint-Pierre Cathedral. The following year, Joseph-François de Malide, bishop of Montpellier, at the request of Jean-François Deydé, authorized the transfer of the "service de ladite chapelle de saint Joseph aux termes et clauses du testament dudit feu Jean Deydé dans son château de Grémian à condition qu'il y sera bâti et édifié une chapelle duement ornée et fournie d'ornements décents et de vases sacrés."²⁸ Following Bishop de Malide's ordinance, a chapel was doubtless built on the Deydés' recently purchased Grémian estate, located near Cournonsec, west of Montpellier. Nothing remains, however, of the estate's original appearance. It was greatly remodeled in the nineteenth century, when the Diocese of Hérault purchased it. The true reason that led Jean-François Deydé to request a transfer of service and why he moved part of the furnishings out of the family funerary chapel remains unknown, unless it was a consequence of the reconstruction of the cathedral choir from 1775. Between 1770 and 1780, although we do not know the end result, numerous plaster casts of the sculptures were made; some escaped the immediate family circle, in particular the casts of the funerary urn.²⁹

When Jean-François Deydé died on December 27, 1778, Bernard-Daniel, his eldest son, inherited the family estate. The latter, very much attached to his aristocratic status, adopted a hostile attitude in the early days of the Revolution. He violently disrupted a funeral procession led by a reformed priest and was forced to flee from Montpellier, leaving behind his wife and two children. He sought refuge in Lyons and, considered a traitorous émigré, died on the guillotine in 1793, during the Jacobin purge that followed the royalist rebellion in that city. In the meantime, in Montpellier his possessions were seized and sold at auction as national assets. The urn and its pedestal, along with the bust now in New York, were the only sculptures to be described, estimated at 36 and 45 livres, respectively, in the inventory of the furnishings and possessions of Deydé, drawn up on January 28, 1794. Yet there is no mention of any sculptures in the subsequent sale of February 29.³⁰ We must conclude that, thanks to benevolent interventions, the Deydé sculptures es-



Figure 12. Saint-Joseph Chapel, Saint-Pierre Cathedral, Montpellier (photo: J.-Cl. Jacques, Inv. Gen. © S.P.A.D.E.M.)

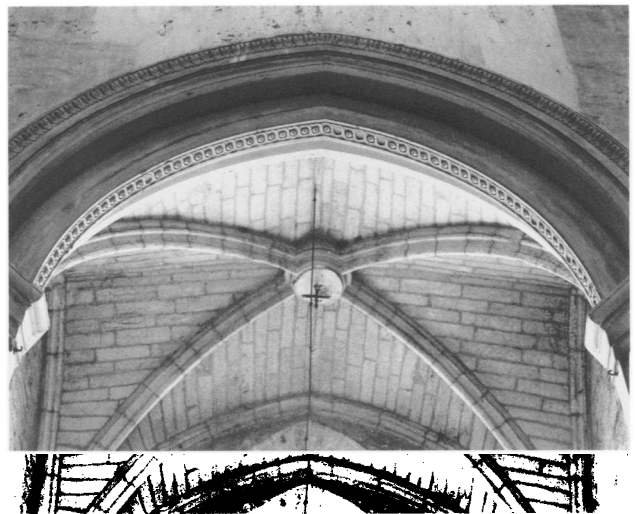


Figure 13. Deydé Chapel (Saint-Roch Chapel), Saint-Pierre Cathedral, Montpellier (photo: J.-Cl. Jacques, Inv. Gen. © S.P.A.D.E.M.)

caped the auction block and all survive in the care of the direct heirs of Jean-François Deydé's youngest daughter, Françoise-Anne-Gabrielle Campan (1742–1820).

The marble decoration of the Deydé Chapel was dismantled beginning on November 29, 1794. The marble-cutters Fabre and Grimes, whose function it was to remove marble sculptures from convent churches and private chapels on behalf of the district of Montpellier, left a report of the demolition in their books:

Au Temple de la Raison, ci-devant Saint-Pierre (du 9 frimaire [November 29]). Commencé à déplacer l'appui de communion en marbre, huit ouvriers ont fait une demi-journée; avoir fait recouper les armoiries en marbre qui était au mausolée du citoyen Deydé et au côté de l'autel, deux ouvriers ont fait cinq journées chacun; avoir déplacé les inscriptions et les avoir faites porter au magasin, avoir repavé en partie l'emplacement de l'appui de communion et fourni cinq pavés, pour faire porter les balustres et tout le marbre de l'autel à la Cousinasse fourni, six ouvriers pendant cinq jours; recommencé à la chapelle du citoyen Deydé à déplacer les marches, pavés, marche-pied de l'autel, et l'appui en marbre avec ses balustres, six ouvriers ont fait quatre journées; déplacé l'autel, douze tableaux et tous les cadres en marbre massif et porté le tout à la Cousinasse, six ouvriers ont fait chacun six journées.³¹

The two large paintings by Mignard and Carlone no doubt joined the other paintings taken from convent churches around Montpellier and stored in a room of the former Jesuit convent.

After the Concordat the Deydé Chapel became no more than a mere memory fading with time. However, a chapel devoted to Saint Joseph was reconstituted around the few works of art that survived (Figure 12). Thus, the altar was rebuilt around the main element of the bas-relief sculpted by Francesco Massetti and which had probably been handled with great care during the dismantling.³² Mignard's painting was now privileged to take its place above the new altar, because it had been recovered by the Works of Saint-Pierre Cathedral well before Carlone's work.³³ In fact, Carlone's painting was not seen in the cathedral until 1816, when it was obtained, through exchange, from the Blue Penitents, who had been the beneficiary of it at the time of the first redistribution of works of art.³⁴ Hanging in the Saint-Joseph Chapel throughout the course of the nineteenth century, this work was then re-

moved between the two world wars and placed in the adjoining chapel of the Guardian Angels. The new chapel devoted to Saint Joseph intentionally abandoned all references to the Deydés and was installed almost opposite the old chapel, in the former chapel of the Richer de Belleval,³⁵ which, like the Deydé Chapel, had been completely dismantled in the autumn of 1794.³⁶ The vacant space formerly occupied by the Deydé Chapel was allotted to the worship of Saint Roch. A few decorative elements that had not disappeared in 1794 survived only until 1890. At that time, it was decided to carry out "la démolition à la masse et au poinçon de la partie de la corniche établie à la hauteur des retombées des arrêtières et des formerets" as well as "la taille des moulures dans les arrêtières et formerets actuels pour obtenir le profil primitif."³⁷ Another restoration campaign meant to replace the masonry and windows took place in 1933 and 1934, resulting in the current appearance of the chapel of Saint Roch.³⁸ Nonetheless, the opening of the Saint-Roch Chapel, with the intrados of its pointed arch decorated with motifs relating to the decoration of the Deydé urn, still attests to the existence of the exceptional Deydé Chapel (Figure 13).

The rediscovery of the Deydé Chapel's history, in addition to clarifying the activity of Puget as entrepreneur, provides us with a significant example of the arrangement of seventeenth-century private chapels in Montpellier churches and their subsequent transformations.

NOTES

1. Archives Départementales de l'Hérault (henceforth ADH) series II E 95/1640 (Fages, notary); the receipt written by the chapter deputies in the amount of 400 livres is registered in the same notary register on May 1, 1643.

2. The location of the chapel is confirmed both by ADH series G 2017, and in a less precise manner by François Tronchin in 1769: "à droite à côté du chœur est la chapelle de M. Deydé" (cf. note 4). The location of all chapels is determined in relationship to the Gothic choir destroyed in 1775.

3. ADH series II E, fol. 114CLVIII.

4. ADH series G 1748, fols. 475 (June 1664: authorization given by the chapter to remove the paving stones of the chapel in order to replace them with marble), 709 (1665, paving stones), and 733v (paving stones).

5. Signed and dated "N. Mignard inventit et pinxit Parisiis MDCLXIII"; A. Schnapper, *Mignard d'Avignon (1606-1668)* (Avignon, 1979) p. 112, no. 84. (Another copy of this painting, probably from the hand of a local painter, Jean Bestieu [1754-1842], serves as an altarpiece in the funerary chapel of the château de la Mogère, near Montpellier, where the last direct descendants of the Deydés are buried); and p. 113, no. 85. (The study of the head used in the painting decorating the cathedral seems to come from the Deydé collection; in fact, the inventory drawn up after Jean-François Deydé's death in 1778 includes a statement by Abraham Fontanel dated March 2, 1776, "portant avoir deux têtes de viellard et une Judith tenant la tête d'Holopherne estimé 28 louis, lequel Fontanel s'engage à vendre pour le compte du sieur Deydé, ou de lui en fournir en compte de marchandises pour pareille valeur" at the time of the inheritance Fontanel could prove that he did not owe anything. Thus it is Fontanel himself who lent the sketch to the 1779 exhibition of the Société des Beaux-Arts de Montpellier that he organized, if indeed it is the one of the old man's head mentioned above.)

6. V. Belloni, *La Grande scultura in marmo a Genova (secoli XVII e XVIII)* (Genoa, 1988) p. 135. The contract was drawn up on June 25, 1668, in Puget's house by Giovanni de Ferrari, notary (State Archives, Genoa).

7. Receipt dated April 23, 1679, for work completed by Jacopo Massetti and Esprit Chaudi for Jean Deydé, ADH, II E 55/163, fols. 105r and 106v (Deranc, notary).

8. Receipt dated Oct. 6, 1679 for work executed by Jean-Baptiste Falcon for Jean Deydé, ADH, II E 55/163, fol. 274r and 274v (Deranc, notary).

9. P. Charbonneau, *Monspeliensis Civitatis Panegyricus* (Montpellier, 1687) p. 26.

10. According to an invoice for restoration work executed in 1779 by the Montpellier painter Jean Coustou (1719-1791) (ADH G 1991). The painted decoration included an altarpiece representing the Holy Family surrounded by two black-and-white figures of Saint Michael and Saint Roch, four small paintings of the Evangelists, and, finally, a large overhanging painting with angels bearing the cross.

11. It is approximately 350 x 300 cm. Paulin-Joseph de Cadolle in his "Rapport sur l'inventaire de la Société de Saint-Jean de Montpellier, Année 1875-1876," *Bulletin de la Société de Saint-Jean* 1 (Montpellier, 1876) p. 3, attributes this painting to "Mignard." V. Belloni reproduced this work without commenting on it in *Scritti e Cose d'Arte Genovese* (Genoa, 1988) fig. 35. (I am very grateful to Mary Newcome-Schleier for bringing this publication to my attention.) F. Arnal and A. Chevalier, *Tableaux religieux du XVIIème siècle à Montpellier*, Inventaire général des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France, Images du Patrimoine 122 (1993) pp. 17-19.

12. Belloni, *Scritti e Cose d'Arte Genovese*, p. 72.

13. White marble; H. 50 cm; W. 50 cm; D. 30 cm; private collection; the pedestal was replaced while the original epitaph carved in black marble remained: "FUIT TAM AMABILIS ET TANTAE SPEI/CHARISSIMA CONSTANTIA/ UT CONSTANS ET FIXA IN CORDE PATRIS AC MATRIS/PRETIOSA SEMPER PERMANEBIT/EIUS MEMORIA./ ob . . . ec. 1679. AEL.5 AN. 5 Men 7.DI."

14. Inventory drawn up after the death of Jean Deydé's eldest son, Joseph (private archives).

15. Tronchin ms. 196, fols. 60, 61, in the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève (This document was made available to me by Philippe Monnier.)

16. Philippe de Chennevières, *Recherches sur la vie et les ouvrages de quelques peintres provinciaux de l'ancienne France* (Paris, 1847) I, p. 119, no. 16; Bougerel's manuscript on Veyrier, no longer available, was probably given to Chennevières by "le docteur Pons."

17. Klaus Herding, "Les Veyrier, une famille de sculpteurs provençaux à l'époque de Louis XIV," *Archives de l'Art Français* 30 (1989) pp. 73ff.; cf. documents nos. XIX and XXIII.

18. White marble; H. ca. 100 cm; W. 50 cm; D. 40 cm; private collection.

19. White marble; H. 50 cm; W. 35 cm; D. 30 cm; ex coll. Jean Pétin, to whose memory I pay homage; present location unknown. (I also thank Jean-René Gaborit for his help in locating this bust.)

20. Between the two world wars the lost bust and that of Catherine d'Ortholan were sold on the art market in Marseilles.

21. Tronchin, fol. 62.

22. White marble; H. 87 cm; inscription engraved at the back of the bust: "Joannes Deydé AET 67, 1684." The bust, sold by the heirs of Deydé (sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, April 1 and 2, 1954, no. 152, ill. pl. xxxi), was acquired by Wildenstein.

23. ". . . pour le prix du tout et valeur d'un buste ou portrait en relief en marbre dudit feu sieur conseiller . . ." Herding, "Les Veyrier," document no. XXIX and, for the pedestal, document nos. XIX and XXIII.

24. Municipal Archives of Montpellier, Register of the Parish of Notre Dame des Tables, 1687, fol. 30. Jean Deydé's will was drawn up on May 4, 1686 (ADH, Deranc, notary, II E 55/70), and stipulated the conditions governing the use of the chapel. Catherine d'Ortholan died on May 7, 1687, shortly before her husband.

25. A. Chevalier, "Les Collectionneurs," *Ces Messieurs de la Cour, la Cour des Comptes Aides et Finances de Montpellier sous l'Ancien Régime*, exh. cat., Musée Fabre (Montpellier, 1987) pp. 32-37.

26. *Journal des remarques faites dans un voyage par la France en 1776*, fol. 91v, headings 12 and 14, Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits Français, Nouvelles Acquisitions 10040.

27. Private archives.

28. Ordinance issued at Lavérune on Aug. 23, 1777 (private archives).

29. All these plaster busts are in Montpellier. One after the New York bust of Jean Deydé is in the Musée Fabre, mentioned in the first handwritten catalogues of the museum when it was established in the city during the Revolution. André Joubin, who could not have had a very precise idea of the problems relating to the Deydé Chapel, was mistaken in his study of this cast (published in "Études sur le musée de Montpellier, la sculpture," *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 41 [Jan.-May 1922] pp. 120-122, and *Catalogue des peintures et sculptures exposées dans les galeries du Musée Fabre de la ville de Montpellier* [Paris, 1926] p. 288, no. 964,

inv. 806–34). Another is in the Faculté de Médecine library and another in a private collection. Casts of the urn are in three private collections and the Société Archéologique. Of the bust of Jean Deydé (not found), three copies are in private collections. Of the bust of Catherine d'Ortholan (formerly in the Pétin collection), one copy is in a private collection. Jean Claparède suggested that all these casts may be attributed to the sculptor Joseph Journet of Vigan. The 1779 exhibition catalogue of the Société des Beaux-Arts de Montpellier included, under no. 6, a “urne en plâtre, forme antique” by Journet that could be the Deydé urn.

30. ADH, Q 479, and private archives.

31. *État des dépenses faites par Fabre et Grimes pour déplacer les marbres des églises* (March 9, 1795) ADH, Q 452.

32. The bas-relief is described formally in the contract drawn up between Puget and Francesco Massetti (cf. note 6).

33. In the beginning of 1804 a painting representing “Saint Joseph au moment où l’ange vient le prévenir que la sainte vierge a accouché de Jésus Christ” was withdrawn from the collection of

the first Montpellier museum to be given to the White Penitents by the district administration. However, the dimensions of this work are too different from that of Mignard’s to be confused with it (329 x 205 cm; Archives Communales de Montpellier, P1/7, three letters, dated Nov. 30, Dec. 14, 1803, and Jan. 26, 1804).

34. F. Saurel, *Marie-Nicolas Fournier, évêque de Montpellier, baron de la Contamine* (Montpellier, 1892) pp. 307, 308.

35. Granted by the chapter on April 17, 1649, ADH, G 2017 (summary of the chapels granted at Saint-Pierre Cathedral).

36. “A la chapelle du citoyen Belleval déplacé l’autel et tous les tableaux au nombre de 9, et fait porter le marbre au magasin.” (cf. note 31).

37. Archives Nationales, F 19–7763.

38. Archives des Monuments Historiques, Hérault, Montpellier, Saint-Pierre Cathedral, 990, second file (1930–39).

An Exceptional Allegorical Portrait by Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne

ANNIE-CHRISTINE DASKALAKIS MATHEWS

Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

THE ABILITY to seize on something more than a mere likeness is a basic premise of any truly memorable portrait. Since its conception, the bust of Mlle de Malboissière by Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (Figure 1), together with her writings, was intended to “retrace the sensibilities and spirit” of someone greatly loved and admired and, according to the wishes of her family and friends, to keep her memory alive “eternally.”¹ Unfortunately, the passage of time and the misconception of art history have effectively defeated those purposes.

For more than six decades the brief account of the bust in Louis Réau’s 1927 monograph of the Lemoyne family of sculptors has remained unchallenged and was thought to be free of any inaccuracies.² In fact, Réau’s information about the sitter and the bust is not only inadequate but also largely incorrect. According to Réau, this is the image of a doubly pathetic figure. Mlle de Malboissière, the intelligent and highly cultivated daughter of the wealthy financier Jean-Antoine Randon, seigneur de Malboissière, was just embarking on the third decade of her life when she became engaged to Jean-Louis Dutartre. Fate, however, decreed otherwise, for shortly thereafter Jean-Louis became ill with the measles and died. At this point, Réau would have the reader imagine, M. Dutartre senior suggested to Geneviève that she sit for her portrait to the sculptor Lemoyne in order to distract herself from her grief. In other words, Réau conjures the image of an elegiac portrait of the fiancée in mourning. His version concludes with Geneviève also dying of the measles before Lemoyne had time to complete her effigy.

Réau gives as his primary reference a 1925 book by the comte de Luppé entitled *Lettres de Geneviève de Malboissière à Adélaïde Méliande 1761–1766*.³ It is important to bear in mind that Réau cites this work

because, upon comparing his account to the information in Luppé’s volume, one realizes that Lemoyne’s biographer has altered most of the facts regarding the sitter and her portrait. Réau’s first factual manipulation concerns the young woman’s death, the second with the commission of her bust.

Luppé’s book is not the earliest work to publish Mlle de Malboissière’s letters; the entire collection was compiled in 1866 by the grandson of Adélaïde Méliande, the marquis de La Grange, in a volume entitled *Laurette de Malboissière: Lettres d’une fille du temps de Louis XV (1761–1766), publiées d’après les originaux et précédées d’une notice historique*.⁴ The comte de Luppé acknowledges that La Grange has “done almost all the work, including the notes, except for the introduction.”⁵ However, he points out that the marquis “arbitrarily gave Mlle de Malboissière the name of ‘Laurette,’ [a name] she is mostly known by, but which is not one of her given names.”⁶ The comte de Luppé also indicates that the earlier publication, printed in an edition of only fifteen hundred copies, was difficult to obtain and thus almost unknown and never cited in bibliographies. This fact makes Luppé’s book not only a more easily accessible source on Mlle de Malboissière but also one that offers much more information.

A number of irrefutable facts in Luppé’s book contradict Réau’s version recounted above. First, we learn that the correspondence between the two friends stops at the end of July 1766⁷ and that Geneviève’s last letters actually describe the course of her illness.⁸ Second, the text from the parish register of Saint-Jean-en-Grève, Paris, clearly states that she died on August 22, 1766.⁹ Finally, at the end of August 1766 a series of letters is sent to the marquise de La Grange (née Adélaïde Méliande) by various persons expressing their sympathy for her loss.¹⁰ These include letters by the elder M. Dutartre and a short note by Geneviève’s mother, the grief-stricken Mme de Malboissière, who attempts to con-

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Figure 1. Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (1704–1778), *Mademoiselle Geneviève Randon de Malboissière*, 1768. Marble, h. 80.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jules Bache Collection, 1949, 49.7.73



Figure 2. Detail of the back cavity of the bust in Figure 1

sole Adélaïde by telling her that she would regard her henceforth as her own daughter.

Something that may help illuminate Réau's decision to give 1768 as the date of Mlle de Malboissière's death is the inscription on the work itself. The marble bust is inscribed on the upper rim of the back excavation "Mademoiselle Gen. Françoise de Malbossière [*sic*] née le 22 dec. 1746, decedée le 22 aoust, 1768" (Figure 2). On the lower rim it is signed and dated "par J.-B. Lemoyne 1768." Thus the artist signed and dated the portrait on the lower rim in his customary manner—"par J.-B. Lemoyne" and the date—a way of signing and dating that appears on almost every one of his busts.¹¹ The only other piece that bears the additional information of the sitter's name and her birth and death dates is that of the actress Mlle Dangeville. It is inscribed "Marie-Anne Botot Dangeville, née en 1714, morte le 29 février 1796." Mlle Dangeville's bust was completed about 1761 and exhibited at the Salon ten years later, while she was still alive. The sculptor could not therefore have carved the date of her death himself, either by the time that he finished it or by 1771. The additional information about her death must have been added not only after she died but also after Lemoyne's death in 1778. Similarly, the name and birth and death dates of Mlle de Malboissière must have been added considerably later by someone who confused her death date with the date when the sculptor finished the piece and also misspelled her name. As for Réau, he may have decided to follow the date of the bust's inscription

without checking its accuracy against the biographical data in Luppé's book.

As mentioned above, Réau wrote that M. Dutartre, Mlle de Malboissière's father-in-law-to-be, suggested that she have her portrait carved by Lemoyne during her period of bereavement for his son but that she too died before it was finished. The facts are, once again, quite otherwise. The circumstances of the commission can be securely established through the evidence provided in Luppé's volume. Among the letters Adélaïde received after her friend's death, and which appear in this collection, are a number by M. Dutartre senior. In one such letter, written on August 29, 1766, only a week after Mlle de Malboissière's death, he writes, referring to Mme de Malboissière's grief, that he "will work on the bust of that poor mother's dear daughter."¹² In addition, a slightly later note by M. Dutartre to the marquise de La Grange bears a postscript stating that "Vanloo [*sic*] finished yesterday, and Lemoyne is going to begin immediately."¹³ Although it is not known what this sentence refers to, as Louis-Michel van Loo (1707–1771) had already delivered his portrait of Geneviève (Figure 3) in March 1766,¹⁴ one may suppose that he may have been called upon to add some final touches or to incorporate the date of her death. In any case, this postscript lends support to the comte de Luppé's contention that Lemoyne worked "d'après le tableau de Van Loo."¹⁵

Indeed, in comparing the two portraits, one is struck by their similarities. Despite the fact that van Loo portrayed the sitter wearing a crown and holding a scepter, and possibly a dagger or sword,¹⁶ and Lemoyne adorned her only with flowers, the head of the sitter in the painting is exactly like the head of the bust (Figure 4). This is especially noticeable in the young lady's particular expression, the precise turn of her head, her hairstyle, the slight ridge at the top of her nose, and the almost imperceptible double chin. Had the Lemoyne bust been commissioned during Mlle de Malboissière's lifetime, it would be difficult to explain why she did not mention this important event in her correspondence to Adélaïde Méliande. Her letters to this friend had conveyed minute details of her daily activities and had related the progress of the van Loo portrait with great consistency. But during her last couple of months, Geneviève limited her news to details of ill health and temporary recoveries. Furthermore, during the month of June, her letters were not mailed from Paris but from the château de



Figure 3. Louis-Michel van Loo (1707–1771), *Geneviève de Malboissière as Melpomene*, 1765. Oil on canvas. Paris, Cailleux Collection (photo: Cailleux Collection)



Figure 4. Three-quarter view of the bust in Figure 1

Fontenay-le-Vicomte, where she was spending some time, possibly to improve her health. No mention was made in her correspondence of the sculptor's visiting her in the country, as might be expected, since Lemoyne preferred to sketch his models directly in wax or clay.

What is definitely known about the bust's creation comes from another undated note written by M. Dutartre to the marquise de La Grange at almost the same time. In this note he mentions that he had asked Lemoyne to be at his Louvre atelier on Friday at four o'clock and that the sculptor sent him the "enclosed reply."¹⁷ In the reply, which is reproduced in Luppé's book,¹⁸ Lemoyne writes that he will be in his studio at the appointed day and time, but he regrets not being able to show M. Dutartre anything more than the plaster cast of the model, as he has sent the terracotta to the kiln. The sculpture seems, therefore, to have been commissioned after Mlle de Malboissière's death, most probably by M. Dutartre for the purpose of presenting it to Mme de Malboissière. This thoughtful gift would also have included her daughter's letters, literary works,

and translations, which were still in the possession of the marquise de La Grange. As indicated above, in his letter of August 29 to the marquise, M. Dutartre specified that these collected writings of Mlle de Malboissière should serve to recall the "sensibilities and spirit" of someone whom they both admired and were intended to ensure that her memory live on forever.¹⁹

Lemoyne was the sculptor of French society par excellence, producing well over one hundred busts. These include several portraits of King Louis XV, the royal family, and courtiers, as well as various prominent and learned persons.²⁰ From his youth, Lemoyne associated the principles and effects of painting with those of sculpture, and he was especially influenced by the painters François de Troy (1645–1730) and Nicolas Largillière (1656–1746). Later on in his career Lemoyne also observed the stylistic devices and iconography used by fashionable portrait painters; his own style resembled closely that of Maurice Quentin de la Tour (1704–1788). As Lemoyne was one of the earliest expo-



Figure 5. Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, *La Comtesse d'Egmont*, 1767. Terracotta, h. 73 cm. Stockholm, Statens Konstmuseer (photo: Statens Konstmuseer)

nents of female portraiture in sculpture, he frequently drew inspiration from contemporary painting depicting women according to stylish iconographic dictates. He continued to have close professional and personal ties to such painters as Noël-Nicolas Coppel (1690–1734) and Quentin de la Tour. As painting played the preeminent role in female fashionable portraiture, Lemoyne's equally stylish busts can best find parallels in painting. Consequently, working from Michel van Loo's portrait of Mlle de Malboissière must have been a familiar procedure for him. It would have suited both his method of sculpting in a "painterly" style and his custom of depicting society ladies in accordance with the way that painters did.

Unlike contemporary painters, however, Lemoyne did not usually do allegorical portraits.²¹ Within the sculptor's oeuvre this category is limited to four examples. They include Mme de Pompadour as Pomona in *Vertumne et Pomone*, Mme Adélaïde as Minerva, and the actresses Mlle Dangeville as *Thalia* and Mlle Clairon as *Melpomene Invoking Apollo*.²² These few instances can, then, be grouped

under the general term of "theatrical portraits." Lemoyne, like the majority of artists of the period, portrayed the subjects in their most characteristic role or as symbols of drama.²³ Thus, Mme de Pompadour was depicted as she appeared in 1749 at the Versailles Petits Appartements, playing opposite the king in a role that conflated reality and mythology.²⁴ The royal Mme Adélaïde was represented wearing a helmet à l'antique, emulating her favorite goddess.²⁵ The famous comedienne Mlle Dangeville was conceived as a symbol of Comedy by placing an ivy crown on her hair and attaching the smiling mask of *Thalia* on her shoulder.²⁶ Mlle Clairon, on the other hand, was crowned with laurel and was depicted raising her eyes heavenward, a distinctive expression she often employed in that role.²⁷

It is to this category of allegorical theatrical portraits that the Metropolitan's bust seems to belong. The clue to its hidden meaning is to be found in the flowers that adorn the sitter. Mlle de Malboissière offers the viewer a three-quarter profile, her left eyebrow slightly raised as she gazes dreamily into the distance. On her lips is sketched the faintest of enigmatic smiles, betraying a kind of slightly amused detachment that was characteristic of fashionable *femmes d'esprit*. It almost seems as if she takes pride in keeping the full knowledge of her identity a closely guarded secret. A cloud of drapery circles her bust, and a garland of roses and rose laurel hangs loosely over her neck and shoulders, forming a floral parure of sorts, with the three roses on the top of her head. The presence of flowers may, of course, be completely incidental, used simply as accessories befitting a young woman, especially as Lemoyne frequently employed flowers for that purpose. In his 1767 terracotta bust of the *Comtesse d'Egmont* (Figure 5), for example, the celebrated beauty wears a garland of roses *en sautoir*, crosswise over her shoulder.²⁸ Alternately, Lemoyne favored a crown of roses, as in his signed and dated bust of an unknown *Young Woman* (Figure 6).²⁹ Similarly, roses and other flowers worn *en sautoir* and on top of the head are often seen in contemporary paintings of fashionable ladies, as in Jean-Marc Nattier's (1685–1766) *Marquise d'Antin* playing with her parrot (Figure 7)³⁰ and in a number of François Boucher's (1703–1770) well-known portraits, such as the 1746 portrait sometimes identified as *Mme Bergeret*³¹ and *Mme de Pompadour* of 1756.³²

Otherwise, flowers may have a symbolic meaning, since the mythological portrait, an eighteenth-century revival of the earlier *portrait déguisé*, was the



Figure 6. Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, *Bust of Young Woman*, 1774. Marble. Paris, Institut de France-Musée Jacquemart-André (photo: Bulloz)

type most in vogue at the time.³³ The renewed interest in mythology gave rise both to a large number of these paintings and to portraits in which the sitter was depicted as a mythological figure.³⁴ Works such as these repeatedly reflect an iconographic ambiguity, as if art were inventing, or extrapolating, from mythology. This flexible interpretation of mythology led, especially in portraiture, to the depiction of the subject in a role vaguely reminiscent of or loosely associated with a given mythological or historical character. Thus, one popular figure, Flora (Figure 8), could be practically indistinguishable, in terms of costume and accessories, from Hebe (Figure 9), another fashionable character. Indeed, Mlle de Malboissière could have been portrayed as Flora or as Hebe, the goddess of youth, since she died so young, “à la fleur de son âge.” On the other hand, flowers are also associated with the brevity of life, another possible explanation for representing her so conspicuously bedecked with them shortly after her death. Yet another possibility may be a reference to Virtue and Chastity. The prototype for the figure of Chastity is Tuccia (or Tuscia), the vestal virgin of ancient Rome, whose sacred fire

was tended by six young vestal virgins. In eighteenth-century portraiture, this was an extremely popular guise, Jean Raoux being the foremost “vestal painter.” However, in addition to flowers in their hair, vestal virgins usually wore a veil.³⁵ In the 1737 Salon Lemoyne exhibited a terracotta model of a “head of a vestal virgin crowned with flowers.”³⁶ Thus, the artist could have selected this symbol of chastity to represent a young woman who died unmarried.

If we lacked biographical information on the sitter, we might decide to attribute one of the above roles to the bust of Mlle de Malboissière. Fortunately, we need not speculate, for our knowledge of her is quite well informed. Besides the above-mentioned collection of letters, another book by the comte de Luppé survives, entitled *Les jeunes filles à la fin du XVIII siècle*.³⁷ According to Luppé, Mlle de Malboissière was extremely accomplished and a true intellectual. Her tutors were among the best of their time.³⁸ Fluent in Greek, Latin, English, German, and Italian from about the age of fifteen, she translated works of literature and poetry and often wrote to her friends in English or Italian.³⁹



Figure 7. Jean-Marc Nattier (1685–1766), *The Marquise d'Antin*, Salon of 1738. Oil on canvas, 118 x 96 cm. Paris, Institut de France-Musée Jacquemart-André (photo: Bulloz)



Figure 8. Noel-Nicolas Coppel (1690–1734), *Madame de Bourbon-Conti as Flora?*, 1731. Oil on canvas, 138.1 x 106.7 cm. Sarasota, Florida, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (photo: The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art)

Her true passion, however, was the theater. Her mother had retained a private box for her at the Comédie Française, which Geneviève began to attend at the age of five.⁴⁰ This love for the theater was further given free rein in the country, where she acted in small plays of her own composition, both at her family's château d'Hannencourt and at her fiancé's château de Bourdonné.⁴¹ The eighteenth century held theater in the highest esteem, and, during the first decades, acting provided a kind of social "passkey" so that most young people enjoyed trying it. Practically everyone acted, and all the nobility, including the king, owned a private theater; the theater was, above all, a social activity.⁴²

As van Loo's portrait of her attests, Mlle de Malboissière was a prolific writer, mainly of short plays.⁴³ One of these pieces was the one-act pastoral *Daphnis et Laurette*, written in August 1765 and based on Salomon Gessner's *Daphnis*.⁴⁴ Gessner's 1754 *Daphnis* was a poetic pastoral novel that was inspired in turn by the classical model of *Daphnis*

and *Chloe* by Longus. Apparently, Gessner's tale of love between the idealized figures of the shepherd Daphnis and the shepherdess Phillis sparked a large number of French imitations.⁴⁵ But it is important to note that whereas "Daphnis" was certainly a traditional literary figure, "Laurette" seems to have been a character invented by Mlle de Malboissière. A month after the work's completion, in September, Mlle de Malboissière and her fiancé performed the title roles of this play in an amateur château production.⁴⁶ Following that, she habitually styled herself in her correspondence under the nom de plume "Laurette," and she referred to her fiancé as "Daphnis" and as "my shepherd."⁴⁷ Thus, we see that the title of the marquis de La Grange's 1866 book, designating Mlle de Malboissière as "Laurette de Malboissière," far from being as arbitrary as Luppé thought,⁴⁸ reflects the marquis's more direct and intimate acquaintance, most probably via the reminiscences of his grandmother.

Tragically, on October 20, 1765, within a month of acting in *Daphnis et Laurette*, her fiancé died of the measles.⁴⁹ Beginning with the letter dated October 28, 1765, Geneviève appears heartbroken



Figure 9. Jean-Marc Nattier, *The Duchess of Chartres as Hebe*, Salon of 1745. Oil on canvas, 131 x 105 cm. Stockholm, Statens Konstmuseer (photo: Statens Konstmuseer)

over the death of “poor Daphnis.” She writes: “If it is true that our soul does not perish with us, it is possible that death does not deprive us of every sensibility, [and] this Daphnis whom we pity will taste the most pure happiness. . . . Never, Daphnis, no, never will you be erased from my memory; you will always be my guardian angel, my guide in [what is] good.” More poignantly, she recalls that, after the end of their performance and before departing from the château, Jean-Louis Dutartre’s uncle invited them to leave their shepherds’ outfits, their crooks, and all their other accessories behind, saying, “Daphnis and Laurette, you must keep all these for next spring.”⁵⁰ It becomes apparent then that immediately after the presentation of Geneviève’s pastoral play, the family and friends of the two young actors began to identify them with their respective stage characters.

Although Mlle de Malboissière was not a professional, she was a dedicated and serious amateur playwright and actress. Given that Lemoyne’s only other allegorical sculptures were of female performers, one may be justified in proposing that the Metropolitan’s bust was conceived as such an allegorical portrait and specifically as one depicting Mlle de Malboissière in the role of Laurette. As mentioned, M. Dutartre senior was directly involved in the bust’s execution and he intended to present it, along with examples of Mlle de Malboissière’s writings, to her mother.⁵¹ Since M. Dutartre’s son had just died of the same illness that claimed Mlle de Malboissière’s life, what could be more natural than his requesting Lemoyne to portray the young woman in a guise emblematic both of herself and of her relationship with his son and one that would remind the two families of their respective children? By adorning her with flowers, Lemoyne encapsulated with simple mastery several facts one could associate with the sitter: her youth and chastity, her untimely death, and her favorite role of the shepherdess Laurette. The lack of other props, such as the shepherd’s crook, can be explained by the period’s general tendency to portray sitters in a manner that made only minimal reference to the assumed mythological or literary character (Figures 8, 9). Furthermore, the association with Laurette would reinforce Mlle de Malboissière’s link with M. Dutartre’s son, the unfortunate Daphnis. And in so doing the bust would be quite in keeping with the play on words that the playwright herself invented through the names of Daphnis and Laurette, which are actually synonymous.⁵² Thus, besides roses and



Figure 10. Detail of the bust in Figure 1

berries, one can distinguish both the “double” and “simple” *laurier-rose* (or *laurelle*), the common rose laurel with pointed leaves, and either simple blossoms of five petals or double ones with more petals (Figure 10). The sculptor has repeatedly depicted the flower quite accurately, albeit in a somewhat stylized form.⁵³ No other Lemoyne bust bears this type of flower and leaf, and its presence here is significant: it serves to strengthen the impression that Mlle de Malboissière is portrayed as Laurette, the name itself indicating a likely corruption of *laurelle*.

Finally, taking the psychological implications of this portrait a step further, it may also be viewed in conjunction with *portraits déguisés*. Mlle de Malboissière may then be seen as a most fashionable figure, a shepherdess in the sense of eighteenth-century pastoral stories, plays, and paintings, just as *Daphnis et Laurette* was a pastoral play, in which the costumed fiancés played the roles of lover-shepherds. It is interesting to read that after playing in *Daphnis et Laurette*, Mlle de Malboissière was so happy that she “ate and slept like a real Laurette, like the inhabitant of a village.”⁵⁴

Pastorals were very popular, the term “pastorale” referring to idealized depictions, not simply of the life of shepherds but of their alleged amorous activities.⁵⁵ This concept of lover-shepherds was nothing new in poetry or on the stage. Since the previous century, the favorite reading material of the précieux, and even of later generations of aristocrats,

consisted of pastoral and romantic novels, poetry, and plays, as, for instance, *L'Astrée* by Honoré d'Urfé (1607–1619) and *La Guirlande de Julie* by Montausier (1641).⁵⁶ The spirit that produced the *Guirlande* also led to the introduction of flowers in various forms of portraiture in the seventeenth century. A most telling example is the portrait by Claude Deruet, painted between 1641 and 1645, of Julie d'Angennes, who is elegantly dressed but holds a shepherd's crook, has a wreath of mixed flowers on her lap, and is surrounded by symbols of innocence, such as the rose, lambs, and the temple of vestal virgins in the background.⁵⁷ In the eighteenth century not only did the passion for pastoral literature continue but it also fired the imagination of such painters as Boucher and Lancret. Boucher, in particular, was called the “Fontenelle of painting,” for in his pastorals he followed that author's recommendations in presenting “the simplicity of pastoral love, without the poverty of peasant existence.”⁵⁸ His most immediate inspiration, however, came from the elegantly clad characters in the opéras comiques of his friend Favart.⁵⁹ Examples abound: his *Pasteur galant*,⁶⁰ *Charmes de la vie champêtre*,⁶¹ *Printemps* (Figure 11),⁶² and *L'École d'Amour*⁶³ all depict gracefully posed idealized types of lover-

shepherds and shepherdesses dressed in finery and surrounded by flowers.

It is in the context of the period's vogue for the pastoral ideal, in both art and literature, and within the prevailing preference for allegorical portraits that the bust of Mlle de Malboissière is best seen. In view of the fact that the sitter's play *Daphnis et Laurette* was a pastorelle and that she was romantically involved with her own “pasteur galant,” it is possible to interpret Lemoyne's portrait as representing Mlle de Malboissière in the guise of Laurette. In that case, the rare occurrence of this type of portrait within the sculptor's oeuvre heightens the significance of the Museum's bust.

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Figure 11. François Boucher (1703–1770), *Printemps*, 1755. Oil on canvas, 55 x 71 cm. New York, The Frick Collection (photo: The Frick Collection)

NOTES

1. Comte de Luppé, *Lettres de Geneviève de Malboissière à Adélaïde Méliande (1761–1766)* (Paris, 1925) p. 340.

2. Louis Réau, *Une Dynastie de sculpteurs au XVIII^e siècle: Les Lemoyne* (Paris, 1927) pp. 98, 149, no. 105.

3. Ibid., p. 98.

4. The work is cited and commented upon by the comte de Luppé. See Luppé, *Lettres*, pp. i–iv.

5. The introduction was apparently written by the marquise de La Grange, the marquis's wife.

6. Luppé, *Lettres*, p. ii.

7. Ibid., pp. 333–334 and n. 4.

8. Ibid., pp. 325–334.

9. Ibid., pp. vii–viii and n. 5.

10. Ibid., pp. 335–346.

11. I have arrived at this conclusion by comparing all the Lemoyne bust inscriptions as they appear in Réau's book. A few exceptions are inscribed "Par JB Lemoyne" and have no date. Only rarely is there a piece where the name of the sitter is followed by Lemoyne's signature, as, for example, in "René-Charles de Maupeou, chancelier de France. J-B L. fecit 1768" and "M. Ange-Jacques Gabriel Premier Architecte du Roi par J-B L."

12. Luppé, *Lettres*, p. 340.

13. Ibid., p. 343.

14. Van Loo's portrait of Mlle de Malboissière depicts her as Melpomene, Muse of Tragedy (the portrait is now in Paris, Cailleux Collection). One is able to follow the progress of this portrait in her correspondence from July 29, 1765, when she had her first sitting at the painter's atelier, to March 1766, when it was delivered (see Luppé, *Lettres*, pp. 268–271, 274, 319). Mlle de Malboissière's letters reveal that it was her mother's idea to have her represented as a "figure of character," the painter having chosen this particular Muse himself. At the time, van Loo was also painting Mme de Malboissière as Thalia, Muse of Comedy (see Luppé, *Lettres*, p. 274).

15. Ibid., p. 349.

16. In van Loo's portrait Mlle de Malboissière is represented with these attributes of Melpomene, which were commonly accepted at the time (see James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* [London, 1974] p. 217). However, she wears a contemporary gown and is magnificently bedecked in rows of pearls. Wearing rows of pearls around the neck or looped around the corsage was very fashionable. In fact, Louis-Michel van Loo had similarly portrayed a number of ladies wearing pearls and tufts of feathers in their hair (see, for example, Hippolyte Gautier, "Un portrait de femme par L. M. Van Loo," *Les Arts* [Nov. 1911] pp. 30–32). One such portrait was of his own daughter dressed in floating draperies and holding a mask, likewise evoking a Muse (Baltimore Museum of Art).

17. Luppé, *Lettres*, pp. 345–346.

18. Ibid., p. 346 and n. 1.

19. Ibid., p. 340.

20. See Réau, *Les Lemoyne*, pp. 144–155. Réau enumerates 117 securely attributable portraits in existence at the time of his writing, 6 that may possibly be by Lemoyne, and 31 lost busts.

21. See van Loo's portrait of Mlle de Malboissière as Melpomene.

22. *Vertumne et Pomone*, 1760, Louvre; *Mme Adélaïde as Minerva*, n.d., Paris, formerly coll. Rodolphe Kann; *Mlle Dangeville as Thalia*, 1761, Salon of 1771, Comédie Française; *Mlle Clairon as Melpomene Invoking Apollo*, 1761, Salon of 1761, Comédie Française.

23. Michèle Beaulieu, "Le théâtre et la sculpture française au XVIII^e siècle," *Le Jardin des Arts* 15 (Jan. 1956) p. 170.

24. I.e., the *amours* of Louis XV with the mythological loves of Jupiter (see *Louis XV: Un moment de perfection de l'art français* [Paris, 1974] p. 80, ill. p. 55, fig. 76).

25. Réau wonders whether the terracotta bust of *Mme Adélaïde as Minerva* was a reference to Rubens's *Marie de Médici* or whether it was influenced by Nattier's mythological portraits. In either case, he writes that it was the favorite incarnation of Mme Adélaïde, who, unable to play Venus, had appropriated the goddess of wisdom (see Réau, *Les Lemoyne*, pp. 87–88, 146, no. 69, fig. 132). For our purposes, this piece, by virtue of its theatrical implications, can be considered as a type of theatrical portrait.

26. Réau, *Les Lemoyne*, pl. LXVI, fig. 103, no. 139.

27. Ibid., pl. LXVII, fig. 104, no. 137.

28. Ibid., pl. XLVII, fig. 72, no. 90, Salons of 1769 and 1771 (Stockholm, Statens Konstmuseer).

29. Ibid., pl. LXX, fig. 109, no. 144, 1774 (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André). It is presumed to be the portrait of the princesse de Polignac.

30. Salon of 1738 (Musée Jacquemart-André).

31. Washington, National Gallery of Art.

32. Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

33. As early as the 16th century it had been common practice in France to commission portraits representing the sitter in the character and dress of a figure from history or mythology, thereby raising the level of the portrait to the higher genre of historical painting. Having gone out of fashion before 1600, the style was revived in the first half of the 17th century by the précieux (see Anthony Blunt, "The Précieux and French Art," in *Essays in Memory of Fritz Saxl*, D. J. Gordon, ed. [London, 1957] pp. 326–338). It then continued to flourish during the reign of Louis XIV, when it became very widespread with the works of such artists as Mignard and Noret (see, for example, in the 17th century, Claude Deruet's *Julie d'Angennes as the Shepherdess Astrée*, from the play "The Guirlande," 1641–45, and Mignard's *Mme de Montespan as Diana*, 1670–78, and *Marquise de Seignelay as Thétis*, 1691).

34. See Largillière's *Mme de Gueidan as Flora*, 1730, Raoux's *Françoise Pedrigéon*, *Mme E. P. Boucher, the King's Secretary*, as well as several paintings by Nattier.

35. *Vestals*, in the Braunschweig Museum, is such a painting by Raoux (illus. in Andor Pigler, *Barokkthemen, eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* [Budapest,

1974] III, p. 301, pl. 326), as is the portrait of an *Unknown Lady as a Vestal* by Louis-René Vialy (1756, Aix-en-Provence Museum).

36. This was one of the first two pieces exhibited by Lemoyne at the Salon as agréé, but it has disappeared (see Réau, *Les Lemoyne*, pp. 121, 153 no. 164, 155 no. 56).

37. Paris, 1925.

38. Her tutors were Jacques Audierne, Bartolommeo-Antonio Bertera, Mather Flint, Michael Huber, and Jacques-Christophe Valmont de Bomare (see Luppé, *Lettres*, pp. xxiv–xxv).

39. See *ibid.*, pp. xxxv, 176–178, 347–348, as well as *idem*, *Jeunes filles*, pp. 109, 157–160, 169.

40. Luppé, *Lettres*, pp. 17, 176–178, 203, 285, and *idem*, *Jeunes filles*, pp. 109, 121, 133.

41. Luppé, *Lettres*, pp. 148–155, 268–271, 282–283, and *idem*, *Jeunes filles*, p. 133.

42. Marian Hobson, *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 1982) p. 139.

43. Most of her thirty-two plays have not survived. For a complete list, see Luppé, *Lettres*, pp. 347–348.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 277–279, 282–283, 348. *Daphnis et Laurette* is among her lost works.

45. Initiated by Michael Huber (Bavarian author, professor, and translator of German literature into French, 1727–1804) and Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (baron de l'Aulne, celebrated economist and intellectual, one of Huber's pupils, who became Louis XVI's finance minister, 1727–1781) in 1760, a veritable "cult" of Salomon Gessner (1730–1788) developed in France and lasted until the eve of the Revolution. During this time Gessner was allegedly more popular than any French classic, and even distinguished writers and poets drew inspiration from his books, which were often illustrated with his own etchings. It has been estimated that more than 150 French works were to some degree Gessner imitations, the Swiss author having managed to arouse, or renew, interest in pastoral or idyllic literature. Gessner's synthesis of Rococo sentimental moods with the contemporary taste for nature, charm, and virtue seemed to follow in the aesthetic set by the précieux, his idylls expressing perfectly the period's pre-Romantic sensibility. Most often, French imitators were drawn to his *Daphnis*, which was an apt vehicle for the portrayal of such emo-

tions and virtues (see John Hibberd, *Salomon Gessner, His Creative Achievement and Influence* [Cambridge, 1976] pp. 17–22, 30–31, 127–129, 132–133; and Paul Van Tieghem, *Le Prérromantisme* [Paris, 1929] pp. 207–301).

46. Luppé, *Lettres*, p. 283.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 283, 289, 290, 292, 294, 297, 298.

48. *Ibid.*, p. ii.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 294–296.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 340.

52. That is, "daphne" and "laurel" are interchangeable terms for the same plant.

53. This bush, which is traditionally the symbol of victory and glory, is most prevalent in the Mediterranean region. (For illustrations and discussions, see, for example, *Larousse Grand Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* [Paris, 1984] VI, p. 6169, and *Larousse Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe siècle* [Paris, 1982] X, pp. 256–258.)

54. Luppé, *Lettres*, p. 283.

55. Alastair Laing in MMA, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, exh. cat. (New York, 1986) p. 175.

56. Blunt, "The Précieux," pp. 327, 336–337. The latter was a series of poems on individual flowers, contributed by all the poets who frequented the "chambre bleue," the famous salon at the hôtel of the marquise de Rambouillet. Between the poems, handwritten by Nicolas Jarry, were inserted paintings of each flower by Nicolas Robert. The work was presented to Julie d'Angennes, daughter of Mme de Rambouillet, by her suitor Montausier. (See also Robert Sabatier, *Histoire de la poésie française: La Poésie du XVIIe siècle* [Paris, 1975] III, pp. 119–123.)

57. Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

58. Laing, *Boucher*, p. 176.

59. *Ibid.*

60. Painted for the Hôtel Soubise, 1737.

61. Louvre, 1743.

62. New York, Frick Collection, 1755.

63. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1760.

Country Children: Some *Enfants de Boucher* in Gobelins Tapestry

EDITH A. STANDEN

Curator Emeritus, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY the Gobelins manufactory did not usually make tapestry upholstery to go with sets of wall panels, although the rival establishment of Beauvais had been doing so with great success from as early as the 1690s. During the first half of the next century, only very occasionally does an inventory record the presence at the manufactory of cartoons (*modèles*) for covers of armchairs, sofas, and fire screens. A few pieces of furniture with Gobelins upholstery of this period and an occasional loose panel clearly made for this purpose still survive. In 1745, however, a memorandum from a Gobelins *entrepreneur* (head of a workshop), Pierre-François Cozette, shows how much the weavers desired this kind of work. An important official had announced that he needed upholstery for eight armchairs and a sofa. Cozette, eager to obtain the order, asked that the king pay for the designs, which would then remain at the manufactory and could be woven again; they were to represent the Four Continents. Cozette explained the importance of the commission very clearly:

Faute d'avoir des Tableaux les Entrepreneurs manquent tous les jours de ces sortes d'entreprises, qui passent à Beauvais et laissent la Manufacture Royale des Gobelins dans une espèce d'oubli. . . . Les Particuliers, qui ne veulent point entrer dans la dépense des Tableaux, ne veulent point donner les prix que cela exigerait, trouvent à Beauvais cet avantage, les Entrepreneurs se sauvant sur les prix beaucoup plus bas des ouvriers, de même que sur les étoffes.

Cozette went on to say that, as the *entrepreneurs* were obliged to pay their weavers the same wages whether they worked for a private individual or for

the king, “cela renchérira les dits ouvrages, et n'étant aidée par des Tableaux, les particuliers ne pourroient rien faire faire de la Manufacture, et cela feroit que tout iroit à la Manufacture de Beauvais, même les Etrangers, parmi lesquels la réputation des Gobelins est cy bien établie.”¹ This cry from the heart succeeded, and the director general of the royal manufactories agreed to have the cartoons (by Charles Eisen and Pierre Lenfant) paid for by the royal treasury. No records exist of the weaving of these designs, as the king was not the customer, but the tapestry panels of the Four Continents for two sofas and eight armchairs are owned by the Louvre.²

An even more prestigious customer for Gobelins furniture covers was soon to appear. Mme de Pompadour ordered a set in 1751, another between 1754 and 1756, and a third in 1760. Her brother, the marquis de Marigny, did the same in 1757. The king added upholstery to the set of Don Quixote tapestries that he gave to the grand chancellor of Russia in 1758, and in 1763, when the Seven Years' War was over and the English nobility and gentry began to put Gobelins tapestry rooms into their stately homes, the manufactory produced upholstery to accompany nearly every English commission for wall hangings.³ As almost all this tapestry was made for private purchasers, it is very scantily recorded. Only the cartoons were usually paid for by the king, so no records of the date and cost of weaving have survived. There is no way to determine how many copies were made of each upholstery design, nor how long the cartoons were in use.⁴

Apart from the floral patterns made chiefly for English customers, the most frequently found decorations of Gobelins upholstery are representations of children after François Boucher (1703–1770).

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Figure 1. Workshop of François Boucher (1703–1770), *Petit Jardinier*, 1749. Black chalk on paper, 26.8 x 17.5 cm. Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique, Archives (photo: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Sully-Jaumes, Paris)



Figure 2. Workshop of Jacques Neilson (d. 1788), after Boucher, *Petit Vendangeur*, 1760–80. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs. A. Hamilton Rice (photo: Graydon Wood)

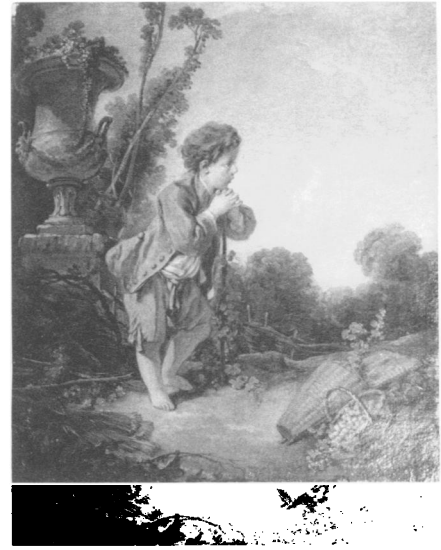


Figure 3. Boucher?, *Petit Vendangeur*, ca. 1750–55. Oil on canvas, 52.5 x 46 cm. Lyons, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (photo: Musée des Arts Décoratifs)

There are three types of these *Enfants de Boucher* in tapestry: nude babies, with or without wings; fully clothed small children representing the arts and sciences; and a group that can be called *Country Children*. Though Boucher painted innumerable nude cupids and putti throughout his working life, few of them were reproduced in tapestry. Even rarer in tapestry are fully dressed children playing at being painters, sculptors, poets, or musicians. Only the children of the third group are frequently found on sofas, chairs, and fire screens. They are from seven to ten years old (the boys have all been breeched), neither infants nor adolescents, in simple contemporary costume, classless (neither aristocrats nor impoverished peasants), and always out-of-doors. They are usually engaged in some rural activity, though this is never strenuous work; the boy or girl fishes, or makes a wreath, or plays a bagpipe, or feeds chickens.

In another medium, Vincennes soft-paste porcelain, some children of the third type appear as small figures; the earliest-known example dates from 1748.⁵ These have been frequently published as *Les Enfants de Boucher*, and it is well known that some of the designs are also found on small Gobelins panels, usually mounted as upholstery on pieces of furniture. Six designs of single figures are known in both media, but there are many more children of the

same type in upholstery sets. Some designs were also used as painted decoration on Vincennes tableware and on the enamel panels of gold snuffboxes.⁶ Though the children are usually single figures in the tapestries, there are a few examples of a boy with a girl, and they sometimes imitate the activities of young adults in other works of art by Boucher: they eat grapes together or he teaches her to play a pipe.⁷

Several sets of furniture with *Country Children* upholstery are known. The one with the most tapestries of these designs consists of a sofa, two *bergères*, six armchairs, and a fire screen. The names of both Boucher and the weaver Jacques Neilson (head of a Gobelins workshop from 1749 to 1788), as well as the date 1753, are said to appear on the tapestries.⁸ In 1903 the set was owned by George Cooper; it was published in the privately printed catalogue of his collection, where it is described as having been made for Mme de Pompadour and bought by the dealers Duveen Brothers from the Gregory family.⁹ The sofa and chair backs have *anse de panier* tops and slightly curved sides in a typical Louis XV style, to which the design of the tapestry conforms. Both backs and seats have *Country Children* tapestries, a rare instance of the children appearing on seats. The set was offered for sale at Christie's, London, on December 1, 1966, no. 95 (one armchair illus-



Figure 4. Models attributed to Pierre Blondeau (fl. 1740s-50s), after Boucher, *Petite Fille au tablier, Jeune Suppliant*, 1752. Biscuit soft-paste porcelain (Vincennes), h. 22.2 cm. Pittsburgh, The Frick Art Museum (photo: Harold Corsini)



Figure 5. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petite Fille portant des fruits*, 1772-76. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Middlesex, Osterley Park (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees, Victoria and Albert Museum)



Figure 6. Model attributed to Blondeau, after Boucher, *Petite Fille au tablier*, 1752-60. Soft-paste porcelain, details in blue enamel (Vincennes), h. 21.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1950, 50.211.167

trated), and again on February 29, 1968, no. 66; the frames are described as being in the Louis XV style, but no date is given for the tapestries. Its present location is not known.

The best-documented set of furniture with *Country Children* upholstery is at Osterley Park, near London. The tapestries are in the original frames, and the set is in the room for which it was made (there are eight armchairs and a sofa). The tapestries were woven in Neilson's workshop to accompany one set of the wall hangings called the *Tentures de Boucher*, commissioned in 1772.¹⁰ The oval backs of the furniture are in the style of the period and have *Country Children* tapestries; the seat covers are woven with the designs of flowers on a simulated damask ground that were used for other upholstery accompanying the *Tentures de Boucher*.

The *Country Children* panels for the backs of six armchairs in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, were originally placed in round English frames that were made about 1751-52.¹¹ Other sets of *Country Children* upholstery are in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Munich Residenz, and the Mead Museum, Amherst; they have the oval backs of the Louis XVI style. The first consists of a sofa and seven armchairs.¹² The furniture in Munich has its original frames and is said to date from the 1770s. It comprises twelve armchairs, a sofa, and a fire screen;

the last bears Neilson's name.¹³ Of the chair-back covers, one has a fully dressed boy representing Painting; the others have *Country Children*. A sofa and four armchairs in Amherst are from a set that originally included two more armchairs, another sofa, and two *bergères*; these were deaccessioned in 1979 and the subjects of their tapestry panels are not known.¹⁴

A set of furniture owned by the San Francisco Museum of Art consists of a sofa and four armchairs in the Louis XV style. The tapestry backs of the sofa and one armchair show *Country Children*; the other chair backs have costumed children representing Architecture, Poetry, and Comedy.¹⁵ Some sets of *Country Children* tapestries have been sold at auction¹⁶ and a number of other pieces are known, including some chair backs in the Tuck Collection at the Petit Palais, Paris,¹⁷ and in the Frick Collection, New York.¹⁸

Comparable representations in porcelain are fewer in number. The 1752 stock list of the Vincennes manufactory includes thirteen drawings of children and three "groupes de même" by Boucher, as well as twenty-three engravings of *Jeux d'Enfants*. A drawing has survived, a small boy leaning on a spade, who has been named the *Petit Jardinier*; it is inscribed on the back "dessein de M. Boucher . . . 1749" (Figure 1).¹⁹ He is reproduced exactly on the



Figure 7. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Porteur d'oiseaux*, 1772–76. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Middlesex, Osterley Park (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees, Victoria and Albert Museum)



Figure 8. Model attributed to Blondeau, after Boucher, *Porteur d'oiseaux*, 1753. Biscuit soft-paste porcelain (Vincennes), h. 15.3 cm. Sèvres, Musée Nationale de Céramique (photo: Documentation photographique, Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figure 9. Model attributed to Blondeau, after Boucher, *Petite Fille à la cage*, 1753. Soft-paste porcelain enameled in color (Vincennes), h. 22 cm. Sèvres, Musée Nationale de Céramique (photo: Documentation photographique, Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figure 10. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petite Fille à la cage*, 1772–76. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Middlesex, Osterley Park (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees, Victoria and Albert Museum)



Figure 11. Boucher?, *Petite Fille à la cage (Babet)*, 1753–54. Oil on canvas, 55 x 45 cm. Paris, Collection du Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)



Figure 12. Model attributed to Blondeau, after Boucher, *Petit Joueur de cornemuse* (*The Bagpipe Player*), 1748–52. Biscuit soft-paste porcelain (Vincennes–Sèvres), h. 22.9 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, The Norweb Collection (photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art)



Figure 13. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petit Joueur de cornemuse*, 1752–60. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Location unknown (photo: Ashmolean Museum)



Figure 14. Model attributed to Claude Suzanne (fl. 1749–63), after Boucher, *Bol de boullie* (*Petite Beurrière*). 1755. Biscuit soft-paste porcelain (Vincennes), h. 18.8 cm. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (photo: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Sully-Jaulmes)



Figure 15. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petite Beurrière* (detail), 1755–65. Wool and silk tapestry fire-screen panel (Gobelins). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Foto-Commissie Rijksmuseum)



Figure 16. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petite Beurrière*, 1755–65. Wool and silk tapestry panel (Gobelins), 81.9 x 47.9 cm. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Bequest of Mrs. Horace E. Dodge, in memory of her husband (photo: The Detroit Institute of Arts)



Figure 17. Cup and saucer, 1752–53. Soft-paste porcelain, cup: 9.3 x 8.2 cm; saucer: diam. 18.8 cm. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (photo: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Sully-



Figure 18. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Girl Making a Wreath*, 1755–65. Wool and silk tapestry panel (Gobelins), 81.9 x 47.9 cm. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Bequest of Mrs. Horace E. Dodge, in memory of her husband (photo: The Detroit Institute of Arts)

Figure 19. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Girl Making a Wreath, Boy Kissing a Girl's Hand*, 1772–76. Wool and silk tapestry sofa-back panel (Gobelins). Middlesex, Osterley Park (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees, Victoria and Albert Museum)

sugar bowl of a Vincennes breakfast set of 1753 in the Louvre,²⁰ but when he appears in tapestry the spade has become a stick wreathed with vine leaves and he is called the *Petit Vendangeur* (Figure 2).²¹ A painting in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyons (Figure 3), shows the same design as the tapestry, with the grape gatherer's typical long basket (*hotte*) on the right and a huge, elaborate, and inappropriate vase on the left; this painting might be a tapestry cartoon. For a porcelain figure, the drawing was also altered, the stick being replaced by a round basket of grapes (Figure 4, right); the boy is now the *Jeune Suppliant*.²² He makes his plea to the *Petite Fille au tablier* (Figure 4, left), who is on the other side of the sugar bowl in the Louvre breakfast set, and on tapestries, where she has been given the name of the *Petite Fille portant des fruits* (Figure 5).²³ The resemblance of the figures in porcelain and in tapestry is even closer in the colored version of the former (Figure 6), where the dark, laced bodice and striped skirt are alike in both representations.

Another pair of figures found both in porcelain and in tapestry is the boy called *Corydon*, or the *Por-*

teur d'oiseaux, and *Babet*, or the *Petite Fille à la cage*. Corydon is the name of a shepherd in a ballet-pantomime, the *Vallée de Montmorency*, who gives a bird to a girl called Babet.²⁴ The *Porteur d'oiseaux* has a bird in each hand on a Vincennes plate of 1753²⁵ and on tapestry panels (Figure 7);²⁶ in the Vincennes figure (Figure 8), the birds are replaced by a sickle and a flower and the boy has a grape gatherer's basket behind him.²⁷ Babet, with an empty birdcage under her arm, is much the same in different media. She is on the milk jug of the Louvre breakfast set, is a figure (Figure 9), and appears on chair-back covers (Figure 10).²⁸ The tapestry version of the design is a close reproduction of a cartoon in the Mobilier National, Paris, the Gobelins manufactory (Figure 11).²⁹

The Vincennes figure of the *Petit Joueur de cornemuse* (Figure 12) has been dated from 1748 to 1752³⁰ and a tapestry version is found on an armchair in the Cooper set, which, as has been mentioned, has Louis XV-style frames (Figure 13).³¹ The sixth figure with a tapestry counterpart is the *Petite Beurrière*, or the *Bol de bouillie* (Figure 14);³²

the girl has not been found on a chair, but she is on firescreens (Figure 15),³³ including what was probably a firescreen panel, now mounted as part of one section of a tall screen in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Figure 16).³⁴

Even in photographs it is apparent that porcelain was a far better medium for Boucher's children than wool and silk. Tapestry has been described as created to provide splendor at a distance and delightful details close at hand, but it is not capable of fully expressing the subtle, tender, innocent charm

of a Boucher child; the materials and technique do not lend themselves to lightness of touch or delicacy of feeling. The *Country Children* and other *Enfants de Boucher* on furniture covers are decorative and pretty, but they do not have the quality of the artist's drawings of children or even that of the porcelain figures.

Some *Country Children* are found as painted decoration on Vincennes tableware and as tapestries, but not as porcelain figures. A little girl making a wreath is on a cup in the Musée des Art Décoratifs,



Figure 20. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Girl Feeding Chickens*, 1752–60. Wool and silk tapestry fire-screen panel (Gobelins), 71.5 x 52.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Barbara Weisl, in loving memory of Rowene and James Seligman, 1986, 1986.321



Figure 21. Boucher, *Rooster*, ca. 1727. Black, red, and white chalk on brownish gray paper, 17 x 20 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum. (photo: Statens Konstmuseer)



Figure 22. Neilson workshop, after Boucher. *Boy Playing a Bagpipe to a Dog* (detail), 1755–65. Wool and silk tapestry panel (Gobelins), 81.9 x 47 cm. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Bequest of Mrs. Horace Dodge, in memory of her husband (photo: The Detroit Institute of Arts)



Figure 23. Boucher, *Dog Standing on Its Hind Legs*, ca. 1755. Red and black chalk, heightened with white chalk, on light brown laid paper, 17.6 x 11.8 cm. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Witt Bequest (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)



Figure 24. Neilson, after Boucher, *Two Children Warming Themselves at a Fire*, 1751–60. Wool and silk tapestry fire-screen panel (Gobelins). Munich, Residenz (photo: Schloss Nymphenburg)

Paris (Figure 17); and she also appears on a panel of the Detroit tapestry-covered screen (Figure 18), and she is the child farthest to the left on the Osterley sofa back (Figure 19).³⁵ On the saucer of the cup in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Figure 17) is a little girl feeding chickens who is found, with different birds, on a firescreen panel with Neilson's name in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 20);³⁶ the spirited cock at her side can be compared with a Boucher drawing in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Figure 21).³⁷ A print by Claude Duflos is titled *La petite Fermière* and has a verse advising girls who wish to be married to start working while they are still young, like the child in the picture.



Figure 25. Boucher?, *Petit Pêcheur*, 1753–54. Oil on canvas, 47 x 58 cm. Paris, Collection du Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)

A *Country Child* frequently reproduced in many media, including tapestry, is the *Boy Playing a Bagpipe to a Dog* (Figure 22).³⁸ The dog is from a drawing (in the Courtauld Institute, London, Figure 23) that was also used in a Beauvais tapestry, the *Joueuse de Flûte*, in the *Noble Pastorale* series of 1755.³⁹ The boy and the dog are also on a woven silk and on printed cottons; the design certainly owes its popularity to its reproduction in a print by François Antoine Aveline called *L'Innocence*, with the verse:

Qu'heureux est l'age d'Innocence!
Cet Enfant comble ses désirs:
Des Soins, des Soucis l'Ignorance
Nous fait goûter les vrais plaisirs.⁴⁰

On the tray of the Louvre breakfast set are two children watching a trap to catch birds.⁴¹ This exact design has not been found in tapestry, but the two children, slightly altered to change their useful activity to the passive occupation of warming themselves at a fire, appear on several tapestry screen panels (Figure 24). A signed painting of 1751, perhaps a cartoon, is known.⁴² These were presumably the children on a screen panel bought by the sixth earl of Coventry from Neilson's son in 1768, described as "Les Enfants qui se chauffe."⁴³

No other *Country Children* designs have been found both as tapestry and as Vincennes porcelain. The figures already mentioned are said to date from 1748 to 1754; the tableware with painted



Figure 26. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petit Pêcheur*, 1772–76. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Middlesex, Osterley Park (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees, Victoria and Albert Museum)



Figure 27. Boucher?, *Petite Oiselière*, 1753–54. Oil on canvas, 58 x 49 cm. Paris, Collection du Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)



Figure 28. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petite Oiselière*, 1751–52. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

Country Children is from the same period.⁴⁴ One can only speculate why the two manufactories, one royal, the other in the process of becoming so, used the same models only for this short period. Could the reason have been the influence of Mme de Pompadour? Her role as a supporter of the Vincennes-Sèvres manufactory is well known, and she bought a set of the *Enfants* figures in 1754; she commissioned Gobelins furniture covers after Boucher and, in 1749, tapestry versions of his two *Apollo* paintings (now in the Wallace Collection, London) that had been made for her.⁴⁵

As has been mentioned, painted cartoons (*modèles*) of some *Country Children* are in the Mobilier National. A Gobelins inventory of 1702 records

among the Boucher paintings “31 petits tableaux représentant des Jeux d’Enfants, tant originaux que copies,”⁴⁶ and two years later the revolutionary Jury des Arts, set up to abolish feudalism and bad taste at the manufactory, found the same number, all of them “Rejetés sous la rapport de l’art,” as, indeed, were all the Boucher cartoons.⁴⁷ Five of the “petits tableaux” still at the manufactory show *Country Children*; the *Petite Fille à la cage* (Figure 9) has already been cited. Another is the *Petit Pêcheur* (Figures 25, 26);⁴⁸ a print of it by Claude Duflos is from a set of four advertised in the *Mercur* in 1753.⁴⁹ It has a verse telling the “esprit sensé” that a moral can be drawn from the simplest subject: the boy’s hook represents a deceitful man and the death of the fish



Figure 29. Boucher?, *Petite Jardinière* (*Girl with a Basket of Flowers*), 1752–54. Oil on canvas, 52 x 44 cm. Paris, Collection du Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)



Figure 30. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petite Jardinière* (*Girl with a Basket of Flowers*), 1751–52. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

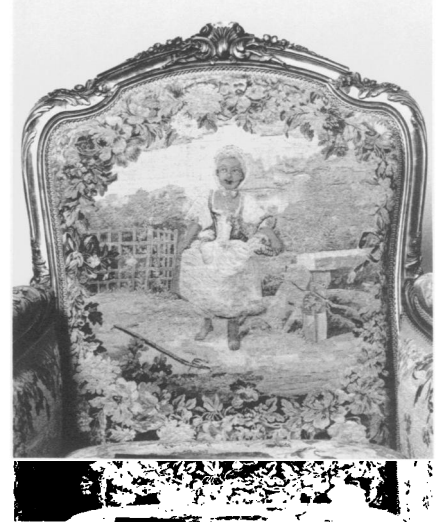


Figure 31. French tapestry manufactory, after Boucher, *Petite Jardinière* (*Girl with a Basket of Flowers*), 18th century?. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel. Paris, Musée de Petit Palais (photo: Pierrain)



Figure 32. Boucher?, *Petite Danseuse*, 1753–54. Oil on canvas, 55 x 45 cm. Paris, Collection du Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)

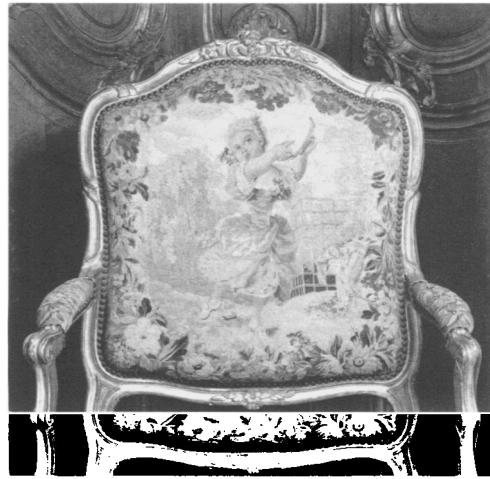


Figure 33. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petite Danseuse*, 1750–60. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins), 61 x 56 cm. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Collection (photo: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco)

reminds us of the fatal consequences of greed. Also found on a *modèle* and as tapestry is the *Petite Oiseillère* (Figures 27, 28).⁵⁰ She is a character, Lisette, in the play previously mentioned, the *Vallée de Montmorency*; a stage direction in scene 5 reads: “Lisette triomphante attache sa cage aux arbres, après avoir vu Babet jeter la sienne de dépit.” Other cartoons are the *Petite Jardinière* (Figures 29–31),⁵¹ perhaps better called the *Girl with a Basket of Flowers* to distinguish her from another *Petite Jardinière* who leans on a rake (Figures 38, 39), and the *Petite Danseuse* (Figures 32, 33).⁵² The last design is also among the painted wall panels of a room in the Frick Collection (Figure 34) that were said to have been made for

Mme de Pompadour about 1752.⁵³ Her companion in the Frick room is a girl with a songbook, who is also on tapestry chair backs (Figure 35).⁵⁴

Some other paintings of *Country Children* by Boucher, or in his style, perhaps workshop productions, may be cartoons formerly at the Gobelins, since the designs are also found in tapestry. The *Petit Vendangeur* in Lyons (Figure 3) and the painting of the *Two Children Warming Themselves at a Fire* (see Figure 24) have been mentioned. The painting of the *Boy Playing a Bagpipe to a Dog* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, could also be a cartoon.⁵⁵ Two paintings attributed to Boucher that were sold at Sotheby’s, Monaco (June 20, 1985, no. 67), where



Figure 34. Boucher, *Singing and Dancing (Girl with a Songbook, Petite Danseuse)*, 1750–53. Oil on canvas, 217.2 x 77.5 cm. New York, The Frick Collection (photo: The Frick Collection)



Figure 35. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Girl with a Songbook*, 1760–80. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins), h. 107.3 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs. A. Hamilton Rice (photo: Graydon Wood)



Figure 36. Boucher, *Petite Bergère*, ca. 1754. Oil on canvas, 46 x 37.8 cm. Location unknown (photo: Wildenstein)



Figure 37. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petite Bergère*, 1772–76. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Middlesex, Osterley Park (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees, Victoria and Albert Museum)

they were described as “modèles pour des dossiers de fauteuils en tapisserie,” have been together since at least 1892;⁵⁶ both designs, the *Petite Bergère* (Figure 36) and the *Petite Jardinière* (*Girl Leaning on a Rake*) (Figure 38), are in fact known as tapestry chair backs (Figures 37, 39).⁵⁷ A painting of the *Petit Oiseleur*, or the *Dénicheur des Merles*, is in the Musée de Douai (Figure 40); the design was used for a chair back in the Osterley set (Figure 41).⁵⁸ A boy with a lamb in *Le Berger*, a print by Claude Duflos, after Boucher (Figure 42), is on a panel of the Detroit screen (Figure 43).⁵⁹ The verse under the print says that Innocence and Peace are the shepherd’s lot: “Et peut-on dire autant à la ville, à la cour?”



Figure 38. Boucher, *Petite Jardinière* (*Girl Leaning on a Rake*), ca. 1754. Oil on canvas, 46.5 x 38 cm. Private collection (photo: Wildenstein)



Figure 39. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petite Jardinière* (*Girl Leaning on a Rake*), 1772–76. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Middlesex, Osterley Park (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees, Victoria and Albert Museum)



Figure 40. Boucher workshop, *Petite Oiseleur*, 1750–55. Oil on canvas, 43 x 36 cm. Musée de Douai (photo: Musée de Douai)



Figure 42. Claude Duflos, after Boucher, *Le Berger*, ca. 1755. Engraving, 27.1 x 20.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953, 53.600.1030



Figure 41. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Petite Oiseleur*, 1772–76. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Middlesex, Osterley Park (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees)



Figure 43. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Le Berger*, 1755–65. Wool and silk tapestry panel (Gobelins). The Detroit Institute of Arts, Bequest of Mrs. Horace E. Dodge, in memory of her husband (photo: The Detroit Institute of Arts)

the seat is on another Frick panel (called *Hydraulics*) and on the back of a sofa in a large set of furniture with *Enfants de Boucher*, none of them *Country Children*, in the Huntington Collection, San Marino.⁶² The second *bergère* in the Cooper set has two children on the back fishing and two on the seat shoot-

ing at a duck, which resemble the Frick panels called *Fishing* and *Hunting* (Figure 46). Both designs were reproduced in prints by Jean-Baptiste Le Prince after Boucher; a drawing of *Fishing* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 47) shows the children much as they appear in the painting, but the large

fishnet hanging above them indicates that it is connected more closely to the print.⁶³

The *Country Children* on the backs of four sofas have versions of the familiar Boucher subject, a boy teaching a girl to play a pipe, often called the *Douce Leçon* (Figures 48, 49);⁶⁴ in an oval painting of 1748, a print, and a Vincennes porcelain group of the subject, the actors are adolescents or young adults.⁶⁵ In a later, rectangular painting, however, the actors, though very similar to their grown-up counterparts, have become children.⁶⁶ Although the accompanying sheep are alike in both versions, a large dog has been added to the right in the rectangular painting and in the tapestries.⁶⁷ The sofa back in the San Francisco set (Figure 50) also has children playing the parts of adults in a painting, the *Pensent-ils au raisin?* of 1747 in the Chicago Art Institute.⁶⁸ The design of the right side of the Osterley sofa back, a boy kissing a girl's hand (Figure 19), has not been found in a painting or a print; it does, however, appear on a snuffbox in the Louvre that will be described below.

Two sofa panels are known only from descriptions. The sofa seat in the Cooper set is called *The Harvesters* (*Les Moissonneurs*), with the description:

To the left, seated on some straw in a corner of a partially cut cornfield, a shepherd in a rose-coloured coat, mauve waistcoat, and buff breeches, with his left arm round the waist of a shepherdess in a blue dress and white underskirt bordered with a narrow band of pink. To the right, attracted by the barking of a brown and white long-haired dog, a reaper in a mauve coat, with a sickle in his right hand, appearing over some sheaves of corn. Further to the right some distant trees are seen through an opening in the corn. To the extreme left, the edge of a wood.

As all the figures on the other tapestry panels of the set are children, it may be supposed that the sofa seat trio are like them; if so, a small painting called *La Surprise*, in a private collection in England (Figure 51),⁶⁹ may reproduce the appearance of the tapestry. A print by René Gaillard after Boucher (Figure 52) shows the same scene, reversed, with adult actors.⁷⁰ The seat of the sofa in the Michelham set is described as "A boy and a girl in a garden, whom an infant is watching from a bosquet at the back"; the back has "A youthful shepherd and shepherdess with their dogs and flock." The latter scene could be the *Douce Leçon*.

The painters of enamel panels that decorate gold snuffboxes sometimes copied *Country Children* de-

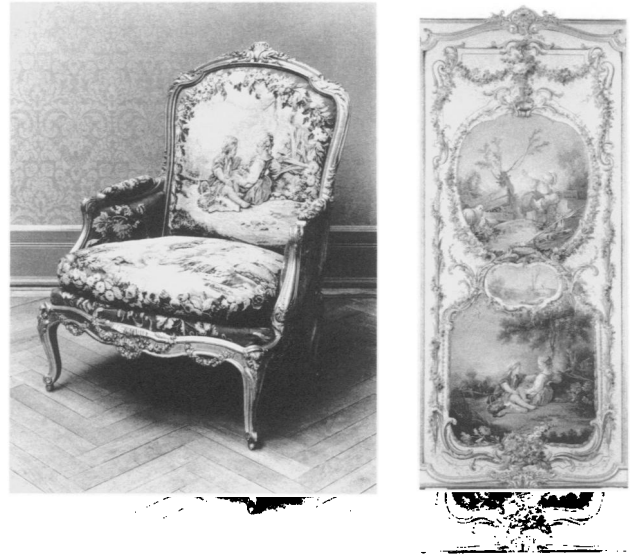


Figure 44. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Boy and Girl Eating Grapes*, 1752–60. Wool and silk tapestry chair-back panel (Gobelins). Location unknown (photo: Ashmolean Museum)

Figure 45. Boucher, *Fowling and Horticulture (Boy and Girl Eating Grapes)*, 1750–53. Oil on canvas, 217.2 x 96.5 cm. New York, The Frick Collection (photo: The Frick Collection)



Figure 46. Boucher, *Fishing and Hunting*, 1750–53. Oil on canvas, 217.2 x 96.5 cm. New York, The Frick Collection (photo: The Frick Collection)

Figure 47. Boucher, *Fishing*, 1751–54. Black chalk on paper, 43 x 26.9 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: courtesy of the Board of Trustees, Victoria and Albert Museum)

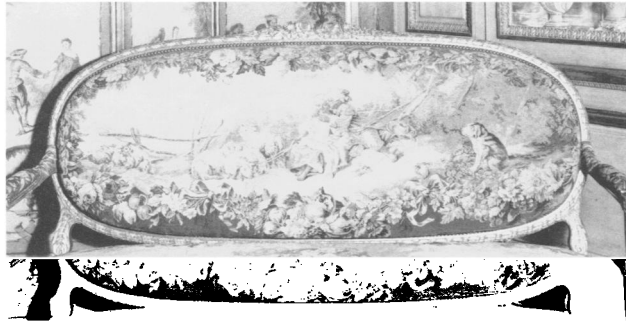


Figure 48. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Douce Leçon*, 1760–80. Wool and silk tapestry sofa-back panel (Gobelins). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice (photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art)

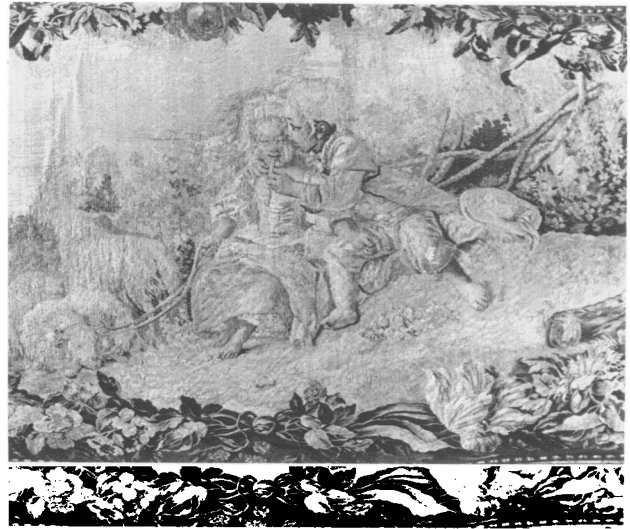


Figure 49. Neilson workshop, after Boucher, *Douce Leçon* (detail), 1770–80. Wool and silk tapestry sofa-back panel. Munich, Residenz (photo: Bayerische Verwaltung Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen)

signs. Usually these can be supposed to have been prints, like the *Girl Feeding Chickens* (cf. Figure 20) and the *Boy Playing a Bagpipe to a Dog* (cf. Figure 22) on a box stamped with indications of the date 1762–68 in the Louvre.⁷¹ But one box, also in the Louvre (Figure 53), has *Country Children* on all sides, only three of which, the *Girl Making a Wreath* (cf. Figure 18), the *Children Fishing* (cf. Figure 46), and the *Children Shooting* (cf. Figure 46), are known as prints;⁷² the other sides show more pairs of children, the *Douce Leçon* (cf. Figure 48), the *Boy Kissing a Girl's Hand* (cf. Figure 19) and a single figure, the *Girl with a Songbook* (cf. Figure 35). The name “Liot” is inscribed on the box; he has been identified with a Parisian enamel painter, Louis Liot, mentioned in 1754, and with the “Liot” who was head of the painters’ workshop at Vincennes in 1745.⁷³ He would certainly seem to have had access to Boucher drawings at Vincennes or at the Gobelins, where gold snuffboxes were assembled in the eighteenth century; one in the Metropolitan Museum (17.190.1245, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan) is inscribed “Vallayer aux Gobelins” and several others with the same inscription are known.

There are also a few *Country Children* unrelated to known works by Boucher or his studio that have been found only on tapestry panels in sets with others already listed. A *Girl Watering Flowers* is on a chair back that belongs to the Philadelphia set, but that is no longer with the other pieces.⁷⁴ A *Shepherdess* on a chair back in the Cooper set cannot be the same figure as the *Petite Bergère* (Figure 36), since

she is described in the Cooper catalogue as wearing a hat and “with her right arm supported on a basket of fruit, partially covered with a white cloth”; there are two sheep on the left, “one lying down, the other feeding from a trough near a rough wooden shelter.”⁷⁵ Another subject of which only one example in any medium has been discovered is a shepherd *Boy with a Crook* in the Michelham set; the *Berger* (Figure 43) has no crook.⁷⁶

Did the Gobelins manufactory own more designs for *Country Children*? There are several boys and girls who appear as small figures or as painted decoration on Vincennes porcelain and could well have been used on furniture covers; some of them, however, are actively at work, whereas most of the known *Country Children*, as has been mentioned, are simply enjoying themselves.⁷⁷ More panels in the Frick Boucher room, such as the single figure called *Fowling* (see Figure 45), may resemble designs for tapestry of which no woven examples are known. The same could also be said of some of the ten subjects on a painted screen that was sold at Christie’s, London, June 10, 1987, no. 144.⁷⁸ Four are *Country Children* and, of the others, one is a boy with a dog that resembles a Vincennes model⁷⁹ and one is a girl with a basket of flowers at the end of a stick over her shoulder, who can be related to Boucher figures in tapestry.⁸⁰ Two drawings in a private collection in New York, the *Broken Eggs* and the *Little Thief*, have been compared to the Louvre *modèles*, but each shows children crying, quite unlike the usual placid *Country Children*.⁸¹

Realistically portrayed children were not much used in later tapestry upholstery. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, working for Beauvais, adopted the idea and produced designs with children for sofa and chair covers to accompany a set of his wall panels called the *Jeux russiens*, first woven in 1770; two small boys are in fancy dress (*à l'espagnole*), but otherwise all the figures conform to the type of *Country Children*. For the first weaving, the tapestry seats were covered with flowers, while the 1771 set made for the king had children on both backs and seats. As late as 1792, the designs were used for part of a set of furniture covers.⁸² The Beauvais upholstery designs by François Casanova, however, made to accompany wall hangings of his *Amusements de la Campagne* (first woven in 1773) and *Éducation ou les Quatre Ages* (only weaving 1778–80) show adults.⁸³

The *Country Children* represent something of a departure for Boucher, whether his contribution consisted of painted cartoons or, as seems more

probable, only of drawings (some perhaps provided by workshop assistants). As has been mentioned, he drew and painted nude babies, clearly with love, all his working life; his adolescents, when shown as individuals, are either hardworking street urchins, sometimes in rags, like the young people of the 1737 *Cris de Paris* (a set of prints after his drawings), or gentle and elegant lovers, sometimes playing unconvincingly at being peasants. The *Country Children*, on the other hand, are not ragamuffins or workers, not mischievous imps or portraits, not personifications or symbols, and are not even in fancy dress. Their rural settings perhaps convey a vague idea of virtuous simplicity (the country has always been thought morally superior to the city), but the children do not specifically represent any admirable qualities or have significant meanings; the authors of the verses attached to the reproductions of the children in prints clearly worked hard to find a virtue or a moral in each character. The children, as



Figure 50. Neilson workshop, after Boucher. *Pensent-ils au raisin?*, ca. 1752. Wool and silk tapestry sofa-back panel (Gobelins), 71 x 198 cm. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Collection (photo: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco)



Figure 51. Boucher, *La Surprise*, ca. 1754. Oil on canvas, 117 x 90 cm. England, private collection (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)



Figure 52. René Gaillard, after Boucher, *Les Amans surpris*. Engraving, 49.5 x 38 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Georgiana W. Sargent, in memory of John Osborne Sargent, 1924, 24.63.1266



Figure 53. Jean Ducrollay and List, after Boucher, Snuffbox, 1753–54. Gold and enamel, 4 x 8.2 x 6.1 cm. Paris, Louvre, Legs Schlichting (photo: C.N.M.H.S./S.P.A.D.E.M.)

mentioned, sometimes perform the roles given to young adults in both earlier and later works by the artist.

Why did Boucher and his workshop from the late 1740s to the mid-1750s, at the height of his career, produce these unusual designs for works of decorative art in such quantities? Again, the influence of Mme de Pompadour can be suspected. Her daughter, Alexandrine, was born in 1743, and during the child's eleven years of life she seems, at least after babyhood, to have been as important to the marquise as some of her favorite dogs.⁸⁴ This was the period when Mme de Pompadour built and furnished the château de Bellevue, for which Carle van Loo painted four *Allegories of the Arts*. These were shown in the 1753 Salon and consist of children fully clothed, *à l'espagnole*, posing as a painter, a sculptor, an architect, and a musician; few other children are found elsewhere in van Loo's works.⁸⁵ Nude putti had been often depicted actively practicing various arts and sciences; local examples were available, such as the lunettes of the ceiling of the Petite Galerie at Versailles, painted by Pierre Mignard in 1686,⁸⁶ and the *Allegory of Painting* by François Lemoyne, with its companion the *Allegory of Sculpture* by Jean-François de Troy of 1726–29.⁸⁷ The concept of realistic, fully clothed children occupied in these activities, however, was an innovation. Perhaps it was Mme de Pompadour's idea, suggested to both van Loo and Boucher. The latter's representations of a painter, an architect, a poet, an astronomer, and similar characters as conventionally dressed young children on the panels of the Frick room have already been mentioned; a suggestion from the marquise was certainly the equivalent of a command. A decade later, when Boucher was again called on to paint allegorical figures of *Music* and *Painting*, he showed the arts as young women,⁸⁸ as he had done when employed to represent *Tragedy*, *History*, *Eloquence*, and *Astronomy* for the king's library in 1746.⁸⁹

The largest group of *Enfants de Boucher* of all types in any medium except tapestry is, in fact, on the eight panels of the Frick room. Though undocumented, they were certainly made for Mme de Pompadour, probably at about the same date as van Loo's *Allegories*.⁹⁰ Of the sixteen compositions, two on each panel, five are *Country Children*, already described as found on tapestries, *Dancing*, *Singing* (*Girl with a Songbook*), *Horticulture* (*Children Eating Grapes*), *Fishing*, and *Hunting*; one, *Fowling*, is of the same type, but is not known as a tapestry; one, the so-

called *Hydraulics*, shows nude babies, and nine have clothed children practicing the arts and sciences, as in van Loo's *Allegories*, but they are not as stilted and are infinitely more beguiling.

As a contemporary connoisseur wrote of van Loo: "Il est grand Peintre . . . Mais il lui faut de l'Etendue et des sujets graves et Héroïques. Son génie ne s'acommode pas au badinage et il n'est guère propre à faire du léger et du gracieux. Il n'approche pas de la gentillesse de Boucher qui excelle dans ce genre de Peinture."⁹¹ Boucher's young artists wear loose draperies and have bare feet, except for the sculptor, who is in untidy artisan's clothes, whereas van Loo's boys and girls, again except for the sculptor, are in fancy dress with ruffs and slashed sleeves (*à l'espagnole*).⁹² As well as commissioning paintings of children from van Loo and Boucher, Mme de Pompadour used them as subjects for some of the engravings she made herself; three prints of her small nude babies are dated 1751.⁹³ They were clearly important to her and Boucher must have been happy to provide works of art so well suited to his talents.

The *Country Children* also illustrate the change that was taking place in the way young people were perceived and treated. In the seventeenth century, the child began to be looked on as a creature, often a delightful one, in his own right, rather than as an imperfect, immature adult.⁹⁴ This tendency grew even stronger in the succeeding century, culminating in the success of the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose *Émile*, published in 1762, eventually altered public opinion on all phases of childhood—from swaddling and breast-feeding of babies to trousers for small boys. The process was already under way throughout the first half of the century.

In art, such a change of attitude can be seen to have started even earlier, at least in Italy, with sixteenth-century portraits of young children, not of royal birth and not with their parents, treated with understanding and tenderness.⁹⁵ Children are frequent in Dutch seventeenth-century art,⁹⁶ and even in France the paintings of the last decade of the century are full of babies and putti. Soon after 1700 realistic depictions of older children, not clearly identified as portraits, begin to appear; Watteau's little painting, *Heureux Age! Age d'or!* of about 1719–20 in the Kimbell Art Museum (Figure 54), shows boys and girls of the same age as the *Country Children*, also in an outdoor setting though more grandly dressed (Figure 53). Only the title of the picture suggests that it is an allegory of happy, ju-



Figure 54. Jean-Antoine Watteau, French (1684–1721), *Heures d'or! (Happy Age! Golden Age!)* Oil on panel, 20.7 x 23.7 cm. Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum (photo: Kimbell Art Museum)

venile innocence; the solemn, squat, and pudgy children not involved in any activity are perhaps portraits, but seem to be presented for their own sake. Watteau's *Danse* of the same date in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, has an elegant adolescent as a dancer in a landscape, but she is watched by three simply dressed children, one of whom plays on a pipe and resembles a *Country Child*. Chardin, of course, made the young child, alone or with an adult, one of his favorite subjects.⁹⁷ His paintings of single children begin in 1737. They are more symbolic than the *Country Children*; the boy or girl plays with evanescent soap bubbles or a shuttlecock or builds fragile houses of cards. Each is also more richly dressed, and, as Chardin was a greater artist than Boucher, the paintings have an intensity and depth of feeling beyond the capacity of the younger man. Boucher must, however, have known them, as well as Watteau's "children."

The decade 1750 to 1760 has been called the peak of the fashion for children in art and decoration in France,⁹⁸ and the Paris Salon of 1753 illustrates the truth of this statement. It included Boucher's *Seasons* painted for a ceiling in the palace of Fontainebleau; each has five entrancing babies frolicking in the sky with appropriate symbols.⁹⁹ Cupids are minor players, of course, in Boucher's two *Apollo* paintings, now in the Wallace Collection, which were also in the exhibition, as were van Loo's *Allegories*. Nattier showed a portrait of the dauphin's daughter at the age of one, playing with a dog, and

Chardin contributed two paintings of young people, the *Étude de dessin* and the *Bonne éducation*.¹⁰⁰

But one extremely successful picture showed the young of another species, Oudry's *Chienne allaitant ses petits*, now in the Musée de la Chasse, Paris. Grimm wrote that it was a painting that had "réuni tous les suffrages, et qu'on peut nommer le premier tableau de salon, en ce qu'il est sans défaut . . . Les petits sont peints avec une vérité de laquelle rien n'approche"¹⁰¹—the painting of the year, in fact. Dogs and their masters and even individual hounds of the royal pack had been painted earlier, but as Robert Rosenblum has said when discussing Oudry's picture, "It was not, however, until the eighteenth century, when so many inherited molds began to crack, that we may begin to recognize the birth of our own modern sensibilities toward dogs, or, as a matter of fact, toward everything else."¹⁰² Children are certainly to be included in the "everything else," and the popularity of Boucher's depictions of them shows how closely his work reflects the spirit of the time; the Age of Sensibility was not far away.

NOTES

1. Maurice Fenaille, *État général des tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins* (Paris, 1907) IV, pp. 381–383.

2. Grand Palais, *Cinq années d'enrichissement du Patrimoine national 1975–1980*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1980–81) no. 67. The frames are by Louis Charles Charpentier, active in Paris ca. 1750–87.

3. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 384–399, 405–407.

4. F. J. B. Watson in his "French Tapestry Chair Coverings: A popular fallacy re-examined," *Connoisseur* 148 (1961) pp. 166–169, has stated that "the majority of the tapestry upholstery found today on French eighteenth-century chairs was in fact woven in the nineteenth century." He supported his argument in part by quoting the very small number of sets of Gobelins upholstery cited by Fenaille. As upholstery weavings were seldom entered in the official records of the manufactory, there is no way to count the number of sets woven there in the 18th century. They were certainly very expensive. Nicolas Heurtaut, a *menuisier*, made twelve armchairs and two sofas for the duchesse d'Enville about 1768 that were to be upholstered in Gobelins tapestry at the huge price of 5,940 livres (Bill G. B. Pallot, *The Art of the Chair in Eighteenth-century France* [Paris, 1989] p. 84. No original source is cited).

5. Tamara Préaud and Antoine d'Albis, *La Porcelaine de Vincennes* (Paris, 1990) p. 84.

6. Recent publications of figures and tableware paintings include Rosalind Savill, "François Boucher and the Porcelain of Vincennes and Sèvres," *Apollo* 115 (1982) pp. 164, 165; Antoinette Faÿ-Hallé, "De l'influence de l'art de Boucher sur l'oeuvre

de la Manufacture de Vincennes," in MMA, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, exh. cat. (New York, 1986) pp. 349–354, cat. nos. 96, 99, 104–108. Stair Sainty Matthiesen Gallery, *François Boucher, His Circle and Influence*, exh. cat. (New York, 1987) pp. 117–123. References to earlier publications are given in these catalogues. The fullest account is the section "Sculptures" by Antoinette Faÿ-Hallé in *Porcelaine de Vincennes—Les Origines de Sèvres*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1977–78) pp. 149–184. The *Enfants* figures are said to have been made in large numbers in 1754 and 1755, but fewer were made in 1757 and scarcely any after 1760 (Ann Belfort, "L'Oeuvre de Vielliard d'après Boucher," *Cahiers de la Céramique, du Verre et des Arts du Feu* 58 [1976] p. 34). For snuffboxes, see notes 71, 72.

7. The known Vincennes *Country Children* with tapestry counterparts are single figures, though one porcelain group after Boucher with two children may be related to a Gobelins tapestry panel (see note 70). Two Sèvres groups with three children, the *Curiosité* and the *Marchande de plaisirs* (also called the *Lanterne magique*, the *Tourniquet*, or the *Lottery*), date from 1757; the designs are not found in Gobelins tapestry, but they are related to figures in a panel of the Beauvais *Fêtes italiennes* series, designed by Boucher in 1736, although here some of the actors are young adults (Marcelle Brunet and Tamara Préaud, *Sèvres. Des origines à nos jours* [Fribourg, 1987] p. 229, no. 311; Edith A. Standen, "Fêtes italiennes: Beauvais Tapestries After Boucher in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *MMJ* 12 [1978] p. 123, figs. 29, 31). The *Curiosité* group appears on a Sèvres vase in the Wallace Collection (Rosalind Savill, *The Wallace Collection. Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain* [London, 1988] I, no. c270.1; described as based on the biscuit group). Other porcelain groups after Boucher with two or more figures show adolescents or young adults (Wilfred J. Sainsbury, "Falconet and Sèvres biscuit," *Keramik Freunde der Schweiz Mitteilungsblatt* 36 [1956] p. 19; Émile Bourgeois and Georges Lechevallier-Chevignard, *Le Biscuit de Sèvres, Recueil des Modèles de la Manufacture de Sèvres au XVIIIe Siècle* [n.p., n.d.] nos. 313, 355, 398). The four small statues made in 1753 for Mme de Pompadour's dairy at Crécy after Boucher's designs by Falconet, Vassé, Allegrain, and Coustou, although they represented a *Jardinière*, *Laitière*, *Batteuse de beurre*, and a *Petite fille tenant un coq et des oeufs*, and were described in contemporary documents as "petites filles," were actually young adults (Jean Bastien, "Le roi chez Madame de Pompadour," in Musée David M. Stewart, *Madame de Pompadour et la floraison des arts*, exh. cat. [Montreal, 1988] p. 91; Louis Réau, *Étienne-Maurice Falconet* [Paris, 1922] I, pp. 166–168).

8. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 385, 386. The set is said to be owned by Duveen of London and to include two stool covers; it is identified with the Gobelins upholstery made for Mme de Pompadour, 1751–53. The sides of the *bergères* are said to be inscribed "Neilson 1753."

9. Francis Bennet Goldney, *Some Works of Art in the Possession of George A. Cooper at 26 Grosvenor Square* (London, 1903) pp. 14–23. The sofa, one *bergère*, one armchair, and the fire screen are illustrated. All the tapestries are described in detail. The names of Neilson and Boucher are said to be found on the tapestries, but no date is mentioned. The sofa, both *bergères*, and the fire screen are illustrated in the "Petit Courier des Arts," *Les Arts* 6 (July 1903) pp. 36, 37, 39, 40; the set is said to be owned by Duveen Brothers. When it was exhibited at the Ashmolean Mu-

seum, Oxford, in the 1950s, the frames were described as in the Louis XV style.

T., "Hursley Park, Hampshire. II. The Seat of Sir George Cooper, Bt.," *Country Life* 20 (Oct. 30, 1909) p. 604, illus. (two armchairs, a *bergère*, and a firescreen visible in the ballroom).

W. G. Thomson, "The Beauvais Tapestries at Hursley Park," *Country Life* 24 (Nov. 15, 1913) pp. 680–683, illus. (sofa and six armchairs).

The seats of the armchairs are for the most part not visible in any of these illustrations, and their subjects must be determined from the descriptions in the Cooper catalogue. See Figs. 13, 44.

10. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 405, 406; Maurice Tomlin, *Catalogue of Adam Period Furniture*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1982) p. 56 (sofa illus.); *ibid.*, Osterley Park House (London, 1985) pp. 67–77, with illustrations showing some pieces of furniture. See Figs. 5, 7, 10, 19, 26, 37, 39, 41.

11. The furniture was at Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, where it was described in an inventory of about 1813 as "Two mahogany and gilt-carved sofas, stuff'd backs and seats cover'd with Tapestry de Goblines and brass nail'd. Six Arm Chairs exactly to correspond with Do." It is thought to have been bought by the third duke of Lancaster about 1751, and the chair frames have been described as "obviously specially designed to carry the Gobelins covers" (William Rieder, "Eighteenth-century Chairs in the Untermyer Collection," *Apollo* 107 [1978] pp. 183, 184, fig. 6, showing three chairs with the tapestries in the original frames; four of these are in the MMA and the tapestries are mounted on modern frames). Rijksmuseum, *Catalogus van Meublen* (Amsterdam, 1952) no. 477. Nothing is known of the tapestry covers of the sofas. See Figs. 28, 30.

12. George Leland Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries* (Philadelphia, 1925) p. 273, pls. xx a-c (sofa and two armchairs illustrated, one of which is not in the Philadelphia Museum; the set is said to be owned by Duveen Brothers). "The Rice Bequest," *Philadelphia Museum Bulletin* 35 (Nov. 1979) n.p., illus. (sofa); the frames are described as not original. See Figs. 35, 48.

13. Hans Thoma et al., *Residenz München* (Munich, 1979) pp. 70, 71. The frames are said to be probably by Georges Jacob. The set was formerly in Schloss Carlsburg, near Hamburg, the seat of Prince Carl II August von Pfalz-Zweibrücken, who is known to have bought French furniture (information kindly provided by Sigrid Sangl). See Figs. 24, 49.

14. Charles H. Morgan, *The Development at The Art Collections of Amherst College, 1821–1971* (Amherst, 1972) pp. 64, 94, fig. 13 (sofa and four chairs in gallery). The upholstery is said to have been made at the Gobelins for the duc de Choiseul about 1770 and Nielson [*sic*] is named as the weaver. Further information kindly provided by Lois A. Nono.

15. Anna Gray Bennet, *Five Centuries of Tapestries from The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco*, 2nd rev. ed. (San Francisco, 1992) pp. 286–289. Called Gobelins, ca. 1752. The furniture frames are by Jean Avisse (1723–1796). See Figs. 33, 50.

16. Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 26, 1900, from the château de B . . . , six armchairs. The tapestries are called Beauvais and the backs are described as representing "des enfants villageois dans des paysages." The sale is identified as that of the château of Barral in Theodore Dell, *Furniture and Gilt Bronzes, French, the Frick Collection, an Illustrated Catalogue* VI (New York, 1992) p. 226.

Ernest Cronier sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, Dec. 4, 5, 1905, no. 158, five armchairs and a fire screen. The tapestry backs are called Beauvais after Huet; two chairs and the screen are illustrated, of which only one chair and the screen can be clearly identified as having *Country Children* tapestries, although these are reversed from their usual representations. Judging from these illustrations, the quality of the tapestry is not high and the set may not have been made at the Gobelins in the 18th century.

Michelham sale, Hampton and Sons, London, Nov. 23, 1926, nos. 198, 199, six armchairs and a fire screen; two chairs are illustrated.

17. The Tuck set is questionable. There are six armchairs, two *bergères*, and a sofa, with tapestry backs of three *Country Children* and other figures; the design of one chair back (a little girl with a cat in a cradle) has been attributed to Jean-Baptiste Le Prince. The quality of design and execution is not high, and two backs have tapestries of the same design (*Some Works of Art Belonging to Edmund Tuck* [London, 1910] nos. 20–28; Camille Gronkowski, *Catalogue de la Collection Tuck* [Paris, 1951] nos. 38–41). See Fig. 31.

18. One sofa and two armchairs have *Country Children* tapestry covers, but the sofa back is a 19th-century imitation (Dell, *Furniture*, pp. 212–231).

19. The drawing is not considered to be from Boucher's own hand (Tamara Préaud, "Recherches sur les sources de Vincennes [1740–1750]," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, Année 1989 [1990] p. 40). The question of whether individual works of art should be attributed to Boucher, his workshop, or a copyist will not be considered in this article.

20. Préaud and d'Albis, *Porcelaine de Vincennes*, p. 176, no. 186.

21. The French names of the *Country Children* are those given by Fenaille (*État général*, pp. 405–407); subjects not listed by Fenaille have been given English titles. The *Petit Vendangeur* is found in the Amsterdam, Cooper, Osterley, Philadelphia, and Barral sets and on a chair in the Frick Collection.

22. Préaud and d'Albis, *Porcelaine de Vincennes*, p. 174, no. 128. Dated 1747–52.

23. Ibid., p. 172, no. 176 (figure). Called *Petite Fille au tablier*, dated 1748–52. Belfort, "L'Oeuvre de Viellard," p. 19, fig. 6 (sugar bowl). Tapestries of the *Petite Fille portant des fruits* are in the Cooper, Osterley, Michelham, and Barral sets, on a chair in the Frick Collection, and on a fire screen owned by the dealer Frank Partridge in 1948 (advertised in *Country Life* [March 19, 1948] p. 589, with Neilson's name).

24. Gisela Zick, "D'après Boucher. Die 'Vallée de Montmorency' und die europäische Porzellan-plastik," *Keramos* 29 (1965) p. 3. Another shepherd in the play gives two birds to a girl called Lisette. The empty cage held by Babet in the play, when acted by adults, would presumably have conveyed its usual symbolic meaning of lost virginity (Alastair Laing in MMA, *François Boucher*, p. 69). For Boucher's relationship to this and other plays of the type, see idem, "Boucher: The Search for an Idiom," in MMA, *François Boucher*, pp. 69–71.

25. J. Terrasson, *Madame de Pompadour et la création de la Porcelaine de France* (Paris, 1969) pl. xviii. The location of the plate is not given.

26. Examples of the *Porteur d'oiseaux* are in the Amsterdam, Cooper, Osterley, Philadelphia, Barral, Michelham, and Tuck sets, as well as probably on a firescreen panel sold at Sotheby's, April 21, 1950, no. 88 (not illus., but described as "a child bird-catcher"), although the figure might be the *Petit Oiseleur* (Fig. 41).

27. Svend Eriksen and Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain, Vincennes and Sèvres, 1740–1800* (London / Boston, 1987) p. 207. The version of the figure with a sickle and a flower is dated 1745–52 and is said to be the prototype of a later version with birds; Fay-Hallé, *Porcelaine de Vincennes*, p. 181.

28. Examples of the *Petite Fille à la cage* are in the Osterley, Munich, Philadelphia, and Amherst sets. The "young girl with a birdcage" said to be on a Michelham chair seat could be this design or that of the *Petite Oiselière* (Fig. 28).

29. Alexandre Ananoff and Daniel Wildenstein, *François Boucher* (Paris, 1976) II, p. 127, no. 443 (further references to this publication are given as "A & W, no. . ."). Identified as a "Projet pour un dossier de fauteuil" of 1754. It and other cartoons of the *Country Children* are said by the authors, without citing any references, to have been at the Manufacture Royale de Beauvais before coming to the Gobelins. There is no evidence that any of the *Country Children* were woven at Beauvais. The published records of this manufactory list "8 dessus de porte, dessins de Boucher" in a 1784 inventory that probably include the designs used for "4 dessus de porte avec enfans," first woven in 1738. These must be the *dessus de porte* showing groups of nude putti known from a number of extant examples; a set was sold at Christie's, London, April 12, 1973, no. 87. They were probably copied from the prints of the subjects (cf. A & W, nos. 62–65, related paintings and prints, as of 1731). For these and other putti by Boucher, see MMA, *François Boucher*, no. 15, *Putti Playing with Birds*. Boucher is not otherwise listed as a designer of small panels for Beauvais; although "M. Boucher" acquired covers for a sofa and eight armchairs in 1751, there is no indication that they were after his own designs. The first Boucher subjects listed (without his name) as upholstery panels date from 1759 and are adult figures, adapted rather awkwardly from his *Noble Pastorale* series, first woven in 1755; they were probably designed at the manufactory, with which the artist was no longer associated at this date, rather than in his studio (Jules Badin, *La Manufacture de Tapisserie de Beauvais* [Paris, 1909] pp. 68, 75, pls. facing pp. 35 [Noble Pastorale chair covers, now in the Louvre], 76 [overdoor with putti]).

30. MMA, *François Boucher*, no. 96. The print, *L'Innocence*, and the other versions mentioned in this catalogue entry refer to another *Country Child*, the *Boy Playing a Bagpipe to a Dog* (Fig. 22). Préaud and d'Albis, *Porcelaine de Vincennes*, p. 173, no. 174, called *La Joueur de musette*, dated 1748–52. The instrument is actually a musette, not a cornemuse (Carl Christian Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collection*. IV: *Porcelain* [New York, 1970] p. 283).

31. Other examples of the *Petit Joueur de cornemuse* are in the Amsterdam, Munich, Barral, and Michelham sets, as well as on firescreen panels in the MMA (Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* [New York, 1985] I, no. 59) and the George A. Hearn sale, American Art Association/Anderson Galleries, New York, May 5, 1932, no. 163. Both fire screens bear Neilson's name.

32. Préaud and d'Albis, *Porcelaine de Vincennes*, p. 188, no. 220. Called the *Mangeuse de crème*, dated 1754.

33. In the Victoria and Albert Museum in an English frame of ca. 1788 (Tomlin, *Adam Period Furniture*, p. 191), the Rijksmuseum (*Catalogus*, no. 513), both with Neilson's name, and in a sale at Christie's, London, June 7, 1990, no. 144.

34. Acc. no. 71.181. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 407 (description of screen, then owned by Charles Wertheimer). A & W, no. 414, lists a painting related to the *Petite Beurrière*, with a cow and a different dog, as Boucher's work of 1752, the Detroit screen (414/1) and a copy of it (414/2), as well as two prints, one of which, with a similar drawing (414/4, 414/5, illustrations erroneously numbered 413/4 and 413/5), is closely related to the tapestries. The Detroit panels, differently mounted, belonged to Charles Wertheimer in 1902 (E. Molinier, "Le mobilier français du XVIIIe siècle dans les collections étrangères, *Les Arts* 13 [Jan. 1902] p. 19, illus.). The copy listed by A & W is presumably that advertised in *Les Arts* 19 (July 1903) p. 36, as "Réproduction du célèbre paravent de François Boucher exécutée par Krieger (Damon et Colin, successeurs)." A wider tapestry version, evidently more closely related to the painting as the description mentions the cow, was owned by Édouard Larcade in 1906 (Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 348, 349). It was not in the sale of 18th-century works of art from this collection at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 25, 1951.

35. Another tapestry example of the *Girl Making a Wreath* is in the Cooper set. A & W, no. 367/15, illustrates a print by Maria Maddelena Igonet and (no. 456/5) a painted sketch for a large tapestry of the *Tenture de Boucher* series (not woven in this form) that shows the *Girl Making a Wreath* in a medallion on the left (Fenaille, *État général*, p. 256; Jules Guiffrey, *Les Modèles et le Musée des Gobelins* [Paris, n.d.] pl. 9 [detail with *Girl Making a Wreath*]).

36. MMA, *Annual Report, 1986–1987*, p. 29. A & W, no. 672, illustrates a painting very close to the tapestry, signed and dated 1769, under the title *Le Repas de la basse-cour*, and another (no. 413), *La Petite Fermière*, signed and dated 1752, that is less close (a cock mounting a hen is shown on the right), with two prints (nos. 413/2, 413/4). The authors also list the MMA fire screen (no. 413/2, as in the Madeleine S. Stern sale, American Art Association/Anderson Galleries, New York, April 4–7, 1934, no. 943) and three that have appeared in other sales. There is an example of the design on a chair seat in the Cooper set and another on a fire screen, with Neilson's name, in the Cleveland Museum of Art (*Catalogue of the John L. Severance Collection*, Cleveland Museum of Art, [1942] no. 123), formerly in the Rudolph Kann Collection (Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche II, Die romänischen Länder* [Leipzig, 1928] I, pp. 118, 197; II, pl. 197). Another fire screen of the same design from Lord Northbourne's collection was sold at Sotheby's, London, June 11, 1926, no. 101; it apparently does not have Neilson's name. This does appear on another screen of the same design, but without the surrounding wreath, that was in the Ira Haupt sale, American Art Association/Anderson Galleries, New York, Nov. 16, 1935, no. 68, probably the piece sold at Sotheby's, London, June 24, 1977, no. 5 (not illustrated in the catalogue). Similar to the Haupt example, without a wreath, but with Neilson's name in the lower center instead of on the right, is a panel that was in the Édouard Larcade sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 25, 1951, no. 108.

37. Pier Bjurström, *French Drawings, Eighteenth Century, Nation-*

almuseum (Stockholm, 1982) no. 834. Associated with paintings of 1727–28 and 1730.

38. The *Boy Playing a Bagpipe to a Dog* is on chair backs in the Cooper, Munich, and Tuck sets, and on fire screens in the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh (Edith A. Standen, "Tapestries in the Collection of the Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute," *Carnegie Magazine* 55 [Dec. 1981] pp. 18, 19), and in the Cronier sale, no. 158. It is on the base of a round box in *vernis Martin* in the Cottreau sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 28–29, 1910, no. 111. A black-chalk drawing, called "Circle of Boucher," was sold at Christie's, London, April 16, 1991, no. 61. Several examples woven at Aubusson are known (see note 83). A similar composition, with the dog supporting a stick over its shoulder and the boy sitting down playing a pipe, is known on enamel plaques on snuffboxes; it was also engraved (British Rail Pension Fund sale, Sotheby's, Geneva, May 15, 1990, no. 23, snuffbox panel and print, illus.). The boy with a girl beside him and a different dog is in a painting of 1766 (A & W, no. 633, in the Bentinck-Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection).

39. Gillian Kennedy and Ann Thackray, *French Drawings, XVI–XIX Centuries*, exh. cat., Courtauld Institute (London, 1991) no. 4. The relationship of the drawing to the tapestries was noted by Hal Opperman.

40. A & W, no. 437, lists a painting, now lost, as a "modèle pour dossier de fauteuil" of 1754. The print by Aveline has an inscription stating that Boucher made the etching, which was completed by Aveline; as this artist was in London by 1759, the print presumably dates from the 1750s. The design was also engraved by Demarteau in 1770 (Pierette Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la collection Edmond de Rothschild* [Paris, 1978] nos. 196, 280). An example of the Lyons woven silk is in the MMA, which also has a gouache drawing of the boy without the dog (Margaret Abegg, *Apropos, Patterns for Embroidery, Lace and Woven Textiles* [Bern, 1978] pls. 207, 208). A printed cotton with the design, including the dog, in the same museum (acc. no. 56.158.5) was made at Beautiran ca. 1793, and another, made at Nantes, has been published (Henry René d'Allemagne, *La Toile imprimée* [Paris, 1943] pl. 82).

41. Préaud and d'Albis, *Porcelaine de Vincennes*, no. 186, dated 1752. A & W lists a related drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 373/1) and a print by Le Prince (no. 373/2), as of 1751.

42. A & W, no. 373, last recorded in a sale of 1969. Fire screens with *Children Warming Themselves* are in the Cooper, Munich, and Michelham sets, and there is one at Welbeck Abbey (information kindly provided by Alastair Laing).

43. Geoffrey Beard, "Decorators and Furniture Makers at Croome Court," *Furniture History* 29 (1993) p. 96.

44. The publication called *Premier Livre de Figures, d'après les porcelaines de la Manufacture Royale de France, inventées en 1757, par M. Boucher* contains no figures that were also reproduced in tapestry. The two pairs of children (*Fishing* and *Shooting*) of the *bergères* in the Cooper set, which will be discussed below, are found as painted decoration on Sèvres porcelain from 1757 to the mid-1760s; both compositions were reproduced from prints (Savill, "François Boucher," pp. 164, 165. The author says that the designs are treated with greater freedom than they were in the earlier Vincennes paintings after Boucher).

45. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 173, 174, 384. For Mme de Pompadour's role at the Vincennes manufactory, see Antoine d'Albis, "La Marquise de Pompadour et la manufacture de Vincennes"; *Sèvres. Revue de la Société des Amis du Musée National de Céramique*, I (1992) pp. 52, 63.

46. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 405.

47. All the cartoons for upholstery were condemned. The jury reported: "Après avoir examiné tous les tableaux pour meubles, les divers genres de bordures, alentours, ornemens et fleurs, esquisses et projets également pour meubles par différents artistes, le jury arrête qu'ils seront tous rejetés comme de mauvais goût" (Jules Guiffrey, "Les modèles des Gobelins devant le Jury des Arts en Septembre 1794," *Nouvelle Archives de l'art français*, ser. 3, 13 [1897] pp. 372–375). The jury was concerned with the suitability of the *modèles* for reproduction in tapestry and ordered the designs it disliked to be withdrawn from use rather than destroyed. Tapestries from the extant *Enfants* cartoons are not reversed, illustrating the improved techniques in *basse-lisse* weaving introduced by Neilson. As well as five *Country Children*, there are six *modèles* with two or more winged nude babies (A & W, nos. 442, 444–448), of which a few reproductions in tapestry are known, and one with a single similar child (Guiffrey, *Modèles*, pl. 13).

48. A & W, no. 440, called "Projet pour un dossier de canapé" of 1754, and no. 373/3 (print by Claude Duflos). The *Petit Pêcheur* is on chair backs in the Cooper, Osterley, Munich, Philadelphia, and Amherst sets.

49. Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé*, no. 935.

50. A & W, no. 439, as of 1754; Zick, "D'après Boucher," p. 44, no. 25. Tapestries of the *Petite Oiselière* are in the Amsterdam, Cooper, Munich, and Barral sets. The chair back described as "A young girl with a birdcage" in the Michelham set could represent this design or that of Babet with the birdcage under her arm (see Fig. 10).

51. A & W, no. 438, as of 1754. The tapestries of the *Petite Jardinière* (*Girl with a Basket of Flowers*) are in the Amsterdam, Cooper, Munich, Philadelphia, Barral, Michelham, and Tuck sets. Boucher repeated the pose very closely in his *Bergère au panier* of 1767 (A & W, no. 644), but the figure is a young adult.

52. A & W, no. 441, as of 1754. The relationship to the Frick painting is noted. Tapestries of the *Petite Danseuse* are in the Amsterdam and San Francisco sets.

53. *Paintings from the Frick Collection* (New York, 1990) nos. 86–89, said to have been painted probably between 1750 and 1752. Jean Bastien has claimed that the Frick paintings are cartoons ("Le roi chez Madame de Pompadour," Musée David M. Stewart, *Madame de Pompadour*, pp. 88, 94). This supposition is not supported by an examination of the panels and a close comparison of their designs with those of the tapestries.

54. Examples of the *Girl with a Songbook* are in the Cooper, Munich, and Philadelphia sets. A monochrome painting of the design, called "Studio of Boucher," was sold at Christie's, Feb. 4, 1977, no. 54, and March 10, 1978, no. 119.

55. Alexandra R. Murphy, *European Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. An Illustrated Summary Catalogue* (Boston, 1986) p. 28. A & W, no. 437/3, called a copy after a lost original of 1754, a "modèle pour dossier de fauteuil." See note 40.

56. A & W, nos. 449, 450, as from 1754, in a private collection. Each is called "modèle pour un dossier de fauteuil."

57. Both are in the Osterley set, the *Petite Bergère* also at Amherst. A young woman in a similar pose to that of the *Petite Jardinière* is known in two prints (A & W, nos. 449/1, 449/2).

58. Stéphane Leroy, *Catalogue des Peintures... du Musée de Douai* (n.p., 1937) no. 341, called School of Boucher. No other tapestry example is known. A similar painting was in the Mame sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 26–27, 1904, no. 3, when it was paired with a painting of a little girl with a birdcage at either end of a stick over her shoulder (not found in tapestry); both figures are also pastels in the Louvre (Geneviève Monnier, *Pastels, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* [Paris, 1972] nos. 28, 29) and prints by Gilles Demarteau (Jean-Richard, *Oeuvre gravé*, no. 662 [Dénicheur], described as "Modèle de tapisserie des Gobelins pour une série de 8 sujets décorants de fauteuils"). A standing boy with a basket of flowers at the end of a long stick over his shoulder appears in a panel of the Beauvais tapestry series, the *Noble Pastorale* (see note 7), which is from a painting in the Indianapolis Museum of Art (A & W, no. 325, called "Rare modèle de tapisserie entièrement de la main de F. Boucher").

59. Jean-Richard, *Oeuvre gravé*, no. 933, from a set of four prints of 1753. No other tapestry example is known. The print is reversed, suggesting that the tapestry is in the sense of the cartoon. A related drawing attributed to Boucher from the Gilbert-Lévy Collection was sold at the Nouveau Drouot, Paris, May 6, 1987, no. 10; it shows the boy attaching a quiver to the lamb's neck and is in the same direction as the tapestry.

60. Both *bergères* are reproduced in *Les Arts*, 1903 (see note 9).

61. The titles given in the Frick Collection catalogue seem to reflect a somewhat strained attempt to associate each scene with an art or a science.

62. Robert R. Wark, *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, 1961) p. 71, fig. 39. The relationship of the sofa panel and the chair backs to the Frick paintings is noted.

63. A & W, no. 372, figs. 1088 (Frick paintings), 1089 (Le Prince print, *La Pêche*). The print and its companion, *La Chasse*, are often found painted on Sèvres porcelains made between 1757 and 1763 (Savill, *Wallace Collection*, II, p. 601; examples with and without the large fishnet are listed). An enamel panel on a snuff-box with the design is also known (British Rail Pension Fund Sale, Sotheby's, Geneva, May 15, 1990, no. 23).

64. The sofas are in the Cooper, Munich, Amherst, and Philadelphia sets. The girl is Lisette from the *Vallée de Montmorency*: "Lisette lui prend le flageolet dont elle veut jouer, mais elle n'y réussit pas. Le Berger touche le flageolet pendant qu'elle souffle dedans" (Zick, "D'après Boucher," p. 15).

65. A & W, no. 311 (painting, 1748), 311/1 (print by R. Gailard). MMA, *François Boucher*, no. 98 (Vincennes group, dated ca. 1752, called the *Flûteur*). Boucher showed paintings of the subject in the 1748 and 1750 Salons. It was used in a panel of the Beauvais *Noble Pastorale* series and for the sofa-back panel of the furniture covers with figures from this series (see note 29).

66. A & W, no. 374, as of 1751, sold at Sotheby's, London, March 24, 1971, no. 103. A & W lists a sofa back of the design in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, presumably in error for the example at Amherst; the set of furniture there was given by

Mrs. Merriweather Post, whose collection is largely owned by the foundation she established in Washington.

67. The dog appears in several Boucher paintings and drawings, e.g., A & W, nos. 281 (1745), 282/6 (1745), 286 (1745), 364 (1750), 583 (1764). Alastair Laing has noted in a private letter that it is taken from a painting, *Figures and Sheep at a Well*, attributed to Guillaume van Herp I in the Dulwich Picture Gallery (Peter Murray, *Dulwich Picture Gallery, A Catalogue* [London, 1980] no. 322). A similar dog of different coloring, however, appears in a portrait of Mme de Pompadour (A & W, no. 475, dated 1756) and gives the impression of being also a portrait.

68. A & W, no. 310. MMA, *François Boucher*, no. 53. The subject is said to be related to a scene in the *Vallée de Montmorency* (see note 24). It and the *Douce Leçon* were reproduced as Vincennes figures of adults, called the *Mangeurs de raisins* and the *Flûteur* (Savill, *Wallace Collection*, pp. 222, 230).

69. A & W, no. 452, as of 1754, said to have been part of the decoration of Mme de Pompadour's château de Menars. No source is cited for this statement.

70. A & W, no. 341/1, said to be after a painting exhibited in the 1750 Salon, last recorded in a sale of 1892. The authors also illustrate another print (341/4) and a somewhat similar biscuit group of two figures (341/8), called Sèvres (exhibited as Vincennes, *Grand Palais, Porcelaines de Vincennes*, no. 489); both figures are children, but only the girl is closely related to her counterpart in the painting *La Surprise*. An earlier moment in the story, before the lovers are aware of the intruder, is shown in the painting of 1738 called the *Pasteur Galant* (A & W, no. 159), which was also reproduced in prints and as porcelain groups (Eriksen and Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain*, pls. 65 [ca. 1752] and 124 [ca. 1756]), as well as in painted decoration on Sèvres vases and tableware (Adrian Sassoon, *Vincennes and Sèvres Porcelain—Catalogue of the Collections. The J. Paul Getty Museum* [Malibu, 1991] no. 32). The design also appears on the Beautiran printed cotton with the *Boy Playing a Bagpipe to a Dog* (see note 40). The Vincennes single figure called the *Moissonneur*, a hardworking child laborer, is not related to the group.

71. Serge Grandjean, *Catalogue des tabatières, boîtes et étuis des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1981) no. 64. Both prints are illustrated.

72. Ibid., no. 78; the relationship to the Frick paintings (*Fishing and Shooting*) and to the print of the *Girl Making a Wreath* (*Amusement de la Bergère*) is noted. Henri Nocq and Carle Dreyfus, *Tabatières, boîtes et étuis, orfèvreries de Paris, XVIIIe siècle et début du XIXe des collections du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1930) pl. xiv, illustrates all sides of the box.

73. Préaud and d'Albis, *Porcelaine de Vincennes*, p. 17.

74. Hunter, *Practical Book*, pl. xx c. An unconvincing version of the design is in the Cronier set.

75. Thomson, "Beauvais tapestries," p. 86, illus. No other example has been located.

76. A & W illustrates, no. 451, a painting, *Le Génie de la Jeunesse*, of 1759, in a private collection, New York, as a "Modèle pour un dossier de fauteuil." This design has not been found in tapestry.

77. For examples, see Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard, *Biscuit de Sèvres*, nos. 101, 113, 175, 326, 327, 436, 569, modèles dated 1738–55, described as after Boucher.

78. A & W, vol. 2, p. 72, described as "dans l'esprit des sujets exécutés pour les panneaux conservés à la Frick Collection."

79. Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard, *Biscuit de Sèvres*, no. 230.

80. For a related figure with a birdcage at each end of her stick, see note 58. The oval tapestry panel of the *Petite Laitière* (A & W, vol. 2, p. 306) in the Musée de Saint-Omer is after Boucher's painting *Pierrette* (A & W, no. 679), dated 1769. It has been identified with the "petite laitière, d'après M. Boucher" that Cozette wished to present to the queen in 1775 (André Dezarrois, "Les collections du Teil-Chair d'Est-Ange au Musée de Saint-Omer," *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 48 [1925] p. 324). The girl is a young adult.

81. Stair Sainty Matthiesen Gallery, *François Boucher*, nos. 36, 37.

82. Badin, *Manufacture de Tapisserie*, pp. 70, 71, 74. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, II, p. 555; to the examples here listed can be added a set of six armchairs and a sofa in Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat (*La Villa Musée Ile-de-France, Fondation Ephrussi de Rothschild* [Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat, 1963] p. 17).

83. Badin, *Manufacture de Tapisserie*, p. 64. The four wall hangings of the *Quatre Ages* are in the Cincinnati Art Museum, which also has photographs of the upholstery panels. Aubusson upholstery panels of *Country Children* are also known. Four of a set of six in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, England (acc. no. TAP 125A–F), show the *Petite Beurrière*, *Boy Playing a Bagpipe to a Dog*, *Petite Jardinière* (leaning on a rake), and the *Petit Oiseleur*. Aubusson children of the same type but unrelated to known examples of the *Country Children* are not uncommon; a set is in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestries*, no. 91, dated ca. 1785, with other examples listed. To these can be added a set sold at Sotheby's, London, June 14, 1991, no. 191).

84. Alexandrine, elegantly dressed, and two dogs appear in François Guérin's portrait of Mme de Pompadour in a private collection (Musée David M. Stewart, *Madame de Pompadour*, p. 28; for representations of dogs called Inès and Mimi, see nos. 52, 53). The dogs are portrayed, with their names, in paintings and prints by Boucher and other artists (A & W, nos. 415, 522, as of 1752, 1756, and 1759). Serge Grandjean et al., *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor, Gold Boxes and Miniatures of the Eighteenth Century* (Fribourg, 1975) pp. 112, 113, 115. Representations of Alexandrine are discussed in Michel N. Benisovich, "A Bust of Alexandrine d'Étiolles by Saly," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (July 1945) pp. 31–42.

85. Drawings of van Loo's own children (heads only) and a cartoon for a tapestry with putti (woven for Mme de Pompadour and for her brother) are known, and one nude cupid was shown in the 1761 Salon (*Carle Vanloo, Premier Peintre du Roi*, exh. cat. [Nice, 1977] no. 173). The Bellevue *Allegories*, now in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, engraved in 1756, were frequently copied and reproduced in many media, but not in tapestry (Pierre Rosenberg and Marion C. Stewart, *French Paintings, 1500–1825. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* [1987] pp. 292–306). A Gobelins tapestry panel of *Painting*, after van Loo's painting in the Jacquemart-André Museum, Paris, signed by Cozette and dated 1763, is in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Baltimore Museum of Art, *The Age of Elegance*, exh. cat.

[1959] no. 15). It shows a young woman making a painting of a cupid.

86. The ceiling is known from an engraving by Audran (Guy Walton, *Louis XIV's Versailles* [Chicago, 1986] p. 100).

87. Both paintings were bought by Catherine the Great and are now in Russian museums (Jean-Luc Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne and his Generation 1688–1737* [Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1984] p. 106, no. P61). The nude children have no wings. Bordeaux describes them (p. 41) as “direct forebears of Boucher’s comparable creations,” and Boucher showed nude putti, with and without wings, actively painting and carving, in his *Génies des Beaux-Arts* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes (A & W, no. 67, as of 1731). See also note 99.

88. A & W, nos. 580, 581, dated 1764 and 1765, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

89. A & W, nos. 246–249, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

90. One figure, *Tragedy*, is clearly a comic version of van Loo’s *Medea* that was in the 1759 Salon, but this was a commissioned picture, finished by January 1755 (*Diderot, Salons*, ed. Jean Seznec [Oxford, 1979] II, p. 39).

91. Joachim Wasserschlebe to Baron Johann Hartwig Ernst Bernstorff, letter of Feb. 5, 1751. Quoted from Mario Krohn, *Frankrigs og Danmarks Kunsthistoriske Forbindelse i det 18 Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen, 1922) p. 106. For another comparison of Boucher’s and van Loo’s work for Mme de Pompadour, see Georges Brunel, *Boucher* (London 1986) p. 259; the author believes the Frick panels were painted in 1751 and attributes Mme de Pompadour’s liking for paintings of children to her affection for her daughter.

92. Boucher’s clothed *Arts and Sciences* children are on five tapestry chair backs in the Huntington Collection: *Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Poetry, and Music* (Wark, *French Decorative Art*, figs. 16, 17, 20–22), with a sixth subject, *Comedy*, on a chair in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestries*, p. 289). Another tapestry version of *Painting* is in the Munich set. The rough, working clothes worn by both Boucher’s and van Loo’s sculptors reflect the age-old contention that sculpture is a dirty business from a painter’s viewpoint. The van Loo boy wears a turban, long recognized as indicative of an artist, especially a sculptor (John T. Paoletti, “Michelangelo’s Masks,” *Art Bulletin* 74 [1992] p. 432). A rectangular panel of *Chemistry*, probably for a fire screen, was sold at Drouot-Richelieu, Paris, June 4, 1993, no. 110; it is signed Neilson.

93. Albert de la Fizalière, “L’art et les femmes en France—Madame de Pompadour,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 3 (1859) p. 139. Mme de Pompadour’s liking for representations of children is also illustrated by her exchange of the two Gobelins *Apollo* tapestries for examples of the unprepossessing *Enfants Jardiniers* (Edith A. Standen, “Madame de Pompadour’s Gobelins Tapestries,” in *Conservation Research. Studies of Fifteenth- to Nineteenth-Century Tapestries* [Washington, D.C., 1993] p. 19).

94. A recent summary of this much-discussed development is in Jacques Gélis, “The Child from Anonymity to Individuality,”

in Philippe Ariès and Georges Dubry, eds., *A History of Private Life* (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1989) III, pp. 309–326. In England, the change can perhaps be illustrated by the difference in meaning between “childish” (the *Oxford English Dictionary* gives quotations with the sense of foolish from the 15th century) and “childlike,” of which the first quotation is from 1738. Children’s games were considered examples of utter foolishness in the 16th century (Sandra Hindman, “Pieter Bruegel’s Children’s Games, Folly and Chance,” *Art Bulletin* 63 [1981] p. 449). Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629) wrote “l’état de l’enfance est l’état le plus vil et le plus abject de la nature humaine après celui de la mort” (quoted in Émile Mâle, *L’Art religieux après le Concile de Trente* [Paris, 1932] p. 327), but he was referring to the sublime action of Christ in deigning to be born as a human child. The inherent folly and sinfulness of children begins to be doubted in the 17th century (Ella Snoep-Reitsma, “Chardin and the Bourgeois Ideals of his Time,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 [1973] pp. 155, 199) and by the 18th century childhood was considered “a state of unrestrained innocence” (Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* [New York, 1987] p. 515) or even “innocent, angélique, naïf et plaisant” (Jean-Pierre Poussou, article “Enfant” in *Dictionnaire du Grand Siècle* [Paris, 1990] p. 535).

95. Luba Freedman, “Titian’s Portrait of Clarissa Strozzi: the state portrait of a child,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museum* 31 (1989) pp. 166–180. A summary of the changing attitude toward children from the 16th to the 18th century is given on p. 179.

96. For many examples, see Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*.

97. Pierre Rosenberg, *Chardin, 1699–1779*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1979) p. 237. Snoep-Reitsma, “Chardin and the Bourgeois Ideals,” pp. 147–243.

98. Brunel, *Boucher*, p. 269.

99. Boucher used similar winged babies for the seven small paintings of the *Arts and Sciences* commissioned in 1756 for the new palace of Amalienborg in Copenhagen. Each has five nude babies playing at being sculptors, painters, architects, musicians, poets, geographers (with a map of Denmark), and astronomers (A & W, nos. 467–473).

100. Thought to be the paintings in the Wanås Collection, Sweden (Rosenberg, *Chardin*, nos. 94, 95).

101. Maurice Tourneux, ed., *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister, Etc.* (Paris, 1877) II, p. 282. Grimm considered Boucher’s two *Apollo* paintings to be “dans le rang des plus mauvais du salon” and what he called Chardin’s “Chimiste occupé à sa lecture,” “très beau et digne de Rembrandt, quoi qu’on n’en ait guère parlé.” The van Loo *Allegories*, he wrote, were, “fort agréables.”

102. Robert Rosenblum, *The Dog in Art from Rococo to Post-Modernism* (New York, 1988) p. 14. Figures of dogs were made at Vincennes from before 1752 (Préaud and d’Albis, *Porcelaine de Vincennes*, p. 170, no. 170).

The Tours Sketchbook of Eugène Delacroix

JACQUES OLIVIER BOUFFIER

Fine Arts Department, Brunswick School

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF JACOB BEAN

IN 1991 The Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibited for the first time the sketchbook by Eugène Delacroix that Alexander and Grégoire Tarnopol had given to the Museum in 1969.¹ This sketchbook was among the fifty-five “livres de croquis, albums de voyage et carnets de poche” that were sold at the studio sale in 1864, after the artist’s death.² There are thirty-six sheets of white wove paper, numbered from 1 to 36 in graphite on the verso, bound in black and green covers that measure 13.5 by 20.5 cm. Of the forty-eight drawings (on the obverse of all the folios and on the reverse of twelve of the folios), all but one were executed by Delacroix during a stay in Tours in 1828. They record his promenades in the city and its surroundings, particularly the valley of the river Cher. Because of conservation concerns, the sheets are now mounted separately.

The Tours sketchbook is important in many respects. It provides invaluable information about Delacroix’s life at a period when he had stopped keeping a diary. In addition, the drawings he made during his stay vary greatly in style and purpose, and they constitute a unique tool for assessing his draftsmanship as a relatively young artist. Furthermore, a group of drawings inspired by Sir Walter Scott’s *Quentin Durward* reveals an unusual aspect of the relations between graphic and literary works.

THE STAY IN TOURS

In late October 1828, Eugène Delacroix wrote to his friend Charles Soulier that he was leaving for Touraine, ostensibly without much enthusiasm:

Adieu, cher ami, viens me voir. Je t’écrirai de la Touraine. Il semble qu’elle recule devant moi. Il n’y a que

la bagatelle de six ans que je remets ce trip. Je devrais être parti depuis un mois, et je suis sûr que je vais n’y trouver que l’hiver.³

In Tours, the artist stayed with his elder brother, General Charles Delacroix (1779–1845), who was living in a rented apartment in the so-called Maison Papion, an imposing *hôtel particulier* on rue Neuve (now rue Nationale) belonging to the Papion du Château family.⁴ Although Delacroix may have kept his promise to Charles Soulier, only two letters written from Tours are known to scholars, and they are addressed to another friend, Jean-Baptiste Pierret. In these he alludes briefly to his activities and reveals that the dreary “hiver” he had feared to find in Tours has turned out to be a glorious autumn, which seems to have put him in an elegiac mood:

Bonjour cher ami, je flâne toute la journée, ce qui ne les empêche pas de passer vite. . . . Je t’écris absolument sur le pouce; toi qui as toute la journée la plume à la main, écris-m’en bien long. Dans la solitude rien n’est plus doux que des lettres. . . .

. . . Le temps continue à être charmant. La campagne est bariolée de rubis, d’émeraudes, de topazes, et de tout son luxe d’adieu. Malgré mes occupations qui me rappellent et ma fainéantise ici, j’appréhende de m’en aller et de retourner reprendre le collier de fatigue.⁵

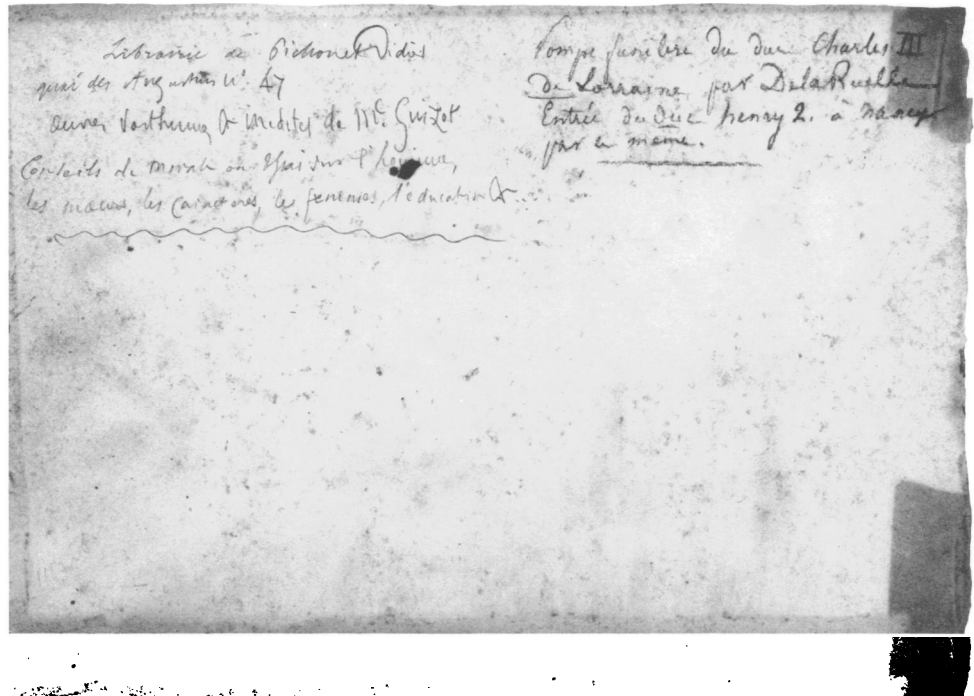
Considering the fact that Delacroix did not keep a diary from 1824 to 1846 and that his known correspondence from Tours amounts to these two letters, we would know little about his sojourn there were it not for the drawings in this sketchbook.⁶ The dates he inscribed on some of them allow us to follow precisely his walks and excursions. On November 1, he was in St.-Avertin, a nearby village south of Tours; November 9, he had a Sunday stroll in the city; two days later he had a walk along the south bank of the Loire; the next day, November 12, he was back in the valley of the Cher; November 14,

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Figure 1. Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), Left inner cover of sketchbook with drawings executed in Tours and its environs. Overall sketchbook: 13.5 x 20.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Alexander and Grégoire Tarnopol, 1969, 69.165.2



he returned to Tours at dusk from another outing in the countryside; finally, November 19, again at dusk, he had a walk in the city, perhaps his last before returning to Paris the next day. In all, his stay may have lasted about four weeks.⁷

THE NOTES IN DELACROIX'S HAND

The cover of the sketchbook was not exhibited in 1991, nor were the inner covers with notes in Delacroix's hand reproduced in the exhibition catalogue (Figures 1, 2). The notes⁸ mention exclusively addresses of bookstores and titles of books. In particular, the notes referring to works by Guizot, Charron, and La Ruelle shed some light on Delacroix's preoccupations at the time of his trip to Tours.

Pauline Guizot's two volumes, *Conseils de morale, ou essais sur l'homme, les mœurs, les caractères, le monde, les femmes, l'éducation, etc.*, were published posthumously in 1828. She was the wife of the historian and statesman Francois Guizot (1787–1874) and was a prominent novelist and moralist. *De la sagesse*, published in 1601, was the most noted book of the moralist Pierre Charron (1541–1603).

It would be impossible to know what interested Delacroix in these two works were it not for his mention of the chapter "Du mariage" in Charron's treatise.⁹ In thirteen pages the moralist analyzes the

institution of marriage, first noting the arguments of those he names *grands personnages* who are against it, next providing a response to the criticism, and finally concluding that indeed marriage can be paradise or hell. He then gives a "description simple et sommaire du mariage" as it should be, addresses the question of inequalities between the sexes (apparently agreeing with the view that "le mari a puissance sur la femme, et la femme est sujette au mari"), and ultimately widens his inquiry, somewhat anthropologically, into the subjects of polygamy and repudiation.

Pauline Guizot would have most certainly objected to a few of Charron's opinions. Hers is a more liberated view of womanhood, in which she deplores the way men judge women and redresses the satires made at their expense. The entire section called "Des femmes" is in fact a manual to help women make the best of their condition.¹⁰ Advice is given throughout, not without humor, in such chapters as "Des brouilleries entre mari et femme," "Comment on gouverne son mari," and "Des inconveniens de la réputation." What to make of Delacroix's curiosity about matrimony is unclear, and given the paucity of documentation concerning his private life at this time, attempts to read anything into it would invariably end in conjecture.

Delacroix mentioned twice (once on the inner front cover and a second time on the inner back cover) Claude de La Ruelle's *Cérémonie des obsèques*

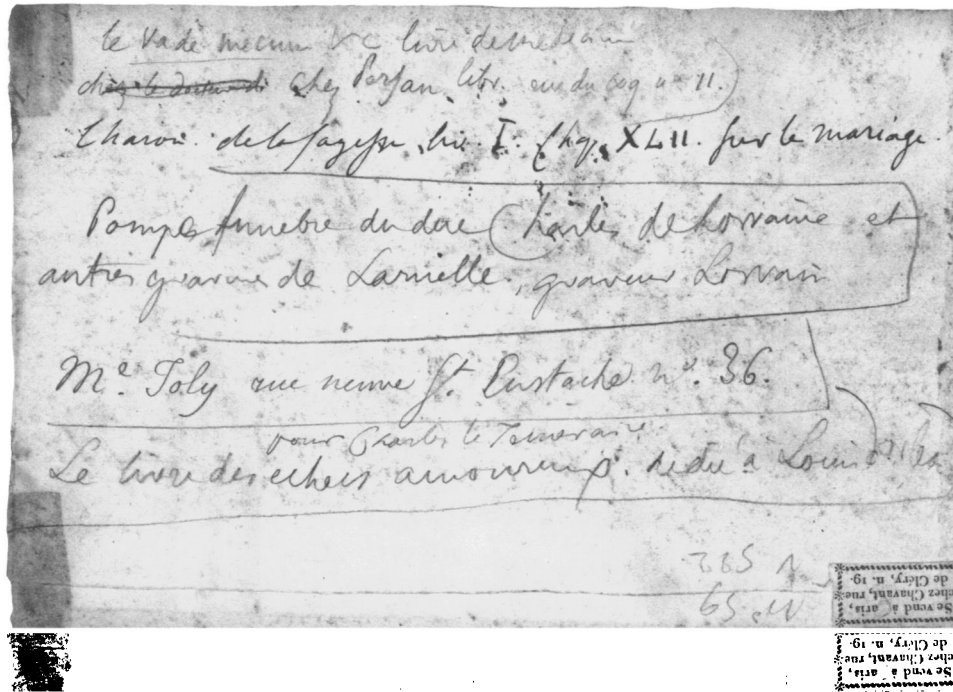


Figure 2. Right inner cover of sketchbook in Figure 1

de Charles III, duc de Lorraine et de Bar, suivie de l'entrée de Henri II, duc de Lorraine, à Nancy, dans les années 1608 et 1610 (Figure 3). This important fête book depicts in eighty-one plates and in great detail the ceremonies attending the death and the funeral of Charles III of Lorraine, which lasted from May 14 to July 19, 1608, and the official entry into Nancy of his son Duke Henry II on April 20, 1610.

Delacroix's interest in these illustrations was no doubt the result of a commission he had received in August 1828, before his trip to Tours.¹¹ The minister of the interior, Jean-Baptiste de Martignac, had initially submitted to him three subjects, all connected with the siege of Nancy in 1477, which opposed Charles le Téméraire, duke of Burgundy, and René II, duke of Lorraine.¹² One of the scenes was of René's ordering full funerary honors for Charles after the latter's death beneath the walls of Nancy. Though the funeral ceremonies in La Ruelle's book took place more than a century after those of Charles le Téméraire, Delacroix may well have found them helpful in getting a sense of the pomp customary to the House of Lorraine in honoring its dead. There is further evidence that the commission was on Delacroix's mind in the closing paragraph of the second letter he sent from Tours, in which he asks Jean-Baptiste Pierret to write to Louis de Schwiter¹³ in Nancy: "S'il en est temps encore, écris à Louis qu'il me rapporte le plus de vues qu'il pourra de différents côtés de la chapelle et du

local où a été tué Charles le Téméraire."¹⁴ Indeed, the subject suggested by Martignac was to illustrate the last chapter of Le Téméraire's lifelong history of conflicts and to represent his death during the siege of Nancy.

It would seem that Delacroix was also looking for information about the duke's personality. His cryptic note about him on the inner back cover, "Le

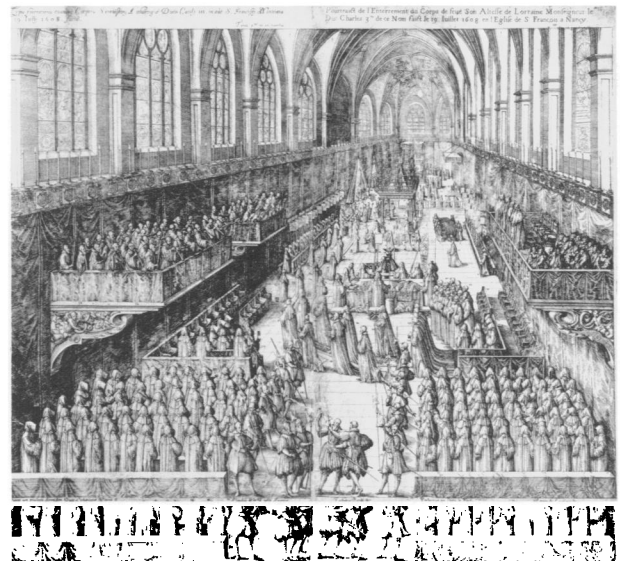


Figure 3. Frédéric Brental and Mathias Merian, Plate 7 from Claude de la Ruelle, *Cérémonies des obsèques de Charles III duc de Lorraine* (Nancy, 1609). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959, 59.570.163



Figure 4. Eugène Delacroix, *Paysage*. Pen and wash, 16.1 x 23.8 cm. Formerly Geneva, Galerie Jan Krugier



Figure 5. Folio 25 recto of sketchbook, showing trees and buildings at water's edge, hills in the distance

Livre des échecs amoureux,”¹⁵ recalls a remark that he made in the letter to Charles Soulier, just before leaving for Tours, about the duke’s being a “grand libertin de sa nature.”¹⁶

These concentrated efforts to gather information on Charles le Téméraire bore fruit a few months after Delacroix’s return to Paris, when he presented for approval, honoring Martignac’s commission, an oil sketch for *The Battle of Nancy*.¹⁷ Delacroix chose to depict the momentous scene of a lanced knight of Lorraine about to unhorse Charles.

WORKS DERIVED FROM THE SKETCHBOOK

Delacroix was thirty when he visited Tours. His short stay, away from Paris and its “collier de torture,” offered him an opportunity to draw as he pleased. The drawings range from almost illegible sketches to studies of impressive precision, and from landscapes roughly outlined and scribbled with numerous color notations to the most skillful bird’s-eye perspective of a valley or the rendering of an intricate combination of architectural planes set within the rigorous rules of perspective.¹⁸ The freest handling of a landscape at dusk contrasts with a finely penciled profile of a young woman of exquisite Ingresque quality.¹⁹ A few drawings were started outdoors in graphite and were finished indoors in watercolor.²⁰ Others were preliminary studies for versions in different media—watercolor or ink—or simply visual records of subjects.²¹ Whatever their purpose, the drawings in the sketchbook show a versatile and fluent hand, completely at ease with and in control of the medium.

Delacroix made a version in different media of each of the landscapes he sketched on folios 12r, 22r, and 25r.²² Taken together, they illustrate not only Delacroix’s working methods but also the process of his artistic creation in representing nature. He addressed the subject of imitation in his diary many years later, in 1853. Of particular interest to him were the relations between the primary sketch “d’après nature,” when the artist records as exactly as possible “le modèle qu’il a sous les yeux,” and the later version, when he voluntarily forgets the little details to remember only “le côté frappant et poétique.” Not mincing his words, he mused: “Le nez sur le paysage, entouré d’arbres et de lieux charmants, mon paysage est lourd, trop fait, peut-être plus vrai dans le détail, mais sans accord avec le sujet.”²³

In the case of the wash drawing in Figure 4, which has sometimes been wrongly identified as *Paysage à Eaubonne*,²⁴ Delacroix kept the essential elements of the site he recorded on folio 25r (Figure 5)—decidedly representing fewer trees, shrubbery, and buildings and employing a slightly larger scale—and transformed the precise and detailed graphite drawing into a more poetic version, where the dark to light transparent brown washes suggest the colors, luminosity, and atmosphere of an autumnal day. If Delacroix had thought of another version while drawing the landscape on folio 25r, he may well at that time have intended it to be a wash drawing, because there are no notations of colors, as there are in the two other drawings.

The ravine depicted on folio 12r (Figure 6) is typical of St.-Avertin and its surrounding area. Such abrupt ravines occur along small streams, known locally as *girondes*, which run toward the left bank of the river Cher.²⁵ Delacroix seems to have been taken by the challenge of rendering these declivities, as evidenced also on folios 10r and 15r. The notations on folio 12r, marking precisely the locations of the vineyards (“vignx” and “x”) and of the colors (“j[laune] r[ouge] v[ert] b[leu]”), and the use of graphite, from heavily applied dark strokes to light and airy gray shading, distinctly charting the contrasting values at different points in the landscape, are hallmarks of a preparatory drawing. The watercolor *Landscape with a Ravine*, formerly in the collection of W. Koenigs, Utrecht (Figure 7),²⁶ repeats the contrasting values seen in the drawing, but the larger size of the sheet and the important increase in height open up the landscape with an expanded sky. What seemed cramped and confined in the drawing becomes widened and free. The use of watercolors endows the landscape with a brightness that could only have been suggested in the drawing.

The watercolor *Paysage avec fleuve* in the Feilchenfeldt Collection, Zurich (Figure 8),²⁷ is another example—albeit different from the two above—of the way earlier and later versions relate to each other. The swift and energetic pencil strokes and cursory color notations on folio 22r (Figure 9) suggest a hurried hand trying to catch all at once the bluffs, sky, and watered land in an atmospheric and fleeting moment.²⁸ Ultimately, in the watercolor, the hues—a blending of gray and red (“gris rougeâtre”), interspaced with pure blue, and an intermingling of gray, yellow, and red (“gris jaune rouge”) sweepingly laid—endow the sky and clouds with the ephemeral condition of a changing, somewhat



Figure 6. Folio 12 recto of sketchbook, showing a ravine with vineyards and a farmhouse on a hill



Figure 7. Eugène Delacroix, *Landscape with a Ravine*. Graphite and watercolor on paper, 19.7 x 22.2 cm. Haarlem, Collection F. Koenigs (photo: Tom Haartsen)



Figure 8. Eugène Delacroix, *Paysage avec fleuve*. Watercolor, 19 x 16 cm. Zurich, Collection Feilchenfeldt



Figure 9. Folio 22 recto of sketchbook, showing bluffs along the north bank of the Loire, near Tours

stormy sky, where colors associate with and dissociate from one another at nature's whim. The river basin, barely suggested in the drawing but broadly depicted in the watercolor, seems unaffected by the motion above, the transience of which is thus accentuated. Significantly, Delacroix changed the format from horizontal to vertical, giving the bluffs in the middle of the composition the function of hinging two opposite mirrors of nature.

Delacroix's aphoristic remark "Il y a les licences pittoresques comme les licences poétiques"²⁹ perhaps sums up best what he meant by poeticizing the work of art, and the group of drawings discussed here offer a compelling visual demonstration of the process as he applied it to landscape.

QUENTIN DURWARD COUNTRY

We can trace Delacroix's interest in Walter Scott to 1824. In his diary entry for Tuesday, July 20, he noted his pleasure in an evening he had spent with his friend Frédéric Leblond discussing, among other things, Walter Scott.³⁰ *Quentin Durward* was published in 1823 both in England and in translation in France. By 1826, Delacroix had already painted *Quentin Durward Overhears the Plot of Hayraddin and Lanzknecht Heinrich*,³¹ a scene from chapter 17. In 1827 he made a preliminary sketch for the 1829 final version of *The Murder of the Bishop of Liège*,³² an eventful episode in chapter 22. In addition, Delacroix painted *Quentin Durward and Le Balafre*³³ late in 1828 or early in 1829, after his sojourn in Tours.³⁴ One can justifiably assume that Delacroix had Scott's story well anchored in his mind while he was in Tours. His walks there, in nearby Plessis-lez-Tours, and in the valley of the Cher bespeak his familiarity with the text, particularly with the first fourteen chapters, which take place precisely in Tours and its surroundings.

The rivalry between Louis XI of France and his vassal Charles le Téméraire is the main underlying theme of *Quentin Durward*, but it is the description of the characters' personalities and particularly of those of the king's entourage that fuels the interest in the plot. Among them, the king's confidant Olivier Le Dain and the provost marshal Tristan l'Hermite match their master's cruelty and wiliness. The hero is Quentin Durward, a young Scot of good breeding, whose valor, judgment, and honesty impress the king so much that he makes him a guard in his Scottish Archers. As the plot thickens, we

learn the real motive of the king, which is to use Quentin in his machinations to effect a marriage between the Burgundian heiress he is temporarily hiding, Comtesse Isabelle de Croye, and his political ally William de la Marck. Quentin not only foils the king's plan but also wins Isabelle's hand for having vanquished de la Marck.

Using Delacroix's sketchbook to trace the itinerary from Tours to its westerly suburb La Riche, where Louis XI's château du Plessis is still standing, one has the distinct impression that the artist was on Walter Scott's trail.³⁵ Too often for it to be coincidental, the sketchbook reads as a visual vade mecum to the characters and places in *Quentin Durward*. Louis XI is sketched on folio 17r (Figure 10). Delacroix would have seen in the Musée de Tours the portrait of the king wearing his hat adorned with a little leaden figure (Figure 11).³⁶ This badge is repeatedly mentioned in the novel. The museum had reopened in new quarters in 1828, not far from Maison Papion, where Delacroix was lodging.

The home of Tristan l'Hermite appears on folio 18r (Figures 12, 13).³⁷ The so-called Maison de Tristan owes its name to legend rather than to historical fact. As the tale goes, Tristan kept his frequent prisoners chained in the basement of his house. He climbed regularly to the top of the turret to observe Le Plessis, where King Louis lived, in order to see if there was any smoke coming from the castle's chimney—a sign that he should execute them.

The manor house sketched on folio 30v (Figures 14, 15) is called La Rabaterie (or La Motte-Chapon) and is located near the château du Plessis.³⁸ Contrary to Delacroix's note on the drawing, which attributes ownership to Tristan l'Hermite, the house is known to have belonged to Olivier Le Dain. Perhaps, more than Tristan's or Le Dain's ownership, it is rather the architectural components of the building and its proximity to Louis XI's castle that caught Delacroix's attention. The setting brings to mind a long scene in chapter 4 that takes place at the inn Fleur-de-lys in the vicinity of the king's castle. The passage is memorable because it describes Quentin's burgeoning love for a young lady called Jacqueline, who is later revealed to be Isabelle de Croye.

L'hôte . . . ouvrit une porte, et montra à Durward une chambre formant l'intérieur d'une tourelle. Elle était étroite à la vérité, mais fort propre. . . . En parlant ainsi, il s'approcha de la petite fenêtre qui éclairait sa chambre. Comme la tourelle s'avancait considérablement au delà de la ligne du bâtiment, on découvrait

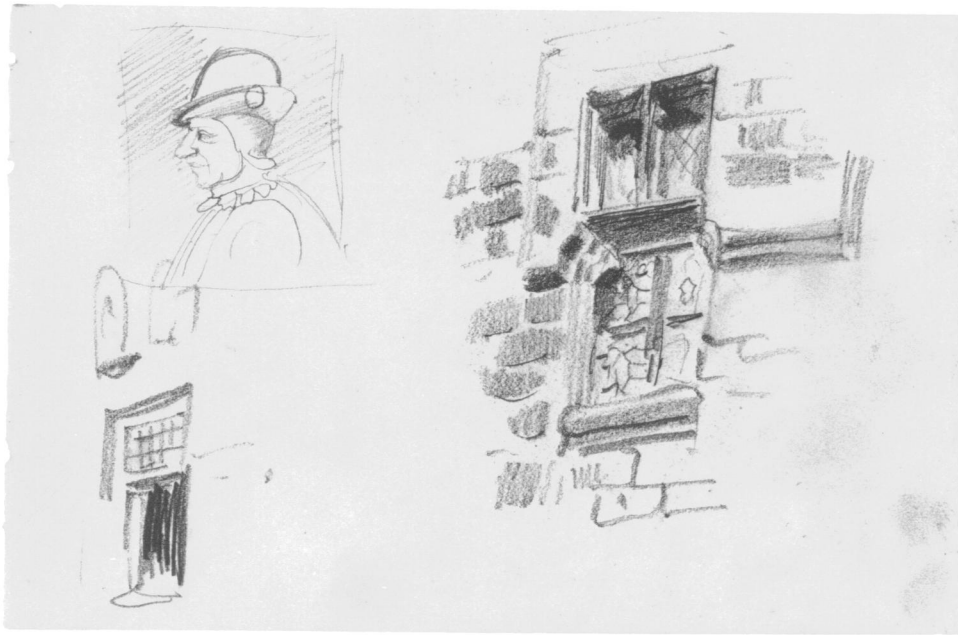


Figure 10. Folio 17 recto of sketchbook, showing portrait of Louis XI and studies of windows



Figure 11. French School, 17th century, *Louis XI*. Oil on wood, 40 x 30 cm. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts)

non seulement le joli jardin assez étendu de l'auberge, mais encore la plantation de mûriers. . . . En détournant les yeux . . . pour regarder tout droit le long du mur, on découvrirait une seconde tourelle éclairée par une fenêtre qui faisait face à celle où notre héros se trouvait en ce moment. . . . Cette seconde tourelle et cette seconde croisée l'intéressaient plus que le joli jardin et la belle plantation de mûriers.³⁹

Indeed, the object of his interest is Jacqueline, whom he had seen for the first time moments earlier in the inn's dining room⁴⁰ and sees again in her bedroom through the window in the opposite "tour-elle." One can only speculate about Delacroix's motivation to sketch the back of the manor house, but it is tempting to think that this facade, with its two gable ends (admittedly not "tourelles") projecting at both extremities and the trees in the garden, reminded him of the scene in the inn.

Louis's castle in Plessis-lez-Tours turns up on folios 31v, 32r, and 33r (Figures 16, 17). Delacroix's insistence on sketching the tower calls our attention again to Isabelle de Croye, who moved from the tower at the inn to the so-called Dauphin's Tower at the castle. Perhaps the pure profile of the young woman on folio 10v is an imaginary portrait of the "habitante de la tourelle," as she is often called in the novel.

Finally, closing the episode in Touraine, Comtesse Isabelle secretly leaves Plessis under Quentin's escort to seek refuge with her protector, the bishop



Figure 12. Folio 18 recto of sketchbook, showing window and doorway of a house in Tours



Figure 13. Maison de Tristan in Tours (photo: Jacques Olivier Bouffier)

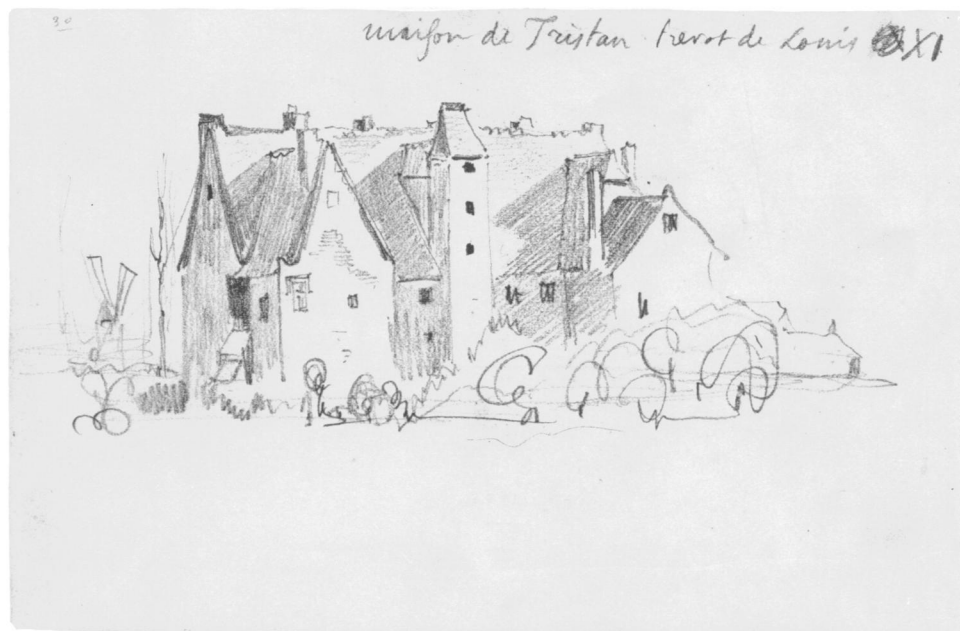


Figure 14. Folio 30 verso of sketchbook, showing manor house at Plessis-lez-Tours



Figure 15. La Rabaterie (photo: Jacques Olivier Bouffier)

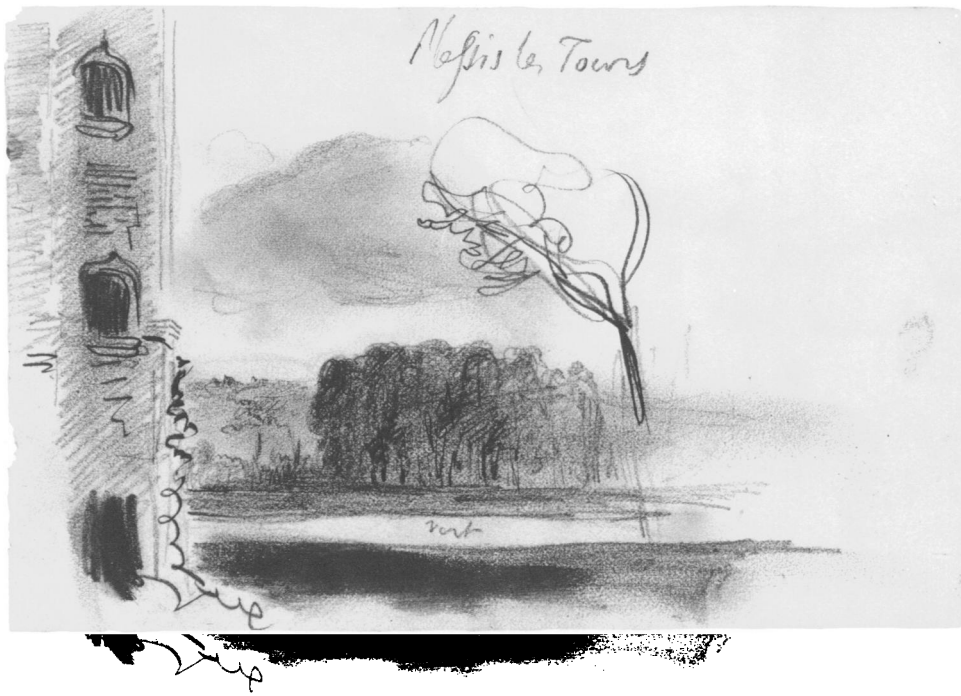


Figure 16. Folio 32 recto of sketchbook, showing tower of the castle at Plessis-lez-Tours



Figure 17. Tower of the castle at Plessis-lez-Tours (photo: Jacques Olivier Bouffier)



Figure 18. Folio 21 recto of sketchbook, showing the towers of St.-Gatien, Tours



Figure 19. The towers of St.-Gatien seen from the Quai d'Orléans (photo: Jacques Olivier Bouffier)

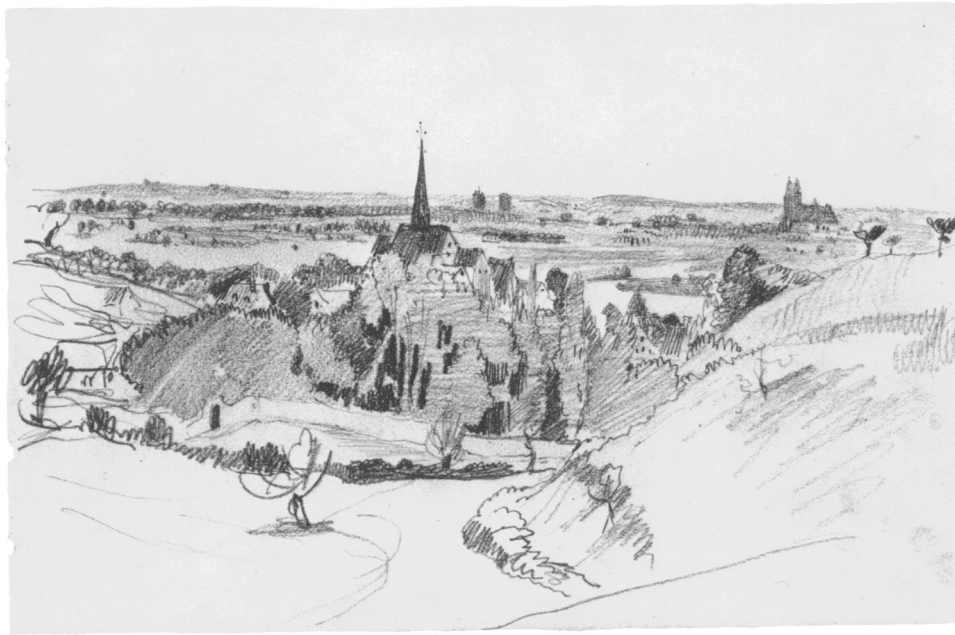


Figure 20. Folio 8 recto of sketchbook, showing the valley of the River Cher seen from the château de Paradis

of Liège. Scott describes their ride along the banks of the Loire. As the small retinue passed Tours, he writes that they saw the “tours de l’église Saint Gatiien” and the “château sombre et formidable.”⁴¹ Given the configuration of the city, this view of the cathedral is possible only from the south bank of the Loire, exactly where Delacroix stood when he sketched the towers of St.-Gatiien on folio 21r (Figures 18, 19).

The drawing on folio 8r (Figure 20) was made from Paradis, a château in the village of St.-Avertin,⁴² which is separated from Tours by the valley of the Cher. The river in Delacroix’s time was divided into branches, and bridges connected the village to the city.⁴³ What made Delacroix stop at Paradis is probably Walter Scott’s rumored visit there in 1816,⁴⁴ when he is said to have gone to Touraine to research *Quentin Durward*. In fact, this visit is not documented, and it is likely that Scott never went to St.-Avertin or Tours.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the walk to Paradis, where Scott had reportedly worked on the novel, may have been a form of literary pilgrimage. His visit would have been easily arranged, since Julien Lafond, then owner of the property, had been, like Charles Delacroix, an officer in the Napoleonic army.⁴⁶

Delacroix must have been delighted by the panoramic view from Paradis. His drawing of it indeed

maps out the area where the first fourteen chapters of *Quentin Durward* take place. The towers of St.-Gatiien’s cathedral in the distance on the right, those of St.-Martin in the center, the forest surrounding Plessis-lez-Tours at the extreme left, and the vast land of the valley of the river Cher extending at the feet of Paradis are familiar to readers of the novel.

There is no indication that the drawings connected with *Quentin Durward* are preliminary studies for a future work. Rather, they seem to be the product of a well-read man who could not help indulge in reminiscing about a novel he knew particularly well and in bringing back “au bout de [son] crayon” those passages he had read “avec délices.”⁴⁷

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article evolved from the report I wrote in 1990 for the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, at the completion of my internship in the Department of Drawings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. I am very grateful to Lee Johnson for his comments on that report and for his generous advice on how to improve it. Together with Jacob Bean, he has been a source of inspiration for my study of Delacroix.

NOTES

1. MMA, *Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863): Paintings, Drawings, and Prints from North American Collections*, exh. cat. (New York, 1991). Lee Johnson contributed two essays, “The Art of Delacroix” and “Portrait of Delacroix.” Jacob Bean and William Griswold prepared all the notices on the drawings, pastels, and prints except nos. 71 and 72, which were written with my collaboration and based upon the research I did in 1990 during my internship in the MMA Department of Drawings and on a trip I took to Dieppe and Tours during this internship. In no. 72, each of the thirty-six folios of the sketchbook is further identified as either the recto or the verso of that folio. Subsequent mentions in this article of the drawings in the sketchbook use this method of identification. A few drawings have been exhibited before. See MMA, *Classicism and Romanticism, French Drawings and Prints 1800–1860*, exh. cat. (New York, 1970) no. 34 (folios exhibited: 3, 4, 8, 14, 18, 21, 25, 26, 35); MMA, *Drawings Recently Acquired, 1969–1971*, exh. cat. (New York, 1972) no. 66 (folios exhibited: 3r, 4r, 8r, 21r, 35r); Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, *Dessins français du Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, de David à Picasso*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1973–74) no. 35 (folios exhibited: 4r, 21r).

2. *Catalogue de la vente qui aura lieu par suite du décès de Eugène Delacroix, Dessins*, Hôtel Drouot, Feb. 22–27, 1864 (Paris) p. 77, nos. 664, 664bis. Competition among buyers to acquire the sketchbooks was fierce. In *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* 56 (March 13, 1864) p. 85, Philippe Burty noted: “Les albums ont été vivement disputés. Ils contenaient une quantité innombrable de croquis et surtout de pensées et de notes à la plume et au crayon.” In the preceding issue of *La Chronique des arts* 55 (March 6, 1864) p. 73, Burty wrote movingly and admiringly about the sale: “La vente de ce qu’avait délaissé en mourant Eugène Delacroix est terminée. Pendant seize jours, du lundi 15 février, au lundi soir 1^{er} mars, elle a eu le surprenant privilège de tenir en haleine cette société parisienne, si mobile dans sa curiosité, si rapide dans ses réactions. Les expositions ont appelé dans les salles de l’hôtel Drouot toute l’élite des arts, des lettres et du grand monde. Autour des tables sont venus se ranger chaque jour les grands amateurs, puis les curieux modestes et les artistes, puis les marchands. Plus de trois cents tableaux ou esquisses, plus de six mille dessins, eaux-fortes et lithographies ont successivement trouvé des acquéreurs enthousiastes. Tout le monde—je parle de ceux qui ont l’âme ardente surtout—tout le monde a désiré un des lambeaux de cet oeuvre immense que la volonté de Delacroix forçait à disjoindre, parce qu’avec une sorte de divination, il avait eu le pressentiment de ce succès. Les riches ont été les plus favorisés: il n’y a point eu de grand prix pour les grands morceaux. Les humbles ont payé pour eux; mais en important pieusement un croquis ou une ébauche, ils pouvaient se dire qu’un diamant gros comme un grain de sénévé jette des feux aussi purs que le Sancy ou le Kohinor.”

3. André Joubin, ed., *Correspondance générale d’Eugène Delacroix*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1935–38). See I, p. 223. Subsequent citations of Delacroix’s correspondence are also from vol. I.

4. For Charles Delacroix, see Jean-Luc Stéphant’s article “Chili ou le frère oublié d’Eugène Delacroix,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire de l’art français* (1990) pp. 173–205.

5. The first letter is dated “ce samedi” by Delacroix and is postmarked “27 octobre 1828” (*Correspondance*, pp. 228–229). The second one is dated “Mardi 4 novembre” by Delacroix and is postmarked “5 novembre 1828” (*Correspondance*, pp. 230–232).

6. The Louvre has a significant number of drawings that Delacroix made in Tours. See Maurice Sérullaz et al., *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins: Inventaire général des dessins. École française. Dessins d’Eugène Delacroix*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1984) nos. 1149, 1150, 1151. Stéphant, “Chili,” makes convincing arguments for nos. 1193 and 1214.

7. From Saturday, Oct. 25 (his first letter), to Wednesday, Nov. 19 (folio 36r).

8. Delacroix’s handwriting is at times difficult to decipher. For practical purposes, I repeat here the transcription I made for the exhibition catalogue: Librairie de Pichonet Didier / quai des Augustins n° 47 / Oeuvres posthumes & inédites de M^e Guizot / Conseils de morale ou essai sur l’homme, / les moeurs, les caractères, les femmes, l’éducation / Pompe funèbre du duc Charles III / de Lorraine par DelaRuelle / Entrée du duc Henry 2 à Nancy / par le même. / le Vade mecum . . . livre de médecine / chez le docteur d [crossed out] Chez Persan libr. rue du coq n° 11. / Charon: de la sagesse, liv. I. Chap. XLII. Sur le mariage. / Pompe funèbre du duc Charles de Lorraine et / autres gravures de Laruelle, graveur Lorrain / M^e Toly rue neuve St. Eustache n° 36. / pour Charles le Téméraire / Le livre des échecs amoureux. dédié à Louis. . .

9. I have used a later edition. Pierre Charron, *De la sagesse, trois livres*, . . . *Suivant la vraie copie de Bourdeaux*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1782). See I, pp. 228–241. Charron cross-refers this section on marriage to the one he calls “Du devoir des mariés” in vol. III, chap. 12.

10. Mme [Pauline] Guizot, *Conseils de morale, ou essais sur l’homme, les moeurs, les caractères, le monde, les femmes, l’éducation, etc.*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1828). See II, pp. 1–68.

11. *Correspondance*, p. 223.

12. Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix. A Critical Catalogue*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1981–89). For a detailed account of Martignac’s commission, see I, pp. 141–144.

13. He was a painter and a friend of Delacroix. See *Eugène Delacroix*, no. 84.

14. *Correspondance*, p. 231.

15. I have not yet been able to find any text corresponding to this title.

16. *Correspondance*, p. 223.

17. Now in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. See Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, I, no. 142.

18. See respectively folios 13v, 19r; 18r (Figure 12); 9r, 22r (Figure 9), 22v, 23r; 8r (Figure 20); 21r (Figure 18), 28r.

19. See respectively folios 26r, 10v.

20. See folios 2r, 3r, 4r.

21. See respectively folios 12r (Figures 6, 7), 25r (Figures 4, 5); 22r (Figures 8, 9).

22. Delacroix seems also to have used the buildings and the tall tree silhouetted at left on folio 26r in a watercolor formerly in

the Roger-Marx collection. See Charles Martine and Léon Marotte, *Dessins de maîtres français, VII, Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1928) no. 66 (*Vue de Frépillon*). Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to locate this work.

23. André Joubin, ed., *Eugène Delacroix: Journal, 1822–1863* (Paris, 1981) pp. 366–367, 369.

24. Formerly in the collection of Jan Krugier, Geneva. Repr. (not in color) in Société des Expositions du Palais des Beaux-Arts, *Ingres et Delacroix: Dessins et aquarelles*, exh. cat. (Brussels, 1986) no. 136, as *Paysage*, and in Jan Krugier Gallery, *Victor Hugo and the Romantic Vision: Drawings and Watercolors*, exh. cat. (New York, 1990) no. 66, as *Paysage à Eaubonne*.

25. Charles-Antoine Rougeot (1740–1797) represented a similar view in his *Vue du moulin et de la côte de Saint-Avertin*. See Musée des Beaux-Arts, *Ponts de Tours. Traversée des fleuves et des riaux du Moyen-Age à nos jours*, exh. cat. (Tours, 1978–79) p. 42.

26. See Smithsonian Institution, *French Drawings: Masterpieces from Five Centuries*, exh. cat. (Washington, 1952–53) no. 130, not repr. I am relying on Jacqueline Bouchot-Saupique's description of colors in the catalogue entry.

27. Repr. (not in color) in Kunsthau, *Eugène Delacroix, Zeichnungen, Aquarelle, Graphik*, exh. cat. (Zurich, 1987) no. 29, as *Paysage avec fleuve*.

28. The drawings on folios 22v and 23v, equally swift and energetic, seem to be in the same vein as the one on folio 22r.

29. *Journal*, p. 606.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

31. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. See Lee Johnson, "A Delacroix Recovered: *Quentin Durward* and *Le Balafre*," *Burlington Magazine* 108 (1966) p. 569 n. 10, fig. 36.

32. Respectively, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons, and Louvre. See Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, I, nos. 133, 134.

33. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen. See Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, I, no. 137, and III, no. 137, p. 315.

34. Alfred Robaut also dated to 1828 the watercolor *Quentin Durward et la princesse de Croye* and a drawing relating to it. The whereabouts of both works are unknown to me. See Alfred Robaut, *L'Oeuvre complet d'Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1885) nos. 271, 272.

35. Stendhal has the narrator of his 1838 fictitious *Mémoires d'un touriste* carry *Quentin Durward* in his pocket while visiting Tours: "J'avais *Quentin Durward* dans ma poche; je suis allé à pied, en lisant, au village de Riche, à vingt minutes de Tours, où l'on voit encore quelques restes du château de Plessis-lez-Tours." See Stendhal, *Mémoires d'un touriste*, reprint, FM/La Découverte (Paris, 1981) I, p. 289.

36. The painting is now in the château du Plessis. The king also appears in the watercolor *Quentin Durward et la princesse de Croy* (see note 34 above) and again in a drawing dated 1829 by Robaut, *L'Oeuvre complet*, no. 318.

37. For a full view of the facade as it appeared in 1869, see Eugène-Napoléon Flandrin's drawing of it in Musée des Beaux-Arts, *Trésors du Mécénat*, exh. cat. (Tours, 1986–87) no. 49.

38. I am indebted to Prof. Pierre Leveel, honorary president of La Société Archéologique de Touraine, for this identification.

39. I purposely quote from an 1823 French edition. See *Oeuvres complètes de Sir Walter Scott*, Charles Gosselin (Paris, 1823) XXXIII, *Quentin Durward*, p. 122.

40. See note 34 above.

41. *Quentin Durward*, p. 360.

42. The castle no longer stands (it burned down on May 5, 1857), but the ground-level remains of the towers are still visible.

43. See pp. 41–43 in *Ponts de Tours*. See also James Forbes's *View of Tours from Saint-Avertin in Trésors du Mécénat*, no. 36, which shows the landscape of the river Cher as it may have existed in Delacroix's time.

44. Sylvain Livernet, *Le Guide de Tours et de la Touraine* (Lyons, 1989) p. 235.

45. The belief that Scott came to Tours and Paradis seems to have its genesis in his introduction to *Quentin Durward*. In it, the narrator (an anonymous novelist) recounts his meeting a certain Marquis de Hautlieu, who invites him to his castle and offers him the use of his library, where he finds documentation that helps him write *Quentin Durward*. P. Genévrier, in *Walter Scott historien français ou Le Roman tourangeau de Quentin Durward* (Tours, 1935) pp. 29–30, notes that Scott's introduction to the 1823 French edition did not include the sentence "Il est à peine nécessaire d'ajouter que tout ce qui suit est pure fantaisie," which the editor, Cadell, added "sur la première page d'une réimpression qu'il donna, en 1847, de l'édition originale." Genévrier also cites the last sentence of this introduction: "Si cet ouvrage rencontre la faveur du public, je ne regretterai pas de m'être exilé loin des miens pour une courte période." Not surprisingly, critics have been misled by these words. Earlier (p. 21), Genévrier quotes Félix Bodin, who claimed (*Mercure du XIX^e siècle*, 1823, vol. I, pp. 359–360): "Quant aux localités décrites, elles sont toutes d'une scrupuleuse exactitude; il est clair que l'auteur les a vues." I would suggest that Paradis was a tempting site for the imagination of those readers living in Tours. Indeed, its location near Tours and its commanding view of the valley of the Cher come close to the description of the fictitious château de Hautlieu. The narrator sets the castle three miles from the town (supposedly Tours) where he has settled temporarily and describes it as occupying a commanding view of the banks of the Loire (*Quentin Durward*, p. 15). I may add that the words "Hautlieu" and "Paradis," though not synonyms, certainly have a semantic relationship.

46. He was a colonel of the Grande Armée and aide-de-camp to General Rapp at Danzig. I am grateful to Mme Annie-France Saint-Poulof for this information.

47. Delacroix's words in "De l'enseignement du dessin," *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, Sept. 15, 1850. Reprinted in Eugène Delacroix, *Oeuvres littéraires* (Paris, 1923) pp. 12–13. In this article Delacroix exhorts novice draftsmen to draw while traveling because a "simple trait de crayon" will bring back from memory all the impressions attached to the moment—a most Proustian concept, *avant la lettre*. Later in the same article, he addresses those "qui ont lu avec délices, comme je l'ai fait moi-même, les romans de Walter Scott."

The Marquand Mansion

DANIËLLE O. KISLUK-GROSHEIDE

Associate Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ON DISPLAY in the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Galleries of Nineteenth-Century European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum is a remarkable settee designed by the Dutch-born English painter Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836–1912) (Figure 1). Made in 1884–85 by the London firm of Johnstone, Norman and Company, the settee was commissioned as part of a large set for the music room of the residence of Henry G. Marquand in New York City. The process of creating suitable new upholstery for the settee, necessary for installation in the nineteenth-century galleries, prompted interest not only in the piece itself but also in the room and the house it came from and, not least, in its former owner.

Born in New York, Henry Gurdon Marquand (1819–1902) had a varied and successful career in business (Figure 2). After assisting his brother Frederick in the family jewelry firm and later in the management of real estate properties, Marquand worked as a banker, a Wall Street broker, and a railroad executive.¹ He accumulated a large fortune and withdrew from active business in the early 1880s, spending the remaining years of his life as an ardent collector and patron of the arts.

The primary beneficiary of his art patronage was The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Marquand's interest in the arts is said to date back to 1843, when he met an American sculptor named Brown, presumably Henry Kirke Brown (1814–1866), in Rome.² Later he became acquainted with a number of prominent painters who, like George Henry Boughton (1833–1905), gave him advice and assistance on his acquisition of art, which was purchased mostly in Europe.³ Praised for his exalted taste, Marquand was known as a judicious collector who bought "like an Italian prince of the Renaissance."⁴ He also had a reputation for being a kind and gen-

erous man who found it difficult to turn dealers away.⁵

Marquand's acquisitions focused initially on contemporary paintings and later on Old Masters.⁶ He also purchased a large variety of decorative objects, ranging from antiquities, Limoges enamels, Italian maiolica, and European silver and porcelain to Near Eastern carpets and Asian ceramics. Occasionally, Marquand bought an existing collection, such as the Charvet collection of ancient glass, which he donated to the Metropolitan Museum in 1881. Marquand had a long affiliation with this Museum. Having supported the institution from the very beginning, he became a trustee in 1871 and was elected its second president in 1889.⁷ During this time Marquand made generous donations, contributing funds for the acquisition of sculpture casts, for example, and presenting gifts to nearly every department. The most outstanding consisted of thirty-five Old Master paintings, which included Van Dyck's *Portrait of James Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox*, several portraits by Frans Hals and Rembrandt, as well as Vermeer's *Young Woman with a Water Jug*. These paintings, purchased in Europe for his own collection, never entered Marquand's house. Shipped to New York in 1888, they were immediately exhibited at the Museum and were formally donated during the following year, greatly enhancing the Museum's holdings and making it "far and away the finest collection of painting to be seen in this country"⁸ (Figure 3).

In 1881 Marquand commissioned his friend the eminent architect Richard Morris Hunt (1827–1895) to design a mansion for him in New York City. It was Hunt's fourth project for his wealthy patron. Nine years earlier Hunt had built Marquand a summer residence, Linden Gate (Figure 4), in Newport, Rhode Island, which was included in *Artistic Houses, Being a Series of Interior Views of a Number of the Most Beautiful and Celebrated Homes in the United States*.⁹ Documenting some of the most

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Figure 1. Settee, part of a large set, designed by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836–1912) and executed by Johnstone, Norman and Company for the music room in the Marquand residence. English, 1884–85. Ebony, box- and sandalwood, cedar and ebonized mahogany, ivory, mother-of-pearl, and brass, 90.2 x 148 x 71.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Elizabeth Love Godwin, 1975, 1975.219

important interiors at the time, this lavish work, published in two sections in 1883 and 1884, described the painted and carved decoration and stained glass of the house. The decoration was carried out by several of America's most prominent artists, among them John La Farge (1835–1910), Samuel Colman (1832–1920), and Robert Swain Gifford (1840–1905), as well as by the English painter Boughton and the Italian virtuoso sculptor Luigi Frullini (1839–1897).¹⁰ Between 1881 and 1884, while working for his client on a chapel at Princeton University and the Guernsey Building on lower Broadway,¹¹ Hunt built a four-story mansion and two smaller dwellings next to it on the northwest corner of East Sixty-eighth Street and Madison Avenue in New York (Figure 5).¹² The three houses, constructed of brick and sandstone, were erected in a French transitional style incorporating elements from the Gothic and Renaissance periods. The facades between the rusticated basements and the mansard roofs with their picturesque dormers and chimneys were punctuated by variously shaped and unaligned windows, balconies, and a glass conservatory at the corner. By raising the roof-line and cornice of the northernmost house, the architect had cleverly taken into account the sloping level of

Madison Avenue. Finished in 1884, the Marquand mansion was well received and favorably compared to the residence Hunt had designed earlier for William Kissam Vanderbilt.¹³ It took several more years, however, to complete the interior of the mansion. A detailed description, published in *The Decorator and Furnisher* of September 1888, creates the impression that the decoration and furnishings were then mostly ready.¹⁴

In furnishing his house, Marquand was influenced by the prevailing fashion of the period, which was dominated by the Aesthetic Movement. Strongly affected by the efforts in England to improve contemporary design, the movement was dominant in America during the last third of the nineteenth century. Emphasizing the importance of "art" and touching every aspect of life, it took as its guiding principles an opposition to mass production, to excessive ornamentation, and to the use of harsh commercial colors—all of the traits that typified the high Victorian taste.¹⁵ The interiors of many grand houses created during this period were often the result of a collaborative effort. Not only large firms such as Herter Brothers or Associated Artists were responsible for their decorating and furnishing but also at times individual American

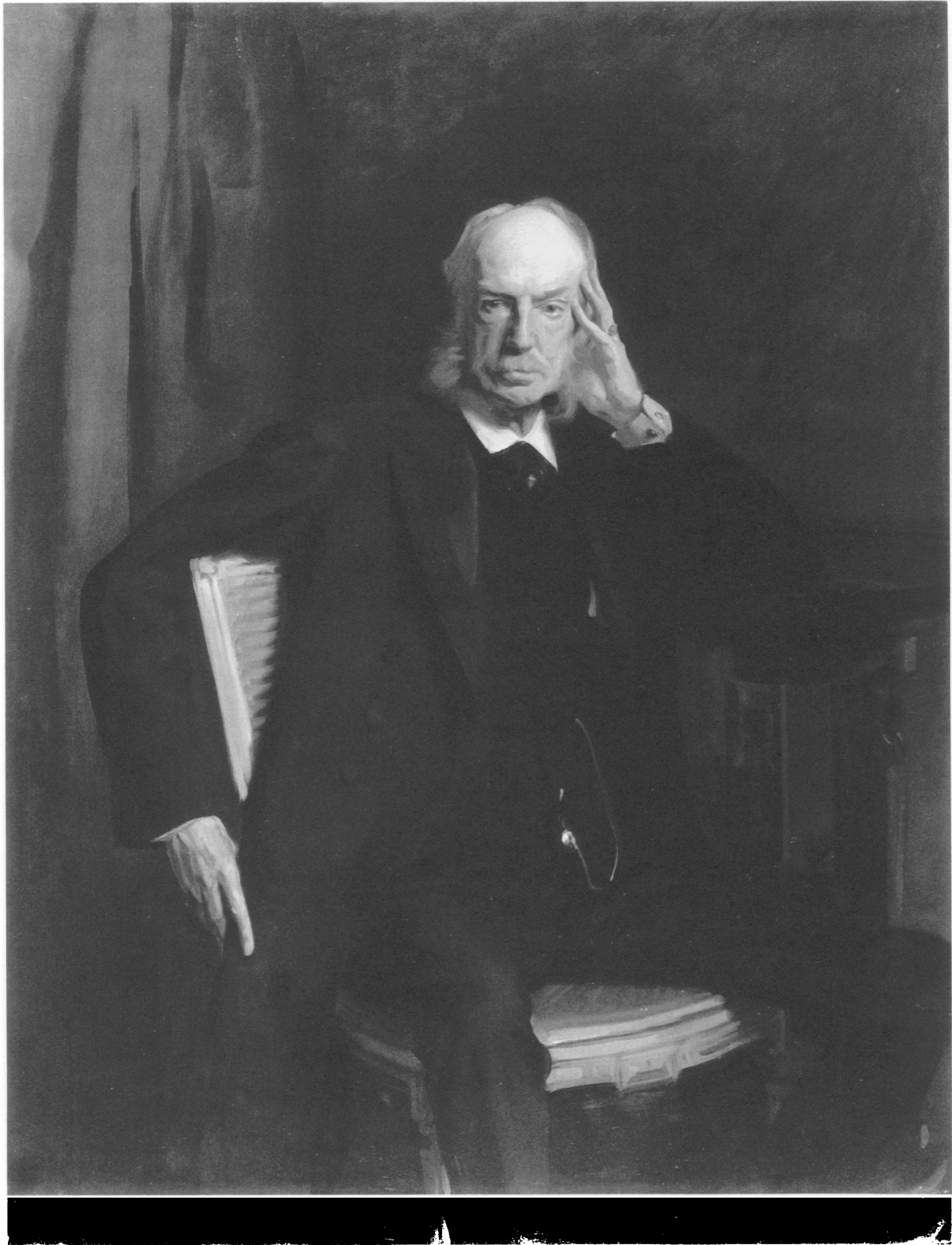


Figure 2. John Singer Sargent (1856–1925), *Portrait of Henry G. Marquand* (1819–1902), 1897. Oil on canvas, 132.1 x 106 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Trustees, 1897, 97.43



Figure 3. View of the Marquand Gallery at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1907 (photo: MMA Archives)



Figure 4. Linden Gate, Marquand's summer residence at Newport, Rhode Island, built by Richard Morris Hunt (1827–1895) in 1872–73 (photo: MMA Archives)



Figure 5. The Marquand residence and adjoining houses on Madison Avenue, built by Richard Morris Hunt for Henry G. Marquand, completed in 1884, demolished ca. 1912 (photo from *The Marquand Residence* [New York, 1905])

and European artists, who worked independently under the general direction of Hunt. These were mostly painters but sometimes architects who extended their traditional roles into the realm of interior design. The rooms, individually defined by their decor in a particular style, were harmonious because of the use of subtle and subdued color schemes. Typical for the period were painted and compartmentalized ceilings; densely decorated walls fitted with paneling, tiles, hangings, and gilt leather; the use of stained glass and mosaics; and the profusion of curtains and portieres, as well as the Oriental carpets that covered the floors from wall to wall. The art collections too were important, their display being incorporated into the overall design.

The rooms of the Marquand mansion were arranged in a rectangular plan around the centrally located hall, which was one of the most important spaces in any nineteenth-century home (Figure 6). Extending the full height of the building, the hall was lighted by skylights, and a double staircase gave access to the tiered galleries and floors above. According to current fashion, each room was decorated in a different historical style or embellished with motifs from various exotic cultures, the whole forming an appropriate background for Marquand's eclectic collection.¹⁶ In fact, the art collection was an integral part of the interior decoration.

Widely considered a New York landmark in its day, the mansion did not survive its owner for very long. After Marquand's death, his art collection was

disposed of at a highly successful auction in January 1903.¹⁷ Two years later the house was offered for sale, and an illustrated prospectus was published.¹⁸ Concern for the future of the building was expressed at that time in an anonymous *New York Times* article.¹⁹ The house was sold in 1909 and again in 1912, after which it was torn down to make way for a more profitable apartment building.²⁰ Most of its decorations were destroyed. This article is an attempt to re-create, with the help of contemporary accounts, correspondence, and photographs, some of the mansion's splendor and the process that created it. A number of the very best and most celebrated international artists collaborated on the decoration, with the result that the house contained several extraordinarily beautiful interiors, such as the Greek and the Japanese rooms. The furnishings that survive also attest to the superior quality, originality, and high level of sophistication that were attained. Marquand's correspondence with Hunt, Alma-Tadema, and other

artists is especially valuable, since the owner took an active interest in his commissions, expressing his opinions and even offering suggestions about minute details.²¹

The most important and by far the best-documented room in the mansion was the Greek parlor, or music room, located on the east side of the main hall (Figures 7–9). The classicizing furnishings for this room were designed by Alma-Tadema, who is best known for his genre paintings of the ancient world. Although a painter first and foremost, Alma-Tadema occasionally acted as a designer, as he did for his own London house (Figure 10).²² Working drawings—no longer extant—for the Marquand music room, showing details for inlay, carving, and embroidery, were provided by W. C. Codman under Alma-Tadema's supervision.²³

The artist selected the firm of Johnstone, Norman and Company in London to execute his design. In a letter to Marquand in March 1884 he wrote: "I have asked the people who work generally for me

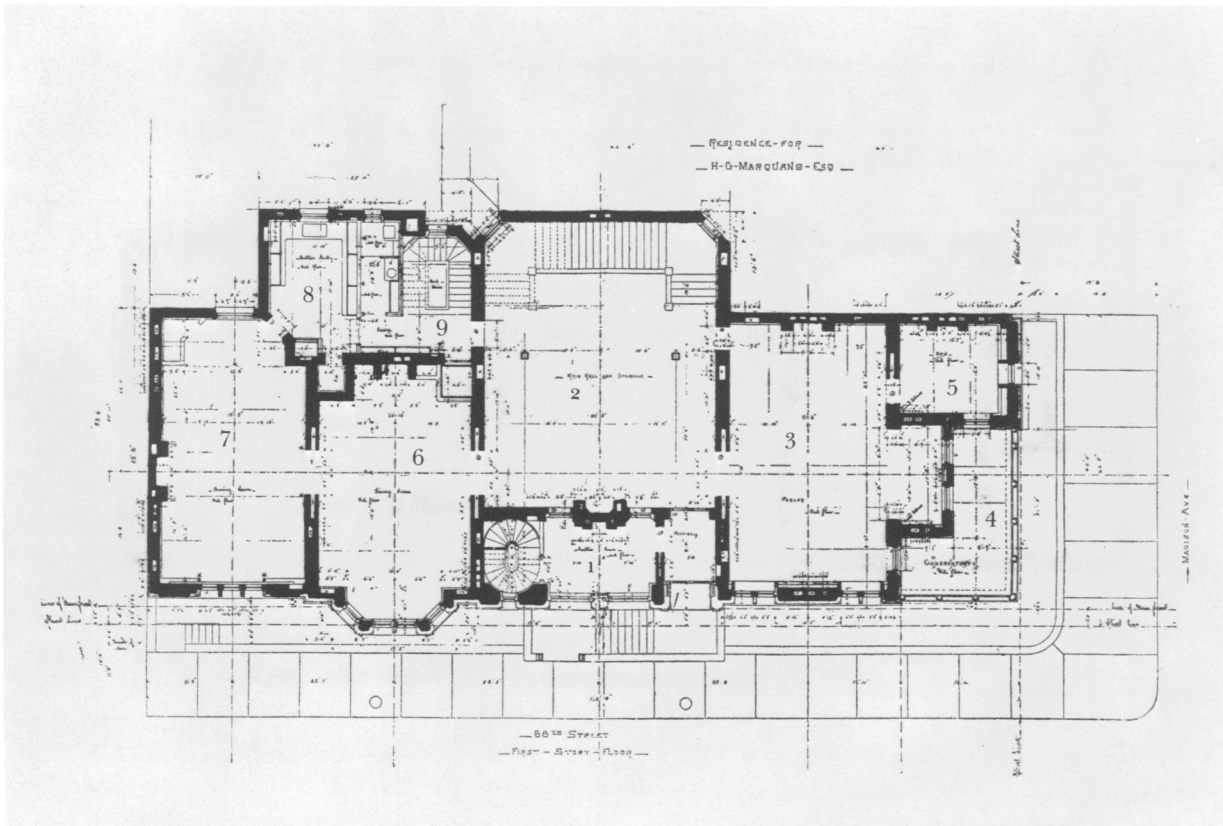
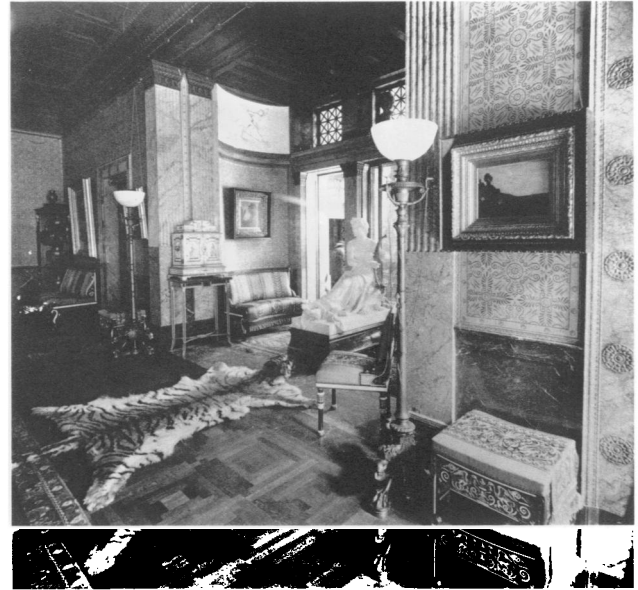
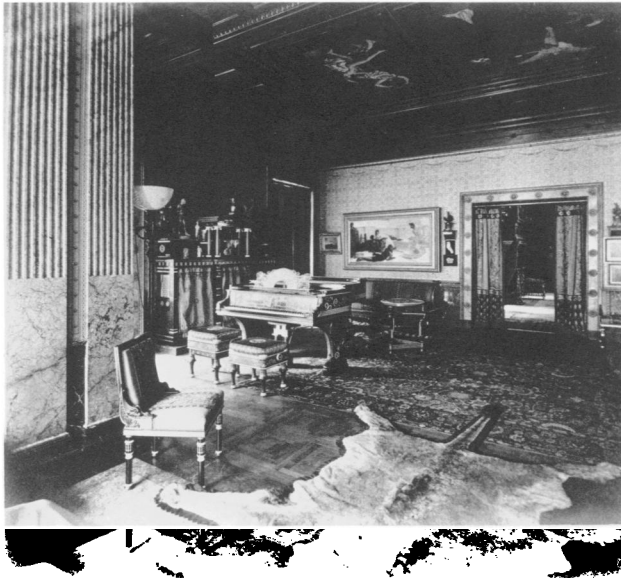


Figure 6. Plan of main floor in the Marquand residence. 1) entrance and cloak room; 2) hall and main staircase; 3) Greek music room; 4) conservatory; 5) Moorish smoking room; 6) Japanese room; 7) dining room; 8) pantry; 9) back stairs and elevator (photo from *The Marquand Residence*)



Figures 7, 8. Music room in the Marquand residence, designed by Lawrence Alma-Tadema. Roslyn Harbor, N.Y., Nassau County Museum of Art (photo: Nassau County Museum of Art)

& understand my wishes Messrs. Johnston [*sic*] Norman & Co. who do every thing amongst others for the Prince of Wales, if such be a recommendation [*sic*], to write to you on the subject of your drawing room. They will execute the things under my direction & according to my sketches if you allow me to mix up with it. I offer this as no firm will be able to do the thing good enough without the advice of a specialist.”²⁴ The painter kept his patron regularly informed of the progress made, and by the summer of 1885 the set of furniture was completed.²⁵ Exhibited in July of that year at Johnstone’s New Bond Street showroom, the pieces were written up in various contemporary journals. In one article the execution of the furniture was called “as remarkable as the quaintness of its design,” and its “Greek style” was thought to be quite characteristic of its author.²⁶

Both the richness of the materials used and the quality of the workmanship were exceptional. The Museum’s settee from this set is made of ebony, ebonized mahogany, cedar, box- and sandalwood, ivory, mother-of-pearl, and brass (Figure 1). Its harmonious design includes a carving of a duck’s head holding a reed in its bill, which is on the seat rail above the front legs. It must have had even greater effect when covered with the original green-gray silk rep upholstery adorned with colorful embroidered panels on the seat and the back. The embroidery, now replaced by a modern silkscreened adaptation, showed a pattern of scrolls, floral tendrils, inscribed circles, and guilloche motifs partly

repeating the raised inlay work found on the settee’s frame.²⁷ The rich but carefully subdued colors were compared at the time to those found in Alma-Tadema’s paintings.²⁸ Although the entire suite was offered for sale in 1903, the settee remained in the possession of the family, and in 1975 it came to the Museum as a bequest of Marquand’s granddaughter Elizabeth Love Godwin.²⁹ The rest of the set, divided among various private and public collections,³⁰ consisted of a second settee identical to the

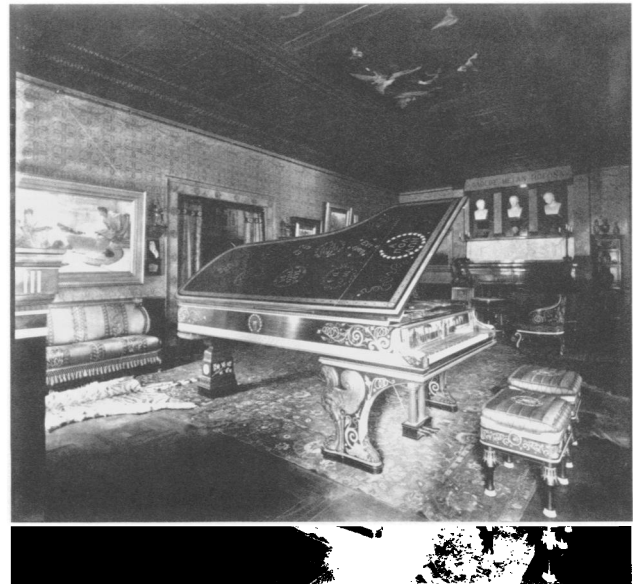


Figure 9. Music room and alcove leading to the conservatory in the Marquand residence (photo: MMA Archives)

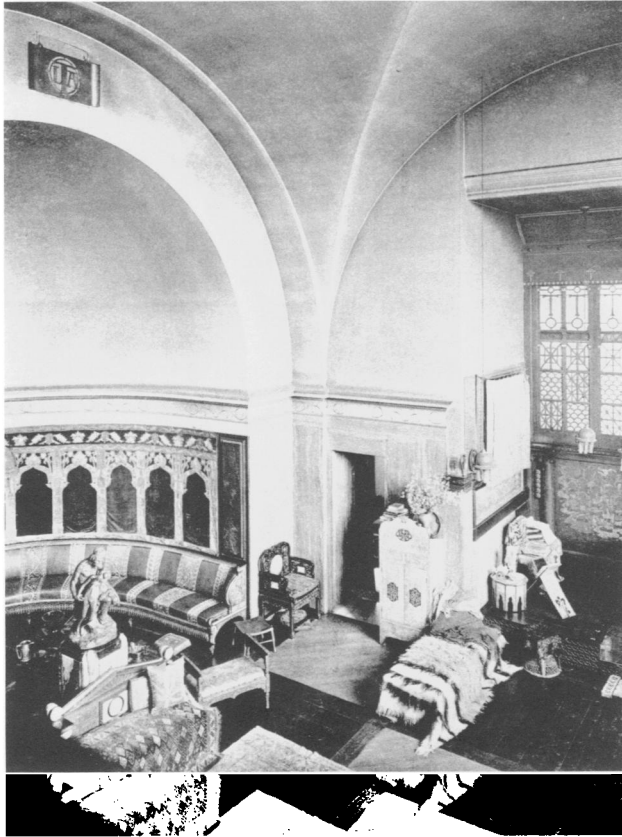


Figure 10. Lawrence Alma-Tadema's studio at 17 Grove End Road, London, with a concave-shaped seat of the same design as the Marquand music room settees (photo from *The Art Journal*, Christmas supplement [Dec. 1910])

Museum's piece, two smaller ones with curved backs to fit the walls in the alcove of the room, a pair of tub-shaped armchairs, and four side chairs (Figures 1, 11–13). These pieces of furniture were all similarly carved with ducks' heads and decorated with scrolled tendrils, rosettes, stylized palmettes, and adaptations of Greek key motifs. The owner's monogram was inlaid on the backs of the chairs. In addition, there were two tabourets, a pair of tables with round onyx tops, a music cabinet, and a pair of corner display cabinets (Figures 11, 14). The curtains of the music cabinet, as well as the portieres and window hangings of the room, were designed to match the upholstery of the seat furniture. Green-gray silk, decorated with a pattern of scrolls and stylized leaves in gold, also covered the walls above the marble dado, and an Indo-Persian rug and several animal skins were placed on the parquet floor (Figures 7–9).

Alma-Tadema, who himself owned a celebrated piano richly inlaid in a "Byzantine" style,³¹ also provided the designs for the grand piano. The Mar-

quand piano, its lid inlaid with the names of Apollo and the Muses spelled in Greek and framed by ribbon-tied laurel wreaths, along with the two matching piano stools (Figures 15–17), took longer to complete than the furniture suite. The inside of the keyboard cover contained *The Wandering Minstrels*, painted by Sir Edward Poynter (1836–1919) at Alma-Tadema's request (Figure 18).³² Alma-Tadema reported to Marquand in February of 1886: "I took the liberty of ordering Poynter as you know one of our very best artists to paint the inside lid of the piano. He is a classic artist who will I am sure make something beautiful of it."³³ There may have been some discussion about the supports for the piano, since Alma-Tadema wrote to New York in July of the same year: "I saw the Norman piano business & have ordered the lion leg to be executed alone & in sending you the piano to add a coloured cast of the project of the whole leg in order that if you should ultimately prefer that they could adapt the simple legs delivered[?] to it."³⁴ On display in London during the summer of 1887, the piano, described as one of the most superb specimens of elaborately artistic workmanship, was widely admired by members of London society.³⁵

Alma-Tadema was also responsible for the design of the fender and firedogs for the fireplace in the same room (Figure 19). In May 1889 he wrote to Marquand, who apparently had suggested that he create andirons in the shape of flaming candlesticks: "I don't like your burning candlesticks at all especially when they have to do service for firedogs. So I propose to replace them by two figures in the style of the beautiful antique piping herms of the British Museum. . . . The masks on [the] fender would represent comedy & tragedy & the shell in the centre which would prevent ladies' dresses coming in contact with the fire would in the same time be usefull [*sic*] to act as a support for the fire irons. I hope sincerely that the price will not be too much for you as I should like so much to know your fireplace in the same caracter [*sic*] as the other furniture in your room."³⁶

Marquand must have agreed on the price, and the firedogs, copied and adapted from a first-century marble term in the British Museum, were executed in bronze by another of Alma-Tadema's talented friends, the sculptor Edward Onslow Ford (1852–1901) (Figure 19).³⁷

In the early stages of his work for the Marquand music room, Alma-Tadema asked Sir Frederick Leighton (1830–1896), then president of the Royal

Figure 11. Settee, table, and side chair: part of a large set designed by Lawrence Alma-Tadema and executed by Johnstone, Norman and Company, for the music room in the Marquand residence. English, 1884–85. Ebony, box- and sandalwood, cedar, ivory, mother-of-pearl, brass, and onyx (photo: sale catalogue, American Art Association, 1927)



Figure 12. Tub chair: part of a large set designed by Lawrence Alma-Tadema and executed by Johnstone, Norman and Company for the music room in the Marquand residence. English, 1884–85. Ebony, box- and sandalwood, cedar, ivory, mother-of-pearl, and brass, 90.2 x 57.3 cm. Its mate is in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria (photo: National Gallery of Victoria)



Figure 13. Back view of chair in Figure 12 (photo: National Gallery of Victoria)



Figure 14. Music cabinet: part of a large set designed by Lawrence Alma-Tadema and executed by Johnstone, Norman and Company for the music room of the Marquand residence. English, 1884–85. Ebony, box- and sandalwood, cedar, ivory, mother-of-pearl, and brass, 207 x 235 x 45.7 cm. Norfolk, Virginia, The Chrysler Museum (photo: The Chrysler Museum)

Academy and the leading classicizing painter of his day in Great Britain, to create a painting for the room's ceiling. In August of 1884 he wrote to Marquand: "At last I can give you some decided news about the ceiling. Sir Frederic [*sic*] Leighton proposes to paint for you on gold ground or silver if you choose, 7 life size figures, 3 in the big panell [*sic*] & 2 in each of the smaller ones. The distance being small. The spectator seeing every thing clearly. Those figures will have to be carefully executed as he only can do it and he will squeeze your order in for next summer. He will undertake to do so for the sum of £2000."³⁸

The artist apparently kept his promise to start the work in 1885, since *The Athenaeum* for December reported "considerable progress" on the ceiling.³⁹

In January of the following year the painter described his tripartite design for it as follows: "I have thought that in a room dedicated to the performance of music the muses will [be] the proper presiding spirits in as much as with the Greeks music & poetry always went hand in hand. In the central compartment therefore I have introduced two of them: Melpomene, & Thalia, the muses of sacred and of epic poetry—seated between them is Mnemosyne, the mother of the muses, above whom hover two winged genii wandering voices of melody & song; on each side of her are the Delphic emblems the tripod, the python, the laurel and at her feet the dolphin—in this compartment then we have the grave aspects of song—in the side compartments a contrast is offered—in one I represent



Figure 15. Grand piano and pair of stools, designed by Lawrence Alma-Tadema and executed by Johnstone, Norman and Company for the music room in the Marquand residence. English, 1887. Ebony, box- and sandalwood, cedar, coral, mother-of-pearl, and brass. On loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figures 16, 17. Details of Figure 15



Figure 18. Detail of Figure 15, showing part of *The Wandering Minstrels* by Sir Edward Poynter (1836–1919) (photo: Parke Bernet Eighty-Four)

the poetry of love by a fair maiden crowning her head with roses while a winged boy tunes the lyre by her side—in the other I show a Bacchant and a little faun dancing to pipe and tambourine—representing the Bacchic element, the element of revelry in one thing” (Figure 20).⁴⁰

In this letter as well as in a later one Leighton stressed the decorative aspect of his designs. The figures were to be “more or less isolated and very firm in outline and should have no pictorial background . . . they should be of full rich tone on a gold ground—the effect would be rather that of the old mosaics and I think very telling.”⁴¹

Writing to Marquand, Alma-Tadema praised sketches for the ceiling, calling them “one of the happiest things Leighton has ever put together.”⁴² The paintings, exhibited both at the Royal Academy in London and at the Liverpool Autumn Exhibition in 1886, were probably installed toward the end of that year or early in the following year.⁴³ The artist suggested introducing “a little gold somewhere in the cedar framework to ‘carrythru’ that in the background of the paintings,” at least if Hunt did not disapprove or had not already done so.⁴⁴ Perhaps the tiny gold flowers on the frame of a preparatory oil sketch, now in a private collection, illustrate what Leighton had in mind (Figure 21).⁴⁵ Leighton’s

work was included in the 1903 sale as mural paintings and sold at least once since then, and its present location is not known.

Paintings by Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788), John Crome (1768–1821; known as “Old Crome”), Constant Troyon (1810–1865), Edwin Austin Abbey (1852–1911), and two by Alma-Tadema himself were hung on the music room’s walls.⁴⁶ Alma-Tadema inquired in March 1884 whether his commissioned *A Reading from Homer* (Figure 22) was intended for the music room so that he could have a frame made for it in style.⁴⁷ This celebrated painting caused the artist considerable trouble. Not happy with the results, Alma-Tadema first changed the composition, and when that still did not satisfy him, he started the work anew. In April of 1885 he wrote to Marquand: “. . . I have been especially kept by my painting since several month[s] & was in great distress owing to my losing [sic] more & more ground with the picture I painted for you & which I hoped to make as successful as was in my power. Perhaps overanxiety perhaps missing the point the thing would not do. It did not please me & I put it on side in order to begin afresh. Profiting by all the experience & study spent on the other canvass & by secluding myself thouroughly [sic] & by not receiving & by hard work I have suc-

ceeded in finishing for you what I believe to be & what all my friends say is by far the best big picture I ever painted.”⁴⁸

Also commissioned for the room were several marble reliefs (Figures 23, 24) executed in Rome by the gifted Spanish artist Mariano Benlliure y Gil (1862–1947). It may well have been Boughton rather than Alma-Tadema who recommended Benlliure to Marquand, who was clearly impressed by the sculptor’s talent.⁴⁹ One of the reliefs, displayed on the overmantel, depicted a Bacchanal and was surmounted by copies of three antique busts and by the Greek quotation “A mighty beard of flame” from Aeschylus’s *Agamemnon* (Figure 8). Other works by Benlliure, depicting foot and chariot races and gladiators fighting lions, were used over the door to the hall and in the curved alcove that led to the conservatory behind (Figures 9, 23, 24).⁵⁰

Marquand, like other wealthy American collectors, such as Isabella Stewart Gardner,⁵¹ acquired classical art for the embellishment of his home. At one point he had considered purchasing Wedgwood, probably black basalt or jasperwares, for the music room but, possibly at Boughton’s suggestion, a number of authentic Greek vases were arranged in the two corner display cabinets instead.⁵² The Metropolitan Museum’s Attic black-figured neck amphora attributed to the Pasikles Painter and dating from about 530 B.C. was most likely displayed among them (Figure 25).⁵³ Greek and Roman marble busts and Greek terracottas, as well as copies of antique bronzes, were placed on top of the music cabinet.⁵⁴ These reproductions, readily available at

the time, were obtained with the help of Leighton.⁵⁵ An Augsburg cabinet on a stand was found near the entrance of the alcove leading to the conservatory (Figures 9 and 26). This cabinet, one of the few objects that were purchased by the Museum at the Marquand sale, is veneered with engraved ivory and is mounted on the inside with three silver and silver-gilt reliefs representing Ceres, Bacchus, Venus, and Cupid. They were made by the silversmith Jeremias Sibenbürger (ca. 1583–1659) and bear the Augsburg silvermark for the period 1655–60.⁵⁶ A marble statue, *L’Inspiration*, by the French sculptor Jean Gautherin (1840–1890), was placed in the center of the alcove. Dated 1887, this sculpture of a seated woman playing the harp was reportedly commissioned for Marquand by Hunt (Figure 9).⁵⁷

The Marquand music room was considered one of the most important in the United States. In 1902 the firm of Steinway & Sons asked for permission to include it in a publication on the music rooms of its English royal patrons.⁵⁸

Like many other New York City residences of the period, the Marquand mansion included a room in the Japanese style (Figures 27–29). The opening of Japan for trade with the Western world in the 1850s resulted in a growing interest in all things Japanese and in an increased availability of Japanese art. The passion for Japan also extended into the realm of interior decoration; a notable example was the parlor in William H. Vanderbilt’s Fifth Avenue house, furnished by Herter Brothers between 1879 and 1882.⁵⁹ Marquand’s Japanese living room was designed by the New York architect Manly N. Cutter

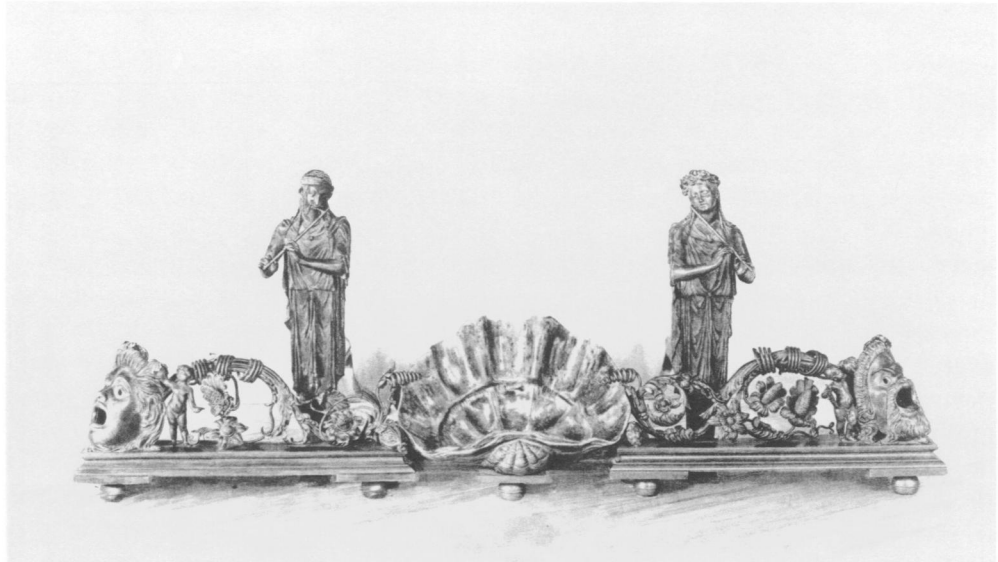


Figure 19. Fender and pair of andirons, designed by Lawrence Alma-Tadema and executed by Edward Onslow Ford (1852–1901) for the music room in the Marquand residence, 1889. Bronze, fender: l. 147.3 cm; andirons: h. 76.2 cm. Present location unknown (photo from *Illustrated Catalogue of the Art and Literary Property Collected by the Late Henry G. Marquand* [New York, 1903])

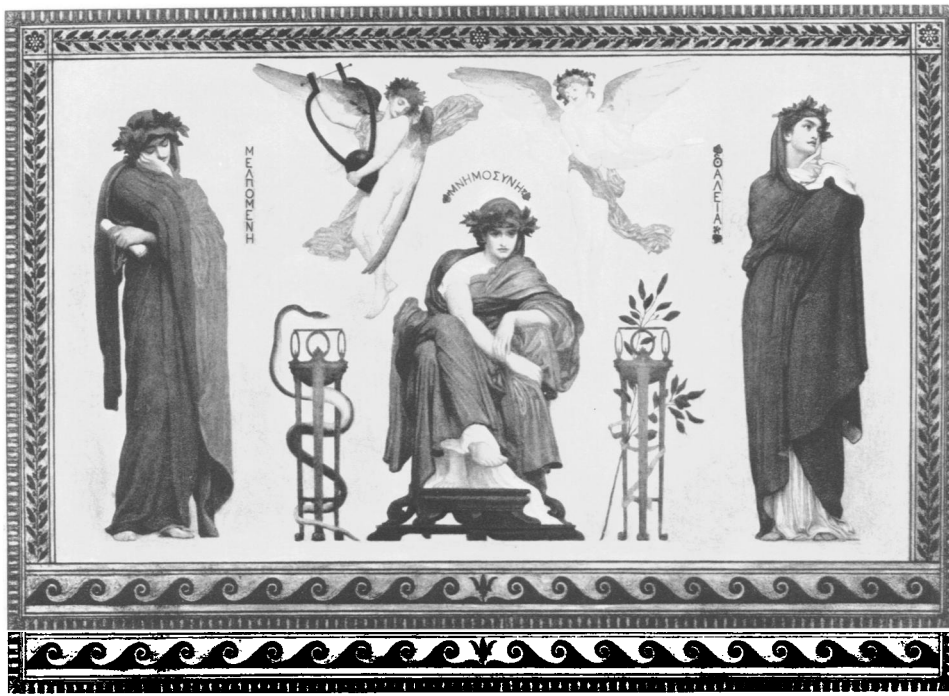


Figure 20. Sir Frederick Leighton (1830–1896), central panel of ceiling decoration depicting Melpomene, Mnemosyne, and Thalia, executed for the music room in the Marquand residence. 1885–86. Oil on canvas, 200.7 x 330.2 cm. Present location unknown (photo from *Illustrated Catalogue of the Art and Literary Property Collected by the Late Henry G. Marquand*)



Figure 21. Sir Frederick Leighton, sketch for ceiling decoration, ca. 1885. Oil on wood, 29.2 x 82.6 cm. New York, private collection

(1851–1931) and was intended to house his collection of Asian art.⁶⁰ It took several years to complete the elaborate interior, which was thought to have been commissioned with the Metropolitan Museum in mind.⁶¹ The walls were covered with embroidered silk specially ordered in Japan. Although a floral pattern had been requested, the silk instead showed a design of flower vases, musical instruments, furniture, braziers, and other household items, embroidered partly in high relief on a purplish-brown ground.⁶² A series of open cabinets with asymmetrically arranged shelving was placed along the walls for the display of Chinese and Japanese porcelain and pottery, ivory netsuke, and lacquer objects, mostly from the nineteenth century.

These cabinets were made of Brazilian quebracho, as was all the woodwork in the room. Considering the hardness of this red-brown wood and the difficulty of working it, the decoration of the ceiling, cabinets, overmantel, doors, and their frames, carved by the firm of Robert Ellin & John W. Kitson, was a true tour de force (Figure 29).⁶³ The narrow recess to the left of the elaborately decorated fireplace was fitted with a stained-glass panel by La Farge, whose Japanese-inspired window *Peonies Blown in the Wind* had been previously acquired by Marquand for Linden Gate (Figure 30).⁶⁴

Smoking rooms in the Moorish style were considered de rigueur and were found in many fashionable residences, such as the Cornelius Vanderbilt II

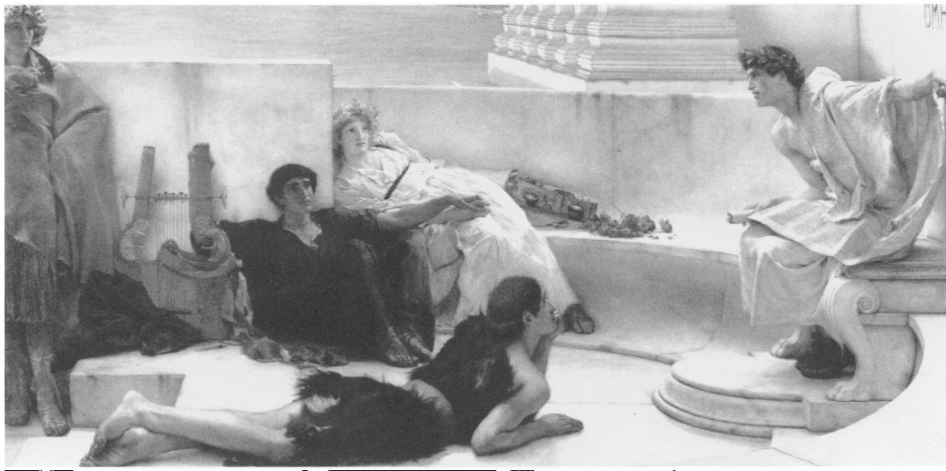


Figure 22. Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *A Reading from Homer*, 1885. Oil on canvas, 91.4 x 183.8 cm. The Philadelphia Museum of Art, George W. Elkins Collection (photo: The Philadelphia Museum of Art)

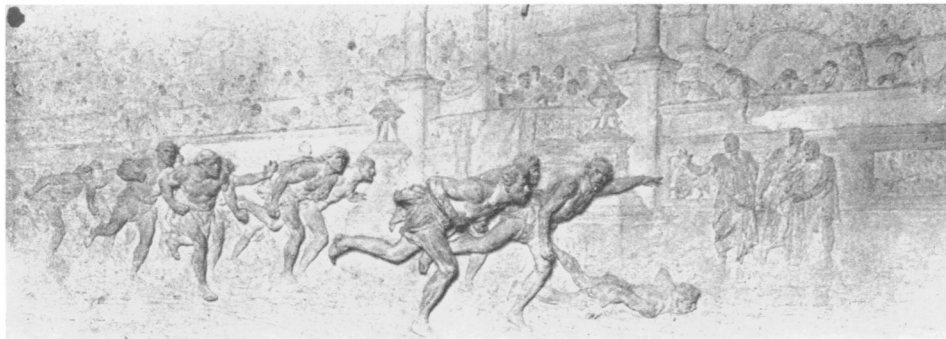


Figure 23. Mariano Benlliure y Gil (1862–1947), relief depicting a foot race, ca. 1885. Marble. From the music room in the Marquand residence, present location unknown (photo from Carmen de Pessanha, *Vida artística de Mariano Benlliure* [Madrid, 1947])



Figure 24. Mariano Benlliure y Gil, relief depicting a chariot race, ca. 1885. Marble. From the music room in the Marquand residence, present location unknown (photo from Carmen de Quevedo Pessanha, *Vida artística de Mariano Benlliure*)



Figure 25. Black-figure neck amphora attributed to the Pasikles Painter, showing Iolaos, Herakles and the Lion, and Athena. Attic, ca. 530 B.C. Terracotta, h. 41.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Christos G. Bastis, 1967, 67.44.1



Figure 26. Cabinet. German (Augsburg), 1655–59. Wood veneered with engraved ivory, silver (by Jeremias Sibenbürger), silver-gilt, and gilt-brass, 71.8 x 62.2 x 40 cm. The silver by Jeremias Sibenbürger. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903, 03.18

mansion at Fifty-seventh Street and Fifth Avenue.⁶⁵ For the Moorish smoking room in Marquand's house, located next to the conservatory, La Farge made an alabaster overdoor panel "in rich Persian style" with floral motifs in "gemlike deeply colored glass" (Figure 31).⁶⁶ The ceiling and frieze consisted of Spanish lusterware tiles, and the upper parts of the walls were embellished with colored plaster ornament in relief.⁶⁷ Similar plasterwork, based on wall decoration found in the Myrtle Court at the Alhambra in Granada, was also used for the overmantel (Figure 31).⁶⁸ Objects of Hispano-Moresque lusterware and Islamic glass were arranged in the three keyhole-shaped niches and the scalloped arched recess of the overmantel, as well as in the wall cabinets flanking the fireplace. A large bowl with blue and turquoise decoration (Figure 33), made in the Turkish town of İznik about 1525–30, may well have been among them. In the center of the room stood a satinwood desk with keyhole-shaped arches, spindle decoration, and fine metal inlay (Figure 32), attributed to Associated Artists of New York, the leading design firm, founded in 1879 by Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848–1933), Colman, Lockwood de Forest (1850–1932), and several

other artists.⁶⁹ When the firm was dissolved in 1883, work in the field of interior decoration was continued by Tiffany and his own studios, the Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company. Tiffany is known to have made mosaic and glass for the hall, and it is possible that he was involved in the furnishing of the Moorish room as well.

Very different in atmosphere from the exotic smoking room was the more solemn dining room, executed in English Renaissance style (Figures 34, 35). The walls, paneled with oak wainscoting, were hung with a series of late-sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries, possibly those secured for Marquand by the London dealer Charles W. Deschamps. The dealer wrote to New York on August 16, 1882: "I think you will be pleased with the tapestries, they have been much admired here. Mr. Henry James, the novelist [*sic*] told me to congratulate you on your purchase."⁷⁰ Two weeks later Deschamps wrote Marquand: "It was very curious to find the tapestries to fit so exactly your room. I am sure you will feel gratified when you see them. They are just suited for a Jacobean Hall."⁷¹ The tapestries illustrated subjects from the Old Testament: the entrance was flanked by *The Visit of the Queen of Sheba*

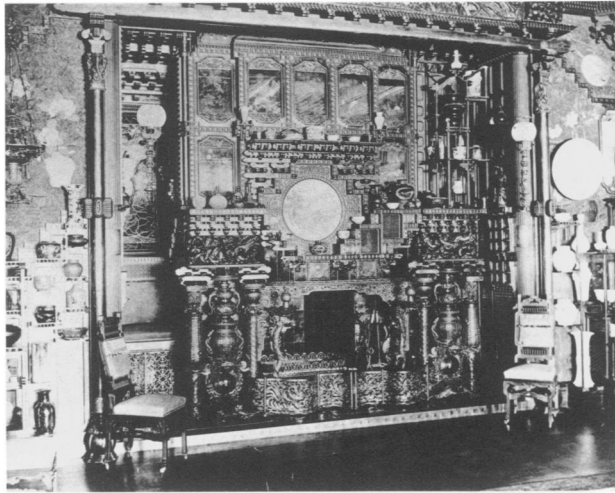


Figure 27. Wall with fireplace in the Japanese room in the Marquand residence, designed by Manly Cutter (photo:

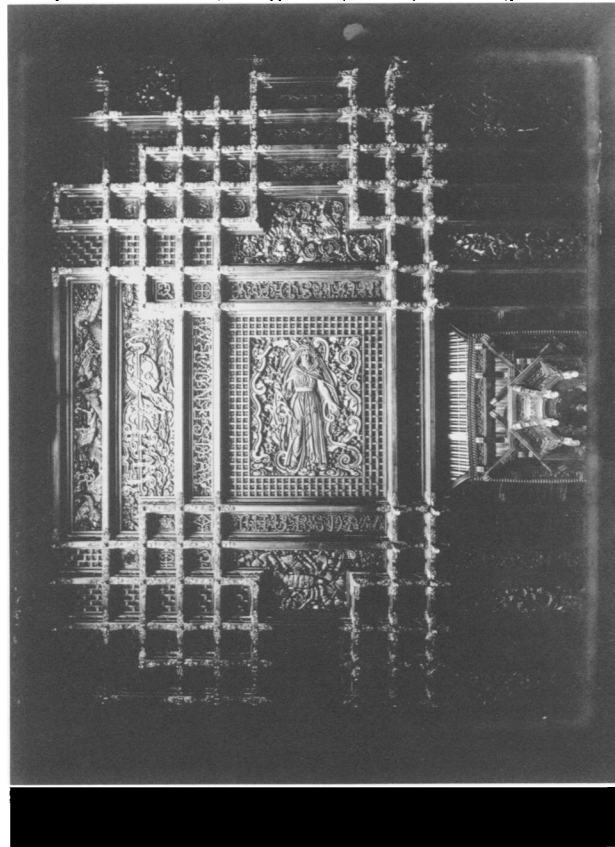


Figure 29. Part of the ceiling in the Japanese room in the Marquand residence, executed by the firm of Ellin and Kitson. The carving incorporates several mottos as well as the signs of the Zodiac and the days of the week (photo: MMA Archives)



Figure 28. Japanese room in the Marquand residence.

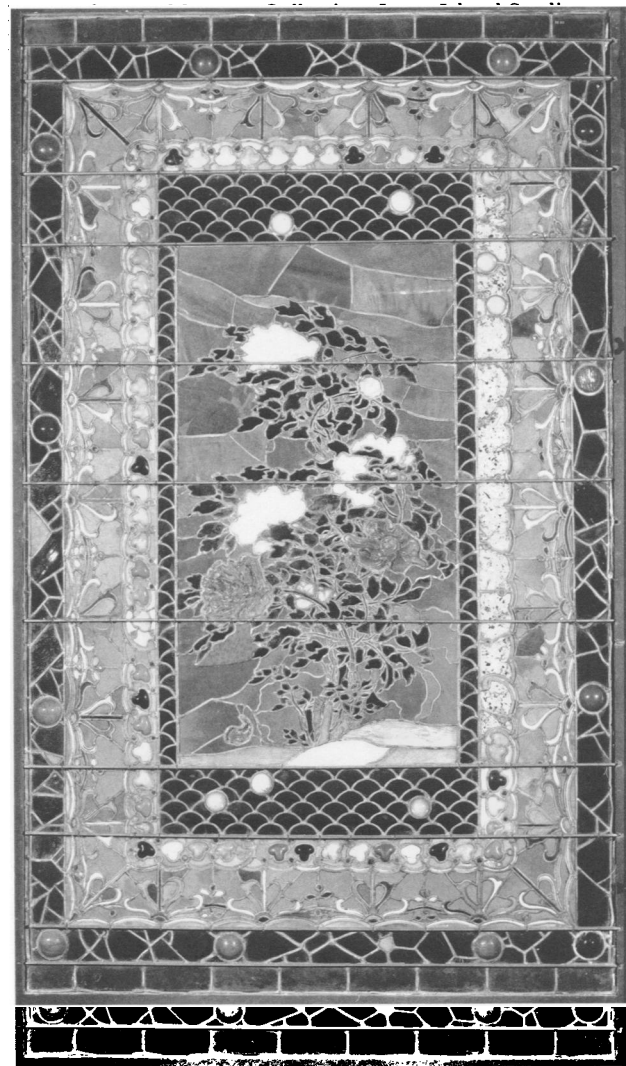


Figure 30. John La Farge (1835–1910), *Peonies Blown in the Wind*, 1878–79. Leaded glass, 190.5 x 114.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Susan Dwight Bliss, 1930, 30.50



Figure 31. B. Krieger etching depicting the Moorish room in the Marquand residence in 1893 (photo: Nassau County Museum Collection)

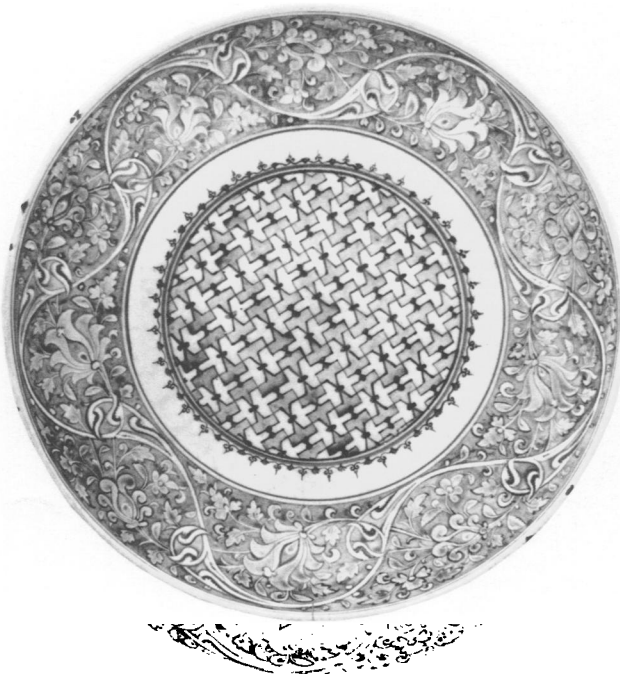


Figure 33. Dish, Turkish (Iznik), ca. 1525–30. Earthenware, diam. 39.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.727



Figure 32. Desk, attributed to Associated Artists. New York, 1880s. Satinwood inlaid with metalwork and leather, 75.2 x 91.4 x 61.9 cm. Private collection, New York

to *King Solomon* (Figure 34) and *David Returning with the Head of Goliath*. On either side of the fireplace were *David Before Saul* and *The Wrath of Saul* (Figure 35).⁷² Mirrored cabinets and sideboards used for the display of silver, enamels, and English Derby porcelain were arranged around the room.⁷³ The case furniture and the heavy oak table and chairs, which were upholstered with leather, were made in England, where special care had been taken “to follow the old examples in the designs.”⁷⁴

Marquand had apparently sent Alma-Tadema a photograph of this room, because the latter responded in a letter of August 8, 1887: “I never received the photo of your dining room as promised but I dare say it will arrive in due time & will be most welcome here as a means of realizing in our minds [*sic*] eye the interior of a house where we are regarded as friends. I really long to find an opportunity of passing the treshold [*sic*] of it & revel in all its beauties.”⁷⁵

The stately hall would, without a doubt, have been considered among the mansion’s “beauties” by the artist. Its walls of wood paneling and poly-

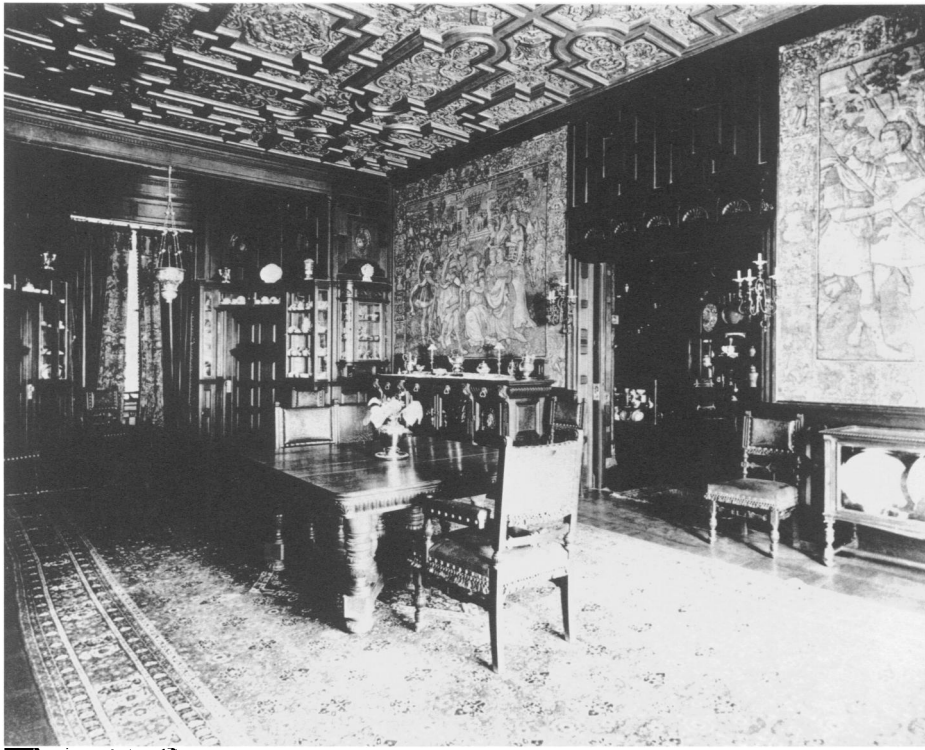


Figure 34. Dining room in the Marquand residence (photo: Nassau County Museum of Art)

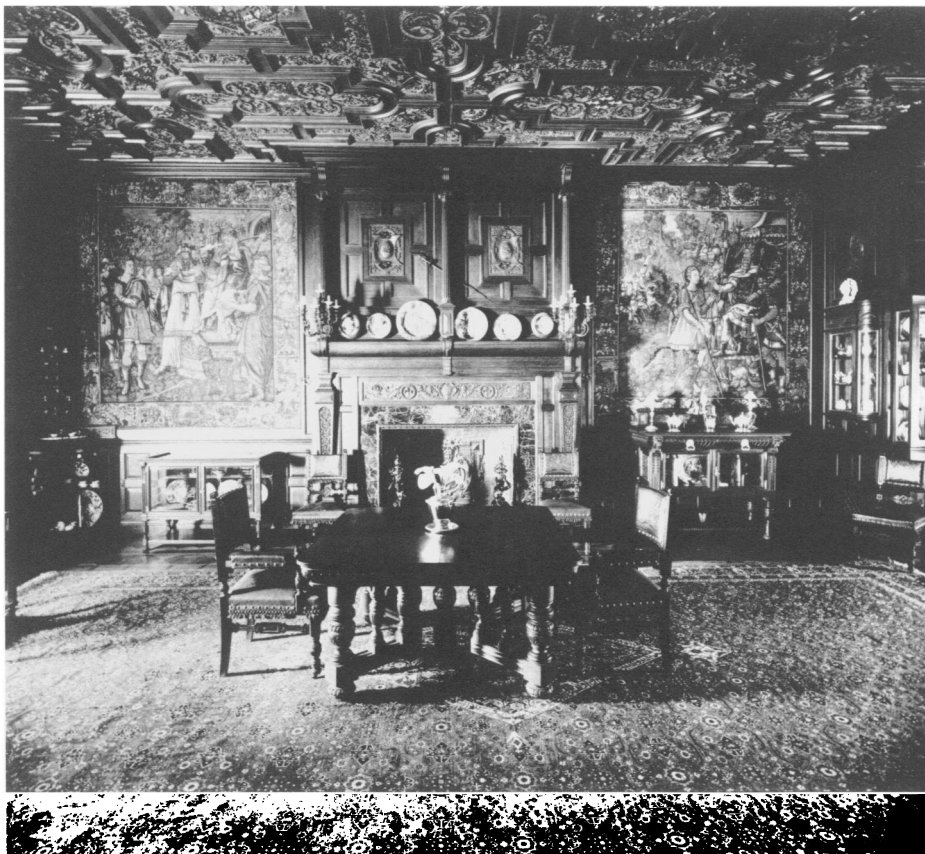


Figure 35. Dining room in the Marquand residence (photo: MMA Archives)

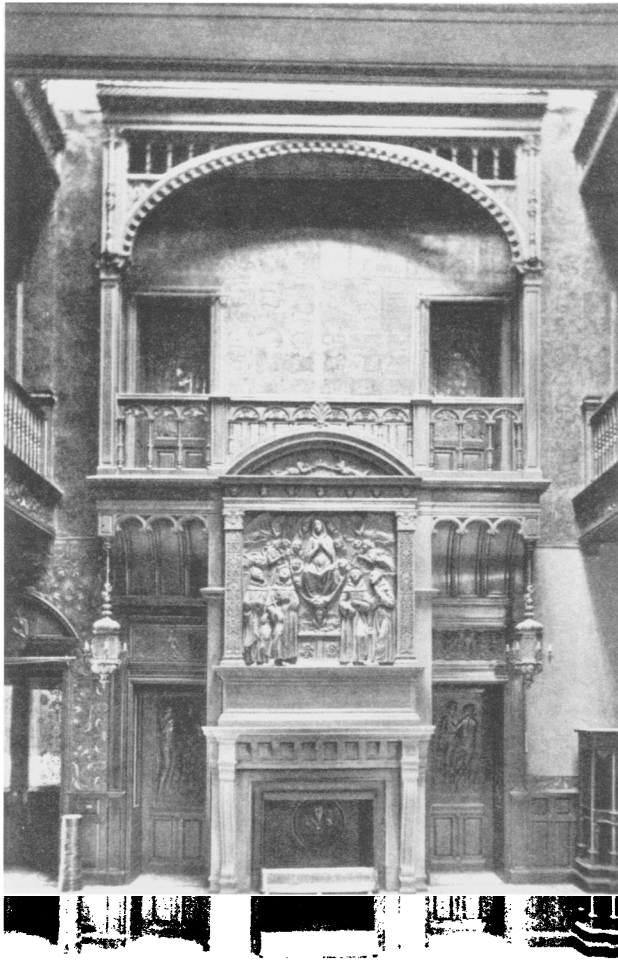


Figure 36. Fireplace in the hall of the Marquand residence photographed in 1903 after the removal of the art works (photo from Harry W. Desmond and Herbert Croly, *Stately Homes in America* [New York, 1903], courtesy The New York Public Library)

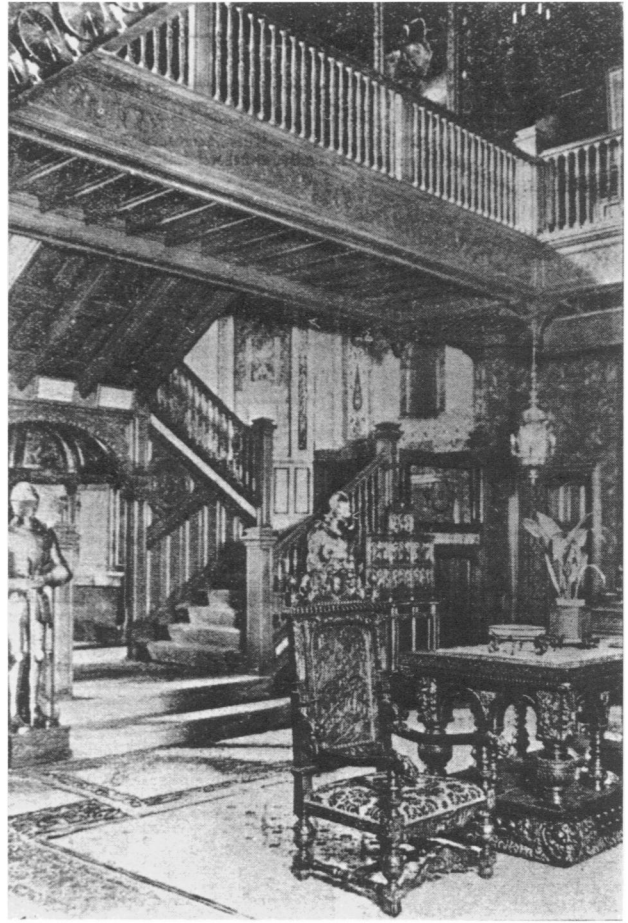


Figure 37. Detail of the hall with staircase in the Marquand residence (photo from *The New York Tribune, Illustrated Supplement*, April 6, 1902, courtesy Nassau County Museum of Art)



Figure 38. *Clorinda and Tancred in Combat*, based on a scene in *Gerusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso, woven for Pietro, Cardinal Ottoboni. Italian (Roman), 1735. Wool and silk tapestry, 353.6 x 597 cm. Private Italian collection (photo: Sotheby Parke Bernet)

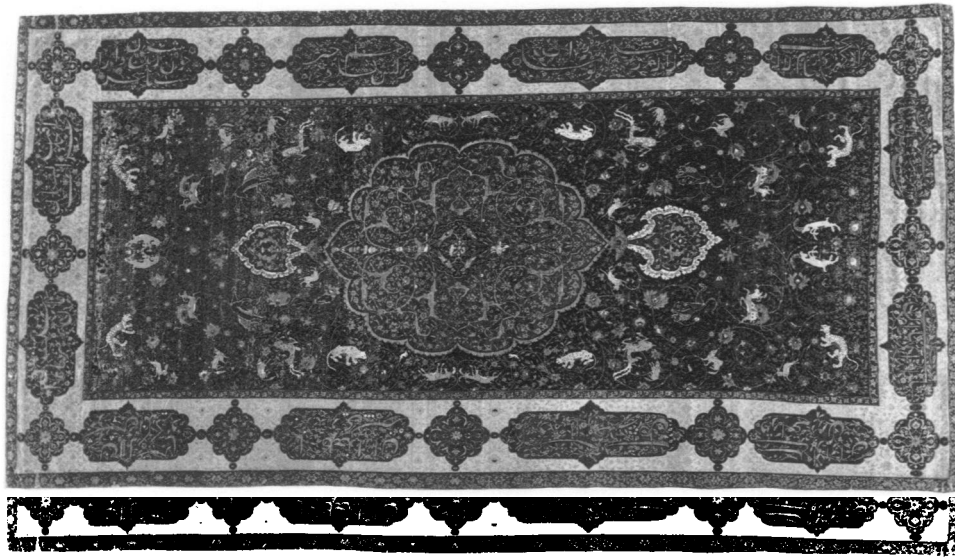


Figure 39. Marquand medallion carpet. Anatolian (Hereke?), mid-19th century. Silk wool, 358.2 x 181.6 cm. It is not known in which room of the Marquand house this carpet was used. The Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs. John D. McIlhenny, in memory of John D. McIlhenny (photo: The Philadelphia Museum of Art)

chrome tiles were covered with gilt leather and tapestries (Figures 36, 37).⁷⁶ One of the tapestries was based on a scene from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. Depicting Clorinda and Tancred in combat, framed by a border of caryatid figures, flowers, masks, and fruit, the tapestry was purchased at the sale of the Hamilton Palace collection in 1882 (Figure 38).⁷⁷ One of a large set woven in Rome for Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, it was signed by the weaver Nouzou and dated 1735.⁷⁸

The marble floor was covered with one of Marquand's Near Eastern carpets (Figure 39); rugs from his noteworthy collection were found in nearly every room of the house.⁷⁹ A prominent place in the hall was occupied by a large stone fireplace with a reproduction of the *Assumption of the Virgin* by the workshop of Andrea della Robbia above the mantel (Figure 36). The original glazed terracotta altarpiece (Figure 40), which dates from about 1500, was donated by Marquand to the Metropolitan Museum in 1882.⁸⁰ The acquisition of this altarpiece stirred the interest of Marquand's son Allan (1853–1924) in the work of Andrea della Robbia. In fact, Allan later became the foremost expert on the sculpture of the della Robbia family.⁸¹ The *Assumption of the Virgin* was not the only della Robbia in his father's possession. According to the list of suggested illustrations for the 1903 sale catalogue, there must have been at least one other work by this family of artists on display in the hall.⁸² This could have been Andrea's portrait roundel of a young man of about 1470 or the older *Madonna and Child*, made several decades earlier by Luca della Robbia, both now in the Museum's holdings (Figures 41, 42).

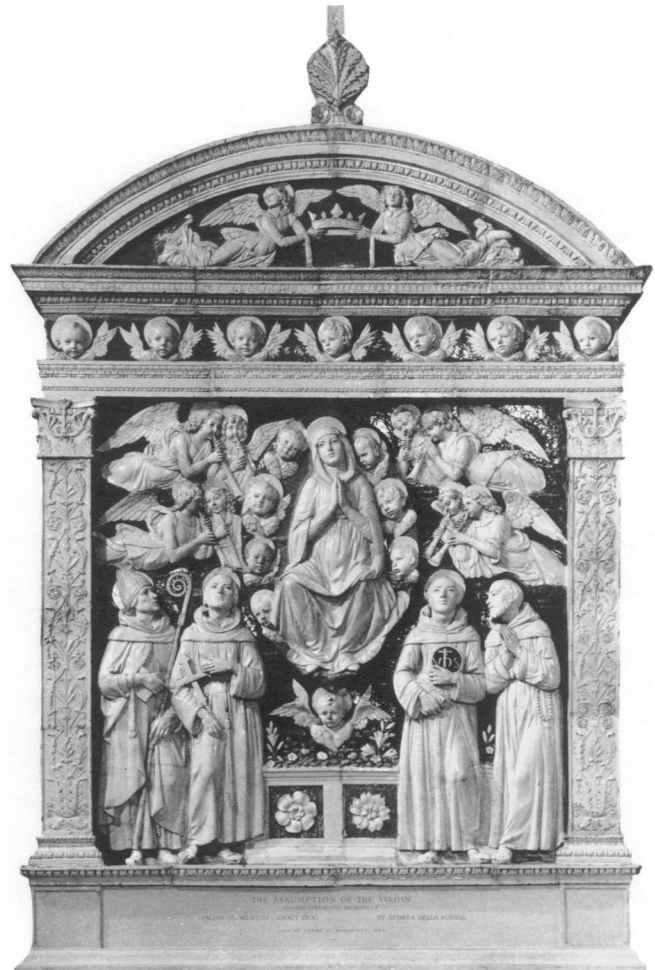


Figure 40. Workshop of Andrea della Robbia (1435–1525), *Assumption of the Virgin*. Florentine, ca. 1500. Enameled terracotta, 300.99 x 223.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1882, 82.4



Figure 41. Andrea della Robbia (1435–1525), portrait roundel. Florentine, ca. 1470. Enameled terracotta, diam. 54.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund,



Figure 42. Luca della Robbia (1399/1400–1482), *Madonna and Child*. Florentine, ca. 1440–60. Enameled terracotta, 48.3 x 38.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Susan Dwight Bliss, 1966, 67.55.98

Near the oak staircase stood a metal stand supporting a screen made of twenty-one enameled copper plaques depicting prophets, apostles, and sibyls (Figures 37 and 43). Arranged in the shape of an altar frontal by the nineteenth-century firm of Beurdeley, the enamels were the work of Léonard Limosin and can be dated between 1535 and 1540.⁸³

A bronze fountain of a boy wrestling with a goose, executed by the New York foundry of Henry Bonnard, was placed against the wall on the platform between the double flight of stairs.⁸⁴ This was most likely a copy of the well-known Roman marble sculpture from the first century A.D., based on a Hellenistic original.⁸⁵ Tiffany designed the wall mosaics and mosaic glass windows along the stairs, which were created to harmonize with the polychrome tiles in the hall.⁸⁶ One can only speculate if this was a prelude to Tiffany's celebrated work for the hall of the Henry Osborne Havemeyer residence, executed several years later.⁸⁷

The second floor housed the library and several bedrooms, each furnished in a different style. One of the bedrooms had a finish of bird's-eye maple and a carved mantelpiece of the same wood. It is very likely that a suite of furniture executed in bird's-eye maple and used later by Marquand's youngest daughter, Elizabeth Love Marquand

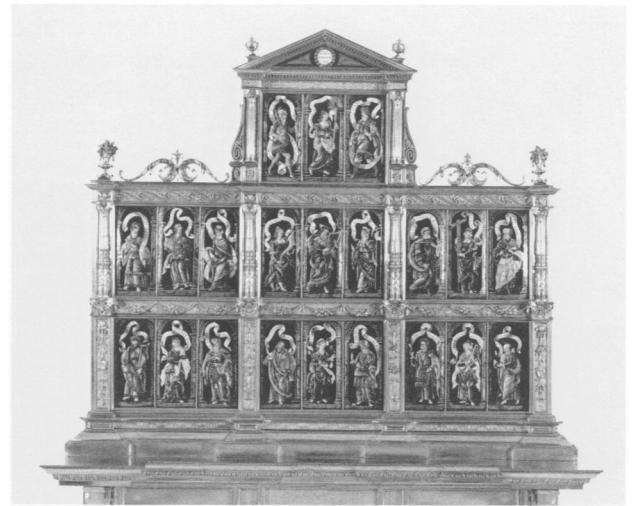


Figure 43. Screen with 21 enamel plaques depicting prophets, apostles, and sibyls. The plaques, by Léonard Limosin (ca. 1503–1577), French (Limoges), ca. 1535–40. The screen, French (Paris), 19th century. Gilt and silvered copper, 108 x 132.1 cm. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery (photo: The Walters Art Gallery)



Figure 44. Bedstead, part of a set. New York, ca. 1880–84. Bird's-eye maple, 130.8 x 125.1 x 203.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Friends of the American Wing Fund, 1986, 1986.47.1



Figures 45, 46. Octagonal table and side chair, part of same set as Figure 44. New York, ca. 1880–84. Bird's-eye maple; table: 76.8 x 71.1 cm., side chair: 88.3 x 42.5 x 42.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Friends of the American Wing Fund, 1986, 1986.47.2,3



Figure 47. George Henry Boughton (1833–1905), *Marvell's Last Visit to Milton*, 1884–87. Oil on canvas, 69.9 x 165.1 cm. Present location unknown (photo from *The Henry G. Marquand Collection* [New York, 1903])

(1861–1951), was made for this room.⁸⁸ Several pieces of this set—a pair of side chairs, a table with an octagonal top, and a bedstead—were acquired by the Museum in 1986 (Figures 44–46). The carved bedstead displays classical ornamentation consisting of a winged cupid, curved fluting, urns, paterae, and acanthus-scroll decoration. On the other hand, the chairs, with their slender supports, spindle backs, and scrolled top rails, are reminiscent of Anglo-Japanese designs by the English architect and designer Edward William Godwin (1833–1886).

Another bedroom on the same floor had a ceiling painted by Francis Lathrop (1849–1909),⁸⁹ and several of the bathrooms contained stained glass and wall paintings by Frederic Crowninshield (1845–1918), who had earlier been involved with the decoration of the Marquand Chapel at Princeton University.⁹⁰

Little is known about the interior of the library other than that it had *Marvell's Last Visit to Milton* by Boughton above the fireplace (Figure 47). The artist described the subject, of which he painted several versions, in a letter to Marquand on December 23, 1884: "It represents the poet in his poverty and declining years—when his old friends used to visit and talk and read to him—play music now and then and cheer him and help in any kindly way. In my subject he is seated outside his cottage door (in Bunhill fields). One of his daughters has been reading to him. A young musician has been playing to him on the viol and one has been singing. This quiet little

party has been for the moment interrupted by the coming upon the scene of his great poet friend Andrew Marvel [*sic*] bringing with him two young people, one a younger poet and the other a young girl with an offering of flowers."⁹¹ To explain the composition Boughton included a small sketch and promised to execute this work for £800 (Figure 48). The painter kept Marquand informed about the progress of the *Milton*, which he hoped to have finished when the library was ready.⁹² Marquand asked Hunt to have a look at the picture when he would be in London and told him that "it ought to be rich and strong in color."⁹³ The painting was completed in 1887, and the artist saw it at Marquand's home during an overseas visit in the fall of 1890. He wrote

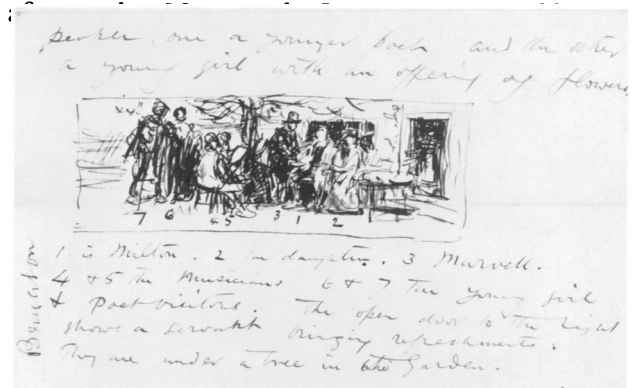


Figure 48. George H. Boughton, sketch for *Marvell's Last Visit to Milton*, drawn in a letter to H. G. Marquand, Dec. 23, 1884 (MMA Archives)

prised with the effect of my Milton overmantel in your library, than [with] any of my works I saw in America.”⁹⁴

Along the stairs leading to the third floor were stained-glass windows with portraits of Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, after a design by the French artist Luc-Olivier Merson (1846–1920) and executed by his countryman Eugène Stanislas Oudinot (1827–1889).⁹⁵ Marquand may have referred either to these windows or to those the artist created for the conservatory on the main floor depicting Renaissance-style architecture, when he wrote to Hunt: “The Oudinot glass [is] not yet up—it needs you to be blowing around in order to get anything done.”⁹⁶

Oudinot not only made stained-glass panels for the Marquand residence but he also decorated the ceiling and frieze of one of the third-floor bedrooms. Marquand referred to this “Byzantine” bedroom in a letter to Hunt of April 23, 1886, which also indicated that he was not only a generous patron but that at times he also lent money to the artists: “I have a long letter from Mr. Oudinot who wants to borrow 4000 \$—I cannot do it as I am now using my income faster than it comes in, & besides every time I have done this sort of thing, it has been to my sorrow. Mignot did me out of 800 \$, Leutze 400, Lafarge 10 or 1500 \$ and so on—I am not a

banker anymore—I would pay Mr. Oudinot 1000 \$ in advance on the Byzantine decoration—& shall write him to that effect.”⁹⁷

Two days later he wrote to Hunt: “I read another hard begging letter from Oudinot. I cabled to him to draw on me for 10,000 francs—my 2000 \$—in advance for his Byzantine room—I want you to ask him what the price will be for the work—no furniture, I shall leave *that* until all is done in decoration.”⁹⁸ From the bill presented by the artist it is known that the total for the painting of the ceiling, frieze, and alcove on canvas came to 37,000 francs.⁹⁹ Oudinot’s work in this room, with its sycamore trim and gilt leather wall hangings, was inspired by ecclesiastical decoration (Figure 49). Interlaced circles inscribed with the signs of the zodiac, resembling mosaic pavements such as those in San Marco in Venice, covered the ceiling.¹⁰⁰ Conveying the impression of Byzantine mosaics, the frieze consisted of figural scenes illustrating events from a man’s life, painted against a gold background. The overmantel panels, which were carved with peacocks, scrolling grapevines, bandwork, and guilloche motifs, recalled church screens and marble partitions, such as the eleventh-century partition in the cathedral of Torcello.¹⁰¹

The designer of the four-poster bed in this room remains unknown. Unlike most of the contempo-



Figure 49. Byzantine room in the Marquand residence with painted decoration by Eugène Oudinot of 1886 (photo from Desmond and Croly, *Stately Homes in America* [New York 1903])

rary furniture that incorporated elements of a certain style or were in the taste of another style, this bed consisted of parts directly copied from existing monuments. The tester was based on the marble canopy erected in the ninth century over the altar in Sant' Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna, and the footboard was derived from the fifth-century sarcophagus of Archbishop Theodore in the same church.¹⁰²

The interior decoration of the Marquand mansion was a true creation of the Aesthetic Era. The rooms were furnished in a variety of historical and exotic styles according to the decorating principles prevailing during the last decades of the nineteenth century. In the Marquand residence, as in the houses of other wealthy patrons, the art collections played an important role. Picturesque arrangements of porcelain, lusterware, glass, enamels, silver, and bronzes—originals as well as reproductions—were found on overmantels and in display cabinets along the walls. In addition, paintings, reliefs, and decorative objects from diverse cultures were specifically acquired, commissioned, or both, to complement the decoration. Modern “art” furniture was used in combination with antiques. It was not unusual for individual European artists to work for American patrons. See, for instance, the Museum’s stained-glass window *La Danse des fiançailles*, designed by Merson and made by Oudinot in 1885 for the apartment of Isaac Bell in the Knickerbocker Building at Fifth Avenue and Twenty-eighth Street in New York.¹⁰³ What truly distinguished the Marquand house, however, was the large-scale transatlantic effort that brought together the very best American and European artists to decorate and furnish it. The interiors of the Marquand residence, like those of so many contemporary houses, have disappeared. However, the contemporary documents and descriptions, a handful of photographs, and most of all the extant furnishings allow us to recreate its lost splendor.

NOTES

1. Biographical sketches of Marquand can be found in Ainsworth R. Spofford, ed., *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* VIII (New York, 1898) p. 390, and Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* XII (New York, 1933) pp. 292–293. An elegant full-length portrait of H. G. Marquand by the artist John W. Alexander (1856–1915) is in the collection of Princeton University (PP344).

2. E. A. Alexander, “Mr. Henry G. Marquand,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 94 (1897) p. 563. Henry Kirke Brown is best known for his 1856 equestrian statue of George Washington in Union Square in New York.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 564. This relationship is well documented in the nearly 70 letters written by Boughton to Marquand between Sept. 14, 1868, and Aug. 23, 1894. The painter not only discussed his own work but also informed Marquand about other paintings and objects for sale, gave reports on auctions, and sent him photographs of available artworks. On June 9, 1882, for example, he responded to Marquand’s expressed intent to donate paintings to the Museum: “With this destiny of your pictures in view I shall ever strive to get you the best to be had and to see that your money is well paid out. In fact, I *have* always done that, and as for my own trouble in the matter I delight in it and need no other reward. *Don’t spare me*, I can always find time to do anything for so good a purpose” (MMA Archives).

4. See introduction by Russell Sturgis to the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Art and Literary Property Collected by the Late Henry G. Marquand*, American Art Association/Anderson Galleries (New York, 1903).

5. Marquand’s obituary in *The New York Times* illustrated this well: “It was at his own home that the kindly nature of the man showed itself best. With his gifts to the Metropolitan and the spread of his reputation as a connoisseur and buyer of antiques there came to him an embarrassing popularity among the sellers of bric-à-brac, heirs of old paintings, and brokers who hoped to make something as middlemen between Maecenas and the owners of works of art. At one time the vestibule and hall of his residence on Madison Avenue had the appearance of a bric-à-brac shop by reason of the ‘objects of bigotry and virtue’ which were unloaded upon a gentleman who disliked to say ‘No’. Finally, however, this persecution became so great a nuisance that orders had to be given to receive nothing of the sort, no matter what the pretext might be” (Feb. 27, 1902, p. 9).

6. W. G. Constable, *Art Collecting in the United States of America* (London, 1964) p. 105.

7. Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1970) pp. 73–75.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 74. Marquand’s purchases were, however, also viewed in European art circles with a certain trepidation. Humphrey Ward, one of Marquand’s agents, wrote to Marquand concerning the gift of the paintings on Feb. 4, 1889: “Every one here [in London] who cares for art is much interested in this step of yours: but we tremble a little at the thought of what may happen to our old collections if our [?] Old Masters became fashion over there!” Marquand Papers, Princeton University Library.

9. *Artistic Houses* II, part I (New York, 1884) pp. 85–86. See also Paul R. Baker, *Richard Morris Hunt* (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1980) pp. 240–241, 243, 293, 542, fig. 52.

10. Linden Gate, known locally as Bric-a-brac Hall because of the large number of paintings and decorative objects it housed, was destroyed by fire in 1973.

11. Hunt also built a stable for Marquand at 166 East 73rd Street in 1883–84 and designed the family tomb in Newport, Rhode Island. A picture gallery adjoining the Marquand house was planned in 1887 but never constructed. See Baker, *Richard Morris Hunt*, pp. 268–271, 544–546, figs. 58, 59.

12. The blueprints for the house are in the collection of the Nassau County Museum, Long Island Studies Institute. I am grateful to Harrison de Forest Hunt for this information. Baker, *Richard Morris Hunt*, pp. 293, 295–296, figs. 73, 74. On March 26, 1881, *Real Estate Record and Builders' Guide* noted: "On north-west corner of Sixty-eighth street and Madison avenue, H. J. [sic] Marquand is about to erect a house with frontage on street of 100 feet and 50 feet on the avenue" (27, p. 275). Several months later the *Guide* reported the cost of the building to be \$125,000 (28, July 30, 1881, p. 776).

13. *Real Estate Record and Builders' Guide* 31 (Feb. 3, 1883) p. 44; A. A. Cox, "American Construction Through English Eyes—III," *The American Architect and Building News* 33 (Aug. 29, 1891) pp. 131–132; Montgomery Schuyler, "Works of the Late Richard M. Hunt," *The Architectural Record* 5 (1895–96) pp. 131, 165.

14. "The Marquand House," *The Decorator and Furnisher* 12, 6 (Sept. 1888) p. 200.

15. See Elizabeth Aslin, *The Aesthetic Movement: Prelude to Art Nouveau* (New York / Washington, 1969), and MMA, *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement*, exh. cat. (New York, 1986).

16. Marquand clearly acquired art works for display, as is evident from his correspondence of 1886. A letter to Hunt dated April 25, makes reference to the possible purchase of a clock by the French bronze founder Ferdinand Barbedienne: "That clock you sent me photo [of] from Barbedienne is fine, but you have forgotten that I have only 1 shelf suitable in my house—that in my wife's room. The parlor shelf has a marble relief, the dining room shelf is near the ceiling, the library [is] to have Boughton[s] picture and I do not mean to hide the treasures, still I shall see it when I come out." Marquand Papers, Princeton.

17. Marquand sale catalogue, The American Art Association/Anderson Galleries, New York, Jan. 23–31, 1903. The sale, consisting of 2,154 lots, brought \$706,019.75, one of the highest auction results of the day. Among the buyers were such collectors as Henry O. Havemeyer, Benjamin Altman, William M. Laffan, and Charles W. Gould, as well as European dealers such as Jacques and Arnold Seligmann from Paris. See reports on the auction in *The New York Times* and *The New York Herald* between Jan. 24 and Feb. 1, 1903.

18. The Marquand Residence (New York, [1905]). The house was offered for sale at auction at the New York Real Estate Salesrooms on April 27, 1905.

19. "Heirs of the Eminent Art Collector and Connoisseur Purpose Selling This Madison Avenue Landmark. Will Hunt's Masterpiece, Decorated by American Artists, Be Destroyed?" *The New York Times* (April 16, 1905) p. 8.

20. Jacob Landy, "The Domestic Architecture of the 'Robber Barons' in New York City," *Marsyas* 5 (1947–49) p. 82 n. 47. In 1909 the house was acquired by the 11 East 68th Street Co. and sold in 1912 to Herbert Lucas. *Real Estate Record and Builders' Guide* 89 (March 23, 1912) p. 588.

21. As in his letter to Hunt in 1885, dated Oct. 7: "We are putting the Turkish tiles up & the rear of [the] Hall looks well. I have never been satisfied with the stairway at the foot. The newels ought to be finely carved & of importance. You can set your

brains to work on it and the first step should be marble with the platform also." Marquand Papers, Princeton.

22. See Simon Jervis, "A Painter as Decorator: Alma-Tadema," *House & Garden* 155 (Nov. 1983) pp. 142–147, 201, 206. The domed studio in Alma-Tadema's house at 17 Grove End Road in London had a curved seat covered with yellow leather and embellished with panels of embroidery of the same design as the music-room settees of the Marquand mansion. In fact, the painter had stipulated that Johnstone, Norman and Company would make this fixed seat in return for all the "trouble" he had taken. Alma-Tadema to Marquand, Jan. 16, 1888. Marquand Papers, Princeton. For descriptions and illustrations of Alma-Tadema's house, bought in 1884 and renovated during the following years, see Ethel Mackenzie McKenna, "Alma Tadema and his Home and Pictures," *McClure's Magazine* 8 (Nov. 1896) pp. 32–42; M. H. Spielmann, "Laurence Alma-Tadema, R.A.: A Sketch," *The Magazine of Art* 20 (Nov. 1896–April 1897) pp. 42–50; "Beautiful Homes and Their Designers—III Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, R.A., at St. John's Wood," *The House Beautiful and The Home* 3 (London, 1905) pp. 95–99; Rudolf Dircks, "The Later Works of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema O.M., R.A., R.W.S.," *The Art Journal*, Christmas supplement (Dec. 1910) pp. 22–23, 27–32; and Lita de Ranitz, "Het huis van Alma Tadema," *Het Huis Oud & Nieuw* 9 (1911) pp. 20–30. Alma-Tadema's house survives in a much altered and mutilated condition.

23. On July 24, 1885, *The Building News and Engineering Journal* reported in an article titled "Furniture Designed by L. Alma-Tadema, R.A." that all the working drawings were made by a Mr. Coduon. One week later, on July 31, 1885, the journal published a letter to the editor by W. C. Codman stating that he had made the drawings (49, pp. 122 and 188).

24. Alma-Tadema to Marquand, March 2, 1884. Marquand Papers, Princeton. For information about the firm of Johnstone, Norman and Company, act. ca. 1880–1900, upholsterers to the Queen and the Prince of Wales, see Elizabeth Aslin, *Nineteenth-Century English Furniture* (London, 1962) p. 86; "Modern Artistic Furniture Made by Johnstone, Norman and Co.," *Decoration* (July 1884) pp. 6–7. Possibly owing to the success of the Marquand furniture, the firm also opened a branch in New York City during the late 1880s. See "Decoration Notes," *The Art Age* 7 (April 1888) p. 59 and (June 1888) p. 91.

25. "The furniture progresses. I have looked at it several times. We have succeeded in making the corner of [the] sofa most comfortable as also the easy chair & I am convinced that it will turn out a success, which is of course necessary." Alma-Tadema to Marquand, Sept. 29, 1884. MMA Archives. On April 10, 1885, he wrote to Marquand: "The furniture is progressing favorably. I hope they will soon send you something. They seem to be pleased with it & as workmanship I really believe you could not get anywhere anything better. I hope for goodness sake it may please you." Marquand Papers, Princeton.

26. "Furniture Designed by L. Alma-Tadema, R.A.," *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 49 (July 24, 1885) p. 122; see also *The Art Journal* (1885) p. 290; *The Magazine of Art* 8 (1885) p. lxiii; "Furniture for New York Millionaires," *Cabinet Making and Upholstery* (Sept. 1885) p. 104; "Classic Furniture for an American Mansion," *The Furniture Gazette* 23 (Aug. 1, 1885) p.

355. See also J. Moyr Smith, *Ornamental Interiors Ancient and Modern* (London, 1887) pp. 95–96.

27. The new silkscreened panels were specially made by Gwenlin Goo after designs of Kathryn Gill, former associate conservator in charge of upholstery at the MMA.

28. “Furniture for New York Millionaires,” *Cabinet Making and Upholstery* (Sept. 1885) p. 104.

29. Marquand sale, lot 1364 B. The settee was used in the parlor of Cedarmere, the Roslyn, L.I., house that had been the home of William Cullen Bryant and then of his grandson, Harold Godwin, who had married Elizabeth Love Marquand, daughter of H. G. Marquand. See the 1958 list of furniture compiled by their daughter, Elizabeth Love Godwin, in the Nassau County Museum, Long Island Studies Institute. I am grateful to Margaret Caldwell for telling me about the existence of these papers.

30. Marquand sale, lots 1364–1368. Most of the furniture and the curtains went to G. M. Haan, with the exception of one settee, which was bought by Mrs. Henry Siegel. The piano and stools were purchased by William Barbour. See *The New York Herald* (Feb. 1, 1903) 1st section, p. 7. One of the display cabinets remained in the family. In Elizabeth Love Godwin’s 1953–55 lists of her mother’s property she mentions that her brother Frederick Marquand Godwin took from 11 East 68th Street “a vitrine” that had been designed by Alma-Tadema. Nassau County Museum, Long Island Studies Institute. Nearly the whole suite was sold again at the American Art Association, New York, Oct. 15, 1927, lot 742. The piano, seat furniture, and round tables were used in the lobby of the Martin Beck Theatre in New York before being sold at Sotheby’s Parke Bernet Eighty Four, March 26, 1980, lots 535–539. Several pieces of seat furniture were later at Garrick C. Stephenson, Antiques, in New York.

31. Alma-Tadema’s “Byzantine” piano and its matching bench, completed in 1878 and destroyed during World War II, were designed by the architect George E. Fox. See Michael I. Wilson, “The Case of the Victorian Piano,” *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook* 3 (London, 1972) pp. 137–138.

32. Poynter used nearly the same composition for a painting entitled *Horae Serenae*. See Cosmo Monkhouse, *Sir Edward J. Poynter, President of the Royal Academy, His Life and Work* (London, 1897) pp. 23, 30.

33. Alma-Tadema to Marquand, Feb. 26, 1886. Marquand Papers, Princeton. Nearly a year later, on Feb. 12, 1887, Alma-Tadema wrote to Marquand: “The piano is getting on famously. Poynter’s picture is nearly finished it is simply a jewell [sic] & I am delighted that you allowed him to paint it for you.” Marquand Papers, Princeton. The instrument was made by Steinway & Sons in New York. On Jan. 16, 1888, Alma-Tadema inquired: “How is the soul of our piano? I hope they have succeeded in the instrument as we have succeeded in the case.” Marquand Papers, Princeton.

34. Alma-Tadema to Marquand, July 7, 1886. Marquand Papers, Princeton.

35. It was on display in the New Bond Street showroom of Johnstone, Norman and Company. See *The Furniture Gazette* 24 (Feb. 1, 1886) p. 37, and “A Magnificent Piano,” *ibid.* 25 (June 1, 1887) p. 190; “A Grand Pianoforte,” *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 52 (May 27, 1887) pp. 792–793; “A Royal Pianoforte,” *The British Architect* 28 (July 1, 1887) p. 6.

36. Alma-Tadema to Marquand, May 29, 1889. Marquand Papers, Princeton. On Jan. 16, 1888, the artist wrote to Marquand: “. . . I am looking forward to helping you with the fireguard of which Mr. Norman has already spoken to me & for which you had promised to send us dimensions. Please do so & I will do my best to give you satisfaction.” Marquand Papers, Princeton.

37. A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* III (London, 1904) pp. 28–29. In a letter to Alma-Tadema, dated March 23, 1889, Edward Onslow Ford promised to execute the terminals and corners of the fender for the sum of 350 guineas. Marquand Papers, Princeton. The fender and firedogs were sold at the Marquand sale as lots 1375, 1376.

38. Alma-Tadema to Marquand, Aug. 6, 1884. Marquand Papers, Princeton.

39. “Fine Art Gossip,” *The Athenaeum* 3034 (Dec. 19, 1885) p. 813. “Sir Frederick Leighton has made considerable progress with the decorations for the ceiling of the Music Room in the New York mansion of Mr. Marquand. . . .” A full description of the design is given. *The Furniture Gazette* 24 (Jan. 1, 1886) p. 2, also reported considerable progress.

40. Leighton to Marquand, Jan. 17, [1886]. MMA Archives. The figure of Melpomene was identified as Euterpe and the figures in the side panel as Erato and Terpsichore in Leonée and Richard Ormond, *Lord Leighton* (New Haven / London, 1975) pp. 124, 168, cat. no. 323, and in Christopher Newall, *The Art of Lord Leighton* (Oxford / New York, 1990) p. 108. Newall states that the iconographic content was perhaps suggested by Marquand and that the poet Swinburne was consulted about the roles of the depicted muses.

41. Leighton to Marquand, May 23, [1886]. MMA Archives.

42. Alma-Tadema to Marquand, Feb. 26, 1886. Marquand Papers, Princeton. Boughton wrote to Marquand on May 5, 1886: “The Leighton ceiling looks splendid, I think, and it will look still better in its proper place.” MMA Archives.

43. The ceiling was definitely in place by February of 1887, since Leighton wrote on Feb. 12 of that year to a friend, John Hanson Walker, who had visited New York: “I am glad that Mr. Marquand has made you welcome to his house, which I understand is very beautiful . . . I am glad, too, you thought my ‘ceiling’ looked well. I hope he has introduced a little gold in the rafters, to bind the paintings to the ceiling itself.” Mrs. Russell Barrington, *The Life, Letters and Work of Frederic Leighton* I (New York, 1906) pp. 276–277.

44. Leighton to Marquand, April 2, [1887]. Marquand Papers, Princeton. See also note 43 above.

45. Newall, *The Art of Lord Leighton*, pp. 108–109, figs. 73, 74, illustrates sketch and preparatory drawing for the ceiling. Ormond, *Lord Leighton*, p. 168, nos. 324–327, figs. 157–159, shows the sketch and replicas of the ceiling’s two side panels and mentions replicas of figures from the central panel.

46. See list of suggested illustrations for the Marquand sale catalogue in the letter of Allan Marquand to Harold Godwin, June 6, 1902. MMA Archives. See also the Marquand sale catalogue.

47. Alma-Tadema to Marquand, March 2, 1884. Marquand Papers, Princeton. The other painting was *Amo Te Amo Me* of 1881.

It was exhibited at the Museum in 1973, but its present location is not known. See Vern G. Swanson, *The Biography and Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema* (London, 1990) pp. 216, 409, cat. no. 273.

48. Alma-Tadema to Marquand, April 10, 1885. Marquand Papers, Princeton. Earlier the artist described the changed composition in a letter to Marquand on Sept. 29, 1884. MMA Archives. Alma-Tadema was reportedly able to finish the work in six weeks, just in time for the 1885 summer exhibition of the Royal Academy, where the painting was scratched. See letter of Alma-Tadema to Marquand on May 26, 1885. Marquand Papers, Princeton. See also Swanson, *Biography and Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 228, 425, cat. no. 305, and Jennifer Gordon Lovett and William R. Johnston, *Empires Restored, Elysium Revisited: the Art of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema*, exh. cat., Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute (Williamstown, Mass., 1991) pp. 90–91, no. 34.

49. "If you can get an original bronze or marble [for your Greek room] by some clever young sculptor—there *are* such—you would do well. I have been on the lookout for those who work in the *true* classic spirit—only those do you want." Boughton to Marquand, Aug. 22, 1885. MMA Archives. Impressed by Benlliure's work, Marquand wrote to Hunt on Oct. 7, [1885]: "That Spaniard who made the bas relief is a very talented fellow. . . . He has more skill 10 times over than S." Marquand Papers, Princeton. Three reliefs, said to have been made in 1885, are illustrated by Carmen de Quevedo Pessanha in *Vida artística de Mariano Benlliure* (Madrid, 1947) pp. 57–60.

50. *The Foot Race* is not visible in all existing photographs but can be seen in situ in the background of a photograph of the piano in the Nassau County Museum Collection, Long Island Studies Institute. It was in the music room over the door leading to the hall. See *The Marquand Residence*, p. 5. Another relief by Benlliure, depicting a victorious gladiator, is also described as having come from the Marquand residence. See de Quevedo Pessanha, *Vida artística*, p. 58.

51. *Wealth of the Ancient World: The Nelson Bunker Hunt and William Herbert Hunt Collections* (Fort Worth, 1983) pp. 33, 40–41, mentions other collectors of antiquities such as William Randolph Hearst and Henry Walters, as well as the vase collector Joseph Clarke Hoppin.

52. Boughton wrote to Marquand on Aug. 22, 1885: "I went to the sale of the Wedgwood articles for you, but there was absolutely nothing that *you* would have cared for to occupy the place you designed for it." Boughton continued by saying he almost bought an antique marble head for Marquand. "I hope to turn up some such thing—or an old bronze—that would go better in your Greek room than any Wedgwood. Failing this you will find that the modern reproductions of the old bronzes from the Naples Museum . . . would be the best you can have." MMA Archives.

53. *MMAB* 26 (Oct. 1967) pp. 73–74. It was sold at the Marquand sale as lot 973. See also J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1956) p. 328, no. 5, and Mary B. Moore and Dietrich von Bothmer, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* IV (New York, 1976) pl. 34. A large kalpis-hydria, lot 971 of the Marquand sale, is now at the Tampa Museum of Art in Florida. See Suzanne P. Murray, *Collecting the Classical Past, Antiquities from the Joseph Veach Noble Collection* (Tampa, 1985) p. 41, no. 28.

54. A Roman marble portrait head, listed as lot 986 of the Marquand sale, for instance, stood at one point on top of the music cabinet. At the sale the MMA bought two terracottas, lots 989 and 995, which are no longer thought to be genuine (acc. nos. 03.3.4–5).

55. In a letter of Oct. 18 [n.d.] to Marquand, Leighton discussed bronze reproductions, including a dancing faun, a tripod, and Victory. MMA Archives. See also letter of Eustace Nolfe or Rolfe to Marquand on Jan. 5, 1888. MMA Archives. Marquand sale, lots 1045, 1047–1049. Several Naples firms published catalogues offering these and other reproductions for sale. See, for instance, *Catalogue illustré de Sabatino de Angelis & fils* (Naples, 1900) and G. Sommer & Figlio, *Catalogue illustré bronzes-marbres* (Naples, n.d.). I would like to thank Joan Mertens for showing me these catalogues.

56. Helmut Seling, *Die Kunst der Augsburger Goldschmiede 1529–1868* III (Munich, 1980) pp. 145–146, no. 1263.

57. Marquand sale, lot 1214. It was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1887, no. 4008. According to the list of suggested illustrations for the Marquand sale catalogue, there was also a Roman mosaic in the room (lot 1207) as well as German stained glass (probably lots 946, 947). Allan Marquand to Harold Godwin, June 6, 1902. MMA Archives.

58. Letter of Fanny(?) Morris Smith of Steinway & Sons to Mrs. H. S. Marquand, May 14, 1902. MMA Archives.

59. See Edward Strahan (pseud. of Earl Shinn), *Mr. Vanderbilt's House and Collection* I (New York, 1883–84) pp. 59–74. Illustrated in *In Pursuit of Beauty*, pp. 120–122, fig. 4.9.

60. An obituary of Manly Cutter was published in *Pencil Points* 12 (May 1931) pp. 379, 392.

61. Russell Sturgis, "The Famous Japanese Room in the Marquand House," *The Architectural Record* 18 (1905) pp. 192–201. See also *The New York Times* (April 16, 1905) p. 8, where the following appeared: "The Japanese room has always been the most curious and noteworthy among all the various apartments. It is the design of Manly N. Cutter, who was three years in finishing it at a cost of about \$150,000. Apparently, Mr. Marquand intended at first to make a present of this room to the Metropolitan, at least one may guess it in the absence of direct testimony because he ordered that every part of the woodwork should be so fitted as to be detachable. Possibly he was waiting for the addition of a wing to the Metropolitan in which a room might be planned having the exact measurements necessary. But his death supervened before this could be arranged."

62. Sturgis, "The Famous Japanese Room," p. 193.

63. The firm of the Englishmen Ellin and Kitson, architectural sculptors, located at 519 West 21st Street in New York, specialized in carving wood and stone and making papier-mâché. They also executed the carved satinwood panels for the dining room of Samuel J. Tilden's mansion on Gramercy Park, New York. *In Pursuit of Beauty*, pp. 425–426.

64. La Farge had decorated the ceiling of the reception room at Linden Gate and created windows for the Marquand Chapel at Princeton University. For the *Peonies* window, see *In Pursuit of Beauty*, pp. 188, 191, 447, fig. 6.6, and Patricia Joan Lefor, "John Lafarge and Japan: An Instance of Oriental Influence in American Art," Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, Evanston, 1978,

pp. 118–119. Several versions of this window were known. One of them was in the collection of Lawrence Alma-Tadema, who apparently received it for having designed the Marquand music room furniture. See letter of Alma-Tadema to Marquand, Jan. 16, 1888. Marquand Papers, Princeton. The window, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, can be seen in a photograph of the artist's house published in Dircks, "The Later Works of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema," p. 29.

65. The Moorish, or Persian, room in the Cornelius Vanderbilt II mansion is illustrated by Henry A. La Farge, "John La Farge's Work in the Vanderbilt Houses," *The American Art Journal* 16 (Autumn 1984) p. 65, fig. 43.

66. *The Marquand Residence*, p. 6. *The New York Times* (April 16, 1905) p. 8. The etching by B. Krieger, fig. 31 in this article, was most likely published in the international edition of *The American Architect and Building News* 43 (March 10, 1894) p. 118. A photograph of the room taken after the removal of the artworks and furnishings was published by Harry W. Desmond and Herbert Croly in *Stately Homes in America* (New York, 1903) p. 103.

67. *The Marquand Residence*, p. 6; *The Decorator and Furnisher* 12 (Sept. 1888) p. 200. The floral pattern of the upper walls resembles the window decoration in the Hall of the Two Sisters at the Alhambra. See Albert Champdor, *L'Alhambra de Grenade* (Paris, 1952) p. 84.

68. Champdor, *L'Alhambra*, p. 57.

69. *In Pursuit of Beauty*, pp. 159–160, 163, fig. 5.21. See also pp. 474–475 for information about Tiffany and Associated Artists. The desk remained in the possession of the Marquand family and was later used in the schoolroom of Cedarmere House, Roslyn, L. I., from which it was sold in 1984. See the list of furniture at Cedarmere compiled by Elizabeth Love Godwin in 1958. Nassau County Museum, Long Island Studies Institute.

70. Charles W. Deschamps to Marquand, Aug. 16, 1882. MMA Archives. See also his Aug. 1, 1882, letter to Marquand. MMA Archives.

71. Deschamps to Marquand, Aug. 30, 1882. MMA Archives.

72. Marquand sale, lots 1325–1330. Two smaller panels belonging to the same series were used to flank the window. A tapestry, *The Wrath of Saul*, was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, N.Y., on Feb. 21, 1975, lot 128, possibly the same as lot 1330 from the Marquand sale. Another tapestry, *David Before Saul*, was formerly in the D. Samuel Gottesman Collection and subsequently at French & Co. I am grateful to Tom Campbell for this information.

73. The list of suggested illustrations for the Marquand sale catalogue gives an idea of the additional art in the dining room. There were at least nine unidentified paintings, a terracotta infant by Duquesnoy, lot 1201, Saracenic plaques, ancient jewelry, Delft vases, and a Persian glass lamp. Letter of Allan Marquand to Harold Godwin, June 6, 1902. MMA Archives.

74. *The Decorator and Furnisher* 12 (Sept. 1888) p. 200.

75. Marquand Papers, Princeton.

76. Some of this gilt leather is in the collection of the MMA (1973.180.2). It is not known if this particular piece was used in the hall or elsewhere in the house. The leather was allegedly removed from the painter Titian's home in Pieve di Cadore,

Italy. See George Leland Hunter, *Decorative Textiles* (Philadelphia / London, 1918) pp. 416–418, pl. 1. Included in the Marquand sale as lot 1362, it remained in the possession of the family and was later installed in the dining room of Marquand's son Allan, at Guernsey Hall in Princeton.

77. See list of suggested illustrations for the Marquand sale catalogue, Allan Marquand to Harold Godwin, June 6, 1902. MMA Archives; Hamilton Palace Collection sale, Christie's London, July 18, 1882, lot 1914; Marquand sale, lot 1332. The tapestry is now in a private Italian collection. I am grateful to Edith Standen for this information.

78. The MMA has four tapestries of this set, acc. nos. 94.1.14–17. See Edith A. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1985) II, pp. 776–785, nos. 143a–d. See also idem, "Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew: A Roman Set Illustrating Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*," *MMJ* 16 (1981) pp. 149, 151–152, fig. 4, and pp. 162–163. Gobelin weavers are known to have worked at the Rome factory. See Anna Maria de Strobil, *Le arazzerie romane dal XVII al XIX secolo* (Rome, 1989) p. 61.

79. The Marquand carpets were described as "the first of any importance to be sold at auction in the United States" in Wesley Towner, "The Pasha and the Magic Carpets, part I," *Hali* 2, 3 (1979) pp. 183–184, 189, figs. 1, 8. Marquand sale, lot 1284, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. See Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Indian Heritage, Court Life Under Mughal Rule*, exh. cat. (London, 1982) p. 76, no. 204. Marquand sale, lot 1285, was sold again at Sotheby's, London, April 14, 1976, lot 1. I am grateful to Daniel Walker for these references. Marquand sale, lot 1305, was sold for \$38,000 to the rug dealer Vitall Benguiat. *The New York Herald* (Feb. 1, 1903) p. 7, and Charles Grant Ellis, *Oriental Carpets in the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia, 1988) pp. 110–115, no. 37.

80. The taking of a cast may account for the widespread loss of glaze on the original.

81. *Dictionary of American Biography* XII (New York, 1933) p. 292. Allan Marquand, who became professor in Art History at Princeton University, a chair his father endowed, wrote extensively on the della Robbia family. See, for instance, his "Andrea della Robbia's Assumption of the Virgin," *American Journal of Archaeology* 7 (1891) pp. 422–431, pls. xxii–xxiii, *Della Robbias in America* (Princeton, 1912), and *Andrea della Robbia and His Atelier* (Princeton, 1922).

82. The list of the suggested illustrations for the Marquand sale catalogue included two della Robbias in the hall. Allan Marquand to Harold Godwin, June 6, 1902. MMA Archives. In addition to the portrait roundel, which was sold as lot 1199, the sale catalogue also listed a *Boy with Dolphin*, lot 1200. In 1899 Marquand sent a copy of the *Madonna and Child* by Luca della Robbia to the archbishop of New York, Michael A. Corrigan. See Winifred E. Howe, *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1913) p. 268.

83. From the collection of the cabinetmaker Alfred Beurdeley (1847–1919) and sold in Paris on April 9, 1883, lot 98, Marquand sale, lot 1061. See Philippe Verdier, *The Walters Art Gallery, Catalogue of the Painted Enamels of the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1967) pp. 160–169, pls. 83–103.

84. *The Marquand Residence*, p. 4. The firm of Henry Bonnard, located at 430–436 West 16th Street in New York, specialized in “artistic and architectural bronze work,” according to its advertisement in *The Art Age* 6 (Dec. 1887) p. 75.

85. A copy of this statue was included in the MMA exhibition and catalogue *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1982) p. 125, no. 60. Marquand wrote to Hunt on Oct. 7, 1885: “We must keep in mind a small figure for the fountain.” Marquand Papers, Princeton.

86. *The Marquand Residence*, p. 9. See letter of Lockwood de Forest, one of the founders of Associated Artists, to Harold Godwin of July 11, 1902. MMA Archives. He used the then-fashionable term *Rhodian* to describe polychrome ware now known as Iznik.

87. See *In Pursuit of Beauty*, pp. 189, 192–193, figs. 6.6, 6.7, and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, “The Havemeyer House,” *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1993) pp. 175, 177, 180, figs. 27, 28.

88. *In Pursuit of Beauty*, pp. 160, 164–165, figs. 5.22, 5.23; *The Marquand Residence*, pp. 9–10. The bedroom set was not included in the Marquand sale and remained in the possession of the family. It was described in a 1952 appraisal of the property of the Godwin family at Cedarmere, vol. II, p. 36, as a suite of Victorian maple bedroom furniture from the Marquand collection. It comprised a three-quarter bed, a chest in Elizabethan style, an octagonal table, and four side chairs. Under this entry was a note written by Elizabeth Love Godwin: “from Mommee’s room in 68th street.” Nassau County Museum, Long Island Studies Institute.

89. *The Marquand Residence*, p. 10. Lathrop was known for “a peculiar decoration” consisting of “ornament modeled in composition” executed “with the brush and overlaid with color.” Lathrop decorated a ceiling in this manner in Charles J. Osborne’s country home at Mamaroneck. “Decoration Notes,” *The Art Age* 2 (Jan. 1885) p. 81.

90. Frederic Crowninshield, *Mural Paintings and Stained Glass* (n.p., 1883) pl. 1, illustrates a study for St. Michael, painted with wax color, in the Marquand Chapel at Princeton.

91. MMA Archives. An earlier version of this painting was completed in 1885. For an illustration, see Alfred Lys Baldry “George H. Boughton, R.A.: His Life and Work,” *Art Annual* (Christmas 1904) p. 32. Boughton also made stained glass for the dining room of Linden Gate. See letters by Boughton to Marquand of Feb. 25, 1873, Feb. 24, 1874, June 20, 1874, and Feb. 26, 1876. MMA Archives. See also *Artistic Houses*, II, p. 86.

92. Letters of Boughton to Marquand of Jan. 31, Aug. 22, Nov. 29, and Dec. 21, 1885; May 5 and Nov. 6, 1886; Jan. 11, April 28, and Sept. 20, 1887. On Feb. 28, 1885, Boughton wrote to Marquand: “I am glad to get the *tone* of my surrounding wood carving—and a very good tone it is. The key in which I have pitched my picture will be just the thing for it—warm and *bright* and solid—but of course when I say *bright* I don’t mean garish—but a *glow* if I can keep it up—and I am confident in that respect, at least, I keep advancing it gradually—so that you may not be kept waiting for *me*—whenever your room is ready.” All letters are in the MMA Archives.

93. Marquand to Hunt, Feb. 27, [1886]. Marquand Papers, Princeton.

94. In a letter of Sept. 20, 1887, Boughton wrote to Marquand: “. . . by this time you will have the Milton, . . .” and in his letter to Marquand of Jan. 28, 1891, he described his visit to New York. MMA Archives. This painting, one of four by Boughton in Marquand’s collection, was sold as lot 86 in the Marquand sale. Its present location is not known.

95. *The Marquand Residence*, p. 9. Another window depicting Leonardo da Vinci, executed in 1889 by Oudinot after a design by Merson, has been in the collection of the Musée National Adrien Dubouché in Limoges since 1891, inv. no. 23.

96. Marquand to Hunt, April 25, [1886]. Marquand Papers, Princeton. See also *The Decorator and Furnisher*, p. 200, and *The Marquand Residence*, pp. 5–6.

97. Marquand to Hunt, April 23, [1886]. Marquand Papers, Princeton.

98. Marquand to Hunt, April 25, [1886]. Marquand Papers, Princeton.

99. Oudinot’s bill to Marquand, dated Jan. 4, 1887. Marquand Papers, Princeton.

100. Xavier Barral I Altet, *Les mosaïques de pavement médiévales de Venise, Murano, Torcello* (Paris, 1985) pp. 46–47, 154, 156, figs. 87, 88, 92.

101. Renato Polacco, *La cattedrale di Torcello* (Venice, 1984) p. 31, fig. 29.

102. Mildred Brenner, “Richard Morris Hunt Architect,” master’s thesis, New York University (New York, 1944) pp. 65–66. The sarcophagus and canopy are illustrated in Giuseppe Bovini, *Ravenna, an Art City* (Ravenna, n.d.) pp. 157–158.

103. This window is installed in the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Galleries of Nineteenth-Century European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. Bequest of Adelaide Mott Bell, 1906, 06.292a–c.

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