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A Fragmentary Egyptian Head from Heliopolis

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THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION of The Metropolitan Museum of Art is arguably the finest and most extensive in North America. Some of its most precious and beautiful objects, however, are very fragmentary; the most renowned of these is a highly polished jasper jaw and mouth of a head believed to portray Queen Tiye of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1] A graywacke fragment, not as well known, from the head of a somewhat less than life-sized statue was discovered at Heliopolis by Flinders Petrie (Figure 1).[2] It constitutes a substantial part of the face of an exceptionally well-sculpted figure. No trace of hair or a headdress remains, and for reasons given later in this article, I argue that the original image probably had a royal headdress. The right eye, most of the right eyebrow, and both ears are missing. The right nostril and part of the nose are preserved, as are the left eye and eyebrow, mouth, and the balance of the face. Though incomplete, the object is strikingly elegant and deserves its prominent place in the Museum's galleries of ancient Egyptian art. Its date and original purpose, however, have not been conclusively determined.

B. V. Bothmer assigned the graywacke fragment to the Twenty-sixth, or Saite, Dynasty (664–525 B.C.).[3] He opined, without further elaboration, that it was from a statue of Apries (589–570 B.C.), the fourth king of that dynasty. Comparing the Museum's fragment with representations of that pharaoh, as well as those immediately preceding and succeeding him, should establish if there is a relationship among them. I will attempt to demonstrate that there are compelling reasons to reassign the work to a considerably later date in the third century B.C. I also attempt to identify the subject as a specific personage other than Apries.

The most arresting feature of the graywacke fragment is the left eye. It is very large, wide open, and formed by two raised, or plastically rounded, lines. The top lid forms an almost semicircular arc. The

line of the lower lid is almost straight by comparison. At the inner canthus, the lids join to form a distinct protuberance. The shape of the eye is unnaturally round—a trait not unknown in Egyptian sculpture. Examples of this configuration are common on statues of the Old and early Middle Kingdoms.[4] The eyebrow in low relief gradually tapers in width from the nose past the outer canthus of the eye to end in a point. Its delicate curvature generally parallels the upper lid of the eye. The mouth is generous and thick-lipped (see detail, Figure 2), with a well-defined philtrum. Above the corners of the mouth, which show traces of drill holes, folds of flesh overlap from the cheeks. At first glance, the slight depression caused by this phenomenon resembles the indentation left by the fine muscle over the upper lip; in fact, this muscle is not depicted here.[5] The prominent chin forms a distinct knob. Aside from this feature and the flesh folds adjacent to the mouth, very little other definition is in evidence. Neither the cheekbones nor the jawbone have been indicated, hidden instead by the considerable amount of flesh on this face.

In order to date and possibly identify the fragment, it will be useful to compare the surviving features, the material, and the nature of the damage it sustained with other statues exhibiting similar characteristics, as well as with portraits of Apries. Some Egyptologists argue that such an analysis is subjective and lacks the substantive proof provided by an inscription or an archaeological context.[6] Unfortunately, many objects are too incomplete to have a meaningful inscription—one in which the name of a known, and therefore datable, individual is in evidence. Furthermore, inscriptions were often usurped in succeeding generations or added to previously uninscribed statues.[7] Even an archaeological context can be misleading. With the comparatively rare exception of statuary actually found in intact tombs or temples, most objects are usually recovered from rubble heaps or in sites distinct from their original location,[8] as was the Museum's graywacke fragment. Petrie records that it was discov-

Figure 1. Fragment, Egyptian. Graywacke, H. 17 cm. The
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of The Egyptian
Research Account, 1912, 12.187.31

ered in a field near the obelisk of Sesostris I along with other incomplete statuary from the New and Middle Kingdoms.[9]

Therefore, to determine the most likely origin of this object, its style must be related to other examples whose identification is reasonably certain. The finding place of the Metropolitan Museum's facial fragment offers some circumstantial evidence regarding its identity that will be taken into consideration as well. In some respects, such as poses and headdresses, the figural representations of ancient Egyptians remained fairly static over the course of approximately 3,000 years. Style did change, however, and it would appear that, even on idealized royal portraits, artists strove to make these images recognizable. Royal likenesses often were the models employed for the representations of private persons.[10] Similarities in the physiognomies of royal images are the basis of identifications used in this study.

One characteristic that suggests a Saite date for the fragment is its material, a stone favored in that period.[11] Its use, however, was by no means confined to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. It appears early in the Old Kingdom and is used well into the Ptolemaic period.[12] Although often called schist,[13] it is usually graywacke, a stone quarried in the Wadi Hammamat in Middle Egypt.[14] According to the latest available information, this is the only location in Egypt where it was found.[15] It was highly prized, as indicated by a quarry inscription in the Wadi Hammamat referring to the material as "this precious mineral."[16] Graywacke's exceedingly fine grain and comparative softness permit it to be worked to a fine, satiny finish, with crisp detail and extensive modeling. Since artisans of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty took advantage of these traits to produce images of superb quality, the fact that the Metropolitan Museum's facial fragment exhibits the fine, satiny finish and crisp detail would, therefore, partially support the hypothesis of a Saite attribution.

Aside, however, from both the material, which was not exclusive to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and the undeniable skill of the sculptor, the style of the face differs significantly from well-attested examples of that time. Although there are numerous examples of inscribed, unquestionably assignable statues of the Saite Dynasty, only a small selection of them need be illustrated and compared to the facial fragment. I will consider only the products of royal workshops, choosing examples that are typical and span the years of that dynasty, also recognizing that these ateliers were the centers for stylistic develop-

Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1

ments throughout the various dynastic periods. The arguments for assigning the Museum's facial fragment to a royal figure, though only circumstantial, can nevertheless be stated persuasively. The very fine sculptural quality is certainly indicative of a royal workshop provenance. This point was raised by both Bothmer and the anonymous writer of the text of the Museum exhibition label that describes the fragment.[17] The extreme damage that the original sustained—only the small piece remaining—indicates that it was deliberately smashed,[18] a common fate of royal representations.[19] The fragment was from an almost life-sized statue, a feature not unknown in private representations, but more likely to be found in an important royal statue.

A private collection in New York contains a graywacke seated statuette of Osiris that bears a dedication to Psamtik I (664–610 B.C.) (Figure 3).[20] The

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workmanship of this almost pristine figure is remarkably fine, suggesting its origin in a royal atelier. The undamaged face is probably the official image of that king.[21] The eyes are almond-shaped with heavy, plastically rounded upper lids that continue well past the eyes to form cosmetic lines. The opening of the eye is narrow and delineated by two shallow arcs. Surmounting the eyes are untapered eyebrows, in low relief, that parallel the upper eyelids. These features are typical of statues from the early part of the Saite Dynasty and are found on almost all of that period's royal and private portraits.[22] Examples of statuary bearing inscriptions of later Twenty-sixth Dynasty pharaohs include a head in Paris inscribed for Psamtik II (595–589 B.C.)[23] and another, in Bologna, bearing the name of Apries (Figure 4).[24] Both faces have almond-shaped eyes that are not quite as narrow as those of the New York Osiris figure, but are of similar form. Amasis (570–526 B.C.) was the penultimate ruler of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. His attributed, but uninscribed, portraits are in several collections, including that of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 5).[25] Although the latter is an uninscribed head from a small sphinx, the features are clearly recognizable as those of Amasis. The eyes, in particular, are typical of the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty, almond-shaped, narrow, and slightly slanted. Although variations in their rendering occur, the almond shape of the eyes appears to be a consistent feature—perhaps a reflection of the Libyan origin of the rulers of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[26] The hemispherical eye shape of the Metropolitan's fragment does not occur on portraits, royal or private, during that period.

The mouth of the graywacke fragment with its thick, wide lips and drill holes in the corners, finds no parallels on royal statues from the Saite Dynasty. Drills were probably used by sculptors to position, and to begin to fashion, the corners of the mouth throughout most of the ancient Egyptian era. In the course of modeling and finishing, the round and sometimes deep holes were usually erased. The marks left by drills on a considerable amount of post-Saite sculpture, as well as on some earlier Ramesside statuary,[27] are particularly visible because of the limited facial modeling. The presence of drill holes is diagnostic for identification of royal statuary made after the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, until almost midway through the Ptolemaic period.[28] The combination of the broad mouth with thick lips on the graywacke fragment differs significantly from the rather narrow mouths on the portraits of the Saite

Figure 3. Statuette of Osiris, Egyptian, 7th century B.C. Graywacke, H. 35.9 cm. New York, Thalassic Collection, (photo: Thalassic Collection)

rulers. On the representation of Psamtik II, the lips are thick, but the mouth is extremely narrow. The Bologna head of Apries also has a narrow, but thinner-lipped mouth.

Another contrast between the graywacke piece and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty portraits is evident in the facial shape. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's fragment is round, fleshy, and devoid of modeling that would indicate a bony substructure. All of these features differ from the style of the royal representations of the Saite pharaohs (see Figure 4). They have long, lean, angular faces with accentuated cheekbones and an undulating modeling of the skin below them. Although the chins of the Saite statues are firm, they are neither round nor protuberant. The style used in the presentation of kings in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty has its roots in the New King-

Figure 4. Head, inscribed with the name of Apries (589–570 B.C.), Egyptian. Graywacke, H. 40 cm. Bologna, Museo Civico, 1801 (photo: courtesy Brooklyn Museum)

dom. In that earlier time the pharaohs were shown as youthful, vigorous, and athletic-looking individuals. Their portraits were taut and portrayed ideal, godlike individuals. Only portraits of Akhenaten present exceptions to that form.

Since it is apparent that the Metropolitan Museum's fragment was not made during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, it will be compared to later royal representations that offer substantial stylistic parallels to it. The closest resemblances occur in the early Ptolemaic period. One of these rarely datable objects is in Strasbourg (Figure 6).[29] The statue, inscribed for Ptolemy II (285–246 B.C.), is preserved from the center of its chest to the border (frontlet) at the bottom of its *nemes* headdress. The nose is almost obliterated, but the balance of the face is mostly intact, except for the chin, where a large chip is missing. There are a number of striking similarities between the head of this statue and the Heliopolis fragment. The most obvious is the shape of the eyes. The Strasbourg sculpture has very wide-open eyes formed by a semicircular arc of the upper lid and a shallow arc of the lower lid. These plastically rendered lids join at the inner canthi to form a bump identical to that of the Metropolitan Museum's fragment. Also surviving are traces of the eyebrows. Like those of the Metropolitan fragment, they are plastically rounded and taper to a point past the outer canthi of the eyes.

Figure 5. Head, believed to depict Amasis (570–526 B.C.), Egyptian. Limestone, H. 6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1966, 66.99.178
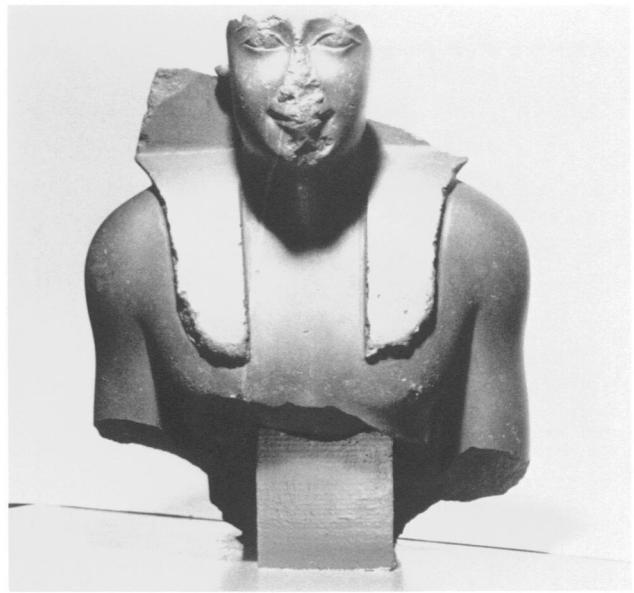
Figure 6. Fragment of statue, inscribed Ptolemy II (285–246 B.C.), Egyptian. Quartzite, H. 33.5 cm. Strasbourg, Université de Strasbourg, 1585 (photo: courtesy Brooklyn Museum)

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Figure 7. Portion of statue, inscribed Ptolemy II (285–246 B.C.), Egyptian. Red granite, H. 240 cm. Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, 27 (photo: H. W. Müller)

The mouth of the Strasbourg statue, although damaged, shows deep and prominent drill holes, as well as thick lips. It should be noted that the shape of this mouth does vary significantly from that of the graywacke fragment: it has a slight smile and a substantially different curvature of the lips. Like the Metropolitan fragment, however, the face is almost devoid of modeling. The undefined cheekbones and the roundness of the face create an impression of flesh overwhelming the bony substructure of the face. Too much of the chin is missing to determine if it had the same knobby shape as that of the Metropolitan Museum's fragment. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to surmise that the chin was unusually prominent, since that feature appears on virtually every representation of the early Ptolemies, including those in relief.[30] The back pillar of the Strasbourg statue has survived with the name of Ptolemy II, which is fortunate, since its style differs considerably from the only other inscribed statue of this king, now in the Vatican (Figure 7).[31] Clearly archaizing, the latter is close in appearance to representations of Nectanebo I (380–362 B.C.) and Nectanebo II (360–343 B.C.).[32] The Vatican image of
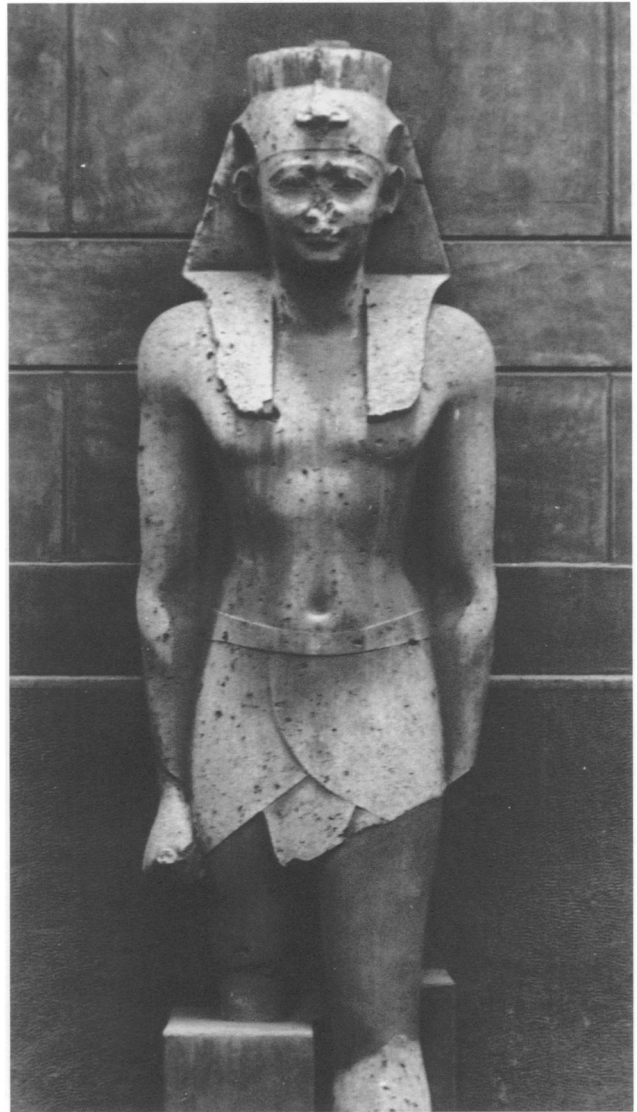
Figure 8. Portrait of Nectanebo I, from Hermopolis. Limestone, 240 cm. Cairo, the Egyptian Museum, JE 87298 (photo: H. W. Müller)

Ptolemy II is idealized and closely follows a pattern established in the royal workshops of the Thirtieth Dynasty. The correspondence is made clear by comparing it to a fine inscribed portrait of Nectanebo I from Hermopolis, now in Cairo (Figure 8).[33] The different styles in the two inscribed depictions of Ptolemy II may be attributed to a growing influence of the Hellenistic sculptors on their counterparts in native Egyptian workshops, as exemplified by the Strasbourg representation.[34] It is, however, also possible that the Strasbourg statue simply portrays an older Ptolemy II than does the Vatican one. The latter possibility was raised by Dorothea Arnold and cannot be excluded from consideration;[35] but nei-

ther can the fundamentally different approach in the two works be disregarded.[36]

Hellenistic influence, and its effect on native Egyptian sculpture workshops, has been clearly elucidated by R. R. R. Smith. In a forthcoming publication Smith writes:

Royal interest in the dissemination of images in the temples is plainly stated in the Mendes stele, and the priests' interest in the style or manner (tropos) of the statues is explicitly attested in the Rosetta decree. The clergy's decision to have Ptolemy's features represented in a Hellenistic idiom in some statues in addition to the usual statues with purely pharaonic features was analogous to their decision to publish their decrees in the Greek language as well as Egyptian. This measurable iconographic assimilation of the traditional image of pharaoh to Ptolemaic royal style and to particular types was meant to represent to the Egyptian temple-goer the distinctive nature and identity of the Ptolemaic pharaoh residing in his foreign capital at Alexandria.[37]

The Strasbourg Ptolemy II, with its large eyes and fleshy features, is much closer than the Vatican statue to numerous coin and clay sealing portraits of the king that were always drawn in a purely Hellenistic manner.[38] These relics of the Ptolemies exhibit the prognathous, fleshy faces, and aquiline noses that appear to have been hereditary characteristics common to the Greek rulers of Egypt.[39] Despite a number of similarities, there is no certainty that the Heliopolis fragment and the image in Strasbourg represent the same king. Other royal representations of the early Ptolemaic period are from Hellenistic workshops.[40] No inscribed statues of either Ptolemy I (305–284 B.C.) or Ptolemy III (246–221 B.C.) are known.

In a forthcoming study, I assign a votive head in Kansas City to Ptolemy I (Figure 9).[41] This finely executed object exhibits some characteristics of the late Thirtieth Dynasty—notably the slanted, almond-shaped eyes. It also demonstrates the beginning of Greek influence on native workshops, at least in portraying the Ptolemies in a more lifelike manner. Although these characteristics are not so pronounced as in either the Strasbourg Ptolemy II or the Metropolitan Museum's fragment, there is more fleshiness, particularly on the cheeks and around the mouth, on this representation than on those of the kings of the Thirtieth Dynasty. The Kansas City head also has a double chin—a feature unknown on late dynastic figures. This head appears to be an amalgam of stylistic characteristics

falling between those of the Strasbourg statue of Ptolemy II and the earlier representations of the two Nectanebos. A single possible example, however, cannot be deemed sufficient to illustrate the genre characteristic of native ateliers from the time of Ptolemy I. Although the Kansas City head shares some Hellenistic traits with the Metropolitan fragment, it is clearly of an earlier date. Because of the substantial Hellenistic influence present in the Strasbourg representation, I consider it to be later in the reign of Ptolemy II than the Vatican statue. The Metropolitan's face fragment is probably datable to the latter part of the reign of that king or, at the latest, to Ptolemy III.

There is little known about early Ptolemaic private statuary made in native Egyptian workshops. Because a firm chronology based on genealogical or stylistic evidence has not yet been established for that time,[42] the dating of many inscribed private representations remains unresolved.[43] Therefore, the Strasbourg representation, a small number of stucco profiles believed to depict the early Ptolemies, and coin and clay sealing portraits constitute
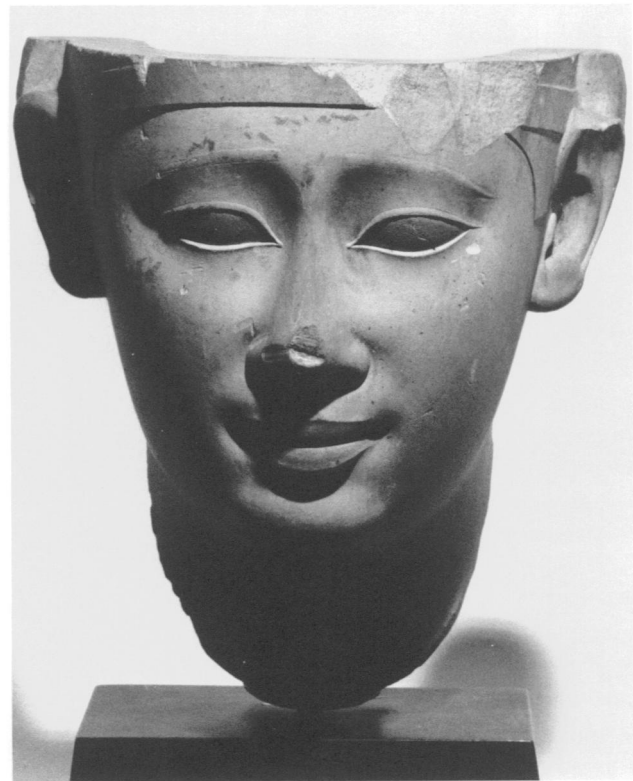

Figure 9. Votive head, possibly of Ptolemy I (305–284 B.C.), Egyptian. Gypsum, H. 9.5 cm. Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 34–141 (photo: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art)

Figure 10. Stucco profile, Egyptian, possibly Ptolemaic.
Plaster, 25.4 x 18.4 x 6 cm. New York, collection of
R. Keresey (photo: courtesy R. Keresey)

the major body of available evidence for comparison to the graywacke fragment. The purpose of the stucco profiles is unknown. Possibly they were votive objects similar in use to the many raised relief plaques that remain from the Ptolemaic period.[44] A private collection in New York contains such an object (Figure 10).[45] Bianchi notes that it is close to a group assigned by Varga to Ptolemy II.[46] On this plaque, the thick lips, the drill hole, and the heavy fleshiness attest to a Ptolemaic origin. The eye and eyebrow of the profile are exceptionally close to those of both the Metropolitan fragment and the Strasbourg bust. The exaggerated arc of the upper lid, the straight line of the lower, and the lump formed at the inner canthus give the eye an unmistakable resemblance to the one on the Metropolitan Museum's face. The mouth of the stucco profile is also very similar to that of the Museum's fragment —more so than the mouth of the Strasbourg statue. On an almost identical object in Amsterdam, the single eye in profile is the same shape as that of the graywacke fragment, as are the heavy facial features.[47]

The field in which the Metropolitan Museum's fragment was found is located in Heliopolis, the ancient capital of the Thirteenth nome of lower Egypt. Royal occupation at this site is assumed from the time of King Djoser of the Third Dynasty until the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[48] According to Strabo, the invading armies of the Persian king Cambyses destroyed or heavily damaged the city sometime after 524 B.C.[49] Petrie comments that he was unable to find remains of any occupation later than the Twenty-sixth Dynasty during his investigation and excavations there (Petrie also noted that, due to modern buildings on the site, he was unable to explore the ancient city fully).[50] If that were the case, a Ptolemaic dating of the graywacke face would be difficult to sustain.

There is, however, sufficient evidence to support the argument for an early Ptolemaic restoration of Heliopolis. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, two remarkable and complete granite statues, one bearing the name of Ptolemy II and the second the name of his principal wife and sister, Arsinöe II, were discovered in Rome. Both are now in the Museo Gregoriano Egizio in that same city.[51] No doubt a pair, they were carved in the same red granite and are identical in size and style. They were almost surely originally erected in Heliopolis; the statue of Arsinöe II bears an inscription confirming its origin.[52] Assuming that they are a pair, the statue of Ptolemy II must have come from Heliopolis. The inscription on the statue of Arsinöe reads, in part (as translated by Dr. J. Allen), "Beloved of Atun, Lord of the Two Lands, [the Heliopolitan]."[53] The statue of Ptolemy II has an inscription that points to the same provenance. In the translation of Dr. Allen, it reads, "[Beloved of] Re-Herakhti . . ." Since there were temples dedicated to both Atun and Re-Herakhti in Heliopolis,[54] the presence of these statues in Heliopolis would certainly seem to confirm that Ptolemy II was active in building and restoring that city in the third century B.C. It also increases the likelihood that the graywacke face represents that king.

To recapitulate, there are various reasons for placing the date of the Heliopolis fragment in the middle of the third century B.C. The fragment is most likely from a royal statue. It does not share any stylistic characteristics with pre-Ptolemaic royal representations. It shows strong similarities to an inscribed statue of Ptolemy II in Strasbourg. It has significant points of resemblance to stucco profiles, probably of the early Ptolemies, and coin portraits

that are certainly of Ptolemy II. The archaeological context, with reasonable evidence that Ptolemy II dedicated statues at the site, tends to corroborate an attribution of the Heliopolis fragment to that king.

The reassignment of the Museum's fragment from a Saite date may imply to some a denigration of its artistic value. Ptolemaic sculpture is not usually included among the great art of ancient Egypt.[55] C. Aldred wrote that Ptolemaic art "suffered a parallel alienation," referring to what he described as the "deplorable" reliefs and inscriptions of that period.[56] He also wrote, however, that portrait sculpture of that time was "a last bright flame."[57]

Perhaps this apparent and enduring bias can be explained by a lack of systematic study as well as by apparent confusion about the role of Hellenistic influence on Egyptian workshops.[58] Although the influence was primarily unidirectional, it clearly revitalized and promoted new concepts in the Egyptian ateliers. The result of these new ideas is epitomized by the "Boston Green Head," which surely is one of the finest portraits ever made in Egypt.[59] Nor does it stand alone. The exhibition "Cleopatra's Egypt" at the Brooklyn Museum showed many exceptional works from the Ptolemaic period.[60] The unusually excellent work on the Metropolitan's fragment may have persuaded Egyptologists to place its date in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. That attribution perhaps implies that it was too fine a sculpture to belong to the Ptolemaic period. However, a 3,000-year tradition did not vanish at the end of native rule in 343 B.C. Rather, it slowly metamorphosed and served the religious and political needs of a new era. The Metropolitan Museum's fragment is a good example of the stylistic changes wrought by foreign influence and its assimilation into established traditions. Like many other products of Egyptian workshops in the Ptolemaic period, it is of excellent quality and shows the continuing mastery of the later sculptors.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NOTES

1. MMA, acc. no. 26.7.1396; yellow jasper, H. 12 cm. W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, Part II (New York, 1959) p. 260, fig. 156.

2. MMA, acc. no. 12.187.31; graywacke, H. 17 cm. Gift of The Egyptian Research Account, 1912, W. M. F. Petrie and E. Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa* (London, 1915) p. 6, pl. vi. Also, see B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* (Oxford, 1934) IV, p. 60.

3. B. V. Bothmer, H. W. Müller, and H. De Meulenaere, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960) p. 59, hereafter referred to as *ESLP*. The dates used in this article follow those of J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1985).

4. An early example, datable to the Fifth Dynasty, is in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, ÄS 75; limestone, H. 51.8 cm; see E. Rogge, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum* 15 (Mainz, 1993) p. 15,6, pl. 15,8. From the early Middle Kingdom is a statue of Sesostris I in Cairo, The Egyptian Museum, CG 411; limestone, H. 190 cm; see D. Wildung, *L'Âge d'or de l'Égypte* (Fribourg, 1984) p. 80, no. 72, ill. p. 81.

5. The orbicularis oris muscle. This subcutaneous organ is often depicted in Egyptian portraits and is usually and correctly shown traversing the upper lip. An excellent example is on a portrait of Sesostris III, the Luxor Museum, J. 34; red granite, H. 80 cm; see E. R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, Texas, 1989) p. 61, no. 26, ill.

6. For example, H. De Meulenaere; "Meskhénet à Abydos," *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain* (Louvain, 1991) p. 243. De Meulenaere here states that identification without a philological basis is "extrêmement fragile."

7. As described by C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1980) p. 9.

8. The best-known example was the discovery, at the beginning of this century, of a great number of mostly Late Period statues in the Karnak cachette. These statues had obviously been discarded at a time after the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

9. W. M. F. Petrie and E. Mackay, *Heliopolis*, p. 5. The authors date the two royal heads found with the Metropolitan Museum's fragment to the Eighteenth Dynasty. I think it more likely that one of them, no. 2 in plate 6, is from the early Middle Kingdom.

10. An interesting recent discussion of the aspect of recognizability of portraits from ancient Egypt is given by A. Kozloff and B. Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland, 1992) pp. 125–126.

11. It is impossible to quantify either the number of datable Saite Dynasty statues in collections throughout the world or how many of them are made of graywacke. From personal knowledge of the many hundreds of Twenty-sixth Dynasty statues included in Bothmer's archive of photographs of sculpture from the Late Period, I can fairly state that the majority are made from that stone.

12. One of the earliest royal statues is made of graywacke. It is of King Khasekhem of the Second Dynasty and is in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 32161; graywacke, H. 56 cm; see Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, pp. 10–12, no. 1, ill. In the Ptolemaic Period,

there is an abundance of graywacke statues. Among them are the Boston Green Head, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04. 1749; graywacke, H. 10.8 cm; see R. Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies* (Brooklyn, 1988) no. 45, p. 140, ill. In the same catalogue is the Berlin Green Head, Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 12500; graywacke, H. 21.5 cm, no. 46, p. 141, ill.

13. For instance, schist, rather than graywacke, is used throughout *ESLP* as well as by Bianchi in *Cleopatra's Egypt*.

14. I am indebted to Dr. Clair R. Ossian, a geologist and mineralogist, for properly identifying the stone as graywacke.

15. See Trichet and Vallat, *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran: Mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot* (Paris, 1990) pp. 205–208. For a complete discussion including the classification of the various stones found in the Wadi Hammamat, see R. and D. Klemm, *Steine und Steine-Brüche im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1993) pp. 355–376.

16. H. Goedicke, "Some Remarks on Stone Quarrying in the Egyptian Middle Kingdom (2060–1786 B.C.)," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt [JARCE]* 3 (1964) p. 44.

17. In the MMA's descriptive label for the piece, the writer recognized that the features of the fragment substantially differed from those of the royal representations of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

18. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, p. 3, discusses the deliberate mutilation of royal statues to ensure that workmen destroying them were not subject to revenge from these godlike representations. Although the author refers to the mutilation of the nose, mouth, and eyes, I believe that this explanation could be extended to the total destruction of those figures.

19. It is interesting to note the analogous damage to a statue of Thutmosis III, a portion of which is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. See C. Lilyquist, "The Marble Statue of Thutmosis III from Deir el Bahari," *GM* 109 (1989) pp. 19–20.

20. New York, the Thalassic Collection; graywacke, H. 35.9 cm. Illustrated in Sotheby's Catalogue (June 25, 1992) no. 31.

21. See E. R. Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT 34)," forthcoming in *JARCE* (1994) n.95. I am grateful for Dr. Russmann's permission to read and cite this article prior to its publication.

22. Among the many examples of this configuration of the eyes are *ESLP*, no. 27, fig. 55; no. 28, fig. 56; no. 28, fig 57; no. 34, fig. 74; no. 38 A, fig. 83; no. 39, figs. 84–85; and no. 41, figs. 89–91. Also see H. De Meulenaere and B. V. Bothmer, "Une tête d'Osiris au Musée du Louvre," *Kêmi* 19 (1969) pp. 9–16. The authors illustrate a number of Osiris figures from the Saite Dynasty, all of which have the narrow, almond-shaped eyes.

23. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, 438; graywacke, H. 12.5 cm. Discussed by J. Josephson, "Royal Sculpture of the Later XXVIth Dynasty," in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 48 (1992) pl. 16 a.

24. Bologna, Museo Civico 1801; graywacke, H. 40 cm; see H. W. Müller, "Ein Königsbildnis der 26. Dynastie mit der blauen Krone im Museo Civico zu Bologna," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 80 (1955) p. 47, pl. 84.

25. MMA, 66.99.178; limestone, H. 6 cm ; see *ESLP*, no. 54, pl. 51, figs. 124–126. For a list of other heads assigned to Amasis,

see J. Josephson, "An altered royal head of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74 (1988) pp. 232–235.

26. See N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1992) p. 353. Relief representations of Libyans, particularly in the New Kingdom, exhibited very narrow eye openings. For example, see G. T. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt* (London, 1987) I, p. 18 n.35, pl. 45.

27. An example of noticeable drill holes on a Nineteenth Dynasty statue is found on a portrait of Meryetamun, wife and daughter of Ramesses II; see R. Freed, *Ramesses the Great* (Memphis, 1987) p. 134, no. 4, ill.

28. J. Josephson, *Royal Sculpture of the Late Period, a Stylistic Analysis: 400–246 B.C.* (forthcoming).

29. Strasbourg, Université de Strasbourg, 1585; quartzite, H. 33.5 cm; see *ESLP*, p. 122, no. 97, figs. 242–243. See also *Antiquités Égyptiennes* (Strasbourg, 1973) p. 56, no. 269, fig. 36.

30. An excellent example of the jutting chin on a relief representation of Ptolemy II is that on the west wall of the Isis Temple in Philae; see E. Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae* (Louvain, 1989) pl. 19 A. Another relief representation showing the combination of fleshy cheeks and a very prominent jaw is a plaque attributed to Ptolemy I in Lyon; see K. Myśliwiec, "Un portrait ptolémaïque de Coptos," *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 5 (1974) p. 31, fig. 2.

31. Rome, Vatican Museo Gregoriano Egizio, 27; red granite, H. 240 cm; see G. Botti and P. Romanelli, *Le Sculpture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Vatican City, 1951) p. 24, no. 32, pls. 22–23.

32. Josephson, *Royal Sculpture of the Late Period*.

33. Cairo, the Egyptian Museum, JE 87298; limestone; see G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939* (Hildesheim, 1959) p. 286, pl. 57 B.

34. R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London, 1991) pp. 208–209. Smith places the influence of the Hellenistic sculptors on the native Egyptian workshops as occurring in the second century. I believe it to have begun earlier, probably closer to the beginning of the Ptolemaic period.

35. In a personal communication in 1994.

36. As an example of an individual being portrayed at different ages, two statues of Amenhotep Son of Hapu, from the Eighteenth Dynasty. Both are in Cairo, the Egyptian Museum, JE 44861 and CG 42127; see Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, nos. 50 and 51, ill. pp. 105–106.

37. R. R. R. Smith, "Ptolemaic Portraits: Alexandrian Types, Egyptian Versions" (Getty Museum Publication, forthcoming). I am grateful for the permission of Dr. Smith to quote from this unpublished article.

38. Ptolemy II is depicted with the prominent jaw and fleshy face on a coin portrait in Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt*, no. 61 b, p. 160, ill. A similar group of those features appears on a coin portrait of Ptolemy III. See Smith, "Ptolemaic Portraits," fig. 2.

39. K. Myśliwiec refers to the physiognomy of Ptolemy II as an "opulent face with full cheeks, rounded chin and smiling mouth" in "A Contribution to the Study of the Ptolemaic Royal Portrait," *Travaux du Centre d'archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des sciences* 14, Études et Travaux VII, p. 43.

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40. For examples, see H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin, 1975) pls. 2–5ff.

41. Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 34–141; gypsum, H. 9.5 cm; Josephson, *Royal Sculpture of the Late Period.*

42. The most ambitious attempt to do so is in Bianchi's *Cleopatra's Egypt.* Unfortunately, many of the entries are ambiguous regarding datings and offer a fairly wide range of time.

43. Even the inscribed statue of Horsitutu has elicited substantial questions about its date. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 2271; granite, H. 113 cm. Bianchi in *Cleopatra's Egypt* calls attention to the area of disagreement between B. Schweitzer and himself on its date.

44. For example, the bust of a queen, MMA, acc. no. 07.228.2; limestone, 18.4 cm x 10.5 cm; see E. Young, "Sculptors' Models or Votives?" *MMAB* (March 1964) p. 246, ill. This article thoroughly discusses the uses of these objects. Also, see T. F. L[iepsner], "Modelle," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie (LÄ)* 4 (Wiesbaden, 1982) cols. 168–180.

45. New York, collection of R. Keresey; plaster, 25.4 x 18.4 x 6 cm; see Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt,* p. 129, no. 34.

46. E. Varga, "Contributions à l'histoire des modèles de sculpture en stuc de l'ancienne Égypte," *Bulletin du Musée national Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* (Budapest, 1960) pp. 3–20.

47. Amsterdam, The Allard Pierson Museum, 54; limestone (?), dimensions unknown. Unpublished. From the photograph, which I have seen only on a postcard from the museum, it is obvious that the material is stucco. The legend on the postcard reads "limestone."

48. L[áslo] K[ákosy], *LÄ* 15 (Wiesbaden, 1977) cols. 1111–1113.

49. Strabo 17, 1, 27 (805).

50. Petrie and Mackay, *Heliopolis,* p. 2.

51. See note 31 for the statue of Ptolemy II. The statue of the Vatican Arsinoë II is Museo Gregoriano Egizio 25; red granite, H. 240 cm; see Botti and Romanelli, *Le Sculpture,* pp. 22–23, no. 31, pls. 22, 31, 23, 31, 24, 31.

52. K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Leipzig, 1904)|II 71, II 72.

53. Dr. Allen is associate curator in the Department of Egyptian Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. I am grateful to him for his assistance in translating the inscription, as well as supplying the reference used in note 52.

54. L. K., *LÄ,* col. 1111.

55. As late as 1993, the art of the Ptolemaic period was termed "degenerate" in a paper delivered at the Getty Museum symposium on Ptolemaic Alexandria in May of that year. Although this opinion is not universally shared by art historians, it was delivered by a knowledgeable museum curator.

56. Aldred, *Egyptian Art,* pp. 240.

57. Ibid.

58. See Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture,* pp. 86ff.

59. See note 13.

60. "Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies," presented at The Brooklyn Museum, Oct. 7, 1988–Jan. 2, 1989.

The End of Aponia

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THIS NOTE offers a correction to the reading of one inscription on an Attic red-figure vase in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the pyxis 09.221.40 (Figure 1).[1] The subject, a "domestic" scene, or "women at their toilet," is common on vases such as this one used as containers for perfumes or cosmetics. These are not, however, ordinary women. Inscriptions on the pyxis identify *Aphrodite,* who sits by her wool basket, and six companions, who have the names of appropriate virtues: *Paidia* (Joy), [*Eu*]*daimonia* (Happiness), *Peitho* (Persuasion), *Euklea* (Good Repute), and *Hygieia* (Health).

The inscription attached to the sixth figure, which stands behind Peitho, is particularly faint and cannot be read at a glance. Lindsley Hall interpreted it as *Ponia* (Toil, Labor) in his drawing of the vase in *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art;* in the catalogue text Gisela Richter, who could see one more letter before the one that looked like a *pi,* proposed [*A*]*ponia.*[2] The emendation had the advantage of removing what was perceived as an inappropriate connotation for the goddess whose business is pleasure; it should not be *ponos* who accompanies her but its absence—Freedom from Toil, Leisure. This reading was in agreement with modern notions about femininity that associate beauty with pleasure and free time; its truth was never doubted. As the only known instance of the personification of Aponia, the figure on the Metropolitan pyxis eventually acquired a small life of her own.[3]

"It is not the case," as Hayden White says, "that a fact is one thing and its interpretation another."[4] It was a different explanation of the nexus of glamour and labor that the images offer—in the form of Aphrodite, perfumes, and the wool basket—that led me to question Aponia's existence. In an iconographic scheme common to hundreds of fifth-century Attic vases, Aphrodite sitting among the Graces is represented on the pyxis as the fairest of a group

Figure 1. Pyxis. Attic, 5th century B.C. Terracotta, H. (with cover) 8.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1909, 09.221.40

of females who play together, groom one another, and work wool. In the course of my research on the subject, it became increasingly clear that such scenes depict not the housewife but the marriageable maiden—the *parthenos, la jeune fille en fleur.* The wool basket that inevitably accompanies the maiden serves to mark one of her defining traits: *philergia,* that is, industriousness.[5] If labor is a key element of the representation of Aphrodite as *parthenos,* the presence of *Euklea* on the pyxis is appropriate, because Good Repute is, after all, the daughter of Ponos.[6] But what was Leisure doing in this entourage? [*A*]*ponia* was a small fact that stood in the way of an hypothesis for which much support could be found otherwise. As a last resort, I decided to question the accuracy of Richter's reading of the inscription.

At the request of Joan Mertens, curator in the Department of Greek and Roman Art, Richard Stone, conservator in the Objects Conservation Department of the Museum, examined the inscription. He not only arrived at the correct reading, but he

Figure 2. Detail of inscription on pyxis in Figure 1

was also able to document it in extraordinary photographs (Figure 2).[7] It was something of a letdown, albeit a welcome one, to learn that the figure is the predictable *Eunomia,* Good Governance, one of Aphrodite's constant companions.[8]

SOME TECHNICAL NOTES ON THE PYXIS
Richard Stone, Conservator
The Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Virtually the entire body of the pyxis survives, minus some insignificant chips, despite having been broken into about a dozen fragments. The vessel has clearly been in a fire, as it is severely discolored; in fact, the fragments are no longer all the same shade.

The inscriptions are all quite difficult to read, as they have lost all trace of their paint, presumably the usual red ocher. They nevertheless can all be read with care, all but the name *Eunomia.* Here there is simply no difference in color, only the slightest difference in reflectivity, which the lightest trace of fingertip grease obliterates.

After carefully degreasing the surface with benzine, Bruce Schwarz of the Metropolitan Museum's Photograph Studio and I were able to prepare photomacrographs that reveal the ghost of the inscription, even the initial epsilon. As can be seen, there is no doubt about the reading.

NOTES

1. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1963) p. 1328, no. 99 (Manner of the Meidias Painter).

2. G. M. A. Richter and L. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven, 1936) pp. 202–203, no. 161, pl. 159; J. D. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases: V," *American Journal of Archaeology* 54 (1950) p. 320.

3. D. Metzler, "Eunomia und Aphrodite," *Hephaistos* 2 (1980) pp. 74–75, 82; H. A. Shapiro, *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* II (1984) s.v. "Aponia"; idem, "*Ponos* and *Aponia,*" *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 25 (1984) pp. 107–110; idem, *Personifications in Greek Art* (Zurich, 1993) pp. 32–33, fig. 1; L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter* (Oxford, 1987) p. 33.

4. Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse* (Baltimore, 1978) p. 107.

5. As, for instance, in Aristotle's statement of the ideal qualities of a female child: "Female bodily excellences are beauty and stature, their moral excellences self control and industrious habits free from servility (*philergia aneu aneleutherias*)," *Rhetoric* I, J. H. Freese, trans., Loeb Classical Library (London / New York, 1926) pp. 5–6. The full argument for the interpretation of the image of the *parthenos* is given in chapters 1 and 2 of my *Figures of Speech,* forthcoming from the University of Chicago Press. The model of the band of maidens was uncovered by Claude Calame in his study of Alkman's *Partheneion: Les Choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* I (Rome, 1977).

6. A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragments* (Leipzig, 1889) p. 508, no. 474.

7. Carlos Picón, Robert Guy, and Joan Mertens first reexamined the inscription and reported that two letters could be seen before the alleged *pi,* the second of which was *upsilon.* I am particularly grateful to Dr. Mertens for looking at the vase again with me and for pursuing the matter to the end.

8. A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* IV (1988) s.v. "Eunomia."

A New Reading of a Pilaster Capital from St.-Guilhem-le-Désert at The Cloisters

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THE CAPITAL (Figure 1)[1] that will be examined in this essay belongs to the *claustrum novum,* the new cloister, from St.-Guilhem-le-Désert, major portions of which are exhibited in the St.-Guilhem gallery at The Cloisters (Figure 2).[2] Principal elements from this abbey came to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1925 and have been an integral part of The Cloisters since it opened in its present location in 1938.

The Benedictine abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert[3] —situated about twenty-five kilometers northwest of Montpellier—was founded in 804 by Guilhem (Guillaume) au Court-Nez, duke of Aquitaine, a member of the court of Charlemagne. Referred to at the time as the abbey of Gellone, the site was named after the secluded valley in which it is located. Guillaume retired to this abbey in 806 and was buried there in 812.

By the twelfth century the abbey was known as St.-Guilhem-le-Désert, a name still used today. The oldest part of the present monastery church dates from the first half of the eleventh century,[4] although the transepts and apse were executed at the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. Apparently, the lower galleries of the cloister also date from this period,[5] and a narthex was added between 1165 and 1199. A local document dated 1206 mentions a *claustrum novum* on the second floor of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert.[6] This offers a reliable *terminus ante quem* for our pilaster.

The capital under discussion, permanently installed in the northeast corner of the St.-Guilhem gallery at The Cloisters, is featured as part of a group of architectural sculpture that approximates its medieval cloister setting (Figure 3). Over a band of acanthus leaves, which extends to the back of this pilaster like a border, there is a figural composition (Figure 4). On each lateral end a lion is depicted,

and on the front side a seated man is rendered in full frontality (Figures 4–6). He has a mustache and goatee and is dressed in a tunic over which he wears a *paludamentum.*[7] He holds a staff in his left hand, and his body is delineated in a rather peculiar manner: the space for the lower body is truncated so that he is literally squeezed between the band of leaves and the console in the pilaster's top portion. Whereas his face and torso have been fully carved, the man's legs must be imagined, and his feet appear to be mere appendixes to the rest of his body. The elongated head, the use of the drill for his pupils, and the treatment of the hair in vertical striations are similar to some of the heads from the same group, such as those on an abacus (Figure 7) and especially on a capital (Figure 8).

The lion on the proper dexter is badly damaged (Figure 5); however, he is covered with a distinctly curled mane and has fierce-looking fangs. The fur —which covers the other beast's entire body with puffy curls—has been worked differently, and a certain delight in decorative patterning is apparent (Figure 6).

The way in which the lions' tails curl around their bodies lends them an almost ornamental appearance, giving them a life of their own. Both the animals and the man appear to be standing on tiptoe. This decorative treatment indicates that a "realistic" rendering of the figures was not one of the artist's primary concerns. The surface of the background area consists of vivid, almost coarse zigzag lines. In some places these are covered with the familiar striations that may be observed in various other elements from St.-Guilhem-le-Désert (Figures 9, 10).

This pilaster has at times been referred to as a depiction of Daniel in the Lions' Den.[8] According to the precise and finely differentiated iconography used for Daniel,[9] the bearded male is found frequently in medieval representations of the story. None of the other illustrations that are often represented in connection with the Daniel scene—such as

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Figure 1. Pilaster capital from the Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 29 cm.
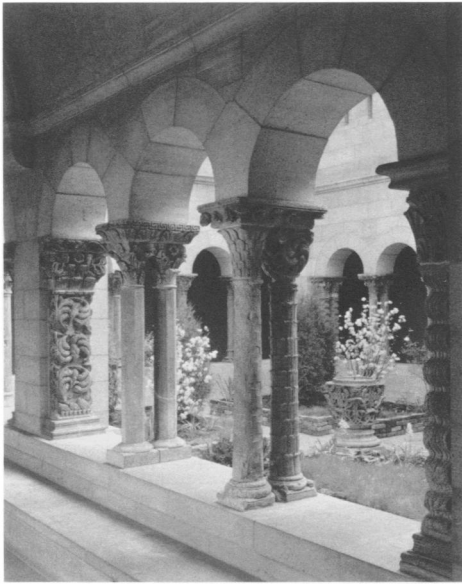The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.117

Figure 2. View of the St.-Guilhem gallery as installed at The Cloisters
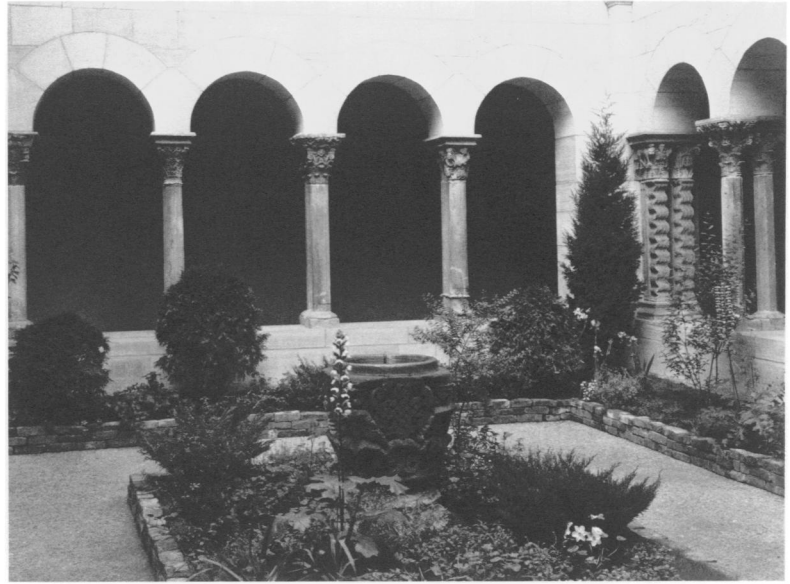
Figure 3. View of the northeast corner of the St.-Guilhem gallery

Figure 4. Detail of St.-Guilhem capital in Figure 1

the story of Susannah or the Three Men in the Furnace—is represented in the St.-Guilhem cloister.

Another feature contradicting the Daniel identification is that the man on our pilaster does not wear a halo or a Jewish beret, an increasingly popular convention in French art of the twelfth century.[10] In the majority of Daniel scenes, the Old Testament prophet holds a codex or a scroll in his hand. However, the figure on this pilaster holds in his left hand a stafflike object, also known as a *main de justice*.[11] While it closely resembles an emperor's scepter, this attribute bears multilayered references to imperial iconography. Upon closer inspection it becomes evident that the object held by the man is definitely not characteristic of a prophet. In the context of biblical prophets, the book or scroll refers to the learned man, the philosopher, while the staff

(as seen on the pilaster) was reserved for aristocrats or rulers.

In addition, the fibula that fastens the *paludamentum* warrants detailed scrutiny. Significantly, the man's frontal posture and the attachment of the fibula on his right shoulder are literal quotes from antique imperial iconography. It was in such prominent mid-sixth-century monuments as the apse mosaics in San Vitale in Ravenna that the positioning of the fibula on the proper dexter was adopted for use in Christian iconography (Figure 11).[12] Recent scholarship has revealed that a fibula—especially when decorated with precious stones and worn on the side—may help identify an individual as a high-ranking aristocrat.[13] As on our pilaster, the *paludamentum* of Emperor Justinian in the mosaic in San Vitale is held by a fibula on his proper right shoulder (Figure 11). Dress and ornament are thus indicators of the rank of the person represented; the figure's dress, posture, and attributes suggest that we are looking at a high-ranking aristocrat and not the prophet Daniel.

Before attempting to identify the person depicted, the logical step would be a closer investigation of the lions. These felines have been the basis for identifying this as a Daniel scene. The iconography of the lion is, nevertheless, multilayered, its significance varies, and it is not at all restricted to Daniel.[14] If one were to insist that the man depicted is an aristocrat, then his portrayal with lions could equally well signify his personal strength or power.[15] In funerary art, the lion often accompanies, pro-

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Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1 showing lion on left side

Figure 6. Detail of Figure 1 showing lion on right side

Figure 7. Abacus from the Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 10.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.5

Figure 8. Pilaster capital from the Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 30 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.120

Figure 9. Pilaster capital from the Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 29.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.66

Figure 10. Pilaster capital from the Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 29.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.67

Figure 11. Emperor Justinian (detail). Byzantine, mid-6th century. Mosaic. Ravenna, Presbyterium of San Vitale (photo: Fotometalgrafica Emiliana, Ravenna)

tects, and guards the deceased; at the same time it may be a sign and guarantor of the departed's personal power, strength, and authority.[16]

Presumably, the interpretation of this pilaster as Daniel in the Lions' Den has never been questioned because—especially in twelfth-century French art—the episode was so popular and widespread.[17] Yet, with a total of some fifty surviving capitals from the upper cloister of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert, this one is the only figural example that can, with all certainty, be attributed to the original ensemble: it is thus too prominent and distinguished a piece for it to be a poorly understood rendering of Daniel or a piece without any distinctive significance.

Instead, a more plausible interpretation is that the person portrayed on the Cloisters pilaster is St. William himself. Shown with a patrician hairstyle and goatee, and dressed with a *paludamentum* fastened by a fibula on the right side, the saint and founder of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert, assuming the identification is correct, is seen holding his *main de justice*.[18]

He is depicted as a ruler, sitting in total frontality on a throne-bench. A grandson of Charles Martel and a member of Charlemagne's court, St. Guillaume d'Aquitaine would or could be vested with these attributes.[19] In the original location, this historiated image of a founder and donor was appropriately placed on the second story of the new cloister. The image of the saint, thus located within the monastery that was dedicated to him, watched and safeguarded the abbey.

Some features of imperial iconography include the strictly frontal position of the individual on a throne-bench, the cloak with fibula on the side, and the scepter. Percy Ernst Schramm, in his encyclopedic opus on medieval rulers, has documented each feature with a plethora of images and sources.[20] To cite but a few of the similarities between Schramm's examples and our pilaster, we may refer to twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century illustrations, all of which offer striking similarities with the Cloisters object (Figures 18–20). Beyond the resemblances in dress and its presentation, all of Schramm's examples show a seated man displaying his regalia, with the scepter especially noteworthy in this context. Schramm has published extensively on the scepter and points out its changing significance and the variants.[21] Schramm's evidence also suggests that the object held by the man in our pilaster is one of the many variants of this medieval scepter.

Although most of the comparative material stems from the realm of seals and medals, one stone relief (Figure 20) of about 1200 depicts a contorted king similar to the contemporaneous figure on the Cloisters pilaster.[22] This seems to imply that perspectively contorted renderings were not in fact restricted to coins and medals; rather, comparable compositions would appear to have been adopted by stone masons for sculptural purposes. An influence from the minor arts in this instance is likely because miniature images are portable and can easily be carried, for example, by pilgrims.[23] However, the gradual adaptation of imperial imagery from Carolingian times to later examples drawn from antiquity is best illustrated by illuminated manuscripts.[24]

The iconography for St. William has not been previously established or confirmed for examples predating 1410.[25] Furthermore, beginning in the sixteenth century, a mixup of St. Guillaume d'Aquitaine with St. Guillaume de Maleval occurred. This confusion has never been rectified in French scholarship.[26]

The manner in which the saint is characterized on our pilaster fits the description offered by Wolfram

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Figure 12. Man entangled in sin. French, 12th century.
Limestone. Arles, Musée la Lapidaire d'Art Chrétien

cially true in late antiquity, when an entire canon of Christian imagery was coined from and after Roman iconography. A striking example may be seen in the representation of Roman victories that eventually evolved into images of Christian angels.

A new interpretation similar to the one suggested here has been proposed in conjunction with another twelfth-century capital from Arles (Figure 12), which had previously been called Daniel. Werner Weisbach was able to demonstrate that the scene is indeed an illustration of Man entangled in sin instead of the Old Testament prophet in the den of lions.[29]

As there was clearly no precedent, the sculptor in St.-Guilhem-le-Désert invented an iconography for Guillaume d'Aquitaine that was to remain a solitary example for a number of centuries. When the Boucicaut Master painted the saint in about 1400 he established the imagery that was followed thereaf-

von Eschenbach in his epic *Willehalm,* which dates from the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[27] The hero—the names Willehalm, William, Guilhem, Guillaume, and Guglielmo are interchangeable—corresponds to the stereotypical description of the medieval knight. Willehalm was the fearless aristocrat who followed the Christian creed and who —thanks to his unfailing faith and his courage— won some major battles against the Saracens. After a successful military career, the highly decorated warrior Willehalm retired to the secluded valley in the Hérault, where he founded the monastery that later took his name.

One of the foremost attractions in the abbey was the relic of the true cross, which, according to legend, was given to Guillaume by Charlemagne himself.[28] In short, this air of nobility and distinction appears to distinguish St. William on the Cloisters pilaster. In accordance with the ancient origin of the meaning and significance of some of his attributes, the sculptor has portrayed an individual who— upon first inspection—would seem to be Daniel, and the male depicted can easily be taken for Daniel in the Lions' Den; however, several signs suggest that the artist intended to portray St. William in the guise of Daniel. Such appropriations of existing imagery were not at all uncommon. This holds espe-

Figure 13. Boucicaut Master, *St. Guillaume d'A'quitaine as a Monk* (of Gellone). Miniature from a book of hours, ca. 1410. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, Ms. 2, fol. 43v (photo: Musée Jacquemart-André)

Figure 14. Abacus with classical meander ribbon from Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 12 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.88 (photo: C.T. Little)

Figure 16. Donor Gregorius. French, mid-12th century. Limestone. St.-Michel-de-Cuxa

Figure 15. Abbot Durandus. French, ca. 1100. Limestone. Moissac, east gallery in the cloister

Figure 17. St. Trophimus. French, ca. 1180. Limestone. Arles, north gallery in the cloister of St. Trophime

ter. William was depicted as a monk and not as the aristocrat and knight he had been before he opted for monastic solitude and seclusion (Figure 13).[30]

The interpretation of the figure on the Cloisters pilaster as St. William necessitates a fresh look at the significance of the *claustrum novum* from St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. Its patron and founder, whose grave was also venerated in this place,[31] watched from an elevated perspective on the second floor, safeguarding the pilgrims who came to the site. In evaluating the meaning of this sculpture and its relationship to the cloister as a whole, we see that the recourse to Roman garments has the same significance as the classical ornamentation of some of the sculpture within the same ensemble (Figure 14). It is in this same traditional vein that Daniel served as an appropriate model. The prophet demonstrated the strength of his religious faith when he was in the lions' den. This characteristic may have been transposed onto St. William: his faith made him strong and victorious and, according to Christian tradition, ultimately led to the salvation of his soul. As much as posture and dress refer to his dignity, the lions on either side of William allude to a further layer of meaning that originated in pre-Christian times.[32]

The interpretation proposed here can be supported by the presence of other patron saints strategically placed in other twelfth-century cloisters in southwestern France. The earliest precedent is the abbot Durandus on the central pillar of the east gallery in the cloister of Moissac (Figure 15), dated to about 1100.[33] A plaque from St.-Michel-de-Cuxa, which has recently been identified as the image of the donor Gregorius, has been dated to the middle of the twelfth century (Figure 16).[34] This piece, now exhibited in a museum, was also originally placed in a cloister. A third example is the famous rendering of St. Trophimus from the pillar in the north gallery in the cloister of the cathedral at Arles, which is dated to about 1180 (Figure 17).[35] These three monuments are not sepulchral monuments or tomb slabs but commemorative plaques. Each of these individuals was given a memorial within the cloister, the nucleus of his activity, veneration, and power. In the case of these comparisons, the identification is secure because each image bears an identifying inscription. In the case of the pilaster with St. Guillaume d'Aquitaine from the *claustrum novum* in St.-Guilhem-le-Désert, his identification is secure because of the attributes that help establish him as patron saint in the guise of an historiated portrait.

Figure 18. Seal of Frederick I (Barbarossa). Meuse Valley (Liège), ca. 1150. Wax. Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Kl. Ahnaberg (photo: Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, fig. 206)

Figure 19. Pfennig of Frederick I (Barbarossa). German, Gelnhausen(?), ca. 1150. Metal. Berlin, Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, fig. 210, no. 28)

Figure 20. Seated king. German, ca. 1200. Stone. Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz (photo: Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, fig. 217)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NOTES

1. MMA, acc. no. 25.120.117. Measurements: H.: 11½ in. (29 cm), W.: 9¼ in. (23.5 cm), D.: 12⅜ in. (31.5 cm). Robert Saint-Jean, *Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert. La sculpture du Cloître de l'Abbaye de Gellone* (Montpellier, 1990) ill. pp. 91, 92; Whitney S. Stoddard, *The Facade of St. Gilles-du-Gard* (Middletown, Conn., 1973) p. 324, ill. p. 467; Jack L. Schrader, "The Cloisters and The Abbaye," *MMAB* (Summer 1979) p. 9, color ill. on title page; Robert Saint-Jean, "Le cloître supérieur de Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert," *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa* 7 (June 1976) pp. 54, 55; Daniel Kletke, *Der Kreuzgang aus St.-Guilhem-le-Désert in The Cloisters in New York* (Berlin, 1995) pp. 163, 165–167, 271.

2. For the most recent discussion with extensive references and comparisons, see Kletke, *Der Kreuzgang aus St.-Guilhem-le-Désert*, esp. pp. 3–15.

3. The most comprehensive study and documentation regarding the history of the site remains that of Émile Bonnet, "L'Église abbatiale de St.-Guilhem-le-Désert," *Congrès archéologique* (1906) pp. 384–440.

4. J. Vallery-Radot, "L'Église de Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert," *Congrès archéologique de France, 108e session tenue à Montpellier en 1950* (Paris, 1951) p. 179.

5. Bonnet, "L'Église abbatiale," p. 405.

6. Cf. Dom J. Sort, *Annales Gellonensis seu monasterii Sti. Guillelmi de Desertis ordinis Sti. Benedicti congregationis Sti. Mauri*, 1705, p. 190; quoted in Bonnet, "L'Église abbatiale," p. 418.

7. A military cloak worn by a general; the official imperial cloak. Cf. Theodor Klauser, "Pallium," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* VIII (1986) p. 7; Michael T. Davis, "Paludamentum," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (1987) IX, pp. 359–360 with ill. In reference to medieval dress codes, cf. Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*, Florentine Mütherich, ed. (Munich, 1983) p. 140: "Weitaus am meisten scheint der Herrscher . . . des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts in das Paludamentum gekleidet, einen der römischen Kaisertracht entliehenen losen Umhang, der, über die Schultern geworfen, lang herabhängt und über einer Schulter so lose zusammengehalten wird, daß er den Oberarm oder doch dessen Bekleidung freigibt."

8. Saint-Jean, "Le cloître supérieur," p. 54. "Sans doute le prophète Daniel"; on p. 55, called "Le Daniel entre deux lions." Idem, *Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert*, ills. 91, 92: "Le prophète Daniel entre les lions." See also note 1 and Kletke, *Der Kreuzgang aus St.-Guilhem-le-Désert*, pp. 162–163 n.373.

9. Cf. H. Schlosser, "Daniel," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., I (Rome, 1968) pp. 469–473; Hans Feldbusch, "Daniel," *Reallexikon der deutschen Kunstgeschichte* III (1954) pp. 1033–1049. Recently there has been an extensive documentation for the depiction of Daniel, especially for twelfth-century French stone sculpture; see Eleanor L. Scheifele, "A French Romanesque Capital of Daniel in the Lions' Den," *The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art* 81, no. 3 (March 1994) pp. 47–83, with numerous illustrations and a list of some sixty Daniel-scenes; further comprehensive studies include Günther Wacker, "Die Ikonographie des Daniel in der Löwengrube," Ph.D. diss. (Marburg, 1954); Rosalie Green, "Daniel in

the lions' den as an example of Romanesque typology," Ph.D. diss. (University of Chicago, 1948).

10. Schlosser, "Daniel," p. 472.

11. Cf. A. Voretzsch, "Stab," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., IV (Rome, 1972) pp. 193–198; contains historic and literary sources and bibliography.

12. For extensive coverage of the historic, art-historic, and iconographic meaning of the accessories, see Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes* I (Wiesbaden, 1969) pp. 248–249; II (Wiesbaden, 1976) pp. 180–182.

13. Cf. Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen, "Fibel," *Lexikon des Mittelalters* IV/1 (1989) p. 428; Viktor H. Elbern, "Fibel und Krone," *Festschrift W. Messerer* (1980) p. 47.

14. Peter Bloch, "Löwe," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, E. Kirschbaum, ed., III (Rome, 1971) pp. 112–119, contains extensive bibliography and illustrations.

15. Ibid., pp. 117–119; section D: "Der Löwe als Wächter"; section E: "Der Löwe als König"; section F: "Der Löwe als Sinnbild imperialer Macht."

16. Ibid., pp. 113–114; ills. 4, 5.

17. Cf. Scheifele, "A French Romanesque Capital of Daniel," pp. 47–83.

18. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, pp. 139–144: Ikonographie.

19. L. Schütz and K.G. Kaster, "Wilhelm von Aquitanien (von Gellone)," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, E. Kirschbaum, ed., VIII (Rome, 1974) pp. 604–605; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien* III./2 (Paris, 1958) pp. 624–627. For a comprehensive coverage of the saint's life, historic dates, and the connected legend with all further references, cf. Pierre Tisset, *L'abbaye de Gellone au diocèse de Lodève. Des Origines au XIIIe siècle*, Jacques Latscha and Jean-Claude Richard, eds. (n.p., 1992), esp. chap. 1, "Saint Guilhem," pp. 7–38. Additional references are E. Brouette, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, X (1965) p. 1126; J. Mabillon, ed., *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, new ed., IV/1 (Mâcon, 1935) pp. 67–83; Pontificia Università Lateranense, ed., *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VII (Rome, 1961) pp. 479–480.

20. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*.

21. Ibid., p. 57, what has been termed *main de justice* above is referred to as *Lilienszepter* by Schramm.

22. Ibid., p. 268, with discussion and bibliography.

23. In 1165 St.-Guilhem-le-Désert was designated one of the seven minor pilgrimages imposed as penance on the Albigensian heretics and had thus become a regular stopping place for pilgrims on their way to Santiago de Compostela.

24. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, with numerous illustrations in chronological order.

25. Schütz and Kaster, "Wilhelm von Aquitanien (von Gellone)," ill. on p. 605: St. Guillaume d'Aquitaine as monk (of Gellone), miniature of a book of hours for Paris, ca. 1410, Boucicaut Master, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, Ms. 2 fol. 43v; Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, p. 626.

26. Schütz and Kaster, "Wilhelm von Aquitanien (von Gellone)," p. 605; Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, p. 625, incidentally complies with this very confusion: "En réalité, il s'agit de Guillaume ou Guillem X, comte de Toulouse et de Poitiers, qui mourut trois siècles plus tard, en 1138."

27. A general study about Wolfram von Eschenbach with introduction and bibliography is by J. Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (Stuttgart, 1981). For more specific information about Guillaume d'Aquitaine in relationship to literary sources and themes: J. Wathelet-Willem, *Recherches sur la Chanson de Guillaume* (Paris, 1975) pp. 507ff.

28. For a critical analysis of the sources and their historic evaluation, see Tisset, *L'abbaye de Gellone*, p. 22, esp. n.87.

29. Werner Weisbach, *Religiöse Reform und mittelalterliche Kunst* (Einsiedeln, 1945) p. 131, ill. 29.

30. Schütz and Kaster, "Wilhelm von Aquitanien (von Gellone)," ill. on p. 605.

31. St. William was sanctified by Pope Alexander II. "Confirmatio, quam dedit Alexander II Papa, privilegiorum quae jam antea ab apostolica fede concessa fuerant." *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Gellone*, fol. 1r, dated March 9, 1066, published in P. Alaus et al., *Cartulaires de Gellone* (Montpellier, 1897). The veneration of William had already started immediately after his death. Bonnet, "L'Église abbatiale," pp. 385–386, contains reference to the *Chronologia abbatum Sancti Guillelmi de Desertis* and a list of famous personalities who had undertaken a pilgrimage to the grave of the venerated William even before he had been sanctified.

32. Cf. Bloch, "Löwe," pp. 112–119. In addition to what has been said before, it ought to be pointed out that the lion can also become a symbol of justice (p. 118). Incidentally, the medieval monastery was one of the places where court was held. If one looks at the pilaster with this in mind, one might propose yet another layer of meaning: William the high-ranking aristocrat is accompanied by the epitome of the judge himself; he would thus, by extension, be viewed as the personification of lawfulness or justice itself.

33. For an extensive bibliography, illustrations, and discussion, see Raymond Rey, *La Sculpture Romane, Languedocienne* (Toulouse/Paris, 1936) pp. 96–111; Willibald Sauerländer, *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt, 1963) pp. 48–54; Bernhard Rupprecht, *Romanische Skulptur in Frankreich* (Munich, 1975) pp. 82–85; most recently under the aspect of patronage, see Daniel Cazes and Marcel Durliat, "Découverte de l'Effigie de l'Abbé Grégoire Créateur du Cloître de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa," *Bulletin Monumental* 145-I (1987) pp. 11–12, ill. LXXXVI.

34. For an extensive bibliography, illustrations, and discussion see Cazes and Durliat, "Découverte de l'Effigie de l'Abbé Grégoire," pp. 7–14, ill. LXXXVII.

35. For an extensive bibliography, illustrations, and discussion, see Rupprecht, *Romanische Skulptur in Frankreich*, pp. 132–135. For historic sources and quotes, see Jean-Maurice Rouquette, *Provence Romane, La Provence Rhodanienne* (Zodiaque, 1974) p. 300, ill. LXXXVIII.

The Seven Shields of Behaim: New Evidence

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A MONG THE MOST treasured possessions of the Arms and Armor Department are the "seven shields of Behaim" (Figures 1–7),[1] a group of fifteenth-century wooden shields painted with the arms of the Nuremberg patrician family Behaim von Schwarzbach: *per pale of gules and argent, overall a bend wavy sinister sable,* including their crest: *a falcon argent, gorged with a crown sable;* the helmet mantlings are red, lined white (Figures 8, 9).[2] The group consists of four tournament targes with *bouches,* cutouts originally designed as lance rests (Figure 10),[3] and three pavises, oblong shields with a hollowed vertical midridge used by lightly armed cavalrymen as well as by swordsmen fighting on foot (Figure 11).[4]

Made of wood covered with leather, the knightly shield in use from the twelfth to the fourteenth century was triangular in shape. It covered the knight's entire left side when he was on horseback and displayed his identifying heraldic cognizances. With plate armor fully developed by the last quarter of the fourteenth century, this shield became obsolete; but a different type, the targe, of more or less rectangular outline with a *bouche,* was adopted for the chivalrous sport of jousting. Interestingly, while the triangular shield was painted with the knight's arms alone, it became customary that a targe be decorated with his entire heraldic achievement, which included helmet, crest, mantling, and often also supporter figures.

Even after battle shields were phased out, heraldic shields retained their value as status symbols. Consequently, the moneyed city aristocracies of bankers and merchants, to whom the Behaim family belonged, strove to acquire these prestigious trappings.

By tradition, after his death a knight who had been a donor or patron of an abbey, monastery, or parish would have his shield hung up in church as his memorial. Most of the about three score knightly

shields and targes preserved owe their survival to this custom. It was customary for some patrician families of Nuremberg to place such memorial shields in their family chapels. In time this developed into an art form in its own right, the *Totenschilde,* painted or sculpted armorial achievements that often also included the wife's coat of arms.[5]

A group of shields like these seven with the Behaim arms is unique in any museum's holdings, as was pointed out by the Arms and Armor Department's founder and first curator, Bashford Dean, at their acquisition in 1925. As there are numbers up to nine painted on the backs of the Museum's seven shields, there originally must have been at least two more in the group. One of these still belonged to the Behaim family in 1926.[6]

Although there was never any question as to the antiquity of the shields, it was recognized at the time of their acquisition that the armorial achievements they displayed were overpaintings of later times, a fact not unusual with medieval shields. Indeed, it can be recognized now that the style of the arms, especially of the helmets, is obviously based on the archaizing heraldic woodcuts published in Jost Amman's *Wappen- und Stammbuch* of 1589[7] (Figures 12, 13). The stylized form of tournament helm for the German joust (*Stechhelm*), pierced with large and highly impractical breaths in the form of crosses at each side, that appears in the Amman woodcut is repeated on the Behaim shields. This evidence alone indicates that the Behaim arms were added in the late sixteenth century at the very earliest.

The shields appeared on the art market in the early 1920s, belonging to a gremium of dealers in Munich and Lucerne,[8] who in turn seem to have acquired them directly from the Behaim family.[9] The shields had first been seen by Dean at the dealer Julius Böhler's establishment in Munich in the summer of 1923, and he arranged to have them shipped to the Museum that autumn so as to propose their purchase. The acquisition, however, was to be one of Dean's most difficult. When the shields

Figure 1. Tournament targe with the arms of the Nuremberg patrician family Behaim von Schwarzbach and supporter figure. German, third quarter of 15th century. Wood, covered with leather, linen, and gesso, painted, 56 x 40.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.1

Figure 2. Tournament targe with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach (in reverse) and supporter figure. German, mid-15th century. Wood, covered with leather and gesso, painted, 48 x 43 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.2

Figure 3. Pavise with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach and Volckamer (on auxiliary shield). German, 15th century. Wood, covered with leather and gesso, painted, 57 x 42 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.3

Figure 4. Pavise with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach and Wilhelmsdorf (on auxiliary shield). German, 15th century. Wood, covered with leather, canvas, and gesso, painted, 66.7 x 48.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.4

Figure 5. Tournament targe with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach. German, second half of 15th century. Wood, covered with leather and gesso, painted, 51 x 40.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.5

Figure 6. Tournament targe with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach and supporter figure. German, second half of 15th century. Wood, covered with leather and gesso, painted, 53.5 x 45.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.6

Figure 7. Pavise with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach and Roemer (on auxiliary shield). German, 15th century. Wood, covered with leather and gesso, painted, 48.3 x 33 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.7

Figures 1–7 show the shields before the restoration begun in 1990.

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Figure 8. Albrecht Dürer. Arms of Michael IV Behaim (1473–1522). Woodcut. German (Nuremberg), 1518–20

Figure 9. Albrecht Dürer. Woodblock, coat of arms for the Behaim family. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library (photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library)

arrived in New York, they turned out to be much dirtier and more discolored than Dean remembered. Photographs taken at the time (see, for example, Figures 16, 22, 27, 38) indicate that their decoration was almost invisible through the grime and dark varnish. Dean found little support for the acquisition of the shields, and his proposal was turned down. Fully convinced of their importance for the Museum's collection, Dean paid for the shields himself and undertook to have them cleaned before bringing them again before the Purchasing Committee. Only in January of 1925, after months of conservation, were the newly restored and greatly transformed shields acquired by the Museum.

For the restoration of the shields, Dean turned to the Museum's paintings conservator Stanley Rowland. Using both solvents and mechanical means, Rowland investigated the paint layers, which he found to be more numerous than had previously been imagined. On several shields, the "windows" he opened revealed earlier painted designs and heraldic arms quite unrelated to those of the Behaim, which Dean considered original to the fifteenth-century date of the shields. Uncovering the underlying layers would have meant losing the Behaim arms, so Dean had the windows overpainted. The sole exception is the pavise, acc. no. 25.26.3, in which a small rectangular area of exposed surface in the upper sinister corner was left uncovered (Figure 3). Rowland cleaned away the dirt and varnish and retouched the decoration. The restored surfaces are those seen in the Museum's record photographs used from 1925 until 1990 (Figures 1–7). Rowland's restoration of the shields is documented in a series of photographs taken in the Museum between September 1924 and January 1925, some of

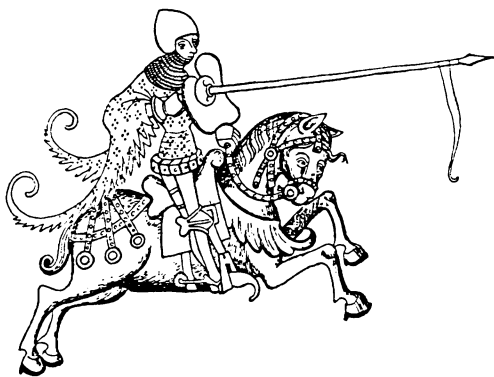Figure 10. Charging knight, with lance resting in the *bouche* of his targe. After illustration, dated 1400, by Michael Althaymer, Augsburg. From *Der Renner*, by Hugo von Trimberg, ca. 1300. Stockholm, Royal Library; Inv. Vu 74

Figure 11. Hans Burgkmair. Group of swordsmen with "Bohemian" pavises. Woodcut from *Triumph of Maximilian*. German (Augsburg), ca. 1515. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library
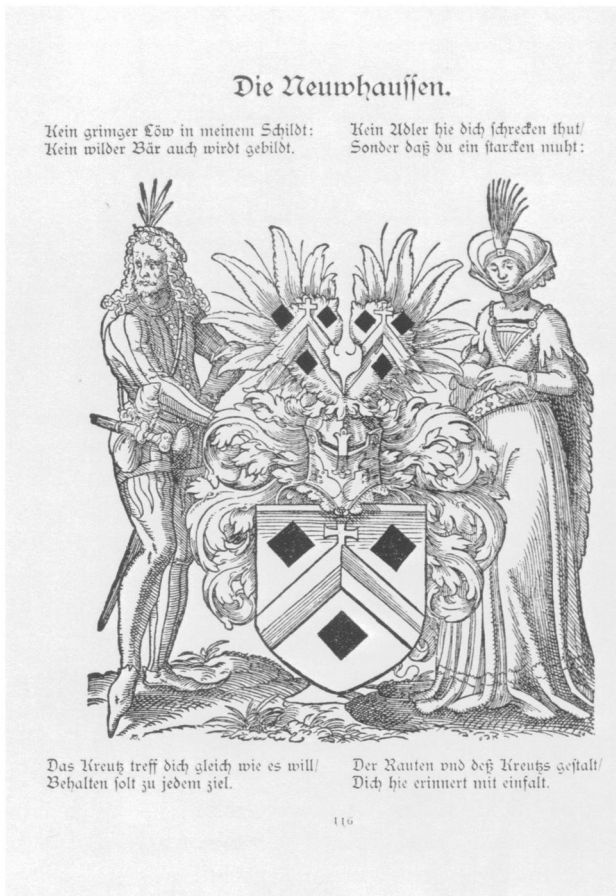
Die Neuwhauffen.

Kein grimger Löw in meinem Schildt/   Kein Adler hie dich schrecken thut/
Kein wilder Bär auch wirdt gebildt.   Sonder daß du ein starcken muht:

Das Kreutz treff dich gleich wie es will/   Der Rauten vnd deß Kreutzs gestalt/
Behalten solt zu jedem ziel.   Dich hie erinnert mit einfalt.

Figure 12. Jost Amman. Arms of the Neuhaussen family, with a pair of supporter figures. Woodcut from *Wappen- und Stammbuch*, Frankfurt, 1589

Die Helden.

Jn meinem Schildt ein roter Pfeyl/   Den Feinden meines Vatterlands
Mich manet das ich soll mit eil/   Begegnen/ vnd deß besten Stands

Mich vnderwinden in meim Leben/   Vnd obs wirdt kosten mir mein Blut/
Vnd nicht nach Müssiggang thun streben.   Bringt mirs doch Lob/ Ehr/ Preyß/ vnd
                                                              Gut.

Figure 13. Jost Amman. Arms of the Held family, with "canting" supporter figure (*Held* = "hero"). Woodcut from *Wappen- und Stammbuch*, Frankfurt, 1589

which are reproduced here, and in a written report submitted to Bashford Dean and deposited in the files of the Department of Arms and Armor.[10]

It was not until 1985, in preparation for "Gothic Art in Nuremberg,"[11] a Metropolitan Museum exhibition in which the Behaim shields were to be displayed, that the shields were first X-rayed. The X-rays confirmed Rowland's earlier observations that some of the designs and armorial bearings were quite different from those now visible. Some preliminary observations as to the underlying designs based on these X-rays were reported by the author of this article in the catalogue of that exhibition. Finally, in 1990, during preparations for the reinstallation of the Arms and Armor galleries, it was decided to renew the efforts to restore the Behaim shields and to recover, if possible, some of the earlier late-medieval painted surfaces.[12] This delicate work was undertaken by Christel Faltermeier and

Rudolf Meyer, independent conservators who had previously worked for many years at the Museum, and continued over three winters (1990–92); the project was funded in part with a generous grant provided by Ronald S. Lauder. The results of the campaign were nothing short of spectacular.

For practical reasons the four shields that showed the most substantial underpainting in the X-ray pictures were selected to be cleaned first. These were one of the three pavises, acc. no. 25.26.3 (Figure 3), and three of the four targes, acc. nos. 25.26.1, .5 and .6 (Figures 1, 5, 6). The fourth targe, acc. no. 25.26.2 (Figure 2), and the two other pavises, acc. nos. 25.26.4 and .7 (Figures 4, 7), were cleaned and spot-tested, but it was decided not to give them full attention at that time. The two pavises have up to five layers of paint, which makes their X-ray pictures extremely difficult to interpret.

The X-ray examination of targe acc. no. 25.26.2

Figure 14. X-ray photograph of targe 25.26.2 in Figure 2

revealed that the supporter figure of a young man in a long gown and a silver headband with a single egret feather had been much more elaborately attired originally, with a turban of twisted strands of pearls and a much larger plume (Figures 2, 14). This peculiar headdress might even indicate that this youth was originally a Moor. Moors were very popular in medieval German iconography[13] and especially in Nuremberg, where several of the most important and influential families—such as the Tucher, Haller, Holzschuher, Pommer, Schedel, and Dürer—have Moors in their arms and crests. Under X-ray examination there also appears an earlier, but unidentifiable, shield leaning the opposite way from the present one. However, the difficulty of removing this particular overpaint and the deterioration of the underlying layers discouraged further exploration.

I. The first shield to be treated, pavise acc. no. 25.26.3, showed the full Behaim arms on a brown-black background with a silver border, a wavy cloud-band outlined in black. In the lower sinister corner was a small secondary shield with the arms of the Nuremberg patricians Volckamer: *per fess, argent and azure, in chief a halved wheel gules, in base a fleur de lis argent* (Figures 3, 15).[14] Varnish and grime had so darkened the surface that its white and blue colors appeared as yellow and black (Figure 16).

The body of the shield is of wood, about half an inch (1.3 cm) thick, and covered with leather on both sides. The covering of the back is made from two pieces stitched together in a traverse seam. The front of the shield is gessoed and painted; the back is covered with several layers of brown oil-based paint (Figure 17). The T-shaped handgrip of wood and leather is still in place; at the top of the mid-ridge channel is a suspension strap of corded leather. Eight other holes, possibly for an earlier and different arrangement of handgrip straps, are visible.[15] A numeral "1" in white oil paint, now light brown through discolored varnishing, is in the upper left-hand corner; a numeral "3" is scratched, upside down, into the leather of the lower left-hand side.

Rowland observed before beginning his restoration of the pavise that it was "in a fairly good condition but quite black." A small square window was made in the border of the upper sinister corner, and "a German Gothic inscription in beautifully proportioned letters" was found underneath the present silver border. However, since uncovering this underlying border would interfere with the Be-

Figure 15. Bertholdt Volckamer and Lamprecht Gross in jousting gear at the *Gesellenstechen*, February 28, 1446. Watercolor drawing from a *Turnierbuch*. German (Nuremberg), ca. 1600. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

Figure 16. Targe 25.26.3 in Figure 3, photographed in 1924 before restoration

Figure 17. Targe 25.26.3, reverse

Figure 18. Targe 25.26.3 during restoration (February 1991)

Figure 19. Targe 25.26.3 with its original design fully uncovered (March 1991)
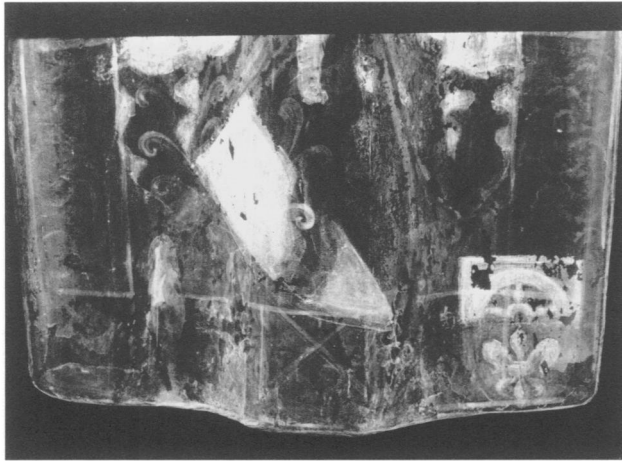
Figure 20. X-ray photograph (detail of the lower half) taken in 1985 of targe 25.26.3
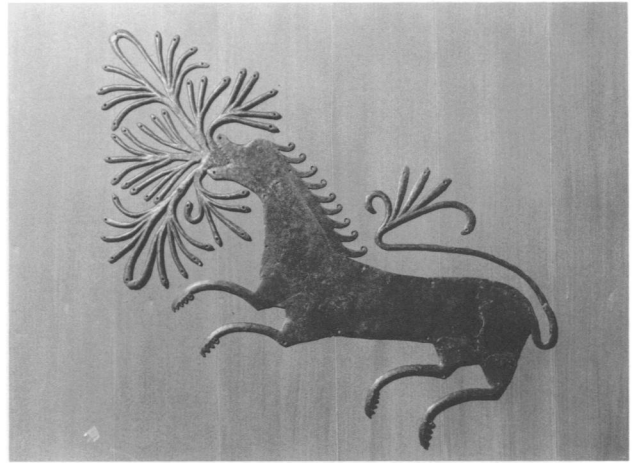

Figure 21. Panther, iron door mounting from the church of St.-Léonard-de-Noblat (Haute-Vienne). French, 11th–12th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1947, 47.101.82

haim achievement, it was decided to stop further exploration and to leave the Behaim arms in place.

The X-ray photographs of 1985 revealed the underlying wide border with what looked like a geometrical design, as well as a pattern of elegant floral swirls in the central panel (Figure 20). After removal of the overpaint of the Behaim arms, the underlying border with its inscriptions and enhancements of corner rosettes and four panels of St. Andrew's crosses with small inserted fleurs-de-lis was uncovered. The inscriptions are yellow on a faded brown background and consist of the Gothic letters "nmr" repeated twelve times. What remains unclear is whether these mysterious letters are the initials of a motto, a pious invocation, or just a decorative pseudo-inscription (Figures 18, 19).[16]

On the central panel of the shield the outline of a rampant feline came to light during restoration; strangely, the creature is facing to sinister, quite against conventional heraldic custom.[17] It also was discovered that originally the entire surface of this animal figure and of the quatrefoils in the corners had been covered with molded relief appliqués, probably gilded or painted,[18] which have since fallen off.

The feline is surrounded by floral scrolls; two of them are sprouting from the bottom of the panel under the animal's paws, but the third scroll emerges from its open maw. This is likely to identify the feline as a panther, an animal having, according to the Bestiary, such a melodious belch and sweet breath that it attracted animals to be swallowed.[19] The panther's "sweet breath" is conventionally rep-

resented as puffs of smoke or as flames. A very close parallel to the figure on this shield are the panthers of the iron door mountings from St.-Léonard-de-Noblat at The Cloisters, though admittedly they are from a much earlier period (Figure 21).[20]

II. The second shield treated, and still only partly restored, is acc. no. 25.26.6 (Figures 6 and 22), one of the four tournament targes. The outline is almost square, with strongly rounded corners and a vestigial *bouche* indenting its dexter edge. Deeply concave in its middle section, it has three parallel longitudinal ridges and one traverse ridge crossing them just above the *bouche*.[21] The three longitudinal ridges are carved out of the front face of the shield; the back surface is left flat. There are two large brackets and three small staples remaining on the back, mounts for the now vanished handgrips. The paired brackets are a unique feature, seemingly an afterthought designed to secure the targe directly to the jouster's breastplate. Most likely the breastplate bore a set of corresponding staples and the attachment was made by a drop pin.[22] The number "6" is painted a little to the left of the pair of large brackets (Figure 23). The body of the shield is of wood, about 3/8 inch (1 cm) thick, its thickness increasing to 3/4 inch (2 cm) at the ridges. The wood is covered front and back with pigskin; the front is primed with gesso and painted on the uppermost layer with oil paint. A large modern steel plate is screwed to the lower left edge on the back, apparently to reinforce a break in the wood.

The face of this shield was painted with the Be-

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Figure 22. Condition of targe 25.26.6 in Figure 6 in 1924, before restoration

Figure 23. Targe 25.26.6, reverse

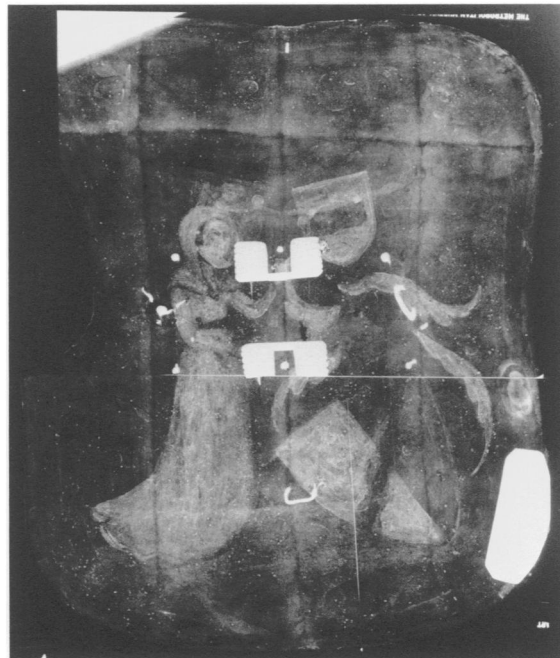Figure 24. Record photograph of test probing for underlying layers of targe 25.26.6, September 1924

Figure 25. X-ray photograph taken in 1985 of targe 25.26.6, showing earlier escutcheons painted over

haim achievement and a supporter figure of a woman in a high-girt red dress and a wimple of dingy white, all on a drab brown background and surrounded by a plain black border. During the restoration campaign conducted in the autumn of 1924 an underlying black background was uncovered; it was found to be filled with foliate scrollwork in white and silver powder and was bordered by an elaborate cloud-band in silver (Figure 24). The scrollwork and cloud-band were improved upon in the course of this restoration work and were left in the condition shown in Figure 6.

Rowland's tests established that, in all, there were four different layers of paint, and below the two uppermost layers two small armorial shields were found side by side. The charge on one was "a monkey rampant, gardant, reversed," and that on the other "a black porcupine statant." Although these escutcheons were generally well preserved, it was considered too hazardous to sacrifice what was thought to be an original fifteenth-century design with the Behaim arms for the dubious gain of a possibly deteriorated lower surface. As a result, the two little shields were covered up again.

The X-ray picture (Figure 25) confirmed the test findings of 1924, which had shown that the Behaim arms including the supporter figure were overpaints, with the woman's head and the falcon crest overlapping the pair of earlier escutcheons. Consequently, during the recent restorations these two small shields that had been found and temporarily uncovered in 1924 were carefully resurrected once more. The existing background was left undisturbed, but the falcon crest of the Behaims was sacrificed in order to expose the entire escutcheon on the sinister side. The arms on these paired shields turned out to be those of two important families, the Ketzels and the Igelbrechts, of Nuremberg and Augsburg (Figure 26).

The Ketzel arms are: *sable, a monkey argent seated on a mound or, holding in his paw a ball or,* and those of the Igelbrecht family: *argent, a hedgehog sable with three apples or stuck on its spines.* Both of these arms are canting. Long-tailed monkeys of the family Cercopithecidae are called *Meerkatzen* in German, indicating an animal from beyond the seas (*Meer* means "ocean") that climbs trees like a cat *(Katze).* Likewise, the hedgehog *(Igel)* is an obvious and fitting device for Igelbrecht.

In German heraldry, shields arranged side by side like these are customary for a married couple, with the husband's arms in the dexter position and reversed, facing the wife's "for *courtoisie.*" Records

Figure 26. Record photograph (detail) taken in 1992 of targe 25.26.6, showing the Ketzel and Igelbrecht escutcheons uncovered

kindly supplied by the Nuremberg Staatsarchiv show that Heinrich Ketzel the Elder (d. 1438), *Grosskaufmann,* who was originally from Augsburg but had moved to Nuremberg in 1422 and was a citizen by 1435/36, had married Anna Igelbrecht at Augsburg in 1391.[23] These arms would have been added after his death, as a memorial, but at an unknown date.

III. The third shield to be restored was acc. no. 25.26.5 (Figures 5 and 27), a tournament targe of highly unusual, almost eccentric shape; Bashford Dean in his 1925 *Bulletin* article described it as suggesting "nothing less than the palmate antler of a moose." In outline it is almost oval, with a deep *bouche,* a V-cut upper edge, and a continuously scalloped rim. On its face two curved ridges converge strongly toward the midridge. These ridges are not carved from the body itself, as were those on targe acc. no. 25.26.6 (just discussed); instead, they appear to be molded in gesso.

The body of the shield is half an inch (1.5 cm) thick and is covered front and back with leather (possibly pigskin) (Figure 28). All that remains of the now missing handgrips are one bracket, one fragmentary mount, and two large rivets. The numeral "8" is painted in faded oil paint below the V-cut; a numeral "5" is scratched into the leather a little lower. In the tests made in 1924 it was found that the front was primed in a highly unusual technique with gesso containing a layer of tiny pieces of broken glass, both green and clear.

Figure 27. Targe 25.26.5 in Figure 5, photographed in 1924, before restoration
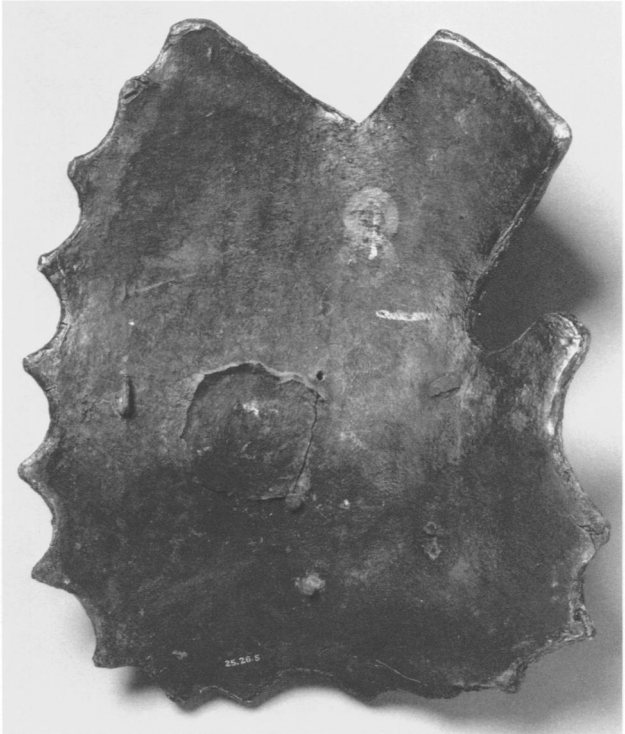

Figure 28. Reverse side of targe 25.26.5

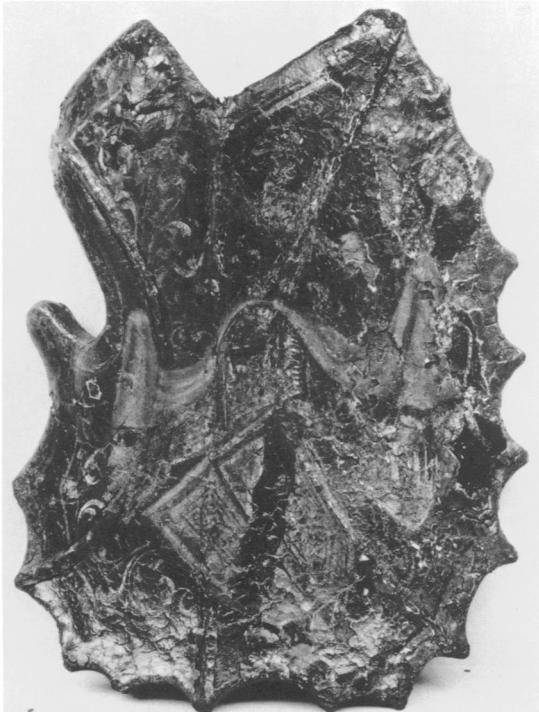Figure 29. Condition of targe 25.26.5 after initial restoration, September 1924

Figure 30. Targe 25.26.5 in January 1925, during restoration; part of underlying layer (globular blossom, near second cusp of edge) exposed

This shield was the only one displaying the full Behaim arms without a supporter figure or an auxiliary escutcheon. The discolored and much blistered outer coat of paint (Figure 27) was initially cleaned in September 1924 (Figure 29). Further work was done later that year, which ascertained that there were several layers of earlier decorations underneath the surface, including a circular flower on the shield's proper left (sinister) edge (Figure 30). Further exploration was stopped and the exposed lower paint layers covered over.

On X-ray photographs one could see a pair of small escutcheons similar to the Ketzel-Igelbrecht shields on the previously described targe, acc. no. 25.26.6 (Figure 31). Very faint traces in the dexter shield did look like a tiny hand holding a ball, which could indicate another *Meerkatze* of the Ketzels; the shield on the distaff side showed more clearly two concentric circles as a charge (tentatively identified as the arms of the patrician family Koler: *gules, a ring argent*). Immediately to its right appeared what looked like a spray of three flowers.[24]

Careful probing into the layers of paint uncov-

ered the two small shields, and, indeed, the shield on the dexter side bears the Ketzel arms with the *Meerkatze;* the one on the sinister shows, as already expected, the arms of Koler: *gules, a ring argent.* These shields were painted on a layer halved *mi-parti,* with the Ketzel shield on a bright coral-red background, and the Koler shield on a field boldly striped with white, dark green, white, and dark red (Figure 32). The division of the *mi-parti* design is located at the geometric midpoint of the shield, to the left of the midridge.

The red half of the shield bears what at first glance looks like decorative scrollwork, but what is actually four vertically aligned capital letters—A, G, V, and F—executed in fancifully elaborate calligraphy. The letters presumably stand for a motto or the name of the owner. If the latter, the third letter should probably be interpreted as an abbreviation of *von,* the German prefix to an aristocratic title. The shield with the Ketzel arms overlaps part of the second letter, G, indicating that the two little shields were added later to the letters and the stripes.

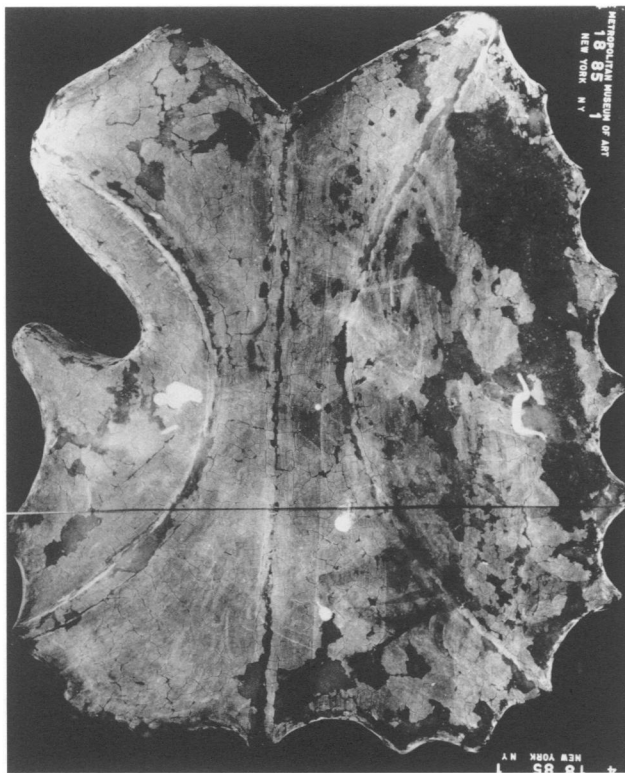In places where the paint of the stripes had flaked

Figure 31. X-ray photograph of targe 25.26.5 taken in 1985

Figure 32. Targe 25.26.5 in January 1992, during restoration, with calligraphy and stripes of the second layer and the superimposed escutcheons of Ketzel and Koler uncovered
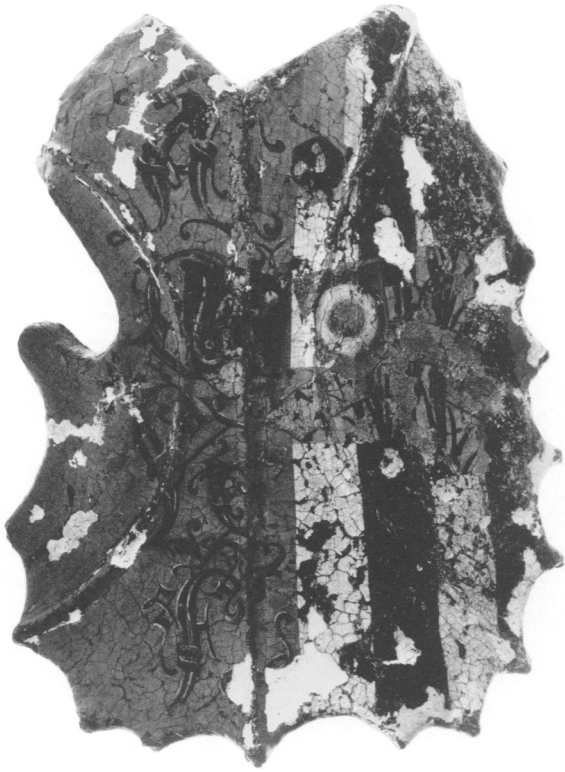
40

Figure 33. Targe 25.26.5 in February 1992, during restoration, with part of the spray of flowers and the bandscroll of the lowermost layer exposed. Note that the globular blossom (see Figure 30) found in 1925 is now missing; it was apparently lost in the earlier tests when solvents were used

his true love, or possibly a motto such as *Werd, was will* ("Come what may"). It is worth noting that the bandscroll extends across the entire sinister half of the shield, up to the midridge, beyond stripes that define the left half in the later *mi-parti* layer. This more natural division of the irregularly shaped shield area is undoubtedly the original one.

This floral design, which used a variety of glazes to achieve a three-dimensional effect, is not only the oldest but also undoubtedly the finest of the painted layers on the shield. Its fragmentary state of preservation left little hope, however, that the original design could be successfully restored. To expose it would have meant losing not only the striking *mi-parti* design with its stripes and letters but also the Ketzel and Koler shields, which are essential for the documentation of the shield's history. It was therefore decided to make a photographic record of the layer and to cover it again, leaving the *mi-parti* design intact (Figure 35). Alas, these excruciating decisions about which strata to retain and which to sacrifice are the same in all excavations, ever since Schliemann dug at Troy.

The Ketzel-Koler marriage shields afford a dating for that phase of the decoration: Lucas Ketzel (1441–1485), a grandson of Heinrich Ketzel the Elder and Anna Igelbrecht, and a *Grosskaufmann* at Nuremberg like his grandsire, was a member of the City Council from 1468 up to his death. In 1467 he married Magdalena Koler (d. 1484), daughter of the councillor Hanns Koler "mit dem Bart" (1403–1474) and his wife, Barbara Österreicher (d. 1491).[27]

off it was evident that there was yet earlier decoration below. Exploration of this layer—what seems, in fact, to be the earliest layer—showed that the red background extended across the entire surface of the targe and that underneath the stripes was the sprig of flowers that had been partially uncovered by Rowland in the earlier restoration campaign (Figure 33). The flowers were clearly visible in the X-rays.

The flowers, consisting of three blue globular blossoms atop green thorned stems, are probably meant to represent a member of the thistle family, Eryngium, called *Mannestreu* ("man's fidelity") in German. It is a love symbol, best known from Albrecht Dürer's early self-portrait of 1493, where as a bridegroom he holds a sprig of mannestreu in his hand.[25] Overlapping the stems is a gold-colored bandscroll inscribed with the capital letter "W" repeated three times[26] (Figure 34). This enigmatic initial may be that of the shield's owner, or perhaps of

Figure 34. Detail of Figure 33, showing bandscroll with triple "W" inscribed
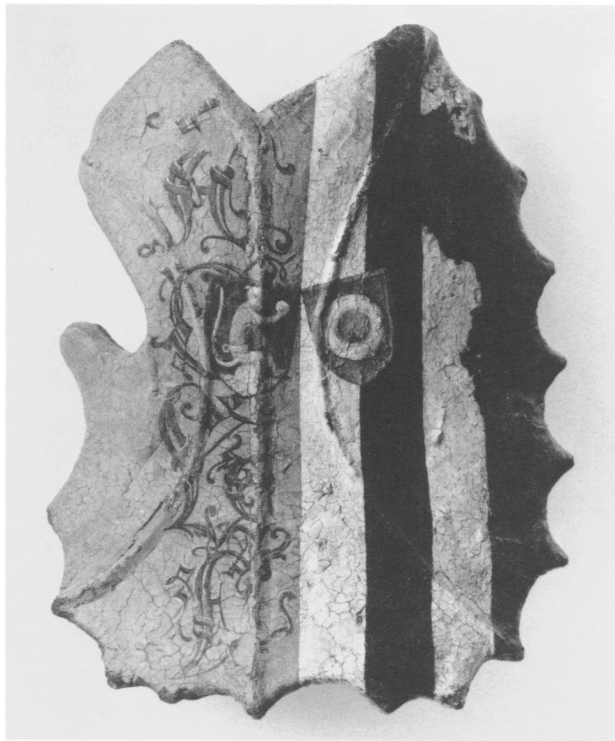
Figure 35. Targe 25.26.5 after restoration

Figure 36. Page from the so-called *Thun Sketchbook* (now lost). Pictorial record of the work of the armorer Lorenz Helmschmid, Augsburg, ca. 1480

The little shields were probably added shortly after Lucas Ketzel's death, when the shield was painted as a memorial.

A date in the last third of the fifteenth century fits in nicely with the shape of the targe itself, which is generally similar to a tournament targe illustrated in the so-called Thun Sketchbook of about 1480 (Figure 36).[28] The style of the four calligraphic letters is close to a woodcut alphabet of before 1490 (Figure 37)[29] and also resembles two calligraphic monograms in Michael Wolgemut's *Portrait of a Young Man with a Carnation,* dated 1486, now in the Detroit Institute of Arts, 41.1.[30]

It would seem then that the second, *mi-parti* layer and the third, Ketzel-Koler layer date close to one another, the *mi-parti* layer shortly before and the Ketzel-Koler shields shortly after 1485, the date of Lucas Ketzel's death. The first layer probably dates not too long before them, given the form of the shield. This would suggest that the shield was repainted at least three times during the second half of the fifteenth century, an indication that it may have changed ownership, perhaps through forfeiture in a tournament.
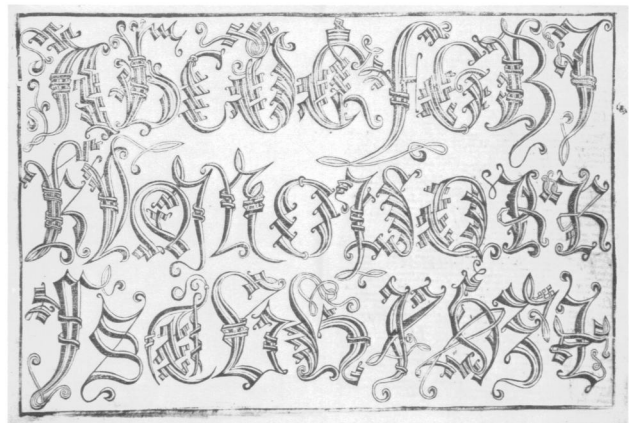
Figure 37. Calligraphic alphabet, woodcut. German, before 1490. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, 1943.3.698 (photo: National Gallery of Art)

IV. The last "Behaim" shield to be treated, and the one that yielded the biggest surprise, is acc. no. 25.26.1 (Figures 1 and 38). It too is a tournament targe with *bouche;* its elegant outline flaring out at its upper and lower edges was in fashion during the second half of the fifteenth century. Its body is

deeply concave, but it turns convex just below its upper edge to accommodate the jouster's shoulder in braced position; it is strengthened by three longitudinal ridges. The outer ridges follow the outline of the shield, where the ridges meet the edges these are scalloped—engrailed at the top edge and invected at the base.

The targe's body is of wood, about ⅜ inch (1 cm) thick. Its front is covered with linen and primed with gesso; its back is covered with leather. On the back, three staples and one triangular mount held by three nails are the remnants of the handgrips; a rope sling crudely bundled together is in place, evidently attached at one time for hanging the targe against a wall (Figure 39). The triangular mount is incomplete; it must originally have had a downward-pointing hook to anchor one end of the *guige,* the strap passed around the neck of the jouster holding the targe in correct braced position. A targe of almost identical shape, bearing the arms of the landgraves of Hesse, formerly in the church of St. Elisabeth at Marburg, has this hook still in place (Figure 40).[31]

A hole in the center of the targe, perhaps caused by a lance thrust or—more prosaically—by a stout nail, when it was "hung high up," is plugged with a wooden peg. The numeral "9" is painted in faded white oil paint on the very worm-eaten leather covering of the back; another numeral, "4," is scratched upside down below the center of the shield. To the left of the *bouche,* where it would be directly in front of the jouster's face when he held the shield in braced position, are faint traces of an image of St. Christopher carrying the Christ child (Figure 41). According to a medieval belief, not totally extinct even today, looking at a St. Christopher icon would protect one from harmful danger and sudden death for that day.[32]

Prior to restoration, the face of the targe was painted a dark brown with an inch-wide black border. The full arms of Behaim on the sinister side were accompanied on the dexter by a supporter figure, a nun in a somber habit with white wimple and girt with a penitent's chain. The cautious explorations done by Rowland late in 1924 found no traces of earlier decoration underneath the top layer of paint, although three lower strata—one black, one light brown, and one of silver leaf "in a beautiful state of preservation"—were identified. At this stage, recorded in a photograph of December 1924 (Figure 42), it was decided that these layers must have been applied simply as the base for the Behaim arms. The silvered ground was then cov-

Figure 38. Targe 25.26.1 in 1924, before restoration

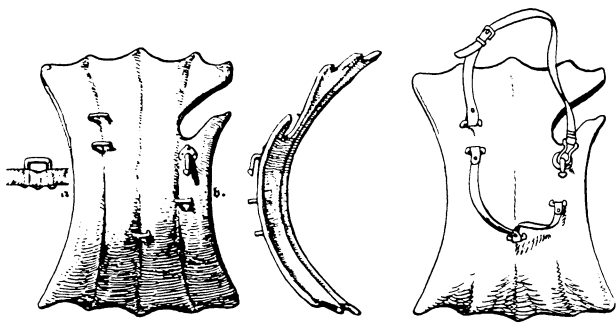

Figure 39. Reverse of targe 25.26.1

Figure 40. Reverse of the tournament targe of a Landgrave of Hesse, formerly in St. Elisabeth's church, Marburg, now in the Universitätsmuseum, Marburg, with reconstruction of shield straps

Figure 41. Detail of reverse of targe 25.26.1, showing the St. Christopher icon

ered up again. The X-ray photographs taken in 1985, on the other hand, did show that the supporter figure originally was somewhat differently rendered and that the underlying armorial shield also bore a very different charge (Figures 43, 44). Patiently uncovering the lower layers one square millimeter at a time, the conservators found that the second and third layers, with earlier versions of the Behaim arms and the supporter figure, had deterio-

rated to a degree that there was not enough of their designs left to be worth preserving. For instance, in the second to last layer there appeared a piece of a leafy garland draped along the *bouche,* and not much else (Figure 45). The lowermost layer, however, the design painted directly on the silver leaf, showed that the "nun's" black gown was originally green and that the original armorial achievement was not that of the Behaim family (Figure 46).

The supporter figure emerged as an elegantly attired damsel, with a white veil over her blond, thickly braided and coiled hair. She wears a green gown with its sleeves cut so tight after the dictates of the latest fashion of the mid-fifteenth century that they had to be laced up way above the elbows. With her left hand she gracefully scoops up her trailing skirt, while her right hand lightly grasps one of the foliate strips of the flowing mantling of the armorial achievement. Next to her on the other side is a band-scroll inscribed in partly erased Gothic lettering: *hab mych als* [i]*ch* [b]*in . . .* [a]*lsche w. . . .* This might read as: *Hab mich als ich bin,* [*du fa*]*lsche W*[*elt*] [Take me as I am, thou false world].

Surprisingly, the now uncovered original armorial achievement is not one of a Nuremberg patrician family but that of the Franconian *Reichsritter* von Gottsmann: *Or, a demi-ibex sable* (Figure 47).[33]

Figure 42. Targe 25.26.1 in December 1924, during restoration

Figure 43. X-ray photograph (detail) of targe 25.26.1

Figure 44. X-ray photograph (detail) of targe 25.26.1

Figure 45. Targe 25.26.1 in January 1991, showing restoration in progress. Note the leafy garland at the *bouche*, part of an intermediate layer of decoration, and the presence of two shields bearing different arms

Figure 46. Targe 25.26.1, with the Gottsmann arms fully restored

DIE GÖTSMÄNER.

Figure 47. The Gottsmann arms, from *Johann Siebmachers Grosses und Allgemeines Wappenbuch,* Nuremberg, 1605

As it is often found in German heraldry, the crest repeats the figure in the shield, and the body of such a figure blends into the mantling, which therefore repeats the colors of the arms; in this case it is black with yellow lining. The helmet is drawn in outline only, with some hatchings, but the steel color of the helmet itself is provided by the silver leaf of the background.

Helmets with grilled visors like this were for *Kolbenturnier,* the *baston* course tournament fought not with lances but with clubs or blunted swords. In this course the goal was not to unhorse an opponent but to knock off his helmet crest, which called for more skill and horsemanship than in the straight-on run of the joust. *Kolbenturnier* was a privileged form of tournament, and thus the grilled-visor helmet became a mark of old nobility in heraldry.[34] By contrast, the *Stechhelm* (called by Victorian antiquarians "frog-mouthed helmet") that was used in the joust with blunted lances was adopted as the *bürgerliche* helmet by the upward-moving bourgeoisie, such as the rich patricians of imperial free cities such as Nuremberg and Augsburg.

Although there is no doubt about the identity of the coat of arms, it is not as easy (as in the cases of the targes with the Ketzel shields) to determine to which individual Gottsmann family member this targe can be assigned.[35] The holdings of the Gottsmann family were in a general area ten to twenty miles north of Nuremberg. Albeit the Gottsmanns were *Reichsritter* (knights of the Empire), i.e., their *Rittergut* (knight's holding) and castle, Forth, was an independently held feudal territory directly under the emperor, they also held fiefs as vassals of the prince-bishops of Bamberg and of the margraves of Brandenburg-Culmbach. Furthermore, they had to share the jurisdiction for some holdings with the city of Nuremberg (Figure 48).[36]

These sometimes conflicting loyalties could easily lead to problems. One of the Gottsmann castles, Büg, was actually burned out by the Nurembergers in 1449, during one of those internecine *Fehden* (feuds) that accompanied the rise of the cities and the decline of the landed gentry in the fifteenth century. Another one of their castles, Thurn, near Forchheim, was a fief of the prince-bishops of Bamberg. As early as 1348 Thurn is recorded as a possession of the Gottsmanns, and throughout the fifteenth century until the middle of the sixteenth the main branch of the family called itself von Gottsmann zu Thurn.[37]

In spite of their status as *Reichsritter,* the earlier family history of the Gottsmanns, in the fifteenth century, is far from clear, and sources are sparse and sometimes contradictory. In 1399 a Konrad von
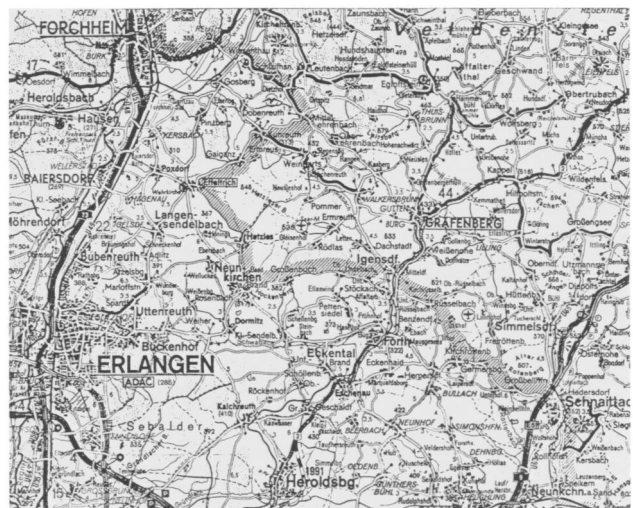

Figure 48. Map of the holdings of the Gottsmann family

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Gottsmann is a part-owner of Thurn. Konrad's son Georg (Jörg) is recorded in 1406 and in 1430, but in 1422 a Livin von Gottsmann is mentioned as the sole owner of Thurn; according to other sources the owner was an Albrecht von Gottsmann. Shortly after, in 1436, "ein Gottsmann" took part in a tournament at Stuttgart, but it is not known whether this was Georg, the mysterious Livin, or the equally elusive Albrecht. About 1450 there is a record of Wolf (Wolfgang) von Gottsmann zu Thurn, supposedly the son of Georg, being married to Kunigunde Stiebar von Buttenheim. In the 1459 roll of arms compiled by the herald Hans Ingeram for Duke Albrecht VI of Austria, "der goczman" is listed as a member of the tourneying society *in der Fürspang von Franken* [of the Buckle in Franconia] (Figure 49).[38] Twenty years later, in 1479, "die Herren Gottsmänner" are jousting at a tournament at Würzburg. In 1481 Wolf von Gottsmann was at a tournament at Heidelberg and in 1486 at Bamberg. On both of these very prestigious occasions Wolf is listed under the jousters of the *löbliche gesellschaft im Eynhorn* [worshipful society of the Unicorn] of Franconia. On the other hand, in 1484, "ein Gotzmann" without any reference to any tourneying society is mentioned at a tournament at Ingolstadt.[39] Though Wolf von Gottsmann from 1488 to 1492 was a high-ranking official, *Schultheiss*, of Forchheim, a town belonging to the bishopric of Bamberg, in 1493 he was outlawed for his leading role in a local rebellion. His status as an outlaw, however, seems to have been only temporary, because in 1497 Duke Eberhard the Younger of Württemberg presented two castles, Grafeneck and Hoheneck, to Wolfgang Gottsmann, *Hofmeister* (seneschal) of the margravine Anna of Brandenburg-Culmbach, and in 1500 Wolf von Gottsmann *zum Thurn auf Büg und Lauffenberg*, seneschal of the margraves of Brandenburg-Culmbach, was entrusted by Emperor Maximilian with an important military command.[40]

It is tempting to accept the colorful Wolf von Gottsmann zum Thurn, doughty jouster, stalwart campaigner, and rebel with a cause, as the original owner of targe acc. no. 25.26.1. But what has to be kept in mind is that the roll call of the 1479 tournament at Würzburg mentions "die Herren Gottsmänner," indicating that there were at least two participants with that name. Possibly Wolf's brother Ruprecht (d. 1504), who is recorded in 1478 to have bought the castle Rothenberg, might have been "the other Gottsmann" at this joust.[41] The problem with assigning this tournament targe to Wolf von Gottsmann outright is in the amazing length of his sup-
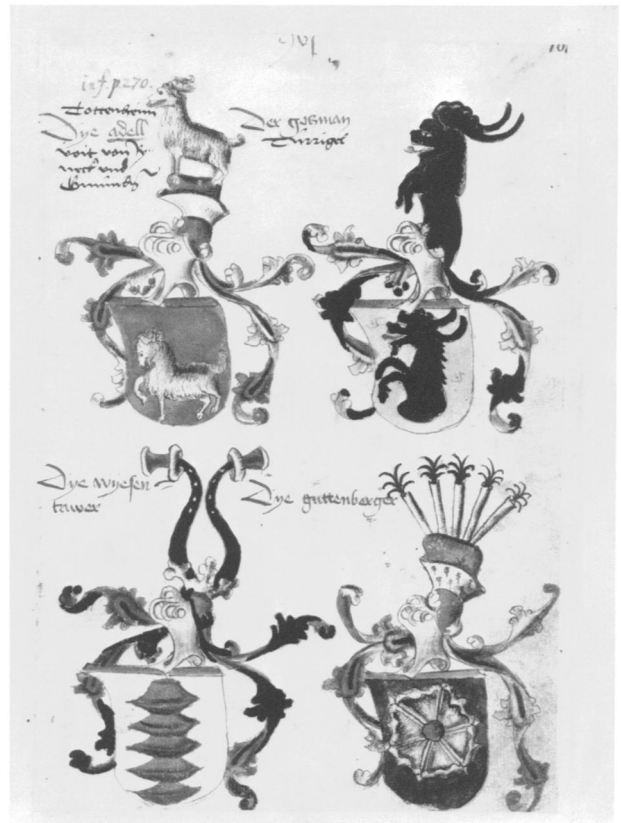
Figure 49. Page from the section *Die Gesellschaft in der Fürspang von Franken* [The Society of the Buckle in Franconia], fol. 9vj, roll of arms, dated 1459, by Hans Ingeram. Vienna, Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Inv. Nr. A 2302 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

posed active life. His father, Georg, seems to have died at an unknown date after 1430. Wolf is mentioned as married about 1450, recorded by name at the tournaments of 1481 and 1486, outlawed in 1493, and as still in active military service in 1500, when he would have been at least seventy years of age.

In the roll of arms of 1459 with its members' lists of tourneying societies, the herald Hans Ingeram makes it a point to record "der goczman" in the singular, instead of the usual plural in referring to families, such as "die von Seckendorff, die Adell, die Wiesenthawer, die Guttenberger," and so on.[42] This would indicate that there was only one member of the family Gottsmann *turnierfähig* (knighted and qualified for tournament participation) at that time. If this Gottsmann was Wolf, what about his brother Ruprecht, whom the *Geschlechts-Register* of 1737 lists as the firstborn?

It looks rather as if an entire generation dropped out of the Gottsmann pedigree in the middle of the fifteenth century. Could there have been *two* Gottsmanns named Wolf, father and son? In this case, Wolf I, the son of Georg born shortly before 1430 and married by 1450, would be the only *turnierfähig* adult in 1459, while his sons, Ruprecht and a putative Wolf II, were still infants. If born in the 1450s they would be ready for a jousting career in 1479 and the 1480s, and Wolf II would be in his prime for campaigning "in Kayserlichen Kriegs-Diensten" in 1500. Furthermore, in 1459, "der goczman" is listed as a member of the tourneying society "of the Buckle," but at the 1481 and 1486 tournaments Wolf von Gottsmann was a member of the society "of the Unicorn." This difference in memberships in prestigious societies strongly suggests that there were *two* Wolf Gottsmanns, father and son, and it would give us a clue as to the original ownership of this targe.

The tourneying society of the Buckle was founded in about 1355 by Emperor Charles IV (r. 1346–78), as the Brotherhood of Our Lady on the occasion of the foundation of the Frauenkirche in Nuremberg's great market square, the Hauptmarkt, on the spot where the old synagogue had been razed after an appalling pogrom following the Black Death of 1348. The emperor donated to the new church a precious relic, the girdle of the Virgin Mary, and its buckle became the badge of this new knightly society. Annually, a fortnight after Easter Monday, a mass was held for the souls of the newly deceased members of the society, and their shields were hung up as memorials.[43] Therefore, the tournament targe of "der goczman," who was a member of the Buckle society in 1459, would have been hung up in the Frauenkirche by the late fifteenth century. In 1590, during a renovation of the church, the memorial shields of the Buckle society were taken down. Apparently they were regarded as outmoded, since after the Reformation funeral services in the old rite were no longer held in the Frauenkirche. Most likely, any shield not claimed by the family concerned would have been sold or given away, and this seems to be why the Gottsmann targe came to be reused as a memorial for a member of the Behaim family.

All seven shields with the arms of Behaim are of fifteenth-century origin and were designed for combat, but they were eventually repainted for use as memorial shields. None of these shields seems to have been made originally for members of the Be-

haim family; two were at one time used as memorial shields for the Ketzel family, and one original owner was a *Reichsritter* von Gottsmann.

Presumably in the seventeenth or eighteenth century these shields were repainted with the Behaim arms, in memory of family members long dead and marriage alliances long past. Thus, though originally of quite diverse provenance, in time these shields by virtue of their uniform arms of Behaim became a truly "unique group."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NOTES

1. Bashford Dean, "Seven Shields of Behaim," *MMAB* 20 (1925) pp. 74–77, figs. 1–4; Helmut Nickel, "Five Shields from a Set of Seven, with the Family Arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach," in MMA, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg: 1300–1550,* exh. cat. (New York, 1986) cat. no. 60, figs. 60a–60e, pp. 201–203.

2. The Behaim, though originally from Bohemia as their name indicates, belonged to the old patriciate of twenty families (before the 15th century); in 1681 they were made Barons of the Empire (*Reichsfreiherren*) by Emperor Leopold.

The Behaim von Schwarzbach arms are "canting," i.e., they are a pun on the name: the sable bend wavy represents a black (*schwarz*) brook (*Bach*). The bend sinister is not a mark of bastardy in Germany, as it would be in France and most other Western European countries. For Behaim the bend sinister is attested by woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer (Figures 8, 9) and by Jost Amman.

The bird of the crest is often referred to as an eagle, but its down-turned wings are "in Falkenstellung."

J. Siebmachers grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch (Nuremberg, 1884) II, pt. I (Bayern) p. 27, pl. 22; Willi Kurth, ed., The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer (New York, 1963) no. 207, ill., dates the woodblock 1509, and mentions on p. 29 that it is now in New York, but in 1897 it was still in the family archives of the Behaims; Albrecht Dürer 1471–1971, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Nuremberg, 1971) cat. no. 30, p. 38, dates the block 1518–20 and gives its location as The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Ottfried Neubecker, Heraldry: Sources, Symbols and Meaning (New York, 1976) p. 163, ill.

3. Lena Rangström, ed., Riddarlek och Tornerspel: The Dream of Chivalry, exh. cat., Livrustkammaren (Stockholm, 1992) cat. no. 21, ill. p. 59; H. Nickel, Ullstein Waffenbuch (Berlin, 1974) p. 28, ill.

4. Oblong shields with a hollowed midridge originated in the Baltic lands; they were known to Chaucer as "shields of Pruce," referring to Prussia. Their widespread use in the Hussite Wars of the 15th century established the name "Bohemian pavises." Wendelin Boeheim, Handbuch der Waffenkunde (Leipzig, 1890; reprint: Waffenkunde, Hildesheim, 1984) pp. 180–182, ill.; H. Nickel, "Die Grabplatte des Grosskomturs Kuno von Liebenstein zu Neumarkt in Westpreussen," Festschrift Edwin Redslob zum 70. Geburtstag (Berlin, 1954) pp. 254–291, ill.; idem, "Der mittelalterliche Reiterschild des Abendlandes," Ph.D. diss., Freie Universität (Berlin, 1958) pp. 68–72, 96–98, fig. 72a; also published in Der Herold: Vierteljahrsschrift für Heraldik, Genealogie und verwandte Wissenschaften IV (Berlin, 1959–62); Vladimir Denkstein, "Pavézy českeho typu," Sborník Narodniho muzea, ser. A, XVI (Prague, 1962) no. 4–5, ill., XVIII (1964) pls. 1, 16–18, 24–27, 30–38; idem, "Pavesen böhmischen Typs im Historischen Museum der Stadt Wien," Sbornik Praci Filosofické Fakulty Brnenske University (Brno, 1968) F 8, pp. 125–135, ill.

5. Kurt Pilz, "Der Totenschild in Nürnberg und seine deutschen Vorstufen," Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums (Nuremberg, 1936–39) pp. 57–112, ill.

6. Personal correspondence of Bashford Dean, in 1926, with Reichsfreiin Franziska von Behaim refers to one more shield remaining in the possession of the family. In addition to the painted numbers, several shields have a different set of numbers (some upside down) scratched into the leather coverings of their backs.

7. Jost Amman, Wappen- und Stammbuch (Frankfurt, 1589; facsimile ed.: Liebhaber-Bibliothek Alter Illustratoren, Munich, 1893) pp. 88, 114, ill.

8. The dealers were Hof-Antiquar Julius Böhler, Munich, and his brother, J. W. Böhler, who together with F. Steinmeyer was a partner in The Lucerne Fine Arts Co., Ltd.

9. See note 6 above.

10. Stanley J. Rowland, "Restoration of the Behaim Shields," undated [1925], typed manuscript of ten numbered pages with an additional two typed manuscript pages entitled "Additional Notes on the Restoration of the Behaim Shields."

11. See note 1 above.

12. In the early 1960s a similar project was undertaken in Amsterdam; two rectangular shields, which at one time had been painted with nondescript designs for use as stage props, were cleaned and 15th-century decorations were found. These were the city arms of Cologne: ermine, on a chief gules three crowns or, but it was discovered that there was yet another layer underneath. It was decided to clean off the less well preserved of the Cologne arms, and this sacrifice yielded a St. Andrew's cross between four fire steels, badges of the dukes of Burgundy. These charges established them as Burgundian archers' shields from Charles the Bold's futile siege of Neuss, 1473, captured and reused by the Cologne city-militia. See also J. B. Kist, "Twee vijftiende eeuwse Schilden in het Bezit van het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap," in Jaarverslagen Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, 1965/68 (Amsterdam, 1968); Florens Deuchler, ed., Die Burgunderbeute und Werke burgundischer Hofkunst, exh. cat., Bernisches Historisches Museum (Bern, 1969) cat. no. 108, ill.

13. The popularity of Moors was probably based on the belief that one of the most important knightly saints, St. Mauritius, was black. He was patron saint of infantry in Germany, on a par with St. George, patron of cavalry. Also thought to have been black was Balthazar, one of the Magi, or the Three Kings (whose three crowns are part of the city arms of Cologne, see note 12). Finally, the queen of Sheba was represented as a black woman and would have been the model for female Moors, as in the crest of Haller. See K. Pilz, "Totenschild," p. 86, fig. 9, p. 99, fig. 13; Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, Mauritius: Der heilige Mohr/The Black St. Maurice (Houston/Zurich, 1987); Rainer Kahsnitz, "Memorial Shield of Erhard Haller," in Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, cat. no. 61, pp. 203–204, fig. 61.

14. The Behaim arms together with the Volckamer shield are likely to commemorate Leonhard Behaim (1433–1486) and Kunigunde Volckamer (1433–1496), who married in 1455. A late-16th-century illustrated manuscript in the Museum's collections, 959.4 T 64, contains a pictorial record of Nuremberg Gesellenstechen, Shrovetide jousts, held between 1446 and 1561. Among the 39 participants of the 1446 tournament are Bertholdt Volckamer "to whom was given a ring as the second prize" (pl. 43) and Hanns Volckamer (pl. 59) (Figure 15). See B. Dean, "An Early Tournament Book," MMAB 17 (1922) no. 6; pp. 124–126, ill.; idem, "Seven Shields," p. 77, ill.

15. The T-shaped handgrips on "Bohemian pavises" were for use by fighters on foot. For cavalrymen double straps for fist and forearm were more practical because they allowed easier handling of the reins.

16. Denkstein, "Pavézy" (1962) no. 4–5, ill.; (1964) pls. 24, 36; idem, "Pavesen," pp. 125–135, ill. Inscriptions, mostly of a religious-protective kind, are frequently found on "Bohemian" pavises, even those not actually "made in Bohemia." In the collections of the Arms and Armor Department is a small "Bohemian" pavise, acc. no. 29.158.596, with the image of St. George and the Dragon surmounted by an escutcheon with the arms of the dukes of Saxony as Archmarshals of the Empire. An inscription around the pavise's border reads: hilf got du ewigs wort dem leib hier vnd der sel dort hilf riter sant iorg [Help, God, Thou eternal word, the body here and the soul yonder; help, knight St. George].

17. Shields were borne on the left arm; therefore figures like lions, griffins, etc. should be facing to the dexter, i.e., forward, in attack position. One of the explanations for the figure on this shield facing to the sinister would be that it was "custom-made" for a left-handed fighter.

18. Examples of relief figures in gesso or as applied leather cutouts are found on the shields of Arnold von Brienz (Schweizer Landesmuseum, Zurich) and of a lord of Raron (Museum Valeria ob Sitten), as well as on several of the 13th-century shields from the church of St. Elisabeth, Marburg (now in the Universitätsmuseum, Marburg), and on the shield of the Black Prince (d. 1376) in Canterbury Cathedral. See F. Warnecke, *Die mittelalterlichen heraldischen Kampfschilde in der St. Elisabethkirche zu Marburg* (Berlin, 1884) pls. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 11; H. Nickel, *Reiterschild* (1958) pp. 20–24, 27–56, ill. (also published in *Der Herold*, Bd. 4, Heft 6/7, 8/9 [1962]); idem, *Ullstein Waffenbuch*, p. 35, ill.; Christian Väterlein, Ursula Schneider, and Hans Klaiber, eds. *Die Zeit der Staufer*, exh. cat. Württembergisches Landesmuseum (Stuttgart, 1977) 4 vols.; cat. no. I, 315, pl. II, 154.

A mold for such relief decoration was discovered and identified by Bashford Dean in 1926 during the Museum's excavations of the ruins of Castle Montfort (also called Starkenberg), headquarters of the Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land from 1229 to 1266. See also B. Dean, "A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine: A Report of Explorations Made by the Museum, 1926," *MMAB* (Sept. 1927) pt. 2, pp. 5–46, ill.; H. Nickel, "Some Heraldic Fragments Found at Castle Montfort/Starkenberg in 1926, and the Arms of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights," *MMJ* 24 (1989) pp. 35–46, ill.; idem, "Über das Hochmeisterwappen des Deutschen Ordens im Heiligen Lande," in *Der Herold*, 13, 4 (1990) pp. 97–108, ill.

19. T. H. White, *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts* (New York, 1960; first ed. 1954) pp. 14–17, ill.; Richard H. Randall, Jr., *A Cloisters Bestiary*, MMA (New York, 1960) p. 9, ill.; J. L. Schrader, "A Medieval Bestiary," *MMAB* (Summer 1986) pp. 14, 15, ill.

20. H. Nickel, "The Iron Door Mountings from St.-Léonard-de-Noblat," *MMJ* 23 (1988) pp. 83–87, ill.

21. An example of practically identical shape is the targe from St. Mary's Church, Sigtuna, Sweden (now in the National Historical Museum, Stockholm). It is painted with the full arms of the Björnlar family and was used or reused as a funeral shield for Karl Laurentsson Björnlar, documented 1497–1504; Göran Tegner, "Begravningssköld, 1500-talets början—Funeral shield, beginning of the 16th century," entry 17, *Riddarlek och Tornerspel* pp. 55, 325, ill.

22. It has been suggested by A. V. B. Norman that these brackets were added to adapt this targe for *Rennen*, a joust with sharp lances popular in Germany and countries east of the Rhine; see A. V. B. Norman, *European Arms and Armour Supplement*, Wallace Collection Catalogues (London, 1986) no. A309, p. 93.

23. The second of the three sons of Heinrich Ketzel the Elder and Anna Igelbrecht, Endres Ketzel (1393–1466), married Margarethe Igelthaler. Her arms were also "canting": *argent, a hedgehog sable* (but without any apples).

24. Martin Gerlach, *Todtenschilder und Grabsteine* (Vienna, n.d.) pl. 39, fig. 2, epitaph of Heinrich Ketzel the Elder (d. 1438), with four badges of orders. One of his grandsons, Ulrich Ketzel, knight (1440–ca. 1484), displays no fewer than seventeen such membership badges on his epitaph (now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg); also Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein, *Rittertum und Ritterschaft* (Munich, 1972) p. 12, pl. 6; Neubecker, *Heraldry*, p. 218, ill.

25. Fedja Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk* (Berlin, 1971) pp. 118–119, pl. 9. The identification of the plant in modern times was made by Goethe in 1805. The plant mannestreu appears also in Dürer's print "Das kleine Glück" [1495, n. d.], indicating luck in love; Walther L. Strauss, ed., *The Complete Engravings, Etchings and Drypoints of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1972) pp. 14–15, no. 7, ill.

26. It should be pointed out that on a stained-glass panel with a tournament scene, acc. no. 11.120.1, in The Cloisters Collection, one of the jousters bears a shield with a W surmounted by a crown; see Jane Hayward, "Two Quatrefoil Roundels, with Secular Scenes," in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg*, cat. no. 66, ill.

27. Theodor Aign, *Die Ketzel—ein Nürnberger Handelsherren-und Jerusalempilgergeschlecht* (Neustadt/Aisch, 1961) pp. 120–129. The family became extinct in 1588 with the death of Paulus Ketzel (1556–1588), "der Letzte seines Namens und Stammes." For this information I have to thank Dr. Beyerstedt, Staatsarchiv Nuremberg.

The Behaims, Volckamers (see note 10 above), and Kolers were among the twenty "old" patrician families of Nuremberg, while the Ketzels, established in 1422, were relative newcomers. One Erckebrecht Koler took part in the *Gesellenstechen* in celebration of the wedding of Wilhelm Löffelholtz and Kunigunde Baumgartner, February 28, 1446. He is shown with his full arms on pl. 45 of the illustrated manuscript *Turnierbuch*, 959.4 T 64, in the Museum's collections. (Both the Löffelholtz and Baumgartner families were "new" patricians, admitted into this elitist group in 1440.) Another member of the family, Hieronymus Koler, a bona fide conquistador, took part in the [abortive] colonization of Venezuela by the Welser banking house, in 1535. (The Welser, too, were among the "new" patricians of 1440.) See Victor W. von Hagen, *The Golden Man: A Quest for El Dorado* (Farnborough, Hants, 1974) pp. 70–71.

28. Ortwin Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zur Zeit König Maximilians I. und das Thun'sche Skizzenbuch," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 53 (1957) pp. 33–70, ill.; Matthias Pfaffenbichler, *Medieval Craftsmen: Armourers* (London, 1992) p. 6, fig. 3.

29. Richard S. Field, *Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Metalcuts, from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.* (Washington, D.C., n.d.) no. 284, ill. I have to thank Stuart W. Pyhrr for bringing this woodcut to my attention.

30. W. R. Valentiner, "A portrait by Dürer's master Michael Wolgemut," *The Detroit Institute of Arts Bulletin* 20 (1941) pp. 58ff., ill.; Peter Strieder, "Bildnis eines jungen Mannes," *Albrecht Dürer: 1471–1971*, p. 64, no. 100, ill.

31. Warnecke, *Kampfschilde*, pl. 14; Nickel, *Reiterschild*, pp. 62–66, figs. 68, a and b; idem, *Ullstein Waffenbuch*, p. 35, ill.

32. St. Christopher images are on some of the (once more than thirty) 14th-century *Setzschilde* from the town hall of Erfurt; one of them is now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. The MMA acquired two (though without St. Christopher images) in 1922; B. Dean, "Ancient Shields from Erfurt," *MMAB* 18 (Jan. 1923) pp. 11–13, ill.

33. Gustav A. Seyler, "Abgestorbener Bayerischer Adel," in *J. Siebmachers grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch* (Nuremberg, 1884) VI, 1; pp. 39–40, pl. 39.

34. O. Gamber, "Ritterspiele und Turnierrüstungen im Spät-mittelalter, Joseph Fleckenstein, ed.," *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltens-geschichte des Rittertums* (Göttingen, 1985) pp. 513ff.; Lotte Kurras, *Turnierbuch der Kraichgauer Ritterschaft*, facsimile ed. with commentary, 2 vols. (Zurich, 1983) commentary, pp. 20ff.

It has been suggested by Gamber that the word "club" for an exclusive society could be based on the restricted membership in these privileged tournament societies with their cultivation of the baston course.

35. Eugen Schöler, "Historische Familienwappen in Franken," in *J. Siebmachers Grosses Wappenbuch* (Neustadt/Aisch, 1975) vol. F, p. 50, pl. 95, fig. 10; idem, *Fränkische Wappen erzählen Geschichte und Geschichten* (Neustadt/Aisch, 1992) p. 113, ill. Here it is mentioned as an example of *Wappensage* that in the 1611 funeral sermon for Hans Friedrich Gottsmann auf Neuhaus, Büg, Thurn und Brand, the family legend was repeated that the earliest documentation of the Gottsmann arms was from A.D. 310, when a Roman tribune Curius founded the city of Chur in Switzerland, to be administrated by the centurion Evandro (to be translated into German as *Gutmann*), a Roman nobleman who later immigrated to Germany and became the ancestor of the Gottsmanns. The city of Chur has an ibex as its civic arms, and the worthy Evandro/Gutmann was given half an ibex for his own.

36. A. Graf von und zu Egloffstein, *Schlösser und Burgen in Ober-franken* (Frankfurt, 1972) pp. 180–181, ill. (Thurn); *Bayerische Kunstdenkmale: Stadt und Landkreis Erlangen* (Munich, 1962) pp. 105, 110–113 (Büg and Forth).

37. Johann Gottfried Biedermann, *Geschlechts-Register der Reichs- Frey- unmittelbaren Ritterschafft Landes zu Francken* (Bamberg, 1747) table CCCVI: "Von denen ausgestorbenen Herren Gottsmännern zum Thurn."

38. Charlotte Becher and Ortwin Gamber, *Die Wappenbücher Herzog Albrechts VI. von Österreich*, Jahrbuch der Heraldisch-Genealogischen Gesellschaft ADLER, der ganzen Reihe dritte Folge, 12 (Vienna/Cologne/Graz, 1984/85) pl. 33 [164]; added in a different hand is the name *Turrigel.* Early sources claim that the Franconian family Türriegel (Dörriegel) von Riegelstein (1260–1611) had identical arms: *or, a demi-ibex sable.* A Heinrich Durrigel took part in the 1486 Bamberg tournament. On the other hand, the arms of Türriegel are also recorded as *argent, an ibex rampant sable* in the authoritative *Neu Wappenbuch* (Nuremberg, 1605) by Johann Siebmacher.

39. Georg Rüxner, *Anfang, vrsprung vnd herkommen des Thurniers inn Teutscher nation* (Simmern im Hunsrück, 1532) pp. clxxvi, cciii verso.

40. Biedermann, *Geschlechts-Register*, table CCCVI; Otto von Alberti, Friedrich Freiherr von Gaisberg-Schockingen, Theodor Schön and Adolf Stattmann, "Württembergisches Adels- und Wappenbuch," in *J. Siebmachers Grosses Wappenbuch* (Neustadt/Aisch, 1975) vol. E, p. 239, fig. 845.

41. Ruprecht's main holdings were Büg, Forth, and Brand; he and his wife, another Kunigunde von Stiebar, with their seven sons and eight daughters, are portrayed on the donors' panels of the Schnitzaltar in St. Anna's Church, Forth, and on the surviving predella of a lost altar in the parish church of St. Michael, Neukirchen-am-Brand; see also *Bayerische Kunstdenkmale: Erlangen*, p. 102.

42. German medieval nobility used the names of their castles or other territorial possessions as family names. After centuries of use the predicate *von* ("of, from") came to be seen as a mark of nobility in itself, applied also in the rare cases where the family had a patronym—like Gottsmann—as its name. There were no strict rules about the use of the *von;* important families "whom everybody knew," e.g., Gottsmann often did not bother to use it.

43. Pilz, "Totenschild," pp. 76–77.

Appendix: Notes on the Restoration of the Behaim Shields

CHRISTEL FALTERMEIER and RUDOLF MEYER

BEFORE ENTERING INTO a more detailed description of the work done on three of the Behaim shields, it may be useful to present a few general observations on the group.[1] The seven Behaim shields were X-rayed in the Metropolitan Museum's Objects Conservation Department in 1985. The radiographs revealed that all seven were covered by more than one paint layer and that several had designs in the lower layers quite different from those visible on the uppermost surface. Cleaning tests indicated that the shields 25.26.1, 25.26.3, and 25.26.5 appeared to have the most elaborate and best-preserved underpainting, and from 1990 to 1992 restoration work to recover the earlier painting was carried out.

As different as these seven shields are, they all share several technical features. The cores are of wood, either poplar (*Populus sp.*) or linden (basswood, *Tilia sp.*), which was covered with canvas or animal skin. The exterior surfaces, in turn, were gessoed and painted in the same technique as contemporary panel painting and polychromed sculpture. The area to be painted was coated with several layers of gesso. In one case, shield 25.26.5, crushed glass was applied before the regular gesso layer; this feature is quite unusual. Silver leaf was applied in two different techniques.[2] There is also evidence of the application of raised relief decoration,[3] subsequently lost, on shield 25.26.3. The original painting medium is tempera, and in some cases, especially on silver leaf, resinous glazes were used (shields 25.26.2 and 25.26.5). All postmedieval additions or repaintings were done in oil paint, often of poor quality.

All of the shields were painted twice with the Behaim arms. On shield 25.26.4 the Behaim arms are found on the lowermost paint layer.[4] On shield 25.26.6 the original medieval gesso is apparently preserved, but no original paint layer could be detected.

The five remaining shields with surviving fifteenth-century paint have distinctive individual designs, none of them relating to the Behaim arms. Shield 25.26.2 has not been fully examined, but it seems most unlikely that the Behaim crest would be found in the original painting.[5] Similarly, shield 25.26.7 most likely has an original design below the first Behaim painting.[6] Shields 25.26.5 and 25.26.6 were repainted with completely new designs on top of their original layers before the Behaim arms were later applied. Both of these shields show as part of their intermediate painting small heraldic shields with the *Meerkatze* of the Ketzel family of Nuremberg.[7] On shield 25.26.3, and most likely on shields 25.26.2 and 25.26.7, the Behaim arms were painted directly on top of the original decoration.

That some of the shields were repainted several times proves that they were considered valuable—apparently as memorials—in postmedieval times. It is difficult to determine the age of these various paint layers, but painting style and materials may offer some clues. In the case of the first paintings with the Behaim arms, which were executed by a minor artist working in an old-fashioned Gothic revival style, the dating on the basis of style is difficult. In two of the first Behaim paintings, lead-tin yellow was detected.[8] This pigment ceased to be manufactured about 1750, although old supplies may have been used after this date.

It seems likely that at some point in the seventeenth or eighteenth century this group of seven— or more—shields was assembled and painted with the Behaim arms. The painting materials and style of these first Behaim paintings are compatible. It remains unexplained as to why the Behaim arms in shield 25.26.2 are painted in reverse.

These seven shields may have hung as a group for a considerable time, since they suffered similar damages that necessitated repainting. The second painting of the Behaim arms copies the existing one in a simplified version. Old losses were overpainted, and bronze paint was used instead of silver leaf. The overall quality of these paintings is very poor.

Following the cleaning tests carried out at the Metropolitan Museum in 1924–25—which revealed original paint and decoration, but no medieval Be-

haim design—test windows were inpainted, followed by a general and generous restoration with bronze paint, dark varnishes, and glazes. These restored surfaces are the ones recorded in the published photographs used from 1925 until 1990.

SHIELD 25.26.1

The shield was painted four times: (1) a young woman beside the Gottsmann arms; (2) a foliate border added around the edge of the first layer; (3) the female repainted and the Gottsmann arms replaced with those of the Behaim; and finally (4) a repainting of the previous layer.

The wood core, identified as poplar, is covered on the back with leather and on the front with coarse linen, which is thickly covered with several layers of gesso. In the first (original) painting, silver leaf was attached to the white bole in the water-gilding technique and was burnished to a high gloss. The design was incised on the gesso ground before the application of silver leaf. The paint, which consists of very finely ground pigments in tempera, probably egg tempera, was then applied most carefully and skillfully. All the paint is opaque and hides the underlying silver leaf entirely. There is no trace of colored glazes, which are often found on silver leaf. It is remarkable how well this original paint adheres to the polished surface of the silver leaf, proof of an exacting technique. Silver leaf oxidizes, becoming black upon exposure to air; therefore it has to be sealed with varnish. Traces of the original yellowed varnish were found. The pigments of this first painting consist of copper green, azurite, lead-tin yellow, lead-tin white, and vermilion. The good state of preservation of this original paint layer is due not only to its fine technique but also to its protecting layers of overpaint.

The first restoration of some damage in the green dress of the woman appears to have occurred early on, as the restorer took great pains to fill the losses carefully and to match the green paint.

In the second painting, the shield was covered with a thick varnish, which in the course of time had turned dark brown. This coating greatly facilitated the removal of later overpaint from the original. A decorative border of foliage was added, finely executed in green and ocher glazes and outlined in black. Unfortunately, this border was very badly preserved, with only a small section visible on the dexter at the *bouche* (Figure 45).

In the third painting, only the female figure was retained, while the size and position of the shield and crest were altered in order to introduce the Behaim arms. The thick varnish of the second layer, which must have darkened by then, was removed from the dress of the woman in order to be able to follow the design of the original more easily. Indeed, the repainting of the dress followed the outline of the original quite faithfully, but it was painted in a uniform green without details. The pigment—copper green—of this second repainting is almost identical with the original pigment of the green dress, but it is much more coarsely ground.

In the original the woman presses the folds of her long skirt against her body with her left hand. When repainted, the hand position was retained, but as there were no folds, her gesture had lost its purpose. Similarly, in the original, the woman rests her right hand on the foliage, but in the repainting, the foliage was omitted. Since the hand was repainted in the same position, it appears to dangle aimlessly in front of her.

Because of the brown varnish, the painter of the third paint layer was not distracted by the bold design of the Gottsmann arms. First he covered the areas to be occupied by the eagle, helmet, and the dexter side of the Behaim crest with silver leaf in the oil-gilding technique. Then the silver leaf was glazed and the Behaim crest was painted with rather coarsely ground pigments in an oil medium. The background was painted dark brown. The execution was rather poor.

Before the shield was again repainted it suffered considerable damage. The edges and ridges were bumped and abraded and paint was lost. The lower left corner especially has considerable losses, probably due to water damage. The canvas became detached from the wood; it buckled and the gesso fell off.

In the fourth painting none of the losses was filled, but the artist simply painted over damaged areas, which resulted in a most unattractive surface. This lack of craftsmanship is indicative for the painting manner of this repainting of the Behaim arms.

This repainting of the Behaim layer is essentially a copy of the previous one, but in a poorer version. It seems that the painter could not resist uncovering the first face of the woman. The second layer was removed and the original, which was slightly damaged, was repainted in a more contemporary manner. The woman's scarf was altered, and she was now dressed in dark blue.

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In the two older paint layers, the lady and crest were "floating" on the shield. In this latest version, the painter introduced a floor on which the woman stood. The foreground was painted light brown and the lady and crest cast hazy shadows on it, the light source coming from the upper left. As another new feature, the painter introduced a black margin. For the eagle, helmet, and Behaim crest the painter used bronze paint. The painting medium was oil mixed with varnish.

During the restoration of 1924, Stanley Rowland cleaned and removed a large area in the upper half of the shield, down to the original silver leaf. This area was subsequently retouched and a thick varnish covered the entire surface.

It was the good fortune of the present restorers that Rowland made his cleaning tests in areas that had no original paint. He left us the excitement of removing layer upon layer, as in archaeological fieldwork, and indeed we found a very well-preserved medieval treasure that had not been seen in centuries.

The varnish was removed with solvents. All paint layers were removed with scalpels under low magnification, and minor losses within the painting were filled and retouched. An area on the lower left part of the dress was partly reconstructed along original incisions. Dry pigments in PVA were applied in little dots to distinguish the retouching from the original. The surface was thinly coated with damar and bleached beeswax.

It should be noted as well that on the back of the shield St. Christopher and the Christ child are painted directly onto the leather with very coarsely ground pigments. The consistency is so crumbly and the brown overpaint adheres to it so firmly that it was not possible to remove overpaint from the original.

SHIELD 25.26.3

Prior to the restoration of 1991, the shield displayed the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach (Figure 3). In the lower sinister corner a small shield with the Volckamer arms was also visible. The border was decorated with wavy lines painted in silver and black. This border decoration is also found on shields 25.26.2 and 25.26.6 (Figures 2 and 6). On shield 25.26.2, which still awaits restoration, initial cleaning tests revealed an original decoration of curving cloud-bands executed on burnished silver leaf with tempera paint and colored glazes. The painter who first added the Behaim arms to this shield repeated the design, though simplified, and introduced it on shields 25.26.3 and 25.26.6. In the subsequent repainting of the Behaim arms, the existing design was simply repeated.

The cleaning tests performed at the Museum in 1925 had already revealed a segment of the border with Gothic letters. The X-ray from 1985 was reassuring as to the fact that a completely different painting was hidden underneath the Behaim layer. It was decided to have the shield fully restored; this work was completed in January/February 1991.

The shield most likely consists of one piece of wood covered on both sides with skin. The front of the shield is coated with gray gesso and painted with tempera paint. The skin has lifted from the support in low-lying areas on the dexter side, resulting in extensive paint loss.

The four corners of the border as well as the four corners of the central design and the center section were once covered with applications. They could have been cut out from paper or vellum but most likely they were pressed brocade (*Pressbrokat* in German), applications that were quite common on late-medieval South German sculptures and panel paintings. Constructed of putty mixtures containing wax and resin or gesso, they were pressed into molds. Usually metal leaf was pressed together with the paste into the mold, easing the removal and coating the relief decoration at the same time. The edges were trimmed—the sharp contours of the losses on the shield echo the outlines of the applications. On this shield they were applied with a wax/resin adhesive, of which traces of brown residue remain. The painting of the shield followed after the applications were in place, judging from the sharply contoured losses in the paint layer. The appearance of these applications, apart from their general outlines, cannot be determined. The metal leaf on pressed brocade was usually coated with colored resinous glazes, but no traces of such glazes could be observed on this shield.

The painting of the border consists of pale yellow Gothic letters on a light brown ground. Yellow stripes frame the border accentuated by black and white lines. The middle of each side is composed of a simple design with blue lines enhanced with white and black lines and white fleurs-de-lys. The central decoration depicts a panther standing upright on its hind legs, surrounded by swirls of colorful foliage. White, yellow, green, red, blue, and black were painted on a light brown background. The back of

the shield, now covered with two modern layers of brown oil paint, was not explored as to its original appearance.

The original paint layer was covered directly with the Behaim arms; no traces of intermittent paintings were found. In the first painting of the Behaim arms the background of the central panel was coated with thick, coarse green paint. The border consisted of a brown wavy pattern on a silver-leaf ground. The eagle, helmet, and crest were also painted on silver leaf. Black was used to outline the design. The style and quality of this painting correspond to the first Behaim painting on the other shields.

Crude materials and poor craftsmanship characterize the second Behaim painting. Thick brown and black oil paint filled the background. In some areas painted red several different shades were found. Bronze paint was applied on the coat of arms and the border. This layer corresponded fully to the second painting of the Behaim arms on the other shields. Restorations followed the second Behaim painting. Losses were filled with putty and the shield was inpainted with black and brown colors and bronze paint. These restorations appear to have been the work of Stanley Rowland at the Metropolitan Museum.

During the restoration of 1991 all postmedieval additions were removed, mostly with scalpels. A few small round holes, which had obviously served to hold the shield's handles or straps, were uncovered. Damages in the surface were inpainted, but larger losses in the design were not retouched. The areas of the lost applications were kept darker, based on the brown residues of original adhesive.

Shield 25.26.5

This shield had the most blistered and unattractive surface and the most complex series of paint layers of all seven shields. It was therefore the most challenging of the shields. The shield was painted five times with three totally different designs: (1, the earliest) a plant with a bandscroll inscribed with three W's; (2) a *mi-parti* design incorporating the letters *AGVF* and stripes; (3) as an addition to the second layer, two small shields of arms; (4) the Behaim arms; and (5) a repainting of the previous layer.

The linden wood core is covered with several layers of animal skin, only the top layer having been cut to the shape of the shield. The leather on the

front of the shield is coated overall with crushed glass, bound most likely with hide glue. Clear glass and green and blue particles have been found. The particles vary in size from tiny grains to pieces as large as 2 millimeters. Medieval sculptures and panel paintings occasionally have a coarse stone-dust ground for a first coating before the smooth gesso layers were applied. However, this is the only case we have ever encountered of crushed glass. The glass improved the adherence of gesso to the skin, but it may also have served as general reinforcement. Several layers of gesso were applied, thick enough to cover the glass so that the surface could be sanded to a smooth surface. The ridges on the shield seem to be entirely modeled in gesso.

It seems best to describe the complex layers of the shield from the earliest to the latest, opposite from the sequence of their discovery. The design of the first painting uses the middle ridge of the shield as the dividing line between sinister and dexter sides. In the restoration of 1991, only a small area of the sinister side was uncovered, but cleaning tests showed that the entire shield was first coated with a thick layer of finely ground black paint. On the sinister side, the black appears as an outline for the stems and leaves of a plant, visible through yellow and green glazes. In a rather unusual technique, the design was painted first and the red background last, giving the design a cut-out quality. A precise outline of the design must first have been drawn on the black paint. Then the leaves and stems of the plant were coated accurately with oil, onto which silver leaf was attached. The silver leaf and its black outline were then coated with green and yellowish-green glazes. The background was painted over in red, giving the stems and leaves great depth and luminosity (Drawing 1). For the flowers, opaque pigments were chosen: a gritty blue (azurite) and a light yellow (lead-tin yellow). The bandscroll that extends across the stems was first painted ocher, then covered with silver leaf in the above-mentioned oil-gilding technique. The silver leaf was then coated with a yellow glaze to resemble gold. Letters, triangular spacers, and cross hatchings were painted with black. Only the outlines of the flowers and the bandscroll have been enhanced with a thin, wavy brushstroke.

Although it was very tempting to expose this extraordinarily beautiful design, the most sophisticated painting of the shield's many layers, it was decided not to remove the second and third layers. However, with some cleaning tests and the help of X-ray photographs, an approximate reconstruction
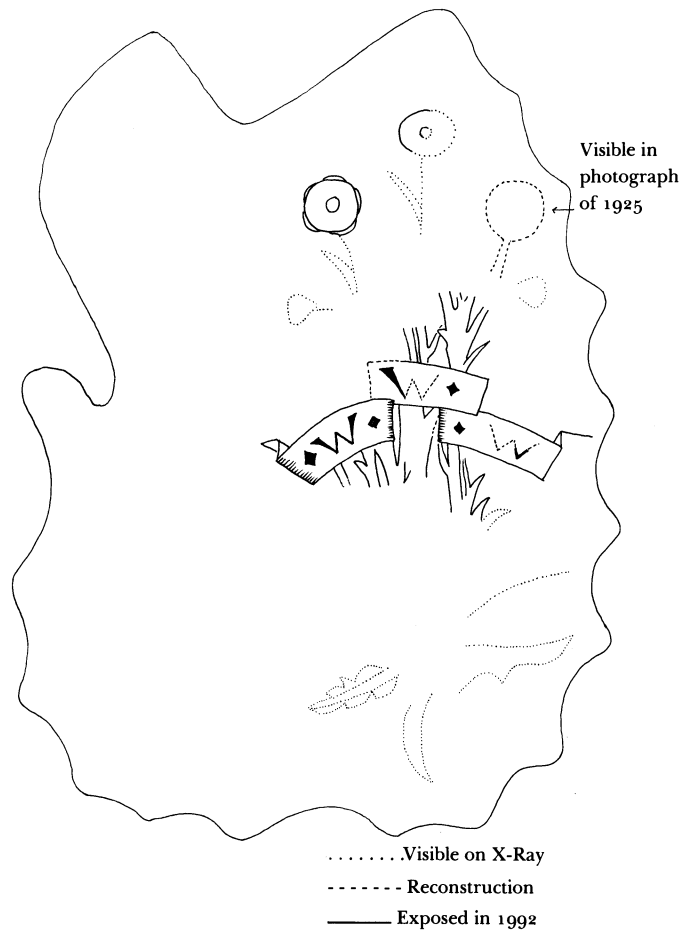
CROSS SECTION OF FIRST PAINT LAYER

Stem of Flower   Bandscroll
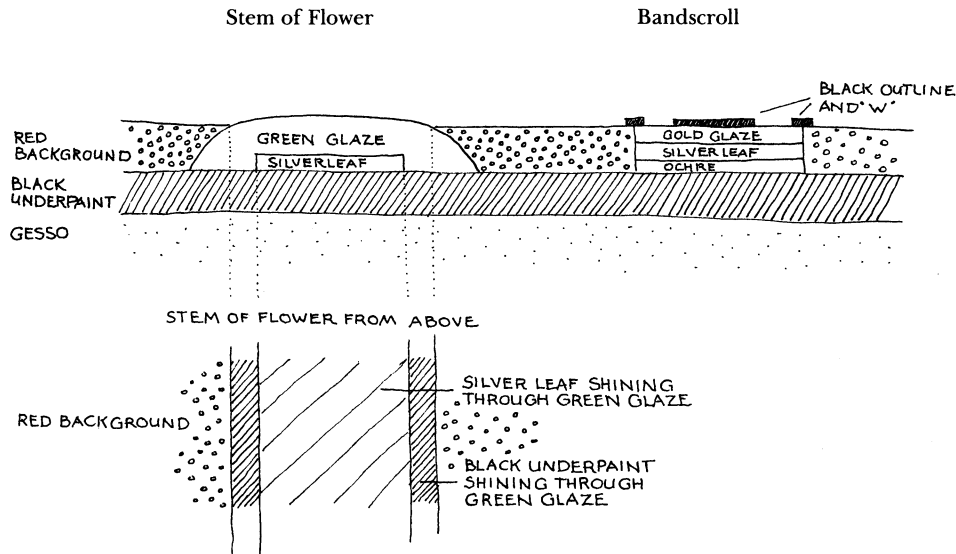
Drawing 1. Cross section of the first paint layer found on shield 25.26.5
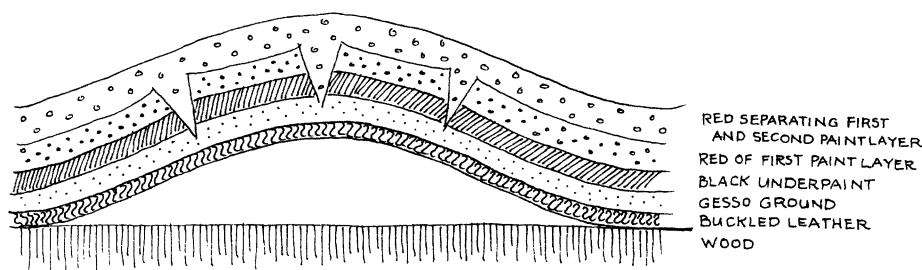(drawings by the authors)

of the design could be made (Drawing 2). It is a
plant with three large stems that are thick and
thorny. At their lower end are large serrated leaves.
The leaves growing from the stems are lancet
shaped. Each stem carries a round blue flower with
a yellow center. The left and probably also the right
flower have an additional bud.[9] The bandscroll,
which has black hatchings to indicate the shadow
formed when it bends, is wrapped twice around the
stems of the plant and folds back on either end.
Between spacers on each of the three forward-bent
loops is a simple "W" in "antiqua" style. This sym-
metrical design of flowers, leaves, and banderole is
evenly spread over the sinister side of the shield, the
banderole just touching the central ridge and the
outer sinister edge of the shield.

On the dexter side, cleaning tests yielded only red
paint, and X-rays revealed nothing that would sug-
gest that this side had additional designs. A thin,
light yellow varnish separates the original paint
layer from the second. There was no apparent accu-
mulation of dirt, suggesting that the second layer
was painted not long after the first was finished.
However, the first painting had suffered some dam-
age before it was repainted. Possibly the shield be-
came wet and the leather separated in some areas
from the wood, with the result that the surface
buckled and the paint cracked. The raised edges of
the cupped paint exposed the black paint and gesso
below. The paint of the second layer filled these

Visible in
photograph
of 1925

.... .Visible on X-Ray

- - - - - - Reconstruction

_____ Exposed in 1992

Drawing 2. Reconstruction of the original design on shield
25.26.5

RED SEPARATING FIRST
AND SECOND PAINT LAYER
RED OF FIRST PAINT LAYER
BLACK UNDERPAINT
GESSO GROUND
BUCKLED LEATHER
WOOD

Drawing 3. Cross section demonstrating the damage to the first paint layer on shield 25.26.5

gaps and collected more thickly in the depth of the cups (Drawing 3). In some areas, the original paint must have flaked off and was carefully filled in with gesso before the shield was repainted.

The second painting of the shield consisted of a completely different design (Figure 35, minus the too-small inshields). The first layer, including the new fills, was painted over in red, close in color to the red background of the original but consisting of much coarser pigments. The painter of the second layer ignored the vertical division given by the shape of the shield and moved the center line toward the sinister side, in the exact middle of the shield. This way the shield is divided in approximately equal halves. For his elaborate Gothic letters the painter needed more space and did not hesitate to paint them over ridges. In this respect, the second painter paid little attention to the shape of the shield.

The sinister side was painted with four vertical stripes of roughly equal width, consisting of a green stripe between two white ones and a red one on the outer edge. The white stripes are thickly applied in opaque paint, the vertical brushmarks of a stiff bristle brush still being visible. The green stripe consists of two very dark green layers of a rather transparent green, while the red consists of two layers of dark red glazes.
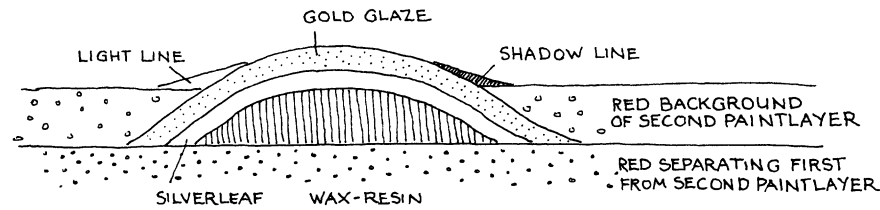
The dexter side shows four elaborately intertwined Gothic letters arranged vertically, reading down as AGVF. These letters were painted in a technique similar to the stems and leaves of the first painting that this painter had covered up. The letters were painted onto the red background with a thick mixture, most likely a wax resin, and these slightly elevated ridges were covered with silver leaf,

which was coated with yellow glaze. The background was once again painted red. Finally the letters were modeled with light and dark outlines, giving the impression that they are lit from the upper left. Most of the silver leaf has been abraded, but it is still preserved under the outlines.

The third paint layer consists of the two small shields bearing the Ketzel and Koler arms that were superimposed on top of the second layer. The shields are at an angle to each other and shown in different perspectives. The light source comes again from the upper left, with both the Ketzel Meerkatze and the Koler ring casting shadows to the lower right. Since the Ketzel shield awkwardly cuts off the letter "G" underneath, some additional curves conforming to the curvature of the shield and some scrolls and flourishes were added. Over the white stripes crisscross hatchings were painted in white. Along the middle ridge and the edge of the dexter side traces of green color over silver leaf were found —possibly the remains of a decoration containing leaves.

The surface of the shield was in bad condition when the fourth layer was painted. It was abraded and scratched and paint had flaked off. The surface seems to have been dark brown, judging from layers of varnish and dirt that obscured the design of the third painting. This suggests, perhaps, that considerable time had passed between the painting of the Ketzel and Koler arms and the painting of the Behaim arms. It was easy for the painter to start a totally new design without being disturbed by the existing one. He painted the Behaim arms directly over losses of paint and gesso onto a buckled surface. There is no evidence of fills from this period.

Drawing 4. Cross section of letters in the second paint layer on shield 25.26.5

The paint of this layer was opaque, beginning with the green background color, which consisted of coarsely ground pigments containing copper green, azurite, lead-tin yellow, and lead white. The foliage was painted white, and the helmet, eagle, and sinister side of the Behaim shield once again was oil gilded with silver leaf and covered with glazes. The execution, however, was quite poor.

The fifth and final painting was essentially a repaint of the fourth, but with less care and poorer materials. Instead of silver leaf, bronze paint was used. The painting medium was oil, probably mixed with varnish. It was this fifth painting, much darkened with time, that Bashford Dean saw in 1923 (Figure 27).

In the restoration of 1924, Stanley Rowland set out to clean the surface and explore the lower paint layers. On the sinister side he discovered the original layer, uncovering the blue flower with the yellow center (Figure 30). But it was decided to preserve the Behaim arms, so this area was covered up; all losses were filled with gesso, which was incised with a crackle pattern to match the surface of the rest of the shield, and all missing paint was retouched to blend in with the fifth painting.

The X-rays taken before the restoration offered a confusing array of images (Figure 31). Cleaning tests were not much more enlightening, because of the partial removal of various paint layers in the previous restoration. Therefore, a methodical removal of layer upon layer using a scalpel under low magnification was necessary. Eventually, the second and third layers were exposed. On the sinister side, where the paint could easily be repainted, several small "windows" were opened to expose the under-

lying original layer. Photographs and samples were taken. The windows were later retouched; the retouching consists of little dots to distinguish it from the original. Gouache and dry pigments in PVA were used. A thin coat of damar with bleached beeswax was used as protective coating.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NOTES

1. Edmund Dandridge of the Museum's Department of Objects Conservation took the X-rays of the shields.

2. In the water-gilding technique the ground is prepared with bole, the metal leaf is attached with thin glue, and the leaf is

polished with an agate to high gloss. In the oil-gilding technique the leaf adheres to an oil-coated surface and dries in a crinkly surface. A variation is mordant gilding, in which the leaf adheres to a slightly raised, sticky surface, usually a mixture of resin and wax; on the second paint layer of shield 25.26.5, the letters *AGVF* were painted in this technique.

3. Raised relief decorations, also known as pressed brocades, were used to decorate medieval and Renaissance panel paintings and sculptures. A wax-resin mixture or fiber-gesso mixture is pressed into a mold and, after drying, is cut to the needed size and glued onto the gesso. These decorations are usually coated with metal leaf. On shield 25.26.3, in the original paint layer, the corner quatrefoils and panther in the center were most likely decorated in this technique.

4. Large losses in the first Behaim painting can be seen in the X-ray. There are a confusing number of paint layers belonging to the two Behaim paintings and to the restoration of 1925. No trace was found of any underlying layers of 15th-century paint or gesso as on the other shields. This suggests that the exterior of the shield may have been scraped down to the leather before it was painted with the Behaim arms, or that the shield dates to a later period as an addition to the Behaim group.

5. A small shield visible in X-ray below the eagle has not been uncovered. Unfortunately, the lower part of the shield is a restoration.

6. The margin, which was examined more closely, has been repainted at least four times.

7. The pigments in both are azurite, lead-tin yellow, and lead white.

8. Lead-tin yellow was found, mixed with copper green, in the green background of shield 25.26.5 and in the green dress of the woman in shield 25.26.1.

9. The flower, still visible in the photographs of 1925 (Figure 30), must have been removed by the restorers at that time. Only traces of that flower remain today (Figure 34).

Portrait Busts of Children in Quattrocento Florence

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THE FOLLOWING STUDY concerns one of the most beloved but least investigated artistic productions of the early Renaissance: sculpted busts of young children (Figures 1, 3, 5, 7, 15, 16).[1] The sculptures form a homogeneous group—exclusively male, always depicted bust-length, usually in marble, and often portrayed as the young St. John the Baptist.[2] The boys are characterized individually, and no two are exactly alike in either form or expression. They first appear in Florence in the mid-fifteenth century and center on the workshops of Desiderio da Settignano, Antonio Rossellino, and Mino da Fiesole.[3] There are no comparable painted counterparts, and the genre has a production span of only about fifty years.[4] The busts thereby constitute an extraordinary genre of sculptural production and of childhood representation whose striking yet brief existence has always been enjoyed but never adequately explained.[5]

These portrait busts are unique to the Renaissance. Antique busts of children do exist but are of a nature contrary to those created in Quattrocento Florence. Roman busts of children normally exhibit none of the liveliness that makes the Renaissance examples so distinctive and charming. The ancient busts are usually filled with sober dignity, without the spontaneity and vivaciousness of childhood itself. As once characterized by Anton Hekler, the Roman busts "show us no blooming, healthy little boys, no merry putti with fat cheeks and delicious snub-noses; the atmosphere of the Roman boy in portraits is not a sunny one; it is oppressive, and full of somber gravity."[6] The Metropolitan Museum possesses three important examples of these classical busts of children. A marble bust of a young boy (Figure 2) shows the typical austerity of most classical portrait busts and is an example of the type that would have been most familiar to Renaissance artists.[7] A unique bronze bust in the Museum (Figure 4) exhibits more vitality as a result of the expressive

eyes inlaid with silver and its more subtle facial expression.[8] It is clear from its base that the head was to be mounted on a herm pillar and was probably placed in an area of a Roman house reserved for commemorative displays. Indeed the most common sculptural representations of children in classical art appear either in funerary contexts or as part of the cult of ancestor worship, which partly explains their sobriety. Pliny specifically indicates the display of portrait busts in the atria of Roman houses.[9] Both he and Polybius also describe the use of effigies in funeral processions.[10] Classical commemorative portraits celebrating living children, however, are virtually nonexistent.[11] One may compare the Quattrocento example by Desiderio from the Mellon Collection in the National Gallery of Art (Figure 5) to the Metropolitan bust of a Roman infant (Figure 6) to see the stark contrast between the Renaissance celebrations of life and the Roman commemorations of death.[12] Furthermore, an example such as Desiderio's *Laughing Child* in Vienna (Figure 7) has no precedent, classical or otherwise, and marks the changing conception of the Renaissance child—indeed of the modern child. For the Renaissance busts ultimately embody the future promise of the male child and therefore concentrate on the living vitality of his person as it was never before represented in this art form.

With few exceptions, medieval sculptures of children depict either the Christ child or child saints. In both cases the youths display the proportions and physical characteristics of adults rather than children.[13] In Italy, independent sculptures of the Christ child normally show him either in the act of benediction or swaddled as the infant of the nativity. An early-fourteenth-century example (Figure 8) offers a typical depiction of the former portrayal and shows little attempt to portray correct infantile form.[14] During the Renaissance these medieval images of children evolved as a new emphasis began to be placed on the corporeality of the child—particularly the Christ child.[15] The change is most clearly manifested in Desiderio's *Blessing Christ*, from the

The notes for this article begin on page 69.

Figure 1. Desiderio da Settignano (ca. 1430–1464), *Bust of a Young Boy,* ca. 1460–64. Marble. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection (photo: National Gallery of Art)

Figure 2. Roman, *Bust of a Young Boy.* Marble. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931, 32.100.471

Figure 3. Antonio Rossellino (1427–1479), *Bust of the Young St. John the Baptist,* 3rd quarter 15th century. Marble. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection (photo: National Gallery of Art)
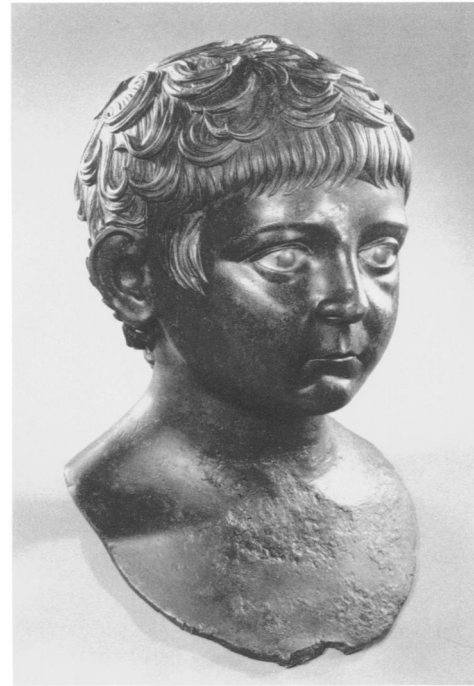
Figure 4. Roman, *Bust of a Young Boy.* Bronze. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Funds from various donors, 1966, 66.11.5

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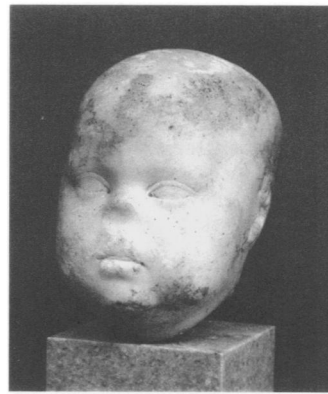
Figure 6. Roman, *Head of a Baby*. Marble. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1912, 12.232.1

Figure 5. Desiderio da Settignano, *Bust of a Young Boy*, ca. 1460–64. Marble. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Mellon Collection (photo: National Gallery of Art)

tabernacle of the sacrament in San Lorenzo (Figure 9). The Renaissance Christ retains the adult prescience of the earlier image but gains the realistic body of an actual child and offers a compelling contrast to the medieval depiction.

Yet the most remarkable aspect of these Renaissance images is the powerful effect they were believed to have on those who beheld them. For example, related effigies of the young Christ appeared in the form of a private and portable image, more accurately, a "holy doll."[16] They were exclusively associated with young women, and one such doll appears in 1466 in the wedding trousseau of Nannina de' Medici, sister of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Though the dolls served mainly as devotional images, in certain cases women may have held the dolls during pregnancy to influence the character of the unborn child. As explained by Klapisch-Zuber, this engagement with the image involved "a magical transfer of virtues and forces from the effigy to its user."[17] Through the mother's spiritual contemplation of the doll and the doll's physical presence near the child, it was presumed that the effigy could inspire virtuous behavior in the unborn child.

In a complementary manner, the portrait busts of children in Quattrocento Florence reflect a related belief in the ability of images to affect the beholder.

Figure 7. Desiderio da Settignano, *Laughing Child*, ca. 1453–60. Marble. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Erich Lessing from Art Resource)

Ultimately, these busts were intended to influence the child already born by providing a model of individual character for him to emulate. It was hoped that the daily actions and developing personality of the child would eventually reflect the character portrayed in the sculpted bust. Thereby a new perception of childhood was given a unique and tangible artistic form.
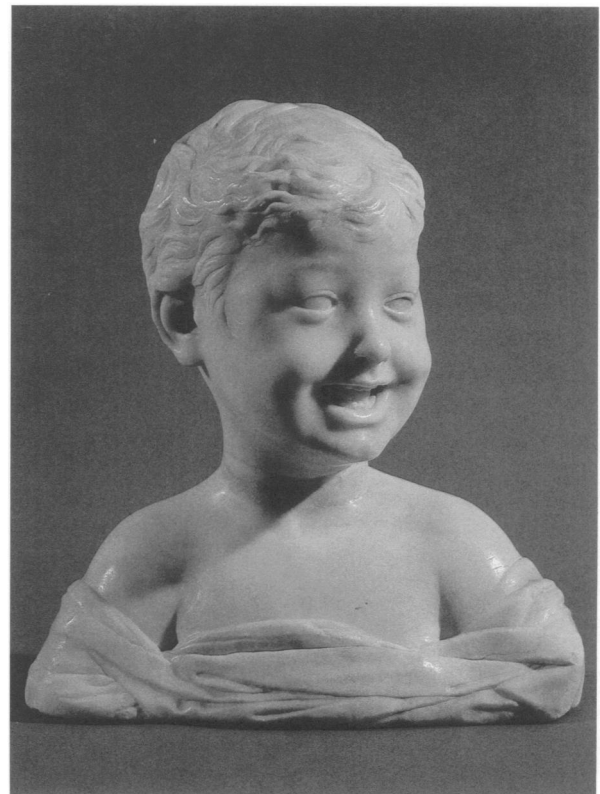
The appearance of these busts in the Quattrocento derives from an increased sensitivity toward the child, and in particular the male child. Contemporary sources indicate that the male child was seen specifically as the embodiment of the future of both family and state. Matteo Palmieri, writing in his treatise on civic life, declares, "A useful thing it is to have fostered children, [thereby] having increased the population and given citizens to the homeland."[18] Producing children to perpetuate the Florentine republic thus satisfied a civic obligation. Such sentiments are not new; indeed they can be traced back to ancient Rome. Yet their unique articulation in civic humanist philosophy—and artistic creation—became one of the hallmarks of Renaissance Florence.

The public expression of this new perception of children is seen in the foundation of the Ospedale degli Innocenti, prompted by concerns for the welfare of children as a responsibility of the state.[19] Not coincidentally, Palmieri was one of its principal benefactors.[20] Its façade by Brunelleschi (Figure 10) was one of the first manifestations of Renaissance architecture, and its decorative roundels, by Andrea della Robbia, display some of the most veristic images of infants during the period (Figure 11).[21] In the churches, one finds an increased interest in the childhood of saints or their miracles involving children. A particularly revealing example is the fresco from the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinità in which St. Francis helps revive a young boy who had fallen from a window (Figure 12).[22] The thirteenth-

Figure 8. Workshop of Nicola Pisano, *Blessing Christ Child,* 1st quarter 14th century. Marble with traces of polychromy. Florence, private collection (photo: author)

Figure 9. Desiderio da Settignano, *Blessing Christ Child,* ca. 1460–64, from Tabernacle of the Sacrament in San Lorenzo. Marble. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence)

Figure 10. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446), Façade of the Ospedale degli Innocenti, begun 1419. Florence, Piazza SS. Annunciata (photo: author)
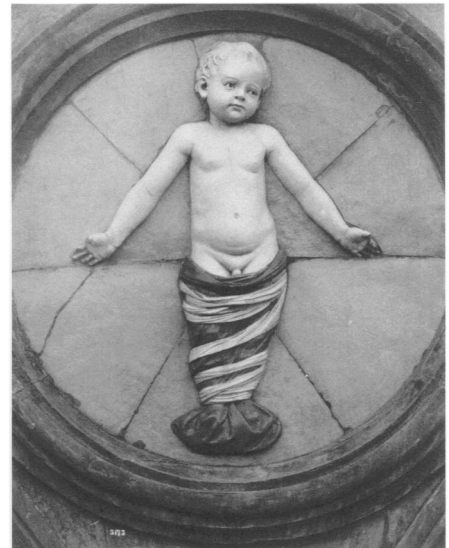
Figure 11. Andrea della Robbia (1435–1525), Foundling roundel. Enameled terracotta. Installed 1487 on façade of the Ospedale degli Innocenti. Florence, Piazza SS. Annunciata (photo: Alinari)

Figure 12. Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449–1494), *St. Francis Raises the Roman Notary's Son.* Fresco, 1479–85. Florence, Sassetti Chapel, Santa Trinità (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

century event that took place in Rome is here set in fifteenth-century Florence, which gives it a contemporary pertinence. Furthermore, the fresco, with its theme of childhood resurrection, was painted shortly after the birth of Teodoro II Sassetti, who was named after his recently deceased sibling.[23]

Portrait busts of children thus emerged in a cul-

tural context of increasing civic and personal sensitivity toward the nature of the child as a sentient and consequential being. Children represented the promise and continuity of both the republic and its families, and the consequences of a child's degradation or premature death took on added tragic significance.[24] The Ospedale was established precisely

as one of the means through which the state could exercise its moral and practical obligations to care for its orphaned children.[25] Children in fact became the physical guarantors of lineal succession and civic prosperity. Giannozzo Manetti, a patron of the Ospedale, wrote a lengthy *Consolateria* on the loss of one of his sons in 1438, in which loss of earthly immortality is a primary theme.[26] Likewise, on the death of her son Matteo in 1459, Alessandra Strozzi wrote to her remaining children of her grief for the loss of his life as well as for the family's having been reduced in number.[27]

The child literally embodied the future, and the character of that future would essentially be determined by the child's development. In contemporary humanistic and civic literature one finds increasing discourse on the idea that the fate of both family and state rests upon the moral integrity of its citizens, with special emphasis on its children. Moreover, since the character of the child would ultimately determine the nature of his family and country, the parent was newly obliged to instruct the child accordingly. In *I libri della famiglia*, Leon Battista Alberti, speaking through Adovardo, states:

. . . [the father] must attempt to make his children moral and upright. Thus may they serve the advantage of the family—moral character being no less precious in a young man than wealth—and be an ornament and credit to their family, their country, and themselves.[28]

He then adds succinctly:

It is generally thought better for a country . . . to have virtuous and upright citizens rather than many rich and powerful ones. And surely children whose character is poor must be a terrible sorrow to any father who is not insensible and utterly foolish.[29]

Alberti's sentiments are echoed in the writings of Giovanni Rucellai, who, in his *Vita civile*, urges his own children not to take part in formal politics but to be good citizens through their good character and thereby bring prosperity to their city.[30] In fact, this whole genre of civic writings, such as Rucellai's and Palmieri's, is predicated on the theory that familial and civic virtues are better promoted through personal behavior than through laws or governance. As such, instruction began in the home at the child's birth.

Principally out of concern for the child's developing character, all three aristocrats cited above advocate infant nursing by their natural mother

instead of by a wet nurse.[31] Their primary rationale is their belief that the positive qualities of the mother would be passed to the child through nursing. In essence, they believed in a physical transfer of character traits from mother to child through her milk.[32] This process obviously necessitated a virtuous mother, and the fact that busts of secular young women of childbearing age appear at the same time as those of children underscores the woman's new importance both in society and in art.[33]

Once the child reached adolescence, the theoretical notions of Palmieri, Rucellai, and Alberti were put into practice in a number of innovative ways to prepare the boys for their future civic service. Confraternities exclusively for young boys became one method of harnessing youthful energies into productive actions.[34] By 1451 there were about seven such groups, which provided Christian outlets without pressuring the boys to take religious vows or holy orders. Among their varied activities, the confraternity boys marched in processions, preached sermons, and engaged in theatrical productions of *sacre rappresentazioni*, or holy plays.

In processions and preaching the boys directly mimicked or emulated their elders. During a procession of 1428 one observer wrote that the sons had put on their fathers' clothes, learned all of their gestures, and "cop[ied] each and every one of their actions and habits in an admirable way."[35] This account of a fifteenth-century parade stands in stark contrast to a Roman funeral procession described by Polybius in which the role of the younger family members was to commemorate the dead.[36]

Through their dramatic performances the boys literally played more sacred roles. For example, one of the most famous and popular of these plays, written by Feo Belcari around midcentury, dramatized the meeting between Christ and St. John in the desert.[37] In presentations of Belcari's play children took the parts of Christ and St. John, and while performing the play the boys were perceived as the embodiments of the same goodness and virtue.

Whereas plays offered a physically active method for the children to emulate Christ and St. John, images offered a cognitive route. In an important treatise regarding child rearing composed early in the Quattrocento, Fra Giovanni Dominici explains the educational and edifying role of images.[38] Dominici's first piece of advice under home training is "to have pictures of saintly children or young virgins in the home, in which your child, still in swaddling clothes, may take delight and thereby be gladdened by acts and signs pleasing to childhood."[39] Images

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Figure 13. Desiderio da Settignano, *Relief Tondo of the Young Christ and St. John the Baptist*, ca. 1460–64. Marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Arconati-Visconti Collection (photo: Giraudon/Art Resource)

busts of children takes on a new significance. These new depictions of children represented much more than just actual or sacred childhood. They were both real and ideal images of the future family and state. Only partly intended for the child, they also served the parent by giving visual promise of virtuous offspring and assuring the continuity of lineage through a worthy male line.

But the busts are never exact likenesses of any actual child. They are based on natural form and expression, yet all are idealized images. No child bears a physical flaw or displays a blemish. None looks anything other than the very personification of young virtue and innocence. They look similar precisely because what they represent are ideals rather than appearances. This idealizing tendency is also manifested in the convention of giving the busts of boys indeterminate ages. The presumed ages vary from infancy to adolescence but are intentionally vague, since the busts are embodiments of youth and not depictions of a single specific child at a certain time.[42] This point is demonstrated by the only independent child portrait of the period in which we know both the age of the child depicted and the probable date of production—a medal depicting

of virgins, he explains, were for contemplation by young girls. For boys, he specifically advises representations of Christ and St. John the Baptist. A relief such as the Louvre Arconati–Visconti tondo by Desiderio (Figure 13) may be precisely intended when Dominici says of the child, "It will not be amiss if he should see Jesus and the Baptist pictured together."[40] Likewise, a bust similar to the Kress Baptist by Antonio Rossellino in the National Gallery of Art (Figure 3) may be intended when Dominici advises, ". . . So let the child see himself mirrored in the Holy Baptist clothed in camel's skin."[41] This mode of self-identification by the child with the image must be seen in the context of the adult perceptions described above. After all, the parents were those responsible for commissioning the works. Through such art forms as sacred images, holy plays, and holy dolls, Florentines demonstrated their understanding that images of children could have tangible influence over their young. The child not only emulated but could also approximate (by association with virtue and piety) that which was depicted. In this context the emergence of portrait

Figure 14. *Medal of Alfonso I d'Este*, Ferrarese, 1477. Bronze. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (photo: National Gallery of Art)

Alfonso I d'Este (Figure 14).[43] The obverse shows the child bust-length in profile, wearing a robelike garment. The reverse replicates an antique composition, depicting Alfonso as the young Hercules holding two snakes, in reference to the name of his father, Ercole. Alfonso was born in 1476, and the medal bears the date 1477. Therefore the child was only one year old when the medal was most likely issued, despite the fact that the representation is of an older boy. The medal thus explicitly commemorates the child for his future promise—as what he will become rather than what he is.

The idealization of physical form is rooted in the concept that external appearance mirrors internal character, and therefore the busts, like the medal, represented both an actual child and the boy his parents wanted him to be.[44] Ultimately it is the appearance of childhood rather than the actuality of the child that becomes the subject of the busts; and that, in turn, qualifies the terms by which they can be considered portraits at all.

Another notable feature is the fact that these busts so commonly take the form of the young St. John the Baptist. The frequency of representations of the child Baptist should come as no surprise

since the major center of production was Florence, whose patron saint is the Baptist. The young St. John offered the perfect embodiment of unassailable childhood virtue with both sacred and civic connotations.[45]

The busts of the young St. John by Mino da Fiesole serve particularly well to illustrate the increasing popularity of the theme and the extent to which the Quattrocento sculptor was challenged to invent unique depictions of this popular subject.[46] Five busts of children have been attributed to Mino, and each depicts a different and dynamic interpretation of the young St. John.[47] The two finest and most elegant representations are the examples in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 15) and the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris (Figure 16). The two busts are extremely similar in form, yet each conveys a different expression of childhood vitality. Each is as much a portrait of childhood character as a representation of the youthful saint. The bust in the Musée Jacquemart-André bears a sympathetic expression and the head subtly tilts toward the viewer. The work in The Metropolitan Museum of Art is the most actively engaging of all Mino's busts of the young Baptist, as the figure boldly turns his

Figure 15. Mino da Fiesole (1429–1484), *Bust of the Young St. John the Baptist*, ca. 1480. Marble. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.688

Figure 16. Mino da Fiesole, *Bust of the Young St. John the Baptist*, ca. 1480. Marble. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André (photo: Musée Jacquemart-André)

Figure 17. Antonio Rossellino, *Portrait Bust of Matteo Palmieri*, 1468. Marble. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (photo: Alinari)

the significance of these busts of young boys when he stated, "The father to whom a son is born, before every other consideration, must have perfect hope for him and inspire him to succeed in being virtuous and worthy among men."[50] The portrait busts of children were unique conduits for such personal and civic virtue.

Ultimately, these busts proved a short-lived phenomenon. In fact, they virtually disappeared with the fall of the Florentine republic. The busts were artistic expressions of a civic humanism based on democratic ideals of the future of the state and its citizens. Once that future was fated to be autocratic rather than democratic, these manifestations of republican civic promise ceased to have much relevance, and the genre came to an end.

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head to his left in a dynamic and purposeful manner. His expression, moreover, conveys confidence and assurance, while his wavy locks of ruffled hair energize the unusually animated portrayal. In Florence Mino was instrumental in creating portrait busts of adults, and he later exported the type to Rome and Naples.[48] He may have played a similar role in the dissemination of these busts of the young St. John. Documents from 1455–56 show that while Mino was in Naples he was paid for an image of the Baptist, which was probably a bust similar to the Paris and New York examples.[49] Thus, through Mino, an artistic form that emerged in and centered on Florence extended its cultural impact to other regions of Renaissance Italy.

The portrait busts of children had originally served the needs of a Florentine populace increasingly concerned with the idea that their male offspring would determine the character of the future family and state. Familial and civic well-being therefore depended on instilling personal and civic virtues in the young child. A humanist like Palmieri, who had his own portrait carved by Antonio Rossellino (Figure 17), must have been acutely aware of

NOTES

1. For the topic of children in 15th-century Florence, see J. Ross, "The Middle-Class Child in Urban Italy, Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century," in *The History of Childhood*, Lloyd deMause, ed. (New York, 1974) pp. 183–226; and the essays in R. Trexler, *The Children of Renaissance Florence* (Binghamton, 1993); and C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1985). More general historical studies are by P. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, R. Baldick, trans. (New York, 1962), and S. Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990).

2. This study concentrates on examples in marble since it is by far the most common medium. Several beautiful examples exist in glazed terracotta from the della Robbia shop as well as various works in other media by anonymous masters.

3. Vasari particularly praises Desiderio for his representations of women and children, and indeed the sculptor seems to be the leading producer of these portrait busts. See G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, G. Milanesi, ed. (Florence, 1906) III, p. 107.

4. The first painted portraits of secular children appear either in fresco groups or paired with their elders in panel paintings. Examples include Ghirlandaio's portraits of Francesco Sassetti with Teobaldo and the unidentified double portrait in the Louvre featuring an older man with rhinophyma. A non-Florentine ex-

ample is the portrait in Urbino by Joost von Ghent showing Federigo da Montefeltro with his son Guidobaldo. Though of a different genre, the themes conveyed by the paintings, of lineal continuity and dynastic succession, complement the portrait busts as discussed below.

5. The only prior treatment of portrait busts of children is by W. von Bode, "Portraits of the Sons of the Florentine Nobility of the Quattrocento in Busts of the Boy Christ and the Youthful St. John," in *Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance,* J. Haynes, trans. (New York, 1928) pp. 154–161. The original article appeared in 1900, and the author was more interested in matters of attribution than meaning. He takes for granted that all busts of young boys necessarily represent either the Baptist or the Christ child. This view is no longer tenable. The development of the adult portrait bust is discussed by J. Schuyler, *Florentine Busts* (New York, 1976), and I. Lavin, "On the Sources and Meaning of the Renaissance Portrait Bust," *Art Quarterly* 33 (1970) pp. 207–226. Neither author specifically treats the representations of children.

6. A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits* (New York, 1972) p. xxxiii. This source was originally published earlier in the century. On classical portrait busts, see A. N. Zadoks and Josephus Jitta, *Ancestral Portraiture in Rome and the Art of the Last Century of the Republic* (Amsterdam, 1932). Roman busts of children are discussed by W. Gercke, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Kinderporträt* (Hamburg, 1968). For the differences between the Renaissance and classical busts, see I. Lavin, "Sources and Meaning," passim, and Schuyler, *Florentine Busts,* pp. 53ff.

7. See the survey of Roman portraits in the Metropolitan Museum by Gisela M. A. Richter, *Roman Portraits* (New York, 1948) no. 60. Other classical representations of young children known to Renaissance artists included depictions of children in friezes, or sculptures of the child as Eros and the boy holding a goose. For these examples, see P. P. Bober and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (London, 1986) p. 233. A general survey of Eros and putti is found in J. Kunstman, *The Transformation of Eros,* M. von Herzfeld and R. Gaze, trans. (Philadelphia, 1965).

8. See A. Oliver Jr., "Portrait of a Young Boy," *MMAB,* n.s., 25 (March 1967) pp. 264–272; and the catalogue entry in D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* (New York, 1961) p. 42.

9. Pliny, *Natural History,* 25.6–7 as cited in J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome, c.753 B.C.–337 A.D.* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966) p. 54.

10. Polybius, 6.53 as cited in Pollitt, *Art of Rome,* p. 53. For various classical sources referring to portrait busts, see Pollitt, *Art of Rome,* esp. pp. 53–57 and 91–95.

11. Exceptions exist, such as representations on coins, but there is no antique sculptural tradition comparable to that which produced the vivacious Renaissance busts.

12. Richter, *Roman Portraits,* no. 33. Also see the publication by the MMA, *Augustan Art* (New York, 1939) p. 26, in which the Roman head of an infant is described as follows, "The baby's head and features are carefully recorded, but the portrait style of the period did not make allowance for the actualities which make infancy attractive."

13. Reliquary busts of children are exceedingly rare, and they are invariably in adult form. On the influence of reliquary busts on portrait sculpture, see F. Souchal, "Les bustes reliquaires et la

sculpture," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 67 (1966) pp. 205–216; Schuyler, *Florentine Busts,* pp. 67–69; and I. Lavin, "Sources and Meaning," pp. 211–212.

14. Workshop of Nicola Pisano. See the discussion of this and similar examples in U. Schlegel, "The Christchild as Devotional Image in Medieval Italian Sculpture: A Contribution to Ambrogio Lorenzetti Studies," *Art Bulletin* 52 (1970) pp. 1–10, and especially G. Previtali, "Il 'Bambin Gesù' come 'immagine devozionale' nella scultura del Trecento," *Paragone* 249 (1970) pp. 31–40. Also see illustrations of this figure in R. Papini, "Gesù Bambino," *L'illustrazione italiana,* 59, Christmas and New Year's issue (1931–32) p. 23, and *La città degli Uffizi,* exh. cat. (Florence, 1982) p. 287. A later example attributed to Francesco di Valdambrino appears in *Scultura dipinta: maestri di legname e pitturi a Siena, 1250–1450* (Siena, 1987) no. 33.

15. In this context see the discussion in L. Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (New York, 1983).

16. The following discussion is largely based on C. Klapisch-Zuber, "Holy Dolls: Play and Piety in Florence in the Quattrocento," in *Women,* pp. 310–329. Richard Goldthwaite notes one of these dolls in a domestic setting in "The Florentine Palace as Domestic Architecture," *American Historical Review* 77 (1972) p. 1011.

17. This idea derives from Giuseppe Marcotti, *Un mercante fiorentino e la sua familia nel secolo XV* (Florence, 1881) p. 121 n.43. See discussion by Klapisch-Zuber, "Holy Dolls," p. 319.

18. Matteo Palmieri, *Della vita civile* (Milan, 1825) p. 222. Translation from P. Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1990) p. 24. I have used "homeland" instead of "patria" to keep the English translation consistent.

19. See Gavitt, *Charity and Children,* passim. Further discussion of this and other foundling homes is found in R. Trexler, "The Foundlings of Florence, 1395–1455," in *The Children,* pp. 7–34.

20. On his death in 1475, Palmieri became the only individual actually commemorated by the institution. See Gavitt, *Charity and Children,* p. 275.

21. In 1487 Antonio di Marco della Robbia was paid for his help installing the roundels, yet they were probably modeled and fired by Andrea della Robbia. See G. Morozzi and A. Piccini, *Il restauro dello spedale di Santa Maria degli Innocenti, 1966–1970* (Florence, 1971) p. 38.

22. See discussion in E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, *Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence* (Doornspijk, 1981).

23. Teodoro I was born in 1460 and died in 1478 or 1479. Teodoro II was born May 12, 1479, and the frescoes were begun shortly thereafter. See Borsook and Offerhaus, pp. 10ff. On the practice of reusing the names of deceased relatives see Klapisch-Zuber, "The Name 'Remade': The Transmission of Given Names in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Women,* pp. 283–309.

24. This occurred despite a certain amount of conditioning to loss of young life due to high infant mortality rates, which at times reached fifty percent. See Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood,* pp. 38–43, and Gavitt, *Charity and Children,* pp. 212ff.

25. See Gavitt, *Charity and Children,* p. 273.

26. J. Banker, "Mourning a Son: Childhood and Paternal Love

in the Consolateria of Gianozzo Manetti," *History of Childhood Quarterly* 3 (1976) p. 357.

27. Matteo was actually 23 when he died but was the youngest and favorite of Alessandra's sons. The letter is reprinted in *"The Gentlest Art" in Renaissance Italy,* K. T. Butler, ed. (Cambridge, England, 1954) p. 29. Alessandra's letters are collected in *Lettere di una gentildonna fiorentina,* C. Guasti, ed. (Florence, 1877). Also see A. M. Crabb, "A Patrician Family in Renaissance Florence: The Family Relations of Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi and Her Sons, 1448–1491," Ph.D. diss. (Washington University, 1980).

28. Leon Battista Alberti, *I libri della famiglia* translated as *The Family in Renaissance Florence,* Renée Neu Watkins, trans. (Columbia, S.C., 1969) p. 58.

29. Ibid.

30. Giovanni Rucellai, *Il zibaldone quaresimale,* A. Perosa, ed. (London, 1960) pp. 39–43.

31. Good discussions of wet-nursing practices are found in Ross, "The Middle-Class Child"; Gavitt, *Charity and Children;* and Klapisch-Zuber, "Blood Parents and Milk Parents: Wet Nursing in Florence, 1300–1530," in *Women,* pp. 132–164.

32. Allowance is made by Alberti (*I libri,* p. 53) for the mother to forgo breast-feeding if she is "weakened by some accident," while Rucellai (*Il zibaldone,* p. 13) states, "And first, that one's own mother should nurse when she can do so without danger or offense to her person." Recognition of the mother-child relationship is noted by Palmieri (*Della vita,* p. 28), following the classical authors, who are generally more responsive to this emotional bond than the Renaissance men of letters. See Ross, "The Middle-Class Child," p. 185.

33. This topic will be expanded upon in my forthcoming study on portrait busts of women in Quattrocento Florence.

34. R. C. Trexler, "Ritual in Florence: Adolescence and Salvation in the Renaissance," in *The Children,* pp. 54–112. On the dynamics between confraternities and the arts, see the essays in K. Eisenbichler, *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1991).

35. Transcribed in R. Hatfield, "The Compagnia de' Magi," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970) p. 146. Further discussion appears in Trexler, "Ritual," p. 224.

36. Polybius, 6.53 as cited in Pollitt, *Art of Rome,* p. 53. Pliny also describes the use of portraits in this context, as found in Pollitt, *Art of Rome,* p. 54. I thank John Kenfield for bringing this reference to my attention.

37. See M. A. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista: A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism," *Art Bulletin* 37 (1955) pp. 85–101; and a follow-up article, "Giovannino Battista: A Supplement," *Art Bulletin* 43 (1961) pp. 319–326. Various dramatic performances by male children are discussed by Trexler, "Ritual," pp. 74ff.

38. The treatise was written for Bartolomea degli Alberti, whose husband, Antonio degli Alberti, was exiled from Florence at the time. An English translation with discussion appears as G. Dominici, *On the Education of Children,* A. B. Coté, trans. (Baltimore, 1927).

39. Ibid., p. 34.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid. See the catalogue entries for this work by G. Radke in *Italian Renaissance Sculpture in the Time of Donatello,* exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts (Detroit, 1985) pp. 178–179, and U. Middeldorf, *Sculptures from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, European Schools, XIV–XIX century* (London, 1976) pp. 23–24.

42. Note the discussion of the Italian terms *bambolino* and *fanciullo* in Klapisch-Zuber, "Childhood in Tuscany at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century," in *Women,* p. 96.

43. G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals before Cellini* (London, 1930) no. 118; and G. F. Hill and G. Pollard, *Renaissance Medals* (London, 1967) no. 41. The medal of Alfonso forms a companion to one that shows the child's parents, Ercole I and Eleonora, one on each side, as illustrated in Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals,* no. 117. Also see the medal of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, by Francesco di Giorgio, in which the sitter is depicted as a somewhat older child. Guidobaldo was born in 1472 and the medal was probably made about 1482 upon his accession to the dukedom. See Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals,* no. 308.

44. Related to the practice of depicting children with the physiognomical features of holy persons is the practice of using animal features to express the soul of the sitter, as discussed in P. Meller, "Physiognomical Theory in Renaissance Heroic Portraits," *The Renaissance and Mannerism: Acts of the Twentieth Congress of the History of Art,* M. Meiss et al., eds. (Princeton, 1963) II, pp. 53–69. For example, see Verrocchio's representation of Bartolomeo Colleoni, who is depicted with leonine characteristics. The concept derives from antique and medieval literary sources and reaches its fullest development in Italian art theory in Pomponius Gauricus, *De sculptura,* A. Chastel and R. Klein, eds. and trans. (Paris, 1969).

45. The rise in sculptural productions of the Baptist culminated in Desiderio's full-length Martelli Baptist in the Bargello and coincided with St. John's increased portrayal as a child in painting. See M. A. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista," pp. 91ff.

46. See especially W. R. Valentiner, "Mino da Fiesole," in *Studies of Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (London, 1950) pp. 70–96; G. C. Sciolla, *La scultura di Mino da Fiesole* (Turin, 1970) and review by A. M. Schulz, *Art Bulletin* 54 (1972) pp. 208–209; and Shelley E. Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole (1429–1484)," Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1993) pp. 227–231 and cat. nos. 37–41.

47. The five busts are in New York, MMA; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts; Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André; and two busts in Paris, the Louvre. These attributions, all of which have been questioned at one time or another, are discussed by Zuraw, "Sculpture of Mino," cat. nos. 37–41.

48. In fact, the earliest datable Renaissance portrait bust is Mino's depiction of Piero de' Medici in the Bargello, from 1453. Busts executed in the course of Mino's travels include those of Niccolò Strozzi, carved in Rome, and Astorgio Manfredi in Naples. Additional portrait busts depict Luca Mini, Giovanni de' Medici, Rinaldo della Luna, and Dietisalvi Neroni.

49. M. Pepe, "Sul soggiorno napoletano di Mino da Fiesole," *Napoli nobilissima* 5 (1966) pp. 116–120.

50. Matteo Palmieri, *Della vita civile,* F. Battaglia, ed. (Milan, 1944) p. 9.

A Note on Ribera's Drawing of Niccolò Simonelli

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SOME OF THE FINEST DRAWINGS by Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652) have persistently resisted interpretation. This is particularly true of those that are genre scenes or caricatures or that appear to illustrate literary themes. In each a fully described world seems represented, but it is one that scholars have been able to penetrate only partially.

Among the more enigmatic of these works is a pen and brown-wash drawing owned by the Metropolitan Museum entitled *Man in a Toga, a Small Man Holding a Banner Is Seated on His Head* (Figure 1). Jonathan Brown, the dean of Ribera drawing studies, first published this sheet in 1982, pointing out the significance of the inscription "Nicolò Simonelli" on the banner held by the small figure.[1] Niccolò Simonelli (d. 1671), a fixture in the Roman art world of the mid-seventeenth century, was, as Brown noted, an important early patron of Salvator Rosa (1615–1673). It was through Rosa that Ribera probably came into contact with Simonelli. Brown suggests that this introduction may have led Ribera to present Simonelli with the drawing. In the 1992 Ribera exhibition catalogue, Manuela Mena conjectured that the drawing may have been a study for a book illustration, rather than an independent work, and noted that this hypothetical aspect of Ribera's activity has been little studied.[2] She also suggested a date of about 1640, both on stylistic grounds and because of a documented exchange that took place between Rosa and Simonelli at this time. Most recently it has been suggested that the drawing has nothing to do with Simonelli but was, instead, meant to illustrate a scientific book or treatise. There it would have served to visualize the metaphor (attributed to Bernard of Chartres and quoted by Isaac Newton, among others) that modern men are like dwarfs on the shoulders of giants.[3]

What has not been investigated is the possibility that the drawing is, in fact, a portrait of Simonelli,

done in the caricatural vein he seems to have inspired in his artist friends, but recognizable all the same. If so, it would be the earliest such depiction of Simonelli: later he appeared in much more schematic guise—all nose and shadowed eyes—in some thirteen caricatures by Pier Francesco Mola (Figure 2)[4] and in a painted portrait attributed to Giovanni Maria Morandi (Figure 3).[5] Simonelli is almost certainly the black-cloaked and hatted figure on the left in the portrayal of a circle of artistic friends, the *Conversation in the Garden* by the Roman artist Michelangelo Cerquozzi (1602–1660) (Figure 4).[6]

A visual comparison of the drawing with the painting by Morandi from the Chigi collection must make due allowance for the license of the caricaturist (evident also in Mola's drawings), but the similarities are nonetheless striking. Although stripped of his hair and mustache, Ribera's toga-draped figure has a broad forehead, somewhat protruding ears, and a long nose with a distinct curve and pendulous septum, all characteristic of the official portrait. It is a face that is broad at the cheekbones, tapering to a distinctly rounded chin. The suggestion that the two figures are indeed identical is given further weight by an understanding of Simonelli's character, his reputation, and the role he played in various artists' lives, all of which Ribera seems to capture in this drawing.

Simonelli's career and exploits are rather well documented from the mid-1640s, and they are outlined in a recent illuminating essay by Luigi Spezzaferro.[7] From a post with Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio, Simonelli went on to join the household of Camillo Pamphilj, a nephew of Innocent X. In the 1650s, often at the Pamphilj palace in Nettuno, Simonelli was in almost constant contact with Mola and Rosa. By this time he had a rather widespread reputation as a connoisseur and was buying paintings for Camillo's collection. Simonelli's career reached its peak when he became *Guardaroba* of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, the *nipote* of Alexander VII. By 1656 he was undertaking small commissions for

Figure 1. Jusepe de Ribera (Spanish, 1591–1652), *Man in a Toga, a Small Man Holding a Banner Is Seated on His Head,* ca. 1640. Pen and brown wash, 212 x 102 mm. Inscribed in pen: Nicolò Simonelli; on the back, in another hand(?) Simonelli. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1981, 1981.395

the pope himself, and by 1660 he was counseling Alexander on important artistic and architectural matters.

All of the evidence indicates that he was by turns a good friend and a terror to the artists in his circle. In 1638/39 he helped to launch Rosa's career in Rome,[8] but just a few years earlier, in 1636, he had been involved in a disgraceful incident in which he received, for purposes of resale, paintings by Pieter van Laer (1599–after 1642) known to be stolen from the Dutch artist Herman van Swanevelt.[9] On the other hand, in a portrayal of surprising camaraderie, Mola and Simonelli drew each other from the rear while urinating on the grounds of the villa Pamphilj in Rome in 1649 (Figure 5). Spezzaferro has suggested that Simonelli materially assisted Mola after his return to Rome in 1647.[10] In the painting in Kassel (see note 6), Simonelli hobnobs familiarly with Cerquozzi, and, in Baldinucci's words, "molti pittori suoi amici"; these may have included Gaspard Dughet, Alessandro Salucci, Giacinto Brandi, or Domenico Viola.[11]

The Lucchese artist Pietro Testa (1612–1650) seems to have had very mixed feelings about Simonelli. In a satirical drawing of *Midas,* accompanied by a long letter written about 1643–45, Testa expressed his friendship for Simonelli while making pointed and scathing remarks about avarice and the modern love of gold.[12] Simonelli's wheelings and dealings were apparently notorious. Salvator Rosa, who probably knew him as well as Mola did, and who considered him one of his closest friends, wrote in a letter of 1650 that Simonelli was never seen without "una faccia di Tantalo, tutto biancato nelle speranze, et asciutto affatto nella saccoccia. Ma perche merita legnate non che compassione, ne fo risate da satiro" (a face like Tantalus, completely white from hope, but dry [empty], in fact, in his pockets. But because he merits a whipping rather than compassion, I burst out laughing like a satyr).[13]

It is above all in Mola's drawings involving Simonelli that we get a strong sense of his personality. In these superb caricatures, an ideal view of Simonelli —serious, helpful, devout, a connoisseur—is subverted. A drawing now in the Pierpont Morgan Library shows Simonelli in bed, ill, and dictating his last testament (Figure 6).[14] He is surrounded by numerous irreproachable objects in his collection, including a drawing or painting of the *Pietà,* a classical head, and a rosary hanging over the bed. Enshrined in the center of the room, however, on a wall console, is an enormous phallus, and one of the participants in the scene is Simonelli's faithful donkey,

Figure 2. Pier Francesco Mola (Italian, 1612–1666), *Caricature of a Man Carving a Capon*. Pen and brown ink, 255 x 195 mm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

Figure 3. Attributed to Giovanni Maria Morandi (Italian, 1622–1717), *Portrait of Niccolò Simonelli*. Oil on canvas. Rome, private collection

Figure 4. Michelangelo Cerquozzi (Italian, 1602–1660), *Conversation in the Garden* (or *Gartenfest im Kreis Römischer Künstler*), ca. 1650. Oil on canvas, 97.5 x 132.5 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie (photo: Ute Brunzel)

Figure 5. Pier Francesco Mola, *Two Men Seen from Behind in the Park of the Villa Pamphilj in Rome,* 1649. Pen and red wash, with white highlights, partially gone over in brown ink, 220 x 156 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. 1973:18 (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

Figure 6. Pier Francesco Mola, *A Man Declaiming from Bed Toward an Ecclesiastic(?) and His Secretary.* Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black pencil, 254 x 391 mm. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, The Janos Scholz Collection, 1981.97 (photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library)

while another is a very dubious-looking ecclesiastic. Likewise, in another drawing, also in the Morgan Library, Mola himself beseeches Simonelli, in the guise of an angel with wings floating on clouds, but the "angel" makes a rather rude gesture toward him.[15] In these drawings a statement certainly is made by Mola about the darker sides of Simonelli's character.

In others, a "disproportionality" between actor and action, or between actions and object, are typical strategies of the caricaturist and comment further on Simonelli's pretensions and aspirations. There is an edge of cruelty to a drawing in which Simonelli is shown carving a fowl with enormous utensils, including an ax (Figure 2); the protagonist seems to be trying too hard.[16] As Manuela Kahn-Rossi has noted, the animal character of this scene is in strong contrast to the intellectual profile Simonelli wished to present to the world. In a drawing in a private collection Simonelli is shown on his donkey as he returns from the hunt to the Pamphilj palace at Nettuno, where the cannons are being set off at his arrival.[17] As this was done only for the visits of the most important guests, and as the explosions have frightened the donkey into an erection and urination (partially effaced by a later collector), the satirical point is clear.

Niccolò Simonelli's official reputation was of a different nature.[18] Following a visit with him to one of the principal galleries of Rome, probably in 1654, Francesco Scannelli wrote admiringly that he was "un de' maggiori intelligenti di pittura e buona antichità. . . ."[19] G. P. Bellori described Simonelli's own collection, stressing the excellence of its drawings, paintings, and what Bellori called its "museo" of "intagli, gemme antichità, e cose peregrine."[20] In the portrait belonging to the Chigi family Simonelli is represented surrounded by objects of antiquarian interest as well as of exotic natural wonder; indeed these objects are probably part of Flavio Chigi's own "Museo di Curiosità," the nucleus of which Simonelli put together from 1663 to 1665.

It was during his time with the Chigi that Simonelli's career reached its apogee. As *Guardaroba* for Cardinal Flavio Chigi, he was responsible for the purchase of many important works of art and antiquities, such as antique marble busts, statuettes, and valuable statues, including a Mercury found at the villa of the Vaini family in Frascati.[21] In 1660 Pope Alexander VII examined two ancient portrait busts found by Simonelli for the cardinal in Siena.[22] The paintings purchased were diverse but included numerous works by Neapolitan artists, such as Aniello Falcone. Interestingly, in 1659 the pope noted in his

diary that he had gone to see four paintings by Ribera that the cardinal had purchased.[23] These may have been recommended to him by Simonelli, who, in 1664, authorized the purchase of a St. Jerome by "Lo Spagnoletto."[24]

The flattering dedication to Simonelli of the second edition of a print by Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione published by Giovanni Domenico Rossi in Rome suggests the power he must have wielded within the artistic community by the mid-1650s.[25] Simonelli is compared to the subject of the print *Diogenes Seeking a Man* (B.20.21; Percy E15) "in his virtuous habits and particularly in seeking [honest] men with his lantern . . ." and it is not difficult to imagine Simonelli's delight in this "accoppiamento felicissimo" with a philosopher and great man of antiquity.

Simonelli was far less well known about 1640, when Ribera drew him, but both the pleasant and unpleasant aspects of his character seem to have been thoroughly grasped by the artist. Ribera's acquaintance with Simonelli must have been due to Salvator Rosa, who was associated with Ribera in Naples in the mid-1630s.[26] Rosa may have known Simonelli from 1635, when Rosa made his first trip to Rome, although his precise movements in these early years of his career are not altogether clear. They probably met through Girolamo Mercurio, Rosa's Neapolitan friend. Mercurio was the *maestro di casa* of Cardinal Brancaccio, bishop of Viterbo from 1638, and helped procure work for Rosa in Viterbo.[27] At this same time Simonelli was also in the Brancaccio household, and a charming early sketch—probably a caricature—by Rosa and dedicated to Simonelli, demonstrates that they knew each other at the latest by 1638 or 1639.[28]

Rosa returned to Naples for some months in 1638, but he always hoped to make his way back to Rome.[29] Simonelli was instrumental in helping him do so, having clearly committed himself to the promotion of this young artist. From Naples Rosa sent Simonelli in Rome a painting of *Tityus*, which, according to Giovanni Battista Passeri, Simonelli then exhibited at the Pantheon in March 1639 to clamorous applause. Passeri also claims that Simonelli's advocacy was the key to Rosa's success and was critical in convincing Rosa to leave Naples definitively.[30] This developing relationship goes beyond the scope of this note, but it is relevant that Simonelli was one of Rosa's proven friends when he returned to Rome from Tuscany in 1649, as well as one of the great admirers of the artist's *Democritus* when it was un-

veiled in 1651.[31] How and when Simonelli and Ribera came together cannot, at this time, be determined more precisely, but the general context for their meeting is clear, and it is almost certain that it must have occurred between 1635 and 1639.

In Ribera's drawing in the Metropolitan Museum, the stately bald man stands alone, wrapped in a voluminous toga, with the general demeanor of a philosopher or Roman orator. The figure is strongly reminiscent of a piece of antique sculpture, although Ribera seems to have had no specific prototype in mind. Both the stance and drapery, especially as the latter loops behind at the right as if falling over a supporting block, contribute to its sculptural quality.[32] A fine pen-and-ink drawing of the mid-1620s, usually called the *Orator*, shows that the subject and figure type were not new to the artist (Figure 7). Here too ancient sculpture comes to mind, notably *L'Arringatore* (*The Orator*), who raises his arm in the air as if addressing a crowd. Discov-

Figure 7. Jusepe de Ribera, *Study of a Man with Upraised Hand (Orator)*. Pen and ink, 195 x 140 mm. San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, acc. no. 1963.24.615 (photo: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco)

ered outside Perugia, this great bronze became part of the Medici collection in 1556.[33]

Yet in both drawings, in a daring twist of the original imagery, the potential seriousness of the figure is undermined.[34] In the *Orator* this is achieved by the exaggerated features of the profile and the skeletal quality of the pointing fingers.[35] In the depiction of Simonelli, the air of antique *dignitas* is likewise disrupted, now by the placement of a small nude figure who plants a banner, as if in victory, on his head. This is a device used by Ribera in other drawings of an even more pronounced satirical nature, such as the so-called *Fantastic Scene* (Figure 8) in which numerous small men clamber over a nobleman in contemporary dress with a punchinello's mask.

Manuela Mena has tentatively suggested that these may be Gulliver-like themes *avant la lettre*, and in fact their explanation may lie in the long—indeed, classical—tradition of pygmies that goes back to the writings of Homer and Aristotle, among others, and was perfectly current before Swift's time.[36] The most pertinent of these legends is that of the Sleeping Hercules Captured by Pygmies, as described in Philostratus the Elder's *Imagines* and depicted in, for example, a painting by Dosso or Battista Dossi (Graz, Landesmuseum).[37] The pygmy attack against the giant Hercules culminates in the attempt to lay siege to his head, described by Philostratus in tongue-in-cheek military terms: "as for those who advance against his head, the Pygmy king has assumed the command at this point, which they

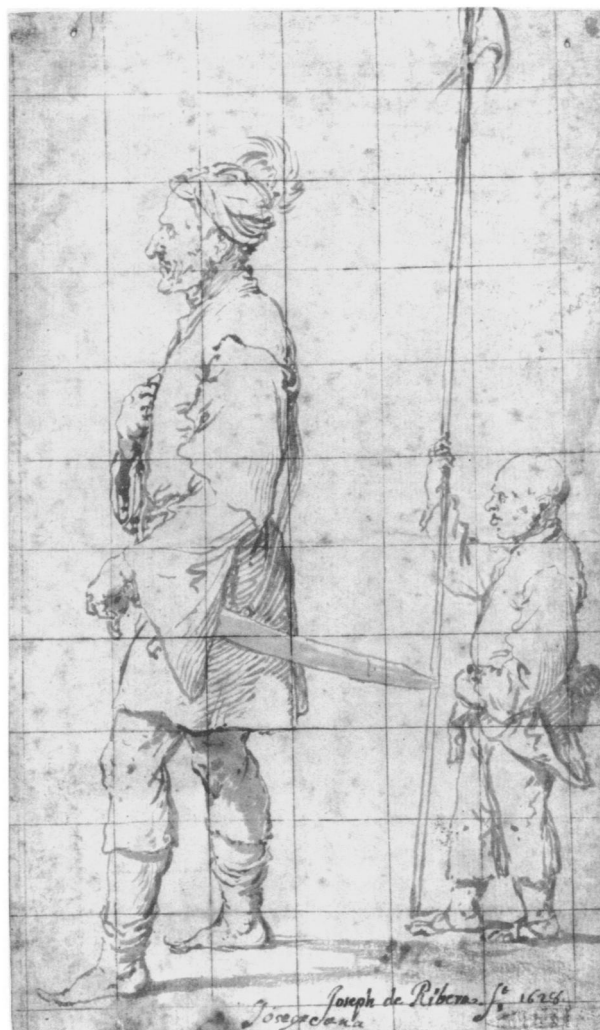Figure 8. Jusepe de Ribera, *Fantastic Scene*. Pen and ink, 184 x 110 mm. Madrid, private collection

Figure 9. Jusepe de Ribera, *A Noble and His Page*, 1628. Brush and red wash, 230 x 133 mm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum)

think will offer the stoutest resistance, and they bring engines of war to bear against it as if it were a citadel."[38]

Goldoni's mention in his *Memoirs* of a puppet show by P. J. Martelli called the *Sneezing of Hercules*, based on the same subject, implies that the humorous connotations of these contests of unequal strength continued to be appreciated.[39] Also inherently satirical in content is the contrast between the very tall and the very short, a staple topos of the genre,[40] which is further exploited by Ribera in several drawings, including the beautiful brush and red-wash drawing of *A Noble and His Page* from the late 1620s (Figure 9).

In the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum the satire can be seen as more pointed due to our knowledge of Simonelli and his complex relations with contemporary artists. His dignity and authority, both as connoisseur and lover of painting and antiquities, as well as the moral qualities implied in his guise as ancient philosopher, are undermined and questioned by the indignity of his capture by the pygmy atop his head. What Mola and Rosa might have thought privately of Rossi's earnest dedication of Castiglione's print, with its obsequious comparison of Simonelli to the ascetic and punctiliously honest philosopher Diogenes, seems to have been given visual form in Ribera's conquered, and thus satirized, portrayal of their not-altogether wholesome comrade.

NOTES

1. Jonathan Brown, "The Prints and Drawings of Ribera," in *Jusepe de Ribera: lo Spagnoletto 1591–1652*, exh. cat., Craig Felton and William Jordan, eds., Kimbell Art Museum (Fort Worth, 1982) pp. 85, 89–90 n.57, fig. 102.

2. Manuela Mena in *Ribera: 1591–1652*, exh. cat., Museo del Prado (Madrid, 1992) pp. 456–457, cat. no. D.43; idem, in *Jusepe de Ribera: 1591–1652*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1992) pp. 224–225, cat. no. 114. Letters from the third duke of Alcalà de Gazules (Fernando Afán de Ribera Enríquez Girón Cortés y Guzmán) to his Neapolitan agent in 1634 and 1635 concerning a print to be made as a frontispiece to a book of decrees demonstrate that the artist must have been involved in this activity, at least in a limited way. For a review of the scholarship concerning the print often associated with this correspondence, see Andrea Bayer, in *Jusepe de Ribera*, MMA, p. 188.

3. Lubomír Konečný, "An unexpected source for Jusepe de Ribera," *Sources* XIII, no. 2 (Winter 1994) pp. 21–24. Konečný's intriguing thesis is flawed in that it overlooks the numerous connections between this drawing and others of an overtly satirical

nature, as discussed below, and because his suggestion that the drawing "could have been given to or acquired by Simonelli at a later date" (p. 23) is contradicted by the inscription, which is original and in the same ink as the rest of the drawing. (I thank Lee Hendrix and Calvin Brown of the Department of Drawings and Prints, for examining the drawing.)

4. See Nicholas Turner in *Pier Francesco Mola: 1612–1666*, exh. cat., Museo Cantonale d'Arte, Lugano (Milan, 1989) cats. III.92, III.104–115.

5. Luigi Spezzaferro, "Pier Francesco Mola e il mercato artistico romano: atteggiamenti e valutazioni," in *Pier Francesco Mola*, pp. 46–47, fig. 2.

6. This suggestion was first made by Giuliano Briganti and reported by Spezzaferro, "Pier Francesco Mola," p. 51, no. 16. The idea has been taken up by Laura Laureati in *I Bamboccianti: Niederländische Malerrebellen im Rom des Barock*, exh. cat., Wallraf-Richartz Museum der Stadt Köln, David A. Levine and Ekkehard Mai, eds. (Milan, 1991) p. 150, cat. 9.1. For the history and an interpretation of the painting, see Jürgen M. Lehmann, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel. Italienische, französische und spanische Gemälde des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Fridingen, 1980) pp. 92–93.

7. Spezzaferro, "Pier Francesco Mola," pp. 43–49.

8. G. A. Cesareo, *Poesie e lettere edite e inedite di Salvator Rosa* (Naples, 1892) p. 16; for Simonelli's presentation of Rosa's *Tityus*, which made a huge impression when exhibited in Rome, probably at the Pantheon on March 19, 1639, see |p. 77.

9. A. Bertolotti, *Artisti belgi e olandesi a Roma nei secoli XV–XVII* (Milan, 1880–85) pp. 130–135: the two paintings had been stolen by Francesco Catalano, Swanevelt's former pupil. Pietro Testa had reported that he had seen them in Catalano's house, but others, including Swanevelt, said that they were with Simonelli, who, indeed, later passed them on to the dealer Casimiro Roggieri; this despite the fact that, as Elizabeth Cropper (*Pietro Testa: 1612–1650: Prints and Drawings*, exh. cat. [Philadelphia, 1989] p. 220) put it, "the whole neighborhood knew they were stolen."

10. Spezzaferro, "Pier Francesco Mola," p. 49. L. Grassi, "Alcuni disegni di Pier Francesco Mola e il curioso precedente di una tormentosa vicenda," in *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Briganti* (Milan, 1990) pp. 205–207, suggests that this drawing may have been done following one of Mola's many disappointments in his negotiations with his Pamphilj patrons.

11. The possible participants were suggested in a letter (1994) by Jürgen Lehmann; for the passage in Baldinucci relating to this work, see Lehmann, *Italienische . . . Gemälde*, p, 92.

12. Cropper, *Pietro Testa*, cat. nos. 99, 100, pp. 216–220, figs. 99 (1–3), 100.

13. A. De Rinaldis, *Lettere inedite di Salvator Rosa a G. B. Ricciardi* (Rome, 1939) p. 22.

14. Turner, *Pier Francesco Mola*, cat. no. III.114, pp. 289–290.

15. Ibid., cat. no. III.107, pp. 286–287.

16. The term "disproportionality" is used by Manuela Kahn-Rossi, "Pier Francesco Mola e la caricatura," in *Pier Francesco Mola*, pp. 128–129; the brutality of the image was rightly noted by Turner, *Pier Francesco Mola*, cat. no. III.110, p. 288.

17. Turner, *Pier Francesco Mola*, cat. no. III.111, pp. 288–289.

18. Spezzaferro, "Pier Francesco Mola," p. 44, interestingly

suggests that the disagreeable and/or ridiculous side of Simonelli, which is emphasized in these drawings, was gradually forgotten or minimized as his position became more influential.

19. Francesco Scannelli, *Il microcosmo della pittura* (Cesena, 1657) pp. 307–308, said in the context of Simonelli's admiration for Correggio.

20. G. P. Bellori (attrib.), *Nota delli musei, librerie, gallerie . . . di Roma (1664)*, E. Zocca, ed. (Rome, 1976) p. 114.

21. V. Golzio, *Documenti artistici sul seicento nell'archivio Chigi* (Rome, 1939) pp. 315–316, no. 219; pp. 317–318, no. 1286. The restoration of the three statues found at Frascati is noted, p. 318, no. 1688.

22. Richard Krautheimer and Roger Jones, "The Diary of Alexander VII: Notes on Art, Artists and Buildings," in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1975) p. 214.

23. Krautheimer and Jones, "Diary of Alexander VII," p. 211.

24. Golzio, *Documenti artistici*, pp. 286–287.

25. For the full text of the dedication, see Ann Percy, *Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione: Master Draughtsman of the Italian Baroque*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia, 1971) cat. no. E.151, p. 142. Paolo Bellini, *L'opera incisa di Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione* (Milan, 1982) cat. no. 10, pp. 89–91, shows that this is the second state of two, the first being inscribed by the artist only. The print is usually dated to about 1647, either immediately before or after Castiglione's return to Rome, but Spezzaferro, "Pier Francesco Mola," pp. 44–45, speculates that, given the reference to 'Alessandro' in the dedication (almost certainly meaning the Chigi pope), this second edition probably appeared about the beginning of his pontificate in 1655, when Simonelli's position would have been considerably enhanced.

26. For a discussion of whether Rosa actually studied with Ribera, as stated by most of the early sources, see Michael Mahoney, *The Drawings of Salvator Rosa* (New York/London, 1977) I, pp. 40–42.

27. For Rosa's earliest trips to Rome and his friendship with Girolamo Mercurio, see Cesareo, *Poesie e lettere*, pp. 11ff., and De Rinaldis, *Lettere inedite*, pp. xxii–xxiv.

28. Luigi Grassi, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini e Fréart de Chantelou, Salvator Rosa e Nicolò Simonelli: due accademie e una caricatura," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri* (Venice, 1984) I, pp. 633–637, figs. 622, 623.

29. Rosa is documented in Naples both in May and Oct. 1638; the evidence is summarized by Luigi Salerno, *Salvator Rosa* (Milan, 1963) p. 92.

30. Jacob Hess, ed., *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri* (Leipzig/Vienna, 1934) p. 388, and n.4: "stava in credito d'intendente, et era assai valido con le sue prediche, ne procurò un grido universale et un rimbombo strepitoso al nome di Salvator Rosa . . ."; Hess points out that Passeri may have erred in his report of the exhibition of the *Tityus* in March 1639, when Rosa was probably already in Rome, and suggests that it may have been first shown in the cloister of S. Giovanni Decollato in Aug. 1638.

31. Cesareo, *Poesie e lettere*, pp. 57, 63.

32. I would like to thank Joan Mertens, curator of Greek and Roman Art, for her stimulating suggestions on a number of points involving possible ancient prototypes of aspects of this drawing.

33. Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, *Les Étrusques et l'Europe* (Paris, 1992) p. 155, no. 240.

34. Mola also probably approached ancient sources in as inventive, even witty, a way. As noted by Joan Mertens, the phallus displayed on a console in the caricature of a *Man Declaiming from His Bed* (Figure 6) may have been inspired by antique sculpture.

35. Mena, in *Jusepe de Ribera*, MMA, cat. no. 102, p. 215, calls this drawing "somewhere between reality and a caricature."

36. Mena, in *Jusepe de Ribera*, MMA, cat. no. 99b, p. 213. On the literary tradition regarding pygmies, see W. A. Eddy, *Gulliver's Travels: A Critical Study* (New York 1923; reissued, 1963) pp. 75–76.

37. Konečný, "An unexpected source," p. 24, no. 6, also recognized that this *ekphrasis* may have inspired Ribera's imagery.

38. *Philostratus Imagines. Callistratus Descriptions*, A. Fairbanks, trans. (London, 1931) pp. 229–231: Heracles among the Pygmies. For the Dossi, see Felton Gibbons, *Dosso and Battista Dossi: Court Painters at Ferrara* (Princeton, 1968) cat. no. 98, p. 226 and fig. 139.

39. Eddy, *Gulliver's Travels*, pp. 80–81.

40. Kahn-Rossi, "Pier Francesco Mola e la caricatura," p. 126. It is important to note that other drawings by Ribera draw on established topoi of 17th-century caricature, an example being the enema. His *Man with a Syringe* (private coll., Munich/Vienna), in which one man is being forcibly administered an enema by another, joins ranks with numerous works by Baccio del Bianco, Anton Domenico Gabbiani, Mola, and many anonymous "lazzi zanneschi." For an interpretation of this frequent motif as one successfully combining scatological and medical themes, pushing the body to an extreme, see idem, "Pier Francesco Mola e la caricatura," p. 129, and idem, *Ritratti in Barocco: La festa nella caricatura toscana del Seicento* (Locarno, 1985) pp. 81ff.

An English Armor for the King of Portugal

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I. ROYAL ARMOR IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE PERSONAL POSSESSIONS of emperors, kings, and princes carry with them an inherent mystique purely by virtue of former royal ownership. Few items evoke the presence and portray the tastes of a long-dead ruler more palpably than his armor. In this regard the Department of Arms and Armor is particularly fortunate to have four finely made and relatively well-preserved royal armors. In chronological order the earliest is a field armor dated 1549 and made for Ferdinand I (1503–1564), king of Bohemia and Hungary from 1526, king of the Romans from 1531, and Holy Roman Emperor from 1556.[1] Next, and the most elaborately decorated armor in the collection, is the sumptuous pageant armor made about 1555 for Henry II (1519–1559), king of France. Following this by more than a century, and the principal subject of this essay, is the harquebus armor of Dom Pedro II (1648–1706), king of Portugal, made about 1685 (Figure 1). Last in this distinguished line, and perhaps the last royal armor made in Europe, is a child's armor dated 1712 and thought to have been made for Luis (1707–1724), prince of Asturias, who reigned briefly as Luis I, king of Spain, in 1724.

The armors of Henry II and Luis I represent aspects of the symbolic and ceremonial characteristics of kingship. The sheer artistic virtuosity of Henry's armor—the finest then available—was intended not only for his personal delectation but also as an expression of his wealth as a patron and his erudition as a connoisseur. The armor of Luis, powdered with heraldic fleurs-de-lis, lions, and castles, was intended to broadcast his position as heir to the recently established Bourbon monarchy in Spain.

In contrast, the armors of Ferdinand I and D. Pedro II represent another and perhaps more fun-

damental aspect of kingship prior to the modern era: that of the ruler as warrior. Ferdinand's armor is one of several made for his use during the wars of the Reformation, in which he and his brother, Emperor Charles V, personally championed the Catholic cause on the battlefield. The harquebus armor of King Pedro dates from the period when both armor and kings were seen less and less on the battlefield: armor because it had been made less effective by the techniques of modern warfare; and kings because by the Age of Absolutism heads of state were increasingly less inclined personally to hazard the fortunes of war.

Of these four remarkable armors only that of D. Pedro II has remained virtually unstudied. As a consequence its full importance as a late royal armor has been both underestimated and misunderstood. The intent of this essay is to reevaluate D. Pedro's armor within its historical context and in doing so attempt to reconstruct the circumstances and significance of its creation.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF HARQUEBUS ARMOR

Harquebus armor takes its name from a term applied to various types of midsized firearms carried by cavalrymen throughout the seventeenth century. D. Pedro's armor represents the most complete type of harquebus armor, which was fully developed in this form by about 1640. It consists of a helmet known as a lobster-tail burgonet, or an English pot; a breastplate with a detachable supplementary breastplate known as a placket; a backplate; and a long left-hand gauntlet, the cuff of which extends over the elbow.

In the first half of the seventeenth century harquebusiers were classed among the light cavalry. The traditional heavy cavalry consisted of fully ar-

mored lancers, but the use of the long cavalry lance was gradually diminishing at that time. The primary heavy cavalry then became cuirassiers, that is, horsemen equipped with complete, often shot-proof armor from the head to the knees and armed with a sword and a pair or more of pistols. The weight of shot-proof cuirassier armor, however, was excessively burdensome for the wearer and limited his tactical uses. By midcentury the cuirassiers were becoming an anomaly and harquebusiers had, in effect, become the heavy cavalry.[2]

The transition from lancer to harquebusier is evident in the works of the most influential military writers of the period. The lancer is treated as the primary form of cavalry in Johann Jacobi Walhausen's *Ritterkunst* (Frankfurt am Main, 1616). However, by the publication of John Cruso's *Militaire Instructions for the Cavallrie* (Cambridge, 1632), the author, discussing cuirassiers, states, "This sort of Cavallrie is of late invention: for when the Lanciers proved hard to be gotten, first, by reason of their horses, which must be very good, and exceeding well exercised: secondly, by reason their pay was abated through scarcitie of money: thirdly and principally, because of the scarcitie of such as were practiced and exercised to use the lance, it being a thing of much labor and industry to learn: the Cuirassier was invented, only by discharging the lancier of his lance."[3]

Concerning the harquebusier he continues, "the printed edict of the States of the united provinces, expressly commandeth, that every Harquebusier be armed with an open cask [helmet], gorget, back and breast. . . . Moreover, by the late orders resolved on by the councel of warre, the Harquebusier (besides a good buffe coat) is to have the back and breast of the Cuirassiers arming, more than pistoll proof. . . ."[4] In a marginal note the author decries the habit of cavalrymen to go more lightly armed: "which condemneth the late practice of our trained Harquebusiers to be erroneous; which have wholly left off their arms and think themselves safe enough in a calfs skin coat."

As early as Robert Ward's *Animadversions of Warre* (London, 1639) lancers are omitted entirely: "the heavie armed (viz.) the Cuirassiers shall take advantage of such disorders as are procured by the light armed; for their complete arming is efficatious to defend their bodies from the push of pikes; the better to thrust in amongst them. The light armed are also more apt and fit to be sent upon services that require expedition, which the heavie armed are unfit to performe; for the Cuirassier is to be com-

pletely armed, *cap a pè*, with a good Buffe coate, to preserve his body from the pinching of his pondrous armour . . . [Harquebusiers] are to be armed with an open Caske, Gorget, backe and brest more than Pistoll proofe, with a good Buffe coate to preserve their bodies from bruising."[5]

The disuse of both lancers and cuirassiers is summed up by the otherwise anonymous J.B. in *Some Brief Instructions for the Exercising of the Cavalry* (London, 1661): "And as to the several Kinds of Cavalry, in relation to their Furniture; We find that the Lances (which have been much in use formerly, both in this Kingdom and Forreign parts) are now generally laid aside, and not used at all in our late Civil Wars. . . . But our late English Wars neglected the two first [lancers and cuirassiers], making use of the last [harquebusiers]; Armed only with a Breast, Back and Casque (or Pott) for defence, a Case [i.e., a pair] of Pistols, short, and a Carbine (hanging by in a Belt and Swivel on his Right side) of 2 or 2 1/2 Foot, the length of the Barrel, and a good Sword."[6] Further on he reiterates the point: "As concerning Curissiers, most Authors mention their order and manner of Fight; but in the late English Wars, there hath been little use made of such heavy Armour. . . ."[7]

Harquebus armor continued to be worn until the early years of the eighteenth century, especially in areas of Central Europe where the incessant warfare with the Ottoman Empire still relied heavily on cavalry rather than on infantry. A prime example is an armor made in the 1690s and worn in his many battles against the Turks by Ludwig Wilhelm (1655–1707), margrave of Baden-Baden, called "Türkenlouis" (Figure 2). In general, however, the tendency was for heavy cavalry to wear only a breast and backplate (cuirass) and perhaps a metal cap, known as a *secrète* (or more simply as a skull) concealed beneath the cavalier's hat. Sometimes a leather or cloth jerkin with mail sleeves was worn beneath the cuirass, one of the few surviving examples of which was worn by another leading opponent of the Turks, Prince Eugen (1663–1736) of Savoy.[8]

III. The Harquebus Armor of Dom Pedro II

When the armor of D. Pedro II was acquired on the London art market by the Museum in 1915 it was heavily patinated with rust.[9] It was cleaned and restored by the Museum's armorer, Daniel Tachaux

Figure 1. Harquebus armor of Dom Pedro II (1648–1706), king of Portugal, here attributed to England (London), ca. 1685. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.113.1–5

Figure 2. Armor of Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden (1655–1707), South German, ca. 1692–1703. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, no. D1 a–d (photo: Badisches Landesmuseum)

Figure 3. Helmet from the armor of D. Pedro II, photographed in 1915 prior to restoration. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.113.1

(1857–1928), in 1916. The missing elements that Tachaux replaced are engraved with the date and his signature. The parts of the armor, shown here in a series of prerestoration photographs, are as follows. The helmet is composed of a hemispherical one-piece bowl, fitted with a brim that is pivoted at both temples (Figure 3). A triple-bar face defense is suspended from the brim. The original quilted red silk lining remains on the underside of the brim. A flexible neck defense of six lames is riveted to the back edge of the bowl, and above this is affixed an ornately pierced iron plume holder. The present ear flaps, suspended from the sides of the bowl, were made by Tachaux as replacements for the missing originals.

The photograph taken before Tachaux's restoration shows that the brim of the helmet was originally secured on each side by a slotted screw mounted in the center of a large decorative washer in the form of a rosette with chamfered edges. Apparently during the course of the restoration these rosettes were relocated to the pivot-hooks found on each side of the placket. This may have been either the result of a simple oversight or a deliberate decision on the part of Tachaux or Bashford Dean that the rosettes from the brim were more in keeping with the elaborate rosette located on the pivot-hook at the top of the placket. Dr. Bashford Dean (1867–1928), the Museum's first curator of Arms and Armor, was responsible for the acquisition of the armor and would have supervised all aspects of its restoration. Ornate washers of this type were typically found on fine armors as decorative accents. Unfortunately, all too few have survived the refurbishments and alterations to which most armor has been subjected over the centuries.

The breastplate and backplate (Figure 4) are fastened together by a pair of shoulder straps and a waist belt. The rectangular metal plates that reinforce the shoulder straps are each signed and dated by Tachaux. Apparently, the textile of the straps, the belt, and the other metal fittings are also part of the restoration.

The placket is affixed to the exterior of the breastplate at five points by pierced posts and pivot-hooks (Figure 5). A shallow pockmark located to the left of center (as seen by the wearer), just below the midpoint of the chest, is probably the remains of the proofmark, showing that the placket had withstood the test firing of a pistol or musket.

A puzzling and unusual feature of the placket is the presence of a pair of horizontal slots, one at each shoulder, which serve no visible function as the

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Figure 4. Breastplate from the armor of D. Pedro II, photographed in 1915 prior to restoration. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.113.2

armor is currently mounted. They appear to have been unnecessary as an additional means of attachment, since the placket is more than adequately secured to the breastplate by the five pierced posts, the pivot-hooks, and the waist belt. It is possible, however, that the slots were originally designed to engage a pair of subsidiary shoulder straps intended to pull some of the weight of the placket off of the wearer's chest and distribute it more evenly to his shoulders and back. By this method the proposed straps would have been riveted to the inside of the backplate at each shoulder and would have been passed over the wearer's shoulders, looped through the slots, cinched up, and then buckled, the whole arrangement being concealed beneath the wider, primary shoulder straps.

The only antecedent for such a method of weight distribution is the slightly more complex and probably more effective ventral plate, a device created especially for Henry VIII in his royal workshops at Greenwich. It survives in only two examples—perhaps the only two ever made—both Greenwich armors, one in the Metropolitan Museum dated 1527 (Figure 6) and the other in the Tower of London dated 1540.[10] The ventral plate was attached to the backplate by internal leather straps in an effort

Figure 5. Placket from the armor of D. Pedro II, photographed in 1915 prior to restoration. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.113.4

Figure 6. Ventral plate and backplate of the "Genouilhac" armor. English (Greenwich), dated 1527. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1917, 19.131.1g, d
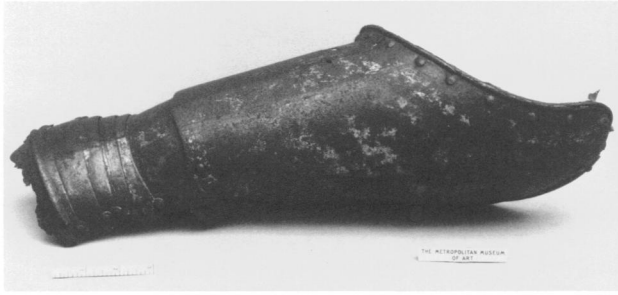
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Figure 7. Elbow gauntlet from the armor of D. Pedro II, photographed in 1915 prior to restoration. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.113.5

Figure 8. Detail of the royal monogram on helmet in Figure 3

Figure 9. Detail of the cross of the Order of Christ on breastplate in Figure 4

to pull some of the weight of the breastplate and the reinforcing tournament breast off of the wearer's chest. Unlike the placket, the ventral plate served no defensive function and was worn underneath rather than on top of the breastplate. The unique design of D. Pedro II's placket may have been an attempt to combine the weight-bearing function of the ventral plate with the defensive function of a reinforcing plate.

The last component of D. Pedro II's armor is the long gauntlet for the left hand, known as an elbow, or bridle, gauntlet (Figure 7). Elbow gauntlets of this type were made singly, that is, for the left hand only and not as one of a pair. The right hand was left unencumbered for the relatively complicated task of loading, priming, and discharging a firearm. The Museum's gauntlet consists of a cuff composed of two plates, which extend from the point of the elbow to the wrist. The inner plate terminates in three overlapping lames at the inner wrist. The outer plate is joined by a single wrist lame to five metacarpal lames covering the back of the hand, a knuckle lame, and a single scalloped lame from which the missing finger defenses originally extended. The last metacarpal lame extends in a tab to which the corresponding thumb defense would have been attached. Fragments of the original lining remain along the lining strap at the top edge of the cuff. Also present is a buttonhole tab made of sturdy leather covered with red silk and attached to the lining strap at the point of the elbow. The tab was presumably intended to be buttoned to the sleeve above the wearer's elbow in order to prevent the sleeve from becoming twisted by the repeated motion of the gauntlet cuff, or perhaps to support the gauntlet partially so that less of its weight would rest upon the wrist and hand.
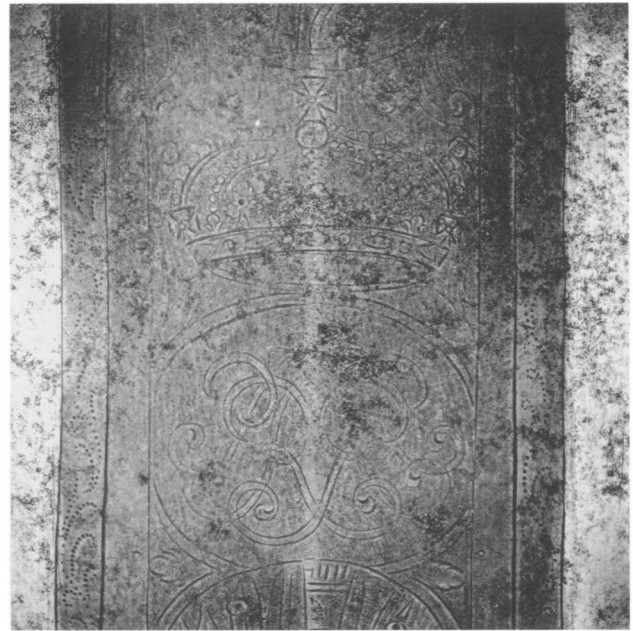
The armor's once elaborate decoration is now in
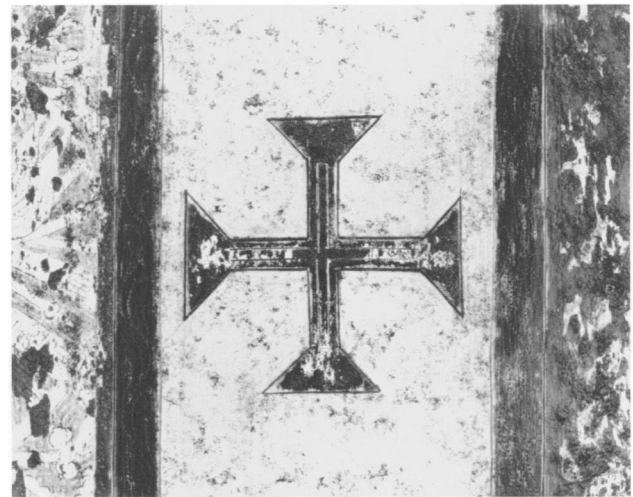
generally worn condition except for a few well-preserved patches, particularly on those areas of the breastplate that were covered, probably for centuries, by the placket. The decoration consists of broad vertical bands engraved with panoplies of military trophies in oval medallions, which are overlaid with the remains of gold, presumably from fire-gilding. These bands are bordered by narrow blued bands decorated with a punched or pointillé motif of running vines. Subsidiary blued and gilt bands of

floral ornament enframe the contours of each plate. The gold is readily apparent on the breastplate and gauntlet. Faint traces of it are found on the back-plate, while none remains on the helmet or placket. A repeating feathery leaf motif is delicately engraved on the bars of the face defense. Punched dots are also incorporated throughout the engraving at the center of the floral motifs and along the radii of the panoplies.

Pedro II is identified as the original owner of the armor by two distinguishing features of the decoration. First, a monogram formed of the entwined letters PR, for *Petrus Rex*, beneath a royal crown is found in the engraved ornament on the front of the helmet bowl (Figure 8).[11] The monogram without the crown appears in the center of the breastplate; the monogram with the crown, which appears on the heavily corroded cuff of the gauntlet, is barely discernible. Second, the cross pattée of the Order of Christ is engraved on the left side of both the breastplate and the placket (see Figure 9). This order, also known as the Order of Portugal, was a chivalric fraternity founded in 1318 by King Deniz of Portugal and Pope John XXII. From 1522 the office of Grand Master was held by the reigning king of Portugal.[12] According to D. Pedro's biographer, the Englishman John Colbatch (1664–1748), "The king is also the Grand Master of all of the Orders of Chivalry in the Kingdom. . . . He is therefore Grand Master, first, of the Order of Christ, which in Portugal succeeded the Knights Templar, whose land it still retains, and of which there are 454 chapters."[13]

The cross of the order is worn by D. Pedro in many portraits, two of which illustrate particularly well the principal stages of his career. The earlier of the two was made in 1679 by the English engraver Thomas Dudley (active ca. 1670–80) (Figure 10). It shows a confident young man of thirty-one, who had by then already served twelve years as prince-regent. D. Pedro wears a cavalry armor with a sash diagonally across his chest. The order hangs from a ribbon on the left side—the position in which it would have been worn in the field. A representation

Figure 10. Thomas Dudley (act. ca. 1670–80), *Pedro as Prince-Regent of Portugal*. Engraving, 1679. Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional (photo: Biblioteca Nacional)

Figure 11. Gerard Edelinck (1640–1707), *Pedro II, King of Portugal*. Engraving, ca. 1690. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1962, 62.650.210

of the badge of a chivalric order and its ribbon or chain were occasionally engraved directly into the breastplate of an armor, as in the case of the armor of Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm mentioned earlier. In his right hand D. Pedro holds a commander's baton, propped on his right hip in the classic position of martial authority. His shoulder-length hair is worn in the tousled style that was popular with European cavaliers from the 1620s through the 1680s.[14]

The second and later portrait, engraved by Gerard Edelinck (1640–1707) at an unknown date, shows D. Pedro as a mature king (Figure 11). He still wears armor but more as a symbolic costume accessory than as evidence of the martial demeanor it so clearly conveyed in his earlier portrait. The Order of Christ, in the form of a jeweled oval medallion, dangles gracefully from his left hand. On his head the king wears a fashionable full-bottom wig, the curling ringlets of which cascade over his shoulders.[15]

IV. THE REIGN OF DOM PEDRO II

D. Pedro de Bragança's path to the throne was a circuitous one. He was the youngest son of D. João IV (1604–1656), under whom, in 1640, an independent Portuguese monarchy had been restored after sixty years of Spanish rule.[16] Following D. João's death, D. Pedro's older brother succeeded to the throne as D. Alfonso VI (1643–1683). D. Alfonso was said to have suffered a childhood illness that resulted in temporary paralysis of the right half of his body and permanent weakness on that side. He was also reputedly impotent. His mother, the queen dowager, D. Luisa de Guzmán (1613–1666), ruled as regent from 1656 until 1662, when D. Alfonso assumed control of the government himself. However, the affairs of state were handled in reality by D. Alfonso's favorite, the Conde de Castelo-Melhor (1636–1720).

The capstone of D. Luisa's term as regent was to arrange an alliance with the newly restored English monarchy through the marriage of her daughter Catherine (1638–1705) to Charles II (1630–1685), king of England. Catherine's dowry was the immense sum of 2,000,000 *cruzados* (equivalent at the time to approximately £500,000) and the cession of Tangiers and Bombay to England, plus trading rights in all Portuguese colonies. For its part England pledged to defend Portugal and its overseas possessions from foreign incursions, a particularly

Figure 12. Nicolas de Larmessin (act. ca. 1675–1700), *Marie Françoise Elisabeth of Savoy*. Engraving, ca. 1680. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1921, 21.36.125

important factor given Portugal's unsettled relationship with Spain at home and the threat to her colonies from both Spain and Holland.

On June 27, 1666, to strengthen ties with France, D. Alfonso was married to Marie Françoise Elisabeth of Savoy, duchess of Nemours, known as Mademoiselle d'Aumale (Figure 12). However, D. Alfonso's inability to rule had brought Portugal to the brink of civil war. With the assistance of D. Pedro and members of the nobility opposed to D. Alfonso the new queen rapidly gained control of the government and forced Castelo-Melhor into exile. By the end of 1667 the queen had also begun the official process of procuring an annulment from D. Alfonso on the grounds of his inability to consummate their marriage. In a relatively quick succession of events, the national assembly (*cortes*) was convened in January 1668 at the request of the city of Lisbon to ask D. Pedro to take official control of the government, and he was granted the title of prince-

regent.[17] D. Alfonso, still titular king, consented to retire to his family estates but was soon sent to the Azores. There he remained until 1674, when he was brought back to Lisbon and kept under virtual house arrest until his death on September 12, 1683.

D. Pedro and Marie Françoise Elisabeth were married on April 2, 1668, shortly after the official documents of annulment were received in Lisbon. Their regency lasted fifteen years, D. Pedro becoming king officially upon his brother's death in 1683. Marie Françoise Elisabeth's reign with the new monarch was short, for she died on December 27, less than four months after D. Alfonso.

One of D. Pedro's first acts as prince-regent was to ratify the peace accords by which Spain officially recognized Portugal as an independent and sovereign state.[18] His reign was marked by great economic growth for Portugal, both internally and overseas, which intensified with the discovery of rich gold deposits in Portuguese Brazil in the 1690s. England remained Portugal's principal political and economic ally, a situation that was probably enhanced by D. Pedro's close relationship and frequent correspondence with his sister Catherine, the queen of England.[19]

D. Pedro's first marriage had produced a single heiress: the princess D. Maria Isabel Luisa (1669–1690), whose suitors included the duke of Savoy, the king of France, and the king of Spain. In 1687 Pedro wed Maria Sophia Elisabeth (1666–1699), daughter of prince-elector Philip Wilhelm of Neuburg, count palatine of the Rhine. She was reportedly a great beauty and a devout Catholic, particularly devoted to the Jesuits and the cult of St. Francis Xavier. The union was a fruitful one, producing eight children, five of whom survived to adulthood, including the future D. João V (1689–1750).[20]

John Colbatch, who observed D. Pedro firsthand, gave this detailed description of his physique, personality, and habits:

He has a robust and vigorous temperament; tall, a little above ordinary height, and of large proportions; prodigiously strong and physically very active . . . he has a serious and seemly appearance, in which one finds no trace of haughtiness, but instead an air of modesty seldom found in persons of his rank. . . . He wears a long black peruke, and when he appears in public he is always dressed in black, with a cloak and a long lace collar; which is the usual fashion among distinguished men in the city. At other times he goes without his cloak and wears colorful clothes, in the French style. . . . This prince has a quick mind and a solid and penetrating spirit, he is very sensitive and pensive and is greatly given to melancholy, which has grown strongly in recent years for reasons that I am unable to determine. . . .[21]

Colbatch also described the king as a skilled horseman and an avid hunter, who pursued these pastimes with little regard to personal safety:

In those times most given to leisure, his usual recreations are the chase, of four-footed beasts and those in flight, and the practice of horsemanship: but for the latter he usually prefers bullfighting. . . . Nothing pleases the king as much as being on horseback. He handles a horse so well that there is scarcely a riding master in the kingdom who is more adroit than he at this art. . . . It is there [Alcantara] that he often enjoys his favorite exercise, which is to hunt the bull on horseback armed with a lance, which he does with marvelous dexterity and composure. Not content to expose a horse to such a ferocious animal, he often attacks the bull on foot.[22]

V. THE ORIGIN OF DOM PEDRO II'S ARMOR

The extremely robust character of the king is matched by that of his armor, which, in addition to being decorously engraved, blued, and gilt, is nonetheless entirely functional and battle-ready (Figure 13). Since its acquisition by the Museum in 1915 the armor has been described as Portuguese, an enigmatic designation at best given the complete absence of any other verifiable examples of Portuguese plate armor. Instead, it seems that the attribution was simply based upon the identity of the original owner and the reported Portuguese provenance of the armor. However, ownership and place of use do not necessarily coincide with place of manufacture, a maxim that is especially true of fine arms and armor. That the attribution has persisted without substantiation for over seventy years is probably due to the general neglect to which all seventeenth-century armor has been subjected by scholars until quite recently.

If the Portuguese attribution is insubstantial, where then was this armor more likely to have been made? When viewed in the context of extant armors from the mid- to late seventeenth century, the harquebus armor of D. Pedro II appears to be unequivocally English. The basic form and construction of the helmet, cuirass, and gauntlet are typical of numerous examples made in England from about mid-

century onward.[23] Features of the helmet that are particularly characteristic of better-quality English pots are the smooth, one-piece hemispherical skull and the pivoted brim with a contoured, triple-bar face defense. The sweeping form of the gauntlet and the turned flange of its cuff, combined with the extended point that curves around the elbow, also appear to be features unique to English elbow gauntlets.[24]

The English origin of D. Pedro II's armor becomes immediately apparent when it is compared with the best-known English armor of the period: the harquebus armor of King James II (1633–1701), which was made by the London armorer Richard Holden in 1686 (Figure 14).[25] D. Pedro's

armor is somewhat stockier in its proportions and its surface is less well preserved, but that aside, a piece-by-piece comparison of the helmets (Figures 15, 16), breastplates (Figures 17, 18), backplates (Figures 19, 20), and gauntlets shows them to be amazingly similar in form and construction, down to the type of rivets and their placement. One of the few substantial differences is that James's armor was not made with a placket, so that the fittings of the breastplate vary accordingly. The breastplate is, however, heavy enough to be carbine-proof, weighing 15 lb. 6 oz. In comparison D. Pedro's breastplate weighs 10 lb. 14 oz. alone and 20 lb. 5 oz. with the placket attached.[26] In practical terms this would mean that D. Pedro's breastplate was

Figure 13. Harquebus armor in Figure 1, with the reinforcing placket removed from the breastplate

Figure 14. Richard Holden (recorded 1658–1706/7), harquebus armor of James II (1633–1701), king of England. English (London), 1686. Royal Armouries, H. M. Tower of London, no. II.123 (photo: Royal Armouries)

Figure 15. Helmet from the armor of D. Pedro II

Figure 16. Helmet from the armor of James II (photo: Royal Armouries)

Figure 17. Breastplate from the armor of D. Pedro II, Figure 4, after restoration

Figure 18. Breastplate from the armor of James II (photo: Royal Armouries)

Figure 19. Rear view of Figure 1

Figure 20. Rear view of the armor of James II (photo: Royal Armouries)

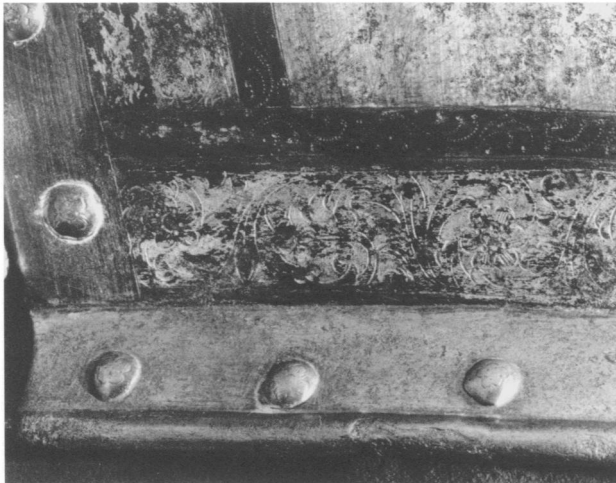Figure 21. Detail of a panoply engraved on helmet in Figure 15

probably at least pistol-proof without the placket, and carbine- or even musket-proof with it. Certainly such a weighty breastplate could have been worn for any length of time only by a very strong man, which by all accounts King Pedro was. According to one biographer he was even able to bend horseshoes with his bare hands.[27]

The similarity between the decoration of the two armors is equally striking, although the engraved ornament of D. Pedro's armor is much less readable due to its condition and coloration. The basic decorative scheme of both consists of broad gilt and engraved bands with narrow borders, separated by brightly polished areas that are devoid of ornament. Midsize bands edge all of the main plates. The layout of the bands is, with slight variations, the same on both armors.

The engraved ornament that fills the broad bands consists mainly of repeating panoplies of arms, armor, banners, and musical instruments. On D. Pedro's armor the panoplies are contained within oval cartouches (Figure 21), whereas those on

Figure 22. Detail of engraved floral decoration on breastplate in Figure 17

Figure 23. Detail of engraved floral decoration on breastplate in Figure 18 (photo: Royal Armouries)

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James's armor are not in cartouches. The midsize borders of both armors are filled by an undulating leafy and flowering tendril motif. The domed rivet heads on both are decorated with a stylized six-petaled flower motif (Figures 22, 23). Last but not least, on each armor the respective royal monograms are engraved on the brow of the helmet, near the center of the breastplate, and on the gauntlet cuff. It is apparent that the style and execution of the ornament are as similar as the choice of motifs. Both armors also lack any maker's marks, which is not unusual for a royal piece.[28]

The comprehensive technical and decorative similarities enumerated above indicate not only that the armors of D. Pedro II and James II are both English but that they were almost certainly made by the same hand within a relatively short period. James's armor is recorded as having been delivered in 1686; it was one of two armors made for him by Holden, the second having been delivered in 1687.[29] Unfortunately, documentation concerning the creation of D. Pedro's armor is yet to be found. However, a *terminus a quo* is provided by the PR (*Petrus Rex*) monogram engraved on the armor. D. Pedro did not discard the title *Princeps* and assume that of *Rex* until sometime after the death of his brother, D. Alfonso, in September of 1683.[30] The form of the monogram itself also suggests a date of no earlier than 1683. The intricately interlaced letters appear to derive from the monogram PR on plate 47 of Jeremiah Marlow's *A Book of Cyphers, Being a Work very pleasant & usefull as well for Gentlemen as all sorts of Artificers Engravers Painters Carvers Chacers Embroideres &C* (London, 1683) (Figure 24).

As Claude Blair and Howard L. Blackmore have shown, at the cost of £100, James's armor was extremely expensive for its time. His second armor by Holden was less elaborately decorated and cost £25, still a large sum. To put the cost in perspective, they point out that in 1686 Holden made what must have been better-than-average harquebus armors for three high-ranking nobles at a cost of £6 each, while in 1682 he had contracted with the Board of Ordnance to produce a quantity of standard harquebus helmets and cuirasses at nineteen shillings per set.[31] Given their close relationship, the armor of D. Pedro is likely to have cost approximately the same if not more than that of James; for although D. Pedro's armor lacks the pierced ornamental face defense, it is not only gilt but also blued and has the added feature of a shot-proof placket.

What may be the most likely explanation for the extensive similarities between these two royal

Figure 24. The monogram *PR* from pl. 47 of Jeremiah Marlow, *A Book of Cyphers.* . . (London, 1683). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

armors is the possibility that not one but both were commissioned by James, the first for his own use and the second as a gift to D. Pedro. A suitable occasion for such a regal gift was provided by D. Pedro's marriage to Maria Sophia Elisabeth, countess palatine of the Rhine, in August of 1687.[32] After a wedding by proxy in Heidelberg on July 2, the new queen traveled overland to Rotterdam. There she was met by an English convoy sent by James and commanded by his nephew Henry Fitzroy, duke of Grafton. That the queen's transport should consist of six English warships was specifically stipulated in the official marriage contract. Grafton, who was Vice-Admiral of England, was commissioned Admiral of the Fleet for this mission.[33] He conveyed the queen safely to Lisbon, where she and D. Pedro made their official entry into the city on August 11. The entry was a gala pageant in which England was prominently represented. The royal procession passed through a series of elaborate triumphal arches erected by the city of Lisbon and well-wishing foreign nations. The English arch was accorded a particular place of honor, second to last on the route, before the final arch representing the queen's German homeland.

In an alternative scenario, it is not impossible that the armor could have been a gift from Charles II and Catherine de Bragança during the brief period after D. Pedro's ascension to full royal status in September of 1683 and before Charles's death in February of 1685. However, the death of D. Pedro's first wife, Queen Marie Françoise Elisabeth, in December 1683, must have plunged the Portuguese

court deeper into the prolonged state of official mourning already in effect due to the death of D. Alfonso only a few months earlier. Catherine and her court in England also observed the period of mourning.[34] Under these circumstances the presentation of any royal gifts would have been inappropriate. Therefore, the circumstances seem to have been far more favorable for a gift by James in 1687.

The use of arms and armor as gifts was a well-established custom rooted in the medieval obligation of a lord to arm the men serving under him. One of Henry VIII's goals in founding a royal armor workshop near London is thought to have been his desire to produce and give fine armors with the same facility as his mentor, the emperor Maximilian I. In 1604 and 1614 James I of England presented Philip III of Spain with a group of English hunting guns and crossbows.[35] While gifts of firearms occurred intermittently throughout the seventeenth century, the last documented foreign gift of an English armor appears to have been that commissioned by Henry, prince of Wales, for presentation to the duke of Brunswick in about 1610.[36] Typically, the items for royal presentation were the finest of their type available. In this context the gift from James II to D. Pedro II would have been unusual only in that it consisted of armor rather than firearms.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses an amazingly rich collection of English armor, including what are arguably the two finest examples of the Greenwich school in existence: the so-called armor of Galiot de Genouilhac (dated 1527) and that of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland (ca. 1580–85).[37] The harquebus armor of D. Pedro II can now be added to this distinguished group as the only extant English armor made for presentation to a reigning foreign monarch. Together with the armor of James II, it was among the very last luxury armors produced in England.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NOTES

1. This armor, traditionally attributed to Albrecht V (1528–1579), duke of Bavaria, was convincingly reattributed to Ferdinand I by Ortwin Gamber in "Der Plattner Kunz Lochner—Harnische als Zeugnisse Habsburgischer Politik," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 80 (1984) pp. 35–60.

2. For a concise overview of this development, see Christian Beaufort-Spontin, *Harnisch und Waffe Europas: Die militärische Ausrüstung im 17. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1982) pp. 33–80.

3. John Cruso, *Militaire Instructions for the Cavallrie* (Cambridge, 1632) p. 30. In this and other block quotes from period literature the original spelling and punctuation have been retained. Comments in parentheses are also those of the original authors. Comments in brackets are my own.

4. Ibid., p. 30.

5. Robert Ward, *Animadversions of Warre* (London, 1639) pp. 292–293.

6. J.B., *Some Brief Instructions for the Exercising of the Cavalry* (London, 1661). This work appeared as part of the expanded 6th edition (1661) of William Barriffe's *Military Discipline: Or, the Young Artillery Man,* 1st edition (London, 1635).

7. Ibid., p. 25.

8. Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. NI 1476b. What may be another example of this rare type of 17th-century defensive garment is found in the C. O. von Kienbusch Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, no. 1977–167–240 (Kienbusch no. 142). For a useful summary of the armor and equipment used by European cavalry in the Turkish wars at the end of the 17th century, see the chapter by Erwin Heckner, "Waffentechnik der Max-Emanuel-Zeit," in Hubert Glasser, ed., *Kurfürst Max Emanuel. Bayern und Europa um 1700* (Munich, 1976) I, esp. pp. 355–357.

9. The armor was bought from the London-based dealer Lionel Harris, proprietor of the Spanish Art Gallery. Of the armor's provenance Harris could only say that he had acquired it from a Spanish collector who had purchased it in Portugal some years earlier (letter, Harris to Bashford Dean, May 15, 1915, MMA Archives). There has been no critical discussion of the armor

beyond a brief article by Bashford Dean, "Armor of Dom Pedro II, King of Portugal," *MMAB* 11, no. 1 (Jan. 1916) pp. 19–21.

10. The armor in the Tower of London, made for Henry VIII in 1540, is inv. no. II.8. The date, which is found in the armor's etched decoration, was only rediscovered in the early 1960s. For a discussion of the technical aspects of the ventral plate, see S. V. Grancsay, "The Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers* 4 (1937) pp. 13–15. For a summary of the identification of the MMA armor as a product of Henry VIII's Greenwich workshops, see C. Blair, "New Light on Four Almain Armours: 2," *Connoisseur* 144 (Dec. 1959) pp. 240–244, and O. Gamber, "Die Königlich Englische Hofplattneri: Martin van Royne und Erasmus Kirkener," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 59 (1963) pp. 7–38.

11. In reference to the form of the royal crown, see Heinz Biehn, *Die Kronen Europas und ihre Schicksale* (Wiesbaden, 1957) pp. 40–42, cat. no. 109, p. 210, and ill. no. 103; and Albano Silveira Pinto, *Resenha das Familias Titulares e Grandes de Portugal*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1883) I, p. 310.

12. For a summary history of the Order of Christ, see Maximilian Gritzner, *Handbuch der Ritter- und Verdienstorden aller Kulturstaaten der Welt innerhalb des XIX. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1893) pp. 335–338; and A. M. Perrot, *Collections Historiques des Ordres de Chevalerie Civils et Militaires* (Paris, 1820) pp. 166–169 and pl. XXVI.

13. John Colbatch, *Relation de la Cour de Portugal sous D. Pedre II* (Amsterdam, 1702) p. 33. This is the expanded French edition of the original version, which was published in English in 1698. All quotes in this article are taken from the French edition, a copy of which was included with D. Pedro's armor when it was acquired by the Museum. That copy is now in the library of the Department of Arms and Armor, Bequest of Stephen V. Grancsay, March 1980. John Colbatch, D.D., was chaplain to the British factory at Lisbon; see the entry under his name in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1908) IV, pp. 708–709.

14. For Thomas Dudley, see the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1908) VI, p. 124. Various prints depicting D. Pedro II are described in Ernesto Soares, *História da Gravura Artística em Portugal os Artistas e as suas Obras*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1940) passim. For male hairstyles in the 17th century, see Maria Jedding-Gesterling, ed., *Hairstyles: A Cultural History of Fashions in Hair* (Hamburg, 1988) pp. 97–105.

15. Jedding-Gesterling, *Hairstyles*, pp. 111–114.

16. Unless otherwise stated, my summary of Bragança dynastic events and foreign policy is drawn from the following sources: Charles E. Nowell, *Portugal* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973) pp. 68–72; H. V. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal* (Cambridge, 1969) pp. 190–204; Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal* (Madison, Wisc., 1973) pp. 396–411; Colbatch, *Relation*, passim. It should be noted, however, that there is occasional disagreement among these sources as to exact dates of certain events.

17. This date is according to Payne and Livermore. Colbatch gives the beginning of D. Pedro's prince-regency as Nov. 23, 1667.

18. Colbatch, *Relation*, p. 511.

19. Eighty letters between them are preserved in the British Library (Egerton MS 1534). Many of these have been translated and excerpted in Lillias Campbell Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança: Infanta of Portugal and Queen-Consort of England* (London, 1909) passim.

20. Sources vary as to the number of D. Pedro's offspring. The most reliable lists appear to be those in A. C. Teixeira de Aragão, *Descrição General e Historica das Moedas Cunhadas en Nome dos Reis, Regentes e Governadores de Portugal*, 3 vols. (Porto; repr. 1964) II, pp. 43–44; and Detlev Schwennicke, ed., *Europäische Stammtafeln*, n.s. (Marburg, 1984) II, table 42. Teixeira de Aragão lists seven legitimate children from D. Pedro's second marriage and three born out of wedlock. The *Stammtafeln* do not include the illegitimate children but do give one additional legitimate child, D. Francisca Xavier, who died in infancy in 1694. This would place D. Pedro's total number of recorded offspring at twelve, born over a thirty-four-year period, from 1669 to 1703.

21. Colbatch, *Relation*, pp. 3–5.

22. Ibid., pp. 8–10.

23. Compare, for example, the harquebus armor in Warwick Castle attributed to Robert Brooke (d. 1643); the armor worn by the parliamentary cavalryman Nathaniel Fiennes in his portrait (collection of Lord Saye and Sele, Boughton, England, illus. in D. Blackmore, *Arms and Armour of the English Civil Wars* [London, 1990] p. 54); a composite harquebus armor in the Tower of London (inv. nos. IV.332, III.1475, III.1476, and III.1445); a helmet sold at Christie's, London, Apr. 14, 1966, lot 305 (illus.); a helmet sold at Sotheby's, New York, May 26, 1992, lot 373; and the harquebus armor of Fitz-John Winthrop (1638–1707), made in London during the Commonwealth (1649–60), Massachusetts Historical Society, no. 590. I am particularly grateful to Walter Karcheski for bringing the Winthrop armor and its previously unrecognized date to my attention.

24. A survey of Continental gauntlets of the period indicates that this form was not produced outside of England. Compare, for instance, the following 17th-century gauntlets in the MMA: 14.25.906, 14.25.907, 20.151.1, 27.183.90, and 29.158.231.

25. This armor and Richard Holden's career are discussed in detail in Claude Blair and Howard L. Blackmore, "King James II's Harquebus Armours and Richard Holden of London," *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 13, no. 5 (Sept. 1991) pp. 316–334.

26. Ibid., p. 318, for the proof of the various elements of James's armor. The weight of the two armors is compared below.

James II Armor	D. Pedro II Armor
Helmet 7 lb. 5 oz.	Helmet 9 lb. 9 oz.
Breast 15 lb. 6 oz.	Breast 10 lb. 14 oz.
(no placket)	Placket 9 lb. 7 oz.
Back 11 lb. 13 oz.	Back 11 lb. 5 oz.
Gauntlet 2 lb. 10 oz.	Gauntlet 2 lb. 2 oz.
Total: 37 lb. 2 oz.	Total: 43 lb. 5 oz.

27. Alfonso Augusto Falco Cota de Bourbon e Meneses and Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, *Figuras Históricas de Portugal* (Porto, 1933) p. 85. It should be noted, however, that this is the only positive comment in what is otherwise a vituperative diatribe.

28. Regarding the maker's mark, see Blair and Blackmore, "King James II," p. 329. Concerning the number of royal monograms found on the two armors, it should be pointed out that

James's monogram is also engraved at the top of the backplate of his armor. Unfortunately, the decoration of the corresponding area on D. Pedro's armor is illegible due to its poor state of preservation.

29. Ibid., p. 318. The second armor has not been positively identified, but based on its recorded descriptions Blair and Blackmore suggest that it may be the armor attributed to Lord Darnley, Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh (ibid., p. 319 and n.14). It may also be the armor of James cited in a document of Sept. 25, 1688: "Warrant to George, Lord Dartmouth, Master General of the Ordnance, to cause one suit of armour complete made for the late King [Charles II] to be delivered to Lewis, Earl of Feversham, and one other suit made for the present King [James II] to be delivered to John, Lord Churchill (to be returned into the armoury on demand), taking their indents for the same, . ." Public Record Office, S.P. 44/165, p. 68; cited in *Calendar of State Papers Preserved in the Public Record Office, Domestic Series, James II* III, June 1687–Feb. 1689 (London, 1972) entry 1549.

30. This is clearly shown on coinage minted during D. Pedro's reign as prince-regent and then as king. See Teixeira de Aragão, *Descrição*, II, pp. 43ff.; and C. M. Almeida do Amaral, *Catálogo Descritivo das Moedas Portuguesas*, 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1977, 1984, 1990) II, pp. 139ff.

31. Blair and Blackmore, "King James II," pp. 318–319 and 322–323.

32. For the following facts and a detailed discussion, see Nelson Correia Borges, *A Arte nas Festas do Casamento de D. Pedro II, Lisbon, 1687* (Coimbra, n.d.) pp. 10–12, 28, 45–47.

33. The marriage contract is reprinted in Eduardo Brazão, *O Casamento de D. Pedro II com a Princesa de Neuburg (Docomentos Diplimáticos)* (Coimbra, 1936) art. XI, p. 45. Grafton's commission as admiral was awarded on June 5, 1687. See J. R. Tanner, ed., *A Descriptive Catalogue of Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge,* Publication of the Navy Records Society, XXVI (Cambridge, 1903) I, p. 313. The progress of the voyage, including the festivities in Lisbon, was reported in various issues of *The London Gazette* between July 4 and Nov. 17, 1687, esp. nos. 2257, 2259, 2260–2263, 2275, 2278, and 2295.

34. Campbell Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança*, p. 365. In this regard, also note the comment made by the duke of York (later James II) to the prince of Orange in a letter of Oct. 5, 1683: "'Tis said the King of Portugal is dead; if so we shall have a long mourning of it." F. H. Blackburne Daniell and Francis Bickley, eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series* 26 (Oct. 1, 1683–Apr. 30, 1684 (London, 1938) p. 13. See also the earl of Arlington's letter to King Charles II (Oct. 7, 1683) on the same subject (ibid., p. 19).

35. Discussed in detail in Dr. James D. Lavin, "The Gift of James I to Felipe III of Spain," *The Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 14, no. 2 (Sept. 1992) pp. 64–88.

36. Private collection, U.S.A. Sold Christie's, London, Nov. 18, 1981, lot 132, illus.

37. Acc. nos. 19.131.1 and 32.130.6, respectively.

Two Candelabra by Luigi Valadier
from Palazzo Borghese

ALVAR GONZÁLEZ-PALACIOS

IN 1763, upon the death of his father, Don Camillo, Prince Marcantonio Borghese (1730–1800) inherited one of the grandest of all Roman estates, and with it what were by all means the city's largest artistic collections. These holdings had their origins in the time of Paul V (r. 1605–21), the family pope, and that most genial of connoisseurs, Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1576–1633). For his part, Don Marcantonio, whose personality is as yet little known, in part because that is the way he wanted it to be, as Ennio Quirino Visconti relates specifically in the prologue to his *Monumenti gabini della Villa Pinciana* (Rome, 1797), deserves to be considered the greatest collector-patron of Neoclassical Rome and, in the context of his own family, second only to Cardinal Scipione. To carry out his enlightened activities, he turned to some of the most accomplished scholars, artists, and artisans then at work in Rome. Chief among them was the said Visconti, renowned archaeologist, ideal disciple of the famous Winckelmann, and a man of immense erudition and capacity for work. His voice was heard not only when it was a question of acquiring new marbles for the collection or restoring those already existing, but in 1796 it fell to him to publish all that the prince had done toward remodernizing his famous residence-museum on the Pincian Hill, the Villa Borghese. Visconti's *Sculture del palazzo della Villa Borghese detta Pinciana* constitutes a truly fine, sound catalogue of the house's contents and remains a work of extreme interest and utility.[1]

For this and other of his undertakings, Don Marcantonio relied on an architect of exceptional talent, Antonio Asprucci (1723–1808), who worked for the prince throughout his career. Dating back to the time of Don Camillo, Asprucci was engaged in restorations in the Borghese Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore (1759–60). The hero of the present essay, Luigi Valadier (1726–1785), was already present on

that occasion. The two artists, bound by ties of staunch friendship, received innumerable commissions from the prince, a man close to them in age. Asprucci would be the builder of the rooms of Villa Borghese, which count among the highest achievements in European architecture and interior decoration. He also constructed a seaside house at Pratica, as well as other *tempietti* and pleasure sites in the gardens on the Pincio. Luigi Valadier became the silversmith of this illustrious household (as his father, Andrea, who died in 1757, had been before him), furnishing it with such extraordinarily prestigious works as a silver-gilt service, in its day considered one of the marvels of Rome and for which many drawings and a few original pieces survive.[2] He also supplied no small amount of furnishings, acting as bronze founder and head of the city's most important workshop, in which stonecarvers and engravers, draftsmen, and possibly cabinetmakers worked side by side with bronze specialists and silversmiths.

The Borghese objects that concern us here come from the family's magnificent palace in the Campo Marzio in Rome for which, in the early 1770s, Don Marcantonio commissioned from Antonio Asprucci the redecorating of the ground floor.[3] The prince and his architect used the services of an impressive number of artists and craftsmen—the same ones who would thenceforth be active in the rather more demanding endeavors for the villa on the Pincio. Between 1773 and 1774 Luigi Valadier furnished a significant body of work, which included the restoration and completion of many small antique bronzes; the gilt embellishment of several tables of varicolored marbles and mosaic; the provision of bronze embellishments for three fountains situated within the palace; and the making of two chandeliers.[4] To this list can be added a herm-figure of *alabastro a rosa* with a superb bronze head of Bacchus and the total restoration of a famous table of jasper borne by bronze caryatids after models by Alessandro Algardi, dating from 1633–37. For this sumptu-

Figure 1. Luigi Valadier (1726–1785). Table, 1774. Porphyry, marble, and gilt-bronze. Rome, Villa Borghese (photo: Villa Borghese)

ous piece (together with the Metropolitan Museum's sixteenth-century Farnese Table, one of the most extraordinary furnishings then to be seen in Rome), Luigi Valadier refashioned the border and supports, supplied stretchers and garlands, altered the position of the caryatids' limbs, and executed a partial gilding and an entire repatination. The herm-figure and table were destined, as we have reported elsewhere, for the ground-floor gallery of Palazzo Borghese, where the family's picture collection was shown systematically in several rooms beneath ceilings appropriately decorated by Roman painters active at the time of Pius VI. The table, which we shall call the Algardi Table, was then in the Galleria's . third chamber; after having been lost sight of during the nineteenth century, it is now in a private

collection. The herm-figure, first located in the *Camera dell'Ermafrodito* (named for one of the two Borghese versions of the ancient marble *Hermaphrodite*), remained there until 1831, when it was moved to Villa Borghese, which was refurnished after the family sold its most famous antiquities to the Louvre in 1807.

In 1774, during the same campaign of work for Palazzo Borghese, Valadier stated that he had executed a pair of small tables with twelve-cornered tops of porphyry (Figure 1); he had provided them with delicate gilt-bronze edges of the most painstaking facture and with masks reminiscent of the Seasons in the same material. These images, for the sake of sheer refinement, were based on eight different models and not four, as might be expected.

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Figure 2. Luigi Valadier. Pair of candelabra, 1774. Porphyry and gilt-bronze, H. (each) 68.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wrightsman Fund, 1994, 1994.14.1,2

In their rigid frontality they seem to refer to prototypes in ancient painting, then held in great esteem in the wake of discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum. The two small tables were intended for the Galleria's sixth room, called the Galleriola dei Cesari because it boasted sixteen niches that held as many busts, the porphyry heads of emperors set into togas of varicolored marbles that had been in the palace for over a century; there they remained until 1831, when they were transferred to Villa Borghese.[5]

Luigi Valadier's bill listing these works also includes the making of two porphyry candelabra:

Conto di due Candelabri di metallo dorato e Porfido, fatti p S. E. il Sig.re Principe D. Marc'Ant.º Borghese = = = = = 1774 a 6 Sette:e p aver fatto due Cande-

labrij di porfido tutti guarniti con dell'ornati e figure di metallo dorato rappresentanti le trè figure che sono ad ogn'uno de detti candelabrij *La Venere delle belle chiappe, L'Amazone* et una *Musa,* sopra de padelline de med. candelabri nascono quattro gran fiori, che cadono giù in forma di cornucopio, et uno altro nel mezzo p uso di porvi le candele, con un zoccolo sotto ottangolato parimenti di metallo dorato, quali importano fra Porfido con la sua lavorazione, modelli fatti à posta delle figure, e bracci sud.i; metalli, fattura e doratura————————s 450[6]

These too were destined for the Galleriola dei Cesari, whose dominant element, it is readily understood, was porphyry. In an inventory of 1812, compiled on the occasion of the lease of the prem-

Figure 3. Detail of candelabrum 1994.14.1 (at left in Figure 2), showing Callipygian Venus figure

Figure 4. Detail of candelabrum 1994.14.1, showing Amazon figure

Figure 5. Detail of candelabrum 1994.14.1, showing Muse figure

Figure 6. Luigi Valadier. Cast of Amazon figure now in Vatican Museum, 1780. Bronze. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: R.M.N.)

ises to Charles IV, the former king of Spain, then resident in Rome, they are cited as follows:

alli due lati della Galleria due tavole ottagonali [*sic*] di porfido con cornice intagliata di metallo dorato poste sopra un Piedestallo composto di vari Marmi con alcune guernizioni di metallo dorato. Esistono sopra dette Tavole due Candelabri di porfido con guarnizioni di metallo dorato a 5 lumi.[7]

From that date, 1812, there is no further notice of the two candelabra until 1993, when they were identified by the author on the Paris art market and subsequently bought by the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 2).[8]

As the document specifies, each candelabrum consists of a majestic porphyry shaft that rises from a high circular socle and then swells into a baluster crowned by a tazza shape. For this aspect of the work Valadier must have sought a stonecarver's participation. There were more than a few of these in the service of the prince, but it is possible that the artisan selected was Lorenzo Cardelli. I say this because Cardelli collaborated with Valadier on a mantelpiece of statuary marble and porphyry made for Palazzo Borghese one year later, in 1775. In any case, Cardelli was certainly equipped to work porphyry, an art that was not within the range of all lapidaries of that day.[9] For the candelabra, Luigi Valadier arranged each stone construction on a tall, octagonal gilt-bronze socle, disposing on the plinth a collar of leaves and beading and affixing to it festoons suspending bucrania. Around the central baluster are three exquisitely modeled female figures, which are reductions of ancient statues. Each one has a raised arm and together they give the illusion of supporting the crowning tazza, which in turn bears lions' heads suspending rings and three theatrical masks from which leafy clusters emerge; these last terminate in the five sockets for the candles.

Valadier's bill lays some stress on the sculptural models for his bronzes. Those chosen for the three figures are not all that common. The first (Figure 3) is taken from a marble then at the Farnesina and now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples: a Venus of the Callipygian type, known with reason in eighteenth-century Rome as the Venere della belle chiappe (Venus of the Beautiful Buttocks).[10] This prototype, parenthetically, was copied several times by bronze artists, such as Francesco Righetti. The second figure (Figure 4), with a quiver at her side, is taken from an original known as an Amazon, first in the Mattei collection and now in the Vatican Mu-

seum.[11] In 1780 Valadier made a cast of this famous marble for the comte d'Orsay; it is now in the Louvre (Figure 6). The third (Figure 5), which Valadier calls a Muse, is after a Diana the huntress in the act of fastening her mantle (the gesture remains unclear here, since Valadier altered the position of the right arm the better to align the figure alongside the porphyry cup). The best-known statue of this type was then in Rome, in Palazzo Verospi, but another version of greater merit happened to be discovered at Gabi, one of Prince Borghese's estates, some twenty years afterward, about 1792. It then passed into the collections at Villa Borghese on the Pincio before being sold in 1807 to the Louvre, where it remains.[12]

It may be noted that each figure has at her feet an object that alludes in some fashion to her spirit. The Callipygian Venus steps upon a shell, a usual attribute and one that suggests an erotic undertone. The Amazon stands on a shield of buckler form, a reference to her bellicose character. The Muse, or rather Diana, has pipes indicative of her idyllic preoccupations.

In 1774 the design of the candelabra was truly in the vanguard of Neoclassical taste. Their elegant dignity is genuinely Neoclassical and demonstrates how, at its best, Rome did not lag stylistically behind London or Paris. Objects of this caliber evince not only a rare level of craftsmanship and a perfect sense of compositional balance, but also a feeling for classical antiquity that was beginning to penetrate so deeply that it became part of everyday existence, albeit at the highest social level. The role played by Luigi Valadier within this context remains to be defined. However exceptional an artisan he was, we suspect that Antonio Asprucci and the scholars who frequented Prince Borghese's court should probably be credited with the ideas that went into the conception of these extraordinary furnishings.

NOTES

1. Alvar González-Palacios, *Il gusto dei principi* (Milan, 1993) pp. 212–300, with an extensive bibliography on this subject.

2. For more on the Borghese silver-gilt service, see *Valadier: Three Generations of Roman Goldsmiths*, exhib. cat. (London, 1991) passim; González-Palacios, *Il gusto dei principi*, pp. 191–196. For Luigi Valadier in general, see *Luigi Valadier au Louvre ou l'Antiquité exaltée*, exhib. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1994) with entries by Alvar González-Palacios.

3. Howard Hibbard, "Palazzo Borghese Studies, II: The Galleria," *The Burlington Magazine* 104 (1962) pp. 9–20.

4. González-Palacios, "Luigi Valadier a Palazzo Borghese," *Antologia di belle arti* 43–47 (1994) pp. 34–51.

5. Italo Faldi, *Galleria Borghese: Le sculture dal secolo XVI al XIX* (Rome, 1954) cat. no. 11, pp. 16–17.

6. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio Borghese, f. 5298 (no. 3169). This document, omitted in my previous article because the objects were then on the market, is part of the same archival papers published by me.

7. Lucia de Lachenal, "La collezione di sculture antiche della famiglia Borghese e il palazzo in Campo Marzio," *Xenia* 4 (1982) p. 104. It should be noted that the tables are usually said to be octagonal, even in recent publications (Faldi, *Galleria Borghese*, p. 24), so rare is a dodecagonal slab.

8. The candelabra have been illustrated by James David Draper in "Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 1993–1994," *MMAB* 52, 2 (1994) p. 38, and by González-Palacios in *Luigi Valadier au Louvre*, p. 31. In the palace of Pavlosk (St. Petersburg) exists a second version of our candelabra, which may have been ordered or presented to the czarevitch Paul and his wife, Maria Feodorovna, during their visit to Rome in 1782; the candelabra are reproduced in A. Kuchov, *Pavlosk: Palace and Park* (Leningrad, 1975) p. 229.

9. For more on Cardelli, see González-Palacios, *Il gusto dei principi;* the porphyry chimneypiece is fig. 487. Also see Faldi, *Galleria Borghese*, pp. 47–48. Other craftsmen, such as Paolo Santi and Benedetto Maciucchi, who both worked for the prince, were also capable of carving porphyry, but do not seem to have been active in this field before 1778.

10. Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (London / New Haven, 1981) pp. 316–318.

11. Ennio Quirino Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino* III (Milan, 1818) n. xxxviii; Walther Amelung, *Die Scultpuren des Vaticanischen Museums* II (Berlin, 1908) pp. 453–461, no. 265; Wolfgang Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlicher Sammlungen Klassischer Altertümer in Rom* I, *Die Päpstlichen Sammlungen in Vatikan und Lateran* (4th ed., Tübingen, 1963) pp. 92–94, no. 126.

12. Ennio Quirino Visconti, *Monumenti Gabini della Villa Pinciana* (Rome, 1797) no. 32. p. 67; Jean Charbonneaux, *La Sculpture Grecque et Romaine au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1963) p. 39.

Addendum to "Hubert Robert's Decorations for the Château de Bagatelle"

JOSEPH BAILLIO

I N A RECENT ISSUE of this journal[1] I published an article on a group of six landscapes that Hubert Robert painted as a decoration for one of two ground-floor boudoirs of the comte d'Artois's château de Bagatelle. These works are today exhibited in the Wrightsman Rooms of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. My study perforce left unresolved a nagging question relating to the history of the paintings, i.e., the precise point at which they and the companion series of six Neoclassical compositions that Antoine-François Callet had executed for the twin boudoirs were removed from Bagatelle. I am greatly indebted to Christian Baulez, conservateur en chef of the Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, for solving this mystery. He graciously pointed out to me that the paintings were indeed sold at auction two years after the château was acquired by Napoleon's Administration des Domaines.

An item in the April 2, 1808, issue of a periodical entitled *Annonces, Affiches et Avis divers*[2] previewed the forthcoming sale of "six tableaux de place, peints par Hubert Robert représentant des Monuments d'Italie et six autres peints par Callais [*sic*] représentant des sujets de la fable, provenant de bagatelle et faits pour le ci-devant comte d'Artois." The auction took place two days later in one of the sale rooms of the old Hôtel de Bullion, a town house on the rue Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The name of the *expert* was Clisorius, and the auctioneer's gavel was wielded by the sieur Masson jeune.

The paintings by Hubert Robert were included in the catalogue as entry no. 151: "Six Tableaux sous ce numéro; ils représentent des monuments d'Italie et amusements champêtres. Ils ont étés peints pour le ci-devant comte d'Artois, à Bagatelle. Toile." This lot was in fact divided into two parts; bidding on two of the panels, undoubtedly *The Wandering Minstrels* and *The Bathing Pool*, went up to 381 francs, whereas the other four fetched only 240 francs. The lot that followed (no. 152), which comprised Callet's six panels, was described in the catalogue as "Six Tableaux sous ce numéro, provenant aussi de Bagatelle. Ils représentent des sujets de la fable et ont été aussi peints pour le comte d'Artois. Toile." These works sold as a group for the sum of 351 francs.

The only copies of the auction catalogue listed in Frits Lugt's *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques*[3] are preserved in the Département des Imprimés of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris. According to the marginal annotations in the Bibliothèque Nationale's catalogue, all twelve of the Bagatelle panels were purchased by a certain Brunot.

NOTES

1. Joseph Baillio, "Hubert Robert's Decorations for the Château de Bagatelle," *MMJ* 27 (1992) pp. 149–182.

2. *Annonces, Affiches et Avis divers* 93 (1808) p. 1478.

3. Frits Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de vente publiques* I (The Hague, 1938) no. 7373.

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