

Metropolitan Museum Journal


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The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works in the Museum's collections and the areas of investigation they represent. Contributions, by members of the Museum staff and other specialists, vary in length from monographic studies to brief notes. The wealth of the Museum's collections and the scope of these essays make the *Journal* essential reading for all scholars and amateurs of the fine arts.

In volume 34, two ancient works in the Museum's collection are given close scrutiny—a newly conserved Cypriot silver bowl and an amphora that was created as a Panathenaic festival athletics prize. A Song-dynasty fan painting in the Metropolitan prompts an investigation of the phenomenon of rebuses in Chinese painting. Comprising the European studies in volume 34 are a proposed interpretation of the allegory in a sixteenth-century French painting; an examination of the high quality of steel used by the armorers Filippo and Giovan Paolo Negroli and their Milanese contemporaries; and a description of how Charles Le Brun revised a tapestry design to suit the tastes of the king of France. The volume closes with an updated cumulative index for the *Journal*.

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COVER ILLUSTRATION: Unidentified Netherlandish or French artist. *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh: An Allegory of the Dinteville Family* (partial view), ca. 1538. Tempera and oil on wood. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wentworth Fund, 1950, 50.70

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BREPOLS

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ABBREVIATIONS

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

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Foreword

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO

Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE NUMBER, variety, and quality of scholarly investigations into the collections are certain to be of vital interest to any museum director. The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* was established by my predecessor in 1968 for the publication of discoveries made in relation to this Museum's myriad holdings and as a scholarly alternative to our *Bulletin*. The *Journal*, while reaching a more specialized audience, has nevertheless served effectively as a showcase for the findings and commentaries of our staff and of outside contributors. Its editorial board accordingly grapples with manuscripts that are generated both within and

without the Metropolitan. A noticeable development over the years, and one that I find praiseworthy, has been the pairing of articles, as for example those written by curators and by conservators, examining the same material from different but complementary points of view.

In introducing this volume, number 34, I welcome the participation of the Belgian publisher Brepols. Given that firm's experience in producing the periodicals of various institutions and learned societies, this new association augures well for our *Journal*, promising to expand its circulation while maintaining its high standards.

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PLATE 1. Unidentified Netherlandish or French artist. *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh: An Allegory of the Dinteville Family*, ca. 1538. Tempera and oil on wood, 176.5 x 192.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wentworth Fund, 1950, 50.70. See pp. 73–100



PLATE 2. *Les Renommées*, French (Gobelins), 1693–1700, after Charles Le Brun (1619–1690). Wool and silk tapestry, 284.7 x 216 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Lionel F. Straus, in memory of her husband, Lionel F. Straus, 1953, 53.57. See pp. 125–34



PLATE 2. *Les Renommées*, French (Gobelins), 1693–1700, after Charles Le Brun (1619–1690). Wool and silk tapestry, 284.7 x 216 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Lionel F. Straus, in memory of her husband, Lionel F. Straus, 1953, 53.57. See pp. 125–34



PLATE 4. Unidentified Chinese artist (late 12th century). *Gibbons Raiding an Egret's Nest*. Fan mounted as an album leaf, ink and color on silk, 24.1 x 22.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1913, 13.100.104. See pp. 57–72

A Cypriot Silver Bowl Reconsidered

I. The Iconography of the Decoration

VASSOS KARAGEORGHIS

Foundation Anastasios G. Leventis, Cyprus

THE CESNOLA COLLECTION in The Metropolitan Museum of Art encompasses by far the single richest body of decorated metal bowls from ancient Cyprus, often referred to as “Cypro-Phoenician.” In the first half of the first millennium B.C., the eastern Mediterranean churned with activity as the ambitious communities around its shores engaged in trade, joined in alliances, and fell into conflict. Cyprus, unattached to any mainland power, was a point of confluence, and thus a melting pot of people, ideas, and aesthetics. This amalgam of cultures is reflected in the artifacts that have come down to us from Cyprus. They display an eclectic mix of pan-Mediterranean motifs yet are expressed in a peculiarly Cypriot style that is, at once, more lively than that of the Egyptians, less formal than that of the Assyrians, more independent than that of the Phoenicians, and less disciplined than that of the Greeks. These are works that are recognizable immediately as the products of artisans who were steeped in the Cypriot world, though not all of whom were necessarily natives. As a result, the works do not reflect as “pure” a tradition as one might expect of such a small nation.

Examination of the art of early Archaic Cyprus (ca. 800–500 B.C.) reveals a rich variety of aesthetic responses engendered by both the island’s central location and the continuing, intense contact between East and West. Some of the objects in the Museum’s Cesnola Collection were made at a time when merchants and other travelers from the Phoenician coast were especially active on Cyprus, and when a great many artifacts of Phoenician origin were circulating throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Although ancient sources allude to the presence of Proto-Phoenicians in Cyprus, about 1200 B.C.,¹ archaeological remains (mostly in the

form of ceramic vessels) suggest that Phoenicians were in frequent contact with the island by the mid-eleventh century B.C. However, the first major Phoenician building on Cyprus, the Temple of Astarte on Kition, was not built until the mid-ninth century B.C.² For the next several centuries, Cyprus was a home to people coming from both eastern and western shores, some of whom set up their own settlements even as they blended in with people in towns already established.

The term “Cypro-Phoenician” has been applied to pottery, sculpture, and other artifacts that exhibit characteristics common to both cultures. In 1946, Einar Gjerstad used the term to identify one of the types of metal bowl, from the first millennium B.C., found at various locations in and around the Mediterranean world.³ Glenn Markoe also employed the term in 1985 and concluded that the bowls from Cyprus, which shared certain characteristics with bowls found at other locations where Phoenicians had been active, must have been made by Phoenicians on Cyprus.⁴ These display a largely Phoenician sense of organization and certain common decorative motifs but otherwise are different from Phoenician bowls found elsewhere (Nimrud, for example), both in terms of subject matter and the direction of movement apparent in engraved or traced motifs.⁵ I have used the term to refer to those works that simultaneously exhibit Cypriot and Phoenician styles, along with “decorative motifs [that] are strongly Egyptianizing.”⁶ A number of other scholars have simply called such bowls “Phoenician”; when found on Cyprus, one could say that such works had been made by a Phoenician artisan living there.⁷ And, no doubt, the metal bowls produced by Phoenicians played a role in the manufacture of their counterparts from Cyprus—such as those found in the Museum’s Cesnola Collection.

Nonetheless, after discussing this question at some length, the authors of parts 1 and 2 of the present survey have concluded that we should

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The notes for part 1 of this article begin on page 19.
Figures 1–3 appear in part 1, Figures 4–15 in part 2,
beginning on page 21.



Figure 1. Silver bowl. Diam. 17.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874-76, 74.51.4557

accept the possibility that the artisan of at least one of the Cesnola silver bowls (MMA 74.51.4557; Figures 1, 4) was a native Cypriot who knew how to express the Greek language in Cypriot syllabic script and was commissioned to produce the bowl for a Greek Cypriot king or queen. At present, the issue of whether the style of the decorated metal bowls was originally introduced to the island by the Phoenicians is still subject to debate.

Ever since their discovery in the mid-nineteenth century by the future director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, General L. P. di Cesnola, these bowls or phialae have attracted the interest of scholars both for their rich iconography as well as the traced and incised inscriptions that some of them bear. General Cesnola (he claimed his title was given to him by President Lincoln shortly before the latter's assassination⁸) reported finding a hoard of precious metal objects, including our bowl, in the so-called "royal tomb" at Kourion on the southwestern coast of Cyprus.⁹ In fact, there is no real evidence to support this assertion, and it is more likely that the objects, which form the "Kourion Treasure," as they were dubbed, came from various findspots. Still, the inscription on this vessel is written in the Paphian script, and, given the close proximity of Kourion to Paphos and the subject matter of the bowl, it is probable that our bowl belonged to some royal person in southwest Cyprus.

The last comprehensive study of decorated metal bowls from first-millennium B.C. Mediterranean contexts was published by Glenn Markoe in 1985 (see note 4). Since then, there has been a notable addition to the corpus, namely a bronze example from Lefkhandi in Euboea, dating to about 900 B.C. This would make it one of the earliest of such bowls known to us.¹⁰ Overall, the number of these objects is fairly large—Markoe published more than seventy surviving instances—and the excavated examples or their representation on other objects come from contexts spanning the whole first half of the first millennium B.C. A tradition this ubiquitous suggests they served a great number of people (or institutions) over a very long period of time.

How were these bowls used in antiquity? Various pictorial and textual references to the bowls suggest that their primary purpose (or at least the purpose most often described) was ceremonial: for drinking or pouring libations at important feasts, as shown on the wall reliefs of Neo-Assyrian kings from Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) to Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.). At Delphi, Herodotus (ca. 484–420 B.C.)

observed, besides huge gold and silver mixing bowls and elaborate fountains, "gifts of no great importance, including round silver basins."¹¹ It seems that these bronze and silver bowls, all small enough to be held comfortably in the hand, were the vessels of choice for those who offered gifts in temples or participated in banquets and religious ceremonies.

The intention of this and the following essays is to provide a progress report on the conservation of various of these works, currently under way in the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. This is also our opportunity to publish some information newly brought to light thanks to the meticulous work of Elizabeth Hendrix, who is responsible for their conservation. Of particular importance is her work on the fragmentary phiale or bowl (MMA 74.51.4557; Figures 1, 4), to which we now turn and which is especially interesting because of its secular subject matter and identifying inscription.

More than half of the bowl's rim and decorated outer register have survived. The middle register is poorly preserved, while only two papyrus flowers of the inner register remain. The central medallion is lost. The two registers (outer and middle) are bordered by a guilloche pattern. The decoration itself is done in repoussé with traced outlines. The details of the outlined figures are rendered by rows of very fine punch marks. J. L. Myres, who closely examined the Museum's Cesnola Collection in the first decades of the twentieth century, thought a small fragment (MMA 74.51.4559; Figures 11, 15), representing a winged human figure with lions, might belong to this bowl; however, the fragment's fine engraving is quite different from that of MMA 74.51.4557.

The theme of the outer register has been described by scholars as that of a royal banquet, much like those depicted on similar bowls.¹² The focal point of the composition is the table with offerings, on either side of which are human figures reclining on couches and regarding each other. They have been identified as a "king" (on the right) and as a "queen" (on the left). The rest of the decoration consists of groups of musicians and gift bearers converging toward the king and queen in a very symmetrical arrangement.

The table has curved legs, like those visible on other bowls in the same style.¹³ Curved ivory legs of a similar type have been found in Cyprus, at Salamis and Nimrud.¹⁴ One cannot be certain whether the

table, shown on the bowl, was three-legged or four-legged. It has a horizontal bar between the lower part of the two visible legs but lacks a vertical bar, which is sometimes apparent on other analogous bowls.¹⁵ Elements of the table and legs visible in profile are decorated with impressed points. These may represent decorative rivets, like those that appear on the wood of the hearse from Salamis Tomb 79.¹⁶ On top of the table there is a shallow bowl or basin containing a horizontal row of circles; there may have been another row, now obliterated. The circles no doubt represent fruit, as in examples in New York and Teheran.¹⁷ This fruit bowl, like those on the New York and Teheran bowls and others on MMA 74.51.4557, which will be mentioned later, is rendered "in section" in order to show the contents, following a long tradition in Egyptian iconography. Just behind the table we see what Myres identified as a square screen, filled with horizontal rows of fine punch marks. The screen does not reach the ground and is broader than the table itself; its upper part has rounded corners.

The reclining figure to the left of the table is the queen, wearing an Egyptian wig. Her face is shown in profile, and she looks across the table toward the king. She raises her left forearm, with her left elbow resting on the mattress of the couch. In her left hand she holds what may be a hemispherical bowl, shown in section; alternatively, the curve may simply be the inside of her palm. There seems to be a bracelet around the queen's left wrist. Her right arm is stretched forward and rests on the mattress. Her tight garment is short-sleeved, reaches to the ankles, and is decorated with rows of fine punch marks. There is an attempt to show the V-shaped neckline of the garment. The mattress reappears above the body of the queen in an effort to represent it three-dimensionally, with the queen lying in the middle. It, too, is filled with rows of fine punch marks like the queen's dress and wig. The couch has high, thick vertical legs, with rounded terminals at the bottom. In the middle, in front of the couch, are steps, shown in section as if placed sideways. There is a vertical supporting pole.

The figure identified as the king reclines on a couch in a position nearly identical to that of the queen. The only difference is that the king holds in his raised right hand (the elbow does not lean on the mattress) a round object that Myres identified as a fruit, though it may well be a drinking cup, shown *en face*. His headdress is distinctly different from the queen's. Although it is damaged at the

top, I would agree with Myres that he is wearing an Egyptian crown. Much of the foot end and legs of the couch, the mattress, and the steps are missing. Only traces survive, which show that the two couches were identical.

Behind the king is a musician (only the upper part of his body survives) playing the double flute. He is mentioned in Myres's description, but he does not appear in the photo published by Markoe; in fact this figure was only recently found, broken into several fragments, and has been reassembled and attached to the bowl by Elizabeth Hendrix. The decoration is not preserved beyond the flute player.

Behind the queen are four female figures, all wearing flounced skirts. They are shown in profile marching toward the queen. The rear borders of their skirts trail the ground, perhaps to show the movement of the striding figures. The garments of the female figures are rendered in the same manner as that of the queen; they are short-sleeved and decorated with horizontal rows of fine punch marks. The first and second musicians wear wigs, and the third has her hair in a bun. The first musician plays the double flute, and the second in line plays the lyre, her mouth half-open, with lines on her cheeks to indicate that she is singing as she plays. She is reminiscent of some female terracotta figurines of lyre players from a sixth-century B.C. sanctuary in Lapithos in Cyprus.¹⁸ The third figure beats a tambourine. Similar musicians, male and female and associated with processions and banquets, appear on other bowls of this type, such as those in New York and London.¹⁹ The fourth female figure is not a musician; she stretches her left arm forward and holds in her hand a small stack of two or three shallow bowls. Her right arm hangs down behind her, and in her right hand she holds a jug. She resembles a similar female figure in the banquet scene on the bronze bowl from Salamis in London.²⁰ The jug has a globular body, high neck, high conical foot, and vertical handle, not unlike some Phoenician jugs of the same period as this bowl.²¹

Behind the fourth female figure is a large amphora occupying almost the entire height of the register. It recalls a large amphora carried by two male figures on the Salamis bowl in London.²² It has a globular body, high broad neck widening upward and outward, two opposed handles from rim to shoulder, and a high foot. Two parallel horizontal lines, acting as borders to a row of fine punch marks, decorate the middle of the body; it is obviously meant to

be a painted band. There is a similar band along the upper part of the neck. The form of this amphora was current during the Cypro-Archaic II period, ca. 600–480 B.C.²³

To the left of the large amphora is a table on which three vases stand: a small amphora in the middle with a jug on either side.²⁴ Two ladles hang by their hooked handles on either side of table's edge. These were for making libations during the banquet, as the various receptacles for liquid offerings suggest.²⁵ This table differs from the one described above between the king and queen. It has straight legs, angled slightly outward, with a horizontal bar between them, down low. Between the table top and the horizontal bar there are thinner vertical parallel bars that are probably decorative. This may have been a three-legged table, not unlike several clay models of the sixth century B.C. from Cyprus.²⁶

To the left of this table is a second group of three women, advancing with broad strides and dressed in the same fashion as those already described. The first, wearing a wig, has both arms stretched out sideways and upward; in each hand she holds a bowl, one hemispherical and one conical, again shown in profile. Myres and Markoe both suggested that she is holding a bunch of flowers, but bowls of food offerings would make more sense in a procession where the other bearers are bringing meat and fowl. No doubt the bowls contained some sort of grain or small fruit.²⁷ Depictions of fruit in bowls rendered in section are known in much earlier representations from Egypt, such as the Old Kingdom stela of Megegi (Figure 2). The great difference in time notwithstanding, the Egyptian relief (which also provides exact parallels for the animal leg and trussed goose described below) justifies the interpretation, given here, of the first bearer's gifts as fruit.

The second woman, with her hair also held up in a bun, extends both arms sideways, in the same manner as the first; she holds in each hand a leg of sheep or goat, ready to be roasted. The third woman, nearly identical to the one preceding her, holds what both Myres and Markoe identified as trussed geese. This is quite probable; legs of lamb or goat and trussed geese often appear as offerings in Egyptian iconography.²⁸ At the end of this group, behind the third woman, is a bird facing right. Behind the bird, at this point, the bowl is broken.

In the missing part of the bowl, there is room for perhaps two groups of human figures (probably male musicians and food and drink bearers respec-

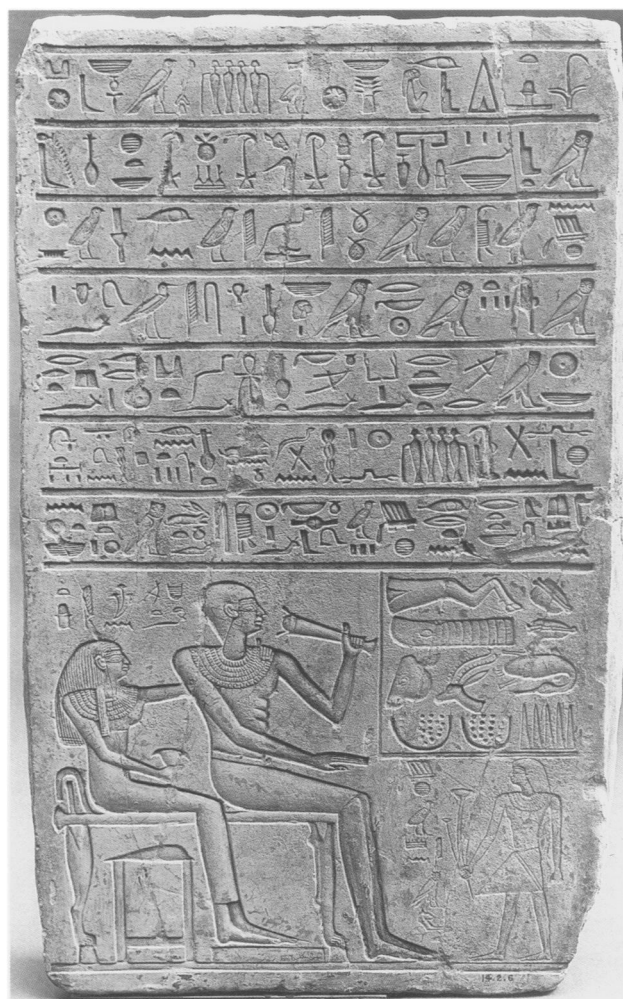


Figure 2. Stela of Megegi, Dynasty 11, ca. 2068–2061 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1914, 14.2.6

tively), converging toward the king, and then possibly a table, with offerings, next to the bird. Thus we can envisage a perfectly symmetrical composition, with two groups of people, female for the queen and male for the king, all preparing for a banquet.

The second register, slightly narrower than the outer one, is poorly preserved. The space below the queen is occupied by a pair of griffins, rampant, with their beaks open and heads tilted slightly backward, on either side of a sacred tree. This is a well-known motif of Phoenician art.²⁹ On the left is a kneeling archer who is taking aim with a composite bow at a stag moving away from him to the left. In front of this stag is another one, only partly preserved. The bowl is broken at this point. Of the innermost register only the two papyrus flowers from a circular arrangement are preserved.



Figure 3. Relief sculpture in the tomb of Nespakashuty (ca. 656 B.C.) in Thebes. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468

Unlike the outer register, which represents a specific scene at a given time, the middle register seems to be purely decorative, its various figures mostly unrelated. Even the archer and the stags are not convincingly connected. The stags seem to walk in a grazing posture,³⁰ not paying much attention to the archer's advance. Also, the archer is too large in relation to the stags; but the artisan does not seem to mind, since that was the space available in the register.

The artist who produced these motifs on the bowl was no doubt familiar with the styles and iconography of Egyptian art, as may be seen, for example, in another series of "Cypro-Phoenician" bowls, the Egyptian character of which is readily apparent.³¹ On MMA 74.51.4557, various devices, such as rendering cross sections of bowls in order to show their contents, as well as the motifs of the trussed fowl, the legs of lamb, and fruit in a bowl, have a long tradition in Egyptian iconography, where offerings appear in associated lists and texts or are carried by offering bearers. The same applies to bearers of vessels to be used in a banquet (Figures 2, 3). The Cypriot artisan, however, has adapted the Egyptian motifs to his own taste. The group compositions, as they appear on the silver bowl from the Cesnola Collection, are lively and quite different from the static conventions of Egyptian art. The musicians and offering bearers are all depicted in energetic attitudes and give the impression of the boisterous atmosphere of a banquet.

The date of the bowl was assigned by Markoe on stylistic grounds to the first quarter of the seventh

century B.C. Gjerstad dated it to the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and Terence Mitford to the close of the seventh century.³² I regard Gjerstad's date as too late and prefer Markoe's dating. The representations of the vase forms are not specific enough to provide a basis for a more certain date.³³

As mentioned earlier, the bowl is said to have been found in a royal tomb at Kourion, which is quite possible. The theme of a banquet attended by a king and queen suggests that it may indeed have belonged to a royal family, as was clearly the case for the gold objects supposedly found with the bowl, such as the pair of gold bracelets engraved with the name of Etewandros, King of Paphos.³⁴ This presumes that the king was buried at Kourion, an assumption that entails certain difficulties.³⁵ Of course, the bowl may have found its way to Kourion by other means. In any case the iconography provides corroborating evidence that the bowl was the property of a king, and that it was dedicated as a gift in his tomb. It was not a votive offering in a temple, since the focal point of the composition is the royal couple, not an enthroned divinity.³⁶ The same banquet theme, as already mentioned above, appears on another bowl from Salamis.³⁷

The two inscriptions above the queen and king were engraved at the same time as the rest of the decoration. Sufficient space was left for the inscriptions, as was done in the case of two other bowls from the Kourion Treasure, inscribed respectively with the names of Epioros and Akestor, the latter a king of Paphos.³⁸ The inscription above the queen

fills the entire space between the flute player and the back of the queen's head. Above the king is a shorter inscription, and there is some empty space on the right. This, however, may be due to the extensive corrosion, and other signs of the inscription may well have disappeared.

Several attempts have been made to decipher the inscription above the queen. It is quite certainly a proper name with the first part *Kypro*, which is fairly common in Cypriot onomastics. It is unlikely that the name above the queen is an epithet for Aphrodite; names of divinities are never inscribed on bowls. Furthermore, when female divinities do appear on bowls they are normally shown seated. Finally, even if the meaning of the name, as suggested by Professor Neumann below, is an epithet suitable for Aphrodite, such epithets may be applied just as appropriately to royal persons.

After conservation, the sign for *ku* has become clear, thus confirming Mitford's reading of the first sign of the inscription.³⁹ He reads the name as *Κυπροθάλευ(s)*. Masson subsequently accepted, without reservation, this reading as the genitive of the name *Κυπροθαλής*.⁴⁰ But it is not at all certain that the second component of the name has been read correctly. What Mitford reads as *le* (his fifth sign), seen under the microscope, has no traces of any stroke or bar and is exactly the same as the last sign, which Mitford reads as *u*. See Professor Neumann's suggestion below.

The inscription above the king is very difficult to read. Mitford considers it nonsyllabic and for him it is meaningless.⁴¹ Professor Neumann, who has seen both inscriptions after the bowl's cleaning, has kindly provided the commentary published here.

This silver bowl is certainly one of the most interesting of its group. The new evidence, both iconographic and epigraphic, which has been brought to light as a result of cleaning has rendered its reexamination worthwhile. I am deeply grateful to Ms. Elizabeth Hendrix and Professor Günter Neumann for their valuable comments on the technique of the bowl and the traced inscriptions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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throughout my work at the Metropolitan Museum in connection with the prospective exhibition and publication of the Cesnola Collection. I would also like to thank Christine Lilyquist for references to Egyptian iconography.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Patricia Bikai, "The Phoenicians and Cyprus," in *Cyprus in the Eleventh Century B.C.*, ed. Vassos Karageorghis (Nicosia, 1994), pp. 31–38.
2. Ora Negbi, "Early Phoenician Presence in the Mediterranean Islands: A Reappraisal," *American Journal of Archaeology* 96 (1992), pp. 599, 600, 603, and bibliography.
3. Einar Gjerstad, "Decorated Metal Bowls from Cyprus," *Opuscula Archaeologica* 4 (1946), pp. 1–18.
4. Glenn Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 3–4, 8.
5. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, pp. 9, 10, 19.
6. Vassos Karageorghis, "Cyprus," in *The Phoenicians*, ed. Sabatino Moscati (Milan, 1988), p. 157.
7. Allan Marquand, "An Archaic Patera from Kourion," *American Journal of Archaeology* 4 (1888), p. 169; Friederich Wilhelm von Bissing, "Untersuchungen über die 'phönikischen' Metallschalen," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 38–39 (1923–24), p. 180.
8. Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces* (New York, 1989), p. 51.
9. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, p. 176.
10. Mervyn Popham, "An Engraved Near Eastern Bronze Bowl from Lefkhandi," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 14 (1995), pp. 103–6.
11. Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt, rev. John Marincola (London, 1996), p. 20.
12. See, recently, Vassos Karageorghis, "Erotica from Salamis," *Rivista di studi fenici* 21, suppl. (1993), pp. 7–13.
13. For example, Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, Cy3, the bronze bowl from Idalion, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 74.51.5700.
14. Vassos Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis* (Nicosia, 1973), vol. 3, p. 96.
15. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, Cy3.
16. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, vol. 3, p. 61.
17. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, Cy3 and U6.
18. Marguerite Yon and Annie Caubet, "Un Culte populaire de la Grande Déesse à Lapithos," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1988, part 2, p. 11, pl. II.
19. See Markoe's Cy3 (in *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, and note 4 above) and Cy5, a bronze bowl from Salamis, in London, British Museum no. 186.
20. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, Cy5.
21. See Patricia Bikai, *The Phoenician Pottery of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1987), pl. 14.353, 355, 356.
22. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, Cy5.
23. Gjerstad, "Decorated Metal Bowls," p. 8.
24. For the forms, see Gjerstad, "Decorated Metal Bowls," p. 8; he believes they belong to his types IV and V, i.e., Cypro-Archaic I–II.
25. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, p. 58.

26. Cf. Vassos Karageorghis, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus*, vol. 6, *The Cypro-Archaic Period: Monsters, Animals, and Miscellanea* (Nicosia, 1996), pp. 80–81.
27. Cf. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, Cy3.
28. Besides the stela of Megegi (Figure 2), see Édouard Henri Naville, *The Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir al Bahari*, part 4, *The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*, 19th Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society (London 1901), pl. 111.
29. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, pp. 38, 87.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 30–33. For other bowls in the Egyptianizing style, see G. Falsone, “Nuove coppe metalliche di fattura orientale,” *Vicino Oriente* 8, no. 2 (1992), p. 112; Vassos Karageorghis and Glenn Markoe, “A Phoenician Bronze Bowl Fragment in the Ligabue Collection, Venice,” in *Alle soglie della classicità il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione*, ed. Enrico Acquaro (Pisa and Rome, 1996), vol. 2, pp. 826–28.
32. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, pp. 151, 153, 156; Gjerstad, “Decorated Metal Bowls,” p. 8 n. 1; Terence B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 83 (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 13.
33. Gjerstad himself hesitated between his types IV and V for some of the forms shown.
34. Olivier Masson, *Les Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Études chypriotes, 1, rev. ed. (Paris, 1983), p. 192.
35. Mitford, *Inscriptions of Kourion*, pp. 8–11.
36. See Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, pp. 176–79 n. 19, also mentioning Marquand’s suggestion that the two reclining figures are Aphrodite and Adonis; see Marquand, “Archaic Patera,” p. 170.
37. Karageorghis, *Erotica from Salamis*, pp. 10–11.
38. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, p. 73; see, too, Antoine Hermay, “La Coupe en argent du British Museum (‘The Amathus Bowl’),” in Robert Laffineur, ed., *Amathonte*, vol. 3, *Testimonia*, 3: *L’orfèvrerie* (Paris, 1986), pp. 179–94.
39. Mitford, *Inscriptions of Kourion*, pp. 11–14.
40. Masson, *Les Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, p. 412.
41. Mitford, *Inscriptions of Kourion*, p. 13.

A Cypriot Silver Bowl Reconsidered

2. The Technique and Physical History of the Bowl

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THE EXAMINATION and conservation of a silver phiale from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum has provided an opportunity to investigate both the technique used to make it and its subsequent physical history. This bowl or phiale (MMA 74.51.4557; Figures 1, 4), of which approximately one-third is preserved, was sent for treatment to the Museum's Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation in July of 1997, along with a number of silver bowls, bowl fragments, and other vessels. All had been acquired by the Museum in the nineteenth century through General L. P. di Cesnola, and all were subjected to various treatments over subsequent decades. During our latest conservation efforts it became apparent that a close look at these silver vessels could reveal specific aspects of Archaic metalworking industries in the eastern Mediterranean. It was equally clear that their condition reflected the modern history of changing attitudes toward archaeological materials. In the present article I will address the initial creation of the silver bowl, its slow deterioration, and the series of restorations it has undergone, since all of these processes combine to make up the artifact as we see and respond to it today.

THE BOWL AND ITS BACKGROUND

The phiale under consideration was made by hammering sheet metal into the desired shape, tracing the linear designs in the interior of the bowl, and then completing the shapes of the figurative elements in three dimensions, in repoussé. While the best evidence for the details of its manufacture comes from the phiale itself, ancient representations of both metalworkers (mainly from Egypt)

and their tools help convey, visually and practically, the nature of metalworking in the eastern Mediterranean during the first millennium B.C. If the tools and methods implied by the physical condition of the bowl match those found in archaeological contexts and artistic representations, we may properly use the latter to form a picture of the specific materials, tools, and processes employed in the manufacture of our particular silver bowl.

The first steps in making the bowl involved acquiring the silver and preparing an appropriately sized disk, or billet. Sources for its metal cannot be determined. I know of no texts that indicate where the silver used in Cyprus originated. However, ancient Egyptian texts report that some of the silver worked in Egypt came from Cyprus,¹ so a local source may have supplied some of the raw material for Cypriot silversmiths. In most workshops a combination of scrap silver, containing a variety of alloys, and silver from ingots would make up the metal to be worked; such a mixture, however, renders elemental analyses inconclusive in identifying the source of the metal. Moreover, it is likely that both ingots and scrap silver were traded throughout the Mediterranean. As traders exchanged raw materials, metalsmiths probably exchanged ideas, with the result that methods as well as metal, no doubt, crossed boundaries.

The question of whether a Cypriot or Phoenician artisan made the bowl has been addressed already by Dr. Karageorghis. During the early first millennium B.C., the Phoenicians were expanding their sphere of influence westward in the Mediterranean, thus disseminating the characteristic objects of their culture, notably, worked metal bowls of bronze, silver, and gold. Such bowls should provide insights regarding metalwork in the eastern Mediterranean. However, Phoenician craft activities have been neither identified nor adequately understood in their own homeland, since so little has been excavated at important Phoenician sites such as Sidon and Tyre.

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The notes for part 2 begin on page 30.
Figures 1–3 referred to here appear in part 1 of this article.



Figure 4. Drawing of traced design in silver bowl MMA 74.51.4557 (drawing: Elizabeth Hendrix)

Rather, we must examine artifacts found elsewhere that are thought to exhibit “Phoenician” characteristics; unfortunately, this activity can quickly become circular, when attempting to differentiate “Phoenician” from local characteristics.

So far, technology has not clarified the problem. The examination of MMA 74.51.4557 reveals nothing

that can definitively declare its artistry Phoenician rather than Cypriot.² However, epigraphic evidence can be used to identify Phoenician products, as in the case of a silver phiale with a Phoenician inscription, among pseudohieroglyphs, that reads “Blš, son of the metal caster.”³ The bowl has no provenience, though unsubstantiated evidence sug-

gests it may have been found on the west coast of Italy. Its interior design—of a smiting pharaoh—is similar to that on one of the Museum’s Cesnola bowls, described below (MMA 74.51.4556; Figure 11). It is well known that the Phoenicians borrowed characters and symbols for decorative purposes from lands beyond their borders, so one could argue that a Phoenician workshop created both the Cesnola and the “Italian” bowls. Nonetheless, 4557 comes from Cyprus, bears Cypriot inscriptions, and perhaps a local style, so for now it seems most prudent to consider it the product of a Cypriot silversmith.

In order to form billets of convenient size, the metal was melted and poured into smaller crucibles to divide it into appropriate portions, which were then hammered into flat disks. The shaping of the properly sized blank into a vessel was often achieved by hammering as well.⁴ Two hammering techniques, “sinking” and “raising,” were defined and described in detail by Herbert Maryon in 1949.⁵ To create a form by sinking one hammers the metal sheet into a hollow made in a block of wood or similar material, the blows of the hammer stretching the metal from the rim down toward the center of the bowl. A shape that is raised, by contrast, is made by hammering the sheet, over an appropriately shaped anvil, on what will become the exterior surface of the object. Here, the metal is compressed to form its shape. In both cases, as the sheet is worked it becomes harder until, eventually, further hammering can no longer shape the metal easily.

At this point the artisan will have to reheat, that is, anneal the partially formed object in order to continue shaping it. Metal atoms are held together in a crystal lattice that allows the planes of atoms to slip past each other when subjected to the stress of hammering. Imperfections, or “dislocations” within the lattice, create weak points in the structure, which in turn allow the planes to slip past each other more easily than is possible in a perfect lattice. On the other hand, a “pileup” of dislocations results during hammering, since these anomalies tend to remain in place while atoms in the regular sections of the lattice slip past them. The effect of this accumulation of tangled dislocations is an irregular lattice structure—for the smith this means a stiffer, less malleable metal structure, referred to as work-hardened. In order to regain workability the dislocations must be untangled by heating the metal, which allows the atoms to settle back into a regular crystal formation, a process known as annealing. This operation may be repeated until the desired

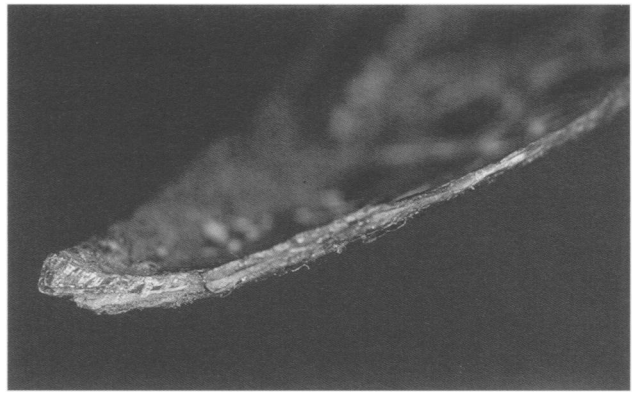


Figure 5. Cross section of rim of silver bowl in Figure 1 (photo: Elizabeth Hendrix)

shape is achieved, although heating the metal, for example a silver alloy, too often or for too long at once can initiate internal corrosion by oxidation, thereby weakening the structure; experience and skill forge the expert smith.⁶

The broken rim of the bowl reveals that the artisan folded the edge over toward the exterior (Figure 5). The turned edge both serves to increase the strength of the bowl at the rim, where it is most vulnerable to mechanical damage, and provides a visual “finish” to the edge. The top of the rim was then flattened by hammering after the rim was folded. The same technique was applied to the edges of the other silver bowls with preserved rims that I examined in the course of this project.

Once the desired shape of the phiale was achieved, the smith would planish the surface to smooth out the hammer marks, scratches, and other blemishes that might have occurred during the forming of the bowl. Planishing is carried out by a light hammering all over the bowl, the force of the blows just enough to level the marks left by the more forceful hammering that shaped the bowl. Smooth stones used for this purpose are shown on New Kingdom Egyptian wall paintings from Saqqara;⁷ the final polishing would be accomplished by rubbing an abrasive on the surface with pads of leather or cloth.⁸

The decoration on the interior of the phiale, described by Dr. Karageorghis in the first section of this survey, was traced into the metal with pointed and chisel-like tools driven by gentle tapping with a small hammer. Initially, the design may have been scratched or painted on the metal, as suggested by a painting in a tomb in Thebes of metalworkers inscribing a vessel (Figure 6); the tool kit on the

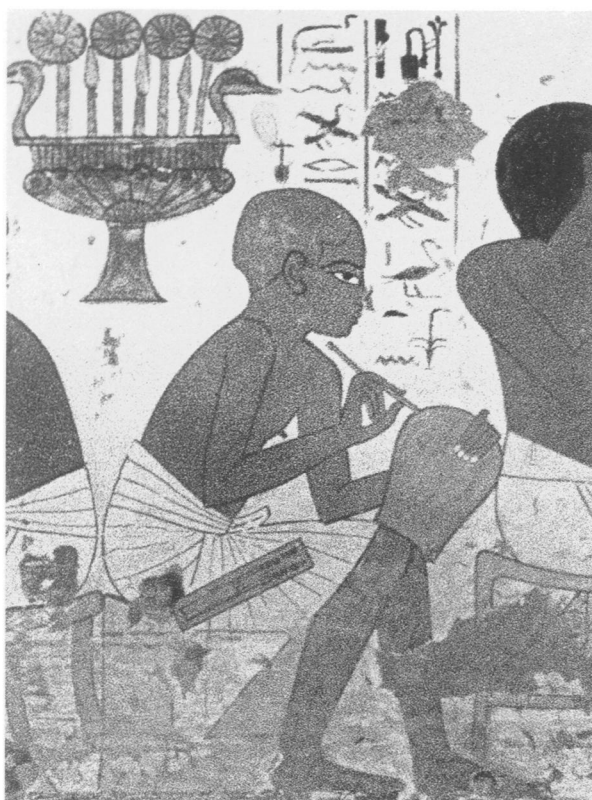
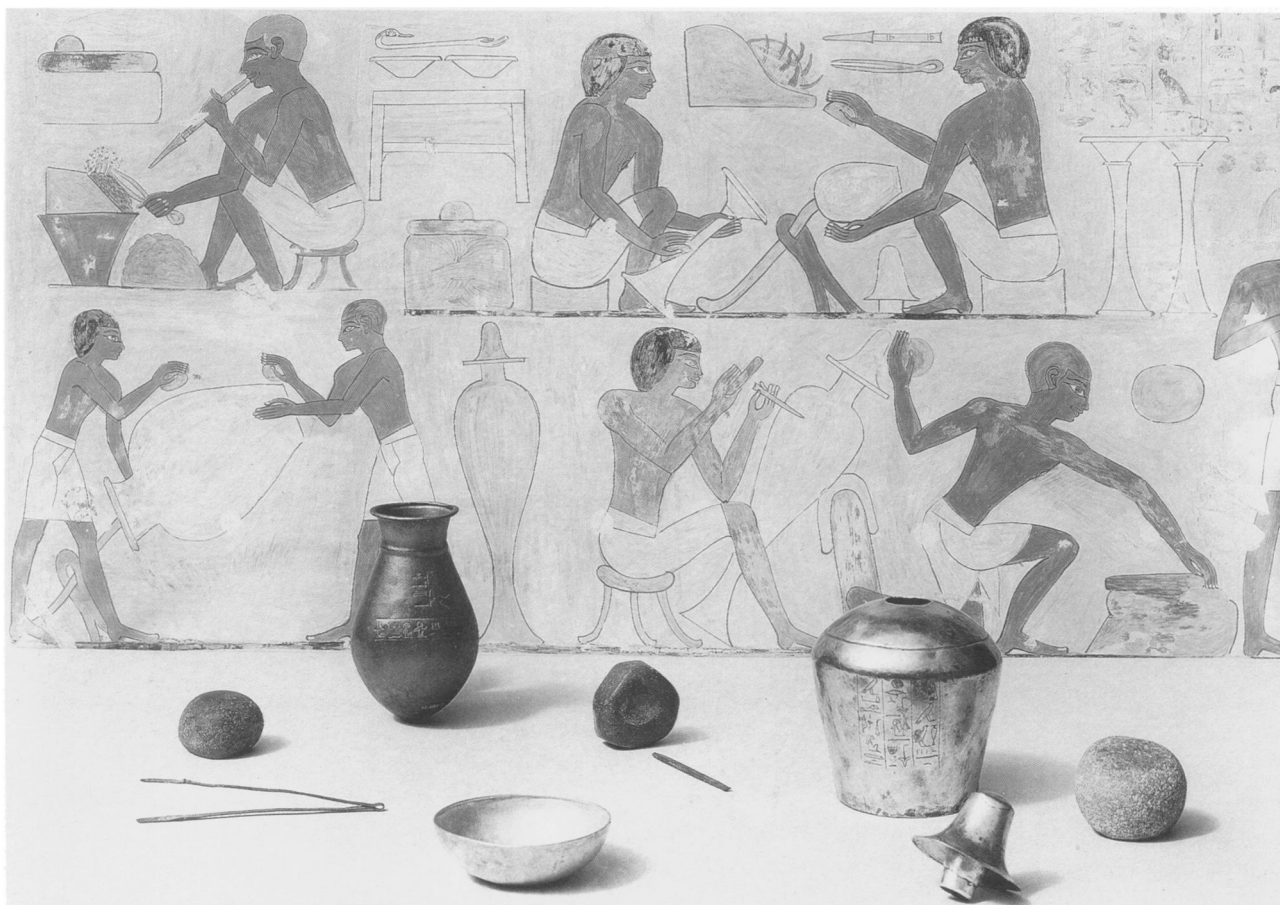


Figure 6. Tempera facsimile in the Metropolitan Museum of a wall painting in the New Kingdom Tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky (T181), showing the metalworker's tool kit. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1930, 30.4.103

artisan's lap seems to contain brushes.⁹ This artisan has been interpreted as sketching the design on the vessel with a brush.¹⁰

The tracing tool looks very similar to a chisel but has a rounded rather than cutting edge. When held against the metal and tapped at the other end with a hammer, the metal underneath the tracer's edge is compressed. With the tool held at a slight angle, the hammer's impact will nudge it forward so that a relatively continuous line can be made.¹¹ This process is depicted on wall paintings from Egypt, in the tombs of Rekhmire, Meri, and Puyemre, in enough detail to be able to see both the tools and the manner in which they are used (Figure 7).¹² In

Figure 7. Wall painting in the New Kingdom Tomb of Rekhmire showing metalworkers (from Norman de Garis Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-ré at Thebes* [New York, 1925], pl. 11)



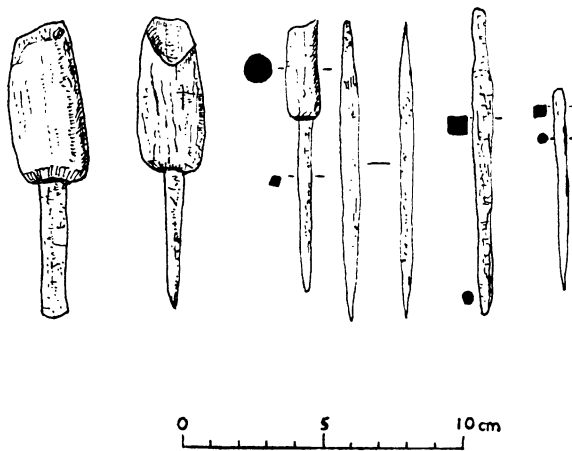


Figure 8a. Early and Middle Cypriot copper or copper-alloy tools from Lapithos, Cyprus (after Hector Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* [Oxford, 1964], fig. 4:11)



Figure 8b. Late Cypriot copper or copper-alloy tool from Lapithos, Cyprus (after Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework*, fig. 10:2)

all cases the tool is held against the vessel with one hand while the artisan taps it with a small stone held in the other. The tool is positioned at an angle of slightly less than ninety degrees to the surface of the vessel, indicating that the force applied to the metal sheet is primarily perpendicular.

Tools that may have been used by metalworkers have occasionally come to light during archaeological excavations on Cyprus and elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, though such mundane objects might well have escaped the attention of explorers intent on recovering works of art. Suitable tools for tracing have been found in a Middle Cypriot tomb at Lapithos and in a Late Cypriot tomb, also at Lap-

ithos.¹³ They provided the artisan with an edge that was easy to control in restricted areas (Figures 8a, 8b). Although these contexts are earlier than our silver bowl, there is no reason to believe the artisans on Cyprus had lost either the tool types or the techniques of their predecessors; our bowl suggests that they were familiar with both.

During the tracing process the bowl would have to be supported from the outside; Maryon mentions pitch, lead, soft wood, or sand as supporting materials,¹⁴ although other materials, such as wax, could have served the same purpose. If the walls of the bowl are thin enough, the metal will be pushed by the tracer into the supporting material, leaving a



Figure 9. Raised lines made by tracing tool on the back of silver bowl in Figure 1 (photo: Elizabeth Hendrix)

raised line on the outside. The present thickness of our phiale is 0.15 cm, thin enough for the tracer to have made such a raised line, and, indeed, the outlines of the figures are visible on the back of the bowl (Figure 9). Another indication of tracing is evident in some of the curved lines, where a “stepped” pattern resulting from the short length of the tracer tip can be seen (see, for example, the vessels and ladles shown in Figure 9). Under low magnification one can observe that the lines dip at one end in close intervals, evidence of the tapping of the angled tracer. Finally, the ends of the lines are rounded, betraying at once the shape of the tool and how it was applied to the metal (apparent in the arms and fingers of the reclining figures).

Had the design been engraved into the metal, the sharp angle of the burin or engraving tool’s cross section might have been evident in the inscribed line.¹⁵ The burin is also pushed along the surface of the object, but, rather than compressing the metal, it cuts and lifts the metal out of the line being made, which often leaves a tapered point at the end of the cut. This procedure makes smooth curving lines and will not produce significant ridges on the back of the vessel, since the force is horizontal rather than downward.

Besides being traced, many of the lines—both straight and curved—are made as a series of aligned points. This technique can be seen toward the back of the king’s couch and in some of the lines, including the top rim line, of the large amphora between the offering bearers and the musicians. It is not clear why this technique was used, unless the artisan intended to make a thinner line than was possible with the tracer.

The bulkier areas of the decorative motifs were further emphasized by repoussé, a hammering technique that results in some areas standing out in relief from the background. Varying round-tipped punches are used either to coax the metal outward, within particular boundaries, or to push the background down around the shapes to be left in relief. For our bowl it seems that it was more practical to hammer the relatively small amount of relief from the back. In order to contain the relief within the desired areas of the interior design, the artisan needed some indication on the back of the bowl to know where to apply the punch. One possibility would be to take advantage of the marks on the outside of the bowl resulting from the traced lines. With the repoussé finished, the final form of the bowl was completed.

Both the tools that have been excavated and the depictions of metalworking from Egypt are consistent with the materials and techniques suggested by our silver bowl. We can imagine a metals workshop where smiths, familiar with the general techniques in use throughout the eastern Mediterranean, produced vessels and other artifacts on a full-time basis. Such a shop may well have been located on Cyprus, since the inscription, and possibly the motif, indicate Cypriot patronage.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF THE BOWL

Over the last twenty-five hundred years the silver of the phiale has slowly deteriorated. Metallic silver survives relatively well in environments that are either waterlogged, or dry and alkaline with low salinity.¹⁶ Evidently these conditions did not prevail for our bowl during its long burial; Cyprus has enough rain and salts to make it less than ideal for preserving metal of any sort. In addition, after the bowl was unearthed it was exposed to the modern atmosphere, and perhaps to both chemical and mechanical cleaning treatments (treatment records were not always as detailed as they are today). On our bowl, several phases of corrosion products were visually and chemically identified.

The surface of the bowl has a mottled dark purplish brown-to-black appearance. Part of the dark patina may be black tarnish, or argentite, often the result of contact between silver and sulfur in the atmosphere; it probably formed after the bowl was excavated.

When the internal structure of the metal is examined, additional details about the manufacture of

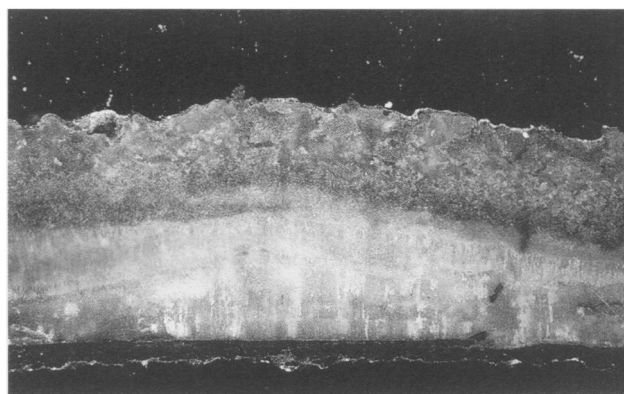


Figure 10. Metallograph of sample from silver bowl in Figure 1, crossed polars at 100x magnification (photo: Elizabeth Hendrix)

the object can sometimes be deduced. For example, the specific alloy can be determined from a polished cross section viewed under the high magnification of a special metallographic microscope. The alloy can help us to formulate questions about the local industry: Did the artisan or patron choose to save on materials by using a baser alloy, or, conversely, deliberately make use of nobler materials by working with a purer alloy? Was strength a factor in choosing the alloy? Or final color a primary concern? Comparable work must be analyzed to begin to answer such questions. Published silver-alloy compositions from a wide variety of time periods and locations in the Mediterranean strongly suggest that the selected alloy was often simply a matter of what was at hand.¹⁷

In the case of our silver bowl, the metallographic section shows that the silver in the sample has been completely mineralized, that is, converted to a stable, nonmetallic material (Figure 10). A sample from one of the other bowls (MMA 74.51.4556) also revealed that metal was no longer present. Corrosion products, which may have been present at one time, such as copper salts, could have leached out of the bowl during the long period of its burial; as a result, it is uncertain whether the bowl was made originally of pure silver. All that can be said for sure is that the alloy contained no gold, since that corrosion-resistant element would still be present.

Between the times when the phiale was in use and when it was excavated, it was surrounded by earth, moisture, and salts. While it was buried, chemical reactions took place that converted the silver at and below the surface of the bowl to more stable minerals. Elemental analysis of samples from the bowl identified a relatively even distribution of silver, chloride, bromide, and some sulfur.¹⁸ Chlorides in the burial environment, probably from sea salts, reacted with the metal to form silver chlorides, while silver bromide resulted when the silver came into contact with organic material.¹⁹

When viewed under crossed polarized light, the metallographic section reveals several layers of corrosion (see Figure 10).²⁰ Both silver chloride and silver bromide are photoreactive and are probably responsible for the visible layering effect of the corrosion. As anyone who has printed black-and-white photographs knows, exposing light-sensitive paper produces a dark image. The same chemical reactions turned the outer layers of our silver bowl dark. Energy from light split the silver from the chloride and bromide ions under conditions that permitted

the silver atoms to combine with each other, forming very finely divided particles which appear dark.²¹ As more and more of the metal converted to the stable silver chlorides and bromides, these minerals eventually reached a depth beyond the effects of light, remaining pale below that level.

THE CONSERVATION HISTORY OF THE BOWL

The modern history of the phiale's physical condition illustrates how such bowls have been appreciated and thus treated over the last hundred years or so. The sequence of events can be summarized as follows:

In 1874–76, bowls and bowl fragments MMA 74.51.4556, 4557, 4558, and 4559 (among others) were acquired for the Museum (Figure 11). Soon thereafter, in 1887, phiale 4556 was published by Allan Marquand.²² It was presented in a drawing that shows one fragment at the center, with no joining edges to link it to the rest of the bowl. The central motif illustrates an Egyptian figure smiting three enemies.

Myres's *Handbook* of the Cesnola Collection appeared in 1914. Bowls 4556 and 4557 and fragments 4558 and 4559 were all described separately, with the proviso that 4559 possibly belonged to 4557.²³ Myres illustrated 4556 in a new drawing, revealing that by 1914 two fragments had been incorporated into the reconstruction at the center of the bowl.

In 1923–24, Bissing published fragments of the Museum's silver phialae and illustrated our bowl in the earliest photograph known of it.²⁴ Two fragments of silver, with traced designs of running animals (MMA 74.51.4558a and 4558b), were incorporated in the plaster backing—probably the first restoration of the bowl (Figure 12). The dark, painted plaster is rough and terminates well below the preserved rim of the phiale. Although the restoration is unattractive, it permits the viewer a glimpse of the thinness of the ancient bowl. In his description of the bowl, however, Bissing joined Myres in suggesting that fragment 4559 should be considered a part of the bowl rather than the fragments with running animals, as illustrated in the photograph provided to him for his article.

An early photograph of the bowls on exhibition shows the condition of bowl 74.51.4556 prior to 1934 (Figure 13). It appears, from the shadows around the edges of the silver, that the bowl and the two central fragments rest on the backing plaster

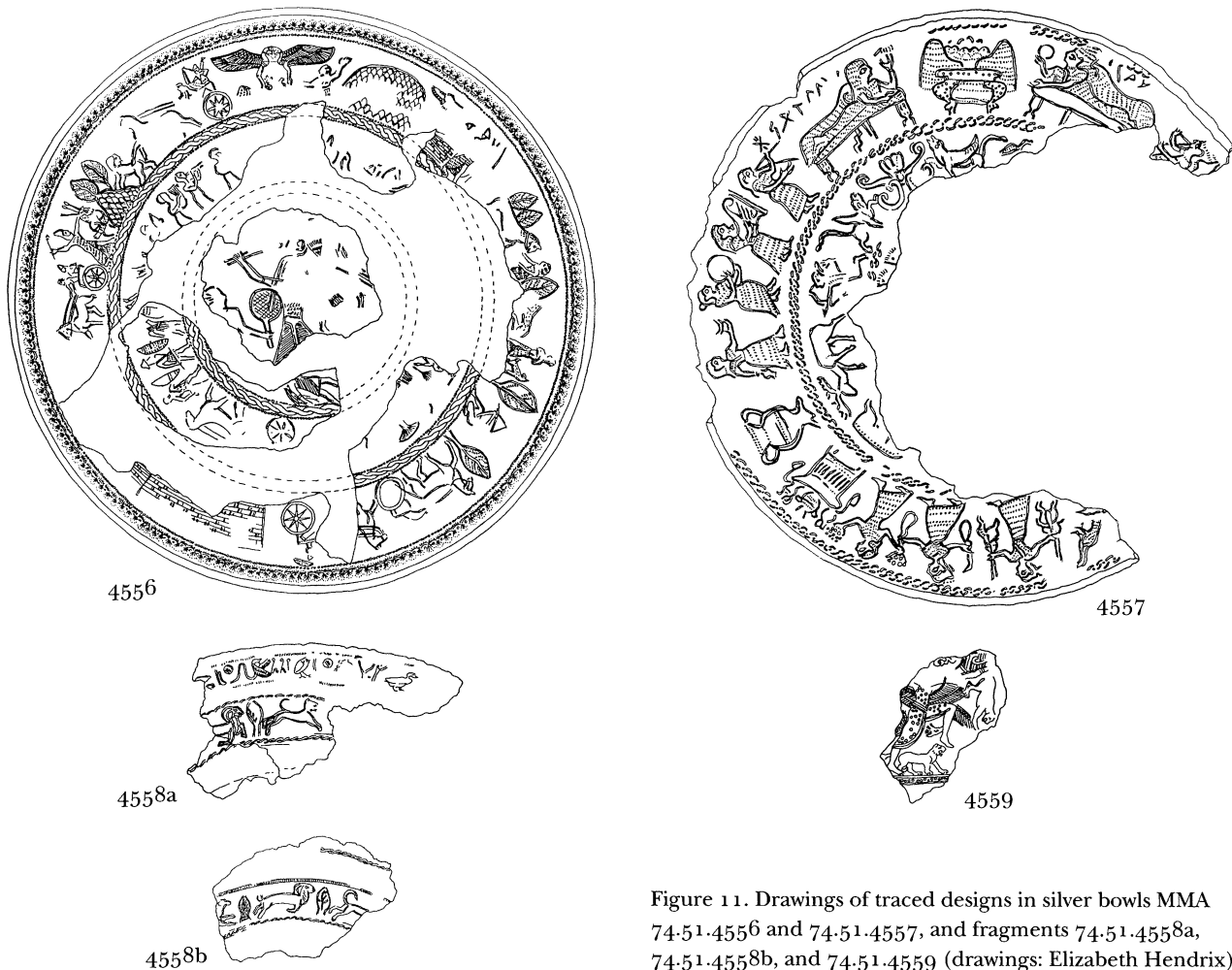


Figure 11. Drawings of traced designs in silver bowls MMA 74.51.4556 and 74.51.4557, and fragments 74.51.4558a, 74.51.4558b, and 74.51.4559 (drawings: Elizabeth Hendrix)

rather than being incorporated into it, thus preserving for the viewer a sense of the metal's original thinness.

Detail photographs dating to September 1934, recording new conservation work, show our bowl combined with fragment 4558b in a new position (Figure 14); 4558a was probably removed during this treatment. Now the plaster restoration is smoother and continues to the height of the original rim. An inscribed line, cut into the plaster before it was painted, isolates 4558b from the offering bearers on our bowl. Is this line meant to indicate to the viewer that the fragment does not belong to the rest of the bowl? It is curious that fragment 4558b was moved to a new location in the bowl, rather than being simply removed. Below the musicians the plaster restoration fills in a loss at the griffin's wing (see Figure 15), which had been preserved in the pre-1934 photograph. The missing fragment was recently located in storage and has been

restored to its proper location during the present treatment of the Cesnola silver.

A photograph from May 1938 shows our bowl in a new plaster setting, with fragment 4559 placed at the center and neither of the fragments, 4558a or 4558b, present (Figure 15).²⁵ This reconfiguration may have been a delayed response to the earlier suggestions that 4559 belonged to 4557. Fragment 4559 (see Figure 11) does not belong to this bowl, however. Regardless of whether the mythical subject matter was appropriate to the rest of the iconography, examination under low magnification makes plain the different quality of the traced design: 4559 belongs to a design that has been rendered in exceptionally fine lines, quite different from the bold and vigorous lines of 4557. This was the last time that the bowl was restored prior to its present treatment. In the meantime, it was frequently published, from 1939 to 1985, in a broken condition as well as in an earlier, better-preserved state.²⁶



Figure 12. Earliest known photograph (pre-1934) of silver bowl MMA 74.51.4557, combined with fragments from silver bowl MMA 74.51.4558



Figure 14. September 1934 photograph of silver bowl MMA 74.51.4557

Since 1938, the thinness of the silver bowl—even in its corroded condition—was entirely obscured by the thick plaster backing. Evidently the motif in the interior was the most important feature of the bowl in the opinion of the person who decided to restore it in this manner; second in importance was the fact that the extant remains did indeed come from a bowl. The end result was an overall shape in which the traced designs and figures on the silver fragments were further enhanced by being filled in with modern white paint. The layers of modern restoration materials thus made it difficult to appreciate the original substance of the phiale, perhaps because that was not deemed of great importance. Certainly, the evidence for the manufacturing technique, such as the raised tracing on the back of

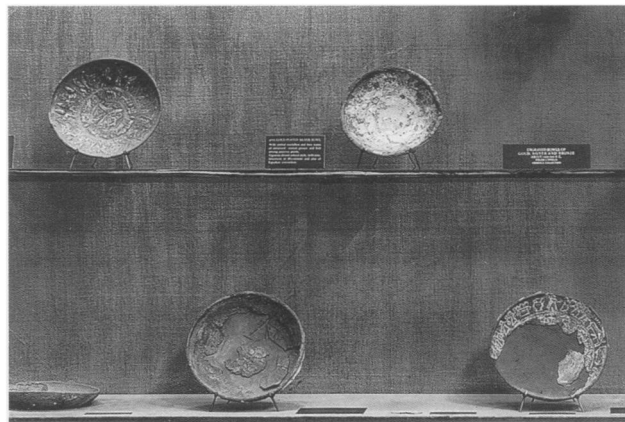


Figure 13. Early photograph of silver bowls MMA 74.51.4556 and MMA 74.51.4557 on display in the Metropolitan Museum



Figure 15. May 1938 photograph of silver bowl MMA 74.51.4557, combined with fragment 74.51.4559

the bowl, was not considered worth presenting to the viewer.

On the other hand, the fragments of silver were more or less protected over the years by their heavy plaster armor. The brittle mineralized silver was handled on a number of occasions, judging from the various states of preservation documented in the photographs of the bowl over the last six decades. Had there been no backing, the bowl would have suffered numerous additional losses.

When the bowl was brought to the conservation laboratory in 1997, it was in four large pieces, riddled with cracks running through both the silver and the plaster restorations. Fragments of silver jutted out vulnerably from these main “sherds.” As the plaster was carved away from the silver it became

apparent that it had been applied in three layers: first was a relatively pure plaster-of-Paris layer sealed with shellac. This was followed by a layer in which a water-soluble glue (probably animal glue) had been added. Finally the hardest, outer layer was applied, and the whole restoration, inside and out, was painted a dark brown to match the dark tones of the patina. In other words, considerable care was expended in constructing the plaster restoration. What seems insensitive to our eyes was probably carried out with thoughtful attention.

Since the legibility of the traced design has always been important, it was filled with a material that contrasted with the background. Paint continues to enhance the linear designs, since it is the only way to highlight the motifs and decoration. In order to determine whether any of the layers of varying colors had been applied in ancient times, one of the fragments (4558a) was analyzed by SEM/EDS (see note 18). The top layer of paint included titanium, introduced as a white pigment in the early twentieth century;²⁷ the middle layer contained carbon black and flakes of brass (an alloy of copper and zinc which postdates ancient Cyprus); and the bottom layer consisted of calcium carbonate. Presumably this last could have been applied in antiquity or sometime before the dark layer was painted on top of it.

One of the effects of previous "chalkings" was that some of the motifs on the bowls and fragments were obscured by too much white, while others were invisible due to the total lack of the filling color. Further confusion was created by the white paint filling in scratches and pits in the surface that have nothing to do with the design. In the present treatment I removed all the modern white paint (which, unlike the calcium carbonate, was soluble in acetone), and then, with the aid of a binocular microscope, lightly painted in the lines of the design with pale dull purple acrylic.

The bowls have been restored so that the delicacy of their dimensions—including their original thicknesses—and the range of styles employed for the interior designs can be best appreciated. Fragments can still convey the shapes of the bowls from which they came while they also tell of the effects of time on the substance of works of art. The material and technology embodied in these ancient silver vessels, as well as the decorative motifs, provide information that enhances our understanding of the eastern Mediterranean during the first millennium B.C., both from a technological and an art-historical point of view.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Joan R. Mertens and Vassos Karageorghis for the opportunity to study and work with the Cesnola Collection's silver, and for much excellent advice during both the treatment and the report phases of this project. Susan M. White assisted in preparing metallographic samples, and Mark T. Wypyski carried out elemental analyses by SEM/EDS. Special thanks are due to James H. Frantz, Richard E. Stone, Dorothy H. Abramitis, Deborah Schorsch, Lisa Pilosi, Anne Heywood, and John M. Russell for assistance in interpreting analyses and for reading and making comments on the text, and to the other members of my department for their helpful suggestions.

NOTES

1. Wolfgang Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches (Teil VI)*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1969, 4 (Mainz and Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 968–69. The sense of the text may mean that the silver merchants simply passed through Cyprus, so the island may not have been the actual source of the metal.
2. However, see Glenn Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 9–10, 19.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 108–9, and E10.
4. "Spinning" a shape on a lathe will not be discussed here.
5. Herbert Maryon, "Metal Working in the Ancient World," *American Journal of Archaeology* 53 (1949), pp. 94–95.
6. On the structure and properties of some metals used in antiquity, see David A. Scott, *Metallography and Microstructure of Ancient and Historic Metals*, The Getty Conservation Institute (Los Angeles, 1991), pp. 1–3, 7, and 129, fig. 205: copper-silver binary system phase diagram.
7. Bernd Scheel, *Egyptian Metalworking and Tools* (Princes Risborough, Aylesbury, Bucks., 1989), p. 39, fig. 42, after Selim Hassan, "Excavations at Saqqara 1937–38," *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 38 (1938), pl. 96.
8. Cf. Scheel, *Egyptian Metalworking*, pp. 38, 40.
9. Norman de Garis Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes* (New York, 1925), pl. 11.
10. Jürgen Settgast, "Die Silberschale des Merenptah," *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 23 (1986), p. 135.
11. Cf. Maryon, "Metal Working," p. 115.
12. Cf. Settgast, "Silberschale," p. 135, fig. 26a–c. In the New Kingdom tomb of Rekhmire, at Thebes, gold and silver workers are depicted on wall paintings, and their work is described in supercriptions. All the steps of the operation are shown here except the initial smelting of the ore. Molten metal is carefully poured into crucibles, beaten into disks, raised or planished over slanted anvils, rubbed smooth with stones, and finally embel-

- lished with traced designs. Few paintings illustrating metalworkers are known from the Twenty-first to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (ca. 1070–525 B.C.), or the Late Period (ca. 525–332 B.C.), suggesting this subject was of less interest to Egyptians during the first millennium B.C. than it had been previously. I know of only one Late Period tomb decorated with depictions of metalworking. Three artisans simultaneously hammer sheet metal on an anvil, while implements for annealing are also evident. On the history of metalworking in Egypt, including illustrations from Twenty-sixth Dynasty and the Late Period, see Bernd Scheel, “Studien zum Metallhandwerk im alten Ägypten, III: Handlungen und Beischriften in den Bildprogrammen der Gräber des Neuen Reiches und der Spätzeit,” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 14 (1987), pp. 252, 261; and Luise Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des neuen Reiches (XVIII.–XX. Dynastie, ca. 1580–1100 v. Chr.), Teil I: Szenen aus dem Leben des Volkes* (Heidelberg, 1934), p. 111.
13. Hector Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (Oxford, 1964), p. 64, and fig. 4:11 (MC tomb), p. 95, and fig. 10:2 (LC tomb).
 14. Maryon, “Metal Working,” pp. 116, 122.
 15. See, for example, the engraved inscription on a silver bowl of Merenptah; Settgast, “Silberschale,” fig. 24.
 16. Catherine Sease, *A Conservation Manual for the Field Archaeologist*, 2d ed., Archaeological Research Tools, 4 (Los Angeles, 1992), p. 2.
 17. See, for example, the analyses in Nathaniel H. Gale and Zoe A. Stos-Gale, “Ancient Egyptian Silver,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 67 (1981), pp. 111–12; M. Kallfass, J. Paul, and H. Jehn, “Investigations on the Embrittlement of an Antique Roman Silver Bowl,” *Practical Metallurgy* 22 (1985); Lawrence Becker, Lisa Pilosi, and Deborah Schorsch, “An Egyptian Statuette of the Saite Period—A Technical Study,” *MMJ* 29 (1994); and, for a general discussion of the subject, see Scott, *Metallography and Microstructure*, and Appendix F for specific analyses.
 18. Elemental analyses of the structure of the bowl and paint samples were carried out by Mark Wypyski on a scanning electron microscope (SEM) equipped with an energy-dispersive spectrometer (EDS).
 19. Janey M. Cronyn, *The Elements of Archaeological Conservation* (London, 1990), p. 231.
 20. Microscope = C. Zeiss Axiovert 405 M; light source = Zeiss xenon arc; photograph at 100x magnification using Kodak Tungsten 64 speed film.
 21. Carroll B. Neblette, *Photography: Its Materials and Processes*, 6th ed. (Princeton, 1962), pp. 180–95, and R. E. Stone, personal communication.
 22. Allan Marquand, “A Silver Patera from Kourion,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 3 (1887), pp. 322–37, pl. 30.
 23. John L. Myres, *Handbook: Cesnola Collection* (New York, 1914), p. 464.
 24. Friederich Wilhelm von Bissing, “Untersuchungen über die ‘phönikischen’ Metallschalen,” *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 38–39 (1923–24), pp. 217–18.
 25. When the 4558 sherds were removed, a small fragment from 4558a must have broken off, since it was incorporated in the 1938 restoration of 4556 along with several other “homeless” fragments of silver. These fragments were removed during the present treatment, and the one belonging to 4558a was reattached.
 26. Most references (not cited here) discuss the bowls without illustrating them. Illustrations are published in: Einar Gjerstad, “Decorated Metal Bowls from Cyprus,” *Opuscula Archaeologica* 4 (1946), pp. 10ff., pl. 8 (Fragment 4556); R. L. Alexander, “The Royal Hunt,” *Archaeology* 16 (1963), pp. 247ff., figs. 5, 6 (Fragment 4556), reproducing Myres’s 1914 drawing; Terence B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 83 (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 12 (Fragment 4557), in 1938 condition; Peter Blome, “Phönizische Dämonen auf einem attischen Krater,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1985, p. 577, fig. 4 (Fragment 4556), reproducing Myres’s 1914 drawing; Hartmut Matthäus, *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern, Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, 2, vol. 8 (Munich, 1985), p. 165:430, pls. 36, 38 (Fragment 4556); Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, pp. 252–53 (Fragments 4557, 4559; shown in broken condition on p. 252); Robert Laffineur, ed., *Amathonte*, vol. 3, *Testimonia*, 3: *L’orfèvrerie* (Paris, 1986), p. 185 (Fragment 4556).
 27. Max Doerner, *The Materials of the Artist and Their Use in Painting*, trans. Eugen Neuhaus, rev. ed. (New York, 1962).

A Cypriot Silver Bowl Reconsidered

3. The Inscription

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THE SILVER BOWL or phiale (MMA 74.51.4557; Figures 1, 4), the primary object of concern in this survey, is probably from Kourion, within the broader region of Paphos. It was dated by Einar Gjerstad to the beginning of the sixth century B.C. (see, however, the comments on this score by Vassos Karageorghis, above).¹

Thanks to the restoration undertaken by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, we now have the opportunity to try for a better reading of the bowl's inscriptions. In spite of this, however, we must assume that some essential elements in a number of signs have been lost forever as a result of corrosion.

THE LEGEND ABOVE THE RECUMBENT QUEEN

The inscription reads from left to right (see Figure 1). Unquestionably, it refers to the female figure (on the left) beneath it, lying on a *kline* or couch (κλίνη) and looking at her partner at the right. Thus, one may logically expect a feminine proper name in the nominative, or possibly a title. The number of syllabic signs cannot be precisely determined, and it would be possible to come up with between six and eight, depending on how one arranged the strokes. My own preference is for seven as will be explained further on.

The engraver started the legend far to the left. The first sign in the group stands above the double flute of the leading female musician. The signs are clearly separated by intervening spaces.

Of the previous readings, that of Otto Hoffmann (*i-pe-ro-po-ta-ko*) must be almost completely rejected; we may retain only his reading of the third sign, *ro*.² Olivier Masson included this inscription in his

Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques, as no. 179, and ventured for the first three signs the reading *a-pe-ro* (with a question mark at the *a*).³ He did not attempt a transliteration from sign 4 on. Terence Mitford read the whole as *ku-po-ro-ta-le-u* (Κυπροθάλευ[ς]), and he was certainly correct with regard to signs 1 through 3.⁴ His reading of sign 6 also appears to be accurate, though his suggested transliterations for signs 4 and 5 are unconvincing, which is, I believe, equally the case with his grammatical interpretation of the entire name (as the genitive singular masculine of a proper name Κυπρο-θάλης). While Masson accepts this as “très séduisante,” in the 1983 edition of his *Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Markus Egetmeyer rightly expresses reservations.⁵

Let us now consider these signs, one at a time.

Sign 1: *ku*. Its form, now visible again thanks to the Metropolitan's restoration, corresponds precisely to that in the Early Paphian grid, in *Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* (p. 66), with the two small vertical strokes at the very top.⁶

Sign 2: The *po* was engraved in two curving strokes.

Sign 3: *ro*. This sign—and what remains of those that follow—is considerably smaller than the first two. At the top, it is on a line with the preceding characters, but it does not extend as far downward. Like the preceding character, it was also written with two strokes. The stroke extending from the upper right to the lower left accidentally became too long. (Perhaps the engraver merely slipped here; the bottom part of the stroke is considerably thinner. Both downward strokes should be the same length.)

As Mitford proposed, this gives us *ku-po-ro*, or Κυπρο-, the first element of a proper name. It refers to the island, and it is certain that such a name would have been given only to members of the landowning aristocracy. (Of the syllabary inscriptions, see, for example, the masculine Κυπρό-φιλος [*Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, no. 158]; Κυπρό-

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The notes for part 3 begin on page 35.
Figures 1–3 appear in part 1 of this article, Figures 4–15 in part 2.

θεμυς [*Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, pp. 15f.]; Κυπρό-τιμος [*Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, no. 205]; the feminine Κυπρό-τίμα, etc. It is rarer to find -κυπρό- as the second element, as in the repeatedly attested Φιλό-κυπρος.)

These first three signs are well preserved; those that follow, however, are difficult to reconcile with the normal forms of the Paphian grid. Their vertical strokes are all slanted slightly to the left.

Sign 4: Its form does not fully correspond to any registered in the Paphian grid. The interpretation as *ta*, or *†*, which was first suggested by Mitford, would presuppose that the sign's vertical *hasta* continued upward beyond the intersection of the two strokes. Yet there is no trace of this that one can see. Moreover, one must remember that the upper ends of the preceding signs all seem to lie along the same imaginary horizontal line. The horizontal stroke has been extended a bit to the left.

Now let me anticipate here, briefly, my conclusion regarding the queen's inscription. I am inclined, by my overall sense of what this proper name might be, to conclude that sign 4 could be the syllable *me*. My reasons will become clear in a moment. Suffice it to say that—at the least—the remaining fragments of the sign do not exclude this possibility. In *Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, no. 8—an inscription in the Late Paphian syllabary—the sign *me* takes the forms ¹ε, ²ε. There, the right angle is present in just the manner we see on our bowl, and this is probably the case, as well, for the small stroke pointing off from it to the left. To be sure, one would also have to assume the loss of the vertical *hasta* to the left. For the time being, however, we will treat this sign as an unknown quantity.

Sign 5: It is possible, in sign 5, that there were, in fact, two diagonal strokes branching downward and to the right from the vertical *hasta*; the upper one is clear, and a tiny remainder of the lower one is still visible next to the vertical *hasta*. If so, the sign would bear a similarity to the Early Paphian *to* τ. This is closed off at the top by a horizontal stroke, which survives on the left and right.

Sign 6: As Mitford proposed, this must be considered a *u*. It corresponds precisely to its specific Paphian form: ¹υ.

Sign 7: I take the two surviving small strokes at the top between the *u* and the woman's head to be what is left of a seventh sign, otherwise lost. The left stroke is clearly slanted to the right, so one could imagine—this is, of course, hypothetical—that

these are the remains of the sign *sa*, which takes the form of an acute angle, open at the top: *∨*.

Altogether, then, this would give us:

ku-po-ro-[x]-†o-u-sa

I would like to propose—with one addition, the *me* mentioned just above—a transliteration for this as follows:

Κυπρομέδουσα

This would be a suitably expressive name for a queen: “she who holds sway, reigns over Cyprus.” The masculine pendant Κυπρομέδων is documented in *Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, no. 142.1 (in the dative *ku-po-ro-me-to-[ti]*). The verb μέδω frequently has the name of a country as its genitive object.⁸

We have not yet had an active feminine present participle in the corpus of Cypriot inscriptions. Presumably, one must interpret its diphthong *-ou-* in much the same way as the *-au-* in *ki-yo-na-u-se* (κυγόνανς [accusative plural]) in a number of Paphian inscriptions. (There, the nasal of the case ending *-ans* has been vocalized.)

THE LEGEND ABOVE THE FIGURE OF THE KING

Mitford emphatically stated that this inscription (Figure 1, on the right, above the king) was “clearly not syllabic”—that we are faced, here, with an alphabetic script.⁹ Moreover, other researchers have not incorporated these signs into the Cypriot syllabic material. Yet it seems improbable that different types of scripts would have been used for two figures that are so definitely related to each other. On the assumption that they are in the same syllabic script, let us take a look.

Here, too, the legend most likely consists of a proper name or a title, this time a masculine noun. Again, one must assume a reading from left to right. What we see here are probably the remains of four signs. I make no assertions about the first two. It does seem possible, however, to read sign 3 as the remnant of a *le*, and sign 4 as a surviving fragment of a Paphian *se*. This would give us *[x-][x-]le-se*, producing the nominative ending *-s* that one would expect. Naturally, all this is highly uncertain. Let me only suggest, and very tentatively, that what might have been inscribed here—appropriately enough—was *pa-si-le-se* (βασιλεής) or “king.” (This is the dialectical form for βασιλεύς.)

NOTES

1. Einar Gjerstad, "Decorated Metal Bowls from Cyprus," *Opuscula Archaeologica* 4 (1946), pp. 3ff.
2. Otto Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange*, vol. 1, *Der süd-achäische Dialekt* (Göttingen, 1891), p. 61, no. 116.
3. Olivier Masson, *Les Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Études chypriotes, 1 (Paris, 1961); rev. and augmented repr. (Paris, 1983).
4. Terence B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 83 (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 11ff., no. 2.
5. Masson, *Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, 1983, p. 398; Markus Egetmeyer, *Wörterbuch zu den Inschriften im kyprischen Syllabar* (unter Berücksichtigung einer Arbeit von Almut Hintze), *Kadmos Supplement*, 3 (Berlin and New York, 1992), p. 72.
6. A earlier reading of an *i* instead of *ku* is precisely what occurred in the case of *Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, no. 283; see Günter Neumann, "Beiträge zum Kyprischen XII," *Kadmos* 29 (1990), pp. 163ff. There, we now have the masculine proper name Κυπροφαντίλος.
7. In other local grids it has the value *ko*. However, I do not think that should be seen as a factor, even though O. Hoffmann thought otherwise.
8. See, for example, Alcaeus Z 31 (E. Lobel and D. Page, eds., *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, rev. ed. [Oxford, 1963], p. 273, no. 354): Ἀχιλλεύς ὁ τὰς Σκυθίκας μέδεις (present active participle).
9. Mitford, *Inscriptions of Kourion*, p. 12.

“Nikias Made Me”: An Early Panathenaic Prize Amphora in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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MANY FESTIVALS in ancient Greece were dedicated to the gods. One of the best known is the Panathenaia, the annual celebration held in Athens to honor Athena in the first month of the Attic year, the summer month of Hekatombaion. The Panathenaia lasted several days and culminated in a grand procession that began at sunrise on the twenty-eighth, the goddess's birthday. Its terminus was the Akropolis, where sacrifices were performed and the venerated wooden statue of Athena was adorned with a new peplos woven for the occasion. About 566 B.C., the Greater Panathenaia was instituted, a more elaborate celebration that took place every four years.¹ Religious ritual and a limited number of competitions, probably mostly hippic, were a part of the festival from the time of its inception in the eighth or seventh century B.C., perhaps even earlier.² With the inauguration of the Greater Panathenaia, festival officials reorganized the games to include new contests, in particular, athletic events. At about this time, potters created a special type of vase to hold the valuable olive oil awarded to the victor in each contest.³ In the pages that follow I will discuss the context in which such works were made and chart their evolution, with a focus on the Panathenaic vase that entered The Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection in 1978—the vase that Nikias made.

The type of storage vessel in question is called a Panathenaic amphora. A typical, indeed canonical, example, which may be dated to about 520 B.C., is New York, MMA 14.130.12, by the Euphiletos Painter (Figures 1, 2).⁴ The Panathenaic amphora has an echinus-shaped mouth that is flat on top and unglazed to receive a lid, a short neck with a raised ring separating it from the shoulder, and two vertical handles that are round in section; the body is very wide at the shoulder and tapers sharply to a

narrow, echinus foot. The vase looks as if it would tip over easily and probably needed a stand to support it. Panathenaic prize amphorae hold a standard liquid measure of 38 to 39 liters (40 to 41 quarts). Their decoration is always in the Attic black-figure technique even long after that method was superseded, in the late sixth century B.C., by the more expressive red-figure technique. The figural decoration is set in panels and is also standard. Above the panel, on the obverse, just below the ring at the junction with the neck, there is a frieze of tongues, at first red alternating with black, later all black. On this side, Athena strides to the left between two columns surmounted by cocks,⁵ and an inscription alongside the left column informs the viewer that the vase was awarded as a prize: TONAΘENEΘENAΘAON (“from the Games at Athens”). Athena wears a long chiton with her aegis over her shoulders, its snaky fringe hanging down her back to waist level at least (usually farther), and on her head is a high-crested Attic helmet with L-shaped cheek pieces. A round shield held on her left arm and a spear in her raised right hand complete her image. On the reverse is a representation of the event for which the vase was awarded; on the shoulder at the junction with the neck is a zone of tongues similar to those on the obverse, but with a band of glaze that separates it from the figural panel below. A chain of lotuses and palmettes decorates each side of the neck, and above the foot is a zone of rays.⁶ The canonical Panathenaic prize amphora looked like this from about 530 B.C. until the end of the fifth century.

The earliest preserved, almost canonical, Panathenaic prize amphora is attributed to Exekias (Figures 3, 4).⁷ Exekias signs vases both as potter and as painter, and he is one of the best, if not the best, Athenian black-figure painter.⁸ As a potter, he is an innovator, introducing such shapes as the eye cup, the calyx-krater, and the amphora Type A. He also reworked known shapes, among them the neck-

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The notes for this article begin on page 51.



Figure 1. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to the Euphiletos Painter showing the figure of Athena, ca. 520 B.C. H. 62 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1914, 14.130.¹²

amphora and the dinos. So it is perhaps not surprising that his only known Panathenaic vase introduces features that will become standard on the canonical prize vases that begin appearing in the 520s. The Karlsruhe Panathenaic is one of Exekias's early vases and probably dates to about 540 B.C. Here, for the first time, Athena appears between two columns, her right heel raised slightly to indicate forward movement instead of a stance. There is a tongue pattern on the shoulder at the junction with the neck, and the pattern on the neck is the lotus-palmette chain. The reverse depicts two amply proportioned wrestlers flanked by a wrestler and a spectator.⁹

The formulation of the canonical Panathenaic amphora took place over a period of approximately two decades, between 550 and 530 B.C. My concern, here, is with the earlier, precanonical prize



Figure 2. Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 1 showing sprinters

vases, in particular, those datable to before 550 B.C.

In 1978, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a well-preserved Panathenaic amphora (MMA 1978.11.13) that belongs to the group of early precanonical prize vases and may be dated shortly after the games were reorganized in 566 B.C. (Figures 5–8).¹⁰ In the panel on the obverse, Athena stands facing left, her spear held threateningly in her raised right hand, her round shield with a broad red rim on her outstretched left arm. The forepart of a roaring lion, with protruding tongue, emblazons the shield. The goddess wears a simple peplos, its skirt decorated with large, red dots and a central vertical panel that has incised spirals. Small incised Xs embellish the overfold of the garment. All that may be seen of her protective aegis is a little of its scaly surface below her right arm and the heads and necks of four bearded snakes, which form its fringe. On her head is a caplike helmet with a high crest that projects above the panel where its contour is separated from the black glaze by a reserved line.¹¹ As is the custom for female figures in Attic black-figure vases, her flesh is white.¹² Athena does not stride forward but has both feet planted firmly on the ground. We see inscribed in front of her, along the edge of the panel: ΤΟΝΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝΑΘΑΙΟΝ. Next to the right edge is the signature of the potter Nikias: ΝΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.¹³

The event for which Nikias's Panathenaic amphora was awarded as a prize is the sprint (stadion) for men, as the inscription in the upper right corner of the reverse panel tells us: ΑΝΔΡΟΝΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ. Three fit runners at the peak of the race dash vigorously to the right. Only the toes of the right foot of each touch ground, and arms are outstretched to increase speed and express exertion. They are shown running in the manner introduced about this time: the thigh of the leading leg (usually the

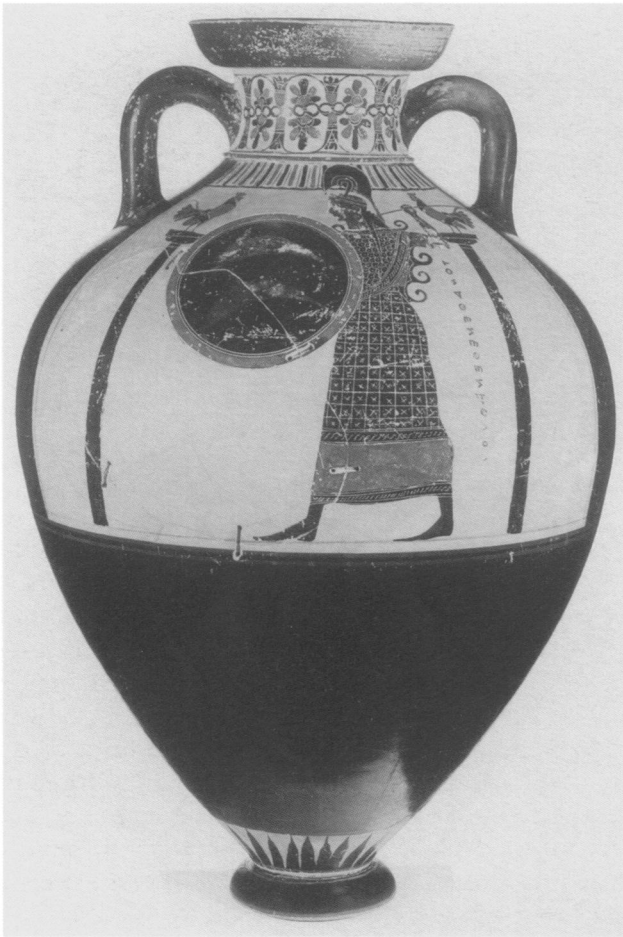


Figure 3. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to Exekias with the figure of Athena, ca. 540 B.C. H. 59.6 cm. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 65.45 (photo: Badisches Landesmuseum)

left) is raised very high so that it is roughly parallel to the ground line, with the foot well advanced; the arm on this side is raised, and both upper arms are horizontal relative to the shoulders, with the forearms bent at right angles. The visual effect is one of great energy, fully extended but ably controlled.¹⁴ The first and third runners have red hair and beards, the second a red face but black hair and beard; none has a mustache, as is frequently the case for depictions of men in the second quarter of the sixth century. In addition, around the right nipple of each is a circle in red.

Floral ornament is limited. On each side of the neck, the painter drew a lotus-palmette cross; above the restored foot appear seventeen whole and partially preserved rays. As is customary on Panathenaic amphorae, there is no ornament framing the



Figure 4. Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 3 showing wrestlers with spectators (photo: Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)

panel, only a line of glaze to provide a visual transition from the reserved background of the panel to the black glaze surrounding it.

The event depicted on the New York vase is one of three types of footrace included in the Panathenaic games during the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. These were the stadion, the diaulos, and the dolichos. The first was a sprint of approximately 200 yards that was run on a straight course, and this is the race on our Panathenaic, as the inscription attests. The diaulos was twice as long, and the dolichos even longer, though divided into stades that varied in number.¹⁵ Since the oval arena with its three pillars down the center was not in use before the Hellenistic period,¹⁶ the last two races were run on a straight track as well, but, because of their greater length, the athletes had to make a turn around a post or posts.¹⁷ Thus, the runners finished at the starting place in the latter two races; in the stadion, they finished at the end opposite the start. On the Panathenaic prize vase, the sprinter in the stadion and the diaulos is clearly distinguished from the long-distance runner of the dolichos. The sprinter, because of the speed with which he must run the race, displays vigorous action, such as we see in the men on the New York vase, as well as in depictions of the diaulos generally. Our best early evidence for the diaulos is a fragmentary Panathenaic, Athens, N.M. 2468, compared by Beazley with the Painter of the Boston C.A. (C.A. for "Circe-Acheloos").¹⁸ On this piece, which today consists of only a little of Side B, the name of the race is written vertically on the right side of the panel: ΔΙΑΥΛΟΔΡΟΜΟΕΙΜΙ, retrograde.¹⁹



Figure 5. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora signed by Nikias as potter, ca. 565–560 B.C. Restored H. 61.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Bothmer Purchase Fund, 1978, 1978.11.13



Figure 6. Detail of Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 5 showing the figure of Athena, the prize inscription, and the potter's signature

Competitors in the *dolichos* exhibit a much more fluid and open action, akin to modern marathon runners. As far as I can tell, no precanonical Panathenaic prize vase depicts the *dolichos*. The earliest preserved example seems to be a work by the Euphiletos Painter, in Boston,²⁰ which probably dates in the 520s and is canonical in shape and decoration. There is no inscription naming the race; it is identified by the appearance of the runners.²¹

The New York vase signed by Nikias belongs to a group of precanonical prize Panathenaics that may be dated to before 550 B.C. Those with a known provenance come from Athens, mainly from the Akropolis, the Agora, the Kerameikos, and from tombs near these sites. Today, most of them are reduced to fragments. I shall begin with the two precanonical instances, besides our amphora, that are well preserved.

Known since the early nineteenth century is London, B.M. 1848.7–28.834 (B 160), which was discovered on May 16, 1813, in a tomb located in what

is, today, central Athens (Figures 9, 10). This vase is the namepiece of the Burgon Group, after Thomas Burgon, who supervised the excavation.²² The proportions of the London amphora are similar to those of New York, MMA 1978.11.13, and the decoration is similarly spare. The neck of the Burgon amphora shows a siren on the obverse and an owl on the reverse; above the foot are rays. In the panel of Side A, a stocky Athena strides to the left, holding on her left arm a round shield emblazoned with a leaping dolphin and in her raised right hand a spear. She has a caplike helmet, with a rather low crest that projects slightly above the panel, and wears a peplos that has a broad vertical panel decorated with squares within squares down the center of its skirt. Its neckline and the lower border of the overfold are richly patterned. The necks and heads of three spotted snakes, as well as a reserved area, signify her aegis. In front of the goddess along the edge of the panel is the prize inscription:



Figure 7. Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 5 with sprinters



Figure 8. Detail of Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 5 showing the sprinters and the inscription naming the race

TONAΘENEΘENAΘAON : EMI (“I am from the Games at Athens”).²³ The reverse depicts the synoris, a race of paired horses or mules. The animals on this vase have distinctly horse ears, but everything else points to the scene being a race for mules. First of all, they draw a cart, identified by its crossbar wheels, and the driver sits in it. If it were a chariot, the wheels would have four spokes and the charioteer would stand in the box. Second, the animals do not wear headstalls with bits and reins but are guided by a short goad and a long rod held by the driver,²⁴ a dangerous way to try to control a team of spirited horses. Third, while the chariot pole is missing today,²⁵ the animals are hitched to it by a yoke bound to the pole and attached to a collar that encircles their necks just *above* their withers; a little of the collar remains in the form of the horizontal lines with added red between them below the point where the mane stops. This type of harness contrasts with that of horses, which are hitched to the vehicle by means of a yoke attached to a yoke saddle that rests on their backs just *behind* the withers, with a cushion between the yoke saddle and animal to prevent chafing its tender skin.²⁶

The second precanonical Panathenaic is the well-preserved prize amphora in Florence attributed to Lydos (Figures 11, 12).²⁷ It is closer in design to the canonical prize vase—such as MMA 14.130.12—than are the New York Nikias and Burgon amphorae, since it has the tongue pattern on the obverse, between the top of the panel and the ring at the junction with the neck, as well as the lotus-palmette chain on each side of the neck. On Side A, Athena strides to the left holding a splendid shield, embellished with a starburst encircled by a broad, red band, and she grips a spear in her raised right hand. She wears a caplike helmet with a high crest, which overlaps the tongue pattern above, a peplos with three-dimensional folds in the skirt, and the aegis with snakes cascading down her back to a point almost level with her knees. Before her stands a nude victor holding a long fillet in his left hand. There are no columns. On Side B, Lydos depicted a chariot drawn by four horses galloping to the right, and the prize inscription is written in the field just below the top of the panel. On this side, there is no tongue pattern, though the rays are present above the foot. The



Figure 9. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to the Burgon Group, ca. 560 B.C. H. 61.3 cm. London, British Museum, 1848.7-28.834 (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

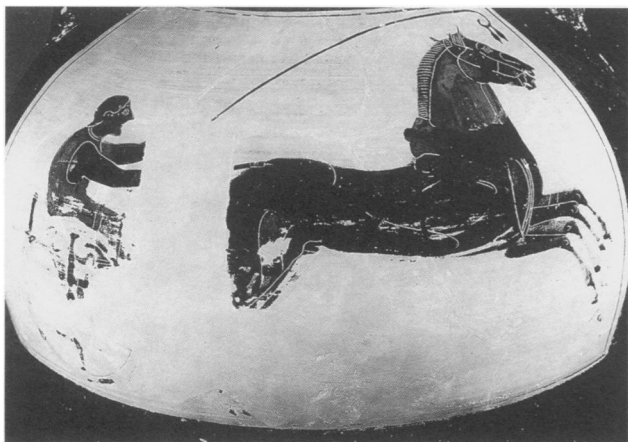


Figure 10. Detail of Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 9 showing the synoris (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Florence vase is probably later than the New York and Burgon Panathenaics.

The Burgon amphora has long been considered one of the very earliest preserved prize vases. Since hippic events were a significant part of the Panathenaic Festival's competitions from the earliest times, the synoris on the reverse of the Burgon amphora releases it from any connection with the date when the games were reorganized to include athletic events. Quite some time ago, Beazley even suggested that the Burgon amphora might predate 566 B.C.,²⁸ but today scholars are unanimous in dating it about 560 B.C.

The New York Nikias amphora, MMA 1978.11.13, sheds new and important light on the relative chronology of these early Panathenaic prize vases and their relevance to 566 B.C. In order to establish its chronological position, we may begin by considering the shape, then the placement of the panel on the body and the scheme of decoration, the style of the drawing, and, finally, the inscriptions. Our discussion will treat the four prize vases mentioned so far: the New York Nikias vase; the Burgon amphora; Lydos's vase; and the Euphiletos Painter's amphora, with which we began, for he is the first artist to leave us several prize amphorae.²⁹

From its inception, the Panathenaic shape has a top-heavy look, but if one compares the details, one may discern an evolution among these four examples, with the amphora by the Euphiletos Painter displaying the latest features. His prize vase has a shorter neck, the convex curve of its body is very tight, and its greatest diameter is lower compared with Nikias's amphora. The body of the Burgon amphora is similar in shape to the vase by the Euphiletos Painter, but it has a thicker neck, shorter handles, and its contour is not as taut (Figures 1, 9). The greatest diameter of Lydos's amphora is quite high in relation to the height, its contour is rather slack, its neck low and thick, and its handles small. In other words, there is considerable variation in shape among the three amphorae, and all these differences, taken together, are in considerable contrast with the analogous features of the canonical prize vase by the Euphiletos Painter.

Decorative elements provide better chronological guides. The lotus-palmette cross on the neck of Nikias's amphora and the absence of a tongue pattern above either panel differ markedly from the treatment of these areas on the canonical prize vase. The same applies to the Burgon amphora. Lydos, however, paints a chain of lotuses and pal-

mettes on each side of the neck of his Panathenaic (in Florence), and he places a zone of tongues above the panel on the obverse. In these two ways, his treatment of patterns foreshadows what is to come with the canonical prize vase.

More telling is the placement of the panels. On the amphora by the Euphiletos Painter, these extend from handle to handle, and the ground line occurs well below the maximum diameter of the body. In sharp contrast are the two panels on New York, MMA 1978.11.13, which are rather narrow, with a good bit of distance between them and the handles. On the Burgon amphora and Lydos's amphora, the panels are considerably wider.³⁰ On New York, MMA 1978.11.13, the figure of Athena stands approximately in the middle of the panel; on the Burgon amphora, she appears slightly to the right of center, about where she will be when the columns are introduced.³¹ Other stylistic features of New York, MMA 1978.11.13, that mark it as early are these: Athena is short and sturdy; she has both feet flat on the ground instead of one heel raised, as will be the case later; she wears a caplike helmet instead of the Attic type with L-shaped cheek pieces; the snakes of her aegis do not descend below waist level; and the skirt of her peplos has no indication of folds but is divided by a central vertical panel.³² She shares these features with the Burgon Athena. Beyond these points of comparison, we may add that the New York runners are stocky with very narrow waists, broad shoulders, and strong thighs.³³

Finally, there are the inscriptions. On New York, MMA 1978.11.13, there are three. Not only do they tell us the purpose of the vase, who made it, and what the subject is on the reverse, but the letters are thick and large. The amount of space each inscription occupies is far greater than it is on the Burgon amphora. There, the prize inscription is written in modestly sized letters in front of Athena, where it corresponds to its eventual position along the inner side of the shaft of the left column. The Burgon amphora, however, has an extra word: EMI.³⁴ Despite its deviations from the decorative scheme of the canonical Panathenaic amphora, the Burgon amphora—compared with Nikias's—is more restrained and closer to what will become the standard for the prize vase. Thus, significant details indicate that the New York amphora stands at the very beginning of this important series of Athenian black-figure vases; a bit earlier than the famous Burgon amphora, still, it is by no means alone—there



Figure 11. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to Lydos with Athena and a victor holding a fillet, ca. 550 B.C. H. 61 cm. Florence, Museo Archeologico, 97779 (photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Florence)

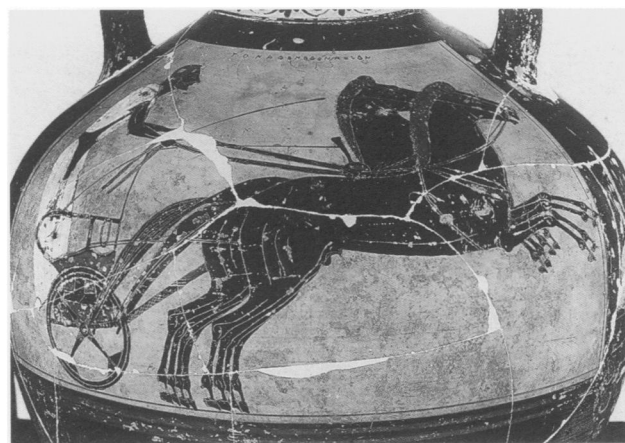


Figure 12. Detail of Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 11 showing the chariot race and the prize inscription (photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Florence)

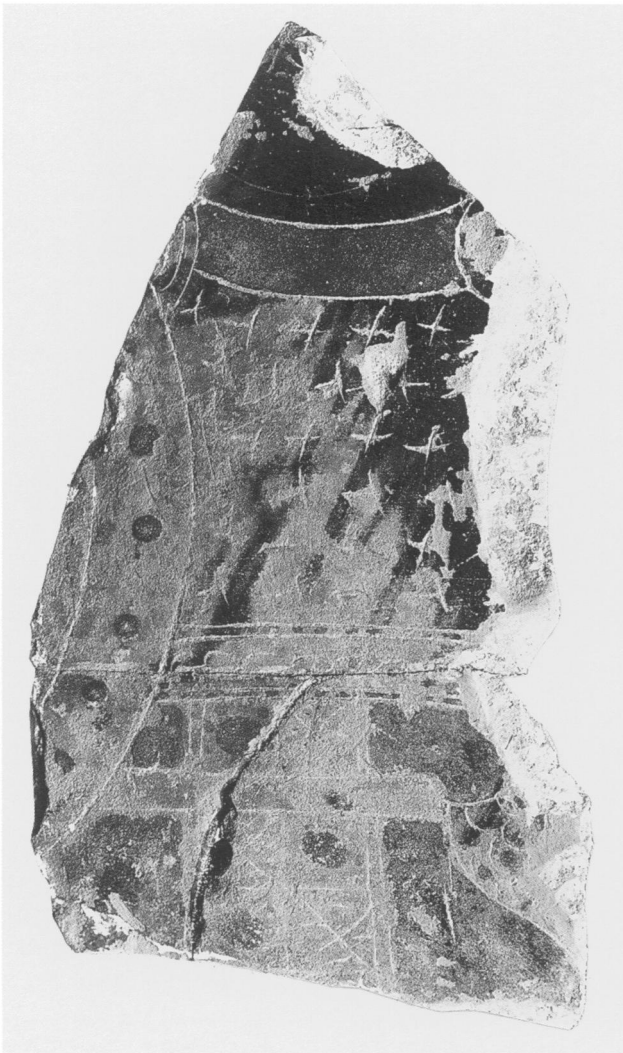


Figure 13. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora related to Lydos showing what remains of Athena, ca. 560 B.C. H. 59.5 cm. Halle, University, inv. 560 (photo: Halle University)

are a few, less well preserved Panathenaics, which may take their place alongside it, and they require inclusion in this discussion.

The first is the prize amphora in Halle, which Beazley related to Lydos (Figures 13, 14).³⁵ Today, the vase is restored with large pieces of painted plaster. Little remains of Athena on Side A: part of her peplos, its overfold decorated with Xs, and, above and below the belt, a broad central panel divided into two vertical rows of squares alternating with starbursts and solid circles, with the rest of the garment red; a few scales of her aegis; and a little of the rim of her shield decorated with dots. More pertinent is Side B. On the neck appears a lotus-palmette cross, similar to the one on New York, MMA 1978.11.13, except that the palmettes are smaller. In the panel, two men and a youth sprint energetically to the right and, at the upper right, is written: *ANΔPON*. Although the appropriate inscription is missing, Beazley had no doubt that the Halle amphora was a prize vase, and he considered it contemporary with the Burgon amphora, or perhaps a bit later.³⁶ The inscription makes clear the event was a race for men, even though one of the participants has no beard, so technically he is a youth.³⁷ The appearance of the runners tells us that it was a sprint, but whether the stadion or the diaulos is a



Figure 14. Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 13 with the race for men (photo: Halle University)



Figure 15. Side A of the fragmentary Panathenaic prize amphora by the same painter as Halle inv. 560, signed by Kallikles as potter, and showing Athena, ca. 560 B.C. Ca. 25 cm. Geneva, Collection of Jacques Chamay (photo: Jacques Chamay)

toss-up.³⁸ On both the Halle amphora and New York, MMA 1978.11.13, the panels do not quite extend to the handles, as they do on the Burgon amphora, but end well before them. Also, the four remaining letters of the inscription on the Halle

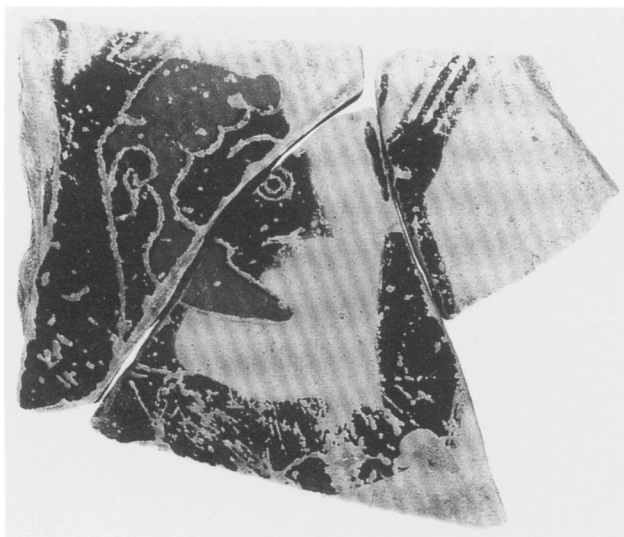


Figure 16. Detail of Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 15 showing the head of a sprinter (photo: Jacques Chamay)

amphora are rather thick and large, similar to those on the New York vase. In other words, these inscriptions are much more a part of the figural composition than is the case with the prize inscriptions on later Panathenaics.

The Halle Panathenaic is by the same hand as a fragmentary one in the collection of Jacques Chamay, in Geneva, that is signed on the obverse by a potter named Kallikles (Figures 15, 16),³⁹ his name written behind Athena, next to the right edge of the panel. A nonjoining fragment preserves a little of the prize inscription: $\alpha\epsilon\gamma$. The reverse depicts the stadion (parts of two, probably three, runners are preserved), and there are two and a half letters remaining of the inscription that names the event: $\sigma\tau\alpha\delta\iota\omega\nu$. A small nonjoining fragment gives parts of two letters: $\alpha\tau$, probably $\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\omega\nu$. Various features confirm that the Halle amphora and the Geneva amphora are by the same painter, an observation made independently by Chamay. On each, the neckline of Athena's peplos is a wide, red band, instead of one ornamented with incision, as it is on Nikias's amphora and on many others. Her skirt has a panel that extends above and below the belt and has the same sequence of squares—incised starbursts alternating with red circles. The rest of the



Figure 17. Fragment of Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora, Akropolis 1043, with the heads of two runners and the start of the inscription naming the race, ca. 565–560 B.C. Maximum preserved dimension 11 cm. (photo: TAP Service, Athens)

skirt is red. These are uncommon features. The runners on both works are also similar: compare the head of the runner on the Geneva fragment (Figure 16) with the middle runner on Halle (Figure 14); knees and other anatomical features also confirm the attribution. In fact, these two Panathenaic amphorae are so similar that the “stadion” inscription on the piece in Geneva may argue for declaring this the event depicted on the Halle amphora.

Inscriptions, the sizes of the letters, and their placement in the composition play an important role in these very early precanonical Panathenaic prize amphorae. Every surviving bit of evidence is important, and a brief discussion of other pertinent pieces is of interest. Today, all of them are mere fragments, yet they shed a good deal of light on this experimental phase of the prize vase. Stylistically, they form a group, but they are not attributable to known artists, nor do they combine in such a way as to justify hypothesizing new painters. The first fragment, Athens, N.M. 2468, has already been mentioned.⁴⁰ It preserves most of a very vigorous sprinter running the diaulos, as the inscription written in front of him in very large letters next to the panel tells us: ΔΙΑΥΛΟΔΡΟΜΟΕΙΜΙ. He is kin to the sprinters on Nikias’s amphora, to the one in Halle, and to those on Kallikles’ vase. Akropolis 1043 (Figure 17), a small, unattributed fragment, preserves part of a race for men (most of the heads of two runners). Inscribed just below the top of the panel in front of the forehead of the second runner is: ΑΝΔΡΩΝ.⁴¹ Other inscriptions give the names of potters. Of particular importance is Kerameikos PA 443; it is signed by the potter Hypereides, who also gives his patronymic, Androgenos, as well as the

prize inscription, written retrograde in three vertical lines in front of Athena. On the reverse two pairs of sprinters run to the left.⁴² Two more Panathenaic amphorae, each a fragment, preserve part of the signature of Hypereides. The first, Agora P 10204, preserves most of the verb for potting as well as the last two and a half letters of the patronymic.⁴³ The second is a fragment found on the Akropolis in 1885, sold in 1892 with the van Branteghem collection, and rediscovered by Dietrich von Bothmer in 1985 in the Villa Grecque “Kérylos,” Beaulieu-sur-Mer.⁴⁴ It preserves a bit of the rim of Athena’s shield and part of the potter’s signature: . . . ΙΕΙΔΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. . . .

The vases and fragments just discussed constitute the early precanonical prize Panathenaics relevant to New York, MMA 1978.11.13. Taken together, they present a relatively good picture of how Athenian artists experimented with the fundamental components of the prize vase—its shape, its ornamental patterns, the arrangement and appearance of the figures in the panels, as well as the inscriptions—before they arrived at and settled on the system of decoration that would become the standard until the end of the fifth century B.C.

While New York, MMA 1978.11.13, is signed by a potter named Nikias,⁴⁵ this does not mean that he was also its painter; very different skills are required for each task.⁴⁶ A man who may easily turn lumps of clay into beautifully shaped pots might not be equally talented when it comes to applying glaze with a brush to form elegant ornamental patterns and incising lively human figures whose interactions often tell a story from myth or from daily life. Are there other vases by the same painter who decorated Nikias’s vase? At first glance, the search does not look too difficult; his vase is quite well preserved, and the drawing of the ornament and figures has character and individuality. It looks as though it would fall easily into the oeuvre of one of the painters, say, in chapter 7 of *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (“Nearchos and Others”)—for example, the Painter of Akropolis 606, the Ptoon Painter, the Camtar Painter, and the Painter of London B 76, as well as the painters in the Burgon Group.⁴⁷ All of these artists were active during the time that the Panathenaic prize vase was being developed; yet none of their styles of drawing agrees with that of our Panathenaic amphora or, indeed, with that of many of the very early prize vases that are thus far unattributed. Early work by Lydos comes to mind, especially since he has two prize vases attributed to

him with one thought to be related,⁴⁸ but here too we come up empty: the manner of drawing does not match.

So far, I have been able to find only one piece by the same artist who decorated Nikias's amphora. This is Akropolis 1043, discussed briefly above, a fragment of the reverse of a prize-sized Panathenaic amphora (Figure 17). Preserved are most of the heads of two runners and the back of the head of a third, all facing to the right, as well as the left hand and forearm of the left runner. His hair and beard are red, and his forelock is incised with short, wavy strokes, comparable to the incised spirals of the left runner on our Nikias vase. The face of the next runner on the Akropolis fragment is red, as is the face of our middle runner (see Figure 8). The small amount of the right runner that remains indicates that his hair is also red. Thus, the use of red is the same on both vases. The ears of our first and second runners are indicated by a double S-curve, a shape which I have so far been able to parallel only on Akropolis 1043. Two more comparisons confirm the attribution: the size of the fragment and the position of the inscription. According to Graef (p. 120), Akropolis 1043 has a maximum preserved dimension of 11 cm. The match with the New York Panathenaic is almost perfect with respect to size and positioning of the figures, and the inscription on the fragment begins in exactly the same place as it does on our vase. Not only are the two amphorae painted by the same artist but they are mates and were probably awarded as prizes in the same year. Perhaps they were both made by Nikias. The name of the race that surely appeared after *ANAPON*, on Akropolis 1043, was probably the stadion, though of course, one cannot know for sure. It could have been the diaulos—there would be enough room for either.

The subjects of these very early Panathenaic prize vases reveal additional features that relate them as a group. When Brandt published his study of Panathenaics in 1978,⁴⁹ his emphasis was on the preserved prize vases made before 500 B.C. He recognized that those from the earliest group, those which may be dated before 550 and are the focus of this article, were decorated more individualistically than the later ones.⁵⁰ He was more interested, however, in trying to determine when certain competitions became part of the festival. Using the subjects on the reverse as evidence, he attempted to associate some of the prize vases with specific festival years.⁵¹ On the vases made after 530 B.C., the fol-



Figure 18: Detail of Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, showing the figure of Athena, ca. 500 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916, 16.71

lowing events appear: stadion, diaulos, dolichos, footrace including the footrace for hoplites, pentathlon, wrestling, boxing, synoris, quadriga, and races on horseback. Brandt admitted that he could not establish how many of these events may date back to the reorganization of 566 B.C. but concluded that "a major part of them certainly did."⁵² Realizing that this conclusion could only be conjectural, Brandt then suggested that there may have been a reorganization of the games around 530 B.C. to include more varied events, and that this coincided with the beginning of the reign of Hippias and Hipparchos, the sons of the tyrant Peisistratos.⁵³ While it is always dangerous to draw conclusions from partially preserved evidence, the vases discussed here suggest a different reading. Possibly just after 550 B.C. and, to be sure, after 530 B.C., all of the events mentioned above occur on prize vases. The only ones attested *before* 550, however, are the stadion, the diaulos, and the synoris, probably also the pentathlon.⁵⁴

All of the early prize vases depicting the sprint, whether the stadion or the diaulos, were discussed above. While almost any conclusion drawn from the study of these early Panathenaics is subject to revision pending new discoveries, especially given the ongoing excavations in Athens, the information we

have before us reveals a definite pattern. There is a very close relationship between the reorganization of the games in 566 B.C. to include athletic events and the appearance of these events on very early prize vases, coinciding as well with the decision by the festival's officials to award the victors a special, quite valuable olive oil stored in decorated amphorae that had been made to commemorate the occasion.

Provenances are also of interest. A glance through the first chapter of Beazley's *Attic Black-Figured Vase-Painters* shows that vases by the earliest generation of Attic painters were not exported⁵⁵ but remained at home, where they were used mainly for funerary purposes and for dedications. Export began in the early sixth century B.C. and, by the time the first Panathenaic amphorae were made, in the second quarter, many different shapes and the work of a large number of artists were being shipped to various foreign places, particularly to Etruria. With the Panathenaic amphora, the picture is very different, for only after the canonical system of decoration was firmly established, probably in the 520s,⁵⁶ did the shape begin to be exported in any quantity, no doubt sold for its valuable contents.⁵⁷ Panathenaic amphorae, particularly the later ones, have been found at sites all over the Mediterranean.⁵⁸ As mentioned above, all of the precanonical prize Panathenaic amphorae, with known provenances, which may be dated before 550 B.C., were excavated in Athens,⁵⁹ and a large proportion of them come from the Akropolis, where they were dedicated to Athena, no doubt as a thank offering for success in the games held in her honor.⁶⁰

It is tempting to speculate on how many Panathenaic prize amphorae were needed for specific events in each of the Greater Panathenaia. For this early phase, which is of concern here, there really is no way of knowing, since the number of vases preserved may be only a fraction of what was produced.⁶¹ It took quite a while, more than three decades after the reorganization of the games in 566 B.C., for the first canonical vases to make their appearance. Change comes slowly where ceremony and official matters are concerned (the development of the kouroi and korai offers a good parallel), and I would not be surprised in the least if the number of amphorae created for each of the Greater Panathenaic festivals, in the years before 530 B.C. and especially before 550 B.C., was not very large. Only after 520, when the canonical prize vase was firmly established, does the surviving evidence suggest that production increased considerably.⁶²

Quite a few of these amphorae remained in Athens and today are mostly mere fragments, while many others found their way to the safety of Etruscan tombs. As mentioned above, after 530, there is a marked increase in the number of events shown on the reverse, though wrestlers, runners, boxers, and competitors in the pentathlon greatly outnumber hippic and other competitions.⁶³

After 520, the freedom enjoyed by earlier potters, to sign their names on the obverse and to write the name of the event on the reverse, seems to have been prohibited. From then on, until the end of the fifth century B.C., the only inscription is that pertaining to the prize, written in front of Athena, alongside the left column. Names are conspicuously absent. There were, however, two enterprising painters who received the Panathenaic commission and managed to include an identifying symbol. These were the Kleophrades Painter and the Berlin Painter, artists active in the opening decades of the fifth century.⁶⁴ Each painter uses a particular device on Athena's shield: the Kleophrades Painter, a figure of Pegasus, as on New York, MMA 16.71 (Figure 18);⁶⁵ and the Berlin Painter, a gorgoneion, a good example of which is on a Panathenaic, once at Castle Ashby, now in a New York private collection, and currently on loan to the Metropolitan Museum.⁶⁶ Other artists may have used the device on Athena's shield as an identifying emblem, but the evidence is not as clear as it is in the case of these two painters. What the evidence does make clear is that during the formative phase of the Panathenaic prize vase, the potters and painters enjoyed considerable freedom to experiment with the basic components. After the official shape and decoration were established, however, the workshop that received the commission abided by strictly enforced rules and specifications. Not until the very late fifth and the fourth centuries would there be freedom once again in the decoration of these special Athenian vases.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Joan R. Mertens for many fruitful discussions of this project and for a critical reading of the manuscript. I also wish to thank M. A. Littauer and J. K. Anderson for their helpful comments on the synoris and the difference in harnessing arrangements for mules and horses.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABV

Sir John D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1956)

Addenda²

Thomas H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV², and Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1989)

Agora XXIII

Mary B. Moore and Mary Z. Philippides, *The Athenian Agora: Vol. XXIII, The Attic Black-Figured Pottery* (Princeton, 1986)

ARV²

Sir John D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963)

Beazley, *Development*

Sir John D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure Vase Painting* (Berkeley, 1951); 2nd corrected ed. (Berkeley, 1964); 3rd rev. ed. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1986)

BCH

Bulletin de correspondance hellénique

Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*

Martin Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren: Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Antike Kunst, Beiheft 18 (Basel, 1998)

Bielefeld, "Antiken-Sammlung Halle"

Erwin Bielefeld, "Die Antiken-Sammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 2 (1952–53), pp. 81–134

Brandt

J. Rasmus Brandt, "Archaeologia Panathenaica I: Panathenaic Prize-Amphorae from the Sixth Century B.C.," *Acta Norvegica* 8 (1978), pp. 1–23

BSA

The British School at Athens, Annual

CVA

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*

Edward N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London, 1910)

Graef

Botho Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin, 1925–33)

IG

Inscriptiones Graecae

Immerwahr, *Attic Script*

Henry Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey* (Oxford, 1990)

JHS

The Journal of Hellenic Studies

Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*

August Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum: geordnet nach attischem Kalendar* (Leipzig, 1898)

Neils, *Goddess and Polis*

Jenifer Neils, *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, with contributions by Elizabeth J. W. Barber, Donald G. Kyle, Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, and H. Alan Shapiro (Princeton, 1992)

Paralipomena

Sir John D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1971)

Peters, *Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*

Karl Peters, *Studien zu den Panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Berlin, 1942)

von Brauchitsch, *Preisamphoren*

Georg von Brauchitsch, *Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910)

NOTES

1. The most recent study of the Panathenaic Festival is Neils, *Goddess and Polis*. See, especially, her essay, "The Panathenaia: An Introduction," pp. 13–27, 194–95 (endnotes), esp. n. 1 for earlier major bibliography, in particular, Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 41–59, and Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 22–35. See also the brief but very useful discussion by Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, trans. by Peter Bing (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1983), pp. 154–58. For the general background, see Donald G. Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens* (Leiden, 1987), esp. chap. 1, "The Rise of Athletics at Athens," pp. 15–31. For the program of events, see Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 229–39, esp. pp. 232–35, for the athletic competitions of concern here. More briefly, Brandt, pp. 20–23. For the duration of the festival, see Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 153. A dissertation on the Panathenaic Festival, "The Goddess and the Polis: History and Development of the Panathenaia," is being prepared by Julia L. Shear at the University of Pennsylvania. For a brief report, see *The American School of Classical Studies Newsletter*, no. 40 (Fall, 1997), pp. 7, 10. Shear's research contradicts the prevailing opinion that the festival celebrates the goddess's birthday, and she writes (p. 10): "This work [the epigraphical testimonia] shows that a number of common assumptions about the festival are incorrect: It is not the celebration of the goddess's birthday but rather of her victory over the giants, and it is only Erechthonios, never Erechtheus, who is connected with the Panathenaia."

For the date of ca. 566 B.C. for the reorganization of the festival and the institution of the Greater Panathenaia, see J. A. Davison, "Notes on the Panathenaia," *JHS* 78 (1958), pp. 26–

29. A good summary of the problems concerning this date is given by Peter E. Corbett in his discussion of the Burgon Tomb, in "The Burgon and Blacas Tombs," *JHS* 80 (1960), pp. 52–58, esp. pp. 57–58; even terser is Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, p. 25. For the games themselves, see Kyle, "The Panathenaic Games: Sacred and Civic Athletics," in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 77–101, and pp. 203–8 nn. 1–137, and his earlier discussion in *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, pp. 33–39.
2. For the early date of the festival, see Davison, "Notes," *JHS* 78 (1958), pp. 24–26; more briefly, Herbert W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca, 1977), p. 33; H. Alan Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz, 1989), p. 19, who thinks that the archaic cult of Athena and a celebratory festival may even have had a Mycenaean antecedent. Homer A. Thompson, "The Panathenaic Festival," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1961), cols. 224–31, suggests that the Panathenaic athletics of historic times were an internal Athenian development reaching back to the funeral games and cult of the heroized dead of Dark Age Athens; see esp. cols. 228, 231. He is concerned particularly with chariot races. Thompson also remarks that no other festival of Athens "was so closely linked as the Panathenaia with the history of the city" (col. 224).
3. This was not ordinary olive oil but was made from sacred olive trees, called Moriai. These trees were believed to be descended from the very olive tree on the Akropolis that was Athena's gift to the Athenian people in her contest with Poseidon to determine which of the two would be the protective deity of Athens. See Aristotle, *The Athenian Constitution* 60.2, trans. H. Harris Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1935), p. 165. Also, Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 78–81, for a discussion of the Moriai and the regulations concerning the trees themselves as well as of the oil they produced; more generally, Panos Valavanis, "Les Amphores panathénaïques et le commerce athénien de l'huile," *BCH*, Suppl. 13 (1986), pp. 453–60; most recently, Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 23–26.
- These olive trees belonged to the state. Their fruit was harvested and pressed into oil well in advance of the Panathenaic games in which it would be awarded as a prize. In the fourth century B.C., in addition to the inscription naming the vase as a prize, an archon's name was added to the obverse of the vase (see below, note 6). This was the archon who held office the year the oil was collected from the harvesters and delivered to the Treasurers of the Akropolis, i.e., the year *before* the games took place. See Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 82; Peters, *Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, pp. 7–9; Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 241–42; Beazley, *Development* (1986), p. 89, and p. 109 n. 62; and Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Greece*, p. 39; also, Darrel Amyx, "The Attic Stelai," *Hesperia* 27 (1958), pp. 180–81, esp. n. 41, where he says that olive oil is "commonly stored [today] for at least two years, because the olive trees in alternate years produce a heavy and a lighter yield; and the carrying over of oil to even a third year seemed not at all improbable to those [i.e. modern farmers] who were questioned."
4. *ABV*, p. 322, no. 6; *Paralipomena*, p. 142, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 87; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 129, cat. no. 6.064, pls. 20–21.
5. See Neils, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 36–38, on the meaning of the imagery on the obverse, esp. p. 37, and p. 197 nn. 50, 51; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 51–53. The idea that the columns refer to Athena's temple and the cocks are symbols of the fighting spirit seems to start with Beazley (*Development* [1951], p. 91) and is repeated in the two later editions (1964, p. 91; 1986, p. 84). Bentz (p. 52) refutes the idea that the columns refer to a specific structure, namely because they are not always of the same architectural order, and he links them with the sporting aspect of the Panathenaia.
6. The best general discussion of Panathenaic amphorae is Beazley, *Development* (1986), chap. 8, pp. 81–92, with bibliography, pp. 106–9; also, Jiří Frel, *Panathenaic Prize Amphorae* (Athens, 1973); *Agora* XXIII, pp. 12–17, with bibliography; Jennifer Neils, "Panathenaic Amphorae: Their Meaning, Makers, and Markets," in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 29–51. The recent monograph by Martin Bentz (*Panathenäische Preisamphoren*) is now the basic study for this shape.
- In general, as time progresses, the shape of the Panathenaic amphora grows taller and slimmer but the amount of oil it holds remains reasonably constant, though it may vary considerably according to economic conditions (see Bentz, pp. 31–40, for a detailed discussion of this point). In the fourth century B.C., significant changes take place: Athena strides to the right instead of the left; the name of the archon who held office the year the oil was collected (the year before the festival: see note 3 above) is inscribed next to the right-hand column; the cocks atop each column are replaced by small figures that sometimes represent known statues. For these, see Norbert Eschbach, *Statuen auf panathenäischen Preisamphoren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1986); also Bentz, pp. 53–57. For smaller changes, see *Agora* XXIII, p. 16. Besides the prize vases, identified by size and inscription, there are smaller, nonprize vases whose use is uncertain. See the remarks in *Agora* XXIII, p. 17; also Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 42–46.
7. Karlsruhe 65.45 (*Paralipomena*, p. 61, no. 8 bis; *Addenda*², p. 39; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 124, cat. no. 6.014, pls. 8–9).
8. For Exekias, see *ABV*, pp. 143–46; *Paralipomena*, pp. 59–60; *Addenda*², pp. 39–41. The best general discussion of Exekias is still Beazley, *Development* (1986), chap. 6. For the signatures, Beazley, *Development* (1986), p. 58.
9. There are, however, deviations from the canonical on both sides of this prize vase. On the obverse: the prize inscription is written next to the right column, instead of the left; Athena's peplos is rather old-fashioned, for it does not have any folds, but is plain red with an ependytes over it, and the snakes of her aegis hang down only to waist level. (For Athena's peplos, see note 32, below). The precanonical feature on the reverse is that the athletes are framed by onlookers, a nude male on the left, who looks like a wrestler, and a man on the right, wrapped in a striped himation over a long chiton. Normally, in the sixth century, only the event itself appears; in the fifth and in the early fourth centuries, however, other figures are included. For three examples, see: New York, MMA 16.71 by the Kleophrades Painter (*ABV*, p. 404, no. 8; *Paralipomena*, p. 175, no. 8; *Addenda*², p. 105; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 139, cat. no. 5.009, pls. 44–45), with two pankratiasts and a judge; St. Petersburg Kū 1913.4/389, ex inv. 17553 from the Kuban Group (*ABV*, p. 411, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 177, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 107; Bentz, p. 158, cat. no. 5.237, pls. 92–93), with boxers flanked by ath-

- letes; Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg 1925.30.124 from the Nikomachos Series (ABV, p. 414, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 178, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 106; Bentz, p. 176, cat. no. 4.081, pls. 119–120), with boxers receiving instructions from an official and, at the far right, a woman leaning on a pillar.
10. Measurements of New York, MMA 1978.13.11: restored height 61.8 cm; diam. 42.2 cm; diam. of mouth 18.5 cm. Missing are the foot and a portion of the lower part of the body, both of which are restored in plaster and painted. Abrasions all over, including the top side of the mouth and a large section of the body below the right runner. Nicks and scratches, small pits here and there. Glaze generally dull black. Publications: *MMA Annual Report 1977–78* (1978), p. 45, ill.; *MMA Notable Acquisitions 1975–1979*, p. 14; Dietrich von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, New York, and London, 1985), p. 44, fig. 37; *Agora XXIII*, p. 14; Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, p. 183, cat. no. 1196; Ruth Lindner, in *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon* (Mainz, 1992), p. 146 n. 7; Neils, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 30, 41, and 42, fig. 27 a-b; Kyle, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 83; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 124, cat. no. 6.007, pl. 5.
D. Kyle, in Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, p. 179 n. 3, says that our Panathenaic is wrongly dated to ca. 520 and was formerly Munich 1451. His statement is incorrect and requires an explanation. Munich 1451 is an unattributed prize Panathenaic amphora with the stadion on Side B, only with four sprinters, not three, as on our vase, and inscribed above their heads is: ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΑΝΔΡΟΝΝΙΚΗ. Our inscription reads: ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ. It is the subject and the inscription that probably accounts for confusing the Munich amphora with ours. The Munich amphora should date ca. 540–30. Kyle's mention of Munich 498 in his note is actually Munich 1451; 498 is the old Jahn number. For good photographs of Munich 1451, see Brandt, pl. II b (Side B) and pl. III (Side A), and Bentz, pp. 124–25, cat. no. 6.016, pls. 8–9.
 11. The helmet and crest support are red, the crest is black except for its upper and lower contours, which are accented with white (now flaked).
 12. The iris of her eye is red, and a wavy red line defines the forelocks of her hair. In addition, the shield's lion device is white, its tongue and iris red.
 13. For a late-fifth-century potter with this name, see London, B.M. 1898.7-16.6, a bell krater, which is the namepiece of the Nikias Painter (ARV², p. 1333, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 480, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 365). More famous is the fourth-century Athenian mural painter by this name who was a contemporary of Euphranor. See Pliny, *Natural History* 35, 40.130–34, trans. H. Harris Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge [Mass.], 1968), pp. 357–59.
 14. For the positions of the arms and legs, see Edward Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 137, 140, with illustrations on the intervening pages. Gardiner points out that “the Greek artists have succeeded in reproducing the essential points of the sprint. The runners run well on the ball of the foot, the heel raised somewhat higher than in the long race, their knees well raised, and their bodies erect” (p. 137). He then compares the ancient images with photographs of modern races, noting the striking similarities, but goes on to point out that “perhaps for purposes of symmetry, [the Greek artists] make the right leg and arm move together, whereas in reality the right arm swings forward with the left leg and vice versa” (pp. 137, 140).
 15. For a brief discussion of these races, see Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, pp. 178–80, and in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 83; in much greater detail, Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 69–87; in general, Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 270–85; also, Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, chap. 11, pp. 128–43: “The Stadium and the Foot-race”; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 63–66.
 16. See Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 266–67. Kyle, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, writes: “Greek athletes ran on straight not oval tracks, and therefore had to turn around a post or posts (kampteres) in races longer than the sprint” (p. 83).
 17. See Kyle, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 83, and the bibliography in n. 39 on p. 204, esp. the article by Stephen P. Miller, “Lanes and Turns in the Ancient Stadium,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 84 (1980), pp. 159–66. Miller suggests that the dolichos was run around a single post, because its longer distance allowed the runners to spread out as they do today in long-distance races. But in the diaulos, the turn was around individual posts. Miller's evidence for this conclusion is material from the fourth century B.C., namely a single turning post (thus for the dolichos) excavated at Nemea in 1976. This discovery could reflect earlier practices where the evidence has not survived.
 18. ABV, p. 69, —, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 18; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 126, cat. no. 6.044, pl. 11. The Painter of Boston C.A. is best known for his namepiece, a cup that shows Odysseus and his men, some of them already transformed into swine, standing before Circe, who stirs the magic potion in her cup with a swizzle stick (Homer, *Odyssey* 10.220–44, trans. Richmond Latimore [New York, 1955], p. 158). The namepiece is Boston, M.F.A. 99.519 (ABV, p. 69, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 18).
 19. Gardiner (*Athletics of the Ancient World*, p. 140) suggests that the diaulos may have had less violent action than the stadion and offers Athens, N.M. 2468, as evidence. I am not sure there is such a significant difference between the two.
 20. Boston, M.F.A. 99.520 (ABV, p. 322, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 87; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 128, cat. no. 6.058, pls. 16–17).
 21. See Herbert Hoffmann, in CVA, Boston 1 [USA 14], p. 40; also, J. Michael Padgett, *The Painted Past: 28 Attic Vases, 6th and 5th Centuries B.C., from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Utah Museum of Fine Arts, 1988), p. 21: “. . . the more controlled gait of the Boston runners points to a long distance contest, possibly the *dolichos*.”
 22. The basic bibliography for this vase is: ABV, p. 89, —, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 33, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 24; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 30, fig. 19, and p. 93, fig. 59; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.001, pls. 1–2. The best discussion of the tomb, its contents, and the circumstances of its discovery is by Corbett, “Burgon and Blacas,” pp. 52–58. The location of the tomb was “East of Aeolus Street, about half-way between the National Bank and Sophocles Street” (Corbett, p. 53). In ancient Athens, this tomb would have been close to the Acharnian Gate. See John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971), p. 159, who mentions that there was a very large cemetery lining both sides of the road leading from this gate.

- In addition to the London Panathenaic amphora, the Burgon tomb contained six smaller vases that may be dated to the middle of the sixth century B.C., or shortly thereafter. For these, see Corbett, "Burgon and Blacas," pp. 54–56, and pl. III, 1–6. They are not pertinent to the subject of the present article, but four amphorae (perhaps Panathenaics), similar in size to the London amphora, may have been. They were found three weeks earlier by Burgon, but were discarded by him, since, in their unwashed state, he did not recognize that they were figural (Corbett, "Burgon and Blacas," p. 53, quoting from a letter written on November 26, 1831, by Thomas Burgon to the Chevalier P.O. Brönsted). Nothing more is known of these vases.
23. Immerwahr (*Attic Script*, p. 183, cat. no. 1195) notes that this is a spelling mistake. The inscription should read: EIMI (εἰμῖ), not EMI (ἐμῖ).
 24. All that remains of the goad is the thin, horizontal projection at the level of the horses' croups; it is not a tail, which would begin lower down. The long, thin rod has a crook at the end, and the two pendants visible at its end on the Burgon amphora are used to urge the animals on. I wish to thank M. A. Littauer for this information.
 25. The surface is gone on the part of the vase where the chariot pole would be visible.
 26. For a good example of a mule collar, see the one by Exekias on his plaque in Berlin, 1814 (*ABV*, p. 145, no. 23; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 23; *Addenda*², p. 41; Heide Mommsen, *Exekias I. Die Grabtafeln*, Keramus Band 11 [Mainz, 1997], color pl. 3 and pl. xiv). Here, the collar rests higher on the neck, but this is because the team is being readied; the collar is propped by a stick. For an image of the collar in place, when the cart is being drawn, see the carts pulled by donkeys and mules in the wedding procession on New York, MMA 56.11.1, a lekythos by the Amasis Painter (*Paralipomena*, p. 66; *Addenda*², p. 45). The positioning of the yoke, yoke saddle, and pad is best understood from scenes where a chariot is being harnessed, a good example being the one on Berlin 1897 by Psiak (*ABV*, p. 293, no. 8; *Paralipomena*, p. 127, no. 8; *Addenda*², p. 76). For ancient harnessing, see Jean Spruyette, *Early Harness Systems: Experimental Studies*, trans. Mary A. Littauer (London, 1983), passim, but esp. pp. 52–73, for the Greek chariot, and p. 63, fig. 2, for a modern reconstruction of the chariot pole, yoke, and yoke saddle.
 27. Florence 97779 (*ABV*, p. 110, no. 33; *Addenda*², p. 30; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 41, fig. 26; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 124, cat. no. 6.008, pls. 6–7). For a good colored illustration of the reverse, see Elsi Spatari, *The Olympic Spirit* (Athens, 1992), p. 140.
 28. See Beazley, *Development* (1951), p. 88. Also, Peters (*Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, pp. 14–15) remarked that the Burgon amphora, because of the subject on the reverse, is not relevant to 566 B.C., though he dated it shortly after this date on the basis of similarity to the prize amphora in Halle that shows a race for men, probably the stadion, despite the lack of an identifying inscription; see, below, p. 46.
 29. See note 4 above. For Panathenaics by the Euphiletos Painter, see John D. Beazley, "Panathenaica," *American Journal of Archaeology* 47 (1943), pp. 442–43.
 30. For a good profile view of Florence 97779, see Michalis Tiverios, *Ὁ Ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ* (Athens, 1976), pl. 66 β; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pl. 7.
 31. See Karlsruhe 65.45 by Exekias (note 7 above and Figure 3). On the Florence amphora by Lydos, Athena is placed far to the right, but this is because she faces the victor, who occupies the left third of the panel.
 32. The evolution of the decoration of the skirt of Athena's peplos also agrees with the relative chronology offered here. On the earliest Panathenaics, a broad central panel divides the skirt vertically and the rest of it is red. The panel is decorated with various incised patterns often embellished with red or white. This is the case with the four Athenas discussed in this article: New York, MMA 1978.11.13; the Burgon amphora; Halle inv. 560; and Geneva, Chamay (for the last two, see the discussion to follow, pp. 45–46). Others, not strictly relevant to this study, are these, all thus far unattributed: Akropolis 917 (Graef, pl. 60; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 125, cat. no. 6.023, pl. 11; ca. 560 B.C.), with panel decorated with a cable pattern of white dots; Akropolis 920 (Graef, pl. 57; Bentz, p. 125, cat. no. 6.022, pl. 11; ca. 560–550 B.C.), with panel on both overfold and skirt, separated by the belt, and decorated with rows of confronted pairs of white sphinxes; Akropolis 925 (Graef, pl. 60; Bentz, p. 125, cat. no. 6.026; probably 560–550 B.C.), with panel decorated with lozenges.
- The earliest preserved example of folds on the skirt of Athena's peplos occurs on Agora P 2071 and P 4340 (*Agora XXIII*, pp. 131–32, cat. no. 228, pl. 26; Bentz, p. 123, cat. no. 6.003, pl. 4; ca. 560–550 B.C.). These folds are uniform in breadth and terminate at the lower border. They are not three dimensional, i.e., the ends do not turn back on themselves. (For the subject on Side B of this amphora, see note 54 below.) The earliest occurrence of true falling three-dimensional folds seems to be on Athena's peplos on Lydos's prize vase in Florence (note 27, above, and Figure 11). On the canonical vases, three-dimensional folds are the norm; see, e.g., New York, MMA 14.130.12, by the Euphiletos Painter (see note 4, above, and Figure 1).
33. Compare these runners with those on the Euphiletos Painter's canonical prize vase, New York, MMA 14.130.12 (note 4, above, and Figure 2). The latter's sprinters are considerably leaner.
 34. See note 23 above.
 35. Halle, inv. 560 (*ABV*, p. 120, —; *Addenda*², p. 33; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.002, pl. 3). This vase was originally attributed by Rumpf to Lydos himself, based on the similarity of the runners on Side B to the figure of Tityos on Akropolis 631: Andreas Rumpf, *Sakonides, Bilder griechischer Vasen*, 11 (Berlin, 1937), p. 15. For Akropolis 631, see *ABV*, p. 108, no. 6; *Paralipomena*, p. 44, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 29. The best description of the Halle amphora is to be found in von Brauchitsch, *Preisamphoren*, pp. 8–10, and Bielefeld, "Antiken-Sammlung Halle," p. 94, fig. 10.
 36. Beazley, *Development* (1986), p. 83.
 37. For age differentiation in specific races, see Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 271–72; Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, pp. 179–80; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 61–62; also Neils in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 15–16 with regard to IG II² 2311. This fourth-century inscription tells us that the stadion was divided into classes for boys, youths, and men. While this reflects fourth-century practice, age divisions surely existed from the very beginning, and it may be largely fortuitous that no evidence has survived. I have not been able to find an uncontested

- example of the stadion for youths among sixth-century prize vases, but Beazley designated Amsterdam inv. 1897, by the Euphiletos Painter, as a race for boys (*ABV*, p. 322, no. 8; *Addenda*², p. 87; Bentz, p. 128, cat. no. 6.057, pls. 14–15). Each of the four runners in this panel is beardless, but their physiques suggest they are older than boys. Perhaps they are youths but, without an identifying inscription, one cannot be sure exactly which race the painter had in mind.
38. Beazley (*Development* [1986], p. 106 n. 10) notes that there may not have been enough room to write the name of the event. This would not necessarily be the case if the name appeared in the area now missing, as suggested by von Brauchitsch, *Preisamphoren*, p. 9. For a parallel, where “stadion” precedes “andron,” see Munich 1451 (above, note 10).
39. Mentioned in *Agora XXIII*, p. 14 nn. 11, 13. See now Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.006. I know these fragments from von Bothmer's photographs. Several nonjoining fragments make up what is known of this vase, and they will be published by Chamay in the papers of the Panathenaic conference held in Giessen, November 25–28, 1998. I wish to thank Mr. Chamay for allowing me to illustrate the two main figural fragments.
40. Above, note 18.
41. Graef, p. 120 and pl. 63; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 126, cat. no. 6.046, pl. 11. Maximum dimension 11 cm.
42. Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.004, pl. 4.
43. *Agora XXIII*, p. 131, cat. no. 226, and pl. 26; Frel, *Panathenaic Prize Amphoras*, pp. 10–11; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.005.
44. *Collection van Branteghem: Catalogue [par W. Fröhner] des monuments antiques, vases peints et terres cuites dont la vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu à Paris: Hôtel Drouot . . . les lundi 30 et mardi 31 mai et le mercredi 1er juin* (Brussels, 1894), cat. no. 2; Dietrich von Bothmer, “La villa grecque Kérylos,” *Comptes rendus des séances, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris (1998), p. 529, fig. 3.
45. For early inscriptions on vases, particularly signatures, the most recent discussions are Beth Cohen, “The Literate Potter,” *MMJ* 20 (1991), pp. 50–57, and Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, pp. 7–56 (from the very earliest down to ca. 530 B.C.). Immerwahr's study is not limited to signatures. Inscriptions appear on Greek vases as early as the Late Geometric period, with the one incised on an oinochoe in Athens considered the oldest: Athens, N.M. 192 (see most recently, Immerwahr, p. 7, with earlier bibliography).
- The earliest complete potter signatures date from the seventh century and are non-Attic (see Beazley, *Development* [1986], p. 7). In Attic pottery, Sophilos is the first to sign as painter and as potter (see Güven Bakir, *Sophilos: Ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil* [Mainz, 1981], pp. 5–7; Cohen, “Literate Potter,” p. 52, and p. 87 n. 24). The next potter signatures are those of Ergotimos, who collaborated with Kleitias (*ABV*, pp. 76–80; *Paralipomena*, pp. 29–30; *Addenda*², pp. 21–22; Immerwahr, pp. 24–29), and of Nearchos, who also signs as painter (*ABV*, pp. 82–83; *Paralipomena*, pp. 30–31; *Addenda*², p. 23; Immerwahr, pp. 26–27).
46. For the making of Attic vases, see Toby Schreiber, *Athenian Vase Construction: A Potter's Analysis* (Malibu, 1999). For the potting of a Panathenaic amphora, see pp. 83–87 and nn. 21–23 on p. 269. As for the actual potting, Schreiber writes that, while the body of the Panathenaic amphora could indeed be thrown in one piece, “an occasional fragment indicates that the bodies of Panathenaic amphorae were thrown in sections” (p. 85). Body joins were easily smoothed over with slip to produce the effect of a single unit.
47. *ABV*, pp. 81–93; *Paralipomena*, pp. 30–34; *Addenda*², pp. 22–25.
48. Attributed: Florence 97779 (above, note 27) and Chicago 1967.115.358 (*ABV*, p. 110, no. 34; *Addenda*², p. 30; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 124, cat. no. 6.009; here, the accession number is given as 1967.115.263). Related: Halle inv. 560 (above, note 35).
49. Brandt, pp. 1–23.
50. Brandt, p. 17.
51. Brandt, pp. 19–21.
52. Brandt, p. 21. The events of the Panathenaic games celebrated much later can be reconstructed to a considerable degree from an inscription, incomplete today, dated ca. 370: *IG II² 2311*. But this does not shed light on the period under discussion. See Neils, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 15–17 (with bibliography); also, Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, pp. 36–38.
53. Brandt, p. 19.
54. *Agora P 2071* and *P 4340* (see note 32), with its representation of the pentathlon, may be right on the cusp. Brandt (p. 4, cat. no. 17) dates it ca. 550, but he did not know the fragment of the neck with the lotus-palmette cross. I dated this fragmentary Panathenaic to ca. 560–550 (*Agora XXIII*, pp. 131–32, cat. no. 228) on the basis of the ornament on the neck; the short, stocky figure of Athena, who has both feet flat on the ground; the absence of columns; and the sturdy athletes on the reverse. All of these features are closer to Nikias's Panathenaic amphora and to the one in Halle than to the later series. Size indicates that these fragments come from a prize vase. Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.003, accepts my dating of this amphora and, on p. 69, agrees that it is the earliest preserved representation of the Pentathlon.
- A new feature of this Panathenaic amphora from the *Agora* is that the skirt of Athena's peplos has vertically incised lines to indicate folds (see note 32, above).
55. I.e., the Nettos Painter and his contemporaries, who were active in the last decades of the seventh century (*ABV*, chap. 1).
56. The Euphiletos Painter is the first artist to produce a good number of Panathenaic amphorae, both prize and nonprize, and all of them have the standard system of decoration. Several of his, including New York, MMA 14.130.12, come from Vulci. See Beazley, *ABV*, p. 322, nos. 1–12; *Paralipomena*, p. 142; *Addenda*², p. 87; and the brief discussion of these vases in Beazley, *Development* (1986), p. 84.
57. Only the victor was allowed to sell off this oil. See Peters, *Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, pp. 11–12, n. 82; Valavanis, “Amphores panathénaïques,” p. 455; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 89–92, for this and a discussion of the probable monetary value of the oil.
58. For a quick reference, see Brandt's list of sixth-century Panathenaic amphorae (pp. 5–9, cat. nos. 28–85); for later ones, see *ABV*, pp. 403–17, chap. 27: “Panathenaic Prize Amphorae”; also, for a brief review of the distribution and findspots, Valavanis, “Amphores panathénaïques,” pp. 457–60. See also the discussion by Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 111–16. For a very general discussion of figured pottery in commerce, see Brian A. Sparkes, *Greek Pottery: An Introduction* (Manchester and

- New York, 1991), chap. 6: "Out of the Shop," pp. 124–35, and pp. 151–54 for the notes.
59. For the findspots, see Brandt, pp. 3–4, cat. nos. 1–18. Beazley (*ABV*, p. 120, —) does not list a provenance for Halle inv. 560; von Brauchitsch (*Preisamphoren*, p. 9) says that it was found in Athens but is not more specific. Bielefeld ("Antiken-Sammlung Halle," p. 94) says that the provenance is unknown. Its early date and worn surface strongly suggest an Athenian findspot or at least an Attic one. The earliest exported prize vase about which we may be certain seems to be the one attributed to Lydos that was found in Orvieto and is now in Florence (above, note 27). Although noncanonical in its decoration, it probably dates after 550 B.C., as already suggested by Brandt (p. 4, cat. no. 20).
 60. This is not to imply that only the early Panathenaic amphorae were dedicated on the Akropolis, for there is a whole series of them extending well into the fourth century B.C. Rather, the point is that the earliest Panathenaics were *not* exported. One may add that the Agora has produced a series ranging from the very earliest straight through to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. See *Agora* XXIII, p. 13, and n. 7.
 61. This is very different from a much later era when, for example, the early-fourth-century inscription (*IG II² 2311*) tells us the number of amphorae awarded as prizes (above, note 52); also, Alan W. Johnston, "*IG II² 2311* and the Number of Panathenaic Amphorae," *BSA* 82 (1987), pp. 125–29.
 62. See the list drawn up by Brandt, pp. 5–10. These entries include attributed as well as unattributed vases and fragments. None dates after 500 B.C.
 63. The reason for this is very likely financial. Keeping horses in racing condition is a costly business, especially compared with keeping oneself competitively fit.
 64. These two painters are best known for their red-figure work. For the Kleophrades Painter, see *ARV²*, pp. 181–93; *Paralipomena*, pp. 340–41; *Addenda²*, pp. 186–89; for his Panathenaics, see *ABV*, pp. 404–5; *Paralipomena*, pp. 175–76; *Addenda²*, p. 105. For the Berlin Painter, see *ARV²*, pp. 196–214; *Paralipomena*, pp. 341–45; *Addenda²*, pp. 190–97; for his Panathenaics, see, *ABV*, pp. 407–9; *Paralipomena*, p. 177; *Addenda²*, p. 106. The best discussion is Beazley, *Development*, pp. 86–88. On the shield device of Athena as an identifying emblem, see Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 48–51, and Appendix 7, pp. 204–6.
 65. For more on the Kleophrades Painter, see, above, note 9.
 66. L.1982.102.3: *ABV*, p. 408, no. 1; *Addenda²*, p. 106; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 145, cat. no. 5,079, pl. 68.

Image as Word: A Study of Rebus Play in Song Painting (960–1279)

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ALTHOUGH THE REBUS, the representation of a word or syllable by a picture of an object with a similar name, exists in other cultures, rebus play is fairly common in Chinese painting and enjoys a long tradition.¹ This popularity means that many paintings have a rebus aspect. Art historians have long been aware of this phenomenon in Chinese art, and, in recent years, some scholarly attention has been devoted to it.² Nevertheless, many questions remain. Among them: What are the origins of rebus play in Chinese art and the reasons for its popularity in painting? What painting genres are most suitable for rebus play? How do linguistic and literary features of the Chinese language contribute to the popularity of the rebus in painting? What relationships pertain between word and image? What are the major cultural functions of rebus painting? How can we deepen the study of rebus painting when many clues to the reading of ancient rebuses have been lost prior to the modern era? The present article seeks to address these questions, beginning with an in-depth treatment of an anonymous Song painting in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum and a painting by Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–25), arguing that the former was made to congratulate a candidate for succeeding in the civil service examinations and the latter in praise of faithful love. This will be followed by an investigation of the larger historical context of rebus play in Chinese art and of the literary and linguistic sources of this phenomenon.

PAINTINGS OF CONGRATULATION

Gibbons Raiding an Egret's Nest, a fan painting in the Metropolitan Museum, depicts three gibbons in the process of removing three fledgling egrets from their nest in the crook of an old tree (Figure 1).

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One of the gibbons enfolds a baby egret in its arm; another reaches for the baby egrets still in the nest. The third gibbon stretches an arm skyward, toward the anguished, screaming mother egret. The skillfully constructed composition, the graceful forms of the animals, and the meticulously rendered details all contribute to a vivid image. However, its attractiveness may prevent viewers from exploring the cultural implications that lie beneath its elegant surface. To decipher these, we need to read this painting as a text, to read its images as words.

The Metropolitan Museum's fan has no painter's signature or seal and no recorded title; a label on the fan's mounting attributes it to the Northern Song (960–1126) painter Yi Yuanji, China's most celebrated painter of gibbons and monkeys. The painting has recently been reattributed to an unidentified academic artist of the late twelfth century and given the title *Gibbons Raiding an Egrets' Nest*.³ In the National Palace Museum, Taipei, a painting with the same subject matter, probably by a Ming-dynasty painter (1368–1644) (Figure 2), is titled *San yuan de lu* 三猿得路,⁴ or *Three Gibbons Catching Egrets*. As a rebus, the sounds "*San yuan de lu*" can also be written 三元得路, which means "A triple first gains [one] power."⁵ Here, the character *yuan* 猿, "gibbon," is replaced by its homophone *yuan* 元, "first"; while the character 鷺, "egret," is replaced by the homophonous *lu* 路, "power."⁶ *Sanyuan*, "three firsts," is a fixed form for addressing a person who has placed first in all three levels of the civil service examinations: the provincial, the metropolitan, and the court.⁷ Thus, on the surface this fan painting represents gibbons preying on egrets, but it can also be read as expressing a subtle wish for examination success.

To justify such an interpretation of a Song-dynasty painting, we need to know both when *sanyuan* was first used to describe those who took firsts in the three civil service examinations, and when gibbons became a subject in Chinese painting.

The notes for this article begin on page 70.



Figure 1. Unidentified artist (late 12th century). *Gibbons Raiding an Egret's Nest*. Fan mounted as an album leaf, ink and color on silk, 24.1 x 22.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1913, 13.100.104. See also Colorplate 4

Sanyuan as a term describing a successful “triple first” examination participant was probably first recorded in *Qingsuo gaoyi* (The lofty commentary of Qingsuo) by the Northern Song writer Liu Fu (active eleventh century). In a note titled “Sanyuan yijia” (Three firsts by one person), Liu Fu writes:

Our dynasty has been peaceful for over one hundred years, its culture the most prosperous. . . . There are three people who have won *sanyuan*.⁸

Liu Fu goes on to list the three *sanyuan* as Wang Zeng (970–1039), Yang Zhi (1014–1044), and Feng Jing (1021–1094). Since the preface to *Qingsuo gaoyi* was written by Sun Mian (996–1066)

between 1049 and 1066 at the request of Liu Fu,⁹ we are sure that the term *sanyuan* was in use before 1066; most likely it was coined in the first half of the eleventh century.

Why then? The historian Zhao Yi (1727–1814) has demonstrated that those who won triple firsts in the Tang dynasty (618–906) were called *santou* 三頭, literally, “three tops,” and that this achievement began to be called *sanyuan* during the Song dynasty.¹⁰ Among the eleven *sanyuan* listed by Zhao Yi, six were *sanyuan* of the Northern Song, including Sun He (961–1004; *jinshi*, 992), Song Yang (996–1066), and Wang Yansou (1043–1093), none of whom were mentioned by Liu Fu in his



Figure 2. Unidentified artist (14th or 15th century?). *Three Gibbons Catching Egrets*. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 72.7 x 32.1 cm. Taipei, National Palace Museum (photo: National Palace Museum)

Qingsuo gaoyi. All of the six *sanyuan* of the Northern Song won his *zhuangyuan* 狀元, or “third first,” by 1060. We can imagine that the sudden emergence of a number of *sanyuan* became a cultural phe-

nomenon and that the new term rapidly gained widespread currency.

Strikingly, the depiction of gibbons in painting emerged at the same time. Indeed, early Chinese art historical writings make no mention of specialists in gibbon painting before the Northern Song. The first to gain fame for painting gibbons was Yi Yuanji (d. ca. 1064), who was described by the art critic Guo Ruoxu (active eleventh century) in his *Tuhua jianwen zhi* (Experiences in painting):

Yi Yuanji, styled Qingzhi, was a native of Changsha [in Hunan Province]. A man of quick intelligence and profound understanding, his painting was excellent: flowers and birds, bees and cicadas were rendered life-like in subtle detail. At first he specialized in flowers and fruit, but after he had seen such paintings by Zhao Chang [a contemporary of Yi Yuanji, active ca. 1000], he admitted their superiority with a sigh, resolving he would acquire fame by painting subjects not yet tried by the artists of old; thus he began to paint roebucks and gibbons. He used to roam all over Jinghu [southern Hubei and northern Hunan] studying these animals. When he came upon a beautiful scene with trees and rocks, he would absorb its details one by one, thus acquiring ample material on their natural properties and wild beauty. He used to stay with mountain folk, prone to lingering for months on end: his joyful love, his unrelenting diligence were like this. Moreover, he dug a few ponds behind his dwelling in Changsha and placed among them random rockeries, flowering shrubs, sparse clumps of bamboo, and bending reeds, and he raised many water fowl. He used to make a hole in the [paper] window pane to watch their behavior both playing and resting, and so obtained material for his wonderful brush.¹¹

Since Yi Yuanji was the first painter to specialize in depicting gibbons, is it possible that he also originated this theme of the animal snatching egrets from their nest to celebrate examination success? Active during the first half of the eleventh century, Yi Yuanji was of course a contemporary of most of the *sanyuan* mentioned above. But historical texts show that it is unlikely he ever met Wang Zeng, Song Yang, Yang Zhi, or Wang Yanso.¹²

Among the Northern Song *sanyuan* cited in the above lists, the one most likely to have been acquainted with Yi Yuanji was Feng Jing, a native of Jiangxia (modern Wuhan), 150 miles from Yi Yuanji's hometown, Changsha. Feng Jing earned his third first, or *zhuangyuan*, in 1049. Later, he was appointed vice governor of the Jingnan junfu (Jiangling Superior Prefecture, a local administra-

tive division and area in modern Hubei Province), a position in which he worked until the eighth month of 1053.¹³ According to both the *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi* (Experiences in painting) and the *Xuanhe huapu* (Catalogue of the imperial painting collection during the Xuanhe era), Yi Yuanji was also active in Hubei for many years. Since Jiangling was famous for gibbons, Yi Yuanji made field trips there to observe them. Because of the rarity of *sanyuan*,¹⁴ Feng Jing's appointment in Jiangling must have been important local news. We can assume that Yi Yuanji knew, or knew of, Feng Jing when Feng was in Hubei.

As the most outstanding local professional painter in both Hunan and Hubei, Yi Yuanji established good relationships with local officials through his artistic talent. In the 1050s, he was promoted from ordinary painter to a state teacher of Tanzhou in Hunan.¹⁵ A poem by Qin Guan (1049–1100) praised a painting of gibbons by Yi, noting it was originally painted for an official in Jingnan, where Feng Jing had worked. This official, according to the poem, had treated Yi Yuanji with respect and had paid him a high price for the painting.¹⁶ This poem and the two records cited in the preceding paragraph indicate that Yi Yuanji's artistic reputation in both Hunan and Hubei was high and that he made his fortune by associating with local officials, including those in Jingnan.

Feng Jing was also a famous collector of his time. Mei Yaochen (1002–1060), an eminent Northern Song poet, wrote a poem titled “Dangshi jia guan-hua” (Viewing the painting collection at Dangshi's home), which records his enjoyment of Feng Jing's painting collection at the official's residence.¹⁷ The Northern Song painter and collector Mi Fu (1052–1107) also often mentioned Feng Jing's great collection of painting and calligraphy as including paintings by Yan Liben (d. 673) and Zhou Fang (active 776–after 796), a Tang tracing copy of the work of Wang Xizhi (ca. 303–ca. 361), and calligraphy by Chu Suiliang (596–658). Mi Fu also mentioned that Feng Jing was a friend of the famous collector Wang Dingguo and that a brother and a brother-in-law of Feng Jing's wife were also active art collectors.¹⁸ It is obvious that, as a major collector of the Northern Song, Feng Jing kept close ties to contemporary artists and collectors. Southern Song literatus Zeng Yu wrote a colophon in 1132 on *Autobiographical Essay*, the famous handscroll of cursive calligraphy by Huai Su (ca. 735–ca. 799), in which he mentioned that there were three



Figure 3. Attributed to Yi Yuanji (d. ca. 1064). *Three Gibbons Raiding an Egret's Nest*. Fan mounted as an album leaf. Formerly Manchu Household Collection (from Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting* [New York, 1973], pl. 218)

copies of this handscroll in the Song and that one of these was in Feng Jing's collection.¹⁹ Mi Fu also mentioned that Feng Jing owned a scroll of calligraphy by Huai Su, while Su Shi (1037–1101) noted that his close friend Feng Jing also collected ink sticks.²⁰

Taking all the above into consideration—that Feng Jing was a famous collector of paintings and had broad associations with contemporary artists—we may state with some confidence that painting gibbons to praise success in the civil service examinations began when Yi Yuanji painted three gibbons in praise of Feng Jing, a *sanyuan* whom he knew or with whom he was acquainted.

A discussion of other Song gibbon paintings allows us to explore the more veiled cultural significance of the Metropolitan's fan painting. Among extant Song gibbon paintings, which are either anonymous or, as with the Metropolitan work, attributed to Yi Yuanji, is a fan painting *Three Gibbons Raiding an Egret's Nest* in the Old Palace Museum Collection in Beijing (Figure 3). This painting bears a strong resemblance to the Metropolitan Museum's fan, which suggests that one fan was copied from the other or that both were painted by academy painters of the Southern Song, as Wen Fong assumes for the Metropolitan Museum ver-



Figure 4. Unidentified artist (Southern Song). *Gibbon and Egrets*. Fan mounted as an album leaf, ink and color on silk. Shanghai Museum (from Wenwu chubanshe, ed., *Songdai minghua ce* [Album of famous Song paintings] [Beijing, 1963], pl. 53)

sion, rather than by Yi Yuanji. After the introduction of this subject matter during the eleventh century, numerous paintings on the theme began to appear, including several variations. One variation is exemplified by a Song fan painting that depicts only one gibbon, not three, catching an egret (Figure 4). Although this painting is more abbreviated in content than the three paintings already discussed, the fact that this gibbon gesticulates toward the sky, where the angry mother egret

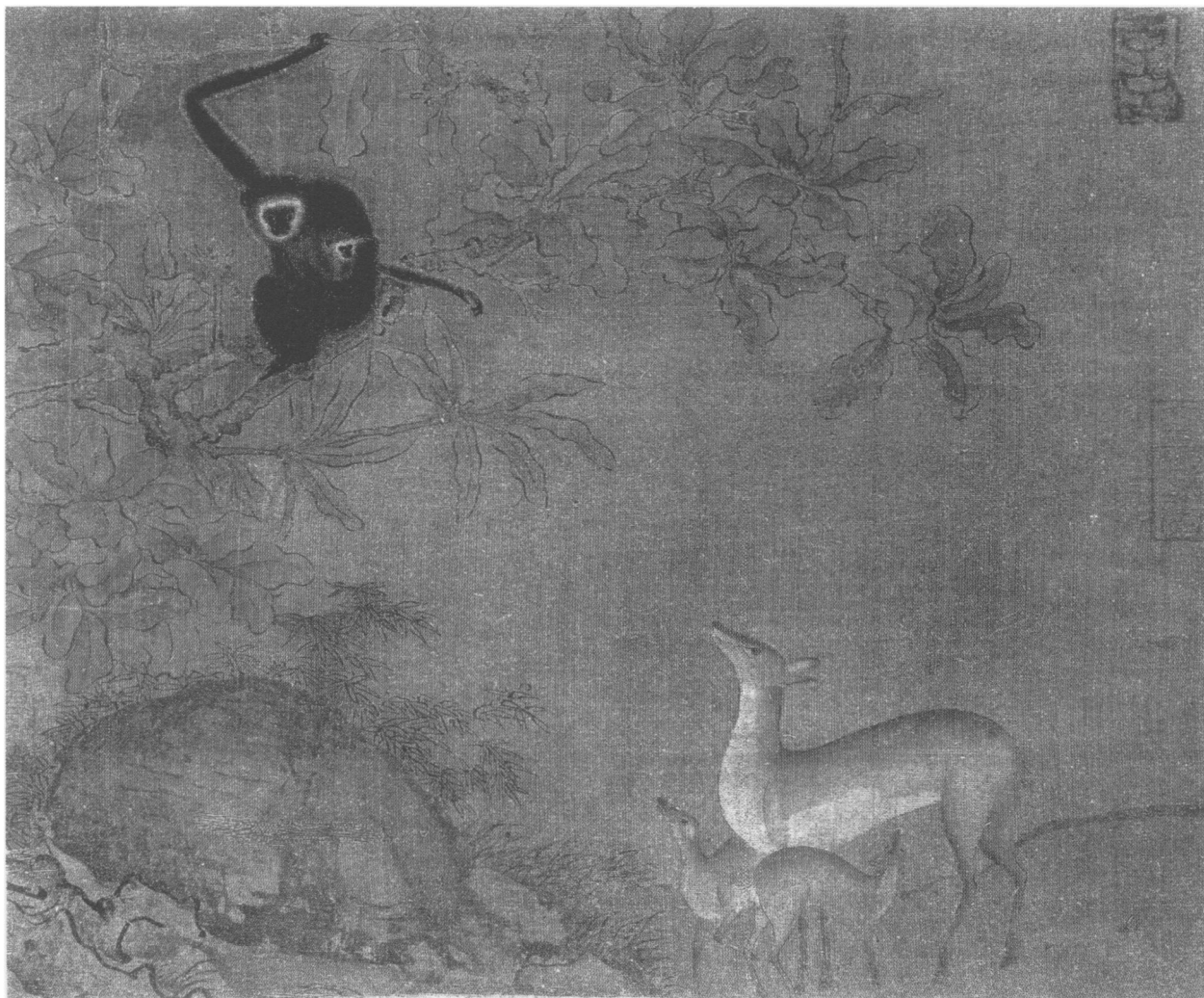


Figure 5. Unidentified artist (13th century, formerly attributed to Yi Yuanji, d. ca. 1064). *Gibbons and Deer*. Album leaf, ink and color on silk, 18 x 22.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward Elliott Family Collection, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1982, 1982.1.4

screams helplessly, shows its derivation from the same prototype.

A more significant variation found in extant paintings is the substitution of deer for egrets. The character *lu* 鹿, “deer,” has the same pronunciation as *lu*, “egret.” Thus, images of gibbons with either deer or egrets could also be read as a rebus for examination success, leading to a future of power and wealth.²¹

Support for this homophonic linkage can be seen in an album leaf entitled *Gibbons and Deer* in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 5). In it a mother gibbon sits in a tree holding her baby; a mother deer and her two offspring stand below. One of the baby deer sucks its mother’s teat, while mother and the other baby lift their heads toward the gibbons. The presence of gibbons makes the deer painting, like the egret painting, a work praising degree holders.

All these paintings, associating gibbons, *yuan*, with egrets and deer, *lu*, seem to be rebuses conveying specific cultural meaning. These paintings are thought to be works by Southern Song court painters and, presumably, derive from a convention created by Yi Yuanji; certainly, many were traditionally attributed to him. A question inevitably surfaces: since no one became a *sanyuan* in the Southern Song, why was this subject matter carried on by Southern Song painters?

While the use of gibbons to praise degree holders, as suggested above, started with Yi Yuanji’s painting for a *sanyuan*, during the decades after the death of Yi Yuanji gibbon symbolism gradually became generalized. As a common visual rhetoric for praising participants in civil service examinations, it could either convey congratulations to those who had passed the examination or express best wishes to those about to take it. The recipients of this kind of painting did not have to be *sanyuan* or any one of the three *yuan*. Since most such paintings were presumably made by court painters, and since many important positions in the Song court were taken by those who held the *jinshi* degree, that is, those who passed the highest level of examination, we can infer that the function of these paintings was to praise those degree holders generally. Hence, the production or reproduction of gibbon and egret paintings never ceased in the Southern Song in spite of the absence of *sanyuan*. The combination of gibbons and egrets or deer in painting became a means for congratulating any degree holder. This is why paintings with but one gibbon (Figure 4) sufficed to express the altered idea.

If we place these paintings in their specific social context, their cultural significance becomes more apparent. The Song dynasty was a crucial transitional period in Chinese history in terms of elite formation. Recent studies emphasize the high degree of social mobility in the Song and the importance of schooling and examinations in creating a new scholarly elite.²² As the importance of ancestry in acquiring a position in the civil service administration declined, success in the examinations became the surest foundation for a family’s status and prestige.²³

We may further take Feng Jing as an example of the importance of examination success during the Song dynasty. Feng Jing came from an ordinary family background. Soon after he earned his third *yuan* (a first in the court examination of 1049), the powerful senior official Zhang Yaozuo took great pains to bring about the marriage of Feng Jing to his daughter. Feng refused, subsequently marrying the daughter of Prime Minister Fu Bi (1004–1083). After she died, he married another daughter of Fu Bi. Feng Jing’s political career was distinguished. He held several senior posts, including the imperial inspector of all high-ranked officials and a post equivalent to vice prime minister.²⁴ Feng Jing’s case epitomizes how a Song *sanyuan* was able to *de lu*, “catch power.”

Under these circumstances, Song literati anxiously sought advancement through the examination system. Their state of mind was best captured by an anecdote recorded by Hong Mai (1123–1202), a Southern Song scholar and *jinshi* degree holder, in his *Yi Jian zhi* (Stories of Yi Jian):

Huang Feng and Feng E were two local gentlemen from Shaowu. Together, they went to Fawang Temple in their county to have a dream of wishes-to-come-true. They dreamed the phrase, “Sanyuan Huang and Minister Feng,” and both felt happy and confident.²⁵

The story of Feng Jing as an exemplar of success through the civil service examinations rapidly grew to legendary proportions.²⁶ Luo Dajing, another Southern Song literatus and *jinshi* degree holder, tells this story:

Feng Jing, courtesy name Dangshi, was a native of Xianning in Ezhou. His father was a [small] merchant.²⁷ By middle age, his father still had no son. One day, he was about to go to the capital on business. His wife gave him gold and said, “My husband, you have no son, so use this money to buy a concubine [who might bear you sons].” After arriving in the

capital, he bought a concubine, paid her price, signed the document. Then he asked where she came from. The concubine wept, reluctant to answer. When he persisted, she told him that her father was an official who had not collected sufficient taxes to satisfy the court, and he sold his daughter to pay the balance. Mr. Feng was so upset he refused to take her with him. He sent her back to her father without asking for repayment [of her purchase price]. When he returned home, his wife asked him where the concubine was. When he had told her the story, she said, "It was so kind of you. How could you worry about having no son!" A few months later, his wife became pregnant. Before she was about to give birth to the child, she had a dream in which people beat drums and blew trumpets, cheerfully welcoming the coming of a *zhuangyuan*. Shortly thereafter, Feng Jing was born.²⁸

Such stories, which must have circulated widely among Song literati, vividly depict Song dreams of success in the civil service examinations. The *sanyuan* was symbol of this success. Given this historical context and cultural milieu, it is not unreasonable to assume that many Song gibbon paintings were painted in praise of new or prospective degree holders. These paintings provide a window on Song literati aspirations and political realities.

A PAINTING PRAISING FAITHFUL LOVE

Most rebus paintings by professional painters in the Song lack inscriptions, poems, or titles. Occasionally, however, paintings have inscriptions or poems that provide reliable clues to their identity as rebuses and help us in our exploration of the complicated meanings behind the pictorial surface of these paintings.

Birds in a Blossoming Wax-Plum Tree, by Emperor Huizong in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, is an ideal example (Figure 6). In this painting, a pair of small birds sits in a wax-plum tree. White feathers topping their heads tell us they are *baitouniao* 白頭鳥 or *baitouweng* 白頭翁, both of which can be translated "hoary-headed birds." Near the tree, which has a number of flowering branches, are two blossoming narcissi. On the left, Emperor Huizong has inscribed a poem in his idiosyncratic "slender gold" calligraphy, while along the right edge, close to the bottom, he has written, "In the Xuanhe Hall, the Emperor made and inscribed [this painting]."

The accompanying poem is highly suggestive for the meaning and function of the painting. It reads:



Figure 6. Emperor Huizong (1082–1135; r. 1101–25). *Birds in a Blossoming Wax-Plum Tree*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 83.3 x 53.3 cm. Taipei, National Palace Museum (photo: National Palace Museum)

*Mountain birds, proud and unfettered,
Plum blossoms' pollen, soft and light.
The painting will be our covenant,
Until a thousand autumns show upon our hoary heads.²⁹*

The sophisticated content of the last two lines, especially the last line, demands detailed examination. The key term is *baitou*, "hoary heads." Let us discuss it in detail, for the rebus play it involves differs from that in the gibbon paintings.

Wang Yunxi points out that there are two kinds of punning device in Chinese literature. In the one, characters of the same pronunciation are substituted for the original characters, thereby changing the reading of the poem. In the other, the characters suggest connotations beyond their original denotations.³⁰ Emperor Huizong played the latter game when he used the term *baitou* in his poem.

There is no doubt that the birds in his painting were called *baitou*, or hoary-headed birds. But the meaning of this term, in the specific context of “the painting will be our covenant,” goes beyond birds. *Baitou* is here an allusion to faithful love or long marriage.

Baitou’s allusion to faithful love began perhaps as early as the Han dynasty. The famous female literary figure Zhuo Wenjun (active 2nd century B.C.) was said to have written a poem titled “Baitou yin” 白頭吟 (Song of the hoary heads) when she heard her husband, Sima Xiangru (179–117 B.C.), planned to take a concubine. She wrote:

*I wish for a lover in whose heart I alone exist,
Unseparated even when our heads turn hoary.*³¹

願得一心人，
白頭不相離。

Here, *baitou* is a term for constant love between a pair of lovers throughout life. It is said that, after reading this poem, Sima Xiangru gave up plans for a concubine.³² Although some scholars question Zhuo Wenjun’s authorship, we are sure the poem dates to no later than the Tang dynasty. “Song of the Hoary Heads” was well known to Chinese literati and became an allusion to faithful love or long marriage.³³

Once one is aware of the *baitou* allusion, Emperor Huizong’s painting also becomes richly symbolic of love. Indeed, the painting is dense with symbolic associations. The two hoary-headed birds that sit close together, emphasizing their intimate relationship, constitute a rebus signifying a long life of marital fidelity. The elegant narcissus (*shuixian*, “water goddess”) may signify the female recipient of the painting. The wax-plum, a tree that blossoms in the cold, symbolizes love that withstands hardship.

Although the precise social function of Huizong’s painting is uncertain, it may have been intended for a consort or other favorite,³⁴ or it may have been a present celebrating the marriage or wedding anniversary of a senior courtier or member of the imperial household. After deciphering the rebus, however, we are certain that this painting relates to love or marriage and is not simply a flower-and-bird painting.

Emperor Huizong’s involvement in rebus painting was significant in many respects. A well-educated monarch and the most important art patron of the Northern Song, Huizong introduced the literati tradition of poetry and calligraphy into rebus painting. Previously, literati had not been as enthusiastic as professional painters in painting

rebuses, but, subsequent to the emperor’s participation in making rebus paintings, there was an increase in literati rebus paintings bearing explanatory inscriptions.

More importantly, during Huizong’s reign, rebus painting was institutionalized in the imperial painting academy. A Song writer contemporary with the emperor wrote:

Emperor Huizong established a painting academy and gave its students a test, asking them to paint a picture based on the phrase “on a branch of ten thousand years is a bird of peace” [*wannianzhi shang taipingque* 萬年枝上太平雀]. Every student failed. When some of them asked the eunuchs for help, they answered, “The branch of ten thousand years is the *dongqing* [ilex] tree and the bird of peace is the *pinjia* bird.”³⁵

In Buddhism, the *pinjia* 頻伽 bird, whose full name is *jialing pinjia* 嘉陵頻伽 (“Kalavinka” in Sanskrit), is a mythical bird with a human face that is in charge of music. Extant Tang mural paintings at the Dunhuang caves show that the *pinjia* was often associated with the Western Paradise. Probably because of this, it was the bird of peace in ancient China. Emperor Huizong’s phrase should be read, after removing three characters, as *wannian taiping* 萬年太平, “peaceful for ten thousand years.” Therefore, a painting with a *pinjia* on an ilex tree is symbolic of lasting peace. As with the *baitou* in the painting by Huizong discussed above, no punning device was demanded in this test. But Huizong did use the images of a bird and a tree to create a phrase that was culturally very meaningful. In this sense, a painting with a *pinjia* on an ilex tree can be viewed as a rebus painting. The quotation above tells us that making rebus-like paintings that embodied specific literary connotations was part of the testing routine at the imperial painting academy. Through such tests, rebus painting became institutionalized.³⁶

Though the painting of the *pinjia* bird created under Emperor Huizong’s order seems no longer extant, the famous Song architectural text *Yingzao fashi* (Building standards), published in Huizong’s reign, tells us that during the Northern Song the *pinjia* bird as a symbol of peace was used together with other auspicious birds for palace decoration (Figure 7). Indeed, the evidence of this work leads us to consider further the painstaking efforts to decorate the Song imperial palace with auspicious images. Creating such auspicious images was an important function of the imperial painting acad-

Figure 7. Illustration of *pingjia* bird (San. *Kalavinka*) in *Yingzao fashi* (from *Li Zhongming Yingzao fashi* [Beijing, 1989], vol. 7, *juan* 33, p. 9a)



emy during the Song. Emperor Huizong's own painting *Auspicious Cranes*, now in the Liaoning Provincial Museum, bears an inscription that reveals the emperor's belief in the attainment of *ruiying* 瑞應, "auspicious responses," or heaven's blessings, through the creation of auspicious images. The complicated interaction between religious beliefs and politics is described by Peter Sturman: "In the hazy world where the borders of reality and fiction overlap emerges the auspicious image, an image that acts to confirm its own reality once created. The auspicious image is the retelling of the *ruiying*, and through that retelling ambiguity is eliminated and subjectivity thoroughly concealed."³⁷

The institutionalization of rebus painting under Emperor Huizong naturally had an enormous impact on the subsequent popularity of the genre. In later dynasties, numerous rebus paintings were made by court painters, sometimes with the participation of emperors.³⁸

A tradition was set in motion by Song painters, representing an enhanced interaction of pictorial and literary values, of painters and literati. The works resulting from this new tradition of rebus paintings conveyed a range of auspicious messages, from wishes for success in the civil service examinations to praise of faithful love or happy marriage. Later rebus paintings came to include an even broader range of social phenomena, but the principal auspicial function of rebus paintings never changed.

REBUS PLAY IN CHINESE ART

To decipher a rebus painting is to treat a picture as a form of writing, to read its image as if it were a text. From the preceding attempt to read Song rebus paintings in this way, let us proceed to discuss the relationship between rebus play and the Chinese language, especially literature, and the origins of the rebus in Chinese pictorial art.

The Chinese rebus, as in the gibbon paintings, most often occurs as a pun on one or more words. Other languages work similarly. In English, for instance, images of an eye, a tin can, the sea, and a ewe make a rebus that reads, "I can see you." Punning rebuses are more common in Chinese, however, than in English. Yuan Ren Chao, in comparing Chinese with other writing systems, writes as follows:

Chinese is almost a perfect example of morphemic writing, in which each symbol, usually referred to as a character, represents a morpheme, and since most morphemes are monosyllabic, each character also corresponds to a syllable. Since in old Chinese a morpheme was usually also a word in the sense of a free syntactic unit, the system of writing can also be described as a word-sign system of writing.³⁹

In this word-sign system, the Chinese language creates many homophonic words, each represented by a different character. Compared with other languages, Chinese has many homophones, and the homophonic rebus got an early start in Chinese history. Its use in literature can be safely traced to *yuefu*

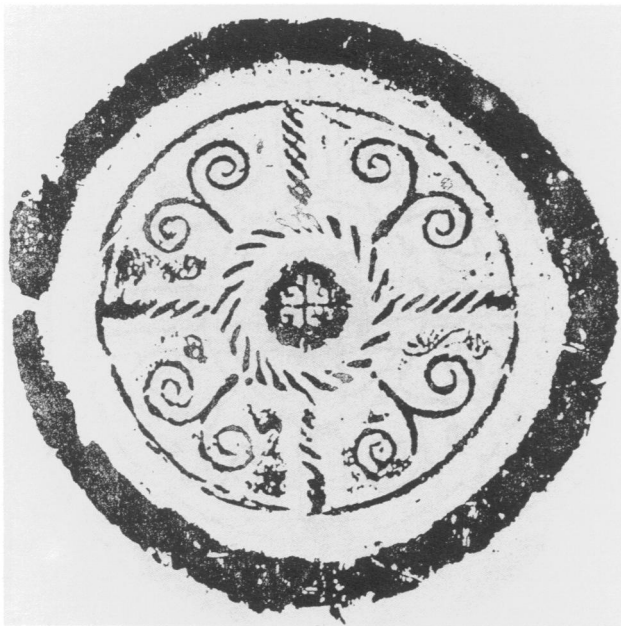


Figure 8. Rubbing of a roof tile with the design of *yang* (sheep). Warring States period (480–221 B.C.) or Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.) (from Xu Xitai et al., *Zhou Qin Han wadang* [Roof tiles of the Zhou, Qin, and Han dynasties] [Beijing, 1988], pl. 70)

poetry or *yuefu* ballads of the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 220),⁴⁰ though Han examples are few. It was during the ensuing Six Dynasties (220–589) that the rebus became common both in ballads and in daily conversation among the elite.⁴¹ At the same time, the use of puns in literature was strongly regional, with the most frequent occurrence in ballads from the states of Wu and Chu.⁴²

The prevalence of puns in these songs shows that, at least initially, puns belonged to oral tradition. The following song, translated by Hans Frankel, employs puns:

*When I was first about to know you,
I hoped our two hearts would be as one.
When I straightened out the silk thread and put it on the
broken loom
How was I to know it wouldn't make a piece [of cloth]!*

Frankel accompanies his translation with the following explanation: “My translation fails to convey the puns: *si* ‘silk thread’ is homonymous with *si* ‘love thoughts,’ and *pi* ‘piece of cloth’ simultaneously means ‘mate, pair.’”⁴³

In the Tang dynasty, literati introduced rebuses into their poems in imitation of folk ballads. A renowned example was Liu Yuxi (772–842), who, when exiled to Langzhou (in modern Hunan), fol-

lowed folk song styling in his *ci* poems.⁴⁴ Among these, his “Zhuzhi *ci*” is the most famous. It reads:

*Poplar and willow are green, the river's water even,
I hear my darling sing [a love song] on the river.
While the sun is rising in the east, it is raining in the west,
It is said it is not clear, but it is clear.*⁴⁵

Because it is raining, one can say it is not clear; because the sun is rising one can say it is clear. The last line, containing a rebus, sheds light on this contradiction. “Clear” in Chinese is *qing* 晴, which is homonymous with *qing* 情, the character for “love.” The poem thus expresses the uncertainty a lady feels about her lover, unclear as to whether his feelings for her are true.

Whereas this rebus punning in ballads was almost always related to the theme of love,⁴⁶ its use in the pictorial arts was linked to the pursuit of auspiciousness. Pictures or designs that became auspicious in this way probably originated, at the latest, in the late Warring States period (480–221 B.C.) and became fairly common in the Han dynasty as evidenced by ceramic tiles from these periods. One type of roof tile has a pattern formed from the character *yang* 羊, “sheep or goat” (Figure 8). As deciphered by the *Shuowen jiezi* (Analysis of characters to explain writing), a dictionary compiled by Xu Shen (ca. 58–ca. 147) of the Eastern Han, *yang* could just as literally be read as “luck or auspiciousness.”⁴⁷ *Yang* in its meaning of “auspicious” was employed on many seals with auspicious texts during the Warring States period (Figure 9).

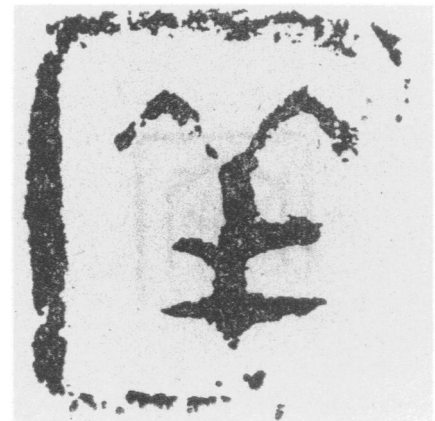


Figure 9. Seal with the auspicious saying “yang.” Warring States period (480–221 B.C.) (from Palace Museum, Beijing, ed., *Guxi huibian* [Collection of seals of the Warring States period] [Beijing, 1981], p. 480)



Figure 10. Pictorial seal with three goats. Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 220). Bronze, 1.6 x 1.5 cm. Hunan Provincial Museum (from *Hunansheng bowuguan cang guxi yinji* [Ancient seals in the collection of the Hunan Provincial Museum] [Shanghai, 1991], p. 107)

More intriguing is a Han pictorial seal in the collection of the Hunan Provincial Museum (Figure 10). On this seal, two adult goats stand face to face, raising their front legs; a baby goat is between them. This *sanyang* 三羊, “three goats,” picture may be related to the idea of *sanyang jiaotai* 三羊交泰, or

三羊開泰, the three positive principles in nature that create peace.⁴⁸ If it is the case, this pictorial seal of three goats is a rebus for peace.

A more complicated pictorial representation with a rebus is found on a Han stone carving (Figure 11). In this work, a winged immortal (*yuren* 羽人) plays with a deer, while, in the sky, a bird flies. In the Han dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* mentioned above, Xu Shen attached an explanation under the character *que* 雀, “bird”: “[This character] is pronounced like the character *jue* 爵 [‘degree of nobility, official title’].”⁴⁹ Not only were the two characters pronounced alike during the Han period, inscriptions on a number of Han bronze mirrors show that the character *jue* 雀 for bird was often written as *jue* 爵, the character for official position.⁵⁰ As discussed earlier, “deer” (*lu*) shares its pronunciation with “official salary” (*lu*). Thus, the representation on this carving can be read, as Hua Rende points out, as meaning *juelu* 爵祿, “the degree and emolument of nobility,” a common phrase in the Han.⁵¹ This picture is thus a rebus expressing a wish for winning an official title and salary.

This discussion of pre-Song puns in literature and rebuses in the pictorial arts demonstrates that a tradition of using the rebus existed in both arts and that Song use of the rebus was a continuation of this tradition. Song puns in literature make use



Figure 11. Rubbing of Han pictorial stone carving with an image of a winged immortal with a bird and deer (photo: Hua Rende)

of the earlier word play, though, owing to the lack of extant Song folk songs, we must focus on literati poetry, which, as Song critics were keenly aware, frequently resorted to puns.⁵² Let us consider a poem by Su Shi, the leading literatus of the Northern Song. “A Farewell Poem Written at a Banquet for Another” reads:

Lianzi pikai xujianyi
Qiuping zhaojin gengwuqi
Poshan queyou chongfengchu
*Yifan heceng wangqueshi?*⁵³

蓮子劈開須見臆
 楸枰著盡更無期
 破衫卻有重逢處
 一飯何曾忘卻時

Each line ends with a puzzling pun, and a literal translation of this poem will not make much sense if the word play is not deciphered:

*When the lotus seed is cleft in two, one immediately sees
 the feeling,
 When the chessboard is full, there is no time [for our
 next meeting],
 But a ragged coat has places of reunion:
 How can I forget the time of a meal?*

This baffling reading stems from Su Shi’s substitution of homophones for characters that would provide an intelligible reading. In the poem, he uses *yi* 臆, “feeling,” for *yi* 意, “the inner part of the lotus seed”; *qi* 期, “time,” for *qi* 棋, “chess”; *feng* 逢, “reunion,” for *feng* 縫, “sewing”; *wangque* 忘卻, “forget,” for *wangque* 忘喫, “forget to eat.”⁵⁴ The poem makes more sense with the new characters.

*When the lotus seed is cleft in two, one sees immediately
 its inner parts,
 When the chessboard is full, there is no chess [to play],
 A ragged coat has places which have been resewn,
 I will never forget to eat a meal.*

The extreme banality of this verse is a clue that a rebus is at hand, and Su Shi was confident his friend would detect the rebus play because the title of this poem indicated its farewell nature. When he read this poem, he would read only the meanings of the end of each line. Therefore, the poem should be read as follows:

*[At the time we separated], I knew your feeling,
 [It is hard to know] when we can meet,
 [However, somewhere] we will reunite,
 I will not forget the time.*

Su Shi was no isolated case. His close friend, another leading literatus of the Northern Song, Huang Tingjian (1045–1105) also occasionally played the rebus game in some of his *ci* poems. In one titled “Shaonian xin” (The heart of youth), he wrote the following lines:

*[The situation] is like a double-happy peach pit [hehuan
 taohe 合歡桃核],*⁵⁵
*It is so irritating because
 There are two people [ren 人] inside the heart.*⁵⁶

“People” (*ren*) has the same pronunciation as “nut” (*ren* 仁). A double-happy peach pit is a peach with two nuts. Here Huang Tingjian replaced “nut” by “people” in the third line to describe someone who has two lovers in his or her heart and cannot decide who should or would be loved the most.

Huang Tingjian was a native of Xiushui, Jiangxi, historically an area belonging to Chu. Su Shi was born in Meishan, Sichuan, once a neighboring state of Chu. When we consider that Chu had an unbroken tradition of poetic rebuses inherited from the Han, we will feel even more comfortable in accepting the inference that Yi Yuanji, a native of Chu, resorted to a rebus in his painting of gibbons in order to praise Feng Jing’s success in the civil service examinations. Further, Feng Jing, also a native of Chu, would have been all the more likely to have detected a rebus.

In the Song dynasty, *ci* poetry reached its pinnacle, while many *ci* poets borrowed from such oral literature as popular songs and ballads.⁵⁷ Ballads and vernacular language were no doubt rich sources of inspiration for both *ci* poetry and rebus painting. Most rebus paintings were made by professional painters, who came from plebeian backgrounds and had received little formal education. But this background brought them into close contact with popular ballads. Commoners, unsophisticated in comparison with the literati elite, may have been less restrained by written language in their oral rebus play. Using a limited number of characters in their speech, they also used them more flexibly and interchangeably than was the case in the written literati tradition. More often than the well educated, they were inclined to allow a single character or compound word to do duty for two or more concepts sharing the same pronunciation.⁵⁸ Their misreading, misunderstanding, or misuse of the meanings of words may have been the origin of some puns in folk songs, puns later gradually incorporated into rebus paintings by court painters with

ordinary backgrounds. A disadvantage in social advancement was turned into an advantage in art.

Rebus play has always been rare in figure and landscape paintings. Pre-Song figure painting, as, for instance, Gu Kaizhi's (ca. 345–406) *Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies*, had a strong tendency toward moral teaching. Many early figure paintings are also narrative paintings based on literary texts, for example Gu Kaizhi's *Nymph of the Luo River*, inspired by a prose work by Cao Zhi (192–232) entitled *Rhapsody on the Goddess of the Luo River*. Paintings of this kind, closely associated with the rich narratives of their texts, have no need and little scope for using a rebus to convert their images into words. As for landscape painting, it did not mature until the Northern Song, when it was primarily a literati endeavor. Even after its flowering during the Song, few landscape paintings contain rebuses because their descriptive content is too thin to support the play of characters needed for rebuses.

Rebus play demands richness of vocabulary. It seems no accident that the popularity of rebus painting owes a great deal to bird-and-flower painting, which achieved the status of an independent genre during the Northern Song. An overview of extant rebus paintings demonstrates that most rebus paintings are bird-and-flower or feather-and-fur (animal) paintings. The names of animals, flowers, trees, plants, and birds provided professional painters with a variety of words on which to pun.

According to pre-Song painting catalogues, such as *Tangchao minghua lu* (Famous paintings of the Tang dynasty), paintings of birds, flowers, and animals existed before the Song. But there is no question that the early Northern Song was pivotal to the development of bird-and-flower painting. As Richard Barnhart points out:

The genre [of flower-and-bird painting] was not given a name until the eleventh century, and artists who first established its significance were primarily active in the tenth century—above all, Huang Quan (903–968) of Shu (Sichuan) and Xu Xi (died before 975) of Jinling (Nanjing).⁵⁹

It seems Xu Li and the Huang family, including Huang Quan's third son Jucai, not only established the stylistic tradition of flower-and-bird painting but also encouraged the use of the rebus in painting. Among extant rebus paintings, Xu Xi's *Yutang fugui* (Wealth and nobility in the Jade Hall) is one of the earliest known examples.⁶⁰

As Barnhart points out, the Huang family came from Shu, while Xu Xi was a native of Nanjing, in the Wu region. Yi Yuanji was born and active in the Chu area. Chu and Wu were areas with a long tradition of punning ballads, and it is likely that the tradition of rebus making in painting was established by professional flower-and-bird and animal painters from south China, especially from those areas.

While rebus play in painting was a common Song phenomenon, it remains a riddle how many extant Song paintings contain rebuses since most professional paintings, unlike works by literati, lack either explanatory titles or inscriptions and since most labels attached to these paintings are post-Song in date. Song dynasty painting catalogues provide little insight because most of them classify paintings by categories according to subject matter—bird-and-flower, animal, landscape—that offer no clues as to the hidden meanings of the paintings. The meanings of many rebus paintings, once obvious to their makers and intended audience, are by now unclear, a situation that challenges us to find new ways to decipher rebus paintings.

Many anonymous Song album leaves of bird-and-flower and animal paintings have not been studied from the perspective of possible rebus play. One strategy may be to classify their images, accurately identify their subjects, determine their subjects' names and possible associations with other words, establish patterns among scattered paintings, and finally decipher the meanings of their rebuses. Without doubt, future research into rebuses will illuminate how rebus paintings of the Song were created and understood in the social and political contexts of their own time.

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NOTES

1. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (compact edition, 1971), "rebus" is defined as "an enigmatical representation of a name, word, or phrase by figures, pictures, arrangement of letters, etc., which suggest the syllables of which it is made up." A phrase or a sentence can be made by combining several rebuses. Besides early Chinese pictographs, rebus symbols are common in Egyptian hieroglyphs and can be found in Western religious art and architecture.
2. For instance, Terese Tse Bartholomew, "Botanical Puns in Chinese Art from the Collection of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco," *Orientalism* 16 (September 1985), pp. 18–34. Writing on the metaphorical use of the image of "excellent vegetable" in political criticism in Chinese painting, Alfreda Murck points out that "In Chinese prose and poetry the word vegetable *tsai* [cai] could carry overtones of the homophonous terms talent and wealth." See Alfreda Murck, "Paintings of Stem Lettuce, Cabbage, and Weeds: Allusion to Tu Fu's Garden," *Archives of Asian Art* 48 (1995), pp. 32–47. Publications in Chinese on paintings with rebuses include Tan I-ling's "Jixiang huahui" (Auspicious flowers), in *Wenwu guanghua* (The splendor of cultural treasures) (Taipei: Palace Museum, 1984), pp. 212–23; and Chu Hui-liang, "Suishui pingan" (Peace in every year), in *ibid.*, pp. 224–35.
3. Wen C. Fong, *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, 8th–14th Century* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), p. 264.
4. This title for the painting is recorded in *Gugong shuhua tulu* (National Palace Museum catalogue of calligraphy and painting) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1989), vol. 1, p. 207.
5. In this essay, the modern Pinyin system has been used to indicate the pronunciation of rebuses in Song paintings. Readers should be aware, however, that pronunciation in the Song dynasty may not be identical with the Pinyin pronunciations. For the original pronunciations of ancient rebuses, Professor Victor Xiong, of Western Michigan University, has suggested adopting linguists' reconstructions of ancient Chinese phonology, which, unfortunately, may not be convenient for readers. The author, however, has checked dictionaries compiled and published during the Song and established that the puns under investigation were also puns in the Song dynasty. For instance, the character *yuan* for "gibbon" and the character *yuan* for "first" were pronounced the same in the Song.
6. With regard to the character *lu* read as "power," see Yang Bojun, *Mengzi yizhu* (The translation and annotation of Mencius) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), p. 56.
7. Interested readers may find helpful a scholarly discussion of the civil service examinations in traditional China, through which one can sense the great difficulty in passing the examinations, not to mention placing first in all examinations: see Ichisada Miyazaki, *China's Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examinations of Imperial China*, trans. by Conrad Schirokauer (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981).
8. Liu Fu, *Qingsuo gaoyi* (Taipei: Heluo tushu chubanshe, 1977), p. 168.
9. We know Sun Mian wrote the preface for Liu Fu between 1049 and 1066 because he signed the honorific title *Zizengdian daxueshi*, which was conferred in the reign of Huangyou (1049–1053), and because he died in 1066. For a brief biographical note on Sun Mian and a note to his "Qingsuo gaoyi xu" (Preface to *Qingsuo gaoyi*), see Zeng Zaozhuang and Liu Lin, eds., *Quan Song wen* (Complete anthology of Song prose) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1990), vol. 11, pp. 51, 82–83.
10. Zhao Yi, *Gaiyu Congkao* (Collection of textual verifications made in retirement) (n.p., n.d.), *juan* 28, pp. 8–9.
11. Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, annotated by Deng Bai (Chengdu: Sichuan meishu chubanshe, 1986), p. 246. Translation adapted from Robert H. van Gulik, *The Gibbon in China: An Essay in Chinese Animal Lore* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 79.
12. Wang Zeng won his final first, or *zhuangyuan*, in 1002. After working briefly as a local government official in northern China, he served as a courtier until his death in 1039. There are no records indicating that he served in south China or that Yi Yuanji had visited the capital city before the 1060s. Thus, it is unlikely that Yi Yuanji painted a picture of gibbons to praise Wang Zeng. See Tuotuo, *Song shi* (History of the Song dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), vol. 29, pp. 10180–86.
Song Yang, a native of Kaifeng, received his *jinshi* degree in 1027, then served briefly as an official in Xiangzhou in modern Hubei. Afterward, he held several positions in the central government. Song Yang was a contemporary of Yi Yuanji, and his brief service in Hubei might have offered a chance for association with Yi. See Tuotuo, *Song shi*, vol. 27, pp. 9590–93. In the 1020s, however, the young Yi Yuanji had not attained the artistic fame that would later bring him public attention, reducing the likelihood of Song Yang knowing of him, let alone seeking him out.
13. Yang Zhi, from Anhui Province, became a *sanyuan* in 1042. Right after he was appointed to an official post, his mother passed away. He returned home to mourn her and later died there. See Tuotuo, *Song shi*, vol. 29, p. 10182. It is unlikely, therefore, that Yi Yuanji painted three gibbons for him.
And so with Wang Yanso. After winning first place in the court examination of 1060 at age eighteen, he served briefly as a local official in Luancheng (in modern Hebei) and Jingzhou (in modern Shaanxi), then went into retreat to mourn the death of his brother. He did not resume his political career until the reign of Xining (1068–77). See Tuotuo, *Song shi*, vol. 31, p. 10891. It is unlikely he met Yi Yuanji, who remained in the south until summoned by the emperor in 1064 to paint screens in the imperial palace in Kaifeng, dying soon thereafter. See Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, p. 246.
13. Li Tao, *Xu zizhitongjian changbian* (Collected data for a continuation of the comprehensive mirror for aid in government) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), vol. 13, p. 4229.

14. According to Liang Zhangju, a distinguished historian during the Qing dynasty, there were only eleven *sanyuan* from the Tang through the Ming dynasties. See Liang Zhangju, *Chengwei lu* (Records of forms of address) (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1991), p. 290.
15. Quoted from Chen Gaohua, ed., *Song-Liao-Jin huajia shiliao* (Historical source materials on painters of the Song, Liao, and Jin dynasties) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984), p. 302.
16. Qin Guan, *Huaihai ji* (Anthology of Huaihai) (Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), *juan* 2, p. 2b.
17. Dangshi was Feng Jing's courtesy name. See Zhu Dongrun, annotator, *Mei Yaochen ji biannian jiaoshu* (Chronological compilation and annotation of the anthology of Mei Yaochen), 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), vol. 3, p. 894.
18. See Mi Fu, *Hua shi* (History of painting) and *Shu shi* (History of calligraphy), in Lu Fusheng et al., eds., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* (Complete anthology of calligraphy and painting) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 986–87, 967, 969.
19. See Zhu Guantian, *Tangdai shufa kaoping* (Textual research on Tang calligraphy) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 231–32.
20. On Mi Fu's comment, see *Shu shi*, in Lu Fusheng et al., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, vol. 1, p. 967. For Su Shi, see *Su Shi wenji* (Anthology of Su Shi) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), vol. 5, p. 2225.
21. As Robert H. van Gulik points out (*The Gibbon in China*, p. 79), "It cannot be doubted, however, that in his [Yi Yuanji's] time the pair of deer and gibbon was a popular subject for painters." There is a painting titled *Yuan-Lu tu* (Picture of gibbon and deer) recorded by the Southern Song author Deng Chun, *Hua ji* (A continuation of the history of painting), in Lu Fusheng et al., eds., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, vol. 2, p. 179.
Deer (*lu*) also shares its pronunciation with "official salary" (*lu*) 祿.
22. For a scholarly discussion of the importance of the imperial examination in Song China and the changing background of the Song elite, see Patricia Ebrey's review article, "The Dynamics of Elite Domination in Song China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48 (1988), pp. 493–519.
23. Richard L. Davis, *Court and Family in Sung China, 960–1279: Bureaucratic Success and Kinship Fortunes for the Shih of Ming-chou* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1986), p. 33.
24. Tuotuo, *Song shi*, vol. 30, pp. 10338–39.
25. Hong Mai, *Yi Jian zhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), annotated by He Zhuo, vol. 2, p. 506. There are numerous discussions of *sanyuan* scattered among the notes (*biji*) of Song literati. The quantity of the discussion reflects an increasing interest in this cultural phenomenon.
26. Not only are contemporary records on Feng Jing much more extensive than for other Northern Song *sanyuan*, but he also later became the exemplar of Northern Song *sanyuan*. In the Southern Song at the latest, perhaps even in the Northern Song, he was already known as Feng Sanyuan. Sanyuan became his nickname. See Luo Dajing (*jinshi*, 1226), *Helin yulu* (The jade dew of crane forest) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 192. In the early Ming, Feng Jing's story of success in the imperial examinations was made into a drama entitled *Feng Jing sanyuan ji* (The story of Feng Jing's triple firsts), which no doubt increased Feng Jing's standing as a cultural figure.
27. We know Feng Jing's father was a small merchant because Luo Dajing notes in the same source that Feng's family was poor.
28. See Luo Dajing, *Helin yulu*, p. 192. On the matter of dreams, the mother of Song Yang, also a Northern Song *sanyuan* (see note 12 above), dreamed before his birth that a Daoist priest gave her a copy of a Confucian classic. See Tuotuo, *Song shi*, vol. 27, p. 9590. It seems that, in the Song, dreams were thought not only to predict success in the imperial examinations but also to ratify success after the fact.
29. Translation by Charles Mason, from Wen Fong et al., *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Taipei: The National Palace Museum, 1996), p. 165.
30. Wang Yunxi, "Lun wusheng xiqu yu xieyin shuangguanyu" (On puns in *wusheng* and *xiqu*), in idem, *Liuchao yuefu yu mingge* (On *yuefu* poetry and ballads of the Six Dynasties) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), p. 127. Mr. Wang's article (pp. 121–66) is the most thorough discussion in Chinese literature of punning devices in both the popular ballad and elite poetry, with special emphasis on the Six Dynasties.
31. Whether this poem, which also had the title "Airu shan-shangxue" (White as the mountain snow), was written by Zhuo Wenjun is arguable, but it was well known among literati. See Xu Ling, ed., Wu Zhaoyi, annotator, *Yutai xinyong jianzhu* (Annotations of new songs from the Jade Terrace) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), p. 14.
32. Ibid.
33. See Zhang Yushu et al., eds., *Peiwen yuanfu* (Thesaurus arranged by rhymes) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1983), vol. 1, p. 1412.
34. Wang Yao-t'ing, "Images of the Heart: Chinese Painting on a Theme of Love," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 12, no. 6 (Jan.–Feb. 1988), p. 5. To my knowledge, Mr. Wang is the first to point out that Huizong's painting is related to the theme of love.
35. Fang Shao, *Pozhai bian* (Compilation made at Bozhai village), in Hu Fengdan, comp., *Jianhua* series (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Provincial Library, 1925), *juan* 1, p. 4b.
36. During Huizong's reign, the emperor often gave painters at the imperial painting academy tests, including that of painting a theme and scenes from poems. See Li Hui-shu, "Songdai huafeng zhuanbian zhi qiji: Huizong meishu jiaoyu chenggong de shili" (A key to the change in Song painting style: a case study of the success of Huizong's art education), *Gugong xueshu jikan* (National Palace Museum Research Quarterly) 1 (4) (Summer 1984), pp. 77–80.
37. Peter Sturman, "Crane above Kaifeng: The Auspicious Image at the Court of Huizong," *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1990), pp. 33–68. Of course, this practice had a historical precedent: in the Han dynasty, the emperors also liked to promote auspicious phenomena. See Wu Hong, "A Sanpan Shan Chariot Ornament and Xiangrui Design in Western Han Art," *Archives of Asian Art* 37 (1984), pp. 38–59.
38. A good example is Emperor Xuanzong (1399–1435; r. 1426–35) of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), who was fond of including rebuses in his paintings. For a scholarly discussion of Emperor Xuanzong and his painting, see Richard Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School* (Dallas: Dallas Art Museum, 1993), pp. 53–57.
39. Yuan Ren Chao, *Language and Symbolic Systems* (London: Cambridge University Press), 1968, pp. 102–103. Some scholars

- argue that, from a linguistic point of view, the Chinese language is not monosyllabic in nature. See John DeFrancis, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), pp. 176–88. However, it is undeniable that the overwhelming majority of Chinese characters are monosyllabic and that these monosyllables are frequently homophonic, as are many disyllabic terms.
40. For a comprehensive discussion of *yuefu* poetry in Western languages, see Hans H. Frankel, “*Yueh-fu* Poetry,” in Cyril Birch, ed., *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 69–107.
 - Yuefu* originally referred to the Music Bureau, founded in 117 B.C. during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han (r. 140–87 B.C.) and abolished in 6 B.C. by Emperor Ai (r. 6–1 B.C.). It was charged with collecting folk songs, creating sacrificial music, and performing rites. *Yuefu* poems refer to poems commissioned for ritual purposes (hymns) and anonymous folk songs (ballads) collected by the bureau from provincial regions as a way of gauging the common people’s reactions to the central government. In the Southern Dynasties (420–589) there were similar music bureau institutions, but they collected *yuefu* ballads mainly for entertaining the royal houses. Interested readers may find more information about *yuefu* poems and ballads in William H. Nienhauser, ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), s.v. *Yueh-fu* (*yuefu*).
 41. See Wang Yunxi, “Lun wusheng xiqu yu xieyin shuangguanyu,” pp. 121–66; and Xiao Difei, *Han Wei Liuchao yuefu wenxueshi* (History of *yuefu* poetry in the Han, Wei and Six Dynasties) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984), pp. 207–10.
 42. Hans H. Frankel, “*Yueh-fu* Poetry,” pp. 94–95. For a more detailed English discussion of the anonymous ballads of the Six Dynasties, see Marilyn Jane Coutant Evans, “Popular Songs of the Southern Dynasties: A Study in Chinese Poetic Style,” Ph.D. diss., Yale University (1966). For a history of *wusheng ge* (songs of the Wu areas), see Gu Jiegang, “Wuge xiaoshi” (A brief history of the ballads of Wu), in Wang Xuhua, ed., *Gu Jiegang xuanji* (Selected works of Gu Jiegang) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1988), pp. 392–410. Yu Pingbo argues that *yuefu* poetry in the Han dynasty also originated in areas of Chu. See Yu Pingbo, *Tang-Song ci xuanshi* (Selected annotations of Tang and Song *ci* poems) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe), 1978, p. 2.
 43. Frankel, p. 96, with romanization changed to the Pinyin system. For other examples of puns in southern ballads translated by Western scholars, see Wu-chi Liu and Irving Yucheng Lo, eds., *Sunflower Splendor: Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1975), p. 76.
 44. *Ci* poems, lyric poems, one of the major poetic genres in China, were originally song texts set to existing musical tunes. They emerged in the Tang dynasty (618–907) in response to the popularity of foreign musical tunes newly imported from Central Asia.
 45. Liu Yuxi, *Liu Yuxi ji* (Anthology of Liu Yuxi) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1975), p. 253.
 46. Hans Frankel points out (“*Yueh-fu* poetry,” p. 95) that “The favorite theme [of *wusheng ge* and *xiqu ge*] is love.”
 47. Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), p. 78. That the character was used for “sheep” and “auspicious” in the Han dynasty can also be verified by writing on many Han bronze mirrors, where the character *yang* often signifies “auspicious.” See Wang Shilun, *Zhejiang chutu tongjing* (Bronze mirrors unearthed in Zhejiang Province) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), p. 72.
 48. On *sanyang jiaotai*, see Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai kanwa jiten* (The great Chinese-Japanese dictionary) (Tokyo: Taishukan shoten, 1971), vol. 1, p. 185.
 49. Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, p. 76. In modern Chinese, *que* for bird and *jue* for degree of nobility are pronounced differently.
 50. See Wang Shilun, *Zhejiang chutu tongjing*, pp. 34–35.
 51. See Chang Min-min, ed., *Roaming in the Arts: An Exhibition by the Lake Tai Canglang Society: Hua Rende, Hu Lunguang, Chu Yun* (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology Library, September 1996), pl. 11 by Hua Rende. For the use of *juelu* in ancient China, including the Han dynasty, see Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai kanwa jiten*, vol. 7, p. 577.
 52. See Guo Shaoyu, *Canglang shihua jiaoshi* (Annotated poetry criticism of Canglang) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1983), pp. 100–101.
 53. Su Shi, *Su Shi shiji* (Anthology of poems of Su Shi) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 455. Puns can also be found in a few *ci* poems by Su Shi. See Shi Huaisheng and Tang Lingling, ed. and annotators, *Dongpo yuefu biannian jianzhu* (Annotation of chronologically compiled *yuefu* poems of Su Shi) (Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1990), pp. 146, 165.
 54. *Que* is not the pronunciation for “eat” in modern Chinese, but was restricted to some southern dialects.
 55. That is, a peach pit with two nuts in its shell.
 56. Huang Tingjian, *Yuzhang xiansheng ci* (*Ci* poetry of Huang Tingjian of Yuzhang), annotated by Long Yusheng (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), p. 52.
 57. See Kang-i Sun Chang, *The Evolution of Chinese Tz’u [Ci] Poetry: From Late T’ang to Northern Sung* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 59–62.
 58. Song examples are not easy to find, but many inscriptions on Han bronze mirrors show that homophonic characters were used interchangeably in that period. For instance, *bo* 白, “white,” was replaced by 帛, “silks”; *shou* 獸, “animal,” was replaced by 守, “protect”; *huan* 宦, “official,” was replaced by 患, “trouble.” See Wang Shilun, *Zhejiang chutu tongjing*, pp. 38, 39, 41.
 59. Richard M. Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring: Gardens and Flowers in Chinese Painting* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), p. 25, with romanization changed to the Pinyin system.
 60. The rebuses in this painting constitute puns based on the following flowers: *yu* (jade) derives from *yulan* (magnolia); *tang* (hall) derives from *haitang* (Chinese flowering apple); and *fugui* (wealth and nobility) is represented by the peony. “Jade Hall” is a general term for imperial palaces. For a brief discussion of this painting, see Tan I-ling, “Jixiang huahui,” p. 214.

The Dinteville Family and the Allegory of Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh

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THE KINGS AND NOBLES of sixteenth-century France conceived of themselves and their contemporaries as representations, virtual reincarnations, of antique and biblical figures.¹ For them, the dividing line that for us separates present from past linked the temporal dimensions rather than segregating them, and the boundaries delimiting layers and segments of earlier times were fluid and elastic. Like Charlemagne and other French kings, Francis I was seen as a new David.² He was also perceived as another Caesar.³ Those who served the king were no less prone to associate themselves with and envision themselves as past heroes. François II de Dinteville (1498–1554), bishop of Auxerre from 1530 until his death, felt a particular affinity with biblical and early Christian times. In a painting of 1550 created for the cathedral of Auxerre, he appears as the leader of the Hebrews and points to Saint Stephen, patron of the church, who is being stoned to death for having blasphemed Moses (Figure 2).⁴ Dinteville's attitude is ambiguous, although he may be remonstrating with the saint's persecutors. An engraving by Domenico del Barbieri suggests that Dinteville identified with Saint Stephen himself, since the saint is designated as a Dinteville not through his features but through the Dinteville arms on his tunic (Figure 3).⁵ A portrait of the bishop, now a spectator, together with a small depiction of the Dinteville arms and the bishop's motto, *VIRTVTI FORTUNA COMES*, appears in the triptych showing scenes from the life of Saint Eugenia that François II offered to the church of Varzy in 1537 (Figure 4).⁶

François II de Dinteville's penchant for identifying himself and his family with revered figures from ancient times is most spectacularly revealed in a picture in the Metropolitan Museum, *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh: An Allegory of the Dinteville Family*

(Figure 1).⁷ In it, Dinteville and his three brothers are presented as participants in one of the most dramatic confrontations described in the Old Testament: the moment when Moses and Aaron commenced the intimidation of Pharaoh that eventually led to the Israelites' release from their captivity in Egypt. On the right, Moses and two other protagonists are identified by inscriptions on their robes. These labels categorically link this scene to the year 1537, which, by the style of dating used at the royal court, started on Easter Day, April 1, 1537, and ended on April 20, 1538, the day before the following Easter, when 1538 officially began. The designation of the year itself appears on the border of two robes, and the ages of the individuals found on the garments are consistent with it. Although Aaron, the most imposing figure in the group, has no label, the arms on the floor beneath his feet indicate that he is François II de Dinteville, and so do his features, known through other pictures in which he figures. Equally familiar is the face of the man whose golden-rayed horns show that here he is a new Moses. He is Jean de Dinteville (1504–1555), who appears with his friend Georges de Selve in the double portrait that Hans Holbein the Younger painted (and signed and dated) in England in 1533 (Figure 5).⁸ Commissioned by Jean de Dinteville during one of his five missions as ambassador to England, the picture (now known as *The Ambassadors*) accompanied him back to his family's ancestral château of Polisy. There, some years later, it was joined by *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh*.⁹ Holbein's signature on *The Ambassadors* (IOANNES HOLBEIN PINGEBAT 1533), together with the numerous invocations of 1537 in the allegorical work, obviously prompted the addition of the pretentious label "IOANNES HOLBEIN 1537" in the lower left-hand corner of the Metropolitan's painting.¹⁰ Evidently commissioned by a member of the Dinteville family, *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh* remained in their descendants' possession until 1787, when it was sold.

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Figure 1. *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh: An Allegory of the Dinteville Family*, ca. 1538. Tempera and oil on wood, 176.5 x 192.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wentworth Fund, 1950, 50.70. See also Colorplate 1

The inscriptions, arms, and date in the Metropolitan Museum's picture suggest that deciphering its significance should pose few problems—particularly given the familiarity of the scene the painting depicts. Nonetheless, the many attempts that have been made to fathom its meaning have proved unsatisfactory, largely because of the prominently featured date,¹¹ but also because Pharaoh's sixteenth-century identity is less clear than that of his

antagonists.¹² Here I shall propose a reading of the painting and an interpretation of the clues it contains that differ from those advanced to date. Beginning with the painting itself, I shall attempt to relate it to circumstances faced by the Dinteville brothers in the 1530s and 1540s. The crises the family confronted in these decades suggest to me that the painting was commissioned later than the date the artist emphasizes.



Figure 2. *Stoning of Saint Stephen*, 1550. Oil on oak, 108 x 243 cm. Auxerre (Yonne), Cathedral of Saint-Étienne (photo: author)



Figure 3. Domenico del Barbieri, *Stoning of Saint Stephen*, ca. 1538. Engraving, 27.2 x 15.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittlesey Collection, The Elisha Whittlesey Fund, 1959, 59.596.26

THE PAINTING

Pharaoh, Moses, and Aaron are the protagonists of the story the picture recounts. Of the three, Aaron is the most prominent figure in the painting. Toward him Pharaoh extends his left hand. The Israelite's rod, almost fully transformed into a crystalline serpent, its head resting on Pharaoh's dais, separates the prophet from the Egyptian ruler. The heel of Aaron's right foot rests on the hem of his robe, carefully separated from the arms of the heraldic pavement touched by the ball of his foot. His left foot points toward another coat of arms. Moses stands at Aaron's right, behind the serpent and Pharaoh's outstretched left arm. Rays of light emanate hornlike from his head as he gestures toward Aaron with the extended forefinger of his right hand. With his left hand Moses points up toward heaven. His bent arms frame a face with downcast eyes, whose features resemble his own. The angle of Moses' left arm mirrors that of the scepter which Pharaoh grasps in his right hand. As Pharaoh brandishes the earthly symbol of his power, so Moses, stonily eyeing the ruler, invokes a higher authority. Like the fasces and furred banner in the background, like the middle finger of Moses' left hand, Pharaoh's scepter points toward a motto inscribed at the top left: *VIRTVTI FORTVNA COMES*. A curtain, white on the side facing the Egyptians, blue on the other, divides the two groups, as if separating



Figure 4. *Scenes from the Life of Saint Eugenia*, 1535. Central panel of a triptych, oil on wood, 138 x 213 cm. Varzy (Nièvre), Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens (photo: author)

evil from good. Above the head of the Egyptian attendant who pulls the curtain back is an Ionic capital. Aaron, Moses, and Pharaoh are garbed in antique vestments, Pharaoh's tunic and bootlets (like his throne) reminiscent of ancient Rome. The sovereign's costume and spiked crown evoke oriental and Roman attire, and the armor *all'antica* and *alla romana* that was fashionable in sixteenth-century Europe.¹³ Similar attire is seen in the contemporary *Portrait of a Young Warrior as Saint George* (Figure 9; Appendix); in a contemporaneous painting of the Judgment of Solomon;¹⁴ and, especially important, in a portrayal of Francis I as Roman emperor executed at almost precisely the same time as *Moses and Aaron*.¹⁵ The tunic also resembles the antique military costume depicted in a tile pavement at the Dinteville château of Polisy, which is dated 1545 (Figure 6).¹⁶ The attendant behind Pharaoh, wearing a timeless robe, points with his right forefinger at the orb beneath Pharaoh's right foot. Behind Moses and Aaron are two figures clad in cloaks. One garment, blue like Pharaoh's,

brushes the bare foot of the man with lowered eyes whose face is framed by Moses' arms. On the far right a red cloak, its hue mirroring Moses' short robe, cuts across the calf of a man shod in sandals (similar to those worn by Aaron), who gazes at Aaron and wears, incongruously, a plumed red velvet cap. The face of an associate of the four bearded Israelites sports a mustache and looks outward. Aaron's companions all stand on the heraldic pavement, whereas Pharaoh's feet are elevated on a platform above the pavement and rest, the left one on the edge of the platform, the right on the globe. One edge of Pharaoh's platform abuts the armorial bearings under Aaron's right foot; a narrow band of the lower quadrant of these arms underlies the other edge of the platform. Beneath the center of the platform and Pharaoh's throne is a band of the arms under Aaron's left foot.

The serpent, whose head is on Pharaoh's dais and whose arrow-pointed tongue shoots out toward the ruler's foot, unmistakably fixes the biblical scene as the story of Moses, whom God sent to Egypt to



Figure 5. Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Ambassadors*, 1533. Oil on oak, 207 x 209.5 cm. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

deliver the Israelites unto a land flowing with milk and honey, where they might serve God. God intended to harden Pharaoh's heart against Moses' message. Only after God had smitten the Egyptians sorely and manifested his wonders would Pharaoh finally give way and the people of Israel leave, despoiling the Egyptians before setting out for the promised land. God joined to the reluctant Moses as his prophet his older brother, Aaron the Levite, known for his eloquence. At their first appearance before Pharaoh, the ruler rejected their demands and increased the Israelites' burdens. When they returned, Aaron "cast down his rod before Pharaoh, and before his servants, and it became a serpent." This is the tense encounter depicted in the painting. Thus commenced the series of confrontations between the two leaders of Israel and Pharaoh that brought awful calamities to the people of Egypt. The litany of afflictions was the inevitable consequence of Pharaoh's failure to heed the wonder

that Aaron had performed. They culminated in the death of all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, "from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon, and all the firstborn of cattle." Only then did Pharaoh give the children of Israel permission to depart. Having plundered the Egyptians, they left, as God had promised.¹⁷ The end of the story, terrible for Pharaoh and his people but happy for the Israelites, was implicit in the dramatic commencement shown in the painting.

The righteousness of the Israelites' cause is underscored by the inscription on Aaron's miter: "CREDIT ABRAM DOMINO ET REPVTATVM EST ILLI AD IVSTITIAM" (Abram believed in the Lord and it was counted to him for justice).¹⁸ These words designate the prophet Aaron and the person who here represents him, his spiritual heir, as latter-day Abrams. Prefiguring Moses and like him led by God, Abram had left his father's house to live in

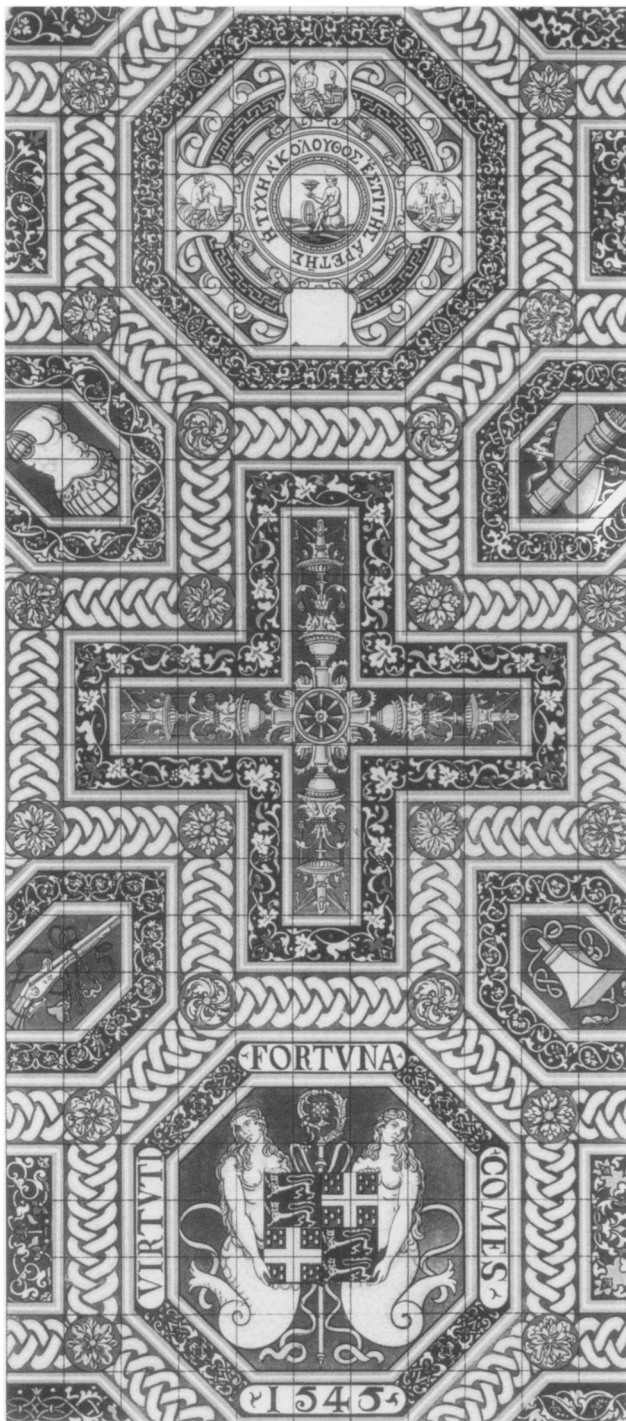


Figure 6. Drawing of ceramic tile pavement, dated 1545, at Polisy. 46.1 x 22 cm (scale: 1/3 of original). Pl. 3 of *Portefeuille archéologique de la Champagne*, ed. Alfred Gaussen (Bar-sur-Aube: M^{me} Jardeaux-Ray, 1861) (photo: BNF)

Canaan, the land that God had shown him. There God protected him, having pledged to make of him a great nation, bless him, and magnify his name (which God later changed to Abraham). The plagues the Egyptians suffered when Abram and his wife, Sarai, passed through that land foreshadowed those that God inflicted on Pharaoh and his people when Moses and Aaron worked their wonders, just as the release of Abram and Sarai foreshadowed the deliverance of the people of Israel.¹⁹

Although the painting recounts an episode that occurred in the distant biblical past, it was not a reconstruction and reminder of ancient events but a commentary on the present. The costume of the figure on the right, cloaked in red, with plumed cap, explicitly signals the painting's relevance to contemporary as well as biblical times. So too do the labels on his cloak and the robes of his companions. His inscription identifies him as "GVILLAVME•/ DE SCHENET[Z] / DE • DINTEVILLE • CHEV[ALIER] / DESCV[R]IE • DE • MO[NSIEVR] / EN / AGE 32." The blue cloak, whose color matches Pharaoh's costume, bears the label, "1537 / GAVCHER•S'•DE•VANLAY•/ EN AGE / 28." The border of Moses' short robe has the legend, "•IEHAN S' DE•POLISY•/•EN•AGE. 33•/•BAILLY•DE TROYES / •1537." Aaron's robe lacks any similar inscription, although, enigmatically, "EN" and "8" are (barely) visible on two green stripes of his cloak. The motto *VIRTVTI FORTVNA COMES* (Fortune companion to Virtue) inscribed on the top left of the picture—and thus on Pharaoh's side—and the designs on the floor beneath the Israelites' feet reinforce the connections the inscriptions establish with the present, and unmistakably identify the high priest as François II de Dinteville. The ball of Aaron's right foot is set on quartered arms, one and four sable, two leopards in pale or, two and three azure, a cross or cantoned of twenty billets gold. His left foot points toward and lightly rests on another coat of arms, this one argent, a cross engrailed gules, charged with five escallops gold. Standing on the heraldic pavement, the two Israelite leaders, and most dramatically Aaron, demonstrate their ties to and descent from three prominent French families and reveal their own identities. The quartered arms proclaim as their ascendants the fourteenth-century lord of Échenay, Gerard de Dinteville, designated by the twin leopards, and Gerard's wife, Alix de Choiseul, represented by the cross and billets. The eighteen billets, long associated with the Choiseul family and previous generations of the Dinteville family, are here replaced by twenty billets.

The two additional billets make clear the arms' association with François II de Dinteville and his brothers, a connection reinforced by the appearance of *VIRTVTI* in the family motto, replacing the *VIRTVTIS* long used by François II's uncle and predecessor as bishop of Auxerre, François I de Dinteville.²⁰ The arms with cross and cockleshells under Aaron's left foot signify the family of Du Plessis, joined to the Dinteville family through the marriage in 1496 of Anne du Plessis to Gaucher de Dinteville, lord of Polisy and other lands in Champagne, royal councillor and *maître d'hôtel*, and *bailli* of Troyes.²¹

The high priest sprung from these two lines was François II de Dinteville, the eldest son of Gaucher de Dinteville (1459–1531) and Anne du Plessis (1480/81–1546). The three other principal figures on the right are his brothers, Jean de Dinteville, lord of Polisy and *bailli* of Troyes; Guillaume de Dinteville (1505–1559), lord of Échenay; and Gaucher de Dinteville (1509–1550), lord of Vanlay. These three brothers served in the households of Francis I's sons: Jean, as *échanson* and then *gentilhomme*, with particularly close ties to the youngest son, Charles, duke of Angoulême and then (in 1536) Orléans, who was born in 1522 and died in 1545; Guillaume (as his inscription shows) as *écuyer d'écurie*, especially favored by the dauphin François (who died aged eighteen in 1536); and finally Gaucher, as *enfant d'honneur* and then *pannetier*, with special bonds to the king's second son, who was born in 1519 and in 1547 succeeded his father to the throne as Henry II.²²

But what had Aaron and Abram to do with François II de Dinteville, bishop of Auxerre, and Moses with Jean de Dinteville, *bailli* of Troyes? Why were the Dinteville brothers portrayed as righteous Israelites confronting a ruler whose hard-heartedness brought dire suffering on himself and his people? Why was the encounter linked so conspicuously with the year 1537, inevitably suggesting that the ruler they faced was the king of France, Francis I? Why did the designer of the painting underline this connection by placing above Pharaoh's head an Ionic capital, a type known to be favored by Francis I?²³ What is the significance of the puzzling "EN" and "8" inscribed on Aaron's cape? These questions can be addressed only by situating the painting in the context of the Dinteville brothers' experiences in the 1530s, 1540s, and 1550s.

THE FORTUNES OF THE DINTEVILLE BROTHERS

The Dinteville brothers, less eminent than their Montmorency cousins, were nonetheless distinguished by their lineage, closely tied to the king and his court, and endowed with handsome estates in Champagne and Burgundy.²⁴ The roots of the Dinteville family reach back to the thirteenth century. Service to the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans elevated and enriched their ancestors. Members of the family rose to prominence at the royal court when Louis XII became king in 1498. Gaucher de Dinteville, seventh of the nine sons of Claude de Dinteville, served in the household of Louis XII and Francis I, was *bailli* of Troyes and Francis I's lieutenant in Italy, and was awarded the Order of Saint-Michel. Three of Gaucher's brothers pursued careers in the church; the youngest of these, François, was made bishop of Auxerre in 1514. In 1496, Gaucher married Anne du Plessis, who came from a noble family with roots and estates near Blois. Of their eight (possibly nine) children, the two oldest joined the church. The second, Louis, a knight of Saint John of Jerusalem, died at twenty-eight in 1531, shortly after his father. The eldest, François, succeeded his uncle and namesake as bishop of Auxerre in 1530. Through their father and his "great friend" Anne Gouffier, lady of Montreuil-Bonnin (and aunt of Claude Gouffier), the three younger sons, Jean, Guillaume, and Gaucher, secured posts in the households of Francis I's three sons. Jean joined the court in 1519, when he was fifteen; Guillaume in 1532, at twenty-seven; Gaucher in 1527, at eighteen.

The family barely escaped scandal in the spring of 1531, when the Parlement de Paris pursued François II de Dinteville for what the king declared an "execrable crime."²⁵ Suspecting that he had sold or stolen some birds, the bishop had (or had had) affixed one of his gamekeepers to a post by a nail driven through his hands. The Parlement, supported by the king, tried to bring him to justice.²⁶ In the end, however, his powerful cousin Anne de Montmorency helped him escape justice by persuading the king to name him ambassador to the pope. Having received absolution from Pope Clement VII, François II de Dinteville left France before the end of July and was to remain in Rome until early 1533, while there indulging his interest in art and antiquities.²⁷ At the end of August 1532, his brother Jean sent him casts of the faces of the dauphin and his

brother Henri—perhaps so that their portraits could be painted in Rome.²⁸ On his return to France, François II benefited from the king's favor. Anxious to retain the royal grace, in August 1538 he agreed to exchange with Charles II de Lorraine, recently named archbishop of Reims, the commendatory abbeys of Montier-la-Celle and Montiéramey for his abbey of Montier-en-Der.²⁹ As to his three brothers, between the late fall of 1531 and March 1537 Jean served five times as the king's ambassador to England. In 1533 Guillaume received 450 *livres tournois* "for his good service to the dauphin" and to help him recover from injuries he had suffered in tournaments in Paris (the king's son Charles also rewarded him). Although accused of complicity in Sebastiano da Montecuculli's alleged plot to poison the dauphin (who died on August 10, 1536), Guillaume was fully cleared; in 1536 and 1537 he served as royal envoy and ambassador, and rendered military service to the king in Italy. Gaucher raised troops for the king in Italy in 1536 and 1537.

Thus, in 1537 the Dinteville brothers enjoyed the king's favor. Hence the incongruity of the date featured in *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh*. The date had the virtue of distancing the scene from the year 1536, when Guillaume de Dinteville was briefly implicated in the accusations for which Montecuculli was executed on October 7, 1536. It was, after all, Pharaoh's failure to heed Aaron's initial warning that led inexorably to the deaths of his and his people's firstborn. Under these circumstances, choosing this particular scene as the vehicle for the family allegory was in any case of questionable taste. Such considerations apart, the Dinteville brothers would have been just as reluctant to have the picture's message linked overtly with 1538 (a year that by the old system of dating did not end until the day before Easter of 1539, celebrated on April 6), or ensuing years—although the cryptic phrase "EN 8" on Aaron's robe suggests that 1538 is indeed the year to which the scene relates.³⁰

This year, 1538, was the year of the Dinteville brothers' great disgrace. In the fall Jean du Plessis, the brothers' maternal cousin, accused Gaucher de Dinteville of sodomy. "Twice, when we were sleeping in the same bed," Du Plessis declared, "you wanted to bugger me and make me evil [*meschant*] like you."³¹ It was not only the accusation but also Gaucher's impetuous reaction to it that caused the ensuing scandal. On October 31, Gaucher and eight companions invaded the Du Plessis house and at sword's point forced Jean du Plessis to sign a

retraction. Jean and his father, Charles, the king's *maître d'hôtel ordinaire*, enlisted the support of the Dinteville brothers' cousin the powerful Anne de Montmorency, who presented the Du Plessis to the king. On November 8, at Villers-Cotterets, Francis I granted Jean du Plessis's request for a duel, to be held before him on January 1, 1539.³²

Gaucher had fled to Venice. From Italy he fired off justifications, counter-challenges, and explanations to the royal court, in an attempt to defend his refusal to return to France for the duel. The king, the dauphin Henri, and Anne de Montmorency were unmoved. In Paris, on January 1, in lists erected before the Louvre, the king declared Gaucher in default and had his arms dragged through the streets. Shortly thereafter Francis I condemned him for his "abominable crime" and "other great offenses and evil deeds committed and perpetrated against God, the king, and justice." His property was confiscated and an effigy of his body dragged through the streets of Paris and burned at the Place de Grève, a punishment repeated in the other major towns of the realm in February and March 1539. By the middle of April 1539, Gaucher's brothers Guillaume and François II had joined him in Italy, whereas Jean seems to have retired to his château at Polisy. Montmorency, acting on the king's instructions, tried to have the absent brothers banned from the territories of Francis I's allies in Italy. By the end of October 1539, the emperor, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua (who for a time had sheltered Gaucher), and the Republic of Venice had given assurances that the brothers would not be welcome in their lands. By then the Dinteville brothers had visited Rome. There, according to François II's biographer, Felix Chrestien, Pope Paul III and many cardinals received the bishop graciously, although in fact, because of pressure from the French court, on August 8, 1539, the pope had appointed Francis I's nominee as administrator of Auxerre, and by mid-November the papal states were closed to the three brothers, including the bishop. Guillaume and Gaucher spent time in Bologna, and François II in Naples. Whatever pledges the Venetians made to Francis I's envoys, all three brothers were sooner or later received—and made welcome—in Venice.³³

On April 19, 1539, Francis I had denounced the three brothers who had left France for their "damnable enterprises and cruel conspiracies against our person and estate," their "plots and enterprises against the person of the king," and their "felony and lese majesty." He bestowed the administration

of the bishopric of Auxerre on Pierre de Mareuil, son of the baron of Montmoreau, papal proto-notary, abbot of Brantôme, and, most important, favorite of Francis I's mistress Anne de Pisseleu, duchess of Étampes.³⁴ The king wanted François II de Dinteville to be ejected from Auxerre, and by the end of April, a royal pronouncement had been formulated which declared that if Dinteville forfeited the see, Mareuil would receive it. The declaration mentioned not only the grave charges enumerated in the letter of April 19 but also, menacingly, "other crimes that he is alleged to have committed, and any other reason for which the bishopric can be said to be vacant."³⁵ Letters the king directed to Rome and legal proceedings during the next decade show that the king (doubtless prompted by Mareuil and his allies) hoped to revive the charges of which François II had been absolved in 1531, and was questioning the circumstances under which he had acquired Auxerre from his uncle in 1530, by resignation.³⁶

Although Pope Paul III staunchly refused to expel Dinteville from his bishopric, he was forced (despite the opposition of the cardinals) to name Pierre de Mareuil administrator of Auxerre during Dinteville's absence. He took this action on August 8, 1539, and within a month the king and the Grand Conseil had authorized Mareuil's installation. Mareuil commenced at once to plunder the see of Auxerre, which he continued to administer after gaining the bishopric of Lavaur following the death in April 1541 of Georges de Selve, the Dinteville brothers' erstwhile friend.³⁷ Mareuil treated the treasures of the church of Auxerre as "booty," which he shared with the duchess of Étampes. Jean de Dinteville later claimed that Mareuil appropriated "all the movable property in the bishop's dwellings and elsewhere."³⁸

The Dinteville brothers bided their time. They had no other choice. Finally, in the spring of 1542, the brothers were able to return to France. The way was paved by the loyal military service that Guillaume and Gaucher rendered to Francis I at Marano, near Venice, early in 1542.³⁹ With war against Emperor Charles V threatening, the king needed seasoned fighters. Hence he was disposed to receive the overtures made by Jean de Dinteville, who had recently been readmitted as chamberlain to the household of the king's son Charles.⁴⁰ Both Charles and Henri, now the dauphin, supported Jean. Pierre de Mareuil had already begun to suspect that his days of unfettered exploitation of Auxerre might be limited, for in October 1541 he had writ-

ten François II de Dinteville, offering to help him secure justice—on condition that Dinteville surrender one of his commendatory abbeys to him.⁴¹

In May 1542 the king visited the ancestral château of the Dinteville family at Polisy, where Jean de Dinteville received him.⁴² In June François II de Dinteville was permitted to wait on the king at nearby Joinville, and there the king took him back into his grace.⁴³ Ceremonial acceptance, however, by no means meant reinstatement in the bishopric of Auxerre or in the abbeys of Montier-la-Celle and Montiéramey. Jean and François II quickly discovered that the latter would indeed have to make sacrifices to Mareuil. Mareuil drove a hard bargain. In addition to other concessions, he received the abbey of Montier-la-Celle (which François II surrendered to him on June 26, 1542), as well as formal permission to retain what he had appropriated as administrator of Auxerre. Jean de Dinteville negotiated the terms of the compromise, as his brother François, who "dared not approach the court," remained two leagues away. François II de Dinteville had to accept the terms of the compromise and suffer in silence, although he did file a formal protest before royal officials on the same day on which he gave up Montier-la-Celle. Two days later the king reinstated him in his temporalities, but this did not affect the concessions he had made to Mareuil.⁴⁴ François II revealed his plight to the dauphin Henri, who encouraged him to be patient. The dauphin assured him that when the time was ripe, he would see "that the gates of justice were opened to him."⁴⁵ For the moment, however, the dauphin's hands were tied. His father frustrated his attempt to remove Mareuil from the position of almoner that, thanks to Francis I, he enjoyed in the dauphin's household. But on March 31, 1547, Francis I died, and the next day his son, now King Henry II, discharged Mareuil.⁴⁶

Neither François II nor his brothers forgot the promises that the dauphin Henri had made. Between Henri's accession to the throne on March 31, 1547, and the following November 4, and probably after his consecration on July 26, François II approached the king to ask him "to open the gates of justice to him so that he could lodge a complaint against Mareuil" and seek to recover all that Mareuil had taken from him.⁴⁷ The king acquiesced, François II hired the celebrated lawyer Christophe de Thou, and legal proceedings began, first before the Conseil privé, then before the Parlement de Paris.⁴⁸ Henry II himself testified for Dinteville—and was impugned by Mareuil. François II's strug-

gle, however long and difficult, in the end succeeded. In June 1551 Mareuil was vanquished before the Parlement, and Dinteville recovered Montier-la-Celle and the spoils Mareuil had taken from Auxerre.

During these years François II's brothers regained much of what they had lost. Jean was the least fortunate. After playing a critical role in his brothers' rehabilitation, he was struck by a paralyzing illness in 1546 and spent the remaining nine years of his life remodeling and expanding the château at Polisy while fending off attempts by his brother Guillaume to gain control of the family property. Despite his illness, his services were not forgotten. On July 18, 1549, Henry II made him *gentilhomme ordinaire* of his chamber, "even though," the king said, "his weakness, debility, and indisposition force him to remain far removed from us." The Parlement registered the privilege on May 5, 1553, two years before Jean's death.⁴⁹ Gaucher, the alleged sodomite, died at the age of forty-one in 1550, but before then he had contracted a good marriage, produced four children, and been made *gentilhomme ordinaire* of the king's chamber. Guillaume enjoyed a brilliant military and diplomatic career, making an excellent marriage in 1546, and becoming baron of Chacenay in 1551, *gentilhomme ordinaire* of the king's chamber in 1553, and a member of the Order of Saint-Michel in 1559, the year he died. In 1557, explaining the circumstances under which he had been wounded in fighting for the king in Corsica, he declared himself "Gentilhomme de noble et ancienne Race."⁵⁰ So he and his brothers are portrayed in the painting showing Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAINTING

The key to comprehending *Moses and Aaron* and thus determining the moment and circumstances of its creation lies, I believe, in the crises the Dinteville brothers confronted after Gaucher was accused of sodomy and fled to Venice in 1538. His flight precipitated the tragic events that followed: the departure of his brothers François II and Guillaume, and the brothers' three-year exile in Italy, Francis I's condemnation and pursuit of them all, Anne de Montmorency's participation in their persecution, Pierre de Mareuil's plundering of the bishopric of Auxerre, the humiliating concessions made by François II to regain Auxerre. Although the brothers' fortunes were not fully reestablished

until François II vanquished Mareuil before the Parlement de Paris in 1551, there were reasons for optimism before this. In the spring of 1542, the king's son Charles received Jean de Dinteville back into his household, and Francis I forgave the brothers, visiting Polisy and bestowing his grace on Gaucher, Guillaume, and François II. At the same time the dauphin Henri assured Jean and François II that he believed in their cause and would, when he could, open the gates of justice to them. Five years later, after the dauphin ascended the throne as Henry II, he remembered his pledges and permitted François II to begin his pursuit of Mareuil. Any of these troublesome circumstances could explain the creation of a painting in 1542, 1547, or 1551. However, it seems far more likely that the picture that was actually commissioned, *Moses and Aaron*, was planned and ordered earlier than any of these dates, while the brothers were still in Italy, and before they could be assured that after their exile—their captivity—they would prevail.

Consider the scene shown in the painting. It depicts the moment when Moses and Aaron, under God's aegis, are commencing the struggle to secure the release of the people of Israel from their 430 years of captivity. They know the battle will be long and hard. God, after all, intends to harden Pharaoh's heart until he and his people have suffered gravely. God's promise to Abram, prominently placed on Aaron's miter, gives hope that after the wanderers regain their land, their faith, like Abram's, will be rewarded with justice, and God will protect and bless them. At the moment depicted in the painting, Moses and Aaron have placed their trust in God and in a future triumph, which he has promised but they have not yet tasted. This was precisely the situation the three Dinteville brothers faced when they reached Italy late in 1538 and early in 1539. Restoration to their native land and the status they had enjoyed before their flight would require the same sorts of wonders that God had worked through Moses and Aaron.

Read in the context of the Dinteville brothers' experiences in 1537 and thereafter, the picture offers a defense and justification of their flight. Veiling, palliating, and exonerating them from the accusations leveled against Gaucher by Jean du Plessis and against them all—especially against François II—by the king and his council and by Mareuil and his allies, the painting presents a bold vindication of their sufferings and the humiliation that François II, bishop of Auxerre, endured in Italy. Here he and his brother Jean—the perse-

cuted—occupy positions of power, dominate the scene, and tower over Pharaoh and his servants. The motto to which Pharaoh's scepter points, *VIRTUTI FORTUNA COMES*, offers assurance that Fortune will ultimately support the Virtue that the brothers represent and will enable them to triumph in the end. The motto thus reinforces the message conveyed by God's promise to Abram, which Aaron/François proudly displays. Gaucher lurks in the rear, his eyes downcast as if to show his embarrassment at the impetuosity that has caused his family's predicament. Guillaume, stalwart, stands at the far right, behind Aaron, as if poised to come to his brothers' aid.

The painting proudly refutes the allegations made by the enemies of the Dinteville brothers. It rejects the aspersions heaped upon them, just as they did when they were challenged. Jean and François II steadfastly and stubbornly denied that, as Mareuil and others charged, the bishop had left France "to avoid punishment for his crimes."⁵¹ On March 15, 1548, Henry II affirmed what Jean and François II themselves had declared: that the bishop had departed and remained absent "not because of any accusation of crime or any misdeed committed against the king, but only because of the disfavor visited on his brothers." Henry II added that he himself, through relatives and friends of the Dinteville family, had advised François II to leave, and commented that he had done well to depart.⁵² The chief explanation of the bishop's flight presented by his lawyer, Christophe de Thou, was similar, although less direct and more poetic: "seeing that his house was on fire and struck by ruin and tempest, [François II] determined to absent himself and withdraw for a while, and wait until things were better settled and until, with the passage of time, the truth (which is said to be time's daughter) was known, and his innocence revealed."⁵³

The bishop's pose in the picture witnesses the importance of his family and the central significance of familial concerns to the episode the painting depicts. The ball of his right foot is solidly placed on the Dinteville arms, indicating his dedication and attachment to his paternal lineage. His left foot points toward and rests lightly on the Du Plessis arms, which are those of his mother's family and of Jean, the cousin who had vilely accused his brother. A direct line links Aaron's foot and the Du Plessis arms with Gaucher's downcast eyes; because it is the bishop's left foot that points to the arms, this may suggest denunciation of the cousin's act. The presence of these arms directly beneath

Pharaoh's platform and throne suggests a connection between the ruler and the Dinteville family's relatives—and their enemy, Jean du Plessis.

The bishop's right heel is set on the hem of his priestly robe, which is neatly distanced from the Dinteville arms on which the ball of the foot is placed. This pose suggests the balance François II was determined to maintain between devotion to his episcopal office and duty to his kin. As François II knew well,⁵⁴ ecclesiastical law strictly forbade bishops to abandon their sees under any but the most extreme circumstances.⁵⁵ In 1547 de Thou insisted on the "necessity" and the "compulsion" that had forced the bishop to leave Auxerre and France.⁵⁶ These arguments doubtless reflected François II's own perception of his situation in Italy: he had been forced to flee and was there against his will. Equally revealing is a comment made by the bishop's apologist and champion, Felix Chrestien. According to Chrestien, the bishop left France because of plots devised by envious rivals; the king (Francis I) recognized his innocence, recalled him, and sanctioned his pursuit at law of those who had seized his bishopric.⁵⁷ Chrestien termed the years the bishop spent abroad both "wandering" (or "pilgrimage," *peregrinatio*) and "exile" (*exilium*).⁵⁸ Since François II's wandering and exile were forced on him against his will, they constituted a quasi-captivity, which his brothers suffered with him.

The Israelites' captivity took place in Egypt and that of the Dinteville brothers in Italy; but unlike Moses, Jean never joined his brothers there. Similarly, unlike Pharaoh, the ruler responsible for their fate dwelled far from the land of their exile, which made it impossible for François II, Guillaume, and Gaucher to importune him directly. Thus the painting cannot represent a real encounter: its truth is allegorical and symbolic. In the painting, Moses/Jean is his siblings' intermediary and advocate, standing between them and the ruler. This was the role that his brothers doubtless hoped he would exercise for them in France, and this was the role he fulfilled. Jean, unaided, could not win their release from their Italian exile, but he paved the way for his brothers' reception in France and negotiated the agreement with Mareuil that enabled François II to regain Auxerre. There seems no doubt that he was the "true solicitor" of his brothers' cause, and worked for them as he would have done for himself or his own son (as Pierre de Mareuil later remarked of his efforts for François II).⁵⁹

And what of Pharaoh? Whom does he represent and what is his function in the picture? In 1537, the

year *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh* so insistently emphasizes, Francis I was the Dinteville brothers' ruler. Francis I favored Ionic columns, and the presence of one above Pharaoh's head is a subtle suggestion of the ruler's true identity.

But if Pharaoh is Francis I and Francis I Pharaoh, why does the ruler's face bear so little resemblance to that of the French king? Francis' long, large, and slightly hooked nose, his thin and carefully tended mustache, and his full and rather prominent lower lip, known through many portraits (Figure 7),⁶⁰ are absent from this painting. Despite the similarity of costume, the image here is markedly different from the representation of Francis I as Roman emperor in the presentation copy of Guillaume du Choul's *Livre des antiquitez romaines*.⁶¹ It is difficult to understand how John Pope-Hennessy could have seen in the portrait "more than a chance resemblance" to



Figure 7. Portrait of Francis I as a young man, ca. 1553. Gouache on vellum; 34.1 x 26.2 cm (page; miniature without frame, 22.4 x 14 cm). In the presentation copy of Jean du Tillet, *Recueil des Roys*, BNF, fr. 2848, fol. 150r (photo: author)



Figure 8. Clouet or a follower, *Portrait of Pierre de Mareuil*, ca. 1540. Black and red chalk. From *Three Hundred French Portraits . . . by Clouet. Auto-Lithographed from the Originals . . . by Lord Ronald Gower* (London: Maclure and Macdonald; Paris: Hachette), vol. 2, no. 224 (photo: author)

the French king.⁶² In the first published study of the painting, Mary F. S. Hervey and Robert Martin-Holland declared the similarity between Pharaoh and Francis "symbolical rather than actual," and suggested that this was the result of "prudence . . . at a delicate juncture of the Dinteville fortunes."⁶³

Their hypothesis is certainly possible, although it is tempting to seek an actual model for the Egyptian ruler. Here I should like to suggest that the portrait of Pharaoh is a composite representation of the two figures of authority who were the Dinteville brothers' chief adversaries during the Italian exile. One of these was Francis I. The other was Pierre de Mareuil, who was administering the bishopric of Auxerre and who hoped to gain it outright. Pharaoh's features are in fact far more similar to Mareuil's (Figure 8) than they are to those of Francis I,⁶⁴ although they are not precisely those of Mareuil. In the painting Pharaoh's nose is longer and less regular than Mareuil's.⁶⁵ This feature,

together with the Ionic column, connects Pharaoh with Francis I. The resulting portrait remains ambiguous, thus shielding the person or persons who commissioned the painting from suspicions of treasonous intentions and designs.

In this reading, *Moses and Aaron* expresses aspirations the Dinteville brothers cherished for the future, aspirations that were no less strong and compelling for being fanciful, arrogant, and exaggerated. The picture represents their vision of the means by which they might be saved from the quasi-captivity in which they found themselves in 1538 and 1539. It reveals their conviction that God was on their side and would fell their enemies. It expresses their desire for revenge, their stubborn determination, and their antipathy toward and disdain for their antagonist, sentiments that can most readily be associated with the time when Francis I and Pierre de Mareuil were hounding and despoiling the brothers. Under these circumstances, pressed and defensive as the Dinteville brothers were, the questionable taste of selecting a scene recalling the premature death of the king's firstborn son in 1536 may have seemed irrelevant. Perhaps such considerations never occurred to the brothers. The painting depicts an imaginary, not a real, encounter. If it were intended to commemorate an actual event—an encounter in which the king confronted Jean de Dinteville and his three brothers, who lorded it over and threatened their sovereign—such an episode would necessarily have taken place after the exile had ended. To the best of my knowledge, there was no such meeting. The return of the Dinteville brothers from Italy coincided with their reception back into the king's favor.

If, as I have suggested, the painting was commissioned in 1539 or soon afterward, it was in all likelihood ordered either by Jean de Dinteville or by François II. Jean shared François II's interest in art, as his commission of *The Ambassadors* and his redecoration of the château at Polisy witness. References to works of art are found in Jean's letters, and it is thus particularly unfortunate that no communications among the brothers during the exile in Italy survive.⁶⁶

François II's dedication to the arts matched and perhaps exceeded that of Jean. Felix Chrestien commented on his "wondrous understanding" of the arts both liberal and mechanical, and noted that he took special delight in painting, constantly welcomed artists to his dwellings and supported them, and regularly cited the old saying attributed to Apelles, that no day should pass without something

being drawn. Chrestien praised François II for the construction he undertook at Auxerre, Régennes, Varzy, and Montiéramey.⁶⁷ It was François II who commissioned the series of impressive panels dedicated to the Life of Moses for the southern rose window of the cathedral of Auxerre.⁶⁸ He seems clearly to have been responsible for commissioning two splendid Books of Hours created after his return from Italy—one of them offered, probably in 1547, in gratitude to King Henry II—in both of which scenes from the Old Testament predominate.⁶⁹

François II de Dinteville thus seems the person most likely to have commissioned the painting. True, during the years to which its subject is most relevant, he was away in Italy. There was, however, nothing to prevent him from having the picture executed in Italy, just as his brother Jean had commissioned *The Ambassadors* while he was in England in 1533. Given the controversial subject of *Moses and Aaron*, it would have been safer to have it made in Italy than in France.⁷⁰ In this context, the identity of the artist who created the picture becomes important. This is a thorny issue. Sixteenth-century artists were only slightly more inclined than their medieval predecessors to sign their works, and many commissions of the period, including *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh*, are unsigned. The inscription attributing it to Holbein is a quixotic addition.

Since serious study of *Moses and Aaron* began, historians have tried to identify its creator. At first it was attributed to Felix Chrestien, the bishop's faithful secretary. The inspiration for the attribution was an enigmatic remark made by Jean Lebeuf (1687–1760), canon of Auxerre, in his civil and ecclesiastical history of Auxerre. Mentioning the portrayal of François II in the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* in the cathedral of Auxerre and in the triptych of Varzy, he remarked, "Ces deux tableaux passent pour être de la façon de Félix Chrétien."⁷¹ Lebeuf was doubtless repeating a local legend. Once supplied with a name, historians rushed to assign other works to him, providing what Henri Zerner has termed a "[b]el exemple de l'action fantasmagorique des historiens désireux de retrouver les 'maîtres' perdus de la Renaissance française."⁷² Thanks in large part to the work of Jacques Thuillier, Chrestien has finally been recognized as simply a canon of Auxerre, the bishop's secretary, his companion in exile, and his biographer. He may well have shared François II's love of art and artistic talent, but there is no evidence that he executed the impressive paintings with which people in Auxerre linked his name.⁷³

For many years, attention has focused on the mustached face between Aaron/François II and Guillaume de Dinteville, which peers out at the viewer. His position on the right side of the painting identifies him as an ally, supporter, and attendant of the Dinteville. He might indeed be Felix Chrestien, who accompanied the bishop to Italy. It is also possible that he is the artist who painted the picture. In 1961 Thuillier raised this possibility and noted the striking similarity between his face and a head that emerges, dramatically and bizarrely, from the pavement in the Varzy triptych (see Figure 4).⁷⁴ Both pictures, he proposed, could be the work of a single artist, whose style suggests connections with the north—ties bolstered by a Dutch inscription at the lower right of the central panel of the Varzy triptych, and he approved of the links with the Netherlandish painters Jan van Scorel and Lambert Lombard that Charles Sterling suggested in 1955.⁷⁵ In 1984 J. Bruyn observed in the Varzy triptych minute depictions of the arms of Haarlem and its guild of Saint Luke, and he identified the Dutch inscription as a citation from a psalm. He hypothesized that the man who painted the Varzy triptych and *Moses and Aaron* was the Haarlem artist Bartholomeus Pons, who visited Rome before 1518. Bruyn also raised the possibility that other works associated with the Dinteville family were created, if not by Pons himself, at least by a group of artists active in Auxerre during François II's episcopate.⁷⁶ Bruyn's hypothesis remains unproven, but it still seems likely that a northern artist is responsible for both the triptych and *Moses and Aaron*.⁷⁷ Since the triptych bears the date 1535 and an inscription stating that it was presented to the church of Varzy in 1537, this would mean that the Dinteville family stayed in contact with the artist while three brothers were in Italy—always presuming that the painting was executed while they were there. It would also mean that the artist fulfilled their commission in Italy, or that, working in France, he executed instructions he received from Jean or François II. The striking lack of differentiation among the features of the four brothers indeed suggests that the artist was not working from life when he painted the different heads.

The likelihood that François II de Dinteville commissioned and directed the creation of *Moses and Aaron* is strengthened by its ultimate disposition. An inventory of Polisy, prepared in January 1589 soon after the death of Guillaume de Dinteville's widow, shows that at that time the painting was hung over

the fireplace in "the room called the chamber of the late bishop of Auxerre." This was clearly the apartment the bishop had occupied at Polisy, which seems to be one of the new rooms that Jean de Dinteville added to the château in the 1540s.⁷⁸ The room was fitted out with walnut table and dresser and a large painted and gilded wooden bed. Besides the painting, which the inventory said recounted "the story of Pharaoh king of Egypt," the only other decoration in the room was a smaller painting depicting "the story of the adulterous woman, with a small taffeta curtain."⁷⁹ The flooring was probably a handsome tile pavement (parts of which were drawn and published in 1861). Dated 1545, the tiles were richly adorned with François II's episcopal arms, his motto (in Greek as well as Latin), weapons antique and modern, and female figures representing a number of virtues, including Spes, fides, and Charitas (see Figure 6).⁸⁰ It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that *Moses and Aaron* was hung at Polisy after François II's death on September 27, 1554. However, the fact that the bishop had an apartment at Polisy, and that a tile floor decorated with his episcopal arms was installed at the château, suggests to me that François II considered Polisy his home, and that from the time of its completion or (if it was painted in Italy) shortly thereafter, *Moses and Aaron* hung in his private rooms.⁸¹

By 1589, if not before, *Moses and Aaron* was displayed quite differently from *The Ambassadors*, which was hung in the upper great hall. There the latter painting was displayed as a public, family picture, in 1589 thought to represent Jean and François II de Dinteville.⁸² Containing as it did representations of four Dinteville brothers, *Moses and Aaron* was a more authentic family painting than *The Ambassadors*. Yet the context in which the brothers appeared made the work a bitter reminder of an episode in the family's history that was better forgotten. The audacity of its message and the boldness with which it exalted two of the Dinteville brothers as Old Testament patriarchs and denigrated the ruler by presenting him as the tyrannical Pharaoh made the painting potentially subversive and dangerous.⁸³ The victory François II de Dinteville achieved over Pierre de Mareuil in 1551 had confirmed and validated the hopes expressed in the picture. After he and his brothers died, however, it lost whatever talismanic power it had possessed, and soon came to be viewed not as an allegory of their sufferings and exile, but rather as "the story of Pharaoh, king of Egypt."

Appendix

THE ALLEGED PORTRAIT OF JEAN DE DINTEVILLE AS SAINT GEORGE, ATTRIBUTED TO PRIMATICCIO

A sixteenth-century portrait of a young warrior who has slain a horrible beast has for more than forty years been identified as a portrait of Jean de Dinteville as Saint George (Figure 9). Because of its style, the work has been attributed to Francesco Primaticcio

(1504–70). On account of the resemblance perceived between the face of the warrior and the features of Jean de Dinteville, it has been dated to the mid-1540s because Primaticcio is known to have been at the château of Polisy on December 15, 1544.⁸⁴



Figure 9. *Portrait of a Young Warrior as Saint George*, ca. 1550. Oil on canvas, 163.8 x 119.4 cm. The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Collection Foundation (photo: The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Collection Foundation)

To the best of my knowledge, the first identification and attribution was made in 1955, when the painting, then with Georges Wildenstein, was displayed in Amsterdam at an exhibition entitled "Le triomphe du maniérisme européen de Michel-Ange au Gréco."⁸⁵ Although Charles Sterling has been credited with suggesting the attribution and identification, his name does not appear in the entry in the exhibition catalogue. Five years later, in 1960, Sylvie Béguin acknowledged Sterling's counsel when she accepted the work as Primaticcio's, connected it with Jean de Dinteville, and suggested that it had once been displayed at Polisy.⁸⁶ Sterling's hypotheses were henceforth accepted. In 1963, dating the picture 1544, John Pope-Hennessy endorsed them.⁸⁷ In 1970 Georg Kauffmann agreed with the identification and dated the picture 1544–55.⁸⁸ In 1972 Carlo Ragghianti and in 1974 Brigitte Walbe followed suit and dated the painting 1544.⁸⁹ In the catalogue of the exhibition centered on *The Ambassadors* (1997), Susan Foister accepted this identification, said that the picture "is attributed" to Primaticcio, and suggested that it "probably dates from the mid-1540s."⁹⁰

In the notice concerning the painting in the catalogue of the exhibition of armor by the Negroli family and their contemporaries (1998), Stuart W. Pyhrr and José-A. Godoy identified the picture as "Jean de Dinteville as Saint George," attributed it to Francesco Primaticcio, and dated it ca. 1550, although they noted the problems posed by these positions, and the questions that have been raised regarding the identity of the subject and the artist, and the date of the portrait.⁹¹

The date Pyhrr and Godoy assign to the painting may have been influenced by a suggestion that Ian Wardropper made in 1981. Although he endorsed the identification Sterling had proposed for the painting and believed it likely that Primaticcio had executed it, Wardropper proposed connecting it with a letter Primaticcio wrote to François II de Dinteville in 1551/52, in which he mentioned a portrait of Jean de Dinteville he was completing (which I shall discuss below).⁹² Four years later Wardropper seems to have doubted the attribution to Primaticcio, since he raised the possibility that Domenico del Barbieri might have painted the portrait, which he still identified as one of Jean de Dinteville.⁹³

Despite the general approval they have been accorded, it seems doubtful that Sterling's hypothe-

ses should continue to be accepted. In a conversation with me on July 13, 1994, Sylvie Béguin said she now rejects the attribution and identification she endorsed in 1960. In 1996, Henri Zerner flatly repudiated the attribution of the portrait to Primaticcio (which he said depends solely on the authority of Charles Sterling) and suggested that the picture might be the work of Luca Penni (1501/4–1556). He noted that the young warrior lacks the singular red beard that was one of Jean's most distinctive characteristics, which "aucun portraitiste n'aurait négligé."⁹⁴

As to Primaticcio's relationship with the Dinteville family, there is no question that members of the family knew the painter over a period of almost a decade. Unfortunately, however, there is little information about the nature of their relationship, or what if any work he did for them at Polisy. He may have been involved with remodeling the château when he was at Polisy in December 1544, but he may equally well have been visiting. Further, as Thuillier long ago pointed out,⁹⁵ there is no reason to privilege the year 1544 in discussing Primaticcio and the Dinteville family, since he remained in contact with them—as a letter that he wrote on March 11, 1551, or 1552, to the bishop of Auxerre, then in Paris, demonstrates.⁹⁶ In the letter, Primaticcio told the bishop that "according to what he [the bishop] would write to the said lieutenant [Jean de Dinteville, *bailli* of Troyes], he would draw him [the *bailli*] for the cardinal of Guise and would color it with his hand so that [the bishop] would find it less ugly than the first."⁹⁷ Thus Primaticcio had drawn one portrait of the *bailli* (which was considered ugly) and was awaiting instructions regarding another one, which was destined for the cardinal of Guise.⁹⁸ The portrait for the cardinal was apparently in process of completion, and he was coloring it himself (rather than leaving this to an assistant, as may have happened in the case of the first likeness). Henri Zerner has suggested that the portrait referred to in the letter may have been a watercolor.⁹⁹ This may be the case. If Primaticcio had been referring to a picture as elaborate as the one that has been identified as Saint George, he would in all likelihood have said more about it. Although the precise nature of the work Primaticcio was doing is necessarily conjectural, the letter at least shows that Primaticcio himself executed more than a single portrait of Jean de Dinteville and was familiar enough with the *bailli*'s features (and doubtless had made enough sketches of them) to be able to work on a likeness even in

Dinteville's absence. None of the communications between Primaticcio and the Dinteville family, however, provides any grounds for assuming that Primaticcio executed the portrait of the young warrior, or that this picture depicts Jean de Dinteville.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AN Paris, Archives Nationales
BIF Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France
BNF Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

NOTES

1. Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, "Les institutions françaises du Moyen Age vues à travers les institutions de l'antiquité romaine," *Revue historique* 171, 58th year (1933), pp. 281–98. Françoise Bardon discusses the political function of mythological portraits and comments on its "slow but steady evolution" from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, in *Le portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII: Mythologie et politique* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1974), esp. pp. 1–3.
2. Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire. Symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris: Macula, 1987), pp. 279–81; in the introduction, Marc Fumaroli discusses sixteenth-century attitudes to the reincarnation of past heroes, *ibid.*, pp. 11, 17, 19. Myra Dickman Orth has kindly pointed out to me that a book of hours owned by Catherine de Médicis (BNF, n. acq. lat. 82, fol. 152r–v) contains two depictions of Francis I as David; see also Claude d'Espence, *Institution d'un*

Prince Chrestien (Paris: n.p., 1548), fol. 30r (Francis I as "un second Daud"). Aryeh Grabois studies the French appropriation of the image of David during the Middle Ages, in "Un mythe fondamental de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age: Le 'roi David,' précurseur du 'roi très chrétien,'" *Revue historique* 287, 116th year, 581 (1992), pp. 11–31. Cf. Guillaume de Saint-Denis's description of Abbot Suger as "Cæsar animo, sermone Cicero," in Suger, *Œuvres complètes recueillies, annotées, et publiées d'après les manuscrits*, ed. A. Lecoy de La Marche (Paris, 1867; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1979), p. 388. The most popular office for Saint Louis, composed before 1306, described the king as "another Solomon" (*velut alter Salomon*), "another Tobias" (*velut alter Tobias*), "another David" (*velut alter David*), "another Jeremiah" (*tanquam alter Ieremias*), "like Phineas" (*tanquam Finees*), "another Eleazar" (*velut alter Eleazarus*), and "another Matathias" (*velut alter Mathathias*); one of the hymns in the office (*Regem regum veneremur*) represents him as "Vultum habens David regis, / Ezechiel zelum legis / Et Iosye studium," in Albanus Heyse, "Antiquissimum officium liturgicum S. Ludovici regis," *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 10 (1917), pp. 559–75; Marcy J. Epstein, "Ludovicus decus regnantium: Perspectives on the Rhymed Office," *Speculum* 53 (1978), pp. 283–334. See also Sylvia Menache, "Faith, Myth, and Politics—The Stereotype of the Jews and Their Expulsion from England and France," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 75 (1985), pp. 351–74 (Edward III as David; Philip VI as Saul).

3. Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, pp. 236–41, figs. 96–101; Janet Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator and Harry N. Abrams, 1995), pp. 3–25 (a wide-ranging collection of images of Francis I in which he is endowed with antique and early-Christian identities), and pp. 194–95, esp. figs. 203–5 (Francis I portrayed by Raphael as Charlemagne); Cécile Scaillièrez, *François I^{er} par Clouet*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996), pp. 19–34, esp. p. 25, fig. 5, and p. 93, fig. 56 (Francis I as Saint John the Baptist). See also Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, pp. 131, 140, 216 (Louise of Savoy's references in her *Journal* to her son as "mon César," and in connection with Marignano, as "glorieux et triomphant second César Subjugateur des Helvétiens"). See also "Journal de Louise de Savoye, duchesse d'Angoulême, d'Anjou et de Valois, mère du grand roi François premier," in *Nouvelle collection des mémoires*, ed. Joseph-François Michaud et al. (Paris: Didier, 1854–57), vol. 5, p. 87 ("mon César pacifique," "mon César et mon fils"), p. 90. On the *Journal*, see Myra Dickman Orth, "Francis Du Moulin and the *Journal* of Louise of Savoy," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13 (1982), pp. 55–66, esp. pp. 60–61. In *François I^{er} imaginaire*, pp. 315–23, Lecoq discusses a manuscript honoring the king's victory at Marignano in which he is presented as a new Constantine, conquering under the standard of the Cross. Writing of the battle in dedicating the presentation manuscript of his translation of Cicero's orations to Francis I, Étienne le Blanc recalled the "gestes et haultz faitz" of Alexander the Great, the beauty and benignity of Artaxerxes, Trajan's goodness, Titus's grace, and Augustus's felicity. He compared Francis I's triumph at Marignano to those of Hannibal over the Romans, of Scipio Africanus over Hannibal, and of Alexander the Great. He called the king's commanders "voz plus que Scipions et Camilles," forced by their merciful monarch to retreat and cease slaughtering their defeated foes:

BNF, fr. 1738, fols. 2v–3r, 4v; Léopold Delisle, “Traductions d’auteurs grecs et latins offertes à François I^{er} et à Anne de Montmorency par Étienne Le Blanc et Antoine Macault,” *Journal des Savants*, 1900, p. 487 n. 1 (continued from p. 486).

4. On this painting, see Jacques Thuillier, “Études sur le cercle des Dinteville. I. L’énigme de Félix Chrestien,” *Art de France. Revue annuelle de l’art ancien et moderne* 1 (1961), pp. 64–65; and M[arguerite] G[uillaume], “La Lapidation de saint Étienne,” in eadem et al., *La peinture en Bourgogne au XVI^e siècle*, exh. cat. (Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1990), pp. 117–19, no. 31.
5. Henri Zerner, *École de Fontainebleau. Gravures* (Paris: Arts et Métiers graphiques, 1969); English ed., *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings*, trans. Stanley Baron (New York: Harry N. Abrams, [1969?]), section on Domenico del Barbieri (“D.B.”), no. 2 (suggesting that the engraving may be based on a painting by Domenico del Barbieri or by Primaticcio, and noting that the composition’s source is a Genoese altarpiece created by Giulio Romano); idem, *L’art de la Renaissance en France. L’invention du classicisme* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), p. 222; cf. Susan Foister, in eadem, Ashok Roy, and Martin Wyld, *Making and Meaning: Holbein’s Ambassadors*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery Publications, 1997), pp. 22–23, esp. fig. 12 (reproducing the engraving and, citing Zerner, *School of Fontainebleau*, noting that “it may be based on a lost altarpiece, for one of the Bishop’s churches”). Ian Wardropper discusses the engraving in his *The Sculpture and Prints of Domenico del Barbieri*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1985 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1985), pp. 8, 30–32, 42–44, 97–100 (suggesting a date ca. 1538, which seems to me unlikely).

Critical to understanding the relationship between Domenico del Barbieri and the Dinteville family is a letter the Italian wrote the bishop of Auxerre (then at his episcopal palace at Régennes) from Troyes on July 10, a Monday: BNF, Dupuy 728, fol. 182r–v; see Wardropper, *Domenico del Barbieri*, p. 322, doc. 9 (taking the text of the letter from Raymond Koechlin and Jean-Joseph Marquet de Vasselot, *La sculpture à Troyes et dans la Champagne méridionale. Étude sur la transition de l’art gothique à l’italianisme* [Paris, 1900; reprint, Paris: Réimpression F. de Nobele, 1966], p. 293 n. 2); cf. Wardropper, *Domenico del Barbieri*, p. 98, where he describes the letter as undated. In the letter, Domenico said that he had received a “poutrait” from the bishop and would prepare one according to the dimensions the bishop had given; he also raised the question of an altarpiece the bishop apparently wanted him to design or create for the abbey of Montiéramey, which he said he would be happy to do; finally, he mentioned letters that had been dispatched and witnesses that had been sent.

Since July 10 fell on a Monday in the year the letter was written, the only years when this could have happened before the bishop’s death in 1554 are 1536 (two years before the bishop acquired Montiéramey and hence impossible), 1542, and 1553. The letter may date from 1542, shortly after the bishop was received back into the king’s favor and relinquished Montier-la-Celle to Pierre de Mareuil; the bishop seems to have stayed at his residence in Régennes before he reentered Auxerre in triumph on July 16, 1542. Domenico was at Polisy with Hubert Juliot, a well-known artist of Troyes, and Primaticcio, on December 15, 1544: Troyes, Archives départementales de l’Aube, G 66 (register of ecclesiastical *insinuations* under Antonio Caraccioli of

Melfi, bishop of Troyes, November 17, 1554–April 10, 1555), fol. 133r–v (procuration issued by Primaticcio to Jean Thienot, priest of Troyes, at Polisy on December 15, 1544, in the presence of “honorabilibus [sic] viris Huberto Iulliot et Dominico florentin testibus”; presented by Thienot on April 6, 1555); see Albert Babeau, “Dominique Florentin, sculpteur du seizième siècle,” *Ministère de l’Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts. Réunion des Sociétés savantes des départements à la Sorbonne du 4 au 7 avril 1877. Section des Beaux-Arts* (Paris: E. Plon et C^{ie}, 1877), pp. 108–41, esp. p. 129 n. 2; Louis Dimier, “Le Primaticcio, peintre, sculpteur et architecte des rois de France. Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages de cet artiste, suivi d’un catalogue raisonné de ses dessins et de ses compositions gravées” (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris, 1900), pp. 83, 382–83; Mary F. S. Hervey, *Holbein’s “Ambassadors”: The Picture and the Men* (London, 1900; reprint, Reading: Poynder and Son, Holybrook Press, 1923), p. 128; Thuillier, “Études,” p. 73; Wardropper, *Domenico del Barbieri*, pp. 99–100; Jean Lebeuf, *Mémoires concernant l’histoire civile et ecclésiastique d’Auxerre et de son ancien diocèse continués jusqu’à nos jours*, ed. Ambroise Challe and Maximilien Quantin (Auxerre, 1848–55; reprint, Marseille: Lafitte, 1978), vol. 2, pp. 125–26; René Louis and Charles Porée, *Le domaine de Régennes et Appoigny: Histoire d’une seigneurie des évêques d’Auxerre du V^e siècle à la Révolution* (Auxerre: Éditions Dionysiae, 1939), p. 127.

The year 1553 is also a distinct possibility for the letter. The bishop’s obituary at Montiéramey, listed in the necrology under August 22, stated that he “ecclesiam sedilibus, columnis æreis, necnon pretiosis ornamentis decoravit 1554”; the date 1554 doubtless refers to the year of his death (which in fact occurred on September 27, 1554), but the placement of the date in the obituary may indicate that his efforts to decorate the church were concentrated toward the end of his life: Denis de Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa . . .* (Paris: Victor Palmé et al., 1739–1877), vol. 12, pp. 561 and 336 (for the date of his death, confirmed by his secretary and biographer Felix Chrestien, in the life he completed in 1566 for the composite *Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium*, in *Novæ Bibliothecæ Manuscript. Librorum Tomus Primus [et Secundus]*, ed. Philippe Labbe [Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1657], vol. 1, p. 520; on the Life, see Thuillier, “Études,” esp. pp. 58–62; for the date, see Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 142 [12] [the original *Gesta*], pp. 337–38). See also Françoise Bonnin-Jestaz, “François de Dinteville, évêque d’Auxerre et ambassadeur de François I^{er} à Rome (1498–1554)” (thesis, École nationale des chartes, Paris, 1966; AN, AB / XXVIII / 69), pp. 181–82 (dating the choir stalls of Montiéramey to 1550).

6. On the triptych, which bears the date 1535, see Thuillier, “Études,” pp. 65–70 (although I do not perceive the resemblances to the bishop’s three brothers that Thuillier suggests, *ibid.*, p. 69), and L[ouis] F[rank], “Triptyque. *La Légende de sainte Eugénie*,” in Guillaume et al., *La peinture en Bourgogne*, pp. 108–9, no. 26. An examination of the Varzy triptych carried out at the Louvre in 1964 revealed the changes that the artist made as he painted the heads of the figures, which suggests that they may be portraits taken from life; see Andrée Jouan, “École Hollandaise, Pseudo Félix Chrestien. *Retable de sainte Eugénie*, panneau central, Église de Varzy,” *Bulletin du Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre* 10 (1965), pp. 60–63.

- In 1971 the Louvre acquired a painting of the head and shoulders of a man wearing an antique robe which seems close in style to the allegorical canvas and the triptych of Varzy: Michel Laclotte, "Nouvelles présentations. Musée du Louvre. Nouvelles salles au Département des peintures," *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 22 (1972), pp. 58 (fig. 2), 62.
7. The Metropolitan Museum acquired the painting in 1950 (acc. no. 50.70). Mary Sprinson de Jesús gives a complete provenance in *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. (New York: MMA, 1998), cat. no. 43, pp. 200–201.
 8. On this painting, see Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* and also Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*. Note too the Clouet drawing of Jean de Dinteville, identified by Mary F. S. Hervey, "A Portrait of Jean de Dinteville, one of Holbein's Ambassadors," *Burlington Magazine* 5 (1904), pp. 412–13. Reproduced in John Rowlands, *Holbein: The Paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger, Complete Edition* (Boston: David R. Godine; London: Phaidon Press, 1985), p. 86, fig. 16; and in Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 23, fig. 13; see also Raoul de Broglie, "Les Clouet de Chantilly. Catalogue illustré," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 77 (May–June 1971), p. 275, no. 33 (where the subject of the drawing is described as "inconnu").
- For the motto, see Cicero, letter to L. Munatius Plancus (44 B.C.), *Epistulae ad familiares*, 10.3 ("Omnia summa consecutus es virtute duce, comite fortuna"). Sylvie Pressouyre discusses the motto's association with, among others, Francis I, Giuliano II de' Medici, and Anne de Montmorency, in "L'emblème du naufrage à la Galerie François I^{er}," in *Actes du Colloque international sur l'art de Fontainebleau. Fontainebleau et Paris*, 18, 19, 20 octobre 1972, ed. André Chastel (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975), pp. 134, 138 nn. 34–36.
9. In 1961, Thuillier ("Études," pp. 62 n. 35, 63 n. 44) wisely cautioned against assuming that *Moses and Aaron* was "directement conçu comme un pendant aux *Ambassadeurs*." Thuillier thought that the bishop commissioned the picture and probably kept it himself, but, as will be seen, in all likelihood it was hung from the beginning in the bishop's chambers at Polisy.
- Two years later Thuillier's views seem to have changed: see Albert Châtelet and Jacques Thuillier, *French Painting from Fouquet to Poussin* (New York: Skira, 1963), p. 113 ("This painting was probably intended by its first owner, Cardinal [sic] de Dinteville, Bishop of Auxerre, or by his brother, to serve as a companion piece to Holbein's famous *Ambassadors*"); and also Charles Sterling, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue of French Paintings, XV–XVIII Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), p. 46 (for the painting's provenance, see pp. 46–47); Georg Kauffmann, *Die Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1970), vol. 8, p. 189, no. 61a; Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500 to 1700* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), pp. 114–16, esp. p. 114 ("This was commissioned in 1537... probably to hang as a pendant to Holbein's 'Ambassadors'"). Susan Foister suggests (in *Making and Meaning*, p. 25) that "[a]lthough the *Moses and Aaron* was painted four years after *The Ambassadors*, it would seem possible that it was designed to match the earlier picture in some way; the two pictures seem to have been regarded as a pair in the eighteenth century." For the eighteenth century, see Olivier

Bonfait, "Les collections des parlementaires parisiens du XVIII^e siècle," *Revue de l'Art* 73 (1986), pp. 28–42; for what was probably their original disposition, see below at note 78.

The artist responsible for the MMA's painting may well have seen and been influenced by Holbein's work. Like the later picture, Holbein's painting gives the ages of both his subjects (ÆT. SVÆ 29, on Dinteville's dagger; ÆTATIS SVE 25, on the leaves of the book on which Selve's arm rests). More important, like *Moses and Aaron*, Holbein's painting contains rebuses and conundrums that continue to prompt conjecture. See Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, passim, and Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* esp. pp. 7, 201, 202, 205, 206.

10. Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 11, esp. fig. 2.

11. In 1911 Mary F. S. Hervey and Robert Martin-Holland dated the painting 1537 and connected it with attempts of Francis I's mistress Anne de Pisseleu, duchess of Étampes, to secure the bishopric of Auxerre for her confidant Pierre de Mareuil (who was named administrator of Auxerre on April 19, 1539, after François II de Dinteville left France, and who became bishop of Lavaur following the death of Georges de Selve in 1541): "A Forgotten French Painter: Félix Chrétien," *Burlington Magazine* 19 (1911), p. 53. In 1955 Charles Sterling (*MMA Catalogue*, p. 46); and in 1963 John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1963, no. 12; Bollingen series, no. 35 (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1966), p. 250, endorsed their hypothesis. However, there appears to be no evidence whatsoever that the duchess had any such specific plans for elevating Mareuil before the Dinteville brothers fled from France in 1538 and 1539 (for which see below).

In 1955 the editors of the exhibition catalogue, *Le triomphe du maniérisme européen de Michel-Ange au Gréco* (exh. cat. [Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1955], cat. no. 101, pp. 86–87, "Portrait de Jean de Dinteville en saint Georges," for which see fig. 18) simply said that the painting (which they assigned to Felix Chrestien and dated 1537) "fait allusion aux déboires politiques de [la] famille," remarking that intrigues at court forced "plusieurs frères Dinteville" to go into exile in Italy between 1539 and 1542.

Writing in 1961, Thuillier was equally guarded, stating ("Études," pp. 58, 63 esp. n. 41) that the painting must allude to some episode in the brothers' history other than their exile in 1538, perhaps the sudden death of the dauphin in 1536, perhaps jealousy occasioned by their power and their attachment to the king's son Henri; Thuillier suggested that it might commemorate "le triomphe des quatre frères sur un parti rival." The Egyptian "mage," he believes, may not have been portrayed "pour éviter que l'on y puisse reconnaître, justement ou non, quelque ennemi des Dinteville"—although it is in fact Pharaoh himself, not the magicians at his court, whom the Bible depicts as the foe of Moses and Aaron.

Taking a similar tack, Katharine Baetjer proposed in 1977 that the painting alluded "to a political contretemps, in the course of which the Dinteville brothers fell from royal favor," and noted that "they were in fact obliged to go into exile two years after the painting was painted": "Pleasures and Problems of Early French Painting," *Apollo* 106 (1977), p. 347.

Convinced like the others that the canvas was painted in 1537, Brigitte Walbe warned in 1974 that it must not be interpreted in light of later events and suggested that it was commis-

sioned "in einem Moment der Beruhigung," when the bishop of Auxerre hoped that he no longer had any reason to fear banishment, at a moment when fate was smiling on him and demonstrating that Fortune truly accompanies Virtue: "Studien zur Entwicklung des allegorischen Porträts in Frankreich von seinen Anfängen bis zur Regierungszeit König Heinrichs II." (Diss., Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe Universität, Frankfurt, 1974), pp. 99–102. The canvas, she believes, shows the results of Moses' (i.e., Jean's) intervention with the king on his brother Aaron's (i.e., François II's) behalf. Because of the favor Jean/Moses enjoyed at court, this intercession has succeeded, and the king is bestowing his favor (*Gnade*) on François II/Aaron and accepting the justification Jean/Moses has offered for his actions. The painting's patron, she suggests, would prudently have refrained from having "die falschen Propheten" depicted, and alone of the figures in the picture Pharaoh would not have the features of the person he represents. Walbe wonders if "the crisis" might have been religious in origin, noting that the verse from Genesis inscribed on Aaron's miter was one dear to Luther and recalling the religious symbols and objects in Holbein's *Ambassadors* (discussed by Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* pp. 219–22, 233–35; Michael Levey, *National Gallery Catalogues: The German School* [London: National Gallery, 1959], pp. 47–52, no. 1413; see also Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait*, pp. 248–50; and Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, pp. 40–42). Walbe sees Jean de Dinteville's intervention for his brother in 1542 as a *second* instance of his successful intermediation between the king and the bishop of Auxerre. There is, however, no evidence that Jean de Dinteville interceded with the king for his brother the bishop in 1537—or earlier, during the bishop's time of troubles in 1531 (for which see below). More important, the Book of Exodus shows that Moses, far from trying to secure Pharaoh's favor for Aaron, presented a united front with Aaron in demanding the Israelites' release. Note too that neither Moses nor any of the other Israelites enjoyed the grace of the inimical king of Egypt who had replaced the ruler whose daughter had adopted Moses (Exod. 2:23). Moses himself had fled from Egypt to Midian after slaying an Egyptian, and he returned to help his people only after God commanded him to do so (Exod. 2:11–15, 3:9–10).

Most recently, Foister (in *Making and Meaning*, p. 25) (who believes the picture was painted "four years after *The Ambassadors*," hence in 1537) notes that "the exile of the Dinteville family took place only after the date of this painting," but says that "the picture may be intended to reflect the family's troubles, which had certainly begun before 1537." Foister does not elaborate on the nature of these troubles.

To the best of my knowledge, Kauffmann alone (*Kunst*, p. 189, no. 61a) has questioned the wisdom of accepting 1537 as the date when the picture was painted. Writing in 1970, he conveyed skepticism about the date by enclosing it in quotation marks, but he did not discuss the issue. He connected the canvas, generally, with the intrigues of the duchess of Étampes and suggested that the Dinteville family used the biblical exemplum "um ihre Rechte zu verteidigen."

12. I discuss this question at greater length below. Suffice it to say for the moment that the identification of Pharaoh as Henry VIII between 1910 and 1948 provides further evidence of the ambiguity of the portrayal: see Thuillier, "Études," pp. 62–63

esp. nn. 27, 28. In *François I^{er} par Clouet* (p. 45, figs. 16, 17), Scaillièrez presents miniatures of Francis I and Henry VIII, which she discusses on pp. 44–47. For other portraits of Henry VIII, see Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 19, figs. 8, 9.

13. See the illustrations from Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder's pattern book, published in 1537 and later, in Stuart W. Pyhrr and José-A. Godoy, with Silvio Leydi, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and His Contemporaries*, exh. cat. (New York: MMA, 1998), pp. 104–5, no. 14; the pageant armor in Filippo Orsoni's *Album of Designs* (ca. 1540–59), *ibid.*, pp. 105–10, no. 15 (esp. the knight shown on p. 108); and the armor *alla romana* made by Bartolomeo Campi in 1546 for Guidobaldo II della Rovere, duke of Urbino, *ibid.*, pp. 278–84, no. 54.
14. This picture was in the possession of Sidney F. Sabin in London in 1954; it was reproduced in conjunction with an anonymous notice (perhaps by H. S. Reid) in *The Connoisseur* 133 (1954), p. 146. The entry (*ibid.*, p. 193) proposes connecting the work with the same crisis in the fortunes of the Dinteville family to which I propose *Moses and Aaron* relates, but the arguments presented to connect the two pictures seem to me weak, since the painting lacks any of the heraldic and emblematic references to the Dinteville family found in most of the other works they commissioned. Nor does the soldier carrying the child have the red beard and black hair that characterized Jean de Dinteville and his brothers: cf. the comments of Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, p. 134, and also Thuillier, "Études," p. 70, n. 71. The youthful Solomon bears some resemblance to the dauphin Henri, and the soldier carrying the sword to his brother Charles, but, as will be seen, Henri was powerless to intervene to help the Dinteville brothers until after the death of Francis I, and hence the painting's relevance to the family's situation is tenuous. For a portrait of Henri ca. 1535, see Broglie, "Les Clouet de Chantilly," p. 289, no. 116; and Louis Dimier, *Histoire de la peinture de portrait en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire; Brussels: G. van Oest, 1924–26), vol. 1, pl. 15 (facing p. 44) (here dated 1541). Nonetheless, whether the painting is connected with the Dinteville family or not, both Solomon's costume and his pose are reminiscent of those of Pharaoh in the MMA's painting.
15. Turin, Armeria Reale, Var. 212 (the presentation copy of Guillaume du Choul's *Livre des antiquitez romaines* for Francis I), fol. 1v (presentation miniature). David Lindstron of the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities kindly provided me with photocopies of the Turin MS. The miniature is reproduced in Cox-Rearick, *Collection of Francis I*, p. 371, fig. 404. On Du Choul and his book, see *ibid.*, pp. 105, 371; Richard A. Cooper, "Humanistes et antiquaires à Lyon," in *Il Rinascimento a Lione*, ed. Antonio Possenti and Giulia Mastaglio, Atti del Congresso Internazionale, 1985, Università degli Studi di Macerata, vol. 44 (Rome: Ateneo-Roma, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 170–71; *idem*, "Collectors of Coins and Numismatic Scholarship in Renaissance France," in *Coins and Medals from Budé to Mommsen*, ed. M. H. Crawford et al., Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, vol. 21 (London: Warburg Institute, 1990), pp. 11 and 15 (where Cooper misleadingly suggests that the book was finished in 1536); and Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor*, pp. 111–12, no. 16. Discussing the Emperor Claudius (r. 41–54), Du Choul presented the text of the emperor's speech on

the admission of the Gauls to the Senate, which, Du Choul reported, “cest trouuee depuis dix ans a lyon escripte en deux tables de bronze en lettres maiusculs romaines”: Turin, Armeria Reale, Var. 212, fols. 81v–82v. This reference permits Du Choul’s book (although not necessarily the presentation copy) to be dated ca. 1538, since the Claudian Table was discovered in Lyon in November 1528, purchased by the city by March 12, 1529, and formally installed by the end of January 1530: Philippe Fabia, *La Table Claudienne de Lyon* (Lyon: M. Audin, 1929), pp. 13–15, 21–22. Hence, if Du Choul is referring to the original discovery of the Table, he was writing in 1538. This date is confirmed by Estienne Dolet’s reference to Du Choul’s book in his poem “De Romanis Imaginibus à Gulielmo Caulio cive Lugdunensi Collectis,” which must have been completed by May 1538: see his *Carminum libri quatuor* (Lyon: Estienne Dolet and Sebastianus Gryphius, 1538), p. 99 (book 2, *Carmen XLIX*); for the date, see the dedications to books 2–4, *ibid.*, pp. 58, 110, 152. Dolet also mentioned Du Choul’s book in the second volume of his *Commentariorum linguae latinae tom[i]* (Lyon: Sebastianus Gryphius, 1536–38/39), vol. 2, pp. 1516–17 (“Gulielmi Caulii Ciuis Lugdun. laudes silentio non præteribo, qui opus de antiquorum imperatorum imaginibus conscripsit”). The dedication of the second volume (to Francis I) is dated at Lyon, on the kalends of February (February 1) 1538, presumably 1539 by the new style of dating. Compare the closely related medal designed by Matteo del Nassaro, in Cox-Rearick, *Collection of Francis I*, p. 16, fig. 24. The date of the medal is uncertain. It may have been struck to commemorate the truce of Nice, concluded between Francis I and Charles V on June 18, 1538, in which case the presentation miniature in Du Choul’s book may depend on it. On the other hand, if the medal was executed later, its designer may have known the miniature. See H. de La Tour, “Matteo del Nassaro, Pl. XIII,” *Revue numismatique*, ser. 3, 11 (1893), pp. 552–57, no. 5 (esp. p. 556); and George Francis Hill, *Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the National Gallery of Art; Based on the Catalogue of Renaissance Medals in the Gustave Dreyfus Collection*, ed. Graham Pollard (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), p. 102, no. 535.

16. See pl. 3 (“vue d’ensemble”) accompanying the article by Eugène Le Brun-Dalbanne, “Art céramique” (separately paginated) in *Portefeuille archéologique de la Champagne*, ed. Alfred Gaussen (Bar-sur-Aube: M^{me} Jardeaux-Ray, 1861).
17. The story is related in Exod., chs. 3–12. Especially significant are Exod. 3:8–10, 19–22; 4:21–23; 6:1; 7:3–5, 13–14, 22; 8:15, 32; 9:7, 12, 34–35; 10:1, 20, 27; 11:1, 9–10; 12:31–35; for Aaron’s relationship to Moses, see Exod. 4:14–17, 29–31; 6:26–27; 7:1, 7.
18. Gen. 15:6.
19. Gen. 12; see also Gen. 17:5, for God’s renaming of Abram.
20. I discuss the changes in the Dinteville arms and motto effected by François II de Dinteville to distinguish himself and his commissions from those of François I de Dinteville, his uncle and predecessor as bishop of Auxerre, in “Les Heures dites de Henri II et les Heures de Dinteville,” in the proceedings of the colloquium “Henri II et les arts,” held at the Louvre and the Musée national de la Renaissance at Écouen on September 25–27, 1997 (forthcoming).

A manuscript I discuss there as a possible exception to the rule I propose (Cambridge, Mass., Houghton Library, MS

Typ. 124) was in fact commissioned by François I de Dinteville for presentation to the house of Montier-en-Der, and later, in 1545, given to the monastery of Montiéramey by François II de Dinteville; see *ibid.*, fols. 1r and 146r (and the cover), for the Dinteville arms with eighteen billets; the manuscript is closely related to BNF, lat. 9446, a missal commissioned by François I de Dinteville for the cathedral of Auxerre, which contains many representations of the Dinteville arms with eighteen billets.

21. Le Père Anselme de la Vierge Marie [Pierre Guibours], *Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la Maison Royale de France* . . . , 3rd ed., ed. Honoré Caille, lord of Le Fourny, and les Pères Ange de Sainte Rosalie [François Raffard] and Simplicien (Paris: La Compagnie des libraires, 1726–33), vol. 4, p. 748; vol. 8, pp. 720–21.
22. Before he lost his position at court, Jean served the king’s three sons (and after the dauphin François died in 1536 the two surviving sons). The households of the dauphin Henri and Charles, duke of Orléans, were divided in 1540, and in 1542, when Jean was reinstated at the royal court, he became Charles’s *chambellan*. For the brothers’ ages and their posts, see Brown, “Heures” (forthcoming); and also *eadem*, “Sodomy, Honor, Treason, and Exile: Four Documents Concerning the Dinteville Affair (1538–1539),” in *Sociétés et idéologies des temps modernes. Hommage à Arlette Jouanna*, ed. J. Fouilheron, Guy Le Thiec, and H. Michel (Montpellier: Université Montpellier III, Paul Valéry; Centre d’histoire moderne et contemporaine de l’Europe méditerranéenne et de ses périphéries, 1996), vol. 2, pp. 511–32.
23. I am grateful to Marc Smith for reminding me of the prominence of Ionic columns on the tomb of Francis I at Saint-Denis, for which see Cox-Rearick, *Royal Collection*, p. 25, fig. 38. John Onians discusses the significance of the different orders, in *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, and the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), esp. pp. 313–14.
24. See Laurent Bourquin, *Noblesse seconde et pouvoir en Champagne aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1994), pp. 37–42, 44–47, 50–58 (who seems to me to underestimate the distinctiveness of the Dinteville family, and whose work must be used with caution because of his reliance on Jean-François-Louis d’Hozier’s notices concerning members of the Order of Saint-Michel [BNF, fr. 32864–75], in which errors are mingled with reliable information); and, generally, Jean-Marie Constant, “Un groupe socio-politique stratégique dans la France de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle: la noblesse seconde,” in *L’État et les aristocraties: France, Angleterre, Écosse, XII^e–XVII^e siècle. Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Maison française d’Oxford, 26 et 27 septembre 1986*, ed. Philippe Contamine (Paris: Presses de l’École normale supérieure, 1989), pp. 280–84. Claude, father of the Dinteville brothers, and the maternal grandfather of Anne de Montmorency were cousins-german: Brigitte Bedos Rezak, *Anne de Montmorency, seigneur de la Renaissance* (Paris: Publisud, 1990), p. 343. I examine the family’s complex genealogy in detail in a forthcoming study. Suffice it to say here that the genealogies which assign to Gaucher de Dinteville and Anne du Plessis a sixth son (another Jean, called *le jeune*) seem to me in error.
25. For proceedings before the Conseil of the Parlement between May 13 and June 1, 1531, see *Preuves des Libertez de l’Eglise gallicane*, ed. Pierre Dupuy (Paris: Pierre Chevalier, 1639), issued as vol. 2 of Pierre Pithou’s *Les libertez de l’Eglise gallicane*, first pub-

- lished in 1594; the excerpts appear on pp. 163–65 (see AN, X^{1A} 1534, fols. 216r, 217r–v, 221r, 228r [May 24, not all of which is included in the ed.], 247r). The bishop's arrest was ordered on May 13, and the king's *avocat*, Guillaume Poyet, discussed the case on the same day with Chancellor Antoine du Prat and Admiral Philippe Chabot, both of whom urged that the case be pursued. The bishop went to Saint-Cloud to see the king and doubtless pleaded with him, but when Poyet saw Francis I and Anne de Montmorency on May 16, the king declared "le cas execrable" and said the court should proceed against Dinteville "roidement." Thus on May 24 the Parlement again commanded the bishop's arrest and ordered seizure of his temporalities. On June 1, on the king's instructions, the Parlement ordered interrogation of the bishop's victim, Thomas Godon. In the end, on July 6, 1531, the king intervened on behalf of the bishop, saying that he did so because "la chose nestoit si griefue / ains beaucoup moindre que ne nous auoit este Reffere et que les Informations sur ce faictes ne portoient," because the case had not been officially laid before the tribunal, and because the investigation that had prompted the bishop's arrest had been conducted by a "sergent sans commission": BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 131r–v (a copy of the royal letter of July 6, 1531, dated at Fontainebleau). A draft copy of the bishop's petition and the papal absolution, dated June 27, 1531, is in BNF, Dupuy 678, fols. 27r–28r. Francis DeCrue [de Stoutz] convincingly attributes to a discussion between Montmorency and the king on June 2 the decision to send Dinteville as ambassador to Rome: *Anne de Montmorency, grand maître et connétable de France, à la cour, aux armées et au conseil du roi François I^{er}* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1885), pp. 172–73. Following him, Hervey (*Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 55) stresses the importance of the intervention of Louise of Savoy and Anne de Montmorency on the bishop's behalf; she minimizes the gravity of Dinteville's crime. Initially, Lebeuf described the incident (*Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 118) simply as "une affaire où [la] réputation [de l'évêque] avoit été intéressée," referring to BNF, Dupuy 702, and suggesting that the incident caused the bishop to defer his departure for Rome to July 1531. A few pages later (*ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 122–23), however, Lebeuf alluded to "une autre affaire plus embarrassante," arising from the bishop's wish to "punir lui-même un chasseur qu'il avoit trouvé dans ses forêts de Varzy"—which is evidently the same incident but which he here associates with the year 1535. Cf. Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 12, p. 334 (terming the offense "crimen pessimum"). Relying on Lebeuf, Thuillier ("Études," p. 70, esp. n. 70) dates the incident ca. 1535 and suggests that it might be connected with the bishop's gift to the church of Varzy in 1537 of a triptych inscribed with the date 1535.
26. François II was accused of having "faict attacher ou attache luy mesme aux cloux contre vn posteau le Garde de ses oyseaux de proye venduz robbez ou donnez par led. Garde layant led. Euesque faict clouer ou cloue luy mesme & faict passer les clouz au trauers de la peau entre le poulce et le doigt indice des deux mains dont led. Garde auroit este mutile & estropie": BNF, Dupuy 678, fol. 27r (résumé by Nicolas Camuzat of a draft of the absolution granted by Clement VII to Dinteville on June 27, 1531; on Camuzat's relations with the Dinteville family, see Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* pp. 14–15, 18, 20, 21, 24 n. 1, 134 n. 1). The draft embodies the petition presented by Dinteville, which shows that he was also charged with complicity in the death and injuries resulting from the excessive force used by an agent of the bishop in trying to capture a fugitive monk of Montier-en-Der. Dinteville disclaimed responsibility for his agent's act, which occurred, he declared to the pope, "ipsa Creatura [vestra] absente et ignorante . . . ignorante et nesciente." The Parlement was prosecuting Dinteville only for the punishment he inflicted on his gamekeeper.
 27. Léon Dorez, "Extraits de la correspondance de François de Dinteville, ambassadeur de France à Rome (1531–1533)," *Revue des bibliothèques* 4 (1894), pp. 84–87 (selections from the correspondence of François II, preserved in BNF, Dupuy 260; letters of January 27 and April 8, 1532).
 28. BIF, Godefroy 255, fol. 19r (letter of Balavoyne, François II's agent in France, to the bishop in Rome, dated at Angers on September 6, 1532, and received in Rome twelve days later); cf. Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 60. Several months earlier, the bishop wished to give Catherine de Medicis (whose marriage to the king's son Henri the bishop was negotiating) a portrait of Henri before she left Rome for Florence: BNF, Dupuy 260, fol. 211r–v (April 30, 1532; letter of Dinteville to Montmorency).
 29. Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 9, pp. 148, 922 (an entry regarding François I de Dinteville in the necrology of Montier-en-Der, which erroneously states that the archbishop of Reims acquired the abbey as a result of the flight of Dinteville's nephew and namesake [François II] "in Angliam"); vol. 12, pp. 548, 561; Anselme, *Histoire genealogique*, vol. 2, p. 71. François II de Dinteville, bishop of Auxerre, may not have been altogether displeased by the exchange. On August 25, 1532, his agent Balavoyne had written him in Rome that Montier-en-Der that year produced only 2,600 *livres* or thereabouts, commenting "Cest trop peu": BIF, Godefroy 548, no. 6, fol. 4v. On the other hand, Dinteville's biographer Felix Chrestien presents him as successfully carrying out the reform of the house against the wishes of "plerisque Cœnobitas per uitiorum abrupta grassantes" and then being forced to exchange it because of "quorundam autem improbitatem, qui pingue, et optimum beneficium magnopere auebant": Felix Chrestien's *Life of François II, Auxerre*, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 12, pp. 335–36, edited in *Novæ Bibliotheca Manuscript. Libr[i]*, ed. Labbe, vol. 1, p. 520 (see note 5 above).
 30. "EN 8" cannot relate to François II's age in 1537, if his age is calculated in the same manner as his brothers' are in the picture. Jean, born on September 20 or 21, 1504, is said to be thirty-three in 1537; Gaucher, born on August 2, 1509, is said to be twenty-eight. Before their birthdays, Jean was thirty-two, but in his thirty-third year, Gaucher twenty-seven, but in his twenty-eighth; on their birthdays, they attained the ages of thirty-three and twenty-eight, respectively. François II was born on July 26, 1498, and was thus thirty-eight, but in his thirty-ninth year, before July 26, 1537, and became thirty-nine on that date. For the birthdays of François and Jean, see Anselme, *Histoire genealogique*, vol. 8, p. 720 (giving Jean's as September 21, found as well in the genealogy in BNF, Cabinet de d'Hozier 120 [fr. 31001], dossier 3138 [Dinteville], fol. 2r; for September 20, see BNF, Dossiers bleus 237 [fr. 29782], dossier 6085 [Dinteville], fol. 5r). The genealogies in Cabinet de d'Hozier 120 and in Dossiers bleus 237 both give Gaucher's birthdate, which Anselme omits, probably because he gives the birthday of

- Claude de Dinteville as August 3, 1509 (rather than 1507, found in the genealogies in Cabinet de d'Hozier 120 and in Dossiers bleus 237 [which gives the date August 5, instead of August 3]). The precise date of Guillaume's birth seems to be unknown, but he must have been born in 1505, not only because of the age he is assigned in the painting but also because (according to Anselme) he was fifty-four when he died on August 16, 1559.
31. "[P]ar deux foyz estant cousez ensemble Tu me auoys voullu bougrer et faire meschant comme toy": BNF, fr. 21811 (Gaignières 750), fol. 65r (copy of Du Plessis's cartel, dated November 15, 1538); in Brown, "Sodomy," pp. 525–26. Nicolas Camuzat, a close acquaintance of a descendant of the Dinteville family, reported that Gaucher was disgraced "pour quelques mauuais rapportz a luy faictz par vn nommé Iean du Plessis parent dudict Gaucher," and he said that the bishop of Auxerre was "aussi mal traicté que son frere, & s'estoit retiré hors le Royaume pour l'indignation dudict Roy François": *Meslanges historiques, ou Recueil de plusieurs actes, traictés, lettres missiues, & autres memoires qui peuuent seruir en la deduction de l'histoire, depuis l'an 1390. iusques a l'an 1580* (Troyes: Noel Moreau, 1619), part 2, fol. 211v.
 32. For the date November 8, see BNF, fr. 5303, fol. 154r–v, a royal letter dated at Paris on January 4, 1539, preserved in a formulary owned by Cosme Clause; see Brown, "Sodomy," pp. 514, 519–21, 527–28. For the king's presence at Villers-Cotterets between November 1 and 9, 1538, see *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1887–1908), vol. 8, p. 503. In the letter of January 4, 1539, the king said that he had "parcideuant & des le huitiesme iour de nouembre derrenier passe accorde" to Du Plessis and Gaucher a summons to appear before him on January 1 to resolve their dispute. Addressed to a certain "Lord Canning," the letter warned him against permitting the duel between Dinteville and Du Plessis to be held in his lands. Although I was unsure of his identity when my article "Sodomy" went to press, I have subsequently discovered that he was Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, called "El Cagnino" (or "Le Cagnin"), lord of Bozzolo, whom Gaucher and Guillaume knew from their work in Italy for Francis I in 1536 and 1537. See BNF, Duchesne 62, no. 219r (Gaucher's second challenge to Du Plessis, dated January 28, 1539, at Isola, saying that he would appear before the lord of "Bozole" on March 21 to resolve the issue, and stating that the lord was one of the four judges he had named in his earlier challenge, dated at Venice on December 20, 1538). For the activities of Guillaume and Gaucher in Italy, see Martin and Guillaume du Bellay, *Mémoires*, ed. V.-L. Bourrilly and F. Vindry (Paris: Renouard et. al., 1908–19), vol. 2, p. 339; vol. 3, pp. 325–26; Jean du Bellay, *Correspondance du Cardinal Jean du Bellay*, ed. Rémy Scheurer, Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, vols. 475, 482 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1969–73), vol. 2, pp. 432–34, no. 409 (and, for Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, *ibid.*, pp. 54–56, no. 254); *Correspondance des nonces en France: Carpi et Ferrerio, 1535–1540, et légations de Carpi et de Farnèse*, ed. Jean Lestocquoy, Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae, vol. 1 (Rome: Presses de l'Université Grégorienne; Paris: E. de Boccard, 1961), p. 138, no. 117; p. 148, no. 130; p. 234, no. 195; pp. 291–92, nos. 246–47; pp. 311–12, no. 262. On Gonzaga, see Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie celebri Italiane* (Milan: Presso l'autore et al., 1819–85), vol. 3, pt. 2, fasc. 33 ("Gonzaga di Mantova"), table 14 (for Gianfrancesco and the lordship of Bozzolo).
 33. See Chrestien's biography, Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 142 (12), p. 334 (in *Novae Bibliothecae Manuscript. Libr[i]*, ed. Labbe, vol. 1, p. 521): "In ea peregrinatione, Romam ueniens, a Paulo tertio Pont. max. susceptus est, et blande consolatus. Neque illi defuit complurium Cardinalium fauor, Quin et nobilium Venetorum, dum apud eos, per id tempus moratur, gratiam sibi non modicam conciliauit." In a brief he presented on the bishop's behalf on December 7, 1547, Christophe de Thou, François II de Dinteville's lawyer, also stressed the welcome the bishop had received in Italy: BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 171v. See also the letters that the French ambassador to Rome, Louis Adhémar de Monteil, lord of Grignan, wrote to Anne de Montmorency on May 31 and October 21, 1537, in Guillaume Ribier's *Lettres et Memoires d'Estat . . .*, ed. Michel Belot (Paris: François Clouzier, la V^{re} Aubouyn, 1666), vol. 1, pp. 462–63, 480–81; Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 116; AN, X^{1A} 1563, fol. 483r–v; AN, X^{1A} 1566, fol. 295r; AN, X^{1A} 1569, fol. 236v (decrees of the Parlement de Paris, dated, respectively, September 7, 1548, March 8, 1550, and June 19, 1551, which give the date of the pope's appointment of Pierre de Mareuil as administrator of Auxerre); *Correspondance Carpi et Ferrerio*, no. 454, p. 482 (a letter of the papal nuncio Filiberto Ferrerio, written September 1–3, 1539, saying that the pope had acted against the advice of the cardinals), no. 475, p. 502 (a letter of Ferrerio, dated November 13, 1539, reporting the pope's expulsion of the brothers from the papal states).
 34. For Mareuil's career, see Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 2, p. 1494; for his ambassadorship to Ferrara in 1537, see BNF, Clairambault 1215, fol. 75v; *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 3, pp. 288–89, no. 8849; vol. 9, p. 54. Mareuil became almoner of the king's sons in 1536, and in August 1539 the king referred to him as "conseiller & aumosnier de nous et de nos enfans": BNF, fr. 7856, p. 1054 (where he is said to have been made the princes' almoner in 1536 and also 1539, both times "sans gages"; he is not listed among the king's almoners, *ibid.*, pp. 917–19); AN, JJ 254, fol. 60r; *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 4, p. 39, no. 11176.
 35. Brown, "Sodomy," pp. 518–19, 530–32.
 36. In June 1539 Francis I wrote to Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio, protector of French affairs at the papal court, requesting a copy of the procuration used when François I's resignation of Auxerre to his nephew had been approved. In a letter to the French ambassador Grignan, the king insisted on his "singular desire" to obtain the procuration. See BNF, fr. 5503, fols. 147–49v, esp. 148v–49r (request for a collated, signed copy of the procuration, so that the king could determine "en quel temps de quelle dacte et par quy fut passee la procuration") and 149v ("Car le desire singulierement le Recouurer"). In January 1540, the king was contemplating judicial proceedings against François II: BNF, fr. 20440 (Gaignières 316), fols. 17r–18v. Before the end of February, Francis I had drafted letters to the pope and other officials in Rome, urging the pope to grant Auxerre to Mareuil: BNF, fr. 5303, fols. 157v–58r (letters to Pope Paul III, Cardinal Trivulzio, and Jean de Langeac, bishop of Limoges, French ambassador to Rome, included in Cosme Clause's formulary). As to the crime for which François II was pursued in 1531, Mareuil tried repeatedly to revive the issue when he was engaged in his legal battle with François II between

- 1547 and 1551. Still, although in April 1550 Mareuil succeeded in obtaining a royal letter sanctioning reconsideration of the charges, the Parlement in the end rejected their pertinence. See BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 126r–30r (royal letter issued in Mareuil's favor in April 1550, submitted to the Parlement de Paris on April 28, 1550); AN, X^{1A} 1566, fols. 295r–96v (interlocutory decree of the Parlement, issued on March 8, 1550, which this letter contravened); AN, X^{1A} 1567, fol. 79r (decree of the Parlement of May 6, 1550, rejecting the letter Mareuil had obtained and ordering execution of the decree of March 8, 1550).
37. For the actions of the pope, the king, and the Grand Conseil, see the decrees of the Parlement de Paris listed in note 33 above, and also the letter of the papal nuncio of September 1–3, 1539, mentioned in the same note. For Mareuil's appointment as bishop of Lavaur, see Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 13, p. 345; Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 190 (showing that Selve died in 1541 rather than 1542; see also *ibid.*, pp. 11, 19).
38. See the objections that François II de Dinteville raised in 1550 against witnesses testifying for Mareuil, in BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 139v (against the duchess of Étampes), and the testimony given by Jean de Dinteville ca. 1548, in BNF, fr. 20440 (Gaignières 316), fol. 38r ("et si auoit prins tous les meubles quil auoit trouez es maisons de ladicte euesche et aultre part appartenans a mondict frere"). See Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 117.
39. The papal nuncio Hieronimo Capodiferro reported on May 13, 1542, that Guillaume had returned to the royal court the day before, and that he and his brothers had been reinstated in the positions they had forfeited: *Correspondance des nonces en France: Capodiferro, Dandino et Guidiccione, 1541–1546; légations des cardinaux Farnèse et Sadolet et missions d'Ardinghella, de Grimani et de Hieronimo da Corregio*, ed. Jean Lestocquoy, Acta Nuntiaturs Gallicae, vol. 3 (Rome: Presses de l'Université Grégorienne; Paris: E. de Boccard, 1963), no. 70, p. 143. In a brief prepared in November 1547, François II's lawyer Christophe de Thou noted that the bishop was at Polisy when the king visited the château, which must have been in mid-May: BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 13r; and see *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 8, p. 515 (the king's presence at Bar-sur-Seine on May 11 and 12, 1542, and at Montiéramey between May 14 and 17).
- Guillaume's service in Italy, which the French ambassador to Venice repeatedly commended, may explain Francis I's decision to award him and his brother Jean enjoyment of Gaucher's confiscated property. This act is known only through a brief notice preserved in two eighteenth-century copies of entries in Mémorial KK of the Chambre des comptes, which contained acts dated between January 1540 and Easter (March 25) 1543: AN, PP 111, p. 371; PP 119, p. 24 of the section for Mémorial KK (both entries read "Iouissance [à Jean et Guillaume de Dinteville] de la confiscation des biens de [Gaucher de Dinteville] leur frere"); *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 7, p. 576, no. 27114.
40. BNF, fr. 7856, p. 1061.
41. BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 13r (brief of de Thou, November 17, 1547; "Toutefois deslors le Roy estant a DiIon le defendeur [Pierre de Mareuil] fait porter propos au demandeur [François II de Dinteville] que sil vouloit laisser vne de ses abbayes quil feroit tant quil seroit oy en Iustice. A quoy le demandeur (comme a chose trop Inique) ne voulut entendre. Tandem et cinq ou six mois apres le demandeur fatigatus Longa absentia, et pour lenuye quil auoit de Retourner en son euesche et a ses benefices, afin de y faire ce quil estoit et est tenu de faire, Retourne par deca, en esperance dentrer en la bonne grace du Roy"). See *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 8, pp. 513–14, for the king's presence in Dijon from October 26 to 31, 1541.
42. See note 39 above. The inventory of the château of Polisy, prepared on January 21–24, 1589, shortly after the death of Louise de Rochechouart, widow of Guillaume de Dinteville, shows that Jean de Dinteville was prepared for royal visits at Polisy. A double-locked chest in one of the storerooms contained "a white satin, fringed canopy adorned with crowned F's" and a matching cover for a backboard, as well as "another canopy, of gray and white velvet, with the arms of France in the middle, and three curtains of white and violet camlet": Lons-le-Saunier, Archives départementales du Jura, E 733, pp. [29–30]; I am grateful to Richard C. Famiglietti, who recently unearthed this inventory, for bringing it to my attention and discussing it with me.
43. According to Dinteville's lawyer, Christophe de Thou, the king's declaration "par expres" that he was receiving François II "en sa bonne grace" was made at Joinville before François II resigned Montier-la-Celle to Mareuil: BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 14r (brief of November 17, 1547); for Francis I's presence at Joinville from June 15 to 27, 1542, see *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 8, p. 516; for background, Robert J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 479–80. Jean de Dinteville did not mention this interview in the deposition he gave ca. 1548. His account focuses on his own negotiations at Joinville with Pierre de Mareuil, during which, Jean stated, his brother "estoit a deux lieues de la nousant s'approucher de la court"; he said that the king was at Joinville and Montiers-sur-Saulx for fourteen or fifteen days: BNF, fr. 20440 (Gaignières 316), fol. 38r.
44. For the negotiations, see BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 14r–16v (brief of de Thou, November 17, 1547, comparing the bishop of Auxerre to Castor, "qui se eunuchum ipse facit [dit Iuuenal] cupiens euadere damnum testiculorum"); fr. 20440 (Gaignières 316), fols. 38v–39v (Jean de Dinteville's deposition, ca. 1548, much of which is edited in Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* pp. 118–20). For François II's protest of June 26, 1542, his resignation of Montier-la-Celle to Mareuil on the same day, and the release he gave Mareuil on June 28, freeing him from any obligation to return or account for what he had taken from Auxerre, see BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 3v–4r (protest of June 26, 1542), 16r, 17v–18r (brief of de Thou, November 17, 1547); Dupuy 702, fol. 168v (brief of de Thou, December 7, 1547); fr. 20440 (Gaignières 316), fols. 38r–39v (Jean de Dinteville's deposition, ca. 1548). For the royal letter of June 28, issued at Montiers-sur-Saulx, see BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 5r–6v; *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 4, p. 338, no. 12589.
45. BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 17r (de Thou's brief of November 17, 1547; "deuant que passer ladicte procuration le demandeur se Retire deuers le Roy qui est a present, lors daulphin, auquel Il fait Receit des contrainctes et Impressions susdictes Lequel luy fit Response quil le scauoit bien et failloit quil eust patience. Bien Luy promist en auoir souuenance a laduenir et que loccasion si offrant [*sic*] feroit que la porte de Iustice luy seroit

- ouuerte"). On March 15, 1548, Henry II was asked if he remembered promising the bishop of Auxerre when François II visited him "en sa chambre vng matin" that "quant Il auroit le moyen de luy faire rendre [all the bishop had forfeited] Se souuenir du tort quon luy faisoit." In answer, the king said—more reservedly and enigmatically than de Thou's brief suggests—"Il luy promist et veult quelle [i.e., the abbey of Montier-la-Celle] luy soit rendue sil se doit faire par Iustice": BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 134r; see Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 120.
46. Questioning in 1550 the reliability of testimony Henry II might give against him, Mareuil declared that when he was dauphin the king "lauroit mys hors de sa maison Et de lestat des seruiteurs ordinaires & domestiques pour linimitie mortelle conceue contre ledict defendeur [Mareuil] Aumoyen des faulx rapports des ennemys capitaulx dicelluy defendeur Dont aduert le feu roy [Francis I] et cognoissant de quelle affection & fidelite ledict defendeur auoit seruy le roy a present regnant son filz Commenda [*sic*] quil fust remys en lestat des domestiques Ce que [*sic*] fut faict Iusques au trespas dudict feu seigneur Roy," whereas the very next day "ses ennemys et ennemyes nayans oublye la hayne quilz portoient audict defendeur le font mectre derechef hors de lestat des domestiques": BNF, P. O. 1004 (fr. 17488), no. 22783 (de Dinteville), fol. 83r. Interestingly, in a letter dated April 28, 1539, the papal nuncio Ferrerio referred to Mareuil as the "favorite" of the dauphin: *Correspondance Carpi et Ferrerio*, p. 457, no. 435.
 47. AN, X^{1A} 4932, fol. 37r (brief of de Thou, February 6, 1548; "led. euesque dauxerre a presente Requeste au roy a ce que son bon plaisir fust de luy ouurir la porte de Iustice Pour faire querelle alencontre de leuesque de la vaur de ce que Iniustement Il auoit detenu et occupe detenoit et occupoit de son bien Le Roy cui non Iniqua visa est postullatio dud. euesque dauxerre ad postullationem respondit & a decerne commission afin de faire appeller pardeuant luy led. euesque de la vaur [Pierre de Mareuil] Si a este la commission executee & en vertu dicelle assignation a este donnee au conseil priue du roy aud. euesque de la vaur"). For the date November 4, 1547, see BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 7r, discussed in the next note.
 48. De Thou was François II's lawyer before November 4, 1547, when François asked that de Thou be given an extension of three days to appear before the Conseil privé: BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 7r. On December 30, 1547, the king referred Dinteville and Mareuil from the Conseil privé to the Chambre des enquêtes of the Parlement de Paris: BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 120r–21v (copy of a decree of the Parlement de Paris dated Sept. 7, 1548); *Catalogue des actes de Henri II* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale et al., 1979–), vol. 1, p. 518, no. 1812. For the career of de Thou, who was named a president of the Parlement of Paris in 1554, see Édouard Maugis, *Histoire du Parlement de Paris de l'avènement des rois Valois à la mort d'Henri IV* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1913–16), vol. 3, pp. 190, 217, 246.
 49. BNF, Duchesne 62, fols. 203r–4v at 203r (the king's letter); for the Parlement's action, AN, X^{1A} 1575, fol. 126v.
 50. BNF, fr. 20465 (Gaignières 345–46), pp. 133–35 at p. 134. I discuss the careers of Gaucher and Guillaume in the study mentioned in note 24 above.
 51. See BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 126r–27r (a letter of Henry II to the Parlement of Paris dated April 1550, rehearsing Mareuil's accusations; in the course of the letter "crimes" are reduced to the singular "crime"); on this letter, see note 36 above. Mareuil later maintained that Jean de Dinteville "a este attrait a faire son propre faict de ceste cause et a deppose en Icelle ayant singulier Interest que ledict demandeur son frere apparaisse auoir fuy du royaume plustost pour la calumnie de ses ennemys que pour euer la punition de ses crimes": BNF, P.O. 1004 (fr. 27488), no. 22783 (de Dinteville), fol. 85r (objections raised by Mareuil to those who might testify against him, recorded soon after March 8, 1550).
 52. "Sil scait pas que la retraicte & absence de ce Royaume de leuesque daucerre nestoit pour accusation de crime ne faulte quil eust faicte enuers le feu Roy ou autre Mais seulement pour la defaueur de ses freres / Et sil eust pas Iuste occasion de ce faire ./"; with the response, "ouy et le luy conseilla par ses parens et amiz et fit tresbien de se retirer": BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 134r (a list of questions formulated by François II de Dinteville and presented to Henry II by two members of the Parlement de Paris on March 15, 1548).
 53. "Voyant par le demandeur le feu estre en sa maison, la Ruine et tempeste qui y estoit, prand conseil en soy mesme de sabsenter et Retirer ad tempus, Attendant que les choses fussent mieulx composees Et que avec le temps, la verite (que lon dit estre fille du temps) fust congnee et son Innocence descouuerte": BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 9v–10r (brief of de Thou, dated November 17, 1547). De Thou added, "Et de faict, se Retire a son enseigne a Rome, ad limina petri, lesquelz Luy et tous les Euesques de ce Royaume, ex debito Iurisiurandi quilz ont accoustume de prester quand ilz sont faitz et creez euesques Doibuent visiter singulis annis, sinon que de ce ilz soient excusez," but it is difficult to believe that this contrived justification would have been taken seriously. See also the brief de Thou submitted on December 7, 1547, BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 170v ("Attendant . . . que avec le temps la verite fust congnee & son Innocence descouuerte").
 54. For François II's legal studies at Poitiers and Padua, see Chrestien's biography, Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 142 (12), p. 331 (in *Novae Bibliothecae Manuscript. Libr[ar]i*, ed. Labbe, vol. 1, p. 519): "Pictaum dein Patauiumque Iuris prudentie, dicata gymnasia, adiens. Iuris utriusque et Ciuilis et pontificii, archana didicit: tanta morum ac uite integritate, ut inde reuersus, in Regis francisci primi aulam accessitus fuerit."
 55. *Corpus Iuris Canonici, Editio Lipsiensis secunda post Aemilii Ludouici Richter curas ad librorum manu scriptorum et editionis Romanae fidem recognouit et adnotatione critica*, ed. Emil Friedberg (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1928), vol. 1 (*Pars prior: Decretum Magistri Gratiani*), pp. 574–81 (D. Q. IV. Pars 3. C. xix–xx, xxiii; Pars 5. C. xxxiv–ix); note especially C. xxxiv, "Necessitatis uel utilitatis causa episcoporum mutationes fieri possunt," and C. xxv (a canon of Pope Pelagius II [579–90]), "Causa necessitatis mutationes episcoporum fieri possunt". Defending François II from charges that he had voluntarily abandoned his see, Christophe de Thou demonstrated intimate familiarity with the provisions of the Canon Law. In 1547 de Thou insisted particularly on the justifications stemming from C. xxxiv, which sanctioned transfer of a person "aut ui a propria sede pulsus, aut necessitate coactus." He referred explicitly to the canon of Pelagius, C. xxxv, which permits change "causa necessitatis aut utilitatis."
 56. "Et dict le texte que non mutat sedem qui non mutat mentem / Et qui non delectationis aut voluntatis proprie gratia migrat de

ciuitate In ciuitatem sed causa necessitatis Nam aliud est sponte transire aliud coacte aut necessitate." In the same brief, de Thou contended that Dinteville had fled "par necessite et pour euer quelque persecution temporelle," and for "cause Iuste & Raisonnable." See BNF, Dupuy 702, fols. 171v, 172r, 174r, and also 170v (brief of de Thou, December 7, 1547). De Thou's elaborate defense merits detailed analysis, which I hope to give in the study cited in note 24 above.

57. "Legatione fideliter obita, in Galliam regressus, creditum sibi gregem cepit pastor uigilantissimus sedulo regere moderarique, editis propterea constitutionibus, que ad mores et Christianam pietatem facerent. Moliuntur interim homini, nil tale metuendi insidie: atque ab aulicis et magnatibus quibusdam, quorum maleuolos animos ob feliciores uiri successus Inuidie labes altius insederat, in Regis odium sensim adducitur. Quo factum est, ut mature ab amicis persuasus, ne atrocius a furentibus emulis impeteretur, patrium solum uerteret, ac toto ferme triennio apud externos priuatus ageret": Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 12, pp. 333–34; in *Novæ Bibliothecæ Manuscript. Libr[ar]i*, ed. Labbe, vol. 1, p. 521, with the mistaken reading "primatus ageret."
58. For *peregrinatio*, see note 33 above; for the bishop's *im meritum exilium*, see the *Carmen* that Chrestien composed in François II's honor, in which he declared himself the companion (*comes*) and witness (*testis*) of the bishop's labors (*laborum*), sadness (*mestitie*), and joy (*letitie*): Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 142 (12), p. 338; cited in Thuillier, "Études," p. 61 n. 22; Lebeuf, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 139; and Hervey and Martin-Holland, "A Forgotten French Painter," p. 53. In his testament of July 25, 1566, Chrestien stipulated that his epitaph should state that he "s'en alla à Romme au service de feu M^e Francoys de Dinteville": Thuillier, "Études," p. 75.
59. "Il est frere et heritier presump tif dud. demandeur et vray sol liciteur de ceste cause comme si cestoit pour luy ou son filz Cherchant tesmoings pour led. demandeur pour deposer et faisant tout ce quj luy est possible pour led. demandeur son frere Affin de faire perdre le bon droict dud. defendeur lequel par plusieurs fois sest vante quil luy trouueroit tant de tesmoings quil luy feroit perdre sa cause": BNF, P.O. 1004 (fr. 17488), no. 22783 (de Dinteville), fols. 84v–85r (Mareuil's objections to Jean, recorded shortly after March 8, 1550).
60. For portraits of the king, see (for Clouet and his followers) Dimier, *Histoire de la peinture de portrait*, vol. 1, pl. 11 facing p. 36; Broglie, "Les Clouet de Chantilly," p. 272, nos. 16–18; Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, frontis., p. 219, figs. 90–93 (medals); 328, fig. 148 (portrait of the king on the "Puy" of Amiens, 1519); 421, fig. 193 (Clouet); and cf. the portrait of the king as a young man in BNF, fr. 2848, fol. 150r (the presentation copy of Jean du Tillet's *Recueil des Roys*, whose illustrations were painted ca. 1553), for which see also Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Myra Dickman Orth, "Jean du Tillet et les illustrations du grand *Recueil des roys*," *Revue de l'Art* 115 (1997), pp. 11–12 (and esp. figs. 7, 8); Scail liérez, *François I^{er} par Clouet*, passim, and for the Du Tillet illustration, pp. 51–52; Cox-Rearick, *Collection of Francis I*, as cited in note 3 above, and also pp. 248–51 (portrait of Francis I by Titian, 1538), p. 272, fig. 295 (satirical portrait of the king and Queen Eleanor of Austria), p. 371, fig. 404 (Francis I depicted as a Roman emperor, with spiked crown, ca. 1538, on which see note 15 above). See also the portrait of the king, dated 1536, by Master PS, which is distinguished by a spiked crown similar to the one worn by Pharaoh in the painting, although in the engraving and etching it is attached to a plumed hat: François Boudon et al., *The French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, 1994), p. 226, no. 30; cf. the Clouet drawing in Scail liérez, *François I^{er} par Clouet*, p. 11, pl. 3.
61. See note 15 above.
62. Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait*, p. 250.
63. Hervey and Martin-Holland, "A Forgotten French Painter," p. 48. In the first edition of his *Art and Architecture in France, 1500 to 1700* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1954), p. 83 n. 85, Anthony Blunt quite reasonably remarked that the king "would hardly have been flattered by being identified with the enemy of the chosen people, defeated by the skill and courage of his opponents, Moses and Aaron." Cf. the similar comments of the author (H. S. Reid?) of a notice ("The Dintevilles Before the Dauphin Henri [1542] in 'The Judgement of Solomon'") in *The Connoisseur* 133 (1954), p. 193; see note 14 above.
64. Mareuil's features appear in a drawing by Clouet or one of his imitators, which has been variously identified and dated. I am grateful to Richard C. Famiglietti for helping me locate the portrait of Mareuil. See *Three Hundred French Portraits Representing Personages of the Courts of Francis I., Henry II., and Francis II., by Clouet. Auto-Lithographed from the Originals at Castle Howard, Yorkshire, by Lord Ronald Gower (A Trustee of the National Portrait Gallery)* (London: Maclure and Macdonald; Paris: Hachette, 1875), vol. 2, no. 224; Broglie, "Les Clouet de Chantilly," p. 298, no. 171 (correctly identifying the subject and dating the drawing ca. 1540); Dimier, *Histoire de la peinture de portrait*, vol. 1, p. 30; vol. 2, p. 48, V.6/196 (dating the drawing ca. 1539 and identifying Montmoreau simply as protonotary, although cf. *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 305, where he is called Pierre de Mareuil, sire [*sic*] de Montmoreau); and Étienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Les Clouet et leurs émules* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1924), vol. 3, p. 28, no. 223 (identifying the subject as Pierre de Mareuil, seigneur [*sic*] de Montmoreau, and dating the drawing ca. 1550). The fact that the drawing is labeled "Le Proteⁿ Monmoreau" shows that it was executed after Mareuil was appointed papal protonotary (a post he held in 1533) but before he became bishop of Lavaur after the death of Georges de Selve in April 1541—and in all likelihood before he was named abbot of Brantôme in 1538, or administrator of the temporalities of the bishopric of Auxerre in the spring of 1539.
65. In the painting, Pharaoh's hairline is low on his face. The Clouet drawing suggests that Mareuil's was higher. So too, as concerns Francis I, do all the surviving portraits of the king. I am grateful to Mary Sprinson de Jesús for discussing with me the depiction of Pharaoh.
66. See Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, pp. 14–29, esp. p. 16, and also p. 100 n. 20. On May 23, 1533, Jean (then ambassador to England) expressed great interest in knowing what his brother François II "dir[ait] de la tour et des tableaux": BNF, Dupuy 726, fol. 46v, in Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors"*, pp. 79–81. Less than a month later, on June 4, 1533, and again from England, Jean wrote François, "Je vous prie mandez moy sy auez trouue les painctures bien faictes": BNF, fr. 15971, fol. 4r. It is tempting but perhaps imprudent to infer with Foister (*ibid.*,

- p. 25) that Jean “had commissioned pictures before leaving for England, when his brother was in Italy.” Nonetheless, the two letters demonstrate the brothers’ keen interest in paintings. Jean supervised major construction at Polisy in the 1540s. The Dinteville brothers’ cousin Jean de Mergey wrote that when he went to stay with Jean at Polisy in or about 1550, Jean had become “paralitique et impotent de tous ses membres, et ne pouvant plus à ceste occasion demeurer à la Cour, et s’estant retiré chez soy, se mist pour son plaisir et exercice à bastir ceste belle maison de Polizy”: “Mémoires du sieur Jean de Mergey, gentilhomme champenois,” in *Nouvelle collection des mémoires*, ed. Michaud et al., vol. 9, p. 559; see Hervey, *Holbein’s “Ambassadors,”* pp. 133–34. A memorandum prepared after 1585 during a dispute among the Dinteville heirs noted that Jean’s illness began in or about 1546: BNF, Duchesne 62, fol. 229r. An inscription published by Hervey (*Holbein’s “Ambassadors,”* pp. 127–30) shows that in 1544 work on the “basse court” was completed, and construction began on the château itself. Primaticcio, Domenico del Barbieri, and Hubert Juliot (an artist of Troyes) were at Polisy on December 15, 1544, and their presence in all likelihood had some connection with Jean’s plans for the château: see note 5 above. Tiles installed in the château, which feature the episcopal arms of François II de Dinteville, are dated 1545, whereas others, purely decorative, are dated 1549 (Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 39).
67. “Instaurata sane constructaque ab eo edificia, Anticiodori [sic], Regennis, Varziaci, et monasterio Aremarensi, hominis curam & diligentiam, mirumque ac prope stupendum ingenium testantur. Ingentia templis donaria, pii bonique pastoris liberalitatem effantur. In dies erogare Xenodochiis, Conuentibus, Collegiis et Hospitalibus eleemosyne, pectus uere christianum in eo fuisse commostrarant. Cibus parvus, potus rarus, modicus somnus, continuus labor, pertinax et indefessum studium, uitam philosopho dignam declarant. Nam preter liberalium artium disciplinam, Mechanicas etiamnum (quas uocant) artes mirum immodum [sic] callebat. Pictoria uero summopere oblectabatur [sic], eius artis peritos domi semper alens. Temporis parcissimus, uetus illud Apelleum sepiuscule adducebat, ut nulla dies sine linea abiret”: Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 142 (12), pp. 336–37; in *Novae Bibliothecae Manuscript. Libr[ar]ii*, ed. Labbe, vol. 1, p. 521. See also Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 12, p. 335; and Louis and Porée, *Domaine de Régnennes*, pp. 124–25. Jean shared François II’s interest in the mechanical arts, as the scientific objects depicted in *The Ambassadors* suggest; see Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, pp. 30–43. On May 23, 1533, while Jean was in England and his brother in France, Jean asked François to send him “le portraict du compas au val du quel mauez escript / car le suis bien empesche a comprendre la facon de laquelle Il est fait”: BNF, Dupuy 726, no. 46r–v.
68. *Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France*, vol. 3, *Les vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté et Rhône-Alpes*, ed. Jean Taralon, Anne Prache, and Nicole Blondel, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi France, Inventaire général des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986), pp. 112, 114, 123–24, 126 (the northern rose window, featuring the story of Joseph, donated to the cathedral in 1528 by François I de Dinteville, and the southern rose, dated 1550, given by François II).
69. Brown, “Heures,” as cited in note 20. The first Hours the Dinteville commissioned (BNF, lat. 1429, fols. 37r, 45r) contained two scenes from the life of Moses, showing him with the brazen serpent and striking the rock in the desert to produce water; the second (BNF, lat. 10558, fol. 35v) depicted Moses just once, with the brazen serpent.
70. Cf. Thuillier, “Études,” p. 63 (“Que le tableau ait été peint pour les Dinteville, et en France, c’est ce qui ne fait aucun doute”).
71. Lebeuf, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 139, cited and discussed by Thuillier, “Études,” p. 62. Lebeuf relies heavily on Chrestien’s biography of the bishop: *Mémoires*, vol. 2, pp. 117, 119, 139–40; see *ibid.* vol. 1, pp. xiii–xlv, for a biography of Lebeuf and his testament; the first edition of his work, published in 1743, ended in 1373. In 1900, citing Lebeuf, Hervey discussed Chrestien in a long note in *Holbein’s “Ambassadors,”* p. 137 n. 1 (attributing to him the triptych of Varzy and the painting of the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* in the cathedral of Auxerre). Eleven years later, she and Martin-Holland added *Moses and Aaron* to Chrestien’s canon, in “A Forgotten French Painter.” Carlo L. Ragghianti provides a useful survey of scholarship, in “Pertinenze francesi nel Cinquecento,” *Critica d’arte*, n.s., 27th year, fasc. 122 (March–April 1972), pp. 63–64 n. 14.
72. Zerner, *L’art de la Renaissance*, p. 398 n. 46.
73. Thuillier, “Études,” *passim*, and esp. pp. 70, 72–73. Thuillier suggests that Chrestien’s name may have been linked to the pictures because he appeared in them with the bishop, or because he played some role in commissioning them. Aristide Déy describes the arms hung on the tree to the left in the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* (“écartelé au 1 et 4 d’or fretté de sinople; au 2 et 3 d’or au chef de gueules et 1 bande componnée d’argent et de sable brochant sur le tout”) as those of “Félix Chrétien,” but this identification is circular, since the only source he gives is the painting: *Armorial historique de l’Yonne* (Sens, 1863; reprint, Marseille: Laffitte, 1978), pp. 1–2, no. 5. I am grateful to Meredith Parsons Lillich for her advice on this question.
74. “Études,” pp. 63, 69–70, and also 59.
75. *MMA Catalogue*, p. 44 (assigning the work to Felix Chrestien); see Thuillier, “Études,” p. 69 n. 68. Note, however, that two years later Châtelet and Thuillier (*French Painting*, p. 113) suggested “affinities with Roman painting” and especially Giulio Romano.
76. J. Bruyn, “Over de betekenis van het Werk van Jan van Scorel omstreets 1530 voor oudere en jongere tijdgenoten (4). IV. De Pseudo-Félix Chrétien: ein Haarlemse schilder (Bartholomeus Pons?) bij de bischop van Auxerre,” *Oud Holland* 98 (1984), pp. 98–110, and pls. 4 and 5, esp. pp. 99–100, 105, 108, and 109–11 (Bruyn’s summary in English); see also the observations made by Baetjer in 1977, in “Pleasures and Problems,” p. 348, and the evidence of Pons’s presence in Burgundy in ca. 1518, in 1522, and in 1530, cited by Louis Frank, in *La peinture en Bourgogne*, pp. 60, 108–09.
77. Zerner believes (*L’art de la Renaissance*, pp. 222–23) that *Moses and Aaron* may have been painted by the artist of the Varzy triptych, which Zerner attributes to “un artiste néerlandais de passage.” Foister (*Making and Meaning*, p. 25) similarly suggests that the artist who painted *Moses and Aaron* was “Netherlandish rather than French,” and “might be responsible for” the painting known as the *Descent into the Cellar*, an association I believe far more questionable than the connection that has been suggested between the Varzy triptych and *Moses and Aaron*. For the *Descent* and its attribution to Jean de Gourmont, see Thuillier,

- "Études," p. 73 (acknowledging the advice of Charles Sterling); Ragghianti, "Pertinenze francesi," pp. 20–22; and Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, p. 222. The painting features the arms of the Dinteville family with 20 billets and is dated 1537.
78. See the text preceding note 49, and note 66, above, and notes 81 and 82 below.
79. "En la chambre appelle la chambre du feu Sieur dauxerre trouue deulx Chenetz de fer Sur Lesquelz y a deulx Grosses pommes de Cuiure; Item vne table de Boys de noyer qui se tire; Vng dresseoir de boys de noyer paintct en aulcuns endroitz; Item vng Grand chaslict de Boys paintct & dore; Vng Grand Tableau estant au dessus de la cheminee ou est painte l'histoire de Pharaon Roy de Gipte; Item vng autre petit Tableau ou est painte l'histoire de la femme Adultere avec vng petit Rideau de tafetas": Lons-le-Saunier, Archives départementales du Jura, E 733, pp. [50–52], on which see note 42 above.
80. Le Brun-Dalbanne, "Art céramique," pp. 12–15, and pls. 3–8; André-Ariodant Pottier, *Histoire de la faïence de Rouen*, ed. l'Abbé Colas, Gustave Gouellain, and Raymond Bordeaux (Rouen: Auguste Le Brument, 1870), pp. 55–56. See also note 16 above.
81. Cf. Thuillier, "Études," p. 62 n. 35. Noting (*Making and Meaning*, pp. 28–29) that by 1589 *Moses and Aaron* hung in the new part of the château, created in the 1540s, Foister raises the possibility that the picture was originally hung with *The Ambassadors* before being transferred to the bishop's chamber in the newly renovated area.
82. The great hall, located "above the court of the old building," seems to have been the largest, the most formal, and the most important in the château. It contained two large old copper andirons, a painted wooden table, a large oaken bench, a large dresser, a gray stone basin on an oaken base, three old oak chairs, and a wooden chandelier, painted green, hung in the middle of the room. A picture of Saint Sebastian was also displayed. See Lons-le-Saunier, Archives départementales du Jura, E 733, pp. [15]–[17] ("la Grand Salle haulte au dessus de la court du viel Logis"; "deulx grands vielz chenetz de cuiure"; "vne table de Boys de chesne painte par le dessus"; "vng grand banc de boys de chesne de troys piedz"; "vne cuuette de pierre grise sur vng pied de boys de chesne"; "troys haultes vielles chaires a pauez"; "Vng Grand tableau ou sont en paintz les feuz Sieurs de Polisy & dauxerre"; "vng chandelier de boys peinct en vert qui est pendu au milieu de ladicté salle"; "Vng autre viel tableau ou est paintct Limage S^t Sebastien"). This room is the first major chamber listed in the inventory. The contents of the bishop's apartment appear after those of "la chambre neufue" (with a storeroom) and "la chambre du bain": *ibid.*, pp. 45–47; for the bishop's room, *ibid.*, pp. 50–52. See Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 28.
83. By 1558 the supporters of Calvin were using the title *Pharaon* to designate the king of France: see, e.g., letters that Macar, a Genevan minister, wrote to Calvin from Paris in March, May, and July of 1558, in John Calvin, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Johann Wilhelm Baum, August Eduard Cunitz, Eduard Wilhelm Reuss et al. (Braunschweig and Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke, 1863–1900), vol. 17, pp. 107–10, no. 2838 (at p. 108); pp. 161–63, no. 2866 (at p. 161); pp. 248–49, no. 2915 (at p. 248).
84. For his presence there, see notes 5 and 66 above.
85. See *Le triomphe du maniérisme*, pp. 86–88, cat. no. 101, and pl. 18, whose provenance is given as "New York, M. Georges Wildenstein."
86. Sylvie Béguin, *L'école de Fontainebleau, le Maniérisme à la cour de France* (Paris: Editions d'art Gonthier-Seghers, 1960), pp. 54–55.
87. Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait*, p. 252, fig. 276.
88. Kauffman, *Kunst*, pp. 189–90, no. 62.
89. Ragghianti, "Pertinenze francesi," p. 64 n. 14 (mentioning Charles Sterling); Walbe, "Studien," pp. 102–3.
90. Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 23. The caption of fig. 14 (*ibid.*, p. 23) and the list of works in the exhibition (*ibid.*, p. 106, no. 12) assign the picture to Francesco Primaticcio.
91. Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor*, pp. 112–14, no. 17.
92. Ian Wardropper, "Le voyage italien de Primatice en 1550," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1981, pp. 27–31, ill. on 29.
93. Wardropper, *Domenico del Barbieri*, p. 99.
94. Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, pp. 134, 136.
95. Thuillier, "Études," p. 73 and n. 85.
96. Henri Stein, "Quelques lettres inédites de Primatice," *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique du Gâtinais* 28 (1910), pp. 308–9, 319; Louis Dimier, *Le Primatice* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1928), p. 87, and cf. p. 22.
97. "Et secondo chessa scriuera al detto mons. locotenente io lo tiro per firmo disegno. per il R^{mo} Carⁱ de guisa. Et la colorisco de mia mano: Et so che lo trouarete men brutto del primo": BNF, Dupuy 726, fol. 190r; my transcription differs in some respects from that of Stein, "Quelques lettres," p. 319. I am grateful to Richard C. Famiglietti and the late Nancy Rash for help with the Italian.
98. Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, was the son of Claude of Lorraine, duke of Aumale and of Guise, and of Antoinette of Bourbon, and the brother of François of Lorraine, duke of Guise: Anselme, *Histoire genealogique*, vol. 2, pp. 71–73; vol. 3, p. 485.
99. Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, p. 100.

The Steel of the Negroli

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PREPARATION FOR the exhibition "Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and his Contemporaries," held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1998–99, addressed a number of art-historical questions surrounding the style, iconography, and authorship of Italian parade armors *all'antica* dating to the years 1530–55. The majority of works included in the exhibition were decorated with classicizing ornament in high relief, achieving a sculptural quality by means of embossing or repoussé. The virtuoso metalworking skill demonstrated by Filippo Negroli, members of his family, and contemporary armorers working in Milan, Brescia, and Mantua inevitably raised the technical question as to the medium employed by these craftsmen. Did they work in a soft, malleable iron, as art historians have tended to assume in light of the remarkable plasticity of the embossing, or were they using the harder medium of steel, appropriate for armor?

In order to provide an answer to this question the author of this article was invited by the exhibition organizers to conduct metallographic examinations on a number of armors by Filippo Negroli and his contemporaries. The armors made available for testing were mostly confined to examples in the Metropolitan Museum and the Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Although the sampling was far from comprehensive, the conclusions are nevertheless suggestive. Of the more than thirty specimens tested, most were found to be of steel, an alloy of iron and carbon, and the hardest steel predominates in the best armors.

Metallography is the examination of a prepared metal surface by means of a microscope. A very small (1–2 mm square) sample of metal is detached from the artifact where it will leave no visible damage. On armor, the inside of the turned rim of a plate is particularly suitable for this. The sample is then embedded, polished until it is optically flat, and etched to reveal the crystalline structure of the metal. Of course, the individual atoms are too small to be visible,

but they are arranged in regular patterns within grains, and the boundaries between grains become visible after etching.

It may be useful to summarize here some basic information about the technology of iron and steel production in the age of the Negroli. During the sixteenth century, iron was made as follows. Iron ore would be charged into a furnace with charcoal, and in some cases with limestone as well. The charcoal is burned, and a stream of hot gases (especially carbon monoxide, CO) ascends while the ore descends. At suitable temperatures, it is the carbon monoxide that enables metal oxides to be reduced. Iron oxide (FeO) reduces readily at about 800° C, well below the melting point of iron (1550° C). So iron particles will start to form at some point on their journey down the shaft. Solid iron thus formed will absorb carbon from the hot, carbon monoxide-rich gases until it reaches the combustion zone. If it absorbs a significant amount, its melting point will fall, perhaps even as far as the ambient temperature in the furnace, in which case it will melt, and then dissolve more carbon very quickly from direct contact to form the mixture that contains 2% carbon, "cast iron," which melts at 1150° C. The unreduced oxides present from the ore, as well as from the clay and stones of the furnace lining (CaO, Al₂O₃, SiO₂, the oxides of calcium, aluminium, and silicon) and any unreduced iron oxide, will react together to form a slag, a glasslike material whose free-running temperature will depend on its composition.

In the most primitive form of bloomery, a "bowl hearth" perhaps less than 1 meter high, the iron might be reduced but neither the iron nor the slag melted. The products would then have to be crudely separated by breaking them apart or else reheating them at a higher temperature to melt away the slag. Such a primitive operation would have been greatly improved by the later Middle Ages. A larger furnace, with a shaft up to 2 meters high, could be operated at a higher temperature (as a "bloomery hearth") to give as products a "bloom" of porous solid iron, which could be hammered to consolidate it, and an iron-rich slag, which could be "tapped off" (separated as a liquid flowing at 1100–1200° C). Any bloomery iron will

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contain entrapped slag inclusions of a composition generally similar to the tap-slag. On the other hand, if the shaft furnace was high enough, and so hot enough, it might be operated as a “blast furnace,” yielding a liquid iron rich in carbon and a slag poor in iron. This liquid iron was at first regarded as a useless by-product, then used as a cheaper substitute for bronze in casting. Large cannon were being cast in iron by 1390, and at some later stage, methods for converting it to forgeable iron were discovered.

If an “indirect” or two-stage process was employed, the liquid cast iron would have been converted to iron or even steel by being wholly or partially decarburized in a “finery” by melting it and then submitting the liquid to an oxidizing atmosphere, or allowing it to drip through an air blast onto a charcoal hearth.¹ Some iron oxide would form as the carbon content of the iron was reduced and might react with the lining of the hearth (SiO_2 and perhaps Al_2O_3 and CaO could be present in the lining of the hearth, depending on its construction) so that the wrought iron produced in the finery would contain some finery slag, which might differ little in composition from extraction slag.

Published analyses of slags from fineries show that most of the elements present in bloomery slags are also present in finery slags, so that bloomery iron differs little from finery iron, except in price.² Either source could have supplied iron for armor in the sixteenth century; the finery might have been the source of iron for the cheapest “munition” armor (that is, inexpensive, ready-made harnesses of the kind acquired in bulk for foot soldiers). Microscopic examination of such irons (often generally called “wrought iron”) will show equiaxed grains of iron (called ferrite) and slag inclusions, whose shape will depend on how much hot-working the iron has had. A small amount (up to 0.1% or 0.2%) of carbon might also be present as iron carbide.

Steel remained a luxury product throughout the Middle Ages and in the sixteenth century. According to Thorold Rogers, the price at which raw iron was sold in England varied between

about	1300	1400	1500	1550
	0.45	0.84	0.44	1.27 pence

per pound. It was usually sold by the hundredweight (50 kg). On the other hand, steel was sold at

	1300	1400	1500	1550
	1.65	1.60	1.20	2.32 pence

per pound. It was sold by the piece, later by the sheaf, garb, fagot, cake, or barrel.³

The words sheaf, garb, and fagot all have a similar meaning—a bundle, whether of sticks, arrows, or pieces of metal. The price difference suggests that

steel was made separately from iron, and with two or three times as much difficulty. It might have been made in one of several ways:

1. Directly, in a shaft furnace with operating conditions midway between those of a bloomery and a blast furnace.

2. By case-carburizing pieces of bloomery iron, or selecting higher-carbon fragments from a heterogeneous bloom after breaking up, and forging them together (this might be the connection with those names that are synonymous with bundles).

3. The decarburization of liquid cast iron might be halted at an intermediate carbon content, that of steel. According to Walzel,⁴ steel was made in Styria this way by letting the liquid iron from the blast furnace drip through an air blast onto a charcoal hearth. Obtaining anything like a consistent carbon content would have been difficult, if not impossible, and British attempts to make “puddled steel” by a similar direct process in the nineteenth century proved to be unsatisfactory. Steelmakers like Bessemer found that it was easier to remove all the carbon and then add a measured weight to give a steel of the chosen carbon content.⁵

4. A method related to method 3, sometimes called the “Brescian process,” was described by Biringuccio in 1540 (to be precise, he ascribed it to Valcamonica, near Brescia), and his description was copied by Agricola a few years later.⁶ A lump of bloomery iron (“weighing thirty to forty pounds”) was supposed to be swirled about on the end of an iron rod in a bath of liquid cast iron for 4 to 6 hours, with crushed marble added, until it was somewhat carburized, and then taken out and forged into a uniform product. If this genuinely describes contemporary practice, and is not simply a misrepresentation of the finery process, then this method may have supplied the steel used by later sixteenth-century Milanese armorers.⁷

These different methods might produce steels, all of which would be heterogeneous because they would never have been melted, and all of which would contain some slag, though less slag than iron, because the carbon in the steel would have reduced some of the iron oxide in the slag. They would also contain up to about 0.5% or 0.6% carbon. If a steel, after forging, is allowed to cool in air then equilibrium conditions will prevail. The carbon that was dissolved in the iron above 900° C comes out of solution as a lamellar mixture of iron carbide (or cementite, Fe_3C) and ferrite (pure iron, Fe), called pearlite, which has a distinctive microscopical appearance. Very slow cooling or repeated hot-working may cause the layers of pearlite to spheroidize, or form globules of iron carbide in a ferrite matrix. (Completely spheroidized pearlite is

sometimes called “divorced” pearlite.) If the steel is cooled more rapidly, or quenched, and equilibrium is not attained, then other crystalline products may form, and it will become very hard. However, no attempt was made to quench-harden any of the specimens discussed here. Indeed, Italian armorers had largely given up the practice of quenching after about 1510, even for field armors.

Metallographic tests have demonstrated that fifteenth-century Milanese knightly armor was generally made of steel and frequently hardened by slack-quenching (cooling at a rate insufficiently drastic to lead to full hardening of the steel). Armor of infantry quality was also frequently made of steel but air-cooled.⁸ On the other hand, after the first decade of the sixteenth century, Italian armor was very seldom hardened by any form of heat treatment. At almost the same time there was a considerable increase in the frequency of etched and gilt decoration.⁹ It seems very likely to the author that the two developments are connected, since any reheating for fire-gilding would reduce the hardness of a quenched steel. Evidently the customers of Italian armorers gave a higher priority to decoration than to hardness.

During the middle decades of the sixteenth century, the use of steel seems to have been less common, even for wealthy customers. The field armors of Cosimo I de’ Medici and of Sforza Pallavicini (Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, inv. nos. A.406 and A.1181, respectively), both of them unadorned harnesses of probable Milanese origin about 1550–55 that were designed for use in battle, were rather surprisingly found to be made of slaggy wrought irons without carbon.¹⁰ One can only speculate that relatively little money was spent or attention paid to such armors. On the other hand, most Italian armors dating to the last third of the century, including those attributed to the outstanding master Pompeo della Cesa (recorded 1569–93), were made of (air-cooled) steels.¹¹ There is some rather inconclusive evidence that Pompeo may have employed a cheaper grade of steel that was then available.¹²

Filippo Negroli used a medium-carbon steel, apparently the best that was then available. Variations in the carbon content are due to the fact that medieval and early modern “steel” was a very heterogeneous material, even if some craftsmen attempted to treat it in a consistent way. Some attempt might be made to homogenize it by folding and forging it out, perhaps more than once. The elongation of the slag inclusions present and the partially spheroidized nature of the pearlite frequently observed point to a considerable degree of hot-working, to be expected given such

extraordinarily elaborate shapes, but no attempt was made to harden the armor by subsequent quenching.

At first sight, it may seem surprising that a material at least twice as hard as iron should be used for embossed and chased “parade” armors, which presumably were never intended to be tested on the battlefield or in the tournament lists. But since medium-carbon steels seem to have been frequently used by the Negroli and their contemporaries, it may be said in general that parade armors appear to have been made of better metal than the plain field armors of mid-sixteenth-century Italy.

One factor which should be considered is that the hardness of the metal enabled the chiseler to demonstrate his virtuosity, just as sculptors in the hardest stones demonstrated the highest levels of mastery. The material used by Filippo Negroli was about six times as hard as silver, so that many traditional silversmithing techniques were not generally applicable.¹³

An additional, and more practical, consideration is that while the steel was initially shaped by the armorers’ technique of forging (hot-working), as the elongation of the slag inclusions demonstrates, the final chasing was done cold. Steel would, as explained above, contain fewer brittle slag inclusions than iron, so that certain metalworking techniques, especially chiseling, might be more successful if performed on steel than on iron. This is fundamentally the reason why armor plate containing a lot of slag is more prone to lamination, as examination of the internal surfaces of munition armors will illustrate. The microstructure of the armor of Carlo Gonzaga, a work of about 1540 attributed to Caremolo Modrone of Mantua in the Negroli exhibition catalogue (no. 50), which is made from a banded steel, shows such a lamination starting at a row of slag inclusions. This row would have been the consequence of the imperfect forging together of billets when trying to make a homogeneous sheet.

But the most important reason for using steel is surely the motive for making these armors. If they had been intended to be worn purely as decoration, then it would have been logical to use the softest practical material available, iron, as that would have been the easiest to work. Decorative though these “parade” armors were, they were still armor. In design, they were intended to show their wearers as classical heroes, and their ornate form might lead the modern observer to think (mistakenly) that, because they were primarily for ceremonial wear, they must be impractical for any other, more serious use. In fact they were, in terms of their metallurgy, every bit as functional as any contemporary field armor, although the process of forming the complex shapes tended to make the metal thin,

and the deflative quality of the plates was lost with the creation of raised decoration. They were evidently expected to be fit for war, even if in practice they would never be worn in serious combat. The Negroli were regarded as the best armorers of Italy, and so they used the best available steel. In conclusion, these were not "parade" armors embossed in iron, but armors appropriate for parade, forged out of steel.

The hardness of the tested specimens has been determined by measuring the size of a microscopic indentation made when a diamond is pressed into the flat surface of a metal under a fixed load (100 g). The units of Vickers Pyramid Hardness (VPH) are

kg/mm². Each hardness result quoted here is an average of several (usually ten) readings. Wrought irons have typical hardnesses of between 90 and 120 VPH. The hardness of a steel depends upon its carbon content (if its heat-treatment is not varied). A "medium-carbon" steel of about 0.5% carbon might have a hardness of between 220 and 250 VPH. The hardness of silver might be between 30 and 50 VPH (see note 13). Steels hardened by quenching might have a hardness of between 300 and 600 VPH. A GKN micro-hardness tester was used, employing a load of 100 g in each case.

TABULATED RESULTS

The armors from which the samples were taken are identified here by their entry number in the exhibition catalogue by Stuart W. Pyhrr and José-A. Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and His Contemporaries* (New York: MMA, 1998). Below, under "Metallography of Samples," the individual metallography of each armor is discussed, accompanied by photomicrographs of the specimens.

I. Armors signed by Filippo Negroli of Milan

Cat. no. 18, Vienna A.498a		low C	
Cat. no. 29b, Wallace A.207			med C
Cat. no. 33, MMA 17.190.1720			med C
(total specimens 3; of which 0 are iron, 1 low-carbon steel, 2 medium-carbon steel)			

II. Armors attributed to Filippo Negroli

Cat. no. 19, Vienna A.498 (+ 1 part, Bargello M.1502 or 1503)	iron	low C	
Cat. no. 21, MMA 04.3.202 (3 parts)	2 iron	low C	
Cat. no. 23e, MMA 14.25.714i (+ 1 part, Bargello M.1503[bis])		low C	med C
(total specimens 7; of which 3 are iron, 3 low-carbon steel, 1 medium-carbon steel)			

III. Armors possibly made in the Negroli workshop, or by Milanese contemporaries, after 1545

Cat. no. 39, Vienna A.693			med C
Cat. no. 40, Cambridge M.19-1938 (3 parts)		3 low C	
Cat. no. 41, MMA 04.3.223 (6 parts)	iron	2 low C	3 med C
Cat. no. 42, Vienna A.693a			med C
(total specimens 11; of which 1 is iron, 5 low-carbon steel, 5 medium-carbon steel)			

IV. Armors signed by, or attributed to, Giovan Paolo Negroli of Milan

Cat. no. 43, MMA 14.25.1855 (3 parts)	iron	low C	med C
Cat. no. 46, MMA 26.53 (4 parts)		3 low C	med C
(total specimens 7; of which 1 is iron, 4 low-carbon steel, 2 medium-carbon steel)			

V. Armors made by contemporaries of the Negroli, probably in Milan

Cat. no. 37, MMA 49.163.3		low C	
Cat. no. 53, Vienna A.783			med C
Cat. no. 56, Stibbert 11586			med C
(total specimens 3; of which 0 are iron, 1 low-carbon steel, 2 medium-carbon steel)			

VI. Armor attributed to Caremolo Modrone of Mantua

Cat. no. 50, Vienna A.632

med C

(total specimens 1; of which 0 are iron, 0 low-carbon steel, 1 medium-carbon steel)

VII. Armor made by contemporaries of the Negroli, probably in Brescia

Cat. no. 64, Turin C.11

iron

(total specimens 1; of which 1 is iron, 0 low-carbon steel, 0 medium-carbon steel)

Overall totals

Out of the 33 specimens examined, 28 were from armors attributed to the Negroli family, and of these only 5 were iron, while 13 were low-carbon steels and another 10 were medium-carbon steels (and 2 out of the 3 specimens from examples signed by Filippo Negroli were medium-carbon steels).

If the total includes armors made by their contemporaries in Milan as well, then 12 out of 31 were medium-carbon steels. This may be better expressed as a table:

Category	Iron	Low-carbon steel	Medium-carbon steel	Total
signed by Filippo	0	1	2	3
attributed to Negroli family	5	12	8	25
other Milanese	0	1	2	3
TOTAL MILANESE	5	14	12	31
other Italians	1	0	1	2
TOTAL	6	14	13	33

METALLOGRAPHY OF SAMPLES

I. Armors signed by Filippo Negroli of Milan

Cat. no. 18. Burgonet of Francesco Maria I della Rovere, duke of Urbino. Signed and dated 1532. Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer des Kunsthistorischen Museums, Vienna, A.498 (Figure 1).

The cross-section (Figure 2) shows a microstructure of ferrite and pearlite, corresponding to a carbon content of about 0.3%. This is a low-carbon steel. There are rows of very elongated slag inclusions, especially near one surface. The most prominent such form a line at about one-eighth of the section. Microhardness = 233 VPH.

Cat. no. 29b. Left cheekpiece belonging with parts of a burgonet with buffe of Francesco Maria I or Guidobaldo II della Rovere. The buffe is signed and dated 1538. Wallace Collection, London, A.207 (Figure 3).

The cheekpiece was examined on the lower rim, between turns of the roped decoration. The sample (Figure 4) shows a microstructure consisting almost entirely of pearlite with a little slag and a few ferrite grains along one surface. This is a medium-carbon

steel (of perhaps 0.6%–0.7% carbon) which has been worked hot and afterwards allowed to cool in air. Microhardness = 282 VPH.

Cat. no. 33. Burgonet. Signed and dated 1543. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.1720 (Figure 5).

The sample (Figure 6) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with some large areas of pearlite. The carbon content varies between 0.2% and 0.8%. Some of the pearlite has divorced into globules, and also into lines, of cementite. This is a medium-carbon steel, overall. Microhardness = 254 VPH.

Several other specimens, such as the right upper cheekpiece of cat. no. 41, MMA 04.3.223 (Figure 24), show a similar arrangement of particles.

II. Armors attributed to Filippo Negroli

Cat. no. 19. Cuirass of mail and plate of Francesco Maria I della Rovere. Ca. 1532–35. Hofjagd- und



Figure 1. Burgonet and mail-and-plate cuirass of Francesco Maria I della Rovere, duke of Urbino. The burgonet is signed by Filippo Negroli of Milan and dated 1532; the cuirass is attributed to him, ca. 1531–35. Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Vienna, A.498 and A.498a (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

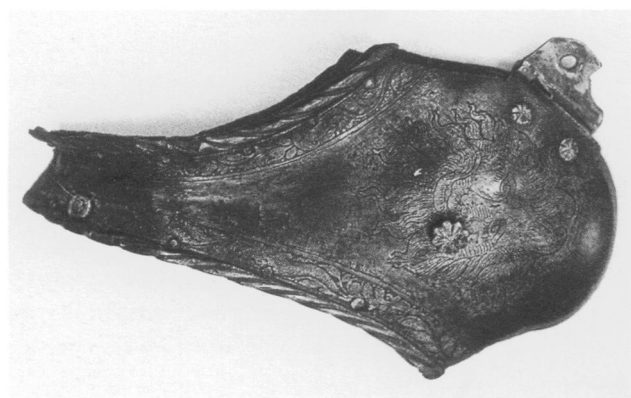


Figure 3. Left cheekpiece belonging with parts of a burgonet with buffe of Francesco Maria I or Guidobaldo II della Rovere. The buffe is signed by Filippo Negroli of Milan and dated 1538. Wallace Collection, London, A.207 (photo: José-A. Godoy; reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection)

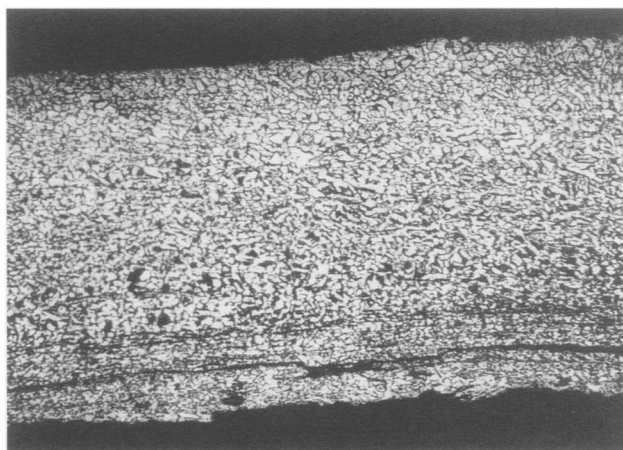


Figure 2. Sample from burgonet in Figure 1 ($\times 110$). Cross-section. Ferrite, pearlite, and elongated slag inclusions (all photomicrographs were taken by the author)

Rüstkammer des Kunsthistorischen Museums, Vienna, A.498a (Figure 1).

The cross-section (Figure 7) shows a microstructure of ferrite (iron), consisting of ferrite grains with some slag inclusions. Some of the ferrite grains have been distorted where sampling took place, but the majority are equiaxed. This is, in effect, an iron. Microhardness = 198 VPH.

Cat. no. 19 bis. An upper arm piece of mail and plate (one of a pair) belonging to this cuirass.¹⁴ Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, M.1502 or 1503 (Figure 8).

The microstructure (Figure 9) consists of ferrite and pearlite, corresponding to a low-carbon steel of 0.3% carbon. Microhardness = 234 VPH.

Cat. no. 21. Burgonet. Ca. 1532–35, with some 19th-century alterations. The Metropolitan Museum of

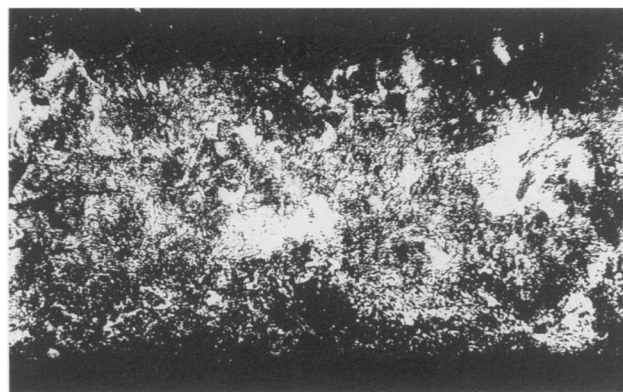


Figure 4. Sample from lower rim of cheekpiece in Figure 3 ($\times 190$). Cross-section. Pearlite



Figure 5. Burgonet. Signed by Filippo Negroli of Milan and dated 1543. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.1720

Art, Rogers Fund, 1904, 04.3.202 (Figure 10). Three specimens were examined:

Left cheekpiece: The sample (Figure 11) shows a microstructure consisting entirely of grains of ferrite with a little slag. This is an iron.

Right cheekpiece: The sample (Figure 12) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little slag. This is also an iron. There are also two areas containing different metals, separate from the iron. One is full of a pink metal, apparently copper. The other is full of a lemon yellow metal, apparently brass. XRF analysis confirms that this is a copper-zinc alloy, of about 40% zinc. The copper is presumably from the decoration. The brass is presumably from a repair.



Figure 8. Upper arm defenses of mail and plate belonging to cuirass in Figure 1. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, M.1502-1503 (photo: Giuseppe Schiavinotto)

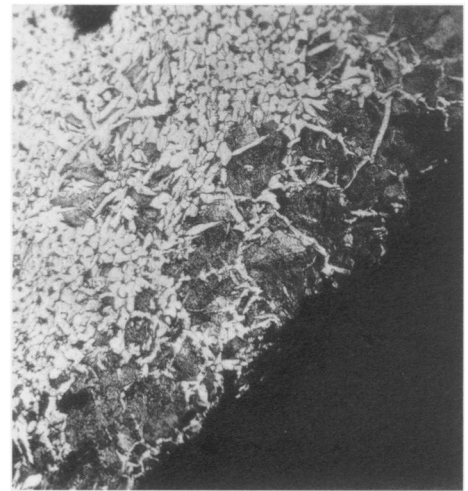


Figure 6. Sample from burgonet in Figure 5 ($\times 140$). Pearlite and ferrite

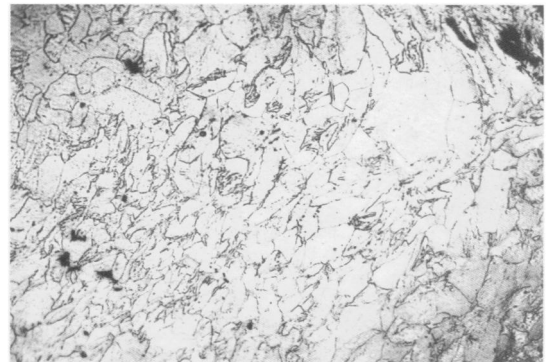


Figure 7. Sample from cuirass in Figure 1 ($\times 115$). Ferrite and a little pearlite

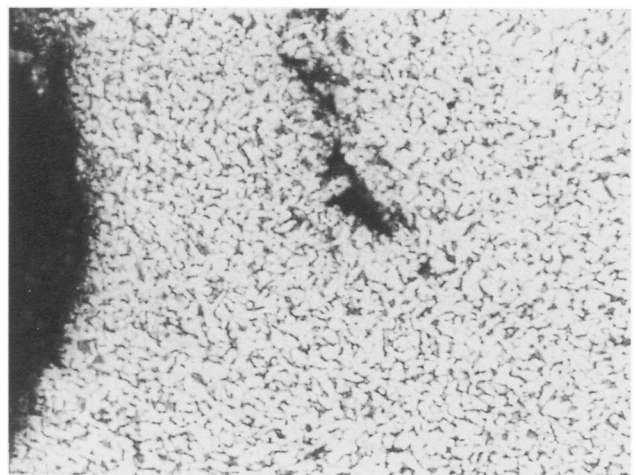


Figure 9. Sample from arm piece in Figure 8 ($\times 100$). Ferrite and pearlite



Figure 10. Burgonet. Attributed to Filippo Negroli of Milan, ca. 1532–35. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904, 04.3.202

Bowl: The sample (Figure 13) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little pearlite divorced to cementite, and some slag inclusions. The carbon content is perhaps 0.1%. This is a low-carbon steel.

Cat. no. 23e. Pauldron for the right shoulder, belonging to an armor of Guidobaldo II della Rovere. Ca. 1532–35. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.714i (Figure 14).

The sample (Figure 15) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little pearlite, corresponding to a low-carbon steel, with a carbon content of about 0.2% (it proved impractical to measure the microhardness of this specimen).

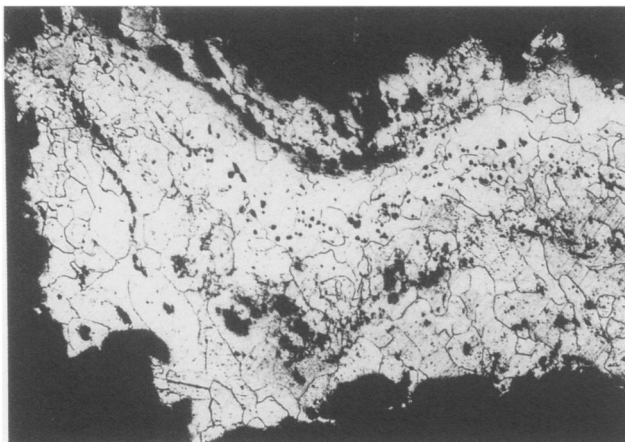


Figure 11. Sample from left cheekpiece of burgonet in Figure 10 ($\times 120$). Ferrite and slag inclusions

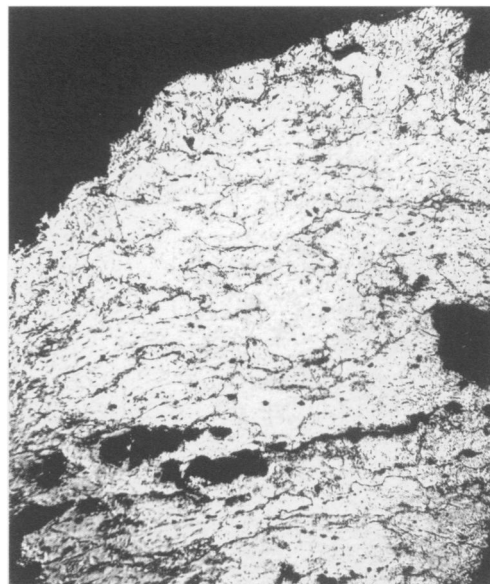


Figure 13. Sample from bowl of burgonet in Figure 10 ($\times 95$). Ferrite and slag inclusions

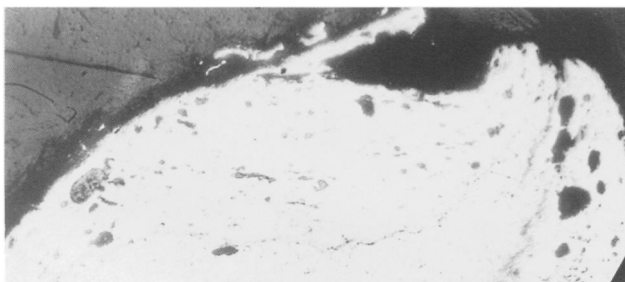


Figure 12. Sample from right cheekpiece of burgonet in Figure 10 ($\times 140$). Ferrite and slag inclusions



Figure 14. Pauldron for the right shoulder, belonging to an armor of Guidobaldo II della Rovere. Attributed to Filippo Negroli of Milan, ca. 1532–35. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.714i

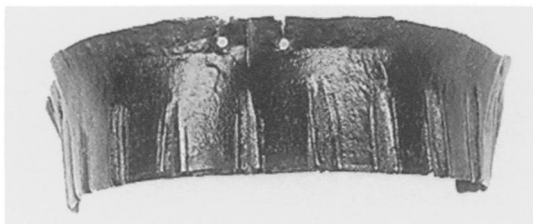


Figure 16. A lower pauldron lame belonging to an armor of Guidobaldo II della Rovere. Attributed to Filippo Negroli of Milan, ca. 1532–35. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, M.1503[bis] (photo: Giuseppe Schiavinotto)

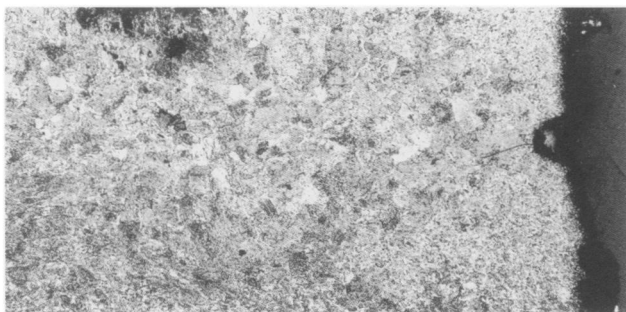


Figure 17. Sample from pauldron lame in Figure 16 ($\times 50$). Pearlite and ferrite

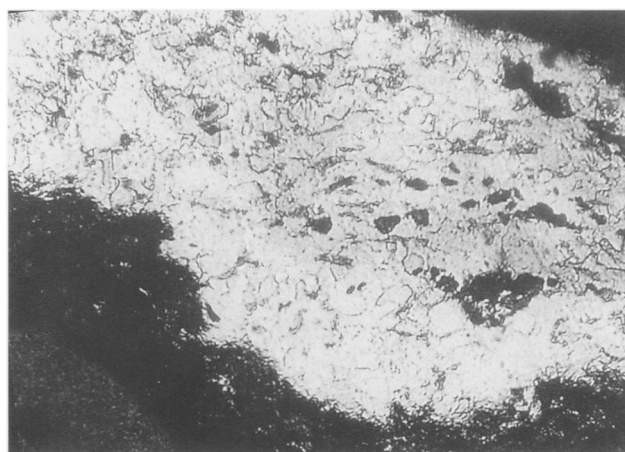


Figure 15. Sample from pauldron in Figure 14 ($\times 200$). Ferrite and slag inclusions

Cat. no. 23 bis. The uppermost of the lower three lames belonging to the left pauldron of the same armor.¹⁵ Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, M.1503[bis] (Figure 16).

The microstructure (Figure 17) consists of ferrite and pearlite, corresponding to a medium-carbon steel of about 0.5% carbon. Microhardness = 210 VPH.

III. Armors possibly made in the Negroli workshop, or by Milanese contemporaries, after 1545

Cat. no. 39. Burgonet. Ca. 1550–55. Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer des Kunsthistorischen Museums, Vienna A.693 (Figure 18).

The cross-section (Figure 19) shows a microstructure of pearlite and ferrite, corresponding to a medium-carbon steel with a carbon content of about 0.6%. The ferrite grains are mostly concentrated into two or three narrow bands. At other parts of the section, corrosion cracks have opened up, especially along the lines where the carbon content falls. Microhardness = 261 VPH.

Cat. no. 40. Burgonet. Ca. 1550–55. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, M.19–1938 (Figure 20). Three samples were examined:

Bowl: The microstructure (Figure 21) consisted of ferrite and spheroidized pearlite, corresponding to a low-carbon steel of about 0.1% carbon.

Visor: The microstructure (Figure 22) consisted of ferrite and spheroidized pearlite, corresponding to a low-carbon steel of about 0.2% carbon.



Figure 18. Burgonet. Milan, ca. 1550–55. Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Vienna, A.693 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

Neck plate: The microstructure (Figure 23) consisted of ferrite and spheroidized pearlite, corresponding to a low-carbon steel of about 0.2% carbon.

Cat. no. 41. Burgonet. Ca. 1550–55. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904, 04.3.223 (Figure 24). Six specimens were examined:

Lower plate of left cheekpiece: The sample (Figure 25) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with some slag, bounded by areas of pearlite, mixed with a little ferrite and noticeably less slag. The pearlite shows some spheroidization, presumably the result of hot working. The ferrite grains show little evidence of distortion. This is a low-carbon steel.

Upper plate of left cheekpiece: The sample (Figure 26) shows a microstructure consisting of a mixture of divorced pearlite and ferrite (the grains of which have been distorted in sampling), corresponding to a medium-carbon steel, with a carbon content of about 0.4%–0.5%.

Lower plate of right cheekpiece: The sample (Figure 27) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little spheroidized pearlite, corresponding to about 0.1% carbon. This is a low-carbon steel.

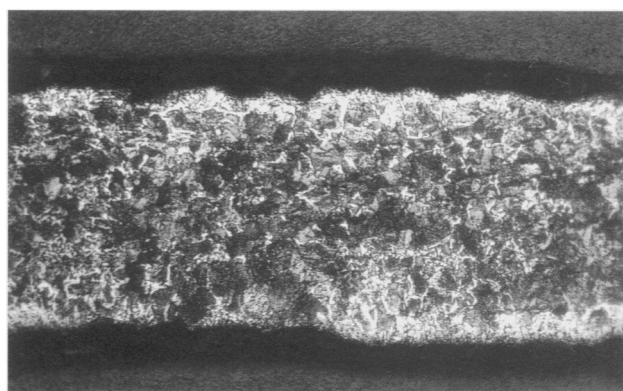


Figure 19. Sample from burgonet in Figure 18 ($\times 140$). Cross-section. Pearlite and a little ferrite



Figure 20. Burgonet. Milan, ca. 1550–55. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, M.19–1938 (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)

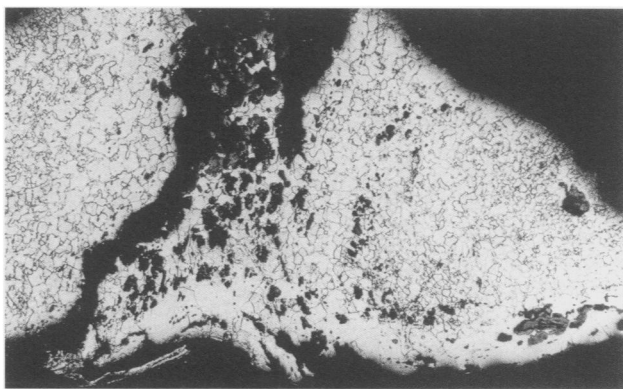


Figure 21. Sample from bowl of burgonet in Figure 20 ($\times 50$). Ferrite, slag inclusions, and a little pearlite

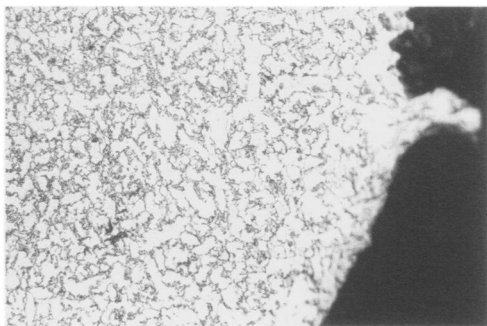


Figure 22. Sample from visor of burgonet in Figure 20 ($\times 200$). Ferrite and spheroidized pearlite

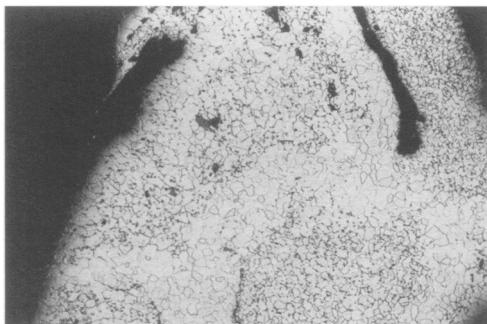


Figure 23. Sample from neck plate of burgonet in Figure 20 ($\times 50$). Ferrite, slag inclusions, and a little pearlite



Figure 24. Burgonet. Milan, ca. 1550–55. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904, 04.3.223



Figure 25. Sample from lower plate of left cheekpiece of burgonet in Figure 24 ($\times 115$). Pearlite and ferrite with some large iron oxide inclusions

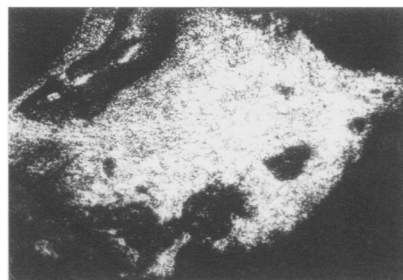


Figure 26. Sample from upper plate of left cheekpiece of burgonet in Figure 24 ($\times 160$). Ferrite and partly spheroidized pearlite

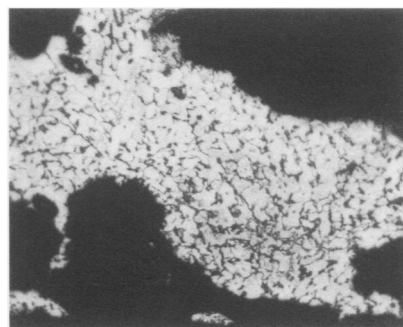


Figure 27. Sample from lower plate of right cheekpiece of burgonet in Figure 24 ($\times 120$). Ferrite and some partly spheroidized pearlite

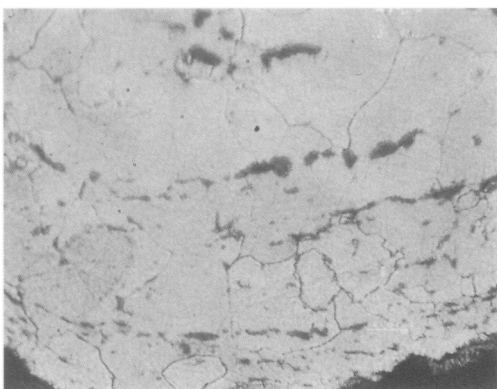


Figure 28. Sample from bowl of burgonet in Figure 24 ($\times 120$). Ferrite and slag inclusions

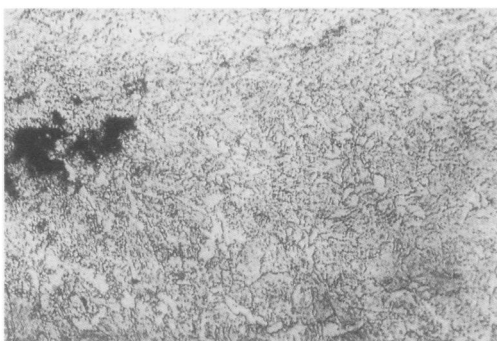


Figure 29. Sample from bowl of burgonet in Figure 24 ($\times 120$). Partly spheroidized pearlite and ferrite

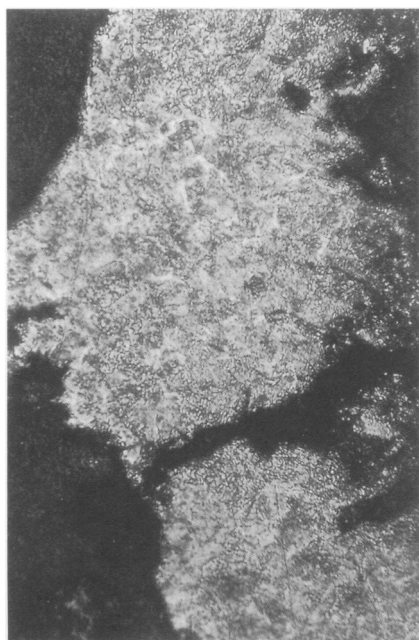


Figure 30. Sample from upper plate of right cheekpiece of burgonet in Figure 24 ($\times 180$). Mostly pearlite (partly spheroidized)

Bowl: Two samples were taken. One (Figure 28) has a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little slag. This is an iron. The other (Figure 29) has a microstructure consisting mostly of divorced pearlite, with some ferrite. The carbon content is about 0.6%. This is another medium-carbon steel.

Upper plate of the right cheekpiece: The sample (Figure 30) shows a microstructure consisting almost entirely of pearlite. Some of this has separated out into cementite, which has formed isolated globules as well as numerous rows of cementite. This suggests that this steel has undergone a good deal of reheating. (This is also a medium-carbon steel.)



Figure 31. Medusa shield. Milan, ca. 1550–55. Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Vienna, A.693a (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

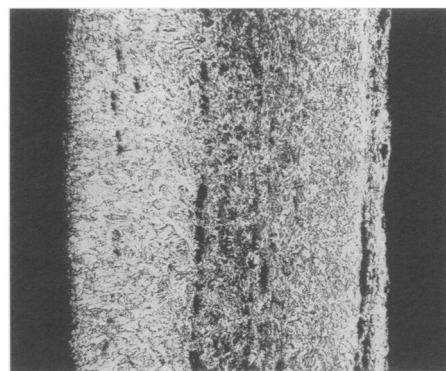


Figure 32. Sample from shield in Figure 31 ($\times 100$). Cross-section. Pearlite and ferrite, with some slag inclusions

Cat. no. 42. Medusa shield. Ca. 1550–55. Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer des Kunsthistorischen Museums, Vienna A.693a (Figure 31).

The cross-section (Figure 32) shows a microstructure divided into three bands. The central band consists of pearlite and ferrite, corresponding to a carbon content of about 0.5%. The two outer bands consist largely of ferrite with a very little pearlite in one. The ferrite shows traces of distortion. There is a row of numerous slag inclusions within the ferritic band, near to one surface, but this does not seem to be associated with any change in carbon content. This may be a relic of an earlier folding operation during the forging of the plate. Overall, this is a medium-carbon steel. Microhardness = 259 VPH.

IV. Armors signed by, or attributed to, Giovan Paolo Negroli of Milan

Cat. no. 43. Breastplate. Signed; ca. 1540–45. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.1855 (Figure 33). Three specimens were examined:

Breastplate: The sample (Figure 34) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little slag. This is an iron. Microhardness = 106 VPH.

Right gusset: The sample (Figure 35) shows a microstructure consisting of small grains of ferrite and pearlite, corresponding to a carbon content of about 0.2%. There is some distortion of the ferrite



Figure 33. Breastplate. Signed by Giovan Paolo Negroli of Milan, ca. 1540–45. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.1855

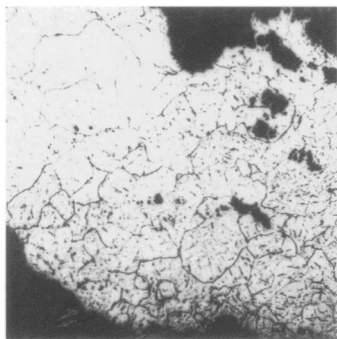


Figure 34 ($\times 110$). Sample from breastplate in Figure 33. Ferrite and slag

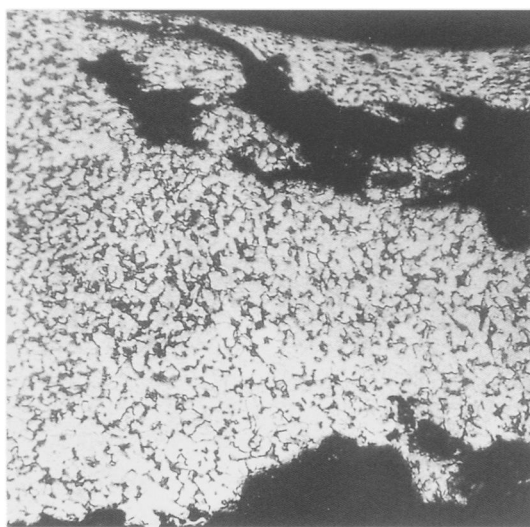


Figure 35. Sample from right gusset of breastplate in Figure 33 ($\times 200$). Ferrite and some pearlite

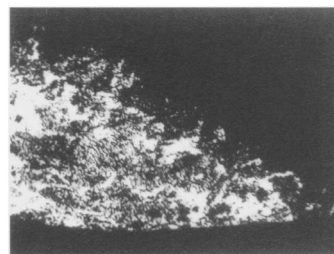


Figure 36. Sample from left gusset of breastplate in Figure 33 ($\times 160$). Pearlite with a little ferrite

grains at the site of sampling. This is a low-carbon steel. Microhardness = 212 VPH.

Left gusset: The sample (Figure 36) shows a microstructure consisting of a mixture of ferrite and pearlite, corresponding to a carbon content of about 0.5%. This is a medium-carbon steel.

Cat. no. 46. Close helmet. Ca. 1540–45. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Gift of George D. Pratt, 1926, 26.53 (Figure 37). Four specimens were examined:

Lower visor: The sample (Figure 38) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of pearlite, with some grains of ferrite, corresponding to a medium-

carbon steel of about 0.6% carbon. The ferrite grains have been distorted in places, perhaps by sampling.

Bowl: The very small sample (Figure 39) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little pearlite, corresponding to a low-carbon steel with a carbon content of about 0.3%, and only a few slag inclusions. Some of the ferrite is distorted in places.



Figure 37. Close helmet. Attributed to Giovan Paolo Negrolì of Milan, ca. 1540–45. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Gift of George D. Pratt, 1926, 26.53

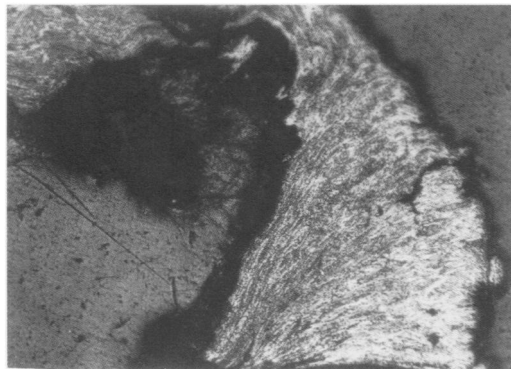


Figure 38. Sample from lower visor of close helmet in Figure 37 ($\times 120$). Distorted areas of pearlite, and ferrite

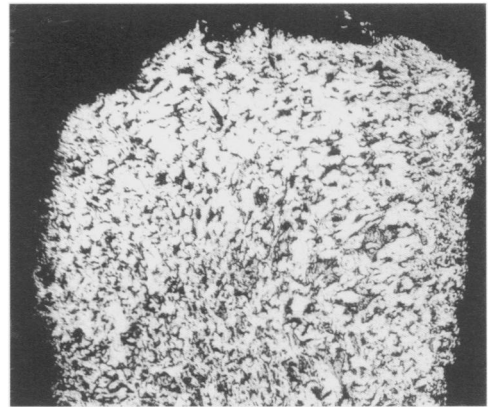


Figure 39. Sample from bowl of close helmet in Figure 37 ($\times 140$). Ferrite and pearlite

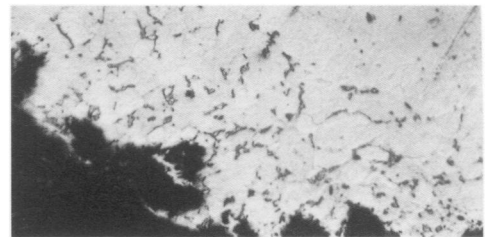


Figure 40. Sample from bevor of close helmet in Figure 37 ($\times 140$). Ferrite slag inclusions and a little spheroidized pearlite

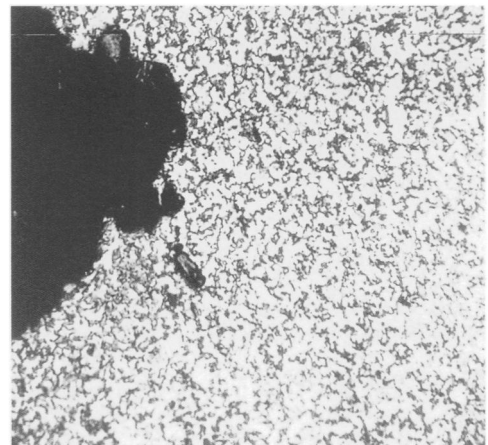


Figure 41. Sample from upper visor of close helmet in Figure 37 ($\times 200$). Partly spheroidized pearlite and ferrite

Bevor: The sample (Figure 40) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little slag, and pearlite corresponding to a carbon content of less than 0.1%. This is another low-carbon steel. Microhardness = 218 VPH.

Upper visor: The sample (Figure 41) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little spheroidized pearlite, in small areas, corresponding to a carbon content of about 0.2%, and not very much slag. This is also a low-carbon steel. Microhardness = 215 VPH.

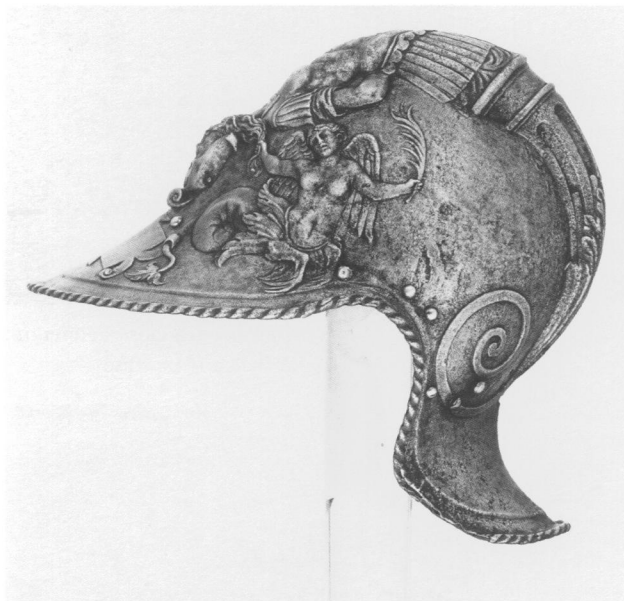


Figure 42. Burgonet. Italian, probably Milan, after 1545. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Alan Rutherford Styvesant, 1949, 49.163.3

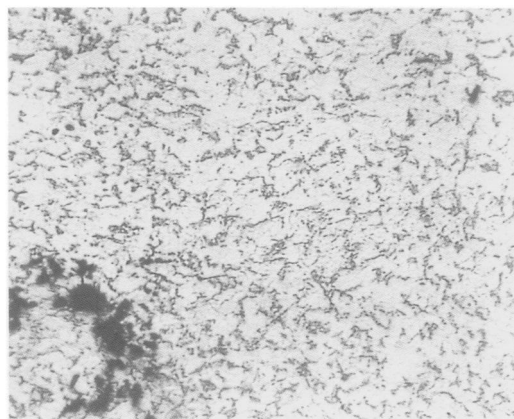


Figure 43. Sample from burgonet in Figure 42 ($\times 200$). Ferrite and partly spheroidized pearlite. Some slag inclusions are also visible

V. Armors made by contemporaries of the Negrolì, probably in Milan

Cat. no. 37. Burgonet. After 1545. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Alan Rutherford Styvesant, 1949, 49.163.3 (Figure 42).

The sample (Figure 43) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little spheroidized pearlite, corresponding to a low-carbon steel of about 0.2% carbon.

Cat. no. 53. Helmet belonging to the Roman-style armor of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol. Ca. 1547–50. Hofjagd- und Rüstammer des Kunsthistorischen Museums, Vienna, A.783 (Figure 44).

The cross-section (Figure 45) shows a microstructure of coarse pearlite mixed with some ferrite, and a band predominantly of ferrite along one surface. These ferrite grains show some distortion, perhaps due a final cold working. Overall this is a medium-carbon steel of 0.6%–0.7% carbon content. Microhardness = 299 VPH.

Cat. no. 56. Lion-head pauldron for the left shoulder. Ca. 1540–50. Museo Stibbert, Florence, 11586 (Figure 46).

The microstructure (Figure 47) consists of pearlite and a very little ferrite, corresponding to a medium-carbon steel of about 0.7% carbon content.

VI. Armor attributed to Caremolo Modrone of Mantua

Cat. no. 50. Armor made for Carlo Gonzaga, count of Gazzuolo and San Martino. Ca. 1540. Hofjagd- und Rüstammer des Kunsthistorischen Museums, Vienna, A.632 (Figure 48).

The cross-section (Figure 49) shows a microstructure of two bands consisting mostly of pearlite, sandwiching a band predominantly of ferrite, with a number of slag inclusions. A corrosion crack has opened up along the junction between a pearlitic and a ferritic band. The inference must be that pieces of different material were forged together into a plate, and the forge welding was imperfect. There is some distortion of the pearlite along one surface. But overall, this is a medium-carbon steel. Microhardness = 237 VPH.



Figure 44. Roman-style armor of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1547–50. Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, A.783 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

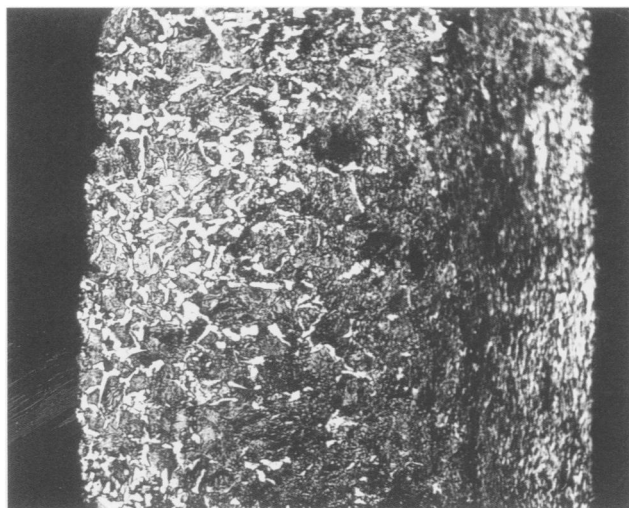


Figure 45. Sample from helmet in Figure 44 ($\times 140$). Cross-section. Pearlite and some ferrite



Figure 46. Lion-head pauldron for the left shoulder. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1540–50. Museo Stibbert, Florence, 11586 (photo: José-A. Godoy)

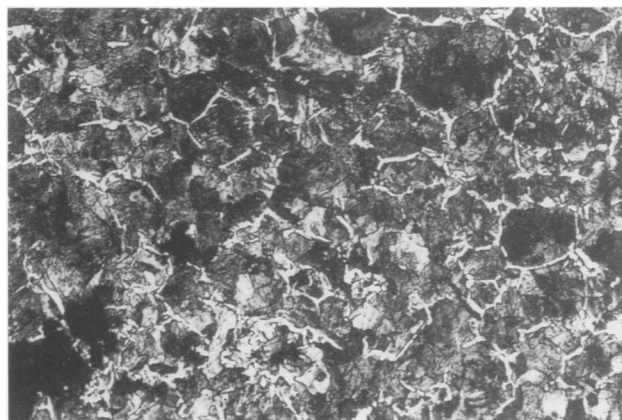


Figure 47. Sample from pauldron in Figure 46 ($\times 160$). Pearlite and ferrite

VII. Armor made by contemporaries of the Negroli, probably in Brescia

Cat. no. 64. Breastplate of a corslet *all'antica*, probably made for Girolamo Martinengo. Ca. 1540. Armeria Reale, Turin, C.11 (Figure 50).

The microstructure (Figure 51) consists of ferrite with a very little pearlite, corresponding to an iron with a carbon content of less than 0.1%.



Figure 48. Armor made for Carlo Gonzaga, count of Gazzuolo and San Martino. Attributed to Caremolo Modrone of Mantua, ca. 1540. Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, A.632 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

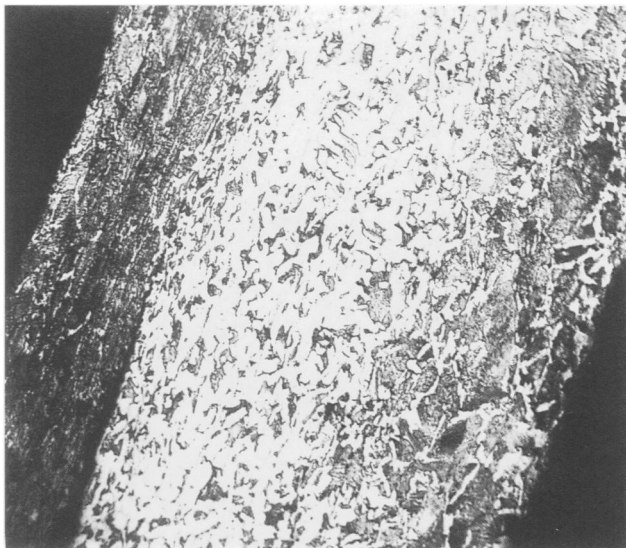


Figure 49. Sample from armor in Figure 48 ($\times 140$). Cross-section. A band of pearlite, some of which has been distorted, next to a band of mixed ferrite and pearlite



Figure 50. Breastplate of a corset *all'antica*, probably made for Girolamo Martinengo. Italian, probably Brescia, ca. 1540. Armeria Reale, Turin, C.11 (photo: Armeria Reale)

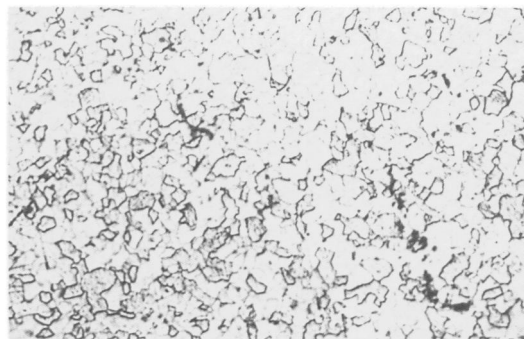


Figure 51. Sample from corset in Figure 50 ($\times 90$). Ferrite and slag

Appendix

METALLOGRAPHY OF SAMPLES FROM ARMORS NOT IN THE EXHIBITION

Samples of a number of embossed armors that were not included in the Negroli exhibition were taken for comparison.¹⁶ Many of them are also made of steel. Even if their makers had no connection with the Negroli (except perhaps as rivals),¹⁷ their aims were apparently similar, and similar materials were often employed.

MMA 14.25.597. Burgonet in the form of a dolphin. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1535–45. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (Figure 52).¹⁸

The sample (Figure 53) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little pearlite, corresponding to a very low carbon steel with a carbon content of less than 0.1%. In effect, this is an iron.

MMA 14.25.602. Open burgonet with embossed decoration of tendrils. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1530. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (Figure 54).¹⁹

The sample (Figure 55) shows a microstructure of small grains of ferrite and pearlite, corresponding to an annealed medium-carbon steel of about 0.4% carbon. There is a line of slag inclusions down the center of the sample.

Wallace A.106. Burgonet. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1540. Wallace Collection, London (Figure 56).²⁰ Two samples were examined:

The sample from the edge of a hole in the nape of the neck (Figure 57) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little pearlite, corresponding to a low-carbon steel of perhaps 0.2% carbon.

The sample from the left side of the brow plate (Figure 58), adjacent to a hole, shows a microstructure consisting of a mixture of grains of ferrite with varying amounts of coarse pearlite, corresponding to a steel of perhaps 0.4% carbon in the central part of the plate and 0.2% carbon near the surfaces. There is a row of slag inclusions along the central line, which leads to a corrosion crack. This is presumably the result of a billet having been imperfectly forged when the original plate was made, and having opened up during subsequent working.



Figure 52. Burgonet in the form of a dolphin. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1535–45. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.597



Figure 53. Sample from burgonet in Figure 52 ($\times 95$). Ferrite, slag inclusions, and a little, partly spheroidized pearlite



Figure 54. Open burgonet. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1550. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.602

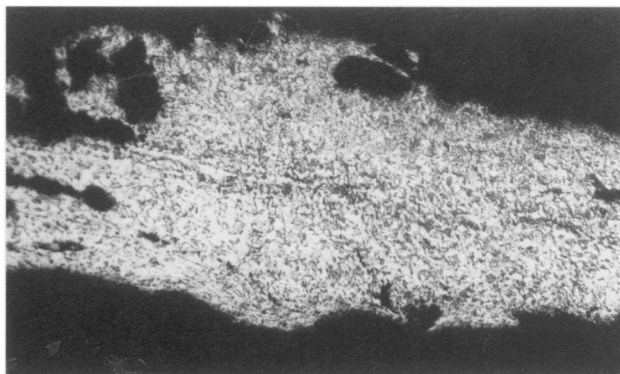


Figure 55. Sample from open burgonet in Figure 54 ($\times 140$). Partly spheroidized pearlite and ferrite

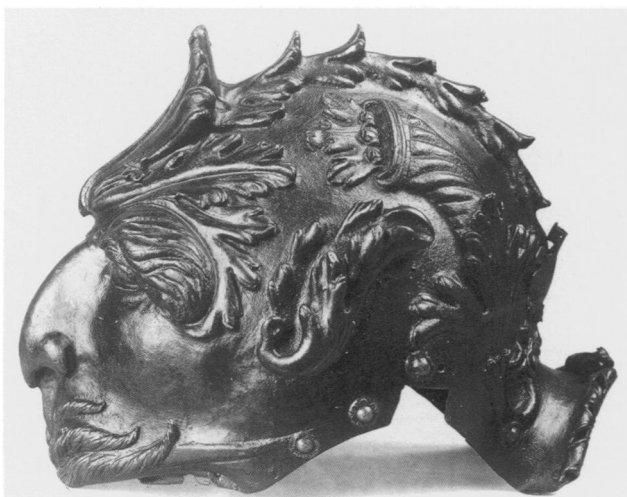


Figure 56. Burgonet. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1540. Wallace Collection, London, A.106 (photo: reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection)

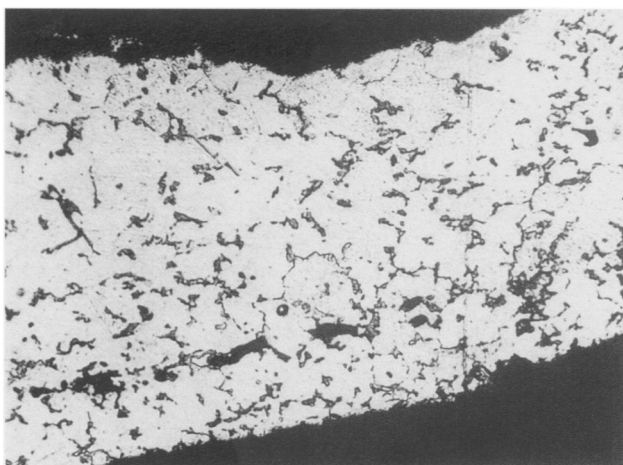
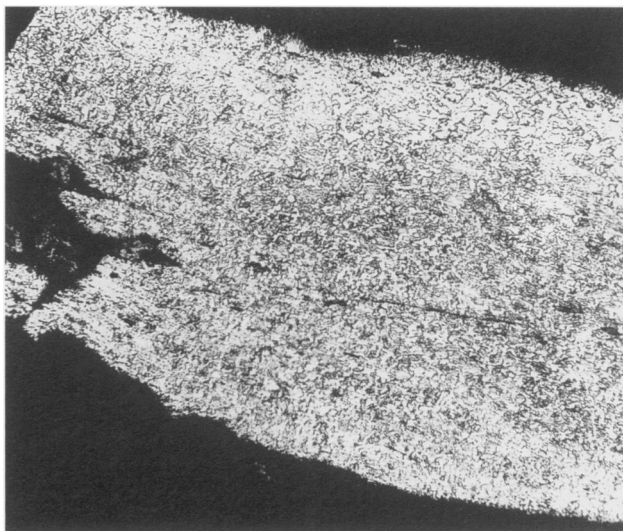


Figure 57. Sample from nape of burgonet in Figure 56 ($\times 200$). Ferrite and pearlite

Figure 58. Sample from left side of brow plate of burgonet in Figure 56 ($\times 140$). Cross-section. Pearlite and ferrite



Wallace A.108. Embossed burgonet. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1540. Wallace Collection, London (Figure 59).²¹

The sample (Figure 60) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little grain-boundary cementite (from completely divorced pearlite). This is a low-carbon steel (0.1% carbon or less) that has undergone a good deal of hot-working.

Wallace A.205. Visor. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1540. Wallace Collection, London (Figure 61).²²

The sample (Figure 62) shows the lower right rim in section. Its microstructure consists mainly of pearlite (rather spheroidized) with a little ferrite and a few slag inclusions. This is a medium-carbon steel that has undergone a good deal of hot-working. Microhardness = 237 VPH.



Figure 61. Visor. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1540. Wallace Collection, London, A.205 (photo: reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection)



Figure 59. Burgonet. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1540. Wallace Collection, London, A.108 (photo: reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection)

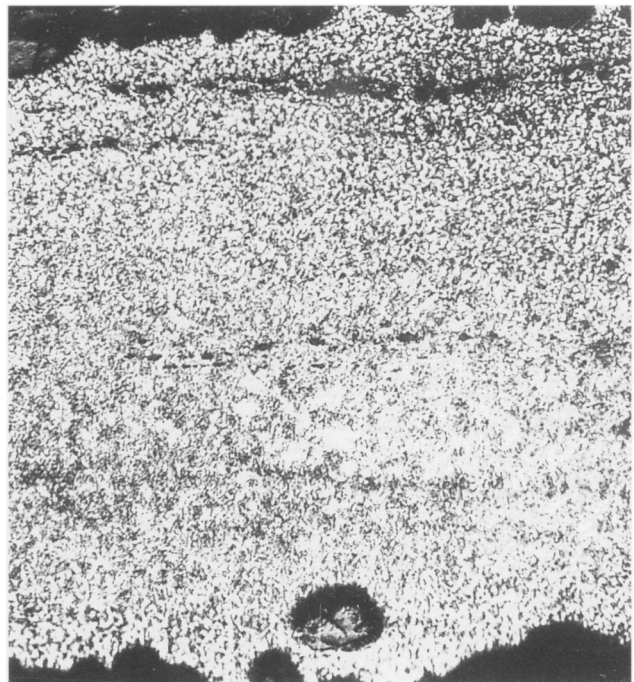


Figure 62. Sample from visor in Figure 61 ($\times 160$). Cross-section. Partly spheroidized pearlite and ferrite

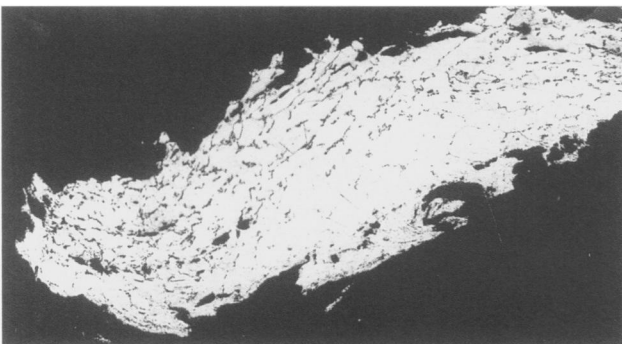


Figure 60. Sample from burgonet in Figure 59 ($\times 100$). Ferrite and completely spheroidized pearlite



Figure 63. Pauldron. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1530–50. Wallace Collection, London, A.241 (photo: José-A. Godoy; reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection)

Wallace A.241. Pauldron in the form of a lion mask. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1530–50. Wallace Collection, London (Figure 63).²³

The sample (Figure 64) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of grains of ferrite with a little divorced pearlite, corresponding to a low-carbon



Figure 65. Chanfron. Italian, Milan or Mantua, ca. 1540. Wallace Collection, London, A.353 (photo: reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection)

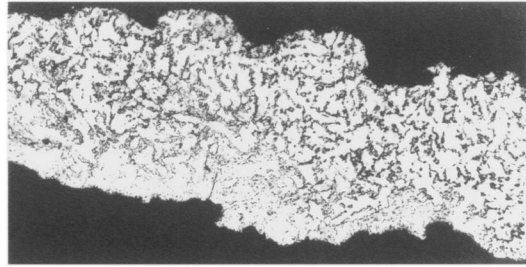


Figure 64. Sample from pauldron in Figure 63 ($\times 100$). Ferrite and spheroidized pearlite

steel (about 0.2% carbon) which has undergone hot-working.

Wallace A.353. Chanfron with embossed decoration. Italian, Milan or Mantua, ca. 1540. Wallace Collection, London (Figure 65).²⁴

This was examined near the edge, in section. The sample (Figure 66) shows a microstructure consisting mostly of pearlite with a little ferrite, separated by a line of slag inclusions from a border zone, which is less than a quarter of the thickness of the section and consists of ferrite with a little pearlite. So the carbon content is about 0.5%–0.6%, except for this band of about 0.2%. Overall, this is a medium-carbon steel. The pearlite is largely divorced, showing that this steel has undergone a good deal of hot-working.

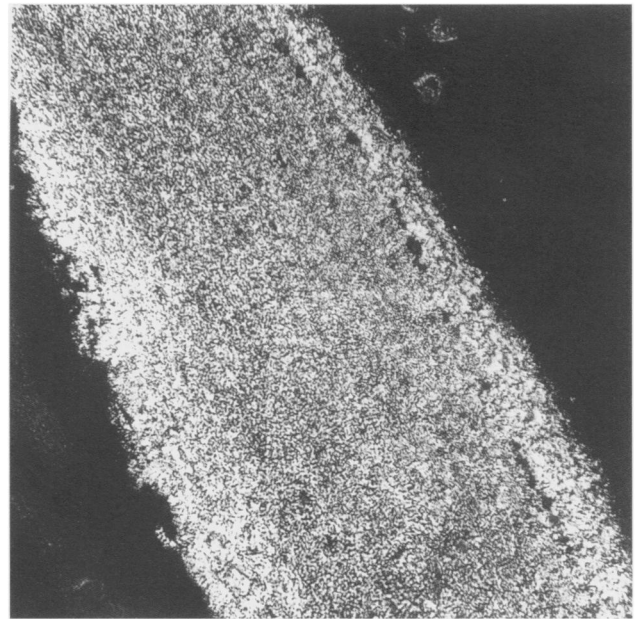


Figure 66. Sample from chanfron in Figure 65 ($\times 140$). Cross-section. Pearlite and ferrite. Note the line of slag inclusions



Figure 67. Burgonet. Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1540–50. Armeria Reale, Turin, C.48 (photo: Armeria Reale)

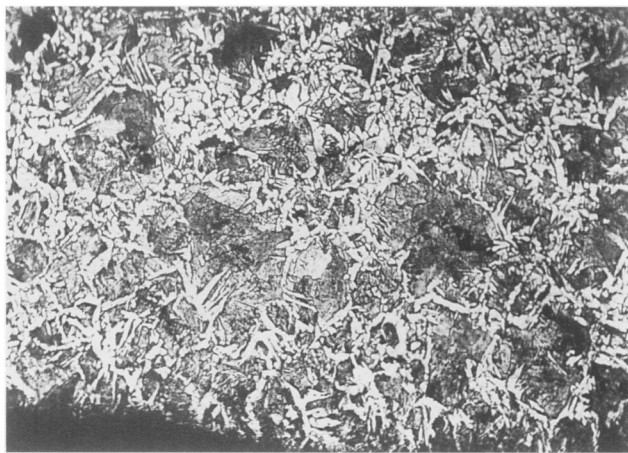


Figure 68. Sample from burgonet in Figure 67 ($\times 160$). Pearlite and ferrite

Turin C.48. Burgonet (part of a composite armor *all'antica*). Italian, probably Milan, ca. 1540–50. Armeria Reale (Figure 67).²⁵

The microstructure (Figure 68) consists of ferrite and slightly spheroidized pearlite, corresponding to an annealed medium-carbon steel of perhaps 0.5% carbon. Microhardness = 213 VPH.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank those curators of armor, and their technical staffs, who have made this study possible. Stuart W. Pyhrr, of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, has been an encouraging influence for many years; Dr. Christian Beaufort, of the Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer in Vienna, has been exceedingly helpful to the author, as have the curators Robin Crighton of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Dottore Carlo de Vita of the Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome; David Edge of the Wallace Collection, London; Dottore Claudio Bertolotto, Turin; Dottore Mario Scalini, Florence; and Ing. Mrazek, Prague. Conservators such as Ian Ashdown, Onnens; Jaroslav Pertl, Prague; and Gianrodolfo Rotasso, Rome, have all helped the author to realize his analytical aims. Conversations with practicing metalworkers such as Chris Dobson, formerly of the Royal Armouries, Leeds, and Chris Clarke of the Goldsmiths' Company of London have helped to give the author a better idea of the problems facing sixteenth-century craftsmen. He would also like to record his thanks to Janet Lang of the Department of Scientific Research in the British Museum, London.

The author's current research at the University of Reading into the mechanical properties of armor has been generously supported by the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company of London.

NOTES

17. Stuart Pyhrr informs me that all of the examples discussed below were examined by him, José-A. Godoy, and (with the exception of burgonet C.48 in Turin) Lionello Boccia, and were rejected as works by Filippo or Giovan Paolo Negroli.
18. B. Dean, *Handbook of Arms and Armor: European and Oriental, including the William H. Riggs Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1915), pl. xxxv; B. Dean, *Handbook . . .*, 4th ed., rev., with a chapter on the Bashford Dean Memorial Gallery by S. V. Grancsay (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930), fig. 85; M. Scalini, *Armature all'eroica dei Negroli* (Florence: Bargello, 1987), pp. 29–30, fig. 20; L. G. Boccia, "Le armature dei Negroli," *Poiein/Quaderni di culture artistica del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, 1993, no. 6, pp. 16, 22. Scalini (*Armature all'eroica dei Negroli*) attributes this burgonet to Giovan Paolo Negroli, suggesting that it belonged to a garniture of the future

Henry II of France; the attribution and French association were rejected by Boccia ("Le armature dei Negrolì"). I thank Stuart Pyhrr for these bibliographic references and for those in the following notes.

19. Formerly in the collections of Samuel Rush Meyrick (for which see J. Skelton, *Engraved Illustrations of Antient Armour from the Collection at Goodrich Court, Herefordshire* . . . [Oxford, 1830], vol. 1, pl. LXX, figs. 2, 3), Alessandro Castellani (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 7–8, 1879, lot 74), and Charles Stein (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, March 10–14, 1886, lot 135), and published in Dean, *Handbook* (1915), pl. xxxv, and idem, *Handbook* (1930), fig. 85.
20. J. G. Mann, *European Arms and Armour*, Wallace Collection Catalogues (London, 1962), vol. 1, pp. 111–12; A. V. B. Norman, *European Arms and Armour Supplement*, Wallace Collection Catalogues (London, 1986), p. 49; Scalini, *Armature all'eroica dei Negrolì*, pp. 27–28, fig. 17. The authorship of this helmet has sometimes been ascribed to Filippo Negrolì (notably by C. R. Beard, "A New-Found Casque by the Negrolì," *Connoisseur* 101 [June 1938], pp. 295, 297), but this attribution was rejected by Norman (*Supplement*) and by Scalini (*Armature all'eroica dei Negrolì*), the latter suggesting that the workmanship was more in the manner of Giovan Paolo Negrolì.
21. Mann, *European Arms and Armour*, vol. 1, pp. 112–13; Norman, *Supplement*, pp. 49–51. The burgonet has been attributed both to Filippo Negrolì and to the Mantuan armorer Caremolo Modrone (for a discussion of the attribution, see Norman, *Supplement*).
22. Mann, *European Arms and Armour*, vol. 1, p. 157; Norman, *Supplement*, p. 75; Scalini, *Armature all'eroica dei Negrolì*, p. 11; Boccia, "Le armature dei Negrolì," p. 16; and Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armour*, p. 143. The scaly decoration of the visor has caused some scholars to consider it part of the so-called bat-wing armor of Guidobaldo II della Rovere attributed to Filippo Negrolì (*Heroic Armour*, cat. no. 23); however, the lesser quality of the visor's workmanship and subtle differences from the della Rovere harness have led others (Norman, Boccia, and, most recently, Pyhrr and Godoy) to reject the association of the pieces and the attribution to Filippo.
23. Mann, *European Arms and Armour*, vol. 1, p. 173; Norman, *Supplement*, pp. 81–82.
24. Mann, *European Arms and Armour*, vol. 1, p. 214; Norman, *Supplement*, p. 102. Stuart Pyhrr informs me that, despite the frequent attribution to Modrone, this chanfron compares more closely to the chanfron belonging to the Roman Armor of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol, which is considered to be a Milanese work of ca. 1540 (*Heroic Armour*, cat. no. 53).
25. F. Mazzini et al., *L'Armeria Reale di Torino* (Busto Arsizio: Bramante, 1982), p. 325, figs 7, 7b, where the helmet is tentatively attributed to Filippo and Francesco Negrolì.

For Minister or for King: Two Seventeenth-Century Gobelins Tapestries after Charles Le Brun

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Editor's note: Edith Standen completed the manuscript draft of this article shortly before her death in July 1998.

TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY Gobelins tapestries, given to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1953 and 1954 (Figures 1, 2), were not included in *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, the catalogue published in 1985, because, while on loan to another institution, they had been stolen. Recovered in London in 1994, they have now, happily, returned to the Museum.

Both tapestries are from well-known series designed by Charles Le Brun (1619–1690). They are uprights, *portières*, made to be hung in doorways; many tapestries of this type were used in seventeenth-century France. Philibert de l'Orme in his book *Architecture*, published in 1648, wrote that interior doors should be perfectly plain, “unies et sans ouvrage”; decorating them would be a waste of money, as any ornamentation would not be visible, “à cause de la tapisserie, qui est toujours devant une porte.”¹ Half a century later, on May 22, 1693, Daniel Cronström wrote from Paris to the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin, then rebuilding the royal palace in Stockholm, and described how *portières* were used at Versailles and the Trianon: “Dans les chambres que ne sont pas incrustées, il n’y a point de bas-reliefs sur les portes et sur les cheminées. Les tapisseries, qui sont d’estoffes, règnent par tous, mesmes sur les cheminées et portes, nonobstant les tableaux dessus les cheminées et portes.”² Though “tapisseries” here apparently means hangings of various materials, it is clear that there must have been many *portières* in these royal buildings and that they must have frequently needed to be replaced.

On January 7, 1695, Cronström wrote again about *portières*: “. . . il faut remarquer que les portières, selon la dernière mode, sont si hautes

qu’elles vont depuis la corniche du plancher jusqu’à terre et couvrent tout le dessus des portes quand elles sont tirées.” He had informed Tessin, on May 7, 1694, that it was a wonderful time to buy *portières* because funding for the French royal manufactories had been cut off and “Tous les tapissiers des Gobelins . . . demandent quasy l’aumône”;³ tapestries could now be obtained for half the usual cost. The Gobelins had, in fact, been shut down to save money for the king’s wars.⁴ Cronström particularly recommended armorial *portières*: “L’on a commencé beaucoup de ces portières pour le Roy aux Gobelins, qui sont demeurées sur les metiers à moitié faites, tous les travaux estant sursis, on les feroit aisement achever à bon compte; les dessins en sont charmants. Il seroit aisé d’y mettre les armes et les attributs du Roy, Nostre Maistre, en les achevant au lieu de celles du Roy de France.”⁵

The Gobelins records do indeed show many *portières* begun in 1693 and 1694, but not finished until 1699.⁶ As Cronström reported, they all include the arms of Louis XIV, though “charming” is probably not the adjective that would be chosen today for the designs.

The two *portières* in the Metropolitan Museum are of the type described by Cronström, with the arms and attributes of Louis XIV. Both have a large central cartouche with the insignia (France and Navarre) in ovals, encircled by the collars of the orders of Saint Michel and the Saint-Esprit. A small L and two sprays of laurel fill the space below the ovals. Powerful scrolling forms surround the arms and orders, and at the top of each tapestry is a closed royal crown of fleurs-de-lis. Here the resemblance of the two hangings ends and, as will be shown, each seems to carry a different message; confused in one case, but very clear in the other.

One tapestry (Figure 1) has been given the name of the *Renommées*; the figure on the right is indeed

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Figure 1. *Les Renommées*, French (Gobelins), 1693–1700, after Charles Le Brun (1619–1690). Wool and silk tapestry, 9 ft. 4 in. x 7 ft. 1 in. (284.7 x 216 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Lionel F. Straus, in memory of her husband, Lionel F. Straus, 1953, 53.57. See also Colorplate 2



Figure 2. *Le Char de Triomphe*, French (Gobelins), 1662–1724, after Charles Le Brun. Wool and silk tapestry, 11 ft. 2 in. x 8 ft. 10 in. (340.6 x 269.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Thomas Emery, 1954, 54.159. See also Colorplate 3



Figure 3. Charles Le Brun. Drawing for a *portière* with the arms of Nicolas Fouquet, 1659–61. Black and red chalk and ink, washed with gray, 17 x 8½ in. (43.2 x 21 cm). Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage, 18959 (photo: courtesy Charissa Bremer-David)

Fame, as she has wings and blows a trumpet.⁷ She holds it with her right hand, which also supports a long festoon of brightly colored leaves and flowers, including roses, tulips, and poppies. Fame rises from an acanthus-leaf cornucopia and her left arm passes behind her back so she can grasp the festoon as it falls down the side of the central cartouche. Her head is wreathed with laurel. The woman on the left is in classical armor with a small mask between her breasts; she wears a wreath on her head and with both hands holds a festoon like that of her companion. Two lively, winged, nearly nude children raise the crown between the women. On either side of the coats of arms and the collars of the orders are large bows. At the base of the design, behind the lower part of the central scrolling forms and the festoons, are two trophies of antique arms and spoils—spears, sword hilts, a striped flag, a ewer, a bowl (or drum), a string of pearls, and some drapery.

This central section is framed by an egg-and-dart molding; the corner spandrels have white grounds with sprays of multicolored classical foliage. The rectangular border that completes the design has branches of oak, laurel, and other leaves strung on a twisted stem; there are rosettes at the corners and in the center of each side. The guards are dark blue.

Five sets of the series to which this tapestry belongs are recorded as woven, four of twelve pieces and one of twenty-four; the first two contained gold thread. The sets whose descriptions in the manufactory records correspond exactly to the tapestry in the Metropolitan Museum are the third, woven between 1693 and 1699, the fourth (1699–1700), and the fifth (1723–27); all are recorded in very similar terms. The fourth set appears as: “Douze portières de tapisserie laine et soye, en basse lisse, fabrique de Paris, manufacture des Gobelins, dessein de Le Brun, représentant les armes de France et de Navarre, soustenues par une Renommée et une Flore, dans une bordure couleur de bronze, avec des oves et un feston des feuilles de laurier qui règne autour; contenant ensemble 24 aunes de cours, sur 2 a. ½ de hault.” In the 1789 inventory of the Garde-Meuble “portières des *Renommées*” are listed as at Versailles, Marly, and Choisy-le-Roi; some are described as “bonnes” or “belles,” but two were “mauvaises.”⁸

But can the woman on the left be Flora, who has no reason to wear armor? She can hardly be another representation of Fame, having no trumpet, and has more plausibly been identified as Victory.⁹ This lack of precision is totally unlike Le Brun; it clearly confused the compilers of the Gobelins records, who named the women in the first two sets “Flores” and those of all the others, as has been quoted, “une Renommée et une Flore.”

The explanation for this anomaly is to be found in the complicated history of the design. There is a drawing signed by Le Brun in the State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (Figure 3);¹⁰ the framework of the composition and some major elements, such as the upper parts of the cornucopias and of the festoons, are the same as those of the tapestry. Many details are also identical, including the rosettes at the corners of the outer borders and the bows on either side of the coats of arms. The piles of trophies and weapons, including the ewer, are partially visible behind the animals at the base of the design. The two children holding the crown (in the drawing, an open coronet) are the same figures, though reversed, as in the tapestry, but slung across their

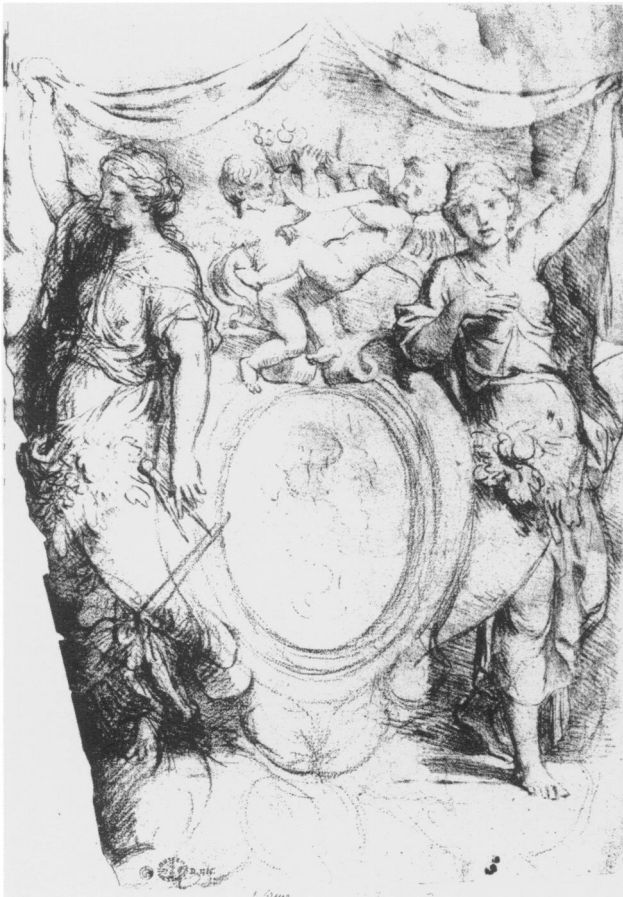


Figure 4. Charles Le Brun. Drawing for a *portière* with the arms of Nicolas Fouquet overlaid with those of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, 1655–62. Black chalk, 14 x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (35.6 x 17.5 cm). Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, D. 1786 (photo: Ch. Choffet, Besançon)

arms is a band with the inscription *NON ASCENDE*.

These words and the climbing squirrel that replaces the royal arms show that the drawing was made for Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680), Louis XIV's powerful minister, whose bold motto was *Quo non ascendet?* and whose arms were a rampant squirrel.¹¹ The women who raise the festoons are very different from their counterparts in the tapestry and, as one would expect in a Le Brun composition, are clearly identifiable by their emblems. The one who corresponds to Fame, on the left in the drawing, has no wings, holds a key, and has a dog at her feet; she is Fidelity or Loyalty.¹² The woman on the right side of the *Hermitage* drawing wears the lion skin of Hercules but no armor; she has the same small mask between her breasts that is worn by the so-called Flora in the tapestry. The lion below her shows she must represent Power, Valor, Strength,



Figure 5. Wool and silk tapestry with the arms of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, French (Gobelins), ca. 1662–83, after Charles Le Brun. 9 x 7 ft. (274.5 x 213.5 cm). Les Affaires Culturelles: Île de France, on loan to the Château of Vaux-le-Vicomte (photo: courtesy Charissa Bremer-David)

or Courage, the qualities of the king of beasts.

Any of these virtues could have been chosen by Fouquet for a tapestry. Fidelity is appropriate for a king's minister. In his château of Vaux-le-Vicomte, he had a *Salon d'Hercule* with a ceiling painting by Le Brun showing Hercules in a chariot with the squirrel and the motto.¹³ The Muses in the coving of the *Salon des Muses* celebrate the triumph of Fidelity, and in a corner motif, an eagle with a squirrel on its back holds a scroll with the motto in its beak.¹⁴ Even more outspoken would have been the ceiling of the *Grand Salon Ovale*, which was to depict the palace of the sun with Apollo representing Fouquet.¹⁵ This project reached only the *modello* stage, but Le Brun, never a man to let an opportunity escape him, had his design engraved and dedicated the print to the king; the only change necessary was to replace the squirrel with lilies.¹⁶

Fouquet set up a tapestry manufactory in Maincy solely to supply his château; it lasted from 1658 to 1662.¹⁷ The design of the Hermitage drawing was certainly intended to be woven there as a *portière* for the mansion.

What happened next is vividly illustrated in a Le Brun sketch in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon (Figure 4). The figure in the central oval has been described as Fouquet's squirrel overlaid with the armorial snake of his deadly enemy—and ultimately successful rival—Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683).¹⁸ The woman on the left holds a pair of compasses, a symbol of Economy,¹⁹ and the unicorn at her feet proclaims the innocence and probity of the bearer of the arms. When Colbert adapted the design for his own use (Figure 5), he replaced the unicorn with the dog of Fidelity and gave the woman a sword instead of compasses.²⁰ The figure on the other side has wings but no symbols, and at her feet is the cock of Vigilance.²¹ Colbert thus proclaimed his differences from his overambitious predecessor, condemned for speculation and pursuit of power. It was not as easy to adapt the design for the use of the king, so all the animals of the two drawings were left out and only one of the women was changed into a recognizable and appropriate personification, Fame.

A similar contrast between a tapestry design made for Fouquet and an altered form that rendered it suitable for the king is shown in two drawings by Le Brun now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Figures 6, 7).²² They are for the side borders of a *Histoire de Constantin*, of which five pieces were woven at Maincy. They included gold thread, making them extremely expensive.²³ The earlier drawing (Figure 6) shows two of the winged children who hold the crown in the tapestry in Figure 1, the second from the top corresponding to the boy on the right in the tapestry; in the drawing he raises a medallion with crossed F's, very like Louis's usual crossed L's. The child partially visible in the center of the drawing is like his counterpart on the left in the tapestry, but here he supports a trophy of arms. The boy at the base of the drawing holds a key and carries a medallion with Fouquet's squirrel, here correctly facing left. A dog's head below him resembles that of the dog in the Hermitage drawing (Figure 3).

A minimum of alterations was needed to make the second drawing (Figure 7) suitable for use at the Gobelins. A rayed sun is substituted for the crossed F's, flanked by a pair of scales and sur-



Figure 6. Charles Le Brun. Drawing for a tapestry border with the arms of Nicolas Fouquet. Red chalk, ink, and watercolor, 17 x 5½ in. (43.3 x 12.9 cm). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, NM CC I:34 (photo: Nationalmuseum)



Figure 7. After Charles Le Brun. Drawing (tracing) with emblems of Louis XIV. Ink and watercolor, 20¾ x 4¾ in. (52.3 x 11.6 cm). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, NM CC I:33 (photo: Nationalmuseum)

mounted by a royal crown and the king's motto, *Nec Pluribus Impar*, as in the *portière*, the *Char de Triomphe* (see Figure 2). Fleurs-de-lis replace the

squirrel, and the keys and dog's head of Fidelity have both gone.²⁴

Two pieces of this set were hung at Vaux-le-Vicomte and were valued at two thousand *livres* when Fouquet was disgraced and his property appropriated by the king.²⁵ The minister, in fact, is best remembered today for his spectacular fall and condign punishment. His motto expressed his belief that he was destined to become another Richelieu or Mazarin; Louis XIV thought otherwise. Mazarin died on March 9, 1661; the following day the king announced that he intended to rule alone, without a first minister. He paid a final visit to Vaux-le-Vicomte in August, where he would have seen the Hercules ceiling, the appropriation of a hero often identified with himself.²⁶ He would presumably have heard of the proposed decoration of the Grand Salon, showing the palace of his own particular deity, Apollo, and everywhere he would have seen the audacious motto. As Voltaire dryly remarked in his life of Louis XIV, "L'ambition de cette devise ne servit pas à apaiser le monarque."²⁷ Fouquet was arrested in September and spent the remainder of his life in prison.

Fouquet's possessions were confiscated, including everything at Maincy—looms, cartoons, and tapestries in progress. His men, great artists and humble weavers, went to work for the king. One of Fouquet's *portières* appears in the royal inventory as "fabrique de Mincy [*sic*], dessin de Le Brun, représentant des Vertus et des trophées, et au milieu un escureuil"; it has been identified as a *portière* listed in Fouquet's inventory, taken after his dismissal, among the furnishings "qui ont été mis à part pour le Roy." It was made part of a set of Gobelins *portières*, "où sont représentées les armes de France et de Navarre, soutenues par des Flores." Eight of the pieces had apparently been begun at Maincy, as new coats of arms and crowns were made for them at the Gobelins. The complete set of twelve pieces was given an inventory number and is considered the first set of the *Renommées* series. It contained gold thread. No pieces of this set have been identified, and it is possible that they did not resemble closely the later weavings.²⁸ The Virtues of the Maincy design were evidently not recognized or had been deprived of their attributes; in later weavings, one had been given the unmistakable emblems of Fame, but the other was apparently altered only enough to cancel its suitability for a minister rather than a king and to puzzle future describers.

No such problems arise with the second *portière* in

the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 2). Every element of the design, even those that it shares with the *Renommées*, has been made more prominent, more emphatic. The cartouche with the coats of arms is larger, more three-dimensional, and more brightly lit. Green sprays of laurel curve over the collar of Saint Michel and cast shadows on one side of the cartouche. The royal crown is more conspicuously placed higher in the design and is clearly silhouetted against the substantial shell form behind it.

The triumphal chariot that has given its name to the series, the *Char de Triomphe*, is identified mainly by its two great golden wheels that seem to advance inexorably, like those of a colossal juggernaut, crushing a red-eyed snake writhing beneath them. A winged head in the lower center blows the trumpets of Fame, from which fall thin floral festoons. On each wheel is a trophy of arms, with a suit of classical armor in the foreground. Behind these are varied arrays of spears, swords, and other weapons, shields, trumpets, arrow-filled quivers, and striped flags. The cartouche with the coats of arms hangs from blue ribbons held by two winged nude children who sit comfortably on either side of an arch. Each holds a terrestrial globe. The arch is filled with the royal crown, a scroll inscribed NEC PLURIBVS IMPAR, a pair of scales, and the rayed face of the sun. Beneath it are two fruit-filled cornucopias with, under them, a blue drapery sprinkled with yellow fleurs-de-lis, caught up in large bows at each side. This falls behind the trophies of arms and is seen below them, where it terminates in a yellow fringe. The border of the whole design simulates a gilt frame, with small fleurs-de-lis and rosettes alternating in a guilloche pattern, and a larger fleur-de-lis at each corner.

Every important element in this design refers to Louis XIV. He is, of course, the sun. In his *Mémoires historiques*, he tells how he used this symbol in the carrousel of 1662, when he was dressed as Apollo.²⁹ His motto then was Ut Vidi, Vici, referring to the clouds, his enemies, dispersed by the sun. But he says that another, Nec Pluribus Impar, was suggested to him: "par où ils entendaient, ce qui flattait agréablement l'ambition d'un jeune roi, que, suffisant seul à tant de choses, je suffirais sans doute encore à gouverner d'autres empires, comme le soleil à éclairer d'autres mondes, s'ils étaient également exposés à ses rayons."³⁰ He adds: "Je sais qu'on a trouvé quelque obscurité dans ces paroles," but at the time, shortly after his marriage to Marie

Thérèse, the eldest child of Philip IV of Spain, in 1660, the conceit would clearly have suggested that the Sun of France, already illuminating one kingdom, was capable of giving light to another; between them, they would represent the world. The two globes carried by the children in the tapestry echo this idea.

A male heir to the Spanish crown was not born until 1663, so the possibility of a son of Louis XIV and Marie Thérèse inheriting both kingdoms, including the Spanish colonies in the New World, was for a time seriously considered.³¹ The scales in the tapestry, of course, represent Justice, a suitable virtue for a king, but the inscribed scroll twists closely around them, as if indicating the impartiality with which Louis would rule two hemispheres. The king's chariot, laden with the spoils of victory, rolls forward as its wheels crush his enemies. No personifications or supernatural assistants are needed. Even Fame has been reduced to an ornamental figurehead; this king has no need of an allegorical trumpet-blowing woman to proclaim him.

The dates of the first and second sets of the *Char de Triomphe* are not known. They contained gold thread, as did the fourth of 1691–92; no pieces of these sets have been identified.³² The third weaving (1690–91), fifth (1693–99), sixth (1693–99), seventh (1699–1720), and eighth (1720–26) had no gold and are described in very similar terms: “Six portières de tapisserie, laine et soye, en basse lisse, fabrique de Paris, manufacture des Gobelins, dessin de Le Brun, représentant les armes et la devise du Roy dans un cartouche porté sur un Char de triomphe environné de trophées, dans une bordure d'un guillochis qui enferme des fleurs de lis et des roses couleur du bronze; contenant ensemble 14 a. $\frac{1}{4}$ de cours, sur 3 aunes de hault.” The later weavings speak of “la devise de Louis XIV,” as it was not used by Louis XV. The eight sets comprised seventy-one pieces.³³

The *Char de Triomphe* was usually woven in sets of six pieces at the same time as six pieces of a third *portière* design called the *Portière de Mars*.³⁴ The upper part of the design of this series is basically similar to that of the *Char*, with the nude children, royal crown, head of the sun, the motto *Nec Pluribus Impar*, and the coats of arms and orders. At the base is a large globe and two seated figures; one is unmistakably Mars, but the woman on the other side, though called Minerva in all the early

records, does not have the chief attributes of this goddess. She sits on a pile of weapons, but has no helmet, and holds a caduceus and a pomegranate. She rests one arm on a cornucopia.³⁵

As has been mentioned, Fouquet's men (except for La Fontaine), like his goods, were taken over by the king, though the more important of them had worked for him previously.³⁶ Le Brun was already well known at court. At age nineteen, he had made a drawing celebrating the birth of an heir to the throne in 1638 and Louis XIII later made him a “peintre de Sa Majesté.” In 1660, when Le Brun was working at Vaux-le-Vicomte, he painted the *Reines de Perse aux pieds d'Alexandre*, which the king came to see in his studio. He was, in fact, the “premier peintre,” though not officially confirmed as such until after the death of Poussin in 1664; he was ennobled and given a coat of arms of gold fleurs-de-lis and a gold sun, as if to proclaim his allegiance to the king.³⁷

It is thus not surprising that the tapestry of the *Char de Triomphe* shows how completely Le Brun understood what to design, not only for a king but for this particular king. Maurice Fenaille, however, in his authoritative history of the Gobelins manufactory, has stated that the designs for the *Char*, the *Mars*, the *Renommées*, and two other *portières* were all made for Fouquet between 1655 and 1660, with the cartoons prepared by Yvart le père.³⁸

No sources are given for these statements, which are very hard to accept for the *Char*. For the *Renommées*, the case is different. The original design, as indicated by the drawings in Saint Petersburg and Besançon (Figures 3, 4), celebrated an ambitious man, but one who knew he was a servant. The mass of symbols proclaiming suitable virtues, such as fidelity, secrecy, probity, and courage, could be, and were, altered or exchanged for others to serve the master, but not with the wholehearted, single-minded result shown in the *Char de Triomphe*. It might be asked why the *Renommées* continued to be woven when the *Char* was so much more comprehensible and appropriate; perhaps *portières* were so purely functional that they were never examined very closely. Saint-Simon objected violently when he saw on one of the *Histoire du Roi* tapestries that some people were shown wearing hats on an occasion when they had no right to do so, but he is unlikely to have noticed that Flora on a *portière* was wearing armor and carried no flowers.

NOTES

1. *Architecteure de Philibert de l'Orme*, facsimile, ed. Pierre Mardaga (Brussels, 1981), bk. 8, chap. 13, "Des portes du dedans des logis," pp. 248–49.
2. *Les Relations artistiques entre la France et la Suède, 1693–1718: Nicodème Tessin le jeune et Daniel Cronström, Correspondance (extraits)*, ed. R.-A. Weigert and C. Hernmarck (Stockholm, 1964), p. 23.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 51.
4. On April 10, 1694, "M. le Surintendant [Colbert de Villacerf] a congédié, par ordre du Roy, tous les ouvriers absolument" (Maurice Fenaille, *État général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins*, vol. 2 [Paris, 1903], p. 4, n. 1).
5. *Les Relations*, p. 66. The 1789 inventory of Versailles lists a very large number of *portières* (Daniel Meyer, "Les tapisseries des appartements royaux à Versailles et la Révolution," in *De Versailles à Paris: Le destin des collections royales*, ed. Jacques Charles [Paris, 1989], p. 134). Béatrix Saule, *Versailles triomphant: Une journée de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1996), fig. 211, illustrates a doorway in the palace of Versailles today with a tapestry *portière* hung over it.
6. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 4, 11, 12, 18, 19.
7. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Milan, 1992; reprint of 1603 and 1976 editions), p. 126. Fame is said to have "due grand' ali" and "nella destra mano terrà una tromba, così la describe Virgilio."
8. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 1–8. Records of 1704 and 1789 give the name of the series as *Portières des Renommées*. Some examples were sold after the Revolution "à charge de faire disparaître les signes de féodalité," i.e., the coats of arms and crowns (Meyer, "Les tapisseries des appartements royaux," p. 134, 136, n. 66).
9. Jennifer Montagu, "The Tapestries of Maincy and the Origins of the Gobelins," *Apollo* 77 (September 1962), p. 531.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 357, identified as related to the tapestry; *Zeichnungen aus der Ermitage zu Leningrad: Werke des XV. bis XIX. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat., National-Galerie, Berlin (Dresden, 1975), no. 76, with earlier bibliography; Charissa Bremer-David, *French Tapestries and Textiles in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 1997), p. 5, fig. 1.3. The drawing is squared up for enlargement.
11. "D'azur, à un écureuil rampant de gueules" (Joannis Guigard, *Nouvel Armorial du Bibliophile* [Paris, 1890], vol. 2, p. 223. The squirrel should face left, as in Figure 4, and would have been reversed when woven on a horizontal loom. "Fouquet" is a word for a squirrel in Anjou, the ancestral home of the Fouquets (Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Vaux-le-Vicomte* [Paris, 1997], p. 23). The supporters of the arms are lions.
12. Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 128, 129, Fidelity: "la chiava e inditio di secrezza." A statue of Fidelity with a key and a dog is on the facade of Fouquet's château, Vaux-le-Vicomte (Pérouse de Montclos, *Vaux-le-Vicomte*, p. 172). An engraved portrait of Jean-Baptiste Colbert by Robert Nanteuil, 1668, shows a medallion with a bust of Colbert held by women after Le Brun designs representing Piety and Loyalty; the latter holds a key and has a dog at her feet (*Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, exh. cat. [New Haven and London, 1995], no. 116).
13. Jean Cordey, *Vaux-le-Vicomte* (Paris, 1924), p. 65, pl. facing p. 72; Jennifer Montagu, "The Early Ceiling Decorations of Charles Le Brun," *Burlington Magazine* 105 (1963), p. 402. Hercules represents Fouquet in other decorations of the château (Pérouse de Montclos, *Vaux-le-Vicomte*, p. 117).
14. Montagu, "Early Ceiling Decorations," p. 403; *idem*, "Tapestries of Maincy," p. 532.
15. Pérouse de Montclos, *Vaux-le-Vicomte*, pp. 135–38. "His emblem, the squirrel, was a new star which formed the central culmination."
16. Montagu, "Early Ceiling Decorations," pp. 405–6.
17. Cordey, *Vaux-le-Vicomte*, pp. 89–104; *idem*, "La manufacture des tapisseries de Maincy," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1922, pp. 38–52; Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche: II. Die romanischen Länder* (Leipzig, 1928), vol. 2, pp. 110–12; Montagu "Tapestries of Maincy," pp. 530–35; Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 1–40, lists *portières*, *soubassements*, *verdures*, *Histoire de Constantin*, *Histoire de Méléagre*, *Histoire de Moïse*, and *Les Muses* as having been woven at Maincy; though the manufactory had about twelve looms and employed about fifty weavers (Göbel, *Wandteppiche II*, vol. 1, p. 11), its short life suggests that few pieces and probably no entire sets were completed.
18. Montagu, "Tapestries of Maincy," p. 530. Colbert's arms were "D'or à la couleuvre d'azur ondoyante en pal." The *couleuvre* (in Latin *colubarta*) is a play on the name Colbert (*Colbert, 1619–1683*, exh. cat., Hôtel de la Monnaie [Paris, 1983], p. 76, no. 81).
19. Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 336, 337. Parsimonia: "le compasso significa l'ordine, a misura in tutte le cose."
20. In some examples of this tapestry she holds a key instead of a sword (Bremer-David, *French Tapestries*, fig. 1.5). Colbert's snake should face left, as shown in the decorated binding of his books (*Colbert, 1619–1683*, p. 9, ill.).
21. Bremer-David, *French Tapestries*, p. 5, fig. 1.4. To the examples listed (p. 9, nn. 5, 6) can be added two formerly in the Ffoulke collection, sold at Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, March 7, 1958, nos. 376, 377; these may be pieces recorded in later sales. A variant with "Libertas" on the central shield must be from one of the sets mentioned by Tessin (*Les Relations*, p. 66) that "cent particuliers" bought; they had their own arms placed on the half-finished Gobelins *portières*. A *Libertas* example, sold at Christie's, London, April 2, 1998, no. 206, has a label on the back identifying the arms as those of Bardot di Bardi, comte Magaloti (1610–1705).
22. Montagu, "Tapestries of Maincy," p. 535. Both drawings are illustrated.
23. The five pieces were given to Peter Potemkin in 1668 (*ibid.*, p. 532).
24. The drawing is a tracing of the earlier design. The new arms, crowns, and suns of the *Constantin* tapestries are noted in the manufactory records (*ibid.*, p. 535).
25. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 27.
26. Several instances of this identification are known (Jean-Pierre Néraudau, *L'Olympe du Roi Soleil: Mythologie et idéologie royale au Grand Siècle* [Paris, 1986], pp. 7, 67, 112, 148). Le Brun's 1677 drawing of the deeds of Hercules for the ceiling of the Grande Galerie at Versailles, however, was discarded in favor of representations of the king himself as a conqueror (*ibid.*, pp. 100, 111).
27. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ed. Abbé Chesne de Cizeville (Paris, 1847), p. 318.
28. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 2–4. A tapestry that shows one figure wearing the lion skin of the Hermitage drawing, though not on her head, with the rest of the design corresponding to the Metropolitan Museum panel, was sold at the American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, New York, November 1, 1935 (from

- the Mrs. Charles A. Wimpfheimer collection), no. 137. It is described in the sale catalogue as "enriched with silver thread."
29. Robert W. Berger, *A Royal Passion: Louis XIV as Patron of Architecture* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 14–15. The king had already appeared as Apollo in court ballets in 1653 and 1654 (Marie-Françoise Christont, *Le Ballet de Cour au XVII siècle* [Geneva, 1987], pp. 44, 49).
 30. Quoted in Néraudau, *L'Olympe du Roi Soleil*, pp. 30–31. A contemporary translation, "Il n'est pas inégal à des tâches plus nombreuses," is given. In the *Triomphe de Constantin* tapestry, the emperor's banner is inscribed VENI, VIDI, VICI instead of the correct IN HOC SIGNO VINCES; it has been suggested that this was an error on Le Brun's part, but could it not have been a deliberate reference to the king's motto in the carrousel?
 31. Kevin Orlin Johnson, "Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées: The Iconography of the First Versailles of Louis XIV," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 97 (1981), pp. 36–37; Fabian Stein, *Charles Le Brun: La Tenture de l'Histoire du Roy* (Worms, 1985), pp. 32, 33.
 32. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 16–22.
 33. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–22. The author states that the original employment is known for sixty-six pieces. Four of the examples with gold thread were burned to recover the metal in June 1797 (Meyer, "Tapisseries des appartements royaux," p. 136).
 34. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 9–15.
 35. Her attributes have been called those of Concord and Public Felicity, identifying her as Mars's opposite, Peace (Montagu, "Tapestries of Maincy," p. 532). The pomegranate, a symbol of different peoples united under French rule, is said to represent Tranquility (Néraudau, *L'Olympe du Roi Soleil*, p. 111). A drawing of the complete design is in the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, and one for the female figure is in the Louvre (Charles Le Brun, 1619–1690: *Peintre et dessinateur*, exh. cat., Versailles [Paris, 1963], nos. 98, 99, entries by Jennifer Montagu). The style and technique of these drawings are said to indicate that they were made before 1663, supporting the theory that the *Portière de Mars* and the *Char de Triomphe* were designed to be woven at Maincy, perhaps intended as presents for the king. The drawing for *Mars* includes the sun, the two shields, and the order of the Saint-Esprit, not conferred upon Fouquet (Bremer-David, *French Tapestries*, p. 6, fig. 1.8). On the other hand, a flying figure of Fame in the drawing and the uncertain identity of the female figure suggest a design made for the minister. Perhaps the drawing shows a halfway stage, a not-yet-completed adaptation of an earlier version to make it suitable for the king.
 36. Pérouse de Montclos, *Vaux-le-Vicomte*, p. 36.
 37. *Charles Le Brun, 1619–1690*, biography (by Jacques Thuillier), pp. XXXXII, LIII–LVII.
 38. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 1. The author states (p. 10) that the second series of the *Portière de Mars* was probably begun at Maincy. The two other series were the *Licorne* and the *Lion*. A cartoon for the *Licorne* with Colbert's arms was at the Gobelins in 1690 (*ibid.*, p. 23) and is now in the Louvre (Bremer-David, *French Tapestries*, p. 7, fig. 1.7). It has a central cartouche with two winged boys holding a coronet above it, but is not otherwise closely related to any of the known *portières* or to the Besançon drawing (Figure 4). Fenaille states (p. 1) that the design for the *Lion* "ne fut pas exécuté en tapisserie, mais fut utilisé plus tard pour une copie de la portière des *Renommées*." The reference may be to the animal at the base of the version of the *Renommées* woven for Colbert (Figure 5). The Hermitage drawing (Figure 3) also includes a lion.

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