

Metropolitan Museum Journal

Volume 38/2003



METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL Volume 38 / 2003

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.

Volume 38 opens with a study of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora dating from about 700 B.C. and attributed to the Passas Painter. There follows a detailed analysis of a group of Hellenistic silver vessels and utensils, with particular emphasis on the inscriptions and what they indicate about the objects' manufacture and use. Two articles examine the probable royal provenance of objects in the Metropolitan's collection: the Wilton "Montmorency" armor, made about 1544 in Italy for Henry VIII, king of England; and a French Renaissance marble relief, a funerary monument to Charles IX of France. An article about Peter Paul Rubens's drawing of Nicolas Trigault, a Jesuit missionary, investigates the background of the subject of the portrait. A nineteenth-century chair, probably from Campeche, Mexico, is examined in terms of its form, origin, and provenance. English and American paintings inspired studies, one on the historical significance and influence of a portrait of Benjamin Franklin's daughter by John Hoppner, and the other on the original identification of Sanford Robinson Gifford's *Gorge in the Mountains*.

COVER ILLUSTRATION: Medallion depicting Scylla hurling a rock. Hellenistic, 3rd century B.C. Silver, gilt; H. 2 cm; diam. with frame 10.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1981.11.22)

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Contents

Colorplates	7
The Passas Painter: A Protoattic “Realist”? MARY B. MOORE	15
A Group of Hellenistic Silver Objects in the Metropolitan Museum PIETRO GIOVANNI GUZZO	45
The Wilton “Montmorency” Armor: An Italian Armor for Henry VIII CLAUDE BLAIR AND STUART W. PYHRR	95
Fit for a Royal Heart?: A French Renaissance Relief at The Metropolitan Museum of Art COLIN EISLER	145
Nicolas Trigault, SJ: A Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens ANNE-MARIE LOGAN AND LIAM M. BROCKEY	157
Benjamin Franklin’s Daughter KATHARINE BAETJER WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF JOSEPHINE DOBKIN	169
The Campeche Chair in The Metropolitan Museum of Art CYBÈLE TRIONE GONTAR	183
Sanford Robinson Gifford’s <i>Gorge in the Mountains</i> Revived GERALD L. CARR	213

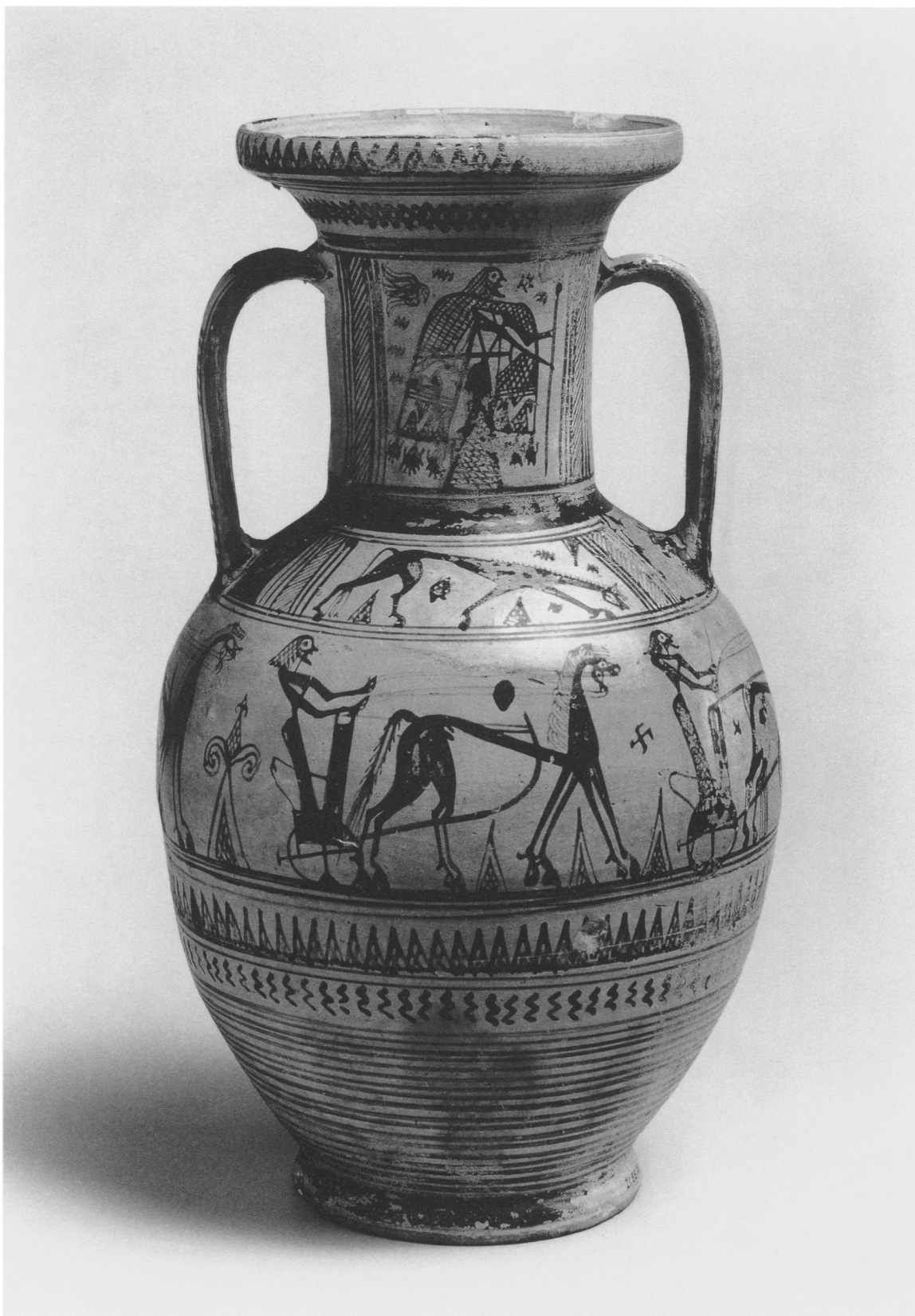


Plate 1. Side A of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora attributed to the Passas Painter, ca. 700 B.C. Terracotta, H. 29.4–29.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.18). See pp. 15–44



Plate 2. Group of silver vases and utensils. Hellenistic, 3rd century B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1981.11.15–.22; 1982.11.7–.13); and Purchase, Classical Purchase Fund, Rogers Fund, and Norbert Schimmel Gift, 1984 (1984.11.3). See pp. 45–94



Plate 3. The Wilton armor, here identified as having been made for Henry VIII, king of England, and attributed to Italy, ca. 1544. Steel, blackened, etched, and gilt. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932 (32.130.7). See pp. 95–144



Plate 4. Peter Paul Rubens. *Portrait of the Jesuit Nicolas Trigault in Chinese Costume*, 1617. Black and touches of red chalk in the face and blue-green chalk in the collar facings and bands of the sleeves and along the bottom of the robe, traces of heightening with white chalk, pen and brown ink; 44.8 x 24.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Carl Selden Trust, several members of The Chairman's Council, Gail and Parker Gilbert, and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1999 (1999.222). See pp. 157–67



Plate 5. John Hoppner. *Sarah Franklin Bache*, ca. 1793. Oil on canvas, 76.5 x 63.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, Wolfe Fund, 1901 (01.20). See pp. 169–81



Plate 6. Sanford Robinson Gifford. *A Gorge in the Mountains*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 121.9 x 101.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Maria DeWitt Jesup, from the collection of her husband, Morris K. Jesup, 1914 (15.30.62). See pp. 213–30

ABBREVIATIONS

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

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

METROPOLITAN
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The Passas Painter: A Protoattic “Realist”?

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IN ANCIENT ATHENS, the first two periods of vase painting are defined by very distinct styles, the Geometric and the Protoattic. Geometric art is named for the patterns that decorated vases as well as other objects made throughout Greece during the tenth, ninth, and eighth centuries B.C.¹ Figures are drawn in silhouette and reduced to their essentials: for humans, heads and limbs appear in profile, torsos in front view, arms and legs are sticklike, and often a large eye occupies much of the face. Gender is sometimes omitted, at other times barely indicated. Garments are minimal, arms and armor simple. Animals and objects are in strict profile. When figures, whether human or animal, overlap there is no distinction between which is on the right and which is on the left. A large stood krater from the Hirschfeld Workshop, New York MMA 14.130.14, which dates about 725 B.C., illustrates the style very well (Figure 1).²

Protoattic, on the other hand, is a less comprehensive term than Geometric for, as the name implies, it refers only to vases made in Athens and its environs during the seventh century B.C.³ It is characterized by a complete abandonment of the precise Geometric formulas and by an energy not seen before in such abundance in Greek vase painting. Its artists convey an unbridled enthusiasm for their work and their subjects; the exuberant spirit of Protoattic artists knows no bounds. The word “failure” is not part of their vocabulary. The namepiece of the Nessos Painter, MMA 11.210.1, a tall neck-amphora of about 650 B.C., depicts the essence of this style at its peak (Figure 2).⁴

While the pure Geometric and Protoattic styles are easy enough to recognize, it is much more difficult to chart the transition from the one to the other, which occurred during the last two decades of the eighth century B.C. and the opening years of the seventh. Sometimes whether to call a vase Late Geometric or Early Protoattic is a matter of opinion. Over the last half century, scholars have identified quite a few work-

shops and vases by individual painters active during this time of significant artistic ferment.⁵ Exceptional are the painters who broke with the Geometric idiom to found and embrace the more progressive Protoattic style. Best known among these is the Analatos Painter, who is named after an ancient site located between Athens and Phaleron and whose name vase is a hydria in the Athens National Archaeological Museum, NM 313.⁶ Another artist who worked during this transitional period is the Passas Painter. His work exhibits some details that are Late Geometric, others that are Early Protoattic. In the Renée and Robert Belfer Court at the Metropolitan Museum, there is a small neck-amphora attributed to him, MMA 21.88.18 (Figures 3–9). Dating to about 700 B.C., it and its painter are the focus of this article.⁷

THE NECK-AMPHORA

This little vase has a convex mouth and a tall neck that flares slightly to join it (Figure 3). The body is ovoid and tapers to a low conical foot with a flat resting surface. Two strap handles attached to the shoulder and the neck divide back from front. The ornamental decoration framing and bordering the figures is simple. On the side of the mouth, between a line above and below, is a frieze of upright crosshatched triangles, then three lines. At the top of the neck, above the join of the handles, the artist painted a zone of lozenge chain without dots. On the neck of Side A (the better-preserved side), vertical bars hatched diagonally frame the figure. Side B is the same but with a column of Ms on the right between the diagonal bars and the figure. A broad band of glaze separates the neck from the shoulder. On the shoulder, on each side, diagonally hatched vertical bars serve as frames. On the body below the figures and separated by three lines are: a frieze of upright crosshatched triangles; a zone of four-limbed sigmas; eighteen lines. On the back of each handle are groups of six or seven horizontal bars framed by a line. The sides of the handles are glazed.⁸

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 38

The notes for this article begin on page 37.

On Sides A and B of the neck a man walks to right, and over his shoulder is a large cloth that hangs down almost to the ground in front and in back of him (Figure 4). Nearly all of the cloth is crosshatched except for the area overlapped by his outstretched arms; a panel on the portion behind him contains a reclining goat (Figure 5); at each end there is a zone of upright and hanging crosshatched triangles, then three large pendent tassels, probably the warp threads tied together. Much of the man's face is reserved;⁹ he has a large eye and long crosshatched hair. His pronounced pointed chin suggests the painter had in mind a beard, but he did not make this feature absolutely clear. The man's torso is drawn in outline, his limbs are in silhouette, and the area between his legs is crosshatched, indicating that he wears a long garment. Both arms reach out to clasp a staff topped by a finial, and a remarkably long sword is suspended at waist level. Behind him a vulture or an eagle flies toward him. There is a modest amount of filling orna-



Figure 1. Side A of a Late Geometric pedestaled krater, ca. 725 B.C. H. 108.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.130.14)

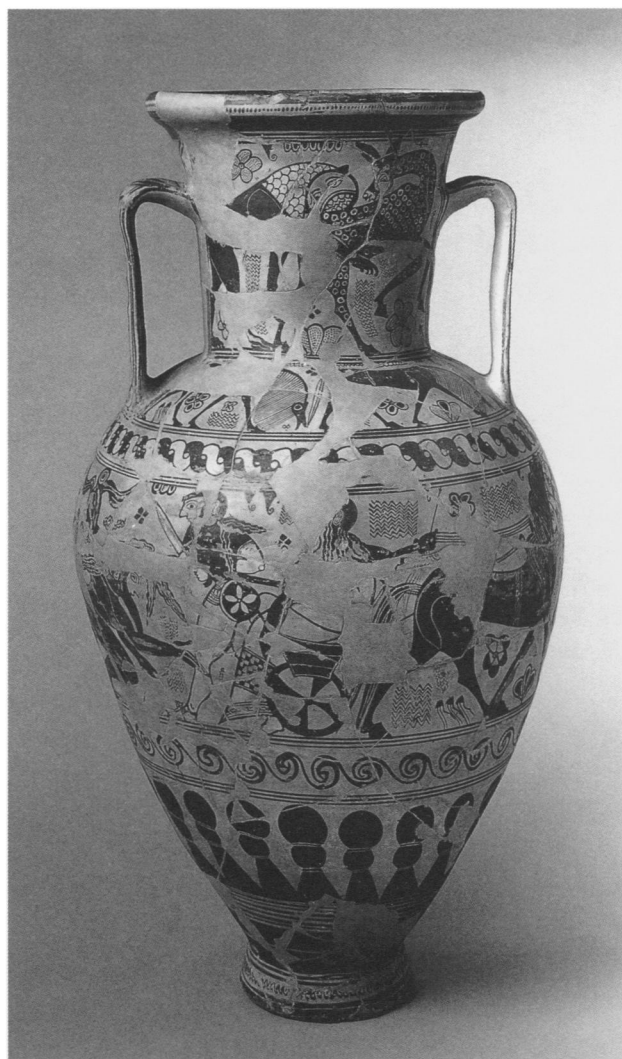


Figure 2. Side A of a Middle Protoattic neck-amphora by the Nessos Painter, ca. 650 B.C. H. 108.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.210.1)

ment: zigzags and a small sunburst with central dot; on Side B, at the lower right, are three upright solid triangles.

On the shoulder, Sides A and B, a horse grazes to right (see Figure 3). Its head is in outline with a small eye; its short mane sticks up; its body, neck, and legs with their large sturdy hoofs are drawn in silhouette; its tail is mostly pipelike except for long hairs at the end. Zigzags, upright crosshatched triangles, a double outline triangle, a lozenge star with rays in outline, and a swastika constitute the filling ornament.

On the body (Figures 6–9), a procession of four chariots continues around without interruption. The head of each charioteer is drawn like that of the man on the neck: face mostly reserved with large eye, cross-hatched shoulder-length hair, and long pointed chin

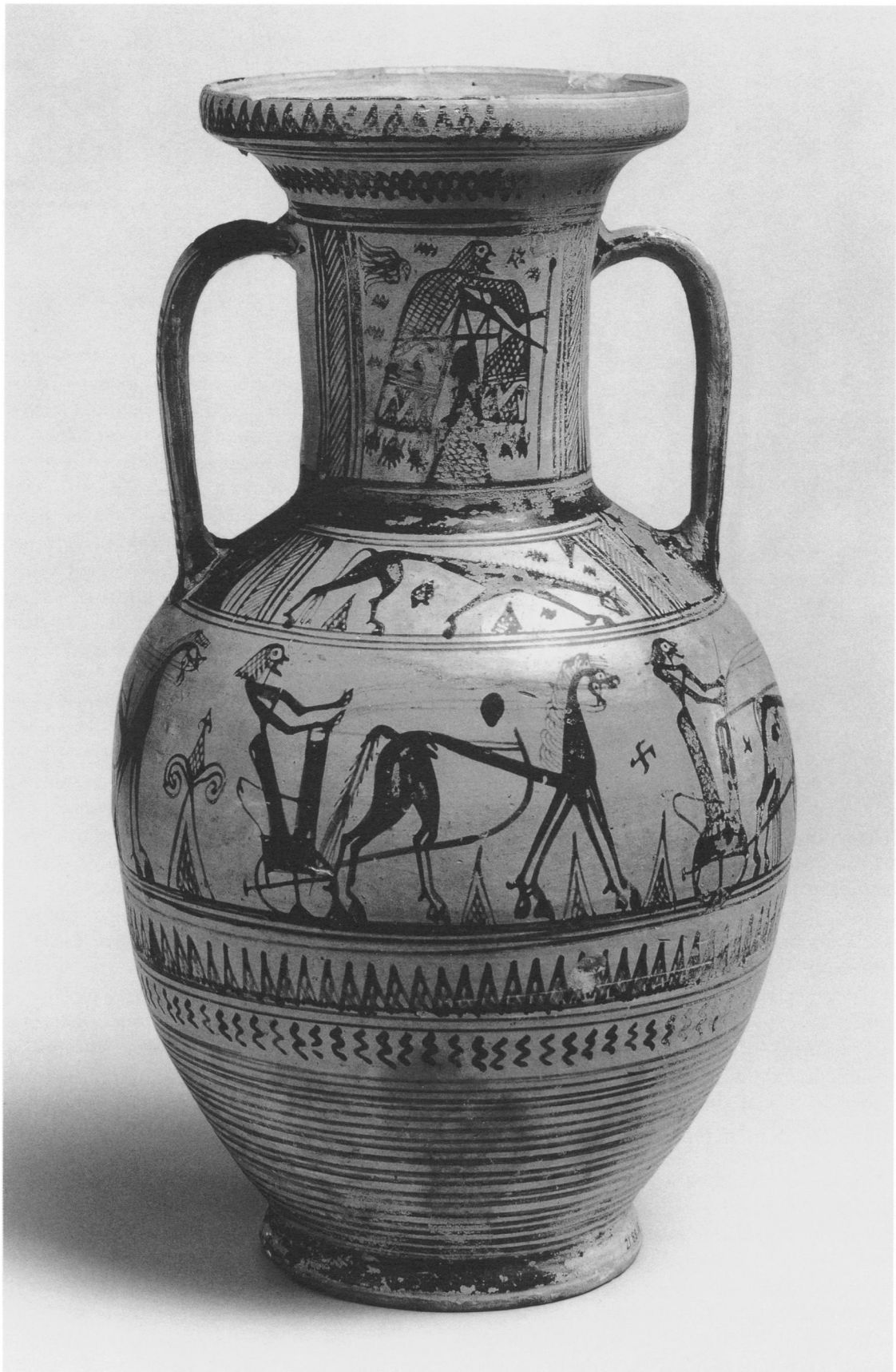


Figure 3. Side A of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora attributed to the Passas Painter, ca. 700 B.C. Terracotta, H. 29.4–29.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.18). See also Colorplate 1



Figure 4. Detail of the man carrying a large cloth on the neck of Side A of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3

or beard. His torso is drawn in outline; his arms, in silhouette, are extended, holding the four reins; and the long skirt of his chiton is variously solid or cross-hatched. The charioteer below handle B/A does not wear a chiton but instead is nude (Figure 8), and the charioteer below handle A/B holds a goad as well as the reins (Figure 7). Two horses draw each chariot. The head of each horse has a large eye; its mane is long and luxuriant; neck, chest, and hindquarters are strong; the body is thin and narrow; big hoofs support matchstick legs; tails are flowing and full. Each chariot has a simple four-spoked wheel, solid box with thin rail and breastwork (the upright section in front of the charioteer), curved pole, and straight pole-stay (the horizontal line of glaze starting near the tip of the pole and extending to the top of the breastwork of the chariot). Behind the charioteer below handle B/A, a raptor flies to right (Figure 9). Behind each chariot on the front and back, but not behind those beneath the handles, there is a "Tree of Life" composed of a crosshatched triangle with double outline and two spirals growing out of the apex. A small crosshatched triangle with little "shoots" at the top rests on the spirals (Figure 6). Filling ornament is sparse: upright crosshatched triangles with double outline; swastika; hanging crosshatched triangle; double ax; cross.

Figure 5. Detail of the reclining goat on the cloth carried by the man on the neck of Side A of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3 (drawing: the author)



THE PASSAS PAINTER'S VASES

In 1934, John M. Cook saw that MMA 21.88.18 was by the same painter as three fragments of a small neck-amphora in the Athens National Archaeological Museum that were found at the coastal site of Phaleron, a suburb of Athens about a quarter of a mile from the sea (Figures 10, 11).¹⁰ He added these to his N Group, named after the shape of a favorite filling ornament, an N. A pair of neck-amphorae by one hand, Oxford 1935.18 and London BM 1936.10-17.1 (Figure 37); a skyphos in Edinburgh, 1956.422, ex L. 363; and a kantharos in the Vlastos collection made up the rest of this group, which Cook noted form "a loose group of vases whose painters had comparatively little in common with the workshops which were turning out the finer wares at this time."¹¹ Jean M. Davison added an oinochoe, Agora P 23456, to the Oxford and London neck-amphorae; she let MMA 21.88.18 "serve as an illustration" for the rest of Cook's N Group, but she added a neck-amphora, Boston MFA 03.7, "as a later product of the same workshop." Davison called this the Oxford Workshop.¹²

In 1960, Roland Hampe changed the picture considerably when he published five Early Protoattic standed kraters purchased for the Archaeological Seminar of Mainz University in 1949. The vases were badly burned and broken into many fragments, but painstaking study and delicate restoration produced remarkable results, although today the ambitious figure work is best understood from the careful drawings made by Lisa Hobbing and Margot Lindig. Hampe recognized that the bowl of one standed krater, inv. 153, and both the bowl and stand of another, inv. 154 (Figures 12, 14-17), were by the same hand.¹³ To this pair he added MMA 21.88.18 (Figures 3-9), the three fragments from Phaleron (Figures 10, 11), and a neck-amphora in the Passas collection in Athens (Figures 18-29).¹⁴ Since the last vase is perhaps the most ambitious, Hampe named the artist the Passas Painter after its owner.¹⁵

In his monograph on the Mainz kraters, Hampe eliminated from Cook's N Group all but the London

and Oxford neck-amphorae and the Vlastos kantharos. To these three vases, he then added five more pieces: an amphora fragment found at Eleusis; Mainz inv. 155, fragments of a standed krater (Figures 30, 31); Mainz inv. 159, a fragment of a similar krater that does not seem to belong to one of the others; a fragment, perhaps from an amphora, in a British private collection; and London BM 1865.7-20.1, a “Phaleron” oinochoe (Figure 32). Hampe called the artist Painter N after one of the filling ornaments.¹⁶

I should like to suggest that two of the vases Hampe attributed to Painter N are by the Passas Painter: Mainz inv. 155 (Figures 30, 31),¹⁷ which is very incomplete, and London BM 1865.7-20.1 (Figure 32). The spirit of each, the choice of ornament, and the style of drawing have more in common with the Passas Painter than they do with Painter N, whose style of drawing is essentially rooted in what was quickly becoming the Geometric past. The “Phaleron”

oinochoe in London takes with it two more pieces that I believe are by the Passas Painter. One is a tankard in the University Museum in Manchester, England, that shows a frieze of hippalektrya (horse-cocks) above a frieze of dogs (Figure 33).¹⁸ The other is a bowl and its fenestrated stand, represented by fragments Agora P 10656 and P 10196.¹⁹ Both fragments depict cocks. The bowl (Figure 34) preserves the comb, neck, tail, and sickle feathers of one, the head and breast of the other. The stand (Figure 35) shows just the head of one cock with a large comb and wattle in outline, start of neck, and part of wing. Above it is a large hanging palmette.²⁰ Based on Hampe’s identification and discussion of Painter N, Brann thought Agora P 10656 and P 10196 was by this painter. The Manchester tankard has never been attributed.

It is worth elaborating on the Passas Painter. His choice of shapes and his manner of decorating them offer new and important changes, especially his selec-

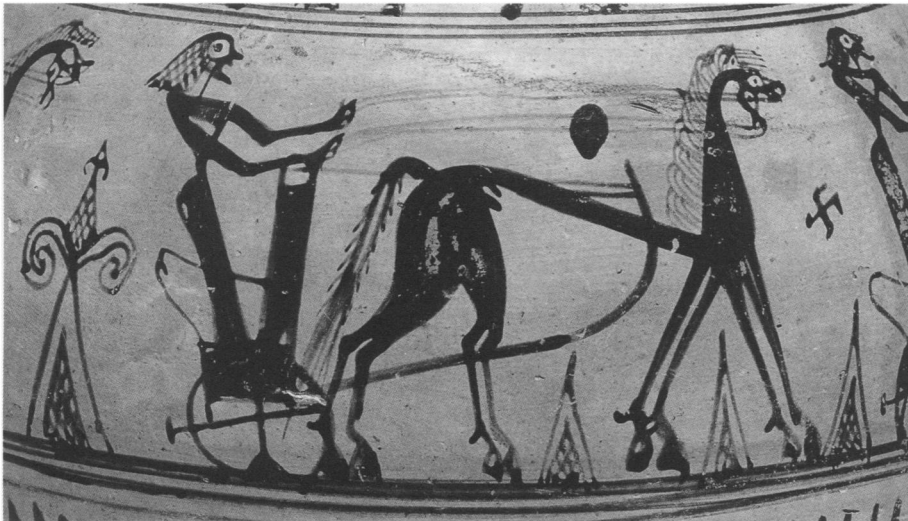


Figure 6. Detail of chariots and a “Tree of Life” on Side A of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3



Figure 7. Detail of the chariot on Side A/B of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3



Figure 8. Detail of the chariot on Side B/A of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3

tion of ornament and his use of accessory red and white. Pictorial themes are frequently unusual and innovative, suggesting he was not only imaginative but also very observant of the world around him. Thus, shape, ornament, and especially figures establish the Passas Painter as an important creative and energetic presence in Athenian ceramic production in the years around 700 B.C. and slightly beyond.

THE PASSAS PAINTER: SHAPES AND ORNAMENT

Fashioning vases is the task of the potter. The ability to adapt figural scenes to different shapes tests the skill of the painter. The nine vases by the Passas Painter, including the four added here, indicate the success with which he met the challenge of working with various shapes and interpreting different subjects.

The two well-preserved kraters in Mainz, inv. 153 and 154, are clearly showpieces (Figure 12).²¹ Very likely, they come from an *Opferrinne* (an offering channel near a grave) or were placed in the grave itself.²² The rim of the bowl is accented by a broad band of circles in added clay bordered above and below by a wavy rope of clay that represents a snake.²³ Some of the circles are small and flat; several are larger and button shaped. This is a most unusual decorative pattern. Two vertical rings attached to the rim form handles, each surmounted by a restored floral ornament.²⁴ The conical stand has well-turned moldings at the top that form a transition from the narrow flaring support to the broad swelling bowl. The whole effect of each ensemble looks like a clay translation of a bronze prototype.²⁵ Mainz inv. 155 (Figures 30, 31) is too fragmentary to reconstruct, but from what remains of the

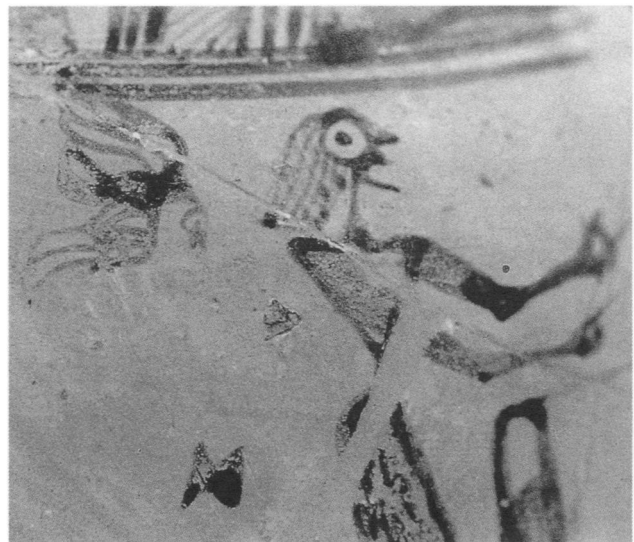


Figure 9. Detail of the charioteer and the bird behind him on Side B/A of the Early Protoattic neck-amphora in Figure 3 (photo: the author)

ornamental and figural decoration, it must have been as impressive as Mainz inv. 153 and 154. Likewise, the Agora bowl and stand fragments, P 10656 and P 10196 (Figures 34, 35), are too incomplete to permit reconstruction.

Three other vases by the Passas Painter are neck-amphorae, but the features of each vary. The name vase has a tall flaring neck with a broad torus mouth decorated with a modeled snake and an ovoid body that is roughly the same height as the neck and tapers to a flaring foot. Perforated struts fill most of the space between each handle and the neck, reinforcing what would otherwise be a weak join (Figures 18, 19). MMA 21.88.18 is considerably shorter and squatter than the Passas amphora, although Cook's description



Figure 10. Fragment of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora from Phaleron attributed to the Passas Painter, which shows a procession of chariots and men carrying large cloths, ca. 700 B.C. L. 27 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, NM 15983 (photo: DAI Athens, NM 3822)

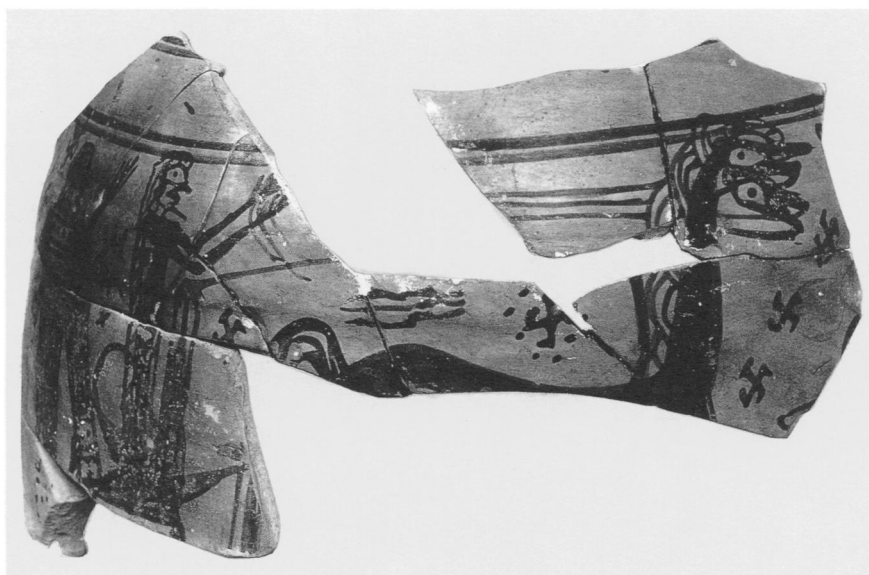


Figure 11. Fragment of the neck-amphora in Figure 10 showing part of a chariot (photo: DAI Athens, NM 3821)

of it as “a dumpy amphora in New York” seems unduly harsh.²⁶ The New York vase, the London oinochoe, and the Manchester tankard are the only well-preserved works by the Passas Painter that do not have plastic snakes (Figures 3, 32, 33). The fragments from Phaleron come from a neck-amphora similar in size to MMA 21.88.18, but its profile is difficult to calculate from what remains (Figures 10, 11). One fragment preserves part of a snake on the side of the mouth.²⁷

The “Phaleron” oinochoe in London, BM 1865.7-20.1, is typical for the shape: trefoil mouth, tall neck widening toward the shoulder, and an ovoid body tapering to a ring base (Figure 32). A handle rises from the shoulder and joins the rim of the mouth opposite the pouring spout. The Manchester tankard

is also representative: flaring mouth, tall cylindrical neck, and low convex body. A flat handle attached to the shoulder rises above the top of the mouth, then curves downward to join it (Figure 33). A strut midway between mouth and shoulder reinforces the two parts.

The Passas Painter’s choice of ornament offers criteria that help to define his artistic personality. In this period of Greek vase painting, ornament serves two basic purposes. First, it may frame figures set in panels or form decorative bands encircling parts of the vase, usually that below the figures on the body. Second, it may be used as fill within the figural compositions. The choice of framing and filling ornaments indicates that the Passas Painter was well acquainted with the Geometric tradition that had defined Attic pottery for



Figure 12. Early Protoattic standing krater attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C. H. 108 cm. Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz, inv. 154 (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie)

the previous two centuries and with the Protoattic style that was about to succeed it.

Some of the ornament used as frames and bands by the Passas Painter is well within the Geometric tradition, and MMA 21.88.18 exhibits the largest number of different Geometric patterns, suggesting perhaps

that it is the earliest of the nine vases.²⁸ A frieze of upright crosshatched triangles appears on the torus mouth as well as on the body directly below the figures (Figure 3). The pattern recurs on the shoulder of London BM 1865.7-20.1 and near the bottom of the bowl of Mainz inv. 153, where it has a double outline (Figures 32, 13). Diagonally hatched vertical bars frame the figure on the neck of MMA 21.88.18 and on the neck as well as the panels on each side of the body of the namepiece. A band of multiple vertical zigzags appears below the figures on MMA 21.88.18 and on London BM 1865.7-20.1; the Manchester tankard has just a simple zigzag on the body. A lozenge chain without dots occurs only on MMA 21.88.18. On the name vase, below the figures on the body, there is a wolf-tooth pattern, each row cross-hatched, the upper smaller than the lower, the latter with a double outline. All of these ornaments are purely Geometric.

The three kraters offer something completely new that takes us into the Early Protoattic phase of Greek pottery: a zone of encircled palmettes above and



Figure 13. Detail of the bowl of an Early Protoattic standing krater attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C., showing a hunting hound. H. ca. 18 cm. Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz, inv. 153 (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie)

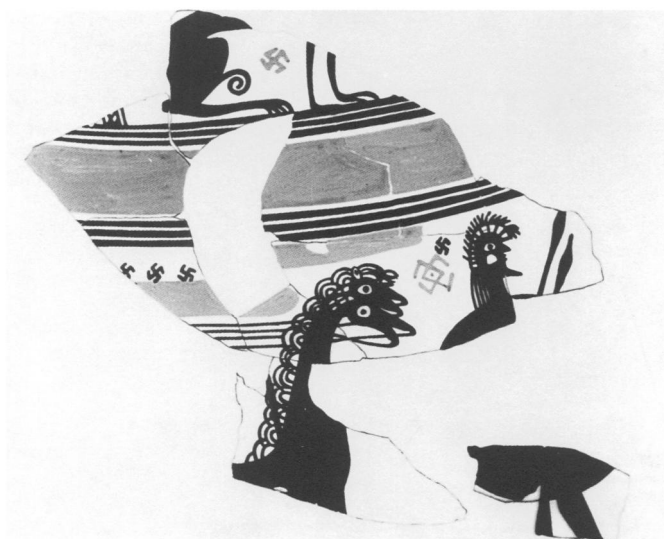


Figure 14. Detail of the stand of the stood krater in Figure 12 showing a frieze of seated sphinxes above a procession of warriors and a chariot (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz)

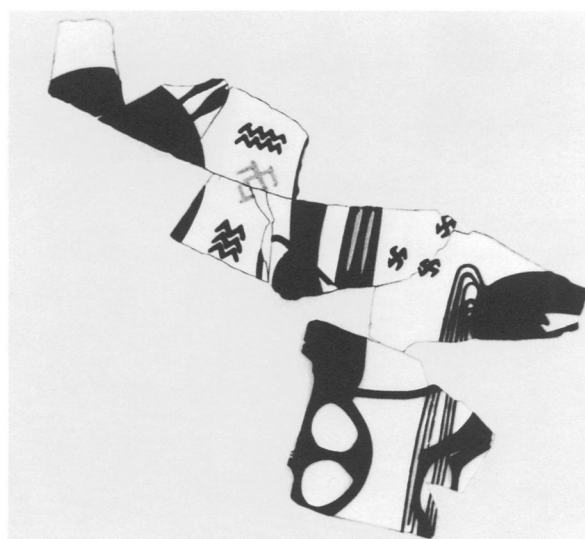


Figure 15. Detail of the stand of the stood krater in Figure 12 showing chariot horses and a warrior. H. ca. 17.3 cm (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz)



Figure 16. Detail of the bowl of the stood krater in Figure 12 showing hunting hounds and a cock. H. ca. 12.6 cm (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz)

below the frieze of dogs on the bowl of Mainz inv. 153 (Figure 13) and just above the dogs on inv. 154 (Figure 16). On Mainz inv. 153, the palmette frieze was painted in added white on a dark ground, an early use of this technique.²⁹ On Mainz inv. 155, one fragment shows a more creative and ambitious palmettelike pattern. The palmettes alternate orange (red) and white, and a line of glaze outlines each one.³⁰ Another fragment preserves part of the encircling vines and the sprouting leaves of two palmettes, all in red with black outline.³¹ At the base of the neck of the London oinochoe, there is a cable pattern that does not quite

have each unit closed and looks like a band of elegant italic esses with dots (Figure 32).³² It may be a precursor of the true cable pattern that has completely closed units and looks like a braid (see below, p. 24).

Some of the filling ornament is also purely Geometric. A favorite of the Passas Painter, as Hampe saw,³³ is the upright crosshatched triangle with or without a double outline; the painter likes to place it on the ground line between the legs of humans or animals. This ornament occurs on each of his vases that preserves a ground line; on Mainz inv. 155 (Figure 30), it is a hanging one (no trace of the ground line remains on these fragments). Another filler preferred by the Passas Painter is a rather thick swastika, which also appears on all of his vases except Mainz inv. 155. The multiple zigzag is a further Geometric pattern visible on each vase except MMA 21.88.18, Mainz inv. 155, and the London oinochoe; the ornament is, however, shared by painters of other workshops, particularly those of Athens 894, and by the Analatos Painter. It is not a criterion for attribution to the Passas Painter. The Manchester tankard has short, single zigzags here and there in the field, another pattern in common use.

Some ornaments in the work of the Passas Painter mark a break with the Geometric past. One of these is the hanging or upright spiral, visible on the London oinochoe in the panel on the neck as well as in the frieze on the body; between the legs of the dogs on one fragment of Mainz inv. 155; and above the cock on Agora P 10656 (Figures 30, 34). Like the zigzag, the hanging or upright spiral occurs in the work of



Figure 17. Detail of the bowl of the stood krater in Figure 12 showing hunting hounds below a zone of palmettes. H. ca. 19.7 cm (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz)

contemporary artists such as the Analatos Painter (Figure 36).³⁴ Also new about this time (ca. 700 B.C.) is a cluster of solid lozenges. They appear below a hound on the London oinochoe (Figure 32) and on three fragments of the stand of Mainz inv. 155, where they are painted orange (red), adding to the colorful effect of this bowl and stand (Figure 31).³⁵ On Agora P 10196 (Figure 35) there is a hanging palmette, its petals alternating black and outline, the latter with added white, reminiscent of the colorful palmettes on the Mainz kraters. A pretty pattern introduced about this time is the cable or guilloche, which occurs on one of the Phaleron fragments and on the namepiece, where its vertical placement offers a link between the two vases (Figures 23, 26, 27).³⁶ It is not certain who is the first artist to use this ornament as a filler. In Athens, it may be the Analatos Painter.³⁷ An odd filling ornament used occasionally by the Passas Painter is the dotted lozenge with hooks. It occurs on the stands of Mainz inv. 154 and 155 and is painted orange (red) (Figures 14, 15, 31). I have not been able to find other examples of this ornament, and it may well qualify as a criterion for attribution to the Passas Painter.³⁸ The swastika surrounded by a circle of dots, another unusual ornament, occurs on the

namepiece and on one of the fragments from Phaleron (Figures 28, 11).³⁹ The dot rosette on the Manchester tankard does not seem to occur elsewhere in the work of the Passas Painter. It becomes a popular ornament in the Protoattic and Protocorinthian styles.

One further filling ornament must be considered: the N, which was Hampe's starting point for establishing Painter N. In the work of Painter N, the N is placed very randomly in reserved areas and always as a single unit (Figure 37).⁴⁰ It is also a very simple ornament, related to the zigzag, thus a motif that could easily be used by other painters.⁴¹ On the bowl of Mainz inv. 155 and on Agora P 10656, the Passas Painter has grouped the preserved Ns in pairs (Figures 30, 34); on the London oinochoe, two Ns appear one above the other between the hound and the hare (Figure 32). This is in distinct contrast to the manner in which Painter N places the ornament, and it provides a criterion for separating Mainz inv. 155 and the London oinochoe from the oeuvre of Painter N. Another criterion is the use of added color. To my knowledge, Painter N does not use accessory orange (red) and white on his preserved vases, whereas it is a colorful feature of Mainz inv. 153, 154, and 155 by the Passas Painter, as well as of the fragments from Phaleron.⁴²



Figure 18. Side A of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora, name vase of the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C. H. 50 cm. Passas Collection, Athens (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1173)



Figure 19. Side B of the amphora in Figure 18 (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1174)

THE PASSAS PAINTER: SUBJECTS

Figured compositions and the way they appear on a vase complement one another. Since the Mainz kraters do not have handles on their bodies, it is natural to let the decoration continue around without interruption. So too for the stand of Mainz inv. 154, but not for the stand of Mainz inv. 153 which is fenestrated in its lower two-thirds. The Analatos Painter, to whom the stand of Mainz inv. 153 is attributed,

Painted a frieze of warriors marching to left in the upper zone just below the moldings and introduced panels of various sizes between the fenestrations. In each of the two large panels, he placed a sphinx seated to right; the rest of the panels are ornamental.

Neck-amphorae demand a different subdivision of shape. Each of the three by the Passas Painter has a figured panel on the neck because the handles create a natural frame which extends to the shoulder where there are animals in a horizontal panel.⁴³ On the



Figure 20. Shoulder of Side A of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing two reclining goats (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1185)



Figure 21. Shoulder of Side B of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a griffin-bird attacking a deer (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1184)

body, since there is no natural division, it is customary at this time to allow the figures to continue around the vase without interruption.⁴⁴ This is the case with MMA 21.88.18 and was probably true also of the Phaleron fragments, at least to judge from what remains. On the body of his name vase, the Passas Painter opted for a very different distribution of the decoration (Figures 18, 19, 24–29). He placed the figures in panels of unequal length. The one on Side

A contains two chariots and two warriors on foot with the lead chariot below handle A/B and extending onto Side B (Figures 24–27). On Side B, the warrior on foot appears next to the framing ornament approximately on the axis of the vase (Figure 19). Then come the chariot and the “Tree of Life” below handle B/A (Figure 29). This is a very odd subdivision of the surface for which I have no explanation. Perhaps the painter realized too late that there was not



Figure 22. Side A of the neck of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing two warriors (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1182)



Figure 23. Side B of the neck of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing two warriors (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1183)

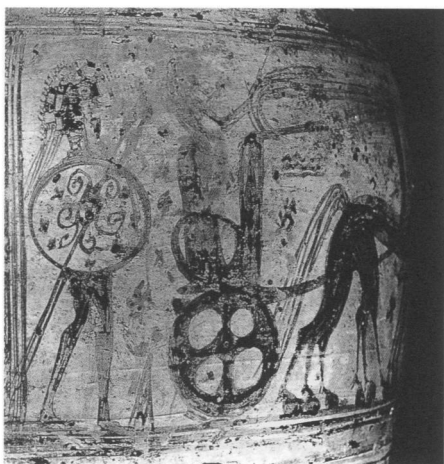


Figure 24. Side A of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a warrior on foot and a charioteer (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1179)

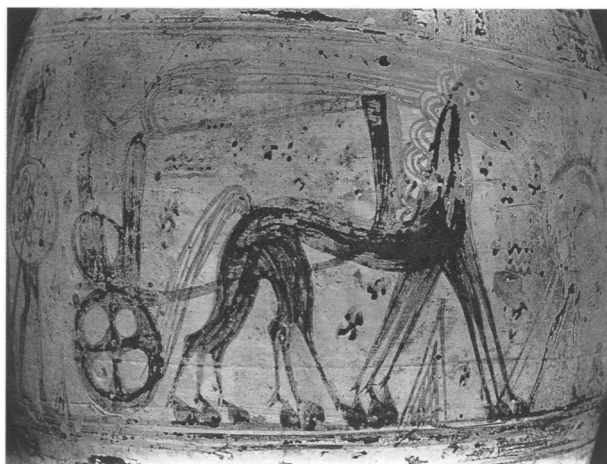


Figure 25. Side A of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a chariot team (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1178)

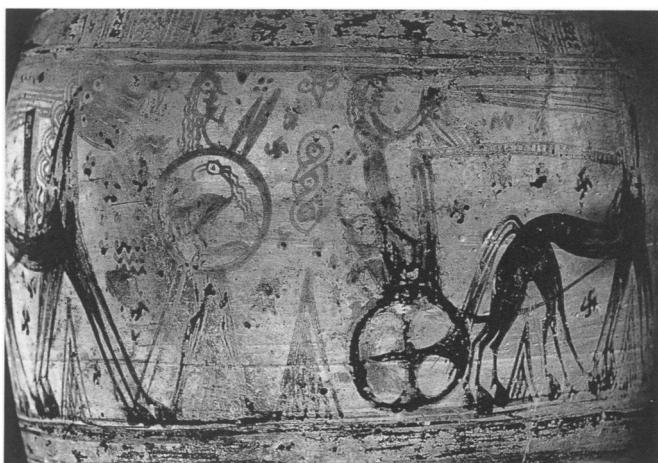


Figure 26. Side A/B of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a warrior on foot and a chariot (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1176)



Figure 27. Side A/B of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a chariot (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1175)



Figure 28. Side B of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a chariot (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1181)

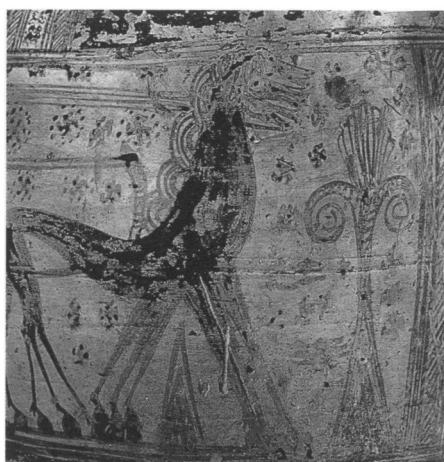


Figure 29. Side B of the body of the neck-amphora in Figure 18 showing a chariot and a "Tree of Life" (photo: DAI Athens, A. Var. 1180)

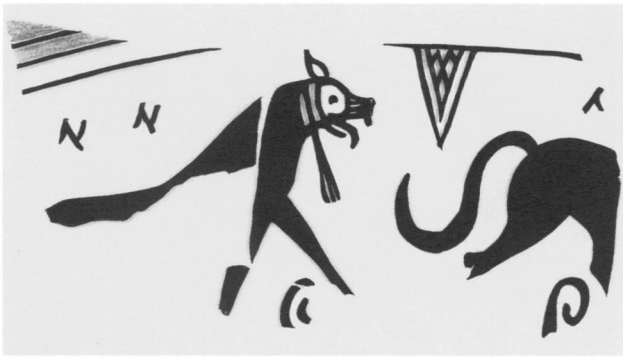


Figure 30. Fragment of the bowl of an Early Protoattic stood krater attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C., showing hunting hounds. H. ca. 6.5 cm. Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Mainz, inv. 155 (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie)

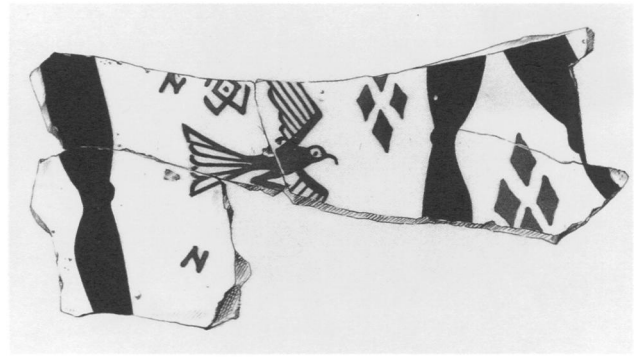


Figure 31. Fragment of the stand of the stood krater in Figure 30 showing the legs of two warriors with a bird between. H. ca. 6 cm (photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie)

enough space for a fourth chariot, so he separated the sides as best he could with a column of vertical ladder pattern hatched diagonally.⁴⁵ There might have been room for another warrior on foot, but it is difficult to tell for sure.

Oinochoai follow an allocation of surface similar to that of neck-amphorae except that there is no obverse and reverse. The figures on the neck are set in a panel that starts and ends at the handle. Those on the body simply continue around without interruption. The decoration on the tankard is comparable except that there are no figures on the body and those on the neck occupy two rows.

The Passas Painter's pictorial subjects may consist of well-known themes, such as the procession of chariots on MMA 21.88.18 and on the body of the name vase, where he also included warriors on foot. More often, however, he depicted subjects that are not only innovative, but also brand new. In no way is the Passas Painter tied to the past, willing simply to repeat Geometric formulas. Instead, he enthusiastically embraced the exciting new figural repertory of the Protoattic style. As we shall see, the Passas Painter's figures, whether animal, monster, or human, are energetic, distinctive, and individualized.⁴⁶

Horses by the Passas Painter have long, proudly arched necks, deep chests, narrow bodies (a lingering Geometric feature), and powerful hindquarters. Legs are slender and clean-boned; hooves are large and strong. Also, the forelegs are not bent at the knee as is usually the case in Geometric art, and the hind legs are better proportioned with the hock positioned about midway between the hip and the hoof. In Geometric depictions, the hock is placed too high (Figure 1). Heads are small and sometimes rather sketchy, as on MMA 21.88.18, but they are never heavy and large as they will be on Protoattic vases (Figure 36). Each

has a reserved eye that may occupy quite a bit of the surface of its head. New features are long hanging manes that are typical for Protoattic horses, instead of the short upright Geometric manes, and they have long, well-furnished tails with the individual strands of hair indicated, not the pipelike appendages of Geometric horses (Figure 1).⁴⁷ And the Passas Painter's horses hold their tails somewhat aloft, very like present-day Arabian horses.⁴⁸ Two, sometimes three, horses draw the chariots and a new feature is that in the case of a biga, the heads of the horses are not stacked one above the other for purposes of visual clarity as they are in Geometric and in the trigae of the namepiece. The horses of bigae by the Passas Painter truly seem to move side by side, as Rodney Young observed in his remarks about MMA 21.88.18.⁴⁹ The Passas Painter did not, however, separate the left-hand horse from the right-hand one, as his colleague the Analatos Painter did. On Louvre CA 2985, the Analatos Painter judiciously incised a line along the back and at the critical points of the extremities (Figure 36).⁵⁰ Still, horses by the Passas Painter step out very smartly, and one can almost hear the clatter of their hooves.

Chariots by the Passas Painter have only a single wheel that may stand for two just as it will later in Attic black-figure and Attic red-figure. Geometric artists normally show two wheels, as on MMA 14.130.14 (Figure 1), although exceptions exist, especially in the Workshop of Athens 894. The breastwork of the chariot, however, is much in the Geometric tradition. It is drawn as a tall frame with a rounded top; most of it is filled in with glaze with only the top free for the charioteer or passenger to hold on to (Figures 6–9, 24, 28). The chariot pole appears well below the bellies of the horses on MMA 21.88.18, but it is in the more normal position on the namepiece.

The hounds that appear in the frieze on each of the three Mainz kraters, on the London oinochoe, on the tankard in Manchester, and in the panel above the warriors on Side A of the name vase are splendid coursers, even though they are not depicted pursuing quarry (Figures 13, 16, 17, 22, 30, 32, 33). The hounds on the London oinochoe prompted me to reject Hampe's attribution of that piece to Painter N (which



Figure 32. Early Protoattic "Phaleron" oinochoe attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C., showing a frieze of cocks on the neck and hunting hounds on the body. H. 17.5 cm. British Museum, London, 1865.7-20.1 (photo: after Robert M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* [London, 1960], p. 65, fig. 9)

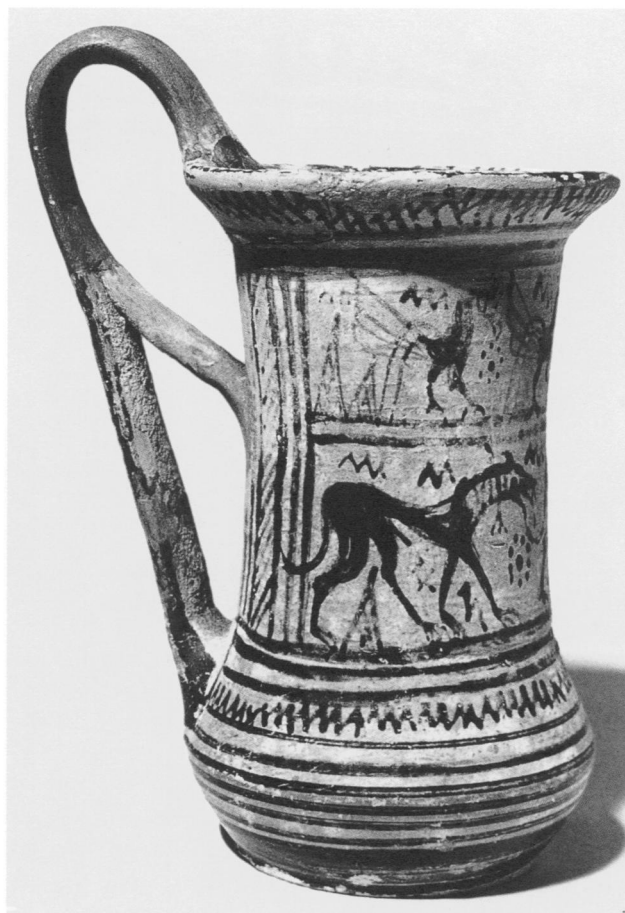


Figure 33. Early Protoattic tankard attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C., showing a frieze of hippalektrya above zone of hunting hounds. H. 7.9 cm. Manchester Museum, University of Manchester, 1984.105. (photo: Manchester Museum)

was probably based on the N used as a filler) and to place it in the oeuvre of the Passas Painter. Hounds were also one of the criteria for reattributing Mainz inv. 155. They look like members of the same litter as the ones on Mainz inv. 153 and 154 and on the tankard in Manchester. Each has a well-proportioned head with large eye and pricked ears.⁵¹ Strong jaws and sharp teeth are easily able to snap the neck of hapless prey if it is not already netted.⁵² Each hound has a thick neck, deep chest, long lean body, and powerful hindquarters capable of strong propulsion. Long tails provide balance, and large paws offer firm traction. Xenophon, writing in the first half of the fourth century B.C., describes the ideal hound for coursing hares, and the qualities he describes are remarkably like these very early representations.⁵³ He concludes some of his remarks: "Hounds like these will be strong in appearance, agile, well-proportioned, and speedy; and they will have a jaunty expression and a good mouth."⁵⁴ So do those by the Passas Painter.

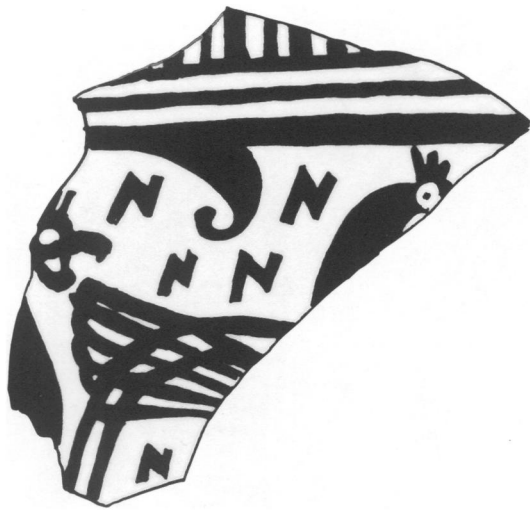


Figure 34. Fragment of the bowl of an Early Protoattic stood krater attributed to the Passas Painter, early 7th century B.C., showing parts of two cocks. Preserved H. 6.5 cm. Athenian Agora, Athens, P 10656 (drawing: the author, after a 1:1 photograph)

Each hound by the Passas Painter wears a collar that appears as a thin black strap (or several straps) painted on a reserved band around its neck placed rather high up just below the ears. A pendant or two longish bands similar in width to the collar hang from the throat (Figure 13). On Mainz inv. 154 (Figure 16) and on the name vase (Figure 22), this object looks like a bell; its counterpart appears on collars of sheep and goats grazing in the Greek countryside today.⁵⁵ If this interpretation is correct, the bell would signal the location of a hound to the hunter in case of rough terrain or if the prey had gone to cover in a thicket with the hound after it. More likely, the pendant served as an attachment to the leash. In antiquity, there were no buckles, so the collar had to be knotted around the animal's neck, loosely enough so it could breathe, tightly enough to stay in place. It would, therefore, make sense for collar and leash to be separate pieces of hound tackle. In order to avoid untying the collar each time the hound was set free, then retying the collar when it was to be controlled, it would be much more practical to have a short length of collar strap extend from the collar proper to which the leash was simply tied. Anyone who has tried to collar a squirming or fidgety dog will see the point.⁵⁶

What is striking about these hounds by the Passas Painter is how much they contrast with those by Painter N as well as with those by contemporary painters. Those are always drawn in silhouette, and often they are very chunky, scarcely capable of pursuing prey and running



Figure 35. Fragment of the stand of the Early Protoattic stood krater in Figure 34 showing a large palmette above a cock. H. 14 cm. Athenian Agora, Athens, P 10196 (photo: American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Agora Excavations)

it down.⁵⁷ Frequently, the hind legs are tucked well under the body, even when coursing a hare, and the legs do not truly support the animal. This is a Late Geometric convention for a running dog. A good example is the frieze of dogs on the shoulder of Oxford 1935.18 by Painter N or the lumpy-looking animals on Cleveland 27.6 by a painter from the Workshop of Athens 894. On an amphora once on loan to Berlin, also by a painter from this workshop, legs are outstretched fore and aft.⁵⁸

Most intriguing is the hare on the London oinochoe, which is scampering up a diagonal line, surely intended to be terrain (Figure 32).⁵⁹ Xenophon says that "the swiftest [hares] are those that frequent

mountains; those of the plain are not so speedy; and those of the marshes are the slowest.”⁶⁰ This may be one of the earliest examples, if not the earliest, of terrain in Attic art.⁶¹

Other animals reveal the Passas Painter’s eye for detail. The reclining goats on the shoulder of Side A of the name vase have long shaggy beards and huge S-shaped horns that extend gracefully behind them and fill the space between the back of each animal and the top border of the panel, even overlapping it a little bit (Figure 20). In his important article on the beginning of Greek narrative, John Carter remarked that “these two animals [the deer and the goat] are frequently confused both by LG artists, who had no thought of working from nature, and by others.”⁶² Not so the Passas Painter, who seems to have observed details of the animal very closely. Goats by the Passas Painter are in marked contrast to those by earlier Geometric painters, such as those from the Dipylon Workshop and the Hirschfeld Workshop (Figure 1).⁶³ Goats from the latter workshop recline to right and are drawn in silhouette except for a large reserved eye with dot. Their horns are simple arcs and they have no beards. They lack the realism of the Passas Painter’s goats.⁶⁴

Cocks by the Passas Painter are regal birds. The one on Mainz inv. 154 is particularly splendid (Figure 16). The painter included its comb and wattle, and he distinguished between tail feathers and sickle feathers. Dotted circles ornament its neck. The cocks on London BM 1865.7-20.1 also exhibit these features (though not the circles on the neck, probably because of size), as well as the spur on the leg above the claws (this part of the Mainz cock is lost; Figure 32). The cocks on the Agora fragments belong in the same barnyard as the cocks on the London oinochoe (Figures 34, 32). Each has a large serrated comb, tail feathers in outline, and long sickle feathers in black glaze. On the Agora fragment, wattles are in outline. It is worth noting that domesticated land fowl were probably introduced into Greece around 700 B.C. from the Far East, probably from northern India and Burma via Persia.⁶⁵ A cock in full plumage and lustrous color must have looked very exotic to the Passas Painter, and he seems to have observed the bird quite closely. In fact, cocks by the Passas Painter are not only the most capably rendered of their time, but also among the earliest in Greek art.⁶⁶

The Passas Painter included other birds on his known vases. On Side B of the name vase, three vultures appear in a narrow frieze on the neck above the warriors (Figure 23). The right one is almost completely gone, but the Pipili drawing (see Acknowledgments) indicates that it faced to right with head turned back. Of the center one, its head with open

beak, the long flight feathers of its right wing, its tail, and both legs and feet with long talons remain. It is pecking at the ground. The left vulture is the best preserved of the three. Its wings are spread, its body is upright, and it appears to be landing or to have just alighted, the earliest such representation I have been able to find. It is a counterpart to the animated flying eagle positioned between the legs of two dueling warriors on one fragment of Mainz inv. 155 (Figure 31), especially in the articulation of its parts. Later, in Attic black-figure, an eagle signals victory for the warrior it accompanies, and perhaps the Passas Painter had a similar idea in mind. Birds by the Passas Painter have nothing in common with the droopy-looking bird by Painter N in the upper left corner of the neck of London BM 1936.10-17.1. It flies to right with its head and neck hanging downward (Figure 37). The Passas Painter depicted birds that are individualized, suggesting specific kinds rather than remembered images. His birds really fly.

Even mythic birds by the Passas Painter are remarkably individualized. The griffin-bird on the shoulder of Side B of the name vase is particularly vicious as it attacks an unsuspecting grazing deer with huge antlers (Figure 21).⁶⁷ The creature is clearly undaunted by the large size of its prey. It presents an animated picture of avian ferocity, especially when compared with the tame-looking lion putting a raised paw on the forehead of a fallen deer on London BM 1936.10-17.1 by Painter N (Figure 37). The latter looks like a tableau, frozen in time. The deer by the Passas Painter is also special with its impressive antlers and lively expression. I have not been able to find a good parallel in Attic pottery of this time. The best example I know occurs on the shoulder of a Late Geometric Cycladic amphora found at Delos.⁶⁸ Here, the deer’s antlers are not as impressive as those by the Passas Painter, but the animal has a similarly elegant body, long legs, and strong hooves.⁶⁹

Entirely new in Greek vase painting seem to be the hippalektrya on the Manchester tankard (Figure 33). Their bird anatomy is a good match for the London cocks and probably also those on the Agora fragments, complete with handsome sickle feathers and sharp spurs. Their horse heads are in outline with a prominent eye, and they are shaped somewhat like those on the Passas amphora (Figures 25, 27, 29). These hippalektrya lack the horse forelegs of later representations.⁷⁰

The seated sphinxes painted by the artist in the upper frieze of the stand of Mainz inv. 154 are alert-looking guardians, whose wings have long elegant flight feathers, even though the creatures are not airborne. Each has a reserved eye, long hair, and tense



Figure 36. Side A of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora attributed to the Analatos Painter, early 7th century B.C. H. 80 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, CA 2985 (photo: Louvre)

body. A pretty floral sprouts from the top of each head.⁷¹ On one fragment of Mainz inv. 155, there is a similar wing of a figure, probably a sphinx, painted in white lines against the black glaze of an object that may be a bier cloth.⁷²

The Passas Painter's keen observation of human nature led him to individualize his figures and give them interesting things to do. Human figures by the Passas Painter suggest he was looking at real people. Each has long hair, either drawn in a crosshatched

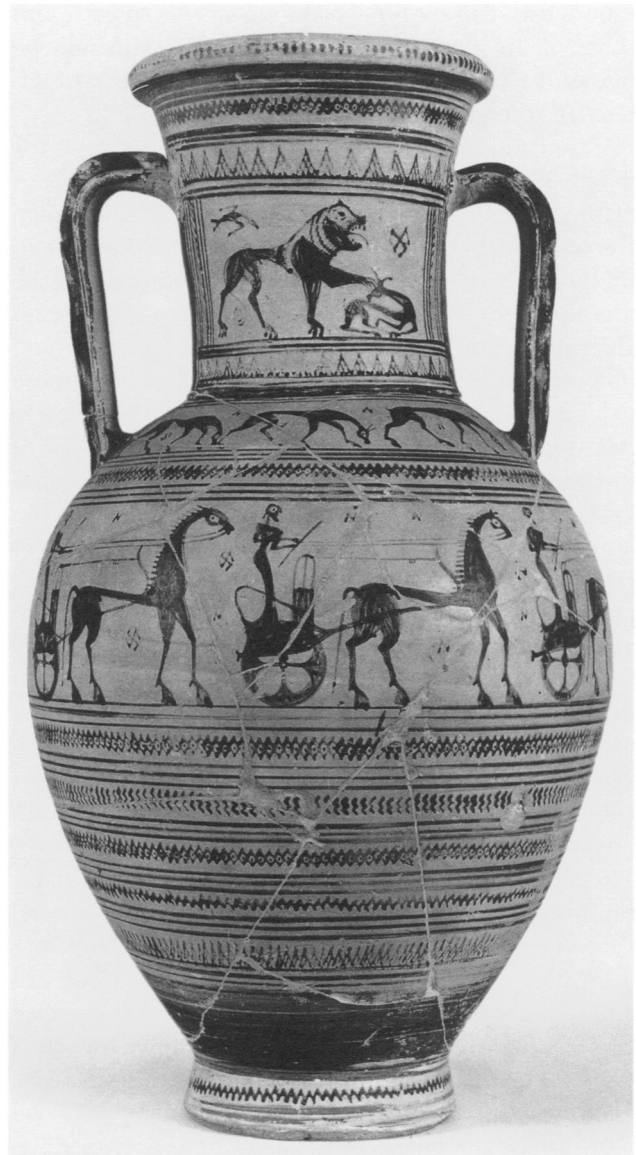


Figure 37. Side A of a Late Geometric neck-amphora attributed to Painter N, late 8th century B.C. H. 61.5 cm. British Museum, London, 1936.10-17.1 (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

pattern (Figure 4) or hanging in individual strands that are wavy or straight (Figure 26). The eye is reserved and sometimes part of the cheek as well (the step before an outline face?⁷³ Figure 9). On MMA 21.88.18, the torsos are also in outline, a detail the Passas Painter did not repeat on his other preserved figures.⁷⁴ An innovation seems to be that some of the charioteers driving to right and the warriors marching to right show their shoulders in almost a profile view. The right shoulder is more forward than it was earlier (Figures 6, 8), a distinct break from the frontal shoulders and torsos of Geometric figures (Figure 1). Sometimes their arms are still like matchsticks; at

other times they are rather well articulated anatomically: MMA 21.88.18 and the Phaleron fragments are the best examples. The fingers of their hands are separate and seem to have joints. The legs of the warriors on one fragment of Mainz inv. 155 appear quite well drawn (Figure 31).

Charioteers, except for one on MMA 21.88.18 (Figure 8), wear long chitons, which would become standard. They hold the reins in both hands and sometimes a goad as well, as Geometric charioteers often do. Warriors march singly and in pairs, or they may be engaged in duels as on two fragments of Mainz inv. 155 (Figure 31).⁷⁵ From the little that remains today, these look like fights to the finish. Of particular interest is their equipment. Helmets nearly always have large ornamental crests or protomes that would have supported the crests. They are best observed on the name vase (Figures 22–24), on Mainz inv. 154 (Figure 14), and on one fragment of Mainz inv. 155.⁷⁶ These are clearly the Corinthian type, which protected the face with cheekpieces and nose guard;⁷⁷ the standard Geometric type was characterized by the crest sprouting from the top of the head of the wearer (Figure 1). Occasionally, however, a warrior may be bare-headed (Figure 26). Even more individualized are the devices or emblems of the shields carried by



Figure 38. Fragment of an Early Protoattic neck-amphora attributed to the Mesogeia Painter, early 7th century B.C., showing mourners. H. 7.1 cm. Vlasto Collection, Athens (photo: DAI Athens, Var. 1051)

the warriors on the name vase. On the neck of Side A (Figure 22), a goat decorates one shield, a vulture the other, while on Side B (Figure 23), one shield bears a lion protome and the other a human head that looks much like that of the warrior who carries it. On the body, the warrior behind the chariot on Side A holds a shield decorated with a spiral wheel (Figure 24); the shield of the one in front of this chariot bears a griffin-bird (Figure 26); and the shield of the warrior on Side B has an emblem that looks like a goat or a deer (the surface is very flaked; Figure 28).⁷⁸ Shield devices, particularly figured ones, were quite new in the time of the Passas Painter, and he was obviously fascinated with them. We do not know the meaning or significance of such blazons, but Snodgrass makes the interesting point that “the object of such a blazon was presumably to overcome the anonymity conferred by the Corinthian helmet, probably introduced not long before.”⁷⁹ I suspect the Passas Painter may have been aware of this.

Cloth and garments also interested the Passas Painter. The cross-hatching between the legs of the man on the neck of MMA 21.88.18 and of the charioteer below handle A/B indicates that each wore a long chiton. Besides the long mantle carried by the man on MMA 21.88.18 and by at least two on the Phaleron fragments, to which I shall return, there is an enigmatic area on one fragment of Mainz inv. 155, which Hampe cautiously suggested might be a bier cloth or a sort of funeral blanket.⁸⁰ Hampe noted that the painter used accessory red and white on this object and also painted on it a figure that he interpreted as a sphinx. This is probably correct for, as mentioned above (p. 31), the drawing of the feathers of its wing (all that is legible) is similar to those of the seated sphinxes in the frieze of the stand of Mainz inv. 154. Most innovative is the man with the large cloth over his shoulder that appears on the neck of MMA 21.88.18 (Figure 4), a feature that has created considerable scholarly discussion. A similar cloth, but less well drawn, appears on two of the Phaleron fragments (Figure 10).⁸¹

Buschor ventured the opinion that the man with the mantle on MMA 21.88.18 might be a divinity and that the bird is perhaps more than a decorative filler (he thought it was an eagle).⁸² Cook called this figure a gentleman, not a soldier, in spite of the sword, and reminded us of the passage in Thucydides that for safety reasons and protection from Barbarians, “all the Hellenes used to carry arms because the places where they dwelt were unprotected, and intercourse with each other was unsafe; and in their everyday life they regularly went armed just as the barbarians did.”⁸³ Cook went on to say that this figure is a processional dignitary with a long staff, comparing him with the

princes on the Menelas stand once in Berlin, A 42,⁸⁴ and remarked that the presence of the tassels rules out a chiton. Walter Hahland thought the figure is an athletic victor carrying his prize, giving Charlene Hofkes-Brukker credit for first suggesting (orally) this athletic association and listing sources where garments are awarded as prizes.⁸⁵ He then suggested that the parade of chariots refers to a funerary cult and that victory by the mantle-bearer was achieved in a spear contest in the funeral games. This interpretation assumes, however, that the staff is a spear, even though it terminates in a finial, not in a sharp point. Hahland thought the cloth is a mantle or robe, a prize like a χλαῖνα (a cloak worn loosely over a chiton) awarded at the games in Pellene or the garments at the funeral games of Thoas on Lemnos.⁸⁶ This proposal deserves comment.

Pellene was a city in northern Achaia west of Corinth, not far from the Corinthian Gulf.⁸⁷ In antiquity, it was famous for the warm garments given to victors in games (in whose honor it is not certain). The garment is mentioned by Pindar: in *Olympian* 9.146: “at Pellana [a variation of the name], he [Epharmostus, for whom the ode was written] carried off as his prize a warm remedy against the chilly blasts”;⁸⁸ and in *Nemean* 10.82: “from Pellana with their shoulders clad with softest woofs. . . .”⁸⁹ By the time of the geographer Strabo, who wrote during the reign of Augustus in the late first century B.C., the custom of awarding these garments as prizes had ceased; still, Strabo knew of their place of origin when he calls them Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι (Pellenic cloaks).⁹⁰ The games for King Thoas on Lemnos are less well documented and the garment only alluded to. The best known is Pindar, in *Pythian* 4.253: “There [Lemnos] it was that, in athletic contests, they [the Argonauts] proved their prowess, with raiment for their prize. . . .”⁹¹ Herodotus, writing in the first half of the fifth century B.C., says that when the Egyptians honor the Greek hero Perseus, they do so in the manner of the Greek custom in “that they celebrate games comprising every form of contest, and offer animals and cloaks [χλαῖνας] and skins as prizes.”⁹² In Homer the chlaina is worn only by men. These are three instances: *Iliad* 16.224: “Thetis . . . filled it [a chest] well with tunics and cloaks [χλαῖνάων] to keep off the wind”; *Odyssey* 14.520: “There Odysseus lay down, and the swineherd [Eumaeus] threw over him a great thick cloak [χλαῖναν], which he kept at hand for a change of clothing whenever a terrible storm should arise”; *Odyssey* 14.529: “First Eumaeus slung his sharp sword over his strong shoulders, then put about him a cloak [χλαῖναν], very thick to keep off the wind. . . .”⁹³

As these references make clear, the chlaina was a

special garment sometimes awarded as a prize in games and contests, and it was a particularly warm one, which fierce wind, cold air, and inclement weather could not penetrate. Indeed, the garments depicted by the Passas Painter on MMA 21.88.18 and the fragments from Phaleron look bulky enough to be woven from thick, warm wool. An important feature of each is that it is not plain. The cloth on the Phaleron fragments is decorated with a frieze of dots near its borders, while the one the man on MMA 21.88.18 carries has not only two friezes of crosshatched triangles at the borders, but also, above the one in back, a reclining goat (Figure 5). This is one of the earliest examples, if not the earliest, of figured decoration on a garment, a feature that is much better known in later vase painting.⁹⁴

If the garment carried over the shoulder of the man on MMA 21.88.18 and on two of the Phaleron fragments is not a chlaina, it might be a bier cloth, a possibility raised by Hampe in his study of Mainz inv. 155 (above, p. 33). First of all, a bier cloth is not to be confused with the garment often worn by the corpse, particularly if it is female.⁹⁵ Such a garment covers the legs and body but leaves the arms free, a good example being the corpse on Athens NM 804, the premier amphora from the Dipylon Workshop.⁹⁶ In Attic Geometric art, the bier cloth usually appears above the corpse, and often it looks like a canopy decorated with a checked pattern (Figure 1). In reality, it was probably placed over the deceased, and occasionally it is shown in this manner.⁹⁷ A particularly pertinent example is a fragment of an amphora in the Vlasto collection in Athens (Figure 38).⁹⁸ On the right of the fragment, a heavy-looking bier cloth covers the legs of the corpse and hangs down from the foot of the bier. The cloth seems to terminate in short tassels reminiscent of the larger ones on MMA 21.88.18 with which it is about contemporary. Thus, there is the possibility that the large cloth carried by the man on MMA 21.88.18 and by at least two figures on the Phaleron fragments represents a bier cloth, especially since these vases were used in funerary contexts.⁹⁹ Still, a chlaina may not be ruled out, especially since the best comparative bier cloth is not as decorative as the cloths by the Passas Painter. I am inclined to opt for a chlaina.

THE PASSAS PAINTER AND HIS ARTISTIC CONTEXT

The last quarter of the eighth century B.C. and the opening years of the seventh were ones of great artistic ferment in all of Greek art. This is particularly true for figured pottery, especially in Athens. Some of the

Athenian vase painters created a completely new visual vocabulary that would lead ultimately to the spectacular accomplishments of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.¹⁰⁰

At the turn from the eighth to the seventh century, the most important painters belonged to the Sub-Dipylon Group, which was first recognized by Davison and greatly augmented by Coldstream; the Philadelphia Painter, named after his neck-amphora in the University Museum, MS 5464; and the painters of the Workshop of Athens 894.¹⁰¹ Vases by painters of the Sub-Dipylon Group may be dated in the 720s; those by the Philadelphia Painter and from the Workshop of Athens 894, in the last decades of the eighth century.¹⁰²

Of these three, the Workshop of Athens 894 is the most important and the most prolific of those whose painters worked completely in the Late Geometric II style, about 735–700 B.C.¹⁰³ Its eponymous vase is a tall neck-amphora in the Athens National Archaeological Museum,¹⁰⁴ and this is the shape preferred by these painters. The vase has a tall, slim, slightly concave neck and a somewhat squat ovoid body that tapers rather sharply to a plain usually glazed foot.¹⁰⁵ Good examples are the name vase, as well as the amphorae in Cleveland, in Baltimore, and in Buffalo, just to cite three major examples visible on this side of the Atlantic.¹⁰⁶ The workshop also produced a significant number of hydriai which, for the first time in the history of the shape, becomes popular as a funerary vessel decorated with human figures.¹⁰⁷ A major shape apparently introduced by the potters in the Workshop of Athens 894 is the large cauldron supported by a fenestrated stand, Athens NM 810 being perhaps the best-known example.¹⁰⁸ Plastic snakes often articulate rims, handles, and shoulders. The style of drawing by painters of the Workshop of Athens 894 is rough and ready. The figures are thickset and not very carefully executed. Both sexes now have long hair, in contrast to the short spiky hair used previously and only for women, and women's skirts are now cross-hatched, suggesting volume. Thick filling ornament often adds to an already dark, almost ominous effect.

The Workshop of Athens 894 leads directly to the Analatos Painter. He was probably a pupil of one of its painters, the Stathatos Painter, whose name vase shows a chariot procession in which a warrior tries to pull a charioteer from his vehicle, the earliest representation of this motif I have been able to find.¹⁰⁹ The earliest work of the Analatos Painter—an amphora in Oxford, a hydria in Melbourne, and a fragment in the Vlastos collection in Athens—is purely Geometric.¹¹⁰ Subsequently, the Analatos Painter worked in the new Protoattic style and was one of its principal exponents.

As Denoyelle saw,¹¹¹ the work of the Analatos Painter forms a transition from the very late Geometric style to the Early Protoattic. His amphora in the Louvre (Figure 36) illustrates the features of the new style very well. The Analatos Painter decorated a variety of shapes with a multitude of subjects from the animal, monster, and human worlds. These include sphinxes, lions, and deer, as well as lines of dancers and processions of chariots (Figure 36). His figures have more volume than those by painters of the Workshop of Athens 894, his chariot horses walk side by side instead of being “stacked,” and incision separates the right-hand horse from the left-hand one. Added color often provides a further embellishment of figure and ornament. Some of his filling ornament, such as zigzags, is a holdover from the Geometric past, but for the most part he preferred vegetal ornaments that look organic and lush.

The painters of the Workshop of Athens 894 and the Analatos Painter are directly descended from the classical Geometric tradition initiated by the Dipylon Master.¹¹² The Passas Painter is somewhat outside this tradition. Brann saw that he and Painter N were younger colleagues of the Vulture Painter but also that the Analatos Painter, whom she considered slightly senior, occasionally influenced them.¹¹³ Hampe was the first to establish both Painter N and the Passas Painter as individuals and in the case of the Passas Painter to recognize how innovative he could be.¹¹⁴ Hampe's focus, however, was not the Passas Painter, but the five standed kraters in Mainz.

The Passas Painter's vases do not seem to span a long period of time. MMA 21.88.18 probably dates around 700 B.C. or slightly earlier, and it takes with it the Phaleron fragments. Hampe placed the Mainz kraters in the early seventh century.¹¹⁵ The name vase probably dates from about the same time, as do the vases in London and Manchester. Brann did not assign Agora P 10656 and P 10196 a date, but placed this standed bowl with pieces she dated about 675 B.C., which seems a little late to me. The preserved work of the Passas Painter seems to fit within a period of about fifteen years. In every way, I think, he is as talented as the best of his contemporaries, in particular the Analatos Painter, whose work has always received high praise and the lion's share of scholarly attention. Yet, when one recognizes the personality and innovations of the Passas Painter, he loses his hitherto rather shadowy identity in the Athenian Kerameikos and becomes an artist of true merit.

In addition to the five vases by him recognized by Hampe, the four added here help to establish how perceptive and imaginative the Passas Painter is, not only with regard to the different shapes he so ably dec-

orates, but also in his choice of ornaments, both as fill and as frames, and his selection of subjects. His shapes range from the rather small tankard in Manchester and the "Phaleron" oinochoe in London to the monumental stand kraters in Mainz and the name vase in Athens, whose height is about half that of the kraters. Taken together, the nine vases present an artistic challenge that the Passas Painter met with flying colors.

The Passas Painter has a clearly recognizable style of figure drawing. Often it is a little on the rough side, but he is not unskilled or inept. Rather, it is as though he was sometimes in a bit of a hurry. The Passas Painter's figures are individuals, and whether they inhabit the animal, human, or mythic world, they have life, energy and spirit. Large birds, especially cocks and raptors, seem to have impressed him greatly; his hounds are true coursers that any hunter would be proud to own. His horses walk out smartly and eagerly. Human figures carry large handsome cloths, drive chariots expertly, and engage in combat fiercely. Warriors hold round shields, and for the first time several of them bear figural instead of patterned emblems. Some of the warriors even wear the true Corinthian helmet with its protective cheekpieces and high or low crests.

The Passas Painter observed the world around him and drew on it creatively for his imagery instead of relying on old formulas that were beginning to look tired. Like the Analatos Painter, he began his career in the Late Geometric style, but he quickly discovered that his temperament was better suited to the less rigid, more flexible, and much more exciting Protoattic one. As Brann remarked: "perhaps it takes youth to paint Protoattic."¹¹⁶ I suspect it does.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABV

J. D. Beazley. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1956.

Addenda²

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

Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*

Gudrun Ahlberg. *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 32. Göteborg, 1971.

AJA

American Journal of Archaeology

AM

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung

Brann, *Agora VIII*

Eva T. H. Brann. *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 8. *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery: Mid-8th to Late 7th Century B.C.* Princeton, N.J., 1962.

BSA

Annual of the British School at Athens

Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*

J. Nicolas Coldstream. *Greek Geometric Pottery: A Survey of Ten Local Styles and Their Chronology*. London, 1968.

Cook, "Protoattic Pottery"

John M. Cook. "Protoattic Pottery." *BSA* 35 (1934-35), pp. 165-219.

Cook, "Workshops . . . 700"

John M. Cook. "Athenian Workshops around 700." *BSA* 42 (1947), pp. 139-55.

CVA

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*

Jean M. Davison. *Attic Geometric Workshops*. Yale Classical Studies 16. New Haven, 1961.

Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos"

Martine Denoyelle. "Le peintre d'Analatos: Essai de synthèse et perspectives nouvelles." *Antike Kunst* 39 (1996), pp. 71-87.

Hampe, *Grabfund*

Roland Hampe. *Ein frühattischer Grabfund*. Mainz, 1960.

JdI

Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*²

Karl Kübler. *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, vol. 6, pt. 2. *Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1970.

Paralipomena

J. D. Beazley. *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1971.

Rombos, *Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*

Theodora Rombos. *The Iconography of Attic Late Geometric II Pottery*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-Book 68. Jonsered, 1988.

Snodgrass, *Arms and Armor*

Anthony M. Snodgrass. *Arms and Armor of the Greeks*. Rev. ed. Baltimore, 1999.

Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*

Anthony Snodgrass. *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.* Edinburgh, 1964.

Young, *Hesperia*, suppl. II

Rodney S. Young. *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora. Hesperia*, suppl. 2. Athens, 1939.

in Athen," *JdI* 58 (1943), pp. 27–29, fig. 15; Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, p. 36, fig. 26; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 42, no. 13; Gudrun Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 16 (Stockholm, 1971), pp. 61–63, fig. 56; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 27, no. 25; Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art* (note 1 above), p. 45 and pl. 41; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greece and Rome* (New York, 1987), pp. 22–23, fig. 7; CVA, MMA 5 (USA 37), pls. 8–13 (1892–97).

For the Hirschfeld Workshop, see Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 41–44.

3. For a valuable discussion of the discovery of Protoattic pottery and the relevant scholarship, see Sarah P. Morris, *The Black and White Style: Athens and Aigina in the Orientalizing Period*, Yale Classical Monographs 6 (New Haven, 1984), pp. 2–18.
4. The figures on New York MMA 11.210.1 are not confined to narrow friezes but are spread out over the surface of the vase, and the composition of each theme enhances the part of the vase it decorates. On the neck, a fierce lion fells a frightened deer; on the shoulder, two fine horses graze contentedly; and on the body, Herakles dispatches Nessos with his sword for wantonly trying to ravage Deianeira, the hero's wife, while ferrying her across the river Euenos. Ornamental patterns serve mainly as frames. There is still some filling ornament, but it is not as dense as it was in the Geometric period and it is based mostly on floral motifs.

Selected bibliography: Gisela M. A. Richter, "A New Early Attic Vase," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 32 (1912), pp. 370–84, pls. 10–12; John D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure: A Sketch* (London, 1928), p. 9 and n. 1, pl. 2.1–2; Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," pp. 191 and n. 2, 192; Ernst Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (Munich, 1940), p. 36, fig. 44, pp. 40–41, 44–46; Karl Kübler, *Altattische Malerei* (Tübingen, 1950), pp. 12, 16–17, 22, pls. 24, 49, 50; Robert M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London, 1960), pp. 66–67, 69, 72, pl. 16; Morris, *Black and White Style* (note 3 above), pp. 3, 15, 29, 41, 65–68, 76, 124, no. 1, pl. 15; John D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), pp. 6–7, 93 n. 19, pl. 5; Gudrun Ahlberg-Cornell, *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art: Representation and Interpretation*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 100 (Jonsered, 1992), pp. 107–8, no. 109, p. 361, fig. 189; CVA, MMA 5 (USA 37), pls. 42–44 (1926–28).

5. See, particularly, Cook, "Workshops . . . 700"; Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*; Brann, *Agora VIII*, passim.
6. For the Analatos Painter, see, most recently, Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," passim, with bibliography. See also Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 30–35.
7. Selected bibliography: Gisela M. A. Richter, "Early Greek Vases," *MMAB* 18 (1923), pp. 176–77, fig. 1; Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," p. 184 and n. 2, pl. 50; Walter Hahland, "Zu den Anfängen der attischen Malerei," in *Corolla: Ludwig Curtius zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht* (Stuttgart, 1937), pp. 124 n. 9, 127–28, pl. 41; Young, *Hesperia*, suppl. II, pp. 137, 198 and n. 4, 219 n. 3, 220, 221; Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (note 4 above), p. 19, fig. 19, pp. 20, 28, 38, 58; Cook, "Workshops . . . 700," p. 151; Karl Kübler, *Altattische Malerei* (note 4 above), p. 8, pl. 4; Karl Kübler, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, vol. 5, pt. 1, *Die Nekropole des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1954), pp. 150–52; Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 41–42, fig. 25, p. 80 (the Passas Painter); Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, p. 49, fig. 57; Clotilda Brokaw, "Concurrent Styles in Late Geometric and

NOTES

1. This is the basic bibliography for Greek Geometric art: Bernhard Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art*, trans. Peter Osborne and Cornelia Osborne (London, 1971); J. Nicolas Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London, 1979); Jeffrey M. Hurwit, *Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480 B.C.* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), chaps. 2–3; Susan Langdon, ed., *From Pasture to Polis: Art in the Age of Homer*, exh. cat., Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia (Columbia, Mo., 1993). For pottery, the most comprehensive study is Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*.
2. The human figures on New York MMA 14.130.14 display perfectly the essence of the Geometric style. Two long locks of hair and small breasts descending from one side of the torso identify the mourners as women. The deceased lacks these features and is clearly male. In the frieze below, a shield, two spears, and a sword at waist level mark the figures on foot as warriors. Their helmets are merely a thick curved line extending from the back of the head to indicate the long tail of the helmet crest. The three horses of each chariot team seem to share a single body.

Selected bibliography: Gisela M. A. Richter, "Two Colossal Athenian Geometric or 'Dipylon' Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *AJA* 19 (1915), pp. 385–94, pls. 17–20, 23.1; Gerda Nottbaum, "Der Meister des grossen Dipylon-Amphora

Early Protoattic Vase Painting," *AM* 78 (1963), suppl., pl. 32.2; Renate Tölle, *Frühgriechische Reigentänze* (Waldsassen-Bayern, 1964), p. 90, no. 196; Diane Carroll, *Patterned Textiles in Greek Art: A Study of Their Designs in Relationship to Real Textiles and to Local and Period Styles*, Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1965 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1965), p. 261, no. HL26; Rombos, *Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, p. 95, pls. 15p, 29b; CVA, MMA 5 (USA 37), pls. 39–41 (1923–25).1–4.

Dimensions and condition: H. 29.4–29.7 cm; diam. of mouth 11.6–11.9 cm; diam. of body 16.8–17 cm; diam. of foot 9.5 cm; width of resting surface 0.4–0.7 cm. Broken and mended with missing pieces restored in plaster and painted, mainly on Side B. Nearly all of the glaze has abraded or flaked off on Side B, leaving only ghosts of the ornamental and figured decoration that are visible under magnification in a raking light. In addition, some of the glaze has abraded from the neck and shoulder on Side A and on much of handle A/B. Brownish black glaze, thin in places, especially for the hair of the charioteers, manes, bird, "Tree of Life" on Side A; also the lines below the chariot procession and ornament.

Lent to the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, December 10, 1969–March 14, 1970.

8. For all of the terminology used for Geometric ornament in this article, see the glossary drawn up by Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 395–97. An illustration of the ornaments pertinent to the Geometric material in the Metropolitan Museum will appear in the next fascicule of the CVA, MMA 5 (USA 37), *Illustrated Glossary of Linear Motifs*.
9. This is not the same as an outline face, which has a fully articulated nose and chin. See the sphinxes, dancers, and aulos-player on the neck of Louvre CA 2985 by the Analatos Painter (Figure 36). By contrast, the heads of the figures on MMA 21.88.18 are closer to those of Geometric painters, a good example being those on MMA 14.130.14 from the Hirschfeld Workshop (Figure 1).
10. Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," p. 184. See Konstantinos Kourouniotis, "Εξ Ἀττικῆς," *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1911, pp. 246–51, for the excavation, and pp. 249–50, figs. 11–13, for the fragments, esp. p. 250, figs. 12 and 13, for the neck fragment and a body fragment that are not illustrated in this article; or Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 43, figs. 26, 27. Also, Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², p. 607, no. 231. Hampe (CVA, Mainz 1 [Deutschland 15], p. 26) says that there is the use of white and orange on these fragments.

For ancient Phaleron, see C. W. J. Eliot in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. Richard Stillwell (Princeton, N.J., 1976), p. 698. For the graves, see Rodney S. Young, "Graves from the Phaleron Cemetery," *AJA* 46 (1942), pp. 23–57, with earlier bibliography, esp. S. Pelekides, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Φαλήρου," *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 2 (1916), pp. 13–64.

11. Cook, "Workshops . . . 700," pp. 150–51; the quotation is on p. 151. The Edinburgh skyphos is now published in the following: Brigitte Borell, *Attisch geometrische Schalen: Eine spätgeometrische Keramikgattung und ihre Beziehungen zum Orient* (Mainz am Rhein, 1978), pls. 8, 9; and Elizabeth Moignard in CVA, Edinburgh 1 (Great Britain 16), pl. 3 (720).1–2—the figure numbers on the plate are given as 3 and 4. Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 68, no. 28) attributes this skyphos to the Birdseed Workshop.
12. Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, pp. 49–51; the quotations are on p. 50. For illustrations of the Oxford, London, Agora, New

York, and Boston vases, see figs. 54–58, respectively. Davison is silent about the fragments from Phaleron, the Edinburgh skyphos, and the Vlastos kantharos, though perhaps letting MMA 21.88.18 "serve as an illustration" implies acceptance.

13. Hampe, *Grabfund*, passim. The five kraters were first published by Hampe and Erika Simon in CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pp. 18–31, pls. 8–26 (701–19). There, they were fully described.
14. For the Passas amphora, see most recently, Eleni Manakidou, *Παραστάσεις με ἄρματα* (8ος–5ος αι. Π. Χ.). *Παρατηρήσεις στην εικονογραφία τους* (Thessalonica, 1994), pl. 3. Also, Renate Tölle-Kastenbein, "Homerische Kriegererehrung," *Antike Welt* 5, no. 3 (1974), pp. 21–30, figs. 1–8; in figs. 2–6, the illustrations labeled Side A should be Side B and vice versa. Also Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², p. 608, no. 232.
15. See Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 41–45, for a list of vases attributed to the painter and a brief discussion of his style.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–40, for the painter, and figs. 15a, 19–24, and pls. 22, 23, for illustrations. The "Phaleron" oinochoe takes its name from the examples found in graves at Phaleron (see note 10 above). For the most part, they are modest little vases with scant figured decoration. See the illustration of a group of them in Pelekides, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Φαλήρου" (as in note 10), p. 39, figs. 37–38, and the brief discussion of the shape by Young, "Graves from the Phaleron Cemetery" (as in note 10), pp. 49–50. The London oinochoe is unusual for having figures on both the neck and the body.
17. For all of the fragments of this krater, see CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pl. 24 (717); Hampe, *Grabfund*, pls. 22, 23. I am illustrating two of them.
18. Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," p. 183, fig. 7. Cook merely mentions the vase on p. 181 in connection with his discussion of dogs in Late Geometric and Early Protoattic.
19. Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 81, no. 437. Since Brann published a photo of the bowl fragment and because its glaze is quite flaked, I am illustrating it in a drawing made from a 1:1 photograph (Figure 34). The stand fragment has never been published (Figure 35). The added white of the alternate leaves of the hanging palmette is visible today only under magnification in a strong light.
20. I am not sure what the bits of glaze in the lower left corner of the panel represent (it looks like the hind leg of a quadruped to right); I believe this fragment (which does not join break-to-break with the fragment with the palmette) is from another leg of the stand.
21. For a photograph of Mainz inv. 153 in its restored state, see CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pl. 23 (716).1.
22. For the likely use of these vases in antiquity, see Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 71–75. He assumes that the five kraters come from the same grave, which in the late 8th century B.C. could be either a cremation or an inhumation burial (see Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* [note 1 above], pp. 119–23). In Athens, the Kerameikos has provided the richest source of cremation burials (Karl Kübler, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, vol. 6, pt. 1, *Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1959], passim. For late 8th-century B.C. inhumation burials in Athens, see Young, *Hesperia*, suppl. II, passim). At this time, the deceased was cremated on a funeral pyre, which formed a layer of the grave itself. Near the grave, long, flat depressions, usually two side by side, were dug and lined with slabs of limestone or clay bricks. These were the channels (*Opferrinnen*) into which grave gifts were placed and burned. The channels were used just

once, then they and the grave were covered with a mound of earth. For a general description, see Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 71–75; more briefly, Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*¹, pp. 87–88; and Donna C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London, 1971), pp. 73–76. For a good example, see Cremation Grave 11 in the Kerameikos: Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*¹, pp. 22–24, for a description of the offerings; suppl., pl. 9, showing the proximity of the *Opferrinne* to the grave (it never joins the grave); and pl. 5, which should be consulted along with the explanation of it on p. 164, fig. 37. Some of the graves in the photograph are much later than Grave 11, which Kübler dates ca. 650 B.C. on the basis of the pottery found in it.

23. The earliest preserved vase decorated with plastic snakes seems to be Athens 769, a neck-amphora attributed by Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 32, no. 31) to the Dipylon Workshop and thus dating around the middle of the 8th century B.C. On this amphora, the snakes appear only on the handles. According to Coldstream (p. 57), plastic snakes attached to the mouth, handles, and shoulder appear for the first time on amphorae by the Philadelphia Painter, whose work is dated in the penultimate decade of the 8th century B.C. This is the canonical placement of snakes on amphorae. François Villard (“Une amphore géométrique attique au Musée du Louvre,” *Monuments et mémoires*, Fondation Eugène Piot 49 [1957], p. 25) suggests that Louvre CA 3468 from the Workshop of Athens 894 is the earliest vase to bear plastic snakes in these areas, and he dates the Louvre amphora to ca. 725 B.C. (p. 39). Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 60 n. 1) points out that Villard places this amphora (and thus the workshop) too early and that the style of drawing on the amphora, particularly the striding lions on the lower part of the body (Villard, “Une amphore géométrique attique,” p. 25, fig. 12), cannot be far from the transition to Protoattic, which takes place in the last decade of the 8th century B.C.

Plastic snakes are a funerary symbol. See Erich Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* (Giessen, 1913). For a brief discussion of plastic snakes in the period under discussion in this article, see pp. 44–49; also pp. 62–72, for their symbolism in the afterlife.

24. A fragment from one of the handles on Mainz inv. 154 preserves traces of something that surmounted the ring (Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 10, fig. 7). Hampe (p. 11) noted that at this time the choices would be a floral, a bird, or a mourning woman. On pp. 49–50, he gives examples of bowls with upright handles topped by florals that were found in the Kerameikos. Hampe restored the Mainz handle florals on the basis of those on the Kerameikos kraters, which are very simple (see, for example, Kerameikos inv. 147 from *Opferrinne* γ: Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², pl. 45). Given the complexity of the Mainz krater and stand, something more ornate may have originally crowned the ring handle. Even Hampe himself remarked (*Grabfund*, p. 11): “Wer mit ihnen nicht einverstanden ist, kann sie herausnehmen (Abb. 8b).”
25. For the krater supported by a conical stand, see Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 48–57, with particular reference to the Mainz kraters and possible metal prototypes; more briefly, the remarks by Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², pp. 161–62. Hampe (*Grabfund*, p. 50) notes that such prototypes may have already existed in Athens and one need not assume influence from the Near East, although he does draw a parallel with a fragmentary bronze bowl found at Gordion that has two upright handles sur-

mounted by a floral (p. 45; for the bowl, see Gustav Körte and Alfred Körte, *Gordion: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung im Jahre 1900, JdI, Ergänzungsheft 5* [Berlin, 1904], p. 72, fig. 51). It is probably slightly earlier than the Mainz kraters. Hampe points out that a krater supported by a tripod stand, not a conical one, is known in Protogeometric Attic pottery (*Grabfund*, p. 81, re Kerameikos inv. 554 and 555; see Wilhelm Kraiker and Karl Kübler, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, vol. 1, *Die Nekropolen des 12. bis 10. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1939], pls. 63, 64). These are really quite different because the legs are separate forms attached to the bowl. The bowl on a conical stand, as it pertains to the Mainz kraters, does not seem to begin in pottery before the late 8th century B.C., and the Mainz kraters, together with Athens NM 810 (see note 108 below) from the Workshop of Athens 894, appear to be among the earliest, if not the earliest. It may be, however, that the bowl supported by a conical stand develops from the monumental pedestaled krater that dies out (in large size) during the third quarter of the 8th century B.C. (for brief discussions of the shape, see Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, pp. 111–14; and Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 17–18, 23, 26).

Hampe (*Grabfund*, pp. 48, 81) draws an interesting parallel between the plastic ornament below the rims of the Mainz kraters and a fragment (now lost) of a conical stand found in the Kerameikos (Friedrich Noack, “Die Mauern Athens: Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen,” *AM* 32 [1907], p. 563, fig. 37). One of these fragments, from the top of the stand, preserves a frieze of knobs surrounded by smaller beads, all in added clay. Although the plastic decoration on the rims of the Mainz kraters is more ornate than these, the idea is the same. Might this indicate the provenance of the Mainz kraters?

26. Cook, “Protoattic Pottery,” p. 184. Kübler (*Kerameikos V*¹ [note 7 above], pp. 150–52) was more generous. He compared MMA 21.88.18 with two Cycladic neck-amphorae from Delos: Charles Dugas and Constantinos Rhomaios, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, fasc. 15, *Les vases préhelléniques et géométriques*, École Française d’Athènes (Paris, 1934), pls. 20, 22.3, particularly the latter, an association Buschor had already made (*Griechische Vasen* [note 4 above], p. 58). Besides the similarity in shape, the horses on these two neck-amphorae have the same narrow bodies, hanging manes, high croups, and arched tails as those by the Passas Painter.
27. See note 10 above.
28. As suggested by Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 42: “Mit Pa 1 [MMA 21.88.18] fassen wir eine frühere spätgeometrische Stufe.”
29. CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), p. 18, sub pl. 8.1 and 2. For the early use of added white, see Renate Tölle, “Figürlich bemalte Fragmente der geometrischen Zeit vom Kerameikos,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1963, cols. 647–48 n. 13. Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 57) noted the use of white dots on plastic snakes on vases by the Philadelphia Painter.
30. CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), p. 26 and pl. 24 (717).2; Hampe, *Grabfund*, pl. 22.2.
31. Hampe, *Grabfund*, pl. 22.3. This fragment does not appear in the CVA. On p. 40 of *Grabfund*, Hampe says he assumes this fragment and the one illustrated on pl. 22.2 belong to the figured fragments of Mainz inv. 155.
32. This pattern appears in the work of the Analatos Painter. See Munich 6077 (Denoyelle, “Le peintre d’Analatos,” pl. 17; it occurs in the area between the tails of chariot horses and the charioteer); Agora P 20598, attributed by Brann (*Agora VIII*,

- p. 76, no. 399, pl. 23); and Mainz inv. 156, attributed by Hampe (*Grabfund*, pl. 24.7).
33. Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 43.
 34. For spirals in the work of the Analatos Painter, see these examples: Louvre CA 2985, the zone above the chariot procession (Figure 36); Munich 6077, the vertical panel next to each handle and the zone above the foot where one will later see rays (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 17); Berlin 5826, the area above the foot (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 18.1–2; attributed by Denoyelle); Agora P 13278, above the foot (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 18.3; attributed by Denoyelle); Agora P 13299, below the figures (Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 75, no. 397, pl. 23; attributed by Brann); Mainz inv. 157, a vertical panel (Hampe, *Grabfund*, pl. 25.3; attributed by Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," p. 86, no. 7); Berlin A 31, zone above the foot (CVA, Berlin 1 [Deutschland 2], pl. 17 [63].1; attributed by Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," p. 86, no. 14).
 35. CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pl. 24 (717).5, 6, 8 (here, Figure 31); Hampe, *Grabfund*, pls. 22.4–5, 23.3. Elsewhere at this time, a cluster of lozenges may be seen on the following vases. The Analatos Painter: Athens NM 313, next to the right horizontal handle and below the vertical handle (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 15.2) and the fragment from the Olympeion attributed to the Analatos Painter by Eva Brann ("Seventh Century Sherds from the Olympeion Area," *Hesperia* 28 [1959], pl. 44.1). Also the fragment in a private collection in England, attributed by Hampe to Painter N (Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 39, fig. 23). The pattern also occurs about the same time in Cycladic pottery, and it is difficult to decide if there is influence from one fabric to the other or if the appearance is spontaneous in each. See Dugas and Rhomaïos, *Délos XV* (note 26 above), pls. 20–22, 24.4b.
 36. For the Phaleron fragment, see Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 43, fig. 27.
 37. For a brief discussion of the cable pattern, as well as an illustration of its variations, see Kübler, *Kerameikos VI*², pp. 136–39. These are the examples I have been able to find in the extant work of the Analatos Painter: Athens NM 313, the namepiece (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 14.3); Louvre CA 2985 (Figure 36); Eleusis 1078 (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 13.1); Berlin 5826 (see note 34 above); Mainz inv. 153 (Hampe, *Grabfund*, pl. 13; Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 13.2); and Mainz inv. 156 (Hampe, *Grabfund*, pl. 25.11). Many of the vases attributed to the Analatos Painter are mere fragments today, so it is very possible that there were once more examples of the cable pattern in his work. I have not been able to find examples in pottery that seem to predate these.
 38. The closest parallel I have been able to find occurs on an early 7th-century neck-amphora found in the Agora, P 24032 (Eva Brann, "Protoattic Well Groups from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 30 [1961], pp. 321–22, no. E 1, pl. 65). The ornament is a double lozenge with central dot; four hooks extend from the outer lozenge. The pattern occurs below the belly of a grazing horse Brann compares with a horse by the Analatos Painter.
 39. Elsewhere, I have been able to find this ornament only on the following. Four fragments of a pedestaled krater by the Hirschfeld Painter: Bonn 16; Halle, Robertinum 59; Amsterdam 2009; and Louvre A 533 (553?) (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 41, no. 3; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, figs. 55, a–e). Two Late Geometric tankards that are probably by the same hand: Athens, ex Lambros (Bernhard Schweitzer, "Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte der geometrischen Stile in Griechenland, II," *AM* 43 [1918], pl. 5.4); and Copenhagen inv. Chr. VIII 363 (CVA, Copenhagen 2 [Danemark 2], pl. 70 [71].13).
 40. See Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 29, fig. 15, pp. 37–39, figs. 19–22. An exception is the fragment in an English private collection. There, several Ns are stacked one above the other (Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 39, fig. 23).
 41. For example, on the shoulder of MMA 12.198.1, a "Phaleron" jug with lid (Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection*, MMA [Cambridge, Mass., 1953], p. 39, pl. 26a; CVA, MMA 5 [USA 37], pl. 45 [1929].5–8).
 42. See note 10 above.
 43. The Phaleron fragments do not preserve the shoulder of the vase, but one may perhaps assume that there was a figured panel in this area.
 44. Important exceptions are some of the large Protoattic amphorae, such as MMA 11.210.1 (Figure 2) and the famous Polyphemos amphora at Eleusis (George Mylonas, 'Ο Προτοαττικός Ἀμφορεύς, *Bibliothèque des études athenaises Archaiologikes Hetaireias* 39 [Athens, 1957], passim, pls. 1, 2), which are decorated with figures on one side only, the reverse having large ornamental patterns. The name vase of the Nettos Painter, the earliest black-figure artist to have left a substantial body of work, was glazed black on the reverse (Athens NM 1002: *ABV*, p. 4, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 2, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 1).
 45. One might argue that this arrangement of the figures is not, strictly speaking, a panel since the figures are not surrounded by large areas of ornament or, as will be the case later, by glaze that will create a "window." Yet, on the Passas amphora, the vertical panels of ornament are clearly intended as separators.
The picture panel surrounded by black glaze is an invention of Protoattic artists for the decoration of oinochoai and one-piece amphorae, vases that have a continuous-curve profile between mouth and foot. See the remarks by Brann in *Agora VIII*, pp. 3, 26.
 46. Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 44–45. He mentioned the lively horses, the beautiful cock on Mainz inv. 154, as well as the shield devices on the name vase and the ornament on drapery, but he did not elaborate.
 47. On MMA 21.88.18, both types of tail appear. The grazing horse on the neck has the upright mane of Geometric horses.
 48. This is not to suggest that there is any connection between the two.
 49. Young, *Hesperia*, suppl. II, p. 219.
 50. See Martine Denoyelle, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la céramique dans les collections du Louvre* (Paris, 1994), p. 22.
 51. The eye of the hound on Mainz inv. 155 is a bit larger than those on Mainz inv. 153 and 154, its jaw is slightly undershot, and its tail is bushier, but these are not major differences. Compared with other hounds, these are very individualized (see, e.g., those below the frieze of chariots on Oxford 1935.18 by Painter N: Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 38, fig. 20).
 52. For nets used in hare hunting, see J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), pp. 31, 37–42.
 53. Xenophon, *On Hunting (Kynegetikos)* 4.1–8, in *Scripta minora*, trans. E. C. Marchant, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1925), pp. 381–87. See also the translation by Denison B. Hull of the part of Pollux's *Onomastikon* that has to do with hound gear and the standard for the ideal hound (*Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece* [Chicago, 1964], pp. 153, 154–55).

54. Xenophon, *On Hunting* 4.2 (Loeb ed. [note 53 above], p. 383). See also *Xenophon and Arrian on Hunting*, ed. with introduction, translation, and commentary by A. A. Philips and M. M. Willcock (Warminster, 1999), pp. 45, 138.
 55. For a similar example, though not by the Passas Painter, see Munich 1352, an oinochoe of about the same time as the Passas Painter's bowl (CVA, München 3 [Deutschland 9], pl. 134 [416].1–3). This was already noted by Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 66, 67, figs. 44, 45. The collar is simply a reserved band on the neck, not a black band within a reserved area. Add: Copenhagen inv. N 2761 (Ada Bruhn, "Greek Vases in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek," *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* 2 [1938], p. 115, fig. 2).
 56. See Hull, *Hounds and Hunting* (note 53 above), p. 9; Anderson, *Hunting* (note 52 above), p. 46. I wish to thank M. A. Littauer and J. K. Anderson for discussing with me this finer point of coursing hares with hounds in antiquity. Xenophon (*On Hunting* 6.1) also tells us that "collars should be soft and broad, so as not to chafe the hounds' coat. The leashes should have a noose for the hand, and nothing else; for if the collar is made in one piece with the leash, perfect control of the hounds is impossible" (Loeb ed. [note 53 above], p. 401); also *Xenophon and Arrian* (note 54 above), pp. 55, 146–47.
 57. See the brief remarks by Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," pp. 181–82, and by Kübler, *Kerameikos* VI², pp. 32, 67–69.
 58. Oxford 1935.18 (Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 38, fig. 20). Cleveland 27.6 (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 58, no. 6; CVA, Cleveland 1 [USA 15], pl. 2 [682]). Once Berlin (Dieter Metzler, "Eine geometrische Amphora," *Antike Kunst* 15 [1972], pl. 1; for the attribution, see pp. 5–6).
 59. Johannes Böhlau ("Frühattische Vasen," *Jdl* 2 [1887], pp. 48–49) interpreted the hare as filler for the space below the handle because he did not think the hounds should be considered pursuing it. On the other hand, he agreed that the diagonal line represents hilly or mountainous terrain ("bergauf laufende Hase under dem Henkel"; p. 48).
 60. Xenophon, *On Hunting* 5.17 (Loeb ed. [note 53 above], p. 393).
 61. One of the earliest indisputable representations of terrain on Greek pottery occurs in the panel of a fragmentary krater found in Argos (Argos C 240: Paul Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 208 [Paris, 1966], pl. 40; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 129–30, dated Late Geometric I, i.e., ca. third quarter of the 8th century B.C.). A horse walks on ground indicated by an area of dots, and below it in front of a water bird there are four long rows of zigzags that represent water (see Courbin, *La céramique géométrique*, p. 475, who says that the type of water [lagoon, marsh, or lake] depends on the type of bird). Another example, this time just a ground line, may occur in the panel below the spout of Copenhagen inv. 726 by a painter from the Hirschfeld Workshop (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 42, no. 7). A row of dots appears to serve as the ground for a reclining deer but would be more plausible as terrain if it did not continue as a vertical row beside the left frame of the panel. Both of these are earlier than London BM 1865.7–20.1.
- Elsewhere, evidence of terrain in figured scenes occurs on Boeotian fibulae of the late 8th century B.C. Here are some examples: Louvre no no. (Roland Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien* [Athens, 1936], p. 25, fig. 6): two women holding a branch and a wreath stand just above a zigzag line; Louvre no no. (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder*, p. 30, fig. 13): horse and goose stand above a zigzag line; London BM 3204 (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder*, pl. 1): two warriors stand on a wavy line; Thebes no no. (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder*, pl. 6 below): two horses walk on stony ground; Athens NM 3697 (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder*, pl. 9, lower left): Herakles and the Molione (?) stand on stippled ground. None of these is as elaborate as the terrain on the Argos fragment, and Argos may even have played a leading role in indicating terrain. A particularly good example occurs on the fragment of a mid-7th-century Argive bowl that shows the Blinding of Polyphemos, the giant reclining on a bed of rocks (for a good colored photograph, see Martin Robertson, *The Great Centuries of Greek Painting* [Geneva, 1959], p. 44). For a general discussion of nature and terrain in Greek art before the Persian Wars, see Jeffery M. Hurwit, "The Representation of Nature in Early Greek Art," in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*, Studies in the History of Art 32, Symposium Papers 16 (Washington, D.C., and Hanover, N.H., 1991), pp. 33–62.
62. John Carter, "The Beginning of Narrative Art in the Greek Geometric Period," *BSA* 67 (1972), p. 33. To a certain degree, these goats by the Passas Painter seem to foreshadow the goats on 7th-century Rhodian vases. See Chrysoula Kardara, *Ροδιακή Ἀγγειογραφία*, Bibliothek tes en Athenais Archaio-logikes Hetaireias 49 (Athens, 1963), pp. 140–43.
 63. For the Dipylon Workshop, see Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 29–41, with bibliography (this is still the best discussion of the workshop). See the goats on Athens NM 804 (Paolo Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* [London, 1962], pl. 4; or Christian Zervos, *La civilisation hellénique*, vol. 1, *XI^e–VIII^e s.* [Geneva, 1969], fig. 62, for a good detail) or on Munich 6080 (Arias, *Greek Vase Painting*, pl. I), both from the Dipylon Workshop. These goats recline to right with head and neck turned back. They are drawn in silhouette with two curved lines for antlers. For the Hirschfeld Workshop, see note 2 above. For a quick review of the appearance of goats on Geometric vases, see Pierre Amandry, "Un motif 'scythe' en Iran et en Grèce," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24 (1965), pp. 156–58, figs. 2, 3.
 64. The best parallel I have been able to find for these goats is the one in the panel of an unattributed stood bowl in Vienna, 947 (CVA, Wien 1 [Deutschland 5], pl. 3 [197].4). The horns on this goat enabled me to interpret as horns the S-shaped object above the body of each goat on the Passas amphora. For the beard, also unusual because it is so long, see *Kerameikos* no no. (Kübler, *Kerameikos* VI², pl. 106, no. 201). Just the head with a long beard and the front of the neck and chest remain. For goats, see Kübler, *Kerameikos* VI², pp. 54–58.
 65. To judge from the archaeological evidence, domesticated land fowl do not seem to be known in Greece before the late 8th or early 7th century B.C., thus just about the time the Passas Painter was active. Land fowl are not mentioned by Homer, although he knew of a Greek hero named Alektryon (Ἀλεκτρυών is the ancient Greek word for cock): "Leitus . . . , son of great-souled Alektryon" (*Iliad* [17.602], trans. A. T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1925], p. 275). In the late 5th century B.C. Aristophanes calls the alektryon the Persian bird (Περσικὸς ὄρνις; *The Birds* [483], trans. Benjamin B. Rogers, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1924], p. 175). See Alfred Newton, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. 10, p. 760; John Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (Plymouth, 1977), pp. 88–89; also Victor Hehn,

Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa (Berlin, 1887), pp. 260–73, esp. pp. 260–67, for its arrival in Greece and ancient Greek literary sources.

For representations of cocks in early Greek art, see Kübler, *Kerameikos* VI², pp. 66–67. He judges the one on the Mainz krater to be of special stature (p. 66: “Sonderstellung”). He also notes (pp. 32 n. 21, 67) the special combination of cock and dog in Attic art. Hampe (*Grabfund*, pp. 58–59) says that the cock was a sacrificial animal for heroes and may serve as a heroizing of the dead.

Cocks on early Protocorinthian vases are not as well articulated as they are in Attic. See Humfry Payne, *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 74, 76 n. 9, and his *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* (Berlin, 1933), pl. 6; also Knud Friis Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens: Étude archéologique* (Paris, 1923), pp. 52–53, pl. 5. See also the one on MMA 23.160.18 (Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 56, fig. 42).

66. Probably contemporary or slightly later are these from the Agora: P 12603 (Brann, *Agora* VIII, p. 77, no. 412, pl. 24); P 7589 (Brann, *Agora* VIII, p. 81, no. 438, pl. 26); and P 5408 (Brann, *Agora* VIII, p. 82, no. 445, pls. 27, 44). The last has circles on its neck but not the central dot in each.

67. For the griffin-bird, see the brief remarks by Kübler, *Kerameikos* VI², pp. 61–62. In Greek art, the griffin-bird on the Passas amphora seems to be the earliest example, at least in a narrative context. The others I have been able to find appear by themselves or in a frieze with other animals. Griffin-bird by itself, e.g., on the necks of two “Phaleron” oinochoai from Grave 19 at Phaleron (Young, “Graves from the Phaleron Cemetery” [note 10 above], p. 27, nos. 19.6 and 19.11, fig. 4). Griffin-bird in a frieze, e.g., on an Early Protocorinthian aryballos found at Delphi, which shows the griffin-bird in the company of a goat, a lion, and a bull (Friis Johansen, *Vases sicyoniens* [note 65 above], p. 132, pl. 36.4).

68. See Dugas and Rhomaios, *Délos* XV (note 26 above), pl. 55.

69. For the antlers, see those of the deer cavorting among the trees on a Cretan shield in Athens, NM 11762 (Emil Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* [Stuttgart, 1931], pl. 36, no. 26), and those of the deer on another Cretan shield, though less well preserved, Athens NM 11762 α (Kunze, *Bronzereliefs*, pl. 42, no. 54). These antlers are not as full as they are on the Passas Painter’s deer, but one wonders if he saw something like this and gave it his own embellishment.

70. For hippalektrya, see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 5 (1990), pp. 427–32, s.v. Hippalektryon (Dyfri Williams). As far as I have been able to determine, the hippalektrya by the Passas Painter are the earliest preserved painted examples. A predecessor may be the 9th-century B.C. askos from Knossos in the shape of a horse-bird, but this vase is supported by three legs without spurs or claws and there are no tail or sickle feathers. The hippalektrya by the Passas Painter seem to derive from the cock.

71. See CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pl. 19 (712).1, 4, and pl. 20 (713).2. For sphinxes, see the bibliography cited by Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 84. For early representations, see Nikolaos M. Verdelis, “L’apparition du sphinx dans l’art grec aux VIII^e et VII^e siècles avant J.-C.,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 75 (1951), pp. 1–37; for a brief discussion of the spiral or floral ornament and a few examples of it, see pp. 6–7, 31. In Attic painting, the earliest example may be on a fragmentary Late

Geometric II skyphos or cup in Athens NM 784 (Verdelis, “L’apparition du sphinx,” p. 18, fig. 11, after AM 18 [1893], p. 113, fig. 10; Rombos, *Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, pp. 460–61, no. 202, pl. 46b, attributed by Rombos to the Workshop of Athens 894). The two winged figures on this cup have been interpreted as centaurs and as sphinxes (Verdelis, “L’apparition du sphinx,” p. 18 n. 1). Rombos (*Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, p. 461) calls them sphinxes. Their long, upturned tails with tufts argue for sphinxes. The floral on the sphinx by the Passas Painter may be one of the earliest, at least in Attic painting.

72. Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 24, pl. 22.6. For the bier cloth, see Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, pp. 55–63.

73. See note 9 above.

74. It occurs, for example, on Kerameikos inv. 1371, an amphora from the Workshop of Athens 894 (Kübler, *Kerameikos* V¹ [note 7 above], pl. 39; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 59, no. 23; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, fig. 42). This occurrence was already noted by Kübler, *Kerameikos* V¹, p. 150.

75. For the fragment that I am not illustrating, see CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), pl. 24 (717).7. On this fragment there remain parts of two warriors back-to-back, one with a well-preserved Corinthian helmet; one assumes each had an opponent.

76. For this fragment, see note 75 above. See also the chart of helmet crests in Late Geometric compiled by Tölle-Kastenbein, “Homerische Kriegerehrung” (note 14 above), p. 27; nos. 11–13, 16, and 17 are by the Passas Painter and contrast sharply with the others in this chart. For an actual bronze helmet with a silver ram’s head protome for the crest support, see St. Louis no. no. (Thomas T. Hoopes, *Armor and Arms: An Elementary Handbook and Guide to the Collection in the City Art Museum in St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A.* [St. Louis, 1954], pp. 2–3, frontis.). I wish to thank Beth Cohen for this reference. The helmet is dated in the mid-6th century B.C.

77. On Mainz inv. 155, there is plaster fill where the nose guard would be. For the Corinthian helmet, see Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, pp. 20–31; and Snodgrass, *Arms and Armor*, pp. 50–52.

78. Shield devices appear very often in vase painting from the mid-7th century B.C. on, and they are also known on the shields of Mycenaean warriors and in Homer. See George M. Chase, *The Shield Devices of the Greeks in Art and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1902; reprint, Chicago, 1979); also Léon Lacroix, “Les ‘blasons’ des villes grecques,” *Études d’archéologie classique* 1 (1955–56), pp. 91–115. For the earliest examples, see Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, pp. 62–65, and more briefly, Snodgrass, *Arms and Armor*, p. 55.

In Greek art, at least in Attica, shield devices do not seem to appear before LG IIB (i.e., ca. 720 B.C.), and those known to me occur on round shields.

The earliest examples of shield devices and the largest number of them are abstract patterns or symbols that derive from the ornaments on Geometric vases (see the chart of devices collected by Tölle-Kastenbein, “Homerische Kriegerehrung” [note 14 above], p. 29, fig. 10; she seems to omit the one on Side B of the Passas Painter’s name vase that is very flaked). The oldest preserved devices occur in the work of painters assigned by Coldstream to the LG IIB phase of the Sub-Dipylon Group and to the Workshop of Athens 894 or attributed by him to the Philadelphia Painter (see Tölle-Kastenbein, “Homerische Kriegerehrung,” p. 29, fig. 10, nos. 14 and 30, for the Sub-Dipylon Group; nos. 16–18, 20, 23–25, for the Workshop of

Athens 894; and nos. 11, 13, 15, 21, for the Philadelphia Painter). Add to these the lozenge star on the shield of a dead warrior in the prothesis scene on Kerameikos 5643, an amphora fragment attributed by Rombos (*Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, pp. 448–49, no. 172, pl. 9) to the Workshop of Athens 894; also the whirligig on the shield of a warrior on the neck of Agora P 24032, an early Protoattic neck-amphora attributed by Brann (*Agora VIII*, p. 78, no. 415, pl. 24) to a follower of the Analatos Painter. This shield device resembles the one on the shield carried by the warrior walking behind the chariot on Side A of the Passas Painter's namepiece (Figure 24).

Of greater interest here are the shields with figural devices. Besides the examples on the Passas Painter's namepiece, the name vase of a contemporary, the Benaki Painter (Athens Benaki 7675) contains five: horse; two birds; fish; and a Dipylon shield (Coldstream, *Greek Painted Pottery*, p. 81, no. 2; Tölle-Kastenbein, "Homerische Kriegerehrung," p. 29, fig. 10, nos. 31–35). Slightly earlier may be the grazing horse that appears on the shield of a warrior on Kerameikos 112 (Tölle, "Figürlich bemalte Fragmente" [note 29 above], col. 648, fig. 5). Add to this the shield device of a lion devouring its prey on a fragment of an amphora in the Kerameikos, no no. (Friedrich Hamdorf, in Wolfram Hoepfner, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, vol. 10, *Das Pompeion und seine Nachfolgerbauten* [Berlin, 1976], p. 199, fig. 211b). The fragment is by a painter from the Workshop of Athens 894 (Friedrich Hamdorf, in Hoepfner, *Kerameikos X*, p. 198) and may even be by the same hand as Kerameikos inv. 1371.

There were two types of round shield in the late 8th century B.C. The earlier of the two was not very large. An arm sling, also called a telamon, allowed it to hang down the back of the warrior when it was not in use, and a handgrip permitted him to hold it when fighting. This type of shield was superseded by the true hoplite shield, which is distinguished from the former by having a fixed armband and a handgrip on the inside. Since ornamental patterns on shields may be viewed from any angle, round shields with patterns are probably the earlier type, at least in the time period considered here, though the hoplite shield may not be excluded (Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, p. 63). The small round shield was held with a good deal more flexibility than the true hoplite shield. The rigid armband that fit around the forearm of the warrior just below his elbow and the handgrip attached near the join of the rim kept the hoplite shield in a fixed position. Thus, a figured device, which could be viewed from only one position, would be more appropriate for this type of shield. For a discussion of both types of shield, see Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, pp. 61–67, esp. pp. 62–64, for the devices of each.

Whether to call a round shield a hoplite shield or not is contingent upon seeing the armband and grip on the inside, and these features do not seem to appear before the late first quarter of the 7th century B.C. (Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, p. 65). Still, in view of the placement necessary for a figured device, the shields listed above with this type of device are probably hoplite shields. An oddity is that in each case the shield is held on the right arm of a warrior who moves from left to right. Normally, a shield is carried on the left arm so that the warrior's right arm is free to use his spear or sword. And the large hoplite shields used later in the tight phalanx formation had to be carried on the left arm for presentation of a united impenetrable line of defense. For the adoption of the true hoplite phalanx, which probably occurred some time in the 7th century B.C., see Snodgrass, *Early*

Greek Armour, p. 204, with bibliography, and Snodgrass, *Arms and Armor*, chap. 3, esp. pp. 53–55, for the hoplite shield. A particularly good example of such a phalanx occurs on the Proto-corinthian Chigi vase of about 630 B.C. For a good illustration, see Arias, *Greek Vase Painting* (note 63 above), pl. IV.

Snodgrass (*Arms and Armor*, p. 50) also reminds us that "we should not imagine that he [the hoplite] was created in a day. Even at this period [the 7th century B.C.] of sudden and interacting changes, it is unthinkable that all the technological, tactical and social developments, which were necessary before a hoplite phalanx could be put in the field, happened in the sweep of one hand. Our safest guide lies in the elements of the panoply, as they severally make their appearance on the Greek scene, in actual finds or in art."

79. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, p. 63.

80. See note 72 above.

81. See Hampe, *Grabfund*, p. 43, fig. 27, for a photograph of the second fragment.

82. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (note 4 above), p. 20.

83. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (1.6.1), trans. Charles Forster Smith, Loeb Classical Library, rev. ed. (1928; reprint, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1969), vol. 1, p. 11; Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," pp. 184–85.

84. CVA, Berlin 1 (Deutschland 2), pls. 31–33 (77–79). The stand was destroyed in World War II.

85. Hahland, "Zu den Anfängen der attischen Malerei" (note 7 above), pp. 127–28.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 127 n. 61.

87. For Pellene, see Ernst Meyer, in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, n.s., vol. 19 (1938), cols. 354–67.

88. *The Odes of Pindar*, trans. Sir John Sandys, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1915), p. 105.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 421.

90. *The Geography of Strabo* (8.7.5), trans. Horace L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1927), vol. 4, p. 221.

91. *Odes of Pindar*, Loeb ed. (note 88 above), p. 227.

92. Herodotus, *Historicus* (2.91), trans. A. D. Godley, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1921), p. 375.

93. *Iliad*, Loeb ed. (note 65 above), p. 181; *Odyssey*, trans. A. T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1925), p. 75, for both passages. For a brief discussion of the chlaina as part of Homeric dress, see Spyridon Marinatos, *Kleidung: Haar- und Barttracht*, *Archaeologia Homerica* 1, A–B (Göttingen, 1967), pp. A-9–A-10.

94. In Marinatos (*ibid.*, p. A-39, fig. 8a), this feature is misrepresented as upright hatched triangles.

Figured decoration on clothing appears quite frequently in Attic black-figure, especially in the work of Sophilos and Kleitias. For Sophilos, see, for example, the figures of Leto and Chariklo on Athens NM 15165, ex Akropolis 587 (*ABV*, p. 39.15; *Addenda*², p. 10), and many of the goddesses in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on London BM 1971.11-1.1 (*Paralipomena*, p. 19.16 bis; *Addenda*², p. 10; Dyfri Williams, "Sophilos in the British Museum," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Occasional Papers on Antiquities* 1 [Malibu, Calif., 1983], pp. 9–34). For Kleitias, see especially some of the goddesses in the scene of the same wedding on Florence 4209 (*ABV*, p. 76.1; *Paralipomena*, p. 29.1; *Addenda*², p. 21; Mauro Cristofani et al., *Materiali per servire alla storia del Vaso François, Bollettino d'arte, Serie speciale* 1 [1980], passim, esp. figs. 16, 30).

For decoration on garments in general, figured as well as

ornamental, see Paola Colafranceschi Cecchetti, *Decorazione dei costumi nei vasi attici a figure nere*, Studi Miscellanei 19 (Rome, 1971–72), passim.

Prior to 600 B.C., figures rarely serve as decoration on garments. Here are three examples I have been able to find. Kerameikos inv. 80, a tankard from the late second quarter of the 7th century B.C. (Kühler, *Kerameikos VI*², pl. 15 [Opferinne β]): a mourning woman; a rearing horse; and a seated sphinx. On Athens NM 17762, a Protoattic krater from the early second quarter of the 7th century B.C., a woman stands before a biga dressed in a garment decorated with a zone of dotted scales and a bird (probably a goose) in the panel above (CVA, Athènes 2 [Grèce 2], pl. 1 [59].3). A fragment of a terracotta relief in Naples that preserves the lower half of a woman whose skirt is decorated with three figured friezes: Ajax Carrying the Body of Achilles; standing women holding hands; men walking to right (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder* [note 61 above], pl. 35, upper left). The piece resembles the Girl from Auxerre and probably dates a little after the middle of the 7th century B.C. (for this statue, see Gisela M. A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens* [London, 1968], fig. 79). Mention should probably be made of the upright loom, complete with patterned fabric and loom weights for keeping the tension even on the warp threads, painted on a mid-8th-century B.C. Cypriot dish in Bonn, inv. 3107 (John Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases* [London, 2001], p. 19, fig. 10).

95. For a full discussion of the bier cloth, see Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, pp. 55–63; for funeral garments, see also pp. 40–42.
96. For the workshop, see note 63 above. For Athens NM 804, see Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 29, no. 1.
97. See Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, pp. 58, 59, re Ahlberg's Type g.
98. Athens Vlasto (ibid., p. 28, no. 44), attributed by Ahlberg to the Workshop of Athens 894 (not in Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*) and to the Mesogeia Painter by John M. Cook in his review of Brann, *Agora VIII* (*Gnomon* 34 [1962], p. 822). The latter attribution is probably correct. For another instance of the cloth hanging over the end of the bier, see Athens NM 812 (Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 26, no. 18, contemporary with the Dipylon Workshop, ca. 750 B.C.). For a shroud that seems to envelop the corpse completely, see Melbourne D23/1982, an amphora attributed to the Analatos Painter (Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pl. 13.3, p. 73, with bibliography). An oddity of this corpse is that it is laid on the bier left to right instead of right to left. See Kenneth A. Sheedy, "A Prothesis Scene from the Analatos Painter," *AM* 105 (1990), pp. 117–51, esp. pp. 122–26.
99. Certainly the Phaleron oinochoe fragments and probably the same for MMA 21.88.18.
100. See Cook, "Workshops . . . 700"; Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, passim; Brann, *Agora VIII*, passim; Brokaw, "Concurrent Styles" (note 7 above), pp. 63–73; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 55–90, for the Attic workshops that comprise the Late Geometric II style; more recently, Kenneth A. Sheedy, "The Late Geometric Hydria and the Advent of the Protoattic Style," *AM* 107 (1992), pp. 11–28.
101. The Sub-Dipylon Group: Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, pp. 65–67; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 55–57. The Philadelphia Painter: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 57–58, with bibliography. The Workshop of Athens 894: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 58–64. Coldstream's is

still the most comprehensive discussion of the workshop, with bibliography, especially his note in the text of p. 60, which gives the history of the recognition of the workshop. For briefer notices, see Cook, "Workshops . . . 700," pp. 146–49; and Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, pp. 41–45. See also Rombos, *Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, pp. 437–68, for a catalogue of vases and subjects.

102. See the chart in Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 331, V–VII.
103. The Late Geometric style covers the decades ca. 760–700 B.C. It is divided roughly into these chronological periods: LG Ia: 760–750 B.C.; LG Ib: 750–735 B.C.; LG IIa: 735–720 B.C.; and LG IIb: 720–700 B.C. See ibid., p. 330.
104. Ibid., p. 58, no. 4.
105. Some exceptions. The foot of Buffalo Museum of Science C 12847 is decorated with vertical wavy lines (ibid., p. 59, no. 21; Langdon, *Pasture to Polis* [note 1 above], p. 61). The feet of two others, for example, have horizontal lines: Athens, Agora P 4990 (Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, fig. 36; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 58, no. 11), and Hannover 1953.148 (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 58, no. 2; CVA, Hannover 1 [Deutschland 34], pl. 1 [1633]).
106. Athens NM 894: see note 104 above; Arias, *Greek Vase Painting* (note 63 above), pl. 9. Cleveland 27.6: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 58, no. 6; CVA, Cleveland 1 (USA 15), pl. 2 (682).3, (683).1. Baltimore 48.2231: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 58, no. 7; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, fig. 37. Buffalo Museum of Science C 12847: see note 105 above.
107. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 60. For the use of the hydria as a funerary vessel, see Sheedy, "A Prothesis Scene" (note 98 above), pp. 118–20.
108. See Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 60, no. 39, pp. 60–61, for the introduction of the shape, with bibliography in n. 1; also note 25 above for the shape.
109. Ibid., p. 59, nos. 15–21, for the painter; no. 15 for the name vase, Stathatos 222. For a good photograph, see Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, fig. 40.
110. For the Analatos Painter, see most recently, Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," pp. 71–87, with bibliography (p. 71). Also, especially, John M. Cook, "A Painter and His Age," in *Mélanges de préhistoire, d'archéocivilisation et d'ethnologie offerts à André Varagnac* (Paris, 1971), pp. 167–76; I wish to thank Dr. Elizabeth Angelicoussis for providing me with a xerox of this article. For the earliest work of the Analatos Painter, see Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," p. 86, nos. 1–3.
111. See note 110 above.
112. See Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, p. 123, fig. C; and Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 331, I, V, VI, VII. Coldstream's chart shows the relative chronology for Attic Geometric workshops within the Classical tradition and outside. Davison extends the chronological development to include Early Protoattic. At the time of her study, Painter N and the Passas Painter were not yet recognized.
113. Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 21.
114. Hampe, *Grabfund*, pp. 44–45.
115. CVA, Mainz 1 (Deutschland 15), p. 25, specifically referring to Mainz inv. 153 and 154. See also Evelyn Lord Smithson in her review of Hampe, *Grabfund*, in *AJA* 65 (1961), p. 319; so too, John M. Cook, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 81 (1961), p. 220.
116. Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 24.

A Group of Hellenistic Silver Objects in the Metropolitan Museum

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IN 1981 AND 1982, The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York acquired a collection of worked silver objects, a brief description of which was published shortly afterward.¹ In November 2000 and October 2002, following an agreement between Mario Serio, director-general of the Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Ambientali, Architettonici, Archeologici, Artistici e Storici del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, and Philippe de Montebello, director of the Metropolitan Museum, this writer had the opportunity of examining these objects in detail, with the kind assistance of Seán Hemingway of the Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Art.

I examined all of the items (Figure 1), which weigh a total of 4,608.1 grams. They may be described as follows:

1. Deep bowl with rounded bottom (Figures 2–6)

H. 6.8 cm; diam. 21 cm; wt. 479 g

The bottom external surface is considerably crushed. Its outer surface bears marks made by sharpened and pointed instruments.

Acc. no. 1981.11.19

Bothmer 1984, p. 54, no. 92; Bell 1997, p. 32, fig. 2, left; Krug 1998, p. 22, fig. 34.

The exterior has a continuous unbroken profile (Figure 5): 3 mm from the lip are two closely paired lines, with a second pair 5 mm below. On the smooth band in between these is a straight, rectilinear punch-dotted inscription (Figures 3, 4; = P.IV, p. 71): $\text{III}\Delta\Delta\text{H}$, followed by a monogram: Π with four vertical lines. L. 2.5 cm; max. H. 0.4 cm; min. H. 0.2 cm.

The interior (Figure 2) is divided into seven horizontal, concentric zones. From the top:

I) The rim area consists of a traced engaged torus in the shape of a wreath of triple-braided pointed leaves, with a double vein in the center and small circles imprinted at the apexes. The surface is gilded. The wreath of leaves is drawn through four sleeves,

each 3 cm long, gilded, and at right angles to one another. Each is different in design: a) A sleeve consisting of three pairs of smooth bands at right angles to the wreath: one at each end and one in the center. Between these pairs of smooth bands are oblique, traced lines converging at the center. b) A sleeve consisting of three pairs of smooth bands, like the previous one. Between them are traced double lines forming a Saint Andrew's cross. In each of the four fields between the cross's arms is a group of four small traced circles arranged in a cross shape. c) A sleeve consisting of three pairs of smooth bands, as above, with a lattice pattern traced between them. d) A sleeve consisting of three pairs of smooth bands, as above. Between them are traced three pointed leaves, equal in length to the space between the bands, pointing alternately in opposite directions and with a stippled dotted pattern on their surfaces.

In the four sections of the wreath between the sleeves, an oblique band twists round the wreath three times; this band has a raised edge and gilding that has worn away in places. The lower edge of the first zone is demarcated by gilded continuous beading.

II) Smooth recessed chamfered zone.

III) A belt, demarcated above and below by an unbroken gilded bead pattern, decorated with a gilded wave pattern flowing to the right; the edges are traced and visible on the outside of the vessel.

IV) Smooth zone.

V) A gilded molding, triangular in section, its protruding angle decorated with an unbroken line of ungilded beading, running along the ridge.

VI) Smooth zone.

VII) Zone demarcated above and below by a continuous line of small traced circles between two traced lines. The area thus defined is divided into contiguous rectangles with vertical traced sides, the shorter sides being horizontal. The diagonals within these rectangles are formed by zigzag lines: the right-hand halves of the rectangles thus created are plain, while the left-hand ones are gilded.

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 38

The notes for this article begin on page 90.



Figure 1. Group of silver vases and utensils. Hellenistic, 3rd century B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1981.11.15–.22; 1982.11.7–.13). See also Colorplate 2



Figure 2. Deep silver bowl, gilt. H. 6.8 cm; diam. 21 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1981.11.19). See also Colorplate 2

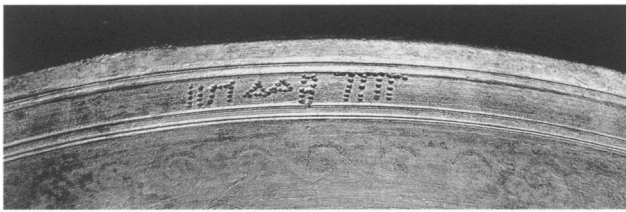


Figure 3. Detail of punch-dotted inscription on outer rim of bowl in Figure 2

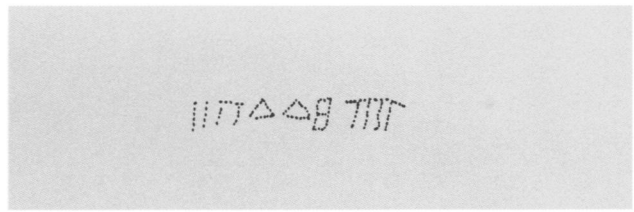


Figure 4. Drawing of inscription illustrated in Figure 4 (all drawings in this article are by the author, rendered by Cecilia Guzzo)

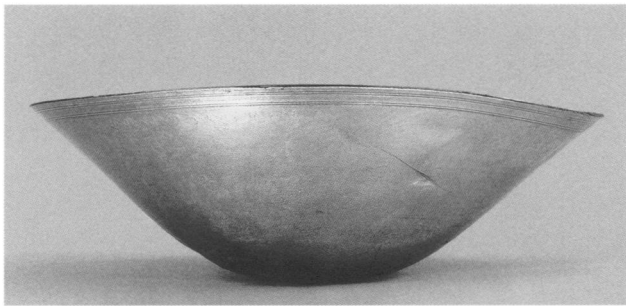


Figure 5. Side view of bowl in Figure 2

The bottom of the bowl is covered by a circular medallion of thin metal sheet. From its edge small rectangular tongues, diametrically opposed to one another, protrude; with the addition of solder these tongues ensure the attachment of the medallion to the sides of the bowl. Blackened patches—traces of soldering—are visible.

The medallion is decorated with an embossed gilded rosette with sixteen petals and a garnet set in the center. The rosette is superimposed on four gilded acanthus leaves, arranged radially at 90-degree angles. In the four spaces between them are four embossed water-lily sepals (*nymphaea nelumbo*).² These in turn are the axes of symmetry for eight buds in identical pairs.

The exterior surface of the bottom of the bowl (Figure 6) is embossed with a flower consisting of six rounded petals with double edges, an outer ring of ten anthers, and a central pistil.

2. Deep concave bowl (Figures 7–10)

H. 7 cm; diam. 22.8 cm; wt. 407 g

On the lip there is a vertical crack. There are also horizontal cracks close to the band decorated with a flowing wave pattern (zone V) and the lower margin of the band containing a kymation (zone XI). There are scratches and deformation on the underside of the exterior surface, caused by pointed tools, and the entire exterior is extensively scratched.



Figure 6. Bottom view of bowl in Figure 2

Acc. no. 1981.11.20

Bothmer 1984, p. 55, no. 93; Bell 1997, p. 32, fig. 2, center.

The exterior outline is unbroken and without decoration (Figure 8). Slightly below the lip, to the right of the crack, is a dotted inscription (Figures 9, 10; P.XVI, p. 74): Π or T. L. 0.7 cm, H. 0.7 cm.

The interior is divided into twelve horizontal, concentric zones (Figure 7). From the top:

I) Adjoining the lip, which is not differentiated from it, is a smooth gilded zone.

II) Flat zone, demarcated above and below by continuous beading, decorated with an engraved, gilded wreath made up of leaves like those in zone I of bowl no. 1. As in that vessel, the wreath is bound by four sleeves, diametrically opposite each other, bearing



Figure 7. Deep silver bowl, gilt. H. 7 cm; diam. 22.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1981.11.20). See also Colorplate 2



Figure 8. Side view of bowl in Figure 7

designs identical to those on the sleeves of vessel no. 1. The only differences are their smaller size (1.5 cm) and the fact that they are made up of single, rather than double, smooth bands. Around each of the four sections of the wreath between the sleeves are two turns of an oblique band with raised margins which are not gilded.

III) A raised zone decorated with an egg-and-dart pattern and continuous beading along the lower edge.

IV) A smooth recessed zone.

V) A zone demarcated along its upper edge by a lightly chamfered edge and decorated by a pattern of gilded waves flowing to the right, the latter demar-



Figure 9. Detail of punch-dotted inscription on outside rim of bowl in Figure 7

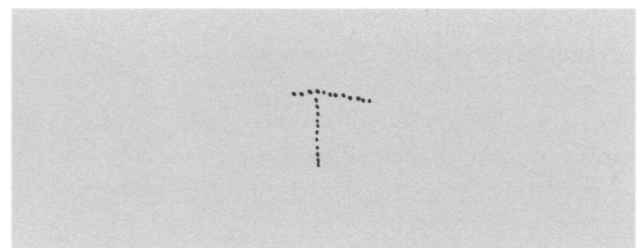


Figure 10. Drawing of inscription illustrated in Figure 9

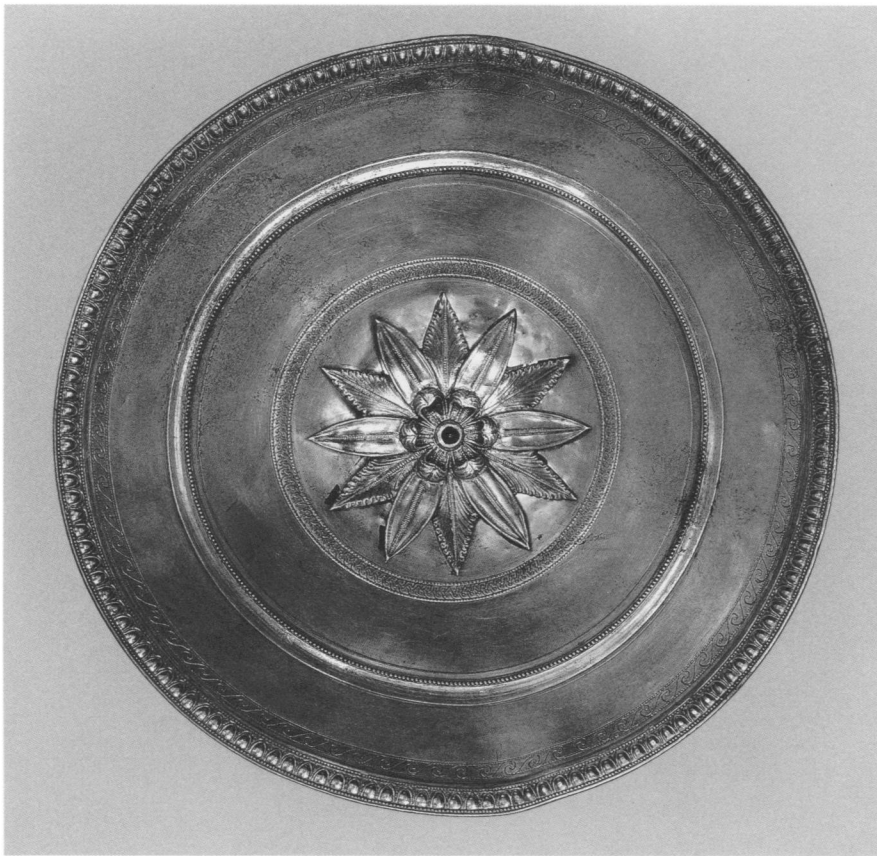


Figure 11. Deep silver bowl, gilt. H. 6.2 cm; diam. 22 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1981.11.21). See also Colorplate 2

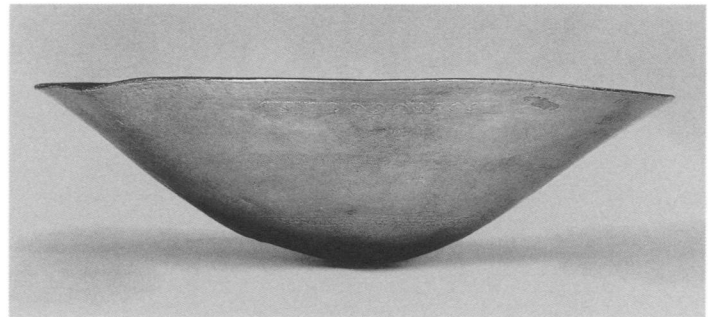


Figure 12. Side view of bowl in Figure 11

cated below by small imprinted circles. The surfaces of the spaces between the waves are traced.

VI) Smooth zone.

VII) Raised, gilded rib molding, with a concave cross section.

VIII) Unbroken bead pattern.

IX) A zone decorated with two traced, interwoven, rectilinear meanders: one gilded, the other not. A gilded area, with a traced surface, borders the gilded meander, producing an effect of depth and perspective. The space between is occupied by a square, unbordered area containing a rosette with a central pistil, and four pointed petals aligned with the square's diagonals.

X) Raised rib molding with concave cross section.

XI) Zone decorated with a gilded kymation made up of veined leaves pointing downward, demarcated at its lower edge by a series of small imprinted circles bordered by two traced lines.

XII) Zone showing black marks, the traces of soldering to attach an element that has vanished.

The bottom of the bowl is covered by a medallion of thin silver sheet. Its edges, which are deformed, form the outline of an embossed, gilded floral element arranged in four superimposed orders. In the raised center is a rosette with six petals, with a hollow central pistil that is also gilded.³ Beneath is a flower consisting of twelve petals, not gilded, elongated in shape and

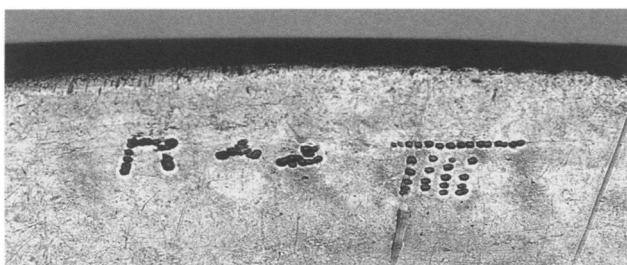


Figure 13. Detail of punch-dotted inscription on outside rim of bowl in Figure 11

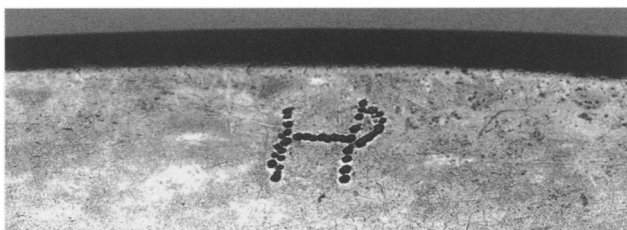


Figure 14. Detail of punch-dotted monogram on outside rim of bowl in Figure 11

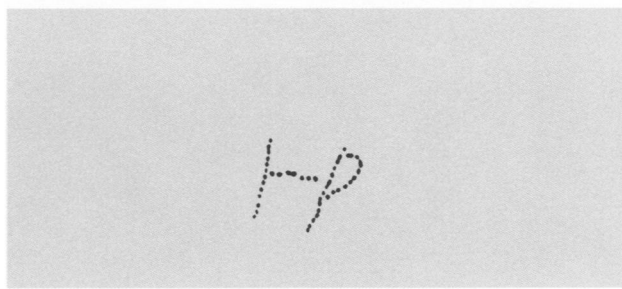
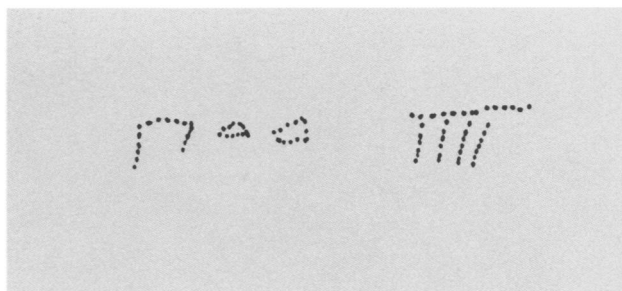


Figure 15. Drawings of inscriptions illustrated in Figures 13 and 14

with slightly raised ends and gilded central veining. Six lanceolate water-lily leaves (*nymphaea caerulea*),⁴ with their central veining consisting of a double line and with a double margin, are superimposed on as many acanthus leaves.

3. Deep concave bowl (Figures 11–15)

H. 6.2 cm; diam. 22 cm; wt. 418 g

The lip is deformed at two diametrically opposed points. At zone III there are signs of a violent impact that has cracked the vessel's surface. At zone IV there are signs of deformation from the inside.

Acc. no. 1981.11.21

Bothmer 1984, p. 55, no. 94; Bell 1997, p. 32, fig. 2, right.

The exterior shows a slight concavity just below the lip (Figure 12). The surface is not decorated.

On the outside of the rim, 3 mm from its edge, is the following punch-dotted inscription (Figures 13, 15; = P.v, p. 71): ΠΔΔ, followed by a monogram: Η with four vertical lines. L. 2.8 cm, max. H. 0.5 cm, min. H. 0.1 cm.

Diametrically opposed to the above and 2 mm from the rim is the punch-dotted inscription (Figures 14, 15; = P.xii, p. 73): ΗΡ. L. 0.7 cm; H. 0.6 cm.

The interior is divided into seven horizontal concentric zones (Figure 11). From the top:

I) The area close to the rim consists of a torus deco-

rated with a gilded Ionic kymation, demarcated above and below with continuous beading.

II) Recessed zone, not gilded.

III) A flat belt zone, demarcated above and below by a series of small punched circles, decorated by a traced pattern of waves flowing to the right, and entirely gilded.

IV) Flat zone, not gilded.

V) Protruding gilded molding, triangular in section, with continuous beading running along its top (not gilded).

VI) Flat zone, not gilded.

VII) Convex gilded zone, slightly raised, demarcated at upper and lower edges by continuous beaded patterns which are not gilded, and decorated with an engraved double braid pattern.

The bottom of the bowl is covered by a medallion of thin silver sheet, whose margins form the outline of an embossed floral element in three orders. At its center is a flower with six petals, which have central veining and rounded, raised ends; a garnet is set in the flower's center. Beneath the flower are six lanceolate leaves of *nymphaea caerulea* with finely serrated central veining and double margins, which cover six pointed acanthus leaves with indented edges; five have serrated veining, one has smooth veining. The central flower and acanthus leaves are gilded; the lanceolate leaves are not.

Black traces of the original soldering are visible.



Figure 16. Silver medallion, gilt. Scylla hurling a rock. H. 2 cm; diam. with frame 10.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1981.11.22). See also front cover and Colorplate 2

4. Circular medallion consisting of a thin metal sheet (a) with embossed decoration, soldered to a second thin metal sheet (b) with a molding around it (Figures 16, 17)

H. 2 cm; max. diam. 10.5 cm; wt. 81 g

Element b has areas on its underside that have been restored in modern times. The outer surface of element a shows many signs of wear.

Acc. no. 1981.11.22

Bothmer 1984, p. 55, no. 96; Hanfmann 1987, p. 251, n. 17; Waywell 1996, p. 111, fig. 3; Bell 1997, p. 34, fig. 8; Jentel 1997, p. 1140, no. 32; Walter-Karydi 1997, p. 177, fig. 14; Walter-Karydi 1998, pp. 274–75, fig. 11.

a) The outer surface of the circular thin metal sheet is decorated with an embossed, frontal figure of Scylla (max. H. 1.4 cm), with flowing locks and with a boulder that she is raising behind her head, ready to hurl it. The figure's upper body, which is human, is naked; a scaly sea serpent with the head of a wolf, to the left, winds itself around her from the right shoulder to the left hip, and from the right-hand side of the waist once again to the left hip, where it ends in a frayed double fin. At the height of Scylla's groin are what are

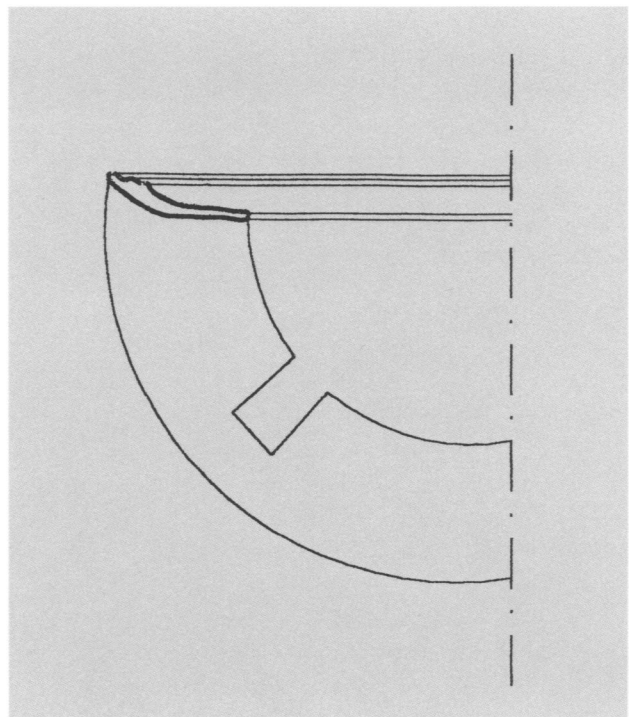


Figure 17. Detail drawing of section and underside of medallion in Figure 16

probably two fins, shaped like large leaves with veining and edges frayed into a fringe, to the right and left. At this point, three hybrid beings appear. In the center is the front portion of a dog with a smooth, short coat, its paws and muzzle stretched out downward. With its left forepaw it squeezes what is probably a fish, with a stippled body, which it is seizing in its jaws. To the left is the front part of a dog with a long curly coat, which is devouring a cuttlefish. To the right is the front part of a dog with a smooth, long coat, in front of which is an arched dolphin, its snout pointing downward. The two lateral “dogs” have fins instead of forepaws.

The middle and upper sections of this field are occupied, symmetrically, by the two scaly, twisted tails, the fins at their ends worn into a fringe, that make up the lower part of Scylla’s body.

The exergue is filled with a depiction of low, rounded waves.

On each wrist Scylla wears a bracelet with a diagonally striped band representing its spiral shape.

The bottom of the metal sheet, the human part of Scylla’s body, and some of the waves in the exergue are not gilded; the rest is, with some acid staining on

the tails and two lateral fins of Scylla and on the coats of the two lateral dogs. The boulder has similar small stains, as well as small gilded areas.

b) The metal sheet to which the top of element a is soldered has a carinated profile with a raised central ring (Figure 17). The lower surface displays three rectangular zones divided equally; these probably housed elements used to attach element b to a larger whole, which has now disappeared.

5. Pitcher with ovoid body (Figures 18–21)

H. 9.1 cm; upper diam. 8.13 cm; wt. 178 g

Deformation of the profile below the shoulder; crack in the solder seam attaching the foot.

Acc. no. 1982.11.13

Bothmer 1984, p. 57, no. 96; Bell 1997, p. 31, fig. 1, bottom left.

Circular mouth with flared rim that is plain except for a slight band on the flaring surface. Concave outline to neck, sharp angle at shoulder, ovoid body. Raised foot in the form of a truncated cone. The handle, which has raised edges, widens into a plate where it

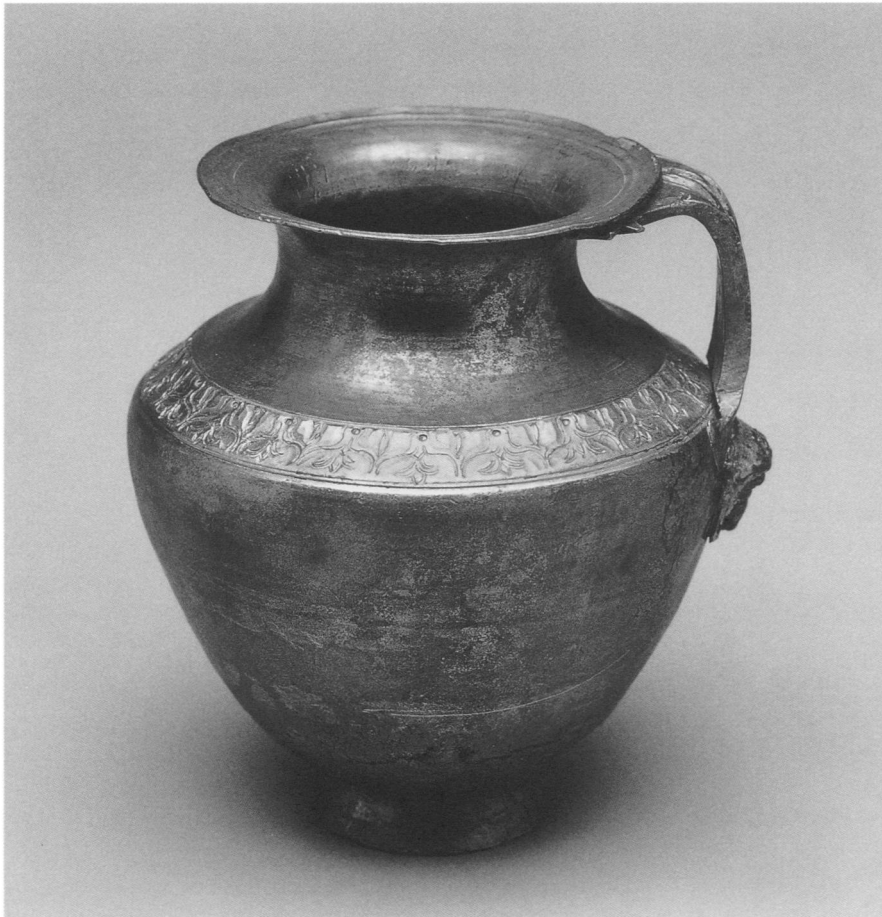


Figure 18. Silver pitcher, gilt. H. 9.1 cm; diam. 8.13 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnett, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1982.11.13). See also Colorplate 2



Figure 19. Detail of handle of pitcher in Figure 18

meets the rim; at its lower end it has a plate with a theatrical mask (H. 1.4 cm; Figure 19). Its hair and garland and the central part of the handle are gilded. The youthful, open-mouthed face is not. The garland is made up of at least two spheroidal berries set above a frontal band whose ends hang at either side of the face.

The base and handle are both cast and soldered to the body, which is made of raised metal.

On the upper part of the shoulder is a recessed gilded zone, decorated with a traced Lesbian kyma-

tion consisting of widened buds alternating with drops.

Inside the base, on the metal of the bottom of the vase, a semicircular dotted inscription runs from left to right (Figures 20, 21; = P.VI, pp. 71–72): ΠΠΔΔ, followed by a monogram: IIT. L. 1.8 cm; max. H. 0.4 cm; min. H. 0.2 cm.

6. Hemispherical bowl (Figure 22)

H. 7.7 cm; max. diam. 14.44 cm; min. diam. 13.85 cm; wt. 151 g

Dented in many places. Dark, oblique mark from the left of wreath a to the rim.

Acc. no. 1981.11.16

Bothmer 1984, p. 57, no. 97; Saldern 1991, p. 120, pl. xxxi c; Bell 1997, p. 31, fig. 1, center left; Rotroff 1997, p. 109, n. 25.

Unbroken outline, without a clearly defined base. The external profile is smooth, including the rim, which does not project. On the inside, however, the rim protrudes as a continuously channeled band.

Immediately beneath the outer rim is a zone, demarcated above and below by minute continuous beading, containing a gilded double braid.

The lower convex part is bounded by a hexagon made up of traced lines around a deeply traced point that marks its center. Adjoining the central hexagon on each edge are six irregular but identical pentagons, one to each edge of the hexagon, the upper edges of which are adjacent to a continuous horizontal band of six regular hexagons bounded above by a similar but inverted band of six more pentagons, bordered above by the zone decorated with the double braid.



Figure 20. Detail of punch-dotted inscription on underside of foot of pitcher in Figure 18

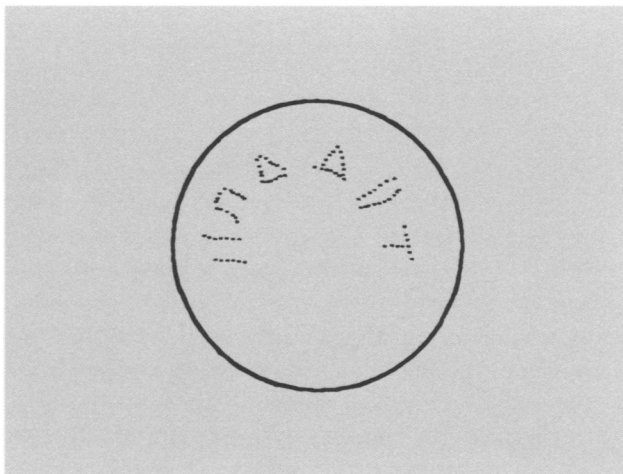


Figure 21. Drawing of inscription illustrated in Figure 20

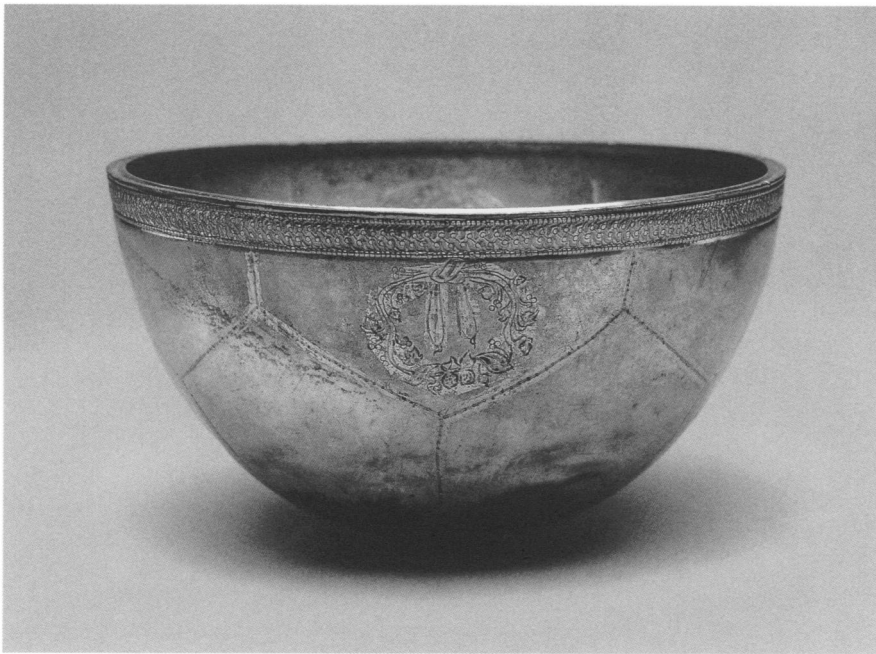


Figure 22. Silver hemispherical bowl, gilt. H. 7.7 cm; diam. 13.85–14.44 cm (originally ca. 14 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1981.11.16). See also Colorplate 2

Figure 23. Silver skyphos, gilt. H. to top of handles 8.84 cm, to top of rim 7.71 cm; diam. 12.64–13.31 cm; diam. of foot 5.75 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1981.11.17). See also Colorplate 2



Two of the uppermost band of pentagons, diametrically opposite one another, each contain a traced wreath: a) The ends of the branch that forms this wreath are covered by the slipknot of a band whose pointed ends are turned inward and hang within the circle. From the branch spring corymbs and leaves in various shapes. Opposite the band are two spheroidal berries with stippled surfaces. b) A design exactly like the above, except that the points at the ends of the band are missing.

The sides of the lower hexagon and of the pentagons consist of traced gilded lines, upon which are superimposed irregularly spaced dots which are more deeply marked. The two wreaths are gilded.

7. Skyphos with raised handles (Figures 23–26)

H. 7.71 cm, 8.84 cm including handles; max. diam. 13.31 cm, min. diam. 12.64 cm; wt. 299 g

The lip is distorted, at right angles to the axis of the handles; the outside surface is marred by cuts and



Figure 24. Detail of incised inscription below handle of skyphos in Figure 23



Figure 25. Detail of punch-dotted inscriptions on bottom of skyphos in Figure 23

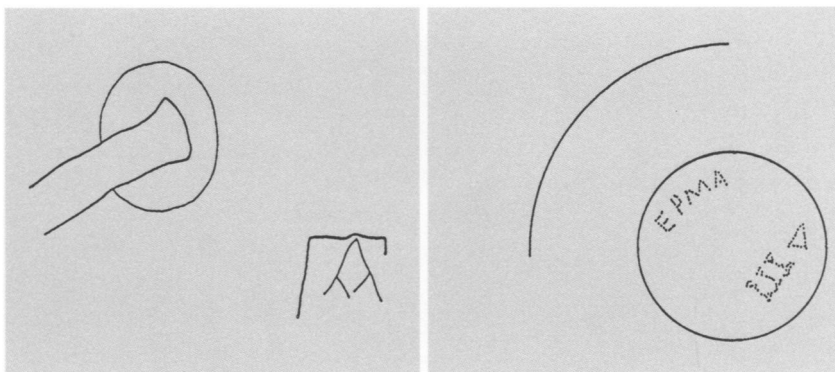


Figure 26. Drawings of inscriptions illustrated in Figures 24 and 25

scratches. One handle is dented on the inside of the incurved part.

Acc. no. 1981.11.17

Bothmer 1984, p. 57, no. 98; Bell 1997, p. 31, fig. 1, top.

Unbroken external outline, with undifferentiated lip. The cast base, which is soldered on, is a truncated cone with a kymation bearing a gilded design of small palms and leaves on the outside layer.

The rodlike handles are incurved above the lip; they are soldered via integral circular flanges halfway up the cup's body. The flanges are gilded and decorated with traced wave patterns running alternately to the left and to the right. Where the handles join their flanges there are continuous rings of beading. The lowest portions of the handles—those portions adjacent to the flanges—are gilded upward to a height of about 3.5 cm, and these are divided into three zones decorated by chasing (see Figure 24). From the bottom:

I) The joint between flange and handle and within the beading, where there are adjacent double arcs of a circle traced. Above these are three elongated buds bearing three pointed petals at the lower end, each separated from the other by sinuous petals of lanceolate shape.

II) Three bell-shaped calyxes, hanging from arcs of a circle traced with a double line.

III) A zone decorated with four traced parallel horizontal lines.

On the outer wall of the skyphos, slightly below and in line with the center of the flanges securing the handle that is deformed in its incurved part, is an incised inscription (Figures 24, 26; = I.vi, p. 75): a) ΠΑ. L. 1.2 cm; H. 1.3 cm.

On the external lower surface of the base are two rectilinear dotted inscriptions (Figures 25, 26; = P.III and P.XI, pp. 71 and 73, respectively): b) ΕΡΜΑ. L. 1.2 cm; max. H. 0.3 cm; min. H. 0.2 cm. c) ΔΙΙΙ. L. 1.4 cm; max. H. 0.4 cm; min. H. 0.3 cm.

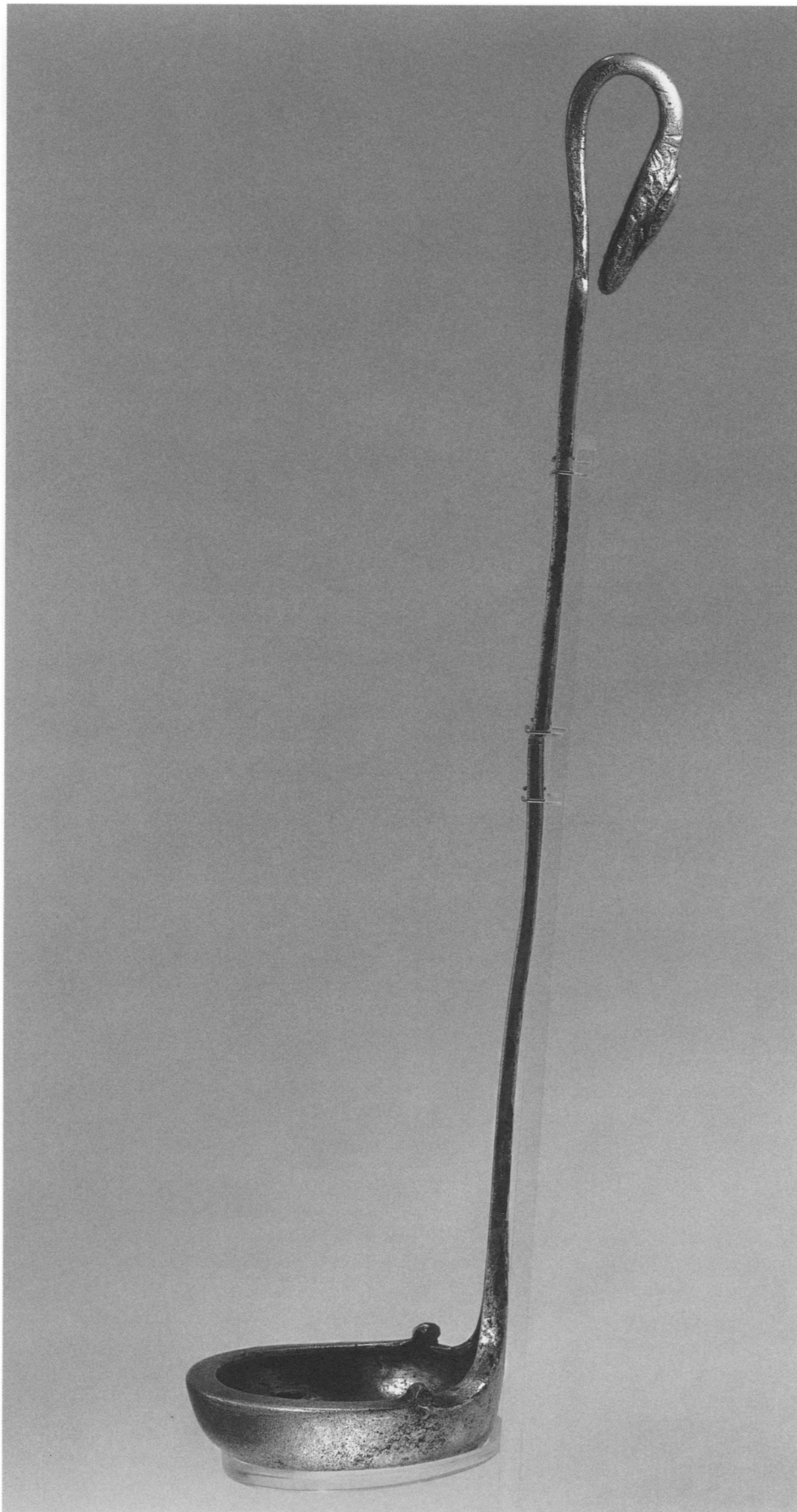


Figure 27. Silver kyathos. L. 24.7 cm; diam. of bowl 5.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1981.11.15). See also Colorplate 2

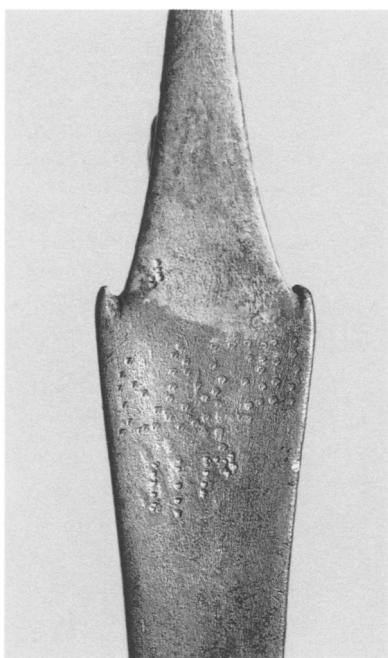


Figure 28. Detail of punch-dotted inscriptions on one side of handle of kyathos in Figure 27



Figure 29. Detail of punch-dotted inscriptions on other side of handle of kyathos in Figure 27



Figure 30. Another view of punch-dotted inscriptions in Figure 29

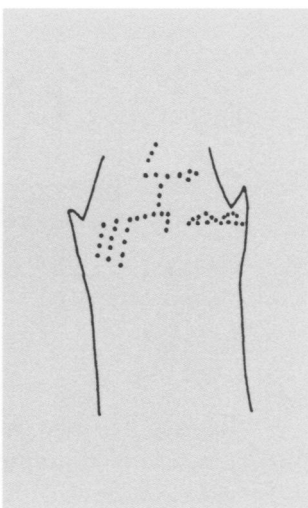
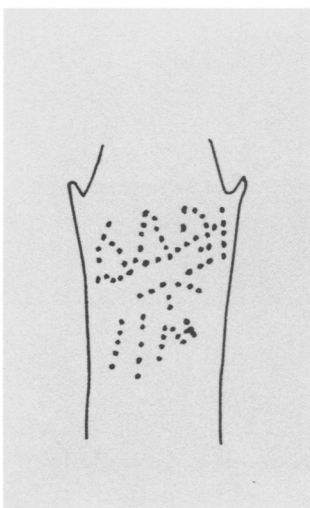


Figure 31. Drawings of inscriptions illustrated in Figures 28–30

8. Kyathos (Figures 27–31)

L. 24.7 cm; diam. of bowl 5.5 cm; wt. 119 g

The bottom of the bowl is deformed; the handle is soldered about halfway along its length, and its interior and exterior surfaces are abraded.

Acc. no. 1981.11.15

Bothmer 1984, p. 57, no. 99; Bell 1997, p. 31, fig. 1, center right.

The bowl is a flattened hemisphere in section, with its lip turned inward and two raised points close to where the handle is attached to it. The long handle broadens toward the top and has two points a short way below the end, which is tapered and curled in the opposite direction to the vessel. This end of the handle has the form of a protome of an animal with long ears—probably a canine.

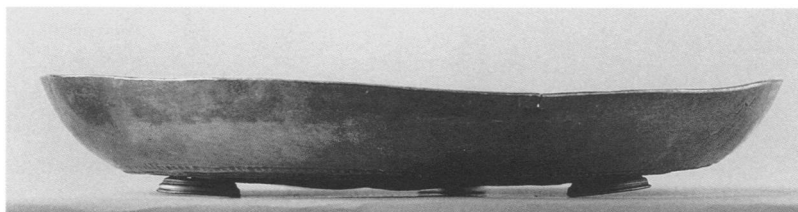
In the upper sections of the handle, immediately beneath the points, are two punch-dotted inscriptions: a) On the surface facing the receptacle, in three straight lines (Figures 28, 31; = P.ix, p. 72): ΔΔΔΗ / Π / ΙΙΙ. 1st line: L. 1.9 cm, max. H. 1.7 cm, min. H. 0.6 cm; 2nd line: L. 1.2 cm, H. 0.4 cm; 3rd line: L. 1.3 cm, max. H. 0.9 cm, min. H. 0.3 cm.

b) Under the curled end of the handle, in two straight lines (Figures 29–31; = P.xa, b, pp. 72–73): Τ ΔΔ / ΙΙΙ. 1st line (= P.xa): L. 1.3 cm, H. 1.9 cm; 2nd line (= P.xb): L. 2 cm; max. H. 0.7 cm, min. H. 0.2 cm.



Figure 32. Silver phiale mesomphalos, gilt.
H. 2.3 cm; diam. 14.8 cm.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1982.11.10). See also Colorplate 2

Figure 33. Side view of phiale in Figure 32



9. Phiale mesomphalos (Figures 32, 33)

H. 2.3 cm; diam. 14.8 cm; wt. 104 g

The feet are deformed; there is a vertical crack at the rim, the result of crushing. On the underside, diametrically opposite the crack, there is a heavily tarnished area.

Acc. no. 1982.11.10

Bothmer 1984, p. 57, no. 100; Bell 1997, p. 31, fig. 1, bottom right.

A shallow vessel with incurving sides and three cylindrical feet with double ribbing soldered to the underside (Figure 33). The lip is thickened on the interior.

The inside of the phiale is divided into two concentric zones (Figure 32). From the outside:

I) Gilded zone, demarcated on both the interior and exterior with continuous beading, decorated with embossed waves flowing to the right against a stippled background.

II) Zone occupied by twelve embossed, gilded, pointed rays, all with their points touching the inner edge of zone I. These rays are alternately shorter and longer; only the longer ones touch the base of the omphalos. The spaces between the rays were originally gilded; the gilding has been carefully scraped off, leaving a few traces close to the omphalos and near the points of the rays.

The gilded central omphalos is hemispherical, and concave beneath.



Figure 34. Silver pyxis, gilt. Shown together with an element (see Figure 44) of the altar in Figure 41. H. 5.7 cm; diam. 8.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1982.11.11a–c, 1982.11.9e). See also Colorplate 2



Figure 35. Side view of pyxis in Figure 34

10. Pyxis with circular embossed lid (Figures 34–40), consisting of three elements, without the lid that was inventoried at the Metropolitan Museum as part of the small altar, no. 11, zone IV (see below, p. 64 and Figure 44)

H. 5.5 cm; diam. 8.3 cm; present total wt. 148 g
The body of the pyxis (element I) is deformed, with a

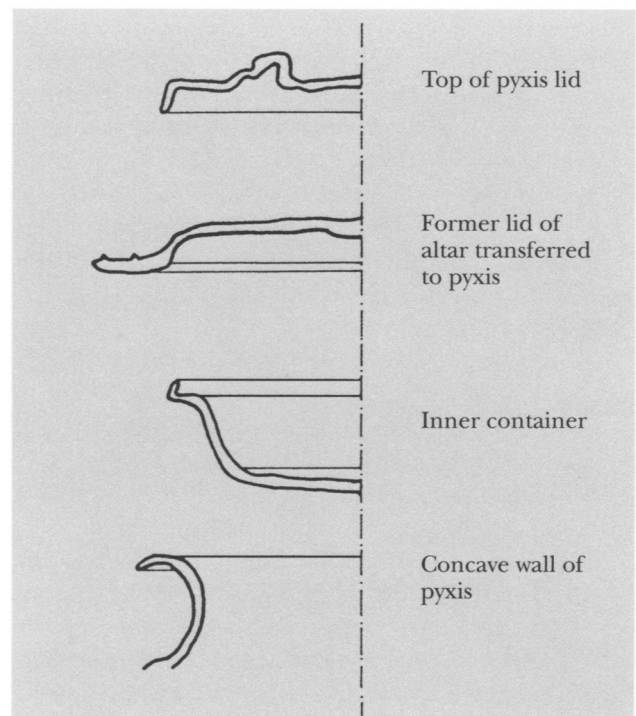


Figure 36. Profile drawings of the upper elements of the pyxis in Figure 34



Figure 37. View of pyxis in Figure 34 with lid removed and inner container visible

scratch on the inside base and a fracture at the lip. The vertical lip of the internal container (element II) is deformed; the lid (element III) shows losses that have been restored in modern times. There are tarnished areas on the lip of I and of II.

Acc. no. 1982.11.11a-c

Bothmer 1984, p. 57, no. 101; Zimmer 1989, p. 513, pl. 22.1; Bell 1997, p. 33, fig. 5.

I) The body of the pyxis has a concave profile (Figures 35, 36), and its base is larger than the lip. It has three protruding feet in the shape of lion's paws. The feet are soldered, via escutcheons shaped like pointed, fringed leaves, to the underside within the circle of the base molding. The join between the body of the pyxis and the feet is shaped like a sort of simplified Ionic capital. The lower molding of the body of the pyxis is decorated with an embossed zone of gilded Lesbian kymation.

II) Smooth-surfaced container with a slightly concave base, tapered walls, an exterior flange—with a narrow peripheral zone that slopes down toward the interior—extending from the lip (Figures 36, 37).

The interior shows many signs of wear, as well as a series of marks made with a pointed instrument.

III) Flat lid with smooth hanging vertical lip (Figures 34–36). On the top, in high relief, is a female figure seated on a rock to the left, against which she supports herself with her left arm (Figure 34). On her lap her right arm holds a cornucopia overflowing with bunches of grapes (on the left) and pomegranates (center and right); a putto is entwined around the horn, with the female figure looking at him. The cornucopia

is decorated with three chased zones, one above the other; the lip is decorated with ovules; and the zones, from the top, are decorated with waves flowing to the right, spiral plant motifs, and buds with spiral plant motifs.

The female figure's left leg is crossed over her right. Her lap and legs are covered by her robe, which reveals a glimpse of her sandals. Her torso and arms are bare, and she wears a smooth-surfaced cylindrical bracelet on her left wrist. Her hair is arranged in coiled overlapping braids.

The cornucopia, fruit, robe, sandals, bracelet on the left wrist, and hair of the female figure are gilded. The hair of the putto, which is fastened by a band, is also gilded.

The undersurface of the body of the pyxis (I) bears three inscriptions: a) Along the edge, between two feet, dotted, concentric with the circumference, and in poor condition (Figures 38, 40; = P.II, p. 71): $\text{IEPA } \Theta\text{E}\Omega\text{N}$. L. 5 cm; max. H. 0.5 cm; min. H. 0.3 cm.

b) Beneath the edge, aligned with a foot, diametrically opposite the preceding inscription, incised and concentric with the circumference (Figures 38, 40; = I.III, pp. 74–75): $\text{EY}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{E}\text{M}\text{OY}$. L. 4.8 cm; max. H. 0.7 cm; min. H. 0.4 cm.

c) In the center, dotted and heightened incised lines. Concentric with the circumference (Figures 38, 40; = P.VII, p. 72): IIIIIIII . L. 1.8 cm; max. H. 0.4 cm; min. H. 0.3 cm.

On the lid's outer surface (III), level with the putto's head and close to the edge, are two incised inscriptions (Figures 39, 40; = I.v and I.vii, p. 75): d) EY . L. 1 cm; H. 1.6 cm. e) AA . L. 1 cm; H. 0.9 cm.



Figure 38. View of punch-dotted and incised inscriptions on bottom of pyxis in Figure 34

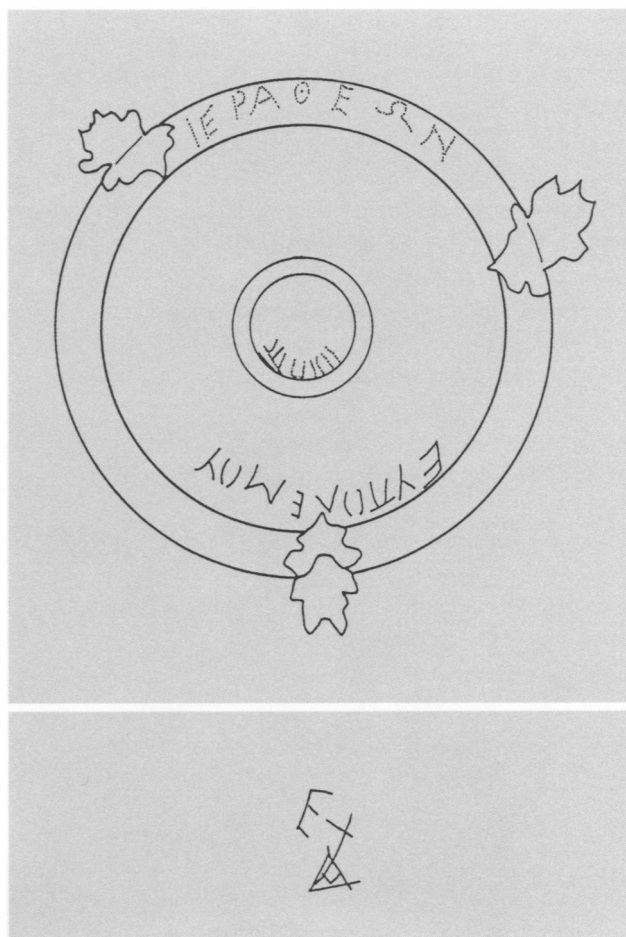


Figure 40. Drawings of inscriptions illustrated in Figures 38 and 39



Figure 39. Detail of incised inscriptions on lid of pyxis in Figure 34



Figure 41. Silver altar, gilt. H. 11 cm; rectangular base 10.6 x 10.83 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnett, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1982.11.9a–d). See also Colorplate 2

11. Small cylindrical altar on a quadrangular base (Figures 41–47), now consisting of four elements
Present H. 11.3 cm; base 10.6 x 10.83 cm; total present wt. 367.8 g

Extensive deformation and cracking over all four elements.

Acc. no. 1982.11.9a–e

Bothmer 1984, p. 58, no. 102; Bell 1997, p. 32, fig. 3.

I) The small altar's cylindrical body, with molded base and top, is soldered onto a quadrangular base with a double step. Wt. 218.9 g

The top of the cylinder is decorated with a frieze of lotus flowers in alternating directions linked by tendrils. Separated from this by two traced lines is a

slightly raised Ionic egg-and-dart frieze. This sector is gilded.

Next comes an unbroken line of beading, which is not gilded. Beneath this is a smooth gilded band, decorated with two traced motifs: fourteen stars, each with eight rays and a central point, alternating with fourteen rosettes, each made up of five small traced circles arranged in a quincunx pattern.

This is followed by a zone bearing embossed dentils, not gilded, above an embossed Doric frieze made up of recessed gilded areas (metopes) alternating with raised areas (triglyphs), which are not gilded. This zone is demarcated at its lower edge by a rectilinear molding beneath which embossed guttae, aligned with the triglyphs, protrude.

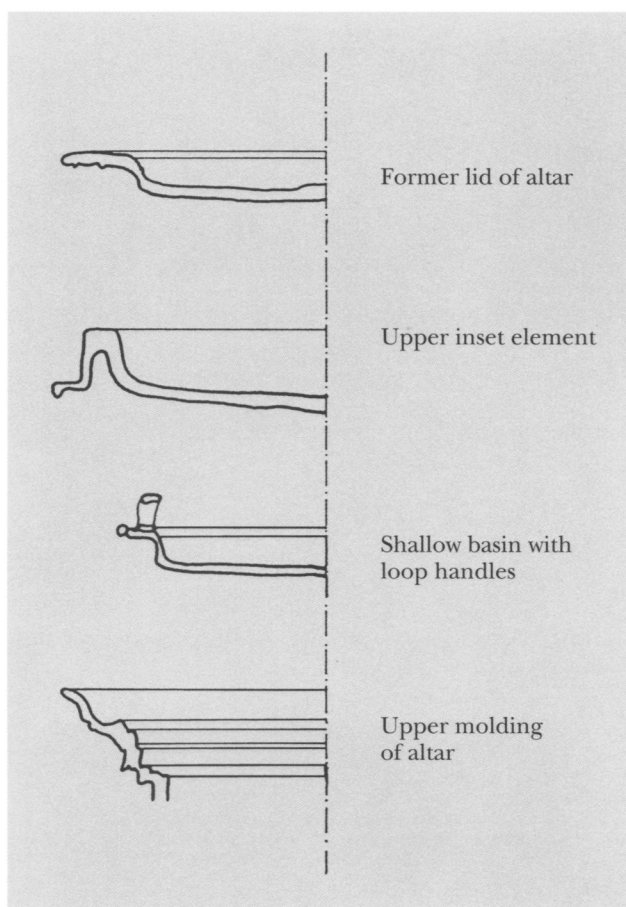


Figure 42. Profile drawings of the upper elements of the altar in Figure 41



Figure 44. Lid (acc. no. 1982.11.9e) formerly associated with the altar in Figure 41; now recognized as part of the lid of the pyxis in Figure 34



Figure 43. Shallow basin with loop handles that sits inside the altar in Figure 41

The central part of the cylinder is decorated with four embossed bucrania,⁵ the hair on their foreheads adorned by a star with a central point and helical rays with left-handed twists. Behind the protomes hangs a garland consisting of pointed leaves with punched dots at their base. From the garland's outline project leaves of various shapes; the central ones are similar to ivy. Some of the leaves protrude above the protomes. The protomes and the garland are gilded.

The base at the bottom of the altar's cylindrical body consists of a smoothly concave gilded band that is demarcated at its lower edge by continuous ungilded beading, which is followed by an embossed gilded Lesbian kymation, and by a concave, smooth band, not gilded.

The upper step of the pedestal is smooth and rectilinear; the upper edge of the lower one is rounded. There are minor dents on the body and the edge of the lower support. The base appears to bear traces of a blow.

II) A small dish with raised handles is set in the concave space at the top of the altar (Figures 42, 43). Max. diam. 7.1 cm; H. 1.6 cm; handle H. 0.6 cm; wt. 25.3 g. At the rim of the dish there is an external flange, with continuous beading soldered to its edge. The handles are diametrically opposite each other. One is made from a single small silver band bent into a circle, with its two ends soldered to the rim. The other is made from two similar bands that form two rings close together. The inside of the dish shows many signs of wear. The beading outside the lip has gaps; close to the double-ringed handle there are missing beads and modern repair work.

III) Concave element with an external flange. Diam. 8.2 cm; diam. including lip 9.4 cm; H. 1.1 cm; wt. 69.9 g. A pendent lip at the edge of the flange of

dish III—which covers dish II—rests on the internal lip of the molding at the top of the altar's cylindrical body (see Figures 41, 42). In the center of the dish's concave interior there is a small domed protrusion surrounded by a traced line.

There are some signs of wear and a notch made by a cutting tool on the outer edge.

IV) Lid with a broad brim (Figures 1, 42, 44). Diam. 9 cm; H. 0.6 cm; wt. 53.7 g. This was previously published as the topmost part of the entire object (see Figure 1).⁶

At the center of the surface showing in Figure 44 there is a slight protrusion, circular and gilded with a pricked central point from which spring eight triangular traced rays, forming a star. These rays alternate with the same number of similar, but more lightly traced, rays.

The protrusion is surrounded by an ungilded ring, which is in turn surrounded by a second ring, which is gilded and demarcated within and without by double traced lines. This ring bears a traced garland held by four diametrically opposite sleeves and made up of pointed leaves with points at their bases. Each sleeve has a smooth band at each end and a similar band in the middle. The two spaces each contain a traced Saint Andrew's cross, with a point incised in the four triangular spaces thus produced.

On the surface of the brim showing in Figure 44 are traced gilded waves flowing to the right, with a point incised in each.

On the brim's other surface (see Figure 34) a double gilded braid is traced, demarcated inside and out by continuous beading.

There is extensive deformation on the brim's external concavity. The flowing waves in the upper part are very worn; the double braid on the lower part is worn over about a quarter of its length.

On the underside of the base of element I there are inscriptions: a) Punch-dotted, on two rectilinear lines (Figures 45, 47; = P.I, p. 71): IEPA TON / ΘEON II followed by a monogram: pi, with an intermediate vertical line. 1st line: L. 2.4 cm, max. H. 0.5 cm; min. H. 0.3 cm; 2nd line: L. 2.7 cm; max. H. 0.6 cm; min. H. 0.4 cm.

b) Punch-dotted monogram (Figures 45, 47; = P.xv, p. 74): AΔT. L. 1.4 cm; H. 1.4 cm.

c) Incised rectilinear inscription in three lines (Figures 45, 47; = I.I, p. 74): IAPA ΠANTON / ΘEON / ΙΙΠ followed by a monogram: pi with an intermediate vertical line. 1st line: L. 4.4 cm; max. H. 0.5 cm; min. H. 0.3 cm; 2nd line: L. 1.9 cm; max. H. 0.6 cm; min. H. 0.4 cm; 3rd line: L. 2.8 cm; max. H. 0.5 cm; min. H. 0.3 cm.

d) Inscription incised very lightly in two straight



Figure 45. Detail of punch-dotted and incised inscriptions on bottom of altar in Figure 41

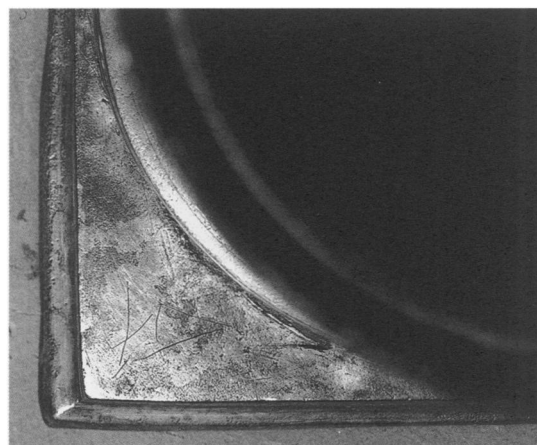


Figure 46. Detail of incised inscription on one corner of base of altar in Figure 41

lines (Figures 45, 47; = I.II, p. 74): IEPA TON / ΘEON. 1st line: L. 2.8 cm; max. H. 0.4 cm; min. H. 0.3 cm; 2nd line: L. 1.8 cm; max. H. 0.4 cm; min. H. 0.3 cm.

e) Inscription incised in one straight line (Figures 45, 47; = I.IV, pp. 74–75): ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ. L. 5.2 cm; max. H. 0.7 cm; min. H. 0.3 cm.

Inscriptions a and b are punch-dotted and were made before c, which is clearly superimposed on b, as well as on d and e.

On the outer corner of the base, level with the interior zone containing inscriptions b and c, is an incised monogram (Figures 46, 47; = I.VIII, p. 75): f) AΔ. L. 1.8 cm; H. 1.7 cm.

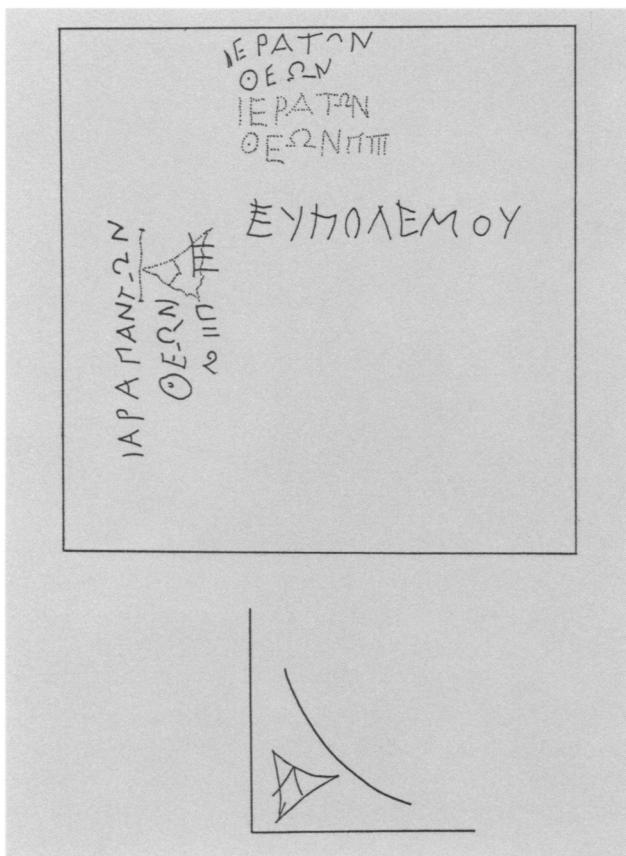


Figure 47. Drawings of inscriptions illustrated in Figures 45 and 46

12, 13. Pair of curved horns with pointed ends (Figure 48)

L. 15.5 cm; wt. 74.7 and 70 g

Both horns have lost their original surfaces, which hid the joint between the bodies, made of thin metal sheet, and the pointed tips, which were inserted and soldered in place. Inside each horn, the longitudinal soldering of the metal sheet is visible. There are gaps in the flanges and the adjacent parts of the bodies.

Acc. nos. 1981.11.7, .8

Bothmer 1984, p. 58, nos. 103, 104; De Juliis 1984, no. 334; Mazzei 1987, p. 186, n. 56; Bell 1997, p. 33, fig. 7.

The base of each horn is formed by a flange that projects outward to a breadth of about 0.5–0.6 cm, and which is perforated by holes with a diameter of 0.1–0.2 cm.

It is likely that the horns were attached to a helmet; and, judging by the shape of the mating surface formed by the two flanges, the sharp ends pointed backward.

Horn A⁷ would have been on the viewer's right; it has a gap of about 1.2 cm in the flange which has fourteen surviving holes. There is probably one missing.

Horn B⁸ would have been on the left. It has a large gap both in the flange and in the lower part of the metal sheet, in the interior. There are seven surviving holes plus the edge of an eighth.

The edges of the holes are well preserved. In B, a hole close to the edge of the gap shows deformation, the result of being wrenched from where it was originally attached. Assuming these were decorative horns on a helmet, the wrench would have been outward.

Figure 48. Pair of silver horns. L. of each 15.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnett, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1982.11.7, .8). See also Colorplate 2

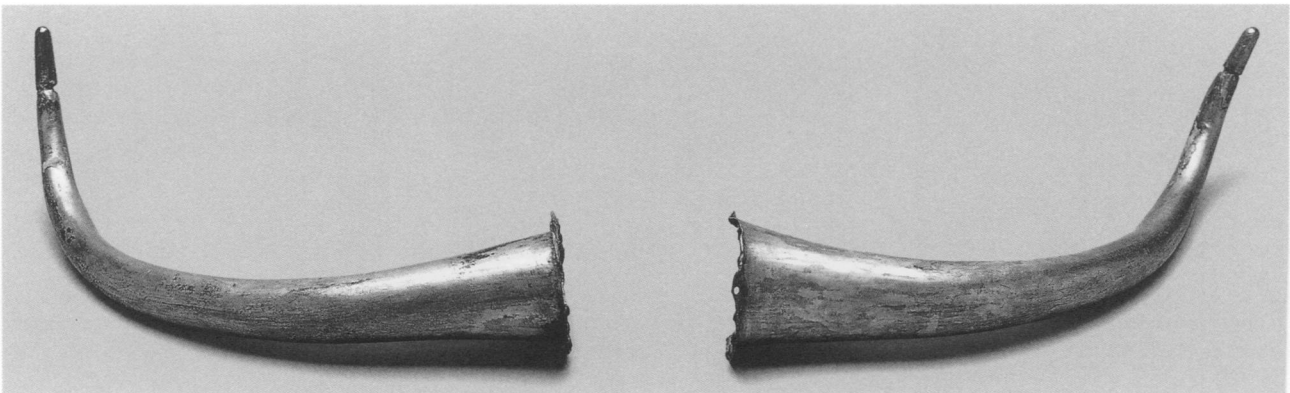




Figure 49. Silver vessel with three supports in the shape of theatrical masks, gilt. H. 19.6 cm; diam. 26.26 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1981.11.18). See also Colorplate 2



Figure 50. Detail of support in the shape of a theatrical mask on vessel in Figure 49



Figure 51. Detail of support in the shape of a theatrical mask on vessel in Figure 49



Figure 52. Detail of support in the shape of a theatrical mask on vessel in Figure 49



Figure 53. Detail of punch-dotted inscription on bottom of vessel in Figure 49

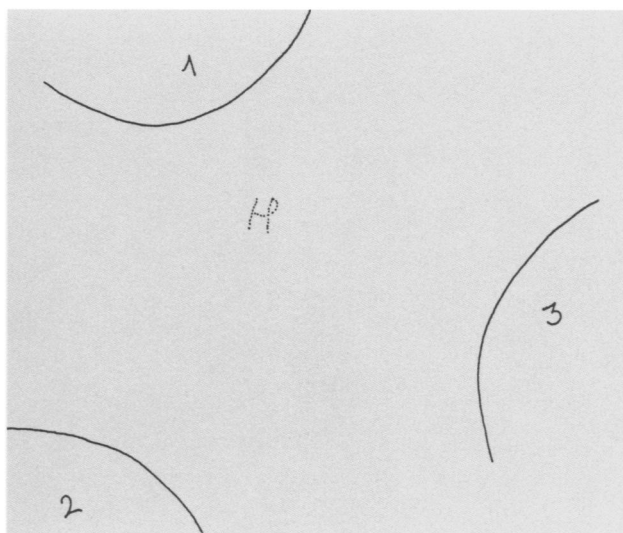


Figure 54. Drawing of inscription illustrated in Figure 53

14. Conical vessel with rounded bottom and three supports in the shape of theatrical masks (Figures 49–54)

H. 19.6 cm; diam. 26.26 cm; wt. 891.3 g

The entire lower half is fractured and has been restored and repaired in modern times; there are cracks, some through the metal, and extensive deformation.

Acc. no. 1981.11.18

Bothmer 1984, p. 59, no. 105; Bell 1997, p. 32, fig. 4;

Rotroff 1997, p. 107, n. 101; Krug 1998, p. 23, fig. 35.

On the outside of the lip—which is not differentiated—is a gilded embossed band with a double braid, edged above and below with an unbroken line of small punched circles. On the inside, the lip thickens into a semicircular cross section.

The vessel stands upright by means of three theatrical masks embossed in full relief and soldered to the lower rounded part of the vessel. The masks' position renders them legible only when the vessel is upside down, as it must have been when not in use.

The three masks are: 1) An old man's face (Figure 50) with gaping mouth and a band around his forehead whose ends hang at either side of his face at an angle to it. The end of his left band is missing. A garland of spotted leaves is intertwined with the band. The mouth, and part of the hair, are gilded.

2) A young woman's face (Figure 51) with mouth closed, and a band and garland on the forehead similar

to those of mask 1. The hanging ends of the band have been lost. The hair, richly adorned at the sides, is covered on the upper back of the head by a veil, secured in the center by a knot. There is extensive gilding.

3) A young man's face (Figure 52), lips parted, with band and garland on the head similar to those above. The ends hanging at the sides have survived. There is extensive gilding.

On the convex outer surface, about 2 cm from the inner circumference of foot no. 1, there is a punch-dotted monogram (Figures 53, 54; = P.XIII, p. 73): HP. L. 0.5 cm; H. 1.7 cm.

15. Conical vessel with rounded bottom and three supports in the shape of theatrical masks (Figures 55–60)

H. 18.5 cm; diam. 26.8 cm; wt. 820.5 g

Various deformations from blows have caused fractures to the vessel walls and a hole through the metal apparently made by a pointed implement; modern restorations.

Acc. no. 1982.11.12

Bothmer 1984, p. 59, no. 106, illus. p. 60.

This vessel is exactly like the preceding one, except that it lacks the gilded band on the outside of the lip. The lip, which is not differentiated on the outside, is thickened on the inside into a circular cross section.

The three supports are embossed as follows: 1) A young woman's face (Figure 56), mouth closed, with



Figure 55. Silver vessel with three supports in the shape of theatrical masks, gilt. H. 18.5 cm; diam. 26.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Classical Purchase Fund, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Anonymous, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet, Christos G. Bastis, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried, Jerome Levy Foundation, Norbert Schimmel, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Spears Gifts, 1981–82 (1982.11.12). See also Colorplate 2



Figure 56. Detail of support in the shape of a theatrical mask on vessel in Figure 55



Figure 57. Detail of support in the shape of a theatrical mask on vessel in Figure 55



Figure 58. Detail of support in the shape of a theatrical mask on vessel in Figure 55



Figure 59. Detail of punch-dotted inscriptions on bottom of vessel in Figure 55

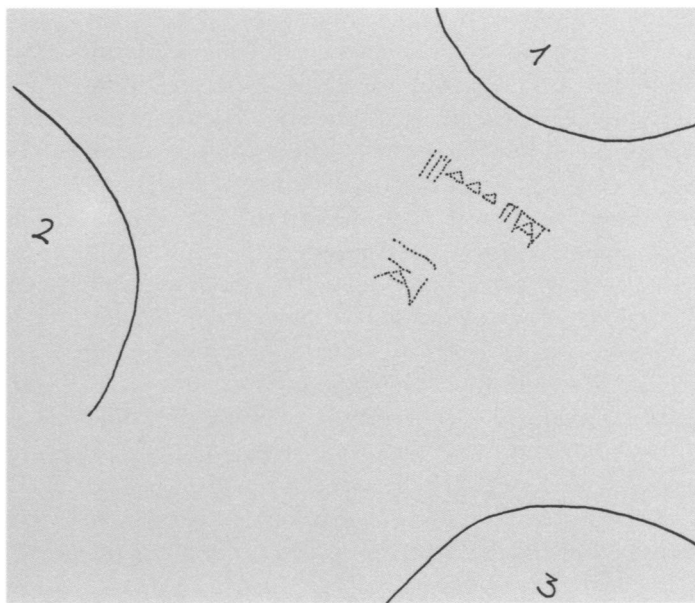


Figure 60. Drawing of inscriptions illustrated in Figure 59

ringlets at either side. On the forehead is a garland of traced leaves, with two spheroidal berries in the center, held in place by a smooth band. On the upper rear of the head a veil with a central knot covers the hair, which can be glimpsed beneath it. There is extensive gilding. Part of the left-hand ringlet is missing.

2) An old man's face (Figure 57), openmouthed, with garland, berries, and band as in no. 1. The ends of the band hang at either side of the face. There is extensive gilding.⁹

3) A young man's face (Figure 58), mouth closed, with garland, berries, and band as in no. 2. There is extensive gilding.¹⁰

On the convex outside surface, about 2 cm from the inner margin of foot no. 1, is a punch-dotted inscription (Figures 59, 60; = P.VIII, p. 72): a) Rectilinear IIIΔΔΔH followed by a monogram: pa. L. 1.9 cm; max. H. 0.5 cm; min. H. 0.2 cm.

There is a second punch-dotted inscription (Figures 59, 60; = P.XIV, p. 74) beneath the first. It is a monogram made up of an open pi with an A, surmounted by a horizontal line. b) Monogram ΠAT. L. 0.8 cm; H. 0.7 cm.

At the lip, between masks 2 and 3 and opposite the hole through the metal, is an incised inscription (Figure 66; = I.IX, pp. 75–76): c) EY TKP. L. 3.7 cm; H. 2.4 cm.

ANALYSIS OF THE OBJECTS' CONDITION

There can be said to be two main categories of damage. The first is the result of impact, mostly caused by pointed or cutting tools, which can be assumed to have been inflicted during the recovery of the hoard. The item that seems to have suffered most from this is the vessel no. 15—so much so that it has been perforated by a pointed tool. The same is true of the vessel no. 14, which has cracks right through the metal. It might be deduced from this that the convex lower portions of these two vessels were the first to be struck during excavation and that their discovery led the searchers to exercise more caution. Nevertheless, other objects also bear marks made by such tools, almost all indicating a blow against an exterior surface. The notch on the edge of element III of item no. 11 can also be attributed to an action in modern times; conceivably, it was made to test the quality of the metal. The pyxis 1984.11.3 (see below, p. 84) is heavily deformed, the result of a blow inflicted with a pointed implement which affected all its component parts.

The details of zone II of the phiale no. 9 have already been described: the original gilding was carefully scraped off, and the metal underneath is brighter than the rest of the object's surface.¹¹ Here, too, it

could be surmised that the gilding was removed after the item was unearthed, also to test the metal. It cannot be ruled out that this was done in ancient times for that same reason; if it was, however, that would not explain the difference in the brightness of the underlying metal. Whenever this operation was carried out, why the scraping was extended to the entire zone must remain a mystery, for the underlying silver would obviously have been exposed at the outset, and the value of the gold recovered would have been insignificant.

The second category of damage consists of the deformations and gaps (as in element b of item no. 4) that do not appear to be the result of blows but rather of the conditions under which the items were buried. As well as no. 4, nos. 3, 6, 7, 9, 10.I, 11, and 14 belong to this category. The deformations visible on no. 15, on the other hand, all appear to be due to blows suffered during excavation.

Particularly evident is the deformation on the skyphos no. 7, the body and handle of which must both have been crushed by the weight of the earth under which it was buried. The same may be true of the bowl no. 3, whose interior has also been deformed by pressure, possibly because it contained another object. The dark trace on the bowl no. 6 indicates that it was inside another object whose oxidation left a mark. A similar situation occurred with the phiale no. 9, which shows not only deformation which led to a crack in the lip but also an oxidized area on the outside.

Despite these observations, it seems impossible to reconstruct the circumstances of the discovery beyond the theory regarding nos. 14 and 15. We can surmise that some of the objects were inside the vessels, which must have been upside down, however, if their convex lower surfaces were indeed the first to be struck during excavation.¹² At all events—especially if the suggested reconstruction of the scraping of zone II of the phiale is accurate—the excavation and the actions taken immediately afterward were carelessly executed.

Some items show signs of wear due to their original functions. The kyathos no. 8 has a handle that was broken and soldered in ancient times. This indicates either a considerable period of use before it was buried or that it was subjected to blows. Obviously, the two are not mutually exclusive.

The container II of the pyxis no. 10 shows unmistakable wear in its interior. The lid (III), too, shows signs of wear suffered in ancient times.

The same is true of the dish II and element III of the altar no. 11. In the case of the dish II, the double-ringed handle must have been especially subject to wear because there is a gap in the lip at that spot. The two surfaces of the lip of the dish IV are equally worn, with

substantial damage to their respective decoration.¹³

The pair of horns nos. 12 and 13 have lost the finish at their ends. Horn B shows clear evidence of having been violently wrenched from its original support. The lost surface finish seems to indicate a long period of use or else that the horns were hoarded. The evidence of violent detachment suggests that the object to which the horns were originally affixed was not made of a precious material and thus was not preserved with the silver.

The medallion bearing the figure of Scylla no. 4 (without speculating what its original function may have been) was separated in ancient times from the element with which it formed a complete object.

Apart from observations here on the way the excavation was carried out, it can be deduced that the objects were buried in soil, with some of the smaller ones inside larger ones, and not in a chest or other kind of container that would have protected them better from the blows suffered during discovery.

From an analysis of the condition of the objects it is impossible to say for certain that the objects preserved in New York existed as a group in ancient times but neither can this be ruled out.

ANALYSIS OF INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions made either by punched dots or by incising¹⁴ appear on the following items:¹⁵

- no. 1: one punch-dotted inscription;
- no. 2: one punch-dotted inscription;
- no. 3: two punch-dotted inscriptions;
- no. 5: one punch-dotted inscription;
- no. 7: two punch-dotted inscriptions, one incised inscription;
- no. 8: two punch-dotted inscriptions;
- no. 10: two punch-dotted inscriptions, three incised inscriptions;
- no. 11: two punch-dotted inscriptions, four incised inscriptions;
- no. 14: one punch-dotted inscription;
- no. 15: two punch-dotted inscriptions, one incised inscription,

giving a total of 25 inscriptions, of which 16 are punched dots.

The technique of punching,¹⁶ therefore, predominates statistically in this group; moreover, it appears to be the technique used originally and pertaining to an earlier time in the objects' useful life. It is not possible to say for certain, or in all cases, that the punch-dotted inscriptions were made at the same time as the objects themselves.¹⁷ However, they are unquestionably older

than the incised inscriptions, a conclusion securely shown in at least two cases.

The variety of the *ductus* in both the punched and incised inscriptions, the variety of the monograms (also both punched and incised), and the use—though in only one confirmed case—of the Doric dialect indicate a succession of inscriptions made over time, as well as changes of ownership. In one case (the pyxis no. 10: I.v and I.vii) incised inscriptions are superimposed on each other.

In the underside of the base of the small altar no. 11 the punch-dotted monogram b (P.xv) is clearly covered by the incised inscription c (I.i). The same is clearly the case with the incised lines that cover the

punched dots of the inscription c (P.vii) on the pyxis no. 10.

All the inscriptions, whether punched or incised, run from left to right.

Following is a proposed detailed analysis of the inscriptions:

P[unched dot].I: no. 11a (Figure 61): IEPA TΩN / ΘEΩN Π

P.II: no. 10a (Figure 61): IEPA ΘEΩN

These two inscriptions repeat, in an almost identical way, the same common formula of votive dedication.¹⁸ In P.i a Π is added before the monogram made up of a Π with a vertical stroke in the middle. The isolated Π could be taken as an indication of weight (= 50) or possibly as an abbreviation of ΠANTΩN (see I.i on the same object). The whole can be compared with P.vii, punched on no. 10 (see below, p. 72).

P.ii seems less carefully executed than P.i, for example in the upper opening of the loop of the P, in the alternate direction of the final strokes of the Ω, and in the curved profile of the oblique stroke of the N.

The general *ductus*, however, is entirely comparable, so much so that both are arguably by the same hand.

P.III: no. 7b (Figure 61): EPMA

This may be a proper noun.¹⁹ The punched dots are larger and closer together than in the two preceding inscriptions. The A forms a narrower triangle. Consequently, this may be attributable to a different hand from the preceding inscription, also because the upper and lower strokes of the E diverge outward.

P.IV: no. 1 (Figure 62): ΙΙΠΔΔΗ

The weight indication 127²⁰ is followed by a monogram²¹ made up of the capital form of pi with two additional internal vertical strokes. The *ductus* is vague in the alignment of its strokes and their joining to one another.

P.V: no. 3a (Figure 62): ΠΔΔ

What remains readable of the weight indication, 25,²² is undoubtedly only partially preserved. It is necessary to add the indication of hundreds: the original inscription is therefore to be interpreted as [1]25.

Here, too, there follows a monogram the same as that described in P.iv:²³ the *ductus* is completely different from that in the numerical notation and is comparable with that of the preceding number.

P.VI: no. 5 (Figure 62): ΙΙΠΔΔ

The indication of weight, 27,²⁴ shows lettering more square than the two preceding ones. But some details are the same, such as the curvature of the strokes of pi and, in general, the careless way the strokes are joined.

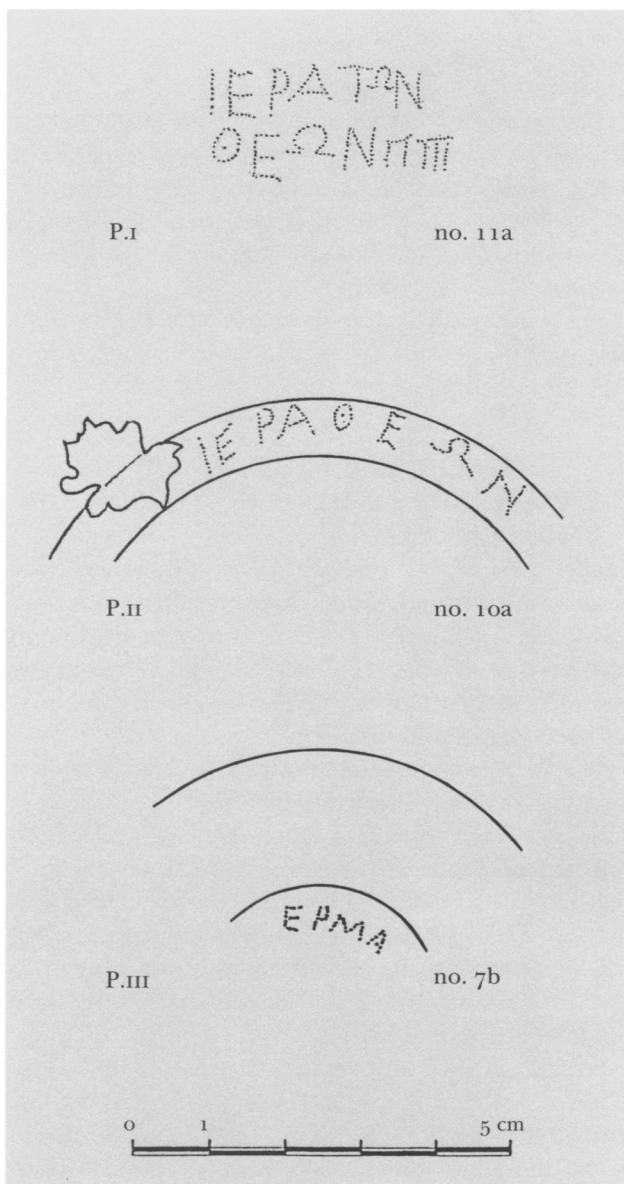


Figure 61. Punch-dotted inscriptions P.I–P.III

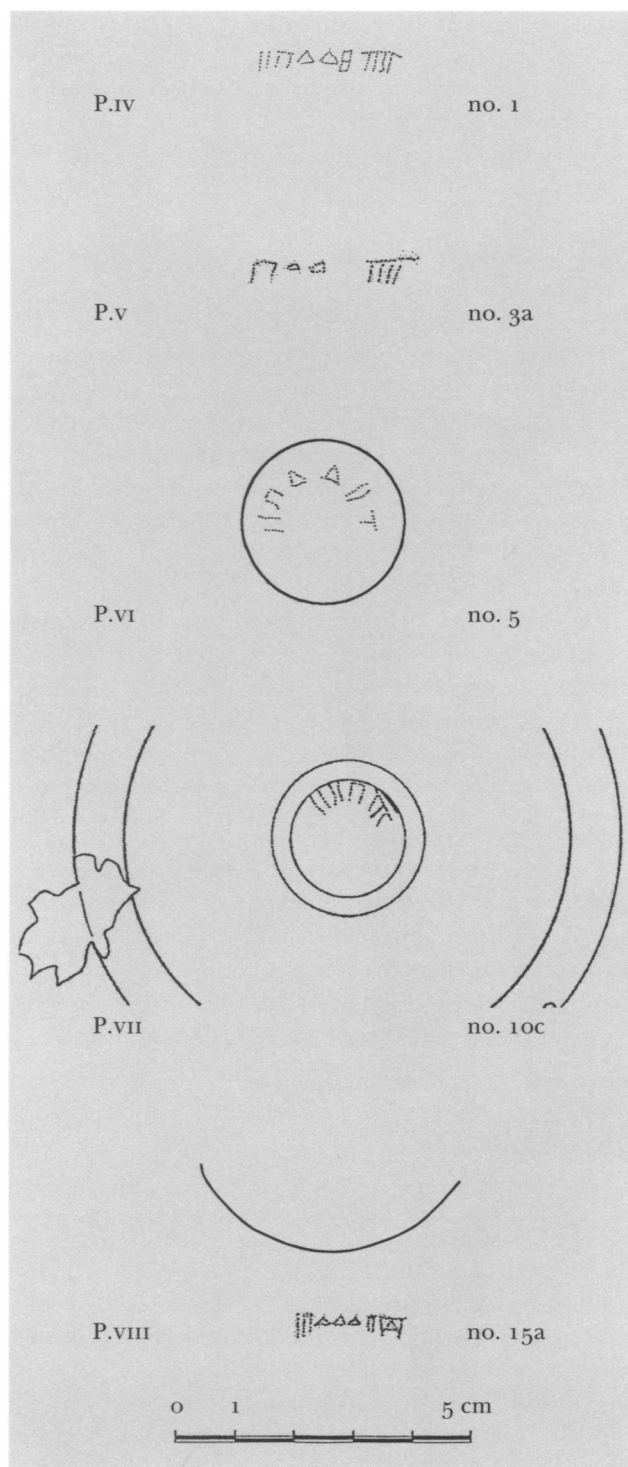


Figure 62. Punch-dotted inscriptions P.IV–P.VIII

There follow three marks²⁵ which we suggest can be related to the monogram in P.IV and P.V.

This inscription suggests, perhaps, that the monogram is made at least from T, preceded by two vertical strokes that are certainly not connected either at their upper or their lower ends. When compared with P.IV and P.V, a vertical stroke is missing, as is the prolonga-

tion of the upper horizontal stroke, so the connection must remain uncertain.

P.VII: no. 10c (Figure 62): IIIIIII

The original inscription is made up of six characters: four vertical strokes and two pi. To the rightmost pi has been added an incised intermediate vertical mark, attributed to the more recent phase during which lines were traced almost as if to reinforce the punched marks, as well as a vertical stroke that is separate from the upper stroke of that pi.

This could be a weight indication corresponding to 54, followed by a monogram originally made up of a Π to which an intermediate vertical stroke was added (see above, p. 71, P.I).

The *ductus* differs from those of P.IV and P.V; it is also different from that of P.VI because the characters are more extended vertically.

P.VIII: no. 15a (Figure 62): IIIΔΔΔ

The transcribed characters may comprise a weight indication followed by a monogram. The latter is made up of a Π that contains an A.²⁶ The weight could be read as 133 if we interpret the character immediately preceding the monogram as an H whose lower part has been worn away.

The writing is by a different hand from the previous inscriptions, because of the miniaturization of the Δ and the notably longer lines of the beginning three strokes. Between the second and third of these, above, are two small dots, probably made in error.

P.IX, P.xa, b: nos. 8a, b (Figure 63): ΔΔΔH / Π / IIII // T ΔΔ / III

The inscriptions²⁷ on the surface of the handle are made with much larger dots than any of the preceding ones. The *ductus*, too, appears more uncertain and confused, so much so that both the individual letters and the precise number of lines—which are not even parallel to each other—are not clear.

In P.IX we suggest that the first line be read as a weight indication, 130, assuming that H was written in a lower position relative to the three Δ and attached to the nearest of these. In the second line, the horizontal stroke of the suggested Π is confused on the right with the lower part of the H in the first line. In the third line, the two vertical characters on the left appear to be clearly distinct, while the suggested Π on the right is entirely hypothetical.

P.xa, b is made up of two inscriptions which were made at different times, as is clearly indicated both by the difference in the *ductus* and by the greater depth of the punching of P.xb. As for P.xa, we suggest that in its first line the first character be read as a possible T: there is an oblique upper stroke for which we can find

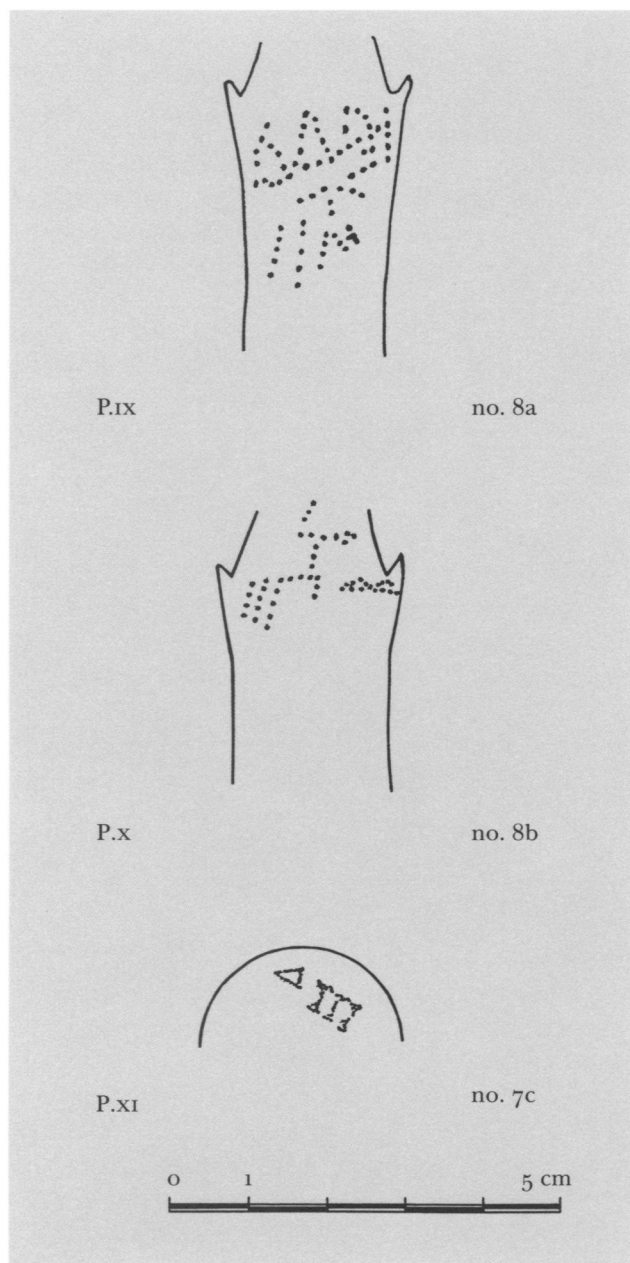


Figure 63. Punch-dotted inscriptions P.IX–P.XI

no interpretation. The two small Δ on the right could also be seen as not in relation with the other marks, as they are at a distance from them and not exactly aligned with them.

In P.xb there are three clearly defined vertical marks on the left. The rightmost of the three could be a Π with a small Δ contained in its upper corner (meaning 50?); but the *ductus* is not clear enough to confirm this hypothesis.

P.xi: no. 7c (Figure 63): ΔIII

The weight indication is 13, marked with triangular apexes at the ends of the vertical strokes that indicate

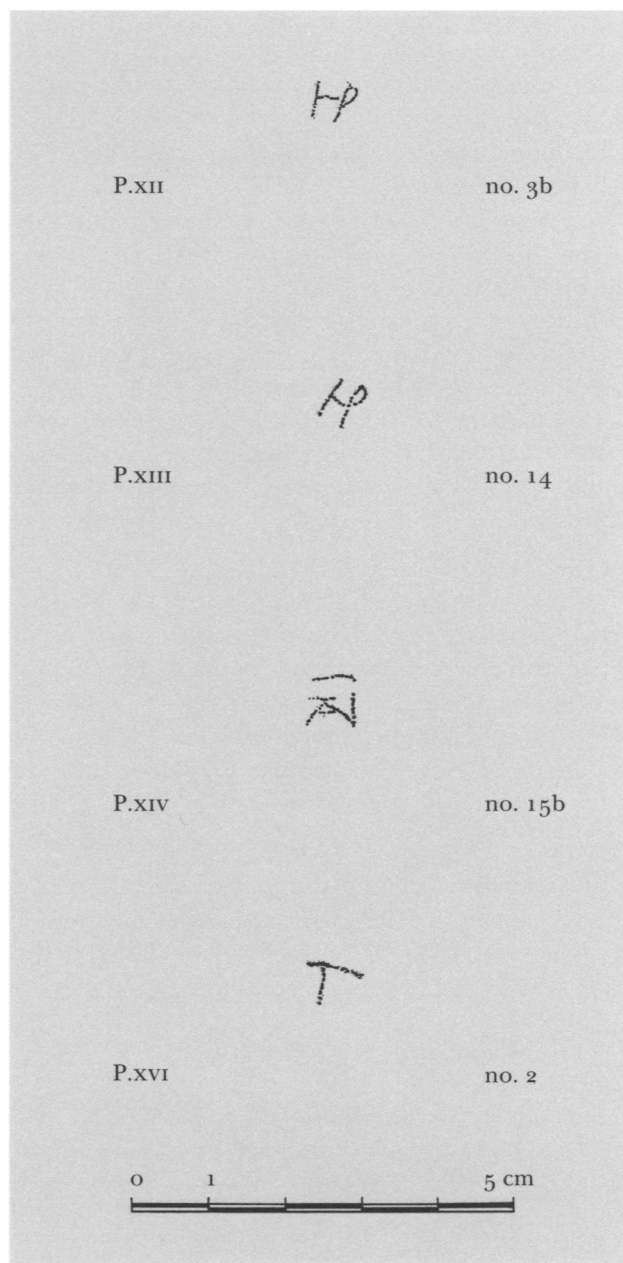


Figure 64. Punch-dotted inscriptions P.XII–P.XIV, P.XVI

units. The Δ is smaller.²⁸ The orientation of the *ductus* appears to be confirmed by that of P.III, which is clear.

The presence of apexes and the sizes of the characters mean that this inscription can be attributed to a different hand from the others to be found on this group of objects.

P.xii: no. 3b (Figure 64): HP

The monogram is a connected H and P.²⁹

P.xiii: no. 14 (Figure 64): HP

This monogram is identical to the preceding one, as is the hand, which separates the vertical stroke of the P from the horizontal one of the H.

P.xiv: no. 15b (Figure 64): ΠAT

This monogram contains an open Π with an A inside, surmounted by a horizontal stroke that probably indicates a T.

The punching is minute; the *ductus* is not carefully executed throughout.

The monogram can be compared to the one that follows the weight indication of P.viii (no. 15a), punched on the same vessel.

Monogram P.xiv, as suggested above, consists of a Π that contains an A. Taking into account the gaps, we can also interpret the monogram as consisting of a Π, with gaps on the left and in the join between the horizontal stroke and the right-hand vertical stroke, which contains an A, the whole being surmounted by a parallel horizontal stroke that may signify a T.

P.xv: no. 11b (Figure 65): AΔT

A monogram consisting of an A with the median stroke angled downward, surmounted by a horizontal stroke with enlarged dots at each end, and resting on an irregular horizontal stroke.³⁰

The execution of the monogram is entirely different from that of P.i on the same object, and also from the other punched inscriptions documented in this group.

P.xvi: no. 2 (Figure 64): Π or T

The remains of a punch-dotted character, perhaps a pi with gaps in the right-hand vertical stroke, or a T whose vertical stroke is asymmetrical in relation to the horizontal one.

I[ncised].i: no. 11c (Figure 65): IAPA ΠANTΩN / ΘΕΩΝ / ΙΙΙ

This dedication to all the gods³¹ is followed by a weight indication that corresponds to 7. The leftmost mark may indicate a fraction. This is followed by a monogram as in P.i.

The weight indication appears greater than that in P.i, punched on the same object.

I.ii: no. 11d (Figure 65): IEPA TΩN / ΘΕΩΝ

This inscription³² and the preceding one, I.i, are on the same item that bears P.i. It should be noted that I.ii faithfully reproduces the text of P.i, even in the line breaks, whereas I.i adds not only ΠANTΩN but the weight indication, which differs from that in P.i. But the most important difference appears to lie in the use in I.i of the Doric dialect (IAPA), as opposed to the Ionic of both P.i and I.ii.

The *ductus* is similar in the two inscriptions, although in I.ii there is some uncertainty in the repetition of the vertical stroke of the I, and in the fact that the strokes making up the various letters (E, A, T) are not joined—as in the P of I.i.

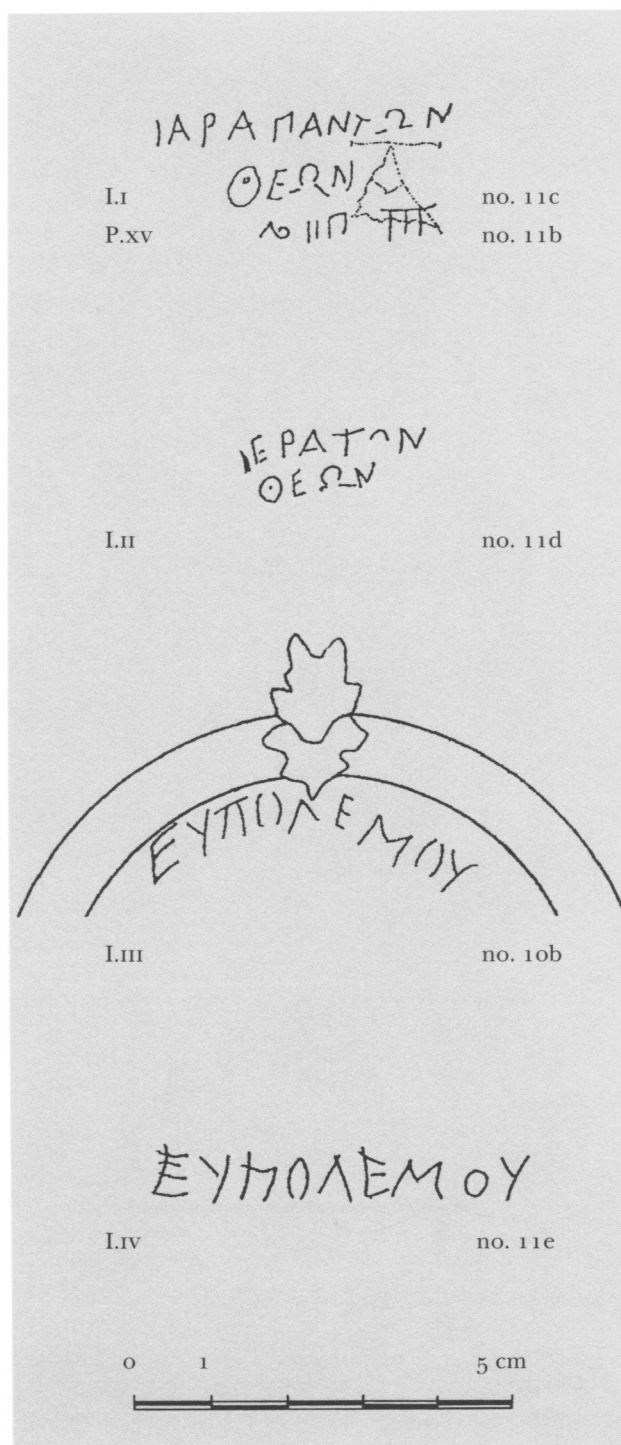


Figure 65. Punch-dotted inscription P.xv and incised inscriptions I.i–I.iv

I.iii: no. 10b, and **I.iv:** no. 11e (Figure 65):

ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ and ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ

Both these inscriptions³³ give, in the possessive genitive, a name consisting of a single element.

These inscriptions were made by the same hand, judging by their general appearance and the *ductus* of

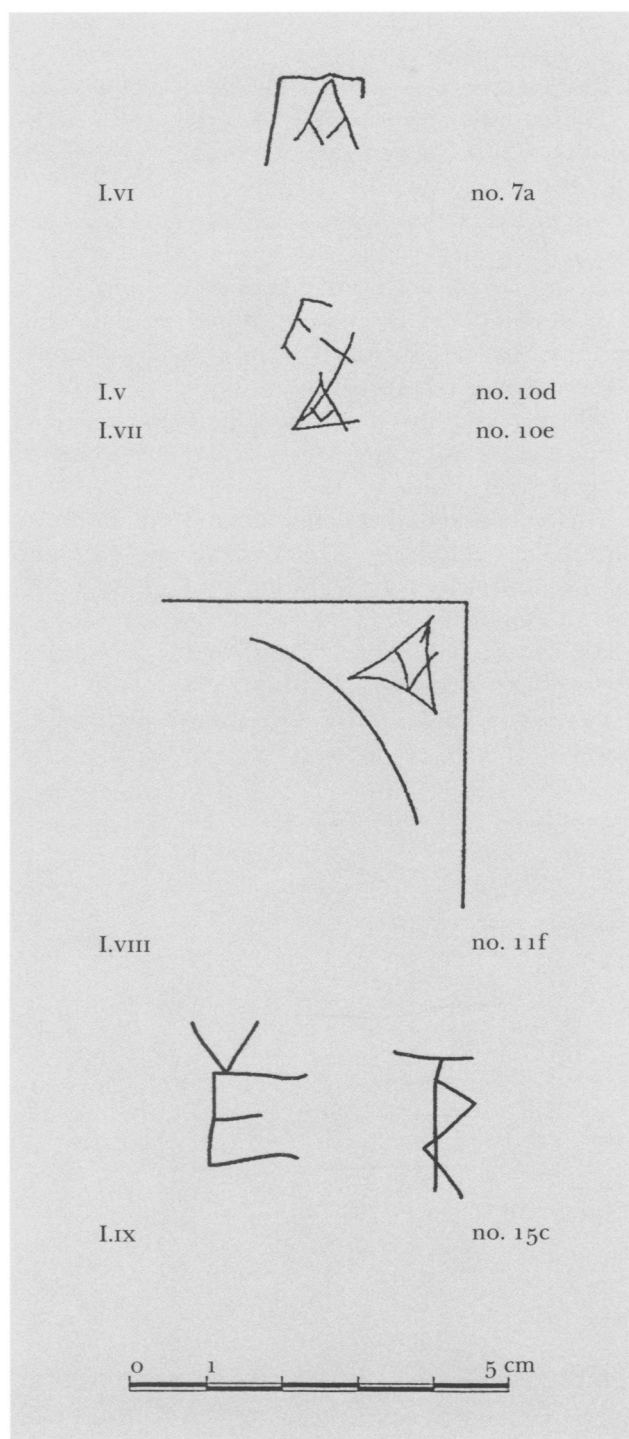


Figure 66. Incised inscriptions I.v–I.ix

each, but less carefully in the case of I.iv. Factors that suggest a single hand are the slight curve in the final upper stroke of the second E, and the bent condition of the M.

The name Eupolemos, first identified by M. Bell,³⁴ is found throughout the Greek-speaking world, espe-

cially on its fringes and also in Morgantina;³⁵ in northern Sicily it endured until the first century.³⁶

I.v: no. 10d (Figure 66): EY

The two letters E and Y can with reasonable certainty be read as an abbreviation of the personal name Eupolemos, which appears on both this object and on no. 11.

It is uncertain whether this abbreviation is attributable to the same hand that inscribed I.iii and I.iv, since the lack of care in joining the strokes that make up the letters produces different results from those.

This inscription is more recent than I.vii, since it is superimposed.

I.vi: no. 7a (Figure 66): ΠA

A monogram made up of an open pi that contains an A with its inner stroke angled downward.

This monogram can be compared, in shape only, with P.xiv, although in that one the median stroke of the one A is straight. Given the small size of P.xiv, the derivation of I.vi is uncertain.

The two nonjoining strokes that make up the median stroke of the A may be compared to the similar lack of joining of the curved strokes that make up the O in I.iii and I.iv.

I.vii: no. 10e (Figure 66): AA

A monogram consisting of an A with the median stroke angled downward, placed on a straight horizontal line.

Its shape can be compared with the monogram P.xv, even though it lacks the straight stroke across the top.

This inscription is earlier than I.v because it underlies it.

I.viii: no. 11f (Figure 66): AA

A monogram consisting of an A with the median stroke angled downward, placed on a rectilinear horizontal stroke.

Its shape could be compared with that of the preceding monogram.

I.ix: no. 15c (Figure 66): EY TKP

This inscription consists of two groups of joined letters: the left-hand group may be a reference to the personal name Eupolemos,³⁷ found in full in I.iii and I.iv, and in abbreviated, but not joined, form in I.v.³⁸

The right-hand group consists of a T, a P, and a K; but it is not possible to determine the order of the letters.³⁹ From a graphic point of view, the T was incised first, and the join with the K and the P was added to its vertical stroke.

It should be noted that this inscription was made

As already mentioned, these inscriptions show features that suggest links between them:

P.I and P.II have the same dedicatory formula, and the style of writing is similar.

P.IV and P.V can be compared with each other and possibly also to P.VI.

P.VIII and P.XIV can be linked on account of the form of the *ductus*.

P.xb is probably earlier than the other two on the same object.

The monogram P.xv stands apart, without parallels among these objects.

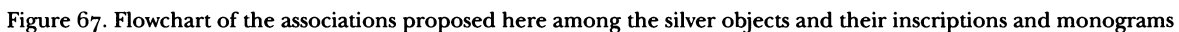
These observations on the punch-dotted inscriptions also allow deductions to be made regarding the objects that bear them (see Figure 67):

Nos. 10 and 11 are distinguished by analogous votive formulae (P.I and P.II), suggesting that the objects also are connected.

The two bowls nos. 1 and 3 are perhaps connected to the pitcher no. 5 in view of the probable similarity of their monograms.

The repetition of the monogram in P.VIII and P.XIV on the same object (no. 15) confirms that the rightmost character in P.VIII is just that and not an indication of weight. In form, no. 15 is a pair with no. 14, which bears a monogram (P.XIII) that is the same as the one on the bowl no. 3 (P.XII).

P.IX and P.xa, b, both on the kyathos no. 8, are distinct.



P.XI, with a numerical marking, may have been written from left to right, assuming it is contemporary with P.III, using the pseudoascendant acrophonic system (see below and p. 86).

In conclusion, we see how no. 11 clearly bears punch-dotted inscriptions that differ from each other and how the pair of *mastoi* (nos. 14 and 15) can be linked by the monograms on them to the bowl no. 3—and, if what is proposed above is true, also to the bowl no. 1 and the pitcher no. 5.

It has already been pointed out that the incised inscriptions are later than the punched ones.

I.I and I.II repeat the same votive formula that is seen in P.I and P.II. Note that both I.I and I.II are on the same object (no. 11), rather than being also on no. 10, and are probably by the same hand.

I.III and I.IV repeat the same personal name in its complete form, visible also in the abbreviation in I.V, though by a different hand.

I.IX shows the first two letters of that same name, joined together. This reinforces the link, during the period when the incised inscriptions were made, between no. 15 and nos. 10 and 11. The letters are larger than all the others, possibly because more space is available, but the hand does not appear to be different. The meaning of the right-hand group of linked letters is uncertain.

I.VI stands by itself, though it may be associated with P.XV.

I.VII and I.VIII have the same shape, presumably a monogram.

It can be deduced that when the incised inscriptions were made (a period later than when the punched inscriptions were made), nos. 10 and 11 remained together—if, as suggested here, I.V refers to the same name as I.III, I.IV, and I.IX, and if I.VII and I.VIII repeat the same monogram. We emphasize that P.I and I.II are in different dialects.

The monogram I.VI, if it indeed echoes the monogram P.XIV, forms a link between the skyphos no. 7 and the *mastos* no. 15. The punched inscriptions on these two objects (no. 7: P.III and P.XI; no. 15: P.VIII and P.XIV) appear to be distinct from one another. From this interpretation it can now be deduced that no. 7 and no. 15 (which, it is suggested, is linked to nos. 3 and 14, as well as to nos. 1 and 5) were together only during the time the incised inscriptions were made.

The monogram I.VII, which appears to stand alone, is underneath I.V. This seems to suggest that object no. 10 has been through four periods. The two earliest are documented by the punched inscriptions (P.II and P.XV), and the two most recent by incised inscriptions (I.VII and I.III, with I.V). In view of the suggested

link between no. 10 and no. 11, it can be assumed that both these objects passed through the same circumstances, always remaining together, even though there is nothing traced on the latter.

It is not clear why incisions reinforce the punch-dotted weight indications (P.VII) on no. 10: all the other traced inscriptions except I.I do not refer to weight. These incisions might be modern.⁴⁰

If the observations proposed thus far accurately describe what happened in ancient times, these objects preserved as a group in the Metropolitan Museum are a unique find, at least as far as the ones bearing inscriptions are concerned, with the possible exception of the kyathos no. 8. However, they do not have a common origin, as indicated by the variety of punched and incised⁴¹ inscriptions and by the (albeit tenuous) inscribed name, as well as by the presence of a single inscription in the Doric dialect (I.I). The characteristics of the inscriptions nonetheless allow them to be divided into subgroups, to which a common origin can be attributed.

Turning again to observations made on the condition of the objects, it can be suggested that when they were buried, they were grouped together, but it cannot be stated conclusively that the collection thus formed existed as such and reflected the objects' ownership before the burial.

Observations on the results of the excavation of block West 9/10 C at Morgantina⁴² can—if the New York collection was indeed buried there—be taken to indicate the existence of a single owner even before the burial.

The same applies to the other hypothesis—that the items come from the hypogeum of Medusa at Arpi.⁴³

However, this hypothesis must be measured against the characteristics of the numerical inscriptions on our pieces. Indeed, while the numerical inscriptions observe the acrophonic system usual throughout the Greek world, they start not with the highest figure but with the lowest. This order is clear if the numerical inscriptions, like all the other inscriptions here, are read from left to right. We see no reason, either logical or chronological, to read only the numerals from right to left.

This system of writing numbers is widely attested in northwest Sicily.⁴⁴ Starting from an identification of this method by M. Lombardo,⁴⁵ G. Nenci studied it further and suggested that it may be derived from the habitual interaction between the Greek and Phoenician-Punic systems, which bordered each other in that part of Sicily. Pseudoascendant acrophonic numerical writing has been documented, perhaps, also at Morgantina itself,⁴⁶ but not in Daunia.

ANALYSIS OF THE MONOGRAMS

As mentioned above, some objects bear monograms, punch-dotted or incised, as follows:

no. 11: P.I
no. 1: P.IV
no. 3: P.V
no. 5: P.VI
no. 10: P.VII
no. 15: P.VIII
no. 7: P.XI
no. 3: P.XII
no. 14: P.XIII
no. 15: P.XIV
no. 11: P.XV
no. 11: I.I
no. 10: I.V
no. 7: I.VI
no. 10: I.VII
no. 11: I.VIII

The distribution of the monograms strengthens the links made above between some of the items in this group (see Figure 67).

Notably, nos. 10 and 11 are connected, and to these can be added no. 7 if in P.XI the character to the right of the Δ is read as a Π with a median vertical stroke added to it.

The subgroup consisting of nos. 1 and 3, which is distinguished by a Π with two median vertical strokes added, is linked to no. 14 by the presence of the monogram H+P, which is also on no. 3 (= P.XII).

The three characters on no. 5 that come after the numerical notation (= P.VI) can be connected, albeit without certainty, to the monogram on nos. 1 and 3.

On no. 11 a punch-dotted monogram (P.I) is repeated, incised (I.I).

From the period when the traced inscriptions were made, no. 7 shows a monogram (I.VI) that may be derived from P.XIV on no. 15.

The monograms incised on nos. 10 and 11 (I.VII and I.VIII) seem derived from P.XV, also on no. 11.

ANALYSIS OF WEIGHT INDICATIONS

As mentioned above, some objects have weight markings; all are punched except I.I—if indeed that is a weight indication. They are:⁴⁷

no. 11: present wt. 367.8 g:⁴⁸ P.I = 50
no. 11: present wt. 367.8 g: I.I = 7 (perhaps + $\frac{1}{2}$)
no. 1: present wt. 479 g: P.IV = 127
no. 3: present wt. 418 g: P.V = [1]25

no. 5: present wt. 178 g: P.VI = 27
no. 10: present wt. 148 g:⁴⁹ P.VII = 54
no. 15: present wt. 820.5 g: P.VIII = 133
no. 7: present wt. 299 g: P.XI = 13

The notations that can probably be interpreted more reliably are those on nos. 1 (P.IV), 3 (P.V), and 15 (P.VIII).

If we divide the present weight of these objects by the ancient figure on each of them, this produces the following:

Table 1

<i>Object</i>	<i>Present weight in grams</i>	<i>Inscribed weight</i>	<i>Resulting weight unit</i>
no. 1	479	127	3.77
no. 3	418	[1]25	3.34
no. 15	820.5	133	6.16

The resulting average of the weight units (3.31 g) seems very close to the Persian-Seleucid shekel, which was in use until the second century;⁵⁰ on no. 15 the unit is doubled.

Regarding the other objects, it is less clear how the respective weight data are to be interpreted, as the following indicates:

Table 2

<i>Object</i>	<i>Present weight in grams</i>	<i>Inscribed weight</i>	<i>Resulting weight unit</i>
no. 2	407		122 ⁵¹ units of 3.31 g ⁵²
no. 4	81		25 units of 3.31 g
no. 5	178	P.VI: 27	27 units of 6.6 g
no. 6	151		45 units of 3.31 g
no. 7	299	P.XI: 13	90 units of 3.31 g
no. 9	104		
no. 10	148	P.VII: 54	45 units of 3.31 g
	201.7 ⁵³		60 units of 3.31 g
no. 11	367.8	P.I: 50	55 units of 6.62 g
	314.1 ⁵⁴	I.I: 7 (+ $\frac{1}{2}$)	48 units of 6.62 g
no. 12	74.7		
no. 13	70		
no. 14	891.3		144 units of 6.16 g
no. 15	820.5		124 units of 6.16 g

The picture that emerges, while neither certain nor clear, does appear plausible, also considering the subgroups already suggested based on analysis of their inscriptions and monograms (see above, pp. 70–78).

Thus, for example, nos. 14, 15, and 5 all appear to have been weighed using a unit of a little more than 6 grams. The same goes for the values obtained assuming that a unit of 3.31 grams, roughly half the previous one, was used to weigh almost all the other

objects. Further confirmation can be seen in dividing the weight notation inscribed on no. 5 into the actual weight, which gives a unit about double the reconstructed standard.

It has been suggested that the disk bearing Scylla (no. 4) was once part of the bowl no. 2.⁵⁵ Together these would weigh 488 grams, or 147 units of 3.31 grams, not that this calculation can be considered decisive toward a proposed reconstruction of the original appearance of these objects, nor is it more convincing than keeping them separate.

Some suggestions can be made about nos. 10 and 11 in light of the weight figures proposed here. For no. 10, if the punch-dotted weight corresponds to the ancient weight, that is closer to the greater weight, i.e., the one that includes also the dish no. 11.IV (Figure 44).

No. 8 bears three different possible notations, so I do not propose any interpretation of them (see note 27). Similarly, I am not in a position to interpret the weight notation (I.1)—if that is what it is—incised on no. 11.

In conclusion, analysis of the weights of this group of silver objects in New York shows that although their subgroups have existed from the time of manufacture, and some of these have been part of common circumstances, they were not originally made as a single group.

ANALYSIS OF MANUFACTURE

I have suggested that the group under consideration is made up of objects that are disparate in their manufacture. Below I will attempt to analyze the characteristics of each one, using the order of presentation in the first part of this article.

Nos. 1–3: Regarding their shape, these three bowls can be analyzed together, despite slight differences in their proportions.

Their shape is known, in silver, from a pair of examples with decoration exclusively on the inside of the lip, from Manzaderan (Iran), dated to the second century B.C.,⁵⁶ and to manufacture from Hellenized Asia Minor, as well as from an example from Locris, in the museum at Athens.⁵⁷

This shape reappears very frequently in pottery: either with a smooth internal profile⁵⁸ or, more often, with a medallion in the interior.⁵⁹

This last variant has been identified and studied for a considerable time and has been linked to toreutic artifacts of similar shape and decoration. The latter have been identified with the Therikleian cups,⁶⁰ as they are called in ancient literary sources, of which a

more economical version, equipped with handles, is known as Rhodian.⁶¹

The archaeological literature on the subject is extensive. The generally accepted dating, based in some cases on stratigraphic associations, wavers between the end of the third and the middle of the second century, and sometimes even later.⁶²

The medallions that ornament the interiors of these bowls, like the decorations that form the various zones, show designs that are common in late-Hellenistic metalwork. Consider the following examples: the wreath demarcating the lip of the outer surface of the lid of the Rothschild pyxis from Taranto—the work of Nikon⁶³—and the decorations in its interior, comparable with, respectively, zone I of the bowl no. 1 and the bowl's interior medallion;⁶⁴ the decorations on the pyxis from Ancona, grave XXVI, also comparable with the medallion on the interior of the bowl no. 1;⁶⁵ the wreath on the lip of a pyxis from Asia Minor, comparable with zone I of the bowl no. 1,⁶⁶ and leaf-motif decoration on the silver bowl from Ithaca, in the British Museum, of which the medallion on the interior of the bowl no. 3 is a simplified derivative.⁶⁷

The decoration on zone VII of the bowl no. 1 can be compared to the “small stepped pyramids” (though these are upturned) that can be seen on the horizontal zones of a sandwich gold glass bowl made in Alexandria and found at Canosa.⁶⁸ The six-petal rosette on the external bottom of the same bowl can be compared with confidence with similar decoration, with the same function, on a Megarian bowl discovered at Mitrachine, which is possibly of Egyptian origin.⁶⁹

Comparisons can also be made among these three bowls. For example, zone V of no. 1 and no. 3 are entirely alike; and the serration of the central veining of the acanthus leaves is found in all three medallions inside the bowls.

No. 4: The function of the embossed medallion with the figure of Scylla is uncertain: it has been suggested that it was originally the lid of a pyxis, later used as a medallion in the bowl no. 2.⁷⁰ In fact, the configuration of its underside does not seem to support either of these theories,⁷¹ although I cannot suggest an alternative, and even though the medallion's external diameter corresponds exactly to the black, circular trace left by an earlier soldering that appears on the interior of the bowl no. 2 (see above, p. 49, zone XII).⁷²

The outline of element b, whose circumference contains the embossed element a, can be compared with the medallions that adorn the centers of silver plates discovered in the tumulus of Sadovyj, which was sealed in the early years of the Roman Empire.⁷³ The style of the decorations on these medallions suggests they were

made earlier, in the first century B.C., and their juxtaposition with their respective plates, clearly visible in published photographs, indicates that they may have been reused—as might have happened to the medalion in question had it not been made part of a hoard.⁷⁴

The iconography of the Scylla has recently been established.⁷⁵ The closest comparison that can be made is with a relief on the interior of a bowl made in Cales,⁷⁶ though this has been somewhat simplified, lacking the waves in the exergue and the cuttlefish and dolphin in front of the “dogs” at the side. Pagenstecher considered this iconographic arrangement typical of southern Italy, as does Tuchelt.⁷⁷ Indeed, a relief in soft stone from Taranto, now in Amsterdam, shows the same arrangement and can be dated to the end of the fourth century.⁷⁸

The hurling of boulders against enemies is documented in the Giants in the eastern metope XII of the Parthenon, and on the shield of Athena Parthenos.⁷⁹ It resurfaces in a mold of a cheek guard⁸⁰ that shows a giant with snakes for feet facing Hercules, and, possibly, on a bronze mirror case.⁸¹ It does not therefore seem necessary to give this specifically Magna Graecian connotations.

The use of such an improper weapon seems entirely appropriate in the case of a monster such as Scylla—which is, moreover, snake-footed just as certain Giants are, though marine rather than terrestrial.⁸²

No. 5: The small pitcher is an example of a form that was widespread at the end of the fourth century B.C., characterized by the plate at the base of the handle.⁸³ Examples of a similar shape were found at Ancona, in graves XLII and XXXIV,⁸⁴ which were sealed in the second century B.C. The theatrical mask on the lower join of the handle recalls those that constitute the supports of nos. 14 and 15.

The Lesbian kyma on the shoulder is not of the Italian type.⁸⁵

Regarding the theatrical mask, see below, nos. 14 and 15, p. 82.

No. 6: The hemispherical bowl displays a double braid on the outer edge of the lip, which can be compared to zone VII of the bowl no. 3.⁸⁶

The bowl's distinguishing characteristic is that its outer surface is divided into pentagons, a decoration commonly seen on pottery found in Athens and elsewhere from the second quarter of the third century B.C.⁸⁷ to the beginning of the first.⁸⁸ A similar bowl of gilded silver, but less carefully worked, is in the National Museum of History in Sofia, Bulgaria, and dates to the mid-fourth century B.C.⁸⁹

Apropos of the close relationship between metalware and pottery, it should be observed that a bowl

from Athens⁹⁰ and another bowl from Corinth,⁹¹ dating between the third and the middle of the second century B.C., show raised dots on the dividing lines that mark the edges of the pentagons, exactly as on our bowl, although on the latter the dots are indented.

No. 7: The skyphos can be closely compared to an example in New York,⁹² which, thanks to comparisons with analogous items of pottery, can be dated between the fourth and third century B.C.⁹³ Despite having lost its foot it can be compared with the example from the island of Chalke, near Rhodes, now in the British Museum.⁹⁴ The shape of its foot and the position of the handles, which come close to the lip, are a variant from the form (of the same period) found in a chamber tomb in Prusias in Bithynia,⁹⁵ in a tumulus from Arzos sealed at the end of the fourth century,⁹⁶ and in a chamber tomb of unknown location.⁹⁷ Similar in shape to these two examples is a third skyphos, from Athens, with decorations traced on its side.⁹⁸

The traced decoration at the base of the handles of no. 7, viewed upside down, fits with the Dreiblüten-gruppe arrangement, but that does not agree with the suggested analysis.⁹⁹

No. 8: The object can with certainty be described as a kyathos: an example entirely similar to ours—perhaps from Acarnania, dated between the fourth and third century B.C.—bears an inscription describing it thus and that it was the property of Archiphaes.¹⁰⁰

Our kyathos is characterized by a shallow bowl that contrasts, in shape, with the deep-bowled examples from the late Hellenistic period, which are otherwise made in exactly the same way.¹⁰¹ The chronology is reinforced by the find from Prusias¹⁰² mentioned above, that at grave Beta in Derveni,¹⁰³ and a third example from a tumulus grave in Savasti, sealed in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.¹⁰⁴

Serving as the decorative end of the handle is the head of a canine instead of the usual protome of a waterfowl. Four comparable examples, in bronze, come from Morgantina.¹⁰⁵

No. 9: I know of no close parallels for the phiale mesomphalos: the interior decoration with rays is, however, documented in epigraphic and literary sources;¹⁰⁶ it may originate from Syria in the archaic period.¹⁰⁷ Pottery examples with rays do not appear in the Classical and Hellenistic periods,¹⁰⁸ but I do not know how far this observation can allow us definitively to date our piece in the absence of pertinent comparisons with other examples in silver or bronze.¹⁰⁹

No. 10: The shape of the pyxis can be compared to that of the Rothschild pyxis from Taranto, which includes a container that can be assumed—although it is

described only verbally—to be analogous to our element.¹¹⁰ Element II, which completes it, can also be seen in an example, possibly from Asia Minor and dated to the third century B.C., which is now in Berlin.¹¹¹

Analogous internal containers are part of the salt-cellars in the treasure from Boscoreale, now in the Louvre.¹¹²

Entirely similar, both in its shape and in the makeup of its decorative elements, is a second pyxis in the Metropolitan Museum (acc. no. 1984.11.3; Figures 68, 69),¹¹³ even though the style of the Eros embossed on that lid appears more dynamic and graphic than the static plasticity of our lid.

The dish IV (Figure 44) was associated with the altar no. 11 (see above, p. 64), but it is highly uncertain whether it originally belonged to it. Seán Hemingway, to whom I should again like to express my gratitude here, suggests that it should, on the contrary, be assumed to have been covered by the lid III (Figures 34, 35) of the pyxis no. 10. Supporting this interpretation is the degree of wear of the (now lower) surface of the lip,¹¹⁴ which cannot be plausibly explained by the object's present configuration, while the lower edge of the lid III of the pyxis no. 10 matches up with this decoration exactly. Also supporting this theory are the weight of the objects and the weight indication inscribed on no. 10 (P.VII; see above, p. 72). Last, the pyxis 1984.11.3, already mentioned, has a dish that is the same except for the less careful execution of the central star. An analogous element is missing, however, from the Rothschild pyxis from Taranto.¹¹⁵

No. 11: As already noted,¹¹⁶ this small cylindrical altar has no known close parallels. Mention can be made, however, of a cylindrical clay object found at Delos,¹¹⁷ assumed to be an incense burner, whose upper part is decorated in relief with bucrania that support garlands; and a marble wellhead, also from Delos,¹¹⁸ whose elements are regarded as “si semblables à ceux de nombreux autels découverts à Délos qu'on est tenté de supposer que ces margelles sont simplement des autels économiquement transformés par un marbrier” (so similar to those of many altars found at Delos that it is tempting to assume these edging-stones are simply altars that have been thriftily transformed into well curbing by a marble cutter). This metamorphosis is unnecessary in the case of the aforementioned incense burner; and it is a theory supported by a small altar, also in clay, from Alexandria, bearing *Hautschädel* linked together by garlands.¹¹⁹

The many components of the object may suggest that it did not function purely as an “altar”—that is, as a platform used for offerings—but also as a container for fragrances or other substances offered as a

sacrifice. It could therefore be complementary, in this role, to the pyxis no. 10.

It should be noted nevertheless that in the wreck of the ship discovered at Comacchio there were three small temples, made of lead, and a pyxis, also in lead,¹²⁰ that were dated to the first century A.D. Although in terms of type they are in no way comparable, it should be pointed out that devotional objects, such as the small temples, are complemented by a container, probably for fragrances, like the pyxis: the composition of the Comacchio group of objects, which is certain, can be offered as an example in the absence of an equivalent in the group under examination. That the pyxis no. 10 and the altar no. 11 were connected from the time they were made and that they were devotional objects can be ascertained from the punch-dotted inscriptions they bear (P.I and P.II); this link was maintained subsequently (I.III and I.IV).

Regarding decoration with triglyphs and metopes, Bell¹²¹ has recalled clay altars of Sicilian origin; but others are known elsewhere.¹²²

Regarding the bucrania, it should be remembered that the *pompe* of Ptolemy Philadelphus mentioned above (see note 60) included two hundred bulls with gilded horns, a gold star on the forehead, and a crown between their horns;¹²³ apart from the gilding of the horns, the parallel appears to be complete.

Nos. 12, 13: The pair of horns has already been discussed¹²⁴ and compared to the example from the Grave of the Golden Objects in Canosa,¹²⁵ which appears to have been made using the same techniques, i.e., with a body worked from sheet but with a solid point.

The addition of horns, even not entirely realistic ones, to helmets is documented in the surviving physical evidence even as early as the archaic period.¹²⁶ Horned helmets are depicted in some grave paintings in Campania¹²⁷ and in the Apulian pottery portrayed by the painter of Arpi,¹²⁸ from which it has been convincingly deduced that this particular fashion in helmets was typical of those Italian peoples, although certainly not exclusive to them,¹²⁹ and perhaps not even indigenous.

The horns on display in the *pompe* of Ptolemy Philadelphus are of gold, and much larger:¹³⁰ they are intended to be containers,¹³¹ reminiscent of the shape of the rhyton, which was often made of glass, although used to contain balm. The presence of holes on the lower brim of both our horns and of that from Canosa, however, clearly indicates that these objects were attached and therefore not intended to contain liquids, since their openings would have been blocked by the surface to which they were affixed.



Figure 68. Silver pyxis, gilt. Eros leaning on an inverted torch. Hellenistic, 3rd century B.C. H. 6 cm; diam. 9.72 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Classical Purchase Fund, Rogers Fund, and Norbert Schimmel Gift, 1984 (1984.11.3). See also Colorplate 2

Nos. 14, 15: For this pair of conical vessels with rounded bottoms and supports in the shape of theatrical masks, the most satisfying comparison is offered by a discovery from a tumulus tomb at Ter-siyekoey, near Tarsus, partly because it has gilding on the exterior of the lip, although no feet in the shape of theatrical masks.¹³² This does not, however, yield indications sufficient to date this tomb object: in general, this shape is considered typical of the late Hellenistic period.¹³³ One example dating to the end of the second century, but lacking supports, has a dedicatory inscription to Zeus.¹³⁴

This outline is seen frequently, with and without supports, in both glass and pottery;¹³⁵ the supports are in the shape of shells or theatrical masks.¹³⁶ This type of vessel was in use from the third to the beginning of the second century B.C., with some examples dating back to the end of the fourth century.

The masks on our vessels differ from each other only by the presence (no. 15) or absence (no. 14) of a pair of spheroidal berries on the garlands of leaves. These are also part of the headdress of the mask that adorns the lower attachment of the handle of the

pitcher no. 5, although it is not clear whether there are two or three berries. The masks are not easily identified, apart from the old man's face (no. 14.1; no. 15.2), which is recognizably that of a papposilenos.¹³⁷ The two masks of a youth and a woman seem too generic, as also in the case of the pitcher no. 5, to allow any identification more precise than the very broad categories of the *neaniskos* (youth)¹³⁸ and of the *etere* (hetaira) with hair gathered in a kerchief¹³⁹—even though neither has specific Dionysian characteristics, unlike the papposilenos,¹⁴⁰ which might well have been in keeping with these vessels' purpose.

CONCLUSIONS

"L'avidité humaine a toujours été préjudiciable à la conservation des objets d'art exécutés en métal précieux" (Human greed has always been a threat to the preservation of artifacts in precious metal)¹⁴¹—so much so that a systematic typology of these artifacts will never be possible until more objects are available for study.

Difficulties and uncertainties are only increased by the general lack of information on where objects were found, both their precise findspots and stratigraphy or even in relation to other objects in groups that are subsequently identified as more information comes to light.

Our group of objects is a typical example of this uncertainty as its place of origin, exact arrangement in antiquity, and the stratigraphic position where it was found are all unknown.¹⁴²

With such incomplete information as our starting point, any conclusion we can suggest must remain

uncertain; thus, these notes can be seen as “conclusions” only insofar as they occupy the concluding pages of this study, and certainly not as a scientific analysis of these objects.

Analysis of the information the objects themselves offer through the inscriptions they bear¹⁴³ and their weights (though this information is not clear) has allowed them to be divided into suggested subgroups. Analysis of their manufacture has allowed suggestions to be made regarding formal classification of the types of these objects and, therefore, regarding the time they were made and the cultural setting that produced them.

As regards the time they were made, the skyphos no. 7 and the kyathos no. 8 are of a type in use between the fourth and third century B.C.; the pair of horns nos. 12 and 13 belong to the same period; and all the other objects are more recent, even though the medallion no. 4 reproduces an iconographical style that can with reasonable certainty be dated to the fourth century. The dating of the phiale no. 9 is highly uncertain, although its internal decoration suggests it is among the older objects of this group.

The disparity between the dates when these objects—which were sealed in chamber tombs—were produced does not appear especially important;¹⁴⁴ it is a confirmed feature of artifacts buried in graves.¹⁴⁵

The composite character of the New York group of objects has already been pointed out.¹⁴⁶ Their functions in ritual and during the symposium have been established beyond doubt.



Figure 69. Alternate view of pyxis in Figure 68

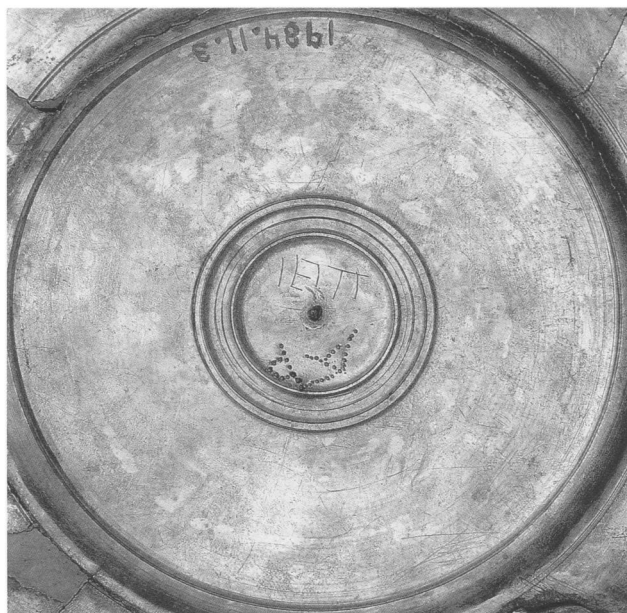


Figure 70. Detail of inscriptions on bottom of pyxis in Figure 68



Figure 71. Drawing of inscriptions illustrated in Figure 70

The pair of horns nos. 12 and 13 can with reasonable certainty be regarded as formerly part of a helmet from which they were torn at some unknown time. This could have been done either by the helmet's owner or by someone else. In either case, the aim was to preserve the precious elements of a composite object. Obviously, this could have occurred in a variety of situations: for example, the owner himself might have wanted, at a time of personal difficulty, to hoard elements of intrinsic value to him but no longer of practical use in the circumstances he faced at the time.

The medallion bearing an image of Scylla no. 4 was probably an ornament on a more complex object. Bell¹⁴⁷ puts forward an interesting and convincing theory, but this can be regarded as probable only for the first part of the object's life, for its rear surface suggests a possible reworking and attachment to an object other than the original bowl.¹⁴⁸

The ritual function of the pyxis no. 10, as discussed above,¹⁴⁹ appears to be its original function, based on the earlier dating (ascertained in the meantime) of the inscription P.11 and its paleographic relation to P.1, on the arula (miniature altar) no. 11. The same is suggested by the Rothschild pyxis of Taranto, which contains censers that have a certain ritual use.¹⁵⁰

The New York pyxis 1984.11.3 (Figures 68, 69)¹⁵¹ has been exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum together with all the other objects in our group.¹⁵² The stylistic differences already pointed out between the figure of Eros and that of the goddess of plenty on the lid of our pyxis no. 10 contrast with an almost identical—despite a small difference in dimensions—design of the decorative zones. It could almost be supposed that the two were produced in the same workshop, where two different masters of toreutics were responsible for figures embossed on lids, while the remainder of an object was the everyday work of craftsmen. On the bottom surface are two groups of inscriptions (Figures 70, 71), one punched, the other incised, which indicate the object's changes of ownership. The punch-dotted characters refer to two different inscriptions: those on the left are larger and more deeply carved than those on the right. I cannot suggest a reading for these: the right-hand group could be a linked A. The incised characters could be a weight indication (= 101), written in the Sicilian pseudoascendant style,¹⁵³ followed by a Π that acts as a monogram. The Π cannot have a numerical value, given the central position of the H;¹⁵⁴ the only possible interpretation, therefore, is that suggested here: pseudoascendant. From this we can gather that this second pyxis, too, is from Sicily—indeed, from the same cultural milieu to which all the objects in this

group historically belong. The lack of reliable information on their respective places of origin—despite what has been said about the probable connection of this pyxis to the group in question¹⁵⁵—prevents any firmer observations from being made.¹⁵⁶

Pursuing this line of argument, I would suggest there are stylistic parallels between the image on the lid of the pyxis no. 10 and that on the mirror case in the Grave of the Golden Objects in Canosa.¹⁵⁷ We can compare the moderate gilding, which leaves most surfaces gleaming silver; the solid modeling of the figures, with restrained depiction of drapery, which is more rigid and schematic in the mirror from Canosa than in the New York pyxis; and the rocky landscape as a background, though in the case of the mirror this also contains a stele.

In comparison, the representation of Scylla (no. 4) is more complex, not so much because the figure itself is a hybrid as because of the twisting, spiral tail and the variety of additional elements such as sea creatures, each different from the other, attacked by the dogs that spring from the figure's waist. The same can be said of the waves in the exergue, which are alternately gilded. It can be suggested that this was made in an entirely different workshop from the preceding object.

It has already been observed how the vegetable motif decoration on the lower surface of the lid of the Rothschild pyxis from Taranto can be compared (though richer stylistically and in terms of composition) with the medallion in the lower concave part of the bowl no. 1. Note also the presence of a garnet set in the center. The style of the images on the outer surface of the lid of the Rothschild pyxis—dry and wooden¹⁵⁸—can be considered close to the figurative style of the mirror case from the Grave of the Golden Objects at Canosa. The correlative position—that is, which was modeled on which—cannot be established for certain. Given that the Rothschild pyxis bears a signature, and because the group depicted is seen as coming directly from the dynastic cultural climate of the Ptolemies (though it cannot be said for certain to which of the third-century royal couples it can most convincingly be linked), it could be that it is the latter that served as a model for the mirror case from Canosa.

Recently it has been asserted that there were toreutic workshops in Taranto, to which all the precious finds of Apulia have been attributed.¹⁵⁹ This argument appears to be based on the assertion that "it is above all the relative quantity of discoveries coming from Taranto that justifies the theory that there were local workshops with their own characteristics,"¹⁶⁰ these characteristics consisting chiefly of vegetable motif decorations which have many parallels in Apu-

lian pottery decorated with figures,¹⁶¹ and dependent on the creations of Pausias from Sicily,¹⁶² that can be supposed to have been well known and spread not just in Taranto but over a wider area. Such an overestimation, though not new, does not seem to take proper account either of the established circulation of precious objects, for all sorts of reasons,¹⁶³ or of the existence of centers that were politically and economically more dominant than Taranto, especially during the third century B.C. In those places there was a demand for depictions of dynastic milieus, which were absent in the Italian city, and this demand encouraged both innovations and the production of luxury objects. That the latter were made wherever itinerant toreutic masters—who might have differed in origin and training—established themselves is a separate issue, and in no way weakens this reconstruction of the historical and manufacturing conditions of ancient times. The fact that in the second and first centuries B.C. silver vessels such as *anathema Tarantinon*¹⁶⁴ were offered at Delos cannot be regarded as proof, since not only was Taranto by then a Roman colony (and not among the most prosperous), but such offerings, although distinguished by *zoidarion epi delphinos*, may not have been produced exclusively there.

Without delving further into a subject that, for lack of objective facts regarding individual discoveries, remains rather obscure and uncertain, I believe a further indication of the disparate nature of the group of objects under study lies in the stylistic differences that can be pointed out between the two figurative images that it includes.

It can be regarded as established that: 1) the stylistic matrices from which the two New York pyxides no. 10 and 1984.11.3 are derived have been linked to third-century B.C. Alexandria, and 2) the information on the discovery of the Rothschild pyxis and the mirror case from Canosa being compared with them confirms that they came from Taranto and Canosa.

This offers further proof of the changeability of the modern criteria for historical evaluation of the place of production of such precious objects.

A further element of uncertainty is introduced by the pair of conical vessels with supports in the shape of theatrical masks nos. 14 and 15. The known comparable objects in silver come from the Asia Minor region, even though the extended occurrence around the Mediterranean of analogous forms in terracotta indicates that their popularity was not restricted to the most easterly sector of the *koine*. The formal analogies between the masks of nos. 14 and 15 and that of no. 5 (though the last is much smaller) suggest that the three objects originally formed a group, a theory supported by the characteristics of their inscriptions.

There is a further valid comparison to be made with an object in purplish blue glass (though it lacks the figurative supports of the group from the Grave of the Golden Objects at Canosa),¹⁶⁵ which is thought to be of Alexandrian manufacture. A green glass bowl of hemispherical shape and with pentagons incised on its external surface,¹⁶⁶ also attributed to the same manufacture, can be compared to our bowl no. 6. It can be suggested that these two objects broadly belong to the Alexandrian cultural and artisanal milieu—assuming that the capital of the Ptolemies was the main center for the production of luxury goods during the third century B.C. Even if we accept this, however, we cannot underestimate the importance of the eastern kingdom of the Seleucids, although Syrian toreutic manufacture appears to be characterized by plentiful inset multicolored gems¹⁶⁷—a kind of decoration not unknown in Alexandria,¹⁶⁸ if the Rothschild pyxis was in fact made there. And, in our group of objects, there are stones set, albeit discreetly, into the medallions within the bowls nos. 1 and 3.¹⁶⁹

Amid this general uncertainty, it is at least established that the group studied here consists of objects that are distinct in their manufacture, their date, and their function. In this they do not differ from other, sometimes more magnificent, groups of toreutic objects that have been both archaeologically and epigraphically documented.¹⁷⁰

As pointed out repeatedly here, the lack of archaeologically documented information on the place of discovery prevents speculation on how this group was assembled either piece by piece or all together.¹⁷¹ Neither is it possible to be sure that the group consists of the same objects as it did at the time of burial. This, it can be proposed, was about 200 B.C., although this can be only a very rough date considering both the lack of precise information about the group and the difficulty in accurately dating the individual objects that now constitute it.

Based on present knowledge, the places proposed where these objects might have been found are two: Daunia, probably at Arpi,¹⁷² and Morgantina, block West 9/10 C.¹⁷³ In both areas the Doric dialect was spoken, albeit in different forms, and both are referred to in the ambiguous and self-referential indication given by Bothmer. Theories regarding these places are derived, in general, from clues: the consonance of the material culture of the region of Daunia with that of our group of objects, and in at least one case, the account of the looting by the Arpani of Pyrrhus's encampment at Ausculum in 279 B.C.;¹⁷⁴ and chronological coincidence, such as the taking of Morgantina by the Roman army under the command of M. Cornelius Cethegus in 211 B.C.¹⁷⁵ and the con-

sequent abandonment of its western district. The Daulia theory can be supported by the documented use of (helmets adorned with) silver horns at Canosa and by the discovery of silver objects in the hypogeum of the Medusa of Arpi.¹⁷⁶ The Morgantina theory is backed by indications given to the Carabinieri (Italian military police) about a successful illicit excavation in the very block West 9/10 C, which was later the object of scientific inquiry, and by the observations made during the excavation.¹⁷⁷ But we are left still in the realm of probability, certainly not in that of documented fact.

The same goes for the functional context of the burial: indeed, discoveries have been unearthed both from graves and from tomb chambers hidden in the most varied places and circumstances. The only certainty is that the objects in New York have had different uses,¹⁷⁸ from the time they were made until the time they were finally buried, even though they fall into the general category of rich and luxurious ostentation.¹⁷⁹ The ritual function at least of the pyxis no. 10 and of the altar no. 11 suggests that originally they were destined for a religious building or, at any rate, religious uses.¹⁸⁰ It cannot be ruled out, however, that they were intended as a set of ritual objects for religious observance on their owner's travels.¹⁸¹ The composition of the group of objects as it is today—which in the case of many of them appears to correspond to an analogous composition consisting of subgroups, at least immediately before burial—is the result of acquisitions, or juxtapositions, that are disparate: from the treasury of a sanctuary (nos. 10, 11, possibly nos. 1–3¹⁸²), perhaps from the spoils¹⁸³ of a warrior from southern Italy,¹⁸⁴ or from a violation of his grave (nos. 12, 13), and, for the objects that can be assumed to have been part of a set used for symposia¹⁸⁵ (nos. 4–9, 14, 15) from a raid or, again, violation of graves.¹⁸⁶

Finally, we should remember the account of Diodorus Siculus: in 406 B.C., C. Hamilcar, commander of the Carthaginians who were moving on Agrigento, paid a deposit on the wages due his mercenary troops with precious vessels.¹⁸⁷ This record, although from an earlier period than ours, demonstrates that precious objects could change hands, even if by agreement among parties, thus resulting in groups of disparate objects that took on different functions from those intended when they were made. This seems a legitimate hypothesis for Morgantina, a city heavily frequented by mercenaries:¹⁸⁸ perhaps one of their leaders—one Eupolemos, for example—was paid not in money but at least partly in precious goods originating from different places. But we need not restrict possession of such objects to mercenaries, for

Morgantina also offered refuge to those fleeing the siege of Syracuse in 212–211 B.C., and there was trade in grain between Morgantina and Syracuse.

What is observed above (see p. 77) on the pseudo-ascendant system of the way numbers are written, however, has definite significance and important implications. It is certain that the objects bearing such inscriptions were marked by a Sicilian craftsman in that part of the island where there was interaction between Hellenic culture and Phoenician-Punic culture. This applies not only to the time of the object's initial production but to the later time documented by the inscription I.1 (see p. 74). This is not simply an indication but rather clear proof of a relationship between these silver objects and that extensive region of the Sicilian territory. This relationship is further supported by comparisons—albeit within different categories of object—to be found within the specific context of Morgantina.¹⁸⁹

Alii, forsitan, aliter: it is to be hoped that critical comment on this study may yield further information for analysis of this group of objects in New York¹⁹⁰—and that the circulation of ancient objects will, in future, better meet the needs of scholars, and not just those of collectors.¹⁹¹

ABBREVIATIONS

Ampolo 1989–90

C. Ampolo. "Fra economia, religione e politica: tesori e offerte nei santuari greci." *Scienze dell'Antichità* 3–4 (1989–90), pp. 271–79.

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NOTES

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1. Bothmer 1984. See subsequently: Guzzo 1986; Guzzo 1990, p. 141 and n. 47; Guzzo, Labellarte, Mazzei 1990; Guzzo, Labellarte, Mazzei 1991; Guzzo 1994, pp. 508–20; Mazzei 1995, p. 14, fig. 6; Bell 1997; Mielsch 1997, p. 799; Lippolis 2002, p. 120. The silver pyxis also in the Metropolitan Museum, acc. no. 1984.11.3, is believed to belong to the same group of objects, Philippe de Montebello writes in his letter to me of December 11, 2002.
2. See Rotroff 1982, pl. 94 no. 375.
3. This appears to go against the theory, proposed by Bothmer 1984, p. 55, that an element was originally set into this.
4. See Rotroff 1982, pl. 94 no. 55.
5. Napp 1933, p. 2: *Hautschädel*.
6. But see p. 81 and note 48 for its replacement as part of the pyxis no. 10.
7. Bothmer 1984, p. 58, top of the lower photograph.
8. Bothmer 1984, p. 58, bottom of the lower photograph.
9. Bothmer 1984, p. 60, bottom left-hand illustration, with incorrect number.
10. Bothmer 1984, p. 60, bottom right-hand illustration.
11. See the clear difference in the condition of the surface in the partially gilded oinochoe from Derveni: Ginouvès 1994, p. 187 fig. 157.
12. The pyxis 1984.11.3 appears to have been on the outside of the group of objects.
13. For the possible causes of such wear, see p. 81.
14. See Bell 1997, p. 34.
15. The respective positions of the inscriptions and their dimensions are given above in the entries on the individual objects.
16. Guarducci 1974, pp. 496–97.
17. See Heron 1899, passim and esp. pp. 80–97. See also for the cosmetics container from Paternò: Oliver 1977, p. 61 no. 27.
18. Thus Bothmer 1984, p. 57 no. 101 and p. 58 no. 102.
19. Bothmer 1984, p. 57 no. 98: “EPMA.” As well as how it appears here, there are numerous mentions of this proper noun in various forms, from Ermaios to Ermas. See Fraser, Matthews 1987–2000. Note that noncomposite proper nouns with the root Erm- encountered in Attica are mostly borne by individuals from Asia Minor: see Osborne, Byrne 1996.
20. Thus also Bothmer 1984, p. 54 no. 92.
21. Bothmer 1984, p. 54 no. 92: “symbol, perhaps the weight.”
22. Thus also Bothmer 1984, p. 55 no. 94.
23. Thus also Bothmer 1984, p. 55 no. 94.
24. Thus also Bothmer 1984, p. 57 no. 96.
25. Bothmer 1984, p. 57 no. 96: “a *tau* and an *eta*.”
26. See P.xiv, p. 74.
27. Bothmer 1984, p. 57 no. 99: “The inscribed dot letters on both sides of the top of the stem have so far defied transliteration.”
28. Bothmer 1984, p. 57 no. 98: “*delta* and *omega*.”
29. Thus also Bothmer 1984, p. 55 no. 94.
30. Bothmer 1984, p. 58 no. 102: “a *delta* and a *mu*.”
31. Bothmer 1984, p. 58 no. 102: “sacred to all the gods.”
32. Bothmer 1984, p. 58 no. 102: “sacred to the gods.”
33. Bothmer 1984, p. 57 no. 101 and p. 58 no. 102, respectively, both read “from the war.”
34. Bell 1997, pp. 38–39.
35. Fraser, Matthews 1987–2000, s.v.; for Morgantina, see Bell 1997, pp. 38–39, who bases this assertion on *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* 39 (1989), 1008, 8 = Manganaro 1989, pp. 203–5 no. 1. See below, note 154.
36. Cicero *In Verrem* 2, 4, 49: see note 148.
37. Bell 1997, p. 39.
38. In theory the monogram could be deciphered as any one of the many names beginning with “eu”; given the context, however, the suggested interpretation seems justified.
39. Bell 1997, p. 39, suggests this could be read as an abbreviation of *Kritias*.
40. See the scraping away of gilding on no. 9: p. 70 above.
41. And the unquestionable separation of the medallion no. 4 and the pair of horns nos. 12 and 13 from the original group of objects.
42. Bell 1997, pp. 34–38; and see below, note 177.
43. Guzzo, Labellarte, Mazzei 1991.
44. Nenci 1995; Prestianni Giallombardo 1999, with list of findings; Corretti 2001, p. 90.
45. Lombardo 1982, pp. 881–84: “sistema acrofonico crescente” (growing acrophonic system).
46. Manganaro 1989, pp. 203–4 fig. 5. Di Vita 1997 doubts that this sheet metal is really from Morgantina because the idea originated in the milieu of the illegal antiquities trade. Nevertheless, the relevance of Morgantina to the cultural setting that wrote numbers using the pseudoascendant system remains credible, if only because of its geographical position.
47. P.i, P.ix, and P.xa, b are not included because of uncertainties over their meaning. See pp. 71–73.
48. For this object it is possible that the lid element IV (see above, p. 62) was originally part of no. 10. The lid weighs 53.7 grams. Therefore, in ancient times, no. 11 might have weighed 314.1 grams, and no. 10 might have weighed 201.7 grams.
49. See previous note.
50. Segre 1928, pp. 72–73.
51. These figures have been rounded for simplification.
52. This figure is an average of the weight units in Table 1.
53. See note 48 above.
54. See note 48 above.
55. Bothmer 1984, p. 55 no. 94. See also p. 79 above.
56. Bothmer 1961, no. 45 p. 10 pl. 15 = Oliver 1977, p. 83 nos. 45, 46.
57. Watzinger 1901, pp. 89–90.
58. See Hannestad 1983, pp. 45–47: between the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 1st century B.C.
59. Described both as *ektypoma*: Durrbach, Roussel 1935, 1421 A cd, col. II.2, and passim; and as *emblemata*: Courby 1922, pp. 263–64. See also Luschet 1939, p. 28.
60. See Athenaeus 5, 199 b: during the *pompe* of Ptolemy Philadelphus, around the middle of the 3rd century B.C., a group of Satyrs and Sileni carried, among other things, gold *therikleious megalas phialas*.
61. Courby 1922, p. 251: derivation from toreutic artifacts; pp. 173, 263–64, 265–66: Therikleian and Rhodian vases; pp. 427–29: types of vase, dating from the middle of the 4th century B.C., reconstructed as they appear in the *pompe* of Ptolemy Philadelphus.
62. See Callaghan 1981; Rotroff 1982, pp. 17–18; Callaghan 1992, p. 129 no. 29, pl. 96, H26.2; La Rosa, Portale 1996–97, p. 290 no. 38 fig. 171.
63. For other signatures of toreutic craftsmen on silver, see Baratte 1986, p. 83.
64. Pfrommer 1987, pl. 33a, b, p. 262 KBk 113, dated to the middle of the 3rd century B.C.

65. Mercado 1976, p. 165 fig. 44.
66. Oliver 1977, no. 21, dated to the 3rd century B.C.
67. Pfrommer 1987, pl. 55, p. 232 KaB H8, dated to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.
68. Ciancio 1980, pp. 36–37 no. 12.
69. Parlasca 1955, p. 135 fig. 2.
70. Bothmer 1984, p. 55 no. 95; Bell 1997, p. 33, is, rightly, more cautious.
71. But it is not possible to know the configuration of the underside of the medallion on the interior of the bowl no. 1, while the upper side, which includes four little rectangular tongues, appears to be different: see above, p. 47. There is similar uncertainty over the use of the medallion, of almost identical dimensions, from Asia Minor: see Oliver 1977, no. 52. For slightly smaller embossed medallions in plates, see Oliver 1977, nos. 36–39, from Nihawand, dated to the 2nd century B.C. In general, see Strong 1966, pp. 97, 111–12.
72. See Bell 1997, p. 39.
73. Raev 1986, pp. 12–14 pls. 2–8.
74. Apart from what is conveyed by the archaeological records cited in previous notes, it is known that emblemata were sometimes removed from their original placement and reused to decorate other objects: Kurz 1954, p. 138.
75. Jentel 1997.
76. Jentel 1997, p. 1140 no. 31 = Pagenstecher 1909, p. 33, 18a fig. 12. The design also occurs in embossed Hellenistic objects: Courby 1922, p. 345 fig. 70 no. 23.
77. Tuchelt 1967, p. 181. See also Richter 1959, p. 248.
78. Klumbach 1937, p. 24 no. 120, pl. 21 = Carter 1975, p. 44 no. 28 = Andreae, Parisi Presicce 1996, p. 149 no. 260. The object brandished by Scylla has not survived: Klumbach suggested an oar. But since the raised arms converge it is more plausible to suppose it was a boulder: see also Tuchelt 1967, p. 181.
79. Schweitzer 1967, respectively p. 110 fig. 8c; p. 221 pl. 20 and n. 97; p. 227.
80. Thompson 1939, pp. 296–99 fig. 11.
81. Smith 1883.
82. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35, 64, mentions a painting showing Scylla, attributing it to Androkydes of Cyzicus, who was active in the first half of the 4th century B.C. and whose mastery in depicting fishes is recalled by Athenaeus 8, 341, and Plutarch *Symposium* 4, 2, 3, 8. Our relief also shows sea creatures. See Hanfmann 1987, p. 257. Another famous painting showing Scylla was by Nikomachos of Thebes, only slightly later than the work just cited (Pliny *Naturalis historia* 35, 109). According to Hanfmann 1987, p. 257, the mosaic at Tor Marancia, Rome, is derived from it. It could perhaps be compared to the pair of silver phaleræ from the kurgan of Babyna Mohyla: Reeder 2001, p. 288 nos. 143, 144.
83. Pfrommer 1983, pp. 239–40 fig. 1.
84. Mercado 1976, pp. 165–66 figs. 48, 49.
85. Pfrommer 1982, p. 129 fig. 6.
86. For the profile, see Richter 1956, p. 45 no. 27, pl. 19 E: but with a smooth wall. It is a black-painted vessel from Corinth, dated to the second half of the 3rd century B.C.: Edwards 1975, pp. 46–47 no. 190.
87. Rotroff 1997, pp. 108–9; in relief: Watzinger 1901, p. 70 no. 6; Laumonier 1977, pp. 482–83; Bouzek 1990, pl. 11, p. 68.
88. Rotroff 1982, p. 92 no. 403.
89. Marazov 1998, p. 103 no. 14.
90. Thompson 1934, p. 381 no. D38 fig. 69: 3rd century B.C.; Edwards 1975, p. 181, n. 46, no. 908: mid-2nd century B.C.
91. Edwards 1975, pl. 80 no. 919: mid-2nd century B.C.
92. Oliver 1977, no. 18 = Bothmer 1961, no. 270.
93. Vickers, Impey, Allan 1986, pl. 18.
94. Walters 1921, no. 14 pl. 3.
95. Bothmer 1984, p. 47 no. 73: dated to the second half of the 4th century.
96. *Search* 1980, p. 156 no. 108.
97. Bothmer 1984, p. 49 no. 83: between the 4th and 3rd century.
98. Bothmer 1984, p. 48 no. 80: dated to the 3rd century. Previously, an analogous find, with lacunæ, from Cariati, was compared to the foot of our skyphos: Guzzo 1986, p. 256. The subsequent reconstitution in full of the find from Calabria revealed a substantially different shape of the vessel: Guzzo, Taliano Grasso 1992, p. 564 no. 1 figs. 1, 2. Nevertheless, the comparison of the feet remains valid, as does the confirmation that the grave was sealed during the 4th century.
99. Pfrommer 1982, p. 120 fig. 1; Pfrommer 1983, p. 273 fig. 38b, c.
100. Oliver 1977, no. 15.
101. Strong 1966, p. 92 fig. 21, with bibliography and comparisons.
102. Bothmer 1984, p. 47 no. 76.
103. *Search* 1980, p. 167 no. 128.
104. *Ancient Macedonia* 1988, p. 298, no. 249.
105. Letter from Malcolm Bell: inv. nos. 59.1226; 60.295, .630, .848. Note how the inscription P.x (see above, p. 57) is punched under the end of the handle that curves back on itself. Such a shape invites suggestion of the theory that the present protome may be a replacement of a previous one and that, when the substitution was made, the inscription was made then, since it was easier to do so.
106. Luschey 1939, pp. 26–27: *aktinos* (with rays); *akidotos* (with points); *lonchotos* (with lanceolate points); *asterotes* (with star-shaped decoration).
107. Luschey 1939, pp. 49–50; see also Bothmer 1984, pp. 20–21 no. 11 (from Cyprus) and, dated to the 5th century, the phiale of unknown origin: Oliver 1977, p. 27 no. 3, with bibliography also for analogous bronze examples.
108. Balland 1969, pp. 101–8; Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pp. 105–6; Morel 1981, pp. 143–45.
109. See, most recently, Tarditi 1996, pp. 170–71.
110. Willeumier 1930, p. 9 a, describes it as a *cuvette*; both sides of the lid are decorated; no intermediate object between the lid and the *cuvette* is described. Given the oxidized state when the find was made, the composition described by Willeumier can be taken to be authentic; see also Willeumier 1939, p. 344.
111. Oliver 1977, no. 51; see also Gehrig 1977, pp. 5–12.
112. Baratte 1986, pp. 41–42.
113. Bell 1997, p. 33 fig. 6.
114. See above, note 110.
115. See above, note 110.
116. Bothmer 1984, p. 58 no. 102, recalls an object seen on the Swiss market (*Ars Antiqua* [Lucerne] 3 [April 29, 1961], no. 132): this was probably a small rectangular altar decorated with bucrania supporting garlands and consisting of a body covered with a lid, whose upper zone is rectangular, recessed, and decorated. The lid rests on the hollow in the interior of the body. See Oliver 1977, p. 87 no. 49, for the shape of this altar, which, on the basis of the embossed decoration, however, should be considered a container for cosmetics.

117. Deonna 1938, p. 384 fig. 447, p. 379 no. B 4463.
118. Chamonard 1924, p. 347, pl. 62 E.
119. Breccia 1907, p. 70 pl. 2, 3: the dating of the piece is uncertain, as it was discovered in ground that covered a mid-Hellenistic burial chamber.
120. Berti 1990, pp. 70–72 figs. 5–8.
121. Bell 1997, p. 38 and n. 13, fig. 17.
122. From Thurii: *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 1988–89, suppl. 3, p. 480 no. 483, p. 517 fig. 509; from Delos: Deonna 1938, pp. 95–96, with bibliography relating to Pompeii.
123. Athenaeus 5, 202 a.
124. Guzzo 1986, p. 286; Guzzo, Labellarte, Mazzei 1991, pp. 171–72; Bell 1997, p. 33 and n. 11.
125. Most recently: Cassano 1992, pp. 337–45; the silver horn: p. 342 no. 17; p. 539.
126. Pflug 1989, p. 90 no. 81: see Guzzo 1990, p. 143.
127. From Nola: De Caro 1983–84, esp. p. 81 and n. 38; from Capua: Weege 1909, pp. 106–7 no. 12; p. 156: helmets with horns, widely used.
128. Mazzei 1987, pp. 185–86 and n. 55; p. 186 and n. 58 = Mazzei 1995, p. 14 figs. 4, 5.
129. See Dintzis 1986, p. 107, pl. 46, 6: Seleucus Nicator minted coins that depict him with a helmet adorned by horns; nos. 262, 263, pp. 296–97, pl. 70, 6–7: 2nd-century gems.
130. Athenaeus 5, 202 c; 202 e.
131. See Gasparri 1970, p. 49 no. 8.
132. Mellink 1960, p. 69 pl. 14 fig. 16 = Strong 1966, p. 122.
133. Strong 1966, p. 108.
134. Oliver 1977, no. 47.
135. Respectively: Rotroff 1997, pp. 109–10; pp. 107–8.
136. Morel 1981, pp. 138–39: type 2130; pp. 468–69; tragic and divine masks: Edwards 1975, pp. 173–74. In the bowl from Bari (Wuilleumier 1930, pl. 8) are applied masks, with which meaningful comparisons are impossible.
137. Bernabò Brea 1981, p. 47 type B 5.
138. Bernabò Brea 1981, *passim*; see Edwards 1975, pl. 77 no. 889.
139. Bernabò Brea 1981, pp. 230–32.
140. Pfrommer 2001, pp. 48–50 fig. 32 g.
141. Kurz 1954, p. 138; see also Linders 1987, p. 117. Also documented is the practice of melting down precious votive objects that had, following periodic inspections, been found to be damaged or out-of-date: Linders 1989–90.
142. “This group of fifteen objects, presumably found together a generation ago, represents some of the finest Hellenistic silver known from Magna Graecia”: Bothmer 1984, p. 54, in which he does not explain if by “Magna Graecia” he intends the meaning to be only the southern Italian peninsula or also includes Sicily. The assertion of Bothmer could be interpreted in two ways: that the objects were found in “Magna Graecia,” or that the objects had been made in Magna Graecia. In the eventuality that the first hypothesis is valid, it is to be observed that Italian law, enforced at least since 1939, governs the exportation of archaeological objects. Bothmer does not mention the pyxis 1984.11.3, which also (see note 1 above) is named by director de Montebello as part of the group.
143. On the subject of ambiguities sometimes presented by inscriptions, see the silver vase made in Egypt but bearing a Lycian inscription: Pfrommer 1983, p. 275 fig. 40 nn. 197, 198.
144. Strong 1966, p. 107.
145. Kallipolitis, Feytmans 1948–49, pp. 92–96: grave no. 2 at Kozani (western Macedonia), sealed before the end of the 4th century, contained in its hoard a silver phiale, produced before the end of the 6th century, bearing an inscription dedicating it to the Athena of Megara. This relevant case demonstrates beyond doubt the differences between date of manufacture and date of burial, between place of use and place of burial, and finally, between original function and last use.
146. Guzzo, Labellarte, Mazzei 1991, pp. 168–71; Bell 1997, p. 33.
147. Bell 1997, n. 12 at the end.
148. See Kurz 1954, p. 138: Cicero *In Verrem* 2, 4, 48–49 (also note 36 above): from a “patella in qua sigilla erant egregia” Verre, after taking possession of the vessel, “sigillis avulsis reliquum argentum sine ulla avaritia reddidit” to the owner, “Cn. Pompeius Tyndaritanus.” The same “emblemata evellenda curavit” from two “pocula non magna, verum tamen cum emblemata,” the property of “Eupolemus Calactinus.”
149. Guzzo, Labellarte, Mazzei 1991, p. 170.
150. Wuilleumier 1930; Pfrommer 1987, p. 165: “Beide [scil.: the pyxis and the thymaterion] bilden eine funktionelle Einheit.”
151. Bell 1997, p. 33 fig. 6; see also note 1 above.
152. Guzzo, Labellarte, Mazzei 1991, p. 166 n. 77.
153. See above, p. 77.
154. For the value 100 of the character Θ, exactly the same as that read here as eta, in an epigraph from Morgantina, see *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* 39 (1989) 1008, 8: note 46 above.
155. See note 1 above.
156. The dish that is part of the pyxis 1984.11.3 shows no signs of wear, unlike its counterpart. This difference in condition may be due not only to different circumstances before they were buried (together?), but also to different techniques used in their manufacture.
157. Cassano 1992, p. 541 fig. 11, p. 531 no. 11.
158. Pfrommer 1987, p. 165.
159. De Juliis 1984, pp. 33–50.
160. De Juliis 1984, p. 36.
161. De Juliis 1984, p. 38.
162. Moreno 1987, p. 140; *contra* Pfrommer 1982, pp. 127–28.
163. See the discovery, in the context known as Mottola, of a bracelet typical of Asia Minor manufacture, and of two rings with engraved portraits of Ptolemaic queens: Guzzo 1987, pp. 169–76, which can be taken as the archaeological equivalent of the literary mention of the dispatch to Croton of part of the find of Gaugamela: Plutarch *Alexander* 34.
164. Durrbach, Roussel 1935, 14121 A cd, col. II.2 = 1423 A b, col. II.5 = 1432 B b, col. II.23; 1442 A, 72; 1443 A, col. I.19; 1449 A a, col. I.21; 1450 A 13. *Anathema* by Sokrates from Taranto: *ibid.*, 1450 A 113. I am indebted to Adriano La Regina for drawing my attention to this.
165. De Juliis 1984, p. 449 no. 44: inv. no. 40.064. In general: Ciancio 1980, also for the commercial links between Alexandria and Apulia on which, most recently, see Ghisellini 1993.
166. De Juliis 1984, p. 449 no. 48.
167. See Gasparri 1970, p. 53; Linders 1975, pp. 61–62, contrary to what took place at the Didymaion, in Athens registers at sanctuaries were no longer transcribed on marble after the end of the 4th century and are thus unknown, both in themselves and regarding the form and the characteristics of the objects given as offerings.
168. See the profusion of colored stones destined to adorn the precious vases given by Ptolemy to Eleazar: Pelletier 1962, 4, 3; 6, 73; 6, 79.

169. Also, a single garnet set into the exterior bottom of the bowls from Falerii, in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples.
170. See Gasparri 1970, p. 50 no. 10 and p. 52 with n. 67.
171. It should be remembered that the inscriptions P.1 and P.11 (nos. 10, 11), made close to the time the objects were produced, are in the Ionic dialect, whereas L.1 (no. 11) is in the Doric dialect: this indicates that the altar no. 11 was transferred from one cultural area to another, different one, or at least was in the possession of individuals who belonged to groups speaking these dialects.
172. Guzzo, Labellarte, Mazzei 1991; Lippolis 2002, p. 120: "località imprecisata della Puglia" (an undefined place in Apulia).
173. Bell 1997.
174. Dionysius Halicarnassensis 20, 3, 1–4: Guzzo, Labellarte, Mazzei 1991, p. 172.
175. Bell 1997, p. 34. On the history of Morgantina during those years and on Punic incursions, see Bell 2000.
176. Guzzo 1995.
177. Bell 1997, pp. 34–38: "per la sua forma . . . la casa non ha paralleli precisi a Morgantina" (in its design . . . the house has no parallel in Morgantina; p. 37); the discovery of numerous pithoi leads Bell 1997, p. 38, to the conclusion that this was "di un'abitazione funzionale, senza raffinatezze, dove viveva gente la cui vita economica dipendeva dai prodotti della terra" (a functional house, without refinements, inhabited by people who lived off the land), even though "curiosa è la mancanza di una cisterna per raccogliere le acque piovane provenienti dai tetti; a Morgantina è un attributo normale del cortile o peristilio al centro della casa" (it is curious that there is no tank to collect rainwater off the roofs; in Morgantina this was a normal feature of the courtyard or peristyle at the center of a house; p. 37). As a result it can be speculated that the storage function of this building was more important than its use as living quarters; this might be a further indication that the group of silver objects under study was hidden under the floor of room 5 (p. 36, fig. 13) or room 7 (p. 36 and n. 23), having been gathered together by the various families that used the building to store the produce of their land before taking it to market.
178. See note 145 above.
179. See Ampolo 1989–90, pp. 271–79.
180. Such as the phiale dedicated to Athena of Megara, found in a tomb at Kozani: see note 145 above.
181. See the later small altars from the wreck at Comacchio: note 120 above; in the raid the Arpani made on Pyrrhus's encampment, sacred furnishings, if there were any, would also have been seized: see note 174 above.
182. These three bowls might equally have been part of a set of objects for a secular symposium.
183. Kaeser 1987.
184. The Samnites are described as using gold and silver weapons: Livy 9, 40; see Rouveret 1986, esp. pp. 93, 116; see also Benasai 2001, pp. 201–2, 216.
185. Secular, perhaps: but vessels used for offering libations to the gods are similar in shape to those with nonreligious uses, and do not always bear explicit dedicatory inscriptions.
186. See note 132 above for the discovery in a tomb of bowls comparable in shape to nos. 14, 15.
187. Diodorus Siculus 13, 88, 2–3: Tagliamonte 2002, p. 504 n. 15.
188. And not only in the 3rd century: see Tagliamonte 1993.
189. Bell 1997, p. 40 nn. 13, 14.
190. To which the pyxis 1984.11.3 should be added: see note 1 above.
191. To mention only the most recent comments on the subject: Graepler, Mazzei 1996; Pelagatti, Guzzo 1997, with bibliography.

The Wilton “Montmorency” Armor: An Italian Armor for Henry VIII

CLAUDE BLAIR AND STUART W. PYHRR

PART I. THE WILTON CONTROVERSY

On July 5–10, 1917, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge of London held a major sale of works of art from Wilton House, near Salisbury, Wiltshire, the ancient home of the Herberts, earls of Pembroke (Figure 1). Among the pieces offered on the last day were two armors (lots 540 and 541) said to have belonged to two eminent French noblemen who had been taken prisoner at the Battle of Saint-Quentin on August 10, 1557, which ended a campaign during which William Herbert (ca. 1507–1570), first earl of Pembroke of the second creation, had led the English contingent. The noblemen in question were Anne de Montmorency (1493–1567), constable of France, and Louis de Bourbon (1513–1582), duc de Montpensier. The armor ascribed to the former, which is the subject of this article, is now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 2, 3).¹

On the evening of Friday, July 6, four days before the armors were to be sold, a letter from C. J. ffoulkes, then curator of the Armouries at the Tower of London, was published in the July issue of the *Burlington Magazine*, in which he put forward alleged evidence for the view that “there can be no question but that the so-called ‘Anne de Montmorency’ armour is of much later date than 1557” and “the other armour . . . might be as early as 1560–70, but . . . the close helmet is of the type that was in vogue at the end of the century.”² The timing of this could not, of course, have been worse from the point of view of the sale, and the owner of the armors, the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, did his best to limit the damage by publishing a letter in the advertisement columns of the *Times*, *Morning Post*, and *Daily Telegraph*, in which he sought to refute ffoulkes’s arguments. It ended with the not unjustified complaint that “in the view of all reasonable persons, it must be most unsatisfactory that statements of this kind attempting to throw doubt on the

hitherto admitted authenticity of great works of art of world wide interest should be made on such insubstantial evidence as in the present case; and, further, that they should be made in this way at the last minute, when practically no time is left for reply.” The letter did not appear until the very day of the sale: unsurprisingly, therefore, the armors did not reach their reserves and were bought in.³

ffoulkes’s letter in the *Burlington Magazine* produced a batch of correspondence, which, with it, was eventually reprinted in 1918 by Sotheby’s, accompanied by other relevant material, in a privately circulated volume entitled *The Wilton Suits: A Controversy*.⁴ The contributions to this contain much of interest, but nothing positive about the central problems of the date of the armors and the identity of their original owners. In 1929 the “Montmorency” armor was bought privately by Clarence H. Mackay, from whom it was acquired by the Museum in 1932.⁵

In 1931 C. R. Beard drew attention to a manuscript in the British Museum containing an account of a visit made in 1635 to Wilton House by a lieutenant of the Norwich Train Bands, which includes a description of the armory there.⁶ It does not refer to any armors belonging to Montmorency or Montpensier, and the only allusion to Saint-Quentin it contains is in connection with the armor of Lord William Herbert “who wonne the Towne of S^t Quintin in France, w^{ch} was his Raysing.” It does, however, mention “Hen: 8th and K. Edw. the 6th their Armes” and “K. Hen: 8th Armour Bearers Armes richlie gilt.”⁷ In 1941 F. H. Cripps-Day drew attention to the fact that the antiquary John Aubrey (1626–1697), in a description of the Wilton armory in his *Natural History of Wiltshire*, also mentions the “rich gilt and engraved armour of Henry VIII” and the “like rich armour of King Edward VI” but does not refer to either Montmorency or Montpensier. He also pointed out that Aubrey commented about the armory in general that the “collection was not only great but the manner of obtaining it was much

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The notes for this article begin on page 135.

95

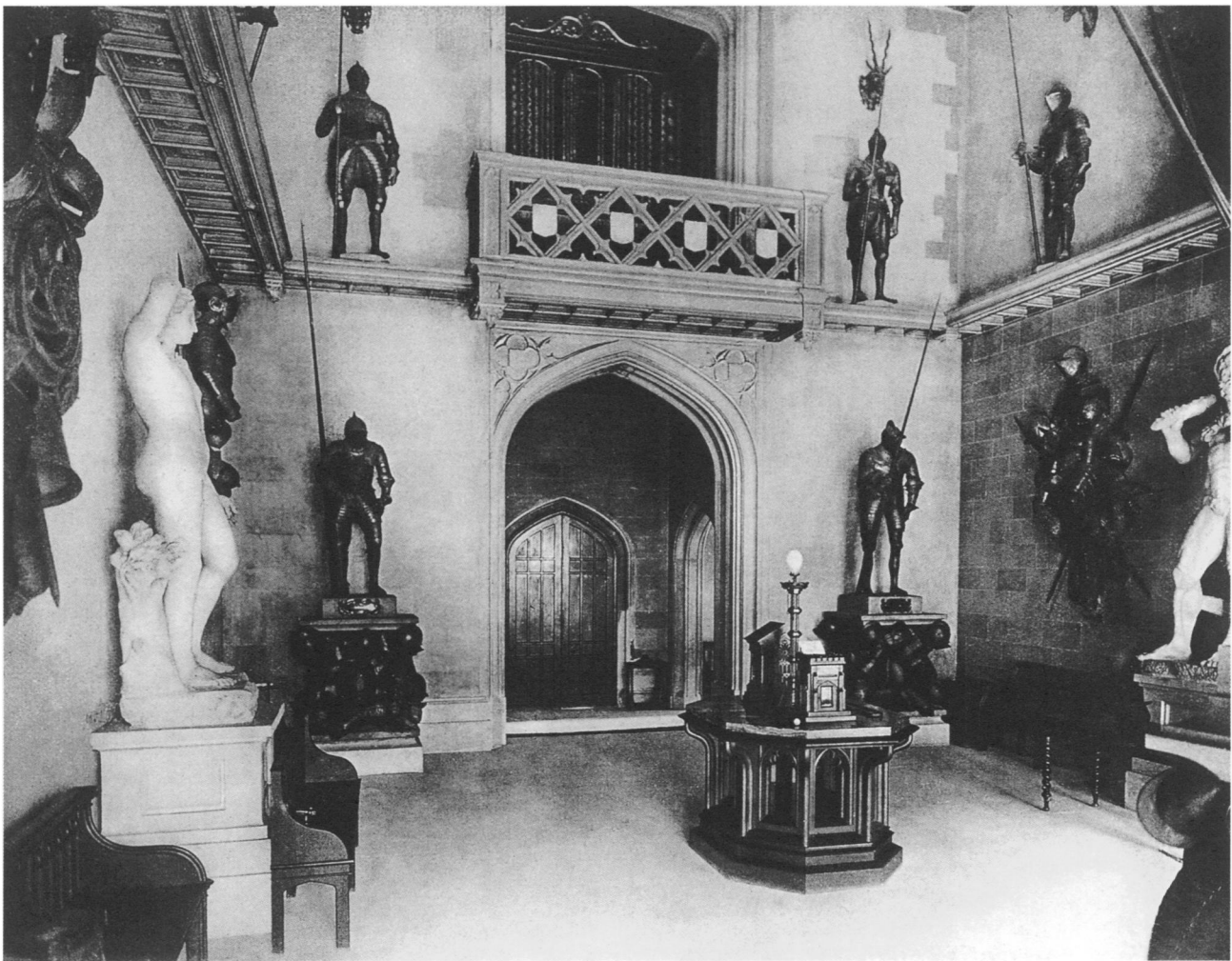


Figure 1. The Pembroke armory at Wilton House, ca. 1900, with the reputed “Montpensier” and “Montmorency” armors to the left and right of the door (photo: after *Connoisseur* 28 [December 1910], p. 248)

greater; which was by a victory at the battle of St. Quentin’s.”⁸

The final nail in the coffin of the Montmorency/Montpensier story came with the discovery in 1955, in a private collection, of an inventory of the contents of Wilton House, including the armory, dated December 8, 1558, that is, little more than a year after the Saint-Quentin campaign.⁹ No armors connected with the campaign are mentioned, but “a felde armor graven and gylte that was Kinge Henry theightes” and “a little armor p[ar]cell gylte that was Kinge Edwards wth the furniture” are.¹⁰ In an article published in 1964, the late J. F. Hayward identified the first of these with the “Montmorency” armor on the grounds both that it is the “only completely graven and gilt field armour” of the right period known to have been in the Wilton armory and that its “huge proportions and admirable quality” are consistent with it having belonged to King Henry.¹¹ The identification has not been universally

accepted, but recently discovered evidence, discussed below, leaves no doubt that it is correct.

The Royal Inventories

The Metropolitan Museum’s armor is discussed in detail later in this article, but it is relevant to mention six points about it here: first, it is a three-quarter field armor, extending only to the knees, of the type called an anime, that is, with a cuirass constructed of horizontal overlapping lames;¹² second, a pierced post at the top of the breast indicates that, as was normal for an armor of this kind, it was originally accompanied by a detachable solid reinforcing-breastplate (placard); third, its surface is heat-blackened; fourth, its decoration consists mainly of etched and gilt borders to the plates; fifth, its general style indicates that it is Italian in origin; and, finally, the surviving fragments of the original textile borders (piccadills) are colored



Figure 2. The Wilton armor, here identified as having been made for Henry VIII, king of England, and attributed to Italy, ca. 1544. Steel, blackened, etched, and gilt. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932 (32.130.7). See also Colorplate 3

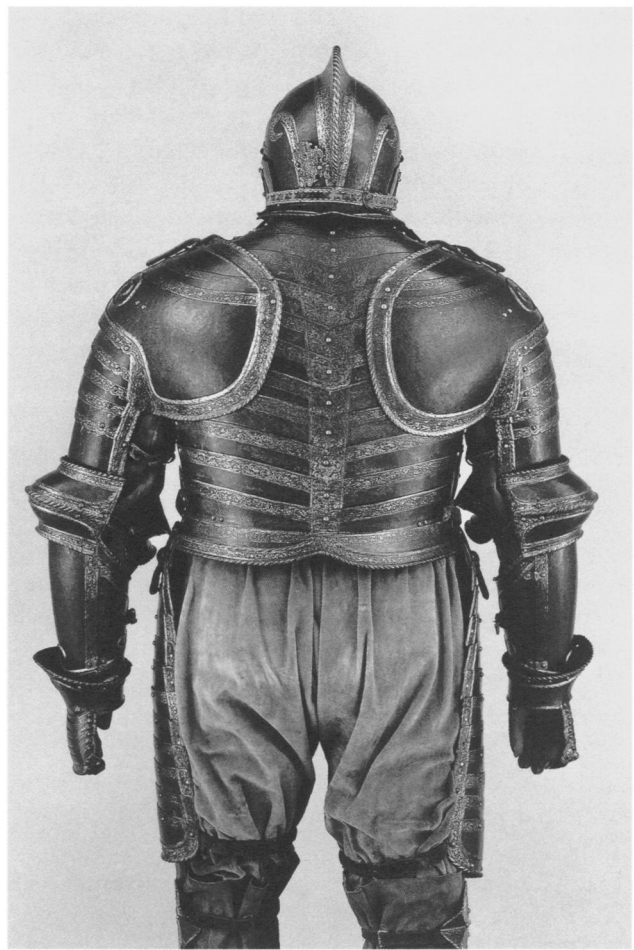


Figure 3. Back of the Wilton armor

red and yellow. It can also be mentioned that, although John Hayward dated it to about 1535 in his article on the Wilton inventory, its general style suggests that this is too early by as much as a decade.

Hayward did not attempt to identify the “felde armour graven and gilte that was Kinge Henry theightes” of the 1558 Wilton inventory with the royal harnesses mentioned in the great inventory of Henry VIII’s possessions drawn up after his death in 1547. In fact, the description in the latter of a harness in the Armoury at Greenwich Palace does fit the Wilton armor very well, except in a single respect: “First one Complete harnessse of Italion makinge with Lambes blacke and parcell guilte for the feilde lackinge greues and Sabbetters.”¹³ Here we have a three-quarter field armor—that is, without plates below the knees (“greues and Sabbetters”)—constructed with lames, blackened and partly gilt, and Italian in origin, the only armor described as such in the whole inventory.

The one thing missing to make it fit perfectly with the Wilton armor is any reference to it being not only partly gilt but also partly etched (“graven” in sixteenth-century terminology). This missing detail is provided in the description of the same armor in an inventory of the English Royal Armouries dated August 10, 1555, recently discovered in the marquess of Bath’s archives at Longleat: “One. ffelde harnesse blacke graven w^t lambes and guilte w^t a placard ij paier of vambraces. A stele Saddle parcell guilte couered the halfe w^t clothe of golde and thother halfe w^t clothe of silver w^t a Crinit and Shafron p[ar]cell guilte and a bitte.”¹⁴ This inventory reveals that since the old king’s death in 1547 a general rearrangement and tidying up had taken place in the Armouries, which had involved, among other things, the reuniting of armors with pieces that had become detached from them. This had included mounting the armor under discussion on a horse, which itself wore armored neck and head defenses (“Crinit and Shafron”) and a saddle reinforced with steel plate. It is uncertain whether or not any of these actually went with the man’s armor since they are not described as being black as well as partly gilt. On the other hand, the placard and the additional pair of arm defenses (“vambraces”) clearly did belong to it. The former apparently is no longer extant, but the latter must be the pair of vambraces with closely similar, though not quite identical, decoration to the Wilton armor, discussed below (pp. 117–20), which are still in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. The vambraces can be traced back to 1611 in the inventories of the Royal Armouries, where they are described as having belonged to Henry VIII.¹⁵ The evidence provided by their existence there, taken in conjunction with that we have already put forward, leaves no doubt that the Wilton armor and the Italian field armor “with lames” of the 1547 and 1555 inventories are one and the same.

As will be discussed below (p. 106), the royal provenance established by these inventories is supported by the armor itself, thanks to the recent realization that the rosette-shaped heads of the brass studs on the shoulders of the backplate are in fact Tudor roses. It should also be pointed out that the measurements of the Wilton armor are generally consistent with those on an armor bearing Henry’s monogram and the date 1540 made for him in the Almain Armoury, his court workshop at Greenwich Palace (Figure 4).¹⁶

The next extant inventory of the Royal Armouries after that of 1555 dates from 1561. Addressed to Queen Elizabeth I, it records not only the Armouries’ current state but also “the Receipts and Deliveryes of Armour ffrom the Death of . . . King Henry the Eighth . . . vnto the Last day of December 1561.”¹⁷ It



Figure 4. Armor of Henry VIII, English (Greenwich), dated 1540. Royal Armouries, Leeds, 11.8 (photo: The Trustees of the Armouries)

is much less detailed than the earlier inventories, and many of the entries are merely totals of armors of given types. It does, however, briefly describe a tiny handful of the more important armors, none of which can be identified with the armor under discussion here. Included in a list of pieces that had been issued to various nobles and gentlemen, however, is “A harnesse for y^e body of y^r Ma^{ty} father King Henry y^e Eighte,” recorded as being in the possession of a Sir Roger Vaughan.¹⁸ Since this is the only sixteenth-century record so far noted of one of Henry’s personal armors being issued from the Royal Armouries to an individual,¹⁹ there is a *prima facie* case for think-

ing that it must refer to the armor under discussion. Identification of Roger Vaughan confirms that it does.

Sir Roger Vaughan (died 1571) of Porthaml, Talgarth, Breconshire, Wales, was a minor figure with important connections. The eldest son of Sir William Vaughan of Porthaml, whom he succeeded in 1546, he married first, Catherine, daughter of Sir George Herbert of Swansea, Glamorganshire, and, second, Eleanor, daughter of Henry, second earl of Worcester. His first wife's father was the elder brother of Sir William Herbert, later first earl of Pembroke, whose armory is, of course, the subject of the 1558 Wilton inventory. According to the historian G. T. Bindoff, Vaughan was left on his father's death "to maintain the family's progress" and "was helped to do so by his marriage to a niece of William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke." He may have served under Herbert against the western rebels in 1549, and he was probably knighted in October 1551 on the occasion of the latter's elevation to the peerage as earl of Pembroke, while in 1557 he commanded 250 men in the French campaign under Herbert.²⁰

Vaughan is clearly an unlikely candidate for the honor of receiving the gift of one of Henry VIII's personal armors, which could only have come from one of the monarchs, without doubt Philip or Mary, who ruled jointly, since Elizabeth I did not succeed them until November 17, 1558, only twenty-three days before the Wilton House inventory was completed. Herbert, on the other hand, was one of the leading figures at the Tudor court. He was esquire of the body to Henry from 1526, a gentleman of his Privy Chamber, his brother-in-law through the sister of his last queen, Catherine Parr, an executor of his will, a member of Edward VI's Privy Council and his master of horse, governor of Calais under Mary Tudor, an intimate of her husband and joint monarch, Philip II of Spain, and, of course, captain-general of the English contingent at Saint-Quentin.²¹ The obvious conclusion to be drawn, we suggest, is that the armor credited to Vaughan in the 1561 inventory was, in fact, the one later at Wilton, which had been given to Herbert, and that Vaughan's involvement with it was merely that of Herbert's agent. In short, he was the person who signed for it in the Armouries when it was collected.

The French Campaign of 1544

King Henry had a first-class armor workshop of his own—now usually referred to as the Greenwich workshops, but at the time called the Almain Armoury because it was originally staffed by Almain, that is, Germans—operating at Greenwich Palace since 1515,

and there is therefore no obvious reason why, so late in his reign, he should have wanted to go abroad for a personal armor which, though of fine quality, has nothing remarkable about it. The possibility therefore arises of there being some special reason for his having acquired an Italian armor in the early 1540s. It is not difficult to find one.

As early as 1542 the king had begun to plan a joint invasion of France with the emperor Charles V. This was originally intended to take place in 1543, but it was not until 1544 that, in the words of Sir Charles Oman, "Inspired by belated ambition, though his health was failing, and he could barely drag his corpulent body on to the saddle of his war-horse, Henry determined to direct a great invasion himself, more effectively than his first adventure of 1513, and crossed the narrow seas at the head of such a completely equipped army as had never before landed at Calais." It "started as a very ambitious project, the 'Enterprise of Paris,' a plan for crushing France in conjunction with the armies of the Emperor Charles, led by Charles himself, and which dwindled down into the siege of two isolated fortresses only a few miles within the French frontier."²² The two fortresses in question were Montreuil and Boulogne, and it was at the second, and more important, of these that Henry was to take personal command.

The Enterprise of Paris was not only Henry's last personal campaign but it was also the first occasion since 1513—when he led another invasion of France—that he had had occasion actually to wear armor in the field.²³ Furthermore, the last previous date on which he is known to have worn armor of any kind is at a tournament in 1540, probably the May Day jousts, though he is not recorded as having jousted himself. He is last known to have done this in January 1536 at Greenwich, when he suffered a very serious fall from his horse. After this his health deteriorated to the extent that his activities were eventually permanently restricted, particularly by ulcerous legs, and because of lack of exercise, he grew increasingly obese (Figure 5). General concern was felt about his fitness to take part in the French campaign—the emperor was even advised that he would be a liability—but he insisted on going, despite the fact that his departure was delayed because of a deterioration in the condition of his legs. In the following year he was ill enough to be incapacitated several times and eventually began to require a special chair with shafts in which he was carried from room to room and a mechanical device to get him upstairs.²⁴

Three conclusions emerge from all this. First, Henry would have required a field armor for the campaign, suitable for use by a commander both on



Figure 5. Cornelis Massys (Netherlandish, 1510/11–1556/7). *Henry VIII*, 1544. Engraving, second state, dated 1548. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.42.6)

horseback and (since it involved a siege) on foot;²⁵ second, in view of the four years that had elapsed since he is last known to have worn armor—to say nothing of the thirty-one since he had last worn it in the field—none of his existing armors still fitted him, a fact established by the numerous references to the enlarging of his clothing, including several arming-doublets and pairs of arming-hose (for wear under armor), in the volume of accounts for his Great Wardrobe for the period beginning and ending on September 29, 1543 and 1544, respectively;²⁶ and, third, given the increasingly precarious state of his health in and after 1544, the complete absence of evidence for his having worn armor during the remaining two and a half years of his life suggests that he is very unlikely to have done so.²⁷ It also seems unlikely to us that anyone knowing the king's physical condition would have presented him an armor at this late stage of life. In any event, we know of no record of Henry having been given an armor in these years.²⁸

We may speculate that Henry's first reaction to the realization that he would need a field armor for the

campaign was to give instructions for one of his old garnitures—from which it was possible to produce armors both for the field and the tilt—to be enlarged to fit him, since the 1547 inventory of his possessions contains the following entry: "Item one harnesse for the kinges Majestie all grauen and parcell guilte bothe for the felde and Tilt complete which was commaunded to be translated [i.e., altered] at the kinges goinge ouer to Bulloigne whiche lieth in peces parte translated and parte vntranslated by A contrarie comaundement by the kinges Majestie."²⁹

The king's reason for changing his mind about the alteration of the garniture is unknown, though a likely one is obviously that he decided, or was persuaded, that it was not going to be satisfactory. Whatever it was, it can reasonably be assumed that one of its results was that he ordered two new field armors to be made for him in his Almain Armoury at Greenwich. We know about these from one of the very few surviving accounts of the Armoury, produced during the period April 1544 to April 1545, which, of course, included all the events surrounding the "Enterprise of Paris." Submitted by Erasmus Kirkener, then master workman, it does not include any payments for making armor but is concerned mainly with various ancillary charges, including those for "graveing" (i.e., etching or engraving), gilding, and burnishing armor and some arms for the king and for making and fitting linings to armor.³⁰ The account starts with the charges for the etching and gilding of two complete armors—one "made with Skalles [scales]" and each with two helmets—and for gilding four steel saddles and a horse armor ("barbe"). The armors are respectively described as a "harnysh made for the Kynges M[aiestes] boddy," and a "harnysh made with Skalles for the Kynges maieste": clearly, therefore, they were for Henry's personal use and were not old armors being refurbished but had been made recently in the Almain workshop. No mention is made in the accounts of extra pieces for the tournament, so they must have been for the field, with, as was common, a close helmet and a burgonet with a separate face defense (bufe) for alternative use. There can be no doubt, therefore, that they were made for Henry to use in France.³¹

We can now turn to the probable source of the Metropolitan's armor. On April 16, 1544, Francis Albert "Millonour" (that is, Milanese), "the King's servant," was given license by Henry to import a whole range of precious objects into the country for sale, including jewelry, gemstones, goldsmith's work, tapestries, clothing and other textiles, and "all manner of harness of what making soever they be . . . provided that they are first brought to the King to have the first

choice and sight of them.”³² The king at this precise date was, as we have seen, furnishing himself with new armors (his Almains at Greenwich had probably only just started making those referred to previously). He had, as is well known, been a great patron in his heyday of Italian artists and craftsmen of all kinds, including Milanese armorers,³³ and Francis Albert³⁴ is the only purveyor of Italian armor recorded at the English court at the time: an obvious conclusion, therefore, is that it was he who supplied the Metropolitan’s armor, which was, of course, of exactly the right type for Henry’s immediate campaigning needs. Two pieces of evidence support this conclusion. The fact that the armor is described as “of Italion making” in the 1547 inventory (the only one in the whole inventory to be ascribed to any country) can only mean that it was a recent enough acquisition for the compiler of that part of the inventory to have personal knowledge of its origins, while the colors of the remaining fragments of its textile trimmings (piccadills), red and yellow, are those of the new livery with which the king equipped all but a handful of the two thousand guards and courtiers who formed his personal entourage for the French campaign.³⁵

The king, therefore, appears to have taken three armors to France with him. There is nothing surprising in this. Even in an age when the display of princely magnificence was the order of the day he was noted for his extravagance, and he would have acquired as many armors as took his fancy, whether he required them for practical purposes or not.

One thing about which we can only speculate is how Francis Albert would have set about supplying an armor of at least approximately the right size to fit Henry. No direct records of any previous dealings with Henry have been found, but the fact that Albert is described as “the King’s servant” in the license cited above indicates that he must have had some.³⁶ Furthermore, we know that he had had connections with the court since at least as early as June 1, 1537, when he is recorded—as “Albert the milliner”—as supplying Thomas Cromwell, then chancellor of the exchequer and king’s secretary, with a cape and two girdles. A similar transaction is recorded in the following year, while he is further mentioned in the proceedings of the Privy Council on September 18 and 19 and December 3, 1540. The last of these is of particular interest in that it records “A proclamac[i]on . . . was proclaymed w^t trumpet, that whosoever had or shuld have by any meanes any of the money, jueles, or gooddes of one Albert spoyled & taken awaye of late from the sayde Albert at the burning of his tent at the Courte Gate, shuld bring & restore agayn the same before xijth. daye thenne next folowyng . . . upon peyn

for keping of the same . . . to be taken for felonnes.”³⁷ Modern works record two Court Gates at Tudor royal palaces, respectively at Richmond and Whitehall (London). Whitehall Palace was Henry’s principal seat at the time, so it is likely that it was there that Albert set up his tent.³⁸

It is clear from all this that there would have been ample opportunity for Albert to obtain the royal measurements, or even some items of Henry’s clothing, to send or take to Milan for the guidance of the armorers.³⁹ Likewise, since he was in the business of importing goods from Italy, there would have been no problem about having the armor delivered to Henry.

We have already mentioned that William Herbert was esquire of the body to Henry from 1526 apparently until his death. On July 25, 1544, when “the King armed at all pieces upon a great courser” left Calais with his entourage to go to Boulogne, riding immediately in front of him was “the lord Harberde [Herbert] bearing the King’s head piece and spear.”⁴⁰ As this marked the beginning of Henry’s last personal campaign, it must also have been the last time that Herbert was required to act as his esquire in anything other than a symbolic way. Since the armor under discussion here may well have been the one the king wore on that occasion, could this be the reason why Herbert wanted to acquire it after his death?

PART II. THE ARMOR IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

Since its acquisition in 1932 the Wilton armor has been on permanent view in the Metropolitan’s Arms and Armor Galleries, where, until very recently, it was confidently identified as a French harness made about 1555 for Anne de Montmorency, constable of France. Curiously, for an important historical armor that is one of the finest and most imposing in the collection, it figures in few publications and has never been described in detail.⁴¹

Construction

The armor comprises fourteen separate elements: an open-faced helmet of the type known as a burgonet, which is closed by a removable face defense, the buffe; the cuirass, consisting of a breastplate and backplate constructed of a series of articulated horizontal plates, a type known as an anime; long upper-thigh defenses (tassets), each divisible into two sections of six (the tassets proper) and five lames (the tasset extensions) respectively, suspended from the skirt lame of the breastplate; complete arms, each comprising defenses

Figure 6. Burgonet of the Wilton armor



Figure 7. Burgonet with buffe of the Wilton armor



Figure 8. Breastplate of the Wilton armor

for the shoulder (pauldron) and upper arm (upper vambrace), elbow (couter), and lower arm (lower vambrace); gauntlets; and short thigh defenses (cuisses) with attached knee plates (poleyns). As each poleyn ends in a long pointed lame with a roped edge and lacks the usual holes for the attachment of a greave, it would appear that defenses for the lower legs were never intended. The armor weighs a total of 50 lbs. 8 oz. (23 kg).⁴²

The burgonet is constructed of a one-piece bowl with two upward-overlapping collar lames riveted at the back and two cheekpieces of a single plate each hinged at the sides (Figures 6, 7). The bowl has a tall comb rising two inches in height, with a boldly roped edge and shallow raised ridges along its base, and projects at the front with an acutely pointed brim, or

peak, with a roped edge. Of the two rear collar lames, the upper one is riveted to the base of the bowl and the lower one is attached to the upper by sliding rivets that give it slight flexibility. The cheekpieces are stepped down at the front to fit under the edge of the peak and have a roped bottom edge at the back that continues the line of the lower rear collar lame. Each cheek is pierced in the center with a circular arrangement of eight holes around a single one to facilitate hearing, and each carries a looplike staple, gilt, by which the buffe is attached. The bottom front edge of each cheekpiece ends abruptly, indicating the loss of two or three small lames of diminishing size that originally continued beneath the chin where the cheekpieces were tied; these lames are replaced today by modern leather tabs. Domed lining rivets encircle the



Figure 9. Inside of the breastplate in Figure 8, showing the articulating leathers and sliding rivets

bowl at the front and secure fragments of a leather strap inside; a corresponding row of blind lining rivets are at the back of the bowl at the nape. A plume-holder covered with an elaborately shaped escutcheon is riveted at the back of the bowl to the left of the comb.

The buffe, which has an acutely pointed profile and a pronounced medial ridge, consists of a chin plate, with two wide downward-overlapping faceplates above and two narrow upward-overlapping collar lames below (Figure 7). The faceplates are supported on the right side by spring-pins, their heads shaped like a figure eight, which, when depressed, allow the plates to drop down so as to increase the wearer's sight and ventilation. The upper faceplate has a roped edge and is embossed below with a bowed section pierced with slotted breaths. The lower collar plate has a turned and roped bottom edge and a raised roped ridge along the top edge. The buffe attaches to the burgonet by means of a pivot-hook on each side of the chin plate that passes through the corresponding staple on the cheekpiece, as well as by straps, also riveted to the chin plate, that encircle the bowl and buckle at the back. Portions of the original leather lining straps are riveted inside the chin plate across the upper and lower edges and down the sides.

The cuirass, which is made in one with the gorget (collar), as is typical of many armors, is joined at the neck, shoulders, and waist. The top front collar lame



Figure 10. Left side of the breastplate in Figure 8, showing the crude trimming of the edges



Figure 11. Detail of the brass stud formed as a Tudor rose on the right shoulder of the backplate of the Wilton armor



Figure 12. Tassets and tasset extensions of the Wilton armor

(modern) is pierced on each side with a hole that fits over a pierced stud on the rear collar lame, the closure secured by a pivoting hook of gilt brass (modern) set behind each stud. The third lame of the breastplate from the top is pierced at each shoulder with a key-hole slot that fits over a stud on the corresponding lame of the backplate. Straps are riveted to the bottom lame of the backplate at each side and buckle in front. Judging from the presence of vacant rivet holes beneath the arm openings, the cuirass appears to have originally been closed by lateral straps as well.⁴³

The breastplate (Figure 8), which has a shallow arched profile and a low medial ridge, consists today of twelve upward-overlapping horizontal lames (including those for the collar), with one gusset lame at each armhole and a single skirt (fauld) lame. The profiles of the upper three lames are concave, whereas those below are of flattened V-shape with a shallow notch in the center. The top collar lame and the eleventh plate from the top (second from the bottom) are modern replacements made in 1963 by Leonard Heinrich, the Metropolitan Museum's armorer, who incised his name and the date inside. The upper two lames are articulated to the third lame by straps, whereas the lames below are articulated by sliding rivets in the center and by straps at the sides (Figure 9).

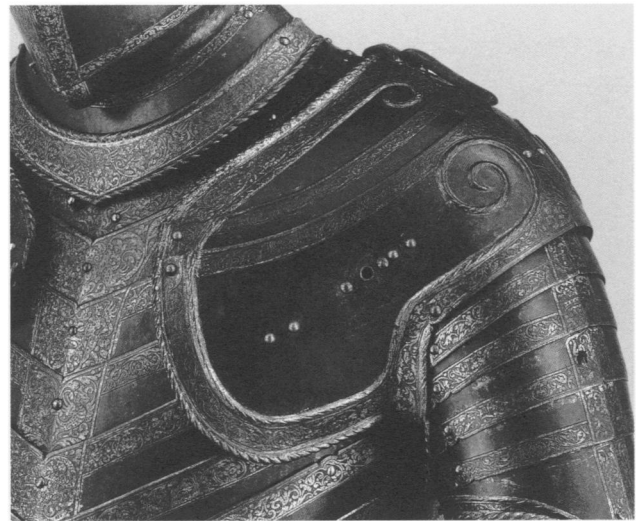


Figure 13. Left pauldron of the Wilton armor

The straps connecting plates three through nine on the right side and plates three through eight on the left side are of old dark leather, whereas the pale buff leather straps below these are replacements added in 1963. The gusset lames are attached by sliding rivets to the third and ninth lames and are further articulated by short transverse straps riveted to the adjacent side leathers; of these, the right one, now broken, appears to be the older of the two. On the third lame of the breastplate, set slightly to the right of center, is a large pierced stud for the attachment of a reinforcing breastplate (placard). A small circular hole to the right of center in the bottommost lame originally may have held a stud that served either to secure the reinforcing breastplate at its base or to prevent the waist belt from riding up. The sides of the breastplate, particularly toward the bottom, have been deeply and rather crudely trimmed (Figure 10). The skirt lame is attached to the flange of the breastplate by a single rivet at either side. Arched and roped in the center, it carries on each side three straps for attaching the tassels; it too has been cut along the back edges, resulting in the partial loss of the etched border. The present method of attachment of this lame to the breastplate is modern: rivet holes on each side of the breastplate flange and three pairs of holes on each side of the skirt lame indicate that it was originally

articulated to the breastplate by means of three leather straps on each side. The present misalignment of the rivet holes and the greater width of the skirt lame in comparison to the breastplate suggest that at least one skirt lame above it has been removed or lost.

The backplate, which is shaped over the shoulder blades and down the spine, is constructed of thirteen upward-overlapping lames (including those for the collar) and a single culet lame over the buttocks (Figure 3). The lames of the backplate are articulated by sliding rivets down the center and by straps at the sides, as on the breastplate. The present straps are modern buff leather replacements added in 1963. The third lame from the top is abruptly cut at the front over each shoulder, at which points are riveted short extension plates, each fitted with a brass stud that fits into the key-hole-slot in the corresponding lame of the breastplate. The studs, now somewhat flattened, have stamped heads shaped like Tudor roses (Figure 11), a detail not previously observed. Riveted to the same third lame at each shoulder is a steel buckle (modern) to which the pauldron is strapped. The culet lame is attached to the flange of the backplate by a single rivet at each side. Like the breastplate and its skirt lame, the sides of the backplate and culet have been trimmed.

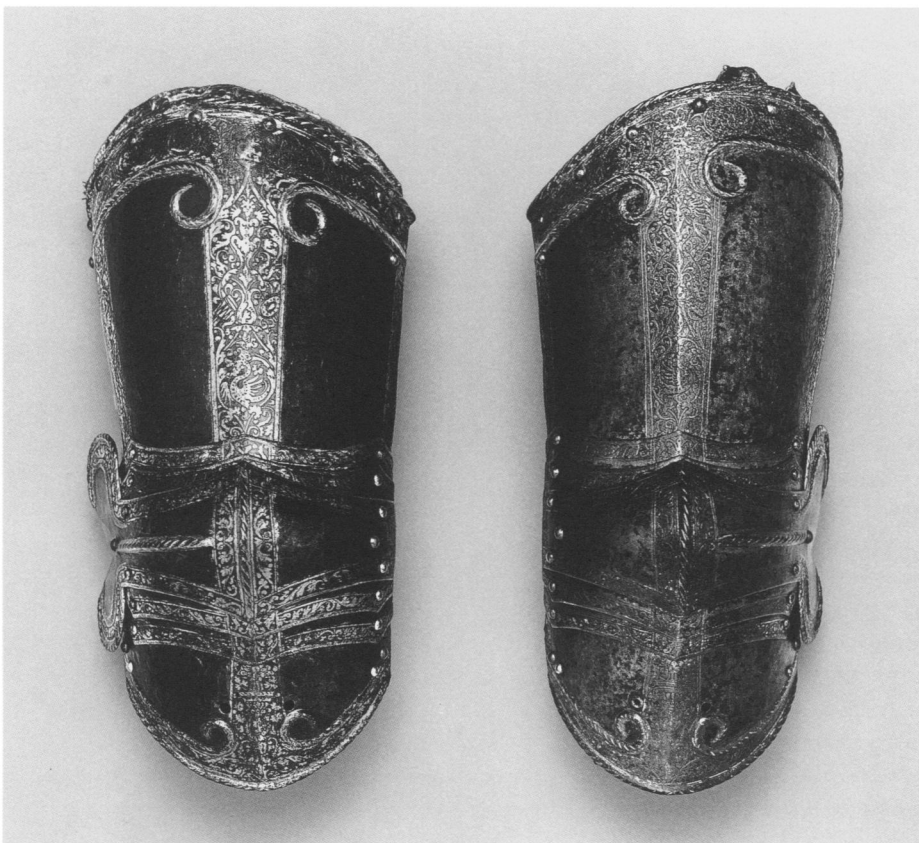


Figure 14. Cuisses with poleyns of the Wilton armor



Figure 15. Detail of the lacing tab inside the right cuisse in Figure 14

The tassets are constructed in two sections, the tassets proper of six lames each and the tasset extensions of five lames (Figure 12); they are similarly articulated with modern buff leather straps down the inner side and center and with sliding rivets along the outer side. Each section is strongly curved to fit around the leg and has a low medial ridge. Portions of the lining straps, of both textile and leather, are preserved beneath some of the rivets around the edges, as are fragments of unlined gold velvet piccadills, but these appear to be later additions. Three buckles riveted to the top lame of each tasset engage the corresponding straps on the skirt. The bottom lame of each tasset and tasset extension is similarly finished with a roped edge and, above it, roped ridges terminating in scrolls at the center. The two sections attach by means of key-hole slots in the top lame of the extension passing over turning pins on the last lame of the tasset. Straps riveted at the sides of the bottom lame of each tasset extension buckle around the back of the leg.

The arms are constructed of pauldrons and upper vambraces joined as one without a turning joint, large one-piece couters almost encircling the elbow, and lower vambraces of two hinged plates each, the three sections connected by internal leather straps above and below the couter. Each pauldron consists of eight lames comprising a large main plate extending from the middle of the chest over the shoulder blades at the back, with two narrow upward-overlapping lames above and five downward-overlapping lames below, the lowest one (serving as the upper vambrace) being longer than the others and shaped around the inner bend of the elbow. This last lame has been crudely cut along the bottom edge. The top three pauldron lames

are articulated to one another by straps at the front, center, and back, while the lower five lames are articulated by straps at the front and center and by sliding rivets at the back. A low medial ridge extends down the center of each pauldron on the outside. The pauldrons are asymmetrical, the front wing of the right one being narrower than the left and shaped around the armpit to allow for the passage of a couched lance. The left pauldron (Figure 13) is pierced in the center of the main plate at the front with a large circular hole behind which is riveted a small plate with corresponding threaded hole intended to receive the screw securing a pauldron reinforce; a small turning pin on the third lame below this, set just in front of the medial ridge, was intended to secure the outer edge of the same reinforce. The couters, which extend three-quarters around the joint, are large and three-dimensional, having flaring wings that sharply contract over the inner bend and a pronounced boss over the point of the elbow; across the center of each is a boldly roped transverse rib framed on either side by a low roped ridge. The edges of the couters are roped and are followed by parallel roped ridges. The two halves of the lower vambraces are attached by two external brass hinges (modern) on the outside and are closed by a strap and buckle on the inside.

Each gauntlet consists of a short pointed cuff encircling the wrist and riveted closed at the back, six narrow metacarpal lames, a transverse knuckle lame with a raised roped rib, and a narrow scalloped finger lame; the thumb and finger lames are missing. The edges of the cuffs are roped, and each has a raised, roped, and gilt boss of elliptical shape over the ulna. Two rivet holes on the inside of the hand along the lower edge of the cuff served to attach the missing thumb. The right cuff retains most of its original steel lining rivets with domed gilt heads and preserves a fragment of the original textile border of projecting tabs, or piccadills, beneath one of the lining washers on the inside. From this it would appear that the piccadills consisted of leather lined with red satin and faced with a yellow silk velvet, the edges trimmed with galoon. The left cuff has lost all of its lining rivets.

The short cuisses are constructed of a single plate to which is attached a poleyn of six lames (Figure 14). The cuisses have a convex upper edge finished by a roped turn, and a low medial ridge; the outer side of each plate is shaped around the thigh with an angular bend. A semicircular tab, pierced for laces (arming points) by which the cuisse was supported from a belt beneath the armor, is riveted at the top of each cuisse, and a strap and buckle for securing the cuisse around the thigh are riveted at the sides. The tabs appear to

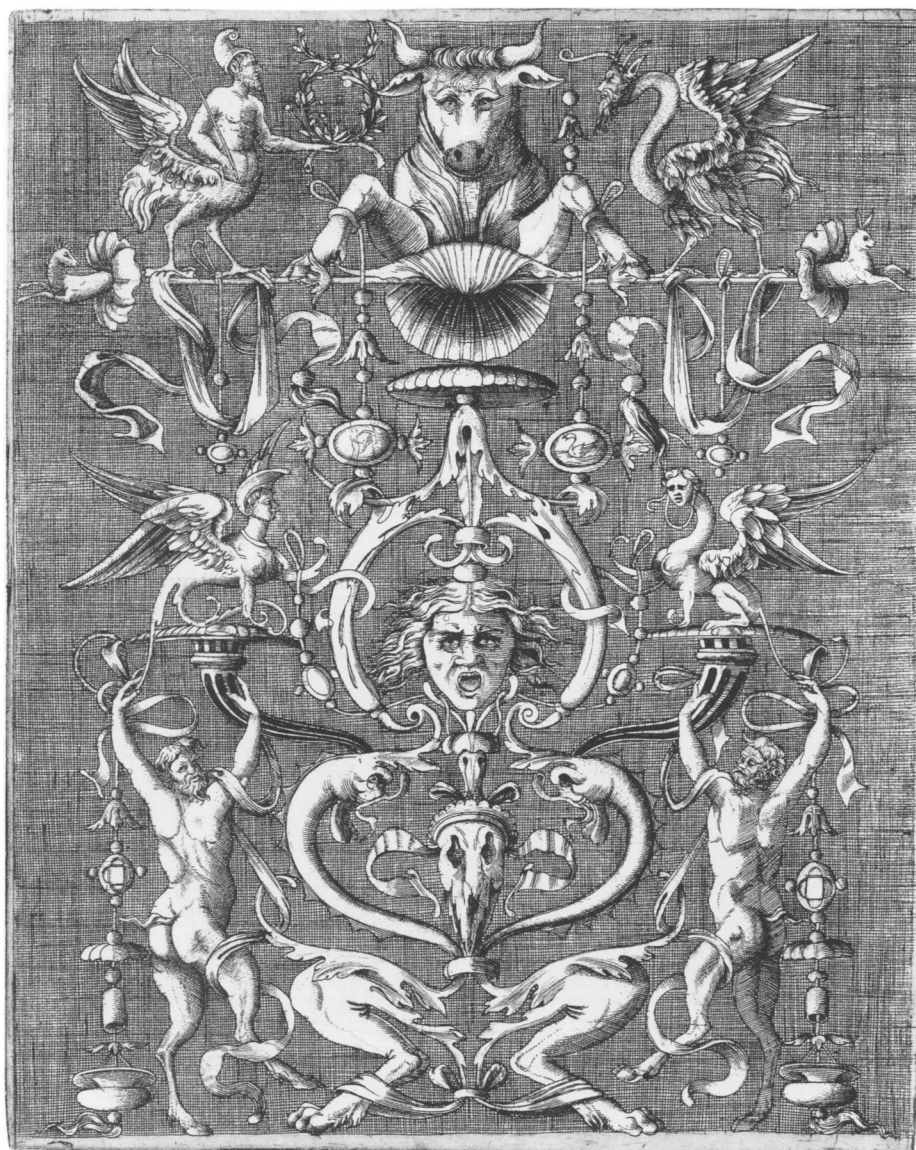


Figure 16. Agostino Veneziano (Italian, recorded 1516–36). *Ornamental Panel of Grotesques*. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1949 (49.97.180)

be the original ones for the armor and, like the piccadill fragment preserved on the right gauntlet, are constructed of a thick leather core lined with red satin and faced with yellow velvet, with galoon trim along the edge. The tab on the right cuisse is more complete and displays a light blue selvaige at either side of the red satin lining (Figure 15).⁴⁴ Each tab was originally pierced with four pairs of lacing holes lined with gromets that have rosette-shaped brass faces and steel tubes, of which only six remain on the right and two on the left. The poleyn consists of the main plate shaped over the point of the knee and extending back to a heart-shaped wing on the outer side, with two narrow upward-overlapping lames above and three downward-overlapping lames below. The edges of the lames immediately above and below the

poleyn are cusped at the center and at the sides around the articulating rivets. The main plate has a roped rib down the center of the knee and a transverse roped rib on the outer side extending almost from the point of the knee to the V-shaped pucker of the wing; the edges of the wing are roped. Straps riveted to either side of the main poleyn plate buckle behind the knee. The lower poleyn lame is elongated, slightly pointed at the center, and has a roped edge; it is pierced in the center with a pair of lacing holes formerly lined with gromets probably like those on the lacing tabs, of which only the steel tube of one on the left poleyn remains. This lower lame was evidently intended to be laced to the hose or boot, an unusual if not unique method of attachment otherwise unknown to us.⁴⁵

Decoration

The exterior surfaces of the plates are rough from the hammer and retain some of their original heat-blackened color. The term "rough from the hammer" refers to the presence of hammer marks left from the forging and shaping of the plates, marks that were usually polished smooth as part of the finishing process. The blackening (actually a fire scale) served as a natural rustproofing, thus reducing the need for maintenance and, along with hammer-rough surfaces, was commonly found on inexpensive, mass-produced munition armors for the common soldier. In the case of this royal harness, the dark rough surfaces provide an effective contrast to the etched and gilt decoration.

The free edges of the principal plates are turned over wire, roped, and gilt. The roped edges are usually followed by a narrow border of etched and gilt ornament, which is followed in turn by a roped ridge, also gilt. On some of the plates the ridges terminate in C-shaped scrolls or fully spiral volutes. Pairs of small scrolls, confronted but not actually touching, are located at the center of the upper lame of each pauldron, on both plates of the lower vambraces, on the gauntlet cuffs, on the bottom lame of the upper tassets and tasset extensions, at the top of the cuisses, and on the bottom lame of each poleyn. A pair of larger, confronted scrolls forming true volutes is found at the center of each of the main pauldron lame at the point of the shoulder. The motif also occurs on the burgonet, but in a different form, as a pair of confronted recessed scrolls, etched and gilt, on either side of the bowl.

The etched decoration is generally confined to the narrow bands following the free edges, the transverse bands across the overlapping engaged edges, and the wide vertical bands down the center of the buffe, cuirass, tassets, pauldrons and upper vambraces, gauntlets, and cuisses; an additional vertical band extends down the outer side of each cuisse. The center band on both the breastplate and backplate expands upward and continues across the third lame to the left and right. Both faces of the comb are etched overall, and a centralized pattern of flowers and leaves is etched around the holes in the center of each cheekpiece. The ornament, discussed below, is gilt and set against a plain sunken ground left dark for contrast. The plain-ground etching is noteworthy, as many of Italian armors of this period have ornament set against a ground of small raised dots or etched circles. It will be noticed, however, that large dots are sparingly used in the etched bands on this armor as space fillers and that on some plates the background is irregularly scratched.

The decoration of the borders and edges of the plates consists of foliate ornament, of which six principal patterns can be distinguished:

1. A continuous scroll of stylized foliage taking the form of an undulating branch issuing leaves, flowers with rounded or trilobite leaves, and bulblike calyxes. Most of the horizontal bands have this pattern, including those on the comb of the burgonet, the lower collar lame of the buffe, and the transverse edges of lames three through twelve on the breastplate and of lames four through thirteen on the backplate. Where several engaged edges are in close proximity, as on the cuirass, the sequence of leaves and flowers varies slightly from lame to lame to avoid too mechanical an effect.

2. A scroll pattern similar to the first but with slightly smaller and more delicate foliage, the distinguishing motif being a small multipetaled leaf, instead of a calyx, through which the tendrils appear to pass. This pattern is found on the rear collar lames of the burgonet, on the upper edge of the culet lame, on the tassets, pauldrons, and lower vambraces, around the gauntlet cuffs, and on the wide vertical band down the outer side of each cuisse.

3. Horizontal foliate S-scrolls, linked by short bars to form fleur-de-lis-like junctions. This pattern occurs in the recessed scrolls on the sides of the helmet bowl, in the narrow bands at the edges of the peak and cheekpieces, on the bands along the bottom of the two face lames of the buffe, across the top of the buffe's upper collar lame, around the armholes of the backplate, along the bottom edge of the culet lame, around the edges of the couters, down the inside edge of the cuisse, and on most of the main poleyn lames. A simplified version of the same S-scrolls, sometimes without the bars, is found on the upper two collar lames of the breastplate and backplate.

4. A simple motif of what appears to be a continuous row of S-shaped leaves, laid end to end. This pattern is found in some of the narrowest bands of ornament, notably on the gusset lames on the breastplate, at either side of the roped ridge across the center of the couters, and on the edges of the metacarpal lames of the gauntlets.

5. A narrow band of dense overlapping leaves, like a garland. This pattern outlines the bend of the waist on the bottom lame of the breastplate and backplate.

6. A symmetrical design consisting of a cross-shaped configuration of leaves to which four curved leafy branches are joined, two to the left and two to the right, by bars. This unusual pattern is found in the center of the two articulating lames above and below the main poleyn lame.

The remaining decoration consists of classically inspired Renaissance candelabra and grotesque orna-

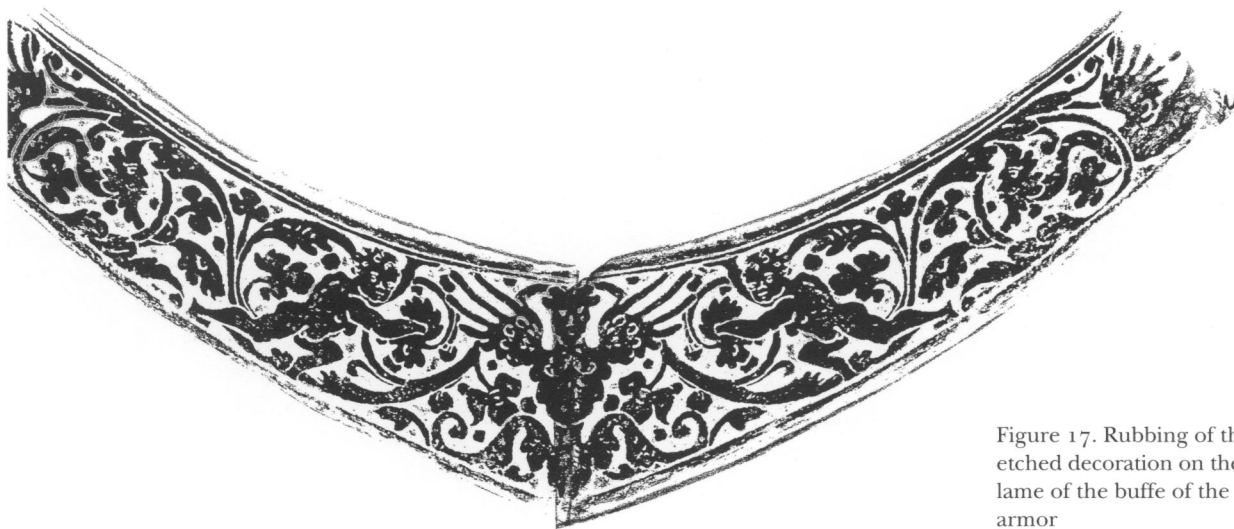


Figure 17. Rubbing of the etched decoration on the lowest lame of the buffe of the Wilton armor

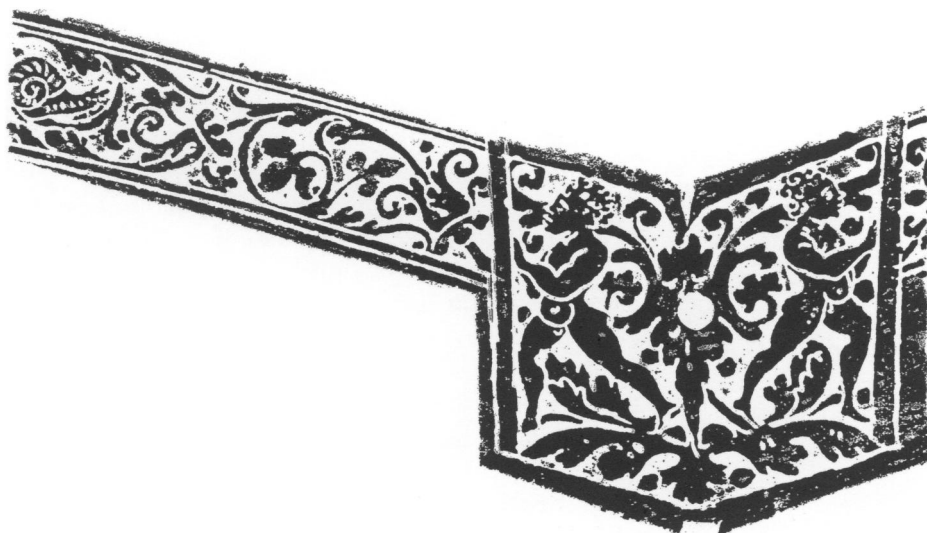


Figure 18. Rubbing showing male figures on the ninth lame of the backplate of the Wilton armor



Figure 19. Detail of the bound captive on the left pauldron of the Wilton armor



Figure 20. Detail of a putto with vase on the right poleyn of the Wilton armor



Figure 21. Woodcut border for the opening page of Jacobus de Voragine, *Legendario di Sancti* (Venice, 1514). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift, 1917 (17.47)

ment that fills the wide vertical bands down the center of the buffe, breastplate, backplate, tassets, pauldrons, gauntlets, and cuisses. Most of the designs are symmetrically disposed about a central axis and consist of foliage, vases of fruit and flowers, pairs of cornucopia, dragons and other fantastic beasts, winged putti and young men, dogs, and masks. This vocabulary derives from the Renaissance grotesque, which was disseminated throughout Europe by drawings and especially ornamental prints, like that in Figure 16. We have been unable, however, to identify any direct quotations from print sources in the decoration of the Wilton armor.

The figural motifs, including humans, animals, and fantastic grotesque creatures, are the most distinctive and accomplished features of the decoration. A pair



Figure 22. Detail of a head on the right cuisse of the Wilton armor

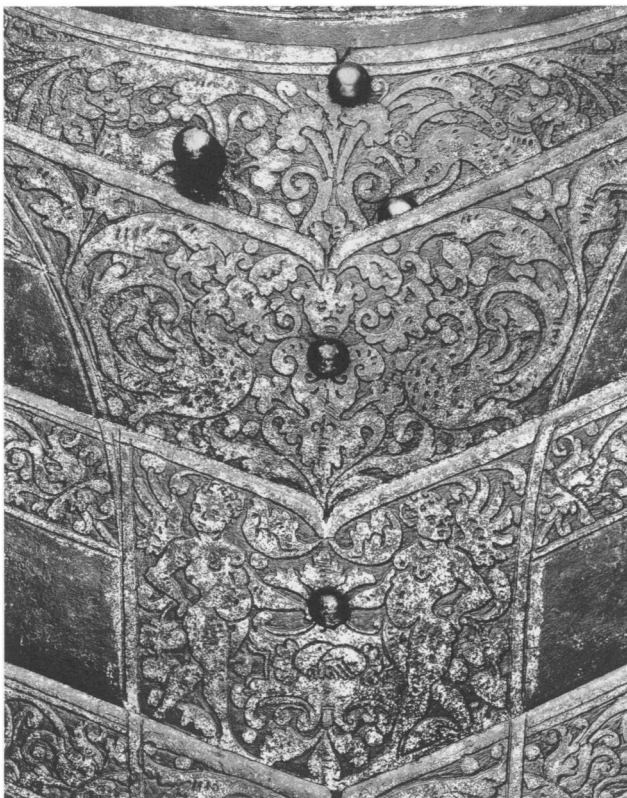


Figure 23. Detail of lames 3–5 of the breastplate of the Wilton armor, showing running dogs, a term flanked by dragons, and putti supporting a device of clasped hands

of putti running toward a full-face term appear at the center of the lower collar lame of the buffe (Figure 17), and another two males, facing in opposite directions, are found on the ninth lame of the backplate (Figure 18). A nude figure bound to a tree and menaced on either side by a grotesque dragonlike creature is etched on the top lame of each pauldron between the scrolls (Figure 19), and a single putto supporting a vase overhead occupies the center of the bottom lame of each poleyn (Figure 20). The putto with a vase is a common motif in Renaissance ornament of the fifteenth century and is often found in manuscript illumination and architectural relief sculpture, particularly in Lombardy. The motif is also familiar from a series of decorative woodcut borders in early sixteenth-century printed books published in Venice (Figure 21). A delicately rendered head of a woman or a child with flowing hair, facing front and flanked by dragons, is etched at the top of the right cuisse (Figure 22), while a leonine face is found in the same place on the left cuisse. On the fourth lame of the breastplate a pair of “bearded” dragons flank a full-face term, and on the lame below a pair of confronted winged putti support a cartouche enclosing the device of two clasped hands (Figure 23).

Running dogs with slender arched bodies, like whippets or greyhounds, often with what appears to



Figure 24. Detail of running dogs on the buffe of the Wilton armor



Figure 25. Detail of the decoration on the left side of the comb of the burgonet of the Wilton armor



Figure 26. Detail of the plume-holder on the burgonet of the Wilton armor

be a loop at the back of their collars, are another distinctive motif. Dogs, single or in pairs, are found on the upper face-plate of the buffe (Figure 24), the third lame of the breastplate (Figure 23), the fifth lame of the backplate (where they are winged), on the gauntlet cuffs, and along the top edge of the left cuisse. Hybrid beasts that combine human or animal heads with leafy bodies and limbs, seen full face or in profile, inhabit the foliage on every element of the harness and include winged dragons, harpylike birds with horned female heads, and similar winged beasts with bearded male heads. Among the more complex of these is the full-face female term in the center of each side of the comb, her leafy arms encircling the nearby tendrils and ending in bearded male heads, and her scrolling feet turning into canine heads that bite the issuing tendril (Figure 25). Similar terms occur on the fourth lame of the breastplate (Figure 23), eleventh lame of the backplate, the bottom lame of the upper tassets and tasset extensions (Figures 28, 29), and on each cuisse plate. A large mask with scalloped edges and a pair of wings occupies the center of the fourth lame of the backplate. Trophies of arms are found in the medial band on the right cuisse and snails on the upper buffe lame on the right side and



Figure 27. In the style of Niccoló Fiorentino (1430–1514). *Hope Gazing at the Sun* (reverse of the medal of Giovanni di Andrea Stia). Bronze, ca. 1485–90. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1957.14.879b (photo: National Gallery of Art)

on the ninth lame of both the breastplate and backplate.

The plume-holder is unusual in both form and decoration. The tube is covered by a large plate, with decoratively cut edges, which is etched with a full-length human figure: a female, wearing a long fluttering dress, viewed in profile, her head and clasped hands raised upward toward rays emanating from the sky, with a leafy bush or tree to either side (Figure 26). She is readily identifiable as a personification of Hope, one of the three Theological Virtues (along with Faith and Charity), her pose apparently deriving from the nearly identical representation found on the reverse of numerous late fifteenth-century Florentine portrait medals (see Figure 27).⁴⁶

None of the etched ornament employed in the decoration of the Wilton armor makes specific reference to Henry VIII, in contrast to some of his English-made harnesses, several of which bear one or more personal or dynastic emblems, such as the king's crown, monogram, or badges, the insignia of the Order of the Garter, or the Tudor rose.⁴⁷ Indeed, for a specially constructed and elaborately decorated royal armor such as this, the absence of identifying devices may seem surprising. It is not unprecedented, however.



Figure 28. Lowest lame of the left tasset of the Wilton armor



Figure 29. Lowest lame of the left tasset extension of the Wilton armor

The most elaborately decorated of all Greenwich harnesses, the so-called Genouilhac armor in the Metropolitan Museum, which is generally accepted as having been made for the king in 1527, is etched and gilt overall with a variety of figural and foliate ornament but without any royal emblems. Another armor more securely identified as Henry's, a harness now thought to date about 1539–40, in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, is etched around the edges with a simple repeating foliate design equally devoid of personal references.⁴⁸

The only etched motif on the Wilton armor that has been interpreted as a device of the owner is the clasped hands on the fifth lame of the breastplate (Figure 23). The significance of the clasped-hands device has long been a subject of debate. Advocates of the Montmorency tradition observed that, while the motif was not recorded among the constable's personal emblems, it nevertheless did appear on his heart monument, erected in the church of the convent of the Celestines in Paris, thereby at least circumstantially associating the device with him.⁴⁹ Foulkes, the most outspoken opponent of the Montmorency association, pointed out that clasped hands are also found on other armors, where the device probably served as the identifying badge of several French or Italian individuals or families with whom it was associated, none of them the Montmorency.⁵⁰

G. D. Hobson, on the other hand, dismissed altogether the notion of clasped hands serving as an identifying badge of the armor's owner, noting that such devices were usually displayed more prominently and more frequently on an armor, whereas the clasped hands are found only once on the Wilton armor and are so small as to be easily overlooked.⁵¹ He rightly observed that the motif was a widely used one in the ancient world as well as in the Renaissance as an emblem symbolizing fidelity, friendship, and concord. In this context it is found on Roman coins (usually in association with inscriptions such as "fides militum" or "fidis romanorum"), on Renaissance medals, and on betrothal rings. The motif was also adopted as a tradesman's device and was used by papermakers, printers, and booksellers. Hobson concluded that on the Wilton armor the clasped hands, if more than a mere detail of ornament, was probably a decorative emblem or perhaps an armorer's mark.⁵²

In at least one instance, clasped hands have also been used in an impresa to represent Faith and Charity, complementary virtues of Hope (as personified on the plume-holder).⁵³ But none of these interpretations has any bearing on Henry VIII's personal or political imagery and the motif therefore is likely to be merely decorative, a part of the etcher's repertory, like the running dogs.

Alterations and Restorations

The armor remained in the Pembroke armory at Wilton House for more than four hundred years and therefore is reasonably well preserved for its age. Nevertheless some of the surface blackening has worn away, some of the gilding has been lost, several lames are missing, and the armor has been subjected to what appears to be both working-life alterations and later restorations.

Several lames of the armor exhibit a slightly different style of etched decoration, noticeably shallower and incorporating foliage not found elsewhere, and have a distinctly brighter gilding. These include the two rear collar lames on the burgonet, the gussets of the breastplate, the short extension plates at the shoulders of the backplate, and the lowest lame of the tassets. The plain surfaces of the gussets and bottom tasset lames also have a mechanically scratched surface that is not seen on any of the other plates. The etching of the rear collar lames on the burgonet and extension plates on the backplate incorporate flowers with three-pointed leaves that do not appear on the other lames, and on the extension plate on the right shoulder there is a flower with five petals that might, like the adjacent brass stud, be interpreted as a Tudor rose (Figure 11). The gussets are etched with rows of leaves matching foliate pattern 4 (p. 109 above), while the etching on the bottom lame of the tassets imitates that on the bottom lame of the tasset extensions. A comparison of the latter makes it clear that they are the work of different etchers (Figures 28, 29). Despite the subtle differences in these lames, they are well made and show no apparent difference in age from the adjoining plates. They are most likely working-life replacements, alterations made for the king, particularly as the brass studs on the shoulders take the form of Tudor roses. These replaced elements, perhaps necessitated by the poor fit of the imported armor, were likely made by the armorers at Greenwich, who were so successful in imitating the Italian style that their additions have previously gone unnoticed. It may be pertinent that an almost contemporary Greenwich armor made for Henry, a garniture for field and tournament use dated 1540 (Figure 4), exhibits a generally similar Italianate etching with narrow bands of repeating foliate motifs on a plain sunken ground, the bands gilt overall (Figure 30). The etching of the new lames therefore would not have presented a challenge to the Greenwich workmen.

The construction of the burgonet with two articulated rear collar lames is highly unusual, as burgonets of this type typically have bowls with pointed peaks and turn-outs at the nape forged from a single plate.



Figure 30. Detail of the gorget of the armor of Henry VIII in Figure 4 (photo: The Trustees of the Armouries)

With the exception of certain parade burgonets *all'antica* made in Milan in the period 1530–55, Italian burgonets constructed in this manner are rare.⁵⁴ It is worth mentioning, however, that some burgonets made later at Greenwich have a single rear collar lame attached by sliding rivets, but these date from the 1570s and 1580s.⁵⁵ Whereas it cannot be demonstrated that the burgonet from the Wilton armor was altered to conform to an existing Greenwich construction, the alteration was certainly made according to the monarch's wishes, though the practical benefit of the articulated nape is not readily apparent.

While it is often difficult to distinguish contemporary alterations from later ones, it seems probable that some trimming of the sides of the cuirass and the removal of lames from the anime as well as the skirt may date from the period of use and were done at the king's behest. In addition to the removal of at least one lame of the breastplate, it is also likely that two lames are lacking from the backplate, one between the present third and fourth lames from the top and another between the first and second lames from the bottom. These modifications are suggested by the imperfect alignment of the etched medial band over the contiguous lames. The removal of backplate lames would have caused the shoulders to move slightly to the rear, thereby requiring the addition of the extension plates across the top of the shoulders. These changes, which shortened the cuirass front and back, may have been necessitated by the changing figure of the old warrior-king or simply by the inaccurate fit of the foreign-made armor. The breastplate was further altered by the addition of new gussets. Judging from

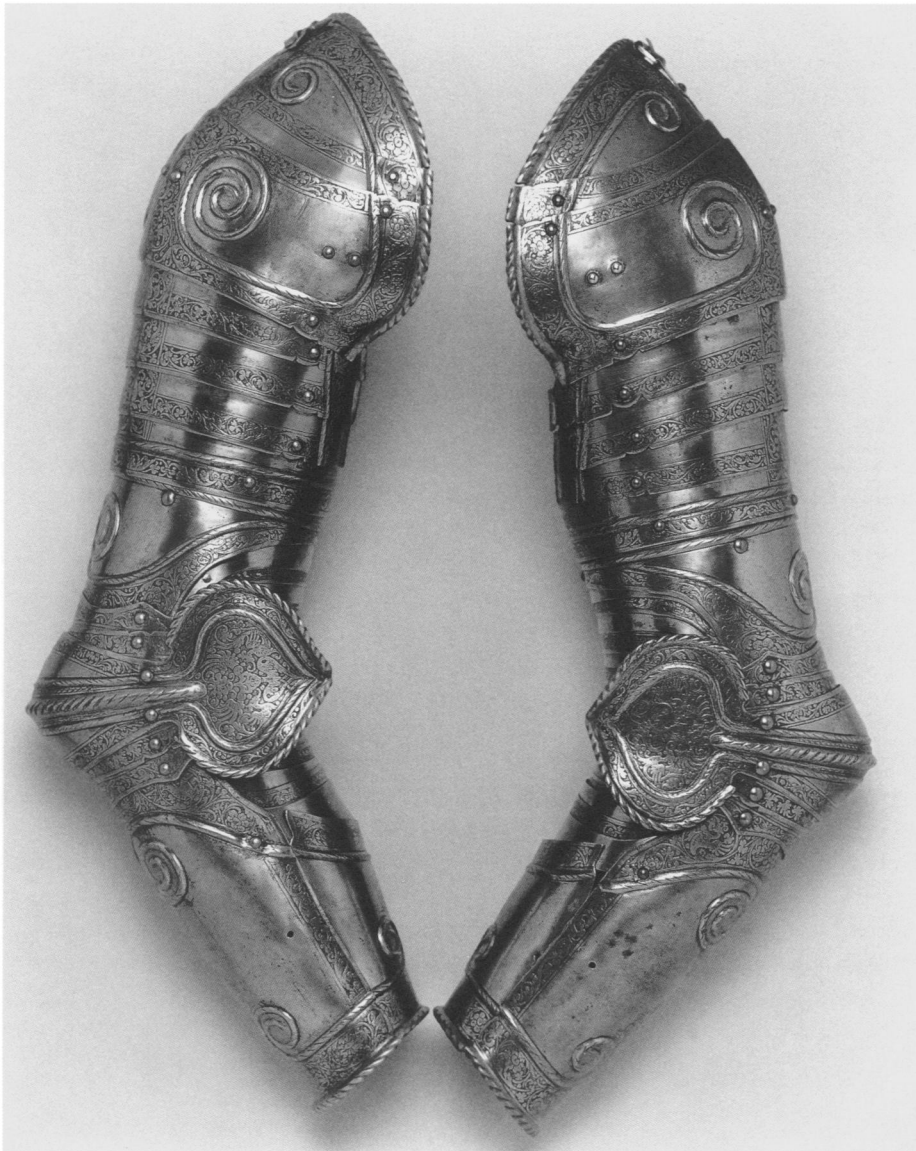


Figure 31. Pair of vambraces, here identified as belonging to the Wilton armor, Italian, ca. 1544. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, no. 67399 (photo: The Royal Collection © 2003, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

the finished rear edges of the ninth lame from the top (fourth from the bottom), where the etched ornament ends in an etched line following the edge, the six lames above it, which lack the finished edge, have been trimmed at the sides. Thus the armor originally either lacked gussets altogether or had different ones. Crude cutting along the bottom edge of the last pauldron lame, just above the couter, suggests a slight shortening of the arm. The purpose of the new bottom tasset lame is unclear. The tassets may once have consisted of a series of ten continuously leathered lames, without any division.⁵⁶

Other losses and alterations are probably of later date and may have been made at Wilton House in the nineteenth century when the armors were apparently refurbished and remounted.⁵⁷ When the armor appeared at auction in 1917, the top front collar lame

was already noticed as belonging to a different harness. The substitute plate is in fact the lower front lame of the gorget, otherwise lost, for the Wilton armor traditionally ascribed to the duc de Montpensier that is now in Philadelphia. This lame was removed in 1963 and was replaced by the present collar lame of more appropriate type made by the Metropolitan Museum's armorer, Leonard Heinrich. At the same time Heinrich replaced the missing lame near the bottom of the breastplate, whose absence was evident owing to the irregular diminution of the central etched band, and he restrapped the cuirass and tassets.

The left cheekpiece has been altered, apparently because of damage, which necessitated some trimming of the upper edge. This repair required the reshaping of the back edge of the cheekpiece, where crude hammer marks are readily visible, and the reset-



Figure 32. Detail of the left couler of the vambraces in Figure 31 (photo: The Royal Collection © 2003, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

ting of the cheekpiece on its original hinge, using two additional rivets. The cheekpieces have also lost their chin lames and the gauntlets their thumb and finger lames, as already noted. The left gauntlet and left cuisse appear to have been chemically cleaned, almost to the white metal, sometime before 1917, when the differences in color of these elements was clearly visible in the photograph published in the sale catalogue, whose text commented on the ill-advised restoration of the cuisse. Many of the original gilt steel rivets have since been replaced with modern ones of brass, particularly those on the restrapped cuirass. With the exception of the fragments of textile remaining at the top of the cuisses and inside the right gauntlet, and portions of the lining straps in the helmet and buffe, the armor's original fittings have been lost. The present red velvet-covered straps are modern replacements, whereas fifteen of the twenty-two gilt-steel buckles are original, these being noteworthy for their finely worked moldings.

The Windsor Vambraces

The Metropolitan's armor was originally equipped with a second pair of vambraces, mentioned in the Royal Armouries inventory of 1555, which were identified a few years ago in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle by our late colleague A. V. B. Norman (Figures 31–33). Cited again in the inventories of the Royal Armouries from 1611, where they continued to be identified as Henry VIII's, these vambraces are very likely the ones recorded as having been transferred from the Tower of London to Windsor in 1688.⁵⁸



Figure 33. Detail of the left lower vambrace of the vambraces in Figure 31 (photo: The Royal Collection © 2003, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

The Windsor vambraces are symmetrical and each consists of the following elements permanently riveted together as a single unit: a shallow caplike pauldron, or "spaudler," of six lames; a turning joint fitted onto the upper vambrace, the two plates completely encircling the upper arm; a couler with transverse roped rib across the center and a small heart-shaped wing articulated above and below by two lames, with the bend of the elbow filled by eleven narrow telescoping lames; and a lower vambrace of two hinged plates originally closed by a strap and buckle. There is a low medial ridge extending down the outside of the pauldron. The free edges are turned over wire and roped and are followed by a raised roped ridge that ends in pairs of confronted spirals on the first and third lames of the pauldron, on the upper vambrace, at the point of the elbow, and on both plates of the

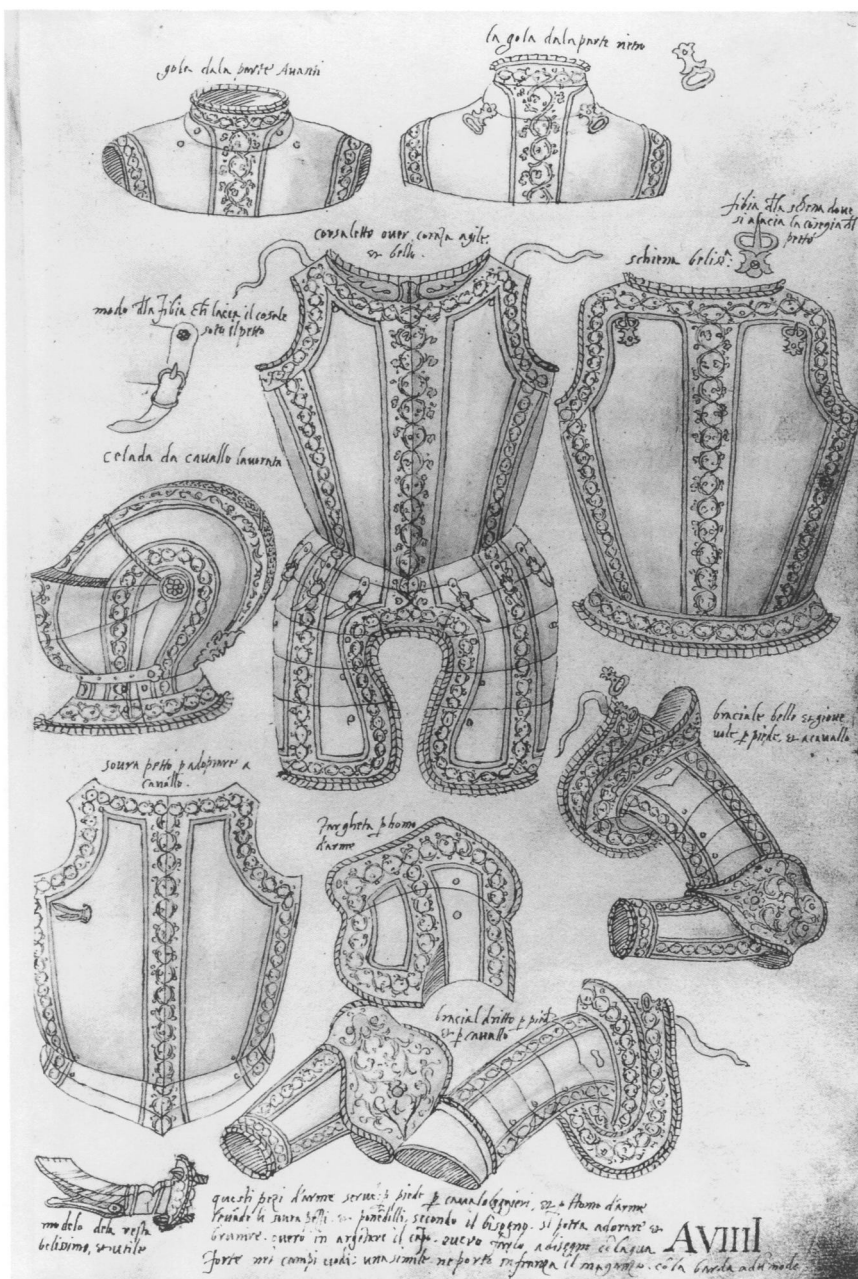


Figure 34. Filippo Orsoni (Italian, recorded 1540–59). Elements of a small garniture of armor, from an album of pen and wash designs dated 1554. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, E.1725-2031-1929 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

lower vambrace (at top and bottom of outer plates and at bottom of the inner plates). The engaged edges of the lames are cut around the rivets and the outermost articulating lames above and below the couter have a decorative bracket-cut in the center. The etched decoration consists of narrow bands of foliate scrolls, human figures, dogs, dragons, and masks on a plain ground, corresponding closely to that on the Metropolitan's armor. For example, the full-face term flanked by "bearded" dragons etched on the wing of the couter (Figure 32) echoes the very similar motif on the fourth lame of the Wilton breast-

plate (Figure 23). But unlike the armor in New York, the Windsor vambraces are now severely overcleaned, leaving no evidence of the original black, hammer-rough surface and only traces of gilding, mostly on the left arm. They have also been releathered and riveted, and the buckles at the top of each pauldron are replacements.

The vambraces also exhibit some notable differences in form, construction, and decoration from those of the Wilton armor. In the first place, they offer an alternative and less frequently encountered type of vambrace intended for field use, with smaller symmet-

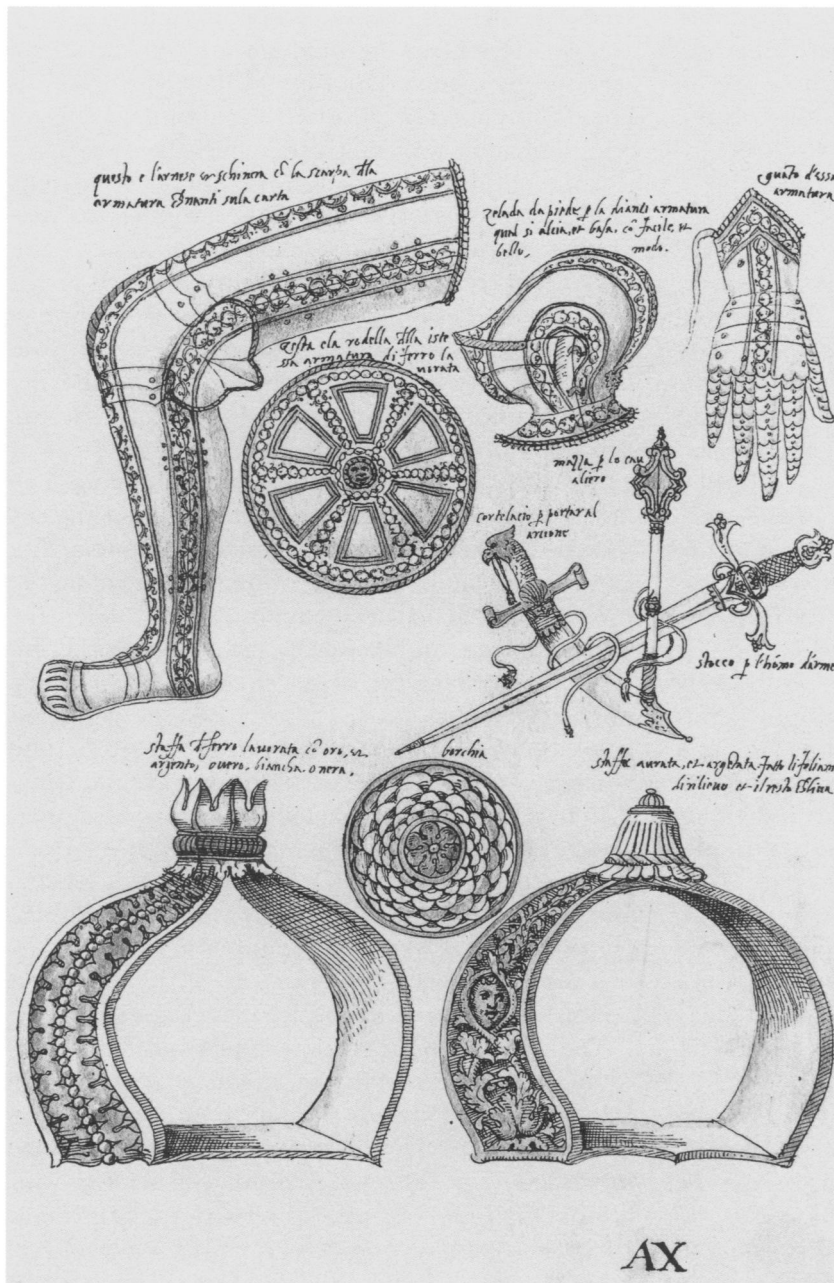


Figure 35. Additional elements comprising a small garniture of armor from the Orsoni album in Figure 34 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

rical “spaulder” pauldrons that cover only the outer part of the shoulder and with closed elbow joints. Unlike the Wilton vambraces, in which the couer is joined to the upper and lower cannons by internal leathers, the Windsor vambraces are integral, with the couer attached by means of small articulating lames. Both types of construction were commonplace by this date. A conventional turning joint—a feature noticeably absent on the Wilton armor—connects the lower edge of the pauldron to the top of the upper vambrace, the latter being slotted in the Italian fashion so as to allow the arm to rotate independent of the paul-

dron. The two plates forming the lower vambrace are joined on the inner side by a single internal hinge rather than the two external hinges as on the Wilton armor. The bracket-cut edges on the couer lames are found nowhere on the armor in New York. The raised volutes are of the more tightly scrolled type, like those found only on the main plate of the Wilton pauldrons. The Windsor vambraces also introduce new motifs into the etched ornament, including dolphins, a variant type of repeating foliate band consisting of an undulating branch issuing a single leaf at each turn, and secondary panels of decoration with foliage and

grotesques set between the scrolls. Despite the differences, however, the Windsor vambraces are otherwise so close in style to the Wilton armor that we see no reason to question their association with it in the Royal Armouries inventory of 1555.

"Small Garniture"

On initial examination the Wilton armor appears to be a light field armor for use on horse (with the now-missing placard and lance-rest) and, as necessary, on foot (without cuisses and buffe). However, the presence of divisible tassets, the existence of the placard and pauldron reinforce (now missing), and the second pair of field vambraces at Windsor suggest that it was probably an Italian "small garniture," the modern term for a harness furnished with a limited number of exchange or reinforcing pieces that allowed it to be configured for several types of mounted (or field) use as well as service on foot.⁵⁹

The canonical Italian "small garniture" of the mid-sixteenth century was illustrated by the Mantuan artist Filippo Orsoni (recorded 1540–59), whose album of designs for armor, sword hilts, and horse equipment exists in several manuscript copies with individual pages dated 1551, 1554, and 1557.⁶⁰ The copy in the Victoria and Albert Museum contains two pages illustrating and labeling the components of the small garniture (Figures 34, 35). The Italian inscription on the first page translates in part: "These pieces of armor are used for foot, for light horse, and for the man-at-arms, taking the desired and available pieces according to need."⁶¹

Three principal types of harnesses can be composed from the elements Orsoni illustrates. The basic unit, involving the smallest number of pieces, was the infantry armor (*corsaletto da piedi*), for use on foot, which comprised a burgonet, gorget, breastplate with tassets, backplate, pauldrons, complete arm defenses, and gauntlets, together with an optional shield. A lance-rest and leg defenses were unnecessary. A light field armor (*armatura da cavallo leggero*) required the addition of a buffe to close the face of the burgonet, a placard with lance-rest, and leg armor. A heavy field armor (*armatura da cavallo* or *armatura per uomo d'arme*), for the man-at-arms, used a close helmet rather than a burgonet and an added pauldron reinforce and possibly haute-pieces.⁶²

It must be emphasized that Orsoni did not invent the garniture but was merely recording a type of armor already in use for some years and that there must have been variations on the small garniture based on the needs and preferences of the armorers' clients. In fact, no complete garniture matching

Orsoni's scheme appears to survive from the 1540s or 1550s, after which the small garniture of this type seems to have gone out of use in Italy. The armor of Paolo Giordano Orsini, about 1555, in the Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, exemplifies the type.⁶³

Although it does not conform strictly to Orsoni's model, the Wilton armor could be considered a type of small garniture. The (former) presence of a pauldron reinforce, an element typically associated in this period with heavy field armors, suggests that the Wilton armor originally may have possessed a close helmet, or at least a closed burgonet, the two helmet types traditionally worn by heavy calvary. While the descriptions of the armor in the royal inventories of 1547 and 1555 make no mention of an exchange helmet, other field harnesses worn by the king are recorded as possessing two headpieces, undoubtedly a close helmet and a burgonet with buffe, including the two Greenwich harnesses mentioned above,⁶⁴ for which the king was billed in 1544–45. It is not inconceivable that the close helmet for the Wilton armor was lost, given away, or otherwise became separated from the armor before the king's death.⁶⁵ The absence of lower leg defenses, while appropriate for a light field armor, is unusual for one intended for heavy cavalry use. Exceptions do exist, however, and include the armors of Cosimo I de' Medici, Giacomo Malatesta, and Ascanio Sforza,⁶⁶ all probably Milanese works dating to the 1550s, which are equipped with a close helmet and a breastplate with lance-rest but, like the Wilton armor, have poleyns without attachments for greaves.⁶⁷

The second pair of vambraces at Windsor appears to be unprecedented for an Italian small garniture. While occasionally encountered on Italian field armors dating to the first half of the century, this type of closed vambrace was typically associated with armors for foot combat at the barriers.⁶⁸ Here too exceptions exist, among them the field armor of Ferrante Gonzaga, dating to about 1540,⁶⁹ and that of Cosimo de' Medici (mentioned above). On the other hand, closed vambraces of this type were a familiar feature of Greenwich garnitures and may have been employed in this period for field armors as well as those for tournament use.⁷⁰ The majority of Henry VIII's surviving garnitures were fitted with vambraces of this closed type, leading one to speculate whether the Windsor vambraces might have been made according to the king's specifications only after he had received the armor with its conventional three-part arm defenses. Judging from the construction and decoration of the vambraces, they appear to have been made by the same Italian workshop responsible for the Wilton armor and not by the king's armorers at Greenwich.

To summarize, the Wilton armor is very likely a modified version of the Italian small garniture. From the elements that survive, those that we know were once present, and others that may have accompanied it, three basic armors could be assembled: (1) an infantry armor comprising the pieces found today in the Metropolitan Museum but worn without buffe and cuisses; (2) a light field armor consisting of a burgonet with buffe, cuirass, tassets, and placard with lance-rest (lost), the Windsor vambraces, and cuisses; and (3) a heavy field armor consisting of the pieces used for the light field armor but substituting a close helmet (hypothetical) for the burgonet and the conventional arm defenses preserved in New York for the Windsor vambraces, and adding the pauldron reinforce (lost).

Place and Date of Origin

The literature devoted to the Wilton armor offers two distinct and opposing points of view as regards its place and date of manufacture. The traditional view, defended at the time of the Wilton controversy by the respected authority Baron C. A. de Cosson⁷¹ and steadfastly maintained in later years by Stephen V. Grancsay, curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum, was that the armor belonged to Anne de Montmorency and was made in France shortly before the Battle of Saint-Quentin.⁷² Since Hayward's publication of the Pembroke inventory in 1964, a growing number of scholars have come to accept the Wilton armor as an Italian work made for Henry VIII sometime before the king's death in 1547. Expanding on this view, Ortwin Gamber suggested a date of about 1540–45 and hypothesized that the armor had probably served as a model for the series of small garnitures (some of them animes) in the Italian fashion that were made in subsequent years in the Almain Armoury at Greenwich.⁷³ The identification of the Wilton armor with a royal armor described in the inventories of the Tudor Royal Armouries in 1547 and 1555, proposed in the first part of this article, leaves little doubt that the armor is "of Italian making" and dates to 1544, when the king participated in his last military campaign at the Siege of Boulogne. However, while the English royal provenance is amply supported by documents, no stylistic analysis has been offered to confirm the attribution and date. Indeed, the absence of this important harness from general surveys of Italian armor suggests some lingering uncertainties as to its origin.⁷⁴

Before looking at the Wilton armor in the context of the development of Italian armor, however, it would be appropriate to review the old French attribution.

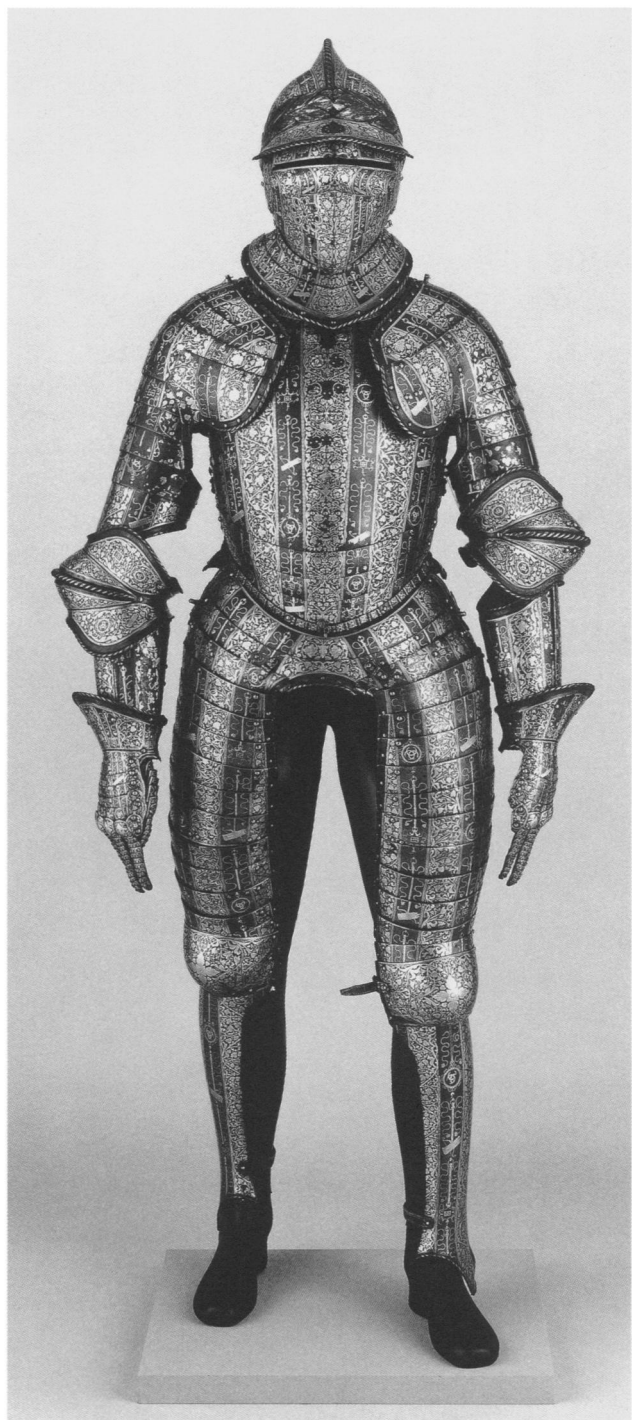


Figure 36. Francesco Negrolì and workshop. Armor of Dauphin Henri of France, later King Henry II, ca. 1540. Musée de l'Armée, Paris, G.118 (photo: © Musée de l'Armée)



Figure 37. Armor of Sebastiano Venier, Italian (possibly Brescia), ca. 1540. Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, A984 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Figure 38. Infantry armor, Italian, dated 1571. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916 (16.154.2)

Promoted by several distinguished scholars and connoisseurs of an earlier generation, the attribution was supported by the belief that the armor had belonged to Anne de Montmorency. This rich and powerful noble would have been likely to patronize the same French workshops that produced magnificently decorated armors for Francis I and his court. As has been noted, the motif of the clasped hands (Figure 23) etched on the breastplate was also viewed by some to be, if not a Montmorency emblem per se, at least a device consistent with the constable's iconography. Cripps-Day even proposed to identify the Wilton armor with one of the *animes* listed in the inventory of the constable's armory in his Paris residence in 1556, shortly before the Battle of Saint-Quentin, despite the generic character of the descriptions.⁷⁵ Since the Montmorency association was based on an old Pembroke tradition that has been demonstrated

to be a romantic fiction, none of these arguments has any substance.

Independent of the putative Montmorency association, a French origin has also been inferred from the armor's anime construction and three-quarter-length form, features often regarded as typically French.⁷⁶ This argument is not without merit, but it can be demonstrated that the same features are found earlier in Italian armor. The anime, for example, appears to have developed in Italy by the late 1530s,⁷⁷ and several *animes* of undoubted Italian manufacture can be dated to the 1540s. Similarly, mid-sixteenth-century field armors of three-quarter length, while apparently never as popular in Italy as in France, were occasionally worn on the peninsula.⁷⁸

Some years after the Wilton controversy Stephen Grancsay offered what he considered persuasive new evidence supporting the traditional Montmorency

association and a French attribution.⁷⁹ Grancsay observed that the decoration of the Wilton armor closely matched that of the harness of the constable's younger son Henri (1534–1614), portions of which are in the Metropolitan Museum, and he concluded that both armors, made for two members of this distinguished French family, must have originated in the same workshop (which he presumed to be French) at about the same time (about 1555, shortly before the Battle of Saint-Quentin). Grancsay's observations as to the relationship between the two armors, at least as regards the similarity of their decoration, are quite correct and are discussed below. On the other hand, as the Wilton armor has a demonstrable English association and Henri de Montmorency's a French one, with as much as a decade separating the manufacture of the two, the similarities, while surprising, appear to be coincidental. Indeed, as noted below, there is no apparent stylistic reason to ascribe either to French manufacture.

Finally, the proponents of a French attribution for the Wilton armor have failed to offer persuasive analysis linking the decoration to that of armors made in France. The Italian, German, and English schools of armor are extensively documented and have been thoroughly studied, but comparatively little is known

about French armor. Some progress, however, has been made in the study of its decoration since Grancsay presented his arguments more than fifty years ago. While it remains difficult to identify French armor in the period before 1550, during which Italian models were closely copied, several distinct groups decorated with embossed or etched ornament, dating to the second half of the century, have been identified.⁸⁰ Perhaps the most obvious characteristic of the finest French armors is the close relationship of their decoration to the Mannerist court styles of Fontainebleau and Paris. The influence of contemporary French prints and book ornament, especially the numerous engravings and drawings produced by the goldsmith and engraver Étienne Delaune (1518/19–1583), is often very pronounced. Nothing in the decoration of the Wilton armor, however, appears to reflect an awareness of French Renaissance art.⁸¹

Finding nothing inherently French in the form, construction, or decoration of the Wilton armor, we therefore see no inconsistency with the Italian provenance attested to in the royal inventory of 1547. On the other hand, it is difficult to identify an exactly comparable Italian harness dating to ca. 1544 because so few examples survive from the 1540s.⁸² In general,



Figure 39. Portion of a field armor, German (probably Augsburg), dated 1524. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Bequest of Bashford Dean, 1928 (29.150.3)



Figure 40. Portions of the armor of Alessandro Vitelli, Italian, ca. 1530. Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, A350 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Figure 41. Detail of etched decoration on a breastplate, ca. 1540, by Giovan Paolo Negroli (ca. 1513–1569). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (14.25.1855)

however, a number of features in the form and construction of the Wilton armor are evident in a handful of Italian armors securely datable to this period. These features include: the shape of the burgonet and especially of the buffe with its row of slotted breaths beneath the upper ridge; the three-part arm defenses with large couters having a roped medial ridge; and tassets of deeply arched section that wrap around the thigh. They are evident on armors made throughout northern Italy in the period, as for example, on harnesses attributed to the Negroli workshops in Milan (Figure 36),⁸³ Caremolo Modrone of Mantua,⁸⁴ and the armorers of Brescia (Figure 37),⁸⁵ as well as representations in contemporary portraits.⁸⁶

The decoration of the Wilton armor, however, with its distinctive raised scrolls and plain-ground etching, offers the strongest evidence for its Italian origin and a date in the 1540s.

Roped ridges and scrolls like those found on most parts of the Wilton armor were the subject of considerable debate during the Wilton controversy as regards their earliest appearance on Italian armor.⁸⁷ Large numbers of Italian armors with roped scrolls (raised or imitated by etching) were made in the period 1560–85 (Figure 38), so much so that this feature can be considered a distinctive Lombard characteristic. Often of modest quality, these harnesses typically are etched with narrow vertical bands filled with a jumble of trophies of arms and have profile heads set within the scrolls on the breastplate, pauldrons, and tassets. Armors of this type are commonly referred to, erroneously, as “Pisan” in popular arms and armor jargon.⁸⁸ Indeed, the volutes on the pauldrons of the Wilton armor helped persuade ffoulkes that the armor was of late sixteenth-century date.⁸⁹ While proponents supporting the traditional Montmorency association concluded that raised scrolls probably did appear on armor before 1557 (when the constable was captured at Saint-Quentin), they could offer no securely dated or documented examples to support their claim.⁹⁰ Similarly, we have been unable to identify in portraits or among extant armors any examples with roped scrolls that can be securely dated to the 1540s, although there is some evidence to suggest that roped scrolls evolved earlier than has hitherto been thought.

The roped treatment of the turned edges of armor plate came into fashion around 1515 and served to strengthen the armor’s edges while enhancing its visual impact and sculptural presence.⁹¹ Secondary roped ridges raised within the plate, like those on the Wilton armor, served similar purposes and appear to have originated in Germany in the 1520s. One of the earliest examples to exhibit this feature is an incomplete south German field armor, now in the Metropolitan Museum, which is etched in the style of Daniel Hopfer of Augsburg and dated 1524 (Figure 39).⁹²

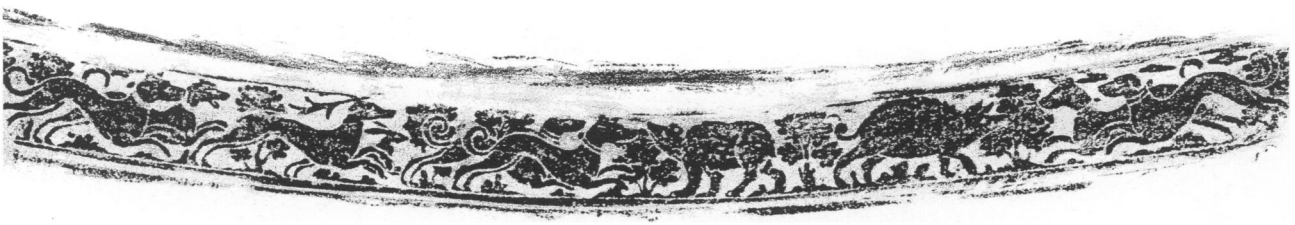


Figure 42. Rubbing of the etched decoration at the top of the breastplate of the armor in Figure 40, showing pairs of running dogs

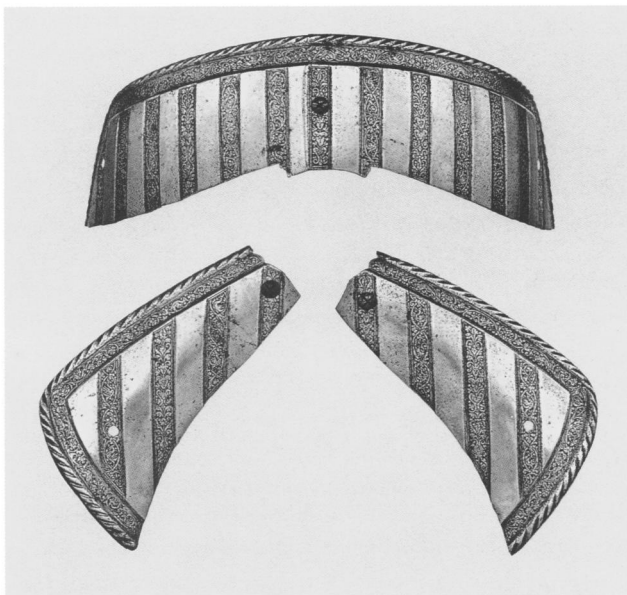


Figure 43. Saddle steels, Italian, ca. 1540–45. Royal Armouries, Leeds, VI.121, 122 (photo: The Trustees of the Armouries)

Here roped ridges frame the etched borders of the main plates, and there is a pair of roped volutes on each pauldron. We know of only one comparable Italian armor of this period to employ ridges of this type, that of the condottiere Alessandro Vitelli (died 1557), which dates about 1530, though none of the ridges terminates in volutes (Figure 40).⁹³ The fully developed volutes on the Wilton armor appear to be unique for the 1540s, as the first recorded examples of Italian armors with roped ridges and scrolls date to the following decade.⁹⁴

The confronted scrolls on the sides of the Wilton burgonet (Figures 6, 7) are recessed and etched (not raised and roped), a feature for which there are several comparable examples. Similar scrolls are found on the bowl of an armet associated with a field armor of the 1530s in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris,⁹⁵ and on the close helmet of about 1540 belonging to the armor of Ferrante Gonzaga (1507–1557) in Vienna,⁹⁶ as well as on several burgonets of the period.⁹⁷

The etched decoration of the Wilton armor, distinctive both in its technique and ornament, is therefore important in establishing where and when the armor was made. The plain recessed ground is readily distinguished from the early style of Italian armor etching from before about 1525, which generally employed a hatched background like that found in contemporary prints, or from most later sixteenth-century etched ornament, which favored backgrounds covered with dots or loops. Although encountered only occasionally, plain-ground etching appears to be typical of the 1540s.⁹⁸

The largest and most coherent group of armors employing a similar style of plain-ground etching are



Figure 44. Detail of the rear cantle of the saddle steels in Figure 43, showing a running dog (photo: The Trustees of the Armouries)



Figure 45. Left half of the rear cantle of a saddle, Italian, ca. 1540–45. Royal Armouries, Leeds, VI.114 (photo: The Trustees of the Armouries)

the embossed harnesses made in the 1540s by, or at least attributed to, Giovan Paolo Negroli (ca. 1513–1569) of Milan.⁹⁹ While the main surfaces of Giovan Paolo's armors are decorated with classically inspired acanthus foliage and grotesques in high relief, the edges of the plates are often etched with bands of straight or scrolling foliage. Figural decoration is rare, though a breastplate in the Metropolitan Museum, which is the only surviving work signed by Giovan Paolo, is etched across the top with a frieze of tritons and Nereids (Figure 41). While we can identify no single motif shared by the Negroli armors and the Wilton harness, the general similarity of their etching suggests that the Wilton armor very likely also originated in Milan in the 1540s.

Six examples of Italian armor can be identified in which the decoration is even more specifically linked to that of the Wilton armor. The earliest is the aforementioned armor of Alessandro Vitelli (Figure 40). The plates are decorated with vertical bands of trophies of arms and musical instruments which alternate with bands of foliate scrolls inhabited by birds, beasts, grotesques, and nude male figures. Between the motifs are scattered occasional large dots. The decoration is of the highest quality and most imaginative design and must have been specially created for its owner. While the foliate decoration is generally close in style to that of the Wilton armor, the frieze of leaping dogs with ringed collars chasing stags, bear, and boar on the recessed bands across the top of the breastplate and backplate (Figure 42) is very similar to that on the upper face plate of the Wilton buffe (Figure 24). The two armors are also linked by the fact that the gilt buckles with ridged moldings on the tassets of the Vitelli harness appear to match exactly those on the Wilton armor. Despite the decade or more that separates these two armors, and the obvious differences in form and construction, it seems pos-

sible that they were both made in the same north Italian center, where common sources of decoration and furnishings like buckles were readily available.

The second example is a set of saddle steels in the Royal Armouries (Figure 43).¹⁰⁰ The set consists of two of the original three front steels (the center one is missing) and the two rear cantle plates. The plates are decorated with a series of narrow recessed vertical bands that are etched and fire-gilt with symmetrical candelabra and grotesque ornament alternating with interlaced foliate scrolls inhabited by birds, with an occasional large dot amid the ornament; the background is plain and blackened for contrast and the raised areas between the bands are polished bright. The recessed band around the roped edge is etched with a continuous foliate scroll inhabited by birds and leaping dogs with collars (Figure 44), the latter matching exactly those on the Vitelli and Wilton armors.

The third example is a rear cantle of a saddle, for which the front plates are missing, which is also in the Royal Armouries.¹⁰¹ The two-piece cantle is decorated with close-set vertical bands alternately raised and recessed, the surfaces etched and gilt overall. The raised bands are etched with scrolling foliage terminating at the ends with dolphins, all against a dotted ground, while the recessed bands are etched with a symmetrical design of foliage and candelabra ornament on a plain background. On the left side the plain-ground etching incorporates a fluted vase with S-shaped handles (Figure 45) and on the right side a term with foliate arms and an oval face framed by petals. The former motif is generally similar to vases etched on the breast- and backplate of the Wilton armor, while the latter is especially reminiscent of the figure on the comb of the Wilton burgonet.

While the decoration with multiple narrow bands on both sets of saddle steels differs from that of the

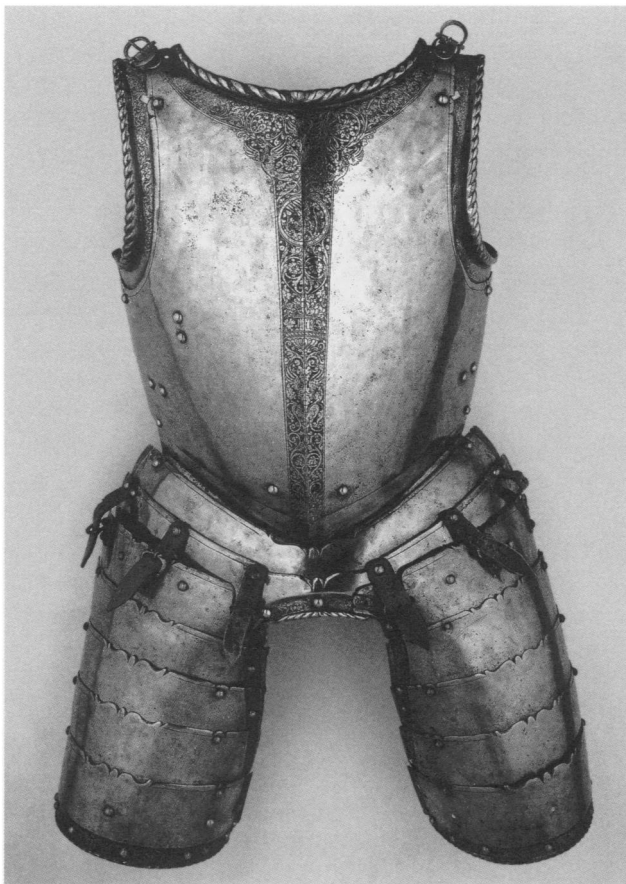


Figure 46. Portions of a field armor, Italian, ca. 1540–45. The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Z.O.3973 (photo: The State Hermitage)

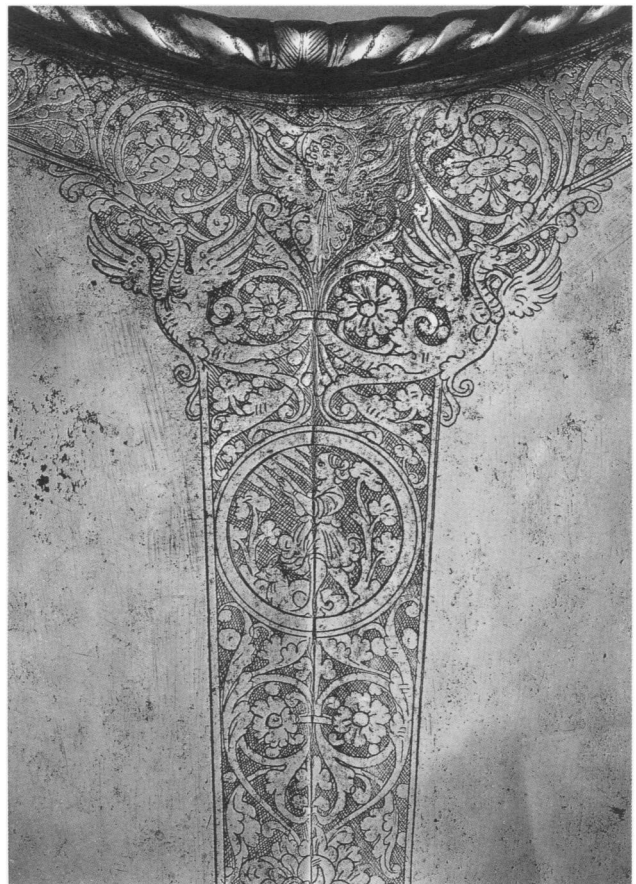


Figure 47. Detail of the decoration of the breastplate in Figure 46, showing the figure of Hope (photo: The State Hermitage)

Wilton armor, the style of etching and choice of motifs suggest a close connection. Indeed, they also appear to be linked by a common provenance. These two sets of saddle steels are very likely to have been in the Royal Armouries since the sixteenth century and are probably among those listed in the postmortem inventory of Henry VIII's possessions, where steels generally matching their description are cited among the armor at Westminster and at Greenwich: "Item in Trees for Saddelles plated with stele and parcell guilte and grauen v paier. / Item in like Trees plated with Stele and guilte and grauen j paier. / Item Stele plates for a Saddell parcell grauen & guilte."¹⁰²

Given the close similarity of decoration of the first-mentioned steels vi.121,122 to that of the Wilton armor, it is possible that they were the very ones associated with the armor when it was described in the 1555 inventory as being mounted on a horse with "a stele Saddle parcell guilte" with what may have been a matching "Crinet and Shafron p[ar]cell guilte." In any event, it seems reasonable to conclude that both sets of steels are of Italian origin and are contempo-

rary with the Wilton armor and that they may very well have entered the Royal Armouries in the same way, perhaps supplied by Francis Albert "Millonour."

The fourth example is an incomplete field armor of about 1540–45 in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, which consists of a breastplate with short tassets (Figure 46), pauldrons, and vambraces.¹⁰³ The breastplate is decorated with a single etched band down the center that expands at the top and continues around the neck. The decoration consists of candelabra ornament, foliage, and grotesques very similar to that of the Wilton armor but set against a cross-hatched ground. Near the top of the center band on the breastplate is a medallion enclosing a personification of Hope, facing left, her praying hands raised upward to rays descending from the sky, with leafy bushes or trees to the sides (Figure 47). The figure is clearly based on the same model as that on the plume-holder of the Wilton armor (Figure 26), suggesting that both were copied from the same workshop pattern book and may even have been etched by the same master.



Figure 48. Domenicus Custos after Giovanni Battista Fontana. Henri I de Montmorency, wearing an Italian armor of ca. 1550–55. Engraving published in Jakob Schrenck von Notzing, *Armamentarium Heroicum*, Innsbruck, 1603. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913

The fifth comparative example, by far the most important, is the armor of Henri I de Montmorency (1534–1614), the younger son of Constable Anne. Housed for over two centuries in the Armory of Heroes formed by Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–1595) at Schloss Ambras, near Innsbruck, the harness today is divided among three museums on two continents. The history and vicissitudes of this important armor await a more specialized study, but the relationship of the two armors can be examined here.

The only known pictorial record of Henri de Montmorency's armor when still intact is the engraving by Domenicus Custos after drawings by Giovanni Battista Fontana in Jakob Schrenck von Notzing's *Armamentarium Heroicum* (Figure 48), the illustrated catalogue of Archduke Ferdinand's collection, the Latin edition of which was published in 1601 and the German edition in 1603.¹⁰⁴ The armor comprises the following elements: the gorget and cuirass in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris; the pauldrons and vambraces, together with the left tasset and left leg defense, consisting of a cuisse with poleyn and a greave, in the

Museo Stibbert, Florence; and both gauntlets, the right tasset, and the complete right leg defense in the Metropolitan Museum.¹⁰⁵ The closed burgonet associated with the armor since the sixteenth century and illustrated in the engraving is also preserved in the Musée de l'Armée but its decoration does not match the rest of the armor.

Like the Wilton armor, Henri de Montmorency's harness was intended for use in the field, though it is of more conventional construction, having a solid cuirass, short tassets, and complete leg defenses. The two armors also share certain distinctive features of form and construction, especially the arm and leg defenses. The pauldrons and upper vambraces of both harnesses have a pronounced medial ridge down the outside, they lack the turning cannon that often joins the pauldron to the upper vambrace, and the couters of both are extremely large and of similar form, with a transverse roped rib across the center. The left pauldron of each is pierced with a threaded hole for the attachment of a reinforce. The cuisses are also boxed on the outer sides and have poleyns with roped ridges down the middle and across the outer sides, with a deep angular pucker in the center of the wing.

The technique, style, and individual motifs of the plain-ground etched decoration of Wilton armor are in large part repeated on that of Henri de Montmorency. The wide band of ornament extending down the center of the main plates is symmetrically arranged about the center and consists of continuous intertwining foliage supporting human and grotesque figures, animals, masks, and trophies of arms. The decoration also includes medallions enclosing profile heads, sometimes in pairs, a classically inspired feature of Renaissance ornament that is occasionally found in early sixteenth-century Milanese armor decoration¹⁰⁶ and again in the second half of the century. The secondary bands on both armors—those to the left and right of center on the breast- and backplates, on the front and back of the pauldrons, and down the outer sides of the cuisses—are etched with large continuous foliate scrolls inhabited by the similar grotesque figures, birds, and running dogs with collars. In several areas on the Henri de Montmorency harness, notably at the top of the breastplate and backplate, in the angles formed by the intersection of the central band and the transverse band across the top, and of the same transverse band and the bands parallel to gussets, there are small secondary panels of scrollwork like those on the exchange vambraces at Windsor (Figure 33) but which are absent on the armor in New York. Similarly, the simple band of scrolling foliage etched around the armholes of the breastplate and backplate in Paris closely approximates



Figure 49. Decoration, including a pair of running dogs, on the back of the right pauldron of the armor represented in Figure 48. Opera Museo Stibbert, Florence, 3962 (photo: Opera Museo Stibbert)



Figure 50. Detail of clasped hands on the left pauldron of the armor represented in Figure 48 (photo: Opera Museo Stibbert)



Figure 51. Portions of a field armor of anime construction, Italian, ca. 1550–60. Musée de l'Armée, Paris, G.139 (photo: © Musée de l'Armée)

the decoration found on the inner articulating couter lames of the Windsor vambraces, a motif that, again, does not occur on the Wilton armor. The etched ornament is gilt against a plain recessed ground, and the undecorated surfaces between the bands are polished bright.

In addition to the general character of the ornament the decoration of the two armors includes many of the same motifs. The leaping dogs on the buffe, breastplate, and gauntlets of the Wilton armor reappear in pairs on each of the side bands on the breastplate and backplate, on the back of the right pauldron (Figure 49), and on the rear plate of each greave of the Henri de Montmorency armor. Other shared motifs include winged harpies (seen full face or in profile, some of them with “beards”), birds, masks with lappets around the edges, vases of flowers, and winged putti. Snails and trophies of arms, minor details found on the Wilton armor, also recur on the

Montmorency harness near the top of the backplate and on the poleyns, respectively. The unusual geometric motif of rectilinear strapwork found on the articulating lames of the Wilton poleyns is repeated on the poleyns of the Montmorency armor.

Finally, and most important, one finds on the top lame of the left pauldron of the Henri de Montmorency armor, partly concealed beneath the buckle for the shoulder strap and now badly rubbed, an etched medallion enclosing two clasped hands (Figure 50), the very same motif found on the Wilton breastplate (Figure 23). The position of the hands and the type of scallop-edged cuff from which they emerge are identical on both. The small size of this motif on both armors and its almost hidden location on the Montmorency harness are convincing indicators that the clasped hands motif has nothing to do with personal iconography of the owner or even the thematic program of the decoration. Its presence on



Figure 52. Detail of male figures on the breastplate of the armor in Figure 51 (photo: © Musée de l'Armée)



Figure 53. Detail of dogs on the left lower vambrace of the armor in Figure 51 (photo: © Musée de l'Armée)

both armors together with the other points of comparison suggest a common source of origin.

It is readily apparent that, while the manufacture of the Montmorency armor is of high quality, its etched decoration is decidedly inferior in design and technique to that from Wilton. The etched bands on the Montmorency armor are wider and the motifs proportionally larger and more generously spaced, with a diminished concern for the precise rendering of the individual forms. Presuming that the contemporary identification of the armor as having belonged to Henri de Montmorency is correct, it is unlikely to have been made before 1550, when Henri turned sixteen; it seems equally unlikely that the armor dates after 1560, by which time Italian armors tended to have smaller couters and displayed a different style of etching. The long slim breastplate has an evenly arched profile that would be consistent with a date around 1550. It would appear, then, that the workshop responsible for the king's harness in the 1540s was still active and producing armors of much the same type at the beginning of the next decade.

The final example for comparison is an Italian anime dating about 1550–60 in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris (G.139; Figure 51).¹⁰⁷ Now incomplete, the matching elements comprise a cuirass with tassets, complete arm defenses, and gauntlets; its close helmet and leg armor are missing. The Paris armor shares many features found on the Wilton armor: the anime is constructed with lames of shallow V-shape having a shallow notch in the center; it was designed for field use with a placard fitted with a lance-rest (missing) and a reinforce for the left pauldron (also missing, but a threaded hole remains for its attachment); the arms are similarly constructed (but with a turning

joint) with large single-plate couters; roped ridges follow the edges of the pauldrons, couters, gauntlets, and tassets, those on the pauldrons and tassets ending in spirals; and the etched decoration, which is well drawn, employs a very similar repertory of figural and vegetal motifs, formerly gilt, on a plain recessed and blackened ground. The ornament includes winged putti and nude men, harpylike grotesques, scalloped-edged masks, and birds, as well as a style of foliage generally similar to that found on the Wilton armor. Medallions enclosing profile heads like those on the armor of Henri de Montmorency are present on the vambraces.

Certain elements of decoration on the Paris anime are remarkably close to those of the Wilton armor. Running figures in the medial band of its breastplate (Figure 52) are very like those on the Wilton backplate (Figure 18). The type of nude figure, with its curly hair, accentuated breast, and often indistinct sex (though apparently male), is found on both harnesses. The decoration on the outside of the lower vambraces with collared dogs at wrist level (Figure 53) and with a full face term above the conjoined scrolls echoes similar decoration on the Windsor vambraces (Figure 33). A wreathlike band of dense foliage etched on the gussets repeats that on the waistband of the Wilton breastplate and backplate.

The dense rendering of the ornament on the Paris anime, where little of the background is visible; the presence of secondary motifs like stylized flowers and naturalistic leaves, which run along the outer edges of the vertical bands and project into the spaces between them; and the dense scrollwork that covers the face of the couters are features that point to a style of Italian armor decoration that postdates that on the Wilton

armor by as much as a decade. As several other Italian armors decorated in this fashion are preserved in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, and in the armory of the Knights of Saint John at Malta, it is likely that they were made in Italy for export.¹⁰⁸

In spite of the obvious differences in their appearance and the span of twenty-five years that they cover, these six examples are nevertheless linked to one another and to the Wilton armor by the common use of certain decorative motifs. The recurrence of the running dogs on the Vitelli armor, the Wilton armor, one set of saddle steels in the Royal Armouries, and the Montmorency armor in Paris is noteworthy, as is the appearance of the figure of Hope on the plume-holder of the Wilton armor and on the breastplate of the armor in the Hermitage, and of the clasped hands on the Wilton armor and that of Henri de Montmorency. These motifs are distinctive enough not to be coincidental, which suggests that the etchers of these armors probably came from the same city, perhaps the same workshop, and had access to a shared repertory of designs, probably pattern books. Unfortunately, none of these armors bears a mark or signature, and none is sufficiently documented to indicate where or by whom they were made. There can be little doubt, however, that they originated in either Milan or Brescia, rival arms-manufacturing centers in northern Italy.

Milan had been the principal armor-producing center in Italy since the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁹ Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Milanese armorers enjoyed international fame, their products setting the standard and the fashion for the rest of Europe. Milanese merchants, or "milliners," like Francis Albert, traveled extensively and facilitated the ordering and supply of harness to entire nations as well as to individual aristocratic clients. When in 1511 Henry VIII decided to establish a workshop in England to make armors for himself, his courtiers, and foreign dignitaries, he turned to Milan as a source for skilled armorers.¹¹⁰

Despite the presence of the Almain Armoury at Greenwich, English noblemen continued to acquire armors from Milan through the sixteenth century. In May 1552, for example, a large shipment of luxury goods was prepared in Milan for export to England, the list of items including richly decorated armors and weapons by some of the city's leading armorers, cutlers, and damasceners.¹¹¹ The 1558 inventory of the first earl of Pembroke included "a millayne dimilance graven and gilt" and "a tilte millayne armo^r wth his furniture graven and p[ar]cell gilde,"¹¹² harnesses that were undoubtedly custom-made for his personal use.

It is very probable, therefore, that a royal harness of excellent quality like the Wilton armor was also of Milanese manufacture. The Negroli family, who supplied elaborately embossed and damascened parade armors to Emperor Charles V, King Henry II of France, and a host of Italian princes in the 1530s and 1540s, enjoyed immense renown. More specifically, the plain-ground etching of the Wilton armor is sufficiently similar to that on the armors made by Giovan Paolo Negroli in the 1540s to associate it with Milan. If it could be demonstrated conclusively that armor had been acquired by the king through the offices of the Milanese merchant Francis Albert, there would be little doubt as to its origin. Unfortunately, an extensive search of the records for the period 1543–45 in the Archivio di Stato, Milan, has failed to uncover any mention of it.¹¹³ The Spanish administration of Milan kept careful records, and this lack of documentation suggests that the armor is unlikely to have been officially commissioned and licensed for export. If it was privately commissioned, a contract or payment may eventually be located in the notarial archives.

The alternative source of manufacture is the city of Brescia, which, since the fifteenth century, was controlled by the Venetian state and made its reputation as a mass-producer of munition armors for ordinary troops and as a manufacturer and supplier of firearms.¹¹⁴ In 1544, for example, Venice approved the sale to England of 1,500 harquebuses (matchlock) guns and a like number of armors for either mounted or infantry service, these presumably intended to arm troops for the planned invasion of France.¹¹⁵ Little is known about the production of high-quality Brescian armors, those individually designed and fitted for the senior officers and aristocratic clients. In 1534, however, the Venetian senate granted permission for the duke of Norfolk and four other Englishmen to purchase armor, apparently bulletproof, from Brescia, voting at the same time to make a gift of the armors.¹¹⁶ Thus better-quality Brescian armor, like that from Milan, was probably regularly imported into England throughout the reign of Henry VIII.

Two finely decorated infantry armors, both made in the 1540s, have repeatedly been identified as Brescian based on the identity of their owners. One of these was made for Sebastiano Venier, the future doge of Venice, now in Vienna (Figure 37),¹¹⁷ and the other for Girolamo Martinengo of Brescia, in the Armeria Reale, Turin.¹¹⁸ The former is assumed to be Brescian because of the established custom of acquiring in that city the armor and weapons intended for Venetian service. The latter is attributed to Brescia because of the

social and military prominence of the Martinengo family in their native city. There is, however, no independent confirmation of a Brescian origin for either. Both are decorated with narrow recessed bands etched and gilt with candelabra and grotesque ornament. The background of the etching on the Venier armor is finely dotted, while that on the Martinengo armor has large, space-filling dots. While the vocabulary of ornament employed in the decoration of these harnesses is generally similar to that of the Wilton armor, it includes none of the specific motifs, such as running dogs or clasped hands, that would link them directly.¹¹⁹

In the absence of any record identifying the source of the king's armor and lacking a well-documented series of armors of certain Milanese and Brescian origin in this period, it seems prudent for the time being to identify the Wilton armor simply as of north Italian origin.

CONCLUSION

Associated for more than two centuries with the name of Anne de Montmorency, the Metropolitan's armor can now be securely identified as having been made for Henry VIII. The royal provenance is established by descriptions of the armor in the inventories of the Tudor Royal Armouries of 1547 and 1555 and then in the Pembroke inventory of 1558, following the gift of the armor to the first earl and its transfer to Wilton House. The royal provenance is further supported by the discoveries of brass studs in the form of Tudor roses on the backplate, the red and yellow textile trimmings, and the exchange vambraces of matching design still in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. The size of the armor, its construction, and its style of decoration indicate that it must date from the last years of the monarch's reign. That it is a field armor intended for battle rather than sport points to its having been made for Henry's last campaign, the Siege of Boulogne, in 1544. The extensive alterations, which were apparently made by the king's Almain armorers, confirm that the harness was adapted for Henry's use. It would thus appear that the Wilton armor is the latest in an impressive series of royal harnesses—the majority of them preserved in England, either in the Royal Armouries at Leeds and the Tower of London or in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle—that document in carapaces of steel the transformation of a slim, athletic monarch to an aging king who was grossly overweight and beset by ill health.

The description of the armor in the inventory of 1547 as "of italion makinge" puts to rest the long-held

opinion of its French manufacture and allows it to be appreciated as a rare documented example of Italian armor dating to the 1540s. It may now also be accepted as an early anime, a "small garniture," and a forerunner to the well-known series of armors embellished with roped ridges and volutes that came into fashion a decade later. The armor may also have served as a prototype for the series of small garnitures, many of anime construction, that were made at Greenwich in the 1550s.

The identification of the Wilton armor as Henry VIII's brings to a total of five royal armors in the Metropolitan Museum¹²⁰ and immeasurably strengthens its holdings of armor made in England, or associated with English owners, which is unrivaled outside Britain.¹²¹ The latter category includes several sturdy early sixteenth-century tournament helmets from English funerary monuments, including one made for Sir Giles Capel (1485–1556), whose manufacture—whether English, Flemish, or Italian—is still debated. The Metropolitan's collection is best known, however, for its richly decorated Greenwich harnesses, including those made for Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke (1534–1601), about 1585; the garniture of George Clifford, third earl of Cumberland (1558–1605), about 1586; and two armors made for Sir James Scudamore (1558–1619) in about 1587 and 1590, respectively. Among the later Greenwich works are a gauntlet for the left hand belonging to the armor for field and tournament of Henry, Prince of Wales (1594–1612), made about 1610, which is preserved in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, and a pair of gauntlets belonging to the armor made as a gift for Prince Friedrich Ulrich of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel in 1610–13, now in a private collection. The finest of the Museum's English armors is without doubt the richly etched and gilt harness dated 1527, which, like the Wilton armor, was once thought to have been made for a Frenchman—Galiot de Genouilhac, master of artillery under Francis I of France—and was long considered to be of French or Italian workmanship.¹²² Recent scholarship has demonstrated that this armor is without doubt the product of the Almain Armoury at Greenwich and was very probably made for the king, who is recorded by a contemporary chronicler as having appeared in a Shrovetide tournament in London in 1526/27 wearing "a new harness all gylte of a strange fashion that had not been seen."¹²³ While further discussion of the much-debated "Genouilhac" armor must await a forthcoming monograph on the Museum's Greenwich armors, it seems likely now that the Museum does indeed possess two armors that belonged to England's Henry VIII.¹²⁴

APPENDIX

*The growth of a legend: the origins of the story that two of the armors at Wilton House had belonged to the ducs de Montmorency and Montpensier*¹²⁵

A story that armors at Wilton were loot from the Battle of Saint-Quentin, August 10, 1557, was clearly already current by at least the middle of the seventeenth century, since Aubrey refers to it (see pp. 95–96). An inventory of the contents of the house, drawn up after the death of the seventh earl of Pembroke in 1683 and dated the November 16 of that year, however, neither mentions the battle nor gives any attributions for individual armors, though it lists the contents of the two armouries there, to which all the armors were then confined.¹²⁶ The earliest evidence we have been able to trace for a “tradition” associating some of them with the ducs de Montmorency and Montpensier—and probably, in fact, its source—is a passage in a guidebook to the house by Richard Cowdry, published in 1751, by which date the display of armor in the Hall at Wilton, which survived until the twentieth century (Figure 1), had been set up:

In the Gallery of this Hall are five Suits of Armour; that in the Middle was *William Earl of Pembroke's*, the other four and the Parts of Five more Suits in the lower part of the Hall were taken from the following noble Persons, on the following Occasion. This Earl, in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, was Captain-General of the *English Forces* at the Siege of *St. Quintin*, at which Siege were taken Prisoners the Constable *Montmorency*, *Montheron* his Son, with the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Longueville*, *Lewis of Gonzaga*, (afterwards Duke of *Nevers*) the Marshal of *St. Andre*, Admiral *Coligny*, (who was afterwards murdered in the Massacre at *Paris*) and his Brother, not to mention *John de Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguien*, who was found Dead among the Slain. Here are also some of the Weapons which were taken at the same Time.¹²⁷

It is hardly necessary to point out that this passage is imprecise in its allocation of the armors and leaves a choice of “noble Persons” to whom they might have belonged.

A second, corrected edition of Cowdry's work was published in 1752.¹²⁸ In 1758 it was reprinted, virtually unchanged, but with Cowdry's name replaced by that of James Kennedy, and in this form it went through eight further editions, of which the last one appeared in 1779.¹²⁹ The passage about the armor quoted above is repeated in all of them, with the very minor difference that the other four armors “and the Parts of Five more Suits” are described as being in the opposite (not the lower) part of the hall. George

Richardson in the first edition (1774) of his *Aedes Pembrochianae* (p. 31) merely mentions the armor of the first earl, but in the edition of 1788 more precise information is given: “There are several suits of armour, disposed in niches. One of them belonged to William, Earl of Pembroke, who commanded the English forces at the battle of St. Quintin; another to the Constable Montmorency, taken prisoner there; and another to the Duke of Montpensier, also taken prisoner there.”¹³⁰ Nothing is said about the other noble prisoners.

The Montmorency/Montpensier story, therefore, as was to be expected, is yet another of the romantic fictions about armor that were produced during the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was recorded for the first time in a work on arms and armor by Samuel Meyrick in the second edition of his great *Critical Inquiry into Antient Armor*, published in 1842,¹³¹ and became accepted fact among specialists when the armors made what seems to have been their first public appearance outside Wilton at the *Exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor* held at the New Gallery, London, in 1890. They were naturally given their “traditional” attributions in the catalogue (nos. 575–76), and these were given the seal of the approval of the leading English authority on arms and armor, the Baron C. A. de Cosson, in an article on the exhibition.¹³²

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NOTES

1. For a modern account of the battle, see C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1937), pp. 256–64. Pembroke and the English contingent did not arrive in time to take part in the battle but were involved in the subsequent looting. Montmorency actually surrendered to the contingent commanded by Emmanuele Philiberto of Savoy. See F. H. Cripps-Day, "A Sur-Rebutter: The Wilton Controversy," in his *The Past Is Never Dead*, *Fragmenta Armamentaria* 5 (Frome, 1941), pp. 200–201.
2. *The Wilton Suits: A Controversy, with Notes on Other Archaeological Questions by Various Writers* (London, 1918), pp. 6–7. Two further letters were subsequently published in *Burlington Magazine* 42 (April 1923), pp. 206–11, and 54 (January 1929), p. 50.
3. A report on the sale in the *Times* (London) for July 11, 1917 (p. 9), records: "The late Duc d'Aumale many years ago is said to have offered £30,000 for the two suits. In neither case was the reserve . . . reached, and therefore the two suits were bought in, the Montmorency at £14,500, and the Montpensier at £10,500. In the first case the underbidder was Mr. S. G. Fenton [the London armor dealer], who was acting for an American, and in the second the underbidder was also acting for a Transatlantic buyer."

The late Sir James Mann stated incorrectly in his "Recollections of the Wilton Armoury" (*Connoisseur* 104 [July 1939], p. 11) that Lord Pembroke withdrew the armors before the sale. We are grateful to Peter Hawkins for drawing our attention to an account of the affair from Sotheby's point of view in Robert Lacey's *Sotheby's: Bidding for Class* (London, 1998), pp. 68–71. It is there suggested that ffoulkes acted as he did because he "had many long-standing relationships, personal and professional, with Christie's" and that "Christie's were a major channel through which the Tower of London had long acquired and disposed of armour." The first statement is highly improbable: we have heard many criticisms of ffoulkes from people who knew him but never the slightest suggestion that he was involved with

any of the salerooms or dealers. We suggest that there is a confusion here with Sir Guy Laking (died 1919), the noted authority on antique arms and armor, who had a close connection with Christie's, to whom it does very much apply. The second statement is simply wrong: the Tower Armouries had not disposed of anything for the best part of a century before ffoulkes took office in 1913, and when they had done so, it had not been through Christie's, while no regular purchases had been made since before 1855 because no purchase grant had been available. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that ffoulkes makes no reference at all to the affair in his autobiography *Arms and the Tower* (London, 1939).

The Metropolitan Museum was one of the unsuccessful bidders for both harnesses, being represented in the saleroom that day by its agent, C. Davies Sherborn of the British Museum.

4. *The Wilton Suits: A Controversy* (see note 2 above).
 5. Mackay had pursued the acquisition of the "Montmorency" and "Montpensier" armors throughout the 1920s, using as his agent Sir Joseph Duveen, the famous art dealer. He finally acquired the "Montmorency" armor alone for £15,500, the equivalent at the time of \$75,000, on December 20, 1929. Details of the negotiations are recorded in the Duveen Brothers Archive at the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, Los Angeles, a microfilm of which is available in the Thomas J. Watson Library at the Metropolitan Museum. With the onset of the Great Depression, Mackay suffered financial setbacks and in 1932 was forced to sell some of his most important works of art at sharply reduced prices. The finest of these were offered privately to the Metropolitan Museum, of which he was a trustee. For the Museum's acquisitions of Mackay's arms and armor, see Stephen V. Grancsay, "Historical Arms and Armor," *MMAB* 28 (March 1933), pp. 50–57 (reprinted in *Arms and Armor: Essays by Stephen V. Grancsay from The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 1920–1964* [New York, 1986], pp. 111–16).
- The "Montpensier" armor was finally sold by Christie's on May 27, 1954 (lot 49), when it was acquired by Carl Otto von Kienbusch of New York City. It is now with the rest of his collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (acc. no. 1977-167-12). See *The Kretschmar von Kienbusch Collection of Armor and Arms* (Princeton, N.J., 1963), no. 26. The armor has since been tentatively identified in the Wilton inventory of 1558 as a "millayne dimilance graven and gilt" and is now assumed to have been the personal armor of the first earl of Pembroke; see J. F. Hayward, "The Armoury of the First Earl of Pembroke," *Connoisseur* 155 (April 1964), p. 228 and fig. 7 on p. 229. Boccia concurred with the Milanese attribution and the mid-sixteenth-century date; see Lionello Giorgio Boccia, *Gli esemplari italiani nell'Armeria Kienbusch del Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Florence, 1988), pp. 7–8.
- 6. C. R. Beard, "New Light on the Pembroke Armoury," *Connoisseur* 88 (October 1931), p. 276. The manuscript (now British Library, MS Lansdowne 213, fols. 347r–384v) was published by L. G. Wickham Legge in 1936 as *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties*, Camden Miscellany 16, Camden Society, 3rd ser., 52 (London, 1936). The account of the Wilton armory is on fol. 372v of the manuscript and pp. 67–68 of the publication. Legge identified the lieutenant's surname as Hammond. Beard mistakenly ascribed the survey to the unidentified Norwich captain whom the same lieutenant and an ancient had accompanied on a trip in the previous year, the account of which is in the same manuscript.

That part of the account describing the Wilton armory was also published by F. H. Cripps-Day, *An Introduction to the Study of Greenwich Armour (Documentary Evidence)*, *Fragmenta Armamentaria* 1, pt. 3 (Frome, 1944), pp. 102–4.

7. William Herbert was Henry's squire, and therefore his armor bearer. See above, p. 99.
8. Cripps-Day, "A Sur-Rebutter," pp. 205–6. He came down firmly against the "traditional" attributions (pp. 202–3, 208). The armor is therefore mentioned only in passing in his article "The Armours of Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, and of His Sons, Part 1," *Connoisseur* 113 (June 1944), pp. 89–90.

The full text of Aubrey's account of the Wilton armory is as follows:

THE ARMORIE. The armory is a very long roome, which I guess to have been a dorture heretofore. Before the civil warres, I remember, it was very full. The collection was not only great but the manner of obtaining it was much greater; which was by a victory at the battle of St. Quintin's, where William the first Earle of Pembroke was generall, Sir George Penruddock, of Compton Chamberlain was Major Generall, and William Aubrey LL.D. my great-grandfather was Judge Advocat. There were armes, sc. the spoils, for sixteen thousand men, horse and foot. (From the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Pembroke). Desire my brother William Aubrey to gett a copy of the inventory of it. Before the late civill warres here were muskettes and pikes for . . . [sic] hundred men; lances for tilting; complete armour for horsemen; for pikemen, &c. The rich gilt and engraved armour of Henry VIII. The like rich armour of King Edward VI. In the late warres much of the armour was imbecill'd [embezzled].

The Natural History of Wiltshire by John Aubrey, F.R.S. (Written between 1656 and 1691), ed. John Britton (London, 1847), p. 86.

Much of the material was collected long before 1656. The date of Aubrey's visit to Wilton is not given, but he mentions that he remembers the armory as it was "Before the civil warres," that is before 1642. The Thomas, earl of Pembroke, cited must have been the eighth earl (died 1733), who succeeded in 1683.

Aubrey's reference to the source of the armory being the spoils of Battle of Saint-Quentin was cited in isolation by G. D. Hobson in support of the tradition that the two disputed armors were in fact those of Montmorency and Montpensier (*Wilton Suits*, p. 24).

9. *An Inventorie of all the Golde and sylver plate, Jewelles, apparell and Wardrobe stuffe, with the ffurniture of Stable, Armorie, and all other implemtes of householde belonging to the right honorable William Earle of Pembroke, vewed at the commandement of the seyd Earle by the L. Harbert of Cardyf his sonne, John Hownde, William Jordan, John Dysteley, Morgan Lloyd, Servantes to the seyd Earle, the xijth of December Anno Dñi 1561^{mo} Regni Elizabethæ Regine quarto*. The inventory of the armory and its forge (fols. 116r–118v) is headed "A declaracion of all such Armo^r as is lefte at Wilton vij^o December 1558 with a note of thordinance and other munycion thereunto belong[ing] in the chardge of Thomas Smythe."

The manuscript was acquired for the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum (MS L30-1982) in 1983. A paper on it was read to the Society of Antiquaries of London by Sir James Mann on February 2, 1956, in which he suggested that the "Montmorency" armor was, in fact, the one ascribed to Henry VIII. The section dealing with the armory was published by J. F. Hayward in "Armoury of the First Earl of Pembroke," pp. 225–30.

See also Guy Turner, "Lord Pembroke's Inventory of 1561,"

Silver Society Journal, no. 11 (autumn 1999), pp. 189–92; Elizabeth Goldring, "An Important Early Picture Collection: The Earl of Pembroke's 1561/62 Inventory and the Provenance of Holbein's 'Christina of Denmark,'" *Burlington Magazine* 144 (March 2003), pp. 157–60.

10. Fols. 116r–v in the inventory of 1558 cited in note 9. For the Edward VI armor, see notes 14 and 18 below.
11. Hayward, "Armoury of the First Earl of Pembroke," pp. 228, 230.
12. L. G. Boccia stated, without citing supporting evidence, that a cuirass of this construction was called by the Italians "anima" (soul), because it could be hidden beneath a leather or fabric garment, like the human soul in the body." See "Arms and Armor from the Medici Court," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 61, nos. 1 and 2 (summer 1983), p. 61. For a well-documented account of the anime, see F. H. Kelly, "The Anime—Notes," *Burlington Magazine* 34 (January 1919), pp. 23–30.
13. D. Starkey, ed., *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: The Transcript* (London, 1998), p. 159, no. 8262. See also H. A. Dillon, "Arms and Armour at Westminster, the Tower, and Greenwich, 1547," *Archæologia* 51 (1888), p. 273.
14. *A declaracion conteyning the number and kyndes of all suche armor, harness, weapons, and other furniture as are w^tin the charge of the Master of the Armories and in what places the same byn remayning at this present daye together w^t the ffees allowances and wages due to the Mynisters servinge w^tin the said office. Aswell in the xth yere of the raigne of our late soueraigne Lorde Henry the eighte. Also this present daye beyng the xxth daye of August in the seconde and thirde yere of the raigne of Philip and Marye* (Longleat Archives, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, vol. 5, "Th'Office of the Ordynance and Armorye," 1555, fols. 1–83), fol. 77. The armor was still at Greenwich.

We are grateful to Kay Lacey, who discovered the inventory, both for drawing our attention to it and for giving us permission to quote from it in advance of her own publication of the whole document.

This inventory also includes "One. litle harnesse complete made for kinge Edwarde p[ar]cell guylte w^t a Murring [sic for 'morion']." This, as the only armor made for Edward VI recorded, must be the one that is listed in the 1558 Wilton inventory and mentioned by Aubrey (above p. 95). Nothing certain is known of what became of it, but it might well be the only complete sixteenth-century Greenwich armor for a child known to survive. This is a parcel-gilt Greenwich three-quarter anime made for a boy of about twelve years of age, and dating from the mid-sixteenth century—Edward would have been thirteen in 1550—formerly at Cotehele House, Cornwall, seat of the Edgcumbe family, and now in the Royal Armouries (no. II.178). It is not known how it came to be at Cotehele, where it is first recorded in 1810. It could have belonged to Piers Edgcumbe (born 1535), but it is also possible that it was acquired by the first earl of Mount Edgcumbe (1721–1795), who was an antiquary. Marginally in favor of it being the Wilton armor is that two colored lithographs of the interior of the hall at Cotehele by N. Condry, made probably in 1836, show it mounted high on the wall with its original helmet (which is missing) replaced by an inappropriate morion, as described in the 1555 Royal Armouries inventory. On the other hand, a knee piece from a slightly larger armor of identical design was purchased by the Royal Armouries from the earl of Pembroke in 1951 (no. III.2255), and this might be all that remains of the Edward VI armor. See N. Condry and F. V. J. Arundell, *History of Cotehele* (London, n.d. [ca. 1850?]), pls. facing pp. 8 and 12; J. F. Hay-

ward, "A Newly Discovered Greenwich Armour," *Connoisseur* 141 (April 1958), pp. 140–43; *Cotehele House* (London, 1978), p. 14.

It should be mentioned that the only known document relating to armor being made for Edward VI is the following entry of March 16, 1551/52, among the acts of the Privy Council: "A warraunt from the Kinges Majestie to Peter Osborne to delyver to Erasmus Kyrkener the summe of j^cxxvij^{li} xiiij^s for certaine harnesses by hym provided for his Highnes' use." *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, n.s., vol. 4, A.D. 1552–1554 (London, 1892), p. 237.

It needs to be emphasized that the date refers only to the authorization of the payment and not to that of the bill, which might well have been submitted much earlier. It could therefore refer to the armor Edward is recorded as wearing the previous April in a dispatch dated April 9, 1551, to Emperor Charles V or his council from Jehan Scheyfve, imperial ambassador to England: "On the 7th and 8th of April the King of England mounted his horse in full armour, rode two or three miles each time, and also charged the target to exercise and show himself to the People." *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, vol. 10, 1550–52 (London, 1914), p. 266.

15. "Guilte vambraces late king Henry the eightes one p[ai]re," 1611 *Remayne of his Maties Armory*, Public Record Office (hereafter cited as PRO), London, SP14, 64, no. 71, fol. 98v. A similar entry occurs in the 1628/29 *Remaine*, but the attribution to Henry VIII is dropped from the later ones, though the vambraces can still be identified. They were probably the pair of "Vambraces Parcell Gilt" transferred from the Tower of London to Windsor Castle on July 22, 1688 (PRO, WO55/1656, unpaginated).

We are grateful to the late A. V. B. Norman for allowing us to publish this information in advance of the publication of his part of the forthcoming catalogue of the arms and armor in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.

16. Comparative measurements among armors are usually difficult to calculate accurately owing to the flexibility of the armor parts, subsequent releatherings, alterations, and restorations, and different methods of mounting. Fixed measurements that generally do not change during adulthood, such as the length of arms (best measured from the point of the shoulder to the elbow or from elbow to the wrist) or lower leg (measured from the center of the knee to the base of the foot), are not useful in connection with the Wilton armor. For this reason the torso measurements, charted below, are the most useful. In addition to Henry's armor of 1540 in the Royal Armouries (Figure 4), the Wilton armor is also compared to the King's armor at Windsor Castle, which is currently thought to date slightly earlier, 1539–40. The width of each element is measured in a straight line across the inside of the plates at the points indicated.

<u>Armor piece</u>	<u>Windsor</u>	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>New York</u>
Helmet (ear to ear)	214 mm	203 mm	190 mm
Breastplate (lower gusset)	435 mm	439 mm	431 mm
Breastplate (waist)	427 mm	380 mm	396 mm
Backplate (upper gusset)	380 mm	390 mm	410 mm
Backplate (lower gusset)	425 mm	408 mm	410 mm
Backplate (waist)	420 mm	358 mm	367 mm

17. British Library, Harl. MS 7457: *The Office of Th'Armoury. The State of the said Office conteyning the Receipts and Deliveries of Armour ffrom the Death of your Highnesse most Victorious and Renowned Father King Henry the Eighth . . . unto the Last day of December 1561. Wherein is comprized and severally divided all such Armour as hath been received in the tyme of Yo^r Ma^{ty} Brother . . . King Edward The Sixth, Your Sister Queen Mary, and within the tyme of your Ma^{ty} owne Reigne to the said Laste of December the ffourthe yeare of the same Wherein is also remembered the whole Masse and Store at this Day remaining in Your Severall Armouryes: And all such Your Highnesse Armour as presently doth remaine in the Hands of Your Nobility and Subjects.*

A special copy of this, now owned by Lord Dartmouth, was given to Queen Elizabeth I as a New Year gift by Sir George Howard. It is at present on loan to the Royal Armouries, Leeds.

18. *Ibid.*, fol. 14v. The armor of Edward VI, listed in the 1555 inventory, is not mentioned at all, which must mean that it had left the Armouries. Since issues to the monarch are not recorded, it is possible that the explanation for this omission is that it was presented to Pembroke personally by King Philip or Queen Mary.
19. The same list records (fol. 14v) that one of Henry's brigandines (a doublet lined with riveted plates) was in the possession of Sir John Gage.
20. See G. T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons, 1509–1558*, vol. 2, *Members, D–M* (London, 1982), pp. 337–38, 518; P. W. Hasler, *The House of Commons, 1558–1603*, vol. 3, *Members, M–Z* (London, 1981), pp. 551–52; *The Manuscripts of the Right Honourable F. J. Savile Foljambe, of Osberton*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report, Appendix, pt. 5 (London, 1897), pp. 5–6. We are grateful to Dr. W. R. B. Robinson, F.S.A., for information about Vaughan.
21. See J. E. Nightingale, *Some Notice of William Herbert, First Earl of Pembroke of the Present Creation* (London, 1878); *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 26 (London, 1891), pp. 220–23; G. E. C., *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 10 (London, 1945), pp. 405–10; Bindoff, *House of Commons*, pp. 341–44; N. Sil, *William, Lord Herbert of Pembroke (c. 1507–1570): Politique and Patriot*, Studies in British History 6 (Lewiston, N.Y., and Queenstown, Canada, 1987).
22. Oman, *War in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 331, 330. Pages 330–49 are devoted to a good general account of the Enterprise. For an account of the political background see J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, new ed. (London, 1997), pp. 434–35, 439–41.
23. On the military campaigns in which he was personally involved, see Oman, *War in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 287, and Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 21–38, 434–35, 439, 445–49.
24. For detailed accounts of Henry's illnesses during his reign, see F. C. Chamberlin, *The Private Character of Henry VIII* (New York and Washington, D.C., 1931), and A. S. McNalty, *Henry VIII: A Difficult Patient* (London, 1952), both passim; C. Brewer, *The Death of Kings* (London, 2000), pp. 113–24. See also Neville Williams, *Henry VIII and His Court* (London, 1971), passim; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 426–27, 445, 484–87.
For his activities in the tournament field see Williams, *Henry VIII*, pp. 28, 47–48, 141; Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London, 1987), passim, but esp. pp. 197–200; Ian Eaves, "The Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII of England," *Livrustkammaren*, 1993, pp. 34–38.
25. The almost contemporary wall painting of the siege, formerly at Cowdray House, Sussex, shows the king on foot in a command post. See Sir Joseph Ayloffe, "An Account of Some Ancient English Historical Paintings at Cowdray, in Sussex," *Archaeologia* 3

- (London, 1786), pp. 251–61. An engraving of the painting was reproduced in C. Blair, “A Royal Swordsmith and Damascener: Diego de Caías,” *MMJ* 3 (1970), pp. 170–71.
26. PRO, E101/423/10, *passim*, for ordinary clothing, and for arming doublets, fols. 14v, 17v, 23r.
 27. It should be mentioned that the last occasion when Henry was personally involved in warfare was during a short period commencing on July 15, 1545, when he went down to Portsmouth to take command of his navy and army in the repelling of a threatened invasion by the French. There is no suggestion in any of the sources that he wore armor at this time or that he ever contemplated becoming physically involved in actual combat. In fact, we know that on one occasion he deliberately avoided combat. On July 18, after he had dined with his senior captains on board the flagship, the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, it was reported that what turned out to be the French fleet was approaching. Henry at once returned to the shore, leaving his officers in command.
- For a general account of the invasion, which was unsuccessful, including an eyewitness report of Henry’s reaction to the arrival of the French fleet, see Margaret Rule, *The Mary Rose: The Excavation and Raising of Henry VIII’s Flagship* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 30–38. See also the report in a letter of July 24, 1545, to the emperor Charles V from his ambassador to England, Francis Van der Delft, published in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 20 (i) (London, 1905), p. 627.
28. Thom Richardson, *The Armour and Arms of Henry VIII* (Leeds, 2002), pp. 44–45, considers the Wilton armor to be “possibly French, about 1545” and suggests that it and the related saddle steels “may have formed part of the diplomatic gifts accompanying the negotiations for the peace which was concluded between England and France in 1546.” We know of no evidence to support this hypothesis.
 29. Starkey, *Inventory of King Henry VIII*, p. 161, no. 8384. See also Dillon, “Arms and Armour at Westminster,” p. 278. The armor cannot be identified in the 1555 inventory.
 30. Printed in full in Cripps-Day, *Greenwich Armour*, pp. 57–64. Dated only “Anno 36 Henry [VIII],” which corresponds to the period April 22, 1544, to April 21, 1545, it is unclear whether or not it covers the whole of that period or merely part of it. A few parts of it are illegible because of damage.
- Unfortunately, the royal privy purse accounts (*Books of King’s Payments*), which would almost certainly have contained the record of payments for the armors, are missing for the period between September 1542 and the end of Henry’s reign.
31. We are grateful to Ian Eaves for suggesting to us that the armors were connected with the Boulogne campaign.
- The armors will be discussed in more detail in one of the volumes of commentaries on the 1547 Inventory to be published in conjunction with the transcript edited by David Starkey cited in note 13 and elsewhere. Only minimal further discussion of them, therefore, is appropriate here. One of them can almost certainly be identified as the field armor numbered 8348 in the transcript, which is described in the 1555 Armouries inventory (fol. 76) as having two helmets. Mr. Eaves suggests (personal communication to Claude Blair) that it is now represented by a group of detached Greenwich pieces in the Royal Armouries, etched with gilt and blackened hatched arabesques, and comprising a buffe, a toe cap, and a pair of saddle steels (nos. 11.8R, 9 [formerly 8Q] v1.96, 97). There are in addition two identical pairs of saddle steels of similar form and decoration to the aforementioned group, nos. v1.98, 99 in the Royal Armouries, which may also have been made at that time and are perhaps part of the group of four saddle steels mentioned in Kirkener’s account. See *Exhibition of Armour Made in the Royal Workshops at Greenwich*, exh. cat., H.M. Tower of London (London, 1951), nos. 51–53, 58; H. R. Robinson, *Armours of Henry VIII* (London, 1977), p. 18; A. Williams and A. de Reuck, *The Royal Armoury at Greenwich, 1515–1649: A History of Its Technology*, Royal Armouries Monograph 4 (London, 1995), pp. 76–77; Richardson, *Armour and Arms of Henry VIII*, pp. 41, 43.
- The armor decorated with scales cannot be identified in the inventories, though a shaffron “scaled and grauen” and “A Crenet with Skales percell grauen and guilte,” described separately in that of 1547 (Starkey, *Inventory of King Henry VIII*, pp. 160–61, nos. 8347, 8348) and together in that of 1555 (fol. 76v), must have belonged to it. The crinet, decorated with etched and parcel-gilt scales, remains in the Royal Armouries (no. v1.69), who also acquired the right gauntlet from the armor in 1983 (no. 11.1788) at the sale of the Astor Collection at Hever Castle, Kent. A close helmet belonging to it once formed part of a funeral achievement in Lullingstone Church, Kent, but was stolen some thirty years ago. See J. G. Mann, “Two Helmets in St. Botolph’s Church, Lullingstone, Kent,” *Antiquaries Journal* 12 (1932), pp. 136–45; Williams and de Reuck, *Royal Armoury at Greenwich*, p. 79; Richardson, *Armour and Arms of Henry VIII*, p. 42.
32. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 19 (i) (London, 1903), p. 279, no. 17.
 33. On Milanese armorers in his employ in England, see C. Blair, “The Emperor Maximilian’s Gift of Armour to King Henry VIII and the Silvered and Engraved Armour at the Tower of London,” *Archaeologia* 99 (1965), pp. 1–56, *passim*. Also reprinted as a separate monograph under the title *The Silvered Armour of Henry VIII in the Tower of London* (Oxford, 1965).
 34. No doubt an anglicized form of Francesco Alberto (or Alberti).
 35. PRO, E101/423/10, fols. 81–91. We wish to thank Maria Hayward for drawing our attention, via Simon Metcalf, the Queen’s Armourer, to this volume of accounts of Henry VIII’s Great Wardrobe for 1543–44.
 36. The missing *Books of King’s Payments* for the period (see note 30 above) would almost certainly have contained the record of any payments made to him.
 37. For his dealings with Cromwell see *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 14 (ii) (London, 1895), p. 330, and for the Privy Council records, Harris Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, vol. 7, 32 Henry VIII. MDXL. to 33 Henry VIII. MDXLII. (London, 1837), pp. 39, 40, 105 (also *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 16 [London, 1898], pp. 17, 18, 212). The two entries in September record respectively: an order that Albert “and his fellow” should go to the lord chancellor with a letter from the council, taking with them “the two l[ett]res denyzens which were confessed by them to have bene gotten out undre the gret seale of England w’out any warrant” and produce proof that they were innocent in the matter; and a letter to the lord chancellor advising him of this and “of the sending unto hym of the two l[ett]res patentees of denyzens which wer stollen owte.” Letters (patent) of denization admitted foreign residents to certain rights of citizenship but fell short of full naturalization. We have not been able to discover any further information about this matter nor have we been able to identify Albert in either W. Page, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization of*

- Aliens in England, 1509–1603*, Huguenot Society 8 (London, 1893), or R. G. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens in London, 1523–1603*, Huguenot Society 10 (London, 1900–1908).
38. See Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven and London, 1993), Plan 11, and Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240–1698* (New Haven and London, 2000), pp. 10–11.
39. That this was done, apparently successfully, is established by the fact that three armors were made for Henry in Innsbruck in 1511–14 (one a gift from the emperor Maximilian) without him going there. At the time an armor was also being made for the young archduke Charles (later the emperor Charles V), for which the armorer was supplied with examples of his doublet and hose. See Blair, “Emperor Maximilian’s Gift,” pp. 8–13.
- The fact that the Museum’s armor does not have greaves, the most difficult part to make, would have removed one obstacle to getting a reasonably good fit.
40. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 19 (ii) (London, 1905), p. 239; Thomas Rymer, *Foedera*, 3rd ed., vol. 6, pts. 1 and 2 (The Hague, 1741), pt. 2, p. 120.
41. The armor features in the following Museum publications, all by Stephen V. Grancsay: *Loan Exhibition of Arms and Armor*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1931), pp. 7–8, no. 13 (not illustrated); “Historical Arms and Armor,” pp. 50–57; *Historical Armor: A Picture Book* (New York, 1944) (reprinted in various editions until 1957); *Medieval and Renaissance Arms and Armor: Loan Exhibition from The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum (Los Angeles, 1953), p. 10, no. 8; “New Galleries of European Arms and Armor,” *MMAB*, n.s., 14, no. 9 (May 1956), p. 221 (reprinted in *Arms and Armor: Essays by Stephen V. Grancsay*, pp. 421–39, where the illustration of the armor is omitted). The armor was called Italian in the publications of 1931 and 1944 and French in those of 1933, 1953, and 1956. The French attribution was also asserted in Grancsay’s article “The Armor of Henry I de Montmorency,” *MMAB* 34, no. 12 (December 1939), pp. 284–86 (reprinted in *Arms and Armor: Essays by Stephen V. Grancsay*, pp. 241–43).
42. The weight of the individual elements is as follows: burgonet 4 lb. 13 oz. (2,185 g); buffe 2 lb. 11 oz. (1,226 g); breastplate with skirt lame 8 lb. 3 oz. (3,727 g); right tasset 1 lb. 15 oz. (887 g) and right tasset extension 1 lb. 12 oz. (805 g); left tasset 2 lb. 1 oz. (929 g) and left tasset extension 1 lb. 13 oz. (811 g); backplate 7 lb. 8 oz. (3,413 g); right pauldron and vambraces 6 lb. 9 oz. (2,978 g); left pauldron and vambrace 6 lb. 15 oz. (3,157 g); right gauntlet 1 lb. (447 g); left gauntlet 1 lb. (442 g); right cuisse and poleyn 2 lb. 3 oz. (993 g); left cuisse and poleyn 2 lb. 1 oz. (928 g).
43. As indicated by two rivet holes, one behind the other, at each side of the eleventh lame of the backplate, with a corresponding hole on either side of the ninth lame of the breastplate (Figure 10). This additional strap-and-buckle fastening appears to have been fairly common on animes and is found, for example, on the Italian anime of Gian Giacomo de’ Medici, ca. 1555, in the Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, no. A404 (Ortwin Gamber and Christian Beaufort, *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Hofjagd- und Rüstammer: Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, vol. 2, *Der Zeitraum von 1530–1560* [Vienna and Busto Arsizio, 1990], pp. 111–12, fig. 52). Rivet holes beneath the armholes on the anime G.139 in the Musée de l’Armée (Figure 51), discussed above, indicate that this cuirass too originally possessed lateral strap-and-buckle closings.
44. Both tabs appear to have been complete and well preserved in 1917 when a photograph of the cuisses was published in connection with an announcement of the Wilton House sale in *Connoisseur* 48 (June 1917), p. 115.
- As noted above (p. 101) the yellow and red colors of the armor’s textile trimmings match those of the new livery made for the French campaign. These same colors were used for the padded lining still present inside many of the “gun shields” recorded in the 1547 inventory of Henry VIII’s armory (Simon Metcalf, Anthony R. E. North, and Derek Balfour, “A Gun-Shield from the Armoury of Henry VIII: Decorative Oddity or Important Discovery?” *V & A Conservation Journal*, autumn 2001, p. 15).
- We are grateful to Nobuko Kajitani, retired conservator in charge in the Department of Textile Conservation at the Metropolitan Museum, for her analysis of the armor’s textile fittings.
45. The volume of accounts of Henry’s Great Wardrobe referred to above (p. 100) contains a record of payments to William Croughton, the royal hosier, that appears to be relevant in connection with the unusual attachment of the poleyn. The payments included one pair of velvet hose “de nova factura” fastened with eyelet holes at the knee. Before this, in the same entry, a pair of what were presumably ordinary hose are merely described as “factura.” “Nova,” therefore, may mean that they were of a new design. Other payments to Croughton were for lining and doing other work on three pairs of hose “bought from Millan,” made with “eyelett howles” drawn together below the knees with ribbons. The next three entries are for white linen cloth for lining, cloth for binding, and ribbon for the same, suggesting that the first entry must be for refurbishing the existing Milanese hose (PRO E101/423/10, fol. 51v, referring to a warrant of February 26, 1545).
46. For the iconography of Hope, particularly in the sixteenth century, see Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l’art profane, 1450–1600: Dictionnaire d’un langage perdu*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1958–59), vol. 1, col. 172, and Michaela Bautz, *Virtutes: Studien zu Funktion und Ikonographie der Tugenden im Mittelalter und im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1999), pp. 239–50.
- The Florentine medals of the late fifteenth century are usually ascribed to the manner of Niccolò Fiorentino [Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli, 1430–1514]; see George Francis Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, 2 vols. (London, 1930), nos. 627, 839, 954, 956, 957, 960, 964, 965, 996, 1012, 1017, 1023–25, 1039, 1043, 1085.
- Numerous representations of the Virtues are found in sixteenth-century prints but we have been unable to identify any that come as close in pose and dress to the figure on the plume-holder as do the figures on these medals. A similar figure of Hope does, however, reappear in the etched decoration of Milanese armors by, or in the style of, Pompeo della Cesa (ca. 1537–1610) in the last quarter of the century. Illustrations of several of those by Pompeo are found in Donald J. LaRocca, “A Neapolitan Patron of Armor and Tapestry Identified,” *MMJ* 28 (1993), pp. 85–102, esp. figs. 1, 2, 8.
47. For surveys of Henry VIII’s armors, including reference to their decoration, see Robinson, *Armours of Henry VIII*; Eaves, “Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII,” pp. 2–45; and Richardson, *Armour and Arms of Henry VIII*.
48. The armor in the Royal Collection is discussed in the publications cited in note 47, and most recently by James L. Jackson, “Greenwich Armour of King Henry VIII for Field and Tilt at

- Windsor Castle—Some Recent Discoveries,” *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 16, no. 5 (September 2000), pp. 249–56. The dating of the Windsor armor is discussed by Eaves, “Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII,” pp. 32–38.
49. The identification of this motif with that on the Montmorency monument was first pointed out by F. H. Cripps-Day, *The Wilton Controversy: A Sur-Rebuttal* (Frome, 1926), pp. 17–22, and was regularly repeated in support of the Montmorency association of the Wilton armor in the publications by Grancsay cited in note 41. For the Montmorency heart monument, see Jean-René Gaborit et al., *Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures du Moyen Âge, de la Renaissance et des Temps Modernes: Sculpture française, II—Renaissance et temps modernes*, vol. 2, Goujon—Warin et anonymes (Paris, 1998), pp. 547–50.
 50. *Wilton Suits*, pp. 20–21. Clasped hands are found on several Italian armors where they are a prominent and regularly repeated motif in the etched decoration, suggesting that they were one of the owner’s personal devices; some of these armors have recently been discussed by Karen Watts, “The Armor of the Knights of St. John, Malta,” *Royal Armouries Yearbook* 3 (1998), pp. 37–39.
 51. *Wilton Suits*, pp. 23–24, 42–44.
 52. An etched device using an armorer’s or decorator’s mark is rare in this period. The Milanese armorer Niccolò Silva (recorded 1511–49) used a compass in conjunction with his initials NS or name, N. SILVA, on several armors dating to ca. 1515; see Blair, “The Emperor Maximilian’s Gift of Armour to King Henry VIII,” pp. 22–24. In the period 1560–1600 a variety of emblems such as a castle (possibly referring to the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, the seat of government and location of the court armor workshops), an orb and cross, a star, or an elephant with a howdah, to name but a few, are found on Italian armors, usually incorporated into the etched decoration at top of the breastplate. It is generally assumed that these are the marks either of the armorer or the etcher or their respective workshops; see Lionello G. Boccia and José-A. Godoy, “Les armures de la garde de Cosimo I et Francesco I de Médicis,” *Genava*, n.s., 40 (1992), pp. 105–8.
 53. Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l’art profane*, vol. 2, col. 260, citing the printers’ mark of Pierre Madrigal of Madrid, used from 1586–94, in conjunction with the inscription FIDES QUAE PER CHARITATEM OPERATUR.
 54. For parade burgonets of this construction by Filippo Negroli, his family, and contemporary Milanese armorers, see Stuart W. Pyhrr and José-A. Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and His Contemporaries*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1998), nos. 18, 20–23, 30, 39–41, 63. The Wilton burgonet more closely resembles early sixteenth-century Italian burgonets for light field service, which have multiple articulations at the nape; for example, see Lionello G. Boccia and Eduardo T. Coelho, *L’arte dell’armatura in Italia* (Milan, 1967), figs. 234, 236.
 55. As, for example, the exchange burgonet belonging to the field armor of William Somerset, 3rd earl of Worcester, ca. 1570–80, in the Royal Armouries, inv. no. 11.83, for which see *Armour Made in the Royal Workshops of Greenwich*, pp. 17–18, no. 10, and pls. 12 and 33c.
 56. We are grateful to Ian Eaves for the suggestion that the new gussets may have served to secure an internal leather strap at each shoulder that buckled to a corresponding strap riveted at each shoulder of the backplate. These internal straps, which would have borne the weight of the cuirass, are a regular feature found on Greenwich armors. Seemingly overlooked by specialists, the feature will be discussed by Mr. Eaves in his forthcoming monograph on Greenwich armors in the Metropolitan Museum. The presence of this internal support would further substantiate our observations as to the adaptation of this harness for the king’s use by his Almain armorers.
 57. The severely trimmed sides of the breastplate, for example, are so rough and uneven as to cause us to question whether this alteration was made by the king’s Almain armorers, whose modifications of the armor, as identified here, were so well made that they escaped notice until recently.
- As it is unthinkable that this cherished relic of Henry VIII would have been modified for subsequent use by William Herbert or his son, the alterations to this armor must have been made for Henry VIII at the time of use or, otherwise, at Wilton House at a much later date.
- We have been unable to discover any documentation concerning the restoration work conducted in the Wilton armory, although James Mann referred to the armors as having been “overhauled in the nineteenth century” (“Three Armours in the Scott Collection,” *Scottish Art Review* 6, no. 1 [1956], p. 11). Baron de Cosson, on the other hand, described the armors in 1890 as being extremely dirty but “free from the ruinous scouring to which so much fine old armour has been subjected” (“Armour and Arms at the Tudor Exhibition,” *Magazine of Art*, 1890, p. 322).
58. See p. 98 and note 15. While at Windsor the vambraces came to be associated with portions of a much later armor made for Sir John Smythe, also transferred to Windsor in 1688. The composite ensemble is recorded in a drawing attributed to Thomas Phillips, R.A. (1770–1845), that was inserted into a copy of the following exhibition catalogue in the Royal Armouries library at Leeds: *Royal Armoury, Haymarket: Descriptive Catalogue of a Very Costly and Superb Collection of Military Antiquities, Including All the Identical Suits of Rich and Splendid Armour, Worn by the King’s Champion and Esquires, at the Coronation of His Majesty George IV* (London, n.d. [ca. 1820]). The attribution to Phillips derives from a bookseller’s printed description of the publication that is pasted into the volume.
 59. The term “small garniture” (*kleine Wechselgarnitur*) was coined by Ortwin Gamber, “Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 54 (1958), p. 100.
 60. For Orsoni and his album in general, see Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 105–10, no. 15, with earlier bibliography cited. For the interpretation of Orsoni’s designs for the “small garniture,” see Gamber, “Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert,” pp. 99–101, and Lionello G. Boccia, Francesco Rossi, and Marco Morin, *Armi e armature lombarde* (Milan, 1980), p. 126.
 61. Fols. Aviii and Ax, the inscription on the former reading in part “Questi pezi d’arme servi p[er] piede p[er] cavalo leggieri et p[er] Homo d’arme levando li souvra pezzi et ponendilli secondo il bisogno. . . .” Two similar pages of illustrations are included in another version of Orsoni’s album, dated 1558 and 1559, in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf 1.5.3 Aug², fols. 55r–56r, where, however, all the components are not labeled.
 62. A diagram based on Orsoni’s scheme that makes the relationship of the components clearer is provided by Gamber, “Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert,” p. 102, fig. 94. Boccia,

- in Boccia, Rossi, and Morin, *Armi e armature lombarde*, p. 126, distinguishes two further variants, a simpler horseman's armor (*armatura da cavallo*) without the haute-pieces or pauldron reinforcement, and a light horseman's armor (*armatura alla leggera*) with half-vambraces (or no vambraces at all).
63. Inv. no. A690; see Gamber, "Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert," p. 90, 101, and fig. 77; Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, pp. 125–26 and fig. 62.
 64. See above, p. 100 and note 31.
 65. For example, the close helmet belonging to Henry VIII's armor with scale decoration, formerly in Lullingstone Church, may already have been missing from the Tudor Royal Armouries by 1547 (see note 31).
 66. Inv. nos. A406, A1381, and A980, respectively; see Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, p. 125 and fig. 61, p. 133 and fig. 65, and pp. 134–35 (not illustrated).
 67. Slightly later Italian field armors of three-quarter length include the armor of Alfonso d'Este, about 1560, in Vienna (inv. no. A765); the armor of about 1560–70, probably made for the first earl of Pembroke, that was formerly at Wilton House and is now in the Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts (inv. no. 427); and the armor of Vespasiano Gonzaga, ca. 1570, also in Vienna (inv. no. A129). The Vienna armors are illustrated in Ortwin Gamber, "Der Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 41 (1999), pp. 110–11, figs. 13, 14; and that in Worcester in Stephen V. Grancsay, *Catalogue of Armor: The John Woodman Higgins Armory* (Worcester, 1961), pp. 84–85.
 68. Among Henry VIII's surviving armors with vambraces of this type are two examples made for foot-combat at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, and the king's later armor of 1540 (Figure 4), which was designed for field and tournament use, including foot combat. For the most recent study of those armors, see Eaves, "Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII," pp. 2–45. There is of course no evidence to indicate that the Wilton armor was ever intended for any form of tournament use.
 69. Inv. no. A528; see Gamber, "Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert," p. 88 and fig. 70; and Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, p. 29 and fig. 7.
 70. For example, see the reconstruction of Henry VIII's 1540 garniture by Robinson, *Armours of Henry VIII*, diagrams on the inside covers. The use of closed vambraces for a light field armor, suggested by Robinson, was questioned by Eaves, "Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII," p. 24.
 71. *Wilton Suits*, pp. 13–15. The Montmorency attribution was also upheld by G. D. Hobson, pp. 22–27.
 72. See note 41.
 73. Ortwin Gamber, "Armour Made in the Royal Workshops at Greenwich: Style and Construction," *Scottish Art Review* 12, no. 2 (1969), p. 7.
 74. No mention of the Wilton armor is found in Gamber, "Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert," or in the many publications by Lionello G. Boccia, the leading authority on Italian armor, notably *L'arte dell'armatura in Italia* and *Armi e armature lombarde*. It is worth noting, however, that during a visit to the Metropolitan Museum in October 1992 Boccia concluded that the Wilton armor was Milanese, but in the French fashion (note in the object files in the Department of Arms and Armor).
 75. Cripps-Day, *Wilton Controversy*, pp. 5–16; repeated by Grancsay, "Historical Arms and Armor," p. 52. The Montmorency inventory of 1556 and those of 1559 and 1568 were published by Léon Mirot, *L'Hôtel et les collections du connétable de Montmorency* (Paris, 1920) (reprinted from *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 80 [1919]).
 76. In *Wilton Suits*, p. 14, de Cosson expressed his belief that both the Montmorency and Monpensier armors were of French fashion and form and he noted similar (in his opinion) French-made pieces in the Musée de l'Armée, although he did not specify what the distinguishing French features were. More recently J.-P. Reverseau tried to define the characteristics of French armor construction, citing cuirasses of anime type, long tassets ending in poleyns, the absence of greaves, three-part arm defenses with one-piece couters with flaring wings and a transverse roped rib, and semicircular cutouts around rivet heads placed near the edges of the plates; see Jean-Pierre Reverseau, "The Classification of French Armour by Workshop Styles, 1500–1600," in *Art, Arms and Armour: An International Anthology*, ed. R. Held, vol. 1 (1979–80) (Chiasso, 1979), pp. 204–8. Reverseau acknowledged, however, that all of these features originated in Italy.
 77. The earliest evidence known to us for the development of the anime in Italy is the so-called Masks Garniture made for Charles V by Filippo Negroli and his brothers in Milan in 1539, which includes a solid breastplate and backplate for a light field armor decorated with narrow recessed and damascened transverse bands that suggest anime lamination; see Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 160–70, no. 30. The earliest dated anime is in fact German and was made in 1542 for Count Nicholas III von Salm-Neuburg (1503–1555), now in the Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, inv. no. A496 (Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, pp. 61–62). On the anime in general, see Kelly, "The Anime."
 78. Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 260–63, no. 50. Italian animes of contemporary date are discussed in the same publication, pp. 267–70, no. 52, and pp. 292–95, no. 58.
 79. Grancsay, "Historical Arms and Armor," p. 52, and "Armor of Henry I de Montmorency," p. 284.
 80. The most important studies devoted to French embossed armors are those by Bruno Thomas, "Die Münchner Harnischvorzeichnungen im Stil François I^{er}," *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen in Wien* 55 (1959), pp. 31–74; "Die Münchner Harnischvorzeichnungen des Étienne Delaune für die Emblem- und die Schlangen-Garnitur Heinrichs II. von Frankreich," *ibid.* 56 (1960), pp. 7–62; "Die Münchner Harnischvorzeichnungen des Étienne Delaune und das Prunkschild Heinrichs II. von Frankreich," *ibid.* 58 (1962), pp. 101–68; and "Die Münchner Harnischvorzeichnungen mit Rankendekor des Étienne Delaune," *ibid.* 61 (1965), pp. 41–90 (reprinted in Bruno Thomas, *Gesammelte Schriften zur historischen Waffenkunde*, 2 vols. [Graz, 1977], vol. 1, pp. 751–970). For the etched decoration of French armors, see Reverseau, "Classification of French Armour by Workshop Styles," pp. 202–19.
 81. Perhaps the most "French" feature of the Museum's armor is its plume-holder with an elaborately shaped escutcheon, a type found on several helmets etched in a distinctly French style that dates to the 1550s. As with so many characteristics of French armor, the type is likely to have originated in Italy and was subsequently adopted in France. The "French" style of plume-holder is discussed in Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 315.
 82. As observed by Gamber, "Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert," p. 87.
 83. The armor is discussed at length in Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic*

- Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 171–76, no. 31.
84. Ibid., pp. 260–63, no. 50. Italian armors of contemporary date are discussed in the same publication, pp. 267–70, no. 52, and pp. 292–95, no. 58.
 85. For the Venier armor, see Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, p. 30, fig. 6.
 86. Gamber, “Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert,” p. 91, notes in particular Titian’s *Pierluigi Farnese* (Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples) and Bronzino’s *Stefano Colonna* (Galleria Nazionale, Rome), both of 1546. In both portraits, the construction of the arm defenses, which lack turners on the upper vambraces and have large one-piece couters with roped medial ribs, is very like those of the Wilton armor.
 87. *Wilton Suits*, pp. 7, 11, 15, 26, 45–48.
 88. See, for example, Guy Francis Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms through Seven Centuries*, 5 vols. (London, 1920–22), vol. 4, pp. 77–86, 111–12, 165, 233, and the related illustrations. For the history of this appellation, see Boccia and Godoy, “Les armures de la garde de Cosimo I et Francesco I de Médicis,” pp. 108–9.
 89. *Wilton Suits*, p. 7.
 90. The earliest dated Italian example bearing raised roped scrolls of this type known to us is an etched and gilt backplate of 1557 in the Museo Stibbert, Florence, inv. no. 515; see Lionello Giorgio Boccia, *Il Museo Stibbert a Firenze*, vol. 3, *L’armeria europea*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1975), vol. 1, p. 77, no. 114, and vol. 2, fig. 105.
 91. The turned and roped edges of sixteenth-century armor developed from the late fifteenth-century German practice of applying brass borders with roped ornament to the principal edges of the steel plates; see Claude Blair, *European Armour* (New York, 1959), p. 116.
 92. C. O. von Kienbusch and Stephen V. Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Memorial Collection of Arms and Armor in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Portland, Maine, 1933), pp. 86–88, no. 11, pl. 21. Another armor with roped ridges running parallel to the free edges, though none ending in volutes, is that made for the Landsknecht officer Kaspar von Fundsberg, a south German infantry harness dated 1527 in the Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, for which see Bruno Thomas and Ortwin Gamber, *Kunst-historisches Museum, Wien, Waffensammlung: Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, vol. 1, *Der Zeitraum von 500 bis 1530* (Vienna, 1976), p. 233, fig. 126. Roped scrolls enclosing etched ornament are encountered again around 1535–40 on the armor of Konrad von Bemelberg by Wolfgang Grossschedel of Landshut, also in Vienna; see Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, pp. 64–65, 70, and figs. 22, 24, 25.
 93. Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, p. 28 and fig. 5. The dating of the Vitelli armor is corroborated by the depiction of a nearly identical harness in Titian’s portrait of Alfonso d’Avalos, marchese del Vasto, painted in 1533, for which see Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. 2, *The Portraits* (London, 1971), pp. 78–79, no. 9, pl. 56. The armor worn by Guidobaldo II della Rovere in his portrait of 1532 by Agnolo Bronzino in the Uffizi is also embellished with roped ridges as well as slashed ornament, all in the German fashion. The Italian origin of the armor is confirmed by Giorgio Vasari, who recorded that the painter had to await the arrival of Guidobaldo’s new armor from Lombardy before he could complete the painting. For the portrait, see Andrea Emiliani, *Il Bronzino* (Busto Arsizio, 1960), text accompanying pls. 11, 12; and for the armor, see Mario Scalini, “Il ‘giubbotto di ferro cesellato a foggia di colletto trinciato con scarselle’ di Guidobaldo della Rovere (1514/1538/1574) e altri resti rovereschi,” *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 39, nos. 1–2 (1997), pp. 38–50.
 94. In addition to the dated backplate in the Museo Stibbert mentioned in note 90, one of the earliest complete armors with raised roped scrolls, but otherwise undecorated, is that of Ottavio Farnese, ca. 1555–60, in the Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, inv. no. A1116; see Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, pp. 133–34 and fig. 64.
 95. Inv. no. G.47; see L. Robert, *Catalogue des collections composant le Musée d’Artillerie en 1889*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1889–93), vol. 2, p. 55.
 96. See note 69.
 97. Confronted scrolls of the same type, etched and gilt, are also found on two Italian burgonets dating ca. 1550, one in the Museo Civico L. Marzoli in Brescia (F. Rossi and N. di Carpegna, *Armi antiche dal Museo Civico L. Marzoli*, exh. cat., Palazzo della Loggia, Brescia [Brescia, 1969], p. 49, no. 98), the other, unpublished, in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, inv. no. Z.O.3958 (formerly I.259). A plain burgonet with confronted recessed scrolls on either side of the bowl, now in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, is dated by Boccia ca. 1540–50; see Lionello Giorgio Boccia and José-A. Godoy, *Museo Poldi Pezzoli: Armeria*, 2 vols., Musei e Gallerie di Milano, vols. 5, 6 (Milan, 1985–86), vol. 1, p. 92, no. 49, fig. 70. Confronted scrolls, recessed, etched, and gilt, are also found on the cheekpieces of the burgonet belonging to the armor of Girolamo Martinengo of Brescia, about 1540, in the Armeria Reale, Turin, no. C.11; see Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 320–23, no. 64.
 98. No comprehensive history of Italian armor etching has been written, although a wealth of observations regarding its development can be found in such general surveys as Gamber, “Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert”; Bruno Thomas and Ortwin Gamber, “L’arte milanese dell’armatura,” in *Storia di Milano*, vol. 11, *Il declino spagnolo (1630–1706)* (Milan, 1958), pp. 697–841; and Boccia and Coelho, *L’arte dell’armatura in Italia*. James G. Mann’s classic work, “The Etched Decoration of Armour: A Study in Classification,” offprint from *Proceedings of the British Academy* 27 (1940), deals exclusively with German armor.
 99. This group is discussed at length in Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 225–48, nos. 43–48.
 100. Inv. nos. VI.121, 122; C. J. Foulkes, *Inventory and Survey of the Armouries of the Tower of London*, 2 vols. (London, 1916), vol. 1, p. 210; Richardson, *Armours and Arms of Henry VIII*, p. 44, where they are associated with the Wilton armor and likewise called “possibly French.”
 101. Inv. no. VI.114; Foulkes, *Armouries of the Tower of London*, vol. 1, p. 210; Richardson, *Armour and Arms of Henry VIII*, p. 44, there called Italian, about 1545.
 102. Starkey, *Inventory of Henry VIII*, pp. 158, 161, nos. 8176, 8177, and 8367 respectively. See also Dillon, “Arms and Armour at Westminster,” pp. 269, 277.
 103. Inv. no. Z.O.3973 (formerly I.369), apparently unpublished. The elongated shape of the breastplate, which overlaps the waistplate, should be compared to breastplates of similar form and construction belonging to an armor datable to the 1530s in the Musée de l’Armée, Paris, inv. no. G.47 (see note 95), and to that of Ferrante Gonzaga of ca. 1540 in Vienna, inv. no. A528 (see note 69).
 104. Jakob Schrenck von Notzing, *Die Heldenrüstkammer (Armamentarium Heroicum) Erzherzog Ferdinands II. auf Schloss Ambras bei*

- Innsbruck: Faksimiledruck der lateinischen und der deutschen Ausgabe des Kupferstich-Bildinventars von 1601 bzw. 1603*, edited and annotated by Bruno Thomas (Osnabrück, 1981), no. 53.
105. For the pieces in Paris, inv. no. G.145, see Jean-Pierre Reverseau, *Armes et armures des Montmorency*, exh. cat., Musée de l'Armée, Paris (Paris, 1993), pp. 24–25, where an extensive bibliography is given; for those in Florence, inv. no. 3962, see Alfredo Lensi, *Il Museo Stibbert: Catalogo delle sale delle armi europee*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1917–18), vol. 2, p. 675; and for the pieces in New York, acc. nos. 29.150.151 and 38.163.2a–d, see Grancsay, "Armor of Henry I de Montmorency." Stuart Pyhrr's identification of the Montmorency pieces in the Museo Stibbert was first reported by Thomas in Schrenck, *Armamentarium Heroicum*, no. 53.
 106. As, for example, on a richly etched and gilt light field armor, ca. 1515, bearing the marks of Giovanni Antonio Missaglia of Milan in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, inv. no. G.8, and on a foot-combat armor of similar date, also in Paris, inv. no. G.178, by another Milanese armorer, Niccolò Silva (see Boccia and Coelho, *L'arte dell'armatura in Italia*, pp. 226–27, 234–35, figs. 198–204, and pp. 227, 235–36, figs. 211–22, respectively).
 107. Robert, *Musée d'Artillerie*, vol. 2, p. 79, no. G.139. An associated helmet is catalogued and exhibited with the armor (not illustrated in Figure 51). Two small rivet holes on the second lame of the breastplate, one at either side of the upper chest, originally may have held fixtures for the attachment of the placard; rivet holes at the sides of the breast and backplates beneath the armholes presumably indicate the former presence of straps and buckles to fasten the cuirass laterally.
 108. For example, a light field armor, inv. no. G.140, in Paris, and especially portions of an armor divided between Malta and the Royal Armouries, Leeds. The armor in Paris, for which there appears to be no published illustration, has etched decoration on a dotted ground. The Malta/Leeds armor, whose etched ornament on a plain recessed ground is very similar to that of the Paris armor G.139, is illustrated in the following publications: Guy Francis Laking, *A Catalogue of the Armour and Arms in the Armoury of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Now in the Palace, Valetta, Malta* (London, 1903), no. 442, pl. 31, and Watts, "Armour of the Knights of St. John," pp. 33–34, figs. 1, 2, 6. Judging from the shape of the breastplates and type of decoration, both armors appear to date to the 1550s.
 109. For an overview of Milanese armor, see especially Thomas and Gamber, "L'arte milanese dell'armatura," and most recently, Silvio Leydi, "Milan and the Arms Industry in the Sixteenth Century," in Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 25–33.
 110. Blair, "The Emperor Maximilian's Gift of Armour to King Henry VIII," p. 35.
 111. Personal communication to Stuart Pyhrr from Silvio Leydi, April 3, 2001. This document of May 13, 1552, is briefly mentioned in José-A. Godoy and Silvio Leydi, *Parures Triomphales: Le maniérisme dans l'art de l'armure italienne*, exh. cat., Musée Rath, Geneva (Milan, 2003), p. 517. Silvio Leydi plans to publish a complete transcription of it in the future.
 112. Hayward, "Armoury of the First Earl of Pembroke," p. 226.
 113. We especially wish to thank Silvio Leydi for having undertaken the lengthy search for references to this armor.
 114. On Brescian armor, see Bruno Thomas, with Agostino Gaibi, "Armature e armi bianche," in *Storia di Brescia*, vol. 3 (Brescia, 1961), pp. 791–815 (reprinted in Thomas, *Gesammelte Schriften zur historischen Waffenkunde*, vol. 1, pp. 387–426).
 115. Mentioned by Dillon, "Arms and Armor at Westminster," pp. 229–30, where the number of armors is mistakenly given as 1,050. Dillon's source for the reference, including the error, which he did not cite in his publication, is found in Rawden Brown, *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. 5, 1534–1554 (London, 1873), p. 122, no. 308. The original document is reproduced, transcribed, and translated into English in Marco Morin and Robert Held, *Beretta: The World's Oldest Industrial Dynasty* (Chiasso, 1980), p. 27, where the number of armors is given as *mille cinquecento*. Morin and Held also record an earlier English order for Brescian arms placed in 1542 (p. 26).
 116. Dillon, "Arms and Armour at Westminster," p. 253, where he incorrectly gives the date as 1532. His source is again Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 4, 1527–1533 (London, 1871), p. 374, no. 838, and pp. 381–82, no. 857, for letters of December 26, 1533, and February 22, 1533/34.
 117. See above, p. 124, and note 85.
 118. Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 320–23.
 119. For some of the characteristics of Brescian armor, see for example *ibid.*, p. 323.
 120. The four other royal or imperial armors are those of Ferdinand I (1503–1564), king of Bohemia and Hungary from 1526, king of the Romans from 1531, and Holy Roman Emperor from 1556, made by Kunz Lochner of Nuremberg in 1549 (acc. no. 33.164); Henry II (1519–1559), king of France, a French harness made about 1555 (acc. no. 39.121); Dom Pedro II (1648–1706), king of Portugal, an English harquebus armor attributed to Richard Hoden of London about 1685 (acc. no. 15.113.1–5); and Infante Luis (1707–1724), prince of Asturias, who reigned briefly as Luis I of Spain in 1724, a child's armor made by a member of the Drouar family in Paris in 1712 (acc. no. 1989.3). The armor of Dom Pedro II is discussed in detail, and the others more generally, by Donald J. LaRocca, "An English Armor for the King of Portugal," *MMJ* 30 (1995), pp. 81–96.
 121. The Museum's holdings were surveyed by Helmut Nickel, "English Armour in the Metropolitan Museum," *Connoisseur* 172 (November 1969), pp. 196–203.
 122. Stephen V. Grancsay, *The Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers 4 (New York, 1937).
 123. Recent discussions of the armor include Helmut Nickel, "'a harnes all gilte': A Study of the Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac and the Iconography of Its Decoration," *MMJ* 5 (1972), pp. 75–124; Karen Watts, "Fit for a King," *Country Life*, February 20, 1992, pp. 66–67; and Eaves, "Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII," pp. 18–24.
 124. If accepted as Henry VIII's, the "Genouilhac" armor would of course constitute the sixth royal armor in the Museum's collection. As mentioned above (note 56), a monograph on the Museum's Greenwich armors is currently being prepared by Ian Eaves.
 125. We are grateful to Dr. Nigel Ramsey, F.S.A., for help with the bibliography of early guides to Wilton House in connection with this appendix.
 126. The inventory has been deposited with other Wilton archives in the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, Trowbridge, Wiltshire, where it is numbered 2057/H5/1. The armories are referred to respectively as the "New" (fol. 6) and the "Old"

- (fol. 31). No armor is included among the contents of the Hall (fol. 1). We are very grateful to Stephen Hobbs of the Record Office for very kindly providing us with information about the inventory and its contents.
127. Richard Cowdry, *A Description of the Pictures, Statues, Busto's, Basso-Relievo's, and Other Curiosities at the Earl of Pembroke's House at Wilton* (London, 1751), pp. 21–22. The Hall referred to was the Great Hall.
 128. An Italian edition was published in 1754: *Descrizione delle pitture, statue, busti, ed altre curiosita esistenti in Inghilterra a Wilton nella villa di Mylord conte di Pembroke, e di Montgomery*. A copy is in the Library of the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence (shelf mark T2753).
 129. James Kennedy, *A New Description of the Pictures, Statues, Bustos, Basso-Relievos, and Other Curiosities at the Earl of Pembroke's House at Wilton* (Salisbury, 1758), pp. 28–29. From 1769 some editions included engravings of classical sculpture.
 130. *Aedes Pembrochianae: A New Account and Description of the Statues, Bustos, Relievos, Paintings, Medals and Other Antiquities and Curiosities in Wilton-House*, 11th ed. (Salisbury, 1788), p. 34.
 131. Samuel Rush Meyrick, *A Critical Inquiry into Antient Armour As It Existed in Europe, Particularly in Great Britain, from the Norman Conquest to the Reign of King Charles II*, 3 vols. (London, 1842), vol. 3, p. 115.
 132. Baron de Cosson, "Armour and Arms at the Tudor Exhibition," *Antiquary*, February 1890, pp. 57–61. He wrote (p. 58) about these and another armor from Wilton: "Next we have a group of three suits of armour . . . lent by the Earl of Pembroke, and all with an undoubted pedigree." See also p. 322 of his article with the same title cited in note 57.
- Very inadequate drawings of the armors in the exhibition are reproduced in the *Illustrated London News* 96 (January 4–June 28, 1890), pp. 7, 296. These appear to be the earliest published illustrations of them.

Fit for a Royal Heart?: A French Renaissance Relief at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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IN MEMORY OF MYRA D. ORTH (1934–2002). HER HEART, TOO, WAS IN THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

ALL WORKS OF ART are unique, but, to paraphrase George Orwell, some are more so than others. In this special category belongs a remarkably highly finished, small-scale French later-sixteenth-century marble relief, acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1997 (Figure 1).¹ So intricate is its delicate treatment that one scholar reasonably assumed the piece to be carved of alabaster rather than from the far harder marble. A lack of documentation and of illuminating provenance makes it difficult to place the Museum's Northern Renaissance relief in context.² The wholesale destruction of so many major French monuments of the period compounds the problem. Such demolition began long before the Revolution, often undertaken by the very descendants of those who commissioned works of art in the first place.³ The leveling of two key projects by Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570), whose style as painter and architect is closely allied with that of the Metropolitan relief, provides a case in point. His Valois Rotunda, the necropolis attached to the ancient royal abbey of Saint-Denis, was destroyed in 1719, and his Galerie d'Ulysse at Fontainebleau—indubitably the greatest Renaissance fresco cycle north of the Alps—was demolished in 1738 by Louis XV.

Interior relief decorations in châteaux were mostly worked in stucco, and infrequent, far costlier carved marble elements were generally reserved for important large-scale constructions, such as mantelpieces—the Latin *focus* (hearth). The literally elevated embellishment of these chimneypieces, however, tended to be large allegorical figures, readily seen and understood from a distance. The intimate scale and subtle carving of the Metropolitan's relief tell us that it was designed to be viewed at close range.

Indeed, the relief would not qualify at all for secular decorative application on mantelpieces, overdoors,

or any other element of interior design in a palatial location, judging from surviving sixteenth-century examples of such genres. As economical in the visual arts as in the gustatory, the French expended effort only where it counted to best effect, not where it remained invisible. For instance, Pierre Bontemps (ca. 1512–ca. 1570) is known to have carved a marble relief of the *Four Seasons* (1555–56) for Fontainebleau; its figures were probably as large as Jean Goujon's (ca. 1510–ca. 1565) *Victory* (1545), a surviving part of the mantel complex of the Grand Salle (or Salle d'Honneur) at Écouen. Another sculptor, Mathieu Jacquet (ca. 1545–after March 1611), carved a large marble narrative relief of the *Bataille d'Ivry et la reddition de Mantes* (1600; dismantled 1725; Château of Fontainebleau and Musée du Louvre, Paris) for Fontainebleau's Belle Cheminée.⁴

Although some marble interior and exterior embellishments are found in High Renaissance France, as in the Louvre *Tribune des cariatides* or the Salles des États at Villers-Cotterêts, there are no surviving secular narrative interior elements comparable in scale to the Metropolitan relief.⁵ The costly and time-consuming manufacture of such delicately, intricately worked French Renaissance marbles appears to have occurred in only one context—that of royal or noble funerary monuments, either for parts of the body or for the heart alone, on which miniature details were legible.⁶ Even if their subject matter is seemingly secular, these small-scale marble reliefs were mostly destined for church settings.⁷ Before suggesting just where, when, why, and for whom the Metropolitan's enigmatic marble might have been carved, the funerary genres of the period, particularly that of heart burial, should be investigated.

When a king or prince died, the body was usually brought to Saint-Denis or Saint-Germain-des-Prés for inhumation. His heart (and, sometimes, other inner organs) was preserved separately, and its monument was kept at a religious institution near the place of

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The notes for this article begin on page 154.

145

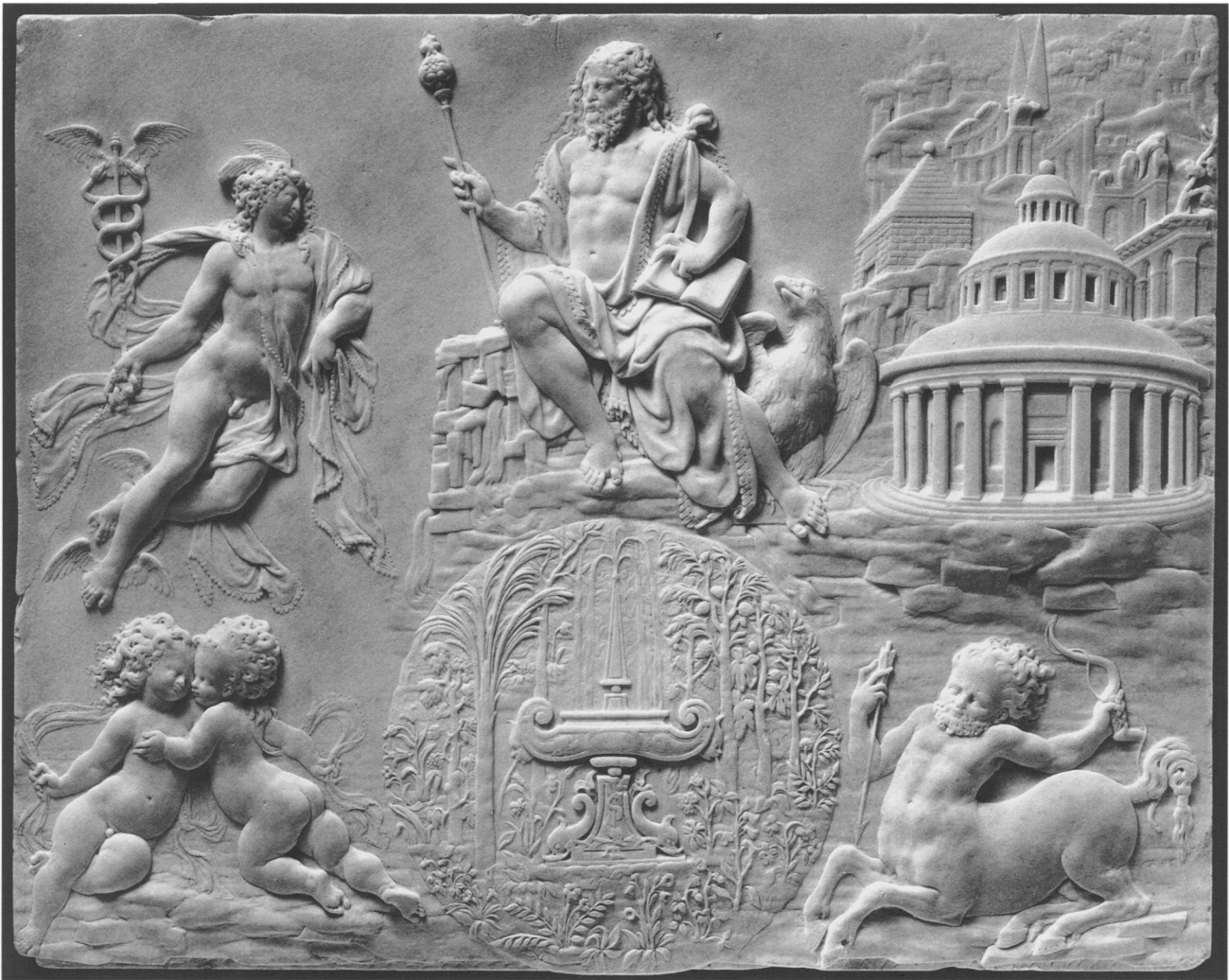


Figure 1. Artist active in France. *The Reign of Jupiter*, ca. 1575. Marble, 38.1 x 48.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Annenberg Foundation Gift, 1997 (1997.23)

death.⁸ If expiration occurred in or near Paris, the heart was usually placed in the Orléans Chapel in the Benedictine monastery of the Célestins (1365), built by Charles V (r. 1364–80).⁹

Designed and carved by Bontemps, the heart container for François I (r. 1515–47) is the first Renaissance example of such a royal monument (Figure 2). Now at Saint-Denis (originally at the abbey of Haute-Bruyères¹⁰), this intricate, tureenlike marble object demands close observation, for its eight complex medallions are in subtle, shallow relief.¹¹ François's son and heir Henri II (r. 1547–59) received an even grander heart monument, which also included the heart of his wife, Catherine de Médicis (Figure 3).¹² It, too, was destined for the Célestins' Orléans Chapel. It was designed by Primaticcio and executed primar-

ily by Germain Pilon (ca. 1525–1590) between 1561 and 1565. The heads of its crowning Three Graces support an urn—a substitute for the lost original heart vessel.

Monuments for the hearts of Henri II's three sons, of interest since they would come close in date to the Museum's marble, are less easy to trace. That for François II (r. 1544–60) was entrusted by the young king's mother, Catherine, and his brother Charles IX (r. 1560–74) to Primaticcio and Frémin Roussel (act. ca. 1560–ca. 1570) in 1562, to be placed alongside his father's monument in the Orléans Chapel. The only elements to survive are the column and base carved by Jean Picard, now in the basilica of Saint-Denis,¹³ and a *Spinario*-like marble youth (Musée du Louvre, Paris). This winged Michelangelesque



Figure 2. Pierre Bontemps. *Heart Monument for François I*, 1550. Marble. Basilica of Saint-Denis, Paris (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])

figure is a funerary genius, inscribing a tablet with François's name.¹⁴ Primaticcio was well acquainted with his antique model since he had supervised the making of a mold of the *Spinario* in Rome, preparatory to the casting in bronze of the statue at (and for) Fontainebleau.¹⁵ Roussel as sculptor and Primaticcio as designer had already collaborated on other funerary projects as well as stucco decorations for the châteaux of Fontainebleau and perhaps Meudon.

Charles IX almost certainly had an important heart monument, yet nothing is known of it. That for his successor, the assassinated Henri III (r. 1574–89), had a bronze receptacle atop a column; today the column is at Saint-Cloud (Collégiale).¹⁶ According to Marie-Alexandre Lenoir, who preserved a great number of



Figure 3. Designed by Francesco Primaticcio and carved by Germain Pilon. *Heart Monument for Henri II*, 1561–65. Marble. Musée du Louvre, Paris (photo: G. Blot/C. Jean, © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY)

ancient monuments in his Parisian Musée des Monuments Français after the Revolution,¹⁷ the marble column was an early-seventeenth-century addition brought to Saint-Denis in 1610,¹⁸ when the royal heart was placed in the Valois Chapel. Aside from the column, all that remains of Henri III's original monument is its Pilonesque square bas-relief bearing a Latin inscription (Saint-Denis), sometimes ascribed to Barthélemy Prieur (ca. 1536–1611).¹⁹

Lenoir attempted to reconstruct this heart monument shortly after his purchase in 1797 of a relief showing the *Réveils des nymphes* (Figure 4), using it as his point of departure.²⁰ He ascribed the *Réveils* relief to Goujon, but it is now given to Bontemps because of its similarity to that sculptor's medallion of Song (Figure 5) for François I's urn. The little funerary genius

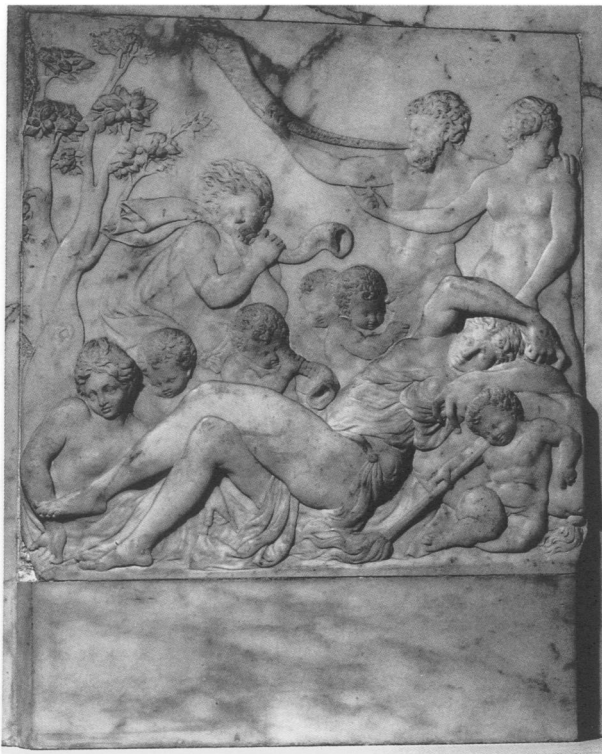


Figure 4. Pierre Bontemps. *Réveils des nymphes*. Marble, 60 x 49.3 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris (photo: © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY)



Figure 5. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Song on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])

lowering his torch at the relief's far right, and the fauns, satyrs, and dryads—all symbolic of fertility and regeneration—inspired Lenoir's funerary interpretation. He highly imaginatively re-created the heart monument of Henri III in his *Musée* catalogue; Charles Percier provided the reproductive print for the entry.²¹ The *Réveils* relief has been reset within a later marble extension measuring 60 by 49.3 centimeters to complete the broken stone;²² only its bottom border is original.

The bottom edge of the Metropolitan relief also shows signs of having been cut away from a larger setting. For what purpose would this relatively small and yet highly elaborate, costly marble relief have been created? Michael P. Mezzatesta placed it in the vast château of Meudon, near Paris,²³ which Primaticcio designed for Cardinal Charles de Guise (1525–1574), who, with his brother François (1519–1562), had long dominated French court life. However, the grotto proposed by Mezzatesta for the Metropolitan marble's setting would be an unlikely venue for such a finely carved work.²⁴ This relief's formality would not be in keeping with earlier natural grottoes and their rustic, primal, libidinal associations; for that, stucco would have been more at home.²⁵ Indeed, all Meudon's known reliefs were of stucco, as noted by Giorgio Vasari in his vita of Primaticcio, the château's architect.²⁶

The relief's astrological references to Gemini, Mercury, and Sagittarius (the centaur Chiron) suggest its having belonged to a heart monument, probably that of Charles IX, second son of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis and husband of Elizabeth of Austria. The sole remaining indication of Charles's death is a funerary inscription in his memory at Saint-Denis, known from a drawing by Gaignières.²⁷ The young king died at Vincennes on May 30, 1574, and his body was placed in the crypt of the Valois Rotunda. Charles's heart was brought to the Célestins on July 8 and deposited there with the "cérémonie ordinaire."²⁸ The project for his heart monument may never have been completed or installed due to various acts of "dénigration," or destruction of royal monuments, that took place after Charles's death.²⁹

The Metropolitan Museum has conservatively entitled its marble relief *The Reign of Jupiter* because that supreme, Raphaelesque deity, accompanied by an eagle, is centrally placed in the uppermost register (Figure 6).³⁰ This god is a monarchical reference, and the top of his staff is possibly a conventionalized pomegranate, regal symbol of unity.³¹ He holds an open book, in a gesture reminiscent of that in depictions of Christ in Majesty. As noted by Mezzatesta, this book is a symbol of Poetry.³² In fact, the cosmic and harmonic powers of the art of poetry underlie the



Figure 6. Detail of Jupiter on the relief in Figure 1

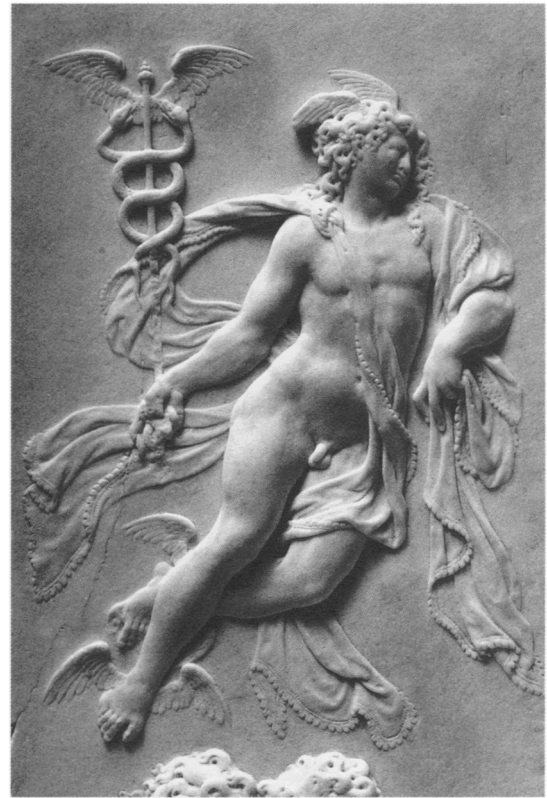


Figure 7. Detail of Mercury on the relief in Figure 1

marble's meaning. "Poetry" in classical culture signified the creative principle, equivalent to genesis. As communicated by song, this art form was within the purview of Jupiter's daughters the Muses, who loomed large in both François I's and Henri II's funerary monuments. Through them Jupiter's presence ties the relief's program to sixteenth-century royal heart projects.³³

According to Mezzatesta, Gemini, carved below Mercury, is "the constellation under which a poet is most likely to be born since it is . . . in the house of Mercury, patron of poetry."³⁴ He related Sagittarius, at the lower right, to the Archer in the house of Jupiter, for it is only with the proper patronage, protection, inspiration, and beneficent rule that a poet can flourish.³⁵

Maria Naylor saw the need to interpret zodiacal signs in terms of their terrestrial origins as well. Thus Sagittarius should also be understood as the centaur Chiron's celestial manifestation. Wise tutor (and healer) to Achilles, Asclepius, Jason, Peleus, and Actaeon, Chiron found popularity at humanistic courts because of his lofty, heroic associations. Chiron, who was often claimed in the French Renaissance as teacher of the nation's once and future kings, is found in the fresco cycle of the Galerie François I, in poetry celebrating the erudite monarch's beloved son, the dauphin François (d. 1536), as well as in verses

written for his three grandsons, François II, Charles IX, and Henri III.³⁶ The didactic centaur is a considerable figure in French literature of the Renaissance, abounding, for example, in Pierre de Ronsard's poetic theory.³⁷

Mercury, messenger and master of eloquence and commerce (Figure 7), is carved at the upper left, facing Jupiter. Ronsard ascribed the god's attributes to François I as "père des arts et lettres" at Fontainebleau; the king is shown as such in a project by Primaticcio (Figure 8). The symbolism of the Metropolitan's relief pertaining to the power of poetry,



Figure 8. Francesco Primaticcio. *François I with Allegorical Figures and Muses*. Project presumably for or after a pediment at the château of Fontainebleau, 1547. Pen, brown wash heightened with white, 21.2 x 68 cm. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (photo: State Hermitage Museum)

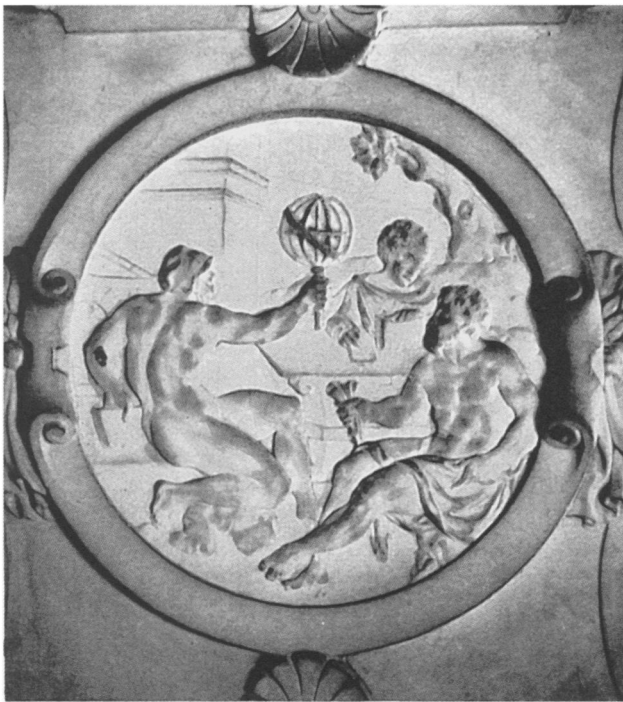


Figure 9. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Astronomy on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])



Figure 11. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Lyric Poetry on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])



Figure 10. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Instrumental Music on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])

inspiration, and the eternity of the spirit can be found in the complex visual coding of Bontemps's urn for François I's heart (Figure 2). Here the sum total of human and divine knowledge is carved in cartouche-reliefs: in roundels on the base Astronomy (Figure 9), Instrumental Music (Figure 10), Song (Figure 5), and Lyric Poetry (Figure 11) are depicted; and in ovals on the tureenlike heart container Architecture (Figure 12), Sculpture, Painting (Figure 13), and Geometry (Figure 14) are represented. As the "père des arts et lettres," François I shared the realm of the Muses. While the king's tomb is a marble paean to terrestrial, military victory, his heart monument pays tribute to the monarch's spiritual values.³⁸

Henri II's heart container is another evocation of the Muses, shown throughout its reliefs, and the Graces (Figure 3). Here, the Graces support an urn replacing the original that housed the royal relic. The Graces, like the Muses, were fraught with Neoplatonic meanings linked to the immortality of the soul.³⁹ This complex allusion is, in large part, also that of the Metropolitan relief, whose key emphasis is on Jupiter as father of poetry, domain of his daughters the Muses. Such an emphasis is known not only from Primaticcio's pedimental project, presumably for or after one at Fontainebleau⁴⁰ (Figure 8), but also from two drawings by Antoine Caron (1521–1599) for Nicolas



Figure 12. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Architecture on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])

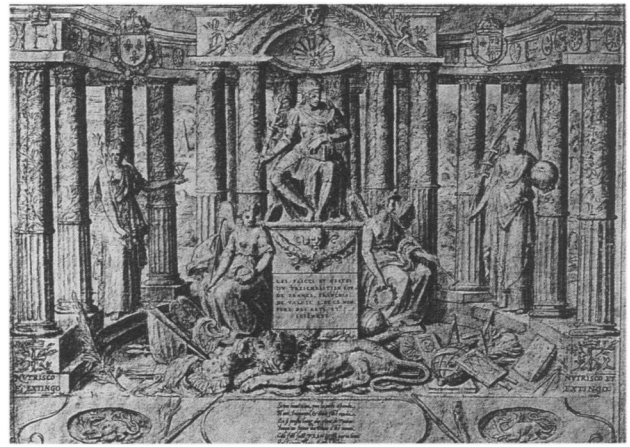


Figure 15. Antoine Caron. *Le règne de François I*. Illustration for Nicolas Houel, *L'histoire françoise de nostre temps* (ca. 1560). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (after Jules Guiffrey, *Les dessins de l'histoire des rois de France par Nicolas Houel* [Paris, 1920], pl. 4)



Figure 13. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Painting on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])

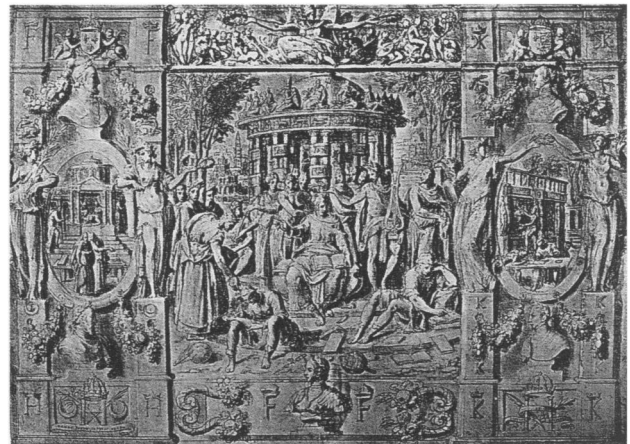


Figure 16. Antoine Caron. *La renaissance des arts et des lettres*. Illustration for Nicolas Houel, *L'histoire françoise de nostre temps* (ca. 1560). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (after Jules Guiffrey, *Les dessins de l'histoire des rois de France par Nicolas Houel* [Paris, 1920], pl. 16)



Figure 14. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Geometry on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])

Houel's *L'histoire françoise de nostre temps* (Figures 15, 16), which covers the period from François I to his grandson Charles IX. In *Le règne de François I*, the king is depicted holding a book (of poetry?) and a caduceus, and surrounded by Muses.⁴¹ In a second plate entitled *La renaissance des arts et des lettres*, the central figure also has a book (again, of poetry?) on his lap⁴²—Jupiter's attribute in the Metropolitan relief (Figure 6). In this drawing, Neptune's temple is immediately behind the seated figure, and the frieze below it includes François's monogram; in the Metropolitan marble, waters pertaining to Neptune stream from the rocky throne and jet from a fountain in the central roundel below (Figure 17). That Houel's page, like the New York relief, refers to the heavens is made clear by a diminutive zodiac over the figure's



Figure 17. Detail of medallion on the relief in Figure 1



Figure 18. Detail of circular building on the relief in Figure 1

head, set within a frieze upon a pantheon, recalling the Valois Rotunda. Similarly, a centrally planned circular temple is seen at the upper right of the Metropolitan marble (Figure 18), where other buildings with twin obelisks and a pyramidal roof capped by an orb approach the intimate narrative aesthetic of Caron's miniature scale.⁴³

In the relief, Jupiter is seated upon a roughly worked throne of living rock, from which streams issue, suggesting the source of poetic inspiration.⁴⁴ This aqueous motif is extended below, where a medallion-like tondo (Figure 17) is worked in shallow relief. It encompasses a central obelisk-fountain, jetting five streams, possibly symbolic of the five rivers of France.⁴⁵ The fountain's base is buttressed by two dolphins (dauphins),⁴⁶ and three others are in very low relief: the outlines of two are traced on the basin, and the third, its tail twisted about Neptune's trident, fills the fountain's vertical pediment. This last motif is also found on the keystone of the Fontaine des Innocents (1547–49), carved by Goujon and pertaining to the king's dominion over the waters.⁴⁷ Three dolphins, symbols of the three dauphins (François II, Charles IX, and Henri III), also support the urn atop the Three Graces originally containing Henri II's heart (Figure 3).

The New York marble makes a much abbreviated allusion to the divine wisdom of the Muses—the source of poetic inspiration found in their father's watery throne and in the dolphin-encrusted obelisk-fountain below. Its funerary reference, possibly to a royal heart within, is also suggested by the fountain medallion below Jupiter. Such an aqueous source located at the center of a garden, as Naomi Miller observed, "was generally understood as the symbolic heart of a terrestrial paradise."⁴⁸ The palm and pine trees carved within the medallion symbolize fame and immortality.⁴⁹ These references to eternity, to the afterlife, may pay tribute to the infinite font of inspired poetry as equated with the undying spirit of a French king, alive and well in paradise.

Having already seen the few wholly or partially surviving French royal sixteenth-century heart monuments, one is tempted to place the Museum's relief within their sculptural context. The considerable variety in the heart containers' formats, however, defies any definitive, if not persuasive, reconstruction. The marble would more likely have functioned as a base front supporting the container rather than as part of the heart enclosure itself. Yet the possibility of its being the front of the container need not be excluded. The heart enclosure and its immediate sup-

port would probably have rested atop a pillar, making the relief readily visible.

Surprisingly, no heart monument for Charles IX is known. Could the Museum's relief have fulfilled that function? Ronsard, closely involved with Charles's festivals at Fontainebleau,⁵⁰ made much of a link between that king and the civilizing centaur Chiron, present in the relief, in his *Institution pour l'adolescence du roy très-chrétien Charles IX de ce nom*.⁵¹ For celebrations during the young king's royal tour, the poet had Jupiter laud Charles's unique gifts as stemming directly from the king of the gods.⁵²

The constellation Gemini (Figure 19), seen at the relief's lower left, originated as Castor and Pollux, twin sons of Jupiter and Leda. The twins were protectors of music, dance, and poetry, along with the Muses (Theocritus 22.215). Charles IX and Henri III were often identified with Castor and Pollux by Ronsard. They were depicted as such guiding the French Ship of State at the Pont Notre-Dame in pageantry for Charles's triumphal Parisian entry of 1571, the program for which was devised by Ronsard.⁵³ Mezzatesta argues persuasively that the plan for the Metropolitan relief was by the same poet, or by some other member of the Pléiade. Its delicate chiaroscuro, in fact, gives it the precious quality of an intensely worked, treasured container, such as the small gilt-iron jewel casket made for Ronsard's mistress according to his program.⁵⁴

Charles IX, still more enthusiastic a poetry patron than his grandfather, father, or any of his brothers, gave Ronsard rooms at Fontainebleau along with an ample living from abbacy and priory revenues. That king saw the poet as his master, supposedly proposing to him the *Franciade's* subject, though this was doubtless the deed of Henri II, during whose reign the poem was begun. Charles also embraced the need for a poetical and musical academy, founded under Ronsard, who dedicated his *Préface sur la musique* (written for that institution) to Charles.⁵⁵ The king's biographer, Arnould Sorbin, bishop of Nevers and a friend of Ronsard, recalled: "Dear God, how the king loved Ronsard, how he cherished his labors and by all possible favors stirred up the energy of his mind and fortified the vein of his poetry . . . the style of which was so agreeable to him that he often passed a great part of the night in reading his verses or having them recited."⁵⁶

Charles's love of poetry was extended past his lifetime. Three special eulogies were prepared upon his death: Lazare de Baïf's "Complainte sur le trépas du feu roy Charles" and Claude Binet's eclogue "Adonis au trépas du roy Charles IX," as well as Ronsard's "Tombeau de feu roy Charles." The young king had



Figure 19. Detail of Gemini on the relief in Figure 1

said to his poet, "Je puis donner la mort, toi la immortalité."⁵⁷ But Charles may have received immortality not only from Ronsard but also from the heart monument devised and carved by the major minds and hands of the French Renaissance.

Royal commissions make attributions relatively easy, but this is not true for the Metropolitan marble. Mezzatesta related the relief's Gemini stylistically to a vault in the chapel (completed 1553) of the château of Anet, carved by a sculptor very close to Pilon, the busiest and best sculptor active in Paris at the time of François II's demise.⁵⁸ According to James David Draper, the sculptor of the Museum's marble is close to the Master of the Diana of Anet.⁵⁹ However, that famous statue of *Diana*, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, is essentially a decorative continuation of the classical, Raphaelesque aspects of Primaticcio's world. The relief's sculptor is more likely to have been involved with small-scale works, without the grand Mannerism of the *Diana*.⁶⁰

The marble, if for Charles IX's funerary project, would postdate Goujon, but an assistant of his might be considered for its authorship.⁶¹ Jacquiot Ponce, François II's "sculpteur et architecte du roi" (act. ca. 1527–70), could be a candidate. Employed on the stuccos at Meudon,⁶² he probably came from Italy as an assistant to Primaticcio. Between 1559 and 1562, Ponce worked under Primaticcio on marble reliefs for François I's tomb; he also contributed architectural elements to Henri II's tomb and prepared its lifesize allegorical bronzes. Considering the small scale of the figures in the Metropolitan relief, it is interesting to note that Ponce prepared scale models of Henri II's

tomb and several figurines;⁶³ miniature busts, such as *Mary, Queen of Scots* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London), are also ascribed to him.

Emblematic in character, the relief's components have an "applied" quality that suggests a medallic approach; their extraordinarily detailed rendering is nearer casting than carving. Such an orientation is most obvious in the centrally placed Paradise medalion in the lower register. Little is known, and less survives, of works in this genre from the later sixteenth century. Most French medals were designed by painters or sculptors and then often turned over to a technical expert for execution.⁶⁴

ABBREVIATIONS

Beaulieu 1978

Michèle Beaulieu et al. *Description raisonnée des sculptures du Musée du Louvre*. Vol. 2, *Renaissance française*. Paris, 1978.

Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975

Alain Erlande-Brandenburg et al. *Gisants et tombeaux de la basilique de Saint-Denis*. Exh. cat., Maison de la Culture de la Seine-Saint-Denis and Archives Départementales de la Seine-Saint-Denis. [Saint-Denis, 1975].

Mezzatesta 1990

Michael P. Mezzatesta. "The King, the Poet, and the Nation: A French Sixteenth-Century Relief and the Pléiade." In *IL 60: Essays Honoring Irving Lavin on His Sixtieth Birthday*, pp. 227–52. Ed. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin. New York, 1990.

NOTES

I thank Thierry Crépin-Leblond, Conservateur au Musée National de la Renaissance, Écouen, with warmest appreciation for his ever-generous and invaluable assistance; John Garton, Liliana Leopardi, and Rangsook Yoon for their excellent editorial and research gifts; and Joe Hill for kindly going to the Archives Nationales, Paris, and sending me photocopies of relevant material. As ever, I am much indebted to the late Maria Naylor for her vast insights and equally profound erudition. Professor John O'Brian of the University of London, Egham, has generously shared his expertise on French royal funerary customs. Jean-Louis Cohen provided a much-needed article dealing with Marie-Alexandre Lenoir's Musée. Jane Bobko and Margaret Rennolds Chace of the Metropolitan Museum's Editorial Department have both been of immeasurable assistance.

1. See James David Draper, "The Reign of Jupiter," *MMAB* 55, no. 2 (fall 1997), p. 33.
2. In sixteenth-century Italy, a very few pictorial reliefs of secular subjects were carved in marble; those of Pierino da Vinci

(1529–1553), Leonardo's nephew, come to mind. However, the bulk of Italian reliefs were in wax or terracotta, closely related to the production of bronzes. Among the major marbles in this uncommon genre are Pierino's *Pisa Restored* (1552–53; Pinacoteca Vaticana). His *Death of Count Ugolino and His Sons* survives in several media. Two marble reliefs attributed to him are a *Pan and Olympus* (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence) and a *Profile of a Young Woman* (Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence). Some of these exceedingly rare reliefs were carved in the heyday of the sixteenth-century academies. They were probably intended as *paragone*, virtuosic works meant to be seen in comparison with painting, and designed as framed grisailles. However, no analogous essays in relief are known in contemporary France, among either surviving independent monuments or the lost works of major masters.

3. This topic was first discussed in Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1706), and more recently in Thomas Lerch, *Die Grabkapelle der Valois in Saint-Denis* (Munich, 1991). An article brought to my attention by Thierry Crépin-Leblond is a Communication (No. 5) of Michel Fleury and Guy-Michel Leproux, "Les fouilles de la Rotonde des Valois à Saint-Denis (Seine-Saint-Denis)," *Commission du vieux Paris: Procès-verbal de la séance du 7 juillet 1998*, pp. 10–17.
4. Beaulieu 1978, pp. 107, 109, no. 157.
5. A large relief of *The Three Graces and the Five Muses*, placed within a pediment below the bust of François I at Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, was probably of fine limestone. Known from Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau's drawing, this architectural feature is of unusual interest because its subject is close to those found on funerary monuments for that king and for his son Henri II. See the discussion by Wolfram Prinz et al., *Das französische Schloss der Renaissance: Form und Bedeutung der Architektur, ihre geschichtlichen und gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen* (Berlin, 1985), p. 102. Francesco Primaticcio's project for a pediment, of Diana and Venus with the Muses surrounding the bust of François I (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg), possibly originally intended for the Galerie François I, might also be borne in mind. It is reproduced by Janet Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures* (Antwerp and New York, 1996), p. 400, fig. 450.
6. A seeming exception is the alchemical frieze on the exterior of the parish church at Assier. However, it can be said that the church also had a funerary function, as it was built to bury Galiot de Genouillac.
7. Very small fountains might prove an exception, though no reliefs associated with such structures are found on panels forming part of the fountain's base enclosure.
8. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: Étude sur les sépultures, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle* (Geneva, 1975), p. 118. According to Erlande-Brandenburg, separate royal heart burials in France were initiated early in the fourteenth century with that of Philippe le Bel (r. 1285–1314). Surprisingly, separate heart burial for the nobility and meritocracy continued through the Enlightenment. Even Voltaire left his *cœur* within Jean-Antoine Houdon's plaster portrait of the seated *Philosophe* (ca. 1781), still preserved in situ at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The same sculptor's marble (1781) for the heart of Victor Charpentier, comte d'Ennery, is in the Louvre. For earlier examples, see G. Brière, "Monuments des coeurs de Henri IV et Marie de Médicis," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts d'Angers* 1–4 (1947–50), pp. 21–32E.

9. The definitive study of such monuments is Victoria L. Goldberg, "Graces, Muses, and Arts: The Urns of Henri II and Francis I," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966), pp. 206–18.
10. For the history of its prior placements, see Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, p. 40, no. 66.
11. Paul S. Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 (December 1939), pp. 383–96. For the origin of the "tureen" in a Rosso Fiorentino-designed silver service for Fontainebleau, see Michèle Beaulieu, quoted by Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, p. 40, no. 66.
12. Beaulieu 1978, pp. 126–28, nos. 197–98.
13. Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, pp. 43–44, no. 80.
14. Beaulieu 1978, p. 167, no. 256. See also Sylvie Béguin, Bertrand Jestaz, and Jacques Thirion, *L'école de Fontainebleau: Guide*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, Paris (Paris, 1972), no. 553.
15. Cox-Rearick, *Collection of Francis I*, p. 348. The cast had been ordered by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este as a gift for François I.
16. The monument (1633–35) was paid for by a royal favorite, the duc d'Épernon. See Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, p. 45. This, too, was in Lenoir's Musée and was moved to Saint-Denis between 1818 and 1821.
17. Most royal funerary monuments surviving the Revolution owed their continued existence to Lenoir. The Musée des Monuments Français (founded in 1790) was located in the monastery of the Célestins, where many heart monuments were originally placed. Lenoir's unique institution sanitized monarchical statuary of its politically incorrect associations and presented it in the name of history, not monarchy. With the Restoration and Concordat, his Musée was dissolved in 1816, and its statuary was moved once again, mostly to the Louvre or back to the original site (if not always placement). For a fine recent study, see Dominique Poulot, "Alexandre Lenoir et les musées des monuments français," in *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1997).
18. After the dissolution of the Musée des Monuments Français in 1816, the column was returned to Saint-Denis between 1818 and 1821. Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, pp. 44–45, nos. 71, 72, *Coeur de Henri III*.
19. Ibid.
20. Lenoir's view that the *Réveils* relief was royal in origin and funerary in function was accepted by Charles Paul Landon, but rejected by the Louvre's former Renaissance sculpture curator Michèle Beaulieu. See Charles Paul Landon, *Annales du Musée et de l'École Moderne des Beaux-Arts* 13 (1807), p. 107, pl. 50; Beaulieu 1978, pp. 82–83, no. 125.
21. A. Lenoir, *Le Musée des Monuments Français* (Paris, 1802), vol. 3, pp. 92–93, no. 456, pl. 114.
22. Beaulieu 1978, pp. 82–84, no. 125.
23. Mezzatesta 1990, pp. 227–52 (see his n. 62).
24. Nevertheless, Zeus's water-covered rock and the fountain medallion below pertain to the Muses and some grotto references. See Naomi Miller, *Heavenly Caves: Reflections on the Garden Grotto* (London, 1982), pp. 35–59.
25. Best known of the surviving French Renaissance grottoes is the one for La Bastie d'Urfé, decorated in stucco and studded with seashells; see Olga Raggio, "Vignole, Fra Damiano et Gerolamo Siciolante à la Chapelle de la Bastie d'Urfé," *Revue de l'art* (1972), pp. 29–52, figs. 1, 2. Only a large-scale marble or one in the round would work well in a grotto. See, for example, the way Michelangelo's unfinished *Slaves* looked in the Grotto Grande, Boboli Gardens; see also the program of the Grotte des Pins at Fontainebleau. Similarly rustic in character were the Tuileries' lost ceramic-lined grottoes by Bernard Palissy (1510–1590); see Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria, 1571: With an Analysis of Simon Bouquet's "Bref et sommaire recueil"* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1974).
26. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1881), vol. 7, pp. 412–13. These stucco reliefs were executed by Domenico Fiorentino and Jacquot Ponce (act. ca. 1527–70), both of whom also produced royal funerary monuments. Stucco, not marble, was the medium of choice for lavish domestic decoration by the early sixteenth century. This "mixed medium" was first found in France in Gothic times and revived in Italy. Raphael and his circle perfected the art of *stucchi* in Rome, following the ancient formula of ground marble and pulverized travertine for *stucco duro*, as used for Nero's Domus Aurea. In Mantua, Primaticcio also produced neoclassical stucco friezes. The medium returned to France with him—first at the château of Madrid, Paris, and then at Fontainebleau. Under the Bolognese's direction, Bontemps and the obscure Charmois executed stucco decorations. Significantly, all three were employed on French royal funerary monuments. According to Ian Wardropper, the Meudon *stucchi* "may have been executed in 1556–57, later than usually thought." Ian Wardropper, "The Sculpture and Prints of Domenico del Barbieri" (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1985), p. 254; Anthony Radcliffe, "Ponce et Pilon," in *Germain Pilon et les sculpteurs français de la Renaissance: Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le service culturel, les 26 et 27 octobre 1990* (Paris, 1993), pp. 275–96; Geoffrey Beard, "Stucco," in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 29, p. 829.
27. Kindly brought to my attention by Thierry Crépin-Leblond, the rendering is in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Henri Bouchot, *Inventaire des dessins exécutés pour Roger de Gagnières et conservés aux Départements des Estampes et des Manuscrits* (Paris, 1891), no. 4970.
28. Michel Simonin, *Charles IX* (Paris, 1995), p. 443. His source is Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, *Recueil des dames, poésies et tombeaux*, ed. Étienne Vaucheret (Paris, 1991), p. 21.
29. See the forthcoming paper by John O'Brian, "Autour des funérailles de Charles IX: Le *planctus* d'Elisabeth d'Autriche."
30. Draper, "The Reign of Jupiter," p. 33.
31. Mezzatesta 1990, pp. 232, 235.
32. Ibid., p. 232.
33. The Muses' role in this funerary context is brilliantly elucidated by Victoria Goldberg. She relates the marbles' abundant references to the Arts to monarchical wisdom, insight, and immortality (Goldberg, "Graces, Muses, and Arts," pp. 206–18). For early heart burials recorded in England, see Charles Angell Bradford, *Heart Burial* (London, 1933).
34. Mezzatesta 1990, p. 236.
35. Ibid.
36. Étienne Jodelle, *Le recueil des inscriptions, 1558: A Literary and Iconographical Exegesis*, ed. Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson (Toronto and Buffalo, 1972), pp. 83, 84, 161, 189.
37. Margaret McGowan, *Ideal Forms in the Age of Ronsard* (Berkeley, 1985), p. 85.
38. The complementary roles of tomb and heart container were noted by Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, p. 40, no. 66.
39. Goldberg, "Graces, Muses, and Arts," p. 217.

40. Béguin, Jestaz, and Thirion, *L'école de Fontainebleau*, p. 145, no. 154.
41. Jules Guiffrey, *Les dessins de l'histoire des rois de France par Nicolas Houel* (Paris, 1920), pl. 4; see also the frontispiece.
42. *Ibid.*, pl. 16.
43. See Colin Eisler, "Étienne Delaune et les graveurs de son entourage," *L'œil* (December 1965), pp. 10–19.
44. Mezzatesta 1990, pp. 230–31.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. Naomi Miller, *French Renaissance Fountains* (New York, 1977), p. 287.
49. Mezzatesta 1990, p. 238.
50. J. T. D. Hall, "Was Ronsard's *Bergerie* Performed at Fontainebleau in 1564?" *Bibliothèque de l'école d'humanisme et renaissance* 51 (1989), pp. 301–9. Reference courtesy of Maria Naylor.
51. Pierre de Ronsard, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1946), vol. 11, pp. 3–13. The bulk of the first section of the *Institution* is devoted to "Chiron noble Centaure"; see Ronsard, *Oeuvres*, p. 3. Reference courtesy of Maria Naylor.
52. Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: Festivals and Entries, 1564–6* (Toronto, 1979), p. 24.
53. Lawrence M. Bryant, "The French Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Society and Art in Renaissance France" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1978), pp. 343–44. See also Graham and Johnson, *Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria*, pp. 54–55, 155–57, 284–85.
54. Günter Irmscher, "Pierre de Ronsard's 'Sinope': Eine goldtauschierte Eisenkassette im Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Köln," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 41 (1980), pp. 143–57, cited in Mezzatesta 1990, pp. 227–52 (see his n. 62).
55. The learned society was far more active under Lazare de Baif as the Académie Française, or Palace Academy; its patronage was continued and extended by Henri III. Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1947), pp. 26ff., 45. Yates reproduces the letters patent and statutes of Baif's academy in Appendix 1, pp. 319–22, and the letter from Baif to Charles IX in Appendix 2, pp. 324–83.
56. Arnauld Sorbin, "Vie de Charles IX," in L. Cimber and F. Danjou, *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France*, 1st ser., vol. 8 (Paris, 1836), p. 300. For Sorbin, see Yates, *French Academies*, p. 164.
57. Cited by Ralph Roeder, *Catherine de' Medici and the Lost Revolution* (New York, 1937), p. 510, without source.
58. Mezzatesta 1990, p. 228.
59. Draper, "The Reign of Jupiter," p. 33.
60. The book illustrations issued by Thielman Kerver, Jean de Tournes, and Geoffroy Tory, with their eloquent, simple lines, come close in time to the date of the relief medallion's genesis. For these artists' oeuvre, see Ruth Mortimer, comp., *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts*, pt. 1, *French 16th Century Books*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Michèle Beaulieu, "Nouvelles attributions à Pierre Bontemps," *La revue des arts* 3 (1953), pp. 82–88.
61. These include Étienne Carmoy (act. 1540–68), who restored antiquities at Fontainebleau and worked with Pierre Lescot on the Louvre facade reliefs, and Martin Lefort and François and Pierre Lheureux (both act. mid-sixteenth century), who assisted Barthélemy Prieur on funerary monuments and on the Louvre facade from 1594 to 1608. Lefort also assisted Prieur on the *Heart Monument of Connetable Anne de Montmorency* for the Célestins.
62. Radcliffe, "Ponce et Pilon," pp. 275–96. See also Catherine Grodecki, *Histoire de l'art au XVI^e siècle, 1540–1600*, Documents du Minutier Central des Notaires de Paris (Paris, 1986), vol. 2, pp. 97–102, docs. 611–18. See also Jacques Thirion, "Ponce," in Béguin, Jestaz, and Thirion, *L'école de Fontainebleau*, pp. 401–2.
63. Radcliffe, "Ponce et Pilon," pp. 275–96.
64. Jacques Rouaire, a little-known medalist active in Troyes from 1520 to 1571, seems to have had the requisite skills for composing the Museum's marble, though he is not known to have worked in that medium. See G. F. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1920), p. 145 and pl. 25, fig. 9, for the recto and verso of a medal by Rouaire.

Nicolas Trigault, SJ: A Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens

ANNE-MARIE LOGAN AND LIAM M. BROCKEY

Part I. A Note on the Drawing

IN 1999 THE DEPARTMENT of Drawings and Prints of The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a large, carefully drawn portrait study by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) of a Jesuit missionary in Chinese costume (Figure 1).¹ The portrait is drawn in black with touches of red chalk in the face and heightened with white and touches of greenish chalk. At the upper left of the drawing Rubens lightly sketched a profile of the priest's head in pen and brown ink. Rubens inscribed the study at the upper right with pen and brown ink, describing the costume and explaining the significance of some of the specific colors chosen for the garment: "*nota quod color pullus non est / peculiaris Sinensium litteratis sed / Patribus S Iesù exceptis tamen fascijs / ceruleis quae [omnibus crossed out] ceteris [que] communes sunt / Sinenses porro vestis colore non uno / sed quovis promiscue utantur. / Si unum reserves flavum scilicet / qui proprius est Regis*" (note that the dark color is not peculiar to Chinese scholars but to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, except for the blue facings which are common to all. The Chinese, furthermore, do not use one color only in their clothing, but any color they like, except yellow, which is reserved for the King [or Emperor]).

At the lower left we find another inscription by Rubens that was not fully deciphered until 1999, when the drawing was readied for auction.² It reads, "*Tricau . . . Soc. Jesu / delineatum / die 17 Ianuaris*" (Tricau[It] [possibly Tricaucio, the Latinate version of his name], Society of Jesus, drawn on 17 January). Rubens stopped short of adding the year he drew this study, which we now know was 1617. The identification of the Jesuit missionary as Father Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628), a native of Douai (France), is rather recent.³ In 1987 Hans Vlieghe first called attention to a painting in the Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, attributed to the workshop of Rubens. The subject of the painting, a missionary, is identified on a tablet at the

lower left as Trigault (Figure 2). The inscription further stated that he was a "Jesuit with the Chinese mission, who returned to Flanders in 1616, was painted in 1617, and died in 1627."⁴ As early as 1953 the French Jesuit Henri Bernard had tentatively identified the sitter in the Douai painting—and by implication the sitter in three related drawings, including the Metropolitan portrait study—as Trigault.⁵ Indeed there is a similarity between Rubens's drawing and the painting in Douai. In both works we see the same rather slight man with a triangular face and a pointed goatee; the Chinese robes they wear are almost identical. Rubens's faded inscription at the lower left of the present drawing, "*Tricau . . .*," lends further support to this identification.

The opulent silk robes depicted in the Metropolitan's portrait reflect the influence of the Italian Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), who arrived in Beijing in 1601. Ricci recognized that the unassuming garb of the Jesuit missionaries was not ideally suited for the China mission. He suggested that they wear instead the robes of *litterati*, an indication of status that would help them gain access to powerful members of Chinese society. Rubens's drawing closely records the special dress Ricci described in a letter of 1595, which "he adopted, and that was worn by the *litterati* on their social visits . . . a dress of purple silk, and the hem of the robe and the collar and the edges are bordered with a band of blue silk a little less than a palm wide; the same decoration is on the edges of the sleeves, which hang open, rather in the style common in Venice. There is a side sash of the purple silk trimmed in blue which is fastened round the same robe and lets the robe hang comfortably open."⁶

Trigault left Europe for China in 1610; at the time of his arrival there were eighteen Jesuit missionaries there. He returned to Europe in 1614 for an extended visit in order to raise funds for the China mission and to recruit new missionaries. His travels are fairly well documented through letters, which place him in the Southern Netherlands in late 1616 to early 1617. Rubens must have met Trigault and executed the Metropolitan drawing when the priest

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The notes for part I of this article are on page 160.

157



Figure 1. Peter Paul Rubens (Flemish, 1577–1640). *Portrait of the Jesuit Nicolas Trigault in Chinese Costume*, 1617. Black and touches of red chalk in the face and blue-green chalk in the collar facings and bands of the sleeves and along the bottom of the robe, traces of heightening with white chalk, pen, and brown ink; 44.8 x 24.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Carl Selden Trust, several members of The Chairman's Council, Gail and Parker Gilbert, and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1999 (1999.222). See also Colorplate 4

passed through Antwerp or Brussels, between November 20, 1616, and February 1617, or, more specifically, as based on the date on the drawing, on January 17, 1617.⁷

Trigault could not have appeared in the Southern Netherlands at a more opportune moment for Rubens. We learn from a receipt of July 19, 1616, that Rubens was working on full-length portraits of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier commissioned by the Jesuit college in Brussels.⁸ (Francis Xavier had himself spent time as a missionary in Asia, having been sent there in 1541 by King John [João] III of Portugal, but he had not made it into China.) The Brussels commission would have been one reason why Rubens might be eager to learn about the life of Jesuit missionaries in East Asia. Trigault's celebrated tour of Europe was almost certainly another. By late 1616 to early 1617, the Jesuits in Antwerp were beginning to negotiate with Rubens over the commission for two paintings of the order's founding fathers for the high altar of their church, now known as Saint Charles Borromeo. The two altarpieces, *The Miracles of Saint Ignatius Loyola* and *The Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier*, were intended to be displayed alternately; both were completed before either man had been canonized, in 1622.⁹ Rubens no doubt heard of Trigault and his mission to China through this close association with the Antwerp Jesuits.

Four other Rubens studies of Jesuit missionaries are known. In three of them the subject is wearing Chinese robes, as in the Metropolitan drawing, and in one the missionary is portrayed in Korean costume. Of the three Chinese studies, the one most often discussed is in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. Although almost identical to the Metropolitan drawing, it lacks Rubens's inscriptions and shows corrections (rather than *pentimenti*) in the hem of the missionary's robe that indicate it is more likely a copy after the present example.¹⁰ A second portrait, identified as Nicolas Trigault (?), is in a private collection (formerly in the collection of Ludwig Burchard). The Jesuit in the third drawing, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, was tentatively identified by Felice Stampfle as China missionary and scientist Johann Terrenz Schreck (or Terrentius) (1576–1630). Stampfle suggested a possible link between Schreck and Rubens through their mutual acquaintance Johann Faber, a doctor who had cured Rubens in Rome in 1606.¹¹

For Rubens these portraits were above all costume studies. As was his custom when a subject was of special interest to him, he added his observations in Latin directly on the drawing, as happened here. In at least one instance Rubens clearly consulted one of the studies—namely the portrait of the missionary wearing a



Figure 2. Workshop of Rubens. *Nicolas Trigault*, ca. 1616. Oil on canvas, 220 x 136 cm. Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, France (photo: Musée de Douai)

formal Korean costume, in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles—for another work. An onlooker in the center foreground of his *Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier* altarpiece wears the same Korean high horsehair cap as the Jesuit in the drawing. He is the only one of the missionaries portrayed by Rubens who was Asian, and thus possibly a convert who accompanied Trigault on his travels through Europe.¹²

In the nineteenth century the drawing now in the Metropolitan was attributed to Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) rather than Rubens, as we learn from the annotation at the lower right, “A van Dyck fecit.” The inscription on the mount, “The Siamese Ambassador, an Armenian, sketched from life by Van Dyck,” was added in support of this later attribution. The ambivalence between Rubens and Van Dyck dates back at least to 1814, when the drawing was in the Van Eyl Sluyter collection in Amsterdam

(see note 3). It was sold that year as an original Rubens to Christiaan Josi for three florins. Ten years later a collector by the name of Hudson (not Thomas Hudson [1701–1779]) acquired the drawing for five florins from the De Haas collection as a study by Van Dyck.¹³ The inscriptions, however, leave no doubt that the drawing is by Rubens, and that he drew this portrait on January 17, 1617—either when the Jesuit missionary Nicolas Trigault was passing through Antwerp, or possibly when Rubens traveled to Brussels, where we know Trigault was staying from a letter he wrote on January 2, 1617.¹⁴

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NOTES

1. I would like to thank Michiel Plomp for his valuable comments on an earlier version of the text and for granting me permission to publish this new acquisition. The drawing has been discussed at length in the Rubens literature. It belongs to a group of five portrait studies that all depict Jesuit missionaries in Asian costumes. One of these, the drawing formerly in the Ludwig Burchard collection, was engraved by William Baillie (1723–1792) in 1774, when it was in the collection of John Barnard, and inscribed “A Siamese Priest. Arrived at the Court of K. Charles the 1st as an attendant to the Ambassador of his Nation just as Rubens was preparing to leave England, however that Eminent Artist found time to make the above describ'd Drawing.” That supposed date—1629–30, the year Rubens stayed in England on a diplomatic mission—was rejected by Clare Stuart Wortley, who published the group for the first time. She dated the drawings of the Jesuit missionaries to between July 23 and 25, 1622, when festivities were being held in Antwerp in celebration of the canonization of Saint Ignatius Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier. See Clare Stuart Wortley, “Rubens's Drawings of Chinese Costumes,” *Old Master Drawings* 9 (December 1934), pp. 40–47. Hans Vlieghe, who in 1987 published the entire group except for the drawing in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (because that sitter is unidentified), was the first to identify the Jesuit missionary as Nicolas Trigault (?); see note 4 below. See also Hans Vlieghe, *Rubens Portraits of Identified Sitters Painted in Antwerp* (Brussels, 1987), no. 154b, fig. 227.
2. Sold at Christie's, New York, January 28, 1999, lot 92.
3. In the early nineteenth century a drawing of a Father “Trigautius” (not Trigantius, as quoted by Vlieghe, *Rubens Portraits*, p. 195 n. 11) was recorded in Amsterdam in the collections of Hendrik van Eyl Sluyter (1739–1814) and Abraham de Haas (1767–1824). See Michiel C. Plomp, *Collectionner, passionnément: Les collectionneurs hollandais de dessins au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 2001), pp. 235–36. I would like to thank Michiel Plomp for verifying the correct spelling of Trigautius.
4. “R.P.NICOLAVS / TRIGAULT DVA / CENSIS, SOCIETATIS / JESV SACERDOS, / E CHINENSI MIS / SIONE, IN BELGIO / REVERSVS, A° / 1616, HOC IN HA / BITV A MVLTI / A° 1617, DVACIVI / SVS. OBIIT A° / 1627 IN CHINA.” A later inscription specified “A° AETATIS 40 / 1617.” The painting came from the former Jesuit college in Douai together with a pendant, a portrait of Petrus de Spira (Pierre van Spiere, born 1584, Douai), a fellow missionary to China who joined Trigault there in 1611. W. Scheelen found documents in the Archives Générales du Royaume that indicate the paintings were actually delivered in 1616. See Vlieghe, *Rubens Portraits*, nos. 154, 155, figs. 224, 225. I would like to thank Isabelle Turpin for providing the photograph and granting permission to reproduce it. In the painting Trigault's dress shows the blue bands that Rubens indicates in the drawing and describes in his inscription.
5. Henri Bernard, “Un portrait de Nicolas Trigault dessiné par Rubens?” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 22 (1953), pp. 308–13.
6. Felice Stampfle, *Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries and Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1991), p. 146; Stampfle quotes from Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York, 1984), p. 115.
7. Edmond Lamalle, “La propagande du P. N. Trigault en faveur des missions de Chine (1616),” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 9 (1940), p. 62.
8. W. Scheelen, “De herkomst en de datering van Rubens' voorstellingen van de H. Ignatius van Loyola en de H. Franciscus Xaverius,” *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (Antwerp, 1986), pp. 153–72. For the paintings, see Hans Vlieghe, *Saints*, pt. 2, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 8 (Brussels, 1972), nos. 113, 114, figs. 36, 37. The painting of Saint Ignatius Loyola is in the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena; see Michael Jaffé, *Rubens: Catalogo completo* (Milan, 1989), no. 203; the portrait of Saint Francis Xavier was formerly with Asscher and Welker, London, and, according to Jaffé (*Rubens*, no. 204), was destroyed in a fire at Warwick Castle, England, in 1940.
9. Today the altarpieces, together with Rubens's preliminary oil sketches, are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Jaffé, *Rubens*, nos. 478, 479 (1617–18), 480, 481 (1618–19).
10. The Stockholm version has traditionally been seen as the primary version, with the drawing now at the Metropolitan believed to be a copy by Rubens based on it. See Julius S. Held, *Rubens: Selected Drawings* (Oxford, 1986), no. 131: “. . . appears to be a second version, by Rubens' own hand (?), of the one in Stockholm”; see also Vlieghe, *Rubens Portraits*, no. 154b: “A somewhat more firmly drawn repetition of the [drawing in Stockholm.]”
11. Stampfle, *Netherlandish Drawings*, pp. 145–48, no. 310.
12. George R. Goldner, with Lee Hendrix and Gloria Williams, *European Drawings: Catalogue of the Collections*, J. Paul Getty Museum, vol. 1 (Malibu, Calif., 1988), no. 93.
13. Plomp, *Collectionner, passionnément*, pp. 235–36. Stampfle preferred to identify this drawing with the example formerly in the collection of Ludwig Burchard. As shown by the 1774 print after it by Baillie, however, its attribution to Rubens was never in doubt, whereas the present drawing was at one point clearly attributed to Van Dyck. For a more recent difference of opinion regarding the attribution to Rubens or Van Dyck, see Stampfle, *Netherlandish Drawings*, p. 147.
14. Stampfle, *Netherlandish Drawings*, p. 148.

Part II. The Death and “Disappearance” of Nicolas Trigault

FATHER NICOLAS TRIGAULT’S body was found early in the morning by a servant boy who came to collect him for morning mass. According to an account written shortly after his death, Trigault had confessed himself to his superior at four in the morning and then retreated to his cubicle to meditate, kneeling in front of a crucifix, before heading to the chapel. When the priest did not turn up as expected, the boy who had prepared the altar went to Trigault’s quarters to see what was wrong. After knocking on the door he gingerly opened it, only to find “the priest face down with his face on the floor before the crucifix making no movements nor giving any signs of life.”¹ The servant raced to alert the other priests, who soon arrived to confirm that Father Trigault was indeed dead. The news spread quickly throughout the Christian community of Hangzhou, the famously beautiful city in southern China, prompting many to visit the mission to offer their condolences. These mourners, like the members of Trigault’s religious order, the Jesuits, lamented his loss and tried to console themselves with the memory of his many virtues. Thanks to the efforts of his superiors and the few witnesses, however, few would ever know the truth about the events that transpired on November 14, 1628—Nicolas Trigault’s suicide was seemingly negated by silence.

Silence can be hard to impose and even harder to preserve. Yet those who had a stake in keeping quiet in this case did a very good job; only one brief reference remains that testifies to Trigault’s “shameful” death. At the end of a letter to the superior general of the Society of Jesus addressed a year after the event Andre Palmeiro, the official missions inspector, wrote a coded message that was deciphered by its contemporary recipient: “Father Trigault hanged himself.” Palmeiro, who had only recently completed a tour of the China mission, informed the general that he had gone to great lengths to find out the cause of this “very rare event,” but that none of the other priests could explain why it had happened. The inspector ventured that the devil, “the fount of all evils,” lay behind it. Only one priest, Lazzaro Cattaneo, Trigault’s confessor, suggested to Palmeiro that *Shang-di* could have killed him.² This comment alluded to one of the most important questions facing the China Jesuits: Should they permit their converts to use this ancient Chinese term for the supreme being to represent the Christian God, or was that tantamount to promoting paganism?

What made the issue so pressing was that these missionaries had become famous for insisting on the universality of their religious message and its adaptability to any civilization. Trigault had gone far down this path, to the point of seeking to reconcile the Christian scriptures and the Chinese classics. Ultimately it was his failure to uncover the hidden links between East and West that ended in his fatal despair.

It was precisely Nicolas Trigault’s despair that made the silence surrounding the circumstances of his death necessary. A first consideration was that he was a Roman Catholic at a time when suicide was considered one of the most abhorrent sins. One need only remember the place Dante had reserved for those who took their own lives: in the seventh circle of Hell. Men and women who lived at the height of the Catholic Reformation in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were constantly reminded, whether during sermons or visits to the newly popular confessional box, that despair leading to suicide was the utmost rejection of the tenets of their faith. In order to shepherd believers away from thoughts of suicide, confessors and preachers alike invoked images of divine justice. To doubt the forgiving power of God, then, necessitated the terrible punishment described in the *Divine Comedy*—spending eternity imprisoned in the gnarled trunk of a fruitless tree, bemoaning one’s fate in the rushing wind. Where contemporaries would have found the suicide of a layman detestable, they would have found the suicide of a priest scandalous.

A second reason for silence was that Trigault was a member of the Society of Jesus. Before it had even reached its centennial, in 1640, this religious order had become one of the most powerful forces within the Catholic world and one of the central agents of the widespread renewal of piety sweeping across early modern Europe. Through their unique commitment to education, urban pastoral work, and rural missionary activity, the Jesuits did much to hasten the “reform of customs” of contemporary society. They directed their energies not only at the old Christians of Europe but also at the souls yet to be claimed for Christ in the newly discovered worlds of Africa, Asia, and the Americas. In doing so, they seized on some of the spiritual themes that had made older orders such as the Franciscans and Dominicans so popular and so effective in the Middle Ages. In contrast to the accumulation of traditions, habits, and special responsibilities that at

times weighed down these orders, the Jesuits, beginning with their founding fathers, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, had been free to establish new patterns of action. To be sure, this opportunity came with peril. Treading on the territory of long-standing rivals—and implicitly claiming to supersede them in matters of piety and vigor—created an atmosphere of competition in which each order needed to be extremely vigilant of its public reputation. Furthermore, the leaders of the Roman Church during the Counter Reformation were keen to deprive their Protestant adversaries of any ammunition for their salvos of criticism. For the men and women of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, novelty was the surest path to danger. The Society of Jesus, abounding with spiritual energy and, more important, attracting the attentions of many of the rich and powerful, walked a fine line between glory and scandal. In order to maintain their good name and ensure their continued ascendancy, the Jesuits needed to keep a close watch for damaging public revelations lest their rivals get the better of them.

There is yet a third factor, perhaps the most important one, that helps explain the enforced silence. Father Trigault was not simply one of the thousands of weary but zealous missionaries dispatched from Europe to the far corners of the known world to expand what contemporaries called the “flock of the Lord.” He was responsible for one of the greatest publicity coups ever pulled off by the Society of Jesus. He was the man who first brought China to Europe.

Born in 1577 in Douai, a city in what is today northern France but that then was part of the Spanish Netherlands, Trigault joined the Jesuits at the age of eighteen. After completing his education in Latin, Greek, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology, making his priestly vows, and spending almost a decade in the Society’s colleges in the Southern Lowlands (modern Belgium) as a teacher of the humanities, he successfully petitioned to be sent to the “Indies” as a missionary. Trigault’s assignment was the China mission, founded in 1582 by a pair of Italian missionaries spared from the Society’s most successful project at the time, the Japan mission, which was founded by Francis Xavier himself in 1549.³ Although vastly overshadowed in Europe by the highly publicized work of their brethren across the China Sea and subordinate to superiors in Japan, who concentrated on affairs in that country, these missionaries managed to gain prestige in the Ming Empire by becoming the first Westerners to learn Mandarin and to offer new forms of knowledge to the inward-gazing Chinese elite. Yet these feats of diplomacy and erudition did little to attract the attentions of their counterparts in Japan, who had their hands

full trying to minister to thousands of new Christians and to avert a potentially disastrous conflict in the first dozen years of the seventeenth century with Japan’s new rulers, the Tokugawa shoguns.⁴ These new military overlords had won the national hegemony on the battlefield in 1600 and were drawing close to eliminating their last serious rivals for unquestioned supremacy—including any Jesuit interlopers. Finding themselves cut off from external aid and from the higher links in the Society’s hierarchy, the China Jesuits responded by sending one of their own to celebrate their pious efforts back home. This missionary, Nicolas Trigault, was to inform Europe that Japan alone did not constitute Asia, and that China was the true heart of Eastern civilization.⁵

Trigault was entrusted with this sensitive and dangerous task because he appeared best suited for the job. In the opinion of the China mission hierarchy, his age and teaching experience gave him the necessary good judgment to carry out a task that required tremendous discretion. Because he was heading back to Rome with charges of institutional neglect on the part of his superiors in Japan, his journey was in effect an act of flagrant disregard for the Society’s established overseas administration, even if it was the only way for the China enterprise to overcome the two eternal challenges to missionary work: lack of men and lack of money.⁶ Trigault was also chosen because of his generally good health, something of crucial importance considering the perilous conditions of seventeenth-century sea travel. According to the conventional wisdom of the Society, robust northerners from the Netherlands or Germany were far better suited to handle the extremes of temperature on the open ocean than their peers from Portugal, Spain, or Italy. A further reason for his election as “mission procurator” came in his skills in the Chinese language. Among the talented linguists who served in the Jesuits’ China mission, Trigault stood out as especially gifted; he would later compose a key text for teaching newly arrived missionaries Chinese grammar and vocabulary.⁷ Although he had spent barely two years in the Ming Empire before sailing west in 1613, the mission hierarchy was certain that Trigault would provide the best possible display of missionary glamour—and in this way muster the diffused resources of Catholic Europe for the support of the China enterprise.

Niccolò Longobardo, the bold mission superior who planned the procurator’s journey, made sure that Trigault would put on a sufficiently impressive show for clergy and laymen alike back in Europe. The procurator was given a considerable quantity of Chinese objects d’art to offer as gifts to princes and other



Figure 3. Detail of Figure 1,
*Portrait of the Jesuit Nicolas Trigault
in Chinese Costume*

influential patrons as well as samples of books containing the ancient wisdom of the Confucian tradition to give to the leading Catholic scholars, many of whom were Jesuits. Besides the plain black robes typically worn by the members of his order, he also carried the silk robes that mission founder Matteo Ricci had controversially insisted the China Jesuits wear to bolster their image among the intellectual elite whom they considered their peers in the Ming Empire (see Anne-Marie Logan, "A Note on the Drawing," pp. 157–60).⁸ Trigault bore all of these goods, as well as firsthand news and candid assessments of the status of the mission, with him as he sailed from the Portuguese enclave of Macau to Goa, in India, and

onward to Hormuz, on the Persian Gulf. From there he proceeded overland along the dusty, well-traveled caravan routes of the Fertile Crescent on a forty days' journey through the desert from Basra, in what is now Iraq, to Aleppo in Syria. The final leg of his yearlong voyage took him again by sea from the Levant to Otranto in southern Italy, a relatively short distance from his goal, the Eternal City.⁹

In Rome Trigault became an instant celebrity as the bearer of new curiosities to satisfy the seemingly insatiable late-Renaissance appetite for exotica.¹⁰ Among the testaments to the remarkable figure he cut among his European contemporaries is Peter Paul Rubens's drawing of Trigault bedecked in his Chinese finery,

scandalously sumptuous for a religious who had made a vow of poverty (Figure 1).¹¹ His collection of Chinese products and samples from East Asia's millennial literary traditions provided contemporary European savants with much new food for thought: How could it be that a civilization on the far side of the world had become so sophisticated on its own, without knowledge of European culture, learning, or religion? What were the origins of that distant people's scholarly traditions? And, if their civilization was so great, why had they never tried to find their way to the West? The debates seeking to answer these questions would rage well into the eighteenth century, captivating scholars and philosophes until the illusive visions of Chinese grandeur were dispelled by Western technological advances. Trigault, charged with printing the first authoritative description of Chinese society and Jesuit missionary activity there, touched off this intellectual wrangling in 1615, when he published his Latin translation of Matteo Ricci's diaries called *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* (The Christian Expedition to China).¹²

Trigault's famous text, largely responsible for delineating the history of the Jesuits' beginnings in China for generations of scholars, was printed during one of the stops on his lengthy continental tour. For four years he traveled from Rome through the cities of northern Italy, across the Alps into southern (that is, Catholic) Germany, and on to the Netherlands, visiting potentates and interviewing potential recruits for the China mission. From the princes and princelings of the politically atomized Holy Roman Empire Trigault garnered funds to endow the mission for years to come. He found ready recruits for the mission among the fresh faces in the Society's colleges and novitiates, filled to the brim with zeal. For at least an entire generation of Jesuits and supporters of the Society Trigault was the face of the China mission, the man who gave human form to the reports of missionary glory sent year after year from the order's far-flung mission fields. More important for his purposes, by trekking across Catholic Europe—including a final triumphant tour of the Spanish and Portuguese domains of Philip III—he had not only brought China to Europe, he would be able to take a bit more of Europe back to China.

Sailing out of Lisbon harbor for Goa in April 1618, Trigault could be satisfied with the fruits of his journey. He had with him young men to assist the old in their missionary duties; considerable sums of money to further the China enterprise; relics and other devotional objects to cement the faith of the newly converted; and a library, comprising books donated by popes and kings, that would, he hoped, impress the

Chinese scholars who were certain that theirs was the only true tradition of learning. He also carried valuable gifts for sympathetic mandarins and the Ming emperor himself, part of a bid to persuade the throne to tolerate the presence of the "scholars from the West," as the Jesuits were known in China. Among his Western treasures were telescopes, prisms, clocks, and other *bizzarrissime inventiones* designed to curry favor with the powerful as well as official orders from the Jesuit general granting a great degree of institutional independence for him and his colleagues in China.¹³ His arrival at Macau in 1619 provided a crucial boost for the China mission. In many respects, it was Trigault's success as procurator that enabled the mission to survive the second decade of the seventeenth century, when persecutions in both Japan and China threatened to reverse all of the Society's advances in East Asia. His labors would not be something the China Jesuits would soon forget.

Two questions, however, remain to be answered. Did the Jesuit hierarchy who selected Trigault to promote their efforts in Europe ever imagine that he might take his own life? And how was it possible that the suicide of such a public figure, known in China, India, and throughout Europe, could be covered up so completely? To answer the first question, one can turn to a unique set of documents that gives some insight into the minds of early modern priests. To answer the second, however, one must listen for the silences in the chorus of praise for Trigault produced by the Society's early modern publicists.

Discovering what the China mission officials might have known of Trigault's dangerous mental state necessitates a search through the meticulous personnel records kept by generations of diligent Jesuit superiors. With a thoroughness that should have earned him the title of patron saint of bureaucrats, Ignatius Loyola established complex internal management systems for his followers to protect the integrity of the Society of Jesus and to channel its human resources effectively. In a fashion that would impress even today's business professionals, all of the Society's administrative divisions were held responsible for producing candid triennial assessments of each of their dependents and for forwarding them to the executive headquarters in Rome for review.¹⁴ The information relayed to the Jesuit general touched on a set of general data (name, age, health, years of study, years within the order, current occupation, level within the order) as well as on more subjective themes (intelligence, judgment, prudence, general experience, literary aptitude, disposition, talents). With this data the order's central authorities were better equipped to

select the appropriate candidates for positions of responsibility wherever the Society of Jesus was found.

Among the first such evaluations of the members of the China mission was likely carried to Rome by Trigault himself. Niccolò Longobardo penned a letter in 1612 marked *solì*, the equivalent of “for your eyes only,” to General Claudio Aquaviva indicating the strengths and weaknesses of each Jesuit under his command in China. His evaluation of Trigault, included in a postscript, is especially revealing in that it shows Longobardo was a perceptive judge of the procurator’s character. Although he labeled Trigault a “great negotiator” capable of dealing with both princes and plebeians—especially the wealthy magnates of France, Flanders, and Germany whose support was invaluable to the mission—as well as a talented writer in Chinese or European languages, Longobardo nevertheless clearly signaled his flaws. “In sum I will say,” he wrote to the general, “that he is very choleric, and has moods that are very vehement and furious.” Besides this instability, the procurator also had a “loose tongue” and a propensity for prying into others’ affairs. Offering that Trigault’s personal piety and self-confidence, necessary to be effective in his important tasks, offset these faults, Longobardo concluded his analysis with a suggestive phrase: “Later, time will tell.”¹⁵

Concern for Trigault’s mental stability can also be found in later evaluations. After his reintegration into the day-to-day routines of missionary work in China—preaching, confessing, catechizing, expelling demons, and antagonizing Buddhists and Daoists—Father Trigault’s superiors were able to keep a watch on him, just as they kept watch on the other men serving under them. In one report from 1626, just two years before the suicide, the reviewer remarked on the procurator’s “inconstant health” but insisted that he generally seemed robust. While asserting that his intelligence, judgment, academic proficiency, and general experience ranged from good to optimal, this report also called his prudence into question, labeling it “good, yet somewhat unstable.” Likewise, Trigault’s disposition was not the best; although by nature good, he was often “infirm” and frequently “choleric.” As a result of these characterizations, Trigault’s superior, Manuel Dias (the younger), informed the Jesuit general that he was best suited for ministering to others, writing books, and consulting on academic matters, such as deciphering and publicizing the inscriptions on a Christian stele dating from the Tang Dynasty that had been unearthed at Xi’an in the early 1620s.¹⁶ Dias did not recommend Trigault for any more positions of responsibility, such as superior of a mission

station.¹⁷ Judging by these remarks a careful manager might have prescribed that Trigault remain always in the company of other priests, ones who could keep more intimate track of his mental state. This was, in fact, the course that his superiors chose; at least after 1626, Trigault was stationed in Hangzhou with three other Jesuit priests, including some of the most senior missionaries in China, and within relative proximity to still other colleagues.¹⁸

Despite Trigault’s worrisome traits, ultimately his peers could do nothing to prevent his suicide. They were, however, surprisingly effective at stemming any resulting scandals, which could have ruined the good credit the procurator had earned for the Society among its powerful European benefactors. Among the several factors that facilitated the cover-up, none was more effective than the very administrative structures that the Society of Jesus had employed to promote Trigault as a valorous missionary hero. It began with the three priests left at the Hangzhou residence. Vows of obedience dictated that they report their discovery up the chain of command—first to Vice Provincial Manuel Dias and then to missions inspector Andre Palmeiro—but they were not otherwise beholden to inform anyone else outside of the mission’s consultors, a group comprising three or four of the oldest missionaries. The remoteness of the China mission also meant that news would not spread quickly back to Europe. Nevertheless, it remained necessary to stifle any possibility of word reaching Macau, whence glib Portuguese or Spanish merchants, soldiers, or crown officials might pass it on to the Jesuits’ rivals in Manila or Goa, and from there perhaps on to Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, or Rome. This meant that Dias and Palmeiro had to issue orders reminding all missionaries to use caution when speaking with outsiders and to channel their correspondence with Europe through their superiors’ hands for review and possible emendation.¹⁹ The system of censorship which ensured that stories of bad Chinese Christians or Jesuit failures did not reach Macau through annual mission reports also worked to intercept this even more damning scandal. The one written report that appears to have arrived in Portugal for the edification of young missionary hopefuls related the “official” story: that of a mysterious collapse suffered by a member of the Jesuit community who “lived with much charity and uniformity amongst themselves . . . helping and succoring the Christians with love, humility, and diligence.”²⁰

Although news of Trigault’s death did eventually find its way out of China and into the succession of celebratory chronicles of the mission that flowed from

European presses over the course of the seventeenth century, the details were carefully obscured. In contrast to the lengthy obituaries of comparatively unimportant figures in early modern Jesuit writings, Trigault's passing went unremarked. Álvaro Semedo, for example, who had lived for a time with the procurator in Hangzhou, surprisingly omits any reference to it in the chronology of the mission found in his widely translated *History of the Great Monarchy of China*.²¹ Other members of the China mission also glossed over Trigault's death in their writings, suggesting that all written records of the event had been destroyed. António de Gouvea's year-by-year history of the Jesuits' China enterprise, written fifteen years after the suicide, suggests that an archival expurgation had been carried out. His obituary for Trigault is markedly shorter than those for other missionaries and offers only vague remarks about his academic skills, his journey to Europe, his many virtues, and his death after a "brief accident." "He deserves a much longer account," wrote Gouvea, "but I can find no other notice of him at hand."²² Rumors of a scandal, however, appear to have circulated among the China Jesuits and perhaps made their way back to Europe all the same. For instance, appended to the original doctored notice of Trigault's death sent to Rome is a statement, dating from forty years later, written by China missionaries who had never known him personally. These writers—including Gouvea, who had likely seen Trigault only when he visited the Jesuit college of Évora, Portugal—again celebrated the procurator's many virtues and his dedication to saving heathen souls.²³ This final accolade, it appears, effectively silenced any rumors that could have threatened the Society's reputation on this matter.

Silence, as the story of Trigault's suicide reveals, can shroud even the most shocking of dramas. Yet to those who knew the man personally, rather than those who knew only his image, silence was not satisfactory. They wanted to know why. The answer to this, the burning question in the case of most suicides, does not emerge from the archival traces that speak of Trigault's life and death. Mulling over the facts from the perspective of pop psychology, one can see signs of torment in his unstable character that would suggest manic depression, which in some sufferers results in violent mood swings that force them to depths of despair where suicide appears the only escape. Daniello Bartoli, a Jesuit historian writing later in the seventeenth century, suggested such a diagnosis when he asserted that it was Trigault's "indefatigable application of the mind" combined with exhaustion that brought about his end. In his voluminous history of the China mission,

completed with access to the most sensitive official documents, Bartoli came as close as any member of the Society to revealing the truth. Cautiously, and somewhat evasively, he declared that in the midst of "most tiring study in defense of that term *Shang-di*, so boldly denounced at the time, [Trigault] went out of his mind, dying suddenly."²⁴ Perhaps this represents the best analysis of the events. It is indeed possible that Nicolas Trigault went "out of his mind" scouring the Confucian classics for any way to justify telling the Jesuits' new converts that *Shang-di*, the well-known figure from Chinese antiquity, translated as the "Lord on High," was the Christian God. In writing his encoded message of the suicide to the Jesuit general, inspector Andre Palmeiro remarked that the devil had paid Trigault well for his studies but offered no further comment on these "divine judgments," resting assured in his hope that there would be no more such scandals.²⁵

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NOTES

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1. Pascoal Fernandes, *Alguns Apontamentos da Virtude e Procedimentos do Pe. Nicolao Trigauccio*, Hangzhou, 1628, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (hereafter cited as ARSI), Lusitania Collection, Codex 58-I, fol. 269r,v.
2. Andre Palmeiro to Muzio Vitelleschi, Macau, December 20, 1629, ARSI, Japonica-Sinica Collection, Codex 161-II, fol. 117r.
3. For a chronology of the Jesuit mission to China, see Liam Brockey, "The Harvest of the Vine: The Jesuit Missionary Enterprise in China, 1579–1710" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 2002), pp. 19–213. Partial chronologies of the mission can be found in George Dunne, *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1962); and Jean-Pierre Duteil, *Le mandat du ciel: Le rôle des Jésuites en Chine de la mort de François-Xavier à la dissolution de la Compagnie de Jésus (1552–1774)* (Paris, 1994).
4. For discussions of the Society of Jesus's mission to Japan, see George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973); and Jurgis Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 301–72.
5. The information that Trigault was given to relate to the Society's hierarchy in Rome can be found in Niccolò Longobardo, *Appontamentos a cerca da Ida do nosso Pe. Procurador a Roma*, Nanxiong, May 8, 1613, ARSI, Japonica-Sinica Collection, Codex 113, fol. 301rff.
6. In his orders for Trigault, mission superior Niccolò Longobardo requested that the procurator ask the general for a shipment of six new missionaries every three years. He was also to ask for a

- stable endowment for the mission since, according to Longobardo, “[the mission] was already in extreme necessity of temporal [goods], because all of the priests were . . . at the breaking point, fasting for the most part of the year.” See *ibid.*, fol. 301r.
7. Nicolas Trigault, *Xiru ermu zi* (An aid to the ear and eye of Western scholars) (Hangzhou, 1626).
 8. For a discussion of Ricci’s decision to switch the missionaries’ dress, see Willard Peterson, “What to Wear? Observation and Participation of Jesuit Missionaries in Late Ming Society,” in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 403–21.
 9. Daniello Bartoli, *Dell’historia della Compagnia de Gesu: L’Asia*, pt. 3, *La Cina* (Rome, 1663), p. 583.
 10. For a discussion of Trigault’s time in Europe as procurator, see Edmond Lamalle, “La propagande du P. N. Trigault en faveur des missions de Chine (1616),” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 9 (1940), pp. 49–120.
 11. For an early discussion of a Rubens portrait of Trigault, see Henri Bernard, “Un portrait de Nicolas Trigault dessiné par Rubens?” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 22 (1953), pp. 308–13.
 12. Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault, *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* (Augsburg, 1615). For a modern translation of this text, see *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583–1610*, ed. and trans. Louis Gallagher (New York, 1942).
 13. Bartoli, *La Cina*, p. 701.
 14. For a discussion of the Society’s catalogues and their use within the order’s internal bureaucracy, see Adrien Demoustier, “Les catalogues du personnel de la province de Lyon en 1587, 1606, et 1636,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 43 (1974), pp. 3–84.
 15. Niccolò Longobardo to Claudio Aquaviva, Nanxiong, November 21, 1612, ARSI, Japonica-Sinica Collection, Codex 15-II, fol. 196r.
 16. A brief introduction to Tang Christianity and the Xi’an Stele is found in Pénélope Riboud, “Tang [dynasty Christianity],” in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, ed. Nicolas Standaert, vol. 1, 635–1800 (Leiden, 2001), pp. 1–18.
 17. Manuel Dias (the younger), Triennial catalogue for the Vice-Province of Portugal for 1626, ARSI, Japonica-Sinica Collection, Codex 134, fols. 303r, 305r.
 18. Trigault’s colleagues at the Hangzhou residence in 1628 were priests Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560–1640), Francisco Furtado (1589–1653), Rodrigo de Figueiredo (1594–1642), and brother Pascoal Fernandes (1609–1681).
 19. Andre Palmeiro, *Ordens que o Pe. Andre Palmeiro Visitor de Japão e China deixou a Vice-Provincia da China visitando no anno de 1629 aos 15 de Agosto*, Macau, January 15, 1631, ARSI, Japonica-Sinica Collection, Codex 100, fol. 28v.
 20. Fernandes, *Apointamentos . . . do Pe. Nicolao Trigauccio*, fol. 269r.
 21. See Álvaro Semedo, *Relação da propagação da fé no reyno da China* (Madrid, 1641). Contemporary translations of this work appeared in Castilian, Italian, Dutch, French, and English, making it one of the most widely read accounts of the mission next to Trigault’s own work. For a modern edition see Luiz Gonzaga Gomes, trans., *Relação da grande monarquia da China* (Macau, 1994).
 22. António de Gouvea, *Ásia Extrema*, Fuzhou, April 10, 1644, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Jesuítas na Ásia Collection, Codex 49-V-2, fol. 197r. One brief entry for Trigault in a biographical note sent from China to Europe provided a list of his publications and a short description of his journey to Europe as procurator. The anonymous text ends suggestively with the phrase “This is all that I found in the Macau archive.” See *Vida em breve do Pe. Nicolao Trigauccio que estava no cartorio de Macau juntamente com as vidas dos Varões illustres que morrerão dentro da missão da China*, ARSI, Lusitania Collection, Codex 58-I, fol. 272r.
 23. Francesco Brancati, Statement of the Life and Virtues of Nicolas Trigault (in Italian), attested by António de Gouvea, Giovanni Francesco Ferrari, Pascoal Fernandes, and Mechior Ribeiro, [Hangzhou?], December 10, 1668, ARSI, Lusitania Collection, Codex 58-I, fols. 271r,v.
 24. Bartoli, *La Cina*, p. 904.
 25. Andre Palmeiro to Muzio Vitelleschi, Macau, December 20, 1629, fol. 117r.

Benjamin Franklin's Daughter

KATHARINE BAETJER

Curator, European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

with the assistance of

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Research Assistant, European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Sarah, the third child and only daughter of Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) (Figure 1) and his wife, Deborah Read (1708–1774), was born in Philadelphia on September 11, 1743.¹ Mr. and Mrs. Franklin called her Sally. Of her early years little is known, other than that she had some talent for music and played the harpsichord.² Her father, who was deeply fond of her, described her as “affectionate, dutiful and industrious.”³ From 1757 until 1762 and from 1764 until 1775 Franklin represented the interests of Pennsylvania in England, while from 1776 until 1785 he was in France, as minister to the court of Louis XVI (Figure 2).⁴ Sarah’s letters to her father—containing political news as well as descriptions of social and family life—suggest something of her education and character. She was knowledgeable and wrote quite well. While she could be frivolous, and was occasionally corrected by her father on this account, she was always hardworking and warmhearted.

On October 29, 1767, Sarah married Richard Bache (1737–1811). The *Penn Chronicle and Universal Advertiser* took note of the wedding: “Last Thursday evening Mr. Richard Bache of this city, Merchant, was married to Miss Sally Franklin, a young lady of distinguished merit. The next day all the ships in the harbour displayed their colors on the happy occasion.”⁵ The couple moved into the house that Deborah Franklin had built during Benjamin’s absence and in which she died in 1774. When Franklin returned permanently to Philadelphia in 1785, the Baches and their growing family continued to share his home, Sarah acting as his hostess and caring for him until his death. In his will Franklin provided generously for both Richard and Sarah Bache, who spent part of their inheritance on a trip to England in 1792–93.⁶ A year after their return, the couple retired to a property they called Settle Farm, located in the Delaware River valley near Bristol, Pennsylvania.



Figure 1. Joseph Siffred Duplessis (French, 1725–1802). *Benjamin Franklin*, 1778. Oil on canvas, oval, 72.4 x 58.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.132)

Richard Bache, born September 12, 1737, was six years older than Sarah.⁷ In his early twenties he had emigrated to New York from the village of Settle in Yorkshire. Later he moved to Philadelphia, where by the mid-1760s he found himself suffering reverses in business. Sarah’s half-brother, William, informed their father that Bache’s “Load of Debt [is] greatly more than he is worth, and that if Sally marries him they must both be entirely dependent on you for Subsistence.”⁸ However, Franklin did not stand in the way of the marriage. Trusting the judgment of his wife, who approved of the match, he only advised her “not [to] make an expensive feasting Wedding, but [to]

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The notes for this article begin on page 178.

169



Figure 2. Jean Laurent Mosnier (French, 1743/44–1808). *Louis XVI*, 1790. Ivory, diam. 69 mm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Millie Bruhl Fredrick, 1962 (62.122.69)

conduct every thing with Frugality and Oeconomy, which our Circumstances . . . require.”⁹ Franklin first met Sarah’s husband in 1771 and found that he liked him. Although he offered Bache advice about his business enterprises,¹⁰ he never lent him any money. In 1776 Bache succeeded his father-in-law as postmaster general, an office he held until 1782. There is no evidence to suggest that he was notably successful in any capacity. He enjoyed a long retirement and died in 1811, having survived his wife by three years.

From her mid-twenties Sarah Bache was occupied with the couple’s offspring: Benjamin Franklin (1769–1798), known as Franklin; William (1773–?1820); Sarah (1775–1776); Elizabeth (1777–1820), known as Eliza; Louis (1779–1819); Deborah (1780–1865); Richard (1784–1848); and Sarah (1788–1863).¹¹ Meanwhile, during the Revolutionary War, she rose to the sort of prominence that might have been expected of a member of Benjamin Franklin’s family, leading many hundreds of Pennsylvania women in their efforts to supply clothing to the soldiers in the field. Her letter on this subject was written on December 26, 1780, to General Washington at his headquarters.

[W]e packed the shirts in their Boxes and delivered them to Coll Miles, with a request that he would send them to Trenton immediately lest the river should close, where they now mail your Excellency’s orders; there are two thousand and five in number; they would have been at Camp long before this, had not the general Sickness which has prevailed prevented, we wish them to be worn with as much Pleasure as they were made—¹²

She continues:

My Father in one of his last letters says “if you happen again to see Gen^l Washington, assure him of my very great and sincere Respect, and tell him that all the old Generals here [in France], amuse themselves in studying the Accounts of his Operations, and approve highly of his conduct—¹³

Writing in the same year, a friend of Benjamin Franklin described Sarah’s activities to him in the following terms:

If there are in Europe any women who need a model of attachment to domestic duties and love for their country, Mrs. Bache may be pointed out to them as such. She passed a part of the last year in exertions to rouse the zeal of the Pennsylvania ladies, and she made on this occasion such a happy use of the eloquence which you know she possesses, that a large part of the American army was provided with shirts, bought with their money, or made by their hands. In her applications for this purpose, she showed the most indefatigable zeal, the most unwearied perseverance, and a courage in asking, which surpassed even the obstinate reluctance of the Quakers in refusing.¹⁴

While the role Mrs. Bache played in support of the army was a commendable if conventional one, her success in engaging the Quaker women of Pennsylvania in the war effort suggests uncommon determination and resilience. As the progenitor of all the recognized Franklin family descendants, she in any event qualifies as a minor icon of American history, an aspect effectively conveyed in an etching by Peter Kraemer (Figure 3).¹⁵ Benjamin Franklin had two sons: the younger, Francis Folger, was born in 1732 and died of smallpox shortly after his fourth birthday, while the elder, William, probably born in 1731, was illegitimate.¹⁶ William Franklin, who became the loyalist governor of New Jersey, moved permanently to London in 1782. His two marriages were childless; his illegitimate son left no legitimate offspring. By contrast, Sarah and Richard’s son Franklin, who accompanied his grandfather to France in 1776, became the well-known publisher of the *Philadelphia Advertiser*, later called the *Aurora*.¹⁷ William Bache, a physician, was for a time surveyor of the port of Philadelphia.



Figure 3. Peter Kraemer, after John Hoppner. *Sarah Franklin Bache*, n.d. Engraving, 14 x 10.8 cm. The New York Public Library, S. P. Avery Collection, Print Collection (photo: New York Public Library)

Deborah's husband, William J. Duane, became secretary of the treasury, while the youngest daughter, Sarah, married Thomas Sergeant, afterward judge of the supreme court of Philadelphia. Sarah Franklin Bache died in 1808. By the middle of the nineteenth century her descendants numbered well over one hundred (see the Appendix for a Franklin family tree).¹⁸

Upon the completion of his diplomatic mission to France in 1785, Benjamin Franklin received from Louis XVI a miniature portrait of the king surrounded by 408 diamonds.¹⁹ Franklin left the miniature to his daughter, stipulating frugally that the precious stones were not to be made into ornaments that would encourage the "expensive, vain, and useless fashion of wearing jewels in this country."²⁰ Instead, some time after Franklin's death in 1790 Mr. and Mrs. Bache sold the diamonds, and with a portion of the proceeds set off for Europe with their oldest daughter, Eliza. Before leaving, Sarah wrote to friends offering to carry out their commissions in England; their replies suggest that the Baches departed in late May or early June of 1792.²¹ In August of that year they were with Richard's family at Preston in Lancashire, and Richard noted in December that he had made a tour of Scotland.²² Eventually they settled near William

Franklin and his second wife in London, where they rented rooms from a Mr. Perica, perfumer, in Duke Street, Grosvenor Square.²³ They were still abroad on July 30, 1793, but were preparing to depart.²⁴ It is during this period that Mr. and Mrs. Bache's portraits were painted by John Hoppner (1758–1810).²⁵

Subsequent to the deaths of Thomas Gainsborough in 1788 and Sir Joshua Reynolds in February 1792, and prior to the rise of Thomas Lawrence, Hoppner, at the height of his powers, was arguably the most sought-after portraitist in London. He had entered London's Royal Academy Schools to begin his formal training on March 6, 1775.²⁶ Shortly thereafter, Joseph Wright, son of the American sculptor and wax-modeler Patience Lovell Wright (1725–1786), was also admitted. In 1780 Hoppner first exhibited at the Academy; in 1781 he married Mrs. Wright's daughter Phoebe. As Benjamin Franklin and Patience Wright had corresponded while Franklin was in Paris, there was a connection between the families, and it is not surprising that the Baches would have turned to Mrs. Wright's son-in-law for their portraits.

When Hoppner painted Sarah Franklin Bache, she was approaching her fiftieth birthday. His rather sober image (Figure 5) shows her to have been a robust woman of upright carriage with an unlined face and a slight double chin. Her skin is rosy, her eyes and eyebrows dark brown. Her unpowdered, wavy graying hair frames her face and falls to her collar line. She is seated frontally, well forward in the picture space. The composition, which conforms to the traditional pyramid, is anchored at the corners by her elbows. She looks downward and slightly to her right, so that the angle of her gaze follows the diagonal contour of her shoulder and meets the opposing diagonal formed by the upper edge of her white shawl. She wears a gray dress with a pattern of large dots (visible on her left sleeve only); its folds are shaded in a rich chocolate brown. The starched muslin fichu is crossed over in front and tied in back. A muslin shawl serves as a wide belt. Her starched kerchief is of the same material and patterned with embroidery.

The conservative costume conforms to what one might expect from an American woman of Sarah Bache's age, station, and particular circumstances who was visiting a foreign metropolis: the colors are restrained, the materials good, and the style up-to-date. Whether by chance or by design, her clothes may also betray French influence. (The Baches had hoped to travel to France but were prevented from crossing the Channel by the Revolution.) There was continuing reciprocity between England and France in matters of fashion even during the early years of the

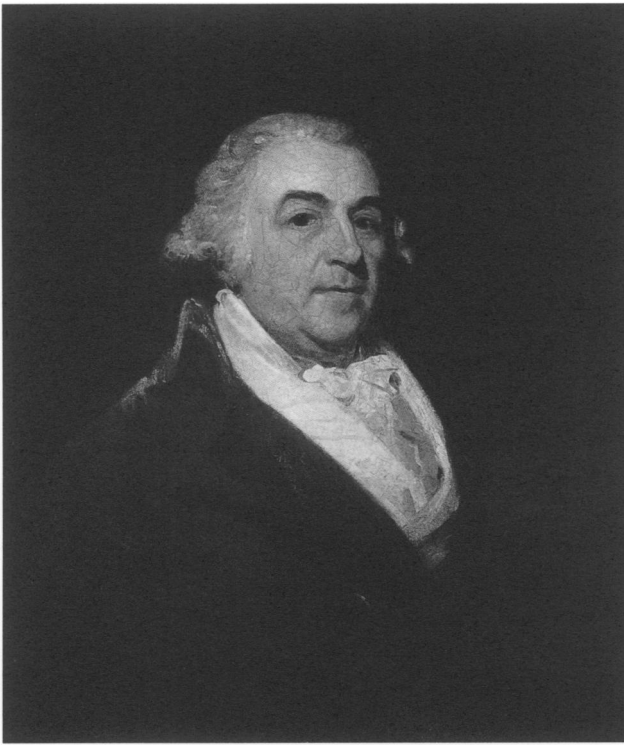


Figure 4. John Hoppner (English, 1758–1810). *Richard Bache*, ca. 1793. Oil on canvas, 74.9 x 62.2 cm. Private collection (photo: Metropolitan Museum)

Revolution. Luxury fabrics were out of place or unavailable in France by the early 1790s; modesty in dress was politically advisable, and dark colors or white were safest because they were politically neutral. In an atmosphere in which simplicity was encouraged, French sitters posed in their daily dress. So, apparently, did Mrs. Bache, but it is impossible to know whether she was merely wearing new clothes of good quality, or whether—as has been supposed—her kerchief was intended as an allusion to her republican or bourgeois sympathies.²⁷

A product of many years of academic training, Hoppner had emulated Reynolds and had long admired the painters of the Venetian Renaissance. He was a fine colorist with a preference for a restrained palette who was particularly skilled at chiaroscuro effects, working as assuredly with impasto as with a broad brush. His contemporaries found him to be exceptionally good at capturing a likeness. Sarah Bache's portrait is a characteristic example in good state of his mature style. Hoppner effectively suggests the sitter's forthright, benevolent character. His technique, impressively fluent, conveys the motion of the wet and dry brush, with many angular strokes and bright highlights for the hair, the forehead, and the

bridge and tip of the nose, as well as throughout the white drapery. The variation in tone in the white passages and the handling of the lost right profile are accomplished. Perhaps to achieve a more monumental effect, the artist has omitted the hands, which are often shown in paintings of this size and format. The background is neutral. The light enters from the right, where the grays are more transparent; the foreground, showing the ends of a fur wrap, is a warm brown. The canvas is of the small standard size called a three-quarter because its height approximates three-quarters of a yard.

Richard Bache (Figure 4) poses with his right shoulder forward and his face in three-quarter view. His eyes are golden brown. Glancing in the direction of the viewer, he cocks his right eyebrow quizzically. His salt-and-pepper hair, which looks to be his own, is unpowdered. The mole-colored coat with a high collar and large buttons and the white waistcoat and cravat are typical of the early 1790s. There is a patch of bright red paint under the gaping left side of the waistcoat. The gunmetal gray background, less differentiated than that of Sarah's portrait, resolves into a sunset, and the contours of trees in full leaf appear in the lower right corner. Hoppner seems to have been less interested in Mr. Bache: the face is slack, the details of the costume are ill defined, and the contours of the shoulder and swelling chest are uninteresting.²⁸

Nevertheless, the Baches must have been pleased with both portraits, which they brought back with them to Philadelphia. Some light is shed on the connection between the Hoppners and the Baches by a letter Phoebe Hoppner wrote to Sarah from London on January 1, 1794.²⁹ Phoebe discusses at length and with gratitude Mr. Bache's intervention on her behalf in the matter of her late father's estate and notes that "the attachment I feel to you, & M^r Bache, & the pleasure I had in your friendship and acquaintance, has made your interests mine." She mentions proudly that her husband has been chosen a member of the Royal Academy and continues,

M^r Hoppner presents his thanks for the many pleasing things you say of the Portraits, I assure you he is highly gratified that your Children approve them, his wish was that they would find them like, he bids me say he is sorry he cannot write by this Packet, as he is particularly engaged today, and tomorrow will be too late as the mail is closed tonight. . . . Mr. [William] Franklin who I saw, told me of the opportunity. . . . M^r H & I will both write by the next vessel.

The Hoppner portraits of Sarah and Richard Bache became family heirlooms. After Richard's death in 1811, his portrait went to the Baches' sixth child,

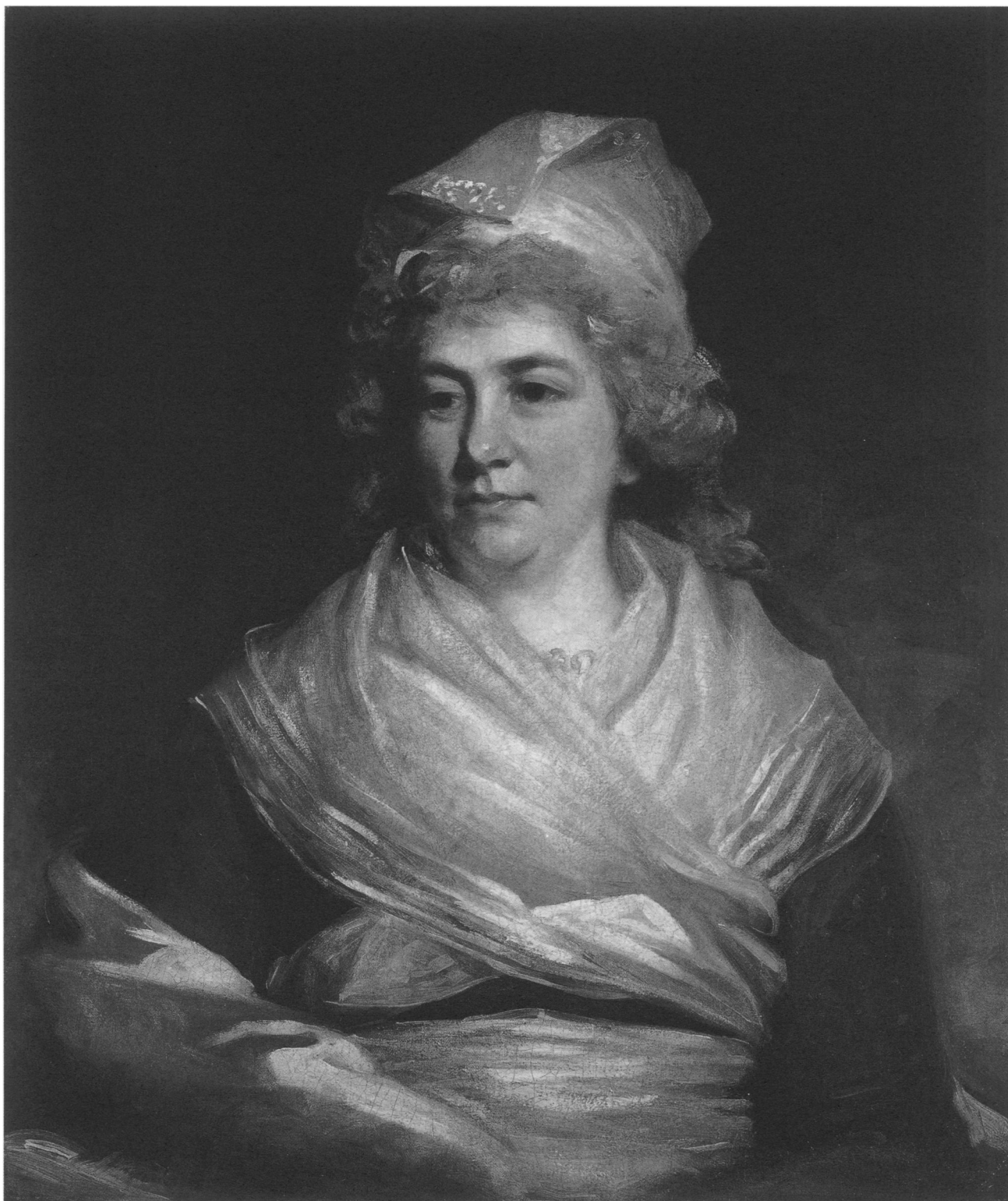


Figure 5. John Hoppner. *Sarah Franklin Bache*, ca. 1793. Oil on canvas, 76.5 x 63.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, Wolfe Fund, 1901 (01.20). See also Colorplate 5

Deborah Duane, who died in 1865.³⁰ While still owned by a member of his family, it has long been deposited at the Metropolitan Museum. The portrait of Sarah belonged to the couple's youngest son, Richard, who died in 1848, and in turn to his eldest son, Alexander Dallas Bache. In 1901 it was offered for sale to the Museum by a descendant representing the surviving children and grandchildren of Richard Bache Jr.³¹

Meanwhile numerous copies of the two portraits were ordered by other family members. In 1812, or more probably 1813, a pair of copies was commissioned from Rembrandt Peale (1778–1860) by Mrs. William Bache, the wife of Richard and Sarah's oldest surviving son. As her father-in-law had died a year or two before, the Hoppners must have been borrowed from her husband's sister and brother in Philadelphia.

The owner of Peale's copy (Figure 6) of Sarah's portrait has supplied the text of a letter, which has always been kept with the painting, in which Peale outlines the circumstances of the commission to Mrs. Bache:

Dr. Madam

Altho' it was my expectation to be doing before this the copies of your father & mothers portraits which I am to give in exchange for the old picture of Alfred; yet I must beg your further indulgence until I return from Maryland whither I am just about to depart. I assure you that the state of my health & other business have made it entirely impossible for me to have done them as well as I wish & intend.

Yours respectfully

Rembrandt Peale

Tues: July 14. 1812³²

Decades later, Peale offered a fuller account to Professor Charles Hodge of Princeton, the husband of Mrs. Bache's daughter Sarah:

Philad^a July 19th 1847

In the summer of 1813 Mrs. Bache offered to present to the [Pennsylvania] Academy Chamberlain's Picture of Alfred in the Cow-herd's Cottage, on condition that they have it repaired. I was applied to by Mr. Hopkinson for that purpose, but could not undertake it for less than \$150, as it was much damaged. Not long after that Mrs. Bache offered the Picture to me, to buy for my own Gallery, as she wished me to Copy for her the Portraits of old Mr. & Mrs. Bache which had been painted by *Hopner*. It occurred to me that Mr. Hopkinson, not long before this, in speaking of these portraits had praised them as *inimitable* specimens of Portrait painting. I therefore offered to make the Copies in exchange for the Alfred—She agreed, & the Portraits were to be sent to me the next morning at 8 o'clock. Determined to make use of the occasion to prove that Hopner's style was not difficult to imitate,

I immediately waited on several artists, & invited them to see the Originals in my Room, where I requested them to call again on the evening of the next day, and they should see my Copies finished. I accordingly commenced them at 9 o'clock, and had them entirely finished to my satisfaction the next day before dark—requiring only to be dried and varnished.

A few years later, I saw these portraits at one of our Annual Exhibitions, and I cannot but well remember the circumstance, because Mr. Hopkinson, much to my gratification, had mistaken them for the Originals, until I convinced him they were my Copies, made for Mrs. Bache, who on this occasion lent them to the Academy, where for many years they remained. I was afterwards informed by some member of the family that enquiries being made for them at the Academy, they could not be found, being probably lost sight of in one of the old lumber closets. This year I perceived them again as belonging to the Academy no one about the premises knowing anything to the contrary.

I presume it will only be necessary for Mrs. Hodge to present the foregoing statement to the President of the Board of Directors, now that the Portraits of her Progenitors are found, and they will be restored to their rightful owners.³³

It has been supposed that the Peale copies were returned to Mrs. Hodge in 1847;³⁴ subsequently that of Richard Bache disappeared.

Rembrandt Peale belonged to a dynasty of American painters: he was the second and most gifted son of Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827) and the brother of Raphaele (1774–1825) and Rubens (1784–1865) Peale.³⁵ Having studied with his father and in England, and having worked in France, he returned to the United States to become one of the nation's leading Neoclassical portraitists. While living in Philadelphia, he traveled frequently to New York and Boston in search of commissions, as well as to Baltimore, where from 1812 until 1822 he managed the Baltimore Museum. In his later life he was much given to copying, his own work as well as old master paintings. Peale's copy after Hoppner is on canvas, subsequently mounted on a solid support to which a much damaged old label has been stuck: "... [] g a Tooth of the Mammo[] / Pa[] ted by. ..." According to information supplied by the owner in 1953, the label read "Rembrandt Peale/holding a Tooth of the Mammoth/Painted by Himself/London April 1803."³⁶ An X-radiograph (Figure 7) confirms that the description on the label is correct.³⁷ Peale must have carried his self-portrait home from Europe and years later, having it to hand in his studio, painted over it his copy after Hoppner's *Sarah Franklin Bache*.

The portraits of Sarah by Hoppner and Peale are instructive examples of the two artists' contrasting



Figure 6. Rembrandt Peale (American, 1778–1860), after Hoppner. *Sarah Franklin Bache*, 1813. Oil on canvas, later mounted on a solid support, 71.1 x 60.3 cm. Private collection (photo: Metropolitan Museum)

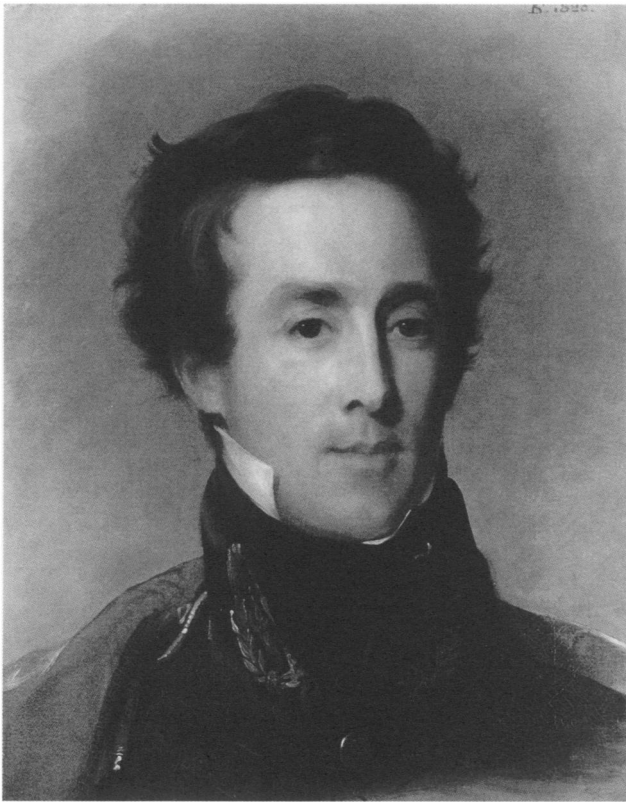


Figure 7. X-radiograph of the painting illustrated in Figure 6, showing Rembrandt Peale's self-portrait "holding a Tooth of the Mammoth . . . 1803" (photo: Roland White, for The National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution)

styles and of the differences between an original and a copy. Hoppner attacked his canvas energetically, using much loose and some dry brushwork. The Peale is softer and the blended strokes are largely indistinguishable. Peale's highlight on the sitter's nose is less bright and distinct; the same is true of lighter passages on the eyelids, forehead, and chin. Hoppner used a dry brush liberally for the sitter's gray hair, while Peale employed this technique only sparingly. Peale records some embroidery on the front V of the cap, but less of it, whereas Hoppner shows dots of embroidery sprinkled about. The original indicates ruffles at the neck where the fichu crosses; in the Peale copy, this passage is illegible. Hoppner suggests five rows of trim on the fichu, which Peale omits. Peale's drapery is less crisp throughout and not as well defined around the shoulders. In Hoppner's portrait Sarah's dress is gray, with large dots on her left sleeve and a bold brown shadow on her right sleeve. These are absent from the Peale portrait, in which the dress is very dark brown, almost black. Peale softens both the fur passage in the foreground of the original and the loose brushwork at the lower right, as well as substituting a uniform dark background.

Philadelphia society in the nineteenth century was close-knit, and Sarah's portrait later came to interest

another of the city's most prominent artists. Rembrandt Peale was a close friend of Sarah Bache's grandson Professor Alexander Dallas Bache, whom Thomas Sully (1783–1872) knew as well.³⁸ Sully's first contact with the family, however, was with another of Sarah's grandsons, Captain Hartman Bache (1797–1872) (Figure 8), who sat for him for a portrait head begun on July 19, 1824, and completed on September 16, 1826.³⁹ Sully kept extensive records and, lacking information to the contrary, it may be assumed that the order for the portrait came from the sitter, whose granddaughter bequeathed it to the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Captain Bache, having graduated with distinction from West Point in 1817, would eventually become the highest-ranking officer in the United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers.⁴⁰ In 1828 a replica of his portrait was commissioned from Sully by the sitter's mother, Margaret Bache Duane (1776–1836).⁴¹ For this replica, painted between June 7 and June 14, the artist charged fifty dollars, by comparison with the thirty dollars he had charged for the original portrait head in 1826.⁴² While the present whereabouts of the replica are unknown, precedent suggests that it may still belong to a member of the family.



Eight years later, Sully painted—“[f]or myself”—the first of his two copies of Hoppner’s *Sarah Franklin Bache*, this one of the same size as the original but with an arched top (Figure 9). He borrowed the Hoppner canvas from the sitter’s son Richard Jr. and completed his own between May 19 and June 8, 1834.⁴³ A descendant reported that this painting went to a dentist in payment of a debt;⁴⁴ if so, it was either given to or bought back by another relative, for it was bequeathed to the Philadelphia Museum by Caroline D. Bache, Hartman’s granddaughter. The last of Sully’s Bache family portraits was yet another copy of Hoppner’s portrait of Sarah (Figure 10), which by then belonged to Alexander Dallas Bache. Painted “for her grandson,” according to the artist’s register, it was completed between March 15 and 22, 1865.⁴⁵ That canvas, which was given by a Bache family member to the United States Department of State, is fully inscribed on the

Figure 8. Thomas Sully (American, 1783–1872). *Captain Hartman Bache*, 1826. Oil on canvas, 48.4 x 38.4 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Henrietta D. Pepper (Mrs. John W. Pepper), 1958, 1958-28-1 (photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art)



Figure 9. Thomas Sully, after Hoppner. *Sarah Franklin Bache*, 1834. Oil on canvas, arched top, 76.2 x 63.5 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Caroline D. Bache, 1958, 1958-27-1 (photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art)



Figure 10. Thomas Sully, after Hoppner. *Sarah Franklin Bache*, 1865. Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.8 cm. Diplomatic Reception Rooms, United States Department of State, Washington, D.C., Bequest of Miss Elizabeth Bache Coleman, 1975, 75.19 (photo: Will Brown)

reverse: "Sarah Bache, daughter of Dr. B. Franklin. Painted in 1793 by Hoppner. This copy by TS 1865 March."⁴⁶

Sully valued his first copy at one hundred twenty-five dollars, and his second and last at one hundred dollars. His pricing makes some sense, because, in regard to all the portraits of Sarah (including Peale's), the more distant the copy is in time from the original, the more broadly it seems to have been painted. This may be demonstrated by comparing passages by Hoppner (Figure 5) with the same passages from each of Sully's two paintings (Figures 9, 10), which might more properly be called variants: the drapery under and over the sitter's right arm, in the lower left corner of each picture. The shapes are progressively looser and less meaningful, until in Sully's 1865 canvas the sense of the structure and placement of the sitter's right shoulder and forearm are lost, resulting in an awkward flattening of the forms at the lower left, which seem to be closer to the surface of the picture. The sitter's weight no longer appears to rest on her torso, with the result that the entire figure looks crooked. From one picture to the next, the range of tone narrows and the light evens. Could it perhaps be



Figure 11. Thomas Wilcocks Sully (American, 1811–1847), after Hoppner. *Sarah Franklin Bache*, 1838. Oil on canvas, 75.2 x 63.2 cm. Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Bequest of Herbert L. Pratt, Class of 1895, 1945.74 (photo: Mead Art Museum)

argued that these changes are partly a reflection of the copyists' increasing sense of historical distance? The later of Sully's variants was painted almost seventy-five years after Hoppner's original, which over time must have seemed increasingly old-fashioned, and by which time Sully himself was an elderly gentleman.

The fact that Thomas Sully was an English-born American might conceivably account for his interest in Hoppner, whose work would have been little if at all represented in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ Sully had emigrated in 1792 with his family and as a young man had lived in Virginia, where he began his training with a French miniature painter, and in New York. After visiting New England, he finally settled in December 1807 in Philadelphia and two years later became an American citizen. In 1809–10 he returned to England to receive instruction from Benjamin West (1738–1820). Extremely prolific, as well as peripatetic, Sully painted more than two thousand portraits in a career of some seventy years. He also taught painting, and among his pupils in May 1830 he numbered his nineteen-year-old son, Thomas Wilcocks Sully (1811–1847).⁴⁸

Of Thomas Sully's family life relatively little is known. In 1806 he married his brother Lawrence's widow, Sarah Annis Sully, and assumed responsibility for her three daughters.⁴⁹ One child, the couple's infant son Thomas Sully Jr., died in 1810 during his father's absence in London. By May 1820 the painter was supporting a family of ten—his wife, their six children, and his three stepdaughters—among whom Jane Cooper, Thomas Wilcocks, Blanche, Ellen, Rosalie, and Alfred are recorded as having worked in their father's studio. It is impossible to know which of them showed any degree of promise. Thomas senior often had difficulty collecting what was owed him for commissioned portraits. He had numerous pupils, but many of them seem to have received instruction without payment of fees. He must therefore have relied upon his children for assistance of various kinds.

Alfred abandoned painting and entered West Point in 1837. In the same year and from then on, Thomas Sully was often accompanied on his travels by his daughter Blanche, who was with him when Queen Victoria sat for him in London. By mid-September of 1838 they were back in Philadelphia, where, it must be assumed, Thomas Wilcocks Sully painted another professional copy of Hoppner's *Sarah Franklin Bache* (Figure 11).⁵⁰ It is said to have been inscribed, on the reverse, under the lining canvas, as follows: "Copied by T. Sully Jr. 1838. The original by J. Hoppner, London, 1793."⁵¹ Thomas Wilcocks may have borrowed

the Hoppner from Richard Bache Jr., as his father had done four years earlier. Is is also possible that he copied his father's 1834 copy.⁵² Both Sullys asserted in their inscriptions that Sarah sat for Hoppner in 1793. This information can only have come from Richard Jr., the son of the sitter, and supports the very reasonable assumption that the couple commissioned their portraits shortly before returning to America, rather than early in their stay in England.

Given Sarah Bache's historical importance, Hoppner's status in England, and the existence of no less than four copies—three by major American painters—Hoppner's canvas must have been among the most influential English portraits in Philadelphia, and quite possibly in the United States, during the first half of the nineteenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My friend John Wilson's work on the much-neglected Hoppner led me to try to find all the Bache portraits and place them in context. I much appreciate the cooperation of the owners of Hoppner's *Richard Bache* and Rembrandt Peale's *Sarah Franklin Bache*, both of whom are members of Sarah's family. I am also grateful to Carol Eaton Soltis and to my colleague Carrie Rebora Barratt for recommending me to Carol. Much of the meticulous research for this article was carried out by Josephine Dobkin.

NOTES

1. See *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree et al., vol. 1 (New Haven, 1959), pp. lxii–lxv, lxxvii, for Franklin family genealogy, and William Duane, "Sarah Bache," in Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 4th ed. (New York, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 332–48, for a standard life of Sarah Franklin Bache, written by her grandson and first published in 1848.
2. Whitfield J. Bell Jr., "Sarah Franklin Bache," in *Notable American Women, 1607–1950: A Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), vol. 1, p. 75.
3. Ibid.
4. James Tagg, *Benjamin Franklin Bache and the Philadelphia "Aurora"* (Philadelphia, 1991), p. 2. In chapter 1, pp. 1–22, "Franklins and Baches," Tagg offers an up-to-date account of Sarah Bache's life.
5. E. D. Gillespie, *A Book of Remembrance* (Philadelphia and London, 1901), p. 19. Mrs. Gillespie was Mr. and Mrs. Bache's granddaughter.
6. Ibid., p. 27, and Claude-Anne Lopez and Eugenia W. Herbert,

- The Private Franklin: The Man and His Family* (New York, 1975), pp. 306–7.
7. *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, p. lxiii, and Tagg, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, pp. 3–16.
 8. Thomas Fleming, ed., *Benjamin Franklin: A Biography in His Own Words* (New York, 1972), p. 212.
 9. Ibid.
 10. Tagg, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, pp. 7–8.
 11. *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, pp. lxiii–lxv.
 12. Sarah Franklin Bache Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
 13. Sarah Franklin Bache Papers. The letter closes with compliments and is signed "S Bache."
 14. Duane, "Sarah Bache," pp. 344–45.
 15. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 7 (1892), p. 60, is particularly laudatory, and the illustration on the same page has a heroic quality absent from Hoppner's portrait of Sarah (Figure 5).
 16. *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, pp. lxii–lxiii.
 17. Ibid. See also Tagg, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, and, for other members of that generation, James Parton, *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1864), pp. 628–31, and Gillespie, *Book of Remembrance*.
 18. Parton, *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*, p. 631.
 19. Gillespie, *Book of Remembrance*, p. 27, and Lopez and Herbert, *The Private Franklin*, p. 306. The portrait miniature, without the diamonds, now belongs to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia and is reproduced in Fleming, *Benjamin Franklin*, p. 34.
 20. Lopez and Herbert, *The Private Franklin*, p. 306.
 21. Frances Simond writes to Sarah Bache on May 1, 1792: "I hope . . . this will reach you before your departure." Eliza Ferguson writes on May 12, noting "that you were about sailing for England." Sarah Franklin Bache Papers.
 22. There is a letter written by Sarah Bache from Preston on August 17, 1792. Richard Bache mentions his tour of Scotland in a letter sent from London to his son Will on December 3, 1792. Sarah Franklin Bache Papers.
 23. Richard Bache's sister wrote "to bid a Last Adieu" on July 17, and Sarah Vaughan wrote on July 30, 1793. The first letter was addressed to number 12 and the second to number 11 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square. Sarah Franklin Bache Papers.
 24. See Sarah Vaughan's letter of July 30, 1793; Sarah Franklin Bache Papers. See also Duane, "Sarah Bache," p. 346, and Gillespie, *Book of Remembrance*, pp. 30–31. Although most sources indicate that the Baches were in England for about a year, thirteen months would perhaps be a more accurate estimate.
 25. See principally William McKay and W. Roberts, *John Hoppner, R.A.* (London, 1909), pp. 9–10, and John Human Wilson, "The Life and Work of John Hoppner (1758–1810)" (Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 173–76, vol. 2, figs. 38, 39. Additional literature on the portraits, which primarily concerns that of Sarah, is extensive but uninformative. References not otherwise cited herein are given at the end of these notes.
 26. Wilson, "John Hoppner," pp. 28, 36, 173.
 27. Lopez and Herbert, *The Private Franklin*, p. 307, call her kerchief a Phrygian cap and her shawl a *fichu Marie-Antoinette*.
 28. While the portrait of Sarah Bache is in notably good state, that of Richard Bache is worn and flattened by lining.
 29. Sarah Franklin Bache Papers.

30. The former owners of the portrait of Richard Bache are: Mr. and Mrs. Richard Bache, Settle Farm, near Bristol, Pennsylvania (until 1808); Richard Bache, Settle Farm (1808–d. 1811); the Baches' daughter Deborah Bache Duane, Philadelphia (1811–d. 1865); by descent to Richard Bache Duane, New York, and Locust, New Jersey (by 1931–d. 1982); Dr. Richard Bache Duane Jr. (1982–d. 1988); by descent (from 1988).
31. The former owners of the portrait of Sarah Bache after the two pictures were separated are: the Baches' son Richard Bache Jr., Philadelphia (1811–d. 1848); his son Alexander Dallas Bache (1848–d. 1867); his sister Mary Bache (Mrs. Robert J.) Walker, Washington, D.C. (1867–at least 1898); Alexander Bache's and Mary Walker's descendants, represented by Isabella K. Walker (until 1901).
32. Transcribed in a letter to Lillian B. Miller, January 22, 1988. "[T]he old picture of Alfred" was *Alfred in the Cowherd's Cottage* by a painter named Chamberlain, for which see Peale's letter of July 19, 1847, below. The Baches fled Philadelphia before the British occupation, and Richard Bache mentioned the painting in a letter to Benjamin Franklin of July 14, 1778: "The rest of the pictures are safe and met with no damage, except the frame of Alfred, which is broken to pieces." Duane, "Sarah Bache," p. 339.
33. For Peale's letter of July 19, 1847, see *The Collected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*, ed. Lillian B. Miller (Millwood, N.Y., 1980), microfiche, ser. 6A, 10E6–10E10. The Mr. Hopkinson mentioned by Peale was Joseph Hopkinson, a lawyer and a founder of the Pennsylvania Academy. The artist Chamberlain may be Mason Chamberlain, an Englishman who painted a well-known portrait of Benjamin Franklin. For this information, I am indebted to Tess Mann, assistant editor of the Charles Willson Peale Papers.
34. The former owners of Peale's *Sarah Franklin Bache* are: Mr. and Mrs. William Bache, Philadelphia (1813–?1820); Sarah Bache Hodge Stockton, Princeton (?1820–d. 1849); by descent to Katharine Stockton Miles; by descent.
35. See Lillian B. Miller, *In Pursuit of Fame: Rembrandt Peale, 1778–1860*, exh. cat., National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Washington, D.C., and Seattle, 1992).
36. See the Frick Art Reference Library photo mount for Peale's *Sarah Franklin Bache*.
37. Miller, *In Pursuit of Fame*, pp. 58, 59, fig. 23 A (X-ray). B. I would like to thank Carol Eaton Soltis for her help with the Peale, which was examined and photographed at the Metropolitan Museum in the summer of 2000.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 226–27.
39. Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, *The Life and Works of Thomas Sully (1783–1872)* (Philadelphia, 1921), p. 90, no. 62, when in the collection of Mrs. Albert D. Bache of Philadelphia, and *Paintings from Europe and the Americas in the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia, 1994), p. 300, ill. This portrait, given to the Philadelphia Museum by one of the sitter's granddaughters, is signed and dated (upper right): "TS 1826." For a copy of the record I am grateful to Darrel Sewell, curator of American art at the Philadelphia Museum.
40. Parton, *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*, p. 629, and Tagg, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, p. 78.
41. Charles Henry Hart, *A Register of Portraits Painted by Thomas Sully* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 23, no. 58, painted "for mother," and Biddle and Fielding, *Thomas Sully*, p. 90, no. 63, when in the collection of Mrs. R. Meade Bache of Philadelphia. Parton, *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*, notes that Captain Bache married a sister of General George Meade and the owner in 1921 would have been his daughter-in-law.
42. Biddle and Fielding, *Thomas Sully*, p. 90, nos. 62, 63.
43. Hart, *Thomas Sully*, p. 23, no. 59, as Mrs. Bache, "deceased. Hoppner's. For myself." See also Biddle and Fielding, *Thomas Sully*, p. 90, no. 64, when in the collection of Mrs. Albert D. Bache of Philadelphia, and *Paintings from Europe and the Americas*, p. 301, ill., given by her to the Philadelphia Museum. This portrait, with an arched top, is inscribed by the painter (on the reverse): "TS 1834/Portrait/Copied from Hoppner."
44. Letter from Emily H. Bache to the Philadelphia Museum of Art, February 20, 1950, Records of the Philadelphia Museum.
45. Hart, *Thomas Sully*, p. 23, no. 60, as Mrs. S. Bache, "for her grandson. Copied from Hoppner." See also Biddle and Fielding, *Thomas Sully*, p. 91, no. 65, and Monroe H. Fabian, *Mr. Sully, Portrait Painter: The Works of Thomas Sully (1783–1872)*, exh. cat., National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Washington, D.C., 1983), p. 121, no. 81, ill. One of Alexander Dallas Bache's brothers, George or Richard, would likely be the grandson to whom Sully referred. According to records held by the Department of State, the picture had been the property of Elizabeth Bache Gould Coleman, daughter of William Saltonstall Gould and his wife, the former Jane Bache, of New York.
46. Fabian, *Mr. Sully*, p. 121.
47. For Thomas Sully's biography, see *ibid.*, pp. 10–21.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 13–16, for scant details about the Sully children.
50. Copies of Hoppner's portraits of both Richard and Sarah by members of the Bache family and by others are recorded in the literature. An unattributed portrait of Richard belongs with that of his wife to the Diplomatic Reception Rooms (information kindly supplied by Thomas G. Sudbrink). It is inscribed in pencil on the reverse: "W. S. Francis paid to get father copied get him to do my mother." See also, for example, Gillespie, *Book of Remembrance*, p. ix, ill. p. 25, for a copy of the portrait of Richard by his daughter Mrs. Thomas Sergeant.
51. Information kindly supplied by Karen Cardinal of the Department of Rights and Reproductions, Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts.
52. This assessment is based on black-and-white photographs; examination of the originals would probably yield a definitive conclusion.

Additional References to Hoppner's *Sarah Franklin Bache*

- William Duane, ed., *Letters to Benjamin Franklin from His Family and Friends, 1751–1790* (New York, 1859), p. 3, ill. opp. p. 57, mentions two copies by Sully and illustrates the print after Hoppner's portrait by Peter Kraemer (Figure 3).
- W. Stanton Howard, "Portrait of Sarah Bache," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 106 (1903), p. 797, ill., reproduces a wood engraving by Henry Wolf.
- The Pictorial Life of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia, 1923), n.p., ill.
- C. H. Collins Baker, *British Painting* (London, 1933), p. 280.
- Thomas Fleming, *The Man Who Dared the Lightning: A New Look at Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1971), ill. opp. p. 180.
- John Wilson, "John Hoppner," in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (London, 1996), vol. 14, p. 754, ill.

Exhibitions of Hoppner's *Sarah Franklin Bache*

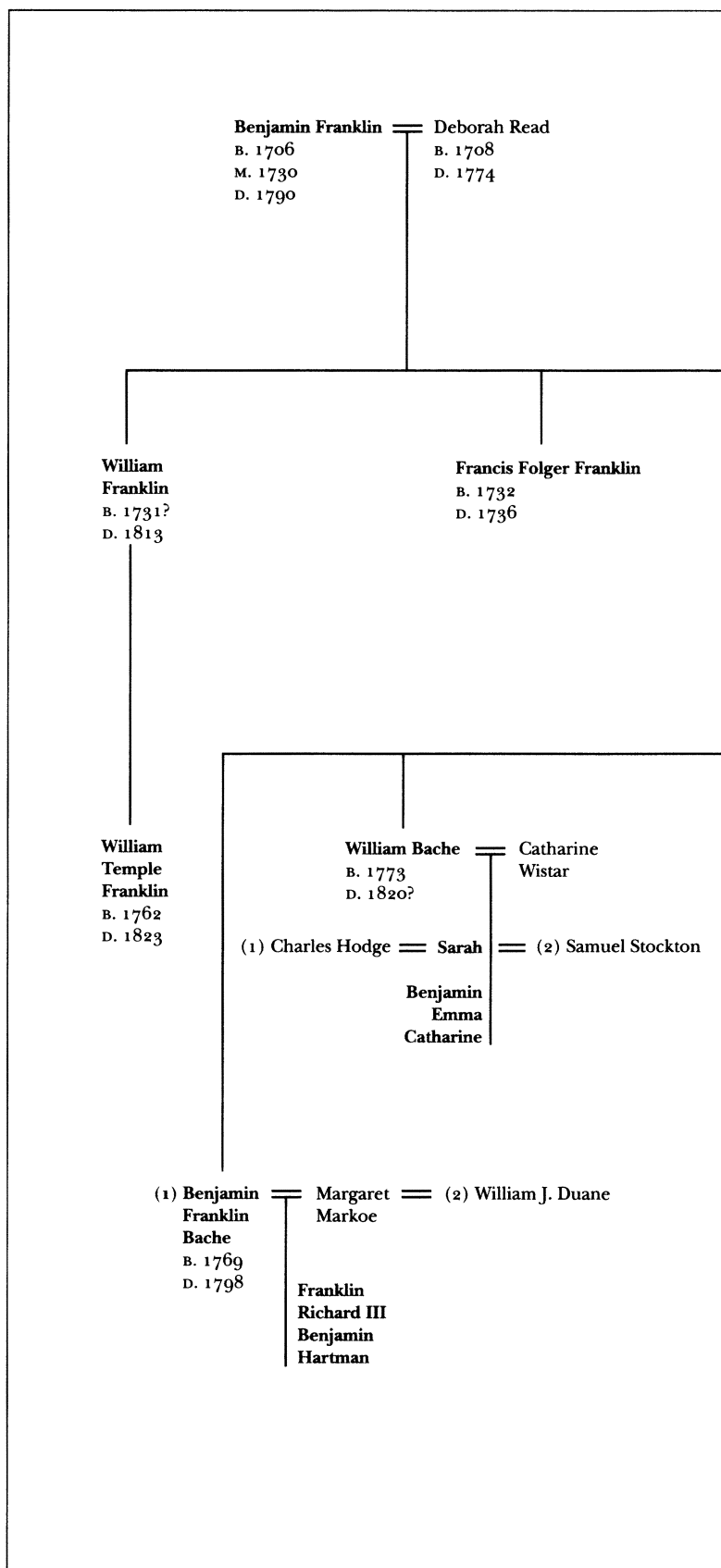
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, May 11–September 13, 1936. "Benjamin Franklin and His Circle," nos. 85 (Sarah), 86 (Richard).

Palm Beach, The Society of the Four Arts, January 12–February 4, 1951. "Portraits, Figures and Landscapes," no. 22.

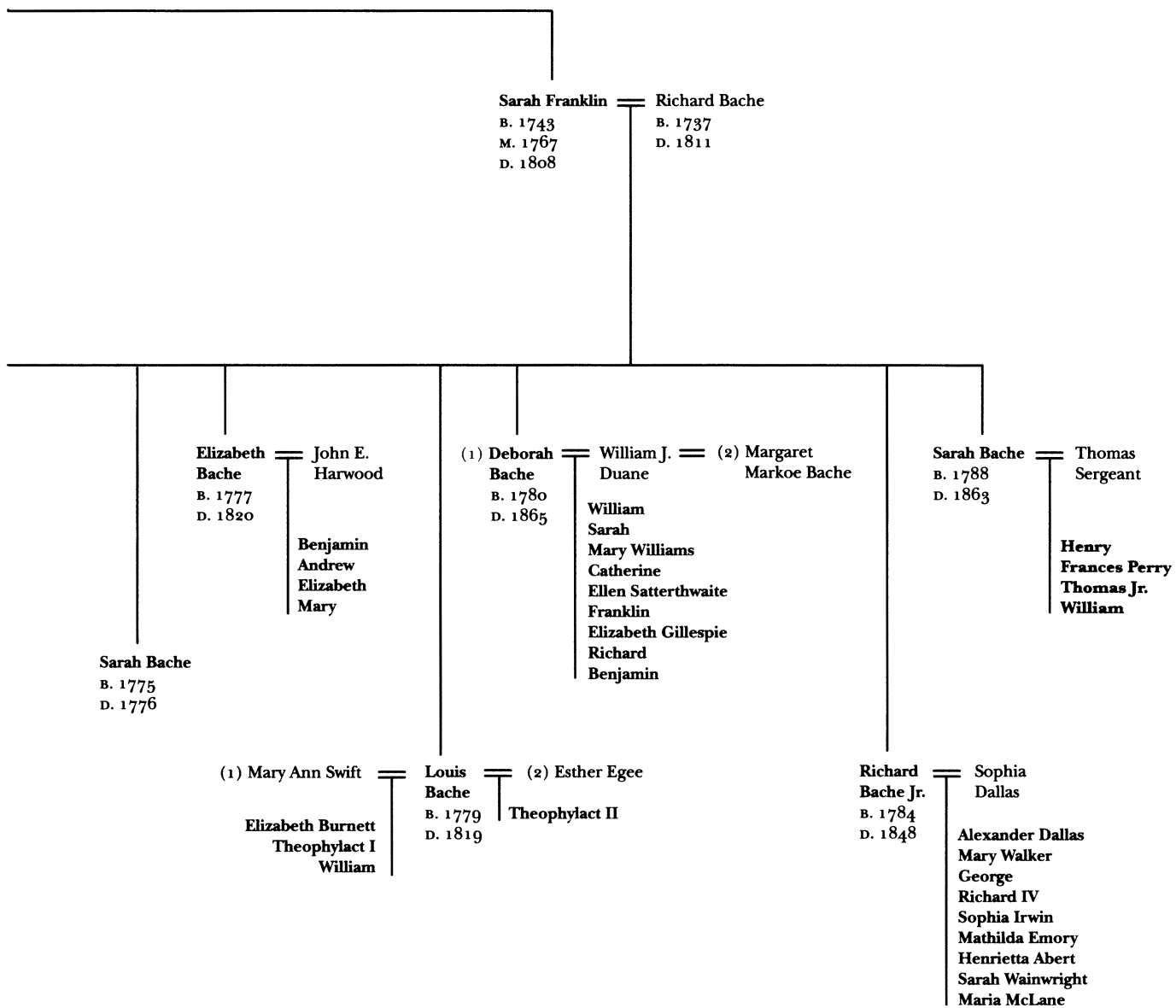
Plymouth, Mass., Pilgrim Society, June 30–September 26, 1976; Atlanta, High Museum of Art, October 16–November 14, 1976; Washington, D.C., Corcoran Gallery of Art, December 3–31, 1976; Chicago Historical Society, January 18–February 20, 1977; Austin, Texas, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, March 15–April 23, 1977; New-York Historical Society, May 10–June 15, 1977. "Remember the Ladies: Women in America, 1750–1815," p. 93, ill. p. 92.

Washington, D.C., National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, June 3–September 5, 1983. "Mr. Sully, Portrait Painter: The Works of Thomas Sully (1783–1872)," no. 80.

Iowa City, University of Iowa Museum of Art, February 7–March 23, 1987. "Women and the American Revolution."



Appendix: Descendants of Benjamin Franklin
After *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree
et al., vol. 1, pp. lxii–lxv, lxxvii



The Campeche Chair in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

CYBÈLE TRIONE GONTAR

The Museum System Project, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN MEMORY OF JAMES PARKER

IN NOVEMBER 1819 Thomas Jefferson wrote to Thomas Bolling Robertson of New Orleans to thank him for the gift of a Campeche armchair. “Age, its infirmities and frequent illnesses,” observed Jefferson, “have rendered indulgence in that easy kind of chair truly acceptable.”¹ He was sufficiently captivated to have copies produced in his joinery, and visitors to Monticello, his home near Charlottesville, Virginia, can view at least one example of this manufacture.² The finest Campeche in Virginia is presently found in the James Madison Museum in Orange, near Montpelier, Madison’s estate (Figure 1). It is noteworthy for its ornate leather seat embossed with a stylized Spanish Habsburg double-headed eagle, string-inlaid crest rail, carved arms and finials, cabriole armrest supports, and curule construction—a rare constellation of features suggestive of Mexican origin.³ Jefferson and Madison were neighbors and friends, and the tradition that Madison received his chair from his predecessor as president is probably reliable.⁴

The Campeche chair, or “boutaque,” in Louisiana patois,⁵ is characterized by a lateral nonfolding curule base and embossed leather or cane reclining back and seat. It takes its name from the Mexican port city on the Yucatán Peninsula, better known for its trade in logwood (*Haematoxylon campechianum*).⁶ In America the chair also came to be called by the anglicized name “Campeachy.”⁷ Sparsely distributed throughout the southeastern United States, principally in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Virginia, it is also common in Latin America. There is a concentration of nineteenth-century Campeche chairs in Louisiana, to which they were first exported from New Spain. Numerous early-nineteenth-century inward foreign cargo manifests document shipments of boutaque chairs from Campeche, Mexico, to the port of New Orleans (Figure 2).⁸

The earliest known depiction of a Campeche appears in a pencil drawing entitled *Scene on Board “L’Alerte,”* by Anne-Marguerite-Henriette Rouillé de Marigny, Baroness Hyde de Neuville, the wife of the French minister to Washington, who was noted for her illustrations of early American landscapes (Figure 3).⁹ Dated October 1806, the sketch was completed by the baroness en route to the United States. It shows a young girl sleeping in a Campeche aboard ship. Another representation appears in a watercolor by the famous British-born architect and engineer Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe, who sailed to New Orleans from Baltimore in late 1818 to complete a commission for a waterworks (Figure 4).¹⁰ He annotated the sketch “View from the window of my Chamber at Tremoulet’s hotel New Orleans. The distant houses are in the suburb of St. Mary. The house of which the roof occupies the center of the view is the Gouvernement house. The opening beyond the flat roof is Jefferson street.” Occupying a caned Campeche at the center of the picture is a gentleman wearing a *toque blanche* and smoking a cigar while attended by a waist-coated servant.

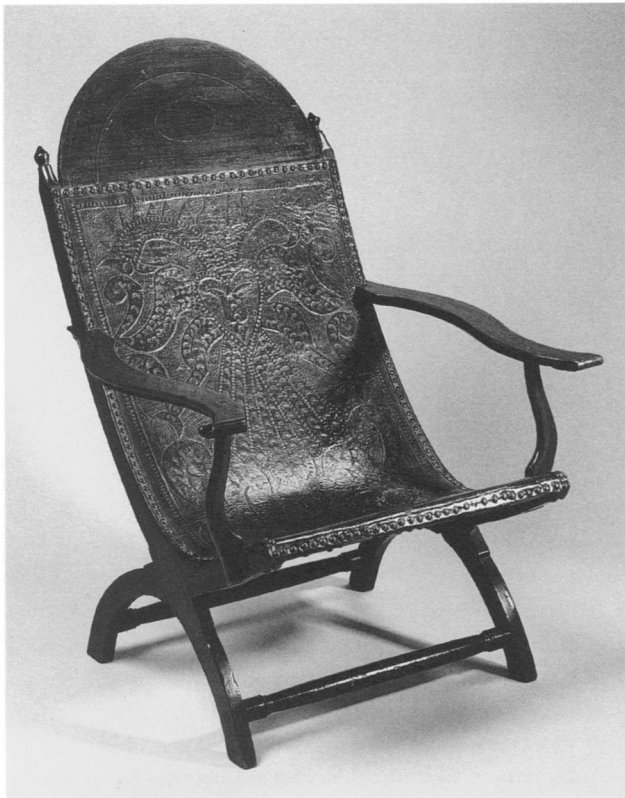
The American Campeche chair is a relic of late-eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century plantation culture that flourished in the Old South. In Southern homes it remains an exotic curiosity, redolent of ancient origins, its curved form gracing traditional interiors with other period furnishings, such as Louisiana inlaid armoires and American Classical tables, chairs, and sofas. It stands as a reminder that Louisiana, once briefly a Spanish possession, still bears important traces of that heritage.

THE FLOWER-BASKET CHAIRS

In 2000 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of American Decorative Arts, acquired a Campeche chair (Figure 5). Pivotal in this essay on the Campeche form, the Metropolitan Museum chair

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 38

The notes for this article begin on page 207.



is related to other important specimens in American collections and abroad.

Between its back stiles is a melon-shaped crest rail with wedge-shaped panels of figured mahogany veneer that radiate outward from a center point at the bottom (Figure 6). The crest has a distinctive neoclassical marquetry patera of a basket containing a bouquet of an Oriental poppy, daffodils, a rosebud with leaves, and palm foliage. Outlining the top is an arc of marquetry banding consisting of alternating light and dark squares set in a herringbone pattern. Curved arms set flat-wise and through-tenoned into the back stiles extend to the front rail of the chair, where they terminate in squared-off ends that point outward (Figure 7). On the top of each arm are figured mahogany veneers and a marquetry band of checkered squares (largely lost) surrounding the perimeter. Other features include acorn-shaped finials with decorative ring turnings repeated

Figure 1. Campeche armchair. Probably Mexican, ca. 1820. Mahogany, embossed leather, brass tacks; 98 x 54.6 x 50.2 cm. Collection of the James Madison Museum, Orange, Virginia (photo: James Madison Museum)

No. 1. Form of a Report and Manifest for a SHIP or VESSEL of the United States, from a Foreign Port.

REPORT and MANIFEST of the Cargo laden on board of the *Ship Jenny* whereof *John J. Jones* is Master, which cargo was taken on board at *Campeche* on the *21st* day of *April* 1808, and owned by *John J. Jones* tons built at *Campeche* in the United States of America, as per Register granted at *New Orleans* the *21st* day of *April* 1808.

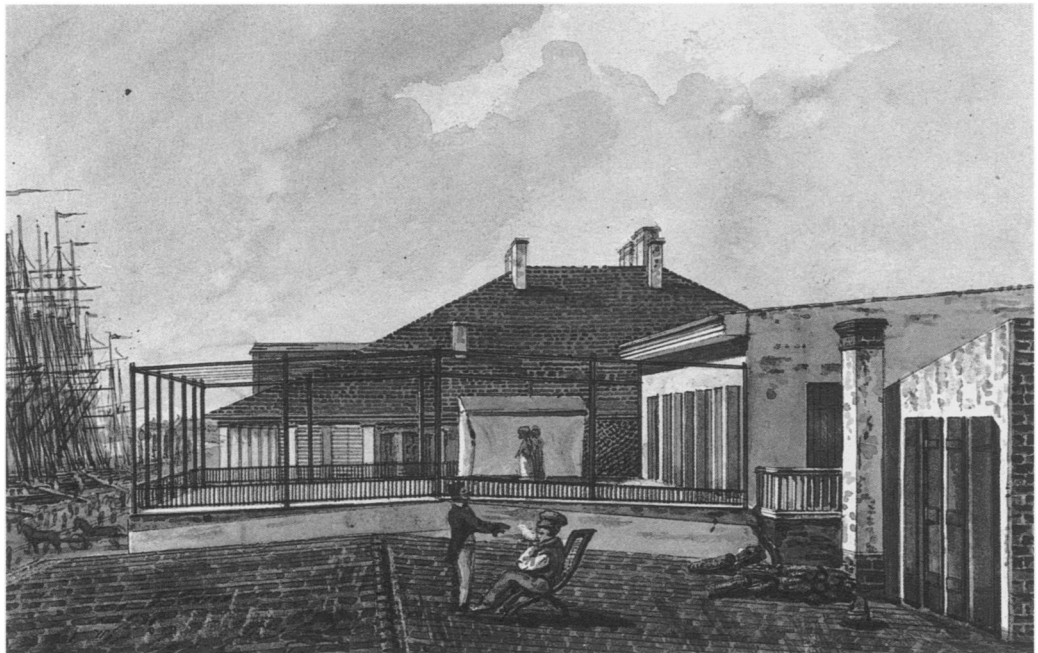
PACKAGES and CONTENTS	BY WHOM SHIPPED.	To whom Consigned, or to Order.	Place of Consignee's Residence.	Port of Destination.
Four thousand seven hundred and fifty-four <i>Quintals Logwood</i>	<i>Estada & Sons</i>	<i>Pedro de la Bouchard</i>	<i>New Orleans</i>	<i>New Orleans</i>
<i>Four Boutiques</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>One Large Containing Forty-nine Hammocks</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>Fifteen Sacks</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>two hundred thirty-five Quintals Logwood</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>Pedro de la Bouchard</i>	<i>New Orleans</i>	<i>New Orleans</i>
<i>three Boxes Merchandise</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>

Figure 2. Report and manifest of the cargo taken on board the *Jenny* at Campeche, dated April 21, 1808. The goods included four "Boutiques," or Campeche chairs. Records of Customhouses in the United States, New Orleans, Louisiana, Records of the Bureau of Customs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (photo: National Archives)



Figure 3. Baroness Hyde de Neuville (French, ca. 1779–1849). *Scene on Board "L'Alerte,"* October 1806. Pencil on paper, 14 x 19.1 cm. Private collection (photo: Kennedy Galleries, New York)

Figure 4. Detail of Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe (American, 1764–1820), *View from the Window of my Chamber at Tremoulet's Hotel, New Orleans,* January 1819. Watercolor, 21 x 27.3 cm. The Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore (photo: Maryland Historical Society)



on the urn-shaped armrest supports and stretchers, and a sling-shaped seat upholstered with its original punch-work leather secured to the frame with gilt brass tacks.

The leather is decorated with horizontal guilloche bands, stars, and abstract fleurs-de-lis.¹¹ Punched in the middle of the seat is an inverted triangle with a whimsical zoomorphic design at its center. Mortise-and-tenon and half-lap joints secure the frame and join the arms to it. The armrest supports are secured to the seat with sliding dovetail joints. The stretchers are tenoned through the legs and fixed in place with a small wedge of wood hammered in the ends of the circular tenons.

The Metropolitan Museum's chair was originally owned by James Colles (1788–1883), who established

himself in the lucrative mercantile trade of New Orleans, where he moved from New York City in 1818. Emily Johnston de Forest (1851–1942), his granddaughter and the wife of former Metropolitan Museum of Art president Robert W. de Forest,¹² wrote of his arrival in New Orleans in *James Colles (1788–1883): Life and Letters*:

New Orleans, upon the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, had become a kind of Eldorado; there was a great rush from all over the country to take advantage of the new opportunities which were opened up there. Cotton and sugar were then released from the Spanish tariff and became very valuable assets. The glamour lasted several years. James, according to the Family Bible, "arrived at New Orleans in Brig



Figure 5. Campeche armchair. Probably Mexican, ca. 1820. Mahogany (*Swietenia macrophylla*) and mahogany veneer, light and dark wood inlay, embossed leather, gilt brass tacks; 99.1 x 68.3 x 69.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of American Decorative Arts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Williams, 2000 (2000.451)

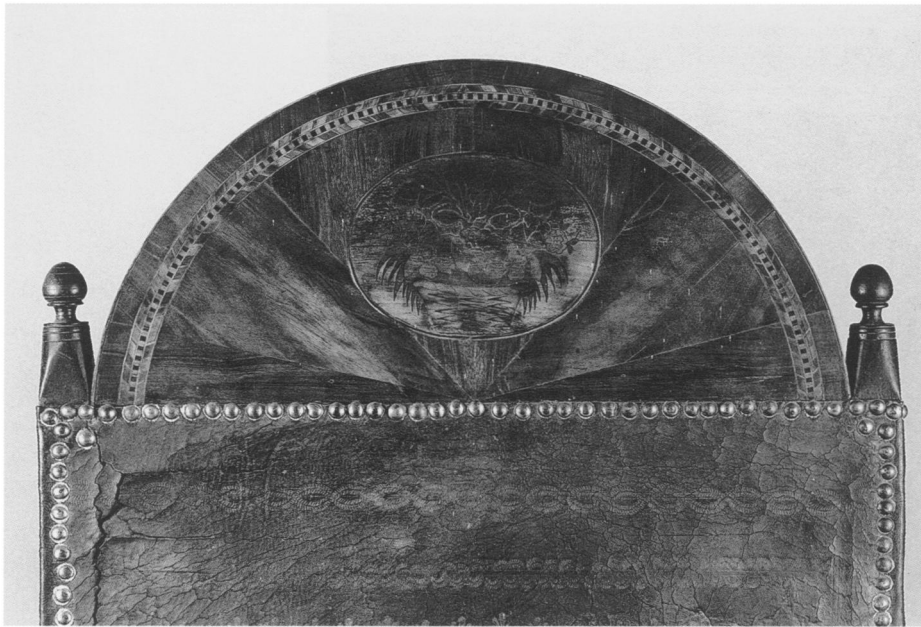


Figure 6. Detail of the Campeche armchair in Figure 5, showing the crest rail.

‘Casket’ from New York, in November 1818.” The understanding between J. C. and his new associate [David Rogers] evidently was that Colles should spend the winters there and go to New York each summer for necessary purchases. At first they had many trials and losses; men who “skipped” without even paying their board bills, or gave orders for more goods without paying for the previous consignment, or sent perishable goods which spoiled before they reached New Orleans.¹³

Colles enjoyed a successful career in New Orleans, becoming a director of the Bank of the United States in 1832. He remained until 1836, when he permanently relocated his family to a house he built in Morristown, New Jersey. In her biography of Colles, De Forest mentions favorite belongings of her grandfather that he collected in New Orleans and Europe. Among them is the “old Spanish chair” obtained sometime after his arrival in 1818:

After all this excitement was over we can imagine James Colles settling down to the leisurely habits which were his in later life, sitting, not in one of the high back chairs, but in the comfortable leather covered Spanish chair which he so loved and which probably had been brought from Mexico and bought by him in New Orleans. Here he smoked cigars, of which he never removed the ash, but let it besprinkle his coat and vest as it would. Here he read the “London Times, Weekly Edition,” to which he had subscribed after his return home so that he might be kept in touch with things foreign.¹⁴

A photograph of about 1875 shows this chair on the



Figure 7. Front view of the Campeche armchair in Figure 5.



Figure 8. *The Colles Family*, ca. 1875 (reproduced from Emily de Forest, *James Colles [1788–1883]: Life and Letters* [New York, 1926], pp. 260–62)



Figure 9. Photograph captioned "Old Spanish Chair," showing a reproduction, probably by Ernest F. Hagen, of James Colles's Campeche chair (reproduced from Emily de Forest, *James Colles [1788–1883]: Life and Letters* [New York, 1926], pp. 208–9).

piazza of the family's Morristown home (Figure 8).¹⁵ Later, nine replicas were painstakingly executed for Colles's children and grandchildren by New York cabinetmaker and restorer Ernest F. Hagen (1830–1913), who had special tools made with which to reproduce the intricate patterns on the leather upholstery (Figure 9).¹⁶ Emily de Forest inherited the original chair from her mother. Its aged appearance owes in part to many years of use, both indoors and on the porch of the De Forests' Cold Spring Harbor home on Long Island.

In the same period when James Colles obtained his Campeche, cotton planter James Jackson (d. 1840), builder of the Forks of Cypress, a peripteral manse in Florence, Alabama, purchased an almost identical chair in New Orleans (Figure 10).¹⁷ The Jackson chair remains in the collection of James's great-grandson Admiral Alexander Jackson Jr., of Orange, Virginia. Despite the loss of its original leather upholstery, it matches the Metropolitan Museum's chair in details of construction, marquetry, and parquetry (with minor variations in wood color and parquetry banding), suggesting that the two came from the same workshop; its better-preserved features give an impression of the original appearance of the Museum's chair. Subtle differences in ornament and tool marks on the frames of the chairs reflect hand craftsmanship rather than group manufacture. The marquetry patera seen on the Jackson crest rail is identical to that of the Metropolitan's Campeche, although the crest has a narrower parquetry border that accommodates only half of the herringbone design seen on the Metropolitan's



Figure 10. Campeche armchair. Probably Mexican, ca. 1820. Mahogany and mahogany veneer, light and dark wood inlay, replaced leather seat, brass tacks; 99.1 x 68.3 x 69.9 cm. Collection of Admiral Alexander Jackson Jr., Orange, Virginia (photo: The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, North Carolina)



Figure 12. Detail of the Campeche armchair in Figure 10, showing the arms and armrest supports (photo: The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, North Carolina)

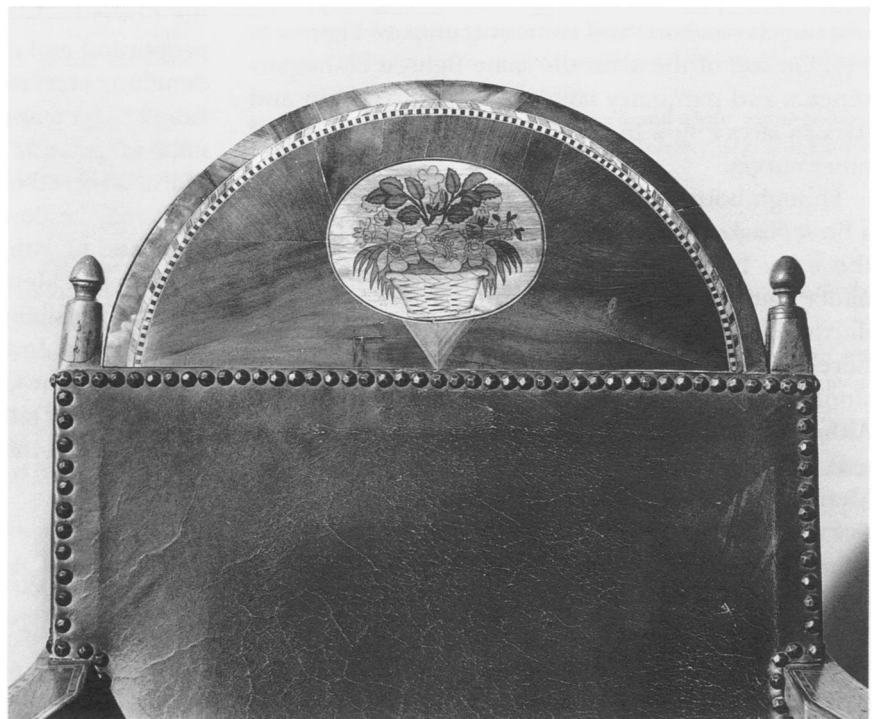


Figure 11. Detail of the Campeche armchair in Figure 10, showing the crest rail (photo: The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, North Carolina)



Figure 13. Campeche armchair. Mexican, Campeche, ca. 1820. Wood, leather, and brass tacks, possibly mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell inlay; dimensions unknown. Private collection (reproduced from Carlos de Ovando, "El taracea mexicana/The Mexican Marquetry," *Artes de México*, no. 118 [1969], p. 72; photo: *Artes de México*, Mexico City)

chair crest (compare Figures 6, 11). The arms of both pieces are supported by turned elements in the shape of a neoclassical urn and column (compare Figures 7, 12). On top of the arms the same figured mahogany veneers and parquetry bands of sequential light and dark squares follow the outline of the arms' inner and outer curves.

Though both of these Campeche chairs inlaid with a flower-basket design were purchased in New Orleans, there has been no evidence to suggest their provenance until now. Another example from Campeche, illustrated by Carlos de Ovando in *Artes de México*—hereinafter called the Ovando chair—is sufficiently similar to suggest a Mexican source (Figure 13).¹⁸ Although its dimensions are not available, the Ovando seat exhibits very similar proportions to those of the Metropolitan and Jackson chairs. Physical characteristics common to all three include the melon-shaped crest rail with marquetry bouquet of flowers and border of inlaid bands, the curved shape of the arms terminating in squared-off ends, and the fine ring turnings decorating the armrest supports. The lower portions of the Ovando chair's armrest supports

appear to be attached to the seat rails with a sliding dovetail joint in similar fashion to the Metropolitan and Jackson pieces.

Distinguishing features of the Ovando chair are bulb-shaped armrest supports, massive stretchers, pike-tipped finials, and embossed leather seat, all typical of Mexican furniture.¹⁹ It is inlaid more ornately as well, not only on the arms and crest rail but also on its finial bases and arched legs. Although the inlay materials cannot be determined from the photograph, they may be ivory, bone, mother-of-pearl, or tortoiseshell.²⁰ Its elliptical marquetry patera is surrounded by a parquetry border of alternating light and dark squares; the patera contains a bountiful bouquet (with a blooming rose, daffodils, and palm foliage) but no basket. Beneath the bouquet appears a letter or pair of initials, possibly "CW," underscored by a row of beading or a zigzag line.

Another important aspect of the Ovando chair is its Mexican eagle—embossed leather seat. Two Campeches in Louisiana collections have similar seats embossed with American eagles (see Figure 37).²¹ Unlike the abstractly patterned leather on the Metropolitan Museum's Campeche, the Ovando seat is decorated around its edges with a vinelike scroll interspersed with small flowers. In a square in the middle of the back is a Mexican eagle, easily distinguished from an American eagle: instead of shield, olive branch, and arrows, the Mexican bird carries a serpent in its mouth and stands on a nopal, or prickly-pear cactus.²²

James Madison's Campeche chair (Figure 1) may be understood as part of the same stylistic grouping as the flower-basket chairs. Closely resembling them in proportion and construction, the Madison chair has a demilune crest rail with single-band border, unembellished patera, and carved finials. Its wavy arms terminate in carved, folded-under scrolls of which the blunt, squared-off ends of the flower-basket chairs' arms may be derivations. The Madison Campeche is upholstered with a patterned leather seat, as are the Ovando and Metropolitan chairs. These resemblances raise the possibility that the Madison chair may also be from Mexico. Indeed, it may be the original chair purchased in New Orleans in 1819 by Thomas Bolling Robertson for Jefferson and hence the Virginia prototype copied at the Monticello joinery.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CURULE CHAIR

The Campeche form is a modern version of the curule-base chair, which is itself descended from the X-frame folding stool of ancient Egypt. According



Figure 14. Folding stool. Egyptian, ca. 1550–1500 B.C. Leather, wood (cypress or acacia), bronze; h. 35.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.182.58)



Figure 15. Tutankhamun's throne. Egyptian, Thebes, ca. 1336–1327 B.C. Ebony, ivory, semiprecious stones or glass, gold mounts; h. 102 cm. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (T.T.351) (photo: Harry Burton, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

to Ole Wanscher's classic study *Sella curulis, the Folding Stool: An Ancient Symbol of Dignity*,²³ the X-frame folding seat appeared first in the ancient Near East and was later adopted and refined in Egypt. Similar forms emerged elsewhere, though most did not develop the S-curve configuration that typifies the curule base. Though the X-frame may originally have lent itself to folding and portability, Wanscher explains that not all X-frames folded.

In Egyptian culture, the humble X-frame seat came to function in an official and ceremonial capacity. It was associated with persons of status—priests, scribes, and the architects who oversaw the building of pyramids and temples. Examples of Egyptian X-frame furniture have been preserved by the dry climate of underground tombs. One wooden folding stool of about 1550 to 1500 B.C. and probably from the site of Rifa retains its original leather seat and has bronze rivets that hold the crossed legs together (Figure 14).

Eventually, the X-frame served as the stylistic foundation for pharaoh's throne. An impressive example, the ebony seat of Tutankhamun (Figure 15), is richly embellished with gold mounts and inlay of ivory, lapis lazuli, and other semiprecious stones or glass.²⁴ The X-frame design qualifies the aristocratic image of this

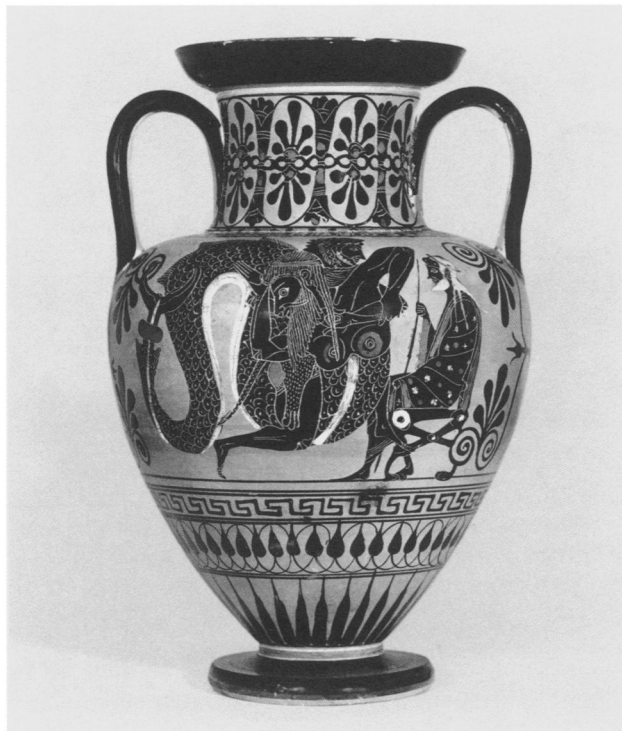


Figure 16. Black-figured neck-amphora. Greek, Medea Group, ca. 520 B.C. Terracotta, h. 31.2–31.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.21)



Figure 17. Detail of a relief panel from the Palace of Sennacherib (Southwest Palace). Assyrian, Nineveh, northern Iraq, ca. 630–620 B.C. Limestone, h. 152 cm. British Museum, London (124956) (photo: British Museum)

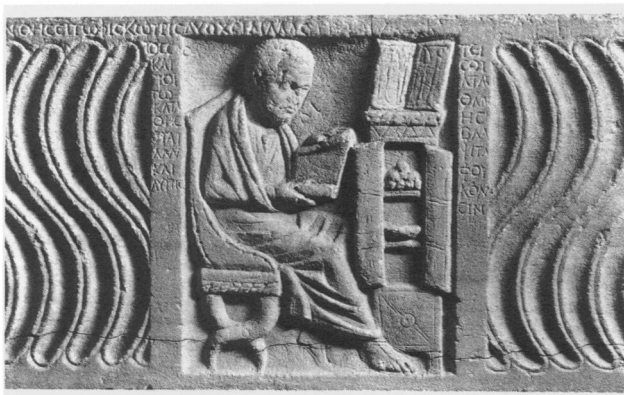


Figure 19. Detail of a marble strigil sarcophagus of a Greek physician. Roman, near Ostia, early fourth century A.D. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Brummer and Ernest Brummer, in memory of Joseph Brummer, 1948 (48.76.1)

magnificent throne by evoking its utilitarian origins, an ambiguity shared by its latter-day descendant, the American Campeche chair.

To the Egyptian folding X-frame, the Greeks added more elaborately carved and curved legs, characteristically inverted lion's and S-curved legs.²⁵ No original



Figure 18. Sestertius. Roman, ca. A.D. 65. Bronze, diam. 40 mm. The American Numismatic Society, New York (1954.203.156) (photo: American Numismatic Society)



Figure 20. Funerary stele of Lara de los Infantes. Roman-Iberian, province of Burgos, Spain, first century A.D. Medium and dimensions unknown. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (photo: Archivo Fotográfico, Museo Arqueológico Nacional)

Greek folding stools or fragments have survived, but extant reliefs and vase paintings provide information about them. A black-figured neck-amphora of about 520 B.C. in the Metropolitan Museum depicts Herakles gripping Triton, the fishtailed son of Poseidon and Amphitrite, in a stranglehold (Figure 16). In this ren-

dering, Nereus sits nearby on a lion-legged campstool based on the X-frame form.²⁶ The Greeks' progression from rectilinear to curved base was probably driven by aesthetic considerations rather than any technical requirements of construction or use, though the curved base increased the X-frame's weight-bearing capacity. It is also important to mention an Assyrian relief of about 630–620 B.C. from the Palace of Sennacherib, now in the collection of the British Museum (Figure 17). The panel shows, among other spoils from a Chaldean conquest, a table that establishes the existence of S-curved legs even before their appearance in Greek art.²⁷

The Romans, who seem to have inherited the curule base from the Etruscans,²⁸ disseminated their *sella curulis*, or magistrate's chair,²⁹ throughout the empire. The *sella curulis*, another descendant of the pristine Egyptian cross-frame, likewise carried the symbolism of rank and authority. It was featured, for example, on Roman coins and medals. The reverse of a Roman sestertius (Figure 18) has a profile of Emperor Nero (r. A.D. 54–68) seated on a *sella curulis*, thereby emphasizing his supremacy.

The *sella curulis* was imported into Byzantine culture, where it continued to function as a sign of political puissance.³⁰ Evidence that it evolved early into full chair format is supplied by a relief on a Roman sarcophagus of about A.D. 300, with Greek inscriptions, found near the port of Ostia (Figure 19). A Greek physician wearing a himation is shown sitting on a small chair with curule base. Bleeding basin, instrument case, surgical tools, and scrolls identify his profession. His seat is an ingenious combination of curule base and upright back support,³¹ similar to the Campeche chair minus the reclining back. Another chiseled interpretation of the *sella curulis*, also with a back, appears on a Roman-Iberian funerary stele from the province of Burgos, Spain (Figure 20).³²

A seventh-century Early Christian ivory relief of Saint Peter dictating the Gospel to Saint Mark (Figure 21) also may be seen as a step in the development of the Campeche form.³³ The backrest of Saint Peter's cathedra (see note 38) suggests fabrication from one piece of wood that extends through the seat into the front leg, joined to a second piece that forms part of the seat and the rear leg. These two pieces form a curule-base chair, the earliest depiction we have found of such an ensemble. Another curule-base cathedra, also with dolphin-shaped armrests, appears in the Carrand Diptych, in the Bargello, Florence (Figure 22).³⁴

By the Renaissance, two curule-base chair types existed in Europe, both descendants of the *sella curulis*. The first, a more archaic cross-constructed type with laterally positioned curule-base, may be seen in *The*



Figure 21. Relief panel showing Saint Peter dictating the Gospel to Saint Mark. Early Christian, Syria-Palestine or Alexandria (?), seventh or eighth century (?). Ivory, 13.5 x 10 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (270-1867) (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



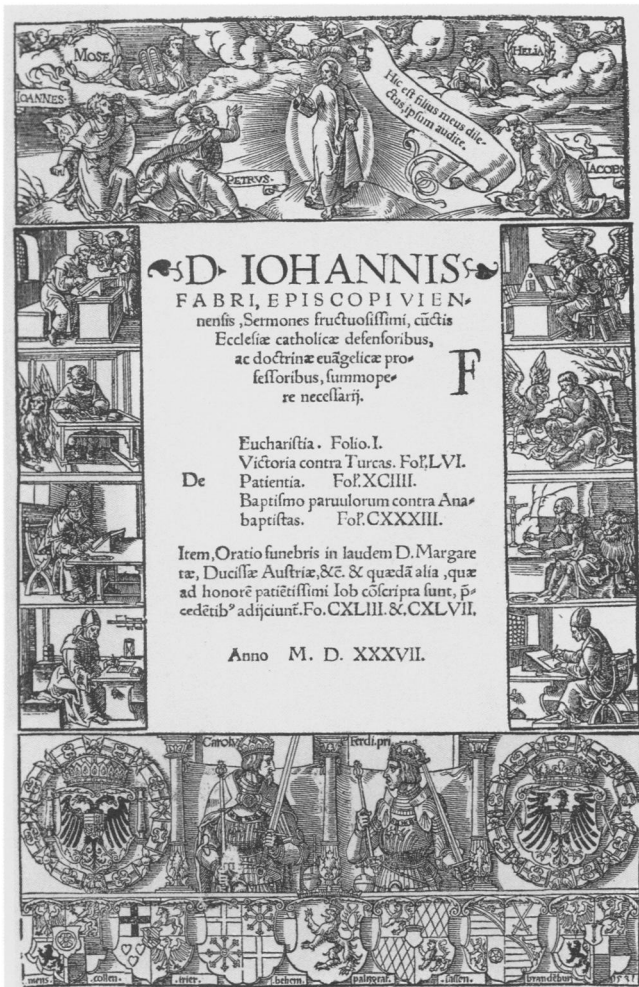
Figure 22. Detail of the Carrand Diptych, showing a scene from the life of Saint Paul. Fourth or fifth century. Ivory. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (photo: Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Fiorentino, Gabinetto Fotografico)



Figure 23. Cosimo Tura (Ferrarese, ca. 1430–1495). *The Circumcision*, 1470s. Oil on wood, diam. 38.7 cm. The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (P15S3) (photo: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum)



Figure 24. Florentine school. *Personification of Florence*, reverse of a medal commemorating Cosimo de' Medici the Elder, 1465–69. Bronze, diam. 76 mm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Anne D. Thomson, 1923 (23.280.25)



Circumcision, a tondo by Cosimo Tura (Figure 23).³⁵ The Madonna's curule-base chair has round finials and tined legs. Another fifteenth-century example, perhaps meant to represent a *sella curulis*, is shown on the reverse of a commemorative Florentine medal struck in honor of Cosimo de' Medici the Elder (1349–1464) and depicting a personification of Florence (Figure 24). The *silla francesca*, or "French seat," possibly a Spanish adaptation of the French *perroquet*, was another basic X-frame that may have been constructed with a lateral curule base.³⁶ Often referred to in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish inventories, the *silla francesca* appears twice in the woodcut frontispiece of a book of sermons by Iohannis Fabri (Johann Faber, theologian [1478–1541]) entitled *Sermones Fructuosissimi . . . Item, Oratio Funebris in Laudem D. Margaretae* (1537).³⁷ In both images a cleric is shown seated in such a chair, indicating that its magisterial uses were religious as well as temporal (Figure 25).

Figure 25. Frontispiece of Iohannis Fabri, *Sermones Fructuosissimi . . . Item, Oratio Funebris in Laudem D. Margaretae* (1537). Among the illustrations are two that show a cleric seated in a *silla francesca* (photo: L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah)



Figure 26. Gerlach Flicke (German, fl. ca. 1545, d. 1558). *Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 1546. Oil on panel, 98.4 x 76.2 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London (photo: National Portrait Gallery, Picture Library)



Figure 27. Hip-joint armchair (*sillón de cadera*). Spanish, Granada, ca. 1500. Walnut, ivory, bone, mother-of-pearl, tin; 95.3 x 68.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1945 (45.60.40a)



Figure 28. Giulio Romano (Italian, 1492/99–1546). *Alexander the Great Concedes His Throne to a Soldier*, ca. 1530–34. Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk; 26.8 x 33.5 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896 and Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901 Funds (1976.91) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery)



Figure 29. Folding chair. Italian (possibly Lombard) (?), ca. 1500 (?). Walnut inlaid with ivory; 86.4 x 76.2 x 52.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (27.225.2)

The second Renaissance type is a chair with a front-placed curule, called in Spanish a *sillón de cadera* (“hip-joint” chair).³⁸ Wanscher says that the radical shift of the curule from the sides to the front of the seat was a medieval (Carolingian) development.³⁹ These chairs were upholstered with patterned leather or fabrics such as velvet, and the frames were sometimes decorated with carving and inlay. A portrait by Gerlach Flicke of Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), archbishop of Canterbury under Henry VIII, shows the prelate seated on a *sillón de cadera* exquisitely inlaid with kaleidoscopic stars and a diaper pattern on the inside and outside of the arms (Figure 26).⁴⁰ The Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses a chair quite similar to the one in the painting (Figure 27). Giulio Romano’s depiction of the form as a throne in *Alexander the Great Concedes His Throne to a Soldier* of about 1530 also suggests its close association with official rank and high social status (Figure 28). Another sixteenth-century Italian (?) chair with a front-placed curule in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 29) is elaborately inlaid with an Islamic star motif and has curved and tinted legs similar to those on some X-frame chairs from antiquity.⁴¹

Both the *sillón de cadera* and the *silla francesa* were brought to the New World by the Spanish conquistadors. During his conquest of Mexico (1519–21), Hernán Cortés gave gifts to the Aztecs, among them a curule-base chair. The transfer of this type of chair to the Americas as a symbol of burgeoning Spanish hegemony parallels the spread of the *sella curulis* throughout the Roman-Byzantine Empire. Mexican furniture historian Antonio Francisco Garabana has observed:

The furniture commonly used in XVI Century Mexico was Spanish in style, but as adapted by native craftsmen, it acquired individual characteristics. Popular at the beginning of the colonial era were *bargueños*, chests, beds, benches, chairs, tables, braziers, trunks, boxes, and carved frames. The codices [early colonial written texts] give us an idea of the forms of this furniture, little of which has survived. The folding hip-chair was among the gifts that Cortés sent Moctezuma [emperor of the Aztecs] from San Juan de Ulúa. It is probably the most ancient type of Spanish chair of which we have examples, and it was often pictured in the codices.⁴²

Abelardo Carrillo y Gariel describes in greater detail the occasion on which Cortés sent a *sillón de cadera* to Montezuma as a symbol of Spanish might.

Easter Sunday of the year 1519 was a historic day in the chronology of [Mexican] household furniture since on that day while Cortés was in San Juan de Ulúa, the emissaries of the king of Mexico [Montezuma] went to bring him supplies and rich presents. Later, Cortés ordered to be brought, together with other objects, a hip-joint armchair with painted engravings . . . and later told Tendile [Montezuma’s governor] to send such a chair for Montezuma to sit in when he went to see and speak with him. This chair then is the first European piece of furniture to arrive in these parts. But one should not forget that these hip-joint chairs, whose individuality is typified by having backs and arms in their characteristic form, were luxury furniture. Even Cortés, who knew how to flaunt his power, liked to be seen seated in one of these chairs as a fabulous celebrity. That is how Andrés de Duero and his companions found him when they went to kiss his hands after the defeat of Pánfilo de Narváez such that when he received them he was “seated in a hip-joint chair in long robes of an orange-like color with his arms [weaponry] beneath accompanied by us,” wrote Bernal Díaz de Castillo. These chairs were merchandise for importation to the America of the 1500s and were brought all the way from the peninsula to these regions by the vessels of the Carrera de las Indias. That is how it is

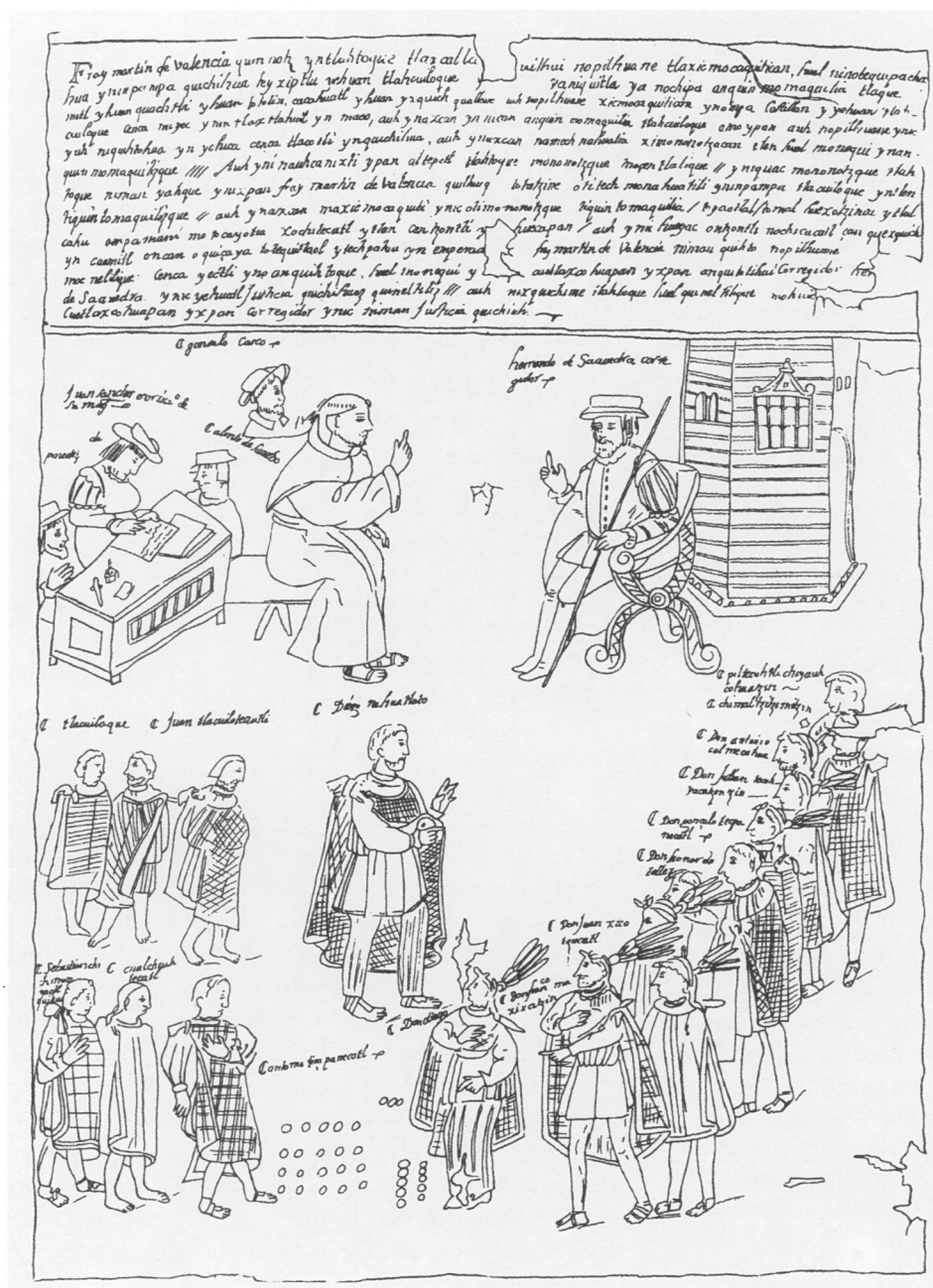


Figure 30. Codex illustration showing, at upper right, Hernán Cortés seated in a hip-joint chair, from the codex *Introducción de la justicia en Tlaxcala*. The drawing is an artistic misrepresentation of a *sillón de cadera* and not a representation of a chair with a lateral curule (reproduced from Antonio Francisco Garabana, "El mueble del siglo XVI y su origen español," *Artes de México*, no. 118 [1969], p. 9)

deduced that in signaling the number of tons and the class of cargo these types of vessels could carry, among them are mentioned sheets of steel, wrought iron, barrels of olives, bottles of vinegar, oil, ham, etc., and included "twenty hip-joint chairs unassembled and in crates, one ton."⁴³

A sixteenth-century codex illustration (Figure 30) shows Cortés grandly seated in a hip-joint chair.

The sixteenth-century engraver and publisher Théodore de Bry included illustrations of the *sillón de cadera* in New World settings in the sixth volume of his

Naturalis ac Moralis Indiae Occidentalis Historiae (1596).⁴⁴ De Bry based his detailed depictions on the accounts of Ondegardus, who wrote about Peru; of Ioannes de Touar, the head of the Mexican church, who wrote about Mexico; and of Viceroy Don Martín Henriques, who drew upon ancient Indian annals. His text and illustrations were intended to appeal to a European public curious about the Spanish discoveries and conquests. That De Bry included many images of the *sillón de cadera* in his evocative visual descriptions of events in the history of the conqueror of Peru, Fran-

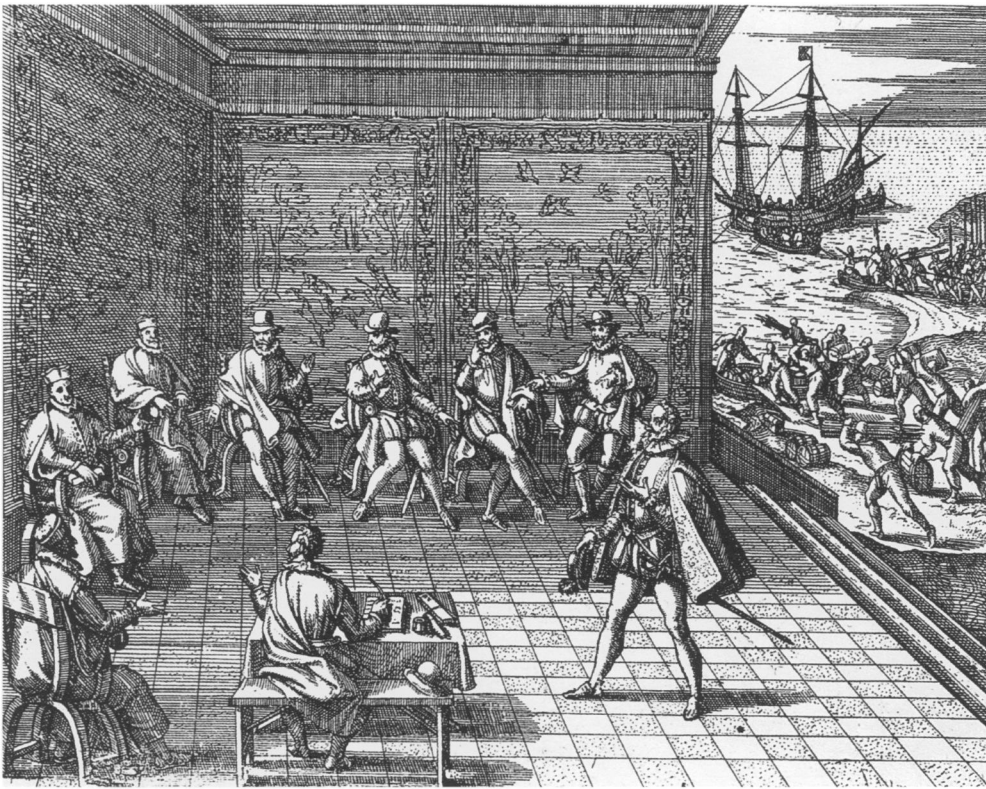


Figure 31. Théodore de Bry (Flemish, 1528–1598). Engraving. *Pizarus in Hispaniam navigat. & ejus Regionis, quam detexerat, Praefecturam impetrat* (reproduced from Théodore de Bry, *Conquistadores, Aztecs, and Incas* [Amsterdam, 1980])

cisco Pizarro (Figure 31), suggests the popularity of this furniture form and its association with Spain.

Carrillo y Gariel observes that indigenous peoples of Mexico imitated the Spanish hip-joint chair and made it an object of tribute to the Spaniards:

We should also note that the term “sillón de cadera” (hip-joint chair) was extensively used for certain seats manufactured by the Indians. Thus, we know from the evidence supplied by Pedro de Fuentes regarding the tributes of the Metatepec village under his command in 1560 that he was given fifteen or sixteen hip-joint chairs by the natives. The furniture that in these early times was fabricated by the Indians with a view to placing them in the *novoespañol* household was made with the types of wood that they could obtain locally. To make chairs in Chila, Acatlán, they used the wood of the *zapote blanco* tree and in Tetela from the avocado tree, both of which were in abundance in these regions. In the villages of the province of the Tepeaca, they used the wood of the *encina* (holm oak), the pine, and the *roble* (oak).⁴⁵

This indicates, not surprisingly, that the native American peoples adapted Spanish furniture designs.

The Campeche chair may have originated from modifications of two forms, the *silla francesa* and *sillón de cadera*. According to Carrillo y Gariel: “Spanish chairs of the 1500s were an extension of Italian chairs, particularly the kinds known today as Savonarola and

Dantesque. But because the French chair was lighter and more comfortable, it was soon preferred, even in New Spain. One of the characteristics of the chairs used in New Spain in the sixteenth century, according to the codices, was that the arches formed by the legs were almost always lateral.”⁴⁶ Carrillo y Gariel adds that “chairs of this kind have inherited their shape from the scissor chairs, but they are not foldable. The fully developed arms extend from the back, which is now quite high on these big chairs.”⁴⁷ This could be a description of the Campeche chair. While the exact source of their design is uncertain, Campeche chairs and related versions may be found in many places that the Spanish colonized.

It is important to note that contemporary texts do not refer to sixteenth-century Spanish armchairs as *butacas*, but rather as *sillones* or *sillas*. Coined in the seventeenth century as a colloquial term for chairs made in the Americas, the word *butaca* was brought back to Spain and entered the Castilian lexicon.⁴⁸

A NEW CHAIR FOR A NEW WORLD: THE MARCH CHAIR

Neither the *sillón de cadera* nor the *silla francesa* had an ergonomic sling seat, the quintessential feature of the Campeche chair. The combination of a sling seat

and a curule base—a refinement of the reclining X-frame—was made possible by the innovative use of a half-lap joint where the front leg and upper seat rail are connected to the back leg and lower seat rail to form a curved frame. Reclining X-frame chairs were widespread by the time of the Renaissance; there are several sixteenth-century examples at the monastery-palace of Philip II at El Escorial, near Madrid, including a leather-upholstered Spanish one and two Chinese imports with yoke backs.⁴⁹ The sling seat may have been devised by Spanish colonial craftsmen who, in collaboration with native people in the New World, produced a harmonious convergence of Continental and indigenous styles.

Although its existence is recorded in ivory and stone carvings, no example of a sling-seat chair with a side-placed curule earlier than the eighteenth century survives. The oldest extant example of such a form is traceable to Spain, and it bears an ornate *guadamacil* (tooled leather) seat (Figure 32).⁵⁰ This sophisticated chair has been recorded in the March collection on

Majorca, in the Balearic Islands.⁵¹ Luis M. Feduchi describes it as a “[s]illoncito plegable de tijera con tapicería de cuero labrado, ornamentación Luis XVI” (“folding chair of cross-construction with tooled leather upholstery, Louis XVI ornamentation”).⁵² The same object is described similarly by Rafael Doménech Gallissá and Luis Pérez Bueno as, “[s]illón del último tercio del siglo XVII, tipo poco corriente; trabajo español. La talla es de influencia Francesa” (“armchair from the last third of the seventeenth century. An uncommon type of Spanish workmanship. The carving is influenced by French work”).⁵³ It is a remarkable hybrid, combining design elements drawn from many sources: ancient Roman (curule base), Renaissance (egg-and-dart and acanthus motifs carved on the demilune crest rail), Baroque (Rococo details), and Hispano-Moresque (the patterned leather and the finials). Baroque influence is manifest in the elaborately carved, shell-shaped crest rail and sloped curvilinear arms. These details imply that a more accurate date for the March chair would be early-to-mid-eighteenth century.



Figure 32. *Butaca*, ca. 1730. Materials and dimensions unrecorded (reproduced from Rafael Doménech Gallissá and Luis Pérez Bueno, *Antique Spanish Furniture*, trans. Grace Hardendorff Burr [Barcelona, 1921; 1st Eng. ed., New York, 1965], fig. 29, as in March collection, Palma de Mallorca)

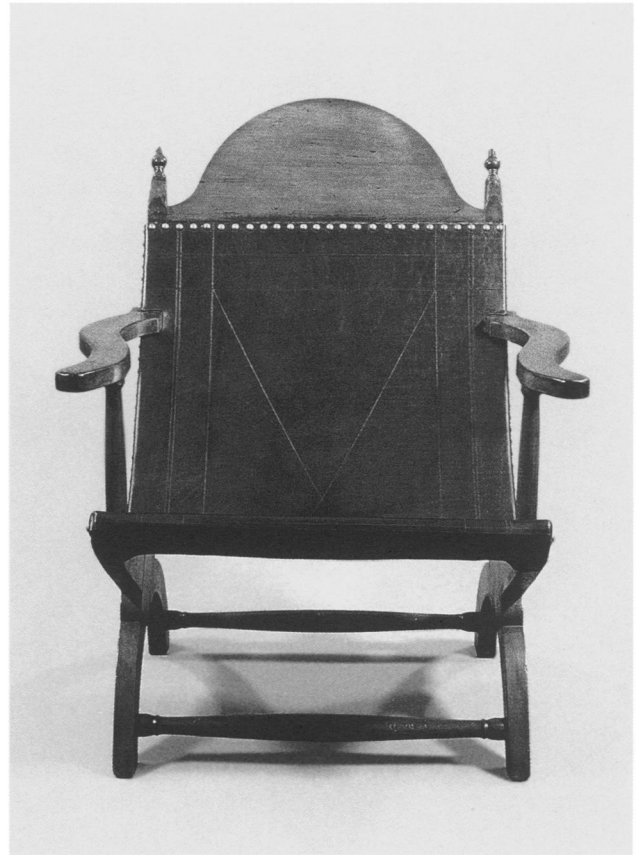


Figure 33. Campeche armchair (*boutaque*). Probably American, Louisiana, early nineteenth century. Cherry wood, leather; 88.3 x 64.8 x 71.1 cm. Collection of Peter W. Patout, New Orleans, Louisiana (photo: Gary M. Gittelson, New Orleans)

In an article of August 1927 in the *Magazine Antiques* Joan Sacs wrote of the March chair, “[A]lthough it could well enough be assigned to the eighteenth century, [it] is a hybrid type never to disappear from the repertory of Spanish chairs. It is *guadamacil*.”⁵⁴ In the picture caption, Sacs explained, “Back and seat in stamped leather. This type of chair covers a considerable period of time.”⁵⁵ Her identification of the leather as Spanish *guadamacil* and her assertion that the form of the March chair had been in use in Spain for a lengthy period point to the conclusion that the March chair is Spanish and that therefore the roots of the Campeche chair design brought to Louisiana from Mexico lie in Spain. Chairs, however, were brought back and forth between the New World and Spain, and the March chair is perhaps the product of European influences on colonial craftsmanship.⁵⁶ The latest compendium of the decorative arts in Spain, volume 45 of *Summa artis: Historia general del arte*, asserts that the March chair originated on the Caribbean coast.⁵⁷ It is remarkably similar in its finials, wavy arms, demilune crest rail, and reclining seat to a Campeche chair in a New Orleans collection, implying that the form may have originated in the New World (Figure 33).⁵⁸

The close similarities between the March chair and the cathedra of Saint Peter in the Early Christian ivory relief (Figure 21) demonstrate that the curule-base chair has weathered many centuries of stylistic change, surviving on account of the adaptability of its design.

Traces of aesthetic contributions from vastly different cultures—the Renaissance-style carvings and the embossed Hispano-Moresque leather—are conjoined gracefully in the March chair’s simple wood structure. The Greek klismos,⁵⁹ by contrast, was never adopted by another culture or ornamented in such a way and became extinct, only to be revived centuries later in the neoclassical period.

A German engraving titled *Creolentanz zu Cumana* (*Creoles Dancing in Cumaná*) shows that the Campeche form existed in the nineteenth century in Venezuela (Figure 34).⁶⁰ At the left two harp players recline in *butacas* as they pluck the strings of their instruments, while nearby figures entertain a seated couple by singing and dancing. Although the X-frame chair was a symbol of lofty status beginning in antiquity, here it is the musicians who occupy curule-base chairs, which have been modified by the addition of a reclining back. The higher social standing of the man and woman seated at the right is evident in their dress and bearing. Their elegant, upright, straight-legged chairs seem suited to them, just as the reclining curule-base Campeches are to the musicians. Although the engraving indicates that the Campeche chair was used for informal seating, its versatility transcended social boundaries. It is, however, associated with a tropical climate, such as exists in the Caribbean islands, Latin America, and the southern United States, where great heat invites recumbent posture.

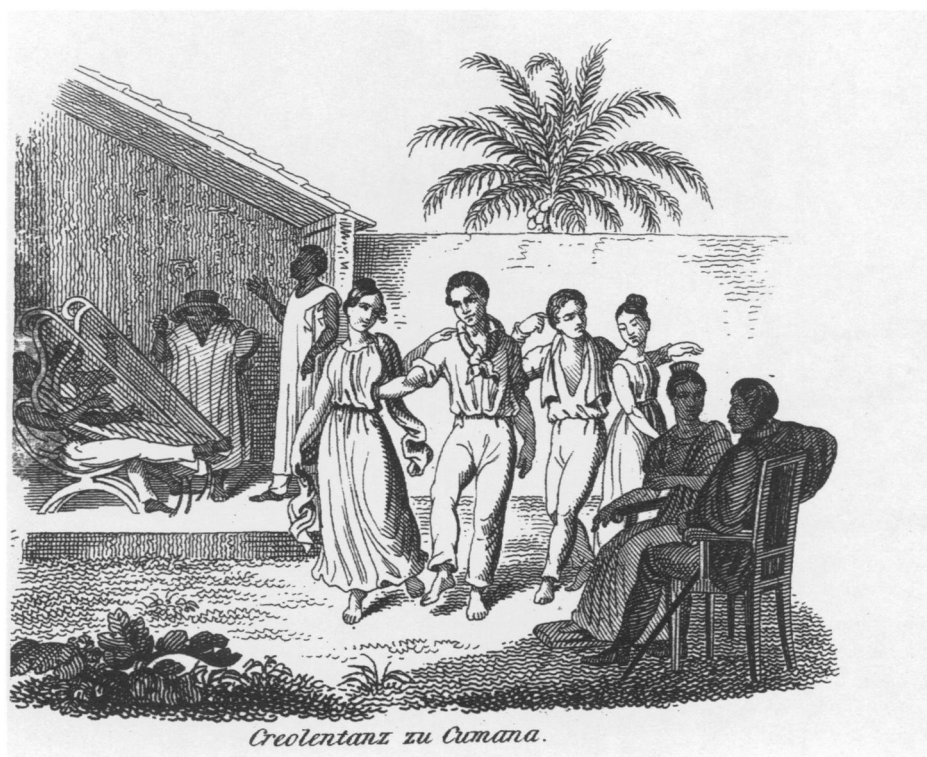


Figure 34. *Creolentanz zu Cumana*, nineteenth century. Engraving, 10.2 x 12.4 cm (reproduction courtesy of Carlos F. Duarte, Caracas, Venezuela; printed source unknown)



Figure 35. "Campeachy" armchair. Probably New Orleans, Louisiana (frame), and Mexico (upholstery), ca. 1825. Mahogany, wood inlay, leather seat, brass tacks; 110.5 x 73.7 x 80 cm. Collection of the Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans (1997.001.01) (photo: Sotheby's, New York)

NEW ORLEANS

Transplanted from Latin America into the plantation society of the United States, the Campeche chair, a descendant of the movable thrones of kings, emperors, and conquerors, entered into a new cultural landscape. Having lost its association with political power, it became a comfortable seat for the bourgeois planter. Two plantation-house inventories, taken in 1835 at Traveller's Rest, Nashville, Tennessee, and in 1848 at Oak Alley, Vacherie, Louisiana, document the use of these chairs in Southern households.⁶¹ An 1848 inventory of the Roman and Kernion New Orleans warehouse contains the line "[u]ne boutaque estimée une piastre,"⁶² followed by a declared value of one American dollar.⁶³

A Campeche chair of about 1820 in the collection of the Louisiana State Museum at the Old Mint in New Orleans (Figure 35), probably crafted in Louisiana, may be seen as a derivative of the Mexican flower-basket group, to which the Metropolitan Museum's Campeche belongs.⁶⁴ The central motif of the inlay in the circular reserve of the melon-shaped crest rail is a bird, possibly a heron, shown catching a fish (Figure

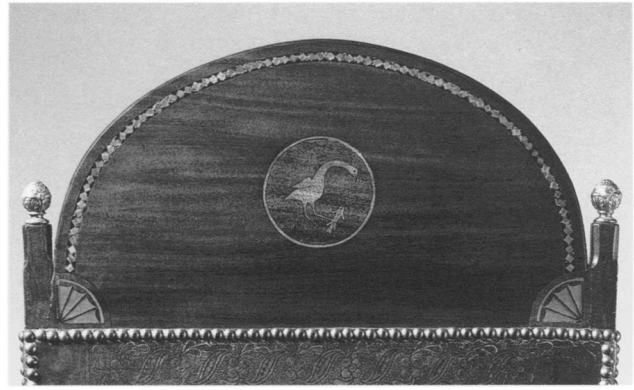


Figure 36. Detail of the "Campeachy" armchair in Figure 35, showing the crest rail (photo: Sotheby's, New York)



Figure 37. Detail of the "Campeachy" armchair in Figure 35, showing the leather upholstery (photo: Mike Smith, New Orleans)

36).⁶⁵ Arched quarter-fans punctuate either side of the crest rail, and a crudely worked (or damaged) diamond-inlaid crest spans its edge. The workmanship of the crest rail is not particularly fine, and its overall shape lacks the crisp, well-proportioned outlines of the flower-basket chairs' crest rails, although it recalls them in overall style and composition.

The leather upholstery, almost certainly of Mexican



Figure 38. "Campeachy" armchair. Probably Philadelphia, ca. 1830. Mahogany, leather; 95.3 x 58.1 x 78.7 cm. Private collection (photo: Winterthur Museum)

workmanship, is embellished with a blossoming-vine pattern around its perimeter. The pattern is nearly identical to that on the Ovando chair (see Figure 13), except that it is embossed with an American rather than a Mexican eagle⁶⁶ at the center of the back (Figure 37). The decorative inlays of the crest rail are subtly echoed on the lower register of its upholstered seat by a motif consisting of four quarter-fans (one at each corner of a square) and a central roundel. This pattern is frequently found on Mexican furniture and the leather of numerous boutaque chairs in Louisiana.⁶⁷

Thomas Jefferson's use and reproduction of the Campeche chair at Monticello signal the arrival of the form in Virginia, the northernmost border of plantation society, and may have been a springboard for the production of the form in the furniture-making centers of Philadelphia and New York. Campeche chairs from Mexico inspired the manufacture of "Spanish chairs" altered to reflect the prevailing American Classical taste. *The Philadelphia Cabinet and Chair Maker's Union Book of Prices for Manufacturing Cabinet Ware* of 1828 records "[a] plain Spanish Chair, arm 7/8 stuff, supported by turned stumps, three turned stretchers,

plain straight top rail—two dollars and twenty-five cents."⁶⁸ This suggests that the Campeche chair owned by Franklin Bache (1792–1864), Benjamin Franklin's great-grandson, was made in Philadelphia (Figure 38). No references to "Spanish chairs" appear in any New York price book known to this writer, although in 1839 "[Number] 558 six Spanish chairs" was described in the *Judges' Reports of the Twelfth Annual Fair of the American Institute of the City of New York* as "entitled to notice."⁶⁹ The judges were known for their appreciation of innovative design. In October 1844, the "Judges on Cabinet Furniture" of the Fourteenth Annual Fair described entry number 1513, consisting of "2 Cottage chairs, one Spanish," as "objects of ordinary manufacture."⁷⁰

Designs of Furniture, published by the London cabinetmakers and upholsterers William Smee and Sons in 1830, advertised a "Rosewood Spanish Lounge Chair Frame french polished and on castors." The caption explains that these chairs were also available in mahogany, either "stuff'd ready for covering" or

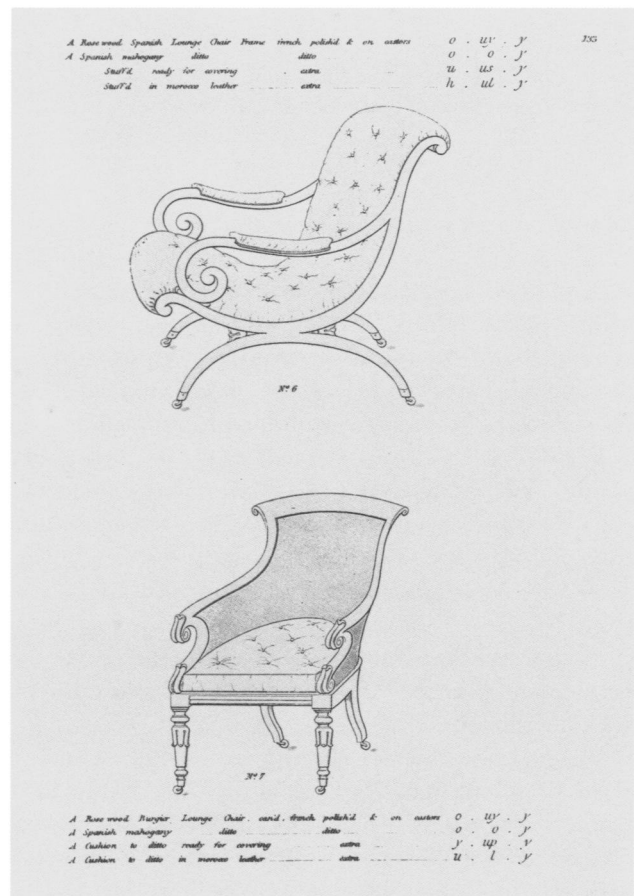


Figure 39. "A Rosewood Spanish Lounge Chair Frame," *Designs of Furniture* by William Smee and Sons (London, 1830) (photo: Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection)

	£.	s.	d.
Letting-in the ends of either of the above rabbet pieces into the front or back rail, each end of each piece	0	0	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Each extra screw	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$

A CROSS SIDE SPANISH CHAIR.

As Fig. 2, Plate 3.

A CROSS SIDE CHAIR as Fig. 2, the size and height as Fig. 1, Page 38, Start	-	-	-	0	2	8
Sweeping and framing two crosses (without scrolls), with four pieces in each cross, swept into a quirk, as at Letter <i>a</i> , or with a square stop, as at Letter <i>b</i> , the width of the stuff, as cut out by the mould, two inches, or under, the thickness of ditto one inch and a half, or under, the length of the crosses at the dotted lines, Letters <i>c c</i> , twenty-one inches, or under, the joints at the centre eight inches long, or under	-	-	-	0	6	4
Extra framing front and back rails to the above crosses	0	0	4			
Continuing the sweep from the dotted line, to form the back a plain Grecian, when the projection of the back legs does not exceed five inches from a straight line in front to the back side at the top end, as represented by the perpendicular line, Letters <i>d d</i> , each chair	-	-	-	0	0	7
Sweeping ditto with thumb upper ends, when the projections from the perpendicular line, to the back side of the thumbs, is six inches, or under, each chair	-	-	-	0	0	10
Sweeping ditto, with scroll upper ends, when the projection from the perpendicular line to the back side of the scrolls, is seven inches, or under, each chair	0	1	1			
Sweeping any of the above back legs, as represented by the Section, Fig. 4, each chair extra	-	-	-	0	0	7
The extra projection to be charged as in Page 31, Second Book.						

Figure 40. "A Cross Side Spanish Chair," *Third Supplement to the London Chair-Makers' Book of Prices* (London, 1844) (photo: Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection)

"stuff'd in morocco leather" (Figure 39).⁷¹ These upholstered forms illustrate how the Campeche chair was adapted to meet Victorian requirements with the addition of padded seats and arms. A more extensive listing of the prices for "A Spanish Chair" and "A Cross Side Spanish Chair," accompanied by an illustration (Plate Three), appears in the *Third Supplement to the London Chair-Makers' Book of Prices* of 1844 (Figures 40, 41).⁷²

THE BARCELONA CHAIR

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe may have been inspired by nineteenth-century "Spanish chair" design literature, such as that quoted above, when he executed a commission to build the German Pavilion for the 1929 Barcelona International Exhibition.⁷³ Rather than rely upon German structural precedents, the architect fashioned his pavilion according to the newly estab-

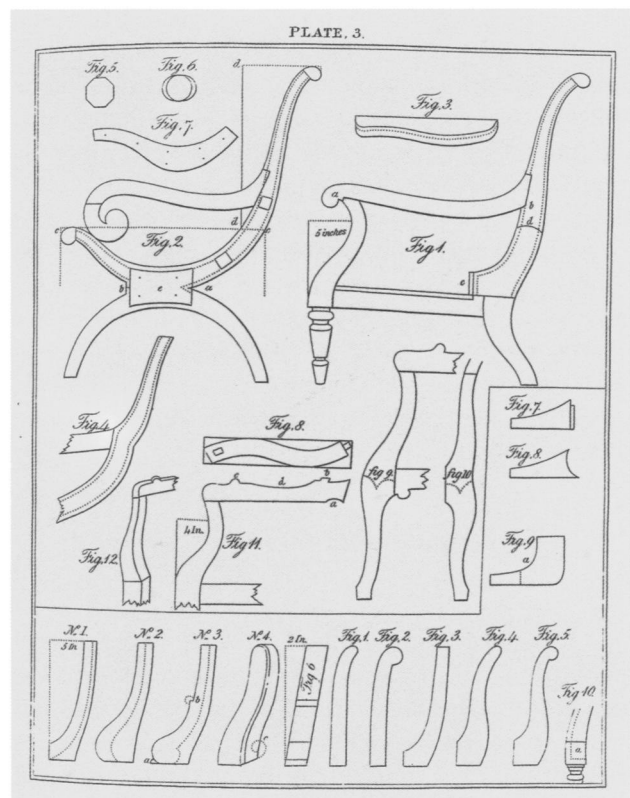


Figure 41. Plate Three from the *Third Supplement to the London Chair-Makers' Book of Prices* (London, 1844) (photo: Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection)



Figure 42. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969). MR 90 Barcelona Chair, 1929 (reproduced from Ludwig Glaeser, *Ludwig Mies van der Rohe* [New York, 1977], p. 49)

lished principles of modernism, emphasizing function over indulgent artifice. His celebrated MR 90 Barcelona Chair represents the latest moment in the metamorphosis of the ancient X-frame form (Figure 42). The proximate source of Mies van der Rohe's inspiration for the Barcelona chair is unknown. When asked about it in the early 1960s, he explained, "I knew that King Alfonso XIII would be visiting the pavilion at the opening of the World Fair, so I designed the Barcelona chair for a King."⁷⁴ It may well be that Mies was aware of the role of the X-frame as a throne in pharaonic Egypt. The chair's leather seat (originally white, with matching stool) was more likely a subtle homage to Spain.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM'S CAMPECHE CHAIR

The Metropolitan Museum Campeche belongs to a set of distinctive flower-basket chairs of apparent Mexican origin. The Campeche form may be seen as the penultimate link in a chain of design that stretches back in history. A simple, agrarian folding stool came to assume lineaments of power and authority as its form was adapted and refined in successive civilizations. Transplanted by Cortés and others to the New World, it flourished, eventually winning the admiration of planters, businessmen, and statesmen. Grafting a more relaxed and modern sling seat onto the curule base resulted in a substantial contribution to American furniture.

APPENDIX: THOMAS JEFFERSON'S CORRESPONDENCE ON THE SUBJECT OF CAMPECHE CHAIRS

At the time of his correspondence with Thomas Jefferson cited below Thomas Bolling Robertson was attorney general of Louisiana. A Virginia native, he had served as secretary of the Territory of New Orleans (1807) and as Louisiana's first representative in the House (1813). On August 2, 1819, he wrote to Jefferson, who was then living in retirement at Monticello:

Since I was sent to this country by you in the year 1807 as Secretary of the territory of New Orleans I have held several important offices and have traveled a great deal. As a servant of the public I have acquired no fame, but am content as I have escaped censure, and am willing to believe that I deserved neither the one nor the other. I continued in Congress until ill health and a certain insipidity of wants induced me to

retire. I am now again in New Orleans. I hold the appointment of Attorney General and pursue my professional avocation with industry. My travels have been confined principally to our frontier states and territories but in the recess of Congress of 1815 I crossed the Atlantic and visited England and France. The period was singularly interesting and I transmit to you a small volume of letters written to my father from Paris during my short residence in that city. If you think it worthwhile to cast your eye over it I hope you will give it the advantage of an agreeable attitude while seated in your Campeachy chair. Many years ago you asked me to send you a few of these chairs; embargo, war, the infrequency of communication between N. O. and the ports of Virginia and my being in Congress prevented me from complying with your request. Meeting with two some weeks ago on the Levee and hearing that there was a vessel then up for Richmond I had them put on board; one I sent to my father and the other to you, two men on earth whom I most highly respect. I hope it may answer your expectations; if you wish for more I can now at any time procure and forward them to you. I heard with much concern of your having received some personal injury at the fire [?] which happened at Monticello some months ago. I hope you have recovered, and that you now enjoy your usual good health. Be pleased to remember me to Mr. Randolph and his family and receive the assurances with which I am respectfully and faithfully your obedient servant

Thos. B. Robertson⁷⁵

On November 7, 1819, Jefferson replied:

I have to thank you for the copy of your letters from Paris. I had read most of them in the newspapers, but have read them all again with additional pleasure. They contain the expressions of reason and of genuine Americanism revolting at the servility of the European character so degraded by their slavish forms of government. Accept my thanks also for the Campeachy chair which you have been so kind as to send to me, the arrival of which in Richmond is announced to me in a letter from your father. Age, its infirmities and frequent illnesses have rendered indulgence in that easy kind of chair truly acceptable. I learned with great regret your intention of retiring from Congress. . . .⁷⁶

On the eve of his retirement from the presidency, Jefferson had ordered two "Campeachy hammocks" from William Brown, collector of customs for the District of Mississippi, in New Orleans. Jefferson made a duplicate of the letter he sent to Brown on August 18, 1808, from Monticello (Figure 43):

Mrs. Trist, who is now here and in good health, informs me that the Campeachy hamock, made of some vegetable substance netted, is commonly to be had at New Orleans. [H]aving no mercantile corre-

80.81. full ms. recd

on hills Aug. 18. 08.

Mrs. Trist, who is now here & in good health, in-
forms me that the Campeachy hammock, made of some
vegetable substance netted, is commonly to be had at New
Orleans. Having no mercantile correspondent there,
I take the liberty of asking you to procure me a couple,
& to address them to New York, Philadelphia, or any
port in the Chesapeake, to the care of the Collector,
being so good as to note to me the cost which shall be
remitted. accept my salutations & assurances of esteem.

W. L. M. Brown.

Th: Jefferson

Figure 43. Letter from Thomas Jefferson, Monticello, to William Brown, New Orleans, August 18, 1808. Thomas Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (photo: Massachusetts Historical Society)

spondent there I take the liberty of asking you to procure me a couple of them and to address them to New York, Philadelphia, or any port in the Chesapeake, to the care of the Collector, being so good as to note to me the cost which shall be remitted.
[A]ccept my salutations and assurances of esteem.

Thomas Jefferson⁷⁷

The word "hammock" also appears on cargo manifests of ships from Campeche; whether it refers to a traditional hammock or the sling-seated Campeche chair upholstered with hammock-like netting is not known. "Hammocks" are recorded as a separate item from armchairs on a number of cargo manifests examined by this author; they must have also been a popular import (see Figure 2). Whether Jefferson intended to order hammocks from Campeche or mistakenly referred to Campeche chairs in this letter as "hammocks" is uncertain. Though unlikely, his phrase "made of some vegetable substance netted" may have referred to caning or rush seating. Jefferson had encountered caned chairs in Europe and in America and owned some.

Brown responded to Jefferson's request in a letter from New Orleans dated October 10, 1808 (Figure 44):

Sir,
I have shipped a few Campeachy hammocks
and a barrel of paccannes in a vessel for George
Tower to the care of the Collector of that port

New Orleans 10th October 1808

Sir

I have shipped a few
Campeachy hammocks and a barrel
of paccannes in a vessel for George Tower
to the care of the Collector of that port,
which I pray your acceptance of

with sentiments of the highest
respect & esteem I am your
W. L. M. Brown

The President of the United States

in the Schooner Sampson /
32106 / 10th Oct 1808

Figure 44. Letter from William Brown, New Orleans, to Thomas Jefferson, October 10, 1808. Thomas Jefferson Papers, ser. 1, General Correspondence, 1651-1827, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (reproduced from the Library of Congress website)

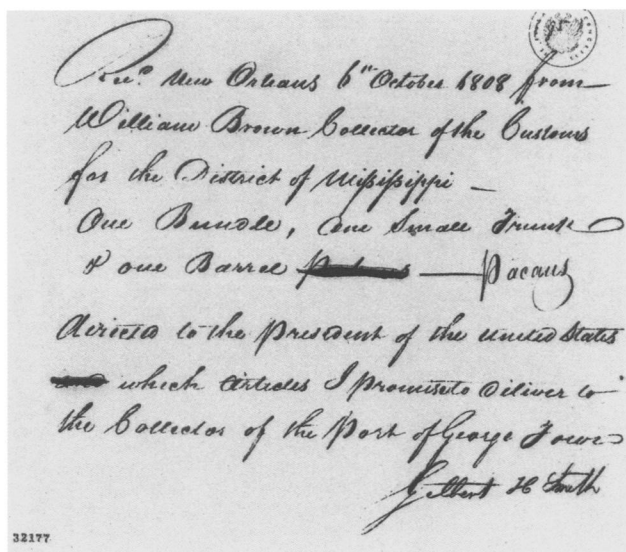


Figure 45. Receipt of sale, Gilbert H. Smith to William Brown, October 6, 1808. Thomas Jefferson Papers, ser. 1, General Correspondence, 1651–1827, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (reproduced from the Library of Congress website)

which I pray your acceptance of . . . in the Schooner Sampson. . . .⁷⁸

The receipt for this purchase, from Gilbert H. Smith to William Brown dated October 6, 1808, appears among Jefferson's papers (Figure 45). It lists "One Bundle, One Small Trunk, and one barrel-pacans."⁷⁹ That no "armchair" or "boutaque" (see note 5) is mentioned on the receipt suggests that Jefferson perhaps did mistakenly order hammocks from New Orleans in 1808, and not chairs as previously thought. Hammocks could have been rolled up into the "one bundle" listed on the purchase receipt.

Martha Jefferson Randolph wrote to her father on February 17, 1809, regarding the whereabouts of the hammocks:

Mrs. Trist wrote to beg I would ask you if some hammocks that William Brown had sent her directed to you had arrived. There were three of them, one for yourself, one for Mr. Randolph and a third for *her*. There was also a barrel of Peccans. The hammocks were from Campeachy and were sent in the month of October so William Brown wrote to Mrs. Trist, directed to you, but she never heard of their arrival. If I have time to write by Isaac Coles to Botidoux will you be so good as to let me know? This is written in the midst of the children with never less than three talking to me at once which is sufficient apology for the many inaccuracies in it for they really distract me with their noise and incessant questions.⁸⁰

Jefferson answered from Washington, D.C., on February 27, 1809:

The schooner Sampson, Capt. Smith with the Campeachy hammocks &c. owned in this place, left N. Orleans for this destination about the 6th of October, as the Captain's receipt, forwarded to me shews: and has never been heard of since. No doubt remains here of her being lost with every person and thing on board her. Mr. Coles will leave this about the 9th of March. Consequently if you will write to Botedour by the return of post, it will find him here, as it will myself.⁸¹

Jefferson acknowledged the disappearance of the hammocks in a letter written at Monticello to William Brown on May 22, 1809:

My own situation and the active occupations to which it has given occasion must be my apology for this late acknowledgement of the receipt of your favor of Oct. 10 informing me you had been so kind as to send me some articles on the Schooner Sampson Capt. Smith [T]he answer was deferred long in expectation of her arrival, and that becoming at length desperate, my removal from Washington and the preparation for it suspended for a considerable time all correspondence which could bear delay. The concern for the loss of the articles shipped is deliberated by the deeper regret for the loss of the unfortunate persons who were on the vessel. . . . I embrace this occasion too of returning you my thanks for the many attentions you have been so good as to show on the several occasions of shipments to me which have passed through your hands. . . .

Thos. Jefferson.⁸²

As a result of these exchanges, some confusion has arisen over the date of Jefferson's first request and receipt of a Campeche chair. On August 24, 1819, he wrote a letter to Martha Jefferson Randolph from his secondary residence, Poplar Forest, requesting that a "Siesta chair" crafted by John Hemings be sent to him from Monticello:

I am much recovered from my rheumatism, altho' the swellings are not entirely abated, nor the pains quite ceased. It has been the most serious attack of that disease I ever had. While too weak to sit up all day, and afraid to increase the weakness by lying down, I long for a Siesta chair which would have admitted the medium position. I must therefore pray you to send one by Henry the one made by Johnny Hemings. If it is the one Mrs. Trist would chuse, it will be so far on it's way, if not, the wagon may bring hers when it comes at Christmas. John or Wormly should wrap it well with a straw rope, and then bowed up in a blanket.⁸³

That Jefferson requested a "Siesta chair" for his comfort at Poplar Forest nearly three months before he

thanked Thomas Bolling Robertson for sending him a Mexican Campeche does not necessarily indicate that the president owned a Campeche or had one replicated at his own joinery at Monticello before the arrival of Robertson's gift. That he did has been the popular but unfounded assumption.⁸⁴ In an article of 1998 on the Monticello joinery, Robert L. Self and Susan R. Stein proposed that "a campeche chair apparently made its way to Jefferson in the interim because Monticello joiners produced at least one or possibly more "Siesta" chairs before the chair from Robertson arrived";⁸⁵ however, there is no evidence to support Jefferson's ownership of a Campeche prior to the arrival of Robertson's shipment in 1819. The president's use of the term "Siesta chair" in his August 24, 1819, letter is regrettably ambiguous and cannot easily be construed to denote a Campeche. It seems altogether possible that the two chairs Robertson sent to his father and Jefferson were the first Campeches to arrive in Virginia.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Barry Harwood and Peter M. Kenny, who advised me on my thesis on the Campeche chair for the Parsons/Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum Masters Program in the History of Decorative Arts. I am grateful to James David Draper, Johanna Hecht, and others in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, David and Cathy Gontar, Michael Lodwick, and Daniel Rodgers for their encouragement and support during the preparation of this article.

NOTES

1. Thomas Jefferson, Monticello, to Thomas Bolling Robertson, New Orleans, November 7, 1819, Thomas Jefferson Papers, ser. 1, General Correspondence, 1651–1827, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereinafter cited as Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress). See the Appendix, pages 204–7, for a complete record of Jefferson's known communications regarding Campeche chairs. The letters cited in this article from the Jefferson Papers at the Library of Congress are available online at <<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/mjthtml/mjtser.html>>.
2. Today there are six "Campeachy" chairs in the Monticello collection. Each is historically connected to Monticello in some way, either by construction or by provenance. On the basis of the use of indigenous Virginia wood (white ash) and construction



Figure 46. "Campeachy" armchair, a reproduction probably by Ernest F. Hagen (1830–1913). New York City. Nineteenth century, ca. 1885. Mahogany, mahogany veneer, light and dark wood inlay, replaced leather, brass tacks; 97.8 x 68 x 69.9 cm. Holden collection, Pointe Coupée, Louisiana (photo: Jim Zietz, Baton Rouge)

- details, Monticello historians infer that two of the chairs—known as Jefferson-Cocke II and Jefferson-Trist—were made at the joinery by John Hemings (1776–ca.1830). Jefferson-Cocke II is a replica of the Campeche chair in the James Madison Museum, Orange, Virginia (Figure 1). Jefferson-Trist, which has a scalloped crest rail, is connected to Poplar Forest, Jefferson's second home, near Lynchburg, Virginia, and may have been sent there; it has an identical counterpart, yet to be documented, in a private collection; see Robert L. Self and Susan R. Stein, "The Collaboration of Thomas Jefferson and John Hemings: Furniture Attributed to the Monticello Joinery," *Winterthur Portfolio* 33 (winter 1998), pp. 231–48. Two others, one with an elongated back discovered in the Mathews County, Virginia, courthouse and one with twelve inlaid stars (known as Jefferson-Blaettermann), were probably locally made yet have construction details that link them to the Monticello joinery. The fifth and sixth examples are unrelated to the joinery but have a significant family connection. One has a frame with a half-round crest rail that is completely upholstered from bottom to top, and the other is a later nineteenth-century example with modern cloth upholstery and on casters.
3. See the discussion below of the flower-basket chairs, exemplified by the Ovando chair (Figure 13). The leather seat of the Madison chair bears a Mexican version of the Spanish Habsburgs'

omnipresent emblem, the double-headed eagle. I am grateful to Devon M. Thein of the Antonio Ratti Textile Center, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, whose knowledge of lace led to this insight.

4. That Madison received his Campeche chair from Jefferson is based on local oral tradition, but his use of it at Montpelier is recorded in the 1850s memoir of Mary Cutts, a frequent visitor there: "Statuary beautifully chiseled occupied the mantel, Mr. Madison's favorite seat was a campeachy chair; the sofas were covered with crimson damask"; Mary E. E. Cutts, *Memoir*, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., p. 40.
5. *Butaca* is a Spanish word for armchair, spelled variously as *butaca*, *butaque*, and *butaquito*. The word *butaca* came into use in the seventeenth century. Venezuelan furniture historian Carlos F. Duarte (*Un asiento venezolano llamado butaca* [Caracas, 1999], p. 6) explains that both the word itself and a type of Venezuelan four-legged reclining armchair of that name originated in the province of Cumaná among the Cumanagotos Indians, who used several other words as well for chair, including *putaca* and *ture*. Duarte, who has thoroughly researched the etymology of the word, informs us that:

In 1683 Friar Manuel de Yaguez published a vocabulary of the Cumanagota language compiled by Father Matias Ruiz Blanco, who himself published it again in 1690. In both publications [Ruiz Blanco] cited many words used by the Cumanagotos Indians to designate "chair": *yapano*, *chamano*, *naca*, and *putaca*. Previously, in 1680, Father Francisco de Tauste had assembled other vocabularies of the Chaimas, Cumanagotos, and other Indians from the province of Cumaná and had cited the words *apanato* and *zapón*—undoubtedly variations of *yapano*—to designate the common chair, *chamano*, a little leather seat, and *ture*, a little wood chair. Among all these words, only *ture* and *putaca* were incorporated into the Castilian language in Venezuela. The word *putaca* later evolved into *butaca*. On the island of Margarita and in eastern Venezuela (as well as on the islands of Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo) the word *ture* designates a kind of reclining chair made of *vanequa* (a type of tanned calf hide). On the plains of Monagas and on the banks of the Orinoco River the chair is called *turete*. During the first half of the seventeenth century, many years before the appearance of the previously mentioned publications [by Yaguez and Tauste], the word *butaca* was already part of the ordinary speech throughout Venezuela. Furthermore, this term already had two derivatives, *butaque* and *butaquillo*, which are mentioned in several estate documents from this time in Caracas.

(translated by Jaime Lopez Pestaña)

According to Duarte, not only the word but the Spanish colonial, Venezuelan *butacas* it denoted were inspired by indigenous X-frame forms with reclining seats. In accord with Duarte's explanation, the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (Madrid, 1970), p. 211, defines *butaca* as "Del cumanagoto *putaca*, asiento. 1. Silla de brazos con el respaldo inclinado hacia atrás. 2. luneta, butaca de teatro." ("From the Cumanagoto word *putaca*: 1. Reclining armchair. 2. 'luneta,' one of the chairs set up in rows in a theater").

In Louisiana the Campeche is often called a *boutaque* chair, and was so described in nineteenth-century cargo manifests (see Figure 2). The misnomer "bootjack" has appeared in some liter-

ature in reference to this form, but the bootjack, or planter's chair, characteristically has a swinging arm that allows a man to prop up his leg to have his boot removed. Perhaps the incorrect usage came about because the word "bootjack" sounds like "boutaque." In this paper the more general term "Campeche chair" is used.

6. The city of Campeche, Mexico, founded by the Spanish in 1540, is known in the United States for its so-called Campeachy wood (logwood or bloodwood) and Campeche chair, a leather- or cane-upholstered, curule-base chair possibly first fashioned in Nueva España (New Spain). On March 22, 1517, during the last days of Mayan civilization, the galleons of Francisco Hernández de Córdoba appeared along the shore of a tiny fishing village in the province of Ah-Kin-Pech or Kan-Pech, meaning "Land of Snakes" or "The Priest of the Sun Named Wood Tick." There the sailors disembarked to celebrate mass and replenish the ship's water supply; see Román Piña Chan, "Calidez en el tiempo: Un poco de istoria/Warmth of the Ages: A Bit of History," *Artes de México*, no. 46 (1999), pp. 28–43, 86.

In 1531 Captain General Francisco de Montejo, Ensign Gonzalo Nieto, and a group of about forty other Spaniards founded a military encampment nearby, which they named Salamanca de Campeche. The Mayans soon attacked the small group in the battle of San Bernabé. The conquistadors prevailed, and on October 4, 1540, Francisco de Montejo the Younger (son of the captain general) founded the Villa y Puerto de San Francisco de Campeche roughly a kilometer from the Mayan settlement, by then called San Francisco Campechulo. The new Spanish town was named in honor of Saint Francis, the patron saint of its founders; "de Campeche" was added as a reminder of its history. The second most important port of New Spain, Campeche served initially as a supply post and shipyard halfway between Havana and Vera Cruz, where ships stopped to repair their barnacle-covered hulls and pick up fresh water and food; Piña Chan, "Calidez en el tiempo," p. 86.

If they were disappointed in their quest for cities of gold, the Spaniards soon discovered the true riches of New Spain, its timberlands, which they prized. The sap extracted from Campeachy wood was extremely valuable as a dye for fabric. José Enrique Ortiz Lanz eloquently describes these plants ("Calidez defendida: Luces y sombras de la ciudad entremuros/Guarded Warmth: Lights and Shadows of the Walled City," *Artes de México*, no. 46 [1999], p. 95): "It was a strange kind of wood, a tree that lifted itself up onto aerial roots like a giant spider, as if nature had wanted to build vast and whimsical lake dwellings for the cranes, cormorants, and other waterfowl that nested there. These were the mangroves that spread, impenetrable, all along the shores of the endless lake of their dreams. Within all these branches flowed a substance that could dye the finest cloths in a range of colors that went from purple to black. After such a long quest and so much blood spilled, who would have thought the wealth of the region would be based upon a plant?" Along Campeche's shores grew Campeachy wood and deeper inland, a fantastic overgrowth of cedar and mahogany. The Spanish tried to monopolize the logwood trade, but the port of Campeche was readily accessible to the ships of other countries, particularly those of the English, who established small settlements of their own to harvest timber; Ortiz Lanz, "Calidez defendida," p. 95. During the seventeenth century Campeche began to thrive. San Benito Castle was built in 1611 as a defense against pirates, and a city wall was begun in 1686 and completed in

1704. The people of Campeche produced expert captains, boatswains, sailing masters, sail makers, carpenters, and crew members and sent forth many great vessels from their shipyards. Some of these ships later traveled to the port of New Orleans, where logwood was sold by the hundreds of tons. Some ships contained other goods, including Campeche chairs. In this way, the form reached New Orleans, where it came into popular use. Numerous nineteenth-century cargo manifests show that the chairs were shipped to New Orleans nearly exclusively from Campeche, where some may still be found today.

In 1777 the king of Spain bestowed upon the settlement the title of Ciudad de San Francisco de Campeche, officially declaring it a city. In 1821 Campeche declared its allegiance to Mexico, at last breaking its ties to Spain. In 1857 it took a stand against the government of Yucatán, of which it was a dependency. The insurrection was successful, and in 1863 Campeche's statehood was ratified by President Benito Juárez; Piña Chan, "Calidez en el tiempo," p. 87.

There is no evidence that Campeche chairs made their way up the East Coast from any American port other than New Orleans, though the merchants of New York and Newport, Rhode Island, had long conducted a flourishing trade in logwood with the Mexican cities on the Bay of Campeche. This natural resource, as Marcus Rediker (*Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* [New York, 1993], p. 66) observes, the Yankees "then remitted to Europe in exchange for dry goods. These latter, and many other items, were in turn transshipped to outlying regions, especially Albany, a center of the fur trade with the Mohawks and other native American tribes." Logwood is difficult to work and seldom used for the construction of furniture, though it appears in the decorative marquetry of some eighteenth-century French furniture. It is also used to make haematoxylin, a biological stain used in microscopy. Logwood was imported by the thousands of tons from Campeche to New Orleans (see Figure 2). Today, the Bay of Campeche is known for offshore petroleum production.

7. The word "Campeachy" is written for "Campeche" on numerous early-nineteenth-century cargo manifests of ships entering New Orleans from Mexico, and the name came to be applied to the imported chairs.
8. Records of Customhouses in the United States, New Orleans, Louisiana, Inward Foreign Manifests, NC-154, entry 1631, boxes 4–31, Records of the Bureau of Customs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
9. The baroness completed this sketch while returning to the United States from Barcelona. The origin of the chair is uncertain, however, since the journey was completed in several stages.
10. Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans: Diary and Sketches, 1818–1820*, ed. Samuel Wilson Jr. (New York, 1951).
11. A Campeche with a patterned leather seat much like that of the Metropolitan's chair exists in a private collection in Saint Francisville, Louisiana.
12. Robert W. de Forest was president of the Museum from 1913 to 1931. Mrs. de Forest was the daughter of John Taylor Johnston, president of the Museum from 1870 to 1889.
13. Emily Johnston de Forest, *James Colles (1788–1883): Life and Letters* (New York, 1926), pp. 33–34.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., pp. 260–62.

16. This information was discovered by Peter M. Kenny in "The House, 7 Washington Square, and an Inventory of Its Contents," written by Emily de Forest, April 1928, Hagen furniture file, Department of Drawings and Prints, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. One known Hagen reproduction survives in the Holden collection, Point Coupée, Louisiana (Figure 46).
17. Admiral Alexander Jackson Jr., Orange, Virginia, interview by the author, July 14, 2001.
18. Carlos de Ovando, "El taracea mexicana/The Mexican Marquetry," *Artes de México*, no. 118 (1969), p. 72. Ovando's caption for this photograph (number 105 in the index of illustrations) reads "Marquetry armchair, Campeche." He does not refer to this chair directly in the text. For a brief reference to this type of form, see Teresa Castello y Yturbide, "El mueble popular/Regional Furniture," *Artes de México*, no. 118 (1969), pp. 86–92: "[a] great variety of armchairs are found throughout Mexico. Those of Campeche are embellished with marquetry, while in Jalisco, they are of the same type but greatly simplified. In Tehuantepec, they are entirely of wood, with cross-slats forming the back and seat. Those from Veracruz at the turn-of-the-century had caned seats, making them somewhat cooler. And in Yucatán, they are made of cowhide or deerskin, and are sometimes decorated across the top with elegant low-relief carvings."
19. Two chairs in Southern collections feature bulb-shaped armrest supports similar to the Ovando chair's. One is in the collection of Dr. Robert Judice, Hermitage Plantation, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; the other belongs to Dr. and Mrs. Calhoun, Elgin Plantation, Natchez, Mississippi.
20. Ovando, "El taracea mexicana," p. 72. Campeche was well known for its marquetry artisans. The Andalusian colonists, heirs to a marquetry tradition learned from the Moors, passed on the skill to Indian artisans, who in copying Spanish models added Mexican elements that gave their work a distinctive character. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, a substantial quantity of marquetry furniture was being made throughout Mexico—in Mexico City, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Oaxaca, Campeche, and Durango. The most characteristic motifs of this furniture were geometric figures and plant forms. The Campeche artisans did much of their work with shell inlay and exported many of their famed writing desks to South America. Ovando lists materials used in Mexican marquetry, but does not say which were used on the Campeche chair he illustrates.
21. One belongs to Dr. and Mrs. Wade Hollensworth, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and the other is in the collection of the Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans (Figure 37). In addition to the American eagle, their seats are embossed with an identical flower pattern. The Mexican eagle motif on the Ovando leather seat is found inlaid in some Mexican furniture. See, for example, Abelardo Carrillo y Gariel, *Evolución del mueble en México* (Mexico, 1957), fig. 42, which is captioned "Silla de manos que se exhibe en el Museo de Churubusco. Tanto a los lados como al frente aparece el escudo Mexicano, en este ultimo con la leyenda. IMPERIO DE MEJICO, Alrededor de 1823."
22. The *Artes de México* reproduction is not very clear, but there appears to be a snake in the embossed eagle's mouth. According to legend, the Aztec people were guided by their war god, Huitzilopochtli, to seek a place where an eagle had landed on a cactus and was eating a snake. After many years of wandering, they found the sign they sought on a small swampy island in Lake Texcoco. They named their new home Tenochtitlán, or "Place of the Prickly-Pear Cactus." In A.D. 1325 they built a city

- on the site, now at the center of Mexico City. The legendary eagle was adopted as the state emblem of Mexico in 1823, after the country achieved independence (1821). The Mexican eagle motif on the Ovando leather seat is also found inlaid in some furniture; see Carrillo y Gariel, *Evolución del mueble en México*, fig. 42, and n. 20.
23. Ole Wanscher, *Sella curulis, the Folding Stool: An Ancient Symbol of Dignity* (Copenhagen, 1980), p. 69.
 24. Ibid., pp. 27–29, 48. Wanscher refers to the throne of Tutankhamun as a *faldstool*, although it does not actually fold. According to him, the addition of a back to the Egyptian folding stool did not transform it into a seat of superior rank but did render it more imposing.
 25. Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans* (London, 1966), pp. 43–46. The folding stool with inverted lion's legs is identified by Wanscher as the prototype for Greco-Etruscan curule-base stools; Wanscher, *Sella curulis*, pp. 94–99.
 26. Mary B. Moore and Dietrich von Bothmer, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Attic Black-figured Neck-amphorae* (New York, 1976), p. 29.
 27. Wanscher, *Sella curulis*, p. 72. Furniture was recorded among the most valuable items seized by the Assyrians from conquered lands or accepted as tribute; see Elizabeth Simpson, "Furniture in Ancient Western Asia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 3, ed. Jack M. Sasson (New York, 1995), pp. 1657–58. The curule-base table seen here in Figure 17 appears to have a top complete with a tail, a feature also seen on Egyptian X-frames with inlaid-wood seats designed to imitate animal skins. The object upon which it stands is reminiscent of Egyptian ritual beds.
 28. Wanscher, *Sella curulis*, p. 121.
 29. Ibid., pp. 121–90. The *sella curulis*, or "curule chair," was used by the Roman consuls, praetors, curule aediles, and so forth, who were hence called *magistratus curules*. The adjective *curulis* derived from *currus*, meaning "chariot." From early Republican times until the end of the Empire, Romans utilized a variety of folding *sellae curules*, including a stool with S-curved legs, a stool with inverted lion's legs, a plain campstool, and a stool with tined legs. Their names varied with use, construction, and material: *sella regia* (royal chair) *sella ducis* (general's chair), *sella consularis* (consular chair), *sella consulis* (chair of a consul), *sella eburnea* (an ivory seat often used a gift for foreign dignitaries), *sella castrensis* (the campstool, a military version of the *sella curulis*), and *sella aurea* (a gold chair). The *sella aurea* was used, most notably, by Julius Caesar, who retained the *sella curulis* to signify the origin of his power in the consulship of the Republic.
 30. See *ibid.*, pp. 186–90. Ivory diptychs of the fourth to the sixth century A.D. are frequently portraits of consuls seated on the *sella curulis*.
 31. Helen C. Evans, "The Arts of Byzantium," *MMAB* 58, no. 4 (spring 2001), pp. 10–11. The legs of this chair look distinctly like those once on a stool from Herculaneum, illustrated in Wanscher, *Sella curulis*, p. 139. For further discussion of this sarcophagus, see Anna Marguerite McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1978), pp. 138–40.
 32. For additional information, see Antonio García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1949), pp. 256, 350, fig. 328.
 33. This ivory belongs to a series of fourteen identified by Hans Graeven as those of an ivory chair in the cathedral of Grado, Italy, that traditionally was believed to be the cathedra of Saint Mark, a gift of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r. 610–41). This idea was later refuted by Kurt Weitzmann, who noted the lack of literary evidence to support Graeven's claim and the Islamic style of the ivories; see Kurt Weitzmann, "The Ivories of the So-called Grado Chair," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 26 (1972), pp. 43–91.
 34. For additional information, see Paola Barocchi et al., *Arti del Medio Evo e del Rinascimento: Omaggio ai Carrand, 1889–1989*, exh. cat., Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (Florence, 1989), pp. 225–28.
 35. For another example, see *The Circumcision* by the Master of the Tucher Altarpiece (Nuremberg, ca. 1450), reproduced in John Morley, *The History of Furniture: Twenty-five Centuries of Style and Design in the Western Tradition* (London, 1999), p. 61.
 36. Juan José Junquera y Mato ("Mobiliario," in *Artes decorativas II*, vol. 45 of *Summa artis: Historia general del arte*, ed. Alberto Bartolomé Arraiza [Madrid, 1999], p. 399) tentatively identifies the *silla francesa* with the *chaise perroquet* ("parrot" or "parakeet" chair). The *perroquet* was a folding seat with a back, widely used for dining in the seventeenth century; see Henry Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1887–90), vol. 1, pp. 654–56, vol. 4, pp. 266–68 (the passages quoted below were translated by the author with the kind assistance of Glenn Cain). Havard quotes Antoine Furetière, a French scholar and writer (1619–1688), on seventeenth-century seating, as follows: "Seats are chairs with a back and arms: chairs that have only a back, or stools and taborets fitted with neither, [and] folding seats supported by straps or strong pieces of cloth to render them softer, are otherwise called *selles brisées* ["broken saddles"]; if they have a back they are called *perroquets*, and their purpose is for sitting on at a table" (vol. 4, p. 266). Havard adds that the *brisée*, or "broken chair" (X-frame) was mentioned in the "Inventory of Catherine de Médicis" (1589), described there as "a broken chair, trimmed with velour, black and seated on a center pin" (vol. 1, p. 655). He observes that the presence of four or five others in the same inventory shows that they were starting to be commonly used as dining chairs; however, in the sixteenth century the *brisée* remained the exclusive privilege of those seated at the head of the table. Ordinary dinner guests continued to sit on benches or on stools. It was not until the seventeenth century that the latter were replaced and that the chair was used generally for dining. In the "Inventory of the château de Turenne" (1615) there is an entry for "folding chairs in red and green leather," which bear a strong resemblance to *perroquets* but are not yet called by that name. He adds that it is not until the inventory of Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1653) that the latter are classified as such; moreover, they are strangely numerous (vol. 4, p. 266). In fact, Havard says, we notice in this document: "Twelve *perroquet* chairs in all crimson red velour decorated with a silk fringe of the same color, mounted on walnut. They also appear by the dozen in the "Inventory of Superintendent Fouquet" (1661): "Twelve *perroquets* of moquette with faux silver border" (vol. 4, p. 266).
- Havard (vol. 4, pp. 266–67) describes the use of the *perroquet* in France as follows:
- Until the end of the sixteenth century, the dining table, poised as it was on trestles and therefore easy to both set and to remove, had its indispensable companions: two long benches running on either side, while the end was occupied

by seats with backs and arms, constituting the place of honor. By replacing the benches with folding chairs, Cardinal Richelieu—we owe him the honor of this innovation—permitted the use in his household of circular or oval tables, or those in a horseshoe, making the placement of guests easier and making it possible to avoid questions of etiquette that were always difficult to resolve, and sometimes dangerous to handle. Throughout the seventeenth century, *perroquets* remained in vogue because a separate room for meals did not exist, even in royal residences, and so, as soon as the meal was finished, everything relative to its serving was made to disappear. Now we understand how with a snap of the fingers, twelve or fifteen *perroquets* could be gathered in a corner. [Later] a room was set aside for eating, which made it possible to encircle the table with seats offering full comfort. We are indebted to the eighteenth century for this great revolution.

With the eighteenth century the *perroquet* disappeared. Its existence, albeit ephemeral, is linked to a reform in the dining habits of high society.

37. Although in these illustrations the *sillas francesas* appear to have a curule base, there is no evidence that the *perroquet* was anything but a plain foldable X-frame form.
38. The following etymology is taken from Martín Alonso, *Diccionario medieval español: Desde las glosas emilianenses y silenses (s. X) hasta el siglo XV*, vol. 1 (Salamanca, 1986): “Cadera (1. *cathedra*, asciento, silla, y éste del gr. *kathédra*, asciento) f. s. XV Cada una de las dos partes salientes formadas de la pelvis: <Coxa musol o pierna: y dizense coxe las caderas quasi exes juntos en que se iuntan los cabos de los muslos.> A. de palencia: *Vocab.* (1490), 96d. <Cadera o quadril, coxendis, icis> Nebrija: *Voc. Esp. lat.* (c. 1495), s.v., *cadera*, cIV, b. <Gimiendo e revolviéndose por el campo, como aquel que tenia tres costillas y una cadera quebrada> Rdgz. Montalvo: *Amadís* (c. 1496), ed. AE, t. 40, 138b. 2. s. XIII al XV. Silla: <Entonces el Emperador que estaba asentado, pareció sobre una *cadera* de oro vestido muy noblemientre.>” Like *silla*, *sillón* comes from the Latin word *sella*, meaning “seat.” *Cadera*, which derives from the Latin word *cathedra*, (meaning the chair or seat of a bishop in his church, hence the term *ex cathedra*, literally, “from the chair,” in the manner of an authoritative pronouncement from the seat of political or religious office or academic chair) came to denote the hip. *Cadeira*, the Portuguese word for seat, also meant “leather saddle.” In Castilian, *sillón* originally meant “saddle for a woman.” The terms “Dante” or “Savonarola” are nineteenth-century, Renaissance Revival appellations for this chair type.
39. Wanscher, *Sella curulis*, p. 191.
40. Illustrated in Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558–1625* (New Haven and London, 1997), p. 37. See also Otto Kurz, “Folding Chairs and Koran Stands,” in *Islamic Art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (New York, 1972), p. 304, fig. 9. For a sculpted example see *Saint Nicholas*, South Netherlandish, ca. 1500 (MMA acc. no. 16.32.193).
41. This chair was discovered in the Palazzo Doria in Genoa by William H. Riggs. With its ornate Islamic motifs, it may exemplify the influence or workmanship of Sephardic craftsmen in Italy, who spread the Mudejar style in northern Europe after their exile from Spain in 1492. The origin and date of the object require further investigation.
42. Antonio Francisco Garabana, “El mueble del siglo XVI y su origen español/Mexican XVI Century Furniture and Its Spanish Origin,” *Artes de México*, no. 118 (1969), p. 12. Figure 30 in the present essay, a codex illustration of conquistador Hernán Cortés seated in a hip-joint chair, is reproduced in Garabana’s article, p. 9.
43. Carrillo y Gariel, *Evolución del mueble en Mexico*, p. 10 (passage translated by Jorge Barriau).
44. Théodore de Bry, *Conquistadores, Aztecs, and Incas* (Amsterdam, 1980). De Bry was born in Liège in 1528, and in 1570, during the Netherlandish rebellion against Spain, he fled to Germany, where he supported himself as an engraver, publisher, and bookseller in Frankfurt am Main and Oppenheim.
45. Carrillo y Gariel, *Evolución del mueble en Mexico*, p. 11 (passage translated by Jorge Barriau).
46. *Ibid.*, p. 42, and see fig. 32 (passage translated by Jaime Lopez Pestaña).
47. *Ibid.*, p. 42, and see fig. 31 (passage translated by Jaime Lopez Pestaña).
48. See note 5 above.
49. Grace Hardendorff Burr, *Hispanic Furniture from the Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1964), p. 27, figs. 28, 29.
50. John W. Waterer, *Spanish Leather* (London, 1971), p. 15. Embossed leather is referred to in Spanish as *guadameci* or *guadamacil*, the name by which leathers made in Spain after the Arab conquest were known. Waterer notes that a Spanish-Arab writer of the twelfth century observed, “Ghâdames . . . from this village comes the Guadameci skin.”
51. The origin of this chair is presently unknown. The date 1730 is ascribed to it in Junquera y Mato, “Mobiliario,” p. 399.
52. Luis M. Feduchi, *Antología de la silla española* (Madrid, 1957), fig. 58.
53. Rafael Doménech Gallissá and Luis Pérez Bueno, *Antique Spanish Furniture/Muebles antiguos españoles*, trans. Grace Hardendorff Burr (Barcelona, 1921; 1st Eng. ed., New York, 1965), pp. 46–47, fig. 29.
54. Joan Sacs, “Spanish Chairs of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Part I,” *Magazine Antiques* 12 (August 1927), p. 125.
55. *Ibid.*
56. In the sixteenth century the Spanish referred to such objects from the New World as *indianismo* and the people as *indianos*.
57. Junquera y Mato, “Mobiliario,” p. 399. In this reference the form is called *putaca*, and the information is probably based upon Carlos F. Duarte’s recent scholarship (see note 5 above).
58. The armrest supports are described as *en forma de cuello de cisne* (“in the shape of a swan’s neck”) in Carlos F. Duarte’s *Muebles venezolanos siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Caracas, 1966), fig. 66. They look like inverted cabriole legs copied from other eighteenth-century chairs.
59. The ancient Greek klismos (the word is akin to *klinein*, “to lean”) had a concave top rail at shoulder height supported by two uprights and a central splat and had four saber legs.
60. Cumaná is the capital of the state of Sucre on the Venezuelan coast. Perhaps originally a plate in a German travel book, this print was sent to the author by Carlos F. Duarte, director of the Museo de Arte Colonial in Caracas, Venezuela. In a telephone interview of June 28, 2001, Duarte agreed that this illustration may have been drawn by the famous German explorer Alexander von Humboldt, who traveled extensively throughout the Americas and documented his observations in sketches, many of which were reproduced and published. Duarte has studied and written about the Venezuelan *butaca*; see, for example, the exhibition catalogue cited in note 5 above, *Un asiento venezolano llamado butaca*.

61. Judge John Overton inventory, 1835, Traveller's Rest Plantation; Tennessee Records of Davidson County, Wills and Inventories, vol. 10, 1832–36, pt. 1, pp. 511–15, Tennessee State Library and Archives. Roman family inventories, 1848, Vacherie and New Orleans, courtesy of Beth Boggess (photocopied from the Records of the Clerk of Court, Saint James Parish Courthouse, Convent, Louisiana; original documents missing).
62. The *piaster* or *piastre* is the former peso or dollar of Spain or Spanish America.
63. "Inventaire de J. T. Roman, 2 Mai 1848" (see note 61 above). Louisiana historian Beth Boggess explains, "I think these are personal furnishings from the Townhouse near the Ursulines convent that was initially maintained for Madame's benefit, since she did not like living at Oak Alley. As I recall, when J. T. became very sick (TB), they closed the townhouse and she went upriver for the duration."
64. Its original owner is unidentified; however, an auction catalogue explains that the consignor's great-grandmother bought the chair in New Orleans in the late nineteenth century "while furnishing her home, Old Elsona, in Thomasville, Georgia. Shortly after the chair was removed, the dwelling burned to the ground"; see *Important Americana*, sale cat., Sotheby's, New York, January 17 and 19, 1997, lot 916.
65. The design makes more sense when this chair is compared with another important nineteenth-century Campeche chair in the collection of Dr. Wayne Stromeyer, Baton Rouge, which may have inspired its design and whose elegant rectangular tablet is similarly inlaid with a circular reserve, in this case containing an exotic parrot clutching a round object in its right claw. The workmanship of this marquetry bird is more precise and detailed than is that of the heron on the Louisiana State Museum chair. Like the Louisiana State Museum chair, the crest rail is flanked by two (slightly larger) quarter-fans. It is not surprising to find a parrot, a bird indigenous to tropical regions, on the Stromeyer chair, which is probably from Mexico. Perhaps a Louisiana chair-maker saw this parrot-inlaid chair and chose to depict the heron, a bird native to the Louisiana marshlands, on a chair of his own devising. The leather of the parrot-inlaid chair is not original; perhaps the seat was once embossed with an American eagle, like the Louisiana State Museum and Hollensworth chairs (see notes 21 above and 66 below). According to Dr. Stromeyer, his chair was purchased at a sale at the New Orleans Auction Company (interview by the author, February 14, 2001).
66. This embossed eagle, patterned after the image on the Great Seal of the United States, is a Latin American rendering. The design consists of a roundel in which a bald eagle holding a shield, arrows, and an olive branch hovers above what appears to be a stylized sun with clouds or a flower. When Congress adopted the Great Seal in 1782, the American eagle became the national emblem. The official seal shows a bald eagle holding a bunch of arrows in one talon and an olive branch in the other. What is infrequently recognized is that the eagle's head always faces in the direction of the olive branch, a symbol of peace. It holds in its beak a banner bearing the words "E pluribus unum." A shield of red and white stripes covers its breast, and a crest above the eagle's head is generally shown with a cluster of thirteen stars surrounded by bright rays emanating from a ring of clouds. The Great Seal of the United States became a popular decorative device during the War of 1812. Other events that may have led to the production of this leather pattern in Mexico for United States customers include the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and the admission of Louisiana to the Union in 1812; the chair thus dates to the early nineteenth century probably. The source in Mexico of this leather is unknown.
67. The pattern on the lower portion of the Ovando seat, not discernible in Figure 13, may match that of the Louisiana State Museum's chair.
68. *The Philadelphia Cabinet and Chair Maker's Union Book of Prices for Manufacturing Cabinet Ware, Established January 1828 by a Committee of Employers and Journeymen* (printed for the Cabinet and Chair Makers by William Stavelly [1828]); copy in the Winterthur Library. I am grateful to Eleanor McD. Thompson for providing reproductions of the title page and page 40 of this work. See also Nancy H. Waters, "Catalog Entry: Spanish Lounge Chair, Acc. No. 64.143," term paper for "Art History 803," a course given at the University of Delaware (year unknown).
69. Transcription of the *Judges' Reports of the Twelfth Annual Fair of the American Institute of the City of New York* (collection of the New-York Historical Society, New York) in the files of the Department of American Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
70. Transcription of the *Judges' Reports of the Fourteenth Annual Fair of the American Institute of the City of New York* (collection of the New-York Historical Society, New York) in the files of the Department of American Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
71. *Designs of Furniture by William Smee and Sons, a Stock of Which Is Always Kept Ready for Sale at Their Cabinet and Upholstery Manufactory and Warerooms, No. 6 Finsbury Pavement* (London, 1830). I am grateful to Eleanor McD. Thompson for providing reproductions of the title page and illustrations.
72. *Third Supplement to the London Chair-Makers' Book of Prices* (London, 1844); copy in the Winterthur Library. I am grateful to Eleanor McD. Thompson for providing reproductions of the title page, pages 39–48, and pl. 3.
73. Wolf Tegethoff, "The German Pavilion in Barcelona," in *Mies Van der Rohe: Architecture and Design in Stuttgart, Barcelona, and Brno*, ed. Alexander von Vegesack and Matthias Kries (New York, 1998), p. 158.
74. Quoted in Otakar Mácel, "From Mass Production to Design Classic: Mies van der Rohe's Metal Furniture," in *Mies Van der Rohe*, p. 39.
75. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
76. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
77. Thomas Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
78. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
79. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
80. Edwin Morris Betts and James Adam Bear Jr., eds., *The Family Letters of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville, 1966), p. 382.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 385.
82. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
83. Betts and Bear, *Family Letters of Thomas Jefferson*, p. 431.
84. For a discussion of the Monticello Campeche chairs, see Self and Stein, "Collaboration of Thomas Jefferson and John Hemmings," p. 239.
85. *Ibid.*

Sanford Robinson Gifford's *Gorge in the Mountains* Revived

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TODAY Sanford Robinson Gifford's painting of a sun-drenched, autumnal Catskill Mountains vista (Figure 1), the subject of this essay, ranks among his best-known, best-loved works. Dated 1862, and since 1914 in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, to which it was donated by the widow of its first owner, Morris K. Jesup of New York, the vertical canvas has been frequently eulogized, exhibited, and reproduced in color and black-and-white illustrations during the modern revival of interest in the Hudson River School. The painting will be featured in the Gifford retrospective co-curated by Kevin J. Avery and Franklin W. Kelly, to be held at the Metropolitan Museum; the Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas; and the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., in 2003–4.

Sanford Gifford (1823–1880; Figure 2), too, favored the picture, one of the largest of his oeuvre. Between 1862 and 1880, he painted several studio variants of sizable dimensions and numbers of smaller ones. Further, his extant works dating from the early to mid-1860s comprise more than a half-dozen oil studies as well as a handful of drawings of kindred scenic character, some partly or wholly executed in *plein air*. He publicly displayed three such small oils during 1862 and 1863.

Yet until now the Metropolitan Museum's painting by Gifford has remained elusive. Oddly, Gifford himself either omitted it or referred obliquely to it in a "List of Some of My Chief Pictures" that he compiled in 1874.¹ Current literature about the artist is devoid of conclusive contemporaneous or near-contemporaneous documentation for it.² The earliest title known to belong to the picture, "Kauterskill Falls," was bestowed on it during an exhibition held in New York City to celebrate the American Centennial, to which the painting was lent by Morris Jesup. That designation turns out to be neither the original one nor topographically accurate. Ninety years later, in

1966, Roland Van Zandt deduced that the depicted scene, a composition rather than a transcription, was based on the actual Haines Falls in the Catskills rather than on Kaaterskill Falls situated several miles away.³ Recent authors have believed that the painting was not publicly displayed prior to the Centennial, and that Jesup either commissioned it or acquired it directly from Gifford upon its completion.

At the same time, Hudson River School specialists have long recognized two factors complicating latter-day perceptions of Gifford. The first is the regrettable disappearance of many of his documented works of all sizes, among them major paintings shown at prominent venues and attested by journalists and colleagues during his lifetime. The second factor is the Civil War and Gifford's volunteer service, comprising three successive annual stints from 1861 to 1863, in the Union Army. His military duties inevitably both influenced and interrupted his professional travels and productivity. While the Metropolitan Museum canvas was under way in his New York studio, he began and soon exhibited a related but differing Catskills scene of matching vertical dimensions, while producing three somewhat smaller horizontal canvases of Union Army themes. Snapped up by a collector, that second upright Catskill composition, entitled *Kauterskill Clove*, was unveiled at the annual exhibition of the National Academy of Design held between April and June 1863 (no. 15; acquired by D. Willis James). Ironically, while all the war pictures are extant (as is a fourth, slightly later such work), *Kauterskill Clove*, widely discussed in press reviews of the National Academy show of 1863, has been untraced for decades.

My aim here is to roll back the mists that metaphorically have shrouded the Metropolitan Museum's painting, and to reestablish its historical identity and its centrality in the artist's development. Emphasizing early printed sources, I will retrace the picture's genesis and its early celebrity, while specifying its initial title and early exhibitions (in fact, there were at least two). By attempting also to reconstitute—visualize—the missing D. Willis James canvas of 1863 and adding

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The notes for this article begin on page 227.



Figure 1. Sanford Robinson Gifford, *A Gorge in the Mountains*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 48 x 39 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (121.9 x 101.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Maria DeWitt Jesup, from the collection of her husband, Morris K. Jesup, 1914 (15.30.62). See also Colorplate 4

correlative materials, I will provide insights into the painter's working methods and public persona from about 1860 to 1865, while introducing select individuals who verbalized his visual art during that period.

As will be discussed here, Gifford relied on field sketches and studio preparations made between the summer of 1861 and the following winter to compose the Metropolitan Museum picture. He worked (or had opportunities to work) on the canvas for most of the calendar year 1862. Then, between late December 1862 and early January 1863, three New York journalists—all using pseudonyms—who had authorized entrée to his quarters in the Tenth Street Studio Building on Broadway in New York, saw and wrote about the completed painting. Two of the writers are identifiable today, although the third, unfortunately, remains indefinite. Their texts, probing as well as descriptive, were published in two leading metropolitan newspapers; they are transcribed in the Appendix, below. All three reporters fervently praised the finished picture, one of them terming it Gifford's "greatest work of art," another characterizing it as "perhaps the very culmination of Mr. Gifford's genius" and "one of the most truly great pictures ever painted in this country," while the third nominated it "one of the few great landscapes of American art" and "a triumph of art." At that time, the artist conferred on it a generic, suggestive title, *A Gorge in the Mountains*. Subsequently, during 1863, Gifford twice presented the painting at prestigious group shows, in tandem with other works of his. The earlier event was an unusually lavish reception, for which no catalogue was issued, held at the Tenth Street Studio Building on the evening of February 3, 1863. The later one, for which a catalogue was printed, of which copies survive, took place at the fourth annual Artists' Fund exhibition staged at the Derby Institute on Broadway during November and December 1863. On each occasion Gifford entitled his picture *A Gorge in the Mountains*, as he had initially, and both times it attracted further press response. He also may have shown the picture at a Studio Building reception of April 2, 1863. Presumably he did not sell it before the end of 1863.

Among second-generation Hudson River School artists, only Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902), Régis Gignoux (1816–1882), and perhaps John Frederick Kensett (1816–1872) presented their works, and themselves, to the American public as frequently and as readily as did Gifford. By early 1859, eighteen months after Gifford had returned to New York from a two-year European sojourn, East Coast reporters began charting his accomplishments and affability as they tried to distinguish him from his colleagues.



Figure 2. Photographer unknown, *Sanford Robinson Gifford*, 1868. Carte de visite from Mrs. Vincent Coyler's Album. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, David Hunter McAlpin Fund, 1952 (52.605)

"GIFFORD advances steadily," declared an appreciative New York reviewer of the Academy of Design show of 1859: "He gives strong impressions of space, sunshine and atmosphere, with definiteness of form, bones enough, solid ground and rocks—a corporeal body to sustain the spirit of light and air. If [Frederic Edwin] CHURCH is strong in statement of facts, in imitation of sensible and striking material qualities, GIFFORD has the lead in sentiment and depth of feeling. The perception of CHURCH is intellectual, not sympathetic. We admire his pictures, more than we enjoy them. They are literal, not imaginative. He gives us more of the body of Nature—Gifford more of her soul."⁴ This three-pronged assessment—that Gifford stood at the top of his profession; that he was a ruminative, sagacious poet with a brush; and that his painted aerial effects were magical—would be repeated many times through his death in 1880.

Approachability was another of Gifford's virtues. At Thanksgiving 1860, a former Brown University classmate and correspondent for the reputable Providence, Rhode Island, *Journal* visited the Tenth Street

Studio Building. He knocked on two doors, in order, so to speak, of national importance: Church's, then Gifford's. Church (1826–1900) received the writer graciously. Gifford welcomed his old friend:

. . . In New York he [Gifford] ranks high in the letter A of his profession, and none of his paintings fail to give the greatest pleasure by their warmth, their exquisite atmosphere, and their general fidelity to nature. During the past season Gifford sketched and studied in the Catskill, and his study [studio] is "fragrant" with dewy woods, sun-light falling on "rock and tree and river," and cloud-land reposing in the dreamiest fairy-like tranquility. . . . We had not met since 1843, when we were both members of the same class at Brown. I can see him as plainly as if it were but yesterday—with tall form, his peculiar cut of garment, his top piece of pointed black bear-skin cap—walking up and down Westminster street. But we cannot bring up all the memorabilia of the past. We adjourned from his studio to the [hotel] Albermarle, (a new, beautiful and most admirably kept white marble palace on Madison Square, just right for the night arriving train from Providence,) where we discussed one of [hotel proprietor] Mr. Ives's best dinners. There we recounted our wanderings. After leaving Brown, Gifford devoted himself to landscape art. In 1856 [*sic*] he went to Europe and spent two years roaming amid the glories of Switzerland or in that dreamy paradise of artists, "fair Italia." I felt proud of him as an old Brunonian, and prouder still, that he was an American who had reached so lofty a height in landscape art.⁵

Writing for *New Yorkers*, a contemporary commended "Gifford's refinement in his manner as well as in his pictures."⁶ But a New York correspondent for another respected New England journal, the Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, discerned enigma in the artist. "Gifford, the gorgeous, lotos-loving Gifford," the commentator wrote, "was revealed to me on that evening [of February 1862, at the Tenth Street Studio Building]; a quiet, self-contained and gentle mannered man, with only a slight hint of his dangerous mania in his dark eyes."⁷ The writer then referred to the artist's *Winter Twilight* (1862; Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington), a painting on view that night, as "one of his happiest efforts, if that can be called an effort, which seems to me to have glided upon the canvas at the touch of an enchanter's wand. Just such a transfigured, sunset, snow scene as in my childhood—how far back it seems!—used to take my breath away with its still, dreamlike beauty. Snow, and ice, and crescent moon, and dismantled trees; but the rosy light, the *dolce far niente*, the Gifford spell, is over all." This appraisal, too—that while his pictures evoked sweet childhood memories, Gifford's

adult demeanor was at once intense and enervated—was reiterated by his contemporaries.

Not everyone who saw Gifford's works admired them, or admired them unreservedly. In the aforementioned write-up of February 1862, the Springfield *Republican* correspondent floated, then quitted, a critique of sorts by introducing Gifford's *Winter Twilight* as "proof that he is not so much of an Indian summer monomaniac as I supposed." A year later, the same commentator amplified that friendly disapproval: "Gifford . . . is growing out of his misty effects, coming down from his molten gold altitudes, and giving us something besides hasheesh visions and Indian Summer languors. Beautiful exceedingly are these picture-dreams of his, but they are picture-dreams only. No mortal man or even *woman* could exist for an hour in this sublimated atmosphere. It is said that Mr. Gifford is color-blind; that he cannot distinguish green from red. Perhaps this is why he has so reveled in the yellow and incarnadines. Yet whatever his pencil essays bespeaks artistic genius of an uncommon order; and if he labors under this disadvantage his pictures are a marvel."⁸

By the turn of the 1860s, the fine arts were so woven into the social fabric of greater New York City, as well as, increasingly, such American urban centers as Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, and Chicago, that local artists hardly could keep up. Besides the annual gatherings of the National Academy of Design (Gifford became a full Academician in 1854) and the Artists' Fund (instituted in 1859, of which Gifford was a board member), two major Manhattan artists' studio facilities—the Tenth Street Studio Building (into which Gifford moved in 1857, the year it opened) and Dodworth's Academy (home of the "Artists' Reception Association" starting in 1858)—held seasonal public receptions, as did the Brooklyn Art Association (founded in 1861), and the Cooper Union (founded in 1859), an educational institute for women that comprised an art school. A handful of further New York artists' facilities, such as the University Building, rarely held receptions. At the Tenth Street Studio Building, where Gifford lived and worked, he sometimes assisted in organizing exhibitions, and he customarily assigned one or more of his finished pictures to the communal display and, when he was in residence, opened the doors of his third-floor studio. Visitors stopping by at random could glimpse the entirety of his working environment, including paintings as yet unfinished. (Church, by contrast, seldom opened his quarters except to preferred guests, which practice of his became a recurring source of complaint.) In addition, two Manhattan clubs, the Century (Gifford became a member in 1859) and the Athenaeum



Figure 3. Sanford Robinson Gifford, *Twilight in the Catskills—Kauterskill Clove*, 1861. Oil on canvas, 27 x 54 in. (68.6 x 137.2 cm). Private collection (photo: Williamstown Art Conservation Center)

(founded in 1858), mounted art displays up to eight times a year for their monthly meetings. From its inception the Brooklyn Art Association printed catalogues of its regular shows (its own monthly meetings, garnished by limited assemblages of members' art, were not accompanied by catalogues), as, eventually, did the Century and Union League Clubs (the latter founded in 1863, of which Gifford also became a member) in Manhattan. But those listings were not necessarily comprehensive, and no catalogues were issued for the receptions at the Manhattan studios.⁹

A few of Gifford's colleagues—Bierstadt, Church, and Gignoux conspicuously among them—chose to exhibit their (mostly) ambitious works as individual attractions, or "Great Pictures," at commercial and for-hire galleries. While Gifford did not follow suit, he gravitated to the other milieus as well as to charity shows such as those held at Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. Beecher organized one such benefit during the fall of 1861 and another about a year later; Gifford contributed works to both. The receptions and club meetings were diverting social occasions. Celebrities of the cultural, commercial, and political worlds jostled with one another. Speeches, refreshments, music provided by resident or hired bands, the din of conversation, and the sheer numbers of people—notably, attractive women wearing shimmering, rustling gowns—were systemic distractions. At times, exhibit rooms were transformed into impromptu dance halls. Over and over, well-meaning reporters sent to cover these gatherings ended up noting or protesting that the art on the walls could hardly be seen, much less scrutinized.¹⁰

The outbreak of the Civil War in April 1861 abruptly changed those dynamics. Gifford, aged thirty-seven, quickly enlisted in the Seventh Regiment

of the New York State National Guard, attached to the Union Army. His New York colleagues, among them Bierstadt and Gifford's friend, Jervis McEntee (1828–1891), soon followed suit. The National Academy of Design was converted into an armory and resounded with the clatter of drill marches; the Tenth Street Studio Building's proprietor generously promised to maintain volunteer soldiers' accommodations and not to charge them rent until they returned; and William Wilson Corcoran's art gallery in Washington shortly became a military clothing depot.¹¹ When Gifford left the army by early June 1861 after service near Washington, he headed for his boyhood home in Hudson, New York, where his parents still lived. Extant manuscripts and drawings published by Ila Weiss and contemporary press reports reveal that he was soon trekking the nearby Catskills with fellow Tenth Street Studio Building tenant Thomas Worthington Whit-tredge (1820–1910). Together they sketched "the [Kaaterskill] Clove and other picturesque parts."¹² Those were familiar, congenial locales for Gifford. His major easel painting of 1861, developed (according to journalists) from a "study" of about 1860–61 (whereabouts unknown), and unveiled at a Studio Building reception in March 1861 and accorded fuller exposure a short time later at the National Academy of Design (no. 225), had been a sizable *Twilight in the Catskills* (Figure 3). Recently rediscovered, the canvas was eagerly previewed in early March 1861 by an anonymous local reporter, who designated it "Clove of the Kauterskill Sunset."¹³ When Eugene Benson (1839–1908), an aspiring artist and prolific art and literary critic who was commencing his writing career with the New York *Commercial Advertiser* newspaper, saw the picture in Gifford's studio about the same date, he, too, admired it—and then mistook it for a

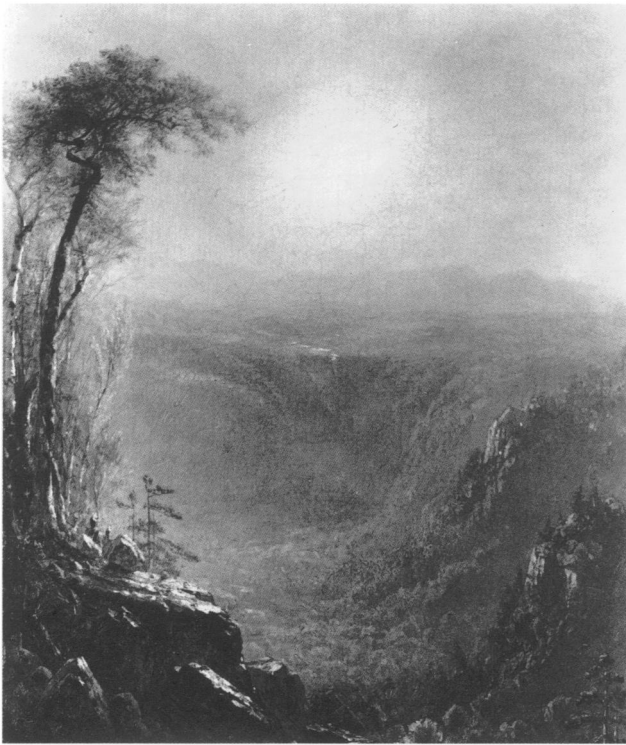


Figure 4. Sanford Robinson Gifford, study for *A Gorge in the Mountains*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 12¼ x 11 in. (32.7 x 27.9 cm). Collection of Jo Ann and Julian Ganz Jr. (photo: Helga Photo Studio)

“Sunset in the Adirondacks.”¹⁴ Subsequently, Benson became closer to and, usually although not always, better informed about Gifford.

By late 1861, having returned to a rejuvenating New York City, Gifford busied himself inside and outside of his studio. His career paths had been smoothed by a congratulatory biographical assessment, the second in a series headed “Our Artists,” authored by Benson for the *Commercial Advertiser* and published in mid-October.¹⁵ Gifford soon sent recent paintings to the Artists’ Fund, Plymouth Church, and the Brooklyn Art Association. One of those pictures, entitled *Autumnal Sunset* at the Brooklyn Art Association, Benson vaguely characterized as “a most powerful piece of effect . . . which, in addition to its strength, possesses what we term fine *quality* of color.”¹⁶

In January 1862, Gifford contributed works to receptions held at Dodworth’s and at the Tenth Street Studio Building. Evidently at the latter venue, daylight and moonlit Civil War subjects by him as well as the aforementioned *Winter Twilight* were all available for viewing.¹⁷ Then in mid-March he sent to Dodworth’s a small picture that Benson described as an “Italian Landscape” but that a *New York Times* reporter termed

a “gorge all ablaze with sunlight.”¹⁸ Assuming that the latter was correct, that work, probably identifiable as one of three oil studies now in private collections (see, for example, Figure 4), would have been a precursor to *A Gorge in the Mountains*. Benson seems to have recognized his reporting error at Dodworth’s, for he soon wrote that Gifford, who “like all opulent men, is lavish in his endowments,” would send “three of his most consummate works” to the forthcoming Academy of Design exhibition: “like amber,—they hold imprisoned in everlasting glory pure sunlight and immortal beauty. One is a mountain gorge steeped in sunshine; another the Roman Campagna, washed by everlasting currents of air; and the third the ‘Winter Twilight,’ with a sky flushed ruby red like the wine in Belshazzar’s cups. It will be remembered these last two mentioned works are those which attracted so much attention, the second in the Tenth Street Reception, the first in that of the Brooklyn Art Association at the Academy of Music.”¹⁹

But Gifford’s Academy entries of 1862 turned out differently. *Winter Twilight* and the Italian picture (whereabouts unknown) appeared as foretold, but instead of a “mountain gorge,” he sent the two aforementioned military scenes. While Benson’s reporting conceivably could have erred again, a more likely scenario is that the “mountain gorge” wasn’t ready. In any event, a few weeks after the Academy of Design exhibition opening on March 19, Gifford rejoined the Seventh New York Regiment and was soon stationed near Baltimore, “leaving,” according to Benson, “some unfinished works on his easel, characterized by the genius which ever seems to direct his brush.”²⁰ Logically, the “mountain gorge” would have been among them. By late August 1862, having again mustered out of the military, Gifford proceeded to upstate New York, then to western Massachusetts. Back in New York City by late October, he was reported to have had added 150 new sketches to his portfolio.²¹ Numbers of these recorded his regimental experiences,²² but others captured scenes from the Catskills and Berkshires. One of the latter stood out. Benson saw it, and wrote enthusiastically about it: “. . . He [Gifford] has one little sketch—an Autumnal impression of the Catskills—representing a gorge in the mountains, darkened here and there by the fleeting shadow of a moving cloud, while the matured and golden splendor of the changed [tree] leaves clothe their sides as a costly robe, sparkling with gems on the shoulders of a sleeping god. Though but a sketch, it suggests to us a picture with all the *affecting* sentiment which lush color and excessive beauty generally arouses [*sic*] in certain temperaments. Imagine the mountains thickly wooded; the trees arrayed in their many-hued robes,

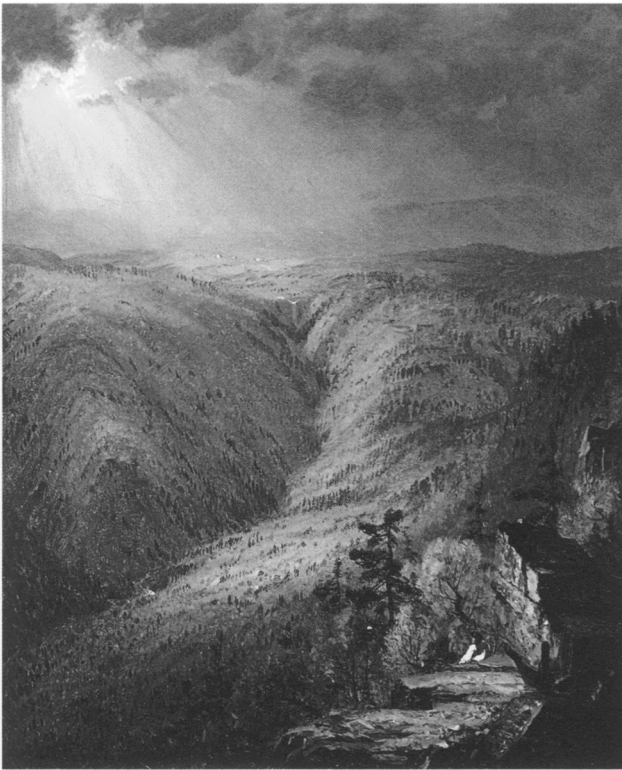


Figure 5. Sanford Robinson Gifford, *Kauterskill Clove, in the Catskills*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 10¼ x 8¾ in. (27.3 x 22.5 cm). Warner Collection of the Gulf States Paper Corporation, Tuscaloosa, Ala. (photo: courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



Figure 6. Sanford Robinson Gifford, *Kauterskill Clove, a Study*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 15 x 12 in. (38.1 x 30.5 cm). Private collection (photo: Sotheby's, New York)

that sends back the caressing sunlight that slants down upon them, that steepens them in warmth, that enfolds them with splendor—this is the reality of Mr. Gifford's sketch. . . ."²³

The "sketch" in question was a new one, descended from his unfinished "gorge" and its studio and *plein air* antecedents but distinct from them. Hence, while the "gorge" canvas was still under way in his Manhattan studio, Gifford, freshly inspired by the Catskills, initiated a more stirring variant. First to the Century Association, then to Dodworth's in mid-January 1863, he sent the new "gorge" sketch or another developed from it²⁴—presumably, either the vibrant vertical scene now in the Warner Collection (Figure 5), or a slightly larger sibling (Figure 6), about both of which more will be said below. Seven weeks later, in early March, he contributed a related work to the Brooklyn Art Association. Benson succinctly termed it "a very fine study of a mountain-top full of feeling and nature,"²⁵ while a reporter for the New York *Evening Post* discussed it as "a study from nature of a mountain summit whose subtle gradations of light and shade, especially along the niched and channeled precipice which formed its nearer side, and the eddying ridges

which fell from it toward the background, were admirably managed. Though a small and unpretending picture, it was a good specimen of his mastery over the distances of mountain scenery—a rare excellence, because a most difficult one, where inches mean miles not only of breadth, but height and depth, and where not to be masterly is to make a pitiful jumble of mole-hills."²⁶ At least four paintings by Gifford of that character are extant.

Meanwhile the artist was concluding the "mountain gorge," the Metropolitan Museum painting, presumably commenced months earlier. A writer for the New York *Herald* learned of it by the second week of December 1862: "Gifford is occupied upon a large picture—a composition—which promises to be one of his most successful efforts. It is an effect of sunrise [*sic*] in a mountain gorge, and is rich in all the resplendent effects in which he loves to luxuriate."²⁷

Shortly before Christmas the completed canvas was fit for public announcement. We may assume that Gifford solicited or encouraged three local writers whose talents he valued to publicize the painting. One of those individuals was Eugene Benson; another, Hudson, New York, native Robert Barry Coffin (1826–



Figure 7. Frederic Edwin Church, *Coast Scene, Mt. Desert (Sunrise off the Maine Coast)*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 36 x 48¼ in. (91.4 x 122.6 cm). Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, 1948.178 (photo: E. Irving Blomstrann)

1886), whose literary byline was “Barry Gray,” was freelance critic and editor of the *Home Journal*, a local weekly. The third reporter, an employee of the *Leader*, a rival New York weekly, used the pseudonym “Atticus.” At that juncture, Coffin had just left the *Home Journal* to become a customs officer, but he continued to write for diverse in- and out-of-town journals, among them the *Leader*. That fall, the *Leader* had begun its own series of articles, mostly authored by “Atticus,” on living American artists, but Coffin handled the final three such essays, starting with one about Gifford.²⁸ The *Leader* printed Coffin’s two-column “Gifford, the Artist” on December 27, 1862, the same day that the *Commercial Advertiser* published Benson’s column headed “Art. Concerning Two Great and Representative Works.” Both comprised extended, eloquent explications of Gifford’s new painting.

Coffin’s Columbia County, New York, birthplace positioned him ideally to appraise Gifford and the painter’s *A Gorge in the Mountains*. For contemporaries, Coffin helped inaugurate the completed canvas. For us, he fixes its identity. Defining its vertical dimensions of 48 by 40 inches, he conscientiously narrated the scene: He detected the hunter, gun, and dog, all almost imperceptible amid the foreground ledges; he mentioned the tall birches atop the escarpment at the near left; he discerned the clearing with a log house in the right distance, the central waterfall, the winding stream and the lake below, and he noted the hazy ridges in the far distance. He was especially enchanted by the cloudless sky, through which “the

afternoon sun, hanging in the atmosphere tremulous with vitality and glowing with misty particles of golden light . . . radiates a halo of almost supernatural glory.” Coffin’s capsule biography of the artist (not transcribed in the Appendix, below), recounting the Gifford family’s long-term residency in upstate New York, the painter’s two-year studentship at Brown University, and his transatlantic acquaintances with the Anglo-American painter Charles Robert Leslie and with descendants of the English painter John Constable, among other matters, is important testimony in itself.

Benson prefaced his discussion of *A Gorge in the Mountains* with an appreciative assessment of a contemporaneous large landscape by McEntee, *Virginia* (alternately, *Virginia in 1863* [whereabouts unknown]), in which McEntee mourned the destructiveness of the ongoing war. For Benson, the two paintings were effective, representative opposites: *Virginia* was a dirge; *A Gorge in the Mountains* was a rhapsody. His analysis of Gifford’s *Gorge* hinged on the elusive concept of artistic “genius.” Although reluctant to regard it as a symptom of quality, Benson surrendered to Gifford’s technical mastery: “There are passages of color and execution so delicate and tender, as almost to mock the sense.” Like Coffin, Benson was mesmerized by the painted “sun, which shines in mellow glory down and over their [the mountains’] towering and russet sides, swims over the gorge, over the lake in the hills, and inundates every nook and cranny of nature with its light.”

A week later, on January 3, 1863, the *Leader*’s “Atticus” weighed in. That journal therefore previewed the

painting in successive issues. At times hard to satisfy, "Atticus" found unalloyed superlative and alluring sensuality in *A Gorge in the Mountains*—"one of the most truly great pictures ever painted in this country; remarkable for the tenderness and richness of its color, for the affluence of its beauty, and for the floods of mellow light which inundate the mountain tops, and rain over and in the gorge, down which tumbles a stream, and at whose base a lake lies full open to the crowning splendor of the afternoon sun, which it receives as the eyes of an opulent natured woman receives, in indolent repose, the full tenderness and glory of her lover's passion-veiled eyes."

Nor was Benson's ardor assuaged. On January 7, 1863, the *Commercial Advertiser* published another of his disquisitions about "Our Artists," this one on the history and portrait painter Daniel Huntington (whose work Benson did not endorse). Taking what was, for the period, an exceptional aesthetic stance, Benson digressed to re-evoke Gifford's new painting as a paradigm:

... In truth, only that which is *necessary* lives. Not that which is done for art's sake, but for truth's sake. Art as art is not permanent; but art as an expression of the soul is enduring. "The White Captive" [1857-58; MMA 94.9.3] of [Erastus Dow] Palmer, "The Gorge in the Mountains" of Gifford, grew not into being because those men desired to make something to please and charm, and show the sweetness of their sense of color or the fascinations of their skill in representing form; but because beauty and color solicited them, haunted them, and demanded expression. Not because they wished to make something *like* that which *had* won the applause of the world, but because they wished to deliver themselves of the burden of beauty and light that had sunk into their beings, and agitated them with the painfully delicious unrest of the birth-giving spirit. They were necessities; they were realities; they were inspirations of the present. And as such they stand, immortal examples of the best that American art can offer.²⁹

The next step for Gifford was public display. Anticipation of a Tenth Street Studio Building reception slated for early February 1863 was already intensifying; Benson "expect[ed] some of the best works by American artists executed within the past six months."³⁰ Had he wished to do so, Church could have flaunted two masterworks there, then: *Cotopaxi* (1862; Detroit Institute of Arts); and *Coast Scene, Mt. Desert (Sunrise off the Maine Coast)* (1863; Figure 7), the former already seen and glowingly described by Benson.³¹ As does Gifford's *Gorge*, both canvases by Church pivot on veiled solar disks. But Church was not prepared for full disclosure of either work. How-

ever, Bierstadt, concluding the second ten-foot canvas of his career, *The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak* (1863; Figure 8), decided to expose his new chef d'oeuvre at the reception, thus—as Gordon Hendricks surmised thirty years ago—sidestepping confrontation with Church's *Cotopaxi*.³² Bierstadt's strategy would have energized colleagues throughout the Studio Building. According to one journalist, the evening gala of February 3, 1863, was "one of the pleasantest occasions of the kind we have ever attended." Distinguished persons thronged the interiors, hampering viewing conditions. *The Rocky Mountains* dominated the communal gallery on the ground floor, while visitors to Bierstadt's studio, also on the ground floor, were regaled by his sketches and his collected Native American artifacts. Gifford's moody *Baltimore, 1862—Twilight* (Figure 9), McEntee's solemn *Virginia*, both touted by a reporter as "embodiments of the times," McEntee's subdued *Autumn Twilight* (whereabouts unknown), and the animal painter/humorist William Holbrook Beard's buoyant *Santa Claus* (1862; Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence) represented those artists downstairs. One and two levels above, in their respective studios, a winter scene (whereabouts unknown or unidentified) by McEntee, and *A Gorge in the Mountains* and related works by Gifford, along with a painting by University Building tenant Eastman Johnson, were available for inspection. Régis Gignoux, the genre painter John G. Brown, Gifford's friend the landscapist Worthington Whittredge, and Church's friends the animal painter William Jacob Hays Sr. (1830-1875) and the sculptor Launt Thompson were among the residents who also opened their quarters. Shutting his second-story studio, Church added "a small sunset . . . sketchy and vigorous" (whereabouts unknown or unidentified) to the downstairs array.³³

Gifford's works galvanized two reporters among the attendees. A writer for the New York *Evening Post* hailed the artist's "very strong, original pictures. That which exhibited the finest audacity was the portrait of a Kaaterskill gorge. Portrait, we rightly call it, because he made no show of introducing accessories, and merely depended on the sheer native capabilities of a great chasm, which did not disappoint his trust. It is long since we have seen such powerful effect produced by as simple means. The light, distance, and deep suggestions of the picture are remarkable, even for Gifford. . . ."³⁴ In his summation of the reception for the Boston *Evening Transcript*, Robert Barry Coffin augmented his previous praises: "Gifford's 'Gorge in the Mountains' is a pleasing subject nobly treated. The atmosphere is full of warmth and vitality, and possesses just that mellowness which one invariably



Figure 8. Albert Bierstadt, *The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 73¼ x 120¼ in. (186.7 x 306.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.123)

observes when on a dreamy afternoon in September [sic], he looks toward the setting sun; misty particles of light fill his sight; and a halo surrounds the sun like a glory.”³⁵

That was pretty much that. No other local or out-of-town journalists went beyond mentioning Gifford’s “two remarkable pictures,” and the fact that “Gifford was at home in his brilliantly lighted studio in the midst of his mountain gorges and purple sunsets.”³⁶ Doubtless part of the problem was the blanket coverage accorded the painting one month earlier. Another part may well have stemmed from the approaching National Academy of Design exhibition, scheduled for mid-April. On the evening of April 2, 1863, days before the Academy exhibition opening, Tenth Street Studio Building tenants devised a “supplementary” reception, at which works by Beard, Bierstadt, Church (!), Gifford, Gignoux, Thompson, and Emanuel Leutze, among others, were said to be plentiful. This time, though, press summaries were diffuse; Bierstadt’s *Rocky Mountains* (Figure 8), not designated for the Academy, was one of the few works cited by name.³⁷ Another work on view received reproach not for presumed quality or lack thereof, but because of the creator’s future plans. Commending a version

of William Jacob Hays’s oblong *Herd of Bison Crossing the Missouri River* (1863; see Figure 10) as “by far the best achievement of Hays,” the *Evening Post* critic regretted the painter’s decision to withhold it from the Academy display.³⁸ The solar radiance suffusing Hays’s Missouri valley panorama is so like that of Gifford’s Hudson valley declivity that each artist must have examined the other’s picture.

Meantime Gifford readied *Kauterskill Clove* and another sizable scene with reported strong chiaroscuro, *Mansfield Mountain—Sunset* (no. 90; acquired by Robert Gordon; whereabouts unknown), as well as his *Baltimore, 1862—Twilight* (Figure 9), for the National Academy of Design. Those goals attained, the newer Catskills picture accordingly was seen by many more people than was the slightly older *Gorge*. “Attract[ing] much attention” at the Academy, *Kauterskill Clove* must have resembled the aforementioned oil studies, both dated 1862 (Figures 5, 6). “Atticus,” for instance, summarized the Academy canvas as “a ravine wrapped in a passing rain cloud, with the sun breaking through the half obscuring mist to illumine one side with an almost royal radiance . . . [which] shows a slight repetition of the rounded forms on each side of the ravine.”³⁹ That

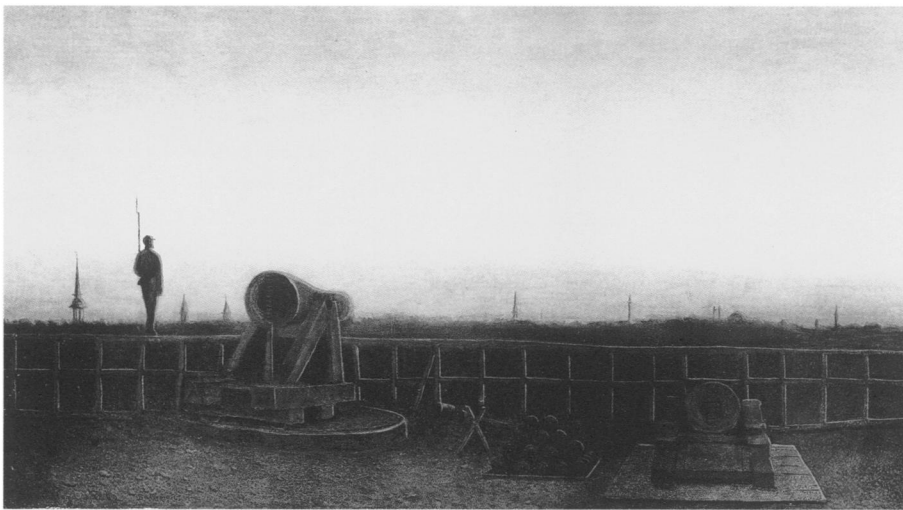


Figure 9. Sanford Robinson Gifford, *Baltimore, 1862—Twilight*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 18 x 32 in. (45.7 x 81.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lent by the Seventh Regiment Fund, Inc., L.1989.71.4

synopsis was echoed by other reviewers, among them the art critic for the *New York World*, who added that the foreground included a “bear”⁴⁰—as, indeed, does Gifford’s larger oil study of the subject (Figure 6). Bears were *au courant* just then: William H. Beard’s *Bears on a Bender* (whereabouts unknown), on view at the National Academy (no. 489), and three canvases by Bierstadt—his imperious *Rocky Mountains*, not shown at the Academy; a small *Swiss Lake* that he consigned to the Artists’ Fund in late 1862 (no. 30; whereabouts unknown); and a medium-size, vertical Western composition dated 1863, nowadays deceptively known as *Rocky Mountains, Lander’s Peak* (Figure 11)—also featured the

animals.⁴¹ With the last-named painting, depicting an alpine Shangri-la seen through a shadowed ravine where a black bear has savaged a deer, Bierstadt in effect dueled Gifford’s Hudson Valley gorges, asserting the supremacy of the West over the East. With his painting, Gifford’s bearskin cap in effect came back to life to prowl the Catskills and to bask in their hallowed sunlight. One writer considered *Kauterskill Clove* “a true companion-piece of Church’s Coast Scene” (see Figure 7), a rugged but “dreamy” Atlantic marine, likewise on view at the Academy.⁴² Another reporter became bewildered, however. After discussing *Kauterskill Clove* in terms similar to “Atticus’s,” the *Evening Post*’s writer concluded that the



Figure 10. William Jacob Hays Sr., *A Herd of Bison Crossing the Missouri River*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 36¼ x 72 in. (91.7 x 182.9 cm). Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyo.; Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney Trust Fund Purchase, 3.60 (photo: Buffalo Bill Historical Center)



Figure 11. Albert Bierstadt, *Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak*, 1863. Oil on linen, 43 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 35 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (110.8 x 90.1 cm). Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass.; Gift of Mrs. William Hayes Fogg, 1895.698 (photo: Fogg Art Museum)

canvas was the same one that had been shown in February, but that it had since been repainted. That misjudgment, in turn, has tempted confusion in recent times.⁴³ *Kauterskill Clove* latterly represented Gifford at the Great North-Western Fair held at Chicago in June 1865, after the Civil War ended.⁴⁴

Between the closing of the Academy display of 1863 and the advent of the next Artists' Fund exhibition, Gifford again rejoined the Seventh New York Regiment. Reportedly having read about the unit's call-up in a newspaper, he dropped everything and hastened to reunite with it. He and his comrades avoided action near Gettysburg, but events soon took turns for the worse, first with the draft riots in New York City, then with the death of one of his brothers following the latter's imprisonment by the Confederates.⁴⁵ After his discharge, Gifford roamed southern New England and, as usual, the Catskills and Kaaterskill Clove before resettling in his New York studio to begin a depiction of a thunderstorm brewing over a lake in the Catskills.⁴⁶ Eventually entitled *A Coming Storm* (ca. 1863–65; retouched and redated 1880; Figure 12) and purchased by the actor Edwin Booth, the tragic brother of John Wilkes Booth, by 1865, the year Gifford presented it at the National Academy of Design (no. 85), the painting was said in June 1865 to epitomize “the coming storm under which he [Edwin Booth, the owner], together with the whole country, is bent in mourning.”⁴⁷

In short, during 1863 Gifford was shedding the sensuous serenity of *A Gorge in the Mountains* in favor of heightened dramas. But he had one roll of the dice left. Listing no owner for *A Gorge in the Mountains* in



Figure 13. Sanford Robinson Gifford, *A Coming Storm*, ca. 1863–65, repainted 1880. Oil on canvas, 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (91.7 x 127.9 cm). Promised gift to the Philadelphia Museum of Art from an anonymous donor, 213-1986-001 (photo: Graydon Wood, 1995)

the catalogue (no. 86), he offered the painting and a somewhat smaller *Riva-Lago di Garga*, dated 1863, by then owned by Henry G. Marquand (no. 95; private collection), to the loan section of the Artists' Fund exhibition of 1863, while consigning a lesser work, *Calverack Creek* (no. 51; whereabouts unknown) to the exhibition's sale section. The show's buzz was formidable: the star attraction of the loan section, Rosa Bonheur's world-renowned *Horse Fair* (1853, 1855; MMA 87.25), accompanied esteemed works by Church, Leutze, Washington Allston, and Thomas Cole, among others. In that setting Gifford's nearly year-old Kaaterskill painting garnered modest press response, but what there was, was flattering. The New York *Tribune* cited "a mountain gorge by Gifford, No. 86, [which] lies steeped in the golden hazes that delight that artist as well as the public."⁴⁸ The New York *Times* praised the "superb Autumn scene, by GIFFORD . . . a vast mountain gorge, enveloped and beautifully obscured by the golden haze of an Autumn day, which in nature, as it does here, enraptures the beholder."⁴⁹ Two of the work's staunchest advocates stayed steadfast. Writing again for the Boston *Evening Transcript*, Robert Barry Coffin dilated on current critical discourse:

. . . In the hands of a master like Gifford, who may be said to stand at the head of this [*dolce far niente*] school, and who first showed how much might be done with only yellows and grays on his palette, this poetical and somewhat ideal treatment of nature is recognized as truthful because it is the expression of a certain peculiar phase or mood which, though rarely visible, does, after all, exist. It does not, however, belong to all seasons or scenes, and therefore is not applicable to them; but this fact the followers of this school either fail to perceive or else wittingly ignore; and the result is that they are painting pictures which lack character and naturalness, and though they please the eye, utterly fail of commending themselves to the judgments of the judicious. The best example of this style, and the one which critics will recognize as a genuine work of art, and true to nature, is Gifford's "Gorge in the Mountains."⁵⁰

Eugene Benson penned this personalized reaffirmation for the New York *Commercial Advertiser*: ". . . It is Mr. Gifford's happiness, in my judgment, to be represented by the *greatest* landscape in the [Artists' Fund] exhibition. So much has been written about this picture (No. 86) that it is not necessary for me to express at length my sense of its supreme beauty and masterly execution. It is the most subtle piece of painting that I have ever seen, and expresses the truth of atmosphere and light and space in a way not to be excelled. I cannot imagine art going beyond this. The

picture is a dream of beauty to me and has that *one-ness*, that simplicity which is generally the mark of a great work of art."⁵¹

APPENDIX

The following three texts on Gifford's *A Gorge in the Mountains* are transcribed from articles published in, respectively, the *Leader* (New York), December 27, 1862, p. 1; *New York Commercial Advertiser*, December 27, 1862, p. 1; *Leader* (New York), January 3, 1863, p. 1.

(For the *Leader*.)

GIFFORD, THE ARTIST

. . . That many of Mr. Gifford's pictures exert a power akin to this [stimulants to memory and sentiment], few who have carefully studied them will fail to perceive. This feeling was never more fully experienced by me than when, a few days ago, I stood before his last, and I think his greatest, work of art. It is entitled "A Gorge in the Mountains," and is an upright, measuring forty by forty-eight inches. From beside a rocky eminence in the left foreground the spectator gazes toward the afternoon sun, hanging in the atmosphere tremulous with vitality and glowing with misty particles of golden light, down through a slightly winding vista, miles in extent, broken in its regularity by tree-clad spurs of mountains which advance into it on either hand, their near sides in shadow, their fronts bathed in sunshine and their summits scarred by centuries of storms. In the far distance a range of mountains, faintly limned against the horizon, crosses the gorge, its bluish tint fading gradually into the hazy atmosphere above it. A water-fall, with its silvery sheen, gleams amidst the far-off landscape, and its stream is traceable here and there through the autumnal foliage, as it leaps from rock to rock, or glides quickly along the valley, until its waters commingle in a lake slumbering at the foot of the precipice forming the foreground. Very effectively introduced, as a contrast to the wilderness and solitude of the scene, is the hill side clearing at the right, with its log-house in the midst, the only evidence in the picture that the hand of man had attempted to bring this wilderness into subjugation.

It is with this object in mind that one is disposed to accept as a proper adjunct to the picture, and which may be said to invest it with life-like interest, the insertion of the figure of a hunter, with dog and gun, clambering up the rugged and steep cliffs in the left foreground; but even this would seem objectionable

in a painting of this character, were it not that the artist has very properly made both figures so unobtrusive, blending them, as it were, with the dark rocks which form their background, that the eye fails at first sight to perceive them at all. The birches, which spring from the summit of the rocks on the left hand, are skillfully drawn, and are exceedingly vigorous and graceful. The rocks themselves are pleasing in tone and general effect, and are stamped with strength and great freedom of expression. The picture is remarkable for its excellent gradations, both as regards proportion and perspective, color and light. The air is aglow with the warmth and brightness of a mellow October afternoon, and from the descending sun radiates a halo of almost supernatural glory.

BARRY GRAY

S. R. GIFFORD'S "GORGE IN THE MOUNTAINS."

From Mr. McEntee's studio [in the Tenth Street Studio Building, New York] we pass to that of S. R. Gifford, and are privileged to see upon his easel, the largest, latest, and ripest product of his affluent genius. Mr. Gifford's picture represents nature, opulent and triumphant, as McEntee's [*Virginia*] depicts it sad and devastated. Mr. Gifford's picture is nature in the full radiance of her beauty, bathed in the light of an afternoon sun, steeped in golden splendor, and mellow with the ripe luxuriance of Autumn color. It is entitled "A Gorge in the Mountains." Every way worthy of the genius of the painter, it yet surprises us as being greater in some respects, than any previous work. There are passages of color and execution so delicate and tender, as almost to mock the sense. But the technical part of a work of genius is the least part except as the result is dependent upon the perfection of particulars. In the presence of the work of a man of talent, we studiously observe the manipulation and rendering of parts; in the presence of the work of a man of genius, we yield ourselves, whether we will or no, to the currents of thought and emotion which flow from it and become one with the picture, accept it as the representation of an idea, and forget the man and the artist to do homage to a work into which he has crowded and packed the best elements of his nature.

This picture is a picture of the poet. None more so. And sitting before it, bathed in the affluence and warmth of its light, luxuriating in its color, having our thought steeped in the delicious indolence of its atmosphere, and aroused by the magnitude and wealth of its spirit, we have no care, but, sun-steeped at noon, ask that every pore of our body may become a gate through which sensation may flow, and every nerve an avenue along which may course the subtle messengers

charged with the secret of its beauty. We readily confess to the most unbounded admiration for this work—"A Gorge in the Mountains"—crowned by the sun, which shines in mellow glory down and over their towering and russet sides, swims over the gorge, over the lake in the hills, and inundates every nook and cranny of nature with its light. This is one of the most difficult effects of nature to represent, and Mr. Gifford stands alone in giving its richness and affluent beauty.

There are those of our artists who have given us the tenderness and delicacy of the waves of light flowing from the sun, but none the opulence and magnificence, the mellow richness, such as we find in Mr. Gifford's work. The picture is a dream of beauty—a poem of light. Do you ask for splendor, for opulence of spirit, for mellowness of color, for space, for air?—you have all here. It is one of the few great landscapes of American art. It is a perfect marvel of color. The sense of paint is never present, the idea of a picture is foreign to us when before this matchless expression of artistic genius. What words have we to utter in the presence of such a triumph of art? No combinations of language can picture its opulent beauty; no succession of sentences can so wrap our senses in delight, and make us reel with the intoxication of sensuous beauty, as is done by Mr. Gifford's "Gorge in the Mountains." Words must swim in color, and be steeped in warmth,—they must be saturated with expression and light, to convey to the reader, anything of this "Gorge in the Mountains." To fail to see, nay, to *feel*, all that it is, is to be stupid—is to be dead to the mellow glory of an afternoon sun, unresponsive to the delicious harmonies of Autumn color.

PROTEUS.

Art Feuilleton. BY ATTICUS. ART IN NEW YORK.

... From Mr. [Richard William] Hubbard's room [in the Tenth Street Studio Building] we pass to that of

S. R. GIFFORD,

where we find a large picture, which shows perhaps the very culmination of Mr. Gifford's genius, entitled "A Gorge in the Mountains," one of the most truly great pictures ever painted in this country; remarkable for the tenderness and richness of its color, for the affluence of its beauty, and for the floods of mellow light which inundate the mountain tops, and rain over and in the gorge, down which tumbles a stream, and at whose base a lake lies full open to the crowning splendor of the afternoon sun, which it receives as the eyes of an opulent natured woman receives, in indolent repose, the full tenderness and glory of her lover's passion-veiled eyes. Mr. Gifford expresses space

and air on every square inch of his canvas, and by simple but indescribable means pores [*sic*] over his picture shafts of glorious and transfiguring light.

The impression of this picture, of which we now speak, is so great and satisfactory, that it were an insult to its matchless beauty and affluence to stop and question the truthfulness of its detail or the completeness of its realization of particulars. It would be like estimating the humanity and greatness of *Hamlet* by the particulars of his physical being, and we should say he was a *reality* to us, because the sword exercise with *Laertes* made him scant of breath, and drew from the *Queen* the remark, "He's fat!" It is the impression and not the particulars for which a picture is painted; and only so far as that impression is dependent on the management and presentation of accessories are these of importance to us.

NOTES

I would like to thank Kevin Avery for his encouragement and assistance with several factual matters, and Franklin Kelly and Merl M. Moore Jr. for their ready responsiveness to my numerous questions.

- Gifford enclosed his "List of Some of My Chief Pictures" with a letter to the Reverend O. B. Frothingham, written from Hudson, N.Y., November 6, 1874 (Sanford Robinson Gifford and Gifford Family Papers, 1845–1966, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., reel D10, frames 1220–22). The list itself, updated in 1880, is transcribed with annotations in Ila Weiss, *Poetic Landscape: The Art and Experience of Sanford R. Gifford* (Newark, Del., 1987), pp. 327–30.
- Weiss, *Poetic Landscape*, is the most comprehensive treatment to date. In addition, see especially James Thomas Flexner, *That Wilder Image: The Painting of America's Native School from Thomas Cole to Winslow Homer* (New York, 1962); Ila Weiss, *Sanford Robinson Gifford (1823–1880)* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1968; published New York and London, 1977); Nicolai Cikovsky Jr., *Sanford Robinson Gifford (1823–1880)*, exh. cat., University of Texas Art Museum, Austin (Austin, 1970); Kynaston McShine, ed., *The Natural Paradise: Painting in America, 1800–1950*, exh. cat., Museum of Modern Art, New York (New York, 1976); Natalie Spassky et al., *American Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 2, *A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born between 1816 and 1845* (New York, 1985) (biography and catalogue entries by Natalie Spassky); Ila Weiss, *Sanford R. Gifford*, exh. cat., Alexander Gallery, New York (New York, 1986); John K. Howat et al., *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1987) (biography and catalogue entries by Kevin J. Avery); Catherine Hoover Voorsanger and John K. Howat, eds., *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825–1861*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 2000); Andrew Wilton and Tim Barringer, *American Sublime: Landscape Painting in the United States, 1820–1880*, exh. cat., Tate Britain, London (Princeton, N.J., 2002).
- Roland Van Zandt, *The Catskill Mountain House* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1966; reprint, Cornwallville, N.Y., 1979), p. 362 n. 41; noted in Spassky et al., *American Paintings*, p. 170.
- "The National Academy," *Century* (New York), April 16, 1859, p. 5.
- Bruno, "Correspondence of the Journal. Art and Artists of New York. New York, November 29, 1860," *Providence (R.I.) Daily Journal*, December 4, 1860, p. 2. The writer's lengthy discussions of Church, Gifford, and American art in general were soon reprised in New York journals.
- "(Written for the New York Leader.) Studies of Life. The Studio Building," *Leader* (New York), March 9, 1861, p. 1.
- Periwnkle, "From New York. Fresh Gossip of Books, Authors, Art and Artists. From Our Own Correspondent. New York, February 12, 1862," *Springfield (Mass.) Daily Republican*, February 15, 1862, p. 1.
A fuller, cognate description of Gifford of later date appears in "Art Articles. S. R. Gifford," *Citizen* (New York), March 16, 1867, p. 8. The writer, signing him- or herself "Bayles," was escorted by Worthington Whittredge through "worse than labyrinthine passage ways" to Gifford's quarters at the Tenth Street Studio Building. Whittredge then "left me to make my peace with the very amiable lion whom I had dared to beard in his den. . . ." "Bayles" found Gifford "very different" in person than his works suggested: "He is tall, slim, about forty years old (though seemingly at least ten years younger), somewhat unprepossessing in appearance, and looking as though patient and devoted labor had impaired his health and weakened his constitution. There is nothing in his appearance to indicate much physical or mental vigor; but when once you engage in conversation with him, you forget everything else in the interest created by the fresh and original ideas he somehow manages to weave into a discussion on the most commonplace topics. He is evidently a critical student of human nature, and more of a philosopher than any one I have yet seen in his profession."
- Periwnkle, "From New York. From Our Own Correspondent. New York, March 24, 1863. The Last Artists' Reception," *Springfield (Mass.) Daily Republican*, March 28, 1863, p. 2.
- The principal modern discussions of New York art exhibitions and studios of the period are found in Annette Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building: Artist-Entrepreneurs from the Hudson River School to the American Impressionists*, exh. cat., Parrish Art Museum, Southampton, N.Y. (Southampton, N.Y., 1997); and Carrie Rebora Barratt, "Mapping the Venues: New York City Art Exhibitions," in *Art and the Empire City*, ed. Voorsanger and Howat, pp. 47–81.
- My data for this paragraph and the previous one derive from numerous press reports of the period, some of them cited in the notes below. The phenomenon of New York art receptions in general, with particular reference to Dodworth's, was discussed by "Nor'Wester," a Manhattan-based writer, in "Letter from New York. Correspondence of the Boston Post. New York, Feb. 5, 1859," *Boston Post*, February 7, 1859, p. 2. For the Cooper Union and its receptions, another account by Nor'Wester, "Letter from New York. Correspondence of the Boston Post. New York, April 21, 1860," *Boston Post*, April 23, 1860, p. 1, is indicative. The Plymouth Church charity exhibits were advertised and chronicled in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 14–19, 1861, and November 10 and 12, 1862; see also the report "Art Gossip," *New York Evening Post*, October 12, 1861, p. 1. A New York correspondent for the *Springfield (Mass.) Daily Republican*, February 13, 1867, p. 1, reported spontaneous dancing at a National Academy of Design reception.

11. M.C.A., "From New York. From Our Own Correspondent. New York, Thursday, May 2," *Springfield (Mass.) Daily Republican*, May 4, 1861, p. 1; *Leader* (New York), May 4, 1861, p. 4; Enoch Easel, "Art at Washington. Correspondence of the Commercial Advertiser. Washington, February 17," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, February 18, 1862, p. 2.
12. "Personal," *Home Journal* (New York), August 3, 1861, p. 3; Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Art Intelligence," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, September 28, 1861, p. 1; Weiss, *Sanford R. Gifford*, 1986, n.p.; Weiss, *Poetic Landscape*, pp. 92–93. Whittredge himself essayed the Clove several times. Anthony F. Janson, *Whittredge* (New York, 1989), illustrates three of Whittredge's more or less contemporaneous studio paintings that generally resemble Gifford's *A Gorge in the Mountains*.
13. "Fine Arts," *New York Herald*, March 2, 1861, p. 7.
14. Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Art Intelligence," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, March 9, 1861, p. 2. Benson principally used the pseudonyms "Proteus" and "Sordello." The résumé of current artists' activities, "The Artists: Where They Are, and What They Are Doing," *Independent* (New York), August 13, 1863, p. 8, identified "Proteus," the writer, as Eugene Benson, the artist (also mentioned elsewhere in the column as a painter).
While Benson's career is beyond the scope of this essay, his tenure as chief art commentator for the *New York Commercial Advertiser* between the summer of 1860 and December 1863, and his resumption of the position from late 1864 into 1866, will be new to modern scholarship. The hiatus, as Robert Scholnick astutely surmised, is explained by Benson's having worked for the New York weekly the *Round Table* from its founding in December 1863 until its suspension in mid-1864. Benson's literary pursuits are otherwise summarized in James S. Parry, "Baudelaire's First American Critic: Eugene Benson," *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 2 (1957), pp. 65–71; and Robert Scholnick, "Between Realism and Romanticism: The Curious Career of Eugene Benson," *American Literary Realism* 4 (autumn 1981), pp. 242–61.
15. Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Our Artists. II. S. R. Gifford," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, October 17, 1861, p. 1. Four clippings of this article have descended through Gifford's family (Gifford Papers, reel D33).
16. Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Artists' Reception—Brooklyn Academy of Music," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, December 27, 1861, p. 2. Gifford also sent a *Windsor Castle* (no. 30), and Bierstadt sent *Picket Duty in Virginia* (also called *Picket Duty near Fall's Church*; no. 70; Century Association, New York) to the same exhibition.
17. Journalists attending the reception referred to three works by Gifford in their reviews, though none named more than two in a single article. Hence, in 1862 Gifford's paintings probably were divided between the downstairs gallery and his upstairs studio, as was more clearly the case at the Tenth Street Studio Building reception of one year later.
18. Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Artists' Reception at 'Dodworth's,'" *New York Commercial Advertiser*, March 14, 1862, p. 2; "Artists' Reception," *New-York Times*, March 14, 1862, p. 5. Benson's poetic but elliptical discussion of Gifford's picture could have resulted from insufficient attention to it. Reporting a prior gathering at Dodworth's (Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Art. Artists' Reception—Dodworth's Studio Building," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, February 14, 1862, p. 1), Benson was uncertain that a contribution by Gifford that evening represented the "Bronx River."
19. Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Art in New York. National Academy of Design," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, April 4, 1862, p. 1.
20. Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Art Intelligence," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, June 12, 1862, p. 1.; Proteus [Eugene Benson], "(Correspondence of the Transcript). New York, July 16th, 1862. Artistic Matters in New York," *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, July 17, 1862, p. 1.
21. "Art Items," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, October 20, 1862, p. 2.
22. Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Art Intelligence. Recent Works in the Studios of Albany and New York, Piloty's Nero, &c.," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, October 29, 1862, p. 1; "Art Items in New York," *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, November 18, 1862, p. 1.
23. Proteus, "Art Intelligence," October 29, 1862 (see note 22 above).
24. Barry Gray [Robert Barry Coffin], "New York, Jan. 14th, 1863. An Evening at the Century Club," *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, January 16, 1863, p. 1; "Artists' Reception," *New York Daily Tribune*, January 17, 1863, p. 4; "The Artists' Reception," *New-York Times*, January 19, 1863, p. 2; "(For the Leader.) Art Feuilleton. Artists' Reception at Dodworth's," *Leader* (New York), January 24, 1863, p. 1. In his report for the *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* just cited, Robert Barry Coffin ("Barry Gray") described one of the two works Gifford displayed at the Century Association as "a finished study for a large picture just marked out on his canvas, a 'Ravine in the Mountains' [D. Willis James's painting], somewhat similar to his 'Gorge,' [the Metropolitan Museum picture] just finished."
The Warner Collection study is illustrated in Tom Armstrong et al., *An American Odyssey: The Warner Collection of American Fine and Decorative Arts*, Gulf States Paper Corporation, Tuscaloosa, Alabama (New York, 2001), p. 85. The related study was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, October 17, 1980, lot 122. Kevin Avery located the latter reference for me.
25. Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Sixth Reception of the Brooklyn Art Association," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, March 4, 1863, p. 1.
26. "Fine Arts. The Brooklyn Artists' Reception," *New York Evening Post*, March 5, 1863, p. 1.
27. "Fine Arts," *New York Herald*, December 14, 1862, p. 5. The reporter also announced Bierstadt's forthcoming *Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak* (1863; see Figure 9). At least two clippings of this article were retained by the Gifford family (Gifford Papers, reel D33).
28. Periwinkle, "From New York. From Our Own Correspondent. New York, December 24, 1862," *Springfield (Mass.) Daily Republican*, December 25, 1862, p. 1, noted Coffin's change of career. Having also previously worked for the *New York Evening Post*, Coffin continued to do so intermittently. His monographic articles for the *Leader*, "Bierstadt, the Artist," January 17, 1863, p. 2 (cited in Nancy K. Anderson and Linda S. Ferber, with a contribution by Helena S. Wright, *Albert Bierstadt: Art & Enterprise*, exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum [Brooklyn, 1991], p. 177), and "McEntee, the Artist," January 24, 1863, p. 1, followed in quick succession the one on Gifford.
29. Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Our Artists. Number XIII. T. [sic] Huntington," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, January 7, 1863, p. 1.
30. Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Art Intelligence. Artists' Reception at Dodworth's," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, January 21, 1863, p. 1. Ironically, either Benson did not attend the Studio Building reception of February 3 or his editors at the *Commercial Advertiser* decided not to print a report about it.

31. Proteus, "Artistic Matters in New York" (see note 20 above). Benson's lengthy review of the completed painting, "Art. Mr. Church and His Painting of the Volcano of Cotopaxi," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, March 21, 1863, p. 1, was less enthusiastic.
32. Gordon Hendricks, *Albert Bierstadt: Painter of the American West* (New York, 1973), p. 140. The debut exhibition of Church's *Cotopaxi* took place at the Goupil/Knoedler Gallery on Broadway between mid-March and mid-May 1863. After the Studio Building reception Bierstadt sent *The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak* to Boston and thence on a tour of Northeastern cities and towns; he did not attempt a sustained New York City engagement for it until February 1864.
33. Barry Gray [Robert Barry Coffin], "New York, Feb. 4, 1863. Artists' Reception," *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, February 7, 1863, p. 1, listed the names of several well-known attendees. Besides the review just cited and those referred to below (see notes 34, 36), the principal accounts of the reception were those in the *New York Herald*, February 4, 1863, p. 4; *New York Evening Post*, February 4, 1863, p. 3; *Leader* (New York), February 7, 1863, p. 1; *Boston Post*, February 9, 1863, p. 1; *New York Illustrated News*, February 21, 1863, p. 242; and *Knickerbocker* (New York) 33 (March 1863), p. 265.
34. [Parke Godwin?], "Fine Arts. The Studio Pictures," *New York Evening Post*, February 5, 1863, p. 2. Parke Godwin was an art critic for the *Evening Post* at or about that time.
35. Barry Gray, "Artists' Reception" (see note 33 above).
36. Periwinkle, "From New York. From Our Own Correspondent. New York, February 10, 1863. The Last Artists' Reception," *Springfield (Mass.) Daily Republican*, February 14, 1863, p. 1; "Reception at the Studios in Tenth Street," *New York Daily Tribune*, February 4, 1863, p. 8.
37. "Another Artists' Reception," *New York Daily Tribune*, April 4, 1863, p. 2.
38. "Reception at the Tenth Street Studio," *New York Evening Post*, April 3, 1863, p. 2. According to a follow-up report on Hays's work in general, published by the same paper five months later ("Fine Arts," *New York Evening Post*, September 25, 1863, p. 1), however, Hays's halcyon Missouri River scene, which completed his trilogy of scenes of American bison and the American prairies, was still "very far yet from completion." The picture seen in April 1863 therefore may have been a preparatory study (in that case, its whereabouts are now unknown). The finished, full-size trilogy, now divided among three museum collections, is illustrated in Joni L. Kinsey, *Plain Pictures: Images of the American Prairie*, exh. cat., University of Iowa Museum of Art, Iowa City (Washington, D.C., and London, 1996), pp. 62–63.
39. Atticus, "Art Feuilleton," *Leader* (New York), May 2, 1863, p. 1. *Harper's Weekly's* reporter ("The Lounger. The National Academy of Design," May 2, 1863, p. 274) noted that the picture "attracts much attention."
40. "National Academy of Design. First Gallery," *New York World*, April 24, 1863, p. 4.
41. *Swiss Lake* was sympathetically discussed by Bierstadt's future traveling companion to the West in 1863, Fitz Hugh Ludlow, in the latter's signed article, "The Artists' Fund Exhibition," *Leader* (New York), December 20, 1862, p. 2.
An ambitious work, the Fogg Museum picture (see Wilton and Barringer, *American Sublime*, pp. 230–31) is thus far unsupported by early documentation. It is tempting to equate it with the more ambitious of two finished paintings he presented at a Tenth Street Studio Building reception on February 4, 1864. At least three press reports summarized the picture in question, none offering a title for it. The article entitled "Fine Arts," *New York Times*, February 5, 1864, p. 4, noted that "in the large saloon [on the ground floor], Mr. BIERSTADT exhibited a remarkably fine landscape, with great tumultuous mountains, and wild flashes of aerial light, and distant visions of feathery waterfalls and streaming masses of clouds hurtling through it"; the review, "The Artists' Reception," *New York Evening Post*, February 5, 1864, p. 2, described it as "one of Rocky Mountain scenery, with frowning rocks, dashing waterfalls and wild, flying clouds"; and "Fine Arts," *New York World*, February 6, 1864, p. 2, referred to "a remarkably grand and beautiful landscape of mountain, lake, waterfall, forest, and sunlight." The lone painting Bierstadt sent to the National Academy of Design in 1864, laconically entitled *Landscape* (no. 259), was not the one he had shown earlier at the Studio Building reception.
42. "The National Academy of Design," *New York Journal of Commerce*, April 14, 1863, p. 2.
43. [Parke Godwin?], "The National Academy of Design. Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition. Second Article," *New York Evening Post*, May 16, 1863, p. 1; Rev. Charles Rockwell, *The Catskill Mountains and the Region Around* (New York, 1867; reprint, Cornwallville, N.Y., 1973), p. 321; Weiss, *Poetic Landscape*, p. 231. Interestingly, at the end of the year, the *Evening Post's* unsigned reviews of the Artists' Fund exhibition made no mention of Gifford's *A Gorge in the Mountains*.
44. *Catalogue of Paintings, Statuary, etc., in the Art Department of the Great North-Western Fair, Held in Chicago, Ill., June 1865, for the Benefit of the U.S. Sanitary Commission and Soldiers' Home*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1865) (copy in the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C., courtesy William H. Gerds); "The Art Gallery," *Chicago Tribune*, June 7, 1865, p. 2. James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerds, comps., *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues from the Beginning through the 1876 Centennial Year* (Boston, 1986), vol. 2, p. 1410, cites the exhibited work under "L. R. Gifford," acknowledging the original typesetting error of the artist's name.
45. Periwinkle, "From New York. From Our Special Correspondent. New York, July 8, 1863. What the Artists Are About," *Springfield (Mass.) Daily Republican*, July 11, 1863, p. 4; Weiss, *Poetic Landscape*, pp. 97–98.
46. Having seen the unfinished canvas at Gifford's studio, Coffin, without referring to the work's size, previewed what he termed "probably the most powerfully painted picture Gifford has yet produced" as a Catskill scene in his article, signed Barry Gray and dated December 1, 1863, "Artists' Fund Society, of New York," *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, December 5, 1863, p. 5. A contemporaneous, unsigned review, "Fine Arts. A New Picture by Gifford," *New York Evening Post*, December 1, 1863, p. 2, discussed the picture in much the same terms. Describing it as finished but also failing to mention its size, the *Post* reporter praised the "thunder storm . . . in the Catskills" and guessed that it might appeal to those who didn't usually admire the artist's work. A third unsigned write-up, probably by Eugene Benson, "Artists' Studios," *Round Table* (New York), December 26, 1863, p. 28, characterized the picture as unfinished. Several weeks later, on February 4, 1864, when Gifford showed *A Storm in the Catskills*, doubtless the same painting, at a New York Studio Building reception (*New York Evening Post*, February 5, 1864; see note 41 above), he therefore may have placed his newest work

within sight of Bierstadt's tempestuous Rocky Mountain scene, our Figure 11.

47. "Another Woman's View of the National Academy of Design," *Leader* (New York), June 3, 1865, p. 2. The correspondent's description of the painting by Gifford shown at the Academy, which she termed "the gem of the whole collection," coincides with our Figure 13: "... Close on the shores of a lake a single, huge, mossy boulder rises on a level with the tops of the trees. A drowsy heat pervades the storm-weighed atmosphere. A wild gathering of dark, vaporous thunder-clouds, with their solemn hush before the black clouds break, / 'Hang i' the air.' / One lone, stray sunbeam pierces the dark masses of vapor, and falls aslant a clump of trees, of a vivid, intensely warm crimson and gold, that melt and flow into a liquid of daring intensity of color, seemingly transforming the darkness of the storm-laden, brooding clouds into passionate hope and fitful gleams of light. A broad sheet of water, reflecting in its ruffled bosom the coming tempest that blackens all the sky with wrath, surges restlessly on, though stirred by no rough wind. The awful silence of the picture can be *felt*—ay, *felt*—in all its mingled grandeur and wild, unearthly mournfulness."
48. "The Fine Arts. Artists' Fund Exhibition," *New York Daily Tribune*, November 13, 1863, p. 8. Another report, "New York Artists'

Fund Society," *New York Weekly Journal of Commerce*, November 19, 1863, p. 1, mentioned "a gorgeous landscape by Gifford": *A Gorge in the Mountains*. The painting's presence at the Artists' Fund is recorded in Yarnall and Gerdt's, *American Art Exhibition Catalogues*, vol. 2, p. 1417.

49. "The Artists' Fund," *New-York Times*, November 21, 1863, p. 5.
50. Barry Gray, "Artists' Fund Society" (see note 46 above).
51. Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Fine Arts. Pictures at the Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Artists' Fund Society," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, December 17, 1863, p. 1. Four months earlier, Benson had favorably compared Gifford's work in general with that of the poet James Russell Lowell (Proteus [Eugene Benson], "Our Poets and Our Artists: A Vindication of the Latter," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, August 28, 1863, p. 1). Benson's column on the Artists' Fund exhibition was his last with the *Commercial Advertiser* for almost a year (see note 14 above). However, his unsigned disquisition, "American Genius as Expressed in Art," *Round Table* (New York), December 26, 1863, pp. 21–22, swiftly reprised his esteem for Gifford. There the critic commended Gifford's supposed unique ability among his compatriots to depict "something approaching the magnificent, the opulent, and the intense in nature," and specified *A Gorge in the Mountains* as representative "of the opulent in nature."

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CONTENTS

The Passas Painter: A Protoattic "Realist"?

MARY B. MOORE

A Group of Hellenistic Silver Objects in the
Metropolitan Museum

PIETRO GIOVANNI GUZZO

The Wilton "Montmorency" Armor: An Italian
Armor for Henry VIII

CLAUDE BLAIR AND STUART W. PYHRR

Fit for a Royal Heart?: A French Renaissance Relief
at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

COLIN EISLER

Nicolas Trigault, SJ: A Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens

ANNE-MARIE LOGAN AND LIAM M. BROCKEY

Benjamin Franklin's Daughter

KATHARINE BAETJER WITH THE ASSISTANCE
OF JOSEPHINE DOBKIN

The Campeche Chair in The Metropolitan Museum
of Art

CYBÈLE TRIONE GONTAR

Sanford Robinson Gifford's *Gorge in the Mountains*
Revived

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