

Metropolitan Museum Journal

Volume 39/2004



METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL Volume 39 / 2004

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 in the fine arts.

The article that opens Volume 39 discusses two almost identical amethyst royal-name scarabs discovered in 1994 at Dahshur in a cache of jewelry hidden in the burial place of Queen Weret II. She may have been the main consort of King Senwosret III, fifth king of Dynasty 12 (ca. 1878–1840 B.C.) and one of the most distinguished rulers of the Middle Kingdom. Scenes depicting the care, feeding, and training of horses on several Attic and non-Attic vases in the Metropolitan prompted the second article, which also relates the visual evidence to what ancient writers had to say about horse husbandry in Greece before 400 B.C. A complex, imposing incense burner, a unique example of Indian art made at the very beginnings of Buddhist art in Gandhara, is the subject of the third study. In Florence between 1613 and 1620 Artemisia Gentileschi showed her astonishing ability to remain open to new stimuli and to remake herself as a painter; that crucial period is examined in the fourth article, which also contains an appendix of additional notes on several paintings included in the Gentileschi exhibition held in Rome, New York, and Saint Louis in 2001–2. The Museum's recent acquisition of the exquisite *Landscape with Wine Harvest* offered an occasion to examine the splendid but hitherto little studied landscape drawings of Pietro da Cortona, who is more famous today for his figural compositions. The sixth article presents two drawings from the Museum's collection as evidence of the relationship between Charles-Joseph Natoire and François Boucher, contemporaries whose careers paralleled one another and sometimes overlapped in the mid-eighteenth century. When the new Metropolitan Museum of Art opened its doors to the public in 1872, on view were 174 European old master paintings, the foundation of the permanent collection. The events that led to the purchase of those paintings in 1871 and the men who organized it come to life in the seventh and final article.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL Volume 39 / 2004

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 in the fine arts.

The article that opens Volume 39 discusses two almost identical amethyst royal-name scarabs discovered in 1994 at Dahshur in a cache of jewelry hidden in the burial place of Queen Weret II. She may have been the main consort of King Senwosret III, fifth king of Dynasty 12 (ca. 1878–1840 B.C.) and one of the most distinguished rulers of the Middle Kingdom. Scenes depicting the care, feeding, and training of horses on several Attic and non-Attic vases in the Metropolitan prompted the second article, which also relates the visual evidence to what ancient writers had to say about horse husbandry in Greece before 400 B.C. A complex, imposing incense burner, a unique example of Indian art made at the very beginnings of Buddhist art in Gandhara, is the subject of the third study. In Florence between 1613 and 1620 Artemisia Gentileschi showed her astonishing ability to remain open to new stimuli and to remake herself as a painter; that crucial period is examined in the fourth article, which also contains an appendix of additional notes on several paintings included in the Gentileschi exhibition held in Rome, New York, and Saint Louis in 2001–2. The Museum's recent acquisition of the exquisite *Landscape with Wine Harvest* offered an occasion to examine the splendid but hitherto little studied landscape drawings of Pietro da Cortona, who is more famous today for his figural compositions. The sixth article presents two drawings from the Museum's collection as evidence of the relationship between Charles-Joseph Natoire and François Boucher, contemporaries whose careers paralleled one another and sometimes overlapped in the mid-eighteenth century. When the new Metropolitan Museum of Art opened its doors to the public in 1872, on view were 174 European old master paintings, the foundation of the permanent collection. The events that led to the purchase of those paintings in 1871 and the men who organized it come to life in the seventh and final article.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

Volume 39 / 2004

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Distributed by BREPOLSPUBLISHERS

Editorial Board

KEVIN J. AVERY

Associate Curator, American Paintings and Sculpture

KATHARINE BAETJER

Curator, European Paintings

JAMES DAVID DRAPER

Henry R. Kravis Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts

JULIE JONES

Curator in Charge, Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas

JOAN R. MERTENS

Curator, Greek and Roman Art

This publication is made possible by a gift from Assunta Sommella Peluso, Ada Peluso, and Romano I. Peluso, in memory of Ignazio Peluso.

Additional support has been provided by The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families.

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art
John P. O'Neill, Editor in Chief and General Manager of Publications
Margaret Rennolds Chace, Managing Editor
Matthew Thurber, Production Manager
Minjee Cho, Desktop Publishing

Manuscripts submitted for the *Journal* and all correspondence concerning them should be addressed to James David Draper. Guidelines for contributors are given on the last page of this volume.

For information about subscribing to the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* and to order back issues, please write to the Periodicals Department, Brepols Publishers, Begijnhof 67, 2300 Turnhout, Belgium; fax + 32 14 42 89 19; e-mail periodicals.publishers@brepols.com.

ISBN 1-58839-130-2 (MMA), 2-503-51725-0 (Brepols)

ISSN 0077-8958

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 68-28799

Copyright © 2004 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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

"Natoire and Boucher: Two Studies for a Don Quixote Tapestry" was translated from the French by M. E. D. Laing. Photographs of works in the Metropolitan Museum's collections, unless otherwise attributed, are by the Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Designed by Bruce Campbell, in a format established by Peter Oldenburg and Bruce Campbell

Printed in Spain

Contents

Colorplates	7
“Two Royal-Name Scarabs of King Amenemhat II from Dahshur” DAPHNA BEN-TOR	17
“Horse Care as Depicted on Greek Vases before 400 B.C.” MARY B. MOORE	35
“A Buddhist Incense Burner from Gandhara” ELIZABETH ROSEN STONE	69
“Becoming Artemisia: Afterthoughts on the Gentileschi Exhibition” KEITH CHRISTIANSEN	101
“Landscape Drawings by Pietro da Cortona” JÖRG MARTIN MERZ	127
“Natoire and Boucher: Two Studies for a Don Quixote Tapestry” FRANÇOISE JOULIE	153
“Buying Pictures for New York: The Founding Purchase of 1871” KATHARINE BAETJER	161

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.

COLORPLATES



Plate 1. Two scarabs from the treasure of Queen Weret II from Dahshur (excavation 1994.1078/1-2), ca. 1850 B.C. Amethyst; left: L. 2.56 cm, W. 1.64 cm, H. 1.19 cm; right: L. 2.57 cm, W. 1.64 cm, H. 1.17 cm. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 98778AB. See pp. 17-33



Plate 2. Attic red-figured cup attributed to Onesimos showing an African groom blowing dust off a currycomb, ca. 490 B.C. H. 9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.71). See pp. 35-67



Plate 3. Incense burner. Gandhara, 1st century A.D. Bronze, H. 82.6 cm. Collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art (L.1999.74.2). See pp. 69–99



Plate 4. Artemisia (and Orazio) Gentileschi (Italian, 1593–1652/53). *Susanna and the Elders*, 1610. Oil on canvas, 170 x 119 cm. Collection of Graf von Schönborn, Pommersfelden, Germany. See pp. 101–26



Plate 5. Pietro da Cortona (Italian, 1597–1669). *Landscape with Wine Harvest*, ca. 1630. Brush and gray wash, with pen and brown ink, over black chalk, 36.7 x 48.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 2002 Benefit Fund, 2003 (2003.101). See pp. 127–52



Plate 6. Charles-Joseph Natoire (French, 1700–1777). *Standing Male Figure with Left Arm Extended: Study for the Figure of Pedro Recio*, 1734–35. Red chalk, heightened with white; black-chalk stroke at bottom of sleeve; framing lines in pen and brown ink, 41.5 x 28.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Emma Swan Hall Gift, in memory of Nathalie Swan Rahv, 1983 (1983.266). See pp. 153–59



Plate 7. Here attributed to François Boucher (French, 1703–1770). *Standing Male Figure with Left Arm Extended: Study for the Figure of Pedro Recio*, 1734–35. Red chalk, heightened with white, 38.7 x 26.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1965 (65.132). See pp. 153–59



Plate 8. Jan Josephsz. van Goyen (Dutch, 1596–1656). *View of Haarlem and the Haarlemmer Meer*, 1646. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.62). See pp. 161–245

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM JOURNAL
Volume 39 / 2004

Two Royal-Name Scarabs of King Amenemhat II from Dahshur

DAPHNA BEN-TOR

Curator, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem

TWO AMETHYST ROYAL-NAME SCARABS of very fine workmanship were found among the jewelry of Queen Weret II (ca. 1850 B.C.), who was buried in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur (Figures 1–8; Colorplate 1).¹ Noted for his military campaigns and building activities, Senwosret III,² fifth king of Dynasty 12 (ca. 1878–1840 B.C.), was one of the most distinguished rulers of the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2010–1640 B.C.). His funerary complex at Dahshur (Figure 9) consisted of a main pyramid, a pyramid temple, and small pyramids of queens and other female members of the royal family. Pyramid 9 contained the burial remains of Queen Weret II (Figures 10–12), which include fragmentary inscriptions identifying her as the king's wife. The large dimensions of her tomb and its location under the king's pyramid suggest that she was the king's main consort.³

The queen's jewelry deposit was discovered at the pyramid complex in 1994 during excavations directed by Dieter Arnold for The Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁴ The jewelry was found in a small chamber cut into the east wall of the bottom of the shaft leading to both the queen's burial chamber and her ritual south tomb (Figure 11). At the east end of the chamber's north wall was a 53-centimeter-wide niche with a pit in the floor that contained the jewelry; the niche was sealed with a vertical limestone block at its entrance and a horizontal limestone block that covered the soil-filled pit (Figures 11[a], 13, 14). No identifiable remains of a box or other container for the objects were located. Because all of the original strings had completely decayed, the jewelry was mixed with the pit's soil in disarray.⁵

Placement of a royal jewelry deposit at the bottom of a shaft is unique and probably accounts for its survival, since the tomb robbers who pillaged the rest of the queen's burial would not have thought to look

there for valuables. Judging from the limited evidence available, it seems that such royal jewelry was at that time in Egyptian history either laid on the mummy itself or put in containers in the burial chamber or an annex room.⁶ An empty pit also filled with soil—but lacking any remains of objects—was found in Queen Weret II's south tomb and may have been the original resting place of the deposit (Figure 11[b]). It is possible that when alterations were undertaken in the south tomb, the queen's jewelry was moved for safekeeping to the chamber cut into the bottom of the shaft.⁷

Many questions persist as to the original arrangement of the jewelry elements.⁸ Now on display in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, the pieces have been reconstructed; the two amethyst scarabs under discussion here, however, remain as individual items. As a group, Queen Weret II's jewelry conforms to our knowledge of the types of objects placed in burials of royal women in Dynasty 12. They display the same mastery of manufacturing techniques, choice of precious materials, and extraordinary beauty noted by William Hayes in his discussion of the large collection of Middle Kingdom jewelry at The Metropolitan Museum of Art,⁹ which includes an impressive selection of royal jewelry of the type found in the deposit of Queen Weret II, some of which is included in the discussion below (see Figures 20–22).

Almost identical in size, features, and designs, the two royal-name scarabs constitute a nearly perfect pair; both are inscribed with a name of King Amenemhat II (ca. 1919–1885 B.C.). Scarab A (Figures 1–4, Colorplate 1) bears the king's throne name, *nbw-k3w-r*;¹⁰ scarab B (Figures 5–8, Colorplate 1), the king's birth name, *imn-m-h3t*. Both names are preceded by the royal title *ntr nfr* (perfect god) and are enclosed in a distinct variation (see discussion below) of a scroll border.¹¹ Small gold caps enclose both ends of the holes on both scarabs, showing signs of wear that suggest the scarabs were originally strung on gold wires and most likely worn as rings (see Figures 17–19). The

© The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2004
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 39

The notes for this article begin on page 28.

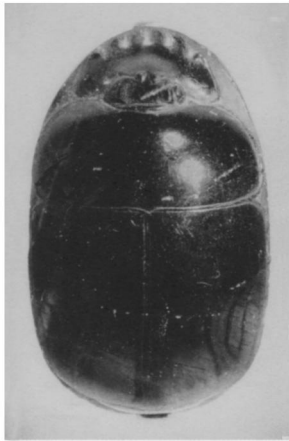


Figure 1. Scarab A from the treasure of Queen Weret II from Dahshur (excavation 1994.1078/1), ca. 1850 B.C. Amethyst, L. 2.56 cm, W. 1.64 cm, H. 1.19 cm. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 98778A. See also Colorplate 1



Figure 2. Base of the scarab in Figure 1, inscribed with the throne name of King Amenemhat II



Figure 3. Head of the scarab in Figure 1

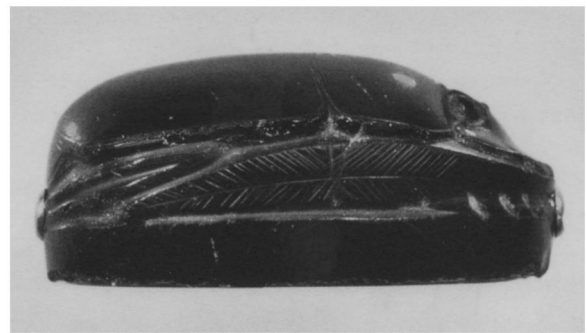


Figure 4. Side view of the scarab in Figure 1



Figure 5. Scarab B from the treasure of Queen Weret II from Dahshur (excavation 1994.1078/2), ca. 1850 B.C. Amethyst, L. 2.57 cm, W. 1.64 cm, H. 1.17 cm. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 98778B. See also Colorplate 1



Figure 6. Base of the scarab in Figure 5, inscribed with the birth name of King Amenemhat II



Figure 7. Head of the scarab in Figure 5



Figure 8. Side view of the scarab in Figure 5

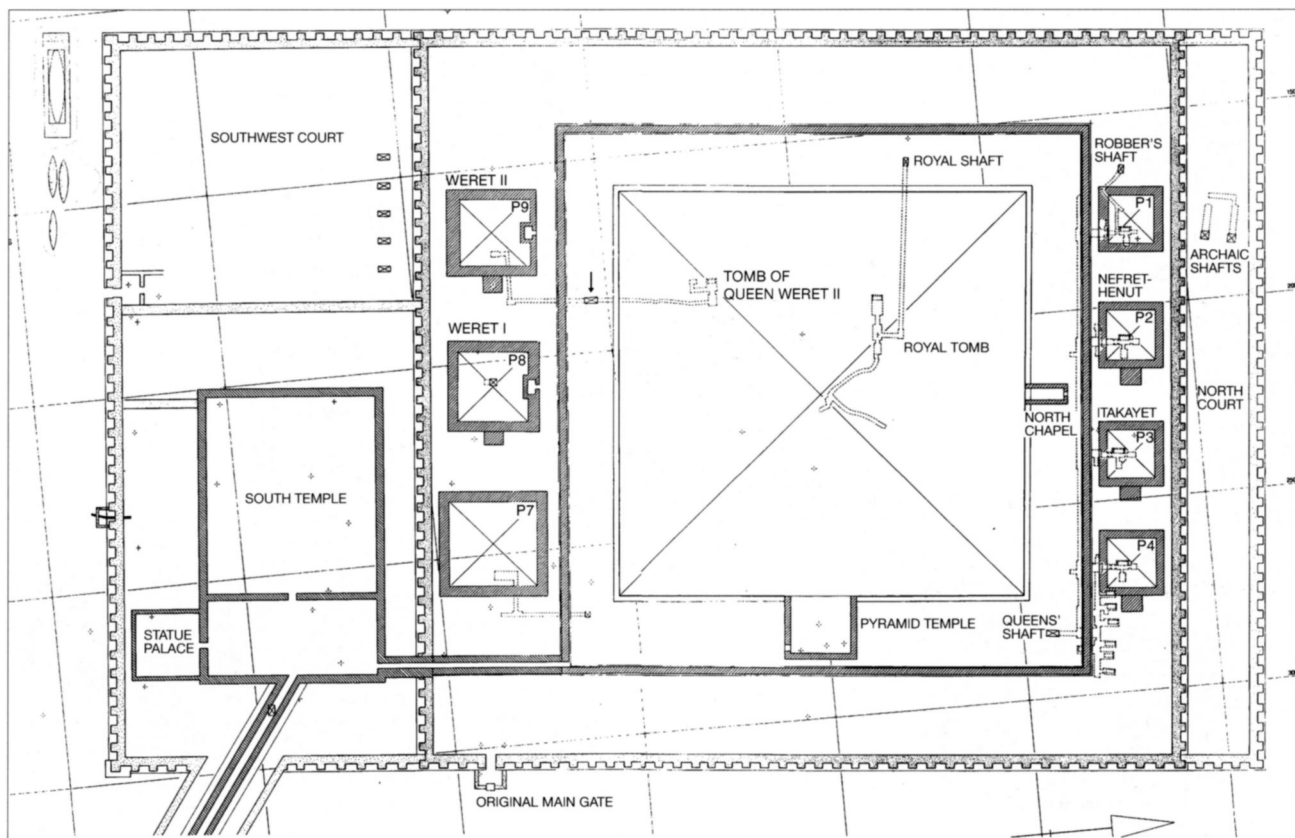


Figure 9. Plan of the pyramid complex of King Senwosret III at Dahshur, with the tomb of Queen Weret II in pyramid 9 (P9). Drawing by Dieter Arnold

plinth edges of both scarabs are chipped, perhaps indicating that gold plates covered the base.¹¹

Considering the limited corpus of royal-name scarabs that can be attributed with certainty to Dynasty 12,¹² the clear archaeological context of these scarabs is of great significance. Their confirmed Dynasty 12 date, some of their particular features, and their association with a royal family member provide invaluable information that may help resolve some of the controversy concerning these objects. Two main issues remain: the date of the initial occurrence of royal-name scarabs (and thus the highly debated question of contemporaneous examples) and their original function.

DATING THE INITIAL OCCURRENCE OF ROYAL-NAME SCARABS

The initial occurrence of royal-name scarabs is currently attributed to Dynasty 12, although the earliest ruler whose name is attested on contemporaneous examples is a subject of debate.¹³ The main difficulty

in determining the absolute dates of early Dynasty 12 scarabs is that most examples have no archaeological provenance. Moreover, those unearthed in excavations were not found in archaeological deposits that can be securely dated to the reigns of the kings whose names they bear. Consequently, the dates proposed for many of these scarabs are based primarily on inconclusive stylistic arguments.¹⁴

It is now generally accepted that no royal-name scarab can be dated to the reign of the first ruler of Dynasty 12, Amenemhat I (ca. 1981–1952 B.C.). The contemporaneity of the relatively large number of scarabs bearing variations of the throne name of his son and successor Senwosret I (*hpr-k3-rʿ*) (ca. 1961–1917 B.C.), however, is highly debated.¹⁵ Most scholars agree that this group includes examples displaying incorrect orthography or distinct late features, which therefore are largely considered to be reissues.¹⁶ Ward argues that those examples that exhibit correct orthography and no distinct late features should be considered to be contemporaneous, thus dating the initial occurrence of royal-name scarabs to the reign of Senwosret I.¹⁷ Ward

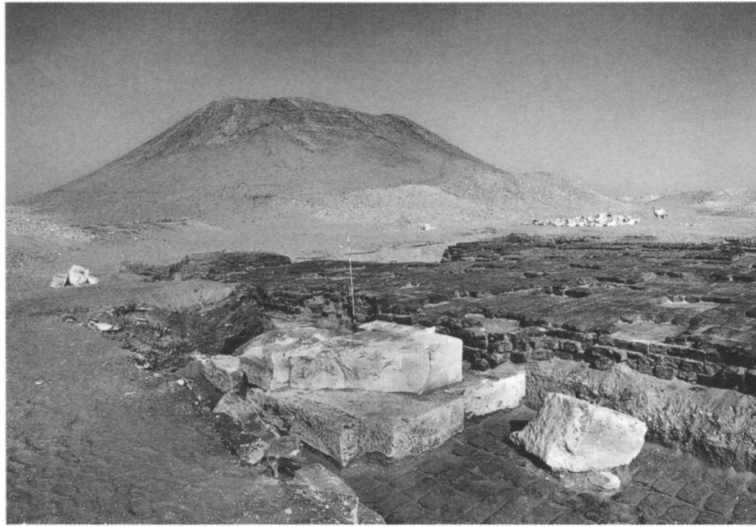


Figure 10. Remains of pyramid 9 at Dahshur with the pyramid of King Senwosret III in the background, seen from the southwest

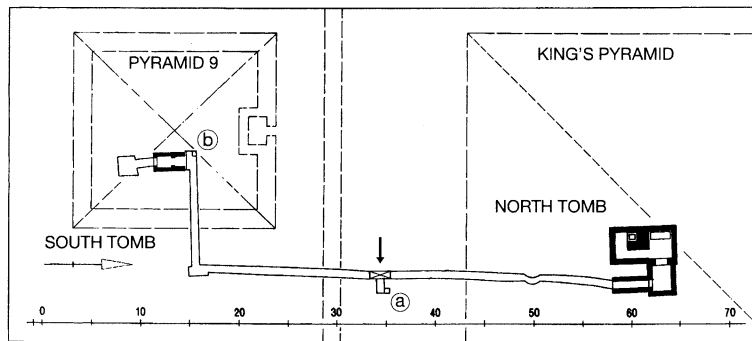


Figure 11. Plan of pyramid 9, showing the ritual south tomb of Queen Weret II and her burial chamber in the north tomb, under the king's pyramid (a: jewelry pit in the chamber cut into the shaft between the south and north tombs; b: empty pit in the south tomb that may have been the original resting place of the jewelry). Drawing by Richard Velleu from a drawing by Dieter Arnold

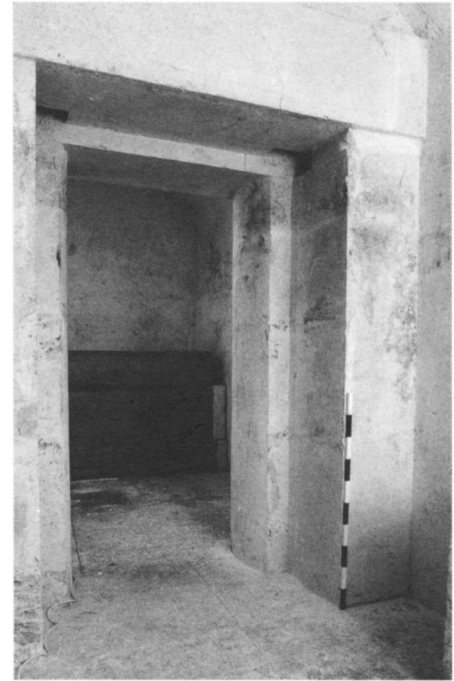


Figure 12. Antechamber of the north tomb of Queen Weret II, seen from the southeast, with her burial chamber and sarcophagus beyond

further proposes that the relatively large number of scarabs bearing this king's throne name reflect the restoration of political stability and the growth of government administration attributed to his reign.¹⁸ Other scholars, arguing that not a single example originated in a securely dated archaeological context, consider the entire group to be reissues associated with the cult of the venerated dead king and date the earliest royal-name scarabs to the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III (between ca. 1878 and 1813 B.C.) in late Dynasty 12.¹⁹ As these conclusions have implications for the original function of royal-name scarabs, and for the religious developments that generated their production, a reexamination of the evidence on which the differing arguments are based is in order.

As dating criteria, the designs and stylistic features of scarabs of the first half of the second millennium B.C. have frequently proven to be inconclusive.²⁰ In recent studies, therefore, it has been widely accepted that a chronological typology of these scarabs must be based on excavated series from clear archaeological contexts.²¹ However, the difficulties associated with dating Middle Kingdom archaeological deposits in Egypt, and Middle Bronze Age deposits (largely dating to the first half of the second millennium B.C.) in the southern Levant (where a significant number of scarabs of this period originated), generated scholarly debate over the absolute dates of many groups.²² Moreover, the Canaanite origin of the bulk of the excavated scarab series from Middle Bronze Age Palestine was not recognized, and regional variations were often attrib-

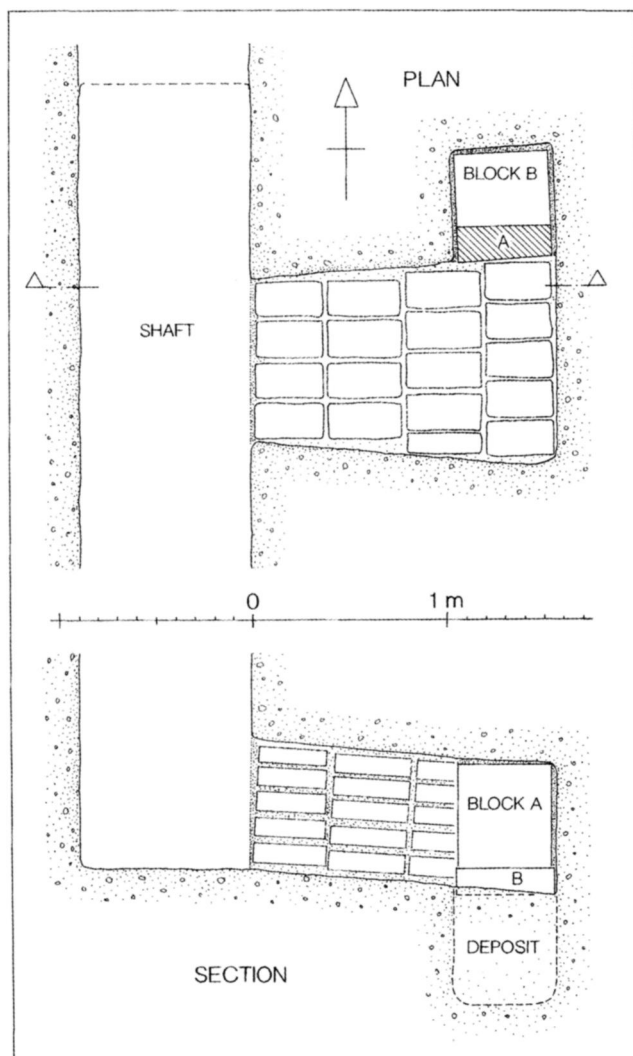


Figure 13. Plan and east-west section through the jewelry pit in the shaft leading to the south and north tombs of Queen Weret II in pyramid 9 at Dahshur. Drawing by Dieter Arnold

uted to chronological differences.²³ These difficulties have been diminished considerably by recent studies of Egyptian pottery of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period (largely dating between 2010 and 1550 B.C.), which provide substantial evidence to establish the relative sequence and absolute dates of Middle Kingdom and Middle Bronze Age deposits in which scarabs were found.²⁴ Based on these studies it is now possible to use excavated scarab series from Egypt and the southern Levant and to distinguish stylistically between Egyptian scarabs of the early and late Middle Kingdom as well as between Egyptian and Canaanite scarabs.²⁵

The reexamination of archaeological deposits at a number of sites in Egypt where the earliest scarabs were found argues for lowering their absolute dates.²⁶

Some of these scarabs, previously dated to the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2150–2010 B.C.; Ward's Periods 3 and 4),²⁷ are now dated to the early Middle Kingdom (late Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12 [ca. 2010–1850 B.C.]).²⁸ The notably small number of scarabs displaying early Middle Kingdom characteristics argues that this group predates the mass production of scarabs in Egypt.²⁹ The archaeological contexts of published groups of scarabs and sealings from Middle Kingdom cemeteries and habitation areas in Egypt and Lower Nubia indicate that the mass production of scarabs in Egypt began in late Dynasty 12, around 1850 B.C., sometime during the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III and probably in association with the religious and administrative developments attested in Egypt during this period.³⁰ The great majority of Middle Kingdom scarabs and seal impressions have been found in late Middle Kingdom cemeteries and administrative units dating from late Dynasty 12 well into Dynasty 13.³¹ Based on the ceramic assemblages associated with them, the bulk of these late Middle Kingdom excavated series date from Dynasty 13,³² although Dynasty 12 examples are probably included in all groups.³³ Most deposits do not allow differentiation between late Dynasty 12 and Dynasty 13 scarabs, and much of the material can therefore only be defined as "late Middle Kingdom."

Scarabs bearing the names of early Dynasty 12 kings exhibit designs and stylistic features that strongly argue for their posthumous production. Not a single example among the scarabs bearing the names of Senwosret I, Amenemhat II, and Senwosret II (reigns dated between ca. 1961 and 1878 B.C.) displays designs or features that are attested on early Middle Kingdom scarabs of Ward's Period 4.³⁴ Moreover, all present

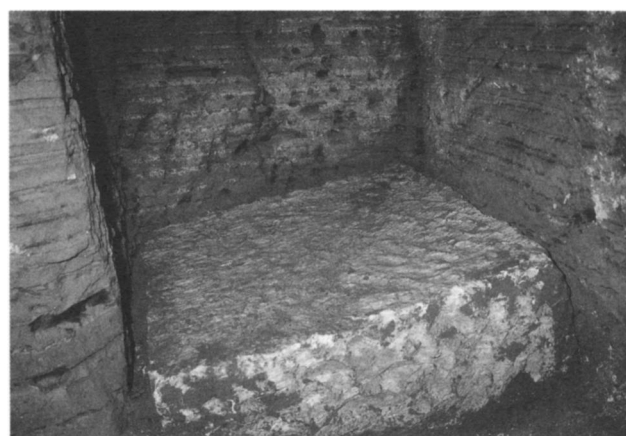
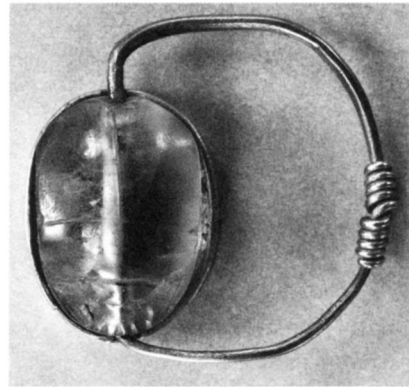


Figure 14. Blocking stone still in position in the jewelry pit in the side chamber cut into the shaft between the tombs of Queen Weret II in pyramid 9 at Dahshur, seen from the southwest



Figures 15 and 16. Scarab from the treasure of Princess Sithathoryunet from el-Lahun, ca. 1859–1813 B.C., with a view of its base inscribed with the throne name of King Amenemhat III surmounting the symbol of millions of years (eternity). Lapis lazuli, L. 1.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Henry Walters Gift, 1916 (16.1.22)



Figures 17 and 18. Scarab with ring from the treasure of Princess Sithathor from Dahshur, ca. 1878–1840 B.C., with a view of the gold plate on the scarab's base inscribed with the throne name of King Senwosret III. Amethyst with gold plate and gold ring, L. 1.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926 (26.7.756)



Figure 19. Scarab with ring from the treasure of Princess Sithathoryunet from el-Lahun, ca. 1887–1813 B.C. Gold inlaid with carnelian, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and blue and green paste, the base a plain gold plate, L. 1.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Henry Walters Gift, 1916 (16.1.24)

either late Middle Kingdom,³⁵ Second Intermediate Period,³⁶ or Canaanite³⁷ characteristics, which suggest their later dates or Canaanite production.³⁸

Supporting evidence for the posthumous production of the scarabs bearing names of early Dynasty 12 kings is provided by the fact that not one of them originated in a contemporaneous archaeological context. Although Ward contends that a scarab bearing the name of Senwosret I from tomb 66 at Ruweise on the Lebanese coast originated in a contemporaneous context,³⁹ his suggested date for tomb 66 at Ruweise has been challenged.⁴⁰ Moreover, the other scarabs found in the tomb include late Middle Kingdom Egyptian examples and a small number of Canaanite pieces,

confirming the Dynasty 13 date indicated by the pottery discovered there.⁴¹ A scarab from tomb 73 at Ruweise presented by Ward as a contemporaneous royal-name scarab of Senwosret II⁴² is in fact a late Middle Kingdom design scarab⁴³ displaying a symmetrical arrangement of hieroglyphs.⁴⁴ The scarabs from tomb 73 at Ruweise show distinctive late Middle Kingdom designs, indicating that this tomb, like tomb 66, should be dated to Dynasty 13.⁴⁵

Ward also argues for the contemporaneous context of a scarab bearing the name of Senwosret II from Beth-Shean stratum XI.⁴⁶ However, level XI at Beth-Shean is dated, based on its pottery assemblages, to the last phase of the Early Bronze Age (twenty-first

century B.C.), after which there is a gap in occupation at the site until the seventeenth century B.C.⁴⁷ The scarab is therefore an intrusion in stratum XI. Moreover, the scarab's designs and features indicate a later date and Canaanite production: the "royal name" is surmounted by a winged sun disk, a motif common on Middle Bronze Canaanite scarabs⁴⁸ and not attested on early Middle Kingdom Egyptian examples. In addition, the type of back seen on this scarab, typical of early Canaanite pieces,⁴⁹ is not known to occur on Egyptian Middle Kingdom scarabs.

Ward's dating of royal-name scarabs bearing names of early Dynasty 12 kings was based on comparative material consisting of design scarabs from Middle Bronze Age deposits in Palestine ascribed by him to Dynasty 12;⁵⁰ he was, of course, unaware of the later date and Canaanite production of his comparative material.⁵¹ In fact, the earliest royal-name scarabs from securely dated Dynasty 12 archaeological contexts, as correctly noted by O'Connor, come from the treasures of several princesses found in the pyramid complexes of Senwosret II at el-Lahun and Senwosret III at Dahshur;⁵² one, bearing the throne name of Amenemhat III, was found in the treasure of Princess Sithathoryunet at el-Lahun (Figures 15, 16);⁵³ two, inscribed with the throne name of Senwosret III, were among the jewelry of Princess Sithathor at Dahshur (Figures 17, 18);⁵⁴ and two, bearing the throne name of Amenemhat III, were among the jewelry of Princess Mereret at Dahshur.⁵⁵ The burials of these princesses date to late Dynasty 12, between the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III.⁵⁶

THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE EARLIEST ROYAL-NAME SCARABS

The royal-name scarabs found in the princesses' treasures were part of their elaborate jewelry ensembles (see Figures 20–22), which included diadems, pectorals, bracelets, girdles, beads, amulets, and a number of uninscribed scarabs (see Figure 19) as well as scarabs bearing the names and titles of their female owners.⁵⁷ Most of the scarabs found in these treasures are made of the finest materials, mainly semiprecious stones and gold, and they occasionally form rings with gold-wire shanks (Figures 17–19).⁵⁸ The two amethyst royal-name scarabs from the jewelry of Queen Weret II at Dahshur—the subjects of this article—were found in a similar context, and their function was probably identical to that of the scarabs from the jewelry ensembles of the princesses, as discussed below.

Many of the jewelry items belonging to these royal women were presented to them by the kings to whom

they were related.⁵⁹ Therefore a majority of these gifts most likely reflect the symbolic role of royal women in cults associated with the Egyptian perception of kingship. Indeed, the role of royal women as the feminine complementary aspect of kingship is attested from the early phases of the Pharaonic civilization and follows mythic prototypes.⁶⁰ In this role, royal women—mother, wife, and daughter of the king—acted as a generative force that is expressed in Egyptian mythology in the duality of both male and female and parent and child.⁶¹ The double role of mother and daughter is manifested in Egyptian mythology as a feminine prototype, which applies to the three generations of royal women in association with the renewal of kingship.⁶² Lana Troy argues that "the queenship of ancient Egypt has been defined as consisting of four elements: identification with the mythic prototype, actualization of the powers of the prototype through enactment of a ritual role, embodiment of the generational hierarchy found in the feminine prototype as medium of transformation, and, as the final element, participation in the kingship as the feminine aspect and representative of that office."⁶³ During the Middle Kingdom the importance of the kings' daughters in this context is attested in a distinct type of sculpture depicting a female sphinx, which first occurs during this period bearing exclusively the title *s3t nswt* (king's daughter).⁶⁴ The burials of royal women within the king's pyramid complex reflect their role as manifestations of the feminine prototype representing the powers of renewal in the king's afterlife,⁶⁵ while the lack of conclusive evidence for burials of male members of the royal family, aside from the king, in the royal pyramid complexes further emphasizes the exclusive role of the royal women in the funerary cult of the king. The royal gifts found among the tomb offerings of these women undoubtedly include items associated with their symbolic role, as indicated by comparable types of objects found in the treasures of Dahshur and el-Lahun.⁶⁶ Some of the jewelry bears names of particular kings displayed in symbolic settings or portrays their images in glorified victorious postures,⁶⁷ both of which symbolize the king's primary role as guardian of divine order (see Figure 21).⁶⁸ The fact that names of more than one king were found in most of the jewelry ensembles (Figures 21, 22) implies that the women's role was associated with kingship in general and not necessarily with the particular king in whose pyramid complex they were buried.

Jewelry incorporating royal names is considered by most scholars to have been gifts presented to the women by the particular kings whose names are inscribed on the pieces, which are thus usually dated to the reigns of the respective kings.⁶⁹ Although stylistic

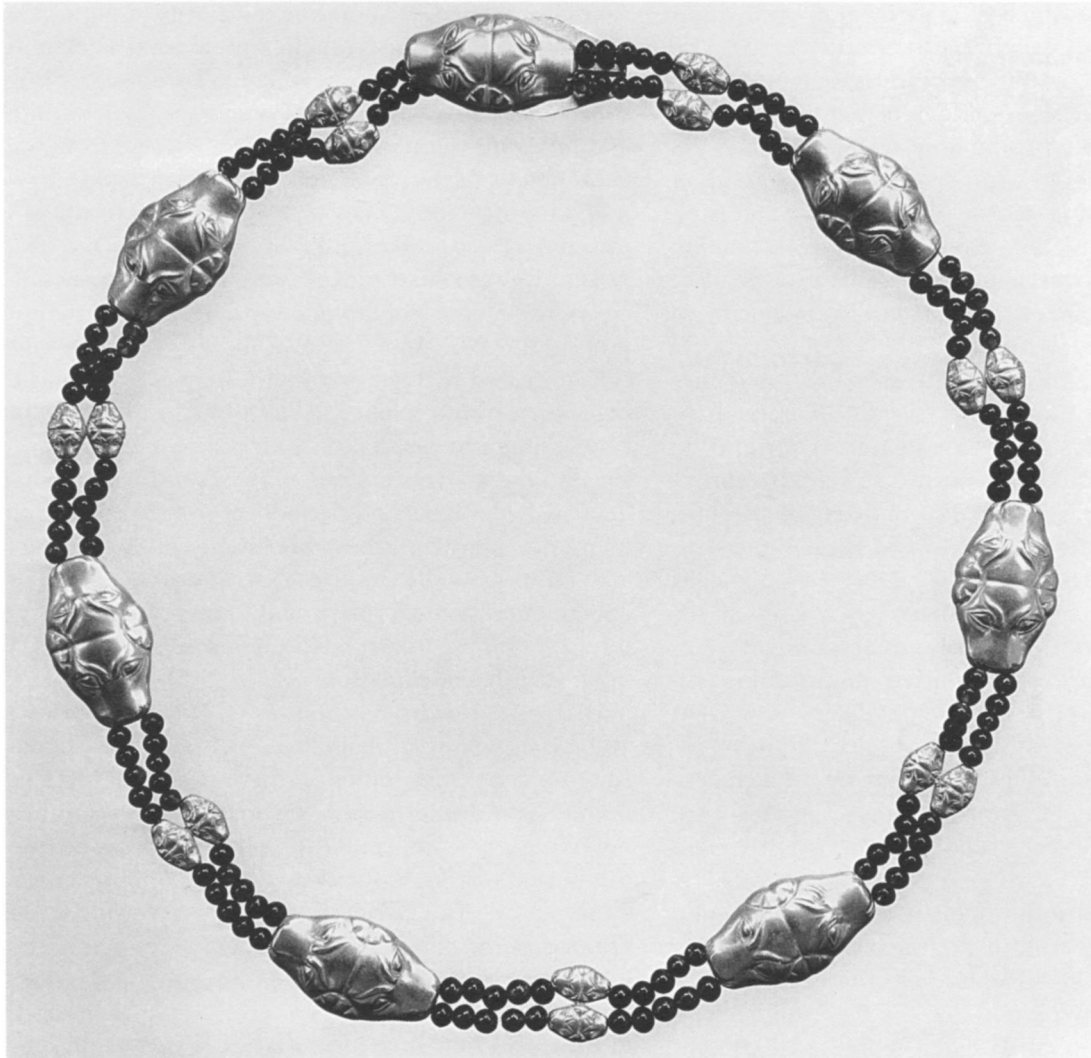


Figure 20. Girdle from the treasure of Princess Sithathoryunet from el-Lahun, ca. 1887–1813 B.C. Amethyst beads and gold leopard-head spacers, circumference 81 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Henry Walters Gift, 1916 (16.1.6)

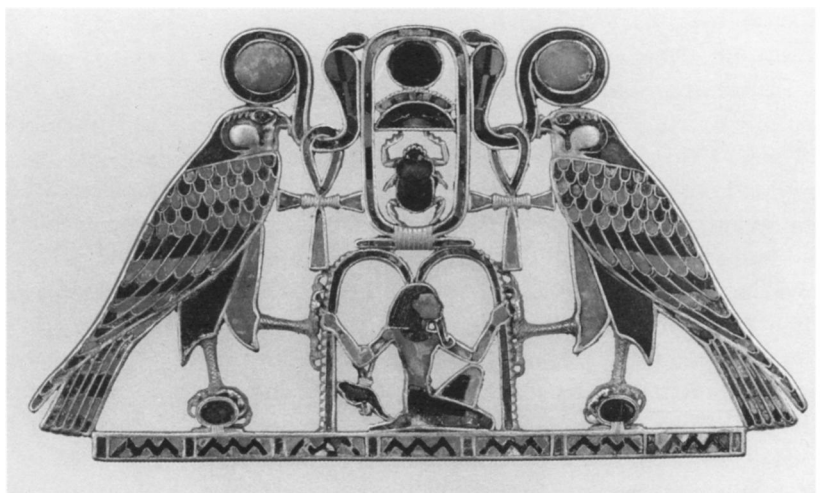


Figure 21. Pectoral depicting the throne name of King Senwosret II surmounting the symbol of millions of years (eternity) and flanked by two falcons symbolizing the sun god, from the treasure of Princess Sithathoryunet from el-Lahun, ca. 1887–1878 B.C. Gold inlaid with 372 pieces of semiprecious stone: amethyst, turquoise, feldspar, carnelian, lapis lazuli, and garnet, maximum W. 8.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Henry Walters Gift, 1916 (16.1.3)

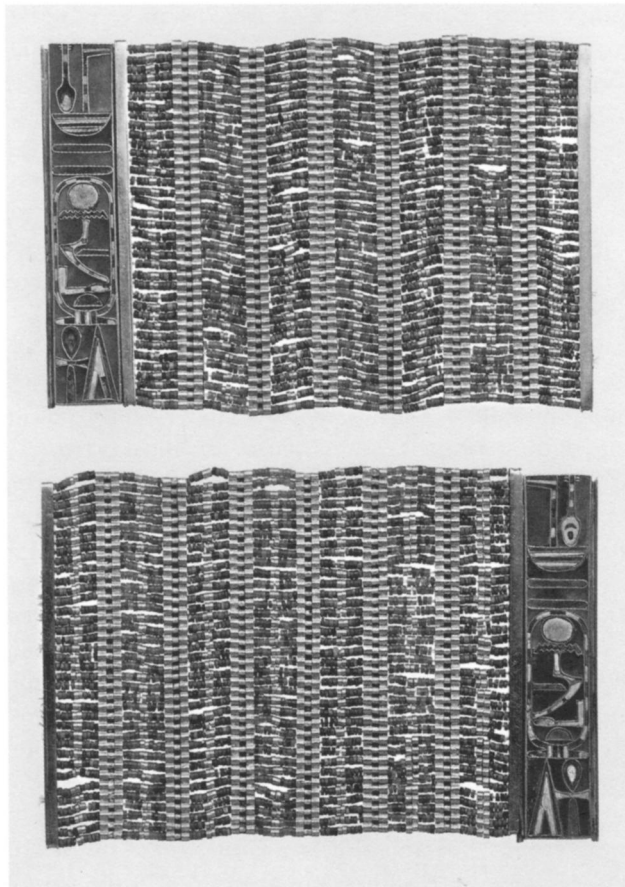


Figure 22. Two bracelets bearing the throne name of King Amenemhat III with the royal titles Perfect God and Lord of the Two Lands and the epithet "Given Life," from the treasure of Princess Sithathoryunet from el-Lahun, ca. 1859–1813 B.C. Gold with bands of carnelian and turquoise beads, the inscription originally inlaid with blue and green faience now decomposed to a white substance, H. of clasps 8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Henry Walters Gift, 1916 (16.1.8, 16.1.9)

arguments point in favor of the suggested dates for some of the objects (below), the possibility of occasional heirlooms, or objects made in veneration of deceased kings, cannot be ruled out. As a result of the massive plundering of the pyramid complexes at el-Lahun and Dahshur in antiquity, it is often difficult to identify the royal women who were originally buried there,⁷⁰ and the identity of the three princesses discussed above cannot be determined with certainty. The fact that all three bear the title "king's daughter" indicates filiation with a king,⁷¹ yet there is sufficient evidence to suggest that princesses were not necessarily buried in the pyramid complexes of their fathers.⁷² Sithathoryunet and Mereret are usually identified as the daughters of Senwosret II and Senwosret III, respectively, in whose pyramid complexes—at el-Lahun and Dahshur—they are buried.⁷³ Sithathor,

who was buried in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur, is alternately identified as his daughter⁷⁴ or as the daughter of Senwosret II,⁷⁵ based mainly on a pectoral found among her jewelry bearing the latter's name.⁷⁶

The fragmentary and frequently unclear nature of the archaeological and textual evidence associated with these women leaves a number of unresolved questions, which have implications for the absolute date of the jewelry. There is no evidence to determine either the qualifications required for a princess to take part in the royal funerary cult or the reason for her burial in a particular pyramid complex. As noted above, the burial of a princess within a pyramid complex of a particular king does not necessarily indicate filiation with him. Moreover, there is no evidence attesting to the marital status of any of these women and, thus, to whether a married princess could take part in the royal funerary cult.⁷⁷ Princesses married to various officials are attested in the Middle Kingdom,⁷⁸ and there is no evidence implying that certain kings' daughters remained unmarried for cultic purposes during this period. Furthermore, as the bodies of the three princesses under discussion have not been found, the suggested ages of some of these women,⁷⁹ as well as the assumption that the royal-name objects in their jewelry ensembles were presented exclusively by the kings whose names they portray, cannot be corroborated.⁸⁰

The jewelry of the three princesses—Sithathoryunet at el-Lahun and Sithathor and Mereret at Dahshur—show such striking similarities in design, manufacturing techniques, and quality of workmanship that they have frequently been considered to have been made by the same craftsmen.⁸¹ A chronological distinction, however, is usually made between objects attributed to the reigns of Senwosret II and Senwosret III and those ascribed to the reign of Amenemhat III. This distinction is based primarily on the quality of workmanship of objects bearing royal names and their comparison to other items; most scholars consider pieces with paste inlays and less meticulous workmanship as belonging to the later group from the reign of Amenemhat III.⁸² The difference in the quality of workmanship that is apparent in some of the jewelry corroborates the chronological distinction for selected items. However, the evidence does not always allow distinguishing between objects given to a royal woman by an early king, heirlooms, and posthumous productions.

The jewelry of Middle Kingdom royal women is usually divided between those pieces found on the mummy inside the coffin, which are identified as funerary jewelry, and those items located in boxes

hidden in a cache in the vicinity of the coffin, which most scholars consider to be personal jewelry worn in life.⁸³ This distinction is corroborated by the consistent distribution of certain types of jewelry in both groups, by signs of wear noted on some of the objects of the latter group, and by occasional missing inlays that were most probably lost before the objects were buried.⁸⁴ Moreover, representations of royal women wearing similar jewelry are well attested.⁸⁵ The scarabs from the jewelry ensembles discussed here were found exclusively among items considered by most scholars as jewelry worn in life.

Symbolizing new life and regeneration, scarabs were used as amulets for the living as well as for the dead.⁸⁶ Scarabs of the Middle Kingdom royal women may have been worn in life as part of necklaces or rings⁸⁷ and may have been placed in the tomb as funerary offerings together with other jewelry. As argued above, these particular pieces of jewelry, especially those bearing royal names, probably reflect the symbolic role of the royal women in cults associated with kingship. The royal-name scarabs among this type of jewelry, being the earliest securely dated examples of their kind, suggest that the initial occurrence of these scarabs should be considered within the same religious context.⁸⁸

Scarabs, appearing initially in the First Intermediate Period, became the most favored amulets in Egypt in late Dynasty 12 and maintained their extreme popularity until the end of the Late Period (mid-nineteenth to fourth century B.C.). The amuletic role of scarabs is clearly indicated throughout their long period of use, though various other functions are attested during different periods, including use as seals for the central administration as well as affiliation with royal and temple cults.⁸⁹ Based on the widespread use of scarabs as seals in the late Middle Kingdom, royal-name and private-name scarabs have frequently been considered as royal and official seals.⁹⁰ While the main function of private-name scarabs remains controversial,⁹¹ most scholars view royal-name scarabs primarily as amulets endowed with the protective powers of the king.⁹² Seal impressions made by royal-name scarabs are extremely rare, and not a single example indicates their use as official royal seals; the few known impressions were made by scarabs of poor quality that rarely display royal titles and whose use is identical to that of design scarabs.⁹³ Design scarabs were used in the Middle Kingdom as funerary amulets and as seals for the central administration, and the same use is attested for royal-name and private-name scarabs during this period (see below). It should also be noted that Middle Kingdom royal seals are attested on sealings made by large rectangular stamp seals bearing the

king's Horus name.⁹⁴ Made of precious materials, the royal-name scarabs found in the treasures of Middle Kingdom royal women show a superb quality of workmanship that indicates manufacture in royal workshops,⁹⁵ yet the shallow engraving of the inscriptions makes it highly unlikely that these scarabs were used as seals.⁹⁶

The evidence discussed above suggests that royal-name scarabs were initially produced in late Dynasty 12 for royal-associated cults. The almost exclusive origin of the surviving examples in jewelry ensembles of royal women of this period⁹⁷ argues that the original function of these scarabs was associated with the cultic role of these women. Nevertheless, as almost no funerary offerings from burials of Dynasty 12 kings are known, the possible use of similar scarabs by the kings of the period should not be ruled out.

Apart from the royal-name scarabs found among the jewelry of royal women, royal-name scarabs of inferior quality, made of glazed steatite, have been found in late Middle Kingdom contexts.⁹⁸ The most commonly attested Dynasty 12 royal name on such examples is that of Amenemhat III.⁹⁹ Based on the typologies of the early and late Middle Kingdom excavated series noted above, it is now possible to show that scarabs bearing the name of Amenemhat III include examples with distinctive late Middle Kingdom designs,¹⁰⁰ indicating a likely contemporaneous production.¹⁰¹ Most examples presented by Ward as contemporaneous royal-name scarabs of Senwosret III exhibit characteristics that argue for posthumous production.¹⁰² The evidence therefore suggests that large-scale production of royal-name scarabs no longer restricted to the use of the royal family occurred during the reign of Amenemhat III.

DATING THE ROYAL-NAME SCARABS FROM THE JEWELRY OF QUEEN WERET II

The archaeological evidence associated with Queen Weret II's burial, as noted above, suggests that she was the main wife of Senwosret III, in whose pyramid complex she was buried.¹⁰³ Her physical remains indicate that she died between the age of fifty and seventy; the uncertainty of the date of her death and burial, however, does not allow the determination of whether she was the daughter of Senwosret II or Amenemhat II. Moreover, as the title "daughter of the king" has never been found in connection with her, there is no certainty of her royal filiation, and she may have been of humble birth.¹⁰⁴ The Amenemhat II scarabs found among her jewelry show close similarity in features and design to the Senwosret III and Amenemhat III

scarabs of Sithathor and Mereret,¹⁰⁵ suggesting a short time span for their production and the possibility of the same workshop. The jewelry of Queen Weret II exhibits first-rate workmanship, similar to the jewelry attributed to the earlier ensembles of the princesses noted above, which are usually dated between the reigns of Senwosret II and Senwosret III. The absence of paste inlays in Weret II's jewelry further indicates a date earlier than the reign of Amenemhat III,¹⁰⁶ a conclusion corroborated by the funerary pottery found in her burial, which, according to Susan Allen, is earlier than the pottery found in the burials of princesses dated to the reign of Amenemhat III.¹⁰⁷

Although the identification of Queen Weret II as the daughter of Amenemhat II is far from certain, the possibility cannot be ruled out, and it could thus be proposed that the royal-name scarabs bearing his name were given to her by Amenemhat II. The scarabs, however, display late Middle Kingdom characteristics, which argue against dating them earlier than the reign of Senwosret III. Among the most distinctive of these characteristics, and strongly arguing against dating the scarabs to the reign of Amenemhat II, are the paired scroll borders that enclose the names. While similar paired borders customarily enclose private names on late Middle Kingdom scarabs,¹⁰⁸ they are completely absent in the known corpus of early Middle Kingdom scarabs. The scarabs of Queen Weret II also exhibit, as noted earlier, a close stylistic similarity to the scarabs bearing the names of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III from the treasures of the princesses discussed above, which further support their late Middle Kingdom date. The serpent heads that end the paired scrolls are extremely rare, occurring almost exclusively on late Dynasty 12 royal-name scarabs, including the scarab bearing the name of Senwosret III from the jewelry of Sithathor at Dahshur¹⁰⁹ and three late Dynasty 12 royal-name scarabs of glazed steatite.¹¹⁰ The evidence thus suggests that the scarabs found among the jewels of Queen Weret II were manufactured during the reign of Senwosret III, in whose pyramid complex they were found.

OTHER TYPES OF NAME SCARABS

The initial occurrence of royal-name scarabs very nearly coincides with the first appearance of another type of name scarab, bearing the names and titles of royal women. Such scarabs were also found among the jewelry of Sithathor and Mereret at Dahshur. One scarab of Sithathor and five scarabs of Mereret show the princesses' names with the title *s3t nswt* (king's daughter).¹¹¹ The scarab of Sithathor and two of the

scarabs of Mereret include the funerary epithet *nbt im3h* (possessor of reverence),¹¹² suggesting the association of the scarab with the funerary cult. However, '*nh-ti* (alive) follows the name on another scarab of Mereret,¹¹³ and '*nh-dt* (alive forever) is found on one of her scarabs that is inscribed with queenly titles,¹¹⁴ indicating the use of these two examples during Mereret's lifetime. The identical context of the scarabs with names and titles of royal women and those bearing kings' names signal similar symbolic use, suggesting that the production of the women's scarabs may have been generated by those inscribed with kings' names.

Private-name scarabs bearing names and titles of officials or their wives,¹¹⁵ which are not attested in archaeological contexts earlier than late Dynasty 12,¹¹⁶ most likely developed from royal-name scarabs and those bearing names and titles of royal women. Their initial large-scale production in the late Middle Kingdom has been attributed to administrative changes attested during the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, and they have been viewed primarily as official administrative seals.¹¹⁷ However, this period also saw significant religious developments, and it has been postulated that the primary function of private-name scarabs was amuletic.¹¹⁸ Their use as funerary amulets is attested by funerary epithets following the names on about 22 percent of the known examples, by scarabs that depict the owner holding an '*nh* sign, indicating his or her representation as deceased, and by the large number of excavated examples found in or nearby cemeteries.¹¹⁹

The widespread use of scarabs as amulets and as sealing devices for the central administration seems to have begun simultaneously in the late Middle Kingdom, and the evidence suggests that the separation between religious and administrative function was not as distinct for the Egyptians as it has been in modern times. Scarabs used in the administration during this period, for example, are identical to those found in tombs, including private-name scarabs with funerary epithets, and scarabs seem to have been randomly selected for sealing, regardless of their designs and inscriptions.¹²⁰ The evidence implies, as correctly noted by Williams,¹²¹ that scarabs of the late Middle Kingdom, whether initially intended for use as seals or amulets, were likely to have been reused for a secondary function and that these uses became interchangeable.¹²²

As no archaeological evidence exists for private-name scarabs before the late Middle Kingdom,¹²³ their production seems to have been inspired by royal-name scarabs and by scarabs bearing the names of royal women, both representing cults associated with the king. The adaptation of cults reflecting royal privileges

by the elite during the Middle Kingdom is attested in the so-called democratization of royal-associated cults and symbols, of which private-name scarabs may constitute an additional example.¹²⁴ The funerary epithets and formulae attested on private-name scarabs and the images of the owners as deceased clearly associate these scarabs with the funerary cult.¹²⁵ Names and titles of Egyptian officials and their wives with or with-

out funerary epithets are repeatedly inscribed on tomb walls and on funerary-related objects such as coffins, canopic jars, stelae, and statues to ensure the eternal survival of their owners. It is primarily the aspiration of sharing the eternal sphere of the afterlife with the king that generated the adaptation of royal-associated cults by Egyptian officials throughout the long history of Pharaonic civilization.

NOTES

1. This paper was written while I was the Jane and Morgan Whitney Fellow in the Department of Egyptian Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Metropolitan Museum for granting me the opportunity to study objects in its outstanding Egyptian collection, to Dieter Arnold and Adela Oppenheim for offering me the opportunity to publish the scarabs, and to Dorothea and Dieter Arnold, Susan and James Allen, Claudia Farias, Marsha Hill, Adela Oppenheim, Diana Craig Patch, Catharine Roehrig, and Christine Lilyquist for their generous assistance and helpful remarks.
For preliminary publications of the scarabs, see Adela Oppenheim, "A First Look at Recently Discovered 12th Dynasty Royal Jewelry from Dahshur," *KMT* 6.1 (1995), pp. 10–11; Adela Oppenheim, "The Jewelry of Queen Weret," *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1996), p. 26; Jean Leclant and G. Clerc, "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1995–1996," *Orientalia* 66 (1997), pl. XXI, fig. 29; Dieter Arnold, Adela Oppenheim, and James P. Allen, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 26 (New York, 2003), pp. 132–33.
2. The length of Senwosret III's reign is controversial; some scholars argue for nineteen years, while others suggest thirty-six or thirty-nine years. See Arnold, Oppenheim, and Allen, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 117 n. 418.
3. The numbering of the pyramids by the 1894–95 excavator Jacques de Morgan included two additional pyramids that he numbered 5 and 6; these pyramids do not exist. See *ibid.*, p. 75.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 57–82, 127–33.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 70; Guy Brunton, *Lahun I: The Treasure* (London, 1920), pp. 17–26; Herbert E. Winlock, *The Treasure of El-Lahun* (New York, 1939) p. 5, fig. 1.
7. I thank Adela Oppenheim for the information concerning the findspot of the jewelry.
8. For a detailed discussion of the jewelry, see Arnold, Oppenheim, and Allen, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 75–83, 125–33.
9. William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, pt. 1, *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 228–40.
10. Olga Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II, Scarab Seals and Their Contribution to History in the Early Second Millennium B.C.*, 2 vols. (Warminster, 1984), p. 129, Design Class 7C3.
11. The gold plates may have borne inscriptions identical to those engraved on the scarabs themselves, as is the case on the

- scarab of Imeny from Lisht; Geoffrey T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* (Oxford, 1971), nos. 195, 196. The amethyst scarab of Sithathor from Dahshur (Figure 17) has a gold plate on its base bearing the throne name of Senwosret III.
12. Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz 1 (Mainz, 1976), pp. 49–50; Barry J. Kemp and Robert Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Mainz, 1980), p. 41; William A. Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pp. 151–54; David O'Connor, "The Chronology of Scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 15 (1985), p. 17.
13. Raphael Giveon, "Royal Seals of the XIIth Dynasty from Western Asia," *Revue d'égyptologie* 19 (1967), p. 970; William A. Ward and William G. Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III, Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context: An Essay on Middle Bronze Age Chronology* (San Antonio, 1994), p. 128; Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 10 (Freiburg, 1995), pp. 230–32.
14. William A. Ward, *Egypt and the East Mediterranean World, 2200–1900 B.C.: Studies in Egyptian Foreign Relations during the First Intermediate Period* (Beirut, 1971), pp. 127–40; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, p. 26; Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, pp. 47–48; Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, p. 152 and n. 5.
15. Ward, *Egypt and the East Mediterranean*, pp. 127–34; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, p. 49; Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pp. 151–52, pl. 51; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, pp. 15–17; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, p. 231.
16. Hans Stock, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13 bis 17 Dynastie Ägyptens, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skarabäen dieser Zwischenzeit*, Ägyptologische Forschungen 12 (Glückstadt, 1942), pp. 13–17; Ward, *Egypt and the East Mediterranean*, pp. 127–34; Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, p. 41; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 21.
17. Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pp. 151–54.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
19. Stock, *Studien*, pp. 17–18; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, pp. 49–50; Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, p. 41; O'Connor, "Chronology of Scarabs," pp. 37–38; Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus*

- Palästina/Israel: Katalog*, vol. 1, *Von Tell Abu Farag bis 'Atlit*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 13 (Freiburg, 1997), pp. 792–93.
20. Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, pp. 9–24; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 39–57; Daphna Ben-Tor, “The Relations between Egypt and Palestine in the Middle Kingdom as Reflected by Contemporary Canaanite Scarabs,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 47 (1997), pp. 164–65.
 21. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*; O'Connor, “Chronology of Scarabs”; William Ward, “Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987), pp. 507–32; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*; Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine”; Daphna Ben-Tor, “The Absolute Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs,” in *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward*, ed. Leonard Lesko (Providence, R.I., 1998), pp. 1–17.
 22. Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, pp. 44–50; Manfred Bietak, “Problems of Middle Bronze Age Chronology: New Evidence from Egypt,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984), pp. 482–85; Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*; O'Connor, “Chronology of Scarabs”; Ward, “Scarab Typology”; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*; Pirhiya Beck and Uza Zevulun, “Back to Square One,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 304 (1996), pp. 64–75; James M. Weinstein, “A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: How the High Chronology Became the Middle Chronology,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 304 (1996), pp. 55–63; Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine,” pp. 163–66.
 23. The extreme popularity and wide distribution of scarabs in Middle Bronze Age Palestine were undoubtedly the outcome of the large-scale settlement of Canaanites in the eastern delta during the late Middle Kingdom and their subsequent rule over northern Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period. See Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine,” pp. 167–88.
 24. Dorothea Arnold, “Weiteres zur Keramik von el-Tarif,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 28 (1972), pp. 33–46; Dorothea Arnold, “Zur Keramik aus dem Taltempelbereich der Pyramide Amenemhets III in Dahschur,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 33 (1977), pp. 21–26; Dorothea Arnold, “Keramikbearbeitung in Dahschur, 1976–1981,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 38 (1982), pp. 25–65; Dorothea Arnold, “The Pottery,” in Dieter Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I: The South Cemetery of Lisht*, vol. 1, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 22 (New York, 1988), pp. 106–46; Bietak, “Problems of Middle Bronze Age Chronology”; Manfred Bietak, “Archäologischer Befund und historische Interpretation am Beispiel der Tell El-Yahudiya-Warc,” in *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985*, ed. Silvia Schoske, vol. 2 (Hamburg, 1989), pp. 7–34; Manfred Bietak, “Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 281 (1991), pp. 27–72; Janine Bourriau, “Nubians in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period: An Interpretation Based on the Egyptian Ceramic Evidence,” in *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik*, ed. Dorothea Arnold (Mainz, 1981), pp. 25–41; Janine Bourriau, “Cemetery and Settlement Pottery of the Second Intermediate Period to the Early New Kingdom,” *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 8 (1987), pp. 47–59; Janine Bourriau, “The Pottery,” in Peter Lacovara, *Deir el-Ballas: Preliminary Report on the Deir el-Ballas Expedition, 1980–1986*, American Research Center in Egypt Reports 12 (Winona Lake, Ind., 1990), pp. 15–22; Janine Bourriau, “The Memphis Pottery Project,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 1 (1991), pp. 263–68; Janine Bourriau, “Relations between Egypt and Kerma during the Middle and New Kingdoms,” in *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, ed. Vivian Davies (London, 1991), pp. 129–44; Janine Bourriau, “Beyond Avaris: The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt Outside the Eastern Delta,” in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Eliezer D. Oren, University Museum Monograph 96 (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 159–82; Stephan Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich: Studien zur Archäologie der Ersten Zwischenzeit*, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens 1 (Heidelberg, 1990).
 25. See Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine”; Ben-Tor, “Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs”; Daphna Ben-Tor, “Egyptian-Levantine Relations and Chronology in the Middle Bronze Age: Scarab Research,” in *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, vol. 2, cd. Manfred Bietak (Vienna, 2003), pp. 239–48. The typologies of scarabs of the first half of the second millennium B.C. from Egypt and the southern Levant are presented in a study currently in preparation by this author, which argues for the Canaanite origin of the bulk of the scarabs from Middle Bronze Age Palestine. See also Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 31–35.
 26. Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang*, pp. 185–99, 395, fig. 168.
 27. William A. Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals I: Pre-12th Dynasty Scarab Amulets* (Warminster, 1978), p. 16.
 28. The early Dynasty 12 date of the Montet Jar scarabs from Byblos (Ward's Period 4) was confirmed based on the ceramic context of the scarabs and sealings from Abu Ghalib, which display identical designs. See Ben-Tor, “Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs.”
 29. Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals I*, p. 2; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 117; Ben-Tor, “Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs,” p. 14.
 30. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, p. 3; Janet H. Johnson, “Private Name Seals of the Middle Kingdom,” in *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, ed. McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6 (Malibu, Calif., 1977), pp. 141–45; Bruce Williams, “Aspects of Sealing and Glyptic in Egypt before the New Kingdom,” in *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 136–38; Hornung and Staehelin, *Sharabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, p. 50; Janine Bourriau, “Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom,” in *Middle Kingdom Studies*, ed. Stephen Quirke (New Malden, 1991), pp. 3–29.
 31. The late Middle Kingdom excavated series in Egypt and Nubia constitute primarily sealings from administrative units at sites such as Kahun, Uronarti, Elephantine, and South Abydos and a much smaller number of scarabs from cemeteries due to extensive plundering in antiquity and in modern times. See Olga Tufnell, “Seal Impressions from Kahun Town and Uronarti Fort,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 61 (1975), pp. 67–101; Cornelius Von Pilgrim, *Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, Elephantine 18, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 91 (Mainz, 1996), pp. 234–74; Josef Wegner, “Excavations at the Town of Enduring-Are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos: A Preliminary Report on the 1994 and 1997 Seasons,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 35 (1998), pp. 32–41; Reginald Engelbach, *Harageh* (London, 1923), pl. 20.

32. Stuart Tyson Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1995), pp. 70–71; Wegner, “Excavations at the Town of *Enduring-Are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abidos*,” pp. 37–41; Susan J. Allen in Daphna Ben-Tor, Susan J. Allen, and James P. Allen, “Seals and Kings,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 315 (1999), p. 51.
33. This issue is discussed in detail in a study currently in preparation by this author.
34. Compare the designs and features of scarabs of Period 4 presented in Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals I*, pls. IX–XV, with those presented in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pls. LI, LII.
35. For example, symmetrically arranged hieroglyphs and different types of scroll and rope borders; see Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pls. LI, LII. These designs commonly occur on late Middle Kingdom scarabs; see Tufnell, “Seal Impressions from Kahun Town and Uronarti Fort,” pp. 71–73. They are, however, not attested on early Middle Kingdom scarabs.
36. For example, borders of concentric circles and branches decorating the back; see Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pls. LI, LII: 3014, 3015, 3021, 3043–45. These are not attested on early or late Middle Kingdom scarabs but occur on Second Intermediate Period royal-name scarabs; see Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. LVII: 3230, 3263.
37. For example, the misrendered form of the sign *k3*; see Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine,” p. 171 and fig. 4.
38. For the date of the early Canaanite scarabs in advanced Dynasty 13, see Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine,” pp. 163–64; Ben-Tor, “Egyptian-Levantine Relations,” pp. 245–46.
39. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, p. 152; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 97.
40. O’Connor, “Chronology of Scarabs,” pp. 36–37; Beck and Zevulun, “Back to Square One,” pp. 66–67; Weinstein, “Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing,” p. 57.
41. Beck and Zevulun, “Back to Square One,” pp. 66–67; Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine,” p. 187 n. 89; Ben-Tor, “Egyptian-Levantine Relations,” p. 243, fig. 3.
42. Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 101, fig. 5:1c: 59.
43. The term “design scarab” refers to scarabs bearing designs that do not form inscriptions, such as geometric or figurative designs, or symmetrical arrangements of signs and symbols representing royal power or blessings.
44. For similar designs, see William A. Ward, “Scarabs of ‘Nubkheper-errā’: A Note on the Interpretation of Design,” *Berytus* 25 (1977), pp. 163–72.
45. See also Weinstein, “Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing,” p. 58; Ben-Tor, “Egyptian-Levantine Relations,” p. 242.
46. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pp. 152–54, pl. LII: 3037.
47. Amihai Mazar, “Beth-Shan,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 1, ed. Eric M. Meyers (Oxford, 1997), p. 306.
48. See, for example, Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. X: 1491, 1492, 1495, 1507, 1511, 1524.
49. See, for example, *ibid.*, p. 57, fig. 17: 31; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 99, fig. 5:1a: 22; Keel, *Corpus: Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 489, no. 1125. The identification of this back type as typical of early Canaanite scarabs was made by Othmar Keel and will be published in his forthcoming contribution to the Schweich lectures.
50. Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pp. 153–54; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 102–6.
51. Beck and Zevulun, “Back to Square One”; Weinstein, “Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing”; Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine.”
52. O’Connor, “Chronology of Scarabs,” p. 7.
53. Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 36; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 56, pl. XII: D.
54. Jacques de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars–juin 1894* (Vienna, 1895), p. 62, no. 19, fig. 132; Percy Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (London, 1907), p. 351, no. 37401, pl. XVIII; Émile S. Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1927), p. 88, no. 52233; Herbert E. Winlock, “Elements from the Dahshur Jewelry,” *Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte* 33 (1933), p. 137, D (MMA 26.7.756; Figures 17, 18 above).
55. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, p. 69, nos. 40, 41, figs. 148, 149; Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, p. 354, nos. 37411, 37413, pl. XVIII; Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, p. 91, nos. 52244, 52245. For the possible identification of Mereret as queen, see Arnold, Oppenheim, and Allen, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 70. I thank Adela Oppenheim for this reference.
56. Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 3–6; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, pp. 233–37; Dieter Arnold and Adela Oppenheim, “Reexcavating the Senwosret III Pyramid Complex at Dahshur: A Report on the Architecture and Reliefs,” *KMT* 6.2 (1995), p. 50; Rodney L. Cron and George B. Johnson, “De Morgan at Dahshur: Excavations in the 12th Dynasty Pyramids, 1894–95,” *KMT* 6.2 (1995), pp. 36–41.
57. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, pp. 60–72; Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, pl. XVIII: 37400–37420; Brunton, *Treasure*; Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pls. XX, XXII; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*.
58. Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, pl. XVIII: 37411–15, 37419–20; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 57 and n. 7.
59. Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 43; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 3–4; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, p. 233.
60. Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala, 1986), pp. 53–114, 145–50.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 148–50.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–65; James F. Romano, “Head of a Queen or Princess,” in *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Anne K. Capel and Glenn E. Markoe, exh. cat., Cincinnati Art Museum (New York, 1997), p. 107, no. 40; Richard A. Fazzinni, “Head of a Sphinx,” in *Mistress of the House*, pp. 107–8, no. 41.
65. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 72, 112.
66. Albert M. Lythgoe, “The Treasures of Lahun,” *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 14 (1919), pp. 16–24; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 57–59; Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry* (London, 1971), pp. 55–90.
67. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, pl. XXI; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pl. VII.
68. Erika Feucht, *Die Königlichen Pektore Motive, Sinngehalt und Zweck* (Munich, 1967), pp. 29–33; John Baines, “Origins of Egyptian Kingship,” in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David O’Connor and David P. Silverman (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1995), pp. 10–14.
69. Lythgoe, “Treasures of Lahun,” pp. 18–23; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 43; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 57–59; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, p. 233; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, pp. 83–90; Carol Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry* (London, 1990), pp. 127–29.

70. See Biri Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx and Royal Sculpture from the Reign of Amenemhat II* (Mainz, 1996), pp. 43–47, with bibliography.
71. During the Middle Kingdom the title *s3t nswt* refers almost exclusively to the daughter of the king; Bettina Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3 Njswt "Königssohn"* (Bonn, 1976), pp. 124–25, 190–202; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 194–95; William A. Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects* (Beirut, 1986), pp. 46–53; James F. Romano, "A Statuette of a Royal Mother and Child in the Brooklyn Museum," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 48 (1992), p. 143; Betsy M. Brian, "In Woman Good and Bad Fortune Are on Earth: Status and Roles of Women in Ancient Egyptian Culture," in *Mistress of the House*, p. 27 and n. 17.
72. A number of princesses buried in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat II who were considered as his daughters are now dated to the reign of Amenemhat III; Fay, *Louvre Sphinx*, p. 43 and nn. 196, 199. See also Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," p. 18, for the uncertain filiation of the Middle Kingdom princesses.
73. Winlock, *Treasure of El Lahun*, p. 3; Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, vol. 3, *Memphis*, 2nd ed., ed. Jaromir Málek (Oxford, 1974), pp. 883–84. Mereret was also identified as the daughter of Senwosret II (Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 4; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, p. 51) and as a queen of Senwosret III (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, p. 51). Brunton carefully refers to Sithathoryunet as a relative of Senwosret II and not as his daughter, for lack of conclusive evidence; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 42.
74. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 159; 12.29.
75. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography III*, p. 883; Cron and Johnson, "De Morgan at Dahshur," p. 38.
76. Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 4.
77. See also Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," p. 20.
78. Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles*, pp. 46–47.
79. Most scholars consider Sithathoryunet, whose jewelry ensemble included pectorals of both Senwosret II and Amenemhat III, to have lived during both reigns and therefore to have been in her forties when buried in the pyramid complex at el-Lahun: Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," pp. 18–20; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 3–4; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, pp. 233–35; Nora E. Scott, "Egyptian Jewelry," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 22 (1964), pp. 230–31.
80. For the fragmentary and inconclusive evidence associated with the Middle Kingdom pyramid complexes at el-Lahun and Dahshur, see also Barry J. Kemp, "Dating Pharaonic Cemeteries, Part 1: Non-mechanical Approaches to Seriation," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 31 (1975), pp. 266–67.
81. Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," pp. 23–24; Brunton, *Treasure*, pp. 42–43; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 4; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, p. 236; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, p. 51.
82. Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," pp. 22–24; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 42; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 57–59; Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, pp. 127–29.
83. Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," pp. 17–18 n. 1; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 42; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 23–24, 34; Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, pp. 24–25. This distribution is accepted by most scholars in spite of the fact that there is no case in which both types of jewelry were found in association with the same woman.
84. Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," pp. 17–18; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 42; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 23–24.
85. Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 34; Cyril Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewelry of the Dynastic Period* (London, 1971), pl. 24.
86. Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, pp. 13–17; Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals I*, pp. 45–47; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 266–68.
87. Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 36.
88. The symbol of millions of years depicted on the Amenemhat III scarab of Sithathoryunet is also found on the pectorals of Senwosret II and Amenemhat III discovered among her jewelry; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pls. VII, XII: D (see Figures 15, 16, 21, above).
89. Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 266–77.
90. Giveon, "Royal Seals of the XIIth Dynasty"; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pp. XI–XII; Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, p. 151; O'Connor, "Chronology of Scarabs," p. 1; Von Pilgrim, *Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, pp. 250–52; Kim S. B. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800–1550 B.C.*, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 20 (Copenhagen, 1997), pp. 34–65; Josef Wegner, "Institutions and Officials at South Abydos: An Overview of the Sigillographic Evidence," *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 22 (2001), pp. 77–106; Brigitte Gratiot, "Scellements et contrescellements au Moyen Empire en Nubie l'apport de Mirgissa," *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 22 (2001), pp. 56–64.
91. Johnson, "Private Name Seals"; Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," pp. 136–38; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegel-amulette*, pp. 88–89; Martin in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, p. 147; Daphna Ben-Tor, "The Historical Implications of Middle Kingdom Scarabs Found in Palestine Bearing Private Names and Titles of Officials," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 294 (1994), pp. 7–22; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 268–74; Von Pilgrim, *Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, pp. 250–52; Daphna Ben-Tor, Susan J. Allen, and James P. Allen, "Seals and Kings," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 315 (1999), p. 54; Wegner, "Institutions and Officials at South Abydos," pp. 93–97.
92. Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, pp. 41–43; Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," pp. 137–38; Daphna Ben-Tor, *The Scarab: A Reflection of Ancient Egypt*, exh. cat., Israel Museum, Jerusalem (Jerusalem, 1989), pp. 15–16; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 125 and n. 8; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 266–67.
93. Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," pp. 136–37; Ben-Tor, Allen, and Allen, "Seals and Kings," pp. 53–54.
94. Ben-Tor, Allen, and Allen, "Seals and Kings," pp. 55–56.
95. An unprovenanced scarab ring matches the style and high quality of the royal-name scarabs from the jewelry of the Dynasty 12 royal women; Janine Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom*, exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1988), p. 157, no. 179, pl. IV: 1. The scarab is made of carnelian and set in a gold plate covering the base that bears the throne name of Amenemhat III. The name is followed by the epithet *di 'nh* (given life), in support of dating the scarab to the king's reign; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, p. 157. I thank Dorothea Arnold for this reference.

96. See also Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 57; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, pp. 76–77.
97. The scarab referred to in note 95 above is the only published example of a Dynasty 12 royal-name scarab of royal-workshop quality, the origin of which is unknown.
98. See, for example, Tufnell, "Seal Impressions from Kahun Town and Uronarti Fort," fig. 12: 437–44.
99. Flinders Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* (London, 1891), pl. 8: 32–35; Reginald Engelbach et al., *Riqqeh and Memphis*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt 26 (London, 1915), pl. 17: 1, 3, 6, 8, 9; Tufnell, "Seal Impressions from Kahun Town and Uronarti Fort," fig. 12: 438–42.
100. See, for example, Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. LIII: 3077–80, displaying symmetrical arrangements of hieroglyphs well attested on late Middle Kingdom design scarabs; Tufnell, "Seal Impressions from Kahun Town and Uronarti Fort," figs. 5–6: 251, 254, 300–304.
101. Most scarabs and other seal amulets bearing the name of Amenemhat III, as well as those bearing names of earlier Dynasty 12 kings, were found in mixed late Middle Kingdom contexts that include material from Dynasty 13 and later. Moreover, none of the Amenemhat III royal-name scarabs presented by Ward (Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, p. 179 and pl. LIII), and Keel (*Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, p. 232) comes from a contemporaneous archaeological context. The absolute dates of these objects are therefore uncertain (see also Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, p. 41), as they are based primarily on stylistic grounds; Stock, *Studien*, pp. 17–18; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, p. 50. A late Dynasty 12 date for some examples may, however, be implied by scarabs and other seal amulets that bear the name of Amenemhat III together with names of other Dynasty 12 kings; see, for example, Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. LIII: 3091–92; Engelbach et al., *Riqqeh and Memphis*, pl. XVII: 1. One such seal was found with a medium-size globular pottery jar with a wide flaring neck in tomb 236 at Riqqeh (Engelbach et al., *Riqqeh and Memphis*, pl. XXIX: 38S2), together with a cylinder seal bearing the name of Amenemhat II (Engelbach et al., *Riqqeh and Memphis*, pl. XVII: 2). The published drawing of the jar was examined by Susan Allen, who dated it to Dynasty 12.
102. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. LII: 3049–71. These include the Canaanite *h3* (nos. 3058, 3068, 3070), the rope border (nos. 3066–71) not attested on securely dated Dynasty 12 scarabs, the winged sun disk (no. 3059, see above), and the unusual form of scroll border (no. 3062). The only securely dated example among the scarabs presented by Tufnell is no. 3065, from the jewelry of Princess Sithathor at Dahshur. See also Ben-Tor, "Egyptian-Levantine Relations," p. 242.
103. See Arnold, Oppenheim, and Allen, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 75.
104. *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76.
105. The design and stylistic elements of the Amenemhat III scarab from the treasure of Sithathoryunet (Figures 15, 16) are unique, displaying features unknown from other semiprecious stone scarabs of the Middle Kingdom. The body of the scarab has a gold cylindrical tube inserted into the open area, and the clypeus may have been made separately; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 36.
106. I thank Adela Oppenheim for sharing her observations and conclusions with me. See also Oppenheim, "Jewelry of Queen Weret."
107. I thank Susan Allen for sharing her observations and conclusions with me. See also Susan Allen, "Queens' Ware: Royal Funerary Pottery in the Middle Kingdom," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995, ed. John Eyre, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 82 (Leuven, 1998), pp. 39–48.
108. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pls. 5–16.
109. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, p. 62, fig. 132.
110. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. LIII: 3087, 3094, 3095. Only one late Middle Kingdom private-name scarab bearing this design is known; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pl. 11: 12.
111. Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, pl. XVIII: 37400, 37404–8.
112. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII: 37400, 37407, 37408.
113. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII: 37406.
114. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII: 37414.
115. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pp. 175–87.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 3; Johnson, "Private Name Seals," p. 141; Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," pp. 136–37.
117. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, p. XII; Johnson, "Private Name Seals," p. 142.
118. Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, pp. 88–89; Johnson, "Private Name Seals," pp. 141–42; Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," p. 137; Ben-Tor, "Historical Implications," pp. 8–10; Ben-Tor, Allen, and Allen, "Seals and Kings," p. 54.
119. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pl. 41: 33, 36, 37; Ben-Tor, "Historical Implications," pp. 19–20; Ben-Tor, Allen, and Allen, "Seals and Kings," pp. 54–55.
120. Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," pp. 136–38; Ben-Tor, "Historical Implications," p. 8.
121. Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," p. 138.
122. The original administrative function of particular types of late Middle Kingdom official seals is clearly indicated by archaeological evidence attesting to their exclusive administrative use and by their inscriptions, which frequently include the word "seal" and always bear names of administrative units; Ben-Tor, "Historical Implications," p. 8; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pls. 43–45, 47: *passim*. However, objects of identical form bearing only private names and titles, sometimes with funerary epithets, support the interchangeable function of scarabs and seals in the late Middle Kingdom; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pls. 43: 2, 3; 44: 5, 10, 15, 18, 24; 45: 4.
123. One exception is the silver scarab of Wah, which is dated to the reign of Amenemhat I in early Dynasty 12; Dorothea Arnold, "Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991), pp. 34–35. This scarab, however, is unique in every respect: its size is larger than that of other private-name scarabs; its material is, so far, unique for private-name scarabs; the name of Wah is inscribed together with that of his superior official, Meketra; and both names are inscribed on the back of the scarab rather than on its base. It should also be noted that the design comprising scrolls on the base of this scarab differs from the scroll borders enclosing the name and title on late Middle Kingdom scarabs. The material and the low engraving of the design on the base strongly argue against the use of this scarab as a seal. Moreover, the symbolic mutilation of its head most probably relates to its funerary function; Henry G. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne*:

- Quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l'épigraphie pharaoniques*, Collège de France, Essais et conférences (Paris, 1986), p. 131; Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, p. 177. The inscribed names of Wah and Meketra on the back may suggest that the scarab was awarded to Wah by his superior.
124. James Allen, "Funerary Texts and Their Meaning," in *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara, and Catharine Roehrig, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston, 1988), pp. 47–48;
- David P. Silverman, "The Nature of Kingship," in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, pp. 80–84.
125. Wegner, "Institutions and Officials at South Abydos," pp. 93–97, states that such epithets do not necessarily imply a funerary function, as they are attested in relation to living individuals. However, this does not argue against their funerary connotation, as funerary-associated inscriptions on stelae, statues, and tomb chapels were often made during the individual's lifetime to assure his or her eternal survival in the afterlife.

Horse Care as Depicted on Greek Vases before 400 B.C.

MARY B. MOORE

Professor of Art History, Hunter College of the City University of New York

PROBABLY NO ANIMAL has been more admired for its sheer beauty and graceful movement than the horse.¹ And probably no animal has inspired more representations in art, both ancient and modern. The mystique of the horse has captivated mankind for centuries, reaching far back into antiquity. Horses played a prominent role in the ancient Greek world. Nearly all Greek representations of horses and the modern scholarship concerning them focus on their use as mounts or for draft, either in scenes of daily life or in mythological depictions.² Quite neglected are depictions showing the care of horses and their well-being. This is rather surprising in view of how very many times the horse is represented in Greek art and how attentive the artists were to its conformation and demeanor. Writing in the early fourth century B.C., Xenophon remarked (3.12): "The horse that is sound in his feet, gentle and fairly speedy, has the will and the strength to stand work, and, above all, is obedient, is the horse that will, as a matter of course, give the least trouble and the greatest measure of safety to his rider."³ Xenophon (ca. 428/27–ca. 354 B.C.) was an Athenian aristocrat, a general, and a member of the cavalry. His treatise *On Horsemanship*, cited many times in this article, is the oldest complete work on the subject of horse care and management and may have been composed for the equestrian instruction of his sons, Gryllos and Diodoros.⁴ Nevertheless, long before Xenophon wrote these words, the qualities he described were highly valued.

The subject of this article is the representation of horse care in Greek art before the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.), for example, horses in stables and at mangers, horses grazing or being grazed, watering horses, horses being groomed or trained, and even horses being bred.⁵ The scenes occur primarily on

Attic vases, but there are also examples in Argive, Euboean, and East Greek pottery. What may be somewhat surprising and at first even unexpected is how many of these subjects occur as early as the Late Geometric period, or the second half of the eighth century B.C.: stables, mangers, grazing, and sparring. Several Attic and non-Attic vases in The Metropolitan Museum of Art depict such scenes and prompted this study. The Late Geometric II neck-amphora attributed to the Benaki Painter shows an object above the back of a horse that may be explained as a wooden beam in a stable (Figure 4). The cup by the Amasis Painter depicts the spirited horses of Poseidon being harnessed in their stable (Figures 7 and 8), and the painter's aryballos shows a groom training or trying to control two rearing horses, more likely the former (Figure 33). On a hydria by the Painter of London B 76, Troilos rides his horse and leads another that is about to drink from a fountain outside the walls of Troy, a peaceful prelude that soon leads to his death at the hands of Achilles (Figure 24). In the tondo of MMA 1989.281.71, Onesimos painted a groom blowing the dust off an object that looks like a modern currycomb (Figure 32, Colorplate 2). Three Euboean vases by the Cesnola Painter (MMA 74.51.965, 74.51.838, and 74.51.5885) show horses at mangers, and the krater (74.51.965, Figure 14) also depicts a frieze of grazing horses. Subjects pertinent to this study that are not represented on Greek vases in the Metropolitan Museum are horses being grazed, horses about to roll on the ground (a favorite activity following exercise), and horses (or asses) being bred.

These representations present a lively picture of horse husbandry in Greece from the late eighth until the late fifth century B.C. I shall discuss them individually and when possible, relate the visual evidence to what ancient authors, particularly Xenophon, had to say about the care, feeding, and training of horses. But first a few general remarks about

© The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2004
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 39

The notes for this article begin on page 57.

the representations of horses in the ancient Greek world follow.

When one thinks of horses in Greek art, it is surely the horses on the Parthenon frieze that spring to mind.⁶ Carved between 442 and 438 B.C., they present the acme of the image of the horse in Greek art in general and of the High Classical period in particular. Each horse in this frieze is unique in temperament and personality. No horse is a duplicate of any other; the arrangement of head, neck, body, and limbs differs in each, even if only slightly, and each responds differently to the stimuli and atmosphere around it. Four horses from the west frieze demonstrate this wide range of character, spirit, and beauty. The left mount on slab II canters slowly and rhythmically, as if it had participated in many similar processions and is familiar with all the sights, sounds, and smells around it.⁷ For this horse, nothing is unexpected; all is as it should be and has been many times before. Exactly the opposite is the horse on slab VIII, who rears and paws the air but is well under the control of the man who will soon mount it.⁸ I suspect that this horse is probably young and inexperienced and has not been out in company with other horses very many times. He is extremely excited. The horse on slab III is very tense and eager to be off,⁹ but he is hemmed in by three figures. He has nowhere to go and stamps the ground impatiently with his hind hoofs. Exceptionally natural is the horse on slab XII, a filly who rubs the side of her head against the cannon bone of her left foreleg to relieve itching caused by fly bites or by the heat of summer, the time of year when the Panathenaic Festival took place (Figure 1).¹⁰

Next to the image of man, the horse is the figure most frequently represented in Greek art before the Peloponnesian War, which ended in 404 B.C. The earliest preserved figure in Athenian art is not of a human but of a horse painted on an Attic Protogeometric amphora found in a cremation burial in the Kerameikos (Figure 2).¹¹ With a few brushstrokes carefully placed below wavy lines that decorate the handle zone of the vase, an anonymous artist captured the essential features. This little horse has a small head, nicely arched neck with a short upright mane, slender body supported by sturdy legs, and long tail that reaches to the ground. It stands at the beginning of a long series of spirited, well-bred horses that appear in Greek sculpture and painting and also in Greek literature.

From the very beginning of their civilization, the Greeks considered horses as noble animals, and the scenes in which they appear reflect this. As mounts, horses carried warriors to battle; hunters used them to pursue quarry; competitive races tested speed of beast and skill of jockey, and a fine prize awaited the winner.



Figure 1. Parthenon, west frieze (in situ), slab XII, showing a filly rubbing her head against her left foreleg, 442–438 B.C. H. 99 cm. Akropolis Museum, Athens (photo: American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Alison Frantz Collection)

Horse-drawn chariots conveyed brave warriors to battle and helped them return safely. Spirited horses drew the chariots of deities, and in the illustrations, Herakles himself was usually driven to Olympos by Athena for his apotheosis. Chariot races provided excitement in athletic contests, especially those held at the Panathenaic Festival in Athens in honor of Athena, as well as at Panhellenic festivals such as the ones at Olympia and Delphi.¹² The best visual evidence for chariot races, as well as horse races, appears on the Panathenaic amphorae, which contained olive oil sacred to Athena and were awarded as prizes at the games in Athens.¹³ Chariots also appear in funeral processions, sometimes along with riders or mourners on foot.¹⁴ At no time, however, was the horse used as a beast of

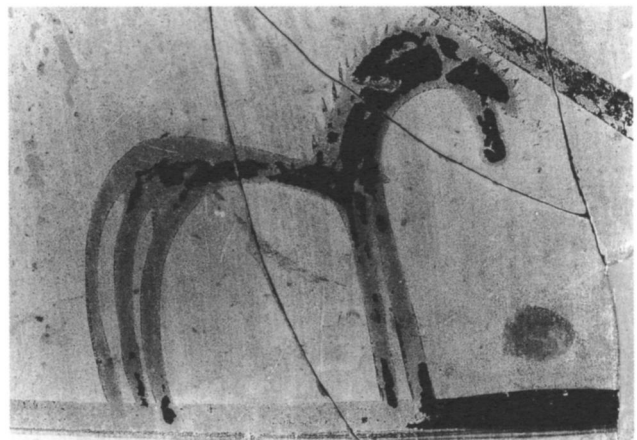


Figure 2. Detail of an Attic Protogeometric amphora showing a horse, ca. 950 B.C. H. 47.2 cm. Kerameikos Archaeological Museum of Athens, 560 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, Ker 4981)

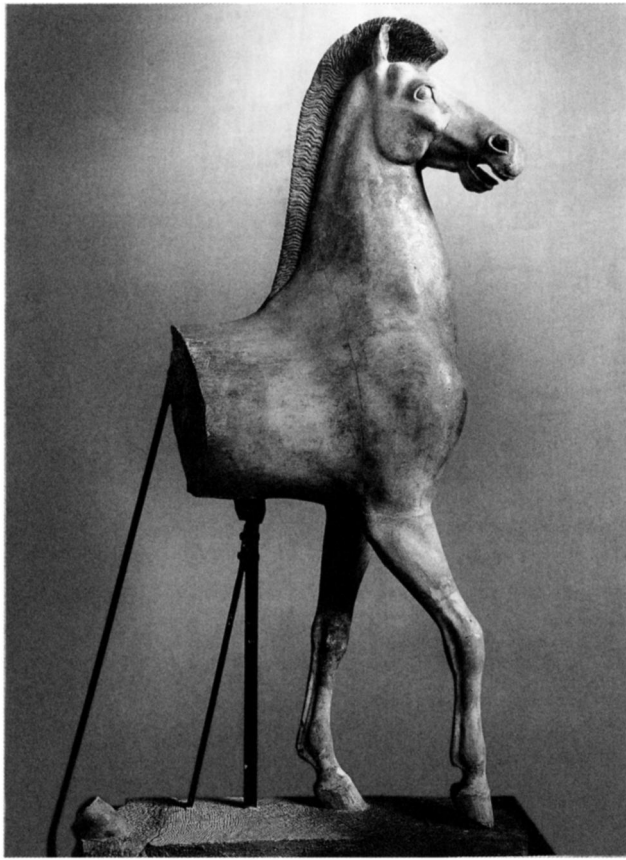


Figure 3. Archaic Greek statue of a horse, ca. 510–500 B.C. H. 107 cm. Akropolis Museum, Athens, 697 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, Schrader 128)

burden. Among the equids, mules and donkeys filled this role.

Statues of horses were dedicated in sanctuaries, a good example being Akropolis 697 (Figure 3). The major remains of this lively-looking horse are its foreparts and body to well behind the withers, but other fragments make clear that originally, the entire animal was represented.¹⁵ Some statues of horses are known today only from literary descriptions.¹⁶ Excavations have also yielded many horse statuettes, especially in bronze, used as dedications.¹⁷ But it is the illustrations of them in narrative contexts that reveal how much the Greeks cherished their horses, and it is to representations of their care that I shall now turn.

STABLES AND MANGERS

So far, no traces of an ancient Greek stable have been found in an excavation.¹⁸ Thus, what we know about stables must be gleaned from the few representations of them and from the remarks by Xenophon (4.1–2), who makes a clear distinction between the stable, which

contains stalls, feed bins, grooming tools, tack, and other miscellaneous items, and the stall, which houses the horse and his manger: “When a man has found a horse to his mind, bought him and taken him home, it is well to have the stable so situated with respect to the house that his master can see him very often; and it is a good plan to have the stall so contrived that it will be as difficult to steal the horse’s fodder out of the manger as the master’s victuals from the larder. He who neglects this seems to me to neglect himself; for it is plain that in danger the master entrusts his life to his horse. But a well-secured stall is not only good for preventing theft of the fodder but also because one can see when the horse spills his food.”¹⁹

In Greek vase painting, there are not very many representations of stables, and the manner of depicting them varies widely. I begin with the earliest, which are Late Geometric and more or less contemporary with one another.

On the body of a neck-amphora in the Metropolitan Museum attributed to the Benaki Painter, there is a frieze of five chariots, each drawn by a single horse, but instead of a sixth chariot, there is a man leading a horse. He appears in the center of Side A (Figure 4).²⁰ All the figures move from left to right. Quite a bit of the glaze has flaked, especially where the rein or lead line of the unharnessed horse would have been, but the folded position of the man’s arms indicates that he once held something attached to the horse. The animal is alert and carries himself proudly. The man also appears attentive. The filling ornaments in this scene are well within the Geometric tradition: zigzags, swastikas, and lozenges. But above the back of the led horse is an L-shaped, diagonally hatched object. At first glance, this appears to be nothing more than filling ornament, until one realizes that it is the only one of its kind on the vase. Thus the Benaki Painter must have had something specific in mind, very likely a reference to part of the stable, perhaps a wooden beam. This identification is confirmed, I think, by its similar appearance on a slightly earlier Attic neck-amphora once in Breslau, now called Wrocław (Figure 5), and on two contemporary Argive kraters attributed to the Master of Argos C.201, his namepiece (Figure 6) and Argos C.210.²¹ John Boardman noticed this object in his contribution to a symposium on ancient Greek art and iconography and remarked: “This [the L-shaped object] appears also sometimes in the corner panels over the horses’ backs . . . but it is not a very common motif elsewhere on the vases. It surely signifies something, although I cannot suggest what with any conviction—structural? paving?”²² On the Attic amphora once in Breslau and on the two Argive kraters, the presence of birds perching on this object makes clear

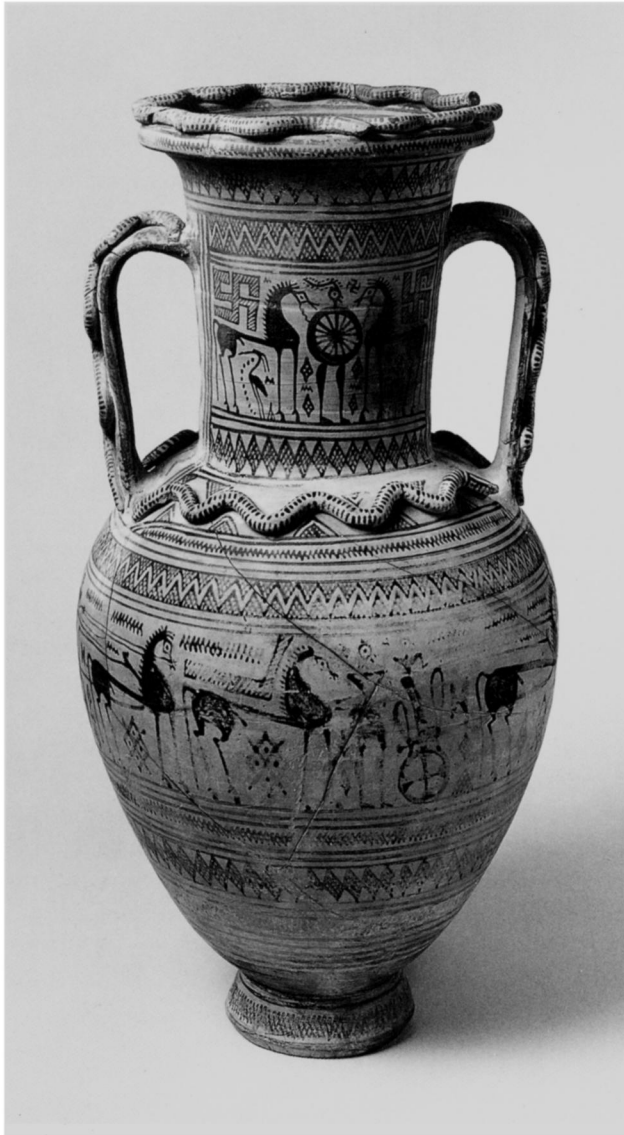


Figure 4. Side A of the body of a Late Geometric neck-amphora attributed to the Benaki Painter showing chariots and a man holding a horse, ca. 710 B.C. H. 68.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.210.7)



Figure 5. Detail of Side A of the neck of a Late Geometric neck-amphora attributed to a painter from the Workshop of Athens 897 showing two horses in a stable, ca. 710–700 B.C. Whereabouts unknown (photo: Karl Kübler, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1969, p. 137, fig. 1)



Figure 6. Detail of Side A of a Late Geometric krater, the namepiece of the Master of Argos C.201, showing a man holding a horse in a stable, ca. 700 B.C. H. 47.3 cm. Archaeological Museum of Argos, C.201 (photo: École Française d'Athènes 27.486)

that it is something tangible and not part of the filling ornament.²³ A reference to the interior of the stable would seem to be the most probable interpretation of this object.²⁴ Today, birds (usually sparrows and swallows) are natural visitors to or inhabitants of barns and stables, which provide protection from the elements as well as a steady supply of feed, usually grain spilled on the floor of the stall by the horse or expelled in its manure. And there is no reason to think it was any different in antiquity.²⁵ What is surprising is how early such representations of horses, birds, and stables began.

It is probably no accident that stable scenes occur more often on Late Geometric II Argive pottery (ca.

late eighth and very early seventh centuries) than they do on Attic. Argos was a wealthy city at this time; it was located on a particularly fertile plain well suited to both pasture and agriculture. Coldstream even called it “that traditional pastureland of horses,” for horses “assumed a leading place in [the Argive painters’] repertoire.”²⁶ Yet even though the arable land of Attica was considerably more limited, “there must always have been fair farming land in the plains of Eleusis and Marathon, and the Mesogeia.”²⁷ And there were surely wealthy landowners whose holdings enabled them to breed and raise horses, although perhaps not on quite the same scale as that of their



Figure 7. Detail of Side A of an Attic black-figured cup attributed to the Amasis Painter showing the Stable of Poseidon, ca. 540–530 B.C. H. 12.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.62)

Figure 8. Detail of the Attic black-figured cup in Figure 7 showing the right side of the stable

Argive counterparts, and Euboea also possessed land suitable for breeding horses.²⁸

After these abbreviated indications of stables, there is an interval of nearly a century and a half before representations recur, and these are much more detailed. The first is the famous scene of Poseidon's horses about to be harnessed, painted on Side A of the Amasis Painter's cup, which dates between 540 and 530 B.C. (Figures 7 and 8).²⁹ The theme on each side comes from Book 13 of the *Iliad*, which tells how Poseidon leaves the highest summit of Samothrace (today called Mount Fengari), from which he witnessed the Greeks being driven back to their ships by the Trojans. First Poseidon went to the place "where his glorious house was built in the water's depth, glittering with gold, imperishable forever. Going there he harnessed under his chariot his bronze-shod horses, flying footed, with long manes streaming of gold."³⁰ Then Poseidon went to the Greek camp to instill courage and valor into the heart of every Greek to resume the fierce attack against Hektor and the other Trojans.³¹

On the Amasis Painter's cup, five Doric columns supporting a metope-triglyph frieze indicate a fine stable well suited to the immortal horses of Zeus's brother. The shaft of each unfluted column widens toward the bottom, and the capital consists of an echinus below a narrow abacus. Between the abacus and the frieze above is an extra block, which does not accord with any known ancient architectural order. The capitals of the first, third, and fifth columns are painted white; the echini of the other two are red, as is the extra block at the top of column three. The columns support twenty-six metopes, with figures occupying alternate panels, but for the last two, which each contain one: four metopes each have a bird; in the others are a squatting ape, a panther, a hen, an ape on all fours, a swan, a lion, another hen, a dog, and, in the last two



contiguous metopes, an ape climbing out of his panel and an archer about to release an arrow (Figure 8).

Each horse looks tense and high-strung, with a slightly heavy but well-formed head, thick strong neck, deep chest, and strong quarters. Bodies are well filled out. Legs are very slender and delicate, and hoofs rather small. Manes and tails are luxuriant, and the mane of one horse (third from left) is a double one (it stands away on each side of the neck). Long forelocks are tied up in festive-looking topknots.³² These horses look well bred and well fed, as befitting the team of an Olympian. The harnessing has not yet begun, for the horses still wear their halters,³³ and each is tied to a column at about head level.

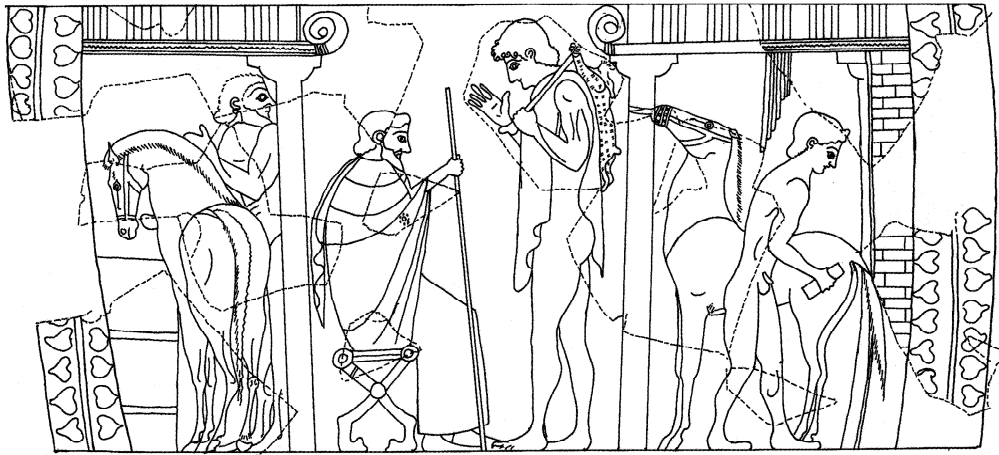


Figure 9. Reconstruction drawing of the panel on the body of an Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter showing a stable scene, ca. 520 B.C. Private collection, New York (drawing: Mary B. Moore)

Xenophon (5.4) recommended that the groom “should tie up the horse at a place above the head, because when anything irritates his face, the horse instinctively tries to get rid of it by tossing his head upwards; and if he is tied thus, he loosens the halter instead of breaking it by tossing up his head.”³⁴

A youthful groom attends each horse, probably putting the finishing touches to the animal before it is harnessed. The first groom holds the lead line in his right hand and gives the animal a reassuring stroke on the forehead with his left. The second groom does the same but holds his horse by the chin, not the lead line, a little of which appears on the shaft of the column just above the groom’s forearm. Horses prefer to be approached slightly from the side, not directly from the front, and here all of them respond by putting their ears back just a little rather than pricking them forward alertly.³⁵ The third horse is very eager to set off and starts to rear in excitement. If his groom is not careful, a sharp hoof might inflict a painful wound. The next groom, probably for the fourth horse, reaches for part of the harness with his right hand and holds a goad in his left. The harness part, which looks like the headstall with bit, seems to hang from the corner of the abacus. The Amasis Painter was not very clear about this harness detail.³⁶ The first groom wears a short kiltlike garment; the other three are nude. Perhaps the kilt indicates that the first is the head groom. At the far right, a man dressed in a himation over a chiton looks on, holding what appears to be a staff (its tip is overlapped by the column capital). Perhaps he is the person in charge of the stable.³⁷ If so, this would explain his fine clothing and dignified bearing. Beneath the handle is a similar man, but he is dressed only in a himation. It is unclear who he is. An archer in Eastern dress stands on the back of the left-hand horse and is poised to shoot an arrow, and the nude youth on the next horse hangs onto the abacus

of the column and braces his right foot against its shaft. The two right contiguous metopes seem to mimic these figures: the right-most metope contains an archer who aims an arrow at an ape climbing out of the metope to the left, his left foot already touching the abacus of the column (Figure 8).³⁸ His balance is very precarious.

The next stable scene known to me occurs on the body of a fragmentary hydria in a New York private collection. It is attributed by its owner to the Antimenes Painter and can be dated about 520 B.C. (Figure 9).³⁹ There are three parts to the scene. The center one depicts the return of a successful hunter who has bagged a large hare that hangs down his back suspended from a *lagobolon*. He gestures in excitement or in greeting to the man seated on a campstool before him. Perhaps the man is the hunter’s father. In the left part of the scene, a horse is about to eat or drink; in the right one, it is probably being groomed.⁴⁰ The stable is as impressive as the one by the Amasis Painter, although it probably belongs to the realm of daily life, not that of Olympus.

In the left-hand section of the stable, a single white Doric column supports a metope-triglyph frieze. The triglyphs are painted black; the metopes were left the color of the clay. Below the frieze, a narrow architrave decorated with a wavy incised line terminates in a tightly wound spiral. Two fragments preserve part of a horse seen from behind; its head and neck are in profile to the left, a very bold attempt at foreshortening.⁴¹ To the left of the horse is a rather tall rectangular black object decorated with two pairs of lines incised horizontally. Originally, I thought this might be a drinking trough or a thick hitching post.⁴² Now, I am inclined to interpret this object as a manger, from which the horse will soon begin to eat. In my first attempt to reconstruct this unusual scene, I drew the horse wearing a muzzle, based on the presence of the

muzzle on the horse in the right section of the stable (see next paragraph below). This was surely incorrect, because there is no reason to muzzle this horse and no evidence that it will or should be tied up. It wears only a halter, and its right hind hoof with just the toe touching the ground indicates that the animal is relaxed and content. Its groom looks away, which he would not do if the horse were even a little bit fidgety.

The right-hand section of the stable is more detailed than the left. In addition to the white column supporting a similar entablature, at the far right is a black Doric column that abuts the stable wall, which is constructed of many courses of dressed blocks of stone.⁴³ Three fragments preserve part of a muzzled horse tied to the white column and a little of its groom, whose diminutive size suggests he is a youth. Most of the horse's head, all of its neck with upright mane painted red, its shoulder with the start of the forelegs, and a little of the cannon bones of its hind legs remain. The horse appears to be tied quite tightly to the column, for its head is raised with the nose overlapping the shaft.⁴⁴ Straps of a muzzle clearly encase the animal's jaw to prevent it from nipping. This was standard practice for an unbridled horse and was strongly recommended by Xenophon (5.2–3): "The groom must also know about putting the muzzle on the horse when he takes him out to be groomed or to the rolling-place. In fact he must always put the muzzle on when he leads him anywhere without a bridle. For the muzzle prevents him from biting without hampering his breathing; moreover, when it is put on, it goes far towards preventing any propensity to mischief."⁴⁵

I return now to the Olympian world. About a decade or so after the Antimenes Painter created his unusual scene, the Priam Painter depicted the harnessing of Athena's chariot on an amphora Type A



Figure 10. Detail of Side A of an Attic black-figured amphora Type A attributed to the Priam Painter showing the harnessing of Athena's horses, ca. 510 B.C. Restored H. 56.4 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 212

now in Oxford (Figure 10).⁴⁶ The goddess is accompanied by Herakles, by a charioteer dressed in a long white chiton, and by two attendants, the one at the head of the team in warrior's dress. The moment depicted is probably just before Athena and Herakles set off for Olympus, where the hero would celebrate his apotheosis.⁴⁷

Three large Doric columns represent the stable, and lines of glaze drawn on the surface of the vase indicate their flutes. Each capital is nicely detailed, with thick rectangular abacus, rather flat echinus, and anuli (necking rings) that form the transition from the capital to the shaft of the column. There is no metope-triglyph frieze; instead, a chain of lotuses and palmettes serves as both an upper border for the picture and an entablature for the stable.

Athena mounts the chariot, holding her spear in her right hand. The two pole horses are already harnessed.⁴⁸ The right-hand one (from the driver's view) appears eager to be off, for it looks out at the viewer restlessly and stamps the ground with its hind hoofs. The harness for the right-hand trace horse hangs at this pole horse's side, probably looped over the end of the yoke (this section of the composition is lost). The parts of the harness are not drawn very clearly: the long thick loop is probably the collar, which rested on the withers and encircled the chest at shoulder level. I am not sure what the vertical lines represent. The cross-shaped object probably had teeth or short spikes to discourage the trace and pole horses from bumping against each other and provoking irritation and stress.⁴⁹ Herakles himself brings up the right-hand trace horse. His horse wears the headstall of the harness, complete with reins and bit. The left-hand trace horse is muzzled, as recommended by Xenophon,⁵⁰ and tied to the middle column. The charioteer is probably making final adjustments to the harness so that its various parts will not chafe and cause discomfort. Xenophon (5.1) remarked, with particular reference to the headstall, that "if there are sore places thereabouts [the ears] the horse is bound to be restive both when he is bridled and when he is rubbed down."⁵¹ The man in front of the charioteer (all that remains are his forehead and legs), who stands to the right looking back, and the warrior between the heads of the two pole horses complete the composition.

Two more stable scenes remain. One is on a cup in Würzburg attributed to the Epeleios Painter.⁵² There, a single column represents the stable, an unfluted Doric one with a rectangular base that may indicate it is a wooden column.⁵³ In this scene, five youths stand around, chatting idly. A bridled horse is tied to the column by a rein. Xenophon would not have approved of this tie-up.

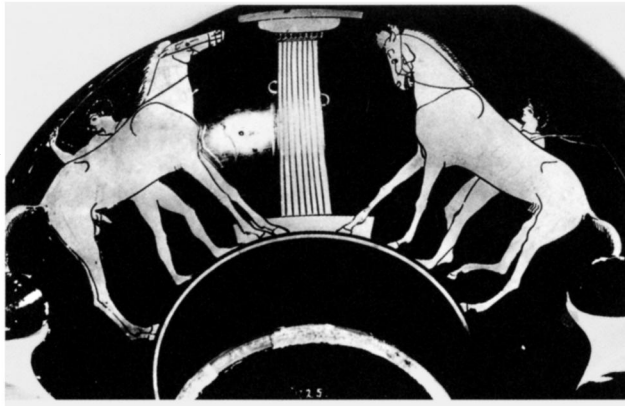


Figure 11. Detail of Side B of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to Onesimos showing youths and horses in a stable, ca. 490 B.C. H. 9.1 cm. Staatliches Museum Schwerin, 725 (1307) (photo: CVA Schwerin 1, pl. 19 [Deutsches Dem. Rep. 1, pl. 19])

The last stable scene is by Onesimos, a cup painter active in the early fifth century B.C. On each side of his cup in Schwerin, a Doric column indicates the stable (Figure 11).⁵⁴ Like the column painted by the Epeleios Painter on his cup in Würzburg, the two on the Schwerin cup have wide rectangular bases. Each has a handsome capital, with the abacus and echinus nicely proportioned one to the other, and a fluted shaft. On the column of the side illustrated here, an egg pattern and two anuli form the transition from capital to shaft. Rings for tying the horses protrude from the shaft about midway down. Two horses flank the column but are not tied to it. The one at the right wears a bridle and is attended by a youth holding a forked stick. The left-hand horse, attended by a similar youth, wears a muzzle. That young man looks as if he is about to hit the animal with his stick, and one can readily see why. The horse's distended penis and raised tail make clear that it has both urinated and defecated on the stable floor, and the youth has a clean-up chore to do. Xenophon (5.2) recommended for "the groom to have orders to remove the dung and litter daily to one and the same place."⁵⁵ He probably had in mind removal from the stall, not the stable floor.

MANGERS AND FEEDING

Stables and stalls provide shelter; mangers contain nourishment, today usually oats or a mixture of grains as well as fodder. Xenophon (4.4) wrote of a morning and evening feed: "The groom . . . must loose him [the horse] from the stall after the morning feed, that he may return to his evening feed with more appetite."⁵⁶ As far as I know, no ancient manger has ever been

found in Greece, but there may be mention of one in the Attic stelai that list the property confiscated from the mutilators of the Herms, which stood in the streets of Athens. This incident took place in 415 B.C.⁵⁷

Other than the solid object in the left section of the stable by the Antimenes Painter that I think may represent a manger (Figure 9), all the representations of mangers that I have been able to find are either Late Geometric I b (ca. 750–735 B.C.) from the Hirschfeld Workshop in Athens and the Cesnola Painter's Workshop in Euboea or Late Geometric II (ca. 735–700 B.C.) from various parts of Greece, but especially Argos and Euboea and to a lesser extent Athens and Attica.⁵⁸ There are four basic types of mangers represented on Late Geometric vases: T-shaped; a rectangle supported by a post, with or without a base; attached to the wall of the stall (or perhaps abutting it), sometimes with a leg supporting it; and freestanding, usually with a tripod support. In the context of this article, it is not possible to discuss every example of each type; rather, I shall describe and illustrate a representative selection and cite relevant bibliography.⁵⁹

The T-shaped manger was identified by Courbin and seems to occur only on Geometric II Argive vases (i.e., ca. 730–690 B.C.).⁶⁰ Its shape gives the type its name, and the vertical descending from each end of the bar can reach to the ground or stop well above it (see Figure 6).⁶¹ A row of dots decorates each element of the manger, and the presence of birds on a wooden beam of the stable above the backs of the horses on Argos C.201 and C.210 supports the identification of the object as a manger.⁶² On all but one of the examples known to me, the manger appears beneath the belly of the horse; the exception is Argos C.870, where it stands on the ground between two horses.⁶³ The drawing of the manger beneath the bellies of the horses should probably not be taken literally; rather the manger should be understood as at the side of the animal.

The second type of manger is also known chiefly on Argive pottery. The feed receptacle is in the form of a rectangle decorated with various geometric patterns and supported by a central post. Like the T-shaped manger, this one may appear beneath the belly of a horse or stand between a pair of them, as on Athens N.M. 843, which is attributed to an Argive artist related to the Verdelis Painter (Figure 12).⁶⁴ The support is plain, like the post of a fence, suggesting that it was driven into the floor of the stall, which was earthen (see below, p. 50). Three birds standing on the back of each horse wait for grains of feed to spill on the ground.⁶⁵ On a krater fragment found in the remains of a Geometric funeral pyre at Argos and depicting this type of manger, two pairs of diagonal

Figure 12. Detail of the shoulder of a Late Geometric Argive neck-amphora attributed to a painter related to the Verdelis Painter, showing two horses at a manger, ca. 700 B.C. H. 30 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 843 (photo: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pl. 29b)



Figure 13. Detail of the neck of an unattributed Late Geometric Attic oinochoe showing two horses at a manger, ca. 700 B.C. H. 15.3 cm. Athens EPK 570 (photo: Maria Brouskari, 'Απὸ τὸν ἀθηναϊκὸ Κεραμεικὸ τοῦ 8ου Π. Χ. αἰῶνα [Athens, 1979], pl. 4)

braces hold the feed receptacle firmly in place.⁶⁶ In addition, two short verticals descend from each side of the receptacle. A variant of this type of manger occurs on two Late Geometric Attic oinochoai found in a grave in Athens, excavated in 1955 during the lengthening of Erechtheion Street south of the Akropolis: Athens EPK 569 and 570 (Figure 13).⁶⁷ These mangers are Y-shaped with two vertical rings to which the horses are tethered, and the receptacle of each has horizontal lines that look like slats. Perhaps they were intended to be cribs and would have held hay or other fodder.

The two previous types of mangers have been localized mainly on Late Geometric Argive pottery. The third type has a fairly broad geographical range, for it occurs on Attic, Euboean, Argive, and Melian pottery, with the largest number appearing on Euboean vases, including MMA 74.51.965 (Figure 14), MMA 74.51.5885, and MMA 74.51.838.⁶⁸ The manger is attached to the wall of the stall or abuts it, and often a leg supports the front of it, although this does not



Figure 14. Detail of the shoulder and body of a Late Geometric Euboean krater showing horses at their mangers and horses grazing, ca. 750–740 B.C. H. 114.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874–76 (74.51.965)



Figure 15. Detail of a Late Geometric Attic oinochoe attributed to a painter from the Concentric Circle Group showing two horses at a manger, ca. 720–710 B.C. H. 23.5 cm. British Museum, London, 1877.12-7.12 (photo: Peter Kahane, *Antike Kunst* 16 [1973], pl. 28, 1)



Figure 16. Detail of the neck of a Late Geometric neck-amphora attributed to a painter from the Workshop of Athens 897 showing two horses at a manger, ca. 710–700 B.C. H. 43.5 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 31005 (photo: Staatliche Museen Ant. 8638)

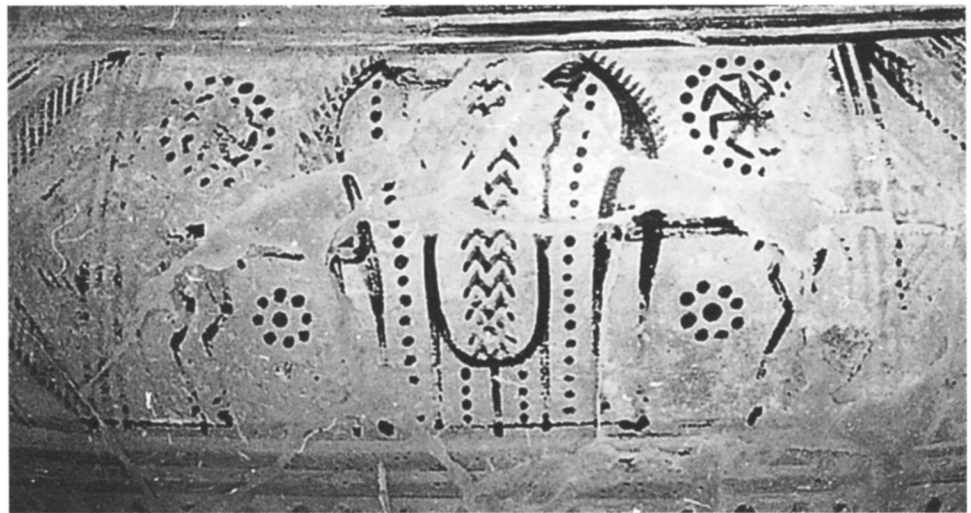


Figure 17. Detail of a Late Geometric Attic kantharos attributed to a painter from the Hirschfeld Workshop showing two horses standing at a manger, ca. 750–735 B.C. H. with handles 27.5 cm. Universität Tübingen, 2658 (photo: Universität Tübingen 9456)

seem to be the case in the Metropolitan Museum's examples.⁶⁹ Various simple geometric patterns decorate the feed box. The horse is tethered to the manger by a lead line, but the means of attachment, such as a ring (see below), is not depicted.⁷⁰ On the Euboean examples, a double axe is suspended above the back of the horse, and there are no birds perched on wooden beams, although occasionally a bird appears beneath the horse, as on MMA 74.51.965, and on MMA 74.51.5885, there is one on the croup of each horse.

The fourth and last type of manger is best known in Attic Geometric, although it is seen occasionally in Argive, and perhaps in Euboean or Cycladic. This

manger is freestanding, usually but not always with tripod support.⁷¹ Often it resembles the tripod cauldron associated with prizes for athletic contests or as dedications in sanctuaries, most notably at Olympia. The vessel awarded as a prize is characterized by two upright circular handles that were attached to the rim of the cauldron; sometimes a small figure flanks or surmounts each handle. The rim of the cauldron is horizontal; the body is convex and tapers to a rounded bottom. Three legs support the cauldron, and occasionally there are braces or struts between them.⁷²

Whether to call a representation of a tripod-cauldron a manger or a prize can be determined not

only by its context in the picture but also by the shape of the cauldron itself. Rarely does a tripod-cauldron used as a manger have a rim that is horizontal, and figures never surmount the ring handles, because they are used for tethering the horses and a figure would get in the way. Exceptions that have a horizontal rim are three in London by a painter in the Concentric Circle Group, 1877.12-7.12 (Figure 15), MsC 2531, and 1920.10-4.4, and two from the Workshop of Athens 897, Berlin 31005 (Figure 16) and Athens N.M. 18135.⁷³ Both are dated late in the eighth century B.C. More often the receptacle is crescent-shaped, and two from the Hirschfeld Workshop illustrate the type very well: Munich 6249, an oinochoe, and Tübingen 2658, a kantharos (Figure 17).⁷⁴ These are two of the earliest representations of tripod-cauldrons used as a manger. On the Attic neck-amphora once in Breslau discussed above (Figure 5), birds perch on a wooden beam above the backs of the horses waiting for feed to spill on the floor of the stall.⁷⁵

The receptacle of this type of manger can also be rectangular in shape and decorated with various geometric patterns. London B.M. 1877.12-7.12 (Figure 15) has vertical bars on the receptacle and two thin vertical legs with strong hatched braces that form an X. In the circular shape formed by the loose ropes that tie the horses to the rings is a group of dots, suggesting that the artist had in mind grains of feed.⁷⁶

The manger on Munich 8748 (Figure 18) by a painter from the Hirschfeld Workshop is unusual, for it does not have tripod support. Instead, the rectangular feed receptacle, decorated with zigzags, rests on the ground, and there are two upright posts to which the horses are tied. Between the posts are several rows of dots that may represent feed.⁷⁷

All the examples of this type of manger discussed so far are Attic. Non-Attic examples are an Argive one, Argos C.20, on which the manger is an inverted cross-hatched triangle and the horses are not tied to it;⁷⁸ a Cycladic example, Heidelberg G 88, which has a crescent-shaped manger with tripod support and two rings with a horse tethered to each one;⁷⁹ and one from Delos that might be Euboean, which depicts a crosshatched rectangular receptacle with rings and two hatched legs. Above the back of the preserved horse on the last example is a rafter with bits of glaze preserved that may be the legs of birds.⁸⁰

A survey of mangers on vases from various regions of eighth-century Greece produces a pattern suggesting that the form of the manger varied by region. Greeks living in the Argolid favored the T-shaped manger (Type I) and also the one in the shape of a rectangle supported by a simple post (Type II). The latter occurs elsewhere only in Athens, seemingly as a



Figure 18. Detail of the neck of a Late Geometric neck-amphora attributed to a painter from the Hirschfeld Workshop showing two horses at a manger, ca. 750–735 B.C. H. 42 cm. Antikensammlung, Munich, 8748 (photo: Antikensammlung W 1091)

variant that looks more like a crib for fodder than a receptacle for grains of feed (see Figure 13). Most widespread is Type III, the manger attached to the wall of the stall; it occurs on Attic, Euboean, Argive, and Melian vases but is preferred in Euboea and its colonies.⁸¹ It may have been invented in Euboea. Attic painters favored the manger supported by a tripod (Type IV), usually with a crescent-shaped feed receptacle, although the type occurs occasionally on Argive and Cycladic pottery.

GRAZING

Mangers contained grain, and the allotment was probably consumed at one time and rather quickly, just as it is today. Grazing, on the other hand, is a more leisurely activity, one that is ongoing when the horse is turned out to pasture. Grain and grass (or hay if the horse is in his stall) are the two basic types of nourishment for horses.

Like the images of stables and mangers, representations of horses grazing begin in the Late Geometric period, and once again the Cesnola Painter in Euboea seems to have been the first to depict this subject.⁸² Usually grazing horses appear in a frieze, sometimes in a panel, and often on the same vase as a horse tied to a manger. The best-preserved Euboean example occurs on the Cesnola krater in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 14).⁸³ There, horses graze together peacefully, and nearly every one is accompanied by a goose pecking the ground. Horses appear in a frieze that encircles the vase below the handles as well as in metopes on the backs of the handles. Another Euboean example is on the namepiece of the Painter of Euboea



Figure 19. Detail of the shoulder of a Late Geometric pitcher attributed to a painter from the Birdseed Workshop showing a frieze of grazing mares and foals, ca. 735–720 B.C. H. 50.7 cm. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, 1919.363 (photo: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 15906 d)

V 116, a slightly younger contemporary of the Cesnola Painter. On this krater, the horses are not accompanied by birds.⁸⁴

By the very late eighth century B.C., the theme of horses grazing became more popular. In Athens, the subject began in Late Geometric II during the last quarter of that century and continued well into the sixth. A particularly charming representation is the frieze of grazing mares on a Late Geometric pitcher in Hamburg attributed to a painter from the Birdseed Workshop (Figure 19).⁸⁵ A foal suckles each mare, thus ensuring the well-being of a new generation.⁸⁶

Geometric artists from other regions also took up the subject. In the Argolid, a grazing horse appears on each side of the neck of an amphora found at Tiryns, and a frieze of grazing horses decorates a fragmentary pyxis from the Larissa citadel at Argos.⁸⁷ These scenes are without birds or foals. On the bowl of a Late Geometric Boeotian pyxis, a horse accompanied by a goose grazes quietly.⁸⁸ A frieze of grazing horses occurs on a fragmentary krater from Delos, and above them, in a metope, a horse is tied to a manger of my Type II.⁸⁹ The scheme of decoration recalls that of some of the Euboean material.

Protoattic artists took up the theme with their customary enthusiasm. The earliest example is probably the one by the Analatos Painter on a lid in London B.M. 1877.12-11.9 (Figure 20).⁹⁰ Four horses of equal size graze to the right. They have long manes and high-set tails, full bodies, slender legs, and strong hoofs. Between the forelegs of one horse a bird pecks the ground, and between this horse and the next is a diminutive horse that is smaller probably because the space was not big enough for a horse the scale of the others. Unlike those larger horses, this little one is drawn in silhouette and has the stand-up mane and pipelike tail typical of Geometric horses. The Analatos Painter painted a similar frieze on a fragmentary lid

found in the Agora and placed by Brann slightly later than the lid in London.⁹¹ Only parts of two horses remain on the Agora lid, but they too have long manes and high-set tails. Between the forelegs of one, a bird pecks the ground. Grazing horses appear on both the lid and the bowl of Berlin A 35, a standed krater attributed to the Polyphemos Painter.⁹² These have the large heads drawn in outline typical of Protoattic horses, especially toward the middle of the seventh century B.C., long manes and tails, and big hoofs.⁹³ Similar are the horses in a frieze below the figures on the Aigisthos krater by the Oresteia Painter, Berlin A 32.⁹⁴ Their heads are also in outline, but their tails are drawn as a herringbone pattern incised in the

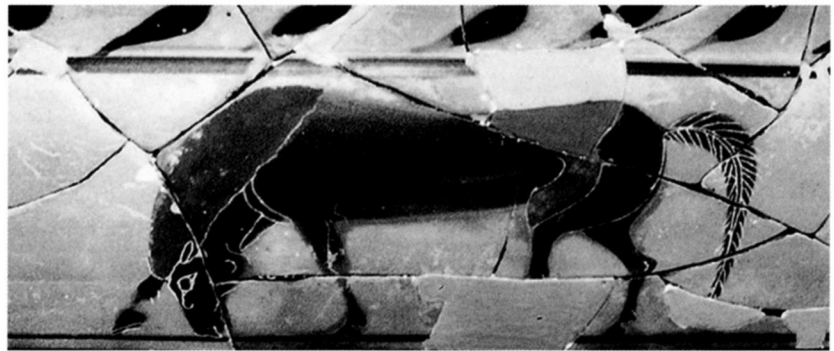


Figure 20. Protoattic lid attributed to the Analatos Painter showing grazing horses, ca. 700 B.C. Diam. 25.8 cm. British Museum, London, 1877.12-11.9

Figure 21. Detail of an Attic black-figured louterion attributed to the Nettos Painter showing grazing horses, ca. 600 B.C. Restored H. 21.5 cm. Once Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, F 1682 (photo: Staatliche Museen Ant. 5515)



Figure 22. Detail of an unattributed Attic black-figured Siana cup showing a grazing horse, ca. 560 B.C. H. 13 cm. Athens, Agora P 20716 (photo: American School of Classical Studies, Athens, XLIII-85)



black glaze. As on Berlin A 35, an incised line indicates the coronet that separates the hoof from the pastern. All these horses are unaccompanied.

In Attic black-figure, I do not know very many examples of horses grazing. The Nettos Painter, the earliest artist of black-figure who has left us enough work to establish his artistic personality, painted some

plump, well-fed-looking little horses in a frieze below the handle zone of his louterion, once in Berlin but lost in World War II (Figure 21).⁹⁵ These horses have fat round bodies supported by short sturdy legs, small heads, long manes falling in thick locks, and long tails with herringbone incision for the part of the tail covering the tailbone.⁹⁶ They look a lot like modern



Figure 23. Fragment of an Attic black-figured amphora attributed to Exekias showing a warrior grazing his horse, ca. 530 B.C. Greatest W. of fragment 22 cm. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, MS 4873



Figure 24. Detail of the shoulder of an Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the Painter of London B 76 showing Troilos about to water his horses, ca. 570–560 B.C. H. 40.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1945 (45.11.2)

Shetland ponies. Similar to them is the grazing horse on each side of an unattributed Siana cup found in the Agora, P 20716, and dating to about 560 B.C. (Figure 22).⁹⁷ This horse also has a chunky body and short legs. Its mane seems to stand away from its neck (the locks are not articulated, so one cannot be sure), and its tail is incised in the herringbone pattern, the latest example of this tail arrangement I have found.

The last painted example of a grazing horse is unique, at least to my knowledge. It occurs on the fragmentary amphora Type A in Philadelphia attributed to Exekias and shows a warrior grazing his horse (Figure 23).⁹⁸ This horse is bridled (something Xenophon would probably not have recommended, because the bit might interfere with chewing), and the warrior holds a rein in his right hand (now missing).⁹⁹ The horse is the handsome, well-bred-looking animal typical for Exekias. It has a finely chiseled head, alert ears, strong neck, well-muscled body, slender legs, and small but strong hoofs. Its long, carefully incised mane hangs down its neck and looks well combed. A realistic touch is the inclusion of the fleshy area of the throat just behind the cheekbone. The horse is relaxed and content; this is a quiet moment between man and beast that takes place in the cool of evening after a long day or, in this case, perhaps after a battle.

WATERING

Along with grain and fodder, fresh water is essential to the well-being of a horse. Water may be supplied from a natural source, such as a pond, stream, or river, or, more often, from a trough or pedestaled basin, which is most usual in representations of horses drinking or about to drink. Basins and troughs, of course, are filled by grooms or stable hands. Oddly enough, Xenophon did not mention the watering of horses, a point made by Anderson in his chapter on stable management.¹⁰⁰ Aristotle (595 b 20–24) noted: “Horses, mules and asses are grain and herbage eaters, but are chiefly fat-

tened by their drink: for . . . whatever drinking water is less disagreeable to them provides more fattening pasture.”¹⁰¹ Later he wrote (605 a 5–10): “Horses like meadows and marshes; for they drink water that is muddy, and if it is clean they turn it over with their hooves and then after drinking they bathe in it. For it is in general an animal that likes baths and also likes water.”¹⁰²

I am not sure if actual water troughs for horses have been found in Greece,¹⁰³ but they are known in the Near East. In 1954, inscribed horse troughs from the reign of Sennacherib, king of Assyria (704–681 B.C.), were excavated at Nineveh.¹⁰⁴

In Greek art, I have not found representations of horses drinking or about to drink from troughs or fountains datable earlier than the sixth century B.C. In mythological scenes the subject occurs in some of the illustrations of the Ambush of Troilos; elsewhere watering scenes seem to be nonmythic. A good example of the Troilos episode occurs on an ovoid hydria attributed to the Painter of London B 76 (Figure 24), an artist active in the second quarter of the sixth century whose work is quite colorful.¹⁰⁵ The ill-fated son of Priam rides his horse while leading another, who stretches its head down to a low-footed basin into which water flows from the fountain spout. Troilos’s sister, Polyxena, precedes them, about to fill her hydria, and Achilles crouches behind the fountain ready to spring at Troilos. Other Troilos scenes are similar but non-Attic. One occurs on a Middle Corinthian bottle signed by Timonidas as potter, Athens N.M. A 277 (Figure 25).¹⁰⁶ There Troilos leads his two horses to a stand basin into which water flows from a lion’s-head spout attached to the fountain, while Polyxena fills her hydria. Another example occurs on a Laconian dinos, Louvre E 662, attributed by Stibbe to the Rider Painter (Figure 26).¹⁰⁷ Troilos’s horse raises its head as if it is nickering; the led horse sniffs the earth next to a pithos placed in the ground. One horse paws the ground with a forefoot, but it is not absolutely clear which one. I suspect the artist intended the led horse to be doing this.¹⁰⁸ A contem-



Figure 25. Detail of a Middle Corinthian bottle signed by the potter Timonidas showing Troilos about to water his horses, ca. 580 B.C. H. 14 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, A 277



Figure 26. Detail of a Laconian dinos attributed to the Rider Painter showing Troilos about to water his horses, ca. 560–550 B.C. H. 26.5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 662 (photo: *LIMC*, vol. 1 [1981], pl. 82, no. 256)



Figure 28. Panel of an Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the Karitaios Painter showing horses about to drink from a pedestaled basin, ca. 525–520 B.C. H. 44 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 01.8060



Figure 27. Detail of Side A of a black-figured amphora attributed to a painter of the Northampton Group showing horses drinking from a pedestaled basin, ca. 540–530 B.C. H. 23.4 cm. Antikensammlung, Munich, 586 (photo: Antikensammlung K 981)

porary Chiote chalice shows Troilos's horse reaching toward the water,¹⁰⁹ and a slightly later Chalcidian amphora shows both horses coming to a halt before a pedestaled basin into which water flows from the fountain's lion's-head spout.¹¹⁰

Other representations of the theme show more varied compositions, because they are not restricted by the subject to specific characters and settings. On a non-Attic neck-amphora in Munich dated about 540–530 B.C. and attributed to a painter of the Northampton Group, a young man, probably a groom, tries to stop two horses from drinking from a pedestaled basin (Figure 27).¹¹¹ Perhaps the animals have just been unharnessed and have not yet cooled out. Horses should not be allowed to drink large amounts of water immediately after strong exercise because of the risk of painful intestinal cramps called colic.¹¹² A particularly pleasing scene occurs on a black-figured hydria in Boston of about 525–520 B.C. (Figure 28).¹¹³ Two chariot teams, unharnessed but still wearing headstalls, are about to drink from a

pedestaled basin. Two grooms are hard at work rubbing them down.

Two Attic red-figured scenes, both on cups, are a decade or two later than the last vase. One is by the Euergides Painter and shows a mounted horse cantering up to pedestaled basin.¹¹⁴ It may be about to drink, but one cannot be absolutely certain. Our last example, a cup by the Painter of Berlin 2268,¹¹⁵ shows a horse walking with head down toward a pedestaled basin. On the opposite side of the basin, a phallos-horse approaches.

HOOF CARE AND GROOMING

Along with proper nourishment and fresh water, daily hoof care and careful grooming are essential for maintaining the health of the horse. Today, there are numerous kinds of brushes, combs, and currycombs to clean a horse's coat and keep its mane and tail free of snarls; there are also various rubbing liniments to prevent sore muscles caused by hard exercise. In antiquity, the grooming tools were different and limited in type, but the goals were the same.¹¹⁶

At the very beginning of his treatise, when discussing how to avoid being cheated when buying a horse, Xenophon said (1.2): "You must first look at his feet"; he repeated this instruction a little later (1.3): "When testing the feet first look to the hoofs. For it makes a great difference in the quality of the feet if they are thick rather than thin. Next you must not fail to notice whether the hoofs are high both in front and behind, or low. For high hoofs have the frog, as it is called, well off the ground; but flat hoofs tread with the strongest and weakest part of the foot simultaneously, like a bow-legged man."¹¹⁷ Xenophon had specific recommendations for the floor of the stall (4.3): "Now damp and slippery floors ruin even well-formed hoofs. In order that they may not be damp, the floors should have a slope to carry off the wet, and, that they may not be slippery, they should be paved all over with stones, each one about the size of the hoof. Such floors, indeed, have another advantage because they harden the feet of the horse standing on them." A little later he wrote (4.4): "Now the stable-yard will be of the best form and will strengthen the feet if he [the groom] throws down and spreads over it four or five loads of round stones, the size of a fist, about a pound in weight, and surrounds them with a border of iron so they may not be scattered. Standing on these will have the same effect as if the horse walked on a stone road for some time every day."¹¹⁸ The effects of this practice may have been known long before Xenophon's time. On an unattributed Late Geometric I fragmentary



Figure 29. Detail of a fragment of an unattributed Late Geometric Argive krater showing a horse walking on ground strewn with stones, ca. 750–730 B.C. H. 25.7 cm. Archaeological Museum of Argos, C.240 (photo: École Française d'Athènes 27.380)

Argive krater, a horse walks on ground that appears to be strewn with round stones (Figure 29). Its groom or rider stands on the ground, holding a rein in each hand. The wavy lines near the bottom of the composition represent water.¹¹⁹

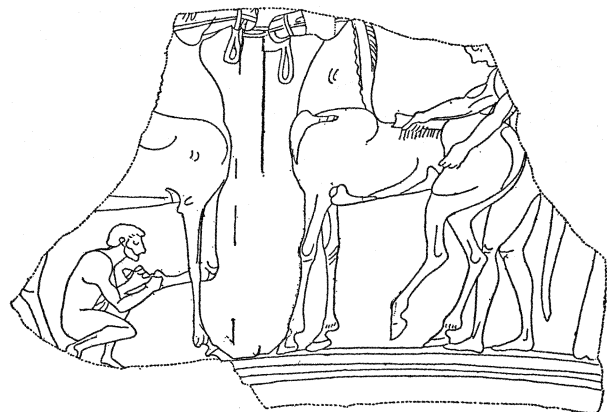


Figure 30. Drawing of a fragment of an unattributed Attic black-figured cup showing horses being groomed, ca. 520–500 B.C. Whereabouts unknown (drawing: after Robert Walpole, *Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, vol. 2 [London, 1817], p. 322)

Xenophon also had clear instructions for grooming (5.5–7): “In rubbing the horse down, the man should start at the head and mane; for if the upper parts are not clean, it is idle to clean his lower parts. Next, going over the rest of his body, he should . . . get the dust out by rubbing him the way the hair lies. But he should not touch the hair on the backbone with any instrument; he should rub and smooth it down with the hands the way it naturally grows. . . . He must wash the head well with water, for, as it is bony, to clean with iron or wood would hurt the horse. . . . He should also wash the tail and mane, for growth is to be encouraged.”¹²⁰ Today, well-cared-for horses are also rubbed down either with a commercial massage pad or with one called a wisp, which is woven from straw.¹²¹

There are not very many examples of horses being groomed, and all but one of those known to me can be dated in the late sixth or early fifth century B.C.¹²² I have already mentioned the one by the Antimenēs Painter (Figure 9) and the hydria in Boston (Figure 28). A particularly interesting example that combines both hoof care *and* grooming occurs on a fragment of a late-sixth-century black-figured cup (Figure 30).¹²³ This is the only example known to me in which a groom picks out the hoof of one horse while another groom brushes a second. Each horse is muzzled and tied to a column at the height recommended by Xenophon (see p. 40, above). Of the left-hand horse, only its foreparts and most of one hind leg remain. A nude groom, kneeling to right and facing in the same direction as the horse, busily cleans out the left fore-hoof.¹²⁴ Xenophon (6.2) expressly stated that if the groom “faces in the *opposite* [italics mine] direction to the horse and sits by his shoulder out of reach of the leg when he cleans him, and rubs him down so, then he will come to no harm, and can also attend to the horse’s frog by lifting up the hoof.”¹²⁵ What this hoof-cleaning instrument looked like in antiquity is not known, but today’s hoof pick is shaped something like a question mark.¹²⁶ The right-hand horse in this scene is preserved but for the top of its head and the beginning of its tail. It stands rather restlessly with its left hind hoof off the ground. The nude youthful groom stands almost behind the horse and brushes its back. At the far right, the lower shaft of a column indicates the stable setting and probably serves as the right-hand frame for the composition, and if so, it presumably had a counterpart, now missing, at the far left.

The only other grooming scene in black-figure known to me occurs on a small early-fifth-century neck-amphora in the Tampa Museum of Art attributed by Beazley to the Michigan Painter.¹²⁷ This groom faces in the opposite direction from the horse, and his puffed cheek indicates that he blows dust out of his grooming tool.

In the tondo of a cup in Syracuse, a painter working for the potter Kachrylion (ca. 520–510 B.C.) drew a groom rubbing down a horse (Figure 31).¹²⁸ The horse stands to the right with its left foreleg raised slightly, its head facing the viewer as if to indicate the pleasure it receives from this care. The end of the horse’s long, luxuriant tail is tied up in a mud-knot to keep it from getting soiled.¹²⁹ In the tondo of a red-figured cup contemporary with the last, Epiktetos depicted a youth grooming a horse.¹³⁰ The horse is muzzled and tied to a ring; it overlaps much of its groom, who bends down (the groom’s back and the horse’s hindquarters and tail are lost). The small projection in front of the horse’s lower neck is the groom’s hand with an instrument (it is not clear which one).

Onesimos painted a charming scene of a young African groom blowing the dust off his grooming tool, an oblong object, while resting his right hand on the horse’s back (Figure 32, Colorplate 2).¹³¹ This horse is not muzzled but wears a bridle, its straps and reins drawn in accessory red (oddly, there is no bit; perhaps Onesimos’s attention was diverted for a moment and he forgot to include it). The animal is tethered to an object with a hole in it that projects from the pattern around the tondo. It seems impatient, for two feet are off the ground and its head is tucked in. Hanging above the horse’s croup is a fringed object that is probably a fly whisk, a useful instrument to have around the stable in warm weather.¹³²



Figure 31. Tondo of an Attic red-figured cup signed by the potter Kachrylion showing a youth grooming a horse, ca. 520–510 B.C. Museo Archeologico Regionale “Paolo Orsi,” Syracuse (photo: Ernst Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* [Munich, 1923], fig. 352)



Figure 32. Detail of the tondo of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to Onesimos showing an African groom blowing dust off a currycomb, ca. 490 B.C. H. 9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.71). See also Colorplate 2

Our last two grooming scenes occur on column-kraters. One is attributed to the manner of Myson.¹³³ It is contemporary with the cup by Onesimos and shows a similar scene, an African groom, his left arm over the horse's shoulder. He wears a loincloth and a leather cap and is blowing the dust off his grooming

tool, also oblong in shape.¹³⁴ This horse is also not muzzled, and it is tied up similarly. A youth watches. The other column-krater is the one in Bologna attributed to the Nausicaa Painter.¹³⁵ There, two grooms curry their horses. The left-hand groom wears a leather cap similar to the one on the column-krater in the manner of Myson. Each animal is bridled and stands quietly.

TRAINING

Few scenes look more peaceful than horses grazing quietly in a green pasture on a warm summer day, but if horses are to be useful to mankind, they must be taught to carry a rider safely and to draw a wheeled vehicle willingly.¹³⁶ Oddly, perhaps, Xenophon gave no instructions on the methods of training horses, except to say (2.1): "We do not think it necessary to give directions for breaking a colt."¹³⁷ But he emphasized kindness and patience when asking a horse to obey a command. Here are some examples. "The one best rule and practice in dealing with a horse is never to approach him in anger; for anger is a reckless thing" (6.13);¹³⁸ "To force him [the horse] with blows only increases his terror" (6.15);¹³⁹ and "spirit [θυμός] in a horse is precisely what anger [ὀργή] is in a man . . . so, he who abstains from annoying a spirited horse is least likely to rouse his anger" (9.2).¹⁴⁰ "We . . . consider that the lesson is most satisfactory if . . . the rider invariably allows him [the horse] relaxation when he has done something according to his [the rider's] wishes" (11.5).¹⁴¹



Figure 33. Detail of an Attic black-figured aryballos attributed to the Amasis Painter showing a youth training two horses, ca. 550 B.C. H. 8.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.11.11)

Representations of horse training in Greek art are not easy to identify. This is because scenes such as putting on the bridle and harness or teaching the horse to accept the weight of the rider or the yoke of a chariot are difficult to separate from similar scenes that show a fully trained animal.¹⁴² The composition pertinent to this article depicts either one man trying to control two rearing horses or two men reining in one rearing horse.¹⁴³ In all these examples, the man or youth kneels or crouches and simply holds the reins loosely or pulls on them. In other words, there may be no real training going on and the scene may illustrate just a simple attempt to bring two excited horses under control, not an easy feat when there are two horses and only one human. Here are a few examples: a shield band from Olympia that is probably of the early second quarter of the sixth century; three Attic black-figured neck-amphorae dating about 520–510 B.C., one of them by Psiax, the other two unattributed; and a red-figured cup by the Euergides Painter of about the same time.¹⁴⁴

But there are two examples of this composition that I think may very well represent horse training, trying to teach the animal to obey a command. They occur on two vases attributed to the Amasis Painter, and one of them is MMA 62.11.11, the aryballos that can be dated about 550 B.C. (Figure 33).¹⁴⁵ A nude youth moves to the right between two rearing horses, a goad held high in his raised right hand. Each horse is bridled, and the reins are of unequal length. The shorter one ends in a loop through which the longer one passes (for a clearer illustration of this type of bridle, see Figure 37).¹⁴⁶ This would help to control the height to which the horse could rear, because as the reins tightened, the bit would put pressure on the animal's mouth, causing him to yield. The rein of the left-hand horse is taut, and that of the right-hand one is loose. Flanking youths gesticulate encouragingly. A similar scene occurs on the painter's amphora in Saint Petersburg, which dates about a decade later than the aryballos and was described by Beazley as a "youth mastering horses."¹⁴⁷ Two rearing horses are controlled by a kneeling youth. The neck of each animal is overbent with its head tucked in, which is odd because there is no pressure on its mouth from the bit since both reins are slack. While the two compositions are more or less symmetrical in the formal sense, they lack the stiff heraldic quality of those cited in my note 144. The positions of the heads and legs of the horses are not strict mirror images of one another, and the general impression is that these are scenes from daily life in which horses are being taught or trained to obey a command.

SPARRING

Basically, horses are not aggressive animals and usually prefer "flight" to "fight," but in the pasture as well as in the wild, horses may rear against one another, either in youthful play or in serious fighting over a mare or for control of a herd.¹⁴⁸ Xenophon was silent about such behavior, but in Greek vase painting there are a few such scenes in Late Geometric Argive and one in Attic black-figure about 540 B.C.

In Argive the subject gives the name to the Painter of the Sparring Horses who decorated kraters.¹⁴⁹ On the best-preserved example, each horse raises just one foreleg, not both, but the intent is clear.¹⁵⁰ In Attic black-figure the subject occurs on an amphora attributed to the Swing Painter in Richmond (Figure 34).¹⁵¹ There, two horses rear over one that rolls on the ground. Oddly enough, the right-hand horse seems to be a mare, and the one on the left is clearly a stallion; the gender of the one on the ground is uncertain because of the position of the hind legs.

ROLLING IN GRASS OR DIRT

After exercise, horses welcome the opportunity to have a refreshing roll in grass or dirt, either having been turned loose or held by a groom on a long lead line. When a horse lies down, it goes down first by folding its forelegs, then rolling over on its hindquarters and side. When it rises, it gets up on its forelegs first so that it can raise its head to check for any danger that may lurk in the vicinity.¹⁵² Then the hindquarters follow.

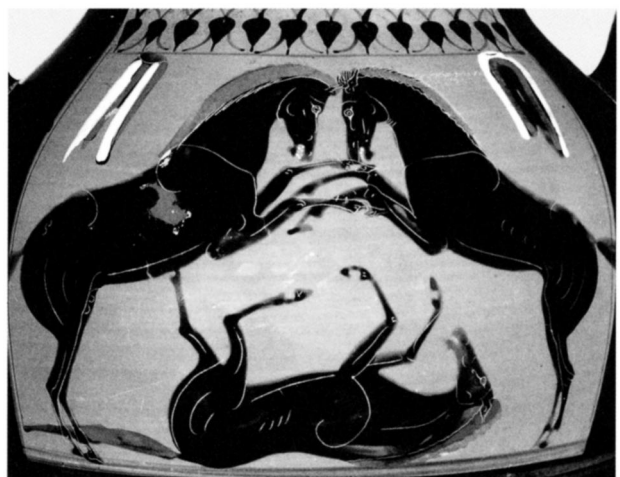


Figure 34. Panel of Side A of an Attic black-figured amphora attributed to the Swing Painter, ca. 540 B.C. H. 38.7 cm. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, The Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund, 62.1.2

In Greek art, the examples of horses rolling or about to roll are few, and those known to me occur on Attic figured vases of the last three decades of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century B.C. I have already noted the horse on the Richmond amphora attributed to the Swing Painter (Figure 34). This seems to be the only example in which the horse is actually on the ground. The others depict horses about to go down that have sometimes been misinterpreted as stumbling. For a stumbling horse that has lost its footing, see the one in a horse race painted on the top surface of a Boeotian tripod-kothon, Munich 6199 (Figure 35).¹⁵³ This horse is down on one knee as its rider tries to guide it to its feet. This is not a lucky race for the next rider, who has fallen off his horse and is sprawled on the ground hanging on to a rein. The effect is very different from that of the vases about to be discussed.

On his alabastron of about 520 B.C. in London, Psiax painted a horse about to roll (Figure 36).¹⁵⁴ Its forelegs are bent, its head is lowered, and it appears to be muzzled. A nude groom stands before it, a long lead held loosely in his right hand. An olive tree provides the outdoor setting. On London B 187, an unattributed amphora Type B, the horse is closer to the ground.¹⁵⁵ It still wears its bridle, and the reins are held by a warrior, presumably its rider. An oinochoe of about 520–510 B.C. by a painter decorating for the Keyside Class shows a horse at the very beginning stages of this activity; its forelegs are just starting to bend, and its head and neck are down.¹⁵⁶ My last black-figured example is by the Diosphos Painter, a small neck-amphora in Saint Petersburg dated in the early fifth century B.C.¹⁵⁷ This horse is already down on one knee and is about to lower its hindquarters to roll over on its side.

An important example of a horse about to roll on the ground appears on the shoulder of a red-figured

hydria attributed to the Rycroft Painter, who was probably a pupil of Psiax. The Rycroft Painter decorated in black-figure, but this hydria, which is in a German private collection, is the only known red-figured vase by this artist and thus establishes him as more ambitious than previously thought.¹⁵⁸ On the left of the composition, a youth walks behind a muzzled horse holding the lead line, a practice Xenophon would have disapproved of, while on the right, a man tries to prevent his horse, which is also muzzled, from rolling on the ground. He gestures strongly, but his admonition is probably too late, because the horse's head is lowered, its forelegs are bent and not supporting the foreparts, and in the next moment, the animal will go down. The tense atmosphere in this scene is very different from the relaxed ones on the last two vases and on the next one by Onesimos.

A cup in Boston attributed to Onesimos depicts a horse that looks as if it is about to roll (Figure 37).¹⁵⁹ He wears the type of bridle described above (see the discussion of Figure 33), which has reins of unequal length. A nude youth holds the longer one loosely so that there is a lot of slack, and the shorter one has slipped down the neck to right behind the ears, just as it would in real life. The horse stretches his head and neck downward as he raises each left hoof slightly. He may be pawing the ground before settling into a nice dusty roll, which horses enjoy doing.

BREEDING

The theme of horse breeding is a very limited one in both Greek literature and representations, although it must have been of considerable importance to those who kept horses. Aristotle included a short section on horse breeding, but it is rather general, dealing chiefly



Figure 35. Detail of an unattributed Boeotian black-figured tripod-kothon showing a horse stumbling with its rider and a rider fallen to the ground from his mount, ca. 570 B.C. H. 12 cm. Antikensammlung, Munich, 6199 (photo: CVA München 3 [Deutschland 9], p. 45, fig. 10)

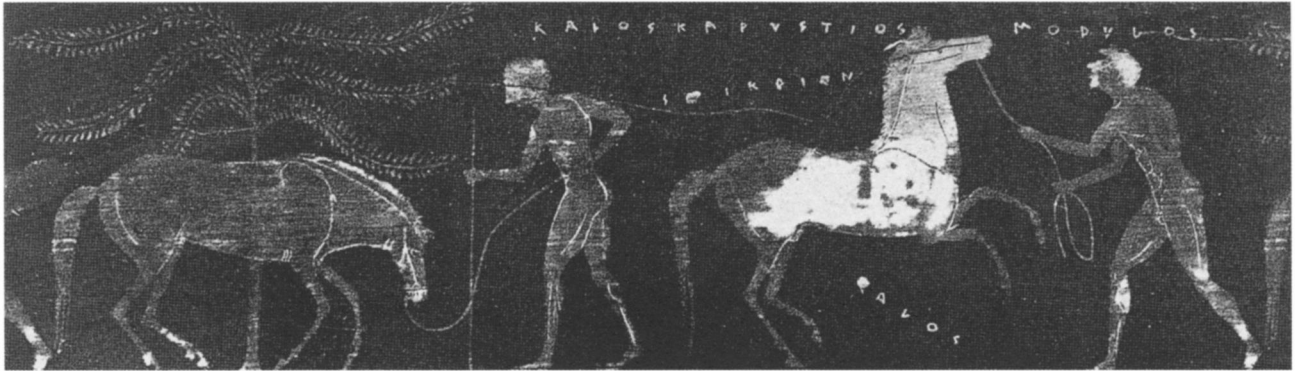


Figure 36. Detail of an Attic alabastron in Six's technique attributed to Psiax showing a horse about to roll on the ground, ca. 520 B.C. British Museum, London, 1900.6-11.1 (photo: Alexander Murray, *Mélanges Perrot: Recueil de mémoires concernant l'archéologie classique* [Paris, 1903], p. 252, fig. 1)

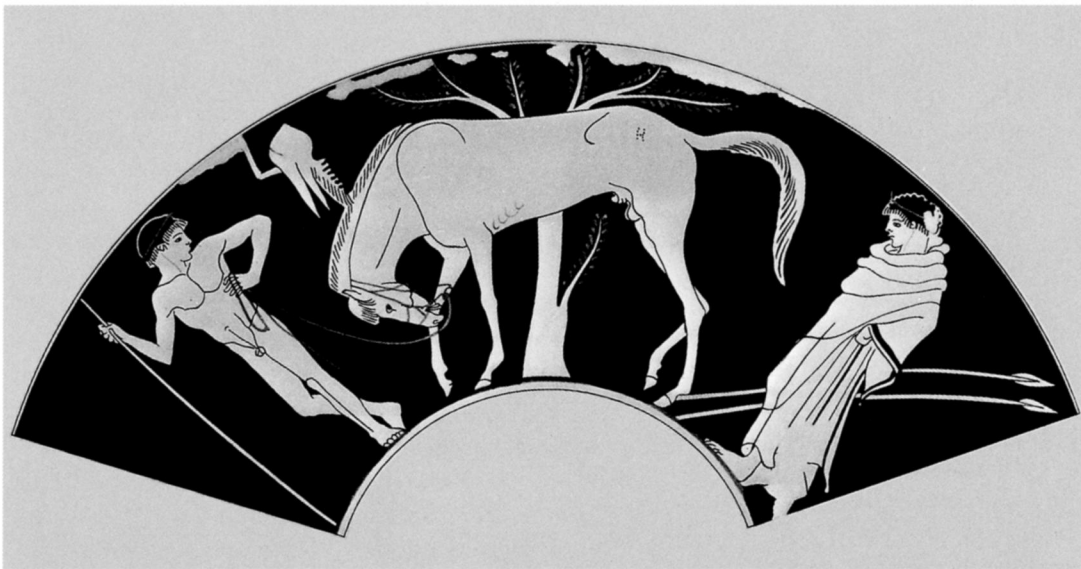


Figure 37. Drawing of detail of Side A of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to Onesimos showing a horse about to roll on the ground, ca. 490-480 B.C. H. 8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catharine Page Perkins Fund, 95.29



Figure 38. Detail of Side B of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to the Euergides Painter showing a mare being bred to a donkey, ca. 510 B.C. H. 12.2 cm. Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg, 74/1 (photo: Archäologisches Institut N.S. 2204 d)

with the mating of stallion and mare (575 b 21–577 b 18).¹⁶⁰ The only representation of breeding known to me in which one of the animals is clearly a horse occurs on a cup in Heidelberg attributed to the Euergetes Painter. It depicts the jack (a male donkey) covering a mare, which is bridled and held tightly by a youth who holds a rein in each hand (Figure 38).¹⁶¹ He wears a petasos and a chlamys. The mare has a hogged mane, and the donkey seems to be biting her just behind the withers, which does occur in modern breeding. Xenophon remarked (5.8) that “brood mares herding together, so long as they have fine manes, are reluctant to be covered by asses; for which reason all breeders of mules cut off the manes of mares for covering.”¹⁶² Such a practice accounts for this mare’s short mane, although this type of mane is very common in representations of horses in the late sixth and during most of the fifth century B.C. Aristotle goes so far as to say (577 a 13–15): “If an ass mounts a mare which has been mounted by a horse, it destroys the already existing embryo,” which seems a little farfetched.¹⁶³

CONCLUSIONS

Xenophon knew only too well that “it is the mark of a good horseman . . . to see that his groom, like himself, is instructed in the way he should treat the horse” (5.1).¹⁶⁴ The illustrations of the various components of good horse care collected and presented in the pages above reveal how much the Greeks cared about their horses’ well-being and that they treated them kindly. As we have seen, some of these subjects begin as early as the second half of the eighth century B.C., the Late Geometric period, and the general theme of horse care continued through the late fifth century B.C. There are quite a substantial number of different subjects, but no one of them is truly dominant. Yet considered together, along with the pertinent references in the ancient literature, especially Xenophon, the visual material presents a vivid picture of how Greek artists possessed a remarkable ability to depict what they saw in daily life that pertains to horse care. They have left us a rich pictorial legacy.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABV

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

Addenda²

Thomas H. Carpenter. *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1989.

Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*

John K. Anderson. *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961.

Aristotle, *History of Animals*

Aristotle. *History of Animals*. Vol. 2: Trans. A. L. Peck. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1970. Vol. 11: Trans. D. M. Balme. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1991.

ARV²

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

AthMitt

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.

Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs*

Richard D. Barnett. *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and Their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia*. London, 1960.

Bothmer, *Amasis Painter*

Dietrich von Bothmer. *The Amasis Painter and His World: Vase Painting in Sixth-Century B.C. Athens*. Exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and other institutions. Malibu and New York, 1985.

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, 1962.

Chenevix-Trench, *Horsemanship*

Charles Chenevix-Trench. *A History of Horsemanship: The Story of Man’s Ways and Means of Riding Horses from Ancient Times to the Present*. Garden City, N.Y., 1970.

Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*

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

Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*

Paul Courbin. *La céramique géométrique de l’Argolide*. Paris, 1966.

CVA

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Délos XV

Charles Dugas and Constantin Rhomaios. *Les vases*

préhelleniques et géométriques. Exploration archéologique de Délos 15. Paris, 1934.

Haspels, *ABL*

C. H. Emilie Haspels. *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*. Paris, 1936.

LIMC

Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC). Ed. John Boardman et al. 9 vols. in 18 pts. Zurich, 1981–99.

Moore, “Horses”

Mary B. Moore. “Horses on Black-Figured Greek Vases of the Archaic Period, ca. 620–480 B.C.”

Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1971. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Paralipomena

John D. Beazley. *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters (Second Edition)*. 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.

RömMitt

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.

Vogel, *Horse Care*

Colin Vogel. *The Complete Horse Care Manual: The Essential Practical Guide to All Aspects of Caring for Your Horse*. New York, 1995.

Xenophon

Xenophon. *On the Art of Horsemanship*. In *Scripta Minora*. Trans. E. C. Marchant. Loeb Classical Library. London and New York, 1925.

NOTES

Note that the dimensions given in the captions are for entire objects, not for the details illustrated.

1. For the anatomical horse terms used in this article, see Vogel, *Horse Care*, pp. 16–17; for the parts of the bridle, p. 159.
2. The most recent publications are Glenn R. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton, 1988); Jean-Louis Zimmermann, *Les chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique grec* (Mainz, 1989); Ingeborg Vogt, “Studien zu Pferd und Reiter in der frühgriechischen Kunst,” Inaugural dissertation, Philosophischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1991; Mary Ann Eaverly, *Archaic Greek Equestrian Sculpture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995); Ian G. Spence, *The Cavalry of Classical Greece: A Social and Military History, with Particular Reference to Athens* (Oxford, 1995); and John McK. Camp, *Horses and Horsemanship in the Athenian Agora*, Excavations of the Agora Picture Book 24 (Athens, 1998).
3. Xenophon, p. 313.
4. A treatise written by Simon, an Athenian who was a cavalry officer, probably in 425–424 B.C., preceded Xenophon's essay on horsemanship by several decades. Unfortunately, all that remains of Simon's work is a fragment that describes the desirable points of the horse. For a translation of this fragment, see Morris H. Morgan, *The Art of Horsemanship by Xenophon* (Glasgow and London, 1894; reprint London, 1962), pp. 107–10. For Simon, see H. Gossen in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2nd ser., 3 (Stuttgart, 1929), col. 180, sub 16; also note 16, below.
5. In his writing, Xenophon drew from his own experiences and focused on matters that were practical and utilitarian, such as his treatise *On Hunting*, which described the procedures used in tracking and capturing various game, or *The Cavalry Commander*, which spelled out the duties of the cavalry officer. He also wrote fictional recollections, among them *Symposium*, the account of an imaginary dinner party at which Socrates was one of the guests, and *Cyropaedia*, a historical novel with Cyrus the Elder, the Persian king, as the model ruler. See Derek John Mosley in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1977), pp. 1141–44 (on Xenophon's writing *On Horsemanship* for his sons, see p. 1142). Of Xenophon's two sons, it is not absolutely clear from the ancient literary sources that Diodoros was a member of the cavalry, but Gryllos was, because he was killed in the cavalry battle at Mantinea in 362 B.C. See Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 2.54 (trans. R. D. Hicks, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1925], p. 183). Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 1.3.4, trans. W. H. S. Jones, vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1959], p. 17) mentions a painting by Euphranor in the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora, which depicted Gryllos participating in this battle and later (8.9.10; vol. 3, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1977], p. 391) says that in this battle, Gryllos was the bravest. For the painting, see Olga Palagia, *Euphranor*, *Monumenta Graeca et Romana* 3 (Leiden, 1980), pp. 51–54, with bibliography, especially Tonio Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Beiträge zur Archäologie 6 (Würzburg, 1973), pp. 116–19.
6. The late-fifth-century cutoff date for this article is not an arbitrary one. From throughout the fifth century, there are very few images of horses that pertain to the subject of horse care, and as far as I know, there are none from the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. During these eras, from the early fourth to the very late second century B.C., horses appear in battle scenes that decorate buildings, they occur on funerary and votive reliefs, and they form the equid unit of equestrian monuments, just to cite the main rubrics. For a very general overview, see Sidney D. Markman, *The Horse in Greek Art* (Baltimore, 1943), pp. 86–101 (for Late Classical), 102–8 (for Hellenistic). On the Hellenistic equestrian monument, the basic study is Heinrich Siedentopf, *Das hellenistische Reiterdenkmal* (Waldsassen, 1968).
7. These are the basic and most recent references for the frieze: Frank Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries: Katalog und Untersuchung* (Mainz, 1977); Ian Jenkins, *The Parthenon Frieze* (London, 1994); Ernst Berger and Madeleine Gisler-Huwiler, *Der Parthenon in Basel: Dokumentation zum Fries des Parthenon* (Mainz, 1996); and Jenifer Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze* (New York, 2001).
8. Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, pl. 9. The canter is a moderately slow, three-beat gait, basically a rocking motion that is easy to sit to.
9. Ibid., pl. 23. For a suggestion that the man is Theseus, see Evelyn B. Harrison, “Time in the Parthenon Frieze,” in *Parthenon-Kongress*

Basel: *Referate und Berichte*, 4. bis 8. April 1982, ed. Ernst Berger, vol. 1 (Mainz, 1984), p. 234. No matter how unruly or excited a horse in the frieze appears to be, it is always ably controlled by its rider or driver.

9. Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, pl. 11.
10. This horse and the ten other unmounted horses on the Parthenon frieze are the subject of a separate article by me: "Unmounted Horses on the Parthenon Frieze, Especially West XII," *Antike Kunst* 46 (2003), pp. 31–43. For the Panathenaic Festival, see Erika Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison, Wisc., 1983), pp. 55–72, and Jenifer Neils, *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Hanover, N.H., 1992), esp. pp. 13–27. The Panathenaic Festival took place in the month of Hekatombaion, which corresponds to our late July and early August.
11. It was found in Grave 18, one of a group of graves south of the Eridanos River. See Wilhelm Kraiker and Karl Kübler, *Die Nekropole des 12. bis 10. Jahrhunderts*, Kerameikos I (Berlin, 1939), pp. 192–93, for a description of the grave and its contents, and pls. 56 and 58 for the vase. It probably dates in the second quarter of the tenth century B.C. Particularly good photographs of the amphora appear in Christian Zervos, *La civilisation hellénique*, vol. 1, XI^e–VIII^e S. (Geneva, 1969), figs. 16, 17.
This horse is preceded in time only slightly by the figures of two archers painted on the shoulder of a hydria found in a tomb at Lefkandi and dating to about 1000 B.C. According to the spectrographic analysis, the vase is not Attic and is probably from the area around Lefkandi, not from Lefkandi itself. See M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett, eds., *Lefkandi I: The Iron Age, the Settlement, the Cemeteries* (London, 1979), pp. 127–28, pl. 270d.
12. For a brief discussion of these festivals, see Elsi Spathari, *The Olympic Spirit* (Athens, 1992), particularly p. 38 (for the chariot races at Delphi) and pp. 78–79 (for those at Olympia); for the Panathenaic Games, see pp. 137–38. Herodotus (6.103) mentions the famous team of mares owned by Kimon that won the chariot race in three consecutive Olympiads, in 536, 532, and 528 (trans. A. D. Godley, vol. 3, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1922], p. 255). For this team, see note 16, below; Moore, "Unmounted Horses," p. 37 n. 35; and, most recently, Heide Mommsen, "Siegreiche Gespannpferde," *Antike Kunst* 45 (2002), pp. 34–35. Several of the odes of Pindar celebrate victories in chariot races, not only in the games held at Olympia and Delphi but also those at Isthmia and Nemea. See *The Odes of Pindar*, trans. John Sandys, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1925).
13. The most informative general discussion of these vases is J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, rev. ed. (Berkeley, 1986), chap. 8. See the recent study of the shape by Martin Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren: Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, *Antike Kunst Beiheft* 18 (Basel, 1998); and the papers from the symposium held in Giessen in November 1998: Martin Bentz and Norbert Eschbach, eds., *Panathenaika: Symposium zu den Panathenäischen Preisamphoren, Rauischholzhausen, 25.11–29.11.1998* (Mainz, 2001). A particularly good example of a chariot race, complete with turning post, is Munich 1452 by the Euphiletos Painter (ABV, p. 322, no. 3; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 128, no. 6.062, pl. 20). Since these vases with their contents of valuable olive oil were prizes, the danger of horse and chariot racing was never represented, but surely, on occasion, the race chariots crashed into one another (*Ben Hur* comes to mind), and

mounted horses stumbled and fell, causing injury to themselves and their jockeys, just as they do on the modern track. For a horse stumbling and a rider fallen to the ground hanging onto a rein, see inf. and Figure 35.

14. The plaques in Berlin and Athens attributed to Exekias are especially relevant because they depict all the elements of the funeral ceremony. See Heide Mommsen, *Exekias I: Die Grabtafeln*, Kerameus 11 (Mainz, 1997). On the third day of an Athenian funeral, called the *ekphora*, the bier was transported to the cemetery on a wagon drawn by a team of mules or horses (see Mommsen, *Exekias I*, pp. 53–55). The earliest example seems to occur on Athens N.M. 803, an amphora by the Dipylon Master (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 30, no. 2; Gudrun Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art* [Göteborg, 1971], p. 220, no. 53, fig. 53). Joseph Wiesner (*Fahren und Reiten*, *Archaeologia Homerica* 1, F [Göttingen, 1968], p. 68) believes the draft animals on Athens N.M. 803 are mules because mules, as well as oxen, have a long tradition of drawing four-wheeled vehicles, and he says that horses were used only for war and races. Wiesner also thinks that Geometric vase painting did not offer the possibility of distinguishing between mules and horses. This might be true for the earliest equids on Geometric pottery, but surely the painters from the Dipylon Workshop and their successors would have been capable of indicating the basic differences between the animals. The short ears and general proportions of the team on Athens 803 favor an interpretation of them as horses. By the time of Exekias (ca. 540–520 B.C.), mules were the draft animal of choice (see Berlin F 1823 and F 1824: ABV, p. 146, no. 22; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 22; *Addenda*², p. 41; Mommsen, *Exekias I*, pls. 14, 14a).
15. See Hans Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1939), pp. 240–42, no. 320, pls. 147–50. Three joining fragments of the left foreleg to just above the fetlock comprise the preserved parts of this leg. What remains of the right foreleg are the knee and a little of the leg above it, as well as the nonjoining hoof, just its toe touching the ground (inv. 572). The missing parts of each foreleg are restored. Inv. 573 (fig. 269) preserves part of the the plinth and the right hind hoof as well as some of the eight-sided post that supported the body of the animal (the support does not appear in my Figure 3). Inv. 3677 is the tail of the horse (fig. 270). Schrader describes two other nonjoining fragments but does not illustrate them: inv. 513 appears to be a knee, but it is not clear to me from the description of it if it is incorporated into the reconstruction. Inv. 567 is the hock joint of the right hind leg. A drawing of the horse appears on p. 241 (fig. 267), but without an indication of which parts are restored.

One may also mention in this context the figure of Athena modeling a horse on an oinochoe in Berlin, the namepiece of the Group of Berlin 2415 (ARV², p. 776, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 416, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 288). For Athena as the Mistress of Horses, especially in Athens, see Nikolaos Valouris, "Athena als Herrin der Pferde: Athena Hippias in Athen," *Museum Helveticum* 7 (1950), pp. 47–64. Athena was connected with horses as far back as the time of Homer, who tells us that the Trojan Horse was made by Epeios with Athena's help (*Odyssey* 8.492–94, trans. Augustus T. Murray, rev. George E. Dimock, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library [London and Cambridge, Mass., 1995], p. 307). Pausanias reports that Athena tamed and bridled Pegasus (*Description of Greece* 2.4.1, trans. W. H. S. Jones, vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1918], p. 267), but

- Pliny says that Bellerophon, hero of Corinth, the home of Pegasus, invented riding (*Natural History* 7.56.202, trans. H. Harris Rackham, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1942], p. 643). Pausanias (7.21.8–9) conjectures that Poseidon was called the God of Horses because he “was the inventor of horsemanship” (vol. 3, Loeb, p. 295). But Aelius Aristides, writing in the middle of the second century A.D., claims that in the time of Erichthonios (Athens’s prehistory), Athena instructed the Athenians in racing chariots and war horses as well as in the complete art of horsemanship (*Panathenaic Oration* 43, trans. C. H. Behr, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1973], p. 39). Plutarch describes how on the eve of the Battle of Salamis in 480 B.C., Kimon, the grandson of the owner of the famous racing mares, ascended the Akropolis to dedicate “to the goddess [Athena] there the horse’s bridle which he carried in his hands, signifying thus that what the city needed then was not knightly prowess but sea-fighters. After he had dedicated his bridle, he took one of the shields which were hung up about the temple, addressed his prayers to the goddess, and made his way down to the sea” (*Cimon* 5.2–3, in *Plutarch’s Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1914], pp. 417, 419). These are just a few examples of how intimately linked with horses Athena was.
16. The mares of Kimon (see note 12, above) were buried next to his family’s tomb (Herodotus 6.103), and Plutarch in his life of Marcus Cato also reports that the graves of these horses were near the tombs of Kimon’s family (5.4, in *Plutarch’s Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1914], pp. 317, 319). Aelian, describing statues of the horses, says: “The horses of Cimon, however, were bronze [αἱ Κίμωνος δὲ ἵπποι χαλκαῖ]; they, too, extremely lifelike, stood in Athens” (*Historical Miscellany* 9.32, trans. N. G. Wilson, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1997], p. 305). He does not specify exactly where. Aristotle mentions that Anthemion, son of Diphilos, dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis a statue of himself with a horse standing beside him (*Athenian Constitution*, trans. H. Harris Rackham, vol. 20, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1938], pp. 27, 29). A statue of a horse was also dedicated by Simon in the city Eleusinion located just north of the Agora on the slope of the Akropolis. See Xenophon 1.1: “Simon, who also dedicated a bronze horse [ἵππον χαλκοῦν] in the Eleusinion at Athens and recorded his own feats in relief on the pedestal” (p. 297); also Richard E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 3, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton, 1957), p. 78, no. 204. Pliny remarks that an Attic sculptor named Demetrios made the “mounted statue of Simon [equitem Simonem] who wrote the first treatise on horsemanship” (*Natural History* 34.19.76, trans. H. Harris Rackham, vol. 9, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1952], pp. 183, 185; for Demetrios, see O. Rossbach in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 4 [Stuttgart, 1901], cols. 2850–51, sub 122). Pliny probably had in mind the statue mentioned by Xenophon, who specifically says it was a bronze horse and interpolated this to be an equestrian statue. If this is the case, I would give primacy to Xenophon, who probably knew the sculpture firsthand and described it more accurately. This is the same Simon who wrote a treatise on horses and horsemanship (see note 4, above). The dates of Simon and his writing are not known, but two sources place him in the second half of the fifth century B.C. The first is Aristophanes, who in his play *The Knights*, produced in 424 B.C., mentions Simon as a cavalry commander (trans. Jeffrey Henderson, vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1998], p. 261, line 242). Bugh (*Horsemen*, p. 91) says that it is generally agreed that this Simon is the same Simon who wrote the treatise on horsemanship. The second source for the general dates of Simon is Pollux (2.69), writing in the time of the Roman emperor Commodus (r. 180–192 A.D.), the elder son of Marcus Aurelius, who mentions that Simon scolded the mural painter Mikon for painting eyelashes on the lower lids of his horses’ eyes; they do not have lashes on the lower lids (Camp, *Horses and Horsemanship* [note 2, above], p. 14; for the passage, see Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, p. 42, no. 88; Pollux, *Onomasticon*, ed. Erich Bethe [Leipzig, 1900], p. 104). During the second quarter of the fifth century, Mikon created large paintings in the Sanctuary of Theseus and in the Stoa Poikile in the Agora. For the literary testimonia for Mikon, see Jerome J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece, 1400–31 B.C.: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965), pp. 105–7. For horse monuments without a statue of the victor, see Mommson, “Siegreiche Gespannpferde” [note 12, above], p. 28 n. 7. For horse graves, see Martin Schäfer, “Von Pferdegräbern und ‘Reiterheroen,’” *AthMitt* 114 (1999), pp. 49–55.
17. See especially the finds at Olympia published by Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, *Frühe olympische Bronzefiguren: Die Tiervotive*, *Olympische Forschungen* 12 (Berlin, 1979), passim. This volume also includes a discussion of bronze horses made in other regions of Greece and dedicated at Olympia. For clay horses from the site, see Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, *Frühe olympische Tonfiguren*, *Olympische Forschungen* 7 (Berlin, 1972), pp. 20–31. Horses also stand on the lids of Geometric pyxides which were used chiefly as grave offerings. See Barbara Bohen, *Die geometrischen Pyxiden*, *Kerameikos* 13 (Berlin and New York, 1988), pp. 41–77 and app. IV for findspots other than the Kerameikos. See also the general remarks by Peter Bol in *Früh-griechische Plastik* (Mainz, 2002), pp. 6–10.
18. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, p. 89.
19. Xenophon, pp. 313, 315.
20. Basic bibliography: John M. Cook, “Athenian Workshops around 700,” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 42 (1947), p. 150; Jean M. Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, *Yale Classical Studies* 16 (New Haven, 1961), p. 48, no. V.A. 2, fig. 51, and pp. 48–49 for the painter; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 81, no. 1, and pp. 81–82 for the painter; Mary B. Moore, *CVA*, *MMA* 5 [USA 37] ([1912]; Mainz, 2004), pp. 55–56, pl. 28.
21. Once in Breslau: Karl Kübler, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1969, p. 137, fig. 1; Rombos, *Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, p. 515, no. 338a (attributed by Rombos to the Workshop of Athens 897 without comparanda but probably following that cited by Kübler). Argos C.201: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 139, no. 4; Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pls. 43–45. Argos C.210: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 139, no. 3; Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pls. 41, 42. The Master of Argos C.201: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 139–40. For other examples, see note 23, below.
22. John Boardman, “Symbol and Story in Geometric Art,” in *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, ed. Warren Moon (Madison, Wisc., 1983), p. 20. Earlier, Coldstream mentioned the object as being particularly Argive, but without discussing its possible meaning: “Another local idea [i.e., Argive] is the insertion of a small panel in the field above the animal’s back” (*Geometric Greece* [London, 1979], p. 141).

23. These are the other examples that I have been able to find of an L-shaped object with a row of birds on it that appears above the back of a horse. All of them are Late Geometric Argive. Argos C.14: straight but joining the arm of a framing swastika, thus giving the appearance of L-shaped, hatched (Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 29); Argos C.3397: lines (Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 133); Argos C.3279: crosshatched (Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 133); Athens N.M. 231 by the Painter of the Sparring Horses: outlined, undecorated (Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 32; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 133, no. 1, pl. 28 e); Argos C.3268: hatched, bits of glaze on the object look like the legs of birds (Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 133); Argos C.3400: hatched (Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 135); Argos C.2588 (Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 135); Nauplia(?), from Tiryns: hatched with bits of glaze as the last (Walter Müller and Franz Oelmann in *Tiryns I: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Instituts* [Athens, 1912], pl. 15, 2); Argos C.870: hatched (Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 62); Mycenae, from the Agamemnoneion: plain (*Annual of the British School at Athens* 48 [1953], p. 37, fig. 10); Nauplia(?), from Argos: hatched (*AthMitt* 78 [1963], Beil. 14, 3).
24. Another possibility is that the L-shaped object represents an open window of a stable with the birds perched on its sill. Stabled horses enjoy fresh air in good weather and like to poke their heads out of open windows if they are cut low enough through the stable wall. I am indebted to Joan Mertens for the suggestion that this object might be a window. It is surely structural, and while I am inclined to opt for a stable rafter, a window is also a possibility.
25. For birds in the ancient Greek world, see John Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (New York, 1977). For sparrows, see pp. 29–30; for swallows, pp. 30–33.
26. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 129.
27. Anthony M. Snodgrass in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, pt. 1, *The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries B.C.* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 660.
28. Not many parts of Greece had ample pastureland that would allow horses to graze year-round. See the brief remarks by Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, p. 4. For a discussion of the physical geography of central Greece (Boeotia, Euboea, and Attica) and Thessaly in ancient times, see Anthony Snodgrass in *The Cambridge Ancient History* [note 27, above], pp. 657–61. J. Nicolas Coldstream (“Some Peculiarities of the Euboean Geometric Figured Style,” *Annuario* 59 [n.s. 43] [1981], pp. 244–45) noted the Euboean interest in horses and that motifs of feeding and grazing reflect the landed aristocracy’s love of the horse as a symbol of wealth, power, and status. For Attica, see Bugh, *Horsemen*, pp. 3–38. Bugh (p. 29) remarks that “Attika was a land of poor soil and small farms committed to barley, wheat, and olives, not large estates possessed of pasture for serious horse-breeding.” He cites Aristotle, *Politics* 1321 a 12–13 and 1289 b 35–36, trans. H. Harris Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1972), pp. 515 and 287, respectively. Aristotle notes that “keeping studs of horses (ἱπποτροφία) is the pursuit of those who own extensive estates” (p. 515) and “it is not easy to rear horses without being rich” (p. 287).
29. *Paralipomena*, p. 67; *Addenda*², p. 46; Bothmer, *Amasis Painter*, pp. 217–20, no. 60, with bibliography. The subject of this side is identified by the presence of Poseidon on the other.
30. Homer, *Iliad* 13. 20–25, trans. Richmond Latimore (Chicago, 1951), p. 271.
31. Homer, *Iliad* 13.43–76, trans. Augustus T. Murray, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1925), pp. 5, 7. In the poem, Homer disguises Poseidon in the likeness of the seer, Kalchas (13.45). To make the story clear to the viewer, the Amasis Painter omits the disguise and gives Poseidon his trident. The best summary of the various discussions of the subjects on this cup is by Bothmer (*Amasis Painter*, p. 219), who agreed with the interpretation given here when it was first proposed by Marjorie J. Milne in 1965 and sees a thematic connection between each side of the vessel. Add, perhaps, the remarks by Karl Schefold, *Götter und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* (Munich, 1978), pp. 221–23. Schefold thought that the ape in the metope was fleeing from the archer in the next one (Figure 8) and that the archer and youth on the backs of the two horses on the left had already climbed down from their respective metopes to guard and quiet the animals (Figure 7). This interpretation disrupts the alternating pattern of the metopes (void, figured), save for the two on the right. Furthermore, given Poseidon’s association with horses, he does not need diminutive figures to guard or quiet them. More likely, these figures kindle the high spirits of already excited horses. For Poseidon’s connection with horses, especially in the literature, see Ernst Wüst in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 43 (1953), cols. 482–84, sub 18; for hippic epithets, cols. 499–500.
32. Forelocks on Greek mounts and chariot horses were often tied up in topknots. These not only give a neat appearance to the forehead but also keep the long strands of coarse hair out of the horse’s eyes. In vase painting, examples of topknots occur frequently in the decades between 560 and 530 B.C. There do not seem to be any examples in Greek vase painting before or after this thirty-year period, nor do I know any representations in red-figure, probably because manes and forelocks are short. For a brief discussion of topknots as a criterion for attribution, see Moore, “Horses,” pp. 279–81. On the other hand, Xenophon (5.6) in his instructions for correct grooming says: “He [the groom] must also wet the forelock, for this tuft of hair, even if pretty long, does not obstruct his [the horse’s] sight but drives from his eyes anything that worries them” (Xenophon, p. 319). For brief remarks on topknots on later horses, both east and west, see Elfriede R. Knauer, “Multa egit cum regibus et pacem confirmavit: The Date of the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius,” *RömMitt* 97 (1990), pp. 302–3.
33. One should clarify, perhaps, the difference between a halter and the headstall of a bridle or a harness. Simply put, the headstall has a bit that rests on the bars of the horse’s mouth (the gums between the incisors and the molars) and is attached to the cheekstraps. These in turn are held in place by a brow band and a throat latch, sometimes by a nose band as well. The halter lacks a bit and a brow band and it fits the head of the animal less snugly. In Attic vase painting, the straps of the halter are usually depicted by a double line, those of a headstall by a single one. A notable exception is the headstall of Kastor’s horse on Exekias’s amphora in the Vatican, which has a double line (Vatican 344: *ABV*, p. 145, no. 13; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 13; *Addenda*², p. 40). For others, see Moore, “Horses,” pp. 399–400.
34. Xenophon, p. 319.
35. Tyndareos makes the same mistake with Kastor’s horse on Exekias’s famous amphora in the Vatican (see note 33, above).

For a good detail of this feature, see Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, pl. 20. This is very different from rubbing the horse on the forehead between the eyes where the hair grows in a swirl, not in one direction. Horses like being rubbed there very much.

36. In actual harnessing, the headstall, bit, and reins form a unit. The three can be taken apart for cleaning, but they are reassembled before use.
37. Erica Simon (*Die griechischen Vasen* [Munich, 1976], p. 84) calls him the "Stallmeister."
38. See William C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1938). McDermott writes (p. 102): "In this monograph the word 'ape' is used as a general term and as a term where the reference is to the tail-less animal."
39. MMA L.1982.128. See Mary B. Moore, "A New Hydria by the Antimenes Painter," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984), pp. 29–38, esp. p. 30, figs. 1, 2. For the Antimenes Painter, see ABV, pp. 266–75; *Paralipomena*, pp. 117–21; *Addenda*², pp. 69–72; Johannes Burow, *Der Antimenesmaler*, Kerameus 7 (Mainz, 1989). On the basis of the drawing of anatomical details, Burow (*Der Antimenesmaler*, pp. 47–48) prefers to attribute this hydria to the Eye-Siren Painter, an artist in the circle of the Antimenes Painter. He does not give details for rejecting the attribution to the Antimenes Painter.
40. I include this scene with stables, not with the scenes that depict grooming, because of the stable and the fact that my interpretation of the right-hand side as a grooming scene may only be conjectured because it does not preserve a grooming tool.
41. This is very daring. Frontal horses are quite common in Attic black-figure from about 600 B.C. on and are usually chariot teams (see Moore, "Horses," pp. 411–16). There are very few horses seen from the back. Besides the one by the Antimenes Painter, which is the earliest, these are the ones known to me. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1955.4.103, by the Bel-dam Painter (Haspels, *ABL*, p. 266, no. 10; *Paralipomena*, p. 292, no. 10; *Addenda*², p. 139). Two by the Marathon Painter: Syracuse 14569 (Haspels, *ABL*, p. 222, no. 22; *Addenda*², p. 122) and Rhodes 5108 (Haspels, *ABL*, p. 222, no. 30). Boston M.F.A. 10.196, by the Eleusis Painter (*ARV*², p. 315, no. 6). Geneva MF 238, the namepiece of the Geneva Painter, the figure of an Amazon galloping away from the viewer (*ARV*², p. 615, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 397, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 269). The first three can be dated in the very late sixth century or the early fifth, the last ca. 460–450 B.C. The most famous horse seen in such bold foreshortening in Greek painting is the one held by the Persian in the middle of the Alexander Mosaic (see Bernard Andreae, *Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeji* [Recklinghausen, 1977], pl. 11).
42. Moore, "Antimenes Painter," p. 32.
43. For a discussion of the kinds of materials represented in scenes with architecture on Greek vases, see Philip Oliver-Smith, "Architectural Elements on Greek Vases before 400 B.C.," Ph.D. diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1970 (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms), pp. 15–29. Oliver-Smith notes a lack of consistency about whether stone or wood is intended.
44. Xenophon (5.4) recommended that the tie should be above the horse's head, but he probably meant tied with a bit of slack (Xenophon, p. 319).
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 317, 319. Xenophon also wrote that "vicious horses, when gelded [castrated], stop biting and prancing about, to be sure, but are none the less fit for service in war," Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7.5.62, trans. Walter Miller, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1914), p. 289. I thank Gail Brownrigg for reminding me of this passage. For muzzles, see also note 50, below.
46. Oxford 1885.668 (212) (*ABV*, p. 331, no. 5); *Paralipomena*, p. 146, no. 5; *Addenda*², p. 90. For the Priam Painter, see *ABV*, pp. 330–33; *Paralipomena*, pp. 146–147; *Addenda*², pp. 90–91.
47. John Boardman ("Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons," *RA*, 1972, pp. 64–65) does not believe this depicts the beginning of the journey to Olympos, because there are "no other gods present, only Athenians; and the architecture might suggest the acropolis itself" (p. 64). For the most part, this is so, but there are two scenes often identified as the apotheosis of Herakles, in which the hero is already in the chariot with Athena and no other deities are present: Cambridge GR10.1932 (32.10), the namepiece of the Towry Whyte Painter (*ABV*, p. 141, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 38; *LIMC*, vol. 5 [1990], p. 127, no. 2903) and Rhodes 14093, by the Swing Painter (*ABV*, p. 307, no. 57; *Addenda*², p. 82; *LIMC*, vol. 5 [1990], p. 126, no. 2882).
- Warren Moon ("The Priam Painter: Some Iconographic and Stylistic Considerations," in *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* [Madison, Wisc., 1983], p. 104) noted that the Priam Painter liked to include architectural elements in his pictures. Moon also mentioned the absence of other deities in our scene as well as its elaborate architecture. While it is perfectly possible that Athena and Herakles are preparing to travel someplace other than Olympos, the trace horse tied to the column would seem to exclude identifying the setting as the Athenian Akropolis or an acropolis elsewhere. Also, it would be difficult for the horses to gain access to that or to any other summit. Furthermore, if the Amasis Painter could depict such a splendid stable for Poseidon, as he did on the museum's cup, there should be no reason why the Priam Painter could not do the same for Athena.
48. The pole horses were attached to the yoke and supplied the main draft. Thus, they were always harnessed first. The strap above the back of the right-hand pole horse is called the pole-stay, which stretched from the tip of the chariot pole back to the top of the breastwork of the chariot and probably helped to stabilize the chariot pole. For a clear example of a pole-stay on a vase in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, see MMA 56.171.4, a prize Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Painter of the Warsaw Panathenaic (*ABV*, p. 291; *Paralipomena*, p. 127). For harnessing a Greek chariot, see Mary B. Moore, "Andokides and a Curious Attic Black-Figured Amphora," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 36 (2001), pp. 33–34 n. 5, with bibliography; also note 49, below.
49. This piece of harness equipment was not needed between the two pole horses, because they were yoked together and separated by the chariot pole. The trace horses had much greater freedom because they were attached only by a trace line, which went either directly to the chariot or was first threaded through a loop on the girth of the pole horse. Two harnessing scenes by Psiach show that the trace line was not always one long strip of leather but two joined by a loop and toggle just in front of the breastwork of the chariot: Berlin 1897 (*ABV*, p. 293, no. 8; *Paralipomena*, p. 127, no. 8; *Addenda*², p. 76 [lost in World War II]) and Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, 1961.8 (*ABV*, p. 293, no. 9; *Paralipomena*, p. 127, no. 9; *Addenda*², p. 76). For harnessing scenes in Attic black-figure, see Moore, "Horses," pp. 405–11; also Mary B. Moore, "Exekias and the Harnessing of a Chariot Team," *Antike Kunst* 29 (1986), pp. 107–14, with bibliography,

and for the cross-shaped object, p. 109 and n. 14. For scenes depicting the harnessing of a chariot for Athena and Herakles, see *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), p. 809, nos. 1423–27, s.v. Herakles (John Boardman).

50. See note 45, above. On vases, muzzled horses appear in harnessing and grooming scenes, though occasionally, as on the Amasis Painter's cup, no horse wears a muzzle, only a halter, perhaps because the headstall of the harness is about to be put on. Another notable exception is the trace horse of Achilles's team on Athens N.M. 15155 (ex Akropolis 611) by Nearchos (*ABV*, p. 82, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 30, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 23). It wears just a halter as its groom brings it up to be harnessed. For a youth, perhaps a groom, leading a muzzled horse that is not part of a harnessing or grooming scene, see Munich 2588 by the Hischylos Painter (*ARV*², p. 162, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 337, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 182); also the warrior with a muzzled horse on London B.M. E 136, a cup signed by Epiktetos (*ARV*², p. 78, no. 94; *Addenda*², p. 169).

It is not always clear from the representations if the muzzle was attached to the rings of the halter or if it was a separate piece of equipment with its own cheekstraps. On the Priam Painter's trace horse, the single line below the cheekstrap of the halter makes clear that the muzzle was a separate piece of tack. See also the two scenes by Psiax cited in note 49, above. For muzzles, see Paul Vigneron, *Le cheval dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine* (Nancy, 1968), p. 77; Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, pp. 43, 46, 56, 93, with bibliography. The muzzles pertinent to this article were made of leather or other pliable material; the metal muzzles are later in date (Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, p. 43). The painted examples seem to consist of two or three straps that go around the muzzle of the horse and are held in place by the cheekstraps. At the bottom of the muzzle is a disk that prevents it from slipping up on the horse's head.

51. Xenophon, p. 317.
 52. Würzburg 475 (*ARV*², p. 147, no. 19). The painter: *ARV*², pp. 146–48; *Paralipomena*, p. 335; *Addenda*², p. 179.
 53. Oliver-Smith, "Greek Vases before 400 B.C." [note 43, above], p. 17, suggests that this may be a wooden column resting on a stone base to prevent its lower surface from rotting: "A large number of Doric columns on vases rest on bases, usually a simple block shape but sometimes with a molded profile. Specimens exist of stone bases which supported timber shafts of Doric columns as a means of protecting them from damp."
 54. *ARV*², p. 325, no. 73; *Paralipomena*, p. 359, no. 73; *Addenda*², p. 216. For Onesimos, see *ARV*², pp. 318–30; *Paralipomena*, pp. 358–61; *Addenda*², pp. 214–17.
 55. Xenophon, p. 317.
 56. *Ibid.*, p. 315. For feeding, see Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, pp. 92–94. He mentions (p. 94) the list of food for horses given by Pollux (*Onomasticon* 1.183 [note 16, above], p. 58), which includes "barley, spelt, oats, grass, hay, and, in Homer, lotus (clover) and marsh parsley." Anderson (*Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, p. 93) also remarks that "two meals a day, and nothing else, is not enough for a horse, whose stomach is small in proportion to his body and holds comparatively little at a time" and suggests that "for part of the rest of the day the groom would take him [the horse] out to graze."
 57. For the Attic stelai, see W. Kendall Pritchett, "The Attic Stelai: Part I," *Hesperia* 22 (1953), pp. 225–311; "Part II," 25 (1956), pp. 178–317, with an appendix by Anne Pippin, pp. 318–28. On pp. 243–44 of Part II, Pritchett discusses the word φάτνη, which may

mean manger or table depending on the context, although the usual meaning is manger or feeding trough. Based on its inclusion in the list with household items, in particular boxes, Pritchett concludes that in this context it may well be a kind of table.

58. Coldstream ("Euboean Geometric Figured Style" [note 28, above], pp. 243–44) thinks that the theme of the horse at the manger was invented by the Cesnola Painter and soon after became popular with painters in other regions of Greece (see below); Jean-Robert Gisler, "Éretrie et le peintre de Cesnola," *Archaeologia* 8 (1993–94), pp. 28–36, also as it applies to Euboean.
 59. For representations of mangers, see the general remarks by Boardman, "Symbol and Story in Geometric Art" [note 22, above], p. 17; also, Rombos, *Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, pp. 262–70; Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pp. 440–43 (only representations on Argive pottery).
 60. Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, p. 440.
 61. For verticals reaching to the ground, see the manger on Side B of Argos C.201 (*ibid.*, pl. 44, below).
 62. See notes 21 and 23, above. The objects identified as a wooden beam and a manger, respectively, differ completely from the ornament used as fill, which is mainly a series of floating hatched L-shapes, lozenges, or crosshatched triangles. From the same group as these two but slightly earlier is Nauplia 1984, from Tiryns (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 139, no. 2). There, just the lower parts of the manger and the forelegs of the horse remain.
 63. See note 23, above. On this vase, there is a two-legged hatched object beneath the belly of the left-hand horse. Above the back of each horse is a stable rafter with a row of birds.
 64. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 136, no. 7, pl. 29a, b. For this type of manger, see the brief remarks by Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, p. 442.
 65. Bronze statuettes of horses sometimes have birds standing on their backs. See Zimmermann, *Les chevaux de bronze* [note 2, above], pp. 329–30, with bibliography.
 66. Mentioned by Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, p. 441 n. 6. For an illustration, see Serapheim Charitonides, "Recherches dans le quartier est d'Argos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 78 (1954), p. 411, fig. 2, middle left. The manger appears beneath the belly of the horse and above the animal's back is part of an L-shaped rafter decorated with a row of dots. It is uncertain if birds perched on the rafter because this is where the fragment breaks off. For the pyre, see Charitonides, "Recherches," p. 410.
 67. Maria Brouskari, *Ἀπὸ τὸν ἀθηναϊκὸν Κεραμευκὸ τοῦ 8ου Π.Χ αἰῶνα* (Athens, 1979), pl. 3 (EPK 569) and pl. 4 (EPK 570). Dated by Brouskari (pp. 16–17) in the third quarter of the eighth century B.C. Rombos (*Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, p. 523, nos. 361, 362) attributes them to the Horse Painter, but without discussion. They do not appear in her index.
 68. Moore, *CVA* [note 20, above], pls. 46, 47 [1930–31], 48 [1932], 5, 49 [1933], 50 [1934].
 69. For the type, see Gisler, "Éretrie et le peintre de Cesnola" [note 58, above], pp. 31–32, who remarks (following Coldstream, "Euboean Geometric Figured Style," [note 28, above], p. 243) that representations of this kind of manger begin on Euboean pottery, specifically with the Cesnola Painter.
 70. Occasionally, the horse is not tethered. Two from Argos: Argos C.3400 (Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 135); Argos C.22 (Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 58). Melian: Athens N.M. 841, by the Rottiers Painter (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 182, no. 6).

71. This type has been discussed by Rombos (*Iconography . . . Late Geometric II*, pp. 262–71), who does not make a distinction between a tripod and a manger and who does not separate mangers with a single support (my Type II) from the type attached to or abutting the wall of the stall (my Type III). Recognizing these different types of mangers is important, for it may have geographical implications (see below).
72. For tripod-cauldrons, see Silvia Benton, "The Evolution of the Tripod-Lebes," *Annual of the British School of Athens* 35 (1934–35), pp. 74–130, and pp. 103–4 n. 11 for their use as mangers. For tripod-cauldrons at Olympia, see Michael Maass, *Die geometrischen Dreifüsse von Olympia* (Berlin, 1978). For figurcs on the handles, see Franz Willemsen, *Dreifusskessel von Olympia: Alte und neue Funde* (Berlin, 1957), pp. 148–54. For horses on the handles as criteria for dating tripod-cauldrons, see Maass, *Die geometrischen Dreifüsse von Olympia*, pp. 105–11. For tripod-cauldrons as prizes in scenes on vases, see the one on the François vase by Kleitias in the frieze depicting the chariot race at the Funeral Games in honor of Patroklos (Florence 4209: *ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 29, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 21; for a good illustration, see Paolo Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* [London, 1962], fig. 42); also the tripods on Kerameikos 1682, a loutrophoros attributed by Lullies to a painter of Group E (*ABV*, p. 137, no. 66; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 66). In Geometric pottery, splendid tripod-cauldrons appear in the prothesis scene on Louvre A 547, a fragmentary pedestaled krater from the Dipylon Workshop: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 31, no. 21; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora* [note 14, above], fig. 13.
73. London B.M. 1877.12–7.12: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 75, no. 9, pl. 13d; MsC 2531: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 75, no. 10; 1920.10–4.4: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 75, no. 13; the group, pp. 74–76. Berlin 31005: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 77, no. 3; Athens N.M. 18135: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 78, no. 17; the workshop, pp. 77–81.
74. Munich 6249: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 42, no. 8. Tübingen 2658: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 42, no. 12; CVA, Tübingen 2 (Deutschland 44), pl. 23 (2124), 1, 3. The Hirschfeld Workshop: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 41–44.
75. See note 21, above.
76. London B.M. 1877.12–7.12 [note 73, above].
77. Munich 8748: Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 42, no. 9. For the Hirschfeld Workshop, see note 74, above.
78. Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 58.
79. CVA, Heidelberg 3 [Deutschland 27], pl. 123 [1317], 3.
80. Group B 4.208: *Délos XV*, p. 87, pls. 43, 56.
81. See the one on a krater found at the Euboean colony of Pithekoussai: Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, p. 227, fig. 74c, d.
82. See Coldstream, "Euboean Geometric Figured Style" [note 28, above], p. 243; Gisler, "Eretrie et le peintre de Cesnola" [note 58, above], pp. 37–39.
83. See note 68, above.
84. See Gisler, "Eretrie et le peintre de Cesnola" [note 58, above], p. 15, fig. 1, for a reconstruction drawing of the krater, and pls. 6–9, for the state of preservation of the fragments.
85. Hamburg 1919.363 (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 67, no. 2; CVA, Hamburg 1 [Deutschland 41], pls. 7, 8 [1973–74]). Contemporary with this or slightly later are the grazing horses on a pitcher once in the Athens art market and now in London B.M. 1905.10–28.1, attributed to the Painter of Athens 897 (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 77, no. 11, pl. 14b). See also Agora P 22439 (Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 67, no. 322, pl. 18) and Agora P 24032 (Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 78, no. 415, pl. 24).
86. I have not seen other painted examples of mares with their foals, but they occur in small Geometric bronzes from various parts of Greece. See these examples: Athens N.M. 7647 (Zimmermann, *Les chevaux de bronze* [note 2, above], p. 25, no. ARG 87, pl. 6) and N.M. 13252 (Zimmermann, *Les chevaux de bronze*, p. 25, no. ARG 90, pl. 6), both from Argos and with nursing foals. Athens N.M. 6185 (Zimmermann, *Les chevaux de bronze*, pp. 126–27, no. LAC 57, pl. 28), Laconian, the foal standing beside the mare. Berlin Ol. 2169 (Zimmermann, *Les chevaux de bronze*, pp. 204–5, no. ETO 16, pl. 47), the foal nursing. Athens N.M. 6546 (Zimmermann, *Les chevaux de bronze*, p. 272, no. ATT 34, pl. 65) and N.M. 6547 (Zimmermann, *Les chevaux de bronze*, p. 272, no. ATT 35, pl. 66), both from Attica and with nursing foals; the head of the last foal is lost, but what remains makes clear the original position. Two from Olympia, B 2168 and B 3429 (see Heilmeyer, *Frühe olympische Bronzefiguren* [note 17, above], p. 233, nos. 455, 456, pl. 58). See also the small Geometric bronze statuette of a mare and foal said to be from Olympia that is in a New Orleans private collection (David G. Mitten and Suzannah F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* [Mainz, 1967], p. 36, no. 15).
87. For the neck-amphora from Tiryns, see *Tiryns I* [note 23, above], pl. 17, 4; and Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 131 (LG II tomb). For the pyxis from the Larissa area, see *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 77 (1953), pl. 25, lower left.
88. Tübingen 4876 (CVA, 1 [Deutschland 36], pl. 3 [1731], 1, 4).
89. Delos B 4.236 (*Délos XV*, pl. 54A).
90. For the Analatos Painter, see Martine Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos: Essai de synthèse et perspectives nouvelles," *Antike Kunst* 39 (1996), pp. 71–87. For the lid in London, see John M. Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 35 (1934–35), pp. 174, 205, pl. 42a; Denoyelle, "Le peintre d'Analatos," p. 86, no. 18.
91. P 13264 (Brann, *Agora VIII*, p. 75, no. 396, pl. 23).
92. Sarah Morris, *The Black and White Style: Athens and Aigina in the Orientalizing Period* (New Haven and London, 1984), p. 121, no. 2, pl. 2.
93. It is particularly noticeable that horses on Protoattic vases and in early Attic black-figure, especially those by the Nettos Painter, often have hoofs that are quite large in proportion to the rest of the horse. Xenophon (1.2–3) makes it very clear that sound hoofs are the foundation of a good horse and should be examined first when one is contemplating a purchase (Xenophon, pp. 297, 299); the passage is quoted on p. 50, above. One wonders if these painters had advice like this in mind when they depicted horses with big strong-looking hoofs.
94. Morris, *Black and White Style*, p. 123, no. 2, pl. 13.
95. Berlin 1682 (*ABV*, p. 5, no. 4; *Paralipomena*, p. 2, no. 8; *Addenda*², p. 2).
96. I have never been quite certain what the artists who drew this type of tail had in mind. It seems to be a convention that occurs only in Late Protoattic and in Attic black-figure from the late seventh century until about 560 B.C. and once or twice in Laconian (see Moore, "Horses," p. 347). The result looks a little bit like the braided tail of today's show hunter, whose braid extends two-thirds of the way down the tailbone and creates a neat well-turned-out effect. See Vogel, *Horse Care*, p. 63, for an

illustration of braiding. I suspect that any relation between ancient and modern is strictly coincidental.

97. Mary B. Moore and Mary Zelia Philippides, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 23, *Attic Black-Figured Pottery* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 299–300, no. 1678, pl. 109.
98. Philadelphia MS 4873 (*ABV*, p. 145, no. 16; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 16; *Addenda*², p. 40). A similar scene occurs on the other side of this amphora. There, a Scythian archer grazes his horse, but all that remains of the animal is its face, one foreleg, and a bit of its belly.
There may be an example of a grazing horse on the late fifth-century stele base in Athens N.M. 1464. On this base, four pairs of horses are tended by grooms, one for each pair (the surface of the base is destroyed where the fourth pair would have been). One horse of the second pair, which faces left, reaches down as if to graze or drink, more likely the former. The muzzle of this horse and the area around it are lost, but if there had been a drinking trough, some of it would probably still be preserved today. Also, it would be unusual for just one horse out of this group to be drinking. Grazing is more likely. For grazing and drinking, see Johannes N. Svoronos, *Das athenere Nationalmuseum* (Athens, 1908), pp. 465–70 and pl. 67, and, more recently, Nikolaos Kaltsas, *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens* (Athens, 2002), pp. 136–37, no. 163.
99. All of the horses known to me that graze by themselves either wear halters or are without any tack. On the other hand, one grazes a horse simply with a halter and lead line. Exekias is an artist particularly attentive to details that enliven his pictures. Thus, the inclusion of the bridle instead of a halter in both scenes on this amphora is likely to have a specific meaning, although I am not certain exactly what it might be. That the warrior still wears his helmet and carries his spear as well as his shield suggests that he may be about to resume fighting and that while there is a lull, he grazes his horse to give it some nourishment and relaxation. The archer on the other side retains his bow and quiver.
100. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, p. 95.
101. Aristotle, *History of Animals*, vol. 11, p. 123.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 189–91. Anderson (*Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, p. 95) disagrees with this statement, suggesting it is incorrect, and goes on to say that Aristotle may have confused purposely muddying the water for drinking with the horse's propensity to paw strange water suspiciously. For a horse pawing the water, see Vogel, *Horse Care*, p. 80, top. One may also add that in hot weather, a horse will sometimes paw water before lying down in it to cool off. A long time ago, a mare I was riding did this to me one hot summer morning while I was letting her stand in a brook and not paying close attention. I found myself standing in water almost to my knees.
103. In the mid-1960s, a pair of limestone basins was excavated in the Athenian Agora near the Panathenaic Way. Recently, Camp (*Horses and Horsemanship* [note 2, above], pp. 35, 36, fig. 49) suggested they might be horse troughs. However, Homer A. Thompson ("Activity in the Athenian Agora: 1966–1967," *Hesperia* 37 [1968], pp. 39–41, pl. 5c, d) suggests, more plausibly, that the basins "are evidently the ancestors of those that are familiar in Greek gymnasia from the late 4th century B.C. onward as equipment essential to enable numbers of boys to wash quickly after strenuous exercise" (p. 39 and n. 4, with bibliography). To me, the troughs look too shallow to contain enough drinking water for horses and were they to try to drink from them, their lips would probably touch the stone causing an unpleasant sensation.
104. J. D. A. [P.] MacGinnis, "Some Inscribed Horse Troughs of Sennacherib," *Iraq* 51 (1989), pp. 187–92. I wish to thank Gail Brownrigg for alerting me to this reference. Horses drinking from a trough also occur on an Assyrian relief from the palace of King Ashurnasirpal (883–859 B.C.) at Nimrud (London B.M. 124548). See Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs*, pl. 21.
105. *ABV*, p. 85, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 524, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 23. The painter: *ABV*, pp. 85–88; *Paralipomena*, pp. 32–33; *Addenda*², pp. 23–24.
106. Darrell A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (Berkeley and London, 1988), p. 201, no. 1, pl. 84, 1 a, b.
107. Conrad M. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Studies in Ancient Civilization 1 (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 286, no. 313; *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), p. 77, no. 256, s.v. Achilles (Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann).
108. By mistake the painter drew only three forelegs.
109. Istanbul 8904: Anna A. Lemos, *Archaic Pottery of Chios: The Decorated Styles*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 30 (Oxford, 1991), p. 283, no. 800, pl. 109; *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), p. 77, no. 254, s.v. Achilles (Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann). The slip and glaze have flaked badly, and much of the composition is difficult to read. It is best understood from the drawing in Lemos, *Archaic Pottery of Chios*, pl. 109 top.
110. Rome, Villa Giulia 56069: *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), p. 78, no. 260, s.v. Achilles (Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann).
111. Munich 586 (*CVA*, München 6 [Deutschland 32], pl. 97 [1366]). For the Northampton Group, see the brief remarks by Eleni Walter-Karydi in *CVA*, München 6 [Deutschland 32], p. 43.
112. I wish to thank Lewis H. Berman, D.V.M., for confirming that fear of colic is the reason for not allowing horses to drink extensively before being cooled out.
113. Boston M.F.A. 01.8060 (*ABV*, pp. 161ff.; *Addenda*², p. 47). See Marion True et al. in *CVA*, Boston 2 [USA] 19, p. 20, for other vases that may be by the same hand.
114. Düsseldorf 1963.25 (*ARV*², p. 1625, 44 bis; *Paralipomena*, p. 330, 44 bis; *Addenda*², p. 171).
115. Berlin 2320 (*ARV*², p. 157, no. 84; *Addenda*², p. 181). The painter: *ARV*², pp. 153–57; *Paralipomena*, p. 336; *Addenda*², pp. 180–81.
116. For an illustration of modern grooming equipment, see Vogel, *Horse Care*, pp. 56–57.
117. Xenophon, pp. 297, 299. The frog is a spongy triangular pad on the underside of the hoof with its base at the heel. It acts as a shock absorber when the hoof hits the ground. Xenophon has misunderstood the purpose of the frog. See Chenevix-Trench, *Horsemanship*, pp. 299–300: "Xenophon thought that the frog was simply a weak spot in the sole of the foot, to be preserved as far as possible from contact with the ground. He therefore liked a horse to have 'high' or hollow hooves 'which ring on the ground like a cymbal.' One would expect his horses to suffer a great deal from lameness caused by concussion." See Vogel, *Horse Care*, pp. 20–21, for the appearance and structure of the hoof. See also the remarks by Anderson (*Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, pp. 89–92), who underscores the importance of good hoof care in keeping a horse sound. For an excellent photograph of the underside of the hoof and the frog, see Chenevix-Trench, *Horsemanship*, p. 42.
118. Xenophon, pp. 315, 317. In *The Cavalry Commander* (1.1), Xenophon reinforces the importance of good hoof care: "You

must also look after their feet, so that they can be ridden on rough ground, for you know that wherever galloping is painful to them, they are useless" (Xenophon, *Hipparchikos*, trans. E. C. Marchant, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1925], p. 235) and 1.16: "For getting horses' feet into the best condition . . . the right way is to throw down some stones from the road, averaging about a pound in weight, and to curry the horse on these and to make him stand on them whenever he goes out of the stable. For the horse will constantly use his feet on the stones when he is cleaned and when he is worried by flies. Try it and you will find your horse's feet round" (p. 241). See also Anderson (*Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, p. 89), who emphasizes that it was important to keep the "horse's hooves hard and in good shape." Today a natural clay floor is recommended for the stall, because clay packs and drains well; wood will rot (see George Saunders, *Your Horse: His Selection, Stabling, and Care* [New York, 1954], p. 112).

119. Argos C.240: Courbin, *Céramique . . . Argolide*, pl. 40. Coldstream (*Geometric Greece*, p. 141) calls this "a feat of horse-taming." In *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 129, he says this krater fragment is the earliest preserved Argive figured scene. See also two horses on a contemporary Boeotian fibula in the Thebes Museum that also seem to walk on smooth round stones. In this composition, the setting is also out-of-doors, because above the backs of the horses are men in a boat and an archer. See Roland Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien* (Athens, 1936), pl. 6, lower.

120. Xenophon, p. 319. For the grooming tools themselves and their Greek names, see Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, p. 96. Pollux (1.201) also "advises rubbing the [horse's] bars [the gums between the incisors and the molars] with the fingers to make them fine, and washing the mouth and lips with warm water and anointing them with oil" (Pollux in *The Art of Horsemanship by Xenophon*, [note 4, above], p. 131, commentary to Xenophon, 4.5); also Pollux, *Onomasticon* [note 16, above], p. 64.

121. See Vogel, *Horse Care*, p. 57, lower left.

122. The exception occurs on a column-krater in Bologna by the Nausicaa Painter dating to about 440 B.C.: Bologna 179 (ARV², p. 1109, no. 29). See note 129, below.

A good, earlier non-Greek example occurs on the relief of Ashurnasirpal cited in note 104, above. There, a groom is hard at work getting the dust and dirt out of the horse's coat. It is not completely clear what the grooming tool looks like. Anderson (*Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, p. 96) suggests it may be a spathe (σπάθη): "the piece of wood [shaped?] like a feather, for cleaning the coat" [Pollux 1.185], or "It is possible that the groom is using a brush, as we would expect him to do today, rather than a wooden bat."

123. The fragment was published in a line drawing by the Reverend Robert Walpole, *Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, vol. 2 (London, 1817), p. 322; this line drawing was republished by Erich Pernice, *Griechische Pferdegeschirr im Antiquarium der königlichen Museen*, Winckelmannsprogramm 56 (Berlin, 1896), p. 15. I think this fragment is Attic and was found in Athens or its environs. In Walpole (*Memoirs*, p. 321), it is not mentioned directly, but the illustration appears in the context of an "Extract from a Letter Received by the Editors from S. Lusieri, Dated Athens, 1813, Relating to the Excavations Made by Him near That City, and to the Vases and Other Ornaments Found in the Tombs." I wish to thank Elizabeth Angelicoussis

for checking this reference for me. So far, I have not been able to locate this fragment. From the details in the line drawing, I think the style is Lysippidean. That it comes from a cup is clear from the friezelike composition and the curved ground line. An irregular patch on the chest, the belly, and the hindquarters of the right horse indicates accessory white applied over black glaze and signifies decoration in black figure. Here are three examples of horses with white markings on their bodies. MMA 06.1021.88, by a painter from the Group of Toronto 305, an Antimenean group of painters (ABV, p. 282, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 74): the middle horse has a white patch on its croup. Berlin 1897 by Psiax (ABV, p. 293, no. 8; *Paralipomena*, p. 127, no. 8; *Addenda*², p. 76): the trace horse being led up in this harnessing scene has a white patch on its neck, chest, shoulder, and flank. Similar is a horse led by an Amazon on a neck-amphora in Hamburg attributed to the Diosphos Painter (1927.143 [ex 89]: Haspels, *ABL*, p. 239, no. 142; *Paralipomena*, p. 248; *Addenda*², p. 127): white front of neck and chest, patch on croup.

124. The drawing is a little ambiguous. The kneeling youth holds the hoof, but the hoof should overlap his right forearm. The painter or the modern draftsman may have made a mistake, but cleaning out the hoof is surely what is intended. The motif of cleaning out the hoof occurs on two coin issues a century or more later in time than the cup fragment. The earlier (ca. 432–342 B.C.?) is on a coin from Ambracia, a Corinthian colony north of the Bay of Actium on the west coast of the Greek mainland. On this coin, a kneeling nude youth examines the left forehoof of Pegasus (Barclay V. Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, vol. 4 [London, 1889], p. 110, pl. 29, 11). Even mythical horses need hoof care. The other coin was struck at Taras (modern Taranto) about 344–334 B.C. There, the horse is not winged and carries a small rider who looks like a jockey (Colin Kraay, *Greek Coins* [New York, 1966], pl. 107, no. 310).

125. Xenophon, p. 321. For modern grooming, see the illustrations in Vogel, *Horse Care*, pp. 58–61. In most of these pictures, the groom faces in the direction opposite that of the horse. See J. K. Anderson, "Notes on Some Points in Xenophon's Περὶ Ἱππικῆς," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 80 (1960), p. 2 (commentary to Xenophon 6.2). Anderson points out that "when squatting or sitting close to the horse in order to rub down his legs with the bare hands, one may be injured quite accidentally, should the horse merely stamp, without the least intention of kicking. The danger of injury from the hooves is obvious, but accidental blows from the knee too can be extremely painful, if one is facing in the opposite direction to the horse—not in the direction recommended by Xenophon, but directly in front of the animal."

126. See Vogel, *Horse Care*, p. 57.

127. *Paralipomena*, p. 157, no. 9 quater; *Addenda*², p. 94.

128. Syracuse 21198: ARV², p. 108, no. 24, signed by Kachrylion as potter. Said by Beazley to recall the Painter of Louvre G 38.

129. Mud knots do not occur too often on horses, and there seems to be a distinct difference between the appearance of a mud knot in a grooming scene and one in which the horse is being driven or ridden. Mud knots are known to me in two other grooming scenes. One occurs on a very fragmentary cup by the Antiphon Painter, Louvre C 10896 of about 490–480 B.C. (ARV², p. 337, no. 30; CVA, Louvre 19 [France 28], pl. 31 [1236], 1, 3); the other on Bologna 179, a column-krater by the Nausicaa Painter (see note 122, above). On each of these the end of the tail is just looped up and held by a ribbon and the loose ends of hair hang

down, as on Kachrylion's cup. Very different and infinitely neater are mud knots on horses being ridden or driven. All but one of them are carefully looped and tied with a ribbon, with the loose ends tucked in. The effect is very elegant. These are the examples known to me. Kleitias, Florence 4209 (see note 72, above): Chariot of Athena and Chariot of Apollo and Artemis (for good photographs, see Mauro Cristofani, "Vaso français," *Bollettino d'arte*, serie speciale 1 [Rome, 1981], figs. 77, 78, respectively); Nearchos, Akropolis AP 67 (ABV, p. 82, no. 2): chariot to left; Lydos, Akropolis 607 (ABV, p. 107, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 29): Chariot of Zeus (good illustration: Botho Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* [Berlin, 1925–33], pl. 33). One by Exekias: Berlin 1720 (ABV, p. 143, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 59, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 39) and one perhaps by him, Brauron (*Paralipomena*, p. 61; Eleni Manakidou, Παραστάσεις με άρματα 8ος–5ος αι. Π. Χ. Παρατηρήσεις στην εικονογραφία τους [Thessalonica, 1994], pp. 58–61, pl. 11; most recently, Mommsen, "Siegreiche Gespannpferde" [note 12, above], pl. 8). See also the small bronze horse of the late fifth or early fourth century, said to be from Magna Grecia, in the Württemberg Landesmuseum in Stuttgart. The end of its rather short tail is tied in a small knot. I wish to thank Heide Mommsen for sending me a postcard of this horse.

The exception to a neat mud knot on horses being ridden or driven occurs on an unattributed Attic black-figured volute-krater, Munich 1740, that shows a victorious chariot team. The procession is led by an attendant hauling the chariot; the unharnessed horses are muzzled and led by grooms. Branches are draped over the withers of each horse, and the first one also has a long red fillet hanging around its neck. Only the tails of the first three are tied in mud knots; the tail of the fourth is plain. The mud knots appear to be just the end of the tail folded up on itself and tied with whatever was at hand. See Mommsen, "Siegreiche Gespannpferde," p. 31, pl. 7, 1, 2.

Elaborately braided tails occur on some of the horses in the reliefs from the Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria (r. 668–627 B.C.), e.g., London B.M. 124884, in which the tail is braided at the end, tucked under and held by a ribbon (Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs*, pl. 58).

Several tails of the horses found in Barrow I at Pazyryk were braided, and one of them was tied in a knot about midway between the start of the tail and the end. See Sergei I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), p. 119, pls. 71, 72. The date for this barrow is in the fourth century B.C.

130. Heidelberg 17 and Villa Giulia, Rome (ARV², p. 76, no. 76).
131. MMA 1989.281.71, ex Schimmel (ARV², p. 329, 125 bis; *Paralipomena*, p. 359, 125 bis; *Addenda*², p. 217). Inscribed "ΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ" (Lykos is fair). The object held by the groom is probably not to be equated with the modern toothed currycomb, which is a medieval invention. See John Clark in *The Medieval Horse and Its Equipment*, c. 1150–1450, ed. John Clark, Museum of London, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 5 (London, 1995), pp. 157–60. I wish to thank Gail Brownrigg for this reference.
132. Courbin (*Céramique . . . Argolide*, p. 442) suggests that the two ovoid objects suspended from a manger on a krater fragment found at the Argive Heraeum might be flyswatters (*chasse-mouches*?). For the fragment, see Charles Walston, *The Argive Heraeum* (Boston and New York, 1902–5), pl. 56, 22.

Herbert Hoffmann in *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, ed. Oscar White Muscarella (Mainz, 1974), no. 60, thinks

the object hanging on the wall on Onesimos's cup is a whisk broom. J. Michael Padgett, "The Stable Hands of Dionysos: Satyrs and Donkeys as Symbols of Social Marginalization in Attic Vase Painting," in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, ed. Beth Cohen (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2000, p. 67) also thinks it is a broom. If so, it ought to have long bristles instead of fringe.

133. Berlin 31404 (ARV², p. 243, no. 4; *Addenda*², p. 202).
134. For this cap and the attire of grooms, see Maria Pipili, "Wearing an Other Hat: Workmen in Town and Country," in *Not the Classical Ideal* [note 132, above], p. 163.
135. See note 122, above.
136. In this article, I am not concerned with draft horses. In the ancient Greek world, oxen, not horses, pulled ploughs. I also refrain from using the verb "to break" when discussing the training of horses, because it implies force and very likely the infliction of pain. "A young horse should be made not broken" (Chenevix-Trench, *Horsemanship*, p. 25).
137. Xenophon, p. 307. The reason may be that most Greek horse owners were not horse breeders and bought their horses already trained; hence, Xenophon would not have thought it necessary to give instructions for training them in his treatise. I wish to thank Gail Brownrigg for this suggestion. In the same passage, Xenophon goes on to say: "And it is far better for a young man to get himself into condition and when he understands the art of horsemanship to practise riding than to be a horse-breaker" (p. 307). Furthermore, Xenophon implied as much when he wrote: "For the richest men kept the horses, and it was only when the ban was called out that the appointed trooper presented himself; then he would get his horse and such arms as were given him" (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.4.11, trans. Carleton L. Brownson, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1971], p. 59). Xenophon is referring to cavalry, but the remarks could apply to horses owned by others. See the remarks by Bugh, *Horsemen* [note 2, above], p. 24.
138. Xenophon, p. 325.
139. Ibid., p. 327.
140. Ibid., p. 343.
141. Ibid., p. 355.
142. I am not including in this study the so-called "Horse-Leader" favored by artists of the Geometric period, particularly those from Argos, but also from Attica and Euboea. These quiet scenes simply depict a man standing between two horses holding each of them by a rein, and the horses have all four feet on the ground. A good example in the Metropolitan Museum is MMA 35.11.2, a Late Geometric I a kantharos (Moore, *CVA* [note 20, above], pl. 21 [1905], 8, 9, and pp. 25–26, with comparanda).
143. The subject was treated briefly by Georg Loeschke, "Bildliche Tradition," in *Bonner Studien: Aufsätze aus Altertumswissenschaft Reinhardt Kekulé zur Erinnerung an seine Lehrthätigkeit in Bonn* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 249–50; later by Emil Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder: Ein Beitrag zur frühgriechischen Bildgeschichte und Sagenüberlieferung*, Olympische Forschung 2 (Berlin, 1950), pp. 61–62. See also Hans Jucker, "Bronzehenkel und Bronzehydria in Pesaro," *Studia Oliveriana* 13–14 (1966), pp. 41–44.
144. Olympia B 1803 (Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder* [note 143, above], pl. 42). The neck-amphorae: London B.M. B 234 by Psiak (ABV, p. 292, no. 3), London B.M. 235 (*CVA*, London 4 [Great Britain 5], pl. 54 [199], b), and Louvre G 233 (*CVA*, Louvre 5 [France 8], pl. 57 [355], 3). The Euergides Painter:

- London B.M. E 21 (ARV², p. 91, no. 49). In all of these, the composition is very symmetrical and rather heraldic-looking. The composition by the Euergetes Painter is not quite as stiff as the others, but this may have to do with the red-figured technique, which was looser and freer than the black-figured.
145. *Paralipomena*, p. 66; *Addenda*², p. 45. The painter: ABV, pp. 150–58; *Paralipomena*, pp. 62–67; *Addenda*², pp. 42–46.
 146. An actual example of this type of bridle was found in Barrow 1 at Pazyryk dating in the fourth century B.C. See Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia* [note 129, above], pp. 120–26, for a description, and pl. 85, for a photograph. For an example on a gold Siberian bell plaque, see Saint Petersburg GE Si 1727/161 (*The Golden Deer of Eurasia: Scythian and Sarmatian Treasures from the Russian Steppes*, ed. Joan Aruz et al. [New York, 2001], p. 291, no. 212).
 147. Saint Petersburg 161 (ABV, p. 151, no. 15; *Paralipomena*, p. 63, no. 15; *Addenda*², p. 42).
 148. See Vogel, *Horse Care*, p. 36, for the quotation and for a picture of two stallions fighting over a herd of mares who watch with considerable interest.
 149. For the painter, see Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 133–34.
 150. Nauplia, from Tiryns (ibid., p. 133, no. 2). Less well preserved is Argos C.242, for only one horse remains, but presumably there was one opposite (ibid., p. 133, no. 3).
 151. Richmond 62.1.2 (*Paralipomena*, p. 133, 6 ter; *Addenda*², p. 79). In this study, I include the scenes that have horses only. Thus, I exclude those that depict two horses rearing either over a fallen warrior who may be wounded or dead or over another kind of animal. These are just three examples. Two are by the Swing Painter or in his circle: London, A. Blundell, by the painter himself (ABV, p. 305, no. 23; *Addenda*², p. 80), and Würzburg 256, in his circle (Elke Böhr, *Der Schaukelmaler*, Kerameus 4 [Mainz, 1982], pp. 105–6, no. U 11, pls. 155, 193a). On these, a warrior lies on the ground between the two horses, and the scene may be a metaphor for two warriors fighting over a fallen comrade. See the remarks by Böhr, p. 48. On Compiègne 976 from the Group of London B 145 (ABV, p. 139, no. 3), there is a deer between the two horses.
 152. See the illustration in Vogel, *Horse Care*, pp. 34–35.
 153. CVA, München 3 (Deutschland 9), p. 45, fig. 10 and pl. 147 (429), 5; Chenevix-Trench, *Horsemanship*, p. 29. One should also clarify the difference between a horse that has stumbled, fallen, and tries to regain its balance, and a horse that has fallen, mortally wounded. On a hydria in Naples (2507) dating about 540 B.C. and attributed to the Painter of Louvre F 51, a trace horse has fallen onto its back and struggles to right itself (ABV, p. 313, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 85); similar is a slightly earlier trace horse on Florence 3773 and Berlin 1711 by the Castellani Painter (ABV, p. 95, no. 8; *Paralipomena*, p. 36, no. 8; *Addenda*², p. 25). For a mortally wounded fallen horse, see the one by Exekias on an amphora in a Zurich private collection (ABV, p. 147, no. 5; *Paralipomena*, p. 61, no. 5; *Addenda*², p. 41). This horse has fallen heavily on its side and looks out at the viewer. For a discussion of these three horses, see Mary B. Moore, “The Death of Pedasos,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 86 (1982), pp. 578–81.
 154. London B.M. 1900.6–11.1 (ABV, p. 294, no. 25; *Addenda*², p. 77). See particularly the sensitive description by Alexander S. Murray, “An Athenian Alabastos,” in *Mélanges Perrot: Recueil de mémoires concernant l’archéologie classique, la littérature et l’histoire anciennes* (Paris, 1903), pp. 251–54.
 155. CVA, London 3 [Great Britain 4], pl. 45 [165], 2.
 156. Leiden PC 62 (ABV, p. 426, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 110). In the CVA, Leiden 2 [The Netherlands 4] p. 30, M. F. Vos describes this horse as being grazed by Hermes. To be sure, the horse’s mouth is open, but the bent forelegs suggest a different activity; when a horse grazes, at least one foreleg is always supportive. See Figures 21–23 and, for actual horses, Vogel, *Horse Care*, p. 37, the third picture from the top.
 157. Saint Petersburg 288 (Haspels, *ABL*, p. 239, no. 143: “Amazon with kneeling horse”).
 158. Warren Moon, “Some New and Little-Known Vases by the Rycroft and Priam Painters,” in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 2, Occasional Papers on Antiquities 3 (Malibu, 1985), p. 59, and p. 49, fig. 8b. The Rycroft Painter: ABV, pp. 335–37; *Paralipomena*, p. 148; *Addenda*², pp. 91–92.
 159. Boston M.F.A. 95.29 (ARV², p. 324, no. 65; *Addenda*², p. 215).
 160. Aristotle, *History of Animals*, vol. 2, pp. 319–31.
 161. Heidelberg 74/1. See Roland Hampe, “Neuerwerbungen griechischer Vasen in Heidelberg und Würzburg,” *Pantheon* 36 (1978), pp. 110–11; Volker Strocka, *Griechische Vasen zur Ausstellung: Alltag Vasen zur Athen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1987), pp. 18–19, no. 7.
 162. Xenophon, p. 321. This practice is still used today in order to trick the donkey into thinking the mare is his own species. I thank Gail Brownrigg for providing me with this information. This might be the place to explain the difference between a donkey and a mule, because sometimes the terms are used interchangeably in descriptions. A donkey is an ass and is fertile. A mule is a hybrid between a mare and a donkey and is sterile. For donkey and mule breeding in a Dionysiac context, see Padgett, “Stable Hands of Dionysos,” [note 132, above], p. 52 and n. 31. The most important examples he cites are Bologna C.175 (ex 366), a cup by the Dokimasia Painter: an aroused jack is about to mount a jenny (ARV², p. 412, no. 9; *Paralipomena*, p. 372, no. 9; *Addenda*², p. 233); Munich 2469, ca. 480 B.C., a chous: the jack has mounted the jenny (CVA, München 2 [Deutschland 6], pl. 89 [285], 4); London B.M. E 725, ca. 420 B.C., an unattributed askos: an ithyphallic jack brays at a jenny who prances with her tail raised high. A mating will likely take place very soon (see Herbert Hoffmann, *Sexual and Asexual Pursuit* [Occasional Paper of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland 34] [London, 1977], pl. V, 2). University of Birmingham, an unattributed Siana cup: an ithyphallic jack pursues a jenny, followed by a running youth (Hermann Brijder, *Siana Cups I and Komast Cups* [Amsterdam, 1983], p. 264, no. 291, pl. 58d), ca. 560 B.C.
 163. Aristotle, *History of Animals*, vol. 2, p. 327. In *Generation of Animals* 748 a 30–748 b 38 (trans. A. L. Peck, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1943]), Aristotle explained: “As has been said, the ass is by nature cold; and a cold animal’s semen is, of necessity, cold like itself. (Here is proof of it. If a horse mounts a female [mare] which has been impregnated by an ass, he does not destroy the ass’s impregnation; but if an ass mounts her after a horse has done so, he does destroy the horse’s impregnation—because of the coldness of his own semen)” (p. 257). This is not likely to be the case. If the ass mounts the mare after the stallion and she bears a mule, it is because the mare did not get in foal by the stallion, perhaps because she was served too early and the mating did not take (Gail Brownrigg, communication by e-mail).
 164. Xenophon, p. 317.

A Buddhist Incense Burner from Gandhara

ELIZABETH ROSEN STONE

A UNIQUE BRONZE incense burner in the collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy (Figure 1, Colorplate 3) is now on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art. While of extraordinary aesthetic merit, the burner also stands as a paradigm for the unique position ancient India occupied as an inheritor of classical art that arrived via the sea route through Alexandria, mingled with Near Eastern traditions through Parthian art in Gandhara, and was then transmitted, through the intermediary of Buddhism, to the Far East. Nevertheless, it is incontrovertibly Indian. Similar objects are known throughout the ancient world, but Indian examples were hitherto known only through illustrations on Buddhist narrative reliefs in Gandhara.

The bronze will be studied in relationship first to its predecessors in the Greco-Roman and Near Eastern worlds and then, briefly, to its successors in the Far East. But most importantly it will be studied for what it is: a unique and important extant example of Indian art made at the very beginnings of Buddhist art in Gandhara and bearing, in a formative version, much of the symbolism which was eventually used throughout the Buddhist world.

The Levy-White incense burner measures 82.6 centimeters high and is composed of numerous individual bronze elements which are mechanically joined to or suspended from the body. All of the individual parts were made using the lost-wax process, and there is no indication that any of the parts were made at another time, or in another place.¹ The incense burner rests on a square base (Figure 2) with four winged male figures as corner supports (Figure 3). The winged figures were cast separately and secured to the base by conspicuous rivets. From the back (Figure 4), one can clearly see the method of manufacture. For each of the bodies, wax was pressed into a shallow mold. The same press mold was used for all

four figures. They are nearly identical; the slight differences can be accounted for by minor touch-ups to the impressions. The same is the case for the wings. One mold was used for the right wing and another for the left. The wax models for the body and for the wings of each figure were then joined, and a mold suitable for the final casting was created from them.

Standing on the burner's base is a decorative fluted shaft (Figure 5) which supports the functional portion of the censer. Although the shaft and the base are aligned by a small lip, the bottom piece seems never to have been permanently attached and would fall off if one lifted the burner by the shaft alone. As we shall see below, similar smaller objects were carried and held by the shaft, but the Gandharan incense burner is far too heavy to be carried about and must have stood on the floor or on an altar. At the bottom of the shaft (Figure 6) is a torus-shaped wreath with two different decorative motifs, alternating so as to divide the torus into four sections.

The shaft supports the functional portion of the censer, which has three main parts. At the bottom is a round tray or disk (Figure 7) which may have served to catch embers. The central portion of the tray shows a lotus surrounded by a vine scroll, and several birds are shown as if perched upon the disk. The most remarkable feature of this burner is that five leaves (see Figure 8) hang from hooks on the disk. Four appear to be vine leaves, each with a human head at the spot where the leaf blade joins the stalk. The fifth leaf is of another type and has no human head. Although one might guess that the leaf which does not match the others is a later replacement, there is no evidence for this, as the technique of casting and the metal is no different from the others.² The leaves alternate with the remains of what once must have been bells.

The burner itself is a round bowl decorated with lotus leaves. It is surmounted by a conical pierced lid (Figure 9) whose function is to contain any flames and at the same time release the aromatic smoke of the burning incense. The middle band contains two

© The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2004
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 39

The notes for this article begin on page 95.



Figure 1. Incense burner. Gandhara, 1st century A.D. Bronze, H. 82.6 cm. Collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art (L.1999.74.2)



Figure 2. Square base of the incense burner in Figure 1



Figure 3. Detail of a guardian figure on the base of the incense burner in Figure 1



Figure 5. Base and fluted shaft of the incense burner in Figure 1

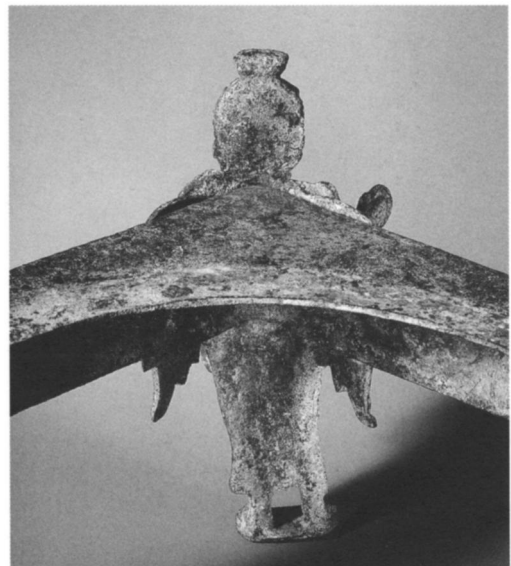


Figure 4. Detail of the back of a guardian figure on the base of the incense burner in Figure 1



Figure 6. Detail of the torus molding on the shaft of the incense burner in Figure 1



Figure 7. Detail of the disk on the incense burner in Figure 1

sets of alternating motifs probably meant to be read in vertical pairs. The first set is a human head in relief within a roundel above a pierced heartlike shape or pipal leaf. This paired motif alternates with a pierced swastika (an ancient sun symbol) surmounting a pierced crescent moon. The lid is topped by a shaft



Figure 8. Two leaves from the incense burner in Figure 1



Figure 9. Detail of the bowl and lid of the incense burner in Figure 1

and a finial surmounted by a cylindrical element with a floral motif on top (see Figure 1). A ropelike element surrounds the finial and two bells hang from it. This ropelike element could never actually have functioned as a handle to carry the incense burner, as the burner is too heavy and the loop too weak. However,



Figure 10. Detail of the incense burner in Figure 1 with its lid open

this long extension may have permitted one to open the burner when it was hot. The lid and the burner are joined by a hinge (Figure 10) which is so sturdy that the burner could be used as a brazier with the lid open. On the opposite side of the lid is a catch which is essentially identical to the hinge except that the joining pin which keeps the catch closed is easily removable and secured to the body of the burner by a chain, so that it cannot be lost when the lid is open.

There are only three previous bibliographic references to the Levy-White incense burner. It first appeared in the catalogue of an exhibition of Buddhist bronzes in the Tokyo-based Nitta Group Collection held in the National Palace Museum in Taipei in 1987.³ Martha Carter published a preliminary study of it in 1994,⁴ and it appeared in the auction catalogue when it was sold by the Nitta Group in 1998.⁵ There are no further publications on this specific object, but there are publications which suggest a ritual function for similar ones.

CONTACTS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WEST

In order to comprehend why Gandharan art in general, and the Levy-White incense burner in particular, is a stylistic hybrid, it is important to understand the extensive sea trade between southern Italy, Egypt, and India. Our discussion will be based both on ancient literary sources and on modern studies of Western works of art imported into India. Our most important literary source is the *Periplus maris Erythraei* (Navigation of the Red Sea). The excellent translation of the *Periplus* by Lionel Casson, along with his detailed commentary, is basic to our study. The text is extremely brief for such a ramified subject: only eighty-nine pages suffice for both the original Greek and the English translation. The *Periplus* states:

Vessels moor at Barbarikon, but all the cargoes are taken up the river to the king at the metropolis. In this port of trade there is a market for: clothing, with no adornment in good quantity, of printed fabric in limited quantity; multicolored textiles; peridot(?); coral; storax; frankincense; glassware; silverware; money; wine, limited quantity. As return cargo it offers: costus; bdellium; *lykion*; nard; turquoise; lapis lazuli; Chinese pelts, cloth, and yarn; indigo. Those who sail with the Indian [sc. winds] leave around July, that is, Epeiph. The crossing with these is hard going but absolutely favorable and shorter.⁶

The *Periplus* was written in Greek in the mid-first century A.D. by a merchant of Greek descent living in Roman Egypt.⁷ He seems to have personally made the voyage to the sites mentioned in the *Periplus*. As he was clearly conveying firsthand knowledge, he was probably himself a trader.⁸ The main trading center for goods transported to and from India was Alexandria in Roman Egypt. From there goods were transported to the ports on the Red Sea to be shipped to India's west coast (see Figure 11). There had been a recent upsurge in trade between Rome and India when it was discovered that one could use the monsoon winds to sail from the mouth of the Red Sea to India's west coast in a relatively brief time.⁹ The *Periplus*, along with Pliny's *Natural History* and Ptolemy's *Geography*, gives us abundant information about this East-West trade. The Romans coveted Indian spices and luxuries, for which the Indians received Western goods and money as well as frankincense, which hailed from Arabia. Although the *Periplus* is ostensibly about navigation, and the sea voyage was difficult, it is principally a trading manual for merchants, stating what goods were sent to what ports, and it also makes some comments about the political situation. While the *Periplus* is our

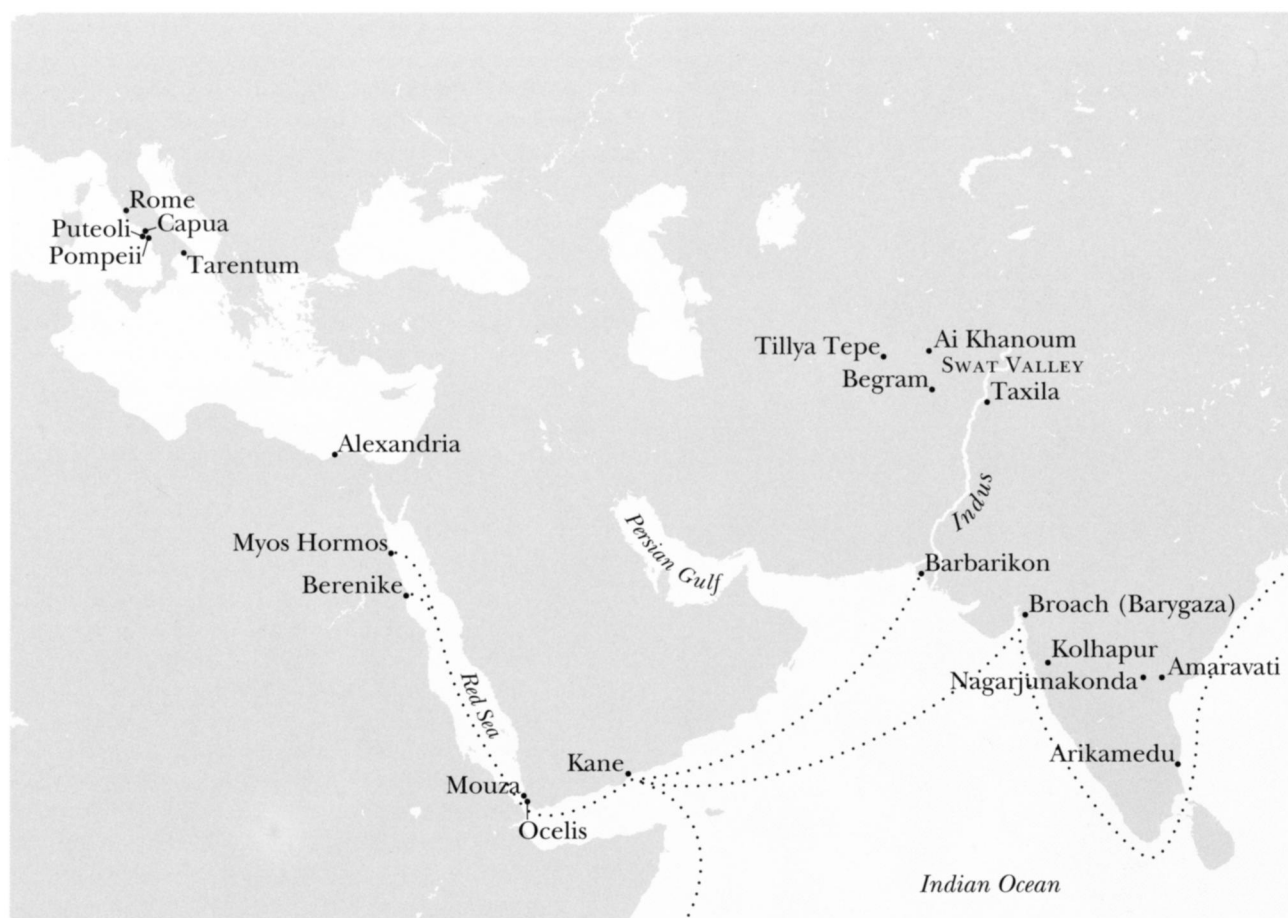


Figure 11. Sites and trade routes mentioned in the text

primary literary source on this subject, corroborative archaeology of the Egyptian ports of the Red Sea is as yet in its early stages.¹⁰ However, much is known about the fruits of the Red Sea trade, for imported works of art greatly influenced the style of the Indian art.

Four major sites, as well as numerous minor ones, show us that Western goods reached India,¹¹ and South Indian archaeological, numismatic, and literary evidence certainly adds more to the picture.¹² Arikamedu is an actual trading port on the southeast coast of India,¹³ while the sites in the west and northwest provide us with comparative material for our study.

The modern city of Kolhapur may be identical with ancient Hippokoura, the inland capital of King Baleokouros, mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography*.¹⁴ A group of bronzes which were discovered there at the mound of Brahmapuri were first published in 1960 by Karl Khandalavala, who dated many of the objects to the second century A.D.¹⁵ Subsequently, Richard Daniel

De Puma reexamined the bronzes and divided them into a Hellenistic group and a group dating to about the first century A.D.¹⁶ Based on stylistic considerations, he suggested that the most superb object in the hoard, the well-known statue of Poseidon (Figure 12), was made during the third century B.C. and came to India at a later date.¹⁷ The *Poseidon* was probably based on a Hellenistic original of about 340 B.C. by Lysippos. Although the original is no longer extant, it is known from numerous copies, including an example now in the Pella Museum which came from a house destroyed in 168 B.C. (Figure 13).¹⁸ Thus, De Puma's study makes it clear that copies of works of art of major quality were imported into India and could have been seen throughout the Indian subcontinent as well as in the Western world.

The second group of bronzes is not of the same quality as the *Poseidon*. As a group, they have been compared to works found at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and related sites. The production of the bronzes is



Figure 12. *Poseidon*. Brahmapuri, Kolhapur, Hellenistic. Bronze, H. 12.8 cm. Kolhapur Museum, 932 (photo by Professor Richard De Puma, University of Iowa)

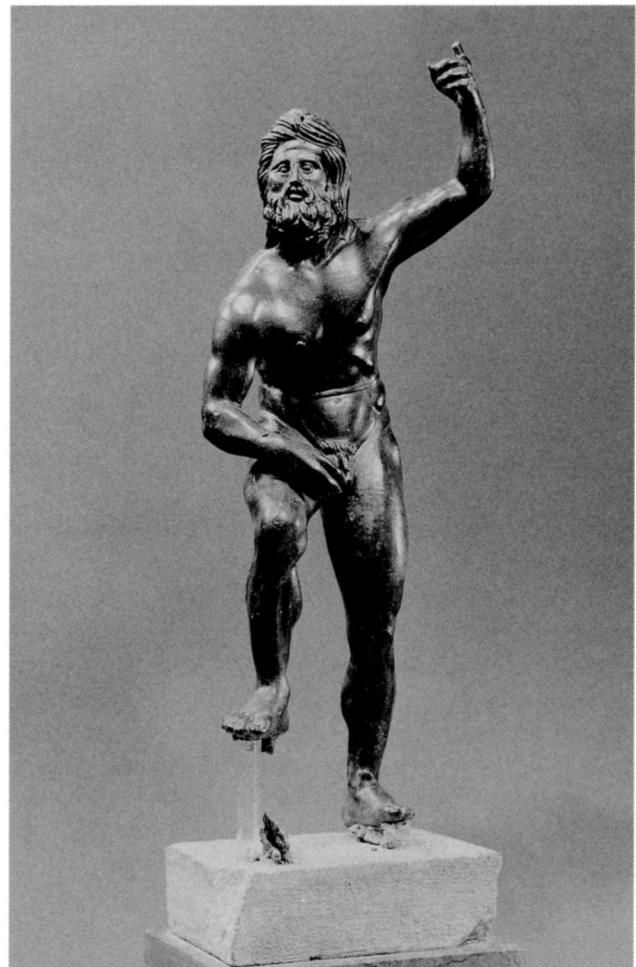


Figure 13. After Lysippos, *Poseidon*. Hellenistic. Bronze, H. 46 cm. Pella Museum, M383 (photo: TAP Service, Athens)

ascribed to the Campanian bronze manufacturing center of Capua, and they are datable to the first century A.D. Capua is only twenty miles north of Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli), the major Italian seaport for trade with Alexandria, making it a logical source for works traveling to the East. Capua was founded by the Etruscans and had a long tradition of metalworking. The conclusion of De Puma's study is that bronzes of different periods (i.e., Hellenistic and Roman) were imported into India at the same time. Thus, it is not ahistorical to seek prototypes for Indian works of art of the first and second centuries A.D. or even later in Hellenistic models as well as in Roman works of art.

De Puma noted that the Kolhapur bronzes were probably on their way to a neighboring foundry to be melted down for their metal value.¹⁹ It is common practice in India to melt down all "used" metal, of whatever quality. The purpose is to ensure that any bad karma possessed by the original owner is melted down and a new object is "reborn," consistent with Indian

philosophy.²⁰ This practice did not preclude the possibility that objects, including Western ones, were copied before being melted down, and it explains why so few ancient bronzes, Indian or foreign, survive in India. However, in South India clay bullae were decorated with Roman-style portrait heads copied from imported coins.²¹ A small Buddhist stone relief panel from Amaravati, in South India, which shows a woman in classical dress with Indian bangles on her ankles (Figure 14) was probably copied and modified from a Roman original. According to an inscription on the relief, it was donated to the Buddhist community by the wife of a goldsmith. I suspect that a Roman bronze in the goldsmith's possession was copied and then melted down for other purposes.²²

Judith Lerner, in her 1996 article on horizontal-handled mirrors, confirmed the pattern of trade suggested by De Puma.²³ She stated that horizontal-handled mirrors appear first on Roman territory (and in Latium and Campania, the heart of the Roman Empire) and



Figure 14. Woman in classical dress with Indian bangles on her ankles, detail of a drum frieze of the Great Stupa. Amaravati, 3rd century A.D. Limestone, H. 40 cm. Government Museum, Madras (photo: Archaeological Survey of India)

soon afterward in India. She reminded us that an exquisite Indian ivory was found in Pompeii,²⁴ confirming the evidence for the export of ivory known through the *Periplus* and other classical literary sources.²⁵ Thus, we should not be surprised to find this region as a major source for exports to India. It is De Puma's assignment of the bronzes to Kolhapur, however, that is important for the study of the sources of the Levy-White incense burner.

One of the most important sites where Western material was found is Begram, in Afghanistan.²⁶ Begram is commonly believed to have been the capital of Indo-Greek kings and of the first rulers of the Kushan dynasty.²⁷ It seems to have been the site of either an extraordinary inland emporium or a royal

collection of foreign goods. The Begram hoard comprises bronzes and plaster casts from the Greco-Roman world, glass, lacquerwork from China, and an exquisite collection of ivories that are Indian in style (but were in some cases made using the sunk relief technique associated with Egypt). This list of excavated material is reminiscent of our introductory quote from the *Periplus*, which mentions glass and metalwork from the West (although the silverware mentioned above was probably quickly melted down), as well as goods from China. Begram was excavated many times, beginning in 1937. The early publications by Joseph Hackin and studies by Philippe Stern and Otto Kurz, among others, form the basis for most future studies.²⁸

An important study has been made on the Begram glass by David Whitehouse.²⁹ Through careful analysis and comparative study of glass found in the Begram hoard, Whitehouse has suggested that all the objects were buried within a generation of about A.D. 100.³⁰ Their method of manufacture implies that they came from the Roman Empire, some from Roman Egypt, via the sea route described in the *Periplus*. Whitehouse proposed that some of the anomalous pieces of glass from Begram, the well-known fish glass, may have arrived via the sea route from Alexandria but were actually manufactured in Arabia and picked up there, in the same way that frankincense was carried to India by ships coming from Egypt which stopped in Arabia. As part of his discussion, Whitehouse touched upon Taxila, one of the most important cities of ancient Gandhara. As Xinru Liu has pointed out, glass was often used in a Buddhist context, and, as we shall see in this paper, many objects which appear to be secular were also used in a religious context.³¹ Particular instances include the glass tiles used to pave the path around the Dharmarajika stupa at Taxila and the glass objects buried along with reliquaries in Buddhist stupas at Charsadda, ancient Pushkalavati.

Important fragments of glass were found at Taxila, and numerous Western objects were discovered there at the site of Sirkap, which belongs to the Shaka- (or Scytho-) Parthian levels. Whitehouse believes the objects were imported into Gandhara from the Roman Empire in the early first century A.D. One object of significance which he singled out is a statuette of the god Harpocrates wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. Whitehouse raised the question as to whether the objects came to Taxila by land or by sea and concluded that they arrived by sea on ships from Egypt rather than on caravans from Syria and that Taxila was an active participant in the exchange network that brought products of central and eastern Asia to the Indian Ocean.³² Even though I know of no

study which attempts to attribute the source of the Taxila finds to a particular geographic location, Taxila remains crucial to this study, for fragments of incense burners and other objects relating to the Levy-White incense burner have been found there. Some have actually been found at the Shaka-Parthian levels of Sirkap, and some date to Kushan times, beginning in the latter half of the first century A.D.³³ Thus, if Taxila was a trading post for goods which came and went to and from the sea route, we should not be surprised to find that many of the closest prototypes for the Gandharan incense burner came from southern Italy or Egypt.

We have mentioned three major sites affected by the Red Sea trade as outlined in the *Periplus*: Kolhapur, Begram, and Taxila. These are certainly not the only ones, as foreign imports have been found all over India. Trade with the West, along with internal trade and the rise of the mercantile community, was responsible for a rapid rise in the patronage of the Buddhist monastic community and of Buddhist art in the early centuries of the Christian era.³⁴ Actually, these sites were chosen for their specific application to the study of the Gandharan incense burner. The reader must understand that Taxila was a trading center of imports and exports as well as an artistic center in its own right, well known for its finds relating to the classical world, to Parthian art, and to the great Buddhist centers of the Kushan era. As we relate the Levy-White incense burner to Taxila, we note that the burner could have gone from there to anywhere, but it is only at Taxila that we have found such an abundance of concrete comparative material.

Let us return briefly to the *Periplus* and the implication of the text. Our first quotation from the *Periplus* is taken from paragraph 39. In paragraph 38, we are told by our trader that

next comes the seaboard of Skythia . . . ; it is very flat and through it flows the Sinthos River, mightiest of the rivers along the Erythraean Sea and emptying so great an amount of water into the sea that far off, before you reach land, its light-colored water meets you out at sea. An indication to those coming from the sea that they are already approaching land in the river's vicinity are the snakes that emerge from the depths to meet them. . . . The river has seven mouths, narrow and full of shallows; none are navigable except the one in the middle. At it, on the coast, stands the port of trade of Barbarikon. There is a small islet in front of it; and behind it, inland, is the metropolis of Skythia itself, Minnagar. The throne is in the hands of the Parthians, who are constantly chasing each other off it.³⁵

To those familiar with India the passage evokes the image of ancient Gandhara (in modern-day Pakistan),

called Indo-Skythia by Ptolemy, as it had previously been ruled by the Shakas (called Scythians by the Greeks). The Sinthos is of course the mighty Indus River; Barbarikon has never been precisely identified, but it is clearly at the mouth of the Indus. The metropolis of Minnagar, obviously farther inland, also remains unidentified. At the time of the writing of the *Periplus*, the region was ruled by the Parthians, or Indo-Parthians, a term used to distinguish them from Parthians who reigned farther to the west. The most famous of the Indo-Parthians was Gondophares, who ruled A.D. 20–46, but it is not clear who held the throne in Minnagar. The Kushans, one of the more influential dynasties in Indian history, gradually took over most of northern India but were not yet ruling at the time the *Periplus* was written.³⁶

We now return to paragraph 39 of the *Periplus*, quoted at the beginning of this article. In the first line, the *Periplus* states that “all the cargoes are taken up the river to the king at the metropolis.” Based on a comparative study of other portions of the text, Casson interpreted this as meaning that the king received all the goods which were unloaded, including those especially intended for him.³⁷ Obviously, Taxila and Begram are upstream from the mouth of the Indus. With regard to the imports into India, naturally most are things which India lacked and most are from the Red Sea or Mediterranean areas. It is interesting to see coral on the list, as Pliny mentioned that the Indians prized coral as highly as the Romans did pearls.³⁸ (Even today, Indians possessing the most magnificent jewels will seek out coral necklaces on trips abroad.) With regard to frankincense, this substance did not come from the Mediterranean or Egypt, but was imported from the site of Kane in southern Arabia, and from there ships entered the open sea to go directly to India.³⁹

The topic of preparation and importation of incense is interesting in its own right,⁴⁰ but it shall be discussed here only as it pertains to the Levy-White incense burner and other comparative material. It is important to note that incense went directly to the king. We must therefore assume that this special king, using imported incense despite the fact that India produced its own aromatics, had a special incense burner. Throughout the ancient world, the use of incense was often a royal prerogative,⁴¹ and, as we shall see below, there is much about this Gandharan incense burner which indicates royal symbolism. But the reader must be cautioned that in ancient India royal symbolism and Buddhist symbolism were often indistinguishable. The Buddha Shakyamuni was a prince of the *kshatriya* caste, and at his birth the astrologers predicted that he would become either a *Chakravartin*

(World Ruler) or a Buddha (Enlightened One). His biography includes his renunciation of worldly goods, including the luxuries of royalty. Thus, artists often indicated his presence by a throne or a royal umbrella, and his long, pendant ears remind us that he was once a prince wearing heavy gold earrings. As we will see below, incense burners very much like the Levy-White burner were associated with the presence of the Buddha.

But what of the exports described in paragraph 39 of the *Periplus*? For our purposes, the most important are the goods from China. We include this in our discussion as a way to understand further the situation in the seaport of Barbarikon and in the trading center in the metropolis. Additionally, the Gandharan incense burner looks “Greek” to some and “Chinese” to others.⁴² Its Greek appearance is explainable through its prototypes on the sea route to India. Its Chinese aspect is more complex. But goods from Greece and China did mix in Gandhara. The chief export from China was clearly silk cloth,⁴³ and we know that other Chinese goods were in the region, as a Chinese lacquer bowl was excavated at Begram.⁴⁴ Nonperishable Chinese goods were relatively rare in Gandhara, however, and no examples of Chinese incense burners have been found there.

Our discussion of the ancient sea route to India and of the sources of some of the Western goods found at different trading centers is essential to an understanding of the unique visual appearance of the Levy-White incense burner.

INCENSE BURNERS: TYPES AND PROTOTYPES

Before we discuss the immediate predecessors of the Gandharan incense burner, it is important to stress that this burner, like any other, is a functional object, and there are certain constraints upon its design. Sometime early in history the problem of making a functional incense burner was solved, and all incense burners fall into only a few groups.⁴⁵ Irrespective of national or regional styles, they are still recognizable by their functional elements. It was important to have a burner that could contain the incense and that was made of an appropriate material to withstand the heat of the embers. The burner had to have something to support it if it was placed on the ground or an altar. If it was to be carried, the container had to be able to be safely held so as not to endanger the bearer. If it was covered, the cover had to be pierced so that the aromatic smoke could be emitted through the holes.

The monograph-length article on incense burners published by Karl Wigand in 1912 remains the standard



Figure 15. Incense burner, detail of a relief from a mastaba near the pyramid of Cheops. Egypt, Fifth Dynasty, ca. 2680–2450 B.C. Egyptian Museum of Leipzig University (photo: Karl Wigand, “Thymiateria,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 122 [1912], fig. 1)

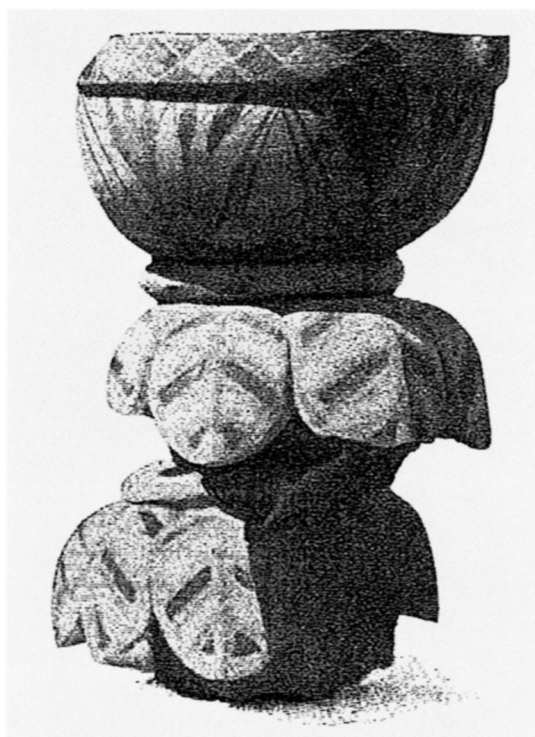


Figure 16. Incense burner. Megiddo, Israel, 7th century B.C. Clay (photo: Karl Wigand, “Thymiateria,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 122 [1912], fig. 3)

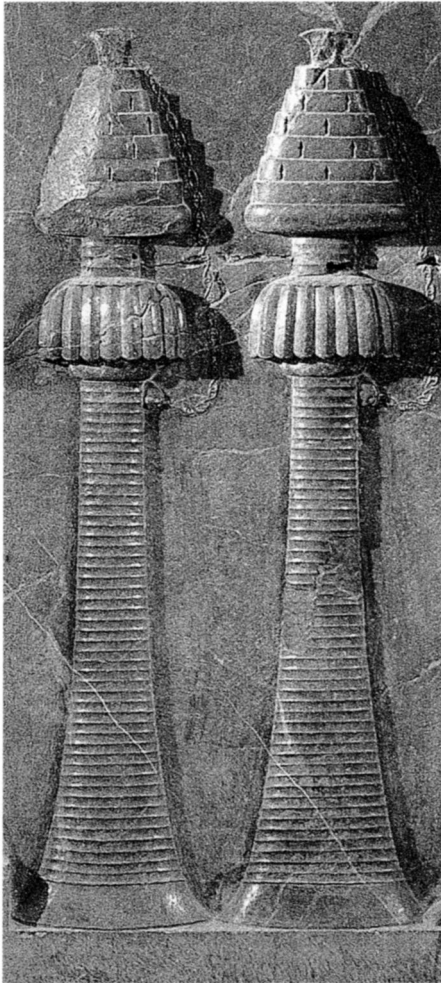


Figure 17. Two incense burners, detail of a relief of a royal audience of Darius and the crown prince Xerxes. Persepolis, 522–486 B.C. Tehran Museum (photo: Wilfried Seipel, ed., *7000 Jahre persische Kunst: Meisterwerke aus dem Iranischen Nationalmuseum in Teheran* [Milan and Vienna, 2000], pl. 7)

reference on the subject.⁴⁶ Wigand began his study in Egypt's Fourth Dynasty (2840–2680 B.C.) and carried it through Roman Egypt, before going on to look at other areas. The long tradition of the use of incense in Egypt was maintained even under the Greeks and Romans, so it is logical that Egypt would have been the main source of incense burners that came down the Red Sea on their way to India. Wigand illustrated a relief from a mastaba near the pyramid of Cheops and now in the Egyptian Museum of Leipzig University (Figure 15) which shows that by the Fifth Dynasty a functional shape had already taken form.⁴⁷ The bottom part of the incense burner in the relief looks like a wine glass without its base. A figure holds the burner by the stem in his left hand, and in his

right hand he holds a knob which opens the domed lid to expose the flaming embers. The lid is pierced with numerous holes to release the aromatics when it is closed. By the Eleventh Dynasty in Egypt a base had been added so that the burner could stand on its own without being held, a basic shape which endures today.⁴⁸ I call this shape the “egg in an egg cup.” This shape is the basis for the Levy-White incense burner, many of its Hellenistic prototypes, and its Far Eastern successors. A variant of the Egyptian incense burner was excavated at Megiddo in Israel and is dated to about the seventh century B.C. (Figure 16).⁴⁹ It is made of clay, and the bowl is painted to look like a lotus bowl, an enduring form that became almost universal many centuries later. Below the bowl are two sets of leaves that are perhaps ancestors of the leaves hanging from the tray on the Gandharan incense burner. Earlier variations of this type are known to have been produced in Cyprus.⁵⁰ The artists of Gandhara did not see these early examples. Nevertheless, the ancient examples point out how universal these forms and their variants became in the West. Except for the lotus bowl, however, Indian incense burners of this type survive only in fragments; they are illustrated intact only in the highly classicizing art of Gandhara and are not found elsewhere on the subcontinent.⁵¹

There are two forms of incense burners, closer in time, which are unlike each other and yet elements of their style appear in the Gandharan incense burner: Achaemenid and, perhaps rather a curiosity to most of us, Etruscan. The traditions are disparate and aesthetically antithetical. Nevertheless, the Gandharan incense burner compels me to present both. The two traditions occur side by side. In the sixth century B.C. northwest India briefly became part of the Persian empire. The first stone works of art produced in India, effectively the beginnings of Indian art as we know it today, are said to have been based on Achaemenid models.⁵² Although Persian presence was brief, the first few centuries of Indian art display many characteristics commonly referred to as Persepolitan or Western Asiatic.⁵³ The fact that Parthians, the inheritors of the Near Eastern tradition, were ruling in Gandhara at the time of the *Periplus* makes this association natural.

Achaemenid or Achaemenid-type incense burners are generally tall and stand on the floor. Bernard Goldman has traced their predecessors back to the second millennium B.C., to Anatolian seal impressions.⁵⁴ Their generally conservative forms can be noted. The most common examples are illustrated at Persepolis (see Figure 17), with regal figures standing beside them.⁵⁵ This type of burner rests on a stand, and a band of leaves caps its segmented base. The lid

Figure 18 (right). Incense burner. Etruscan, 4th–3rd century B.C. Bronze, H. 39.5 cm. Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Collection, Baltimore (photo: David G. Mitten and Suzannah F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* [Mainz on Rhine, 1967], no. 220)

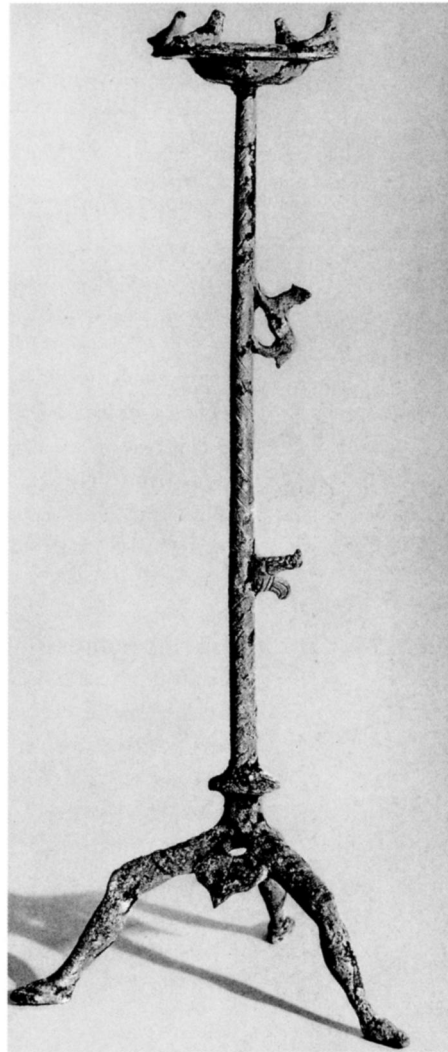


Figure 19 (far right). Base of an incense burner. Etruscan, 470–450 B.C. Bronze. British Museum, London (photo: Larissa Bonfante, ed., *Etruscan Life and Afterlife* [Detroit, 1986], pl. 474)

is stepped and conical, and a chain connects the top of the lid to the stem of the burner. In a variant of the type, the lid is hinged so that it does not fall off when it is opened.⁵⁶ Small hand-carried versions have also coexisted. These burners and the Gandharan example have several points in common. The most obvious is their unusual size. The Gandharan incense burner is simply too heavy to be carried. The best way to use it would be to place it on the floor or on a low platform. (Greek and Roman floor burners or altars are of a different type. Those that relate to the Gandharan example are usually tiny and meant to be carried or placed on a table.) The lid of the Gandharan burner is somewhat conical, reflecting a Persian (and not a Greek) shape. As on the Persian examples, the lid is attached to the burner by a chain. But on the Persian burners the chain extends from the top of the lid to the stem, while on the Gandharan example the chain is attached to a pin which is used to close the lid. Overall,

while Persian elements are there, the Gandharan piece does not look Persian.

Related to the problem of the Persian connection is the question of vocabulary. Goldman, in his article “Persian Domed Turibula,” argued that the domed incense burners should be called *turibula* and the opened ones *thymiateria*. He considers the *turibula* to be of a humbler, more secular type than the *thymiateria*.⁵⁷ Martha Carter accepted these distinctions and applied the term *turibulum* to the Gandharan incense burner, because it is covered and has no Buddhist symbolism, at least according to her.⁵⁸ As I will demonstrate below, the Levy-White incense burner was probably used with the lid open and is therefore, in Goldman’s terms, a *thymiaterion*. As we shall see, the burner has Buddhist symbolism and becomes a Buddhist symbol par excellence. I will therefore simply use the term “incense burner.”

Etruscan objects have never been discussed in the context of Indian art, but the Gandharan incense

Figure 20 (right). Incense burner. Mid-6th to mid-5th century B.C. Bronze, H. 32.4 cm. Collection of Lewis M. Dubroff, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art (L.1998.26)



Figure 21 (far right). Detail of a red-figure lekythos showing a winged Nike carrying an incense burner. Attributed to the Dutuit Painter, Greece, Attica, ca. 490 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.227.16)



Figure 22 (left). Drawing of a red-figure vase the whereabouts of which are unknown (after a drawing by Siegfried Loeschcke published in Karl Wigand, "Thymiateria," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 122 [1912], fig. 9)

burner demands examination of the subject. As De Puma has stated, Capua was a bronze-casting center during Etruscan times, and older works of art occasionally went into the boats to India. Etruscan incense burners are usually in the form of a candelabrum with a shallow dish on top to hold the incense. A fine example is in the Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Collection, Baltimore (Figure 18). The Baltimore burner has three human legs, a feature common to

many Etruscan burners. Between the legs is a pointed ivy leaf with a vertical incision down the center, reminiscent of the heart-shaped motif or pointed leaf (probably a pipal) on the lid of the Gandharan incense burner. On top of the Baltimore burner are small birds facing counterclockwise; on the rim of the Gandharan incense burner all the birds are facing outward. As we will see below, a single bird is frequently placed on top of the incense burner lid. But the Etruscan culture is known for its use of lots of little birds. Ellen Reeder Williams, in her catalogue of the Johns Hopkins collection, said that the birds on the corners of the bowl "allude to the birds used in augury and the haruspices, rituals of divination in which incense would have been used."⁵⁹ (I have as yet avoided introducing the symbolism of any burners discussed, because when objects of trade entered India artisans borrowed their visual imagery, not their symbolism.) While I have not yet solved the problem of



Figure 23. Incense burner (right), with detail of a winged figure on the base (above). Greece, 4th century B.C. Silver with gilding, H. 14 cm. Collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art (L.1999.52.1)

the birds, in an Indian context they were most probably decorative or Buddhist. Other aspects of Etruscan decorative motifs are also pertinent. On other Etruscan incense burners, rings or chains may dangle from the corners of the bowl, and on a fine example in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, birds dangle from the dish.⁶⁰ On ancient incense burners dangling objects are indeed rare, except on the Etruscan examples and in Gandhara, as seen in the Levy-White example and in Buddhist narrative reliefs. An Etruscan burner now in the British Museum, London (Figure 19), has lotus disks on its stem that are not too dissimilar from the disk on the Levy-White Gandharan burner.⁶¹ There are in fact too many similarities between the Gandharan incense burner and the Etruscan examples to dismiss them. Granted, one must think hard to figure out the mechanism of contact or exchange, but it is not impossible that Etruscan items were shipped to Gandhara in the same fashion that a Hellenistic copy of a statue of Poseidon by Lysippos got to Kolhapur.

In the Greek world incense burners abound, and almost every publication of Greek terracotta illustrates

fragments of them. Actual burners are rare. The best-known intact example is a clay burner in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens which was illustrated and discussed by Wigand.⁶² This tall, elegant burner with extremely simple decoration derives from both ancient Egyptian and ancient Near Eastern types. The few perforations on the lid are tapering horizontal slits. A rare bronze example of the same type dating from the mid-sixth to the mid-fifth century B.C. (Figure 20) is in the collection of Lewis Dubroff and is currently on loan to the Metropolitan Museum. The proportions of the stem of the burner are very elongated, so it was clearly meant to be held in one's hand. Right next to it in the same exhibition case is an exquisite lekythos of about 490 B.C. belonging to the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 21) on which a winged Nike gracefully carries a burner of a slightly later style. This is interesting for our study of the Gandharan incense burner, for we often see winged figures associated with incense burners in the Western world.⁶³ In a sketch of a red-figure vase included in Wigand's study (Figure 22),⁶⁴ a tall, slender incense burner is held in the hand of a female figure. Issuing from the holes



Figures 24 and 25. Base of an incense burner (left) and its lid (right). Tuch el-Karamus, Egypt, late 4th century B.C. Silver. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 38089, JE 38090 (photos: Michael Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit* [Berlin, 1987], pls. 2, 3)

in the closed burner are streams of smoke. Although the burner in the sketch is of an early date and from a different country, this illustration is the only one I have seen that shows what the Levy-White incense burner would look like if it were used closed. Comparing the Dubroff incense burner with painted depictions of incense burners is helpful in understanding its function. While we have been unable to provide such a comparison for the Gandharan incense burner, illustrations of contemporary and later Gandharan narrative reliefs will likewise help to explain the Gandharan burner. What we will see then is that it was apparently used not closed but open.

Hellenistic incense burners are in fact closer in form to the Gandharan example. An exquisite jewel-like gilt silver burner also in the Levy-White collection and also on loan to the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 23) provides a fine comparison.⁶⁵ The Greek burner has no top or lid, and we do not know if it ever had one. It was made of precious metal, rather than bronze, with exquisite craftsmanship. However, the two objects have several features in common. Four winged figures support the square base on both (see Figures 23 and 38).⁶⁶ On each base is the same type of fluted shaft. There is no disk for embers on the Greek example, but the top of the bowl has an egg-and-dart motif, which the Gandharan artist adapted into a lotuslike form. On the tray of the Greek burner is an incised row of smilax or ivy leaves, a

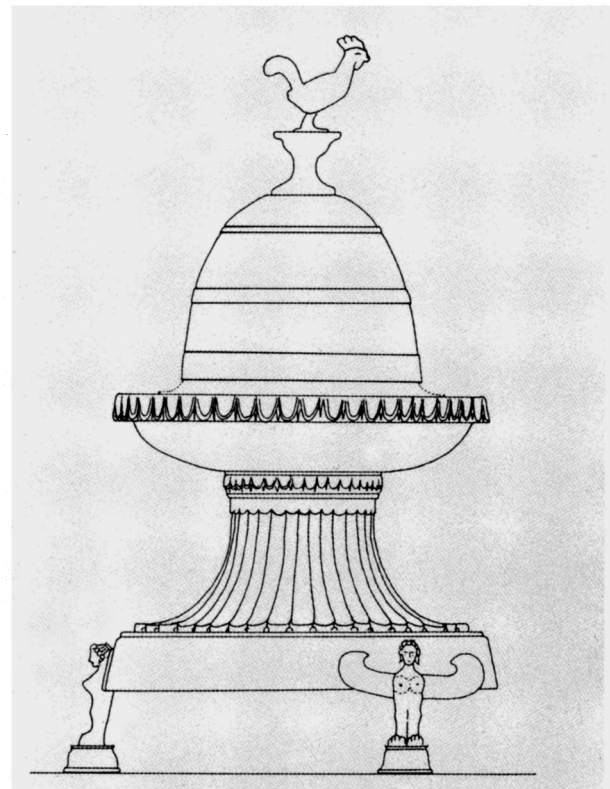


Figure 26. Reconstruction of the incense burner in Figures 24 and 25, with a chicken on the lid. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 38092 (after Michael Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit* [Berlin, 1987], pl. 2)



Figure 27. Incense burner. Egypt, 1st century A.D. Bronze, H. 24.8 cm. Collection of Lewis M. Dubroff (photo: courtesy Sotheby's)



Figure 29. Relief on the interior of the lid of a shell-shaped box. Tarentum, Italy, Hellenistic. Silver, diam. 4 cm. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Taranto (photo: Henri-Paul Francfort, *Les palettes du Gandhara* [Paris, 1979], pl. 19a)



Figure 28. Incense burner. Tarentum, Italy, 3rd century B.C. Silver. Collection of Edmond de Rothschild (photo: Michael Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit* [Berlin, 1987], pl. 32)

form easily understood as the Indian pipal, which appears on the lid of the Gandharan burner (see Figure 9). We shall show other, similar Greek-style burners which have been discovered in or are believed to have come from places in proximity to the sea route to India.

As one would expect from reading the *Periplus*, Egypt was the best source for objects which were sent to India. Two incense burners from Tuch el-Karamus in Egypt are related to the Gandharan burner in that they have fluted stems, albeit much heavier in form. The first of the two (Figure 24) is of the same type as the Levy-White Greek example (Figure 23), with four winged figures on the base.⁶⁷ The major difference is that the base of the Egyptian burner is rounded rather than square, and a lid pierced to look like basketry has been found to go with it (Figure 25). On the flat top of the handle of the Tuch el-Karamus lid sat a hen (or rooster?) which is no longer attached but can be seen in the reconstruction (Figure 26). A late Gandharan version of this vessel that looks like an inverted Chinese bowl was excavated at Taxila.⁶⁸ The lid is similar, but the basketry has become an inverted lotus, and the four winged figures which support the base have been transformed into elephants. Another incense burner, from the collection of Lewis Dubroff (Figure 27), is said to be from Egypt and was produced in Roman times. Here one can see, at a later date, the tenacity of the tapering fluted column with a torus base on a square plinth.



Figures 30 and 31. Left: dish with a Triton bearing a Nereid. Right: dish with Eros on a lion-headed sea monster. Gandhara, Shaka-Parthian, 1st century B.C. Schist, left: diam. 11.4 cm, right: diam. 15.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Samuel Eilenberg Collection, Gift of Samuel Eilenberg, 1987 (1987.142.41, 1987.142.42)

Another important Hellenistic incense burner, from Tarentum in southern Italy (Figure 28), is a variation of the types we have been looking at, with the same type of fluted shaft.⁶⁹ It has no feet, however, and its lid is unique in appearance, consisting of many small, featherlike leaves whose ends point slightly upward to create a shape that is a cross between an artichoke and a pinecone. There are no holes for the emission of incense fumes between the leaves of the artichoke, but the top is open and covered with a mesh to isolate the flaming embers. In an article published nearly twenty years ago, I compared a mirror from Tarentum to a stone relief from South India.⁷⁰ I believed it to be a random example of classical art, but clearly it was not, for it seems that items from Tarentum were imported into Gandhara as well as into the south.

A group of small, shallow stone plates decorated with mainly classical imagery have been found in Gandhara, many on Shaka-Parthian levels. The plates are generally referred to as palettes or cosmetic dishes, but Steven Kossak has questioned that function and pointed out that they are similar to *phialai* in that both are shallow vessels, often with raised motifs in their interiors.⁷¹ Based on the number of drinking scenes portrayed on the Gandharan dishes, Kossak suggested that they had a similar function to that of *phialai*, which was to offer wine to the spirits of the dead. Far too little attention has been given to these stone dishes, despite the fact that they were produced in Gandhara. Scholars have cited similar dishes in

Palmyra and Roman Egypt, but the Western Asiatic examples bear little relation to Gandharan style.⁷² The sources of these dishes are clearly classical. A relief from the interior of the lid of a hinged, shell-shaped Hellenistic box from Tarentum (Figure 29)⁷³ shows a female on a *ketos* in a graceful pose who is a



Figure 32. Dish with Eros on a swan. Gandhara, Greco-Bactrian, ca. 2nd century B.C. Schist, diam. 7.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Samuel Eilenberg Collection, Gift of Samuel Eilenberg, 1987 (1987.142.212)



Figure 33. Lid of a vessel. Taxila. Copper (photo: John Marshall, *Taxila* [Cambridge, 1951], vol. 2, pl. 80h)



Figure 34. Queen Maya/Gaja Lakshmi on a lotus, detail of a railing from Stupa 2. Sanchi, 2nd century B.C. Stone (photo by John C. Huntington, courtesy of the Huntington Archive)

clear parallel of the Nereid supported by the aquatic tail of a Triton on a fine Gandharan dish in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 30). The Nereid's face is in profile, and she touches the chignon at the back of her head. The subject is alien in the Indian context, and the forms are uncomfortable. (The image is also in reverse, as is common in copies or adaptations.) The Gandharan artist clearly misunderstood the meaning of the motif, for instead of bathing in water, the woman's feet are dangling in midair, with no indication of water below. Thus it seems that Italy proper

(and not only Romanized Egypt) was a source for Western motifs. Two Gandharan dishes in the Metropolitan Museum show winged Erotes, one borne on a lion-headed sea monster (Figure 31) and the other riding a swan (Figure 32). These figures strike us as strange because they look like stunted adults. The standard classical figures of Erotes, short pudgy babies, were available to be seen in Gandhara.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, babies are rare in all of Indian art, even in the most classicizing compositions.⁷⁵ Moreover, the figure of Eros riding a swan is holding a wreath with



Figure 35. Reliquary in the form of a miniature stupa. Gandhara, Kushan, 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Schist, H. 19.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Samuel Eilenberg Collection, Gift of Samuel Eilenberg, 1987 (1987.142.4a-c)



Figure 36. Model of a stupa. Gandhara, Kushan, 4th century A.D. Bronze, H. 57.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald J. Bruckmann, 1985 (1985.387a,b)

ribbons hanging down. The winged figures on the base of the Levy-White incense burner are also holding wreaths, and their identification is ambiguous. The use of wreaths is common in Gandhara and quite often seen on the stone dishes.⁷⁶

Elements of the Gandharan burner are similar to many objects from Taxila, some of them imports and others of indigenous manufacture. According to John Marshall, the excavator of Taxila, there are numerous bowls which appear to be offering bowls but which are in fact too small to be used in that manner and seem

to have been used for incense. All of these were found at Greek and Shaka-Parthian levels of Taxila. One very important burner has a column on a base supported by four winged birds.⁷⁷ A slight protrusion under the bowl that slants downward seems to prefigure the broader disk on the Levy-White burner. Another variant has a round bowl without the protrusion.⁷⁸ Design elements found in the Levy-White burner also appear on objects other than incense burners: a stone lotus bowl on a stemmed base,⁷⁹ an embossed copper vine leaf similar to one found at Begram,⁸⁰ bells (which

served a ritual function in Gandhara),⁸¹ torus-wreath motifs, especially those subdivided into sections,⁸² and birds of bronze and copper used as stoppers.⁸³ Other examples are swastikas⁸⁴ and swastikas combined with pipals.⁸⁵ A jewel casket with a chain fastened to the lid was excavated at Taxila, as was a vessel with human heads enclosed in swags that was clearly based on Hellenistic prototypes.⁸⁶ Perhaps the most important of all is a copper lid of a vessel from Taxila (Figure 33) which bears similar cutouts of a crescent moon and heart-shaped motif.⁸⁷ Marshall was uncertain of its function, but it clearly resembles the lid of the Levy-White incense burner. The long shaft on top would have helped to open the vessel when it contained hot embers. Marshall illustrated the lid next to a stupa casket on a square base covered with gold leaf.⁸⁸ The visual association between votive stupas, stupa caskets, and the Levy-White incense burner is more than coincidental.

The association of the Gandharan incense burner with Sirkap, the Shaka-Parthian city at Taxila (theoretically pre-Buddhist), as well as with many other objects belonging to the Kushan and pre-Kushan period, may seem to present a problem, especially as we are about to demonstrate that the burner is a Buddhist object. The Kushans succeeded the Parthians shortly after the middle of the first century A.D. The most well-known Kushan king, Kanishka, who began his rule in about A.D. 100, was a patron of Buddhism.⁸⁹ We know from numerous inscribed sculptures that many images of the Buddha were made in monumental form throughout Kanishka's territories, including Gandhara and Mathura (near modern Delhi). It was traditionally believed that there was no Buddhist art in Gandhara before Kanishka's time. Therefore objects that appeared stylistically to be of the first century certainly could not be Buddhist and objects that were clearly Buddhist could not be of the first century. Nevertheless, new Buddhist manuscripts from Gandhara and epigraphical and archaeological evidence, especially in Swat,⁹⁰ indicate that there was indeed patronage of Buddhism in Shaka-Parthian times.⁹¹ While the reign of Kanishka was important for vastly increasing Buddhist artistic production throughout northern India, we now believe Gandharan Buddhism began in the first century. Thus we are in the process of defining a style for the first century A.D., and in that process an object as famous as the Bimaran reliquary, traditionally dated to the third century A.D., is now considered pre-Kushan.⁹² This is extremely important because the reliquary is unquestionably Buddhist. The incense burner is less conspicuously Buddhist, but these circumstances do not exclude it from being Buddhist or from the first century.

THE INCENSE BURNER AS A BUDDHIST OBJECT

What, in fact, makes the Gandharan incense burner Buddhist? The first response is admittedly less than scholarly. As stated above, the bronze was included in a catalogue of Buddhist bronzes in the Nitta Group collection.⁹³ Long before the catalogue entry was written, incense burners had already been included in Japanese Buddhist ritual. The various symbols that Martha Carter, in her article on the incense burner, pointed out as having royal and secular implications are by no means antithetical to Buddhist art.⁹⁴ Previously, we have discussed the elements of the burner as if they were Western. We must now reread them in Indian terms, as we would describe any other Indian religious object regardless of its apparent style.

A magnificent incense burner in the shape of an egg and topped by two bells rests upon a lotus that issues forth from the deep. The sacred object is guarded by the guardians of the four directions. These features have quite explicit significance in Indian art. One of the most common and potent of symbols is the lotus. The lotus and its stalk (above referred to as the shaft and disk) are in fact the defining element of the burner. A lotus, by nature, is pure, despite the fact that it arises from muddy waters. Thus it became the symbol of the birth of Buddha. As Prince Siddhartha, the Buddha was a member of a *kshatriya* caste, which is lower than the caste of the Brahmins. Buddhists believe that all men, from whatever caste or state of birth, can arise from the muddy waters of life, just like the lotus, to attain Enlightenment, or Nirvana, just as the Buddha did. While the lotus is a symbol of birth (i.e., life), in Buddhist narrative reliefs incense burners of this type are often associated with the death of the Buddha. In India it was not contradictory to juxtapose the Buddha's birth and death. In order to attain Nirvana one must free oneself from birth and death, which are part of one continuous process called the cycle of transmigration. This concept is illustrated on a lintel from the South Gate of Sanchi Stupa 1.⁹⁵ One side of the panel shows Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of fortune, issuing forth from the center of the lotus, a symbol of the birth of the Buddha, while on the other side of the lintel is a stupa, a funerary mound referring to his death. After passing through the narrative reliefs on the gate, the worshiper approaches the great stupa, the ultimate symbol of the Buddha's final release, or Parinirvana.

But the fact that the incense burner itself is issuing forth from the lotus (regardless of its functional aspects) may indicate that it is in some way symbolic of the Buddha's presence or of his life. While Buddhist art was only taking shape in Gandhara, it had already



Figure 37. Reliquary. Gandhara, 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Diam. 5.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Samuel Eilenberg, 1987 (1987.142.45a,b)



Figure 38. Detail of a guardian figure on the base of the incense burner in Figure 1

been flourishing for four hundred years on the remainder of the Indian subcontinent. By the second century B.C. a vocabulary for the representation of episodes in the life of the Buddha and other Buddhist themes was already established. On the railing of Stupa 2 at Sanchi, which dates to the second century B.C., the lotus is represented in its manifold variations.⁹⁶ The symbols which represent the major episodes in the life of the Buddha are illustrated as if they are coming out of a lotus tree of life. The birth of the Buddha is represented by the Hindu goddess Lakshmi on a lotus issuing forth from the branches of a lotus tree (Figure 34).⁹⁷ The Enlightenment is represented by the Bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment;⁹⁸ it issues forth from a lotus tree of life. In a similar fashion, the Sarnath pillar, presumably built upon the spot where the Buddha preached his first sermon,⁹⁹ and the stupa, both a memorial mound and the symbol of his Parinirvana, or final Enlightenment,¹⁰⁰ come forth from a lotus.

The two bells on top of the burner are enigmatic. Bells are used in Indian religious contexts to remind the deity that one has come to invoke his presence. However, Gustave Roth translated two important Buddhist passages intended to accompany and elucidate the earliest images of the Buddha. One reference states, "The two bells [represent] the two stanzas, this noble jewel, that reach [all] beings belonging to their

spheres." Roth explained further that the two stanzas "convey a universal message of the Buddha which is to be carried by the two bells on top of the *stūpa* when blowing winds produce their sound: 'Make a beginning of your efforts, set aside the follies of the world, devote yourself to the teachings of the Buddha, because he who is going to dwell in the Discipline of the Buddha's Law, will effect an end to suffering, abandoning the cycle of transmigration through rebirth!'"¹⁰¹

The burner also reminds us of a stupa. The lotus bowl looks like an inverted dome of a stupa, as on a stone reliquary in the shape of a stupa in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 35). The tray or dish to catch embers is in the form of a standard umbrella on the shaft of a stupa. This form has numerous variations in Buddhist art and architecture.¹⁰² The burner stands on a square base, and four figures support the base, thereby emphasizing its corners. Around stupas there are often four pillars, again emphasizing the square. A miniature bronze stupa in the Metropolitan Museum and its four columns also issue forth from foliage, while rearing animals are used to support the corners of the platform (Figure 36). The top of the finial of the burner is capped by a lotus and looks like one of the many small reliquary boxes we know from the Buddhist world, among them a stone example in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 37) and a fine gold example in the British Museum, London.¹⁰³



Figure 39. Two roundels with heads. Gandhara, Charsadda, ca. 1st century A.D. Bronze, each diam. 4.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Samuel Eilenberg Collection, Gift of Samuel Eilenberg, 1987 (1987.142.280a,b)



Figure 40. Two roundels with heads. Gandhara, ca. 1st or 2nd century A.D. Copper-nickel alloy, diam. 7 cm (left), 6.7 cm (right). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Chinese Porcelain Corporation Gift, 2003 (2003.16.1) (left); Purchase, Funds from various donors and Gifts of friends of Jim Thompson, in his memory, 2003 (2003.16.2)

The stupa is one of the most enduring forms in Buddhist art, while this type of incense burner is a local feature, in India at least. In all of Buddhist India, workshops were established to produce reliquaries and other objects for Buddhist worship. The Gandharan incense burner is a unique object and appears to be an experimental form, drawing aesthetically on both foreign imports and objects already in use. When it was decided to create a burner for Buddhist ritual, the patrons wanted it to look Buddhist. The easiest way was to draw on the most popular of all Buddhist forms, the stupa. As we know from narrative reliefs, later burners lost their visual dependence not only on the stupa but also on classical forms, which were absorbed as a new burner was created.

The winged figures at the base of the burner (see Figure 38) are the Guardians of the Four Quarters, an important theme in Buddhist art. Their visual form and placement certainly derive from the sphinxes and various other winged beings in the Hellenistic tradition (see Figure 23). None of the Hellenistic prototypes, however, are adult male winged figures, and certainly not ones that look very Indian. Adult male winged figures are known in the southern Italian and Etruscan traditions,¹⁰⁴ and we have seen them holding wreaths on the dishes from the Taxila region (see Figure 32). But their closest conceptual parallels are in the Buddhist narrative reliefs of the Great Stupa at Sanchi (late first century B.C.–early first century A.D.).¹⁰⁵ There, celestial beings, with and without wings, are placing garlands not only on stupas but also on other Buddhist sacred places such as trees and pillars. These figures thus have a double function of guardian and

worshiper, but in groups of four they are specifically interpreted as the Four Guardian Kings.¹⁰⁶ Although the theme of the Guardian Kings took on greater significance in Buddhist art of the Far East, it was already present in the art and literature of ancient India. At Sanchi the Guardian Kings are placed in a narrative context, not as corner supports as on the burner.¹⁰⁷

The guardian figures look like bodhisattvas, but in fact bodhisattvas had not yet taken form in the first century A.D. A bodhisattva is a potential Buddha. The term refers both to Shakyamuni, the current Buddha before his Enlightenment, and to other saintlike figures in later Buddhism who have postponed their Nirvana in order to help the laity attain Enlightenment. In ancient Indian art a bodhisattva is represented as a prince with a mustache and heavy jewelry, a reference to the fact that Siddhartha was a prince who gave away the trappings of royalty in order to seek Enlightenment. An *ushnisha* (a cranial protrusion, which looks like a chignon in Gandharan art) is sometimes on the top of his head. The *urna*, a small dot on the forehead between the eyes, belongs to the iconography of the Buddha but is also seen on non-Indian figures.¹⁰⁸ Thus, the attributes of the bodhisattva are not specific to Buddhist art. In other contexts such marks may have dynastic connotations, but during the first century A.D. they were used too broadly to have a specific context. Certainly, then, we cannot call these figures bodhisattvas, but we can point out that this is the form which bodhisattvas eventually took, only without the wings. Many figures of princes or ordinary people of means wearing the same costume, with the upper garment draped in the same fashion, were

found in Swat Valley.¹⁰⁹ Note that there is an extra flap of cloth on the left shoulder of both the guardian figures and the figures from Swat. As we have mentioned above, the wings and the bodies of the figures on the burner were cast separately and joined in the wax. By joining them the artist paid heed to three different forms: classical winged figures, Indian winged figures, and Indian princes. Placed on the four corners of the burner, these figures are naturally meant to be considered directional. The whole creates the effect of a mandala, with a circular object on a square base. Significantly, the winged beings do not appear in later illustrations of burners. They apparently were an experimental form which had died out.

There certainly are many elements which appear Iranian in the burner. Historically, Buddhism was a proselytizing religion, and its art was used to propagate the faith. Therefore, Gandharan Buddhist art should include symbolism drawn from various contemporary cultures as well as from the past. Thus the Hindu deities Indra and Brahma were incorporated into the pantheon, but, of course, as subservient to the Buddha.¹¹⁰ The swastika and the moon on the lid of the incense burner (see Figure 9) may be a reference to the sun and moon gods, an Iranian concept which has its roots in the ancient Near East. In India, swastikas were used as auspicious forms on pottery in Kushan and pre-Kushan times.¹¹¹ In later times they were used as sun symbols on the hands and feet of the Buddha. It is difficult to tell in what sense they are used here, but having Buddhist and Iranian implications simultaneously is consistent with the Buddhist tradition.

The major motifs on the lid, the sun and moon alternating with a pipal leaf and a head in a disk, can be considered as vertical pairs.¹¹² Even though similar leaves appear in classical art, in India the pipal is invariably sacred. The Bodhi tree under which the Buddha Shakyamuni received his Enlightenment at

Bodhgaya is a pipal (*Ficus religiosa*). Leaves that have fallen from this tree are sacred and are collected by worshippers even today. The heads bear no relationship to those on the Hellenistic vessel with swags already noted at Taxila.¹¹³ However, similar heads in the form of theatrical masks were found at Tarentum,¹¹⁴ and several small bronze disks with portrait heads were found in Gandhara.¹¹⁵ Two interesting pairs of disks which presumably had some specific function are in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 39, 40). On the lid of the burner the heads are paired with pipal leaves. In a much earlier context at Bharhut heads appear inside lotus medallions. As the lotus is a symbol of transcendent birth, the form may indicate that the figures have attained a transcendent state.¹¹⁶ Similarly, we can speculate that a head near a pipal leaf may signify an enlightened mind.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of the burner to interpret are the five hanging leaves of two different types (see Figures 1, 8). Four of them are vine leaves while the other is a type of *Ficus*, but not the pipal leaf.¹¹⁷ Neither of the two types of leaves is commonly used in Buddhist art to identify present and former Buddhas. The foliage illustrated in Gandharan narrative art is not always the same as that in art from the subcontinent, perhaps because different foliage grows in the colder region. We have found no comparative material for the placement of heads on vine leaves but suggest that the leaves used on the burner symbolize the more traditional leaves. We thus revert to the same distant comparison we have used above, the art of Bharhut. We can interpret heads emerging from the plant as being minds in a transcendent state. The fifth leaf, which is blank and of a different genus, represents a higher state, that of Nirvana.¹¹⁸

Regardless of its monumental complexity, this type of incense burner did not endure in India. Most of the decorative or symbolic details were not to appear



Figure 41. Figures paying homage to an incense burner, detail of the base of a seated Buddha image. Gandhara, 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Gray schist. Peshawar Museum (photo: Isao Kurita, *Gandara bijutsu* [Tokyo, 1988–90], vol. 2, no. 205)



Figure 42. Four figures around a lamp, detail of a base of a Buddha image. Swat, 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif, 2465 (photo: Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome)

again, except in isolated cases.¹¹⁹ We have looked at numerous burners represented throughout the art of Gandhara and most of them have no lids, even though their flames often rise up in the conical shape of a lid. But incense burners of this type are illustrated on Buddhist narrative reliefs, frequently below the image of a Buddha. The lids of the burners are open, and they are supported securely by their hinges. In other words, burners of this type, though fashioned after incense burners from the West, were used as lamps or torches. The most important example in Buddhist art of an incense burner possibly being used as a lamp is on the base of a relief of a Buddha dated to the second or third century A.D. and now in Peshawar (Figure 41).¹²⁰ Except that the stem is less tapered, distancing it somewhat from the classical prototypes, it is the closest parallel to the bronze burner. The lid is open and hanging securely on its hinge, while flames burst forth from the burner.¹²¹ The dish to catch the embers no longer has this function and is turned downward, and several bells hang from it. In a relief from Swat (Figure 42) that is probably close in time to the Levy-White bronze burner, the disk has become a double lotus (with no bells), and a long, tapering flame comes out of the upper bowl. In this case, the illustrated burner is about the same size as the bronze burner. These burners come in several variations, some short with four legs,¹²² some short with a round base,¹²³ some tall and slender. In most cases the flames of the lamp take on a conelike shape reminiscent of the lid of the Levy-White burner. A burner is illustrated on the base of the famous Fasting Buddha in Lahore (Figure 43). The burner has two hanging

bells, reminding us of the two significant Buddhist verses relating bells to the Buddhist faith. I have referred above to early Buddhist passages which are intended to accompany and elucidate the earliest images of the Buddha and which speak of the bells as representing two stanzas of the Buddha's teaching.¹²⁴ About the time this burner was made, Buddha images were beginning to be produced, and it was important to give them a high degree of authority by providing appropriate textual justification.

Excavations at the site of Kara Tepe in Old Termez in southern Uzbekistan have revealed a Buddhist complex containing fireplaces or altars which can be interpreted as having both a utilitarian and a cultic function. Despite the fact that there are no textual sources for Buddhist ritual of the time, Tigran Mkrtichev has interpreted them as stone votive altars on which incense was kindled in front of a sculptural or pictorial image of the Buddha.¹²⁵ He tied this concept in with the images we have shown above. Consistent with this idea is a passage from an early Buddhist text meant to accompany a Buddha image: "He, who is in charge of the lamp and who is going to light the lamp, should first of all light the lamp in the abode of the Lord's Body, when

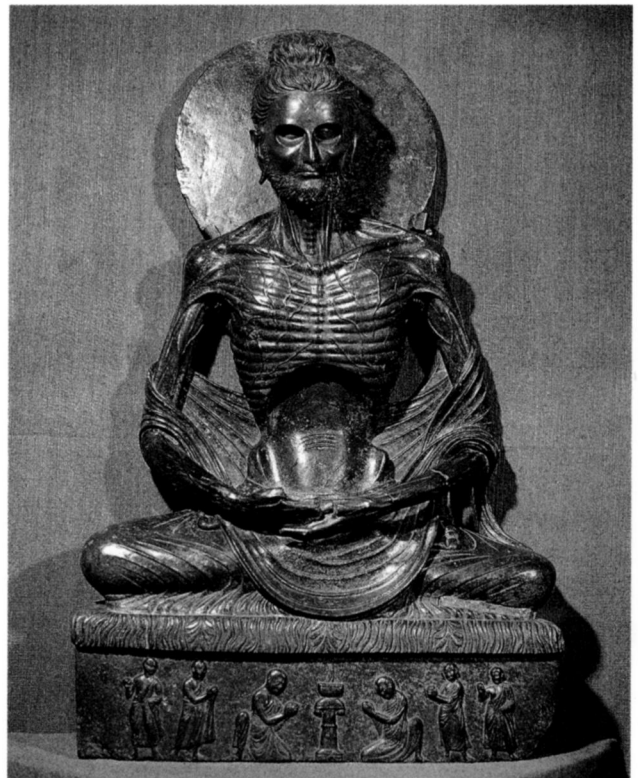


Figure 43. Siddhartha Fasting. Gandhara, Sikri, Kushan, 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Gray schist, H. 84 cm. Lahore Museum, 2099 (photo by John C. Huntington, courtesy of the Huntington Archive)



Figure 44. Maitreya altarpiece. China, Hebei Province, Northern Wei dynasty, dated A.D. 524. Bronze with gilding, H. 76.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1938 (38.158.1a-n)



Figure 45. *Boshanlu* (mountain censer). China, Eastern Han dynasty, A.D. 25–220. Earthenware with relief decoration, remains of pigments, H. 22.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Florence Waterbury, 1965 (65.74.2)

the shrine is being worshipped. There, (the light) is to be settled, when one has let it go out, so that no evil may turn up, when, at the time of mental concentration, (the light), fading away, is destroyed.”¹²⁶

Early Theravada Buddhism was a renunciant religion. Without financial support, largely from the mercantile community, it would have died out. In order to keep the community alive there gradually developed a series of functions for the lay community, who were ultimately supposed to provide sustenance for the monks. As we use the term “lamp,” we certainly mean fire. Fire rituals go back to ancient Indian times, and even today they are part of the marriage ceremony. That these burners are shown in Gandharan art being used in worship at the base of Buddhist images often indicates that a lay practice was being performed.¹²⁷ The first of these many rituals was that of pilgrimage and the worship of the stupa, which was in fact sanctioned by the Buddha before his death.¹²⁸ As time passed many Hindu and popular rituals were included, even the use of fire, though it had

been previously frowned upon. For we know that on the point of their conversion to Buddhism the followers of Kasyapa at Uruvilva threw their ritual objects for the *agnihotra* (fire ritual) into the river.¹²⁹

One of the most important lessons we have learned in this study is how very accurate Gandharan reliefs are, for the open incense burner shown in Figure 41 certainly illustrates a burner very close to the Levy-White bronze example. Such burners must have been extremely precious, as they were included in the reliefs despite the fact that they were made as incense burners, not lamps. Their prototypes arrived via the sea route through Egypt, and we are certainly not surprised that Hellenistic prototypes were copied in the very cosmopolitan environment of Taxila. The form of the burner became Indianized, and then died out. But in using the Hellenized burners in their reliefs, the monastic community was demonstrating their appreciation for the great mercantile community, who imported incense burners and adapted them in a



Figure 46. Pongnae-san incense burner. Buyeo, South Korea, 6th century A.D. Gilt bronze, H. 64 cm. Buyeo National Museum

Gandharan style. This particular burner may, in fact, have been a well-known one which belonged to a king who patronized Buddhism during the first century A.D. and who lived “up the river from Barbarikon.”

While Buddhism was relatively short-lived in India, it traveled to the Far East, where it had a much longer history, and Buddhist religious art went with it. Although the Gandharan incense burner was used as a lamp in India, the type frequently appeared as a burner, stylistically almost intact, in China. One of the finest examples is on the magnificent gilt bronze Maitreya altar group dated to A.D. 524 in the Metropolitan Museum, on which a very similar burner issues forth from a lotus (Figure 44). Its slightly conical lid is secured with a hinge, reminding us that even in miniature the burner

could be used as a lamp. We recall that Chinese goods were found at Begram, and Chinese pelts were imported into India, confirming the fact that there was contact with India. But how can one suggest that this burner was derived from the Gandharan type, when China had its own long tradition of incense burners dating back to the Han dynasty and even before?

The *boshanlu*, or mountain censer (see Figure 45),¹³⁰ appeared in China in its mature form in the mid-second century B.C., during the reign of Emperor Wudi of the Han dynasty. This was artistically contemporary with the Hellenistic period in the West, and the time when the Chinese maintained contacts with the Parthians. Aesthetically, the mountain censer appears to be purely Chinese, and the form certainly could not have come from India.¹³¹ However, many parallels may be drawn between the *boshanlu* and Western works. First of all, from the Achaemenid period and later in the West, a bird appears on top of the censer (see Figure 26), and the base of the censer is connected to the lid (see, for example, Figure 17). In a similar manner, the bird and the chain appear on the *boshanlu*.¹³² But equally interesting are the ways in which the mountain peaks are rendered in China. They are reminiscent of the lid of the Hellenistic burner from Tarentum (Figure 28). It has been pointed out that the Chinese stemmed vessels known as *dou* may have been the predecessors of the *boshanlu*. *Dou* have pierced openings, their lids can be turned over and used as bowls, and some from the Han dynasty even have birds on top.¹³³ With the great expansion of the Han empire it is more than likely that Western burners were used to elaborate on ideas that were already known. In a similar fashion, when the Chinese Buddhists used the incense burner they combined the concept of the *boshanlu* with presumably canonical images coming from Gandhara.

The traditional *boshanlu* is turned into a truly Buddhist mountain paradise in a burner excavated from a royal tomb of the sixth century A.D. in Buyeo, South Korea (Figure 46).¹³⁴ The burner, called the Pongnae-san, is said to protrude from the center of the sea. Its form ultimately derives from the West but was modified in Gandhara and China. The image includes seventy-four mountain peaks and thirty-nine imaginary birds and animals. Among numerous lotus-flower designs are twenty-eight figures of humans and fish and other forms of marine life. While it is a complex composite of both Chinese and Buddhist philosophy, the Pongnae-san expresses the fundamental Buddhist idea that we have learned from the Gandharan incense burner: “All life originates from the lotus flower.”¹³⁵

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Shelby White, who graciously sent the Gandharan incense burner to The Metropolitan Museum of Art where it could be examined and photographed in the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation. I also thank Richard E. Stone, who examined the bronze and continuously shared my enthusiasm for this unique synthesis of East and West. I am especially grateful to Joan Mertens for her continuous support and encouragement. She has provided numerous references and stimulating ideas. As always, Martin Lerner and Steven Kossak were there for me to discuss the South Asian aspects of this problem, and they, along with Denise Leidy, have been unfailingly helpful. My discussions with Judith Lerner about the incense burner were also very fruitful. I sincerely thank Pierfrancesco Callieri, Osmund Bopearachchi, and Antonio Invernizzi for their rapid replies to my questions. I wish to thank James C. Y. Watt for his support of the project, part of which was completed while I was an Andrew W. Mellon Senior Fellow in Art History in the Department of Asian Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

NOTES

1. The technical examination of the incense burner was made by Richard E. Stone. The less than technical descriptions are my own.
2. Again, I cite Richard Stone's observation.
3. *The Crucible of Compassion and Wisdom: Special Exhibition Catalog of the Buddhist Bronzes from the Nitta Group Collection at the National Palace Museum* (Taipei, 1987), p. 403, pl. 2.
4. Martha L. Carter, "A Preliminary Study of Two Indo-Scythian Bronzes in the Nitta Group Collection," in *South Asian Archaeology: Proceedings of the Twelfth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists Held in Helsinki University, 5-9 July 1993*, ed. Asko Parpola and Petteri Koskikallio (Helsinki, 1994), pp. 125-35.
5. *Towards Enlightenment: Indian and Southeast Asian Art*, sale, Christie's, New York, September 17, 1998, lot 11.
6. Lionel Casson, ed., *The Periplus maris Erythraei* (Princeton, 1989), para. 39, p. 75.
7. The date of the text has been a source of great debate, with dates ranging from A.D. 30 to 230. However, in his introduction to the *Periplus* Lionel Casson gave a convincing argument for the first-century date, which is currently accepted by most scholars.
8. Casson, *Periplus*, pp. 7-10, 32.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
10. The best compendium of articles on this subject is Vimala Begley and Richard Daniel De Puma, eds., *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* (Madison, Wis., 1991; reprint, Delhi, 1992).
11. Numerous objects of Western manufacture, as well as works influenced by the West, are published in the groundbreaking *Crossroads of Asia: Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan*, ed. Elizabeth Errington and Joe Cribb, exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1992).
12. See R. Nagaswamy, "Roman Sites in Tamil Nad: Recent Discoveries," in *Madhu: Recent Researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History*, ed. M. S. Nagaraja Rao (Delhi, 1981), pp. 337-39; and K. V. Raman, "Further Evidence of Roman Trade from Coastal Sites in Tamil Nadu," in Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, p. 125. According to Raman (p. 133 n. 2), the bibliography on *yavanas* in Tamil literature is vast; he cites Kamil Zvelebil, "The Yavanas in Old Tamil Literature," in *Charisteria orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia*, ed. Jan Rypka et al. (Prague, 1956), pp. 401-9.
13. The basic study of the site is Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler, A. Ghosh, and Krishna Deva, "Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading-Station on the East Coast of India," *Ancient India* 2 (1946), pp. 17-124.
14. Ptolemy, *Geography* 7.1.6, 83, cited in Richard Daniel De Puma, "The Roman Bronzes from Kolhapur," in Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, p. 82. Kolhapur is not mentioned in the *Periplus*, as the text is quite sketchy with regard to inland sites.
15. Karl Khandalavala, "Brahmapuri: A Consideration of the Metal Objects Found in the Kundangar Hoard," *Lalit Kala* 8 (1960), pp. 29-75.
16. De Puma, "Roman Bronzes from Kolhapur," pp. 82-112. De Puma acknowledges the difficulty of dating the Kolhapur *Poseidon*, as copies of the Lysippos original were made from Hellenistic times to the second century A.D.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 105 n. 8.
18. *The Search for Alexander: An Exhibition*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and other cities, 1980-83 (Boston, 1980), no. 154, colorpl. 25. The exhibition was shown at the Metropolitan Museum in 1983.
19. De Puma, "Roman Bronzes from Kolhapur," p. 101.
20. If one is given a metal object, even by a beloved relative, it is given only for bullion value, and the object is subsequently taken to be melted down and fashioned into a modern style. This ancient practice survives even today in modern India. Only in recent times have more educated (and internationalized) women worn antique jewelry rather than melting it down to create new objects.
21. For example, see Elizabeth Rosen Stone, *The Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda* (Delhi, 1984), p. 30, fig. 46.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42, figs. 74, 77, 78. Western bronze objects were copied not only on stone but also in bronze and clay, and clay objects became the prototype for a particular sculptural style in clay in South India; see Khandalavala, "Brahmapuri"; and M. N. Deshpande, "Classical Influence on Indian Terracotta Art," in *Huitième congrès international d'archéologie classique* (Paris, 1965), pp. 603-10.
23. Judith Lerner, "Horizontal-Handled Mirrors: East and West," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (1996), pp. 30, 40 n. 107.
24. Rosa Maria Cimino, ed., *Ancient Rome and India* (New Delhi, 1994), pp. 119-22, colorpl. 5.
25. Casson, *Periplus*, pp. 16-18, 101-2. A late reference to the emperor Aurelian said that he owned two ten-foot elephant tusks from India which were to be made into a throne (Cimino, *Ancient Rome and India*, p. 23).
26. Begram is near the village of Kapisha, twenty-five miles north-east of Kabul and just south of the Hindu Kush. Kapisha was still in existence in the seventh century during the time of the Chinese pilgrim Xuan Zhang, who wrote that merchandise "from

- all parts" could be found there (Xuan Zhang, *Su-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Hsuen-tsang (A.D. 629), by Samuel Beal* (London, 1884; reprint, Delhi, 1969), p. 57; and see Elizabeth Rosen [Stone], "The Begram Ivories," *Marsyas* 17 (1974–75), p. 40.
27. Xuan Zhang (*Su-yu-ki*) recorded that the Kushan king Kanishka housed Chinese hostages at Kapisha during the hot weather and sent them to India during the winter. Sanjyot Mehendale ("Begram: Along Ancient Central Asian and Indian Trade Routes," in *Inde-Asie centrale: Routes du commerce et des idées, Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 1–2 [Tashkent and Aix-en-Provence, 1996]), challenged the long-held idea that Begram is ancient Kapisha. For our purposes, even if it was not Kapisha, it was important in the Kushan realm.
 28. Joseph Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram: Chantier no. 2* (1937), *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* 9 (Paris, 1939); Joseph Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram, ancienne Kâpici, 1939–1940: Rencontre de trois civilisations: Inde, Grèce, Chine. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* 11 (Paris, 1954).
 29. David Whitehouse, "Begram, the *Periplus* and Gandharan Art," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2 (1989), pp. 93–100. I accept Whitehouse's study of the Begram glass, but he also attempted to deal with the broader topics of the Begram hoard and the stylistic sources of Gandharan art in general. He introduced (p. 94) the debate as to whether the sources of the Gandharan style are from Greek art or Roman, taking the Roman side of the argument and citing the major articles on the subject written in the 1940s and 1950s by Hugo Buchthal, Mortimer Wheeler, and Alexander Soper. While these are still basic studies in the field of Gandharan art, recent studies and archaeological evidence have changed the questions we ask. For instance, John Boardman ("Classical Figures in an Indian Landscape," in *Gandharan Art in Context: East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, ed. Raymond Allchin et al. [New Delhi, 1997], p. 1) has decided to dismiss the "long battle" as to whether the influence upon Gandharan art was essentially Greek or Roman: "It does not take long to see that the distinction is meaningless; that for centuries B.C., inevitably only Greece is in question; and that for the centuries A.D. it is the classical or classical inspired world of the Roman Empire, from Italy to Persia, that is the source, and that although much of the commercial motivation was Roman, the most direct source remained that of the Hellenistic Greek East."
 30. Whitehouse ("Begram, the *Periplus* and Gandharan Art," p. 96) stated that "the earliest objects [in the Begram hoard] appear to be the [Indian] ivories," of about 75–25 B.C. His source, an article by J. Leroy Davidson ("Begram Ivories and Early Indian Sculpture: A Reconsideration of Dates," in *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal [Leiden, 1972], pp. 1–14), has never been accepted by scholars of Indian art. (Consider for instance my own article "Begram Ivories" and a variation of it in my book *Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, chap. 4.) The discourse continues with dates ranging from the first to the third century A.D. In a more recent study, published in 1996 ("Begram"), Mehendale argued for a first-century date for the ivories. She believes that the Begram hoard was first-century merchants' stock awaiting further distribution. She implied that Whitehouse's work on the Begram glass is corroborative, thereby indicating that the different categories of works were of one date. This is similar to the group method used in Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches*, in 1954, but at that time the second century A.D. was the chosen period. In a new article that has just appeared ("Begram: The Glass," *Topoi Orient-Occident* 11 [2001 (2003)], pp. 444–45), Whitehouse admits to the possibility that some of the glass may be later. This supports the idea that some of the ivories may also be later but does not affect the date of the majority of the imported glass.
 31. See Xinru Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges, AD 1–600* (Delhi, 1994), p. 63, citing John Marshall, *Taxila* (Cambridge, 1951), vol. 1, p. 238, and Moreshwar Dikshit, *History of Indian Glass* (Bombay, 1969), p. 36.
 32. Whitehouse, "Begram, the *Periplus* and Gandharan Art," p. 95. For the Harpocrates, see Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 605, no. 414, vol. 3, pl. 186c, and John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila* (Cambridge, 1960), pl. 5.
 33. The absolute chronology of the Kushans and their predecessors in the region is an ongoing topic of debate. A provisional chart of the chronology of the eastern regions discussed in this article is provided by Joe Cribb and Osmund Bopearachchi in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia* (p. 15). For a more thorough study of the subject, see Joe Cribb, "The Early Kushan Kings: New Evidence for Chronology," in *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the Pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, ed. Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Vienna, 1999), pp. 177–205.
 34. We warmly welcome the publication of Romila Thapar's *Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300* (Berkeley, 2002), a rewritten version of her 1965 classic *A History of India* 1. Chapter 7 gives an excellent overview of foreign trade as it affected India.
 35. Casson, *Periplus*, pp. 74–75.
 36. *Ibid.*, pp. 188–89.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
 38. Pliny, *Natural History* 32.23, cited in Casson, *Periplus*, p. 191.
 39. Casson, *Periplus*, p. 191.
 40. See Nigel Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade* (London and New York, 1981), which seems to be the only available general book on the ancient use of incense. Despite the fact that Groom's discussion of the *Periplus* is out of date, his book remains useful.
 41. For example, in ancient Egypt incense was presented to the gods by the king himself (see *ibid.*, p. 3).
 42. I have been struck by the number of colleagues in fields extending from Greece to the Far East who have taken the time to express their interest in the Gandharan incense burner, and each of them has been able to see their own field of interest reflected in it.
 43. Casson, *Periplus*, p. 22.
 44. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches*, figs. 243–49.
 45. A cursory search for "incense burners" on the Internet demonstrates that the basic forms have changed very little, even in the twenty-first century.
 46. Karl Wigand, "Thymiateria," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 122 (1912), pp. 1–97, plus six plates folded in the back of the volume.
 47. *Ibid.*, p. 3, fig. 1.
 48. *Ibid.*, pl. 1, no. 6. While the basic form appeared in ancient Egypt, it was not the most common type used during Pharaonic times. The most common type, as represented in paintings and reliefs, was a bowl placed on a large horizontal handle that provided the utmost safety for the hands (see *ibid.*, pl. 1, nos. 24–36).
 49. *Ibid.*, p. 26, fig. 3.
 50. See Vassos Karageorghis, "The Greeks in Cyprus," in *The Greeks beyond the Aegean: From Marseilles to Bactria*, ed. Vassos Karageorghis (New York, [2002]), pp. 14–15, fig. 12.

51. Although I know of no incense burners illustrated in southern or central Indian art, a lit lamp appears in the scene of the conception of the Buddha at Bharhut (Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *La sculpture de Bharhut* [Paris, 1956], pl. 24, fig. 61), and an object which seems to be a fire altar is in a miniature Roman-style temple illustrated at Amaravati (Robert Knox, *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa* [London, 1992], p. 143).
52. Although Persian influence is apparent in India, I have argued that other sources also played an important role (see Elizabeth Rosen Stone, "Greece and India: The Ashokan Pillars Revisited," in Karageorghis, *Greeks beyond the Aegean*, pp. 167–88).
53. These idcas need to be reviewed and carefully spelled out.
54. Bernard Goldman, "Persian Domed Turibula," *Studia Iranica* 20 (1991), pp. 179–88. For Anatolian examples, see pl. 19AA, BB.
55. For variants of these burners, see A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "The International Achaemenid Style," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s. 7 (1993), pp. 111–30.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 116, fig. 4.5.
57. Goldman, "Persian Domed Turibula," pp. 180–82.
58. Carter, "Two Indo-Scythian Bronzes," pp. 125, 129.
59. Ellen Reeder Williams, *The Archaeological Collection of the Johns Hopkins University* (Baltimore, 1984), pp. 63–64.
60. David Gordon Mitten and Susan F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (Cambridge, 1967), no. 22.
61. Larissa Bonfante, ed., *Etruscan Life and Afterlife: A Handbook of Etruscan Studies* (Detroit, 1986), pp. 140, 148, fig. 4.74.
62. Wigand, "Thymiateria," p. 41, fig. 5.
63. *Ibid.*, pl. 5, no. 1, pl. 6, no. 1.
64. Wigand (*ibid.*, p. 47) said that this sketch by Siegfried Loeschke was based upon a vase which was in the Antikensammlung, Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn. As I had been unable to obtain a photograph of the original, Joan Mertens kindly offered to help pursue the matter. In a letter to Dr. Mertens dated July 31, 2004, Dr. Nikolai Himmelman confirmed that the vase was not in Bonn, but that the sketch was made in Athens. I thank both Dr. Mertens and Dr. Himmelman for their efforts.
65. The burner bears an inscription which indicates that it was dedicated to "holy Aphrodite." Clearly the Indians use these burners for their own purposes.
66. According to Joan R. Mertens ("An Early Greek Bronze Sphinx Support," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 37 [2002], pp. 23–33), the animation of utilitarian objects through the use of figural motifs is one of the hallmarks of Greek art. This particular motif, the sphinx with one foot in the shape of a lion's paw, is one of the most enduring in the West.
67. Michael Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit*, *Archäologische Forschungen* 16 (Berlin, 1987), pp. 29–35, pls. 2, 3.
68. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 3, pl. 65f. According to Marshall, this incense burner was excavated in the Dharmarajika area. It post-dated the major construction of the stupa and probably belongs to the fourth or fifth century A.D. It is an excellent example of the complete Indianization of a classical form. The Levy-White incense burner clearly stays closer to the classical prototype.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–40, pl. 32. See also Pierre Willeumier, *Le trésor de Tarente (Collection Edmond de Rothschild)* (Paris, 1930), pp. 48–52, pl. 7.
70. Elizabeth Rosen [Stone], "A Dated Memorial Pillar from Nagarjunakonda," in *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*, ed. Frederick M. Asher and G. S. Gai (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 36–37, fig. 46; and see also D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London, 1966), pl. 29B. In a paper that has been in press for some time ("The Amaravati Master": Spatial Conventions in the Art of Amaravati," in a commemorative volume for Dr. H. Sarkar [New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India]), I suggested that South Indian artists may have seen classical painting as represented in Pompeii. At the time, the association seemed to me to be visually analogous but historically questionable. As information on the specifically Italian contribution to India accumulates, these ideas are more plausible.
71. Kossak in Martin Lerner and Steven Kossak, *The Lotus Transcendent: Indian and Southeast Asian Art from the Samuel Eilenberg Collection* (New York, 1991), pp. 60–65, nos. 17–25. John Boardman (in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, p. 152) referred to them as palettes or small stone trays, stating that some are meant to contain pigment or perfume. However, he cited Kossak and said, "that this was their only function is open to question."
72. For a negative comparison, see Henri-Paul Francfort, *Les palettes du Gandhara*, *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* 23 (Paris, 1979), pls. 50–52. Boardman (in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, p. 152) also referred to examples in Egypt and Asia Minor.
73. For an illustration of this piece in its original context, see Ettore M. De Juliis, *Gli ori di Taranto in età ellenistica* (Milan, 1985), frontis. and pp. 58–61. It opens in the same manner as a woman's compact, except that the image is where a mirror would be.
74. See, for example, Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, no. 98, color ill. p. 21.
75. See Islay Lyons and Harald Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan* (New York, 1957), figs. 340, 341.
76. See, for example, a dish from Sirkap (*ibid.*, fig. 48; Francfort, *Les palettes du Gandhara*, pl. 14).
77. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 596, no. 323, vol. 3, pl. 184m; Pfrommer, *Alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik*, no. 14.
78. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 596, no. 326, vol. 3, pl. 176.
79. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 492, no. 60, vol. 3, pl. 141.
80. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 603, no. 399, vol. 3, pl. 185j; Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques*, vol. 2, pl. 20, fig. 46.
81. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, pp. 598–99, nos. 344–52, vol. 3, pl. 176.
82. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 605, no. 420, vol. 3, pl. 172u. Marshall stated that the technique is rough but the treatment of the wreath in different patterns is typically Greco-Roman, implying that this is a local copy of a Western work.
83. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 387, nos. 245–50, vol. 3, pl. 182g–m.
84. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 498, no. 92, vol. 3, pl. 146.
85. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 631, no. 85, vol. 3, pl. 191v.
86. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 257–58, no. 252a, b, vol. 3, pls. 36d, 182o.
87. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 340, vol. 3, pl. 80h. From the context of this find, it is possible to suggest that this example is a later variant of the Levy-White burner.
88. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 327, vol. 3, pl. 80g.
89. Using Cribb and Bopearachchi's chronology (see note 33, above).
90. See Domenico Faccenna and Maurizio Taddei, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I, Swat, W. Pakistan*, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Reports and Memoirs 2, pts. 2, 3 (Rome, 1962–64); and Pierfrancesco Callieri et al., *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Reports and Memoirs 23 (Rome, 1989).

91. For a good recent summary of the evidence, see Pierfrancesco Callieri, "Il periodo dei Saka e dei Parti: Le dinastie di Apraca e di Odi ed il loro supporto al Buddhismo," in *Il maestro di Saidu Sharif: Alle origini dell'arte del Gandhara*, ed. Pierfrancesco Callieri and Anna Filigenzi, exh. cat., Palazzo Brancaccio, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome (Rome, 2002), pp. 57–61. See also Chantal Fabrègues, "The Indo-Parthian Beginnings of Gandhara Sculpture," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s. 1 (1987), pp. 33–43.
92. See, for example, Neil Kreitman in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, pp. 191–92; and Martha L. Carter, "A Reappraisal of the Bimaran Reliquary," in Allchin et al., *Gandharan Art in Context*, pp. 71–93. Although opinions may vary as to the absolute date of the burner, the fact that scholars could consider a first-century date for the reliquary indicates a major change in our understanding of first-century Gandhara.
93. See note 3, above.
94. Carter, "Two Indo-Scythian Bronzes," pp. 129–31.
95. John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi* (London, 1940; reprint, Delhi, 1982), vol. 2, pl. 11 (top) for the birth, pl. 15 (top) for the death.
96. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pls. 24–99. This tradition reached its height at Amaravati in the second century A.D., when the lotus began to lose its symbolic form and became a decorative motif. For excellent plates, see Knox, *Amaravati*.
97. Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, vol. 3, pl. 73, no. 49a, pl. 87, no. 71a.
98. *Ibid.*, pl. 75, no. 5b.
99. *Ibid.*, pl. 24, no. 3a, pl. 82, no. 44b.
100. *Ibid.*, pl. 83, no. 44c. Not only are stupas represented as coming from a lotus, but actual stupas are made with lotus leaves sculpted at their bases, and some are believed to be rising from water. For a summary of these ideas, see Stone, *Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, p. 49.
101. Gustave Roth, "The Physical Presence of the Buddha and Its Representation in Buddhist Literature," in *Investigating Indian Art: Proceedings of a Symposium . . . Held at the Museum for Indian Art Berlin in May 1986*, ed. Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo (Berlin, 1987), p. 297.
102. See, for example, Wladimir Zwalf, *A Catalogue of the Gandhara Sculpture in the British Museum* (London, 1996), vol. 2, p. 263, no. 476.
103. Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, colorpl. 29.
104. For examples, see Nancy Thomson de Grummond, *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1982), figs. 39, 83, 89.
105. Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, vol. 2, pls. 11 (middle architrave), 15 (top architrave), 17 (west end of upper and middle architrave), 46 (top architrave), 47 (back of Eastern gateway), and others.
106. *Ibid.*, pl. 58.
107. In one tale of the conception of the Buddha, Four Guardian Kings carry his mother's bed to the top of the Himalayas (Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky, *The Life of the Buddha: Ancient Scriptural and Pictorial Traditions* [Lanham, Md., 1992], p. 10). In another tale, the guardian deities receive the child after he is born. This form was illustrated in South India during the second and third centuries A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 17; Knox, *Amaravati*, pl. 121; Stone, *Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, figs. 42, 108 [middle]). After the Buddha attained Enlightenment, deities of the four quarters presented him with four begging bowls, which immediately became one, so that he might spread the dharma (Asvaghosa, *The Buddhacarita; or, Acts of the Buddha*, ed. and trans. E. H. Johnston [reprint, Delhi, 1972], p. 9).
108. The *urna* can be seen on two non-Indian figures found at Tillya Tepe: a royal figure on a pendant and a winged figurine of Aphrodite (Victor Sarianidi, *The Golden Hoard of Bactria: From the Tillya-tepe Excavations in Northern Afghanistan* [New York and Leningrad, 1985], nos. 2.7, 6.3, colorpls. 44, 99). The *urna* can be seen as well on the head of a satyr discussed by Boardman (in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, p. 118; see also Chantal Fabrègues in *ibid.*, p. 145; and Carter, "Two Indo-Scythian Bronzes," p. 129).
109. Callieri et al., *Saidu Sharif I*, pp. 88, 285, figs. 22, 75, where the various topknots could easily be mistaken for *ushnishas*. For a variation on the garments, see pls. 80b, 81a and b, 82a and b.
110. The Kanishka casket, a Buddhist reliquary from Shah-jī-kī-Dheri in Gandhara, defines some important features of Gandharan Buddhism. On top of the casket are Indra and Brahma, and it has a representation of King Kanishka flanked by the sun and moon gods (John Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* [Berkeley, 1967], p. 262; Neil Kreitman in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, p. 195).
111. Herbert Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh* (Berlin, 1993), p. 338, nos. 47, 48 (pre-Kushan), p. 344, no. 107 (Kushan).
112. In the later lid from Taxila (Figure 33) the crescent moon is paired with the pipal. There it looks merely decorative.
113. See note 86, above.
114. De Juliis, *Gli ori di Taranto*, p. 40.
115. Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, p. 118.
116. Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain* (New York and Tokyo, 1985), p. 74.
117. Dr. Dennis W. Stevenson (letter to the author, July 2004) of the New York Botanical Gardens says that this leaf is "a highly accurate representation of a leaf of the genus *Ficus*," and it certainly comes from tropical Asia.
118. The five leaves on the burner are highly suggestive of another pentad which appeared during the second and third centuries A.D. in Indian stupa architecture. In southern India four groups of five *ayaka* pillars are placed in the four directions. The pillars are frequently the same, but sometimes the central one is different (Stone, *Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, figs. 94, 148; Knox, *Amaravati*, pl. 140). These pillars have been interpreted in the context of later Buddhism; Mireille Bénisti ("Les stupa aux cinq piliers," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 58 [1971], pp. 151–53) believed them to represent the five Buddhas of the *kalpa*: Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kasyapa, Shakyamuni (indicated without preeminence), and Maitreya (who symbolizes the coming). Thus, according to Bénisti, the outer pillars would be the Buddha's teaching and the differentiated pillar would be his law (see also Stone, *Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, p. 54). One cannot necessarily impose such an iconography on the five leaves, for the pillars are much later and occur in a different context. Maitreya, a Mahayana figure, surely seems out of place in the earlier context of the incense burner. While we are not aware of a pentad grouping at Sanchi, the Tree of Enlightenment of Maitreya may have been tentatively identified at Sanchi (Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, vol. 2, pl. 56).
119. See Carter, "Two Indo-Scythian Bronzes," p. 131. For a Panjikent example, see Boris Marshak and Valentina Ivanova Raspopova,

- "Wall Paintings, Panjikent," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 2 (1990), p. 138. For a more Chinese type, see Albert Grünwedel, *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im winter 1902–1903* (Munich, 1906), pl. 6.
120. Carter, "Two Indo-Scythian Bronzes," p. 130, citing Isao Kurita, *Gandara bijutsu* (Tokyo, 1988–90), vol. 2, p. 80, no. 205.
121. Another burner with a lid is known, but it too is open (Kurita, *Gandara bijutsu*, p. 175, no. 509). We know of no examples where the burner is used closed in the manner of an incense burner.
122. Alfred Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara* (Paris, 1905–), vol. 1, figs. 137, 294; Lyons and Ingholt, *Gandharan Art*, fig. 284.
123. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique*, vol. 1, fig. 293.
124. Roth, "Physical Presence of the Buddha," p. 297: "Make an effort, go forth leaving behind the evils of the world, engage yourself in the teaching of the Buddha; crush the army of death, as an elephant crushes a reed-hut. / Because, he who will walk in the discipline of the Law as a vigilant follower, by leaving the cycle of transmigration of rebirths, he will bring about an end to suffering." See also note 101, above.
125. Tigran K. Mkrtichev, "Buddhist Ritual Practice of Kara-Tepe Based on Materials of Complex E," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 3 (1993–94), pp. 97–112.
126. Quoted and translated in Roth, "Physical Presence of the Buddha," p. 291.
127. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique*, vol. 2, pp. 86–87. Giovanni Verardi (*Homa and Other Fire Rituals in Gandhara*, Istituto Universitario Orientale, suppl. 79 [Naples, 1994], p. 16) uses the term *populace*.
128. Akira Hirakawa, "The Rise of Mahayana Buddhism and Its Relationship to the Worship of Stupas," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 22 (1963), pp. 57–106; Stone, *Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, pp. 12–20.
129. *Mahavagga* 1.20.19, cited by Verardi, *Homa and Other Fire Rituals*, p. 7.
130. Suzanne G. Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1989), ill. p. 38.
131. Carter ("Two Indo-Scythian Bronzes," p. 125) noted that there is a similarity between the Gandharan incense burner under discussion and the *boshanlu*. Neither stylistic, literary, nor archaeological evidence supports the idea of Chinese incense burners in India.
132. Susan N. Erickson, "Boshanlu—Mountain Censers of the Western Han Period: A Typological and Critical Analysis," *Archives of Asian Art* 45 (1992), p. 12, fig. 8A. See also Melikian-Chirvani, "International Achaemenid Style," fig. 1 (an Achaemenid-type burner).
133. Erickson, "Boshanlu," p. 12, fig. 9c.
134. Chongju National Museum, *Gilt-bronze Incense Burner and Stone Sarira Reliquary with Inscription of Paekche Dynasty* (Chongju, 1996).
135. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

Becoming Artemisia: Afterthoughts on the Gentileschi Exhibition*

KEITH CHRISTIANSEN

Jayne Wrightsman Curator of Italian Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN MEMORY OF JOHN BREALEY

IT MAY HAVE BEEN IN 1614 that Marcantonio Bassetti traveled from northern Italy to Rome in the company of his fellow Veronese painters Alessandro Turchi and Pasquale Ottino. The first certain notice we have of him in the papal city, however, is a letter written on May 16, 1616, to his former mentor in Venice, Palma Giovane, whose advice he sorely missed. Bassetti assured Palma that he continued to make “brush drawings,” or oil sketches (*abbozzi*; Bassetti uses the word *botte*), from posed models—something the Romans referred to as Venetian academies, “much admiring the way that, while drawing, one was already painting.”¹

Though Bassetti did not find Roman practice much to his liking, he had made friends with a diverse group of artists, including the prolific printmaker and painter of hunting and battle scenes, Antonio Tempesta; the protagonist of classical painting, Domenichino; and, most importantly for his art, the Venetian follower of Caravaggio, Carlo Saraceni. It was perhaps through Saraceni, with whom he worked on the decoration of the Sala Regia in the Palazzo del Quirinale, that Bassetti made the acquaintance of Orazio Gentileschi and gained access to his workshop. That he visited Orazio, then at the peak of his powers, there can be no doubt, for there exist in the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona two drawings by Bassetti (Figures 1, 2) that record pictures that he can have seen together only in the Gentileschi workshop. The drawings, first recognized as Bassetti’s by Sergio Marinelli, record Orazio’s *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. no. 85), now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, and Artemisia’s *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. no. 55), currently in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples.² Although we know nothing about the early history of these two pictures, we have no reason to believe that they were ever owned by the same collector.

When he published the drawings, Marinelli speculated on the fact that Bassetti portrayed the *Judith Slaying Holofernes* as a horizontal composition, whereas both of the autograph versions that have come down to us—the work in Naples and one other (cat. no. 62) in the Uffizi, Florence—are uprights. It is well known that the Capodimonte painting has been cut—X-rays demonstrate that the only significant cropping is on the left—but it was never a horizontal. What Bassetti has done is to extend the space on the right of each of the Gentileschi compositions so as to create pendants—another sure sign that he saw the *Conversion of the Magdalene* and *Judith Slaying Holofernes* together and made his visual record of them as a pair. We may well wonder whether he was aware that they were by different artists. If not, he would not have been alone: two small paintings on slate in the Quadreria Arcivescovile, Milan, pair Artemisia’s *Judith Slaying Holofernes* with Orazio’s *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath*.³ (I believe the source of the latter was Orazio’s small version on copper in Berlin, though the copyist has taken a certain license with both prototypes, changing the position of Goliath’s head, just as, in the *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, he added a table with a burning candle, in the manner of Adam Elsheimer; he also altered the color of the costumes.)

Neither Bassetti nor the anonymous copyist of the paintings in Milan seems to have been much interested in the diverse authorship of the paintings: both were simply recording outstanding pictures to be seen in Orazio’s studio. For Orazio, too, Artemisia’s authorship of the *Judith* may have seemed incidental; especially after her departure for Florence in 1613, her paintings must have seemed to him merely part of his stock-in-trade. Current scholarship has focused so single-mindedly on identifying the emergence of

* Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi: Father and Daughter Painters in Baroque Italy, held at the Museo del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, October 15, 2001–January 6, 2002; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, February 14–May 12, 2002; and the Saint Louis Art Museum, June 15–September 15, 2002.



Figure 1. Marcantonio Bassetti (Italian, 1586–1630). After Orazio Gentileschi, *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. no. 85), ca. 1615. Pen and ink, 9.5 x 12.6 cm. Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona (photo: Umberto Tomba, Verona)

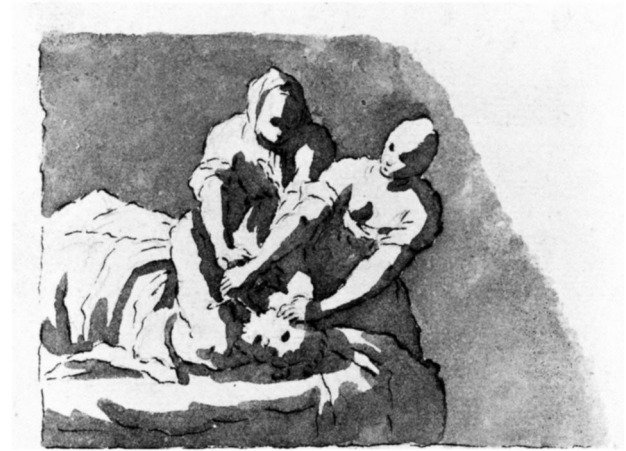


Figure 2. Marcantonio Bassetti. After Artemisia Gentileschi, *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. no. 55), ca. 1615. Pen and ink, 9.5 x 12.6 cm. Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona (photo: Umberto Tomba, Verona)

Artemisia as an independent artist that we have, perhaps, underplayed her role as Orazio's primary assistant and the consequent blurring of her artistic personality that this implies. Indicative of the problem is an apparent contradiction about the authorship of a *Judith and Holofernes* that is referred to in the testimony of the notorious 1612 trial of Agostino Tassi for the rape of Artemisia. In his initial petition in early 1612, Orazio claimed that the papal steward Cosimo Quorli had taken from Artemisia a large painting of Judith (described as "di suo padre," a phrase that can be interpreted as signifying either that it was his property or that he painted it). Later that year, on March 24, another witness, Giovanni Battista Stiattesi, gave what at face value would seem to be contradictory testimony, stating that he knew Artemisia had a painting of Judith that was taken from her by Cosimo Quorli.⁴ If we adopt the reasoning set out above, the matter resolves itself quite simply: ownership, not authorship, of the painting was, in Orazio's view, the main issue; he was deprived of a work he could have sold for profit. Similarly, when we hear of Artemisia giving drawing lessons to Orazio's hired assistant, Nicolò Bedino, we ought to think of this in terms of workshop practice rather than as an indication of her artistic independence. As her father's prize pupil, she was merely fulfilling Orazio's obligations. (Judging from the menial tasks Bedino performed, there is no evidence that he had had much previous training.)

The first time we hear of Orazio actively promoting Artemisia's independent achievement is in July 1612, when he wrote a much-cited letter to the grand duchess of Tuscany to solicit her support of their case against Tassi. Significantly, the letter came at a time

when the trial was casting a pall over the reputations of father and daughter. It may already have become clear to Orazio that he would not be able to keep her in his workshop much longer and that it was time to set the stage for her career as an independent painter. On November 29, 1612, two days after Tassi's condemnation by the court, Artemisia was married. How Orazio expected the relationship with her painter-husband Pierantonio Stiattesi to work out is anyone's guess, but I suspect that one of the key factors in his mind was that Stiattesi was a Florentine and that in Florence Artemisia could count for assistance on Orazio's brother, Aurelio Lomi—in fact, she used the Lomi family name once she got to the Tuscan capital. It is there that her career took flight. If we allow that Artemisia's early paintings in Rome were, in a very pragmatic sense, an extension of her father's practice, we will, I believe, be in a better position both to deal with those ambiguities of authorship that still plague Gentileschi studies and to expand our understanding of some of her key pictures.

Foremost among the works in question is the Pommersfelden *Susanna and the Elders* (Figure 3, Colorplate 4; cat. no. 51), a painting that is usually discussed as though it were Artemisia's defining work but that, were it not signed and dated, would almost certainly be ascribed to Orazio. In a sense, the signature—which is not altogether unproblematic⁵—is less an assertion of artistic independence than a declaration of Artemisia's mastery of her father's style. Any interpretation of the thematic treatment must take this fact into account. At the Gentileschi exhibition in New York, the picture was shown together with virtually all of the key comparative works ascribed to

Artemisia and Orazio, and the factor of Orazio's participation—which Mary Garrard, in her 1989 monograph, was willing to acknowledge only “on a modest technical and stylistic level”⁶—became a lively topic of debate. The issue goes well beyond superficial analogies with Orazio's work. Although the figure of Susanna is often cited as an example of “uncompromising naturalism,”⁷ her pose—with her legs positioned to the left, her arms extended to the right, parallel to the picture plane, and her abdomen viewed straight on—is at the limits of the physically possible. Nature has here been reconfigured to conform to a classical principle of *contrapposto*. This approach, like Susanna's gesture of defense—famously derived from a print of Michelangelo's *Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise* on the Sistine ceiling—conforms to Orazio's habit of basing motifs in his compositions on canonical models from the sixteenth century.⁸ Indeed, the way the composition has been pieced together from individually observed details, with little

thought given to spatial logic, is typical of Orazio. (Note also the way the bank of clouds is used to frame and set off the joined contour of the elders.)

The similarity to Orazio's methods of composition can be extended to the handling of color and light—light being particularly crucial to any analysis. Throughout her career, Artemisia was interested in light principally as a dramatic device, to enhance narration: she preferred the controlled environment of interior settings. Orazio, by contrast, relished its descriptive possibilities and welcomed the challenge of capturing the dispersed sunlight of the outdoors. He is the master of transparent half tones; she, of striking contrasts. Thus, the subtle range of grays in the shadowed areas of Susanna's abdomen are what we expect from Orazio's work, as is the effect of silken hair and the attention to variations in flesh tones—blended, with glazes used to fuse lit and shaded areas. Even the palette, with its unusual combination of plum, a chartreuse-like green, and rose, reflects Orazio's interests. The plum-colored jacket of the younger man is blue underpainted with red, a technique Orazio notably used in a number of other paintings (the robe of Saint Joseph in the *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* [cat. no. 10]; the lining of Saint Cecilia's cloak in the *Vision of Saint Cecilia* [cat. no. 9]; and the lavender-colored sleeves of the Virgin in the Birmingham *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* [cat. no. 34]). Artemisia, too, was to use this technique in, for example, the Burghley House *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. no. 65), the authorship of which has been wrongly doubted: it was clearly one of those technical tricks she learned from her father.⁹

Artemisia's hand seems to me most clearly discernible in the face and hands of the elders. The hands of the younger of the two, with their soft, fleshy fingers and rounded nails, are unquestionably those of Artemisia—in the literal sense, as they correspond in morphology to the drawing of Artemisia's right hand done by Pierre Dumonstier le Neveu (Figure 4). This same type of hand can be found in a number of Artemisia's paintings, among them the Pitti *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. no. 58), the Burghley House *Susanna*, the *Portrait of a Gonfaloniere* in Bologna (cat. no. 66), the *Esther Before Ahasuerus* in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 71), and there can be little doubt that occasionally she used her own hands as a model.¹⁰ The cuffs and collars in *Susanna* are as though “drawn” with the brush, in a fashion that we find again in the *Judith Slaying Holofernes* at Capodimonte (cat. no. 55). (Orazio's *Madonna and Child* [cat. no. 15] in Bucharest presents some analogies with this manner of describing the folds of the white drapery, though I don't think it invalidates the trait as an indication of Artemisia's authorship of this area.)

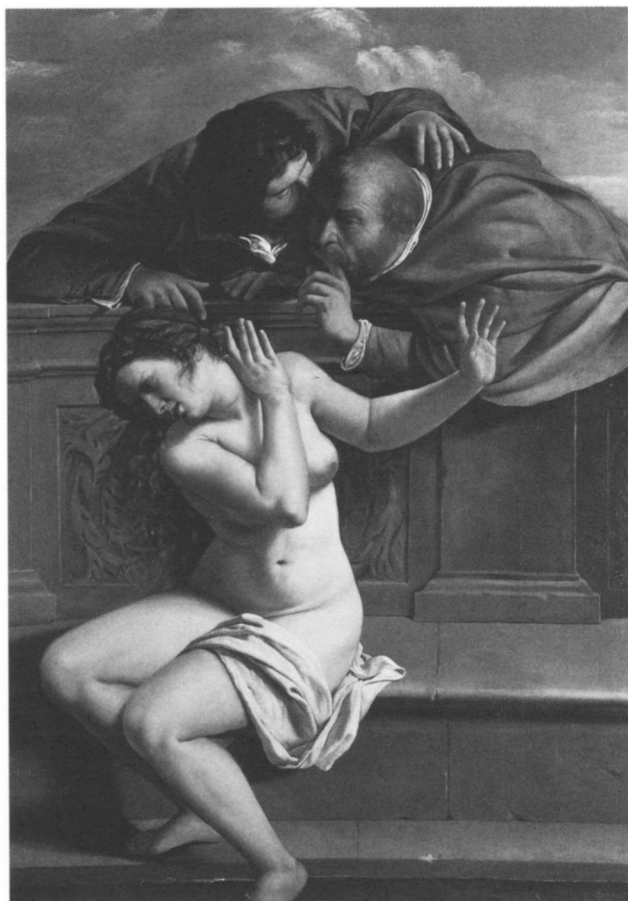


Figure 3. Artemisia (and Orazio) Gentileschi (Italian, 1593–1652/53). *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. no. 51), 1610. Oil on canvas, 170 x 119 cm. Collection of Graf von Schönborn, Pommersfelden, Germany. See also Colorplate 4



Figure 4. Pierre Dumonstier le Neveu (French, ca. 1585–1656). *Right Hand of Artemisia Gentileschi Holding a Brush*, 1625. Pen and ink, 20 x 16 cm. British Museum, London

Clearly, *Susanna and the Elders* was an important work for both Orazio and Artemisia: it must have been conceived as an advertisement of her talents, and in painting it she must have been closely supervised by her father. For this reason the changes visible in the X-rays are of particular interest.¹¹ The composition was painted over an abandoned one, of which only the upward-gazing head of a female figure remains on the prestretched, pregrounded canvas, which, rotated 180 degrees, was enlarged to accommodate the design of the *Susanna* (Figures 5, 6). (This creation of a larger picture support from bits and pieces of canvas is a persistent reflection of Orazio's thriftiness.) The X-rays also reveal that the two male figures were transformed from observers to conspirators. Was this Artemisia's idea, or did Orazio play a role in the conception? The idea for the conspiratorial dialogue is to be found in Orazio's art: for example, the disputing figures in the background of Orazio's *Circumcision* (cat. no. 7). The morphology and foreshortening of the head of the elder seen in the X-ray make it directly comparable to that of Tibertius looking through the door in the *Vision of Saint Cecilia* (cat. no. 9). Perhaps



Figure 5. X-radiograph of the painting illustrated in Figure 3

Figure 6. Detail of Figure 5 (inverted)





Figure 7. X-radiograph of *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. no. 18), by Orazio Gentileschi, 1610–12. Oil on canvas, 173 x 142 cm. Galleria Spada, Rome

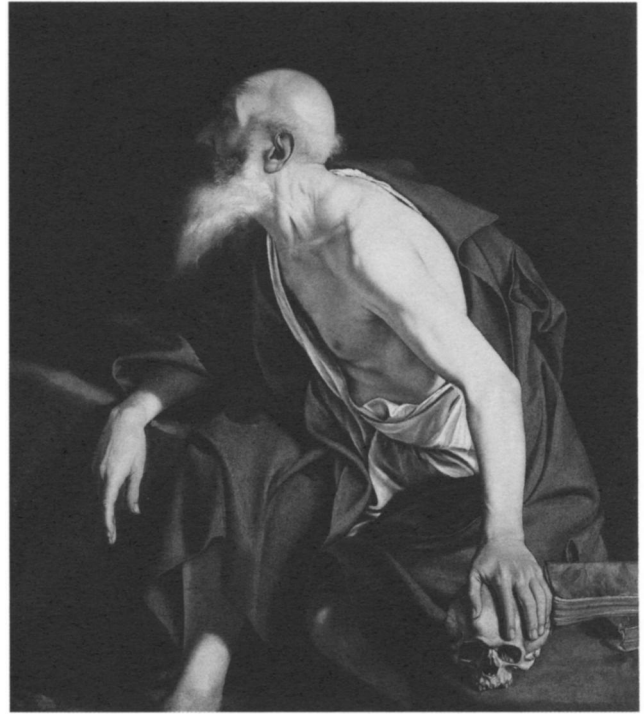


Figure 8. Orazio Gentileschi (Italian, 1563–1639). *Saint Jerome*, 1610/11. Oil on canvas, 127 x 112 cm. Private collection

even more importantly, the X-ray confirms what can be seen on the surface: that the paint is built up in a fashion indistinguishable from Orazio's practice. If the X-ray of the *Susanna* is compared with those of two roughly contemporary pictures by the latter, the *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (Figure 7; cat. no. 18) and one of the two known versions of the *Saint Jerome* painted by Orazio in 1610/11 (Figures 8, 9),¹² we find the same dense modeling of the flesh areas, with the portion occupied by the legs held in reserve so that there is the appearance of a strong contour (see the fuller discussion below). At the very least, then, we are confronted with a work in which Orazio's compositional methods and idiosyncrasies of handling have been fully assimilated by Artemisia and given a new expressive inflection. But we ought, perhaps, also to allow that an impatient, perfectionist Orazio helped lay in the composition and even occasionally wielded the brush to refine details or demonstrate how to achieve a certain effect. That single, deft, brushstroke used to create the ripple of water along the edge of the pool is something that comes from long practice and is precisely analogous to Orazio's treatment of the river Jordan in his *Baptism of Christ* for Santa Maria della Pace, Rome (cat. no. 11). Garrard has cautioned that "any approach to attribution that does not take the treatment of theme into



Figure 9. X-radiograph of the painting illustrated in Figure 8

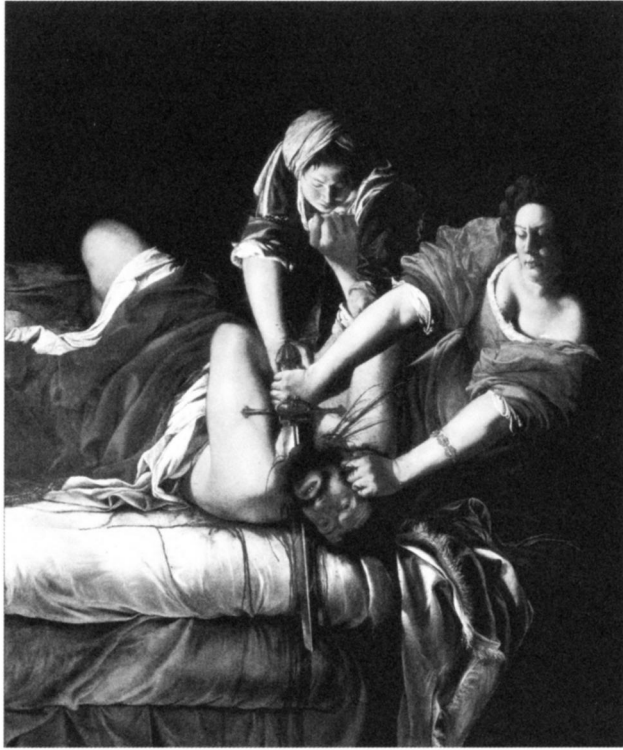


Figure 10. Artemisia Gentileschi. *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. no. 62), ca. 1613–14. Oil on canvas, 100 x 162.5 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.)

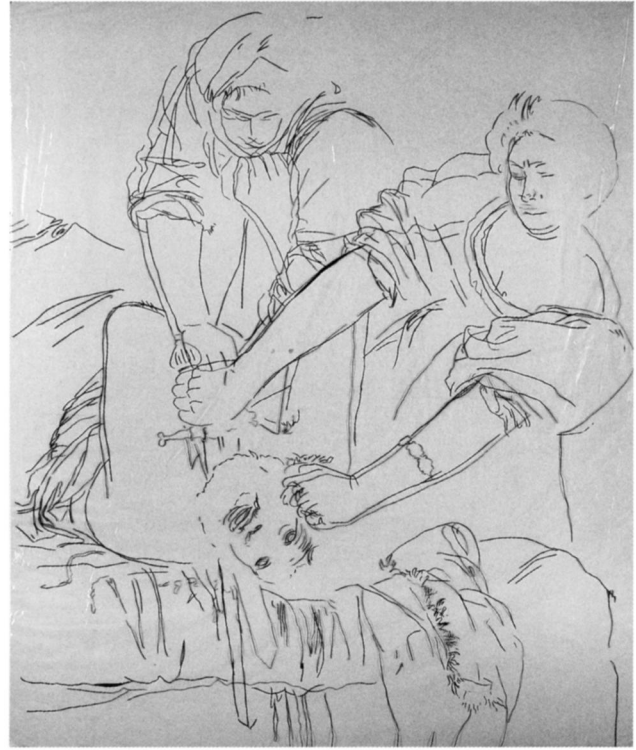


Figure 11. Tracing of *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. no. 55) by Artemisia Gentileschi, 1612–13. Oil on canvas, 158.8 x 125.5 cm. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples

account is—at least as far as Artemisia is concerned—an incomplete mode of connoisseurship.” But it is surely no less reductive to read the *Susanna* as though it were the product of an independent artist asserting her independent point of view. There is simply too much of Orazio’s way of composing and painting in the picture.

Only by allowing for Orazio’s guiding hand in the *Susanna* can we account for the radical transformation—stylistic as well as expressive—of Artemisia’s painting in the *Judith Slaying Holofernes* at Capodimonte (cat. no. 55). In that work the descriptive beauty, the concern for elegance of design and poetry of light that is at the core of Orazio’s art, is rejected in favor of dramatic urgency and expressiveness. One need only compare the fluency and sophistication of the Pommersfelden *Susanna* with the far more awkward but dramatically and spatially more ambitious *Judith* to appreciate where Artemisia’s real interests lay (and the degree to which she had been guided by her father’s example in the earlier work).

It has long been recognized that in painting the Capodimonte *Judith*, Artemisia must have returned for inspiration to the source of her father’s art, Caravaggio, as well as to Elsheimer, whose depiction of

the theme (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) seems to have left a strong impression on the young artist.¹³ Yet because of the very damaged state of the Capodimonte painting, which has been completely deprived of its final surface and cut at the left,¹⁴ it is in the Uffizi version of the picture (Figure 10; cat. no. 62) that we can best judge Artemisia’s astonishingly close yet intensely original response to Caravaggio’s work. The handling of the whites in the Uffizi painting, with rich, black glazes to create the shadows, is as close to Caravaggio as any artist came. (We find a similar handling in Orazio’s work of around 1607–9—the Oslo *Judith and Her Maidservant* [cat. no. 13], for example—but Artemisia goes much farther in this direction, and she uses the shadows not to explore the surface texture of fabrics but to enhance dramatic impact.) Throughout the picture, there is an effect of physical weight and density that recalls Caravaggio’s work of about 1600–1602—the moment of his canvases in the Cerasi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, or the *Mattei Supper at Emmaus* in the National Gallery, London. The *Conversion of Saint Paul* and the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* in the Cerasi Chapel are, by the way, among the few paintings by Caravaggio that we can be certain the teenage Artemisia, largely

confined to her home, knew firsthand, as Santa Maria del Popolo was her parish church.

It has often been said that the Uffizi *Judith* develops the idea of the Capodimonte picture on a grander scale and with a greater command of space. It therefore comes as something of a surprise to realize that it was based on a tracing of the Capodimonte version (Figure 11). As with the examples by Orazio that I have documented and discussed in the catalogue, tracings of the two pictures match up closely, with only minor slippage or displacement of the features between the two halves of the composition. It is the completeness of the Uffizi composition, which has not been cut, and the artist's more accomplished rendition of form that are responsible for the strong impression the picture makes. Artemisia enlarged the space and gave it greater definition by adding a fringed curtain behind the women, a detail that has so sunk into the canvas that it is only visible under strong illumination.

A few words are in order about the date of the Uffizi *Judith*. Although often placed at the end of Artemisia's stay in Florence or after her return to Rome in 1620/21, this dating puts it chronologically too close to a group of pictures predicated on a very different visual culture, among which the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 69) is the prime example. That work differs from the Uffizi picture both in narrative conception and in the handling of paint, notably in the abandonment of the densely modeled forms, the use of black to achieve deep, resonant shadows, and the raking light used to maximize dramatic effects. In the Detroit *Judith* the brush is handled with great looseness. The surface effects—achieved by a constant layering and blending of lights and darks—are incomparably richer, and the harsh, focused illumination of Caravaggio is exchanged for the haunting effects of candlelight, used less to freeze the action within the confines of the canvas than to animate it and suggest an expansion of space beyond the frame of the picture. As is widely recognized, the Detroit *Judith* reflects the work of the new generation of Caravaggesque painters that Artemisia encountered upon her return to Rome, above all Simon Vouet and Gerrit van Honthorst.¹⁵ (In Florence, Artemisia would have known Honthorst's impressive *Nativity*, painted for the Guicciardini Chapel in Santa Felicità in 1617, but it was only in 1620 that Cosimo II acquired a series of works from the Dutch artist.) To suggest that the Uffizi *Judith* dates from about 1620–22 is to confuse two distinct moments in the history of Caravaggism in Rome. The Uffizi picture seems to me more likely to have been among the first paintings Artemisia did upon her arrival in Florence in 1613. Although she



Figure 12. X-radiograph of the Capodimonte *Judith* (see Figure 11)

used a tracing as a point of departure, as did her father, she placed new emphasis on costly costumes, in conformity with Florentine taste, thereby boldly announcing to a potential Florentine clientele her mastery of the most innovative style in Rome.¹⁶

It is, then, with the Capodimonte *Judith* rather than the signed Pommersfelden *Susanna* that we see Artemisia strongly asserting her artistic personality. This is certainly borne out by the X-ray examination (Figure 12). To put the X-ray in context, however, it is necessary to make some preliminary, very general remarks about the most typical differences between X-rays of Orazio's paintings and those by Artemisia, recognizing that these observations are still based on a limited sampling of the work of both artists. The X-rays that we have of Orazio's paintings throughout his career are remarkably consistent. They reveal a methodical worker who usually planned his compositions carefully and worked them up area by area. As we have seen, he carefully laid in the poses of his figures on the canvas and then concentrated on distributing the lights and darks. The result is a greater emphasis on contour and silhouette as well as clarity of structure than on narrative interpolation. He often allowed himself more freedom in painting the drapery and



Figure 13. X-radiograph of *Madonna and Child* (cat. no. 15) by Orazio Gentileschi, 1609. Oil on canvas, 98.5 x 75 cm. Muzeul National de Artă al României, Bucharest

landscape backgrounds, though in the case of that masterpiece of refined imagination, the *Danaë* he painted for Giovan Antonio Sauli (cat. no. 36), the configuration of the folds of the bedsheet was also meticulously planned out. The X-rays of the Spada *David* (Figure 7; cat. no. 18) and the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* (Figure 13; cat. no. 15) may be taken as typical of his approach to painting in the years around 1610. It was a process that combined the deliberation of a Renaissance master with the Caravaggesque practice of painting directly from the model.

By contrast, Artemisia tended to approach the canvas with greater directness and was more open to modification and change—just as, throughout her career, she showed herself open to a variety of styles. The X-ray of the Pitti *Judith and Her Maidservant* (Figure 14; cat. no. 60) testifies to that combination of decisiveness in laying in the composition and freedom in carrying it through: note the vigorous brushwork for her first idea for the sleeve of Abra and the changes in the bunched drapery of Abra's dress. The same traits are evident in the X-ray of the *Judith and Her Maidservant* in Detroit (Figure 15), where the tendency to brush in quickly, or *abbozzare*, rather than delineate the primary features of the composition, is also to be seen.



Figure 14. X-radiograph of *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 60) by Artemisia Gentileschi, ca. 1618–19. Oil on canvas, 114 x 93.5 cm. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence



Figure 15. X-radiograph of *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 69) by Artemisia Gentileschi, ca. 1625–27. Oil on canvas, 182.8 x 142.2 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. Leslie H. Green

Figure 16. X-radiograph of *Cleopatra* (cat. no. 53) by Orazio Gentileschi, ca. 1610–12. Oil on canvas, 118 x 181 cm. Gerolamo Etro, Milan



Following her stay in Venice, Artemisia mastered the Venetian technique of laying in the structure of drapery folds in broad strokes of white paint, over which the local color was painted as a glaze. In this her work resembles that of Nicolas Régnier, who left Rome for Venice a few years before Artemisia. The most extreme example in Artemisia's work of this Venetian, painterly approach—mentioned, as we have seen, by Marcantonio Bassetti—is her *Clio, Muse of History* (cat. no. 75), in which the much abraded blue glaze of the figure's cloak has left the white underpainting clearly visible. (The same technique is found in the 1630 *Annunciation* from Naples, cat. no. 72.) As X-rays show, contours in Artemisia's paintings are important but rarely emphatic, and she tends not to distribute her lights and shadows with the same clarity and tidiness of her father.

The Capodimonte *Judith Slaying Holofernes* encapsulates those characteristics of her approach that would be developed and refined throughout her career, and if anyone harbors doubts about its authorship, the X-rays ought to put them to rest.¹⁷ The figures are positioned decisively, yet there is none of the emphasis on the hard contours so prevalent in X-rays of Orazio's work. In Judith's right shoulder one can see the sketchlike brushstrokes Artemisia used to summarily indicate the placement of the arm; an even better demonstration of this preliminary laying in of the composition is provided by Holofernes's left arm, which Artemisia initially considered showing extended outward, with a clenched fist—much as in Elsheimer's small painting of the same subject. Her abandonment of the clenched fist for a pose expressing embattled defense indicates her willingness to rethink the fundamentals of the narrative as she worked. Similarly, the

structure of the drapery developed gradually: look, for example, at the network of quickly delineated forms for Judith's right sleeve. There is nothing tidy about the distribution of the lights and darks, despite her use of a raking light. In all of these ways, Artemisia's approach to painting was more modern than her father's.

In the context of the coherent, Caravaggesque style of the Capodimonte and Uffizi *Judiths*, the attribution, dating, and interpretation of several other pictures merit discussion, notably the *Cleopatra* and the *Lucretia* in the Gerolamo Etro collection, Milan (cat. nos. 17, 53, 67); and the related paintings of the *Madonna and Child* in the Galleria Spada (cat. no. 52) and Palazzo Pitti (see cat. no. 52, fig. 107). In the catalogue I presented the case for ascribing the *Cleopatra* to Orazio and dating it to around 1610–12. There is no reason to belabor the issue here, and I will only note that whatever awkwardness exists in the treatment of the bulky female nude, the emphasis on light, transparent shadows, and the surface texture of the fabrics reflect Orazio's—not Artemisia's—interests. The X-ray made at the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 16) seems to me to tip the scales decisively toward Orazio. We find Orazio's emphasis on a strong silhouette, with the figure drawn onto the canvas and the forms worked up in a fashion that leaves distinct edges between them. We also find that judicious distribution of lights and darks so characteristic of Orazio. We need only compare the X-ray of the *Cleopatra* to those of the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* (Figure 13) and the Spada *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (Figure 7) to see how similar the approach to painting is to Orazio's and how fundamentally alien to Artemisia's. Here



Figure 17. X-radiograph of *Lucretia* (cat. no. 67) by Artemisia Gentileschi, ca. 1612–13. Oil on canvas, 100 x 77 cm. Gerolamo Etro, Milan

attribution is fundamental to our understanding of the creative dynamics behind the picture, and it seems to me that in the *Cleopatra*, as in the *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath*, painting directly from the model is intentionally played against the classical convention of the idealized nude. Orazio was keenly aware of the way Caravaggio appropriated poses from paradigms of classical style—whether Roman statues or the paintings of Raphael and Michelangelo—while at the same time undercutting their idealizing premise by painting directly from the model. Orazio has accomplished this here by basing Cleopatra's pose on that of a celebrated antiquity in the Vatican, the so-called *Sleeping Cleopatra*, or *Ariadne*. In Gentileschi's *Cleopatra* the critical concepts of *vero* and *verosimile* that inform contemporary responses to Caravaggio's work are consciously played off one against the other, with results that are not without a certain ambivalence.¹⁸

The *Lucretia* in the Etro collection, Milan (cat. no. 67), often discussed as a sort of pendant to the *Cleopatra*,¹⁹ belonged, like the *Cleopatra*, to one of Orazio's Genoese patrons, Pietro Gentile, and until recently there was a presumption that, together with the *Cleopatra*, it dated to about 1621, when Artemisia was thought to have made a trip to Genoa. We now know that such a trip is very unlikely, though it has been discovered that in 1624 she wrote from Rome to Orazio's Genoese patron, Giovan Antonio Sauli.²⁰

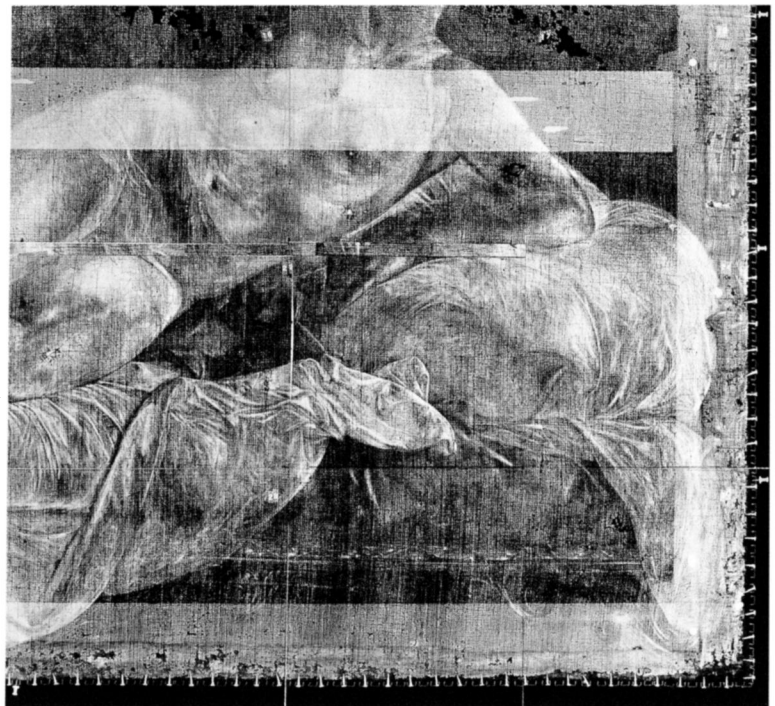


Figure 18. X-radiograph of detail of *Danaë* (cat. no. 41) by Orazio Gentileschi, ca. 1622–23. Oil on canvas, 162 x 228.5 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Fund (1971.101)

The strongly Caravaggesque lighting and the calf-length format of the picture, which has been returned to its original dimensions, point to an earlier date—regardless of whether we believe the picture to be by Orazio or Artemisia.²¹ In the catalogue I suggested that the *Lucretia* and the *Cleopatra* were brought by Orazio to Genoa in 1621 as part of his inventory of unsold paintings (in the aftermath of the trial he had, perhaps, decided against marketing two paintings of a female nude in Rome). Pietro Gentile could have purchased them when he acquired—or more likely commissioned—two other works by Orazio, a *Sacrifice of Isaac* (now in the Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Spinola, Genoa) and a *Judith and Her Maid-servant* (cat. no. 39). All four were ascribed to Orazio in later inventories and biographical references to the Gentile collection. As we have seen, Orazio's stock of paintings may well have included works by Artemisia, and there is no a priori reason that the *Lucretia* should not be by one artist and the *Cleopatra* by the other; nor that Pietro Gentile should have been unaware of the fact. While I am convinced that the two pictures are not by the same hand, there is a complicating factor—the *Lucretia* is not a prime version.

During the exhibition in New York, a number of scholars expressed to me their puzzlement about the hardness of the *Lucretia*'s forms—an aspect that has been accentuated by the very strong cleaning the painting has sustained. However, an X-ray of the painting (Figure 17) makes it abundantly clear that we are dealing with a second version. To demonstrate this point it is only necessary to compare the X-ray of the *Lucretia* with that of Orazio's *Danaë* in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 18), which is an autograph second version of the masterpiece he painted for Giovan Antonio Sauli. The hard contours, the preordained distribution of the whites, and, especially, the precisely rendered folds of the drapery in the *Lucretia* are all indicative of a second version. At the same time, the brushwork of the *Lucretia* is confident and subtle, and unquestionably by Artemisia.

Now that the picture has been restored to its original dimensions by the removal of the added strips of canvas, on which had been painted a bed, bed linens, and curtains, its emblematic character comes into sharper focus. As Garrard rightly noted, the dagger is “rhetorically poised” rather than wielded like a weapon, and it is deliberately set in opposition to Lucretia's breast.²² The upward gaze of the figure is a familiar dramatic device found in almost all depictions of the theme. Unique here is the fact that Lucretia holds the dagger with her left rather than her right hand, a mirror-image reversal most artists would have

corrected as a matter of course. I believe the explanation for Artemisia's emphasis on this narrative detail lies in a desire to affirm the representation as a mirrored image of the artist. By this I do not wish to suggest that the picture originated as a simple transcription of Artemisia's reflection as she posed before a mirror, an idea that would confuse process with intention. Rather, the right-to-left reversal emphasizes the critical notion of painting as a mirror of nature; of the act of painting as an extension of subjective experience. It is from the act of self-identification that the painting derives its dramatic intensity: a psychologically neutral *exemplum virtutis* transformed into a vivid allegory of violation and vindication. The prominence of the dagger in the painting cannot help but recall Artemisia's account of her rape: how, snatching a knife from a drawer, she threatened Agostino Tassi, crying, “Ti voglio ammazzare con questo cortello che tu m'hai vittuperata.”²³ We ought not to underrate the role of anger in Artemisia's work—not simply against Tassi (her rage against him involved a sense of betrayal that extended beyond the rape), but against her father and the circumstances of her life, both private and professional. By the same token, in using the term *self-identification* I do not wish to overplay the card of art as an extension of biography. Elizabeth Cropper has written that “the new direction in the Gentileschi studio around 1610 involved the bodily presence of Artemisia as both model and painter.”²⁴ If, as I have argued in the catalogue, Artemisia's presence as her father's model for the *Cleopatra* generates in the viewer a response of shock and discomfort, it is in the *Lucretia* that her double role as model and painter becomes not merely provocative but transforming. So long as the *Lucretia* was dated to the 1620s, it seemed a bit of an anomaly: expressively too direct, too insistently naturalistic, and spatially not as complex as might have been expected. Only if dated to her early career does the picture's style come into proper focus.

In the *Susanna and the Elders*, the *Lucretia*, and the Capodimonte and Uffizi *Judiths*, we see a progressive assertion by Artemisia of her artistic identity in her father's workshop. She reaches back beyond the example of Orazio to the very processes of Caravaggio's work: his initial use of the mirror to insert himself into pictures such as the *Bacchino Malato* (Galleria Borghese, Rome) and his self-identification with the act of representation. As Michael Fried has observed, “Caravaggio is one of those rare painters (Courbet is another) whose paintings must be understood as evoking a primary, even primordial relationship to the painter himself,”²⁵ and this is true of these early works by Artemisia. The *Cleopatra* and the *Lucretia* seem to



Figure 19. Artemisia Gentileschi. *Madonna and Child* (cat. no. 52), 1616–20. Oil on canvas, 116.5 x 86.5 cm. Galleria Spada, Rome

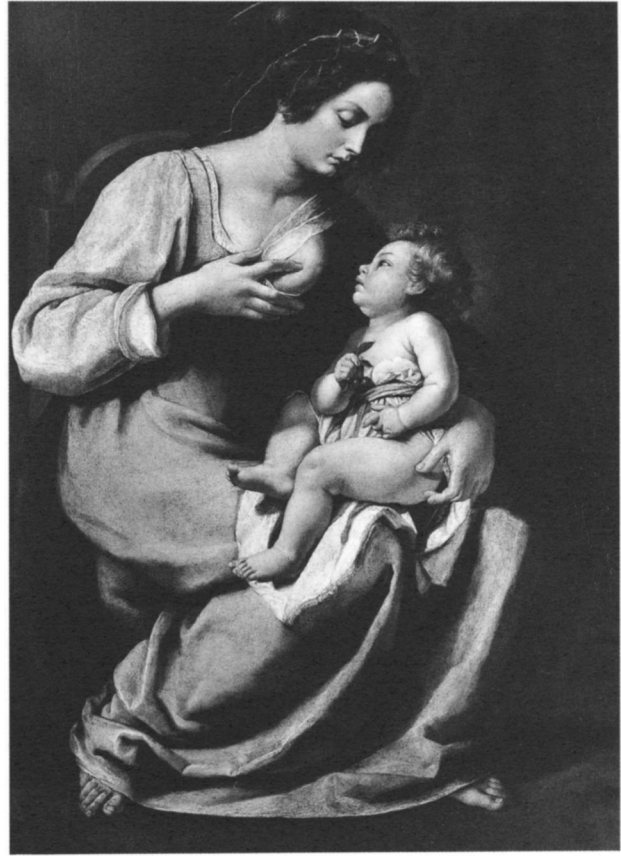


Figure 20. Artemisia Gentileschi. *Madonna of the Cherries*, ca. 1615–20. Oil on canvas, 118 x 86 cm. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

manifest two very different dynamics. One proceeds from an objectifying instinct, even when the model posed before the artist (to my way of thinking, Orazio) is his daughter and a subjective response threatens to disrupt his habitual detachment. (The discomfort we feel in front of the picture is, I suggest, an extension of what Orazio experienced.) The other seeks to break down the aestheticizing impulse of Renaissance art by merging the roles of model and painter. Later, as Artemisia established an independent activity, this radical act of self-identification was subsumed into the profession of making pictures. It is important to insist on the fact that it was Caravaggio's practice of painting directly from the model and his abandonment of the objectifying process of *disegno* that opened the road to Artemisia's self-identification. Similarly, it was her move beyond Caravaggesque practice that closed it off. Although she continued to introduce her own face and features into her work, the pictures lose that quality of immediacy and urgency that came from those early acts of self-identification.

Over the last two decades, attention has understandably focused on Artemisia's uniqueness. We must,

however, always bear in mind that her activity as an independent artist was defined by seventeenth-century practice and predicated on what she had learned in her father's workshop. Like other artists, she worked not only on commission but also maintained a stock of paintings. Some of these were the conventional kinds of paintings intended as devotional aides, and they were carried out in a style intended to appeal to a clientele distinct from those who sought her more ambitious history paintings (not surprisingly, the identification of these more psychologically neutral pictures has proven especially difficult, though their existence is assured by citations in early inventories of seventeenth-century collectors).²⁶ She was perfectly ready to replicate successful compositions, despite her protest to the contrary in a well-known letter of 1649 addressed to the Sicilian collector Don Antonio Ruffo, and when she did so she adopted the methods she had learned from her father. Like Orazio, she courted an elite clientele by sending unsolicited pictures accompanied by flattering letters. She was also uncommonly attuned to the prevailing tastes in the cities in which she worked, whether Rome, Florence,



Figure 21. X-radiograph of the painting illustrated in Figure 19



Figure 22. Detail of Figure 21

Venice, or Naples; it is this trait that has made her occasionally seem like a chameleon.

Two paintings that seem to me to exemplify the practical side of Artemisia's professional activity are the *Madonna and Child* in the Galleria Spada, Rome, and the related picture in the Pitti, Florence (Figures 19, 20). There has been a tendency among scholars to accept one or the other picture, but not both, and to explain their conventional character by identifying one or the other as her earliest work. Mary Garrard and Gianni Papi, for example, accepted the Spada painting, but not the Pitti version, while Bissell accepted the Pitti example but not the Roman one.²⁷ The Spada picture, which appears as the work of Artemisia in a 1637 list of paintings, was heavily reworked by the artist. This is evident from even a cursory examination of the surface of the painting, but the X-ray made at the Metropolitan establishes beyond any question that the present composition is painted over one almost identical to the Pitti picture (Figures 21, 22). There can now be little doubt that the Pitti version preceded the Spada picture, which was begun as a replica of the Pitti painting and then repainted. In

revising the depiction, the poses became more artificial, the surface treatment more refined, the general effect more distant from a work based on posed models. We are far from the unadorned naturalism of Orazio's treatment of the theme in his own *Madonna and Child* in Bucharest (cat. no. 15).²⁸ Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that Orazio's and Artemisia's paintings can be even approximately contemporary; or that the artist who, in the *Susanna and the Elders*, so successfully counterfeited the naturalist style of her father and who, in the *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, explored a new realm of dramatic theatricality, would also have painted such a sentimentally sweet picture.²⁹ In 1991 Papi very tentatively suggested that the Pitti picture was painted around 1620 by a Florentine artist, and if we accept these two works as Artemisia's, as I believe we are bound to do, they must be seen as the outgrowth of her Florentine years and her conscious refashioning of the Caravaggesque realism of her training (still present in the Pitti *Madonna and Child*) toward a style emphasizing artifice and sophistication.³⁰

Now, it so happens that the inventory of the contents of Artemisia's Florentine studio was drawn up in

1621, following her move to Rome, and it lists a “quadro alto 2 braccia di una Madonna”—a description compatible with either the Pitti or the Spada paintings, which are 118 and 116.5 centimeters high, respectively. Also mentioned are two paintings of the Magdalene.³¹ The presence of these works clearly demonstrates that alongside the dramatically charged pictures that have attracted so much critical attention, there was a more conventional side to Artemisia’s Florentine production: one that sought merely to capture a piece of the market for private devotional paintings. Another example of this activity—one of the most fascinating precisely because of its espousal of a *maniera devota* we might expect from Scipione Pulzone or Sassoferrato—is a bust-length Annunciate Virgin published by Papi.³²

To recapitulate: it is in Florence that Artemisia’s status as an independent artist really begins, and it is for this reason that her transformation during those crucial years, 1613–20, merits close study.³³ That she established bonds of friendship with the leading Florentine painter Cristofano Allori, the court poet and playwright Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, and Galileo is widely known, but the deep impact they made on her art has, perhaps, still not received sufficient recognition.³⁴ Yet the issues involved lie at the very core of Artemisia’s art: naturalism and the use of the model; self-imagery and the relation of biography to allegory; and a poetics of painting dependant less on dramatic devices than on conceitful contrasts and juxtapositions for a literate and literary-conditioned viewer.

Whether Artemisia may have met Allori, Galileo, or Buonarroti in her father’s house in Rome cannot be said.³⁵ They all had close ties with the doyen of Florentine painting, Cigoli, who during the years Artemisia worked under her father’s guidance was, like Orazio, employed by Scipione Borghese in the decoration of a garden loggia on the Quirinal. The first notice of her association with this illustrious and tightly knit group of Florentines is in July 1615, when Artemisia and Allori stood as godparents to a child named after her. Later that year she named her own newborn son after Cristofano, who stood as godfather. It was about that time that she probably began work on the *Allegory of Inclination* (Figure 23) for the gallery of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger. In 1617 a patron of Allori’s, Aenea Piccolomini, stood as godfather at the birth of Artemisia’s daughter Prudenza (her only child to live to adulthood), and in 1618 the wife of the dramatist Jacopo Cicognini and the poet Jacopo di Bernardo Soldani stood as godparents to her daughter Lisabella. Clearly, by this time she was an intimate in the circle of literary and artistic figures at



Figure 23. Artemisia Gentileschi. *Allegory of Inclination*, ca. 1615–16. Oil on canvas, 152 x 61 cm. Casa Buonarroti, Florence (photo: Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.)

the Medici court, which involved a number of outstanding women, including the celebrated singer and composer Francesca Caccini, known as La Cecchina. (Buonarroti provided La Cecchina with verses she set to music, and the two corresponded frequently; in 1619 she and Marco da Gagliano composed the music for Buonarroti's court spectacle, *La Fiera*. In 1631 Cicognini published verses in praise of Galileo.) Yet another figure in this circle was the nobleman-poet Ottavio Rinuccini.

Allori was at the very center of this group of literary and musical figures, and it is his art that holds the key to understanding the transformations in Artemisia's more ambitious Florentine paintings.³⁶ He was a gifted actor with a particular faculty for imitating the voices and gestures of his acquaintances, and in his pictures the worlds of theater and painting intersect, more so even than in the work of his one-time teacher Cigoli. Allori's obsessively finished paintings combined a Florentine devotion to *disegno* with a Venetian mastery of *colore*, and although we might be prone to view his works in other terms, it was for their naturalism—their “*naturalezza del colorito*” (as the Venetian Giovanfrancesco Sagredo described the artist's work in a letter to Galileo)³⁷—that they were admired by contemporaries. Thanks to his beautiful life studies of heads it is possible to appreciate how fundamental the model was to his art.³⁸ His seventeenth-century biographer, Filippo Baldinucci, recounts how Allori obtained the services of a Capuchin friar to model for him for an hour a day over a period of fifteen days so that he could make the necessary adjustments to the eyes of a Saint Francis. Similarly, for months he kept a piece of silk arranged on a lathe figure to study the sleeve for his most celebrated painting, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (principal versions in the Queen's Collection, Galleria Palatina, Florence, and Liechtenstein). “He was not content until his mind and his erudite eye [la sua mente, e l'occhio suo eruditissimo] were convinced that his painting was at one with reality [una stessa cosa col vero],” wrote Baldinucci.³⁹ It was Allori's technical prowess that led Piero Guicciardini, ambassador of the grand duke in Rome, to dismiss the results Orazio Gentileschi obtained in working from the model, declaring that he would be useless at a court that already possessed Jacopo Ligozzi as well as Allori, “who for imitation, *disegno*, and even diligence is very excellent.”⁴⁰

At issue is the negotiation of the critical worlds of *vero* and *verosimile*—terms that have a direct counterpart in Allori's use of biography to enrich the poetic content of his works, and the prime example of which is his *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*. In 1612 a version

of this much-copied work was commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Orsini in Rome (work dragged on for four years, during which time Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger acted as go-between).⁴¹ Using the literary topos of the rejected lover as the victim of his beloved, Allori gave Judith the features of his mistress, known as La Mazzafirra, Abba those of her mother, and Holofernes his own (he is reported to have grown a beard for the occasion). This did not so much introduce a biographical subtext as it established a poetic conceit, for part of the attraction of the picture was the knowledge of who had posed for the painting and what the relationship among them was. Nor should we minimize the depth of feeling the picture conveyed. Each figure was studied meticulously from life, as was Allori's habit, and so strongly did he identify his emotions with the resulting drawings that when La Mazzafirra broke off their relationship he ripped apart the likeness he had drawn of her and introduced the features of another woman into subsequent versions of the composition.⁴² Fortunately, the drawing was rescued by his friend Michelangelo Buonarroti, who, appreciating its significance as well as its beauty, inscribed the reverse with an account of the story, which seems to have become common knowledge (it is reported in full by Baldinucci). Not surprisingly, the picture was the subject of poetic tributes, by both the Medici court poet and intimate of Allori, Ottavio Rinuccini, and the outstanding literary figure of the seicento, Giambattista Marino.⁴³ In 1620 Marino commissioned a copy of the picture for his collection (intriguingly, he wished to hang it next to his painting by Caravaggio of Susanna and the Elders, of which we have no other notice).⁴⁴ His poem on the picture, published in 1619 in *La galleria*, turns on the notion that Judith—“la bella vedovetta feroce”—killed Holofernes twice: once with the love her beauty inspired and then with her sword (“Vedi s'io so ferire, / e di strale, e di spada”). Did he intend his poem to address the biographical/metaphorical content of the picture, or was he simply spinning one of those conceits that are at the heart of his poetry?⁴⁵

The *Judith* was not the only picture to employ this sort of biographical metaphor. Allori also endowed his personification of Hope on the ceiling of the Sala della Speranza in the Palazzo Pitti with La Mazzafirra's features, and, a bit later, she “appeared” as the Penitent Magdalene in a picture Allori painted for his friend and patron Alberto dei Bardi.⁴⁶ In the *Penitent Magdalene* he blurs not only the lines between biography and historical (or hagiographical) representation but also those between sacred and profane—the female nude as a vehicle for moral instruction and an object of desire. The preparatory drawing of La

Mazzafirra that was used for the head of the Magdalene was, like that for Judith, crumpled and torn by Allori and rescued by Buonarroti for his personal collection. It has, fortunately, survived.⁴⁷ As Miles Chappell has suggested, in these three paintings we have not merely *Hope*, but Allori's hope for the fulfillment of his love; not simply *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, but Allori as the victim of love; not simply the *Penitent Magdalene*, but Allori's expectation of La Mazzafirra's remorse.⁴⁸ Mina Gregori has written, with great perspicacity, "What is specific to Cristofano is the material density [of his paintings], and the ability to make the material aspect vibrate as a subjective element and as a conveyor of sentiment."⁴⁹

It is to this aspect of Allori's work that Artemisia surely responded, and nowhere more so than in her *Allegory of Inclination* and the *Conversion of the Magdalene*. Elizabeth Cropper has written of Artemisia's "pact" between painter and viewer," but it was also a pact with the patrons of her work.⁵⁰ When Michelangelo Buonarroti commissioned the *Allegory of Inclination* to decorate the ceiling of his gallery, he must have done so with a view to the poetic opportunity it provided the artist to embody herself, quite literally, as the personification of a natural proclivity for genius (*Ingenio* itself was the subject of the pendant canvas of a nude male by Francesco Bianchi Buonavita).⁵¹ This required modifying her previous commitment to Caravaggio's exaltation of *vero* in favor of a "naturalzza" informed by "un'occhio eruditissimo." We see the same concerns—those promoting a "consubstantiality of art and artist"—at work in her depictions of herself as a musician, a virgin martyr or, later, as *Painting*.⁵²

There seems to me every reason to suspect that it was the success of Allori's *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* that prompted Artemisia to make her Florentine debut with a revised, more sophisticated version (cat. no. 62) of her own prior treatment of the subject (cat. no. 55): indeed, a picture in which the Caravaggesque style could be read as a response to the tempered or erudite naturalism of Allori's painting and in which the insistence on dramatic moment broke through the conventions of decorum within which Allori operated, offering a compelling alternative to his more emblematic masterpiece. (Pizzorusso has shown how Allori began with a narrative approach, only to abandon it in favor of one that underscored the subject as metaphor.)⁵³ At the same time, the costumed splendor of her heroine—like Allori's, dressed in a gold-colored brocade—is far more than a superficial concession to Florentine taste. It is an effort, at some level, to embrace the sophisticated visual language that Allori's art epitomized. In Artemisia's *Judith* we observe a subtle tendency to sub-

vert the dramatic thrust of the painting by giving emphasis to superficially decorative details that establish a series of poetic counterpoints and appeal to a literary frame of mind. She gives us her own version of the elegantly costumed heroine—"la bella vedovetta feroce" (the fierce little widow)—who, dressed for seduction and incongruously wearing an elegant bracelet on her sword-wielding arm, has stained her dress and spotted her bosom with her victim's blood, which spurts out in pearl-like droplets and trickles down the white linen sheets in repulsively elegant rivulets.⁵⁴ It is a poetics of contradiction or *contrapposto*.

In his poem about the biblical heroine, included in the *Ritratti/Donne/Belle, caste e magnanime*, Giambattista Marino overwhelms the reader with the shocking image of Judith cleansing with her victim's blood the bed Holofernes had befouled by his vile passion for her: "Lavò col suo sangue il letto osceno, / ch'era d'infame amor macchiato e sozzo." Caravaggio had already explored this poetic strategy of stupefying the viewer in his own treatment of the theme, and he employed it again—to appropriately petrifying effect—on his shield in the Uffizi showing the bleeding and screaming head of Medusa, to which Marino dedicated a poem.⁵⁵ The object was to create a *maraviglia*, a work that that would arouse wonder and amazement through an extreme or ingenious means of presentation. Artemisia had employed this Caravaggesque/Marinesque strategy to brilliant effect in the earlier Capodimonte *Judith*. It is in contrast to that work that we ought to understand the more sophisticated reading she intends in the Uffizi version.⁵⁶

Although it is not until 1627 that we have a series of poems dedicated to Artemisia's paintings,⁵⁷ in Florence she began to explore those Horatian analogies between poetry and painting celebrated by Marino with his habitual fecundity ("tra le tele e le carte, tra i colori e gl'inchiestri, tra i pennelli e le penne, e somigliansi tanto queste due care gemelle nate da un parto, dico pittura e poesia, che non è chi sappia giudicarle diverse" [canvas and paper, colors and inks, brushes and pens: these two dear twins, born together—I mean painting and poetry—so resemble each other that no one knows how to judge them otherwise]).⁵⁸ The emphasis was increasingly on moments of psychological rather than physical drama, and the appeal was to those with a taste for poetry of inverted expectations and metaphor. In the Pitti *Judith and Her Maid-servant* (cat. no. 60) the screaming face decorating the pommel of Judith's sword is contrasted to the silenced head of Holofernes. In the *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. no. 58), the saint pushes a mirror away from herself at the moment of her conversion;

a common symbol of vanity, especially when juxtaposed with a skull (as in Artemisia's picture), it reflects the costly pearl earring that the saint—"at once beautiful and mournful"⁵⁹—has yet to discard. In *Jael and Sisera* (cat. no. 61), a monkeylike, grotesque head on the sword lies alongside the sleeping Sisera, a pungent emblem of the guile of which he was the victim. "I don't know how to write and can only read a bit" (Io non so scrivere e poco leggere), she had declared at the rape trial.⁶⁰ Yet not even in the work Caravaggio carried out for the cultivated Cardinal del Monte do we find such a sophisticated manipulation of realist style in the interest of literary-based conceits.

Artemisia's newfound literacy and pictorial sophistication were accompanied by an increasing emphasis on finish (the "sapere e d'osservanza del naturale con

gran diligenza" [knowledge combined with the diligent observation of the model] that Mancini singles out in Allori's paintings) and what might be called a stylistic mobility (or modality). It was doubtless from Allori that Artemisia learned how to layer and blend her brushstrokes to achieve a rich surface and how to use this surface refinement to enrich the naturalist impulse of her art. In Florence she gave astonishing proof of her ability to remain open to new stimuli and to remake herself. There has been a tendency to play down or to lament this responsiveness—particularly when, in Naples, it meant abandoning her Caravaggesque roots. Yet such an attitude is as misplaced as the one that would diminish the importance of her initial training and self-definition under her father's watchful, and doubtless fretful, eye.

APPENDIX: NOTES ON PAINTINGS IN THE EXHIBITION (arranged in the order of the exhibition catalogue)

I am deeply indebted to the collaboration of Dorothy Mahon and Charlotte Hale, Conservators of Painting at the Metropolitan Museum. Mahon undertook a surface examination of the paintings with me; Hale did all the X-rays. Their discussions have proved invaluable.

Susanna and the Elders, Collection Graf von Schonborn, Pommersfelden (cat. no. 51)

Although the picture has been strongly cleaned, with some local damages, it is basically in good condition. The folds of the plum-colored jacket and the chartreuse cloak of the elder are now more schematic than would have been the case originally. That the picture was, to a degree, put together part by part is evident from the fact that Susanna's raised left hand is painted over the red cloak of the elder. For the X-ray, see the above text (Figures 5, 6).

Madonna and Child, Galleria Spada, Rome (cat. no. 52)

The picture is in fine condition. The blue is underpainted with white and is somewhat abraded. As X-rays confirm, the composition is massively reworked: see the above text (Figure 21).

Cleopatra, Gerolamo Etro, Milan (cat. nos. 17, 53)

The figure is much abraded, especially in the abdomen and around the fist gripping the asp, and the surface has been flattened in a past relining. There are small

losses on the crown of the weave. A canvas strip of about 3.5 centimeters has been added at the top. For the X-ray, see the above text (Figure 16).

Judith Slaying Holofernes, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (cat. no. 55)

The condition of the picture is much compromised by solvent action; the glazing for the shadows has especially suffered. Not only are the transitions between lit and shadowed areas weakened, but the shadows have lost their depth and the effect of volume is greatly lessened. Look, for example, at the extended left arm of Judith, where the shadows defining the hand, wrist, and arm are completely abraded and the modeling along the upper contour is largely lost. The same is true of the sheet, part of which (behind Holofernes's left arm) is reduced to the pale brown underlayer or ground. Abra's head and right arm convey some of the original strength (and hardness) of the modeling. The blue of Judith's dress is painted over white. For the X-ray, see the above text (Figure 12).

Conversion of the Magdalene, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (cat. no. 58)

On the whole, the condition is splendid. There has, however, been considerable restoration along the vertical seam of the joined canvases, on the back of the chair, and on the background to the left of the seam. Regarding

these additional strips of canvas, there is no question that the horizontal one at the bottom, which runs the full width of the composition, is original. The best place to check this is in the cascading drapery over the figure's left leg, where the paint surface is absolutely homogeneous in character, as is the crackle pattern, suggesting a uniform preparation. The left vertical strip, which runs from the top of the composition to the horizontal strip, is not quite as straightforward, since the color of the background shifts from slate gray to the right of the seam to a dark, greenish gray to the left. Much of the dark gray is concentrated on the seam and is clearly restoration. Toward the top of the composition the slate gray is continuous across the seam, and the darker gray is restoration work, which perhaps originated from a misunderstanding of the shadowed area behind the chair. The crackle pattern, however, is not entirely consistent, probably the result of using canvas of a different weave (something that can only be confirmed with an X-ray). The seam between the vertical and horizontal strips is not absolutely horizontal but runs at a slight diagonal. The evidence, then, strongly suggests that the picture was painted on a support made up of three pieces of canvas, not that it was enlarged.

In a similar fashion, the dark shadow on the backrest of the chair has apparently been restored up to the seam, creating a seemingly arbitrary edge at the seam. The fringe on the chair between the Magdalene's rump and the seam of the canvas is repainted. Close inspection reveals that the Magdalene's hair was shown flowing down her back. This area blanched and was overpainted as shadow and fringe.

As for the inscriptions, the one on the chair is most likely original: the crackle pattern is consistent with the adjacent paint layers, and there are even remnants of some glazing. In contrast, the inscription on the mirror frame is almost certainly later (though early: cracks run through it). Not only are the letters cruder and done in a thinner medium, without the crackle pattern found in the signature, but they do not observe the angle of the frame; in addition, the flourishes on the A's float above the edge of the frame, as, to a degree, does the upper horizontal stroke of the E.

Judith and Her Maidservant, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (cat. no. 60)

There are discrete, scattered losses, and the darks have been somewhat abraded, but these do not greatly effect the general appearance of the picture, which has been trimmed on all sides. The filling of losses and restoration of abraded glazes have been done in *tratteggio* and thus are readily visible from close range. Losses affect the throat, face, and hair of Judith and the shadowed

portion of Abra's face and turban. In the turban, the texture of the brushwork in the buildup of the surface is especially visible: this picture was painted with great directness. The towel was painted over red, which was the original color of Judith's dress; its trailing end has been much restored. Artemisia subsequently changed the color of the dress to blue, which has mostly deteriorated, except below the basket, where it remains legible. When she painted it blue, she also enlarged the contour of the figure's right shoulder. The effect must have been a sort of plum.

It is important to note that the whites here are not strongly modeled in black and charcoal gray, as they are in the Uffizi *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. no. 62). Rather, in this painting, she uses umber for the darks and abandons the dense modeling. The brushwork is looser and the effect is more open, with a less dramatic play of light. For the X-ray, see the above text (Figure 14).

Jael and Sisera, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (cat. no. 61)

This picture has suffered throughout from abrasion, and, on balance, this is a more important factor in the appearance of the picture than the many scattered losses, which do not affect the principal parts of the composition. There are several layers of retouching. The best preserved area is Jael's head (though it now appears softer than it would have because of abrasion to the shadows), her raised arm, the sleeve of her blouse (beautifully intact), and the upper bodice of her dress. By contrast, the skirt has suffered. The figure of Sisera is much compromised. His pink cuirass has been significantly abraded, and there is a major loss at his waist, at the top contour running into his rib cage, as well as other, lesser losses. His beard has lost all definition, his hair has been much reinforced, and the unsatisfactory shadow on his left hand has been restored and lost its transitions. The blue skirt is much repainted and restored, and so also is the shadow it casts on his leg.

The block with Artemisia's signature is thin and retouched, but the signature, though reinforced, is basically intact. There is no visible pattern of cusping along the edges of the canvas, which must have been trimmed.

Judith Slaying Holofernes, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (cat. no. 62)

Apart from some discrete, scattered losses the picture is in wonderful condition. There are some tears resulting from the 1993 terrorist bombing at the Uffizi, but these have been extremely sensitively mended with little significant effect to the appearance of the painting. The major damage is to Abra's left eye and the shadowed side of her face, where there is significant abrasion.

Yet even this is not really serious. Similarly, the sword blade is somewhat abraded. The picture does not suffer from the wear and strong cleaning that mars so many of Artemisia's paintings. The handling of the whites in this work is a touchstone for the quality and character of her painting.

Susanna and the Elders, Collection of the Marquess of Exeter, Burghley House, Stamford, Lincolnshire (cat. no. 65)

Overall, the condition of this painting is good, though past strong cleanings have left the shadows somewhat abraded: see, for example, the right wrist and sleeve of the elder in purple. The contrasty appearance of the picture is due predominantly to the darks having sunk. This has especially created some confusion in the reading of the water, where it is not immediately apparent that the curved form is a reflection of the fountain basin. The landscape was painted last, but by Artemisia or by another, Guercinesque artist? The appearance of the trees is due to a combination of blanching of the middle tones and discoloration of the dark greens. There seems no technical reason to question the signature and date, and only in the case of the landscape and, possibly, the revised fountain would I consider the intervention of another artist.

A new complete X-ray was made of the picture. It confirms that the major area of the composition to undergo transformation was the left side: the fountain, landscape, and wall. It is likely that the position of the balding elder was moved to its current position from the left of his companion—more or less similar to that in the earlier, Pommersfelden canvas (cat. no. 51)—as proposed by Mary Garrard on the basis of a partial X-ray of the painting and the brush drawing visible to the naked eye.⁶¹ However, the change was made at a very early stage in painting the picture—the figure was never more than barely indicated—and there is no evidence for Garrard's thesis that Artemisia's original figures were repainted by another artist; the hands of this balding elder are not painted over the finished shoulders of his companion, as one might have expected had he been repositioned at a late stage. (Garrard's reading of the technical evidence seems to be strongly colored by her dislike of the finished product.) The X-ray of the figures compares in character to that of the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 69), and there is no reason to doubt the ascription or the authenticity of the signature.

The architectural backdrop (originally a balustrade), the fountain (initially a putto shown standing on an elaborate basin), and the landscape were completely revised, and here there is room for speculation (based more on the stylistic features than on any technical evi-

dence) that, perhaps from the outset, a second hand may have been involved; Artemisia may have turned to a landscape-architectural specialist to create the stage for her figures, and this portion may have required reworking because of the trivial effect produced by the first design (in the second attempt the putti are consistent in scale with the other figures, and the great basin serves to articulate the space as well as create a powerful, almost oppressive effect). The darkness of Susanna's head pertains to the thinness of the paint, as compared to the relatively rich buildup in her torso.

Portrait of a Gonfaloniere, Collezione Comunali d'Arte, Bologna (cat. no. 66)

Aside from flake losses and wear on the crown of the weave in the armor, this picture appears to be in splendid condition. The varnish is, unfortunately, much oxidized, which dulls the surface. The identity of the sitter is linked to the coat of arms, the colors of which have been wrongly described. The chevron pattern is silver (i.e., white) and green on a red background, and the tri-color feathers of the helmets—both the heraldic one on the coat of arms and the "real" one on the table—are again red, white, and green.

Lucretia, Gerolamo Etro, Milan (cat. no. 67)

The picture has been strongly cleaned and many of the glazes lost, which accounts for the appearance of brittle hardness. Bissell believed that the revised line of the bodice, where it has been raised to downplay the exposure of the breast, was a later addition. It seems, instead, to be a revision by Artemisia, but much abraded. For a discussion of the X-rays, see the above text (Figure 17).

Penitent Magdalene, Seville Cathedral (cat. no. 68)

On the whole the picture is in very good condition, though there has been damage along the bottom border. The drapery addition that extends over the shoulder and bosom is very old and has taken on the crackle pattern from below. At various points, however, the paint can be seen to have flowed into preexisting cracks. Moreover, the pigments are manifestly less granular than the paint in the other (original) parts of the picture. In X-rays the additional drapery disappears.

This picture is certainly a copy. The modeling is hard and schematic; the forms all predetermined and held in reserve. The foreshortening of the chair and the rendition of the Magdalene's rump seem remarkably inept. The highlights on the ointment jar are lacking in any quality of observation, especially when compared to the candlestick in the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 69). There is no way of bridging the gap between the mechanical, uninflected handling of paint in this

picture and the marvelously pictorial handling of the Detroit *Judith*. Two other versions of this composition are known (both in private collections): one is of lower quality, the other, unpublished, marginally finer in parts. (I was able to make a direct comparison during the run of the exhibition in New York.)

Judith and Her Maidservant, Detroit Institute of Arts (cat. no. 69)

Overall this picture is in splendid condition. When examined under magnification, there seemed no reason to consider the brownish scarves tucked into the bodices of both women as later modifications; basically they are glazes over a fully modeled figure. Note that Judith's costume is the same as that of the Magdalene in the Seville painting (cat. no. 68). This observation is important, as the two works are painted in a completely different and incompatible fashion. The X-rays of this work testify eloquently to Artemisia's fully developed painterly technique. Indications for the placement of features came first, then the configuration, for example, of the folds of the drapery. A defined contour plays no part; rather, the artist sought to establish areas of light and dark. The still-life elements are painted over the tablecloth. See also the discussion of the Detroit picture in the above text.

Sleeping Venus, Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (cat. no. 70)

This picture is a puzzle, and it is difficult to resolve the issues of attribution and date given the overly fastidious cosmetic restoration. Every crack and perceived flaw has been indiscriminately retouched, creating a continuous cobweb of restorations across the surface. The putto is riddled with losses, and the blue has lost most of its modeling. Only the landscape is really well preserved.

Annunciation, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (cat. no. 72)

The picture has suffered from severe abrasion. The half tones are in great part lost, and this, together with the sinking of the darks, has resulted in an exaggerated contrast between the highlights and the shadows. The blue has lost its intensity and now reads as a grayish tone. As in the *Clio, Muse of History* (cat. no. 75), the blue was painted as a glaze over the white underpainting of the drapery folds: so far from being highlights, the white crests of the folds indicate the areas of the most severe abrasion and deterioration. Although the orange color of the angel's dress is better preserved, there, too, the middle tones are largely gone.

Penitent Magdalene, Private collection (cat. no. 73)

Around the skull the lake of the reddish cloak has faded

to a sort of pink. However, on the whole the condition is good, though there are some flake losses along cracks. The handling of the paint in the surface effects of the golden yellow dress is virtually identical to what is found in the Detroit *Judith* and the Burghley House *Susanna* (cat. nos. 69 and 65, respectively): it is very painterly, with a layering and blending of lights and darks. The approach is optical rather than pedantically descriptive (here, again, is a great contrast with the Seville *Magdalene* (cat. no. 68), in which the modeling is dully mechanical). To my mind, this is a Roman, not a Neapolitan, period painting.

Corisca and the Satyr, private collection (cat. no. 74)

This is one of Artemisia's best-preserved Neapolitan paintings, in large part because admixtures of lead white have been extensively used in constructing the figures. However, abrasion has deprived the back of the satyr of the glazes that defined his form. Compared to the relatively well-preserved figures, the background has sunk and the colors have degraded to such a degree that the forms are no longer legible. The blue of the sky has lost much of its tint (it is, perhaps, smalt?), as have the leaves.

Clio, Muse of History, private collection (cat. no. 75)

The picture has suffered from abrasion, and the figure has been liberally retouched in the chest and throat. The abrasion, the thinness of the paint surface, and the changes in the blue (which is possibly smalt) result in a compromised image, with exaggeration in the contrasts of light and darks. The Bernardo Strozzi-esque effect of the white crests is completely misleading: the white was but the preliminary definition of the folds, over which the blue was painted. Originally, the form must have been fully integrated. As in the *Annunciation* (cat. no. 72), the orange sleeves have held up better than the blue, which is abraded and now has an almost ashen tonality. The laurel crown has also lost most of its color, and now reads as a dull blue green.

While the inscription on the left-hand page of the book is quite legible, there are a few places where there is room for interpretation. The left-hand portion of the inscription is covered by the frame. On the right side of the open book, the letters are far harder to decipher, both because of the dark tone and because some attempt has been made to make them follow the curve of the sheet. In addition, there is some repair work that further complicates any reading. After close examination of the picture with the aid of a retouching lamp and magnification, together with my colleague, Andrea Bayer, I offer the following reading: On the left page: [1]632 / [A]RTEMISIA / [fac]iebat / all Illu.to M. / Sing.re (the *re* squiggled in a fashion that connects with

the crossbar of the *T*) TRosiers (the *T*—or *F*—and *R* configured as a monogram). On the right page: Servitor (the *r* overlapping the *v* and the *o* breaking down in legibility at the top and bottom) dev.t TIQ (the *Q* is a bit peculiar; there may have been another letter now marred by overpaint). The full inscription would thus read: “1632 Artemisia faciebat all’Illustrò Monsignore T (or F) Rosiers, servitore devoto TIQ.” This does not accord with the transcriptions of Garrard and Bissell, who have attempted to relate the picture to a work done by Artemisia in 1635 for Charles de Lorraine, duc de Guise.⁶² They postulated that the painting was a memorial to Rosières who, it was further asserted, had been a supporter of the duc de Guise. François de Rosières died in 1607, Antoine de Rosières in 1631. We ought, perhaps, to take a more critical look at the chain of conjecture behind the current interpretation of the picture.

Cleopatra, Private collection (cat. no. 76)

The painting is much abraded, particularly in the shadows, which are sometimes reduced to the dull brown preparation. Although the blue has been heavily repainted, there are passages of beautiful ultramarine. The background figures were thinly painted and have sunk. The web of vigorous brushstrokes defining the sheet along the lower border of the picture is modern; the original painted surface is visible only in the area around and above the asp and basket of flowers. In re-creating the bedsheet, the restorer imitated the brushwork on the white sleeve of the foremost servant. I find no precise parallel for this treatment in Artemisia’s other Neapolitan paintings, which is all the stranger in that her whites are consistent—right down to the 1649 *Susanna* from Brno (cat. no. 83). The red or rose-colored curtain has lost much of its color.

The grayness of Cleopatra’s dead body must have been intentional (the lips are, indeed, painted blue), but the effect is now somewhat exaggerated. While I would not reject this as a work by Artemisia, I find it hard to reconcile with her other Neapolitan work (and it can hardly date earlier, given its Stazionesque quality).

Birth of Saint John the Baptist, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (cat. no. 77)

Sinking and blanching in the darks are among the main ills from which this picture has suffered greatly. The faces

of the seated servants are damaged and reconstructed. There is also a degradation of some of the pigments, as, for example, in the linen apron of the standing servant. These alterations make the transition between the two densely painted, sharply delineated figures in the foreground (the kneeling midwife and the child) and the more thinly painted seated and standing figures behind them particularly abrupt and disturbing. As in the *Annunciation* (cat. no. 72), the drapery has been loosely blocked in with white and then gone over with the tincture, which is especially evident in the seated servant wearing a rust-colored dress. Furthermore, Zaccharia’s hands are basically reconstructions. Although his head has sustained local losses, it still preserves some of its original character. Behind him, Anna and her accompanying servant are much sunk, and the colors have altered badly; the servant especially is little more than a shadow, and the brownish color of her shawl has deteriorated beyond legibility.

San Januarius in the Amphitheater, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (cat. no. 79)

The surface of the picture shows heat damage. There has been serious flaking, with various losses. The blue has altered, and the darks sunk. Despite all of this, the composition still reads fairly well.

Susanna and the Elders, Moravská Galerie, Brno (cat. no. 83)

Despite the severe damage to this picture—abrasion, losses, pigment deterioration—its technique is completely in line with Artemisia’s other Neapolitan paintings, and it is this consistency in a picture signed and dated 1649 with Artemisia’s other Neapolitan paintings that makes it difficult to accept works painted in a markedly different fashion. As in the Columbus *David and Bathsheba* (cat. no. 80), the landscape appears to be by Domenico Gargiulo, but the authorship of the balustrade and pavement is less certain. The balustrade lacks the crispness of Viviano Codazzi, who is said to have painted the architecture in the *Bathsheba*; here the hands of the two elders were painted on top of the railing. The handling of the whites of the towel on Susanna’s lap is especially indicative of Artemisia’s authorship.

NOTES

1. Giovanni Bottari and Stefano Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura, ed architettura*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1822), pp. 484–86.
2. The pen-and-ink wash drawings measure 9.5 x 12.6 centimeters each. See Sergio Marinelli and Giorgio Marini, *Museo di Castelvécchio: Disegni*, exh. cat., Museo di Castelvécchio, Verona (Verona, 1999), p. 60, nos. 24, 25; Sergio Marinelli and Giorgio Marini, *I grandi disegni italiani del Museo di Castelvécchio a Verona* (Verona, 2000), no. 16; and Giorgio Marini, *Italian Drawings and Prints from the Castelvécchio Museum, Verona*, exh. cat., Museo di Castelvécchio, Verona (Verona, 2002), pp. 75–76, no. 23. Note that throughout this article the catalogue references are to Keith Christiansen and Judith W. Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, exh. cat., Museo del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Saint Louis Art Museum, 2001–2 (New York, 2001).
3. See *Le stanze del Cardinale Monti, 1635–1650*, exh. cat., Palazzo Reale, Milan (Milan, 1994), pp. 224–25, nos. 93, 94. There it is argued that the two pictures could reflect lost versions of the known compositions by Orazio and Artemisia (see also R. Ward Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art* [University Park, Pa., 1999], p. 192). Although this cannot be excluded, it seems to me more likely that the copyist is responsible for the changes than that we happen to have no other record of precisely these two pictures.
4. “Io so ch’Artemisia haveva un quadro di una Juditta non fornito quale pochi giorni a dietro ella lo mandò a casa di Agostino.” See Eva Menzio, *Artemisia Gentileschi/Agostino Tassi: Atti di un processo per stupro* (Milan, 1981), pp. 72–73. The relevant passages from the trial are excerpted by Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 198–99. The use of the term “fornito” has been much discussed. According to the 1612 edition of the *Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca*, the verb *fornire* derives from the Latin *conficere* and *perfecere* and would thus signify “brought to perfection.” The adjective *fornito* also signifies *copioso*, *abbondante*. Thus in the present context it probably meant “unfinished”—as Bissell suggests. It is used in this sense in the 1626 *Inventario generale* of the Medici collection, in which Allori’s painting of Judith and Holofernes is described as “Un quadro in tela senza adornamento . . . che non è interam.te fornito.” See Claudio Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori* (Florence, 1982), p. 122. This adjective seems to me to apply to a painting formerly in the Rondanini collection, Rome, for which, see Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 200–201.
5. The signature was examined at the Metropolitan Museum by Dorothy Mahon. It has been much abraded and reinforced, making a definitive conclusion difficult. Perhaps the most curious feature is the larger, cruder lettering of “Artemisia.” There is, however, not sufficient reason to doubt the inscription.
6. Mary Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 184–204.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 199–200.
8. So much attention has focused on the particular character of Susanna’s response to the threats of the elders and on their presentation as conspirators that it is important to emphasize the rhetorical tradition that informs Susanna’s gesture, which is one of refusal. We find the same gesture, with the palm of the hand raised as though to repulse an advance, in Lorenzo Lotto’s treatment of the theme (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) and in Guercino’s *Joseph and Potiphar’s Wife* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). As Richard Spear, *The “Divine” Guido* (New Haven and London, 1997), pp. 64–65, has shown, this gesture, signifying “detestation, despite, exprobration and averseness,” derives from a standard rhetorical repertory. Surely it was the significance of the gesture rather than a desire to emulate Michelangelo and/or classical sculptural sources that determined its use by Artemisia.
9. The chartreuse-colored garment on the opposite shoulder of the elder in the Pommersfelden *Susanna* has been achieved by underpainting the green layer with yellow ochre.
10. Gianni Papi, “Artemisia, senza dimora conosciuta,” *Paragone*, no. 529 (1994), p. 198, noted that hands presented a difficulty for Artemisia, which is most likely one of the reasons she resorted to the study of her own.
11. Like so many of Orazio’s made-up canvases, this one is composed of three pieces. The main section was pregrounded and had been stretched and painted on. It was then taken off its stretcher and stitched to two other strips to obtain the requisite dimensions for the new composition.
12. The *Saint Jerome* only reappeared in the months following the exhibition: see Keith Christiansen and Mina Gregori, *Orazio Gentileschi: San Gerolamo* (Milan, 2003). I am grateful to Carlo Orsi for making the technical material available to me. As can be seen in the X-ray, not only did Orazio emphasize the contours throughout in a fashion typical of his approach to painting, but there is a female head from an abandoned composition. In a recent article Gianni Papi has reasserted his view that the *David* is a work of around 1619–20, with the landscape painted by Simon Vouet: “Il ‘David’ Spada di Orazio Gentileschi: Opera di collaborazione,” *Paragone*, no. 633 (2002), pp. 43–48. His observations do not in any way detract from the usefulness of the X-ray in discussing Orazio. However, I do not believe he is correct either about the date or the collaboration.
13. The X-ray of the Capodimonte *Judith* reveals that Artemisia initially considered extending Holofernes’s left arm outward, bent up at the elbow—a pose closely analogous to that seen in Elsheimer’s painting.
14. Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 192–93, discusses at length the original size of the picture, based largely on its relation to various copies. For this reason, special attention was taken at the Metropolitan in examining the edges. As reported by Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 495 n. 35, the canvas shows no weave distortion from stretching on the left, where it has clearly been cut; the other three sides show signs only of modest trimming.
15. Artemisia’s close association with Vouet is epitomized by his portrait of her, created for their mutual acquaintance and patron, Cassiano dal Pozzo (private collection).
16. See the correspondence between the Florentine secretary of state, Andrea Cioli, and the Florentine ambassador in Rome, Piero Guicciardini, published by Anna Maria Crinò, “More Letters from Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi,” *Burlington Magazine* 102 (1960), p. 264, and Anna Maria Crinò and Benedict Nicolson, “Further Documents Relating to Orazio Gentileschi,” *Burlington Magazine* 103 (1961), pp. 144–45. Guicciardini was well informed about Caravaggesque practice and owned works by Honthorst, Manfredi, and Cecco del Caravaggio. But he was no admirer of Orazio. See Gino Corti, “Il ‘Registro de’ mandati’

- dell'ambasciatore granduca Piero Guicciardini e la committenza artistica fiorentina a Roma nel secondo decennio del seicento," *Paragone*, no. 473 (1989), pp. 108–46.
17. Here one may note that what Garrard (*Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 310–11) read as an indication that Artemisia initially thought of painting a curtain or tent opening in the background of the Capodimonte picture might just as well be a preliminary idea for the placement of Holofernes's leg. There is, in fact, no trace of the curtain on the surface of the painting. What Garrard interpreted as the opening of the bag for Holofernes's head seems to me merely a looplike drapery fold of Judith's dress, suppressed as the position of the figure on the bed was worked out.
 18. One of the primary arguments put forward for the ascription of the *Cleopatra* to Artemisia is Orazio's very different, more abstracting approach to the female nude in his *Danaë* painted for Giovan Antonio Sauli about 1621–23. But are the differences any greater than those between the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* (cat. no. 15) and the *Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child* in the Harvard University Art Museums (cat. no. 28)? The years 1608–12 mark a special moment in Orazio's development, and the *Cleopatra* exhibits all the features we would expect from a picture of that date.
 19. The later canvas additions on the *Lucretia*, which showed bed-sheets, bed curtains, and an architectural feature, encouraged scholars to read the picture as a narrative. Now that the additional strips have been removed, it is clear that the picture is presented in emblematic terms: Lucretia as an emblem of virtue, much as in Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after a design by Raphael. The pointed blade of the knife is menacingly juxtaposed with Lucretia's breast, and she strikes the rhetorical pose of gazing heavenward, not, as Garrard (*Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 230) would have it, as though "questioning whether she *should* commit suicide," but to exemplify the twin aspects of shame and justification. In much of the literature prior to Bissell's 1999 book, as well as in the exhibition catalogue, the *Lucretia* was dated to about 1620–21, partly on the basis of its Genoese provenance. The notion was that prior to going from Florence to Rome, Artemisia traveled to Genoa to see her father and there received commissions from Pietro Gentile, in whose collection the *Lucretia* is first cited (as a work by Orazio). Now that we know that Artemisia went directly from Florence to Rome in 1620, the Genoa trip seems highly unlikely. Even more importantly, the style of the *Lucretia*—its Caravaggesque lighting combined with the calf-length format preferred by Orazio in the years Artemisia worked with him—is incompatible with her Florentine and post-Florentine paintings.
 20. The letter, in which Artemisia asked Sauli to pass on a personal note to her father, has evidently been lost. It is referred to in Marco Bologna's study *L'archivio della famiglia Sauli di Genova*, Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria 114, fasc. 2 (Rome, 2000), p. 437, and in Marzia Cataldi Gallo, "The Sauli Collection: Two Unpublished Letters and a Portrait by Orazio Gentileschi," *Burlington Magazine* 145 (2003), p. 345.
 21. Pronounced weave distortion from stretching the canvas is visible on all four sides, establishing that the current dimensions are original.
 22. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 230, 238.
 23. Menzio, *Artemisia Gentileschi/Agostino Tassi*, p. 49.
 24. Elizabeth Cropper, in Christiansen and Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 275.
 25. See Michael Fried, "Thoughts on Caravaggio," *Critical Inquiry* 24 (1997), p. 21. Fried, pp. 38–40 n. 33, also has some interesting observations on Artemisia's possible use of the mirror, related to the *Allegory of Painting* at Hampton Court (cat. no. 81). My own feeling is that, in Florence, Artemisia's art makes a decisive turn toward the objectification of the subjects she paints: self-identification is no longer primary.
 26. As an indication of the importance of this aspect of her work, it is worth noting that Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 374–75, 377–83, lists five lost paintings of the Madonna and eighteen paintings of saints, some bust length and others more ambitious in scale and treatment. Among these were pictures of remarkable quality and originality. The duke of Alcalá's *Penitent Magdalene*, known in three versions (each of which is, to my mind, a copy, including the one included in the exhibition, cat. no. 68), was an invention of the highest order—so unusual in theme that the duke's inventory describes the figure as asleep ("durmiendo sobre el brazo"). One hardly need follow the elaborate interpretation of Mary Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi around 1622: The Shaping and Reshaping of an Artistic Identity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2001), pp. 25–75, to recognize the remarkable way Artemisia has combined references to the former prostitute's lassitude and moral laxity with her contrition, creating an image that draws on the traditions of genre painting and is at once profane and profoundly sacred.
 27. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 23–24, 492–93 n. 19; Gianni Papi, in Roberto Contini and Gianni Papi, *Artemisia*, exh. cat., Casa Buonarroti, Florence (Rome, 1991), p. 114, no. 8; Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 184–85, no. 1, and p. 327, no. X-19.
 28. I would like to comment on the character of the naturalism of the Bucharest *Madonna and Child*. To judge from remarks made at the exhibition and again at the symposium held in Saint Louis in September 2002, some viewers have found the swollen, high-placed breast of the Virgin disconcerting, especially as the other breast has been flattened to the point of being almost invisible. How is one to explain this anatomical ineptitude if we grant that Orazio was working from a model? I believe that the problem derives from a confusion between the naturalistic intention of the style Orazio adopted for the picture and his desire to emphasize the act of nursing, an act so common that it must have been observed by every seventeenth-century male, yet one that here carried theological implications. The artist's practice of painting directly from the model should not be thought to entail an unedited transcription of what he staged and observed in the course of the multiple sittings that were necessary. Quite apart from the fact that all painting—even the most "naturalistic"—is an act of objectifying and interpretation, there is the simple fact that Orazio was negotiating not only the world of everyday experience but also the tradition of devotional painting. Contemporary viewers were well aware of this. The duke of Mantua's agent, for example, responding to a version of the Bucharest painting that he saw in Orazio's studio, sent to Vincenzo Gonzaga's secretary the report that "both figures look at each other with great affection, for all that the child is no more than one month old, but [the painting] is well executed and natural [*ben fatto et naturale*]. . . . In sum [the picture] demonstrates that naturalism [*il naturale*] is a very good thing." See Alessandro Luzio, *La galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627–28* (1914; reprint Rome, 1974), pp. 60–61 n. 1.

29. It is worth noting the tendency among Artemisia's apologists to emphasize her achievement at the expense of Orazio's, even when contradicted by the visual evidence. Thus we find Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 25–26, remarking on the lack of “earthy physicality and a tender intimacy between mother and child,” in Orazio's pictures, while Artemisia's are said to consistently exhibit an “intensity of her characters' engagement.” Based on this distinction, a characteristic work by Orazio—the *Madonna and Child* in the Johnson collection (cat. no. 8)—is reascribed to Artemisia. Similarly, Judith Mann has alluded to the “intimate interaction between mother and child” in the Spada *Madonna and Child*, while Orazio's painting at Bucharest is characterized as “contrived.” See Christiansen and Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 300–302.
30. Eva Struhal, a student of Elizabeth Cropper, prompted me to consider a Florentine dating for these two pictures; she had already become convinced of the matter. After my initial resistance to the proposal, largely based on received opinion, I came to the conclusion that a Florentine dating really explained the character of these two paintings better than any other solution.
31. A second version of the Pitti *Magdalene* recently appeared at auction (Sotheby's, London, July 11, 2002, lot 180) and was acquired by Richard Herner. It measures 143.5 x 105.5 centimeters and must be based on a tracing of the Pitti version. A number of changes were introduced, and the picture has a very different effect, since the Magdalene turns her head outward, away from the mirror, thus making it a more decisive repudiation of the vanities of the world. The painting has none of the surface refinement of the Pitti picture, but it is not out of the question that Artemisia was involved in its execution. In the auction catalogue the idea is floated that the painting may be one of the unfinished paintings mentioned in the 1621 inventory.
32. Papi, “Artemisia, senza dimora conosciuta,” p. 198. Papi suggested a date of about 1612, just prior to Artemisia's move to Florence. As he notes, the gesture is that of an Annunciate Virgin, and one wonders if the picture was not accompanied by a pendant with the bust of an angel.
33. See Elizabeth Cropper's insightful discussion in Christiansen and Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 276–79. Her comments provide the basis for my remarks. There is no consensus on the relation of Artemisia's art to Florentine culture. Perhaps the most extreme position is that taken by Roberto Contini (in Christiansen and Mann, pp. 313–19): “It is still, I fear, almost futile to wonder about the influence Florence had on her art, for there are so many concrete indications that it had none.” For less radical views, see Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 34–51; Gianni Papi, in Contini and Papi, *Artemisia*, pp. 45–50; and Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 18–22, 25–33. Garrard envisages Artemisia as an “instant Florentine success . . . as a protégée of . . . Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, who was a strong advocate of Artemisia in Florence, and who may have been a close family friend.” Although she emphasizes the “shared Florentine style” of those who worked on the decoration of Buonarroti's gallery and plays down the notion of Artemisia's influence on her fellow artists, she does not ascribe to Allori the importance I do (quite the contrary, in fact). Papi notes as a characteristic of her Florentine production “that vaguely pathetic expression that seems a concession and contribution of Artemisia to the poetics of the *affetti* that was already being elaborated in Florence, above all in the work of Cristofano Allori.” Bissell sums up his view of her relation to Florentine art by noting that “between 1613 and 1620 the art of Artemisia Gentileschi was more touched by Florentine painting than Florentine painting at the time was by Gentileschi's manner.” He plays down the notion of Buonarroti's importance as a promoter of Artemisia rather than someone who came to support her once she was established in Florence. These various and sometimes conflicting points of view are reflected in the very different paintings and chronology that each author assigns to the artist's Florentine years. The views of Garrard and Bissell are complicated by dating the Pitti *Judith and Her Maidservant* early rather than late in this time frame and by placing the Uffizi *Judith* late rather than early, thus masking what to my mind is the general direction of Artemisia's work.
34. Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 25–33, gives a fine overview of the various ways Artemisia's Florentine work has been interpreted.
35. It may be remembered that Galileo was in Rome in 1611, Allori and Buonarroti possibly in 1610: see Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori*, pp. 46–47. All were closely attached to Cigoli, whom Orazio knew well. Orazio, of course, considered himself a Florentine and seems to have maintained close ties with Florentine artists in Rome. From a letter written in March 1612, we know that Galileo praised a young Roman woman who, in addition to her singing and music making, liked to draw (“giovane zitella Romana molto virtuosa, che, oltre al sonare e cantare, si diletta di disegnare”). This seems a rather unlikely description of Artemisia, and it reminds us that she was not the only talented female he took an interest in. In 1630 we find him corresponding with Buonarroti (both were in Rome) about another female artist, the engraver and still-life painter Annamaria Vaiani (“fanciulla di grandissimo merito,” according to Galileo). See *Le opere di Galileo Galilei* (Florence, 1929–39), vol. 14 (1935), letters 2021–23, 2026, 2027, 2048, 2063, and 2073, cited by Eileen Reeves, *Painting the Heavens: Art and Science in the Age of Galileo* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 7, 228 n. 17. Almost certainly because of the campaign mounted on Annamaria's behalf, she was employed by Cardinal Francesco Barberini doing some of the illustrations for Giovanni Battista Ferrari's *De florum cultura*, published 1633. Ferrari was horticultural consultant to the Barberini family; see David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago and London, 2002), pp. 38–46, 420 n. 46.
36. On Cristofano Allori's relations with poets of the Medici court, as well as an illuminating discussion of the poetics of his paintings, see especially Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori*, pp. 13–20, 69–85.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.
38. The most remarkable of these is a study for the head of Abra in his *Judith and Holofernes* that was sold at Sotheby's, London, December 6, 1972, lot 3: see Mina Gregori, “Note su Cristofano Allori,” in Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto and Paolo Dal Poggetto, eds., *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Ugo Procacci* (Milan, 1977), vol. 2, p. 522. It was owned by Baldinucci, who noted that Allori “lo colori di primo gusto dal naturale,” that is, it was painted directly from nature. In his constant pursuit of perfection, Allori's practice aligns more with that of Barocci than with the Carracci, and it is in a direct line with that of his teacher Cigoli.
39. Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno* (Florence, 1846), vol. 3, pp. 732–33.

40. From the letter Piero Guicciardini sent to the grand duke's secretary, Andrea Cioli, on March 27, 1615. See Crinò and Nicolson, "Further Documents Relating to Orazio Gentileschi," p. 144.
 41. For the many versions and copies of this work, see John Shearman, *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London, 1983), pp. 6–7, and Miles Chappell, *Cristofano Allori*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Florence, 1984), pp. 78–80, no. 25. The history of the Orsini version is reconstructed by Shearman, "Cristofano Allori's 'Judith,'" *Burlington Magazine* 121 (1979), pp. 3–10.
 42. See Shearman, "Cristofano Allori's 'Judith,'" p. 3. A study from the model for the Palazzo Pitti version of the picture is in the Uffizi (1501).
 43. Rinuccini wrote a poem about the picture that is conspicuous for its straightforward interpretation of the theme in emblematic terms; virtue over vice, etc. One wonders if it was not intentionally silent about the double meaning of the painting. The poet was a close friend of Allori's and, with the artist, repented late in life of his "lascivious" work.
 44. Helen Langdon, *Caravaggio: A Life* (London, 1998), p. 205. Marino's letter mentioning the picture was addressed to the poet Paolino Berti.
 45. See Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori*, pp. 71–73. Pizzorusso notes as a possible literary source for Allori's picture Gabriello Chiabrera's poem on Judith. Chiabrera, in fact, specifically describes Judith's adornments, which include a "sovra aurea gonna."
 46. Bardi's version was sold to Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, who gave Bardi a copy of the painting by Jacopo Ligozzi that had been brought into conformity with stricter notions of decorum by the addition of drapery. Interestingly, it was Volterrano—the same artist paid to add drapery to Artemisia's *Allegory of Inclination*—who painted the drapery on the Ligozzi copy. Clearly, the cultural climate conducive to these complex pictures did not last long. See Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori*, p. 68.
 47. Gregori, "Note su Cristofano Allori," pp. 522–25. The inscription on the back confirms the story recounted by Balducci.
 48. Chappell, *Cristofano Allori*, p. 20.
 49. Gregori, "Note su Cristofano Allori," p. 520.
 50. Elizabeth Cropper, in Christiansen and Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 275.
 51. See *ibid.*, p. 278: "*Inclination* was a reiteration of *Susanna*, declaring the presence of the artist in her work, whose very subject in this case was the personification of an artist's peculiar inclination toward making art." That the subject was customized for Artemisia is suggested by the fact that it does not appear in the first programs (Temperance and Tolerance had been considered earlier), whereas on a subsequent sketch giving the layout of the ceiling, Artemisia's is the only name of an artist indicated. The other allegorical figures were to be painted by the pupils of the most outstanding painters in Florence, which should be recalled when evaluating Artemisia's participation in the project. Although she was paid more for her single figure than her Florentine colleagues were for theirs, the very fact that she did not receive the commission to paint one of the large, narrative canvases surely indicates Buonarroti's notion of her abilities.
- The peculiarity of including a figure of Inclination may be judged by the fact that no such personification is included in either the 1603 edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (it makes its first appearance in the 1624 edition) or in Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* (1621–26). In later editions of Ripa, the figure is clothed and has different symbols (including two stars). Jean-Baptiste Boudard, *Iconologie tirée de divers auteurs* (Parma, 1759), vol. 2, p. 112, distinguishes good from bad inclination (*Inclinazione, Inclinazione buona, and Inclinazione cattiva*). None is shown nude and none holds a compass; see Norma Cecchini, *Dizionario sinottico di Iconologia* (Bologna, 1976), pp. 21, 113. On the genesis of the program, see Adriaan W. Vliegthart, *La Galleria Buonarroti: Michelangelo e Michelangelo il giovane* (Florence, 1976), pp. 39–40, 49–50, 170–73. Michelangelo Buonarroti was a member of the Accademia della Crusca, and it is in the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, published in 1612, that we find "Inclination" defined as a natural disposition for a particular thing, acquired more by volition than by the constellation under which one is born (*Attitudine, e natural disposizione a cosa particolare. . . . Che benchè ciascuno houmo nasca sotto alcuna costellazione, la qual gli dia alcuna inclinazione, con la sua influenza, in sua podestà è d'acquistarla, o nò*). This notion would have had obvious resonance for Artemisia. In analyzing Artemisia's depiction, one may recall that Vasari begins his life of Michelangelo with a reference to the "fateful and fortunate star" under which Michelangelo was born. Artemisia's painting declares that she, too, was born under such a star.
52. Elizabeth Cropper, in Christiansen and Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 276. The interest of the Medici court in this sort of emblematic painting is well known. There is Giovanni Bilivert's painting of Maria Maddalena of Austria as the Magdalene and, later, Carlo Dolce's depiction of the archduchess Claudia Felicità as Galla Placidia (both Galleria Palatina, Florence)—paintings that put forward a poetic identity for a real person and use a historical reference as a means of characterization. That Artemisia's *Lute Player* (cat. no. 57) should be inventoried as a self-portrait is fully consonant with this manner of looking at paintings.
 53. Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori*, p. 70.
 54. The bracelet is composed of blue cameos or gemstones with white figures. Only two are legible and show, at the bottom, a female figure viewed from the back in a contrapposto pose, the left arm raised, the right one extended downward; the middle one viewed from the front with a shield in one hand and a sword in the other. While the bottom figure could be construed as a nymph or as Diana (Artemis)—the identification plausibly proposed by Garrard—the other figure certainly is not Diana. It could be Minerva or a slender Mars. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 326–27, refers to the figures as "hazy but suggestive sketches." Examined under magnification, one can see that there is nothing hazy about their execution, although they are done in a sketchy style. Garrard suggests that Artemisia intended the Diana/Artemis as a sort of signature. In my opinion the bracelet, like the brocade dress, was Artemisia's way of enhancing the poetic paradox of the garments of seduction employed to perform an act of violence.
 55. See Elizabeth Cropper, "The Petrifying Art: Marino's Poetry and Caravaggio," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991), pp. 193–212.
 56. It is difficult to speculate on Artemisia's awareness of the poetic scene in Rome. Orazio certainly knew Marino's rival, Gasparc Murtola, who dedicated a poem to Onorio Longhi—like Orazio, a member of the Caravaggio clique that Giovanni Baglione sued for libel in 1603 for writing scurrilous verses against his work. Orazio, too, painted his *Judith* (Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo; cat. no. 13) richly garbed and bejeweled, but he avoids

precisely the drama that is at the heart of Artemisia's painting. The fact that Artemisia only returns to the convention of the richly dressed Judith while in Florence, prominently placing the bracelet on the sword-wielding arm, is surely significant. The X-ray of the Pitti *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 60) shows that Artemisia initially thought of putting a bracelet on the heroine's arm there as well but then painted it out.

57. There is a strong possibility that the author of these verses was the Venetian admirer and biographer of Marino, Gianfrancesco Loredan. The poems, dedicated to three paintings Artemisia presumably painted in Venice—a *Sleeping Cupid*, a *Lucretia*, and a *Susanna*—employ Marinesque conceits. In the instance of the *Lucretia*, the conceit is that Artemisia's painting has revived the story of the Roman heroine and, in so doing, her brush, far more than the sword, is the instrument of death. Or again: it is no marvel that her *Sleeping Cupid* is so true to life ("al ver tanto è simile"): wasn't Venus able to make a living Cupid from love ("poiche potea / far anco un vivo Amor d'Amor la / Dea")? The play here is on Artemisia-Venus as a creator of living images and not a mere painter. There is an obviously gendered slant to the comment, though not in the direction proposed by Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 172–73. Indeed, Garrard's discussion of these literary tributes to Artemisia seems curiously blind to the intersection of seicento poetics with Artemisia's paintings and her ambitions as an artist. In the case of the *Lucretia*, the author recycled the conceit of Marino's famous poem on Guido Reni's *Massacre of the Innocents* that appears in *La galleria* (published in Venice in successive editions in 1619 and 1620). In it the poet plays on the contradiction of the painter's brush giving life to those who are perpetually dying: "Non vedi tu [Guido], che mentre il sanguinoso / stuol dei fanciulli ravivando vai, / nova morte gli dai?" In the *Sleeping Cupid* he took up the same line we find in Marino's characterization of Caravaggio as "Creator più

che Pittore" (*Adone*, 6, 55), but with a twist made possible by the fact that Artemisia was a beautiful woman who not only painted Cupid/love but inspired it. Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 39–40, 355–56 L-1, 374 L-54, 389 L-105, conveniently reprints the poems and discusses their authorship. Although much in these tributes is conventional, their application to Artemisia's work is hardly peripheral.

58. Taken from Marino's *Dicerie sacre* of 1614, quoted by Sebastian Schütze, "Pittura parlante e poesia taciturna . . .," in *Documentary Culture: Florence and Rome from Grand-Duke Ferdinand I to Pope Alexander VII*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper, Giovanna Perini, and Francesco Solinas, *Villa Spelman Colloquia* 3, 1990 (Bologna, 1992), p. 209.
59. "E de la prima età fresca e fiorita / Piagne le colpe." The line is from Marino's celebrated "La Maddalena di Tiziano." Titian's picture, of course, shows the nude penitential Magdalene in her retreat. Artemisia employed contrasting images to enrich the reading of the subject and take it beyond the level of a simple dramatic presentation. Her picture operates both as narrative and as poetic description. Marino's encomium to Titian's image at the end of his poem could well stand for this approach to painting: "But nature and truth cede / To that which the learned artificer has imaged, / For he painted her here, as beautiful and alive / As he conceived her in his soul and thought. / Oh, celestial semblance, oh, masterly craft, / For in his work he outdoes himself; / Eternal ornament of cloth and paper, / Marvel of the world, honor of art!" Translation from James V. Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvelous: Giambattista Marino* (New York and London, 1963), p. 293.
60. See Menzio, *Artemisia Gentileschi/Agostino Tassi*, p. 124.
61. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi around 1622*, pp. 86–97.
62. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 95; Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, p. 240.

Landscape Drawings by Pietro da Cortona

JÖRG MARTIN MERZ

University of Augsburg

DEDICATED TO PROF. DR. KLAUS SCHWAGER, TÜBINGEN

*Era Pietro un Pittore,
che faceva bene ciò che voleva,
e così ancora i Paesi.*

— RIDOLFINO VENUTI

PIETRO BERRETTINI DA CORTONA (Cortona 1597–Rome 1669) did not play a central role in Roman seventeenth-century landscape painting; he was more concerned with prestigious large-scale fresco decorations and architectural projects. Yet, while acquiring fame in these fields, he also developed as a landscapist, adding a small but delectable body of work to the broad spectrum of landscapes by, among many others, the Carracci and their school; Agostino Tassi and his famous pupil, Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain; Gaspard Dughet and Nicolas Poussin; and the Neapolitan Salvator Rosa.¹ Cortona's most important contribution consists of a fresco cycle of landscapes with small religious scenes painted in 1628 on the chapel walls of the residence of his patrons the Sacchetti at Castel Fusano (now the Villa Chigi), a remote countryseat near Ostia.² In these frescoes he exploited the classical ideal developed by Annibale Carracci and perpetuated by Annibale's pupil Pietro Paolo Bonzi—with whom Cortona collaborated on decorations in the gallery of the Palazzo Mattei (1622–23)—in landscape friezes executed in the mid-1620s in the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi in Rome.³ Regarding Cortona's frescoes at Castel Fusano, Rudolf Wittkower perspicaciously noted that “their painterly freedom is an unexpected revelation, and in a more accessible locality they would long have been given a place of honour in the development of Italian landscape painting.”⁴

Besides this cycle of frescoes, Cortona executed several casel paintings incorporating landscapes, also mainly for the Sacchetti, which, however, do not form a homogeneous group. They include a pair of small

and charming oval panels of a river scene and a seascape, a dramatic view of the rocky alum mines at Tolfa that Marcello Sacchetti had rented from Pope Urban VIII (both, Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome), a bird's-eye view of an unidentified rural estate (private collection, Naples), and a front view of the villa at Castel Fusano and its formal gardens (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome), which originally formed a cycle with three other views—probably all by Cortona but now lost—of various Sacchetti estates.⁵ More ambitious is a landscape with the Calling of Peter and Andrew that exists in several versions and in which Cortona transposed the scene with figures from the homonymous fresco at Castel Fusano into a grandiose panorama, recalling the idealized landscapes of Domenichino.⁶ Comparable in this respect is a landscape with two temples recently discovered by Louise Rice in the apartment of a cardinal at the Vatican and traced back to the Sacchetti inventories.⁷

The latter two paintings suggest that Cortona's interest in landscape continued after the Castel Fusano frescoes. This is underscored by a number of his landscape drawings, which—unlike the paintings—have hitherto received only sporadic attention, as well as by a number of landscapes by his followers. An occasion to deal with them more comprehensively is offered by the exquisite *Landscape with Wine Harvest* (Colorplate 5; see also Figure 8) recently acquired by the Department of Drawings and Prints at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁸ This drawing, which is neither signed nor otherwise inscribed, does not bear a collector's mark or any hint as to its first owners, and—to the best of my knowledge—has never been mentioned in a sale catalogue or published before its inclusion in the Metropolitan Museum's bulletin of

© The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2004
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 39

The notes for this article begin on page 149.

127

recent acquisitions.⁹ It was first shown to me in 1998 with the suggestion that it might be by Cortona, but confirmation of the attribution was complicated by the fact that another version had just surfaced on the art market that could be determined without doubt to be a faithful copy.¹⁰

The borders of the original drawing are shaded, partially overlapping the gray wash design.¹¹ While the right and lower margins are tinted yellow, the opposite borders have a brown tonality, thus conveying the illusion of a gilt frame illuminated from the upper left, which corresponds to the direction of the light in the scene. Ultimately, it is difficult to say whether this “frame” was conceived by Cortona or added later, since some of his early drawings have similar, undoubtedly original borders,¹² but all his other landscape studies and later drawings generally are without them. Unlike the framing lines in the early studies just mentioned, the border on the sheet in the Metropolitan Museum does not seem to have been drawn at the same time as the scene. Rather, it was added to the finished drawing and was therefore more likely the work of a later owner.

The composition consists of scenery with small figures in the foreground, a town along a cascading river in the middle ground, a towering mountain overgrown with trees and bushes at the left, and a hill fading into the distance at the right. Rays of sunlight emanate from the cloudy sky, shining on the mountain and the river valley, which is dominated by a bastion and a church spire. Filling the left foreground is a huge tree, its trunk covered with vines, and a peasant on a ladder harvesting grapes. Behind the tree is the trellised ruin of a classical building serving as a wine cellar, and above it, in the middle ground, rises an antique temple, the town’s most prominent feature. The themes of antiquity and wine making are also associated in the foreground, where architectural fragments lie scattered before a group of barrels being prepared for use. Several peasants carry baskets with grapes to a central point under the large tree, and, with the same intention, in front of some trees and a trellis at the far right a group of women are loading baskets onto their heads. In the valley toward the river, a herd of mules and a drover are moving in the opposite direction. While recession in space is rendered with a diminishingly intense gray wash, the outlines in the foreground are enhanced with pen and iron-gall ink, which originally was almost black and integrated with the gray wash but now has turned brown with age, thus making the overall appearance of the drawing more colorful.¹³

In its composition and motifs, the Metropolitan Museum’s drawing closely resembles the painting in

the Vatican of a landscape with two temples mentioned above, as well as a number of landscape drawings in brush and wash discussed below (see Figures 4–9), which are unanimously accepted as autograph works by Cortona. Traditionally, the majority of these drawings and paintings have been dated to the artist’s early career, contemporary with the Castel Fusano frescoes.¹⁴ In favor of this assumption, one could argue that Marcello Sacchetti—as noted, Cortona’s principal patron at the time—was, himself, an amateur landscape painter and certainly fostered activity in this field, but he had already died by 1629.¹⁵ However, a few documents indicate that Cortona drew landscapes even in the 1660s, and landscape motifs appear in some of his late compositional studies that are similar to the autonomous landscape drawings, thus suggesting that a number of the latter works might also have originated in this late period. This view, which was first expressed by Walter Vitzthum and variously endorsed by later scholars,¹⁶ seems correct, and will be supported in the following review of all of Cortona’s extant drawings in combination with evidence from documents and early sources.

EARLY PEN-AND-INK DRAWINGS

Cortona’s earliest drawings of landscapes appear in the backgrounds of some of his anatomical illustrations of about 1618, which were engraved at the time by Luca Ciamberlano but remained unpublished until the eighteenth century. Drawn in pen and brown ink, over either black chalk or brush and brown wash, they were inspired thematically and stylistically by the landscape drawings of members of the Carracci school, such as Cortona’s compatriot Pietro Paolo Bonzi.¹⁷

Early on, Cortona mastered the handling of pen and ink in studies that included landscapes. It is reported by Giulio Mancini in both versions of his short biography of the artist—dating slightly before and about 1625, respectively—that Cortona’s virtuosity in this technique was equaled by only a few of his colleagues. Mancini had seen Cortona’s *Nocturnal View of the Ripa Grande*, Rome’s old harbor on the banks of the Tiber, opposite the Aventine, with a variety of boats in perspective, people milling about, and other details, which made him wonder how the artist could have drawn it with only the light from a lantern.¹⁸ At about the same time, according to Luca Berrettini, the artist’s nephew, the extraordinary quality of a drawing in pen and ink, representing the burning of Troy, convinced Marcello Sacchetti of Cortona’s



Figure 1. Pietro da Cortona (Italian, 1597–1669). *Landscape with Classical Buildings and a Town at a Distant Mountain*, ca. 1620. Brush with brown and gray wash, and pen and brown ink, 40.8 x 55.4 cm. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 424 P (photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence)

genius and induced him to become his patron.¹⁹ In fact, this drawing held a place of honor in the Sacchetti collection,²⁰ but, like the *View of the Ripa Grande*, it is unfortunately now lost.

The single extant landscape drawing with an old attribution to Cortona which might be from his early period is the large *Landscape with Classical Buildings and a Town at a Distant Mountain* (Figure 1) in the Uffizi.²¹ Recently, it has tentatively been identified as the landscape that Cortona's pupil Ciro Ferri sent to Leopoldo de' Medici in Florence in 1662, but this hypothesis can be dismissed since the drawing—unlike the description in Ferri's letter—does not represent the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina, with its terraces and exedra, but a small, circular temple, above a picturesque town, in a landscape setting.²² In addition, it can hardly be labeled a *paesino*, or little landscape, but corresponds instead to the “Veduta grande di paese con antiche rovine, a penna e acquerello bello” in Leopoldo's album “Universale XIII,” containing drawings attributed to Cortona, which is described in an inventory of 1784.²³ The

ambitious panorama was inspired by Northern *Überschauplandschaften* (landscapes seen from a high viewpoint), and the juxtaposition of a prominent antique ruin in the left foreground with a high, rocky mountain in the distance recalls Polidoro da Caravaggio's fresco *Landscape with Noli me tangere* in the Chapel of Fra Mariano, San Silvestro al Quirinale, Rome.²⁴ The three-storied structure in the left foreground represents the ruins of the so-called Septizonium, whose monumental facade was erected, under the Roman emperor Septimius Severus's reign, at the south end of the Palatine facing the Via Appia and was frequently drawn by Renaissance artists before it was torn down during the reign of Pope Sixtus V in 1589.²⁵ All the other buildings are products of the artist's imagination and are freely arranged on the slope of the mountain, forming an imposing silhouette against the cloudless sky. The artist began with brush and brown and gray wash, later reinforcing the contours of the architecture, the foliage, and parts of the ground with pen.

This sheet appears faded throughout, almost as if it were a copy, but the graphic quality of the pen-and-ink



Figure 2. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with a Hermitage*, 1629. Pen and brown ink, over traces of black chalk, 35 x 22 cm. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 841 P (photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence)



Figure 3. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with a Classical Building*, ca. 1630. Pen and brown ink, with brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 22.5 x 42 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Charles Potter Kling Fund, 2000.996

drawing closely resembles that of a preparatory study in the Uffizi (Figure 2) for the landscape in the background of the painting *Saint Peter Damian Offering His Book of Rules to the Madonna* (Toledo Museum of Art), which was originally in the Barberini collection and for which payment was made by Cardinal Francesco Barberini in August 1629.²⁶ This drawing is executed in pen and dark brown iron-gall ink over black chalk traces. Since comparable preparatory studies are not known, the close correspondence of its motifs with those in the painting might lead one to regard it as a copy.²⁷ However, the lines bordering the landscape on the left, and a number of minor variations and additions that do not appear in the painting, indicate that it must be an original. Taking into account the testimonies of Giulio Mancini and Luca Berrettini quoted above, this work should be considered an example of the drawings in pen and ink for which the young Cortona was famous among his contemporaries but which are no longer extant.

Supporting evidence for this conclusion is provided by a spectacular landscape drawing recently purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 3).²⁸ It represents various unidentified groups of figures in front of a classical building under construction, and in the adjoining valley at the foot of a steep mountain. The rendering of the vegetation and the parallel hatchings in pen and ink to designate the terrain are almost identical to the technique employed in the study for the painting in Toledo (see Figure 2), but there are considerable additions in brush and wash, including the dramatic clouds that partially overlap the building, obscure the peak of the distant mountain, and indicate a downpour at the upper right. The drawing probably dates from the early 1630s, since the rendering of the mountain and its vegetation closely resembles that of Cortona's contemporary drawings of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina.²⁹ Furthermore, the figures in the left foreground gathered around a globe with the zodiac recall the principal figural group in Cortona's *Allegory on the Emblem of the Parthenian Academy* engraved by Charles Audran about 1630–32.³⁰

The drawing in Boston (Figure 3) combines Cortona's masterly pen-and-ink technique with a painterly use of wash, which is typical of his compositional studies of the 1630s with figural scenes and landscape elements, such as the *Venus and Aeneas* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), *Jason Carrying Off the Golden Fleece* (British Museum, London), and the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (now in Chicago).³¹ In the latter two drawings, white gouache was added to enhance the plasticity of the figures and to achieve painterly values. Pen and ink

with wash, usually over black chalk and frequently heightened with white gouache, was Cortona's preferred medium for compositional studies until the 1640s. Occasionally, he used red or black chalk only, as, for example, in the *Nymphs Carving on Trees* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York) from the early 1630s, or in the design for the frontispiece of Giovanni Battista Ferrari's *Hesperides* (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin), published in 1646.³² In all of these drawings, the landscape motifs are executed in the same technique as the figures. From the mid-1650s, while continuing to use pen and ink, Cortona gradually favored brush and wash for compositional studies. Accordingly, the landscapes in the backgrounds of such drawings as the *Saint Martina on the Pyre* (British Museum) from the late 1650s or the *Saint Ivo Assisting the Poor* (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh) of 1660 are also drawn with brush and wash.³³

EARLY BRUSH-AND-WASH DRAWINGS

A number of landscapes drawn in brush and wash, usually over black chalk, must be fitted into Cortona's graphic oeuvre. All include small figural elements, but none is connected with a painting, fresco, or print. The group is not entirely homogeneous, and closer scrutiny reveals different degrees of success in rendering space and in the artist's technical skill, which provide a clue for dating them in relation to the frescoes at Castel Fusano.

Beforehand, it is well to recall that in the landscape cycle in the chapel, and in two overdoor frescoes executed in 1628–29 in the gallery at Castel Fusano, Cortona handled the brush with an extraordinary mastery, inventing textures to convey the abundant vegetation, variety of flowers and grasses in the foreground, knobby tree trunks, thick foliage of the tops of the trees, and airy clouds in the tranquil sky.³⁴ Some touches were apparently added *al secco* and partly rubbed off over time. While no studies for the frescoes are extant, it appears unlikely that Cortona made preparatory drawings in pen and ink for them; he seems, rather, to have concentrated on related studies in brush and wash in order to increase his virtuosity.³⁵ In fact, the brushwork in the frescoes and in the drawings is very similar, but not all the drawings match the masterly skill of the frescoes.

This is particularly true of the *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt* in Edinburgh (Figure 4), which was not executed directly in brush and wash but was first sketched in black chalk, which remains visible throughout.³⁶ Some details in black chalk, such as the

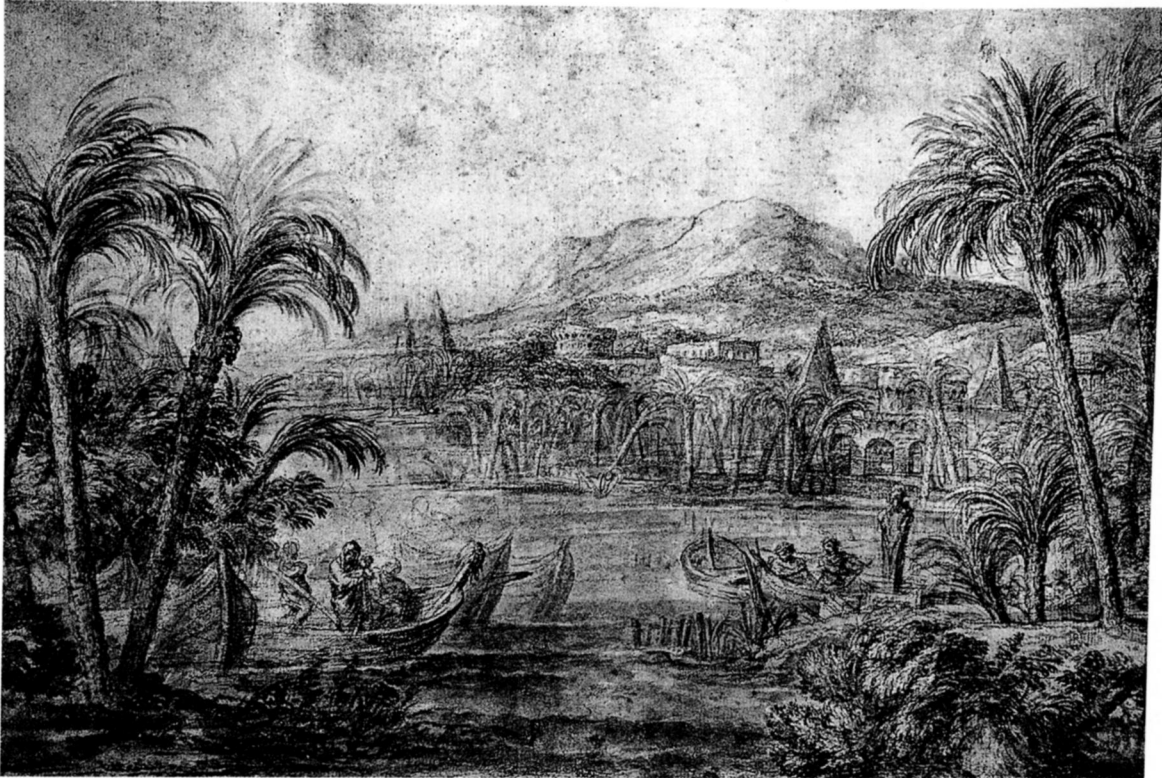


Figure 4. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1628. Brush and gray wash, over black chalk, 33.3 x 49.5 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, RSA 118 (photo: National Galleries of Scotland)



Figure 5. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Classical Buildings and a Wine Harvest*, ca. 1628. Brush and gray wash, over black chalk, 31 x 47.3 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 1837 (photo: National Galleries of Scotland)

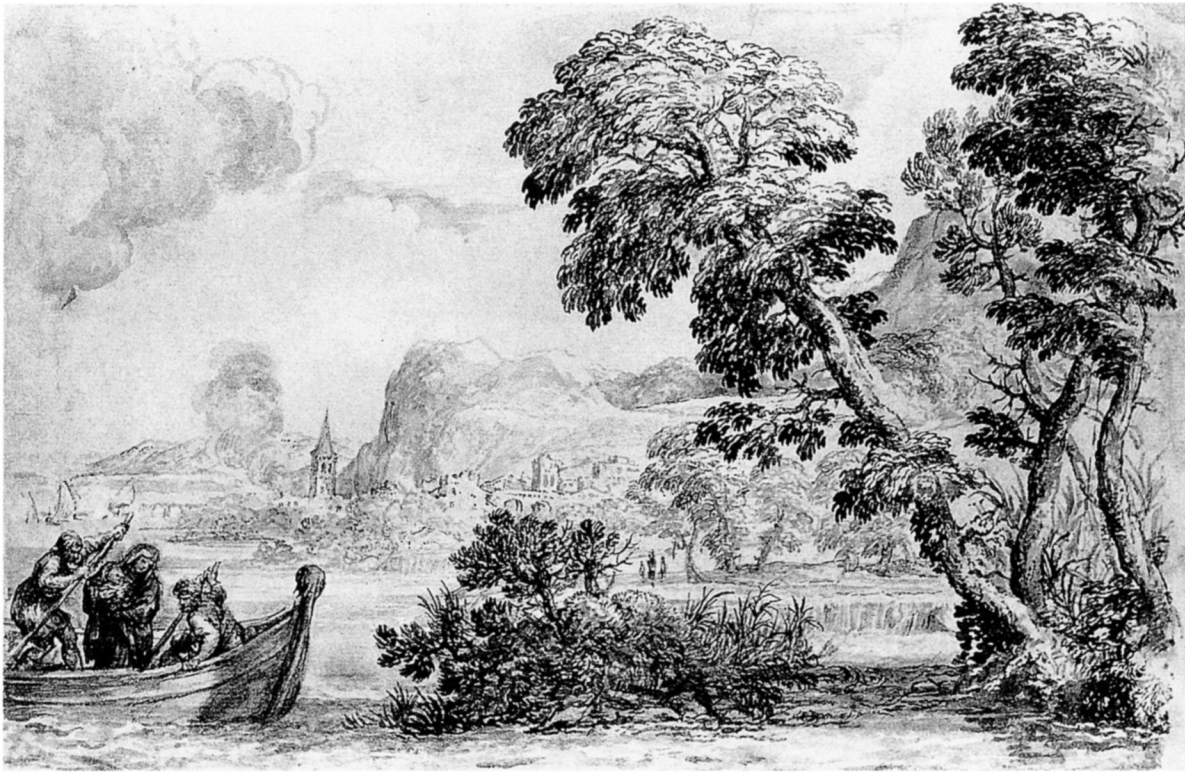


Figure 6. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1628. Brush and gray wash, highlighted with white gouache, 24.4 x 37 cm. Private collection (photo: Colnaghi, London)

figures in the boats to the right of the Holy Family, were reinforced with wash, whereas in other passages—as, for instance, at the tops of the palm trees—the wash was applied without regard to the indications in black chalk. The two pyramids at the right and the two others partly obscured by the palm trees at the left were conceived in black chalk, whereas the pair on the mountain slope were painted in afterward with the brush. The boats near the herm at the right are rendered rather clumsily, and the plants along the shore, in front of the Holy Family's boat, were added later, once the water had been executed.

Very similar vegetation appears in the Edinburgh *Landscape with Classical Buildings and a Wine Harvest* (Figure 5), which consists of foreground scenes set against a junglelike profusion of trees that cut diagonally through the picture, demarcating the middle ground.³⁷ The trees and buildings in this area, including a church spire, are drawn considerably lighter than the foreground, but still darker than the mountains in the distance. The black chalk is less visible than in the *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt* (Figure 4), and does not interfere with the wash. While the rural buildings in the foreground are integrated organically into the landscape setting, the circular

temple at the center left and the triangular pediment below it look as if they had been pasted onto the scene. Similarly, the clouds behind the temple do not convincingly overlap the mountain but, instead, seem to have been cut out from it. Thus, the overall impression resembles a decorative tapestry more than a deeply penetrated, illusionistic space. A peasant with a basket of grapes at the lower right strikes the same pose as the peasant to the right of the huge tree in the Metropolitan Museum's *Landscape with Wine Harvest* (Figure 8, Colorplate 5) and a corresponding figure in the landscape in the Vatican, mentioned above. Further to the left, the pose of the boy gathering grapes is similar to that of the figure of Vertumnus in a drawing from life, related to the compositional study *The Triumph of Nature over Art*, for an engraving by Johann Friedrich Greuter in Giovanni Battista Ferrari's book on horticulture published in 1633.³⁸

Virtually the same degree of mastery is displayed in another *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt* (Figure 6), which was sold at auction in Switzerland in 1996.³⁹ There, the low viewpoint makes the composition less complex. The elements in the foreground are arranged perfectly parallel to the picture plane, their dark gray—almost black—wash in strong contrast to the light gray

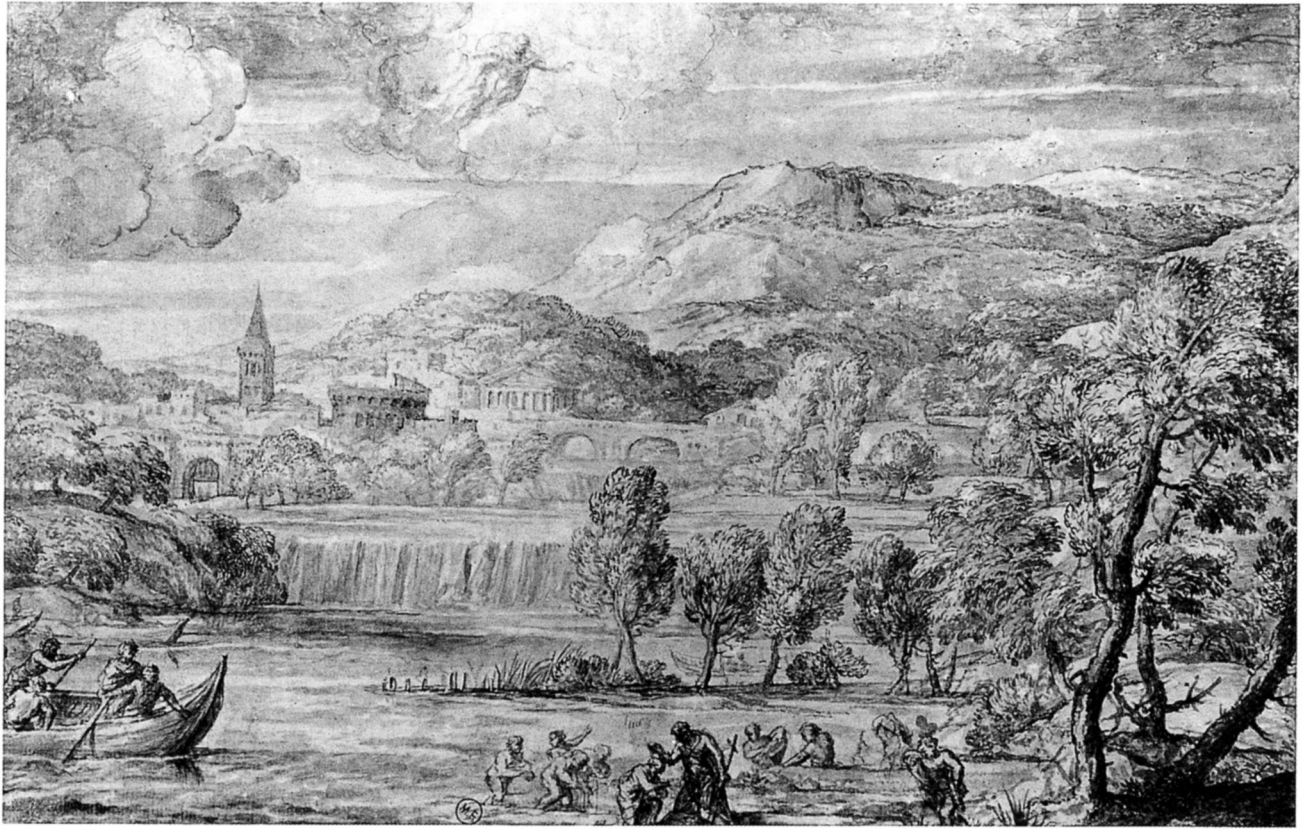


Figure 7. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with The Baptism of Christ*, ca. 1628. Brush and gray wash, 26.5 x 41 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier, 837.1.284

of the background: the boat at the left, with the figures in a similar grouping to that in the Edinburgh version (Figure 4); a small island in the center; and the tall trees on the shore at the right, which recall the tree on the left in the Metropolitan Museum's drawing (Figure 8, Colorplate 5). At the foot of the distant mountain, which looms up at the right, the buildings of a town were added to counterbalance the slanting tree in the foreground. Sharing the same axis as the keel of the boat is the church spire, which turns out to be a leitmotif in these drawings. Some dots of dark gray wash were applied to the outlines of the town and the adjacent foliage to mark the transition between the foreground and the middle distance.

Another drawing that can be related to this group (Figure 7), in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier, has an old but obviously incorrect attribution to the Carracci school.⁴⁰ It is also a landscape, with a river in the foreground; a town, including a church spire, at the foot of a hill; and men in a boat. In addition, the Baptism of Christ is represented at the lower edge, while God the Father and the dove of the Holy Spirit appear in an opening in the clouds, and an angel approaches the

baptismal group from the right. These figures correspond to the homonymous fresco at Castel Fusano, although there Cortona did not depict a town at the foot of a high mountain but instead portrayed an open river view with a mountain in the far distance similar to that in the Edinburgh *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt* (Figure 4). What is remarkable in this fresco is the light radiating from behind the figure of God the Father seated on a cloud, foreshadowing the golden tonality of the landscapes of Claude Lorrain.⁴¹ It is hard to imagine that the competent but rather conventionally composed drawing in Montpellier (Figure 7) postdated the avant-garde fresco at Castel Fusano.

While none of these drawings is preparatory in the proper sense, some of them seem to have had a preparatory function in that they represent formulative steps toward the skills displayed in the Castel Fusano frescoes. However, the question as to whether they were executed as practice exercises or as an end in themselves might be better left open. Probably, the commission for the Castel Fusano landscapes generated its own studies, variations, and independent approaches to the task at hand. If so, then the Metropolitan Museum's

Landscape with Wine Harvest (Figure 8, Colorplate 5) would appear to be a revised and improved version of the drawing with the same subject in Edinburgh (Figure 5), since the spatial conception is more developed, the composition—which includes motifs from the landscape in Montpellier (Figure 7)—is more deliberately balanced, and the brush is handled with greater mastery. Rather than having been carried out solely for the artist's diversion, it might well have been commissioned by a specific patron as an independent work of art.

LATER BRUSH-AND-WASH DRAWINGS

It is not merely an academic exercise to classify Cortona's landscape drawings according to their evident technical skill, since the artist himself obviously wanted to achieve perfect mastery of his technique. Proof of this is the *Coastal Landscape with Mountain* at Windsor Castle (Figure 9), which outshines the examples hitherto discussed in its conception of space and free handling of the brush and brown wash, so that it should no longer be regarded as preparatory to the frescoes at Castel Fusano.⁴² Because the wash does not cover the entire surface but leaves parts of the foreground and the sky blank, the sheet appears sketchily unfinished, an effect shared, for example, by one of the few landscape drawings in brush and wash by Guercino.⁴³

The drawings in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 8) and at Windsor Castle (Figure 9) were used as models for a pair of paintings of identical size (about 65 x 80 cm) and with the same frames and provenance.⁴⁴ To judge from the available small photographs, the pictures are sadly obscured by thick layers of yellow varnish, which hinders an attribution. Cortona's authorship, however, can reasonably be excluded because one of the paintings is based on a copy (Art Institute of Chicago; Figure 10)—certainly not by Cortona himself—of the Windsor drawing, in which the unfinished areas in the foreground are filled in with figures and vegetation.⁴⁵ Since the proportions of the original drawing (Figure 9) and the copy (Figure 10) do not correspond to the Metropolitan Museum's sheet (Figure 8), it seems unlikely that the two landscapes were intended as pendants from the outset. Furthermore, the copy is not executed in the same technique as the original but, instead, with gray and black wash, as is the Metropolitan Museum's drawing. In addition, the figures and the horses in the foreground, and the plants and tree trunk at the lower margin, appear to have been introduced by the copy-

ist to relate to the motifs in the Metropolitan Museum's drawing. Finally, the proportions of the drawing in Chicago, which is slightly more oblong, were changed in the painting derived from it, so that the latter became the same size as the painting executed from the Metropolitan Museum's sheet.

If the draftsman of the copy in Chicago (Figure 10) was a member of Cortona's studio, it is possible that Cortona himself had received the commission from a patron for this pair of pendant paintings, but the drawing could also be the work of a later follower, made without Cortona's intervention. Of course, the execution of pendants and cycles has always appealed to artists who depicted landscape subjects, including Cortona himself, and the frescoes at Castel Fusano, indeed, are positioned as pendants with contrasting compositions.⁴⁶ However, only some of his other landscapes were conceived as pairs or cycles, as, for example, the two small oval panels in the Pinacoteca Capitolina cited above. On the other hand, two drawings mentioned in the inventories of the Sacchetti collection were decidedly executed independently of each other.⁴⁷ Another single sheet, in the Uffizi (Figure 11), which depicts a landscape with a group of trees on a slope and a mountain beyond, appears almost to be a detail of the drawing at Windsor (Figure 9); it bears the old inscription "Livio Meus" and, therefore, has been published repeatedly as by this Flemish artist, who worked at the Medici court in Florence and was occasionally Cortona's pupil.⁴⁸ While no comparable drawings occur in Livio Mehus's oeuvre, there are close similarities to Cortona's landscapes.

In his later career, Cortona did not carry out landscape commissions, but occasionally he helped other artists to obtain or execute them. During his stay in Florence in the 1640s, he is reported to have recommended Gaspard Dughet (1615–1675) to paint a landscape, measuring five *palmi* (about 110 cm), for the grand duke, who is said to have paid the considerable sum of one hundred scudi for it.⁴⁹ Back in Rome in 1650, Cortona supervised the commission for five landscape paintings and two canvases with festoons for his early patron, Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti, which would serve as overdoors for a mezzanine room in the palace in the Via Giulia that recently had been bought by the cardinal.⁵⁰ Two of the landscapes were by Dughet's pupil Crescenzo Onofri (after 1632–after 1712), two were by a certain Giovanni Fiammingo, and the others are unattributed. Onofri's paintings can be identified with the oblong canvases from the Sacchetti collection now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, and one wonders whether the artist, who by then was barely twenty years old, was influenced by Cortona, or even



Figure 8. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Wine Harvest*, ca. 1630. Brush and gray wash, with pen and brown ink, over black chalk, 36.7 x 48.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 2002 Benefit Fund, 2003 (2003.101). See also Colorplate 5



Figure 9. Pietro da Cortona. *Coastal Landscape with Mountain*, ca. 1630. Brush and brown wash, 33 x 48.6 cm. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, RL 5797 (copyright © 2003 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

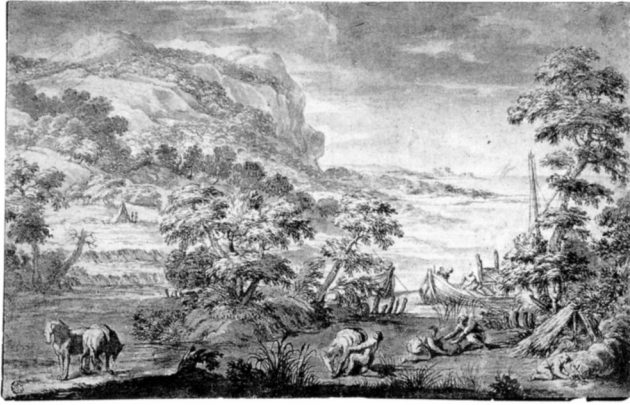


Figure 10. After Pietro da Cortona. *Coastal Landscape with Mountain*, ca. 1650–90. Brush and black and gray wash, with touches of black gouache, over black chalk, 28.7 x 45.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, The Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection, 1922.300R

instructed by him on how to achieve the broad panoramic views and the detailed rendering of vegetation.⁵¹

On another occasion Cortona does actually seem to have provided designs for a cycle of landscapes depicting the Four Seasons, for which scattered evidence exists in a group of lunette-shaped drawings, almost identical in size, three of which have comparable

figural scenes. Dancing nymphs representing Spring (Figure 12) appear in a rather faded drawing traditionally attributed to Cortona (Musée du Louvre) but never seriously considered by modern scholars as an autograph work.⁵² A summer grain harvest (Figure 13) is the theme of another drawing (Philadelphia Museum of Art), which, in spite of its old attribution to Ferri, has to be given to Cortona on stylistic grounds.⁵³ A third lunette (Figure 14), in Bologna, which depicts a wine harvest and, hence, is an allegory of Autumn, is drawn so coarsely that it is most probably a copy of a lost original by Cortona.⁵⁴ The shapes of these drawings and their finished quality strongly suggest that they were intended for a specific commission, about which nothing is known as yet. The rendering of the plants and foliage in the two original studies (Figures 12, 13) is very similar to that in the drawings discussed earlier (Figures 4–9), whereas the figures closely resemble those in Cortona's drawings from the 1650s, such as the compositional study for the *Saint Martina on the Pyre* mentioned above, or the design at Windsor for the stucco figures—executed by Cosimo Fancelli in the late 1650s—on the arch separating the nave and the octagon in Santa Maria della Pace, Rome.⁵⁵

It is tempting to add to this group a study for a fourth lunette (Figure 15) that I discovered among the anonymous Italian drawings in the British Museum, which



Figure 11. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Trees on a Hill and a Mountain Beyond*, ca. 1630. Brush and gray wash, 16 x 28.1 cm. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 741 P (photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence)



Figure 12. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Dancing Nymphs*, ca. 1650. Brush and brown wash, contours partially reinforced with pen and brown ink, 24 x 40.1 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts Graphiques, 509 (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris)



Figure 13. Pietro da Cortona. *Harvest Scene*, ca. 1650. Brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 24.2 x 40.3 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984-56-240



Figure 14. After Pietro da Cortona. *Wine Harvest*, ca. 1650–90. Brush and brown wash, 24.7 x 39.8 cm. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, 1908

shows foresters, some felling trees and others gathered around a fire; an allegory of Winter, it thus represents an iconographic link to the autumn scene in Figure 14.⁵⁶ In size it corresponds to the other lunettes (Figures 12–14), but the figures are much smaller and more like those in the other landscape drawings (Figures 4–9). My initial suggestion, accepted by Nicholas Turner, that this drawing reflects Bonzi's influence on the early Cortona might be challenged

in light of the late date that is proposed below for two ex-Holkham Hall landscape drawings (Figures 18, 19). In fact, the rendering of the conifers in the British Museum's study (Figure 15) is close to that seen in the *Wooded River Landscape with Fishermen* (Figure 19) and in the lunette in the Louvre (Figure 12) but does not occur in the earlier drawings (Figures 4–9). Ultimately, it is difficult to reach a conclusion about the drawing (Figure 15) since the wash is very faded (in photographs it appears darker than in reality). If it is a late work and is related to the other lunettes, it must have been made before Cortona decided upon scenes with larger figures. However, it could also be related to another lunette for which there is a sketch, in a private collection (Figure 16), of the right half, showing a waterfall flanked by two hermitages.⁵⁷ It is drawn very loosely, like the study in the Uffizi (Figure 11), and with only a few preliminary indications in black chalk.

Such scenes might have been conceived for a large decorative program, as was actually the case in 1656, when Cortona was commissioned by Pope Alexander VII to decorate the walls of the long gallery—the “gran Galleria”—in the Palazzo del Quirinale.⁵⁸ He proposed an architectural framework into which large historical scenes would be inserted, alternating with small landscapes in the overdoors. In an early detail study, now in Oxford, of one and a half bays of this



Figure 15. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Foresters*, ca. 1650. Brush and light brown wash, 22.1 x 39.6 cm. British Museum, London, Ff. 4-59



Figure 16. Pietro da Cortona. *Waterfalls in a Hilly Landscape*, ca. 1650. Brush and brown wash, over traces of black chalk, 21.7 x 28.9 cm. Whereabouts unknown (photo: Sotheby's, London)

gallery, he suggested a landscape tondo with small figures, foreshadowing the landscapes with religious scenes executed by his pupils and other artists.⁵⁹ This scheme was modified in a more elaborate drawing in Berlin for seven bays with three oval vertical overdoors, one of them depicting a landscape without figures.⁶⁰ Apparently, this idea was pursued further in the *Oval Landscape with Trees along a Gully* (Figure 17), which was recently sold at auction in London with an attribution to Ferri, although the brushwork and gray wash correspond perfectly to Cortona's style, and the form and content fit the scheme for the Quirinale gallery.⁶¹

THE PENDANTS FOR LEOPOLDO DE' MEDICI

The latest documentary evidence of Cortona as a landscapist may be found in his correspondence with Prince Leopoldo de' Medici (created cardinal in 1667) in Florence. In a letter dated July 17, 1666, he thanks Leopoldo for the medicine he has sent him through his Roman agent, and mentions that, despite being stricken by gout almost half the time, he will be very pleased to accommodate Leopoldo's taste by embarking on some landscapes in watercolor, even if they might not match his expectations.⁶² Later that year, on November 6, he commented that he had sent two landscapes, one of them rather "domestic," the other "wilder," which, Leopoldo should realize, were made



Figure 17. Pietro da Cortona. *Oval Landscape with Trees along a Gully*, 1656. Brush and gray wash, over traces of black chalk, 26 x 21 cm. Private collection (photo: Mia Weiner, Norfolk, Ct.)

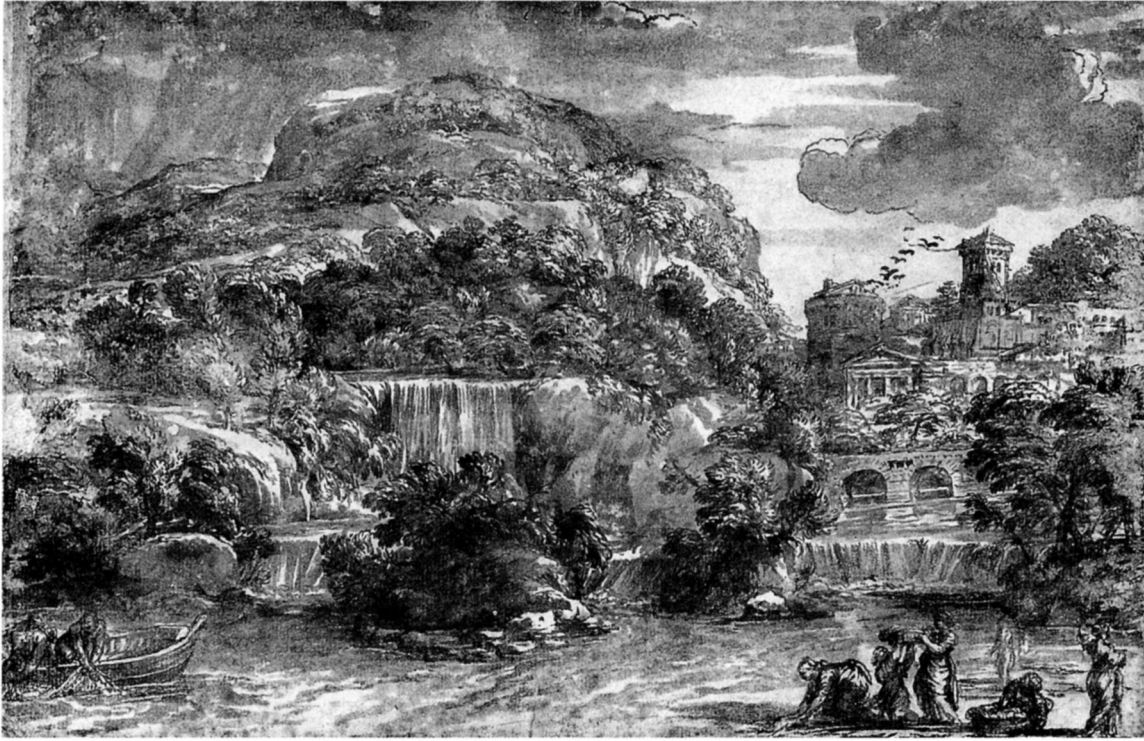


Figure 18. Pietro da Cortona. *River Landscape with Washerwomen*, 1666. Brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 27.6 x 43.2 cm. British Museum, London, 1997-6-7-11 (photo: Christie's, London)

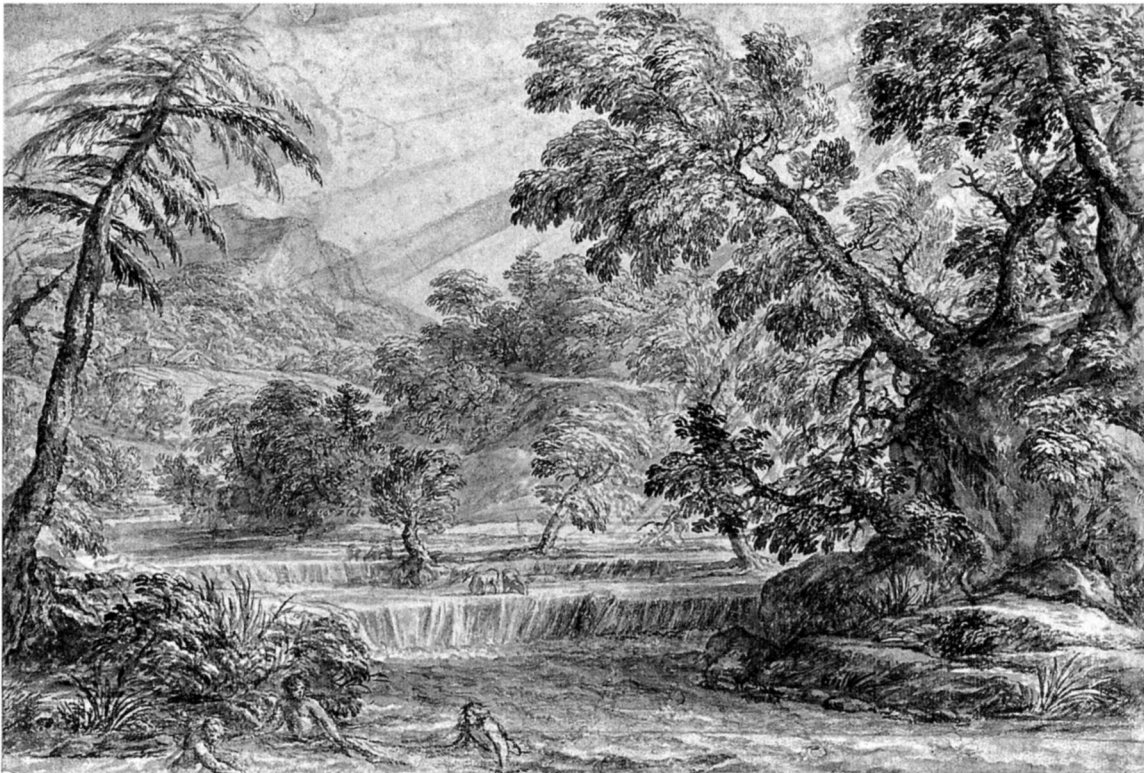


Figure 19. Pietro da Cortona. *Wooded River Landscape with Fishermen*, 1666. Brush and gray wash, over black chalk, 28.3 x 42.5 cm. Jointly owned by the Trustees of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, and the Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery (photo: Christie's, London)

by someone suffering from gout and in particular, from pain in the finger joints.⁶³ Finally, on November 29, Cortona thanked Leopoldo for his appreciation of the drawings.⁶⁴

These drawings are probably the “due paesi di Pietro da Cortona” mentioned in a *Nota del 1687* regarding Leopoldo’s collection; they were not bound in an album, but kept separately, and were listed in an appendix to the volumes along with a number of single drawings and prints.⁶⁵ Thus, they cannot be identified with the drawings attributed to Cortona in two of these albums, which were described in the inventory of 1784 and included three watercolors and a landscape.⁶⁶ Since they did not surface elsewhere in the Uffizi, where most of Leopoldo’s drawings ended up, it is likely that they left the Medici collection sometime between 1687 and 1784. I propose that the drawings might be the *River Landscape with Washerwomen* (Figure 18) and the *Wooded River Landscape with Fishermen* (Figure 19) acquired by Thomas Coke, 1st earl of Leicester, undoubtedly during his grand tour of Italy between 1714 and 1718, and that they remained at Holkham Hall until they were sold at auction in London in 1991.⁶⁷

The principal reason behind this suggestion is that Cortona’s characterization of the two drawings made for Leopoldo as contrasting *domestico* and *selvatico* (or *salvatico*) landscapes aptly describes the ex-Holkham Hall studies. They are obviously pendants, identical in size and executed with the same degree of perfection, even if brown wash was used for the *Landscape with Washerwomen* (Figure 18) and gray wash for the *Landscape with Fishermen* (Figure 19). The former work, which besides the washerwomen and fishermen in a boat includes a town above a river, could easily be labeled “domestic,” while the river flanked by tall trees in the latter study perfectly fits the adjectives “wild” and “woody.”

The tone of two of Cortona’s letters to Leopoldo convey the impression that the landscape drawings were only minor efforts by a decrepit artist. However, this appears to have been merely a show of modesty, or even humility, on Cortona’s part toward his distinguished patron, for, of course, in order to please the Medici prince he had to present him with something substantial.

From a technical and compositional point of view, the two ex-Holkham Hall drawings (Figures 18, 19) are comparable to those at Windsor and in New York (Figures 8, 9) and certainly more advanced than the Edinburgh landscapes (Figures 4, 5). Cortona is still eager to display his virtuosity with the brush, employing basically the same repertoire of motifs and his

characteristic way of rendering foliage, but on the whole his approach is retrospective rather than innovative. In the *River Landscape with Washerwomen* (Figure 18), which has sustained damage by dampness, he summed up his experiences with the drawings of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina, mentioned above, in the mountain overgrown with trees and foliage, and he depicted a town very similar to that in the fresco of *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* at Castel Fusano.⁶⁸ The *Wooded River Landscape with Fishermen* (Figure 19) represents a synthesis of all of his treatments of vegetation and water in a very complex composition.

COPIES

Cortona’s landscapes appear to have been well known and appreciated among artists, since almost all the drawings, and a number of the frescoes, were copied by others, sometimes even twice. Three drawings in



Figure 20. Crescenzo Onofri(?) (Italian, after 1632–after 1712), after Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Noli me tangere*, ca. 1650. Pen and brown ink, and black chalk, 37.9 x 26.2 cm. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, K.VIII.36



Figure 21. Crescenzo Onofri(?), after Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with The Baptism of Christ*, ca. 1650. Pen and brown ink, and black chalk, 22.8 x 40.8 cm. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, K.VI.9



Figure 22. After Pietro da Cortona. *Coastal Landscape with Mountain*, ca. 1670–90. Brush and gray wash, over black chalk, 32.6 x 48.2 cm. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, K.VIII.16



Figure 23. After Pietro da Cortona. *River Landscape with Washerwomen*, ca. 1670–90. Brush and gray wash, over black chalk, 26.6 x 41.6 cm. Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica (Farnesina), Rome, FC 128571 (photo: Jörg Martin Merz)

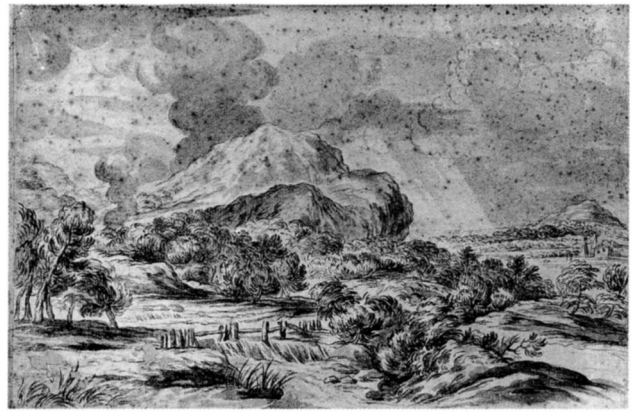


Figure 24. After Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Mountains*, ca. 1670–90. Brush and gray wash, over black chalk, 22.6 x 35.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 1880 (80.3.266)

Haarlem, studies after the frescoes in the chapel at Castel Fusano, *Landscape with Noli me tangere* (Figure 20), *Landscape with The Baptism of Christ* (Figure 21), and *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*,⁶⁹ are all executed in pen and brown ink, but the figures were indicated faintly in black chalk, possibly in a different hand. The mount bears a recent attribution to Crescenzo Onofri by Marco Chiarini, a specialist in landscape drawings, which is intriguing since it would provide a link to Onofri's collaboration with Cortona on the Sacchetti paintings mentioned above. In fact, in style, the studies basically conform to drawings traditionally attributed to Onofri,⁷⁰ but it is notoriously difficult to distinguish his hand from that of other landscapists in the Bolognese tradition such as Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi. The three studies differ in various details

from the frescoes and hence probably were not actually drawn in the chapel at Castel Fusano but rather were based on preparatory material kept in the artist's studio.

Another group of copies includes the *Coastal Landscape with Mountain* (Figure 22) in Haarlem, after an original drawing at Windsor (Figure 9); a sheet in the Farnesina (Figure 23), after the ex-Holkham Hall *River Landscape with Washerwomen* (Figure 18); and the *Landscape with Mountains* (Figure 24) in the Metropolitan Museum, related to a print after a lost drawing by Cortona (Figure 25).⁷¹ The copies are roughly the same size as the original drawings and were sketched in black chalk over which brush and gray wash were rather schematically applied. Clearly by the same hand, these copies have been attributed to Cortona's pupil Ciro Ferri (1633–1689), since the copy in Haarlem

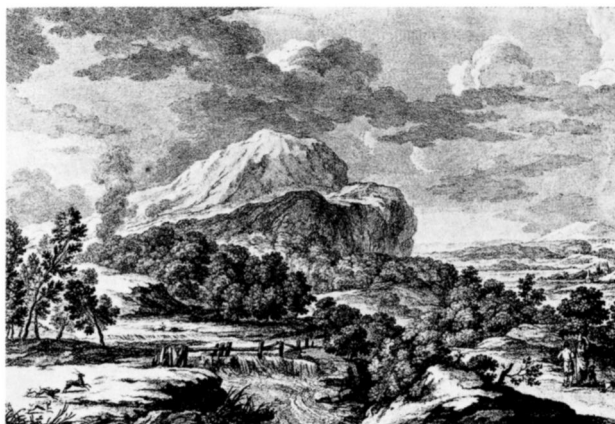


Figure 25. Francesco Bartolozzi (Italian, 1727–1815), after Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Mountains*, 1763. Engraving, 22 x 33.5 cm. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, HB XV/1, no. 179 (photo: Jörg Martin Merz)



Figure 26. After Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Mountains*, ca. 1670–90. Brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 21 x 30.4 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 1.1990 (photo: Sotheby's, London)

(Figure 22) is so inscribed by Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635–1714), who added the drawing to a volume entitled *Anfiteatro pittorico* that he unsuccessfully offered to sell to the king of Spain in 1707. Resta's inscription is, however, far from conclusive, since it states that the drawing was made by Ferri in a vineyard belonging to his wife, which would hardly have been the site chosen by Cortona to make the original drawing (Figure 9).⁷² Furthermore, Resta's attributions to Cortona and his school have been notoriously unreliable,⁷³ and there is no stylistic connection to the few landscapes by Ferri discussed below. Furthermore, if the ex-Holkham Hall drawings (Figures 18, 19) are as late in date as 1666—as suggested

above—it is unlikely that Ferri, who by then had his own studio, would have slavishly copied one of them (Figure 23). Therefore, this group of drawings (Figures 22–24) is better left attributed to a later-seventeenth-century artist yet to be identified.

While the copy in Haarlem (Figure 22) faithfully reproduces the landscape at Windsor (Figure 9), including the figures, the Farnesina copy (Figure 23) is slightly cut at the lower margin so that the washerwomen are omitted and the fishermen in the boat are rendered only sketchily (see Figure 18). The copy in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 24) is also without figures, whereas in the engraving (Figure 25) of almost identical size by Francesco Bartolozzi (published by



Figure 27. After Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with a Circular Temple and a Town by the Coast*, ca. 1670–90. Brush and gray wash, 23.6 x 34.5 cm. British Museum, London, 1952-1-21-39



Figure 28. After Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with a Circular Temple and a Town by the Coast*, ca. 1670–90. Brush and gray wash, 21.2 x 32.4 cm. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, K.VIII.13

J. Boydell on March 21, 1763, and entitled *From an Original Drawing. By Pietro da Cortona*), three dogs hunting a stag were added at the lower left and a pair of peasants at the lower right.⁷⁴ It is possible that these figural elements were introduced by Bartolozzi, who seems to have made further changes as well. This is evident if one compares the print with the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 24) and with another, slightly smaller, copy in Berlin (Figure 26) in which the central mountain and parts of the landscape to the left and right are executed in brush and wash, while large areas of the foreground are left only outlined in black chalk, and the sky is blank except for the contours of some clouds.⁷⁵ For example, at the far right is a village with two pyramidal structures that also appears in the Metropolitan Museum's copy (Figure 24) but is reduced to a tiny cottage with a pyramidal roof in the print (Figure 25). Just below this village, in both drawings, is a pair of trees, whereas in the print there is only one tree behind the two peasants. The rocky mountains in the print and in the Berlin copy are quite similar and solid, as opposed to their rather soft rendering in the New York copy. The introduction of a dark cloud hovering like a fantastic bird over the landscape in the print differs totally from the copy in the Metropolitan Museum and from any other landscape by Cortona. Taken together, these observations lead to the conclusion that the two copies and the print (Figures 24–26) were all conceived independently of each other and are based on a lost original drawing.

This also seems to be the case with two drawings in brush and gray wash, in London (Figure 27) and in Haarlem (Figure 28), each entitled *Landscape with a Circular Temple and a Town by the Coast*.⁷⁶ The former

sheet is slightly larger than the latter, but the drawing itself is confined by ruled borders at the upper, lower, and right margins, so that the images are almost identical in size. These borders and the clumsy rendering of the clouds are obvious indications that the London drawing is a copy. In the version in Haarlem (Figure 28), the brushwork is slightly more refined than in the London copy (Figure 27), which led Bert Meijer to consider it Cortona's original.⁷⁷ However, compared to almost all the other drawings accepted here as by Cortona (Figures 4–9, 11–13, 15–19), it is rather coarsely executed, particularly the clouds, and therefore is more likely yet another copy. A copy in red chalk by Giuseppe Passeri (Figure 29), which shows some variations in the mountain at the far left and in the clouds above the large trees in the foreground, derives from Cortona's original, as referred to in the inscription on the mount of the copy, rather than from either the London or the Haarlem versions.⁷⁸

The copies in London and in Haarlem (Figures 27, 28) do not seem to be by the same hand as the group discussed above (Figures 22–24), although the copy in the Farnesina (Figure 23) appears close to them. Yet another drawing formerly attributed to Cortona (Figure 30), the *Stormy Landscape with Fishermen on a Lake and Boats on the Horizon* (formerly collection of C. R. Rudolf), was associated with this group, and attributed to Ferri.⁷⁹ Judging from its overall composition and from the trees and other details, it might well be based on a lost original by Cortona, too, but the possibility should not be ruled out that the draftsman responsible for some of the other copies became an expert at inventing such a landscape *à la Cortona*.



Figure 29. Giuseppe Passeri (Italian, 1654–1714), after Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with a Circular Temple and a Town by the Coast*, ca. 1670–90. Red chalk, 25.3 x 37 cm. Formerly private collection, Paris (photo: Jacques Frysman, Boulogne Billancourt, France)



Figure 30. After Pietro da Cortona(?). *Stormy Landscape with Fishermen on a Lake and Boats on the Horizon*, ca. 1670–90. Brush and gray wash, 27 x 41.8 cm. Whereabouts unknown (photo: Sotheby's, London)



Figure 31. Piero Ferri (Italian, 1633–1689). *The Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1670. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, over black chalk, ca. 36.9 x 25.4 cm. Whereabouts unknown (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art, London)

If all of the copies hitherto believed to be by Ferri (Figures 22–24, 27, 28, 30) have to be attributed—as suggested above—to several artists yet to be identified, which works are left, then, for Cortona's most faithful pupil? A point of departure in reconstructing his oeuvre as a landscapist is provided by a drawing (formerly in the collection of C. R. Rudolf) representing the Flight into Egypt in a landscape setting (Figure 31).⁸⁰ This drawing has been attributed to Ferri at least since the late eighteenth century, when Conrad Metz published an aquatint of it (in reverse), and the figures conform perfectly to Ferri's style.⁸¹ The Holy Family, drawn in pen and ink and wash over black chalk, is shown disembarking from a boat, against a wooded hill in the background covered with conifers and foliage rendered in brush and wash, similar to, but less detailed than, comparable foliage in Cortona's landscapes (see Figure 12).

The same arrangement of figures, although much smaller, appears in the *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt* (Figure 32) in Edinburgh, which was considered to be by the same hand as the two other Edinburgh landscapes (Figures 4, 5) now attributed to Cortona.⁸² It seems plausible to ascribe this *Flight into Egypt* to Ferri as well, and to conclude that the pupil followed his master's footsteps by adapting and softening the patterns of his brushwork, as seen here. Yet, for several reasons, this attribution is not very likely. First, there are no other comparable drawings that can be convincingly attributed to Ferri, and, although

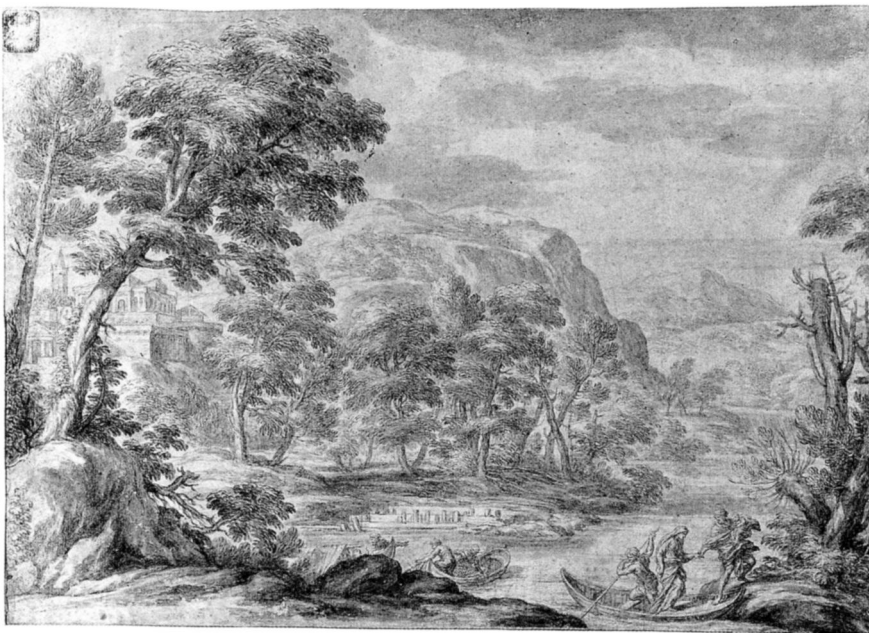


Figure 32. Pietro Lucatelli(?) (Italian, ca. 1634–1710). *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1670. Brush and gray wash, over black chalk, 32.8 x 46.1 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 1836 (photo: National Galleries of Scotland)

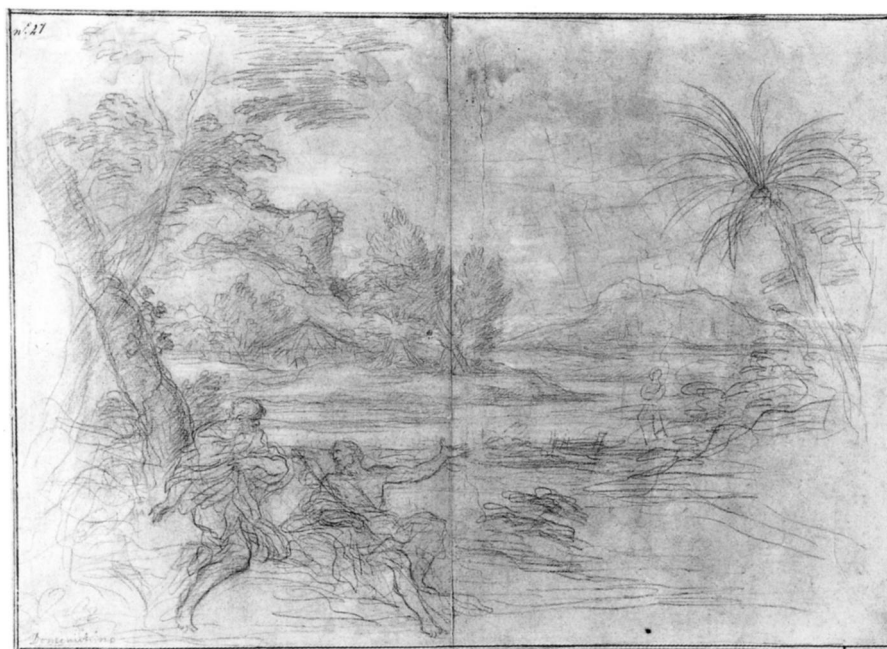


Figure 33. Ciro Ferri. *Saint John the Baptist Revealing Christ to Saints Peter and Andrew*, ca. 1680. Red chalk, 33.5 x 46 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of the Lorser Feitelson and Helen Lundeborg Arts Foundation, M.86.66a

Figure 34. Pietro da Cortona and Ciro Ferri. *Landscape with Stag Hunt*, ca. 1660. Brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 25.6 x 53.8 cm. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 898 (photo: Lichtbildwerkstätte "Alpenland," Vienna)



Figure 35. Pietro da Cortona and Ciro Ferri. *Landscape with Boar Hunt*, ca. 1660. Brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 23 x 52.1 cm. Whereabouts unknown (photo: Christie's, New York)

the brushwork in a group of four oval landscapes in the Uffizi, traditionally given to Ferri, is reminiscent of that in the Edinburgh *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt* (Figure 32), the figures do not conform to his style.⁸³ Second, his oeuvre reveals that he was not particularly interested in independent landscape drawings. In fact, the only such sheet known is the landscape *Saint John the Baptist Revealing Christ to Saints Peter and Andrew* (Figure 33) in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, which is drawn rather summarily in red chalk with few details and presumably dates from Ferri's late period.⁸⁴ In another, probably earlier landscape, this one with Hercules and Cacus, only the figures, drawn in black chalk, are by Ferri; the landscape motifs, in pen and ink, are by an artist trained in the Bolognese tradition, possibly Grimaldi, who worked with Ferri at the Villa Falconieri in Frascati during the early 1670s.⁸⁵ Third, in his compositional drawings, Ferri usually indicated landscape elements in his favorite black chalk, to which wash was sometimes added almost as an afterthought rather than serving as the basic medium for introducing texture and detail.⁸⁶

Keeping this in mind, a pair of landscape drawings with hunting scenes should be considered as a collaboration between Cortona and Ferri. In fact, the *Landscape with Stag Hunt* (Figure 34) in the Albertina was traditionally attributed to Cortona but was later given to Ferri.⁸⁷ As in the *Landscape with Boar Hunt* (Figure 35), which was sold twice at auction in the 1990s,⁸⁸ the landscape motifs, freely drawn in brush and wash, conform stylistically to the work of the master, whereas the figures, in brush and wash over black chalk, are closer to that of the pupil. This would indicate—at least on the basis of these drawings—that Ferri's training only involved mastery of the figural elements, and that he did not borrow landscape motifs from Cortona, although the two artists collaborated closely in the 1650s and early 1660s.⁸⁹

It must be stressed that these are merely preliminary conclusions, intended to reopen the question of attributions to Ferri and to suggest that the body of landscape drawings by Cortona and his circle be examined from a more nuanced perspective. No doubt, further names will eventually be proposed, among them certainly that of Pietro Lucatelli, who was Cortona's pupil before collaborating with Ferri.⁹⁰ The group of figures, after Ferri, in the Edinburgh *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt* (Figure 32) possibly might turn out to be by him, thus proving that the old attribution to "Locatelli"—mistakenly identifying him with Andrea Locatelli—under which this drawing entered the National Gallery of Scotland, was not entirely farfetched after all.



Figure 36. Beta-radiograph of the watermark on *Landscape with Wine Harvest* (Figure 8)

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This article was written during my tenure as J. Clawson Mills Scholar in the Department of Drawings and Prints at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 2002/3, and was occasioned by the acquisition of the landscape drawing by Cortona published here (Figure 8, Colorplate 5); it greatly benefited from discussions with George Goldner and the staff of the department, for which I would like to express my sincere gratitude. I wish to thank the Metropolitan Museum for the fellowship, and the Gerda Henkel Stiftung, Düsseldorf, for additional support.

ABBREVIATIONS

Andrews 1968

Keith Andrews. *Catalogue of Italian Drawings*. 2 vols. National Gallery of Scotland. Cambridge, 1968.

Briganti 1982

Giuliano Briganti. *Pietro da Cortona o della pittura barocca*. (1st ed. 1962) 2nd ed. Florence, 1982.

Chiarini 1972

Marco Chiarini. *I disegni italiani di paesaggio dal 1600 al 1750*. Treviso, 1972.

Chiarini 1973

Marco Chiarini. *Mostra di disegni italiani di paesaggio del Seicento e del Settecento*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi 38. Florence, 1973.

Davis 1986

Bruce William Davis. *The Drawings of Ciro Ferri*. New York and London, 1986.

Edinburgh 1999

The Draughtsman's Art: Master Drawings from the National Gallery of Scotland. Exh. cat., National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 1999.

Fileti Mazza 1987–98

Miriam Fileti Mazza, ed. *Il Cardinal Leopoldo*. Vol. 1 (2 pts.), *Rapporti con il mercato veneto*. Vol. 2, *Rapporti con il mercato emiliano* (2 pts.). Vol. 3, *Rapporti con il mercato romano*. Archivio del collezionismo mediceo. Milan and Naples, 1987–98.

Giannatiempo 1977

Maria Giannatiempo. *Disegni di Pietro da Cortona e Ciro Ferri dalle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe*. Exh. cat., Villa della Farnesina alla Lungara, Rome. Rome, 1977.

Meijer 1984

Bert W. Meijer. *The Famous Italian Drawings at the Teyler[s] Museum in Haarlem*. Milan, 1984.

Merz 1991

Jörg Martin Merz. *Pietro da Cortona: Der Aufstieg zum führenden Maler im barocken Rom*. Tübinger Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 8. Tübingen, 1991.

New York 1967

Felice Stampfle and Jacob Bean. *The Seventeenth Century in Italy*. Drawings from New York Collections 2. Exh. cat., The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. New York, 1967.

Rome 1997

Anna Lo Bianco, ed. *Pietro da Cortona, 1597–1669*. Exh. cat., Palazzo Venezia, Rome. Milan, 1997.

Turner 1999

Nicholas Turner, with Rhoda Eitel-Porter. *Roman Baroque Drawings, c. 1620 to c. 1700*. Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. 2 vols. London, 1999.

Vitzthum 1971

Walter Vitzthum. *Il barocco a Roma*. I disegni dei maestri. Milan, 1971.

NOTES

The epigraph to this article is quoted from Ridolfino Venuti, *Risposta alle riflessioni critiche sopra le differenti scuole di pittura del Sig. Marchese d'Argens* (Lucca, 1755), p. 64.

1. The standard monograph is Luigi Salerno, *Landscape Painters of the Seventeenth Century in Rome*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1977–78). See also *L'ideale classico del Seicento in Italia e la pittura di paesaggio*, exh. cat., Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna (Bologna, 1962); Ann Sutherland Harris, *Landscape Painting in Rome, 1595–1675*, exh. cat., Richard L. Feigen & Co., New York (New York, 1985); Catherine Legrand, Jean-François Méjanès, and Emmanuel Starcky, *Le paysage en Europe du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle: 95^e exposition du Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre, Paris (Paris, 1990); *Classicismo e Natura: La lezione del Domenichino*, exh. cat., Musei Capitolini, Rome (Rome, 1996).
2. Briganti 1982, pp. 177–80, no. 23, colorpls. I–III, figs. 65–74; Merz 1991, pp. 186–88, figs. 266–72, 277.
3. For these frescoes, see most recently Maria Teresa Pugliatti, *Agostino Tassi: Tra conformismo e libertà* (Rome, 1978), pp. 75–81, figs. 129–36.
4. Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600 to 1750*, Pelican History of Art, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 164.
5. Merz 1991, pp. 304–5, figs. 115, 116, 199, 273; Rome 1997, pp. 325–28, nos. 28–31, color ill.; the landscape in Naples was first published by Briganti (1982, pp. 348–49, no. A 5, fig. 295).
6. The published version (117.5 x 167.5 cm) in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth (now in the City Art Gallery, Manchester) is modeled rather smoothly (Briganti 1982, p. 181, no. 25, fig. 98). Before 1755 it was in the Pallavicini collection; see Ridolfino Venuti, *Risposta alle riflessioni critiche sopra le differenti scuole di pittura del Sig. Marchese d'Argens* (Lucca, 1755), p. 64, as pointed out by Walter Vitzthum, “Pietro da Cortona” [review of Briganti (1962) 1982], *Burlington Magazine* 105 (1963), pp. 213–17, esp. p. 214. Two further versions were on the art market and are known to me only from photographs: One (120 x 170 cm) was sold at Finarte, Milan, sale 257, May 17, 1977, lot 71, pl. LXI, attributed to the school of Cortona; the other (87 x 110.5 cm) was sold at Finarte, Rome, sale 181, May 16, 1974, lot 128, pl. XCI, as after Cortona, but the very lively brushwork and some minor compositional changes suggest that it might be an original. Briganti (1982, p. 181) mentions three copies after the painting at Chatsworth without, however, indicating their size; therefore, it is not clear whether any one of them corresponds to the versions cited above.
7. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City, 1128 (84 x 110 cm); Louise Rice, “A Newly Discovered Landscape by Pietro da Cortona,” *Burlington Magazine* 129 (1987), pp. 73–77, colorpl. 10; see pp. 74–75 nn. 4, 6, for references to the inventories of 1688 and 1748. The painting probably can even be traced back to the Sacchetti inventory of 1639; see Merz 1991, p. 304, no. 15.
8. Provenance: private collection, Lugano. Watermark: kneeling saint in a shield holding a cross (the beta-radiograph seen here, in Figure 36, was kindly made by Yana Van Dyke, Department of Paper Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art). Similar figures were published by C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols. (reprint, New York, 1966), vol. 2, no. 7628 (a seventeenth-century Fabriano paper), and appear variously on sheets by Cortona and his circle, as, for instance, on a life drawing in the Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna, 3609; see Erwin Pokorny, *Meisterzeichnungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der Bildenden Künste*, exh. cat., Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna (Vienna, 1997), p. 92, no. 36, ill. See also the copy after a landscape drawing by Cortona in Rome, Figure 23 here; see note 70 below and Giannatiempo 1977, p. 63, no. 123, watermark no. 36.
9. See *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 61, no. 2 (Fall 2003), issue entitled *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 2002–2003*, pp. 20–21, color ill. p. 20. Another landscape with a wine harvest by Cortona is cited in the sale catalogue of the Dutch collector De Vos in 1833 (portf. MM 20; kindly pointed out to me by Michiel Plomp). A possible connection with the present sheet is, however, mere guesswork.
10. The copy measures 32 x 44.9 centimeters and is slightly cut at the left and lower margins (contours outlined in black chalk, and brush and brown and gray wash, on brownish paper).
11. See the report by Marjorie Shelley, Department of Paper Conservation, the Metropolitan Museum, in the drawing's curatorial file.

12. See the drawing of a feigned relief with an unidentified classical scene in the Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 10671; Vitzthum 1971, colorpl. XIV; *The Suicide of Cleopatra* in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, F.D. 1021; Manuela B. Mena Marqués, *Dibujos italianos del siglo XVII*, Museo del Prado, Catálogo de dibujos 6 (Madrid, 1983), p. 73, fig. 107. Such frames appear less prominently in the relieflike scenes of David and Abigail (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 1906; see Edinburgh 1999, pp. 38–39, no. 13, color ill.), and of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, E. 53; see Meijer 1984, no. 60, color ill.).
13. I would like to thank Marjorie Shelley for pointing this out to me.
14. Briganti 1982, p. 181, under no. 25; Chiarini 1972, pp. 39–40; Chiarini 1973, p. 46, under no. 54.
15. Marcello Sacchetti's hobby, landscape painting, is reported in Janus Nicius Erythraeus, alias Gian Vittorio de' Rossi, *Pinaecotheca Tertia imaginum virorum aliqua ingenii & eruditionis fama illustrium* (Cologne, 1648), pp. 31–32; see Rice, "Newly Discovered Landscape by Pietro da Cortona," p. 75.
16. Vitzthum, "Pietro da Cortona," p. 214 (see note 6, above); Walter Vitzthum, review of Briganti (1962) 1982, *Master Drawings* 1, no. 2 (1963), pp. 49–51, esp. p. 51. See also Davis 1986, p. 91; Edinburgh 1999, p. 46, under no. 17; Turner 1999, vol. 1, p. 54, under no. 82.
17. An album with twenty drawings by Cortona is in the Hunterian Collection, University Library, Glasgow, shelf mark D 1.1.29; see Merz 1991, pp. 25–35, figs. 14, 47–49. Merz 1991, fig. 50, is a comparable landscape drawing by Bonzi.
18. In the first version of his biography of Cortona, Mancini emphasized the artist's masterly skill: "disegnando da per sè et rifinando particolarmente di penna le cose naturali et artificiali di giorno et di notte, è venuto ad un termine che in questo genere di disegno credo che vi sien pochi che l'habbino arrivato"; in the second version, the view of the Ripa Grande is mentioned: "Disegna molto bene di penna [. . .] Et viddi un disegno suo di penna dove era ritratta una veduta di Ripa grande di notte, dove vi era prospettiva di barche, movenze di huomini et altro che non so come le potesse ricavare di notte a lume di lanterna che haveva seco con tanto particular come fece." Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, ed. Adrianna Marucchi and Luigi Salerno, 2 vols. (Rome, 1956–57), vol. 1, pp. 262–63.
19. "Marcello Sacchetti [. . .] avendo veduto il talento incomparabile del Sig.^r Pietro (con occasione principalmente di un disegno fatto con la penna, che rappresenta l'incendio di Troia tesoro in vero e maraviglia dell'arte) restò talmente affezionato al di lui merito, che non lasciò mai di favorirlo." "Luca Berettini a Ciro Ferri (24 marzo 1679)," in *Lettere artistiche inedite*, ed. Giuseppe Campori (Modena, 1866), pp. 505–15, esp. p. 507.
20. See the references in Merz 1991, pp. 86, 297–98, no. 1.
21. Chiarini 1973, p. 45, no. 54, fig. 41; Briganti 1982, p. 287, fig. 93.
22. The reference in Ferri's letter of January 27, 1662, reads as follows: "Vi è un paesino con dentro il tempio della Fortuna, che vi è in Palestrina fatto dal signor Pietro, quel gli mando per una certa curiosità." Archivio di Stato, Florence, Carteggio d'artisti, XV, 1, fol. 561; see Fileti Mazza 1987–98, vol. 3, p. 370, fig. 25.
23. Fileti Mazza 1987–98, vol. 3, p. 128, no. 10.
24. Lanfranco Ravelli, *Polidoro a San Silvestro al Quirinale* (Bergamo, 1987), p. 9, colorpl. I. The relationship of Cortona's drawing to Polidoro's landscapes in general was pointed out by Chiarini 1972, p. 39, and Chiarini 1973, p. 45, under no. 54.
25. See, among others, Franco Borsi, ed., *Giovanni Antonio Dosio: Roma antica e i disegni di architettura agli Uffizi* (Rome, 1976), pp. 41–44, ill.
26. See Briganti 1982, p. 287; for the painting, see most recently Rome 1997, pp. 332–33, no. 34, color ill.
27. In fact, Anna Maria Petrioli Tofani suggested an attribution to Cortona's teacher Andrea Commodi (note on the mount). The drawing, Uffizi 939 P, is a copy of 841 P, attributed by Chiarini 1973, p. 46, under no. 54, to Anton Domenico Gabbiani.
28. Sold at Christie's, London, July 6, 1999, lot 116, color ill. See also "A Selection of 2001 Museum Acquisitions," *Apollo* 154 (December 2001), p. 37, color ill.
29. Jörg Martin Merz, *Das Heiligtum der Fortuna in Palestrina und die Architektur der Neuzeit*, Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 29 (Munich, 2001), pp. 110–16, figs. 109, 112, 114.
30. Louise Rice, "Pietro da Cortona and the Roman Baroque Thesis Print," in *Pietro da Cortona: Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma—Firenze 12–15 novembre 1997*, ed. Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Sebastian Schütze (Milan, 1998), pp. 189–200, esp. p. 192, figs. 3, 4.
31. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 510; Jörg Martin Merz, "Pierre de Cortone (1597–1669): Les dessins préparatoires à ses peintures conservées en France," *Revue du Louvre* 54 (2004), pp. 61–73, esp. p. 62, fig. 1; British Museum, 1941-11-8-16; Vitzthum 1971, colorpls. XII–XIII; Art Institute of Chicago, 1998.104; Merz 1991, fig. 441.
32. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, IV.173; New York 1967, pp. 45–46, no. 56, ill.; Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ 15244; Peter Dreyer, *The Famous Italian Drawings in the Berlin Printroom* (Milan, 1979), no. 54, color ill.
33. British Museum, 1959-5-9-1; Turner 1999, vol. 1, pp. 53–54, no. 81, vol. 2, pl. 81; Edinburgh, D 5327; *Effigies & Ecstasies: Roman Baroque Sculpture and Design in the Age of Bernini*, ed. Timothy Clifford and Aidan Weston Lewis, exh. cat., National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 128–29, no. 88, color ill.
34. Briganti 1982, figs. 65–68, 71–74, 92; Merz 1991, figs. 218, 219, 266–72, 277.
35. The drawing of Christ and the Woman of Samaria in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (885), traditionally attributed to Cortona and related by Briganti 1982, p. 311, fig. 88, to the homonymous fresco in the chapel, was attributed to Baldini by Ursula Fischer Pace, "Drawings by Pietro Paolo Baldini," *Master Drawings* 29 (1991), pp. 3–29, esp. p. 18.
36. Like two other landscape drawings mentioned below in notes 37 and 82, it entered the museum as by Locatelli and was attributed to the studio of Cortona by Andrews (1968, vol. 1, p. 93, vol. 2, fig. 644). Subsequently, Andrews became convinced that all three were by Cortona himself; see *Old Master Drawings from the David Laing Bequest*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 31, no. 58. See also Hugh Brigstocke, "A Pietro da Cortona Landscape for Edinburgh," *Burlington Magazine* 122 (1980), pp. 342–45, figs. 78, 79. I accepted only two of the three as early drawings by Cortona and suggested that the third (D 1836; see note 82 below) is either a late autograph work or is by Cortona's school (Merz 1991, pp. 188–89 n. 97).
37. Andrews 1968, vol. 1, p. 92, vol. 2, fig. 642; Edinburgh 1999, pp. 46–47, no. 17, color ill.
38. For the life drawing in the Uffizi, 11759 F, the compositional study in the Metropolitan Museum, 61.2.1, and the engraving by Greuter, see Merz 1991, figs. 314, 315, 317.

39. The drawing, from a private collection in Switzerland, was sold at auction by Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, June 18, 1996, cat. 349, lot 4007, color ill. Later the drawing was with Colnaghi; see Stephen Ongpin, *An Exhibition of Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Otto Naumann, New York, and Colnaghi, London (New York and London, 1997), no. 26, color ill.
40. I would like to thank Nicholas Turner, who brought this drawing to my attention and related that, on the basis of a photograph from the Gernsheim Corpus Photographicum of Drawings, John Gere was the first to suggest the attribution to Cortona. Patrick Michel kindly helped me obtain a photograph of the drawing.
41. See Francesco Abbate, *Pietro da Cortona, I maestri del colore* (Milan, 1965), colorpl. VI.
42. Edmund Schilling and Anthony Blunt, *German Drawings at Windsor Castle and a Supplement to the Catalogues of the Italian and French Drawings* (London, 1971), p. 106, no. 347, pl. 40.
43. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1975.36; from the Scholz collection. See New York 1967, p. 42, no. 50, ill.
44. Julien Stock kindly provided me with snapshots of these paintings, whose present whereabouts are unknown.
45. Unpublished.
46. For this aspect of the frescoes at Castel Fusano, see Merz 1991, p. 186, figs. 266 and 269, and 268 and 270, respectively.
47. Ibid., p. 297, no. 1, p. 303, no. 12. Another single landscape drawing by Cortona is mentioned in the will of Jacob Alban Gibbes, dated April 12, 1677; see Antonio Bertolotti, "Un professore alla Sapienza," *Il Buonarroti*, ser. 3, vol. 2, quad. 8 (1886), pp. 3–12, esp. p. 6.
48. Chiarini 1973, pp. 56–57, no. 70, fig. 42 (as Mehus); Merz 1991, p. 188 n. 102 (as Cortona); Marco Chiarini, ed., *Livio Mehus: Un pittore barocco alla corte medicea, 1627–1691*, exh. cat., Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Livorno, 2000), p. 141, no. 16, ill. (as Mehus).
49. Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, ed. F. Ranalli, 7 vols. (Florence, 1845–57; reprint, 1974–75), vol. 5, p. 302; Marie-Nicole Boisclair, *Gaspard Dughet: Sa vie et son oeuvre (1615–1675)* (Paris, 1986), p. 23; the painting has not been identified.
50. Palazzo Sacchetti, Rome, Sacchetti Archives, Coll. Minori XII, 17, pp. 46, 48, 60–61.
51. See Salerno, *Landscape Painters of the Seventeenth Century in Rome*, vol. 2, p. 645, figs. 108.1–2.
52. Mentioned by Turner (1999, vol. 1, p. 47, under no. 68).
53. Davis 1986, p. 251, pl. 86 (as Ferri). The attribution to Cortona was first suggested by Turner (1999, vol. 1, p. 47, under no. 68).
54. Mentioned by Andrews 1968, vol. 1, p. 92, under D 1837, as Cortonesque, and brought to his attention by Walter Vitzthum. On the mount of the sheet, housed with the anonymous eighteenth-century Italian drawings, is Philip Pouncey's note: "Cortonesco, fa pensare a Ciro Ferri."
55. For the drawing of Saint Martina, see note 33 above; the drawing for Santa Maria della Pace (RL 4451) was most recently published in Rome 1997, p. 469, no. 119, ill.
56. Turner 1999, vol. 1, pp. 46–47, no. 68, vol. 2, pl. 68, referring to the manuscript of my doctoral dissertation (Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 1985).
57. Sold at auction at Kunstveilingen Mak van Waay B.V., Amsterdam, June 10, 1975, cat. 246, lot 67 (attributed to Bartholomeus Breenbergh). The attribution to Cortona was proposed by Julien Stock and Nicholas Turner (oral communications, 1983), and with this attribution it was sold at Sotheby's, New York, January 14, 1992, lot 18, color ill.
58. For this commission, see Norbert Wibiral, "Contributi alle ricerche sul cortonismo in Roma: I pittori della galleria di Alessandro VII nel Palazzo del Quirinale," *Bollettino d'arte* 45 (1960), pp. 124–65; Sabine Jacob, "Pierre de Cortone et la décoration de la galerie d'Alexandre VII au Quirinal," *Revue de l'art*, no. 11 (1971), pp. 42–54; and also my catalogue *Pietro da Cortona und sein Kreis: Die Zeichnungen in Düsseldorf* (forthcoming, Munich and Berlin, ca. 2005).
59. Christ Church, 0973; see James Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford* (Oxford, 1976), vol. 1, p. 169, no. 614, vol. 2, pl. 343.
60. Kunstbibliothek, HdZ 879; see Sabine Jacob, *Die italienischen Handzeichnungen der Kunstbibliothek Berlin: Architektur und Dekoration 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1975), p. 98, no. 451, pl. 97.
61. Phillips, London, December 16, 1998, lot 43, ill.
62. "Se bene la podagra mi rende quasi inabile quasi la metà del tempo, ò stimato grandissimo favore il potere incontrare il gusto de V. A. nel impiegarmi nel farli i paesi di aquarella, se bene non corrisponderano alla aspettativa." Archivio di Stato, Florence, Carteggio d'artisti, III, 20, fol. 80; partially transcribed in Wolfram Prinz, *Die Sammlung der Selbstbildnisse in den Uffizien*, vol. 1, *Geschichte der Sammlung*, Italienische Forschungen, ed. Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz (Florence, 1971), p. 166, doc. 4; and in Fileti Mazza 1987–98, vol. 3, p. 371.
63. "Non ho voluto trascurare e [a] mandare i paesi a Vostra Altezza Serenissima [Serenissima Altezza] fatti de aquarello [acuarello], l'uno con essere domestico e l'altro più selvatico [salvatico], sì che Vostra Altezza li gradirà comme fatti da uno che patisce [patiscie] di podagra e di ciragra, che dove manca le forze, supplisce la buona volontà [che ho de servire Vostra Signoria]." Archivio di Stato, Florence, Carteggio d'artisti, III, 20, fol. 81; transcribed with the variations indicated in square brackets in Fileti Mazza 1987–98, vol. 3, p. 371, 508.
64. "Ho sentito contento particolare che Vostra Serenissima Altezza abbi gradito i disegni de' paesi de aquerella." Archivio di Stato, Florence, Carteggio d'artisti, III, 20, fol. 82; see Fileti Mazza 1987–98, vol. 3, p. 371.
65. Fileti Mazza 1987–98, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 471.
66. Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 127–28, suggested that these drawings might refer to the correspondence in 1666.
67. The *River Landscape with Washerwomen* (Figure 18) was briefly in the collection of Peter Sharp, New York, before it was purchased by the British Museum; see *European Master Drawings from the Collection of Peter Jay Sharp*, exh. cat., National Academy of Design, New York (New York, 1994), pp. 58–59, no. 22, color ill.; and Turner 1999, vol. 1, p. 54, no. 82, vol. 2, pl. 82. The *Wooded River Landscape with Fishermen* (Figure 19) is owned jointly by the Trustees of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, and the Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery; see most recently *Art Treasures of England: The Regional Collections*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London (London, 1998), p. 169, no. 94, color ill.
68. Briganti 1982, fig. 67; Merz 1991, fig. 269.
69. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, K.VIII.33; see Merz 1991, p. 189.
70. For instance, three drawings in the British Museum: see Turner 1999, vol. 1, pp. 163–64, nos. 237–39, vol. 2, pls. 237–39; and two drawings in Ottawa: see David Franklin, *Italian*

Drawings from the National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa, 2003), pp. 76–77, ill.

71. For the Haarlem drawing (Figure 22), see Walter Vitzthum, review of *Les dessins italiens de la reine Christine de Suède*, by J. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Master Drawings* 4 (1966), pp. 301–4, esp. pp. 302–3, fig. 2. For the Farnesina drawing (Figure 23), see Giannatiempo 1977, p. 63, no. 123, ill. For the one in the Metropolitan (Figure 24), see Jacob Bean, *17th Century Italian Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1979), p. 139, no. 177, ill. For the whole group, see Davis 1986, pp. 93–94, figs. 80, 82, 85 (as Ferri).
72. The inscription reads: “qui già si troviamo usciti dall’ANFITEATRO ad una veduta di Paese disegnata per passatempo da Ciro Ferri alla Vigna di sua Moglie detta al Truglio.” The inconsistency was pointed out by Meijer 1984, p. 76, who was the first to doubt the attribution of this group to Ferri.
73. For example, the attribution of Resta’s *Piccolo preliminare* to Cortona and his pupils is more than doubtful, and the ascription of architectural drawings in a volume in Palermo is incorrect; see Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, “I disegni di Pietro da Cortona nella raccolta di padre Sebastiano Resta,” in *Pietro da Cortona*, ed. Frommel and Schütze, pp. 179–88. The issue of Resta’s frequent misattributions—in spite of his familiarity with these artists—is unfortunately not raised in the basic publication by Genevieve Warwick, *The Arts of Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta and the Market for Drawings in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000).
74. Alessandro de Vesme and Augusto Calabi, *Francesco Bartolozzi: Catalogue des estampes et notice biographique* (Milan, 1928), p. 608, no. 2498 (22 x 33.5 cm); an impression is in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, HB XV/1, no. 179.
75. Sold at Sotheby’s, London, April 14, 1986, lot 110, ill. (as Cortona); see Yvonne Tan Bunzl, *Old Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Somerville & Simpson, London (London, 1987), no. 30, ill. (as Cortona).
76. Turner 1999, vol. 1, pp. 57–58, no. 87, vol. 2, pl. 87 (the London drawing; Figure 27); Meijer 1984, p. 72, fig. 58 (the Haarlem drawing; Figure 28).
77. Meijer 1984, p. 81, n. 111a.
78. Passeri’s copy is mentioned by Turner (1999, vol. 1, p. 58, under no. 87). The photograph illustrated in Figure 29 was kindly provided by Hugo Chapman.
79. Briganti 1982, p. 293, fig. 94 (as Cortona). Sold at Sotheby’s, London, May 19, 1977, lot 137, ill. (as Ferri); and Sotheby’s, New York, January 26, 2000, lot 20, ill. (as Ferri).
80. This unpublished drawing is known to me only from Courtauld Institute photograph 154/17 (41A); it was not included in the Rudolf sales at Sotheby’s, London, May 19 and July 4, 1977. A copy was in the collection of Robert Manning, New York (36.2 x 24.5 cm; photocopy in the Ferri file, Department of Drawings and Prints, the Metropolitan Museum).
81. Conrad Martin Metz, *Imitations of Ancient and Modern Drawings* (London, 1798), not numbered; 36.9 x 25.4 cm, inscribed, “In the collection of the Right Hon.ble Lord St. Helens.”
82. Andrews 1968, vol. 1, p. 92, vol. 2, fig. 643. See notes 36, 37, above.
83. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 842–45 P; two are published by Chiarini 1972, pp. 40–41, pls. 71, 72 (as Ferri), and a third is illustrated by Davis 1986, pp. 95, 213–14, fig. 87 (as Ferri).
84. On the verso is a scene of pagan sacrifice; see Bruce Davis, *Master Drawings in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art* (Los Angeles, 1997), pp. 68–69, no. 27, color ill.
85. Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica (Farnesina), Rome, FC 125159; see Giannatiempo 1977, p. 64, no. 126, ill.; Nicholas Turner, “Disegni di Pietro da Cortona e Ciro Ferri” [review of Giannatiempo 1977], *Prospettiva*, no. 17 (1979), pp. 74–77, esp. p. 77, where the attribution of the landscape to Grimaldi is suggested.
86. See, for instance, the drawing of a falcon hunt, in a private collection, and of Erminia and the Shepherds, in the Museum Kunst Palast, Düsseldorf (formerly, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf), KA (FP) 453; Davis 1986, pp. 206, 224, figs. 123, 132.
87. See Vitzthum, review of Briganti (1962) 1982 in *Master Drawings*, p. 51 (see note 16, above); Davis 1986, pp. 305–6, fig. 11 (as Ferri); and most recently Veronika Birke and Janine Kertész, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina: Generalverzeichnis*, vol. 1, Veröffentlichungen der Albertina 33 (Vienna, 1992), p. 466 (as Ferri).
88. Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 2, 1993, lot 24, ill. (attributed to Cortona); Christie’s, New York, January 30, 1998, lot 92, color ill. (as Cortona, with figures by Ferri).
89. For Cortona’s collaboration with Ferri, see my forthcoming catalogue *Pietro da Cortona und sein Kreis*.
90. For Lucatelli, see Rome 1997, pp. 265–70, and my forthcoming catalogue *Pietro da Cortona und sein Kreis*.

Natoire and Boucher: Two Studies for a Don Quixote Tapestry

FRANÇOISE JOULIE

Chargée de mission au Département des Arts Graphiques, Palais du Louvre

CHARLES-JOSEPH NATOIRE (1700–1777) and François Boucher (1703–1770), the one born in Nîmes, the other in Paris, were contemporaries, separated by only three years. Both attended François Lemoyne's studio about 1720–21. Successively awarded the Prix de Rome, in 1721 and 1723, respectively, they followed one another in their Italian travels and were briefly together at the Palazzo Mancini during the summer of 1728. Natoire left Rome in October of that year for Lombardy and Venice, arriving back in France in 1729; Boucher returned to Paris in 1731. Long afterward, Natoire, deploring the lack of initiative among the *pensionnaires* at the Académie de France during the 1750s, would recall with nostalgia the enthusiasm that had driven him and Boucher while in Rome to study the decorations of the palaces and the paintings in the Baroque churches: "When we were in their shoes, the Bouchardons, van Loo, Boucher, we needed no urging in the right direction—we were pursuing it on our own."¹ Evidence of Boucher's and Natoire's activities in Italy survives in the form of copies after the Baroque masters in red and black chalk, such as were done, too, by Edmé Bouchardon, Pierre-Charles Trémolières, and Carle Vanloo.

When Boucher returned to Paris in the summer of 1731, Natoire was occupied with a commission for nine paintings on the theme of the History of the Gods that the Contrôleur Général des Finances, Philibert Orry, had ordered for his château of La Chapelle-Godefroy, near Nogent-sur-Seine. For the same patron, Boucher painted *The Geniuses of the Fine Arts* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes, 835.8).² Natoire's earliest works in the series *The History of the Gods* bear the date of 1731, the latest that of 1735. The style of Boucher's painting dates it to the same period, 1734–35. On January 30, 1734, Boucher was admitted to the Académie

Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture after having presented his reception piece, *Rinaldo and Armida* (Louvre, Paris, 2720); on December 31 of that year it was Natoire's turn to be admitted with his *Venus Ordering Arms from Vulcan for Aeneas* (Musée Fabre, Montpellier). Critics immediately commented on how much this picture resembled Boucher's of the same subject, painted two years earlier for the lawyer François Derbais (Louvre, 2709).³ After their entry into the Académie, of which they became assistant professors on the same day in 1735, a number of notable commissions brought the two men together, working side by side in the royal palaces of Versailles and Fontainebleau and in the Hôtel Soubise in Paris. Despite such activities in common, however, their names were rarely associated during the years 1730–40, so greatly did their personalities differ. Nonetheless, the critic Noeufville, apropos of the paintings that Natoire exhibited at the Salon of 1739, pointed out "the resemblance of his manner to that of M. Boucher," adding: "Even the masters are deceived by it."⁴ Sometimes compared by contemporary critics, such as Mariette and Voltaire, the two artists continued to encounter one another in the course of different projects during the years 1740–50 before their destinies completely diverged: in 1751 Natoire left for Rome to replace Jean-François de Troy as director of the Académie de France; in Paris Boucher's career would lead him to the highest distinctions and honors.

Two drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, offer valuable evidence of the relationship between Natoire and Boucher. The drawings are connected with an important commission that Natoire received from the fermier général, Pierre Grimod Dufort, for a number of scenes illustrating the story of Don Quixote. In 1731 Cervantes's tale, first issued in French in 1677–78, had just been published for the second time, in a translation by Filleau de Saint-Martin. The subject was a popular one: the book itself was to go into some twenty editions, and numerous stage

© The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2004
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 39

The notes for this article begin on page 158.



Figure 1. Charles-Joseph Natoire (French, 1700–1777). *Sancho's Banquet on the Island of Barataria*, 1734–35. Tapestry cartoon, oil on canvas, 325 x 538 cm. Musées Nationaux du Château de Compiègne, 6870



Figure 2. Charles-Joseph Natoire. *Standing Male Figure with Left Arm Extended: Study for the Figure of Pedro Recio*, 1734–35. Red chalk, heightened with white; black-chalk stroke at bottom of sleeve; framing lines in pen and brown ink, 41.5 x 28.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Emma Swan Hall Gift, in memory of Nathalie Swan Rahv, 1983 (1983.266). See also Colorplate 6



Figure 3. Here attributed to François Boucher (French, 1703–1770). *Standing Male Figure with Left Arm Extended: Study for the Figure of Pedro Recio*, 1734–35. Red chalk, heightened with white, 38.7 x 26.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1965 (65.132). See also Colorplate 7

versions of it were performed at the Foire Saint-Laurent, a fair held annually in Paris and an occasion when traveling players gathered to entertain the public. It was also illustrated by Charles-Antoine Coypel in a series of cartoons painted between 1714 and 1732, with the last completed in 1751, which were woven at the Gobelins in a celebrated set of tapestries that was several times repeated.⁵ Grimod Dufort seems to have had a particular interest in Cervantes's hero: at his marriage in 1736 he was the owner of "a tapestry of Don Quixote made in Brussels in eleven pieces," and on the same theme he commissioned Natoire to paint "thirteen large pictures ordinarily placed in the billiard room [of the château d'Orsay]"; these formed the basis of an ambitious series of nine tapestries, which were woven at Beauvais between 1735 and 1744 in a single set for the decoration of the Hôtel Chamillart in Paris, where they were described at the time of the owner's death.⁶

Natoire's first cartoon for this series is titled *Sancho's Departure for the Island of Barataria*. The weaving of the tapestry based on it took place between May 1735 and December 29, 1736, in tandem with *Sancho's Banquet on the Island of Barataria* (May 21, 1735–July 21, 1736) and *Sancho and the Seller of Hazelnuts* (July 23, 1735–August 11, 1736); the cartoon for the last of these, signed and dated 1735, was exhibited at the Académie. The drawings in the Metropolitan Museum, which are studies for the figure of the physician Pedro Recio in *Sancho's Banquet on the Island of Barataria*—an episode taken from book 2, chapter 47, of *Don Quixote*—must therefore date from 1735 at the latest, taking into account the time required to complete a preliminary study of the composition and to execute the cartoon before the tapestry was woven in 1735–36. Boucher for his part was working on a subject from *Don Quixote* in another connection: for an engraving by Pierre Aveline he supplied a composition drawing in grisaille, the style of which clearly dates it to about 1735. This drawing was part of a publishing project announced by Ravenet and Dupuis in January 1737 of a series of scenes from *Don Quixote* engraved after paintings and drawings executed "by MM. Parrocel, Boucher, Trémolières, and other skilled painters, to follow those that have been engraved after the pictures of M. Coypel" in a work entitled *Principales aventures de l'admirable Don Quichotte*.⁷

In preparing his tapestry cartoons, Natoire executed a number of composition sketches and studies in detail of certain figures. The cartoon for *Sancho's Banquet on the Island of Barataria*, the ninth tapestry in the series, is today in the château of Compiègne (Figure 1). Of the two red-chalk studies in the Metropolitan Museum for the figure of Pedro Recio in this scene, one, acquired

in 1983, bears the autograph signature *C. Natoire* in the lower right corner, overlaid by the name *Carlo Marati* in the artist's hand (Figure 2, Colorplate 6). The other drawing, in the Museum since 1965, bears the same autograph signature, *C. Natoire*, also in the lower right corner (Figure 3, Colorplate 7). Because of these very similar signatures, which are to be found on most of the drawings in the series, and the identical subject of the two studies and its easily established link with the cartoon and tapestry of *Sancho's Banquet*, both drawings have previously been catalogued under Natoire's name.⁸ A close examination of the second sheet has now enabled us to reattribute it to François Boucher.

Boucher is immediately recognizable in his work on the hands of Pedro Recio, which are very different from those of the figure on the other sheet. The hands, the right placed on the belt, the left holding the whalebone pointer, are long and tapering, barely shaped, the wrist too flexible, all characteristics of Boucher's drawings of hands in the years 1735–40. The same features are to be found in numerous contemporary studies preparatory to his illustrations for Molière's *Works*; other examples are the red-chalk drawing in Ottawa of a young man seated (Figure 4), which is a study for the painting



Figure 4. François Boucher. *Study of a Young Man Seated*, ca. 1735. Red and white chalk, 35 x 26.9 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 28217r

De trois choses en ferez vous une? (Villa Ephrussi de Rothschild, Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat), and the *Study of a Young Man in an Open Shirt* (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1982-127) for *The Egg Thief* in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.⁹ Natoire's hands are never represented in these elliptical forms but are always carefully detailed; the known preparatory studies for the figures of Don Quixote, his squire Sancho Panza, the Knight of the Mirrors, and the pages and servants accompanying them in this set of tapestries show robust, well-defined hands, with square fingertips. A study of hands in the Horvitz collection exhibits the same characteristics. In the drawing of Pedro Recio acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1983 (Figure 2), Natoire has conceived the general form of the doctor's left hand as Boucher does, but in keeping with his practice he has indicated the joints, fingers, and nails. Where Boucher emphasizes gesture, Natoire analyzes detail. The right hands in the two drawings are likewise different, variants that suggest a chronological development from one to the other.

The faces of the physician betray a similar discrepancy. With Boucher, the face is barely sketched in, represented by the lines of the eye, nose, and mouth drawn with sharp angles on an underlying oval of the whole that is still discernible. The ear is pointed and barely rendered, the volume of the hat and the movement of the hair are merely suggested. The profiles of the men in three-cornered hats that he drew for *Les plaisirs de l'île enchantée* in the *Works* of Molière, that of Lélie for *L'étourdi* in the same publication (both studies now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), are very close to this face of Pedro Recio. In contrast Natoire renders with care the details of the eye, ear, beard, and hat. At

the same time he gives the figure of the doctor a different character: he disengages the neck and simplifies the draping of the cloak, thus taking away from the subject both his bulk and his authority. Where one artist works in breadth, the other elongates the figure. Boucher's man is better placed in the surrounding space: he steps forward and gestures, pointer in hand, as he causes every dish presented to Sancho to be whisked away before the latter can touch it; the drapery of his voluminous garment, traditionally worn by doctors at the time, is flung over one shoulder and floats behind him. Natoire's Pedro Recio is static; he argues with a rhetorical flourish of his right hand as he explains to Sancho that he is acting in the interests of the other's health. His cloak envelops him down to the ground, parting only to reveal the elegant leg of a court physician in satin breeches.

The hatching used by Natoire and Boucher in their treatment of the clothing conveys the same difference in their perception of Pedro Recio, no doubt instinctive rather than planned, reflecting the characters of two artists working on the same subject. Boucher's Pedro Recio causes his heavy garment to move as he steps forward; the deep folds of the cloak are emphatically rendered by broad transversal hatching. Moreover, the area in reserve in Boucher's study is distinctly more important than in Natoire's, reinforcing the presence of the figure in its space; the whites are stressed, distributed on the right elbow, which is intended to stand out in the foreground of the drawing, and on the broken folds of the cloak that hangs down the doctor's back and on those of the right shoulder, the chest, and the waist. Natoire's highlights in white chalk are differently conceived: they are



Figure 5. Charles-Joseph Natoire. *Sancho's Banquet on the Island of Barataria*, composition study, 1734-35. Brown wash on blue paper, 25.8 x 43.5 cm. University Library, Department of Prints, Warsaw, Port. 1098, no. 65

slight and are placed over the entire back of the figure, from top to bottom; they fall, too, on the table, which Boucher has scarcely bothered to render other than with three lines lacking highlights.

Again, the red chalk is used differently by the two artists. Natoire's stroke is supple and lightweight, in color a pale red; Boucher's is much darker and in parts much thicker. It is heavily applied on the right side of the sheet, on the chest and front of Recio's clothing, to emphasize and amplify the effects of shade as opposed to light and to give the subject greater plastic force. This technique of creating a sense of volume by means of an important contrast between the light and dark parts of the sheet is found in all Boucher's studies of full-length figures in this period, in particular those for Molière's characters in the 1735 edition of his *Works*. Natoire makes no use of it. The result of these different approaches is a greater harmony with Natoire, greater dynamic energy with Boucher.

All the evidence suggests that the two drawings were done at the same time for the same subject and that Natoire had both sheets in his hands, since he put his name to them in the same black chalk. His study establishes Recio's pose as it appears in the wash composition sketch, now in Warsaw, that preceded the cartoon of the tapestry (Figure 5).¹⁰ This shows Sancho's doctor explaining and justifying his role in the rapid disappearance of every dish of food placed before his master. Although Boucher's study has the appearance of a very hasty first sketch, it was to this version that Natoire reverted when he painted the actual cartoon: here the doctor no longer speaks, he simply points with his "rod of whalebone." The anger visible in Sancho's face indicates that the scene is nearing its con-

clusion, with Sancho, in his capacity as "governor" of Barataria, about to dismiss his physician. The tapestry woven at Beauvais from this cartoon in 1735–36 (Figure 6) thus uses—in reverse—Boucher's conception of the figure, stronger and more telling than Natoire's. We seem to be confronted, in fact, with an exemplary illustration of an exchange of ideas between the two artists, one developing a more elegant and anecdotal formula, the other bringing another dimension to his drawing by insisting rather on the authority of the doctor's gesture and of his presence on the scene.

Boucher readily gave artists who applied to him suggestions for compositions and poses. An example is a drawing by him in black chalk of Philip of Bourbon-Parma surrounded by his family, which supplied Boucher's pupil Giuseppe Baldrighi with the composition for Baldrighi's painting of the subject (Galleria Nazionale, Parma).¹¹ Similarly, in the present case, Natoire has simply adopted a suggestion for the figure of Pedro Recio that Boucher had rapidly committed to paper for him. Odile Picard Sébastiani, in her study of Natoire's cartoons at Compiègne, has emphasized "the relationship of Boucher and Natoire's styles at this period of their lives," in connecting Natoire's *Dorothea Surprised* in his tenth cartoon of 1742–43 for the *Don Quixote* series with Boucher's *Diana at the Bath* signed and dated 1742 (Louvre, 2712).¹²

The name "Carlo Marati" written by Natoire on his study for Pedro Recio in the Metropolitan Museum suggests a reflection shared by the two artists of the figure of a man in profile, draped in a flowing cloak, with one arm extended forward, that had been drawn or painted by the Italian artist Carlo Maratti (or Maratta, 1625–1713). Perhaps Natoire and Boucher's



Figure 6. After Charles-Joseph Natoire. *Sancho's Banquet on the Island of Barataria*, 1735–36. Low-warp tapestry woven at Beauvais from the cartoon by Natoire (Figure 1). Musée des Tapisseries, Aix-en-Provence, 11-7 (photo: Odile Picard Sébastiani and Marie-Henriette Krotoff, *Don Quichotte vu par un peintre du XVIII^e siècle: Natoire*, exh. cat., Musée National du Château de Compiègne and Musée des Tapisseries d'Aix-en-Provence [Paris, 1977], fig. 53)

point of departure was the recollection of a drawing done by Boucher in Italy precisely after this artist (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 1080): it shows a man in profile, with one leg advanced and an arm extended, his body draped in a flowing cloak. Was it known to Natoire? Did Boucher suggest it as a starting point? Did the two men discuss the model copied, or work from memory of the motif or its counterproof? Possibly Natoire himself had made a copy of the original during his time in Italy.¹³

The studies of Pedro Recio so fortuitously reunited at the Metropolitan Museum constitute a rare and touching witness to the relationship of two great artists at a time when their commissions and activities frequently brought them together. The same collectors also saw them working on their drawings after the old masters. Perrin Stein has convincingly shown how Natoire in the 1740s would visit Mariette's collection in order to copy the sheets by Italian artists.¹⁴ Boucher followed the same practice, to judge, for example, from his pen-and-ink copy after Antonio Campi's *Decorative Motif*, which was then in Mariette's collection, attributed to Giovanni Battista Tinti.¹⁵ A genuine friendship may have linked the two men; a genuine artistic complicity evidently existed between them. This adds a special touch of nostalgia to Natoire's letter of June 27, 1770, written from Rome to the marquis de Marigny: "I am grieved by the death of M. Boucher. It is a real loss for the Académie, and for me the loss of an old collcague of my student days with whom I had had close ties."¹⁶

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This short note is both a tribute to Perrin Stein, associate curator, Department of Drawings and Prints, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Beverly Schreiber Jacoby, president, BSJ Fine Arts, for their gracious response to the reattribution in question and for their support, and an expression of thanks for an absorbing session spent with them in studying the drawings of Natoire and Boucher at the Metropolitan Museum in December 2003.

For their advice and assistance I should also like to thank Catherine Loisel, curator in the Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre; Bruno Ely and Arielle Boyou, of the Musée des Tapisseries, Aix-en-Provence; Jacques Kühnmünch and Emmanuelle Macé, of the Musées Nationaux du Château de Compiègne; Sonia Couturier, of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; Judith Guze, of the University Library of Warsaw; and Veronika Birke, Janine Kertész, and Heinz Widauer, of the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

NOTES

1. Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey, eds., *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments* . . . , 18 vols. (Paris, 1887–1912), vol. 11, p. 93 (June 11, 1755).
2. See Alastair Laing in *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Detroit Institute of Arts; and Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 1986–87 (New York, 1986), no. 24.
3. *Ibid.*, no. 17.
4. Quoted in Alexandre Ananoff, with Daniel Wildenstein, *François Boucher* (Lausanne, 1976), vol. 1, p. 18.
5. See Thierry Lefrançois, *Charles Coypel: Peintre du roi (1694–1752)* (Paris, 1994), csp. under nos. P.8ff and P.231. On the subject of Don Quixote, see *Don Quichotte und Ragotin: Zwei komische Helden in den preussischen Königsschlössern*, exh. cat., Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin (Berlin, 2004).
6. Natoire created ten cartoons for the set, though only nine were ever woven. For a very full documentation on this tapestry series, see Odile Picard Sébastiani and Marie-Henriette Krotoff, *Don Quichotte vu par un peintre du XVIII^e siècle: Natoire*, exh. cat., Musée National du Château de Compiègne and Musée des Tapisseries d'Aix-en-Provence (Paris, 1977). Natoire's drawings have also been the subject of a study by Lise Duclaux, *Charles Natoire, 1700–1777*, Cahiers du dessin français 8 (Paris and Boston, 1991). See also *Charles-Joseph Natoire: Nîmes, 1700–Castel Gandolfo, 1777: Peintures, dessins, estampes et tapisseries des collections publiques françaises*, exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nîmes; and Villa Medici, Rome, 1977 (n.p., [1977]).
7. See André Michel, *François Boucher* (Paris, [1906]), pp. 29, 158. On Aveline's engraving after Boucher, see Pierrette Jean-Richard, *L'oeuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la collection Edmond de Rothschild*, Collection Edmond de Rothschild, Inventaire général des gravures, École française 1 (Paris, 1978), no. 207.
8. Jacob Bean, with Lawrence Turčić, *15th–18th Century French Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1986), nos. 206 (65.132; see Figure 3), 207 (1983.266; see Figure 2), both titled *Standing Male Figure with Left Arm Extended*. For a counterproof of the second drawing (65.132), with no signature, see Galerie Cailleux, *Le Rouge et le noir: Cent dessins français de 1700 à 1850* (Paris, 1991), no. 26.
9. For the most complete study of Boucher's early drawings, some of them preparatory to his illustrations for Molière's *Works* published in 1735, see Beverly Schreiber Jacoby, *François Boucher's Early Development as a Draughtsman, 1720–1734*, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts (New York, 1986).
10. This study was first published by Stanisława Sawicka, "Un dessin inédit de Charles Natoire pour la tapisserie de l'histoire de don Quichotte," in *Miscellanea I. Q. van Regteren Altena, 16/V/1969* (Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 190–95, fig. 1 (p. 373).
11. See Alastair Laing, *The Drawings of François Boucher*, exh. cat., Frick Collection, New York, and Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, 2003–4 (New York, 2003), no. 63.
12. See Picard Sébastiani in Picard Sébastiani and Krotoff, *Don Quichotte*, p. 22, figs. 5, 6. See also Laing in *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, no. 39.

13. On Boucher's copy of the drawing by Maratti, see Veronika Birke and Janine Kertész, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina: Generalverzeichnis, Veröffentlichungen der Albertina* 33–36 (Vienna, 1992–97), vol. 1, inv. 1080. A drawing by Maratti recently sold in London (Sotheby's, July 10, 2002, lot 150) shows the same kind of figure in profile, one leg advanced and one hand extended before him with an air of authority.
14. Perrin Stein, "Copies and Retouched Drawings by Charles-Joseph Natoire," *Master Drawings* 38 (2000), pp. 167–86, esp. pp. 168–70.
15. I am indebted to Veronika Birke and Janine Kertész for informing me of this reattribution, which I first published in "François Boucher et Pierre Crozat: Le rôle de la collection privée dans la formation d'un artiste au début du XVIII^{ème} siècle," an article written in 1989 and posted on my personal Web site ("François Boucher") in June 1999 on the occasion of the Horvitz colloquium in Paris: "Deux siècles de dessin français, XVII^{ème} et XVIII^{ème} siècles: XVII^{èmes} rencontres de l'École du Louvre." Boucher's *Architectural Element* (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 12169) is in pen and brown ink and brown wash; the drawing attributed to Campi, *Decorative Motif* (Albertina, 2836), is in black chalk, pen and brown ink, and brown wash.
16. Montaignon and Guiffrey, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, vol. 12, pp. 278–79 (June 27, 1770). An interesting mention in the Lempereur auction catalogue (Lugt 2444) of October 19–24, 1775, shows that drawings for *Don Quixote* by Natoire and Boucher were gathered by collectors. Described under the same lot, 102, are "cinq etudes de figures, & sujets pour l'Histoire de Don Quichotte, par F. Boucher & C. Natoire." I am very grateful to Perrin Stein for drawing my attention to that mention.

Buying Pictures for New York: The Founding Purchase of 1871

KATHARINE BAETJER

Curator, European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN MEMORY OF JAMES PILGRIM

ON FEBRUARY 17, 1872, artists and reporters gathered for oysters and punch to celebrate the opening of the new Metropolitan Museum of Art in the former Dodworth's Dancing Academy at 681 Fifth Avenue, between Fifty-third and Fifty-fourth streets in New York City.¹ On view were 174 European old master paintings, detailed in an accompanying catalogue,² that were the foundation of the permanent collection of the fledgling institution. The Museum's trustees inspected the exhibits on February 19, and the subscribers and their guests were welcomed on February 20. By the time the Museum opened its doors to the public on February 22, skeptics were no longer speaking of "the swindle of the two New York merchants," John Taylor Johnston and William Tilden Blodgett, who had organized the purchase of the paintings: As Johnston wrote to Blodgett that day, "the disposition to praise is now as general as the former disposition to depreciate."³

Civic pride was a dominant trait of New York's wealthy mercantile class in the post-Civil War era. The writer and orator William Cullen Bryant first articulated the vision of a new museum "worthy of this great metropolis and of the wide empire of which New York is the commercial center" at a meeting at the Union League Club of New York on November 23, 1869.⁴ Two months later a committee of fifty had already accomplished the initial spadework for the museum, and on January 31, 1870, Johnston was elected president of its board of trustees and Blodgett chairman of the executive committee. On April 13, The Metropolitan Museum of Art was incorporated.

John Taylor Johnston (1820–1893) would serve as president of the Museum until 1889.⁵ In 1880, to commemorate his first ten years in office, the trustees commissioned a portrait of him (Figure 1) from the French painter Léon Bonnat. Johnston's vision for the

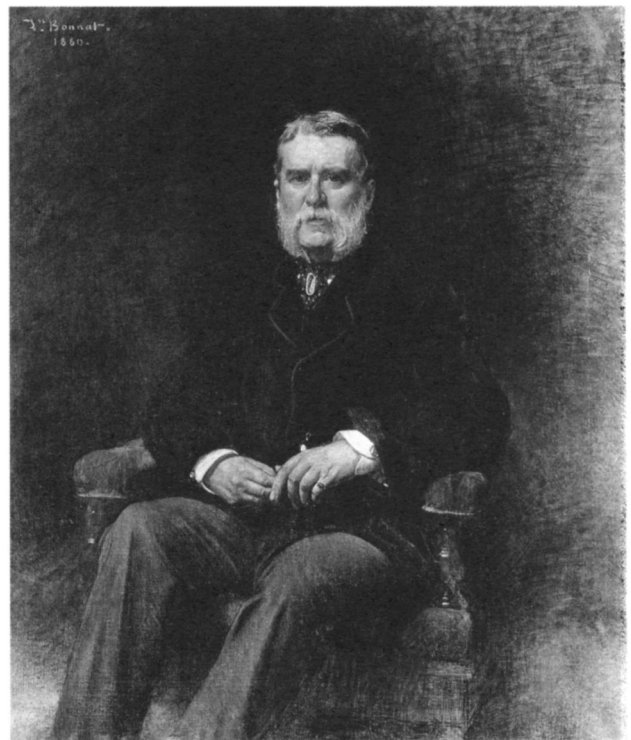


Figure 1. Léon Bonnat (French, 1833–1922). *John Taylor Johnston*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 133.4 x 111.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Trustees, 1880 (80.8)

Museum was a lofty one: "The object," he said, was "not to illustrate artists or producers of art work, but to illustrate the human mind."⁶ A native New Yorker of Scottish descent, Johnston received part of his early education in Edinburgh. He graduated in 1839 from the University of the City of New York (New York University), of which his father had been a founder. After studying law at Yale University from 1839 to 1841, he joined the New York firm of Daniel Lord and in 1843 was admitted to the bar. When the law ceased to hold his interest, Johnston spent two years abroad. In 1848, at the age of twenty-eight, he was elected president of a small railway connecting the towns of Somerville

© The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2004
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 39

The notes for this article begin on page 191.

161

and Elizabethtown, New Jersey. He eventually extended this road westward to the Pennsylvania coal fields as well as eastward across the Jersey flats to Jersey City, where he built a terminal opposite the southern tip of Manhattan for what became the Central Railroad of New Jersey.

During the many years he devoted to his very successful business, Johnston began to buy modern European and American paintings. He traveled widely and in fact had spent the winter of 1868–69 in Europe, visiting museums, private collections, and artists' studios and buying works of art. When his New York house could no longer contain his pictures, he built a gallery in which to display them and opened it to the public on Thursday afternoons. In general, Johnston's taste was conventional: He favored such widely admired French Second Empire painters as Charles-François Daubigny, Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, Émile van Marcke, Antoine-Émile Plassan, and Horace Vernet. Among his most significant acquisitions was J. M. W. Turner's famous *Slave Ship* of 1840 (now at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), which he bought and deposited at the Metropolitan Museum in 1873 when the trustees adopted a policy of exhibiting works on loan. He also owned *Prisoners from the Front*, a Civil War subject that Winslow Homer painted in 1866 (now in the Metropolitan Museum).⁷ In the aftermath of the panic of 1873 Johnston suffered severe financial reverses, and his railroad went into receivership. In 1876 he was obliged to sell his important collection at auction.

William Tilden Blodgett (1823–1875) served the Metropolitan Museum not only as the first chairman of the executive committee but also as its first vice president.⁸ In addition to giving generously to the Museum himself, he secured from others the largest contributions collected by any single individual. Blodgett had left western New York for New York City in 1838, at the age of fifteen. Two years later his uncle William Tilden took him into partnership, and before long the young Blodgett had transformed his uncle's modest varnish factory, Tilden and Blodgett, into one of the most profitable international concerns in the United States. During the Civil War and throughout his adult life, Blodgett was engaged with philanthropic and patriotic causes. He was one of the founders of the *New York Nation*, an important journal of public affairs in the 1860s and 1870s, and he was also affiliated with the American Museum of Natural History and the National Academy of Design.

Blodgett was an enthusiastic collector of contemporary French, German, and English pictures as well as a patron of American artists. In the course of extensive



Figure 2. Eastman Johnson (American, 1824–1906). *Christmas-Time, The Blodgett Family*, 1864. Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm. Mr. and Mrs. Blodgett and their children (left to right) Mary, William, and Eleanor are shown in the sitting room of their house on Fifth Avenue. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Whitney Blodgett, 1983 (1983.486)

travel in Europe he came to be known “in Belgium, and in Paris, as one to whom nothing of inferior merit could be offered with any hope of success.”⁹ He owned paintings by or attributed to Americans Frederic Church, Jasper F. Cropsey, Asher B. Durand, and John F. Kensett; French painters Rosa Bonheur, Adolphe-William Bouguereau, and Gustave Doré; the German Oswald Achenbach; and the Englishman Richard Parkes Bonington, among many others. In 1859 Blodgett purchased Church's *Heart of the Andes* for \$10,000, a record price for a modern American landscape painting.¹⁰ In 1864 he and his family sat for Eastman Johnson for a group portrait (Figure 2). Blodgett had planned to build a gallery for his paintings at his home at Fifth Avenue and Fifty-seventh Street, which he would doubtless have opened to the public, but after his death from pleurisy in 1875, his collection, like Johnston's, was dispersed at auction.¹¹

The first meeting of the Museum's executive committee, with Blodgett in the chair, took place on May 27, 1870. In Johnston's absence, Blodgett also chaired the first quarterly meeting of the board of trustees on

June 15. The trustees' first order of business was to raise funds, and an initial sum of \$250,000 for the purchase of works of art was envisaged.¹² Johnston made the single largest contribution, \$10,000; Blodgett and another gentleman contributed \$5,000 each.¹³ (The magnanimity of these gifts may be judged against the fact that the founders' strenuous fundraising efforts during the Museum's first year of operation yielded only \$100,000.)¹⁴

Some time after the board meeting in June, Blodgett left for Europe (from that summer on, his health was uncertain, and he was often either at his house in Newport or abroad). Despite the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War on July 19, he was to remain there for several months, and during his stay he would acquire, in three groups, the 174 paintings that became the core of the Museum's collection. Although the catalogue of 1872 does not say so, the received wisdom among the officers and trustees of the Museum was that the Purchase of 1871, as it is called, was made possible by circumstances prevailing during the Franco-Prussian War, circumstances, that is, that were favorable to the new Museum and unfavorable to the trade and the former owners of the paintings. Appendix 2 summarizes what is known or surmised of Blodgett's activities in the years 1870 to 1872 and how these activities intersected with the unfolding of the Franco-Prussian War.

"Mr. Blodgett was in a position to act," the Paris magazine *Revue des deux mondes* reported in October 1871. "War is declared, and on September 4 there is panic everywhere. Mr. Blodgett was in Paris; he learned that owing to circumstance it would be possible to obtain three of the most important French and Belgian collections under exceptionally favorable conditions."¹⁵ The *New York World* was one of several publications that echoed that opinion after Blodgett's death in 1875: "To Mr. Blodgett," its obituary notice read, "is due the collection of classical paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. These paintings were purchased by him in Belgium and Paris during the Franco-Prussian War. At any other time their purchase would hardly have been possible."¹⁶

LÉON GAUCHEZ AND ÉTIENNE LE ROY

On July 19, 1870, France declared war on Prussia. On August 4 the Prussian army crossed the French frontier.¹⁷ A little less than three weeks later, on August 23, Blodgett bought from Belgian dealer Léon Gauchez fifty-nine paintings constituting what has been called the Paris collection (see, for example, Figure 3). The pictures were presented as the property of a single

private owner, offered en bloc. According to a report presented to the Museum's board on November 7, 1870, "this collection lately belonged to a distinguished personage in Paris and was only sold in consequence of the critical state of affairs in that city."¹⁸ However, no individual's name has ever been associated with this first purchase of works, which instead came from various sources. Gauchez guaranteed the sale on August 30, and on August 31 the pictures were also guaranteed by Alexis Febvre of 14, rue Saint-Georges, Paris, a dealer and expert who conducted sales in Paris and whose name appears occasionally as an expert or buyer at sales in which Gauchez was also interested.

There being no market for anything other than contemporary American and European paintings and sculpture in New York in 1870, it was necessary to look to the European art trade for old master paintings. Léon Auguste François Michel Gauchez (1825–1907), the dealer who facilitated Blodgett's August purchase, operated in Brussels, his hometown, and in Paris as a dealer in such paintings.¹⁹ Gauchez is an illusive figure. He seems to have traveled constantly. He spoke and wrote excellent English, which would have been of significant benefit in his dealings with members of the Museum's board. Gauchez had come to the art world in middle age. Between 1867 and



Figure 3. Jacob Jordaens (Flemish, 1593–1678). *The Holy Family with Saint Anne and the Young Baptist and His Parents*, ca. 1620–25, with additions in the 1650s or early 1660s. Appendix 1A, No. 118. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.11)



Figure 4. Pierre-Jean David d'Angers (French, 1788–1856). *Théophile Thoré*, 1847. Medallion. Bronze, cast, diam. 17.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Samuel P. Avery, 1898 (98.7.67)

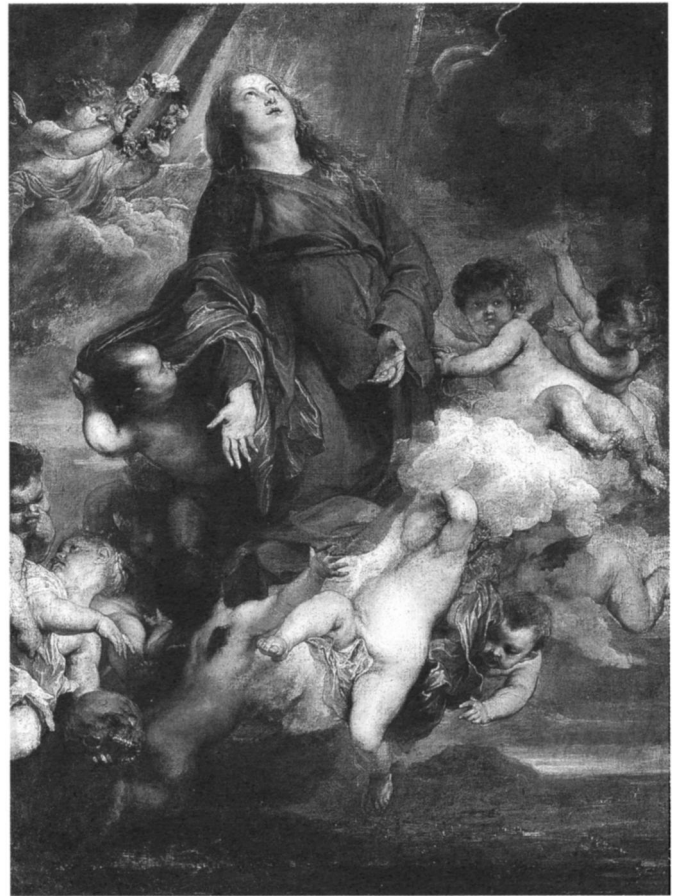


Figure 5. Anthony van Dyck (Flemish, 1599–1641). *Saint Rosalie Interceding for the Plague-Stricken of Palermo*, 1624. Appendix 1A, No. 5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.41)

1906 he sold forty paintings, primarily of the Flemish and Dutch schools, to the *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* in Brussels. (He had offered the museum no fewer than 350.)²⁰ Of these, the most distinguished were by Hans Memling and Lucas Cranach the Elder, and by Frans Hals, Peter Paul Rubens, and Anthony van Dyck. Gauchez was the principal author of a lavish undated publication on the life and art of Rubens.²¹ He was certainly acquainted with the critic, writer, and sometime dealer Étienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré (1807–1869), also known as W. Bürger (Figure 4), who is famous for his rediscovery of the work of Johannes Vermeer.²² Under the pseudonym Paul Leroi, Gauchez was a founder and contributor, and eventually director, of the magazine *L'art*, which commenced publication in Paris in 1875 as an illustrated weekly. In the 1880s and early 1890s, also using the name Leroi, he gave six drawings and several other works of art to the Louvre. As an occasional donor to the museums of Brussels and Lille he called himself by another name, Léon Mancino. (*Mancino* is Italian for *gauchez*, or left-handed, and may also mean treacherous or roguish.)

On September 1 and 2, 1870, French forces were defeated at Sedan and Napoléon III surrendered, and

on September 4 the empire gave way to the Third Republic. On September 22, four days after the siege of Paris began and the day before the Museum's second quarterly board meeting, Blodgett gained title to a second group of paintings (see, for example, Figure 5). According to the Museum's 1872 catalogue, these 100 paintings "were bought in Brussels, having belonged to a gentleman who resided near that city, [from and upon the authority of] M. Etienne Le Roy, the Official Commissioner and Expert of the Royal Museums of Belgium, whose opinion upon all questions connected with the authenticity and value of paintings, particularly those of the Dutch and Flemish Schools, is of the highest authority."²³

Étienne Le Roy (1808–1878) was in fact very well known in Belgium as an expert and dealer and as a restorer of old master paintings of uncontested authority.²⁴ His restoration of the two masterpieces by Rubens in the cathedral of Antwerp, and especially of *The Descent from the Cross*, had been a triumphant success. He was named *commissaire-expert* of the Musée Royal de Peinture et de Sculpture in Brussels by ministerial decree of August 26, 1846, a position he retained until his death.²⁵ In this capacity he was regularly consulted with respect to the attribution, quality,

and price of works of art offered to the Brussels museum for sale, and he was employed as well to treat paintings in the collection. As a dealer, he was assisted and succeeded by his son, Victor, who also became a *commissaire-expert* of the museum. The portrait that François-Joseph Navez painted of Étienne Le Roy in 1857 (Figure 6) shows a middle-aged man of upright bearing and is inscribed “Témoignage d’estime et de reconnaissance pour nous avoir conservé par sa belle restauration la descente de croix et l’Erection de la Croix, chef d’oeuvre de Rubens.”²⁶

Le Roy’s firm, which operated from several offices in the Belgian capital (and later also from a branch in Paris), organized some of the most important art sales held in Brussels from the 1840s through 1875. During that time the firm handled several Dutch paintings now in the Metropolitan Museum, among them the Frans Hals portraits of Petrus Scriverius and his wife Anna van der Aar, which came to the Museum in 1929 with the H. O. Havemeyer collection; Gerard Dou’s *Self-portrait*, which was bequeathed by Benjamin Altman in 1914; and *A Young Woman at Her Toilet* by Gerard ter Borch, which had belonged to J. Pierpont Morgan until his death in 1917.²⁷

Le Roy was the seller of record of the 100 paintings in the so-called Brussels collection, with Gauchez acting as his agent. The two dealers were operating in the same circles in Paris and Brussels and had probably known each other for several years. It would have been logical for Gauchez, a relative newcomer to the art trade, to go to Le Roy, who had been in the business at least since the middle of the nineteenth century, and offer to act as an intermediary with such a promising American client as Blodgett. Le Roy must have had a supply of works accumulated over the years which had not sold locally and could be offered to an eager and less well informed buyer.

After the successful sale of fifty-nine pictures (which must have come largely from his Paris stock and perhaps also from that of Alexis Febvre), Gauchez apparently rushed to assemble a third group from whatever remained of his holdings and from other dealers—there were no auctions in Paris during the Franco-Prussian War—offering them to Blodgett as another private collection. According to the November 7 report, “the remaining fifteen pictures were also purchased by Mr. Blodgett through Mr. Gauchez in Paris,” the use of the word “through” and the fact that Gauchez was paid an agent’s fee again suggesting a single former owner. Blodgett gained title to fifteen paintings of undisclosed provenance (see, for example, Figure 7) on September 27.

In view of the siege of Paris, and lacking information to the contrary, we may suppose that Blodgett



Figure 6. François-Joseph Navez (Belgian, 1787–1869). *Portrait of the Expert Étienne Le Roy*, 1857. Oil on wood (mahogany), 100 x 79 cm. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Gift of the sitter’s daughter Mlle Valérie Le Roy, 1921 (4294). Copyright IRPA-KIK, Brussels

spent much of September in Brussels. There, on the twenty-eighth, he and Gauchez took Museum trustee William J. Hoppin to view the Brussels collection and meet Le Roy. Hoppin submitted a detailed personal account of this visit to the board of trustees on November 7:

[T]he writer went to Mr. Etienne Le Roy’s residence and spent two or three hours in looking at these paintings. They were all stored in a small room imperfectly lighted and were brought forward, one at a time and placed on an easel for inspection. This method of examination barely allowed a glimpse at even the principal pictures and must be taken into account in estimating the value of the opinion of the undersigned in respect to them.

The undersigned endeavored to give as attentiv[e] an examination . . . as the circumstances permitted. He tried also to rid himself of any prepossession in favor of them which might naturally have been produced by Mr. Blodgett’s courage and public spirit in buying them. . . . [T]hey embraced several works of unusual merit and many of great excellence, while as might have been expected, there were twenty or thirty which were much less interesting.²⁸

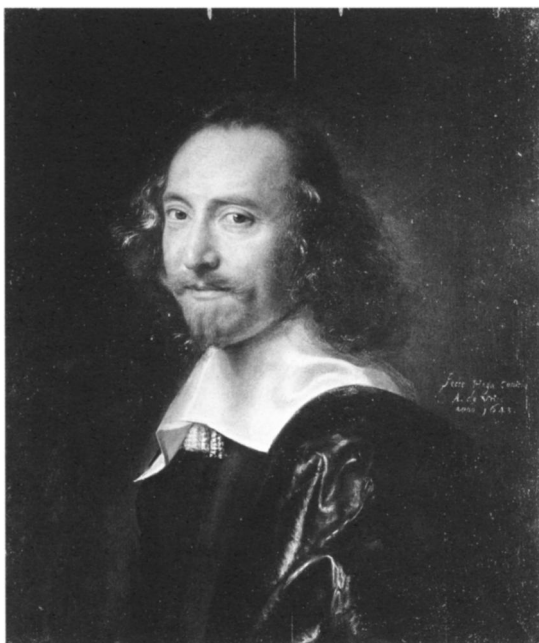


Figure 7. Abraham de Vries (Dutch, b. ca. 1590, d. 1650/52). *Portrait of a Man*, 1643. Appendix 1A, No. 172. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.63)

After looking at the paintings, the Americans and Gauchez met Le Roy “and had some conversation with him in respect to them. This gentleman struck the writer as a person of great intelligence as well as

caution in his mode of treating art matters. He was [e]ntangled in regard to the originality and value of several of the more important works separately and he gave in every case without the least hesitation a most favorable opinion.” Hoppin also expressed his “high opinion” of Gauchez “as an Art Critic and as a man of integrity and candor. It has been [through his] intervention that very important works have been procured for the British National Gallery, the Royal Museum at Brussels, Baron Rothschild of Paris and other institutions and individuals. In conversations at Brussels, upon a journey to London and on visits afterwards to the British National Gallery, . . . the writer was much impressed by Mr. Gauchez’s sincere enthusiasm in matters of Art corrected by very extensive knowledge of the subject and great good sense and good taste.”

Gauchez, it would seem, went to some trouble to impress Hoppin, who had been American commissioner for the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle, traveling with him to London for a round of museum visits. While Le Roy was the senior expert, Gauchez was the salesman, at the start of a promising career. As well as making all of the practical arrangements, he would promote Blodgett’s purchase in Europe.

At a meeting of the Museum’s executive committee on October 24, it was resolved to appoint a committee to confer with Blodgett on the 174 paintings he had just acquired. Trustees John F. Kensett, Robert Gordon, and Hoppin reported “relative to the desirability of



Figure 8. Abraham Brueghel (Flemish, 1631–1697). *Pomegranates and Other Fruit in a Landscape*, late 17th century, with frame made for it in 1871. Appendix 1A, No. 171. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.118)

purchasing a valuable collection of pictures recently acquired by Mr. William T. Blodgett in Europe under particularly favorable circumstances" to a special meeting of the board on November 7, 1870, from which Blodgett was again absent. Hoppin's personal account must have weighed heavily with the trustees in New York. He had seen most of the 100 pictures of the Brussels collection and had met with the dealers and assessed their qualifications.

Blodgett returned to New York in time to take the chair at the executive committee meeting on November 21, and on December 21 he officially offered the 174 paintings to the Museum at the purchase price of \$100,000 plus costs incurred so far, a total of \$116,180.27. On March 3, 1871, the trustees resolved unanimously to buy the paintings; on March 28 the Museum adopted the "Purchase of 1871," with payment to be made on delivery. In the meantime, on March 4, Johnston took out a bridge loan of \$100,000 from the Bank of America on joint account with Blodgett.²⁹

Gaucheze took practical matters in hand, engaging numerous carters and freight forwarders, restorers to cradle panel paintings and line canvases, and framers to rebuild and regild existing frames as well as to make new ones (see Figure 8). For packing in Paris Gaucheze used Pottier in the rue Gaillon. He employed

the Brussels firm of G. Pohlmann and Dalk for work on a total of ninety-six frames and twenty-two packing cases for Le Roy's paintings. (Pohlmann billed 164 hours in charges for labor to build the seven largest crates.) Fernandez of Lille provided or repaired twenty-nine additional frames. Between them, Paul Kiewert in Paris and T. Cöllén in Brussels lined or cradled about fifty works.³⁰ Gaucheze also commissioned ten engravings from Jules Ferdinand Jacquemart, to be published separately, as well as signature blocks for the forthcoming catalogue from Jules de Bramvere, who submitted bills for work in Paris and Brussels. With these additional charges, as well as charges for marine and fire insurance, customs entry, storage, and interest, the total cost of the paintings to the Museum was \$147,515.24.

A list among Blodgett's papers that was compiled on or shortly after March 4, 1871, two months after the Prussian bombardment of Paris began and just two weeks before the bloody street battles of the Paris Commune erupted, indicates that 26 of the paintings from the Paris collection—including such important works as Jacob Jordaens's *Holy Family with Saint Anne* (Figure 3), Nicolas Poussin's *Midas Washing at the Source of the Pactolus* (Figure 9), and Jan van Goyen's *View of Haarlem and the Haarlemmer Meer* (Figure 10)—were still in Paris.³¹ Twenty-one had reached the New



Figure 9. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665). *Midas Washing at the Source of the Pactolus*, 1624. Appendix 1A, No. 139. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.56)

Figure 10. Jan Josephsz. van Goyen (Dutch, 1596–1656). *View of Haarlem and the Haarlemmer Meer*, 1646. Appendix 1A, No. 116. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.62). See also Colorplate 8



York Custom House, while 12 were in Brussels with the other 115 paintings Blodgett had bought through Le Roy and Gauchez. By the time the Museum's payments to Blodgett and Johnston were completed on December 22, 1871, all the works were in storage at the Cooper Union in New York, awaiting delivery.

COMTE CORNET DE WAYS RUART

At the time, it was put about that there had been a bankruptcy in the distinguished Belgian family from whence the 100 paintings in the Brussels collection came and that the pictures had been mortgaged to a creditor bank. However, the Museum's records disclose only a single reference to "the grand collection" of the presumed owner, "Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart de Vanêche," in an undated financial accounting of the Blodgett purchases.³² The heading "Collection of Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart de Vanêch" had also been added to several typed transcripts of untitled holographic originals in the hand of Léon Gauchez. What may have been a reference in the minutes of the board of trustees had apparently been expunged: The transcript of the November 7, 1870, committee report notes that "the Brussels Collection came from the gallery of a well known gentleman," the phrase "a well known gentleman" having been added in darker ink, together with a line, also in darker ink, to fill the space where a rather long proper name seems to have been scratched out with a knife.³³ In his guarantee of the sale on September 22, however, Le Roy did not mention the Cornet de Ways Ruart family,³⁴ and no single painting has been traced to either Martin-Benoît Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart (1793–1870) or his son Félix (1814–1871).

It is recorded that on April 22 and 23, 1868, a sale of 108 Flemish, Dutch, French, and Italian paintings was held in Brussels under the direction of Étienne Le Roy. The paintings were described on the title page as "provenant de M. le Comte C . . . et d'un amateur étranger" (from the collections of Count C . . . and a foreign collector)—a description which has been a source of much confusion. Next to "Comte C . . .," the French expert Louis Soullié, who attended the sale, annotated his copy of the catalogue with two names, "Cornet de Ways Ruart fils" and also, in parentheses, "Georges Philip . . ."³⁵ Frits Lugt, in his *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes*, identifies three consignors: George H. Phillips, William Burger, and Count C, who Lugt suggests might have been either the younger Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart or Cremer.³⁶ The French national Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger) certainly consigned Vermeer's *Woman with a Pearl Necklace*

(Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) to this sale.³⁷ Cremer could perhaps have been J. H. Cremer, consul general of the Netherlands in Switzerland, for whom on November 25 and 26, 1868, in Brussels, Le Roy would conduct an anonymous sale, of 149 old master paintings. Alternatively, Lugt could have confused the citations for the April and November sales.³⁸ Neither Phillips (who was perhaps British) nor Cornet appears elsewhere in Lugt's auction records for the second half of the nineteenth century.

In the archives of the Metropolitan Museum are several documents indicating that the 100 paintings "bought in Brussels, having belonged to a gentleman who resided near that city," should be identified as coming from the collection of Comte Cornet. That the catalogue of the April 1868 sale of paintings "provenant de M. le Comte C" yielded no information about pictures in the 1871 purchase has for more than a century been a source of confusion. Many of the same artists—Nicolaes Berchem, Van Dyck, Francesco Guardi, and Aert van der Neer, for example—were represented in both the 1868 sale and the 1871 purchase. Buyers at the sale included "Cte F Cornet" and "Et Le Roy," as well as other members of the Le Roy family. However, no picture from that sale entered the Museum's collection.

The Cornet fils mentioned by Soullié and Lugt would have been Félix-Marie-Benoît Cornet, knight of Malta, commander of the order of Saint Gregory the Great, and chamberlain of the king of Bavaria.³⁹ Félix, a lavish spender, was certainly bankrupt in 1869. Nevertheless, it is not certain whether he or his father, Martin, a successful lawyer who had risen to prominence as a counselor of the city of Brussels, was the seller at auction in the spring of 1868. In 1869, according to family tradition, Martin-Benoît Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart paid Félix's enormous debts and obliged his son to forfeit a property at Vonèche, near Brussels, which Félix had bought in 1844, in favor of his son and Martin's grandson Arthur (1838–1890). The Cornet family believes that some undesignated number of paintings in the April 1868 auction were sold by Martin-Benoît Cornet to raise money to rescue his distinguished family from insolvency. This would have been the first stage in the dispersal.

Martin-Benoît Cornet, who is not mentioned in contemporary auction records, is not known to have been interested in, or to have bought, works of art. Generations of his descendants have therefore assumed that whatever pictures he owned he had acquired by inheritance. Martin-Benoît's father was Jacques-Louis-Benoît, who in 1823 had received the title of count from King William, and his mother was Catherine-Ghislaine Robyns, who was descended from



Figure 11. Pieter Neeffs the Elder (Flemish, active 1605–1656/61). *Interior of a Gothic Church*, 1636. Appendix 1A, No. 37. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.109)

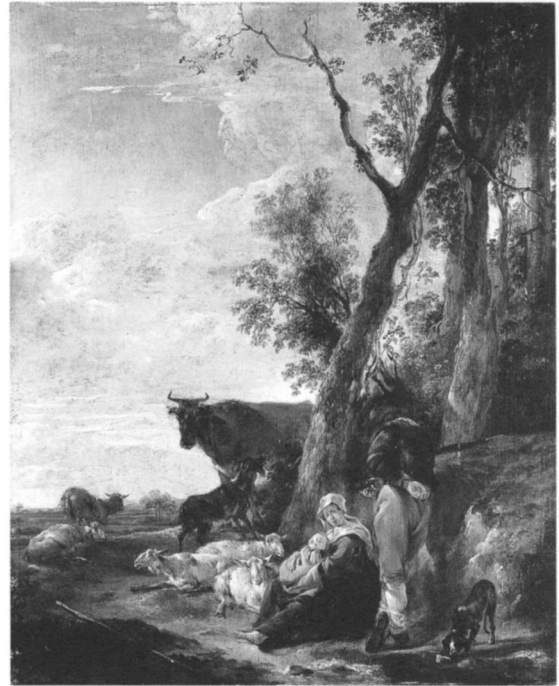


Figure 12. Nicolaes Berchem (Dutch, 1620–1683). *Rest*, 1640s. Appendix 1A, No. 159. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.125)

the eighteenth-century Brussels collector Martyn Robyns. Monsieur Robyns's estate sale of May 22, 1758, apparently included no fewer than eleven lots by Rubens and eight by Van Dyck, as well as works by Jordaens, Rembrandt, Paolo Veronese, and Poussin among many others.⁴⁰ (Coincidentally, and to compound the confusion, the Purchase of 1871 also included authentic paintings by Van Dyck, Jordaens, and Poussin, as well as a canvas previously ascribed to Rembrandt.) Part of this collection was bought back at the sale by Martin's brother, through whom it was presumed to have been inherited by Catherine Robyns. The family believed that some of the works sold by Martin-Benôit in April 1868 had belonged to Robyns and rightly imagined that a connection with Robyns would have added luster to the Cornet holdings. Still, it may be asked—taking into account the sale of some two hundred pictures in 1758, the passage of more than a hundred years, and the presumed sale of paintings in 1868—What might have remained of the Robyns or Cornet collections to be bought, on September 22, 1870, by Mr. Blodgett of New York?

After the death of Martin-Benôit Cornet in November 1870, an estate inventory describing and valuing the works of art in his collection was compiled. Comte Paul Cornet gave this document, along with other material constituting a major portion of the family archives, to the Abbé Lambert, who in 1930 published a history of the village of Ways and of the Cornet fam-

ily entitled *Autour d'un vieux clocher*. The archival materials supplied to Lambert cannot now be found. The only other documents relating to the Purchase of 1871 are those that Blodgett gave to the Museum and the information the Museum itself compiled and preserved.

ESTATE SALES OF THE 1860S AND 1870

There are many cases in which Cornet ownership of pictures sold by Le Roy to the Museum can be ruled out. The Museum's *Group Portrait* by Gillis van Tilborgh (Appendix 1A, No. 11), for example, had appeared at the estate auction of Désiré van den Schrieck in Louvain in April 1861. Le Roy was the organizer of the Van den Schrieck sale, and Le Roy was also the buyer, acting as agent for a well-known collector, the vicomte de Bus de Gisignes. Nine years later Blodgett acquired the Van Tilborgh from Le Roy, who presumably had bought it back from the vicomte. Another painting from the Van den Schrieck sale which made its way to New York was a so-called Snyders (Appendix 1B, No. 9). Recorded as having been sold in 1861 to "V. van den Schrieck," it was thus bought in or bought back by a member of the family. In either case Le Roy, who knew where to find it, sold it to Blodgett in 1871. As was customary practice among dealers, Le Roy kept track of paintings he had handled and often reacquired them to sell to other clients.

A Cornet provenance can also be ruled out for six additional paintings from the Brussels collection that must have been part of Le Roy's stock. They came from the estate sale of the marquis Théodule de Rodes, held at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris on May 30, 1868, for which Le Roy served as an expert. The marquis's husband had been a client of Le Roy.⁴¹ Van Dyck's *Saint Rosalie* and Pieter Neeffs the Elder's *Interior of a Gothic Church* (Figures 5, 11; Appendix 1A, Nos. 5, 37) were offered at the Rodes sale and were later sold to Blodgett by Le Roy. The same holds for paintings by or attributed to Johan van Hugtenburgh, Casper Netscher, Balthasar Paul Ommeganck, and Rachel Ruysch (Appendix 1B, Nos. 59, 55, 24, 60), which the Museum has since disposed of. At the Rodes sale Gauchez bought Berchem's *Rest* (Figure 12; Appendix 1A, No. 159) and Joannes Lingelbach's *Hawking Party* (Appendix 1B, No. 169, since sold). From that sale he also proffered Jan van der Heyden's *Quai at Leyden* (Appendix 1B, No. 168) to Blodgett as part of the third collection. (In 1861 the painting had been offered in the auction Le Roy organized for the Van den Schrieck estate: Probably it was he who recommended it to Rodes.) The Van der Heyden is annotated in at least one copy of the Rodes catalogue as having been withdrawn at 8,000 French francs (a figure twenty percent lower than the 9,550 francs Le Roy had paid for the Van Dyck, which was the previous lot, and less than half the valuation of a single figure of a woman by Gabriël Metsu, which was withdrawn from the sale at 20,000 francs). If the Van der Heyden was indeed withdrawn, Le Roy, as one of the experts, probably would have arranged for its subsequent sale to Gauchez. Both prices may have been prejudiced by issues of condition. According to a further annotation in the same copy of the Rodes catalogue, the Van Dyck was much repainted. In fact, it is somewhat worn. As to the Van der Heyden, a century later it was sold by the Museum because it was in very poor state.

On March 12, 1870, Alexis Febvre had been an expert for the Paris estate sale of German collector baron Henry de Mecklenbourg, and he was one of two experts for the estate sale of the marquis du Blaisel held on March 16 and 17, also in Paris. At the Mecklenbourg sale Gauchez bought for 5,000 francs Van Goyen's *Moerdyck* (Appendix 1B, No. 128), which the Museum later sold owing to its severely damaged condition. At the Blaisel sale Gauchez purchased for 4,210 francs Jordaens's *Holy Family with Saint Anne* (Figure 3; Appendix 1A, No. 118) and for 310 francs a work ascribed to Van Herp (Appendix 1B, No. 155) that was eventually sold as a copy after Rubens. He may also have bought Poussin's *Midas Washing at the Source of the Pactolus* (Figure 9; Appendix 1A, No. 139),



Figure 13. Bartholomeus van der Helst (Dutch, 1613–1670). *Portrait of a Man*, 1647. Appendix 1A, No. 138. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.73)

which was then called *Allégorie mythologique*, in shares with a dealer named Philips, for a price variously reported as 3,900 or 3,500 francs.⁴²

Le Roy and his son Victor organized the estate sale of Baron de Heusch that was held in Brussels on May 9 and 10, 1870. Le Roy was the buyer at that sale of Léonard Defrance's *Brigands Dividing Booty* and *The Rope Dance* and *The Spinner* by Quiringh Gerritsz. van Brekelenkam (Appendix 1A, Nos. 40, 41, 79), which became part of the Brussels collection. (In view of the many works primarily of local or regional interest in the 1871 purchase, it is interesting to note that *The Rope Dance*, by an eighteenth-century painter of the Liège school, fetched twice as much as *The Spinner*, a seventeenth-century Dutch genre scene.) He also purchased nine paintings by the eighteenth-century Flemish artist Jan Jozef Horemans and one by Pieter van Asch, all belonging to the Brussels group and since sold (Appendix 1B, Nos. 25–33, 78). The experts for the Heusch sale described all but the Van Asch and the Van Brekelenkam as "tableaux décoratifs" that had been removed from the baron's home, the Château de l'Andweck. Six of the Horemans paintings are three meters high. Four of them are devoted to the seasons, and another two pairs and an overdoor constitute a set with subjects drawn from Belgian

country life. Given the size of the paintings and the relationship between them, it is unlikely that they had changed hands repeatedly. Gauchez was at the Heusch sale as well and bought *Wooded Landscape* by Cornelis Huysmans and a Jan Weenix still life that also ended up as part of the Museum's purchase (Appendix 1B, Nos. 154, 166, both subsequently sold). It is very unlikely that any of the paintings from the May 1870 Heusch sale had belonged previously to the Cornet family. They were offered to Blodgett as having come from three separate owners.

At least three paintings from the estate sale of H. D. Vis Blokhuyzen held in Paris on April 1 and 2, 1870, came to the Museum with the 1871 purchase. Gauchez bought a Bartholomeus van der Helst *Portrait of a Man* (Figure 13; Appendix 1A, No. 138) for 4,105 French francs. He also bought, for 190 francs, a *Crucifixion* ascribed in the sale catalogue to Gaspar de Crayer, which he later changed to Theodor Boeyermans (Appendix 1B, No. 143, since sold). Also at the Blokhuyzen sale Febvre bought for 620 francs a canvas by Johan van Hugtenburgh which was among the paintings Le Roy offered Blodgett and which the Museum eventually sold (Appendix 1B, No. 57). Judging from Gauchez's purchases at the Rodes, Heusch, and Blokhuyzen auctions, the presumption that he sold Blodgett two separate collections of which one had been the property of a Parisian owner can be ruled out.

THE INAUGURAL EXHIBITION AND ITS CATALOGUE

The slim volume the Museum published in 1872 to accompany its inaugural exhibition yields much information about the art market in, and the taste of, 1870. The catalogue presents the Brussels collection of paintings, those sold by Le Roy, as numbers 1–100; the Paris collection, sold by Gauchez, as 101–59; and the last fifteen pictures Blodgett purchased from Gauchez as 160–74.⁴³ In Appendix 2 of this article, the works are listed in the same order as they were in the 1872 catalogue, but they are separated into two groups, Part A being the 64 paintings still in the Museum's collection and Part B the 110 that have been deaccessioned.

The notice by the committee appointed to prepare the 1872 catalogue concludes: "[We] have decided to preserve the orthography of the proper names and the dates of births, deaths, etc., as given by Messieurs LeRoy and Gauchez, and also to print under the title of each picture a translation of the substance of the historical and critical remarks in relation to it, as they appear in the report of those gentlemen, without



Figure 14. David Teniers the Younger (Flemish, 1610–1690). *Peasants Dancing and Feasting*, ca. 1660. Appendix 1A, No. 10. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.99)

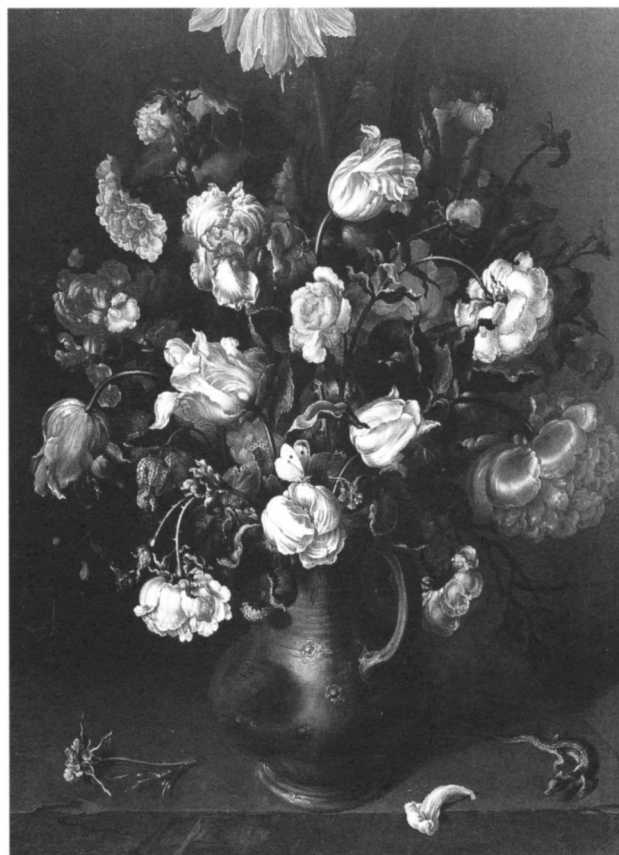


Figure 15. Jacob Vosmaer (Dutch, 1584–1641). *A Vase of Flowers*, ca. 1618. Appendix 1A, No. 69. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.5)



Figure 16. Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich (German, 1712–1774). *Surprised, or Infidelity Found Out*, third quarter 18th century. Appendix 1A, No. 91. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.142)



Figure 17. Master of the Béguins (French, active 1650–60). *Beggars at a Doorway*, ca. 1655. Appendix 1A, No. 93. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.80)

introducing any additional matter.” In fact, the text is a translation of the handwritten French guarantees provided by the dealers. The original manuscripts contain some biographical details about the artists, extensive descriptions of the individual works, and, in many cases, information on previous owners and some quotations from earlier catalogues. The length of each manuscript entry tends to be proportionate to the perceived importance of the work. The translations in the published catalogue are shortened. Life dates for the artists, which were not included in the French text, must have been supplied separately. As the published dimensions do not correspond with the dealers’ submissions, the paintings must have been remeasured. As noted above, Gauchez mandated the employment of an engraver to transcribe signatures, dates, and inscriptions.

The 42 Flemish works in the first group of 100 paintings, the Brussels collection, are catalogued first, from earliest to latest—that is, from Gerard van der Meire to Jean Louis de Marne. Two paintings are given to Rubens, two to Van Dyck, and one to Jordaens. Of these, one Van Dyck (Figure 5) is now judged to be autograph. David Teniers the Younger’s *Peasants Dancing and Feasting* (Figure 14) also belongs to the group. Numbers 43 through 86 are Dutch, beginning with Dierick Bouts, including a Jacob Vosmaer still life (Figure 15) and the church interior by Pieter Neeffs the Elder (Figure 11), and ending with Alexander Beerstraaten. The German school is accounted for by numbers 87 through 92, with the

most attention given to number 91, by Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich (Figure 16). There is one French painting (Figure 17), then attributed to Antoine Le Nain and now ascribed to an anonymous Le Nain follower called the Master of the Béguins. The other seven works, of very modest quality, are given to four painters of the Italian school. The artist represented in greatest strength, by nine large decorative canvases, is the little known Flemish history and genre painter Jan Jozef Horemans (born 1715). The majority of the pictures are northern European; most date to the seventeenth century, but a significant number are from the eighteenth century.

The fifty-nine paintings of the second group, beginning with number 101, are listed in the catalogue haphazardly, without regard to national school or date. The original French manuscript describes twenty-four Dutch pictures, eighteen Flemish, eight Italian, six French, one Spanish, one German, and one English. The balance among the various schools is not dissimilar to the Brussels group, with preference given to northern Baroque art, which is not surprising considering the taste of that moment for European old master painting. Generally, the more distinguished works belong to the so-called Paris collection: in addition to the paintings by Jordaens, Poussin, and Van Goyen (Figures 3, 9, 10), Marten van Heemskerck’s portrait of his father (Figure 18), the Van der Helst (Figure 13), a Salomon van Ruysdael *Marine*, a study head by Jean Baptiste Greuze, a pair of Jean Baptiste

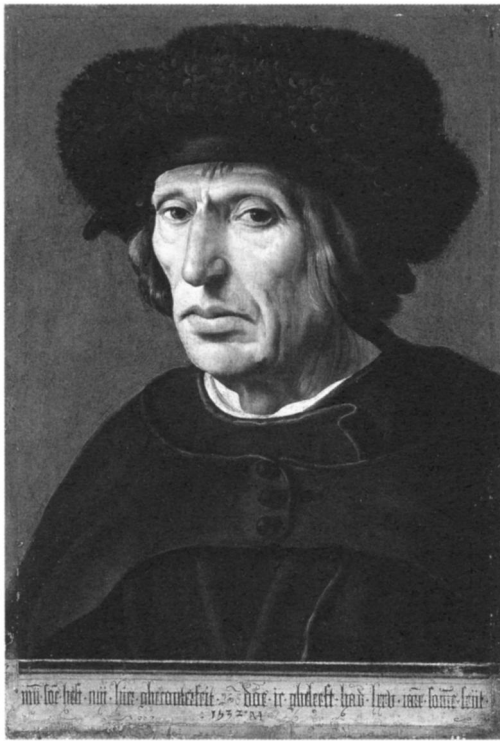


Figure 18. Marten van Heemskerck (Netherlandish, 1498–1574). *Jacob Willemsz. van Veen* (1456–1535), *the Artist's Father*, 1532. Appendix 1A, No. 119. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.36)

Oudrys from the famous French connoisseur La Live de Jully, two views of Venice by Guardi, and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's oil sketch *The Investiture of Bishop Harold as Duke of Franconia* (Figures 19–25). The last fifteen miscellaneous pictures include a still life then attributed to Velázquez (Figure 8).

The catalogue contains no illustrations. It must have been Gauchez who, to fill this lacuna, conceived of a set of etchings representing some of the Metropolitan Museum's most important new acquisitions that could be distributed in Europe as well as sold in New York. Initially ten works were chosen: paintings by Van Goyen (Figure 10), Van Heemskerck (Figure 18, and see Figure 29), Greuze (Figure 20), Van der Helst (Figure 13), Willem Kalf (Figure 26), Berchem (Figure 12), and Abraham (then called Adriaan) de Vries (Figure 7); Jordaens's panel (Figure 3); a portrait of a woman then ascribed to Lucas Cranach the Younger and now given to Bernhard Strigel (Figure 27); and a portrait believed to be by Frans Hals and then called *Hille Bobbe Von Haarlem* (Figure 30). All were works in which Gauchez, and not Le Roy, had had primary interest. In the spring and summer of 1870 Gauchez had offered, and the *Musées Royaux* in Brussels had refused, the paintings by Jordaens and

Van der Helst, and possibly also the ones by Kalf and then ascribed to Hals. It was doubtless with satisfaction that on October 25, 1872, he forwarded a copy of the Metropolitan Museum's first catalogue and a volume of prints by Jacquemart to the administration of the Brussels museum. (The writing paper he used not only bears his address, "11 rue du Musée," Brussels, but is also embossed "Metropolitan Museum of Art New York founded 1870.")⁴⁴

Jules Ferdinand Jacquemart (1837–1880), the Parisian artist selected to reproduce the Metropolitan's paintings, was a gifted etcher, particularly of objets d'art, who was much employed from December 1859 onward by the *Gazette des beaux-arts*.⁴⁵ Roughly two-thirds of Jacquemart's graphic output is devoted to illustrations of objects, and the balance is divided between prints reproducing paintings by other artists and original compositions. Among the distinguished volumes he illustrated the earliest is the 1862 *Histoire artistique, industrielle et commerciale de la porcelaine*, by his father, Albert, and Edmond Le Blant. Jacquemart's best-known illustrations are perhaps those for Henry Barbet de Jouy's *Musée impérial du Louvre: Les gemmes et joyaux de la couronne* of 1865. His first, highly successful etching after an old master painting, Johannes Vermeer's *Officer and Laughing Girl* (which belonged then to Léopold Double and is now in the Frick Collection, New York), accompanied the second of three groundbreaking articles published in 1866 by Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger).⁴⁶

Little is known of the circumstances of the print commission other than the fact that the trustees, in their first annual report of May 1872, noted that the services of Jules Jacquemart were "offered" to the Museum. This can only have been through Gauchez, who must also have promoted a more ambitious and long-range project described in a three-page pamphlet published in 1871, evidently for the trustees, to issue a total of ten numbers containing ten Jacquemart prints each after paintings in the permanent collection, the first of which would appear on December 23.⁴⁷

An 1871 advertisement announces that ten prints by Jacquemart of Metropolitan paintings were to be issued by the firm of Paul and Dominic Colnaghi of 13 and 14 Pall Mall East, London. Sets of artist's proofs would be available in limited quantities for £3.3.0, proofs on India paper for £2.2.0, and prints for £1.1.16. The set of prints held by the Museum's Thomas J. Watson Library includes etchings of the ten paintings initially chosen, preceded by a title page, also by Jacquemart, on which the text is surrounded by an elegant garland of flowers, fruit, and grain tied with ribbons (Figure 28). Gauchez may have made arrangements with Colnaghi's for the publication of



Figure 19. Salomon van Ruysdael (Dutch, 1600/1603–1670). *Marine*, 1650. Appendix 1A, No. 150. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.98)



Figure 20. Jean Baptiste Greuze (French, 1725–1805). *Study Head of a Woman*, 1760s. Appendix 1A, No. 120. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.91)



Figure 21. Jean Baptiste Oudry (French, 1686–1755). *Dog Guarding Dead Game*, 1753. Appendix 1A, No. 104. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.89)



Figure 22. Jean Baptiste Oudry. *Ducks Resting in Sunshine*, 1753. Appendix 1A, No. 105. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.57)

the Jacquemart etchings when he stayed in London, at the Buckingham Palace Hotel, while setting up the shipments of paintings to New York. Blodgett stayed at the same hotel when he went to pick up the proofs from Colnaghi's that he took to Paris for Jacquemart to sign. The prints illustrating works in the new Museum (see Figure 29) are not Jacquemart's best. As they do not seem to have sold well in New York or in

Europe, no further orders from the trustees were forthcoming.

Ernest Chesneau must have had a version of the catalogue manuscript and proofs of Jacquemart's prints at hand when he wrote the enthusiastic article that appeared in the October 15, 1871, issue of the *Revue des deux mondes*. Chesneau was exceedingly flattering to Blodgett and Hoppin, and so well informed about



Figure 23. Francesco Guardi (Italian, Venetian, 1712–1793). *The Grand Canal above the Rialto*, 1760s. Appendix 1A, No. 145. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.119)



Figure 24. Francesco Guardi. *Santa Maria della Salute*, 1760s. Appendix 1A, No. 146. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.120)

the steps taken toward organization, incorporation, and fund-raising for the New York museum that he might have been in touch with those gentlemen himself. If not, certainly he was in touch with Gauchez. In Europe at the time, Chesnau reported, there was a debate about the role of museums: Should their holdings be comprised only of masterpieces or should the history of art be presented as completely as possible? The New York committee, he said, wisely opted for the latter course, believing that paintings by, for example, Raphael could no longer be had. An absolute condition was the authenticity of the works, attested by the Belgian expert Étienne Le Roy.⁴⁸

A similar tribute by Louis Decamps, editor of the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, was published in that magazine in three installments in January, May, and December 1872.⁴⁹ Decamps points out that Blodgett, whom he



Figure 25. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (Italian, Venetian, 1696–1770). *The Investiture of Bishop Harold as Duke of Franconia*, ca. 1751–52. Appendix 1A, No. 149. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.121). See also cover illustration

calls a “merchant prince” and “the soul of the New York Museum enterprise,” was acquainted with the principal museums of Europe. He draws attention to Blodgett’s particular interest in the museum in Rotterdam—where the collection of Dutch secondary masters rounds out the holdings of the great museums of Amsterdam, The Hague, and Haarlem—and to Thoré-Bürger’s scholarly appraisal of its holdings, providing a grain of more specific evidence of Blodgett’s interests.⁵⁰

The notices in the New York newspapers were also uniformly favorable. “The child is born!” announced *The Mail* on February 19. “The Metropolitan Museum of Art is an accomplished fact. The private view of the royal infant . . . came off . . . to the unqualified delight of all who were fortunate enough to be present.”⁵¹ *The Nation* critic wrote on March 14 that he considered “fate to have been



Figure 26. Willem Kalf (Dutch, 1619–1693). *Interior of a Kitchen*, early 1640s. Appendix 1A, No. 152. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.69)



Figure 27. Bernhard Strigel (German, 1460–1528). *Portrait of a Woman*, first quarter 16th century. Appendix 1A, No. 121. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.34)

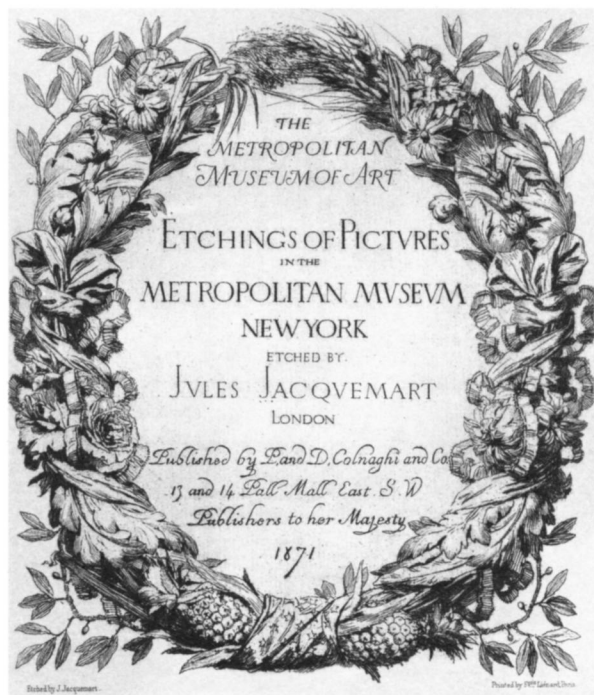


Figure 28. Jules Ferdinand Jacquemart (1837–1880). Title plate to *Etchings of Pictures in the Metropolitan Museum, New York*, 1871. Etching, 213 x 181 mm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library, presented by Administration of the Museum

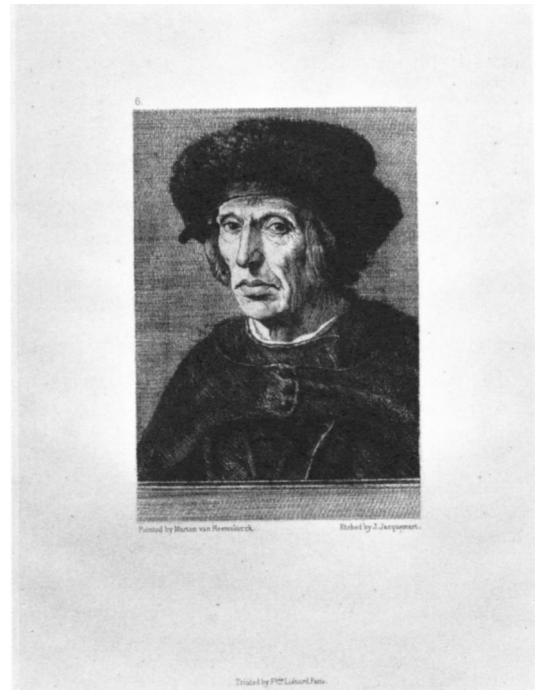


Figure 29. Jules Ferdinand Jacquemart. *Etchings of Pictures in the Metropolitan Museum, New York*, 1871, plate 6, after Marten van Heemskerck, *Jacob Willemsz. van Veen*. Etching, 197 x 149 mm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Watson Library, presented by Administration of the Museum



Figure 30. Style of Frans Hals (Dutch, second quarter 17th century). *Malle Babbe*. Appendix 1A, No. 144. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.76)

notably kind in directing to us a group of old masters having the three advantages of being in prime condition, indisputable in pedigree, and wonderfully attractive and accessible in subject-motive." But Eli Perkins, writing in *Commercial Advertiser* on February 21, 1872, injected a note of characteristically American realism:

Are they great pictures? Some of them are, and many are not. But they were not bought as great pictures. They were bought to show the history of art. They are a *nucleus* around which we will one day cluster good pictures, and around which will collect a great gallery like the [Prado], of Madrid; the Hermitage, of St. Petersburg; and the Uffizi, of Florence.

The young Henry James observed (anonymously) in similarly measured tones in an essay for the *Atlantic Monthly* of June 1872: "It is not indeed to be termed a brilliant collection, for it contains no first-rate example of a first-rate genius; but it may claim within its limits a unity and continuity which cannot fail to make it a source of profit to students debarred from European opportunities."⁵²

From the floor plan of the principal exhibition hall that Perkins published in the February 1872 *Commercial Advertiser* (Figure 31), it is possible to ascertain which of the paintings on display were thought to be



Figure 31. Floor plan of the great gallery of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1872 (drawn after a plan illustrated in the *Commercial Advertiser* of February 21, 1872)

the most important, although of course considerations of size also played a part. Twenty-four paintings were chosen to hang in the great gallery. (Of the smaller galleries and of the earliest loans to the Museum there does not seem to be any record.) Facing the entrance was Gaspar de Crayer's *Meeting of Alexander the Great and Diogenes* (Figure 32), from the Brussels collection, which at three meters wide was large enough to be visible at



Figure 32. Gaspar de Crayer (Flemish, 1584–1669). *The Meeting of Alexander the Great and Diogenes*, 1650s. Appendix 1A, No. 8. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.1)



Figure 33. After a model by Ludwig von Schwanthaler (German, Munich, 1802–1848). *Dancing Girl*, cast 1854. Bronze, H. 221 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Griffith Rowe, 1872 (72.4)

either side of two sculptures, both lent for the occasion, set in the center of the room: a marble *Napoléon* by Vincenzo Vela (1820–1891) and a bronze *Dancing Girl* cast in 1854 (Figure 33) after a model by the Munich sculptor Ludwig van Schwanthaler.⁵³ “Cramer was not a Paul Veronese,” Henry James remarked in his *Atlantic Monthly* essay, “but he was a rich and agreeable colorist, and he diffused throughout his work an indefinable geniality which reproduces, in an infinitely lower key, the opulent serenity of Rubens.”⁵⁴ The trustees had been persuaded to take a special interest in Flemish and Dutch Baroque painting and were amenable to anything Rubensian. The Cramer had belonged neither to the prince de Rubempré nor

to the empress Joséphine at Malmaison, as the 1872 catalogue alleges.⁵⁵ Étienne Le Roy had bought it at the sale of the duc d’Arenberg on October 4, 1847. The dealer’s cataloguing errors were understandable and in any event may not have been of much help in his efforts to sell the picture: It seems probable that the enormous canvas had remained on his hands for more than twenty years. At the Museum, it has not been exhibited in decades, but it hangs in the offices of the European Paintings Department on account of its historic interest as the first painting the Museum acquired.⁵⁶

Turning then to a Van Dyck (Figure 5), which, although relatively small, was displayed at the center of the long wall to the right, James drew attention to “the lovely flesh-glow of the tumbling cherubs who uplift the pretty postulant into the blue.” The postulant, identified in 1872 as Saint Martha but now known to be Saint Rosalie, was painted by Van Dyck in Palermo in 1624, a year which saw a serious outbreak of the plague in Sicily and in which Rosalie’s relics were found on nearby Mount Pellegrino.⁵⁷ Van Dyck seems to have fled Palermo in September 1624. This perennially popular painting almost certainly remained in Sicily, where, twenty-four years later, it was bought by the famous Messina collector Don Antonio Ruffo di Calabria.⁵⁸ Assuming that *Saint Rosalie Interceding for the Plague-Stricken of Palermo* is the Ruffo picture, it remained in the family until sometime after 1750. Le Roy, who again was the seller, proposed that it “belonged to the Royal Museum of Madrid, whence it was brought by the king, Joseph Bonaparte.”⁵⁹ While this is unproven, it is theoretically possible, as Joseph Bonaparte was king of Naples from 1806 to 1808 and king of Spain from 1808 until 1813. The picture was sold in London in 1829 and again in 1857 and in Paris as part of the estate of the marquise Théodule de Rodes on May 30, 1868. (It cannot have belonged to the Cornet family.) Le Roy acquired it sometime after the Rodes sale.

To the left of *Alexander and Diogenes* hung the so-called Frans Hals, *Malle Babbe* (Figure 30), mistakenly called *Hille Bobbe*, which, in the absence of a Rembrandt, was presented as one of the most important works in the collection and was much admired despite its broad, rough handling, which did not especially appeal to the New York audience at that time. James labeled it “a masterpiece of inelegant vigor.”⁶⁰ As indicated in the 1872 catalogue, the picture had belonged to Lord Palmerston, the Tory statesman and prime minister who died in 1865: It is recorded at his home, Broadlands, by about 1805 and was probably part of his inheritance.⁶¹ It was

engraved by Louis Bernard Coclers (1741–1817). The canvas is a seventeenth-century work apparently representing a historical personage, but it is no longer believed to be by the hand of Hals himself.⁶² In 1869 the original Hals of this subject, Malle Babbe with a tankard and with an owl perched on her left shoulder, had been exhibited for the first time in Berlin and published to acclaim by Thoré-Bürger in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*.⁶³ The discovery of another such painting would have been a coup, and in July 1870 Gauchez offered his new prize, which he had probably bought in England that summer, to the Musées Royaux in Brussels for 12,000 Belgian francs.⁶⁴ His offer was declined. As he had sold the Brussels museum a fine Hals portrait of Johannes Hoornbeeck for 20,000 francs in April (the transaction is mentioned in the 1872 catalogue), this must have been a grave setback.⁶⁵ He recovered by selling the canvas to Blodgett.

“Hille Bobbe by Frans Hals” was one of “some fifty” paintings from the Purchase of 1871 that were exhibited in 1920 in connection with the celebration of the Museum’s fiftieth anniversary.⁶⁶ The label affixed to the painting called it first among “works whose excellence time has served to enhance.” It was also chosen for the cover of the April 1946 *Bulletin*, which marked the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Museum and drew attention to a commemorative exhibition titled *The Taste of the Seventies* (Figures 34, 35).⁶⁷ Then curator of paintings Harry B. Wehle singled it out together with the big Jordaens (Figure 3) that had also been part of the Paris collection.⁶⁸ Though not as popular as *Malle Babbe* in 1872, *The Holy Family with Saint Anne and the Young Baptist and His Parents* has stood up rather better to the test of time. Having studied this panel painting, the writer for *The Nation* on March 14, 1872, described Jordaens’s talent as strong, mundane, practical, and modern.⁶⁹ The Jordaens *had* belonged to a



Figures 34 and 35. Gallery views of *The Taste of the Seventies* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, seventy-fifth anniversary exhibition, 1946)



Figure 36. Copy after Hugo van der Goes (Netherlandish, late 15th century). *The Adoration of the Magi*. Appendix 1A, No. 1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.100)

French collection: Gauchez bought it at the March 1870 estate sale of the marquis du Blaisel for 4,210 francs and offered it for 8,000 Belgian francs, without success, to the Brussels museum.⁷⁰

Among the most popular of all of the exhibits in 1872 was the portrait of a man by Van der Helst (Figure 13), whose literal, descriptive technique was greatly admired. According to Eli Perkins, there was “no difference of opinion as to the *chef d’œuvre* of the gallery, . . . a portrait of a dutch Burgomaster. . . . Examine the old fellow’s beard closely, and you will see as good work as you

have seen on the head by Titian in Aspinwall’s gallery. This is the great picture of the gallery and the one Mr. Hop[p]in says he would like to steal!”⁷¹ It is impossible to know what the purported Titian might have looked like, but the Van der Helst would have been relatively easy for New Yorkers to judge and to admire. In the nineteenth century they were proud of, and liked to draw attention to, their Dutch heritage. This work Gauchez had bought for 4,105 francs at the Paris estate sale of H. D. Vis Blokhuyzen of Rotterdam, held on April 1 and 2, 1870. He rushed to offer it that same month to the Brussels museum for 6,000 Belgian francs, an offer which was again rejected.⁷²

On the wall opposite the Van der Helst hung an *Adoration of the Magi* then attributed to Gerard van der Meire (Figure 36) and a diptych given to the school of Rogier van der Weyden (Figure 37) that must have been included in the great gallery because they were the only early pictures in the collection. No works by Gerard van der Meire of Ghent are known; he is recorded in the literature as a painter who probably died in 1512.⁷³ As early as 1924 Max Friedländer called this late fifteenth-century *Adoration of the Magi* a copy after Hugo van der Goes, from whose Monforte altar it is now thought to derive.⁷⁴ Nothing of the history of the painting prior to 1870 is known, and it is therefore possible that it had belonged to the Cornet family before coming into the hands of Étienne Le Roy. The diptych is a copy after Dieric Bouts (active by 1457, d. 1475) painted some fifty years later than the lost original.⁷⁵ A competent manifestation of conservative Netherlandish taste, it would have been a good stand-in for a really first-rate example of fifteenth-century devotional art and practically the only gold-ground work in the opening exhibition. The



Figure 37. Copies after Dieric Bouts (Netherlandish, ca. 1525). *The Mourning Virgin; The Man of Sorrows*. Appendix 1A, Nos. 158, 157. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.157, 71.156)



Figure 38. Salomon van Ruysdael (Dutch, 1600/1603–1670). *Drawing the Eel*, 1650s. Appendix 1A, No. 110. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.75)

two panels were intended as a single composition: They share the same directed lighting and framing elements. In the 1872 catalogue, however, the *Ecce Homo* was assigned number 157 and the *Mater dolorosa* number 158, and Gauchez attributed them to two different painters of the school of Rogier van der Weyden. This to our eyes rather perverse cataloguing has made it possible to identify what is almost certainly their source: a Paris sale at the Hôtel Drouot held February 28 through March 1, 1870, in which lot 113 was “Jésus représenté en buste” and lot 114, “La Vierge, en buste,” catalogued separately under the rubric “École de Rogier van der Weyden.”

Previous ownership by major European collectors was reassuring to a purchaser, affirming his or her taste and judgment, and important histories of ownership could be attached to several of the finer paintings in the Purchase of 1871. Hanging in a place of honor immediately to the right of the entrance to the great gallery was *Peasants Dancing and Feasting* by David Teniers the Younger (Figure 14).⁷⁶ Teniers’s peasant pictures had been immensely popular in his own lifetime, and in the 1650s he had served as court painter to both the archduke Leopold William, governor of the Netherlands, and his successor, Don Juan of Austria. Teniers was also admired in eighteenth-century France. This canvas had been engraved by Jacques Philippe Lebas (1707–1783) when it was in the collection of the marquis de Brunoy, who died in 1776. It came to the Museum from Le Roy, who proudly observed that it had also belonged to “the celebrated collections of the Countess de Verrue, the Duke de Morny, and the Marquis of Salamanca, from whom it was purchased for 25,200 francs,” a high price.⁷⁷

Salamanca, an extremely wealthy Spanish businessman who used works of art as an investment vehicle, had bought a large part of the Morny collection, probably including the Teniers, in 1865. Le Roy had co-organized the June 1867 Paris sale of the Salamanca collection, which grossed over 1,600,000 francs.⁷⁸

Near the Teniers in the great gallery was a Dutch work which would have satisfied a similar taste, Salomon van Ruysdael’s *Drawing the Eel* (Figure 38), a signed and dated panel painting which is also from the 1650s. *Drawing the Eel* (once titled *A Dutch Kermesse*, or village fair) is as animated as *Peasants Dancing and Feasting* but shows a winter scene rather than summer, with many smoking chimneys, bare trees, and skaters and sledges on the ice. In the background a peasant woman, back to back with a man on a cart horse, is pulling an eel along a cord to the presumed amusement of the many spectators. Gauchez wrote that the painting came from the private collection of King Maximilian I of Bavaria. In the year following Maximilian’s death in 1825, a part of his estate, including the Salomon van Ruysdael *Marine* of 1650 (Figure 19), was sold anonymously in Munich. *Drawing the Eel* does not seem to have been in that sale; Gauchez may have confused its provenance with that of the third Salomon van Ruysdael he sold to Blodgett, *View of the Town of Alkmaar* (Appendix 1A, No. 151), which was probably lot 3 in the sale.⁷⁹

Of the several paintings in the great gallery which were neither Flemish nor Dutch, the *Study Head of a Woman* by Greuze (Figure 20) was most admired, not surprisingly, as in the later nineteenth century, expressions of emotion were popular with both connoisseurs and the public. Perkins, having waxed lyrical, struck a

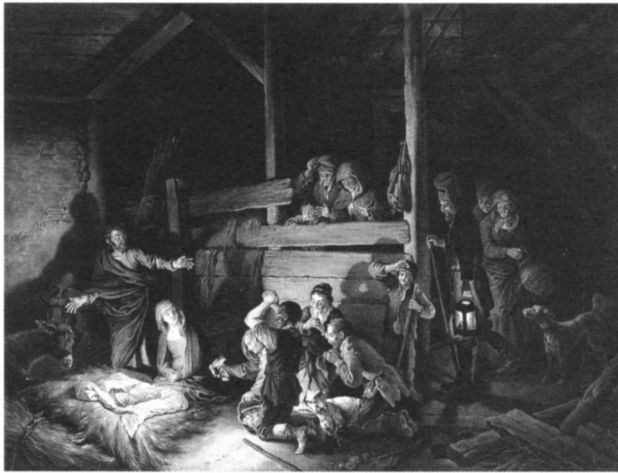


Figure 39. Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich (German, 1712–1774). *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1760s. Appendix 1A, No. 92. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871 (71.162)

practical note when he observed that the “pictures of Jean Baptiste Greuze are high priced in Europe. I suppose this picture is worth \$6,000. Nineteen of his pictures sold in Paris for \$120,000 in 1870.”⁸⁰ From Gauchez’s catalogue entry,⁸¹ we know that Perkins was referring to the sales of Anatole Demidoff (1812–1870), prince of San Donato, which were held in Paris in February 1870 and at which nineteen works by Greuze sold for a total of 725,000 francs (from which we can deduce that the dollar was then equivalent to roughly six francs). In 1872 the expressive study head would certainly have been among the ten or twelve most valuable paintings in the entire collection. Gauchez did not disclose, nor has it been possible to discover, where it came from.

Of the 24 paintings exhibited in the principal gallery of the Dodworth Building in 1872, the Museum retains 13, the 10 already discussed and a still life then attributed to Velázquez and now ascribed to Abraham Brueghel (Figure 8), the portrait by Abraham de Vries (Figure 7), and an *Adoration of the Shepherds* by the eighteenth-century German painter Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich (Figure 39). Le Roy bought the Dietrich in Brussels at the Rothan sale of December 19–21, 1866. The provenance of the other two, handled by Gauchez as part of the third group of fifteen paintings, was and remains undisclosed.

At this writing the Metropolitan Museum owns 64 paintings from the Purchase of 1871, rather more than one-third of the original total of 174. While the Museum receives support of various kinds from federal, state, and city agencies, it is a private institution with limited funds and a finite amount of square footage in Central Park. No restrictions apply to the founding

purchase, and since 1929 the trustees from time to time have deaccessioned and authorized the sale of those paintings judged unworthy of an increasingly distinguished permanent collection. Of Étienne Le Roy’s 100 pictures, the Brussels collection, 24 belong now to the Museum. The remaining 76 have been sold at public auction. Of the 59 old masters that constituted Léon Gauchez’s Paris collection, 38, or two-thirds, still belong to the Museum. The pictures Gauchez offered as part of this group are by better-known artists, French and Italian as well as Dutch and Flemish, and they are of markedly higher quality.

ATTRIBUTIONS AND ISSUES OF QUALITY AND CONDITION

A list preserved in the Museum’s Archives that was apparently compiled by Gauchez on March 4, 1871, records the whereabouts and attributions of the fifty-nine pictures in the Paris collection and values twenty-six of them in French francs (see Appendix 3A). In relative terms, the amounts on the list may reflect not only what Gauchez paid for the paintings but also his view of their relative merits. High on Gauchez’s list are paintings by Guardi (two, each valued at 15,000 francs, or about \$2,500), Jordaens (15,000 francs), Greuze (7,000), Poussin (7,000), Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (7,000), Van Goyen (6,000), Van Heemskerck (3,000), and Margareta Haverman (3,000) that are among the most important in the 1871 purchase (and all still in the Museum’s collection; see Appendix 1A, Nos. 145–46, 118, 120, 139, 149, 116, 119, 112). A *Portrait of a Young Woman* by Cornelis de Vos (Appendix 1A, No. 136) that Gauchez valued at 6,000 francs, while not to modern taste, is the sort of Flemish picture which was greatly admired in the late nineteenth century. In relatively few cases are Gauchez’s attributions now judged to be optimistic or incorrect, and even those changes reflect advances in modern scholarship. The attribution to Hals of *Malle Babbe* (Appendix 1A, No. 144; on Gauchez’s list at 15,000 francs), for example, was questioned as early as 1883; now, by common consent, the canvas is ascribed to an unidentified contemporary.⁸² The portrait of John I (Appendix 1A, No. 89; at 3,500 francs) is one of many replicas from the Cranach workshop, but this would have been regarded as a very fine point of scholarship in 1870.⁸³ The original of Willem van Mieris’s *Tippler* emerged recently, with the result that the picture the Museum acquired in 1871 (Appendix 1B, No. 129; valued at 6,500 francs on Gauchez’s list) should almost certainly be regarded as a copy.⁸⁴ The *Comical March* (listed at 5,000 francs) is after Pater, rather

than by him, as Gauchez thought. The portrait of Sir Edward Hughes that Gauchez attributed to Sir Joshua Reynolds (and valued at 7,000 francs) is also a copy.⁸⁵ Its indifferent quality bears out the commonly held assumption that English portraiture was neither well known nor admired outside England in the late nineteenth century. All of the paintings in the Paris collection are in a good or very good state of preservation. Gauchez had paid 4,210 francs for the Jordaens, 3,500 for the Poussin, and most likely 4,500 plus a small percentage for the Van Mieris, so his markup was roughly two to one, which was probably unexceptional.

A second, undated document in the Museum's Archives is a valuation of sixty pictures, also with the dealers' attributions (see Appendix 3B). About half of them were part of the Brussels collection; the other half are also on Gauchez's list of March 4 (with the same values). In general, the values for Le Roy's paintings are proportionately higher than those for Gauchez's, while many more of the attributions are no longer accepted or are open to doubt. Had Le Roy's collection not been acquired the Museum would have lost only two important paintings (Figures 5, 14), Van Dyck's *Saint Rosalie* (listed at 35,000 francs) and a fine David Teniers the Younger (30,000). The Crayer, Van Tilborgh, and Jan Victors have been retained (see Appendix 1A, Nos. 8, 11, 51), but for the Museum's study collection, and are rarely exhibited.

Attributions are intuitive opinions, the validity of which may be enhanced by associating an attributed work with one which is universally accepted, by associating it with another form of documentation, or, over the years, by a developing consensus of expert opinion. As has often been the case with the 1871 purchase, scholarly research may yield negative results. In the nineteenth century much greater importance was attached to signatures and to histories of ownership, which were supplied when known, even though the record could be confusing. Gauchez and Le Roy depended upon these forms of documentation when preparing their guarantees. As far as we know, Gauchez changed the attribution of only one of the paintings he sold to the Museum: the *Crucifixion* ascribed to Gaspar de Crayer in the Blokhuyzen sale of April 1–2, 1870, which he attributed to Theodor Boeyermans (Appendix 1B, No. 143).

Most of the works from the Purchase of 1871 that the Museum has sold have disappeared from view, and only the archival records and old photographs, a number of them of rather poor quality, remain. Nevertheless, it is sometimes possible to construe the course by which Gauchez or Le Roy may have decided upon attributions which are no longer accepted. In addition, with the publication of illustrated catalogues, a

significant number of irrefutably inferior copies after important paintings in other public collections have been identified.

A case in point is *A Smoker* (Appendix 1B, No. 47), which Le Roy ascribed to Adriaan van Ostade and which the 1872 catalogue claimed bore the signature "AvOstade / 1644." Henry James, in his June 1872 article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, called "the little picture by Adriaan Van Ostade, elder brother and master of Isaac," a work of the greatest charm: "In this delicious cabinet-piece sits a 'Smoker,' filling his pipe amid a wealth of mellow shadows. His figure is full of homely truth and finish. . . . This work, a veritable gem, is almost misplaced in a general collection. It ought to hang on the library wall of the most fastidious of amateurs, and be shown solemnly to a chosen friend, who holds his breath for fear of tarnishing its lucid bloom."⁸⁶

The picture was listed as by Adriaan van Ostade in two standard works of reference, by John Smith in 1842 and by Cornelis Hofstede de Groot in 1910.⁸⁷ But in his article on European old masters in 1888 the German collector and art historian Fritz von Harck was as negative about *A Smoker* as James was positive, calling it only a copy and disparaging it along with the Museum's holdings in general: Of some 250 works in the collection, he said, "die meisten [sind] werthlos" (most [are] worthless).⁸⁸ Published in all the Metropolitan Museum catalogues and reproduced in the summary catalogue of 1980, *A Smoker* has not, as far as we know, been mentioned elsewhere in the modern literature.⁸⁹ On a visit to the Museum the date of which is not recorded, Horst Gerson proposed an alternate attribution to Isaak von Ostade (1621–1649). Julius Held, in 1971, instead suggested Abraham Diepraem (1622–1670). No trace of the purported signature had been found. In 1988 the attribution to Adriaan van Ostade was ruled out, and the painting was consigned for sale under the rubric "attributed to Adriaen van Ostade." In 1989 it fetched \$30,000 at auction.

The trustees knew that as a restorer Le Roy, who had cleaned the Rubens altarpieces in Antwerp Cathedral, had intimate knowledge of the artist's work, and Le Roy judged *Return of the Holy Family from Egypt* (Appendix 1B, No. 3) to be the most valuable and important painting he sold to the Museum:

This admirable picture, was painted for the Church of the Jesuits at Antwerp, soon after Rubens' return from Italy, and before he had called in the aid of any assistants. It was done immediately after finishing the famous *Crucifixion* in the Cathedral of Antwerp, and before the execution of its companion picture, that other masterpiece, *The Descent from the Cross*, or in other words, at the period when this Prince of Painters

produced his greatest works. Grandeur of style and power of coloring are equally the characteristics of *The Return from Egypt*.⁹⁰

The dealer explained that after the suppression of the Jesuits, the altarpiece was removed from a side altar of the church and sold on May 20, 1777. He noted also that it had been engraved by Schelte Bolswert (ca. 1586–1659) and was mentioned in eighteenth-century guidebooks as well as in the early scholarly literature on Rubens.

After seeing the *Return of the Holy Family from Egypt* in Brussels in September 1870, Hoppin called it “a very noble production,” reporting to his fellow trustees that “in composition, form and color it would be an ornament to any collection however distinguished.”⁹¹ Nevertheless, Hoppin had evidently expressed reservations to the dealers and received their further assurances. “It is different in color and design from those of the works with which we are most familiar,” he wrote. “It is more quiet in the drawing and attitudes and much less ruddy in the fl[c]sh tints. The shadows also are browner than we are accustomed to see them in Rubens’ pictures. Mr. Le Roy and Mr. Gauchez stated that this was the case with the works which he produced just after he came out of Italy and that there was not the least doubt of the authenticity of this painting.”

In his article in the *Commercial Advertiser* of February 21, 1872, Eli Perkins (who thought the Dutch and not the Flemish paintings were the highlights of the collection) was also quite negative about the *Return of the Holy Family*, calling it “a panel picture, but it has been rearranged and now looks like a canvas. Those who have seen the Antwerp ‘Crucifixion’ or his ‘Catharine [sic] de Medici’ in the Louvre will not call this a masterpiece. But how could we expect to get a masterpiece of Rubens in America?”⁹² In June 1872 Henry James also expressed uncertainty:

The visitor will turn with little delay to the Rubens; he will turn from it perhaps with some disappointment. The picture has a fair share of the Rubens mass and breadth, but it lacks the Rubens lustre—the glowing relief which we demand as the token of a consummate Rubens. . . . It is brown and dull in tone, and the figures have not the full-blooded aspect of most of the Rubens progeny. . . . [However] Rubens alone . . . could have made his Virgin so gracefully huge and preserved the air of mild maternity in such massive bulk.⁹³

A great-nephew of one of the founding trustees, William Cowper Prime, recorded his understanding in a letter to curator Harry B. Wehle in 1946 that the Rubens panel had had to be transferred to canvas

because it had checked badly, probably after prolonged exposure to American central heating. Because of Prime’s letter and because the picture was in the custody of Museum curator George H. Storey in 1891, it has been supposed that Storey carried out the transfer.⁹⁴ But Storey, in his journal, noted only that he had the painting for eight or nine months for restoration, and Perkins’s comment that the panel was “rearranged” to look like a canvas suggests that the transfer took place *before* the painting was shipped to the United States. Whenever it was transferred, it was evidently not cleaned until 1891, as its dull brown tone and the apparent absence of modeling of the forms were noted in 1872. If it was checking or flaking, the painting might have been off exhibition as early as 1888, when Von Harck failed to mention it in his article on the Museum’s collection.

Both the panel and the paint surface of *Return of the Holy Family* might have been severely compromised by the heat of the fire in the Jesuit church that destroyed Rubens’s ceiling in 1818. Evidently the painting does come from that church, and it was indeed the basis for the seventeenth-century engraving by Schelte Bolswert, which bears the legend “Rubens pinxit”⁹⁵ (although there are significant differences between the two, among them the dove and the halo on Joseph’s head in the engraving, which are missing from the painting). Writing in 1886, Max Rooses called the painting a ruined original. In 1895 Wilhelm von Bode ascribed it to Rubens’s studio, as did John Rupert Martin and Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann eighty years later.⁹⁶ Rubens must have been responsible for the design of the painting, which had long been difficult to judge owing to its very poor state of preservation. Removed from exhibition by the mid-1930s (the date from which the European Paintings Department’s location records are preserved), between 1949 and 1981 *Return of the Holy Family* was attributed to Rubens’s pupil Gaspar de Crayer. When it was finally sold in New York in 1981 as from the school of Rubens it fetched the modest sum of \$7,000.

According to Le Roy, *The Windmills* (Appendix 1B, No. 13), which he ascribed to Jan Velvet Brueghel, “formed part of the collection of the Duke de Praslin, and was engraved by Le Bas, for Le Brun’s Gallery of Flemish, Dutch and German Painters.” Praslin’s picture may well have been the primary version, but, as we shall see, evidently it is not the painting the Museum purchased in 1871. As to *The Hill* (Appendix 1B, No. 14), also in 1871 attributed to Brueghel, since 1892 the autograph variant of this composition has been in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. To summarize the scholarly argument, these two paintings are certainly a pair and may be by the same

hand as a similar pair in the Prado, Madrid, but none of the four is comparable in quality to the Frankfurt picture and none is by Jan the Elder. The attribution of *The Windmills* and *The Hill* was changed to imitator of Jan Brueghel the Elder at least fifty years ago. After being published as copies by Walter Liedtke in 1984, the two were sold in 1994.⁹⁷

A Flemish Village (Appendix 1B, No. 131), received as the work of Jan Brueghel the Younger, is one of a number of workshop variants of a subject painted by both Jan Brueghel the Elder and his son, Jan the Younger.⁹⁸ The fact that several of the variants closely resemble each other suggests that they all were painted at about the same time in Jan the Elder's shop. Gauchez's attribution of *A Flemish Village* to Jan the Younger is in no way surprising. Scholars and connoisseurs began dividing the paintings between the two hands in the nineteenth century, but only in the last thirty years has this task progressed to the systematic stage of assigning lesser works to the studio. *A Flemish Village* fails to convey a convincing sense of depth and recession and is on that account not up to the standard of either father or son. It was sold in 1982.

The name of the artist to whom *The Head of John the Baptist* (Appendix 1B, No. 155) was ascribed is actually Willem (not Gerard) van Herp (?1614–1677). A minor painter in Antwerp, Van Herp copied Rubens and Van Dyck.⁹⁹ Although no provenance for the picture was published in 1872, Gauchez, or a previous dealer, apparently associated it with a picture from the Stier d'Aertselaer collection which had been sold at Antwerp on August 27, 1817: "attribué à J. van Herp, d'après P.-P. Rubens, peint sur panneau, haut 27 pouces . . . , large 39." The sizes are practically identical, and the identification was noted by Max Rooses, who was unaware that the painting formerly in the Metropolitan Museum is on canvas.¹⁰⁰ In 1956 this work was sold as "one of a number of school replicas" after Rubens's *Feast of Herod*, now in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.¹⁰¹ It is among the copies which follow an engraving by Schelte Bolswert, as Jacob Rosenberg first observed in 1936. According to Ludwig Burchard, writing in 1938, "nothing seems to indicate, that van Herp was the copyist."¹⁰²

What seems to have been an important collection of European old master paintings of various schools, the property of the collector Martin Robyns, was sold in Brussels on May 22, 1758.¹⁰³ Gerard Hoet's repertory of sales describes lot 93 as "Bacchus met zeeve andere Figuuren, door [J. Jordaens], hoog 7 voet 5 duim, breed 5 voet 7 duim" (Bacchus with seven other figures, by J. Jordaens, height 80½ inches, width 58½ inches). According to the Museum's records, *The Triumph of Bacchus* (Appendix 1B, No. 7), which in 1871

was thought to be by Jacob Jordaens, measures 80½ by 58 inches. Le Roy, who identified it with the Robyns painting, described it thus: "A rich composition of the most beautiful quality of this master . . . , from the collection of Martin Robyns, sold at Brussels, May 22, 1758, cited in the catalogue of Gerard Hoet."¹⁰⁴ The theory seems to have been that the canvas was bought back at the sale (many were) and descended to Catherine-Ghislaine Robyns (1776–1852), wife of Jacques Cornet de Ways Ruart (1765–1829), mother of Martin and grandmother of Félix. No evidence supports this supposition. The painting of the subject universally regarded as by Jordaens belonged to Landgraf Wilhelm VII of Hessen until 1749, when it passed to the Staatliche Museen of Kassel.¹⁰⁵ Although close in size, it cannot be the Robyns picture. The Museum's painting, recognized as a copy in 1934, was sold in 1956. In 1953 Leo van Puyvelde had offered the dissenting opinion that it was a variant by Jordaens of the Kassel picture; in 1968 Michael Jaffé published it as shop work.¹⁰⁶

Sébastien Leclerc (1734–1785), the youngest of three generations of artists of that name, was a genre painter of whom little is known other than that he taught at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris.¹⁰⁷ The painting of which *The Flutist* (ascribed to Leclerc in 1872; Appendix 1B, No. 161) is a hard and slightly larger copy is one of a pair from the 1816 founding bequest to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.¹⁰⁸ The Fitzwilliam original was considered to be by Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) until 1889, when the artist was recognized as Nicolas Lancret (1690–1743) on the basis of an engraving after the painting by C.-N. Cochin. The pale pink cape of the flute player in the original was rendered in a dark color by the copyist, indicating that the Cochin engraving was his source. The date the attribution of *The Flutist* the Museum owned was changed is not recorded but may well have been after 1924, when the original was reproduced in Wildenstein's Lancret monograph.¹⁰⁹ The copy was sold in 1956.

The hairstyle and costume suggest a date of 1630–40 for the original on which the *Portrait of a Lady* attributed to Sir Peter Lely (Appendix 1B, No. 83) that was part of the Purchase of 1871 is based. This modest, darkened image represents Amalia van Solms (1602–1675), wife of Frederik Hendrick (1584–1647), prince of Orange. As Frederik Schmidt-Degener first pointed out in 1935, it is after one of a number of portraits by Gerard von Honthorst and members of his shop, examples of which are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.¹¹⁰ The Museum sold its painting in 1956.

In 1918 Duveen Brothers acquired from the duke of Pembroke at Wilton House and sold to Henry Clay Frick two works by Jean Baptiste Joseph Pater,

Procession of Italian Comedians and *The Village Orchestra*.¹¹¹ *The Comical March* (Appendix 1B, No. 103), which Gauchez sold to Blodgett in 1870, is a same-size copy of the *Procession of Italian Comedians*, with slight changes in the landscape and the foliage at the right. In 1907, having seen the new illustrated catalogue of the Wilton House pictures, Roger Fry, then curator of paintings at the Metropolitan Museum, wrote a note to the files identifying *The Comical March* as “obviously a copy though perhaps near contemporary.”¹¹² The Frick paintings were engraved, probably in 1739, by S.-F. Ravenet; some of the copies are probably based on the prints. This one was sold in 1956.

Lions Chasing Deer (Appendix 1B, No. 4), which the 1872 catalogue identifies as by Peter Paul Rubens, is actually a stiff copy of *Two Young Lions Pursuing a Roebuck* by Frans Snyders (1579–1657), from the Bavarian electoral collections and now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.¹¹³ The lions in the Snyders painting hark back to a drawing by Rubens. *Lions Chasing Deer* is slightly smaller than the Munich picture and omits details of the landscape at the left, right, and bottom edges. More or less in line with scholarship at that time, it was offered for sale in 1929 as a Snyders.

The Crowning with Thorns (Appendix 1B, No. 135) was acquired in 1871 as by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, who is now exceptionally well represented in the Museum’s permanent collection. It was published in the Venetian paintings catalogue of 1973 as by Jacopo Guarana (1720–1808), a principal assistant and follower of Tiepolo.¹¹⁴ Guarana’s signature on the slab at the lower right, which had been painted over (doubtless so that the picture could be sold as a Tiepolo), was revealed during conservation treatment in 1930–31. Tiepolo’s original has belonged since 1925 to the Hamburger Kunsthalle.¹¹⁵ The Guarana was sold in 1981.

Roger Adolf d’Hulst (in 1954) and Horst Gerson (during a visit to the Museum on an unknown date) both rejected the attribution of *Summer* and *Autumn* (Appendix 1B, Nos. 18, 19) to David Vinckeboons.¹¹⁶ *Summer* is loosely based on the Museum’s famous *Harvesters* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (active by 1551, d. 1569).¹¹⁷ The artist probably never saw the original but adapted a variant or a print. The source of *Autumn* has not been identified. Works on copper are generally stable and well preserved, but *Summer* and *Autumn* had suffered extensive blistering and loss of paint, particularly in the foregrounds. Reattributed to an unidentified Flemish painter, they were sold in 1978.

Other paintings from the Purchase of 1871 were also identified as copies before they were deaccess-

sioned. The so-called Rogier van der Weyden (*The Descent from the Cross*, Appendix 1B, No. 2), for example, is a copy—enlarged from a horizontal composition to a square and omitting three figures at the right—of a painting in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, for which Rogier certainly prepared the design.¹¹⁸ It was attributed to the school of Rogier when it was sold in 1982. *Flowers* (Appendix 1B, No. 147), which came to the Museum as by Rachel Ruysch, is after a painting by Ruysch that was sold at Christie’s in 1988.¹¹⁹ The so-called Adriaan Vander Werff (Appendix 1B, No. 122) is a copy of a work in the Musée d’Art et d’Histoire, Geneva.¹²⁰

Gauchez attributed an oil sketch titled *Meeting of the Trained Bands to Celebrate the Conclusion of the Peace of Münster* (Appendix 1B, No. 170) to Frans and Dirk Hals. In 1934 Wehle identified it as a study by Govert Flinck (1615–1660) for his painting of the subject, which since 1808 had been on loan from the city of Amsterdam first to the Koninklijk Museum and then to the Rijksmuseum.¹²¹ The finished canvas, *The Amsterdam Civic Guard Celebrating the Signing of the Peace of Münster*, follows the sketch in its compositional outlines but differs somewhat in the number, arrangement, and characterization of the figures. It measures more than five meters in width and is signed and dated 1648. Wehle’s attribution was accepted in 1935 by Wilhelm Valentiner and in 1945 (on the basis of a photograph) by Jacob Rosenberg. Otto Benesch, in 1940, instead suggested an attribution to Johann van Noordt of Brussels,¹²² and J. W. von Moltke, in his Flinck monograph of 1956, published the Museum’s canvas as a copy.¹²³ Catalogued as a study for the Flinck, it was sold in 1962. Some thirty years later, curator Michiel Jonker bought it from a private collector for the Amsterdams Historisch Museum.¹²⁴ To our knowledge, this is one of two cases in which another public institution acquired a deaccessioned painting from the 1871 purchase (see also Appendix 1B, No. 129).

The many works by minor artists that Le Roy sold to Blodgett in 1871 indicate that the Brussels dealer supplied the New York merchant with a certain amount of his otherwise unwanted stock. A significant number of the paintings the Museum purchased in 1871 and has since sold can be described as primarily, or in some few cases solely, of regional interest. Most of these are seventeenth-century Flemish or Dutch works, and most are from the Brussels collection. Paintings by or attributed to Dutch artists Pieter van Asch, Cornelis Dekker, Barent Gael, Johan van Hugtenburgh, Frederix Moucheron, Abraham Stork, and Renier de Vries (Appendix 1B, Nos. 78, 56, 80, 57–59, 64, 63, 75–76) fall into this category, as do Flemish paintings by or

attributed to Peeter van Bloemen, Theodor Boyermans, Abraham van Diepenbeeck, Frans Francken the Younger, Adrian Griff, Jan Jozef Horemans the Younger, Cornelis Huysmans, Balthasar Paul Ommeganck, and Jacob van Oost the Elder (Appendix 1B, Nos. 34, 143, 174, 35, 17, 25–33, 12, 154, 173, 24, 38).

In a comprehensive survey of public and major private collections in Holland published in 1898, Georges Lafenestre and Eugène Richtenberger recorded nothing by Dekker, Van Oost the Elder, or Renier de Vries. The Rijksmuseum held one painting by Van Asch, one by Van Hugtenburgh, and one by Stork, as well as three landscapes by Moucheron.¹²⁵ In all the Dutch collections they surveyed, the seven Dutch artists listed above were represented by a total of eleven paintings, roughly the same number the Metropolitan Museum owned in 1872. That by 1976 the Rijksmuseum held only two Mouchérons, having presumably disposed of the third, would seem to invalidate the argument that the Rijksmuseum had not been fortunate enough in its acquisitions.¹²⁶ Among the Flemish paintings A.-J. Wauters listed in his 1900 catalogue of the old master paintings in the Belgian national collection, the *Musées Royaux* in Brussels, were one work by Van Diepenbeeck, one by Francken the Younger, one by Huysmans, and none by Van Bloemen, Boeyermans, Griff, Horemans the Younger, Ommeganck, or Van Oost the Elder.¹²⁷ By contrast, in 1872 the Metropolitan Museum owned seventeen paintings by the same eight artists.

There are more paintings by the artists in question in the Louvre, several of them acquired for the royal collection in the 1700s,¹²⁸ than in either the Belgian or the Dutch national collection. The Louvre owns one each by five of the Dutch artists: Van Asch, Dekker, Hugtenburgh, Moucheron, and Stork. Its collection includes no fewer than twenty-two Flemish paintings, however: individual works by Peeter van Bloemen, Diepenbeeck, Griff, and Van Oost the Elder, two pictures by Ommeganck, seven biblical and allegorical subjects by the younger Frans Francken, and nine landscapes by Cornelis Huysmans.¹²⁹ This bears out the widely held assumption that collectors in eighteenth-century France particularly admired (and that French painters of that century often emulated) the seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish schools. Geographic proximity must certainly have played a part. The National Gallery, London, holds four paintings by various of the Dutch artists and one of the Flemish school, while the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., owns not a single painting by any of them.¹³⁰

Issues of condition also affected the Museum's decisions over the years to sell paintings from the original purchase. As no photographs from 1870 or earlier of the paintings in the proposed purchase have been preserved it can be assumed that none were available. Only Blodgett and Hoppin had seen the paintings when, in March 1871, Johnston took out the bridge loan on account with Blodgett, and the trustees agreed to make the purchase. The trustees retained the right to return to Blodgett and Johnston works which were demonstrably not what they were supposed to be, but none were discovered—there being insufficient expertise—in the thirty days after delivery allowed under the contract.¹³¹ It was even understood at the time that the paintings offered as part of the three “package deals” were of uneven quality, while a few were not in good state, as Johnston himself observed.¹³²

The trustees were persuaded that when buying what were understood to be private collections, gold comes mixed with dross. For while in 1872 the Metropolitan Museum owned roughly the same numbers of Dutch and Flemish paintings as the Louvre, the quality and condition of the works was, understandably, not comparable. It seems apparent that the condition of the altarpiece designed by Rubens but painted in his workshop and traditionally titled *Return of the Holy Family from Egypt* (Appendix 1B, No. 3) was already severely compromised when the Museum acquired it. Judging from an old photograph, no attempt was made to improve the appearance of the *Head of Christ* then attributed to Dierick Bouts (Appendix 1B, No. 43) before it was sent to New York in 1871. It was rubbed, and losses of significant size affected one of Christ's eyelids and his forehead, cheeks, and mouth. Only one photographic negative existed at the Museum, indicating that conservation was never undertaken, and Wehle omitted the work from the Museum's 1947 catalogue owing to its condition.¹³³ It was sold in 1956 as “Flemish, fifteenth century.” The portrait acquired in 1871 as by Jacob van Oost the Elder (Appendix 1B, No. 38; sold in 1956) arrived at the Museum flattened and crizzled from lining. Old photographs of two other paintings from the Purchase of 1871—*Dives, the Rich Man of the Gospel*, which was reportedly signed by Frans Francken the Younger, and the landscape said to be by Frederix Moucheron and Joannes Lingelbach (Appendix 1B, Nos. 35, 64)—show extensive local losses. They too were sold, in 1956 and 1929 respectively. A small *Village Fair* by François de Paula Ferg (Appendix 1B, No. 90) was, quite simply, a ruin in 1871; it was sold in 1929 as by an unknown artist for \$2.



Figure 40. Frank Waller (American, 1842–1923). *Interior View of the Metropolitan Museum of Art when in Fourteenth Street, 1881*. Oil on canvas, 61 x 50.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1895 (95.29). To the left of the door is the Van Dyck (Figure 5), in its 1871 frame, with the de Vos portrait (Appendix 1A, No. 136) above it

A GROWING COLLECTION

After the opening in February 1872 the trustees turned their attention to planning for a new building. On April 1 the park commissioners designated a site in “that part of Central Park between 79th and 84th streets and the Fifth Avenue and the Drive.”¹³⁴ Ground-breaking for what was to become the Museum’s permanent home did not take place until 1874, however, and meanwhile the Dodworth Building proved to be inadequate. In April 1873 the board leased a larger house, the Douglas Mansion, at 128 West Fourteenth Street, into which the collection was transferred forthwith (see Figure 40).¹³⁵ A program of loan exhibitions had always been intended, and part of the additional space in the new building was devoted to loans, primarily of European paintings, which were described in an amended catalogue. The loans were intermingled with the permanent collection, doubtless with the intention of strengthening the display and perhaps also in the hope of attracting future gifts. The first wholly American exhibition was also held in 1873: thirty-eight pictures, the last summer’s work of

landscape painter and trustee John F. Kensett (who had died in December 1872), supplemented by three allegorical landscapes by Thomas Cole (1801–1848).

As would be the case with the majority of American art museums, The Metropolitan Museum of Art was founded with the intention of building a collection. Therefore the development of the collection—which depended not only on the taste of the Museum’s patrons but also on what the art market could offer—was at first quite serendipitous. It happened that the New York museum, which had opened with a single collection of European paintings primarily of the Flemish and Dutch schools, would next acquire an enormous quantity of Cypriot antiquities. As the rental of the Dodworth Building had been occasioned by the Purchase of 1871, so the transfer to the Douglas Mansion was a consequence of the acquisition of the Cesnola collection.

General Luigi Palma di Cesnola’s recent archaeological excavations on the island of Cyprus were the sensational topic of the Museum’s inaugural lecture, delivered by future trustee and treasurer Hiram Hitchcock on March 25, 1872.¹³⁶ General Cesnola, wishing above all that his collection of more than ten thousand objects remain intact, had offered it to the Museum. Once again John Taylor Johnston, fearing that an excellent opportunity for the Museum might be lost, bought it himself, for \$60,000, rightly assuming that the trustees would in time raise the money to pay him back.¹³⁷

General Cesnola (1832–1904), born in the Piedmont region of Italy, saw action briefly in the Crimean War.¹³⁸ Thereafter he emigrated to the United States, where in 1862 he joined the Fourth New York Cavalry Regiment and fought in the Civil War. In 1865, having been discharged, he secured the position of American Consul on Cyprus, where, with time to spare, he became a passionate amateur archaeologist. While there were no laws against digging, in 1871 the general was faced with a ban on the export of antiquities from Cyprus. By mid-January 1872 he had shipped the major sculptures to London and was trying to sell them in New York, or if not there to one or another of Europe’s most important museums.

Cesnola was primarily interested in large limestone sculptures, which he compared to the art of classical Greece. Hoping to rival the achievements of Heinrich Schliemann at Troy and Mycenae, he later trumpeted the discovery of the so-called Kourion Treasure of ancient Cypriot artifacts. When it emerged that he had described objects of different periods as having been found together, his reputation was much damaged, but meanwhile Johnston and the other trustees were

impressed by his early finds, and the Cypriot antiquities captured the imagination of the American public.

The Cesnola material which Johnston bought for the Museum in advance of the May 1873 opening of the Douglas Mansion consisted of thousands of objects of stone, terracotta, pottery, faience, glass, ivory, bone, bronze, silver, and gold. The works were arranged in seven rooms. Loans occupied four additional rooms in the mansion, three of objects and one of “modern” paintings (shown separately from the Kensetts in the permanent collection). Antiquities were the focus of interest, and nineteenth-century pictures were perennially popular; the old masters were allocated to a hallway and a single large room at the back of the building. General Cesnola himself eventually became a permanent fixture of the Museum. In 1879 he oversaw the move to Central Park, and shortly thereafter he became the first director.

How did the new Museum and its holdings compare with others in the United States? In 1874 the Corcoran Gallery of Art opened in Washington, D.C.¹³⁹ William Wilson Corcoran (1798–1888) built the gallery to house his collection of American art and intended that it should serve also as a national portrait gallery.¹⁴⁰ Corcoran’s first significant purchase, in 1846, was an eighteenth-century German painting by Anton Raphael Mengs. Thereafter he acquired the *Greek Slave* by Hiram Powers, a popular contemporary American sculptor, and he soon became enamoured of the Hudson River School, especially the work of Thomas Cole. After trips to Europe in 1849 and 1850 he also bought modern European pictures, but they were never as important to him. In the way that its collection was formed, the Corcoran Gallery differs from the Metropolitan Museum; additionally, the works Corcoran owned were more typical of late nineteenth-century American taste, both public and private.

Boston’s Museum of Fine Arts, chartered in 1870, had its roots in the Boston Athenaeum and is therefore older than the Metropolitan.¹⁴¹ For nearly fifty years, from 1827 onward, the Athenaeum sponsored loan shows of contemporary American painting and sculpture, European paintings, and casts. Its Pearl Street premises had a purpose-built gallery; its Beacon Street facility opened in 1849 as a library and an exhibition venue, with sculpture on the first floor and top-lit rooms for pictures on the third. The small permanent collection gradually assembled at the Athenaeum by gift and purchase became the nucleus of the holdings of the Museum of Fine Arts, which between 1870 and 1876, when the first part of its new building opened, continued to use the Athenaeum’s galleries. As early as 1828, the Athenaeum had bought

a portrait of Benjamin Franklin by Joseph Siffred Duplessis from the family of Thomas Jefferson; in 1831 it purchased sketches of George Washington and his wife by Gilbert Stuart from the artist’s heirs. From the beginning, the new Boston museum received significant individual gifts: in 1870, Washington Allston’s *Elijah in the Desert* and Thomas Crawford’s sculpture group, *Hebe and Ganymede*, both of the contemporary American school; in 1871, a Brussels tapestry, two paintings from the 1760s by François Boucher, and oak paneling from a sixteenth-century English room. The inaugural exhibition, in 1872, was devoted to several hundred Cypriot antiquities, primarily vases and terracottas, assembled by General Cesnola, which were subsequently bought by public subscription. The earliest catalogue was published in the same year and lists 539 works given or lent, including 349 from the Cesnola collection. Boston has depended more on individual gifts of art than of money and has developed a varied collection gradually, rather than in the spurts which have been a sometime reflection of the enthusiasm of New York’s bankers and industrialists.

Two private collections of old masters formed by Americans abroad and exhibited in New York in the 1850s and 1860s might theoretically have constituted a nucleus for a public gallery in New York—had these “primitives” not been greeted with a combination of disdain and general disinterest. Over twenty years, while living in Paris, Thomas Jefferson Bryan (1803–1870) of Philadelphia assembled a collection in which all of the European schools were represented, though Italian painting predominated. He brought the works back to New York and installed them as a quasipublic display in his rooms at Thirteenth Street and Broadway.¹⁴² The 1853 catalogue of his Gallery of Christian Art lists 230 pictures, all European. While living in New York he added American paintings, and the number rose to 381. Bryan finally offered his holdings to the New-York Historical Society in 1864 because the society was the one institution that proved willing to receive them. The American paintings were of great importance. The majority of the European ones were misattributed (though nobody knew it at the time), and the society eventually disposed of many of them. Lest Bryan be dismissed without adequate consideration, it should be noted that in 1995 this Museum was fortunate to acquire a marvelous “primitive” from his collection which had belonged to the Historical Society, the birth tray of Lorenzo de’ Medici painted by Giovanni di Ser Giovanni.¹⁴³

Bostonian James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), son of the founder of the Sandwich Glass Company, settled

in Florence in 1852.¹⁴⁴ He became a passionate collector and in 1860 brought back to America some 145 Italian paintings of the Early Renaissance. Jarves, a writer and art historian, was deeply committed to the idea of forming a study collection which would illustrate the development of Italian painting from its beginnings through the sixteenth century. He first exhibited his pictures at the Derby Gallery in New York and then deposited them at the New-York Historical Society, having failed to find a permanent home for them. In 1867, as security for a loan, he was finally obliged to deposit the 119 works he still owned at the Yale School of Fine Arts in New Haven. Three years later, when the collection was offered for sale, the treasurer of Yale College offered the only bid, the modest sum of \$22,000. In fact, Jarves was a connoisseur who numbered among his paintings works by Neroccio de' Landi, Antonio Pollaiuolo, the Florentine Master of the Magdalen, and the Sienese Master of the Osservanza.

The Metropolitan Museum is very much a New York museum, and its history in the years immediately before and after 1871 was shaped by market forces and by the enthusiasms and commitment of the entrepreneurs who were among its first and most important patrons. The 1850s and 1860s were not a propitious era for founding museums in the United States. European "primitives" were alien to nineteenth-century taste, and in any event the founders were skeptics who feared they might be duped because of their lack of exposure and experience. They were certainly more comfortable with the art of their own time. Their ambitions for the Museum were enormous and certainly very much larger than their budget.

William T. Blodgett's purpose in going abroad in summer 1870 seems not to have been the acquisition of old masters. Once there, however, he acted quickly. A man of experience in the worlds of both business and art, he saw the Franco-Prussian War as a unique opportunity to buy in a depressed art market, and he needed little persuasion. It was perhaps a happy accident that he enjoyed traveling in Holland, Belgium, and Germany and that his personal preference was for the northern European schools. It was evidently a comfort to his fellow Museum trustees that Blodgett was a knowledgeable private collector buying from at least one internationally recognized expert, Étienne Le Roy. Blodgett had an ally in Johnston, who was also willing to risk his own money. All involved eventually accepted the circumstances as Léon Gauchez described them, which is to say that the paintings had been sold by private collectors in distressed circumstances and that Blodgett had to take minor works in order to secure others of high quality and importance. This

line of argument, though a trick of the trade and wholly inaccurate, was the basis for the trustees' authorization. They almost certainly would not have bought the same paintings individually on the European market. While there were fine pictures in the Purchase of 1871, its ultimate value lay in the fact that the continuing exhibition of a significant number of old masters fostered the interest of the private collectors whose gifts and bequests have regularly enriched the Museum's holdings, from 1875 to the present.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Véronique Sintobin, whose analysis of catalogues at the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique in Brussels and at the Rijksbureau voor Kunst-historische Documentatie in The Hague has added depth and specificity to the sale records. Josephine Dobkin has been of enormous help in the preparation of both the manuscript and, especially, the appendixes. Francesca Marzullo was an excellent proofreader. I am as always grateful for the help of colleagues at the Frick Art Reference Library and, at the Museum, in Archives and in the Thomas J. Watson Library. Through Véronique Sintobin, it has been my pleasure to meet the present Comte Cornet and his wife. Our conversations have at the least made it possible to put on record the fact that no documentation has been found in the family's possession or is otherwise known to them.

ABBREVIATIONS

Baetjer 1995

Katharine Baetjer. *European Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Artists Born before 1865: A Summary Catalogue*. New York, 1995.

Heesterbeek-Bert 1994-95

Catherine Heesterbeek-Bert. "Léon Gauchez, un marchand d'art de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle: Ses rapports avec les Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Quelques révélations puisées aux archives du musée." *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 1994-95 [2001], pp. 183-225.

Howe 1913

Winifred E. Howe. *A History of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Vol. 1. New York, 1913.

James 1872

[Henry James]. "The Metropolitan Museum's '1871 Purchase.'" *Atlantic Monthly*. June 1872.

Reprinted in *The Painter's Eye: Notes and Essays on the Pictorial Arts by Henry James*, ed. John L. Sweeney, pp. 52–66. London, 1956.

Liedtke 1984

Walter A. Liedtke. *Flemish Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. 2 vols. New York, 1984.

MMA Catalogue 1872

The Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Catalogue of the Pictures Belonging to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 681 Fifth Avenue, in the City of New York*. New York, 1872.

NOTES

1. Howe 1913, pp. 143–49.
2. MMA Catalogue 1872. Published for the February opening, the slim volume comprises a brief notice by the committee appointed to prepare it, an alphabetical index of the paintings, and a fifty-six page catalogue, supplemented by an account of the founding of the Museum, and lists of officers and trustees and of subscribers, with the amounts they contributed. Artists' proper names and dates are a subject unto themselves. All of the information on paintings in the Museum's permanent collection is as up-to-date as possible; for the purposes of this article pictures which have been sold are cited first as they appear in the 1872 catalogue.
3. Howe 1913, pp. 148, 147.
4. Robert W. de Forest, "Foreword," in *ibid.*, pp. vii–viii, and William Cullen Bryant in *ibid.*, pp. 106–7.
5. On Johnston, see Katharine Baetjer, ed., "Extracts from the Paris Journal of John Taylor Johnston, First President of the Metropolitan Museum," *Apollo* 114 (December 1981), pp. 410–17, and A. E[verett] P[eterson], "John Taylor Johnston," *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 10 (New York, 1933), pp. 143–44.
6. Wendell D. Garrett, "The First Score for American Paintings and Sculpture, 1870–1890," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 3 (1970), p. 313, quoting the 1883 annual report.
7. Natalie Spassky, *American Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 2 (New York, 1985), pp. 437–45, ill. (22.207); Lucretia H. Giese, "Prisoners from the Front: An American History Painting," in Marc Simpson et al., *Winslow Homer: Paintings of the Civil War*, exh. cat., Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Portland Museum of Art, and Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, 1988–89 (San Francisco, 1988), pp. 64–81, ill., and see also pp. 246–59, no. 20, ill. (entry by Simpson).
8. Blodgett's biography is based on R[obert] W. de F[orest], "William Tilden Blodgett and the Beginnings of The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1 (February 1906), pp. 37–42, and on contributions to an undated, privately printed memorial volume of about 1876, of which a photocopy is in the library of the Museum's American Wing. Blodgett's daughter, Eleanor, and son, William, presented his relevant personal papers to the Museum in 1916. They remain in the MMA Archives and are a primary source of information about the Purchase of 1871.
9. Memorial of the Century Association, December 4, 1875, quoted in Blodgett memorial volume (ca. 1876), p. 34.
10. Kevin J. Avery, *Church's Great Picture: The Heart of the Andes* (New York, 1993), p. 34.
11. Sale, Chickering Hall, New York, April 27, 1876 (95 paintings by 45 European and 20 American artists).
12. De Forest in Howe 1913, p. viii.
13. De Forest, "William Tilden Blodgett," p. 39.
14. De Forest in Howe 1913, p. viii. I have rounded the figure.
15. Ernest Chesneau, "Essais et notices," *Revue des deux mondes* 88 (October 15, 1871), pp. 947–53: "M. Blodgett avait toute autorité. . . . [L]a guerre est déclarée, le 4 septembre jette la panique partout. M. Blodgett était à Paris; il apprend qu'en raison des circonstances on pouvait obtenir à des conditions exceptionnellement favorables trois collections des plus importantes de France et de Belgique." Chesneau noted that Blodgett, without hesitating, committed nearly a half million francs, and that in Paris he met with William J. Hoppin, who lent his support. Chesneau opined that were it not for the poverty of the Brussels museum, with a budget for acquisition of only 12,000 francs, such important works would surely not have gotten away. A memo in the MMA Archives mentions that there were also notices in a Lyons daily called *Le progrès* and in *L'indépendance belge*.
16. *New York World*, November 6, 1875, quoted in Blodgett memorial volume (ca. 1876), p. 70 (see note 8, above).
17. For the events of the Franco-Prussian War, as violent as it was brief, see John Milner, *Art, War and Revolution in France, 1870–1871: Myth, Reportage and Reality* (New Haven, 2000).
18. MMA Archives.
19. The standard work of reference on Gauchez is Heesterbeek-Bert 1994–95.
20. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, *Catalogue inventaire de la peinture ancienne* (Brussels, 1984), reveals that Gauchez sold paintings to the Brussels museum in 1867, 1869–72, 1874, 1876, 1878, 1881–85, 1887, 1888, 1890, 1891, 1894, 1895, 1898, 1901, 1905, and 1906. He sold the museum eight paintings in 1884 and was a regular purveyor throughout the last third of the nineteenth century. By contrast, Étienne Le Roy sold only thirteen pictures to the museum between 1849 and 1864.
21. Léon Gauchez et al., *Pierre Paul Rubens, sa vie et ses oeuvres: Ouvrages illustrés* (Paris, n.d.).
22. On Thoré-Bürger's role as a collector and dealer, particularly in the 1860s, see Frances Suzman Jowell, "Thoré-Bürger's Art Collection: 'A rather unusual gallery of bric-à-brac,'" *Simiolus* 30 (2003), pp. 54–119, and for pictures in the Purchase of 1871, pp. 70–71, 92–94, 112, 115–16, figs. 36–38, 61–64. Jowell has discovered that paintings from Thoré-Bürger's estate were exhibited for sale at his Paris apartment from February 28 through March 28, 1870; among them was the painting attributed to Steen and subsequently to Brackenburch (Appendix 1B, No. 127). She suggests that he may also have handled the Van Beyeren (Appendix 1B, No. 167). Thoré-Bürger did business with Étienne Le Roy as well as with Gauchez. I am grateful to Frances Jowell for her help and to Nan Rosenthal, who introduced us.
23. MMA Catalogue 1872, p. 3.
24. On Le Roy, see E. de Seyn, *Dictionnaire biographique des sciences, des lettres et des arts en Belgique* (Brussels, 1935), p. 676.
25. Article 11 of the ministerial decree. This document was unearthed by Véronique Sintobin.
26. The inscription has been transcribed from the photograph.
27. Baetjer 1995, pp. 301 (29.100.8, 21.100.9), 322 (14.40.607), 323 (17.190.10), ill.

28. MMA Archives.
29. The transactions are summarized in Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1970), pp. 36–37.
30. Many receipts from suppliers are in the MMA Archives.
31. Two separate documents (MMA Archives) give the same total numbers and locations; one is dated.
32. MMA Archives.
33. Ibid.
34. The guarantee, signed by both Le Roy and Gauchez, is dated November 20, 1870 (MMA Archives).
35. The annotated catalogue is at the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
36. Frits Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques intéressantes l'art ou la curiosité* (The Hague, 1964), vol. 3, p. 98, no. 30452.
37. See Albert Blankert in Gilles Aillaud, Albert Blankert, and John Michael Montias, *Vermeer* (Paris, 1986), p. 181. Heesterbeek-Bert 1994–95, p. 211, points out that in 1867 Gauchez had offered this Vermeer for sale to the Musées Royaux without success. She supposes that he had bought it from Bürger, but a consignment seems more likely, based on Gauchez's access to the Brussels museum. Further according to Heesterbeek-Bert, Gauchez "ne suscite pas le moindre réaction."
38. Lugt, *Répertoire*, vol. 3, p. 105, no. 30759, p. 420, nos. 45864, 45865.
39. Extensive information on the Cornet family has been provided by Arthur Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart through the good offices of Véronique Sintobin.
40. For the Robyns sale, see Gerard Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen, met derzelver pryzen zedert een langen reeks van jaaren zoo in Holland als op andere plaatsen in het openbaar verkogt* (The Hague, 1770; reprint, Soest, 1976), vol. 3, pp. 185–95.
41. This information, which may be found in an annotation to the catalogue of the sale of Comte R. de Cornélissen (Le Roy, Brussels, May 11, 12, 15, 1857), was pointed out to me by Véronique Sintobin.
42. The copy of the Blaisel sale catalogue at the Frick Art Reference Library records the buyer as Philips, for 3,500 francs; the copy at the Brussels museum records the buyer as Gauchez; and that at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague records the buyer as Philips of London, for 3,900 francs. The catalogues in Brussels and The Hague were consulted by Véronique Sintobin. As a practical matter, when researching individual paintings, usually only one copy of a sale catalogue is checked; in fact, discrepancies among annotations abound.
43. There are 175 paintings in the 1872 catalogue. Number 175 (p. 65) is Joost van Ossenbeck (Dutch, 1627–1678), *Sarah, Hagar, and Abraham*, which was later assigned the accession number 72.1, indicating that it was the first work the Museum acquired in 1872. Subsequent editions of the catalogue (for example, *Catalogue of the Pictures Belonging to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 128 West 14th Street, New York* [New York, n.d.], p. 65) disclose that it was presented by Gauchez. The painting was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, on March 28, 1956, as lot 130, for \$375 to James Graham and Sons.
44. Heesterbeek-Bert 1994–95, pp. 211–12, 214, 215.
45. William R. Johnston, "Jules Jacquemart," *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 16 (New York, 1996), p. 851, and James A. Ganz, "Jules Jacquemart: Forgotten Printmaker of the Nineteenth Century," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 87 (Spring 1991), pp. 2–24, with essential bibliography. See also Frederick Wedmore, *Four Masters of Etching: with Original Etchings by Haden, Jacquemart, Whistler and Legros* (London, 1883), pp. 12–27, for an appraisal by a contemporary. Jacquemart excelled also in the medium of watercolor. He was a founder member of the Société des Aquarellistes, the Société des Aquafortistes, and a society to promote Japanese culture.
46. W. Bürger, "Van der Meer de Delft," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 21 (October 1866), pp. 297–330; (November 1866), pp. 458–70; (December 1866), pp. 542–75.
47. The pamphlet and the 1871 advertisement are in a bound volume in the Museum's Thomas J. Watson Library that also includes the 1872 annual report.
48. Chesneau, "Essais et notices."
49. Louis Decamps, "Un musée transatlantique," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 2nd ser., 5 (January 1872), pp. 33–40; 5 (May 1872), pp. 434–37; 6 (December 1872), pp. 475–80.
50. See also Jowell, "Thoré-Bürger's Art Collection," pp. 97–98 and n. 247.
51. This and the quotes from *The Nation* and *Commercial Advertiser* are drawn from a volume of clippings of early coverage of the Museum's activities that is preserved in the Watson Library.
52. James 1872. The first negative critical appraisal, by Fritz von Harck, "Berichte und Mittheilungen aus Sammlungen und Museen, über staatliche Kunstpflege und Restaurationen, neue Funde," was published in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 11 (1888), pp. 72–77.
53. See Howe 1913, pp. 144, 146 n. 1. Johnston gave the marble to the Museum that year. Later it was deaccessioned and sold to the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. Sold in turn by the Corcoran, it now belongs to a private collection in Los Angeles. Johnston told Blodgett in a letter of February 22, 1872 (quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 145–48), that the bronze, lent by a Mr. Rowe, was "very fine, but eight feet of dance is a trial to the feelings. Hereafter, we must curb the exuberance of donors except in the article of money, of which latter they may give as much as they please."
54. James 1872, pp. 54–55.
55. Subsequent to the death in 1766 of the prince de Rubempré, two sales were held in Brussels. Lot 130 in the April 11, 1765, sale and lot 36 in the August 8, 1766, sale were evidently the same painting. The dimensions indicate an upright, and the size matches neither the dimensions of the MMA picture nor those of an earlier version in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, which was acquired in 1869 under an attribution to the Cologne painter J. W. Pottgiesser. Nevertheless, the association would have been a perfectly reasonable one. See also Liedtke 1984, pp. 29–32, and Horst Vey, "Ein Wiedererkannter Gaspar de Crayer," *Pantheon* 21 (July–August 1963), pp. 243–46. At another sale associated with the Arenberg family held at Portaels, Brussels, October 5, 1847, lot 62, listed as "Genre de Crayer," sold for 40 guilders to Moes. This may have been another small variant or copy.
56. The first acquisition to be assigned a number (70.1) was a garland sarcophagus found at Tarsus. It was presented by Abdo Debbas, American vice consul at Tarsus, and accepted by the Museum's executive committee on November 21, 1870. The sarcophagus was not part of the opening display, however. See Howe 1913, p. 146.
57. Liedtke 1984, pp. 43–48.
58. For the condition of the work (which has been cut on all sides), the bibliography, and a summary of the argument, see *ibid.*, pp. 43, 47 n. 22. In 1673 Don Antonio Ruffo established an entail in favor of his son, Placido: There were 100 paintings, one of which was a Van Dyck representing "S. Rosolia con 11

- angioletti che la tirano in cielo." According to Vincenzo Ruffo, writing in 1916, these pictures stayed together until at least 1750, and possibly as late as 1818, when entails were abolished in Sicily. Ruffo inventories dating to 1678, 1703, 1710, 1739, and 1748 exist. In Don Antonio's account book of 1648, the dimensions of the *Saint Rosalie* canvas are given as 3 by 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ *palmi*; in the 1678 inventory, 4 by 5 *palmi*—a discrepancy which could be accounted for by a frame. (The Sicilian *palmi* is roughly equivalent to 25 centimeters.) Width is often given before height, and it is impossible to imagine a horizontal ascension. Even though the dimensions do not match, the identification cannot be excluded, as the description fits, there are no other candidates, and the circumstances weigh in favor of this being the Museum's picture.
59. MMA Catalogue 1872, p. 12. The provenance information follows the sale catalogue of the marquise de Rodés, but with the addition of Joseph Bonaparte and the omission of the prominent Belgian dealer Nieuwenhuys.
 60. James 1872, p. 55.
 61. In a catalogue of the pictures at Broadlands is a handwritten extract copied from G. A. Cooke's *Itinerary* (Hampshire, ca. 1805, p. 66) that lists under the entry for the dressing room an "Old Woman, a sketch by Fr. Hals." We owe this information to Mrs. Gemma Greenwood at Broadlands (letter of November 21, 2002, in the European Paintings Department files), whose research is gratefully acknowledged.
 62. See Seymour Slive, *Frans Hals*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Royal Academy of Arts, London; and Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, 1989–90 (Munich and New York, 1989), pp. 236–41, colorpl. 37, figs. 37a–h. The autograph painting belongs to the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
 63. W. Bürger, "Nouvelles études sur la Galerie Suermondt," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 2nd ser., 1 (February 1869), pp. 162–64, ill.
 64. Heesterbeek-Bert 1994–95, p. 214.
 65. See MMA Catalogue 1872; Slive, *Frans Hals*, pp. 300–303, colorpl. 60; and Heesterbeek-Bert 1994–95, p. 189.
 66. "The First Purchase of the Museum," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 15 (June 1920), p. 142.
 67. *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, n.s., 4 (April 1946), colorpl. on cover, and see also the illustration on p. 196 for a gallery view of the exhibition.
 68. See Harry B. Wehle, "Seventy-five Years Ago," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, n.s., 4 (April 1946), pp. 200–213, for an appraisal of the 1871 purchase and of the nineteenth-century paintings by which the old masters were soon supplanted.
 69. See note 51, above.
 70. Heesterbeek-Bert 1994–95, p. 214.
 71. *Commercial Advertiser*, February 21, 1872; see note 51, above.
 72. Heesterbeek-Bert 1994–95, p. 214.
 73. A[lphonse]-J[ules] Wauters, *La peinture flamande* (Paris, [1883]), p. 93, mentions that roughly a dozen paintings were then attributed to him, stating that "la seule chose vraiment authentique qu'il nous ait transmise est son nom, cité par Guicciardini et Van Mander."
 74. Friedländer's verbal opinion of December 1924 is in the files of the European Paintings Department. See Jochen Sander, *Hugo van der Goes: Stilentwicklung und Chronologie* (Mainz, 1992), p. 255 nn. 57, 58, and Walter Liedtke, "Flemish Painting in America: An Historical Sketch," *Flemish Paintings in America* (Antwerp, 1992), pp. 20–21.
 75. Mary Sprinson de Jesus in Maryan W. Ainsworth and Keith Christiansen, eds., *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1998), p. 242, no. 58.
 76. Liedtke 1984, pp. 255–57.
 77. MMA Catalogue 1972, no. 10.
 78. For Salamanca, see Oscar E. Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection: Patrons, Markets, and the State in Nineteenth-century Spain* (University Park, Pa., 2001), pp. 194–99.
 79. MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 110, 151.
 80. *Commercial Advertiser*, February 21, 1872; see note 51, above.
 81. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 120.
 82. See note 62, above.
 83. Sixty portraits of this type were ordered from Lucas Cranach the Elder and are thought to date to the years 1532–33. The Museum owns other examples, for which see Baetjer 1995, pp. 221–22, ill.
 84. The original was with Hoogsteder and Hoogsteder, The Hague, in 2002 (*Hoogsteder Journal*, April 2002, pp. 18–19, color ill.). There are slight but significant differences of detail between the two paintings. See also Otto Naumann, *Frans van Mieris, the Elder (1635–1681)* (Doornspijk, Netherlands, 1981), vol. 2, p. 158, no. C74.
 85. Sir Edward Hughes sat for Reynolds on several occasions. For the source of this copy, a full-length portrait in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, see David Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings* (New Haven, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 268–69, vol. 2, fig. 1500.
 86. James 1872, p. 61.
 87. John Smith, *Supplement to the Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* (London, 1842), vol. 9, p. 94, no. 48; and C[ornelis] Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, trans. and ed. Edward G. Hawke (London, 1910), vol. 3, p. 193, no. 176.
 88. [Von] Harck, "Berichte und Mittheilungen aus Sammlungen und Museen," pp. 75, 73.
 89. Baetjer 1995, vol. 1, p. 137, vol. 3, ill. p. 423.
 90. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 3.
 91. MMA Archives.
 92. See note 51, above.
 93. James 1872, p. 53.
 94. Prime's letter of May 8, 1946, and a copy of Wehle's response of May 16, 1946, referring to Storey, are in the European Paintings Department files. Prime also remembered hearing that owing to the Rubens's size "no window or other entrance to the building was large enough to accommodate it and a window was broken down and up sufficiently ample to make it possible to hoist the picture in." It is difficult to imagine why such drastic building works should have been necessary when the painting measures seventy inches wide and would almost certainly have passed through the front door if unframed and held on a slant. Perhaps it could not be moved out of the entrance hall.
 95. An impression of the second state is in the Department of Drawings and Prints at the Museum.
 96. Max Rooses, *L'oeuvre de P. P. Rubens* (Antwerp, 1886), vol. 1, pp. 246–47, no. 183; W[ilhelm] [von] Bode, "Alte Kunstwerke in den Sammlungen der Vereinigten Staaten," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, n.s., 6 (1895), p. 18 (as "ein ganz ruinirtes nüchternes Atelierbild"). Martin's letter of December 28, 1973, and Haverkamp-Begemann's of April 22, 1974, are in the European Paintings files.

97. Liedtke 1984, pp. 19–21.
98. For autograph works by father and son, see Klaus Ertz, *Pieter Brueghel der Jüngere—Jan Brueghel der Ältere: Flämische Malerei um 1600, Tradition und Fortschritt*, exh. cat., Kulturstiftung Ruhr, Villa Hügel Essen; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; and Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1997–98 (Lingen, 1997), pp. 224–25, no. 61, fig. 2, color ill., and Klaus Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Jüngere (1601–1678): Die Gemälde, mit kritischem Œuvrekatalog* (Freren, 1984), pp. 42, 218–19, nos. 34, 35. Ertz does not mention the picture formerly in the Museum. Information about the number and location of various workshop variants is in an unpublished manuscript by Walter Liedtke in the European Paintings files.
99. Hans Vlieghe, “Willem van Herp I,” *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 14 (New York, 1996), p. 467.
100. Rooses, *P. P. Rubens*, vol. 2, p. 16.
101. Colin Thompson and Hugh Brigstocke, *National Gallery of Scotland: Shorter Catalogue* (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 85, no. 2193; National Gallery of Scotland, *Illustrations* (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 125, no. 2193, ill.
102. A note of Rosenberg’s verbal opinion of June 8, 1936, and Burchard’s letter of October 7, 1938, are in the European Paintings files.
103. Patricia A. Teter of the Getty Provenance Index kindly provided a photocopy of the complete, annotated catalogue at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague. The picture appears on p. 19 as “Bacchus & sept autres figures grandeur naturelle, par Jordaens, haut 7 pieds 5 pouces, large 5 pieds 7 pouces.” The buyer’s name may have been Reys or Leys, identified on p. 12 of the same catalogue as a painter. A number of lots went to Robeyns. According to Ms. Teter, few paintings from this sale have been identified. She notes that representations of the seasons by David Teniers the Younger in the National Gallery, London, should perhaps be identified with lots 61–64. For the Teniers paintings, see Christopher Baker and Tom Henry, *The National Gallery: Complete Illustrated Catalogue* (London, 1995), pp. 652–53, nos. NG 857–60, color ills. See also Hoet, *Catalogus*, vol. 3, p. 191, no. 93.
104. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 7.
105. Bernhard Schnackenburg, *Staatliche Museen Kassel: Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Gesamtkatalog* (Mainz, 1996), vol. 1, pp. 161–62, no. GK 109, vol. 2, pl. 51.
106. Leo van Puyvelde, *Jordaens* (Paris and New York, 1953), p. 182 n. 171; Michael Jaffé, *Jacob Jordaens, 1593–1678*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1968–69 (Ottawa, 1968), p. 129.
107. Maxime Préaud, “Leclerc,” *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 19 (New York, 1996), p. 33.
108. J. W. Goodison, ed., *Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge: Catalogue of Paintings* (Cambridge, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 179–80, no. 317, pl. 93.
109. Georges Wildenstein, *Lancré: Biographie et catalogue critiques* (Paris, 1924), p. 92, no. 238, pl. 91.
110. A note recording Schmidt-Degener’s verbal opinion of April 15, 1935, is in the European Paintings files. For the Amsterdam paintings, see Pieter J. J. van Thiel et al., *All the Paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam: A Complete Illustrated Catalogue* (Amsterdam, 1976), pp. 285–86, nos. A874, A179, A573, ills.
111. *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*, vol. 2, *Paintings: French, Italian and Spanish* (New York, 1968), pp. 168–72, nos. 18.1.92, 18.1.93, ills.
112. Fry’s note is undated, but the change of attribution seems to have been referred to the trustees in November or December of 1907 (European Paintings files).
113. *Alte Pinakothek München: Erläuterungen zu den ausgestellten Gemälden* (Munich, 1983), p. 500, no. 631, ill.
114. Federico Zeri with the assistance of Elizabeth E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings, Venetian School: A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Greenwich, Conn., 1973), p. 27, pl. 25.
115. *Katalog der alten Meister der Hamburger Kunsthalle* (Hamburg, 1966), p. 160, no. 644, ill.
116. Gerson’s verbal opinion and d’Hulst’s written one of December 14, 1954, are in the European Paintings files.
117. Baetjer 1995, p. 275, ill. (19.164).
118. H. R. Hoetink, ed., *The Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis* (Amsterdam and New York, 1985), p. 322, no. 102, color ill.
119. Sale, Christie’s, London, December 9, 1988, lot 107 (£700,000).
120. Barbara Gaetgens, *Adriaen van der Werff, 1659–1722* (Munich, 1987), p. 226, no. 21, ill.
121. Van Thiel et al., *Paintings of the Rijksmuseum*, p. 228, no. C1, ill. Weyle’s 1934 attribution is in the European Paintings files.
122. Notes recording the verbal opinions of Valentiner, April 13, 1935, and Benesch, December 20, 1940, and Rosenberg’s letter of January 26, 1945, are in the European Paintings files.
123. J. W. von Moltke, *Govaert Flinck 1615–1660* (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 32, n. 1, 167, 256, no. W150 (W indicating a wrongly attributed work). Von Moltke had seen only a photograph.
124. Norbert Middelkoop, ed., *Kopstukken: Amsterdammers geportretteerd 1600–1800*, exh. cat., Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 2002–3 (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 204–5, nos. 73 (Amsterdams Historisch Museum, no. SA 41181), 74, ills. I would like to thank Nel Klaversma of the Amsterdams Historisch Museum for providing current information about the picture.
125. Georges Lafenestre and Eugène Richtenberger, *La peinture en Europe: La Hollande* (Paris, [1898]), especially p. 198, no. 16, p. 247, no. 696, p. 296, no. 1385, p. 264, nos. 986–88, and see pp. 349, 363, 369, 377, 387. Spellings of the artists’ names may differ from the orthography of the Museum’s 1872 catalogue, which is maintained in this text.
126. Van Thiel, *Paintings of the Rijksmuseum*, p. 401, nos. C189, A280, ills.
127. A[lphonse]–J[ules] Wauters, *Le Musée de Bruxelles: Tableaux anciens* (Brussels, 1900), especially nos. 149, 176, 228.
128. See Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée et al., *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du Musée du Louvre*, vol. 1, *Écoles flamande et hollandaise* (Paris, 1979), p. 59, no. 1294 (collection of Louis XIV), p. 46, no. 1201, p. 95, no. 1586 (both collection of Louis XVI), p. 47, no. 1210, p. 59, no. 1295, p. 60, no. 1296, p. 65, no. 1308, p. 99, no. 1670 (all acquired by the state during the eighteenth century; two seized during the French Revolution).
129. *Ibid.*, p. 19, no. M.N.R. 707, p. 46, no. 1201, p. 73, no. 1375, p. 95, no. 1586, p. 99, no. 1930 bis, p. 133, no. R.F. 3713, p. 27, no. 2178, p. 47, no. 1210, p. 65, no. 1308, p. 99, nos. 1670–71, pp. 59–60, nos. 1095, 1294–97, 1412, M.N.R. 419, pp. 73–74, nos. 1377–80, R.F. 50–54, ills.
130. *National Gallery: Illustrated General Catalogue*, 2nd ed. (London, 1986), p. 283, no. 211, p. 425, nos. 842, 1352, p. 452, no. 1137, p. 601, no. 146; National Gallery of Art, *European Paintings: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Washington, D.C., 1985).
131. Resolution adopted March 28, 1871 (MMA Archives).
132. Typescripts of Johnston’s letters to Blodgett of June 15, 1871, and February 10, 1872, are in the MMA Archives.

133. A note by Margaretta Salinger recording Wehle's opinion is on the reverse of a photograph in the European Paintings files. The existence of only a single negative, especially one with a low number indicative of an early date, is one of the best indicators that a picture left the Museum in the same state in which it entered, as throughout the Museum's history it has been standard practice to photograph paintings again after conservation treatment. Thanks to Dorothy Mahon for looking with me at the several photographs in question.
134. Howe 1913, p. 152 n. 1, and see also pp. 150–53.
135. Ibid., pp. 156, 161–70, and see also, on p. 160, a drawing of the staircase of the Douglas Mansion by Frank Waller in which, unfortunately, the paintings are not identifiable. The Museum had moved to Central Park in 1881, when Waller exhibited the canvas illustrated as Figure 40 at the National Academy of Design. He perhaps intended it as a historical record of the tenancy of the mansion.
136. Howe 1913, p. 150.
137. According to Howe (ibid., pp. 153–56), Johnston made his purchase through Junius S. Morgan in London. Tomkins (*Merchants and Masterpieces*, pp. 44–45, 49–57) gives an account of the personalities involved.
138. For Cesnola and his collections of Cypriot antiquities, see Vasos Karageorghis, in collaboration with Joan R. Mertens and Marice E. Rose, *Ancient Art from Cyprus: The Cesnola Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 2002). This summary is based on pp. 3–15.
139. Nathaniel Burt, *Palaces for the People: A Social History of the American Art Museum* (Boston, 1977), offers an overview.
140. On Corcoran, see ibid., pp. 58–59, and also Linda Crocker Simmons, "William Wilson Corcoran," *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 7 (New York, 1996), p. 840.
141. For the early history of the Boston Museum, see Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History* (Boston, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 1–67.
142. For an appreciation, see R. W. G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of the New-York Historical Society* (New York, 1954), pp. 126–28, and also Burt, *Palaces for the People*, pp. 53–55.
143. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 53, no. 2 (Fall 1995), pp. 28–29, color ill. (1995.7).
144. Francis Steegmuller, *The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves* (New Haven, 1951), pp. 105–307. For a summary history, together with the first modern catalogue, see Osvald Sirén, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Jarves Collection Belonging to Yale University* (New Haven, 1916); also Burt, *Palaces for the People*, pp. 55–58, and Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, pp. 69–70.

APPENDIX 1

PART A: PAINTINGS IN THE MUSEUM'S COLLECTION

Part A lists the 64 paintings from the Purchase of 1871 the Museum still owns; Part B comprises the 110 works the Museum has deaccessioned and (with the exception of No. 57) sold. Within each of the two sections the paintings are arranged in the order in which they appeared in the Museum's 1872 catalogue. Note that nos. 1–100 of the 1872 catalogue were from the so-called Brussels collection that Brussels dealer Étienne Le Roy, with dealer Léon Gauchez acting as agent, sold to William T. Blodgett, chairman of the executive committee of the new Museum, on September 22, 1870. Nos. 101–59 of the 1872 catalogue constituted the Paris collection that Gauchez and Paris dealer Alexis Febvre sold to Blodgett on August 23, 1870. Nos. 160–74 were the third group of paintings that Gauchez sold to Blodgett, on September 27, 1870. Blodgett and John Taylor Johnston, president of the Museum, owned all 174 paintings jointly between March 4 and December 22, 1871, when the Museum purchased them.

The attribution, artist's nationality and life dates, title, date, accession number, medium and dimensions, and a transcription of the signature and date for each painting in Part A are drawn from the Museum's current records. Also noted, if recorded, are the stencil number;* whether the seal of either Le Roy or Gauchez (see Figure 41), or both, is impressed in red wax on the reverse of the stretcher, cradle, or frame; the name of the restorer, if known; and whether the 1870 frame, if it is still on the painting, was newly made or adapted to fit. Gauchez's seal is square; because it is largely illegible, Figure 41 illustrates the monogram from his stationery, which is the same. Le Roy's includes his name, surrounded by a beaded oval, and his title. (The stencil numbers and seals are of course absent from paintings whose stretchers or frames have been replaced or whose cradles have been removed.) The attribution—if it was different from the current attribution—and, in quotes, any provenance or other pertinent information from the 1872 catalogue are also given for each work. The provenance as now construed follows. Dealers' names and information about them are enclosed in brackets. Unless otherwise noted, sales were in New York.



Figure 41. Monogram of Léon Gauchez (left) and drawing of seal of Étienne Le Roy (right)

*These were the dealers' identification numbers. With the exception of MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 37, which bears the stencil number 23 (both 37 and 23 are by Neeffs and represent church interiors), and no. 91, which bears the stencil number 16 (inverted), the catalogue numbers match the surviving stencil numbers. The errors must have been oversights.



1

1. Copy after Hugo van der Goes (Netherlandish, late 15th century), *The Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 36). Purchase, 1871 (71.100). Oil on wood, 74 x 65.1 cm. New frame in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 1, as Gerard van der Meire.

? by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870, as Gerard van der Meire; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

5. Anthony van Dyck (Flemish, 1599–1641), *Saint Rosalie Interceding for the Plague-Stricken of Palermo*, 1624 (Figure 5). Purchase, 1871 (71.41). Oil on canvas, 99.7 x 73.7 cm. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 5, as *Saint Martha interceding with God for a cessation of the Plague at Tarascon*: “This admirable picture belonged to the Royal Museum of Madrid, whence it was brought by the king, Joseph Bonaparte. It afterwards came into the hands of Mr. Farrer, of London, and from thence into the celebrated collection of Mr. David McIntosh.”

? Desiderio Segno, Genoa and Salaparuta, Sicily (1630 inventory, as “un quadro di Santa Rosalia in gloria, di mano di Antonio Vandich”);* ? [Antonio Santi, Palermo, 1648;

sold to Ruffo]; ? Don Antonio Ruffo, principe della Scaletta, Messina (1648–d. 1678; account book, fol. 122 [April 25, 1648], as “onze 26 . . . per Prezzo d’un quadro mandatomi di Mano del Vandich fiamingo comprato per mano del predetto Prussimi con una Santa Rosolia e dodici Puttini” and fol. 130 [1648], as “uno quadro di Ant.^o Vandijck fiam.^{go} di p.^{mi} 3 e 4 1/2 Comp.^{to} In Pal.^{mo} Con una S.^{ta} Rosolia È undici Angioletti che la tirano In Cielo, costò oz. 26”; 1678 inventory, as “di p.4 e 5 di Sta Rosolia di 11 puttini”); ? his son, Don Placido Ruffo, principe della Scaletta, Messina (1678–d. 1710; 1703 and 1710 inventories); ? his son, Don Antonio Ruffo e La Rocca, principe della Foresta, Messina (1710–d. 1739; 1739 inventory); ? his son, Don Calogero Ruffo, principe della Scaletta e della Foresta, Messina (1739–d. 1743; his estate, 1743–50; 1748 inventory); ? his uncle, Don Giovanni Ruffo e La Rocca, principe della Scaletta, Messina (from 1750); Thomas Emerson, London (until 1829; his sale, Phillips, London, May 1, 1829, no. 84, as *The Assumption of the Virgin*); ? [D. M. Farrer, London; sold to MacIntosh; not in the Farrer sale, Paris, March 24, 1853]; David McIntosh, London (until 1857; his estate sale, Christie’s, London, May 16, 1857, no. 65, as *The Assumption of the Virgin*, for £61.19.0); [C. J. Nieuwenhuys, London and Brussels]; Marquise Théodule de Rodes (until d. 1867; her estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1868, no. 4, as *Sainte Marthe implorant le Christ en faveur des habitants de Tarascon*, for F 9,500 to Prince Paskiewitz); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William



5



8

T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

*The question mark applies to the entire Ruffo provenance and presupposes that Van Dyck may have done a painting of this subject not known to modern scholarship.

8. Gaspar de Crayer (Flemish, 1584–1669), *The Meeting of Alexander the Great and Diogenes*, 1650s (Figure 32). Purchase, 1871 (71.1). Oil on canvas, 225.4 x 324.2 cm, including added strips, 34.3 cm at left and 39.4 cm at right. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 8: "This great composition . . . made part of the gallery of the Prince de Rubempré, which was sold in Brussels, 11th April 1765. The picture is cited by Gerard Hoet, page 403, no. 118. In 1803 it appears to have belonged to the Museum of Ghent, and to have been presented . . . to the Empress Josephine, who added it to her famous collection at Malmaison."

Duc d'Are[n]berg (until 1847; his sale, Brussels, October 4, 1847, no. 34, for BF 550 to Et Le Roy); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, from 1847]; ? Martin Comte de Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

10. David Teniers the Younger (Flemish, 1610–1690), *Peasants Dancing and Feasting*, ca. 1660 (Figure 14). Purchase, 1871 (71.99). Oil on canvas, 63.8 x 74.9 cm, with added strip 68.3 x 74.9 cm; signed (lower right): *D.TENIERS.FEC.* Stencil number 10; Le Roy and Gauchez seals. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 10: "This wonderful picture . . . is from the celebrated collections of the Countess de Verrue, the Duke de Mornay, and the Marquis of Salamanca, from whom it was purchased for 25,200 francs. . . . It was sold at the sale of the Marquis of Brunoy."

? Jeanne d'Albert de Luynes, comtesse de Verrue (d. 1736; not in her estate sale, March 27, 1737); Marquis de Brunoy (until 1776; [his] estate sale, Joullain fils, Paris, December 2, 1776, no. 30, with pendant for 10,999 livres to Paillet); ? Duc de Mornay (until 1865; sold to Salamanca); Marquis de Salamanca (? 1865–67; his sale, Étienne Le Roy and



10

Alexis Febvre, Paris, June 3–6, 1867, no. 120, as *Kermesse Flamande*, for F 24,000 to Mundler for Mme Stevens); Madame Stevens (from 1867); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



11

11. Gillis van Tilborgh (Flemish, b. ca. 1625, d. ca. 1678), *Group Portrait: A Wedding Celebration*, ca. 1660. Purchase, 1871 (71.32). Oil on canvas, 115.6 x 160.7 cm. Le Roy and Gauchez seals. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 11, as *Visit of a Landlord to His Tenant*.

Désiré van den Schrieck, Louvain (until d. 1857; his estate sale, Étienne Le Roy, Louvain, April 8–10, 1861, no. 123, as *Réunion de famille*, for BF 1,900 to Le Roy for Bus de Gisignies); Bernard Aimé Léonard, vicomte du Bus de Gisignies, Brussels (from 1861); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

15–16. David Ryckaert III (Flemish, 1612–1661), *The Yard of the Inn at Emmaus* and *Rustic Interior*, ca. 1650. Purchase, 1871 (71.12, 71.13). Oil on canvas, No. 15: 90.5 x 115.3 cm; No. 16: 92.4 x 115.9 cm; No. 16 signed (lower left): *D. Ryckaert*. Le Roy and Gauchez seals; new frames in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 15, as *The Farm House*, no. 16, as *The Stowage*: “an excellent pendant to the preceding.”

? by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



15



16



37

37. Pieter Neeffs the Elder (Flemish, active 1605–1656/61), *Interior of a Gothic Church*, 1636 (Figure 11). Purchase, 1871 (71.109). Oil on wood, 42.2 x 58.1 cm; signed and dated (right, on pier): *NEFFS*; (above signature, on monument): *ANNO. / 1636*. Stencil number 23 on stretcher and frame; Le Roy and Gauchez seals; cradled by Cölln; frame adapted in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 37, as Peeter Neefs, the Elder and David Teniers, the Elder, *Interior of Antwerp Cathedral*. “The figures are by David Teniers the Elder.”

Général Comte de Turenne (until 1852; his estate sale, Regnard-Silvestre, Paris, May 17–19, 1852, no. 58, as Peter Neefs, “intérieur d’une église de Hollande, animé de diverses figures, parmi lesquelles on remarque un prêtre disant la messe . . . , sur bois”); Marquise Théodule de Rodes (until d. 1867; her estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1868, no. 12, for F 1,100); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



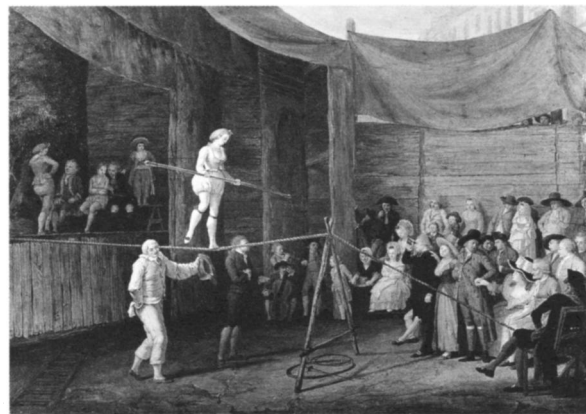
40

40. Léonard Defrance (Flemish, 1735–1805), *Brigands Dividing Booty*, 1780s. Purchase, 1871 (71.154). Oil on wood, 47.9 x 74 cm; signed (lower center, on trunk): *L. Defrance. / de Liege*. Stencil number 40; Le Roy and Gauchez seals; cradled by Cölln; no frame. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 40.

Baron de Heusch, Château de l’Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne Le Roy and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 67, for BF 650 to Le Roy); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

41. Léonard Defrance, *The Rope Dance*, ca. 1785. Purchase, 1871 (71.105). Oil on wood, 50.5 x 72.7 cm; signed (lower right): *L. Defrance / de Liege*. Stencil number 41; Le Roy and Gauchez seals; cradled by Cölln; new frame in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 41.

Baron de Heusch, Château de l’Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne Le Roy and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 66, for BF 600 to Le Roy); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



41



44

44. Workshop of Jan Sanders van Hemessen (Netherlandish, active 1519–56), *The Calling of Matthew*, 1540s. Purchase, 1871 (71.155). Oil on wood, 111.4 x 151.1 cm. Stencil number 44; Le Roy and Gauchez seals; cradled by Cöllén. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 44, as Martin van Heemskerck.

? by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870, as Martin van Heemskerck; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

49. Johannes Lingelbach (Dutch, 1622–1674), *Battle Scene*, 1671. Purchase, 1871 (71.23). Oil on canvas, 112.7 x 160.7 cm; signed and dated (bottom center, on tree trunk): *I / LIN[G]ELBACH / fe / 1671*. Le Roy and Gauchez seals. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 49, as *Sobieski defeating the Turks before Vienna*:* “belonged to Prince Kaunitz.”

? Fürst Alois Wenzel Kaunitz, Vienna (not in his sale, Artaria, Vienna, March 13, 1820); ? by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

*This event occurred in 1683, nine years after the death of Lingelbach.



49



51

51. Jan Victors (Dutch, 1620–1676), *Abraham's Parting from the Family of Lot*, third quarter 17th century. Purchase, 1871 (71.170). Oil on canvas, 147.3 x 165.4 cm; signed (right): *Jan Victors*. Stencil number 51; Le Roy and Gauchez seals. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 51, as *Jacob and Laban*.

? by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



65

65. Edwaert Collier (Dutch, active by 1662, d. after 1706), *Vanitas*, 1662. Purchase, 1871 (71.19). Oil on wood, 94 x 112.1 cm; signed and dated (left, on book): *.EC.* (monogram) / 1662. Le Roy and Gauchez seals; cradled by Cöllén; new frame in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 65, as Caesar van Everdingen.

? by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870, as Caesar van Everdingen; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

67. Pieter Cornelisz. van Slingeland (Dutch, 1640–1691), *Johan Hulshout (1623–1687)*, ca. 1670. Purchase, 1871 (71.70). Oil on wood, 36.8 x 29.8 cm; signed (lower left): *P. V. Slingeland fecit*. Cradled by Cöllén; frame adapted in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 67: "from the collection of Daniel Hooft."*

Johan Hulshout, Leiden (until d. 1687); his son, Johannes Hulshout, Leiden (1687–d. 1713); his daughter, Anna Hulshout, Leiden (1713–d. 1766); her daughter, Elisabeth Dorothea de Raet, Leiden (1766–d. 1780); her husband, Baron Nicolaes van den Boetzelaer, Leiden (1780–d. 1796);



67

their daughter, Magdalena Anna Elisabeth van den Boetzel-
laer, Leiden (1796–d. 1808); her daughter, Baroness
Diederica Catharina van Slingelandt, Leiden (1808–d. 1838);
her husband, Daniël Hooft, Leiden (1838–d. 1860; his
estate sale, Roos, Amsterdam, October 30, 1860, no. 2, for
fl. 445 to Brack); J. P. Gilkinet, Liège (until 1863; his sale,
Paris, April 18, 1863, no. 38, for F 700); [Étienne Le Roy,
Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold
to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York
(1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodg-
ett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871;
sold to MMA)

*Using the provenance provided in the 1872 catalogue, R. E. O.
Ekkart ("Twee Portretten door Pieter van Slingelandt," *Leids Jaar-
boekje*, 1992, pp. 93–98) traced this portrait, formerly called *A
Dutch Burgomaster*, to the sitter.

69. Jacob Vosmaer (Dutch, 1584–1641), *A Vase of Flowers*,
ca. 1618 (Figure 15). Purchase, 1871 (71.5). Oil on wood,
85.1 x 62.5 cm; signed and dated (lower left): *Vosmaer
16[18?]*. Cradled by Cöllén. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 69.



69

? by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brus-
sels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through
Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William
T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share
to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Tay-
lor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

74. Roelof van Vries (Dutch, b. 1630/31, d. probably after
1681), *The Pigeon House*, 1660s. Purchase, 1871 (71.116).
Oil on canvas, 36.8 x 30.5 cm; signed (lower right):
V[R]IES. Stencil number 74; Le Roy and Gauchez seals;
treated by Cöllén. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 74.

? by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brus-
sels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through
Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William
T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share
to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Tay-
lor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



74



79

79. Quiringh Gerritsz. van Brekelenkam (Dutch, b. ca. 1620, d. 1668), *The Spinner*, 1653. Purchase, 1871 (71.110). Oil on wood, 48.3 x 64.1 cm; signed and dated (on spinning wheel): *QVB 1653*. Stencil number 79; Le Roy and Gauchez seals; cradled by Cölln. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 79.

Cropley Ashley Cooper, 6th earl of Shaftesbury, Saint Giles's House, Wimborne, Dorset (until d. 1851; his estate sale, Christie's, London, May 15, 1852, no. 18, for £5.10); Baron de Heusch, Château de l'Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 4, for BF 300 to Le Roy); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



87a



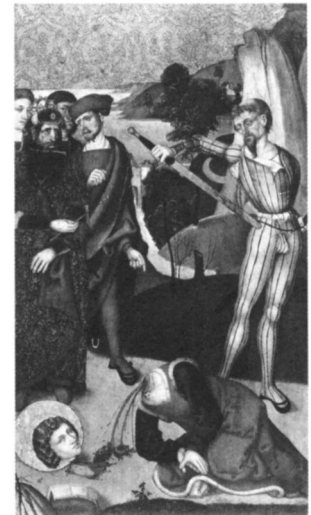
87b

87–88. Swiss painter (fourth quarter 15th century), *Saint Remigius Replenishing the Barrel of Wine*, *Saint Remigius and the Burning Wheat*, *A Martyr Saint in the Arena*, *The Beheading of a Martyr Saint*. Purchase, 1871 (71.33ab, 71.40ab). Oil on wood, each 137.8 x 77.5 cm. MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 87, 88, as Jacob Walen, *Hagiological Subjects*.

? by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870, as Jacob Walen; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



88a



88b



89

89. Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder (German, 1472–1553), *John I (1468–1532), the Steadfast, Elector of Saxony*, ca. 1533. Purchase, 1871 (71.128). Oil on canvas, transferred from wood, 21 x 14.9 cm. Treated by Cöllén. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 89, as Lucas Cranach the Elder.

? by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, 1870, as Lucas Cranach the Elder; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

91. Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich (German, 1712–1774), *Surprised, or Infidelity Found Out*, third quarter 18th century (Figure 16). Purchase, 1871 (71.142). Oil on canvas, 73 x 72.7 cm; signed (lower right): *Peint Par C. W. E. Dietrich*. Stencil number 16; Le Roy and Gauchez seals; frame adapted in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 91: “from the Chaplin, Pierard, and Tardieu collections.”*

Jean-André Tardieu (until 1867; his estate sale, Étienne Le Roy and Alexis Febvre, Paris, May 10–11, 1867, no. 15, as “Allégorie. Pres d’un bosquet est assis un galant cavalier tenant par la taille une jeune dame, il a dans la main un papier. . . 70 x 61 cm,” for F 1,000); [Étienne Le Roy, Brus-



91

sels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

*Le Roy confused this picture with one from the Chaplin collection and later no. 15 in the Piérard sale, held in Paris on March 20–21, 1860, the description of which—“une jeune dame, assise sur un banc au pied d’une statue, tient un enfant sur ses genoux”—does not match. Neither was it in the Paris sale of April 29, 1853, for which Febvre was the expert and which included “tableaux provenant du Cabinet de M. Chaplin.”

92. Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1760s (Figure 39). Purchase, 1871 (71.162). Oil on canvas, 54.9 x 73 cm; signed and dated (lower right): *C. W. E. Dietrich 176[]*. Stencil number 92 on frame; frame adapted in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 92: “from the collection of M. Rothan, the late Ambassador of France, in Italy.”

Monsieur Rothan (until 1866; [his] sale, Le Roy, Brussels, December 19–21, 1866, no. 21, for BF 310 to Le Roy); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, 1866–70; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



92

93. Master of the Béguins (French, active 1650–60), *Beggars at a Doorway*, ca. 1655 (Figure 17). Purchase, 1871 (71.80). Oil on canvas, 51.4 x 59.4 cm. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 93, as Antoine Le Nain, *Mendicants*.

? Louis César de la Baume Le Blanc, duc de La Vallière, Paris (until d. 1780; his estate sale, Paillet, Paris, February 21, 1781, no. 16, as “Le Nain. Le dehors d’une Maison de Charité. A la porte on voit un homme vêtu d’un habit & d’un manteau noir; il semble se disposer à faire l’aumône à une famille de mendiants qui sont arrêtés devant lui. A gauche est un vieillard à genoux qui tient les mains jointes & son chapelet. Ce tableau, d’une extrême vérité & d’une parfaite conservation, mérite une distinction particulière

dans les ouvrages de ce peintre. Hauteur 18 pouces 6 lignes, largeur 22 pouces. T[oile],” for 400 livres to Devouge);* ? by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

*As a second version measuring 51.5 by 63 centimeters is reported to have been on the art market before World War II, it is not certain that this painting is the one from the 1781 estate sale of the duc de La Vallière (see Jacques Thuillier, *Les frères le Nain*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, Paris, 1978–79 [Paris, 1978], p. 329).



93



102

102. Matthys Naiveu (Dutch, 1647–1726), *The Newborn Baby*, 1675. Purchase, 1871 (71.160). Oil on canvas, 64.1 x 80 cm; signed and dated (lower left): *M: Naiveu F. / 1675*. Gauchez seal. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 102, as *The Invalid*.

[Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



104

104–5. Jean Baptiste Oudry (French, 1686–1755), *Dog Guarding Dead Game* and *Ducks Resting in Sunshine*, 1753 (Figures 21, 22). Purchase, 1871 (71.89, 71.57). Oil on canvas, each 64.8 x 80.6 cm; No. 104 signed and dated (lower left): *JB. oudry. 1753*, No. 105 signed and dated (lower left): *JB. oudry / 1753*. Gauchez seals. MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 104, 105: “from one of the most celebrated collections, that of M. de La Live de Jully, which was sold in 1770.”

Ange Laurent de La Live de Jully, Paris (after 1764–1770; his sale, Remy, Paris, May 2–14, 1770, no. 70, the pair for 501 livres); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



105

107–8. Jan Fyt (Flemish, 1611–1661), *A Basket and Birds* and *A Hare and Birds*, 1640s or 1650s. Purchase, 1871 (71.43, 71.44). Oil on canvas, No. 107: 60.3 x 76.8 cm, No. 108: 60.6 x 78.7 cm. Gauchez seals; frames adapted in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 107, 108: “This beautiful picture and the following (No. 108) belonged to the collection of W. Burger (Theophile Thoré).”

? sale, Haro, Paris, April 12, 1869, nos. 15, 16, as *Riseaux morts* and *Lièvre et oiseaux morts*, each 60 x 74 cm, for F 700 and F 450 respectively; ? Étienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger) (until d. 1869); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



107



109



108



110

109. Dirck Hals (Dutch, 1591–1656), *A Banquet*, 1630s. Purchase, 1871 (71.108). Oil on wood, 40.6 x 66 cm; signed and dated (lower center): *Dirck hals / 163* []. Gauchez seal; cradled by Kiewert. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 109: “from the collection of W. Burger.”

? Étienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger) (until d. 1869); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

110. Salomon van Ruysdael (Dutch, 1600/1603–1670), *Drawing the Eel*, 1650s (Figure 38). Purchase, 1871 (71.75). Oil on wood, 74.9 x 106 cm; signed and dated (lower center): *SvR (vR in monogram) / 165* []. Gauchez seal; cradled by Kiewert. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 110, as *A Dutch Kermesse*: “from the private collection of King Maximilian I, of Bavaria.”*

[Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

*See No. 151, below.



112

112. Margareta Haverman (Dutch, active by 1716, d. after 1750), *A Vase of Flowers*, 1716. Purchase, 1871 (71.6). Oil on wood, 79.4 x 60.3 cm; signed and dated (lower right): .Margareta. Haverman fecit. / A 1716. Gauchez seal; cradled by Kiewert; frame adapted in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 112: "from the collection of M. Louis Fould."

Louis Fould (until 1860; his estate sale, Pillet and Laneuville, Paris, June 4, 1860, no. 5, with no. 6 for F 2,600); Édouard Fould (1860–69; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 5, 1869, no. 7, for F 2,100); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



114

114. Style of Rembrandt (Dutch, second or third quarter 17th century), *Man in Armor (Mars?)*. Purchase, 1871 (71.84). Oil on canvas, 101.9 x 90.5 cm. Gauchez seal. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 114, as Aart de Gelder, *Portrait of a Dutch Admiral*: "from the collection of Mr. W. Burger. . . . The works of De Gelder have sometimes been sold as Rembrandt's, by unscrupulous dealers, as was the case with the present picture, which was formerly sold as a Rembrandt, for 28,500 francs."

? Étienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger) (d. 1869); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870, as Aart de Gelder, *Portrait of a Dutch Admiral*; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

115. Jan Fyt (Flemish, 1611–1661), *A Partridge and Small Game Birds*, 1640s or 1650s. Purchase, 1871 (71.45). Oil on canvas, 46.4 x 36.2 cm; signed (lower left): .Joannes. FYT. Gauchez seal. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 115.

[Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



115

116. Jan Josephsz. van Goyen (Dutch, 1596–1656), *View of Haarlem and the Haarlemmer Meer*, 1646 (Figure 10, Color-plate 8). Purchase, 1871 (71.62). Oil on wood, 34.6 x 50.5 cm; signed and dated (lower left): *VG 1646*. Cradled by Kiewert. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 116: “belonged to the Burger collection. From the Mecklenburg collection.”

? Baron Henry de Mecklenbourg (d. 1861; not in his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 12, 1870); ? Étienne-



116

Joseph-Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger) (d. 1869); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

117. Johannes Lingelbach (Dutch, 1622–1674), *Peasants Dancing*, 1651(?). Purchase, 1871 (71.123). Oil on canvas, 67.3 x 74.9 cm; signed and dated (lower center, on bench): *J. lingelbach 165[1?]*. Gauchez seal; new frame in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 117: “from the Broadlands collection of Lord Palmerston.”*

Abraham Delfos (until 1807; his sale, Bosboom, The Hague, June 10, 1807, no. 87); widow H. F. van Usselino, née Tollens (until 1866; her estate sale, Roos and Engelberts, Amsterdam, January 30–31, 1866, no. 69, for DF 69,353 to Enthouze);** [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

*No trace of the painting has been found in the archives at Broadlands, and Gauchez’s assertion is also implausible in view of its nineteenth-century Dutch provenance.

**The references to the Delfos and Usselino sales were provided by Catja Burger-Wegener in a letter of June 12, 1971, that is now in the European Paintings archives.



117

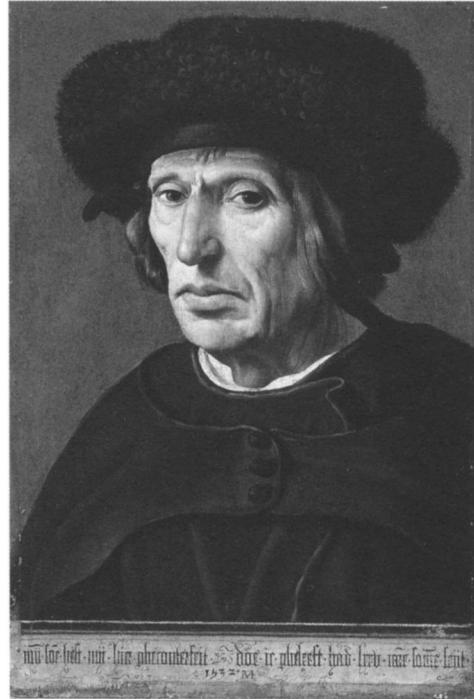


118

118. Jacob Jordaens (Flemish, 1593–1678), *The Holy Family with Saint Anne and the Young Baptist and His Parents*, ca. 1620–25, with additions in the 1650s or early 1660s (Figure 3). Purchase, 1871 (71.11). Oil on wood, 169.9 x 149.9 cm. Gauchez seal; cradled by Kiewert; frame adapted in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 118, as *Visit of Saint John to the infant Jesus*: “from the abbey of Averbode.”*

? Abbey of Averbode, near Liège; Marquis du Blaisel (until 1870; his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 16–17, 1870, no. 71, for F 4,210 to Gauchez); [Léon Gauchez, Brussels, 1870; offered in April 1870 to the Musées Royaux de Belgique for BF 6,000; offer declined]; [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

*No record of the Jordaens panel has ever been discovered at the Premonstratensian abbey of Averbode, in the diocese of Liège.



119

119. Marten van Heemskerck (Netherlandish, 1498–1574), *Jacob Willemsz. van Veen (1456–1535), the Artist's Father*, 1532 (Figure 18). Purchase, 1871 (71.36). Oil on wood, 52.1 x 34.9 cm; signed and dated (bottom): .1532. MVH. Gauchez seal. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 119: “from the collection of Count Festetics.”*

Johannes Enschedé (until 1786; his estate sale, Jelgersma, Haarlem, May 30ff., 1786, no. 70); ? Samuel Festetics, Vienna (not in his sale, Artaria and Altmann, Vienna, March 7, April 11ff., 1859; d. 1862); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

*The painting is not listed in Theodor von Frimmel, *Lexikon*, vol. 1 (1913).



120

120. Jean Baptiste Greuze (French, 1725–1805), *Study Head of a Woman*, 1760s (Figure 20). Purchase, 1871 (71.91). Oil on wood, 47 x 40.6 cm. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 120.

[Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

121. Bernhard Strigel (German, 1460–1528), *Portrait of a Woman*, first quarter 16th century (Figure 27). Purchase, 1871 (71.34). Oil on wood, 38.4 x 26.7 cm. Gauchez seal; cradled by Kiewert. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 121, as Lucas Cranach the Younger: “from the collection of Count Festetics. This picture was erroneously attributed to Christopher Amberger.”*

? Samuel Festetics, Vienna (not in his sale, Artaria and Altmann, Vienna, March 7, April 11 ff., 1859; d. 1862); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

*The painting is not in Frimmel's *Lexikon*; see No. 119, above.



121

124. Léonard Defrance (Flemish, 1735–1805), *The Forge*, 1780s. Purchase, 1871 (71.93). Oil on wood, 32.1 x 41.9 cm; signed (lower left): *L. Defrance. / Liege*. Gauchez seal; cradled by Kiewert; frame adapted in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 124.

[Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



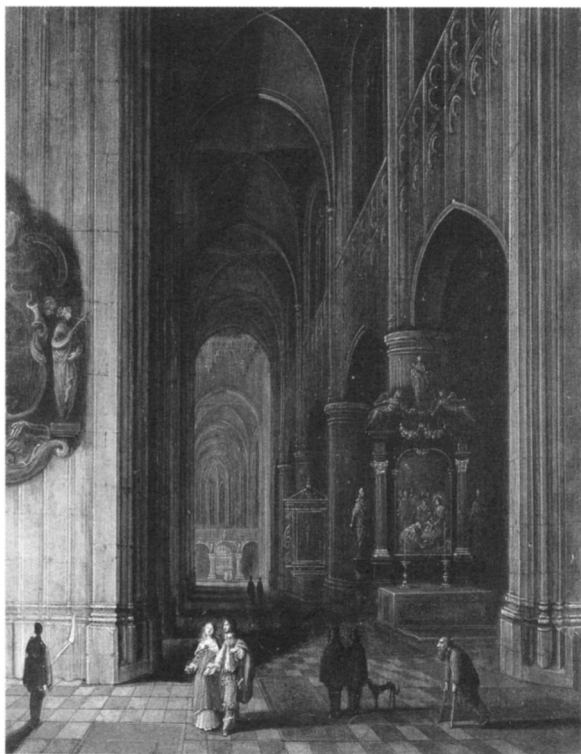
124



125

125. Jan Davidsz. de Heem (Dutch, 1606–1683/84), *Still Life with a Glass and Oysters*, ca. 1640. Purchase, 1871 (71.78). Oil on wood, 25.1 x 19.1 cm; signed (upper right): *J. De heem*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 125.

[Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



130

130. Pieter Neeffs the Younger (Flemish, b. 1620, d. after 1675) and Frans Francken III (Flemish, 1607–1667), *Interior of a Gothic Church at Night*, ca. 1660. Purchase, 1871 (71.50). Oil on wood, 25.4 x 19.7 cm; signed (bottom center, on tombstone): *D.i [De jonge] Franck.f.* Gauchez seal. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 130.

Vicomte d'Harcourt (until 1842; his estate sale, Wéry, Paris, January 31–February 2, 1842, no. 56); François Delessert, Paris (until 1869; his sale, Pillet and Petit, Paris, March 15–18, 1869, no. 59, as Peeter Neeffs, “la grande nef d’une église de style gothique est éclairée par les dernières lueurs du jour et par la lumière d’une torche qui tient un jeune page précédant plusieurs visiteurs,” 24 x 31 cm, for F 485 or 370 to ? Boussières); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

132. Jacob Jordaens (Flemish, 1593–1678), *Saint Ives Receiving Supplicants*, ca. 1640. Purchase, 1871 (71.83). Oil on paper, laid down on canvas, 25.4 x 30.2 cm. Gauchez seal. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 132, as *Sketch from Sacred History*: “from the collection of W. Burger.”

? Étienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger) (d. 1869); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



132

133. Adam Frans van der Meulen (Flemish, 1632–1690), *A Cavalry Engagement*, 1650s. Purchase, 1871 (71.96). Oil on wood, 21.9 x 31.8 cm; signed (lower center): .A.F.V MEULEN.FEC. Le Roy and Gauchez seals; cradled by Kiewert; no frame. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 133, as *Combat of Cavalry*.

? [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels]; [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



134

134. Giuseppe Recco (Italian, Neapolitan, 1634–1695), *A Cat Stealing Fish*, last quarter 17th century. Purchase, 1871 (71.17). Oil on canvas, 96.5 x 128.3 cm; signed (lower left): G R. Gauchez seal; new frame in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 134.

[Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



133



136

136. Cornelis de Vos (Flemish, 1583/84–1651). *Portrait of a Young Woman*, early 1630s. Purchase, 1871 (71.46). Oil on canvas, 118.1 x 94.6 cm, including added strip of 7 cm at top. Frame adapted in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 136: “from the De la Becque collection.”

? De la Becque or Delbecq (not in Delbecq sales, Paris, December 24, 1844, and January 19, 1845); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

138. Bartholomeus van der Helst (Dutch, 1613–1670), *Portrait of a Man*, 1647 (Figure 13). Purchase, 1871 (71.73). Oil on wood, oval, 66.7 x 54.9 cm; signed, dated, and inscribed (lower right): *Æta. 62 / B. vanderhelst / 1647*. Gauchez seal; cradled by Kiewert. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 138.

H. D. Vis Blokhuyzen, Rotterdam (until 1870; his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 1–2, 1870, no. 25 [date of painting transcribed incorrectly], for F 4,105 to Gauchez); [Léon Gauchez, Brussels, 1870; offered in April 1870 to the Musées Royaux de Belgique for BF 6,000; offer declined]; [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris,



138

1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

139. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), *Midas Washing at the Source of the Pactolus*, 1624 (Figure 9). Purchase, 1871 (71.56). Oil on canvas, 97.5 x 72.7 cm. Gauchez seal. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 139, as *Mythological Subject*: “from the collection of the Earl of Shaftsbury.”

Cardinal Camillo Massimi, Rome (until d. 1677; 1677 inventory, as one of “due quadri compagni, di monsù Pusino, alti palmi 4 e larghi palmi 3: in uno vi è il rè Mida, che si lava nel fiume Patolo, e l’altro li pastori d’Arcadia”); his brother, Fabio Camillo Massimi, Rome (from 1677); ? [Vincent Donjeux, until 1793; his estate sale, Lebrun, Paris, April 29ff., 1793, no. 312, as “une composition de quatre figures dans un paysage; celle qui se distingue principalement représente un homme endormi et vu de dos”]; Chevalier de Solirène, Paris (by 1829–36; his sale, Henry, Paris, May 5–7, 1829, no. 118, as “faunes endormis,” described, with two putti, presumably bought in; sold to Smith); John Smith, London (from 1836); ? Cropley Ashley Cooper, 6th earl of Shaftesbury, Saint Giles’s House, Wimborne, Dorset (d. 1851); Marquis du Blaisel (until 1870;



139

his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 16–17, 1870, no. 102, as “Allégorie mythologique. Sur un tertre, la figure d’un fleuve étendu et sommeillant; à gauche, près d’un gros arbre, un satyre endormi; à droite, deux petits bacchants, couchés sur l’herbe, tiennent des urnes,” for F 3,500 to Gauchez or for F 3,900 to Philips); [Léon Gauchez, Brussels, 1870; offered in March 1870 to the Musées Royaux de Belgique for BF 6,000; offer declined]; [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



140

140. Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo (Italian, Venetian, 1727–1804), *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, late 1750s. Purchase, 1871 (71.28). Oil on canvas, 39.1 x 53.3 cm. Gauchez seal; new frame in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 140: “from the collection of the Duchess of Berri.”

? Caroline Ferdinande Louise, duchesse de Berry, Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi, Venice (not in her sale, Laneuville and Pillet, Paris, April 19–29, 1865; d. 1870); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870, as Giovanni Battista Tiepolo; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

144. Style of Frans Hals (Dutch, second quarter 17th century), *Malle Babbe* (Figure 30). Purchase, 1871 (71.76). Oil on canvas, 74.9 x 61 cm. Treated by Kiewert; frame adapted in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 144, as Frans Hals, inscribed ([falsely] right center, with initials of Frans Hals): *FH* (monogram): “from the collection of Lord Palmerston, at Broadlands.”

Henry John Temple, 3rd viscount Palmerston, Broadlands, Romsey, Hampshire (d. 1865);* [Léon Gauchez, Brussels, 1870; offered in July 1870 to the Musées Royaux de Belgique for BF 12,000; offer declined]; [Léon Gauchez, Paris,



144

with Alexis Febvre, Paris, 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

* In a catalogue of the pictures at Broadlands is a handwritten extract from G. A. Cooke's *Itinerary* (Hampshire, ca. 1805, p. 66) that lists under the entry for the dressing room an "Old Woman, a sketch by Fr. Hals." We owe this information to Mrs. Gemma Greenwood at Broadlands (letter of November 21, 2002; European Paintings files), whose research is gratefully acknowledged.



145



146

145–46. Francesco Guardi (Italian, Venetian, 1712–1793), *The Grand Canal above the Rialto and Santa Maria della Salute*, 1760s (Figures 23, 24). Purchase, 1871 (71.119, 71.120). Oil on canvas, each 53.3 x 85.7 cm; No. 145 signed (lower left): *Franco / De Guardi*. Gauchez seals. MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 145, 146: "from the collection of the Earl of Shaftesbury."

? Cropley Ashley Cooper, 6th earl of Shaftesbury, Saint Giles's House, Wimborne, Dorset (d. 1851); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York

218

(1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

149. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (Italian, Venetian, 1696–1770), *The Investiture of Bishop Harold as Duke of Franconia*, ca. 1751–52 (Figure 25, cover illustration). Purchase, 1871e(71.121). Oil on canvas, 71.8 x 51.4 cm. Gauchez seal. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 149.

J. Taylor, England; [Richard Abraham, London, by 1830–d. 1831; ? his estate, 1831–33; his estate sale, Phillips, London, June 28, 1831, no. 56, as "Giovanni Batista Tiepolo. A finished Sketch, representing the presentation of banners, after a conquest, to one of the Roman Emperors, who is seated on his throne under a triumphal arch"; bought in, or ? sold subsequently for £25.14 to Smith]; sale, Foster's, London, April 15, 1833, no. 114, as "Tiepolo. The installing of a bishop, a . . . sketch," for £10, bought in; ? John Rushout, 2nd baron Northwick, Thirlestane House, Cheltenham (until 1859; his estate sale, Phillips, Thirlestane House, August 23, 1859, no. 1749, as "Tiepolo. A Sketch," for £18.18 to Farrer); ? [Farrer, London, from 1859];* [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and



149

New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

*The provenance to this point is based on information provided in 2001 by Burton Fredericksen and now in the European Paintings archives.



150

150. Salomon van Ruysdael (Dutch, 1600/1603–1670), *Marine*, 1650 (Figure 19). Purchase, 1871 (71.98). Oil on wood, 34.6 x 43.5 cm; signed and dated (lower right, on plank): *SvR. (vR in monogram) 1650*. Gauchez seal; cradled by Kiewert. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 150: “from the collection of Maximilian I, of Bavaria.”

Maximilian I, king of Bavaria (until d. 1825; [his estate] sale, E. A. Fleischmann, Munich, December 5, 1826, no. 6, for fl. 266); Dr. Rinecker, Würzburg (until 1868; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 30–31, 1868, no. 48, for F 1,100 to Reiset); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

151. Salomon van Ruysdael, *View of the Town of Alkmaar*, mid-1650s. Purchase, 1871 (71.135). Oil on wood, 51.4 x 83.8 cm. Gauchez seal. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 151.

? Maximilian I, king of Bavaria (until d. 1825; [his estate] sale, E. A. Fleischmann, Munich, December 5, 1826, no. 3, as Jacques Ruysdael, “un paysage dont la perspective offre l’aperçu d’un pays plat; une église occupe le milieu du tableau”); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



151



152

152. Willem Kalf (Dutch, 1619–1693), *Interior of a Kitchen*, early 1640s (Figure 26). Purchase, 1871 (71.69). Oil on wood, 26.7 x 31.8 cm; signed (on chest): *KALF*. Gauchez seal; cradled by Kiewert. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 152, as *Interior of a Dutch Cottage*.

[Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



153

153. Giovanni Paolo Panini (Italian, Roman, 1691–1765), *Interior of Saint Peter's, Rome*, after 1754. Purchase, 1871 (71.31). Oil on canvas, 74 x 99.7 cm. Treated by Kiewert; frame adapted in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 153, as *Cardinal Polignac Visiting the interior of St. Peters*: "from the collection of Cardinal Polignac."*

[Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

*For the Polignac painting, see Ferdinando Arisi, *Gian Paolo Panini e i fasti della Roma del '700* (Rome, 1986), p. 331, no. 200, ill. The canvas, measuring 150 by 225 centimeters and signed and dated 1730, belongs to the Louvre, Paris.

156. Aert van der Neer (Dutch, 1603/4–1677), *The Farrier*, ca. 1655–60. Purchase, 1871 (71.60). Oil on wood, 48.3 x 61.3 cm; signed (lower left): *AVDN* (monogram). Gauchez seal. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 156: "from the collection of the Marquis Maison."

? Marquis Maison (not in his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 10–12, 1869); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



156



158, 157

157. Copy after Dieric Bouts (Netherlandish, ca. 1525), *The Man of Sorrows* (Figure 37). Purchase, 1871 (71.156). Oil on wood, 40.6 x 31.8 cm. Gauchez seal; cradled by Kiewert; new frame in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 157, as *Ecce Homo*: “[Nos. 157 and 158] probably copies executed by two different painters of the school of Roger Vander Weyden.”

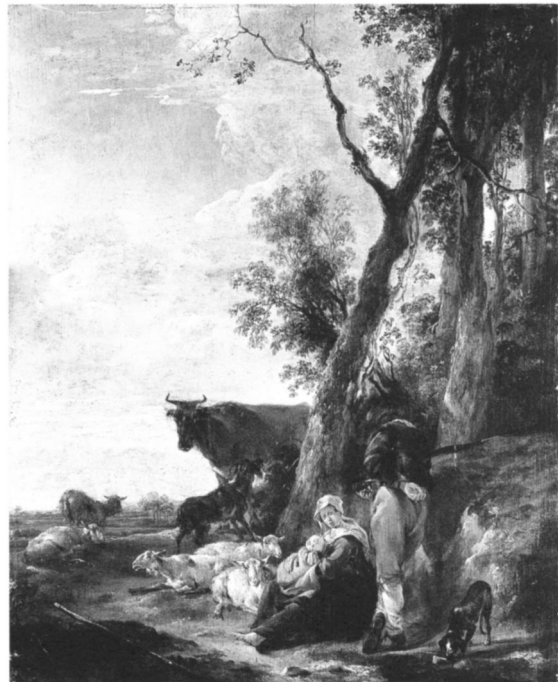
? sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 28–March 1, 1870, no. 113, as school of Roger van der Weyden, “Jésus représenté en buste”; [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

158. Copy after Dieric Bouts (Netherlandish, ca. 1525), *The Mourning Virgin* (Figure 37). Purchase, 1871 (71.157). Oil on wood, 40.6 x 31.8 cm. Cradled by Kiewert; new frame in 1870. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 158, as *Mater dolorosa*: “[Nos. 157 and 158] probably copies executed by two different painters of the school of Roger Vander Weyden.”

? sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 28–March 1, 1870, no. 114, as school of Roger van der Weyden, “La Vierge, en buste”; [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

159. Nicolaes Berchem (Dutch, 1620–1683), *Rest*, 1640s (Figure 12). Purchase, 1871 (71.125). Oil on wood, 43.2 x 34.3 cm; signed (lower left): *Berchem*. Gauchez seal; cradled by Kiewert. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 159: “from the collection of the Marquis de Rodes.”

Nicolaas van Bremen, Amsterdam (by 1752–66; his sale, de Winter and Yver, Amsterdam, December 15, 1766, no. 5, “Een weerga daar een Herder en Herderinne fame . . . door denzelven,” with its probable pendant, no. 4, “Een Veedrift . . . door N. Berghem,” for fl. 30 to Prins); [Monsieur Hérès, Brussels, until 1846; his sale, Schoeters and



159

Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, June 19, 1846, no. 6, for BF 650 to Thielen]; Marquise Théodule de Rodes, Brussels (until d. 1867; her estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1868, no. 2, for F 1,020 to Gauchez); [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, 1868–70; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

171. Abraham Brueghel (Flemish, 1631–1697), *Pomegranates and Other Fruit in a Landscape*, late 17th century (Figure 8). Purchase, 1871 (71.118). Oil on canvas, 61.9 x 74 cm. New frame in 1870 (replaced in 2003). MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 171, as Velazquez, *Fruits*.

[Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870, as Velazquez; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

172. Abraham de Vries (Dutch, b. ca. 1590, d. 1650/52), *Portrait of a Man*, 1643 (Figure 7). Purchase, 1871 (71.63). Oil on wood, 64.1 x 53.3 cm; signed, dated, and inscribed (right): *Fecit Hage Comitit / A. de Vries / anno 1643*. Gauchez seal; cradled by Cölln. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 172.

[Léon Gauchez, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)



171



172

APPENDIX 1

PART B: PAINTINGS SOLD BY THE MUSEUM

The title, attribution, artist's nationality and life dates, signature and date, and size for each painting in Part B follow the 1872 MMA Catalogue, which, according to the preface, preserved "the orthography of the proper names and the dates of births, deaths, etc., as given by Messieurs LeRoy and Gauchez" and printed "under the title of each picture a translation of the substance of the historical and critical remarks in relation to it, as they appear in the report of those gentlemen, without introducing any additional matter." Any commentary or provenance information from the 1872 catalogue is

given in quotation marks. Additional provenance data is supplied when known. Any painting numbered between 2 and 100 for which no provenance is supplied may have descended to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (d. 1870). Dealers' names and information about them are enclosed in brackets. The former MMA accession number for each painting is in brackets after the title; at the end of each entry is information about the sale in which the Museum sold the work, as well as any subsequent sales. Unless otherwise noted, sales were in New York.

2. *The Descent from the Cross* [71.55]. 47½ x 40½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 2, as Roger van der Weyden (Flemish, 1399–1464): “from the collection of Cardinal Fesch . . . and passed afterward into the Moret collection.” ? Monsicur Moret (until 1859; his estate sale, Pillet and Febvre, Paris, April 28–29, 1859, no. 104, as Roger de Bruges, *La Vierge et des saints auprès du Christ mort*, 92 x 95 cm [36¼ x 37¾ in.]). Sale, Christie’s, June 18, 1982, no. 43, as school of Rogier van der Weyden, for \$8,800

3. *Return of the Holy Family from Egypt* [71.2]. 103 x 69¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 3, as Pieter Paul Rubens (Flemish, 1577–1640), with extensive provenance (Church of the Jesuits at Antwerp, the Brussels broker Danoot, and the London expert Buchanan). Monsieur Danoot (until 1828; his estate sale, Brussels, December 22–23, 1828, no. 61, for BF 8,200). Sale, Christie’s, June 5, 1980, no. 135, as school of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, bought in; sale, Christie’s, June 12, 1981, no. 195A, as school of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, for \$7,000

4. *Lions Chasing Deer* [71.130]. 55¾ x 84 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 4, as Pieter Paul Rubens: “made part of the collection of Cardinal Fesch . . . who sold it to M. George, Expert of the Museum of the Louvre” (not in the Fesch estate sale, George, Rome, March 25, 1844). Sale, American Art Association, February 7, 1929, no. 103, as Franz Snyders, for \$425

6. *Portrait of Miss De Christyn* [71.101]. 38¾ x 32¾ in.; signed: *atatis sui 15/Aº. 1630*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 6, as Anton van Dyck (Flemish, 1599–1641): “from the collection of Mr. de Ribaucourt.” Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 139, as follower of Sir Anthony van Dyck, for \$400 to George Gribben

7. *The Triumph of Bacchus* [71.35]. 80½ x 58 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 7, as Jacob Jordaens (Flemish, 1593–1678): “from the collection of Martyn Robyns, sold at Brussels, May 22d, 1758, and cited in the catalogue of Gerard Hoet.” Sale, Plaza, June 7, 1956, no. 60, as copy after Jacob Jordaens, for \$260 to M. Solow

9. *The Green Grocer* [71.117]. 57¼ x 79¼ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 9, as Franz Snyders (Flemish, 1579–1657) and Jan van Hoeck (Flemish, 1598–1651): “belonged formerly to the celebrated Van der Schrieck collection.” Désiré van den Schrieck, Louvain (until d. 1857; his estate sale, Étienne Le Roy, Louvain, April 8–10, 1861, no. 102, as François Snyders, for BF 1,000 to V. van den Schrieck). Sale, Christie’s, January 12, 1994, no. 11, as workshop of Frans Snyders, for \$57,500

12. *Italian Landscape* [71.71]. 25¾ x 31½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 12, as Cornelis Huysmans (Flemish, 1648–1727). V. Gihoul (until 1869; her estate sale, Brussels, April 19–20, 1869, no. 10, for F 700 to Étienne Le Roy). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, June 11, 1981, no. 1, as Jan Baptist Huysmans, for \$6,000

13–14. *The Windmills and The Hill* [71.77, 71.102]. Each 7¼ x 10¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 13, 14, as Jan Velvet Brueghel (Flemish, 1568–1625): “formed part of the collection of the Duke de Praslin.”* Sale, Christie’s, January 11, 1995, no. 2, for \$75,000, no. 1, for \$70,000, as circle of Jan Brueghel I

*These paintings may be copies of Praslin’s originals, which are presumed lost; see the Choiseul-Praslin estate sale, Paillet, Paris, February 18ff., 1793, no. 120, the pair for 501 livres.

17. *War and Peace (Allegory)* [71.171]. 22½ x 28½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 17, as Adrian Griff (Flemish, d. 17th century). Sale, Parke-Bernet, October 25, 1956, no. 349, for \$60 to A. Morgenstern

18–19. *Summer and Autumn* [71.143, 71.144]. Each 8¾ x 11 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 18, 19, as David Vinckeboons (Flemish, 1578–1629). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, June 21, 1978, no. 164, for \$19,500, no. 165, for \$24,000, as Flemish School, 17th century



2



3



13



4



6



14



17



7



9



18



12



19

20. *Gamblers Quarelling* [sic] [71.25]. 40½ x 29 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 20, as Pieter Brueghel the Elder (Flemish, 1510–1569): “One of the excellent repetitions of a favorite picture of this master, made in his studio and retouched by him.” Sale, Sotheby’s, January 19, 1984, no. 130, as Pieter Brueghel the Younger, bought in; later sold for \$100,000

21. *A Vase of Flowers* [71.161]. 30¾ x 24¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 21, as Peeter ver Bruggen, the Younger (Flemish, 1664–1730). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27, 1956, no. 43, as French School, mid-19th century, for \$200 to Victor Bacchi

22. *A Garland* [71.103]. 25¼ x 19 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 22, as Nicolaas van Verendaal (Flemish, 1640–1691). Sale, Plaza, May 24, 1929, no. 534, for \$6 (handwritten addendum to the catalogue)

23. *Interior of a Church* [71.39]. 36¼ x 48¼ in.; signed: *NEFS*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 23, as Peeter Neefs, the Younger (Flemish 1621–1662): “from the collections of the Viscount de Turenne and the Marquis de Rodes” (not in the Général Comte de Turenne estate sale, Regnard Silvestre, Paris, May 17–19, 1852, or the Marquise Théodule de Rodes estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1868; confused in both cases with No. 37 [Appendix 1A]). Sale, Christie’s, June 18, 1982, no. 39, as school of Pieter Neeffs, for \$2,800

24. *Flemish Pasture* [71.48]. 18¾ x 27¾ in.; signed: *BP Ommeganck.f.*¹ 1793. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 24, as Balthasar Paul Ommeganck (Flemish, 1755–1826): “formed part of the Van Camp collection . . . and was purchased by the Marquis de Rodes, for 5,500 francs.” Monsieur van Camp, Antwerp (until 1853; his estate sale, Étienne Le Roy, Antwerp, September 12ff., 1853, no. 120, for BF 5,500 to or for Marquis de Rodes); Marquise Théodule de Rodes (until d. 1867; her estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1868, no. 16, for F 4,500 to Thuillier). Sale, American Art Association, February 7, 1929, no. 81, for \$425

25–28. *Autumn, Winter, Spring, Summer* [71.21, 71.37, 71.122, 71.15]. Nos. 25, 26: 113¼ x 67½ in., No. 27: 113¼ x 73¾ in., No. 28: 113¼ x 71½ in.; No. 25 signed: *J. Horemans*. 1762, No. 26 signed: *J. Horemans* 1761. MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 25–28, as Jan Jozef Horemans, the Younger (Flemish, b. 1715): “This series [with Nos. 29–33] of decorative pictures . . . was painted by the orders of the Count de Hamale, for one of his chateaux.” Baron de Heusch, Château de l’Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 60). Sale, Christie’s, May 31, 1979, no. 118, the set of four for \$24,000

29. *The Horse Pond* [71.129]. 60¾ x 46¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 29, as Jan Jozef Horemans, the Younger. Baron de Heusch, Château de l’Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 62). Sale, Christie’s, May 31, 1979, no. 121, for \$6,500

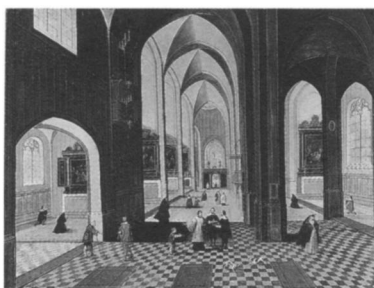
30. *A Landlord and his Tenant* [71.133]. 62¼ x 39 in.; signed: *J. Horemans* / 1764. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 30, as Jan Jozef Horemans, the Younger. Baron de Heusch, Château de l’Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 61). Sale, Christie’s, May 31, 1979, no. 120, for \$5,500

31. *Returning from the Hunt* [71.131]. 113¼ x 100 in.; signed: *J. Horemans* / 1761. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 31, as Jan Jozef Horemans, the Younger. Baron de Heusch, Château de l’Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 58 bis). Sale, Christie’s, May 31, 1979, no. 122, for \$7,000

32. *The Fish Market* [71.132]. 113¼ x 109½ in.; signed: *J. Horemans* / 1762. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 32, as Jan Jozef Horemans, the Younger. Baron de Heusch, Château de l’Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 59). Sale, Christie’s, May 31, 1979, no. 119, for \$14,000



20



23



24



21



22



32



25



26



27



28



29



30



31

33. *Resting after Hunting (Allegory)* [71.20]. 53 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 64 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.; signed: *JHoremans*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 33, as Jan Jozef Horemans, the Younger. Baron de Heusch, Château de l'Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 63). Sale, Plaza, June 7, 1956, no. 86, for \$40 to J. P. Wallare

34. *Horses taken to Water* [71.139]. 17 x 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; signed: *P.V.B. / 1716*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 34, as Peeter van Bloemen (Flemish, 1657–1719). V. Gihoul (until 1869; her estate sale, Brussels, April 19–20, 1869, no. 4, as *Paysage Italien*, for BF 170 to Étienne Le Roy). Sale, Christie's, June 5, 1980, no. 123, for \$6,000

35. *Dives, the Rich Man of the Gospel* [71.97]. 15 x 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; signed: *DEN-ION FFRANCK*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 35, as Frans Francken, the Younger (Flemish, 1584–1642): “from the collection of Lord Howard de Walden.” Lord Howard de Walden and Seaford, Brussels (until 1868; his estate sale, Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, November 23–24, 1868, no. 14, for BF 525 to Le Roy). Sale, Parke-Bernet, October 25, 1956, no. 341, for \$200 to Emil Hirsch

36. *A Combat of Cavalry* [71.88]. 19 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 36, as Anton Franz van der Meulen (Flemish, 1634–1693): “belonged to the celebrated gallery of M. Van der Schrieck, of Brussels, . . . by his will a special legacy to a friend” (not in the Van den Schrieck estate sale, Étienne Le Roy, Louvain, April 8–10, 1861). V. Gihoul

(until 1869; her estate sale, Brussels, April 19–20, 1869, no. 12, as *Choc de Cavalier*, 47 x 62 cm [18 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.], for BF 1,600 to Étienne Le Roy). Sale, Christie's, June 5, 1980, no. 119, bought in; sale, Christie's East, March 20, 1981, no. 127, for \$3,000

38. *Portrait of a Gentleman* [71.47]. 25 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 38, as Jacob van Oost, the Elder (Flemish, 1600–1671). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 49, for \$200 to L. W. Frolich

39. *Temptation of St. Anthony* [71.42]. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; signed: *D. TENIERS*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 39, as David Teniers, the Elder (Flemish, 1582–1649): “purchased by M. Carolus, the Belgian Minister at Lisbon” (not in the Henri Carolus sale, Brussels, May 3–4, 1869). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 115, as David Teniers the Younger, for \$625 to M. Schoeneman

42. *The Gust of Wind* [71.94]. 15 x 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 42, as Jean Louis de Marne (Flemish, 1744–1829): “belonged to . . . Count de Schönborn” (not in the Schönborn sale, Paris, May 17–18 and May 22–24, 1867). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, February 15, 1973, no. 44, for \$5,250

43. *Head of Christ* [71.149]. 13 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 43, as Dierick Bouts (Dutch, 1391–1475). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27, 1956, no. 8, as Flemish School, 15th century, for \$250 to S. Hahn

45. *The Old Fiddler* [71.74]. 27 x 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; signed: *N. Ostade. 1641*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 45, as Izaak van Ostade (Dutch, 1621–1657): “belonged to the Dansaert-Engels collection.” Sale, Christie's, January 18, 1984, no. 157, as Adriaen van Ostade, for \$85,000

46. *Sunset* [71.64]. 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 43 in.; signed: *AV. DN.* (monogram). MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 46, as Aart van der Neer (Dutch, 1619–1683). Sale, Galerie Koller, Zürich, November 1, 1980, no. 5169, for SF 55,000

47. *A Smoker* [71.148]. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 10 in. signed: *AvOstade / 1644*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 47, as Adriaan van Ostade (Dutch, 1610–1685): “belonged formerly to the Galleries of Van Saceghem and Patureau.” Monsieur van Saceghem, Ghent (until 1851; his sale, Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, June 2–3, 1851, no. 76, for BF 2,950 to Patureau); Théodore Patureau, Antwerp (1851–57; his sale, Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, April 20–21, 1857, no. 19, for BF 2,200 to Christophe van Loo). Sale, Christie's, January 11, 1989, no. 166, as attributed to Adriaen van Ostade, for \$30,000

48. *Canal in Haarlem* [71.24]. 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 55 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.; signed: *HvKessel*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 48, as Jan van Kessel (Dutch, 1648–1698): “bore the signature of Hobbema, but it belongs to Van Kessel, whose signature appears under the fictitious one.” Sale, Christie's, June 5, 1980, no. 125, for \$9,000



33



34



35



36



38



39



42



45



46



43



47



48

50. *Portrait of the Artist* [71.164]. 31 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 50, as Gerard Terburg (Dutch, 1608–1681). Sale, Christie's, June 5, 1980, no. 142, as Dutch School, 17th century, bought in; sale, Christie's East, March 20, 1981, no. 131, for \$2,800

52. *Italian Landscape* [71.68]. 50 x 62 in.; signed: *Both fe / 1640*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 52, as Jan Both and Andries Both (both Dutch, 1610–1650): “belonged to the celebrated gallery which the Duc de Berry made at the Palais Elysée Bourbon. . . . The guardians of the young Duke de Bordeaux had the collection sold publicly in Paris . . . April 1837 . . . No. 43.” Duc de Berry, Paris (until 1837; [his estate] sale, Galerie du Palais de l'Élysée, Paris, April 4–6, 1837, no. 43, 36 x 50 pouces, for F 3,130). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, January 9, 1980, no. 45, as Jacob de Heusch, for \$8,000

53. *A View in Holland* [71.106]. 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.; signed: *M. hobbema. f.* MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 53, as Meindert Hobbema (Dutch, 1638–1709): “belonged to . . . M. Emerson, of London, and was carried to France, in 1841, by M. Maison, who sold it at a high price to M. Cousin, member of the Chamber of Deputies” (not in the Henry Cousin sale, Paris, March 21, 1853). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 114, as Dutch School, 19th century, “in the style of a Hobbema landscape,” for \$400 to John Turnbull or Trumbull

54. *Portrait of a Dutch Lady* [71.150]. 53 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.; signed: *ÆTATIS.24 / 1628. / M. Mierevelt*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 54, as Michiel Mierevelt (Dutch, 1567–1641). Sale, Parke-Bernet, October 25, 1956, no. 371, for \$225 to N. de Koenigsberg

55. *Portrait of a Dutch Lady* [71.67]. 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 55, as Casper Netscher (Dutch, 1639–1684): “from the collections of M. Cottrau and the Marquis de Rodes.” Monsieur Cotreau (until 1861; his estate sale, Pillet, Paris, May 3–4, 1861, no. 30, for F 1,400); ? Marquise Théodule de Rodes (until d. 1867; her estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1868, no. 15, for F 4,000 to Comte d'Andelot). Sale, Christie's, January 11, 1989, no. 169, for \$7,500

56. *A Dutch Landscape* [71.127]. 38 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 56, as Cornelis Dekker (Dutch, b. 1678) and Adriaan van Ostade (Dutch, 1610–1685): “belonged to the collection of Montalcau.” Monsicur Montalcau, Paris (until 1802; his sale, Paillet, Paris, July 19–29, 1802, no. 32). Sale, Parke-Bernet, October 25, 1956, no. 364, for \$170 to J. F. Streep

57. *A Siege* [71.14]. 23 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; signed: *Hughtenburg*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 57, as Johan van Hugtenburgh (Dutch, 1646–1733). M. D. Vis Blokhuyzen, Rotterdam (until 1870; his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 1–2, 1870, no. 28, as *Camp devant une ville assiégée*, for F 620 to Febvre). Destroyed in a fire on October 8, 1947, while on loan to the Hunter College Sara Delano Roosevelt Memorial House, New York

58. *Repose after the Hunt* [71.151]. 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 27 in.; signed: *Hughtenburg*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 58, as Johan van Hugtenburgh. Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 123, for \$525 to Frank Petschek

59. *The Foragers* [71.113]. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 16 in.; signed: *HB. 1712*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 59, as Johan van Hugtenburgh: “belonged to the collections of Count Robert de Cornelissen and Marquis de Rodes.” Comte R. de Cornélissen, Brussels (until 1857; his sale, Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, May 11–13, 1857, no. 32); Marquise Théodule de Rodes (until d. 1867; her estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1868, no. 7, as *Campement*, for F 800, withdrawn or to Étienne Le Roy). Sale, Christie's, June 5, 1980, no. 120, for \$7,500

60. *Plants, Flowers and Fruit* [71.92]. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 60, as Rachel Ruysch (Dutch, 1664–1750): “from the collections of Count Van der Burch and the Marquis de Rodes” (not in the Van den Burch sale, Paris, March 22, 1856). Marquise Théodule de Rodes (until d. 1867; her estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1868, no. 19, for F 1,050). Sale, Christie's, May 31, 1989, no. 3A, as Elias van den Broeck, for \$33,000

61. *A Dutch Kermesse* [71.72]. 24 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 30 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.; signed: *JSteen*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 61, as Jan Steen (Dutch, 1626–1679). Sale, Sotheby's, June 17, 1982, no. 41, for \$67,500



50



52



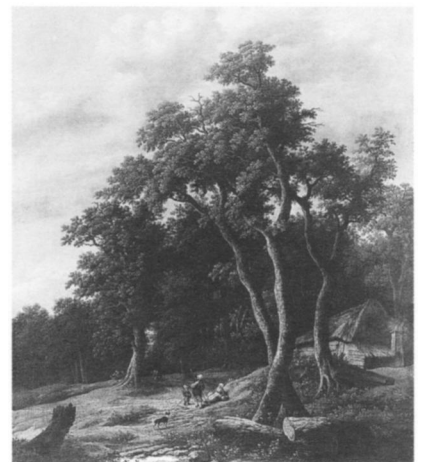
53



54



55



56



60



57



58



59



61

62. *Portrait of the Duchess of Mazarin* [71.3]. 48½ x 35 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 62, as Nicolaas Maas (Dutch, 1632–1693): “from the collection of the Duchess of Mazarin.” Sale, Christie’s, June 5, 1980, no. 124, as attributed to Caspar Netscher, *Portrait of Hortense Mancini, Duchesse de Mazarin*, bought in; sold subsequently for \$4,500

63. *A Seaport* [71.138]. 20⅝ x 26¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 63, as Abraham Stork (Dutch, b. 17th century). Sale, Christie’s, June 18, 1982, no. 38, for \$6,000

64. *Italian Landscape* [71.22]. 38¾ x 39½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 64, as Frederix Moucheron (Dutch, 1633–1686) and Joannes Lingelbach (Dutch, 1625–1687). Sale, Plaza, May 24, 1929, no. 485, for \$5 (handwritten addendum to the catalogue)

66. *An Italian Seaport* [71.49]. 15¾ x 21⅞ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 66, as Jan Baptista Weenix (Dutch, 1620–1660). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 51, for \$250 to Angus MacDonald Frantz Jr.

68. *Hawk attacking Pigeons* [71.18]. 50 x 43 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 68, as Gilles de Hondecoeter (Flemish, b. 17th century). Sale, Sotheby’s, May 20, 1993, no. 134, as studio of Melchior de Hondecoeter, for \$13,800

70. *Coming from the Hunt* [71.87]. 12¾ x 15¾ in.; signed: *JanVanHuysum Ft.* MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 70, as Jan van Huysum (Dutch, 1682–1749): “from the Rothan collection.” Monsieur Rothan, Brussels (until 1866; his sale, Victor Le Roy, Brussels, December 19–21, 1866, for BF 270 to Le Roy). Sale, American Art Association, February 7, 1929, no. 75, for \$375

71. *The Halt* [71.54]. 13¼ x 17¾ in.; signed: *P W.* MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 71, as Pieter Wouwerman (Dutch, 1623–1683). Sale, American Art Association, February 7, 1929, no. 68, for \$200

72. *The Halt* [71.65]. 23¾ x 30½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 72, as Jan Wouwerman (Dutch, 1629–1666). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 121, as Dutch School, late 17th century, for \$525 to T. Horvath

73. *Fauns and Nymphs Bathing* [71.86]. 8¾ x 11¼ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 73, as Cornelis van Poelenburg (Dutch, 1580–1667). Baron de Heusch, Château de l’Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 34). Sale, Sotheby’s Arcade, January 15, 1986, no. 64, as follower of Cornelis van Poelenburgh, for \$1,500

75–76. *The Hunt and Coursing* [71.152, 71.29]. Each 18½ x 25¼ in.; No. 75 signed: *D. VRIES.f.* MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 75, 76, as Renier de Vries (Dutch, d. 17th century) and Barend Graat (Dutch, 1628–1709): “formed part of the Baillie-Boschaert collection.” Monsieur Baillie, Antwerp (until 1862; his estate sale, Étienne Le Roy, Antwerp, April 22–24, 1862, nos. 16, 15). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 47, as Roelof van Vries, for \$160 to M. Schweitzer, no. 48, as Roelof van Vries, for \$150 to Dr. Walter Altschul

77. *Sheep in Repose* [71.85]. 14¼ x 16¾ in.; signed: *WROMEYN.* MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 77, as Willem Romeyn (Dutch, d. 17th century). H. D. Vis Blokhuyzen, Rotterdam (until 1870; his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 1–2, 1870, no. 61, for F 290 to Sedelmeyer). Sale, Christie’s, June 12, 1981, no. 192, for \$3,000

78. *Landscape with Water Fall* [71.58]. 15¾ x 14 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 78, as Pieter van Asch (Dutch, d. 17th century). Baron de Heusch, Château de l’Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 45, for BF 110 to Le Roy). Sale, Parke-Bernet, October 25, 1956, no. 345, for \$80 to N. de Koenigsberg



62



63



64



66



70



68



71



72



73



75



76



78



77

80–81. *A Poultry Market* and *A Hog Market* [71.153, 71.126]. Each 11¼ x 9¾ in.; each signed: *B. GAEL*. MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 80, 81, as Barent Gael (Dutch, d. 17th century): “from the collection of the Baron de La Villestreux.” Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 85A,B, for \$225 each to Frank Petschek

82. *Italian Landscape* [71.146]. 4¾ x 6¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 82, as Herman Swanevelt (Dutch, 1620–1655): “from the collection of the Marquis Maison” (not in the Maison estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 10–12, 1869). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, June 11, 1981, no. 157, as school of Herman van Swanevelt, for \$1,400

83. *Portrait of a Lady* [71.9]. 25¼ x 20½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 83, as Sir Peter Lely (Dutch, 1618–1680). Sale, Plaza, June 7, 1956, no. 55, as copy after Gerard van Honthorst, for \$35 to Morony Gallery

84. *Portrait of a Prince of Orange Nassau* [71.141]. 30½ x 24 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 84, as Pieter Nason (Dutch, 17th century). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, June 11, 1981, no. 211, for \$1,500

85. *Dutch Landscape* [71.140]. 25¾ x 31½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 85, as Philip de Koninck (Dutch, 1619–1689). Sale, Parke-Bernet, October 25, 1956, no. 354, as Pieter Mulier the Elder, to N. de Koenigsberg

86. *De Schreyerstoren at Amsterdam* [71.124]. 28½ x 46½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 86, as Alexander Beerstraaten (Dutch, 17th century). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27, 1956, no. 55, as Bonaventura Peeters, for \$350 to Mary Van Berg

90. *Village Fair* [71.173]. 14¾ x 21¼ in.; signed: *Francesco/Ferg*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 90, as François de Paula Ferg (German, 1689–1740). Sale, Plaza, May 24, 1929, no. 455, as *Kermesse* by an unknown artist, for \$2 (handwritten addendum to the catalogue)

94–95. *Seesaw* and *The Maze* [71.168, 71.4]. Each 25 x 53 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 94, 95, as Francesco Albani (Italian, 1578–1600). Sale, American Art Association, February 7, 1929, no. 58, as Italian School, the pair for \$280

96. *Leap Frog* [71.134]. 20 x 36½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 96, as Francesco Albani. Sale, Plaza, May 24, 1929, no. 551, as Italian School, for \$1 (handwritten addendum to the catalogue)

97. *Home Made Artillery* [71.167]. 21 x 37 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 97, as Francesco Albani. Sale, American Art Association, February 7, 1929, no. 61, as Italian School, for \$140

98. *Portrait of a young Count, of the family Sforze, of Milan* [71.16]. 39¾ x 29¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 98, as Paris Bordone (Italian, 1500–1571): “from the Craecken collection” (not in the de Craecker sale, Le Roy, Brussels, April 12–14, 1866). Sale, American Art Association, February 7, 1929, no. 90, as attributed to Paris Bordone, for \$450



80



81



82



83



84



85



86



90



98



95



97

99. *Bacchanalia* [71.136]. 28¼ x 39 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 99, as Domenico Piola, the Younger (Italian, 1748–1774). Sale, Parke-Bernet, October 25, 1956, no. 360, as Italian School, 17th century, for \$90 to N. de Koenigsberg

100. *View of the Place San Marco, of Venice* [71.163]. 22½ x 36¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 100, as Jacopo Marieschi (Italian, 1711–1794). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, February 15, 1973, no. 61, as school of Michele Marieschi, for \$6,000

101. *Interior of a Protestant Church* [71.66]. 26 x 32 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 101, as Anton de Lorme (Dutch, 17th century) and Gerard Terburg (Dutch, 1608–1681). Sale, Sotheby's, January 12, 1989, no. 45, as circle of Anthonie de Lorme, *Interior of the Laurenskerk, Rotterdam*, for \$24,200

103. *The Comical March* [71.90]. 29 x 24 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 103, as Jean Baptiste Joseph Pater (French, 1695–1736). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 122, as after Jean Baptiste Joseph Pater, for \$200 to G. Girardon

106. *Combat of Dogs and Cats* [71.159]. 38 x 33¼ in.; signed: *J.C.oudry / fils* 1752. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 106, as Jacques Charles Oudry (French, 1720–1778): “from the collection of Prince Charles of Lorraine” (not in the Duc Charles de Lorraine et de Bar estate sale, Boubers, Brussels, May 21–June 27, 1781). Sale, Plaza, May 24, 1929, no. 453, for \$4 (handwritten addendum to the catalogue)

111. *Interior of a Flemish Tavern* [71.107]. 22 x 31 in.; signed: *DRyckaert / 1646*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 111, as David Ryckaert (Flemish, 1612–1661): “from the collection of W. Burger.” ? Étienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger) (d. 1869). Sale, American Art Association, February 7, 1929, no. 84, for \$1,200 to Kleinberger; [Kleinberger, Paris, 1929–33; sale, Kleinberger, Paris, July 6, 1933, for \$3,000 to F. Bloch]

113. *Jewess of Tangier* [71.26]. 21 x 13½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 113, as Francesco Goya y Lucientes (Spanish, 1746–1828). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, November 16, 1979, no. 155, as Spanish School, 19th century, for \$900

122. *Leda* [71.166]. 18½ x 13¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 122, as Adriaan Vander Werff (Dutch, 1659–1772 [*sic*]): “from the Delessert gallery.” François Delessert, Paris (until 1869; his sale, Pillet and Petit, Paris, March 15–18, 1869, no. 106, for F 610 to Petit). Sale, Sotheby's, October 8, 1993, no. 50A, as attributed to Pieter van der Werff, for \$6,038

123. *The Holy Virgin* [71.27]. 17 x 12¼ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 123, as Giovanni Battista Salvi, called Sassoferrato (Italian, 1605–1685): “from the famous Barca collection.” Sale, Plaza, June 7, 1956, no. 58, as copy after Sassoferrato, for \$70 to M. Onson

126. *Portrait of Sir Edward Hughes* [71.79]. 30 x 25 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 126, as Sir Joshua Reynolds (English, 1723–1792). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 132, as after Sir Joshua Reynolds, for \$70 to Archie Shore Gallery

127. *The old Rat comes to the Trap at last* [71.59]. 32 x 26½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 127, as Jan Steen (Dutch, 1626–1679): “part of the collection of W. Burger.” Étienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré (W. Bürger) (until d. 1869; his estate, until at least February/March 1870). Sale, Christie's, June 5, 1980, no. 121, as Richard Brakenburgh, for \$3,500

128. *The Moerdyck* [71.61]. 14 x 15 in.; signed: *VG 1654*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 128, as Jan van Goyen (Dutch, 1596–1666): “from the celebrated collection of the Baron of Mechlenburg.” Baron Henry de Mecklenbourg (until 1870; his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 12, 1870, no. 17, for F 5,000 to Gauchez); [Léon Gauchez, Brussels; offered in April 1870 to the Musées Royaux de Belgique for BF 6,500; valued by Étienne Le Roy at BF 5,225; offer declined]. Sale, Sotheby's, January 12, 1989, no. 50, as attributed to Jan van Goyen, for \$15,000



99



100



101



103



106



111



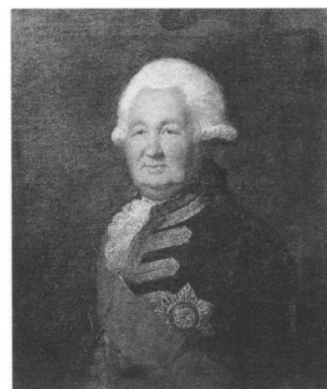
113



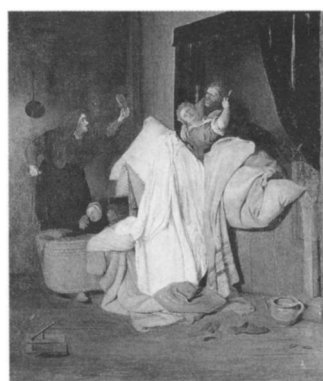
122



123



126



127



128

129. *A Tippler* [71.147]. 12 x 9 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 129, as Willem van Mieris (Dutch, 1662–1747): “from the Delessert collection.” Citoeyen Robit (until 1802; his sale, Paillet and Delaroche, Paris, May 11, 1802, no. 73, for F 1,005); François Delessert, Paris (until 1869; his sale, Pillet and Petit, Paris, March 15–18, 1869, no. 54, for F 4,500 to M. Cased). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 28, 1956, no. 96, for \$325 to the Newton Galleries for the Hickory Museum of Art, North Carolina; subsequently sold

131. *A Flemish Village* [71.82]. 9½ x 12¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 131, as Jan Brueghel, the Younger (Flemish, b. 1601). Sale, Christie’s, June 18, 1982, no. 57, as Joseph van Bredael, for \$19,000

135. *The Crowning with Thorns* [71.30]. 28¾ x 20½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 135, as Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (Italian, 1697–1770): “from the collection of the Duchess of Berri” (not in her sale, Laneuville and Pillet, Paris, April 19–29, 1865; d. 1870). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, January 8, 1981, no. 87, as Jacopo Guarana, for \$27,000

137. *Fruit* [71.172]. 20 x 36 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 137, as Franz Snyder (Flemish, 1579–1657). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, June 11, 1981, no. 92, as attributed to Luca Forte, for \$16,500

141. *Flight into Egypt—The Repose* [71.145]. 4¾ x 3¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 141, as David Vinckeboons (Flemish, 1578–1629). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, February 15, 1973, no. 6, as attributed to Adriaen van Stalbeem, after Jan Brueghel the Elder, for \$1,000

142. *Under the Trellis* [71.52]. 7½ x 6 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 142, as Cornelis du Sart (Dutch, 1665–1704). Sale, Christie’s, January 11, 1989, no. 167, as attributed to Cornelius Dusart, for \$11,000

143. *Christ expiring on the Cross* [71.10]. 43 x 32¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 143, as Theodor Boyermans (Flemish, 1620–1677). H. D. Vis Blokhuyzen, Rotterdam (until 1870; his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 1–2, 1870, no. 10, as Gaspar de Crayer, 109 x 84 cm [43 x 33¼ in.], for F 150 to Gauchez). Sale, Christie’s, June 18, 1982, no. 40, as attributed to Theodor Boeyermans, for \$1,500

147. *Flowers* [71.174]. 36 x 29½ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 147, as Rachel Ruysch (Dutch, 1664–1750): “from the collection of Robiano” (not in the Comte F. de Robiano sale, Barbé, Brussels, May 1, 1837). Sale, Christie’s, May 21, 1992, no. 43, as Johannes Christian Roedig, after Rachel Ruysch, for \$28,600

148. *Still Life* [71.165]. 38 x 51¾ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 148, as Johan de Heem (Dutch, 17th century). Sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, March 15, 1974, no. 74, as Michiel Simons, for \$2,600

154. *Wooded Landscape* [71.114]. 13½ x 17 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 154, as Cornelis Huysmans (Flemish, 1648–1727): “belonged to the celebrated collection of the Marquis Maison” (not in the Maison estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 10–12, 1869). ? Baron de Heusch, Château de l’Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 20, for BF 950 to Gauchez) or [Léon Gauchez, Brussels; offered on July 11, 1868, to the Musées Royaux de Belgique for BF 1,800; valued by Étienne Le Roy at BF 1,000; offer declined]. Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27, 1956, no. 6, for \$50 to Dr. Walter Altschul

155. *The Head of John the Baptist* [71.137]. 28½ x 43 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 155, as Gerard van Herp (Flemish, b. 1604). Marquis du Blaisel (until 1870; his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 16–17, 1870, no. 64, for F 310 to Gauchez); [Léon Gauchez, Brussels; offered in March 1870 to the Musées Royaux de Belgique for BF 1,000; offer declined]. Sale, Parke-Bernet, October 25, 1956, no. 355, as school of Peter Paul Rubens, Flemish, 17th century, *Salome before Herod*, “one of a number of school replicas after the Rubens painting,” for \$300 to George Harris

160. *Flowers* [71.53]. 30½ x 24 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 160, as Maria van Oosterwyck (Dutch, 1630–1693). Sale, Sotheby’s, January 12, 1989, no. 190, as Ernst Stuken (signed), for \$85,000



129



131



135



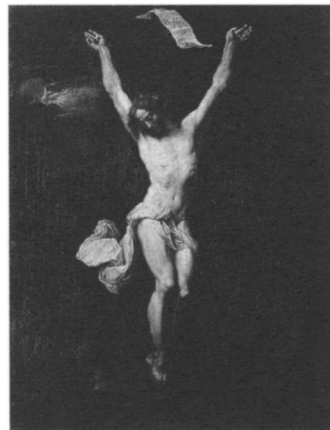
137



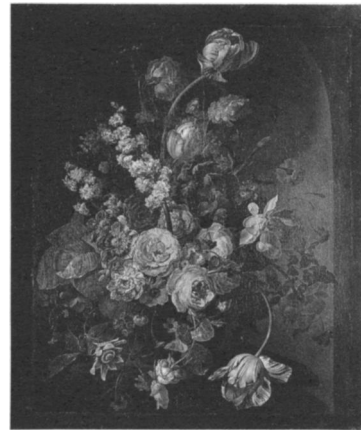
141



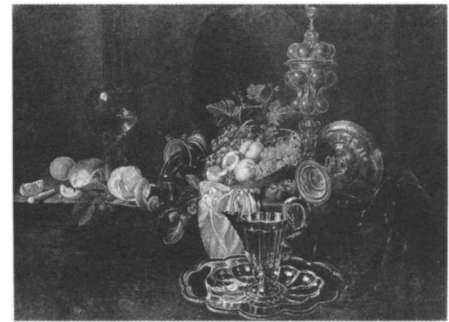
142



143



147



148



154



155



160

161. *The Flutist* [71.104]. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 161, as Jacques Sebastien Le Clerc (French, 1734–1785). Sale, Parke-Bernet, March 27–28, 1956, no. 5, as after Nicolas Lancret, for \$125 to Mrs. L. A. Whitehead

162. *Wild Boar Hunting* [71.95]. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 162, as Abraham Hondius (Dutch, 1638–1691). Sale, Parke-Bernet, October 25, 1956, no. 343, as Ludolf de Jongh, for \$140 to Emil Hirsch

163–64. *The Departure of the Prodigal Son and The Prodigal Son spending his Money in Riotous Living* [71.111, 71.112]. Each 12 x 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. MMA Catalogue 1872, nos. 163, 164, as Franz Christoph Janneck (German, 1703–1761). Sale, Christie's, May 31, 1979, no. 72, the pair for \$26,000

165. *Fete of the Tunny Fishers at Marseilles* [71.81]. 32 x 48 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 165, as Henri Joseph van Blarenberghe (French, 1741–1826). [Léon Gauchez, Paris; offered on August 11, 1869, for BF 6,000 to the Musées Royaux de Belgique; declared a copy by Le Roy; offer declined]. Sale, Christie's, May 31, 1990, no. 143, as attributed to Philipp Jakob Louthenbourg the Younger, for \$90,000; sale, Sotheby's, January 30, 1998, no. 142, as Charles Eschard, bought in

166. *Fruit* [71.7]. 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 18 in.; signed: *I: weenix*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 166, as Jan Weenix (Dutch, 1640–1719). Baron de Heusch, Château de l'Andweck (until 1870; his estate sale, Étienne and Victor Le Roy, Brussels, May 9–10, 1870, no. 57, for BF 400 to Gauchez). Sale, Christie's, June 18, 1982, no. 52, as attributed to Jan Weenix, for \$2,000

167. *Fish* [71.51]. 25 x 31 in.; signed (signature not transcribed). MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 167, as Abram van Beyeren (Dutch, d. 17th century), whose "pictures were brought to light by the admirable French critic, Mr. W. Burger." Sale, Sotheby's, January 19, 1984, no. 125, for \$9,000

168. *A Quay at Leyden* [71.158]. 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 27 in.; signed: *VHeide*. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 168, as Jan van der Heyden (Dutch, 1637–1712). Désiré van den Schrieck, Louvain (until d. 1857; his estate sale, Étienne Le Roy, Louvain, April 8–10, 1861, no. 30, as *Vue d'une Rue de Leyden*, for BF 6,000 to Gheldolf); Marquise Thécodule de Rodes (until d. 1867; her estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1868, no. 5, for F 8,000, withdrawn). Sale, Christie's, June 18, 1982, no. 56, for \$26,000

169. *A Hawking Party assembled at a Country Mansion* [71.115]. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; signed: *J:lingelbach. ft.* MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 169, as Joannes Lingelbach (Dutch, 1625–1687). Marquise Thécodule de Rodes (until d. 1867; her estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1868, no. 8, for F 3,300 to Gauchez). Sale, Sotheby's, January 12, 1989, no. 175, for \$38,500

170. *Meeting of the Trained Bands to Celebrate the Conclusion of the Peace of Munster* [71.169]. 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 39 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 170, as Franz Hals (Dutch, 1584–1666) and Dirk Hals (Dutch, d. 1656). Sale, Parke-Bernet, October 25, 1956, no. 361, as "a sketch for the . . . composition by Flinck in the Rijksmuseum," for \$350 to N. de Koenigsberg; sale, Parke-Bernet, October 27, 1962, no. 54, for \$300; private collection, New York (1962–95); Amsterdams Historisch Museum (from 1996)

173. *Italian Landscape* [71.38]. 86 x 106 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 173, as Cornelis Huysmans (Flemish, 1648–1727). Sale, Plaza, July 26, 1956, no. 116, for \$30 to M. Solow

174. *The Conquest of the Golden Fleece by Jason* [71.8]. 75 x 126 in. MMA Catalogue 1872, no. 174, as Abraham van Diepenbeeck (Flemish, 1607–1675) and Jan Wildens (Flemish, 1584–1653). Sale, Plaza, June 7, 1956, no. 93, for \$100 to Berberian



161



163



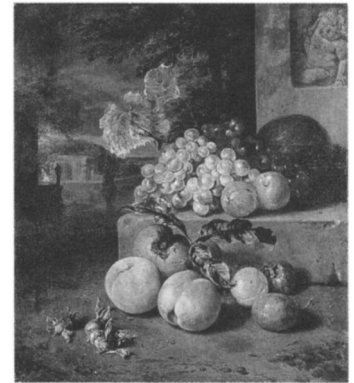
164



162



165



166



167



168



169



170



173



174

APPENDIX 2

CHRONOLOGY

1868

April 22–23 Sale in Brussels of the collection of “M. le Comte C . . .”

1869

Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart pays the debts of his son Félix, who renounces his property at Vonèche, near Brussels, in favor of his son Arthur

November 23 Meeting sponsored by the Art Committee of the Union League Club of New York lays the groundwork for a new museum

1870

January 31 John Taylor Johnston elected president of the board of trustees and William Tilden Blodgett elected chairman of the executive committee of the new museum

April 13 The Metropolitan Museum of Art incorporated

May 27 First meeting of the Museum’s executive committee, with Blodgett in the chair

June 15 First quarterly meeting of the board of trustees, with Blodgett taking the chair in Johnston’s absence

***July 8–9* Last Paris art sale (Lugt 32175) before the onset of the Franco-Prussian War**

***July 19* France declares war on Prussia**

***August 4* Prussian army crosses the French frontier into Alsace**

August 23 Blodgett gains title to 59 paintings, the so-called Paris collection, through dealer Léon Gauchez and Paris dealer Alexis Febvre

August 30 Gauchez guarantees the Paris collection

August 31 Febvre guarantees the Paris collection

***September 1–2* After French forces are defeated at Sedan, Napoléon III surrenders**

***September 4* French Third Republic proclaimed**

***September 18* Prussian siege of Paris begins**

September 22 Blodgett gains title to 100 paintings, the so-called Brussels collection, from Brussels dealer Étienne Le Roy, with Gauchez acting as agent

September 23 Second meeting of the Museum’s board of trustees, from which Blodgett is absent

September 27 Blodgett gains title to 15 additional paintings through Gauchez

September 28 Trustee William J. Hoppin, accompanied by Blodgett and Gauchez, sees the Brussels collection

October 24 Executive committee (attendance unrecorded) resolves to appoint a committee to confer with Blodgett on his purchase of 174 European paintings

November 7 Special meeting of the board of trustees: In Blodgett’s absence, Hoppin presents the committee report recommending the purchase of the 174 pictures

November 19 Martin-Benoît Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart dies

November 20 Le Roy and Gauchez guarantee the Brussels collection

November 21 Meeting of the Museum's executive committee, with Blodgett in the chair

December 21 Blodgett officially offers the 174 paintings to the Museum at the purchase price plus costs (\$116,180.27)

1871

January 5 **Prussian bombardment of Paris begins**

January 18 **King Wilhelm of Prussia proclaimed emperor of Germany at Versailles**

January 28 **Franco-German armistice**

March 3 Trustees resolve unanimously upon the "Purchase of 1871"

March 4 Johnston takes out a bridge loan and buys a half share in the paintings from Blodgett

March 18 **Paris Commune**

March 28 Museum adopts the purchase, with payment to be made on delivery

May 21–28 **Versailles forces enter Paris; the Week of Blood; the Louvre burns**

June 24 Félix Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart dies

December 22 Payment completed; the pictures are ready for delivery

1872

February 17 Artists and members of the press view The Metropolitan Museum of Art; a catalogue detailing the 174 paintings is published

February 20 Subscribers and their guests celebrate the opening of the Museum

February 22 Museum opens its doors to the public at 681 Fifth Avenue

April 1 Park commissioners designate "that part of Central Park between 79th and 84th Streets and Fifth Avenue and the Drive" as the site of a new building for the Museum

December Trustees approve the purchase of the Cesnola collection of Cypriot antiquities

1873

April Trustees lease the Douglas Mansion at 128 West Fourteenth Street

1874

Ground broken for the Museum's permanent home at 1000 Fifth Avenue

APPENDIX 3

A: Selected paintings from the Paris collection as attributed and valued by Léon Gauchez on March 4, 1871

B: Selected paintings from the Brussels collection as attributed and valued by the dealers in 1871

Francesco Guardi, <i>The Grand Canal, Santa Maria della Salute</i> [Appendix 1A, Nos. 145–46]*	each 15,000**	Pieter Paul Rubens, <i>Return of the Holy Family from Egypt</i> [Appendix 1B, No. 3]	60,000
Frans Hals, <i>Malle Babbe</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 144]	15,000	Anthony van Dyck, <i>Saint Rosalie Interceding for the Plague-Stricken</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 5]	35,000
Jacob Jordaens, <i>Holy Family with Saint Anne</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 118]	15,000	Meindert Hobbema, <i>A View in Holland</i> [Appendix 1B, No. 53]	30,000
Jean Baptiste Greuze, <i>Study Head of a Woman</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 120]	7,000	David Teniers the Younger, <i>Peasants Dancing and Feasting</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 10]	30,000
Nicolas Poussin, <i>Midas Washing</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 139]	7,000	Anton van Dyck, <i>Miss De Christyn</i> [Appendix 1B, No. 6]	15,000
Sir Joshua Reynolds, <i>Sir Edward Hughes</i> [Appendix 1B, No. 126]	7,000	Pieter Paul Rubens, <i>Lions Chasing Deer</i> [Appendix 1B, No. 4]	15,000
Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, <i>The Investiture of Bishop Harold</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 149]	7,000	Gillis van Tilborgh, <i>A Wedding Celebration</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 11]	15,000
Willem van Mieris, <i>A Tippler</i> [Appendix 1B, No. 129]	6,500	Jan Velvet Brueghel, <i>The Windmills, The Hill</i> [Appendix 1B, Nos. 13–14]	each 10,000
Jan Josephsz. van Goyen, <i>View of Haarlem</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 116]	6,000	Gaspar de Crayer, <i>The Meeting of Alexander the Great and Diogenes</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 8]	10,000
Cornelis de Vos, <i>Portrait of a Young Woman</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 136]	6,000	Adriaan van Ostade, <i>A Smoker</i> [Appendix 1B, No. 47]	10,000
Jean Baptiste Joseph Pater, <i>The Comical March</i> [Appendix 1B, No. 103]	5,000	Roger van der Weyden, <i>The Descent from the Cross</i> [Appendix 1B, No. 2]	10,000
Lucas Cranach the Elder, <i>John I</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 89]	3,500	Nicolaas Maas, <i>Duchess of Mazarin</i> [Appendix 1B, No. 62]	6,000
Margareta Haverman, <i>A Vase of Flowers</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 112]	3,000	Cornelis Dekker and Adriaan van Ostade, <i>A Dutch Landscape</i> [Appendix 1B, No. 56]	5,000
Marten van Heemskerck, <i>Jacob Willemsz. van Veen</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 119]	3,000	Jan Victors, <i>Abraham's Parting from the Family of Lot</i> [Appendix 1A, No. 51]	5,000

*All paintings in Appendix 3 appear under the attributions published in the Museum's 1872 catalogue. For paintings belonging to the Museum (those listed in Appendix 1A), current titles have been substituted where these differ. For deaccessioned paintings (those listed in Appendix 1B), the 1872 titles are retained; subsequent changes of attribution are listed in Appendix 1B.

** Prices are in French francs. (Six francs equaled approximately one dollar in 1871.)

APPENDIX 4

Concordance of Metropolitan Museum accession numbers and MMA Catalogue 1872 numbers

acc. no.	cat. no.	acc. no.	cat. no.	acc. no.	cat. no.
71.1	8	71.56	139	71.108	109
71.5	69	71.57	105	71.109	37
71.6	112	71.60	156	71.110	79
71.11	118	71.62	116	71.116	74
71.12	15	71.63	172	71.118	171
71.13	16	71.69	152	71.119	145
71.17	134	71.70	67	71.120	146
71.19	65	71.73	138	71.121	149
71.23	49	71.75	110	71.123	117
71.28	140	71.76	144	71.125	159
71.31	153	71.78	125	71.128	89
71.32	11	71.80	93	71.135	151
71.33ab	87	71.83	132	71.142	91
71.34	121	71.84	114	71.154	40
71.36	119	71.89	104	71.155	44
71.40ab	88	71.91	120	71.156	157
71.41	5	71.93	124	71.157	158
71.43	107	71.96	133	71.160	102
71.44	108	71.98	150	71.162	92
71.45	115	71.99	10	71.170	51
71.46	136	71.100	1		
71.50	130	71.105	41		

Manuscript Guidelines for the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

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. Articles are contributed by members of the Museum staff and other art historians and specialists. Submissions should be addressed to:

James David Draper
Henry R. Kravis Curator
European Sculpture and Decorative Arts
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
1000 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10028

Manuscripts are reviewed by the *Journal* Editorial Board, composed of members of the curatorial and editorial departments. **To be considered for the following year's volume, an article must be submitted, complete including illustrations, by October 15.** Once an article is accepted for publication, the author will have the opportunity to review it in March, after editing, and again in July, after it has been laid out in pages. The honorarium for publication of an article is \$100, and each author receives a copy of the *Journal* volume in which the article appears and ten offprints.

Manuscripts should be submitted both in hard copy and on computer disk. In addition to the text, the manuscript must include the endnotes, the captions for illustrations, and a 200-word abstract. All parts of the typescript—text, quoted material, endnotes, captions, appendixes, abstract—must be double-spaced and have margins of at least one inch on all sides. On the disk, each part of the article, including the endnotes, should be in a separate electronic file.

For the style of bibliographic references in endnotes, authors are referred to the Museum's style guide, which in turn is based on the 15th edition (2003) of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. In bibliographic citations, please give the author's full name; the title and subtitle of the book or article and periodical; place and date of publication, including the publisher of a book; volume and page number. For subsequent references to cited works, use the author's last name and a shortened form of the title rather than *op. cit.* *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to Editorial Style and Procedures* is available from the Museum's Editorial Department upon request.

All photographs and drawings must be submitted with the manuscript, each identified according to the list of captions, which should also include photograph credits. We require glossy black-and-white prints of good quality and in good condition. Indicate the figure number and the picture's orientation lightly in pencil on the back of the photograph, and mark any instructions for cropping on a photocopy of the illustration. Photographs of reproductions in books should be accompanied by captions that include full bibliographic information. **The author is responsible for obtaining all photographic material and reproduction rights.**

CONTENTS

Two Royal-Name Scarabs of King Amenemhat II
from Dahshur
DAPHNA BEN-TOR

Horse Care as Depicted on Greek Vases before 400 B.C.
MARY B. MOORE


A Buddhist Incense Burner from Gandhara
ELIZABETH ROSEN STONE

Becoming Artemisia: Afterthoughts on the Gentileschi
Exhibition
KEITH CHRISTIANSEN

Landscape Drawings by Pietro da Cortona
JÖRG MARTIN MERZ

Natoire and Boucher: Two Studies for a Don Quixote
Tapestry
FRANÇOISE JOULIE

Buying Pictures for New York: The Founding Purchase
of 1871
KATHARINE BAETJER

Information about back issues of the *Metropolitan
Museum Journal* is available from BREPOL'S  PUBLISHERS
n.v., Turnhout, Belgium (<http://www.brepols.net>).

COVER ILLUSTRATION: Giovanni Battista Tiepolo
(Italian, Venetian, 1696–1770). *The Investiture of
Bishop Harold as Duke of Franconia*, ca. 1751–52. The
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1871
(71.121). See page 175, Figure 25

BREPOLS  PUBLISHERS

ISBN 2-503-51725-0

