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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.

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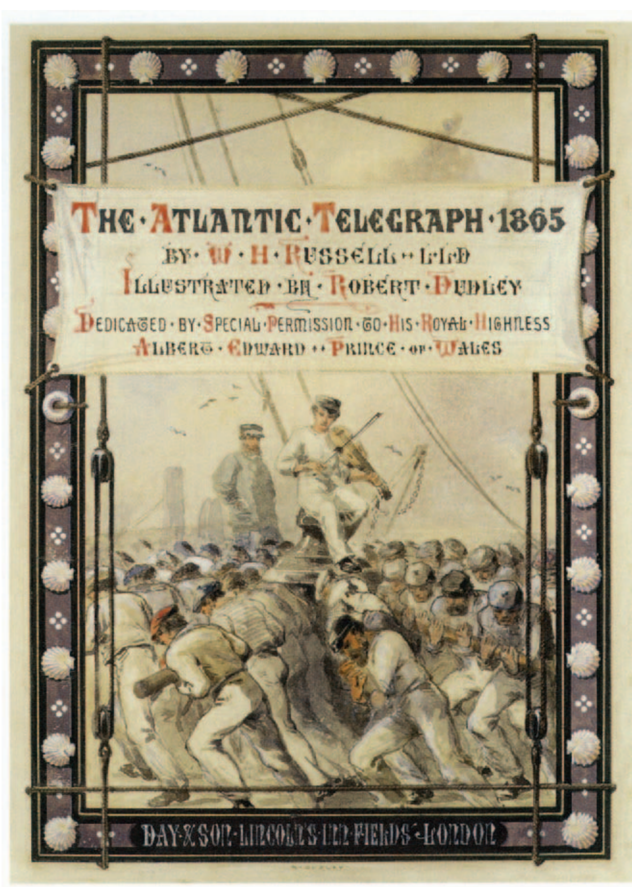

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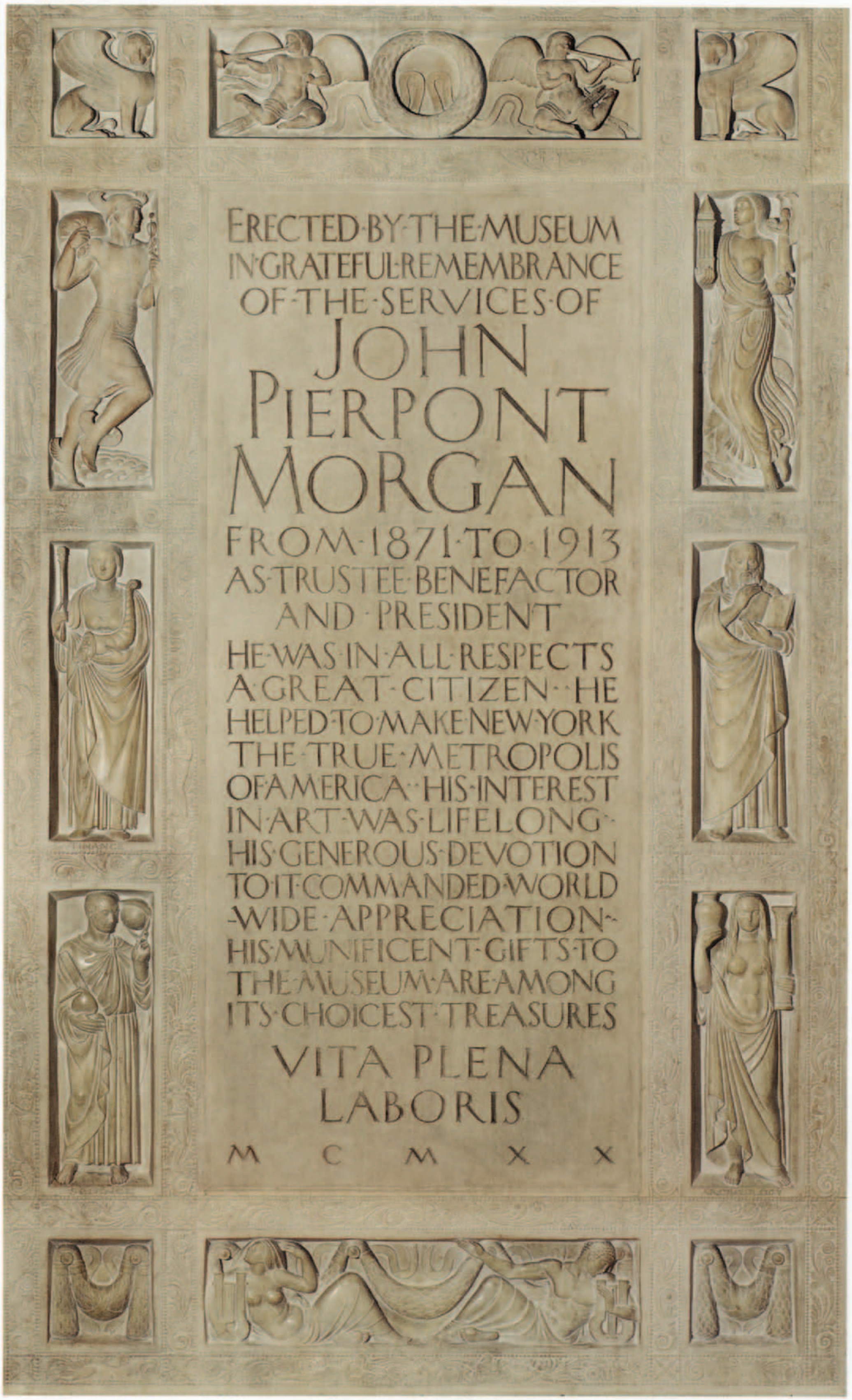

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An Assyrian-Style Ivory Plaque from Hasanlu, Iran

PAUL COLLINS

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BETWEEN 1959 AND 1974, The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania cosponsored large-scale excavations, led by Robert H. Dyson Jr., at the site of Hasanlu, in modern West Azerbaijan province, northwestern Iran.[1] In keeping with the practice of the day, the finds were divided between the host country and the excavations' funding institutions, and nearly four hundred objects from Hasanlu entered the collection of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art at the Metropolitan Museum. They included eight pieces of a remarkable ivory plaque carved in Assyrian style (Figures 1, 2).

Ivory was extensively used in the ancient Near East to decorate elaborate pieces of furniture such as thrones and beds. This form of decoration was especially favored in the Levant and Syria, where local workshops produced distinctive styles of carved ivories.[2] In Assyria (modern northern Iraq) during the ninth to seventh centuries B.C., ivory, although less popular than in the west, was also used for decorative elements of furniture and carved in a local style—the style represented by the Metropolitan Museum's plaque. Oscar White Muscarella published the plaque first in 1966 and again, more fully, in his 1980 catalogue of the ivories from Hasanlu.[3] He interpreted the image carved on the plaque as that of an Assyrian dignitary, perhaps even a king—he suggested Ashurnasirpal II (r. 883–859 B.C.) or Shalmaneser III (r. 858–824 B.C.)—bringing an animal for sacrifice. I propose that the figure on the plaque is better interpreted as a wingless protective spirit, or genie, of a type known from stone reliefs lining the walls of Assyrian palaces dating from the ninth to eighth centuries B.C. Such figures were designed to provide supernatural protection for the king. Genies, alongside other traditional Assyrian scenes, of the king in battle or hunting or receiving tribute, were appropriate images for the decoration of a royal throne.

The Metropolitan Museum–University Museum excavations at Hasanlu were focused on a level of the site designated as Period IVB, where the architecture and artifacts were extremely well preserved. The phase represented by these remains dates from the ninth to the early eighth century B.C., when the site was destroyed by fire.[4] Buildings collapsed, burying not only much material but also some 250 men, women, and children. Who brought about the violent demise of Hasanlu remains unclear. An inscription discovered at the nearby site of Qalatgah records the establishment of Urartian power in the region about 800 B.C.[5] Urartu, a major kingdom with its homeland in eastern Anatolia, southern Armenia, and northwestern Iran, was a political and perhaps commercial rival of the kingdom of Assyria to the south, and it is probable that the Urartians destroyed Hasanlu in Period IV as part of their military expansion.

Five major burned-brick public buildings (and other smaller ones) were uncovered at Hasanlu, each comprising an elaborate entryway and a central columned hall surrounded by subsidiary rooms. In the halls there were brick benches along the walls, a central raised area (perhaps intended for a throne), and hearths. The scale and quality of the buildings suggest that Hasanlu was a major administrative and political center during the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. Indeed, thousands of astonishing objects made of terracotta, bronze, iron, silver, gold, stone, glass, and other materials were excavated within the debris of the destroyed buildings. Hundreds of fragments of carved ivory objects and furniture inlay were also discovered. They were carved in a number of styles through a variety of techniques.[6] Some had been imported from abroad, in particular from North Syria and Assyria, reflecting Hasanlu's wide-ranging connections with other settled areas.

Among the many Assyrian-style ivories carried from Assyria to Hasanlu as elements of imported furniture is the Metropolitan's plaque. As Max Mallowan and Leri Glynne Davies have written, Assyrian-style ivories are typically decorated with "subjects and persons familiar from the [Assyrian] palace bas-reliefs and

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The notes for this article begin on page 29.

Figure 1. Plaque fragments with a bearded male genie carrying a young goat. Hasanlu, Iran, Burned Building II, Level IV, 9th century B.C. Ivory, 9.5 x 3.9 x .99 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1965 (65.163.2a,b)

other stone monuments executed between the ninth and the end of the seventh century B.C."[7] Scenes of warfare, processions, and divinities are incised or carved, in low relief or, in a few instances, in the round. Simpler animal and plant designs known in Assyrian glyptic art and ceramics also occur on these ivories. Examples have been found at the sites of Nimrud, Nineveh, and Balawat, in Assyria,[8] but the plaque from Hasanlu discussed here, with its fine modeling and attention to detail, may be one of the finest known Assyrian-style ivories.[9]

The fragments of the plaque are carved in low relief, with details modeled and incised. A bearded male faces left, his head circled by a wide diadem, now heavily abraded. His wavy hair is carefully indicated by incisions. The crescent element of an earring is shown in his ear. The figure has a thick eyebrow and an outlined oval eye. A heavy beard frames his face, and

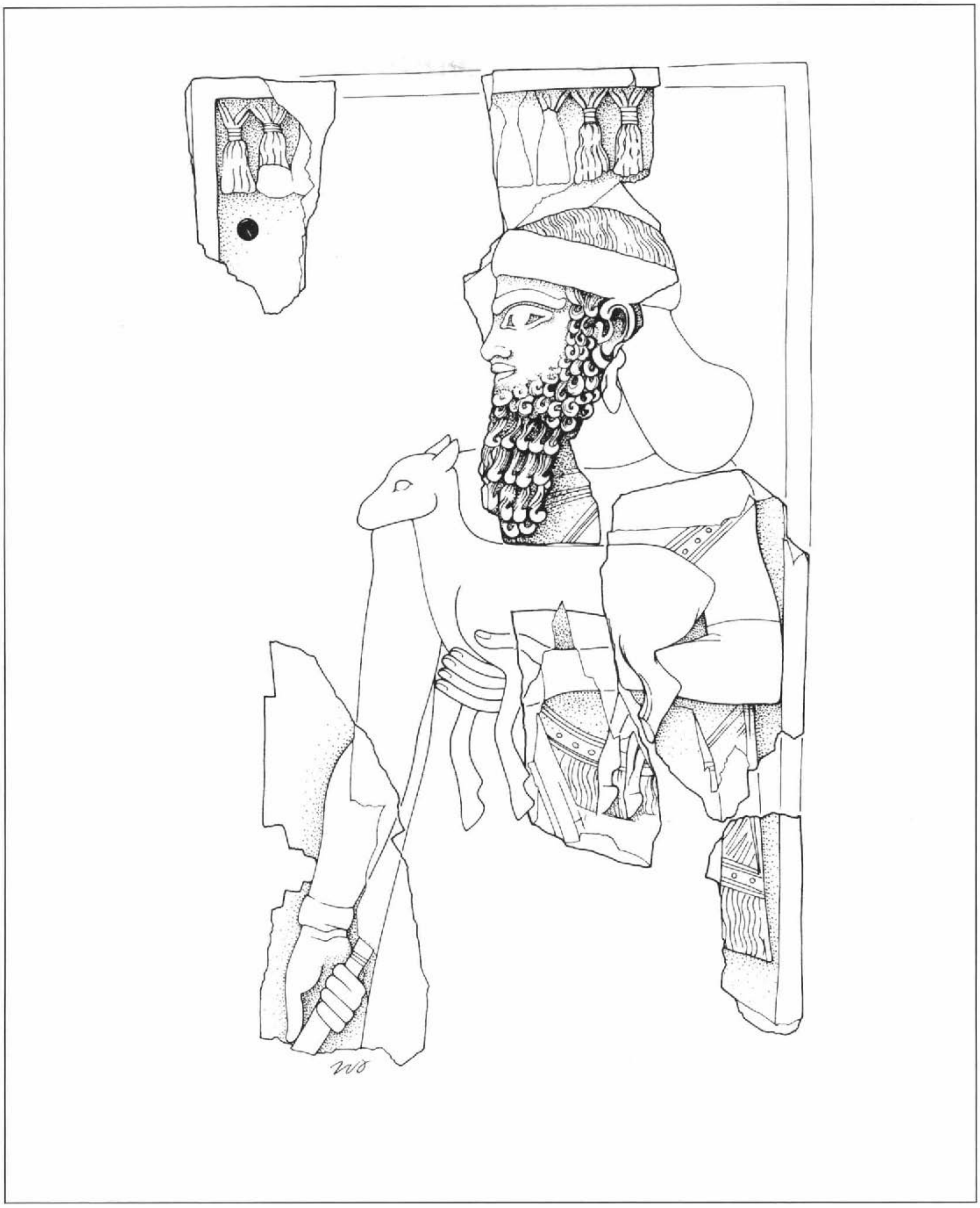


Figure 2. Drawing by William Shanks showing seven of the eight fragments of an ivory plaque from Hasanlu (Figure 1), with partial reconstruction

below the jaw the hair is divided into three layers of curls ending in a narrow row of smaller curls. He wears a bracelet on the right wrist and a short-sleeved garment that is fringed and bordered by lines and small circles. Part of the garment hangs down his back, with a line of fringes visible below the waist. He cradles a small hoofed animal in his left arm while in his right hand he holds a staff (or mace), with its knoblike end pointing down. Pendant from the upper border are tassels. The upper right and lower right fragments preserve a raised border that suggests the plaque was rectangular.[10] A dowel hole appears in the upper left corner fragment.

Analysis of the plaque's imagery in conjunction with evidence from Assyrian stone reliefs, wall paintings, and carved ivories suggests that the identification of the figure on the plaque as a dignitary or king deserves reexamination. The Assyrian monarch is

Figure 3. Relief panel with Ashurnasirpal II (left) and an official (right). Nimrud, Iraq, reign of Ashurnasirpal II, 883–859 B.C. Alabaster, H. 234.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1932 (32.143.4)

characteristically depicted wearing a truncated cone-shaped hat, often circled by a diadem with lappets at the back, with a smaller cone on top (Figure 3).[11] However, figures in some reliefs from the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, in Nimrud, that have been interpreted as depictions of the king show him wearing the diadem alone.[12] These include the figure of an archer, in a diadem with lappets hanging from the back, on two relief slabs from the West Wing of the palace depicting a lion hunt. Since Ashurnasirpal II wears the traditional fezlike headdress when he is represented hunting, the bearded figure with a diadem and lappets is probably to be identified as the crown prince; he is often shown standing and facing the king in scenes of ritual and tribute.[13] In scenes of siege, the king, in his traditional hat, and the crown prince, in a diadem, flank a city under attack.[14] Other dignitaries, and even prisoners of rank, are shown wearing diadems but without the lappets.[15] The diadems, including that of the king, are wide at the front, with the upper edge curving down toward a narrow back, although occasionally an important beardless official wears a diadem wider at the back than at the front. A diadem consisting of a plaited band of uniform width, which is sometimes twisted into distinct oval-shaped sections, is worn by one of the varieties of genies depicted in Assyrian palace reliefs of the ninth to eighth centuries B.C. (Figure 4). Genies take three principal forms: two of them are represented as bearded, winged men, with one type wearing a horned helmet, and the other a diadem; the third type is also winged, with a muscular human male body and limbs but with the head of a bird.[16] A large frontal rosette often distinguishes their diadems, which can also be punctuated with rosettes along their length. The Hasanlu plaque figure's diadem is a broad band of a single width, the upper edge of which appears to undulate, suggesting that it may have been formed from plaited material.[17] At the front of the diadem there is a slight swelling that may be the remains of a rosette.

In some of their attributes the anthropomorphic genies cannot be distinguished from the king or

Figure 4. Relief panel with a winged genie. Nimrud, Iraq, reign of Ashurnasirpal II, 883–859 B.C. Alabaster, 236.2 x 210.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1932 (32.143.8)

bearded officials. Both the king and genies are depicted wearing earrings made from a single conical-tipped pendant suspended from a crescent. (In any event, the section of the Hasanlu plaque that might have shown the pendant is missing.) The treatment of the beard does not separate king from genie, either. Assyrian beards, worn by both humans and genies,[18] are normally depicted on reliefs with three sections of tight curls—one around the face and two below, in rows separated by bands of wavy vertical locks. The Hasanlu figure has an extra row, ending in a narrow row of smaller curls. Variations in the number of rows are known, however, in the ninth to eighth centuries B.C.[19] An extra row of curls appears, for example, in two images of Ashurnasirpal II as well as in the depiction of one of a pair of genies in a relief originally positioned behind the throne in the throne room of the Northwest Palace.[20]

Kings and genies do not have precisely the same costume, however. The principal varieties of genies wear a short-sleeved, knee-length tunic with a tasseled hem. Over the tunic is an ankle-length fringed shawl that covers the near leg, wraps around the body, and drapes the left shoulder, with the end hanging down the back to the waist. The shawl curves up at the front to expose part of the tunic and the far leg.[21] This costume is different from that of the king, who wears a short-sleeved, ankle-length dress covered by a shawl. Like the genies' clothing, the king's robes are edged with embroidery and heavy fringes. Unfortunately, there are too few fragments of the ivory plaque to determine if the figure's tunic stopped at the knee or reached the ankle. The end of the fringed shawl hanging down the back, shown on the bottom right fragment of the plaque, is known from depictions of genies, the king, officials, and tribute bearers. However, hanging down the back of the king and the crown prince are also a counterweight for a necklace (also worn by genies) and long lappets attached to the rear of the headdress.[22] These are not apparent on the ivory fragment.

In his lowered right hand the figure on the plaque holds a mace or a staff with a knob at the end, pointed

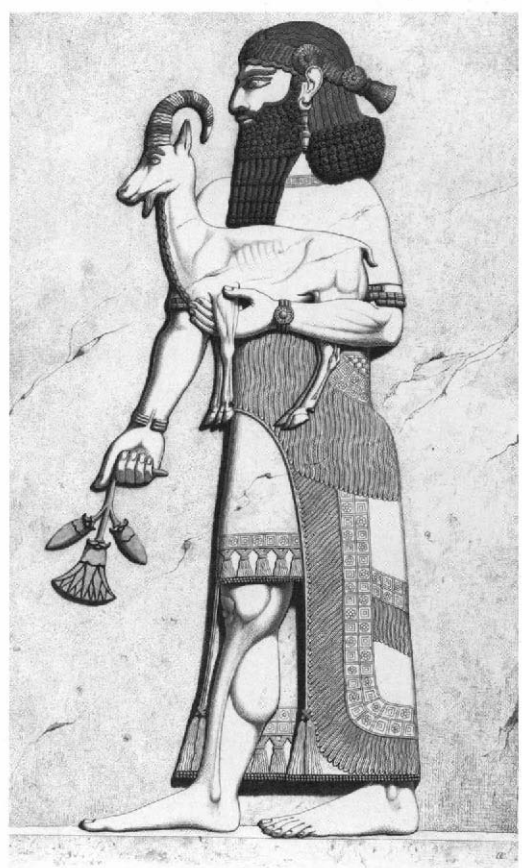
Figure 5. Relief panel with a winged genie and an official. Nimrud, Iraq, reign of Ashurnasirpal II, 883–859 B.C. Alabaster, 234.3 x 242.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1932 (32.143.6)

down. Kings and officials are occasionally depicted holding a mace or staff with a round pommel at the top, sometimes in the form of a rosette, and with a tassel or loop at the bottom (Figure 5).[23] Genies are shown carrying similar staffs, held by their sides parallel with the ground.[24] Maces are referred to in ritual texts as weapons of certain supernatural beings and gods. Indeed, the staff held by the genies has been interpreted as a tool of exorcists to drive away evil.[25] Although it is possible that the king also holds a staff for apotropaic reasons, it may serve primarily as a symbol of authority regardless of the bearer.

Cradled in the figure's left arm is a hoofed animal, the front half of which is missing. The animal is depicted in an unusual manner, with at least one rear leg overhanging the figure's arm; in similar scenes depicted in stone reliefs and ivories, the animal is cradled with the hind legs behind the arm.[26] The only figures on reliefs and ivories cradling animals are genies; I know of no images where the Assyrian king or an Assyrian dignitary carries an animal in this fashion.[27] The most impressive surviving examples of genies holding animals are a pair of gate guardians (*lamssu*) that flank an entrance to the throne room of the Northwest Palace in Nimrud. They have lions' bodies and human torsos and heads, and wear horned headdresses.[28] A branch with three pomegranates lies in their lowered right hands, while cradled in their left arms are small hoofed quadrupeds; when excavated the heads were broken away or too badly worn for the animal to be identified.[29] Elsewhere in the palace, a number of genies carved in relief likewise carry animals. These genies wear the broad diadem rather than a horned helmet.[30] On wall reliefs flanking doorway "d" in the throne room, two genies with wings each cradle a deer in one arm and raise a five-branched palmette in the other.[31] In Room Z, genies with two wings hold a goat in one arm and raise giant ears of corn in the other (Figure 6).[32] In many reliefs from Nimrud depicting the king, incised patterns on his robes, probably representing embroidery, depict winged genies with diadems holding goats.[33] A pair of genies holding animals has been reconstructed for the missing section of the throne-room facade.[34] In addition, a relief of a four-winged genie carrying a quadruped (perhaps a fawn) that was recovered from the area of the Central Palace at Nimrud had likely been removed from the Northwest Palace by a successor of Ashurnasirpal II.[35] The genie-and-animal image is also known at Hasanlu, where another ivory plaque incised in the Assyrian style depicts a winged genie carrying a kid. Unfortunately, the genie's head is missing, so it is impossible to know if he wore a diadem.[36]

Figure 6. Relief panel with a winged genie carrying a goat and an ear of corn. Nimrud, Iraq, reign of Ashurnasirpal II, 883–859 B.C. Alabaster, 224 x 127 cm. The British Museum, London, ANE 124561 (photo: The British Museum)

Figure 7. Drawing of a relief panel from Khorsabad with a wingless genie carrying a goat or ibex and a branching plant. From Paul Émile Botta and Eugène Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* (Paris, 1849–50), vol. 1, pl. 43



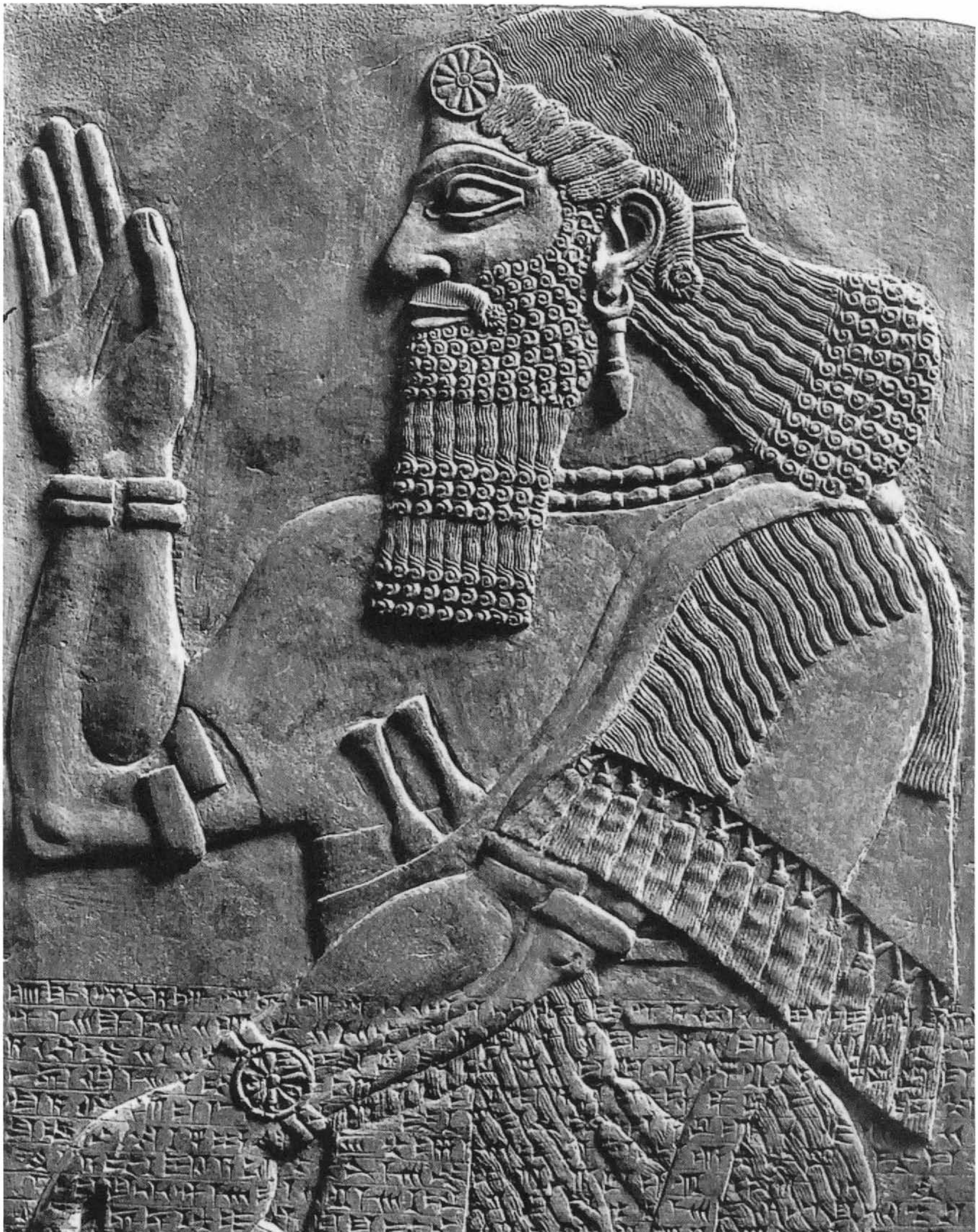


Figure 8. Relief panel with a wingless genie. Nimrud, Iraq, reign of Ashurnasirpal II, 883–859 B.C. Alabaster, 235 x 89 cm. The British Museum, London, ANE 124575 (photo: The British Museum)

Genies carrying animals had a long tradition in Assyrian art. Some 150 years after Ashurnasirpal II, genies with animals were carved in relief to decorate the palace of Sargon II (r. 722–705 B.C.) at Khorsabad (Figure 7).[37] An extremely fine cylinder seal in the British Museum depicting genies wearing a twisted headband and carrying a goat has been dated to the late eighth century B.C.[38] Julian Reade points out that the genies carrying animals are the only figures that occupy the same positions in different palaces; that is, they are placed at significant entrances.[39]

The carried animal is considered by some scholars to represent a "scapegoat." Known only from Assyrian ritual texts, scapegoats were living animals intended as the destination for malignant demons removed by an exorcist from within a sufferer. Following the ritual, the animal was killed. The idea that the scapegoat ritual was a prominent part of royal activity in Assyria, and thus worthy of depiction in Assyrian art, is based on the discovery of a quadruped, tentatively identified as a gazelle, under the pavement of a corridor in the Northwest Palace. The excavator suggested that the remains were those of a scapegoat.[40] There appears to be little to the claim, however, since the ritual text that refers to the scapegoat instructs that its skin be thrown into the street; there is no suggestion that the animal be preserved.[41] A better interpretation of the animal held by the genies may be that it is an indication of the abundance believed to have issued from the gods through the king—an abundance emphasized throughout the decoration of Assyrian palaces, not only by the branches of vegetation held by genies in the reliefs but also by the so-called sacred trees and the repeated patterns of palmettes, cones, lotuses, deer, and goats in wall paintings, glazed tiles, stone reliefs, and ivory decoration.[42] Indeed, it seems unlikely that a supernatural being would carry a sacrificial animal.

One of the critical arguments in favor of identifying the figure on the ivory plaque from Hasanlu as human is his lack of wings; wings, if present, would almost certainly be visible in the space behind the figure's left arm.[43] However, although all the genies holding animals in the Northwest Palace have two or four wings, wingless genies are also known. They have the same dress and broad diadem as the winged varieties and, like them, flank doorways as protective spirits. In the Northwest Palace, wingless genies with diadems, raising their right hands in blessing and holding buckets in their left hands, flank a doorway in Room H.[44] In Room G, pairs of wingless genies wearing diadems flank two doorways. One pair raise their right hands in blessing and hold a three-branched flower in their left hands; the second pair raise their right hands in blessing and hold staffs decorated with rosettes and tassels in their left hands.[45] Two wingless genies also decorated the entrance to the Ninurta Temple at Nimrud (Figure 8).[46]

The absence of wings on these genies is often explained as a result of limitations in the space available to the sculptor.[47] There is reason to believe, however, that a lack of wings may denote a rank or distinction among genies of the sort John Russell suggests exists between the four-winged genie and the two-winged variety.[48] In the Northwest Palace both wingless genies and winged genies with diadems flank what seem to be major passageways for the king.[49] Wingless genies also appear in Assyrian relief carvings of later date. An example from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.) was recovered from the central area of the citadel mound at Nimrud.[50] A wall painting from an Assyrian palace at Til-Barsip (modern Tell Ahmar), in Syria, offers a roughly contemporary example: a wingless genie wearing a diadem, holding branches of vegetation, and accompanied by a human-headed bull.[51] At the palace at Khorsabad of the late eighth century B.C., wingless genies are the most widely represented supernatural figure on exterior walls and inner doorways.[52] They are depicted singly or in pairs, on either side of a stylized tree; in several representations the wingless genie stands behind a winged one, a juxtaposition that Pauline Albenda suggests is indicative of wingless genies' lower rank in the religious sphere.[53] The wingless genies wear robes and broad diadems similar to those in earlier examples, and these serve to distinguish them from the king and his officials. Some wingless genies represented at Khorsabad carry animals.

The tassels pendant from the top of the Hasanlu plaque are of a type known on Assyrian garments, but in no other surviving Assyrian scene do they appear in a similar position. Such tassels were also used on furniture: they are depicted hanging from the seat of the king's throne in palace wall paintings at Til-Barsip.[54] A tasseled fringe decorates a chair of a woman on a late-eighth-century B.C. funerary stele from Zincirli and hangs from the seat of chairs in Syrian-style ivories from Nimrud.[55] Since the Hasanlu plaque had almost certainly been part of an elaborate piece of furniture, its carved tassels were probably complements to actual woven examples.

Images of supernatural beings were likewise suitable decoration for furniture, as carved ivory fragments, and thrones and chairs depicted in Assyrian reliefs and wall paintings, demonstrate.[56] A number of flat ivory plaques from Nimrud are decorated with an incised image of a winged genie, either with a bird's head or wearing a horned helmet, holding a bucket in his left hand and a cone-shaped object in his raised right hand.[57] In Assyrian stone reliefs these genies can be shown approaching the so-called sacred tree, a protective symbol of fertility and plenty, but they also flank doorways or images of the king.[58] Such images, when used to decorate a royal throne, would serve to magically protect the seated king from dangerous supernatural forces. Two of the Nimrud ivory plaques incised with genies are straight at the top but rounded at the bottom, and have been interpreted as chair arms.[59] A similarly shaped, though fragmentary, flat ivory plaque from Hasanlu is also incised in Assyrian style but with a winged genie that holds a flowering branch and a small quadruped.[60] On a stone relief of Sargon, from Khorsabad, the backrest of a throne is in the form of a bearded genie, presumably a sculpture in the round, who carries branching vegetation in his right hand and cradles a goat in his right arm.[61] Similar genies decorate a table on another Khorsabad relief.[62] The animal and plant are probably symbols of divinely generated abundance, the conduit for which was the Assyrian king who sat in a throne decorated with such imagery.[63]

The accumulated evidence favors an identification of the figure on the Metropolitan Museum's plaque as a wingless protective spirit that carries symbols of authority (staff) and abundance (animal) known from similar, though not identical, depictions of genies carved in stone wall reliefs within the Northwest Palace at Nimrud in the ninth century B.C. An increase in the relative number of wingless genies at late-eighth-century B.C. Khorsabad suggests that this form of protective spirit became increasingly popular. Since the figure on the plaque is wingless but must date from before the destruction of Hasanlu, soon after 800 B.C., it might be suggested that the ivory dates from the late ninth or early eighth century B.C. rather than being contemporary with the Northwest Palace, where winged genies are numerous.[64] However, our understanding of the function and ranking of these supernatural beings, on which their forms may have depended, remains too limited to hazard any such conclusion. It is likely that the finely carved Metropolitan ivory was part of a very important piece of furniture, probably a throne, perhaps sent to Hasanlu as a royal gift.[65] Thrones were considered appropriate royal gifts, as is known from Herodotus, who described how King Midas of Phrygia gave a throne as an offering to the shrine at Delphi.[66] Whatever the mechanism that brought this plaque with its protective spirit to Hasanlu, it is, even in its fragmentary state, as Herodotus remarked about the Midas throne, "worth seeing."

ABBREVIATIONS

Albenda 1986
Pauline Albenda. *The Palace of Sargon, King of Assyria: Monumental Wall Reliefs at Dur-Sharrukin, from Original Drawings Made at the Time of Their Discovery in 1843–1844 by Botta and Flandin.* Synthèse (Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations), no. 22. Paris, 1986.

Barnett and Lorenzini 1975
Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum. Text by R. D. Barnett. Photography by Amleto Lorenzini. Toronto, 1975.

Curtis and Reade 1995
John E. Curtis and Julian E. Reade, eds. *Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum.* Exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. New York, 1995.

Madhloom 1970
T. A. Madhloom. *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art.* London, 1970.

Mallowan and Davies 1970
M. E. L. Mallowan and Leri Glynne Davies. *Ivories in Assyrian Style.* Fasc. 2 of *Ivories from Nimrud (1949–1963).* Edited by M. E. L. Mallowan and D. J. Wiseman. London, 1970.

Muscarella 1980
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NOTES

1. Excavations at Hasanlu by the University Museum were initiated in 1957, following a ten-day survey the previous year. The site was one of several in the region that were explored. Hasanlu was settled from the sixth millennium B.C. through the Achaemenid Persian period of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. After a long abandonment, the site was reoccupied in Islamic times, until the thirteenth century A.D. For a summary of the excavations, see Oscar White Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron: Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1988), pp. 15–19.
2. For a general survey of the so-called Syrian- and Phoenician-style ivories, see M. E. L. Mallowan, *The Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1978).
3. Oscar White Muscarella, "Hasanlu 1964," *MMAB*, n.s., 25, no. 3 (November 1966), pp. 124–25, fig. 2; Muscarella 1980, pp. 148–49, 200–201, no. 280.
4. For a thorough review of the chronology of Period IVB and a rebuttal of a late-eighth-century B.C. date for its destruction, see Robert H. Dyson Jr. and Oscar White Muscarella, "Constructing the Chronology and Historical Implications of Hasanlu IV," *Iran* 27 (1989), pp. 1–27.
5. Oscar White Muscarella, "Qalatgah: An Urartian Site in Northwestern Iran," *Expedition* 13, nos. 3–4 (Spring–Summer 1971), pp. 44–49.
6. Four distinct styles of ivory carving can be identified at Hasanlu: a local style, an Iranian style, a North Syrian style, and an Assyrian style (Muscarella 1980, p. 1).
7. Mallowan and Davies 1970, p. 1. Although the designs are similar, there is no exact match between the images decorating the ivories and those found on the palace wall reliefs (Mallowan and Davies 1970, p. 8). The discrepancy reflects variations in the working practices and traditions of different crafts.
8. R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories, with Other Examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum* (1957; 2nd ed., with a commentary by Leri Glynne Davies, London, 1975); Mallowan and Davies 1970; Muscarella 1980, pp. 148–57, 200–202; Fu'ād Safar and Muyassar Sa'īd al-Irāqī, *Ivories from Nimrud* [in Arabic] (Baghdad, 1987); John E. Curtis, "New Excavations at Nimrud," *British Museum Magazine*, Summer 1990, p. 11; John E. Curtis, "Recent British Museum Excavations in Assyria," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd ser., 2 (1992), p. 160, fig. 12; Georgina Herrmann, *The Small Collections from Fort Shalmaneser*, fasc. 5 of *Ivories from Nimrud (1949–1963)*, ed. M. E. L. Mallowan and D. J. Wiseman (London, 1992), pp. 24–28; Georgina Herrmann, "The Nimrud Ivories 3: The Assyrian Tradition," in *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten: XXXIX^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg 6.–10. Juli 1992*, ed. Hartmut Waetzoldt and Harald Hauptmann (Heidelberg, 1997), pp. 285–90, pls. 27–32.
9. The only comparable plaque in terms of quality of carving is one discovered at Nimrud. Carved in low relief on the rectangular plaque is a depiction of an Assyrian king, possibly Ashurnasirpal II, wearing the royal headdress and raising a bowl in his right hand (Mallowan and Davies 1970, pl. I, p. 16).
10. Muscarella (1980, pp. 148, 200) suggests that the lower section may have been rounded, in the manner of plaques incised with an image of a winged genie discovered at Nimrud (Mallowan and Davies 1970, nos. 201, 202) and at Hasanlu (Muscarella 1980, pp. 150–51, no. 281).
11. Madhloom 1970, pp. 74–76. The king is occasionally shown without his distinctive hat. This omission seems to occur in specific ritual contexts. Tukulti-Ninurta (r. 1234–1207 B.C.) appears without his royal crown on two cult pedestals from Ashur (Anton Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia: The Classical Art of the Near East*, trans. Judith Filson [London and New York, 1969], nos. 246, 247), and Ashurnasirpal II is shown without his crown in a sculpture in the round from the Temple of Ishtar at Nimrud (Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 43, no. 1). On cylinder seals depicting the king banqueting, he is shown bareheaded (Dominique Collon, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum: Cylinder Seals V, Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Periods* [London, 2001], p. 65).
12. Barthel Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes* (Bonn, 1965), p. 44; Madhloom 1970, p. 76.
13. See comments by Julian Reade in Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 51. A later Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal (r. 669–627 B.C.), appears to have occasionally been depicted wearing only a diadem when engaged in hunting; see R. D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668–627 B.C.)* (London, 1976), pls. XLVI–LIII.
14. Barnett and Lorenzini 1975, nos. 27, 28.
15. Ibid., no. 31.
16. Other varieties of genies, including female examples, exist in lesser numbers. The male genies with the heads of humans or birds are usually associated with the term *apkallu*, "wise sage," an apotropaic divinity (Wiggermann 1992, pp. 65–67). For a description of the various genies, see Julian E. Reade, "Assyrian Architectural Decoration: Techniques and Subject-Matter," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 10 (1979), pp. 35–43, and Dieter Kolbe, *Die Reliefprogramme religiös-mythologischen Charakters in neuassyrischen Palästen: Die Figurentypen, ihre Benennung und Bedeutung* (Frankfurt, 1981). Such divine figures appear in Assyrian palace wall reliefs and paintings until the seventh century B.C. but are more numerous in the ninth century B.C. than later. This distribution is explained by Irene J. Winter ("Royal Rhetoric and the Development of Historical Narrative in Neo-Assyrian Reliefs," *Studies in Visual Communication* 7 [1981], p. 30) as a consequence of the expansion of the Assyrian empire after the ninth century B.C. and the need for images intelligible to a non-Assyrian audience.
17. Indeed, Muscarella (1980, p. 200) compares it with the headband worn by a genie from the Northwest Palace (Madhloom 1970, pl. LXV, no. 3).
18. In the ninth century B.C., many court officials are beardless, which may be a sign of fashion or an indication that they are eunuchs. Certain priests seem to have been shaven as a mark of office (Julian E. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture*, 2nd ed. [London, 1998], p. 43). The few supernatural figures who are beardless may represent female genies (Pauline Albenda, "The Beardless Winged Genies from the Northwest Palace at Nimrud," *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 10, no. 1 [1996] pp. 67–78).
19. Madhloom 1970, pp. 84–87.
20. Barnett and Lorenzini 1975, no. 13.
21. Very different genies are found in Rooms I and L of the Northwest Palace: a beardless winged deity with a horned headdress and a heavily fringed garment hanging from the waist (Albenda, "Beardless Winged Genies," pp. 67–78) and a bearded winged genie kneeling in a heavy fringed robe covering one shoulder (Russell 1998, pp. 696–97).

22. See, for example, Barnett and Lorenzini 1975, pl. 8.
23. Other examples include a statue in the round depicting Ashurnasirpal II holding a staff with pommel and tassel (Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 43, no. 1) and relief slabs from the throne room of the Northwest Palace showing the king holding a mace with tassel (Barnett and Lorenzini 1975, no. 13).
24. Janusz Meuszyński, *Räume: B.C.D.E.F.G.H.L.N.P.,* vol. 1 (1981) of *Die Rekonstruktion* 1981–92, pl. 10, nos. G-c-1, G-c-4.
25. Wiggermann 1992, pp. 60, 68.
26. See note 7, above.
27. Images of humans carrying animals for sacrifice are known through the third and second millennia B.C. For example, a figure on a third-millennium B.C. stone plaque from Ur carries a lamb toward a temple (Moortgat, *Art of Ancient Mesopotamia,* no. 116); on cylinder seals of the early second millennium B.C., kings carry four-legged animals toward deities (Dominique Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* [London, 1987], nos. 538, 539). A scene incised on a Neo-Assyrian ivory plaque from Nimrud has been interpreted as an offering of animals being led, not carried, in procession (this might equally be a scene of tribute) (Mallowan and Davies 1970, pp. 33–34, no. 85). At Khorsabad a narrative relief depicting an animal hunt shows a man carrying his captured quarry. He carries a gazelle across his shoulders and a hare in his right hand in a very naturalistic manner, very different from the awkward way in which the figure on the Hasanlu plaque holds his animal (Albenda 1986, fig. 76).
28. Samuel Paley and Richard P. Sobolewski, *The Principal Entrances and Courtyards,* vol. 3 (1992) of *Die Rekonstruktion* 1981–92, figs. 1, 2, pls. 1.1, 4.5.
29. The excavator, Austen Henry Layard, suggested that they were stags or goats (*Nineveh and Its Remains, with an Account of a Visit to the Chaldaean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil Worshippers* [London, 1849], vol. 1, p. 75).
30. Neither the bird-headed nor the horned-helmet–wearing genies hold animals.
31. Meuszyński, *Räume,* pl. 3.2, nos. B-30, B-29.
32. The ear of corn has been identified as a palm frond (Barbara Parker Mallowan, "Magic and Ritual in the Northwest Palace Reliefs," in *Essays on Near Eastern Archaeology in Honor of Charles Kyrle Wilkinson,* ed. Prudence O. Harper and Holly Pittman [New York, 1983], p. 38; Russell 1998, p. 702) because of references to the apotropaic qualities of palm fronds in ritual texts (Wiggermann 1992, pp. 69–70). However, a close viewing of the branch reveals distinct kernels.
33. Austen Henry Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh: From Drawings Made on the Spot* (London, 1849), pl. 47.
34. Samuel M. Paley and Richard P. Sobolewski, "The Outer Façade of the Throne Room of the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud (Kalhu)," in *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten,* ed. Waetzoldt and Hauptmann, p. 332.
35. John B. Stearns, *Reliefs from the Palace of Ashurnaširpal II* (Graz, 1961), p. 40, no. A-III-d-ii; R. D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Aššur-Nasir-Apli II (883–859 B.C.), Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.), Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.) from the Central and South-West Palaces at Nimrud* (London, 1962), pls. CXXVI, CXXVII.
36. Muscarella 1980, pp. 150–51, no. 281.
37. Albenda 1986, pp. 56–57. Here a genie clasps a small goat or ibex to his chest (facade m, court VI) and holds a branching lotus in his lowered hand. A second example of a genie, holding a goat on this occasion, occurs on the two slabs flanking door Z. (Albenda 1986, p. 57, pl. 63, locates the slab at door Y, which appears to be in disagreement with the excavator's plan.)
38. Collon, *First Impressions,* no. 347.
39. Julian E. Reade, "The Architectural Context of Assyrian Sculpture," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 11 (1980), p. 84.
40. M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* (New York, 1966), vol. 1, p. 121, fig. 62; B. P. Mallowan, "Magic and Ritual in the Northwest Palace Reliefs," p. 37. Wiggermann (1992, p. 77) suggests this interpretation "deserves further elaboration."
41. Richard S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New Haven and London, 1968), p. 44.
42. For a discussion of repeating patterns in Assyrian art, see Irene J. Winter, "Ornament and the 'Rhetoric of Abundance' in Assyria," *Eretz-Israel* 27 (2003), pp. 252–64. For Assyrian-style ivory plaques with a repeated motif of kneeling goats, see Mallowan and Davies 1970, pls. 38, 39.
43. Muscarella 1980, p. 200.
44. Meuszyński, *Räume,* pls. 11–13, nos. H-17a, H-c-2, H-35.
45. Ibid., pl. 10, nos. G-a-1, G-a-2, G-c3, G-c-4.
46. Austen Henry Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the Desert* (London, 1853), pl. facing p. 351.
47. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture,* p. 38; Russell 1998, p. 674.
48. Russell 1998, pp. 677–78, 707, n. 51. See also comment by Pauline Albenda, *Ornamental Wall Painting in the Art of the Assyrian Empire,* Cuneiform Monographs 28 (Leiden, 2005), p. 42.
49. Curtis and Reade 1995, pp. 56–57, no. 8; Russell 1998, p. 675.
50. Janusz Meuszyński, "Neo-Assyrian Reliefs from the Central Area of Nimrud Citadel," *Iraq* 38 (1976), p. 41, pl. 13.
51. François Thureau-Dangin and Maurice Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris, 1936), pl. 48; Albenda, *Ornamental Wall Painting,* p. 42, pl. 15.
52. Albenda 1986, p. 56.
53. Ibid., p. 57.
54. Thureau-Dangin and Dunand, *Til-Barsib,* pl. 49; Albenda, *Ornamental Wall Painting,* pls. 23, 25.
55. For the Zincirli stele, see Dorit Symington, "Hittite and Neo-Hittite Furniture," in *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College, London, June 28 to 30, 1998,* ed. Georgina Herrmann (Mainz, 1996), pl. 31c. For the Nimrud ivories, see Georgina Herrmann, "Ivory Furniture Pieces from Nimrud," in *Furniture of Western Asia,* ed. Herrmann, pls. 38a, 44a,b,d.
56. John E. Curtis, "Assyrian Furniture: The Archaeological Evidence," in *Furniture of Western Asia,* ed. Herrmann, pp. 167–80.
57. Mallowan and Davies 1970, pp. 48–53, pls. 61–65. All the plaques are flat except for one openwork example, modeled on the front (Mallowan and Davies 1970, pl. 63, no. 189).
58. For a discussion of the genies and the "sacred tree," see Russell 1998, pp. 689–96. See also Winter, "Ornament and the 'Rhetoric of Abundance' in Assyria," p. 253 and n. 6.
59. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains,* vol. 1, pp. 250–51, figs. 216, 217.
60. Muscarella 1980, pp. 150–51, 201, no. 281. Fragments of ivory plaques with remnants of incised decoration suggesting similar imagery are known from Nimrud; see Mallowan and Davies 1970, pl. 26, nos. 90, 91.
61. John E. Curtis, "'Stützfiguren' in Mesopotamia," in *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens: Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer,* ed. Uwe Finkbeiner, Reinhard Dittmann, and Harald Hauptmann (Mainz, 1995), pp. 79–80, pl. 14g.

62. Gordon Loud, *Khorsabad*, pt. 1, *Excavations in the Palace and at a City Gate* (Chicago, 1936), fig. 41.
63. Assyrian texts and images make clear that abundance was believed to issue from the gods through their chosen king. See Winter, "Ornament and the 'Rhetoric of Abundance' in Assyria."
64. It should be noted that the ivory plaque is quite abraded, which suggests that it had been in use for some years before the destruction of Hasanlu.
65. As suggested by Muscarella (1980, pp. 212–13).
66. *The Histories* 1.14.

Hoplites, Horses, and a Comic Chorus

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IN MEMORY OF JAMES H. SCHWARTZ

VASE PAINTERS IN ATHENS during the sixth century B.C. worked in the black-figure technique, characterized by decoration drawn in lustrous black glaze set against the warm, reddish color of the clay. These painters displayed a definite preference for scenes that illustrate heroic or divine mythology, often a combination of the two. The exploits of heroes such as Herakles and Theseus or those who fought at Troy were particularly popular. Nonmythological representations were rare in the sixth century and did not become numerous in vase painting until the fifth century, when they were mainly executed in red figure.[1] In 1988, the Metropolitan Museum acquired a black-figured hydria depicting two scenes from daily life (Figure 1, Colorplate 1).[2] It may be dated about 560–550 B.C. On the shoulder, the artist painted a chorus of comic dancers accompanied by an aulos-player. In the panel on the body, he drew a fully outfitted hoplite (a heavily armed foot soldier) walking behind two horses, one mounted by his squire, the other for the hoplite to ride. These are two very rare subjects in Attic black-figured vase painting. The comic chorus predates the known literary evidence for comic theater, and hoplites usually appear on foot with other hoplites. Rarely do they ride to battle, then dismount to fight. The vase has been tentatively attributed to a painter working in the Circle of Lydos, an artist active from about 570 to 540 B.C. The present discussion suggests that significant peculiarities of shape and design defy this attribution and favor instead an anonymous painter active in the Kerameikos during the second quarter of the sixth century and a bit beyond.

THE HYDRIA

The hydria is a water jar, and MMA 1988.11.3 is a particularly good example of the variety popular in the middle of the sixth century B.C. (Figure 1, Colorplate 1).[3] It is plump, with a sloping shoulder and a fairly strong convex profile, giving it the general effect of a sturdy, practical vessel. It has a flaring mouth with a torus rim, a slightly concave neck, a sloping shoulder, and an ovoid body tapering to join an echinus foot with a torus molding painted red. The handles are round in section, and the vertical handle widens to join the rim where three projecting "rivets" imitate those on metal vessels. There is a tongue pattern on the shoulder, at the junction with the neck, the tongues alternating red and black, and a white dot decorates the end of each painted line separating the tongues. Ivy frames the figured frieze on the shoulder, and the straight stem of each leaf joins the dividing line (Figure 2, Colorplate 2). On the body, double rows of ivy with dot clusters in the interstices frame the figured panel. Each ivy leaf has a wavy stem drawn in thinned glaze that attaches to a central vine. Above the foot are thirty-one rays. Two red lines appear below the panel and two more above the rays that continue around the body. The potter of our hydria added a few unusual details of his own. On the top side of the mouth is a groove just inside the edge that stops at the "rivets," and a groove painted red separates the neck from the shoulder. Usually the mouth is a plain torus, and a fillet emphasizes the junction of neck and shoulder, but occasionally this area is unaccented.[4] The vertical handle flares slightly to join the mouth; typically the flaring section takes the shape of a spool, called a *rotelle*, to imitate those on metal hydriai. The groove marking the echinus of the foot from the torus molding is also uncommon.

The shoulder shows a comic chorus (Figure 2, Colorplate 2), with a man standing at left playing the aulos. He wears a thigh-length, loose-fitting striped garment (perhaps an *ependytes*) and a white fillet with a white horse's ear extending from it around his head.[5] The hair hanging over his nape is painted red, as is his beard; the rest of his hair is black. Four male dancers approach him in uniform step: bent right leg raised high and thrust forward, torso leaning slightly back. Each wears a fillet with a white horse's ear. The fillet of the first dancer has a row of white dots that distinguishes him from the others, possibly identifying him as the leader. Each dancer wears a long

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Figure 1. Unattributed Attic black-figured hydria, ca. 560–550 B.C. H. 40.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bothmer Purchase Fund, 1988 (1988.11.3). See also Colorplate 1

belted chiton. The chiton of the first is rendered in thinned glaze with two red horizontal bands across the skirt. That of the second has a half-black/half-red bodice and skirt. The third has a skirt in dilute glaze except for the black band at the bottom and four vertical red stripes; its bodice is red with a vertical row of white dots on the clay ground continuing from the neckline to the black band. The dress of the last dancer is red with a black belt and a black band at the bottom of the skirt. The dancers' beards and the hair of the second are red. Their arms are akimbo, but the right arm of each dancer is inexplicably absent; also absent is the second horse ear of the presumable pair worn by each of the performers.

The body of the hydria shows the departure of a hoplite (Figure 3, Colorplate 2). At the left, a fully armed hoplite walks purposefully to the right. He wears a Corinthian helmet with a low crest painted white, and the crest-holder is decorated with red or white dots, the color having flaked off. The rest of the helmet is red, except for incisions in the forms of spirals and triangles that decorate the corner of the helmet's opening for the eye, creating an ornamental effect that complements the overall elaborateness of the

Figure 2. Shoulder of the hydria in Figure 1 showing a comic chorus accompanied by an aulos-player. See also Colorplate 2

hoplite's armor. A metal corselet embellished with two tightly incised spirals shields his body, and red greaves edged with a row of white dots protect his legs from knee to ankle. On his left arm the warrior carries a large compass-drawn shield, its inside painted red and its rim accented with two rows of white dots, the inner ones larger than the outer. The shield grip is incised to imitate a twist, probably of leather or rope. His hand clasps it tightly, his fingernails painted white. The hoplite carries two spears in his right hand; at his left side a sheathed sword hangs from a double baldric over his right shoulder. Pairs of incised lines decorate the sheath, and the white pommel of the sword appears between the shafts of the spears and the warrior's forearm.

A mounted squire leads the hoplite's horse. He wears a striped Thracian cloak with broad bands, some decorated with dot rosettes composed of red cores surrounded by white dots.[6] On the cloak at shoulder level is an incised cross within a circle, its meaning unclear.[7] The treatment of the squire's hair is puzzling. Black hair falls on the nape of his neck, but a fillet holds in place an unidentified red object. The artist may have intended to paint a bundle of long red hair but mistakenly also included loose black hair below it. A sword is suspended at the squire's left

Figure 3. Panel of the hydria in Figure 1 showing an armed hoplite walking behind a mounted squire leading his horse. See also Colorplate 2

side, its pommel and hilt painted white; the baldric is covered by the cloak. The squire holds two reins in each hand and a spear in his right. The painter did not clearly distinguish right from left for the reins. The reins in his right hand are probably those of his mount, the ones in his left those of the led horse. The ends of two reins hanging alongside the squire's right thigh were painted in an accessory color, probably white, which has flaked off. The squire's mount is an elegant animal with each lock of its luxuriant mane decorated with a vertical row of incised dots and its forelock tied up neatly to keep the long hairs out of its eyes. The horse has a large but well-formed head (except for the jaw bone, which is too convex, like that of a bovid), a strong neck, well-filled-out body, and slender legs with small hooves, giving the animal a somewhat dainty aspect. The horse's eye is red, and red lines articulate the lower edge of the rib cage and the muscles on the hindquarters. Two short vertical arcs incised on the shoulder, with a thick line of red between them, do not conform to horse anatomy. The bridle has both a brow-band and a noseband, an uncommon treatment, and the rein is decorated with white dots to imitate metal studs, perhaps silver, as in today's American western parade dress. The throatlash of the bridle is covered by the long mane. A broad collar edged top and bottom with white dots completes the animal's tack. The collar itself is red except for the incised part that surrounds the chest.

The Dancers and the Aulos-Player

Dancing, as natural to humankind as breathing, provides the strongest nonverbal way to express a wide range of emotions, and it was an integral component of ancient Greek life.[8] Not only are dancers and dancing an important element in early Greek narrative, but also the earliest preserved Attic inscription honors a dancer. The graffito, incised on the shoulder of a small oinochoe found in 1871 in a grave in or near the Kerameikos, is attributed to a painter from the Dipylon Workshop (about 750–740 B.C.).[9] The legible part of the retrograde inscription reads: "He who, of all the dancers, now performs most daintily" (]-ος νυν ορχηστον παντον ἀταλοτατα παιζει); "the garbled sequel (τοτοδεχλλμιν), in a less skillful hand, seems to award the oinochoe to the winner."[10] The inscription was incised after the oinochoe was fired, but the interval between firing and inscribing was probably brief, as the pot was found in an eighth-century Dipylon grave.[11] Representations of men and women dancing continued long after the Geometric style ceased. Thomas Webster gives a good general account of both the visual and the literary testimonia through the Classical period, as well as illustrations of the various kinds of dances.[12]

There were numerous dances shown in ancient Greek art, for example, those performed by men and women with hands linked and accompanied by a musician; satyrs and nymphs cavorting; dances celebrating a victory; and pyrrhic dances in which the participants wore armor.[13] Important for our file of dancers is the *komast*, or padded dancer, an invention of Corinthian painters in the seventh century B.C., but most popular in the first quarter of the sixth and slightly beyond.[14] These dancers wear rather short, tight-fitting chitons and have noticeable paunches and protruding buttocks, hence the term "padded," though whether or not such dancers ever wore actual padding is uncertain.[15] Sometimes they dance quite vigorously, as on an Early Corinthian aryballos in Melbourne, Australia, the namepiece of the La Trobe Painter (Figure 4).[16] Almost as lively are the padded dancers on another aryballos by the La Trobe Painter, Hannover KS 690, for one of them, his arms akimbo, bends his left leg sharply and kicks out with his right.[17] In other representations, the dancers are quieter; see, for example, the *komast* standing between two lions on an unattributed Early Corinthian neck-amphora in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 5).[18]

In the first quarter of the sixth century, Athenian artists approached the subject with their customary enthusiasm, especially painters from the aptly named Komast Group.[19] These artists specialized in decorating the *komast* cup, which is the earliest of the Attic black-figured cups. This sturdy-looking vessel has a rather deep bowl with thin horizontal handles attached

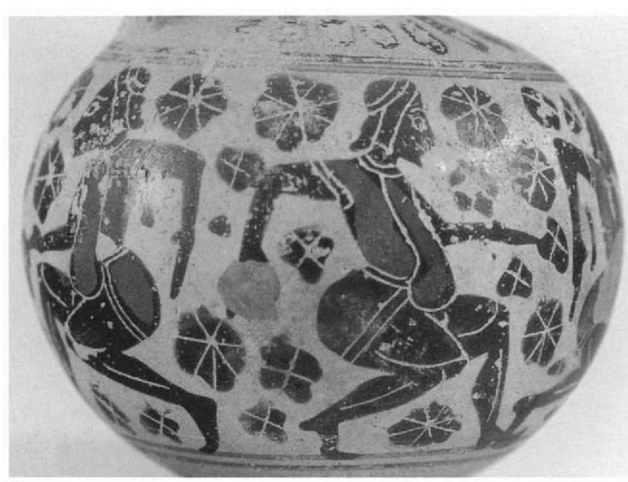
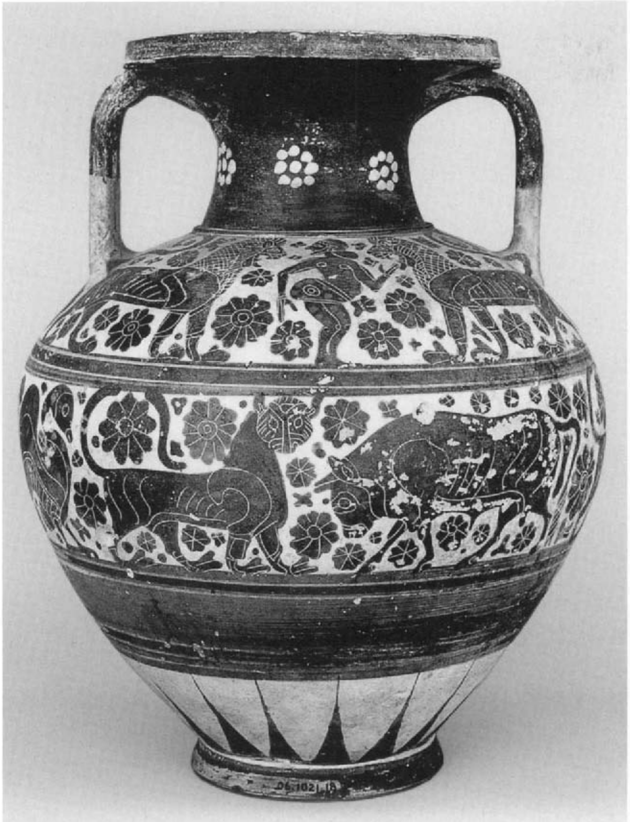


Figure 4. Early Corinthian aryballos attributed to the La Trobe Painter showing *komast* dancers, ca. 600 B.C. H. 7.8 cm. Melbourne, Australia, La Trobe Museum 165 (photo: La Trobe Museum)



to an offset lip and is supported by a low conical foot.[20] Attic black-figured *komasts*, unlike their Corinthian counterparts, may be padded or nude, but as John D. Beazley wryly put it, they still have "a rather special conformation."[21] An example of both nude and padded dancers occurs on MMA 22.139.22, a *komast* cup attributed by Beazley to the Manner of the KY Painter (a member of the Komast Group), but claimed by Herman A. G. Brijder for the namepiece of the Painter of New York 22.139.22 (Figures 6, 7).[22] Normally, as on MMA 22.139.22, all the dancers are male; occasionally they appear to be female, but were men or boys dressed as women. The dancers on a column-krater in Berlin attributed by Adolf Greifenhagen to the KY Painter provide a good example (Figure 8).[23]

The dancers on MMA 22.139.22 are particularly lively with support leg bent, the other raised and extended, both arms gesticulating. In spite of their spontaneous vigor, they may very well be the precursors of the disciplined row of dancers on MMA 1988.11.3. The dancer farthest to the right on Side B of MMA 22.139.22 offers a clue to the connection (Figure 7). Not only is the position of his legs comparable, so is that of his head, looking downward, and his body

Figure 5. Unattributed Early Corinthian neck-amphora showing a *komast* dancer between two lions; below: animal frieze, ca. 600 B.C. H. 29.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.18)

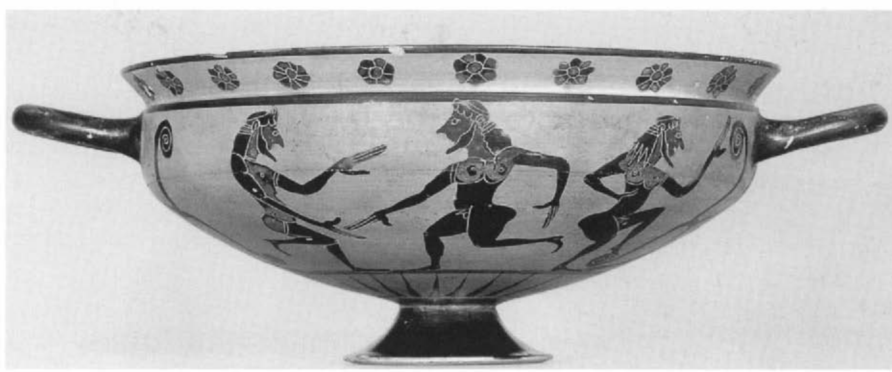


Figure 6. Side A of a *komast* cup attributed to the Manner of the KY Painter showing *komast* dancers, ca. 580 B.C. H. 9.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.139.22)

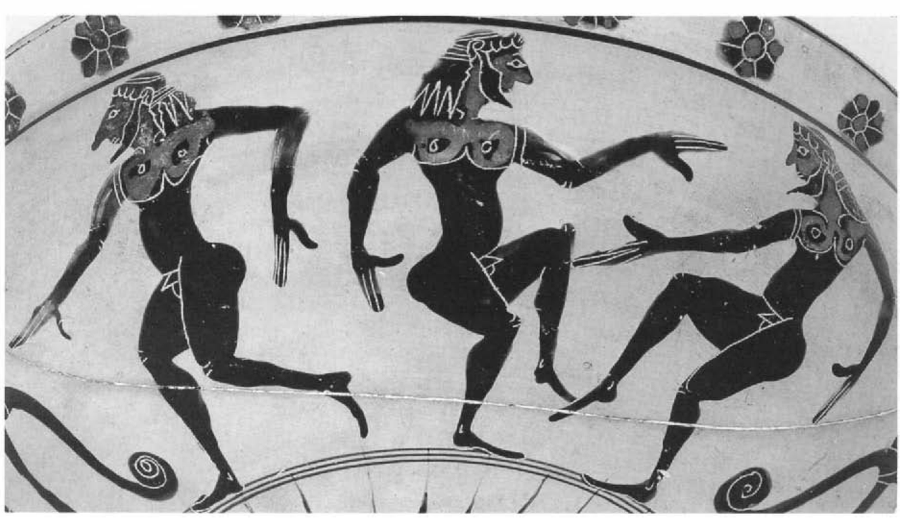


Figure 7. Side B of the cup shown in Figure 6

Figure 8. Attic black-figured column-krater attributed to the KY Painter showing *komast* dancers, ca. 580 B.C. H. 27.5–27.9 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museum 1966.17 (photo: Isolde Luckert)

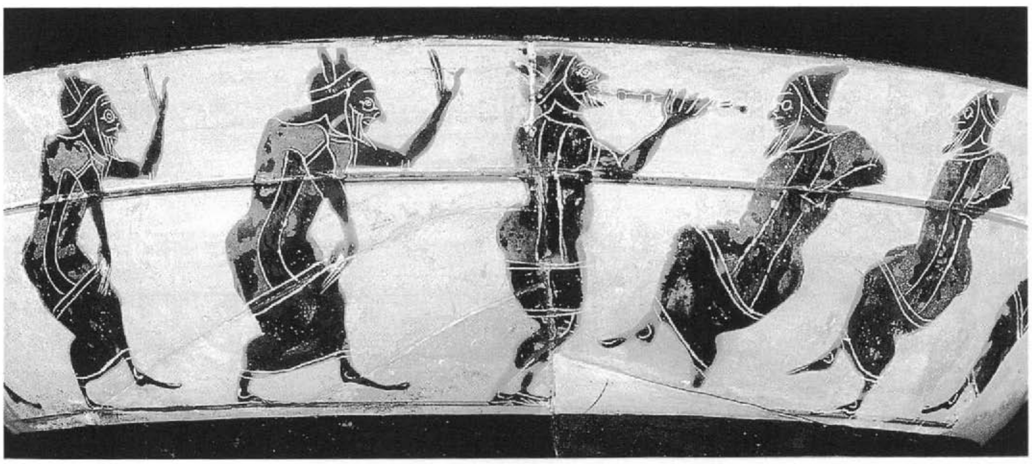


Figure 9. Attic black-figured cup attributed to the Heidelberg Painter showing a comic chorus, ca. 560 B.C. Preserved h. 9.5 cm. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3356 (photo: Allard Pierson Museum)

posture, leaning backward ever so slightly. This is not a common pose, but there is a parallel on a Siana cup in Amsterdam attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, an artist active in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., contemporary with the painter of the Metropolitan's hydria (Figure 9).[24] In the initial publication of MMA 1988.11.3 in 1967, the scene on the shoulder was compared with those on each side of this Siana cup.[25] On Side A of the Amsterdam vase (illustrated), which is more pertinent to MMA 1988.11.3 than Side B, dancers come in from the left and the right toward an aulos-player. Each dancer wears a short tunic over a long chiton. The tunics are red but for a vertical band decorated with a border of esses; chitons are black and ornamented with a few incised dotted crosses. The musician is clad in a similar tunic (perhaps an *ependytes*; see note 5 above), but he wears a short chiton under it, not a long one. All of the figures wear caps with flaps covering their cheeks and ears, and each cap has a white fillet. The caps of the three dancers on the left and that of the aulos-player are rounded, and they have two black horse ears protruding above the fillet; the caps of the three dancers on the right are pointed and lack the ears. The poses of the dancers behind the aulos-player differ from those in front of him and each group appears to be a separate unit, not one large ensemble.[26] Brijder noted that the position of the horse ears on the Amsterdam cup, which point backward slightly, is similar to the ear-sets of many satyrs and offered as a comparison the dancing satyrs on a cup in Copenhagen by the Heidelberg Painter.[27] He relates the Amsterdam dancers to Corinthian padded dancers, and their costumes to those of actors, particularly of later tragedy. He also draws a connection to a man disguised as a satyr dancing before a maenad on a late-fifth-century unattributed oinochoe.[28]

The dancers on MMA 1988.11.3 are closest in pose to the right trio on Side A of the Amsterdam cup, so much so that our dancers look like an excerpt from that scene. Their animated movement with the right leg raised high, left arm sharply bent, and right arm not shown is in agreement. The main differences are that our dancers are bareheaded, white ears instead of black protrude from the fillets, and the garment of each is simply a long chiton. There are fewer dancers on MMA 1988.11.3, likely because space was limited. In the initial publication of our hydria, the dancers were identified as men dressed as women, without further discussion.[29] Brijder associated the white ears with the white normally used for female flesh, and interpreted the long garments as those of women worn here by men. He called the dancers "stage 'nymph-satyrs.'"[30] Whether they are male dancers or men dressed as women, as may well be the case, there is an unmistakably theatrical character to this scene.

A great deal has been written on the elusive subject of the origin of Greek drama.[31] The beginning of tragedy is associated with Thespis, who won the top prize (a goat) when tragedy was performed for the first time in Athens, at the City Dionysia in 534 B.C. The City Dionysia was celebrated in the second half of Poseideon (March) and included various performances and sacrifices. It seems to have become important in the second half of the sixth century during the reign of Peisistratos.[32] Much less is known about the origins of comedy. Old Comedy is a feature of fifth-century theater production and does not last beyond the end of that century.[33] Even less is known about the precursors of Old Comedy, and for the most part the evidence is pictorial. Oft-cited examples include the chorus of three "knights" accompanied by an aulos-player on an amphora Type B in Berlin, attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686, and the file of five men walking to right on stilts on an amphora in Christchurch, New Zealand, by the Swing Painter.[34] These two vases date about 540 B.C. On the Berlin amphora (Figure 10), the "knights" sit on the shoulders of their "horses," which are men slightly bent over, hands on knees, each dressed in a short red chiton. Each wears a mask consisting of a horse's head and neck with a short upright mane, and his human face is visible below. A horse's tail arches effectively from the small of the man's back. Each "horse" wears a bridle, but there are no reins for control. The "knights" wear corselets over short chitons and Corinthian helmets, each with a different crest; the crest of the helmet of the left-hand "knight" is a pair of black horse's ears. Each has his right arm bent upward at the elbow and his left reaches down to touch his horse's neck. The Berlin amphora is of greater interest to us than the one in Christchurch, because the chorus of "knights" is combined with a man playing the aulos, similar to that on MMA 1988.11.3 and on the Amsterdam cup.

As mentioned above, the padded *komast* dancers may be the precursors of our dancers and, by association, with those on the Amsterdam cup (Figures 2, 9), but there are basic differences. The dancers on the hydria and on the cup do not wear padding as they do on the Berlin column-krater by the KY Painter (Figure 8), nor are they nude as they are on MMA 22.139.22 (Figures 6, 7). More importantly, each dancer on the last two vases performs as an individual, as if to the beat of his own inner music. These dancers differ significantly from the dancers on the MMA hydria and on the Amsterdam cup who act as a synchronized unit, or units, as is the case with the cup.[35] They deviate from each other only marginally—one dancer may raise his right leg a little higher than another, or heads are bent at slightly different angles. These are minor variations that do not detract from an ensemble trained to dance in step to an

Figure 10. Attic black-figured amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686 showing a chorus of "knights," ca. 550–540 B.C. H. 43.7 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museum 1897 (photo: Karin März)

accompanist's music. The same holds true for other choruses of this type.[36]

It is probably impossible to determine the specific dance the painters intended to illustrate. In his discussion of the Amsterdam cup, Brijder proposes that the dance may be the kordax. He notes, "Two main stances of the *kordax* are recognized: (1) lifting one leg and (2) legs bent with both feet on the ground"; and that some of the figures "lean slightly backwards and have the arms sharply bent and drawn up, the fists at chest level: an uncommon dance position."[37] If this is so, then the dance performed on MMA 1988.11.3 would also be the kordax. The problem with this identification is that, according to the ancient literary sources, the kordax was a ribald, drunken dance, and our dancers do not fit this definition; nor do those on the Amsterdam cup.[38] They are lively but not indecent, and they do not appear to be drunken. Thus, it is difficult to accept this dance as a kordax.

For a significant portion of a dramatic performance, the chorus was in front of the audience and interacted with it. The chorus gains its identity from being a group, its members move in unison and wear similar costumes. Often the chorus gives the name to the play; *The Birds* and *The Frogs* by Aristophanes are familiar examples from the late fifth century.[39] John K. Green notes the following about the representation of *The Birds* on a late-fifth-century Attic red-figured calyx-krater in the J. Paul Getty Museum: "The iconographic type of the scene [a chorus of birds] belongs to a tradition going well back over a century, a type in which a piper provides music for a chorus that dances in the guise of animals or particular categories of men, the chorus that so often provided the title for a comedy."[40] Dressing in disguise is as basic a component of human nature as laughter, as the plays by Aristophanes demonstrate. In the cases of MMA 1988.11.3 and the Amsterdam cup, the choruses do not yield a specific name either to their dance or to a play, and their nature and function are not evident today, though they may have been in antiquity. Their significance, as Green recognized, is that they "stand apart as the earliest certain examples of the tradition [of comic choruses]."[41]

The Hoplite and His Mounted Squire

Rider Leading an Unmounted Horse

Horsemen are common images on black-figured vases of the sixth century, but representations of horsemen leading unmounted horses are rare. The theme first appears in Late Geometric Attic pottery, on a neck-amphora in Buffalo that is attributed to a painter from the Workshop of Athens 894, a prolific group rather short on artistic skill but long on figural experimentation (Figure 11).[42] On the body, a mounted warrior rides to right leading an unmounted horse. He wears a bell-corselet with flaring lower edge and his raised right hand holds a spear poised for throwing.[43] The horses step smartly and smoothly, guided only by the reins the horseman holds in his left hand, for his heels are well away from the animal's rib cage. Anthony Snodgrass remarked that "this particular cavalryman is so far unique" and went on to say "he is an aristocratic Athenian cavalryman, of the kind whose survival is well-attested in later years, in the form of the 'mounted hoplite,' who dismounted for the actual battle, but who at this stage is quite evidently preparing to fight from horseback."[44] Perhaps so, but not just yet, because before he can fight from horseback, he will have to separate from the chariot procession in front of and behind him, then find someone to hold the unmounted horse.[45] In any case, the rider leading an unmounted horse painted on the Buffalo neck-amphora stands at the head of a chronologically long, if not very numerous, series.[46]

Similar riders appear in the lower frieze of the Chigi vase in the Villa Giulia, which is dated about 630 B.C. (Figure 12). These horsemen, however, are unarmed and wear only short chitons.[47] The Macmillan Painter, to whom the Chigi vase is attributed, understood very well the nature of these riders and their mounts. The rider of the first horse is reining them in so they will not come too close to the chariot directly in front of them. He holds the reins tightly, causing the horses to bend their necks sharply as they respond to the pressure

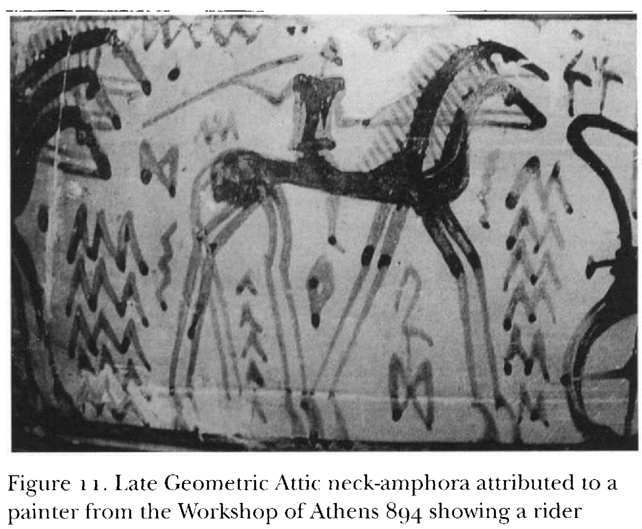


Figure 11. Late Geometric Attic neck-amphora attributed to a painter from the Workshop of Athens 894 showing a rider leading an unmounted horse, ca. 700 B.C. H. 68.3 cm. Buffalo Museum of Science C 12847 (photo: after *Gestalt und Geschichte: Festschrift Karl Schefold zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag am 26. Januar 1965*, Antike Kunst, suppl. Beiheft 4 [Bern, 1967], pl. 7, 1)

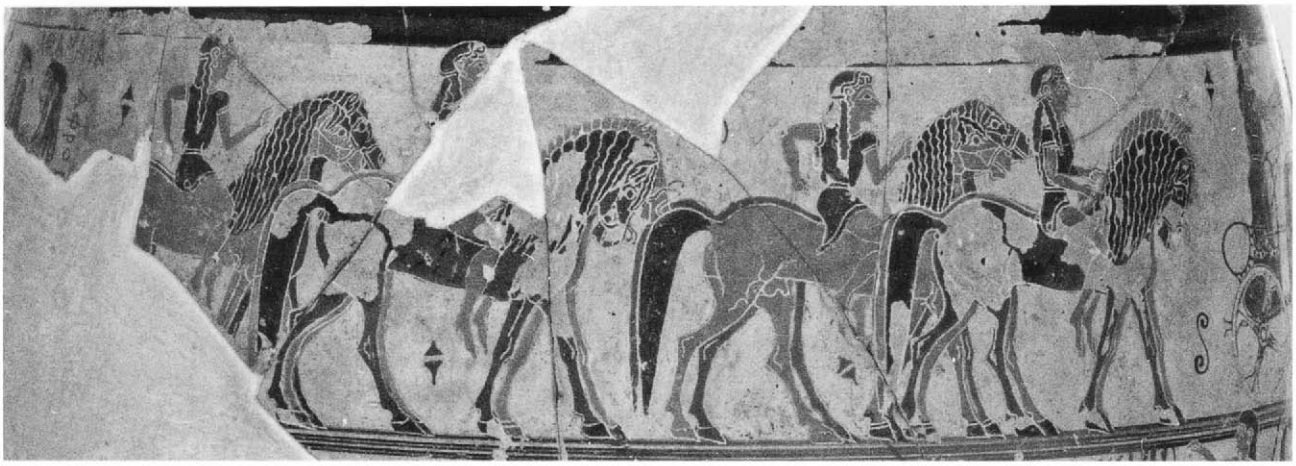


Figure 12. Protocorinthian oinochoe attributed to the Macmillan Painter showing a row of riders leading unmounted horses, ca. 630 B.C. H. 26.2 cm. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia 22679 (photo: Sopr. Arch. Etruria Meridionale, neg. no. 1254/9)

created by the bit on the bars of their mouths (the bars are the toothless gums between the incisors and the molars). The position of their heads forces the horses to slow down. Furthermore, the rider's heels are well away from the rib cage, for he does not wish to send mixed signals (heels pressing into the sides of horses urge them forward). The second rider encourages his horses to walk faster, presumably to catch up. Their heads are raised in a natural position, the reins are somewhat slack, and the rider's heels touch his animal's sides, lightly enough so it will take longer steps, but not so strongly that it will break into a trot or a canter. The third and fourth riders do not signal their horses with their legs; the third rider reins in his mount, the fourth handles the reins much like the second.

Other scenes of a horseman leading an unmounted horse occur on three vases closer in date to MMA 1988.11.3 than the Buffalo neck-amphora and the Chigi vase. Two examples appear in the tondi of cups attributed to the C Painter, a prolific artist working in the second quarter of the sixth century who specialized in decorating Siana cups.[48] The scenes are similar. One, in Athens, depicts a mounted squire galloping to left, dressed in a short chiton holding a spear in his right hand and the reins in his left; the second example, in Würzburg, Germany, is the same except that the squire also wears a fillet around his head and an eagle flies behind him.[49] An amphora attributed to Lydos shows the same subject on each side,[50] with the figures moving slowly to the right.

Horseman Followed by a Hoplite on Foot

The combination of a hoplite preceded by a mounted squire leading a horse does not appear often. An unattributed Early Protocorinthian flat-bottomed aryballos in London shows a hoplite walking behind a single horse and rider; there is no unmounted horse being led in this scene (Figure 13).[51] The vase, which dates about 700 B.C., is roughly contemporary with the neck-amphora in Buffalo (Figure 11). The representation on this little vase has stirred a bit of controversy. Brian Cook interpreted the walking man as a hunter, not a fighter, even though he wears a helmet and greaves, carries a round shield and a spear, and is also armed with a sword, its pommel visible above the rim of the shield between his chin and the shaft of his spear. Cook noted that on Protocorinthian vases men who hunt especially dangerous game such as lions or boars may be armed with shields and other armor, that the shield carried by the hunter on this vase may not be "the hoplite's heavy wooden shield with leather cover and bronze trim, but a lighter version," and that

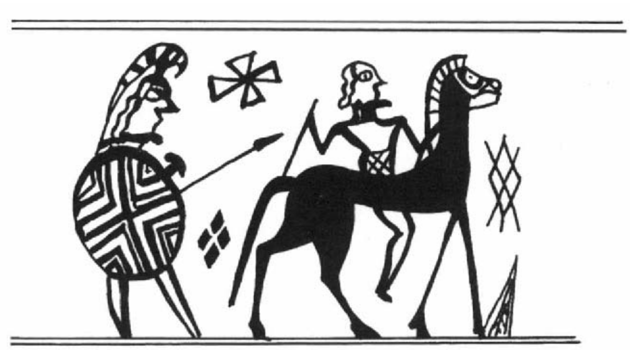


Figure 13. Unattributed Early Protocorinthian aryballos showing a hoplite walking behind a rider, ca. 700 B.C. H. 6.8 cm. London, British Museum 1969.12–15.1 (tracing by the author after *British Museum Quarterly* 36 [1971–72], pl. 38, a)

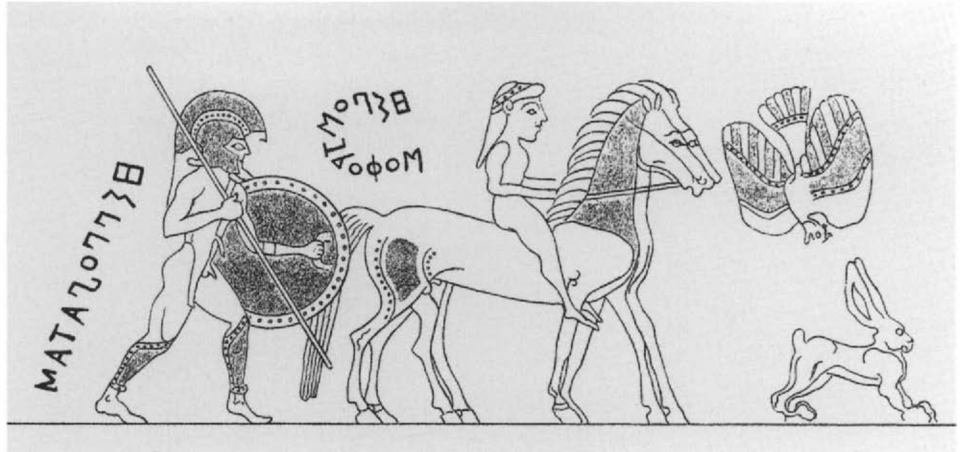


Figure 14. Unattributed Early Corinthian aryballos showing an armed hoplite walking behind a mounted squire leading an unmounted horse, ca. 600 B.C. H. 6.5 cm. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 341 (photo: after Heinrich Heydemann, *Griechische Vasenbilder* [Berlin, 1870], pl. 7, 3)

the "cruciform design on the shield should perhaps be interpreted as representing wickerwork."[52] This may be so, but a hunter would not wear a helmet and greaves. Rather, Protocorinthian examples of armed hunters show them with spears and sometimes with shields.[53] More convincing is Peter A. L. Greenhalgh's identification of this figure as a warrior based on the heavy armor and comparison with a later, similar composition on an unattributed Early Corinthian aryballos in Athens (see below and Figure 14).[54] The scene on the London aryballos is best considered a military precursor of the scene in the panel on MMA 1988.11.3 and not as a hunt.

The Early Corinthian aryballos in the Athens National Museum dates about 600 B.C. (Figure 14),[55] almost half a century earlier than MMA 1988.11.3, but the compositions bear comparison. A warrior, walking purposefully to right, is nude but for a low-crested Corinthian helmet and greaves and is armed with a spear and a round shield seen from the inside. He is preceded by his mounted squire leading a horse, which presumably belongs to the hoplite. They, in turn, are preceded by an eagle swooping downward toward a hare that tries to escape. There are also two horse-related inscriptions: *hippobatos* in back of the warrior and *hip[p]ostrophos* above the hindquarters of the squire's horse. On Greek vases, there are several kinds of inscriptions. First and foremost are the signatures of potters and painters, which began to appear in the late eighth century B.C. Inscriptions may also name figures in mythological or daily life scenes; sometimes they identify objects; many times they praise young Athenians of good families—referred to as *kalos* inscriptions. Occasionally, an inscription may identify the purpose of a vase, and on rare occasions, reproduce a line or two of a text. Lastly, there are even nonsense and imitation inscriptions.[56] The inscriptions on Athens NM 341 do not appear to have parallels and seem to refer to the occupations of the figures. According to Darrell A. Amyx, these two horse-related nouns are unique, a *hapax legomenon* (a word or form occuring only once in a document or corpus) for "neither name is known from any other source. . . . It has been observed that the names are suited to their respective owners (=Knight and Squire), suggesting that they were chosen (or even invented) to suit the context."[57] I suggest that neither the warrior on MMA 1988.11.3 nor that on Athens NM 341 is a knight or cavalryman, but a hoplite who rides to battle, then dismounts to fight on foot.

A composition similar to the one on MMA 1988.11.3 occurs on a contemporary unattributed olpe found in the Athenian Agora, P 24946 (Figure 15).[58] The figures move to left accompanied, unusually, by a panther. The

Figure 15. Unattributed Attic black-figured olpe showing an armed hoplite walking behind a mounted squire leading an unmounted horse, ca. 550 B.C. H. 12.5 cm. Athens, Agora P 24946 (photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations)

squire wears only a cloak and does not carry a spear. The warrior walking behind the horses wears a low-crested Corinthian helmet and greaves, and carries two spears and a round shield emblazoned with a six-pointed compass-drawn star rosette.

Hoplites with Horses

Illustrations of fully armed hoplites who are associated with horses present important evidence for the military use of horses by the hoplite force in early Greece, and will be discussed here. First, an explanation for why these warriors are hoplites, not cavalrymen. The differences lie in the arms and armor of each. Writing in the early fourth century B.C., Xenophon (ca. 428/27–ca. 354 B.C.), a member of the Athenian cavalry himself, explicitly states that the cavalryman must have a helmet that protects all parts of his face, a well-fitted corselet or breastplate, and a javelin or spear for throwing; if he wishes, his "shins and feet . . . can be guarded if boots made of shoe-leather are worn. . . ." "For harming the enemy we recommend the sabre (μάχαιρα) rather than the sword, because, owing to his lofty position, the rider will find the cut with the Persian sabre more efficacious than the thrust with the sword." In place of the long spear, Xenophon recommends two javelins for throwing.[59] Comparison of this description with the hoplite on MMA 1988.11.3, as well as with those on Athens NM 341 and Agora P 24946, reveals major differences: the hoplite carries a shield (the cavalryman does not), the hoplite has one or two thrusting spears, not javelins for throwing (the second spear would offer backup protection against breakage or loss of the first), and he wears metal greaves—not leather boots. That our hoplite wears metal greaves is revealed by the white dots indicating holes for the attachment of a leather lining.[60]

The Metropolitan's hydria, Athens NM 341, and Agora P 24926 show that the hoplite on foot may be preceded by his mounted squire leading his horse.[61] In other representations, however, the hoplite may already be mounted or dismounting, or engaged in battle, flanked by the squire holding his horse. A mounted hoplite accompanied by his mounted squire appears on a few vases; the figures are usually shown by themselves as if en route to battle or returning from it. The examples known to me may be dated about 570–530 B.C. The earliest representations seem to be those on each side of Berlin inv. 4823, an amphora Type B attributed to the Painter of Akropolis 606, and on an unattributed fragment of uncertain shape, Akropolis 590 d.[62] On the Berlin amphora, each pair gallops to left. The hoplite wears a high-crested Corinthian helmet and greaves, and carries a large round shield (with the foreparts of a panther and a rosette-star as devices) that conceals his torso and half of his thighs. Only the squire's face is visible, as he is otherwise overlapped by the hoplite. On Side A, there are two spears, perhaps one for each rider; on Side B, there is only one spear, presumably held by the hoplite. On the Akropolis fragment, the heads of two pairs of riders and one set of horses to left remain (presumably this was a cavalcade). The head of each hoplite is helmeted, that of the squire unprotected; the heads of two spears of the right hoplite remain, as well as part of his shield.

The following three examples of hoplites with horses are a bit later in time and are unattributed. First is an amphora Type B in Florence, dated about 560 B.C.[63] Here, the action is to left; there is a second horse, but no trace of the squire, who is understood as being overlapped by the hoplite. The pair on each side of another vase, an amphora Type B in Geneva dating about 550–540 B.C., moves slowly and sedately to left.[64] Arms and armor are similar to those on Berlin inv. 4823, and just the face of the squire appears next to that of the hoplite. The shield devices are a hare and a bull's head, respectively. The third is an amphora once in the Hunt collection, attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686 by Dietrich von Bothmer and dated about 540 B.C.[65] There, the pair on each side also moves to left, the hoplite on the proper left side of his squire, and an eagle flies behind each. The shield device on one side is the foreparts of a horse, on the other the hindquarters. On all three vases the figures move from right to left, probably so as to display the shield devices.[66]

On his famous amphora in Naples, dated about 540 B.C., Lydos reversed the direction of the figures. This time, the squire appears closer to the viewer and overlaps the hoplite (Figure 16).[67] In this stately scene, the hoplite wears a low-crested Corinthian helmet and a corselet; presumably he also wore greaves. A bit of the rim of his shield, painted red, appears next to his shoulder. Both the hoplite and his squire carry a spear; the squire holds his in his right hand, the shaft of the hoplite's spear appears below the belly of his horse.

Two final examples of mounted hoplite and squire differ from their Attic counterparts, for they are part of an ensemble. On the reverse of an unattributed Late Corinthian column-krater of "Chalcidian" shape, dated about 560 B.C., a cavalcade of three pairs moves to left at a lively walk.[68] Each hoplite wears a low-crested Corinthian helmet and greaves, and is armed with a round shield (devices consist of an incised circle[?], a whirligig, and one unidentified) and a spear. Only the face of each squire is visible. The second one also

Figure 16. Attic black-figured amphora attributed to Lydos showing a mounted squire and a mounted hoplite, ca. 540 B.C. H. 24.8 cm. Naples, Museo Nazionale 81292 (ex 2770) (photo: Museo Nazionale)

seems to hold a spear, for another spearhead appears alongside the spear held by the hoplite, although this might be the latter's second spear.[69] A Chalcidian neck-amphora in Würzburg, attributed by Andreas Rumpf to the Inscription Painter and dated about 540–530 B.C. depicts a palmette-lotus configuration flanked by two mounted pairs of hoplite and his squire.[70] Both hoplites wear high-crested helmets and carry two spears and a round shield. The hoplite to the right of the ornament wears greaves; the leg of the one at left is overlapped by the squire's horse.

These representations of a mounted hoplite accompanied by his mounted squire illustrate a military practice whereby, regardless of the direction to left or to right, the hoplite *always* appears to the squire's proper left. There is a good reason for this. The hoplite carried his shield on his left arm in order to make a unified attack in phalanx combat formation.[71] If he were to ride to his squire's right, the shield (as well as the spear) might inadvertently strike the squire or his horse. Riding to the left of his squire, the hoplite also avoids any obstacle in dismounting, which was done on the "near" (i.e., the proper left) side of the horse, as it is today.

Hoplites Dismounting

The hoplite dismounted to fight on foot, and several Attic vases show this action.[72] A good example dating about 550 B.C. is MMA 25.78.4, a lip cup attributed to an unnamed painter related to Lydos and signed by Epitimos as potter (Figure 17).[73] An armed hoplite wearing greaves and a helmet topped by a high crest and an animal's ear slides down the left side of the horse, his toes almost touching the ground. With his right hand, he grasps his horse's mane lightly, probably to steady himself when he lands. The reins are somewhat slack. The hoplite is armed with two spears and a round shield. In the background is his mounted squire wearing a leather cap and a chiton. An unattributed "merrythought cup" in the Vatican depicts a similar scene, but there the dismounting hoplite holds the reins tightly, inadvisable as he could hurt the animal by jerking its mouth when he lands.[74] The theme continues on the other side of the Vatican cup where the hoplite has just touched ground, still holding a rein, but this time loosely.[75] Two additional examples of a hoplite dismounting alongside his horse while his squire prepares to manage the two animals, are datable to the middle of the sixth century B.C. On Side A of a neck-amphora in London, attributed to the Amasis Painter,[76] the hoplite leans back as he slides off his horse. With his right hand, he touches the top of his horse's head and probably still holds the reins rather tightly: the visible rein is drawn horizontally. The hoplite wears a high-crested Corinthian helmet and greaves, and he carries a shield (with a boar as a device) but no spear. The bare head of his squire appears above the rim of the shield. In this scene the presence of onlookers, a nude youth and a bearded man wearing a chlamys, may indicate that the hoplite has returned to the safety of home and is not about to depart for combat. The other example occurs on Side A of a rather battered unattributed amphora Type B in Halle, Germany.[77] In this scene, the squire appears to hold the reins of the hoplite's horse, but oddly, the hoplite holds the reins of the squire's horse near its jaw.[78] The artist may have made a mistake.

Hoplite Combats with Horses Waiting

The function of the mounted hoplite was "to dismount and fight on foot, while his 'squire' holds both horses close behind in readiness for flight or pursuit as the occasion might require."[79] A fine illustration occurs on a Middle Corinthian cup in Athens attributed to the Cavalcade Painter and dating late in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. (Figure 18).[80] Five hoplites fight, in one case a duel; in the other, two attack one another as a third between them tries to flee to right. Flanking the scene at both ends is a mounted squire armed with a spear and holding a horse, probably belonging to the hoplite directly in front of him.

A beautiful Laconian hydria found at Ialysos on Rhodes and attributed to the Hunt Painter depicts two hoplites fighting over a fallen nude comrade in a

Figure 17. Attic black-figured cup attributed to a painter related to Lydos showing a hoplite dismounting while his mounted squire holds his horse, ca. 550 B.C. H. 20 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1925 (25.78.4)

composition reminiscent of the fight for the body of Patroklos.[81] A mounted squire armed with a spear and leading a hoplite's horse flanks the duel. In these scenes, the led horse is usually the inside one. This is the case with the pair on the left of this scene, but on the right, the led horse is closer to the viewer and its name, Sinis, is incised on its back.[82] The illustration on a fragmentary Laconian krater of about 560 B.C. attributed to the Naukratis Painter varies the composition. Two hoplites at left fight with spears poised, presumably against another pair, and behind them a nude mounted squire leads a hoplite's horse.[83] This scene and the one on the Corinthian cup in Athens (Figure 18), where the number of hoplites exceeds the number of horses, may furnish evidence that some hoplites marched on foot to the scene of battle and fought. Those who could afford to, rode their horses to the battle site accompanied by a mounted squire who would hold the animal nearby after the hoplite dismounted to fight, as suggested by Glenn R. Bugh in his discussion of cavalry in the sixth century.[84] The squire's job entailed holding the hoplite's horse and leading it to him when he needed to escape from danger.

In archaic Greek vase painting, representations of horses are numerous, second in frequency only to images of human beings. The majority of horses appear in mythological scenes where they may be mounts, though more often they draw chariots belonging to gods and heroes. Instances in which the horse is depicted in daily life are uncommon. The hoplite, squire, and horse in the panel of MMA 1988.11.3 and the relevant comparisons offer important visual information concerning hoplites who were rich enough to own at least one horse, but perhaps not wealthy enough to join the cavalry, which would require ownership of several horses.[85]

The Painter

In the initial publication, MMA 1988.11.3 was attributed to a painter in the Circle of Lydos,[86] but given the

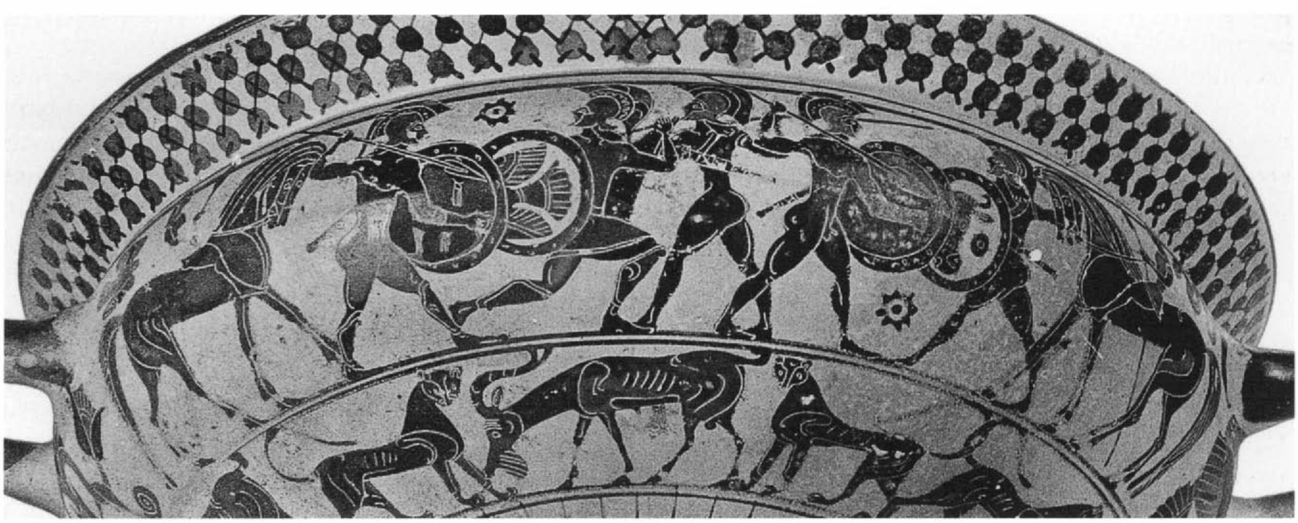


Figure 18. Middle Corinthian cup attributed to the Cavalcade Painter showing mounted squires holding unmounted horses, flanking a battle, ca. 580 B.C. H. 14 cm. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 330 (photo: National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

high quality of the drawing on this vase, a more precise attribution would be welcome. I have been unable, however, to attribute MMA 1988.11.3 to a known painter, nor have I found other vases by the same hand that would constitute the work of a new artist. Discussion of various parallels between MMA 1988.11.3 and the work of several contemporary painters reveals the eclectic quality of the hydria.

As discussed, peculiarities of shape include the grooves on the top side of the mouth, separating neck from shoulder, and accenting the join of the echinus and torus of the foot. The three rivets on the top side of the mouth are also unusual. A good parallel for the latter occurs on a contemporary unattributed hydria in the Louvre, which seems to have a groove on its foot similar to the one on MMA 1988.11.3; on both hydriai, the rivets are flat and buttonlike.[87] Two features of the ornament on MMA 1988.11.3 deviate from the norm. One is the single row of ivy framing the panel on the shoulder instead of glaze. A good comparison for this use and placement of ivy has yet to emerge.[88] The other feature of the ornament without a strong parallel on a contemporary hydria is the double ivy with wavy, rather than straight stems, which is the norm.[89] The wavy stem does occur, however, on the lips of Siana cups attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, at least four examples of them concurrent with MMA 1988.11.3.[90]

Details of drawing are the principal criteria for attributing a vase to a painter. They are his "handwriting" so to speak. As noted, the comic chorus on the shoulder of MMA 1988.11.3 seems to have only one good stylistic and iconographical parallel, that on the Siana cup in Amsterdam by the Heidelberg Painter (Figure 9), and few scenes show a hoplite in full armor walking behind a mounted squire who leads his horse. Among the details of drawing in the panel, a few deserve mention. For the hoplite: his eye with no tear duct and his white fingernails, the ornament decorating the corner of the eye opening of his helmet, the tight spirals on his corselet, the white dots outlining his greave, and the twisted shield grip. For the squire: the encircled cross or X on the shoulder of his cloak and the rendering of his hair. For the squire's horse: its ornamental mane and the pair of short arcs on its shoulder, the collar composed of a smooth red section that joins one with incised decoration, the presence of both a browband *and* a noseband on the headstall of the bridle, and white dots on the rein. Let us begin with the Circle of Lydos, but also consider some of the contemporary painters whose work is pertinent to the decoration on our hydria.

Lydos was the most prolific painter of large vases working primarily from about 570 to 540 B.C., and perhaps a bit later, though this is debatable.[91] Lydos' name is known from two vases he signed as painter, an oddly decorated one-piece amphora in the Louvre, from about 560 B.C., and the Akropolis *dinos*, one of his masterpieces, of about 540 or a little earlier.[92] Lydos mainly decorated large vessels, but he has left significant works among the smaller shapes, such as lekythoi, cups, and plates. The figures who appear on his earliest works are rather simple and unembellished.[93] By the time our hydria was decorated, Lydos was creating some of his best works. His compositions complement the shapes they decorate, and his figures combine stature with elegance. Good examples are the signed amphora in the Louvre and the well-preserved column-krater MMA 31.11.11, also the Naples amphora, which is a bit later than these (Figure 16).[94]

Beazley grouped several anonymous artists under the general headings "Manner of Lydos," "Animal-Pieces," and "Related to Lydos."[95] Beazley, however, distinguished two "Companions of Lydos" who have distinct personalities and whose style of drawing animals, not humans, relates them to Lydos.[96] Of less importance here is the Painter of Vatican 309, a minor talent whose name vase is an ovoid neck-amphora.[97] His drawing lacks sharpness, the figures rather plain and repetitious, with no embellishment of garments or hair. More interesting is the Painter of Louvre F 6 whose name vase is a hydria.[98] He was active from about 560 to 540 B.C. and his work ranges from respectable to rather mechanical. His early vases, all hydriai, are the more accomplished, and parallels between the drawing on some of them may be made with MMA 1988.11.3.[99]

For details of drawing, the hoplite provides a starting point for discussion. The painter of MMA 1988.11.3 drew an eye in the form of two concentric circles and painted the outer ring red, but did not include the tear duct and the opposite corner. These are usually indicated by a short incised line or by a small solid triangle, and are placed diametrically opposite one another (see Figures 14, 16). The closest comparisons are the eyes of two satyrs by Lydos, both probably a bit later than MMA 1988.11.3. One occurs on the satyr standing in front of Dionysos on MMA 31.11.11; the other is the inebriated satyr, fallen to the ground beneath Hephaistos' mule and looking out at the viewer on a very large fragmentary column-krater, MMA 1997.388g+h.[100] But even these large eyes have a small tear duct and an articulated corner. Our painter may simply have forgotten to include these details. The hoplite's white fingernails find a parallel on the hand of a giant fleeing a goddess on Akropolis 607, a *dinos* by Lydos (Figure 19).[101] The braided grip of this giant's shield is better drawn than the shield grip on MMA 1988.11.3, which is twisted like rope.[102]

Figure 19. Fragment of a *dinos* signed by Lydos showing a goddess pursuing a giant, ca. 550–540 B.C. Maximum preserved dimension 12.2 cm. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Akropolis Collection 607 (photo: after Botho Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* [Berlin, 1925–33], pl. 34)

The tight spiral on his corselet and the white dots edging his greave are also comparable. The *dinos* is later than MMA 1988.11.3, but Lydos may have used such details on earlier vases that have not survived. The corner of the eye opening of our hoplite's helmet is elegantly decorated with spirals and triangles. Three similarly ornate examples are contemporary with or slightly earlier than MMA 1988.11.3. Two come from the Akropolis: a Greek in the fragmentary Amazonomachy painted by Kleitias on a skyphos or a kantharos, and two warriors in a fight on a fragmentary *dinos* by the Painter of Louvre E 876. The third example appears on a fragmentary hydria in the Louvre attributed to the Painter of Akropolis 606 (Figure 20).[103] There, a palmette supported by two spirals decorates the helmet of Geryon, the triple-bodied monster slain by Herakles.

Frequently, the corselet of a warrior is decorated with spirals to imitate the metal prototype. Sometimes these are elegantly drawn (see Figures 16, 19). The spirals incised on our hoplite's corselet are coarse by comparison, and the line a bit ragged. Two examples on hydriai by the Painter of Louvre F 6 compare favorably, but have fewer spiral turns than the corselet on MMA 1988.11.3.[104] A row of white dots outlining the edge of a greave is a recurrent detail in the decades before and after the middle of the sixth century and is not useful for attribution. See the giants on Akropolis 607 by Lydos, for example (Figure 19).[105] The incision on the squire's shoulder and the peculiar padlike object at the back of his head remain unparalleled.

The general proportions of the horse and its gait do not present peculiarities or criteria for attribution, nor does the forelock neatly tied in a topknot; this feature of equine grooming is common during the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. and throughout much of the third.[106] While the topknot appears often and is not a defining feature, the treatment of the mane of the horse on MMA 1988.11.3 is perhaps unique. Manes that hang alongside the neck are usually divided into separate, incised locks, as on the fragmentary kantharos by Nearchos (Figure 21).[107] The mane with a row of incised dots accenting each lock takes its place with two other bold exceptions, one by the Nettos Painter dating about 600 B.C., the other by Exekias of about 530 B.C.[108] The one by the Nettos Painter occurs on the second horse in the lively cavalcade painted on the bowl of a skyphos-krater in Athens.[109] There, the mane has a strangely "layered" effect, with long, horizontal locks alternating with

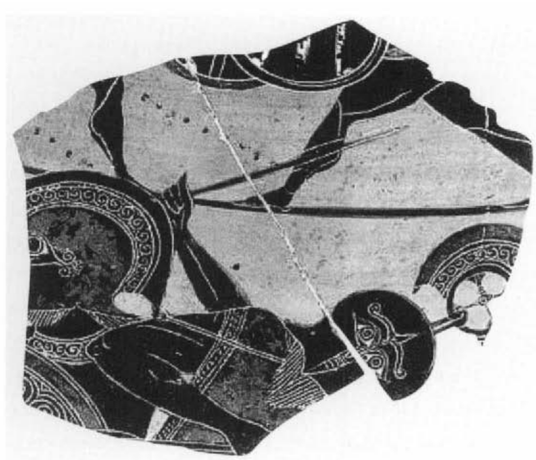


Figure 20. Fragment of an Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the Painter of Akropolis 606 showing a fight on the shoulder and part of Geryon on the body, ca. 560 B.C. Maximum dimension about 11 cm. Paris, Louvre CA 7400 (photo: digital print)

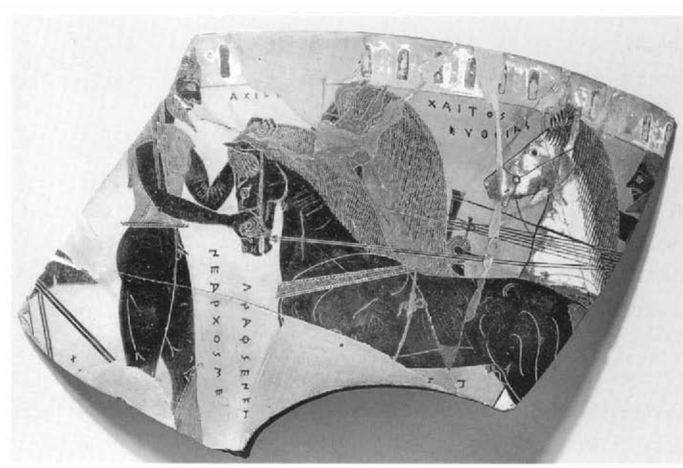


Figure 21. Fragment of a kantharos signed by Nearchos showing the harnessing of the chariot of Achilles, ca. 560 B.C. Restored h. 15.5 cm. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, NMAcr. 15155 (ex. Akr. 611) (photo: Hirmer Verlag neg. no. 624.4004)

short vertical lines. The treatment contrasts sharply with the manes of the other horses in the scene, which hang down their necks in luxuriant locks. The layered mane may be influenced by, or a variation of, the ruff of a lion, such as the one on the painter's early amphora in London.[110] The depiction by Exekias occurs on a fragmentary funerary plaque in Berlin,[111] and shows a finely incised mane with alternating black and red locks separated by wavy lines. Comparisons for these three manes are not yet found. The three parallel arcs on the hindquarters of the Metropolitan's horse do not provide a criterion for attribution because they are common on horses from about 560 to 530 B.C.[112] The two short, closely spaced arcs on the shoulder do not correspond to equine anatomy and comparable examples are later than MMA 1988.11.3.[113] Such arcs are more often long and widely spaced.

Details of tack on MMA 1988.11.3 are odd and often defy direct comparison. The inclusion of both a browband *and* a noseband on the headstall of the bridle is uncommon; usually, just the browband is included. In reality both elements as well as a throatlash are necessary to prevent the bridle from slipping off the horse's head. Lydos supplied all three bridle parts for the horses on the Naples amphora (Figure 16), but this vase is later than MMA 1988.11.3. Lydos' amphora in Athens, which shows a mounted squire leading a horse, may be slightly earlier. There, the three straps appear.[114] The only contemporary artist to draw both a browband and a noseband on all of his horses is the Painter of Akropolis 606. These elements even appear on the horse foreparts in the whirligig on the underside of his namepiece, a *dinos*.[115] Dots decorating reins occur infrequently in the period when MMA 1988.11.3 was made, all the others being later. One contemporary parallel is seen on an unattributed ovoid neck-amphora in Bologna that depicts on its reverse three armed horsemen galloping to left.[116]

Typically, mounts do not wear collars, and when they do, as on Lydos' amphora in Naples (Figure 16), they are purely decorative.[117] Collars are necessary for the pole horses of a chariot team to help hold the yoke in place on their withers (the pole horses are the two inside horses that supply the main pulling power).[118] The collar rests on the withers. On the Naples amphora the strap is narrow, gradually broadening as it proceeds around the chest. It may be a plain black or red band, or it may be decorated with incised ornament. Occasionally the edges are accented with dots, as on Achilles' chariot horse (Figure 21). The collar worn by the squire's horse on MMA 1988.11.3 is most unusual because it appears to be composed of two separate parts: the solid red section along the shoulder and the incised section around the chest. Parallels occur on the François Vase by Kleitias on the chariot horses in the scenes of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the Games for Patroklos, and also on the trace horse of Achilles' team on the kantharos fragment by Nearchos (Figure 21).[119] The collars by Kleitias begin on the withers as a simple black band, then about one-third of the way toward the chest, two vertical incised lines separate this section from the part that goes around the chest, the latter bordered above and below by a double line. The collar on Nearchos' horse divides into two sections at about the same place as those by Kleitias, but each section is decorated with incision, the front part with running spirals, the back part with a border of esses. The entire collar is bordered above and below by a row of white dots between a double line. The collar on MMA 1988.11.3, being partly plain and partly incised, combines the features depicted by these two artists.

The painter of MMA 1988.11.3 has proven elusive. The creative selection of ornament accenting parts of the hydria and the unusual details of drawing should furnish all the criteria necessary for attribution, but surprisingly they do not lead to a known artist. Rather, the qualities point to an anonymous painter influenced by his contemporaries active in the Kerameikos during the second quarter of the sixth century and a bit beyond. In time, other vases by this painter may be recognized, but for now the hydria remains a singleton. Its eclectic character and parallels with the various painters cited above suggest its withdrawal from the Circle of Lydos. That association seems too limited.

The artist of this hydria worked among the painters who focused on increasing the prevalent repertory of mythological representations, invented new scenes, gave the gods and heroes their attributes, and frequently inscribed their names next to them. In the Athenian Kerameikos, the second half of the sixth century B.C. was a period of intense visual storytelling that led to the superb achievements of such master painters as Exekias, the Amasis Painter, the Andokides Painter, as well as Euphronios and others of the Pioneer Group. The two scenes of daily life on MMA 1988.11.3 must be regarded as having equal importance with those of mythology. The hydria furnishes essential visual criteria for two otherwise little-known aspects of Athenian life in the mid-sixth century. The chorus of dancers and the aulos-player on the shoulder, together with its counterpart on the Heidelberg Painter's cup in Amsterdam, offer the earliest preserved evidence for the production of comedy in Athenian theater, long before the known literary references appear. The hoplite and the mounted squire leading his horse contribute to our limited knowledge of how hoplites used horses during this time, namely, by conveying them to battle, dismounting to fight on foot with other hoplites, and then remounting to return to safety. By choosing to paint two scenes from daily life instead of popular ones from heroic or divine mythology, the painter of MMA 1988.11.3 demonstrates an awareness of the world around him. In this way, he foreshadows the keen interest that his successors, particularly those of the fifth century, will take in depicting vignettes of life in Athens.

ABBREVIATIONS

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

Addenda^2
Thomas H. Carpenter, comp. *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV*^{2} *and Paralipomena.* 2nd ed. Oxford, 1989.

Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting*
Darrell A. Amyx. *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period.* Berkeley, 1988.

Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-Figure*
John D. Beazley. *The Development of Attic Black-Figure.* Ed. Dietrich von Bothmer and Mary B. Moore. Berkeley, 1986.

Brijder, "Satyr Chorus"
Herman A. G. Brijder. "A Pre-Dramatic Performance of a Satyr Chorus by the Heidelberg Painter." In *Enthousiasmos: Essays on Greek and Related Pottery Presented to J. M. Hemelrijk,* ed. Herman A. G. Brijder, A. A. Drukker, and C. W. Neeft, pp. 69–82. Allard Pierson Series, vol. 6. Amsterdam, 1986.

Brijder, *Siana Cups* I
Herman A. G. Brijder. *Siana Cups I and Komast Cups.* 2 vols. Allard Pierson Series, vol. 4. Amsterdam, 1983.

Brijder, *Siana Cups* II
Herman A. G. Brijder. *Siana Cups II: The Heidelberg Painter.* 2 vols. Allard Pierson Series, vol. 8. Amsterdam, 1991.

Brijder, *Siana Cups* III
Herman A. G. Brijder. *Siana Cups III: The Red-Black Painter, Griffin-Bird Painter and Siana Cups Resembling Lip-Cups.* 2 vols. Allard Pierson Series, vol. 13. Amsterdam, 2000.

Bugh, *Horsemen of Athens*
Glenn R. Bugh. *The Horsemen of Athens.* Princeton, 1988.

CVA
Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare*
Peter A. L. Greenhalgh. *Early Greek Warfare: Horsemen and Chariots in the Homeric and Archaic Ages.* Cambridge, 1973.

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

Moore and Philippides, *Agora* XXIII
Mary B. Moore and Mary Zelia Pease Philippides. *The Athenian Agora.* Vol. XXIII, *Attic Black-Figured Pottery.* Princeton, 1986.

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

Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*
Arthur W. Pickard-Cambridge. *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy.* 2nd ed. Oxford, 1962.

Seeberg, *Corinthian Komos Vases*
Axel Seeberg. *Corinthian Komos Vases.* Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin, suppl. no. 27. London, 1971.

Spence, *Cavalry of Classical Greece*
Iain G. Spence. *The Cavalry of Classical Greece: A Social and Military History with Particular Reference to Athens.* Oxford, 1995.

Steinhart, *Kunst der Nachahmung*
Matthias Steinhart. *Die Kunst der Nachahmung: Darstellungen mimetischer Vorführungen in der griechischen Bildkunst archaischer und klassischer Zeit.* Mainz, 2004.

Tiverios, Λυδὸς
Michales A. Tiverios. Ὁ Λυδὸς καὶ τὸ ἔργο τοῦ. Athens, 1976.

Trendall and Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama*
Arthur Dale Trendall and Thomas B. L. Webster. *Illustrations of Greek Drama.* London, 1971.

Webster, *Greek Chorus*
Thomas B. L. Webster. *The Greek Chorus.* London, 1970.

NOTES

1. In addition to those covered in the forthcoming discussion, notable exceptions occur on two lekythoi by the Amasis Painter that date about 550 B.C. One depicts a wedding procession arriving at the groom's house, possibly in the Attic countryside (MMA 56.11.1: *Paralipomena,* p. 66; *Addenda*^{2}, p. 45). The other shows the women's quarters of a private house, depicting the various stages of wool-working from the

initial twisting of the raw material into thick threads using a distaff and spindle, to weaving the fabric on an upright loom and then folding the finished cloth into a neat bundle (MMA 31.11.10: *ABV*, p. 154, no. 57; *Paralipomena*, p. 64, no. 57; *Addenda*², p. 45). Also notable are the plaques by Exekias that decorated two tombs in Athens and depict the various scenes in the funeral ceremony (Berlin 1811–1826 and Athens NM 2414–2417: *ABV*, p. 146, nos. 22, 23; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, nos. 22, 23; *Addenda*², p. 41; Heide Mommsen, *Exekias I: Die Grabtafeln* [Mainz, 1997]). Good examples are a gathering of women in their quarters: Berlin 1813 and 1826 k, where one woman holds the child of another who has died in childbirth, in the company of others who sit or stand quietly; on Berlin 1811 a and b and 1826, the deceased woman lies on a bier surrounded by mourners (*ABV*, p. 146, no. 22; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 22; *Addenda*², p. 41; Mommsen, *Exekias I*, pls. 15 and 1, respectively, and colorpls. I [1811 b] and IV [1813]). Loutrophoroi also show scenes of mourning but only after 540 B.C. (see Moore and Philippides, *Agora* XXIII, p. 19).

2. MMA 1988.11.3. Height 40.2 cm; diam. of mouth 21.5 cm; diam. with handles 39.4 cm; diam. of foot 15 cm; width of resting surface 1 cm. The vase is intact, with a few nicks and scratches. The glaze misfired around the left horizontal handle and is greenish in places. It has flaked here and there, notably on the legs of the aulos-player and on the head and shoulder of the hoplite. There are a few spalls, a small dent below the vertical handle, and a chip in the torus foot below the left horizontal handle.

   Bibliography: *Kunstwerke der Antike*, sale cat., Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, sale no. 34, May 6, 1967, pp. 57–58, lot 121 (whence the attribution to the Circle of Lydos), pl. 31; Frank Brommer, "Antike Stelzen: Gypones und Hypogypones," *Antike Kunst* 11 (1968), p. 51, n. 15; Webster, *Greek Chorus*, pp. 14, 36, no. 101, and p. 70; Trendall and Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, p. 20, under no. I, 8; John R. Green, "A Representation of *The Birds* of Aristophanes," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 2, Occasional Papers on Antiquities, vol. 3 (Malibu, 1985), p. 100, fig. 5, no. 2; Brijder, "Satyr Chorus," pp. 72–73, n. 16, fig. 5; *The Collection of the Late Henning Throne-Holst*, sale cat., Christie's, London, June 8, 1988, lot 37; *MMAB*, n.s., 47, no. 2 (Fall 1989), pp. 8–9; Brijder, *Siana Cups* II, pp. 400, 402–3, n. 301; John R. Green, *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* (London and New York, 1994), p. 29, fig. 2.8; Steinhart, *Kunst der Nachahmung*, p. 8 and n. 65, where the accession number is incorrectly given as 1988.113.

3. For the development of the hydria in Attic black figure, see Moore and Philippides, *Agora* XXIII, pp. 35–38, esp. p. 37, for early examples of the shouldered variety and p. 35, n. 1, for bibliography, esp. Erika Diehl, *Die Hydria: Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums* (Mainz, 1964). For the hydria in Attic red figure, see Mary B. Moore, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. XXX, *Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 37–39, with bibliography.

   The earliest preserved Attic black-figured hydria seems to be two joining fragments of one found at Samos and dated by Kreuzer to about 590–580 B.C. (K 6834: Bettina Kreuzer, *Samos*, vol. XXII, *Die attisch schwarzfigurige Keramik aus dem Heraion von Samos* [Bonn, 1998], p. 131, no. 71, pl. 16, and pp. 9–12, for hydriai in early black-figure). Two other fragments, Samos K 1211 and K 1032, designated a hydria by Beazley (*ABV*, p. 25, no. 18), are classified as an ovoid amphora by Kreuzer (p. 9, n. 77, and pp. 109–11, no. 5, pl. 2).

4. For examples of a fillet, see the following, both by the Painter of Louvre F 6: the namepiece (*ABV*, p. 123, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 51, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 34) and Florence 3808, which has two fillets framing a frieze of rosettes above and below (*ABV*, p. 124, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 34). For an example without a fillet, see an unattributed hydria, Florence 3799 (*CVA*, Florence 5 [Italia 42], pl. 6 [1870], 3, 4). All of these may be dated about 550 B.C.

5. The *ependytes* is a loose-fitting, sleeveless garment that reaches to about the knee or mid-calf. It seems to appear first on aulos-players painted on vases dated about 550 B.C. and continues for a long while, especially on figures of Athena on prize panathenaic amphorae made after 530 B.C. See Margaret C. Miller, "The *Ependytes* in Classical Athens," *Hesperia* 58 (1989), pp. 313–29, esp. pp. 314–15, for its first appearance in sixth-century representations; see also Margaret C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 173–76. The garment worn by our aulos-player appears to be sleeveless, but it is short for an *ependytes* and it is not worn over a chiton. Thus, the painter may have had in mind a different article of clothing.

   Dietrich von Bothmer was the first to suggest that the object projecting from the fillet is the ear of an equid, specifically a horse (*Kunstwerke der Antike* [note 2 above], p. 58). It is highly unlikely, as Brijder recognized, that these objects represent feathers, as Webster thought, because there is no central rib and no striation to indicate the individual barbs. See Trendall and Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, p. 20, under no. I, 8: Amsterdam 3356. For the various identifications of these objects, see Brijder, "Satyr Chorus," pp. 75–78; and Brijder, *Siana Cups* II, pp. 401–3. For a good example of feathers, see the two projecting from the helmet of the fallen hoplite on Side B of an amphora in the J. Paul Getty Museum, the namepiece of the Bareiss Painter: Malibu 86.AE.85 (*CVA*, J. Paul Getty Museum 1 [USA 23], pl. 29 [1139], 2). There the central rib and barbs are clearly delineated. Feathers and horse ears decorate the helmets of warriors on an Attic black-figured amphora fragment found at Lindos; one helmet has both a pair of feathers and a pair of ears (see Christian Blinkenberg, *Lindos I, Fouilles de l'Acropole, 1902–1914* [Berlin, 1931], pl. 127, no. 2618).

6. This cloak is called a ζειρά and it seems to be the earliest preserved example. See *Kunstwerke der Antike* (note 2 above), p. 58, under lot 121.

7. Joan Mertens suggests that the artist may have intended a fibula to secure the rider's cloak, but did not make it very intelligible.

8. For a general overview, see Lillian B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece* (Seattle and London, 1964), esp. chap. 3, for pre-Classical Greece.

9. Athens NM 192. In a panel on the neck, there is a grazing deer followed by a bird, perhaps a goose. Bands of glaze alternating with three lines decorate the body. See J. Nicolas Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery: A Survey of Ten Local Styles and Their Chronology* (London, 1968), p. 32, no. 36; Lillian B. Taylor, "A Dancer's Trophy," *Classical Weekly* 41 (1947), pp. 50–52, with bibliography; and, most recently, Steinhart, *Kunst der Nachahmung*, p. 7, n. 51. See also Lilian H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and Its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 68, 76, no. 1, p. 401, no. 1, pl. 1. For color photographs,

see Manolis Andronikos, "Geometric Art, 1050–700 B.C." in *History of the Hellenic World: The Archaic Period* (University Park, Pa., 1975), p. 206; Stavroula Kourakou-Dragona, Κρατήρ Μεστός Εὐφροσύνης (Athens, 1998), p. 86; and Elisavet Stasinopoulou-Kakarounga, in *Geschenke der Musen: Musik und Tanz im antiken Griechenland* (Athens, 2003), p. 234, no. 113.

Also, about this time or a little later, Hesiod opened *The Theogony* (1–5) with the Muses dancing on Mount Helicon "on soft feet about the deep-blue spring and the altar of the almighty son of Cronos, and [after bathing, they] make their fair, lovely dances upon highest Helicon and move with vigorous feet." *Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns; and, Homerica,* trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White, Loeb Classical Library (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 79.

10. J. Nicolas Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London, 1977), pp. 298–99; see also Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (note 9 above).

11. See Frederik Poulsen, *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 106, with bibliography. See also Adolf Kirchhof and Adolf Furtwängler, "Zwei Thongefässe aus Athen," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 6 (1881), pp. 106–13; and Franz Studniczka, "Die älteste attische Inschrift," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 18 (1893), pp. 225–30. The excavation that produced this oinochoe was illicit, and other contents of this tomb, if any, are unknown. See Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (note 9 above), p. 68.

12. Webster, *Greek Chorus;* for the visual examples from the eighth to the mid-sixth-century B.C., see pp. 4–17, and for literary examples, pp. 46–80.

13. See Steinhart, *Kunst der Nachahmung,* chaps. 2 and 3, with bibliography.

14. The thorough study on the *komast* is Seeberg, *Corinthian Komos Vases.* For a more general study, see Adolf Greifenhagen, *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung und die Darstellung des Komos im VI. Jahrhundert* (Königsberg, 1929). See also Thomas B. L. Webster, "Greek Comic Costume: Its History and Diffusion," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 36 (1953–54), pp. 581–87; Burkhard Fehr, "Entertainers at the *Symposion:* The *Akletoi* in the Archaic Period," in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion,* ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford, 1990), pp. 188–91; Guy Michael Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting: Myth and Performance* (Ann Arbor, 1992), pp. 130–36; Eric Csapo and William J. Slater, *The Context of Ancient Drama* (Ann Arbor, 1994), pp. 89–101; and Axel Seeberg, "From Padded Dancers to Comedy," in *Stage Directions: Essays in Ancient Drama in Honour of E. W. Handley,* ed. Alan Griffiths (London, 1995), pp. 1–8. I thank Elizabeth Angelicoussis for providing me with a copy of this article. The most recent discussion is Steinhart, *Kunst der Nachahmung,* chap. 3. These authors focus on the importance of *komasts* for the origin of drama and ritual.

15. Seeberg, *Corinthian Komos Dancers,* p. 1. Fehr, "Entertainers at the *Symposion*" (note 14 above), pp. 188–89, remarks that the padding is likely artificial, even though this cannot be proven, and that the impressive size of the protruding belly may reflect the *komast*'s proclivity to fill up with every available meal and drink.

16. Seeberg, *Corinthian Komos Vases,* p. 32, no. 165, pl. 9, a–c; Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting,* p. 109, no. 1, pl. 46, 6.

17. Seeberg, *Corinthian Komos Vases,* p. 42, no. 217; Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting,* p. 109, no. 3.

18. Humfry Payne, *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period* (Oxford, 1931), p. 300, no. 774; Seeberg, *Corinthian Komos Vases,* p. 17, no. 25; Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting,* p. 494.

19. *ABV,* pp. 23–37; *Paralipomena,* pp. 14–17; *Addenda*², pp. 7–9.

20. The most thorough study of the *komast* cup is by Brijder, *Siana Cups* I.

21. Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-Figure,* p. 18.

22. *ABV,* p. 27, no. 1; *Paralipomena,* p. 15, no. 1; Brijder, *Siana Cups* I, p. 223, no. K 1, pl. 1, d, e; *Addenda*², p. 8. Brijder, *Siana Cups* I, adds two more cups to the Painter of New York 22.139.22: Taranto 110550 (no. K 2, pl. 2, a) and Thorikos TC 64.262 (no. K 3). For a brief discussion of the painter, see Brijder, *Siana Cups* I, pp. 69–70. For examples where all the dancers are padded, see the pair of cups in the Louvre attributed to the KY Painter, CP 10235 and CP 10236 (*ABV,* p. 32, nos. 17, 18; Brijder, *Siana Cups* I, p. 224, nos. K 10, K 11, pl. 3, c, d; *Addenda*², pp. 8–9).

23. Berlin 1966.17; see Webster, *Greek Chorus,* p. 12: "In Attica it is clear that men wore padded white tights to represent women in these dances (82) [Berlin 1966.17]"; Trendall and Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama,* pp. 20–21, no. I, 7; *CVA,* Berlin 7 [Deutschland 61], pl. 1 [2994], 1, and pl. 3 [2996], 1–3. For the KY Painter, see *ABV,* pp. 31–33; *Paralipomena,* p. 16; *Addenda*², pp. 8–9.

24. Amsterdam 3356 (*ABV,* p. 66, no. 57; *Paralipomena,* p. 27, no. 57; *Addenda*², p. 18; Brijder, *Siana Cups* II, pp. 398–404, 445–46, no. 348, pl. 112, e–g; Steinhart, *Kunst der Nachahmung,* pl. 2, 1 [Side A]). Note also an ovoid neck-amphora in the Louvre attributed to the Omaha Painter that shows on its reverse four men to left, each playing a lyre: the second and fourth stand quietly, but the first and third move forward with bent right leg raised high and thrust out, similar to our dancers except that the torso is not leaning backward. Each wears a mantle over a long chiton. Louvre E 861 (*Paralipomena,* p. 33, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 24).

25. *Kunstwerke der Antike* (note 2 above), p. 58.

26. For full discussions of the dancers on this cup, see Brijder, "Satyr Chorus," pp. 69–82; and Brijder, *Siana Cups* II, pp. 398–404.

27. Brijder, "Satyr Chorus," p. 75. The cup is Copenhagen inv. no. 5179: *ABV,* p. 64, no. 24; *Addenda*², p. 17; *Siana Cups* II, p. 443, no. 336, pl. 109, a, b.

28. Brijder, "Satyr Chorus," p. 73; the oinochoe is Athens NM 1220, p. 73, fig. 4. Seeberg (*Corinthian Komos Vases,* pp. 79–80) urges caution in relating the *komast* dancers to theater, but concludes that "one is, I think, justified in continuing to seek an explanation of certain features of the subject by reference to drama, and to prefer an interpretation that takes account of the similarities."

29. *Kunstwerke der Antike* (note 2 above), p. 58.

30. Brijder, "Satyr Chorus," p. 78; see also Brijder, *Siana Cups* II, p. 403. This is a translation of "Weibersatyroi," a term coined by Buschor for the dancers on the Amsterdam cup, which he thought were men impersonating women (Ernst Buschor, *Satyrtänze und frühes Drama,* Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Abteilung, 1943, no. 5 [Munich, 1943], pp. 51, 68). As Brijder ("Satyr Chorus," p. 78) notes, the term is more appropriate for our dancers. For men dressed as women, see John Boardman, "Booners," in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum,* vol. 3, Occasional Papers on Antiquities, vol. 2 (Malibu, 1986),

pp. 47–70. All examples in Boardman's discussion are later than MMA 1988.11.3.

31. The bibliography for this study is understandably long. Following are the main titles in English; all have extensive references. Thomas B. L. Webster, *Greek Theatre Production* (London, 1956), esp. chap. 1, for Athens; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb;* Webster, *Greek Chorus;* Csapo and Slater, *Context of Ancient Drama* (note 14 above), esp. chap. 2, "The Origins of Greek Drama"; Green, *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* (note 2 above), esp. chap. 2, "The Early Period and the Fifth Century." See also Buschor, *Satyrtänze und frühes Drama* (note 30 above); and Hans Herter, *Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel: Die Anfänge der attischen Komödie* (Iserlohn, 1947).
32. See Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, pp. 97–121; pp. 97–98, for Thespis, and p. 107, for the prize and the date he won it. For the City Dionysia, see Arthur W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1968), pp. 57–125, "The Great or City Dionysia"; Herbert W. Parke, "Elaphebolion," in *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977), pp. 125–36; and Erika Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison, Wisc., 1983), pp. 101–4.
33. For a brief overview, see Kenneth J. Dover, in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2003), pp. 367–69, "Comedy, Greek, origins of and (Greek), Old."
34. Berlin 1697 (*ABV,* p. 297, no. 17; *Paralipomena,* p. 128, no. 17; *Addenda²*, p. 78; Steinhart, *Kunst der Nachahmung,* pl. 2, fig. 3). For a color photograph, see Susanne Moraw and Eckehart Nölle, eds., *Die Geburt des Theaters in der griechischen Antike* (Mainz, 2002), p. 105, fig. 142. See also Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting* (note 14 above), pp. 136–37; and, more briefly, Steinhart, *Kunst der Nachahmung,* p. 11. Christchurch, New Zealand, University of Canterbury 41/57 (*Paralipomena,* p. 134, no. 31; *Addenda²*, p. 81; Steinhart, *Kunst der Nachahmung,* pl. 1, 3). For animal choruses, see G. M. Sifakis, *Parabasis and Animal Choruses: A Contribution to the History of Attic Comedy* (London, 1971), pp. 73–75, for the archaeological evidence; also Green, *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* (note 21 above), pp. 28–31; Steinhart, *Kunst der Nachahmung,* pp. 20–21. These include riders on dolphins and ostriches. See the list assembled by Green, "Representation of *The Birds* of Aristophanes" (note 2 above), pp. 99–103. Green also includes men in disguise.
35. For the Amsterdam cup, see Brijder, "Satyr Chorus," p. 79; and Brijder, *Siana Cups* II, p. 398. In view of the distinctions made between our hydria and the Amsterdam cup and the usual assemblages of *komast* dancers elsewhere, I find it difficult to understand why Seeberg (*Corinthian Komos Vases,* p. 4) concludes: "In a variety of painting styles padded dancers are notably alike, and they are seldom differentiated within a picture; yet a 'leader' is something one would expect, for their act must be thought of as pre-arranged and drilled, not improvised." It seems exactly the opposite to me. So too, Fehr, "Entertainers at the *Symposion*" (note 14 above).
36. See those collected by Sifakis, *Parabasis and Animal Choruses* (note 34 above), and by Green, *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* (note 2 above).
37. See Brijder, "Satyr Chorus," p. 79, for the quotation; see also Brijder, *Siana Cups* II, p. 403. Brijder does not say how or where he acquired this information. For the kordax, see note 38, below.
38. For the kordax as it appears in ancient literary sources, see Georg Wissowa, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* vol. 11 (Stuttgart, 1922), cols. 1382–85, "Kordax" (entry by Warnecke); see also Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb,* pp. 259–61. While the ancient authors make clear that the kordax was considered a lewd, drunken dance, none describes its movement or how it was received by an audience (see, for example, Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.631d, trans. Charles B. Gulick, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1980], vol. 6, p. 407: "The Greek kordax, for example, is vulgar. . . ."; or Henry G. Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* s.v. κόρδαξ). Thus, it is probably unwise to try to identify it in representations of dances on Greek vases. Webster (*Greek Chorus,* pp. 3–4) recognized various postures dancers may assume in representations of dances on vases, but warned (p. xii): "We shall never be able to reconstruct the choreography of ancient choruses from their texts any more than we can reconstruct their music. . . . The pictures are not films or even photographs of the performance. They are what the artist remembered of the dance, translated into the prevailing convention of his art and fitted into the space at his disposal."
39. *The Birds* was perfomed at the City Dionysia in 414 B.C. and won second prize. *The Frogs* was produced during the Lenaia in 405 B.C. and won first prize. See Kenneth J. Dover, in *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (note 33 above), p. 164, "Aristophanes." For the City Dionysia, see note 32, above. The Lenaia was a dionysiac festival celebrated in Athens on the twelfth day of the month Gamelion (January/February). The location of this festival is not known for certain, but there is slight evidence that it took place in the Agora. For the festival, see Walther Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (Munich, 1931), pp. 293–96; Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 123–34; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (note 32 above), pp. 25–42; and, more briefly, Parke, "Elaphebolion" (note 32 above), pp. 104–6; Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (note 32 above), pp. 100–101; Csapo and Slater, *Context of Ancient Drama* (note 14 above), pp. 122–24, for discussion, and pp. 132–37, for the literary sources. For a brief summary of the problem of locating the Lenaia in the Agora, see Homer A. Thompson and Richard E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora,* vol. XIV, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center* (Princeton, 1972), pp. 128–29.
40. Green, "Representation of *The Birds* of Aristophanes" (note 2 above), p. 98. The vase is Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.83. Green suggests it may be by the Painter of Munich 2335 and offers "a date towards the later part of the fifth century although not near its end."
41. Ibid., p. 100.
42. Buffalo Museum of Science C 12847 (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* [note 9 above], p. 59, no. 21, a; Theodora Rombos, *The Iconography of Attic Late Geometric II Pottery* [Jonsered, 1988], p. 439, no. 154; Susan Langdon, in *From Pasture to Polis: Art in the Age of Homer,* ed. Susan Langdon, exh. cat., Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia [Columbia, Mo., and London, 1993], pp. 60–64, no. 9, with bibliography). For unusual, vibrant compositions by painters from this workshop, see the lively dancing women on the bowl of the standed krater, Athens NM 810. On one leg of the stand of this krater there is a horse rearing very high, its rider giving it slack rein. See Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (note 9 above), p. 60, no. 39; and Rombos, *Attic Late Geometric II Pottery,* p. 464, no. 215. For a good illustration, see Bernhard Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art,* trans. Peter Usborne and Cornelia Usborne (New York, 1971), pls. 63, 64.

43. For the bell-corselet, see Susan Langdon, in *From Pasture to Polis* (note 42 above), p. 63, who remarks that this painted corselet finds a precise parallel with a bronze one found in a Late Geometric grave in Argos, dated about 725 B.C.

44. Anthony Snodgrass, "The First European Body-Armour," in *The European Community in Later Prehistory: Studies in Honour of C. F. C. Hawkes* (London, 1971), p. 46.

45. The problem of when the Athenians developed an organized cavalry has been addressed very well by Bugh, *Horsemen of Athens*, and by Spence, *Cavalry of Classical Greece*, both with copious bibliography. Bugh presents a fuller discussion of the possibility of an Athenian cavalry in the sixth century B.C. (chap. 1, pp. 3–38). Spence focuses on the history and use of the cavalry after 500 B.C. "No single piece of evidence can prove, incontestably, the existence of an Athenian cavalry before the mid-fifth century B.C. That there were *hippeis* cannot be denied, but that these 'horsemen' belonged to a cavalry corps still eludes unanimous consent" (Bugh, *Horsemen of Athens*, p. 3). This is true, but there are hints that as early as the sixth century B.C., Athens possessed a small corps of cavalry. During this time, each of the four phylae, or tribes, of Athens were subdivided into twelve units, making a total of forty-eight. Each subdivision, called a *naucrary*, was responsible for supplying and manning one ship. Each *naucrary* was also called upon to provide two horsemen, totaling ninety-six. By the late sixth century, under the reforms of Kleisthenes, the *naucraries* were perhaps replaced by demes (individual units of government) and that is the last we hear of them (Bugh, *Horsemen of Athens*, pp. 4–5, and Spence, *Cavalry of Classical Greece*, pp. 11–12, both with bibliography). The only ancient source that tells us the *naucraries* also provided two horsemen each is Pollux, a scholar and rhetorician whose *Onomasticon* was written during the time of Commodus, the elder son of Marcus Aurelius, who ruled from A.D. 180 to 192. The validity of this late source has been questioned, but Bugh (*Horsemen of Athens*, p. 5) is correct in stating that "the testimony of Pollux should not be rejected out of hand." Spence suggests that the *naucraries* may have been established during the reforms of Solon (ca. 594–593 B.C.) and lasted until the time of the naval reforms of 483 B.C. (Spence, *Cavalry of Classical Greece*, pp. 11–12).

The resulting questions are the following: What were the duties of these ninety-six horsemen, what type of force were they, how were they organized, and were they a true cavalry or were they simply hoplites who rode horses to the scene of battle, then dismounted to fight? Bugh reviews the various possibilities, including the ceramic evidence, and remarks with some exasperation: "Why is it so hard to accept the idea that some rich men rode their horses to battle and dismounted to join the hoplite ranks—a carryover from the Homeric tradition, albeit with chariots—while other rich men or youths rode horses to battle and fought as cavalrymen?" (Bugh, *Horsemen of Athens*, pp. 5–38; ceramic evidence, pp. 14–20, and quotation, p. 15). It is the former that concerns us here. See also J. K. Anderson ("Greek Chariot-Borne and Mounted Infantry," *American Journal of Archaeology* 79 [1975], pp. 175–87) who thinks chariot-borne heroes were replaced by mounted hoplites during the seventh century. Earlier, he remarked that "the historical evidence does not suggest that they [cavalrymen] were important" (John K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* [Berkeley, 1961], p. 130). For a fuller discussion of the ceramic evidence from the seventh and sixth centuries, see Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare*, pp. 84–145, esp. pp. 96–145, for the sixth. For a general discussion of the Greek cavalry in the Archaic period, see Leslie J. Worley, *Hippeis: The Cavalry of Ancient Greece* (Boulder, 1994), pp. 21–58.

46. Anderson ("Greek Chariot-Borne and Mounted Infantry" [note 45 above], p. 184) observed that "though mounted warriors appear on Geometric vases," they are never "shown accompanied by 'squires' riding on a second horse."

47. For a color photograph that shows two of these horsemen, see Martin Robertson, *Greek Painting* (Geneva, 1959), p. 48. The most recent discussion of this famous vase is by Jeffrey M. Hurwit, "Reading the Chigi Vase," *Hesperia* 71 (2002), pp. 1–22; for the riders, see pp. 9–10. Hurwit interprets them as "squires (*hippostrophoi*) leading mounts for absent companions or warriors (*hippobateis*), as we know them from other vases of the period and afterward, at Corinth and elsewhere." He thinks it is also possible the riders are "holding the horses for other youths in the same zone (as we shall see) after use in a team" (both quotations are on p. 10). He also writes, "horsemen participate directly in the lion attack depicted on the oinochoe from Erythrai . . . and so we may wonder whether the whole passage on the Chigi vase from the horsemen to the lion hunt is a Protocorinthian revision of imagery found in the palace reliefs of Nineveh or Nimrud, where kings and their entourage, riding chariots and horses, slaughter animals by the dozen" (p. 11; see p. 8, fig. 4, for an illustration of the Erythrai oinochoe). This does not seem likely. First, the hunters on the Erythrai oinochoe ride galloping horses and have their spears poised. The composition is active and exciting, just the opposite from that on the Chigi vase. There, all of the horses walk sedately; neither the riders nor the charioteer is armed; all of them merely hold the reins, and the charioteer has a goad. Furthermore, between these two groups and the lion hunt, there is a youth on foot to right looking back at the chariot horses and holding them by a lead line; next is a pair of seated sphinxes looking out at the viewer with a figure standing between them (all of the right sphinx is preserved; just the left side of the figure, and the tail with a bit of the hindquarters of the left sphinx remain); finally, there is a fragmentary scene of the Judgment of Paris. The sphinx group functions as a separator between the horsemen and the chariot on the one hand, the lion hunt and the Judgment on the other. The best illustration of this whole frieze is in *Antike Denkmäler* 2 (Berlin, 1898), pl. 45. On the Assyrian reliefs, the confrontation between man and beast is direct and deadly, whether the attack is by a horseman armed with a spear or by the king in his chariot shooting an arrow. See, for example, R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and Their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia* ([London], 1960), pls. 83–86, 88–92.

48. For the C Painter, see *ABV*, pp. 51–61; *Paralipomena*, pp. 23–26; *Addenda*², pp. 13–17. The Siana cup takes its name from two examples in the British Museum that were found at Siana, a site on the island of Rhodes: London BM 1885.12–13.12 (ex B 380) by the C Painter (*ABV*, p. 55, no. 91; *Addenda*², p. 15; now attributed to the Cassandra Painter by Herman Brijder, *Siana Cups* I, p. 247, no. 122, pl. 25, c, and for the painter, pp. 142–51) and London BM 379 in his manner (*ABV*, p. 60, no. 20; *Paralipomena*, p. 26, no. 20; *Addenda*², p. 16). This type of cup has a deep bowl with an offset lip and a conical foot. The shape has been studied extensively by Brijder in *Siana Cups* I; *Siana Cups* II; and *Siana Cups* III.

49. Athens NM 531 (*ABV,* p. 55, no. 92; *Addenda*², p. 15). Würzburg 451 (*ABV,* p. 57, no. 114; *Addenda*², p. 15).

50. Athens Ephoreia Γ. See Tiverios, Λυδὸς, pl. 99, and p. 93, with bibliography, esp. Penelope Kapetanaki-Leonardou, "Μελανόμορφος ἀμφορεὺς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν," *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973), pt. A´, pp. 215–21, and pls. 117–19.

51. London BM 1969.12–15.1. See Brian F. Cook, "A Protocorinthian Aryballos and Three Late Corinthian Vases," *British Museum Quarterly* 36 (1971–72), pp. 110–13.

52. Ibid., p. 112.

53. Knud Friis Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens* (Copenhagen, 1923), pp. 149–51, cited by Cook, "Protocorinthian Aryballos" (note 51 above), p. 112, n. 16.

54. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare,* pp. 59–60. Anderson ("Greek Chariot-Borne and Mounted Infantry" [note 45 above], p. 184, n. 104) also does not think this is a hunting scene. He suggests, "The second horse may well be understood. . . ." I am not sure about this and am inclined to believe that there is enough space in the composition for the painter to have drawn a second horse if he had wished to do so.

55. Athens NM 341 (Heinrich Heydemann, *Griechische Vasenbilder* [Berlin, 1870], pl. 7, 3; Payne, *Necrocorinthia* [note 18 above], p. 287, no. 482; Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare,* p. 58, fig. 36).

56. For a discussion of the various kinds of inscriptions, with examples, see Mary B. Moore, "Andokides and a Curious Attic Black-Figured Amphora," *MMJ* 36 (2001), pp. 15–19, with bibliography.

57. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting,* pp. 554, 558, no. 7, for the quotation.

58. See Moore and Philippides, *Agora* XXIII, pp. 188–89, no. 679, pl. 65.

59. Xenophon 12.1–12 (Xenophon, *On the Art of Horsemanship,* in *Scripta minora,* trans. E. C. Marchant, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1925], pp. 359, 361, 363). Xenophon was writing in the first half of the fourth century B.C., but the visual material from the sixth century makes clear that the arms and armor of the cavalryman differed from those of the hoplite. A mounted hoplite should not be confused with a mounted cavalryman whose equipment does not include a shield. A round shield is an intrinsic part of hoplite defense; for the cavalryman, it would be a hindrance. A shield would be a cumbersome piece of equipment for a rider trying to control a spirited horse while aiming his spear at an approaching or fleeing enemy. All of this was done without stirrups, which were not known in antiquity. See Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (note 45 above), pp. 12, 76, 82, 106; and Mary Aiken Littauer, "Early Stirrups," *Antiquity* 55 (1981), pp. 99–105, reprinted in Mary Aiken Littauer and Joost H. Crouwel, *Selected Writings on Chariots and Other Early Vehicles, Riding and Harness,* ed. Peter Raulwing (Leiden, 2002), pp. 439–51. Metal greaves worn by a cavalryman would hinder control of his mount because the hard material would prevent him from maintaining contact with the animal's sides in order to guide him; soft leather would not.

60. For an actual greave with the holes along the outside edge, see MMA 06.1076, which is thought to come from Elis and dates in the fifth century B.C. (Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection* [New York, 1917], p. 95; Anthony Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.* [Edinburgh, 1964], pp. 239–40, n. 53). For leather boots, see three riders on the west frieze of the Parthenon: West IV, figure 8; West X, figure 19; West XI, figure 20 (Frank Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries: Katalog und Untersuchung* [Mainz, 1977], respectively, pls. 30, 35, 13).

61. The two compositions compared with MMA 1988.11.3 are the only examples of this arrangement of hoplite, squire and horses that I know. I am not certain if they represent a departure for battle with the hoplite getting ready to mount or a return from it, the hoplite having dismounted upon arrival.

62. Berlin, inv. no. 4823 (*ABV,* p. 81, no. 4; *Paralipomena,* p. 30, no. 4; *Addenda*², p. 22). Akropolis 590 d (Botho Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* [Berlin, 1925–33], pl. 27).

63. Florence, Museo Archeologico R 1927. The hoplite does not have a spear or greaves. His shield device is a leaf. I know this vase only from Dietrich von Bothmer's photograph.

64. Geneva, private collection (Henri Metzger and Denis van Bercham, "Hippeis," in *Gestalt und Geschichte: Festschrift Karl Schefold zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag am 26. Januar 1965,* Antike Kunst, suppl. 4 [Bern, 1967], pp. 155–58, pls. 55, 56, 2). Attributed to the School of Lydos by Herbert Cahn (*Kunstwerke der Antike,* sale cat., Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, sale no. 26, October 5, 1963, lot 88). It is not included in *Paralipomena.* Mention should be made here of a hydria dating about 550 B.C. and attributed to the Ainipylos Painter, Bochum S 1165 (*CVA,* Bochum I [Deutschland 79], pl. 35 [4047], 4). There, the Dioskouroi (names inscribed) appear mounted on frontal horses. Polydeukos is dressed and armed as a hoplite, Kastor as his squire. This depiction of the two does not have a parallel. See *LIMC,* vol. 3 (1986), pp. 569, 582–83, "Dioskouroi" (entry by Antoine Hermary). For the attribution, see *CVA,* Bochum I [Deutschland 79], p. 43.

65. See *Wealth of the Ancient World: The Nelson Bunker Hunt and William Herbert Hunt Collections,* exh. cat., Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (Fort Worth, 1983), pp. 48–49, no. 2; sale cat., Sotheby's, New York, June 19, 1990, lot 2; and Michael Padgett et al., *The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art* (Princeton, 2003), p. 18, fig. 14.

66. For shield devices, see Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (note 60 above), pp. 61–65, who makes the important point (p. 63) that "we can assume a shield of hoplite type only when a figured blazon is shown . . . since the object of such a blazon was presumably to overcome the anonymity conferred by the Corinthian helmet. . . ." Thus, it seems that the painters who showed mounted hoplites moving to the left with the devices on their shields well displayed were aware of their importance as a means of identification in battle. But the precise meaning of these shield emblems remains unknown.

67. Naples 81292 (*ABV,* p. 109, no. 23; *Paralipomena,* p. 44, no. 23; *Addenda*², p. 30).

68. Leipzig T 4849 (Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting,* p. 587, no. 107). For the best photographs, see *CVA,* Leipzig 1 [Deutschland 14], pl. 48 [688]. For the Chalcidian type of Corinthian column-krater, see Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting,* pp. 511–12.

69. See Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (note 60 above), pp. 138–39.

70. Würzburg 146 (Andreas Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* [Berlin, 1927], p. 17, no. 25, pls. 48, 49, 51; Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare,* pp. 138–39, fig. 73).

71. For the particulars of phalanx combat, see Victor Davis Hanson, "Hoplite Technology in Phalanx Battle," in *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience,* ed. Victor Davis Hanson (London and New York, 1993), pp. 63–84.

72. Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 4.49) says: "And if it seems that we are of more use to you by fighting with you on horseback, in that case we shall not fail for want of courage. But if it seems that by turning footmen again we could assist to better advantage, it will be open to us to dismount and at once stand by you as foot soldiers; and as for the horses, we shall manage to find some one to whom we may entrust them." Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, trans. Walter Miller, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1925), p. 387.
73. *ABV*, p. 119, no. 9; Tiverios, Λυδὸς, pl. 61; *Addenda*², p. 33.
74. Vatican 369 (Carlo Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* [Rome, 1925–39], pp. 153–54, figs. 93, 94). A "merrythought cup" is characterized by its "wishbone" handles, hence the name. See Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-Figure*, p. 21.
75. This scene takes with it three others, two on Siana cups and one on a lip cup. London BM 1885.12–13.12 (ex B 380) by the C Painter (note 48 above). There, the armed hoplite without a squire appears four times in the frieze on Side A. The absence of the squire is difficult to explain. The space around the head and spear of each hoplite may have been too narrow to include the squire. But his presence here is implied by the action of the hoplite dismounting and the inclusion of the second horse. In the tondo of Warsaw 138536, a painter related to the C Painter depicted the hoplite landing on the balls of his feet alongside his horse, his squire ready to take hold (*ABV*, p. 61, no. 9; *Paralipomena*, p. 26, no. 9). It is now attributed by Brijder to the Red-Black Painter (*Siana Cups* III, pp. 685–86, no. 533, pl. 185, b; for the painter, see pp. 569–99). The lip cup is Boston MFA 60.640 a, signed by Nikosthenes (*ABV*, p. 227, no. 17; *Paralipomena*, p. 107, no. 17; *Addenda*², p. 59; Vincent Tosto, *The Black-Figure Pottery Signed ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*, Allard Pierson Series, vol. 11 [Amsterdam, 1999], p. 231, no. 160). Much of the hoplite is missing, but his helmeted head, his greaves, and his feet touching the ground remain. He carries two spears. The face of his squire appears in the background.

    Regarding London BM 1885.12–13.12 (ex B 380), Greenhalgh (*Early Greek Warfare*, p. 105) states that the hoplites "may be vaulting from or onto their horses, of which a second is shown in outline, or they may simply be walking or running beside the horses. . . ." The hoplites are probably not vaulting, not with the second horse present. Given the weight of his arms and armor, a hoplite would hardly be able to vault off his horse, which would require unencumbered gymnastic skill; rather, he would bend his right leg and slip it over the horse's withers and slide down as he does in Figure 17. Nor could a hoplite vault onto the horse's back unless he faced the animal, as Xenophon makes clear (7.1–2):

    > First, then, he [the rider] must hold the leading-rein fastened to the chin-strap or the nose-band [of the bridle] ready in the left hand, and so loose as not to jerk the horse whether he means to mount by holding on to the mane near the ears or to spring up with the help of the spear. With his right hand let him take hold of the reins by the withers along with the mane, so that he may not jerk the horse's mouth with the bit in any way as he mounts. When he has made his spring in order to mount, he should raise his body with his left hand, while at the same time he helps himself up by stretching out his right; for by mounting in this way he will not present an awkward appearance even from behind by bending his leg. Neither must he touch the horse's back with his knee, but throw the leg over the off side [the right side]. Having brought the foot over, he must then let his buttocks down on the horse's back. (Xenophon, *Art of Horsemanship* [note 59 above], pp. 327, 329.)

    We see such a scene on the namepiece of the Hypobibazon Class, an amphora in the Kerameikos, inv. no. 158 (*ABV*, p. 339, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 92). A hoplite in armor holding two spears, his right foot raised, stands in front of the horse facing it and is about to spring to its back.

    Interestingly, the maneuvers of the Roman cavalry with regard to mounting and dismounting appear to be different for fit professionals who "demonstrate the greatest possible variety of ways of jumping onto their horses, using all the methods and styles in which a horse can be mounted by a horseman. As a climax they demonstrate leaping in full armour onto a galloping horse, which some call the 'traveller's leap' (hodoiporiken). These are the traditional exercises which the Roman cavalry have practised since ancient times" (Arrian, *Ars Tactica*, 43.3–44.1, based on the Teubner text of Antoon Gerard Roos, revised by Gerhard Wirth [Leipzig, 1968]; see Ann Hyland, *Training the Roman Cavalry: From Arrian's "Ars Tactica"* [London, 1993], pp. 76–77, for the passage, and pp. 157–58, for a commentary). See also the remarks by Anderson (*Ancient Greek Horsemanship* [note 45 above], p. 83), who, being an experienced horseman, says "that these instructions were more than theoretical appears from an address of the emperor Hadrian to a cavalry unit which he had been inspecting."
76. London BM 1839.10–25.13 (ex B191) (*ABV*, p. 152, no. 24; *Paralipomena* 63, no. 24; *Addenda*², p. 43).
77. Halle inv. no. 590 (Anja Slawisch, "Zwischen Korinth und Athen: Eine schwarzfigurige Reiteramphora aus dem Archäologischen Museum Halle," in *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext: Akten des Internationalen Vasen-Symposions in Kiel vom 24–28.9.2001*, organized by the Archäologische Institut, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel [Paderborn, 2003], pp. 127–29).
78. Best observed in the drawing made by Slawisch (ibid., pl. 22, 1).
79. Anderson, "Greek Chariot-Borne and Mounted Infantry" (note 45 above), p. 184; see also Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* (note 72 above).
80. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting*, p. 197, no. 3, with bibliography; for the painter, pp. 197–98, 383.
81. Rhodes 15373 (Conrad Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* [Amsterdam, 1972], p. 281, no. 219, pl. 75). For the fight over the body of Patroklos, which is a scene rarely depicted in ancient art despite its importance in the *Iliad*, see *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), pp. 317–18, no. 23, "Aias I" (entry by Odette Touchefeu); and *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), p. 951, under no. 5a, "Patroklos" (entry by Odette Touchefeu-Meynier).
82. Best observed in *Clara Rhodos* VIII (Rhodes, 1936), p. 92, fig. 77.
83. Found in the Heraion at Samos, now in the Museum of Samos at Vathy, inv. no. K 1185. See Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler* (note 81 above), p. 216, no. 36, pl. 18, 3.
84. See note 45, above.
85. See Aristotle, *Politics* 4.3.1–2, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1972), p. 287: "And the upper classes have distinctions also corresponding to their wealth and the amounts of their property (for example in a stud of horses—for it is not easy to rear horses without being rich . . .)."
86. *Kunstwerke der Antike* (note 2 above), p. 58.

87. Louvre F 8: *CVA*, Louvre 6 [France 9], pl. 59 [398], 3, for the rivets, and pl. 60 [399], 2, 3, for the groove. On this hydria, the mouth is flanged and the handles ridged resulting in a more metallic effect than that of our hydria. Three rivets, also occur on the top side of the mouth of Louvre F 38 by the Taleides Painter, an artist somewhat later than the one who decorated MMA 1988.11.3; there the rivets are more rounded. See *ABV*, p. 174, no. 7; *Paralipomena*, p. 72, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 49. The rivets on this hydria are best observed in *CVA*, pl. 63 [402], 3.
88. On Louvre F 10, another unattributed hydria, the scene of sacrifice on the shoulder is framed by a triple band consisting of a net pattern flanked by single ivy leaves without stems. The date for this hydria is probably about 550 B.C. or a bit later. See *CVA*, Louvre 6 [France 9], pl. 62 [401], 4, 5.
89. Compare with Boston MFA 68.105, attributed to the Taleides Painter by Dietrich von Bothmer and Mary B. Moore. There, however, the wavy stems are in black, not thinned, glaze as on MMA 1988.11.3. See *CVA*, Boston 2 [USA 19], pl. 73 [907]; the attribution is given on p. 15. The vase is dated about 540–530 B.C., later than MMA 1988.11.3.
90. Heidelberg S 5 (*ABV*, p. 63, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 17; Brijder, *Siana Cups* II, p. 449, no. 365, pl. 120, a: there the vine is also wavy); Louvre CA 576 (*ABV*, p. 63, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 17; Brijder, *Siana Cups* II, pp. 449–50, no. 367, pl. 121, d, e: wavy; vine), Taranto 110339 (*Paralipomena*, p. 27, no. 13 *bis; Addenda*², p. 17; Brijder, *Siana Cups* II, p. 449, no. 366, pl. 120, d, e: smooth vine); and Toledo, Ohio, collection of R. F. Reichert (Brijder, *Siana Cups* II, p. 451, no. 375, pl. 126, a–c, attributed by Brijder [p. 451]: smooth vine). The ornament also appears on some of the cups that belong to the late work of the painter.
91. *ABV*, pp. 107–13; *Paralipomena*, pp. 43–46; *Addenda*², pp. 29–32; see also the monograph by Tiverios, Λυδὸς.
92. Louvre F 29 (*ABV*, p. 109, no. 21; *Paralipomena*, p. 44, no. 21; *Addenda*², p. 30). The oddity is the system of decoration with the figures stretching across the shoulder from handle to handle, instead of being set in a panel. Also, there are ornamental patterns above, below, and on the side of the mouth; beneath the ornament on the body, an animal frieze continues around the vase without interruption. Normally, the mouth and body are black save for the figured panel and the rays above the foot. Akropolis 607 (*ABV*, p. 107, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 29). For Lydos' signatures, see Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-Figure*, p. 38; for more detail, see Tiverios, Λυδὸς, pp. 15–17, who suggests that Lydos may also have signed the Akropolis *dinos* as potter and inscribed it as a dedication to Athena (p. 16). On the rim there was certainly room for a dedicatory inscription along with the double signature by Lydos.
93. Good examples are the two very early (ca. 570 B.C.) hydriai, Munich 1681 (*ABV*, p. 108, no. 12; *Addenda*², p. 29) and Louvre E 804 (*ABV*, p. 108, no. 13; *Addenda*², p. 29).
94. Louvre F 29 (note 92 above); MMA 31.11.11 (*ABV*, p. 108, no. 5; *Paralipomena*, p. 43, no. 5; *Addenda*², p. 29); Naples 81292 (note 67 above).
95. *ABV*, pp. 114–20; *Paralipomena*, pp. 46–49; *Addenda*², pp. 32–33.
96. *ABV*, p. 114: "The difference between the three painters comes out in the *human scenes;* the *wild animals* are in a single style—whether one artist painted them all, or whether subordinates had so assimilated the master's animal style that we cannot tell one hand from another." And in Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-Figure*, p. 45: "It would plainly be unfair to Lydos that he should be burdened with such inferior pieces. The difference is not between the same man when he is himself and when he is not quite himself, but between the artist and the mechanical imitator."
97. *ABV*, p. 121, no. 7; *Paralipomena*, p. 49, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 33. For the painter, see *ABV*, pp. 120–22; *Paralipomena*, p. 49; *Addenda*², pp. 33–34.
98. *ABV*, p. 123, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 51, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 34. For the painter, see *ABV*, pp. 123–29; *Paralipomena*, pp. 50–53; *Addenda*², pp. 34–35.
99. For a fuller discussion of these painters, see Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-Figure*, chaps. 3 and 4.
100. MMA 31.11.11 (note 94 above). MMA 1997.388g+h (Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann, "Satyr- und Mänadennamen auf Vasenbildern des Getty-Museums und der Sammlung Cahn (Basel), mit Addenda² zu Charlotte Fränkel, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* (Halle, 1912)," in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 5, Occasional Papers on Antiquities, vol. 7 [Malibu, 1991], pp. 131–99; the illustration is on p. 136, fig. 2, a).
101. Fragment o (note 92 above).
102. For a twisted grip, compare those of two giants on an unattributed cup from the Akropolis 2211 d and e (Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis* [note 62 above], pl. 94). For a braided one, see also London BM 1846.5–18.35 (ex B 51) by the Painter of Louvre F 6 (*ABV*, p. 123, no. 4; *Addenda*², p. 34: the illustration referred to in Tiverios is printed with right and left sides reversed).
103. Kleitias: Akropolis 597 h (*ABV*, p. 77, no. 4); the Painter of Louvre E 876: Akropolis 634 a and d (*ABV*, p. 90, no. 2); Louvre CA 7400. The scene with Geryon occupies the panel of the last; the subject was identified by Martine Denoyelle, who also made the attribution. On the shoulder there remain parts of three legs of two dueling warriors and a segment of each shield. A date for this hydria is about 560–550 B.C. I thank Martine Denoyelle for providing me with a digital photograph.
104. Munich 1680 (*ABV*, p. 123, no. 1) and London BM 1846.5–18.35 (ex B 51) (note 102 above).
105. Akropolis 607 (note 92 above). See also Athens NMAcr. 15116 (ex Akr. 606) (*ABV*, p. 81, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 30, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 22); London BM 1846.5–18.35 (ex B 51) (note 102 above); Vatican 315 (*ABV*, p. 124, no. 9, by the Painter of Louvre F 6); two unattributed cups depicting a Gigantomachy: Athens NMAcr. 2134 a and d (*ABV*, p. 347; some signed strays, the name lost), and Akropolis 2211 b (Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis* [note 62 above], pl. 94); and Bologna P 191, an unattributed ovoid neck-amphora I know only from Dietrich von Bothmer's photograph.
106. See 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), pp. 279–81.
107. Athens NMAcr. 15155 (ex Akr. 611) (*ABV*, p. 82, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 30, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 23); also three by Lydos: Louvre E 804 (*ABV*, p. 108, no. 13; *Addenda*², p. 29), Göttingen and Cab. Méd. (*ABV*, p. 109, 19; *Addenda*², p. 30) and Kerameikos (*Paralipomena*, p. 45; *Addenda*², p. 30).
108. See, however, the hair of the man standing behind Herakles on the reverse of Basel BS 496, an amphora attributed to the Phrynos Painter by Heide Mommsen, "Zwei schwarzfigurigen Amphoren aus Athen," *Antike Kunst* 32 (1989), pl. 26, 4; for the attribution, see pp. 135–37. The painter incised a row of dots on each lock of hair.

109. Athens NM 16383 (*ABV*, p. 7 γ; *Paralipomena*, p. 3, no. 12).

110. London BM 1874.4–10.1 (ex A 1531) (*ABV*, p. 3, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 2, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 1). For the ruff, see Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-Figure*, pl. 12, 2, and for the mane, pl. 13, 4.

111. Berlin 1820 (*ABV*, p. 146, no. 22; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 22; *Addenda*², p. 41; Mommsen, *Exekias I* [note 1 above], pl. 13, a).

112. Moore, "Horses on Black-Figured Greek Vases" (note 106 above), pp. 327–29.

113. Ibid., pp. 292–93. This motif is especially favored by the BMN Painter, an artist active in the third quarter of the sixth century (*ABV*, pp. 226–28; *Paralipomena*, pp. 106–7; *Addenda*², p. 59).

114. Athens Ephoreia Γ (note 50 above); Tiverios (Λυδὸς, p. 93, no. 1) places this amphora a little earlier than Naples 81292 (ex 2770) (note 67 above).

115. Athens NMAcr. 15116 (ex Akr. 606) (note 105 above); the others: Berlin inv. no. 4823 (note 62 above); Tübingen S/10 1298 (ex D 4) (*ABV*, p. 81, no. 5; *Addenda*², p. 22); and Geneva MF 153 (*ABV*, p. 81, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 22). See also a new amphora by this painter: Olga Tzahou-Alexandri, "A Vase-Painter as Dedicator on the Athenian Acropolis: A New View of the Painter of Acropolis 606," in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*, Studies in the History of Art, vol. 32 (Hanover, N.H., and London, 1991), pp. 191–214; the relevant illustrations are figs. 1, 2, 4. The obverse of this amphora depicts the departure of a warrior with a chariot, the reverse a *komos*. An unattributed example seems to occur on the mounts of Akropolis 590 d (note 62 above), only the drawing is rather imprecise and I am not certain the incision is intended to represent browband, noseband, and throatlash. The Princeton Painter almost always included all three straps, but he was active in the third quarter of the sixth century and is stylistically unrelated to the painter of MMA 1988.11.3.

116. Bologna P 191 (note 105 above).

117. A collar also appears on the squire's mount on an amphora in a private collection in Geneva (note 64 above).

118. Before 530 B.C., the trace horses also wear collars. After this date, they seldom do.

119. Florence 4209 (*ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 29, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 21); Athens NMAcr. 15155 (ex Akr. 611) (note 107 above).

A Double-Headed Eagle Embroidery: From Battlefield to Altar

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In preparation for "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)," the comprehensive exhibition of Late Byzantine art held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art from March to July 2004, a fourteenth-century embroidered textile, which was known as the "double-headed eagle banner" (Figure 1), became the object of new research.[1] A study of its inscription and its construction strongly suggested that it had, in fact, served an ecclesiastical function.

The large, double-headed eagle is heavily embroidered in multicolored silk and silver thread.[2] On its breast is an inscribed medallion and a crown sits atop each of its heads; these face outward, in profile, while the outspread wings and talons extend to the left and right, creating a symmetrical, stylized design. The geometric patterning of the feathers takes the form of fixed rows of semicircles that flare out into vertically striped "streamers" at the edge of each wing—a typical Byzantine motif, although it is found earlier in the art of Persia and of the Roman empire.[3] In the nineteenth century, the eagle embroidery was mounted on a cloth backing with a sleeve across the top in which a rod could be inserted, and with tassels at the lower corners,[4] thus misleading viewers as to its original purpose, its form, and even its color.

The history of the banner is an intriguing tale of mistaken identity, from the time that it first came to light in the nineteenth century. It was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Arms and Armor in 1912,[5] along with two military banners, one Italian and one Netherlandish. The textile was thought to be a third such example, not only because of its companion acquisitions but also because of the eagle motif, the gold-colored silk on the reverse—suggesting that the textile was meant to be seen from the front and the back—and the sleeve to accommodate a rod from which it could be suspended. The Romans appropriated the eagle as a subject on military banners,[6] but after the sixth century its popularity declined. Eagles were depicted on imperial hangings used at court,[7] and the double-headed variety was often favored in the Palaiologan era, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, possibly to symbolize an empire that looked both to the East and the West.[8] Theodora, the wife of Alexios III Komnenos, the Trapezuntine emperor, wears an elaborate red and gold robe patterned with large double-headed eagles in the portrait of the couple on a chrysobull, or pendant seal, of 1374.[9]

The textile was part of an extensive collection of medieval and Renaissance art owned by Michel Boy that was dispersed after his death in 1904.[10] Briefly mentioned in an auction catalogue of 1905, it was listed with seventeenth-century Russian textiles.[11] The Russian attribution was quickly abandoned following the research of Bashford Dean, chief curator in the Metropolitan's Department of Arms and Armor, who recognized that the inscription on the eagle's breast was not Russian but Greek, and that the textile, indeed, was used for a liturgical rather than a military purpose.[12] In 1994, when curators once again studied the textile, which had been in storage since 1960, they agreed that the object was inappropriate for the Arms and Armor department.[13] The textile, now regarded as Byzantine, was transferred to the Department of Medieval Art in 2001 in anticipation of the upcoming exhibition. Further examination of the inscription linked the textile to a Latin titular Patriarch named Paul.

The most compelling explanation for the presence of the double-headed eagle is provided by the inscription ΠΑΥΛΟϹ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧ(ΗϹ) ΚѠΝϹΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ (ΠΟΛΕѠϹ) ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑϹ ΡѠΜΗϹ ("Paul Patriarch of Constantinople and New Rome"), which encircles a blue medallion with a triple monogram in the center, positioned on the bird's chest (Figure 2). The monograms, from left to right, can be translated as ΔΟΥΚΑϹ (Doukas), ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡ(Χ)ΟΥ (Patriarch), and ΠΑΛΑΙ(Ο)Λ(Ο)ΓΟΝ

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The notes for this article begin on page 63.

Figure 1. Double-headed eagle embroidery. Byzantine (possibly Greece or Constantinople), ca. 1366–84. Metallic and silk thread embroidered on a linen and paper support, 175.3 x 139.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.104.1). The embroidery formed part of a banner when it was acquired in 1912.

(Palaiologos).[14] The Palaiologos and Doukas were Byzantine imperial families related by marriage; perhaps Paul was a member of one or the other family. Finally, above the monograms is the Greek letter beta, which, here, most likely stands for *basileus* (emperor).[15]

The title of Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople was only held by various individuals named Paul during the Early Byzantine era, but the textile's style and structure, along with the Palaiologan reference in the inscription, suggest that the patriarch in question was a later one.[16] No likely patriarch named Paul can be associated with the other important sees in Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, or the post-Byzantine see of Moscow. Three men named Paul figured among the fourteenth-century titular Latin patriarchs: Paul Tagaris (Palaiologos); Paul, Archbishop of Thebes;

and the Paul, whose family name is not known but who was possibly Archbishop of Corinth, and was the Latin patriarch for less than one year about 1379.[17] The brevity of the career of this last Paul, who does not appear to have been affiliated with the Palaiologan or Doukas families named in the inscription, makes him an unlikely candidate.

Paul, Archbishop of Thebes, had an illustrious career as patriarch from 1366 until 1370.[18] As a legate to Pope Urban V, he worked with the former emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54), who remained active in politics, to unify the Eastern and the Western Church.[19] Although Paul spoke Greek fluently, spending most of his career in the East in posts established during the Crusades, he was of Italian origin.[20] His status certainly would have allowed him to have costly textiles and insignia made bearing his name, although no works of art belonging to him are known to survive. Paul, Archbishop of Thebes, cannot be ruled out as the Paul cited in the inscription, but he was not a member of the Palaiologan or Doukas families, making his connection to this textile more tenuous. While John VI Kantakouzenos was related by marriage to the Palaiologan family, it seems unlikely that Paul, Archbishop of Thebes, would invoke the name Palaiologos in deference to the former emperor rather than Kantakouzenos, which surely represented great power as well.

Paul Tagaris, did, on the other hand, use the name Palaiologos, albeit dubiously; his father's second wife—his stepmother—was Theodora Asenina Palaiologina, the niece of the emperor Andronikos II.[21] While technically not a relative of Theodora, Paul told the French count of Savoy—himself distantly related to the Palaiologans—that he was, in fact, a relation, and possibly even invented a fictitious family member, Alexios Palaiologos, as a co-signer of a document in Ancona.[22] His rise to the position of Orthodox Patriarch was also gained through a series of outrageous fabrications: an Orthodox priest in Palestine, during his career he laid claim to the titles of Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople.[23] So skilled was he at deception that he convinced Pope Urban VI to appoint him Latin Patriarch in 1380—a title that he held until 1384, when he was forced to confess his sins before the clergy and the imperial entourage in Constantinople. During his tenure as a bogus patriarch, he spent several years on the island of Negroponte.[24] His presence on Cyprus was recorded in 1385, when he consecrated bishops across the island and possibly even crowned the Cypriot king, James I of Lusignan—or so the impostor claimed.[25] There is evidence of his forging documents and donating spurious relics to churches in his see. Paul played out his role convincingly due both to the lavish gifts he bestowed and received during various

Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1, showing inscribed medallion

fabricated ceremonies, and to his opulent clothes, noted by the French during his visit to the pope in Avignon who thus believed that Paul was the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople.[26] It is not difficult to imagine the Museum's eagle textile, once brightly colored and extravagantly embroidered with costly materials, owned by such an individual. Moreover, technical analysis of the work revealed that it possibly originated in the Greek Islands or on Cyprus.[27] Finally, Paul Tagaris's frequent use of both the title of Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople and the Palaiologan family name suggest that, of the three Pauls, he was the one referred to in the inscription.

Whether the textile was a gift made to Paul, a gift from Paul to a church under his authority, or a patriarchal accoutrement cannot be determined. However, its expensive embroidery, immense size, and inscription all point to its having been manufactured in the late fourteenth century, in the Byzantine Empire, and most likely in Greece, commissioned by or for a patriarch named Paul, probably Paul Tagaris.

The style of the eagle, particularly the wings, further supports a fourteenth-century date, although the motif of the double-headed eagle appeared in the tenth century; an early example is a silk fabric now in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin.[28] Its use as a symbol, however, did not become common until the Palaiologan period, as mentioned earlier. The Metropolitan eagle's wings have small feathers that flare out at the pinions, which is stylistically consistent with other fourteenth-century depictions—notably, the wings of the archangels embroidered on an *aer,* or veil, used to cover a chalice or a paten, made for the grand princess Maria in Moscow in 1389, as well as of those flanking Christ in Majesty on an embroidered silk liturgical cloth now in the State Museum in Novgorod.[29] The feathers on all three objects curl slightly outward, becoming elongated toward the middle of the wings and shorter again at the outer edge. These eagles differ from Middle Byzantine representations in which the wings are heavily patterned with foliate motifs, and from later fifteenth-century examples where the wings become thinner, projecting out further from the bird's chest. The silk cover of the writings of Manuel II (Grottaferrata, MS Gr. 161), also of the fourteenth century, has a double-headed eagle with wings of this type and crowns like those on the Metropolitan's textile; some double-headed eagles have one crown covering both heads or no crowns at all.[30]

Careful examination of the textile's structure by conservator Kathrin Colburn further supports the historical and stylistic evidence for a fourteenth-century date.[31] While the inscription, style, and technique place the object firmly in the fourteenth century, the textile's function is less clear. A conservator at the Museum of Saint Petersburg who corresponded with Bashford Dean in 1912 was the first to suggest that the textile originally had a liturgical use.[32] He proposed that it was an *orletz* ("eagle" in Russian and related to the Greek word *aetos,* with the same meaning)—a liturgical rug with an eagle design that was used for the consecration of bishops,[33] or for other special ceremonies. No such "eagle rug" is known before the fifteenth century, however, and no examples exist save for relatively modern ones, making this interpretation unlikely.

Surviving monastic charters, called *typika,* together with the evidence provided by the majority of extant large embroidered textiles, suggest that they were used either as an altar cloth or a *podea* (a skirt hung beneath an icon). While church inventories typically listed such items, they especially noted embroidered textiles and those made of silk or precious metallic thread, in descriptions that would easily fit the Metropolitan's example.[34] For instance, the inventory of the Monastery of the Virgin Eleousa in Stroumitza, Macedonia, includes most important altar cloths and *podea*: "Another, more elaborately wrought, a silk cloth, which has six lions; and the other, a silk cloth of the highest quality, which is delicately embroidered. These are the altar cloths. Eleven *podeai,* namely icon hangings for the feast days: the one that is gold sprinkled, and four [made] of silk cloth of the highest quality, that are white; two other, ordinary ones, that are violet-purple; two others, that are scarlet with gold-sprinkled parrots."[35] Altar cloths and *podeai,* as opposed to veils and *epitaphioi,* are the largest in size among ecclesiastical textiles; thus, the Metropolitan's eagle (58½ x 51⅛ inches) is less exceptional than might be assumed. As most ecclesiastical textiles from this period were embroidered on red silk grounds, red likely was the original color of the silk support of the Metropolitan's eagle.[36]

It might seem that a secular motif, such as an eagle, would be inappropriate for an altar cloth, or *podea,* on which scenes from the life of Christ were often depicted. Inventories of monastic foundations indicate that animals were typical subjects, however. One thirteenth-century foundation listed "[t]wo silk cloths woven with gold [thread] and showing lions. Another one of gold and scarlet with a griffin in the middle" among their holdings.[37] Of course, the eagle was a familiar religious symbol—that of the Evangelist John. In patristic writings, eagles were regarded as messengers, similar to angels or even to Christ.[38] According to Warren Woodfin, in his study of Late Byzantine vestments, accoutrements of imperial ceremonies were adapted to liturgical use in the Late Byzantine period:[39] eagle-decorated shoes, clothing, banners, and foot pillows were common components of the imperial wardrobe and furnishings, as seen, in the manuscript of the theological works of John VI Kantakouzenos (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Grec. 1242). This symbol was readily adopted by the upper echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, including the patriarchate—as, for example, by the thirteenth-century bishop Calvo, whose miter (now in the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg)[40] contained eagle appliqués.

While the Metropolitan's eagle textile is one of the few Byzantine church embroideries to survive, the majority of them date from the fifteenth century or later. As many of these are the size of veils, they did not suffer the fate of being cut into smaller pieces for other uses. Because Byzantine altar cloths, or *podeai,* typically were exposed to "the sun and . . . to the air . . . ,"[41] it is fortuitous that a textile has come down to us in such good condition.

In sum, the inscription on the textile makes Paul Tagaris, who had achieved a certain notoriety for his sinful life, its most likely patron. His activities on the Greek Islands and on Cyprus, where the textile perhaps originated, are additional confirmation of his association with our textile. As Donald Nicol points out, "Saints' lives are two-a-penny . . . [but] sinners' lives are harder to come by."[42] A textile whose embroidery celebrates the name of a rogue is almost as rare an artifact as the tale of the rogue himself. Yet, the most compelling story is found in the embroidery on the textile in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, transforming it from a military banner into an ecclesiastical treasure.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The realization of this article would not have been possible without the participation of Helen C. Evans, Curator in the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Medieval Art, who first acquainted me with the eagle textile, and Kathrin Colburn, Conservator in the Museum's Department of Textile Conservation, whose work greatly enhanced my research: I wish to thank them both for their valuable contributions. I am also grateful to Florica Zaharia, Conservator in Charge in the Department of Textile Conservation, for her support.

NOTES

1. See Jennifer Ball, in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557),* ed. Helen C. Evans, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 2004), p. 495, no. 298.
2. For a complete analysis of the materials, see Kathrin Colburn, "A Double-Headed Eagle Embroidery: Analysis and Conservation," in this volume, pp. 65–73. My thanks to Ms. Colburn for sharing her findings with me in the course of preparing this article for publication.
3. George T. Dennis, "Byzantine Battle Flags," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), p. 51.
4. Colburn, "Double-Headed Eagle Embroidery."
5. Acc. no. 12.104.1. I wish to thank Christine Brennan, Collections Manager, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, for making archival material in both the Medieval department and the Department of Arms and Armor available to me.
6. Dennis, "Byzantine Battle Flags," p. 52.
7. A typical example is the fragment of the Reliquary of Saint Germanus made in Constantinople about 1000; see Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era,* A.D. *843–1261,* exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 1997), pp. 224–26, no. 149.
8. See Anthony Cutler, "Eagles," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan (Oxford, 1991), vol. 1, p. 669. Earlier examples of double-headed eagles are known, as, for example, on a tenth- to eleventh-century textile in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, and on an eleventh- to twelfth-century silk in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
9. John Lowden, "Manuscript Illumination in Byzantium, 1261–1557," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power,* p. 260, fig. 9.2.
10. *Les donateurs du Louvre* (Paris, 1905).
11. [Michel] Boy Collection, sale cat., Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 15–24, 1905, no. 945.
12. Bashford Dean, "A Byzantine Altar Carpet," *MMAB* 9 (1914), pp. 97–98.
13. Correspondence among Curator Helen C. Evans and Chairman William D. Wixom of the Medieval department and Stuart W. Pyhrr, Curator in Charge of the Arms and Armor department, in 1994 revived interest in the textile, which apparently had not been examined since 1960.
14. These inscriptions were first translated by Michel L. Kambanis in a letter from Athens, dated October 15, 1913, to Bashford Dean, at the Metropolitan Museum. Archives, Department of Medieval Art, Metropolitan Museum.
15. Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection,* vol. 5, pt. 1, *Michael VIII to Constantine XI, 1258–1453* (Washington, D.C., 1999), pp. 87–89.
16. For lists of patriarchs, see Venance Grumel, "La Chronologie," in *Traité d'études byzantines,* ed. Paul Lemerle, vol. 1 (Paris, 1958), pp. 434–53.
17. Erich Trapp, "Paul, Archbishop of Corinth?" in *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit,* vol. 9 (Vienna, 1976), p. 166.
18. Erich Trapp, "Paul, Archbishop of Thebes," in *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit,* vol. 9, p. 166.
19. Jean Meyendorff, "Projets de Concile Oecuménique en 1367," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960), pp. 149–77.
20. Ibid., p. 152.
21. Donald M. Nicol, "The Confessions of a Bogus Patriarch: Paul

Tagaris Palaiologos, Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and Catholic Patriarch of Constantinople in the Fourteenth Century," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (October 1970), p. 290.

22. Ibid., pp. 294–95.
23. For a full account of his career, see ibid., pp. 289–99.
24. Ibid., p. 295.
25. Ibid., p. 296.
26. Ibid., pp. 294–96.
27. Colburn, "Double-Headed Eagle Embroidery."
28. Other examples include a carved double-headed eagle on an epistyle, from a tenth-century templon at the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos, and a silk with lozenges containing medallions surrounding double-headed eagles and other birds, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
29. State Historical Museum, Moscow, inv. no. 15494shch/R.B.-I, published in *Byzantium: Faith and Power,* pp. 318–19, no. 192; and the State Novgorod Museum-Reservation, inv. no. 5859, published in Natalia A. Maiasova, *La broderie russe ancienne* (Moscow, 1971), n.p.
30. Published in Hans Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), fig. 36.
31. Colburn, "Double-Headed Eagle Embroidery."
32. Letter dated December 19, 1912, from V. Uspensky, Museum of Antiquities, Saint Petersburg, to Bashford Dean, at the Metropolitan Museum. Archives, Department of Medieval Art, Metropolitan Museum.
33. Chrysostomos, Bishop of Oreoi, *Orthodox Liturgical Dress: An Historical Treatment* (Brookline, Mass., 1981), p. 63. I wish to thank Warren Woodfin for his help with this term.
34. See, for example, Anastasius Bandy, trans., with Nancy Ševčenko, "*Inventory* of the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa in Stroumitza [1449]," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders'* Typika *and Testament,* ed. John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero (Washington, D.C., 2000), pp. 1667–78. Also available online at www.doaks.org/etexts.html (accessed August 16, 2006).
35. Ibid., p. 1673.
36. See Colburn, "Double-Headed Eagle Embroidery."
37. George Dennis, trans., "*Testament* of Maximos for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia [1247]," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents,* p. 1186.
38. Cutler, "Eagles."
39. Warren Woodfin, "Late Byzantine Liturgical Vestments and the Iconography of Sacerdotal Power" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2002).
40. Mechthild Flury-Lemburg and Gisela Illek, *Spuren Kostbarer Gewebe* (Riggisberg, 1995), pp. 156–61.
41. Alice-Mary Talbot, trans., "*Typikon* of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople [1294–1301]," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents,* p. 1272.
42. Nicol, "Confessions of a Bogus Patriarch," p. 289.

A Double-Headed Eagle Embroidery: Analysis and Conservation

KATHRIN COLBURN

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THE DOUBLE-HEADED EAGLE embroidery came to my attention during preparations at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for the 2004 exhibition of Byzantine art (Figure 1).[1] Following research by curators into the embroidery's Greek inscription, it appeared that the textile was not originally intended for use as a military banner—notwithstanding its presentation as such at the time of its acquisition by the Department of Arms and Armor in 1912. When translated, the inscription suggested that the embroidery had served an ecclesiastical use. A detailed study of the construction of this rare textile, one of the few surviving Byzantine embroideries made before the fifteenth century, was undertaken. An early date for the embroidery was confirmed, and a technique of manufacture was revealed that differed from that commonly practiced in Western Europe at the time. Originally, the embroidery, while rather coarse, would have been imposing—and even regal—with its shimmering metallic threads set against a bold red field.

Research also provided insights into how the work should be conserved and subsequently exhibited. The embroidery was detached from its nineteenth-century mounting by cutting and removing the stitches holding it in place. The mounting had deteriorated and no longer provided sufficient support. Removal of the embroidery uncovered the reverse of the textile, further facilitating study. The fragility of the textile limited options for conservation. It was decided to remount the embroidery on a neutral-colored support fabric to focus attention on the eagle itself, an iconic symbol of Byzantium.[2] The gilding of the metallic threads has dulled and the silver has tarnished. While the embroidery is still striking, age has softened—or muted—its visual impact. Also, while its purported ecclesiastical function now seems likely, its context is not known. For example, were there other elements on the red backing, and what was its size? How and where was the textile originally displayed? Was it an altar cloth? Or did the embroidery adorn a banner, one carried not in battle but in church processions? Could the embroidery have been used as a totem shield, placed next to a tomb?

Construction of the Embroidery

The large double-headed eagle, measuring 148.6 centimeters (58½ inches) in height and 129.9 centimeters (51⅛ inches) in width, was embroidered with metallic and colored silk thread on a linen and paper support.[3] The breast of the eagle bears an embroidered inscription in metallic thread, surrounded by a blue-silk embroidered background (Figure 2). The crowned heads (Figure 3), the necks, the center medallion, and the tail are delicately defined in red, yellow, blue, brown, and white silk embroidery, in addition to the now-blackened metallic thread.

A tightly woven, plain-weave fabric of undyed white linen and a layer of paper (to increase strength) served as the grounds for the embroidery. The warp and weft yarns of the ground fabric are single spun into a Z direction.[4] The thread count of the warp is eighteen to nineteen yarns per centimeter and the thread count of the weft is sixteen to seventeen yarns per centimeter.

Two pieces of linen were stitched together along their selvages to accommodate the size of the eagle. The join was whipstitched using undyed white linen thread (two yarns with a slight Z-twist plied into an S direction). Seen from the obverse, the join, covered with metallic and silk embroidery threads, left a barely visible, uneven vertical line through the center of the eagle; from the reverse, the join is revealed where the paper backing is damaged. All other edges are cut.

The eagle embroidery was made by stretching the support materials on a frame,[5] providing a taut surface allowing the embroiderer to use both hands and to maintain better control. Traces of brown and red underdrawing are visible to the naked eye where embroidery is missing, indicating that, prior to stitching, design elements were drawn onto the linen ground.

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Figure 1. Double-headed eagle embroidery. Byzantine (possibly Greece or Constantinople), ca. 1366–84. Metallic and silk thread embroidered on a linen and paper support, 175.3 x 139.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.104.1). The embroidery formed part of a banner when it was acquired in 1912.

Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1, showing inscribed medallion. The background of the inscription was embroidered in blue silk in a satin stitch, overlaid with stitches in a netlike pattern. The linen ground is exposed where the silk embroidery is now missing. The thick linen cords beneath the metallic thread contribute to the embroidery's three-dimensional effect.

Figure 3. The left crowned head of the eagle in Figure 1. The cord beneath the metallic thread outlines the head, eyes, and details in the neck. The jewels in the crown and the beak are embroidered with colored silk yarn, over layers of paper.

Most likely, the eagle motif was worked from the center outward. First, thick, undyed linen cords were stitched with undyed white linen thread (two yarns with a slight Z-twist plied into an S direction) to the linen and paper backing.[6] These cords delineated those design elements that were raised, such as the outline of the eagle's body, its crowned heads, the wings, legs, and talons, and the medallion with its inscription. Only at a later stage would these linen cords be embroidered over and the surrounding areas filled in with a pattern by couching down the metallic threads.[7] This technique was commonly employed when delicate threads—such as these—were to be attached to a support. If threaded through a needle and passed through the ground of an embroidery, the metallic threads would have been damaged by the friction created. The embroiderer economized by limiting the precious materials to the surface.

Metallic threads were laid in parallel to each other on the linen ground and couched into place in pairs with a thinner thread of vivid yellow silk (two yarns with no visible twist plied into an S direction).[8] Yellow was chosen to blend with what was once the shiny gold metallic thread. The yellow couching thread has faded to beige on the obverse, but is still well preserved on the back. Since the taut fabric made it impossible to pass a needle through the grounds in one motion, the needle was kept in a vertical position at all times, threaded with the yellow silk, with one of the embroiderer's hands above and the other below the frame.

The metallic threads at the edges of the embroidery are continuous, simply doubled over. At each turning point the threads are couched down in pairs—evidence that the embroidery is complete. The couching threads unite the linen ground, paper backing, and the metallic threads. The couching thread was stitched with regularity, pulled just enough to hold the metallic threads down and, depending on its placement, different patterns were created. This method enabled the embroiderer to model each element of the eagle, giving the design a liveliness and even a three-dimensional effect.

The now heavily corroded metal thread was analyzed. It appears to be gilded membrane thread. The discovery that gold was a component of the metallic thread was anticipated in view of the choice of a yellow couching thread. White couching thread was commonly used when silver metallic thread was employed. The metallic thread consists of a cut strip of gilded membrane, or animal gut,[9] wound in an S direction, around an undyed linen core, spun in an S-twist, which it almost completely covers. The membrane—thin, and with a smooth surface and an opaque appearance—serves as the substrate to which the metal gilding adhered.

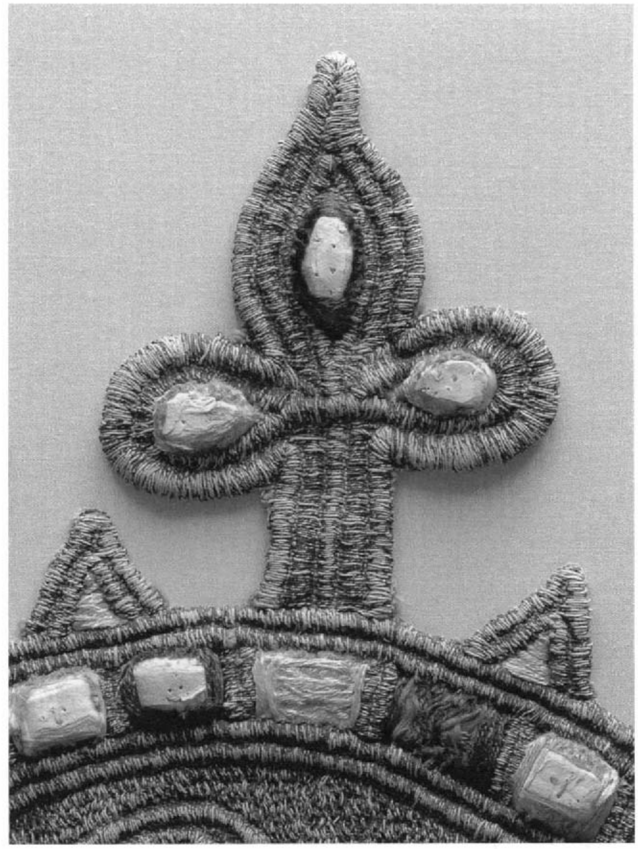

Figure 4. Detail of the crown in Figure 3, revealing layers of paper where the silk embroidery has deteriorated. The paper layers enhanced the three-dimensional effect of the embroidery.

The composition of the gilded membrane was analyzed in 2004 by Mark Wypyski, Research Scientist in the Department of Scientific Research at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Scanning electron microscopy and energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometry (SEM-EDS) elemental analysis revealed that the metallic components on the surface of the membrane consist of silver and gold, in approximately a six to one ratio by weight—evidence that the coating on the membrane is gilded silver. In addition to considerable corrosion, much loss of metal can be observed: the silver now appears as a black sulfide layer over the gilding. No mercury was detected in the analysis, ruling out the possibility that the silver was originally mercury gilded.

Gilded membrane thread had several advantages over the earlier metallic thread made of pure gold or gold alloy: production was less expensive, the thread was lightweight and flexible—when employed both in weaving cloth or, more rarely, embroidery—and the finished textile itself weighed less.[10] On the other hand, it was not as lustrous as pure gold thread and the gilding rubbed off easily, exposing the silver layer below and making it vulnerable to corrosion, which explains the dull appearance of many surviving textiles.

Membrane thread was most likely introduced into Europe from Byzantium or Cyprus as early as the eleventh or twelfth century,[11] and was first used in Spain and Sicily. By the thirteenth century, it was employed in the production of cloth in such important weaving centers as Venice, Lucca, and Cologne, and from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, it was also made in Europe. European embroideries in which membrane thread has been identified usually date to after the mid-fourteenth century.[12] While in Germany and other European countries membrane thread prevailed until the beginning of the sixteenth century, after the middle of the fourteenth century, in Northern Italy, gilded-silver thread already had replaced membrane thread as a less-expensive alternative.[13]

The embroidery is also impressive because of the relieflike quality of the double-headed eagle, achieved through the technique of the stump work: to enhance the jewels in the crowns (Figure 4) and beaks, and in the center of the flower (part of the tail), layers of paper were cut in the desired shape, sewn with silk thread (two yarns with no visible twist plied into an S direction) through the embroidery's linen and paper grounds, and embroidered over with colored silk thread. It is difficult to reconstruct precisely how these paper layers were prepared, but in the jeweled crowns, for example, it appears that, rather than being cut, paper was fashioned into the desired shape, imitating the facet of a precious stone, whereas in the beak the paper layers are flat and fewer in number.

A sample of fibers from the paper backing below the inscription was examined and analyzed in 2005 by Andrew W. Mellon Conservation Fellow Denise Stockman of the Sherman Fairchild Center for Works on Paper and Photograph Conservation at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Light brown and of a soft texture, these fibers resembled hemp. A sample taken from one of the jewels in the left crowned head of the eagle revealed that the paper there was white, smoother in texture, and brittle, its fibers resembling linen; starch also was detected, presumably used as a sizing material.

Paper was not manufactured in fourteenth-century Byzantium, but was imported from Spain or Italy. It was made from worn linen cloth, to which remnants of ropes made of hemp sometimes were added.[14] In Spain, starch was employed as a sizing material, as opposed to gelatin in Italy.[15] Stockman concluded that both papers used in the eagle embroidery most likely were made from linen fibers (obtained from worn cloth, with hemp added to the light brown paper sample), and were imported from Europe, possibly Spain.

To adorn the double-headed eagle further, details of the crowned heads, the neck, the center medallion, and the tail were delicately defined with red, yellow, blue, brown, and white silk embroidery. Untwisted colored silk was chosen, resulting in a clean, shiny surface instead of the matte effect that occurs when twisted threads are used. Different embroidery stitches were employed.[16] Satin stitch, in dark blue, light blue, red, yellow, white, and brown thread, can be identified in the jewels in both crowns, and in the beaks, the collar, the background of the inscription, the flower petals, and the talons. The eyes were embroidered with dark brown, white, yellow, and red silk thread in delicate split stitches (Figure 5). The background of the inscription was embroidered in dark blue, in a satin stitch, which was overlaid with an open, filling stitch, in a netlike pattern, of the same blue silk.

Nobuko Shibayama, Associate Research Scientist in the Department of Scientific Research at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, attempted in 2004 to identify the dyes used in the manufacture of the colored silk thread by means of visual examination under ultraviolet light and magnification, measuring color with a

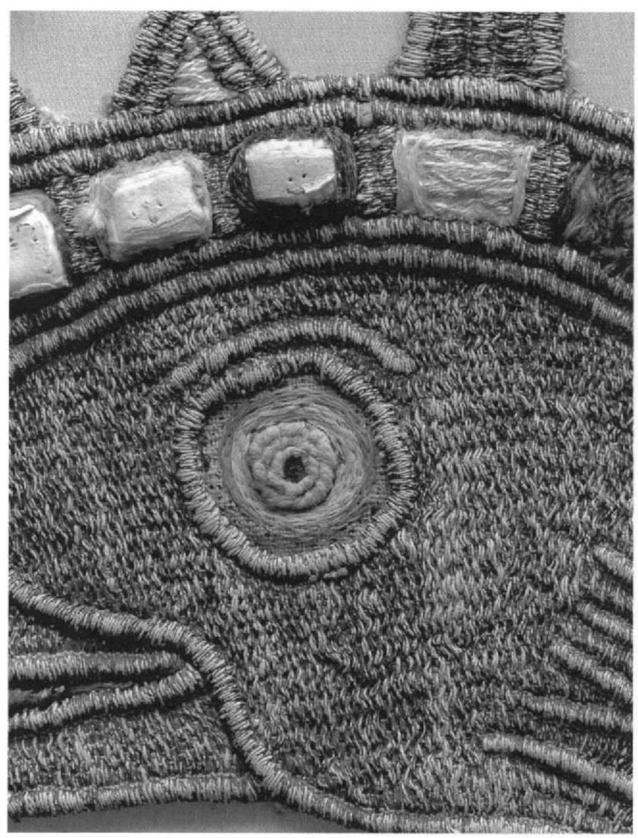

Figure 5. Detail of the head of the eagle in Figure 3. The eyes were delicately defined with embroidery in dark brown, white, yellow, and red silk yarn.

Minolta CM2002 spectrophotometer, and High Performance Liquid Chromatography (HPLC) with a photodiode array (PDA) detector. Samples were taken of the light and dark yellow couching thread; the yellow, blue, and red embroidery yarn; and the red sewing thread. The white (it is safe to assume that it is undyed) and brown embroidery yarn, as well as the yellow sewing thread, however, had deteriorated too much to permit sampling.

Shibayama concluded that weld was used to dye the dark yellow couching thread and the yellow embroidery thread, and she tentatively identified weld as the dye employed to color the light couching thread as well. The blue yarn was dyed with an indigotin containing a dye such as woad; the red sewing thread was believed to have been colored with a combination of a kermes and a madder-type dye. The red dye of the embroidery yarn was tentatively identified as orchil, which is extracted from lichens and is said to have originated on Crete and on other Greek Islands.[17] Orchil-treated fibers are known for their poor light fastness when exposed to light, but yarn freshly dyed with it is brighter than when Tyrian purple is used.[18] The dyestuffs employed in the manufacture of the colored yarns were in use at the time the eagle embroidery was produced, and are consistent with Early Byzantine textiles; however, only the blue and one of the two red yarns would retain their initial brilliance and rich color.

After the embroidery of the eagle was complete, it was cut out and applied to a secondary fabric. A margin of .3 to 1.5 centimeters (⅛ to ⅝ inches) of the linen foundation was turned backward and secured to the reverse, whipstitched with undyed linen thread (two yarns with a slight Z-twist plied into an S direction). A knot was made when beginning a new thread.

Analysis suggests that the eagle was embroidered onto a linen ground backed with a layer of paper, and then onto a fine, dyed-silk ground. It is likely that a lining of a heavier fabric would have been added, for strength. Traces of red silk stitches (two yarns with no visible twist plied into an S direction) along the perimeter of the embroidery—some still conserved in their original holes and some with a knotted end—imply that this background was possibly a red silk fabric (the same sewing thread was found scattered over the reverse). Also, along the perimeter of the embroidery are pinkish brown linen threads (two yarns with a slight Z-twist plied into an S direction). At some point in its history, the delicate silk background must have been in such poor condition that the eagle embroidery was separated from it, and sewn onto a new fabric backing—a practice that was not uncommon.[19] At this point, however, the original meaning behind the eagle embroidery and the purpose for which it was made were lost.

To help date the embroidery, a small sample was taken from the linen ground and a carbon-14 test was performed by a private firm in Miami, Beta Analytic, Inc. Results suggested that the embroidery was made between A.D. 1270 and 1400, a time period consistent with the findings of the other analyses.

Nineteenth-Century Restoration of the Embroidery

In the nineteenth century, the double-headed eagle embroidery was mounted as a banner, applied onto a thin, yellow satin-weave silk and a coarsely woven linen fabric support. A natural, undyed cotton cord was stitched around all four sides with beige cotton thread. Red silk thread, in an overcast stitch, was used to sew the cord through the silk and linen fabrics, creating a solid red border about .7 centimeter (about ¼ inch) in width. Yellow silk satin served as the undecorated back of the banner, and tassels composed of a wooden core decorated with metallic and cotton thread were sewn onto the lower corners. A sleeve along the top edge was added to enable a rod to be inserted in order to hang the textile, and a cord made of metallic thread was attached along the top edge.

Missing metallic thread from the embroidery itself was replaced with beige and brown cotton thread, imitating the original technique. Fragile and missing silk was restored with silk thread that matched the faded color rather than the original: for example, areas once embroidered in light blue now faded to beige were filled in with beige silk thread. Missing paper was replaced (one jewel in the right crown and one in the circle of the flower). The completed banner measured 175.3 centimeters (69 inches) in height and 139.7 centimeters (55 inches) in width, with the eagle embroidery placed at the center.

Condition of the Embroidery

The embroidery is structurally strong, but shows signs of wear. The metallic thread is in poor condition: it has blackened, and is brittle and worn. In places, the membrane substrate of the metallic thread and the beige linen core is exposed, as is the linen cord and the embroidery ground. Areas embroidered in silk are fragile.

The most notable fading occurred in the yellow silk thread used to couch the metallic thread, and in the pale blue silk embroidery thread that has become beige.

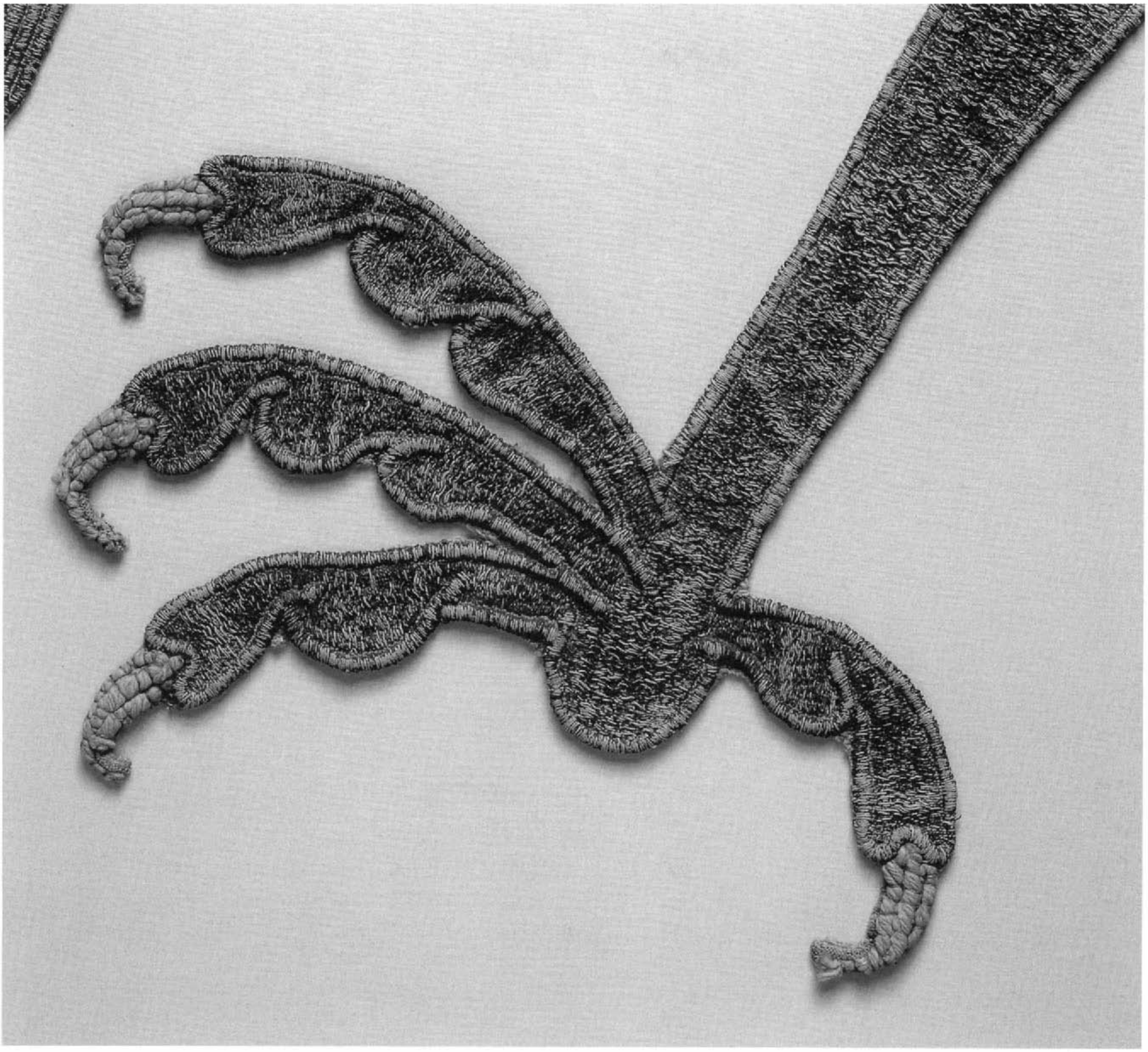

Figure 6. Detail of the left talon of the eagle in Figure 1. Remnants of brown silk yarn are preserved along the perimeter of the talon but elsewhere the thick linen cords are exposed.

Due to the iron mordant employed to fix the color during the dyeing process, the brown silk has deteriorated, exposing the thick linen cords (Figure 6), except in the area of the talons along their perimeter.

The most fragile parts of the embroidery are the crowned heads, the beaks, and the talons. Layers of paper are exposed where the silk embroidery has worn away. Around the edges of the embroidery, the original red silk and linen sewing thread is visible, as are scattered red silk threads on the reverse. The paper backing underneath the linen embroidery ground has broken into pieces. There are also small wax stains.

Conservation of the Embroidery at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The fragility of the embroidery limited options for its conservation. Since it was to be prepared for exhibition, and displayed vertically, it was decided to stitch the eagle embroidery onto a new support, as its nineteenth-century assemblage had severely deteriorated. The obverse and reverse of the embroidery were then treated with a low-suction vacuum cleaner. Any additional cleaning, whether with chemicals or water, could not be undertaken without further damaging the deteriorated materials—above all, the corroded

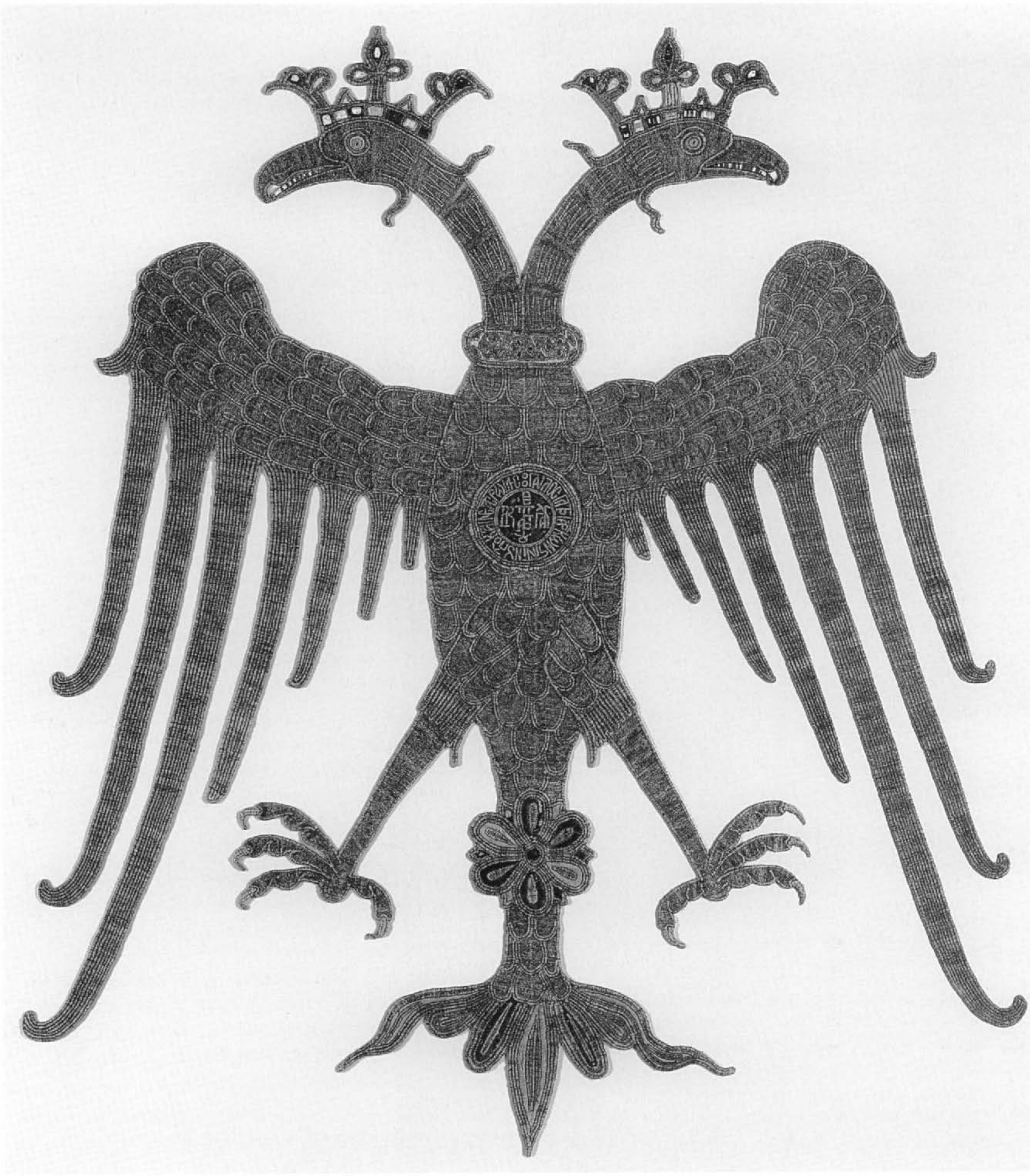

Figure 7. The double-headed eagle embroidery after conservation in 2004. See also Colorplate 3

membrane threads (moisture causes membrane threads to twist), whose brilliance, unfortunately, could not be reinstated.

A washed, medium-weight muslin fabric was stretched over a frame. Pima cotton in a neutral tone was stretched over the muslin and secured to the back of the frame. The embroidery was attached at the center, with a two-ply cotton thread in a zigzag stitch, and the frame was positioned between two tables. Crossbars that could be moved, depending on the area that was being worked on, helped prevent the frame from warping. Stitching began from the center outward, with one person passing the threaded needle to a second individual positioned below the frame. Each stitch covered two metallic threads.

During treatment, the heavy embroidery had to be carefully manipulated. Once the textile was attached to the support fabric, the crossbars were replaced with a solid support, which was screwed from the inside to the outer frame. The mounted embroidery (Figure 7, Colorplate 3), which measures 159.4 x 141.6 x 5.4 centimeters (62¾ x 55¾ x 2⅛ inches), was covered with a Plexiglas box, allowing a one-inch space between the box and the surface of the embroidery. The embroidery can be displayed in a vertical position, but is stored flat. Materials from the nineteenth-century restoration were documented and are being kept separately.

NOTES

Helpful comments on earlier drafts were offered by Peter Barnet, Herbert Broderick, Helen C. Evans, Mechthild Flury-Lemberg, and Florica Zaharia.

1. "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)," March 23–July 4, 2004.
2. For a discussion of the history, iconography, and technique of Byzantine church embroideries, see Pauline Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London, 1967).
3. It was not uncommon in the Middle Ages to use paper as a support material for textiles, as, for example, for the hoods of copes and for miters. See Mechthild Flury-Lemberg, *Textilkonservierung: Im Dienste der Forschung* (Bern, 1988), pp. 206–13.
4. The direction in which a thread is spun, twisted, or plied is described by the diagonals of the letter S for the left and Z for the right direction. See Dorothy K. Burnham, *Warp and Weft: A Textile Terminology* (Toronto, 1980), p. 161.
5. Kay Staniland, *Medieval Craftsmen: Embroiderers* (Buffalo, 1991), p. 32.
6. The cord is made of undyed white linen, and consists of six yarns with a loose Z-twist, plied into three pairs of threads each twisted in an S direction, which are, in turn, twisted in an S direction, resulting in a hard, wiry cord.
7. For a definition of the stitch, see *Mary Thomas's Dictionary of Embroidery Stitches* (New York, 1935), pp. 54–55.
8. Beginning in the twelfth century, threads were couched in pairs instead of singly. See Marie Schuette and Sigrid Müller Christensen, *Das Stickereiwerk* (Tübingen, 1963), p. 12.
9. Márta Járó, "Gold Embroidery and Fabrics in Europe: XI–XIV Centuries," *Gold Bulletin* 23, no. 2 (1990), p. 51.
10. Márta Járó and Erzsébet Gondár, "Mediaeval Membrane Threads Used for Weaving and Embroidery," in *Archaeometrical Research in Hungary*, ed. Márta Járó and L. Költő (Budapest, 1988), p. 256.
11. Ibid.
12. Járó, "Gold Embroidery and Fabrics in Europe," p. 51.
13. Járó and Gondár, "Mediaeval Membrane Threads," p. 256.
14. Jonathan Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven, 2001), pp. 203–13.
15. Thomas Collings and Derek Milner, "A New Chronology of Papermaking Technology," *Paper Conservator* 14 (1990), pp. 58–59.
16. For a definition of the stitches, see *Mary Thomas's Dictionary of Embroidery Stitches*, pp. 179, 186.
17. Helmut Schweppe, *Handbuch der Naturfarbstoffe: Vorkommen, Verwendung, Nachweis* (Landsberg am Lech, 1993), pp. 530–31.
18. Ibid.
19. Liudmila Likhacheva, "The History of Embroidery Technique," in *Gates of Mystery: The Art of Holy Russia*, ed. Roderick Grierson, exh. cat., Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and other venues (Fort Worth, [1992]), p. 318.

Studi dal vivo e dal non più vivo: Carpaccio's Passion Paintings with Saint Job

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FEW VISITORS TO THE METROPOLITAN Museum of Art in New York or Berlin's Gemäldegalerie who look hard at the slightly macabre paintings of Vittore Carpaccio (ca. 1460–1525/26) will leave unaffected. These compelling works can set the viewer on a path of inquiry into the creative processes, and questions arise about the inspirations and sources drawn on by quattrocento artists. How did the artist work when imitating nature, combining it with his artful imagination, creating rich narrative detail? One part of the process, the borrowing of motifs—common in the period—is the subject of this essay. Carpaccio will be my example; by examining a selection of his work I intend to bring to light some of the methods used in Venetian workshops at the end of the fifteenth century. My focus is directed particularly toward the relationship between model-drawings and the actual painted compositions for which such models were used.

Two of Carpaccio's paintings will be discussed here: *Meditation on the Passion* of about 1480–1505 in the Metropolitan Museum and *The Preparation of Christ's Tomb* of about 1505 in the Gemäldegalerie (Figures 1, 3, Colorplates 4, 5).[1] This investigation is a continuation of my previous research, published as an article in 1993, in which I reconstructed the original placement of the two paintings, once located in the Scuola di San Giobbe, Venice.[2]

The paintings, which represent Christ's Passion witnessed by Job and other biblical figures and saints, convey a morbid mood. Both remind us of the sacrament of the Eucharist. In the New York *Meditation on the Passion,* Job, on the right, points his finger at something outside the picture plane, probably a reference to the chalice and bread of the Mass or to the tabernacle, where the sacred bread was kept on the altar. The Berlin *Preparation of Christ's Tomb,* with its representation of the actual body of Christ on a tablelike stretcher that can be read as an altar or mensa, epitomizes the essential idea of transubstantiation during the Eucharist Mass. (Job is seated just behind, under the tree.) Optical distortions such as Christ's elongated legs establish a perspectival viewpoint distinctly to the left. Therefore one is tempted to conclude that the small, symmetrically composed panel in New York was the original altarpiece, while the Berlin canvas was probably one of several decorative paintings above a wooden paneling on the right (Figure 2). A continuous row of canvas paintings of this sort (*teleri*) is preserved in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice.

Job is rarely represented in church decoration. Bereft of his belongings, Job was predestined to become the patron of the poor. Venice still has a poorhouse, a monastery, and a church of Saint Job (San Giobbe). The representation in both pictures of the hermit saint, his poverty emphasized, demonstrates the relationship of these important institutions to the Franciscan reform movement in Venice. Most likely both pictures were created for the Scuola di San Giobbe, which was founded by the friars and sisters of the San Giobbe hospice. This institution also commissioned Giovanni Bellini's famous *Pala di San Giobbe* in the church of San Giobbe.[3]

FROM PATTERN BOOK TO MODEL COLLECTION

Much of the painstaking preliminary work of a completed composition lies concealed behind it. When creating a picture, Carpaccio inserted various motifs based on model-drawings into his composition.[4] Such models were typically collected by workshops, worked on, altered, and multiplied. If an animal or a human being either nude or in a special costume had to be rendered in a certain posture, the artist would search in that collection for a suitable drawing and transfer it onto his painting. A single model was often used in several pictures.

The collection of model-drawings that served as a source for Carpaccio's motifs was actually a further development of the pattern books used during the Middle Ages.[5] These were collections of motifs often compiled into a copybook or a more substantial volume,

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The notes for this article begin on page 88.

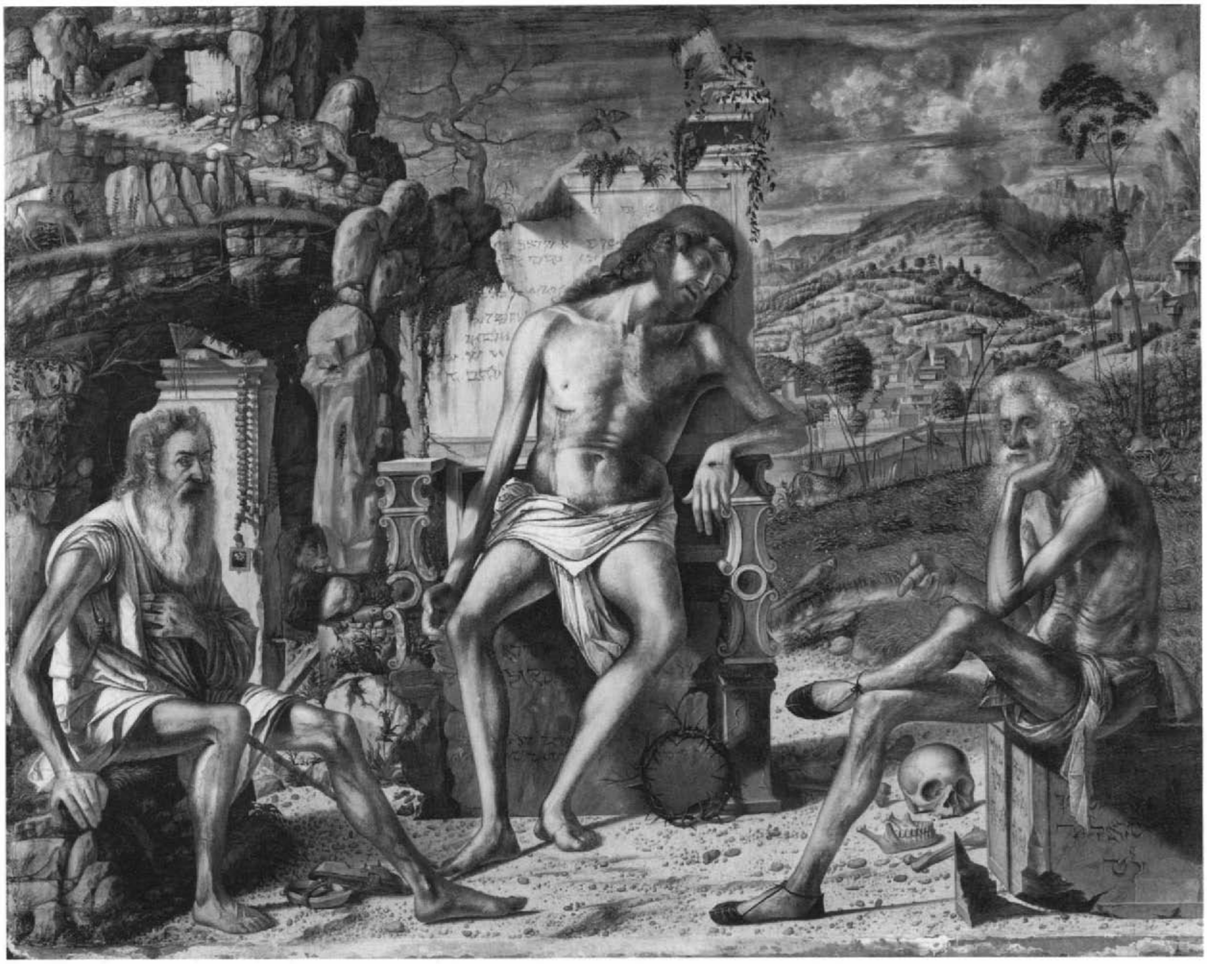

Figure 1. Vittore Carpaccio (Italian, Venetian, ca. 1460–1525/26). *Meditation on the Passion,* ca. 1480–1505. Oil and tempera on wood, 70.5 x 86.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1911 (11.118). See also Colorplate 4

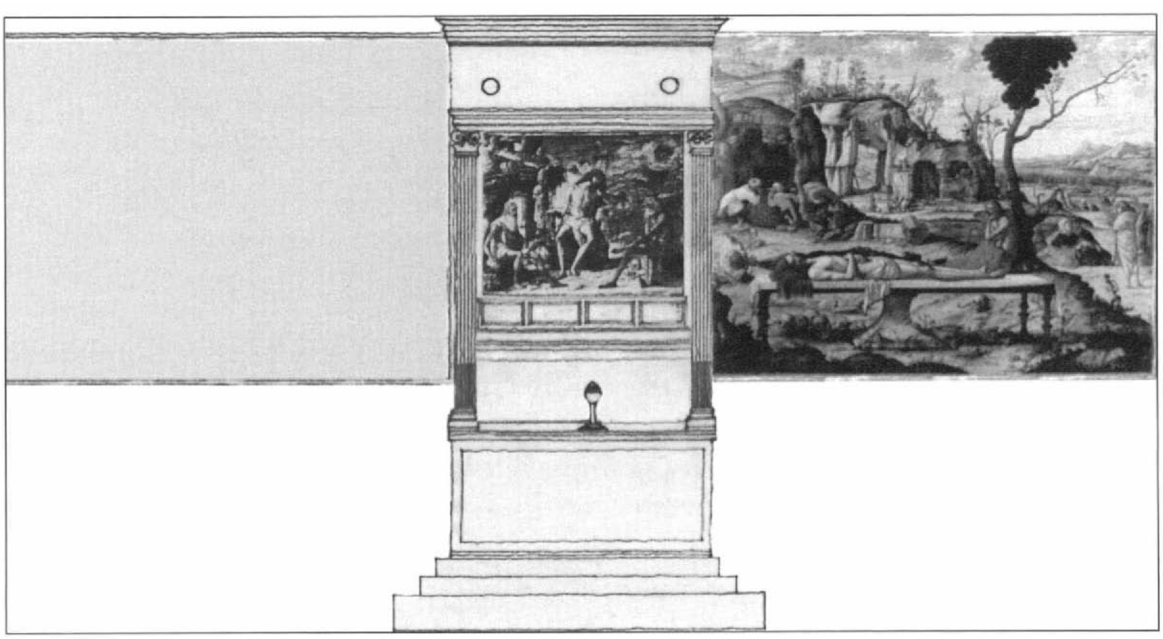

Figure 2. Proposed reconstruction of the altar wall, with Carpaccio's Passion paintings, in the Scuola di San Giobbe, Venice

Figure 3. Vittore Carpaccio. *The Preparation of Christ's Tomb,* ca. 1505. Oil on canvas, 145 x 185 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Gemäldegalerie). See also Colorplate 5

each page carrying rows of schematic variations on a certain motif. A typical example is the well-preserved *Taccuino degli animali,* an animal pattern book from the workshop of Giovannino de' Grassi (active from 1380s, died 1398).[6] Interestingly, one generation after de' Grassi, Antonio Pisanello (ca. 1395–1455) produced his own kind of model collection in which studies from nature replaced the rather stiff and repetitive pattern book motifs. Art historians have not defined the difference between a bound pattern book and a model collection (in German, *Vorlagesammlung*). I would describe the model collection as an assortment of drawings of different sizes and subjects and displaying different techniques. They were utilized in Italian workshops during Carpaccio's lifetime. In Pisanello's model collection, preserved through the *Codex Vallardi,*[7] copies from older models and drawings after motifs from other artists existed side by side with his own inventions—studies from nature and of animals or humans. Significantly, even when Pisanello tried to copy an old conventional pattern book motif, he represented his creatures with individuality and expressiveness, rendering the same animal from different viewpoints. Evidence of this can be found in an early Pisanello drawing (Musée du Louvre, Paris) that shows a pair of rabbits facing each other as well as a single rabbit, a deer, and a fallow deer, all in an arrangement resembling that of a pattern book (Figure 4). His striving to copy and imitate nature is also evident in a drawing of a male nude on the same page. Comparison with a pattern book from Lombardy (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice; Figure 5) demonstrates that its somewhat schematic profile view of a rabbit and Pisanello's drawing are based on similar models taken from the same perspective. But Pisanello, with his strong feeling for the body of the

Figure 4. Antonio Pisanello (Italian, ca. 1395–1455). Drawing of a pair of rabbits, a single rabbit, a deer, a fallow deer, and a seated man, ca. 1430. Metalpoint and pen on parchment, 22.8 x 17 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts Graphiques, 2436 (photo: RMN, Paris)

Figure 5. Page of a pattern book from Lombardy, ca. 1400. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, inv. no. 6 (photo: Accademia)

animal, rendered it as a lifelike creature in three dimensions; and he added a second rabbit to make a pair, their heads facing each other. This motif will be further discussed later.

Traveling Motifs: Images Borrowed from Other Artists

A number of old Lombardesque animal patterns were used as models by artists and thereby circulated to a certain extent. Annegrit Schmitt has traced a motif that traveled from Giovannino de' Grassi via a North Italian drawing to a Venetian narrative painting in the Louvre.[8] Similarly, a fallow deer fleeing in the background of Carpaccio's *Meditation on the Passion* (Figure 6), which also appears in Carpaccio's *Saint Jerome and the Lion* (Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice; Figure 7), goes back to a de' Grassi motif (Figure 8). Some motifs derived from Pisanello's animals—a young deer, a fallow deer, and a rabbit—were

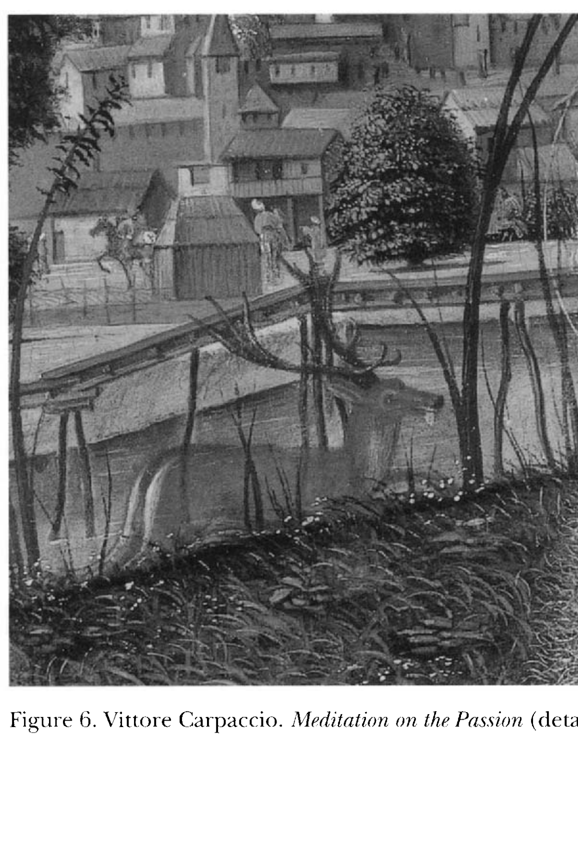

Figure 6. Vittore Carpaccio. *Meditation on the Passion* (detail)

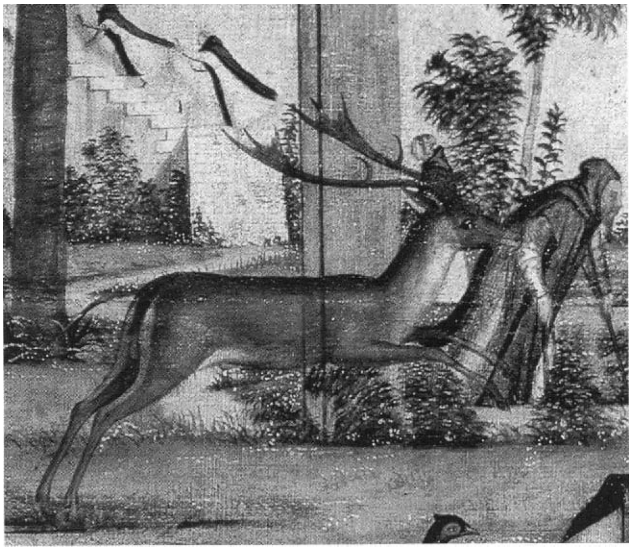

Figure 7. Vittore Carpaccio. *Saint Jerome and the Lion* (detail), ca. 1502–8. Oil on canvas, 141 x 360 cm. Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice (photo: after Pallucchini, *I teleri del Carpaccio* [see note 1], pl. IV)

used by Carpaccio as well as by Giovanni Bellini, but they most likely reached the two artists through other sources.[9] The same is true of the representations of a parakeet, a marten, and a grazing deer in Carpaccio's New York painting. All of these are combined in the Venice *Saint Jerome and the Lion* just mentioned.[10]

A leopard attacking a stag appears in the upper left background of the *Meditation on the Passion* (Figure 9) and recurs in Carpaccio's *Blood of the Redeemer* (Museo Civico, Udine). (The motif, with its sacrifice of the defenseless, is to be understood as a symbol of the Eucharist.) The same grouping is taken up again in the *Codex Zichy* (Figure 10), by the Venetian engineer and cartographer Angelo dal Cortivo (1462–1536).[11] This codex even includes, on folio 163, a drawing of a classical Roman arch in a ruined state that is identical in composition and perspective to the arch in the middle ground of Carpaccio's *Preparation of Christ's Tomb* (Figures 11, 12). The tufts of grass, the carved relief, the arch segments strewn over the ground, and the broken column shaft are strikingly similar in the two representations. We must assume that Carpaccio's composition and the *Codex Zichy* are both linked to a model the origin of which we do not know.

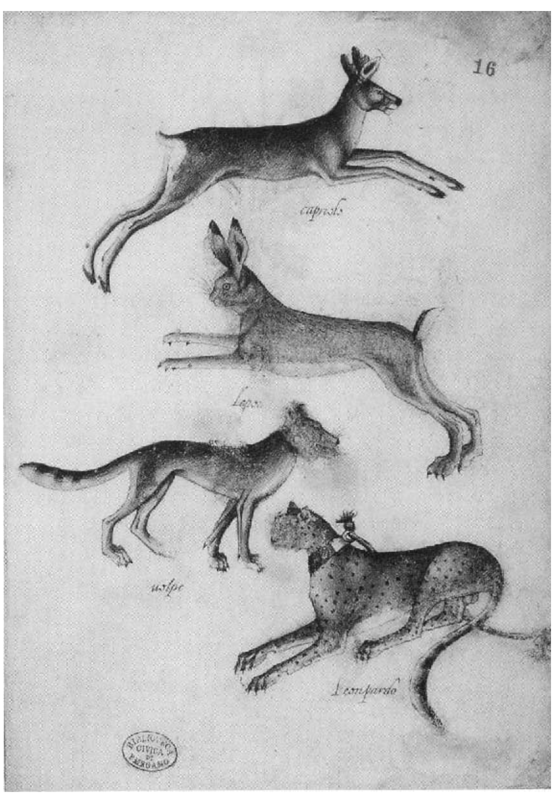

Figure 8. Giovannino de' Grassi (Italian, active from 1380s, d. 1398). Page (facsimile) from the *Taccuino degli animali*. Civica Biblioteca Angelo Mai, Bergamo, inv. no. C. F. 1.21, fol. 16

Figure 9. Vittore Carpaccio. *Meditation on the Passion* (detail)

Figure 10. Angelo dal Cortivo (Italian, Venetian, 1462–1536). *Codex Zichy*, fol. 30 (detail). Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, Budapest (photo: Ervin Szabó Library)

Figure 11. Angelo dal Cortivo. *Codex Zichy,* fol. 163 (photo: Ervin Szabó Library)

Figure 12. Vittore Carpaccio. *The Preparation of Christ's Tomb* (detail) (photo: Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

The *Codex Zichy*'s text is a heterogeneous collection of sonnets, other verses, and treatises on architecture. Its illustrations, which resemble those of a pattern book, are mainly of antique architectural elements and ornaments. There are also imaginative renderings of ancient temples and ruins as well as Latin and Greek alphabets, Islamic ornaments, and Arabic letterings. The treatise on architecture on folios 89–164, which is illustrated with drawings, is based on Francesco di Giorgio Martini's work.[12] Some motifs, like the leopard attacking a stag just mentioned, have not yet been traced to their sources. This combat group is almost certainly derived from an antique sarcophagus.[13] Certain motifs in the *Codex Zichy* remind us of drawings after antiquity by Andrea Mantegna; a large head seen from below on folio 46 verso is a direct copy after Mantegna's print *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat* (Figures 14, 15).[14] An antique arch segment overgrown with grass similar to that in the codex appears in Mantegna's fresco *The Execution of Saint James,* painted in the Ovetari Chapel, Padua, but now destroyed (Figure 13), and his *Saint Sebastian* (Louvre). Even the hills on top of which towns and fortresses are clustered in the *Codex Zichy* (fol. 163) can often be seen in Mantegna's oeuvre.

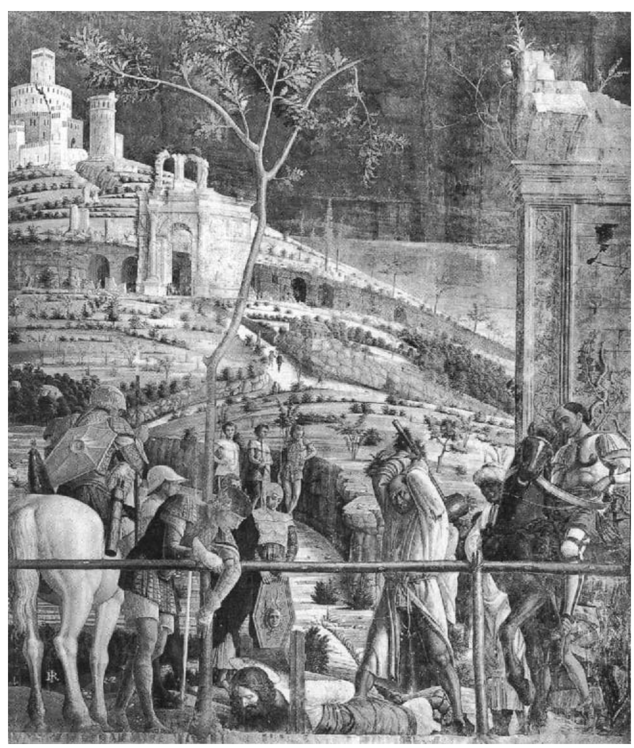

Figure 13. Andrea Mantegna (Italian, 1431–1506). *The Execution of Saint James,* ca. 1449–57. Formerly Ovetari Chapel, Padua; now destroyed (photo: Alinari)

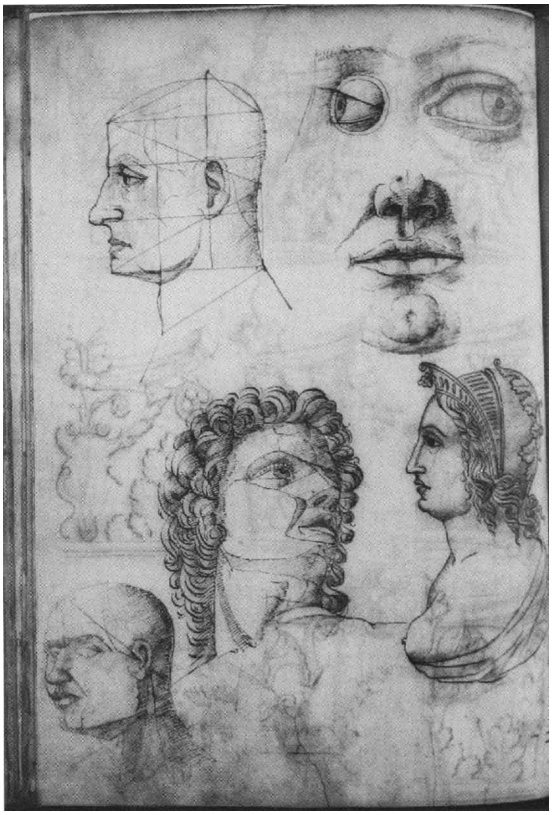

Figure 14. Angelo dal Cortivo. *Codex Zichy*, fol. 46v (photo: Ervin Szabó Library)

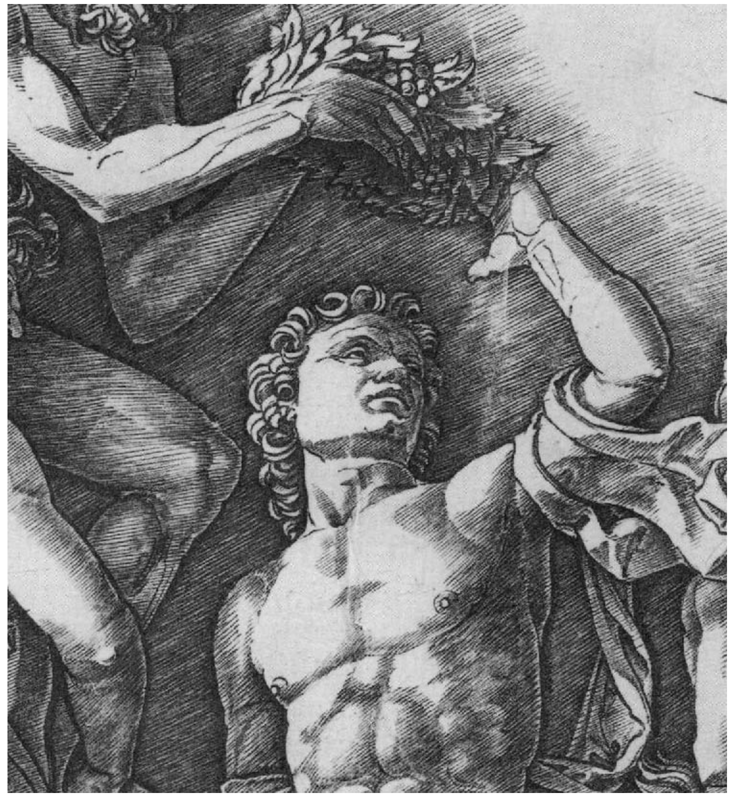

Figure 15. Andrea Mantegna. *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat* (detail), ca. 1470. Engraving and drypoint, 33.5 x 45.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and the Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund (1986.1159)

Figure 16. Vittore Carpaccio. *The Preparation of Christ's Tomb* (detail) (photo: Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

Figure 17. Attributed to Andrea Mantegna. *Entombment with Four Birds*, ca. 1465. Engraving, 44.1 x 35.5 cm. Albertina, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung (photo: Albertina)

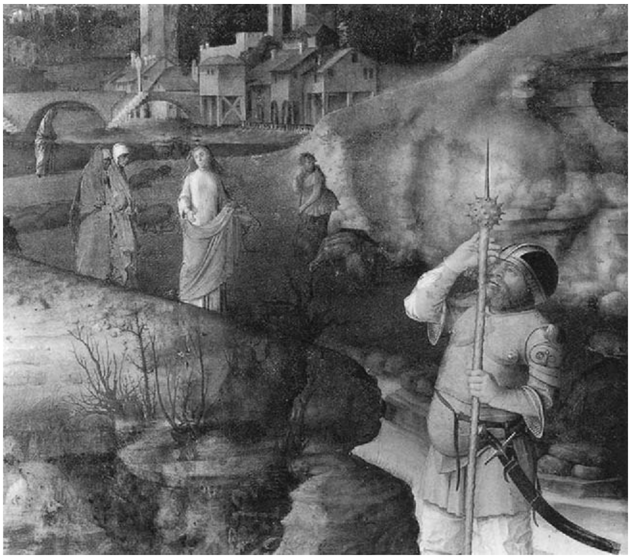

Figure 18. Giovanni Bellini (Italian, Venetian, active by 1459, d. 1516). *The Resurrection* (detail), ca. 1475–79. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

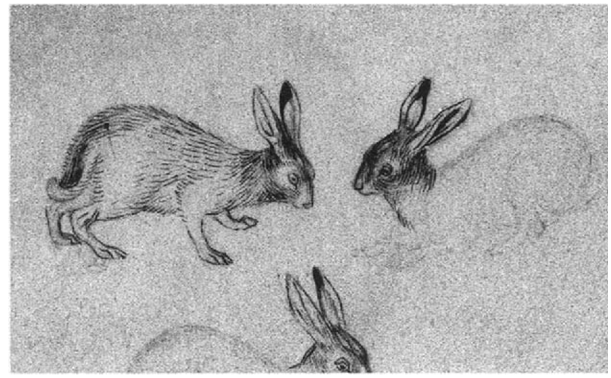

Figure 19. Antonio Pisanello. Detail of Figure 4

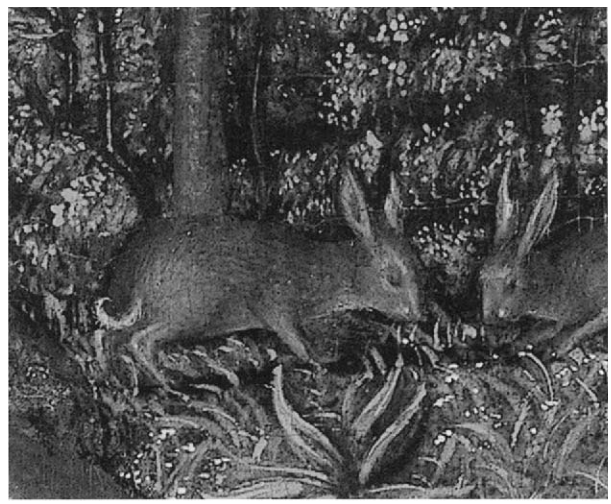

Figure 20. Vittore Carpaccio. *Meditation on the Passion* (detail)

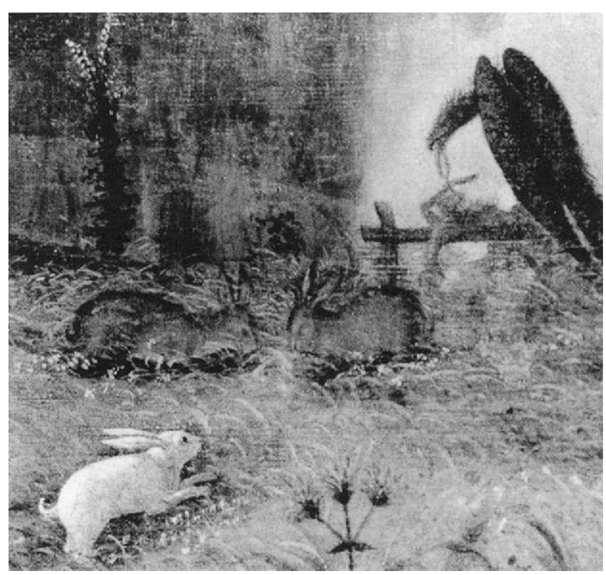

Figure 21. Vittore Carpaccio. *Young Knight in a Landscape* (detail), 1510 . Oil on canvas, 218.5 x 151.5 cm. Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (photo: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza)

Motifs of Mantegna's were borrowed by Carpaccio. In the latter painter's *Preparation of Christ's Tomb,* both the grief-stricken John seen from the back and the group with the swooning Virgin Mary (Figure 16) distinctly resemble figures in Mantegna's print of the *Entombment,* which has come down in several different workshop versions (Figure 17).[15] The print medium allowed these motifs to become widely known and consequently more accessible. We know, for example, that Carpaccio utilized woodcuts by Erhard Reeuwich as illustrated in Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (published 1486).[16]

Carpaccio found others of his motifs in compositions by Giovanni Bellini. Here the route of transfer was probably more direct, since there are several reasons to believe that he apprenticed in the Bellini workshop.[17] In Carpaccio's *Preparation of Christ's Tomb,* the walking, mourning women and Mary Magdalen with her ointment box, all in the right middle ground (Figure 16), had already appeared in Bellini's *Resurrection* (Figure 18). As it happens, both paintings hang in the same room of the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, permitting a comparison of their motifs.

Notably, more than fifty years after Pisanello drew his pair of rabbits (Figure 19), Carpaccio reproduced it in the background of his *Meditation on the Passion,* as well as in his *Young Knight in a Landscape* (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid; Figures 20, 21).[18] The rabbit-pair motif, which I believe to be an invention of Pisanello's on the basis of his drawing, spread in a unique way, unlike the dispersal of the (older) motif of the single rabbit and other animal motifs. Although Dominique Cordellier argues, in the catalogue that accompanied the important Pisanello exhibition held in Paris in 1996, that the two rabbits were a more or less accidental copy of a model book motif, he also hints at the possibility of their being an example of "motif travel." According to Cordellier, Carpaccio's *Young Knight in a Landscape* may also answer questions about Pisanello's lost *Saint George,* which was prominently frescoed on a pillar of the Pellegrini Chapel in Sant' Anastasia in Verona and through which motifs have traveled.[19]

The detailed description Vasari gives of Pisanello's *Saint George* could easily also apply to Carpaccio's *Young Knight in a Landscape,* who is putting his sword back into its sheath. According to Vasari, Pisanello also painted a *Saint Eustace* on the right pillar in the Pellegrini Chapel; the saint stroked a brownish dog with white specks that lifted its paws. Interestingly, a Pisanello drawing in the Louvre also shows a dog with raised paws and may have served as a model for the dog in his lost *Saint Eustace* fresco. And identical to the dog in Pisanello's drawing is the one in Carpaccio's *Young Knight in a Landscape.* Another Pisanello drawing similarly matches the heron fighting with an eagle on the upper left in the *Young Knight in a Landscape.*[20] It seems entirely possible, therefore, that the dog, the heron fighting with an eagle, and the rabbit pair were first assembled in Pisanello's lost fresco *Saint George* in Sant' Anastasia in Verona. Carpaccio must have known this fresco when he painted *Saint George and the Dragon* for the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice. In both compositions, a dragon terrorizes a barren landscape strewn with skulls, bones, and carcasses and inhabited by lizards and snakes.

Beginning about the time of Pisanello's studies from nature and his unique interpretations of it, the imagination and inventiveness of artists became predominant aspects of the creative process. Hence the model collection was a workshop's strictly guarded resource, rarely handed out to competitors. Indeed, in Poitiers in 1398 the painter Jean de Hollande filed a complaint against another artist, Jacquemart de Hesdin, who he claimed had stolen color pigments and model sheets from his safe.[21] In the 1420s we find Filippo Brunelleschi advising Mariano Taccola not to share his *invenzioni* with others.[22] If motif inventions from the middle of the quattrocento did "travel," it was either through direct contact with the workshop or through print copies, which circulated widely.

Studi dal vivo e dal non più vivo

As the human being became the measure of all things and man as an individual moved to the center of intellectual inquiry, artists expanded their interest in the nude. Lorenzo Ghiberti and Donatello created new, influential figures of nudes, mainly male. Pisanello's drawings of nudes could have been copied after antique sculpture (particularly sarcophagi reliefs) or done

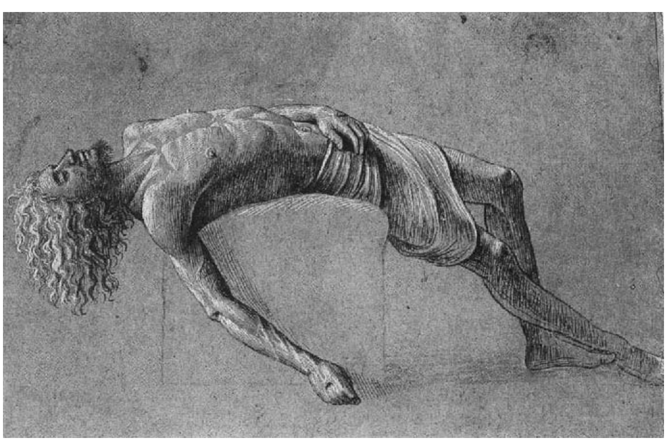

Figure 22. Vittore Carpaccio. *The Dead Christ.* Pen and brush over metalpoint on blue Venetian paper, 16.5 x 26.3 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, KdZ 5034 (photo: Kupferstichkabinett, Jörg P. Anders)

Figure 23. Vittore Carpaccio. *Pietà.* Panel, 26 x 21 cm. Private collection, Bergamo

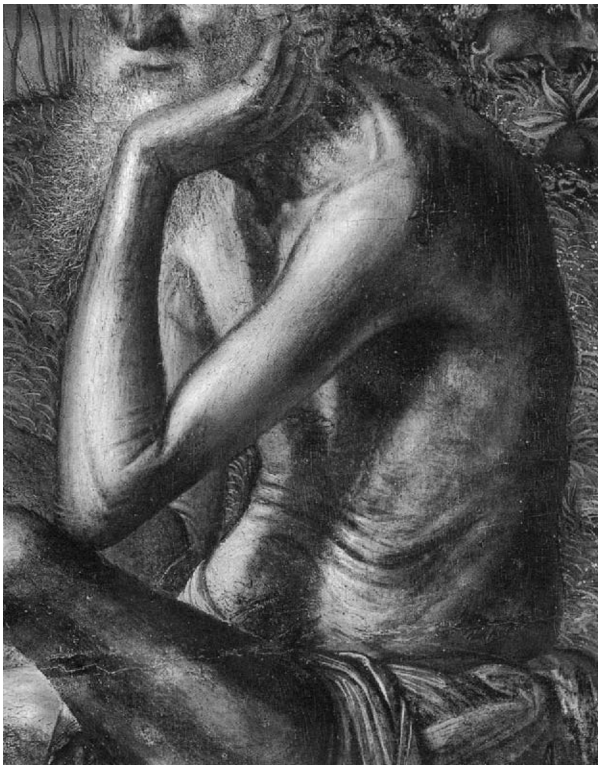

Figure 24. Vittore Carpaccio. *Meditation on the Passion* (detail of Saint Job's body)

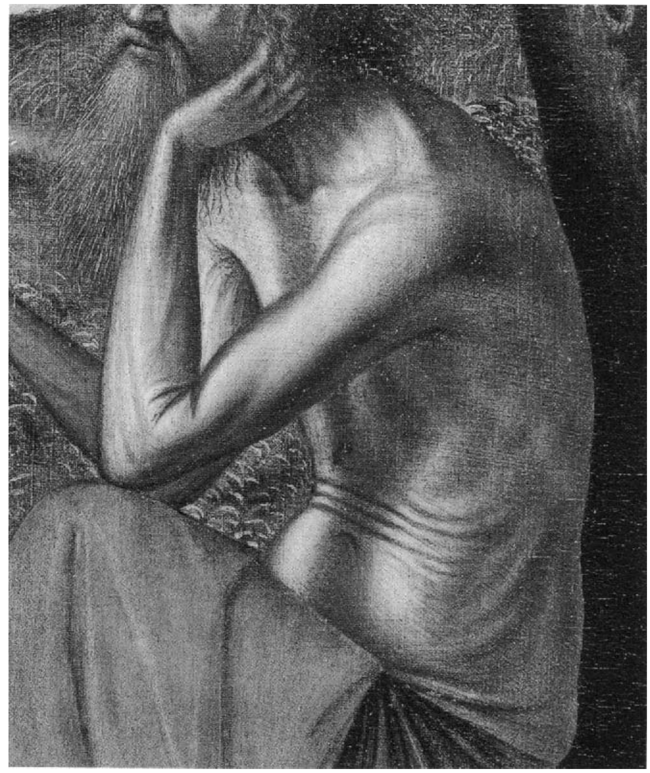

Figure 25. Vittore Carpaccio. *The Preparation of Christ's Tomb* (detail of Saint Job's body) (photo: Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

from the live model.[23] From the early Renaissance on, studying the nude was a normal part of artistic training. Drawn figures were then transferred to paintings.

Carpaccio apparently left three completely different anatomical studies of the male body.[24] An interesting one of Christ in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Figure 22), which relates to the *Preparation of Christ's Tomb,* has a complicated history of attribution. The drawing was formerly in the collection of Adolf von Beckerath. When it appeared in an exhibition of the collection in 1898, Beckerath attributed it to the painter Ercole de' Roberti of Ferrara and called it a study for the *Pietà* by de' Roberti in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.[25] In 1933 the Berlin drawing, attributed to Ercole de' Roberti, was shown in the exhibition "Pittura Ferrarese del Rinascimento," organized by Carlo Gamba.[26] But subsequently Gamba withdrew the Ercole de' Roberti attribution and changed it to Carpaccio. Giuseppe Fiocco, Roberto Longhi, and Georg Gronau all concurred in this opinion in 1933–34.[27] Fiocco based his arguments on a comparison with a small *Pietà* (Figure 23), which he also convincingly attributed to Carpaccio, but his theory found no support among other Carpaccio scholars.[28] Only in 1995 was the point raised again, by Hein-Th. Schulze Altcappenberg in his catalogue of master drawings from the collection of Adolf von Beckerath.[29] Schulze Altcappenberg, having found an inscription written on the passe-partout in 1984 by the Venetian art scholar Alessandro Ballarin that describes the drawing as "by Carpaccio for the *Preparation* in the Berlin Gallery," considered a link to the *Preparation of Christ's Tomb.* The drawing's attribution to Carpaccio becomes even more secure when we compare the facial features of the head with those of the dead Christ in the *Preparation of Christ's Tomb.* The two works show a strikingly similar deepset root of the nose under a forehead that is unusually low for a portrait of Christ. Both depict a dimple under the lower lip and a markedly protruding chin. I contend that the same life model who posed for the Berlin drawing also posed for a preliminary drawing used for the *Preparation of Christ's Tomb.*[30]

It is important to note that a preparatory drawing from life of a nude was also used to render the aged body of Saint Job in the New York *Meditation on the Passion* as well as that of Saint Job in the Berlin *Preparation of Christ's Tomb.* It has not previously been recognized that both representations of the hermit were based on the same cartoon. Every detail, such as the wrinkled skin of the stomach, is identical—even in dimensions—in the two works (Figures 24–26).[31]

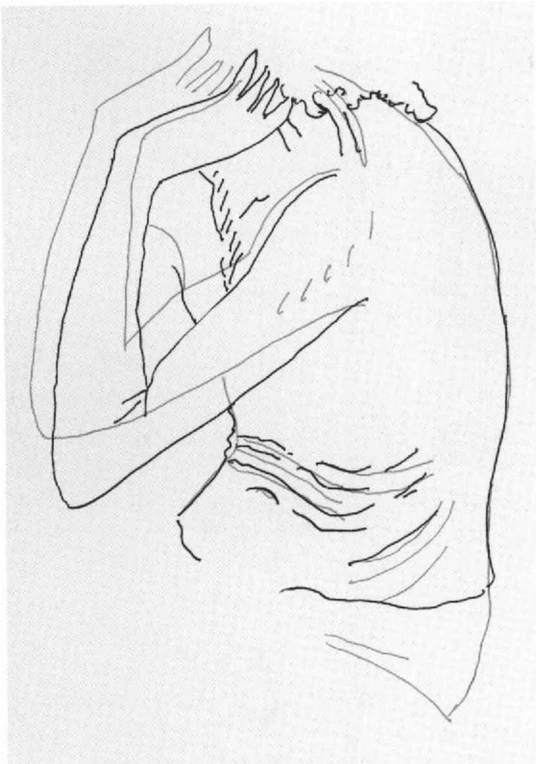

Figure 26. Tracing of figures of Saint Job: New York version in black, Berlin version in gray, relative sizes as in originals

The same holds true for some of the skulls and the visibly decomposed body that are narrative details in the *Preparation of Christ's Tomb*. Their forms are identical in both size and shape to ones on the battlefield in *Saint George and the Dragon* in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (Figures 27–36). It is obvious that Carpaccio used the same cartoons for both works, transferring them at full scale onto the canvas or panel.[32] What transferring method he used—whether *spolvero*, or pouncing (forcing powdered carbon through perforations in the drawing lines of the cartoon), or *calco* (blackening the back of the cartoon and tracing its lines with a stylus)—could be determined by infrared reflectogram, although to my knowledge this has not yet been done. Carpaccio usually worked his underdrawings freely, as is evident from infrared reflectograms taken of some of his other work.[33]

Narrative

The above discussion is meant to help us understand the complex creative processes behind large-scale Venetian narrative paintings.[34] Narrative is conveyed in diverse ways in the multifigured *Preparation of Christ's Tomb*. Various scenic moments are grouped around the central figure of Jesus's body, inviting us to reflect on or become involved with the story. We are to partake in the preparations for the Entombment by way of these details: the carrying of the bowl, which points to the washing of Christ's body; the linen cloth or shroud, ready to wrap the body; the opening up of the tomb, performed by two turbaned men; the mourning of Saint John and the woman supporting the Virgin Mary, who has slumped to her feet. The empty crosses on Golgotha are a reminder of the Crucifixion. The skulls and bones scattered in the foreground are a

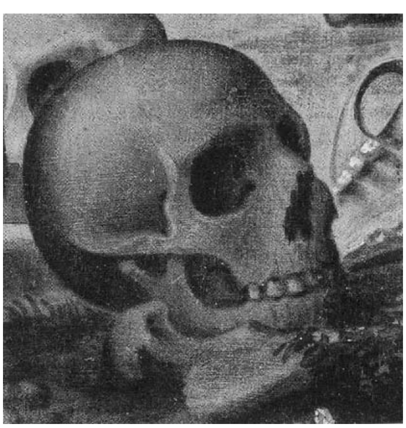

Figure 27. Vittore Carpaccio. *The Preparation of Christ's Tomb* (detail of a skull)

Figure 28. Vittore Carpaccio. *Saint George and the Dragon* (detail of a skull), ca. 1502–8. Oil on canvas, 141 x 360 cm. Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice (photo: after Pallucchini, *I teleri del Carpaccio* [see note 1], pl. XXVIII)

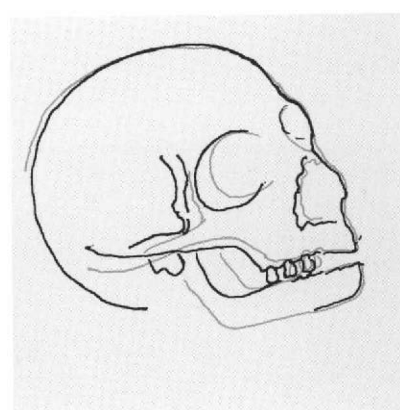

Figure 29. Tracing of skulls: Berlin version in black, Venice version in gray, relative sizes as in originals

Figure 30. Vittore Carpaccio. *The Preparation of Christ's Tomb* (detail of a corpse) (photo: Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

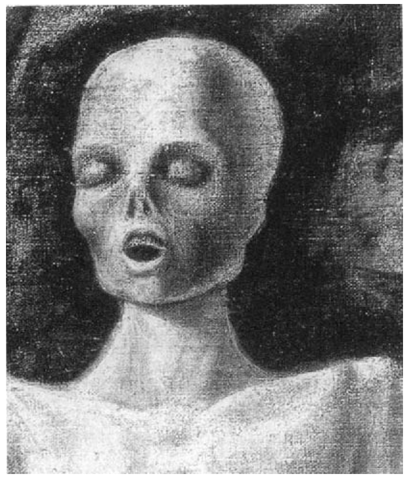

Figure 31. Vittore Carpaccio. *Saint George and the Dragon* (detail of a corpse) (photo: after Pallucchini, *I teleri del Carpaccio* [see note 1], pl. XXVIII)

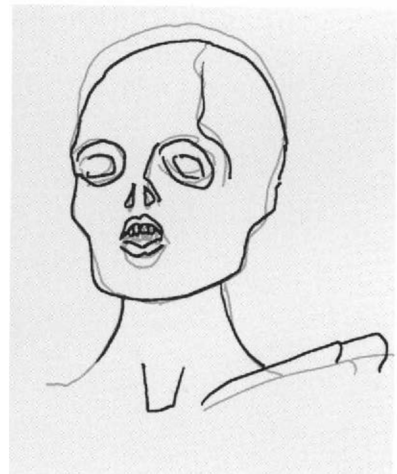

Figure 32. Tracing of corpses: Berlin version in black, Venice version in gray, relative sizes as in originals

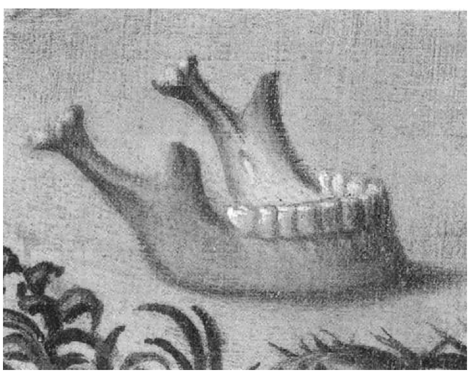

Figure 33. Vittore Carpaccio. *The Preparation of Christ's Tomb* (detail of a jawbone) (photo: Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

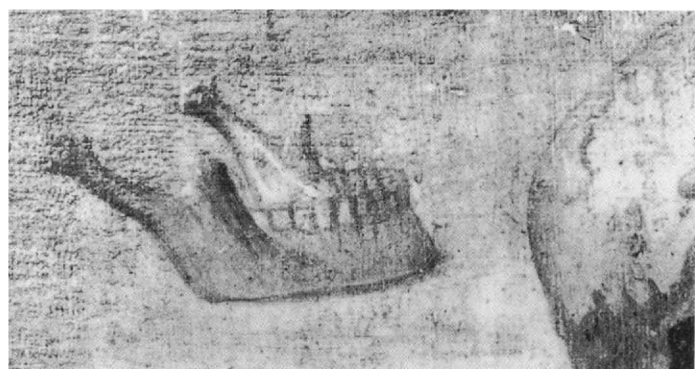

Figure 34. Vittore Carpaccio, *Saint George and the Dragon* (detail of a jawbone) (photo: Alinari)

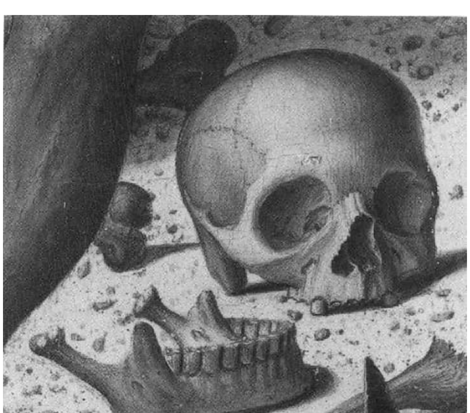

Figure 35. Vittore Carpaccio, *Meditation on the Passion* (detail of a skull and a jawbone)

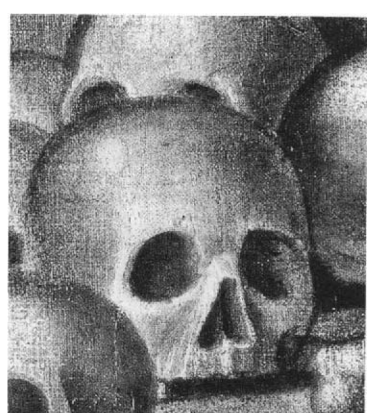

Figure 36. Vittore Carpaccio, *Saint George and the Dragon* (detail of a skull) (photo: after Pallucchini, *I teleri del Carpaccio* [see note 1], pl. XXVIII)

pictorial translation of "Golgotha," which means skull in Hebrew. In the distance, Mary Magdalen, carrying the ointment box, is already anticipating the Resurrection three days ahead, when she comes to anoint the body and finds the tomb empty (Mark 16:1, Luke 24:1).[35]

The object of the painter's focus is less a sequence of logical events within a set space and time than a collection of solitary figures and actions that enhance the sacred drama. Figures are not brought into a spatial unity—as they would be in a homogeneous space based on a one-point perspective—but are instead superimposed on the landscape. This is especially noticeable in the space, not clearly defined, between Christ's body, with the green cloth behind it, and the legs of Saint Job. A similar "patchwork" effect appears in background elements of the New York *Meditation on the Passion*. The parakeet, the marten, the pair of rabbits, and the leopard-stag group seem glued onto the landscape. Saint Jerome's lion floats in an undefined space between tombstones and rocks. Several motifs in both the *Preparation of Christ's Tomb* and the *Meditation on the Passion* are identical to ones in other paintings. Likewise, the postures of the figures, the depiction of parts of their anatomy, and the pleats of their costumes recur again and again in Carpaccios's paintings and in compositions stemming from his workshop. The only discernible differences are in the colors, the attributes of the figures, or the context in which an animal or skull is set.

Discrete individual motifs based on studies from nature were thus assembled by Carpaccio, creating the effect of a collage *avant la lettre*. Although in using established motifs he was following a tradition, he employed them in unique ways. Because of the "collage" effect and the fact that his figures often do not interact with one another, an almost surrealistic and even morbid atmosphere is evoked. This quality has frequently been regarded as a characteristic feature of Carpaccio's paintings. The effect is heightened by his inclusion of morbid items, skulls and bodies that are fragmented, dead, or decomposed. All of these Carpaccio arrived at by way of extensive studies from nature, as we have seen with the drawing of Christ's body in the Kupferstichkabinett. It seems that anatomical studies of life models as well as dead bodies became especially important for him, acting as agents of the narrative to grasp the viewer.

Viewers are still fascinated by Carpaccio's figures, which are either visibly of living flesh and blood or, like the grayish green body of Christ, palpably dead. The two figures of Saint Job, which successfully convey the appearance of an aged human body, are generally regarded as among the earliest realistic depictions of a body in old age in the history of art.[36] By the way he articulates the human body, Carpaccio makes the viewer believe in the actuality of the events he presents. Ultimately, the skulls creating a shocking battlefield are the bodily remnants and silent witnesses of the gruesome event that is his subject here, and, especially in the quattrocento, would have encouraged a spectator's reliving of the Passion of Christ—the *imitatio Christi*.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My sincere thanks go to Signore Tullio Vallery, Guardian Grande of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni; Signore Piero Gazzari in Venice; and Hannelore Nützmann at the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. They allowed me to examine the paintings so I could determine whether the originals corresponded at the same scale to the copies I had made by tracing the outlines of enlarged slides. Thanks also go to Alessandro Cecchi at the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence, who generously allowed me to examine Carpaccio's *Frammento di una Elevazione della Croce*, and to Stefan Weppelmann at the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin and Agnes Szabó at the Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library in Budapest, who provided me with specially produced photo material. I am indebted to Annegrit Schmitt-Degenhart in Munich for having drawn my attention to the motif in the *Codex Zichy*. For critical responses to my manuscript I am grateful to Gabriele Sprigath in Munich and to my husband, Jeannot Simmen. Thanks to Kristina von Wrede in Berlin for translating this essay into English. I would also like to thank Maria Brendel in Berlin for reading the final manuscript and making helpful suggestions, and many thanks to Peter Volz in Heidelberg as well for his useful and charming comments.

NOTES

1. Carpaccio scholars have suggested a wide variety of dates for the two paintings. For *The Meditation on the Passion* these range between 1485 and 1515: Terisio Pignatti, *Carpaccio* (Lausanne, 1958), p. 53 (ca. 1500); Jan Lauts, *Carpaccio: Gemälde und Zeichnungen, Gesamtausgabe* (Cologne, 1962), p. 253 (ca. 1485); Guido Perocco, *L'opera completa del Carpaccio* (Milan, 1967), p. 105 (ca. 1510); Rodolfo Pallucchini, *I teleri del Carpaccio in San Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1977), p. 31 (ca. 1495–1505); Peter Humfrey, *Carpaccio: Catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Florence, 1991), p. 98 (1505–7); Vittorio Sgarbi, *Carpaccio* (Milan, 1994), p. 158 (ca. 1508–15). For *The Preparation of Christ's Tomb* they range between 1485 and 1520: Pignatti, *Carpaccio*, p. 100 (ca. 1510); Lauts, *Carpaccio: Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, p. 245 (ca. 1505); Perocco, *L'opera completa del Carpaccio*, p. 106 (ca. 1510); Pallucchini, *I teleri del Carpaccio*, p. 31 (ca. 1495–1505); Humfrey, *Carpaccio: Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, p. 148 (ca. 1515–20); Sgarbi, *Carpaccio*, p. 186 (ca. 1515–20). In this paper I employ the date ranges that in my opinion are most likely.
2. Brigit Blass-Simmen, "'Povero Giopo': Carpaccios 'Grabbereitung Christi' und die 'Scuola di San Giobbe' in Venedig," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, n.s., 35 (1993), pp. 111–28. The two pictures belonged to the Roberto Canonici Collection, Ferrara, in 1627. At that time they both must have already carried false signatures of Mantegna, as they are listed under his name in Canonici's inventory; see Giuseppe Campori, ed., *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventarii inediti di quadri, statue, disegni, bronzi, dorerie, smalti, medaglie, avorii, ecc. dal secolo XV al secolo XIX* (Modena, 1870), p. 117. In the course of restoration work Mantegna's signature was removed from the New York panel, and in the right-hand corner, on the cartolino, the inscription "vjctorjs carpattjj venettj opus" came to light. See Murray Pease, "New Light on an Old Signature," *MMAB*, n.s., 4 (1945), pp. 1–4. The Berlin canvas still carries the inscription "ANDREAS.MANTINEA F."
3. See Rona Goffen, "Bellini, S. Giobbe and Altar Egos," *Artibus et Historiae*, no. 14 (1986), pp. 57–70; Peter Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London, 1993), pp. 112, 203–7, 347. Goffen's belief, shared by Humfrey, that Bellini's *Pala di San Giobbe* was commissioned by the Scuola di San Giobbe remains convincing. Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli's proposition that the *Altar Del Santo in Chiesa* mentioned in the inventory of the Scuola di San Giobbe is not the Bellini altarpiece but rather a small altar with a wooden sculpture of Job is based on her misinterpretation of a document (which is about property of the San Giobbe church, not the Scuola). She presents the document as her discovery, but it had been published many years earlier by Pietro Paoletti in *L'architettura e la scultura del rinascimento in Venezia* (Venice, 1893), vol. 2, sect. 1, p. 191. See Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli, "La sapienza nel silenzio: Riconsiderando la Pala di San Giobbe," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 22 (1998), pp. 11–53.
4. In the similar case of Benozzo Gozzoli, see Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300–1450*, pt. 1, *Süd- und Mittelitalien* (Berlin, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 260–63; and Michael Wiemers, *Bildform und Werkgenese: Studien zur zeichnerischen Bildvorbereitung in der italienischen Malerei zwischen 1450 und 1490*, Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien 67 (Munich and Berlin, 1996), pp. 79–117.
5. As illustrated in Albert Jan Elen, *Italian Late-Medieval and Renaissance Drawing-Books from Giovannino de' Grassi to Palma Giovane: A Codicological Approach* (Leiden, 1995); and Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900–ca. 1470)* (Amsterdam, 1995).
6. Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo, inv. no. C.F. 1.21; see Elen, *Italian Late-Medieval and Renaissance Drawing-Books*, pp. 165–69; and Scheller, *Exemplum*, pp. 276–91, no. 29.
7. This bundle of 378 drawings is named after the Milanese expert and art dealer Giuseppe Vallardi (1784–1863), who in 1856 sold it to the Musée du Louvre as by Leonardo. The former provenance of the codex is one of art history's unresolved questions. The bound volume, manufactured after the famous example of Leonardo's *Codex Atlanticus*, did include some drawings by Leonardo, but most of the drawings in the *Codex Vallardi* were later attributed to Pisanello. The *Codex* was in time disassembled by the Louvre's Department of Prints and Drawings and the drawings were separated according to attribution. See Giuseppe Vallardi, *Disegni di Leonardo da Vinci posseduti da Giuseppe Vallardi dal medesimo descritti e in parte illustrati* (Milan, 1855); Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichungen*, pt. 3, *Verona: Pisanello und seine Werkstatt* (Munich, 2004), vol. 1, p. 13.
8. Annegrit Schmitt, *Der Meister des Tiermusterbuchs von Weimar* (Munich, 1997), p. 25.
9. In Giovanni Bellini's painting *The Resurrection* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; Figure 10), the fallow deer is hardly noticeable at the far right, behind the guard, and the rabbit appears on the left, above the tomb opening. The fallow deer was also utilized by Carpaccio in the *Visitation* (Museo Correr, Venice) from his cycle for the Scuola degli Albanesi, in *The Sermon of Saint Stephen in Jerusalem* (Louvre) from the Scuola di Santo Stefano, and in *The Metamorphosis of Alcyone* (Philadelphia Museum of Art). The young deer is represented in a second picture for the Scuola degli Albanesi, the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan). Innumerable Pisanello motifs are to be found in the border decorations of the most important illuminated book from Ferrara, the *Bible of Borso d'Este* (Biblioteca Estense, Modena). See Brigit Blass-Simmen, "Pisanello et l'enluminure ferraraise," in *Pisanello: Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service Culturel, les 26, 27, et 28 juin 1996*, ed. Dominique Cordellier and Bernadette Py (Paris, 1998), pp. 577–617. Presumably, Francesco del Cossa copied from there the rabbits in his painting of the month of April in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara.
10. The parakeet is also featured in his *Saint George Baptizing the Pagans* (Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice).
11. Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, Budapest, fol. 30r. "Scriptor et compositor" Angelo dal Cortivo. The texts are written in Venetian dialect.
12. The connection between Francesco di Giorgio Martini and the texts in the *Codex Zichy* has been well researched: see Carolyn Kolb, "The Francesco di Giorgio Material in the Zichy Codex," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 47 (June 1988), pp. 132–59; Gustina Scaglia, *Francesco di Giorgio: Checklist and History of Manuscripts and Drawings in Autographs and Copies from ca. 1470–1687 and Renewed Copies (1764–1839)* (Bethlehem, 1992), pp. 274–77; Francesco Paolo Fiore and Manfredo Tafuri, eds., *Francesco di Giorgio: Architetto*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (Siena, 1993), pp. 370–71; and Massimo

Mussini, *Francesco di Giorgio e Vitruvio: Le traduzioni del "De Architectura" nei Codici Zichy, Spencer 129 e Magliabechiano II.I.141*, Ingenium (Centro Studi Leon Battista Alberti), no. 6 (Florence, 2003). A direct link between the architecture of Francesco di Giorgio and the church of San Giobbe was established by Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi, *Il Rinascimento veneziano di Giovanni Bellini* (Venice, 2003–4), pp. 32–73. The parallel between that link and the one associating the *Codex Zichy* copy after Francesco di Giorgio with Carpaccio's paintings for San Giobbe is either a coincidence or confirmation of the theory that the paintings were created for the church of San Giobbe.

13. See Jutta Stroszeck, *Löwen Sarkophage: Sarkophage mit Löwenköpfen, schreitenden Löwen und Löwen-Kampfgruppen*, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. 6, pt. 1, nos. 238, 243, 318, 407 (Berlin, 1998).
14. Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, pt. 2, vol. 5 (London, 1948), p. 13, no. 4.
15. Ibid., p. 21, no. 11b; Jane Martineau, ed., *Andrea Mantegna*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (London and New York, 1992), pp. 183–88, nos. 29–31.
16. Michelangelo Muraro, ed., *I disegni di Vittore Carpaccio*, Corpus Graphicum 2 (Florence, 1977).
17. The relationship requires further investigation. The resemblance of Carpaccio's compositions and narrative details to those of Gentile Bellini, and his closeness both stylistically and in choice of motifs to Giovanni Bellini, speak in favor of such an apprenticeship. For instance, the motif of Saint Jerome sitting with the lion in the *Meditation on the Passion* is similar to Giovanni Bellini's *Saint Jerome* (National Gallery, London). A drawing in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (Cod. F 271 inf., n. 8), attributed to Carpaccio by Ugo Ruggeri in *Disegni veneti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana anteriori al secolo XVIII* (Florence, 1979), pp. 18–19, is done after the head of Christ in Giovanni Bellini's *Transfiguration* (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples).
18. A further use of the rabbit pair is in a picture probably from the Carpaccio workshop, *The Birth of the Virgin* from the Scuola degli Albanesi (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo). See also note 9, above.
19. *Pisanello: Le peintre aux sept vertus*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre, Paris (Paris, 1996), nos. 29, 176, 190; Paola Marini, ed., *Pisanello*, exh. cat., Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona (Milan, 1996), no. 50; Hans-Joachim Eberhardt, "Zur Rekonstruktion von Pisanellos Wandgemälden in Sant' Anastasia," in *Pisanello und Bono da Ferrara*, ed. Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt (Munich, 1995), pp. 181–93.
20. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, inv. nos. 2432 verso (dog), 2505 (heron). See Brigit Blass-Simmen, "Cima da Conegliano: Alcune riflessioni sui disegni; il problema dell'utilizzazione dei disegni 'memorativi' e i rapporti con l'opera pittorica," *Venezia cinquecento*, no. 8 (1994), pp. 152–65.
21. For a more detailed account, see Blass-Simmen, "Pisanello et l'enluminure ferraraise," pp. 579–80; see also Scheller, *Exemplum*, pp. 78–79.
22. Scheller, *Exemplum*, p. 79. In at least one case, however, model sheets are known to have been on loan: Lorenzo Ghiberti asked for the return of some bird sheets (*charte degli uccelli*) after the death of the Sienese sculptor Goro di Neroccio. See Degenhart and Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichungen*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 290.
23. These studies of nudes are not catalogued as Pisanello's own work; but I disagree with Degenhart and Schmitt's new opinion that the nude studies in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (inv. no. KdZ 487), and Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. no. I.520), as well as the studies from antiquity in the collection of drawings known as the *Taccuino di viaggio* and now preserved in several collections, are not authentic work by Pisanello. See Degenhart and Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichungen*, pt. 3, vols. 1, 2. It seems unconvincing to argue that, although Pisanello could be called the inventor and *spiritus rector* of nude studies and studies after antiquity—a revolution for the arts—these drawings were executed by his pupils. Moreover, stylistic analysis demonstrates that the drawings are closely linked to Pisanello's known creations.
24. Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (inv. no. 34846); Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. no. 1946-7-13-3, verso); Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (inv. no. KdZ 5034).
25. *Ausstellung von Kunstwerken des Mittelalters und der Renaissance aus Berliner Privatbesitz* (Berlin, 1898), no. 151; and see Hans Mackowsky, in *Ausstellung von Kunstwerken des Mittelalters und der Renaissance aus Berliner Privatbesitz*, ed. Wilhelm von Bode (Berlin, 1899), p. 50. Mackowsky believed that the drawing was a copy after Ercole de' Roberti rather than a preparatory study.
26. *Catalogo della esposizione della pittura ferrarese del Rinascimento* (Ferrara, 1933), p. 238.
27. Carlo Gamba, *Ercole di Ferrara*, Rivista di Ferrara, suppl., no. 4 (Venice, 1933), p. 14; Giuseppe Fiocco, "Tre disegni dell'esposizione ferrarese del Rinascimento," *L'arte* 37 (1934), p. 244 (Carpaccio, study for the *Pietà*, Agnew Collection); Roberto Longhi, *Officina ferrarese, 1934, seguita dagli ampliamenti, 1940, e dai nuovi ampliamenti, 1940–55*, Edizione delle opere complete di Roberto Longhi, vol. 5 (Florence, 1956), p. 104; Georg Gronau, entry on Ercole Grandi (Ercole de' Roberti), in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, vol. 14 (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 506–7.
28. Fiocco had seen the *Pietà* several times during the 1930s in the Agnew Collection, London. Today the small panel (26 x 21 cm) is apparently in a private collection in Bergamo (although Francesco Rossi, director of the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, wrote on December 20, 2001, that he did not know the whereabouts of the picture).
29. Hein-Th. Schulze Altcappenberg, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett: Kritischer Katalog* (Berlin, 1995), pp. 193–94 (circle of Carpaccio); see also Hein-Th. Schulze Altcappenberg, *Kunstsinn der Gründerzeit: Meisterzeichnungen der Sammlung Adolf von Beckerath*, exh. cat., Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin, 2002), p. 46 (Carpaccio).
30. According to Schulze Altcappenberg, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen*, p. 194 (slightly revised in Schulze Altcappenberg, *Kunstsinn der Gründerzeit*), the Berlin drawing is not a drawing *dal vivo*, because of the already included stigmata and the absence of a support under the head. I would counter that the taut muscles of the torso indeed indicate that the head has no support whatsoever, and that in an already authenticized drawing *dal vivo* (British Museum, London), a wound appears on Christ's left side. In my opinion, the study of the body of Christ is a preliminary drawing and not a copy of the *Pietà*, because there are

some discrepancies between the drawing and the final picture in the position of Christ's legs and head.

31. Astonishingly often in Carpaccio's work, the same model drawing was used several times in the same cycle: an example is the cycle in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice, where the prominent group of trumpeters and drum player, and also a horse groom, appear in different groupings in both the *Triumph of Saint George* and *Saint George Baptizing the Pagans.* Only their attributes and the patterns of their clothing were changed. In the artist's *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians* (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice), the same model drawing of a nude was used in both the foreground and, in a slightly smaller version, the middle ground. In the *Ordination of Saint Stephen* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), the robes worn by the two deacons seen in profile in the middle were copied down to every pleat.

32. On the use of cartoons, see Carmen Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300–1600* (New York, 1999); and David Bomford, ed., *Underdrawing in Renaissance Paintings: Art in the Making,* exh. cat., National Gallery, London (London, 2002). For cartoons as used by Perugino and Raphael, see Rudolf Hiller von Gaertringen, *Raffaels Lernerfahrungen in der Werkstatt Peruginos: Kartonverwendung und Motivübernahme im Wandel* (Munich and Berlin, 1999).

33. Only one infrared photograph of the *Preparation of Christ's Tomb* is on file at the Gemäldegalerie; it shows spontaneous underdrawings for Job's garment and the outlines of Saint John. Spontaneous underdrawing also occurs in the *Two Venetian Women* (Museo Correr, Venice); see Attilia Dorigato, ed., *Carpaccio, Bellini, Tura, Antonello e altri restauri quattrocenteschi della Pinacoteca del Museo Correr* (Milan, 1993), pp. 177–85.

34. See Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven and London, 1988).

35. Or simply following the Jewish burial ceremony: "Then the body was washed and anointed with aromatic unguents, and wrapped in linen clothes." Kaufmann Kohler, "Burial," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia,* ed. Isidore Singer, vol. 3 (New York and London, 1902), p. 436.

36. Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form,* 8th ed. (Princeton, 1990), p. 341.

An Illustrated Manuscript Inventory of an Armory for Sale by Lottery

HELMUT NICKEL

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Among the ancillary objects in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Arms and Armor is an extraordinary illustrated manuscript, probably late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century German, that seems to be the inventory catalogue of an armory put up for sale in lottery form. The illustrations are accompanied by captions in a South German dialect, written in an elaborate chancellery hand.

The manuscript, accession number 50.227, consists of thirty-six parchment folios with gilt edges, 30.8 by 20.3 centimeters, bound in contemporary full calf, with stamped borders, corner pieces, and central medallions, the Renaissance arabesque and strapwork ornament retaining traces of original gilding. The covers are lined with paper that on the inside of the back cover bears a watermark consisting of a letter P surmounted by a shield enclosing an orb and cross, which has been identified as Austrian, late sixteenth century.[1] The folios have been numbered in pencil in modern times in the upper right corner of each recto. The seventy-one illustrations are painted in tempera on all pages but the verso of the last folio. The manuscript was acquired by the Department of Arms and Armor in 1950 (Rogers Fund) from William H. Schab, a prominent New York dealer in rare books and prints, who gave its provenance as the library of Count Hans Wilczek at Kreuzenstein Castle near Vienna.[2]

There are listed forty-seven armors, including two complete garnitures for man and horse that are displayed mounted on wooden horses, four more horse armors, fourteen brigandines, thirty saddles and one pack saddle for transporting silver tableware, fifty-four swords (thirteen with daggers en suite), sixty-three staff weapons, twenty-one crossbows with cranequins and quivers, thirty-two diverse hand and shoulder firearms plus two cannons, nineteen powder flasks, and, last but not least, a bag with eight hundred caltrops and a spare wooden horse.

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The notes for this article begin on page 118.

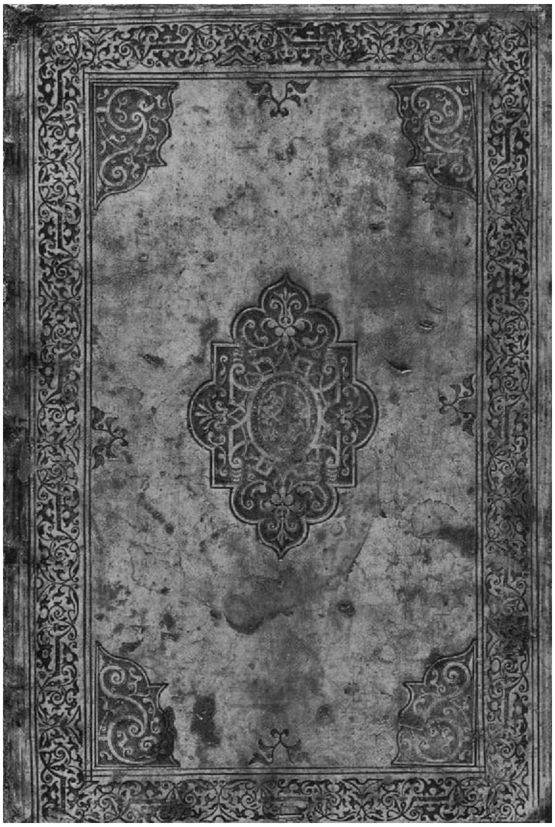
On the first page is depicted a bag filled with "one thousand guilders" that would be the jackpot of the lottery, called a *Glückshafen* (lucky pot). The accompanying text implies that the entire contents of this *Harnischkammer* (armory) would be prizes in that lottery.[3]

Examples of lotteries as fund-raisers in the sixteenth century are found in practically all countries of western Europe; in German-speaking countries the practice dates back to at least the fifteenth century. The earliest one recorded in England was a state lottery by command of Queen Elizabeth, in 1569. It was for "the reparation of the havens and strength of this Realme," and the prizes were silver plate. A lottery sale of armor is recorded in 1586; it took place in "St. Paules Churchyard, at the Great West gate." A temporary house of timber and boards was erected for the purpose, and the bidding went on day and night for up to three days. Although, as is all too often the case with auctions, the provenance of the objects was carefully obscured, it seems that at least some items of high quality came from the collections of the Tower of London.[4]

In our *Glückshafen* manuscript, too, the owner of this remarkable *Harnischkammer* is not mentioned and thus remains unknown. This enigmatic document is presented here in the hope that one day a knowledgeable connoisseur will find the key to unlock its secret. The single clue that might help in the search for provenance is on folio 19r, which shows an armor and a saddle for the baston-course emblazoned with three escutcheons: *sable, three Wolfsangeln* (wolves' caltrops) *or*.[5] These are the arms of a family of Swabian *Hochadel* (higher nobility), the counts von Stadion.

Contents of the Folios

Folio 1r. *In disem Hieunnden ge- / malten Sackh mit Gellt, ist Tausent gulden, / An lauter gueten ganntzen Reichs guldenern, / So zue der Harnisch Chamer, Alls dem Besst- / en Gewinnet Im Glückhafen gehörig ist* [In this bag of money depicted here below are one thousand guilders, all good full-weight Reichs guilders; this belongs to the armory, and represents the best prize of the lottery]



Front cover

1r

Folios 1v–3v (5 pages). *Diser Schönen verguldten Küris seindt Zween* [There are two of these beautiful gilt armors]. The elements of these two armors include one round shield on folio 3v.

Folios 4r–5v (4 pages). *Das ist ain Schwartzer verguldter Küris, mit / seinen zuegehörigen gemalten Doppelstückhen* [This is a black gilt armor, with its matching (literally "belonging") exchange pieces, as depicted]. The elements of the same armor garniture include five vamplates and two half-shaffrons (one vamplate and the shaffrons are on folio 5v, top).

Folios 5v–8r (6 pages). *Ain Schöner Liechter geetzter Küris zue allen Ritter- / lichen Gestechen zuegebrauchen, mit gar vilen / Schönen Doppelstuckhen, wie hernach vnnder- / schidlich gemalt ist* [One beautiful white armor, etched, suitable for all kinds of knightly jousts, with many beautiful exchange pieces, as depicted here in detail]. The elements of this armor garniture, for the *Feldturnier*, include three vamplates, two shaffrons, crinet, and saddle plates.

Folios 8v–9r (2 pages). *Ain Liechter Gereiffter Küris, sambt den / hiebei gemalten Doppelstuckhen* [One white fluted (?) armor, together with its exchange elements, as depicted here]

Folios 9v–10r(2 pages). *Ain Glatter Geetzter Küris* [One plain ("smooth") armor, etched]

Folios 10v–11r (2 pages). *Zwelf Feldt Küris, mit Iren Zuegehörigen / Stuckhen* [Twelve field armors (i.e., for campaign rather than tournament use) with their matching pieces]. The elements of a single armor are depicted.

Folios 11v–12r (2 pages). *Sechs Drab Harnisch, mit Iren schönen Banntzer / Ermblen, Banntzer Schürtzen, Reitschwerdten, / Dolchen, vnnd Fausthämeren* [Six *Trabharnische* (half-armors for light cavalry) with fine mail sleeves, mail skirts, swords, daggers, and war hammers]. The elements of one half-armor are depicted, as well as a brace of holstered pistols, which are not mentioned in the description.

Folios 12v–13r (2 pages). *Ain Schwartzer Küris mit Messigen / Negeln* [One black armor with brass rivets]

Folios 13v–14r (2 pages). *Ain Schwartzer Küris* [One black armor]

Folio 14v. *Ain Schwartz Harnisch, mit Messigen / Negeln* [One black armor with brass rivets]

Folio 15r. *Ain Schwartz Geschobner Harnisch, mit / Messigen Negeln* [One black laminated (?) armor with brass rivets]

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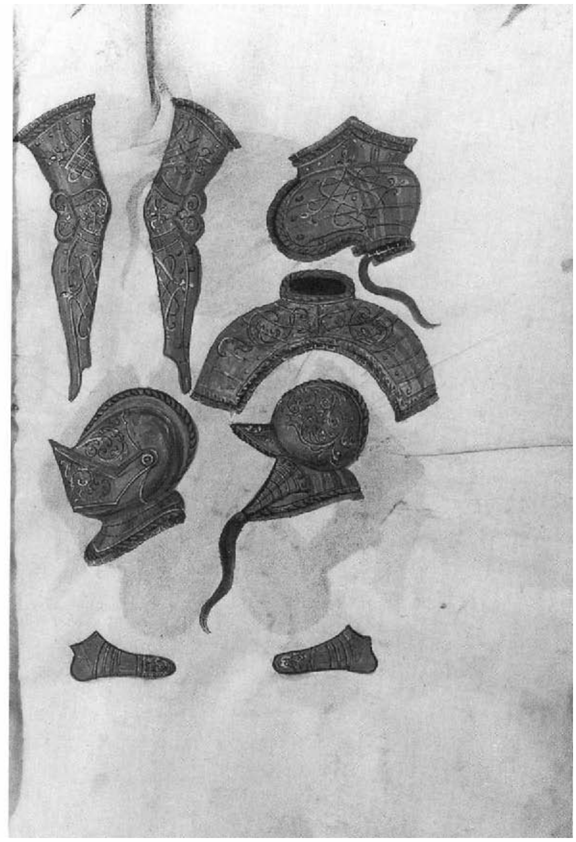

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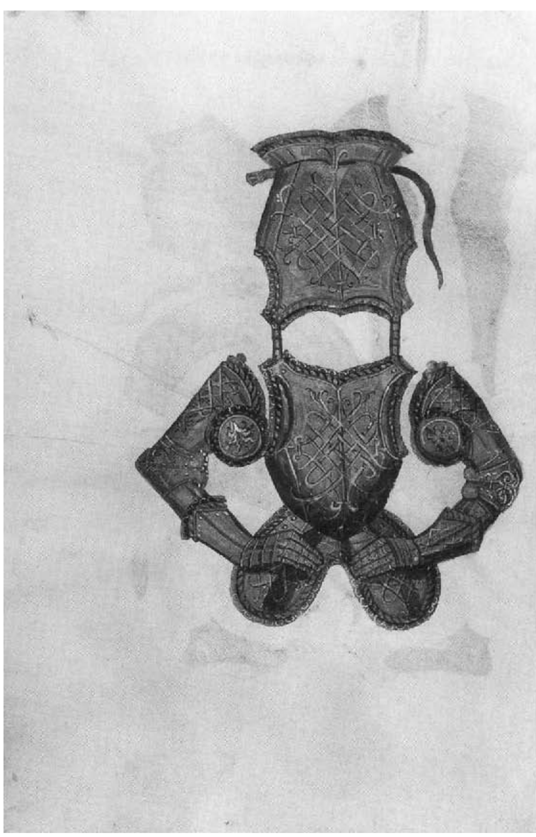

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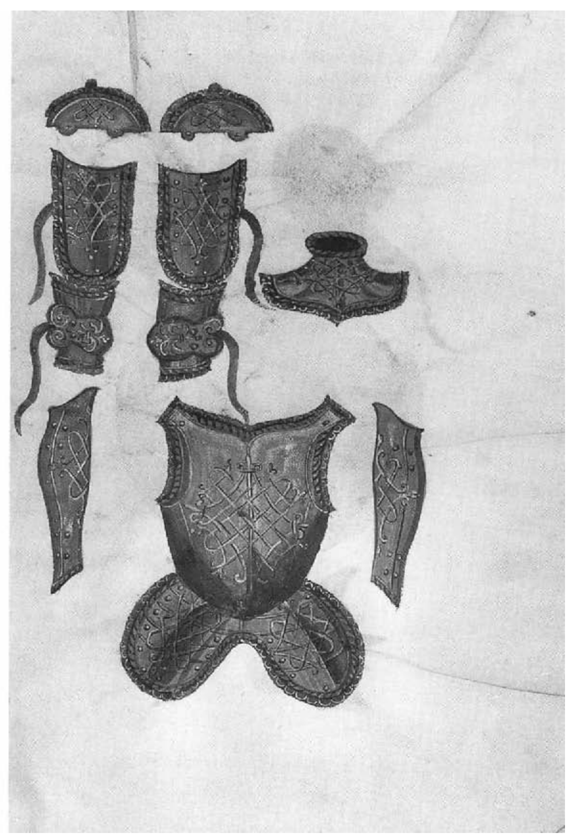
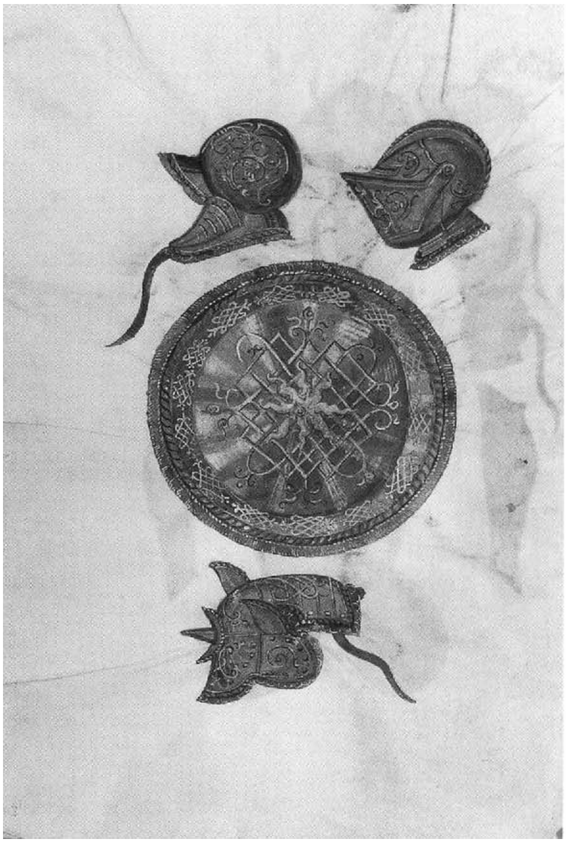


3r

Folio 15v. *Zwai Schwartze Harnisch, mit Messigen / Negeln* [Two black armors with brass rivets]
Folio 16r. *Zwai Schwartze, darunndter ain Getriben / Harnisch* [Two black armors, one of them embossed]
Folio 16v. *Ain Schwartz Harnisch mit Messigen / Negeln* [One black armor with brass rivets]
Folio 17r. *Ain Schwartz Harnisch* [One black armor]
Folio 17v. *Vier Beschlagene Roßzeug* [Four armored horse trappings]
Folio 18r. *Ain Liechter geetzter Küris, sambt seinem ganntz getrib- / nem Stählin Geliger, Roß Kamp, Sattel, vnnd abge- / lidten geschmelzten Stegraifen, vnnd ganntz geschnitnem / Hültzen Ros* [One white armor, etched, together with its complete embossed steel horse barding, crinet, saddle, and enameled (gilt?) stirrups, plus a fully carved wooden horse]. See also Colorplate 6.
Folio 18v. *Ain Schwartzer Küris mit ainem Schwartz Be- / schlagenen Roßzeug, Roßkamp, Sattel, / vnnd Stegraifen, sambt ganntz geschnit- / nem Hültzen Ros* [One black armor with black armored horse trappings, crinet, saddle, and stirrups, together with a fully carved wooden horse]
Folio 19r. *Ain Allte Antiquitetische Rüstung* [One old antiquarian armor]. Depicted is a *Kolbenturnierharnisch* with *Hohenzeug* saddle; on the breastplate and saddle wings are escutcheons with the arms of the counts von Stadion: *sable, three Wolfsangeln or*; associated is a *Stechtartsche* for the joust. See also Colorplate 7.
Folio 19v. *Ain Liechts geetzts Harnisch* [One white armor, etched]
Folio 20r. *Ain Schöne Liechte Rüstunng* [One fine white armor]. Depicted are *Trabharnisch* elements (armor for light cavalry or for fighting on foot) and, out of place here, one *Stechhelm* (tournament helmet for the joust).
Folio 20v. *Ain Schöne Liechte Rüstung* [One fine white armor]. *Trabharnisch* elements and two close helmets are depicted.
Folio 21r. *Ain Schöne Liechte Rüstung* [One fine white armor]. Illustrated is a half-armor with two burgonets.
Folios 21v–22r (2 pages). *Ain Schöne Liechte Rüstung* [One fine white armor]
Folio 22v. *Zwo Schön Liechte Rüstungen* [Two fine white armors]
Folio 23r. *Ain Liechte Schöne Rüstung* [One fine white armor]
Folio 23v. *Ain gereiffte Liechte Rüstung* [One fluted (?) white armor]
Folio 24r. *Ain Schöns klains Liechts Rüstungle, mit Plab / Geschmelzt* [One beautiful little white armor, with blued decoration]. This is probably a boy's armor.
Folio 24v. *Dise Püchs hat vier Ror vnnd Schüß* [This gun has four barrels and shots] // *Dise Püchs hat Siben Ror vnnd Schüß* [This gun has seven barrels and shots]
Folio 25r–v (2 pages). *Diser Hernachgemalten, Schönen verguldten, Auch mit / Silber vnnd Goldt eingelegte Rapier, sambt derselben / Dolchen, Samatin Beschlagnen Gürtlen vnnd Schai- / den, seindt an der Zal Sibne, Darunder ain Schöns / von Goldt eingelegts Küris Schwerdt* [The rapiers depicted here, beautifully gilt or damascened in silver and gold, together with matching daggers, belts and scabbards of velvet (and) mountings, are seven in number; among them a fine horseman's sword damascened in gold]. Only five rapiers, three daggers, and the horseman's sword are illustrated; all the rapiers and two belts are seen from the reverse side.
Folio 26r. *Diser versilberten vnnd ains- / thails ausgehauten Rapier, / Darunder fünffe, mit Sam- / atin Schaiden, seindt an / der Zal Neünne* [These silvered and partly chiseled rapiers are nine in number; among them five with velvet scabbards]. Three rapiers with belts and one dagger are depicted.
Folio 26v. *Zwo Schön Blos Klingen zue Baiden Hännden* [Two fine bare (unmounted) blades for two-handed (swords)] // *Fünff Schöne Schwartze Rapier* [Five fine black rapiers] // *Zehen Spiß Schwerdter* [Ten "spit" (thrusting?) swords] // *Zway Schöne Schweinschwerdter* [Two fine boar swords]. One example of each is shown.
Folio 27r. *Acht Schöne grosse Schlachtschwerdter* [Eight fine big "Battle swords," i.e., for two hands] // *Acht gefasste Durnier Schwerdter* [Eight mounted (foot) tournament swords] // *Ain vnngarischer Driegkhter Stecher* [One Hungarian three-edged estoc (tuck)]. A single example of each of the first two is illustrated.
Folio 27v. *Sechtzechen Schöner Schäfelin* [Sixteen fine javelins (light carousel lances)] // *Dreizehen Schöner Lanndtsknecht Spies* [Thirteen fine Landsknecht pikes] // *Zehen Schöne Dürggische Copien* [Ten fine Turkish lances]. One of each is shown.
Folio 28r. *Sechs Schöne Schweinspies* [Six fine boar spears] // *Zwo Schön Helleparten* [Two fine halberds] // *Ain Schön Partesanen* [One fine partizan]. One each of the first two is illustrated.
Folio 28v. *Dreizechen Schwartz Schürtzer* [Thirteen black (campaign) lances] // *Ain lannger grosser Schürtzer mit ainem Samatin Zeug vnnd verguldten Eisen* [One long large (campaign) lance with a velvet cover and gilt-iron (lance head)] // *Ailf Schwartz Schürtzer* [Eleven black (campaign) lances]. One of each is illustrated.
Folio 29r. *Ain Klaine Pürsch Püxen* [One small hunting rifle] // *Neun Schön Haggen mit Feur vnnd Schwammen Schlossen* [Nine fine harquebuses with wheel locks and matchlocks]. The cover for the rifle is also depicted.
Folio 29v. *Siben Faust Püchsen mit iren Hulfften / vnnd Pulvierflaschen, Darunnder Vier / mit zwayen Roren vnnd Schlossen* [Seven pistols with their holsters and powder flasks, among them four with two barrels and locks]. Only four pistols and two powder flasks are depicted.



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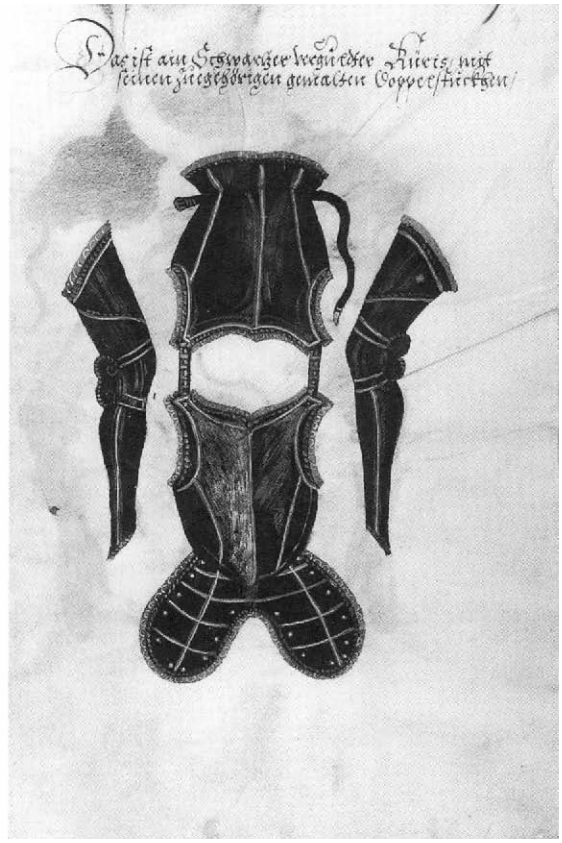
Das ist ain Schwartzer vergülter Küris, mit
seinen zugehörigen gemalten Copperstückhen

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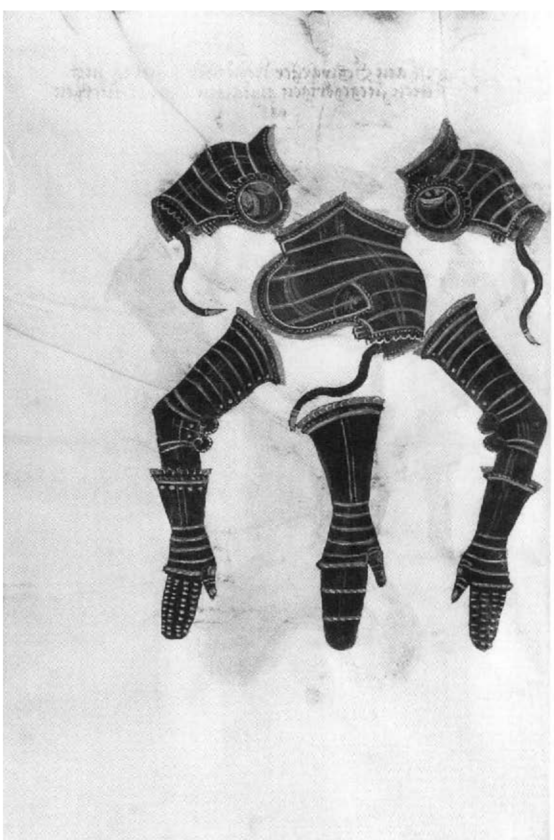

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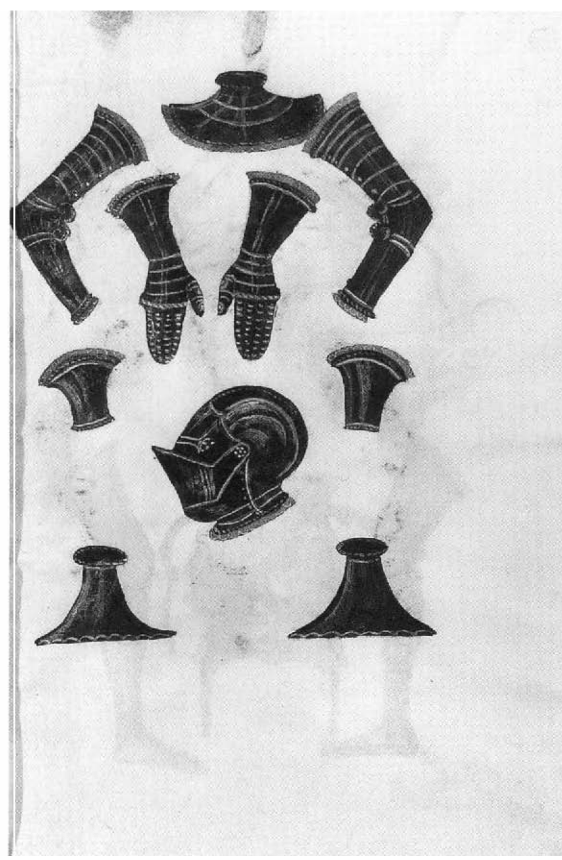
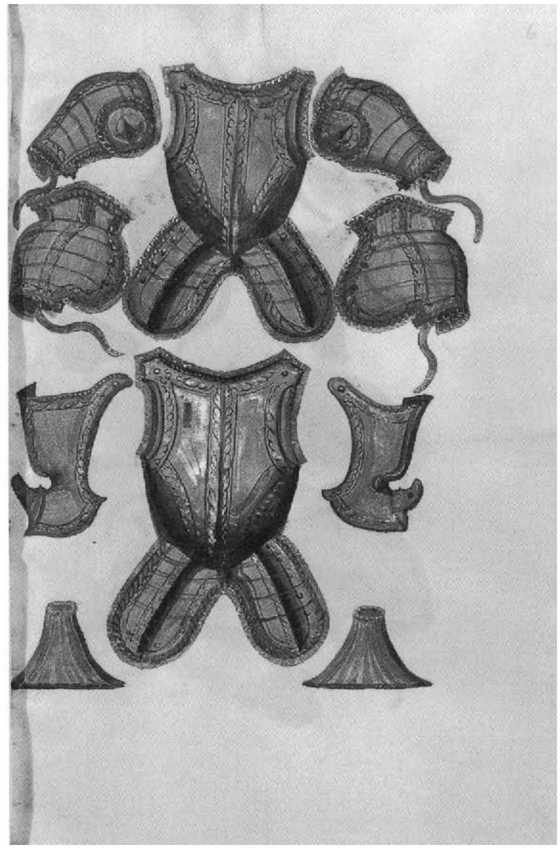


5r


Ain Schöner liechter geetzter Küris zue allen Ritter=
lichen Gestechen zuegebrauchen, mit gar vilen
schönen Doppelstuckhen, wie hernach vnnder=
schidlich gemalt ist.

5v



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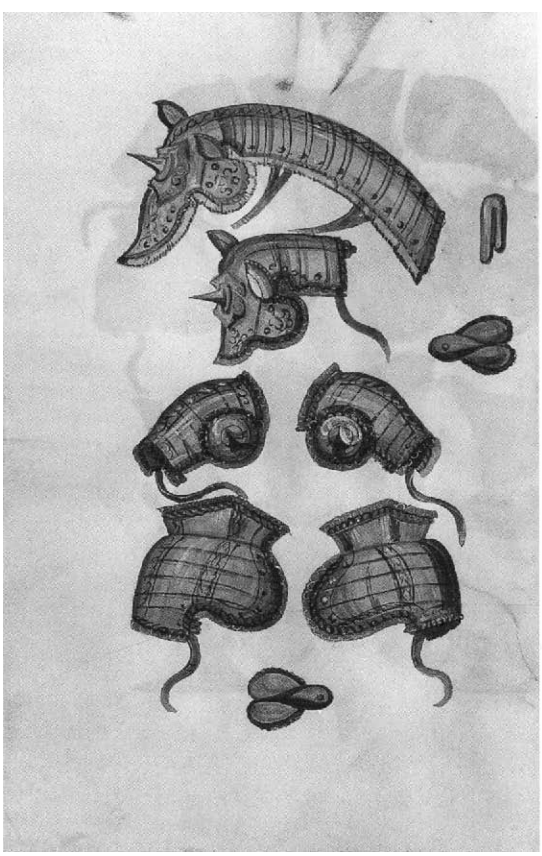

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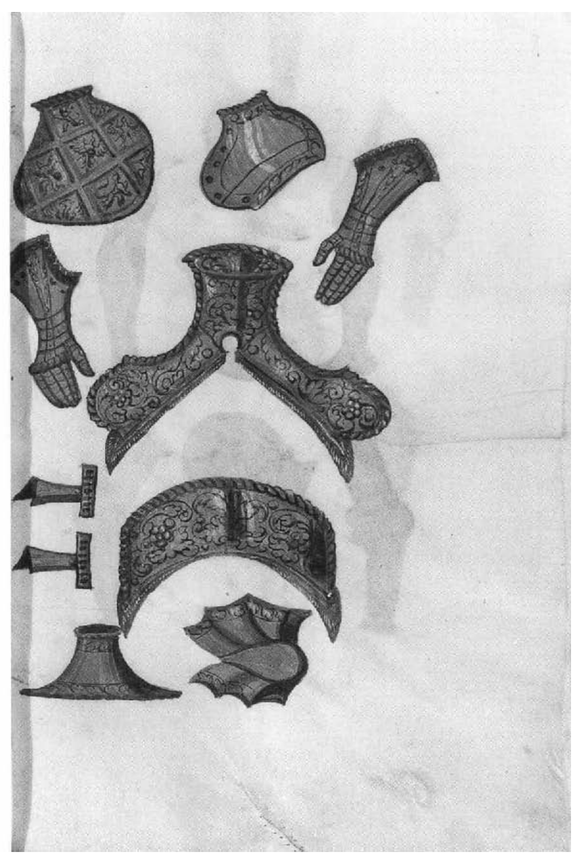

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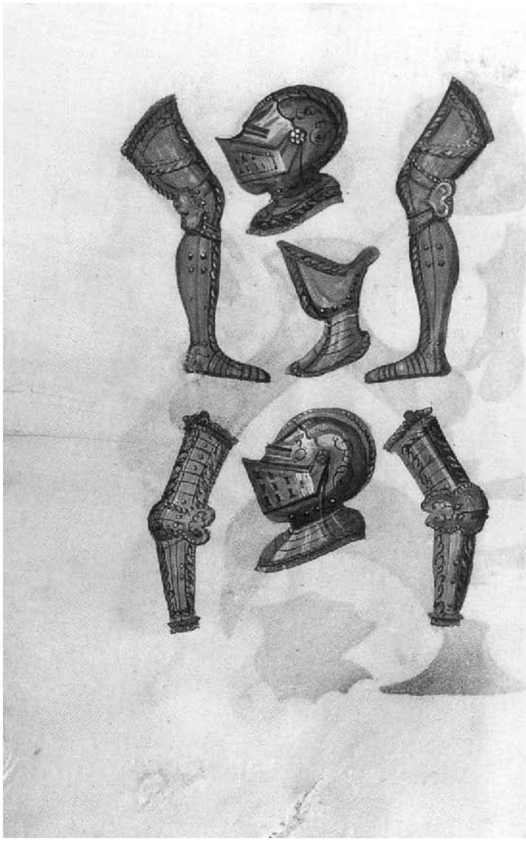

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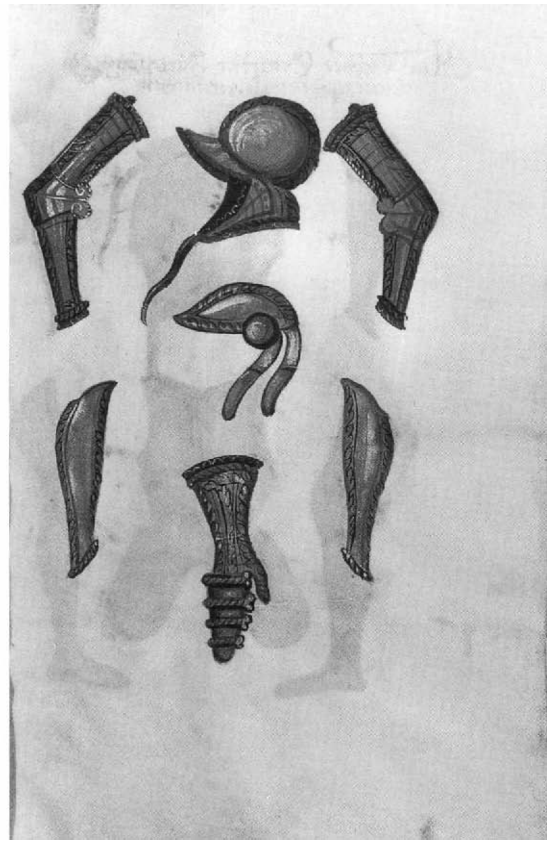

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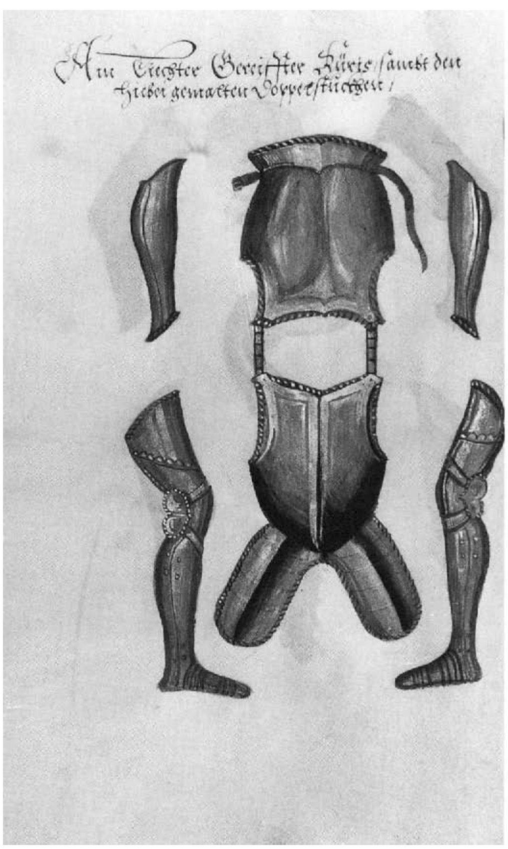
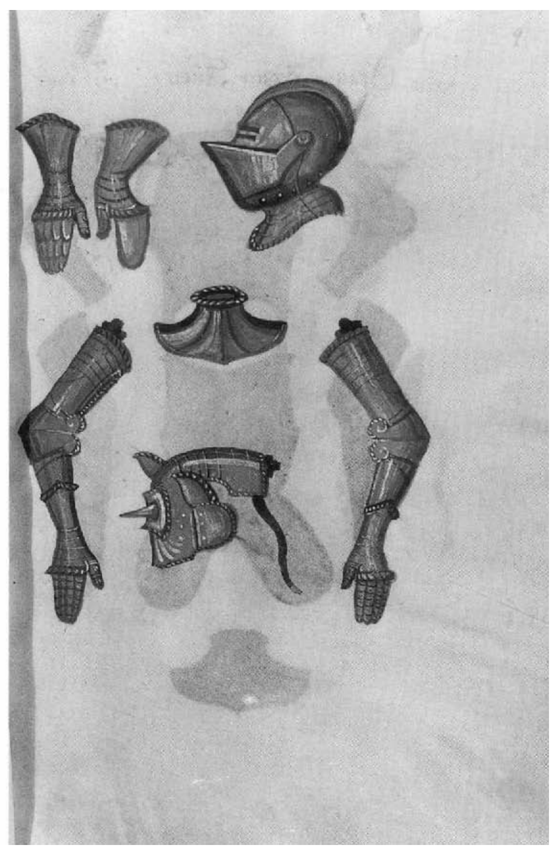

Ain Viertzter Gereiffter Küris sambt den
hiebei gemalten Doppelstückhen /

8v



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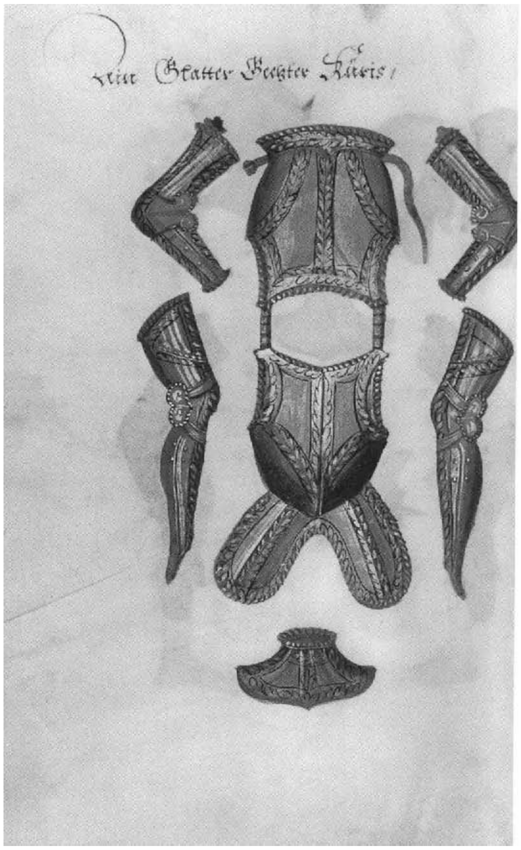

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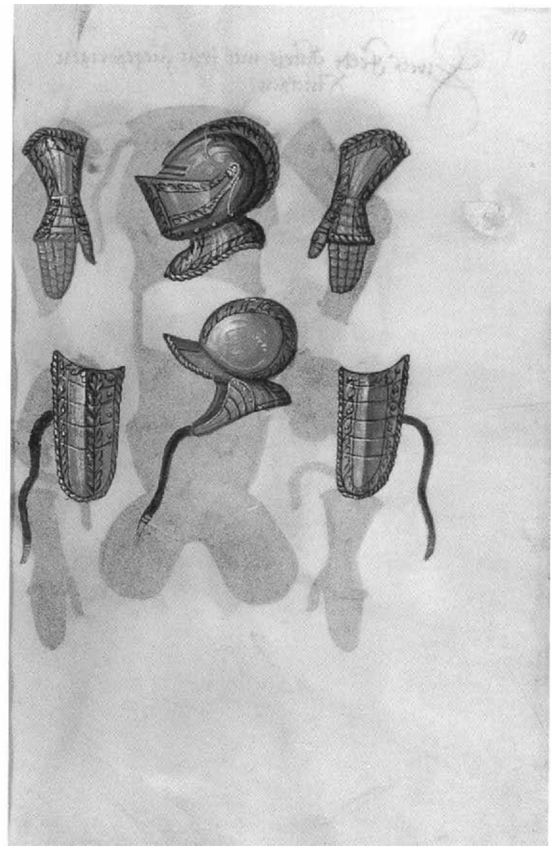

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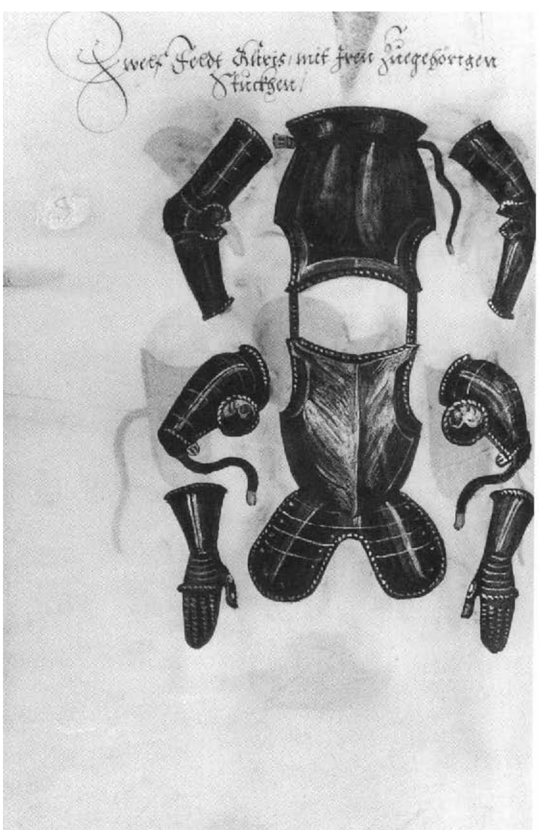

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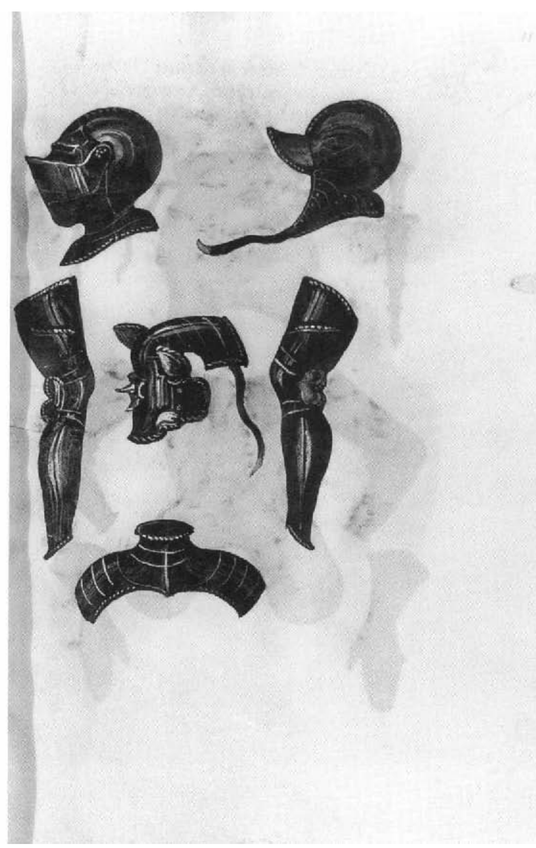

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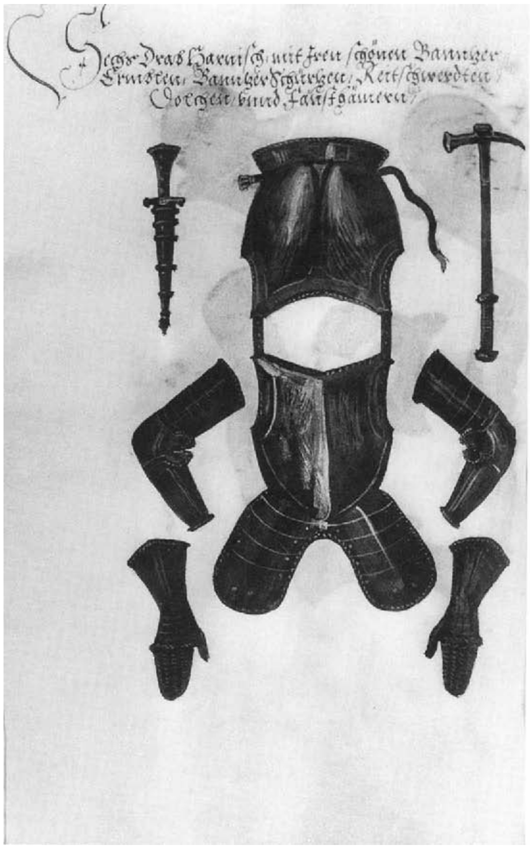

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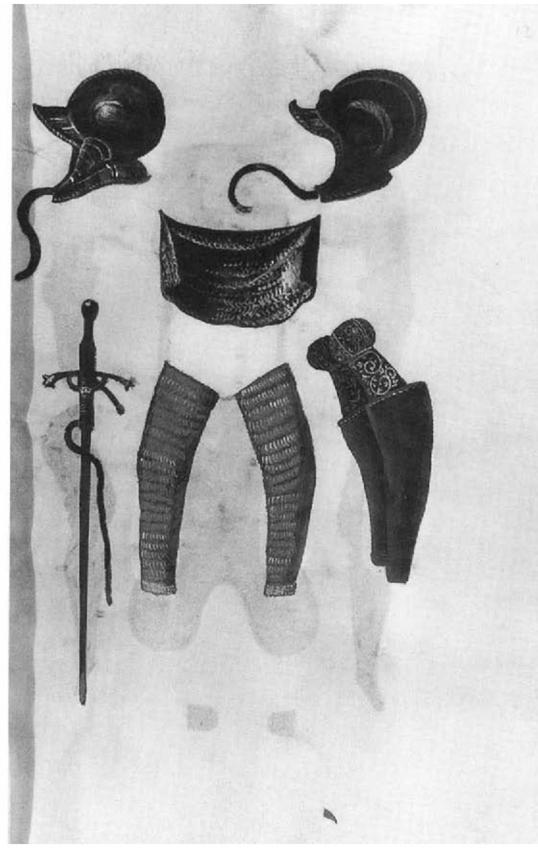

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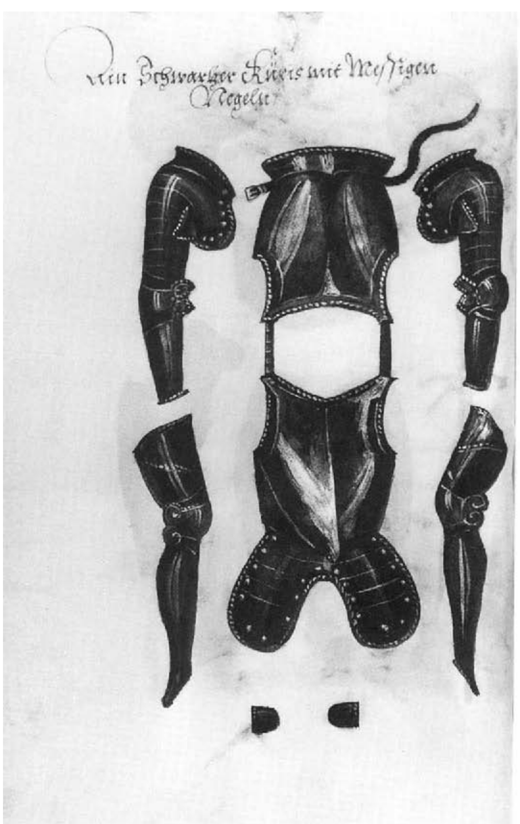

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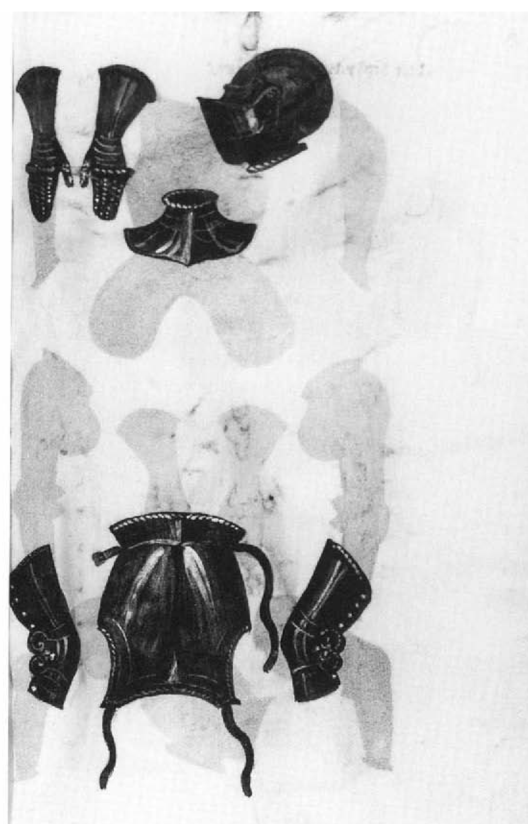

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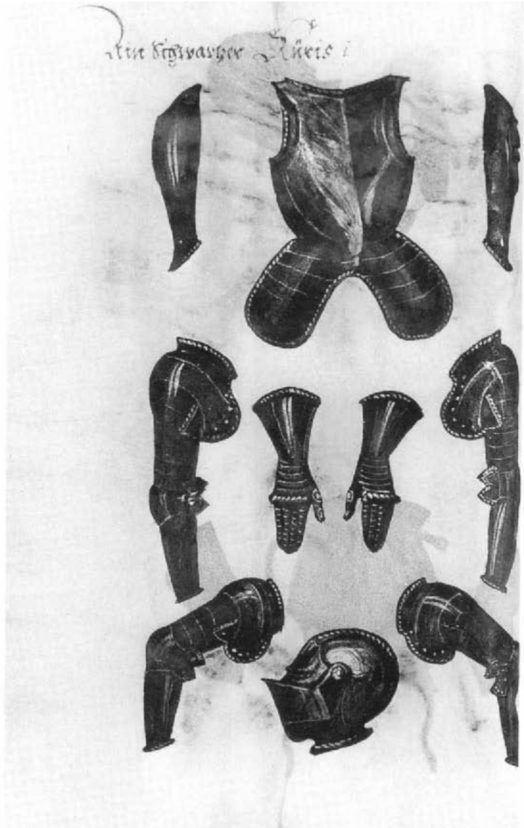

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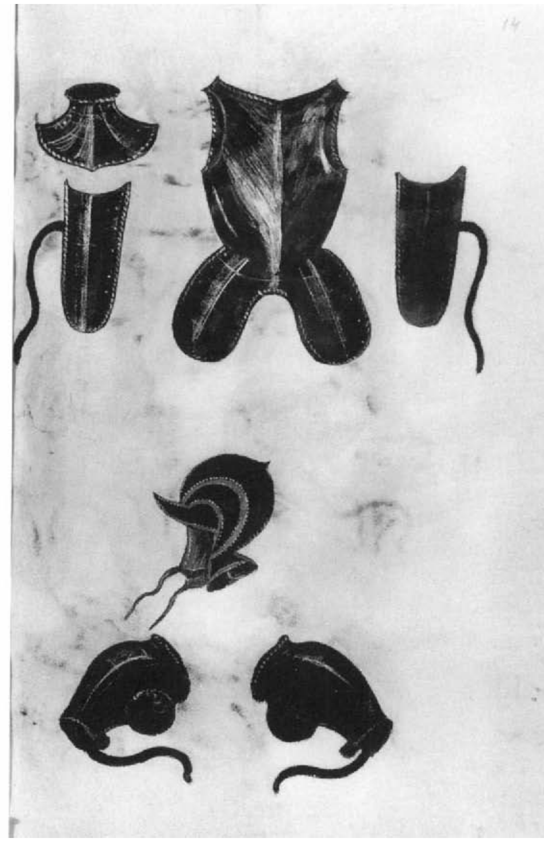

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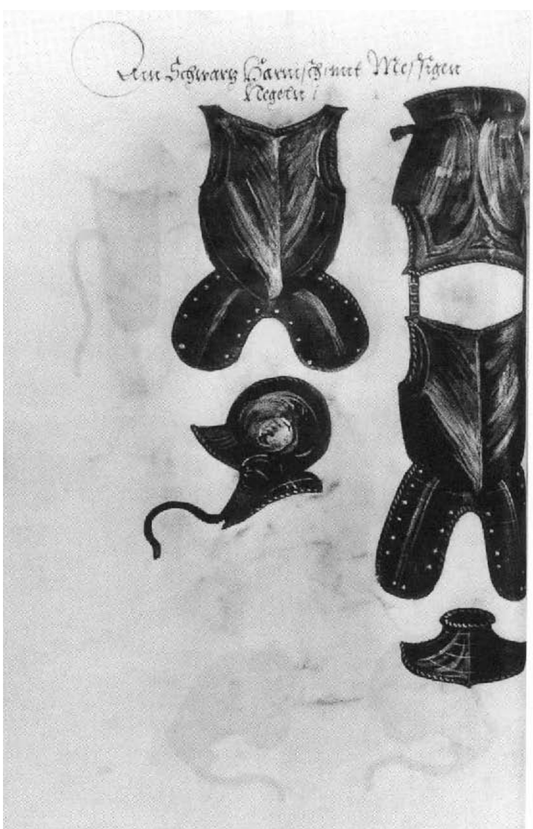

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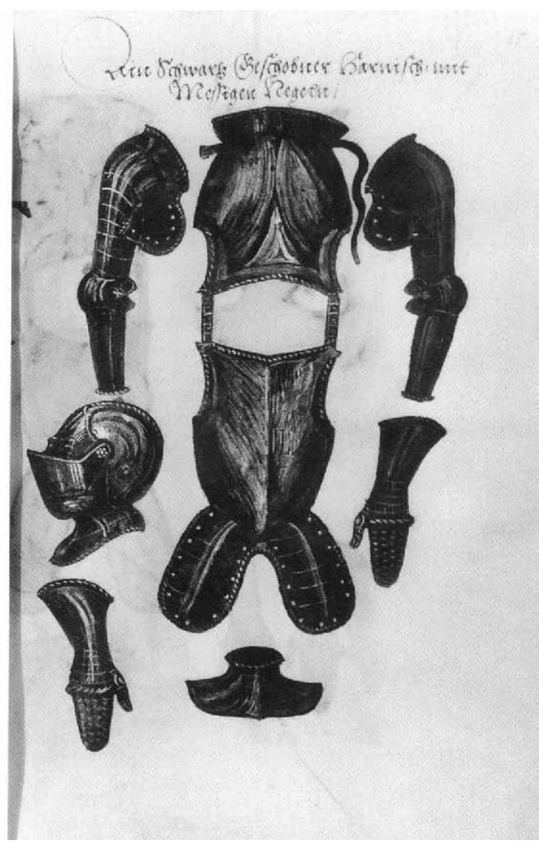

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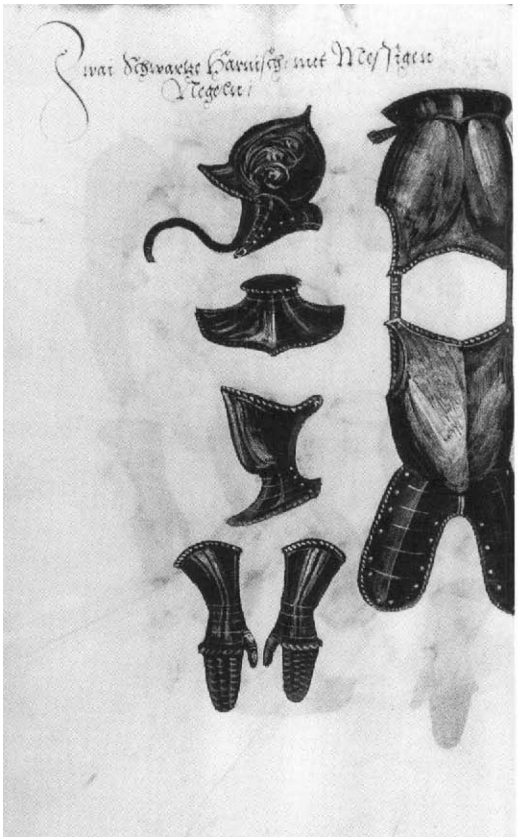

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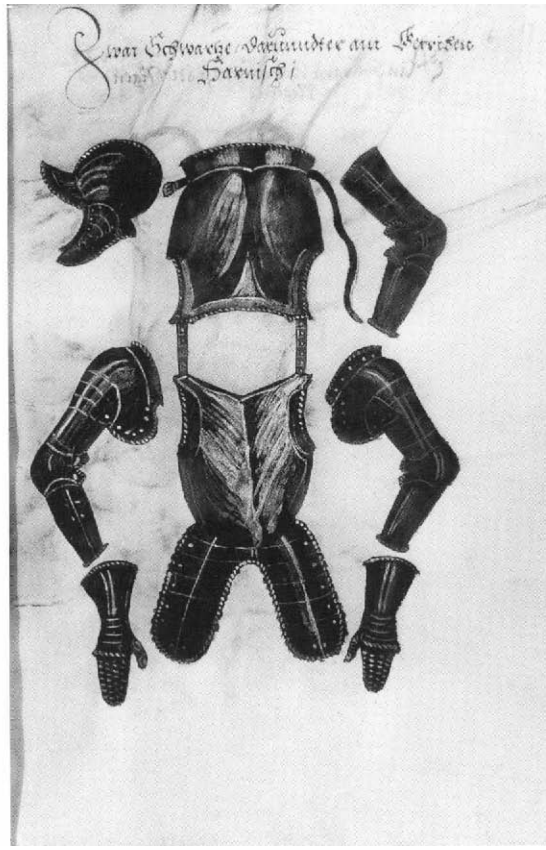

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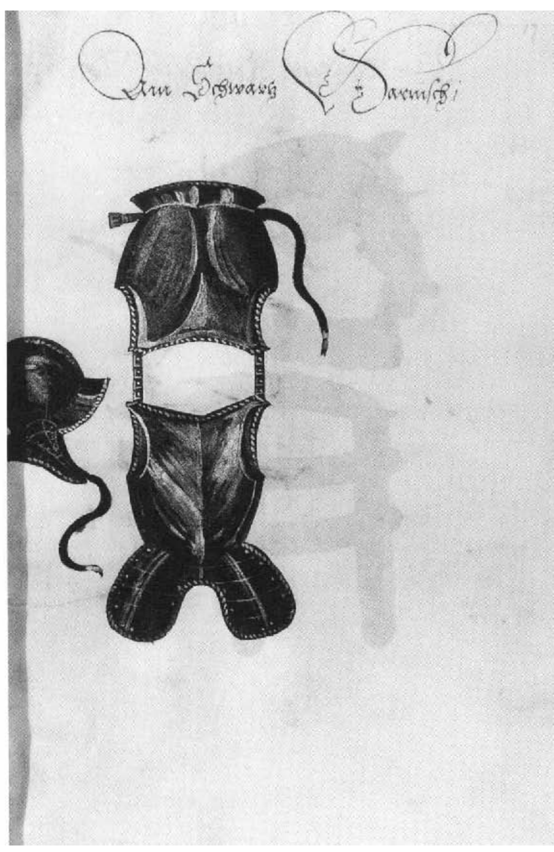
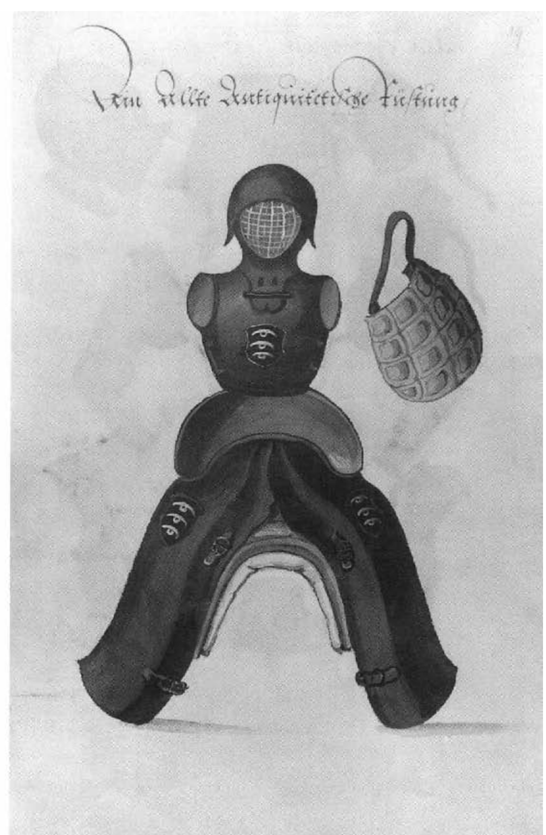


17r

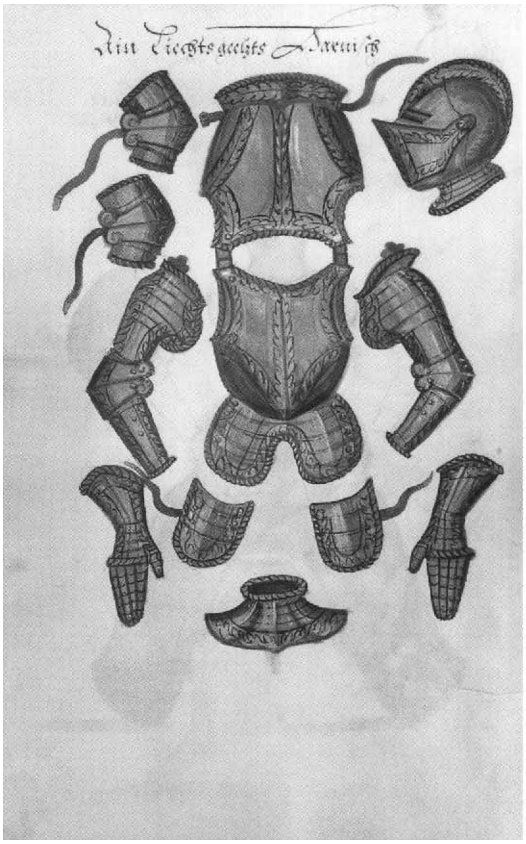
17v

18r. See also Colorplate 6

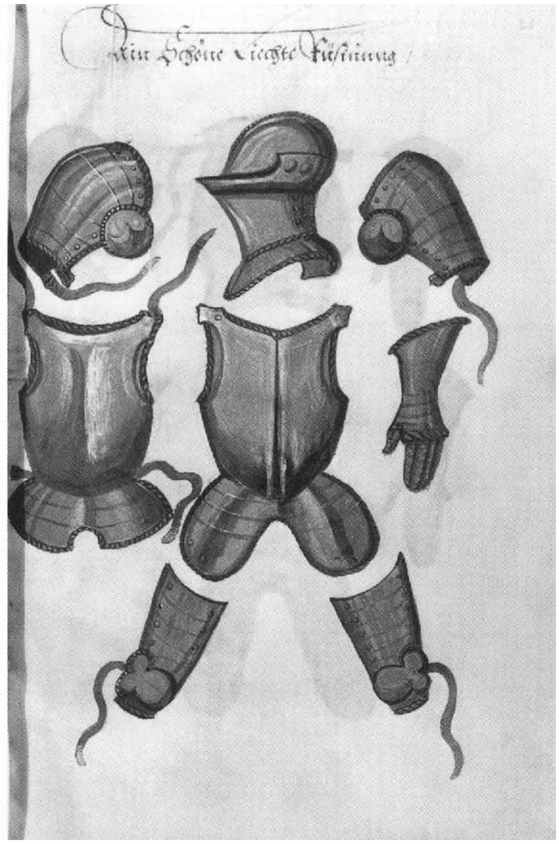
18v



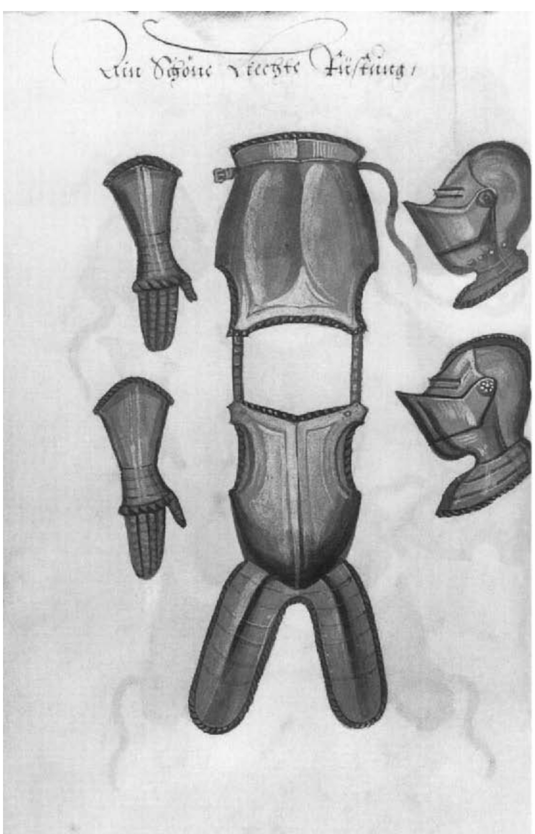
19r. See also Colorplate 7



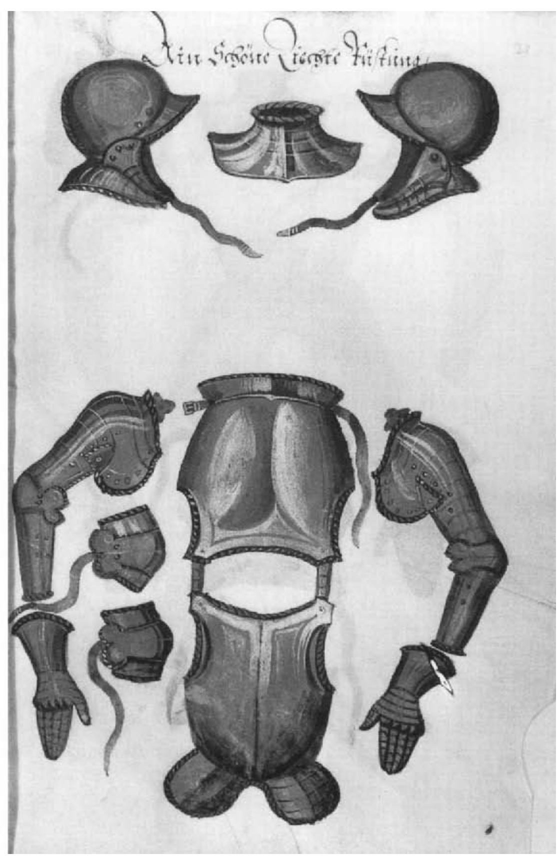
19v



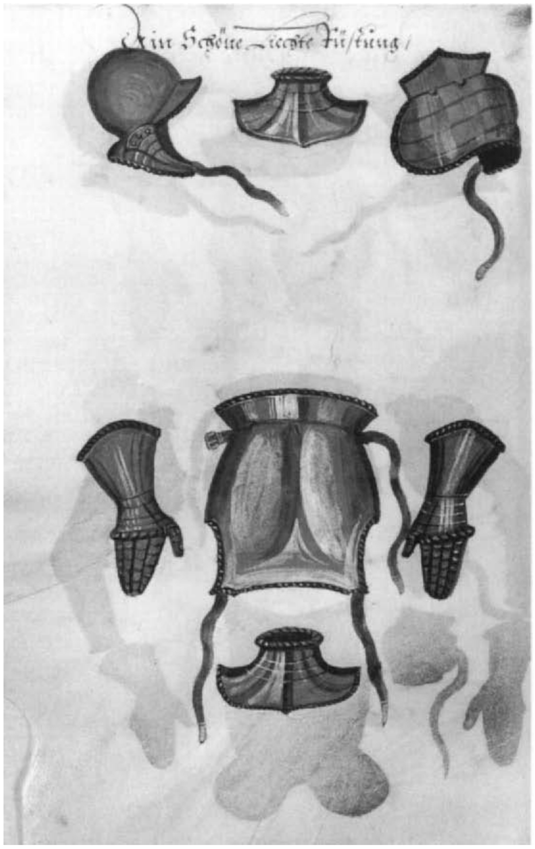
20r



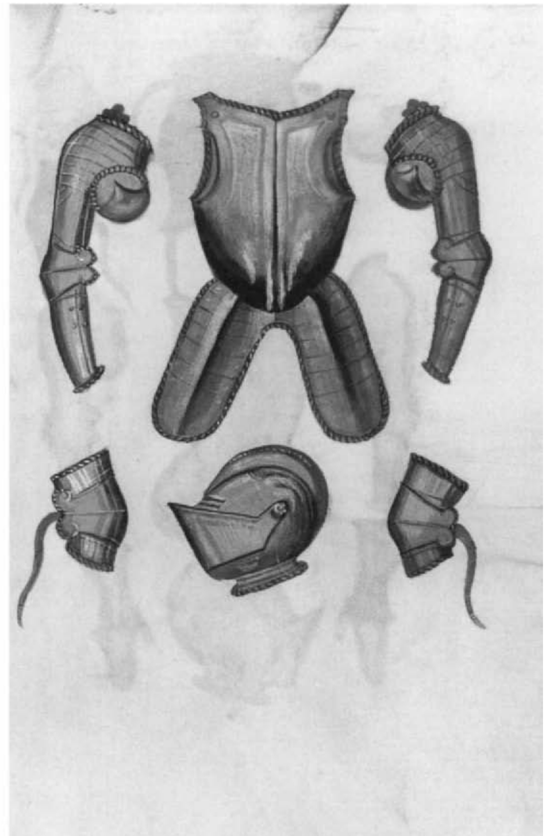
20v



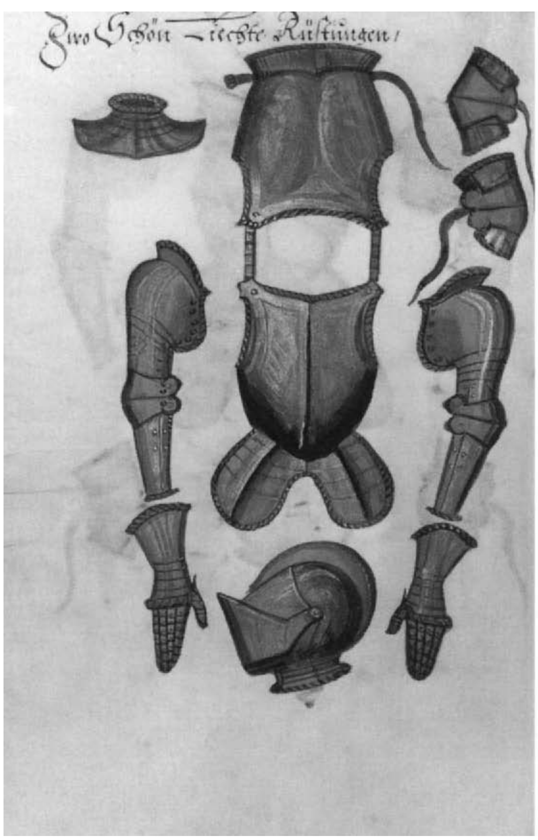
21r



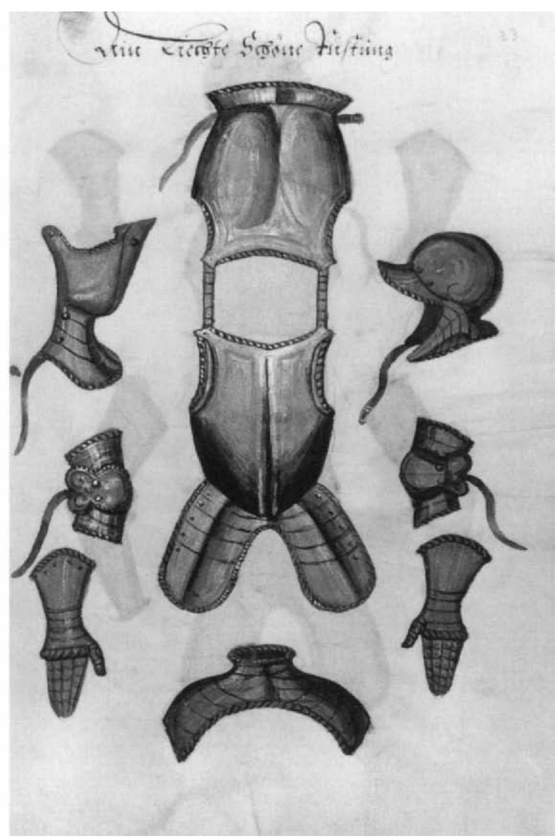
21v



22r



22v



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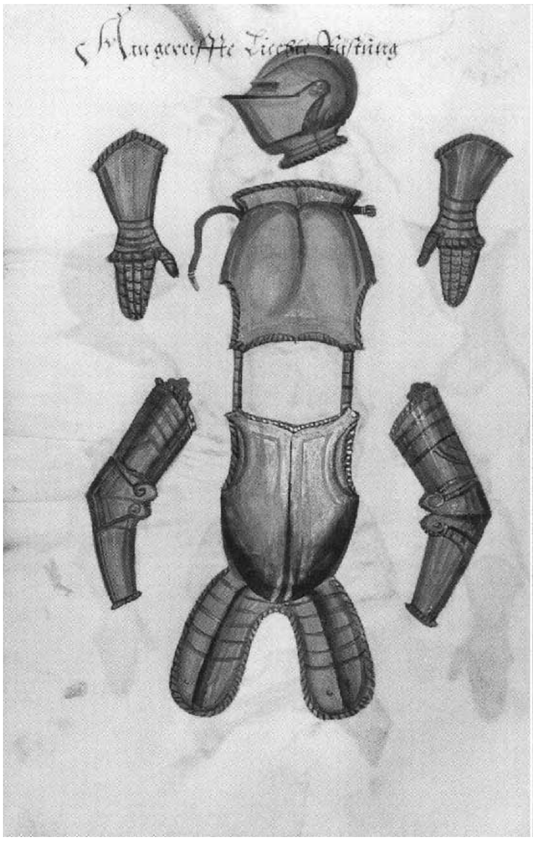

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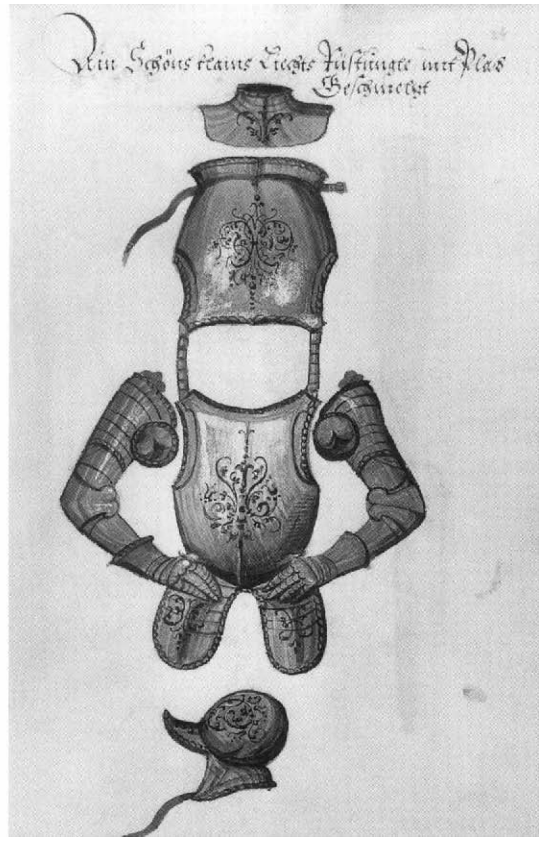
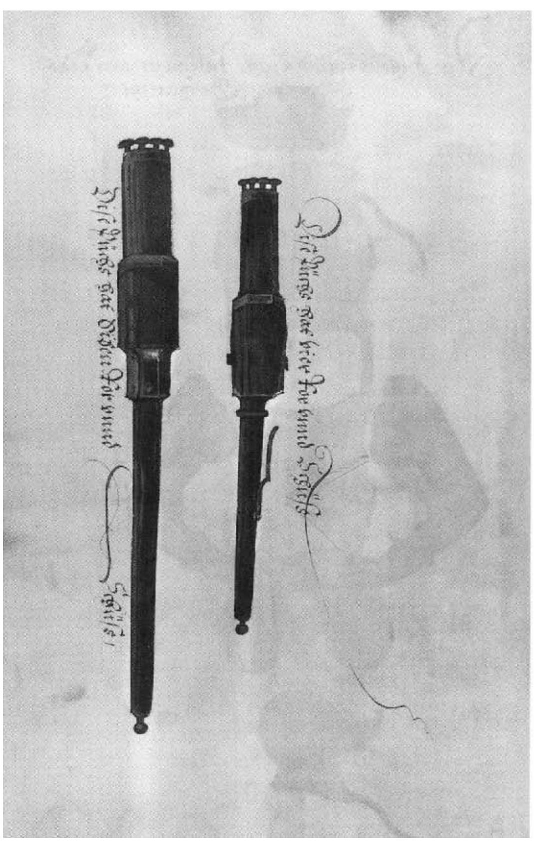


24r



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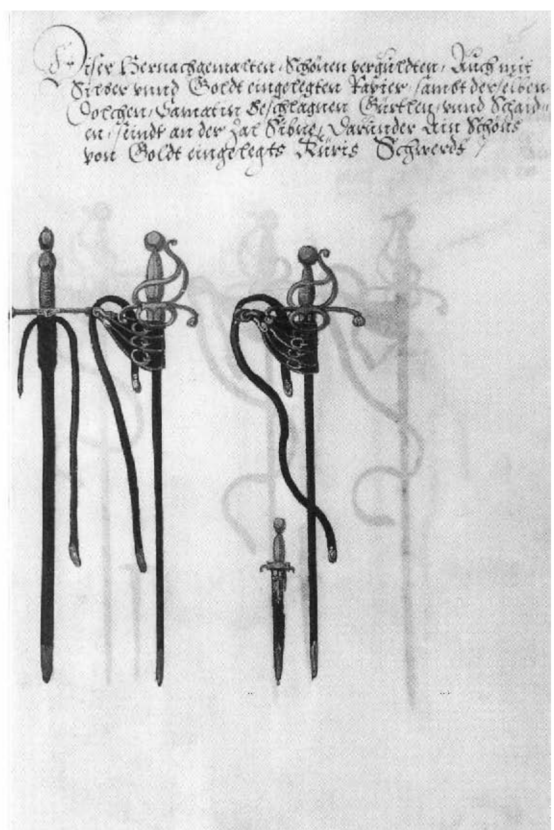
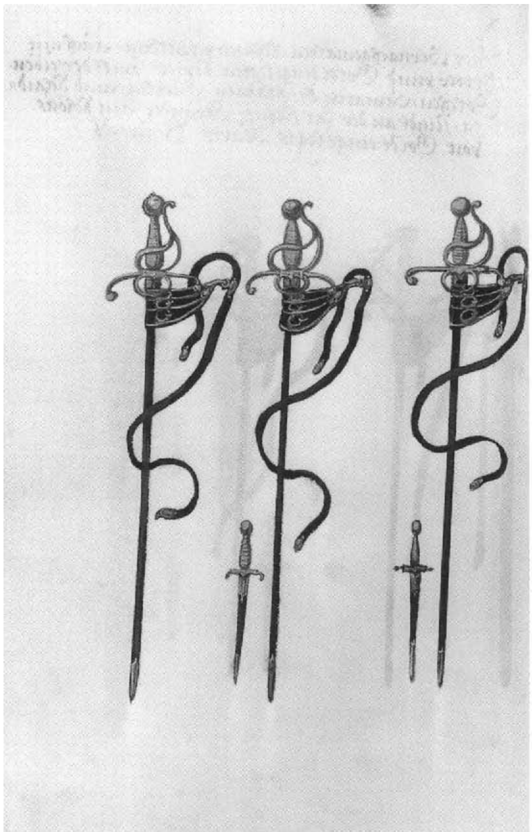
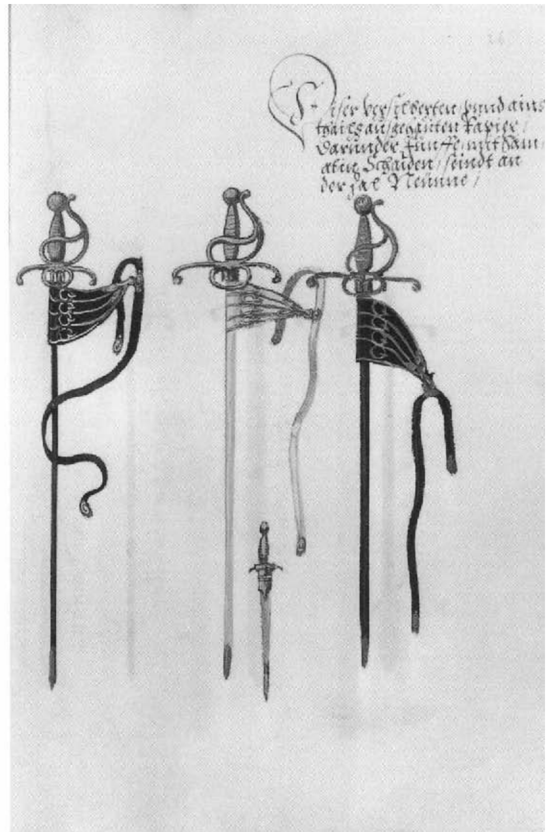


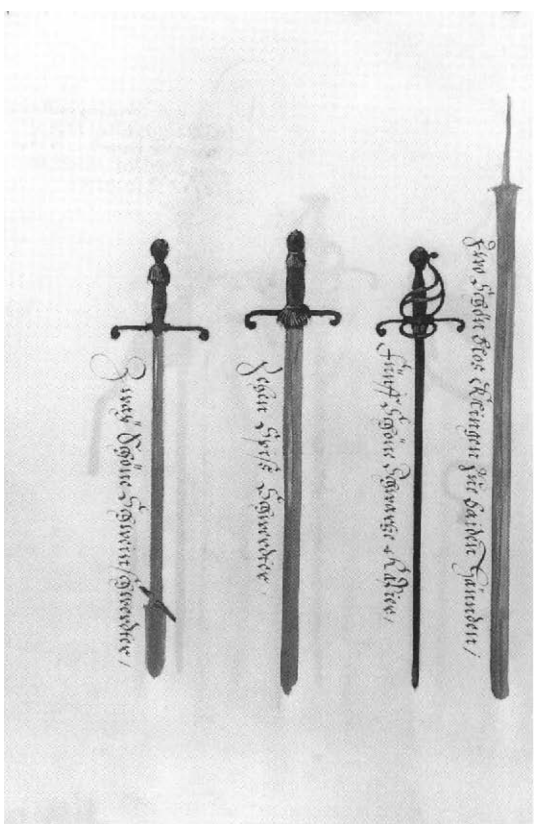
25r



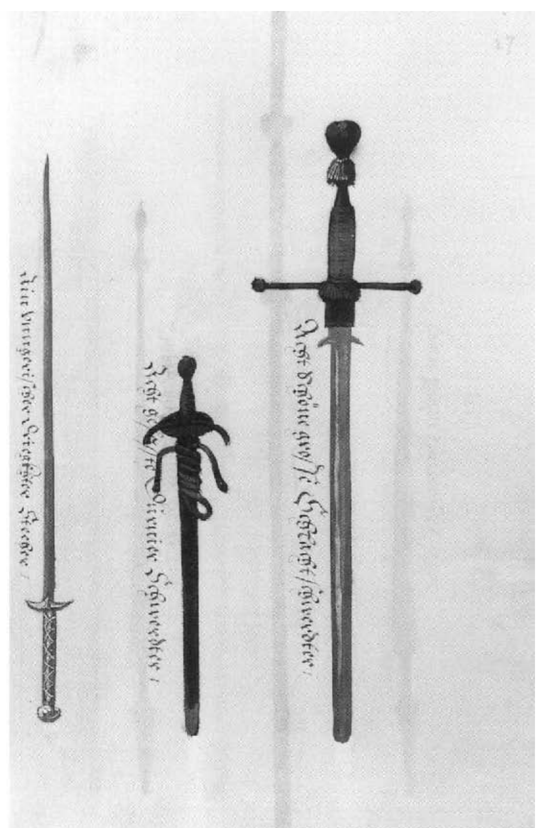
25v



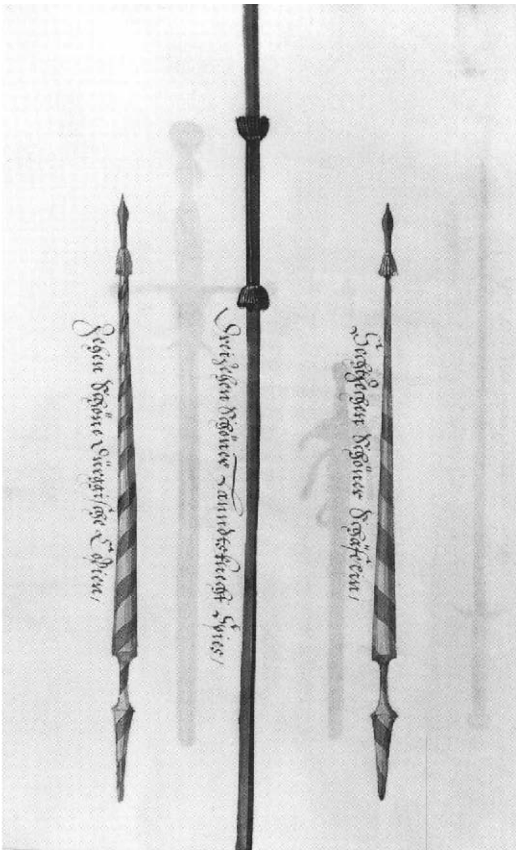
26r



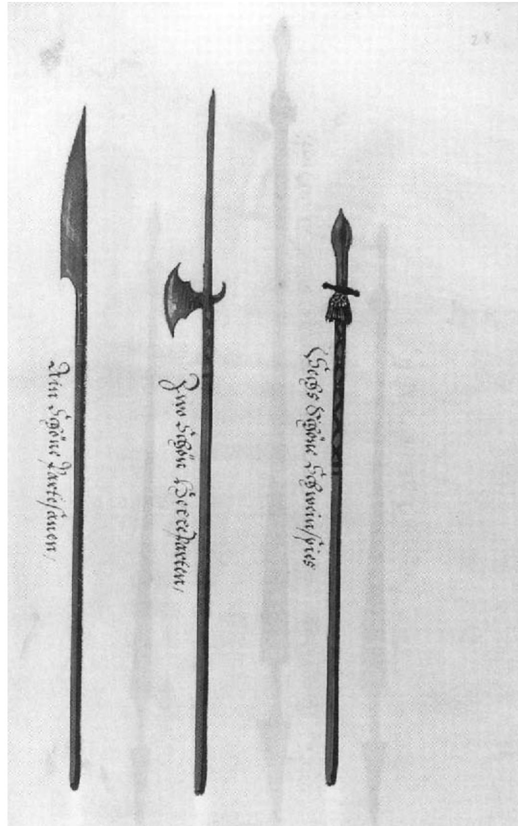
26v



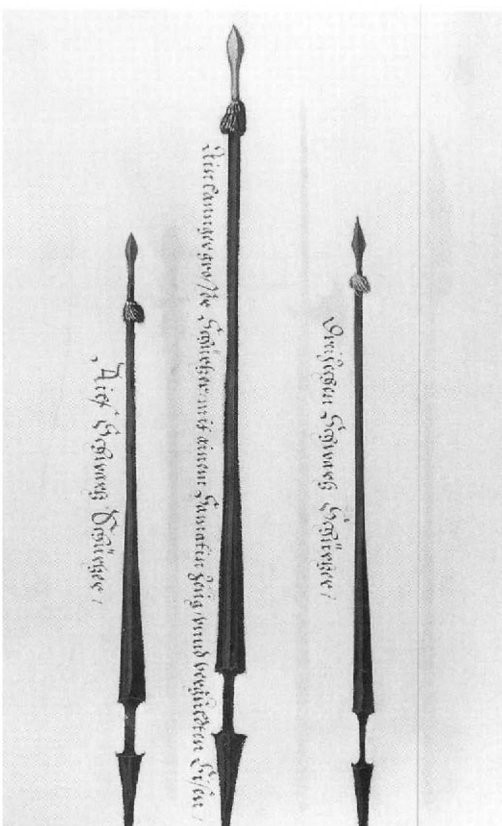
27r



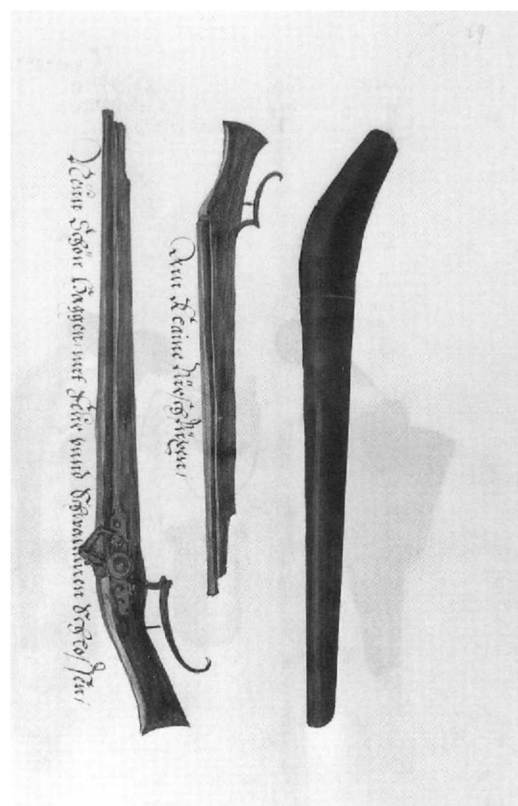
27v



28r

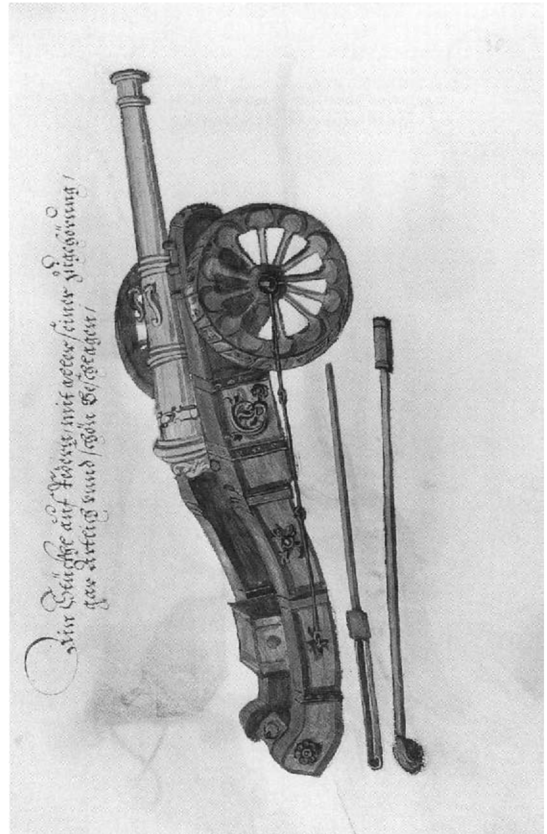


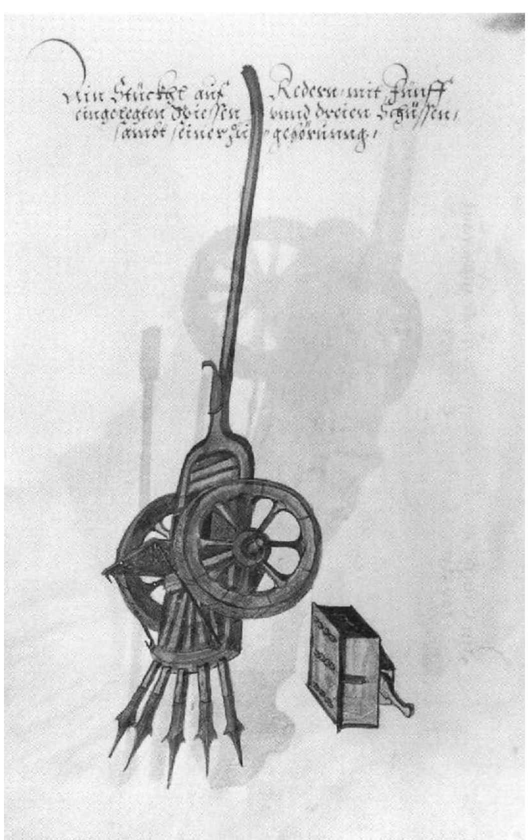
28v

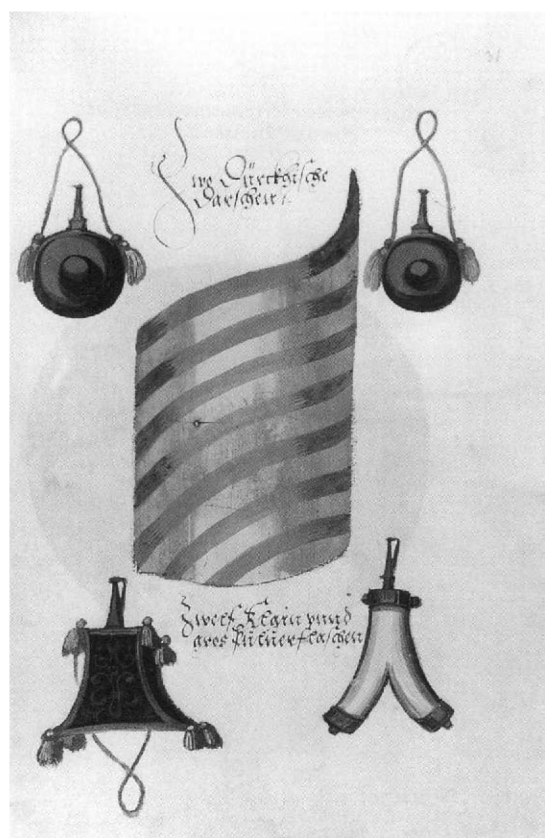


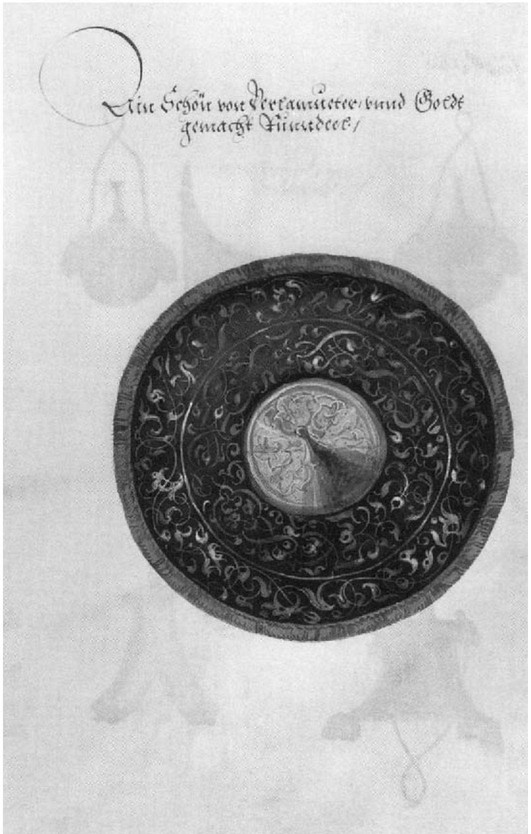
29r


29v

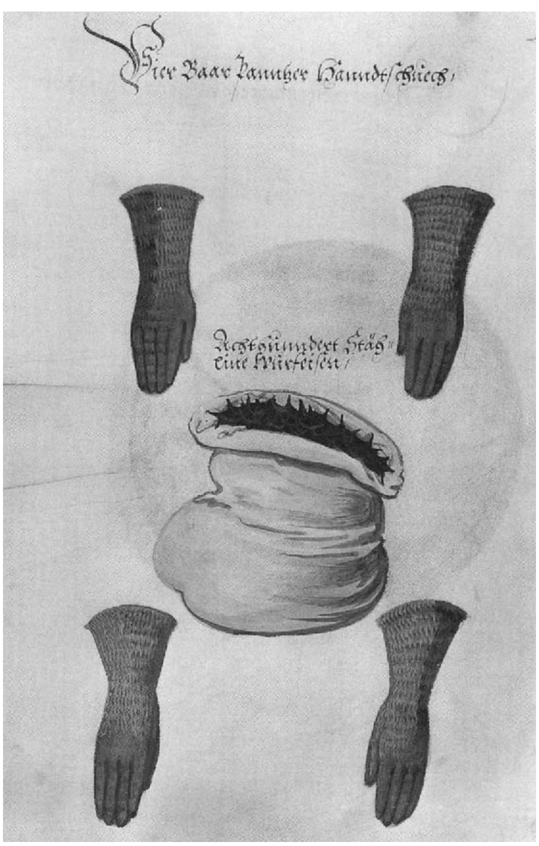

30r

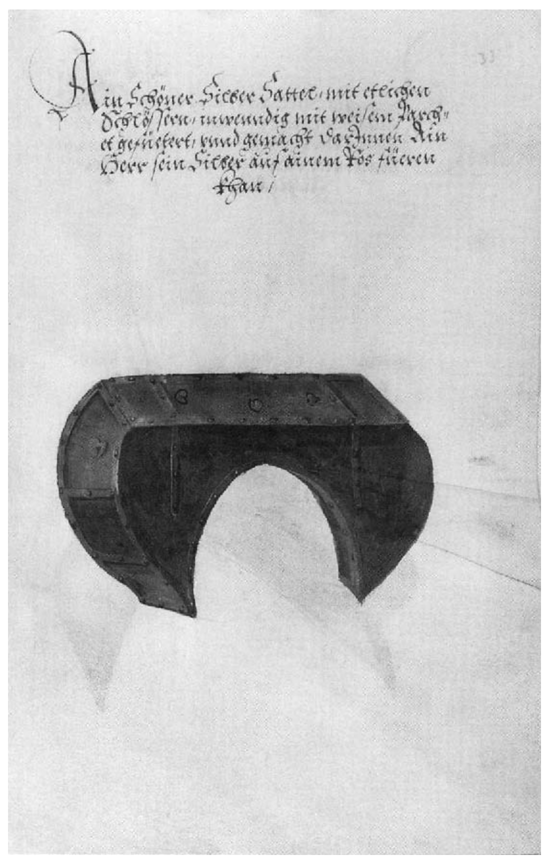

30v


31r

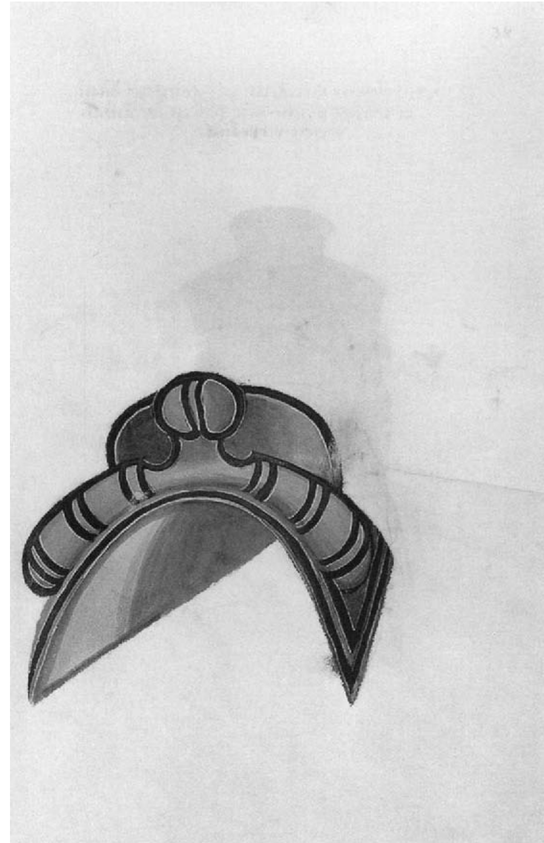

31v


32r


32v


33r

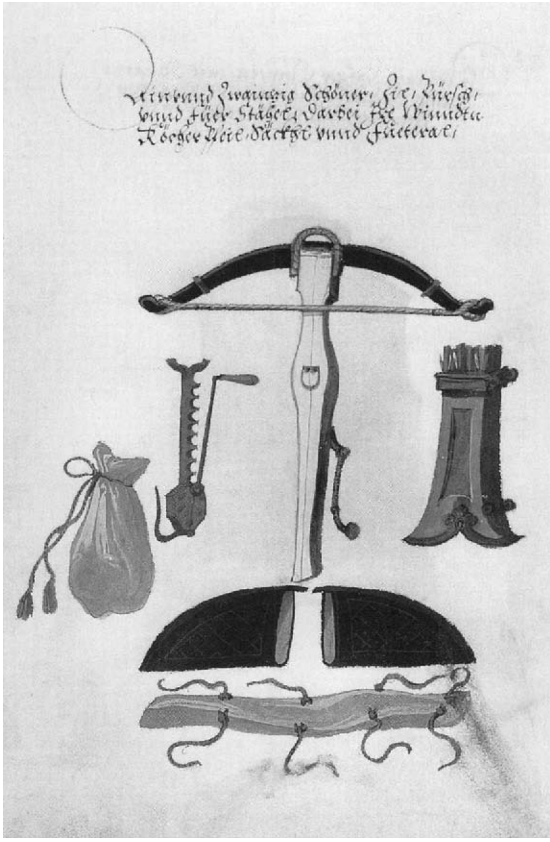
33v



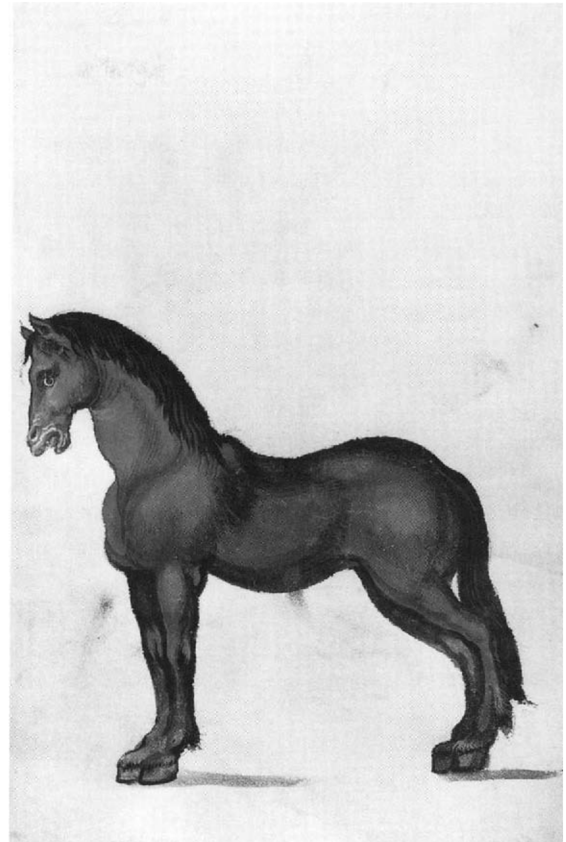
34r

34v

35r



35v



36r

Folio 30r. *Ain Stückhl auf Redern mit aller seiner Zugehörung, / gar artlich vnnd schön Beschlagen* [One (small) cannon[6] on wheels, with all its accessories, very handsomely and beautifully mounted]. The use of the diminutive "Stückhl" might indicate a model cannon.
Folio 30v. *Ain Stückhl auf Redern, mit Fünff / eingelegten Spiessen vnnd dreien Schüssen, / sambt seiner Zugehörung* [One (small) cannon on wheels, with five inserted darts and three shots, with its accessories]. This is apparently an experimental model.
Folio 31r. *Zwo Dürckgische / Darschen* [Two Turkish targes] // *Zwelf klain vnnd / gros Pulvierflaschen* [Twelve powder flasks, small and big]. One "Hungarian" targe and four powder flasks are shown.
Folio 31v. *Ain Schön von Perlamueter vnnd Goldt / gemacht Rundeel* [One beautiful round shield made of mother-of-pearl and gold]. This is probably an East Indian curio.
Folio 32r. *Dreir Schöne gemalte verguldte Rundeel* [Three beautifully painted and gilt round shields]. The one depicted shows the Justice of Trajan (see below).
Folio 32v. *Vier Baar Panntzer Hanndtschuech* [Four pairs of mail gauntlets] // *Achthundert Stäh- / line Wurfeisen* [Eight hundred steel caltrops]. Two pairs of gauntlets are depicted.
Folio 33r. *Ain Schöner Silber Sattel, mit etlichen / Schlössern, innwendig mit weisem Parch- / et Gefuetert, vnnd gemacht DarInnen Ain / Herr sein Silber auf ainem Ros füeren / khan* [One fine silver pack saddle, with several locks, on the inside lined with white *Barchent*, fashioned in such way that a gentleman can transport his (table) silverware on a horse]. *Barchent* is a heavy flannel, fuzzy on one side, smooth on the other.
Folios 33v–34r (2 pages). *Zwaintzig Sätel, vasst alle Liecht Geetzt, / vnnd Schwartz Beschlagen, mit Dürck- / hischem Leder Samat vnnd Tuech gemacht, / Sambt vier Sänfften Sättel mit aller / Zuegehörung* [Twenty saddles, almost all white with etched decoration, mounted and upholstered in black, with Turkish leather, velvet, and cloth, together with four litter saddles included, with all accessories]. One example of each saddle is illustrated; the unillustrated "Sänfften" saddles are possibly ladies' side saddles.
Folio 34v. *Ain Schöns Curacin mit grienem Sam- / at überzogen, vnnd mit gulden Passaman- / Porten verprämt* [One fine brigandine, covered in green velvet, and trimmed with golden gadroon braids]
Folio 35r. *Dreizehen Schöner Curacin, mit Samatin / vnnd Seiden Porthen verprämt, vberzoegen / vnnd nach dem pessten gemacht* [Thirteen fine brigandines, covered in

velvet and trimmed with silken braid, and made in the very best fashion]

Folio 35v. *Ainvnnd Zwaintzig Schöner, Zil, Pürsch, / vnnd Füer Stähel, Darbei Ire Winndln / Köcher Pfeil Säckhl vnnd Fueteral* [Twenty-one fine target, hunting, and fire crossbows with their cranequins, quivers, arrow bags, and bow covers]. "Stähel" are crossbows with steel bows; the term "Füer Stähel" might indicate that some of them were combination wheel-lock–crossbows.

Folio 36r. No caption; one wooden horse is depicted.

The Inventory

The illustrations are the work of a competent *Briefmaler* (a graphic artist, especially an illuminator of documents), although many technical details are omitted or not fully understood. The rendering of the armors, for example, is stylized, and none of the cuirasses for use on horseback are drawn with the lance rests they surely would have had. Most rapiers are shown in a simplified manner and as seen from the inside of their elaborate hilts. Not all objects mentioned in the respective captions are illustrated individually, and neither are all illustrations consistent with their descriptions. For instance, on folio 15r the caption declares this black armor to be a *geschobener* cuirass, that is, a laminated anime, but it is represented as having a solid breast- and backplate just like all the other black armors on folios 10v–14v and 15v–17r. Similarly, the plain white armor on folio 8v is called *gereifft*, which would mean "fluted," that is, a so-called Maximilian armor, because it is followed, on folio 9v, by an armor that is expressly called *glatt* (smooth) for contrast. There is another *gereiffte* armor, on folio 23v, but it, too, is not different from any of the white armors on folios 20r–23r.

Although the bulk of this inventory consists rather uniformly of objects of the second half of the sixteenth century, there are some odd items that the compiler simply placed at random. Thus, on folio 20r, among assorted elements of armor from the second half of the sixteenth century, we find a *Stechhelm*, a jousting helmet of about 1500, which has to be the remnant of a lost *Stechzeug*, a specialized German-style armor for the joust with blunt lances. The shield for such a *Stechzeug* would have been a *Stechtartsche*, a target like the one shown on folio 19r. Made of inch-thick wood and reinforced by a veneer of squares of bone or staghorn, polished glassy smooth, such a *Stechtartsche* protected the vulnerable left shoulder and armpit in the joust (Figure 1). On folio 19r it is associated incongruously with the "old antiquarian" armor for the baston-course. Since the shield was actually and literally the target for the correct lance thrust, it would not have been used in the baston-course, which was a game of horsemen's skill and was fought with clubs.

Figure 1. *Stechzeug*, German, ca. 1490–1500. Steel, leather, wood, horn. Musée de l'Armée, Paris (photo: © Musée de l'Armée)

This *Harnischkammer* contains arms and armor of high, even luxurious, quality. Several items look vaguely familiar in a tantalizing way, as is the case with the first pair of armors with their exchange pieces and a matching round shield (folios 1v–3v). Their decoration, consisting of an intricate pattern of interlaced straps, is very similar to that on a helmet for the field, probably made in Augsburg, about 1560–70, and now in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 2). It is part of a lost armor of which only this helmet and the right arm defense seem to have survived. The arm defense, in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (Figure 3), shows on its elbow couter the device of a sheaf of wheat tied by a ribbon with the motto "Finiunt pariter renovantque labores."[7] This device was identified by the late John F. Hayward as a design by the celebrated humanist Paolo Giovio, created for Alfonso d'Avalos, second marchese del Vasto (1502–1546), captain-general of the Imperial forces in Italy (appointed 1536), and governor of Milan (1537).[8] The same device has been used by Alfonso's descendants, and therefore Hayward attributed this lost armor to Alfonso's son, Ferrante Francesco d'Avalos, third marchese del Vasto (1531–1570). The paired armors that are shown on folios 1v–3v in the *Harnischkammer* manuscript must have been of comparable quality to the d'Avalos armor, which was made for a member of the high nobility. This confirms the assumption that we are dealing here with a family armory of the first order.

Besides equipment for knightly sports and games, there are also sets that were evidently meant to outfit a guard unit. The fourteen brigandines, or "Curacin" (from the Italian *corazzina,* a doublet lined with overlapping iron scales, their securing rivets visible on the outside and arranged for decorative effect), one of green velvet with gold braid on folio 34v, thirteen of black velvet with black silk trimmings on folio 35r, look as if they were uniforms for such a guard plus its *Wachtmeister* (captain of the guard). Similarly, there are also twelve field armors, thirteen pikes, one set of thirteen and one of eleven black cavalry lances, nine harquebuses, ten *Spiß* swords, and five black rapiers. The two "fine halberds" on folio 28r were probably parade arms for the sentinels on duty at the castle gate, and the *schöne Partesanen* on the same page would be the distinctive staff weapon of the *Wachtmeister.* On folio 26v, the ten *Spiß* (spit) swords, as their name indicates, seem to have been thrusting swords, likely sidearms for this presumed guard unit when it was serving on foot. (As a parallel, there are four *Stoßdegen* [thrusting rapiers], numbered *IIII, VI, VIII,* and *XV,* at Veste Coburg, in the former armory of the grand dukes of Saxe-Coburg.[9] These four *Stoßdegen* seem to be what is left of a set of sidearms for a ducal guard of at least fifteen men.) The five black rapiers also mentioned on folio 26v could have been this guard's parade sidearms. The lots of twelve field armors on folios 10v–11r and the six *Trabharnische*

Figure 2. Helmet, German, probably Augsburg, ca. 1560–70. Steel and gold. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander McMillan Welch, 1929 (29.153.3)

Figure 3. Right arm defense with the device of Ferrante Francesco II d'Avalos, German, probably Augsburg, ca. 1560–70. Steel and gold. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (photo: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum)

(half-armors for light cavalry) on folios 11v–12r, as well as the thirteen and the eleven black *Schürtzer* (campaign lances) on folio 28v, may have been equipment for this unit as well.

Two-handed swords, such as the eight *Schlachtschwerter* on folio 27r, were borne in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century warfare by men picked for the job. Referred to as *Doppelsöldner*, they would be receiving double pay but were positioned either before pikemen's squares as *der verlorene Haufe* (the doomed troop, misinterpreted in English as "the forlorn hope"), a suicide commando to crack open a breach in the enemy's front, or, more safely, as color guards in the center of the square. By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, these romantically named *Schlachtschwerter* were obsolete and were carried only as impressive parade pieces in processions and on similar ceremonial occasions.

In addition to equipment for use by the family and household retainers, there are trophies presumably taken in the Turkish Wars of the sixteenth century (the First Siege of Vienna by the Turks was in 1529). The ten Turkish lances on folio 27v would have been such war trophies, as would have been the two "Turkish targes" mentioned on folio 31r; the Hungarian estoc on folio 27r might also have been a campaign souvenir.

There are six individual shields listed besides those that form part of the armor garnitures. In addition to the two aforementioned "Turkish targes," two round shields are singled out for special attention by their prominent placement one per page. The *Rundeel* on folio 31v is described as "beautiful" and "made of mother-of-pearl and gold." Its main surface, divided into two concentric bands, is painted with gold arabesques with black decoration on a black ground. At the center is a circular plate, or umbo, rendered in gold with black decoration, with a pronounced point or spike in the center. The edge is trimmed with green fringe. The reference to its decoration with mother-of-pearl suggests that it was probably not of European manufacture. Mother-of-pearl was not used to decorate western or even Turkish shields but is frequently encountered in the sixteenth century as embellishing a variety of *Kunstkammer* objects such as caskets, game boards, and basins and ewers of Indo-Portuguese origin. A spectacular shield of this material, formerly in the Medici armory, is preserved in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, where it is ascribed to Gujarat manufacture in northern India and dated to the 1570s.[10] The shield on folio 31v may have had a similar origin and was collected as an exotic curio.

The other shield, on folio 32r, said to represent three shields, is painted in gold on a black ground with an elaborate figural composition. The rendering suggests that the decoration was painted rather than embossed in relief. The scene is recognizable as the Justice of Trajan, one of the pseudo-historical legends with a moral that were so popular from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.[11] The rendering is so detailed as to be identifiable as having been based on the 1537 woodcut of the same subject by Hans Sebald Beham.[12] Presumably the other two shields were similarly painted with classical themes. Parade shields of this type—constructed of a wooden core of deep convex section covered with leather and gesso and then painted in polychrome or grisaille with golden highlights—were typically Italian, most dating to the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Frequently encountered in sixteenth-century inventories, they are rarely if ever depicted in their period of use.[13]

Although it is not known which armory is documented in this manuscript, the "old antiquarian armor" on folio 19r might provide a clue. This is an armor for the *Kolbenturnier* (baston-course), the most prestigious form of tournament in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As mentioned above, it was a game of superior horsemanship fought either in teams or man-to-man with clubs or blunt swords. Participation in a baston-course was a privilege reserved only for knights with at least four generations of noble ancestors. The authoritative work about the proper way to perform tournaments was the *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournois*, by King René I d'Anjou (ca. 1450). Significantly, the *Traité* goes to great lengths to list and explain the correct ceremonies surrounding a tournament and even illustrates the right equipment to be used, but it does this only for the baston-course; the joust, which for us is the classical form of tournament, is not mentioned at all.[14] On the other hand, the comprehensive woodcut series *Triumph of Maximilian I* (1512–15) lists and illustrates no fewer than thirteen types of jousts with lances, but it does not include the by then obsolete baston-course.[15]

Because of the ever-increasing expenses of staging a tournament, *Turniergesellschaften* (tourneying societies) were founded in the second half of the fourteenth century to defray the prohibitive costs. As mentioned above, these societies were very exclusive, and it has been plausibly argued that the special care and attention they accorded the baston-course, fought with clubs, gave rise to the custom of calling exclusive societies "clubs."[16] Consequently, in heraldry the baston-course helmet, with its barred visor, became the mark of old nobility when it was used to bear a crest in an armorial achievement. Part of the preparation for a tournament was a special examination, the *Helmschau*, in which the participants had to put on display their

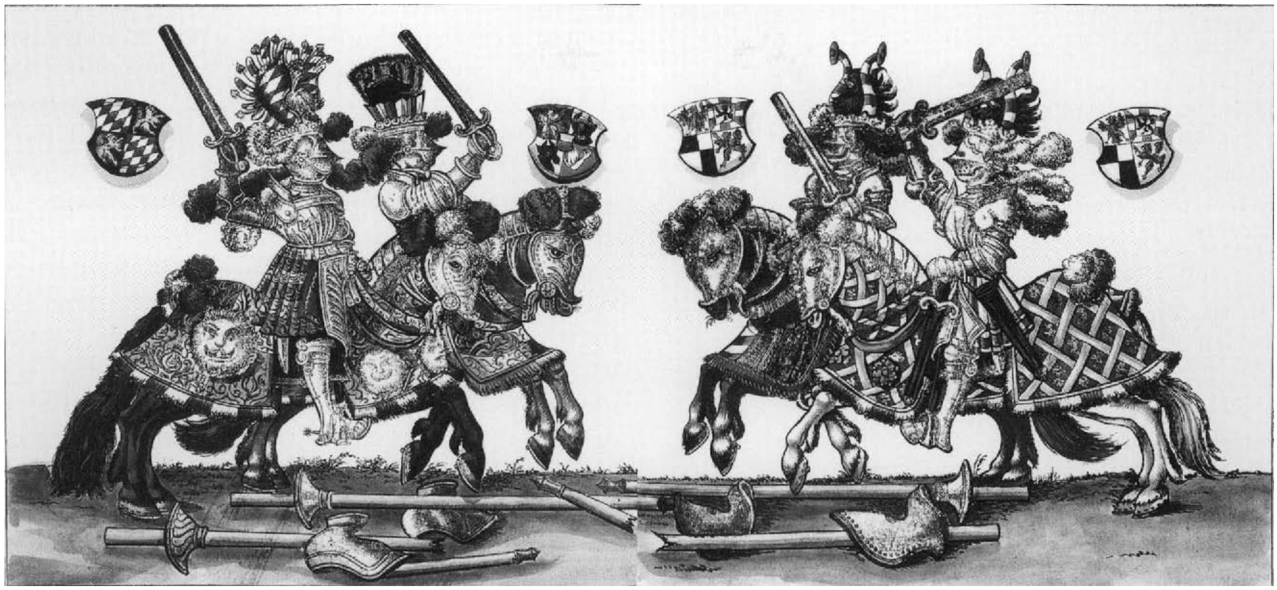


Figure 4. *Kampf* (mounted combat with swords), second course of the *Feldturnier*, miniature in the *Turnierbuch* of Herzog Wilhelm IV of Bavaria. Note the discarded grandguards among the dropped and broken lances from the first course (photo: after Theobald Senefelder, Clemens Senefelder, and Friedrich von Schlichtegroll, *Turnier Buch Herzogs Wilhelm des Vierten von Bayern von 1510 bis 1545* [Munich, 1817], pl. 30)

crested helmets to be judged by elected peers. Also, there was a panel of ladies who could bring charges against a miscreant knight, who would then be punished by disqualification and his helmet demonstratively thrown down in disgrace (see Figure 6).

About a dozen *Turniergesellschaften* were flourishing in southern Germany alone; they bore colorful names after their heraldic cognizances, such as "of the Beagle and Wreath in Swabia," "of the Unicorn in Franconia," "of the Bear in Bavaria," "of the Buckle in Franconia," "of the Greyhound at the Rhine River," "of the Lower Donkey at the Main," "of the Upper Donkey in the Odenwald and the Kraichgau," "of the Crown," "of the Falcon and Fish," etc. However, in spite of the efforts of the *Turniergesellschaften*, the baston-course tournament at Worms in 1487 was the last one ever held in Germany.[17] On the other hand, the joust with lances continued to be popular, sometimes modified as a *Feldturnier*. This was actually a double course, fought in field armor with special reinforcements, such as bevors covering the lower part of the visor, chin, and neck part of the helmets and grandguards at the left shoulders. After the jousting course the lances were abandoned, bevors and grandguards discarded, and a second course was fought with blunt swords (Figure 4), like the *Durnier Schwerdter* on folio 27r. (The ring of blade against blade or armor was also more satisfactory for the watching crowd than the dull thuds of the clubs.) The armor "with elements for all kinds of knightly jousts" on folios 5v–8r has two types of rein-

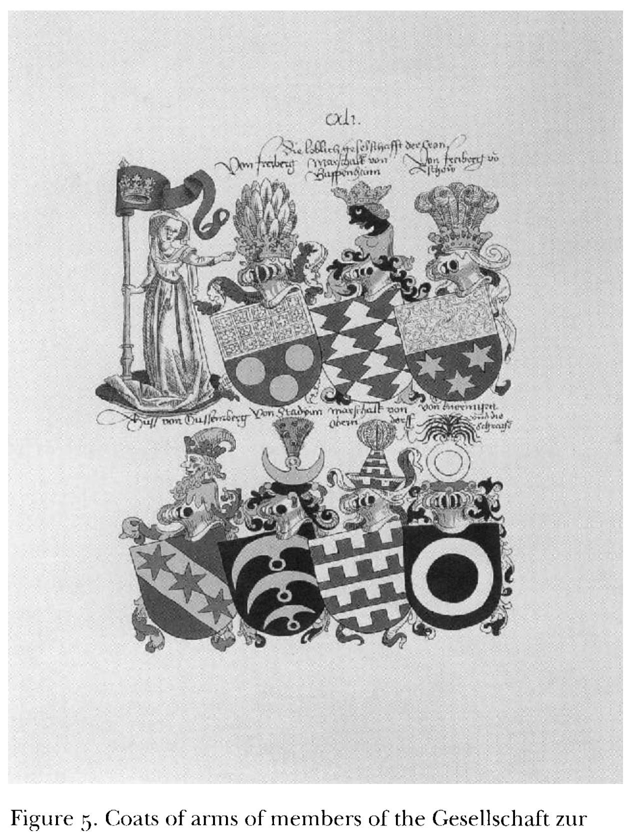


Figure 5. Coats of arms of members of the Gesellschaft zur Krone depicted in a miniature in Konrad Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* (Constance, 1483). The arms of von Stadion are second from left in the bottom row (photo: after Rudolf Graf Stillfried-Alcántara and Adolf M. Hildebrandt, eds., *Des Conrad Grünenberg: Ritters und Burgers zu Costenz, Wappenbuch* [Görlitz, 1875], p. CXLI)

Figure 6. *Helmschau*, miniature in Konrad Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* (Constance, 1483) (photo: after Rudolf Graf Stillfried-Alcántara and Adolf M. Hildebrandt, eds., *Des Conrad Grünenberg: Ritters und Burgers zu Costenz, Wappenbuch* [Görlitz, 1875], p. CCI)

forcing bevor (folio 6r) and two types of grandguard (folio 7r, top left). Finally, it has a *Gupfe*, a reinforcement piece to be fixed to the top of the helmet for the combat with blunt swords (folio 8r, center).

As noted above, the arms on the breastplate and the saddle wings of the "old antiquarian armor" (folio 19r)—*sable, three Wolfsangeln or*—are those of the counts von Stadion, who had extensive holdings in the upper Danube region (Figure 5).[18] The counts von Stadion took part in most recorded tournaments in South Germany over three centuries. They were members of the Turniergesellschaft zur Krone (of the Crown),[19] and many of them were entrusted to judge at the *Helmschau*. In fact, the famous picture of a *Helmschau* in Konrad Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* of 1483 shows the helmet of von Stadion, with its crest of a *Wolfsangel* surmounted by a plume of peacock feathers, in the bottommost row of the display of helmets (Figure 6).[20]

The most likely candidate for the "old antiquarian armor" would be Count Hans, who was called *der Reiche* (the Rich).[21] He was the youngest of the ten children of Count Eytel von Stadion (d. 1392), and he was probably born about 1390, to Count Eytel's third wife. In spite of the handicap of being the youngest son, Hans became the most distinguished member of this distinguished family in the fifteenth century. He was seneschal of the House of Brandenburg-Biberach, and he held his own in a delicate balance within the complicated patchwork of fiercely independent *Reichsritter* (lords directly under the emperor), free city states, and the neighboring ducal dynasties of Würt-

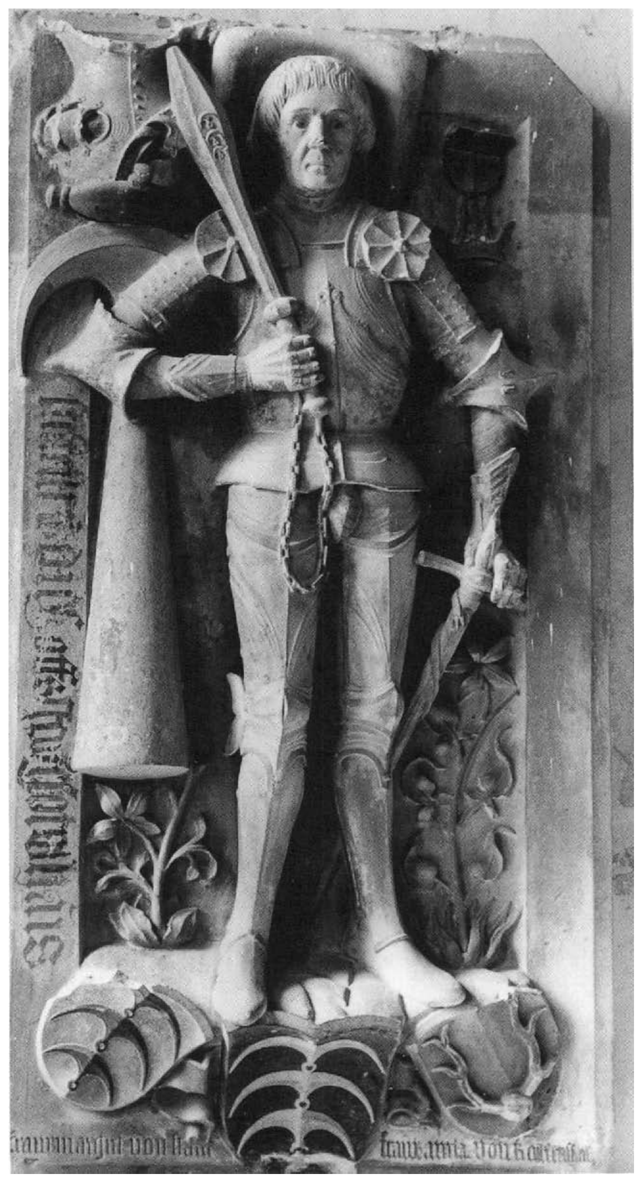


Figure 7. Tomb effigy of Count Hans "der Reiche" von Stadion (d. 1459), by Jörg Syrlin the Younger, Ulm, 1489. Pfarrkirche St. Martin, Oberstadion, Kr. Ehingen (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

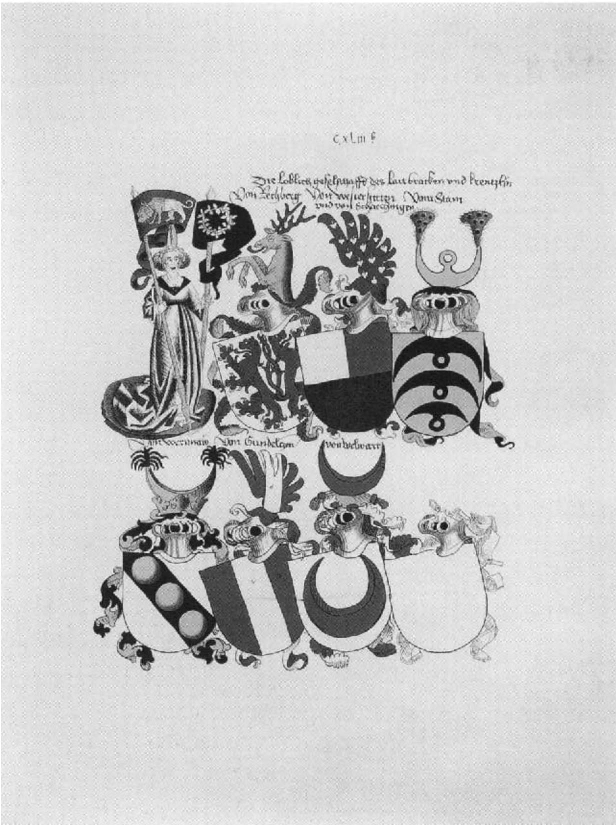


Figure 8. Coats of arms of members of the Gesellschaft zum Leitbracken und Kränzlein, miniature in Konrad Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* (Constance, 1483). The arms of von Stein are at right in the top row (photo: after Rudolf Graf Stillfried-Alcántara and Adolf M. Hildebrandt, eds., *Des Conrad Grünenberg: Ritters und Burgers zu Costenz, Wappenbuch* [Görlitz, 1875], p. CXLIII)

temberg and Bavaria. He died in 1459 and is portrayed on his tomb effigy in full Gothic armor but bare headed (Figure 7). His *Kolbenturnier* helmet (shown upside down) with its crest of a *Wolfsangel* surmounted by a huge conical plume of peacock feathers lies by his side, and he shoulders his *Kolben,* the baston-course club, decorated with the three *Wolfsangeln.* The *Kolben* is secured by a chain to the breastplate. In relief above his left shoulder is the badge of the Turniergesellschaft zur Krone. The effigy, in the parish church St. Martin at Oberstadion, is by Jörg Syrlin the Younger of Ulm and dated 1489.[22] Count Hans was married twice; his first wife was Margrit von Stein, and the second was Anna von Kaltenthal. At Count Hans's feet are three armorial shields; the one in the center bears the arms of von Stadion: *sable, three Wolfsangeln or*; the one on the dexter displays the arms of von Stein: *Or, three Wolfsangeln sable* (Figure 8); and the one on the sinister those of von Kaltenthal: *Gules, a stag's attire argent.* In spite of being married twice, Count Hans died without issue, and the Swabian House of Stadion

Figure 9. *Kolbenturnierhelm* with the arms of von Stein, South German, mid-15th century. Steel, fabric, gesso, and paint. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Christian A. Zabriskie, 1940 (40.135.3)

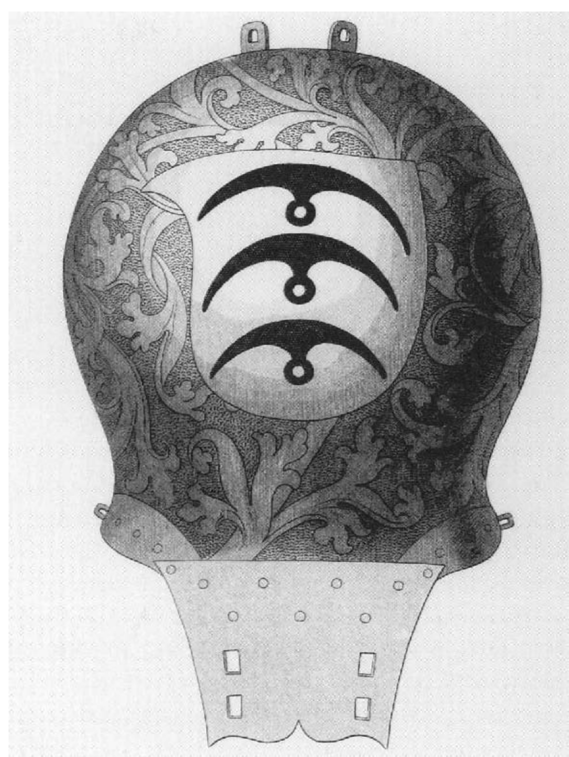


Figure 10. Rear view of the *Kolbenturnierhelm* in Figure 9, showing the arms of von Stein (photo: after J. H. von Hefner-Alteneck, *Waffen: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Waffenkunde vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis gegen Ende des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* [Frankfurt am Main, 1903], pl. 47c)

was continued through his nephews, sons of his half brother Ludwig (d. 1449), until it died out in 1693.

One of the few surviving *Kolbenturnier* helmets is in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 9). Readily distinguished by its large grilled face defense typical of these helmets, the bowl is constructed of an iron framework covered with leather, canvas, modeled gesso, and paint, with front and rear plates pierced with slots that allowed the helmet to be secured rigidly to the breast- and backplates. The gessoed surface, now badly damaged, is incised with an overall foliate design. At the back is a large incised shield painted with the arms of the von Stein family: *Or, three Wolfsangeln sable* (Figure 10).[23] While only traces of the arms and their coloring remain today, a nineteenth-century engraving of the helmet when it was in the Hohenzollern armory in Sigmaringen Castle, Bavaria, gives a better sense of the original decoration.[24]

In conclusion it can be said that this manuscript is a bibliophile's rarissimum. There is only one other known illustrated manuscript inventory of a private armor collection in the sixteenth century, the celebrated *Inventario illuminado* of the armory of Emperor Charles V. The *Inventario* was compiled and executed in watercolor drawings on paper between 1544 and 1558, the year of the emperor's death. It exists in two copies, still kept in the Real Armeria, Madrid.[25] When the *Glückshafen* manuscript was acquired in 1950 by the then Curator of Arms and Armor, Stephen V. Grancsay, it was thought to be an inventory of the armory of a castle of a sixteenth-century nobleman, and the bag with 1,000 *Reichsgulden* was interpreted as a prize won in a tournament.[26] However, the term *Glückshafen* leaves no doubt that we are dealing with a lottery. Our manuscript, on parchment with gilt edges, must have been the deluxe master copy of the collection's owner, but how the lottery itself was organized remains a mystery. A likely way would have been a silent auction, with the bag of guilders as a raffle prize. Equally mysterious is the way this *Glückshafen* would have been brought to the attention of the interested public. Neither invitations nor advertisements for it are known to have survived, although some lotteries are documented as having splurged on publicity. For a festival with a *Glückshafen* in 1480, the City of Augsburg sent out 400 *Ladebriefe* (invitations) written on parchment, and in 1486, Duke Albrecht IV the Wise of Bavaria sent out 600 printed *Ladebriefe*, each more than two feet long, for a *Schützenfest* and *Glückshafen* in Munich. One of the most puzzling aspects of our manuscript is its exorbitant *Glückshafen* prize, the bag of 1,000 "good" guilders. Other *Glückshafen* lotteries were known to have drawn thousands of bettors, but their prizes were relatively modest, mostly plate or jewelry rarely more than 100 guilders in value. These lotteries were usually fund-raising affairs for the benefit of public projects or charities. Here, however, the lottery sale was organized by an aristocrat, who squandered his family's armory containing some centuries-old heirlooms, while sweetening the pot with a prize of unheard-of riches.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For generous help in the preparation of this article it is my pleasure to thank my friends and colleagues in the Department of Arms and Armor, Stuart W. Pyhrr, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Curator in Charge, Donald J. LaRocca, Curator, and Dirk Breiding, Assistant Curator. Also, I thank Philippa Marks at the British Library for her opinion on the date of the binding. Above all, special thanks are due to Walter Suckert, Ludwigsburg, who greatly helped me by supplying crucial and hard-to-come-by archival material about the counts von Stadion.

NOTES

1. C.-M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1923; repr., New York, 1985), vol. 3, p. 473, no. 8827. I am grateful to Stuart W. Pyhrr for this source and for contacting Philippa Marks, British Library, London, who confirmed the dating of the binding as of the last quarter of the sixteenth century.
2. Count Wilczek (1837–1922) rebuilt the medieval castle of Kreuzenstein from ruins beginning in 1879 and outfitted the interior with period architectural elements, furniture, stained glass, and other works of art, including an extensive armory and a library that contained some rare manuscripts. The appeal of this lottery manuscript to this armor collector is obvious. For Wilczek as a collector, see Graf Wilczek (Johann Nepomuk), *Erinnerungen eines Waffensammlers* (Vienna, 1908), and *Gentleman of Vienna, by Count Wilczek: Reminiscences Edited by His Daughter, Elizabeth, Countess Kinsky, and Translated by A. J. Ashton* (New York, 1934). I am grateful to Stuart Pyhrr for bringing Countess Kinsky's *Reminiscences* to my attention.
3. *Glück* means luck, and *Hafen* is a South German dialect word for a large earthenware vessel; in heraldry it is an antiquated term for a wide-mouthed water jar. The procedure for this lottery was presumably a silent auction; the "jackpot" was apparently to be won as a raffle prize. A *Glückshafen* is recorded as a special event at the *Schützenfest* that took place at Schwäbisch-Gmünd, July 8, 1480. The bettor paid one *Kreuzer* and put a slip of paper with his name and a "luck wish" into the *Glückshafen*. In order to finance a *Schützenfest* in Zurich in September

1504, a *Glückshafen* was made. It attracted 24,000 bettors, who put up eight *Heller* each in the hope of winning one of the twenty-eight prizes, ranging from one to fifty *Gulden*. See Harry Kühnel, "Der Glückshafen: Zur kollektiven Festkultur des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, n.s., 62, pt. 1 (1996), pp. 319–43; and Klaus Graf, "Gmünd im Spätmittelalter: Alltag und Feste," in *Geschichte der Stadt Schwäbisch Gmünd* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 168–72. I am grateful to Dirk Breiding for bringing these sources to my attention.

4. For an introduction to lottery sales in England and to the lottery of 1586 in particular, see F. H. Cripps-Day, *A Sale of Armour by Lottery in 1586*, Fragmenta armamentaria, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Frome, 1938).

5. The charge known in heraldry as *Wolfsangel* was part of a cruel device to entrap wolves. However, the *Wolfsangel* proper was a Z-shaped toggle that worked like a fishhook. The baited toggle would be hidden in a lump of meat and attached by a chain to the crescent-shaped *Wolfsanker*, which was anchored at a tree or a rock. Therefore, the latter device should properly be called a *Wolfsangelanker*. It is easy to see why the term *Wolfsangel* was preferred. See Richard von König-Warthausen, "Heraldische Allotria," *Württembergische Vierteljahreshefte für Landesgeschichte* 12 (1889), p. 167 (referenced by Dr. Ralf Beckmann, Stadtmuseum und Archiv der Stadt Fellbach, Germany); and Anca Borho, "Wolfsangel oder Wolfsanker, Fellbachs Stadtwappen ist falsch: 25 Jahre 'unter falscher Flagge,'" http://www.thomas-scharnowski.de/wappen/WappenFellbach.htm (accessed August 15, 2006). I am grateful to Dirk Breiding for bringing these sources to my attention.

6. "Stück" was a German term for a field cannon from the fourteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. That usage is now obsolete.

7. "The works are finished and at the same time start again," referring to the harvested sheaf of wheat that now has to be threshed, the grain ground to flour, and the flour baked into bread.

8. John F. Hayward, "The Armours of the Family of d'Avalos, Marchese di Pescara e del Vasto," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, n.s., 1 (1959), pp. 52–53.

9. Alfred Geibig, *Gefährlich und schön: Eine Auswahl historischer Waffen aus den Beständen der Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg* (Coburg, 1996), pp. 106–7.

10. Mario Scalini, "Exotica in der mediceischen Kunstkammer: Bemerkungen zur Herkunftsfrage und zu ihrer einstigen Präsentation," in *Exotica: Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance; die Beiträge des am 19. und 20. Mai 2000 vom Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien veranstalteten Symposiums*, ed. Helmut Trnek and Sabine Haag (Mainz, 2001), pp. 139–40, fig. 13; and Giovanna Damiani and Mario Scalini, eds., *Islam, specchio d'Oriente: Rarità e preziosi nelle collezioni statali fiorentine*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Livorno, 2002), p. 34, no. 12 (entry by Scalini). I am grateful to Stuart W. Pyhrr for bringing these sources to my attention.

11. The *Kaiserchronik*, a Middle High German poem of 17,283 lines, by an anonymous clerk, probably at Regensburg, ca. 1150, narrates the history of thirty-two Roman and eighteen German emperors. The stories are moralizing in tone. One of the most popular was the Justice of Emperor Trajan. It tells (ll. 5910–6116) that once the emperor's son recklessly raced his horse and ran over and killed the only child of a widow. The bereaved mother appealed to Trajan, who ordered his son to marry her and beget her another child. The *Kaiserchronik* went through several editions over the centuries and was still popular in the sixteenth century. In the collections of the Department of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum is a Swiss dagger, ca. 1570 (acc. no. 14.25.1287), with a scabbard decorated in relief showing the Justice of Trajan.

12. See F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700*, vol. 3, *Hans Sebald Beham* (Amsterdam, 1956), p. 60.

13. For an introduction on painted shields of this type, see Stuart W. Pyhrr, "A Renaissance Painted Shield Attributed to Girolamo da Treviso: Part 1, The Kienbusch Shield and Related Examples," in Claude Blair et al., *Studies in European Arms and Armor: The C. Otto von Kienbusch Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia, 1992), esp. pp. 100–104.

14. René d'Anjou, *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournoi*, ed. Edmond Pognon, Verve, vol. 4, no. 16 (Paris, 1946).

15. *The Triumph of Maximilian I: 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others*, trans. and ed. Stanley Appelbaum (New York, 1964).

16. Charlotte Becher and Ortwin Gamber, eds., *Die Wappenbücher Herzog Albrechts VI. von Österreich (Ingeram-Codex) der ehem. Bibliothek Cotta*, Jahrbuch der Heraldisch-Genealogischen Gesellschaft "Adler," 3rd ser., vol. 12 (Vienna, 1986), p. 15 ("Turniergesellschaften").

17. The Worms tournament of 1487 was the last one the *Turniergesellschaften* "of the four lands" could afford to hold; see Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry, and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1989), chap. 7, "Tournament Armor."

18. D. Stiefenhofer, "Chronik der gräflichen Familie von Stadion," 1880–88, typescript copy of manuscript in the library of Oberstadion. The family split into a Swabian branch and an Alsatian branch ca. 1400. The Swabian branch died out in 1693; the Alsatian branch still flourished at the time the "Chronik" was written. I am grateful to Walter Suckert for bringing the "Chronik" to my attention.

For the arms of Stadion, see Becher and Gamber, eds., *Die Wappenbücher Herzog Albrechts VI.*, pl. 10; and Rudolf Graf Stillfried-Alcántara and Adolf M. Hildebrandt, eds., *Des Conrad Grünenberg: Ritters und Burgers zu Costenz, Wappenbuch* (Görlitz, 1875), p. CXLI.

19. For instance, Burkard von Stadion took part in the 1479 tournament at Würzburg; Hans von Stadion (another than Hans "der Reiche") in 1481 at Heidelberg, in 1484 at Stuttgart, and in 1486 at Bamberg; Claus and Walter von Stadion in 1481 at Heidelberg; Willm von Stadion in 1481 at Heidelberg, in 1484 at Stuttgart, and in 1487 at Regensburg; Cuntz von Stadion in 1484 at Stuttgart and at Ingolstadt, and in 1486 at Bamberg. They were all members of the Turniergesellschaft zur Krone.

20. Stillfried-Alcántara and Hildebrandt, eds., *Des Conrad Grünenberg*, p. CCI.

21. Stiefenhofer, "Chronik," pp. 31–33.

22. Eugen Gradmann, Hans Klaiber, and Hans Christ, *Kunstwanderungen in Württemberg und Hohenzollern*, 4th ed., rev. and ed. Cord Meckseper (Stuttgart, 1970), pp. 359–60, "Oberstadion, Kreis Ehingen." The entry text mentions the tomb effigy of Hans von Stadion (d. 1459), signed by Jörg Syrlin of Ulm and dated 1489, as a work "of barely mediocre quality." Jörg Syrlin the Elder died in 1491; recently the effigy has been attributed to Jörg Syrlin the Younger. I am grateful to Walter Suckert for bringing this source to my attention, and to Dirk Breiding for

notifying me about the new attribution to Jörg Syrlin the Younger.

23. The *turnierfähige* members of the von Stein family were traditionally members of the Turniergesellschaft zum Leitbracken und Kränzlein (of the Beagle and Wreath).
24. See J. H. von Hefner-Alteneck, *Waffen: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Waffenkunde vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis gegen Ende des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 1903), pl. 47c.
25. Conde viudo Valencia de Don Juan (Juan Bautista Crooke y Navarrot), "Bilderinventar der Waffen, Rüstungen, Gewänder und Standarten Karl V. in der Armeria Real zu Madrid," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 10 (1889), pp. CCCLIII–CCCXCIX; 11 (1890), pp. CCXLII–CCCXXIII.
26. Information contained in a memorandum from Grancsay to Francis Henry Taylor, Director of the Metropolitan Museum, December 28, 1950, copy in the files of the Department of Arms and Armor.

Two Allegorical Sculptures by Francesco Ladatte

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IN 1970, TWO AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS—the Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation and the Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Paul Foundation, which, for the previous ten years had helped to create a remarkable collection of important French eighteenth-century sculpture—offered the Metropolitan Museum two large sculpture groups in lead of children, symbolic of the Seasons (Figures 1, 2), with a Turinese provenance.[1] According to the dealer Georges Wildenstein, the two groups had been acquired from the second duke of Aosta, Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy (1869–1931), whose collection of works of art, housed in the Palazzo dal Pozzo della Cisterna in Turin, was sold at auction in 1933 at the Galleria Dante Giacomini in Rome. However, the two lead sculpture groups of children were not included in this sale; they came from another, as yet unidentified property of the duke's.

The Savoy provenance of the sculptures prompted us to look for comparisons among the works in the vast exhibition of Piedmontese Baroque art that had been organized in 1963 in Turin by the leading scholars Vittorio Viale, Andreina Griseri, and Luigi Mallé.[2] Two terracotta groups of children depicting the Elements—*Pair of Cupids Symbolic of Air* (Figure 3) and *Pair of Cupids Symbolic of Fire* (Figure 4)—in the Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Madama, had been convincingly ascribed by Alessandro Baudi di Vesme to the Turinese sculptor Francesco Ladatte (1706–1787).[3] This attribution, later reiterated by Angela Griseri,[4] provided the key to our identification of the author of the Museum's lead groups—an attribution now strengthened even further by the most recent discovery of a third sculpture of children representing Earth, in a private collection in Turin, published by Giuseppe Dardanello.[5]

Broadly modeled, with fastidiously chased accessories, all three terracottas appear to be independent variants of the two large lead groups in the Metropolitan Museum. Although none of them is signed or dated, one may assume that they were preparatory studies, later enlarged for the final versions cast in lead.

Ladatte was born in Turin in 1706, and, while still a child, was placed by his father under the protection of Prince Victor Amadeus of Savoy-Carignan (1690–1741),[6] a cousin of the reigning king of Sardinia, Victor Amadeus II (1675–1728). So impressed was the prince by the precocious talent of the fourteen-year-old that in 1718 he took him to Paris, where, for the next ten years, Ladatte was educated and trained as a sculptor.[7] He probably studied at the Académie Royale with Jean-Louis Lemoyne (1665–1755) and under Nicolas Coustou (1658–1733) and his brother Guillaume (1677–1746). In 1729, after winning first prize for sculpture at the Académie, Ladatte traveled to Rome, remaining there for less than two years. During his residence in the city, the young Ladatte avidly studied the Baroque sculpture around him, but he also maintained ties with the French *pensionnaire* sculptors Lambert-Sigisbert Adam and Edme Bouchardon and the painters François Boucher and Carle van Loo, as well as with his fellow Piedmontese artists, such as Claudio Francesco Beaumont, who after moving from Turin to Rome in 1723 continued to work for the Piedmontese court.

The eclectic and international climate of Rome exerted a strong influence on the young Ladatte while nurturing his versatility in various sculptural media. As early as 1731 his talents came to the attention of Count Gros, the envoy to Rome of the new king of Sardinia, Charles Emmanuel III of Savoy (1701–1773), and of his powerful minister Vincenzo Ferrero, Marchese d'Ormea. As a result, the artist was invited to return to the Turin court, together with the outstanding cabinetmaker and *ébéniste* Pietro Piffetti (1700–1777), to carry out the redecoration program of the royal apartments in the palace, begun by the king and the queen, Polissena d'Assia Rheinfels (1706–1735), under the guidance of Filippo Juvarra (1678–1736), who had held the post of court architect from 1714.

Among the most brilliant of Piffetti's creations for these apartments was a pair of exuberantly designed

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The notes for this article begin on page 130.

Figure 1. Francesco Ladatte (French, 1706–1787). *Children Playing with Turtledoves*, ca. 1746–48. Lead, H. 92.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation Inc. Gift and Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Paul Foundation Inc. Gift, 1970 (1970.8.1)

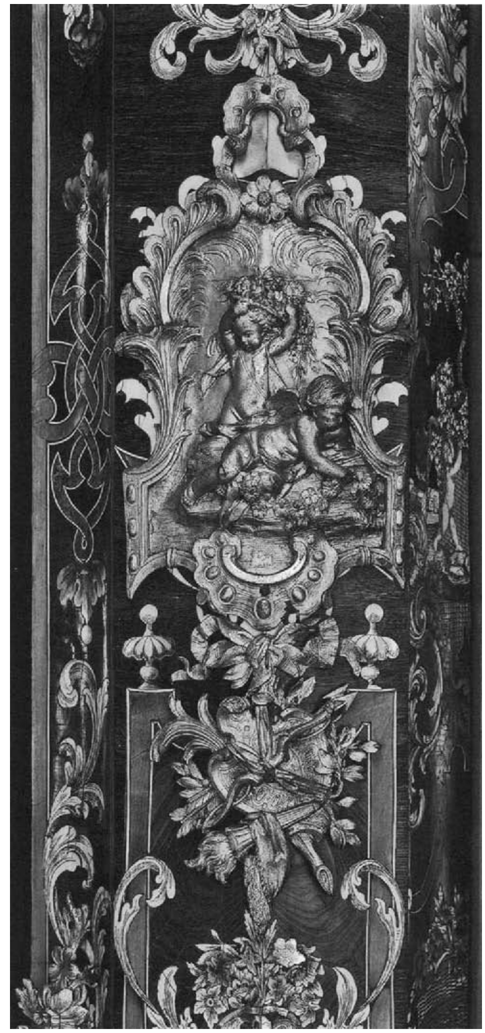
and executed marquetry wall cabinets encrusted with gilt-bronze mounts (Figure 5) in the form of playful putti representing the Seasons (Figure 6) and small busts of splendidly modeled and chased bejeweled harpies (Figure 7) by Ladatte executed between 1731 and 1733.[8] Some of these vibrant details became part of the sculptor's decorative vocabulary. When he returned to Paris in 1734, Ladatte brought with him a lively repertory of Rococo motifs. He would spend the next ten years in Paris, where he would resume his academic career. In 1736 he was *agréé* at the Académie, and every year after 1737 he sent to the Salon small sculptural models with mythological, biblical, Christian, or allegorical subjects; although much appreciated by collectors, many of them unfortunately were later dispersed.[9] Among the most famous works from these years was a statuette of *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, his *morceau de réception* at the Académie; the marble version, signed and dated *F. Ladatte Fecit 1741*, is now in the Louvre (inv. no. M. R 2008).[10]

Ladatte's reputation as one of the best sculptors in Paris brought him commissions from the French royal administration—as, for example, for a model for the mausoleum of Cardinal de Fleury (exhibited at the Salon of 1743) and for a bronze relief of *The Martyrdom of Saint Philip* for the royal chapel at Versailles. The success of these works led to Ladatte's election by the Académie, in November 1743, to the position of *professeur adjoint* (adjunct professor). This honor was confirmed by the critic Louis Petit de Bachaumont (1690–1771), who, writing in 1745, added Ladatte to his list of ten outstanding sculptors, which included the Coustou, Adam, and Slodtz brothers, Bouchardon, Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, and Claude Francin, all of whom were members of the Académie Royale.[11] This recognition did not prevent Ladatte, however, from accepting an invitation from Charles Emmanuel III to return to Turin the following year as royal sculptor. An official patent, dated January 8, 1745, defined Ladatte's official duties as a "sculptor of

Figure 2. Francesco Ladatte. *Children Playing with Fruit,* ca. 1746–48. Lead, H. 92.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation Inc. Gift and Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Paul Foundation Inc. Gift, 1970 (1970.8.2)

Figure 3. Francesco Ladatte. *Pair of Cupids Symbolic of Air,* ca. 1745–50. Terracotta, H. 33 cm. Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin, 3476 C

Figure 4. Francesco Ladatte. *Pair of Cupids Symbolic of Fire,* ca. 1745–50. Terracotta, H. 31.5 cm. Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin, 3477 C



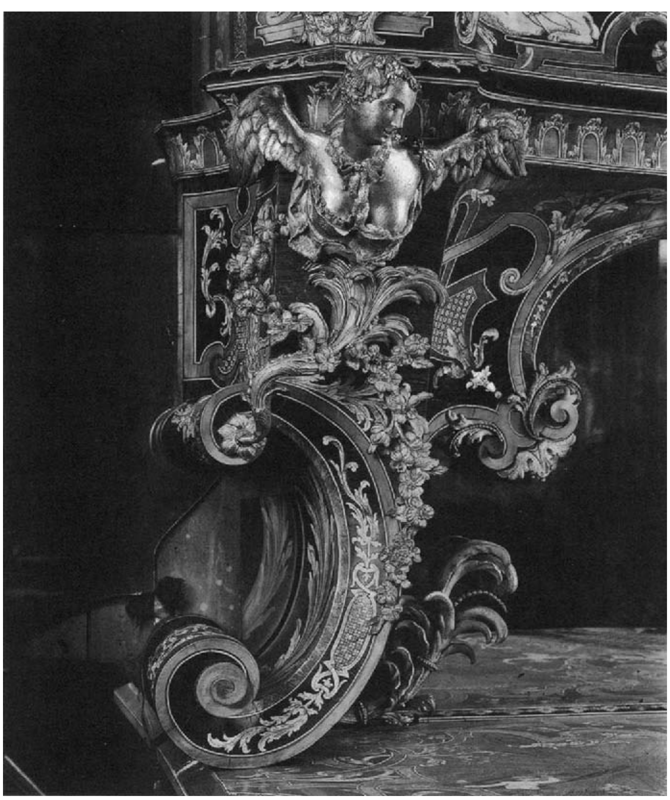


Figure 5. Pietro Piffetti (Italian, 1700–1777) and Francesco Ladatte. Wall cabinet, 1731–33. Marquetry and gilt bronze. Palazzo Reale, Turin (photo: Ernani Orcorte)

Figure 6. Detail of Figure 5 (photo: Ernani Orcorte)

Figure 7. Detail of Figure 5 (photo: Ernani Orcorte)

Figure 8. Carle van Loo (French, 1705–1765). *Francesco Ladatte*, ca. 1745. Oil on canvas. Galleria Sabauda, Turin

bronzes": he was in charge of royal commissions in that medium as well as responsible for the training of young apprentices.[12] A formal portrait of Ladatte (Figure 8), probably painted by his friend Carle van Loo (1705–1765) about this time, shows the sculptor holding a modeling tool and leaning on a plaster head, meant to symbolize Sculpture, which was based on a famous Roman prototype—the head of Algardi's kneeling angel in the group of *Saint Philip Neri* in the sacristy of Santa Maria in Vallicella. Behind the artist, raised on a trestle table, is a terracotta model of *Cupid Playing with a Pelican*, for which he was paid in 1745. The finished version in Carrara marble was completed in 1750 (Figure 9), but Ladatte did not receive payment until 1754. The group was one of the sculptor's most successful Rococo inventions, which perhaps is the reason that van Loo included it in the painting as an allusion to Ladatte's early career as a court sculptor.

The brief biographical notice sent to Paris by Ladatte's family after his death in 1787 mentions some of his most significant works, which dated from just after his appointment as royal sculptor in 1745. The most important of these, carried out in connection with the remodeling of the Royal Garden in Turin, were commissioned by Charles Emmanuel III shortly before 1750, the year of the marriage of his son and heir to the throne, the future Victor Amadeus III, to the Spanish infanta Maria Antonia Ferdinanda de Borbón.[13]

The Royal Garden, originally designed by André Le Nôtre in 1697–98, had as its focal point a round *miroir d'eau* at the convergence of a series of alleys of greenery.[14] In 1748 Charles Emmanuel III had decided to transform this central basin into a rococo fountain with elaborate jets of water and a group of marble figures. From the royal account books recently examined by Giuseppe Dardanello we learn of the parallel but different roles played by Ladatte, the new sculptor of bronzes, and the Sicilian Simone Martinez, who had borne the title of "First Royal Sculptor in stone" from 1736. Anxious to obtain the commission for the fountain, in 1749 Ladatte submitted to the king plaster models of a group of three figures designed to occupy the center of its new round basin. The sculptures, of a Siren and two Tritons, were accompanied by various fish and sea creatures, a palm tree, and a wreath surrounding the basin. Despite their striking naturalism, Ladatte's models were not approved by the king, and, instead, a sculpture group incorporating similar although not identical marine subjects was carved for the fountain by Martinez from 1755 to 1758 (Figure 10).[15] It was around the fountain's new

Figure 9. Francesco Ladatte. *Cupid Playing with a Pelican*, signed and dated 1750. Marble. Palazzo Reale, Turin (photo: Ernani Orcorte)

Figure 10. Simone Martinez (Italian, d. 1768). Fountain with Nereids and Tritons, ca. 1755–58. Marble. Royal Garden, Turin (photo: Ernani Orcorte)

basin that, between 1748 and 1749, four over-lifesize sculpture groups and six vases, all in lead, were positioned. The sculptures depicted children and were intended to symbolize the Four Elements. The groups were mentioned for the first time, admiringly, in 1770, and cited as the work of Ladatte by the Turinese painter Ignazio Nepote in his *Pregiudizio smascherato da un pittore.*[16] In 1781 they were described in Derossi's *Nuova guida* to Turin as having been conceived and executed by Francesco Ladatte, sculptor to the king.[17] About 1800 a short biography of Ladatte written by the silversmith Giovan Battista Boucheron discussed

Figure 11. Francesco Ladatte. Side view of *Children Playing with Turtledoves,* Figure 1

Figure 12. Francesco Ladatte. Side view of *Children Playing with Fruit,* Figure 2

the sculpture groups and the vases in the Royal Garden in order to define the originality and quality of Ladatte's artistic talent: "He clearly showed a particular gift for modeling, and especially for the modeling of figures. These he endowed with zest, movement, and incomparable vivacity, but as circumstances did not allow him to deal much with sculpture in stone, he decided to concentrate on works in bronze and in silver."[18]

From the records in the royal account books,[19] we know when Ladatte executed the groups for the garden. A first payment for models was recorded in 1745, followed in 1746 by a larger sum for the sculptures themselves, which were described as "four groups in lead representing the Elements." The final casting was completed between 1746 and 1748 and the last payment was documented on April 30, 1748.

The carefully studied compositions were arranged in a pyramidal format. The two lead groups representing the Seasons, now in the Metropolitan, were designed as variations of a similar conceit: in each, a young boy and girl playfully struggle with what are, in fact, their symbolic attributes. One sculpture, showing the girl trying to restrain the boy, who has snatched a turtledove from a nest (Figure 11) and is about to enclose it in a cage, possibly was intended as an allegory of the temptations of Spring. The other, depicting both children seated on a rock between two baskets overflowing with grapes, apples, and berries, and holding clusters of grapes in their hands (Figure 12), evokes the bounty of Nature and the superabundance of Fall.

The royal account books always describe the groups as allegories of the Elements, although the sculptor's biographical notice of 1787 refers to them as symbols of the Seasons. In noting this discrepancy, Dardanello quite rightly suggests that while the early terracotta studies in the Museo Civico and the recently discovered representation of Earth, in a private collection, may reflect an initial royal commission, the three groups were simplified in the course of being enlarged and their subjects evolved from the Elements to the Seasons.[20]

During his last years in Paris, Ladatte must have been deeply impressed by the success of the painter François Boucher's decorative inventions and especially by his treatment in numerous drawings and engravings of the theme of small children or cupids at play. The frontispiece of the *Premier livre de groupes d'enfans*, engraved by Pierre Aveline, at Gabriel Huquier, after a drawing by Boucher, between 1738 and 1745 (Figure 13), is an example of this genre, which had served as the inspiration for some of the terracotta groups that Ladatte executed for the Paris Salon between 1737 and 1743.

Figure 13. Pierre Aveline (French, 1656–1722), after François Boucher (1703–1770). Engraving from the *Premier livre de groupes d'enfans*, 1738–45. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955 (55.539.15)

One of the most telling of these small-scale models survives in an elaborate terracotta group depicting *The Triumph of Virtue Crowned by Geniuses and Surrounded by the Liberal Arts* (Figure 14). Signed and dated 1744, it is cited as the first work by Ladatte after his return to Turin.[21] A much-admired creation by the sculptor, whose anonymous biographer noted that "this work alone is sufficient to reveal the real genius of this famous artist," *The Triumph of Virtue* was inherited in 1787 by Ladatte's son-in-law the landscape painter Vittorio Amedeo Cignaroli (1730–1800) and acquired in 1891 by the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris.[22] At the center of a complex pyramidal composition is a winged figure of Virtue reclining on a rocky ledge and a bank of clouds, surrounded by five playful young children and a wealth of symbolic accessories, which, in its spirited modeling, recalls that of Ladatte's sketches for the Elements, in Turin, as well as the enduring influence of Boucher.

The bold modeling of the children's bodies in the Metropolitan Museum's lead groups and their carefully observed interlocking poses emphasize the drama of the narratives and echo not only the terracottas in Turin but also the lively style of the *Putto Playing with a Pelican* of 1745–50. The elaborate baskets of flowers and fruit and the realistic cage and nest of

Figure 14. Francesco Ladatte. *The Triumph of Virtue Crowned by Geniuses and Surrounded by the Liberal Arts*, signed and dated 1744. Terracotta. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (photo: Laurent Sully Jaulmes)

birds are vivid examples of the sculptor's interest in colorful, vigorously rendered details in which he could display his virtuoso talents as a *ciseleur*, whether in clay or in bronze, lead, or silver. Ladatte's metalworking style, which reflected the influence of the works of Charles Cressent and Thomas Germain that he encountered in Paris, is apparent in the numerous commissions he received between 1745 and 1750 for the gilt-bronze decorations in the royal apartments—renovated under the guidance of the royal architect Benedetto Alfieri (1699–1767). For the Grand Gallery—known as the Galleria del Daniel for its frescoes by Daniel Seyter—Ladatte executed numerous gilt-bronze appliqués and girandoles that combined figures of putti (Figure 15) with exuberant vegetal ornamentation. These have much in common with the decorative character of the large lead sculptural groups he executed for the Royal Garden.

Although the inspiration for the design of the lead groups of the Seasons was undoubtedly the enduring Rococo fashion for Boucher's carefree, playful cupids, Ladatte's figures are of somewhat older children and display a more serious mood, while their fuller forms still carry an echo of the sculptor's early, but fundamental, experience of the Roman Baroque. Seen in this light, Ladatte's works can be said to exemplify what is essentially a Franco-Roman decorative style, derived from the French Rococo manner of Boucher and the paintings of Carlo Maratta and Francesco Trevisani. In Turin this style had a parallel in the celebra-

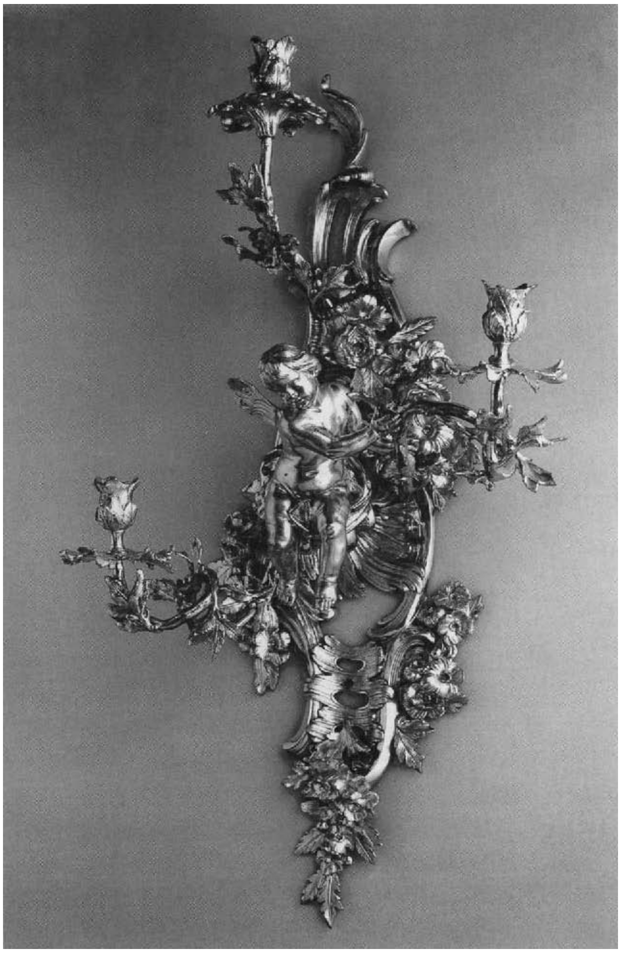


Figure 15. Francesco Ladatte. Three-light wall sconce. Gilt bronze. Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin 4017 (photo: Gonella, 1997)

tory ceiling frescoes, of the same date, by the court painter Claudio Francesco Beaumont, for some of the royal apartments in the palace.[23] Particularly close to Ladatte's children representing the Seasons are the iconographically complex yet pictorially fluid figures in the vast *Triumph of Peace* painted by Beaumont in 1748 for the vault of the newly commissioned Galleria delle Battaglie (Figure 16).

In the Turin guidebooks of 1781[24] and 1831,[25] Ladatte's four lead groups of the Seasons in the Royal Garden were said to surround the circular Fountain of the Tritons and Nereids, forming a coherent sculptural ensemble that evoked an "ancien régime" garden. The new planning brought about by the Restoration was begun by Victor Emmanuel I (r. 1814–21) and culminated during the reign of Charles Albert (1831–48), changing the Royal Garden from a private princely retreat into an English-style park partly open to the public. Clemente Rovere's well-documented history of the royal palace,[26] published in 1858, described the Fountain of the Tritons and Nereids as encircled by fifty vases mistakenly said to have been cast in bronze. Some of these, by Ladatte, dated to about 1750, but no mention was made of the presence of the four lead groups of the Seasons. This omission suggests that the groups were probably removed in the 1840s, at the time of the extensive renovations carried out by Charles Albert, and may have

Figure 16. Claudio Francesco Beaumont (Italian, 1694–1766). Vault with *The Triumph of Peace* (detail), 1748. Galleria delle Battaglie, Palazzo Reale, Turin (photo: Ernani Orcorte)

passed from the royal collection to that of the Aosta branch of the House of Savoy, eventually ending up in the possession of the second duke of Aosta, Emmanuel Philibert.[27]

Removed from their original context as "garden sculptures," Ladatte's two surviving allegorical groups, now in the Metropolitan Museum, no doubt reflect other aspects of the sculptor's numerous and varied commissions for the Turinese court: the *cartapesta*, or stucco models, he was asked to contribute to such operatic spectacles as *La Vittoria di Imeneo*, performed in 1750 at the Teatro Regio,[28] as well as his work as a silversmith. In this capacity, he was often employed to execute chandeliers, girandoles, and silver reliefs for the royal apartments, or complex decorations in silver, copper, and bronze for ecclesiastical ensembles such as that in the royal Sanctuary of Vicoforte at Mondovi, near Turin. The variety of his artistic activity, in which he was often associated with the well-known Turinese silversmith Andrea Boucheron (1701–1761), underscores Ladatte's important role in late-eighteenth-century Piedmontese art.[29]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. John Goldsmith Phillips, in *MMAB*, n.s., 29, no. 1 (October 1970), p. 103; Olga Raggio, "New Galleries for French and Italian Sculpture at The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 6th ser., 118 (December 1991), p. 240.
2. Vittorio Viale, ed., *Mostra del Barocco piemontese: Palazzo Madama, Palazzo Reale, Palazzina di Stupinigi*, exh. cat., 3 vols. (Turin, 1963).
3. Alessandro Baudi di Vesme, *Schede Vesme: L'arte in Piemonte dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, vol. 2 (Turin, 1966), p. 600.
4. Angela Griseri, in *Il tesoro della città: Opere d'arte e oggetti preziosi da Palazzo Madama*, ed. Silvana Pettenati and Giovanni Romano, exh. cat., Palazzina di Caccia di Stupinigi, Turin (Turin, 1996), p. 132, no. 268.
5. For the sculpture *Earth*, see *Sculture nel Piemonte del Settecento: "Di differente e ben intesa bizzaria,"* ed. Giuseppe Dardanello (Turin, 2005), pls. 68, 69. The basic comprehensive account of Ladatte's career as a sculptor remains Luigi Mallé, "Traccia per Francesco Ladatte: Scultore torinese," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 242–54, supplemented by the recent study by Angela Griseri, "Francesco Ladatte: Un protagonista dello stile Luigi XV," *Antologia di belle arti*, nos. 63–66 (2003; issue titled *Studi sul Settecento, III*), pp. 44–52, and by an outstanding essay—with references to numerous documents in the royal account books—by Giuseppe Dardanello, "Per Francesco Ladatte," in *Sculture nel Piemonte*, pp. 299–322, which focuses on Ladatte's works after his return to Turin in 1744. In addition, newly discovered documents are the subject of a recent article by Luca Mana, "Quel 'brio impareggiabile': Documenti su Francesco Ladatte a Palazzo Reale di Torino," *Quaderno del Volontariato Culturale* (Unione Volontari Culturali Associati) 6 (forthcoming). For a useful summary biography of Ladatte, see V. Sapienza, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 63 (Rome, 2005), pp. 33–35.
6. According to Mana, "Quel 'brio impareggiabile,'" Ladatte's father was head coachman of the princes of Carignano.
7. This information appears in an anonymous notice sent in 1787 by Ladatte's family in Turin to the Académie in Paris. It was published in 1854 in *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, comp. Louis Dussieux et al. (Paris, 1854), vol. 2, pp. 449–50.
8. Giancarlo Ferraris, *Pietro Piffetti e gli ebenisti a Torino, 1670–1838*, ed. Alvar González-Palacios (Turin, 1992), pp. 17–20; Gianfranco Gritella, *Juvarra: L'architettura* (Modena, 1992), vol. 2, pp. 259–60.
9. A list of the sculptures exhibited by Ladatte at the annual Salons from 1737 to 1743 is published in *Schede Vesme*, pp. 594–95. Among "amateurs" most keenly interested in Ladatte's works, the critic Louis Petit de Bachaumont listed a M. Dufour, of rue Coq-Héron, and a M. de la Popelinière, of Passy, owner of a sculpture group of *The Rape of Proserpina* (*Schede Vesme*, p. 595).
10. For this sculpture, see Philippe Durey, "La *Judith* de François Ladatte," *Revue du Louvre* 31 (1982), pp. 212–18.
11. Bachaumont's manuscript (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS 4041, fols. 330–32) is reprinted in Peter Fürhing, *Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier: Un génie du Rococo, 1695–1750* (Paris, 1999), vol. 2, p. 424.
12. Gianfranco Fina, *Maestri argentieri ed argenterie alla corte di Carlo Emanuele III e Vittorio Amedeo III, 1730–1796* (Turin, 1997), p. 253.
13. Clemente Rovere, *Descrizione del Reale Palazzo di Torino* (Turin, 1858), p. 43; Marziano Bernardi, *Il Palazzo Reale di Torino* (Turin, 1959), p. 124.
14. Roberto Carità, "Il Giardino Reale di Torino: Opera sconosciuta del Le Nôtre," *Bollettino d'arte* 39 (April–June 1954), pp. 148–65.
15. Giuseppe Dardanello, "Simone Martinez e lo studio di scultura a Torino," in *Sculture nel Piemonte*, pp. 222–26.
16. Ignazio Nepote, *Il pregiudizio smascherato da un pittore* (Venice, 1770), p. 42, quoted in *Schede Vesme*, p. 595.
17. Onorato Derossi, *Nuova guida per la città di Torino* (Turin, 1781), pp. 100, 594.
18. Giovan Battista Boucheron, *Serie degli artisti che hanno lavorato ne' metalli* (Turin, n.d. [ca. 1800]), quoted in *Schede Vesme*, p. 594.
19. Dardanello, "Per Francesco Ladatte," p. 312, nn. 40, 41, p. 315.
20. Ibid., p. 314.
21. The short biography of Ladatte, published in *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 2, p. 449, mentions the terracotta model of *The Triumph of Virtue* of 1744 as "a unique witness of the true genius of this famous artist."

22. Another version of this terracotta group, entitled *Le Génie des Arts,* with several children displaying a medallion of Louis XV, was acquired by the famous amateur and collector Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully (1725–1779). Listed in the *Catalogue historique* of his collection (Paris, 1764, [p. 32]) as a pendant to another group by Ladatte, entitled *Les Bains de Diane,* the terracotta of the *Génie des Arts* was sold in 1770 (Pierre Rémy, *Catalogue raisonné* [Paris, 1769], no. 184).

23. Beaumont's activity as court painter to Charles Emmanuel III is summarized by Elisabetta Ballaira, "Claudio Francesco Beaumont," in *La Pittura in Italia: Il Settecento* (Milan, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 617–18. For a comparison of Beaumont's frescoes in the Palazzo Reale and Ladatte's sculptures at the court of Turin after 1745, see Cristina Mossetti, "La politica artistica di Carlo Emanuele III," in *Arte di corte a Torino da Carlo Emanuele III a Carlo Felice,* ed. Sandra Pinto (Turin, 1987), p. 28.

24. Derossi, *Nuova guida di Torino,* pp. 101–2.

25. *Dieci giorni in Torino: Ossia descrizione antica e moderna della città* (Turin, 1831), p. 54.

26. Rovere, *Descrizione del Reale Palazzo,* pp. 186, 223.

27. Giuseppe Fragalà, "Da Torino a New York: Peregrinazioni di due gruppi scultorei dei giardini reali," *Quaderno del Volontariato Culturale* (Unione Volontari Culturali Associati) 3 (2003), pp. 51–59.

28. For a list of the payments to Ladatte for his three-dimensional models for the *Vittoria di Imeneo,* see Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *Storia del Teatro Regio di Torino,* ed. Alberto Basso, vol. 3, *La scenografia dalle origini al 1936* (Turin, 1980), pp. 529–30.

29. Dardanello, "Per Francesco Ladatte," pp. 315–21, discusses the originality of Ladatte's development of the theme of children at play beyond the precedent of the French Rococo putti of Boucher.

Joshua Reynolds's Portrait of John Barker, Chairman of Ramsgate Harbour

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When Joshua Reynolds's 1786 portrait of John Barker, at seventy-eight years, one of his oldest sitters, was exhibited that year at the Royal Academy as a "portrait of a gentleman," few viewers would have known his connection with the harbor that appears in the background (Figure 1). The picture was also engraved in mezzotint by John Jones (ca. 1755–1796) in October, but neither *The Gentleman's Magazine* nor *The European Magazine* mentioned the significance of Ramsgate Harbour in their brief obituaries of John Barker, who died on November 1, 1787.[1] By the time the portrait was next exhibited in 1832 at the Society of British Artists, however, Barker had become known as "the celebrated Engineer."[2] A survey of Barker's life and career will shed light on Reynolds's venerable sitter.

John Barker, the fifth eldest child of Jane and the merchant John Barker, was baptized on November 9, 1707, at St. Margaret's, the parish church of Lowestoft, Suffolk county, Britain's most easterly port. When his father drew up his will in February 1729, he outlined steps for the "redemption and coming to England" of his son John, "now a Captive in Barbary." Early in 1730 the English treasury was compelled to draw on its "Secret Funds" in order to secure the release of merchants held to ransom by corsair pirates harassing trade off North Africa's Mediterranean shores. When Barker Sr. died in January 1733, he left John his "North Fishery Office or houses in Lowestoft" and part-shares in two ships at Great Yarmouth, twelve miles farther up the coast, enabling the younger Barker to pursue his mercantile shipping career.[3]

Nothing more is known about Barker's activities until October 31, 1741, when he was elected a member of the Younger Brethren of the Corporation of Trinity House, based at Water Lane in the City of London. Founded by royal charter in 1514, and renewed in 1547, the Corporation has always acted as the country's leading lighthouse and piloting authority. It built its first lighthouse at Lowestoft, Barker's birthplace, in 1609, as well as a charitable organization for distressed mariners. These and its many other functions are supervised by a board of Elder Brethren drawn from a pool of Younger Brethren, mostly merchant navy captains. By July 1749 Barker had become its deputy warden. In April of that year he also became a freeman of the Russia Company. The "Fellowship of English Merchants for the Discovery of New Trades," usually called the "Muscovia Company," and later known as the Russia Company, was incorporated in 1555 by Mary Tudor, Queen of England, following Richard Chancellor's voyage in 1553 to Archangel in an attempt to find a northeast passage to the Indies. Yarmouth, where Barker had maritime interests, served as an important early trading port with Russia. In 1693, for instance, the Russia Company shipped valuable goods from there for Czar Peter the Great. By 1749 Barker traded as a merchant from Wellclose Square near dockside Thames, not far from Tower Hill. On March 3, 1750, he was elected for life to the prestigious body of the Elder Brethren, rising to the ranks of deputy warden in 1759 and warden in 1762.[4]

Throughout these years Barker's knowledge of merchant marine affairs had expanded. Like many other Trinity House Elder Brethren, he was closely associated for many years with London Assurance, the capital's premier marine insurance company, founded in 1720. Elected a director in 1733, deputy governor and then subgovernor in 1771, he became its governor from the latter year until his death in 1787.[5] In 1755 his first wife, Elizabeth, died and was buried at Lowestoft. By then Barker had been living for several years on Mansell Street, Goodman's Fields, also close to Tower Hill. At about this time he put his accumulated knowledge and wide experience to good use in philanthropic activities.

In 1754 Barker became a governor of the London Hospital (the present-day Royal London Hospital), founded at Whitechapel in 1740 "For the Relief of all Sick and Diseased Persons, especially Manufacturers, and Seamen in Merchant-Service"—a subject dear to his heart. He was also a life governor of the Smallpox and Inoculation Hospital. A charitable institution, it

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The notes for this article begin on page 139.

was founded in 1746 at Battle Bridge, a hamlet at St. Pancras, on a site now occupied by King's Cross station. Later renamed the Smallpox and Vaccination Hospital, its physician William Woodville (1752–1805) performed in 1799 the first large-scale trials following Edward Jenner's discovery of cowpox vaccination in 1798 and his loss of the vaccination source. In 1756 Barker was appointed a steward of St. Thomas's Hospital, in London's Southwark area. In addition, from 1759 to 1762 and again from 1773 to 1775, he served on the council of the Merchant Seamen's Corporation formed in 1747 by Act of Parliament for the Relief and Support of Sick, Maimed and Disabled Seamen in the Merchant Service. It held its quarterly meetings at the Merchant Seamen's Office above the Royal Exchange, which was also used by the Russia Company and by the Ramsgate Harbour Trust. Between 1769 and 1778, he proved to be an active and diligent director at the famous Royal Naval Hospital in Greenwich, erected by Christopher Wren and largely maintained by the sixpence docked from each merchant seaman's wages.[6]

Barker's appointment in 1759 as a commissioner for the sale of enemy ships taken before the Seven Years' War (1756–63) coincided with his affiliation with two patriotic, benevolent societies involved in the war. He subscribed as a director to the Marine Society founded in 1756. On Britain's declaration of war against France, the Society trained and equipped some 9,000 poor boys and men, recruited to defend the North American colonists and to consolidate the advances made in India against the French. He also contributed to the British Troops Society, established in 1759 to raise funds for the wounded and the dependents of those who fought at the battles of Minden and Quebec.[7]

Barker devoted most of his time, however, as a philanthropist to the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes. The brainchild of the merchants Jonas Hanway and Robert Dingley, the hospital received a seven-year lease (signed by Dingley) in 1758 for the premises of the London Hospital when it vacated its Infirmary on Prescott Street, Whitechapel. Barker, whose Mansell Street house was around the corner, was elected to the hospital's governing committee in June 1758, officiated as its treasurer from 1768 to 1773, and actively promoted the charity for the rest of his life.[8]

Relatively early, Barker displayed a penchant for the arts. In December 1747 and June 1748, Captain John and Mrs. Barker subscribed as patrons (along with Robert Dingley) to the well-known painter and engraver Arthur Pond's prints. On May 1, 1763, he was elected a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (the Royal Society of Arts), subscribing in 1772 to the first volume of William Bailey's work, *The Advancement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.*[9] In his will made in February 1785, he bequeathed a large collection of pictures to his second wife, Frances.

Barker sat for this portrait by Reynolds on February 15, 17, 23, and 24, and again on March 9 and 17, 1786, with a final session on April 7 of that year when he made a payment of 200 guineas. A further appointment, probably social, took place on May 2, 1787. Although Barker's great-nephew Philip Church apparently donated the picture to the American Academy of Fine Arts, New York, late in 1822, it was never sent and was retained in Sir Thomas Lawrence's studio until the Christie's sale of Lawrence's estate in May 1830.[10] In the painting Barker is shown wearing a wig, a red velvet coat lined with white fabric, and britches. He sits solidly in his chair in front of a table covered with an Oriental carpet of predominantly red, green, and brown patterns. Resting on the table is a silver inkstand with two silver inkwells. Depicted in the background below a cliff is the enclosed basin of Ramsgate Harbour with a long jetty extending into the sea.

The construction of Ramsgate Harbour on the Kent coast occupied Barker from 1749 until 1787. At an early date the small harbor had shown its importance for trade with Russia and the Baltic. In 1749 Barker was among 131 merchants who petitioned Parliament to build a new shelter at Ramsgate for ships driven by storms from their anchorage in the Downs of the Strait of Dover, which lies between the southeast tip of England and the treacherous Goodwin Sands. An act was passed and the first meeting of the board of trustees for Ramsgate Harbour was held in London's Guildhall in July 1749. On July 4, Captain Barker was elected to a trustees committee for surveying the harbor, which resulted in an extension of the west and east piers, completed by July 1750. During December 1753 the board of trustees approved a plan to contract the harbor to a width of 1,200 feet. Barker and others gave evidence in March 1755 to a House of Commons survey committee, which reported its findings. Although a bill was read in May 1756, it failed to pass, totally halting the harbor works, already suspended by the trustees in May 1755, until 1760.[11]

In 1760 Barker was elected chairman of the Ramsgate Harbour Trustees' Works Committee, a post that he held for almost twenty-eight years. The trustees received verbal advice from Parliament to proceed at their own discretion, in keeping with the act of 1749. They then adopted a plan opposing the harbor's contraction and placing its entrance 100 feet nearer the shore. Operations began on taking up the contracted wall in 1761,

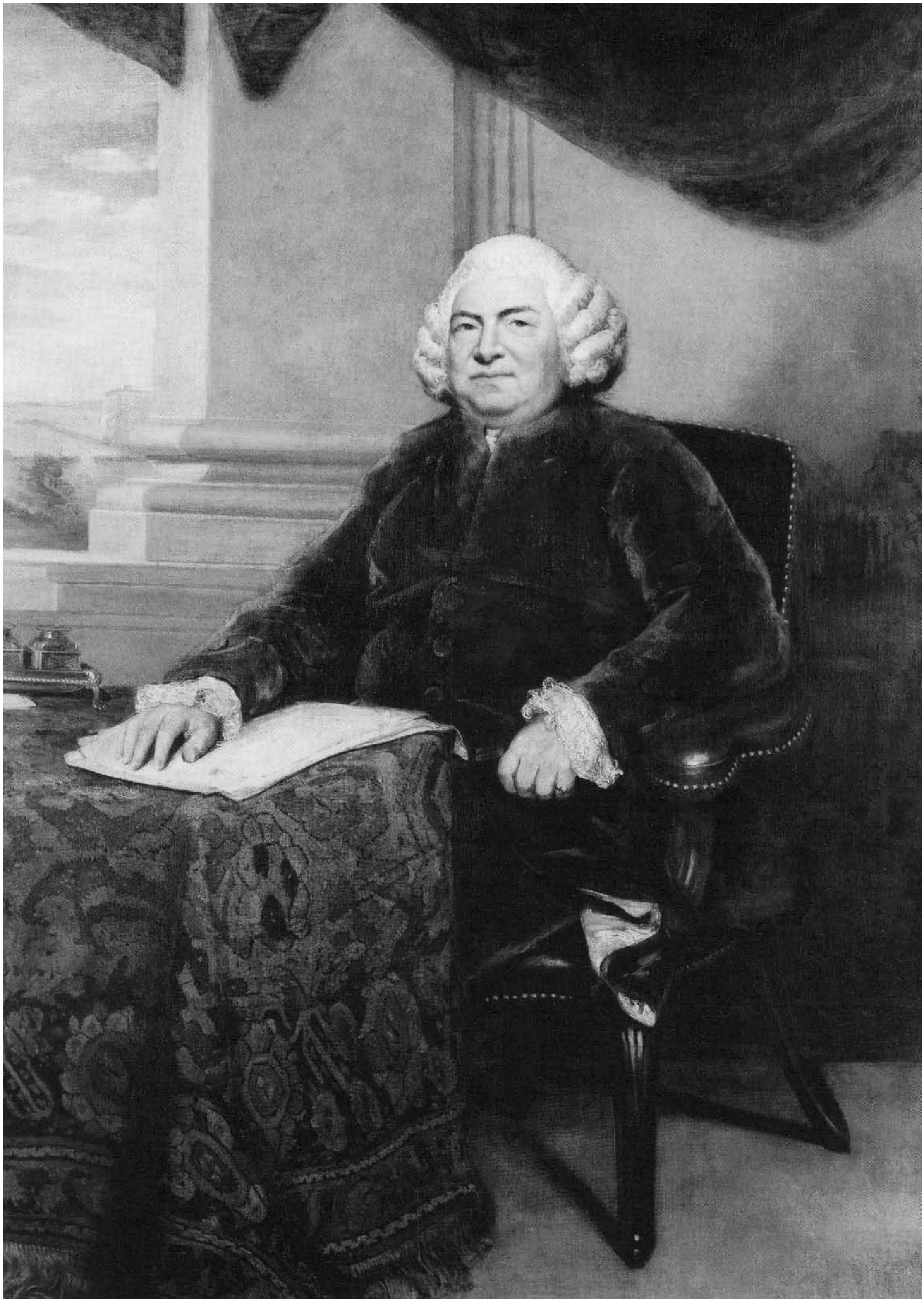

Figure 1. Sir Joshua Reynolds (English, 1723–1792). *John Barker (1707–1787)*, 1786. Oil on canvas, 173.4 x 120.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ruth Armour, 1954 (54.192)

Figure 2. Ramsgate Harbour, England, from the east pier looking northwest, ca. 1890–1900. Photomechanical print (photo: U. S. Historical Archive)

but proceeded in a rather dilatory manner. There was no visit by the committee in 1767, and in 1768 it only reported work on constructing the piers, with no mention of the buildup of sand on the harbor side of the east head. Some steps were taken during 1769 to compute the amount of sand but there was no "visitation" in 1770. In 1771 a hopper and two lighters worked to clear the sullage, later followed by more effectual methods. During this visit the committee reported that the east head had been established and steps taken to fix the harbor mouth; it was found that the west pier was about 235 feet from the east head, and decided that the entrance width should be 300 feet. The year 1772 came and went, as did the committee, which reported only that the pier heads were well advanced. At last, in 1773, the committee reported its great concern about the vast amount of sand and silt in the harbor, even though more than 53,000 tons had been removed in the previous three years at a cost of 1,000 pounds sterling.[12]

Confronted by this crisis, the trustees appointed the distinguished engineer John Smeaton as their consultant to survey Ramsgate Harbour with a view to cleansing and deepening it. His report, made in October 1774, was fully considered in August 1775. Thanks to Smeaton's *Historical Report on Ramsgate Harbour* (1791), later drawn up at the trustees' request, we have his firsthand, detailed account of John Barker's direct involvement in the harbor's construction at a crucial phase of its development between 1775 and 1787. Work began in 1776 on implementing Smeaton's plan, modified in its general layout by resident mason-engineer Thomas Preston's design: the harbor was to be scoured by releasing at low tide water stored at high tide through six sluices in the cross wall that formed the harbor's basin (see Figure 2). The construction project was completed in 1780, much of it supervised by Barker himself. Smeaton describes Barker's extended summer visits to Ramsgate; his comprehensive reports to the trustees on the harbor's progress; and his close cooperation and liaison with Smeaton over problems encountered, methods to surmount them, and so forth. In 1784 Barker laid the foundation stone for a new dock on the north side of the basin; designed by Smeaton, it was finished in 1786 when Barker characterized it as "an exceeding neat piece of architecture." In August 1787, Barker consulted with Smeaton about his "favourite wish," suggested to him by Ramsgate seamen and pilots, that the east pier should be extended to more than 300 feet to reduce wave action caused by northeast and easterly gales. In this, his final report, Barker expressed his great satisfaction that Ramsgate Harbour had become useful to commercial navigation. Although Barker did not live to see the final result, the east pier was eventually extended to 340 feet in length, pointing so as to make the harbor mouth face a south-southwest direction, with a distance of 200 feet separating the new pier heads.[13]

From his own evidence, Smeaton was justified in paying tribute to John Barker as "having with great assiduity, attention and perseverance presided over the execution of the Ramsgate Works near twenty-eight years."[14] There is no question of Barker's dedication and the considerable knowledge and practical skills he brought to bear on the construction of Ramsgate

Harbour over a period of some thirty-eight years. From his wide naval experience and expertise he could be loosely classed as a prototype marine engineer (when the profession was in its early stages), but not as a "civil engineer," the term first adopted by Smeaton to designate the designing and planning of overall systems, and the rationale behind them. Nevertheless, Barker certainly qualifies as one of the "projectors" of Ramsgate Harbour in a general sense (but wrongly, as he was called elsewhere, "the projector of Ramsgate Harbour"). In Reynolds's portrait, therefore, with his hand resting on the deeds on the table in front of him and with the harbor in the background, he probably represents the collective ambitions and endeavors of the Ramsgate Harbour trustees under his chairmanship and beyond. Alexander Aubert (1730–1805), astronomer and fellow of the Royal Society of London (1772), a close colleague of Barker's and cotrustee of his will, succeeded him both as governor of the London Assurance and chairman of the Ramsgate Harbour committee. In August 1789 he descended at Ramsgate Harbour with Smeaton in the latter's diving bell, weighing two-and-a-half tons, to examine the pier's foundations. Their return to the surface after three quarters of an hour was a "signal of great joy" for their apprehensive friends. Ramsgate Harbour was nominated a Royal Harbour by King George IV in 1821 soon after his unscheduled arrival there on November 8, 1821, with the Royal Squadron, following a visit to Hanover. Apart from a modernized pier, the harbor has not changed greatly in appearance throughout the past 250 years (Figure 3).[15]

John Barker died in his London home on November 1, 1787, in his eightieth year. His body reached Lowestoft on November 8 and, "after laying in state at the Queen's Head Inn in this town till the next day, it was conveyed with great funeral pomp to the . . . burial place of the family; where an elegant mausoleum is soon to be erected over him." (As it happens, he was both baptized at St. Margaret's Church and buried there, on the ninth of November.) We owe the many particulars about Barker's strong links with this Suffolk town to topographer Edmund Gillingwater's historical account of Lowestoft (1790). He describes Barker as one of the town's greatest benefactors, having for many years donated 250 pounds to be distributed "among poor infirm sailors, their widows, and families besides many other very liberal acts of charity and beneficence."[16]

By his will, proved in November 1787, Barker bequeathed a considerable amount of property and money to his wife, Frances. He devised four freehold houses in Southwark's Maid Lane and Globe Alley (an area associated with Shakespeare's Globe Theatre and the Rose Theatre), part of his wife's late father William Lowry's estate, to William Evans, secretary to the Ramsgate trust, whom he appointed his executor, along with three trustees of his will. More particularly, phrased in precise and firm terms, Barker bequeathed 1,000 pounds (equivalent to 79,680 pounds in modern purchasing power) of three percent consolidated Bank of England annuities, in trust to the accountant-general of the High Court of Chancery, for a "handsome tomb and monument" to be erected at his family grave in St. Margaret's churchyard. He insisted that it be kept "not only neat, clean, and decent, but in all respects in perfect repair." No more than 500 pounds was to be spent on the monument; the surplus money (from the invested sum's interest) was to be allocated to its maintenance and to provisions for the poor of the parish. Gillingwater reproduces in its entirety a lengthy extract from the codicil in Barker's

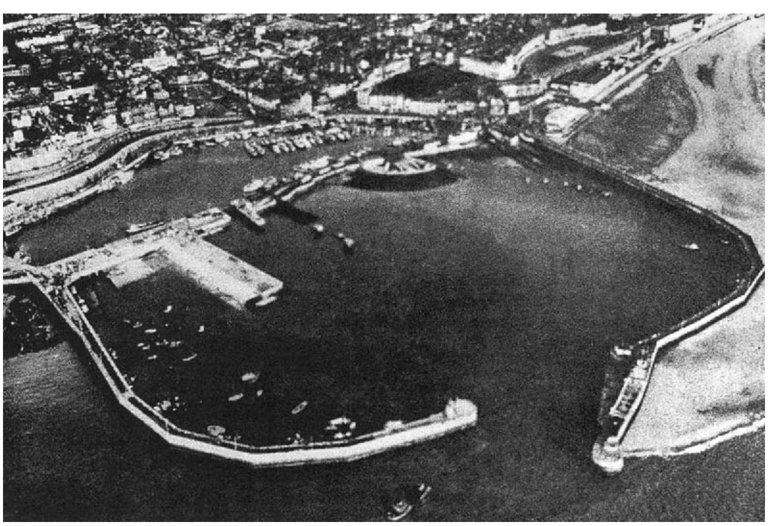

Figure 3. Aerial view of Ramsgate Harbour, 1975 (Aeromarine Photographs Ltd., courtesy of the Newcomen Society, London; photo after *Transactions of the Newcomen Society* 48 [1977], p. 69)

Figure 4. Charles Frederick Bird (English, ca. 1851–ca. 1922). *John Barker's Monument in St. Margaret's Churchyard, Lowestoft, England,* 1890s. Watercolor, 20.3 x 26.7 cm. Suffolk Record Office, Lowestoft, England (photo: Suffolk Record Office, ref. 623/3)

will about the monument, recording the inscription on the "large pyramidal tomb, lately erected" at the end of his book.[17]

John Barker's monument at Lowestoft, of which only one plinth remains today, attracted much artistic attention when it stood in its entirety. There are two pen-and-ink drawings of it, one of them dated October 20, 1823, among the East Anglian topographical prints and drawings of the collector Joseph Sim Earle (1839–1912). The lecture notes of the Suffolk church historian J. L. Clemence also contain a sketch, dating about 1858–60. The best image of the monument is the watercolor by Charles Frederick Bird (ca. 1851–ca. 1922), a Lowestoft gilder and cabinetmaker, dating to the 1890s (Figure 4). Incorporated in three volumes grangerized about 1900 from a copy of Gillingwater's historical account of Lowestoft, it was shown in "Art in the Archives," an exhibition held at the Suffolk Record Office in September 2003. Bird's signed watercolor indicates on the verso that he had omitted most of the railing around the monument so as to reveal more details of the lower part.[18]

Nothing is known about the monument's designer or sculptor. In the watercolor it is sited between a buttress and a window of the church's north wall. Representing a tall pyramidal tomb of the latter Georgian period, it is topped by an ornate lantern finial and the knobs of the four railing posts below are gilded. The whole ensemble—monument, surrounding grass, and much of the church's stonework—is brightly bathed in sunlight. The close juxtaposition of the monument with the church may be the result of artistic license, intended to highlight Barker's charitable deeds for the parish, as a churchyard survey of 1974 locates the tomb plot some distance from the church's north wall.

Moreover, two of the earlier sketches mentioned above clearly portray Barker's "mausoleum" as freestanding. Efforts to trace the monument have proved unsuccessful. The surviving lowermost plinth, now placed alongside the north wall of the church tower, carries the following inscription:

> This Monument was Erected pursuant to the Will of the said John Barker Esq who thereby left the Interest of One Thousand Pounds Three Percent Annuities to Keep the Same in Repair and for the Benefit of ["the Poor of this Parish"].[19]

Reynolds's portrait of John Barker aptly depicts a man of considerable personality and influence—an enlightened, generous philanthropist, and a patron of the arts who dedicated virtually his entire life to a wide range of marine affairs. Although the Barker family monument in Lowestoft has all but disappeared, Barker's painted image remains his abiding memorial.

NOTES

1. *The Gentleman's Magazine* 57 (1787), p. 1025; *The European Magazine* 12 (1787), p. 435. John Jones was appointed principal engraver to the Duke of York in 1790 and "engraver extraordinary" to the Prince of Wales in 1791. See the entry on John Jones by Timothy Clayton and Anita McConnell in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), vol. 30, pp. 549–50.
2. *Catalogue of the Winter Exhibition of Works of Deceased and Living British Artists*, exh. cat., Society of British Artists, London (London, 1832), no. 101.
3. John Barker's will, proved in 1733, National Archives, London, PROB 11/659, quire 14; *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, vol. 1, *1729–1730* (London, 1898), pp. vi, 347, 382. The willed property consisted of marine stores and fishery equipment, their location easily identifiable today by the proximity to Lowestoft's lighthouse. I am grateful to David Butcher for these details.
4. Guildhall Library, London, Trinity House Corporation, MS 30004/11, p. 73, MS 30004/12, pp. 3, 22, 59, 96, MS 30306/1, MS 30323/1, and Russia Company, MS 11741/6, p. 425. See also *Guide to All Persons Who Have Any Trade or Concern with the City of London* (London, 1749), p. 127.
5. Jones's 1786 engraved portrait of Barker hung in the governor's room. See Bernard Drew, *London Assurance: A Chronicle* (Oxford, 1928), p. 72, and *The London Assurance: A Second Chronicle* (Plaistow, 1949), p. 148. The London Assurance remains an active subsidiary company of the Royal and Sun Alliance Insurance Group PLC.
6. *Royal Kalendar and Court and City Register* for the years 1756 to 1775, passim. See also Deborah Brunton's entry on William Woodville in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 60, pp. 230–31; and National Archives, London, ADM 67/11, passim.
7. *Royal Kalendar and Court and City Register* for 1759, p. 236. See also Jonas Hanway, *Three Letters on the Subject of the Marine Society* (London, 1758), list of subscribers, and *An Account of the Society for the Encouragement of the British Troops in Germany and North America* (London, 1760); and Richard Frampton, *John Thornton: Philanthropist and First Treasurer of the Marine Society*, Marine Society brochure (London, 1990), pp. 1–2.
8. See John H. Appleby, "Robert Dingley, F.R.S. (1710–1781): Merchant, Architect and Pioneering Philanthropist," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 45 (1991), pp. 139–54, and "Mills, Models and Magdalens: The Dingley Brothers and the Society of Arts," *RSA Journal* 150 (March 1992), pp. 267–73.
9. Louise Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond* (New Haven, 1983), p. 48; British Library, Add. MS 23724, fols. 116, 134. See also Royal Society of Arts, London, membership archives.
10. David Mannings and Martin Postle, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings* (New Haven and London, 2000), vol. 1, p. 73.
11. Robert H. Matkin, "The Construction of Ramsgate Harbour," *Transactions of the Newcomen Society* 48 (1977), pp. 53–72; National Archives, London, First General Meeting Minute Book of the Ramsgate Harbour Trustees, MT/22/54, pp. 2–3, and passim; *Journals of the House of Commons* 27 (1755), pp. 214–19.
12. Matkin, "Ramsgate Harbour," passim.
13. Ibid., pp. 57–62. See also John Smeaton, *An Historical Report on Ramsgate Harbour*, 2nd ed. (London, 1791), pp. 15, 32–35, 47–63; and the entry on John Smeaton by A. W. Skempton and on Alexander Aubert by A. M. Clerke, revised by Anita McConnell, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, respectively, vol. 50, pp. 981–85, and vol. 2, pp. 900–901.
14. Smeaton, *Historical Report on Ramsgate Harbour*, p. 64.
15. Algernon Graves and William Vine Cronin, *A History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.*, vol. 1 (London, 1899), p. 51. Notably, the world's first public hovercraft service began operating from a hoverport apron within Ramsgate Harbour in 1966, later moving down the coast to Pegwell Bay when larger cross-Channel, vehicle-carrying hovercraft were introduced. See Matkin, "Ramsgate Harbour," pp. 66, 68, 69 (fig. 18, "Ramsgate Harbour from the Air," 1975). I am grateful to Mr. Michael Hunt, curator of the Ramsgate Maritime Museum, for helpful information.
16. Edmund Gillingwater, *An Historical Account of the Ancient Town of Lowestoft in the County of Suffolk* (London, 1790), pp. 282, 315–16. Barker's trustees first distributed 200 pounds and clothing for the parish poor on March 31, 1788. Norfolk Record Office, Norwich, PD 589/112.
17. John Barker's will, proved in November 1787, National Archives, London, PROB 11/1158, quire 483; Gillingwater, *Historical Account of Lowestoft*, pp. 314–17, 480. Barker's holding is recorded in the Bank of England's stock ledgers.
18. Society of Antiquaries of London, Earle S24 14. I extend my thanks to Bernard Nurse, the Society's librarian. See also George McHardy, "Joseph Sim Earle, FSA, and His Bequest to the Society," *Antiquaries Journal* 84 (2004), pp. 390–410. See Suffolk Record Office, Lowestoft, ref. 79/2, item 11, for Clemence's plans and sketches of Lowestoft and Lothingland churches. Charles Frederick Bird's watercolor is in the Suffolk Record Office, ref. 623/3. I am much indebted to Kerry Meal at the Record office for all her invaluable information and advice.
19. I am most grateful to Mrs. Pat Gardiner-King for her helpful information and photographs of Barker's vestigial monument and the family tombstones in St. Margaret's churchyard. Sources that I have explored for tracing Barker's monument include the National Monuments Record, English Heritage; Lowestoft ecclesiastical documents, Faculty Books for the Diocese of Norwich, DN/FCB/18–27 (1937–1975), and Faculty Papers, DN/FCP/90–152/1 (1957–1989), Norfolk Record Office, Norwich.

Bertel Thorvaldsen's *Nessus Abducting Deianira*

IAN WARDROPPER

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In the Neoclassical era foreign artists flocked to Rome to study antiquity. Many found the city's attractions and opportunities so irresistible that it became their permanent home. One of these visitors-turned-residents was Bertel Thorvaldsen. Born in Denmark in 1770, he celebrated his "Roman birthday" on March 8, the day in 1797 when he first arrived in the city and which he commemorated as the symbolic beginning of his career as a sculptor.[1] Until his return to his native land in 1838 and death in 1844, his practice was one of the most successful and productive in Rome. Rivaled only by the most famous Neoclassical artist of all, Antonio Canova, Thorvaldsen ran an efficient workshop that carved marble statues and reliefs for the aristocracy and the intellectual elite of Europe. Compared to Canova this northern rival's style tended to be more severe, his compositions simpler, and his expression restrained; contemporary critics noted the distinction between their Italian and Nordic strains of Neoclassicism.[2] After Canova's death in 1822, the Dane became the artistic capital's leading sculptor.

In 1820, the Nazarene painter Adolf Senff, fellow resident of the Casa Buti on the Via Sistina, portrayed Thorvaldsen on a loggia standing between two recent works, a model for the *Shepherd Boy* of 1817 and a relief *Nessus Abducting Deianira*, conceived in 1814/15 (Figure 1).[3] The inclusion of a relief in the Senff portrait is appropriate, because it was the art form in which Thorvaldsen was considered preeminent. German critic Karl Grass acknowledged the relief carver's primacy with this statement in the *Morgenblatt*: "The frieze is executed in a truly Greek style, after the most beautiful period in art, that, as even his rivals agree, assures him the first place. The Italians call him the 'patriarch of the relief' and recognize that in this field his works are truly classic."[4] The frieze Grass cites, *Alexander the Great's Entry into Babylon* (Figure 2), was a major commission by any standard. Thirty-two meters long, it was modeled in stucco in 1812 for the Palazzo del Quirinale in preparation for Napoleon's visit to Rome.[5] Not all contemporary critics agreed that it was purely classical. The art historian Karl Friedrich von Rumohr considered it "of Romantic fascination . . . without any antique reminiscence."[6] More recently, the Thorvaldsen specialist Bjarne Jørnaes stated that its blend of classicism and Romanticism prefigured the sculptor's most Romantic phase, seen in the reliefs *Night* (Figure 13) and *Day*, modeled in 1815. The works are distinguished from the strictly classical style of earlier reliefs, like the *Heralds of Agamemnon Conduct Brisesis to Achilles* (1803), in which carefully outlined figures move at a stately pace across the surface.[7] Indeed, relief sculpture was the medium in which this

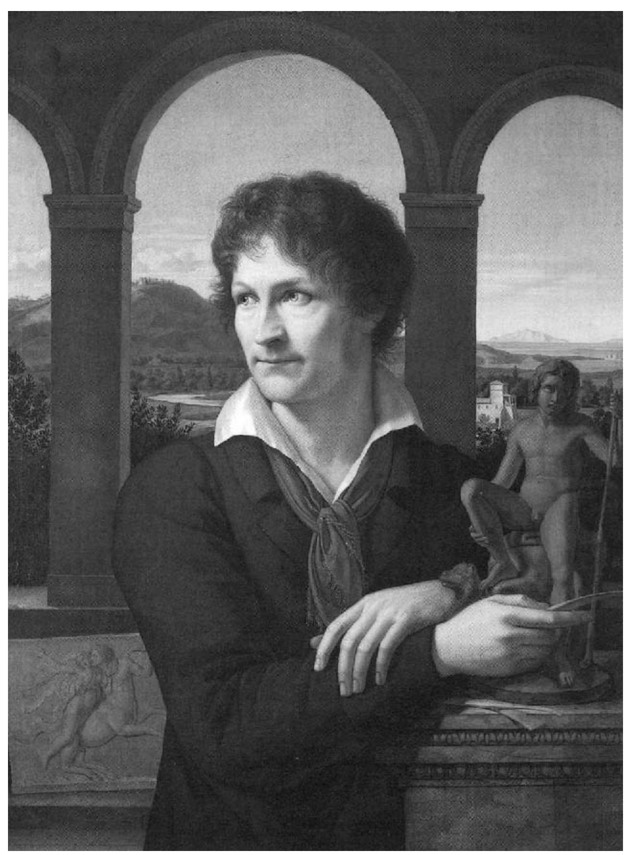

Figure 1. Adolf Senff (German, 1785–1863). *Portrait of Bertel Thorvaldsen*, 1820. Oil on canvas, 100 x 75 cm. Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, I/184

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The notes for this article begin on page 153.

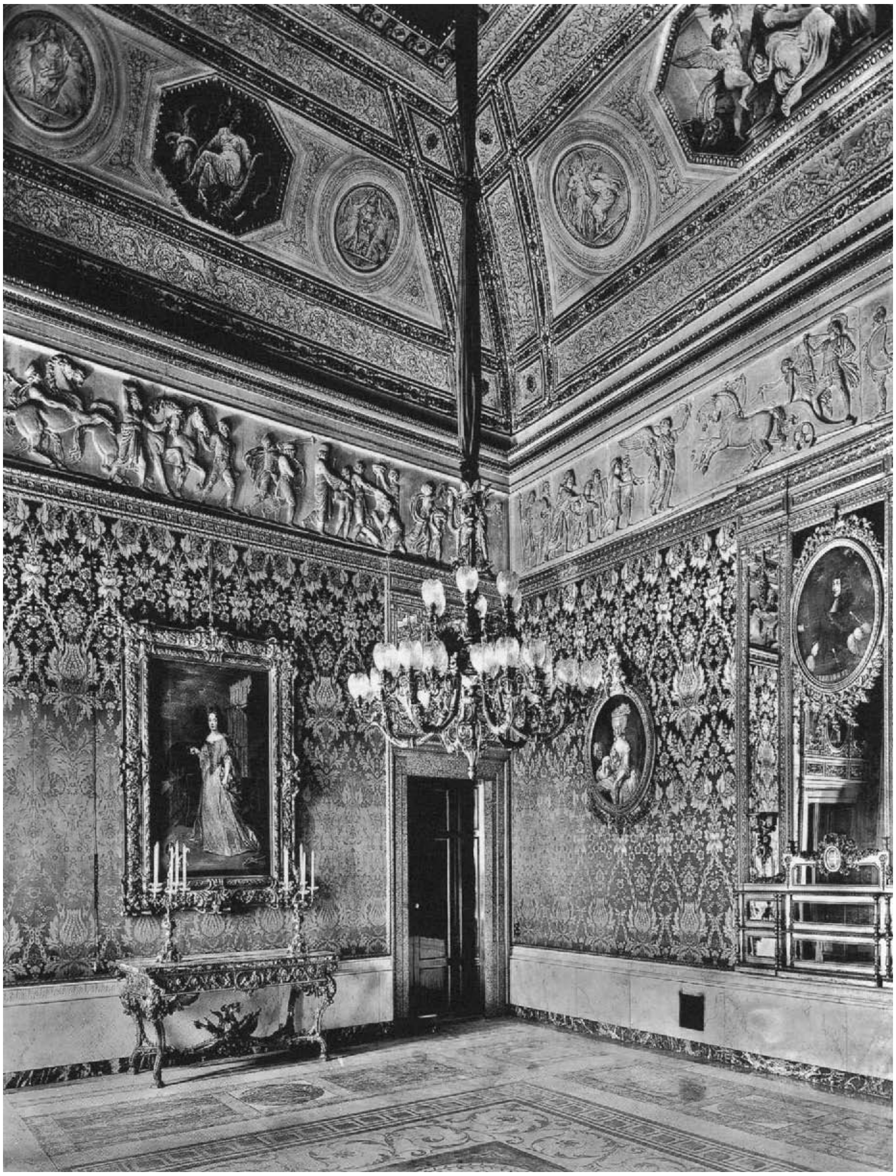

Figure 2. View of Salone d'Onore including a portion of *Alexander the Great's Entry into Babylon*, by Bertel Thorvaldsen, 1812. Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome (photo: © Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

prominent Neoclassicist appears to have exercised the greatest freedom in expressing emotion and movement.

The relief *Nessus Abducting Deianira* (Figures 3, 4), recently acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, is certainly one of Thorvaldsen's most dramatic and erotically charged works.[8] This well-known myth was frequently depicted in the Renaissance, exemplified by Giambologna's bronze of the subject (1571), and in the Baroque—Guido Reni's famous painting in the Louvre (1617–21)—but less often in the sober age of Neoclassicism.[9] Joseph Chinard's terracotta stands as a brilliant exception (Figure 5).[10] In the scene, the centaur Nessus, who has agreed to carry Hercules' wife across the river Euenus, betrays this trust and tries to abduct her. In Thorvaldsen's version, the centaur clutches Deianira's right breast and left hand, as he rears back and twists to plant a kiss on her cheek. Deianira slides along the centaur's flank, struggling to avoid the centaur's lips and waving to attract her husband's attention. Some paintings of the scene (such as Reni's) depict Hercules shooting the arrow that will slay Nessus, whereas ancient versions often include a river god to specify the location (a tradition that Chinard follows in his terracotta). Thorvaldsen eschews such narrative details: the background is severely plain, and only a row of waves cresting above the plinth indicates the locale. In the absence of landscape or narrative detail the sculptor focuses on the struggle of the two protagonists.

The sculptor's skill in relief carving is evident in the suggested plasticity of the bodies and the clarity of their silhouettes. Bulging chest muscles express the centaur's torsion, while the subtle diminution of his legs conveys a sense of depth. Carved in high relief,

Figure 3. Bertel Thorvaldsen (Danish, 1770–1844). *Nessus Abducting Deianira*, modeled 1814/15, carved 1821–23 or 1826. Marble, 120 x 125 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Fund, 2004 (2004.174). See also front cover

Deianira's arm appears to protrude into space against the shallow relief of the lion's skin tied around the centaur's neck. The sharply defined pleats of her gown distinguish her from the centaur's naked flesh, while their flowing lines vividly convey a sense of motion. Scrupulously attentive to the details of ancient art, the sculptor even includes a dress weight, dangling above her right calf, that tugs the material taut. The scene's action is reinforced by other details: the lion's skin flaps like a flag in the wind and the horsetail streams behind the centaur. The figures' limbs radiate outward like the spokes of a wheel. The compact figural group recalls the concentratedly centered design of the ancient cameos and coins that Thorvaldsen collected; much of this relief's power stems from the sculptor's monumental approach to the reductive simplicity of these ancient glyptic works.[11] One of the sculptor's most famous statues from this period, *Ganymede and the Eagle* (1817), also owes its composition to an ancient cameo in his collection, further indicating how his study of such glyptic sources informed both his subjects and technical style.[12]

Typical of Thorvaldsen's working methods, he first fashioned his composition for *Nessus Abducting Deianira* in clay and preserved it in plaster.[13] Precise as to form and dimensions, the plaster served as a template for the marble versions he and his assistants would carve. According to letters written by Danish painter Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg (1783–1853), a resident of Rome from 1813 to 1816, the sculptor completed the model in 1814 or 1815.[14] The studio daybooks record marble versions of a "centaur" carved in 1821–23 and a "marble centaur bassorilievo" in 1826.[15] Along with most of his models, the original

Figure 4. Detail of relief in Figure 3

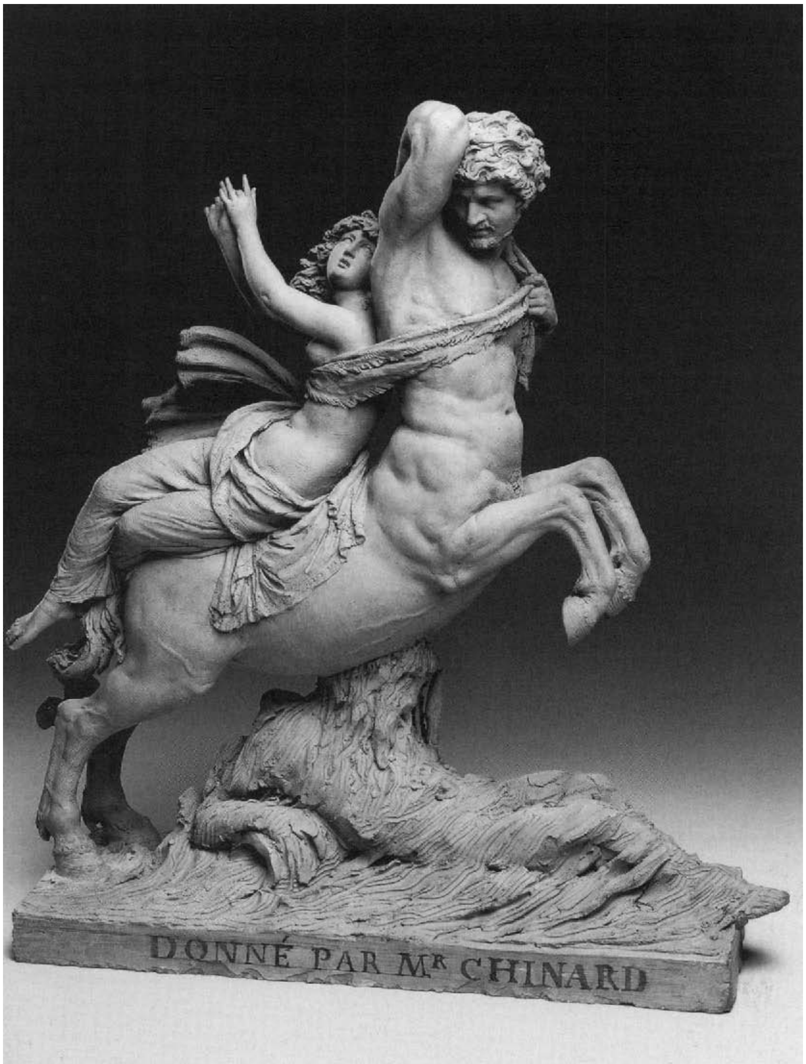

Figure 5. Joseph Chinard (French, 1756–1813). *Nessus Abducting Deianira*, ca. 1791–92. Terracotta, 41.8 x 38.5 x 15.2 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, H 797 (photo: © Studio Basset)

plaster (Figure 6) is today in the Thorvaldsens Museum in Copenhagen. Of three known marbles only one was made for a specific commission, that for Paolo Marulli, now at the Metropolitan Museum.[16] The two others were evidently carved speculatively or for the sculptor's own use but remained unsold and ended up in Copenhagen (Figure 7). (One of these was auctioned in 1849 and is now in the Jaegerspris Castle.)[17]

As one would expect, there are slight variations between plaster and marbles. Some of the textures are rough and impressionistic in the plaster; the waves become increasingly regular and smooth in the marble versions and the horsetail flows more elegantly in curves that echo Deianira's pleats. Some details that are implied in the model—or perhaps were lost in translation from clay to plaster—are more fully realized in the marble: the fringe of hair above the hooves, for example. Other details have been changed or added: the callosity (called a chestnut) on the left foreleg does not appear in the plaster but does on the New York version and even more prominently on the Copenhagen marble. The tip of the penis is rounded in the plaster, pointed in the marble. The skeletal definition of the right foreleg is more pronounced in the marble than in the plaster, and tucks of flesh appear at the leg joint that do not in the plaster. Despite these few differences the marble's fidelity to the plaster model is remarkable. The carving clarified or sharpened motifs where necessary and embellished only the smallest of details. Overall, the New York and Copenhagen marbles are close in character. Given the volume of his studio's output, however, one has come naturally to expect a given amount of workshop assistance partially or wholly in many of Thorvaldsen's works. It is likely that assistants blocked out the commissioned New York work and that Thorvaldsen finished it himself.

Figure 6. Bertel Thorvaldsen. *Nessus Abducting Deianira*, modeled 1814/15. Plaster, 102 x 123 cm. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, A481 (photo: © Thorvaldsens Museum)

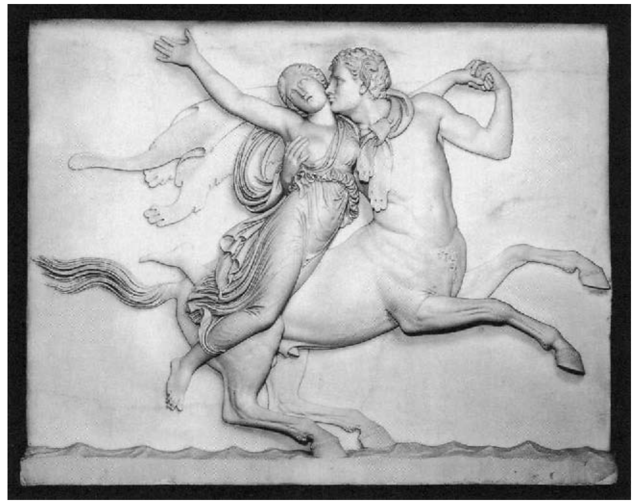

Figure 7. Bertel Thorvaldsen. *Nessus Abducting Deianira*, modeled 1814/15. Marble, 103.5 x 127.5 cm. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, A480 (photo: © Thorvaldsens Museum)

The genesis of this accomplished design can be followed through an engraving after the antique and a series of pen, ink, and pencil sketches. Remaining in Thorvaldsen's preserved library is a bound volume of engravings after ancient reliefs restored by the eighteenth-century Roman Bartolomeo Cavaceppi: *Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, bassirilievi ed altre sculture restaurate da B. Cavaceppi*, published in Rome in 1772.[18] One of the engravings (Figure 8) reproduces a relief then thought to represent Nessus abducting Deianira, titled "Bassorilievo in Inghilterra." Dyveke Helsted first noted this as a source for Thorvaldsen's relief. The sculptor could not have seen the original (Figure 9), as it was purchased in Rome in 1768 by Charles Townley and taken back to England (now in the British Museum, London); his starting point was a graphic one. While Thorvaldsen was aware that the relief had been restored, he would not have known which parts were original and which parts Cavaceppi completed.[19]

Figure 8. Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (Italian, 1716?–1799). "Bassorilievo in Inghilterra," in *Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, bassirilievi ed altre sculture restaurate da B. Cavaceppi* (Rome, 1772), p. 29. Engraving.

Figure 9. *Nessus Abducting Deianira*, Roman, late Hadrianic–early Antonine (ca. 117–138 A.D.). Marble, h. 56.5 cm. The British Museum, London, GR 1805.7-3.122 (photo: The British Museum)

There are sufficient points of comparison between the Cavaceppi engraving and the Thorvaldsen marble to suggest that the Dane had the engraving in mind when devising his composition: the lion's skin tied like a scarf around the centaur's neck with its rear paws and tail flapping behind; the horsetail curling out horizontally; Deianira's robe revealing one breast, clinging to her torso, and fluttering behind. Just as interesting are the differences: Thorvaldsen eliminated riverbank and tree, reversed the direction of the figures, and fundamentally altered the action between centaur and woman. In the ancient relief and the engraving, Nessus clasps her to his chest as she faces forward, rigid as a ship figurehead; their heads angle away from one another. Thorvaldsen shifts Deianira back so that Nessus' twisted body is now directed toward her; Deianira's arms are still raised to gesture to Hercules, but she tilts her head to avoid Nessus.

Four drawings in the Thorvaldsens Museum bear witness to the artist's struggle to resolve the composition. One of the most vivid works from his pen is an ink sketch showing Nessus heading to the left (in the direction of the Cavaceppi engraving), yet the tangle of lines betrays his indecision whether to position Deianira's legs to the front or to the rear (Figure 10).[20] A pencil drawing (C1073) retains the centaur's direction to the left but the sculptor places the pair in a landscape with a tree to upper left and Hercules shooting his bow from across the river on the far right. A fragmentary drawing (C157) outlines the final poses, though they were still reversed and still framed by mountains and trees. The most detailed study finalizes the elements of the composition by changing the direction, except for the centaur's head, which is not pressed against Deianira's (Figure 11). Reintroducing this motif from the first sketch completes the design. Although it is impossible to secure the chronological order of the drawings, clearly the process of design focused on the tight relationship of the protagonists' poses. Elimination of landscape elements seems inevitable in Thorvaldsen's characteristically reductive relief style. While there are, rarely, landscapes among his reliefs, such as in the *Rape of the Nymphs* (1833),[21] these tend to be less successful than those with purely flat backgrounds. The only descriptive detail he retains—the waves of the river—cleverly turns the low plinth that is typically a base for his figures into a minimal setting. Finally, by reversing the composition from the direction of the ancient one, the sculptor reinforces the confrontation of the two figures, as Nessus contorts into Deianira's body and against our natural inclination to read the scene from left to right.

Figure 10. Bertel Thorvaldsen. *Nessus Abducting Deianira*, ca. 1814. Pen and ink, 19.2 x 20.6 cm. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, C155 (photo: © Thorvaldsens Museum)

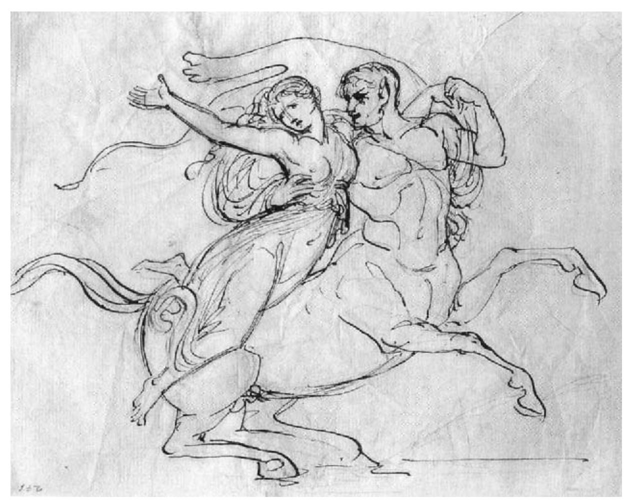

Figure 11. Bertel Thorvaldsen. *Nessus Abducting Deianira*, ca. 1814. Pen, 18.5 x 23.3 cm. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, A6, 156 (photo: © Thorvaldsens Museum)

Finally, it should be noted that this composition of two struggling figures recalls the Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs metope reliefs from the Parthenon (ca. 447–443 B.C.). Although Thorvaldsen never saw the originals, in 1815 Antonio Canova did see those marbles that Lord Elgin transported to London and offered to the British government (now in the British Museum). Thorvaldsen may well have known the compositions through reproductions and, inspired by Canova's enthusiasm for the Greek originals, reflected their form in *Nessus Abducting Deianira*.[22]

If his starting point for the composition was a much restored antique relief that he had never seen, there is no question that Thorvaldsen extensively studied antique originals in Rome. He acquired for his own considerable collection, now in the Thorvaldsens Museum, statuettes, heads, and fragments that were less attractive to aristocratic collectors, who generally sought large-scale statues for their grand interiors.[23] The sculptor may have used some of these antiquities as models for parts of the relief. Nessus' head, for instance, with flowing locks of hair, smooth-shaven except for incised sideburns, is, apart from the pointed ear, completely different from the curly haired, bearded centaur in Cavaceppi's version. As Jørgen Hartmann first observed, Thorvaldsen may have turned to two ancient Roman herms of young satyrs that he owned.[24] One of these first-century A.D. satyr heads in particular (Figure 12) bears the spray of hair at the top of the forehead, long nose, and fleshy lips similar to those of Nessus. There are many similar heads in Rome and it is not known when Thorvaldsen acquired these particular antiquities, but they remind us how closely the sculptor studied ancient sculpture. Deianira's regular features, betraying little emotion despite her ordeal, follow such well-known models as the fifth-century Niobid sculptures, which by Thorvaldsen's time had moved from Rome to Florence, but were known through numerous copies.[25]

Figure 12. *Herm of a Young Satyr*, Roman, probably 1st century A.D. Marble, h. 35, width at base 23 cm. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, H1414 (photo: © Thorvaldsens Museum)

Thorvaldsen could also draw on images of male and female centaurs that became fashionable in the late eighteenth century through the reproduction of ancient frescoes in Pompeii and Herculaneum. The publication of *Le antichità di Ercolano Esposte* (Naples, 1757–92) provided models for compositions by sculptors and painters, and even for ceramists in porcelain.[26] Given that the renewed vogue for centaurs was inspired by models from Herculaneum, it is not surprising that the commission for Thorvaldsen's daring composition came from a resident of nearby Naples. Thorvaldsen visited this southern capital on several occasions, first in 1797, again in 1804, 1818, 1828, and probably on one subsequent trip.[27] His first Neapolitan commission, a colossal marble statue of Ferdinand of Aragon for the church of San Francesco di Paola, came to naught. Though this statue was unrealized, the project put him in contact with the presiding officer of the committee to decorate the church, Marcello Marulli, duke of Ascoli, as documented in a letter of March 21, 1818.[28] The Marulli were a significant family in Naples, active in politics and society as well as art collecting. The eldest brother, Trojano, a courtier of Ferdinand IV and captain of cavalry, was fond of paintings. An inventory of sixty-seven paintings, published two years after his death in 1823, documents his taste for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Neapolitan and Flemish works.[29]

In contrast to the eldest brother, Paolo Marulli was interested in contemporary art. In 1816 Paolo lived with his nephew Sebastiano, who had married into the family of the Marchese Francesco Berio. Several years later Paolo and his wife, Anna Carlotta Senford, owned their own palazzo at 73 Riviera di Chiaia.[30] Documents reveal that Marulli decorated a room in this palazzo with three reliefs by Thorvaldsen and a bust by Canova. The marble reliefs—*Nessus Abducting Deianira, Night* (see another version in Figure 13), and *Day* (private collection, Rome)—were set into the walls, while Canova's *Herm of a Vestal Virgin* (Figure 14) was placed on a granite column designed by Canova's half-brother Giovanni Battista Sartori.[31] Paolo Marulli had first approached Canova in 1816 in the hope of obtaining a full-length marble statue. A letter from Berio alerted the sculptor that Marulli had often seen Canova's *Adonis and Venus* (1795, now in Villa La Grange, Geneva) in Berio's house and wished to obtain a Canova statue for himself.[32] Marulli also attempted to contact Canova through the agency of

Figure 13. Bertel Thorvaldsen. *Night*, 1815. Marble, diam. 72 cm. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, 367 (photo: © Thorvaldsens Museum)

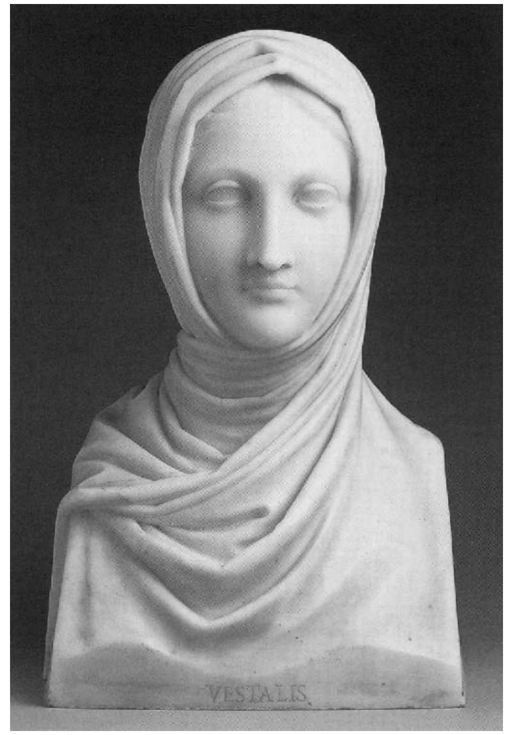

Figure 14. Antonio Canova (Italian, 1757–1822). *Herm of a Vestal Virgin*, 1821–22. Marble, 49.8 x 31.9 x 24.1 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 85.5A353 (photo: J. Paul Getty Museum)

Giuseppe Capacelatro, ex-bishop of Taranto, in 1817.[33] Although it is unknown why Canova never provided the desired full-length statue, Marulli agreed to accept the herm of a Vestal in a letter of December 28, 1821, and may have received this one by January 18, 1822. In that year Marulli also negotiated with Canova to commission a sepulchral monument to Berio, unfinished when the sculptor died some months later.[34]

Other correspondence from the Marulli family helps to clarify their relationship to Thorvaldsen, though these missives do not resolve the chronology of the works of art discussed. A letter from Marcello Marulli to Thorvaldsen (December 12, 1821) indicates that Paolo had already acquired Thorvaldsen's relief of *Night* for 250 scudi, and proposed to buy three more bas-reliefs for 600 scudi.[35] As noted earlier, Thorvaldsen's studio daybooks indicate a "centaur" being carved in 1821–23 and a "marble centaur basso-rilievo" in 1826, both probably versions of *Nessus Abducting Deianira*.[36] However, the dates when Marulli's version was carved and when it arrived in Naples remain unclear. Three letters of 1825 from the painter Vincenzo Camuccini to Paolo Marulli allude to Paolo's impatience to receive two reliefs from Thorvaldsen and explain that the delay is due to the sculptor's wish that they be carved as well as possible (a common excuse for a busy artist, though there may be an element of truth in the statement, too).[37] Camuccini was well positioned to mediate in this matter: he and Thorvaldsen were sufficiently close to have proposed, though not completed, the exchange of portraits in 1810; in addition, Paolo owned Camuccini's painting of the *Dying Magdalen* (before 1824; location unknown).[38]

It is not established when *Nessus Abducting Deianira* arrived in Naples, whether in the first transaction of 1821–22 or the second of 1825–26. Notably, Paolo actively commissioned art from Canova in 1821–22. In addition, the presence of a version of *Nessus Abducting Deianira* in Senff's 1820 portrait (Figure 1) suggests that the sculptor was engaged with this relief that he had first conceived five or six years earlier. Jørnaes observes that the subject was somewhat risqué for the standards of the era and that this could explain why it took several years to find a client willing to pay for a marble.[39] Still, Marulli could have commissioned it as early as 1820, Thorvaldsen only finishing it several years later. Thus it is likely the one listed in the daybooks in 1821–23, but the possibility remains that it is the one finished in 1826.

Figure 15. Guglielmo Bechi (Italian, 1791–1852). Detail of ceiling decoration of female centaur. Fresco. Palazzo di San Teodoro, Naples

In any event, Marulli was planning the display of sculpture in his palazzo about the earlier of these dates. His letter to Canova of January 25, 1822, discusses the five-foot-high granite pedestal that was being carved for the *Herm of a Vestal Virgin*.[40] This letter has been interpreted to indicate that the bust was nearly ready for its definitive placement in the Via Chiaia palazzo.[41] In an adjacent room, Paolo Marulli's collection of paintings was displayed, including works by or attributed to Canaletto, Guercino, David Teniers, Gerhard ter Borch, and Leonardo da Vinci. All of these works were still in the palazzo in the years 1843–47, but by 1863 were dispersed.[42]

Paolo Marulli's embedded Neoclassical reliefs in his gallery walls held consistent with Neapolitan interior decoration of the first decades of the nineteenth century. The grandest examples that this majordomo of the king would have known were at the Royal Palace at Caserta. Although in 1804 the architect Carlo Vanvitelli had planned to include six overdoor bas-reliefs of episodes of the life of Alexander the Great, the new political regime revised the project, limiting it to episodes from the life of Giocchino Murat. These were carved in marble by Claudio Monte, Domenico Masucci, and others.[43] (They were destroyed after the Bourbon restoration and replaced in 1846–47, but were well known in Naples in Marulli's time.) Another room at Caserta, the Sala di Marte, was decorated between 1807 and 1812 with stucco panels of scenes of Mars and Venus.[44] The decorations that Marulli commissioned were more modest in scale and thematic coordination than the royal ones. Yet the Caserta examples must have been foremost in his mind when he planned the decor for his salon. Down the street from Marulli's residence the artist Guglielmo Bechi frescoed a ceiling of the Palazzo di San Teodoro with centaurs, echoing ancient paintings that were familiar from publications (Figure 15).[45] The classically inspired decoration of a centaur, or in this case, a female centaur, carrying a nymph, was thus fashionable in Neapolitan palazzo decoration in the decade that Marulli installed the Thorvaldsen reliefs.

Figure 16. Giuseppe Girometti (Italian, 1780–1851). *Nessus Abducting Deianira*, ca. 1815–25. Sardonyx, mounted in gold as a pendant, 3.5 x 4.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Assunta Sommella Peluso, Ada Peluso, and Romano I. Peluso Gift, in memory of Ignazio Peluso, 2004 (2004.164)

Although the sole commissioned version of *Nessus Abducting Deianira* was sent to Naples, its image disseminated nonetheless through reproductions spread from Rome and, ultimately, Copenhagen. In the nineteenth century Thorvaldsen's fame encouraged the use of his compositions in many media. Engraved reproductions of Thorvaldsen's most notable works began to appear in the second decade of the century. Ferdinando Mori's *Le statue e li bassirilievi inventati e scolpiti in Marmo* published thirty-two works in 1811; a later edition included *Nessus Abducting Deianira* among an additional forty-seven works completed by 1817.[46] In 1826 twenty-five etchings of Thorvaldsen works were published, including the Venetian printmaker Marchetti's reproduction of *Nessus*.[47] Later compilations of prints in 1828, 1831, and 1836 also included the *Nessus Abducting Deianira*.[48]

Cameos were a medium particularly well suited to revealing the nuances of marble relief and were highly prized as reproductions of large-scale sculpture during this period. As Count Hawks Le Grice points out in his *Walks through the Studii of the Sculptors at Rome* of 1841: "Although Impronte [impressions] are miniature copies . . . they exhibit all the fidelity and beauty of the originals, and convey to the eye a better idea of sculptored works of art than the most finished engravings. . . ."[49] By the 1810s and 1820s leading practitioners of the form, such as Tommaso Saulini and Giuseppe Girometti, began to extend the traditional role of cameos, reproducing antiquities, to that of copying the works of the most famous contemporary sculptors, notably Canova and Thorvaldsen.[50] The Dane's many reliefs lent themselves particularly well to this form of reproduction. Furthermore, small carvings were often commissioned by wealthy collectors as copies of favorite works of art in their possession. Marchese Giovanni Battista Sommariva, for example, commissioned Girometti and Luigi Pichler to make cameos after statues by Canova in his collection and Clemente Pestrini to carve in four sections Sommariva's version of Thorvaldsen's extensive frieze *Alexander the Great's Entry into Babylon* displayed in his villa (later called the Villa Carlotta) at Tremezzo on Lake Como.

Cameos of famous compositions by Thorvaldsen were made not only for the owners of the marbles but also for a wider audience; these sculptures' renown and artistic success made them attractive subjects for small lapidary works destined for many an admirer of contemporary art. Girometti's sardonyx *Priam Supplicating Achilles for the Body of Hector*, about 1815–25, in the Museum's collection, was inspired by a relief that Thorvaldsen carved for the duke of Bedford in 1815, but the cameo was not made for the duke.[51] Recently, the Museum acquired a cameo by Girometti after *Nessus Abducting Deianira* (Figure 16).[52] Faithful to the original in most respects, Girometti altered some details: the lion's skin is not tied around Nessus' neck, but simply drapes over his shoulder, and the centaur's tail does not flow straight behind but curls down to conform to the oval border. The ease with which Thorvaldsen's large marble translates to a small sardonyx demonstrates the concentrated simplicity of the design and the essentially circular rhythm of the figural group. It also reminds us that the sculptor studied ancient cameos for his relief compositions and techniques, thus facilitating transformation back into modern glyptics.

Large numbers of intaglios after widely known sculptures were later cut, and these could be cast in

Figure 17. After shell cameos by Tommaso Saulini (active 1850–1860). Impressions of cameos after statuary by Antonio Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen. Gypsum. Museo di Roma, Rome. Reproductions of Thorvaldsen's *Nessus Abducting Deianira* (lower left), *Day* (upper left), and *Night* (upper right) (photo: after *Thorvaldsen: L'ambiente, l'influsso, il mito* [Rome, 1991], p. 94)

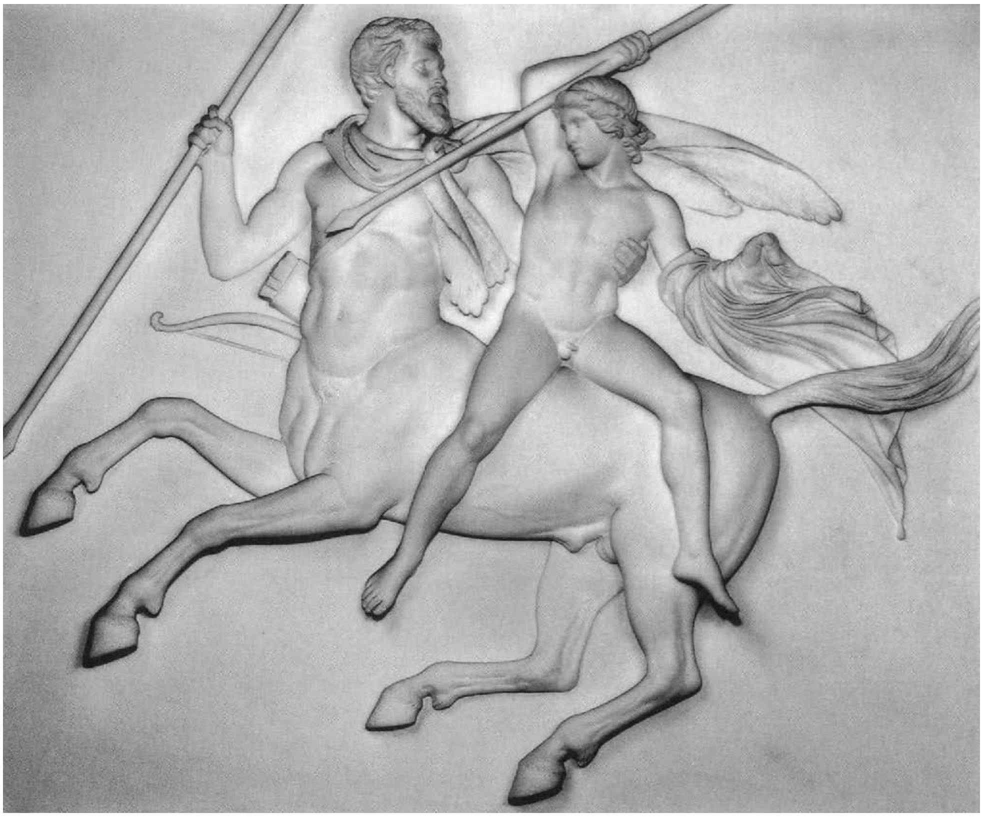

Figure 18. T. Stein after Bertel Thorvaldsen. *Chiron and Achilles*, modeled 1837, carved 1888–90. Marble, 101.5 x 123.5 cm. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, 488A (photo: © Thorvaldsens Museum)

plaster as inexpensive souvenirs of Rome. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the dealer Francesco Carnesecchi sold gypsum casts of intaglios and cameos after Canova and Thorvaldsen.[53] The Museum has a bound collection with examples copying Thorvaldsen's works mounted on one side, and those after Canova's on the other.[54] A gypsum copy of *Nessus Abducting Deianira* after a conch shell cameo by Tommaso Saulini exists, more exactly reproducing Thorvaldsen's composition than does Girometti's sardonyx.[55] Mounted in a shallow box in a Roman collection (Figure 17) are plaster examples of the *Nessus Abducting Deianira* (lower left), *Day* (upper left), and *Night* (upper right), together with Canova's statues, such as the *Magdalen* (center), in addition to other compositions, suggesting in miniature the decorative scheme Paolo Marulli arranged in his Neapolitan residence. By the 1840s less expensive and more easily carved conch shell displaced hardstone as the most popular material for cameos. Images of Thorvaldsen's *Night* were in such demand that examples of the many produced can be found in the Museum, notably as the centerpiece of a necklace for a shell cameo parure made in Naples in the mid-nineteenth century.[56] By this point the composition had become so widespread as to be a virtual icon of the decorative arts.

In 1837 Thorvaldsen himself returned to the *Nessus Abducting Deianira* by creating a pendant to it. *Chiron and Achilles* (Figure 18) has dimensions similar to the earlier relief and recalls its composition, here with a human atop a centaur.[57] This relief depicts the wise Chiron mentoring his ward, the young Achilles, in deliberate contrast to the lusty Nessus betraying his charge, Deianira. The later relief's placid figures reveal just how dramatic the earlier one was in Thorvaldsen's oeuvre. *Chiron and Achilles* is decorous by comparison; the more restrained figures have slender, nonmuscular torsos. Concerned with symmetry, the sculptor aimed to complement his earlier work. In the absence of a clear mate to *Nessus Abducting Deianira* until later in the sculptor's career, the collector of small glyptic copies was forced to select another erotically charged relief, *Cupid and Psyche* (1838, plaster cast in the Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen) to complete the careful pairing in the box's left and right columns (Figure 17). Juxtaposition of the centaur relief pendants points up the singular nature of the earlier relief, when first conceived some twenty-three years earlier.

The Thorvaldsens Museum reflects the sculptor's final thoughts on *Nessus Abducting Deianira.* By giving his original master plaster casts and many marbles, as well as his personal collections of antiquities and paintings, to his native city, the sculptor had the opportunity to direct the way in which his art would be perceived in the future. Although he died before the museum's completion in 1848, he was alive for two years during its construction and was involved with plans for the display of his art. The marble relief of *Nessus Abducting Deianira* is shown there in a small gallery, embedded in the wall eight feet from the floor. (The Metropolitan Museum's relief is currently displayed at the same height in the Carroll and Milton Petrie European Sculpture Court.) A high window lights the relief from the right; *Chiron and Achilles* faces it from the opposite side. Little in the Spartan simplicity of the galleries distracts from the art, and each room invites contemplation of just a few works. It seems likely that Paolo Marulli's Neapolitan residence framed Thorvaldsen's work in a richer, more palatial context. In the Thorvaldsens Museum, however, *Nessus Abducting Deianira* is seen as the artist wished, in an architecturally restrained context and within the continuum of his work. One of his most dramatic statements, the relief is nonetheless a part of his sustained vision of the ideals of the ancient world, a vision broadcast through his own prolific art, as well as through printed and small lapidary copies, and, finally, preserved in his museum and now this one.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to Stig Miss and Margarethe Floryan, director and curator of the Thorvaldsens Museum, for their advice and generous assistance in the archive of their museum.

NOTES

1. Jane Fejfer and Torben Melander, *Thorvaldsen's Ancient Sculptures: A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures in the Collection of Bertel Thorvaldsen, Thorvaldsens Museum* (Copenhagen, 2003), p. 9. See also the entry on Bertel Thorvaldsen by Bjarne Jørnaes in *Grove Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 30, pp. 763–66, for recent bibliography.
2. Jørnaes, in *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 30, p. 764, writes the following regarding *Jason with the Golden Fleece* (1803): "Executed in a severe style reminiscent of the work of Pheidias, it marked his independence from the more refined hellenizing works of Canova, and contemporary critics made much of this distinction between the Nordic and the Italian." For example, Christian Molbeck, in *Rejsigjennen en Del af Tyskland, Frankrig og Italian* (Copenhagen, 1822), vol. 3, p. 205ff., comparing Canova's and Thorvaldsen's reliefs, avers that the latter's "come directly from those antiques at the Vatican." Julius Lange, *Sergel og Thorvaldsen: Studier i den nordiske Klassicismes; Fremstilling af Mennesket* (Copenhagen, 1886), p. 111, notes the Danish character of Thorvaldsen's mature works: " . . . a marked procession, bold, decided, is extraneous to their languid essence, and it reveals in this a foreign feeling he brought with him from his own country." Quoted in Eva Henschen, "Radici nordische dell'arte di Thorvaldsen," in *Bertel Thorvaldsen, 1770–1844: Scultore danese a Roma*, exh. cat., Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome (Rome, 1989), p. 41.
3. See *Künstlerleben in Rom, Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844): Der dänische Bildhauer und seine deutschen Freunde*, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, and Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum, Schleswig (Nuremberg, 1991), p. 514, no. 4.8.
4. Karl Grass, in *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, no. 254 (October 22, 1812), p. 1016. See Bjarne Jørnaes, "'Il patriarca del bassorilievo': Uno sguardo al Thorvaldsen dei rilievi," in *Bertel Thorvaldsen, 1770–1844: Scultore danese a Roma*, p. 46.
5. See Bjarne Jørnaes, "Thorvaldsen's 'Triumph of Alexander' in the *Palazzo del Quirinale*," in *Thorvaldsen: L'ambiente, l'influsso, il mito*, ed. Patrick Kragelund and Mogens Nykjaer (Rome, 1991), pp. 35–42. See also Fernando Mazzocca, "Thorvaldsen e i committenti lombardi," in *Bertel Thorvaldsen, 1770–1844: Scultore danese a Roma*, pp. 120–28.
6. Cited by Jürgen Wittstock, *Geschichte der deutschen und skandinavischen Thorvaldsen-Rezeption bis zur Janresmitte 1819* (Hamburg, 1975), pp. 230–371.
7. Jørnaes, "Il patriarca del bassorilievo," p. 46, fig. 1.
8. See Ian Wardropper, in "Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 2003–2004," *MMAB*, n.s., 62, no. 2 (Fall 2004), p. 26.
9. Anthony Radcliffe and Charles Avery, in *Giambologna, 1529–1608: Sculptor to the Medici*, exh. cat., Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (London, 1978), pp. 111–16.
10. See Guilhem Scherf, in *Playing with Fire: European Terracotta Models, 1740–1840*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 2003), pp. 165–67, no. 72.
11. The influence of Thorvaldsen's collection of ancient scarabs and gems on his own work is discussed in *Bertel Thorvaldsen, 1770–1844: Scultore danese a Roma*, pp. 297–303, nos. 165–86.
12. Anthony M. Clark, "Thorvaldsen and His *Ganymede and the Eagle*," *Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* 55 (1966), p. 76. See also *Bertel Thorvaldsen—Skulpturen, Modelle, Bozzetti, Handzeichnungen: Gemälde aus Thorvaldsens Sammlungen*, exh. cat., Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne (Cologne, 1977), p. 182, no. 52; and Jørgen Birkedal Hartmann and Klaus Parlasca, *Antike Motive bei Thorvaldsen: Studien zur Antikenrezeption des Klassizismus* (Tübingen, 1979), pp. 133–34.
13. See Dyveke Helsted, "Thorvaldsens Arbeitsmethode," in *Bertel Thorvaldsen: Untersuchungen zu seinem Werk und zur Kunst seiner Zeit*, exh. cat., Museen der Stadt Köln (Cologne, 1977), pp. 7–38.
14. A letter from Eckersberg, dated August 5, 1815, calls the relief of Nessus and Deianira contemporary with *Priam and Achilles* and *Night* and *Day*. See Henrik Bramsen and Hannemarie Ragn Jensen, "Eckersbergs Dagbog; Eckersbergs Brevkon-

cepter, 1813–1816," *Meddelelser fra Thorvaldsens Museum*, 1973, p. 88.

15. Archives, Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, Daybooks, 1819–23, p. 261, and 1823–28, pp. 8, 134.
16. Sold at Finarte Semenzato, Venice, May 4, 2003, no. 621, with provenance from the collection of Sebastiano Marulli, duke of Ascoli, together with a letter from Alberta del Balzo di Capriano, daughter of Duke Traiano Marulli, which records the presence of the work in the family collection. Acquired through the dealer Alain Moatti in Paris. This work was listed in the *Istituzione di maggiorasco a favore di Sebastiano Marulli* in the notarial archives of Naples, notary G. Martinez, 1843, as one of his possessions allocated as a bequest to his nephew Sebastiano, and if he should be heirless, to the then-titled Real Museo Borbonico. The transfer to the Museo never took place. See Paola Fardella, *Antonio Canova a Napoli: Tra collezionismo e mercato* (Naples, 2002), pp. 132–34.
17. Dyveke Helsted, ed., *Thorvaldsen's Museum*, trans. Ingeborg Nixon (Copenhagen, 1961; repr., 1972), p. 52, no. 480, and p. 57, no. 481.
18. Dyveke Helsted, *Thorvaldsen: Drawings and Bozzetti*, exh. cat., Heim Gallery, London (London, 1973), p. 28, no. 38, notes Cavaceppi's relief as a possible source.
19. Mark Jones, ed., *Fake? The Art of Deception*, exh. cat., The British Museum, London (London, 1990), p. 140, no. 143, with bibliography.
20. Widely published, this drawing is illustrated in Dyveke Helsted, ed., *Thorvaldsens Museum: Katalog* (Copenhagen, 1975), fig. 56.
21. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, inv. no. A484. See Jørnaes, "Il patriarca del bassorilievo," p. 47, fig. 4.
22. See Jacob Rothenberg, *"Descensus Ad Terram": The Acquisition and Reception of the Elgin Marbles* (New York, 1977).
23. Fejfer and Melander, *Thorvaldsen's Ancient Sculptures*, p. 18, discusses the nature of Thorvaldsen's collection as typical of an artist rather than of an aristocratic connoisseur.
24. Ibid., pp. 46–49, nos. H1413, H1414. For a discussion of Thorvaldsen's classical sources for *Nessus Abducting Deianira*, see Hartmann and Parlasca, *Antike Motive*, pp. 157–59.
25. See Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven, 1981), pp. 274–79.
26. See *Il Neoclassicismo in Italia da Tiepolo a Canova*, exh. cat., Palazzo Reale, Milan (Milan, 2002), p. 489, nos. IX.23–IX.25.
27. Elena di Majo and Stefano Susinno, "Thorvaldsen a Roma e in Italia: Criteri di una mostra e qualche spunto di ricerca," in *Thorvaldsen: L'ambiente, l'influsso, il mito*, p. 15.
28. *Civiltà dell'Ottocento: Le arti a Napoli dai Borbone ai Savoia*, exh. cat., Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, and Palazzo Reale, Caserta (Naples, 1997), vol. 1, p. 99.
29. Don Fastidio, "La quadreria di casa Marulli a Napoli nel 1825," *Napoli nobilissima: Rivista di topografia ed arte napoletana* 8 (1898), pp. 182–83.
30. Fardella, *Antonio Canova a Napoli*, p. 121.
31. Peggy Fogelman and Peter Fusco, with Marietta Cambareri, *Italian and Spanish Sculpture: Catalogue of the J. Paul Getty Museum Collection* (Los Angeles, 2002), pp. 314–21.
32. Fardella, *Antonio Canova a Napoli*, p. 120.
33. Fogelman and Fusco, *Italian and Spanish Sculpture*, p. 314.
34. Fardella, *Antonio Canova a Napoli*, pp. 119–39.
35. Archives, Thorvaldsens Museum, file titled "Marcelli: Saur. Butera. Ascoli." The letter is dated Naples, December 12, 1821.
36. See note 15, above.
37. The originals of Camuccini's letters are in the Archivio Camuccini. See Isabella Ceccopieri, ed., *L'Archivio Camuccini: Inventario* (Rome, 1990), pp. 7, 10. Copies are in the Archives, Thorvaldsens Museum, 13a, 53/203.
38. Ulrich Hiesinger, "The Paintings of Vincenzo Camuccini, 1771–1844," *Art Bulletin* 60 (June 1978), pp. 307, 315. Camuccini's portrait of Thorvaldsen is in a private collection, Rome, and the plaster bust of Camuccini is in the Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen.
39. Jørnaes, "Il patriarca del bassorilievo," p. 46.
40. Paolo Marulli to Antonio Canova, Naples, January 25, 1822, Museo Biblioteca Archivio, Bassano del Grappa, CVII 4-10, n. 1279. Discussed by Fardella, *Antonio Canova a Napoli*, p. 132.
41. Fardella, *Antonio Canova a Napoli*, p. 132.
42. Ibid., p. 134, n. 42. *Night* and *Day* passed into the Genoese collection of Massimo Ettlinger at the end of the nineteenth century and by descent to a private Roman collection. See Di Majo and Susinno, "Thorvaldsen a Roma e in Italia," p. 16 and n. 18.
43. *Civiltà dell'Ottocento*, vol. 1, p. 33.
44. Chiara Garzya, *Interni Neoclassici a Napoli* (Naples, 1978), pp. 72–73.
45. Ibid., p. 97.
46. Maria Vittoria Marini Clarelli, "L'opera di Thorvaldsen nell'editoria romana dell'Ottocento," in *Bertel Thorvaldsen, 1770–1844: Scultore danese a Roma*, p. 309.
47. Ibid., p. 310.
48. *L'Anacreonte di Torvaldsen [sic] in XXIV bassorilievi, descritti dal Cav. Angelo Maria Ricci* (Rieti: Salvatore Tinchi, 1828); *Intera collezione di tutte le opere inventate e scolpite dal Cav. Alberto Thorwaldsen; incisa a contorni con illustrazioni del chiarissimo Abate Misserini, dedicata a sua eccellenza Rodolfo, conte di Lutzov* (Rome: Pietro Aureli, 1831), pl. 55; *Anacreonte novissimo del commendatore Alberto Torwaldsen [sic] in XXXI. bassorilievi anacreontici, tradotti dal Cavaliere Angelo Maria Ricci* (Rome: Giacomo Antonelli, 1836), pl. 27.
49. Hawks Le Grice, *Walks through the Studii of the Sculptors at Rome* (Rome, 1841), p. 269.
50. See Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Le opere di Thorvaldsen nella glittica romana dell'Ottocento," in *Thorvaldsen: L'ambiente, l'influsso, il mito*, pp. 91–92.
51. Ibid., p. 95. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Milton Weil Collection, 1940 (40.20.40).
52. See Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, in *Maestà di Roma da Napoleone all'Unità d'Italia*, exh. cat., Scuderie del Quirinale, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, and Villa Medici, Rome (Rome, 2003), p. 528, no. XI.1.40.
53. Stefanelli, "Thorvaldsen nella glittica romana," pp. 92–93.
54. Francesco Carnesecchi (Italian, active ca. 1822–44). *Impressions of Intaglios after the Statuary of Canova and Thorvaldsen.* Gypsum paper and leather box: 25.2 x 17.2 x 5.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Joseph D. Ryle, 1992 (1992.405.1–.35).
55. See Stefanelli, "Thorvaldsen nella glittica romana," p. 95.
56. Parure (necklace, two bracelets, earrings, pin). Italian (Naples), mid-nineteenth century. Shell mounted in gold. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs. John D. Jones, 1899 (99.33.1–6).
57. Helsted, *Thorvaldsens Museum*, 1975, p. 169, no. A798. This relief was carved in 1888–90 after the original plaster, also at the museum (inv. no. A488), 101.5 x 72.3 cm.

The Laying of the Atlantic Cable: Paintings, Watercolors, and Commemorative Objects Given to the Metropolitan Museum by Cyrus W. Field

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TWO MONTHS BEFORE HIS DEATH on July 12, 1892, Cyrus West Field, the guiding force behind the successful laying of the transatlantic cable in 1866, offered to the Metropolitan Museum his paintings, watercolors, and other objects related to the enterprise.[1] The collection, one hundred items in all, included a portrait of Field by the American artist (and Museum trustee) Daniel Huntington (Figure 1; Appendix no. 7); six oil paintings and forty-three watercolors by or attributed to the English artist Robert Charles Dudley (as well as one formerly ascribed to Dudley but in fact signed by the English lithographer William Simpson); a Tiffany and Company gold box and several gold medals; numerous fragments of the cable; and other memorabilia. In letters to fellow members of the Museum's board of trustees and to director General Luigi Palma di Cesnola, Huntington and John Bigelow recommended the acquisition.[2] As Huntington attested, the pictures "form a very interesting collection, illustrating one of the important events of our times."[3] While our appreciation of the artistic merit of the works has dimmed somewhat over time, they remain an eloquent reminder of Field, his accomplishment, and the commemorative customs of his day. (Other paintings, watercolors, and objects from the collection that are not illustrated in the text are described in the Appendix to this article.)

Born in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, on November 30, 1819, Field was one of nine children of Submit Dickinson Field and the Reverend David Field. While several of his brothers attended nearby Williams College, Field received no higher education. Nonetheless, he showed an early aptitude for mathematics, and by age twelve he was entrusted with the family bookkeeping.[4] In 1835, at fifteen, he set out for New York City, where he secured an apprenticeship with a leading retailer, A. T. Stewart, on lower Broadway; after three years he left to work at the paper mill in Lee, Massachusetts, owned by his elder brother Matthew.[5] There he quickly learned the business, and by his twenty-first birthday he was offered a partnership in Root and Company, a wholesale paper company in New York. Shortly thereafter, on December 2, 1840, Field married a childhood friend, Mary Bryan Stone, of Guilford, Connecticut.[6] When Root and Company went bankrupt six months after he joined it, Field demonstrated his entrepreneurial flair and promptly established his own business, Cyrus W. Field and Company, which became one of the foremost paper and printing wholesalers in the country.

In 1853, at the age of thirty-four, Field retired with a large fortune, erecting a grand house in New York City at Lexington Avenue and Twenty-first Street, on Gramercy Park North. In the same year he traveled to South America with his painter friend Frederic Edwin Church, whom he had met as a young man while working in Lee. They had great adventures together, crossing the Andes by mule; Field returned to New York with twenty parrots, a live jaguar, and a teenage Indian boy who moved in with the family.[7] Afterward, Church painted two important canvases for Field in commemoration of their South American sojourn: *Falls of the Tequendama* (1854, Cincinnati Art Museum), and *Cotopaxi* (1855, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.). Field owned several other works by Church, and the walls of his Gramercy Park house were said to be hung with landscapes of the Hudson River School.[8]

The enterprising Field soon became fascinated with the possibility of laying a telegraph cable across the North Atlantic. He assembled a group of influential investors and technical advisors, including his Gramercy Park neighbor Peter Cooper and Samuel F. B. Morse, the painter who invented the telegraph. Prevailing upon the governments of the United States and Great Britain to assist with subsidies and naval support, by 1857 Field had the capital and equipment to commence what was to be the first of five attempts to lay a fully functioning cable.[9] Expeditions were mounted in

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The notes for this article begin on page 169.

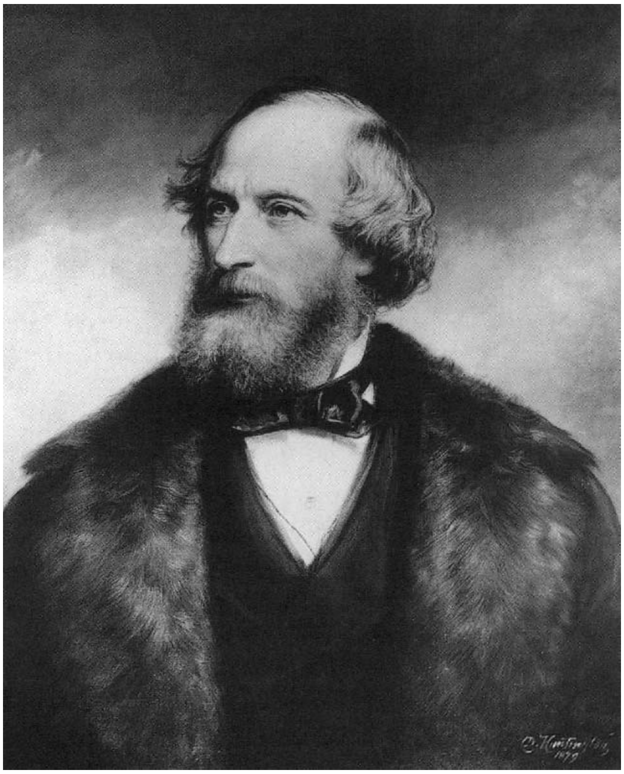


Figure 1. Daniel Huntington (American, 1816–1906). *Cyrus W. Field (1819–1892)*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 74.9 x 62.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.41) (Appendix no. 7)

August 1857, June and July 1858, July 1865, and, finally, July 1866; Field was on board for every voyage. The plan was to connect Valentia (Figure 2; Appendix no. 8),[10] an island in a sheltered bay in County Kerry on the west coast of Ireland, with Trinity Bay in Newfoundland, 2,500 miles away. The expeditions of August 1857 and June 1858 both ended in failure when the cable snapped and recovery efforts proved futile.[11]

In July 1858 Field launched another attempt. Leaving from England, the USS *Niagara* and HMS *Agamemnon*, on loan from their respective governments and each carrying 1,250 miles of cable, met in mid-Atlantic. On July 29 the new cable was spliced and the ships steamed off in opposite directions, the *Agamemnon* to Valentia and the *Niagara* to Newfoundland. With telegraph connection made on August 5, the expedition was hailed as a rousing success. Through this cable Field received laudatory messages from all over the world. Queen Victoria of England and President Buchanan of the United States exchanged congratulatory greetings extolling the new link between their nations. (The public was unaware of just how long the messages took to be exchanged: the Queen's took sixteen hours for transmittal and reception, Buchanan's ten hours.)[12] Huge celebrations in New York were accompanied by bonfires, fireworks (which

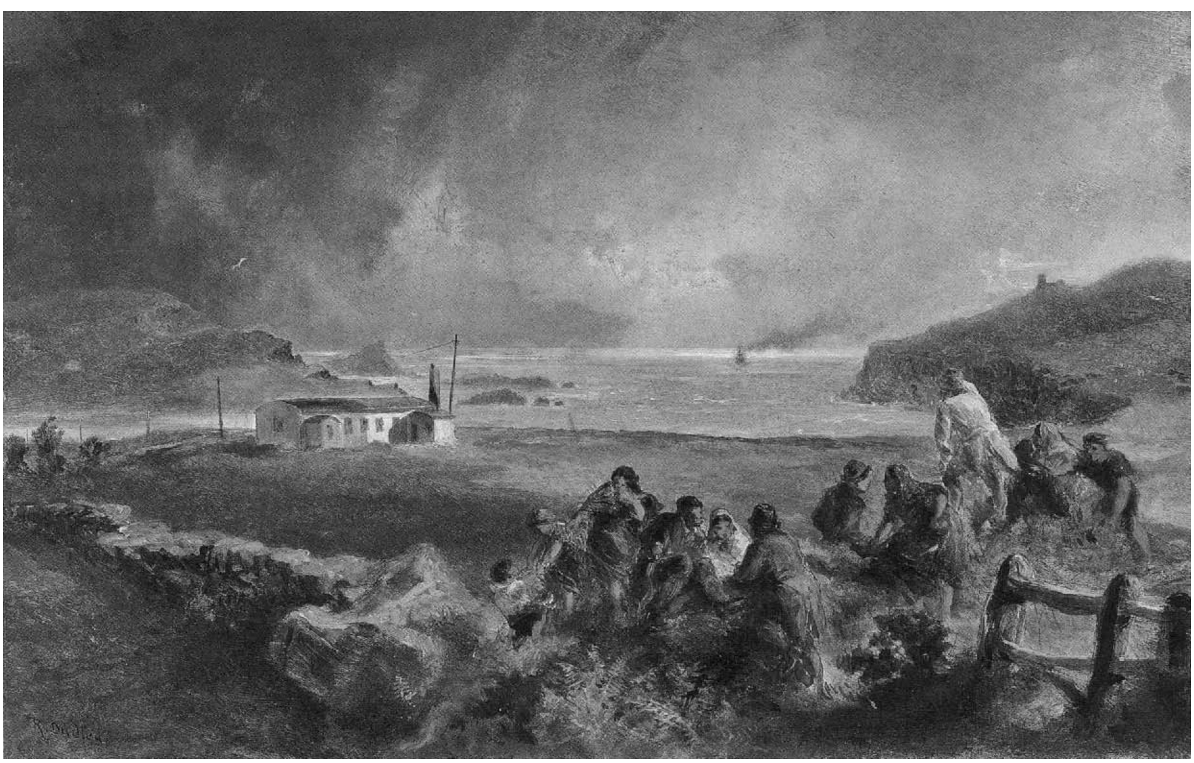


Figure 2. Robert Charles Dudley (English, 1826–1900). *Valentia from the Harbour*, 1857. Watercolor with touches of gouache, 24 x 37.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.48) (Appendix no. 8). See also Colorplate 8

Figure 3. Tiffany and Company (American, 1837–present). Medal, 1858. Gold, diam. 7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.3) (Appendix no. 26)

accidentally set fire to the cupola of City Hall), parades, and artillery salutes. Field was fêted with dinners and processions and presented with gifts (Figure 3; Appendix no. 26). Newly composed songs and poems paid tribute to the success of the cable.

The excitement was short-lived, however, for by September 3 transmissions had failed.[13] Chagrined, Field was determined to try again, but the Civil War in America intervened; it was not until 1865 that the next attempts were made. A single ship was to carry all 2,730 miles of shore-end and ocean cable, which was substantially strengthened and had taken eight months of continuous work to manufacture.[14] The *Great Eastern* (Figure 4; Appendix no. 4), a massive British vessel designed by the engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel, was the only ship with the capacity for such a load, which was coiled in three enormous tanks. Originally designed to transport 6,000 passengers or 10,000 troops, the *Great Eastern* was five times larger than any other ship of its time, carried six masts and five funnels, and combined paddle wheels with screw propulsion.[15] For the cable expeditions of 1865 and 1866, five hundred people, including the crew and engineers, were on board. To provide food for the passengers, an assortment of sheep, pigs, bullocks, geese, turkeys, and chickens shared space on the upper deck with the cable equipment.[16]

To record the cable-laying expedition of 1865, two men were selected: Robert Charles Dudley (1826–1900), an artist for the *London Illustrated News,* and William Howard Russell of the *London Times,* the sole journalist aboard.[17] (Judging by the scope of his drawings, the artist must have been on hand for most if not all of the earlier attempts.) Known for his marine paintings and watercolors, Dudley showed his work regularly, twenty-five times at the Royal Academy alone.[18] Later in his career he abandoned marine painting and worked in Spain, North Africa, and Venice, producing landscapes and genre scenes; he also illustrated history books and Army and Navy almanacs.[19] Because of his broad range of subjects and styles, and because he exhibited under the names of both Robert Dudley and Robert Charles Dudley, he has sometimes been mistaken for two separate artists.[20] Russell was famous as a war correspondent who had reported from both the Crimean and the American Civil wars; Abraham Lincoln nicknamed him "Bull Run Russell" for his coverage of that battle.[21] On board the *Great Eastern,* Russell and Dudley composed the first-ever ship's newspaper, the *Atlantic Telegraph.*[22]

Although a capable painter of marine subjects, Dudley had a figural style that was rather soft and weak, and he had some difficulty with crowd scenes. (When working in oils the artist tended to use somber colors, which have darkened with time, rendering some passages difficult to read.) The six oil paintings by Dudley in Cyrus Field's collection illustrate only the successful expedition of 1866. The first canvas shows the laying of the shore end of the cable off Valentia,

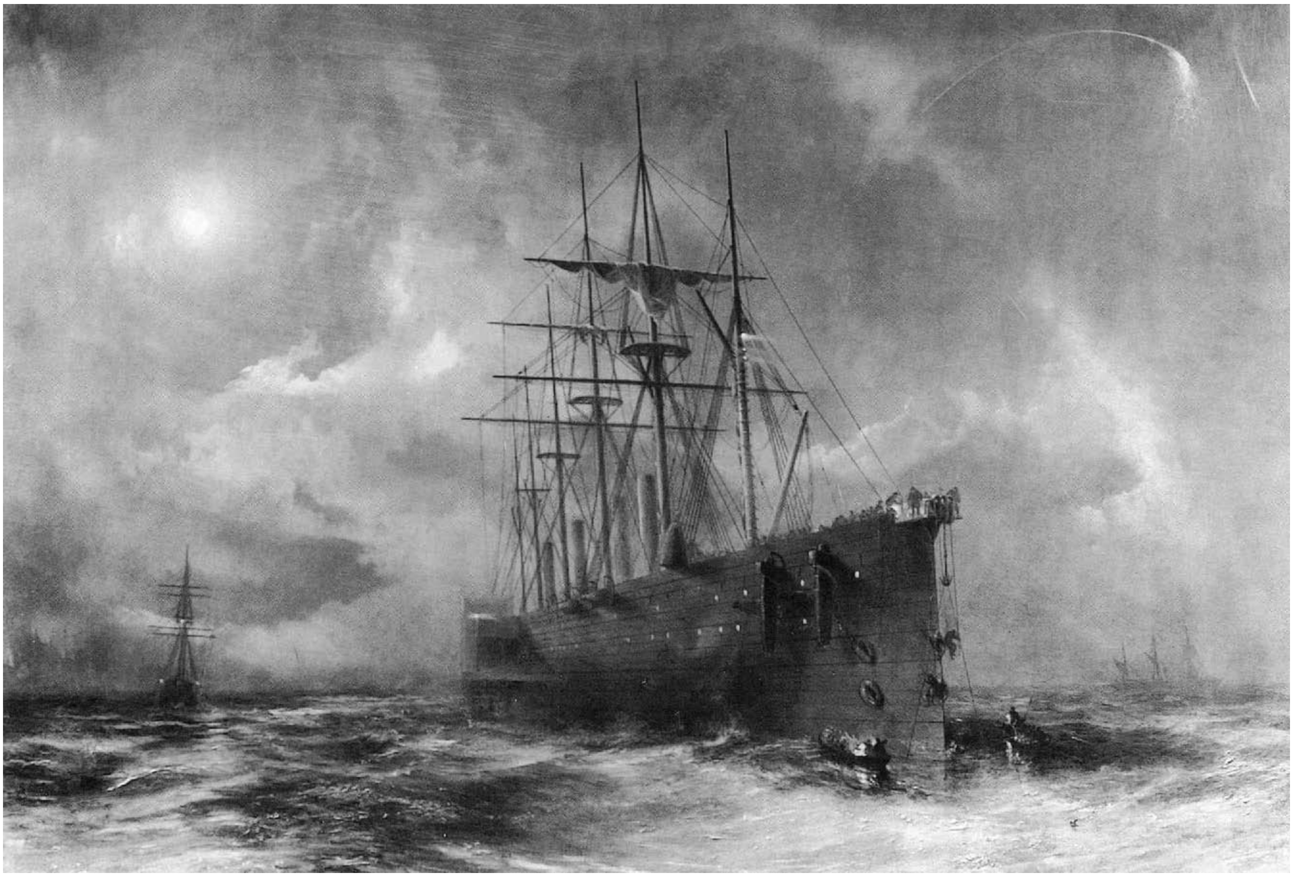


Figure 4. Robert Charles Dudley. *Grappling for the Lost Cable,* 1866. Oil on canvas, 57.8 x 84.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.45) (Appendix no. 4)

Ireland, on July 7, 1866 (Figure 5; Appendix no. 1). On the 1866 voyage the British HMS *Terrible* and HMS *Raccoon* and the chartered ships *Albany* and *Medway* accompanied the *Great Eastern.*[23] Since the *Great Eastern* was too large to anchor in Valentia's Foilhummerum Bay,[24] the steamer *William Cory* was loaded with thirty miles of cable, the end of which was pulled to shore across a line of forty boats stretching from the ship to the foot of the cliffs. Local residents assisted the sailors in hauling the cable up to the telegraph house through a trench cut in the cliffs.[25] The other end of the cable was then transferred to the deck of the *Great Eastern,* and the splice was made, as illustrated in the second painting of the series, in which Dudley captured the vastness of the ship and the hive of activity on board (Appendix no. 2). He shows some of the cable's protective equipment: the trough through which it ran on deck; the containers of water used to keep it wet; and the billowing "crinoline" that prevented it from getting tangled in the screw. In the left foreground, Field can be seen conferring with an engineer.

Uneventfully crossing the Atlantic in a journey of 2,532 miles, the fleet reached the village of Heart's Content in Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, on July 27, 1866, as shown in the third picture (Appendix no. 3).[26] Field had chosen Heart's Content, twenty miles from the 1858 landing site on the Bay of Bull's Arm, for its calm, deep waters. Here, as in Ireland, enthusiastic local residents met the fleet, some rowing out to greet the ships.[27] Eventually, the shore end of the cable was landed and the transatlantic telegraph connection achieved. The expedition was far from over, however. During the July 1865 attempt the cable had snapped and sunk to a depth of 2,500 fathoms (16,000 feet), 1,300 miles from the coast of Newfoundland: Field was determined to recover it.

In the fourth picture (Figure 4; Appendix no. 4), Dudley shows the *Great Eastern* trying to recover the cable in stormy seas. Buoys had marked the spot where the lost cable lay, and now the ships labored to snare it with a grappling hook attached to a strong rope. On September 1, after thirteen months at the bottom of the ocean and almost two weeks of heroic efforts by the sailors in unseasonably rough weather, the cable was raised to the surface.[28] Cyrus later declared, "This achievement has, perhaps, excited

Figure 5. Robert Charles Dudley. *Landing the Shore End of the Atlantic Cable*, 1866. Oil on canvas, 57.2 x 83.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.44) (Appendix no. 1)

more surprise than the other. It was the triumph of the highest nautical and engineering skill."[29]

In the fifth canvas of the series, Dudley shows the bearded Field (silhouetted against the window) and his team in the *Great Eastern*'s electricians' room anxiously awaiting a signal from Ireland (Appendix no. 5). Dudley himself described the tense scene: "Cyrus Field could no more be absent than the cable itself. . . . [T]wo electricians bend over the galvanometer in patient watching for some message from that far-off land of home to which the great news has just been signaled."[30] The individuals are identifiable; Dudley had painted a series of portraits. William Thomson (later Lord Kelvin), the scientist who formulated the cable's construction, Captain James Anderson, Samuel Morse, and chief engineer Samuel Canning are among the men portrayed. But the scene is dark and difficult to read, and Dudley failed to evince the excitement and tension of the moment. The series of paintings ends in the sixth canvas with a harbor scene of the *Great Eastern* and her entourage sailing home from Heart's Content (Appendix no. 6). In a lighter palette, it is a good example of the artist's more successful treatment of marine themes.

Dudley's watercolors of the events demonstrate a greater transparency and ease of handling than do his oils. He evidently was well informed of ships' rigging and onboard activities and enjoyed depicting them. While the oil paintings pertain solely to the 1866 expedition, the scenes portrayed in the forty-four watercolors in the Museum's collection span the earliest attempts to lay the cable in 1857 to the last effort in 1866.[31] (They do not relate specifically to the paintings: Figure 2, for example, is the only watercolor from the 1857 expedition and would seem to be in the tradition of late-eighteenth-century romantic painting were it not for the poles carrying telegraph wire to the top of the cliff.) Of various sizes, the watercolors illustrate many views of the harbors and cliffs of Valentia and Trinity Bay in Newfoundland, with scenes of the approaching fleet and the laying of the shore ends of the cable. Several are lively enactments of welcoming crowds on both sides of the Atlantic. Other drawings portray the ships in mid-ocean, including HMS *Agamemnon* laying cable in 1858, with sailors

Figure 6. Robert Charles Dudley. *HMS Agamemnon,* 1858. Watercolor over graphite with touches of gouache, 17.8 x 25.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.51) (Appendix no. 9). See also Colorplate 9

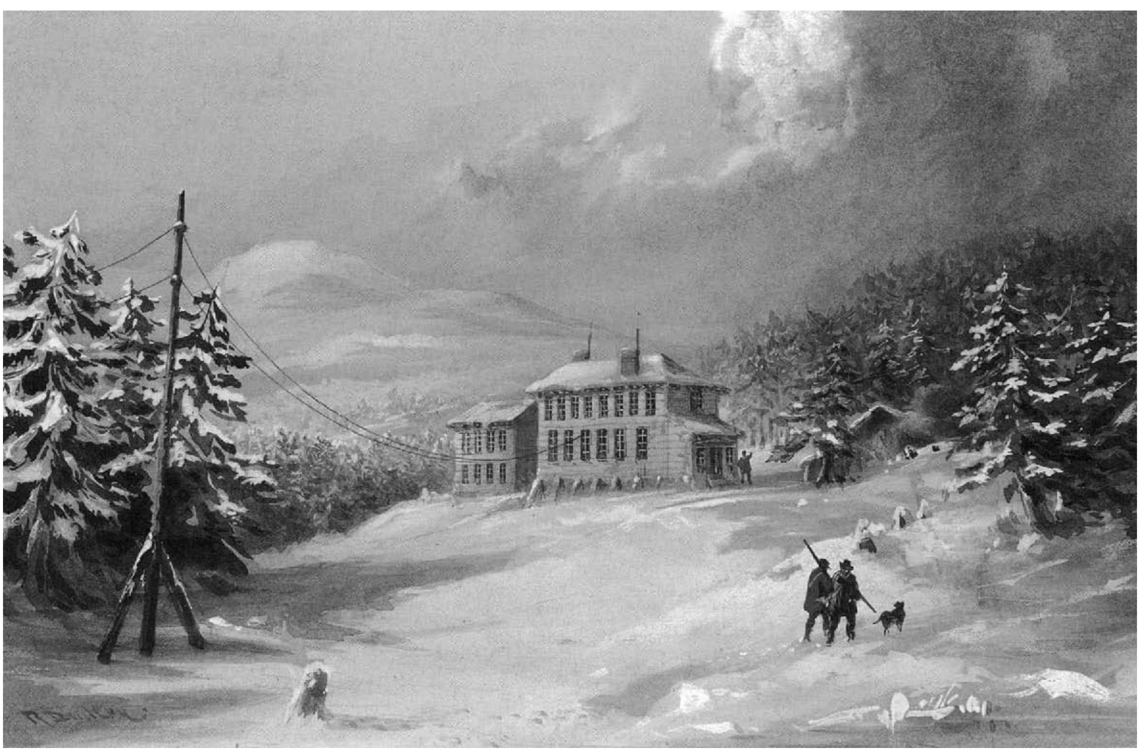
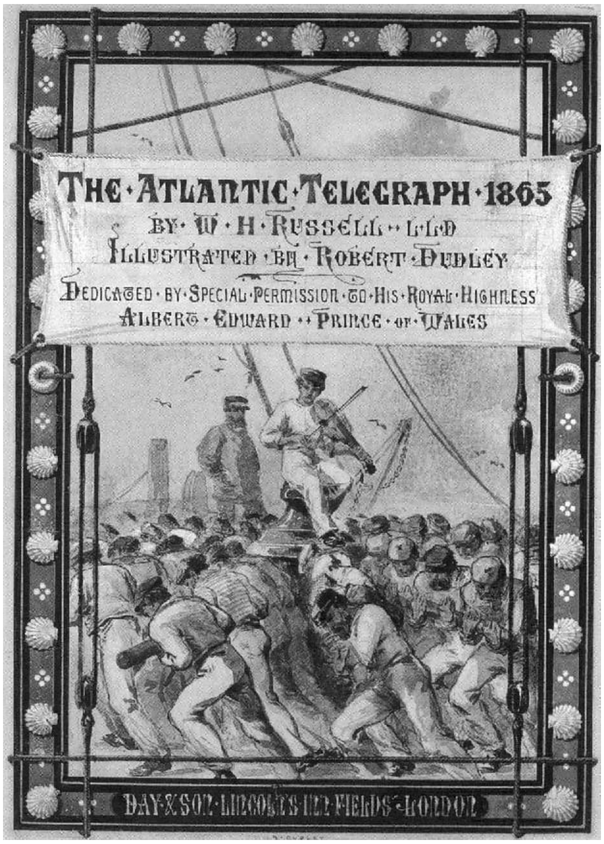


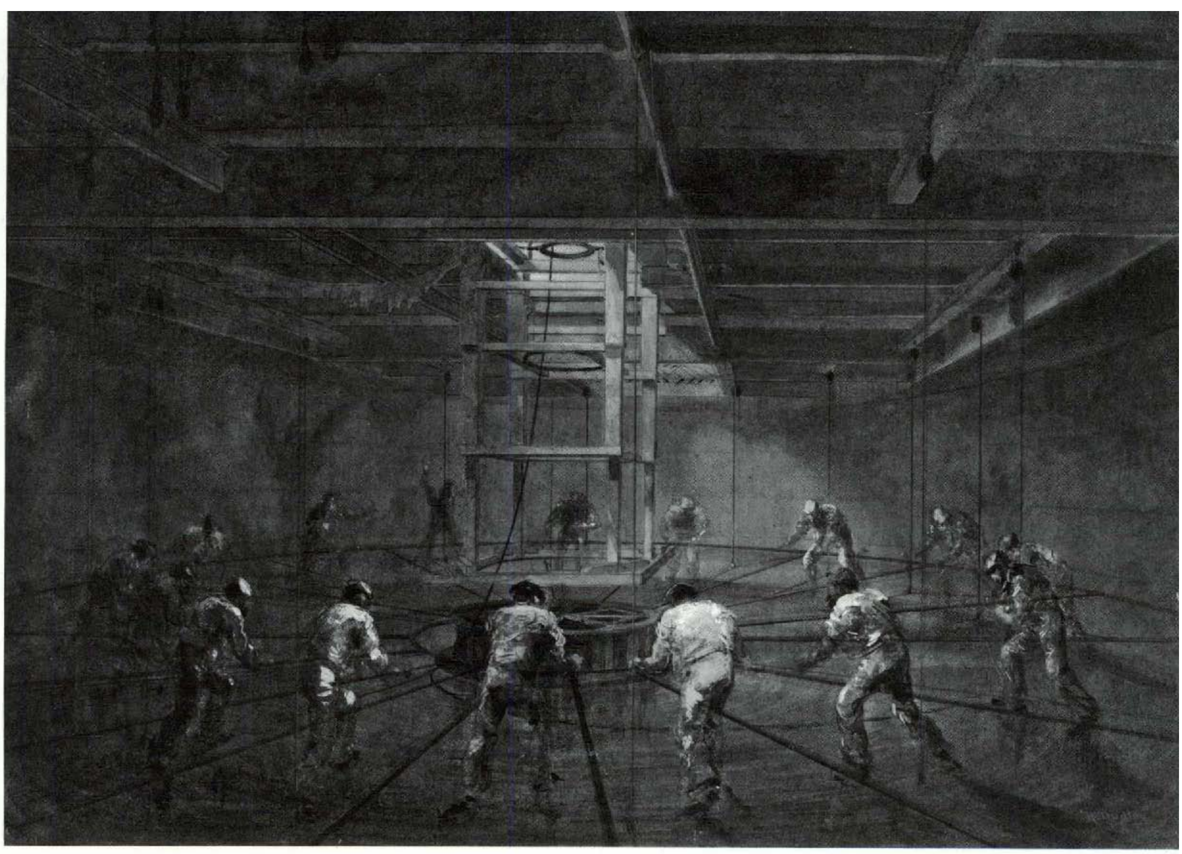
Figure 7. Robert Charles Dudley. *The Telegraph House, Trinity Bay,* 1858. Watercolor over graphite with touches of gouache, 17.6 x 26.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.49) (Appendix no. 10)

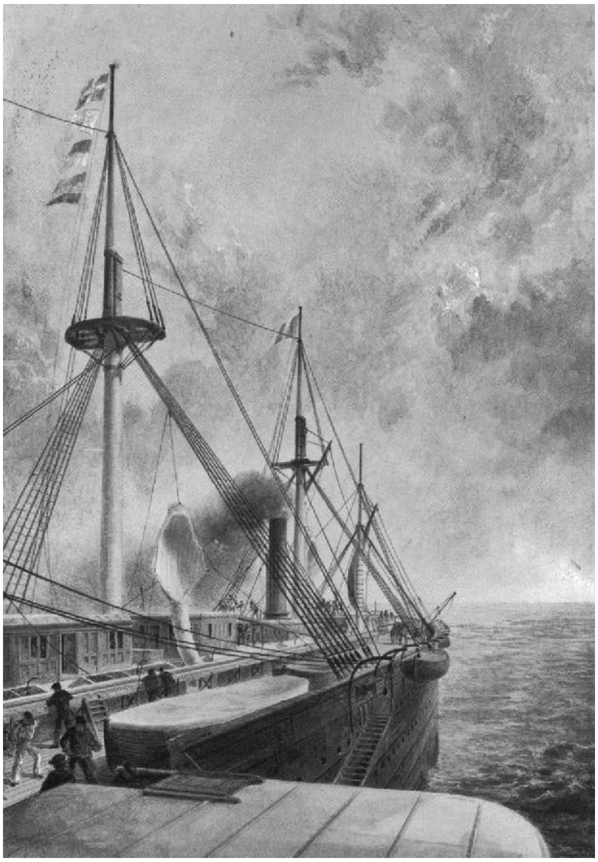


perched on riggings or leaning over the side while a whale crosses the line (Figure 6; Appendix no. 9). Two 1858 watercolors depict scenes of Trinity Bay in Newfoundland: the first (Figure 7; Appendix no. 10) shows the Telegraph House in winter, an attractive snow scene that is a curious anomaly considering that all the expeditions were made in summer; the second presents a night scene of the arriving fleet, bonfires and a crescent moon lighting up the bay with brilliant colors. Some of the watercolors were used as engraved color illustrations for William Russell's account of the 1865 expedition, *The Atlantic Telegraph*,[32] while one (Figure 8; Appendix no. 13) was selected for the title page.

Figure 8. Robert Charles Dudley. *The Great Eastern Weighing Anchor July 15, 1865*, 1865. Watercolor with touches of gouache, 22.3 x 15.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.57) (Appendix no. 13). See also Colorplate 11

Figure 9. Robert Charles Dudley. *Interior of One of the Tanks*, 1865/66. Watercolor with touches of gouache, 26.8 x 37.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.76) (Appendix no. 16)





Dudley also documented in watercolor the coiling of the cable in Greenwich and its transfer from a frigate on the Thames to the *Great Eastern*'s enormous interior tanks, as well as the *Great Eastern* under way with her escort in 1865 and later night scenes of the struggle to capture the lost 1865 cable. The artist's most successful figural composition is a watercolor of fifteen men in shirtsleeves straining to wind the cable in the depths of the ship, with just a square of blue light illuminating the activity from the deck above (Figure 9; Appendix no. 16). On deck during the voyages, Dudley sketched the workings of the hoists, buoys, grappling equipment, and paying-out machinery, and his treatment of the complicated filigree of the rigging as well as of the sky and the sea (Figures 10, 11; Appendix nos. 17, 18) indicate his extensive experience as a marine painter. Dudley's largest watercolor, which depicts the fleet assembling at Berehaven, off the coast of Ireland in 1866 (Figure 12; Appendix no. 14), demonstrates, in the fine placement of the ships, the flicks of white on the waves, and the atmospheric sky, a

Figure 10. Robert Charles Dudley. *Deck of the Great Eastern,* 1865. Watercolor with touches of gouache, 22.7 x 15.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.89) (Appendix no. 17)

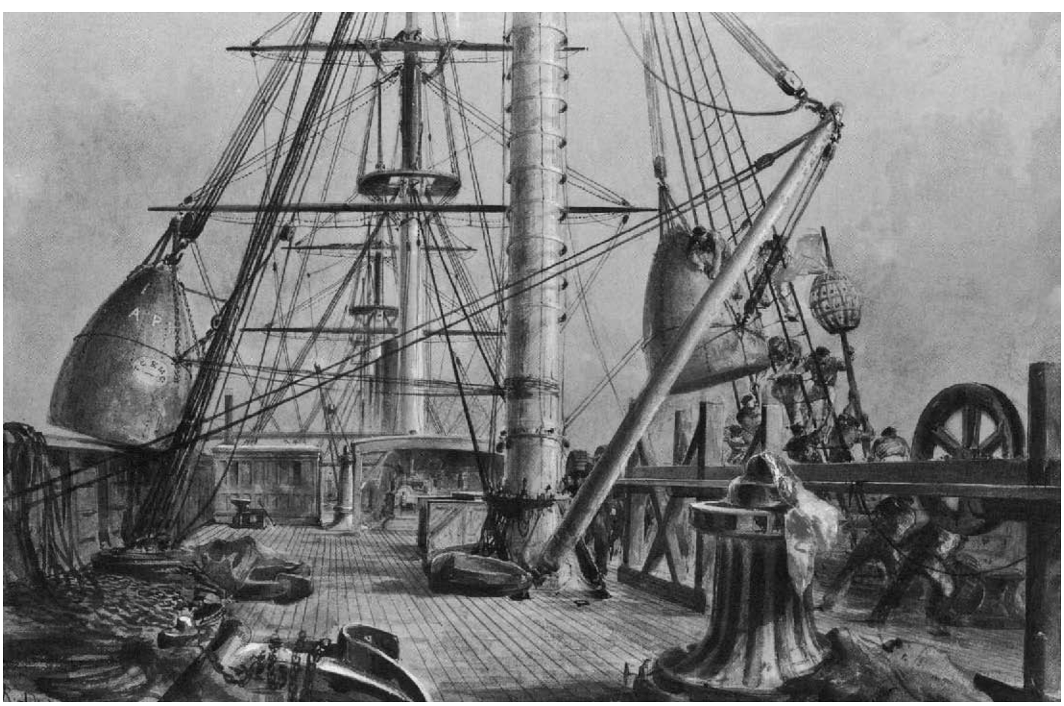


Figure 11. Robert Charles Dudley. *Getting Out One of the Great Buoys,* 1865/66. Watercolor over graphite with touches of gouache, 25.2 x 36.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.82) (Appendix no. 18)

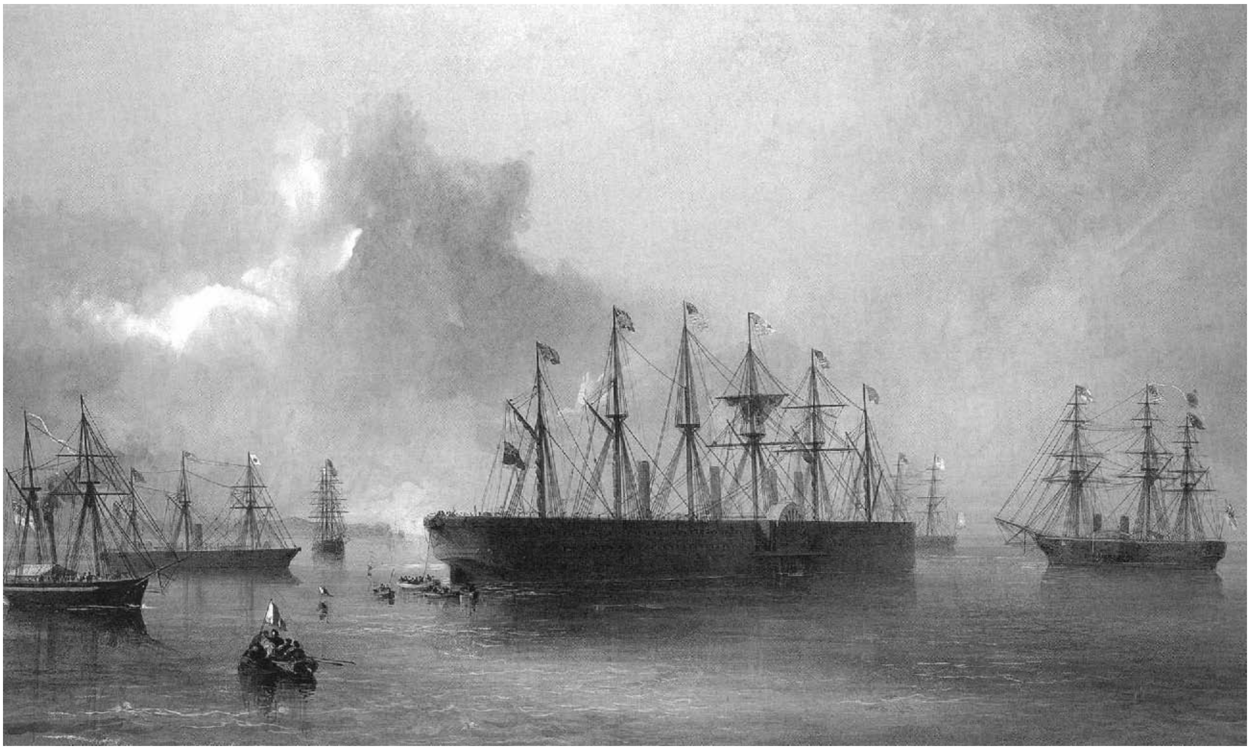


Figure 12. Robert Charles Dudley. *The Atlantic Telegraph Cable Fleet,* 1866. Watercolor with touches of gouache, 32.9 x 56.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.73) (Appendix no. 14). See also Colorplate 10

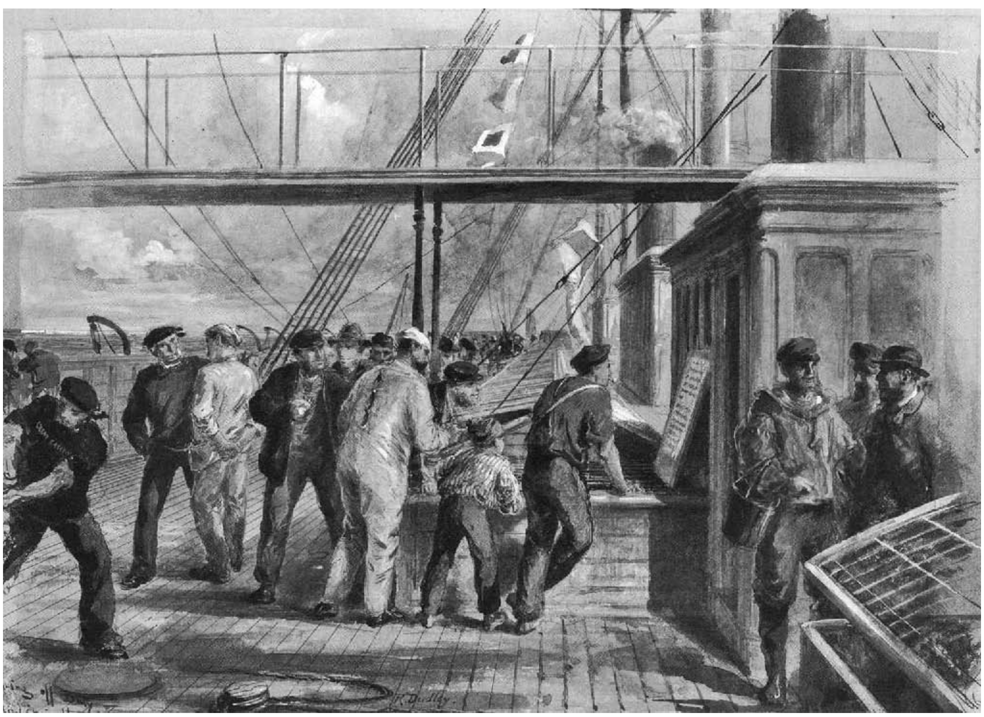


Figure 13. Robert Charles Dudley. *Going off Duty, Reading the News,* 1866. Watercolor with touches of gouache, 23.8 x 32.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.84) (Appendix no. 19)

far less pedestrian treatment than that of his oil paintings. In another watercolor of 1866, the crew on deck reads dispatches from Dudley's own ship's newspaper (Figure 13; Appendix no. 19). At the village of Heart's Content, the artist painted in lively colors a bucolic genre scene of the Telegraph House with a small boy tending pigs and chickens (Figure 14; Appendix no. 22) and captured the wild excitement of success with a scene in which chief engineer Samuel Canning is lifted on the cheering crowd's shoulders.

Daniel Huntington (1816–1906), who often portrayed New York society figures in the decades following the Civil War and served as vice president of the Metropolitan Museum for a total of thirty years (from 1871 to 1874 and from 1876 to 1903), painted his portrait of Cyrus Field in 1879 (Figure 1). It may have been based on his 1866 sketches made for the group portrait *The Atlantic Cable Projectors,* which he finally finished in 1895.[33] Huntington considered the Field portrait "one of my best. It represents him at his best period also."[34]

After the first completion of the cable in July 1858, Field received many official gifts. At the Cable Jubilee, held at the Crystal Palace in New York City on September 17 of that year, Mayor Fernando Wood gave him a much-admired Tiffany and Company box engraved by James Horton Whitehouse.[35] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* called it "the most tasteful and appropriate testimonial ever awarded by the municipality of New York."[36] On the lid of the box, the *Agamemnon* sails to the right and the *Niagara* to the left (Figure 15; Appendix no. 27); on the bottom, the flags and arms of Great Britain and the United States are at right and left, respectively (Figure 16; Appendix no. 27). Figures of the four continents are engraved on one long side and representations of science and commerce grace the other. The shorter sides of the box show the meeting of the cable projectors and sailors landing the shore end of the cable at Trinity Bay, with Field leading the way, and a meeting of the principal backers at Field's house.[37] In honor of the occasion, Field was also presented with a Tiffany and Company gold medal (see Figure 3). Prior to the jubilee, both box and medal were displayed in Tiffany and Company's shop window at 550 Broadway, between Spring and Prince streets.

Tiffany and other merchants, mindful of the public's curiosity, manufactured various souvenirs that

Figure 14. Robert Charles Dudley. *The First Telegraph House at Heart's Content,* 1866. Watercolor over graphite with touches of gouache, 23.6 x 34.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.86) (Appendix no. 22)

Figure 15. Tiffany and Company. Box, 1859. Gold, 3.8 x 11.7 x 7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.7) (Appendix no. 27). See also Colorplate 12

Figure 16. Obverse of Figure 15

Figure 17. Tiffany and Company. Souvenir length of Atlantic cable, 1858. Steel and brass, 1.9 x 10.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Janet Zapata, 1999 (1999.490) (Appendix no. 25)

incorporated short lengths of the twenty miles of left-over cable that Field had sold to them earlier.[38] In *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* of September 4, 1858, Tiffany advertised four-inch segments of the cable, mounted in brass and accompanied by copies of a certificate of authenticity signed by Field, to be retailed for fifty cents each (Figure 17; Appendix no. 25).[39] Most curious of the commemorative trophies are two fifteen-and-a-half-inch columns made of lengths of cable of different thicknesses standing upon bases in which cross sections of the cable are embedded; crowning the tops are small cross sections of cable attached by pieces of wire (Figure 18; Appendix no. 24). One, dated 1858, sports two tiny flags, the Stars and Stripes and the Red Ensign of Great Britain; the other is dated 1865.[40]

In 1866 and 1867, after his final transatlantic expedition, Field was presented with commemorative medallions created by important European medalists. Those years constituted a period of aesthetic revival in official art. The American Chamber of Commerce in Liverpool, England, commissioned brothers Joseph and Alfred Wyon of the English dynasty of medalists and sculptors to design a gold medal honoring Field (Appendix no. 28). The state of Wisconsin chose Alfred Borrel, a member of a French family of medalists, who exhibited regularly at the Paris Salon, to design its commemorative piece (Appendix no. 29). In addition, at the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris, Cyrus Field was awarded the Grand Prix for his great feat; the official medal struck by François-Joseph-Hubert Ponscarme was well received (Figure 19; Appendix no. 30: on the obverse, Emperor Louis Napoleon III wears the imperial laurel wreath; on the reverse, two winged infant geniuses support the

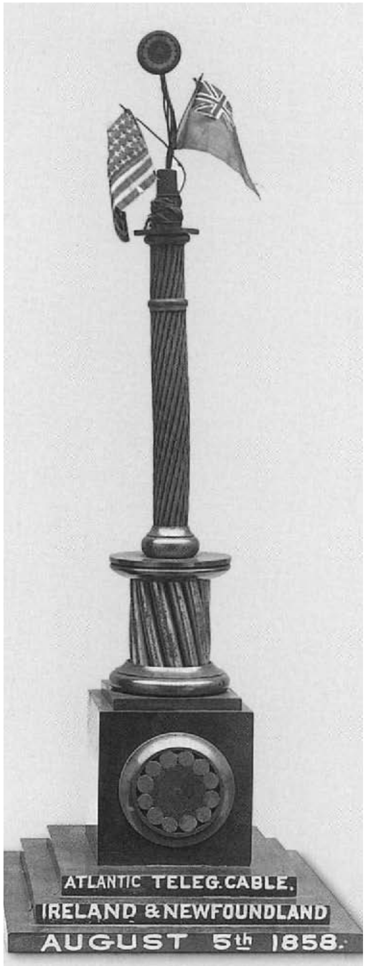


Figure 18. Specimens of the Atlantic cable, 1858. Steel and brass, H. 39.37 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.9, .10) (Appendix no. 24)

Figure 19. François-Joseph-Hubert Ponscarme (French, 1827–1903). Medal, 1867. Gold, diam. 6.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.1) (Appendix no. 30)

engraved dedicatory cartouche).[41] In 1867 Congress voted its resolution of thanks to Field, approved by President Andrew Johnson, along with the Congressional Medal of Honor, presented in an elaborate mother-of-pearl box.[42]

Once the transatlantic cable connection was complete in late September 1866, Field ran another cable across the Cabot Straight from Newfoundland to Nova Scotia, which then joined the telegraph land lines connecting Canada to New York. At the beginning, transmission was slow, at eight words a minute, gradually improving to seventeen words a minute. At a cost of ten dollars a word for a ten-word minimum, it was an expensive proposition.[43] By 1870 both cables had failed because of technical problems, but submarine technology was rapidly improving. The *Great Eastern* would go on to lay three more Atlantic cables; a line laid in 1873 lasted more than a hundred years.[44]

Field did not slow down. He built Ardsley, an imposing house in Irvington, New York, on the Hudson River. While still involved in the telegraph-cable business, he was not only instrumental in the creation of the Manhattan elevated railway but he also purchased two newspapers. According to his obituary in the *New York Times,* in 1881 he was worth about $6 million but by 1887 had lost most of his fortune in a stock-market disaster and at his death in 1892 was almost destitute. His wife, Mary, died just a few months before he did.[45] However, he would never be forgotten for the single-minded pursuit of his crowning achievement. At a testimonial dinner in London on July 1, 1868, William Russell commented, "It has been said that the greatest boons conferred on mankind, have been due to men of one idea. If the laying of the Atlantic cable be among those benefits, its consummation may certainly be attributed to the man who, having many ideas, devoted himself to work out one idea, with a gentle force and patient vigor which converted opposition and overcame indifference. Mr. Field may be likened either to the core, or the external protection, of the cable itself."[46] His feat in laying the transatlantic cable remains present to us in his gift to the Museum.

APPENDIX

Cyrus W. Field's gifts to the Museum are represented by the accession numbers 92.10.1–.100. The eight decorative objects, including those listed below, are represented under the accession numbers 92.10.1–.8; the various specimens of cable and wire, 92.10.9–.40; paintings and watercolors, 92.10.41–.91; documents, 92.10.92, .93; and reproductions of the medals, 92.10.94a, b–.99. William Howard Russell's book, *The Atlantic Telegraph* (London, [ca. 1866]), is 92.10.100. The only piece included here that was not part of Field's gift is the souvenir length of cable (1999.490).

The information in parentheses following the titles of the works below further describes the depicted events, as recorded in the original list of objects received from Cyrus W. Field in 1892 (Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

Oil paintings (92.10.41–.47)

Robert Charles Dudley (English, 1826–1900)

1. *Landing the Shore End of the Atlantic Cable* (at Foilhummerum Bay, Valentia, July 7, 1866), 1866 (Figure 5). Oil on canvas, 57.2 x 83.8 cm; signed and dated (lower left): *R. Dudley 1866*. Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.44)

2. *Making the Splice between the Shore End and the Ocean Cable* (on board the *Great Eastern,* July 13, 1866), 1866. Oil on canvas, 57.8 x 84.5 cm; inscribed (verso): *Atlantic Telegraph Cable Expedition of 1866–/ Making the splice between the shore end and the Ocean Cable on board / the "Great Eastern," off Valencia. Latde 51n-50' Longde 11º- 6' / July 13th 1866 / Painted by Robert Dudley– / London*; signed and dated (lower left): *R. Dudley 1867*. Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.47)

3. *Landing at Newfoundland* (landing the shore end of the Atlantic cable at Heart's Content, July 27, 1866), 1866. Oil on canvas, 57.8 x 84.5 cm. Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.46)

4. *Grappling for the Lost Cable* (the recovery of the lost cable of 1865 on the night of September 1, 1865 [1866]), 1866 (Figure 4). Oil on canvas, 57.8 x 84.1 cm. Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.45)

5. *Awaiting the Reply* (on board the *Great Eastern*: the test room on the night of September 1, 1866), 1866. Oil on canvas, 59.1 x 85.1 cm; stamped? (lower left): *R.DUDLEY.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.43)

6. *Homeward Bound: "The Great Eastern"* (the *Great Eastern* leaving Heart's Content for England after the successful completion of both cables), 1866. Oil on canvas, 113.7 x 170.8 cm; signed (lower right, on barrel): *R. Dudley 18*[ ]. Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.42)

Daniel Huntington (American, 1816–1906)

7. *Cyrus W. Field (1819–1892),* 1879 (Figure 1). Oil on canvas, 74.9 x 62.2 cm; signed and dated (lower right): *D. Huntington / 1879*. Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.41)

Watercolors (92.10.48–.91)

All are watercolor and gouache over graphite on off-white wove paper; some are mounted on artist's board, others have been removed from their backings. Twenty-six of these watercolors are preparatory to illustrations for Sir William Howard Russell's book *The Atlantic Telegraph* (London, [ca. 1866]), which describes the 1865 attempt. One, *The Cable Fleet Leaving Ireland, July 1858* (92.10.90), is signed (in lower left of recto) *Wm. Simpson 1858*. The following sixteen are representative of the forty-four watercolors.

Robert Charles Dudley

8. *Valentia from the Harbour,* 1857 (Figure 2; Colorplate 8). 24 x 37.5 cm; signed (in watercolor, at lower left of recto): *R.Dudley*; inscribed (in graphite, at center of verso of mount): *Valencia from the Harbour. opposite Knights town / at the period of the laying of the cable of 1857*. Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.48)

9. *HMS Agamemnon,* 1858 (Figure 6; Colorplate 9). 17.8 x 25.2 cm; signed (in watercolor, at lower right of recto): *R.Dudley*; inscribed (in graphite, on separate card): *H.M.S. Agamemnon Laying the atlantic Telegraph cable / in 1858—a whale c[r]ossing the line.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.51)

10. *The Telegraph House, Trinity Bay,* 1858 (Figure 7). 17.6 x 26.3 cm; signed (in watercolor, at lower left of recto): *R.Dudley.*; inscribed (in graphite, on separate card): *Trinity Bay, Newfoundland / Exterior View of the Telegraph House 1858*. Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.49)

11. *Bay of Bull's Arm,* 1858. 26.9 x 40 cm; inscribed

(in graphite, at center of verso of mount): *Bay of Bull Arms, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland / Bonfires lighted on the hills to notify the / arrival of the cable fleet on August 5, 1858.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.91)

12. *Foilhummerum Bay, Valentia,* 1865. 16.6 x 23.7 cm; signed (in watercolor, at lower left of recto): *R.Dudley*; inscribed (on separate card): *Foilhommerum Bay, Valencia, Irland looking seaward from the / point at which the Cable reaches the shore of Irland.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.58)

13. *The Great Eastern Weighing Anchor, July 15, 1865* (off the Maplin Lands at the Nore), 1865 (Figure 8; Colorplate 11). 22.3 x 15.6 cm; signed (?in pen, beneath illustration): *R. Dudley.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.57)

14. *The Atlantic Telegraph Cable Fleet,* 1866 (Figure 12; Colorplate 10). 32.9 x 56.2 cm; signed (in watercolor, at lower left of recto): *R.Dudley*; inscribed (in graphite, at center of verso of mount): *The atlantic Telegraph cable fleet assemble at / Berehaven (S.W. Coast of Irland) ships / the great Eastern. H.M.S. Terrible the albany / the Medway and the William Cory / July 1866.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.73)

15. *The Heights above Foilhummerum Bay,* 1866. 26.4 x 39.5 cm; signed (in watercolor, at lower-right center of recto): *R.Dudley*; inscribed (in graphite, at center of verso of mount): *The Heights above Foilhommerum bay / Valencia, The William Corey Heading / seawards laying the shore end of / the atlantic Telegraph Cable July 7th, 1866.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.74)

16. *Interior of One of the Tanks,* 1865/66 (Figure 9). 26.8 x 37.8 cm; signed (in watercolor, at lower right of recto): *R.Dudley*; inscribed (in graphite, at center of verso of mount): *View of the interior of one of the tanks on / Board the Great Eastern showing the / arrangement of the horizontal rising frame / and telescopic core &c.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.76)

17. *Deck of the Great Eastern,* 1865 (Figure 10). 22.7 x 15.9 cm; inscribed (in graphite at center of verso of mount): *#51 / Deck of the Great Eastern.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.89)

18. *Getting Out One of the Great Buoys,* 1865/66 (Figure 11). 25.2 x 36.9 cm; signed (in watercolor, at lower left and center left of recto): *R.Dudley*; inscribed (in graphite, at center of verso of mount): *getting out one of the great Buoys / the deck of the Great Eastern / looking from the forecastle.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.82)

19. *Going off Duty, Reading the News,* 1866 (Figure 13). 23.8 x 32.2 cm; signed (in watercolor, at lower center of recto): *R.Dudley.*; signed (at lower right of recto): R. [...] *66.*; inscribed (at lower left of recto): *Going off Duty / Reading the News*; inscribed (in graphite, at top of verso of mount): *News received through the atlantic cables from all / parts of the World posted outside the Telegraph. / room on board the Great Eastern.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.84)

20. *Trinity Bay, Newfoundland,* 1866. 27.1 x 39.2 cm; signed (in watercolor, at lower left of recto): *R.Dudley*; inscribed (in graphite, at center of verso of mount): *arrival in Trinity Bay Newfoundland / the cable passed of the paddle-Box Boat of / the terrible just before entering the Bay / of Hearts Content morning of 27th July 1866 / ships the Great Eastern HMS Terrible / HMS Niger the albany the Medway / and the Margaretta Stevenson.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.79)

21. *Settlement of Heart's Content,* 1866. 23.4 x 38.3 cm; signed (in watercolor, at lower right of recto): *R.Dudley*; inscribed (in graphite, at center of verso of mount): *The Church and the settlement at Heart's Content, Newfoundland.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.80)

22. *The First Telegraph House at Heart's Content,* 1866 (Figure 14). 23.6 x 34.5 cm; signed (in watercolor at lower left of recto): *R.Dudley*; inscribed (in graphite, at center of verso of mount): *The first Telegraph House at / Harts content—1866.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.86)

23. *Heart's Content Celebration,* 1866. 19 x 28 cm; signed (in watercolor at lower left of recto): *R.Dudley*; inscribed (in graphite at center of verso of mount): *Hearts Content, Sept. 8 1866 / The day of the successful termination of the work of laying / the cables of 1865 and 1866.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.87)

Commemorative Objects

24. Specimens of the Atlantic cable, 1858 (Figure 18). Steel, cross section and lengths of cable, set and banded in brass, mounted on wood stand, H. 39.4 cm without base; American and British Red Ensign flags affixed to top; painted (on base of stand): *ATLANTIC TELEG. CABLE. / IRELAND & NEWFOUNDLAND / AUGUST 5th 1858.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.10) (on long-term loan to the National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C.)

25. Souvenir length of Atlantic cable, 1858 (Figure 17). Steel and brass, length 10.5 cm, diam. 1.9 cm; inscribed (in brass band around the center): *Atlantic Telegraph Cable / Guaranteed By / Tiffany & Co. / Broadway, New York, 1858.* Gift of Janet Zapata, 1999 (1999.490)

26. Tiffany and Company (American, 1837–present). Medal, 1858 (Figure 3). Gold, diam. 7 cm; marked (on the back in exergue): *TIFFANY & CO. N.Y.*; inscribed (in field on obverse): *CYRUS W.*

FIELD / FROM THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE / AND CITIZENS OF NEW YORK; inscribed (in field of obverse in exergue): *COMMEMORATIVE OF THE PART TAKEN / BY HIM / IN LAYING THE FIRST / TELEGRAPHIC CABLE / BETWEEN / EUROPE AND AMERICA, IN AUGUST, A.D. 1858.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.3)

27. Tiffany and Company. Box, 1859 (Figures 15, 16; Colorplate 12). Gold, 3.8 x 11.7 x 7 cm; 385.7 grams (12.401 Troy ounces); engraved (on top in shaded Gothic): *The City of New York to Cyrus W. Field.*; engraved (in scroll below arms of New York): *IN COMMEMORATION OF*; engraved (on underside of cover in shaded Gothic): *The City of New York to Cyrus W Field / Commemorating his Skill Fortitude and Perseverance / in Originating and Completing / the First Enterprise for an Ocean Telegraph / successfully accomplished on the 5th August 1858. / Uniting Europe and America.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.7)

28. Alfred Benjamin Wyon (English, 1837–1884) and Joseph Shepherd Wyon (English, 1836–1873). Medal, 1866. Gold, diam. 7.6 cm; signed (on obverse and reverse): *J.S.* A.B.WYON SC.*; inscribed (on obverse, on scroll ribbon beneath the arms of Great Britain and Ireland): *DIEU ET MON DROIT*; (on scroll ribbon beneath the arms of the United States): *ATLANTIC .TELEGRAPH. CABLE*1866*; (on reverse, on cartouche): *TO / CYRUS W. FIELD*; (below) *DEUS / NOBIS /HAEC / OTIA FECIT* (Virgil *Eclogues* 6, God hath bestowed on us this ease); (in margin): *PRESENTED BY THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. LIVERPOOL.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.2)

29. Alfred Borrel *fils* (French, 1836–1927). Medal, 1867. Gold, diam. 6.5 cm; signed (obverse): *BORREL F.;* (reverse): *BORREL FECIT / TIFFANY & CO.*; inscribed (on obverse): *TO CYRUS W. FIELD PROJECTOR OF THE ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH**; (on reverse, on ribbon in inescutcheon): *E PLURIBUS UNUM*; (on ribbon above beaver), *FORWARD*; (in margin, above): *FROM THE STATE OF WISCONSIN*; (below): **PERSEVERANTIA VINCIT** (Perseverance wins); (in bottom of inescutcheon): *1867*. Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.5)

30. François-Joseph-Hubert Ponscarme (French, 1827–1903). Medal, 1867 (Figure 19). Gold, diam. 6.7 cm; signed (on obverse): *H. PONSCARME F.*; inscribed (on obverse): *NAPOLEON III EMPEREUR*; (on reverse, on panel): *CYRUS FIELD / ET Cies ANGLO AMERICAINES / DU CABLE TRANSATLANTIQUE*; (on reverse, in margin): *EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE. DE. MDCCCLXVII. A PARIS*; (in exergue): *GRAND-PRIX.* Gift of Cyrus W. Field, 1892 (92.10.1)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Carter 1968
: Samuel Carter III. *Cyrus Field: Man of Two Worlds.* New York, 1968.

H. M. Field 1893 (1972 ed.)
: Henry Martyn Field. *The Story of the Atlantic Telegraph.* New York, 1893. Repr., 1972.

Gordon 2002
: John Steele Gordon. *A Thread across the Ocean: The Heroic Story of the Transatlantic Cable.* New York, 2002.

Hearn 2004
: Chester G. Hearn. *Circuits in the Sea: The Men, the Ships, and the Atlantic Cable.* Westport, Conn., 2004.

NOTES

1. See Field to the Trustees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, May 5, 1892, Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2. Field had been a patron of the Museum since 1876 and supported the purchase of Cesnola's Cypriot antiquities collection. See Winifred E. Howe, *A History of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1913), vol. 1, p. 256.
3. See John Bigelow (trustee 1887–1911) to General Luigi Palma di Cesnola, May 2, 1892, and Daniel Huntington to Cesnola, May 3, 1892, Archives, Metropolitan Museum.
4. For a description of Field's childhood, see Carter 1968, pp. 17–38.
5. Ibid., p. 48.
6. Ibid., p. 52.
7. Gordon 2002, pp. 24–26; John K. Howat, *Frederic Church* (New Haven and London, 2005), p. 52.
8. See Katherine Manthorne, *Creation and Renewal: Views of Cotopaxi by Frederic Edwin Church*, exh. cat., National Museum of American Art (now Smithsonian American Art Museum), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Washington, D.C., 1985), pp. 20–22, 70, no. 2; Carter 1968, p. 72; and Howat, *Frederic Church*, p. 51.
9. Hearn 2004, pp. 17–28.

10. Sometimes spelled "Valencia" by descendants of sailors from the Spanish Armada who were shipwrecked there. See Carter 1968, p. 137.
11. William H. Russell, *The Atlantic Telegraph* (London, [ca. 1866]), pp. 18–22.
12. Hearn 2004, p. 119.
13. Ibid., pp. 115–28.
14. The cable used in 1865 and 1866 consisted of ten wires of galvanized iron wrapped around seven copper wires insulated with gutta-percha and padded with hemp. See *The Atlantic Telegraph: Its History, from the Commencement of the Undertaking in 1854 to the Sailing of the "Great Eastern" in 1866* (London, 1866), p. 114.
15. Bern Dibner, *The Atlantic Cable* (Norwalk, Conn., 1959), p. 53; and Hearn 2004, pp. 175, 189.
16. Gordon 2002, pp. 176–77.
17. H. M. Field 1893 (1972 ed.), p. 366: ". . . Mr. Robert Dudley, the artist of the expedition, whose spirited sketches in the London Illustrated News have made known to the world many incidents of this memorable voyage." While Dudley also accompanied the 1866 expedition, Russell did not—he was covering the Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia at the time. See Gordon 2002, p. 196.
18. Algernon Graves, *Dictionary of Artists Who Have Exhibited Works in the Principal London Exhibitions from 1760 to 1893*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1970), p. 85.
19. Denys Brook-Hart, *British Nineteenth Century Marine Painting*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England, 1978), p. 346; and Huon L. Mallalieu, *The Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists Up to 1920*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England, 1986), p. 113.
20. Huon L. Mallalieu, in "Around the Salerooms," *Country Life* 189 (August 24, 1995), p. 52, notes that Dudley ". . . has not always had his just deserts in the reference books. Most of them chop Robert Charles Dudley in two. . . . In fact, the two were one, and his dates were 1826–1900."
21. Carter 1968, p. 225.
22. Since the cable was able to receive signals from Ireland as it was being laid, the *Atlantic Telegraph* published news from Europe and stock prices, as well as the day's onboard activities. Dudley's covers for the newspaper are in the British Museum, London. See Carter 1968, p. 230.
23. Hearn 2004, pp. 24–25.
24. Foilhummerum was chosen for this expedition not only because it was more protected but also because the cable could be shortened by fifty miles. See *Atlantic Telegraph: Its History*, p. 42.
25. H. M. Field 1893 (1972 ed.), pp. 311–12.
26. Ibid., p. 172: "All who have visited Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, with one consent allow it to be one of the most beautiful sheets of water they ever set eyes upon. . . . Its extreme length is about eighty miles, its breadth about thirty miles, opening boldly into the Atlantic on the northern side of the island."
27. Ibid., pp. 340–41.
28. Carter 1968, pp. 253–56.
29. Cyrus Field, quoted in "Death of Cyrus W. Field . . . Mr. Field's Own Story," *New York Times*, July 13, 1892, p. 5, col. 4.
30. H. M. Field 1893 (1972 ed.), p. 367. A galvanometer is an instrument for measuring electric current.
31. See the Museum's Archives for an 1892 handwritten list from Field (transcribed January 20, 1920) in which all were recorded with descriptions and dates.
32. See note 11, above. Dudley and Russell had collaborated earlier on a book, *A Memorial of the Marriage of H.R.H. Albert Edward Prince of Wales and H.R.H. Alexandra, Princess of Denmark* (London, 1863), a copy of which is in the Department of Drawings and Prints, Metropolitan Museum (acc. no. 1972.638.11). Dudley provided color lithographs of views of the Royal Yacht, scenes of London, and drawings of the bridal gifts.
33. This painting was not commissioned until 1893, by the New York Chamber of Commerce. See Natalie Spassky, *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Volume II, A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born between 1816 and 1845*, ed. Kathleen Luhrs (New York, 1982), pp. 57–58, 70–71.
34. Daniel Huntington to General Luigi Palma di Cesnola, May 3, 1892, Archives, Metropolitan Museum.
35. John Loring, *Magnificent Tiffany Silver* (New York, 2001), p. 79.
36. "Description of the Atlantic Telegraph Testimonial Gold Boxes and Medals: Presented by the Common Council of the City of New York to Cyrus W. Field and Others," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, August 13, 1859, p. 170, cols. 1–2.
37. See Charles H. Carpenter Jr. and Mary Grace Carpenter, *Tiffany Silver* (New York, 1978), pp. 14–15; Charles L. Venable, *Silver in America, 1840–1940: A Century of Splendor*, exh. cat., Dallas Museum of Art (Dallas, 1995), pp. 36–37, 47, nn. 10, 11; and Deborah Dependahl Waters, "'Silver Ware in Great Perfection': The Precious-Metals Trades in New York City," in *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825–1861*, ed. Catherine Hoover Voorsanger and John K. Howat, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 2000), pp. 374–75.
38. C. H. Carpenter and M. G. Carpenter, *Tiffany Silver*, pp. 14–15. See also Venable, *Silver in America, 1840–1940*, pp. 36–37, 47, nn. 10, 11.
39. On June 22, 1994, Christie's East, New York, sold one of these cable segments (lot 52).
40. The 1858 trophy is still on loan to the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C.
41. For medalists, see Leonard Forrer, comp., *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, 8 vols. (London, 1904–30).
42. Dibner, *Atlantic Cable*, p. 87. While the mother-of-pearl box is in the Metropolitan Museum, the Medal of Honor is missing. It is not known if it was returned from the Smithsonian, where the entire collection was on long-term loan from 1920 to 1991.
43. Carter 1968, pp. 263–65.
44. In 1900 thirteen cables linked the two continents. The first communication satellites provided an alternative to cables in the 1960s, and in the present century submarine fiber-optic systems are a fast-growing means of overseas communication. Hearn 2004, pp. 242–46.
45. "Death of Cyrus W. Field," *New York Times*, July 13, 1892, p. 5, col. 1.
46. William Russell, quoted in H. M. Field 1893 (1972 ed.), pp. 378–79.

Daniel Chester French, Paul Manship, and the *John Pierpont Morgan Memorial* for the Metropolitan Museum

THAYER TOLLES

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In 1959, late in his life, the sculptor Paul Manship (1885–1966) recalled the circumstances of his first major commission, the *John Pierpont Morgan Memorial* (Figure 1, Colorplate 13) for the Great Hall of The Metropolitan Museum of Art:

> Of course it was a great opportunity and I was perhaps impressed to a great degree by the responsibility involved. I made many, many, many, many sketches. Seemed like it was such a simple thing that it could have been done immediately. I changed. I decided on new ideas, and different ideas. I spent a whole year just making sketches. I wouldn't say I spent entirely that whole time, but a good part of it. And finally, when it was satisfactory with the architects of the museum I began to develop it. I spent six years doing this tablet. . . . [T]he actual carving of it, in stone, took three people. . . . I figured out when it was all done, that it represented for the carving of the stone alone, three and a quarter years, counting six days a week at eight hours a day.[1]

Manship's account testifies to the attention the Museum staff and trustees, the Morgan family, the Museum architects, McKim, Mead and White, and two different sculptors—first Daniel Chester French (1850–1931) and then Manship—lavished on the development of the memorial between 1913 and 1920. By the time the finished tablet was unveiled in December 1920, hundreds of letters and scores of photographs, models, and preparatory drawings had exchanged hands: what amounts to a meticulous record of the commission's progress.[2] Collectively, these documents offer unprecedented insight into the memorial's significance to the Metropolitan Museum as a permanent tribute to one of its greatest patrons.

The panel at the center of the memorial is inscribed with a lengthy celebration of Morgan's longtime service to the Museum as a benefactor and to New York as a leading citizen and financier. This vertical slab is framed by twelve niche panels. On the sides are six high-relief allegorical representations of Morgan's interests: on the left, from top to bottom, Commerce, Finance, and Science (Figure 2); on the right, Art, Literature, and Archaeology (Figure 3). Above the inscription are two winged putti flanking a wreath and, at the corners, winged lions that, according to Manship, are symbols of immortality.[3] Below are reclining figures—an extolling female and a lamenting male—playing on lyres to either side of a festoon, which is echoed in the bottom corner panels. Surrounding and separating these panels is banding carved in very low relief, with scrolling and floriated ornament and figures that are thematically related to the high-relief allegories. In total, the memorial contains fifty figures of Manship's design. In its original location on the northwest pier supporting the center dome of the Great Hall, it was surmounted by a decorative foliate scrollwork pediment (Figure 4). To accommodate its current setting on the south side of the Great Hall entrance vestibule, the pediment was removed during renovations in 1970, and the overall installation height was lowered considerably. In addition, the 6½-inch-deep sides of the memorial, which featured low-relief figural representations of the twelve signs of the zodiac (Figure 5), were sunk into the present wall, regrettably obscuring them.[4]

J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) was involved in the Metropolitan Museum almost from its founding, becoming a patron in 1871 and a trustee in 1888.[5] In 1901 he was named to the trustees' executive committee; three years later he became first vice president and then president of the board upon the death of his predecessor, Frederick W. Rhinelander. Morgan's tenure, which lasted until his death on March 31, 1913, was marked by an expansionist mood, certainly in the physical scale of the Museum building but also in terms of its operating budget, in the professionalization of the curatorial departments, and, not least, in the size and quality of its collections. Morgan's imprint

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Figure 1. Paul Manship (American, 1885–1966). *John Pierpont Morgan Memorial*, 1915–20. Limestone. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Trustees, 1920 (20.265). This photograph shows the monument after it was completed in 1920; the pediment was later removed. See also Colorplate 13

Figure 2. Detail of the *Morgan Memorial* in Figure 1, showing left-side panels

Figure 3. Detail of the *Morgan Memorial* in Figure 1, showing right-side panels

Figure 4. Detail of the *Morgan Memorial* in Figure 1, showing pediment

endures in each of these areas. His first gift of a work of art to the Museum came in 1897, with donations continuing steadily before and after his death. As plans for his memorial were unfolding, negotiations were taking place between the Museum and Morgan's son, J. P. Morgan Jr. (1867–1943), for what in 1917 became the spectacular gift of some seven thousand objects, many of which had been on loan to or stored at the Museum. These varied works, from Egyptian antiquities to medieval metalwork and ivories to European paintings and sculpture, are a collective tribute to Morgan's near-frenzied acquisitiveness and his keen eye in areas representing almost every curatorial department. As one measure of the institution's gratitude, the Wing of Decorative Arts (Wing F), which had opened in 1910 to house the Hoentschel

Figure 5. Pieces of plaster model of the zodiac signs intended for the sides of the *Morgan Memorial*, ca. 1918. Photograph: Peter A. Juley & Son Collection, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C. (J0039123)

collection of French decorative arts given by Morgan, was renamed in 1918 the John Pierpont Morgan Wing. His objects were displayed there until 1943, when the collection was dispersed throughout the Museum. The *Morgan Memorial* was a second material manifestation of the Museum's appreciation.[6]

The Morgan Memorial Committee was formed in April 1913, several weeks after Morgan's death. Museum trustees George F. Baker, George Blumenthal, John L. Cadwalader, and the new board president, William Church Osborn, were named to the committee; financier Edward Dean Adams (1846–1931) was appointed chairman.[7] Ch arged with determining a suitable memorial to the late president, the committee initially turned to one of its own, fellow trustee Daniel Chester French, to create and presumably donate his services for the tablet.[8] A trustee since 1903, French was the chairman of the committee on sculpture and the only professional artist then serving on the board; he was also friendly with Morgan, for not only were they board colleagues, French was one of a group of trustees who gathered informally to socialize in Morgan's private library on Thirty-sixth Street.[9] Then the country's leading monumental sculptor, French was in the early stages of modeling his best-known work, the over-lifesize seated *Lincoln* (1911–22) for the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. By late May 1913, French was preparing bas-relief sketches for the *Morgan Memorial* at his summer home and studio, Chesterwood, in Stockbridge, Massachusetts.[10]

In early June French sent three preliminary plaster studies to McKim, Mead and White, the architectural firm responsible for the Museum's master plan from 1904 to 1926, which were then passed on to the Morgan committee.[11] One study, unlocated and presumed destroyed, depicted a single draped female figure over a tablet for an inscription. Another, dated May 1913 (Figure 6), shows cursorily worked nude figures—on the left a male, and on the right a female supporting a barely delineated infant—recessed within a flat frame. They flank an altar with hatchmarks indicating the intended location for the inscription, while a tree of life emerges above. The appearance of the third sketch, presumably a variation on the second, is unrecorded. French was partial to the single figure, but the Morgan committee opted for the design with two figures.[12] Mindful of the future memorial's public setting and lifesize scale, the committee also expressed its preference "for figures more or less draped."[13]

French refined the multifigure composition and in July presented to the committee an enlarged plaster sketch, dated 1913 (Figure 7). Far more sophisticated

Figure 6. Daniel Chester French (American, 1850–1931). Sketch model for the *Morgan Memorial*, May 1913. Plaster, 27.6 x 17.8 x 2.5 cm. Chesterwood, a National Trust Historic Site, Stockbridge, Massachusetts (photo: Susan Thorne)

in terms of visual imagery, the sketch depicts, on the left, a bearded elderly male in classicizing drapery, representing Knowledge.[14] He holds a globe in his right hand and rests his left foot on a stack of books. The woman, whose breasts and left hip are exposed, signifies the Arts; she holds a sketchily decorated Greek amphora, and there is an Egyptian sphinx head at her feet. By incorporating such references, French commemorated Morgan's collecting interests in visual form (the objects) as well as in the inscriptions on the step-molded tablet and decorative horizontal panel below. The partially draped, idealized female was a favored motif in French's monumental repertoire, as epitomized in the *Mourning Victory for the Melvin Memorial* (1906–8; this carving, 1912–15, acc. no. 15.75), an over-lifesize marble replica of a Civil War memorial commissioned for the Museum in 1912.[15]

From the outset, McKim, Mead and White served as the general contractor for the *Morgan Memorial* and as the official conduit between French, the Morgan Memorial Committee, and J. P. Morgan Jr., who served

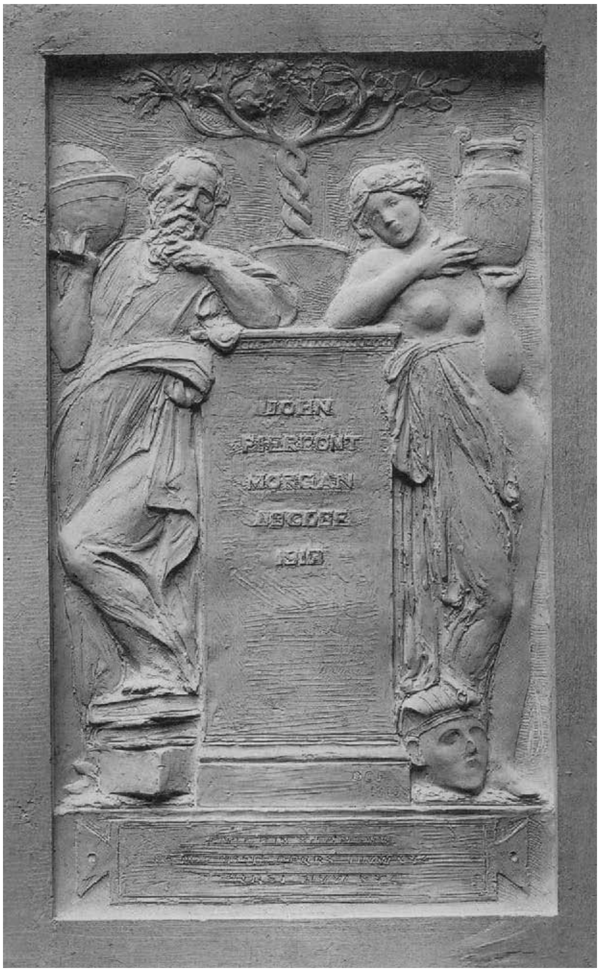

Figure 7. Daniel Chester French. Sketch model for the *Morgan Memorial*, June 1913. Plaster, 58.7 x 36.8 x 3.8 cm. Chesterwood, a National Trust Historic Site, Stockbridge, Massachusetts (photo: Susan Thorne)

on the Metropolitan's board from 1910 to 1943. The firm was later compensated for its services on a subcontract basis by Manship,[16] receiving ten percent of the sculptor's total payment. McKim, Mead and White retained authority over the appearance of the memorial's architectural elements and installation. The architects and both sculptors would have been accustomed to this type of formalized creative collaboration between the arts, an interrelationship promulgated at the École des Beaux-Arts, its French and American academic offspring, and the American Academy in Rome. (The inspiration of Charles McKim of McKim, Mead and White, the American Academy had been established in 1894 as the American School of Architecture, with Morgan as one of its leading financial contributors.)

The firm's first priority was to suggest, in collaboration with the Morgan Memorial Committee, where the sculpture should be sited and what alterations should be made to the existing building to accommodate it. The immediate consensus was to install the tablet on one of the four piers supporting the dome of Richard Morris Hunt's Great Hall, which then contained pedimented niches used to display marble sculpture.[17] Deliberations focused on which of the piers was most appropriate, and whether a pendant setting for a future memorial should be considered. French initially favored the northeast pier, to alleviate "want of balance" for entering visitors "in the two sides if the memorial were put in one of the West piers." Adams proposed they create a second tablet bearing the names of less significant donors or that of Jacob S. Rogers, who had unexpectedly bequeathed the Museum five million dollars following his death in 1901.[18] French and the architects eventually settled on a single tablet on the northwest pier, a recommendation approved by the trustees' building committee in June 1913 and executed seven years later.[19]

With French's sketch in advanced stages, the committee prepared to present its concepts for the memorial to J. P. Morgan Jr. In June, McKim, Mead and White enlarged French's earlier two-figure sketch by drawing it to full scale, with figures rendered about seven feet high (a copy of the blueprint drawing is in the MMA Archives).[20] French then ordered solar photographs of his revised sketch, which were enlarged to two different sizes and positioned in situ so he could finalize the composition as well as the details of the architectural surround.[21] In early August, French and Adams met Morgan at the Museum to review design concepts. The solar prints were set into the pedimented niches on the southwest and northwest piers for Morgan's consideration (Figure 8); while he approved the recommended selection of the northwest pier, he found Hunt's heavy architectural elements around the proposed tablet overwhelming and requested new installation photographs from McKim, Mead and White showing those features eliminated.[22] Revised photographs of the setting, supplied to Morgan, French, and Adams in September, show the tablet placed against a flat-faced wall with stone blocks drawn with a straightedge (Figure 9).[23] Morgan's preference, which was adopted, later necessitated the removal of the pedimented niche and the disc above it; during installation in 1920 they were replaced with plain ashlar limestone blocks.

As decisions regarding the scale and setting of the tablet proceeded on course, design matters took an unexpected turn. Morgan's response to French's solicitation for criticism was couched in vague praise: "As far as the general lines of the sketch are concerned, it seems to me to be well balanced and pleasing in its proportion." He declined further comment until

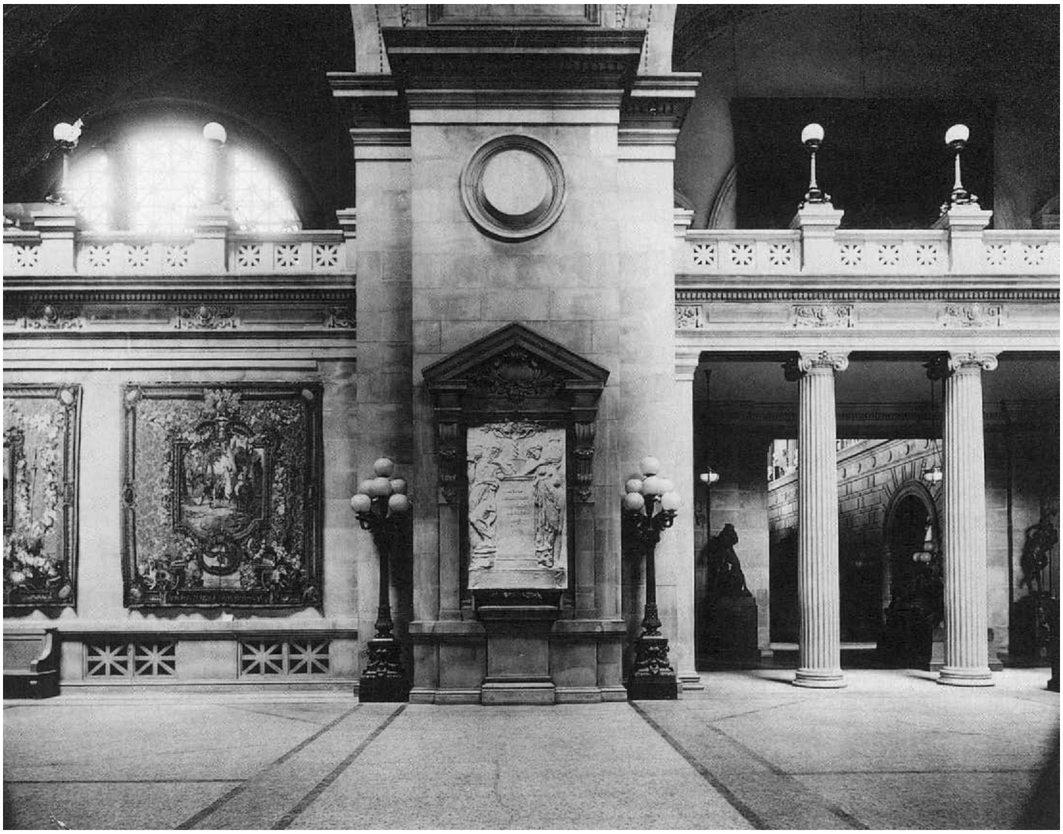

Figure 8. View of solar print of Daniel Chester French's sketch model for the *Morgan Memorial* as installed on the southwest pier of the Great Hall of the Metropolitan Museum, 1913. Photograph: Archives of The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

Figure 9. View of solar print of Daniel Chester French's revised sketch model for the *Morgan Memorial*, as installed on the northwest pier of the Great Hall of the Metropolitan Museum, 1913. Photograph: Archives of The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

other family members had reviewed the photographs, and although he had stated to French that radical suggestions for change were inappropriate,[24] Morgan was more forthright in a letter to Adams:

> In regard to the design itself for the memorial, I must say that I am not satisfied. It does not seem to me that Mr. French has produced a sketch which is sufficiently suggestive of the manifold interests and sides of Father's life and character. It is not very satisfactory to criticise [*sic*] destructively without making some suggestion, and I really do not know how to make any. . . . My feeling is that the Museum is doing an exceedingly kind and gracious act, and that it is ungracious of me, or any member of Father's family, to criticise it; yet I really do not think that the design will be found to work out satisfactorily. It really strikes me as being somewhat clumsy and somewhat meaningless. . . . I hope you will forgive my criticism and take the matter up with Mr. Robinson [the Museum's director] and see whether something a little different could be suggested to Mr. French without hurting any feelings.[25]

How French was informed of Morgan's reaction—and, perhaps more important, how directly he was told—is unrecorded, but by late September the sculptor's take on the situation, as he told William M. Kendall (1856–1941), of McKim, Mead and White, was that the Morgan family preferred an architectural to a figural tablet, and that he himself agreed.[26] A month later French's decision to abandon the commission was made official. The trustees authorized the Morgan committee to pursue the preparation of an architectural tablet, whose design was to be submitted for approval to both the trustees' executive committee and Morgan Jr.[27] Such cautious, conciliatory behavior was undoubtedly directly related to the trustees' ongoing efforts to court Morgan for the acquisition of his father's collection.

The matter was ultimately resolved in a manner that downplayed Morgan Jr.'s obvious dissatisfaction with French's work and avoided a potentially uncomfortable dynamic between fellow board members. French's sketches proved useful in determining the form, size, and placement of the final memorial, but the differences between French's concept, as sculptor, and those of the Museum as patron—not to mention those of the Morgan family and McKim, Mead and White—had stifled the artist's vision. French's original design, of a single nude female, revealed nothing about Morgan as an individual, his interests, or his contributions to the Metropolitan. Furthermore, French found the deadline the committee had set for the completion and installation of the memorial—January 1, 1914, not even six months away—impossible to meet. The committee envisioned coordinating the unveiling of the memorial with the opening of the important Morgan loan exhibition, especially with the fate of Morgan's collection still hanging in the balance. French, well aware of the complexities of the modeling, enlargement, and translation processes, had succinctly stated his opinion to William R. Mead of McKim, Mead and White the previous June: "It cannot be done."[28]

McKim, Mead and White thus assumed full responsibility for the appearance of the tablet. In October 1913 an unsigned memo between firm members gave directions to "prepare drawings for the design of the Morgan memorial; also consider the subject of general memorial tablets throughout the Museum."[29] Letters over the next several months record slow and laconic progress that focused as much on the tablet's architectural relationship to the Great Hall and on the selection of stone as it did on design specifics. Sometime during the winter of 1913–14, French stepped back in to recommend that the promising young sculptor Paul Manship be asked to give the project much-needed artistic direction. Manship had earned critical praise from French and others during his tenure at the American Academy in Rome, and he had clearly profited from his exposure to its closely knit group of artists and patrons, many of whom (including Morgan) were affiliated with the Metropolitan Museum. French wrote to William Mead, president of the academy, on Manship's behalf: "Mr. Manship, who returned a year ago, achieved instant . . . success by his archaistic work—as fine as anything of its kind ever done. His achievements are most remarkable."[30] Correspondence from March 1914 onward cites Manship as the sculptor of choice.

French's support of the untested Manship for such an aesthetically and socially prestigious commission was an act of both risk and generosity. French often recommended younger sculptors for commissions, including those he could not take on himself, but his advocacy for Manship had roots in cultural nationalism as well. The notion of an American "school" of sculpture was championed within professional artistic ranks at the turn of the twentieth century, and French was particularly committed to advancing new American sculptural stars to succeed Augustus Saint-Gaudens and John Quincy Adams Ward, who had died in 1907 and 1910, respectively. By 1908 French was following the development of Manship's career with interest.

Born in Minnesota, Manship had worked as a commercial artist in Minneapolis and St. Paul before moving to New York in 1905. He studied at the Art Students League with Beaux-Arts–inspired sculptor Hermon Atkins MacNeil (1866–1947), and until

1907 he served as a studio apprentice to Solon Borglum (1868–1922), a French-trained sculptor of subjects from the American West. In 1907–8 Manship took life classes at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia, where his instructors included Charles Grafly (1862–1929), a realist portrait sculptor, in modeling, and William Merritt Chase (1849–1916) in drawing. From 1908 to 1909 Manship worked in the New York studio of Viennese émigré Isidore Konti (1862–1938), who in 1909 encouraged Manship to compete for a three-year fellowship at the American Academy in Rome. French, a trustee of the aesthetically conservative academy, was chair of the selection committee. He endorsed Manship's successful application, which afforded the artist three years to work in Rome and travel widely throughout Italy and Greece.[31] While abroad Manship kept French abreast of his progress, sending him letters with photographs of his recent work; in response, French offered the younger artist critiques and study tips and visited him during a trip to Rome.[32] Shortly after Manship returned to the United States in the autumn of 1912, French recommended him for two commissions: one was to a Massachusetts patron for an unrealized memorial, the other was for a bronze statue of a Revolutionary War soldier for Danville, Illinois (1913–14), for which French designed the memorial setting and oversaw contract and production details.[33] His largesse is summarized in a December 1913 letter in which he told Manship, "Your success is a great satisfaction to me."[34]

Figure 10. Paul Manship. *Centaur and Dryad*, 1909–13; this cast, 1913–14. Bronze, 70.5 x 54 x 28.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Amelia B. Lazarus Fund, 1914 (14.61) (photo: Jerry L. Thompson)

In his capacity as a Museum trustee and as chair of the committee on sculpture, French used the Metropolitan as a platform to promote Manship's career, as he did for certain other sculptors. This sustained encouragement extended beyond recommending Manship for the *Morgan Memorial*, for as the Museum's de facto curator of sculpture French enjoyed purchasing powers. In April 1913, at the same time that the Morgan Memorial Committee was assembled, French recommended that the Museum purchase one of ten sculptures Manship had completed during his tenure at the American Academy in Rome and exhibited to acclaim in February of that year at the Architectural League of New York. The archaistic *Centaur and Dryad* (Figure 10), a rhythmic statuette of a lecherous centaur with a startled wood nymph, surmounts a base with finely worked, low-relief mythological scenes that call to mind Greek vase painting. Difficulties in the bronze casting process delayed the accession of the sculpture until April 1914, by which time another replica (now at the Detroit Institute of Arts) had earned the National Academy of Design's prestigious Helen Foster Barnett Prize for best sculpture by an artist under age thirty-five. The Metropolitan's purchase was particularly beneficial to Manship's rapidly developing critical reputation, for it placed a celebrated sculpture in a prominent institution. Manship later recalled that during the 1910s, between the *Morgan Memorial* and his other commissioned and non-commissioned works, he "had a studio going at full blast."[35] By the time the Morgan tablet was dedicated in 1920, Manship was represented in the Metropolitan's collection with the *Civic Forum Medal of Honor* (1914; acc. no. 14.107) and *Pauline Frances* (1914; acc. no. 16.420), both gifts, as well as the *Art War Relief Medal* (1918; acc. no. 18.126), a purchase.[36] By 1931, the end of French's tenure as a trustee, an additional fifteen sculptures, coins, and medals had been acquired.[37]

With the Morgan tablet in process, French continued to validate Manship's critical standing through Museum auspices. His enthusiasm for the sculptor was reinforced by others affiliated with the Metropolitan, especially after the tablet had been commissioned. Edward Dean Adams, for example, expressed an interest in buying a cast of Manship's *Playfulness* (1912–14;

Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.) at the time of the Museum's purchase of *Centaur and Dryad*.[38] He did not acquire one, but *Wrestlers* (1915; acc. no. 27.21.1), a gift to the Museum from Adams, bears a personalized inscription from Manship dated 1916. During the summer of that year, Edward Robinson (1858–1931), the Museum's director since 1910, installed an exhibition of twenty-six bronzes by Manship in the Jesup Memorial Library in Bar Harbor, Maine.[39] This remarkable vote of confidence by a museum director for a living artist resulted in a lasting friendship between the two men, with Manship in 1923 modeling a portrait medal of Robinson and his wife that he later cast in bronze and presented as a gift to the Museum in 1955 (acc. no. 55.19.1,2).[40] The catalogue for the Bar Harbor exhibition included a highly complimentary monographic article by A. E. Gallatin (1881–1952), an art critic and donor of American and British works on paper, that was reprinted in the *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* in October 1916. Gallatin's puff celebrated Manship's stylistic diversity and exquisite craftsmanship and became the basis of the first monograph on the sculptor, published the following year.[41] French also selected sculptures by Manship for the Museum's "Exhibition of American Sculpture," a long-term installation of works by living artists that opened in 1918. Large colored plasters of Manship's *Indian Hunter* and *Pronghorn Antelope* (both 1914) and a bronze version of *Dancer and Gazelles* (1916) were included in the original installation (the Metropolitan now has in its collection bronze reductions of each of these groups, acc. nos. 48.149.27, 48.149.28, and 59.54).[42]

Despite this apparent coddling, Manship was subjected to an arduous step-by-step process to gain board approval for the Morgan commission. Rather than giving him complete artistic license, the Morgan committee provided Manship with a structured architectural template by McKim, Mead and White as a starting point, in theory limiting the sculptor's purview to the design of the ornamental borders. Design specifics were negotiated between the Morgan committee and Morgan Jr. in the early months of 1914, and the final scheme—an inscribed tablet centered within a frame of low-relief ornaments and emblems—was quickly adopted. Adams had proposed to Morgan "the possibility of using some portion or all of the emblems significant of your father's degrees and orders, and . . . if you approve of the general idea, I would thank you to furnish me with a complete list thereof."[43] Morgan complied, but he also expressed his preference for incorporating representations of countries in which his father had had particular interests and impacts: America, England, France, Germany, Italy, and Egypt.[44] William M. Kendall, a partner in McKim, Mead and White since 1906 and the principle architect working on the project, provided the Morgan committee with a refined drawing of the architectural framework. Kendall also suggested that buildings Morgan had financed—such as the Harvard Medical School, the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut, and his own library (designed by Charles McKim between 1902 and 1906)—might also be worthy of representation in the panel surrounds.[45] But the final selection and appearance, he felt, was best left to Manship's discretion, as he indicated to Adams:

> I should suggest that a list of possible subjects for the sculpture be prepared from which Manship might make his selection unless there are certain subjects which Mr. Morgan's family and your Committee believe essential. We all feel that, as far as possible, Manship should be left to make his own choice. He would then model "con amore."[46]

This list, titled "Subjects Appropriate to the Life of John Pierpont Morgan," included such categories as Coats of Arms, Degrees, Orders, and Buildings.[47] It also presented Adams's proposal for a scheme addressing Morgan's spheres of work and collecting: Art, Painting, Architecture, Sculpture, Commerce, Literature, and Finance.[48] Manship was provided with design drawings as well as this list, and from these broad categories he devised the six allegorical representations for the side panels, a program that remained unchanged throughout the sequence of sketch models.

Like the architectural skeleton upon which Manship's designs were to be imposed, the content of the inscription was provided to the sculptor as a non-negotiable element. The text was composed by the Honorable Joseph H. Choate, a founding trustee of the Museum who remained on the board until his death in 1917. To guide Choate, Adams provided specifications, notably that the inscription should fill the entire tablet, and that it should be limited to approximately eighteen lines and sixty-eight words. The appearance of the inscription would necessarily depend on the size of the letters and their relationship to the scale of the tablet and frame.[49] Choate's solution, which hews to the exact word and line counts specified, underwent little refinement once he submitted it for consideration in December 1914 and inspected it on a model in Manship's studio in 1916.[50] Succinct yet encompassing, it celebrates Morgan's "life full of work":

ERECTED BY THE MUSEUM
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
OF THE SERVICES OF
JOHN
PIERPONT
MORGAN
FROM 1871 TO 1913
AS TRUSTEE BENEFACTOR
AND PRESIDENT
HE WAS IN ALL RESPECTS
A GREAT CITIZEN HE
HELPED TO MAKE NEW YORK
THE TRUE METROPOLIS
OF AMERICA HIS INTEREST
IN ART WAS LIFELONG
HIS GENEROUS DEVOTION
TO IT COMMANDED WORLD
WIDE APPRECIATION
HIS MUNIFICENT GIFTS TO
THE MUSEUM ARE AMONG
ITS CHOICEST TREASURES
VITA PLENA
LABORIS
M C M X X

For Manship, the decorative appearance of the inscription—the proportions and relationships between words and letters—was an integral part of the overall composition.[51] It was also a component he was well suited to design, for as a commercial artist in St. Paul he had painted signs and advertising and had become adept at a range of lettering styles.

With the raw materials for the design in hand, Manship worked on sketch models during the summer of 1914, first in his New York studio in MacDougal Alley and then in Europe, especially Rome. These sketches were to be submitted to the full board of trustees for approval in October. Later that year, after the deadline had passed, Kendall nonetheless sent Adams an optimistic report:

> I paid a visit to Manship's studio to-day to see what had been done by him about the memorial to the late Mr. Morgan. I am convinced that if we give him time enough that we shall have a very satisfactory result and a thing of beauty.
>
> Manship has by no means been idle all this time and has tried many schemes, but has not definitely arrived at one which either he, or we, are satisfied with. They all, however, show points of great interest and originality. Entre nous, if we can allow Manship a little freedom and at the same time call a halt upon too great exuberance we may lead him to the production of a very beautiful and at the same time original work of art. He is ambitious to make this memorial one of character.[52]

Adams agreed, "especially since [Manship] is now in a condition of thought and action that it is sometimes termed 'full of his subject.'"[53] But Manship did not present his first sketch models until the spring of 1915, establishing what would become a pattern of chronic delays. As correspondence over the next several years attests, the relationship between the sculptor and the Morgan committee grew increasingly

Figure 11. Manship's first plaster sketch model for the *Morgan Memorial*, 1916. Photograph: Peter A. Juley & Son Collection, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C. (J0039095)

Figure 12. Paul Manship. Study for the Finance panel of the *Morgan Memorial,* ca. 1916. Pencil on cream tracing paper, 26 x 12.7 cm, irregular sheet. Minnesota Museum of American Art, St. Paul, Bequest of Paul H. Manship (66.14.137g)

Figure 13. Detail of Finance panel from the *Morgan Memorial*

strained, with McKim, Mead and White serving as the mediating party.

Manship's plaster working models as well as his finished plaster tablet are documented in a group of fourteen photographs by Peter A. Juley—at the time New York's leading fine-arts photographer—that are now in the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum. The Juley photographs of three of the plaster sketch models are particularly valuable because they summarize the progress of the memorial's development from Manship's initial designs, presented to the Morgan committee in the spring of 1915, to the final version as installed in 1920.

Manship prepared his first and second plaster sketch models from 1914 to 1915. The first (Figure 11) introduced key elements that carried through to the final version: an architectural framework; the tablet at center; flanking vertical panels with allegorical figures and decorative banding; and a horizontal figurative panel above the inscription. This tightly conceived composition, in which each unit is integral to the overall effect, reflects Manship's skill as a designer. The ensemble was crowned, however, by a group of three figures (Wisdom, Bounty, and Architecture) that served as a kind of pediment; far larger in scale than the figures in the main part of the tablet, the trio had the inadvertent effect of directing visual attention toward the top, and away from the center, of the memorial.

The variety of Manship's designs for the *Morgan Memorial* reflects his widespread artistic inspirations and catholic tastes. As A. E. Gallatin aptly noted in his

Figure 14. Paul Manship. Study for the Literature panel of the *Morgan Memorial*, ca. 1916. Pencil on cream tracing paper, 21.6 x 3¼ cm, irregular sheet. Minnesota Museum of American Art, St. Paul, Bequest of Paul H. Manship (66.14.137c)

Figure 15. Detail of Literature panel from the *Morgan Memorial*

1916 *Bulletin* article, the artist's "mind has acted as a crucible, into which various influences have been poured."[54] Without a specific teacher during his three years in Rome, Manship was free to explore and study what he referred to as "points of view,"[55] meaning influential aesthetic and technical touchstones for his own art. He drew on familiar high classical sculpture as well as a rich visual vocabulary of Western and Eastern sources, from the art of ancient Greece and Rome and the Italian Renaissance to that of Egypt and India. He was particularly attracted to the sculpture and vase painting of archaic Greece, which predates the classical precedents favored by Beaux-Arts–trained American sculptors at the turn of the twentieth century but also moves beyond those in terms of aesthetics.[56] Before Manship returned to Italy in the summer of 1914 to work on the memorial, he had announced to Adams that he planned to make a study of bronze wall monuments; while abroad, he gathered ideas that he later put into sketch form on paper and in clay.[57]

Drawing was critical to Manship's creative practice. Interviewed decades after the completion of the memorial, he explained his usual working method: "I think that drawing is part of the process of sculpture. . . . [I]t's quicker for me in designing something to draw it first, as a rule. . . . I make hundreds of little sketches, indicating proportions, indicating movement or whatever that interests me, composition—and especially work that is done in relief, that really is drawing from the beginning."[58] Of the "many, many, many, many" sketches that Manship said he completed for

Figure 16. Paul Manship. Study for the Archaeology panel of the *Morgan Memorial*, ca. 1916. Pencil on cream tracing paper, 19.7 x 7.9 cm, irregular sheet. Minnesota Museum of American Art, St. Paul, Bequest of Paul H. Manship (66.14.137h)

Figure 17. Detail of Archaeology panel from the *Morgan Memorial*

the Morgan commission, just eight pencil drawings, in the collection of the Minnesota Museum of American Art, remain to guide our understanding of the memorial's conceptual evolution. Six of these correlate to the preliminary and final designs for figures in the allegorical side panels; two others are unrealized concepts that do not relate directly to the documented sculpted models.[59] All are executed on cream-colored tracing paper, Manship's preferred support, because he could draw over, and thus refine, earlier sketches.[60] The drawings related to the Morgan commission are executed in an outline style that pays little attention to the recording of bodily form; most of the figures are shown surrounded by rectangles, already framed within their niche surrounds. Some, such as Finance (Figures 12, 13), as depicted in the first and second models, have a confident gestural appearance, with free-flowing sweeps of the pencil. Others, including Literature (Figures 14, 15), a male figure introduced in the second model and shown holding an open book, are more studied, their lines firmer and more static. Most of the extant drawings relate to the figures as executed in the first two sketch models, with certain attributes carrying forward to the final design. This is the case with Archaeology (Figures 16, 17), even though the positions of the vase and column she holds were eventually switched in the final limestone.

Manship's first sketch model was shown to the trustees' executive committee in May 1915. The committee accepted the design scheme but reserved the right to recommend additional compositional changes.[61] Manship began his second version, despite

Figure 18. Manship's second plaster sketch model for the *Morgan Memorial*, 1916. Photograph: Peter A. Juley & Son Collection, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C. (J0039171)

this vote of confidence, after seeing the enlarged photograph of the first model. While Adams requested that Manship temporarily cease work on the project (for reasons undocumented, but probably because a contract had not been signed), the sculptor continued with the second version, correcting what he perceived as the faults of the first.[62] By late June Manship had completed the second model (Figure 18); he then had it photographed and prints sent to McKim, Mead and White for their inspection and critique.

The second sketch model maintained the requisite center tablet, but it departed from the earlier plaster sketch in a number of significant aspects: notably, in how the sculpture now seems subsumed within the architecture, and the problematic disparity of scale among the elements. The size of the inscription was reduced, and the line spacing and word format introduced in this sketch were eventually retained in the final limestone. But Manship eliminated the framework banding and set the six allegorical figures into the same field as the inscription. He also rearranged the placement of the figures and changed the gender of three to male: Commerce, in the guise of Mercury; Science, as an astronomer and chemist; and Literature, as a bearded, laurel-wreathed philosopher whose appearance changed little from the sketch drawing to the final result (see Figure 15). The panel was surrounded by a scrollwork frame and topped by a small, low-relief pediment with an urn at its center. The pediment was crowned by a male representation of Wisdom much larger in scale than the other figures, with winged sphinxlike creatures, inspired by those that surmount archaic Greek grave stelae, gracing the two top corners.

McKim, Mead and White, the Morgan committee, and French together weighed the merits of the two sketch versions and agreed that the first was preferable, as Manship himself eventually conceded.[63] The general consensus was that the group of three figures on top was more interesting than a single figure, and that architectural framing bordering the panels was necessary. With the first sketch model deemed acceptable after suggested refinements,[64] the parties proceeded to negotiate contract terms, a process fraught with politely couched disputes over payment amounts and time frame. Widely different expectations for the total project budget nearly caused a rupture between Manship and the Morgan committee, differences that were reconciled only after Manship agreed to reduce his price and to execute the work in two years.[65] Manship also drew the ongoing ire of McKim, Mead and White, which as the intermediary between the sculptor's design and the architecture of the Great Hall reminded the sculptor that the memorial's architectural features were subject to its control and must be "distinctly classic in feeling."[66] The contract was finally signed in November 1915; McKim, Mead and White's elevation drawing (Figure 19) was inserted into each copy as the architectural template from which Manship's work was expected to proceed at an expedited pace.

Manship completed a third sketch model (whose appearance is unrecorded) in the spring of 1916 after numerous pleas for progress from Adams ("public and private interest wane greatly if prompt action delayed"), which he answered with his own reassurances ("It gives me pleasure to say that the work on the small models is progressing favorably").[67] At this point Manship and the Morgan committee debated the appropriateness of incorporating into the design a

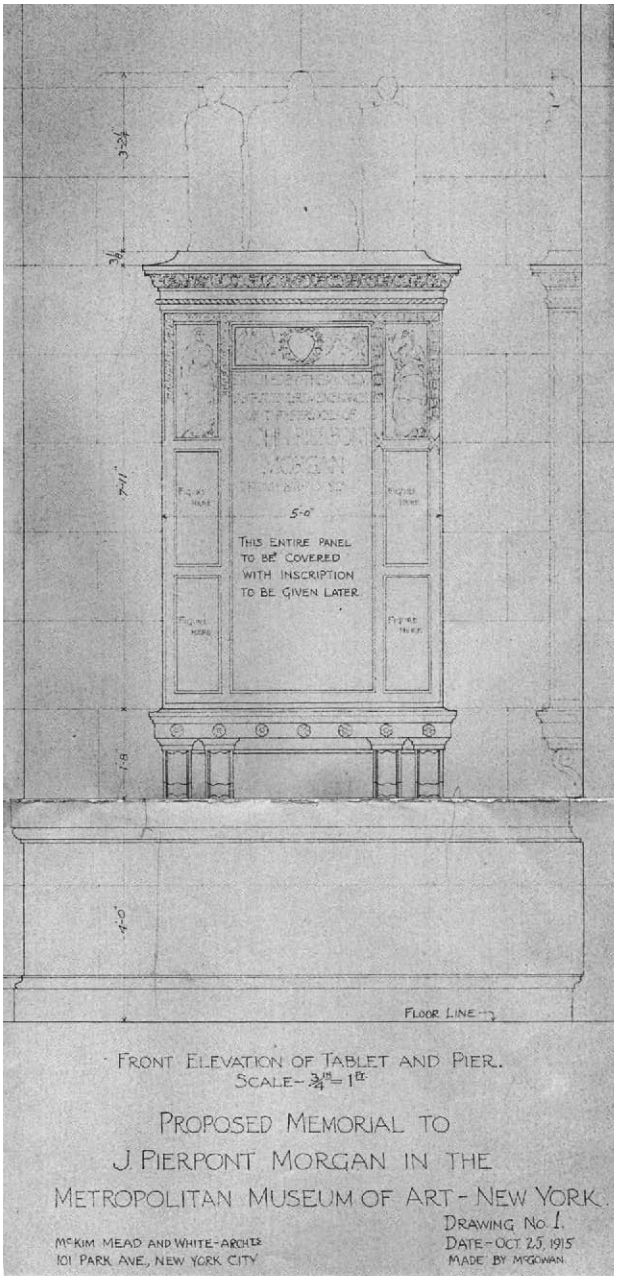

Figure 19. McKim, Mead and White. Preparatory drawing attached to contract for the *Morgan Memorial*, November 1915. McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a, Department of Prints, Photographs, and Architectural Collections, New-York Historical Society

medallionlike profile bust portrait of Morgan, space for which had been included in the recent sketch. Eager to include the portrait, Manship requested photographs of Morgan for reference purposes from Herbert L. Satterlee, Morgan's son-in-law, who possessed a sizable collection.[68] But after visiting Manship's studio to view the sketch model, Morgan Jr. objected to the portrait, an outcome that Adams had anticipated.[69] Undoubtedly the son's resistance grew out of deference to his father's private nature and a desire not to record in sculptural form (particularly in profile) the elder Morgan's rhinophyma, a disease that had enlarged his nose into a bulbous mass during middle age. The iconic photograph of Morgan, Edward Steichen's 1903 print (MMA acc. no. 49.55.167), records the condition, but there it is allayed by the subject's indomitable glare.

The exact appearance of the final small sketch model, which was formally accepted in February 1917,[70] is unknown, but it clearly moved toward an overall simplification of design. The elimination of the proposed portrait medallion allowed more space for Choate's inscription;[71] there were also modifications made to the architectural elements, whose appearance had become a subject of considerable tension between Manship and McKim, Mead and White. In his earlier designs Manship seems to have failed, despite repeated appeals from the firm, to produce what they characterized as "a thing that is classical in spirit" to harmonize with the Great Hall.[72] Correspondence and drawings thus recommended altering the general proportions and dimensions of the tablet as well as the width of the border ornament; the necessity of adding a crowning gable was also questioned, as was the possible elimination of the heavy brackets on the bottom edge. In summarizing these changes, Kendall firmly reminded Manship: "I think a little closer co-operation in the future would insure better results all around, always bearing in mind, however, that we want the imprint of your hand and feeling in the ornamentation, provided it does not stray too far from the classic which you know so well how to do."[73]

Although stone had always been the presumed medium for the memorial, the specific type was subject to prolonged consideration. Discussions began in the months after French withdrew his sketches and before Manship was selected as sculptor. Adams, aware of the family's wish to tailor the memorial to Morgan's individual interests, suggested to Morgan Jr. that porphyry, framed by stone of a harmonious color, might be appropriate for the center of the tablet, as his father had been fond of it and had collected porphyry objects; light Botticino marble was also mentioned.[74] Manship raised a short-lived idea for a bronze surround, citing it as more readily reproducible and sympathetic to his best style of work (indeed, the majority of his oeuvre is in bronze).[75] Although the porphyry center appealed to Morgan Jr., it proved impossible to locate a suitably sized and reasonably priced piece in Italy. Other proposed materials included Pompton granite with raised bronze letters, red Verona marble, Tennessee marble, red granite, and, finally, French Champville limestone, a

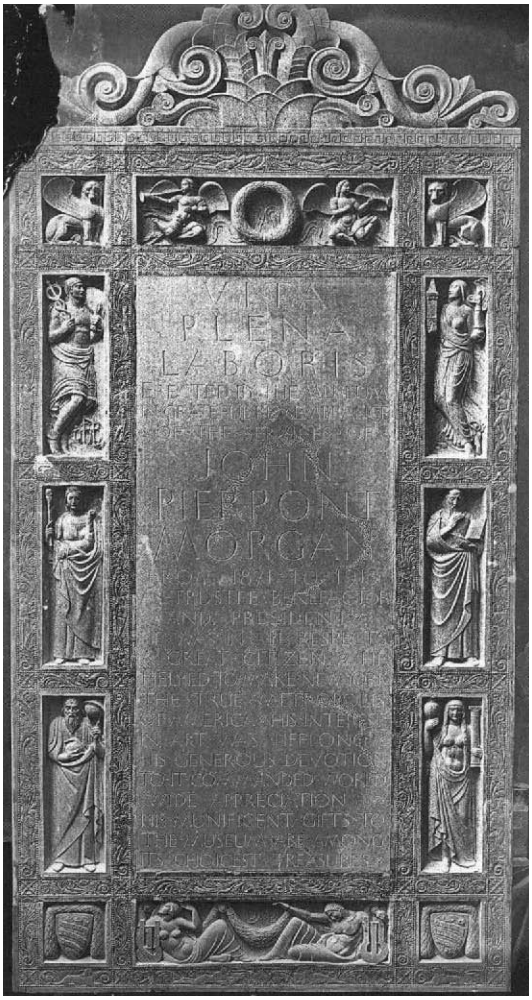

Figure 20. Manship's final plaster sketch model for the *Morgan Memorial*, 1918. Photograph: Peter A. Juley & Son Collection, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C. (J0039107)

fine-grained stone particularly suited for detailed carving. McKim, Mead and White was given the responsibility of selecting the piece and procuring samples of it for the committee to inspect and approve.

McKim, Mead and White had first solicited estimates for the carving and installation of the memorial in the spring of 1914. Two New York firms were contacted: Donnelly and Ricci, who were untested, and the better-known Piccirilli Brothers.[76] The latter, six Italian immigrants who operated a studio in the Bronx, were the carvers of choice for most American sculptors, including Saint-Gaudens and French. The Piccirilli's proposed cost of translating the monument was renegotiated over several iterations, contingent on the type of stone,[77] but it always exceeded what the Morgan committee felt was within its original budget allocations. The matter was thus left unresolved until the full-size plaster was in progress. Manship, faced with the Piccirilli's estimate of no less than ten thousand dollars to carve the detailed sculpture, agreed to undertake the translation from plaster to stone in his own studio.[78] The Piccirilli Brothers were eventually retained, but only to set the memorial into the Great Hall pier.

Manship's full-size plaster model (Figure 20), the reference from which the final limestone was carved, evolved from the final small sketch over the course of nearly twenty months until September 1918, when it was accepted by the committee. Assembled in sections, it presented the compositional scheme mostly as it would be finally realized, although minor refinements were later made to the top and bottom bands of figures. The six flanking figures, as realized in the final sketch and limestone tablet, were altered from the first and second models in terms of individual placement as well as stylistic treatment. The sculptor reintroduced the framing gridwork of the first model, now with supplementary figures to enhance the iconographic narrative; for example, the draped female Archaeology (see Figure 17) is accompanied by a man with a shovel and a woman holding a sphinx in order to illustrate, as Manship explained, "the means by which Archaeology makes its discoveries and the mystery of it."[79] With the exception of the two exaggerated S-curving figures at the top, Commerce and Art, the representations are totemic, rigid, and tightly positioned within their narrow frames. By this time Manship's "points of view" had shifted to Romanesque and Early Gothic sculpture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a particular collecting interest of Morgan's.[80] As evident in Literature (see Figure 15), Manship had appropriated such medieval conventions as expressionless masklike faces, smooth stylized anatomy, and garments that fall in rigid, knife-like lines and ellipses to indicate bodily form. This increasing restraint is evident when the preliminary drawing for Finance in the first and second models is compared to the final result (see Figures 12, 13). What had been an almost levitating figure is, in the end, firmly grounded and as stolidly vertical as the scepter she holds. The exuberant swirling drapery and the coins overflowing from the cornucopia in the sketch are likewise made to appear almost motionless in the limestone.

In addition to refining and enlarging the panels, Manship transformed the lettering for the inscription, arguably the key element of the design, away from the quirky, stylized treatment he had employed in his early sketches. After repeated experiments with full-size models, he finally moved toward McKim, Mead and White's hallmark classicizing style. The sole modification was that the letter V was not substituted for U, an exception that Museum director Robinson, a classical scholar, insisted upon since U is standard in

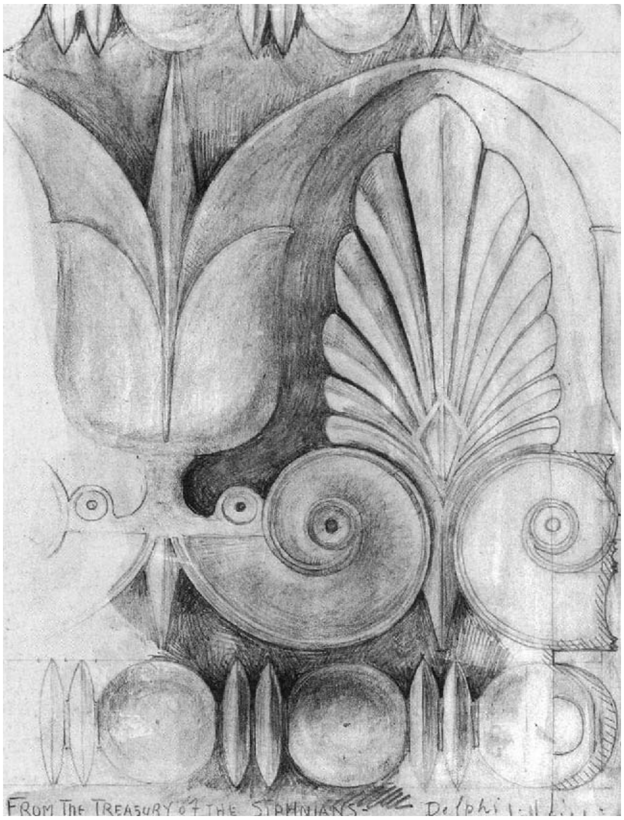

Figure 21. Paul Manship. *Frieze Detail from the Treasury of the Siphnians, Delphi*, 1912. Pencil and pale brown wash on cream wove paper, 21.6 x 15.9 cm. Minnesota Museum of American Art, St. Paul, Bequest of Paul H. Manship (66.14.152a)

the modern alphabet.[81] The second main feature that underwent substantial modification was the architectural element at the top of the tablet. The awkward, overscale allegorical figures were eliminated in favor of a scrollwork pediment with stylized flowers, garlands, and palmettes. Manship's adaptation of specific historical precedent is evident in this pediment, whose lotus, palmettes, and snail-shell scrollwork are freely appropriated from the ornamental stone frieze of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi (530 B.C.). Manship had copied sections of the frieze in detailed full-scale drawings (Figure 21) during his first trip to Greece in 1912, the pivotal six-week visit when he encountered the archaic style that definitively redirected his art away from a more formulaic classicism.[82]

In July 1918, as work on the final plaster model was progressing, Manship was preparing to leave for Italy to volunteer for Red Cross war-relief efforts; at the same time, the pieces of Champville limestone arrived in his studio.[83] Before the artist's departure Kendall reported to Adams: "It is my belief that Mr. Manship has produced, as a memorial to Mr. Morgan, a design of very great beauty and originality and one also of the proper shape and size to harmonize with the pier upon which it is to rest."[84] Meeting in Manship's Washington Mews studio, the Morgan committee unanimously approved the final full-size plaster model and the stone to be cut; upon separate inspection, Morgan Jr. proclaimed the tablet "most satisfactory."[85] Manship entrusted responsibility for the carving during his absence to his principal assistant, Gaston Lachaise (1882–1935), an established sculptor in his own right who was best known for sensuous female representations inspired by his wife, Isabel.[86] Born in Paris, Lachaise emigrated to the United States in 1906 and worked in Manship's studio, out of financial necessity, from about 1914/15 to 1920 while pursuing his own career.[87] Working with the aid of an Italian stonemason, Lachaise, an expert carver, completed a substantial portion of the preliminary cutting during Manship's time abroad.[88]

Pneumonia ultimately prevented Manship from serving with the Red Cross, and in February 1919 he returned to New York. Lachaise continued to undertake the majority of the carving, while Manship, who had less carving experience, made refinements. That process, including delays caused by the carving of a second scrollwork pediment, continued until September 1920, when Manship notified the Museum he was ready to deliver the tablet.[89] The memorial was inspected in Manship's studio and approved by the Morgan committee in October. Later that month, the Piccirilli Brothers began to set the tablet into the reconstructed northwest pier in the Great Hall (Figure 22); Manship then finished and toned the stone and colored the letters in situ.[90]

By the time the Museum trustees gathered to view the completed memorial, Manship had matured from promising talent to highly successful artist, enjoying a meteoric rise to fame. His 1916 show at the Berlin Photographic Gallery in New York had been a runaway critical and financial success, with more than ninety works ordered. His sculptures were exhibited nationally and were frequent recipients of awards, including a gold medal at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915. He was named an academician of the National Academy of Design in 1916 and a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1920. Manship had become an acknowledged leader in his field, and his authorship of the Morgan tablet was as much a boon for the Museum (and indeed the American Academy in Rome) as the actual commission had been to Manship's developing career five years earlier.

Critics who celebrated Manship in the 1910s were attracted by his attention to fine craftsmanship and his synthetic style, which mediated between naturalis-

Figure 22. View of original installation of the *Morgan Memorial* in the Great Hall of the Metropolitan Museum, April 1921 (photo: MMA, neg. MM 193)

tic and abstracted impulses. His simplified linear compositions, particularly those in an archaistic vein, were considered a refreshing departure from the kind of Beaux-Arts classicism French had pursued in his own sketches for the *Morgan Memorial.* Manship's innovative works had a kinship with modernism, but they were sufficiently removed from the developing nonobjective movement in sculpture to please popular and academic tastes alike. Although Manship often collaborated with architects during his long career, the *Morgan Memorial,* a tablet executed in stone and installed in a public setting, is, as such, a departure even within his varied oeuvre.[91] In the ensuing years it was celebrated, and in some camps denigrated, as an impressive compendium of styles: a demonstration piece of eclecticism in terms of both Morgan's collecting interests and Manship's aesthetics.[92]

Although the collaborations, both creative and logistic, among the principal parties on the Morgan commission were at times sorely strained, all were satisfied with the end result. Manship wrote to Adams in September 1920, "I hope that you and others whose opinion I respect will think that the efforts I have expended upon the Morgan Memorial will have been justified by the result. I have worked upon the Morgan Memorial for this long time always with the one idea to do the very best art within my possibility. . . ."[93] Manship successfully argued for an additional $5,850 in payment to offset his expenses, which had overrun the projected budget considerably, and for the Museum to pay for the tablet's installation.[94] Robinson supported Manship's appeal, observing that "the Museum will possess not only a worthy memorial of Mr. Morgan, but a work of art of great and permanent value."[95] The Morgan Memorial Committee was disbanded in December 1920, with the appreciation of the trustees for effectively performing its duties and for "the gratifying results of its devoted labor."[96]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

French Family Papers
Daniel Chester French Family Papers. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

McKim, Mead and White Collection
McKim, Mead and White Collection. Department of Prints, Photographs, and Architectural Collections, New-York Historical Society.

MMA Archives
Archives. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Morgan Jr. Papers
J. P. Morgan Jr. Papers. Archives, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, file 63:55.

Rather 1993
Susan Rather. *Archaism, Modernism, and the Art of Paul Manship*. Austin, Texas, 1993.

NOTES

1. Paul Manship, interview by John D. Morse, February 18, 1959, Archives of American Art Oral History Program, transcript, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (microfilm reel 4210, frames 643–44).
2. These documents are preserved in the French Family Papers; Peter A. Juley & Son Collection, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.; McKim, Mead and White Collection; MMA Archives; and Morgan Jr. Papers.
3. "A Tablet Erected by the Trustees of the Museum in Memory of the Late J. Pierpont Morgan," *MMAB* 15 (December 1920), p. 267.
4. Eight of these zodiac signs, reworked as small bronze reliefs, are in the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum (acc. nos. 1965.16.106–113), which also owns a bronze angel after one in the memorial's horizontal top panel (acc. no. 1965.16.114).
5. On Morgan and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, see Jean Strouse, "J. Pierpont Morgan: Financier and Collector," *MMAB,* n.s., 57, no. 3 (Winter 2000). See also, in passim, Calvin Tompkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1970); and Jean Strouse, *Morgan: American Financier* (New York, 1999).
6. There is another sculpted tribute to Morgan in the Museum collections: bronze and silver examples of a medal (acc. nos. 13.215, 13.226) in his memory by the Viennese-born artist Emil Fuchs (1866–1929). It was commissioned by the American Numismatic Society in 1913, with one example struck in gold for Morgan's family, one hundred in silver, and two hundred in bronze. The plaquette depicts allegories of Victory and Industry on the obverse, with a classical facade and a representation of Wisdom holding a statue of Minerva on the reverse.
7. Minutes of the Trustees' meeting, April 21, 1913, vol. 6, p. 56, MMA Archives. Lewis Cass Ledyard was appointed to replace Cadwalader after the latter's death in 1914. At the same meeting, the trustees resolved to continue a special committee named to work with J. P. Morgan Jr. on Morgan's collections housed at the Metropolitan and "any other matters concerning his relations to the Museum" (p. 57).
8. In 1930, under similar circumstances, French completed a bronze memorial tablet to longtime arms and armor curator Bashford Dean. See Donald J. LaRocca, "The Bashford Dean Memorial Tablet by Daniel Chester French," *MMJ* 31 (1996), pp. 151–57.
9. Mrs. Daniel Chester (Mary A.) French, *Memories of a Sculptor's Wife* (Boston, 1928), p. 128.
10. French to William R. Mead, of McKim, Mead and White, May 28, 1913, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19: "I am making some sketches for the memorial and if I get anything worth while, I will bring it with me."
11. French to William Symmes Richardson, of McKim, Mead and White, June 19, 1913, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19. French states that he had intended to examine the three preliminary sketches with McKim, Mead and White and for them to select together one design before presenting it to the committee "laymen."
12. French to Mead, June 13, 1913, and French to McKim, Mead and White, June 17, 1913, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.
13. Adams to French, June 12, 1913 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.
14. French had used the same iconographic scheme, globe and book, for his draped male figure Knowledge for the bronze doors of the Boston Public Library (1894–1904). Illustrated in Michael Richman, *Daniel Chester French: An American Sculptor,* exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 1976; repr., Washington, D.C., 1983), p. 14, fig. 13.
15. See Thayer Tolles, ed., *American Sculpture in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Volume I: A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born before 1865* (New York, 1999), pp. 333–36.
16. Terms are outlined in Manship to McKim, Mead and White, October 23, 1915, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a.
17. See Morrison H. Heckscher, "The Metropolitan Museum of Art: An Architectural History," *MMAB,* n.s., 53, no. 1 (Summer 1995), p. 35, fig. 47, which shows the Great Hall in 1902 with a sculpture in place in the original pedimented niche on the northwest pier.
18. French to Mead, May 28, 1913, and William M. Kendall, of McKim, Mead and White, to Richardson, June 9, 1913 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.
19. Adams to French, June 12, 1913 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.
20. Photographs of the drawing set on the pier were circulated to

French and committee members for feedback on the mock installation. [Richardson] to French, June 13, 1913 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

21. French to Henry W. Kent, Assistant Secretary, Metropolitan Museum, July 19, 1913, MMA Archives.

22. French to Morgan Jr., August 12, 1913, and Morgan Jr. to French, August 13, 1913 (copy), Morgan Jr. Papers.

23. Richardson to French, September 2, 1913 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19. In designing and photographing the new mocked-up installation, the architects aimed at scale and simplicity for both the memorial and the overall Great Hall interior. The firm particularly encouraged the removal of Hunt's ornate lamp standards, but as a postinstallation photograph (Figure 22) attests, this directive was not followed.

24. Morgan Jr. to French, August 13, 1913 (copy), Morgan Jr. Papers. Morgan reiterated these points in a letter to French, September 11, 1913 (copy), Morgan Jr. Papers.

25. Morgan Jr. to Adams, September 12, 1913 (copy), Morgan Jr. Papers. Apparently William M. Kendall had also expressed his disapproval of the central treatment of the two-figure design. Interestingly, he later reversed his opinion of the design, a matter that was a "tremendous relief" to French. See French to Kendall, September 20, 1913, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

26. Kendall to Richardson, September 29, 1913, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

27. Minutes of the Trustees' meeting, October 20, 1913, vol. 6, p. 82, MMA Archives; and Adams to Morgan Jr., October 21, 1913, Morgan Jr. Papers.

28. French to Mead, June 13, 1913, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19. This letter is in response to Adams to French, June 12, 1913 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19: "Our hope is to have all of these questions decided and the work authorized so that it may be completed and installed before the end of the year, as an important feature of the proposed reception to be given about the 1st of January, when the Morgan collections will form the principal, if not the sole, attraction."

29. Unsigned memorandum, October 21, 1913 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a.

30. French to Mead, December 13, 1913 (copy), French Family Papers, microfilm reel 2, frame 324.

31. French subsequently hosted Manship at Chesterwood before the younger artist went abroad in 1909. Mrs. Daniel Chester (Mary A.) French, *Memories of a Sculptor's Wife*, pp. 247–48.

32. John Manship, *Paul Manship* (New York, 1989), p. 35; and Rather 1993, p. 28.

33. French to Caroline Thurston, December 2, 1912 (copy), French Family Papers, microfilm reel 2, frame 72; French to Manship, July 10, 1914 (copy), French Family Papers, microfilm reel 2, frame 531; French to Manship, September 28, 1914 (copy), French Family Papers, microfilm reel 2, frame 614; and Edwin Murtha, *Paul Manship* (New York, 1957), p. 150.

34. French to Manship, December 1, 1913 (copy), French Family Papers, microfilm reel 2, frame 315. The letter concerns the Museum's purchase of Manship's *Centaur and Dryad*.

35. Paul Manship, interview by the Columbia University Oral History Research Office, New York, October 9, 1956, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., microfilm reel 5044, frame 1079.

36. The *Art War Relief Medal* was created "for the benefit of Artists in Service who may require assistance after the war." See Maud M. Mason to Edward Robinson, Director, Metropolitan Museum, November 2, 1918, MMA Archives. Daniel Chester French served on the medal's executive committee with fellow sculptors Herbert Adams, Malvina Hoffman, and Janet Scudder.

37. These works are: *The Wrestlers* (1915; acc. no. 27.21.1); a pair of bronze and marble candelabra (1916; acc. no. 22.180.1,2); a marble bust of James F. Ballard (1925–26; acc. no. 27.147); *Indian Hunter and His Dog* (1926; acc. no. 29.162); nine *Designs for Irish Free State Coinage* (ca. 1927; acc. no. 29.38-1–9), given by Manship; and the *Southern Railway Centennial Medal* (1930; acc. no. 31.17).

38. French to Manship, April 15, 1913, French Family Papers, microfilm reel 2, frame 263. French inquired on Adams's behalf as to the availability of the statuette.

39. A. E. Gallatin, "The Sculpture of Paul Manship," *MMAB* 11 (October 1916), p. 218. Two photographs of the Bar Harbor installation were reproduced in Gallatin, *Paul Manship: A Critical Essay on His Sculpture and an Iconography* (New York, 1917), n.p.

40. At the time of the gift Manship wrote to Museum director Francis Henry Taylor: "I hope your trustees will accept them & think them worthy to add to the already large number of pieces of my work in your collection." Manship to Taylor, January 8, 1955, MMA Archives.

41. Gallatin, "Sculpture of Paul Manship," pp. 218, 220–22; and Gallatin, *Paul Manship*. At the same time the article was published, Gallatin lent a cast of Manship's statuette *The Flight of Night* (1916; Smithsonian American Art Museum) to the Museum. See "List of Loans, September 1916," *MMAB* 11 (October 1916), p. 229. By the mid-1920s, Gallatin had renounced Manship's aesthetics, and his taste had shifted to avant-garde artists. In 1927 he founded Gallatin's Gallery of Living Art at New York University, which was in operation until 1943.

42. *An Exhibition of American Sculpture*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 1918), p. 16, ill. p. 15.

43. Adams to Morgan Jr., December 26, 1913, Morgan Jr. Papers.

44. Morgan Jr. to Adams, January 2, 1914 (copy), Morgan Jr. Papers.

45. Kendall to Adams, March 28, 1914 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19. In 1901 Morgan had donated one million dollars to fund three buildings at the Harvard Medical School. He later gave almost one million dollars to the Wadsworth Atheneum for a Junius Morgan Memorial Wing; the first part of the expansion was opened in 1910. See Strouse, *Morgan*, p. 282. Eugene Gaddis, Archivist, Wadsworth Atheneum, kindly provided information on Morgan's donations to that institution.

46. Kendall to Adams, April 30, 1914 (copy), MMA Archives.

47. "Subjects Appropriate to the Life of John Pierpont Morgan," May 19, 1914, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

48. Adams first recorded his scheme on the top of a letter from Morgan Jr., January 2, 1914, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19, with the notation "Painting / Sculpture Ancient Modern / Commerce Shipping Railroad / Literature."

49. Adams to Choate, May 27, 1914 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

50. Adams to Kendall, December 16, 1914, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19. Adams enclosed a copy of the inscription and noted that he had also sent one to Manship

as well. See also Adams to Morgan Jr., June 7, 1916, Morgan Jr. Papers, reporting Choate's satisfaction with the appearance of the inscription on the model. The only elements that changed during the protracted process were the substitution of "true metropolis" for "worthy metropolis"; the relocation of VITA PLENA LABORIS from the beginning of the inscription to the end; the addition of MCMXX, the date of the memorial's completion; and adjustments to word and line spacing.

51. Manship spoke at length about lettering in his interview by the Columbia University Oral History Research Office, October 9, 1956, microfilm reel 5044, frame 1109.

52. Kendall to Adams, December 10, 1914 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

53. Adams to Kendall, December 11, 1914, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

54. Gallatin, "Sculpture of Paul Manship," p. 220.

55. Paul Manship, interview by the Columbia University Oral History Research Office, October 9, 1956, microfilm reel 5044, frame 1075.

56. The definitive study of Manship's tenure at the American Academy and his pursuit of archaism is Susan Rather's excellent *Archaism, Modernism, and the Art of Paul Manship* (Rather 1993).

57. Manship to Adams, July 14, 1914 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19; and L. S. Sudlow to Kendall, October 14, 191[4] (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a.

58. Paul Manship, interview by the Columbia University Oral History Research Office, October 9, 1956, microfilm reel 5044, frame 1104.

59. See Carol Hynning Smith, *Drawings by Paul Manship: The Minnesota Museum of Art Collection* (St. Paul, Minn., 1987), pp. 38–43. Analysis of the Juley photographs allows for a more precise dating and identification of which drawings correspond to figures in the models.

60. Ibid., pp. 11–12.

61. Minutes of the Trustees' Executive Committee meeting, May 17, 1915, vol. 9, p. 251, MMA Archives.

62. Kendall to Manship, June 3, 1915 (copy), and Manship to Kendall, June 23, 1915, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

63. Kendall to Manship, June 24, 1915, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19; and French to Adams, July 3, 1915 (copy), French Family Papers, microfilm reel 3, frame 116. Manship to Adams, August 8, 1915 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a; Manship states: "I believe that the principle of the model as shown in the large photograph at the Museum to be correct."

64. These suggested changes were codified shortly before the signing of the contract; see Adams to McKim, Mead and White, November 8, 1915, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a. They also included a preference for McKim, Mead and White's more traditional, classicizing style of lettering.

65. See, for example, Adams to Kendall, August 10, 1915, proposing a total budget of $15,000 versus the $22,000 outlined in Manship to Adams, September 14, 1915 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a. See also Adams to Manship, August 16, 1915 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a, which suggests that "if you are not willing to accept the same, then I think we should regret our inability to agree"; and Manship to Adams, October 5, 1915, proposing revised terms of contract, MMA Archives.

66. Kendall to Manship, April 24, 1915 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19; and Kendall to Adams, October 6, 1915 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a.

67. A. G. Wilson, Secretary, McKim, Mead and White, to Manship, March 18, 1916 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19, transcribing a telegraph from Adams to McKim, Mead and White; and Manship to Adams, March 18, 1916, MMA Archives. Manship's slow progress caused Adams much distress. In the most revealing of his inquiries, he wrote to Kendall: "It has been suggested to me that he [Manship] has undertaken more than he can accomplish, and the delay is because he does not know how to finish it and is proving to himself, as well as to us, that he is not sufficiently experienced to properly complete what he has undertaken. . . . Certainly the prolongation of his delays, not withstanding his frequent promises, is causing some ground for the belief that he is not equal to the task." Adams to Kendall, January 16, 1918, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a.

68. Adams to Satterlee, May 19, 1916 (copy), MMA Archives.

69. Adams to Kendall, July 6, 1916, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

70. Manship to Kendall, February 7, 1917, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19c, requests payment that became due on acceptance of the sketch model.

71. Adams to Kendall, July 7, 1916, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

72. Kendall to Manship, May 16, 1916 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19. See also Kendall to Adams, July 7, 1916 (copy): "The general character of the Memorial should be classic and I have not failed to call his attention to this on many occasions. I sympathize in general with Mr. Morgan's attitude as to simplicity"; McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

73. Kendall to Manship, August 3, 1916 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

74. Adams to Morgan Jr., December 26, 1913, Morgan Jr. Papers; Adams to Choate (copy), May 27, 1914, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19; and Adams to Morgan Jr., June 7, 1916, Morgan Jr. Papers.

75. Manship to Adams, July 14, 1914 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

76. McKim, Mead and White to Piccirilli Brothers, May 26, 1914 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a. An identical solicitation for a quote was sent to Donnelly and Ricci. The responding estimates are summarized in L. S. Sudlow to Kendall, October 14, 191[4] (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a.

77. See, for example, Sudlow to Kendall, September 16, 1915, and Piccirilli Brothers to McKim, Mead and White, September 20, 1915, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a.

78. Kendall to Adams, March 22, 1918, MMA Archives.

79. See Manship's description of the tablet's design, November 4, 1920, MMA Archives.

80. For sculptures given by Morgan, see William D. Wixom, "Medieval Sculpture at the Metropolitan, 800–1400," *MMAB*, n.s., 62, no. 4 (Spring 2005).

81. Robinson to Adams, February 16, 1917 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.

82. Years later Manship wrote enthusiastically about the frieze of the Treasury of the Siphnians, calling it "one of the great sculp-

tural compositions surviving from that age. . . . The design has clarity, spirit and distinction in its ensemble, as well as consummate rendering of detail." See Manship, "The History of Sculpture," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 1952 ed., s.v. "Sculpture," quoted in Rather 1993, p. 34.

83. Kendall to Adams, July 24, 1918 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a.
84. Kendall to Adams, September 13, 1918 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19.
85. Adams to Kent, September 20, 1918, and Morgan Jr. to Adams, October 4, 1918, MMA Archives. Duplicate plaster casts and photographs of details were then deposited at the Museum (current whereabouts unknown).
86. Kendall to Adams, September 12, 1918 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a; and Adams to Morgan Jr., October 1, 1918, Morgan Jr. Papers.
87. For the revised dates of Lachaise's tenure in Manship's studio, see Rather 1993, p. 233, n. 43.
88. Lachaise apparently refused Manship's invitation to cosign the tablet, not wanting to promote himself as a collaborator rather than an independent artist. Harry Rand, *Paul Manship,* exh. cat., National Museum of American Art (now the Smithsonian American Art Museum), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Washington, D.C., 1989), p. 54. In 1924, when Gallatin asked Lachaise about his role in the carving, Lachaise replied that he had composed elements of the design and translated the marble, with Manship adding his own stylistic touches during the final stages. See Lachaise to Gallatin, February 12, 1924, Gaston Lachaise Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, cited in Rather 1993, p. 174. In the ensuing years, there were several printed criticisms of Manship that claimed he was no more than a rote copyist of historical style who produced spiritless works. See, for example, Jerome Mellquist's comments cited in note 92, below.
89. Manship to Kendall, September 8, 1920, and Manship to Adams, September 24, 1920, McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19a.
90. McKim, Mead and White to Piccirilli Brothers, October 28, 1920 (copy), McKim, Mead and White Collection, box 247, file 5-19; and Joseph Breck, Acting Director, Metropolitan Museum, to Adams, November 19, 1920, MMA Archives.
91. Manship's *Schuchardt Memorial* (1920; Milwaukee, Wisconsin) bears the closest resemblance to the *Morgan Memorial.* It is a marble stela with a central niche figure surrounded by low-relief designs with zodiac signs and ornamentation inspired by the Siphnian Treasury. See Murtha, *Paul Manship,* p. 161, pl. 20.
92. See "Tablet Erected in Memory of the Late J. Pierpont Morgan," p. 267: "The range of influences displayed here in the artist's work is suggestive of the many countries and periods that appealed to the catholic taste of the great collector and princely giver of whose intense interest in and devotion to art this tablet is reared as a perpetual reminder." For negative response, often by those who were advocates of Gaston Lachaise, see, for example, E. E. Cummings, "Gaston Lachaise," *Dial* 68 (February 1920), pp. 194–95: "One wonders whether his winning the Prix de Rome accounts for the fact that in the last analysis Manship is neither a sincere alternative to thinking, nor an appeal to the pure intelligence, but a very ingenious titillation of that well-known element, the highly sophisticated unintelligence"; and Jerome Mellquist, *The Emergence of an American Art* (New York, 1942), p. 371: "It [the *Morgan Memorial*] stands as an anthology of all the styles with which Mr. Manship was familiar. And it reminds one that he has been as good a 'collector' as the financier he celebrated. The carving of this memorial, much of which was entrusted to Gaston Lachaise, shows more fancy and grace than the work as a whole." For extended discussion of Manship's critical reception during the 1910s, see especially Rather 1993, pp. 164–81.
93. Manship to Adams, September 24, 1920, MMA Archives.
94. Minutes of the Trustees' Executive Committee meeting, October 18, 1920, MMA Archives.
95. Robinson to Adams, September 30, 1920, MMA Archives.
96. Minutes of the Trustees' meeting, December 6, 1920, vol. 8, p. 44, MMA Archives.

Manuscript Guidelines for the Metropolitan Museum Journal

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