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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

COLORPLATES



Plate 1. Attributed to the Princeton Painter. Attic black-figure Panathenaic amphora, ca. 540–530 B.C., showing Athena before a flaming altar, an aulos player, and a woman carrying a box on her head. H. 44–44.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1953 (53.11.1). See pp. 21–56



Plate 2. *Seated Ascetic (Maitreya?)*. Indian, Gangetic Valley, possibly Kaushambi, 2nd–3rd century A.D. Brass, H. 36.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Frank Weinstein, 1984 (1984.499). See pp. 57–81



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Plate 7. Gerrit Schipper (1775–ca. 1830). *Dorothea Hart*, 1809. Pastel on toned laid paper, 22.9 x 20 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1935 (35.17). See pp. 133–37

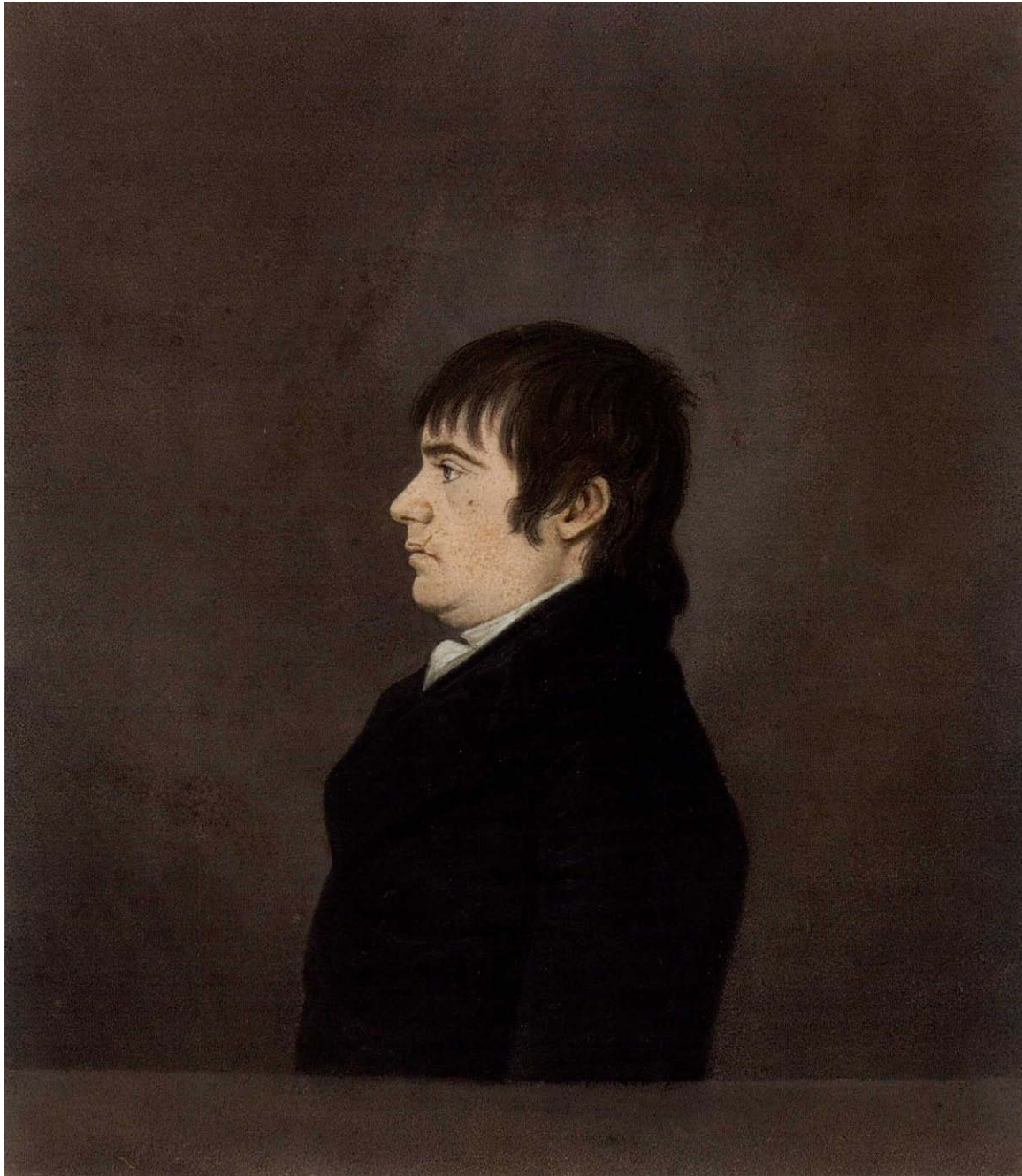


Plate 8. Gerrit Schipper. *Peter Labagh*, ca. 1807. Pastel and black and red chalk on toned (now oxidized) wove paper, 22.9 x 18.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Knight Sturges and Mrs. Louis Marx Gifts, 1996 (1996.420). See pp. 133–37



Plate 9. Joseph Mallord William Turner (English, 1775–1851). *Bridge of Sighs, Ducal Palace, and Custom-House, Venice: Canaletti* Painting, exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, 1833. Oil on mahogany, 51.1 x 81.6 cm. Tate, London. See pp. 163–72



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The Princeton Painter in New York

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DURING THE THIRD QUARTER OF THE sixth century B.C., there were many talented vase painters working in the Kerameikos, the potters' quarter of Athens, but today they are often eclipsed by the artistry of Exekias and the Amasis Painter, who receive the major share of scholarly attention.¹ These two artists took the Attic black-figure technique as far as it can go with regard to its artistic possibilities and pictorial expression. Well-respected contemporaries of Exekias and the Amasis Painter are Lydos, the Painter of Berlin 1686, and the Swing Painter, each of whom has received a comprehensive monograph.² Rather neglected is the Princeton Painter, named for a neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape in the Princeton University Art Museum that depicts on its obverse a man and woman in a chariot, perhaps a wedded pair (Figure 1); on the reverse two warriors fight over one that has fallen, the trio flanked at each side by a rider on a rearing horse.³

In 1932, J. D. Beazley established the nucleus of the Princeton Painter's oeuvre with the attribution of five vases to the painter himself and six related to him, all of which were incorporated into his lists of subsequent attributions to the artist that appeared in *ABV* and *Paralipomena*.⁴ In 1975, I published a fragmentary column-krater excavated in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace, which added a new shape to the Princeton Painter's known work; it bears a potter's signature, the name barely legible.⁵ Recently, Heide Mommsen kindly drew my attention to four newcomers and supplied me with photocopies of them. In this article I propose a fifth attribution, an amphora Type B in Bochum (S 1205).⁶

Today fewer than fifty whole vases and fragments comprise the known work of the Princeton Painter, which may be dated from about 550–530 B.C. He was a pot painter with a clear preference for neck-amphorae, one-piece amphorae, and, to a lesser extent, Panathenaic amphorae and shouldered hydriai. The Metropolitan Museum is fortunate to have in its collection five vases by the Princeton Painter, more

than any other museum,⁷ and they present a comprehensive picture of his style and iconographical interests. Each vase illustrates the Princeton Painter's skill in coordinating shape, ornament, and figural composition, always the mark of a worthy vase painter. The subjects are interesting and imaginative, even unique, and his drawing is clean and often colorful from abundant use of accessory red and white as well as ornamental patterns on garments. The Princeton Painter's work is as accomplished as the best of Lydos, the Painter of Berlin 1686, and the painters of Group E; for the most part, it surpasses the work of the Swing Painter. Given all this, it is difficult to understand why, in the words of Dietrich von Bothmer, "the Princeton Painter has not fared quite so well."⁸ Surely, his time has come. The presentation of the Metropolitan Museum's vases follows Beazley's sequence of shapes in *ABV*, pp. 297–99: neck-amphorae, Panathenaic amphorae, amphorae Type B, and hydriai.

THE VASES

The Neck-amphora

One of the most popular shapes in Attic vase painting, the neck-amphora first appeared shortly before 700 B.C., in the Late Geometric period,⁹ and continued without interruption until late in the fourth century B.C., when decoration of figured pottery in Athens ceased. Although the shape evolved over time, what is of interest here is the variant popular in the third quarter of the sixth century. This type of neck-amphora has figural decoration on the shoulder and the body (Figures 3–6). Its general effect is a strong, sturdy vase, as a well-preserved one signed by Exekias demonstrates (Figure 2).¹⁰ The Princeton Painter's neck-amphora in the Metropolitan Museum, 1991.11.2, is an excellent, if incomplete, example of this shape (Figures 3–6).¹¹ The red ring at the junction of the neck and the slightly convex shoulder is preserved, as are the ovoid body, which tapers to a foot in two degrees, and a base fillet above a low torus.¹² The remaining triple handle attaches to the base of the

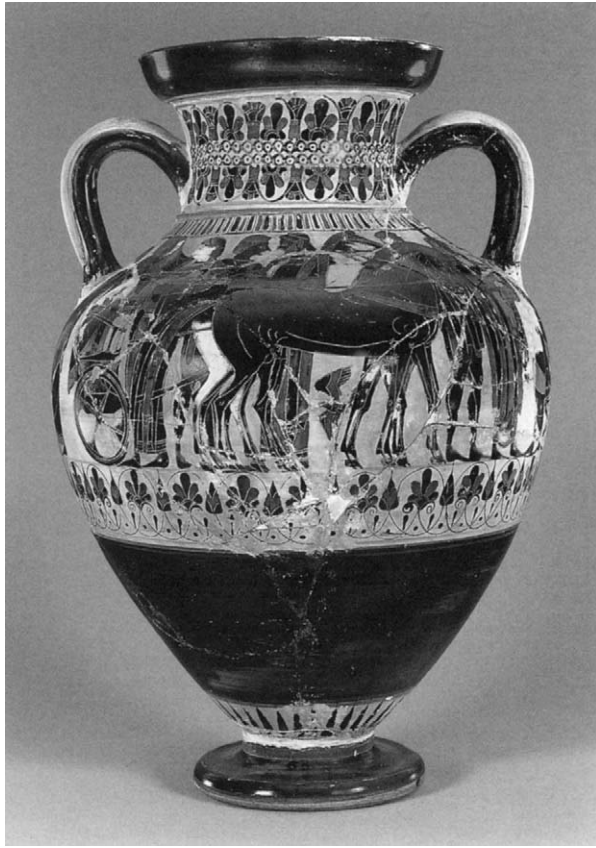


Figure 1. Side A of an Attic black-figured Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540 B.C., showing a man and a woman (wedded pair?) in a chariot. H. 42.2 cm. Princeton University Art Museum, Trumbull-Prime Collection, 188g, Princeton 169 (photo: Trustees of Princeton University, Clem Fiori)

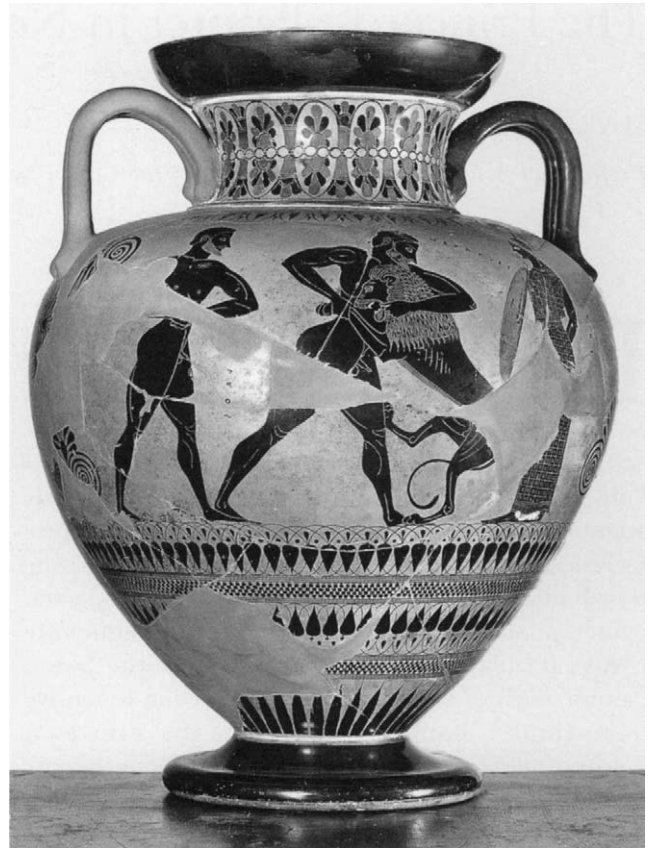


Figure 2. Side A of an Attic black-figured neck-amphora signed by Exekias as potter and painter, ca. 540 B.C., showing Herakles and the Lion, with Iolaos and Athena (names inscribed). H. 40.5 cm. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, F 1720

neck and to the shoulder. On the shoulder at the junction with the neck is a tongue pattern, the units alternating red and black; an elegant configuration of palmettes, lotuses, and tendrils decorates the area below each handle (Figures 5 and 6). A row of upright lotus buds with dots in the interstices appears below the animal frieze on the body, and above the foot are thirty-eight rays.

On each shoulder there is an animal frieze. Side A preserves the foreparts of a snarling lion confronting another. Each has a red tongue; the left lion has a red stripe on its shoulder; the neck of the right lion is red. What remains on Side B is all of a similar lion to right and the head of the confronting one. Presumably there were two pairs on each side, for the estimated amount of space suggests this.

Side A depicts Herakles, two warriors, Athena, and Hermes (Figure 3). At the left of the composition Herakles (preserved from the hips down) stands to right dressed in a short red chiton and his lion skin (only the tail and one hind leg of the pelt remain).

The tip of his knobby club appears at the right, just at the break. Then comes an unarmed warrior whose beard is stippled and whose hair is cut off abruptly at the nape of his neck. He also stands to right, gesturing with his left hand (his right arm is missing, except for the clenched fist perhaps intended to hold a spear, which the Princeton Painter forgot to include here as he does elsewhere). This warrior wears a corselet with a himation over it and has a red fillet around his head. He and Herakles face Athena and the second warrior. The latter wears a high-crested Corinthian helmet, its headpiece painted red, a short chiton (a little of the neckline and the left sleeve, both edged in red, are visible above the rim of Athena's shield), and greaves decorated with a spiral and outlined with white dots.¹³ He carries a Boeotian shield with a red rim, its surface covered with a scale pattern, and he holds a spear in his raised right hand (it appears between the front of Athena's helmet crest and the top of her head). Athena wears a high-crested caplike helmet and has a red fillet around her head. She is clothed in a peplos



Figure 3. Side A of a fragmentary Attic black-figured neck-amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540 B.C., showing Herakles, Athena and Hermes, a man, and a hoplite. Preserved H. 37.5 cm, Diam. of foot 15.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dietrich von Bothmer Gift, 1991 (1991.11.2)



Figure 4. Side B of the neck-amphora in Figure 3 showing the departure of a chariot with a hoplite and two women



Figure 5. Side A/B of the neck-amphora in Figure 3 showing the palmette-spiral configuration below the handle



Figure 6. Side B/A of the neck-amphora in Figure 3 showing the palmette-spiral configuration below the handle

with a red overfold; the upper half of its skirt is decorated with dot rosettes composed of red cores surrounded by white dots, its lower half with incised dotted squares. Her snaky aegis with a dotted scale pattern completes her outfit. On her left arm she holds a round, compass-drawn shield with a red rim. Its device (the foreparts and a little of the red shoulder of a roaring lion with white teeth, reminiscent of the one on the shoulder above) is set within a double incised, compass-drawn circle that imitates a central boss; the area around the device is painted red and the broad section between it and the rim is black. The crest of each helmet is edged in white and much of Athena's crest is red as well. Behind the goddess, Hermes stands to right dressed in a petasos with the brim turned up in the back; a short chiton and, over it, a nebris with white patches; a cloak with stripes alternating red and black; and red sandals. The god's long hair and short beard are also red. In his right hand he holds his kerykeion, the shaft resting on his shoulder.

Side B of the vase shows a departure of hoplites with a chariot (Figure 4). At the left of the composition, a hoplite stands to right clad in a low-crested Corinthian helmet pushed back on his head, a short chiton (with alternating red and black stripes), a corselet over it, and red greaves. The lower half of the helmet crest is red and its upper contour is edged in

white, as is the lower rim of the corselet. The hoplite holds a spear in each hand, the butt of the one in his left resting on the ground. Next comes the chariot with the charioteer and his passenger, a hoplite (most of whose head is missing) wearing a high-crested helmet, presumably a Corinthian one (just a bit of the crest edged in white remains), a short chiton with a corselet over it, and red greaves. He is armed with a round shield seen from the inside and painted red (except for the arm band and rim) as well as a spear drawn in dilute glaze (the diagonal line between the charioteer and the hoplite behind him near the rail of the chariot). The charioteer (most of whose head is missing but for some of his red hair) wears a long white chiton with a black nebris over it. He holds the reins in both hands and has a goad in his left as well. Part of the belly of the right-hand trace horse (from the charioteer's point of view) and all forelegs and the head of the left-hand trace horse remain. This horse stretches its neck and head downward as if to relieve the pressure caused by the bit on the bars of its mouth.¹⁴ The studs on the headstall of the harness are painted white to imitate metal. Two women stand on the left-hand side of the team, one to right, the other facing her. The first woman, preserved from the waist down, wears a long striped chiton with an ependytes over it (see discussion below) and a striped

himation. The stripes on the chiton and the himation alternate red and black. The second woman (only her skirt and both feet remain) is dressed in a peplos decorated with a lozenge pattern. The flesh of all of the female figures is white.

Below the figures is a frieze of animals that continues around the vase without interruption. Starting on Side A, these animals are: a ram to left, a ram between two panthers, a ram confronting a panther, a panther confronting a ram, and a panther (Figures 3–6). Each animal has a red neck.

Dietrich von Bothmer attributed this neck-amphora to the Princeton Painter, and parallels between this work and other vases by the artist confirm his attribution. The painters who preferred this type of neck-amphora were the Princeton Painter, some of the artists assigned to Group E, the Group of London B 174, whose painters are close in style to those in Group E, and Exekias himself, who decorated six of them and may have been instrumental in fashioning this variant, for he signed one of them as potter and painter (Figure 2).¹⁵ The ornament on the neck may be a lotus-palmette-festoon or a lotus-palmette-chain.

The Princeton Painter preferred the latter and used it on all of his neck-amphorae that I know as well as on other shapes, such as his name vase (Figure 1) and MMA 53.11.1 (Figure 14), both Panathenaic amphorae. Presumably this was the pattern that appeared on the neck of MMA 1991.11.2. The Princeton Painter often embellished his version by using a double chain between the upper and lower zones of palmettes and lotuses with a dot in each link, as on the name vase and on his neck-amphora in Saint Petersburg (Figure 7).¹⁶ He may have done so on MMA 1991.11.2. Below each handle of this type of neck-amphora is a configuration of lotuses and palmettes and above the foot are rays, often with a lotus pattern above them.

The system of decoration on the shoulder and below the main figural composition on the body of this type of neck-amphora varies. The shoulder may have an ornamental pattern or figures, as can the frieze between the main composition on the body and the rays above the foot.¹⁷ Important for MMA 1991.11.2 are the neck-amphorae that have three zones of figures: one on the shoulder and two on the body, a frieze below the main composition. This

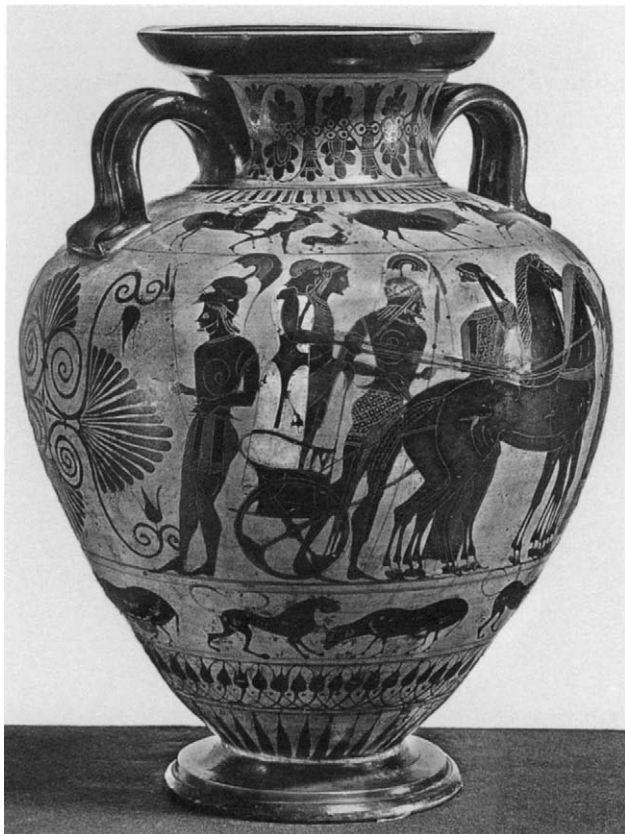


Figure 7. Side B of an Attic black-figured neck-amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540 B.C., showing the departure of a chariot. H. 39.4 cm. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, inv. 162 (St. 85)

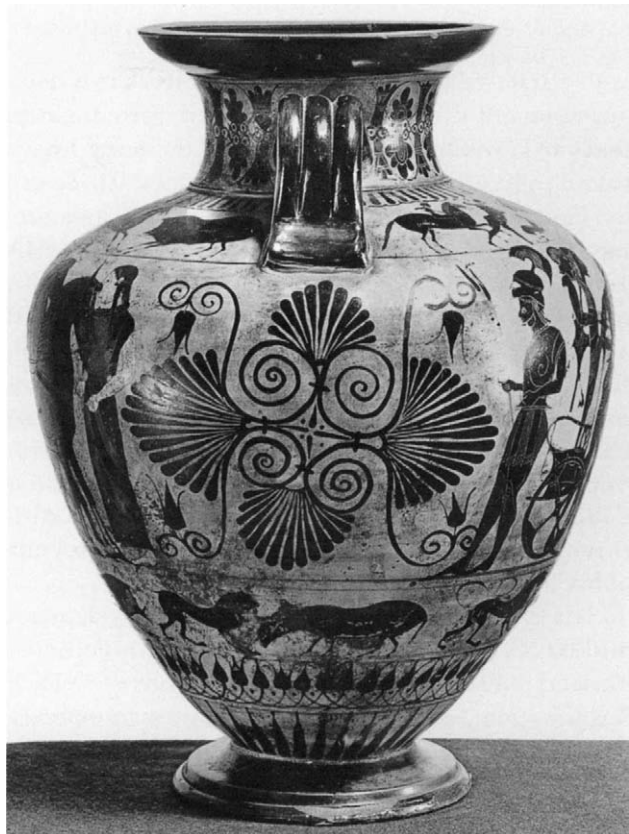


Figure 8. Side A/B of the neck-amphora in Figure 7 showing the palmette-spiral configuration below the handle

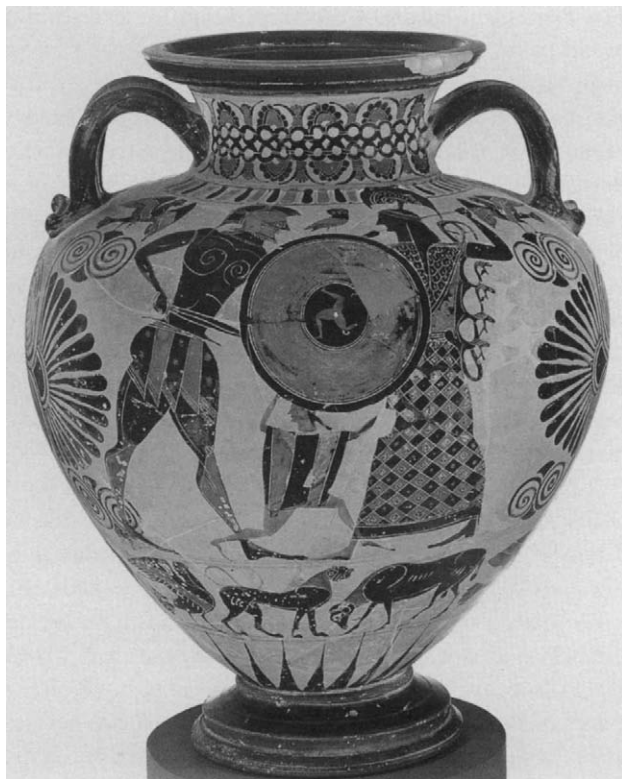


Figure 9. Side A of an Attic black-figured neck-amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540 B.C., showing Ajax, Cassandra, and Athena. H. 38.9 cm. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, HR 84

arrangement of the decoration is very rare, for normally patterns appear on this part of the body. I have found only seven with figures in this area. Three are by Exekias, who may have initiated the arrangement;¹⁸ two are by the Princeton Painter, MMA 1991.11.2 and Saint Petersburg inv. 162 (Figures 3–8); one is by a painter assigned to the Group of London B 174; and the last is Orvieto, Duomo 333.¹⁹ Although there is sometimes an animal frieze or human figures on the shoulder, usually the former,²⁰ the figured frieze below the main composition on the body, with one exception,²¹ is always composed of animals and it continues around the vase without interruption. With three exceptions, this frieze always appears directly above a zone of lotus buds.²²

The handle ornament on MMA 1991.11.2 (Figures 5 and 6) is closest to that on the Princeton Painter's neck-amphora in Saint Petersburg (Figure 8).²³ Each has the same configuration of palmettes, lotus buds, and spirals. The palmettes have long slender leaves, closely spaced to create a dense fan shape, and the connecting spirals are elegantly drawn with a thick, sure line.²⁴ The upright lotus buds with dots in the interstices above a zone of rays are the same on each vase; it is a rather common ornament in this area and thus not a criterion for attribution.²⁵

More compelling than ornament for the attribution are details in the main composition on the body. The Princeton Painter liked to embellish the clothing of his figures, and the Metropolitan Museum's five vases illustrate this preference very well. Athena's costume finds good parallels on MMA 53.11.1 (Figure 14) and MMA 1989.281.89 (Figure 23), particularly the skirt of the peplos.²⁶ Its decorative character has sometimes been interpreted as a second garment, called an *ependytes*, but this is incorrect: the *ependytes* was worn only over a *chiton*, never over a peplos (see below). As a practical matter, wearing an *ependytes* on top of the overfold of a woolen peplos and under the scaly aegis would probably be quite bulky and uncomfortable, even for a goddess.

Striking is the small device on Athena's shield, which is set within double incised, compass-drawn circles

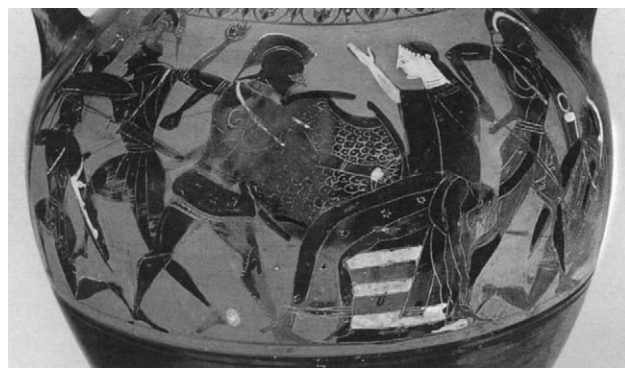


Figure 10. Detail of Side A of an Attic black-figured amphora Type B attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540 B.C., showing the Death of Priam. H. 43.5 cm. Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität, Antikensammlung, Bonn, inv. 45

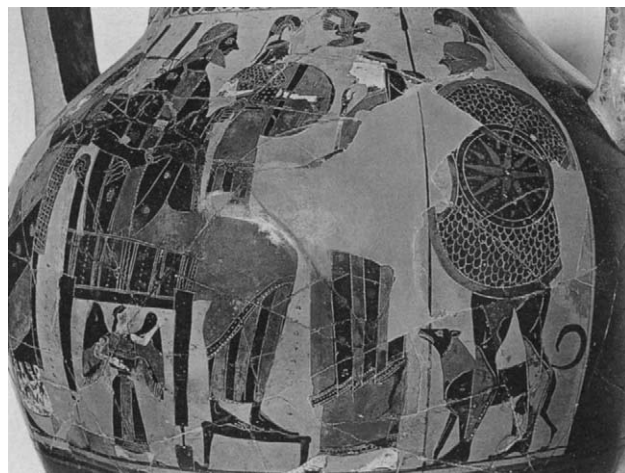


Figure 11. Detail of Side A of an Attic black-figured amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686, ca. 540 B.C., showing the Birth of Athena. H. 57.7 cm. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, MS 3441

(Figure 3). The best comparison occurs on the shield of Athena on the obverse of Geneva HR 84 (Figure 9). There, the device is a white triskeles.²⁷ The scales on Athena's aegis reappear on MMA 53.11.1 (Figure 14). For a Boeotian shield decorated with a scale pattern, but on the inside, compare the one carried by the striding hoplite on the reverse of the amphora Type B in Bonn (Figure 10), as well as the shield of Achilles on the neck-amphora once in the Zürich art market.²⁸ Closer to the Princeton Painter's style is the scale pattern on the outside of the Boeotian shield held by a warrior in the scene of the Birth of Athena on Philadelphia MS 3441, by the Painter of Berlin 1686 (Figure 11),²⁹ except that there the scales lack the dots. The white chiton worn with a black nebris reappears on three more charioteers (Figures 7, 30, and 32) and also on the figure of Iolaos on a Panathenaic amphora in a Swiss private collection.³⁰ The high crest support edged in white recurs on the warrior standing beside the chariot on the Saint Petersburg neck-amphora (Figure 7), on the figures of Athena on the amphora in a Swiss private collection, on Geneva HR 84 (Figure 9), on the crest of the left hoplite on the neck-amphora in Orvieto, and on a hoplite on the amphora in Bonn (Figure 10).³¹

The ependytes worn by the woman standing to right on Side B is of particular interest, for it is a very early representation of this garment (Figure 4).³² The ependytes first appeared in Attic vase painting about the middle of the sixth century B.C. It is a loose-fitting, sleeveless tunic reaching to about the knee or mid-calf and is worn over a long chiton. It resembles a modern sleeveless pullover or a shift. The chiton beneath it is often painted white (especially when worn by aulos players, as discussed below), and it usually has vertical lines on the skirt to imitate pleats. On this early version the skirt is neither as full nor as billowing as it becomes later (see Figure 13). Also, its appearance on this woman is one of the earliest examples (if not *the* earliest) where it is *not* worn by an aulos player but very likely by a mortal woman, although one may not exclude the possibility that she is a deity, perhaps Athena, whose presence at departure scenes to ensure a successful journey was always welcome. On Philadelphia MS 3441, by the Painter of Berlin 1686, Athena wears an ependytes at her own birth and the pleats of her chiton alternate red and black (Figure 11),³³ just as they do on MMA 1991.11.2. This might favor identifying the woman on MMA 1991.11.2 as Athena, but without more evidence, one cannot be certain. In addition to the ependytes and chiton, this woman also wears a himation. I have not found a parallel for the three garments worn together on any other Attic black-figured vases, but in red figure they occur on

two figures of Athena by the Andokides Painter, on Louvre G 1 and on Orvieto, Faina 64, dating to the 520s B.C.³⁴ Finally, the browband, throatlash, and noseband on the headstall of the horse are standard harness parts on horses depicted by the Princeton Painter (Figures 30 and 32), but not on horses by contemporary artists.³⁵

Perhaps the most puzzling aspect of MMA 1991.11.2 is the subject the Princeton Painter had in mind when he painted Side A (Figure 3). Usually, when deities appear in the work of the Princeton Painter, the subject is clear.³⁶ In our scene, Herakles, Athena, and Hermes are readily identifiable, but who is the warrior next to Athena, and who is the one with the short hair and stippled beard gesturing excitedly? The first warrior is a deity or hero, because he carries a Boeotian shield, the type associated with them, particularly during the third quarter of the sixth century,³⁷ but exactly who he may be in this context is unclear, because his spear is poised and he appears threatening while the other figures do not. In some ways, the scene looks like a variant of the Apotheosis of Herakles. In sixth-century representations of this popular subject, the most frequent composition is similar to the departure of a warrior in a chariot, such as the one on the reverse (Figure 4).³⁸ Athena brings Herakles to Olympos in a chariot drawn by four horses, accompanied by deities on foot who vary in number. In a few illustrations, however, Herakles arrives at Olympos on foot, and in this version there is considerable latitude in terms of composition and

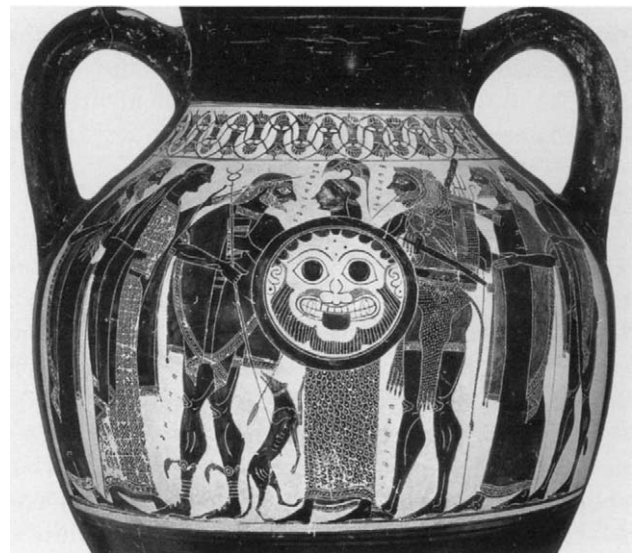


Figure 12. Detail of Side A of an Attic black-figured amphora Type B attributed to the Phrynos Painter, ca. 550 B.C., showing the Introduction of Herakles to Olympos. H. 40.4 cm. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, BS 496 (photo: Claire Niggli)

number of participants.³⁹ A brief description of three vases contemporary with MMA 1991.11.2 illustrates this point. The first is an amphora Type B in Basel convincingly attributed by Mommsen to the Phrynos Painter (Figure 12).⁴⁰ Zeus and Hera stand on the left ready to greet Athena and Herakles, who are brought to them by Hermes; the procession concludes with Poseidon, holding his trident, and a youth who is probably Iolaos. The second example is an amphora Type B in Berlin attributed to the Amasis Painter.⁴¹ In this simpler composition, Hermes leads Athena and Herakles to a man who should be Zeus, except that he wears a short chiton instead of the long one customarily worn by Zeus and he has no staff or thunderbolt. It is merely the context of the scene and his gesture of greeting to the arrivals that prompt this identification. At the far right is a youth holding a spear. Two hunting hounds accompany the procession. The third example appears on the obverse of an amphora Type B in London.⁴² In this scene Zeus is enthroned at the left, with Athena standing before him, as Herakles, behind her, seems ready to retreat. A beardless Poseidon, identified by his trident, stands at the right.

Although these three examples illustrate the variation in composition and participants sometimes present in depictions of the Introduction to Olympos, none resembles our scene. None has a warrior, and when Iolaos is present, he does not have a stippled beard. Most important, Herakles never stands at the far left looking toward Athena, nor does Hermes face away from the group as if about to depart. Nevertheless, given the Princeton Painter's preference for interesting and innovative compositions, I am inclined to think that the Introduction of Herakles to Olympos is the theme he had in mind when he decorated the obverse of MMA 1991.11.2, even if it differs greatly from all other known representations of the scene.

The Panathenaic Amphorae

The term Panathenaic amphora refers to the vase containing olive oil sacred to Athena that was awarded for first prize in the games held in her honor every four years during the summer month of Hekatombaion (July or August by our calendar). The festival culminated on the twenty-eighth, the day thought to be the goddess's birthday. Some form of this festival began very early, but about 566 B.C., the Athenians reorganized it to include new events, especially athletic and probably musical contests (for a discussion of the latter, see below). Shortly thereafter, they created the Panathenaic amphora. The earliest prize vases vary considerably, for it took about twenty-five years before the canonical shape and the system of decoration were firmly estab-



Figure 13. Side A of a prize Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 500 B.C., showing Athena between two columns surmounted by cocks. H. 65 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1907 (07.286.79)

lished. The Panathenaic amphora has an echinus mouth flat on top to receive a lid, a short neck separated from the shoulder by a raised ring, two small handles round in section, and a body that is very wide at the shoulder; it then tapers sharply to a narrow echinus foot. On the obverse, Athena strides to left between two columns surmounted by cocks. Written alongside the left column is the prize inscription: TONAΘENEΘE-NAΘAON ["from the Games at Athens"] (Figure 13). On the reverse is the event.⁴³ The Metropolitan Museum has a rich collection of Panathenaic amphorae ranging in date from about 560 B.C. to the second quarter of the fourth century.⁴⁴ It is not certain if the Princeton Painter decorated a prize vase, but he did decorate two variants of it.⁴⁵ The first, MMA 53.11.1, is designated a neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape. The second, represented by MMA 1989.281.89 and discussed below, is called a pseudo-Panathenaic amphora. I shall begin with MMA 53.11.1, which Beazley attributed to the Princeton Painter (Figures 14 and 15).⁴⁶

The neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape has the same general form as the prize vase, but is usually smaller in size and is not decorated with the canonical subjects. MMA 53.11.1 has most of the features described above, but the mouth and foot are wider than they are on the prize vase (see, for example, Figures 14 and 26). A lotus-palmette-chain decorates the neck. The alternate leaves and cores of the palmettes are red, as are the cuffs of the lotuses. A tongue pattern appears on the shoulder at the junction with the neck, the tongues alternating red and black. Above the foot are parts of fourteen rays; the rest of this area is restored in plaster and painted.

On the obverse, a very tall Athena strides to left (her right heel raised slightly) (Figure 14). She wears



Figure 14. Side A of an Attic black-figured Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540–530 B.C., showing Athena before a flaming altar, an aulos player, and a woman carrying a box on her head. H. 44–44.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1953 (53.11.1). See also Colorplate 1

Figure 15. Side B of the amphora in Figure 14 showing a man seated, a man approaching him, and two women and a man



a high-crested caplike helmet, a red fillet around her head, and she is dressed in a peplos that has a red bodice and a skirt divided into three vertical panels that reach to just below her knees. The center panel is red and the flanking ones are black and decorated with dot rosettes composed of red cores surrounded by white dots. A dotted scale pattern decorates the rest of the skirt save for an incised border above and a plain one below. The scaly aegis fringed by three intertwined, bearded snakes with open mouths completes her attire. In her raised right hand the goddess holds a spear, and on her outstretched left arm is a round shield with red rim, its surface emblazoned with a white tripod.⁴⁷ It is not clear what the triangular piece of cloth hanging below the rim of the shield represents (it is the wrong shape for a shield apron, which is rectangular, and it cannot be part of Athena's attire). It could be drapery, as seen, for example, on the fold below the rim of the shield held by the left warrior on MMA 56.171.9 (Figure 31), so perhaps the painter made a mistake here. Before Athena is an altar composed of five courses of ashlar masonry with

white flames rising from it. The projection from its capping course is a windbreak.⁴⁸ An aulos player stands on the other side of the altar; he is clad in a long white chiton (much of the color has flaked) with a red ependytes over it that reaches to about his knees. He has a red fillet around his head and a red beard. Behind Athena is a woman standing to left; she is balancing a long low box on her head with a doughnut-shaped cushion between that may either help to balance the box or, if it is heavy, serve as a buffer.⁴⁹ She has a red fillet around her head and wears a peplos with a red bodice and a skirt similar to that of Athena's peplos, only less ornamented. The outer panels are red, while the center one is decorated with three red dots; the area below the panels is black, save for a simple border above and a broad horizontal red band below. In her right hand the woman holds a garland.

On the reverse, a man sits to right on a folding stool flanked in front and in back by a man and a woman (Figure 15). He wears a long chiton with a himation over it decorated with broad bands alternating red

and black, the latter ornamented with red dots. In his left hand he holds a scepter terminating in a swan's head. The man facing him, who gesticulates excitedly, is clad in a short red chiton and a cloak decorated with red dots. He holds a spear in his right hand. The woman behind him stands quietly, dressed in a red peplos with an apronlike garment over it embellished with red dots. The woman standing behind the seated man gestures with both hands. She wears a peplos with a red bodice and a skirt similar to that of the peplos worn by the woman on Side A. Behind her stands a man who is nude but for a red cloak. His fists are clenched, but he does not hold anything. Each figure wears a red fillet and all of the men have red beards and black hair. The flesh of the women on each side is white, some of it flaked.

The scene on the obverse of MMA 53.11.1 presents a number of features that deserve extended discussion: the *ependytes* worn by the aulos player, the altar, Athena's aegis, and the box on the head of the woman on the right.

The *ependytes* may have been associated with a special event, in this case one honoring Athena. Margaret Miller recognized that the depictions show "the combination of chiton and *ependytes* in festive contexts: weddings, festivals, and festival competitions." Aulos players, she notes, "are the only mortals to wear the *ependytes* on archaic Greek pottery" (this is possible only if the woman on Side B of 1991.11.2 is *not* Athena; see Figure 4), and, she adds, "the Athenian musicians wear the *ependytes* over a long chiton."⁵⁰ There are very few examples of an aulos player dressed in an *ependytes* over a long chiton, however, so a brief review of three comparable examples may be useful. The two closest date to about the middle of the sixth century B.C. One occurs on a non-prize Panathenaic amphora in London (Figure 16) on which the aulos player stands on a table like the one on MMA 1989.281.89 (Figure 24). His *ependytes* is quite bulky and reaches only to about hip level, but it is painted red like the one on MMA 53.11.1 and worn over a white chiton. On an amphora Type B in Braunschweig, the *ependytes* reaches to about mid-thigh, but it was left black and decorated with dot rosettes and two horizontal bands of incision, the upper one a crosshatched pattern, the lower one a grid. The musician's chiton is white, but it is ornamented with a narrow band of glaze midway between the *ependytes* and the lower border.⁵¹ A simpler *ependytes* is the one worn by the aulos player on a Panathenaic amphora in Austin, Texas, that dates about 540 B.C. It is a plain garment reaching to mid-calf over a long black chiton with red dots above its lower border (the photographs are not clear about this detail).⁵² These musicians

appear in daily life contexts that seem to involve a contest or a performance, and in each case the *ependytes* is loose fitting, almost bulky, and nearly always it is painted red. More elegant and more formal are the aulos players on the reverse of the name vase of the Painter of Berlin 1686, which depicts a feast of Athena, the subject divided between the two panels (Figures 17 and 18).⁵³ Each wears a long chiton under a himation with broad bands ornamented with white dotted circles. The himatia are particularly ornate, befitting the occasion. None wears an *ependytes*, which may indicate that donning this garment was a choice, not an obligation.

The altar on MMA 53.11.1 is unusual (Figure 14), because it is constructed of ashlar masonry, a type seen in only a few examples. Most of these seem to date before 530 B.C., after which altars were usually represented as consisting of a solid block set into a plain or stepped base and capped by a narrow course terminating in volutes, similar to the Ionic capital. On some altars, there is a molding between the main block and the cap (Figure 22).⁵⁴ The horizontal incisions on this altar suggest the Princeton Painter was imitating courses of masonry but may have forgotten to draw in the vertical lines indicating the individual blocks of stone. He added an upright barrier or windbreak which prevented the ashes of the sacrificial fire from blowing back at Athena, suggesting the event does not take place in a sheltered area, but in one somewhat exposed and perhaps windy. The closest parallel to our altar is the one on the name vase of the Painter of Berlin 1686 (Figure 18).⁵⁵ This altar has better-defined blocks than the one on MMA 53.11.1, but it essentially has the same kind of windbreak to shield the figure of Athena standing in back of it. Two other examples of this kind of altar are contemporary with MMA 53.11.1. One occurs on an unattributed band cup of about 550 B.C., in a private collection, that depicts an extensive procession and sacrifice to Athena.⁵⁶ The altar in this scene has flames that rise high above it and a windbreak to shield both the priestess and the figure of Athena standing behind her. The other example, which is likewise depicted at the head of a long procession, appears on a Boeotian band cup in London of about 550 B.C.⁵⁷ The masonry of this altar is drawn in outline. All of these altars have windbreaks.⁵⁸ The altar on an amphora Type B by the Painter of Würzburg 252 compares well with the one on MMA 53.11.1, for the painter did not include the vertical divisions between the blocks of stone.⁵⁹ An oddity of mid-sixth-century altars is the "canopied" altar without a windbreak, as seen, for example, on a hydria in the Louvre. This altar is constructed of lozenge-shaped blocks alternating black and white.⁶⁰



Figure 16. Side B of an unattributed Attic black-figured Panathenaic amphora, ca. 540 B.C., showing a musical contest. H. 25.3 cm. British Museum, London, B 141 (photo: courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

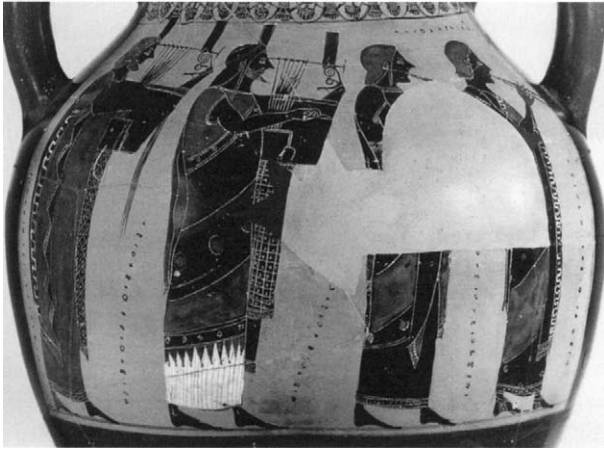


Figure 17. Side B of an Attic black-figured amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686, ca. 540 B.C., showing musicians at a festival for Athena. H. 47 cm. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, F 1686 (photo: Johannes Laurentius)

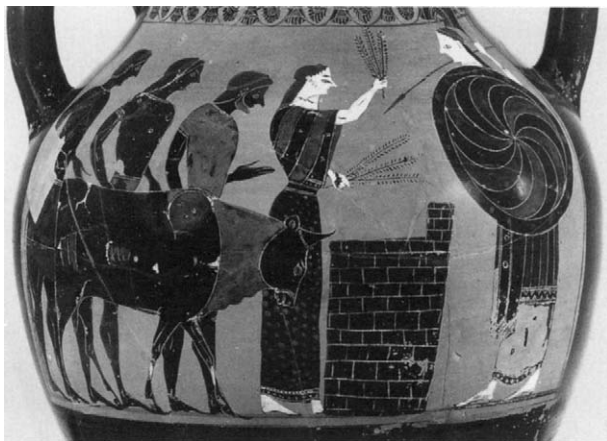


Figure 18. Side A of the amphora in Figure 17 showing Athena before a flaming altar, a priestess, and a man and youths leading a cow

A few altars of this type depicted in scenes of sacrifice occur on vases that postdate the Princeton Painter. One by the Affector has a windbreak and flames that rise very high, but it is not clear who the honoree is.⁶¹ Just as enigmatic is the scene on a lekythos of special type in the manner of a painter jocularly named *Elbows Out* by Beazley.⁶² The latter altar does not have a windbreak. Other examples of altars constructed of ashlar masonry appear in scenes of myth, in particular two episodes from the Trojan War, the Death of Troilos and the Death of Priam, and thus are not relevant to the subject at hand.⁶³

Athena strides to left in a vigorous pose (Figure 14), similar to her image on contemporary or earlier prize Panathenaics (see, for example, Figure 26). MMA 53.11.1 is one of the earliest to show her right heel raised noticeably in order to increase the impression of forward motion. In this respect, her pose recalls that of Athena on two early prize vases, the one in Florence by Lydos, the other in Karlsruhe attributed to Exekias, which is the earliest to depict Athena between columns surmounted by cocks, the standard image from this time on.⁶⁴ The Florence amphora is contemporary with MMA 53.11.1, and Exekias's vase is probably only marginally later, about 540 B.C., so clearly the idea of forward motion for the statuesque goddess had taken hold early in the third quarter of the sixth century and would culminate in the much more animated figures of her on Panathenaic amphorae from the late sixth century on, a good example being MMA 07.286.79, which is by the Kleophrades Painter and dates about 500 B.C. (Figure 13).⁶⁵

One more feature of Athena needs to be addressed: her aegis. At first glance, Athena's chest protected by the scaly aegis appears to be facing the viewer, and this is how the depiction of her torso has often been interpreted. But this is impossible, since Athena's right arm held back and hand holding the spear are raised well above her shoulder level and her left arm and hand with the shield extend in front of her. Thus, the aegis only *appears* as if it covers Athena's chest, when actually it hangs down her back, if we are to read the image literally. As Patricia Marx noted, "the rendering of Athena's garments and aegis give[s] the impression that the goddess is facing the viewer, when she actually has her back toward him."⁶⁶

The woman on the right balancing an object on her head has stimulated considerable discussion, beginning in 1953 when Herbert Cahn suggested she is "bringing on her head a big folded piece of cloth. . . . The woman on A, bringing the piece of cloth seems to be an allusion to the *peplos*, which was brought to Athena by the Athenian women at the Panathenaic festival. The flute-player may refer to another event of this festival

the musical competition, which had been introduced into the programme shortly before this amphora was made.”⁶⁷ Later in the same year, Dietrich von Bothmer elaborated on this idea when he wrote “the amphora illustrated here does not give us a sketch of any one episode of the Panathenaic festival, rather it highlights several of its aspects”; “a girl approaches . . . balancing on her head the heavy woolen peplos, neatly folded, perhaps over a board to act as stiffening. . . . The moment is the one just before the presentation of the peplos, as we know it from the Parthenon frieze: the garment was unfolded and draped on the statue by the priestess.”⁶⁸ In *ABV* (p. 298, no. 5), Beazley was briefer: “Athena (in panathenaic attitude; in front of her, her altar, and behind it a flute-player; behind her a woman holding a garland and on her head a basket or a folded garment—the peplos).” In 1972, Thomas B. L. Webster wrote that our amphora “shows the Panathenaic Athena at her altar and a flute-player but also a woman with the peplos.”⁶⁹ For a decade or so, little was written about the subject on the obverse of this vase until Alan Shapiro published in 1989 his study of cults in Athens in the sixth century. The scene on Side A, he noted rather cautiously, “is not really a scene of sacrifice . . . since no victim or priestess is shown. The woman’s wreath carries a reference to victory in the Games . . . and the object on her head was first identified by Cahn as the peplos. There are no depictions of the peplos in vase-painting, but it is hard to imagine what else this could be.”⁷⁰ In 1992, Jenifer Neils was quite content simply to write, without qualification, “Of the numerous, mostly black-figure scenes of sacrifice to Athena, only one shows the peplos, the *sine qua non* of the Panathenaia, being brought to the goddess (fig. 14)”; more recently she modified her position, writing that this object “also may depict the peplos.”⁷¹

Identification of the oblong object on MMA 53.11.1 as the peplos being brought to Athena is an intriguing idea given the setting of the scene and the imposing figure of the goddess, but very likely it is too good to be true. To begin with, the peplos was made of wool.⁷² Wool, no matter how thin, when folded does not achieve the sharp angular shape seen here, and the known examples are rather bulky, as one on a lekythos by the Amasis Painter illustrates (Figure 19). This charming scene gives us a rare glimpse of daily life in the women’s quarters in the sixth century. Two lengths of wool are folded and placed on a low stool as two women prepare to fold a third. Exekias gives us another good example of a folded woolen garment, also on top of a stool, which a servant boy brings to one of the Dioskouroi, both of whom have just returned to the home of their parents.⁷³ In each of these exam-

ples, the contour of the fold is rounded, the ends of the cloth are straight or sloping, and in the case of the lekythos by the Amasis Painter, the selvege of the cloth is articulated by a diagonal line. An incised line reaching almost to the fold separates the layers. It does not bisect the entire cloth the way the horizontal line on the object balanced by our woman does (Figure 14). Today, if a bolt of cloth is wrapped around a board, the contour of the cloth is softly rounded and only the protruding ends of the board are rectangular. Thus, it seems unlikely that the woman behind Athena bears the newly woven peplos destined for the venerated wooden statue of the goddess.⁷⁴

Nor is this object likely to be a basket, because baskets were made from woven twigs or branches of wicker, a tree in willow family, and thus appear flexible and often quite ornamental. Baskets usually have handles for lifting and carrying, or they may be outfitted with cords for hanging on the wall, especially in domestic settings or at symposia. Occasionally, they are without handles; these baskets, when carried, are held with both hands, supported on a forearm, or even balanced on the head and steadied with one hand.⁷⁵ Such baskets are rather deep and some are almost squarish. Darrel Amyx interprets them as “round or at least oval. The designs on the vertical side make it plain that basketry is intended.”⁷⁶ This makes sense because the method of weaving a basket produces a curved shape more easily than a rectangular one. All of these basket types have decorated surfaces, and none is long and flat like the object carried by the woman on MMA 53.11.1. In a procession painted on the neck of a loutrophoros by the Swing Painter, three men carry what Shapiro describes as “flat baskets with what look like wicker handles.”⁷⁷ The receptacles of these oblong baskets are divided by three horizontal lines and look as though they are constructed of solid material, which is unusual, but the upright handles are definitely wickerwork. Perhaps they represent receptacles made from more than one material.

Rather than a peplos, it seems much more likely to me that the oblong object carried by the woman is a box, such as one sees in wedding processions and sometimes in scenes depicting the Ransom of Hektor. A good example occurs on a hydria in Heidelberg of about 540 B.C. attributed to the Painter of Louvre F 42 (Figure 20).⁷⁸ The scene in the panel depicts a wedding procession with the bride and groom in a chariot drawn by four horses. Standing alongside the team are two women, each with an elongated box on her head. Between each box and the head of the woman is the doughnut-shaped cushion, as on MMA 53.11.1. The only difference is a minor one, namely that the box balanced by the left woman is not bisected horizon-



Figure 19. Attic black-figured lekythos attributed to the Amasis Painter, ca. 550–540 B.C., showing women working wool. H. 17.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1931 (31.11.10)



Figure 20. Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the Painter of Louvre F 42, ca. 540 B.C., showing a wedded pair in a chariot. H. 42.6 cm. Antikenmuseum und Abgussammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg, 72/1

tally by an incised line, and I suspect the painter may have forgotten to include this detail. Ingrid Krauskopf, in her publication of the Heidelberg hydria, compiled a useful list of scenes where such boxes appear and discussed whether this object should be called a box (“Kasten”) or a basket (“Korb”),⁷⁹ but she did not really draw a forceful conclusion, and indeed sometimes it is not possible to be certain. All but one of Krauskopf’s representations are plain with just one or two lines incised along the side; the exception is Boston, MFA 89.562, a hydria of about 540–530 B.C. attributed to the Taleides Painter. There, a row of incised triangles appears above and below the bisecting line.⁸⁰ The representations cited by Krauskopf occur in wedding processions, but she briefly discusses (on p. 24) the examples in two well-known representations of the Ransom of Hektor. In these illustrations, each box is carried by a woman, just as it is in the wedding scenes and on MMA 53.11.1. One is on a cup by Oltos in Munich dating about 520–510 B.C., and this box looks like a literal translation from black-figure to red (Figure 21). The other boxes appear on the famous skyphos in Vienna attributed to the Brygos Painter, dating about 500–490 B.C. These boxes are quite ornate, and Krauskopf detected a clear division between lid and receptacle.⁸¹ Nearly a century ago, Friedrich Hauser described the girl on the Munich cup as carrying a flat box thought to contain clothing, and he also thought clothes were in the boxes carried by two women on the Vienna skyphos.⁸² That the boxes on these two vases might contain folded garments is a tantalizing idea, which recalls the passage in *Iliad* 24.230–34 when King Priam removes from chests “twelve beautiful robes and twelve cloaks of single fold and as many coverlets, and as many white mantles, and therewithal as many tunics” before he sets out to beg Achilles to release Hektor’s corpse in

exchange for this finery and many other exquisite objects.⁸³ Folded fabric fits better in a square or rectangular container, and one wonders if this might be what the Princeton Painter intended when he drew the box on MMA 53.11.1. The doughnut-shaped cushion suggests the box was heavy or perhaps unwieldy, especially if it was fairly wide (the images give no idea of this dimension). Those who want to associate this object with the Panathenaic peplos may have to accept the idea that the peplos is in the box.

Interpretation of the subject on the obverse of MMA 53.11.1 does not appear, at first glance, to present difficulties, yet the scene defies attempts to render the kind of tidy classification that art historians treasure so much. The emphasis on Athena and her martial pose, which recalls her image on the prize Panathenaic amphorae, are a strong indication that the scene has something to do with the Panathenaic Festival, the most important one in her honor. The flaming altar suggests a sacrifice will soon be performed, accompanied by a man playing the aulos. Even though he wears the costume of a musical contestant, this is not a competitive performance because he does not stand on a table or a bema, as is usually the case (see, for example, Figures 16, 24, and 28). Most difficult to interpret is the woman with the box who brings some unknown object to the event. Cahn, followed by Bothmer and Shapiro, thought that the scene alludes to more than one moment in the Panathenaic Festival, a distinct possibility. A later comparison is Akropolis 2298, a fragmentary lekythos of about 500 B.C. attributed by Beazley to the Edinburgh Painter, which depicts a procession in honor of Athena with a number of different components (Figure 22).⁸⁴ There, Athena, in Panathenaic dress, attributes, and pose, stands to left in the porch of a Doric temple indicated by a column and a metope-triglyph frieze. Facing her

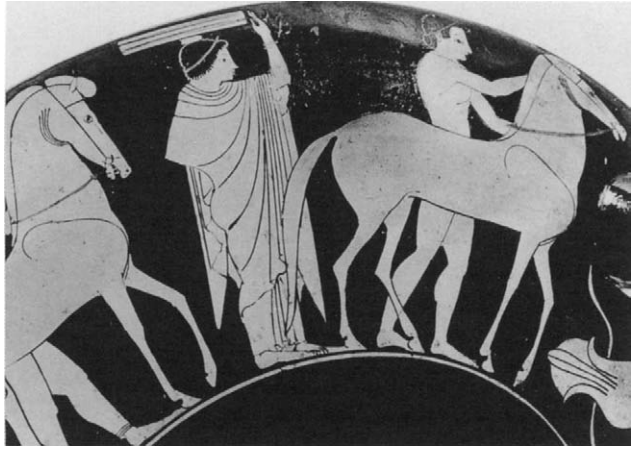


Figure 21. Detail of Side B of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to Olto, ca. 520–510 B.C., showing Trojans bringing ransom for the body of Hektor. Diam. 33 cm. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich, 2618

is a woman, dressed in a chiton and a himation, holding branches; to the left is a flaming altar; then a man, in a chiton and himation, holding a kanoun above his head and looking back at a man who leads a sacrificial bull; and, lastly, an aulos player. Therefore, in our composition, it seems quite possible that the Princeton Painter combined different events in Athena's festival.

The reverse of MMA 53.11.1 has no figure that may be identified for certain (Figure 15). The seated figure may be a deity, judging from his very large size, but he lacks an attribute, and the pair of figures in front of and behind him appear to be just onlookers. In 1953, Bothmer admitted that this scene "can be less readily identified," but he suggested that, based on the emphasis on the "festival of Athena's birthday [on the obverse], is it too farfetched to interpret the scene on the reverse as the miraculous birth of the goddess from the head of Zeus. The two women would then be the Eileithyiai, and the man in front of the seated figure could well be the god Hephaistos," an idea he repeated with less emphasis in his CVA entry.⁸⁵ This seems unlikely to me. In Archaic Greek art the preferred mythological moment is almost always the high point of the drama, and identification of deities as well as heroes by their attributes is important. If the Birth of Athena is the scene the Princeton Painter had in mind, surely he would have given the seated figure a thunderbolt, just as he did in the Birth of Athena on each side of his amphora Type B in Geneva. On one side, Athena pops out of Zeus's head; on the other she stands on his lap,⁸⁶ as she does in the scene by the Painter of Berlin 1686 (Figure 11). I prefer to opt for Beazley's cautious identification: "B, king or god seated, a man approaching him; with two women and a man."⁸⁷

The second Panathenaic amphora by the Princeton Painter in the Metropolitan Museum, MMA 1989.281.89, is designated a pseudo-Panathenaic (Figures 23 and 24). Its shape is the same as that of the neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape, but unlike the latter, the pseudo-Panathenaic retains the look of the prize vase in choice of patterns and subjects. It differs, however, from the true Panathenaic amphora in two significant features: the absence of the prize inscription, and its smaller size and, thus, capacity. The purpose of the pseudo-Panathenaic amphora is unknown, and ideas for its use range from second-place prizes and souvenirs to samples for the state commission. If the latter, one would expect to see a potting signature on at least a few of them, as on some of the early prize vases: a good example is MMA 1978.11.13, signed by the potter Nicias (Figure 26).⁸⁸ The series of pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae began about 560 B.C., shortly after the introduction of the prize vase, and ended during the first quarter of the fifth century, the same time when most decoration in the black-figured technique ceased. As with the prize vase, there was a certain amount of experimentation with the figural compositions until about 530 B.C.⁸⁹

MMA 1989.281.89, which dates about 540 B.C., represents the typical form of the pseudo-Panathenaic amphora shortly after the middle of the sixth century B.C.⁹⁰ It has an echinus mouth flat on top to receive a lid, a red fillet between the neck and shoulder, round handles, and a body that tapers to an echinus foot. As with MMA 53.11.1, the diameter of mouth and foot is proportionately greater than it is on the prize vase (see, for example, Figures 23 and 26). A lotus-palmette-chain decorates the neck on each side; the alternate fronds of the palmettes and the cuffs of the lotuses are red; there are no dots in the links of the chain. There is a tongue pattern on the shoulder at the junction with the neck, the tongues alternating red and black. On the obverse, a line separates the tongue pattern from the figured panel below; on the reverse there is a black band between the two, as on the prize vase. Below the figured panels, two red lines continue around the vase without interruption. There are thirty-one rays above the foot. A graffito is incised on the shoulder next to handle B/A (Figure 25).

On the obverse Athena strides to left in Panathenaic pose (Figure 23). She wears a high-crested cap-like helmet; the crest is red and a red fillet encircles her head. The upper half of the skirt of her peplos is decorated with dot rosettes (red cores surrounded by white dots), and its lower half is embellished with incised decoration bordered above and below by a red band. The aegis has a red border and four coiled

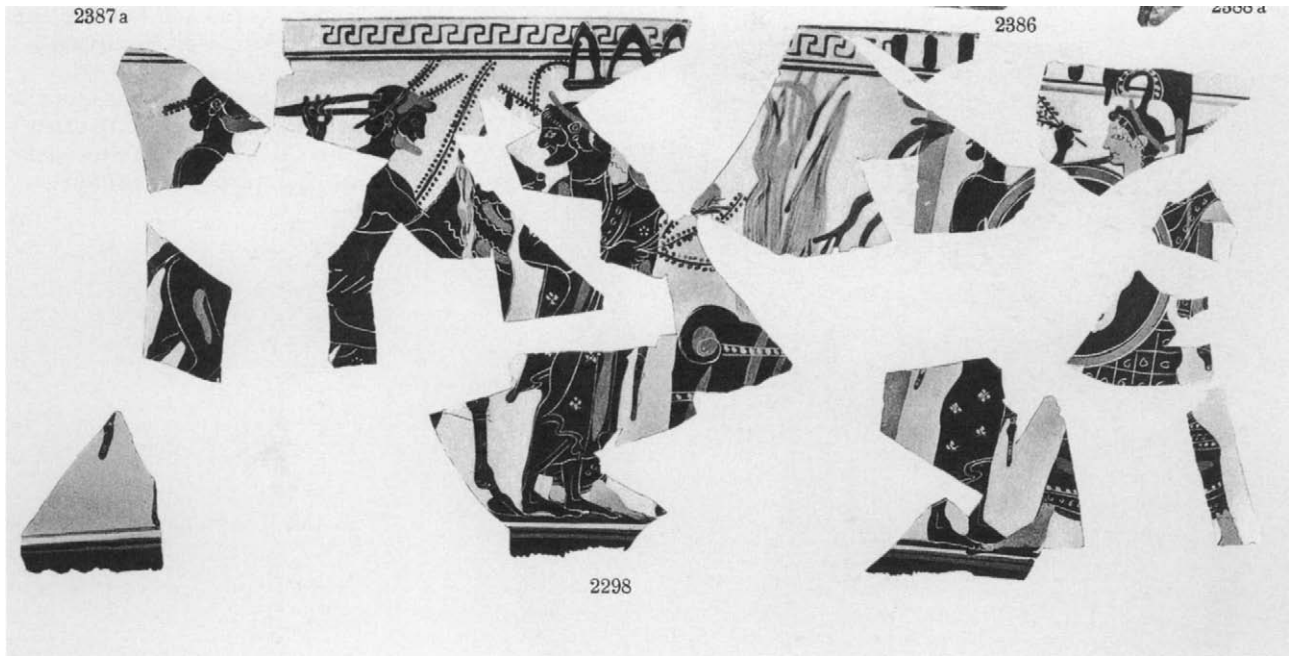


Figure 22. Fragmentary Attic black-figured lekythos attributed to the Edinburgh Painter, ca. 500 B.C., showing a sacrifice to Athena. H. 38 cm. National Museum, Athens, Akropolis Collection, 2298 (photo: Botho Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* [Berlin, 1925–33], pl. 96; reproduced with permission of the German Archaeological Institute, Athens)

snakes decorated with incised dots; the gorgoneion appears on the surface. In her raised right hand she holds a spear poised for hurling, and on her left arm she carries a round, compass-drawn shield with a broad red rim. The device on the shield, a pair of lions separated by two lotus buds, is all in white and set in a frieze around an incised circle imitating a central boss.⁹¹ The goddess's owl, perched importantly on the rim of her shield, looks out at the viewer. Athena appears between two Doric columns surmounted by cocks whose combs, wattles, and necks are red, as are parts of their bodies and their sickle feathers.⁹² They turn their heads outward, away, from Athena; on a prize vase they face the goddess, and no owl would perch on her shield.

The reverse depicts a musical contest with two onlookers who perhaps are judges (Figure 24). The youthful aulos player and the singer stand on a table reminiscent of those that appear in symposium scenes in front of the couch; next to it is a small stool that perhaps was used for mounting the table, which is quite high in relation to the height of the two figures standing on it.⁹³ The aulos player has a red fillet around his head, and he wears a long chiton under a himation that has broad bands alternating red and black. The singer standing before him is dressed similarly and holds a branch in one hand, which is hidden by a fold of the himation. The contest will probably begin shortly: the musician is playing the first notes;

the singer awaits his cue. At the left, a man sits to right on a folding stool holding a round object that looks like a piece of fruit, perhaps an apple. He has a red fillet around his head and wears a long himation under a mantle like the one worn by the aulos player. At the far right a man, similarly clad, holds a flower that he is about to sniff, a gesture that recurs in the work of the Andokides Painter later in the century (see, for example, Figures 27 and 29).⁹⁴ Each man has a red beard. White accents the joints of the stools.

Bothmer attributed MMA 1989.281.89 to the Princeton Painter, chiefly on the basis of similarities to the figure of Athena on the painter's neck-amphora in Geneva, HR 84, her shield and the owl perched on its rim in particular (see Figures 9 and 23).⁹⁵ Each shield has an offset red rim and a broad band that surrounds a central boss, the latter articulated by two closely incised concentric circles. On the obverse of Geneva HR 84 the boss bears the shield device and the band around it is red; on MMA 1989.281.89 the boss is plain and the band is figural, but the conceit is the same.⁹⁶ More to the point, on the reverse of the Geneva amphora Athena's shield bears a white device (part of a deer) around the incised circles.⁹⁷ Athena's shield on MMA 1991.11.2 is also similar, as is the decoration on the skirt of her peplos: dot rosettes on the black upper section, incised patterns below (see Figure 3). Bothmer added to the Princeton Painter's oeuvre a neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape once in the



Figure 23. Side A of an Attic black-figured pseudo-Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540 B.C., showing Athena between two columns surmounted by cocks. H. 38.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.89)

Figure 25. Graffito incised on the shoulder of Side B/A of the pseudo-Panathenaic amphora in Figure 23 (drawing: the author)

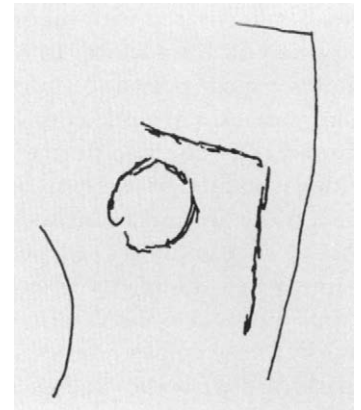


Figure 24. Detail of Side B of the pseudo-Panathenaic amphora in Figure 23 showing a musical contest

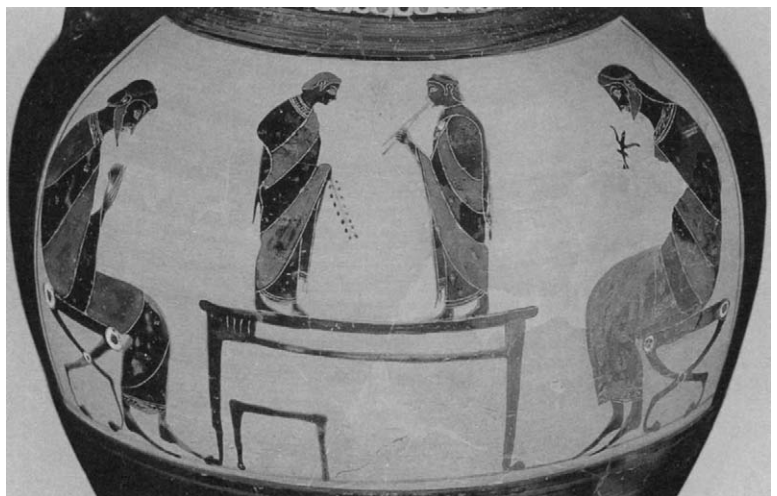




Figure 26. Side A of an Attic black-figured prize Panathenaic amphora signed by Nikias as potter, ca. 565–560 B.C., showing Athena. H. 61.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Bothmer Purchase Fund, 1978 (1978.11.13)

Basel art market that Cahn attributed to the Swing Painter, an attribution accepted by Böhr.⁹⁸ The Athena on this vase compares favorably with the one on MMA 1989.281.89 (Figure 23), especially her red helmet crest, the treatment of the skirt of her peplos, and the incised dots on the snakes of her aegis. Above the rim of each shield there is also part of a snaky coil in front of Athena's face. The fringe of each aegis represents the early form, because the snakes are not intertwined, as they are on Geneva HR 84 and MMA 53.11.1 (Figures 9 and 14). A similar rendering of the snakes occurs on the aegis of Athena on an amphora Type B by the Princeton Painter that was once in the Rome art market (whereabouts unknown today).⁹⁹ Bothmer briefly discussed the owl on the shield of Athena on MMA 1989.281.89 and on Geneva HR 84, drew three parallels in the work of contemporary painters, and then offered a few remarks on the close connection between goddess and bird.¹⁰⁰ Here mention should be made of the owl on a neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape in Berlin, where it is standing on

the ground before Athena, who strides to left between two columns. This vase was attributed by Bothmer to the Circle of the Princeton Painter but judged by Heide Mommsen to be by the painter himself, an attribution with which I fully agree.¹⁰¹

One more feature of Athena needs to be discussed: the gorgoneion on her aegis (Figure 23).¹⁰² When the aegis first appeared on images of Athena, in the second quarter of the sixth century, it was represented as a simple garment edged with snakes that hangs down the back of the goddess or appears to be part of the overfold of her peplos.¹⁰³ It did not include a gorgoneion. A good example in the Metropolitan Museum occurs on the prize Panathenaic amphora of about 565–560 B.C. signed by Nikias as potter (Figure 26).¹⁰⁴ Around the middle of the sixth century, the aegis assumed a new form, similar to a modern poncho,¹⁰⁵ and both MMA 53.11.1 and MMA 1989.281.89 illustrate the new type (Figures 14 and 23). The old form lingered briefly; see, for example, an amphora Type B by a painter from Group E in the Metropolitan Museum that dates to about 540 B.C.¹⁰⁶ Athena's aegis is not our subject, but rather the gorgoneion in the center of it. The appearance of the gorgoneion on MMA 1989.281.89 is one of the earliest occurrences, if not *the* earliest (Figure 23). The gorgoneion occurred first as a shield device, specifically on a round shield carried by a hoplite in the top frieze on the Chigi vase, a Protocorinthian oinochoe of about 630 B.C.¹⁰⁷ For three examples of the device from about 540 B.C., and thus contemporary with MMA 1989.281.89, see Hermes' shield on Akropolis 607 q by Lydos, Ares' shield on Boston, MFA 00.330, and Geryon's shield on Louvre F 53, both from Group E.¹⁰⁸ The earliest literary reference to a gorgoneion as a shield device may be Homer's description of Agamemnon's shield in *Iliad* 11.34–36: "And thereon [the shield] was set as a crown the Gorgon [Γοργών], grim of aspect, glaring terribly, and about her were Terror and Rout." The association of the gorgoneion with the aegis may also go back as far as Homer. In *Iliad* 5.738–44, the book in which Diomedes fights Ares and Aphrodite, the poet writes: "About her shoulders she [Athena] flung the tasselled aegis . . . and therein is the head of the dread monster, the Gorgon, dread and awful [Γοργεῖν κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου]." ¹⁰⁹ Some scholars consider these two passages post-Homeric additions, an opinion that began with Adolf Furtwängler in the late nineteenth century,¹¹⁰ but whether they are part of the original poem or not probably cannot be determined. The earliest unquestioned literary reference to the gorgoneion on Athena's aegis occurs in the scholiast to *Argonautica* 4.1515 by Apollonius Rhodios, a third-century-B.C.

poet who was a pupil of Callimachus. There we learn that Pherekydes, an Athenian genealogist and mythographer writing during the first half of the fifth century B.C., tells us that “Athena took the head [of Medusa] from Perseus and set it into her aegis.”¹¹¹ The gorgoneion does not appear on Athena’s aegis on the prize Panathenaic amphorae, where she moves from right to left, because the aegis hangs down her back; the presence of the gorgoneion would make sense only if it is set in the part of the aegis that covers the goddess’s chest. Thus, its occurrence on MMA 1989.281.89 suggests that the Princeton Painter may not have remembered or realized that Athena’s aegis covers her back, not her chest. On MMA 1991.11.2 and 53.11.1 he did not include the gorgoneion (Figures 3 and 14). The gorgoneion does not always appear on Athena’s aegis, but when it does, she stands or moves to right, a good example being the one on MMA 63.11.6, the earliest preserved work by the Andokides Painter, which dates to about 530 B.C. (Figure 27).¹¹²

The reverse of MMA 1989.281.89 depicts a musical contest featuring a singer accompanied by an aulos player. It is the oldest of the known musical competitions, for it was introduced at the Pythian Games at Delphi in 586 B.C.¹¹³ Representations of contests featuring a singer and an aulos player first appeared on Attic vases around the middle of the sixth century and continued until around 480 B.C. Some of them, like the one on MMA 1989.281.89, appear in Panathenaic settings, for Athena is painted on the obverse (Figures 23 and 24).¹¹⁴ While it is tempting to believe that musical contests were introduced in Athens when the Panathenaic Games were reorganized in 566 B.C., this cannot be proven, because there is no literary or epigraphical evidence for their presence in the festival at this time.¹¹⁵

The comparisons for the aulos player on MMA 53.11.1 (see nn. 52 and 114) are also pertinent to the youthful competitors on MMA 1989.281.89. In each, they face one another and stand on a table flanked by spectators or judges on the ground. The closest comparison to this composition is the one on London, BM B 141, except that there the aulos player wears an ependytes over a long chiton, not a striped himation, and the left onlooker stands (Figure 16). The representation on Bonn inv. 43 is similar, except that the positions of the competitors are reversed, the aulos player being on the left and the singer on the right. There, the left spectator or judge also stands. These examples anticipate later depictions in which a musician and singer stand on a dais composed of one or two low blocks of dressed stone. A good example is MMA 07.286.72, a neck-pelike of about 500 B.C. (Figure 28).¹¹⁶ There, the aulos player is a bearded man

dressed in a himation who stands in front of a similarly dressed youthful singer whose head is thrown back, his mouth open in song. A little earlier, on the reverse of his amphora Type A in Basel, the Andokides Painter depicted a pair standing side by side: a young aulos player and a bearded singer holding a staff in his right hand and a flower in his left. A youth stands behind them and a man sits before them on a folding stool holding a flower in his raised right hand, similar to the figure on the right on MMA 1989.281.89 (Figures 24 and 29).¹¹⁷ Each figure wears a decorated himation; the singer seems to wear some kind of garment under his himation, for his chest is stippled.¹¹⁸

The Amphorae Type B

The oldest of the one-piece amphorae, the amphora Type B, was invented in the late seventh century B.C., probably in the workshop of the Nettos Painter. It is the most frequent of the three types in Attic black-figure.¹¹⁹ MMA 56.171.9 exemplifies the shape as it appeared about 540 B.C. (Figures 30 and 31).¹²⁰ It has an echinus mouth flat on top to receive a lid, round handles, and an echinus foot. Bordering each panel at the top is a lotus-palmette-festoon, and the lotus cuffs are red. Above the foot are thirty-four rays. Two red lines on the neck continue around without interruption; a red line above the panel stops at the handles, and two below it continue around as well as two above the rays; there is a final line on the top side of the foot.

The obverse depicts a fight with a chariot (Figure 30). The charioteer, dressed in a long white chiton with a black nebris over it, leans forward slightly holding the reins in both hands. His passenger is a hoplite dressed in a short red chiton under a corselet incised with a spiral. He also wears a Corinthian helmet with a high red crest, as well as greaves, and is armed with a round shield seen in profile and red except for its black rim and white device (a bull’s head).¹²¹ Oddly, he has no spear. The hoplite leans forward, resting his left foot on the pole of the chariot for better balance. His immediate enemies are the two hoplites at the far right of the composition, not the one directly in front of him, for their eyes do not meet and this hoplite runs away to right looking back. On his left arm is a round shield, seen in profile, its device a white or red eagle (the end of one wing, the tail, and a bit of the body are discernible, but the color is flaked). He wears a low-crested Corinthian helmet with a red fillet around its headpiece and a red greave on his right leg (his left leg, greatly overlapped by the hind legs of the horses, is not greaved). Next comes a hoplite who has fallen backward onto the ground with his head facing

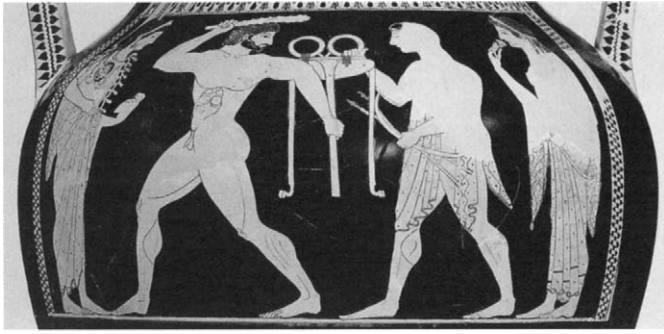


Figure 27. Side A of an Attic red-figured amphora signed by Andokides as potter and attributed to the Andokides Painter, ca. 530 B.C., showing Herakles and Apollo struggling over the tripod in the presence of Athena and Artemis. H. 57.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1963 (63.11.6)



Figure 28. Side A of an unattributed Attic black-figured neck-pelike, ca. 500 B.C., showing an aulos player and a singer. H. 26.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.72)

downward; he was probably the victim of the two hoplites charging in from the right. He wears a short red chiton under a corselet decorated with two incised spirals and is further protected by a Corinthian helmet with a low red crest and by greaves. He also has a round shield seen in profile, which the artist mistakenly drew on his right arm rather than his left. The blazon is an incised bull's head and five large red dots. Two hoplites come in from the right. One wears a high-crested Corinthian helmet with a red fillet around the headpiece, a short chiton, its skirt decorated with a scale pattern, and greaves. His round shield, seen in three-quarter view, is painted red except for the black rim and the shield device: a black eagle (one incised wing is preserved). His companion on the right wears a short pleated chiton (the alternate pleats are red) under a corselet decorated with an incised spiral, and red greaves. His Corinthian helmet has a high red crest and his round shield, seen in three-quarter view (the device is a white tripod), has a red rim. Each hoplite has a scabbard at his left side; that of the figure at right is suspended from a white baldric over his right shoulder. The pommel and hilt of the sword were painted white against the glaze of the corselet and the light ground of the clay, not entirely over glaze, as was customary. Neither has a spear. The left hoplite is bearded, for there is a fringe of hair below the cheekpiece of his helmet; the right one is a youth. The four horses rear or gallop excitedly. They are handsome animals with refined heads, short thick necks, long bodies, and slender legs with

dainty hooves. The right-hand trace horse has a red tail and a red collar; the right-hand pole horse has a red mane. The painter forgot to incise the browbands on the headstalls of the pole horses.

The reverse of the vase depicts the departure of hoplites (Figure 31). At the left, a hoplite stands to left looking back at a man seeing off another. The hoplite wears a low-crested Corinthian helmet with a red fillet around the headpiece, a cloak (just one fold appears below his round shield), and red greaves. The shield device is a woman's leg drawn in white. The next figure, one of the men seeing off the hoplites, stands to right with his left arm and hand raised in a



Figure 29. Detail of Side B of a red-figured amphora attributed to the Andokides Painter, ca. 520 B.C., showing a concert. H. 39 cm. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, BS 491 (photo: Claire Niggli)

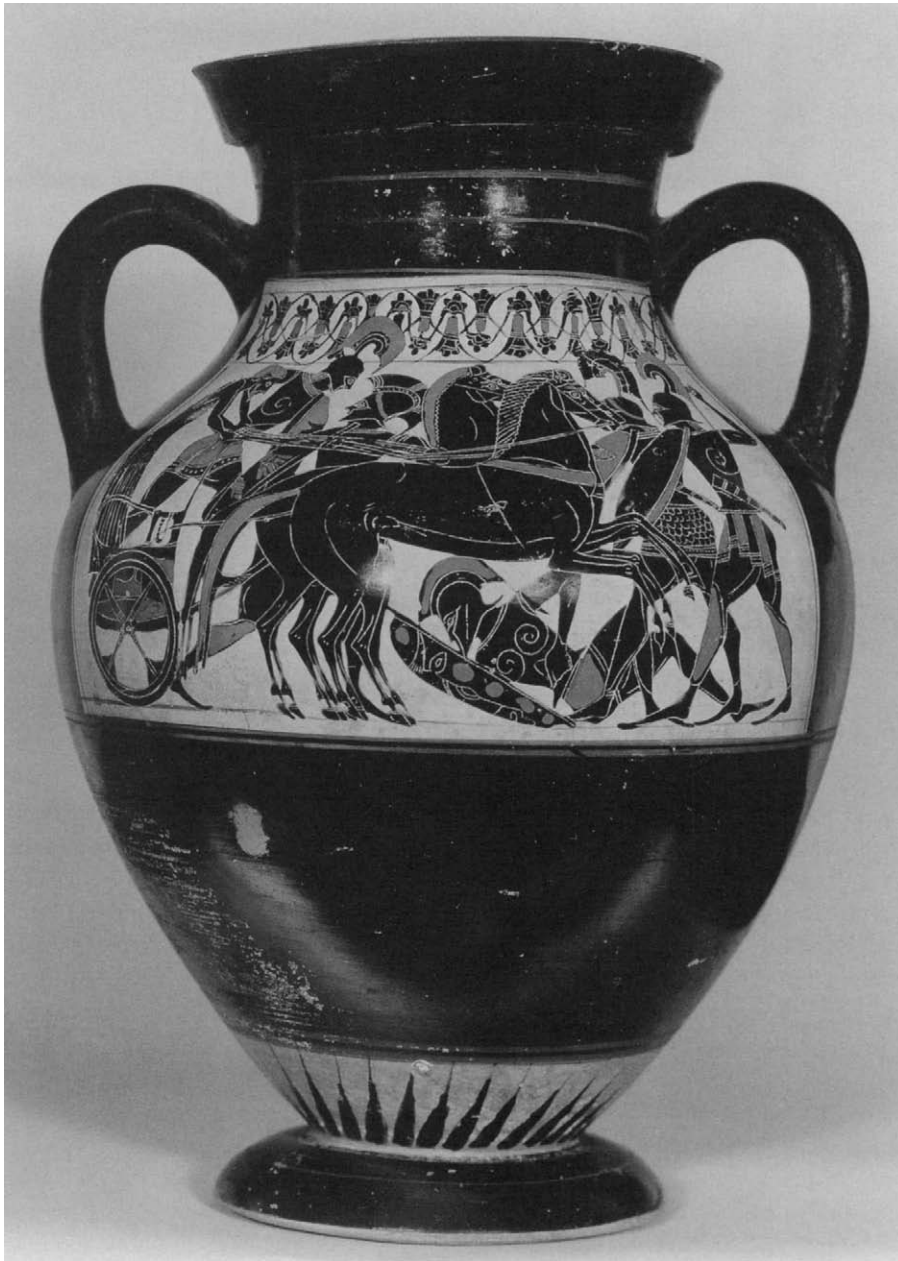


Figure 30. Side A of an Attic black-figured amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540 B.C., showing a fight, with a chariot. H. 38.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.9)



Figure 31. Side B of the amphora in Figure 30 showing warriors leaving home

farewell gesture. He wears a long chiton under a himation with stripes alternating black and red. Then comes a hoplite to right, looking back; he is armed with a round shield with a red rim (the device is a white tripod). He wears a Corinthian helmet with a high red crest, a short pleated chiton (the pleats alternating red and black) under a corselet with an incised spiral, and greaves. This hoplite is accompanied by a dog with a red neck; the lines incised above the patch of red indicate the animal's collar. Next comes the second man bidding farewell. He has a red fillet around his head and wears a long chiton under a himation decorated with broad diagonal stripes alternating red and black. The last hoplite, who faces inward, is armed with a round shield that has a red rim and a device of three red and three white balls. He wears a low-crested Corinthian helmet, which has a red fillet around the headpiece and white dots on the crest support, and red greaves. The beard and hair of the first man are red; just the beard of the second is red; his hair was left black. As on the obverse, none of the hoplites carries a spear. All of the white has flaked.

The scene on Side A of MMA 56.171.9 is closest to that on Side A of Tarquinia inv. 624, an amphora Type B by the Princeton Painter, described by Beazley simply as a "fight, with chariot" (Figure 32).¹²² The scene on the latter is a little fuller than the one on MMA 56.171.9, and there are imitation inscriptions in the field around the chariot and its passengers,¹²³ but especially pertinent is the dress of the charioteer and the pose of the hoplite steadying his left foot on the chariot pole. The parallels for the dress of a charioteer, a black nebris over a long white chiton, have already been noted for MMA 1991.11.2 (Figure 4). The hoplite with his foot on the chariot pole is an iconographical detail that probably derives from the figure of Herakles in the big battles between the Olympian gods and the earthborn giants.¹²⁴ Representations of the Gigantomachy first appeared in Greek vase painting about 560 B.C., shortly after the Panathenaic Games were reorganized in "566."¹²⁵ The most significant consequence of the reorganization, one unrelated to athletic competitions, was the weaving of the woolen peplos decorated with scenes of this Olympian battle and draped over the wooden statue of Athena.¹²⁶ It is surely no accident that these early illustrations of the Gigantomachy were painted on vases dedicated to Athena on the Akropolis. Today, these vases are very fragmentary, but studied together, they give a comprehensive picture of the key elements in the composition of the big battles, which include most of the Olympian deities.¹²⁷ Important in our context is the central group of Zeus in his chariot, Herakles as his passenger, with his left foot on the

chariot pole, and Athena striding alongside the team.¹²⁸ This grouping of the three main participants with the chariot continued to be represented into the third quarter of the sixth century and well beyond. The best parallel for the composition on MMA 56.171.9 occurs on Side A of a contemporary neck-amphora in Tarquinia (inv. 623) attributed to a painter working in the manner of Exekias (Figure 33).¹²⁹ There, not only does Herakles place his foot on the chariot pole, as our hoplite does, but also there is a fallen giant, two more coming in to rescue him, and the horses rear or gallop. The main differences are the presence of Athena striding to right on the left-hand side of the team and a giant fleeing at the far right of the composition.

Before proceeding to the last vase by the Princeton Painter in the Metropolitan Museum, I wish to discuss an amphora Type B in Bochum that, as noted above, I believe is by this artist.¹³⁰ Side A (Figure 34) depicts a fight with a chariot in a composition remarkably similar to the one on Side A of MMA 56.171.9 (Figure 30). The charioteer, dressed in a long white chiton, stands in the chariot controlling the team. The hoplite passenger places his left foot on the chariot pole as he prepares to plunge his spear into a hoplite who tries to flee. Another hoplite takes aim at one who has fallen and is unarmed, while on the far right, two fight at very close range. None of these hoplites has a spear, similar to those on MMA 56.171.9 (Figure 30) and one on MMA 1991.11.2 (Figure 3). In each scene, the conformation of the horses and their rearing or galloping action are depicted in a similar manner.

A number of details on this side of the Bochum vase recur on others discussed in this article and strengthen the attribution to the Princeton Painter. These include the hoplite with his foot on the chariot pole: MMA 56.171.9 (Figure 30), Tarquinia inv. 624 (Figure 32), and MMA 23.160.92 (Figures 35 and 36); a corselet decorated with just a single spiral rather than a pair: MMA 1991.11.2 (Figures 3 and 4), Saint Petersburg inv. 162 (Figure 7), MMA 56.171.9 (Figure 30), and Tarquinia inv. 624 (Figure 32); the broad fillet around the headpiece of a helmet: MMA 56.171.9 and Saint Petersburg inv. 162; the scale pattern with dots: MMA 1991.11.2 (Figure 3), Bonn inv. 45 (Figure 10), and MMA 53.11.1 (Figure 14); the white pole horse and the absence of a girth on the right-hand trace horse: Princeton 169 (Figure 1); and the headstall of the harness with browband, throatlash, and noseband: Princeton 169, MMA 1991.11.2 (Figure 4), MMA 56.171.9 (Figure 30), and Tarquinia inv. 624 (Figure 32).

Side B of Bochum S 1205 depicts Herakles and the lion, both to right; the lion's head is turned back as he



Figure 32. Side A of an Attic black-figured amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540–530 B.C., showing a fight, with a chariot. H. 44 cm. Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Tarquinia, inv. 624

tries to bite the hero. Athena stands at the left wearing a high-crested caplike helmet, its crest edged with a white line, and a peplos with a plain aegis that has no snakes. The upper half of her skirt is plain; the lower is decorated with a dotted scale pattern, similar to her peplos on MMA 53.11.1 (Figure 14) and MMA 1989.281.89 (Figure 23). She holds a round shield seen in profile (its device is a white tripod); her right hand is closed as if to hold a spear, but no spear was included, a frequent omission in the work of the Princeton Painter. In front of the hero and lion, Iolaos walks to right looking back. Both hero and nephew are nude. The composition closes with an anonymous woman, dressed in a chiton and himation, facing left. Compelling evidence for attributing this side of the Bochum vase to the Princeton Painter is provided by two vases recognized as his work by Elke Böhr. One is an amphora Type B, Munich 1385, which Beazley thought was “akin to the work of the Swing Painter.”¹³¹ There, the composition of Herakles and the lion is very similar to that on Bochum S 1205, right down to one heel of the hero overlapping a hind paw of the lion. The second vase is a Panathenaic amphora once at the Summa Galleries in Beverly Hills, later in the New York art market.¹³² On the obverse of this vase, Athena’s costume corresponds to the one on Bochum S 1205. Her aegis is also plain, but it has a snaky fringe, including one serpent that pokes its head above the goddess’s shoulder in front of her face (just the tip of its nose appears).¹³³

The Hydria

Our last vase is MMA 23.160.92, a fragment of a once very handsome shouldered hydria, which may be dated about 540 B.C. It preserves part of the figural

decoration on both the shoulder and the body as well as a trace of the ornament framing the left side of the panel (Figure 35).¹³⁴

The Calydonian Boar Hunt appears on the shoulder (Figures 35 and 36). What remains are the lower legs and feet of three warriors running to right to save a companion who has been gored and is probably dead (his eye appears to be closed and his hand is limp). He is Ankaïos (see below). All that remains of the boar are his forelegs, the lower part of his neck, painted red, and his muzzle with white teeth and a white tusk.¹³⁵ The boar charges to left, ready to take on the hunters.

On the body is a fight scene with a chariot. At the left is the charioteer (from the waist up) dressed in a long white chiton (much of the color has flaked) and a pointed leather cap. Hanging down his back is a Boeotian shield emblazoned with a three-dimensional satyr’s head. The part of the shield above the head of the satyr is painted red, its lower part left black, and the satyr’s beard as well as the beard and hair of the



Figure 33. Side A of an Attic black-figured amphora attributed to a painter in the manner of Exekias, ca. 530 B.C., showing Zeus, Herakles, and Athena fighting Giants. H. 40 cm. Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Tarquinia, inv. 623



Figure 34. Side A of an Attic black-figured amphora Type B attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540–530 B.C., showing a fight, with a chariot. H. 49.7 cm. Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universität Bochum, S 1205

charioteer are also red. Of the chariot, all that remains is the upper part of the breastwork, the rail, and the start of the loop suspended from the rail through which the trace line of the harness passed and attached to the axle below (Figures 35 and 36).¹³⁶ Of the team, only the tops of the hindquarters and some of the tails are preserved. The tail of the right-hand pole horse is red, and a red arc accents the line incised on its hindquarter and those on the hindquarter of the right-hand trace horse. At the charioteer's left, a hoplite, whose lower legs are missing, stands with his left leg braced on the chariot pole (his leaning posture makes this clear), his spear poised, and his round shield, seen in profile, held out on his left arm. He wears a low-crested Corinthian helmet, a short chiton painted red above the waist, and greaves edged with white dots. A quiver with six arrows is suspended at his left side from a white baldric over his right shoulder. His round shield appears in profile and has no blazon, because much of it is overlapped by a falling hoplite dressed in a short belted chiton. The latter wears a high-crested Corinthian helmet (most of the headpiece is painted red; the crest support is accented with white dots), and he has a round shield shown in profile on his left arm. This shield is red with a black rim. A second hoplite (part of his head, protected by a red Corinthian helmet, and most of his torso remain) attacks the one in the chariot. He has a round shield drawn in profile and emblazoned with a white tripod (partly flaked). It is uncertain what the small traces of incision just above the croup of the right-hand trace horse at the break represent.

Boar hunts were a dangerous pastime whether in daily life or in myth, and the Calydonian Boar was an especially irascible creature, huge, mean, and strong. When King Oineus of Kalydon, an Aitolian city at the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth, did not offer the first fruits of the harvest to Artemis, she became angry and sent a huge boar to destroy the crops and herds. Oineus was the father of Meleager, and he sent his son to slay the boar, accompanied by hunters and hounds. They tracked the beast and killed it after a fierce battle in which some of Meleager's men were gored to death, including two of his brothers, Ankaïos and Agelaos.¹³⁷ In the full Attic representations of the scene, the boar faces to left¹³⁸ and is attacked by hunters on foot, not on horseback, which makes the hunt even more dangerous. Sometimes inscriptions name the figures; otherwise, the presence of Atalanta, the huntress averse to marriage whom Meleager loved, assures the subject. Often there is a hunter beneath the boar, his entrails spilling onto the ground (in the inscribed scenes he is named Ankaïos), and a hound that sometimes meets a similar fate.¹³⁹ Other

hounds and hunters attack the beast, and one of the dogs may stand on the back of the boar biting its neck. Of these criteria, the boar to left, the hunters attacking on foot, and the fallen hunter beneath the boar appear on the MMA fragment. There is thus every reason to believe that the Calydonian Boar Hunt was the subject the Princeton Painter had in mind when he decorated the shoulder of this hydria (compare to the generic boar hunt on the shoulder of Saint Petersburg inv. 162, which pales by comparison [Figure 7]).

MMA 23.160.92 preserves about the left third of the composition of both the frieze on the shoulder and the panel on the body, for there are traces of the ornament framing the latter. Thus, the boar would have been about in the center of the composition, more or less above the horses on the body, and there would probably have been three more hunters to the right of it, one of them perhaps Atalanta, and maybe even a hound biting the hindquarters of the beast. Judging by the amount of space required for the height of the hunters whose legs remain, there would also have been room for a hound on the back of the boar attacking it viciously (Figure 36). The composition may have been very similar to the one on the shoulder of Berlin F 1705, attributed by Bothmer to the Prometheus Painter (Figure 37).¹⁴⁰ In that scene there is a hound on the back of the boar, but just part of its hindquarters and tail remain, and there is also one (part of its body is missing) attacking from the front as well as another snapping at the boar's hindquarters. Atalanta is not present.

On the body of MMA 23.160.92, various details deserve attention. One is the three-dimensional device in the shape of a satyr's head on the charioteer's shield, a rare type of blazon. The example closest to ours appears on Kaineus' shield on the obverse of the Swing Painter's amphora in Christchurch, New Zealand: especially similar are the fringe of forehead hair, the red beard, and the long nose.¹⁴¹ A second detail is the diagonal front contour of the charioteer's chiton, which indicates he does not stand in the chariot but, instead, mounts it; otherwise his chiton would be vertical, as it is in Figures 30 and 32.¹⁴² The hoplite passenger on MMA 23.160.92 leans forward with one foot on the chariot pole, just as the hoplite does on MMA 56.171.9 (Figure 30), Tarquinia inv. 624 (Figure 32), and Bochum S 1205 (Figure 34). This position steadies him and allows him to take more deadly aim at his adversary. That the hoplite is standing in the chariot explains why his helmet crest extends into the boar hunt on the shoulder. The hoplite with the red shield is not the opponent of the passenger, for they do not look at one another. His lower position with his back to the viewer suggests he may be wounded and is



Figure 35. Fragment of an Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the Princeton Painter, ca. 540 B.C., showing the Calydonian Boar Hunt on the shoulder and a fight, with a chariot, on the body. Preserved H. 11.8 cm, maximum preserved L. 18.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.160.92)



Figure 36. Partial reconstruction of the scenes in Figure 35 (drawing: the author)

trying to flee. In the work of the Princeton Painter there are good parallels, such as the warrior in a similar situation on MMA 56.171.9 (Figure 30) and the warrior on the right on his amphora in Basel.¹⁴³ The hoplite with the red helmet on MMA 23.160.92 is the opponent of the one in the chariot, for their eyes meet. He would have been shown striding to left, with his shield

held out protectively and spear poised,¹⁴⁴ and his helmet crest would have been a low one so it would not overlap onto the shoulder of the vase and thus interfere with the corpse beneath the boar. As mentioned in the description above, it is unclear to me what the bits of incision are at the break above the croup of the horse. That they are too far back to be part of the yoke

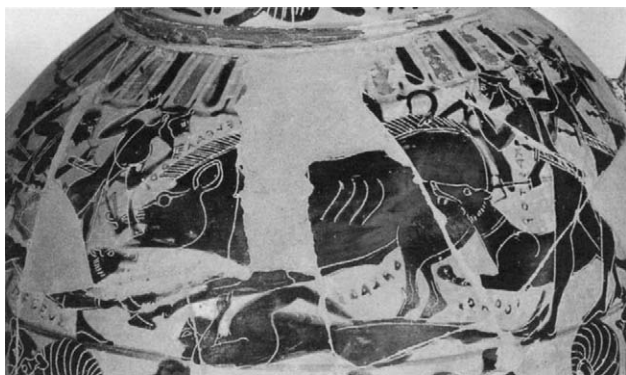


Figure 37. Side A of an Attic black-figured Tyrrhenian neck-amphora attributed to the Prometheus Painter, ca. 560 B.C., showing the Calydonian Boar Hunt. Preserved H. 33.3 cm. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, F 1705

and yoke pad is clear from MMA 56.171.9 (Figure 30). Conceivably, they might be part of a wounded and falling warrior, but not enough remains to be certain. Also, another figure in this area would create a very crowded composition.

THE PRINCETON PAINTER AND THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

Nearly twenty years ago Dietrich von Bothmer presented a concise history of how Beazley and others established the oeuvre of the Princeton Painter. He also offered thoughtful remarks about the painter's preferred shapes, ornament, and iconography, particularly as they apply to Geneva HR 84 (Figure 9) and to MMA 1989.281.89 (Figures 23 and 24).¹⁴⁵ In the present study, I have tried to take things a bit further, particularly with regard to iconography.

The Princeton Painter has a distinct personality with a clear preference for large vases that provide ample surfaces for his compositions, which are often ambitious.¹⁴⁶ He offers the viewer a wide range of subjects taken from myth and daily life that are never dull or repetitious but always bright and fresh. On occasion the scenes may be quiet and calm, such as the dignified one of music-making on Side B of MMA 1989.281.89 (Figure 24) and the departing warriors seen off by male friends or family members on the reverse of MMA 56.171.9 (Figure 31). More often, however, the Princeton Painter chose to depict an exciting, even dangerous moment. Good examples are the fierce fights that include chariots to heighten the drama, which appear on the obverse of MMA

56.171.9 (Figure 30) and in the panel of MMA 23.160.92 (Figure 35). The Calydonian Boar Hunt on the shoulder of the latter is particularly intense, as the furious animal bears down on the hunters intending to gore them if he can. Even more tantalizing are the scenes where the exact subject the Princeton Painter had in mind eludes us today, at least for the most part. MMA 53.11.1 is a particularly pertinent example. One readily identifies Athena (Figure 14), but who is the musician, what will be sacrificed on the flaming altar, and what is in the box carried by the girl? Most scholars think the subject has something to do with the Panathenaic Festival, but this is about as far as we can go, at least for now. The same may be said for the odd scene with Herakles on MMA 1991.11.2 (Figure 3). It may depict the hero's introduction to Olympos on foot, instead of in a chariot driven by Athena, but this can only be a suggestion.

The Princeton Painter was attentive to details, even if he sometimes forgot to give fighters their spears, as on both sides of MMA 56.171.9 (Figures 30 and 31) or on Bochum S 1205 (Figure 34).¹⁴⁷ He liked to embellish clothing, making it colorful and rich in texture. He was among the first, if not *the* first, to depict the ependytes, both on a musician (MMA 53.11.1; Figure 14) and on a woman who may or may not be a deity (MMA 1991.11.2; Figure 4). The Princeton Painter seems to have been the first artist to incise the gorgoneion on Athena's aegis, even if he forgot that the garment hangs down her back in this scene (MMA 1989.281.89; Figure 23).

This presentation and discussion of the five vases by the Princeton Painter in the Metropolitan Museum can only be a brief introduction to a very rich subject, and in time newcomers will help "us to get to know the artist better, to tell us more of his development, and to retrace his antecedents," to quote Bothmer. By focusing on the Metropolitan's five vases, especially MMA 1991.11.2, the Museum's own newcomer, I hope I have begun to address at least the first part of that quotation. The Princeton Painter can hold his own with many of his contemporaries and even surpasses some of them. Bothmer remarked further that "compared to Exekias, for instance, not many painters of the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. obtain high marks."¹⁴⁸ Exekias, along with the Amasis Painter, certainly represents the best that can be achieved with the Attic black-figured technique, but the Princeton Painter also deserves high marks for his creative approach to iconography, his crisp, clear drawing, and his colorful results.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA

Archäologischer Anzeiger

ABL

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

ABV

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

*Addenda*²

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

Agora XXIII

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

AJA

American Journal of Archaeology

ARV²

J. D. Beazley. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. 2d ed. Oxford, 1963.

Bentz, *Panathenaïka*

Martin Bentz and Norbert Eschbach, eds. *Panathenaïka: Symposion zu den Panathenäischen Preisamphoren, Rauischholzhausen 25.11.–29.11.1998*. Mainz, 2001.

Bentz, *Preisamphoren*

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

Böhr, *Schaukelmaler*

Elke Böhr. *Der Schaukelmaler*. Forschungen zur antiken Keramik, ser. 2, Kerameus 4. Mainz, 1982.

Bothmer, *Amasis Painter*

Dietrich von Bothmer. *The Amasis Painter and His World: Vase-Painting in Sixth-Century-B.C. Athens*. Malibu and New York, 1985.

Chamay and Bothmer

Jacques Chamay and Dietrich von Bothmer. "Ajax et Cassandre par le Peintre de Princeton." *Antike Kunst* 30 (1987), pp. 58–68.

CVA

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*

Jörg Gebauer. *Pompe und Thysia: Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen*. Eikon 8. Münster, 2002.

JHS

Journal of Hellenic Studies

LIMC

Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC).

Edited by John Boardman et al. 9 vols. in 18 pts.

Zürich, 1981–99.

Miller, *Athens and Persia*

Margaret C. Miller. *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Receptivity*. Cambridge, 1997.

Neils, *Goddess and Polis*

Jenifer Neils, with contributions by Elizabeth J. W. Barber, Donald G. Kyle, Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, and H. Alan Shapiro. *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*. Exh. cat., Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.; Art Museum, Princeton University; and 2 other venues. Princeton, 1992.

Paralipomena

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

RA

Revue archéologique

Reeder, *Pandora*

Ellen D. Reeder, with essays by Sally C. Humphreys et al. *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*. Exh. cat., Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; Dallas Museum of Art; Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Baltimore, 1995.

Shapiro, *Art and Cult*

H. A. Shapiro. *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*. Mainz, 1989.

Van Straten, *Hierà kalá*

Folkert T. van Straten. *Hierà kalá: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Religions in the Greco-Roman World 127. Leiden, 1995.

ThesCRA

Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum. 5 vols. Los Angeles and Malibu, 2004–6.

NOTES

1. Exekias: ABV, pp. 143–47; *Paralipomena*, pp. 59–61; *Addenda*², pp. 39–41. The Amasis Painter: ABV, pp. 150–57; *Paralipomena*, pp. 62–67; *Addenda*², pp. 42–46. For a discussion of the subjects by the two painters, see my contribution "The Amasis Painter and Exekias: Approaches to Narrative," in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, 1987), pp. 153–67.
2. Lydos: Michales Tiverios, 'Ο Λυδὸς καὶ τὸ ἔργο τοῦ (Athens, 1976). The Painter of Berlin 1686: Jody Maxmin, "The Painter of Berlin 1686" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1979). The Swing Painter: Böhr, *Schaukelmaler*.

3. Princeton 169 (*ABV*, p. 298, no. 6; Mary B. Moore, "Andokides and a Curious Attic Black-Figured Amphora," *MMJ* 36 [2001], p. 28, fig. 19).
4. J. D. Beazley, "Groups of Mid-Sixth-Century Black-Figure," *British School at Athens, Annual* 32 (1931–32; pub. 1934), pp. 17–18. Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer conveniently charts the gradual recognition of the Princeton Painter's work (pp. 61–62). The Princeton Painter: *ABV*, pp. 297–99; *Paralipomena*, pp. 129–30; *Addenda*², p. 78; Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer, pp. 61–68. Bothmer's particular interest was the painter's choice of shape and ornament as well as details that pertain to Geneva HR 84 and MMA 1989.281.89 (see below).
5. Mary B. Moore, "Attic Black Figure from Samothrace," *Hesperia* 44 (1975), pp. 238–50. The attribution to the Princeton Painter was first suggested by Ellen Davis. For the signature ([I]exikleides epoiesen), see p. 239; for an emendation to "Wechekleides" see Alan Boegehold, "A New Attic Black Figure Potter," *AJA* 87 (1983), pp. 89–90; augmented to Werchekleides by John Boardman, "The New Attic Potter," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 2 (1983), pp. 247–48.
6. Mommsen, letter to the author dated April 4, 2004. The four works are: formerly Zürich art market (Arete. Galerie für Antike Kunst, *Griechische Schalen und Vasen*, Sonderliste 20 [Zürich, n.d.], no. 5); Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77-AE.45 (Frank Brommer, "Herakles und Theseus auf Vasen in Malibu," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 2 [Occasional Papers on Antiquities 3] [1985], pp. 210–13 [Frel (in *ibid.*, p. 211, n. 113) attributed this vase to a painter of Group E. Mommsen's attribution seems to me to be more accurate.]); Heidelberg 73/3, attributed by Mommsen (Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 31, n. 102 and pl. 11 e; there, the accession number is given incorrectly as 73/7); and Berlin F 1701 (Bentz, *Panathenaike*, pl. 29, 1–2). The last vase was assigned to "the circle of the Princeton Painter" (Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer, p. 64, n. 38; attributed to the painter himself by Mommsen). The fifth vase is Bochum S 1205, attributed to the Swing Painter by Bothmer (*CVA*, Bochum 1 [Deutschland 79], pl. 18 [4030], 3–4, and pl. 20 [4032]; the attribution is cited on p. 32). See discussion of this amphora in this article.
7. These works are discussed in detail below. Two of the vases, MMA 56.171.9 and MMA 53.111.1, appeared in *CVA* fascicules of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. For these, I do not repeat the bibliography published there, except for the reference to *ABV*, but I include in the discussions below all pertinent references subsequent to these publications that are known to me.
8. Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer, p. 62.
9. For a good example in the Metropolitan Museum, see MMA 10.210.7 by the Benaki Painter, dated about 710 B.C. (*CVA*, MMA 5 [USA 37], pls. 28, 29 [1912, 1913]).
10. Berlin 1720 (*ABV*, p. 143, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 59, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 39). The signature of Exekias as both potter and painter appears on the top side of the mouth. For this shape in the work of Exekias, see Heide Mommsen, "Zur Auswertung von Formfotos und Profilzeichnungen" in *Vasenforschung und Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Standortbestimmung und Perspektiven*, Beihefte zum *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Deutschland*, vol. 1 (Munich, 2002), pp. 23–29.
11. The vase, previously unpublished, is broken and mended with significant parts missing: all of the mouth, all of the neck except for a very small portion to either side of handle A/B, handle B/A and a section of the body around it, and most of the shoulder on each side. There is a large chip in the foot. The glaze on the top side of the foot is a bit cracked and abraded. The glaze fired thin in parts of the animal frieze below the figures on the body.
12. This type of foot is associated with the amphora Type A and the calyx-krater, two shapes that entered the shape repertory a little later than MMA 1991.11.2, as well as examples of the volute-krater fashioned from about 530 B.C. on.
13. The dots simulate the holes in a metal greave used to attach the leather lining. For an actual greave with the holes along the outside edge, see MMA 06.1076, a greave thought to come from Elis and dated to 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).
14. The motive of the chariot horse stretching its neck and head toward the ground to relieve the pressure on its mouth caused by the bit does not occur very often. These are the examples known to me. Four from Group E: Tarquinia 621 (*ABV*, p. 133, no. 10; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 10; *Addenda*², p. 36); London, BM 1839.11-9.1 (ex B 147) (*ABV*, p. 135, no. 44; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 44; *Addenda*², p. 36); Louvre F 53 (*ABV*, p. 136, no. 49; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 49; *Addenda*², p. 36); and Athens, NMAcr. 821 (*ABV*, p. 136, no. 51). Budapest 50.189 by Exekias (*Paralipomena*, p. 61). Two by the Princeton Painter: MMA 1991.11.2 and formerly Beverly Hills, Summa Galleries (near the painter: Böhr, *Schaukelmaler*, p. 110, no. P 3, pl. 168, but more probably by him); Karlsruhe 61/89 by the Painter of Munich 1410 (*Paralipomena*, p. 135). Munich J. 692 attributed by Kunze-Götte to the Painter of Tarquinia RC 6847 (*CVA*, München 8 [Deutschland 37], pl. 384 [1802], 1 and p. 38 for the attribution). Two from the Leagros Group: London B 310 (*ABV*, p. 361, no. 12; *Addenda*² 95) and Munich 1719 (*ABV*, p. 361, no. 13; *Paralipomena*, p. 161, no. 13; *Addenda*² 95). Hamburg 1906.164 by a painter from the Haimon Group (*ABV*, p. 567, no. 631; *Addenda*², p. 136). Three unattributed: Munich 2244, a band cup I know from personal observation; Naples, no no., a hydria (I know this vase from Bothmer's photograph); and Würzburg 324, also a hydria (Ernst Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* [Munich 1932], pl. 98). With the exception of the two from the Leagros Group, the one from the Haimon Group, and the unattributed hydria in Würzburg, all of these may be dated about 540–530 B.C., and all but the two from the Leagros Group show the chariot to right with the left-hand trace horse stretching its neck and head down (the Leagros two have the chariot to left and the *right-hand* trace horse stretching). Thus, it is *always* the horse farthest from the viewer that appears in this position. By analogy, therefore, on MMA 1991.11.2, it should be the left-hand trace horse that stretches its neck and head down.
15. Berlin 1720 (see note 10 above). This is an early work by Exekias, of about 540 B.C., and the other neck-amphorae of this type by him date to about the same time or a little later. Thus, these vases are contemporary with MMA 1991.11.2. For Exekias as an innovative potter, see note 18 below. Amasis signed three neck-amphorae of the type as potter, but these are of a special model with regard to details of shape and selection of ornament (see Bothmer, *Amasis Painter*, pp. 125–37, under nos. 23–25).
16. Princeton 169 (note 3 above); Saint Petersburg inv. 162 (St. 85) (*Paralipomena*, p. 130, no. 1 *bis*; *Addenda*² 78). The Amasis

- Painter inserted dots in the links of this ornament on his neck-amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles 222 (ABV, p. 152, no. 25; *Paralipomena*, p. 63, no. 25; *Addenda*², p. 43). See also Boston, MFA 98.923, by a painter from the Botkin Class (ABV, p. 169, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 71, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 48).
17. For a neck-amphora of this type by the Princeton Painter that has just a simple tongue pattern on the shoulder and a zone of elegant upright palmettes and lotuses with dots in the interstices between the figures on the body and the rays above the foot, see the one formerly in the Zürich art market (note 6 above). Side A depicts Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, a fallen warrior on the ground; Side B, the departure of a warrior. In the sale catalogue, the vase was attributed to the Circle of the Princeton Painter. Mommsen thinks this neck-amphora is by the Princeton Painter himself and I agree. Following are some major comparisons to support Mommsen's attribution. Decoration on the neck, lotus-palmette-chain with dots: London, BM 1843.11-3.100 (ex B 212) (ABV, p. 297, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 129, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 78); Saint Petersburg inv. 162 (St. 85) (note 16 above and Figure 7); Louvre F 217 (ABV, p. 298, no. 2); and Princeton 169 (note 3 above and Figure 1). Ornament below the figures: London, BM 1843.11-3.100 (ex B 212); Princeton 169. Ornament below the handle: Louvre F 217. Central rib of each handle reserved: London, BM 1843.11-3.100 (ex B 212). Other considerations: scale pattern on Achilles' shield; decorative drapery; peplos with the ornamental skirt worn by the woman on Side B. Date: about 540–530 B.C.
 18. The fragments in Narbonne (ABV, p. 144, no. 2); Boston, MFA 89.273 (ABV, p. 144, no. 4; *Paralipomena*, p. 59, no. 4; *Addenda*², p. 39); and Munich 1470 (ABV, p. 144, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 39). None of these is signed by Exekias. For a discussion of all the vases bearing the signature of Exekias, whether attributed to him or not, see Heide Mommsen, "Beobachtungen zu den Exekias-Signaturen," *Metis: Revue d'anthropologie du monde grec ancien. Philologie — histoire — archéologie* 13 (1998), pp. 39–49. There are fourteen known signatures by Exekias. Three are double signatures (i.e., signed as both potter and painter) and eleven are signed as potter only; of these, three are attributed to Exekias as painter. Exekias was a master potter and painter, and it is probably no accident that the signed vases he also painted are either shapes new to the repertory or they present new features of old shapes that then became standard. See Heide Mommsen, "Meisterwerke des Töpfers Exekias: Zur Erfindung und zum Erfolg," in *Meisterwerke. Internationales Symposium anlässlich des 150. Geburtstages von Adolf Furtwängler. Freiburg im Breisgau 30. Juni–3. Juli 2003* (Munich, 2005), pp. 257–69.
 19. Saint Petersburg inv. 162 (St. 85) (note 16 above). The Group of London B 174: Naples 2498 (ABV, p. 141, no. 5). Orvieto, Duomo 333: Nikolaus Himmelmann, "The Divine Assembly on the Sosias Cup," in *Reading Greek Art: Essays by Nikolaus Himmelmann*, ed. William Childs (Princeton, 1998), p. 148, fig. 53 a. This vase dates about 540 B.C.
 20. Exceptions: the fragments in Narbonne by Exekias (note 18 above); Paris, Cab. Méd. 222, by the Amasis Painter; and Boston, MFA 98.923, by a Painter of the Botkin Class (both note 16 above).
 21. The exception known to me on a neck-amphora appears on Orvieto, Duomo 333 (note 19 above), which shows a hunt on horseback, similar to those in the predella panels on shouldered hydriai (see, e.g., Leiden PC 63 by the Antimenes Painter [ABV, p. 266, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 117, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 69; Johannes Burrow, *Der Antimenesmaler, Forschungen zur antiken Keramik*, ser. 2, Kerameus 7 (Mainz, 1989), p. 80, no. 11, pl. 11]). Another exception occurs on a psykter-neck-amphora, a special double-walled vase used to chill wine: Boston, MFA 00.331, by the Swing Painter, a slightly younger contemporary of the Princeton Painter (ABV, p. 307, no. 62; *Addenda*², p. 82). The secondary frieze depicts warriors and horsemen. The characteristic features of this vase are the spout projecting from the shoulder, which was used to fill the narrow area between the two walls with cold water to chill the wine, and the funnel just above the foot for draining it. See CVA, Boston 1 [USA 14], pls. 33, 34 [655, 656] and fig. 28 a-b for a profile drawing that shows how this unusual vase was constructed; see also Böhr, *Schaukelmaler*, pls. 132–34 and the profile drawing on pl. 134 a). For other examples of psykter-amphorae, see CVA, p. 25.
 22. The first exception, Naples 2498, is by a painter assigned to the Group of London B 174 (note 19 above). There, the subsidiary frieze of animals appears between a zone of upright lotus buds with dots in the interstices and the rays above the foot. In addition, there is no ornamental configuration below the handles; the scenes are divided between obverse and reverse by the direction in which the figures face. The second example occurs on the fragments in Narbonne attributed to Exekias (note 18 above). The animal frieze appears above the rays and below a zone of upright tongue pattern (black tongues alternate with blank spaces). The third instance is Tarquinia inv. 623 in the manner of Exekias, Figure 33 (ABV, p. 147, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 61, 2; LIMC IV [1988], p. 216, no. 114, pl. 119, s.v. "Gigantes" [by Francis Vian with the collaboration of Mary B. Moore]). This neck-amphora has a frieze of hanging lotus buds with dots in the interstices on the shoulder instead of figures, but the arrangement below the composition on the body is the same as Naples 2498.
 23. Inv. 162 (St. 85) (note 16 above).
 24. The configuration on Louvre F 217 (note 17 above) is similar, but the drawing of both the palmettes and spirals is looser and the line for the spirals is thinner than it is on MMA 1991.11.2. Also, compare the handle ornament on the neck-amphora in Geneva (Chamay and Bothmer, pl. 7, 3). There, the large spirals are somewhat overwhelming. Neither is as elegant as the configuration on MMA 1991.11.2 and Saint Petersburg inv. 162 (St. 85) (note 16 above).
 25. These are some examples. MMA 56.171.18 by a painter from Group E: no dots (ABV, p. 137, no. 61; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 61; *Addenda*², p. 37); Berlin 1716, also from Group E: dots (ABV, p. 137, no. 62); Boston, MFA 98.923, assigned to the Botkin Class: dots (note 16 above). Sometimes these two patterns are combined with a third, placed either above or below the lotus buds, e.g., Rouen 20 by the Painter of London B 174: key pattern to left (ABV, p. 686, no. 8 to p. 141); MMA 17.230.14 by Exekias: key pattern to left (ABV, p. 144, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 59, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 39); Louvre F 217 by the Princeton Painter: key pattern to right (note 17 above); Orvieto, Museo Civico, no number, also by the Princeton Painter: net pattern (ABV, p. 298, no. 4).
 26. These are other comparisons. Two neck-amphorae of Panathenaic shape: Switzerland, private collection (*Paralipomena*, p. 130, no. 5 *bis*; *Addenda*², p. 78), and Berlin F 1701 (note 6

- above). Two amphorae Type B: Madrid 10925 (*ABV*, p. 298, no. 11; *Addenda*², p. 78; *LIMC* IV [1988], p. 221, no. 178, pl. 125, s.v. "Gigantes" [by Francis Vian with the collaboration of Mary B. Moore]) and Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig BS 427 (*Paralipomena*, p. 130, no. 14 *bis*; *Addenda*², p. 78). A pseudo-Panathenaic amphora, Heidelberg 73/3 (note 6 above). For this type of Panathenaic amphora, see discussion in this article.
27. Today, the device is quite flaked. See Chamay in Chamay and Bothmer, p. 60. For other examples of a small shield device circumscribed by an incised circle on a round shield, see: the first, third, and sixth warriors on Side B of Boston, MFA 21.21, by the Camtar Painter (*ABV*, p. 84, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 31, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 23); the alternate shields held by the warriors on Munich 1436 by the Timiades Painter (*ABV*, p. 95, no. 4; *Paralipomena*, p. 36, no. 4; *Addenda*², p. 25); Athena's shield on Florence 97779, a prize Panathenaic amphora by Lydos (*ABV*, p. 110, no. 33; *Addenda*², p. 30; Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, p. 124, no. 6.008, pl. 6); and the shield held by the fourth warrior on an amphora, Bologna 1437 (CVA, Bologna 2 [Italia 7], pl. 2 [301], 4). For an example on a Boeotian shield, see the right warrior on Fiesole, Constantini, no number, by the Swing Painter (*Paralipomena*, p. 134, no. 21 *ter*; *Addenda*², p. 80) and the right warrior on Side B of Karlsruhe 61/89 by the Painter of Munich 1410 (note 14 above).
 28. Bonn inv. 45 (*ABV*, p. 299, no. 16); Zürich art market (note 6 above).
 29. *ABV*, p. 296, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 128, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 77.
 30. Switzerland, private collection (note 26 above).
 31. Saint Petersburg inv. 162 (St. 85) (note 16 above); Switzerland, private collection (note 26 above); Orvieto, Museo Civico, no number (note 25 above); Bonn inv. 45 (note 28 above).
 32. The two most pertinent discussions of the ependytes are by Margaret Miller: "The Ependytes in Classical Athens," *Hesperia* 58 (1989), pp. 313–29, esp. pp. 314–15 for its first appearance in sixth-century representations, and *Athens and Persia*, pp. 173–76.
 33. See note 29 above. Compare the Philadelphia Athena with Athena standing on Zeus's lap in the scene of her birth on Side B of Geneva MF 154 by the Princeton Painter (*ABV*, p. 299, no. 18; *Paralipomena*, p. 130, no. 18; *Addenda*², p. 78). There, the garment is clearly a peplos. On Würzburg 249 by the Painter of Berlin 1686, there seems to be a conflation of the peplos and the chiton. The skirt has the pleats of a chiton below the ependytes, but there is the distinct overfold of a peplos (*ABV*, p. 296, no. 10; *Paralipomena*, p. 128, no. 10; *Addenda*², p. 78). These three vases are contemporary and may be dated about 550–540 B.C. On a fragment of a prize Panathenaic amphora found in the Agora (P 2071: Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, p. 123, no. 6.003 with bibliography and pl. 4), Athena wears a chiton, and the red garment over it that reaches to about knee level has been identified as an ependytes by Patricia Marx ("Athena on Early Panathenaic Amphoras," *Antike Kunst* 46 [2003], pp. 17–19, with bibliography, p. 27, no. 1). This is a distinct possibility, because one detects a little bit of the sleeve of the chiton at the start of the goddess's raised right arm (the rest of the arm is lost); if the red garment is an ependytes, it is probably the earliest example because the fragment may be dated about 560–550 B.C., a little earlier than the aulos players who wear both garments (see note 52 for an aulos player who wears only the ependytes). For the connection of the ependytes and Athena, see Miller, *Athens and Persia*, pp. 174–75, who believes that "the ependytes is grammatically possible only when, after decades of peplos-usage, Athena starts to wear the chiton in the last quarter of the sixth century" (p. 175). Athena on Philadelphia MS 3441 and Agora P 2071 seem to contradict this belief.
 34. Louvre G 1: *ARV*², p. 3, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 320, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 149. Orvieto, Faina 64: *ARV*², p. 3, no. 5; *Paralipomena*, p. 320, no. 5; *Addenda*², p. 149.
 35. Most painters did not include all three bridle straps but just drew the throatlash, probably because including all three straps might result in a cluttered effect. The Princeton Painter seems to have been aware of this potential problem and was able to avoid it. Two other artists who sometimes included all three straps are the Painter of Acropolis 606 and Lydos. The Painter of Acropolis 606: Athens, Third Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities A.3893, attributed to the artist by Olga Tzachou-Alexandri ("A Vase-Painter as Dedicator on the Athenian Acropolis: A New View of the Painter of Acropolis 606," *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*, Studies in the History of Art, 32 [Hanover, N.H., and London, 1991], pp. 190–214, esp. pp. 192–95, figs. 1–4). Lydos: Naples 81292 (ex 2770) (*ABV*, p. 109, no. 23; *Paralipomena*, p. 44, no. 23; *Addenda*², p. 30); Athens, Third Ephoreia, attributed by Tiverios (note 2 above, p. 93 and pl. 99); and Hephaistos' mule on MMA 31.11.11 (*ABV*, p. 108, no. 5; *Paralipomena*, p. 43, no. 5; *Addenda*², p. 29).
 36. One exception is an amphora formerly in the collection of Sir Wilfred Peek (*ABV*, p. 298, no. 12; *Paralipomena*, p. 129, no. 12). There, Athena stands in a chariot with Hermes at the head of the team and Dionysos behind the vehicle at the left of the composition, but it is uncertain who the passenger in the chariot is because he has no attribute. He should be Herakles, but one cannot be entirely sure.
 37. The Boeotian shield is oval in shape with two incurving sections, a porpax or armband on the inside that fits the forearm just in front of the elbow, and a hand grip at the rim. For a good example in the work of the Princeton Painter of warriors holding this type of shield, see Tarquinia inv. 624, Side A (*Paralipomena*, p. 130, no. 15 *bis*; *Addenda*², p. 78), in particular the warrior in the chariot with his foot on its pole and the fallen warrior at the lower right of the composition (Figure 32); see also Bonn inv. 45 (Figure 10). The Boeotian shield is used mainly by heroes, in particular Ajax and Achilles. Two good examples by Exekias: Munich 1470, which shows on each side Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, and Vatican 344 signed by Exekias as potter and painter, where the two heroes play a board game and are flanked by their shields leaning against the edges of the panel (Munich 1470: *ABV*, p. 144, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 39. Vatican 344: *ABV*, p. 145, no. 13; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 13; *Addenda*², p. 40). Gods may also carry a Boeotian shield. These are a few examples, all of them from Gigantomachies. Athena: Berlin F 1925, a late sixth-century oinochoe (*LIMC* IV [1988], p. 223, no. 232 c, pl. 129), s.v. "Gigantes" [by Francis Vian with the collaboration of Mary B. Moore]). Ares: MMA 24.97.95, a column-krater of about 540–530 B.C. (*LIMC* IV, p. 218, no. 139, pl. 121). Dionysos: Houston, Menil Collection, 70.53, a psykter of about 530–520 B.C. attributed to the Antimenes Painter (*LIMC* IV, pp. 218–19, no. 153, pl. 123). Giants: Houston, Menil Collection, 70.53 (*ibid.*); Louvre F 247 by the Nikoxenos Painter (*ABV*, p. 392, no. 4; *LIMC* IV, p. 224, no. 235 b, pl. 130); and MMA

- 06.1021.78, a late sixth-century neck-amphora (*LIMC* IV, p. 221, no. 189, pl. 126). For the Boeotian shield, see most recently the brief remarks by Hanna Philipp, *Archaische Silhouettenbleche und Schildzeichen in Olympia*, *Olympische Forschungen* 30 (Berlin, 2004), pp. 395–97, under no. 101, a fragmentary bronze shield device in the shape of a Boeotian shield (applied to a round shield), part of a trophy dedicated by Hipponion, Medma, and Lokroi (pl. 99).
38. See *LIMC* V (1990), pp. 126–32 (this includes red-figure examples as well as a commentary), s.v. “Herakles” (by John Boardman). Almost without exception, the chariot procession in Attic black figure moves from left to right; for two exceptions, see the following, both from about 550 B.C.: Boston, MFA 67.1006, compared by Beazley with an unnamed painter from the Achippe Group, which has all the names inscribed and Iolaos drives the chariot (*Paralipomena*, p. 43; *Addenda*², p. 28; *LIMC* V, p. 126, no. 2878, pl. 115), and Louvre Cp 12069, a fragment of a Tyrrhenian amphora (not in Beazley; *LIMC* V, p. 126, no. 2880, pl. 115).
 39. *LIMC* V (1990), pp. 122–23: “Introduction to Zeus,” and pp. 145–46: “Herakles and Athena with Hermes and/or Iolaos, or other non-divine figures,” s.v. “Herakles” (by John Boardman). The vases in the latter group are considerably later than MMA 1991.11.2.
 40. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig BS 496: Heide Mommsen, “Zwei schwarzfigurige Amphoren aus Athen,” *Antike Kunst* 32 (1989), pl. 27, 2; for the attribution, see pp. 135–36. See also *LIMC* V (1990), p. 123, no. 2850, pl. 113, s.v. “Herakles” (by John Boardman): there Scheffold’s attribution to a painter of Group E is maintained (*Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art*, trans. Alan Griffiths [Cambridge and New York, 1992], p. 12 [the attribution is not discussed], fig. 113). Bothmer (*Amasis Painter*, p. 140) opts for the Painter of Berlin 1986 without comparative commentary (there, the accession number is given as 103.4).
 41. Berlin F 1688: *ABV*, p. 150, no. 9; *Paralipomena*, p. 63, no. 9; *Addenda*², p. 42.
 42. London, BM B 166 (*LIMC* V [1990], p. 123, no. 2851, pl. 114, s.v. “Herakles” [by John Boardman]). Bothmer (*Amasis Painter*, p. 140) says this amphora is by the Painter of Berlin 1686, but he does not elaborate.
 43. MMA 07.286.79 by the Kleophrades Painter (*ABV*, p. 404, no. 6; *ARV*², p. 192, –; *Paralipomena*, p. 175, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 105; Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, p. 138, no. 5.008, pl. 41), which dates about 500 B.C. The bibliography for the Panathenaic Games and the accompanying amphorae is very long. These are the most recent comprehensive references: Bentz, *Panath-enaika*, passim; Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, passim; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, passim. For a brief introduction to the subject, the one by Beazley is the best: *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986), pp. 81–92. See also J. A. Davison, “Notes on the Panathenaea,” *JHS* 78 (1958), pp. 23–42, esp. pp. 26–29, “IV. ‘566’ B.C. AND ALL THAT,” for the problems concerning the date of the reorganization; also Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, pp. 18–21. The most recent general overview of the Panathenaia is by Panos Valavanis, *Games and Sanctuaries in Ancient Greece. Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, Athens*, trans. David Hardy (Los Angeles, 2004), pp. 336–91; see also *The Panathenaic Games*, proceedings of an international conference held at the University of Athens, May 11–12, 2004, ed. Olga Palagia and Alkestis Choremi-Spatieri (Oxford and Oakville, Conn., 2007).
 44. All but one of them were published in 1963 by Dietrich von Bothmer in *CVA, MMA* 3 [USA 12], pls. 38–45 [570–77]. The relative newcomer is *MMA* 1978.11.13, the earliest of the group, dating about 565–560 B.C. and signed by Nikias as potter (Figure 26). See Mary B. Moore, “Nikias Made Me’: An Early Panathenaic Prize Amphora in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” *MMJ* 34 (1999), pp. 37–56.
 45. Fragments of a Panathenaic amphora in the J. Paul Getty Museum were attributed to the Princeton Painter by Flavia Zisa, and they may come from a prize vase: “Frammenti di Anfore Panathenaiche Archaiche al J. Paul Getty Museum,” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 6 [Occasional Papers on Antiquities 9] (2000), pp. 57–61. The obverse depicts Athena to left between columns, but the area where the prize inscription would be is not preserved (p. 58, fig. 1 a). The reverse shows a footrace in armor. Zisa compared these fragments with *MMA* 53.11.1 and *MMA* 1989.281.89 (p. 61, figs. 3 and 4; here Figures 14 and 23). Zisa stopped short of designating this a prize vase, but in an earlier publication, Ruth Lindner estimated the diameter of the mouth fragment (*ibid.*, p. 60, fig. 1 c) to be about 17.5 cm, which corresponds to the standard size of the prize vase (“Waffenläufer auf Panathenäischen Preisamphoren,” in *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon*, ed. Heide Froning [Mainz, 1992], p. 147, n. 10: “entspricht der Standardgröße”). Zisa does not cite Lindner. I have not personally seen these fragments and am not sure if they belong to a prize vase or not. They do not appear in either of Bentz’s publications. For now, it is probably best to leave this an open question.
 46. The vase is broken and repaired with small missing pieces restored in plaster and painted. Some of the glaze misfired green, brown, and red. Bibliography: *ABV*, p. 298, no. 5; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London, 1972), p. 129 and fig. 13, opp. p. 160; *CVA, MMA* 4 [USA 16], pl. 13 [741], 1–4; Böhr, *Schaukelmaler*, pl. 169; Elke Böhr, “Weiterer Werke des Schaukelmalers,” in *Praestant Interna: Festschrift für Ulrich Hausmann zum 65. Geburtstag am 13. August 1982*, ed. Bettina von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, Dietrich Mannsperger, and Friedhelm Prayon (Tübingen, 1982), p. 217, n. 40; *LIMC* II (1984), p. 986, no. 337, pl. 742, s.v. “Athéna” (by Hélène Cassimatis) and p. 1010, no. 576, pl. 742, s.v. “Athéna” (by Pierre Demargne); Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 34 and pl. 14 b; *Addenda*², p. 78; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 25, fig. 14; Van Straten, *Hiera kalá*, p. 16, n. 6; Reeder, *Pandora*, p. 42, fig. 7; Monica De Cesare, *Le statue in imagine: Studi sulle raffigurazioni di statue nella pittura vascolare greca* (Rome, 1997), pp. 84, 165, and 289, no. 417; Miller, *Athens and Persia*, p. 175, n. 155; Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, p. 21, n. 85; Zisa, “Frammenti” (note 45 above), p. 61, fig. 3.
 47. The white for the tripod shield device has flaked and the image of the device is visible today only in a raking light. For a good parallel, see the shield held by Athena on an unattributed contemporary non-prize Panathenaic in Tampa (Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection 86.24; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 172, no. 41).
 48. Bothmer in *CVA, MMA* 4 (note 46 above), p. 12.
 49. This is called a *τύλα* or an *ἐπέτρα* (see *Agora* XXIII, p. 35, n. 7, with bibliography, especially Frank Brommer, “Amymone,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 63/64 [1938/39], pl. 67 and p. 175, re: Vienna 1011 in the manner of the Dinos Painter; Amymone holds this object [*ARV*², p. 1155, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 337]).

50. Miller, *Athens and Persia*, p. 175.
51. London, BM B 141: Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 62, fig. 40; Bentz, *Panathenaïka*, p. 189, no. 236. On the obverse, Athena strides to left, as on the true Panathenaic, but there are no columns. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum AT 241: CVA, Braunschweig 1 [Deutschland 4], pl. 6 [152], 2; *Hesperia* 58 (1989), pl. 51 a; for the added color, see CVA, p. 17. Add to these two, known to Miller, three more cited by her, including MMA 53.11.1; Athens, NMAcr. 654 c, a fragment of an unattributed column-krater; and Athens, NMAcr. 2203, a fragment of the leg of a tripod-vase (a kothon [?]) (Miller, *Athens and Persia*, p. 175, n. 155). All of these date about 550 B.C.
52. Austin, Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery 1984.34 (ex Castle Ashby): CVA, Castle Ashby [Great Britain 15], pl. 15 [670], 5–6; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, pl. 13, d; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 64 and p. 155, no. 17; Bentz, *Panathenaïka*, p. 184, no. 145. Two more examples of a figure wearing an ependytes may be cited. On an ovoid neck-amphora in Athens, dated about 560 B.C., the aulos player wears a red ependytes that terminates at mid-calf, but he does not wear a chiton under it (Athens, NM 559: ABV, p. 85, -, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 23; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, pl. 20 a). Beazley considered the drawing to be not far from that on the vase at Eleusis signed by the potter Kleimachos: Eleusis 280 (ex 4267): ABV, p. 85; *Paralipomena*, p. 32, no. 1. Mention should be made here of the aulos player on MMA 1988.11.3, an unattributed hydria of about 550 B.C. He accompanies a comic chorus and wears a similar costume, but without a chiton under it. This choral scene takes with it the two on a Siana cup in Amsterdam attributed to the Heidelberg Painter. There, the musicians and dancers wear short, unbelted, but *tight-fitting* tunics over long or short chitons. See Mary B. Moore, "Hoplites, Horses, and a Comic Chorus," *MMJ* 41 (2006), pp. 33–57, esp. pp. 36–40.
53. ABV, p. 296, no. 4; *Paralipomena*, p. 128, no. 4; *Addenda*², p. 77; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, pl. 9 d; Van Straten, *Hierà kalá*, p. 197, no. V 21, fig. 4; *ThesCRA* III (2005), p. 189, no. 77, pl. 39, s.v. "veneration" (by Alessandra Costantini). Shapiro (p. 30) suggests that the large size of Athena may indicate a statue.
54. See Würzburg 474 by the Ambrosios Painter of about 510 B.C. (*ARV*², p. 173, no. 10; *Addenda*², p. 184). This type of altar seems to appear after the invention of red-figure. On many illustrations, there is a separate part, called an eschara, placed above the capping course, which is where the fire was lit; it may have served to prevent "the surface of the altar from being damaged by the fire." See Gunnell Ekroth, "Altars on Attic Vases: The Identification of Bomos and Eschara," in *Ceramics in Context: Proceedings of the Internordic Colloquium on Ancient Pottery Held in Stockholm 13–15 June 1997*, ed. Charlotte Scheffer, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis; Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology 12 (Stockholm, 2001), pp. 115–26, and p. 121 for the quotation. For altars in general, see Dimitra Aktsele, *Altäre in der archaischen und klassischen Kunst: Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Ikonographie*, Internationale Archäologie, vol. 28 (Espelkamp, 1996), passim and p. 18 for the eschara.
55. See note 53 above. For a good detail of the altar, see *ThesCRA* I (2004), p. 78, no. 106, pl. 16, s.v. "sacrifices gr." (by Antoine Hermary et al.); Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, pp. 40–42, fig. 8. For the windbreak, see Aktsele (note 54 above), pp. 14–15.
56. See, in detail, Lila I. Marangou, *Ancient Greek Art from the Collection of Stavros S. Niarchos*, exh. cat., Mouseio Kykladikēs Technēs (Athens, 1995), pp. 86–93, no. 12, with bibliography; Van Straten, *Hierà kalá*, p. 203, no. V 55, fig. 2; J. Rasmus Brandt, "Archaeologia Panathenaica II. Athens, Erechtheus, Peisistratos and the Panathenaic Festival," in *Ceramics in Context* (note 54 above), pp. 103–5; *ThesCRA* I (2004), p. 12, no. 67, pl. 2, s.v. "processions" (by Marion True et al.).
57. London, BM B 80: Clemente Marconi, "Iphigeneia a Selinunte," *Prospettiva*, nos. 75–76 (1994), p. 50, fig. 1; Van Straten, *Hierà kalá*, p. 212, no. V 107, fig. 14; *ThesCRA* I (2004), p. 12, no. 69, s.v. "processions" (by Marion True et al.).
58. For a solid altar with a windbreak, see the one on a pseudo-Chalcidian neck-amphora of about 530 B.C. that depicts the Death of Astyanax. Louvre E 799 (Andreas Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1927], p. 161, no. IV, pl. 207; Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, p. 279, no. Sv 26, fig. 161).
59. Adolphseck 130: *Paralipomena*, p. 137, no. 3; Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, p. 357, no. B 1, fig. 226. The scene on Side B shows a splanchnopt with two youths, each holding two spits instead of just one. The area where the windbreak would be is missing today and filled in with plaster, but a windbreak would not really be necessary because the spit-holders could move out of the way of ashes and other debris stirred up by wind. Only in a scene of sacrifice that takes place in a sanctuary with a cult statue would a windbreak be useful and required if the area was not well sheltered.
60. Louvre F 10: *ThesCRA* I (2004), p. 18, no. 119, pl. 6, s.v. "processions" (by Marion True et al.); for a good, if small, detail of the altar, see CVA, Louvre 6 [France 9], pl. 62 [401], 5.
61. Munich 1441: ABV, p. 243, no. 44; *Addenda*², p. 62; *ThesCRA* I (2004), p. 114, no. 452, pl. 25, s.v. "sacrifices" (by Antoine Hermary et al.).
62. Athens, NM 493: ABV, p. 251, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 112, -, no. 1; Van Straten, *Hierà kalá*, p. 195, no. V 9, fig. 12.
63. Here are some examples. The Death of Troilos at the Altar of Apollo Thymbraios: Munich 1426 by the Timiades Painter, a member of the Tyrrhenian Group (ABV, p. 95, no. 5; *Paralipomena*, p. 36, no. 5; *Addenda*², p. 25); there, the altar is mound-shaped and labeled: BOMOS; a band cup of about 550 B.C. in a private collection in Basel (*LIMC* I [1981], p. 87, no. 359 a; pl. 93, s.v. "Achilleus" [by Annelise Kossatz-Deissmann]); and London, BM B 326, by a painter from the Leagros Group (ABV, p. 362, no. 28; *Addenda*², p. 96). The Death of Priam at the Altar of Zeus Herkeios: the lid in Naples by the C Painter (ABV, p. 58, no. 119; *Paralipomena*, p. 23, no. 119; *Addenda*², p. 16); this altar has a double windbreak; two by Lydos: Louvre F 29 (ABV, p. 109, no. 21; *Paralipomena*, p. 44, no. 21; *Addenda*², p. 30) and Berlin 1685 (ABV, p. 109, no. 24; *Addenda*², p. 30); London, BM 1842.3-14.3 (ex B 205), by a painter from Group E (ABV, p. 136, no. 55; *Addenda*², p. 37); and a pyxis, Berlin F 3988 (*LIMC* II [1984], p. 932, no. 10, pl. 683, s.v. "Astyanax" [by Odette Toucheffeu]). Other subjects. Herakles: The Busiris Adventure: see Cincinnati 1959.1 by the Swing Painter (*Paralipomena*, p. 134, no. 23ter; *Addenda*², p. 80). Sacrificing an oxtail: two are by the Sappho Painter: one is MMA 41.162.29, on which the altar has a low base and is crowned by volutes and looks like a combination of the two types; Herakles presides over this sacrifice (ABL p. 226, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 126; Van Straten, *Hierà kalá*, p. 263, no. V 380, fig. 135; *ThesCRA* I [2004], p. 127, no. 561, pl. 31, s.v. "sacrifices gr." [by Antoine Hermary et al.]); the other is Athens, NM 595: the altar is similar to the one on MMA 41.162.29 (ABL, p. 226,

- no. 8; Van Straten, *Hiera kalá*, p. 222, no. V 158, fig. 153; *ThesCRA* I [2004], p. 127, no. 562, pl. 31).
64. Florence 97779 (note 27 above). Karlsruhe 65/45 (*Paralipomena*, p. 61, no. 8 bis; *Addenda*², p. 39; Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, p. 124, no. 6.014, pl. 9). On the Burgon amphora, London, BM 1842.7-28.834 (ex B 130), the right heel of Athena is raised so slightly it is hardly noticeable (*ABV*, p. 89, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 33, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 24; Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, p. 123, no. 6.001, pl. 2).
 65. Note 43 above. Raising the right heel when hurling a spear or similar object is a natural physical reaction. Compare, e.g., Athena in the Gigantomachy. These are three good examples, two contemporary with MMA 53.11.1, the third slightly later: Tarquinia inv. 623, in the manner of Exekias and dated about 540 B.C. (Figure 33 and note 22 above); Munich 1437, a neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape, dated about 540 B.C. (*LIMC* IV [1988], p. 217, no. 126, pl. 120; s.v. "Gigantes" [by Francis Vian with the collaboration of Mary B. Moore]); and London, BM 1839.11-9.3 (ex B 208), in the manner of the Lysippides Painter, dated about 530–520 B.C. (*ABV*, p. 260, no. 29; *Paralipomena*, p. 114, no. 29; *Addenda*², p. 68; *LIMC* IV, p. 217, no. 120, pl. 119). It might be worth noting that in two of the earliest Gigantomachies, where Athena is well preserved, she has both feet flat on the ground, almost like the image of her on the Burgon amphora (note 64 above): Akrop. 2134, a fragmentary kantharos preserving part of a dedicatory inscription to Athena and dated about 560–550 B.C. (*ABV*, p. 347; *LIMC* IV, p. 216, no. 106, pl. 118), and Berlin F 3988, a pyxis of about the same time (*LIMC* IV, p. 216, no. 109, pl. 118). On an amphora Type B of about 550 B.C. by the Princeton Painter, one of his early vases, Athena has both feet on the ground as she prepares to hurl her spear at a giant (Madrid 10925; see note 26). Thus, it would appear that to a certain extent, the image of Athena on Panathenaic amphorae transferred to those of her fighting in the Gigantomachy, at least in the sixth century.
 66. See note 33 above, where Marx ("Athena on Early Panathenaic Amphoras," p. 19 and n. 33) remarks that Greek vase painters "often added bits from the front and back views onto the sides of figures in profile," and vice versa when a frontal eye appears in a face drawn in profile. For a more forceful and detailed argument, see Patricia A. Marx, "The Introduction of the Gorgoneion to the Shield and Aegis of Athena and the Question of Endoios," *RA* 1993, pp. 240–41. See also the remarks by Kim Hartswick, "The Gorgoneion on Athena's Aegis: Genesis, Suppression and Survival," *RA*, 1993, p. 275.
 67. *Catalogue vente publique XI, Monnaies et Médailles* S.A. Bâle, sale cat., January 23–24, 1953, p. 33, under no. 320.
 68. Dietrich von Bothmer, "A Panathenaic Amphora," *MMAB*, n.s., 12 (October 1953), pp. 54–55. In his entry in *CVA* 4 [USA 16], p. 12, he gave a briefer account, probably to avoid repetition, merely saying that the woman "carries the peplos, neatly folded over a board."
 69. See note 46 above.
 70. Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 34. For a general discussion of this woman as a priestess of Athena, especially the one on the name vase of the Painter of Berlin 1686 (note 53 above and Figure 18), see Joan B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), pp. 186–90.
 71. Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 25, and "Replicating Tradition: The First Celebrations of the Greater Panathenaia," in *The Panathenaic Games* (note 43 above), p. 43. See also Reeder, *Pandora*, p. 43.
 72. *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 18, part 3 (1949), col. 460, s.v. "Panathenaia" (by L. Ziehen); Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste* (reprint, Hildesheim and New York, 1969), p. 31.
 73. The Amasis Painter: MMA 31.11.10 (*ABV*, p. 154, no. 57; *Paralipomena*, p. 64, no. 57 and p. 66 under MMA 56.11.1; *Addenda*², p. 45). Exekias: Vatican 344 (*ABV*, p. 145, no. 13; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 13; *Addenda*², p. 40). See also the folded cloth placed on a low stool balanced on the head of a woman on a Locrian relief in Reggio Calabria (*Archeologia Classica* 12 [1960], pl. 1) and the carefully folded cloth a woman places in a decorative chest on a Locrian relief in Taranto, IG 8332 (*Hommes et dieux de la Grèce: Europalia* 82. Hellas-Grèce, exh. cat., Palais des Beaux-Arts de Bruxelles [Brussels, 1982], p. 257, no. 170; *ThesCRA* V [2005], p. 262, no. 703, pl. 46, s.v. "Kultinstrumente" [by Ingrid Krauskopf]).
 74. For a discussion of the peplos, see E. J. W. Barber, "The Peplos of Athena," in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 112–16, with bibliography; for the processing, weaving, and weight of the wool, E. J. W. Barber, "The Greek Technology of Cloth-Making," in Neils, pp. 106–12.
 75. For basketry in the Greek and Roman world that includes references to Greek and Roman writers, see Henry H. Bobart, *Basketwork through the Ages* (London, 1936), pp. 27–52; also Darrel A. Amyx, "The Attic Stelai, Part III," *Hesperia* 27 (1958), pp. 264–71 and pl. 51 for a chart of the various types of baskets represented on Greek vases of the fifth century B.C. For wicker, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 20 (London, 1911), pp. 350–51, s.v. "osier" [by Thomas Okey]. Two red-figured vases in the Metropolitan Museum illustrate very well how to carry baskets that do not have handles: a stamnos by the Deepdene Painter, dating to about 470–460 B.C., shows a woman on the reverse cradling the basket on her left forearm (MMA 17.230.37: *ARV*², p. 498, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 381, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 251; Reeder, *Pandora*, pp. 272–73, no. 76). A lebes-gamikos attributed to the Washing Painter, dating about 430–420 B.C., shows two women and Nike with such baskets (MMA 07.286.35: *ARV*², p. 1126, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 453, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 332; Reeder, *Pandora*, pp. 224–26, no. 55). One woman balances the basket on her head, steadying it with her right hand, while holding a second basket on her left forearm; Nike and the second woman balance their baskets on their upright raised hands. Baskets are not to be confused with chests, which are constructed not woven. They have deep receptacles, shallow lids hinged at the back, and short legs or feline feet for support. See Elfriede Brümmer, "Griechische Truhenbehälter," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 100 (1985), pp. 1–168; also, *ThesCRA* V (2005), pp. 274–78, s.v. "Kisten" (by Ingrid Krauskopf). The latter does not include vases.
 76. Amyx, "The Attic Stelai, Part III," p. 270 (note 75 above).
 77. Eleusis 471 (837) (*ABV*, p. 309, no. 97; *Paralipomena*, p. 133, no. 97; *Addenda*², p. 83). The quotation is from Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 81. For a good photograph, see Böhr, *Schaukelmaler*, pl. 136.
 78. Heidelberg, Univ. 72/1 (Ingrid Krauskopf, "Eine attisch schwarzfigurige Hydria in Heidelberg," *AA* [1977], p. 15, fig. 2). The attribution is Krauskopf's. See also the name vase of the Painter of Louvre F 42, a hydria that depicts a similar wedding scene (*ABV*, p. 304, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 79; *AA* [1977], p. 17, figs. 4, 5).
 79. Krauskopf (note 78 above), pp. 16–24 (the list of scenes is on pp. 16–20).

80. CVA, Boston 2 [USA 19], pl. 75 [909], 2-3. On p. 17, this object is described as "a bale of patterned cloth," which it very likely is not. It seems to me to be the exception that proves the rule that such boxes are generally not embellished.
81. Oltos: Munich 2618 (ARV², p. 61, no. 74; *Paralipomena*, p. 327, no. 74; *Addenda*², p. 165). The Brygos Painter: Vienna 3710 (ARV², p. 380, no. 171; *Paralipomena*, p. 366, no. 171 and p. 368, no. 171; *Addenda*², p. 227). In CVA, Vienna 1 [Österreich 1], p. 30, Fritz Eichler described these as two women who carry on their heads baskets placed on top of one another ("zwei Mädchen . . . die auf dem Kopf aufeinandergestellte Körbe tragen"). I think Krauskopf is more likely to have the correct interpretation that each is a single box with lid.
82. Friedrich Hauser in Adolph Furtwängler and Karl Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1909), p. 119: "das Mädchen trägt einen flachen Kasten, der Kleidunstücke enthaltend zu denken ist" and p. 121: "der [the Brygos Painter] begnügt sich mit der Angabe von Metallgefäßen und Kästen mit Kleidern."
83. *Iliad* 24.230-34, trans. Augustus T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 2. (London and New York, 1925), p. 579.
84. ABL, p. 216, no. 8; *ThesCRA I* (2004), p. 78, no. 108, with bibliography. I wish to thank Matthew A. Noisieux, associate for administration in the Greek and Roman Art Department, for taking the digital photograph reproduced in Figure 22.
85. Bothmer, "Panathenaic Amphora" (note 68 above), p. 56; CVA, MMA 4 [USA 16], p. 12.
86. Geneva MF 154 (note 33 above). Shapiro (*Art and Cult*, p. 34, n. 130) follows Froning in suggesting that these panels represent an example of continuous narration (Heide Froning, "Anfänge der kontinuierlichen Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 103 [1988], p. 199). This is an interesting idea, especially because the cast is the same in each scene, right down to the lion sitting beneath Zeus's throne.
87. ABV, p. 298, no. 5. Cf. Vatican 17701 (ex 353) by a painter assigned by Beazley to the Group of Vatican 347, near Group E (ABV, p. 138, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 37). Beazley identified the scene on the reverse as the Birth of Athena. There, Zeus (no thunderbolt) sits on a throne holding a staff on which an owl perches. Poseidon and Hermes stand behind him. A woman (Athena? one of the Eileithyia?) before him gestures in greeting and behind her is a warrior (Ares?). See LIMC II (1984), p. 986, no. 340, s.v. "Athēna" (by Hélène Cassinatis).
88. For the prize Panathenaic amphorae, see note 43 above. For pseudo-Panathenaics, see Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, pp. 19-22; in more detail, Bentz, "Schwarzfigurige Amphoren panathenaischen Form: Typologie, Funktion und Verbreitung," in *Panathenaïka*, pp. 112-17, with bibliography and a list of 325 examples on pp. 177-95; briefly, Haritini Kotsidu, *Die musischen Agone der Panathenäen in archaischer und klassischer Zeit: Eine historisch-archäologische Untersuchung*, Quellen und Forschungen zur antiken Welt, vol. 8 (Munich, 1991), pp. 94-99. For other deviations from true Panathenaic subjects that occur on pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae, see Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, p. 21, and *Panathenaïka*, pp. 114-15. For the Nikias amphora, see note 44 above.
89. Experiments include: the direction of Athena to right instead of to left; the columns surmounted by images other than cocks or the exclusion of columns altogether; the presence of another figure or figures with Athena. See Bentz, *Panathenaïka*, p. 113.
90. The vase dates about 540 B.C. The glaze fired brownish and reddish in many places, especially on the reverse. Bibliography: Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer, pp. 64-65, pl. 8, 3 and pl. 9, 1-2; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 155, no. 18, ills. pp. 43 and 63, also the front cover (in color); Marx, *RA*, 1993 (note 66 above), p. 239 and p. 240, fig. 5; Bentz, *Panathenaïka*, p. 190, no. 261; Zisa (note 45 above), p. 61, fig. 4.
91. Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer (p. 64) made the observation that the curling tendrils of the lotus buds complement the curling tails of the lions, surely an intention of the painter.
92. Beazley remarked in *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, rev. ed. (Berkeley, 1986), p. 84, that "the cocks are there [at the top of the columns, re: London, BM 1842.7-28.834 (ex B 130)] as symbols of the fighting spirit, the cock."
93. For a good example in the Metropolitan Museum, see MMA 59.64, an ovoid neck-amphora that bears some resemblance to the Ptoon Painter (*Paralipomena*, p. 31; *Addenda*², p. 23). See also the discussion by Alan Shapiro, "Les Rhapsodes aux Panathénées et la céramique à Athènes à l'époque archaïque," in *Culture et cité: L'avènement d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque, Actes du Colloque international organisé à l'Université libre de Bruxelles du 25 au 27 avril 1991 par l'Institut des Hautes Études de Belgique et la Fondation Archéologique de l'U.L.B.*, ed. Annie Verbanck-Picard and Didier Viviers (Brussels, 1995), pp. 127-37.
94. MMA 63.11.6 by the Andokides Painter, the figure of Artemis sniffing a flower (ARV², p. 1617, no. 2 bis; *Paralipomena*, 320, no. 2 bis; *Addenda*², p. 149; *MMJ* 36 [2001], p. 20, fig. 9); Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig BS 491 (ARV², p. 3, no. 4; *Paralipomena*, p. 320, no. 4; *Addenda*², p. 149; CVA, Basel 3 [Schweiz 7], pl. 1 [313], 2 and 6 and pl. 2 [314], 2), the seated figure on the right.
95. Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer, p. 64.
96. For a similar shield on a prize vase, see Florence 97779 by Lydos (note 27 above). There, the snakes on the aegis also have incised dots. See also the shield of Athena on a fragmentary Panathenaic amphora from the Akropolis, Athens, NMAcr. 923: the boss is decorated with a gorgoneion; a white griffin and horse foreparts appear on what is preserved of the band surrounding the boss. The latter vase was compared by Beazley with Group E (ABV, p. 667; for good photographs, see Botho Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, 2 vols. in 9 parts [Berlin, 1925-33], pl. 59). These fragments are not from a prize vase. The text in Graef (p. 110) indicates that the illustrations are 13/20 original size and if enlarged to 1:1 on a copier, they are too small. Furthermore, two of them (*a* and *e*) bear part of a kalos name (HIPPOKA[ΕΣ?] or HIPPOKA[ΙΔΕΣ?]), which would not occur on a prize vase made in the third quarter of the sixth century, the time when this vase was painted. On the obverse, Athena (*a*) appears to left between two columns surmounted by cocks; thus, this side had the look of a prize vase, but for the kalos inscription above the left cock. On the reverse (*e*), Athena stands to right before Zeus, identified by his thunderbolt, and behind the goddess are two of the tines of Poseidon's trident. A small fragment (*f*) shows a greaved male leg that might belong to Ares (Graef, pp. 110-11). This Panathenaic does not appear in either of Bentz's books.
97. Today, the device is quite flaked. See Chamay in Chamay and Bothmer, p. 60.
98. Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer, p. 65 and nn. 44, 45. Cahn attributed it to the Swing Painter, an attribution accepted by Böhr, *Schaukelmaler*, pl. 89 A. This vase lacks columns; instead,

- there is a woman in front of Athena with both arms outstretched and a wreath in one hand, and Hermes stands behind the goddess. The reverse depicts two youthful boxers with a prize Panathenaic amphora standing on the ground between them; at left and right is a standing man, perhaps an onlooker or a judge. This vase also bears the same graffito as MMA 1989.281.89, except that it is between handle A/B and the panel on the reverse. Bothmer's attribution seems to me convincing.
99. *ABV*, p. 298, no. 14. See also the snake in front of Athena's face on Exekias' prize Panathenaic amphora, Karlsruhe 65/45 (note 64 above).
 100. Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer, p. 64 and nn. 32, 34, 36. For others, see Shapiro, *Art and Cull*, p. 31 and n. 102, who suggests that in this scene the owl on the shield "seems to argue for a statue, rather than an epiphany, of the goddess." See also, Athens, NMAcr. 2509, fragments of a plaque that preserves the helmeted head of Athena, her shoulders, and her raised right arm, as well as some her aegis and part of her shield with the owl (most of its head missing) perched on it (Graef [note 96 above], pl. 103); dated by Graef (p. 244) to the beginning of red figure; three white ground lekythoi by the Athena Painter (Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 148–49, under no. 7.)
 101. Berlin F 1701 (Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer, p. 64, n. 38; Bentz, *Panathenaika*, p. 111, n. 5, pl. 29, 1–2; Mommsen [note 6 above], to be published in her forthcoming *CVA*). In the scene of the Birth of Athena by a painter from Group E, an owl perches on Zeus's wrist, and in one from the Group of Vatican 347, it clings to his staff: Munich 1382 (*ABV*, p. 135, no. 47; *Addenda*², p. 36); Vatican 17701 (ex 353) (note 87 above).
 102. See Marx, *RA*, 1993 (note 66 above), pp. 239–41. Marx cites two other examples contemporary with MMA 1989.281.89. One is London, BM 1839.11.9.1 (ex B 147), by a painter from Group E, where it occurs on the aegis of Athena, who is being born from the head of Zeus; there, the gorgoneion is painted white on the red background of the aegis (*ABV*, p. 135, no. 44; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 44; *Addenda*², p. 36; see the detail in Semeli Pingiatoglou, *Eileithyia* [Würzburg, 1981], pl. 4.2). The other example is also by a painter from Group E, and it, too, is a scene of the Birth of Athena: Richmond 60.23 (*Paralipomena*, p. 56, 48ter; *Addenda*², p. 36; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 145, no. 1 and the color plate on p. 144), on which the incised image is rectangular and less convincing as a gorgoneion, though it does appear to have two eyes. I am not as certain as Neils that this is a gorgoneion.
 103. Marx, *RA*, 1993 (note 66 above), pp. 240–41.
 104. MMA 1978.11.13 (see note 44 above). To the examples illustrated by Marx, *RA*, 1993, p. 244, fig. 8, and p. 247, fig. 10, should be added: London, BM 1842.7–28.834 (ex B 130), the Burgon amphora (note 64 above), and Athens, Agora P 2071 (note 33 above).
 105. Marx, *RA*, 1993 (note 66 above), p. 241.
 106. MMA 41.162.143 (*ABV*, p. 134, no. 25; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 25; *Addenda*², p. 36).
 107. Rome, Villa Giulia 22679. See most recently Jeffrey M. Hurwit, "Reading the Chigi Vase," *Hesperia* 71 (2002), pp. 1–21 and p. 9, fig. 6, for a detail of this scene. See also George Mylonas, "Ὁ πρωτοαττικὸς ἀμφορέως τῆς Ἐλευσίνος" (Athens, 1957), pp. 82–83, for contemporary or slightly later examples. A more general study is by Josef Floren, *Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion*, *Orbis Antiquus* 29 (Münster Westfalen, 1977), passim, and pp. 30–62 for Athenian examples, not just as shield devices in vase painting, but also in other media such as terracotta antefixes and akroteria. For this device on bronze shields, see Philipp (note 37 above), pp. 232–60, nos. 27–36.
 108. Athens, NMAcr. 607 q (*ABV*, p. 107, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 29); Boston, MFA 00.330 (*ABV*, p. 135, no. 45; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 45; *Addenda*², p. 36); Louvre F 53 (*ABV*, p. 136, no. 49; *Paralipomena*, p. 55, no. 49; *Addenda*², pp. 36–37).
 109. Trans. Augustus T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1924), vol. 2, p. 483, and vol. 1, p. 249, respectively.
 110. See Hartswick (note 66 above), pp. 275–76, n. 22, and also pp. 278–80, where he reviews the suggestion that Peisistratos influenced the addition of the gorgoneion to the aegis and also its interpolation in *Iliad* 5.741–43; *LIMC* IV (1988), pp. 285–86, for a brief discussion of the gorgoneion on the aegis, s.v. "Gorgo, Gorgones" (by Stefan-Christian Dahlinger). Furtwängler's idea rests on a philological argument, namely that Homer could not yet have known a pictorial prototype. See Furtwängler in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1884–90), vol. 1 (1884–86), cols. 1702–4. For a counterargument, see Roland Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien* (Athens, 1936), pp. 61–65, who notes that the gorgoneion as a grotesque preceded in imagery the appearance of the Gorgon sisters and that in Homer it is not just the gorgoneion but the entire aegis that is frightening. Hampe was writing, however, before the discovery of the Polyphemos amphora at Eleusis in 1954, which depicts the earliest known representation of the Gorgons, including a decapitated Medusa. Painted about 650 B.C., these do not seem to have had an iconographical effect on later images of the Gorgons because the vase was used as the grave for a child and probably was not visible for very long. The face of the Gorgon (and the gorgoneion) seems to begin at Corinth. See Mylonas (note 107 above), pp. 81–83, and also the English summary on pp. 122–23.
 111. Trans. Jocelyn M. Woodward, *Perseus: A Study in Greek Art and Legend* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 6. For the original text, see Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1923), p. 62.
 112. See note 94 above. See also the partial list of seven examples given by Monique Halm-Tisserant, "Le gorgonéion, emblème d'Athènes: Introduction du motif sur le bouclier et l'égide," *RA*, 1986, pp. 268–72, and the criticism by Marx, *RA*, 1993 (note 66 above), pp. 239–40, and Hartswick (note 66 above), pp. 275–76. Inexplicably, Halm-Tisserant omits MMA 63.11.6 as well as Berlin 2159, also by the Andokides Painter (*ARV*², p. 3, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 320, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 149).
 113. Pausanias (10.7.3–5): "In the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad [586 B.C.] . . . the Amphictyones . . . added competitions for flute-playing and for singing to the flute," trans. W. H. S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 4 (London and New York, 1918), pp. 403 and 405. M. F. Vos, "Aulodic and Auletic Contests," in *Enthousiasmos: Essays on Greek and Related Pottery Presented to J. M. Hemelrijk*, ed. H. A. G. Brijder, A. A. Drukker, and C. W. Neef, Allard Pierson Series 6 (Amsterdam, 1986), p. 122; Shapiro in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 64–65, for the passage and general remarks about flutes and flute-playing; also, Vos, "Aulodic and Auletic Contests," passim.
 114. These three are contemporary with MMA 1989.281.89 and present variations, but each depicts Athena on the obverse,

- with or without columns; all of them are pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae and none is attributed. Austin, Texas, Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery 1984.34 (note 52 above), which has an aulos player only; Bonn inv. 43 (Bentz, *Panathäikia*, p. 185, no. 164), on which a woman stands before Athena; and London, BM B 141 (see Figure 16 and note 51 above).
115. For the musical contests at the Panathenaia, see Kotsidu (note 88 above), *passim*; Shapiro in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 57–58, offers a good summary of the problem as well as a thoughtful discussion of them at the Panathenaia (pp. 53–75), esp. pp. 60–65 for singers and aulos players; and slightly later, Shapiro, “Rhapsodes aux Panathénées” (note 93 above), pp. 127–37; in more detail regarding the problem of musical contests and the Panathenaic connection, see Davison (note 43 above), pp. 24–42, esp. pp. 36–41 for the contests. Davison (p. 37) includes in his discussion the vases listed in note 114 above, but he does not make a distinction between the prize Panathenaic amphorae and the pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae (all of these are examples of the latter). The prizes for musical contests at the Panathenaic Games before the second half of the fifth century are not known, but it is unlikely they were Panathenaic amphorae filled with oil because no prize vase is decorated on its reverse with this subject, which can hardly be accidental. See Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, p. 16; also Kotsidu (note 88 above), pp. 90–91. One prize vase connected with the Robinson Group, dating about 430–420 B.C., depicts a kitharode on its reverse and bears the prize inscription in front of Athena on its obverse (Saint Petersburg inv. 17794; *ABV*, p. 410, -, no. 2; Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, p. 152, no. 5.179, pl. 81). Later, the prizes for these competitions in the Panathenaic Games were “silver money and gold vessels” (Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 60.3, trans. H. Harris Rackham, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1935], p. 165; ἔσται γὰρ ἄθλα τοῖς μὲν τὴν μουσικὴν νικῶσιν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσά).
 116. See Dietrich von Bothmer, “Attic Black-Figured Pelikai,” *JHS* 71 (1951), pp. 46–47, pl. 22; Ronald Lacy in *Aspects of Ancient Greece*, ed. Gloria Pinney and Brunilde S. Ridgway (Allentown, Pa., 1979), pp. 60–61, no. 27; Shapiro in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 52 and p. 156, no. 19.
 117. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig BS 491 (note 94 above).
 118. This area is not entirely clear. See Vera Slehoferova (*CVA*, [note 94 above], p. 11), who suggests that the chest of the bearded man is hairy or he wears a shaggy undergarment: “die Brust des Bärtigen [the aulos player] ist dicht beharrt (oder hat er ein zotteliges Untergewand an?).”
 119. For the three types, see J. D. Beazley, “Citharoedus,” *JHS* 42 (1922), pp. 70–71. For the Nettos Painter and the earliest examples of Type B, see *Agora XXIII*, pp. 5–6, with bibliography.
 120. A few missing pieces have been restored in plaster and painted; otherwise it is unbroken. The glaze, uneven in color, ranges from black to brown, green, and orange-red. There is some abrasion on the legs of the right warrior on the reverse. Bibliography: *ABV*, p. 299, no. 15; *CVA*, MMA 3 [USA 12], pl. 16 [548], 1–2; *Paralipomena*, p. 129, no. 15; Mary A. Littauer, “A 19th and 20th Dynasty Heroic Motif on Attic Black-Figured Vases,” *AJA* 72 (1968), pl. 62, 4, reprinted in Mary A. Littauer and Joost Crouwel, *Selected Writings on Chariots and Other Early Vehicles, Riding and Harness*, ed. Peter Raulwing (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2002), pp. 136–40; Burkhard Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage* (Bonn, 1971), p. 142, no. 52; Böhr, *Schaukelmaler*, pp. 26–27, nn. 202 and 207; *Addenda*², p. 78.
 121. The Princeton Painter forgot to paint the lower half of the shield red; it appears between the rim of the shield seen in profile, which is held by the fleeing hoplite, and the hindquarters of the right-hand pole horse.
 122. See note 37 above.
 123. It seems that the Princeton Painter did not inscribe his figures as some of his contemporaries did. These “inscriptions” may simply have been his way of imitating what he observed his colleagues actually writing.
 124. The basic article for this motive is the one by Littauer (*AJA*, see note 120 above), esp. pp. 150–51 (reprinted in *Selected Writings*, pp. 136–37) for its appearance on Greek vases.
 125. For the problems concerning the exact date of the reorganization, see note 43 above.
 126. The weaving of the peplos itself and the draping of it over the statue may have occurred much earlier, but perhaps not the inclusion of figured scenes on the garment. The testimonia for the peplos and the Gigantomachy are much later than the reorganization of the games and are scattered throughout many sources, but very likely they reflect a far older occurrence. The evidence is well presented by Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, pp. 24–26 for the peplos, pp. 38–40 for Athena and the Gigantomachy, and esp. p. 38 for a review of the early representations of the myth. For the peplos, see also Barber (note 74 above), pp. 112–17. For the wooden statue of Athena, see the summary of the evidence by Brunilde S. Ridgway, “The Wooden Athena Polias,” in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 120–27.
 127. See LIMC IV [1988], pp. 215–16, nos. 104–10, s.v. “Gigantes” (by Francis Vian with the collaboration of Mary B. Moore).
 128. For a discussion of this central group as it applies to the Akropolis vases, see Mary B. Moore, “Lydos and the Gigantomachy,” *AJA* 83 (1979), pp. 82–84.
 129. Tarquinia inv. 623 (note 22 above).
 130. Bochum S 1205, attributed to the Swing Painter by Bothmer, an attribution accepted by Kunisch in his recent *CVA* fascicule (see note 6 above). In this entry, the scene depicting Herakles and the Lion is designated Side A; the fight with a chariot, Side B. Since the latter is a fuller and more complicated scene, it should probably be called Side A and vice versa. The amphora was mentioned by Bothmer in Bothmer and Chamay, p. 63, n. 18.
 131. *ABV*, p. 310; *Addenda*², p. 84; Böhr, *Schaukelmaler*, pp. 109–10, no. P 2, pls. 164 c and 165.
 132. Böhr, *Schaukelmaler*, p. 111, no. P 6, pl. 173; Ruth Lindner, “Athena rechtsgewandt: Eine Panathenäische Preisamphora des Schaukelmalers im J. Paul Getty Museum,” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 6 [Occasional Papers on Antiquities 9] (Malibu, 2000), p. 81, fig. 2.
 133. *CVA*, Bochum 1 [Deutschland 79], pl. 20 [4032], 1. For this feature in the work of the Princeton Painter, see Geneva HR 84, Side B (Chamay and Bothmer, pl. 7, 2), MMA 1989.281.89 (Figure 23), and the amphora formerly in the Rome art market (note 99 above).
 134. The fragment is broken and mended. There is a large chip on the body of the first warrior and in the background between his legs. There is also a small spall in the hindquarter of the right-hand pole horse. Bibliography: Dietrich von Bothmer, “An Attic Black-Figured Dinos,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 46 (1948), p. 45, n. 3; *ABV*, p. 299, no. 24; Konrad Schauenburg, “Eine neue Sianaschale,” *AA*, 1962, col. 770, n. 52, col. 771, n. 54; cols. 773–74, fig. 18; *Paralipomena*, 130, no.

- 24; Alain Schnapp, "Images et programme: Les figurations archaïques de la chasse au sanglier," *RA* 1979, p. 211.
135. In his description of the Calydonian Boar, Homer notes that it was "a fierce wild boar, white of tusk . . ." (χλούνην σὺν ἄγριον ἄργυρόδοντα) (*Iliad* 9.539; see note 137 below).
136. The trace line was part of the harness. The pole horses (the two inside horses) were yoked to the chariot pole and supplied the major pulling power. The trace horses (the two on the outside), also called outriggers, were attached by a trace line that went from their harness through a ring on the harness of each pole horse, then back to the chariot, whence it passed through a loop suspended from the rail, then on down to the axle. See Figures 1, 4, 7, and 33 for the trace line and the loop. On MMA 23.160.92, I think the Princeton Painter omitted this strap, because it should appear beside the hindquarter of the right-hand pole horse and the chiton of the fleeing hoplite.
137. See *Iliad* 9.529–49, trans. August T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1924), p. 421; also Bacchylides 5.103–20, trans. David A. Campbell, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1992), pp. 145 and 147. Bacchylides (111–20) tells us that the boar killed Ankaïos and Agelaos (Loeb, p. 147). For the Calydonian Boar Hunt, see *LIMC* VI [1992], pp. 415–17 for the Attic black-figured examples and p. 430 for discussion, s.v. "Meleagros" (by Susan Woodford with assistance from George Daltrop); Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore, 1993), pp. 328–33; most recently, Norbert Kunisch, *CVA*, Bochum 1 [Deutschland 79], p. 61, comparanda to S 994.
138. An exception is Athens, Agora P 334, which is connected with the Group of the Dresden Lekanis (*ABV*, p. 23–; *Addenda*², p. 7; *LIMC* VI [1992], p. 416, no. 6).
139. The scene on the François vase by Kleitias is especially graphic (Florence 4209; *ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, 29, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 21). For a particularly good detail, see Paolo Arias, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting*, trans. Brian B. Shefton (New York, 1963), fig. 42 middle.
140. *ABV*, p. 96, no. 16; *Addenda*², p. 25; *CVA*, Berlin 5 [Deutschland 45], pl. 15 [2160], 1 and pl. 16 [2161], 4–6. See also one in Mainz (inv. 11) attributed to the Fallow-Deer Painter by Bothmer (Gudrun Güntner, *Mythen und Menschen: Griechischen Vasenkunst aus einer deutschen Privatsammlung*, exh. cat., Martin-von-Wagner Museum, Universität Würzburg [Stuttgart, 1997], p. 29). Both of these date about 560–550 B.C.
141. Christchurch, New Zealand, University of Canterbury 41/57 (*Paralipomena*, 134, no. 31 bis; *Addenda*², p. 81). These are the other examples of a three-dimensional satyr's head I know: two on the shield of a giant: Athens, NMAcr. 607 q by Lydos (note 108 above), and Copenhagen inv. 13966, a lip cup signed by Epitimos and close to Lydos in style (*Paralipomena*, p. 48, ---); Achilles' shield on Vatican 344, signed by Exekias as potter and painter (note 73 above); Athena's shield device on Munich 1553, a neck-amphora of about 530–520 B.C. (*CVA*, München 8 [Deutschland 37], pl. 370 [1788], 1); a Boeotian shield in a battle scene on Berlin F 1896, a hydria in the manner of the Antimenes Painter (*ABV*, p. 277, no. 11; *Paralipomena*, p. 121, 11; *Addenda*², p. 72; *CVA*, Berlin 7 [Deutschland 61], pl. 18 [3011], 2); the Boeotian shield of Achilles on Adolphseck 4, a neck-amphora related to the Antimenes Painter (*Paralipomena*, p. 123, no. 12 ter; *Addenda*², p. 73); the Boeotian shield of a warrior on each side of Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2692, by the Affector (*ABV*, p. 245, no. 68; *Addenda*², p. 63; *CVA*, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1 [Denmark 10], pl. 2); and the shield of a warrior on Leiden PC 33 (xv e 31), a hydria by a painter from the Leagros Group (*ABV*, p. 364, no. 57; *Addenda*², p. 97). In red-figure, see Hektor's shield on Munich 2307 by Euthymides (*ARV*², p. 26, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 323, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 155). This device does not protrude very much, unlike those in black-figure.
- In the work of the Princeton Painter, there are two additional shields with three-dimensional devices: Berlin F 1701, the foreparts of a griffin on a hoplite's shield (note 6 above); there the forepaws appear to be attacking his enemy, another hoplite; Cambridge GR 1.1889 (ex 59), a serpent on a shield leaning against the right edge of the panel (*ABV*, p. 298, no. 10; *Addenda*², p. 78).
142. For mounting the chariot, as on MMA 23.160.90, see the figure of Athena on an amphora Type A by the Lysippides Painter, MMA 58.32 (*Paralipomena*, p. 114, no. 10 bis; *Addenda*², p. 66).
143. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig BS 427 (*Paralipomena*, p. 130, no. 14 bis; *Addenda*², p. 78).
144. The shaft may have petered out in dilute glaze, like that of the warrior in the chariot, or it may have been held at waist level and hence is not preserved. I am inclined to opt for the latter because I cannot detect traces of any glaze in the area between these two warriors. On the other hand, the Princeton Painter may have omitted it by mistake, as he seems to have done on MMA 56.171.9 (Figures 30, 31).
145. Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer, pp. 61–68. Bothmer (p. 66) also remarked that "the Princeton Painter . . . is primarily a painter of amphorae and neck-amphorae, but no two of his vases look as if they had been made by the same potter." This is a subject for a different study.
146. So far, only one small vase, a red-bodied oinochoe, has been attributed to the Princeton Painter: Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Kā 411 (*ABV*, p. 299, no. 25; *Paralipomena*, p. 130, no. 25; *Addenda*², p. 78).
147. This oddity was first noted by Henry R. W. Smith, "From the West," *AJA* 49 (1945), p. 469 (at that time MMA 56.171.9 was still in the collection of William Randolph Hearst).
148. See Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer, p. 62, for the two quotations.

An Early Image of Maitreya as a Brahman Ascetic?

ELIZABETH ROSEN STONE

THE HISTORY OF INDIAN ART FROM THE second century B.C. to the third century A.D. is relatively well understood. Despite this, there are many objects about which very little is known. Whether displayed in museums throughout the world or kept in storerooms, they await further study, or at least a fruitful insight. One such category of objects consists of early Indian bronzes, especially those predating the fifth century A.D., which do not form a cohesive group and are frequently enigmatic, even when found in excavated contexts. Often, they are unique, or at least appear to be so.

In 1984 The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired one of these puzzling bronzes, a seated figure from ancient India (Figure 1). Cast by the direct lost-wax process, the figure is made of a copper-zinc alloy that is actually a brass, but by common convention we will refer to it as a bronze. The work is 36.4 centimeters high, considerably larger than most ancient Indian bronzes. While the bronze was included in the Museum's 1987 publication of highlights of its Asian art collection,¹ the piece has been subsequently either ignored or disparaged by scholars, despite its importance. Since its acquisition, it has been shown only in one small exhibition outside the Museum; aside from the catalogue of that exhibition, it has been reproduced in only one non-Museum publication, a corpus of early Indian bronzes that attempted to include every known fragment.² Both carbon 14 dating and stylistic analysis indicate that the bronze was produced in the second or third century A.D., when the invading Kushan dynasty ruled vast portions of northern India, although local rulers retained a certain amount of power. The same period saw the introduction of Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain icons and portraiture, many of which were experimental in form, as the iconographic canons were less rigid than in later times.

Other than the date, every other aspect of the bronze remains a matter of conjecture, for it has no

direct parallels. Nevertheless, we will suggest a possible origin and iconography. While admittedly speculative, our study endeavors to focus scholarly attention on this extraordinary work of art and to address many of the questions it has raised over the last few decades.

THE FIGURE

The figure is seated regally on an openwork basketry stool. His legs hang down, the heels supported by the bottom ring of the stool, while the balls of his bare feet extend slightly beyond the rim of the basket. The slightly pigeon-toed appearance of the feet is probably due to subsequent damage. His proportions are rather squat: his chest seems far too short in relation to his broad shoulders (a configuration common to Kushan sculpture) and large head with forward-staring eyes. His right hand is in *abhaya mudra* (the gesture of "fear-not") and is turned inward and slightly cupped, with the tapering of his fingers perhaps only due to wear. His left hand holds a flask (*kamandalu*) between the index and middle fingers. On his head, matted coiled locks are drawn up into an asymmetrical topknot in the fashion of Brahmanical ascetics. As we shall see, the fact that the topknot flares out into two parts may be a key to identification of the figure. The face is apparently bearded, but the beard is covered by a cloth fringed with a pendant pearl border, part of which is lost. The figure wears an unusual necklace, which stands out prominently against the short upper body, and ropelike bracelets ending in snake heads are tied around his wrists. Across his chest is the traditional sacred thread of the Hindus, and his dhoti is tied at the waist with a flamboyant bow that acts as a visual counterbalance to his topknot. Wrapped around his legs and back is a strap quite similar to the *yogapatta* used by ascetics in meditation (see Figures 3, 10, 11).

The piece has an unusual wear pattern that gives it a misleading and even folkish aspect. Its surface is uneven in color, the face having a shiny brass appearance while the remainder is reddish brown. This certainly was not the original condition, for the entire surface would



Figure 1. *Seated Ascetic (Maitreya?)*. Indian, Gangetic Valley, possibly Kaushambi, 2nd–3rd century A.D. Brass, H. 36.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Frank Weinstein, 1984 (1984.499). See also Colorplate 2

have been bright metal. The considerable layer of cuprite—the dark reddish brown layer on the body, a product of many centuries of slow oxidation—suggests that the bronze was buried for a long time. At the time it was unearthed, a layer of green cupric corrosion product would have covered the cuprite. The figure must once again have become an object of veneration and been rubbed by worshipers over a period of several hundred years. The face was worn down to bare metal, while the remainder was worn only to the dense reddish cuprite layer. Thus, its odd, uneven

appearance attests both to its great age and to its interrupted use.

The bronze has been subjected to modern scientific analysis. This was particularly necessary because from the time of its appearance on the art market, various respected scholars have suggested to me that it was anything from a second-century-B.C. object (a most implausible theory) to a modern forgery. One thermoluminescence test, using two samples from the ceramic core of the bronze, provided a date of the fourteenth century A.D.³—a time period for which we



Figure 2. *Seated Woman Holding a Mirror*. Indian, Andhra Pradesh(?), 3rd–4th century A.D. Bronze, H. 9.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Samuel Eilenberg Collection, Gift of Samuel Eilenberg, 1987 (1987.142.326a,b)



Figure 3. Side view of Figure 1

can find no satisfactory stylistic (or even technical) comparisons. Another indicated that the bronze was produced in the fifteenth century!⁴ The tentative suggestion was made that any early date would have to be excluded “unless the entire object was refired during the 14th century, which seems to be a very remote possibility.”⁵ In fact, the fourteenth or fifteenth century may have been when the bronze was excavated. It was perhaps then in a fire, although other explanations are possible. At any rate, these test results caused a certain amount of misunderstanding and contributed to rumors that the piece was a modern fake, a notion that disturbed several art historians and scientists.⁶

In 1993, in conjunction with the opening of the Florence and Herbert Irving Galleries for the Arts of South and Southeast Asia at the Metropolitan, there was renewed interest in reconfirming the stylistic date of the

bronze. Richard E. Stone, senior Museum conservator at the Metropolitan, first examined the object at that time and continued to do so throughout this study. A sample was taken and sent out for a carbon 14 analysis. Buried in the original core of the bronze was a fragment of carbonized wood, which yielded a result of about the second century A.D., a date more plausible than those derived from the thermoluminescence tests.⁷ Of course, carbon 14 dates the wood, not the bronze, and the bronze may well have been made about a hundred years later, based upon stylistic analysis, but certainly not seven hundred years later. While the second century is the earliest probable date for the bronze, it could be slightly later, as it is possible that the tree from which the wood came was as much as one hundred years old when the bronze was produced. Bronzes dating to before the Gupta period (4th–6th century A.D.),

except for those from Gandhara, are quite rare in India, and only very few are of a comparable size.⁸

Those conversant with Indian sculpture cannot imagine that this bronze could be anything but ancient, because it is stylistically related to a large corpus of objects from that period. In reliefs from the second century B.C. through the Gupta period, ascetics and nonascetics alike are seated on baskets. Both men and women sit on them, most in a relaxed, cross-legged pose. Our figure, however, has his legs down in what is referred to as Northern Pose. This posture is best known from the headless portrait statue of the Kushan king Wima Kadphises from the Mat sanctuary in Mathura, where the king is seated on a throne.⁹ Rarely used before the Kushan period (late 1st–early 4th century A.D.), it was said to have been reserved for princes, bodhisattvas, and minor deities but never for Buddhas.¹⁰ That the pose must have been more common is suggested by a female version on a small bronze mirror handle in the Metropolitan Museum, in which the figure is likewise seated on a basket (compare Figures 2 and 3.)¹¹

The art that best compares stylistically to our piece comes from the site of Kaushambi in the Gangetic Valley, the epicenter of Indian religious thought. It was here that Brahmanical Hinduism developed and the Buddha and his Jain counterpart, Mahavira, were born. Comprising eastern Uttar Pradesh and parts of Bihar, Kaushambi stands at the border of both states and shares cultural features with each.¹² While now on the left bank of the Yamuna River, in ancient times it may have been closer to the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna.¹³ It would thus have been connected with the trade routes to every major city and port in India, including Taxila in the northwest and the cities of the Deccan. The site has a long history extending back to the late second millennium B.C.¹⁴ and appears to have been a place where Vedic rituals were performed.¹⁵ Despite the fact that this region may later have been briefly part of the vast Kushan Empire, its local kings, known as the *Maghas*, continued to produce their own coinage and seals,¹⁶ and its art retained its distinctive regional character. The dating of Kaushambi material remains problematic, however. Despite the importance of this ancient city, it has not been given archaeological priority, and the final reports of excavations at the site have never been systematically published. Kaushambi is well known in Buddhist literature and had very strong royal associations, since during the time of the Buddha it was ruled by King Udayana, who, according to one tradition, was brought up in the Himalayan region in the hermitage of a sage and is said to have converted to Buddhism.¹⁷ Tales of his life have provided material



Figure 4. *Lion-Headed Seated Deity*. Indian, Kaushambi, 2nd century A.D. Bronze, 8 x 3 cm. Allahabad Museum (photo: courtesy John C. and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, Ohio State University)

for Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit literature and were even carried into Tibetan and Chinese texts.¹⁸

The closest stylistic comparison to our figure is a small bronze of a lion-headed female deity, perhaps a mother goddess (Figure 4). A surface find from Kaushambi, it is currently in the Allahabad Museum.¹⁹ As in the Metropolitan's bronze, the figure is seated frontally, with pleated folds hanging between her legs, which appear to be bare. Her right hand is similarly in *abhaya mudra*, turned inward, a gesture often seen in early Kushan images from Mathura; the cupped pointed fingers also resemble those of our bronze. In her left hand she holds a small feline. She sits on an openwork stool that might be made of wicker. Although we cannot definitively identify the material,

we may assume so since textual sources report that the Indo-Gangetic plain was known for its basket weaving.²⁰ A slight base gives the seat stability, and the deity's feet rest upon it with her toes extending slightly beyond the platform, just as in the Metropolitan Museum's figure. The small size of the Kaushambi bronze should not remove it from consideration as a stylistic model, for there may originally have been many larger examples. Ancient bronzes were often melted for reuse of the metal, and we are lucky that this one escaped the furnace.²¹

The Kaushambi bronze has been assigned various dates between the first and the second century A.D., but in any case, it probably belongs to the Kushan era. It has been compared to a small bronze plaque showing a male and a female figure, excavated at Sonkh in the Mathura district, that is stylistically unrelated but similar in subject matter.²² Its female figure, in this instance standing, is likewise lion-headed and carries a babe in her arms. The Kaushambi figure has been thought to represent a sort of folk mother goddess who was worshiped under several names. As there was clear contact between Mathura and the Gangetic Valley, we will refer to the well-stratified Sonkh excavations to confirm our stylistic dating.

While the Kaushambi figure is small and in metal, it seems to have had monumental counterparts both in clay and in stone. The clay images, especially those from Kaushambi, bear particular relevance, for several reasons. The coroplast can work with a greater freedom of expression than the stone sculptor, who has a more intractable medium. In addition, the modeling of clay is an additive process and therefore the images produced were closer in style to bronzes, which were made from wax models in a similar additive process. (Stone sculpture, on the other hand, is produced by the method of subtraction.) The most significant of these related clay images have been excavated at Kaushambi and are in the collection of the Allahabad University Museum.²³ Particularly interesting among them are those found in the Ghoshitarama, a monastery originally constructed by Ghoshita, a treasurer of King Udayana, for the Buddha and his followers to use when they visited Kaushambi. The monastery was built and rebuilt over a long period of time, but the material that concerns us dates to the Kushan period.²⁴ Although the exact dates are in question owing to problems with the excavation, they clearly fall within the chronological range of the Metropolitan's bronze. A lifesize seated female, 82 centimeters high, was excavated in the so-called Hariti Shrine of the Ghoshitarama (Figure 5). The sculpture is of hollow terracotta and was fired with a mass of grain as its core.²⁵ Referred to as an image of Hariti, this rigidly frontal figure is seated on a stool in the Northern



Figure 5. *Seated Figure of Hariti*. Indian, Kaushambi, Ghoshitarama Monastery, ca. 1st–3rd century A.D. Terracotta, 82 x 33 x 40 cm. Allahabad University Museum (photo: courtesy John C. and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, Ohio State University)

Pose.²⁶ The stool is of a type similar to that on the sculpture of the lion-headed goddess, only much higher. In this case, however, its material looks less like wicker, but openwork clay would certainly be less able to support an image this large. Hariti lacks the usual girdle worn by female figures and has an unusually broad waist that gives her an almost masculine appearance; her breasts look as if they were added as an afterthought. Her hair is drawn up in a flaring topknot. She wears extremely elaborate jewelry, and close around her neck is a series of what appear to be neck folds incised with rows of pearls.

There is only one group of bronzes comparable in size to our male figure, the Jain bronzes from the village of Chausa in Shahabad, Bihar, which vary in size

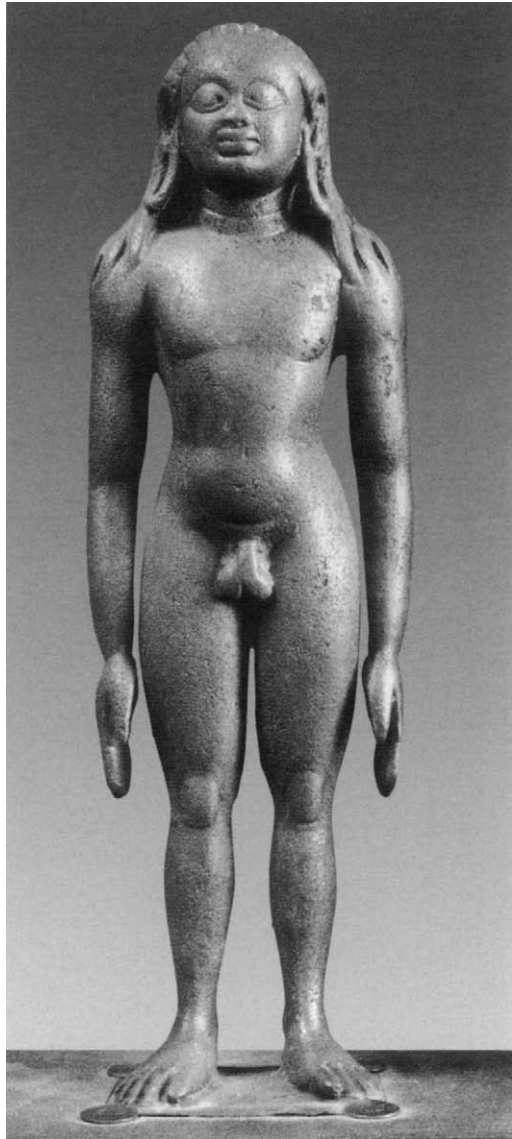


Figure 6. *Rishabhanath*. From the Chausa Hoard. Indian, Shahabad, Bihar, late 3rd century A.D.(?). Bronze, H. 21 cm. Patna Museum (photo: Nihar Ranjan Ray, Karl Khandalavala, and Sadashiv Gorakshkar, *Eastern Indian Bronzes* [New Delhi, 1986], pl. 12a)

from 8.25 centimeters to 48.89 centimeters.²⁷ It has been suggested that the Metropolitan's figure compares well with one of the bronzes from the Chausa Hoard (Figure 6) as well as with the Kaushambi lion-headed deity.²⁸ As a result, a provenance of either Bihar or Uttar Pradesh has been advanced for the piece. The Chausa bronzes were dug up on a farm as a hoard and not in the context of an ancient temple,²⁹ and there are no extant works from the region that are comparable. We would prefer to attribute them to a regional style of the Gangetic Valley, one distinct from that of Mathura. The most striking similarity between the Chausa bronzes and the one in the Met-

ropolitan lies in the frequency of ascetic hairdos, indicated by matted locks.³⁰ But beyond stylistic considerations, the important point regarding the Chausa bronzes is that they confirm that bronzes were manufactured in the region and show that the Metropolitan Museum image is not an isolated one.³¹ Equally important is that the Jain images of the Chausa Hoard reflect an iconography in formation and not as yet canonical, for this was an era of great innovation and experimentation.

THE BEARD

When the Metropolitan Museum bronze was first cast from its wax model, it had several flaws that were repaired using metal of the same composition as the original. While a crude repair appears at the back of the head, far more significant is that to the chin and neck. According to Richard E. Stone, there are remains of a beard from the original casting of the image, but not enough to reveal anything about its shape. These may be seen in the seam at the upper



Figure 7. *Head of Kubera*. Indian, Kaushambi, Ghoshitarama Monastery, 1st–3rd century A.D. Terracotta. Allahabad University Museum (photo: courtesy John Listopad for ACSAA)

edge of the beard (see Figure 13). The cloth on the chin is part of the same repair and definitely not a later addition. The chin treatment is one for which we have no comparisons, but again we return to Kaushambi and Sonkh for a fuller understanding of the imagery.

A male head, referred to as Kubera (Figure 7), was also excavated at the Hariti Shrine.³² His mustache is incised and beneath his lower lip are two incised circles. A line running across his cheek may indicate a beard.³³ Another example from Kaushambi supports the identification as a beard line and suggests that the remaining details of Kubera's beard may have been filled in with paint.³⁴ Kubera wears an elaborate turban secured by some type of chin strap.³⁵ There are other related heads with incisions on the chin and chin straps that extend down from the turban. A later example, probably of the Gupta period, is a head of Shiva from Kaushambi in the Patna Museum,³⁶ which has a beard under the chin fashioned in the same manner as Kubera's chin strap.³⁷ Perhaps the use of a chin strap to hold on a turban was a local fashion, and the bronzecaster of our image was somehow trying to

produce his own variation. Interestingly, Kushan terracotta heads from Sonkh also display beards that appear to be added but were certainly part of the original conception (Figure 8).³⁸ Similarly, the chin strap, best known from Kaushambi examples, also appears on a stucco head from Sonkh excavated at Kushan levels.³⁹ Frankly, we are unclear about the exact function of this detail of dress, but we will consider it again when we discuss the iconography of the image.

THE YOGA BAND

Another feature of the bronze, the elaborate and very clearly represented yoga band, is also quite distinct from those found on contemporary and later examples. Typically, figures wearing yoga bands sit in a cross-legged posture with their legs encircled by one strap tied to support the legs comfortably (Figure 9).⁴⁰ Our figure has his legs down in a relaxed seated position with what is apparently one piece of cloth wrapped around his back and another fringed piece of cloth

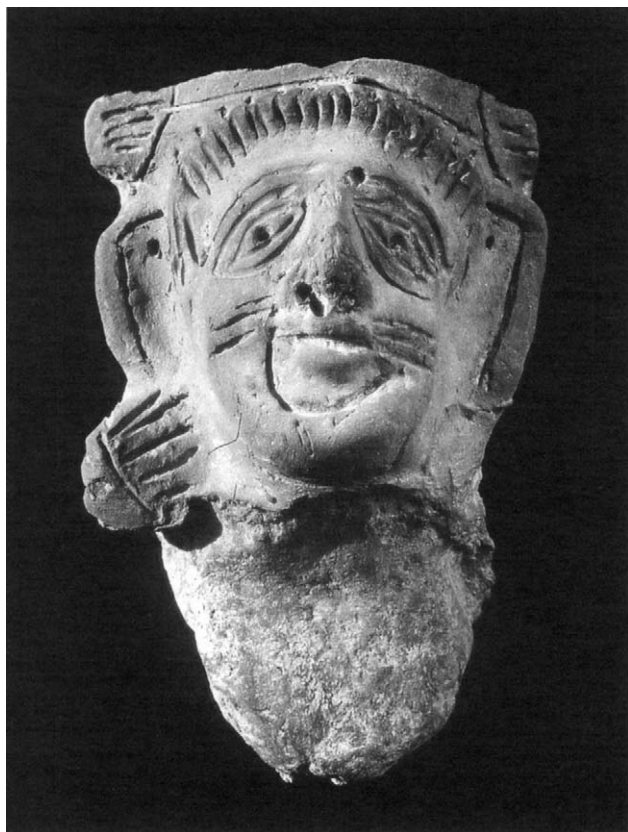


Figure 8. *Head*. Indian, Sonkh, Mathura district, Kushan period, 2nd century A.D. Terracotta, H. 11.2 cm. Government Museum, Mathura (photo: courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst)



Figure 9. *Seated Figure of Kubera*. Indian, Maholi, Mathura district, ca. 2nd century A.D. Red sandstone, H. 100 cm. Government Museum, Mathura (photo: American Institute of Indian Studies)



Figure 10. Three-quarter view of Figure 1



Figure 11. Rear view of Figure 1

stretched across the front of his knees (Figures 10, 11). The fringes are pulled together into a small ball. We do not understand exactly how the front band was attached to that on the back, but perhaps the two pieces were stitched together. While this whole configuration is atypical, there is one example to which it may be compared, the figure of a Brahman hermit instructing King Janaka in a magnificent wall painting in Cave 1 at Ajanta (Figure 12),⁴¹ dating to the 5th century A.D. The entire painting, in keeping with the Ajanta tradition, displays the richness of the royal court, and the hermit, rather than resembling an inhabitant of the forest, takes on a royal pose.⁴² Despite the simple clothing and long matted locks of the hermit, the yoga band is painted as a richly decorated cloth divided into segments of geometric patterns separated by pearl borders.⁴³ It is apparent from these two extant instances that this type of band was not unique; in addition, variants of it may be seen

throughout Ajanta painting. It must have been more common than we now know.

THE NECKLACE

One of the most striking features of our seated figure is the necklace conspicuously displayed across the upper part of the chest. That there are no similar necklaces known in Indian art is one of the factors contributing to the confusion regarding the date of the piece. The remnant of a small chokerlike torque from the original jewelry ensemble, clearly visible from the back (see Figure 11), remains under the cloth introduced during the repair. However, we are concerned here with the major necklace, which rests on the broad shoulders of our figure and closes in the center of the back (Figures 11, 13). Although the details are heavily worn, we can still reconstruct its



Figure 12. *Ascetic Instructing King Janaka*. Wall painting from the Mahajanaka Jataka. Indian, Ajanta Cave 1, 5th century A.D. (photo: © copyright Benoy K. Behl)



Figure 13. Detail of head and torso of Figure 1 (photo: the author)

elements.⁴⁴ In the center is a large pierced-work ornamental disk. On either side are three parallel chains, of which the individual links are obscured by wear.⁴⁵ The chains are attached to a terminal that has three coiled elements forming a trefoil design (Figure 14). The broader ends of the terminal face toward the center of the body, forming the base of the triangle, while the apex faces toward the shoulders of the figure. A second terminal is formed by two facing S-shaped coils arranged in a trapezoidal square. A small loop probably joined the terminals. At each end of the ensemble there are two single chains, adjusted at the back by a square glide, or perhaps a square knot, that functions as a clasp. Not only is such a necklace unknown in India, but most of the individual elements, as well as the way they are combined, are not Indian but belong to the Western world.

The necklace is certainly based upon an original model in gold, which we will suggest was either imported from the Roman Empire, perhaps even from Roman Egypt, or made by Roman craftsmen working in India. While this type does not normally figure in discussions of works from the Gangetic Valley, we will see that it is a regular component of art in the Deccan and, farther south, in Tamil Nadu. The necklace confronts us with the age-old problem of discussing foreign motifs or imports, or copies and

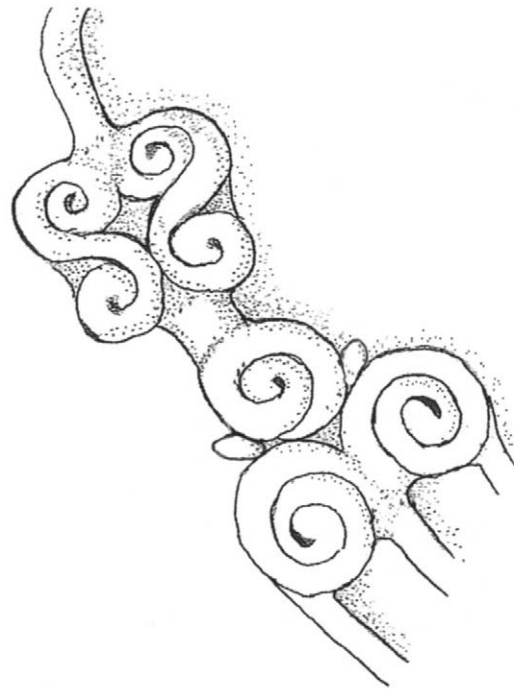


Figure 14. Transitional elements in necklace of Figure 1 (drawing by Richard E. Stone)

adaptations of them, in Indian contexts. We are not always fortunate enough to find the perfect prototype, although there have been some excellent studies of such questions in recent years.⁴⁶

The first step in our study is to discuss why we believe the original necklace to be an import. Most fundamental is the fact that the entire method of manufacture is unknown in the Indian tradition. There are four basic elements in the necklace that we will investigate in this regard: the clasp, the transitional elements, the triple chain, and the central medallion.

The Clasp

As noted above, two strings or chains appear to pass through either an unusually neat square knot or a glide (Figure 11). We have not seen it in ancient Indian examples, nor have we seen it in Western examples, making this the most enigmatic element. Indian necklaces are often tied at the back ending in two tassels as, for instance, on a *yaksha* (male nature spirit) in the Metropolitan Museum dating to the

first century B.C. (Figure 15). Classical necklaces, on the other hand, simply have a hook and eye for their closure.

The Transitional Elements

The transitional terminal elements in our necklace serve to separate and display the individual strands of the necklace.⁴⁷ Conversely, Indian jewelers often used transitional elements to bunch together multiple strands of a necklace and typically selected a bulbous toroidal element for this purpose, as seen in a superb Kushan piece from Mathura in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 16).⁴⁸ In fact, the ultimate source of the transitional elements in the Metropolitan figure's necklace is Greek jewelry made up of trefoils and squares that are formed by a series of simple wire coils or, more commonly, filigree. Among the numerous examples and variants is a group of necklace parts from the fourth century B.C. in the Brooklyn Museum (Figure 17).⁴⁹ Their basic pattern consists of four spirals in a square, while our Indian example is trian-



Figure 15. Rear view of a *yaksha*. Indian, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 50 B.C. Sandstone, 88.9 x 45.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jeffrey B. Soref, in honor of Martin Lerner, 1988 (1988.354)

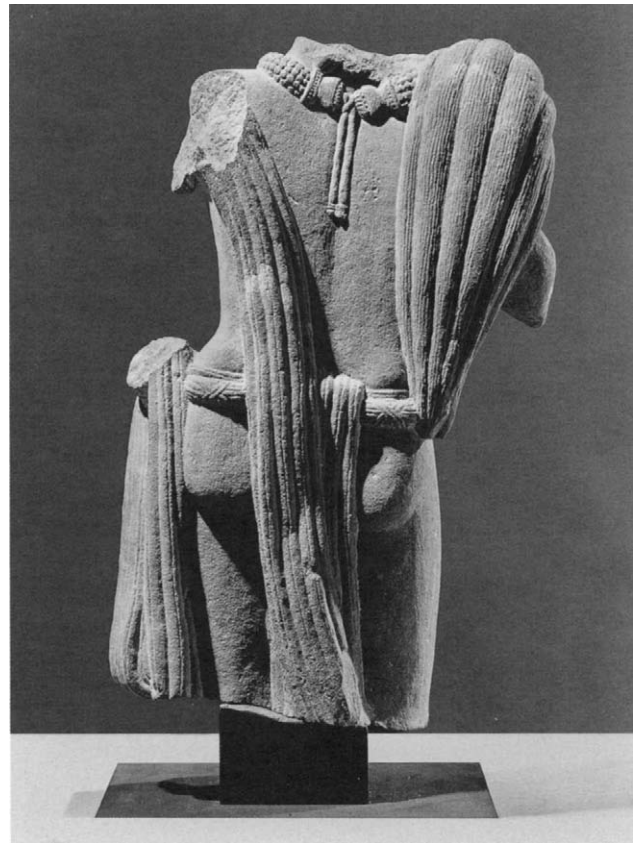


Figure 16. Rear view of *Attendant Bearing a Fly Wisk (Chauri)*. Indian, Mathura, Kushan period, late 1st–early second century A.D. Red sandstone, H. 55.8 cm. © Cleveland Museum of Art, Andrew R. and Martha Holden Jennings Fund, 1965-472

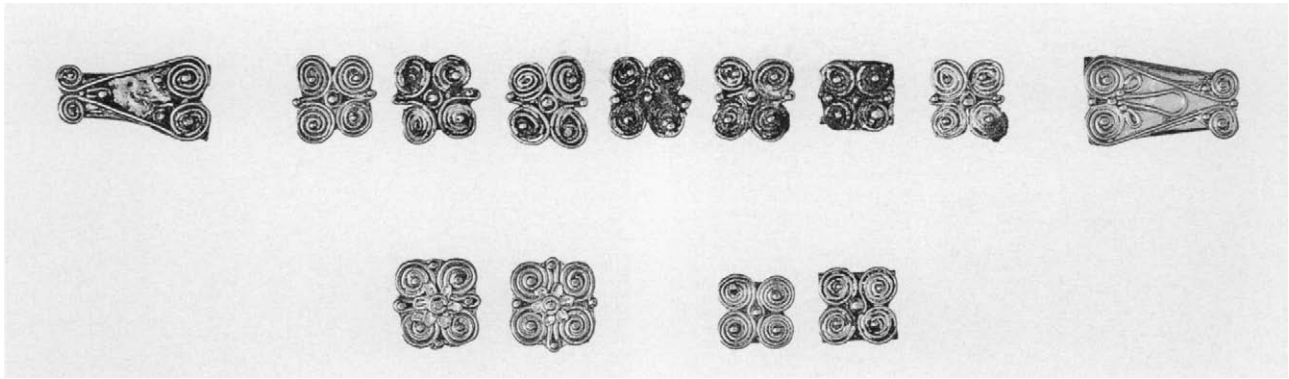


Figure 17. Thirteen parts of a necklace. Asia Minor, East Greek, 4th century B.C. Gold, quatrefoil pieces: .7 x .6 cm; end pieces: L. 1.2 cm. Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas S. Brush, 71.79.27-37, 71.79.38, .39

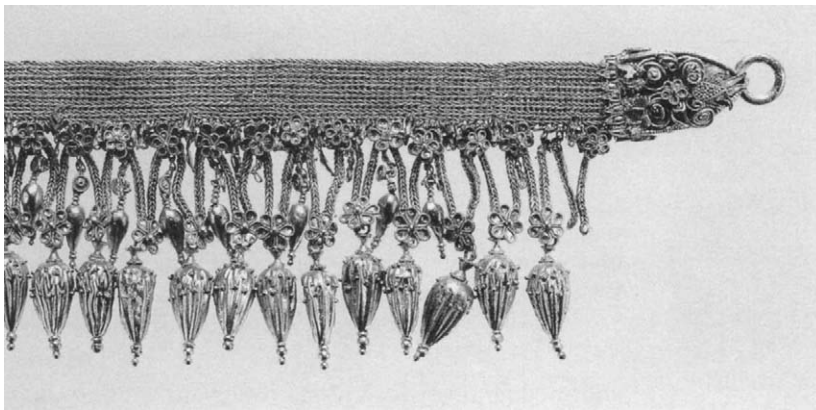


Figure 18. Detail of braided-strap necklace. Greek, Madytos, 330-300 B.C. Gold, H. 3.2 cm, total L. 32.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1217.13)

gular. The terminals on the Brooklyn necklace form trapezoidal sheets, with the wire arranged in curving forms on the upper surface—a shape and pattern especially close to those of our necklace. Variants of such terminals are found on braided strap necklaces, including several Hellenistic examples.⁵⁰ One of the finest and most pertinent examples, now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, is said to be from Madytos and to date from 330 to 300 B.C. (Figure 18).⁵¹ Its transitional element features spirals consisting of four plain-wire coils arranged within a triangular shape, albeit with further details; the broader side holds the wires of the strap in place. Another Hellenistic transitional element, also in the Museum, uses wire coils to outline the entire element and is bisected by a standing figure of Eros.⁵²

Variants and simplifications of the Hellenistic versions are commonly found in later Roman jewelry.⁵³ In fact, the individual elements on Roman necklaces are closer in type to those on our Indian figure. On a well-known necklace in the British Museum (Figure 19), two terminal elements are connected by a loop. Compared with the clasp on our figure's necklace, the elements are reversed: the smaller terminal is closer to the front, the larger closer to the clasp (which in classical works is the usual hook and eye). The necklace

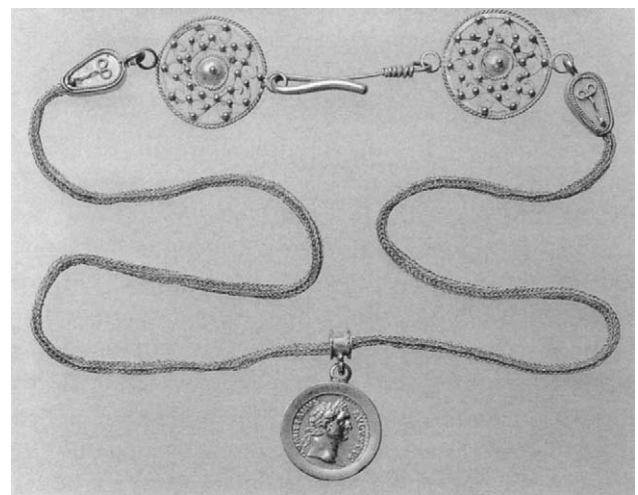


Figure 19. Necklace with coin of Domitian. Egyptian, 2nd century A.D. Gold, L. 50.8 cm. British Museum, London (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum)

in London is dated to the second century A.D. and comes from Egypt.⁵⁴ The similar way in which the individual elements of both necklaces are composed and juxtaposed enables us to suggest that the design of our necklace may have also come from Egypt.



Figure 20. *The Bodhisattva Maitreya* (detail). Indian, Gandhara, Kushan period, ca. 3rd century A.D. Stone, H. 163.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lita Annenberg Hazen Charitable Trust Gift, 1991 (1991.75). See also Figure 32

The Triple Chain

The multiple chains securing the central medallion, a common feature in Roman jewelry, are an extremely important part of our necklace. While distinct strands with a medallion in the center occur often in the West, in South India they are known only on pearl necklaces, rarely on those of chain unless they are imported. Necklaces with multiple chains are familiar on bodhisattva images from Gandhara. They are most often worn along with a torquelike necklace close to the neck. The terminals of the chain necklace are in front and are attached to the chains by a round element in the same fashion that Indian pearl necklaces are fastened to terminals in the back.⁵⁵ See, for example, the necklace on a Gandharan image of the bodhisattva Maitreya in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 20). This configuration is in contrast to the classical Western type, in which a small jump ring attaches each chain to the central medallion so that the individual strands are displayed concentrically across a broad area of the chest. There are numerous examples of concentric multichain necklaces in the Roman world: without medallions, such as a triple chain in the British Museum;⁵⁶ with medallions in the center, as can be seen on fine examples of Egyptian mummy portraits;⁵⁷



Figure 21. Necklace. From the Aesica Hoard. Romano-British, mid-2nd century A.D. Silver, L. 35 cm. Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle, 1956.150.20.2A (photo: courtesy Museum of Antiquities of the University and the Society of Antiquities of Newcastle upon Tyne)

with medallions spaced along the chain, among them a notable example from Palmyra;⁵⁸ and with medallions as clasps.⁵⁹ The only one of which we are aware with three chains and a central medallion, albeit with different transitional elements, is a silver necklace in the classical tradition, referred to as Romano-British, from the Aesica Hoard in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle (Figure 21).⁶⁰

The Central Medallion

The central medallion of our necklace is decorated with pierced work arranged in three concentric circles and with small granulations around the edges that give it a slightly stellate form (see Figure 13). Circular medallions with pierced work commonly appeared as part of the clasp on chain necklaces, as in an example from Roman Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 22), or as a suspended medallion. In the West, pierced work, also known as *opus interrasile* or *diatrita*,⁶¹ is a well-established tradition that reached its height during early Byzantine times. Some of the finest examples are found on a pair of bracelets from the J. P. Morgan collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 23);⁶² examples at Dumbarton Oaks show pierced work in concentric circles radiating from the center and flanked by coins of Constantine.⁶³ Although the tradition is best known from medieval works, *opus interrasile* appeared abruptly in the Roman Empire toward the end of the second century A.D. and by the first decades of the third century it was incorporated into various

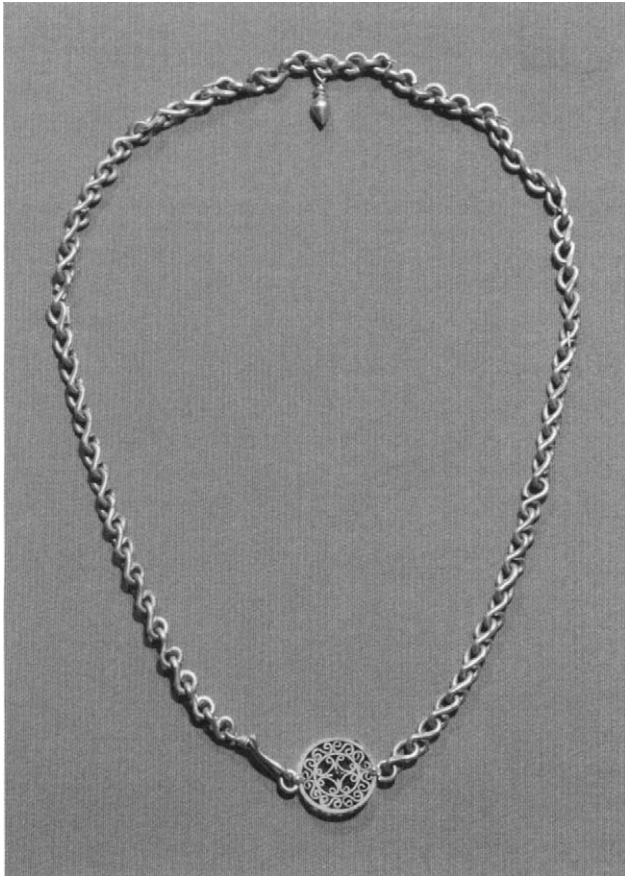


Figure 22. Necklace with small drop pendant and ornate clasp. Romano-Egyptian, 2nd century A.D. Gold, L. 37.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Helen Miller Gould, 1910 (10.130.1523)

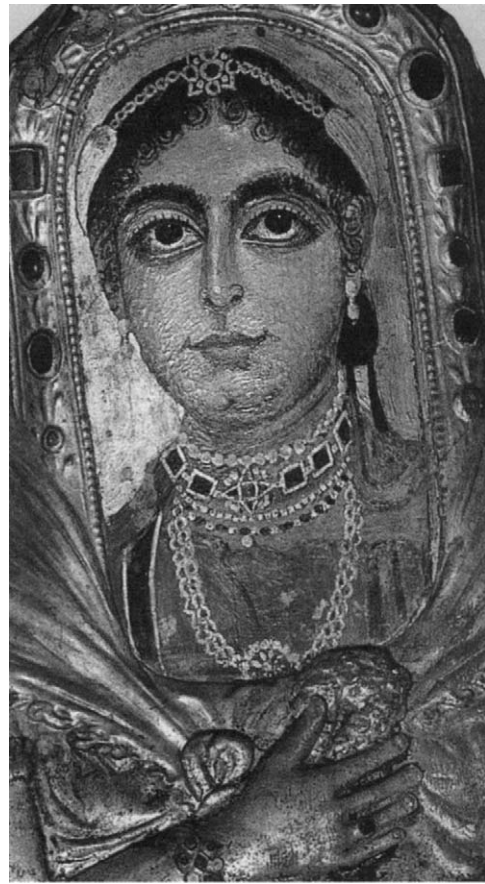


Figure 24. "The Golden Girl" (mummy portrait). Egyptian, Hawara, 2nd century A.D. Encaustic on wood. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (photo: Euphrosyne Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt* [New York, 1995], p. 71)



Figure 23. Pair of bracelets. Late Roman, ca. A.D. 400. Gold, Diam. 7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1668, .1669)

types of jewelry throughout the Roman Empire. It was also used on Roman military equipment.⁶⁴

The necklace that perhaps reminds us most of our figure's appears on a mummy portrait known as "The Golden Girl" (Figure 24). While the terminal elements are not visible, the two chains clearly merge into a single

strand, and the necklace must have closed in the back with a single strand as in the necklace on our Indian figure. Note also that the pendant on the necklace is of pierced work.⁶⁵

A number of years ago, our Indian bronze was seen by Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, who observed that "a triple chain with openwork decorated element dividing [it] into segments would fit well into the picture of Roman jewelry." She considered all the elements of the necklace consistent with those of Roman jewelry and suggested some comparative material from the third century A.D.⁶⁶ Again, none of Deppert-Lippitz's comparisons provided a one-to-one correspondence, but they were highly suggestive of the sort of works that may have been imported to India. While there have been references to foreign occupations of the Gangetic Valley region, little is known about imports to the area. If, in fact, necklaces were imported into the region, as we have suggested, there must have been other things as well. A domed object, called a skin rubber, was found at Jhusi, not far from Kaushambi,

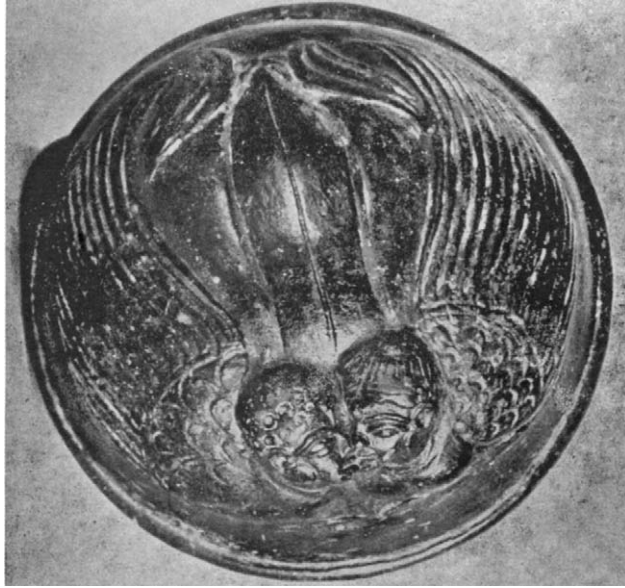


Figure 25. *Eros and Psyche* (skin rubber). Indian, Jhusi, 2nd–3rd century A.D. Hollow terracotta, H. 4.5 cm, Diam. 9 cm. Allahabad Museum, A.M. 4972 (photo: Rishi Raj Tripathi, *Masterpieces in the Allahabad Museum* [Allahabad, 1984], fig. 62)



Figure 26. *Eros and Psyche* (lamp). Romano-Egyptian, ca. 2nd century A.D. Terracotta, H. 4.8 cm, L. 6.2 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

and is currently in the Allahabad Museum (Figure 25). It shows winged and kissing male and female heads sculpted in relief in three-quarter profile; on its bottom are tiny knobs used to massage the flesh. Although previously unidentified, its subject is the same as that shown on a terracotta lamp from Roman Egypt in the Louvre that bears the faces of Eros and Psyche (Figure 26). Obviously, foreign works were known in the Gangetic Valley.

While there is no identical parallel for the necklace, a strong case for its being Roman can be made on the basis of the many parallels to its individual parts, and it can even be suggested that it may have been imported from Roman Egypt. Not only is the design unknown in Indian jewelry, but the whole manner in which the necklace is made is antithetical to Indian jewelry techniques, while parallels for the method are found in the West. Certain elements of the necklace have a long history going back to the Hellenistic world, while others are known in the Roman Empire. Necklaces of this type were most probably produced in the imperial workshop at Alexandria, where artistic influences from Greece and Rome coexisted. The unusual clasp, however, opens the possibility of its having been produced by foreign craftsmen working in India (see discussion below). While the question of foreign imports into India is a major subject in its own right, it is especially important in a study of this bronze, for scholars

striving to understand this piece must come to terms with the necklace.

STYLISTIC PARALLELS IN THE DECCAN AND FARTHER SOUTH

In ancient India, regular artistic and cultural interchange was facilitated by trade throughout the sub-continent. Despite the existence of clear regional styles, the same forms or motifs often occurred simultaneously in several regions.⁶⁷ Thus, as we date our bronze to the second or the third century A.D., we are aware of parallel forms seen in the Deccan, a region that has been the subject of important studies regarding the use and interpretation of imported objects. While the necklace on our Gangetic Valley bronze appears to be a rare example based upon a Roman original, the influence of foreign objects was pervasive in the Deccan and farther south. Many of these were imported; others may have been produced on Indian soil by artisans from other lands. This suggestion was originally made by Sir Mortimer Wheeler based upon his examination of Roman-style gems at the trading port of Arikamedu in Tamil Nadu. One of the many gems found there was left untrimmed and was more than likely made on the spot rather than imported.⁶⁸ The practice of importing and copying foreign jewelry was known in Taxila during the first century A.D.⁶⁹

and in Tamil Nadu during the early centuries of the Christian era.⁷⁰ In the Deccan during the second and third centuries A.D., Roman coins were used in jewelry (see discussion below). Small bits and fragments of such jewelry have been published, but many others await further study. In any case it is clear that in the early centuries of the Christian era objects reflecting foreign styles were known throughout large areas of the subcontinent.

Literary evidence goes hand in hand with archaeological evidence to support the notion of both foreign craftsmen and foreign imports in India. A Tamil literary source speaks of foreign craftsmen working alongside Indians.⁷¹ A passage in the Jaina *Kalpa-sutra* refers to *urattha-dinara malaya*, or a string of *denarii* (Roman coins) worn around the neck.⁷² Coin necklaces of this type can be seen on the sculpture of Amaravati, and pierced Roman coins as well as clay bullae based on them were excavated in Nagarjunakonda.⁷³ As we have demonstrated elsewhere,⁷⁴ Italy and Roman Egypt were often the source of objects imported by sea that were then copied on Indian soil. Western works of art entering India via known ports on the west coast were subsequently transported across internal trade routes to Mathura and Kaushambi in the Gangetic Valley as well as to the Deccan and Tamil Nadu.

While jewelry was imported into India largely for its bullion value, other objects of lesser commercial value from the Roman world were frequently copied or transformed into Indianized versions of the originals. Adaptations of Western works of art in Gandhara and in the Deccan are usually quite dissimilar. In Gandhara, we more often see a literal copy of an original, while in the Deccan the original is more easily Indianized, partially obscuring the source.⁷⁵ In the Deccan, at the Roman trading post of Ter, both Roman-type terracottas and local adaptations of them were found; the process of transformation and adaptation of the Roman style at Ter has been masterfully studied by M. N. Deshpande.⁷⁶ Double-molded terracottas similar to those from Roman Egypt have been found at Satavahana and Ikshvaku sites throughout the Deccan, including Kondapur, Sannathi, and Nagarjunakonda.⁷⁷

The Deccani trading post of Paithan (ancient Pratisthana) in western India has a particularly significant group of terracottas. A squat male wearing a necklace of amulets, with arms raised, hair tied in a topknot, and legs spread apart, has been identified as a child because of his cherubic face⁷⁸ and perhaps also because his genitals are exposed (Figure 27). (In India male adult figures are usually covered unless they are ascetics.) While the Paithan figure is clearly



Figure 27. *Figure of a Child*. Indian, Paithan, ca. 2nd century A.D. Terracotta (photo: M. K. Dhavalikar, *Satavahana Art* [Delhi, 2004], pl. 38)



Figure 28. *Male Orans*. Romano-Egyptian, 2nd–3rd century A.D. Terracotta, H. 8.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 84.266.A (photo: László Mátyus)



Figure 29. *Squatting Figure*. Indian, Paithan, ca. 2nd century A.D. Terracotta (photo: Dhavalikar, *Satavahana Art*, pl. 40)



Figure 30. Collar with medallions containing the coins of Emperors Lucius Verus, Alexander Severus, and Julia Domna, wife of Emperor Septimius Severus, Romano-Egyptian. Said to be from Memphis, A.D. 225. Gold, L. 91 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1936 (36.9.1)

Indian in style and manufacture, its sources are from Roman Egypt, as can be seen in a group of figures with their arms raised in the “orans” gesture of prayer (Figure 28). Although associated with Christianity, this prayer gesture predates its appearance in Christian art. These figures date to the second and third centuries A.D. and clearly form a direct prototype. Like their Indian successors, they are hollow molded terracottas produced from a bivalve mold.⁷⁹

Interestingly, both the Paithan terracotta and the Egyptian orans figure wear necklaces with amulets. While orans figures seem to have had a religious function in the Egyptian world, it is doubtful that they had such a meaning in India, where the gesture of prayer (*anjali mudra*) consists of joined hands and is the same as the gesture of greeting. Although the Deccani terracottas may at first appear physically distant from our little figure with the yoga band, there is a certain parallelism in that the craftsmen of both were familiar with Western minor arts: the bronze wears an imported object; the terracottas are transformations of an imported object. The *Eros and Psyche* found in the Gangetic Valley was a literal copy (Figure 25); the “orans” figure was an adaptation into an Indian type. Both these processes were



Figure 31. *Seated Figure*. Indian, Ter, ca. 2nd century A.D. Terracotta (photo: courtesy Archaeological Survey of India)

common during the early centuries of the Christian era and beyond.

While Deccani terracottas merit more attention than we can give them in this context, two more are relevant here. A squatting terracotta figure from Paithan (Figure 29)⁸⁰ wears a necklace with what appears to be a double chain. Hanging from this is a row of medallions kidneylike in shape. These seem to us to be an Indian adaptation both of the crescent-

shaped pendants that became popular in the Roman world in the second century A.D.⁸¹ and of elaborate medallion necklaces such as the magnificent example from Roman Egypt of the third century A.D. in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 30). Another terracotta, from Ter, portrays a squat figure on a basket, with a yoga band around his broad body (Figure 31). While not close in style, it certainly demonstrates that our seated figure from the Gangetic Valley was not an isolated example.

A NONCANONICAL IMAGE OF MAITREYA, THE FUTURE BUDDHA

The iconography of the seated figure is challenging, for there is little on the piece to tell us anything except that it is an elaborately dressed Brahman ascetic. The iconographic repertory at the time of its production was relatively limited in comparison with the innumerable deities represented in later Indian art, and consequently we will suggest that it is an early or noncanonical form of an otherwise familiar deity.⁸²

Certainly the most important innovation of the Kushan era was that a very large number of images of both Buddhas and bodhisattvas (Buddhas-to-be) were created in human form. While most types of these images are familiar, there were those which did not conform to the norm both in the formative phases and later. The major centers of production, Gandhara and Mathura, produced images carved in gray schist and red sandstone, respectively. Our image, however, is not from either of those two centers, but from the Gangetic Valley, the historical heartland of Buddhism. Despite the fact that Kaushambi imported and perhaps copied Buddha images from Mathura, the Gangetic Valley had an idiom of its own, as can be seen from the vibrant terracottas of the Ghoshitarama (Figures 5, 7).

According to the basic tenets of Indian thought, all beings are continuously reborn in a higher or lower form depending upon their acts. Their goal is to obtain release (*moksha*) from this endless cycle. This notion was incorporated into Buddhism, so that, according to the Hinayana Buddhist tradition, in order to become a Buddha (one who is perfectly enlightened) one had to perform innumerable meritorious deeds in previous lives and undergo subsequent rebirths. Only then can one attain final release from the cycle of birth and death. Many Buddhas existed in past eras, and some are even known by name. The current Buddha, the historical Shakyamuni (Sage of the Shakra clan), was an Indian prince named Siddhartha Gautama (ca. 563–483 B.C.). Tales of his prior human and animal incarnations are well

known, having been told through a series of *jataka* (life stories) and throughout Buddhist narrative art.

Very early in the Buddhist tradition there arose the notion of a Buddha of the Future, the archetypal bodhisattva who came into being to give hope for future salvation—essentially, the Buddhist Messiah. This successor to Shakyamuni, named Maitreya, was extremely popular in the Mahayana faith throughout Asia. The Mahayana faith is a system in which there are numerous bodhisattvas, or Buddhas-to-be, who postpone their own enlightenment in order to help others attain salvation. Thus, Maitreya is considered a deity who forms a transitional step between these two vehicles of Buddhism: he is both the Hinayana follower of Shakyamuni and the Mahayana deity waiting in Tushita Heaven to be reborn on earth.⁸³ It is his Hinayana aspects that concern us here.

There are many views as to how Maitreya entered Buddhist literature, but there are two basic theories: one that sees him as having Vedic origins, in which he is associated with the Indian god Mitra, and the other that considers him to have come from Iran and to have been associated with Mithra, the future Savior of Zoroastrianism, and with other messianic cults from the West.⁸⁴ In an important article, Padmanabh Jaini has argued for the foreign origins of Maitreya.⁸⁵ He suggested that the immediate chosen successor of the Buddha would logically be either someone uniquely associated with him in his various biographies or a contemporary king who followed his noble example. In the early literature, however, Maitreya is only one disciple among many, quite a minor figure, in fact. Jaini therefore suggests that the legendary figure of Maitreya was added to the earlier genealogy of the Buddhas under the influence of a foreign messianic cult such as the Zoroastrian Saoshyant or the Persian-Greek Mithras Invictus. Without attempting to solve the problem of the ultimate origin of Maitreya, one must keep in mind that India in ancient times was quite cosmopolitan and periodically adapted foreign forms and ideas to suit its needs.

The connection of the Metropolitan Museum's bronze to Maitreya was suggested to me by Doris Srinivasan, who noted that Maitreya was born into a Brahman ascetic family and that the attributes of the figure are consistent with a Brahman ascetic as well as with a "Prince of the Church."⁸⁶ Once placed in this context, the various attributes of our figure may become more comprehensible.

Most Hinayana sources speak of Maitreya as one disciple of the Buddha among many, but the *Mahavastu* elevates him to first on the list of Future Buddhas. Before reaching this exalted position, Maitreya underwent various stages in order to ultimately be anointed



Figure 32. *The Bodhisattva Maitreya*. Indian, Gandhara, Kushan period, ca. 3rd century A.D. Stone, H. 163.2 cm. See also Figure 20

by the Buddha as his immediate successor and to be reborn into Tushita Heaven.⁸⁷ Shakyamuni predicted that Maitreya would be born into a Brahmanical family and that his father would be a Brahman chaplain learned in the Four Vedas and sacred formulas.⁸⁸ The notion of his being born into a Brahman, or priestly, family is important to early Buddhism because Shakyamuni was a Kshatriya and belonged to a royal clan.



Figure 33. *Standing Maitreya*. Indian, Ahicchatra, 2nd century A.D. Buff sandstone, H. 71.1 cm. National Museum, New Delhi (photo: courtesy John C. and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, Ohio State University)

Since Buddhism is a proselytizing religion, the introduction of this tale relating to Maitreya marked an attempt to expand its appeal and to bring the Brahmins into the faith. The Brahmanical element in Buddhist literature has been stressed by John Rosenfield, who quotes the following passage from a eulogistic poem in honor of Shakyamuni Buddha: "You are Brahman, in you is the Brahmanical path, you are chief among



Figure 34. Detail of *urna* in Figure 1 (photo: courtesy Ronald Street)

Brahmans, you are the guide and the preceptor, the priest and the chaplain.”⁸⁹

Maitreya is represented differently at Mathura and Gandhara. Stylistically our image is more closely related to those from Mathura. If we hypothesize, however, that it is an image of Maitreya, it is more closely related iconographically to those from Gandhara.⁹⁰ The earliest representations appear on Gandharan Kushan coins.⁹¹ The most significant aspect of Maitreya images is their combination of features that indicate he is both a Brahman ascetic and a royal figure. (The princely adornments, such as his elaborate jewelry, appear on all bodhisattvas, as they remind us that Shakyamuni gave up his royal status in order to become a Buddha.) Sometimes, especially in Mathura, he has the characteristics of a Buddha.

In Gandharan images, the most striking feature of Maitreya is the ascetic's hairdo with a bifurcated topknot, which is sometimes symmetrical, at other times not (Figure 32). This feature has a long history⁹² that can be traced back to the rarely represented image of Brahma in which he is shown as subservient to the Buddha. Eventually it is adopted by Maitreya, who is fully accepted as an equal to Shakyamuni as well as the Buddhist's hope for the future. While the matted locks of the Brahman are entirely within the Indian tradition, the Gandharan version of the bifurcated topknot ultimately derives from Apollo's *krobylos* and thus from the classical world.

Maitreya can have a number of other attributes, including his right hand in *abhaya mudra* and his left hand holding a water pot or *kamandalu*. While both features can be associated with a number of deities, their combination with other attributes such as the ascetic's hairdo and princely ornaments clearly identifies



Figure 35. *Seated Bodhisattva*. Indian, from Katra, Mathura, 2nd century A.D. Red sandstone, 71 x 50 cm. Government Museum, Mathura (photo: American Institute of Indian Studies)

representations of Maitreya. The water pot, interpreted as a sign of Maitreya's Brahmanic nature,⁹³ is also believed to have developed into a symbol signifying the auspicious nectar of Future Life, the essence of the Buddhist Law.⁹⁴ Another attribute is the *urna*, usually represented as a small dot placed slightly above the eyebrows and between the eyes. This feature can be seen both in the Metropolitan Museum Maitreya from Gandhara (Figures 20, 32) and in a Maitreya in the Mathura style from Ahicchatra, currently in the National Museum, New Delhi (Figure 33), which is the earliest image of Maitreya identified by inscription.⁹⁵

The Metropolitan Museum's bronze ascetic is certainly not a standard image of Maitreya. It is from neither of the major centers of production, but it does have many of the iconographic characteristics. The bifurcated topknot of the ascetic's hairdo, the key to our hypothesis, has hitherto been overlooked. It must have been of special significance to the sculptor, because it is otherwise unknown in this specific form and is emphasized by the enormous double bow at the figure's waist. Taken in the context of numerous Maitreya images from Gandhara, the hairdo is simply

the matted locks of Maitreya as a Brahman ascetic.⁹⁶ A small, perfectly round *urna*, which is discernible only in raking light, appears between the eyebrows (Figure 34). It is heavily rubbed and nicked above the bridge of the nose, but its outlines are clear.

While the right hand of our image is in *abhaya mudra*, it is slightly turned inward, as is common on the early Buddha/bodhisattva images from Mathura. Among such examples are the Katra Bodhisattva in the Government Museum, Mathura (Figure 35), as well as the small bronze from Kaushambi (Figure 4). Whether the angle of the hand is characteristic of a very early date or of iconographic significance is unclear,⁹⁷ but it is definitely a feature of Kushan art from Mathura. Similarly, the left hand, holding the water pot, is not of the traditional type. In an unusual variant, the palm faces upward, in a manner not frequently seen in Maitreya images or, in fact, in any images carrying a water pot. One comparable image, however, is a seated Maitreya from Shotorak in which the water pot is similarly placed between the fingers of the upturned hand.⁹⁸

Although Maitreya usually wears an elaborate necklace, there is no other exactly like ours. If we assume that our bronze is an early or noncanonical image of Maitreya, there was no precedent to guide our artisan in the details. Yet, he knew that his Buddha of the Future should have special jewelry. As we have seen in the Deccan, imported necklaces were worn but not necessarily associated with any particular deity. We would suggest here that Maitreya is wearing an imported necklace simply because it was of special distinction and not because he was an adapted or imported deity. Apparently, the use of imported goods in India was a privilege of the wealthy, but such goods did not otherwise have iconographic significance.

We cannot particularly link the yoga band with Maitreya, for we know of no other images of him on which it appears. Yoga bands are associated with asceticism, but no other example is so elaborate. A passage from the *Sutra on the Original Vow Asked by the Bodhisattva Maitreya* may possibly give a clue to the use of the yoga band in this context: "The Bodhisattva Maitreya three times daily and three times every night put his clothes in order, restrained his body, folded his hands, bowed his knees upon the ground, and, turning towards the ten quarters, pronounced the following stanza (*gatha*): 'I repent all my sins, / I encourage and assist all the virtues of the Road, / I take refuge in and pay reverence to the Buddhas, / That they may cause me to attain the unsurpassable Wisdom.'" ⁹⁹ The fact that the only similar yoga band we have been able to find is in the fifth-century Buddhist caves of Ajanta may possibly indicate that this type was particular to Buddhist images.

To us, the seated posture and the bare feet (known on Mathura Maitreya standing images [Figure 32]) are of little significance, as is the form of the lower garment, which is a stylistic feature of Kaushambi dress. So too with the basket: while it can be associated with ascetics, it can also be associated with kings.¹⁰⁰

The beard of our figure is not part of the standard Maitreya iconography but does pertain to Brahmanical ascetics. Images from Gandhara portray the Buddha and Maitreya as generally clean-shaven or at most with a mustache, while at Mathura both are entirely clean-shaven. The most prominent bearded image is the Fasting Siddhartha, as in the example from Lahore,¹⁰¹ in which his flesh is wasted away, his eye sockets are deeply set, and his rib cage and blood vessels bulge through his skin. The image represents the severe austerities that were practiced by the Buddha but then rejected for a more moderate path to Enlightenment.

An examination of the characteristics of Maitreya as described in texts and a comparison of our figure's attributes to those seen in Mathura and Gandhara lead to the conclusion that our figure can well be an early representation of Maitreya as a Brahman ascetic. Certainly he is unique and experimental—no matter what his identification. Conceptually, if he is Maitreya, he is one step away from the canonical image, just as sculptures of the Fasting Siddhartha do not look like the Buddha as we usually know him.

A final aspect of our image that we have not explained, and probably cannot, is the strange cloth or chin strap. Two tales regarding Maitreya must be mentioned in this regard. According to textual sources, Maitreya performed various acts of heroism similar to those of Shakyamuni Buddha,¹⁰² but the feats that interest us most concern decapitation. The *Divyavadana* tells of a bodhisattva of the past who tried to follow Maitreya's example by cutting off his head but failed to do so.¹⁰³ This gruesome episode may be more suited to a narrative than to an image, but if it has relevance to our sculpture, the scarf may be seen as both calling attention to and covering the slit in the neck, which was in fact a casting fault.

In a Pali tale, Maitreya was born in a former life as a *chakravartin* (world ruler). He actually cuts off his head with his bare nails and presents it to the Buddha with the words, "May this gift of mine result in omniscience." By these words, Maitreya had fulfilled the perfection of giving and was born in Tushita Heaven.¹⁰⁴ While this tale does not explain our sculpture, it does represent Maitreya as a self-sacrificing ruler. The literary parallels do not prove that our image depicts Maitreya but are, nevertheless, highly suggestive.

Although not conclusive, the proposal that the Metropolitan Museum's bronze represents Maitreya as a Brahman ascetic seems to fit the available visual evidence better than any previously put forth. While the visual comparisons are scant, the literary evidence is less so, for Maitreya has many faces throughout the Buddhist world. To many, Maitreya is seen as the deity who was not only venerated as the lord of the Tushita Heaven, where many Buddhists aspired to be reborn after death, and as the future Buddha, whose coming was eagerly awaited by the faithful, but also regarded as the paradigm of the ideal follower of the Buddha's path.¹⁰⁵

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ABBREVIATIONS

Agrawala 1977
Prithvi K. Agrawala. *Early Indian Bronzes*. Varanasi, 1977.

Jaini 2001
Padmanabh Jaini. "Stages in the Bodhisattva Career of the Tathagata Maitreya." In Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies*, pp. 451–500. Delhi, 2001.

Kim 1997
Inchang Kim. *The Future Buddha Maitreya: An Iconological Study*. *Emerging Perceptions in Buddhist Studies* 7. New Delhi, 1997.

Lerner 1988
Martin Lerner. "Enigmas and Masterpieces." In *The Real, the Fake, and the Masterpiece*, pp. 37–40. Exh. cat., Asia Society Galleries. New York, 1988.

Rosenfield 1967
John Rosenfield. *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967.

Sharma and Sharma 2000
Deo P. Sharma and Madhuri Sharma. *Early Buddhist Metal Images of South Asia: With Special Reference to Gupta-Vakatakas Period*. Delhi, 2000.

Stefanelli 1992
Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli. *L'oro dei romani: Gioielli di età imperiale*. Rome, 1992.

Stone 1994
Elizabeth Rosen Stone. *The Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*. Delhi, 1994.

Stone 2004
Elizabeth Rosen Stone. "A Buddhist Incense Burner from Gandhara." *MMJ* 39 (2004), pp. 69–99.

NOTES

1. Martin Lerner (unsigned) in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Asia*, intro. R. Barnhardt (New York, 1987), p. 120; see also Martin Lerner, in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Notable Acquisitions 1984–1985* (New York, 1985), p. 85, and Steven Kossak, "The Arts of South and Southeast Asia" [Ancient India; Medieval India; Late India; The Himalayan Kingdoms; Southeast Asia], *MMAB*, n.s., 51, no. 4 (spring 1994), p. 24, fig. 12.
2. The bronze has been studied by Martin Lerner in his essay "Enigmas and Masterpieces," which was written for the catalogue of the outside exhibition, held at the Asia Society, New York, and called "The Real, the Fake, and the Masterpiece." The very title of the essay and that of the show itself are provocative, for indeed many aspects of this piece still remain enigmatic. See Lerner 1988, pp. 37–38, no. 20. The other work in which the bronze was published is Sharma and Sharma 2000, p. 12, and p. 13, fig. 7.
3. Dr. S. J. Fleming, then at the Research Laboratory for Archaeology, Oxford University, to Dr. Pieter Meyers, then Research Chemist, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, June 3, 1974.
4. Dr. Chandra Reedy, then Associate Research Scientist, Los Angeles Museum of Art, to Martin Lerner, December 9, 1988.

- I thank Chandra Reedy, currently Professor of Museum Studies, Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware, for our valuable discussions concerning this matter.
5. Memorandum, Pieter Meyers to Martin Lerner, June 6, 1974.
 6. Chandra Reedy to Martin Lerner, December 9, 1988. It was for this reason that Chandra Reedy conducted the second thermoluminescence test. When she came up with the fifteenth-century date, she suggested that a carbon 14 test be done because the piece was clearly of considerable age.
 7. Beta Analytic Inc., "Report of Radiocarbon Dating Analysis," November 24, 1993. The actual date given was A.D. 110 plus or minus sixty years.
 8. Chapter 1 of Sharma and Sharma 2000 presents a good range of these images. See also Agrawala 1977.
 9. Rosenfield 1967, pl. 1.
 10. For a further discussion of this posture, see *ibid.*, pp. 186–89. See also Elizabeth Rosen Stone, "A Suite of Buddhist Ritual Objects from Gandhara: The Art Historical Evidence," in *Collecting in Context: Papers in Memory of Leon Levy*, ed. Jennifer Chi (Mainz: forthcoming).
 11. Martin Lerner and Steven Kossak, *The Lotus Transcendent: Indian and Southeast Asian Art from the Samuel Eilenberg Collection*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1991), pp. 67–68, no. 28. This object has been ascribed to the Kushan period and placed in Gandhara. Comparable images in stone and bronze and on gold coins appear in Andhra Pradesh in the late third or early fourth century. For an example from Nagarjunakonda, see Stone 1994, fig. 231. For a comparable, unusual bronze plaque, probably from Amaravati and now in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, see H. Goetz, *Handbook of the Collections, Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery* 8, part 1 (1950–52, pub. 1952), p. 17; Swarna Kamal, *Studies in Metallic Art and Technology of Gujarat* (Baroda, 1980), pp. 52–57, pl. xv, fig. 24; Agrawala 1977, p. 87, ill. 165. Similar imagery is also seen on coins of the Gupta period. See, for example, Pratapaditya Pal, *The Ideal Image: The Gupta Sculptural Tradition and Its Influence*, exh. cat., Asia House Gallery, New York (New York, 1978), no. 1, reverse of coin *b*, from the time of Samudragupta (A.D. 345–376), and reverse of coin *e*, from an unknown king.
 12. Bridget Allchin and Raymond Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 319.
 13. Romila Thapar, *Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300* (Berkeley, 2002), p. 49.
 14. G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kaushambi, 1949–50*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 74 (Delhi, 1969), p. xiii. This publication appeared nearly two decades after the excavation was complete and refers to some material from later excavations.
 15. G. R. Sharma, *The Excavations at Kaushambi, 1957–59* (Allahabad, 1960), chaps. 8–10.
 16. Aruna Tripathi, *The Buddhist Art of Kaushambi: From 300 B.C. to A.D. 550* (New Delhi, 2003), pp. 15–16; K. D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies* (New Delhi, 1976), chap. 15, "The Maghas of Kaushambi and South Kosala and the Allied Problems." There is a dispute as to whether the Kushans actually ruled over the region for a time, but if they did their occupation was of a transitory nature (*ibid.*, p. 70).
 17. Bimala Churn Law, *Kaushambi in Ancient Literature*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 60 (Delhi, 1939), pp. 15–16.
 18. G. R. Sharma, "Excavations at Kaushambi, 1949–1955," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* (Kern Institute-Leyden) 16 (1948–53, pub. 1958), p. xxxvi. According to tradition, King Udayana created a sandalwood figure that was presumably a close likeness of the Buddha and was widely copied. See Xuanzang, *Su-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World; Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629) by Samuel Beal* (London, 1884; reprint Delhi, 1969), p. 235.
 19. Lerner 1988, p. 38; S. C. Kala, "Some Interesting Objects in the Allahabad Museum," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum* 12 (1973), pp. 48–49, pls. 17a,b; Sharma and Sharma 2000, p. 10, fig. 5. The other metal images from Kaushambi published in Sharma and Sharma are extremely primitive. The Kaushambi sculptures in the Allahabad Museum were surface finds.
 20. Thapar, *Early India*, p. 145.
 21. Stone 2004, pp. 75, 95 nn. 19, 20.
 22. Agrawala 1977, p. 66; Herbert Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh: 2500 Years of a Town in Mathura District*, *Monographien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie* 9 (Berlin, 1993), p. 282, no. 2 and p. 281. The figure has been identified as Charika-Shashthi, a mother goddess who presides over childbirth and is assimilated with Devasena-Shashthi, the wife of Skanda.
 23. For an overview of the excavations, see *History to Prehistory: Contribution of the Department to the Archaeology of the Ganga Valley and the Vindhya*, *Archaeology of the Vindhya and the Ganga Valley* 11 (Allahabad, 1980).
 24. *Ibid.* p. 17.
 25. Amy G. Poster, *From Indian Earth: 4,000 Years of Terracotta Art*, exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn, 1986), pp. 123–24; Sharma, "Excavations at Kaushambi, 1949–1955," pl. rvd.
 26. There are other images that seem to relate to this type. See, for example, Stanislaw J. Czuma, with the assistance of Rekha Morris, *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art; Asia Society, New York; Seattle Art Museum (Cleveland, 1985), pp. 126–27, no. 54, which Czuma suggests is from Kaushambi.
 27. For good photographs of the Chausa group, see Nihar Ranjan Ray, Karl Khandalavala, and Sadashiv Gorakshkar, *Eastern Indian Bronzes* (New Delhi, 1986), pp. 18–19, figs. 1–17.
 28. Lerner 1988, p. 37, citing Umakant P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments Archaeological Series 1 (Bombay, 1959), pl. 2b.
 29. H. K. Prasad, "Jaina Bronzes in the Patna Museum," in *Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalyaya Suvaranamahot-sava grantha / Golden Jubilee Volume* (Bombay, 1968), pp. 1–2, n. 1.
 30. See, for example, the Shiva figure from the well-known Shiva and Parvati couple from Kaushambi in the Indian Museum, Kolkata (R. C. Sharma, "Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures from Mathura," in *The Golden Age: Gupta Art—Empire, Province and Influence*, ed. Karl Khandalavala [Bombay, 1991], p. 19, fig. 5).
 31. Interestingly, Agrawala (1977, p. 66) compares the Sonkh bronze discussed above with the Chausa bronzes, while Lerner (1988, p. 37) compares our bronze to those of Chausa. See also Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, pl. 2b. It is apparent that there is a sort of cultural triangle here between the Sonkh and Chausa bronzes and our image, the significance of which is not clear. While one can note certain stylistic facial similarities with the Metropolitan piece, the Chausa figures are extremely muscular.

- Though it is plausible that they were made in the same workshop, their function and iconography are quite dissimilar.
32. Tripathi, *Buddhist Art of Kaushambi*, pp. 120–21.
 33. It is difficult to tell what else it might be. For another example of this feature, see James C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture: Indian Sculpture of the Fourth to the Sixth Centuries A.D.* (Oxford, 1974), figs. 113, 114.
 34. Rishi Raj Tripathi, *Masterpieces in the Allahabad Museum* (Allahabad, 1984), pp. 39–40, fig. 69. Traces of paint have been found on this head.
 35. These chin straps should not be confused with the so-called wrapped heads that have appeared at Persepolis in representations of foreigners and are common in the art of Andhra Pradesh. See James Harle, "The Significance of Wrapped Heads in Indian Sculpture," in *South Asian Archaeology 1979: Papers from the Fifth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe Held in the Museum für Indische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, ed. Herbert Härtel (Berlin, 1981), pp. 401–10. As Harle notes, similar head wrappings were seen in Achaemenid reliefs at Persepolis (E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 1, *Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* [Chicago, 1953], pls. 30, 33).
 36. See Madhukar K. Dhavalikar, *Masterpieces of Indian Terracottas* (Bombay, 1977), p. 61, pl. 79.
 37. In the early Gupta image of Shiva and Parvati from Kaushambi, Shiva has a narrow row of curls under his chin. For a discussion of this feature see Joanna Gottfried Williams, *The Art of Gupta India: Empire and Province* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 36–37.
 38. Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh*, p. 130, nos. 106, 109.
 39. *Ibid.*, p. 457, no. 6.
 40. See also Isabelle Gobert, *Le Mobilier*, fasc. 2 of Jeanine Auboyer, *La vie publique et privée dans l'Inde ancienne (IIe siècle av. J. C.–VIIIe siècle env.)*, Publications du Musée Guimet, Recherches et documents d'art et d'archéologie, vol. 6 (Paris, 1976), p. 32, fig. 1.
 41. Dieter Schlingloff, *A Guide to the Ajanta Paintings*, vol. 1, *Narrative Wall Paintings* (New Delhi, 1999), pp. 4–5, no. 45.
 42. *Ibid.* pp. 5–6. Compare Benoy Behl, *The Ajanta Caves: Artistic Wonder of Ancient Buddhist India* (New York, 1998), p. 86, right fig., and p. 87, right fig., which show a similar posture and attitude of a hermit and king.
 43. This is clearly seen in a detail published by Behl, *Ajanta Caves*, p. 86.
 44. The notion of wearing many necklaces has a long tradition in ancient India. The individual necklaces rarely overlap (except in Gandhara), so that the details of each can be clearly seen.
 45. Martin Lerner (*Metropolitan Museum of Art: Asia*, p. 120; and Lerner 1988, p. 37) refers to this as a torque, but bends in the wire and comparisons with other examples indicate that it is a chain necklace.
 46. The most recent dealing with the art of Gandhara are Doris Srinivasan, "From Clipeata Imago to Gandharan Image Medallion in the Embellishment of the Parinirvana Legend," in *Architetti, capomastri, artigiani: l'organizzazione dei cantieri e della produzione artistica nell'Asia ellenistica; studi offerti a Domenico Faccenna nel suo ottantesimo compleanno*, ed. Pierfrancesco Callieri (Rome, 2006), pp. 247–69; Martina Stoye, "Der Dreifuss in Gandharischen Szenen vom Erstn Bad des Siddhartha Gautama—Überlegungen zu Herkunft und Bedeutung Eines Visuellen Zitats" [The Tripod in Gandharan Scenes of the First Bath of Siddhartha Gautama: Reflections on the Provenance and Meaning of a Visual Quote], *Artibus Asiae* 64, no. 2 (2004), pp. 141–76 (article in German with an English summary); and Stone 2004. For the Deccan, see Richard Daniel De Puma, "The Roman Bronzes from Kolhapur," in *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*, ed. Vimala Begley and Richard Daniel De Puma (Madison, Wis., 1991; reprint Delhi, 1992), pp. 82–124, and M. N. Deshpande, "Classical Influence on Indian Terracotta Art," in *Huitième congrès international d'archéologie classique: Rapports et communications* (Paris, 1965), pp. 603–10.
 47. The same format can be clearly seen in Greek folk jewelry in the Benaki Museum (for example, Benaki Museum, *Greek Jewellery from the Benaki Museum Collections* [Athens, 1999], p. 420, fig. 304, pp. 486–87, fig. 347).
 48. Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture*, p. 76, no. 18.
 49. Patricia F. Davidson and Andrew Oliver Jr., *Ancient Greek and Roman Gold Jewelry in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1984), pp. 19–20, no. 15. A very fine example of this type is published in Ilknur Özgen and Jean Öztürk, *The Lydian Treasure: Heritage Recovered* (Istanbul, 1996), p. 181, no. 132. An earlier but similar type of element appears in the form of papyrus-lily beads (see Benaki Museum, *Greek Jewellery*, pp. 36–37, no. 1, for Late Helladic examples).
 50. For example, Aikaterini Despini, *Ancient Gold Jewellery*, trans. Alexandra Doumas (Athens, 1996), pp. 162–63, nos. 150–52, pp. 166–67, nos. 153–56.
 51. Dyfri Williams and Jack Ogden, *Greek Gold: Jewelry of the Classical World*, exh. cat., British Museum, London; MMA; Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (New York, 1994), pp. 112–13, fig. 64; Dietrich von Bothmer and Joan R. Mertens, *The Search for Alexander: Supplement to the Catalogue* (New York, 1982), p. 6 and p. 7 no. S23.
 52. Bothmer and Mertens, *Search for Alexander*, p. 17, no. S 58 (MMA, Rogers Fund, 1913 [13.234.10]).
 53. Ljudmila Ruseva-Skokoska, *Roman Jewellery: A Collection of the National Archaeological Museum–Sofia* (Sofia, 1991), p. 50, no. 103, p. 51, no. 97; p. 52, nos. 107–8.
 54. Hanging from the chain is a coin pendant of Emperor Domitian dated A.D. 90–91. Stefanelli 1992, pp. 164–65, 175; F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1911), pp. 317–18, pl. LIX, no. 2735.
 55. Chain necklaces are well known in Gandhara but are of a different style. Also, the way in which they are configured on the body is quite different: they are usually suspended from the neck in very much the same way necklaces are worn in modern times. For an interesting study, see Carolyn Woodford Schmidt, "Replicas of Chain Necklaces with Figural Terminals in Buddhist Art of the Kushan Period," in *South Asian Archaeology 1995: Proceedings of the 13th Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, Cambridge, 5–9 July, 1995*, ed. Raymond Allchin and Bridget Allchin (New Delhi, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 523–42.
 56. Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery*, pl. LIX, no. 2716. See also Stefanelli 1992, p. 110, no. 76, for an example from Pompeii, as well as one from the third century with a medallion as a pendant, now in the National Archaeological Museum, Sofia (Ruseva-Skokoska, *Roman Jewellery*, pp. 138–39, no. 98).
 57. Euphrosyne Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1995), p. 71, figs. 59, 60, and p. 79, no. 72.
 58. See, for example, Astrid Böhme, "Frauensmuck der römischen Kaiserzeit," *Antike Welt* 9, no. 3 (1978), fig. 1. D. Mackay

- has suggested that the manner in which necklaces were worn in India influenced jewelry fashions in Palmyra, a major Syrian trading emporium in the early centuries of the Christian era. See D. Mackay, "The Jewellery of Palmyra and Its Significance," *Iraq* 11, no. 2, p. 176. For further connections between Palmyra and northwestern India, see also Harald Ingholt, *Palmyrene and Gandharan Sculpture: An Exhibition Illustrating the Cultural Interrelations between the Parthian Empire and Its Neighbors West and East, Palmyra and Gandhara*, exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (New Haven, 1954).
59. See, for example, Stefanelli 1992, p. 110, no. 75, p. 141, no. 131, p. 201, no. 245.
 60. Catherine Johns, *The Jewellery of Roman Britain: Celtic and Classical Traditions* (Ann Arbor, 1996), pp. 91–92, fig. 5.4.
 61. The Latin term *opus interrasile*, traditionally applied to this type of jewelry, was originally used by Pliny in the first century A.D. in various contexts, including gardening, votive crowns, decorative marble work, and precious metalwork. However, Jack Ogden and Simon Schmidt ("Late Antique Jewellery: Pierced Work and Hollow Beaded Wire," *Jewellery Studies* 4 [1990], pp. 10–11) have questioned the use of this terminology in connection with the type of pierced work we shall be discussing, namely, that which appears largely between the third and seventh centuries A.D.; they suggest that we simply use the term "pierced work." On the basis of this discussion, the term *diatrita* was adopted by Amilia Yeroulanu for her extraordinary publication on this type of work (*Diatrita: Gold Pierced-Work Jewellery from the 3rd to the 7th Century* [Athens, 1999], p. 15). While the terminology is not of specific importance to our study of the Indian prototype and was not universally adopted, it may help the reader to understand why the various references to pierced-work examples have different descriptive titles.
 62. See Yeroulanou, *Diatrita*, p. 155, no. 288, no. 225.
 63. *Ibid.*, no. 116 (one of four similar medallions). The spiral work is perhaps even closer in a bracelet in the J. Paul Getty Museum; see *ibid.*, no. 212, and Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, "L'opus interrasile d'orfèvres romains," in *Outils et ateliers d'orfèvres des temps anciens: Ouvrage publié avec le concours de l'enveloppe Recherche du Ministère de la Culture*, ed. Christiane Eluère, Antiquités Nationales, mémoire 2 (1993), figs. 5, 6.
 64. Deppert-Lippitz, "L'opus interrasile d'orfèvres romains," pp. 69–72.
 65. Doxiadis, *Mysterious Fayum Portraits*, p. 71, no. 60. Another good example, only with a gemstone in the center, is in the National Museums of Scotland, Royal Museums, Edinburgh, *ibid.*, p. 79; Susan Walker and Morris Bierbrier, with Paul Roberts and John Taylor, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (London, 1997), p. 57, no. 33.
 66. Barbara Deppert-Lippitz to Richard E. Stone on behalf of the author, February 3, 1994.
 67. After having written several articles regarding trade and trade routes, I was pleased to see my work neatly summed up in a paragraph by Robert L. Brown ("Vakataka-Period Hindu Sculpture," in *The Vakataka Heritage, Indian Culture at the Crossroads*, ed. Hans T. Bakker [Groningen, 2004], p. 64).
 68. R. E. M. Wheeler, with contributions by A. Ghosh and Krishna Deva, "An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India," *Ancient India: Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India* 2 (1946), pp. 17, 19–21, 101 (F), pl. XXXIII, nos. 11, 12). It has been suggested by S. Suresh that Greco-Roman craftsmen worked in India and that it is often very difficult to distinguish between the workmanship of a Roman original work of art and its Indian copy. While this is the subject of an ongoing study, he suggests that foreign craftsmen also worked at Karur; S. Suresh, *Symbols of Trade: Roman and Pseudo-Roman Objects Found in India* (Delhi, 2004), pp. 124, 142–46. See also Stone 1994, pp. 10–11.
 69. John Marshall, *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried Out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951), vol. 2, chap. 30, vol. 3, pl. 193.
 70. Suresh, *Symbols of Trade*, pp. 141–50.
 71. A Tamil epic poem, the *Manimekhalai* (3rd century A.D.?) mentions that Indian artists worked with *yavana* (foreign) carpenters to build the city of Kaveripattinam. See Rosa Maria Cimino and Fabio Scialpi, *India and Italy*, exh. cat., Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Italian Embassy Cultural Centre, New Delhi (Rome, 1974), p. 22.
 72. Stone 1994, p. 109, n. 139; K. Krishna Murthy, *Nagarjunakonda: A Cultural Study* (Delhi, 1977), p. 80, fig. 6, no. 19.
 73. Stone 1994, pp. 29–30.
 74. Stone 2004.
 75. Compare for example the Levy-White incense burner from Gandhara and its sources (*ibid.*, figs. 1, 23) with reliefs from Amaravati, which are no less classical in their sources but which adapt spatial conventions rather than motifs. Elizabeth Rosen Stone, "The Amaravati Master: Spatial Conventions in the Art of Amaravati," in *Hari Smriti: Studies on Art, Archaeology, and Indology: Papers Presented in Memory of Dr. Haribishnu Sarkar*, ed. Arundhati Banerji (New Delhi, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 51–60, 67–72.
 76. See Deshpande, "Classical Influence on Indian Terracotta Art."
 77. M. K. Dhavalikar, *Satavahana Art* (Delhi, 2004), pp. 87–90.
 78. *Ibid.*, p. 88, no. 1 (pl. xxxviii).
 79. László Török, *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt* (Rome, 1995), p. 127; see pls. XCIII, XCIV, and XCV for other orans figures. Pl. XCIV, no. 170, is of particular interest because it is a female figure with its hair pulled up in a type of style common on Indian figures. See also Françoise Dunand, *Religion populaire en Égypte romaine: Les terres cuites isiaques du Musée du Caire* (Leiden, 1979), pl. LXI, no. 112.
 80. There are unpublished parallels to this piece at Ter, but since they are very worn, we have chosen to show the Paithan example.
 81. Reynold Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, (London, 1961), p. 186, no. 3c, pl. 55b; Andrew Oliver, Jr. "Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Jewelry," *MMAB*, n.s., 24, no. 9 (May 1966), fig. 30 (Rogers Fund 21.88.90); Stefanelli 1992, p. 202, no. 246.
 82. We have examined the possibility of its being one of the various Hindu deities; none of these can be justified. It has previously been suggested that our figure represents Agni, the fire god, and while this is remotely possible, one would hesitate to think so without any indication of a halo of fire. (Lerner 1988, p. 3, attributes this idea to Doris Srinivasan, but it is clear from the references that it is only a remote possibility.) A *yaksha* has also been suggested, an identity that is possible, but the lack of a pot belly makes it unlikely (Kossak, "Arts of South and Southeast Asia," p. 24).
 83. Rosenfield 1967, p. 230.
 84. *Ibid.*, p. 288. Inchang Kim, the author of the most recent monograph on Maitreya, believes that his origins go back to the time of the Buddha. Kim 1997, pp. 11–16.

85. Jaini 2001, p. 451. This essay was originally published in *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, eds. Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre (Cambridge, 1988), which did not contain the quotations from Sanskrit and Pali texts that were later included as an appendix in the 2001 paper.
86. Doris M. Srinivasan to the author, undated (May 2007).
87. For the four stages of the bodhisattva, see Jaini 2001, p. 453.
88. For an excellent overview of the basic characteristics of Maitreya, see Rosenfield 1967, pp. 229–34. For the origins and spread of the cult of Maitreya in Southeast Asia, see Denise Patry Leidy, “The Bodhisattva Maitreya, Prakṛhon Chai, and the Practice of Buddhism in Southeast Asia,” in Nandana Chutiwongs and Denise Patry Leidy, *Buddha of the Future: An Early Maitreya from Thailand* (New York, 1994), pp. 65–91.
89. Rosenfield 1967, pp. 232–33, and p. 312, n. 76. This passage is quoted from a section of a eulogistic poem in honor of Shakyamuni by the author of “The Letter to King Kani[sh]ka,” translated by D. R. Schackelton Bailey, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1950), pp. 671–701, 947–1003. The chapter is entitled “Praise [of the Buddha] in Brahmanical Terms.”
90. Most of the images commonly accepted as Maitreya have been published in Kim 1997.
91. Ibid., p. 73; Joe Cribb, “Kanishka’s Buddha Coins—The Official Iconography of Shakyamuni and Maitreya,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 3, no. 2 (1980), pp. 79–88; “Kanishka’s Buddha Image Coins Revisited,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 6, Papers in Honour of Francine Tissot (1999–2000), pp. 151–89.
92. Alexander Coburn Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China, Artibus Asiae*, supp. 19 (Ascona, 1959), pp. 216–17.
93. Rosenfield 1967, p. 232.
94. Kim 1997, p. 51.
95. For a discussion of the image, see Rosenfield 1967, pp. 231–32.
96. We can only reiterate here that regional interpretations of standard iconographic features are the norm in India, the most conspicuous illustration being that the *ushnisha* (cranial protrusion) of the Buddha is interpreted as a naturalistic hairdo in Gandhara, while it is portrayed as a snail’s shell in Mathura.
97. Härtel suggests that this hand gesture may be *vyavṛtta*, which is associated with the Kapardin-type Buddha and also found on Hindu deities. He believes that it represents “addressing the audience rather than removing fear.” Herbert Härtel, “The Kapardin Buddha Type of Mathura,” in *South Asian Archaeology 1983: Papers from the Seventh International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, Held in the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, Brussels*, ed. Janine Schotsmans and Maurizio Taddei, 2 vols. (Naples, 1985), pp. 666–67.
98. Rosenfield 1967, fig. 101. I thank Michael Meister for this reference. See also Kim 1997, figs. 58, 78.
99. Joseph M. Kitagawa, “The Many Faces of Maitreya,” in Sponberg and Hardacre, *Maitreya*, p. 13.
100. In an illustration of the *Mahakapi Jataka* at Bharhut, the bodhisattva, portrayed in a former life as a monkey, is talking to the king of Benares. Both are seated on baskets. See Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India* (New York and Tokyo, 1985), pp. 70–71; Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *La sculpture de Bharhut*, trans. Jean Buhot (Paris, 1956), pp. 69–70, pl. xxvii, fig. 68. In fact, varieties of the wicker seat were in common use as furniture by deities and nondeities alike. See Gobert, *Mobilier*, p. 32, fig. 1, p. 76, pl. vi, and p. 78, pl. vii. Bodhisattvas seated on baskets appear on several Late Gandharan reliefs. See, for example, the figure of Avalokiteshvara from Lorian Tangai (Isao Kurita, *Gandara bijutsu / Gandharan Art*, vol. 2, *Budda no sekai / The World of the Buddha*, rev. and enlarged ed. [Tokyo, 2003], p. 63, fig. 156).
101. Islay Lyons and Harald Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan* (New York, 1957), fig. 52.
102. Interestingly, though Maitreya must have, at one point, been previously born in animal form, there is no known tale of this except in Southeast Asia in which he was reborn as a lion. Jaini (2001, p. 455) cites this example from a story called the *Panchabuddhabhyakarana*, which originated in Chieng Mai/Laos in about the fifteenth century. While Maitreya was born as a lion in this tale, he was accompanied by four other bodhisattvas, namely, Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa, and Gotama, who were born, respectively, as a rooster, snake, tortoise, and bull. Jaini (2001, p. 483 n. 11) notes that the five Buddhas with their animal emblems are depicted in a Cambodian temple. See *Panchabuddhabhyakarana*, ed. and trans. G. Martini, *Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême Orient* 55 (1969), pp. 125–44, pl. 14.
103. See Lewis Lancaster, “Maitreya,” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York, 1987), vol. 9, pp. 136–37; Jaini 2001, pp. 456, 483 n. 12, and appendix, p. 492 (vii), for the original text from the *Divyavadana*.
104. Jaini 2001, pp. 456–57, 483 n. 13, and appendix, p. 492 (viii), for the original text from the *Dasabodhisattuppattikatha*.
105. Kitagawa, “The Many Faces of Maitreya,” p. 13.

A Flamboyant Gothic Portal from Poitou at The Cloisters

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THE MOST IMPOSING EXAMPLE OF FLAMBOYANT Gothic architecture at The Cloisters is a large portal (Figure 1) installed in the Boppard Room at the entrance to the Unicorn Tapestries Hall in 1941, three years after the museum opened to the public. John D. Rockefeller Jr. had acquired the portal, probably by 1916, and kept it at his estate in Pocantico Hills, New York, before giving it to the museum he had founded. Until now the portal's early history was unknown, and it has been catalogued as "French, late fifteenth century." This article establishes that the Cloisters portal comes from the Poitou region of western France, more precisely from the château at La Roche-Gençay, near Magné, south of Poitiers. The text analyzes the portal's typology and style, examines the clues that link it to Poitou and La Roche-Gençay, and then places it within the broader context of Flamboyant architecture in Poitou, which allows it to be dated more exactly to the 1520s.

The large portal is at once restrained and generously decorated. These qualities become apparent when it is compared with a doorway from Gimont, near Bordeaux, that is installed in the Gothic Chapel at The Cloisters (Figure 2). Contributing to the restrained character of the portal in the Boppard Room are its broad, simple ogival arch, the lack of both a tympanum and blind tracery at the top, and, finally, the relegation of all decoration to the framing elements, which, by not covering a great deal of surface, allows the entire portal to be perceived at a glance. The portal is distinguished by a compositional unity, despite the presence of decorative elements that make it anything but barren. Three prismatic moldings emphasize the ogival arch in the portal's center, a configuration that would be as suited to the entrance of a church as to that of a château. The upper ogee archivolt is richly decorated with foliage and cabbage-like crockets. Flanking the portal are sturdy buttresses with rounded bases (more substantial than those on the Gimont doorway), and at the top are two foliated

horizontal imposts separated by upward-reaching trilobes.

This rather wide, rounded portal initially reminded me of examples from the Champagne region, where churches frequently have low elevations and round or undulating, somewhat short columns or compound piers. However, portals from Champagne often have a tympanum and more complex arches, as well as foliage and even statues, at the splay, while the framing ogee archivolt is generally plain. In northern Champagne (see Figure 3) these features reflect the influence of Reims Cathedral,¹ and in southern Champagne (Figure 4), the innovative facade of Troyes Cathedral, built by Martin Chambiges starting in 1506.²

Burgundy could also have been a plausible origin for the Cloisters portal, as there one finds portals finished at the top with fairly narrow bands of decoration between two imposts. But on the Flamboyant portals that were added to the Romanesque nave of Autun Cathedral (Figure 5), for example, the simple pattern consists of circles or quatrefoils that are complete in themselves. The scalloped motifs that decorate the Cloisters portal appear frequently in Burgundy, but never at the tops of portals and always suspended, pointing downward. Moreover, in Burgundy the decorative motifs above portals are generally much more richly developed, as is the case both at Autun Cathedral and at Semur-en-Auxois (Figure 6).³ Thus, despite several analogies, Burgundy must be ruled out. Indeed, in both civil⁴ (Figure 7) and religious architecture, Burgundian portals often have tympana, they are framed with pinnacles or small buttresses with more complex and angular bases, and they are often interrupted with coping at different levels. Burgundian portals' profiles are also thinner and more sinewy than those of the Cloisters portal. Nowhere in Burgundy does one find the broad roundness and simple continuity of the Cloisters doorway, nor the foliage that softens and relieves its edges.

More definite clues lead us to Poitiers, in the ancient region of Poitou in west central France. Because relatively little was built in Poitou in the Flamboyant



Figure 1. Portal from La Roche-Gençay. French, ca. 1520. Limestone; H. 4.45 m, W. at base 2.98 m. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1940 (40.147.3)



Figure 2. Portal from Gimont. French, late 15th or early 16th century. Limestone, 5.5 x 2.4 m. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George Blumenthal, 1935 (35.35.14)

Gothic era of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the region is easily overlooked. On the Cloisters portal, the two arms of the crowning ogee archivolt do not meet at the top, and they remain separated even in the finial (see Figure 1). This device, which I have not seen anywhere else in France, occurs in Poitiers on the main portal and on the windows of the Hôtel Fumée (Figures 8–10), in a funerary niche in the Chapel du Fou in the choir of Notre-Dame-la-Grande (Figure 11), and in a portal on the rue Barbatte that is all that remains of the former subdeanery of Saint-Pierre Cathedral (Figure 12). The bands of foliage on the Cloisters portal were originally as voluptuous as those in the high reaches of the facade of the Hôtel Fumée, especially on the imposts. The upward-reaching trilobes appear on the funerary niche at Notre-Dame-la-Grande. And the wide, rounded proportions of the Cloisters portal echo those of the facade of the Hôtel Fumée, which are exceptional and, to my knowledge, unique.⁵

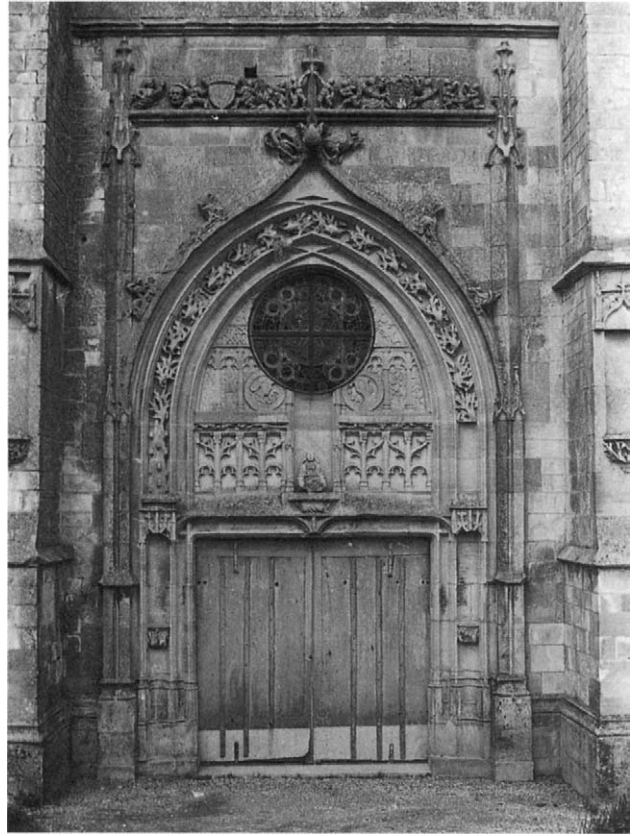


Figure 3. West portal, Arzillières

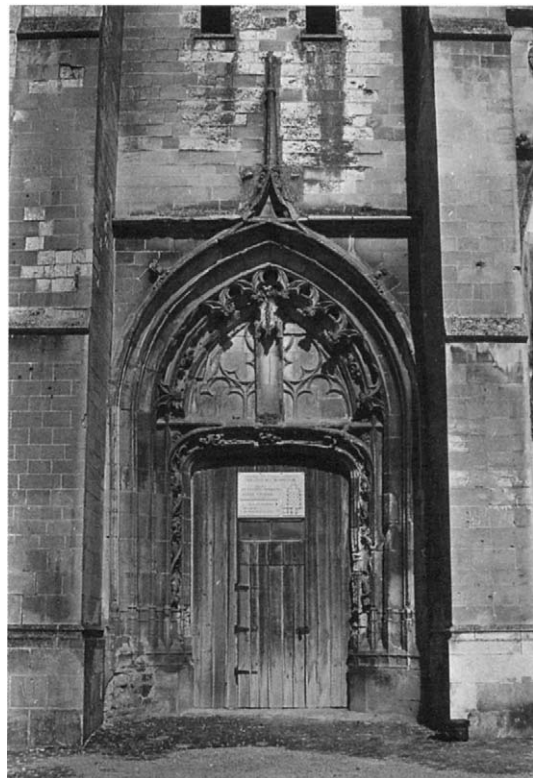


Figure 4. Left west portal, Arcis-sur-Aube



Figure 5. Interior portal, Autun Cathedral

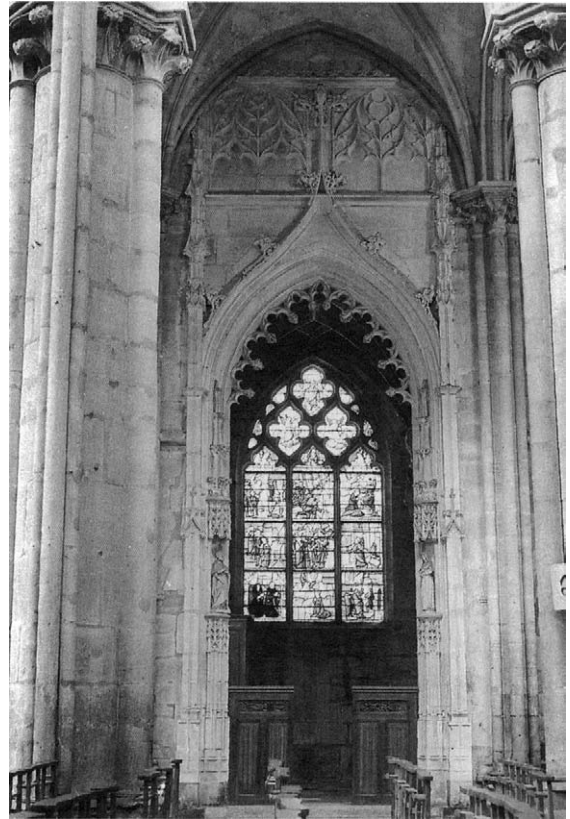


Figure 6. Chapel north of the nave, Notre-Dame, Semur-en-Auxois

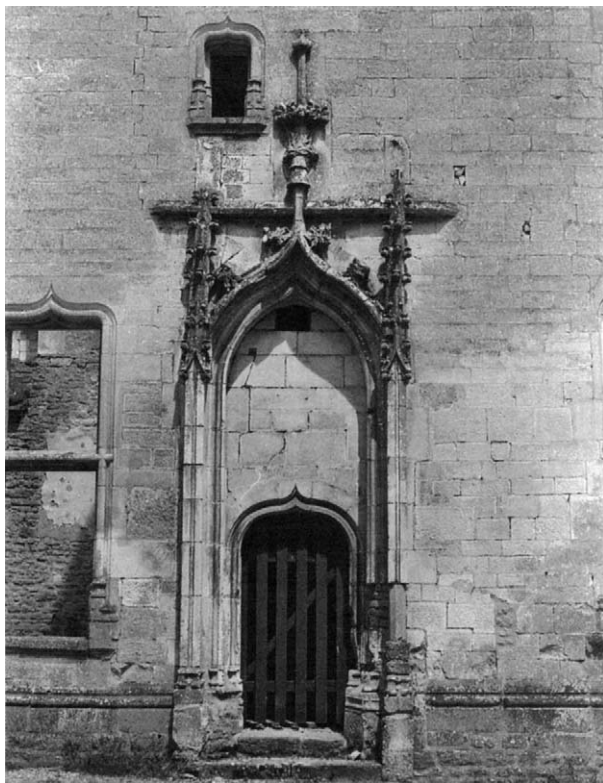


Figure 7. Portal, Château de Châteauneuf-en-Auxois

The facade of the Hôtel Fumée (Figures 9, 10) is in fact curved as if to evoke the circular towers that often frame the entrances of the great châteaux in the country-side, such as the Château de Chaumont in the Loire Valley. I therefore asked Jean Guillaume, a specialist in early Renaissance architecture in Poitou,⁶ if he was aware of a building related to the Hôtel Fumée in Poitiers. He immediately named the Château de La Roche-Gençay, near Magné, south of Poitiers. By an extraordinary stroke of luck, there I found a late nineteenth-century copy of the Cloisters portal (Figures 13, 14). Not only are all the details identical, but the dimensions very nearly match: the Cloisters portal is 2.98 meters wide at the base and 4.45 meters high, that at La Roche 2.98 meters wide and 4.71 high.

Moreover, old documents pertaining to the château prove that the Cloisters portal was there before the restorations that occurred between 1860 and 1870. In a prerestoration photograph of the castle (Figure 15), one can see that the portal, though partially obscured by a horse and wagon, looks like the Cloisters portal, except that it appears to have a semicircular arch and a tympanum. But the photograph was taken from very far away, and in fact the Cloisters portal is so close to semicircular in form that its upper arch is indeed



Figure 8. Main portal, Hôtel Fumée, Poitiers

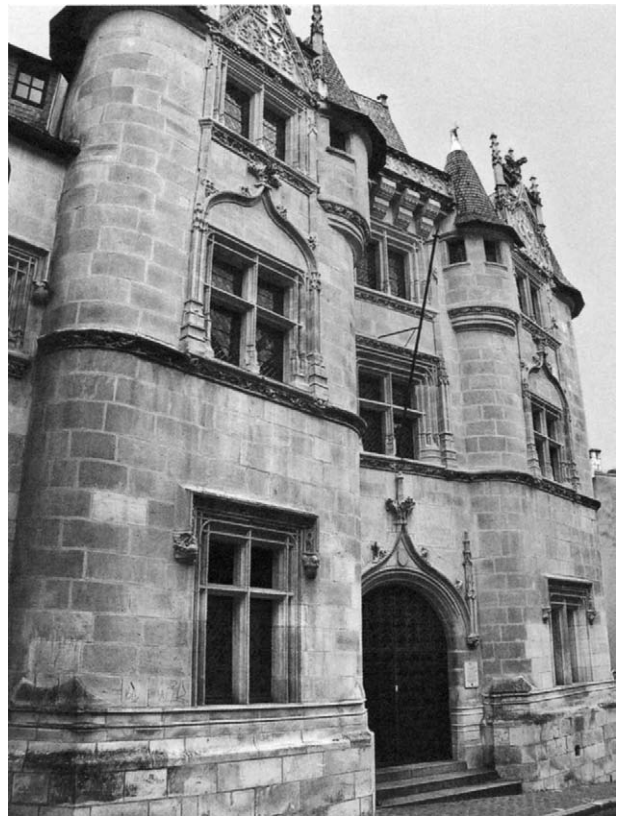


Figure 9. Facade, Hôtel Fumée



Figure 10. Facade, Hôtel Fumée

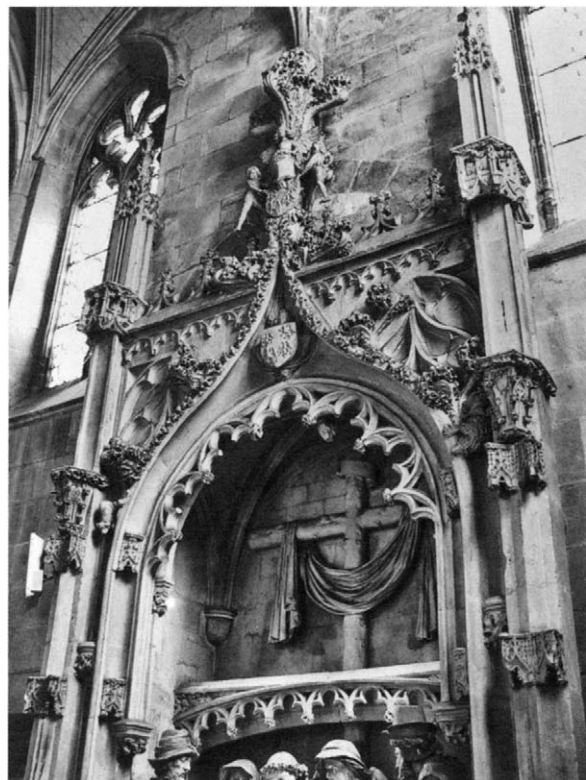


Figure 11. Funerary niche, Chapel du Fou, Notre-Dame-la-Grande, Poitiers



Figure 12. Portal of former Subdeanery of Saint-Pierre Cathedral, 15 rue Barbatte, Poitiers

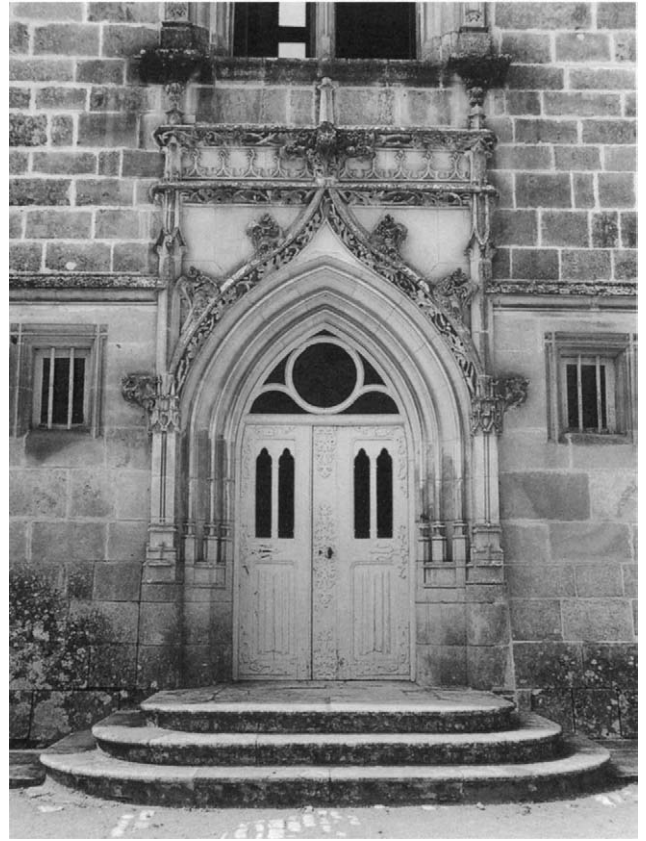


Figure 13. Portal, Château de La Roche-Gençay, Poitiers, a late 19th-century copy of the portal now at The Cloisters

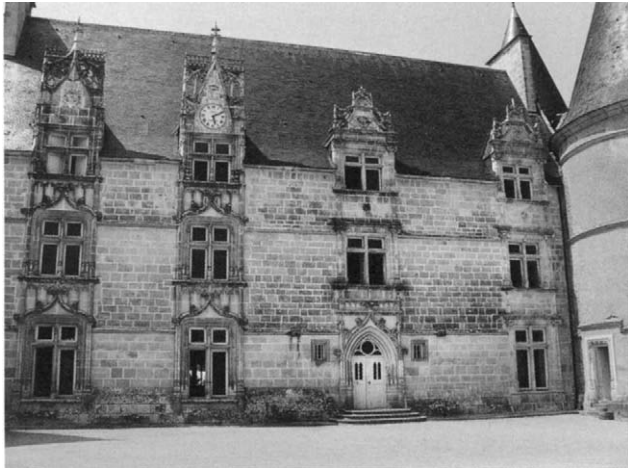


Figure 14. Facade, Château de La Roche-Gençay



Figure 15. Château de La Roche-Gençay, before the restoration of 1860–70. Daguerreotype. Archives du Château de La Roche-Gençay

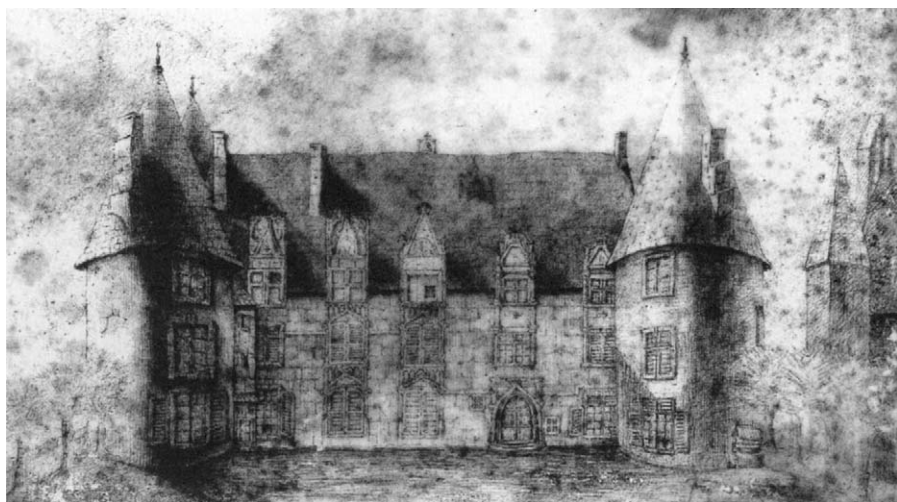


Figure 16. Château de La Roche-Gençay. Drawing, ca. 1752. Location unknown (photo: C. Désert, ca. 1968. Conservation Régionale des Monuments Historiques de Poitou-Charente)



Figure 17. Château de La Roche-Gençay, before the restoration of 1860-70. Daguerreotype. Archives du Château de La Roche-Gençay

semicircular. Furthermore, on a very precise drawing of the château probably made about 1752 (Figure 16), the portal clearly does not have a tympanum, and in another prerestoration photograph of the château that shows the portal from the side (Figure 17), a wooden door, painted white and therefore quite different in color from the stone, encloses the portal from the very top of the arch to the bottom. And finally, in both the drawing and the photographs the

portal does not touch the window above it and so was shorter than the present doorway, and it was not aligned with the window, as the new portal is, but was instead installed somewhat to the right. Thus it is fair to assume that the Cloisters portal was dismantled as part of a project to regularize the facade and was then, most fortunately, replaced with a very faithful copy.⁷

As photographs show (see Figure 14), work on the château began on the left side of the facade, which is

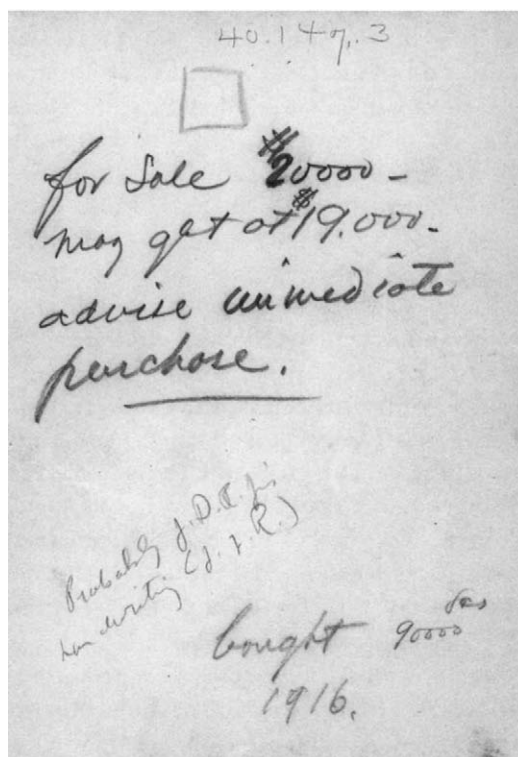
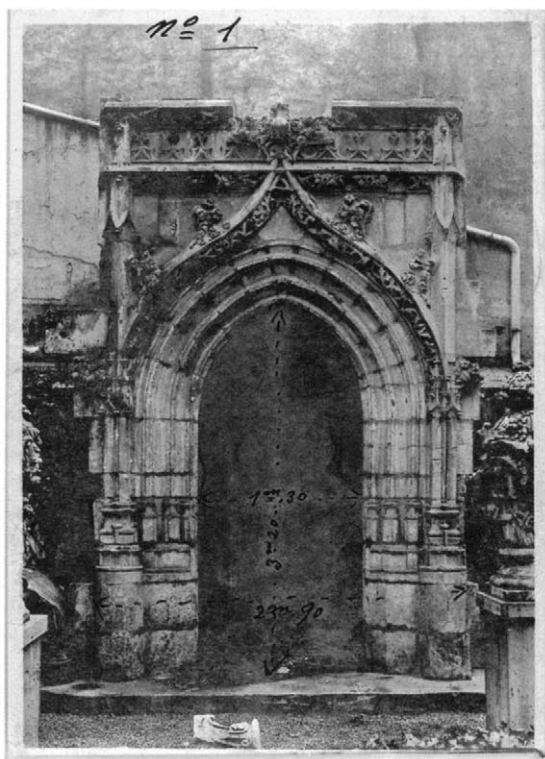


Figure 18. Photograph (front and back) of portal from Château de La Roche-Gençay, in France before 1916



Figure 19. Portal from Château de La Roche-Gençay on the Rockefeller estate, Pocantico Hills, New York, after 1916

still entirely in the Flamboyant style, whereas the right side has many Renaissance elements. The portal erected in the Flamboyant vocabulary was surmounted and bounded at the right by the Renaissance section. Jean Guillaume studied the Château de La Roche-Gençay in his unpublished dissertation on the early Renaissance in Poitou. Building upon this research, Jean-Pierre Babelon discussed and illustrated the château in 1989.⁸ According to Guillaume, La Roche-Gençay was the last Flamboyant château built in Poitou. It was begun by the nobleman Briand d'Appelvoisin about 1520 and completed after his death between 1531 and 1535 by his brother Guillaume, husband of Anastasie de la Béraudière. The change in style may have occurred when Guillaume took over the project. The château later belonged to Georges de Villequier, a leader of the Catholic League in Poitou during the Wars of Religion. The château was restored between 1860 and 1870, at which time the Cloisters portal must have been removed and acquired by a dealer.

Nothing is known of the portal's peregrinations between 1860–70, when the Château de La Roche-Gençay was repaired, and the beginning of the twentieth century, when it appeared at the Rockefeller estate

at Pocantico Hills. In the archives of the Medieval Art Department at the Metropolitan are two undated photographs of the portal. The first, and most interesting (Figure 18), shows the portal standing alone somewhere in France. On the back of this photograph is one inscription that reads: "for sale \$20000—may get [it] at \$19,000—advise immediate purchase . . . bought 90000 fcs 1916," and another with the signature "J.J.R. [James J. Rorimer]" and the notation "probably J.D.R.'s handwriting," indicating that Rockefeller bought the portal in 1916. The second photograph (Figure 19) shows the doorway in the garden of the Rockefeller estate. In a guidebook published in 1951, ten years after the portal was installed at The Cloisters, James Rorimer, then director of the Metropolitan Museum, described it as "an impressive limestone doorway with a pointed arch decorated in the flamboyant Gothic style."⁹

It is possible to locate the portal from La Roche-Gençay even more precisely within the Flamboyant Gothic production in Poitou. Unlike most main entrances to châteaux or chapels, the portals to both the château and the chapel at La Roche-Gençay do not have tympana, and one can easily conclude that this reflects a regional practice of the Romanesque era

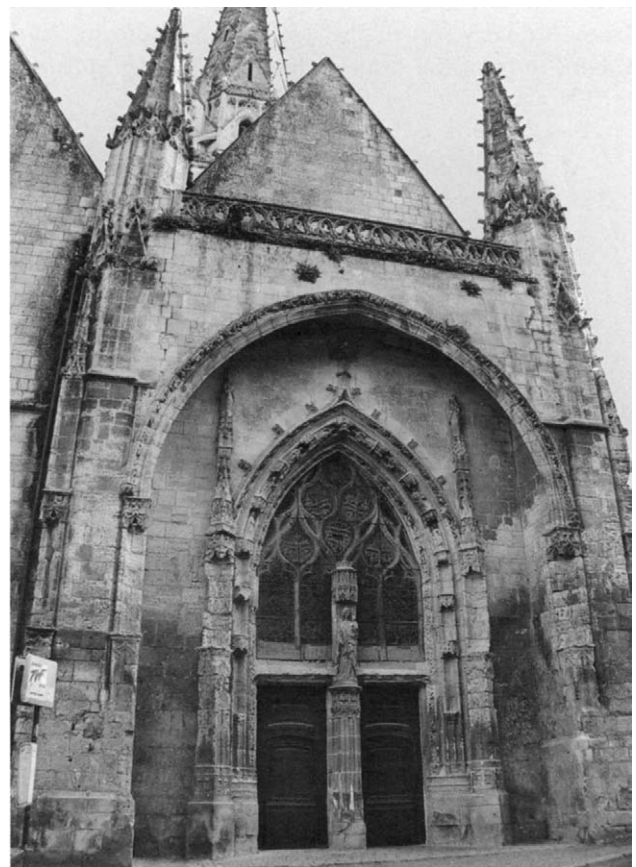


Figure 20. North portal, Notre-Dame de Fontenay-le-Comte

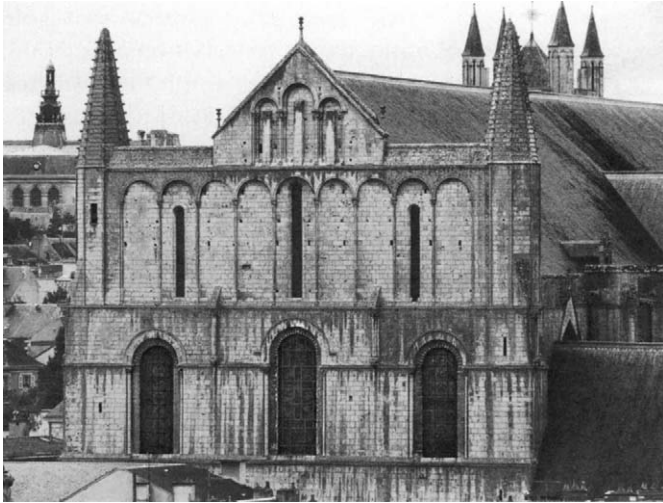


Figure 21. East elevation, Poitiers Cathedral



Figure 22. West facade, Notre-Dame-la-Grande, Poitiers



Figure 23. Portal, Sainte-Radegonde, Poitiers, dated to ca. 1520

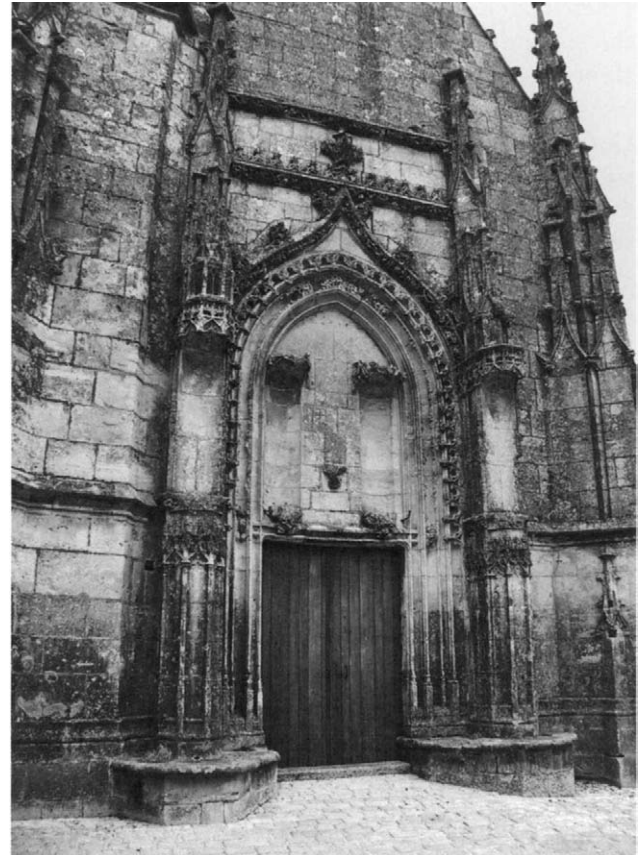


Figure 24. Portal of Flamboyant Gothic chapel, Ménigoute, dated to before 1531

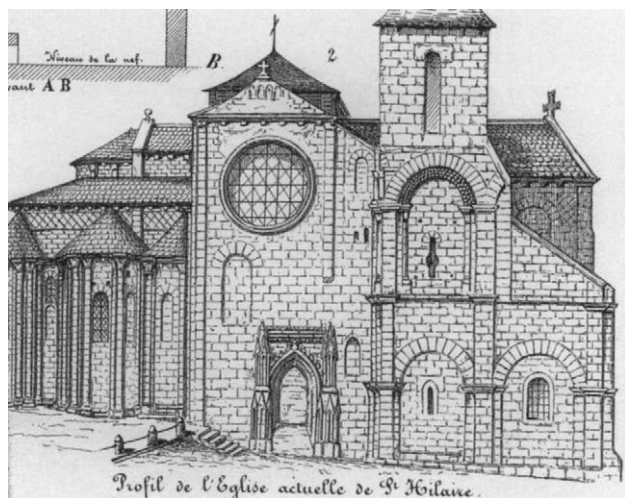


Figure 25. Flamboyant portal on north arm of transept, Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand, Poitiers (photo: A. Letouzé de Longuemar, "Essai historique sur l'église collégiale de Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* 23 [1856], pp. 332–33)

that remained fairly common in Poitou churches until the end of the Middle Ages. In addition, the rich foliated bands of the La Roche-Gençay doorway recall the somewhat densely sculpted foliate decoration on Romanesque architecture in Poitou.¹⁰

As in other provinces during the Flamboyant Gothic era,¹¹ in Poitou local traditions were continuing sources of inspiration. At Notre-Dame de Fontenay-le-Comte,¹² a large Flamboyant doorway (Figure 20) from the late fifteenth century is flanked by polygonal turrets similar to those of the thirteenth century on the chevet of Poitiers Cathedral (Figure 21), which are themselves a Gothic adaptation of those from the Romanesque facade of Notre-Dame-la-Grande, also in Poitiers (Figure 22).¹³

Other less general comparisons also lead us to Poitiers. The portal from La Roche-Gençay is clearly connected to the early sixteenth-century buildings in the town, even though the private hotels built a little earlier, during the second half of the fifteenth century, were in a slightly more sober style.¹⁴ It might be instructive to relate the La Roche-Gençay portal to monumental Flamboyant doorways of the churches of Sainte-Radegonde (Figure 23) and Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand. The portal at Sainte-Radegonde, which dates

to about 1520, is well preserved,¹⁵ whereas that from Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand, dating from between 1448 and 1475 and demolished during the restorations that followed the French Revolution, is known to us only through drawings and, thanks to a recent study by Paul Williamson, through fragments of archivolts preserved at the Musée Sainte-Croix in Poitiers and at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.¹⁶ These two portals, although built several years apart, are closely related,¹⁷ but their only obvious link to the portal from La Roche-Gençay is the astonishing treatment of the gable on the Sainte-Radegonde doorway. Yet the portal at Sainte-Radegonde is stylistically very similar to that of a beautiful Flamboyant chapel built by Canon Jean Boucard at Ménigoute (Figure 24), probably shortly before 1531.¹⁸ And the portal at Ménigoute, like the La Roche-Gençay example, is crowned by a band of upward-reaching trilobes between the imposts. (The proportions are different, but the Ménigoute portal is much larger.) In both cases the imposts as well as the gable are abundantly decorated with foliage. In addition, on the north arm of the transept at Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand was a second, smaller Flamboyant portal which, according to a surviving drawing (Figure 25), also had a crowning piece with two imposts. It seems that there was an exchange of ideas, and perhaps also of architects and contractors, among Flamboyant building sites in Poitou during the early sixteenth century.

We know that in the Flamboyant Gothic era in regions where there were numerous architectural projects it was customary for builders to draw inspiration from nearby sites. Certain practices became predominant in many provinces, even if the most varied ideas circulated widely. Seen in this light, and in light of the links established around the La Roche-Gençay portal, Poitou appears also to have developed something of its own. Nothing is simple in an epoch of such grand exchanges of ideas, however. In the early sixteenth century motifs and ideas from Italy were added to the mix. The now destroyed Château de Bonnivet was built in Poitou between 1516 and 1525 in a fully Renaissance style.¹⁹ Yet nearby, at the same time, the restrained and noble elegance of the portal of the Château de La Roche-Gençay demonstrated why so many architects and patrons remained faithful to the medieval tradition even decades into the sixteenth century.

NOTES

Translated from the French with the assistance of Julien Chapuis, curator, The Cloisters, MMA, whom we must also thank for finding the two archival photographs (Figures 18 and 19) relating to the portal's acquisition by John D. Rockefeller Jr. Unless otherwise noted, photographs are by the author.

1. Roland Sanfaçon, "L'évocation des grands portails de Reims et d'Amiens dans les églises flamboyantes de Champagne et de Picardie," in *Pierre, lumière, couleurs: Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge en l'honneur d'Anne Prache*, ed. Fabienne Joubert and Dany Sandron (Paris, 1999), pp. 457–68.
2. Stephen Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral: The Late Gothic Campaigns* (Bloomington, 1987), pp. 87–109. On the influence of Martin Chambiges's work on parish churches in the Champagne, see Charles Bourget's unpublished dissertation: "Saint-Remy de Troyes et l'architecture paroissiale flamboyante en Champagne méridionale (1400–1550)," Université Sorbonne, Paris, 1999.
3. For Autun, see the article by Bernhardt Serexhe in *La bonne étoile de Rolin: Mécénat et efflorescence artistique dans la Bourgogne du XV^e siècle*, ed. Brigitte Maurice-Chabard, exh. cat., Musée Rolin, Autun; Hôtel-Dieu, Beaune (Autun, 1994), and for Semur-en-Auxois, see Anne Prache, "Notre-Dame de Semur-en-Auxois," *Congrès archéologique de France 144* (1986), pp. 291–301.
4. Michel Jantzen, "Châteauneuf-en-Auxois," *Congrès archéologique de France 144* (1986), pp. 47–52.
5. The towers of the Château de Châteaumorand (Forez, département de la Loire), begun in 1523, although as shallow as at Poitiers, are fully rounded; see Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Châteaux de France au siècle de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1989), ill. p. 176. The Hôtel Fumée in Poitiers has been studied by René Crozet and, more recently, by Dominique Hervier-Manson ("Quelques édifices de l'époque flamboyante à Poitiers," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers*, ser. 4, 9 [1968], pp. 499–524, especially pp. 510ff.). The street facade was built between 1504 and 1514 by François Fumée, son of Pierre Fumée, lord of La Perrière in Anjou, who had married Hilaire Herbert, eldest daughter of François Herbert, mayor of Poitiers in 1474. In 1514 François Fumée took a mortgage on his hôtel to pay for a chapel he had erected at Notre-Dame-la-Grande. The funeral niche I referred to at Notre-Dame-la-Grande (Figure 11) is not in François Fumée's chapel but in a chapel south of the choir that was built between 1475 and 1488 by Yvon du Fou, councillor and chamberlain to Charles VII and Louis XI and seneschal of Poitou from 1485 to 1488. This funeral niche may well be the source for many treatments developed later in Poitou. The Entombment it frames dates to 1543–55 and comes from La Trinité de Poitiers. See René Crozet, "Nouvelles remarques sur la Mise au Tombeau de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Poitiers aujourd'hui à Notre-Dame-la-Grande," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, ser. 4, 10 (1970), pp. 481–89.
6. Jean Guillaume, now retired, was professor at the Université Paris IV–Sorbonne and wrote his dissertation on early Renaissance art in Poitou. He was responsible for research on architecture at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance in Tours and has authored and edited numerous publications.
7. For this information I am grateful for the generosity of Marie-Ange de Pierredon, present owner of the Château de La Roche-Gençay; Marie-Paule Dupuy, Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles Poitou-Charentes in Poitiers; and Madeleine de Terris, Département des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. It has been impossible to find the original of the drawing, but a good photograph of it, made about 1968, is kept at the Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles Poitou-Charentes. Madeleine de Terris, who also consulted her colleagues, thought that this kind of drawing could date as far back as the 1660s. But the presence of persiennes at the windows, remarked by Marie-Paule Dupuy, would shift the drawing to the 1750s, when persiennes became fairly common in noble houses. See Christophe Charley, "Histoire des persiennes: De Versailles aux Antilles," *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe* 134 (2003), pp. 19–26, esp. p. 22. This could correspond to a mention (also sent to me by Marie-Paule Dupuy) at the Archives Départementales de la Vienne (A. D. Vienne E 4 12 246 Minute Du Chastenier) that reads: "1752, 18 août: procès-verbal de visite de Nicolas Servant, maître architecte et entrepreneur à Paris." All the details in the drawing indicate that it was made before the old photographs dated before the restoration of 1860–70.
8. Babelon, *Châteaux de France*, pp. 151ff. See also E. Gauffreteau, "Notes historiques sur Magné," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 1909, pp. 243–351.
9. James J. Rorimer, *The Cloisters: The Building and the Collection of Mediaeval Art in Fort Tryon Park* (New York, 1951), p. 119.
10. See René Crozet, *L'art roman en Poitou* (Paris, 1948) especially p. 226: "feuillage charnu, gonflé de sève."
11. See the chapter "Renaissances régionales" in Roland Sanfaçon, *L'architecture flamboyante en France* (Québec, 1971).
12. See Yves Blomme, *Poitou gothique* (Paris, 1993), esp. pp. 159–61. Furthermore, the archivolt of the portal at Fontenay-le-Comte depicts the Wise and Foolish Virgins as a prominent and isolated theme, a common practice in Romanesque Poitou.
13. A Flamboyant facade at Fontenay-Rohan-Rohan reprises Romanesque characteristics analogous to those of Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers, including a central portal without a tympanum flanked by blind portals, a model frequent in Poitou and Saintonge. See René Crozet, "Fontenay-Rohan-Rohan," in *Dictionnaire des églises de France, Belgique, Luxembourg, Suisse* (Paris, 1967), vol. 3C, p. 71: "la façade . . . répète dans le style gothique flamboyant . . . le schéma traditionnel de centaines de façades romanes d'Aquitaine."
- As late as the seventeenth century the church at Celles-sur-Belle was rebuilt with a single nave covered with domical vaults similar to those of the thirteenth century. See Elisabeth Claude, "Une reconstruction gothique au cœur de l'âge classique: L'abbatiale de Celles-sur-Belle," *Congrès archéologique de France 159* (2001), pp. 99–110.
14. Hervier-Manson ("Quelques édifices"; see note 5 above) drew attention to the fact that ornamentation on the Hôtel Fumée is richer than on earlier civic buildings in Poitiers and proposed that the hôtel reflects an exterior influence originating in Angers, where the Fumée family came from. Nothing in Angers, however, appears to be related to the Hôtel Fumée, which, on the contrary, fits very well in the development of Flamboyant art in Poitiers in the first decades of the sixteenth century.
15. The portal at Sainte-Radegonde has not been properly studied, but see Jacques Bidault, "L'église Sainte-Radegonde de Poitiers," *Congrès archéologique de France 109* (1951), pp. 96–117, and Blomme, *Poitou gothique*, pp. 263–70. No archives for Sainte-Radegonde survive for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The date proposed here is new.

16. Paul Williamson, "The Flamboyant Portal of Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand at Poitiers," *Sculpture Journal* 5 (2001), pp. 1–6. Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand had two Flamboyant doorways, known through ancient drawings and a few fragments. Indeed, the Flamboyant portions of Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand were already damaged by Protestants in the sixteenth century and, like the rest of the church, left to decay after the French Revolution. The larger portal on the north side was built between 1448 and 1475 by the influential canon Robert Poitevin, then treasurer of Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand. The doorway was rebuilt in the western portion of the church, at least partially, after 1804, but both Flamboyant portals were demolished during the repairs of 1869–75.
17. The archivolts of the portals at Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand and Sainte-Radegonde are very similar, with a series of statuettes of saints between two bands of foliage. In both cases the larger statues are not at the splay but on the framing buttresses. And both portals are preceded by a parvis, on which at Sainte-Radegonde the canons stood to render justice.
18. As at Poitiers, the lower portion of the Ménigoute portal is provided with a bench at the jambs as well as at the buttresses or pinnacles framing the portal, a rather uncommon arrangement (which occurs, however, at Poitiers Cathedral in the thirteenth century), but the buttresses themselves accommodate a large niche and baldachins almost identical to those at Sainte-Radegonde. There is no doubt that the two buildings are strongly related and perhaps even by the same architect. See Crozet, "Ménigoute," in *Dictionnaire des églises de France*, vol. 3C, pp. 103–4.
19. Jean Guillaume, *Le château de Bonnavet entre Blois et Chambord: Le chaînon manquant de la première Renaissance* (Paris, 2006).

Two Fragments of a Renaissance Bronze Zodiac Frieze

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IN 2004 THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF Art acquired two bronze reliefs that are clearly fragments of a larger work (Figure 1). One, symbolizing the zodiacal sign Sagittarius, shows a centaur with an arrow in his left hand; his right arm and right foreleg are missing. The other, representing Capricorn, bears a goat with a spiral fishtail as hindquarters. Since these two pieces are related and since they render adjacent signs of the zodiac—the usual sequence being Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius—they must have been sawn apart at some time subsequent to their creation. In all probability they originally belonged to a larger work representing all twelve signs of the zodiac.

Without speculating as to their original function, James David Draper dates the reliefs to about 1530–40. On the basis of style, he further relates them to the work of prominent Venetian bronze sculptors of a slightly earlier generation: Alessandro Leopardi (1450–ca. 1523), Vittore Gambello (Camelio; ca. 1460–1537), and the Master of the Barbarigo Reliefs (active ca. 1486–ca. 1515), noting also that the punched background of the reliefs is a Venetian usage.¹ Draper's views accord with the results of technical examination of the objects, which revealed remnants of a characteristic Venetian black patina under the opaque reddish-brown paint. In addition, analysis of the metal showed components typical of Venetian bronzes. On the reverse, the profiles of the works are noticeably arched, both vertically and horizontally, which indicates that they must have belonged to a convex object. The complete circle that the reliefs of all twelve zodiacal signs would have made up can be calculated at about 80 centimeters in diameter, with a circumference of about 240 to 250 centimeters.² In the upper left corner of *Sagittarius*, Draper observed the letters "F.CIT A°" followed by a space, apparently for digits; the first of these have been scraped away, the last may be a 2. He rightly inferred that the inscription must have been effaced

in order to present the objects for sale as ancient, pre-Christian works.³

The reliefs are worthy of study not only for their delicate composition and the question of their original function but also because, in the nineteenth century, they were recorded as antique objects in the Fejérváry-Pulszky collection, the most significant private collection in Hungary, which predominantly consisted of antique works. The reliefs were sold in Paris in 1868 and until their emergence in 2003, their location was unknown.⁴ Accordingly, their emergence is of great interest to specialists in the history of Hungarian collecting.

In 2005, as part of a complex research project entitled "National or Universal Antiquities? The Nineteenth-Century Process of 'Musealisation' in Hungary and Europe,"⁵ a group of scholars focused their attention on the collection amassed by Gábor Fejérváry (1780–1851) and his nephew Ferenc Pulszky (1814–1897). The aims of their research were to reconstruct the collection to the greatest extent possible and to investigate its place within the broader context of the history of European collecting. Their starting point—the visual reconstruction of the collection—focused on the most important source, a large album called the *Liber Antiquitatis*. Made in the 1840s and once comprising about 150 watercolors, this catalogue illustrated some of the highlights of the Fejérváry-Pulszky collection. The researchers studied the album in its present state and noted changes made to it during the twentieth century. They also examined the individual watercolors, comparing them with the actual objects, in cases where they are known to exist, and analyzing their descriptions in archival sources related to the collection. The results of their study were discussed at two workshops held at the Collegium Budapest and were published in the volume entitled *Antiquitas Hungarica*.⁶ My comments on the Metropolitan Museum's zodiac reliefs were included in a paper tracing the fate of those Renaissance small bronzes in the collection that were previously regarded as antique.⁷

Fejérváry, a lawyer from Pest who moved to the northern Hungarian town of Eperjes (today Prešov,



Figure 1. *Sagittarius* and *Capricorn*, sections of a zodiac frieze. Venetian, ca. 1530–40. Bronze, 17.5 x 22.2 cm; 16.5 x 19.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Fund, 2004 (2004.440.1,2)

Slovakia), formed his collection in the second quarter of the nineteenth century with the assistance of his nephew. His primary holdings consisted of Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman bronzes, gems, vases, marbles, and Late Antique ivory reliefs but also included Near and Far Eastern works, a thirteenth-century Mexican manuscript, and a small number of medieval, Renaissance, and modern pieces. After Fejérváry's death, the collection was inherited by Pulszky, who, because of his support for the Revolution of 1848, was forced into emigration after its suppression. In 1851 Pulszky left London with his fellow exile Lajos Kossuth for a seven-month tour of the United States and, after his return to England, published his overseas experiences in *White, Red, Black* (London, 1853), written in collaboration with his wife.⁸ In 1853 he exhibited his collection in London.

Shortly afterward, financial difficulties and his decision to alter the focus of the collection led Pulszky to sell certain parts of it. Among these were the majolica pieces, acquired by a French art dealer; the ancient gold jewelry, purchased by the British Museum; and the Mexican manuscript, prehistoric items, and late antique ivories, bought by the Liverpool collector Joseph Meyer. At the same time, however, Pulszky persistently enriched his collection of gems and small bronzes with new acquisitions.⁹ After his return to Hungary in 1866, he arranged to have the collection exhibited at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Pest, early in 1868. Despite the Hungarian National

Museum's expressed intention to purchase the works, Pulszky first offered them for sale to the British Museum. He finally sold them to the auction house of Phillips in London, which in May 1868 offered the collection for sale in Paris.¹⁰ Several pieces went to the British Museum, while certain others were bought by private collectors and later found their way to such institutions as the Musées Royaux, Brussels, the Louvre, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.¹¹

A partial reconstruction of the collection is greatly aided by contemporary illustrations as well as by handwritten and printed lists. The two Metropolitan Museum zodiac reliefs appear in several sources. The most important are the watercolors in the previously mentioned *Liber Antiquitatis*, which Fejérváry commissioned from two Viennese artists, Joseph Bucher (1821–1882) and Wolfgang Böhm (1824–1890).¹² A third, unidentified hand, discerned on some pages, is responsible for the watercolors after the zodiac reliefs. The album's frontispiece date of 1842 indicates only when the work was begun, for some of the watercolors inserted or attached to the pages were made on papers bearing watermarks of 1843, 1846, or 1847.¹³ Furthermore, objects that entered the collection after 1842 are also found among the representations. The present state of the *Liber Antiquitatis* differs from the original: several pages have been lost and the order of

the watercolors was changed during the twentieth century.¹⁴ Currently the album comprises 106 sheets illustrating 290 objects.¹⁵

The watercolors made after the Metropolitan's bronze reliefs appear today on pages 71 and 70 of the album (Figures 2 and 3, respectively). The area within the borders of each relief measures approximately 17 centimeters in height, while the width of *Sagittarius* is 21.5 centimeters and that of *Capricorn* 19 centimeters, close to the measurements of the reliefs themselves. The artist obviously intended to depict the objects actual size. That one of the two identical sheets bears a watermark with the date 1846 proves they belong to those pages of the *Liber* that were made at a later date.



Figure 2. *Sagittarius*, from *Liber Antiquitatis*, plate 71, ca. 1846. Watercolor, 49.4 x 37.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest



Figure 3. *Capricorn*, from *Liber Antiquitatis*, plate 70, ca. 1846. Watercolor, 46.8 x 34.3 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

The watercolors show the reliefs covered with a greenish patination, and the incised letters at the upper left edge of *Sagittarius* do not appear, apparently because they were overpainted.

The earliest written reference to the objects is a note of November 1846 in Fejérváry's handwritten account book: "von Böhm, 2 Zodiacus Zeichen, 140 Ft."¹⁶ It cites Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865) as the owner from whom Fejérváry bought the reliefs. The year given for the acquisition explains why the watercolors were made on papers watermarked 1846. The next source is the manuscript catalogue of the Fejérváry collection, written in German in the 1840s and completed in 1847. Comprising a total of 2,003 items, it begins with a group of gems and ends with a list of rare books. Besides arranging the objects by category, the manuscript gives a description of each, including its technique, measurements, condition, provenance, and estimated value. The Metropolitan's two zodiac relief fragments are presented among the Greek and Roman bronzes as dating from the Imperial age. In addition to the usual information, the text notes that the fragments may have belonged to a larger, cylindrical work, possibly a sacrificial altar or basin.¹⁷

The author of the catalogue text enumerates several zodiac representations known to him, besides those on Roman coins, including among these two fragments in the Villa Albani. One is possibly a marble Atlas from the second century A.D., on which Atlas's body and the statue of Jupiter are modern additions.¹⁸ The celestial globe supported by Atlas is symbolized by a marble hemisphere that measures one meter in diameter and is edged by reliefs with zodiacal representations. The other Villa Albani fragment is probably a marble frieze from the early Imperial age, measuring 79 centimeters in width and 17.5 centimeters in height and bearing reliefs of seven signs of the zodiac.¹⁹ The author further cites the renowned marble sacrificial altar in the Louvre, dating from about A.D. 130 and measuring 80 centimeters in diameter, the edge of which is decorated with reliefs of the zodiacal signs separated by attributes of the deities (Figure 4).²⁰

The manuscript catalogue then refers to a planisphere (a two-dimensional star chart) in Paris that depicts the signs of the zodiac along with the decans. This must be the so-called Tabula Bianchini in the Louvre, a fragmented marble plate from the second or third century A.D. that was found in 1705 on the Aventine Hill in Rome.²¹ Finally, the text alludes to a Neapolitan work, presumably the Farnese Atlas, preserved in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (Figure 5). Its celestial globe, the earliest extant representation of the type, measures 65 centimeters in



Figure 4. The Gabii Altar. Roman, ca. A.D. 130. Marble, Diam. 80 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, MA 666 (photo: the author)



Figure 5. The Farnese Atlas. Roman, 2nd century A.D. Marble, H. 204 cm. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, 6374

diameter and is covered with reliefs of the constellations, including the signs of the zodiac. It is a Hadrianic copy of a statue from the first century B.C., with the head and other details modern additions.²²

After the enumeration of these zodiacs, the author of the catalogue takes note of the small holes in the two bronze reliefs, which served to affix them with pegs to a larger object.²³ He further observes that since the arrowhead on the *Sagittarius* continues onto the *Capricorn* fragment, the two pieces must originally have been continuous and later been sawn apart. (Although the arrowhead is not visible in the *Liber Antiquitatis*'s watercolor, it is apparent on the work itself.)

The next sources to mention the reliefs are the three printed lists of the collection. The first, a catalogue of the 1853 London exhibition written by Imre Henszlmann (1813–1888), includes the pieces among the Roman works as fragments of a large bronze vase and emphasizes their superior quality.²⁴ Next is an enumeration of the works in Pulszky's collection exhibited at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1868, which describes the reliefs as fragments of a Roman ornamental basin.²⁵ The last, the catalogue written by Pulszky of the Paris sale of May 1868, again presents the two reliefs among the Greek and Roman bronzes, identifying them as fragments of a large vase. They brought 400 francs.²⁶

After the sale in Paris, the reliefs disappeared. On the occasion of the 1997 Pulszky memorial exhibition, János György Szilágyi was the first to recognize that, judging from the watercolors of the two zodiac fragments in the *Liber Antiquitatis* the objects were most probably not antique but were made at a later date.²⁷ This statement was justified by the originals, which I initially saw in 2003 in a case at the gallery of Italian Renaissance Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum.

Of the original functions posited in the sources—sacrificial altar, ornamental basin, bronze vase—the altar can be ruled out as lacking a relevant context in the sixteenth century, but the other two are plausible. Supporting the second hypothesis are antique sandstone fragments with the signs of the zodiac that once decorated the outer edge of a basin measuring more than a meter in diameter (Saalburg-Museum, Bad Homburg, Germany).²⁸ The master of the ex-Fejérváry reliefs may have been inspired by such a prototype.

The reliefs might also have belonged to a celestial, or astral, globe. These representations of the constellations (groups of stars forming human, animal, or mythological figures with shapes and names borrowed mainly from classical mythology), with the signs of the zodiac among them, have been known since antiquity. It was probably Eudoxus of Cnidus, a Greek astronomer of the fourth century B.C., who first mentioned

them.²⁹ In the second century A.D., Ptolemy described the appearance and use of such objects and gave instructions for producing them in his astronomical treatise *Mathematike syntaxis*, also known as the *Almagest* from the title of its Arabic translation.³⁰ The globes were produced either for scientific purposes, to facilitate astronomical calculations and navigation, or as parts of larger works having a symbolic meaning, in which they were meant to represent the world.

The earliest celestial globe to survive from antiquity, showing most of the forty-eight constellations identified by Ptolemy, is that borne by the Farnese Atlas. After this marble statue was found in Rome in 1575, it entered the collection of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589). Its forty-three constellations, outlined in relief without indication of individual stars, include the twelve signs of the zodiac, which always appear on celestial globes based on the Ptolemaic tradition. Another globe from the same period as the Farnese Atlas, the so-called Mainz Globe, is made of brass and includes forty-eight constellations, the majority of which correspond to those described in the *Almagest*.

It measures 11 centimeters in diameter.³¹ In the early Middle Ages, Arabic scholars produced celestial globes following the Greek tradition, which was derived mainly from Ptolemy's writings. Their globes, approximately 130 of which survive, were used throughout the Middle Ages as models for the production of similar instruments.³²

The first celestial globes were either painted or engraved on spheres and thus existed only as single examples, but the rapidly increasing demand for such objects led in the early sixteenth century to the invention of printed globes. The new technique, which continued to be employed through the mid-nineteenth century, made possible the serial production and wide distribution of identical globes, which were used for teaching and studying astronomy.³³ The celestial map with the constellations was printed on twelve or more paper segments (gores) that were pasted on a sphere. The globe was then placed on a stand within a frame, in which the globe could turn around its axis. One of the oldest surviving printed celestial globes was made by Johannes Schöner in Nuremberg about 1533–34



Figure 6. Johannes Schöner (German, 1477–1547). Celestial globe, 1533–34. Papier-mâché, woodcut, and brass, H. 44 cm, Diam. 27 cm. Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek



Figure 7. Celestial globe with clockwork. Austrian or Bohemian, 1579. Silver, partly gilded, and brass, 27.3 x 20.3 x 19 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.636)



Figure 8. Zodiac globe. Roman, 2nd century A.D. Marble, Diam. 60 cm. Sala dei Busti, Vatican Museums, Rome, 784

Figure 9. Zodiac globe. Roman, 1st or 2nd century A.D. Marble, Diam. 16 cm. Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart, 1.83



Figure 10. Herman Posthumus (Netherlandish or German, active by 1536–died after 1542). *Fantastic Landscape with Roman Ruins* (detail), 1536. Oil on canvas, 96 x 141.5 cm. Sammlungen des Fürsten von und zu Liechtenstein, Vaduz–Vienna, 740

(Figure 6).³⁴ Despite the predominance of the printed versions, unique celestial globes were continuously produced and became celebrated art objects, often made by goldsmiths for collectors. The silver Pegasus celestial globe from 1579 in the Metropolitan Museum, with constellations engraved on the surface of the sphere, is attached to a clockwork and was created by an anonymous goldsmith who was probably employed at the imperial court in Vienna or Prague (Figure 7).³⁵

If the *Sagittarius* and *Capricorn* reliefs belonged to a globe, it might have been of the special kind known as a zodiac globe. This type shows only a band with the zodiacal signs encircling the sphere and omits the other constellations. Usually constituting part of a larger work of art, it always symbolizes the heavens or the world. Of the extant antique works, the largest is a marble globe in the Sala dei Busti in the Vatican, dating from the second century A.D., on which the signs of the zodiac emerge from the surface as reliefs (Figure 8).³⁶ The signs are also represented as reliefs on another, much smaller marble zodiac globe from the Imperial age. This globe, which was in the Waldeck Collection, Arolsen, until 1928 and is today in the Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart, deserves attention because both its shape and its positioning of *Sagittarius* and *Capricorn* echo those of the Metropolitan Museum's reliefs (Figure 9).³⁷ These two globes elucidate why Böhme, Fejérváry, Henszlmann, and Pulszky regarded

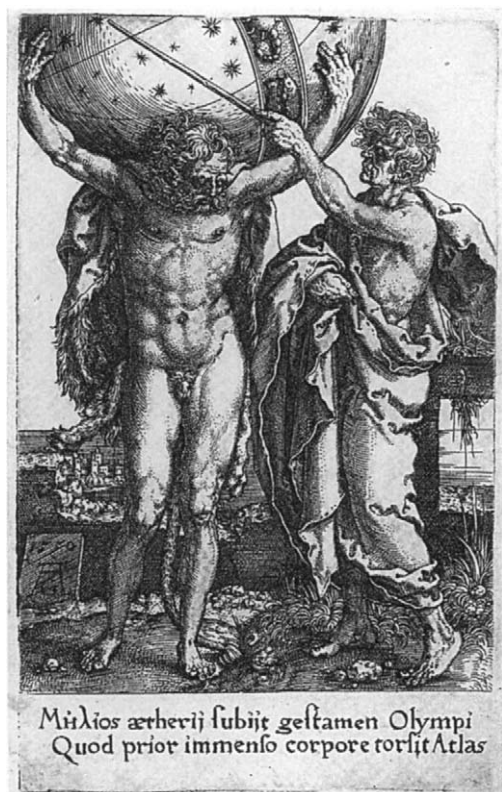


Figure 11. Heinrich Aldegrever (German, 1502–1555/61). *Hercules and Atlas with the Globe*, 1550. Engraving, 10.7 x 6.7 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 41948

the reliefs as Roman, for the antique iconographical types of the zodiacal signs appear on them all. Since antiquity, Sagittarius has been depicted as a centaur shooting his arrow, while Capricorn has generally been symbolized by a goat with a fishtail, both shapes having originated in Babylonian astrology.³⁸

In his monograph on antique representations of the signs of the zodiac, Hans Georg Gundel also mentions sixteenth-century illustrations that demonstrate the survival of this type of celestial globe. Among them is a landscape of 1536 by Herman Posthumus (active by 1536–died after 1542) depicting Roman ruins that includes in the middle distance a marble statue of Atlas and Hercules bearing the celestial globe (Figure 10).³⁹ The statue refers to the Greek myth in which Hercules asks Atlas's help in obtaining the golden apples of the Hesperides, in the meantime taking over from him the task of supporting the heavens (actually a zodiac globe in the painting). Gundel regards the globe in Posthumus's painting as an ideal composition based on antique prototypes. It may have been modeled on an original, still extant

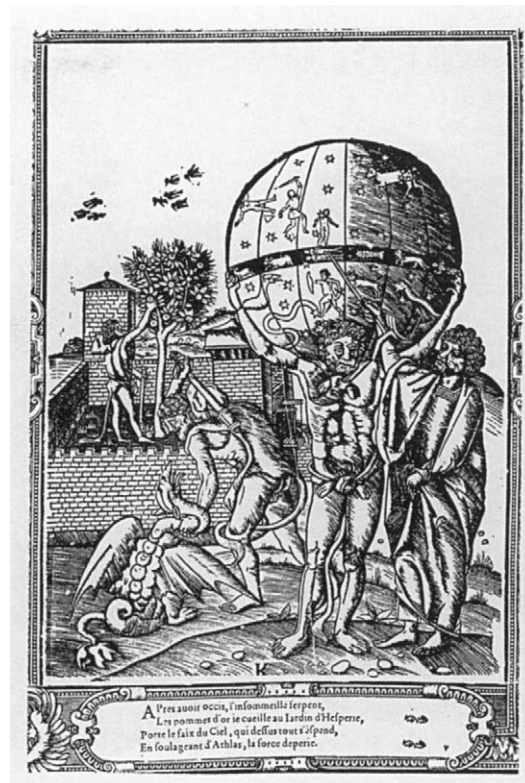


Figure 12. Denys Fontenoy, after Giovanni Andrea Vavassore (Italian, active early 16th century). *Hercules and Atlas with the Globe*, ca. 1580. Woodcut. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ed 25a, réserve (photo: after Wolfger A. Bulst, "Der 'Italienische Saal' der Landshuter Stadtresidenz und sein Darstellungsprogramm," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, ser. 3, 26 [1975], p. 138, fig. 19)

in the sixteenth century but subsequently lost, or less probably, it may be a free interpretation of the above-mentioned Vatican, Stuttgart, or another globe. An engraving of 1550 by Heinrich Aldegrever (1502–1555/61) also depicts the scene of Atlas and Hercules, with the celestial globe again represented as a zodiac globe (Figure 11). A possible source for the artist is a Venetian woodcut of about 1506 attributed to Giovanni Andrea Vavassore (active early sixteenth century), of which a later copy is illustrated here (Figure 12).⁴⁰

The specific function of the Fejérváry-Pulszky reliefs may perhaps be clarified by a bronze sculpture in the Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna, representing Hercules carrying a zodiac globe (Figure 13). Another cast of the same work, with a modified placement of the separately cast globe and, surprisingly, with a different order of the zodiacal signs, is in the Robert H. Smith Collection (Figure 14).⁴¹ The statue, made about the mid-seventeenth century by Ferdinando Tacca (1619–1686), was modeled on a work by his father, Pietro Tacca (1577–1640), which in turn is

Figure 13. Ferdinando Tacca (Italian, 1619–1686), after a model by Pietro Tacca (Italian, 1577–1640). *Hercules Supporting the Heavens*, ca. 1650. Bronze, H. 89 cm. Sammlungen des Fürsten von und zu Liechtenstein, Vaduz–Vienna, sk946



Figure 14. Ferdinando Tacca, after a model by Pietro Tacca. *Hercules Supporting the Heavens*, ca. 1650. Bronze, H. 89 cm. Robert H. Smith Collection



Figure 15. Detail of zodiac globe in Figure 14



Figure 16. Detail of zodiac globe in Figure 13

On the basis of the examples discussed here, one possible interpretation of the *Sagittarius* and *Capricorn* reliefs—and perhaps the most attractive—is that they decorated a zodiac globe supported by either Heracles or Atlas or by both mythological heroes.

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I am grateful to James David Draper for his encouragement, numerous suggestions, and critical reading of my text. I would also like to thank Joan R. Mertens, Margaret Donovan, and Margaret Rennolds Chace for their invaluable assistance, Zsuzsa Dobos for her translation of the text, and Nicholas Penny, Michael Schweller, Zsuzsanna Gila, and Zsuzsa Gonda for their help in acquiring photographs.

NOTES

1. James David Draper, "Capricorn and Sagittarius," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 63, no. 2 (fall 2005), p. 17.
2. I would like to express my thanks to Richard E. Stone, senior Museum conservator, The Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for valuable information concerning his examination of the objects.
3. Draper, "Capricorn and Sagittarius," p. 17.
4. At the time of their reappearance, it was not known that the reliefs had belonged to the Fejérváry-Pulsky collection. They were purchased by the Metropolitan Museum from the New York art dealer Michael Hall.
5. The overall project, supported by the Getty Grant Program, was organized and led by Ernő Marosi and Gábor Klaniczay at the Collegium Budapest research institute. See *The Nineteenth-Century Process of "Musealisation" in Hungary and Europe*, ed. Ernő Marosi and Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest, 2006). Research on the Fejérváry-Pulsky collection was conducted under the direction of János György Szilágyi, former head of the Department of Classical Antiquities, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.
6. *Antiquitas Hungarica: Tanulmányok a Fejérváry-Pulsky-gyűjtemény és a Liber Antiquitatis történetéről* [Studies in the History of the Fejérváry-Pulsky Collection and the *Liber Antiquitatis*], ed. Edit Szentesi and János György Szilágyi (Budapest, 2005). Although its title is the same as that of a periodical published in Hungary from 1947 to 1949, the volume is not a continuation of that series.
7. Szilvia Bodnár, "Antikizáló reneszánsz kisbronzok" [Renaissance small bronzes that appear antique], in *Antiquitas Hungarica*, pp. 223–40.
8. Francis and Theresa Pulsky, *White, Red, Black: Sketches of Society in the United States during the Visit of Their Guest [Lajos Kossuth]* (London, 1853).
9. For more information on changes to the collection, see János György Szilágyi in *Pulsky Ferenc (1814–1897) emlékére* [Ferenc Pulsky (1814–1897) memorial exhibition], ed. Ernő Marosi et al., exh. cat., with English trans., Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest (Budapest, 1997), p. 138.
10. See note 26 below.
11. For another study of the history of the Fejérváry-Pulsky collection, see János György Szilágyi, "Materiale etrusco e magnogreco in una collezione ungherese dell'Ottocento: La collezione Fejérváry-Pulsky," *Scienze dell'antichità, storia archeologia antropologia* 5 (1991), pp. 483–572.
12. The looseleaf album is today at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest. See Edit Szentesi and János György Szilágyi, "A Fejérváry-Pulsky-gyűjtemény vizuális forrásai" [The Visual Sources of the Fejérváry-Pulsky Collection], in *Antiquitas Hungarica*, pp. 11–46.
13. István Pankaszi, "A Liber Antiquitatis papíryanagának vizsgálata" [The examination of the paper material of the *Liber Antiquitatis*] in *Antiquitas Hungarica*, pp. 67–74.
14. In the 1930s István Genthon (1903–1969), later director of the Museum of Fine Arts, studied the album and ordered photographs of several pages. A comparison of the ninety-two surviving photographs with the extant watercolors reveals that at least forty sheets, with images of nearly ninety objects, have been lost because of careless handling while the album was kept at the Hungarian National Museum. The surviving photographs are in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, and will be available on the museum's website in the near future. Certain changes in the sequence of the watercolors can be determined from traces of glue on the album pages indicating that larger or smaller sheets of paper were originally glued to those pages. In addition, Genthon notated some pages in pencil, stating the whereabouts of the objects represented by the inserted watercolors, and these notes no longer correspond to the objects depicted therein today. For further details on the fate of the *Liber Antiquitatis*, see János György Szilágyi, "Art Objects on Drawings," in *Pulsky Ferenc*, pp. 181–82, and note 11 above.
15. All the surviving watercolors of the *Liber Antiquitatis* can be studied at <http://www2.szepmuveszeti.hu/AH/LibAnt.pdf>.
16. Fejérváry's handwritten account book is in the Manuscript Archives of the National Széchényi Library, Fol. Germ. 1272, fol. 26. I thank Edit Szentesi for this reference. On Böhm (1794–1865), see Edit Szentesi, "Joseph Daniel Böhm Parthenonfrize," in *Pulsky Ferenc*, pp. 56–64, with a summary in English: "Joseph Daniel Böhm's Parthenon Frieze," pp. 163–64.
17. The handwritten list of Fejérváry's collection (Manuscript Archives of the National Széchényi Library, Fol. Germ. 1273, nos. 542 and 543, Griechische und Römische Bronzen, Thiere [Greek and Roman Bronzes, Animals], 33) states: "Sagittarius aus dem Zodiacus als Centaur die rechte Hand am obern Arm abgebrochen en haut relief." Thiere, 34: "Capricornus ebenfalls aus dem Zodiacus in einen fischschwanz endigend en haut relief. Beide zeichen des Thierkreises gehörten zu einem größere Monumente cylindrischer gestalt, vielleicht einem Opferaltar oder Beken ähnlich dem borgesischen im Louvre die Arbeit ist kräftig, aus der kaiser epoche. Merkwürdig und einzig in seiner Art, daß der schütz nur mit dem Pfeile bewafnet erscheint, ohne Bogen – , die Thierkreise sind bekantlich selten, mit ausnahme der Münzen kenne ich bloß zwei fragmente in der Villa Albani, den berühmten Altar in Paris, des Planispher mit den Decanen eben daselbst, und eine in Neapel. Einige runde Löcher waren bestim(m)t für Zapfen, mit denen diese bronze bekleidung an den Monument, zu dem sie gehörten festgemacht waren, zwei dieses zapfen sind noch erhalten, samt der Bekleidung – die zwei stücke gehörten zusam(m)en, wie die

- spitze des Pfeiles des Schützen beweist, die neben dem Steinbok wieder sichtbar ist; – diese vorstellungen sind auseinander gesagt, und passen jetzt nicht mehr zusammen.” The estimated value of the two pieces together was 200 Viennese florins. According to Edit Szentesi, who transcribed the manuscript, the text is a copy by an unidentified hand drawn apparently from several sources: some statements seem to reflect the words of Fejérváry, others are taken from Pulszky’s earlier descriptions of the collection’s objects. The complete manuscript is available at: <http://www2.szepmuveszeti.hu/antiquitas/index.php>.
18. *Forschungen zur Villa Albani: Katalog der antiken Bildwerke*, ed. Peter C. Bol, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1994), pp. 372–84, no. 510, pls. 212–14.
 19. *Ibid.*, vol. 5 (Berlin, 1998), p. 255, no. 738, pl. 100.
 20. H. G. Gundel, *Zodiakos: Tierkreisbilder im Altertum: Kosmische Bezüge und Jenseitsvorstellungen im antiken Alltagsleben* (Mainz, 1992), p. 213, no. 27.
 21. The Tabula Bianchini shows five concentric circles, in two of which the zodiac sequence is represented. In ancient Egypt each zodiacal section was subdivided into periods of approximately ten days. These divisions are known as the decans, and there were three decans allotted to each sign of the zodiac. Of the thirty-six decans, only the figures of eight have survived on the fragments of the Tabula Bianchini. See *ibid.* pp. 110–11, fig. 51, p. 226, no. 63.
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 204, no. 8.
 23. In the course of technical examination, Richard Stone observed that the holes are not original—they were drilled into the metal after the surface had been punched—and they do not have the original black patina. He stated that there is no sign of the reliefs ever having been mounted and that misdirection may have been responsible for the drilling of the holes. See note 2 above.
 24. Imre Henszlmann, *Catalogue of the Collection of the Monuments of Art Formed by the Late Gabriel Fejérváry of Hungary*, exh. cat., Archaeological Institute, London (London, 1853), p. 36, no. 580, unillustrated.
 25. *Pulszky Ferenc műgyűjteményeinek jegyzéke* [Pulszky’s description of the collection, unillustrated], exh. cat., Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Pest (Pest, 1868), p. 18.
 26. *Catalogue des antiquités grecques, romaines, du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance composant la collection de MM. de Fegervary–de Pulszky, dont la vente aura lieu Hôtel Drouot, Salle No 1. May 18–23, 1868* (Paris, 1868), p. 12, nos. 181 and 182, unillustrated.
 27. Personal communication.
 28. Elmar Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain*, 40 (Leiden, 1974), p. 143, no. 116 ag.
 29. Ernst Künzl, *Himmelsgloben und Sternkarten: Astronomie und Astrologie in Vorzeit und Altertum* (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 57. Joan Mertens kindly brought this book to my attention.
 30. *Ptolemy’s Almagest*, trans. G. J. Toomer (London, 1984).
 31. Künzl, *Himmelsgloben*, pp. 57–61, figs. 5.10, 6.1, and 6.2.
 32. For the oldest known Islamic celestial globe, made in Valencia in the eleventh century (Istituto e museo di storia della scienza, Florence), see Elly Dekker and Peter van der Krogt, *Globes from the Western World* (London, 1993), p. 25, pl. 1. This book presents a good summary of the history of celestial globes, for which see also Edward Luther Stevenson, *Terrestrial and Celestial Globes: Their History and Construction Including a Consideration of Their Value as Aids in the Study of Geography and Astronomy* (New Haven, 1921); Oswald Muris and Gert Saarmann, *Der Globus im Wandel der Zeiten: Eine geschichte der Globen* (Berlin 1961); Jacob Hess, “On Some Celestial Maps and Globes of the 16th Century,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967), pp. 406–9; Elly Dekker, “Der Himmelsglobus: Eine Welt für sich,” in *Focus Behaim Globus*, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Nuremberg, 1992) vol. 1, pp. 89–100; Edward H. Dahl and Jean-Francois Gauvin, *Sphaera Mundi: Early Globes at the Stewart Museum* (Quebec, 2000); Elly Dekker, *Catalogue of Orbs, Spheres and Globes*, Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza, Florence (Florence, 2002).
 33. Dahl and Gauvin, *Sphaera Mundi*, pp. 18–23.
 34. See *Quasi centrum Europae: Europa kauft in Nürnberg, 1400–1800*, ed. Herman Maué et al., exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Nuremberg, 2002), p. 478, no. 135, fig. p. 369. Schöner’s globe is similar to that shown in Hans Holbein’s painting *The Ambassadors* (1533; National Gallery, London). See Elly Dekker and Kristen Lippincott, “Scientific Instruments in Holbein’s Ambassadors: A Re-examination,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 62 (1999), pp. 93–125.
 35. See entry by Clare Vincent in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Renaissance in the North* (New York, 1987), p. 130, no. 95.
 36. Walther Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* (Berlin, 1908), vol. 2, pp. 529–31, no. 341, pl. 66; Künzl, *Himmelsgloben*, pp. 83–84, fig. 7.8 (image reversed).
 37. See Künzl, *Himmelsgloben*, pp. 83–84, fig. 7.7.
 38. *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76, fig. 6.15.
 39. See entry by Guy C. Bauman in *Liechtenstein, the Princely Collections*, exh. cat., MMA, (New York, 1985), no. 158; see also Gundel, *Zodiakos*, p. 330, no. 470.1.
 40. See Otmar Plassmann, *Die Zeichnungen Heinrich Aldegrevers* (Marburg, 1994), pp. 91–92, figs. 74, 75; Wolfger A. Bulst, “Der ‘Italienische Saal’ der Landshuter Stadtresidenz und sein Darstellungsprogramm,” *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, ser. 3, 26 (1975), p. 138, fig. 19. Plassmann and Bulst attribute the woodcut *Hercules and Atlas with the Globe* to an anonymous Venetian artist of about 1500, but it is correctly identified as Fontenoy’s copy of a work by Vavassore, published about 1580, in Mark P. McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539)* (London, 2004), vol. 1, p. 476, fig. 404, vol. 2, p. 503.
 41. For Ferdinando Tacca’s bronze sculpture *Hercules Supporting the Heavens* in the Smith Collection, see Anthony Radcliffe and Nicholas Penny, *Art of the Renaissance Bronze, 1500–1650: The Robert H. Smith Collection* (London, 2004), pp. 254–59, no. 45. The version of the sculpture in the Liechtenstein Museum (Figure 13) was kindly brought to my attention by Miriam Szöcs after it appeared on the museum’s website as a new acquisition in 2005.
 42. For Giambologna’s statue of Hercules, see Wilhelm von Bode, *Die italienischen Bronzestatuetten der Renaissance*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1912), pl. 197; Anthony Radcliffe, “Giambologna’s Twelve Labours of Hercules,” *Connoisseur* 199 (1978), pp. 12–19.
 43. The missing Gemini may be on the top between Leo and Virgo, but it cannot be seen either in the museum, where the sculpture is placed too high to tell, or in the available photographs.
 44. See Dorit Schäfer et al., *Stefano della Bella: Ein Meister der Barockradierung*, exh. cat., Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe (Karlsruhe, 2005), pp. 231–34, fig. 65a.
 45. Luigi Zangheri, “Il maxiautoma dell’atlante e Ferdinando Tacca,” *Psicon: Rivista internazionale di architettura* 3 (1976), pp. 116–23.

A Rare Armor for the *Gioco del Ponte*

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The existence of this armor appears to have been completely overlooked by arms historians. It was noted independently by Walter Karcheski in 1991 and Donald La Rocca in 1995. The authors began to pursue the subject jointly in 1997. The present article was largely finished by September 2000, but because of other commitments it was put aside to await final touches, remaining in draft form up to Walter Karcheski's untimely death in April 2006. It is hoped that its publication now will serve as a small tribute in his memory, and as a testament to more than twenty-five years of friendship and close professional cooperation.¹

A BRIGHTLY PAINTED EUROPEAN HELMET and cuirass are unusual even among the eclectic mix of works of art and natural and historic rarities in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts (Figures 1–3). Indeed, these pieces are unique for their painted decoration, which is more elaborate, extensive, and intact than that on any other surviving example of armor used for the *gioco del ponte*, or “contest on the bridge,” the centerpiece of a civic festival held annually in Pisa, with some interruptions, from the Middle Ages until 1807.² The contest was fought, as the name implies, on a bridge, by two teams—the Tramontana and the Mezzogiorno—from the districts north and south of the Arno River, which flows through the city. The participants were organized into squadrons, each with its own colors, insignia, and mottoes, and wore protection made from obsolete body armor, as well as new equipment specifically designed for the event. Each combatant also carried a *targone*, a thick paddle-shaped wooden implement that served both as club and shield (Figure 4). The *gioco* was a essentially a mock battle, the primary goal of which was to seize and maintain control of the bridge. Although a very rough game, surprisingly few serious injuries and almost no fatalities

occurred, although the possibility of civic unrest following the *gioco* seems to have been an ever present danger. The last traditional *gioco* was held on May 6, 1807, with revivals in 1935, 1937, and 1938. Following the Second World War, it was transformed from a combat into a contest between teams attempting to push a seven-ton sledge past the center of the bridge and into the zone of the opposition.

Surviving examples of the armor for the *gioco* show that the participants wore an inventive mix of used sixteenth- and seventeenth-century helmets, breastplates, and backplates, mostly of Italian origin, with simple modifications to meet the needs of the game. These were augmented by defenses for other parts of the body made of iron, leather, and quilted cloth, actual examples of which, however, no longer exist. Fortunately, both the reused armor and the subsidiary defenses were described and illustrated by Camillo Ranier Borghi in 1713, enabling us to have a clear idea of a complete set of *gioco* armor, of which the helmet and cuirass, like those in the Peabody Essex Museum, formed the key elements (Figures 5, 6).³ According to Borghi, the combatants, or *soldati* (soldiers), wore a *celata di ferro* (iron helmet), called a *morione* by the Pisans, over a *falzata*, or padded cap (Figure 5, items A, B). The torso was protected by a *corsaletto di ferro* (iron cuirass; Figure 5, item C), commonly referred to as the *petto* (breast) and *schiene* (backs), worn over a heavy coat of leather (*giubonne di cuoio*) or of quilted fabric stuffed with horsehair (*tela imbottito di crine collo*). The shoulders and upper arms were protected by iron pauldrons (*bracciali di ferro*), which were almost certainly also reused elements of sixteenth- to seventeenth-century armor, or defenses made of quilted canvas (*canovaccio imbottiti*; Figure 5, items D, E), properly called *spallacci*. A quilted collar (*collare imbottito*) was worn over the area of the collar bones (Figure 5, item F). The hands were covered by long quilted gauntlets (*guantoni imbottiti*; Figure 5, item G). The area below the waist was protected by a



Figure 1. Helmet and cuirass for the *gioco del ponte*. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, EIMS 212. See also Colorplate 3



Figure 2. Rear view of the armor in Figure 1

belt, much like that worn by modern boxers, called the *parasotto di ferro* (Figure 5, item H), while the thighs were protected by guards made of pasteboard (*grossi cartoni*), called *stincaletti*. The complete set, as shown in Figure 6, was then covered with a tunic (*camiciuola*), sometimes made of silk, that reached to the knees (see Figure 4). The ensemble was completed by a *targone*, the combination shield and club, also called a *pavese*, the back of which is clearly shown in Figures 5 and 6 (item I), and the front in Figure 4.

A helmet that has been adapted for use in the *gioco* is immediately recognizable by the presence of a sturdy visor consisting of a grille of vertical bars in a surrounding frame, which pivots at either side of the helmet bowl. Visors of this type were specific to the *gioco* and did not relate in any way to the original form or style of the helmets to which they were added.

Other signs that identify armor as having been reused for the *gioco* include the letters “T” or “M,” for *Tramontana* or *Mezzogiorno*, or, less frequently, the letters “GP,” for *gioco del ponte*, which were stamped, engraved, or painted on the pieces.⁴ The *targoni*, like the visors, were made solely for use in the *gioco*, and did not exist in this form independent from it. Many of the surviving *targoni* date from the final two contests, held in 1776 and 1807, and are branded on the reverse with inspection stamps in the form of the letters “AVC,” for *auditore* (juror-judge) Vicario Cerci gnani, 1776, and “VMN,” for Viviani Marchese Niccolò, 1807 (Figure 7).⁵

Following the discontinuance of the *gioco* after 1807, many of the armor parts and *targoni* must have been dispersed, judging by the number of representative examples that can be found in the majority of arms

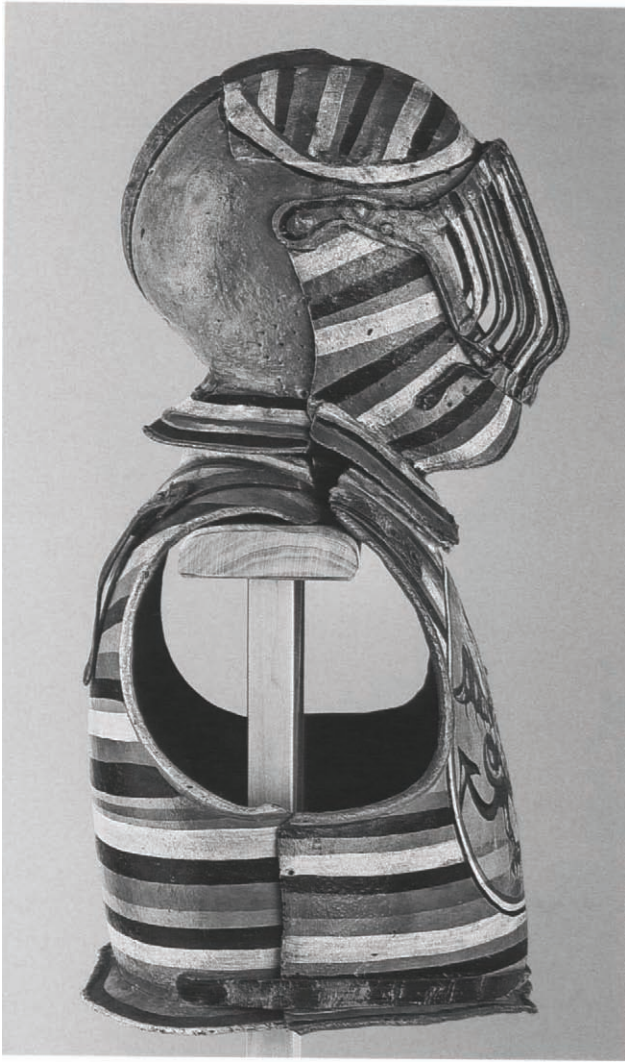


Figure 3. Profile view of the armor in Figure 1

and armor collections, both public and private, formed in Europe, Great Britain, and the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, a core group of nearly four hundred *gioco* items did remain in Pisa and is still owned by the Comune di Pisa.⁶ As with most armor that passed through the art market in the nineteenth century, many of the *gioco* pieces were subjected to varying levels of neglect, alteration, or restoration. Although these circumstances make it hard to determine accurately, nearly all of the armors used in the *gioco* appear to have been unpainted. Extant examples of painted armor of any type being rare, the armor in the Peabody Essex Museum is, in this regard, doubly interesting, both as a painted armor in unrestored condition and as an armor specifically painted for use in the *gioco del ponte*.⁷



Figure 4. A fully costumed *gioco del ponte* combatant. From Camillo Ranier Borghi, *L'Oplomachia Pisana, ovvero la battaglia del ponte di Pisa* (Lucca, 1713)



Figure 5. Individual elements of *gioco del ponte* armor and equipment. From Borghi, *L'Oplomachia Pisana* . . .



Figure 6. A *gioco del ponte* combatant without his tunic, to show the equipment as it was worn. From Borghi, *L'Oplomachia Pisana* . . .



Figure 7. Detail of inscription branded on reverse of the *targone* in Figure 8

This armor is also significant in that it appears to be the earliest documented instance, possibly by as much as seventy-five years, of European armor entering an American museum collection.⁸ Archival records in the Peabody Essex Museum indicate that the armor was donated to the East India Marine Society, Salem, in 1807, within months of the last traditional *gioco* being held. The original manuscript catalogue of the society, listing acquisitions in 1807, includes the following entries: “543 Helmet / 544 Coat Mail / 545 Three Shields / 546 a pair Greaves” all “from Pizza [*sic*] in Italy.”⁹ The donor of this material was Capt. Samuel Tucker (1782–1857), who had been admitted to the East India Marine Society in November 1806 as member number 113.¹⁰ From 1811 onward he was co-owner of the ninety-seven-foot cargo vessel *Glide*, serving as master on its first five voyages. By 1821 the society’s collections had been organized and cata-

logued for publication by Dr. Seth Bass, who was superintendent of the East India Marine Society’s museum from 1820 to 1825. Tucker’s gift was then more fully described as “212, 213, A complete suit of iron armour, such as was used by the ancient inhabitants of Pisa, in Tuscany, with three wooden shields;—these were used at a great *fete* in 1807, in a sham-battle at Pisa, intended to represent the ancient combats, [gift of] *Samuel Tucker*.”¹¹ Unfortunately it is not known when, or even if, Tucker actually visited Pisa, but the armor and shields must have been acquired there, either by Tucker himself or by someone from whom he soon got them, in the few months between the end of the last *gioco* in May 1807 and the gift to the East India Marine Society, which took place on an unspecified date before the end of 1807. The fact that *gioco* equipment, especially the *targoni*, were considered prized possessions by the Pisans, often displayed

in their homes and handed down over the generations, makes the rapid acquisition of this material all the more remarkable.¹²

The armor (Figures 1–3) is composed of a close helmet together with a cuirass. The close helmet, beyond the obvious addition of the visor, appears to be composite and comprises a bowl, a bevor, and neck lames. The one-piece bowl is probably Italian or South German from the early sixteenth century and has a raised undecorated comb flanked on either side by a pair of shallow flutes. The exterior of the front half of the skull is reinforced by large oval plates, riveted to either side of the comb, which are almost certainly modifications for use in the *gioco*. Positioned low on each side are a series of small holes grouped in a circle, for hearing and ventilation, and below these a single hole for the rivet that originally would have held the ends of the now-missing strap and buckle that passed around the throat to secure the helmet closed. The associated bevor, or defense for the lower face, is from a late sixteenth-century Italian close helmet, with a deep, rounded facial opening and a pronounced, full chin that is ridged along the jawline, producing a boxy appearance. There is a single neck lame in the front and rear, riveted to the outward-turned flange at the base of the bevor and bowl respectively. The rear lame is embossed with a shallow horizontal ridge to give the appearance of two articulated, overlapping lames. Each neckplate is pierced near its center point with a single hole. The grille visor pivots at either side of the bowl and is typical of the type made for *gioco* helmets. It is held closed by a pair of simple hooks that pivot on the bevor just below the visor and engage pierced lugs on the visor's lower rim.

The predominant color of the bowl is a matte pinkish khaki, with a red comb framed by black bands and a red band around the back of the neck. The reinforcing plates, visor, bevor, and neckplates are painted in variously alternating bands of red, khaki, white, and black, and the entire surface is covered with an old, discolored varnish. On the interior of the skull, crudely painted in a matte ocher, are a series of letters, perhaps “AI [or L] b [?] i g” (on the right), possibly an abbreviation of the owner's name, and what appears to be “AVC/avc” (on the left). The latter would indicate *auditore* Vicario Cercignani.¹³ As mentioned above, the AVC initials are often found branded on the backs of the *targoni* dated 1776, suggesting that this armor was used in that year's *gioco*, as well as in 1807.

The cuirass is Italian and is a type that was worn by harquebusiers (armored cavalry equipped with firearms) during the first half of the seventeenth century. It consists of a breastplate and backplate, which

appear to have belonged together from the outset, rather than being mismatched elements later made into a pair. The cuirass has a relatively high and straight waistline, in keeping with early seventeenth-century styles. A short collar to protect the neck opening is formed by a curved upright flange at the top of the breastplate and backplate. A slight medial ridge runs down the center of the breastplate, deepening into a small peak at the bottom of the waist. At the base of the cuirass is a narrow flange bent outward at nearly a right angle, finished with a turned edge decorated with shallow roping. The arm openings are fairly large and finished with a strong rolled outward-turned edge. The cuirass was held together by a leather waist strap and two leather straps over the shoulders. On the proper right the end of the shoulder strap is fastened to the top of the breastplate by two rivets, with a corresponding buckle riveted to the top of the backplate. On the proper left, however, rather than a strap and buckle from front to back, the strap is riveted to the backplate and is cut with two keyhole slots, intended to fit over a domed stud that is riveted to the proper left side of the breastplate. The backplate is well formed to follow the contours of the shoulder blades. The upright neck flange is pierced with a crude hole at the center of the front and back. The corresponding holes in the neckplates of the helmet suggest that the helmet was once attached to the cuirass at these points and nailed to a mannequin or some other form of storage or display mount. The waist belt is made in two pieces, with the ends riveted to the lower edge of the backplate at either side, and the left strap is fitted with an iron buckle.

The most striking feature of the breastplate is the large oval medallion boldly decorated with the emblem of the Dragoni (dragons), from the south (Mezzogiorno), traditionally one of the four squadrons that had the honor of being positioned in the forefront to strike the opening blows of the battle.¹⁴ The dragon is painted in green and natural colors within a large circle of concentric red, white, and black bands. The rest of the cuirass is painted in the same color scheme as the helmet, with alternating stripes of red, white, khaki, and black, the orientation of the stripes running obliquely over the upper torso, declining in angle, and becoming horizontal below the arm openings to the waist. While the dragon emblem and its colors correspond to those used by the Dragoni squadron (green and white), the colors of the other stripes appear to be more random. It may be that the armor was used by a currently unidentified subdivision of the Dragoni, perhaps one of the squadrons newly raised for the unusually large *gioco* in 1776. It is more likely, however, that beyond the squadron

emblems, there was simply more flexibility in the color schemes used on *gioco* accoutrements than has been generally assumed. The extreme dearth of extant painted armor makes it impossible to know for certain. In addition, given the elaborate nature of the painted decoration, it seems reasonable to conclude that this armor was intended to be highly visible, and that a *camiciuola* would not have been worn over it during the *gioco*. Until now this flamboyant and idiosyncratic style of decoration was thought to have been confined solely to the *targoni*. In this regard, the early collection date of the Peabody Essex armor and the continuity of care resulting in its fine present condition preserve for us an otherwise lost dimension of this distinctive type of armor and the event for which it was made.

As noted above, each combatant in the *gioco* was equipped with a *targone*, the heavy paddle-like shield that served both for offense and defense, and which was painted with squadron colors, emblems, or mottoes. The materials, construction, and dimensions of each *targone* had to conform to set regulations and pass inspection before the *gioco*. In 1782 a failed attempt was made to introduce a new model that was rounded at both ends, to prevent the *targone* from being gripped with two hands at its base and swung like a club.¹⁵ Perhaps as a wry commentary on this development, a few rare *targoni* were subsequently decorated with the image of an armored combatant flagrantly wielding his *targone* in just such a manner (Figure 8).¹⁶ All three *targoni* in the Peabody Essex Museum are of typical construction for the type, consisting of a thick wooden board, rounded at the top and tapering in an elongated teardrop shape to a squared-off bottom edge, with the outer edge beveled all the way around. The back is fitted with an angled pair of sturdy wooden handles secured near the midpoint with large iron nails. The area beneath the handles is slightly hollowed out to leave more room for the hands. Each of the museum's *targoni* was originally catalogued together under the single inventory number 213.

Figure 8. *Targone*.
The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, Gift
of William H. Riggs,
1913 (14.25.770)



Figure 9. *Targone*
of the Dragoni
squadron.
Peabody Essex
Museum, Salem,
EIMS 213





Figure 10. Detail of inscription branded on reverse of the *targone* in Figure 9

The most elaborate *targone* (Figure 9) appears to match the Peabody Essex armor, not only in the choice of squadron emblem but also in the style of painting, suggesting that they were originally part of the same set. This is significant because the same cannot be said of any other extant *gioco* armor and *targone*. The *targone* has an off-white ground with the dragon emblem of the Dragoni painted in natural colors and standing on a grassy mound to the left at the rounded end of the shield. Extending across the front from left to right and painted in black capital letters is the motto “FERMA LA’ SUPERBA IMMAGO A LA FRONTE V’È IL GRAN DRAGO” (Stop before the awesome vision/In the front there is the great dragon).¹⁷ The ends of the handles and the beveled edge are painted in green and white triangles. The reverse is branded three times with the letters “CS” within a heart-shaped border topped by a lozenge, perhaps the initials of an as-yet unidentified official or group involved with the games (Figure 10).

The second *targone* is identically constructed, but is painted with an offset checkerboard pattern (*paly-bendy*) in the red and white colors of the squadron of San Michele (Figure 11, top). The reverse is unmarked. The third is possibly also from the squadron of San Michele (Figure 11, bottom). Its front is painted red, and the beveled edge has a dagged pattern of red and white triangles. The back is branded at the base with a schematic crown above the uppercase letters “VM/N[reversed]” and the date “1807” (see Figure 7). The letters, as mentioned above, have been identified with Viviani Marchese Niccolò, then civil and military governor of Pisa.¹⁸

The purpose of this article has been to bring attention to the existence and the importance of the *gioco del ponte* armor in the Peabody Essex Museum, which is unique as a matched set, retaining its original painted surface and its *targone*, as well as for its early collection date. To further place these pieces in context and for future reference, a provisional list of all *gioco del ponte* equipment in North American collections has been compiled (see Appendix, p. 115). Although many of the shields included in the list are comparable to the examples discussed above, none of the armor elements can compare to those in the Peabody Essex Museum in terms of provenance, homogeneity, or state of preservation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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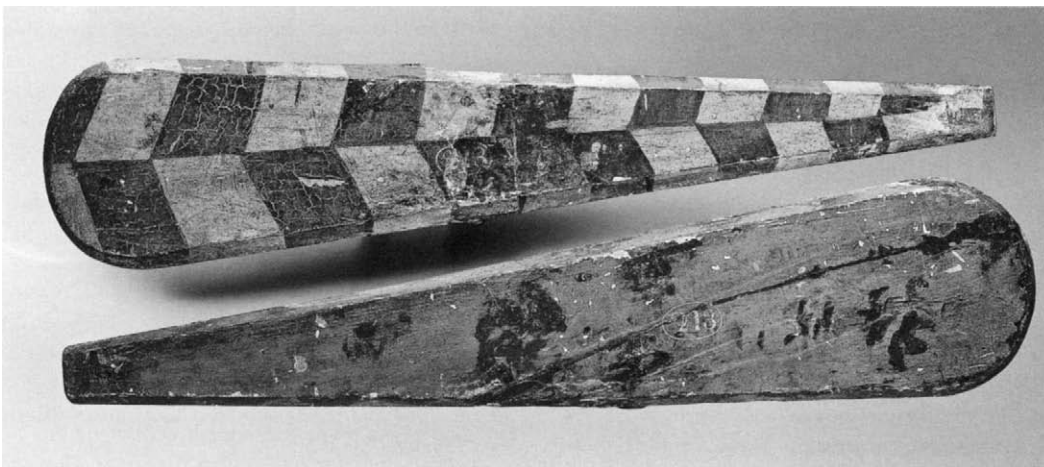


Figure 11. Two *targoni*, possibly of the San Michele squadron. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, EIMS 213

NOTES

1. During our research and in the preparation of this article, invaluable assistance was provided by the staff of the Peabody Essex Museum, especially Dan Finamore, George Schwartz, Christina Hellmich, Christine Michelini, and Steele Sartwell.
2. The primary literary basis for the modern study of the *gioco* is Camillo Rancier Borghi's *L'Oplomachia Pisana, ovvero la battaglia del ponte di Pisa* (Lucca, 1713). William Heywood's *Palio and Ponte: An Account of the Sports of Central Italy from the Age of Dante to the XXth Century* (London: Methuen & Company, 1904), pp. 93–137, remains the most extensive English-language treatment of the subject. The most detailed survey of the equipment used in the *gioco* is found in Maria Ines Aliverti et al., *Il gioco del ponte di Pisa: Memoria e ricordo in una città*, exh. cat., Palazzo Lanfranchi, Pisa (Florence: Vallecchi, 1980), with an essay on the armor by Lionello G. Boccia on pp. 40–78, and on the shields by Marco Alderigi on pp. 85–95. Very useful as a concise overview, with detailed observations on specific objects, is José-A. Godoy's "Trois casques pour il gioco del ponte à Pise," *Genava*, n.s., 31 (1983), pp. 35–52. The more recent versions of the contest are most fully discussed in Alberto Zampieri, *Storia del gioco del ponte*, 2 vols. (Pisa: Banco ambrosiano Veneto, 1995).
3. Borghi, *Oplomachia Pisana*, pp. 93–95 pls. 1–3, and Heywood, *Palio and Ponte*, pp. 118–19.
4. On these marks, see Godoy, "Trois casques," esp. p. 45.
5. See Alderigi in Aliverti et al., *Gioco del Ponte di Pisa*, p. 87, note.
6. This material formed the basis of the Aliverti et al. catalogue (*ibid.*) and the accompanying exhibition.
7. The only other *gioco del ponte* armor elements known to the writers to preserve significant surface painting are a helmet and breastplate in a private German collection. Of the examples in Pisa several have the remains of decoration in the form of a cross painted on breastplates and backplates (*ibid.*, e.g., nos. 2.32, .40, .44, .45, .59, .71, and .75, as pointed out by Boccia in *ibid.*, pp. 45–47). Other than the rust-preventative black paint found on munitions armors or the mortuary achievements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, painted armor is rare. Some notable examples of painted armor, not related to the *gioco*, include a helmet in the Kienbusch collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (acc. no. 1977-167-72); a closed sallet in the Wallace Collection, London (A.82); "archers'" sallets in the Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Vienna (A3) and the Royal Armouries Museum, Leeds (iv.12); the skull of a closed sallet from Rhodes in the Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Mass. (acc. no. 877); a cabasset (acc. no. 14.25.636) from about 1600 and a gorget from about 1625 in the MMA (acc. no. 1992.137); and a group of late sixteenth-century Italian infantry armors in Konopiste Castle, Czech Republic. For an example of painted funerary armor in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, see H. W. Williams, "The Mortuary Helmet of Sir Lawrence Washington," *Antiques* 25 (May 1934), pp. 183–84.
8. The first recorded public display of arms and armor in the United States took place at Harding's Gallery in Boston in 1841, for which an anonymous, unillustrated catalogue was produced, entitled *Catalogue of a Collection of Ancient Armour and Arms, Chiefly of the Period of Charles V, from the Royal Armoury of Segovia* (Boston, 1841). An arms and armor collection formed in Europe by Colonel T. B. Lawrence (1826–1869) was bequeathed to the Boston Atheneum, but was destroyed in a warehouse fire in 1872 without ever having been put on public display. The earliest permanent collection appears to have been that of the Cincinnati Museum of Art, purchased in 1882 (see Jonathan Z. Kamholtz, "Arms and the Museum: The Tower Treasures in a Social Context," *Queen City Heritage: Journal of the Cincinnati Historical Society* 42, no. 2 [1984], pp. 35–48). The first examples of European arms and armor entered the collections of the Metropolitan Museum by 1896. For an overview of the subject, particularly the first half of the twentieth century, see Donald J. LaRocca, "Carl Otto Kretschmar von Kienbusch and the Collecting of Arms and Armor in America," *Bulletin, Philadelphia Museum of Art* 81, no. 345 (Winter 1985).
9. Here "coat [of] mail" was probably used loosely and actually refers to the cuirass. The term "mail" was often used incorrectly by nonspecialist writers in the nineteenth century to refer to different types of armor. Unfortunately, the "Greves" (greaves) can no longer be traced in the collections, but they may have been examples of the pasteboard leg defenses, or *stincaletti*, referred to by Borghi. The East India Marine Society was made up of masters and supercargoes who had navigated the Cape of Good Hope, at the tip of South Africa, or Cape Horn, at the tip of South America. The oldest continually operating museum in the United States, it was founded in October 1799 and incorporated in 1801 as a charitable organization to aid widows and kin of deceased members and to collect and archive navigational data. A third provision was the formation of a museum of largely donated "natural and artificial curiosities." See *The East-India Marine Society of Salem* (Salem, 1821), pp. 3, 4. Copies of the relevant pages from the original manuscript catalogue of the museum were kindly provided by Dan Finamore.
10. I am particularly grateful to Dan Finamore and Steele Sartwell for furnishing details about Captain Tucker's life and career.
11. *East-India Marine Society of Salem*, p. 35. For a summary of the context in which this catalogue was created, see Walter Muir Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem: A Sesquicentennial History* (Salem, 1949), pp. 36–37 and n. 7. The East India Marine Society's inventory numbers, 212 and 213, were painted prominently on the exterior of the helmet, cuirass, and each of the three shields, and are still readily visible.
12. On the affection of the Pisans for their *targone*, see Heywood, *Palio and Ponte*, pp. 110, 120.
13. See Alderigi in Aliverti et al., *Gioco del ponte di Pisa*, p. 87, note.
14. In addition to the Dragoni, the other southern squadron was the San Marco, and together they faced the Calci and the San Michele from the north. Rather than simply *squadre* (squadrons), these four were referred to as the *forti* (the strong ones). Heywood, *Palio and Ponte*, p. 122.
15. The proposed model is still preserved in Pisa and is illustrated and discussed by Alderigi in Aliverti et al., *Gioco del ponte di Pisa*, pp. 87, 93, no. 3.25; Godoy, "Trois casques," fig. 9 and pp. 42–43; and Heywood, *Palio and Ponte*, p. 120.
16. There is another *targone*, similarly decorated, in the MMA (acc. no. 14.25.771) and a baton in the Museo Stibbert, Florence (inv. 5137), the latter illustrated in Godoy "Trois casques," p. 42, fig. 10.
17. Translation courtesy of Stefano Carboni, curator of Islamic art, MMA, who notes that the lines are similar to what one would find in an Italian chivalric poem, such as the epics by Tasso or Ariosto.
18. For the identification of the letters, see Alderigi in Aliverti et al., *Gioco del Ponte di Pisa*, p. 87.

APPENDIX: *Gioco del Ponte* Equipment in North American Collections

<i>Collection</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Origin/date</i>	<i>Inventory or accession no.</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
The Art Institute of Chicago	Backplate	Italian, 17th century	1982.2397	Incised "GP"		Part of a composite jousting armor said to be from the de Salvo family armory, Palermo; Henry G. Keasbey, sold November 21, 1925, American Art Association, New York, lot 308, ill., purchased by George F. Harding Jr., Chicago (his no. 1729).
The Art Institute of Chicago	Visor for a <i>morione</i>	Italian, 2nd half 16th–17th century	1982.2522			George F. Harding Jr. (his no. 644), purchased from Bachereau, Paris, August 3, 1929.
The Art Institute of Chicago	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), 1776	1982.2254	"AVC" brand with date "1776"	For the Satiri della Luna squadron.	George F. Harding Jr. (no. 2140).
Private collection	Close helmet	In part German or Austrian, 1st quarter 16th century	None	Punched "GP"	Later reconverted to a 16th-century close helmet from a <i>gioco morione</i> .	George F. Harding Jr. (no. 1046); The Art Institute of Chicago, 1982; sold, Sotheby's, New York, January 13–15, 1992, lot 62, ill.
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore	Armet converted into a <i>morione</i>	Probably Italian, 2nd half 15th century	51.469	Marked "GP"	Reconverted, now with associated Spanish or Flemish "sparrow beak" visor of 1510–20.	Henry G. Keasbey, sold, American Art Association, New York, November 21, 1925, lot 141, ill.
Unknown	Close helmet <i>morione</i>	Italian, late 16th century	Formerly de Young 4329	Not recorded		Entered M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, 1895; sold, Butterfield and Butterfield, San Francisco, August 25–26, 1997, lot 3, not ill.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Close helmet	South German (Augsburg), ca. 1525	2589	"GP" stamped atop skull, to either side of comb; chased uppercase "A" on right side of chin		Part of a composite armor purchased by Clarence H. Mackay from Bachereau, Paris, 1901; bought by John Woodman Higgins from Jacques Seligmann & Company, agents of Mackay's estate, April 1, 1940.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Barred visor from a <i>morione</i>	Italian (Pisa), 1st half 17th century	175	Red-painted number "58"		Archduke Eugen (Festung Hohenwerfen, Austria), sold, Anderson Galleries, New York, March 4, 1927, lot 834, ill.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Barred visor, bevor, and neck lames	German or Dutch, about 1620–30, modified in Pisa at a later date	471			Earl of Portarlington; Maple & Company, London; Liberty & Company, London; sold to John Woodman Higgins, April 17, 1928.

<i>Collection</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Origin/date</i>	<i>Inventory or accession no.</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Barred visor from a <i>morione</i>	Italian (Pisa), probably 1st half 17th century	585		Defense with deep browplate having roped comb, cut down from a late 16th-century close helmet visor.	William Kranzler, New Bedford, Mass.; sold to John Woodman Higgins, February 27, 1929.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Breastplate	Italian (Brescia?), late 16th century	2961.2	Chased "GP;" an incomplete crosslike mark within; "xxxxi" incised on inside of waist flange	Gussets fixed in place and fitted with lead eyelets for laces.	Edward Hubbard Litchfield; sold, Parke-Bernet, New York, December 5, 1951, lot 160, not ill.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Close helmet <i>morione</i>	Italian, 1580–1625	2366			Sumner Healey, New York; sold to John Woodman Higgins, July 3, 1936.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Backplate	Italian, early 17th century	5.2	Embossed uppercase "T" (indicating Tramontana), near right terminal.	Lead eyelets.	Purchased from W. H. Fenton & Sons, London, July 7, 1926.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	<i>Anime</i> backplate	North Italian, 1550–60	794	Punch-dotted "GP" near neck	Pair of lead eyelets for laces at shoulder terminals.	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from the estate of Dr. Bashford Dean, September 28, 1929.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), 1776	719	"AVC" brand with date "1776"	Painted medium green sides and dull red front with brown fish device. Squadron unknown; probably one of those raised for the games of 1776.	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from John Wanamaker, Inc., New York, February 13, 1929.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), 1776	720	"AVC" brand with date "1776" Paper label numbered "2315"	Painted with alternating white and green chevrons. Dragoni squadron.	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from John Wanamaker, Inc., New York, February 13, 1929.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), 1776	721	"AVC" brand with date "1776"	White-painted front, sides, and basal tip painted black; beveled edges in black and white dagged pattern; front with charging brown lion and black-painted star (comet?) with long tail. Leoni squadron.	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from John Wanamaker, Inc., New York, February 13, 1929.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), 1776	722	"AVC" brand with date "1776"	Front painted in deep peach color, with a yellow sun-in-splendor, below which the motto, "Nunquam retrorsum" (Never retreat) in black capitals.	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from John Wanamaker, Inc., New York, February 13, 1929.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), 1776	723	"AVC" brand with date "1776"	Face and sides painted <i>per pale</i> and <i>chevronny</i> in yellow ocher and white. Possibly squadron of San Marco.	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from John Wanamaker, Inc., New York, February 13, 1929.

<i>Collection</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Origin/date</i>	<i>Inventory or accession no.</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), 1776	724	"AVC" brand with date "1776"	Front and sides in alternating <i>paly-bendy</i> of white and blue. Squadron of Santa Maria.	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from John Wanamaker, Inc., New York, February 13, 1929.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Staff or baton	Italian (Pisa?), perhaps 18th century	725	None	Probably carried by a squadron officer or other noncombatant. Painted overall in yellow ocher and black chevrons, the colors of the Calcesana squadron.	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from John Wanamaker, Inc., New York, February 13, 1929.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Staff or baton	Italian (Pisa?), perhaps 18th century	726	None	Painted overall <i>per pale</i> and <i>chevronny</i> in yellow ocher and white. Possibly squadron of San Marco.	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from John Wanamaker, Inc., New York, February 13, 1929.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Cudgel	Italian (Pisa?), perhaps 18th century	729	None	Painted medium green ground on front and back, with a brown fish device. The purpose of the cudgel is unknown, but it was probably affiliated with the <i>gioco</i> , or another similar local game. It may have served as a sign of rank or position. Same squadron as Higgins <i>targone</i> no. 719 above.	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from John Wanamaker, Inc., New York, February 13, 1929.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Cudgel	Italian (Pisa?), perhaps 18th century	730	None	Front and back painted in a <i>chevronny</i> pattern of green and white extending onto the sides; the handle is solid green. These are the colors of the Dragoni squadron (also see Higgins <i>targone</i> 720 above).	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from John Wanamaker, Inc., New York, February 13, 1929.
Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester	Mace	Probably Italian, 18th century, after the style of the 16th century	728	None	Wood painted in reddish brown overall on a gessoed ground. Relationship to the <i>gioco</i> uncertain, but possibly it was one of the maces carried by a squadron captain in <i>il far le Mostre</i> (March of the Armies), held prior to the <i>gioco</i> proper.	Purchased by John Woodman Higgins from John Wanamaker, Inc., New York, February 13, 1929.
The Philadelphia Museum of Art	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), probably 1776	1977-167-763	"AVC" brand with date "1776"	Painted white, with a green griffin or dragon bearing a sword. Inscribed in gold, "La man fere, il pie sbrana, vrtan le pivne" (The hand wounds, the foot rends, the plumes fly), with a double gold line along the edge. Dragoni squadron.	Carl Otto von Kienbusch (no. 303). One of four <i>targoni</i> purchased by Kienbusch from the dealer Imbert in Florence, February 3, 1923.

<i>Collection</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Origin/date</i>	<i>Inventory or accession no.</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
The Philadelphia Museum of Art	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), probably 1776	1977-167-759	"AVC" brand with date "1776"	Painted quarterly in white and green. Dragoni squadron.	Carl Otto von Kienbusch (no. 304).
The Philadelphia Museum of Art	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), probably 1776	1977-167-762	"AVC" brand with date "1776"	Painted white, black, and red, with the edges of the front in a dagged pattern of red and black. At top is a flaming heart within framing, and below the black-painted motto "M'arde d'onor la fiamma" (The flame of honor consumes me). San Martino squadron.	Carl Otto von Kienbusch (no. 305).
The Philadelphia Museum of Art	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), probably 1776	1977-167-761	"AVC" brand with date "1776." Also cut with the date (?) 1607 above a heart.	Painted with white, black, and red chevrons, every second chevron in white, with black border with alternating and opposing red and white triangles. San Martino squadron.	Carl Otto von Kienbusch (no. 306).
The Philadelphia Museum of Art	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), probably 1776	1977-167-760	"AVC" brand with date "1776"	Painted in an eight-section <i>paly bendy</i> pattern of white, blue, and pink. No motto. Mattacini squadron.	Carl Otto von Kienbusch (no. 307).
The Philadelphia Museum of Art	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), probably 1776	1977-167-758	"AVC" brand with date "1776"	Painted <i>per pale</i> and <i>chevronny</i> of fifteen alternately red and yellow, with yellow edge having scattered triangles. Squadron unknown.	Carl Otto von Kienbusch (no. 308).
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Close helmet <i>Morione</i>	Possibly Dutch, 17th century	14.25.502	Incised "G.B" at lower right of skull and "B" inside front neckplate.	Appears to be a complete early 17th-century close helmet, with only the visor altered. Metal, other than bars of visor, is very light.	Purchased from the dealer Gagliardi in Florence, 1862, by William H. Riggs, who gave it to the Metropolitan Museum in 1913.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), dated 1807	14.25.770	Painted cursive inscription on the back, "LB ^u /LB ^u /1842[?]" and branded "VM/N[reversed]," "1807" beneath a crown.	Painted in an alternating pattern of yellow and white chevrons and stripes. At the top is a painted figure of an armored combatant wielding a <i>targone</i> . No motto. Possibly squadron of San Marco.	Purchased from the dealer Henry (Louis Adolphe Henry, called Henry le Chapelier), Paris, ca. 1863, by William H. Riggs, who gave it to the Metropolitan Museum in 1913.

<i>Collection</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Origin/date</i>	<i>Inventory or accession no.</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), dated 1807	14.25.771	Painted cursive inscription on back, "LBi ^m /LBe"; and branded "VM/N[reversed]," "1807" beneath a crown.	Painted in an alternating pattern of red and black chevrons and stripes. No motto. At the top is a painted figure of an armored combatant wielding a <i>targone</i> . Satiri della Luna squadron.	Purchased from the dealer Sorbi in Florence, 1863, by William H. Riggs, who gave it to the Metropolitan Museum in 1913.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	<i>Targone</i> or cudgel	Italian (Pisa), 18th(?) century	29.30.2		Of paddle-shaped form, painted red with the device of a lion rampant wielding a <i>targone</i> that is itself painted with black and white bands. The handle is black with white, blue, and yellow stripes at the neck. Probably Leoni squadron.	Gift of Carl Otto von Kienbusch, 1929.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Staff or baton	Italian (Pisa), 18th century	29.30.1		Painted in alternating red and black spiral bands. One end is gilded. Colors are those of the <i>Satiri della Luna</i> squadron.	Gift of Carl Otto von Kienbusch, 1929.
The Peabody Essex Museum, Salem	Helmet and cuirass	Italian and possibly German, 16th–17th century	EIMS 212	See text of article.	See text of article.	Gift of Capt. Samuel Tucker, 1807.
The Peabody Essex Museum, Salem	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), probably late 18th century–1807	EIMS 213	See text of article.	See text of article.	Gift of Capt. Samuel Tucker, 1807.
The Peabody Essex Museum, Salem	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), dated 1807	EIMS 213	"VM/N[reversed]," "1807", the whole beneath a crown.	See text of article.	Gift of Capt. Samuel Tucker, 1807.
The Peabody Essex Museum, Salem	<i>Targone</i>	Italian (Pisa), probably late 18th century–1807	EIMS 213	"CS" in a heart-shaped frame.	See text of article.	Gift of Capt. Samuel Tucker, 1807.

The Sun, the Moon, and an Eclipse: Observations on *The Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John*, by Hendrick Ter Brugghen

HELMUT NICKEL

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IN 1956 THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM acquired *The Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John*, a painting by Hendrick Ter Brugghen (1588–1629) of Utrecht. It is signed and dated: “HTB [monogram] fecit / 162[]” (Figure 1). It was discovered in a bombed-out church in London’s East End.

Two years after the painting’s acquisition, in 1958, Claus Virch, then an assistant curator in the Department of Paintings, wrote an extensive article about it in the Museum’s *Bulletin*, in which he states that Ter Brugghen “is generally classified as a follower of Caravaggio.”¹ From 1604 to 1614 the Dutch painter was in Italy on what was for artists a quasi-obligatory *Bildungsreise*. He presumably met Caravaggio (1571–1610) in Rome, although any personal contact between the two artists must have been of short duration, since in 1606 Caravaggio, in the wake of his involvement in a series of increasingly violent incidents, fled to Naples, pursued by the papal police. Nevertheless, Caravaggio’s uncompromising realism so impressed the young artist from the north that it became a signature feature of his own work; the manner is exemplified in the Museum’s *Crucifixion*.

Descriptions of this work concentrate on the realism of the figures—the body of the dead Christ, for example—and the depiction of the two saints as “unpretending Dutch peasants.”² But they also “speak an extremely sensitive language of color.”³ This sensitivity is evident in the treatment of the saints’ robes and in the deathly hues of the crucified Christ. But as Edith Standen has written, “There is something beyond realism here. The strange, starry brown sky and the low horizon heighten the impression of an almost unbearable supernatural event.”⁴

This same, strange color of the sky I was witness to in the early afternoon of June 30, 1954, in Berlin, when Central Europe was crossed by the path of a total solar eclipse. It was an eerie experience. In spite of a cloudless sky, the light of day suddenly darkened

dramatically and turned an unearthly ash-gray-brown dotted with gleaming pinprick stars. When I saw Ter Brugghen’s *Crucifixion* at the Metropolitan about six years later, I was immediately reminded of that afternoon in Berlin, and wondered whether Ter Brugghen too had been present at a solar eclipse.

My curiosity led me to the Hayden Planetarium at the Museum of Natural History across town, where I was kindly given extensive information about seventeenth-century eclipses by astronomer K. L. Franklin. And indeed, in the early afternoon of October 12, 1605, there had been a total solar eclipse in the city of Rome. This must have happened shortly after Hendrick Ter Brugghen arrived in Italy. Ter Brugghen must also have seen, in addition to the solar eclipse in Rome, the annular eclipse that occurred in the Netherlands sixteen years later, on May 21, 1621.⁵ Although not as spectacular as a total eclipse, the annular eclipse would surely have reinforced the artist’s memory of his Roman experience.

A solar eclipse occurs when the moon passes between the earth and the sun, thereby obscuring the earth’s view of the sun, usually for less than ten minutes. An annular eclipse occurs when the sun and the moon are exactly in line, but the apparent size of the moon is smaller than that of the sun. Hence the sun appears as a bright ring, or annulus, surrounding the outline of the moon. This configuration can occur only during a new moon. Easter, which celebrates the resurrection of Christ after the Crucifixion—the subject of Ter Brugghen’s masterpiece—takes place on the first Sunday after a full moon following the spring equinox, on March 21.

In the Gospels, Matthew (27:45), Mark (15:33), and Luke (23:44, 45) each describe “a darkness” that descended over the land when Christ was on the cross, starting at noon and lasting for three hours. Luke gives the most detailed account:

And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour. / And the sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst.

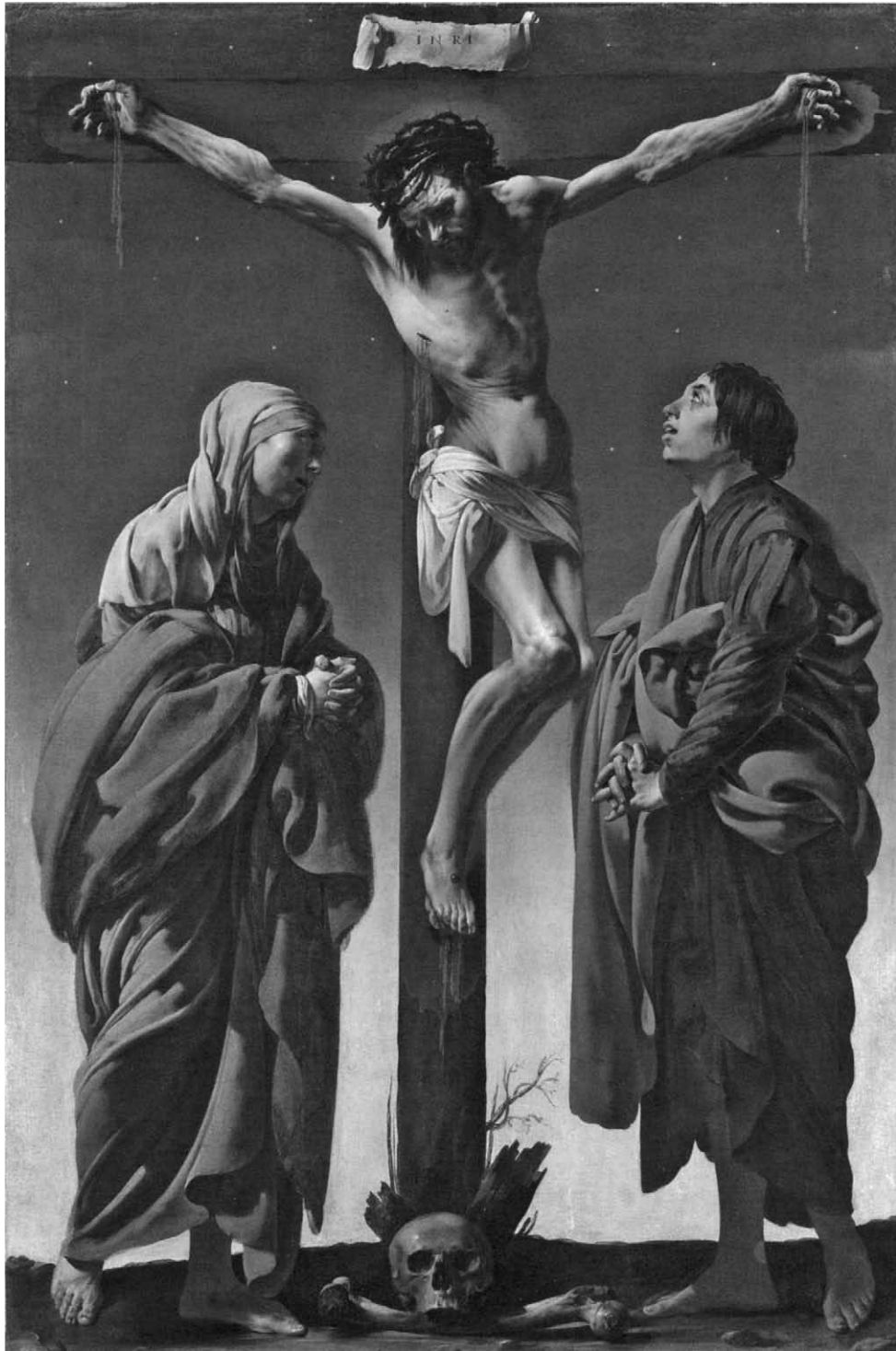


Figure 1. Hendrick Ter Brugghen (Dutch, 1588–1629). *The Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John*. Oil on canvas, 154.9 x 102.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Funds from various donors, 1956 (56.228). See also Colorplate 4



Figure 2. Jan van Eyck (Netherlandish, active by 1422, died 1441). *The Crucifixion*. Oil on canvas, transferred from wood. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1933 (33.92a)

Another work in the Museum's collection, in a different medium, that shows the crucified Christ between the Virgin Mary and Saint John—with the additional figures of Saints Catherine and Margaret—is a fourteenth-century German tapestry probably from the region of Constance. The tapestry's most

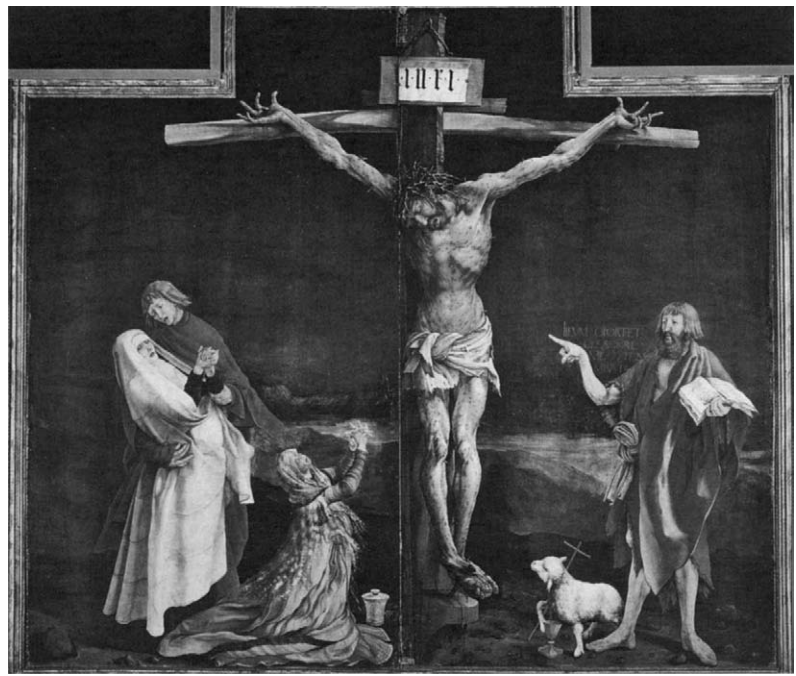


Figure 3. Matthias Grünewald (German, ca. 1475/80–1528). *The Crucifixion* (panel from the Isenheim Altarpiece). Oil on limewood. Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar, France (photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, New York)

remarkable feature is the background, a pattern of bright yellow stars in an azure sky. Here the weaver interprets Luke's three-hour darkness as a true night sky, not as an eclipse.⁶

Romanesque representations of the Crucifixion often show a stylized sun and moon above the cross, without any sign of darkness. Perhaps one of the first realistically represented moons in Western art is a panel of the Crucifixion by Jan van Eyck (active by 1422, died 1441; Figure 2), also in the Metropolitan Museum. Here the waning moon hangs low in the early morning sky, as it would appear just a few days after a full moon, correctly representing the sky on a Good Friday and circumventing the necessity of having to deal with the darkness at noon.

Matthias Grünewald (ca. 1475/80–1528), in the Isenheim Altarpiece at Colmar, Alsace, provides a different interpretation altogether. Here the darkness appears as a black weather cloud with only a dim "squall line," as sailors call it, at the horizon (Figure 3).

Ter Brugghen's representation of the darkness at noon as a solar eclipse is evidently based on his personal experiences. And although astronomically incorrect, it serves well to heighten the scene, creating the remarkable, "almost unbearable supernatural event."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For their generous advice and assistance, I wish to thank K. L. Franklin, former astronomer, Hayden Planetarium, New York; David Southall, curator of education, Collier County Museum, Naples, Florida; and my friends and colleagues at the Metropolitan Museum: Katharine Baetjer, curator of European Paintings, and James David Draper, Henry R. Kravis Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts.

NOTES

1. Claus Virch, "The Crucifixion by Hendrick Terbrugghen," in *MMAB*, n.s., 16, no. 8 (April, 1958), p. 219.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Masterpieces of Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, with comments on the paintings by Edith A. Standen and Thomas M. Folds (Greenwich, Conn. [1970]), p. 38.
5. Personal communication and letters, February 22 and March 11, 1983, from K. L. Franklin. I would like to thank James Draper for bringing to my attention that the German mathematician and astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) also witnessed the 1605 eclipse in Rome.
6. Rebecca Martin, "A Fourteenth-Century German Tapestry of the Crucifixion," in *MMJ* 16 (1981), pp. 75–86.

A New Preparatory Sketch by Maurice Quentin de La Tour

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IN 2005, MARY TAVENER HOLMES, IN MEMORY of her former professor Donald Posner, generously gave the Metropolitan Museum a preparatory sketch by the most famous French pastel artist of the eighteenth century, Maurice Quentin de La Tour (1704–1788). The work (Figure 1, Colorplate 5), which resurfaced on the Paris art market in July 2003, is of major importance, as it preserves the features of King Louis XV (r. 1715–74). At the La Tour retrospective at the Château de Versailles in 2004, I had the opportunity to highlight its momentous character, by demonstrating that it was a preparatory study for the artist's first portrait of the king from the Salon of 1745.¹

PORTRAITS OF LOUIS XV PAINTED BY LA TOUR

Maurice Quentin de La Tour was already well known in 1744, when he received a commission from the head of the Bâtiments du Roi for a first portrait of the monarch. From the moment of his certification by the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, on May 25, 1737, the artist had made a point of showing a selection of his works at each of the Salons. He had quickly garnered great success, particularly after he exhibited the monumental portrait of the Président de Rieux in 1741 (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 94, PC 39). At the end of 1739, the artist had also rendered a likeness of Madame de Mailly, the king's mistress, in Versailles (now lost); and in February of the following year, one of his works, possibly the "self-portrait with index finger," had temporarily graced the apartment of Madame Adélaïde, the king's favorite daughter, in the royal residence.²

It was quite natural, then, that La Tour should be called upon in 1744 to paint a portrait of Louis XV. The commission was tantamount to a consecration, as it symbolized the kind of official recognition that every artist craved, and La Tour did his best to satisfy his patrons. In 1745, the same year in which he was invited to make a first pastel portrait of the queen, Marie

Leszczyńska, he presented the likeness of Louis XV at the Salon, under number 164. The exhibition brochure laconically gives only the sitter's name; but although La Tour's contemporaries left behind no comments to further our knowledge of this initial attempt, we should not conclude that it went unappreciated. The first image in fact proved to be masterful, and La Tour was again invited to paint the royal countenance. He exhibited a new portrait at the Salon of 1748 (no. 77). His remarkable skill at capturing likenesses and his talent for bringing out the subject's inner spirit even led the administration of the Bâtiments du Roi to select some of his works as models to be used by other painters who were also called upon to depict the king. So it was that, at the beginning of 1749, before delivering his grand portrait of Louis XV in military garb preparing to mount on horseback (Château de Versailles, mv 4389), Carle Vanloo (French, 1705–1765) had to wait for "the latest head study by M. de la Tour" to use as a guide.³ It is fairly certain that in this instance he used the preparatory sketch in pastel now conserved in La Tour's studio at the Musée Antoine Lécuyer in Saint-Quentin (LT 108), as the faces on both works are highly similar.⁴

Maurice Quentin de La Tour's second pastel likeness of the monarch inspired a few brief comments when shown at the Salon of 1748. In his *Lettre sur la peinture, sculpture, architecture, à M. ****, Abbé Louis Gougenot praised the skill with which the master had rendered the king's breastplate and garments.⁵ Although quite succinct, his note has long led art historians, understandably, to identify the 1748 pastel as the one conserved at the Louvre (Figure 2), until very recently the only one known. Celebrated for both its technical mastery and the dazzling beauty of its subject, this work played a large part in blotting out the memory of the first pastel, the one exhibited in 1745.

THE PASTEL FROM THE SALON OF 1745

In the course of a study of La Tour's work that lasted several years, I collected a number of images that evidently had been inspired by a single model. All of them depicted Louis XV in armor, his face turned to

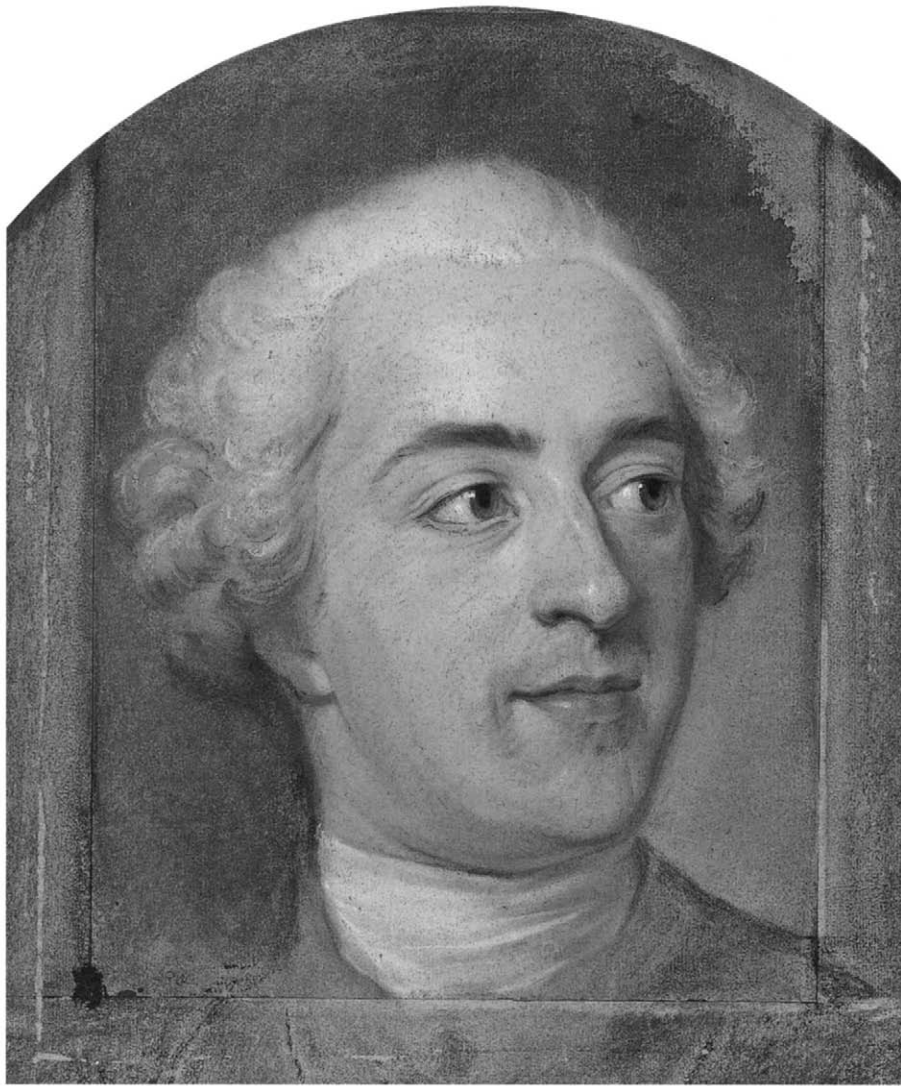


Figure 1. Maurice Quentin de La Tour (French, 1704–1788). *Preparatory Sketch for a Portrait of Louis XV*, ca. 1744–45. Pastel on blue paper, arched top, 32.7 x 24 cm (original sheet); 35.8 x 30.1 cm (with added strips of blue paper at sides and bottom). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mary Tavenor Holmes, in honor of Donald Posner, 2005 (2005.66). See also Colorplate 5

his left in three-quarter view, and were therefore distinct from the 1748 portrait. One of these, a pastel, was catalogued and reproduced by Albert Besnard and Georges Wildenstein in 1928 (Figure 3).⁶ On the verso, in period handwriting, was the annotation “La Tour, 1760”; the work belonged at the time to Jules Straus of Paris. In 1927, it was publicly shown at the Galerie Charpentier, as part of an exhibition of French pastels from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (no. 55). But though Émile Dacier and Paul Ratouis de Limay, the exhibition’s organizers, initially considered this portrait to be by the master’s hand, they soon revised their thinking and no longer considered it an autographed work—and rightly so.⁷ Of small dimensions (45 x 35 cm), it was put up for sale

at the Palais Galliera in Paris on June 20 and 21, 1966 (lot 9, ill.), and its current location is unknown. Although it is no longer included among La Tour’s works, this pastel nonetheless remains quite interesting, as it preserves a composition that was famous in its time and that inspired several copies.

In addition to the pastel version, we know of three other copies in oil that depict the king in the same posture. The first, sold at the Hôtel Dassault in Paris on December 14, 2002,⁸ is similar to the Straus pastel, but with a slightly wider image area and the blue ribbon of the Holy Spirit over the breastplate (Figure 4). The second, less skillfully executed, shows Louis XV at half-length, again with his head turned to his left and in armor, an ermine scarf with a fleur-de-lis pattern



Figure 2. Maurice Quentin de La Tour. *Louis XV in Armor*, 1748. Pastel on blue paper, 68 x 57.4 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 27615 (photo: RMN/J. G. Berizzi)

about his neck, his right arm pointing toward a city in the background. In this image, which went on auction in Toulouse on March 24, 2004,⁹ the king appears older (Figure 5). The third oil portrait, without a doubt the most interesting, is conserved at the museum of the royal monastery of Brou in Bourg-en-Bresse (Figure 6); it was deposited there by the Louvre in 1872, from the old collection of the museum (872-7). Mounted on an oval stretcher (72.5 x 52.8 cm), the canvas is in fact rectangular and, therefore, slightly larger. The king is again shown at half-length, still in the same position, before a landscape delimited at right by a tree trunk and opening at left onto a religious edifice with several bell towers. The scrupulous execution of the work suggests that it was made by one of the copyists from the Cabinet du Roi, whose job it was, at the Bâtiments superintendence in Versailles, to reproduce portraits of favored members of the royal family so that they could be given to those individuals one wished to honor.

Finally, these images of the monarch were recently joined by the preparatory sketch that was donated to



Figure 3. After Maurice Quentin de la Tour. *Louis XV*. Pastel. Location unknown. Formerly in the collection of Jules Straus, Paris (photo: Albert Besnard and Georges Wildenstein, *La Tour: La vie et l'oeuvre de l'artiste* [Paris, 1928], pl. 56, fig. 89)

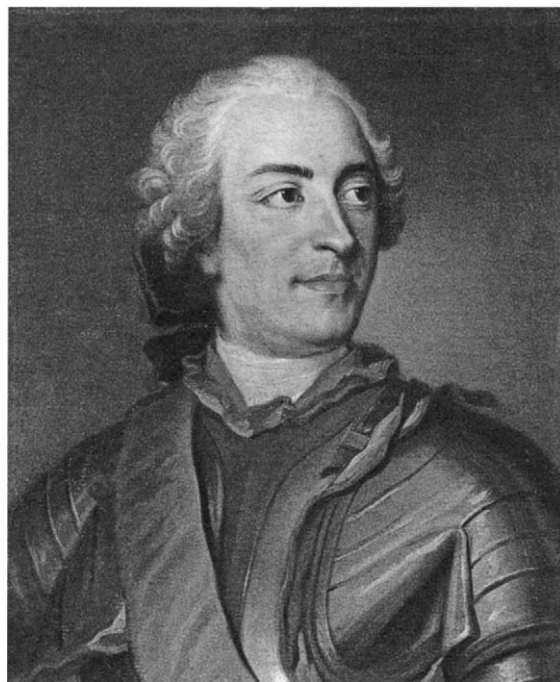


Figure 4. After Maurice Quentin de La Tour. *Louis XV in Armor*, after 1745. Oil on canvas, 55 x 46 cm. Location unknown (photo: author's archives)



Figure 5. After Maurice Quentin de La Tour. *Louis XV in Armor before a Landscape*, after 1745. Oil on canvas, 102 x 83 cm. Location unknown (photo: author's archives)



Figure 6. Cabinet du Roi, after Maurice Quentin de La Tour. *Louis XV in Armor before a Landscape*, after 1745. Oil on canvas, 72.5 x 52.8 cm, Musée du Monastère Royal de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse, 872-7, on deposit from the Louvre since 1872 (photo: Musée du Monastère Royal de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse)

the Metropolitan in 2005 (see Figure 1, Colorplate 5). Executed on a sheet of blue paper with an arched top and added strips of blue paper at the sides and bottom, this study of Louis XV's face displays all the subtleties of Maurice Quentin de La Tour's art, particularly in its treatment of complexion. Although it may have been retouched in pastel at some point after its execution, especially around the wig, it constitutes a magnificent example of the celebrated portraitist's talents at capturing the essential nature of his sitter. Because it is in all respects identical to the royal countenance that appears on the Straus pastel and on the three oil canvases, the New York sketch also confirms that we must attribute to La Tour the composition depicting Louis XV in armor, facing toward his left and standing before a landscape. It even leads us to think that the master used this composition for the work exhibited at the Salon of 1745, as the monarch is wearing a different outfit from the one that Gougenot mentioned in 1748. This was my conclusion in 2004 for the Versailles retrospective, and there is now a further piece of evidence to add to the demonstration.

THE PORTRAIT OF 1745 REDISCOVERED?

Toward the end of 2004, I was made aware of the existence of a handsome pastel depicting the king in armor, at half-length, facing toward his left. The owners of the work had learned of my hypothesis regarding the pastel exhibited at the Salon of 1745 and had begun to wonder about the piece in their possession. The portrait, and its pendant depicting Marie Leszczyńska (now lost), had been catalogued by Besnard and Wildenstein in 1928 with the attribution "after or attributed to La Tour" for Louis XV and "attributed to La Tour" for the queen.¹⁰ Neither of the two was reproduced in the catalogue. Both had been put up for sale during the Delaherche auction on May 10 and 11, 1889,¹¹ then at the dispersal of the Philippe Sichel collection on June 22–28, 1899,¹² and finally at the sale of the Comte de B.'s collection, held like the others in Paris, on April 9, 1910. It was at that point that the two portraits were separated: the one of Louis XV was acquired for 1,540 francs by the great-grandfather of its current owner,¹³ and the one of Marie Leszczyńska was bought by the expert Charles Léon Mannheim.¹⁴

The portrait of the king (Figure 7, Colorplate 6) is painted on two sheets of blue paper. One of these sheets, of slightly smaller dimensions and with irregular edges (Figure 8), containing the monarch's face, has been glued onto a second, larger sheet (68 x 57.7 cm), which is itself backed by canvas. There is no doubt that the pastel was conserved at some point



Figure 7. Maurice Quentin de La Tour. *Louis XV in Armor before Tournai*, 1745. Pastel on blue paper, 68 x 57.7 cm. Private collection (photo: Jean-Marc Manaï, Château de Versailles). See also Colorplate 6

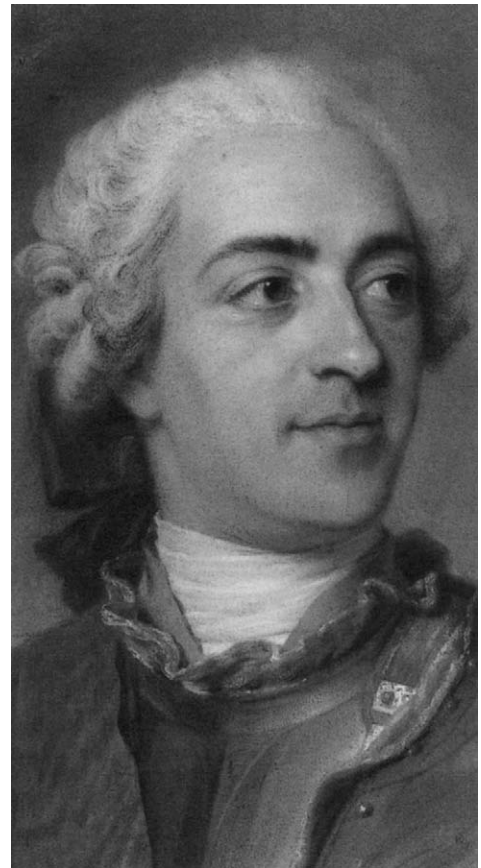


Figure 8. Detail of Figure 7

after its creation, as it is now on a stretcher that dates from the nineteenth century; the canvas backing, bordered with strips of blue paper, appears to be from the same period. There are dampness stains on the upper portion to the right, which may explain the current nature of the mounting. The border surrounding it is not original.

Louis XV is shown in a posture identical to the one in the canvas at Bourg-en-Bresse (Figure 6), and he stands in front of the same landscape with a religious building at lower left. The king's face is an exact replica of the Metropolitan's preparatory sketch, and is rendered with the same subtlety (see Figure 1, Colorplate 5). Bluish shadows on the chin and around the mouth and flesh-colored highlights on the cheeks give the complexion a nearly tactile quality. One can almost see the blood coursing beneath the skin. The artist has skillfully handled the transition from the sheet with the face to the one containing the upper torso and the rest of the composition. On the armor, the shadows and reflections are continued without interruption (Figure 9), as are the moiré effects on

Figure 9. Detail of Figure 7





Figure 10. View of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Tournai. Vintage postcard

the blue ribbon. The extremely high quality of the overall work, its technique, and the manner of painting the face on a separate sheet of paper (a practice that La Tour used frequently, as in the portrait of Louis XV at the Louvre) lead us to attribute the work to Maurice Quentin de La Tour. Moreover, and because I know of no other example with the same technique, I am inclined to think that this pastel was the one that served as the model for the copy in oil at the Brou monastery, and that it was executed on the basis of the Metropolitan's preparatory sketch. Looking more closely, we can also conclude that it is indeed the composition exhibited in 1745, perhaps even the work from the Salon, given its technical mastery.

In addition, the religious edifice at left is none other than the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Tournai: we can easily recognize the five towers that majestically crown the transept (see Figure 10). During the Flanders campaign, French troops laid siege to Tournai beginning on April 30, 1745, and lasting for several weeks. The city finally capitulated on May 22, following the victory at Fontenoy on May 11. On May 24, a High Mass was celebrated in the cathedral in the presence of Louis XV and his son, the heir to the throne, after which a dinner for fifty held by the bishop, Comte de Salm-Reifferscheid, gathered all the illustrious guests at the bishop's palace. The cathedral's presence in the pastel, therefore, is hardly gratuitous—on the



Figure 11. Nicolas Cochin (French, 1610–1686). Engraving after *Vue de Tournay du costé du vieux chasteau*, by Adam Frans van der Meulen (Flemish, 1632–1690), 1685 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

contrary. Maurice Quentin de La Tour, who kept abreast of the latest events, had borrowed the image from the print engraved in 1685 by Nicolas Cochin (French, 1610–1686) after the *Vue de Tournai du côté du vieux chateau. Dessigné sur le naturel, et peinte pour le Roy très Chrestien, par F. Vander Meulen* (View of Tournai looking toward the old castle, drawn from life and painted for the very Christian king by F. van der Meulen) (Figure 11), which was distributed in Paris with the king's privilege at the Hôtel des Manufactures Royales des Gobelins and on the rue Saint-Jacques.¹⁵ On both the engraved proof and the pastel, the cathedral looks the same, with a carefully arranged perspective that affords a clear view of the city belfry on the left. If one were to adopt the viewpoint used on the print, however, this belfry should have been partly hidden by the high roof of the chancel. Not having personally made the trip to Tournai, La Tour had therefore borrowed the skyline bristling with bell towers from Van der Meulen, not realizing that it did not respect the topographical reality of the scene.¹⁶

In that time of war and of Louis XV's frequent absences, La Tour had taken the precaution of obtaining a posing session with the monarch in order to capture his features, the result of which is the Metropolitan's sketch. We can establish that the king granted the audience between November 1744, the month in which he returned to Versailles after his first Flanders campaign and the year the work was commissioned, and the beginning of May 1745. La Tour, then, worked to complete the final pastel after the end of the siege of Tournai, before the opening of the Salon, and several months after he had received the commission. Had he previously copied the head from the preparatory sketch onto the small sheet of paper, which he intended to affix to the definitive version because he was waiting for a decisive military event to lend his composition greater resonance? Was he still hesitating about the composition? These questions remain unanswered and add to the allure of La Tour's pastel.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Perrin Stein, curator, Drawings and Prints Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for inviting me to write this article, to Laure Chedal-Anglay for her administrative assistance, and to Elizabeth L. Block, Editorial Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for editing the article. Nor could I neglect to mention the owners of the beautiful pastel that is published here for the first time. Their warm welcome and their desire to know more about the work led to many pleasant moments together.

NOTES

1. Xavier Salmon, *Le voleur d'âmes: Maurice Quentin de La Tour*, exh. cat., Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (Versailles, 2004), pp. 23, 125–26.
2. A letter from Duc d'Aumont to La Tour reads as follows: "The Duc d'Aumont begs Monsieur de La Tour not to be concerned about his portrait. Madame Adélaïde would like to keep it for a few days. She promises to take great care of it. The duke has instructed Monsieur de Cindré to provide further details to M. de La Tour tomorrow. Versailles, 19 February 1740." Quoted in Albert Besnard and Georges Wildenstein, *La Tour: La vie et l'oeuvre de l'artiste* (Paris, 1928), pp. 33–34.
3. Fernand Engerand, ed., *Inventaire des tableaux commandés et achetés par la direction des Bâtiments du Roi (1709–1792)* (Paris, 1900), p. 481.
4. See Salmon, *Le voleur d'âmes*, pp. 125–26, no. 27, ill. pp. 18 (detail) and 127.
5. Quoted in Besnard and Wildenstein, *La Tour*, p. 44.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 152, no. 278, pl. 56, fig. 89.
7. Dacier and Ratouis de Limay included it in the trade edition of their catalogue of the 1927 exhibition (*Exposition de pastels français du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècle* [Paris: G. Vanoest, 1927], p. 38), but did not retain it for the deluxe edition of the same catalogue (*Pastels français des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* [Paris and Brussels: G. van Oest, 1927]). Seeing the pastel on the walls of the Galerie Charpentier must have made them realize how mediocre the execution was.
8. *Tableaux anciens*, sale cat., Artcurial-Briest in association with Hôtel Dassault and Poulain Le Fur, Paris, December 14, 2002, lot 59: "French School of the 18th century, follower of Maurice Quentin de La Tour. *Portrait of Louis XV*. Canvas, 55 x 46 cm." The auctioneers were Claude Aguttes, Artcurial, and Briest-Poulain-Le Fur, Paris.
9. Primardéco sale, Maîtres Prim and de Colonges, Toulouse, March 24, 2004, lot 5: "French School 18th century. 102 x 83 cm."
10. Besnard and Wildenstein, *La Tour*, p. 152, no. 281 (Louis XV) and pp. 154–55, no. 314 (Marie Leszczyńska).
11. *Objets d'art et de haute curiosité*, sale cat., Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 10–11, 1889, lots 176, 177.
12. *Objets d'art et d'ameublement*, sale cat., Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 22–28, 1899, lots 31, 32.
13. *Objets d'art et d'ameublement*, sale cat., Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 9, 1910, lots 7, 7bis. The bill of sale drawn up by Henri Baudoin, auctioneer in Paris, specifies that the sale price was 1,400 francs, plus a ten percent commission. The document remains in the possession of the buyer's descendants.
14. Besnard and Wildenstein (see note 10 above) mistakenly claim that Mannheim bought both portraits for 5,000 francs.
15. The artist's full name is Adam Frans van der Meulen (Flemish, 1632–1690).
16. Intrigued once I had identified the Tournai cathedral, the owners of the pastel found the print used by La Tour and informed me about it.

Pastels by Gerrit Schipper in the Metropolitan Museum

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This article represents an abridgment and a revision of a manuscript essay submitted to the Metropolitan Museum Journal in 2002 by the late David W. Meschutt, former curator of art at the West Point Museum. At the time of his death, in July 2005, Dr. Meschutt was amending and revising his analysis of portraits in the Metropolitan Museum by or attributed to the pastelist James Sharples, to one of his followers, or to members of the Sharples family. Dr. Meschutt's effort to reassign certain portraits to specific members of the family remained in a provisional state at his death, which to verify would require considerable further study. He did, however, convincingly distinguish two portraits in the group as the work of a contemporary practitioner of pastel portraiture independent of the Sharples family. What follows is a revision of that part of the original manuscript which argues for the reattribution.

The Museum's recently published catalogue of American drawings and watercolors lists and reproduces ten pastel portraits—six of them in profile, four in three-quarter view—credited to the English immigrant artist James Sharples (ca. 1751–1811), to Sharples or his wife, Ellen Wallace (1769–1849), and to his son, James Sharples Jr. (ca. 1788–1839), as well as one portrait attributed to a “Follower of James Sharples.”¹ The task of differentiating the hands of the four Sharpleses who practiced pastel portraiture in America (the fourth was Felix, Ellen's son by a previous marriage) has proved challenging: nuances of draftsmanship, pastel technique, and expression are discernible, but do not boldly distinguish individual style in a family enterprise where consistency of approach was paramount to success.² James, the father, set the standard (Figure 1), and the Museum preserves four portraits reliably attributed to his hand.³ At least four other portraits, three of them at present given to James Sharples or Ellen Wallace

Sharples and one to James Sharples Jr., warrant careful reconsideration.⁴ And two—*Dorothea Hart* (Figure 2), currently attributed to James Sharples or Ellen Wallace Sharples, and *Peter Labagh* (Figure 3), currently given to a “Follower of James Sharples”—may be confidently reassigned to the hand of the Dutch-born artist Gerrit Schipper (1775–ca. 1830).⁵

A native of Kromenieu, near Amsterdam, Schipper may have developed his talent in Brussels and Paris, where he lived in the 1790s. He emigrated to New York in May 1802, just a few months after the return of the Sharples family to their native England. Schipper

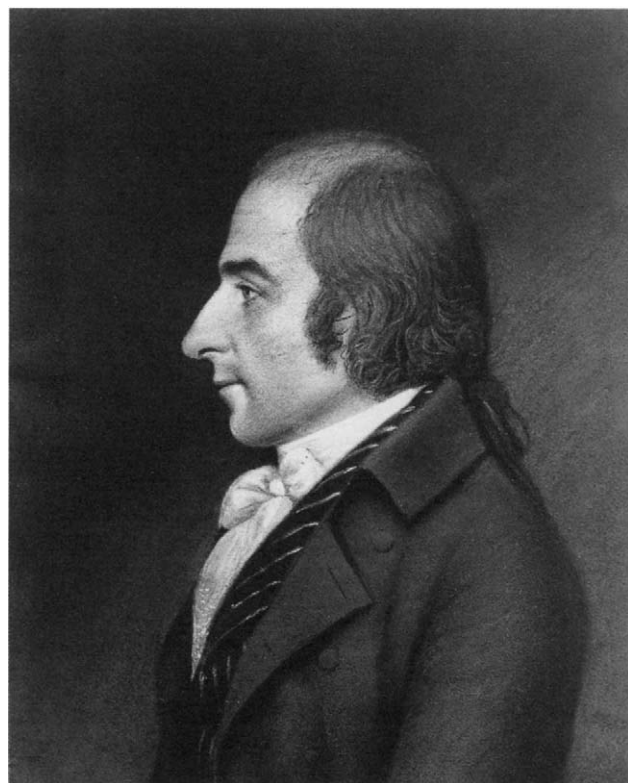


Figure 1. James Sharples (ca. 1751–1811). *Albert Gallatin*, ca. 1796. Pastel on light gray wove paper, 23.8 x 18.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Miss Josephine L. Stevens, 1908 (08.144)



Figure 2. Gerrit Schipper (1775–ca. 1830). *Dorothea Hart*, 1809. Pastel on toned laid paper, 22.9 x 20 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1935 (35.17). See also Colorplate 7

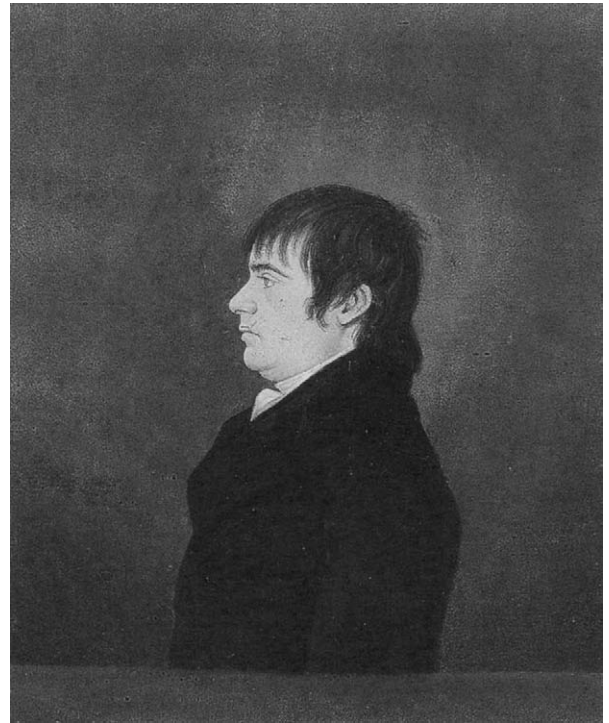


Figure 3. Gerrit Schipper. *Peter Labagh*, ca. 1807. Pastel and black and red chalk on toned (now oxidized) wove paper, 22.9 x 18.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Knight Sturges and Mrs. Louis Marx Gifts, 1996 (1996.420). See also Colorplate 8

worked initially in Charleston, South Carolina, but soon moved north, pursuing portrait commissions in Boston, Salem, and Worcester, Massachusetts; Hartford, Connecticut; and upstate New York, where he married in 1806.⁶ In 1808 the artist moved on to Canada. Whether it was because he was neither as skilled as James Sharples nor as ambitious, Schipper seems to have been content to work as an itinerant artist, drawing portraits chiefly of the middle class. His most prominent sitter was Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831), newspaper publisher and founder of the American Antiquarian Society.⁷ Unlike Sharples, Schipper did not seek out the great statesmen and military leaders of the day nor, apparently, was he sought out by them. After seven years in America and Canada, he may have exhausted his client base and, in 1810, departed for London. There he settled permanently and evidently enjoyed considerable success, sending his son Nicholas to an expensive boarding school in the early 1820s.⁸ Precisely when Schipper died is unknown, but his widow, Elizabeth Burt Schipper, returned to the United States with the couple's four children and remarried, in Rochester, New York, in 1834.⁹

Like the Sharpleses, Schipper drew chiefly cabinet-size profile portraits in pastel—presumably, also like

the Sharpleses, with the aid of a physionotrace—and his work bears a superficial resemblance to theirs. Nevertheless, though very competently rendered, Schipper's pastels differ in several respects: the figure-to-picture ratio is typically smaller; as with *Dorothea Hart*, they frequently have a "porthole" format, with the figure enclosed in an oval or, less frequently, a polygon; and, consonant with Schipper's experience in the Neoclassical climate of Revolutionary-era Paris, they are generally harder, flatter, and more linear.

Dorothea Hart and *Peter Labagh* conform very well to both the middle-class status of Schipper's sitters and to his signature style. The matronly Dorothea Hart, whose portrait, according to early Museum records, was inscribed on the verso with her name and the words, "aged 60 years / March 1st, 1809," undoubtedly sat for Schipper in or near Montreal, where the artist was then working.¹⁰ She is probably identifiable with Dorothea Judah Hart (1747–1827), wife of the English immigrant merchant Aaron Hart (1724–1800). Hart served in the British Army during the French and Indian Wars, and returned to England temporarily in 1768 to marry Dorothea and take her back to Canada, where they raised a family that distinguished itself in both the economic and political life of the then British province.¹¹ The artist's rendering of her is



Figure 4. Gerrit Schipper. *Mrs. George Warner (Magdalena Walgrove)*, 1806. Pastel on paper, 23.2 x 18.4 cm. Collection of The New-York Historical Society

virtually identical in style with the portrait of Mrs. George Warner (Magdalena Walgrove) (Figure 4), signed and dated 1806, in the New-York Historical Society, especially in the articulation of the bonnets and double chins of both sitters and in the wedge of illumination modulating the backgrounds of both portraits. The formats—oval versus polygon—differ in this case but, as mentioned above, Schipper exploited both. *Dorothea Hart* is also comparable to the portrait of Mrs. Jonathan Walter Edwards (Figure 7) dated August 1805 on the verso, which does have the more typical oval format.

Peter Labagh (Figure 3), inscribed on its old wood backing with the sitter's name and profession, "Minister Dutch Reformed Church," portrays a young cleric (1773–1858) who enjoyed a career of more than half a century in ministries from Kentucky to New York and New Jersey. Indeed, he was so admired that the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church published a lengthy memoir about him in 1860 (Figure 5).¹² At the time that Labagh sat for the artist, about 1807, he was head of congregations in Catskill and Oakhill, New York. On first glance, the Labagh portrait seems almost to represent a different hand from that of *Dorothea Hart*. Of similar scale, it lacks the oval or polygon format favored by Schipper; it is even more

sharply and plastically rendered than *Dorothea Hart*, and has a different modulation of the dark background, here lightened about the crown and back of the sitter's head. Yet all of these distinctions find correspondences in other portraits reliably attributed to Schipper. Figures represented behind counters—in preference to within ovals or polygons—are not unknown in Schipper's pastels: a portrait of George Warner (Figure 6), husband of Magdalena Walgrove (Figure 4), shows not only the counter but also the illumination behind the crown of the head indicated in *Peter Labagh*. What also seems distinctive about the Labagh portrait is the execution of the sitter's dark hair, rendered in tonguelike masses whose tapers are finished with very fine lines of hard black pastel. An excellent comparative example of this articulation is found in the previously cited *Mrs. Jonathan Walter Edwards (Elizabeth Tryon)* (Figure 7), which is signed and dated on the verso.

Tending to confirm Schipper's authorship of the Labagh portrait is the fact that long before the pastel was purchased by the Museum, in 1996, it had already been attributed to Schipper. In 1951, Frick Collection photo archivists Hope Mathewson and Mary Rotan

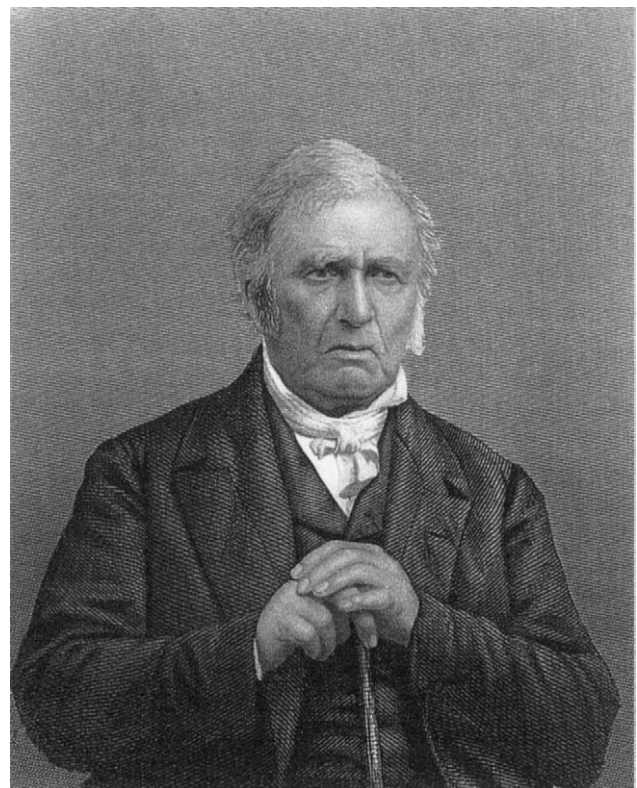


Figure 5. A. H. Ritchie, engraver. *Peter LaBagh* (probably engraved from a daguerreotype), before 1858. Engraving published in Rev. John A. Todd, *Memoir of the Reverend Peter La Bagh, D.D.* (New York, 1860), frontispiece

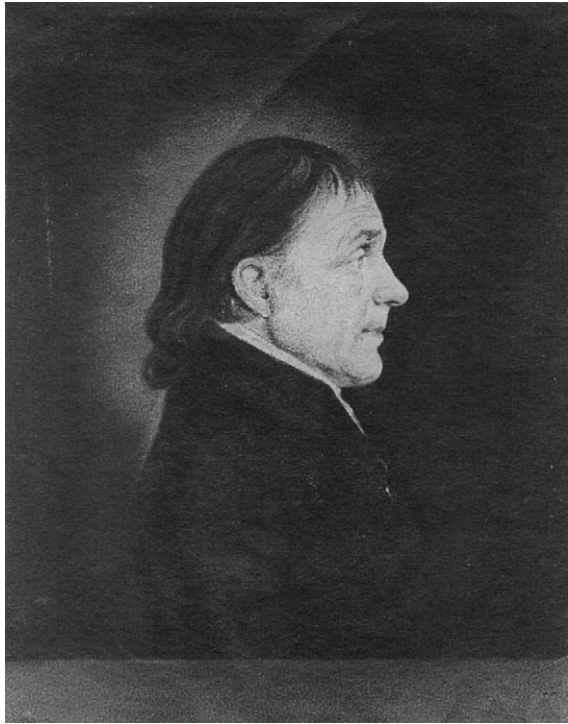


Figure 6. Gerrit Schipper. *George Warner*, ca. 1806. Pastel on paper. Present location unknown (photo: courtesy Frick Art Reference Library, New York)



Figure 7. Gerrit Schipper. *Mrs. Jonathan Walter Edwards (Elizabeth Tryon)*, 1805. Pastel on paper, 15.9 x 12.7 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, Bequest of Eugene Phelps Edwards, 1938 (1938.78)

provisionally assigned it to Schipper, many years after Mrs. Allan M. Perkins, the owner at the time, had shown it to Harry B. Wehle, curator of paintings at the Metropolitan, who rejected the prior attribution to James Sharples.¹³ Whether Mathewson and Rotan did not communicate their opinion to Mrs. Perkins, or whether she or subsequent owners rejected or were unaware of the attribution to Schipper, the pastel came to the Museum as attributed to James Sharples,

and was subsequently reattributed to an “Unidentified Artist (Follower of James Sharples).”¹⁴

The renown of the Sharples portrait business and the large number of surviving works by members of the family compared with the relative obscurity and smaller oeuvre of Gerrit Schipper perhaps suggest that there are present in other collections American pastel portraits ascribed to the Sharples family that warrant reattribution.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Kevin Avery wishes to express his appreciation to Sarah Bevan Meschutt, curator of collections at the Museum of the Shenandoah Valley, Winchester, Virginia, for approving and consulting with him on the revision of her late husband David Meschutt's original manuscript on the Sharples and Schipper pastels in the Metropolitan's collection. He also thanks Joelle Gotlib, Vivian Chill, Barbara Glauber, and Lesley Symington for assistance with additional research conducted for this article.

NOTES

1. Carrie Rebora Barratt, in Kevin J. Avery et al., *American Drawings and Watercolors in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Volume I: A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born before 1835* (New York, 2002), pp. 92–96, 341–42, nos. 300–309.
2. The most detailed study to date of James Sharples and his family is Katharine McCook Knox, *The Sharples: Their Portraits of George Washington and His Contemporaries* (New Haven, 1930). Not among the Sharples family members in the text is Rolinda, the daughter of James and Ellen, who practiced portraiture only in England and chiefly in oils. Other important sources of information about the Sharpleses are John C. Milley, "Thoughts on the Attribution of Sharples Pastels," in *University Hospital Antiques Show Catalogue* (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 59–63; and Sheena Stoddard, "The Sharples Family of Artists," which will be published in a forthcoming history of the Royal West of England Academy. Dr. Meschutt is grateful to Ms. Stoddard for sharing with him a draft of her essay. He also thanks Dr. Carrie Rebora Barratt, curator of American paintings and sculpture, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for taking the time to show and discuss with him the Museum's pastels attributed to the Sharples.
3. As listed in Avery et al., *American Drawings and Watercolors in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pp. 341–42: no. 300, *Abigail Smith Adams*; no. 301, *Albert Gallatin* (fig. 1 here); no. 302, *John Adams*; no. 303, *Médéric-Louis-Élie Moreau de Saint-Méry*.
4. As listed in *ibid.*, p. 342, the portraits and their current attributions are: no. 304, *Alexander Hamilton*; no. 306, *Josiah Ingersoll, Master-Warden of the Port of New York*; and no. 307, *Noah Webster*, all currently attributed to James Sharples or Ellen Wallace Sharples; and no. 308, *George Washington*, currently attributed to James Sharples Jr.
5. For Schipper, see, most recently, Jeanne Riger, "New Light on Gerrit Schipper," *The Clarion* 15 (Winter 1990), pp. 65–70; see also Richard Hyer, "Gerrit Schipper, Miniaturist and Crayon Portraitist," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 83 (April 1952), pp. 70–72.
6. Riger, "New Light on Schipper," pp. 66, 68–69; Hyer, "Schipper," pp. 70–71; and George H. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564–1860* (New Haven, 1957), p. 562. Riger, "New Light on Schipper," p. 66, based on notes in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, cites Schipper's temporary return to London between his sojourn in New England and his residence in upstate New York beginning in the spring of 1805.
7. The portrait of Thomas is in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. For reproductions and information on the portrait, see *AAS Online Exhibitions: Portraits!* <http://www.americanantiquarian.org/Exhibitions/Portraits!/isaihandmarythomaspastels.htm>.
8. Riger, "New Light on Schipper," pp. 69–70; Hyer, "Schipper," pp. 71–72.
9. Hyer, "Schipper" p. 72.
10. No inscription can be found today on the verso of either the support or any of its present backings. The quotation is recorded on the original Museum catalogue card prepared about the time the pastel was acquired, in 1935. The stated age of the sitter is evidently erroneous, since Dorothea Hart would have been sixty-two in 1809.
11. Malcolm H. Stern, *First American Jewish Families: 600 Genealogies, 1654–1988* (Baltimore, 1991), p. 141; Cyrus Adler et al., eds., *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901–6), pp. 241–42 (http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view_page.jsp?artid=309&letter=H&pid=1-2).
12. Rev. John A. Todd, *Memoir of the Reverend Peter Labagh, D.D., with Notices of the History of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America* (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 1860).
13. This information, initialed HM (Hope Mathewson), appears on the photo mount of Labagh's portrait in the Frick Art Reference Library (157–3/H). Kevin Avery is grateful to Lydia Dufour, chief of Public Services, Frick Art Reference Library, New York, for identifying Hope Mathewson and Mary Rotan.
14. TMS database, Department of American Paintings and Sculpture, MMA.

Ancient Rome via the Erie Canal: The De Witt Clinton Vases

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THEY CALLED IT “CLINTON’S FOLLY”—De Witt Clinton’s dream of a canal joining the Great Lakes with the Hudson River, traversing 363 miles of dense rock and deep forest and entailing an extraordinary feat of engineering. Although the idea for the canal was first proposed in the early eighteenth century, actual construction did not begin until 1817.¹ Delays notwithstanding, on October 26, 1825, the Erie Canal was at last opened. On that day, the canal boat *Seneca Chief* embarked from Buffalo, on the northeastern shore of Lake Erie, carrying Clinton, then New York’s governor, and his party to the port city of New York. Upon their arrival nine days later, the governor hoisted aloft a keg filled with Lake Erie water and poured it into New York Harbor, where the mouth of the Hudson meets the Atlantic Ocean. With this ceremonial “meeting of the waters” the merchants and citizens of New York gained ready access to the country’s vast interior, and the city’s commercial hegemony was secured.²

De Witt Clinton (1769–1828; Figure 1) was a tireless advocate for the Erie Canal, first as mayor of New York City and later as the state’s governor. He assumed the governorship in 1817 and was reelected in 1820, but he declined to run again in 1822 in the face of intense political opposition from Martin van Buren’s Bucktails. He was returned to office in the 1824 election on a wave of popular support for his championing of the nearly completed Erie Canal, a symbol of the nation’s limitless potential.³ Addressing those assembled in New York City on November 4, 1825, for the celebration of the canal’s opening, Governor Clinton saluted the corporation of the city with predictions of abiding good fortune:

Standing near the confines of the ocean, and now connected by navigable communications with the great lakes of the north and the west, there will be no limits to your lucrative extensions of trade and commerce. The valley of the Mississippi will soon

pour its treasures into this great emporium, through the channels now formed and forming, and, whatever wealth is to be acquired or enterprise attempted, the power and capacity of your city will be felt, and its propitious influence on human happiness will be acknowledged.⁴

Clinton’s role in advancing the canal project had already earned him the gratitude of New York’s mercantile community. Two years earlier, in December 1823, a group of Pearl Street merchants had voted to present awards of silver to the governor and announced a competition “for the best design for two vases . . . of the same outline, but differing in ornament.”⁵ When the winner of the \$100 prize was named some six weeks later, it was not one of New



Figure 1. Samuel F. B. Morse (American, 1791–1872). *De Witt Clinton*, 1826. Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1909 (og.18)



Figure 2. Fletcher & Gardiner (1808–27). Urn, 1813. Silver, 74.9 x 55.9 x 30.5 cm. Private collection (photo: by László Bodó, courtesy of Winterthur Museum)

Figure 3. Young and Delleker (active 1817–24). Trade card for Thomas Fletcher, ca. 1827–42. Engraving, 17.5 x 11.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953 (53.652.1)



York City's one hundred or so silversmiths but, rather, the firm of "Messrs Fletcher & Gardiner, of Philadelphia."⁶ This selection was hardly surprising, given that the firm's reputation as a supplier of outstanding presentation plate was already well established.⁷

A New Hampshire native, Thomas Fletcher (1787–1866) had trained in Boston as a merchant. In 1808 he and the Long Island-born silversmith Sidney Gardiner (1787–1827) announced the opening of a shop at 43 Marlboro Street, Boston, "where they intend keeping a general assortment of Gold Jewelry, Silver, Plated and Japanned Ware, Watches, Military Goods, &c. &c."⁸ Their earliest advertisement listed a wide range of imported offerings and declared that "[t]heir principal attention will be directed to the manufacturing of GOLD and SILVER WORK of every description, and particularly elastic HAIR WORK" for various types of jewelry.⁹ Few objects survive from their early years in

business, but a wealth of extant correspondence chronicles the young entrepreneurs' struggle to establish themselves financially and personally.¹⁰ Three years later they relocated to Philadelphia, a more populous city with a thriving market for precious metalwares.¹¹ On December 19, 1811, Philadelphia's *Aurora General Advertiser* reported their arrival: "Fletcher & Gardiner, Inform their friends that they have taken the Stand, No. 24, South Second Street . . . [w]here they intend carrying on extensively the Manufactory of Silver Plate And Jewellery, of every kind."¹² This they did, but more significant than their sales of domestic silver and jewelry were the commissions for presentation plate they began to receive. Their timing was fortuitous, for the practice of commemorating important occasions with gifts of silver, which dates from antiquity, began to flourish in nineteenth-century America with the onset of war in 1812.¹³



Figure 4. Warwick Vase, ca. A.D. 118–133. Marble, 294 x 195 cm. The Burrell Collection, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries (photo: Glasgow City Council)

In early September 1812, just weeks after the frigate USS *Constitution* defeated Britain's HMS *Guerrière* in America's first decisive naval victory of the war, a group of Philadelphia citizens voted to present a piece of plate to Isaac Hull (1773–1843), captain of the *Constitution*. The order was entrusted to Fletcher & Gardiner, which supplied a covered silver urn of sophisticated design and heroic proportion, standing nearly 75 centimeters high (Figure 2). Its ornament includes classically inspired rams' heads, anthemias, and entwined dolphins, and the vessel's contemporary significance is conveyed by the naval battle chased in low relief, on one side, and the engraved inscription to Captain Hull, on the other. With a nod to Zeus, Napoléon, and the young Republic, an eagle grasping a thunderbolt is positioned atop the cover.¹⁴ So proud were the partners of this vase that its image was engraved on the trade card that the firm used—and

reused—for the next twenty-five years (Figure 3).¹⁵ Commissions for other silver vases began to come their way, celebrating such naval heroes as Lieutenant James Biddle, Captain Jacob Jones, and Commodore Oliver H. Perry, as well as Major General Andrew Jackson. For his defense of Fort McHenry in September 1814, the citizens of Baltimore honored Lieutenant Colonel George Armistead with an unusual spherical punch bowl, accompanied by a tray, twelve beakers, and a ladle.¹⁶ Three years later Commodore John Rodgers was similarly recognized, for his role in the Battle of Baltimore, with a fifty-two-piece silver table service costing \$4,000.¹⁷

The presentation plate manufactured by New York silversmiths at this time was overshadowed in grandeur and refinement by Fletcher & Gardiner's work.¹⁸ For the Clinton Vase competition, the Philadelphia firm proposed two monumental covered vessels modeled



Figure 5. Paul Storr (British, 1771–1844). Wine cooler, 1812. Silver gilt, 26.4 x 43.4 x 30 cm. Royal Collection (photo: © 2006 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

after the Warwick Vase, a massive white marble urn excavated in 1770 at Hadrian's Villa, in Tivoli (Figure 4).¹⁹ Rather than adhering to the vase's bacchanalian theme, however, the firm advanced a decorative program that associated explicit references to American industry and geography with classical imagery in order to evoke parallels between America and ancient Rome. The resulting designs were bold and confident expressions of rising national pride. Although Thomas Fletcher is cited in 1825 as the designer of the Clinton Vases, his precise role in the process is unspecified.²⁰ Prominent eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English and Continental silver manufacturers routinely employed artists, architects, or sculptors to provide preparatory drawings for their silver, under the supervision of the firm's principals.²¹ There is no evidence that Thomas Fletcher had been trained as a draftsman; however, his surviving journals and letters include a number of competent sketches made during his travels.²² His keen interest in the Warwick Vase and its copies is clearly expressed in his letter book, where he documents his visit in 1815 to the workshop of one of the leading London goldsmiths Rundell, Bridge & Rundell. There he saw "a fine vase copied from one in the possession of the Earl of Warwick . . . which was dug from the ruins of Herculaneum. [It] is beautifully made—it is oval, about $\frac{2}{3}$ d the size of that made for Hull, the handles are grape stalks and a vine runs all around covered with leaves & clusters of grapes—below are the heads of Bacchus &c. finely chased—some wine coolers in the same style."²³ Fletcher's account describes vessels modeled after the Warwick Vase, which Rundell's first began to retail about 1812 and continued to manufacture in varying forms into the 1830s (Figure 5).²⁴

It was during excavations in 1769 and 1770 at Pantanello, a stagnant lake adjacent to Hadrian's Villa, that the British painter, archaeologist, and art dealer Gavin Hamilton (1723–1798) discovered fragments of the Warwick Vase, which he sold to Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778). Piranesi, best known for his architectural views of Rome, was also engaged in the fabrication of "antique" vases and candelabra from excavated fragments.²⁵ Many of these reconstructed vessels were illustrated in his *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne, ed ornamenti antichi*, first issued as separate prints and later, in 1778, as a two-volume publication.²⁶ Piranesi apparently sold the fragments of what would become the Warwick Vase to Sir William Hamilton (1730–1803), British ambassador to the Court of Naples.²⁷ A letter to Sir William from his agent, the Scottish architect James Byres (1734–1817), written in Rome on February 26, 1772, describes the stucco model made following Piranesi's design. Piranesi also arranged for its reconstruction by the French sculptor Antoine Guillaume Grandjacquet (1731–1801). The accounts of three Dutch travelers who visited Grandjacquet's workshop in Rome explain how the vase was fashioned from twenty-four antique fragments at extravagant cost.²⁸ Since much of the vase's body was missing, the existing fragments were set into a bowl newly carved from Carrara marble, as described in a letter of 1774 from Sir William to his nephew Charles Greville (1749–1809): "I was obliged to cut a block of marble at Carrara to repair it, which has been hollowed out and the fragments fixed on it."²⁹

Sir William expected to sell the restored vase to the British Museum, envisioning it as the centerpiece of his collection.³⁰ The museum's trustees, however, declined to pay the asking price of £500. He ultimately offered the vase to his nephew George Greville, second Earl of Warwick (1746–1816), who installed it at Warwick Castle.³¹ The December 1800 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* reported:

In a green-house, built on purpose for its reception, is the beautiful and magnificent marble vase . . . found in the ruins of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, and brought over by Sir William Hamilton, who presented it to the present noble possessor. It holds 163 gallons, and rests on a foot. The handles are interwoven. The upper margin is adorned with a border of vine-branches and grapes. Under this is a lion's skin with the feet between three masks, the uppermost of which is between a crooked stick, lituus & thyrsas. On the other side one new mask has been added, which is the only reparation this *morceau* of ancient art has undergone.³²



Figure 6. Handle of the Warwick Vase shown in Figure 4



Figure 7. Bowl of the Warwick Vase shown in Figure 4

Despite its overly optimistic assessment of the degree of restoration, this account provides a fairly accurate description of the reconstructed Warwick Vase.³³ More than 9 feet tall and weighing 8 tons, it is composed of six sections: bowl, stem, base, and three-part pedestal. Its handles are fashioned as two intertwined vine stalks whose tendrils and pendant bunches of grapes work their way around the upper body (Figure 6). A panther skin with pendant head and paws is positioned horizontally on each side, creating a shelf onto which are applied the carved heads of Bacchus and Silenus and associated emblems: the *thyrsus* (a pine cone-tipped staff), on one side, and the *pedum* (a wood sheepcrook), on the other (Figure 7).³⁴ In both its shape and its Bacchic decorative program the vase resembles a type of two-handled silver drinking cup dating from the reign of the emperor Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14), discovered in the Hildesheim Treasure (Figure 8).³⁵



Figure 8. Cup, from the Hildesheim Treasure, 31 B.C.–A.D. 14. Silver, Diam. 14.7 cm. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, New York)



Figure 9. Giovanni Battista Piranesi (Italian, 1720–1778). Etching, 55.8 x 43 x 4.7 cm. From *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne, ed ornamenti antichi*, part 1 (Rome, 1778). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, transferred from the Library (41.71.1.12[2])

Although Piranesi published three etchings of the Warwick Vase in 1778 (Figures 9–11), more than thirty years elapsed before it became a popular model for designers.³⁶ A major deterrent was the Earl of Warwick himself, who refused to authorize replicas. He finally acquiesced in 1813 at the urging of William Lowther, second Earl of Lonsdale (1787–1872), who planned to have a full-size copy made in silver at an estimated cost of £30,000. The project ultimately fell through, although two full-size facsimiles were cast in bronze several years later by the Parisian bronze founder Charles Crozatier.³⁷ One of these was purchased in 1829 by George IV for Windsor Castle, the other by Hugh Percy, third Duke of Northumberland (1785–1847), who presented it to Cambridge University in 1842.³⁸ Beginning about 1812, smaller copies were manufactured in silver. Best known of the silver reductions are those marked by the London silversmith Paul Storr (1771–1844), who was employed from 1807 to 1819 as a partner in Rundell, Bridge & Rundell.³⁹ Storr owned a set of the Piranesi etchings, which must have been his design source. During a visit in 1938–39 to the silversmith's workshop (now destroyed) on Harrison Street, Gray's Inn Road, the silver specialist



Figure 10. Giovanni Battista Piranesi. Etching, 50.5 x 73.5 cm. From *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne, ed ornamenti antichi*, part 2 (Rome, 1778). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, transferred from the Library (41.71.1.13[2])



Figure 11. Giovanni Battista Piranesi. Etching, 51 x 73.5 cm. From *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne, ed ornamenti antichi*, part 2 (Rome, 1778). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, transferred from the Library (41.71.1.13[3])

Arthur G. Grimwade inspected the Piranesi etchings and noted that many of them were “signed in the corner ‘P. Storr,’ which one assumes to have been a mark of his approval as a possible source of design in plate production.”⁴⁰ Among the earliest of the Storr copies is an impressive set of eight silver-gilt wine coolers in two sizes, dating from 1812 and purchased by the prince regent (later George IV; see Figure 5); a third set of four, purchased in 1816, dates from 1814–15.⁴¹ Other silver reductions were supplied with covers for use as soup tureens or covered urns.⁴²



Figure 12. Rockingham (1745–1842). Warwick Vase, ca. 1820. Porcelain. 24.1 x 34.3 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, C.757&A-1935

In time, the colossal vase design was adapted for domestic tea wares, saltcellars, and sporting trophies, such as the 1827 Ascot Cup, on which horses' heads replace the masks of Bacchus and Silenus.⁴³ Other London silversmiths adopted the model as well, and, beginning about 1820, it was produced in fused silver plate as both a wine cooler and a covered hot-water urn.⁴⁴ Ceramic adaptations were manufactured by Worcester, Spode, Derby, Ridgway, and Swinton's Rockingham (Figure 12). J. and M. P. Bell's Glasgow Pottery created a Parian porcelain vase in 1850, and Minton produced a majolica-glazed model in 1855. So familiar did the Warwick Vase become that its image even appeared on inexpensive transfer-printed ceramic wares produced in quantity throughout the nineteenth century, for instance as the focal point of an Italianate landscape pattern.⁴⁵

With a few notable exceptions, most of the English silver reductions remained true to the original vase in design and ornament.⁴⁶ This practice accords, as David Udy has noted, with Piranesi's own early archaeological ideals but not with his later theories, "which accepted the value of Classical models as little more than useful points of departure, from which the inventive power of the individual might range at will."⁴⁷ Enter the American firm of Thomas Fletcher and Sidney Gardiner, whose Clinton Vases do precisely that (Figures 13, 14). Fletcher's admiration for the copy of the Warwick Vase he had seen in 1815 in the workshop of Rundell, Bridge & Rundell is implicit in his letter quoted above. We do not know whether he or his designer owned copies of the Piranesi etchings, but the 1778 *Vasi, candelabri* was available, by that time, at the Library Company of Philadelphia, as was Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, published in 1807, with its many illustrations

of classical vessels.⁴⁸ Yet despite their formal debt to the "Classical models," the Clinton Vases depart significantly from their source by altering the ornamental scheme to reflect contemporary themes, namely, the opening of the Erie Canal and its significance to the future of American transport and industry.⁴⁹

Fletcher recognized this distinction between classical and contemporary, and he took pride in the symbolism inherent in the vases. (The firm's pride in these vases may have prompted the creation of a special Z-shaped banner mark, unique to the Clinton Vases, for stamping their names on the underside of each plinth; see Figure 15).⁵⁰ In a letter to his wife, Melina, written from New York on March 12, 1825, he explained, "There is to be a meeting of the subscribers this evening at the City Hotel where the vases will be exhibited. It will then be determined how much I am to get for them. . . . The vases are to be exhibited to the public on Monday and Tuesday, and I shall have to attend and explain the work. . . . I shall dine with Mr. Hone tomorrow and after dinner he and I shall draw up the description for publication."⁵¹ The lengthy explanation that he and Isaac Hone crafted appeared, soon thereafter, in the press. It began:

The form of these vases is copied from the celebrated antique vase, found among the ruins of the Villa of Adrian, and now in the possession of the Earl of Warwick. The handles and some of the ornaments are also similar to those upon that beautiful specimen of ancient art; but all the tablets and figures in *bas relief* are different, and exhibit scenes upon the Grand [Erie] Canal, or allegorical illustrations of the progress of arts and sciences.⁵²

Several weeks later Fletcher discussed the vases with Governor Clinton. "This morning," he recounted in a letter to Melina, "I have had the honour of being introduced to Governor Clinton,—He was alone, and I had an opportunity of talking with him about the vases—He says they have been much admired, and good judges have pronounced them superior to any they had seen in Europe."⁵³

Where they differ most from those "seen in Europe" is in the iconographical program and in the intensely patriotic spirit of the enterprise. The Clinton Vases are monumental in scale, measuring nearly twenty-four inches in height and weighing close to four hundred troy ounces each.⁵⁴ The shapes of their bodies, handles, and pedestal feet follow closely the designs of the Warwick Vase and its English silver copies, yet nearly every surface resonates with American associations. Each cover, for instance, is "surmounted by an



Figure 13. Fletcher & Gardiner. Vase, 1824. Silver, 59.5 x 51.1 x 38.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Louis V. Bell and Rogers Funds; Anonymous and Robert G. Goelet Gifts; and Gifts of Fenton L. B. Brown and of the grandchildren of Mrs. Ranson Spaford Hooker, in her memory, by exchange, 1982 (1982.4a, b)



Figure 14. Fletcher & Gardiner. Vase, 1825. Silver, 60.3 x 52.7 x 37.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Erving and Joyce Wolf Foundation, 1988 (1988.199). See also cover illustration



Figure 15. Fletcher & Gardiner Z-shaped banner mark on underside of vase in Figure 14



Figure 16. Detail of cover on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14

Figure 17. Scrollwork and river god on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1824) shown in Figure 13



Eagle standing upon a section of the Globe, upon which is traced part of the outline of the State of New York; he bears in one talon the arms of the State, and in the other a laurel wreath" (Figure 16).⁵⁵ The paw-footed plinth of each vase is ornamented with four plaques bolted to the pedestal, a construction technique used for much of the vases' ornament, including the cast anthemias at each corner of the plinth. The technique of attaching decorative elements to a silver vessel by means of bolting—rather than by soldering—was practiced in France during the early nineteenth century but is rarely encountered on American silver.⁵⁶ A plaque on each vase is engraved with a dedicatory inscription to De Witt Clinton signed "Fletcher & Gardiner Makers"; one is dated "Philad^a December 1824" and the other "Philad^a February 1825."⁵⁷ Two sides of each plinth display identical cast foliate scrollwork and a central oval medallion depicting a river god (Figure 17). The fourth side is ornamented with a frieze—different on each vase—chased in low relief.

Taken together, the two friezes (Figures 18, 19) were "intended to represent the progress of the arts and sciences from their rude origin to their present

improvement."⁵⁸ These classically inspired figural friezes were explained in detail in the contemporary press, following the description composed by Thomas Fletcher and Isaac Hone. From right to left on the 1824 vase (Figure 18) is

Architecture leaning upon a column, with a level at its base. Then a youth holding a drawing-board with a diagram of one of the first problems in mathematics, and an old man directing his attention to the figures beyond, which denote the sciences still unexplored, and encouraging him to persevere. The next group is composed of two aged persons, contemplating a globe held by a female, who points to some lines upon its surface; next is a figure, with a torch in the right hand, and a star on the head, and holding in the left hand a tablet with a diagram; by his side is a sun-dial; an athletic figure beyond, holds a pair of dividers, and gazes attentively upon the female with the globe. This group is intended to indicate the study of the sciences.⁵⁹

The frieze on the 1825 vase (Figure 19) focuses on the arts: "On the right of the spectator appears a pastoral group, listening to the pipe of Mercury; next to



Figure 18. Frieze on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1824) shown in Figure 13

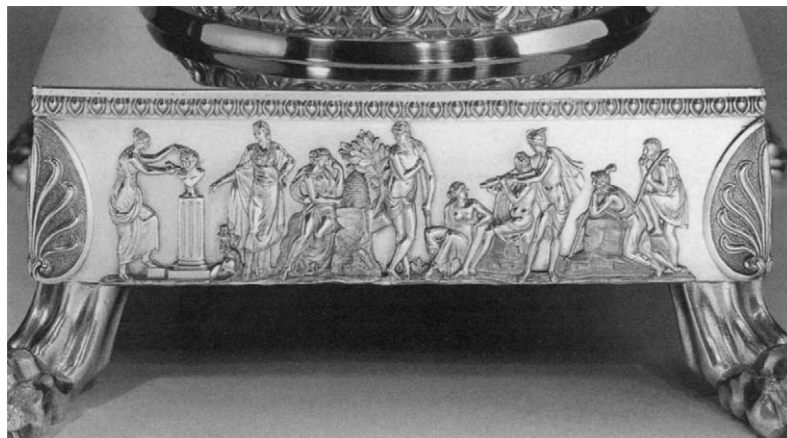


Figure 19. Frieze on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14

these is a husbandman leaning upon his spade, and gazing upon a hive, while a female figure points to the labors of the industrious bee; then appears Minerva, without her helmet and shield, directing the attention of the spectators to a bust, which Sculpture is chiselling.”

Both friezes bear a noticeable resemblance to the bas-relief figures that appear on ceramic objects manufactured by Josiah Wedgwood and Sons of Staffordshire, England, specifically its line of fine-grained white stoneware called Jasper. Neither grouping is a recognizable Wedgwood design; however, the figure to the far right in Figure 18, identified as “Architecture leaning upon a column,” appears to have been adapted from one of the six figures of the Muses designed for Wedgwood by the sculptor John Flaxman (1755–1826).⁶⁰ The Wedgwood figure (Figure 20), which represents Urania, the Muse of astronomy, is shown facing to the right (that is, the reverse of the present figure) and leaning on a column, the staff in her hand pointing down toward a sphere to indicate the courses of the stars.⁶¹ Several of the other figures are familiar classical types; for instance, the central male figure with crossed ankles in Figure 19, whose



Figure 20. Josiah Wedgwood and Sons, John Flaxman (1755–1826), designer. Vase, late 18th century. Jasperware, 16.5 x 13 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.194.7)



Figure 21. Bison pelt on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14



Figure 22. Knotted paw and hoof on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14

pose is sometimes associated with the Trojan shepherd-prince Paris.⁶² The overall modeling of the reliefs indicates a certain competence and suggests an artist conversant with contemporary Neoclassical fashions.

The panthers whose pelt, head, and paws encircle the body of the Warwick Vase are replaced on the Clinton Vases with North American species: a mountain lion or panther on one side (see Figure 13) and a bison on the other (Figure 21). The head of each animal hangs from the center of the pelt, flanked by pendant legs that meet and tie beneath the handles, so that a panther's paw and a bison's hoof hang alongside each knot (Figure 22). Overlapping acanthus leaves, resembling those on the Warwick Vase, are chased on the lower body, and native animals inhabit shrubbery tucked into the larger leaves. On the 1824 vase, a squirrel (Figure 23) is positioned to the left



Figure 23. Squirrel on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1824) shown in Figure 13



Figure 24. Beaver on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1824) shown in Figure 13



Figure 25. Fox on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1824) shown in Figure 13

and a beaver (Figure 24) to the right of the panther, above the engraved inscription, with a fox on each side of the bison's head on the back (Figure 25). On the 1825 vase, the heads of a fox and a bear are chased on the bison side (Figures 26, 27), with stag and panther heads on the back (Figures 28, 29).



Figure 26. Fox on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14



Figure 27. Bear on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14



Figure 28. Stag on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14



Figure 29. Panther on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14

These animals, which extend the American theme, were described at the time as “the wild animals which haunted our western region, before the industry and enterprise of our brethren made ‘the wilderness to rejoice and blossom as the rose.’”⁶³ Conservationists would recoil today, but, as Ann Wagner has noted, the destructive development of our rich natural habitats for the sake of industrial growth “had not yet been tempered by the writings of William Wordsworth or Henry Thoreau.”⁶⁴

Most of the ornamental borders on these silver vessels, such as the egg-and-dart bands that encircle the rims and pedestals, reflect the classicism of the original Warwick Vase and its copies. The delicate vine border at the top of the Warwick Vase meanders organically,

whereas its counterparts on the Clinton Vases exhibit the bold formality of English Regency silver, seen, for example, in the work of Digby Scott and Benjamin Smith II (Figure 30), who operated Rundell’s workshop from 1802 to 1807.⁶⁵ The vine borders, like the immense twisted handles, were cast in sections, soldered together, and extensively chased. Diverging most noticeably from the original model are the broad concave midsections of the Clinton Vases, each of which is ornamented with six decorative panels chased in low relief and bolted to the body. The two larger panels on each vase depict contemporary scenes along the Erie Canal, and the four smaller ones represent mythological or allegorical figures, reinforcing the symbolic union of ancient and modern worlds.



Figure 30. Digby Scott (active 1802–after 1811) and Benjamin Smith II (active 1802–24). Tray, 1806–7. Silver gilt, L. 81.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Audrey Love, in memory of C. Ruxton Love Jr., 1977 (1977.436.3)



Figure 31. Head of Neptune on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14



Figure 32. Mercury on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1824) shown in Figure 13



Figure 33. Ceres on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1824) shown in Figure 13



Figure 34. Hercules on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1824) shown in Figure 13



Figure 35. Minerva on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1824) shown in Figure 13

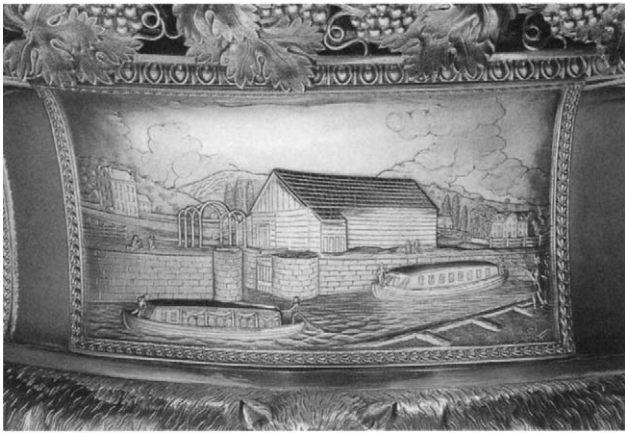


Figure 36. Guard lock and basin on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1824) shown in Figure 13

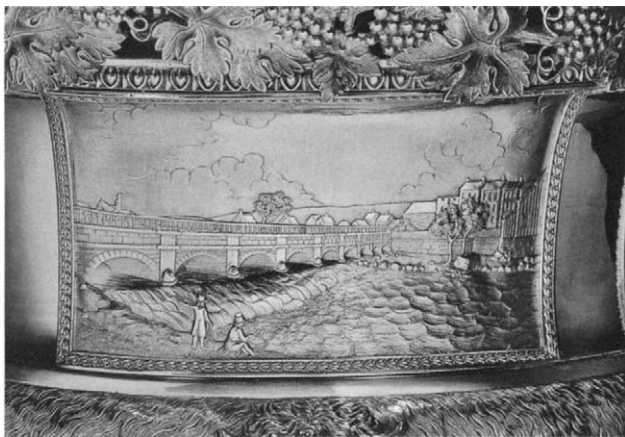


Figure 38. Aqueduct at Rochester on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1824) shown in Figure 13

The panels are enclosed in delicate laurel-leaf borders, those around the figures differing slightly from those on the canal scenes. The cast head of a river god, identified, at the time, as Neptune and accompanied by two dolphins, three shells, a trident, and a spear, is attached beneath each handle (Figure 31).⁶⁶

The smaller vertical panels were intended to relate iconographically to the larger scenic views. On the 1824 vase, for instance, Mercury is depicted with his winged hat and sandals, holding a caduceus in his right hand (Figure 32).⁶⁷ As the messenger of the gods, Mercury would be identified with travel and commerce, an association reinforced in this image by the sailing ship and crates that would presumably journey on the newly opened Erie Canal. A female figure representing Ceres (Figure 33) holds a sickle in her right hand and three stalks of wheat in her left, embodying the abundant agricultural resources avail-

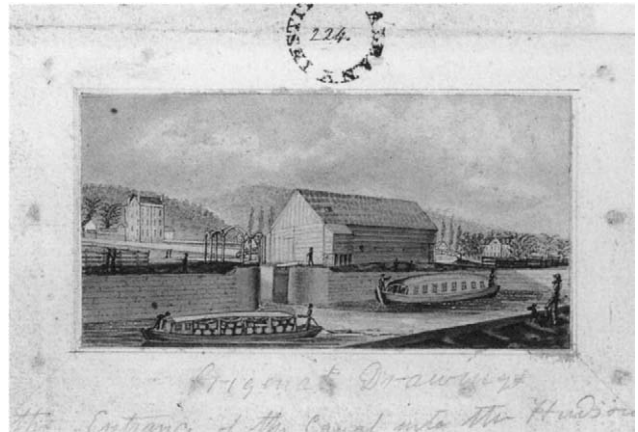


Figure 37. James Eights (American, 1798–1882). *Entrance of the Canal into the Hudson at Albany*, 1823. Ink, wash, and pencil, 7.8 x 15.2 cm. Albany Institute of History and Art, 1836.1.5

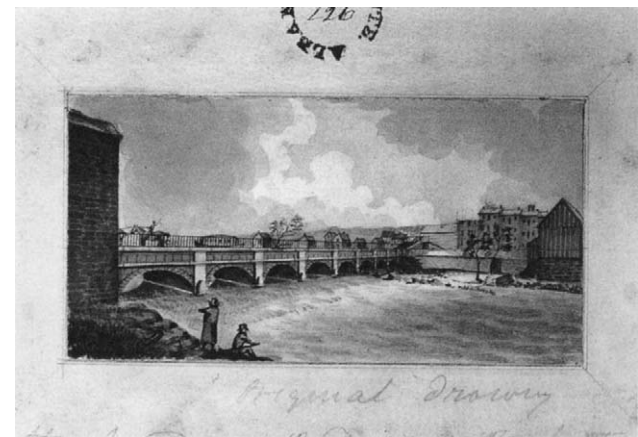


Figure 39. James Eights. *View of the Aqueduct Bridge at Rochester*, 1823. Ink, wash, and pencil, 7.8 x 15.2 cm. Albany Institute of History and Art, 1836.1.3

able nationwide thanks to the inland waterways. The hulking figure of Hercules, with his lion skin and club (Figure 34), is modeled after the famous Farnese Hercules and signifies prodigious strength.⁶⁸ He is paired with the wise Minerva (Figure 35), dressed in armor and holding her spear and shield with its image of the Gorgon's head. Her traditional symbol, the owl, perches to the left of the shield, below which are positioned a palette, calipers, and a mallet representing the arts of painting, architecture, and sculpture.

The evocation of these gods and goddesses and their traditional significance underscores the contemporary importance of the achievements depicted in the canal views. Those scenes (on the 1824 vase) were described, at the time, as follows:

The front view [Figure 36] is the guard lock and part of the basin at Albany, where the canal is connected



Figure 40. Victory (Fame) on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14

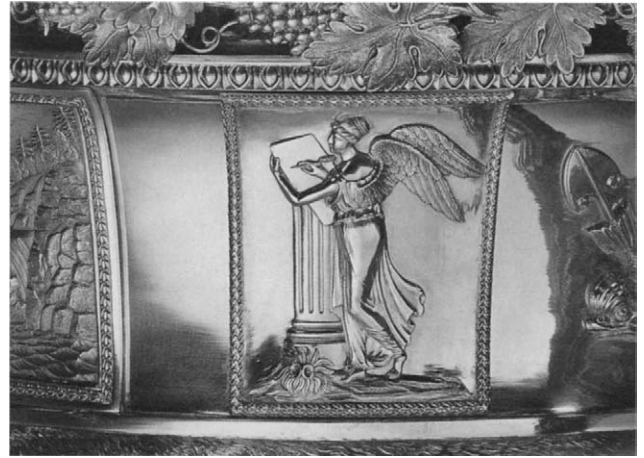


Figure 41. History on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14



Figure 42. Plenty on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14



Figure 43. American Indian on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14

with the Hudson, together with the mansion of Mr. Van Rensselaer, and the adjacent scenery, and canal boats passing. The plate on the right of this tablet exhibits Ceres, with the emblems of agriculture; that on the left, Mercury, with the emblems of commerce. The reverse centre tablet [Figure 38] contains a view of the aqueduct at Rochester, and a boat passing, drawn by horses; below are seen the falls of the Genessee, and a number of unfinished buildings. This view is supported on the right and left by Minerva and Hercules, indicating wisdom and strength.⁶⁹

Rather than mythological figures, the vertical panels on the 1825 vase represent allegories of progress and were designated at the time as Fame, History, an American Indian, and Plenty.⁷⁰ The winged victory



Figure 44. Cohoes Falls on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14



Figure 45. Little Falls on Fletcher & Gardiner vase (1825) shown in Figure 14

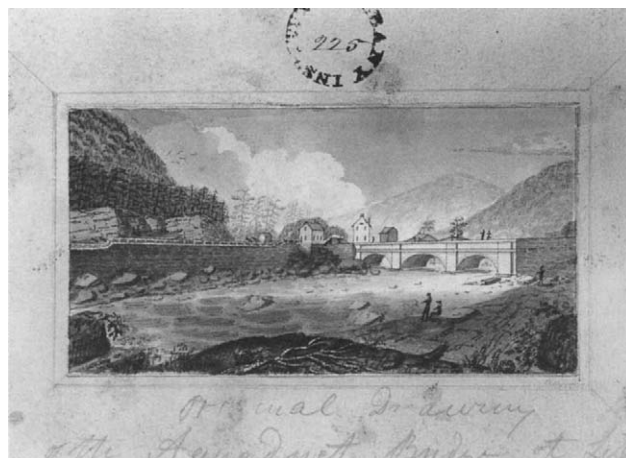


Figure 46. James Eights. *View of the Aqueduct Bridge at Little Falls*, 1823. Ink, wash, and pencil, 7.9 x 15.2 cm. Albany Institute of History and Art, 1836.1.4

(Figure 40), holding her victor's wreath and the trumpet that traditionally associates her with Fame, stands before a classical temple in the right distance. The winged figure representing History (Figure 41) leans against a fluted column and writes on her tablet. Plenty (Figure 42) holds a large bunch of grapes in one hand and a cornucopia, or horn of plenty, in the other. The fourth figure (Figure 43) is "an Indian, contemplating the stump of a tree, recently felled." The man's lowered head and bow, as well as the tender saplings emerging from an old stump, allude to the conquest of native culture by the new champions of progress.⁷¹ These allegorical figures reinforce the intentions of the canal scenes as described in 1825:

The two centre tablets [Figures 44, 45] exhibit views of the Cohoos Falls, and of the Little Falls of the Mohawk, with the stone aqueduct and bridge, and parts of the canal. The figures on each side of the former are Fame and History; on one side of the latter is an Indian, contemplating the stump of a tree, recently felled, and the axe lying at its root; and on the other, Plenty, with her cornucopia—a head of Neptune, with his trident, dolphins and shells, is placed at each extremity of this belt, under the grape vine handles.⁷²

The canal scenes were based on views (Figures 37, 39, 46) by James Eights (1798–1882), the official geological surveyor for the Erie Canal. Eights was a highly regarded engineer, naturalist, explorer, and historical artist, whose views of Albany capture and record that city as it appeared in the early nineteenth century.⁷³ It was thanks to his neighbor Stephen Van Rensselaer III, whose family home appears in the view of the guard

lock and basin at Albany, that Eights was appointed draftsman to the canal's geological survey.⁷⁴

Both vases were completed by January 1825, less than a year after Fletcher & Gardiner had received the commission. In March, Thomas Fletcher undertook "a fatiguing journey through the mud" to New York City, where the vases were exhibited at a meeting for the subscribers at the City Hotel.⁷⁵ They then traveled by steamboat to Albany for presentation to Governor Clinton. The official event took place on Saturday, March 19, 1825, at the governor's mansion in Albany, which was "crowded with citizens and strangers." Isaac Hone spoke on behalf of the committee:

Governor Clinton—In Behalf of the merchants of Pearl Street, in the city of New York, who are deeply impressed with a sense of the benefits which you have conferred upon this state, we have the honor to present to you these vases, as a testimony of their gratitude and respect.

At an early period, your sagacity appreciated the importance of uniting the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Hudson, and your devotion to the public interest induced you to urge it upon our legislature, with all the weight of your influence: What was then theory, has now become a splendid reality, and at every new development of our resources, and every new display of the power and grandeur of our state, its citizens feel additional inducements to admire and honor your character.

Among the interesting considerations which your name involves, it is not the least important, that your fellow-citizens have recently recalled you to the office which gives such ample scope to your talents, and that



Figure 47. John W. Forbes (American, 1781–1864). Plateau, ca. 1825. Silver, glass, walnut, 21.3 x 161.3 x 58.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The AE Fund, Annette de la Renta, The Annenberg Foundation, Mr. and Mrs. Robert G. Goelet, John J. Weber, Dr. and Mrs. Burton P. Fabricand, The Hascoe Family Foundation, Peter G. Terian, and Erving and Joyce Wolf Gifts, and Friends of the American Wing Fund, 1993 (1993.167)

you have preferred the discharge of its duties to the honors of a foreign embassy. We sincerely hope that your administration will be as gratifying to yourself, as it will be beneficial to your constituents.⁷⁶

The governor's reply was gracious, visionary, and patently political:

Gentlemen: I receive these splendid fabrics with the highest gratification. In the design and in the execution, they reflect honor on the taste, skill and ingenuity of our artists, and in that light they are acceptable: but they come to me with superior recommendations, as the offering of regard from the hands of gentlemen whose good opinion I greatly value, and whose friendship I sincerely reciprocate.

On this occasion, I cannot but felicitate you (as the representatives of a most important section of the most commercial city in the western world), not only on the flourishing condition of our great emporium, but on the still more exalted destinies that await it. . . . In one year, more houses have been added to New York, than at present compose the ancient and prosperous city in which I now address you. . . . And we may certainly cherish these expectations without the just imputation of arrogance or ostentation. We ought to know our power with a view to its judicious application; and we should form a just estimate of our faculties and capabilities, in order to promote, in the most effectual manner, the welfare of our country and the happiness of mankind.

The favorable views which my fellow citizens, generally, have taken of my agency in developing the resources and advancing the prosperity of the commonwealth, are the greatest reward, next to the

approbation of my own conscience, which I can enjoy in this world. If I have been hitherto an humble instrument in the hands of Providence, of dispensing some benefits to my fellow-citizens, I have every inducement from their kindness, so often, so striking, and I may say, so uniformly manifested, for devoting my best and my future exertions in the same career.

I pray you, gentlemen, to present my grateful and respectful acknowledgements to your constituents for these flattering testimonials of their esteem: And permit me to express to you the high sense which I entertain of the honor you have conferred on me by your personal attendance on this occasion.⁷⁷

Following this ceremony, the vases were exhibited in Knickerbocker's Hall "for the gratification of the citizens of the place."⁷⁸ Their outstanding artistry and rich symbolism suited the mood of national pride and stood the governor in very good stead.

This tide of high spirits, however, could not carry Clinton successfully into the presidential arena in 1827, as he had hoped, and they took a decidedly woeful and penurious turn at his sudden death on February 11, 1828. "De Witt Clinton's fame," pronounced *Niles' Weekly Register*, "is no guarantee for the violation of private right; neither is the pension system in accordance with the spirit of our government. . . . Truly, the applause of this world is an unsubstantial heritage, seeing that the family of Clinton has been expelled from the paternal roof by the mandate of the law, and that the sound of the sheriff's hammer is mingled with the loudest expressions of gratitude for services rendered." The "wreck of his fortunes" forced the seizure and sale of his personal property, "at public vendue, on Wednesday, the 28th day of May inst. At

10 o'clock in the forenoon, at the dwelling house late of the said De Witt Clinton, deceased, situate at the corner of North Pearl and Steuben streets, in the city of Albany."⁷⁹ The monumental silver vases were spared the auction block, with the intention that they would be returned to his family. "A lodge of masons at Troy," the press reported, "has subscribed \$25 for the purpose."⁸⁰ By mid-June the vases, along with a silver-and-glass plateau (Figure 47) the governor had also received in commemoration of the opening of the Erie Canal, had been secured:

It is with great pleasure we state that the Clinton vases, which had been struck off at a sale of the deceased's effects for 600 dollars, have been purchased by the grand lodge of the state, and voted to be presented to the family. The worth of the articles, with the plateau on which they stand, is said to be \$1,200 in bullion, and the exquisite workmanship on them enhanced their value to \$4,000.⁸¹

The vases were retained by the Clinton family until 1906, when they were purchased by Maria Van Antwerp De Witt (1834–1914) and her husband, Morris K. Jesup (1830–1908), a retired banker and philanthropist.⁸² Mrs. Jesup, who was later described as "one of the patronesses of the Metropolitan Museum of Art," placed the vases on loan to the Museum in 1906.⁸³ Shortly after her husband's death, however, she fulfilled his wish by presenting them to the New York Chamber of Commerce, where he had been an active member since 1863 and president for eight years.⁸⁴ Mrs. Jesup explained in her letter to the chamber that the vases had been inherited by De Witt Clinton's family after his death "and were purchased by my husband from Governor Clinton's last heir in the year 1906. Mr. Jesup's interest in the vases was inspired by the fact that my father (the late Rev. Dr. Thomas De Witt, a pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in this City) was a cousin of Governor Clinton."⁸⁵ In a fitting address to the chamber, the Honorable Joseph H. Choate drew parallels between the 1820s and the early twentieth century:

You see, gentlemen, how the great achievement of Governor Clinton was then regarded by the people of the State and the whole United States. It was regarded as almost the ultimatum of internal improvement—at any rate the greatest that had then been conceived as possible. But vast changes have come over us since. That was in 1825, before railroads were hardly thought of and, as I believe, before a mile of railroad was built. . . . There is certainly as much difference between the Chamber of Commerce as now devel-

oped, representing all the great commercial interests of the nation, and the little band of merchants trading in Pearl Street in 1823, who conceived the presentation of the vases, as between the Erie Canal as the solution of the transportation problem of 1825 and our present colossal system of railroads of to-day spanning the continent in every direction, and reaching almost every hamlet in the land.⁸⁶

Choate encouraged the chamber to accept the generous offer of the vases "in the spirit in which Mr. Jesup himself had intended to present them at the last annual meeting; that they will be cherished as most valuable historical articles, as they certainly are—which could find no more appropriate place than in this Chamber, and no more appropriate guardian than in the successors of the very merchants who conceived the idea of originally presenting them to Governor Clinton."⁸⁷ The vases were accepted by the Chamber of Commerce "with profound appreciation and sincere thanks,"⁸⁸ and there they remained for more than seventy years, on public display but with little fanfare.

Writing for the *American Collector* in 1937, Thomas H. Ormsbee reminded readers of the vases' importance:

Unique examples of early 19th Century American silver craftsmanship in its most elaborate and ambitious form, they have remained generally unknown despite the fact that for nearly 30 years they have been on display in an important meeting place in New York City. They have stood in glass cases flanking the rostrum in the great hall of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York since May 7, 1908, when with Joseph H. Choate as orator of the occasion, they were formally presented to the Chamber by Mrs. Morris K. Jesup as a memorial to her husband and to her kinsman Governor DeWitt Clinton.⁸⁹

Twentieth-century silver historians held the Clinton Vases in high esteem, and the vessels appeared in the standard volumes published on American silver.⁹⁰ When, in 1981, the Chamber of Commerce offered to sell the vases to the Metropolitan Museum, there was considerable enthusiasm for the purchase, though funds were available for only one vase.⁹¹ The second was purchased by Erving and Joyce Wolf, generous supporters of the Metropolitan's American Wing, who later presented it as a gift to the Museum.

An intriguing addendum to this account is a rare surviving watercolor drawing of the 1824 vase (Figure 48), signed by the London-born artist Hugh Bridport (1794–1870). Bridport had trained at the Royal



Figure 48. Hugh Bridport (British, 1794–1870). *Clinton Vase*, 1825. Pen, ink, and wash, 21.3 x 16.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953 (53.652.2)

Academy of Art, in London, before moving in 1816 to Philadelphia, where his brother George (1783–1819) already resided. Best known as a portraitist and miniaturist, Hugh Bridport also worked as an engraver, and he and his brother established a drawing academy in 1816.⁹² George Bridport figures in the history of Fletcher & Gardiner as the designer of the spherical punch bowl presented in 1816 to Lieutenant Colonel George Armistead (1780–1818) by the citizens of Baltimore, as recorded in a letter written in 1815 by Charles Fletcher to his brother Thomas, who was then traveling in England.⁹³ The small-scale watercolor of the 1824 Clinton Vase—akin to a miniature portrait—measures just 21.3 by 16.4 centimeters. It depicts the vase elevated on a dark blue velvet-covered plinth fringed in gold, looking stately and magnificent. Given its great detail, the painting is certainly an

image made after the completion of the vase, rather than a preliminary drawing; one wonders, nevertheless, whether the same artist might have been involved in the design phase as well. The watercolor, now owned by the Metropolitan Museum, was acquired in 1953 with a group of drawings associated with Fletcher & Gardiner, thereby suggesting a close connection between the painting and the manufactory. Absent documentary evidence, however, the individual or individuals who worked with Thomas Fletcher to conceive the design of the vases cannot be identified.

The Clinton Vases embody a moment in time as few objects are able to do. They were commissioned by a group of New York City merchants to celebrate the completion of the Erie Canal, a marvel of engineering that connected the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean, opened new avenues of trade between the eastern United States and the Midwest, and fostered westward migration—before railroads facilitated and accelerated national expansion. The vases' recipient, New York's governor De Witt Clinton, was a lifelong public servant whose perseverance in establishing the canal was magnanimous, far-sighted, and politically astute. The firm of Fletcher & Gardiner, which was chosen to manufacture the vases, was, at that moment, riding its own wave of popular success, having been commissioned to supply most of the silver tributes presented to heroes of the War of 1812 as well as to civic leaders. The American silversmiths' achievements placed them at the forefront of an industry that would, in the next half century, grow to equal if not surpass its European counterparts. Perhaps most significantly, the designers of the Clinton Vases freely reinterpreted a venerated (albeit reconstructed) Roman vessel with confidence and creativity. By incorporating contemporary American imagery into a classical form with time-honored ornamental motifs, the designers and manufacturers of these "splendid fabrics"⁹⁴ encouraged associations with ancient Rome, basking in its reflected glory while affording us, still, the pleasure of admiring their craftsmanship and interpreting their meaning.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

Cornog 1998

Evan Cornog. *The Birth of Empire: DeWitt Clinton and the American Experience, 1769–1828*. New York, 1998.

Fennimore, Wagner et al. 2007

Donald L. Fennimore, Ann K. Wagner, with contributions by Cathy Mason, Deborah Dependahl Waters, and Beth Wees. *Silversmiths to the Nation: Thomas Fletcher and Sidney Gardiner, 1808–1842*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2007.

Hartop 2005

Christopher Hartop. *Royal Goldsmiths: The Art of Rundell & Bridge, 1797–1843*. Cambridge, 2005.

Jenkins and Sloan 1996

Ian Jenkins and Kim Sloan. *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and His Collection*. London, 1996.

Marks and Blench 1979

Richard Marks and Brian J. R. Blench. *The Warwick Vase*. Glasgow, 1979.

Opper 2005

Thorsten Opper. "Glory of Rome Restored." *British Museum Magazine*, Spring 2005, pp. 38–40.

Ormsbee 1937

Thomas H. Ormsbee. "Gratitude in Silver for Prosperity." *American Collector* 6, no. 3 (April 1937), pp. 3, 10–11.

Sørensen 2003

Bent Sørensen. "Piranesi, Grandjacquet and the Warwick Vase." *Burlington Magazine* 145, no. 1208 (November 2003), pp. 792–95.

Udy 1978

David Udy. "Piranesi's 'Vasi,' the English Silver-smith and His Patrons." *Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 909 (December 1978), pp. 820, 822–35, 837.

Wagner 2004

Ann K. Wagner. "Fletcher and Gardiner: Presentation Silver for the Nation." Master's thesis, University of Delaware, Newark, May 2004.

NOTES

1. Cadwallader Colden, surveyor general of New York, wrote the first public document on the subject in 1724, and George Washington was an advocate as early as 1783. Others were more skeptical. Thomas Jefferson, for instance, approved of the concept but thought it "little short of madness . . . at this day"; see Cornog 1998, pp. 104–6, 113.
2. See Dell Upton, "Inventing the Metropolis: Civilization and Urbanity in Antebellum New York," in *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825–1861*, ed. Catherine Hoover Voorsanger and John K. Howat, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 2000), pp. 3–4; Cornog 1998, pp. 155–57; and Patricia Anderson, *The Course of Empire: The Erie Canal and the New York Landscape, 1825–1875*, exh. cat., Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester (Rochester, N.Y., 1984). "The Meeting of the Waters of Hudson & Erie," written in 1825 by Samuel Woodworth, was sung at the Grand Canal Celebration in New York City on November 4.
3. Clinton was first appointed mayor in 1803 and served until 1815, with the exception of the years 1807–8 and 1810–11. He became governor in 1817, filling the vacancy created when Governor Daniel D. Tompkins resigned to become vice president in the Monroe administration. In 1810, he became a canal commissioner, and his name was closely identified henceforth with that cause; see *American National Biography*, vol. 5 (New York and Oxford, 1999), pp. 77–80. Clinton's political ambitions played a distinct role in his involvement with the canal; see Cornog 1998, pp. 109–85.
4. *Niles' Weekly Register*, November 12, 1825, p. 174.
5. See New York City Chamber of Commerce, *Proceedings of the Chamber of Commerce*, Fifty-first Annual Report, part 1, May 7, 1908, p. 5. Quoted in Ormsbee 1937, p. 3.
6. *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot* 59, no. 4459 (January 21, 1824), p. 1. See also Deborah Dependahl Waters, "'Silver Ware in Great Perfection': The Precious-Metals Trades in New York City," in *Art and the Empire City*, p. 355, and Ormsbee 1937, p. 3.
7. "Plate" is the generic term for wrought silver, not to be confused with silver-plated wares. The selection of a winner was made so rapidly that Thomas Ormsbee suggests the committee already had a design in mind when they announced the competition; see Ormsbee 1937, p. 3.
8. *Boston Gazette* 25 (November 7, 1808), p. [3]. For an in-depth study of the firm, see Fennimore, Wagner et al. 2007.
9. *Boston Gazette* 25 (November 7, 1808), p. [3].
10. Fennimore, Wagner et al. 2007, pp. 33–38. The Thomas Fletcher Papers are housed at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia and in the Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, Delaware.
11. Fennimore, Wagner et al. 2007, pp. 21–31, 38–39. Regarding the silversmiths' trade in Philadelphia, see Deborah Dependahl Waters, "'The Workmanship of an American Artist': Philadelphia's Precious Metals Trades and Craftsmen, 1788–1832" (Ph.D., University of Delaware, Newark, 1981).
12. *Aurora General Advertiser*, December 19, 1811, unpagged.
13. See David B. Warren et al., *Marks of Achievement: Four Centuries of American Presentation Silver*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; Minneapolis Institute of Arts; MMA (Houston, 1987), p. 15.
14. See Fennimore, Wagner et al. 2007, no. 10.
15. See *ibid.*, p. 42, figs. 3.5–3.7.
16. The cups and ladle bear the mark of Andrew Ellicott Warner and the Baltimore assay marks for 1816; the tray is unmarked.

- The entire set now belongs to the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. See Elizabeth Ingerman Wood, "Thomas Fletcher, A Philadelphia Entrepreneur of Presentation Silver," *Winterthur Portfolio* 3 (Winterthur, Del., 1967), pp. 151–52. See also Fennimore, Wagner et al. 2007, no. 20.
17. See Fennimore, Wagner et al. 2007, no. 24.
 18. Waters, "Silver Ware in Great Perfection," p. 355.
 19. Original portions of the Warwick Vase probably date from the second century A.D. For more on the vase, see Sørensen 2003; Jenkins and Sloan 1996, pp. 59, 220–22; Jonathan Scott, "Some Sculpture from Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli," in *Piranesi e la cultura antiquaria: Gli antecedenti e il contesto. Atti del convegno, 14–17 novembre 1979* (Rome, 1983), pp. 343–44; and N. M. Penzer, "The Warwick Vase," part 1, *Apollo* 62, no. 370 (December 1955), pp. 183–88.
 20. "These vases were made by Messrs. Fletcher & Gardiner of Philadelphia, and designed by their Mr. Fletcher"; see "Description of the Vases," Thomas Fletcher Papers, Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library. This information was republished in a number of contemporary newspapers, for example, in *The New-York Mirror, and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, March 26, 1825, p. 275, and *Niles' Weekly Register*, April 23, 1825, p. 120. See also Wood, "Thomas Fletcher," p. 164.
 21. The fashionable London firm of Rundell, Bridge & Rundell, for instance, relied on an extensive network of silversmiths and allied craftsmen; see Charles Oman, "A Problem of Artistic Responsibility: The Firm of Rundell, Bridge & Rundell," *Apollo* 83 (March 1966), pp. 174–83, and Michael Snodin, "J. J. Boileau, a Forgotten Designer of Silver," *Connoisseur* 198, no. 196 (June 1978), pp. 124–33.
 22. See Fennimore, Wagner et al. 2007, pp. 60, 81.
 23. Letter book, June 14, 1815, p. 144; Thomas Fletcher Papers, the Athenaeum of Philadelphia. The phrase "of that made for Hull" refers to Fletcher & Gardiner's silver urn presented in 1813 to Isaac Hull, captain of the USS *Constitution*; see Figure 2.
 24. See Hartop 2005, p. 117.
 25. Opper 2005, pp. 38–40; Jenkins and Sloan 1996, p. 220; Sørensen 2003, p. 792.
 26. Opper 2005, p. 39.
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 39; Sørensen 2003, p. 793. See also Nancy H. Ramage, "Sir William Hamilton as Collector, Exporter, and Dealer: The Acquisition and Dispersal of His Collections," *American Journal of Archaeology* 94, no. 3 (July 1990), p. 475.
 28. Sørensen 2003, pp. 792–93. A drawing of the stucco model for the restored vase appears in a letter dated August 3, 1772, sent by Piranesi to the antiquities collector Charles Townley; see *ibid.*, p. 793, fig. 35. Restoration costs reportedly totaled some 4,000 Roman *scudi*; Opper 2005, p. 39.
 29. Letter dated June 5, 1774, quoted in Jenkins and Sloan 1996, pp. 220–22, and Sørensen 2003, p. 794. For diagrams of the reconstruction, see Marks and Blench 1979, pp. 14–15. In the 1950s Cornelius Vermeule and Dietrich von Bothmer assessed the full extent of the vase's restoration, describing the vase as "excellent Neo-Classical work"; see C. Vermeule and D. von Bothmer, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," part 2, *American Journal of Archaeology* 60, no. 4 (October 1956), p. 345. See also note 33 below.
 30. Hamilton had sold his extensive collection of vases to the British Museum in 1772 for the sum of £8,410; Marks and Blench 1979, p. 7.
 31. George Greville was the older brother of Charles. See Jenkins and Sloan 1996, p. 222; Marks and Blench 1979, pp. 7–8; and Scott, "Some Sculpture from Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli," pp. 343–44.
 32. *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle. For the Year MDCC70*, part 2 (London, 1800), p. 1144.
 33. Vermeule and von Bothmer examined the vase at Warwick Castle in 1955 and reported on its state of restoration: "The ancient portions include: patches in the sides (including the grape vine), the majority of both acanthus-stem handles, the two Bacchic heads in the centre of the side facing the Conservatory doors . . . , part of one head in the corresponding place on the opposite side, parts of the panther skins on either side, and the silen head on the left of the side away from the entrance. The patently non-antique faun head (with the supposed features of Lady Hamilton) has the same discolouration in the surface as the bottom of the bowl. The surface of the lower part of the bowl has the chisel marks of 'ageing' characteristic of Piranesi forgeries. . . . We may also credit his workshop with production of the majority of the bowl as it is to-day"; Vermeule and von Bothmer, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis," p. 345.
 34. Marks and Blench 1979, p. 9, and Penzer, "The Warwick Vase," part 1, pp. 186–87.
 35. Marks and Blench 1979, p. 16.
 36. The etchings are illustrated in John Wilton-Ely, *Giovanni Battista Piranesi: The Complete Etchings* (San Francisco, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 964–66. The Warwick Vase was one of numerous antique vessels that became popular models for Neoclassical designers. Likewise emulated were the Medici and Borghese kraters, which were also published by Piranesi, and the cameo-glass Portland Vase, now at the British Museum, which was copied by Josiah Wedgwood. See Udy 1978, pp. 820, 822–35, 837.
 37. See Hartop 2005, pp. 117–18, and N. M. Penzer, "Copies of the Warwick Vase," part 3, *Apollo* 63, no. 373 (March 1956), p. 72.
 38. Udy 1978, p. 830; Hartop 2005, pp. 117–18; and Marks and Blench 1979, pp. 20–21. N. M. Penzer ("Copies of the Warwick Vase," part 3, p. 72) suggests that the bronze vase was purchased in 1822, but a surviving invoice (Royal Archives GEO/26251) indicates that the purchase was made in 1829. I am grateful to Kathryn Jones, assistant curator, Works of Art, Royal Collection, for confirming the date of acquisition.
 39. See John Culme, *Nineteenth-Century Silver* (London, 1977), p. 65, and Udy 1978, pp. 827–28, n. 19. For more on Rundell, Bridge & Rundell, see Hartop 2005.
 40. A. G. Grimwade, "Silver at Althorp IV: The Rococo and Regency Periods," *Connoisseur* 154, no. 622 (December 1963), p. 231, n. 3. See also Udy 1978, p. 824.
 41. One of the 1812 wine coolers is illustrated in Udy 1978, fig. 37, where comparison can be made with Piranesi's frontal view. My thanks to Kathryn Jones for information on the Storr wine coolers belonging to the Royal Collection.
 42. The sculptor William Theed (1764–1817), who like Storr was a partner in the Rundell firm, is believed to have modeled a putto-and-panther finial to surmount the covered vases; see Hartop 2005, p. 116, fig. 114. It appears that Theed also supervised production of the full-size wax models for the ill-fated silver facsimile; *ibid.*, pp. 116–17.
 43. See *ibid.*, p. 117; Marks and Blench 1979, p. 25; Wood, "Thomas Fletcher," p. 164; and Penzer, "Copies of the Warwick Vase," part 3, p. 73. This tradition survives today in the Norman Brookes Challenge Cup, modeled after the Warwick Vase, which

- is presented to the annual winner of the Australian Open tennis tournament.
44. The London silversmiths include Edward, Edward Jr., John, and William Barnard; Messrs. Carrington and Company; and Edward Barnard and Son. See Marks and Blench 1979, p. 22, and Penzer, "Copies of the Warwick Vase," part 3, p. 73. For the silver-plate versions, see Frederick Bradbury, *History of Old Sheffield Plate: Being an Account of the Origin, Growth, and Decay of the Industry . . . with Chronological Lists of Makers' Marks and Numerous Illustrations of Specimens* (London, 1912), pp. 377–79.
 45. Marks and Blench 1979, pp. 25–26, and Michael Berthoud, "The Warwick Vase and Its Influence on the Design of English Ceramics," *Antique Collecting* 28, no. 9 (1994), pp. 25–29.
 46. Penzer, "Copies of the Warwick Vase," part 3, p. 73. Exceptions include a vase of 1820 marked by Philip Rundell and belonging to the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, where oak leaves and branches replace the antique heads and vine handles. The vase sits on a stand of 1838 maker-marked *I T*; see John Bodman Carrington and George Ravensworth Hughes, *The Plate of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 116–17. Another exception is the Ascot Cup for 1827, mentioned above.
 47. Udy 1978, p. 823.
 48. Piranesi's *Vasi, candelabri* was acquired by the Library Company in 1803 as part of a bequest from the Reverend Dr. Samuel Preston. Hope's *Household Furniture* seems to have been acquired shortly after its publication in 1807. The Warwick Vase was also illustrated in Henry Moses' 1811 London publication, *A Collection of Antique Vases, Altars, Paterae, Tripods, Candelabra, Sarcophagi, &c. . . .*, a copy of which was owned by the prominent Philadelphian James Rush (1786–1869), who later donated it to the Library. I am grateful to Cornelia S. King, reference librarian at the Library Company of Philadelphia, for confirming the acquisition dates of these volumes.
 49. A silver copy of the Warwick Vase, supplied by the Boston silversmiths Obadiah Rich and Samuel L. Ward of Boston and presented to Daniel Webster in 1835, more closely resembles the original in its ornamental program, although it, too, omits the heads of Bacchus and Silenus. The Webster Vase now belongs to the Boston Public Library; see Penzer, "Copies of the Warwick Vase," part 3, p. 74, and Martha Gandy Fales, *Early American Silver for the Cautious Collector* (New York, 1970), p. 119, fig. 116.
 50. See Fennimore, Wagner et al. 2007, pp. 172, 267.
 51. Letter of March 12, 1825, from Thomas Fletcher in New York to Melina Fletcher in Philadelphia; Thomas Fletcher Papers, the Athenaeum of Philadelphia. Isaac Hone was secretary of the Pearl Street merchants' association that commissioned the vases.
 52. *Niles' Weekly Register*, April 23, 1825, p. 120. According to this published account, the vases cost \$3,500.
 53. Letter of May 7, 1825, from Thomas Fletcher in New York to Melina Fletcher in Philadelphia; Thomas Fletcher Papers, the Athenaeum of Philadelphia.
 54. Troy weight is the customary system used for weighing precious metals.
 55. *New-York Mirror, and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, March 26, 1825, p. 275. In fact, the names of several states are engraved along the eastern seaboard: on the 1824 vase we find "N.YORK / N.Jer. / Md"; on the 1825 vase, "N.YORK / N.Jer. / Md. / Va." Ann Wagner has noted that the eagle finial is a modified version of the model used for the Andrew Jackson urn of 1816; see Wagner 2004, p. 67.
 56. On the use of bolting, which was practiced more extensively by makers of bronze furniture mounts, see Clare Le Corbeiller, "The Construction of Some Empire Silver," *MMJ* 16 (1981), pp. 195–98. The technique was also used, to a lesser degree, by English silversmiths, among them Rundell, Bridge & Rundell.
 57. The text of the 1824 vase reads: "The Merchants of Pearl Street, New York, / TO THE HON. DEWITT CLINTON / Whose claim to the proud Title of 'Public Benefactor,' / is founded on those magnificent works, / The Northern and Western CANALS." The text of the 1825 reads: "TO THE HON. DEWITT CLINTON, / Who has developed the resources of the State of New York, / AND ENNOBLED HER CHARACTER, / The Merchants of Pearl Street offer this testimony of their / GRATITUDE AND RESPECT."
 58. *New-York Mirror, and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, March 26, 1825, p. 275.
 59. *Ibid.*, and *Niles' Weekly Register*, April 23, 1825, p. 120.
 60. In 1776 Flaxman was commissioned to model six of the nine Muses associated with Apollo. The order was later rescinded, but not before he had completed the commission; see Carol Machi, *Classical Wedgwood Designs: The Sources and Their Use and the Relationship of Wedgwood Jasper Ware to the Classical Revival of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1957), pp. 86–87.
 61. *Ibid.*, p. 86. My thanks to Lynn Miller, information officer, Josiah Wedgwood and Sons Limited, Barlaston, England, for this suggestion.
 62. I am grateful to James David Draper for this observation.
 63. *New-York Mirror*, March 26, 1825, p. 275.
 64. Wagner 2004, p. 71.
 65. Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697–1837: Their Marks and Lives . . .*, 3rd rev. ed. (London, 1990), pp. 161–62. Scott and Smith preceded Storr in this role.
 66. *New-York Mirror*, March 26, 1825, p. 275. The intertwined-dolphin motif appears as well on several naval awards produced by the firm; see Wagner 2004, p. 67.
 67. This figure is inspired by Giovanni Bologna's much-copied bronze sculpture, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.
 68. The Farnese Hercules is a third-century Roman copy of a Greek sculpture carved by Lysippus or one of his followers, discovered at the Baths of Caracalla in 1546.
 69. *New-York Mirror*, March 26, 1825, p. 275.
 70. *Ibid.*
 71. This is suggested in Wagner 2004, p. 70.
 72. *New-York Mirror*, March 26, 1825, p. 275.
 73. Eights's original drawings are in the collection of the Albany Institute of History and Art. They were published in Amos Eaton, *A Geological and Agricultural Survey of the District Adjoining the Erie Canal in the State of New York* (Albany, 1824). See also Tammi K. Groft and Mary Alice Mackay, eds., *Albany Institute of History and Art: 200 Years of Collecting* (New York, 1998), pp. 58–59, 260–61. For Eights as an explorer, see John M. Clarke, "The Reincarnation of James Eights, Antarctic Explorer," *Scientific Monthly* 2, no. 4 (February 1916), pp. 189–202. For a useful biography, see Stefan Bielinski, "James Eights," in *The People of Colonial Albany Live Here*, <http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/albany/bios/e/jaeights2036.html>.
 74. Bielinski, "James Eights."
 75. Letter of March 12, 1825, from Thomas Fletcher in New York to Melina Fletcher in Philadelphia; Thomas Fletcher Papers, the Athenaeum of Philadelphia.
 76. Clinton had declined an offer from President John Quincy Adams to become minister to England; *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 2 (New York, 1929), p. 224. The names of the committee members were listed in the published account: Peter

- Crary, James Heard, Nathaniel Richards, John Haggerty, Arthur Tappan, Edward M. Greenway, Amos Palmer, Ralph Olmsted, Frederick Sheldon, and Isaac S. Hone; *Niles' Weekly Register*, April 23, 1825, p. 120.
77. *Niles' Weekly Register*, April 23, 1825, p. 120.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1828, p. 233.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
81. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1828, p. 252. The plateau, marked by John W. Forbes, is now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (1993.167a-c).
82. For their obituaries, see *New York Times*, January 23, 1908, p. 6, and June 18, 1914, p. 11.
83. *New York Times*, June 18, 1914, p. 11, and *MMAB* 1, no. 4 (March 1906), p. 67.
84. Morris Jesup's wide-ranging philanthropy extended, as well, to the American Museum of Natural History, the New York Chamber of Commerce, Princeton and Yale universities, Williams College, the Children's Aid Society, Sailor's Snug Harbor, the Woman's Hospital of New York, and the Union Theological Seminary; *New York Times*, January 23, 1908, p. 6.
85. Quoted in "Presentation of the Clinton Vases and Stuart's Portrait of Washington to the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York by Mrs. Maria De Witt Jesup, Address by the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, May 7th, 1908," p. 7; curatorial files, American Wing, Metropolitan Museum.
86. "Presentation of the Clinton Vases," p. 15.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
89. Thomas H. Ornsbee, "Gratitutde in Silver for Prosperity," *American Collector* 6 (April 1937), p. 3.
90. See, for instance, Fales, *Early American Silver*, p. 117; Katharine Morrison McClinton, *Collecting American 19th Century Silver* (New York, 1968), frontis.; and Graham Hood, *American Silver: A History of Style, 1650-1900* (New York, 1971), pp. 193-94, 196. The 1824 vase was exhibited at the Newark Museum in 1963 and published in the catalogue *Classical America, 1815-1845* (Newark, N.J., 1963), no. 104. The vases were noted in Donald L. Fennimore, "Elegant Patterns of Uncommon Good Taste: Domestic Silver by Thomas Fletcher and Sidney Gardiner" (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, Newark, 1972), p. 89, and discussed in Wood, "Thomas Fletcher," pp. 159-63.
91. The vase purchased by the Museum was the one dated 1824 (Figure 13).
92. See Wayne Craven, "Hugh Bridport, Philadelphia Miniaturist, Engraver, and Lithographer," *The Magazine Antiques* 89, no. 4 (April 1966), pp. 548-52; Alexandra Alevizatos Kirtley, "George Bridport," in "Collectors' Notes," *The Magazine Antiques*, 169, no. 5 (May 2006), p. 76; *American Daily Advertiser* 46, January 29, 1817, p. 4, and February 27, 1817, p. 4. Advertisements for the Bridports' "Academy for Drawing" appeared in the contemporary press, e.g., *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* 46 (January 29, 1817), p. 4, and (February 27, 1817), p. 4. He and John Haviland (1792-1852) later founded an architectural drawing academy in Philadelphia; see Jeffrey A. Cohen, "Building a Discipline: Early Institutional Settings for Architectural Education in Philadelphia, 1804-1890," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53, no. 2 (June 1994), p. 145, and an advertisement in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* 47, December 1, 1818, p. 1. Hugh Bridport and Thomas Fletcher were both involved in the founding of the Franklin Institute; see Bruce Sinclair, *Philadelphia's Philosopher Mechanics: A History of the Franklin Institute, 1824-1865* (Baltimore, 1974) and Henry Butler Allen, "The Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*.
93. "Mr Bridport has just completed the drawing for Col. Armisted's [*sic*] Urn—in the form of an [*sic*] Shell supported by 4 Eagles standing upon a round foot: the Body without any chasing"; Charles Fletcher to Thomas Fletcher, July 2, 1815, Thomas Fletcher Papers, the Athenaeum of Philadelphia. The punch bowl, tray, beakers, and a ladle were presented to Armistead for his defense of Fort McHenry in 1814; see note 16.
94. *Niles' Weekly Register*, April 23, 1825, p. 120, quoting Governor Clinton in accepting the vases.

“Canaletti Painting”: On Turner, Canaletto, and Venice

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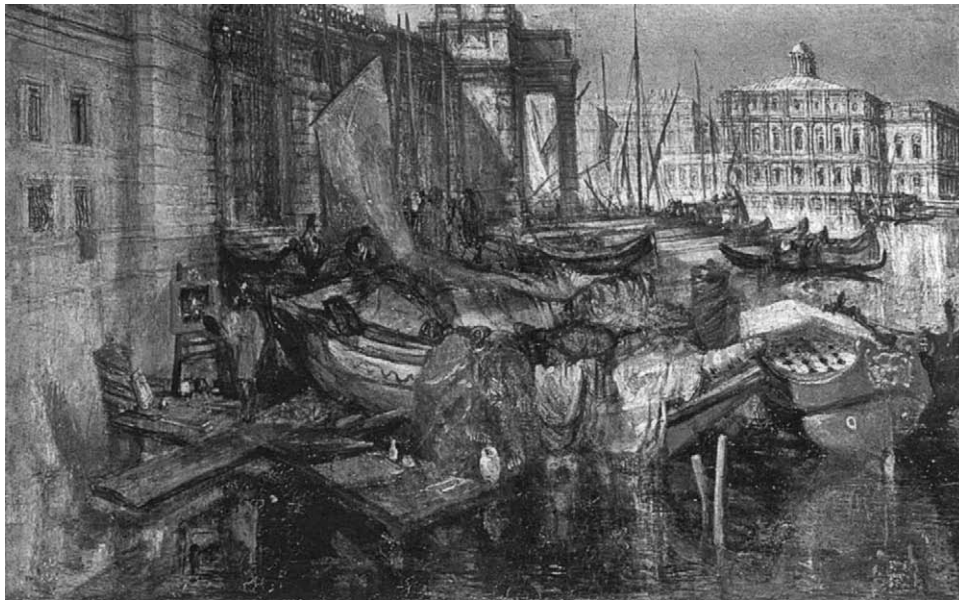
For E. H. L.

ON A HAPHAZARD ARRANGEMENT OF planks floating above the watery depths of the Venice harbor basin stands a robed figure with a palette (Figure 1), the eighteenth-century Venetian view painter Giovanni Antonio Canal (Canaletto, 1697–1768), whom J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851) called “Canaletti.” His back to the spectator, Canaletto is engulfed in the deep shadow cast by the buildings adjoining the Dogana da Mar, or Customs House. He stands before a square canvas that is already displayed in an elaborately carved and gilt nineteenth-century frame supported on an easel. Unfolding to his right is the most famous panorama the city affords, that of the waterfront from the Zecca, or Mint, to the Palazzo Dandolo, now the Hotel Danieli. The title Turner gave to the picture, one of two Venetian subjects that he exhibited in 1833 at the Royal Academy in London, was *Bridge of Sighs, Ducal Palace, and Custom-House, Venice: Canaletti Painting*.¹ At the same exhibition, Turner displayed a larger seascape titled *Van Goyen: Looking Out for a Subject* (The Frick Collection, New York).² It is my contention that the impact of the Dutch artist Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) on Turner’s magisterial sea pieces was greater than that of the Venetian, modern published opinion concerning the connection between Canaletto and Turner notwithstanding.³ Turner and Van Goyen shared a fascination with the power of the sea that is reflected in the work of the most gifted artists of maritime nations. In its past, Venice had been a major maritime power, but in the eighteenth century the city was reduced to receiving, rather than conquering, foreign nationals, most of whom came for the purpose of entertaining themselves. By contrast with Van Goyen, and indeed also with Turner, Canaletto was a painter of what Michael Levey has called the urban Venetian scene.⁴ He was inspired by the busy social and mercantile life, by the intricate topography, and, occasionally, by the arcane traditions of his native city. To this end, and unlike

Turner, Canaletto was interested in clarifying, rather than obscuring, the particular, and in making everything look (sometimes deceptively) real. This paper will explore which of Canaletto’s images Turner may actually have seen in the course of his travels in England and on the continent.

Canaletto spent sixty of his seventy years in Venice.⁵ During much of the decade beginning in 1746, he lived principally in London. A prolific painter and draftsman, he also made a number of etchings, primarily of imaginary lagoon and mainland subjects. Through the agency of the dealer and collector Joseph Smith and as a form of advertisement, especially for the benefit of those who had not had occasion to see Canaletto’s Venetian work in the original, engravings by Antonio Visentini (1688–1782) after Canaletto’s topographical views were widely distributed.⁶ Editions of Visentini’s prints were published in Venice in 1735, 1742, and 1751; prints from reengraved plates were issued there in 1833 and 1836. Smith, who resided in Venice for decades and from 1744 until 1760 was the British Consul, not only sold Canaletto’s work to English visitors to the city but also placed his pictures with English collectors at home. The ultimate and principal beneficiary of Smith’s endeavors was George III, who in 1762 bought Smith’s personal collection. Perhaps in part because Canaletto’s work was an object of such fascination to eighteenth-century Grand Tourists, his name, inextricably linked with Venice, continued to resonate in England well into the nineteenth century.

Turner’s visits to Venice are now documented to the late summers of the years 1819, 1833, and 1840, when, as part of the Austrian Empire, the city and its territories were suffering a period of cruel poverty and romantic decline.⁷ In 1819, Turner stopped in Venice on September 8, staying five days; he visited the city again, for a week to ten days, beginning September 9, 1833. Seven years later he returned, taking up residence at the Hotel Europa on the Grand Canal from August 20 until September 3, 1840. In all, he spent roughly a month there. To what extent, if any, is Canaletto’s work reflected in that of Turner?



1. Joseph Mallord William Turner (English, 1775–1851). *Bridge of Sighs, Ducal Palace, and Custom-House, Venice: Canaletti Painting (detail)*, exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, 1833. Oil on mahogany, 51.1 x 81.6 cm. Tate, London. See also Colorplate 9

It is possible to identify a number of Canalettos that Turner must have known. Beginning in 1828, *The Stonemason's Yard* (Figure 2), arguably a unique view and greatly admired from that time on, was exhibited in London at the new National Gallery, which was open to the public daily.⁸ In anticipation of that event, in 1823 Sir George Beaumont had deposited the canvas on loan for display at the British Museum. The national collection was small then, but much visited, and it is unimaginable that Turner had not seen this distinctive picture of Santa Maria della Carità from Campo San Vidal. The same is true for *The Upper Reaches of the Grand Canal with San Simeone Piccolo*



2. Canaletto (Giovanni Antonio Canal, Venetian, 1697–1768). *Venice: Campo San Vidal and Santa Maria della Carità* ("The Stonemason's Yard"), late 1720s. Oil on canvas, 123.8 x 162.9 cm. © National Gallery, London

(Figure 3), which Lord Farnborough lent to the British Institution in 1832 and bequeathed to the National Gallery in 1838.⁹ The Farnborough canvas, with its sharp light and silvery palette, is memorable not least because it measures two meters in width, as does a colorful festival picture, *Venice: A Regatta on the Grand Canal*, now also in the National Gallery, which featured in the estate sale of Lord Northwick at Thirlestane House, London, on May 25, 1838.¹⁰

Turner often stayed at the country houses of patrons and friends and in 1799 visited for the first time William Beckford's Fonthill Abbey in Wiltshire. He may also have been to Beckford's tower on the outskirts of Bath, where, years later, the art historian G. F. Waagen recalled "many choice pictures by Canaletto, among which a view from the courtyard of the Doge's palace."¹¹ Beckford also owned, and in 1807 sent to auction at Phillips, where it was acquired by Sir John Soane, the splendid panorama the *Riva degli Schiavone: Looking West* (Sir John Soane's Museum, London).¹² In 1823, Beckford sold a pair of small Canalettos whose subjects were notionally described as "Buildings," possibly views of Campo Santa Maria Formosa and the Scuola di San Rocco; he may also have owned a view of the Campo di Rialto.¹³ Waagen called Beckford's Canalettos choice; one at least, the *Riva degli Schiavone: Looking West*, was large, lavishly detailed, and of the very highest quality.

Before the turn of the century, Turner also visited Stourhead, in Wiltshire.¹⁴ There, Sir Richard Colt Hoare displayed above the chimneypiece in his library Canaletto's finest set of highly finished views of Venice in ink and wash: the ceremonies and festivals celebrating the election of Doge Alvise IV Mocenigo in



3. Canaletto. *Venice: The Upper Reaches of the Grand Canal with San Simeone Piccolo*, ca. 1738. Oil on canvas, 124.5 x 204.6 cm. © National Gallery, London

1763.¹⁵ The ten subjects include *The Doge in the Bucintoro Departing for the Porto di Lido* and ample views of the basin of San Marco, as well as *The Doge Attending the Giovedì Grasso Festival* and *The Annual Visit of the Doge to Santa Maria della Salute*. An engraving by Giovanni Battista Brustolon (1712–1796) after Canaletto's drawing of the Salute is illustrated here (Figure 4). Baldassare Longhena's church would fascinate Turner, who in 1840 stayed on the opposite side of the Grand Canal at the Europa, though none of his paintings or watercolors reflect this composition, with its crowds of spectators and boat traffic.

In the summer of 1802, Turner first went to France, and while staying in Paris made notes and sketches after pictures in the Louvre. He was in Paris again in 1821, 1828, 1829, and 1832. Canaletto is not well represented in French public collections, but an important large canvas, *The Entrance to the Grand Canal and the Church of Santa Maria della Salute* (Figure 5), entered the Louvre as his work in 1818 (it is now attributed to Michele Marieschi [1710–1743]).¹⁶ Turner painted roughly the same view, but without the distorted perspective that is the defining feature of the Louvre picture and with less attention to the church, of which he shows just a slice of a portico at the right (Figure 6). He exhibited the canvas, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum, at the Royal Academy in 1835.¹⁷

The Venetian Francesco Guardi (1712–1793) is not usually held to have influenced English or other non-Italian landscape painters. However, eight canvases by Guardi of ceremonies and festivals, based on Brustolon's engravings (see Figure 4) after the Canaletto drawings from the series that later belonged to Colt

Hoare, had been seized during the French Revolution and were in the Louvre by the time Turner was in the city.¹⁸ If Turner knew both the Canaletto drawings and the Guardi paintings—and this seems likely in spite of the absence of firm evidence—his recollection of the former would have been reinforced by looking at the latter.

Turner stopped in Berlin and Dresden in the course of his northern European travels in autumn 1833, and may conceivably have seen a number of Canalettos. An important set of four late paintings, including the



4. Giovanni Battista Brustolon (Venetian, 1712–1796), after Canaletto. *Annua votiva profectio Serenissimi Principis . . . ad aedem Deiparae Virginis de Salute* (Annual Visit of the Doge to Santa Maria della Salute), 1766. From *Le feste dogali*, no. 8. Etching and engraving, plate: 44.4 x 57.2 cm, sheet: 53.4 x 69.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1961 (61.532.8)



5. Michele Marieschi (Venetian, 1710–1743). *The Entrance to the Grand Canal and Santa Maria della Salute, Venice, 1700–1725*. Oil on canvas, 125 x 213 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY). In the nineteenth century, the painting was attributed to Canaletto.

artist's only two nocturnes, had been given in 1763 by Sigismund Streit to his Berlin school, the Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster (they are now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin).¹⁹ One of two night scenes represents San Pietro di Castello, which Turner did not paint, but the other, *Festival on the Eve of Santa Marta*, is a subject that, to judge from his latest views of Venice, would have interested him. The Saxon electoral collections in Dresden also included major early works showing the churches of San Giacomo di Rialto and SS. Gio-

vanni e Paolo, as well as the Grand Canal looking northeast from the Palazzo Corner-Spinelli toward the Rialto Bridge.²⁰

One city without any view paintings by Canaletto was Venice, where in the nineteenth century visitors would have found only the *Capriccio* (Accademia, Venice), which was presented by the artist to the local academy in 1763 as his reception piece.²¹ On the other hand, the city had long been a center of the print and book trade. Canaletto's own prints and



6. J. M. W. Turner. *Venice, from the Porch of Madonna della Salute*, exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, in 1835. Oil on canvas, 91.4 x 122.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 1899 (99.31). See also Colorplate 10



7. Antonio Maria Visentini (Venetian, 1688–1782), after Canaletto. *Bucentaurus et Nundinae Venetae in die Ascensionis* (The Bucintoro and Venetian Stalls on Ascension Day), 1742. From *Prospectus magni canalis venetiarum*, no. XIV, first published in 1735. Etching, plate: 27.4 x 42.7 cm, sheet: 32.2 x 47.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.45)

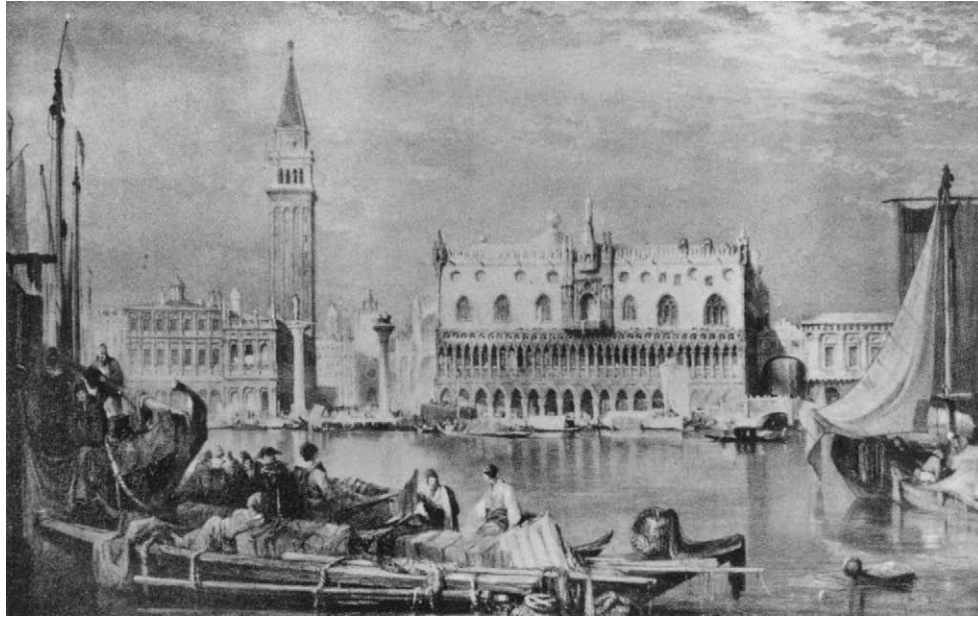
Visentini's after Canaletto (Figure 7) were perhaps still available in the nineteenth century, while prints from the reengraved Visentini plates were marketed in the 1830s. Probably also available were engravings by Luca Carlevaris (1663–1730), whose *Fabriche, e Vedute di Venetia* first appeared in 1703; engravings published by Domenico Lovisa, from the second volume of *Il Gran Teatro di Venezia*, which appeared in 1720; by Marieschi, in the *Prospettiva di Venezia* of 1741; and by Brustolon, referred to above, including a print from the *Streit Eve of Santa Marta*.²²

Ian Warrell has drawn attention to three works by Turner that he believes betray the direct influence of Canaletto: a tiny pencil sketch of 1833, perhaps after

Canaletto's *La Piera del Bando*; an 1840 watercolor, *The Upper End of the Grand Canal, with San Simeone Piccolo*; and a watercolor of the same date, *The Accademia from the Grand Canal* (Figure 8).²³ The subject of the first, the Piazzetta with the Doge's Palace to the left and San Giorgio Maggiore in the distance, was one of Canaletto's favorites, but is so much a part of any visitor's experience of Venice that Turner need not have required a source other than the view he himself had seen. That he was thinking of Canaletto there can be no doubt, as he wrote the eighteenth-century artist's name on the page above the sketch, though he omitted from his own drawing the last bay of the porch of San Marco at the left, which Canaletto showed in the



8. J. M. W. Turner. *The Accademia from the Grand Canal*, 1840, from the "Storm" sketchbook. Pencil and watercolor, using a pen dipped in watercolor for details, with some scraping out, 21.7 x 31.8 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Presented by John Ruskin, 1861



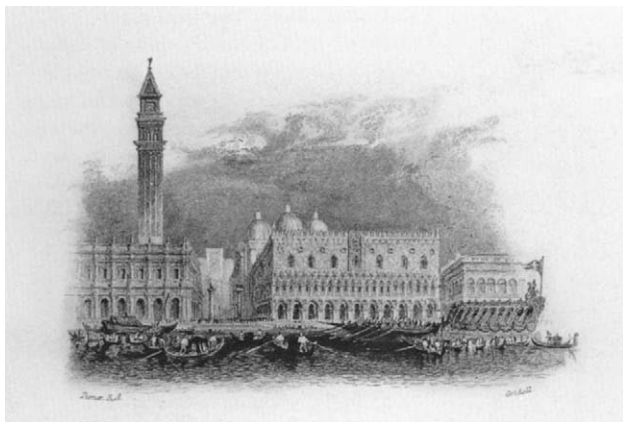
9. Samuel Prout (English, 1783–1852). *The Ducal Palace, Venice*, exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, in 1826. Watercolor, 72.4 x 111.7 cm. Private collection (photo: Lindsay Stainton, *Turner's Venice* [New York, 1985], fig. 6)

Piera del Bando, and he included the darkened facade of the Sansovino library at right, which Canaletto had left out. The second, a less popular subject, shows a principal reach of the Grand Canal and differs somewhat in its topography from Lord Farnborough's Canaletto. The third represents the museum of the Accademia, one of the few places that had changed dramatically in its appearance and purpose since Canaletto's time. Turner's watercolor is fundamentally unlike "*The Stonemason's Yard*" (Figure 2). The famous painting shows, on the far side of the canal, two small houses, the campanile, church, and convent of Santa Maria della Carità, and an adjoining building. The bell tower toppled in the 1740s, crushing the houses, while the entrance to the convent (now the Accademia) was replaced later in the eighteenth century, when the building that had been attached to it was torn down. Canaletto's is a bird's-eye view; Turner evokes the *campo* in front of the museum as if seen from a gondola. The palaces and the Campo San Vidal are not visible in the watercolor, while the water, which is barely noticeable in Canaletto's painting, occupies more than a third of the surface of Turner's sheet and contributes significantly to its effect.

Graham Reynolds suggested that Turner was perhaps inspired to take up Venice as a subject after having seen paintings of the city by the precocious and successful Richard Parkes Bonington, who had died at the age of twenty-five in 1828 and was much admired in the early 1830s.²⁴ Bonington had exhibited views of Venice at the British Institution and the Royal Academy in 1828; in the year after his death, his father organized a successful London estate sale. A watercolor that Samuel Prout (1783–1852) showed at the

Royal Academy in 1826 (Figure 9) anticipates *Canaletti Painting*; the watercolor was engraved in 1831.²⁵ At the 1833 Royal Academy show, Clarkson Stanfield (1793–1867) exhibited a picture titled *Venice from the Dogana* that is not dissimilar to Turner's, although it is more accurate.²⁶ Lord Landsdowne, a patron of the arts and a collector of Bonington, bought Stanfield's canvas, but Turner received the lion's share of raves for *Canaletti Painting*. The panel was the only one of his 1833 exhibits to sell, so it was something of an affectation on his part to have referred to it as a "scrap," though it is relatively small. Turner needed business, and perhaps his title could be read as a reference not only to Canaletto but also to the tradition of bespoke views of Venice that (even if regarded by some as hackwork) had profited so many painters of various nationalities from Carlevaris to Bonington.

Had Turner required source material for his Venice work—though as he had his own sketchbooks and watercolors, probably he did not—a wealth of eighteenth-century material was available to him and none more accessible than compositions by Canaletto. Yet he seems to have consulted them infrequently. Among the earliest Turners of Venice intended for a wide public was a watercolor rendered as a print (Figure 10) illustrating a new edition of Samuel Rogers's book *Italy, A Poem*, published in 1830.²⁷ Watercolor and print owe little to the Venetian. Turner extends the quay facade of Sansovino's Biblioteca Marciana to seven bays, suggesting a square building, whereas the side of the library that faces the water is three bays wide. He narrows the Piazzetta, the wide public space between the library and the palace, and introduces,



10. Edward Goodall (English, 1795–1870), after J. M. W. Turner. Vignette illustration for “Venice,” a poem by Samuel Rogers, from *Italy: A Poem* (London, 1830), p. 47. Steel engraving, 5.7 x 8.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library, Gift of H. A. Hammond Smith (282.1 R63)

from his imagination, a flight of stairs descending to the water’s edge. He renders San Marco and the clock tower in the bleached white of sugar, a practice to which he would remain faithful when painting the city in oils.

Only in the case of the doge’s ceremonial barge, destroyed years before, might Turner have looked to Visentini (see Figure 7) for his watercolor. However, Turner’s vessel is transformed—the oarsmen in the prow, the passengers in the elevated stern, and the mid-section missing completely—indicating that he did not follow the Canaletto/Visentini design. The wide facade of the library, the stairs, and the heightened domes of San Marco give Turner’s composition a centrality suitable to a vignette. The changes, appropriate to his pictorial purpose, are at odds with Canaletto’s way of seeing. A Canaletto image was a carefully adjusted simulacrum that the viewer read as an accurate transcription. Turner’s illustration served another, more imaginative purpose. Turner’s slightly later vignette of the Rialto Bridge is taken from the same angle as Visentini’s seventh plate after Canaletto, but many other painters, including Francesco Guardi and Samuel Prout, chose the identical viewpoint.²⁸ The practical reason for this is that there were three adjacent locations (now there is a single *calle*) at San Giovanni Crisostomo, by the water and at the required distance, from which one could make drawings of the view.

The works by Prout and Stanfield referred to above are more accurate than Turner’s *Canaletti Painting* and therefore correspondingly closer to Visentini’s print (Figure 7). There is also a Marieschi engraving that could have served as a source had not the artists them-

selves sketched the waterfront from a boat or from San Giorgio Maggiore (practically every artist did).²⁹ Turner’s angle is closer than Canaletto’s to the view from San Giorgio, but Turner replaced the church with an inaccurately monumental rendering of the Dogana, turned ninety degrees and distanced from its real location. This afforded him the possibility of centering the campanile and drawing attention to the Ponte della Paglia and the Bridge of Sighs, which hover above the fork of a gondola entering at lower right. The latter bridge bore the weight of literary significance, and the lines from Byron’s *Childe Harold* that Turner appended to another painting—“I stood in Venice on the Bridge of Sighs / A palace and a prison on each hand”—may also have been in his mind when he titled this one.³⁰ The artist’s contemporaries admired *Canaletti Painting* as an accurate description (which by comparison with Turner’s later pictures of Venice it certainly is), but eighteenth-century viewers would not have seen it as such.

Baldassare Longhena’s Santa Maria della Salute is a muscular, three-dimensional Baroque building favored with a beautiful location near the opening of the Grand Canal. It is possible to sketch the church from directly opposite; from Campo San Vio or Santa Maria del Giglio looking east (in effect, the Accademia Bridge offers much the same outlook); and from the Piazzetta, the balcony of the Palazzo Ducale, and the Riva degli Schiavone looking west. In the print medium, Carlevaris, Marieschi, and Brustolon (Figure 4) opted to show the church from the opposite bank, a centralized composition that was not taken up in the nineteenth century.³¹ Practically every artist of note essayed the view of the church and basin from the east: for typical eighteenth-century prints see Lovisa, and Visentini after Canaletto; and, in the nineteenth century, Bonington among professional painters who visited the city and Lady Susan Percy (1782–1847) among amateurs.³² The church and the Grand Canal from the west was also a popular view with, for example, James Hakewill (1778–1843) and James Duffield Harding (1797/8–1863).³³ Turner and Canaletto painted and drew the church from both directions.³⁴

Canaletto’s influence has been identified in *Venice, from the Porch of Madonna della Salute* (Figure 6).³⁵ The most important view by Canaletto of this subject was in the Royal Collection, to which Turner would not have had access, but there were both variants and prints. He seems not to have used any of them, nor did he follow the distorted perspective of the canvas then attributed to Canaletto that he may have seen in the Louvre (Figure 5). Turner’s Salute is no closer to Visentini’s print (Figure 11) than to Carlevaris’s (Figure 12). The



11. Antonio Maria Visentini, after Canaletto. *Ex Aede Salutis, usque ad caput Canalis* (*The Salute and the Entrance to the Grand Canal*), 1742. From *Prospectus magni canalis venetiarum*, no. v, first published in 1735. Etching, plate: 27.2 x 43 cm, sheet: 37.2 x 47.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.45)



12. Luca Carlevaris (Venetian, 1663–1730). *Altra veduta della chiesa della Salute* (*Another View of the Church of the Salute*), 1703. From *Le fabriche, e vedute di Venetia*, no. 5. Etching, plate: 20.6 x 29.3 cm, sheet: 27.4 x 39 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1957 (57.618)



13. Luca Carlevaris. *Altra veduta della Dogana* (*Another View of the Dogana*), 1703. From *Le fabriche, e vedute di Venetia*, no. 61. Etching, plate: 20.7 x 29.3 cm, sheet: 27.5 x 38.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1957 (57.618)

English artist depicts the entrance portal of the church and one volute above, introducing a nonexistent balcony between. There is no correspondence between the buildings on the opposite bank in the work of the two artists. Visentini's print after Canaletto omits the palaces opposite, showing the Mint at the left, nearer than it is in fact, and much of the Riva degli Schiavoni. By contrast, among Turner's many palaces, several exceed four stories (the statutory height). It is also worth noting that for Canaletto, Santa Maria della Salute was one subject among many, while for Turner, the church played a central role in his Venetian output.

Few artists painted the Giudecca Canal, then as now of only peripheral interest. Turner, however, did so often; he also showed Santa Maria della Salute from the back. The church is atypically large for Venice, as Carlevaris—unlike Canaletto—suggests (Figure 13). Nineteenth-century painters endowed it with towering scale and a brooding quality appropriate to a romantic image. A case in point is a watercolor by Stanfield of the Dogana and the church of Santa Maria della Salute.³⁶ One might postulate the influence of a Venetian print on both Stanfield and Turner, but if this were the case, it would not have been a print by Canaletto, as both nineteenth-century artists emphasize the slightly elongated, melonlike shape of the dome. Turner also focuses on the slender bell towers seen from beside and behind, and paints the whole church in an unreal, dazzling white.

Canaletto's Venice was a city that was widely advertised: a gay, lively, and welcoming metropolitan environment (see Figures 4, 7) in which the visitor could envision pleasurably inserting himself. Turner was little interested in depicting either Venetians or travelers, whom Canaletto observed with scrupulous attention to costume, posture, and gesture. The English artist was also unconcerned with the exacting

architectural detail that Canaletto drew so lovingly: instead he deploys transparent color to conjure up his silent, "evanescent" vision.³⁷ Canaletto showed the out-of-the-way places that are sometimes referred to affectionately as "Venezia minore." Turner rarely painted anything other than San Marco, the Salute, the nearest reaches of the two principal canals, and the Rialto Bridge. Leaving aside the bell towers (which, on account of their height and artificial footings, often collapsed), Venetian topography dictates relatively low buildings, and Canaletto's is a horizontal city. Turner's, on the other hand, is a vertical one. Turner's Venice is a dewy universe, while Canaletto transcribed brickwork with the precision of an engineer. The Venetian neatly separated the land from the sea, developing for purposes of describing water a rather conventional notation of squiggles and wave-shaped crests. Turner merges the two elements with the architecture in the wholeness of his vision and apprehension.

If Turner had recourse to Canaletto, it must have been because he was aware of the Venetian painter's popularity in England, as well as mindful of the successes of those of his contemporaries who had taken up Venice as a subject. It diminishes neither to say that there can have been few painters who treated the same views more differently. A condition of life in Venice is that if one is not on the water, one can draw or paint the sights from only a limited number of established locations: San Giorgio Maggiore (for the Palazzo Ducale and the waterfront), Campo San Vio and Santa Maria della Salute (for the palaces on the opposite site and the mouth of the canal), and the Riva del Carbon (for the Rialto Bridge). Perceived similarities between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century paintings, drawings, and prints of Venice, and between Canaletto and Turner, often simply reflect the realities of the local topography.

NOTES

1. This article grew out of a conversation with Ian Warrell in Venice in summer 2002 and from our friendly disagreement on the subject of Canaletto's influence on Turner. The title for the picture is that from the 1833 exhibition catalogue (*The Exhibition of the Royal Academy* [London, 1833], p. 10, no. 109). A detail served as the cover of Warrell's splendid catalogue for the 2003 show at Tate Britain, London, *Turner and Venice* (London, 2003), which traveled to the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth. For the 1833 Venetian subjects, see pp. 18–19, 22, 88, 106, figs. 5, 103, and Martin Butlin and Evelyn Joll, *The Paintings of J. M. W. Turner*, 2 vols., rev. ed. (New Haven, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 200–201, no. 349, vol. 2, colorpl. 356, and vol. 1, pp. 202–3, no. 352, vol. 2, pl. 353.
2. Butlin and Joll, *Turner*, vol. 1, pp. 201–2, no. 350, vol. 2, colorpl. 354. In general, the titles of the Dutch marine paintings are more specific and meaningful. See Fred G. H. Bachrach, *Turner's Holland*, exh. cat., Tate Gallery (London, 1994), and James Hamilton, *Turner: The Late Seascapes*, exh. cat., Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass.; Manchester City Galleries; Burrell Collection, Glasgow (New Haven, 2003), pp. 23–29.
3. For example, Hardy George, "Turner in Venice," *Art Bulletin* 53 (March 1971), p. 87; John Gage, "Turner and Stourhead: The Making of a Classicist?," *Art Quarterly* 37 (Spring 1974), p. 84; Lindsay Stainton, *Turner's Venice* (New York, 1985), pp. 10–11, 19; Francis Haskell, "The Taste for Canaletto," in Katharine Baetjer and J. G. Links, *Canaletto*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1989), pp. 33–35; Andrew Wilton, "JMW Turner," in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 31 (New York, 1996), p. 470; and Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, pp. 14, 20, 21, 43, 48, 75, 79, 95, etc.
4. Michael Levey, "Canaletto as Artist of the Urban Scene," in Baetjer and Links, *Canaletto*, pp. 17–29.
5. W. G. Constable, *Canaletto*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. rev. and with suppl. by J. G. Links (Cambridge, 1989) remains the standard source.
6. J. G. Links, ed., *Views of Venice by Canaletto, Engraved by Antonio Visentini* (New York, 1971), reproduces the thirty-eight views comprising the 1742 edition.
7. For the dates see Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, pp. 16–17, 19, 24, 260 n. 40.
8. Michael Levey, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Eighteenth Century Italian Schools* (London, 1956), p. 13, and Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 1, pl. 43, vol. 2, pp. 283–84, no. 199; also David Bomford and Gabriele Finaldi, *Venice through Canaletto's Eyes: Canaletto in the National Gallery*, exh. cat., National Gallery, London, York City Art Gallery, Glynn Vivian Art Gallery, Swansea (London, 1998).
9. Levey, *Eighteenth Century Italian Schools*, pp. 15, 16 n. 4, and Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 1, pl. 52, vol. 2, p. 318, no. 259.
10. Levey, *Eighteenth Century Italian Schools*, p. 19, and Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 2, p. 366, no. 348(a). Bought in, the painting remained at Thirlestane House until the sale of 1859 and eventually reached the National Gallery with the Wynn Ellis Bequest of 1876.
11. G. F. Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists in England*, 3 vols. (London, 1838), vol. 3, p. 128.
12. Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 1, pl. 30, vol. 2, p. 246, no. 122.
13. Ibid., vol. 1, pl. 60, vol. 2, p. 328, no. 280, p. 350, no. 328, p. 329, no. 282 (a).
14. Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, pp. 44, 262 n. 10.
15. Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 1, pls. 115, 116, vol. 2, pp. 525–32, nos. 630–39, and vol. 1, pl. 117 (two prints by Giovanni Battista Brustolon, for which see note 22 below).
16. Ibid., vol. 1, pl. 37, vol. 2, p. 267, no. 169, and Mario Manzelli, *Michele Marieschi e il suo alter-ego Francesco Alboto* (Venice, 1991), p. 60, no. M.32.1, colorpl. M.32.1.
17. Butlin and Joll, *Turner*, vol. 1, pp. 212–13, no. 362, vol. 2, colorpl. 367.
18. Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée and Dominique Thiébaud, *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du Musée du Louvre*, vol. 2; *Italie, Espagne, Allemagne, Grand-Bretagne et divers* (Paris, 1981), pp. 185–86, nos. 319–25, ill.
19. Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 1, pls. 50, 55, 66, vol. 2, pp. 306–8, no. 242, pp. 328–29, no. 282, pp. 371–73, nos. 359, 360.
20. Ibid., vol. 1, pls. 45, 57, 58, vol. 2, p. 288, no. 208, p. 335, no. 297, pp. 338–39, no. 305.
21. Ibid., vol. 1, pl. 93, vol. 2, pp. 465–66, no. 509.
22. Dario Succi, *Da Carlevarij ai Tiepolo: Incisori veneti e friulani del Settecento*, exh. cat. (Venice, 1983), esp. pp. 81–93, 112–29, 239–53, ill.
23. Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, pp. 44, 262, chap. 1 n. 12, pl. 24 (the Canaletto print). The pencil sketch is from the "Venice" sketchbook [Finberg CCCXIV 15a], illustrated as no. 031955 on the Tate website <www.tate.org.uk/servlet/ViewWork (March 20, 2006)>. See also Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, p. 148, colorpl. 151, p. 149, pl. 152, p. 165, colorpl. 173.
24. Graham Reynolds, *Turner* (New York, 1969), pp. 158–60.
25. Stainton, *Turner's Venice*, pp. 18–19, fig. 6.
26. Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, colorpl. 102.
27. Ibid., colorpl. 64.
28. Ibid., colorpls. 67, 98; Links, *Views of Venice*, part 1, no. 6; Antonio Morassi, *Guardi: Antonio e Francesco Guardi*, 2 vols. (Venice, [1973]), vol. 2, figs. 529, 530. The location of the campanile of San Bartolomeo with respect to the bridge indicates that Warrell's pls. 29, 31, and colorpl. 30 are taken from the Riva del Carbon.
29. Succi, *Da Carlevarij ai Tiepolo*, p. 244, fig. 288. Turner also had his 1819 pencil and watercolor sketch (Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, colorpl. 78); while freely colored, it is topographically accurate.
30. Butlin and Joll, *Turner*, vol. 1, p. 235, no. 383, vol. 2, colorpl. 386.
31. Succi, *Da Carlevarij ai Tiepolo*, pp. 92, fig. 65, 253, fig. 304, and Fabio Fiorani, ed., *Luca Carlevarij: Vedute di Venezia alla fine dell' '600* (Rome, n.d.), fig. 4.
32. For Visentini, see Links, *Views of Venice*, part 1, no. 6, part 2, no. 12; for Lovisa, the print that is the cover of Umberto Franzoi et al., *Venezia 1717–1993: Immagini a confronto*, exh. cat., Palazzo Ducale, Venice (Milan, 1993); and for Bonington and Lady Susan Percy, Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, pls. 18, 19, colorpls. 99, 85.
33. Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, pl. 32, colorpl. 100.
34. Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 1, pls. 27, 34, 35, nos. 148–54, pls. 36, 37, nos. 160–65, pls. 38, 39, nos. 177, 180, 181.
35. Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, p. 106.
36. Ibid., p. 105, colorpl. 101.
37. Butlin and Joll, *Turner*, vol. 1, p. 259.

Harry Burton's Photographs of the Metropolitan's Excavations at Deir el-Bahri

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IN MARCH 2006 THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM opened an exhibition titled "Hatshepsut, from Queen to Pharaoh." I had spent the previous eighteen months working with Catharine H. Roehrig, curator of Egyptian art at the Metropolitan and one of the organizers of the exhibition, on photographing the Museum's Hatshepsut collection as well as some materials from the Louvre and the British Museum. It was during that time that I became acquainted with Harry Burton's photographs from the Museum's excavation at Deir el-Bahri. I was struck by his coolly informational yet graphically energetic images, several of which were featured in the exhibition as mural-size blowups. Because over the past decade I have photographed the Metropolitan's excavations in Dashur, Egypt, under the direction of Curator Dieter Arnold, I realized that imbuing these utilitarian pictures with such elegance was no small feat.

Harry Burton was born in 1879 in a rural village in Lincolnshire, England. When he was about fourteen, he was befriended by a member of a prominent local family, Robert Henry Hobart Cust, an art historian with a special interest in the Italian Renaissance. A few years later he traveled with his patron to Florence, where he became immersed in European painting and connoisseurship. By 1903 Burton was recognized as a skilled photographer both by his Florentine colleagues and by collectors. Cust introduced Burton to Theodore M. Davis, a wealthy American lawyer who traveled annually to Egypt, excavating his own concession in the Valley of the Kings. With no archaeological experience but with the confidence of his new patron, Burton left for Egypt in 1910 to work on the Davis concession, primarily as an excavator and only secondarily as a photographer. When he joined the Metropolitan Museum of Art Expedition team in 1914, it was as a member of the Museum's graphics branch, charged with the recording of Egyptian monuments. Over the next twenty-six years Burton produced more than 7,500 excavation photographs as well as thou-

sands of views of tombs, monuments, and landscapes. Today, he is the most renowned of excavation photographers, mainly but not solely because of his masterful documentation from 1922 to 1933 of Howard Carter's finds at Tutankhamun's tomb. Burton participated in many other digs, however, including the Museum's excavations at Thebes, Lisht, Wadi Natrun, and Kharga. He continued to maintain a regular work schedule until his death at Assut in 1940.

The great majority of Burton's extant excavation photographs were made between 1911 and 1936. Many of these illustrate the work of the Museum's Egyptian Expedition in the area of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri, near the Valley of the Kings, across the Nile from the modern city of Luxor. The Museum owns all of Burton's negatives and original prints from this endeavor, and it is these that are the basis for the following discussion.

An excavation photographer's job is twofold: to document the progress of the dig and to record any materials that are found. Site photographs show the physical changes the area undergoes over time as well as any structural elements or architectural remains unearthed. Object photography, which can be done in a studio, in the field, or in a makeshift studio on the site, shows individual pieces or groups of found materials. Both types of photograph can be used for record-keeping purposes, illustrating the place where the piece was found, its context, and its condition; an object photograph may also serve as the definitive image of a piece.

Burton's great gift was to be brilliant in each facet of the excavation photographer's job. His studio shots have an elegance and an understanding of the objects that belie the primitive conditions in which they were taken. His site photography is muscular yet lyrical. His photographs of tombs and burial chambers are unmatched technically and graphically. Burton's pictures reveal him to be both a "grinder," that is, a workmanlike toiler at his task, and an exceptional, sensitive artist.

That Burton did work of such quantity and quality is even more impressive considering his tools and the

conditions under which he operated. He used a large-format view camera consisting of a bellows flanked by two standards, one with a lens, the other with a ground-glass plate, set on a tripod. In the hot sun he would duck beneath a heavy dark cloth to frame and to focus the image with a magnifying loupe on the eight-by-ten-inch glass plate. He would next adjust the front and rear standards to correct distortion, then close the lens, cock the shutter, and set the aperture. His last two tasks were to insert a large (approximately nine-by-twelve-inch) film holder into the rear standard, in front of the ground glass, and to remove its slide. The picture was now ready to be taken—if the tripod had not shifted, or dirt been blown onto the lens, or the elements of the scene changed. Had any of these things happened, the slide would have to be replaced, the film holder removed, and the entire process started anew. Once the image was captured, Burton would trudge back to his darkroom and process the negative. If exposure, focus, and framing were correct, he would move on to his next shot and repeat the entire process.

Burton himself carried the camera and cases, tripod, film holders loaded with glass plates, dark cloth, levels, measures, standards, and lenses mounted on boards, along with notebooks to record when, where, and what he was shooting. He did this in an environment that constantly challenged both himself and his equipment. Climbing up cliff trails, over debris mounds, or down into excavated pits in 100-degree heat is obviously that much more difficult when toting heavy equipment that can jam or be scratched by the smallest grains of sand or dirt. Yet, despite every obstacle, Burton's photographs are close to technically perfect. His negatives are unscratched, beautifully exposed and processed. His focus and framing are true and square. His notes are meticulous and concise.

Burton's extraordinary picture of the coffin of Merytamun (Figure 1), shot in his studio at the excavation site, obviously demonstrates his studio prowess. He has chosen the perfect angle; the light is soft, its effect dramatic. The image feels more like a portrait than an object photograph. Although there are visible cracks on the surface of the face, it appears almost to be made of flesh, to be smooth skin rather than cedar wood. The eyes, nose, mouth, and chin are naturally and clearly delineated, while the shading on the wig creates depth and dimension. A shadow running down the base of the wig separates it from the honeycombed shoulder coming forward. The sliver of the wig on the far side of the chest is divided from the near side by only a thin dark line. This subtle feature completes the portrait by implicitly bringing the right side of the face and the right shoulder into the composition.

Photographers always say that there are three things to know about photography: light, light and light. Burton chose the perfect light in which to make this image near Hathor's shrine (Figure 2). Soft shadows delineate the architectural elements, which seem at once solid yet playfully askew. By using a wide-angle lens, Burton created enormous depth and a receding perspective: the stone blocks of the foreground fall out at us as the background elements run away. The figure in the black galabia provides both scale and a focal point that immediately draws our eye into the scene. The cliff face at the top of the frame crashes down like a wave, stopping us from wandering any farther. This extremely complex image is at once graphic and kinetic, interior and open-air, informative and dramatic.

An overview of the excavation site by Burton (Figure 3) not only captures the exact appearance of the area but also demonstrates the photographer's technical prowess and painterly eye. His job was to record the progress of the excavation, and in this respect there could not be a more informative shot. We see the terracing of the site in the middle distance. We understand the method of excavation from the multitude of workers removing sand in woven zambes or baskets. We see the beginnings of the reassembly of sculptures in the left foreground. (That may be Herbert Winlock, the field director, working in half shadow to the right of the standing figure.) The "dump" for fragments of stone, the rest house, and the boom assembly are all visible beyond the workers. The base of the cliff at the left gives us our orientation.

The negative for this photograph is perfectly exposed: both the high end (upper left) and low end (lower right) contain information. Oftentimes, in exposures made under bright sun, the highlights are bleached or the shadows become opaque, but that is not the case here. By taking the picture from above with a long lens, Burton was able to capture the entire scene without the distortion of a wider-angle lens. He used a fast shutter speed to freeze the action of the workers, and a small aperture to attain sharp focus from front to back.

Like a good painting, this work creates the illusion of three dimensions on a flat plane. There is no doubt that the figure standing at the lower center is positioned in front of the ranks of workers, who are themselves in front of and below the rest house. We look

Figure 1. Harry Burton (British, 1879–1940). *Outer Coffin of Merytamun*. Taken March 1929. Excavations of the Egyptian Expedition at Deir el-Bahri, 1928–29. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives of the Department of Egyptian Art, M10C 119



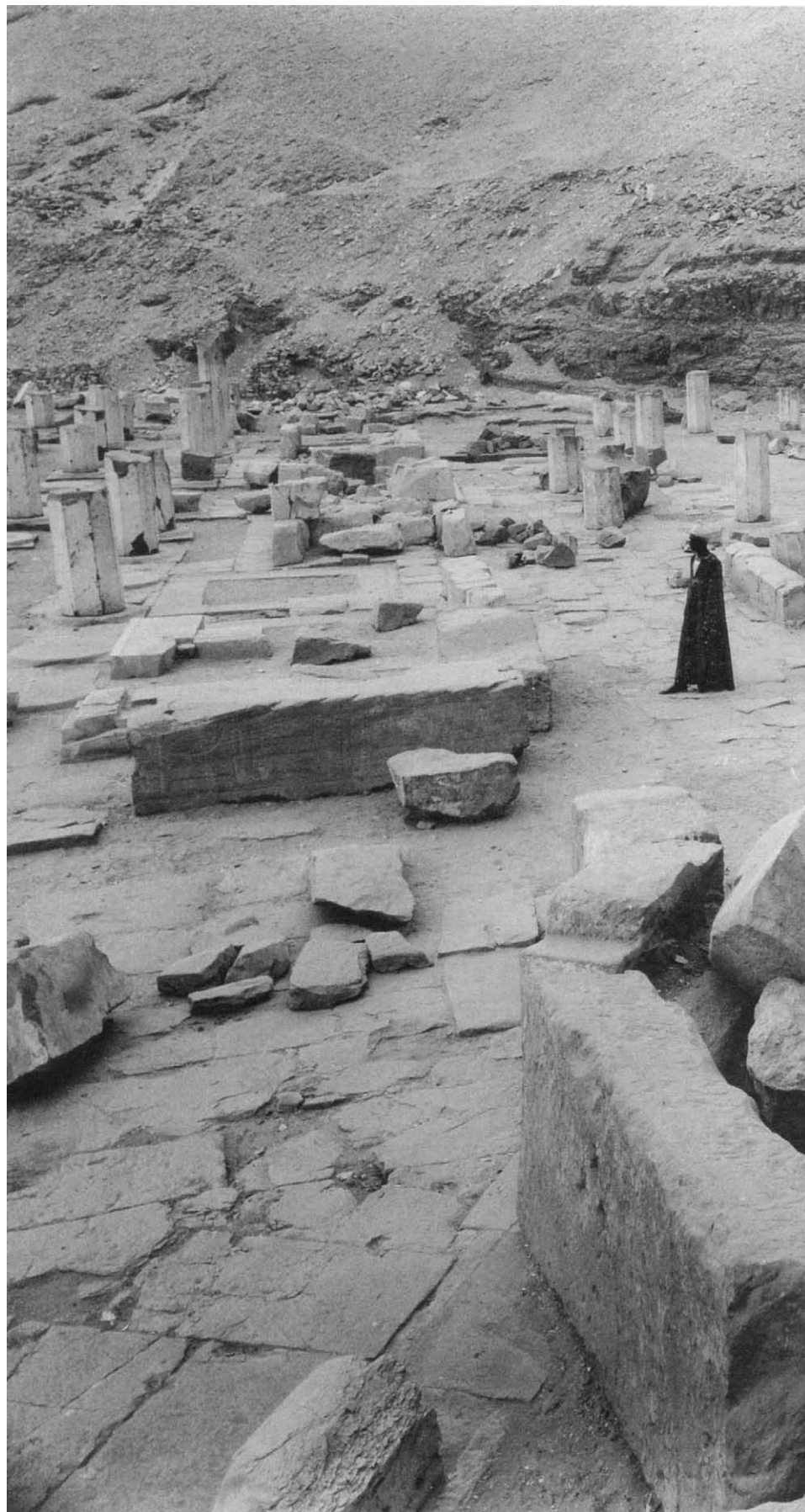


Figure 2. Harry Burton. *Near Hathor Shrine* (the corner of the shrine is at the far right). Excavations of the Egyptian Expedition at Deir el-Bahri, probably 1920–21. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives of the Department of Egyptian Art



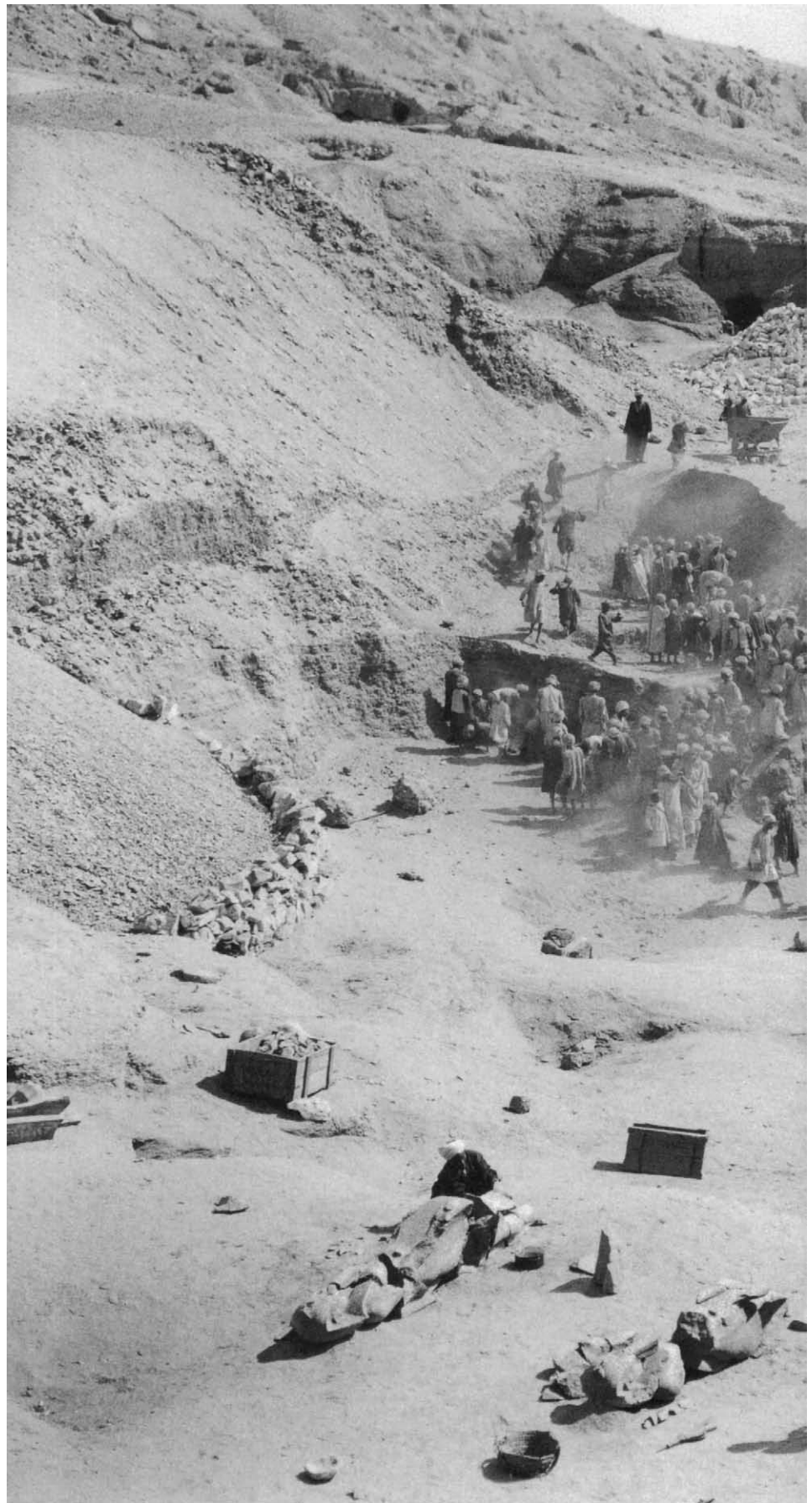


Figure 3. Harry Burton. *Progress of the Work*. Taken February 1, 1928. Excavations of the Egyptian Expedition at Deir el-Bahri, 1927–28. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives of the Department of Egyptian Art, M9C 175



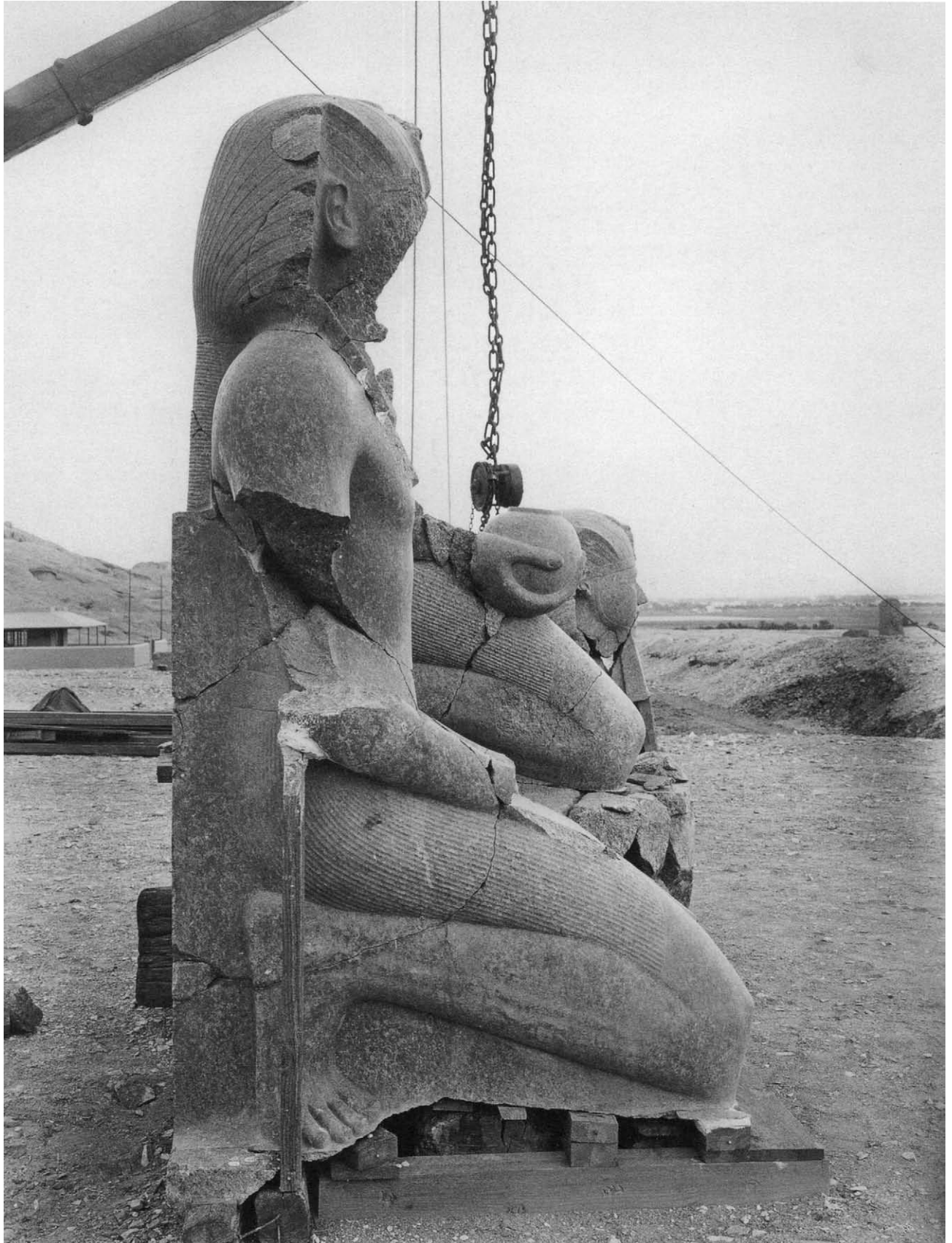


Figure 4. Harry Burton. *Nu Vase Statue No B*. Excavations of the Egyptian Expedition at Deir el-Bahri, 1927–28. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives of the Department of Egyptian Art, M9C 318



Figure 5. Harry Burton. *Hand of Kneeling Statue at Bottom of East Face of Senenmut Brick Dump*. Excavations of the Egyptian Expedition at Deir el-Bahri, 1927–28. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives of the Department of Egyptian Art, M9C 55

into this picture rather than at it. In addition to separating foreground and background, the triangular shapes of the cliff base at the left and the shadowy wall at the right force our attention to the center. The picture, finally, is more than a snapshot. We feel the chaos, energy, movement, and choking dust of the site while hovering calmly above the fray.

An object photograph taken on site with perfect framing and light (Figure 4) is in my opinion one of Burton's most accomplished. The various elements of the three sculptures blend together, yet each work maintains its individuality. The headdress, stiff back, and feet of the first, the hands, offering bowl, and skirt of the second, and the profile and beard of the third are contiguous but distinctly positioned from front to back. The detail of the relief is striking: note, for example, how precisely the incised lines in the skirts of the first two sculptures are indicated. Normally, a hard raking light would be used to bring out the shallow relief on a monochrome sculpture, but Burton has captured the information in a flat light by choosing

the right time of day. The light source is at one o'clock and, although there are no highlights and little shadow, even the most subtle carving is revealed, as in the ropelike muscle running down the lower leg of the first sculpture. The wires, booms, and chains add graphic energy. The rest house to the left and the receding horizon to the right locate the viewer in an exact place in the plain in front of Deir el-Bahri.

I think Burton captured this image on the fly: he walked by, saw the elements of the scene coalesce, and shot them. The area around the sculptures is not cleaned up, as is customary in his more formal field shots. He made no attempt to erect his oft-used cloth background or to have the chains and tackle removed. I am sure that Winlock was surprised and pleased when he saw this image.

In direct contrast to the overall excavation shot (Figure 3) is Burton's "grinder" shot of an object in its original find site (Figure 5). This straightforward and informative image represents record photography in the field at its best. The inclusion of the upper layer of

untouched earth and the wall of fragments on the left reveals that we are looking at the side of a trench rather than straight down. In the beautiful soft light, the hand in the foreground separates itself from the background rubble and becomes our focus. Those shards, sharp-edged and forlorn, draw our eye up from the hand, adding weight, depth, and graphic movement to the composition.

The final picture, showing Burton at work on the left, must have been carefully set up by the photographer (Figure 6). The cliffs at the upper left give the scene its grandeur. Hatshepsut's temple is visible in the background, but hardly the main interest, while the foreground is out of focus and unimportant. Except for the sphinx at the right, the horizontal row of statuary fragments is undistinguished. This image was made first thing in the morning, when the site was quiet and the air free from dust. In this harsh light, only the white shirts of the two figures glow. Despite the dramatic landscape, this is actually a picture of men at work, a self-portrait disguised as a site photo. Though the human subjects are unassuming and integrated into the setting, they are the focus here.

Harry Burton had a charmed life, well deserved. Luck, hard work, intelligence, and amiability seem to have existed in equal amounts in him. His work at Tutankhamun's tomb, with its extraordinary found materials, has become a staple of popular culture as well as a high point of architectural photography. But, as these few photographs from Deir el-Bahri show, there is so much more, both subtle and courageous, to appreciate about Burton's work during his many decades in Egypt. The astounding quantity and quality of his work are perhaps understandable when one realizes that the quantity made the quality possible. Experience certainly aids us all, but at times, when the extraordinary becomes routine, we may lose our sense of awe at the process. With his strongly instinctive photographic skills, Burton never fell into that trap. He was so aware, so technically proficient, that he achieved a lyrical beauty in his photographs that others have rarely attained. Just as short sentences are not necessarily poetry, so technical photographs are not necessarily art. Except when they are.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Figure 6. Harry Burton. *Work on Statue Fragments*. Taken February 15, 1929. Excavations of the Egyptian Expedition at Deir el-Bahri, 1928–29. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives of the Department of Egyptian Art, M10C 58

Manuscript Guidelines for the Metropolitan Museum Journal

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