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BENJAMIN VINCENT

Some Emblematic Uses of Hieroglyphs with Particular Reference to an Archaic Ritual Vessel

HENRY G. FISCHER

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THE SUBJECT OF this brief study is a pair of proto-dynastic schist dishes that were purchased in Luxor during the winter of 1918–1919, when Ambrose Lansing was conducting the Metropolitan Museum's excavations in the Theban necropolis, across the river. Apart from some astute remarks by William C. Hayes, which will be mentioned presently, little notice has been given to them, and even less notice has been given to an interesting emblematic parallel in the Third Dynasty tomb of Hesi-Re. These three topics will be explored in turn, beginning with the more important of the two dishes.

1. A HIEROGLYPHIC DISH

The elaborate spouted dish illustrated in Figures 1–5 is the most interesting and handsome object in that part of the Museum's Egyptian collection which antedates the Old Kingdom.¹ It is also the most interesting

example among a series of schist vessels in which the First Dynasty sculptors exploited their technical mastery to the limit.² And, perhaps because the craftsman who created it was more fully aware of the limitations of his material, it is much better preserved than the other examples. The delicate plasticity of the design is securely based upon the solid floor of the dish—a precursor of the “negative space” that is so characteristic a feature of later stone sculpture—and there is an ample, though inconspicuous, amount of reinforcement at particularly vulnerable points, such as the narrow juncture of the spout. Not surprisingly, the functional nature of the piece is combined with an elegance of space, shape, and proportion.

The hollowed outer edge of the dish is enclosed by a pair of arms, the slenderness of which is indicative of their hieroglyphic character, representing the sign 𓂏 (*k3*, “spirit”). They are displayed in low relief on sides and back, with the hands emerging more completely

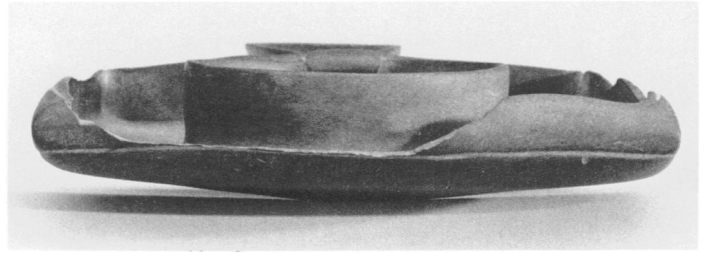
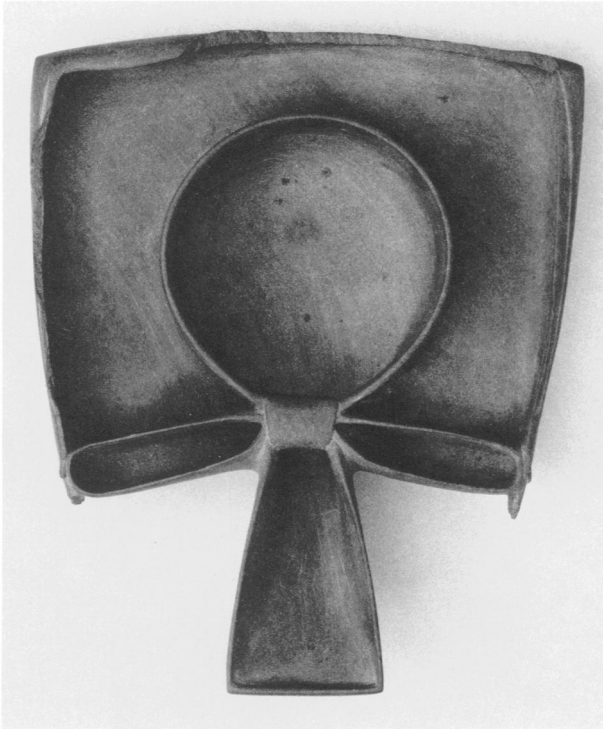
1. Acc. no. 19.2.16. Length 17.5 cm., width 14.5 cm. Provenance unknown, but in view of the fact that it was purchased in Luxor, Abydos is a possibility. Previously illustrated by N. E. Scott, *The Home Life of the Ancient Egyptians: A Picture Book* (New York, 1944) fig. 25; C. Aldred, *The Egyptians* (London, 1961) pl. 3; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I (New York, 1953) p. 43, fig. 31.

2. W. B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, I (Cairo, 1949) p. 101, fig. 58, pl. 40 (A, B) (also W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* [London, 1958] pl. 9 [A]); W. B. Emery, *The Tomb*

of Hemaka (Cairo, 1938) p. 40, pl. 19 (also W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* [Harmondsworth, 1961] pl. 39 [a]); Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, pl. 38 (a); P. Montet, “Tombeaux des I^{re} et IV^e dynasties à Abou-Roach,” *Kémi* 8 (1946) pp. 176–177, pl. 5. Cf. J.-Ph. Lauer, *La Pyramide à Degrés: Compléments*, III (Cairo, 1939) pp. 10–11, fig. 16. A First Dynasty example in limestone is shown by Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, pl. 35 (a); those of the following dynasty, made of schist and other stones, are heavier and less refined, as illustrated by Emery's pls. 35 (b) and 39 (b).



FIGURE 1
Ritual vessel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 19.2.16



FIGURES 2-4
Top, rear, and side views of the Metropolitan Museum's ritual vessel

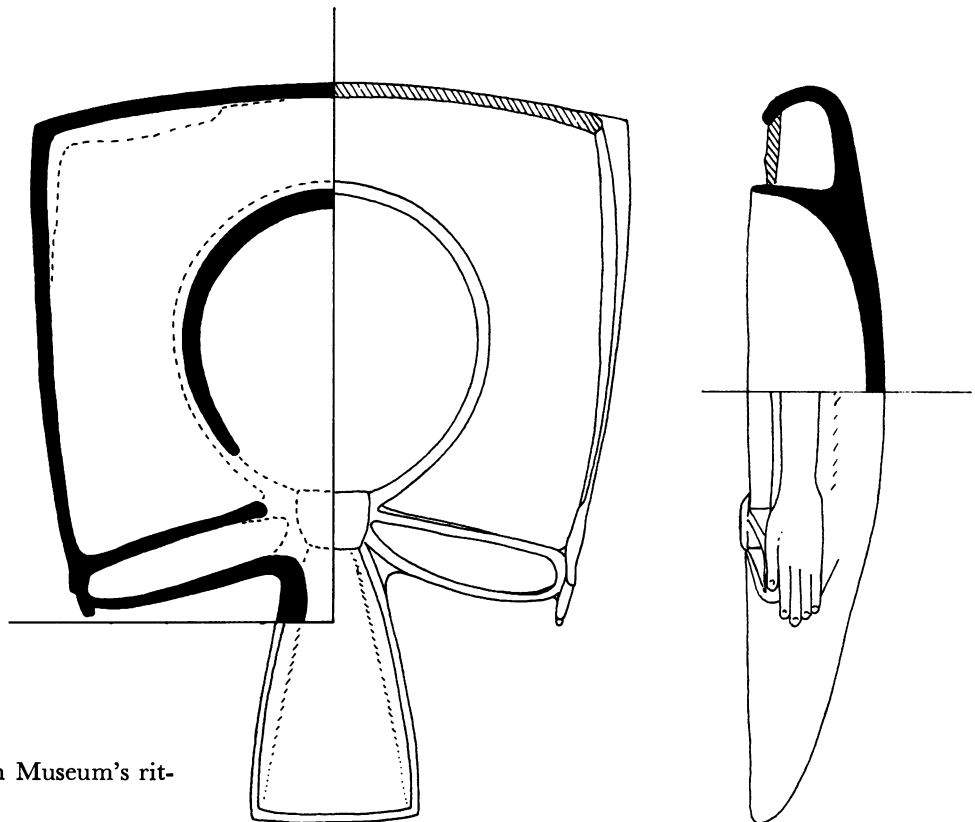


FIGURE 5
Structure of the Metropolitan Museum's ritual vessel

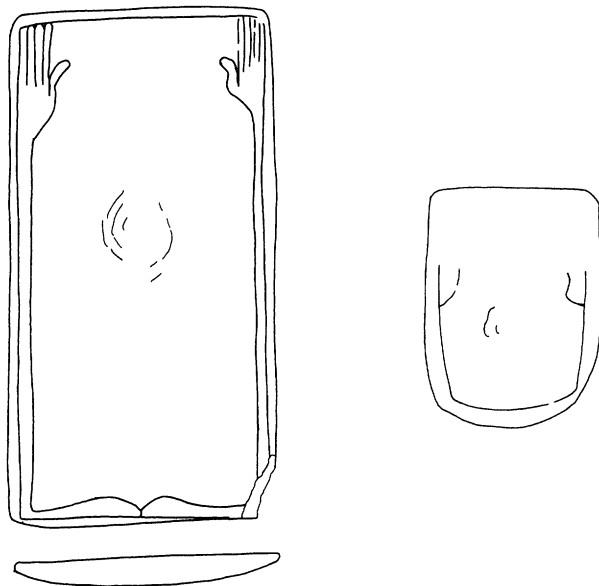


FIGURE 6
Protodynastic cosmetic palettes. After Quibell

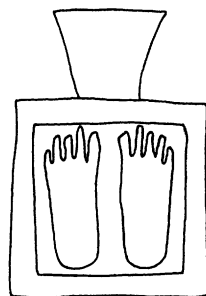


FIGURE 7
Old Kingdom footbath. After James

in the round. This device similarly frames at least two protodynastic schist cosmetic palettes (Figure 6),³ but in the present case its meaning is more explicit, for the arms present an emblem that is evidently to be interpreted as an archaic form of the hieroglyph 𓂏 (*nh*, “life”). The lower part of the sign serves as a spout, and the three loops of the upper part are inconspicuously pierced with apertures of diminishing width so that water could flow throughout the emblem and become imbued with its potency. This idea is akin to that of the much later “cippi of Horus,” such as the Metternich stela (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 50.85), over which water was poured so that the virtue of the stela’s magical spells could be tapped for the relief of stings and bites.⁴ In the present case, however, the water was almost certainly intended for lustration or libation, and a similar combination of rectangle and projecting spout is echoed in a receptacle used for bathing, as represented at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (Figure 7).⁵

The lustration ritual of ancient Egypt, whether it was performed for the living or for the dead, was intended as much more than a purification. As evidenced by the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, as well as later scenes from tombs and temples, it also provided the recipient with life. In New Kingdom depictions of lustrations the stream of water takes the form of a series of 𓂏 -signs, sometimes alternating with 𓂏 , emblematic of “power” (Figure 8).⁶ One unusual example shows water poured over a god from a vessel that is held by

3. J. E. Quibell, *Archaic Objects, Catalogue général du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1904–1905) nos. 14234, 14235. In neither case is the provenance known; but both show signs of wear at the center, as well as traces of green eye-paint. I am not altogether certain about the authenticity of a third example, which is illustrated in Henri Asselberghs, *Chaos en Beheersing* (Leiden, 1961) no. 107, pl. 59.

4. N. E. Scott, “The Metternich Stela,” *BMMA* n. s. 9 (1950–1951) pp. 201–217. The use of these objects is discussed by P. Lacau, “Les statues ‘guérisseuses,’ ” *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Monuments et Mémoires* 25 (1921–1922) pp. 189–209; K. Seele, “Horus on the Crocodiles,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (1947) p. 48.

5. W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1872) pl. 13; T. G. H. James, *British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts*, 2nd ed., I (London, 1961) pl. 2 (3).

6. For the complete papyrus see E. L. B. Terrace and H. G. Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum* (London, 1970) pp. 153–156. The scene illustrated is discussed by A. Blackman, “Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt,” in *PSBA* 40 (1918) pp. 86 ff., and in *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 39 (1920) pp. 53–55. During the New Kingdom the stream of 𓂏 -signs was confined to the lustration of the king (for further examples see A. Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, III [London and Chicago, 1938] pl. 35; IV [London and Chicago, 1958] pl. 43; and Oriental Institute, *Medinet Habu*, V [Chicago, 1957] pls. 296, 309), but Blackman (*Rec. trav.* 39, p. 54) shows a scene from a private tomb of the early Eighteenth Dynasty (N. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* [London, 1913] pl. 21) in which each of the streams of water falls upon a large 𓂏 -sign. The Eleventh Dynasty representation illustrated by Blackman, p. 53 (cf. E. Drioton, “Une figuration cryptographique sur une stèle du Moyen Empire,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 1 [1933] pp. 217–218, fig. 7) may express the same idea.

FIGURE 8

Detail of a Twenty-first Dynasty funerary papyrus. Cairo Museum, T. 14/7/35/6 (photo: Archives photographiques, Paris)



the 𓆎 -sign (Figure 9),⁷ and in other cases the lustration of the king is poured from a jar in the form of 𓆎 , combining 𓆎 and 𓆎 .⁸ This type of vessel more commonly served for libations to the gods, and, in a funerary context, the Pyramid Texts speak of the quickening and rejuvenating effects of cold water offered to the deceased, for example, “A libation is poured! Wake up O sleepers!”⁹ In both cases, for purification as well as libation, these texts refer to the water as an exudation that has come forth from Osiris, or “the water which is in thee.”¹⁰ It accordingly seems appropriate that it be dispensed by one’s own ka, but it should be noted that the ka shares the same benefit; one spell says: “Purify thyself. Thy ka purifies himself. He sits and he eats with thee.”¹¹ If, as these texts suggest, the spouted dish was employed to confer some benefit upon its owner after his death, with the help of his ka, the distinction between lustration and libation becomes difficult, for there was

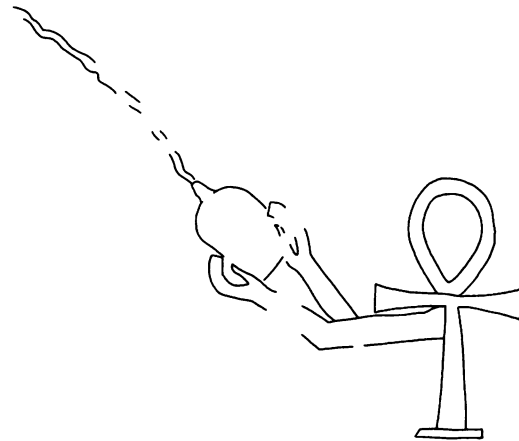


FIGURE 9

Drawing on an erased relief of Queen Hatshepsut, Karnak

7. H. Nelson, “Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 8 (1949) pl. 23. Here the 𓆎 -sign replaces the erased figure of Queen Hatshepsut, but the same idea is depicted in other cases, e.g., the 𓆎 -sign with arms enclosing offerings: Oriental Institute, *Medinet Habu*, VII (Chicago, 1964) pl. 512.

8. Discussed by G. Jéquier, “Materiaux pour servir à l’établisse-

ment d’un dictionnaire d’archéologie égyptienne,” *BIFAO* 19 (1922) pp. 137–139.

9. Pyr. 1010–1011. Pyr. 1878 has “Arise ye who are in your tombs, cast off your bindings.”

10. A. Blackman, “The Significance of Incense and Libations,” *ÄZ* 50 (1912) pp. 69–75.

11. Pyr. 789, 1357. Cf. Pyr. 683: “N. is pure and his ka is pure.”

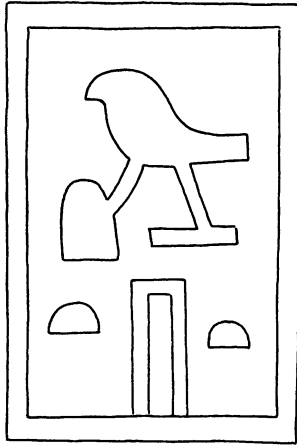
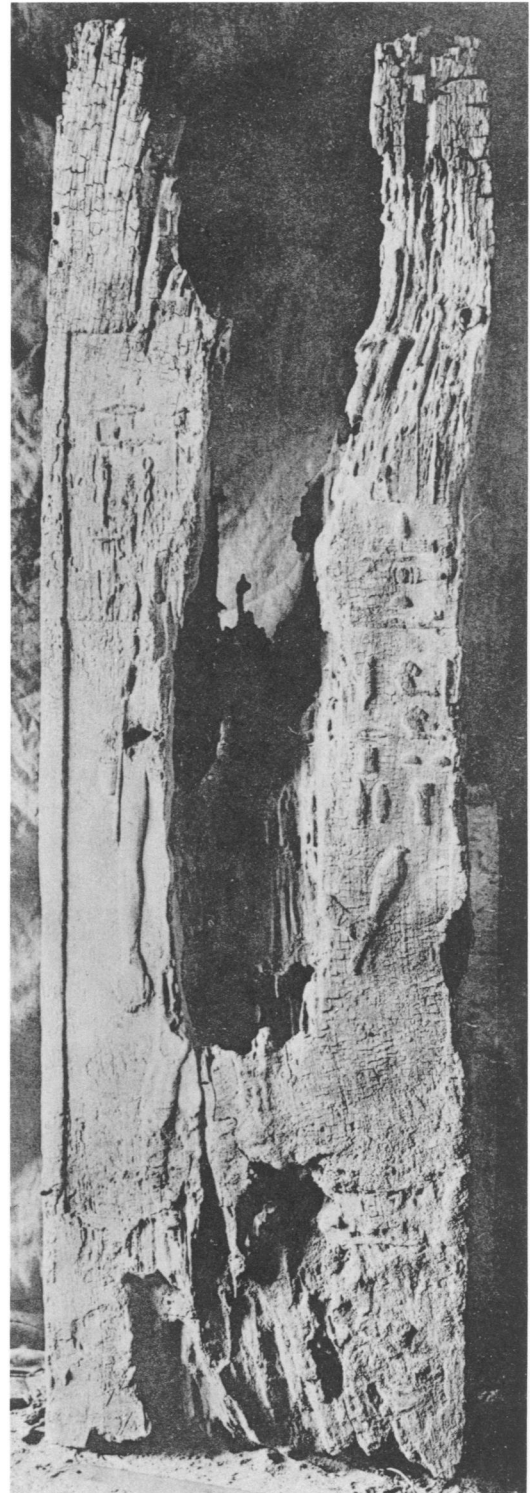




FIGURE 10
Name of the Horus
Aha. After Emery

FIGURE 11
Panel from the mastaba of Hesi-Re. After Quibell



a tendency to regard them as one and the same when the object of the ritual was not immediately at hand.¹²








While there is no question that its principal function was to “present life” by means of the water poured out of it, the dish may also embody a second idea; as William C. Hayes has suggested,¹³ it may spell out the name of an official called  (*‘nh-k3[.i?]*), who is well known from sealings on wine jars of the reign of Den, the fifth king of the First Dynasty.¹⁴ As will presently be seen, the form of the -emblem would suit that date, as would the workmanship of the dish; nearly all of the protodynastic schist vessels that show the greatest degree of virtuosity derive from tombs dated to the same reign.¹⁵




12. Cf. H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952) p. 425.


13. Hayes, *Scepter*, I, p. 42.


14. Perhaps to be read *k3[.i.]*-*‘nh[w]*, “my spirit lives.” For references (all on jar sealings) see A. Klasens, “Een Grafsteen uit de eerste dynastie,” *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* N. R. 37 (1956) p. 20 (20). Klasens, “The Excavations of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities of Abu-Roash,” *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen . . .* N. R. 42 (1961) p. 125, and Emery, *Great Tombs*, III (London, 1958) pls. 79 (16), 80 (26–29), 81 (30–32). One example (W. M. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers* [London, 1925] pl. 3 [5]) is as early as Djer; the rest are dated to Den and his queen Merneith. Cf. also P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, I (Wiesbaden, 1963) p. 455, where the suggested reading is *‘nh-k3*, “he whose ka lives.” Kaplony thinks that there were two officials bearing this name in the reign of Den.





15. The first of the examples cited above, in note 2, comes from the tomb of an official who served under Den and his successor. The second example, from the so-called tomb of Hemaka, and the one published by Montet are linked to no other king than Den. The one first illustrated in Emery’s *Archaic Egypt* is similarly “dated to the middle First Dynasty.”

Emblematic combinations of hieroglyphs are not uncommon in hieroglyphic writing, the best-known example being the use of  in place of  in the writing of *msi*, “give birth,” where the emerging child is replaced by the phonetic sign for *msi* ().¹⁶ A First Dynasty example of such a combination in a personal name is provided by the customary writing of the Horus Aha (Figure 10), in which the falcon holds the hieroglyph  (*h₃*).¹⁷ An even closer parallel seems to occur on one of the wooden niche panels from the Third Dynasty mastaba of Hesi-Re, also known as   (*Hsy*), where he holds a large -jar, the type of jar generally used for libations (Figure 11).¹⁸ This example will be discussed at greater length in Part 3 of this article.









There is some question, however, whether the -sign would be symbolically presented to a nonroyal person even if he possessed so appropriate a name.¹⁹ If the vessel did belong to Ankh-ka, we must assume that this emblem was used more freely at the beginning of the Dynastic Period than it was thereafter. There is no direct evidence to this effect,²⁰ but the -emblem, which is closely related to  and is interchanged with it in various contexts,²¹ encircles the necks of two officials on reliefs dating to the early Old Kingdom,²² after which it disappeared as a necklace, but is sometimes

held in the hand, precisely like the -sign, by divinities in Old Kingdom statuary.²³

Here it should be noted that, of the various readings that have been proposed for , the name conventionally read as “Den,” one alternative neatly fits the possibility that the libation vessel was made for the king himself; according to Kurt Sethe the pair of hieroglyphs should be transliterated *w_{di}-mw*, “he who gives water.”²⁴ But his interpretation remains uncertain, and even if it could be confirmed, it would have no specific application to the form of the lustral vessel beyond the probability that a king of such a name may well have possessed one of exceptional quality. And in such a case one might perhaps expect a costlier material than schist. It remains possible, of course, that the king “who gives water” had such a vessel specially made for his courtier named Ankh-ka, but that possibility is, to say the least, as remote as it is tempting.


Regardless of the question of royal or nonroyal ownership, there can be little doubt that the central emblem of the dish is, in fact, the sign of life. That point seems established by the later connection between life and lustration as well as by the fact that the emblem is held in the hands of the -sign. The only other emblem with which it might be identified—the so-called Isis knot ()—is as closely associated with  as  is;²⁵



16. This and other “ideographische Verbindungen” are dealt with by E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, I (Rome, 1955) par. 62; for a further example see H. G. Fischer, “An Early Occurrence of *hm* ‘servant,’” *MDIK* 16 (1958) pp. 135–137. Similar writings were more commonly adopted in the later periods, as cryptographic alternatives to the usual orthography; for example, the monogram for *h₃p-di-n₃wt* discussed by J. Clère in *Studi in memoria di I. Rosellini*, II (Pisa, 1955) pp. 35–42; cf. E. Drioton, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40 (1940) pp. 305–429.

17. The example in Figure 10 is taken from W. B. Emery, *Hor-Aha* (Cairo, 1939) p. 20, fig. 13; cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II (London, 1901) pl. 3; similarly  for  (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 2 [12]);  for  (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 13); occasional writings of the name of the Horus Djer with  perched on the sign  (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 15 [105, 106]) and the stela of this king, H. G. Fischer, “An Egyptian Royal Stela of the Second Dynasty,” *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961) fig. 6 facing p. 53 (the drawing of P. Newberry in *PSBA* 36 [1914] pl. III, 1, is not accurate in this respect). Also the combination , surmounted by a panther, for  in *nb[t] hwt* ‘*nh*, the epithet of Mafdet (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 7 [10] and I [London, 1900] pl. 7 [4]; cf. W. K. Simpson in *American Journal of Archaeology* 67 [1963] p. 86).

18. J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1911–12): The Tomb of Hesi* (Cairo, 1913) pl. 7 (3).

19. I discuss the later history of this question in a forthcoming issue of *ÄZ*, vol. 99.

20. The predynastic example cited by G. Jéquier, “The Most Ancient Representation of the Sign ,” *PSBA* 39 (1917) pp. 87–88, is invalidated by the remarks of F. W. von Bissing, “Die angebliche älteste Darstellung der ‘Lebensbinde,’” *ÄZ* 57 (1922) p. 137.

21. G. Jéquier, “Les talismans  et ,” *BIFAO* 11 (1914) pp. 142–143; also P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris I à Karnak* (Cairo, 1956) p. 143.

22. Louvre, A 39 (R. Weill, *Des Monuments et de l'Histoire des II^e et III^e Dynasties* [Paris, 1908] pl. II) and Cairo Museum, Cat. gén. 57121, the reliefs of *’Iy-nfr* (E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* [Berlin, 1966] p. 105, Abb. 10, 23).

23. Mycerinus triad, Cairo J. d'Entrée 40679 (G. Reisner, *Mycerinus* [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931] pl. 43 [b, d]); Sahure dyad, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 18.2.4 (Hayes, *Scepter*, I, fig. 46 on p. 70).

24. K. Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens* (Leipzig, 1905) pp. 39–41. The other suggestions are conveniently listed by I. E. S. Edwards, “The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt,” chap. XI in *Cambridge Ancient History*, rev. ed., I (Cambridge, 1964) p. 21, note 2.

25. H. Schäfer, “Djed-Pfeiler, Lebenszeichen, Osiris, Isis,” *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932) p. 430.



FIGURE 12

Right half of a lintel of Amenemhet I, from Lisht. Cairo Museum (Metropolitan Museum expedition photograph)

unlike these two emblems, however, it was not held in the hands before the Eighteenth Dynasty,²⁶ but was characteristically suspended. The difference in usage may be seen in a Twelfth Dynasty relief that has been cited as a parallel presentation of ☿ and ☿ (Figure

12).²⁷ The ☿ -sign was regularly held by anthropomorphic gods, using the loop as a handle, from the Second Dynasty onward;²⁸ it seems to have been extended in the same manner from the claws of the Horus falcon at the very beginning of the First Dynasty.²⁹

26. As pointed out in the forthcoming article mentioned in note 19.

27. Cf. Schäfer, "Djed-Pfeiler," *Griffith Studies*, p. 428, fig. 7. A more complete view of the stone, which was uncovered during the Metropolitan Museum's 1906–1907 season of excavation at Lisht, has been published by W. K. Simpson, "Studies in the

Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963) p. 61 and pl. 8.

28. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pls. 21–23.

29. Kaplony, *Inchriften*, III, pl. 5 (5); cf. P. Newberry's drawing in W. Brunton et al., *Great Ones of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1930) fig. 6, p. 45. The falcon presenting the ☿ -sign is not otherwise attested before the Third Dynasty (Djoser).

Two comparable emblems, both on ivory fragments dating to the reign of Den or earlier (Figure 13),³⁰ appear in segments of friezes, alternating with the emblem \uparrow . As far as the later evidence is concerned, this context would suit either 𓆎 or 𓆏 . However that may be, the emblem in question represents a three-looped bow that differs in only one particular from the form of 𓆎 that is known from inscriptions. In the first case, all the elements are presented edgewise (Figure 14, left), while in the second case the lateral elements are turned ninety degrees so that only one side of the loop is visible (Figure 14, right). In both cases the lower ends may also be flattened out and brought together, as was usual from the Second Dynasty onward.³¹ I believe that the first of these alternatives, showing all the elements in profile, was adopted for the libation dish primarily because this provided a system of walls for the compartments and spout, and not because an emblem other than 𓆎 was intended.

The explanation that has just been suggested strongly supports Heinrich Schäfer's conclusion that 𓆎 and 𓆏 originally had the same meaning, for their structure is even more closely identical than he supposed.³² A further confirmation is provided by an early Second Dynasty combination of 𓆎 and 𓆏 (Figure 15), which later became a combination of 𓆏 and 𓆏 (Figure 16),³³ as it remained in the dynasty following.³⁴

The form 𓆎 was evidently adopted as a hieroglyph because of its simplicity and clarity. As a hieroglyph it acquired the more explicit meaning of a sign that,

30. The first (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 6 [1]) is from the tomb or cenotaph of Djer, the second (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 39 [34]) is from that of Queen Merneith.

31. For a hieroglyphic example from the tomb of Semerkhet see Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. 7 (4).

32. Schäfer, "Djed-Pfeiler," *Griffith Studies*, p. 429. On p. 426 he defines the difference between the two emblems in terms of a division in the lateral elements of 𓆎 , which, as will be pointed out presently, does not seem to have occurred until the Fourth Dynasty.

33. The first combination is from the reign of Ni-netjer: W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907) pl. 5 E (bottom left); cf. Kaplony, *Inschriften*, III, fig. 746. The second is from the reign of Kha-sekhemwy: J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I (London, 1900) pl. 2. Cf. W. Schäfer, "Der Reliefschmuck der Berliner Tür," *MDIK* 4 (1933) p. 3, fig. 2 (d, g), where combinations of 𓆎 and \uparrow , and 𓆏 and \uparrow , are also exhibited (a, b).

34. Schäfer, "Der Reliefschmuck," *MDIK* 4, fig. 2 (c, e) (cf. C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid* [Cairo, 1935] pl. 43) and (f) (Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, pl. 17).

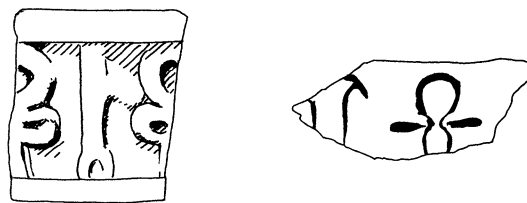


FIGURE 13
First Dynasty ivory fragments from Abydos

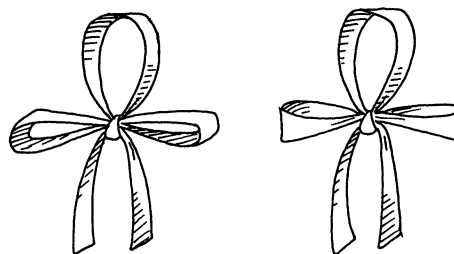


FIGURE 14
Structure of 𓆎 and 𓆏



FIGURE 15
Combination of 𓆎 and 𓆏 . After Petrie



FIGURE 16
Combination of 𓆏 and 𓆏

FIGURE 17
Early Fourth Dynasty
example of $\overline{\text{K}}$. After Fakhry

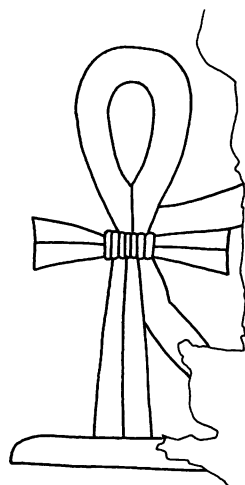


FIGURE 18
Twelfth Dynasty example
of $\overline{\text{K}}$. After Bisson de la
Roque and Clère

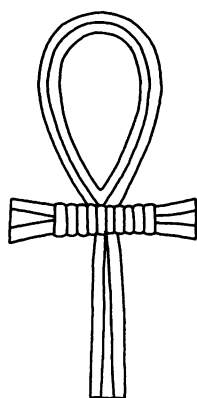


FIGURE 19
Lid of an archaic
ivory box from
Helwan

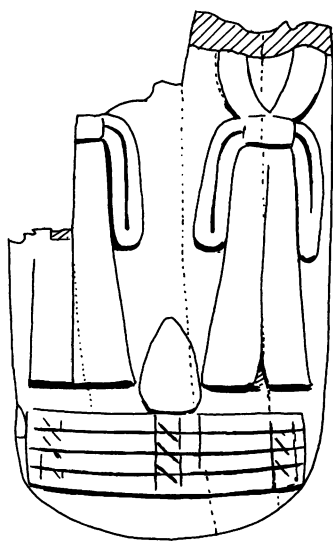


FIGURE 20
Front of an archaic limestone image of Triphis
in the form of a *bst* emblem (photo: courtesy of
Ernst Kofler)








being held, indicates divinity, the power to bestow life. In the more ornamental variation, $\overline{\text{K}}$, the lateral loops have gradually drooped downward, whereas in the $\overline{\text{K}}$ -hieroglyph they maintain their horizontal position.

By the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty the conventionalized knot at the center of $\overline{\text{K}}$ ³⁵ had become elongated and was sometimes vertically divided (Figure 17), as though it represented a superimposed binding,³⁶ and the horizontal projections fairly consistently showed

35. As Margaret Murray points out in "Knots," *Ancient Egypt* 1922 (London) pp. 14–19, there was a reluctance to represent knots very realistically prior to the Middle Kingdom. A reef knot was shown as early as the Sixth Dynasty, but this is evidently an exception (A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* [Paris, 1889] p. 240).

36. Figure 17 is taken from A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, II, part 1 (Cairo, 1961) fig. 44 (cf. fig. 43, with restoration of the two arms attached to $\overline{\text{K}}$). Figure 18 is from F. Bisson de la Roque and J. J. Clère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Médamoud* (1927), *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* 5 (Cairo, 1928) pl. 7. The vertical divisions also appear in the knot of $\overline{\text{K}}$: Schäfer, "Der Reliefschmuck," *MDIK* 4, fig. 2 (c), and Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, pl. 58, both Third Dynasty (Djoser).

a longitudinal division that extended to the very end. This detail was probably assimilated from the vertical division of the lower part, as in the case of a Twelfth Dynasty example in which a further division was added throughout (Figure 18). In any case the subdivision of the horizontal projections is not an original feature of the sign, although it conceivably was intended to suggest the presence of the two sides of the original loops.³⁷




In view of the identity of  and  in the Archaic Period, it is possible that the ornamental inscription shown in Figure 19, which is carved on the lid of a Second or Third Dynasty ivory box from Helwan, is to be read 'nh-htp, "The Living One is Content" (with  repeated for the sake of symmetry).³⁸ Similarly the bow at the neck of the bst-emblem in the Kofler collection (Figure 20) might be regarded as an -sign, worn in the same manner as the -necklace mentioned earlier, but it may be inadvisable to refer to subsequent examples of  in the same way, since this form gradually acquired a distinct identity as an ornamental bow.³⁹ Even as late as the Eighteenth Dynasty, however, it remained strongly associated with , being employed as a permissible substitute for this in the

hands of nonroyal anthropoid coffins and shawabty figurines.⁴⁰

2. A DISH IN THE FORM OF A LOTUS LEAF

In view of the fact that it was purchased with the libation dish, the schist object shown in Figures 21–23 must also be given some notice, with attention to the possibility that these two pieces may have been associated.⁴¹ Unfortunately, it seems likely that the curved edge of the leaflike form was trimmed down in ancient or more recent times in order to eliminate some chipping that made the implement less serviceable or attractive.⁴² If the edge has been reworked, the end of the stem may also have been trimmed for the same reason. But it is difficult to conceive of the stem as a link to a larger composition, fashioned from one and the same piece of stone; and if the end of the stem is intact, its widening diameter could not have enabled it to be securely mortised to a second piece.

Regardless of these considerations, the object certainly represents a lotus leaf, as may be seen from the notch at the bottom, and the attachment of the stem.⁴³

37. Until and unless there is earlier evidence for the division that extends to the outer edges, Schäfer's distinction between this and the lateral loops of  ("Djed-Pfeiler," *Griffith Studies*, p. 426) does not seem valid. For the same reason G. Jéquier, "Les talismans," *BIFAO* 11 (1914) p. 135, thinks that the lateral elements are "une autre tige plus courte ou un faisceau de petites brindilles posées horizontalement." W. Westendorf ("Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten," *ÄZ* 92 [1966] p. 152) also takes them to be a separate element, viz, the hieroglyph ; this comparison again supposes that the horizontal division is original, for  has four ends; cf. the examples given by Murray, "Knots," *Ancient Egypt* 1922, pp. 17–18, figs. 34–37.

38. Figure 19 is drawn from a photograph in Zaki Saad, *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan (1941–1945)* (Cairo, 1947) pl. 15 (B). For the name 'nh-htp (or Htp-'nh) see H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, 1935) pp. 66 (6), 258 (2); all the references are Middle Kingdom (with the exception of a possible example of later date, note 69 below), but there is no reason to think the name may not have occurred earlier; cf. H. Junker, "Der Lebendige als Gottesbeiname," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1954, no. 12, p. 180. For a later parallel for the symmetrical repetition of 'nh, see the center of the false door in P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, II (The Hague, 1909) pl. 7 (8).

39. Contrary to the view I expressed in *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 1 (1962) p. 12. For the same archaic example of the bst-emblem shown in Figure 20, see also H. W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunstwerke, Kleinfunde und Glas in der Sammlung E. und*

M. Kofler-Truniger Luzern (Berlin, 1964) no. A 31. For the later associations see G. Jéquier, *Les Frises d'Objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1921) pp. 335–336, and W. Westendorf, "Beiträge," *ÄZ* 92 (1966) pp. 144–151.

40. As pointed out in the forthcoming article mentioned in note 19 above.

41. Acc. no. 19.2.17. Maximum length 18.1 cm., width 11.4 cm. It has not been illustrated previously, but is mentioned as a "slate dish of intricate design . . . carved in the shape of a leaf" by Hayes, *Scepter*, I, p. 42.

42. The rather crudely beveled edge of the leaf probably accounts for the lack of symmetry, as well as the fact that only the very beginning of the uppermost veining is to be seen on the underside. Traces of a sandy accretion seem to be visible in a pitted portion of the beveled edge, and I am inclined to think the reshaping is ancient, but cannot be certain that it is not quite recent, as stated on the Museum's catalogue entry, and on at least one exhibition label.

43. Since some of the outer edge has evidently been lost, it remains uncertain which of the two types of lotus known to the most ancient Egyptians it represents—the white (*Nymphaea lotus* Sav.) or the blue (*Nymphaea caerulea* L.). As L. Keimer points out, the dented edge of the white variety is rarely represented in Egyptian art ("Note sur la représentation exacte d'une feuille de *Nymphaea Lotus* L.," *ASAE* 28 [1928] pp. 38–42; "Nouvelles recherches au sujet du *Potamogeton Lucens* L.," *Revue de L'Égypte Ancienne* 2 [1929] pp. 232–235). The leaf-shaped vessel cited in the next note does have such an edge, but its convoluted form and fragmentary state leave its identification somewhat in doubt.



FIGURE 21
Dish in the form of a lotus leaf, upper side. The
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund,
19.2.17



FIGURE 22
Underside of the dish shown in Figure 21

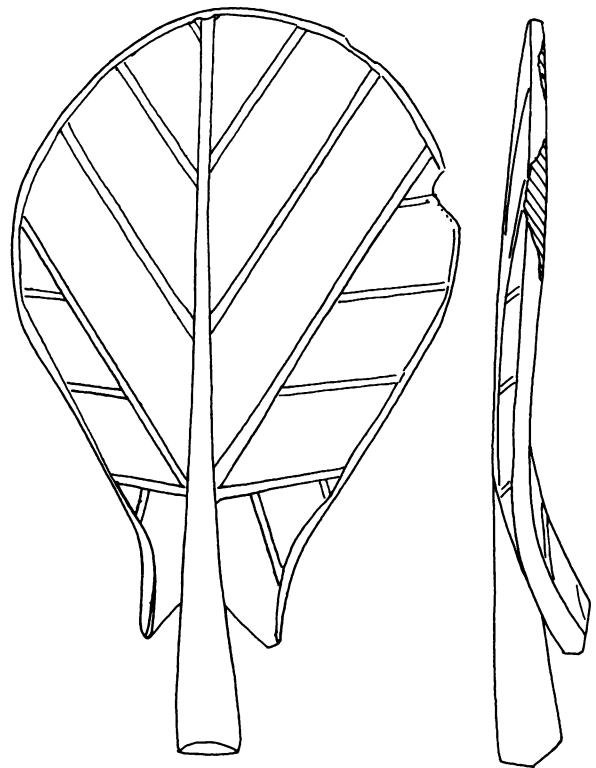


FIGURE 23
Drawings of the underside and profile of the dish
shown in Figure 22

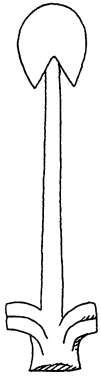


FIGURE 24
Hieroglyph from a panel of Hesi-Re

The pattern of veining is schematic but is realistically differentiated on the two sides, carved in relief on the underside and incised on top. Similar relief veining appears on the bottom of a fragmentary bowl dating to the reign of Den.⁴⁴

Assuming that its present form reflects no more than marginal modification, and that the stem served as a handle, this projection would have been held between the thumb and index finger, or more probably between the thumb and middle finger with the index extended along the underside of the leaf for support. Manipulated in this way, it might have been utilized as a serving dish.

The possible association of the lotus dish and libation dish is suggested not only by their origin, but by the similarity of scale and material. The schist of the lotus dish is bluish gray rather than dark green, however, and the workmanship is somewhat inferior. Although it is undoubtedly protodynastic, there is less certainty that it belongs precisely to the middle of the First Dynasty. And while libation vessels—albeit of quite different form—were used in later periods, there is, to my knowledge, no evidence for a food server of this kind in the presentation of offerings.

It might further be considered that the lotus leaf, equated with the upper part of the hieroglyph 𓆎 (Fig-

ure 24),⁴⁵ might effect a symbolic multiplication of offerings placed upon it. But, unlike the 𓆎 -sign on the libation vessel, the hieroglyph is not otherwise known to have been associated symbolically with any implement used in the offering rituals.⁴⁶ In the face of so many uncertainties, it seems best to draw no conclusions from the fact that the two schist pieces were acquired together.

3. PERSONAL NAMES: EMBLEMATIC ALLUSIONS AND IDEOGRAPHIC COMBINATIONS

The panel of Hesi-Re, which has been mentioned earlier in connection with the emblematic aspects of the schist libation dish, is very fragmentary and, perhaps for that reason, has received scarcely any of the attention that has been given to its more complete counterparts from the same Third Dynasty mastaba. Enough is preserved, however, to show that one hand grasps a 𓆎 -jar, while the other holds a round object between the thumb and flattened palm (Figure 25). It might be considered that these appurtenances represent the priestly side of Hesi-Re's activities, just as, on the other panels as well as this one, the scribal kit betokens his administrative functions.⁴⁷ Yet it seems unlikely, to judge from royal statuary of the Sixth Dynasty and later,⁴⁸ that anyone but the king would be shown handling ritual vessels intended for the service of the gods.

The true explanation is to be found in the context of the panels, or, to put the matter more precisely, in their lack of context. Neither the scribal kit nor the jar is to be found in other two-dimensional representations of the tomb owner dating to the Old Kingdom, but in these cases the tomb owner is commonly surrounded by attendants who keep accounts for him and perform

44. W. B. Emery, *Hemaka*, pl. 19c and (more clearly) *Archaic Egypt*, pl. 39 (a); see note 2 above.

45. Figure 24 is from one of the Third Dynasty panels of Hesi-Re, Cairo Museum Cat. gén. 1428. The leaf was arranged similarly in the preceding dynasty on the base of the statue of Khasekhem (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. 40), but was turned sideways, with the notch outward, during the first half of the First Dynasty (Narmer; Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. 26 B; Den, Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. 15 [16, 18]).

46. A mirror of much later date has the form of a lotus leaf,

complete with stalk and bulb, but this is a naturalistic representation and probably has no reference to the hieroglyph (L. Keimer, "La signification de l'hiéroglyphe *rd*," *ASAE* 48 (1948) pp. 97–100, figs. 10, 11).

47. The titles are conveniently listed by Kaplony, *Inschriften*, I, pp. 581–584.

48. First attested in royal statuary by the schist statuette in the Brooklyn Museum (acc. no. 39.121); good photographs in Cyril Aldred, *Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1949) pls. 60–61.

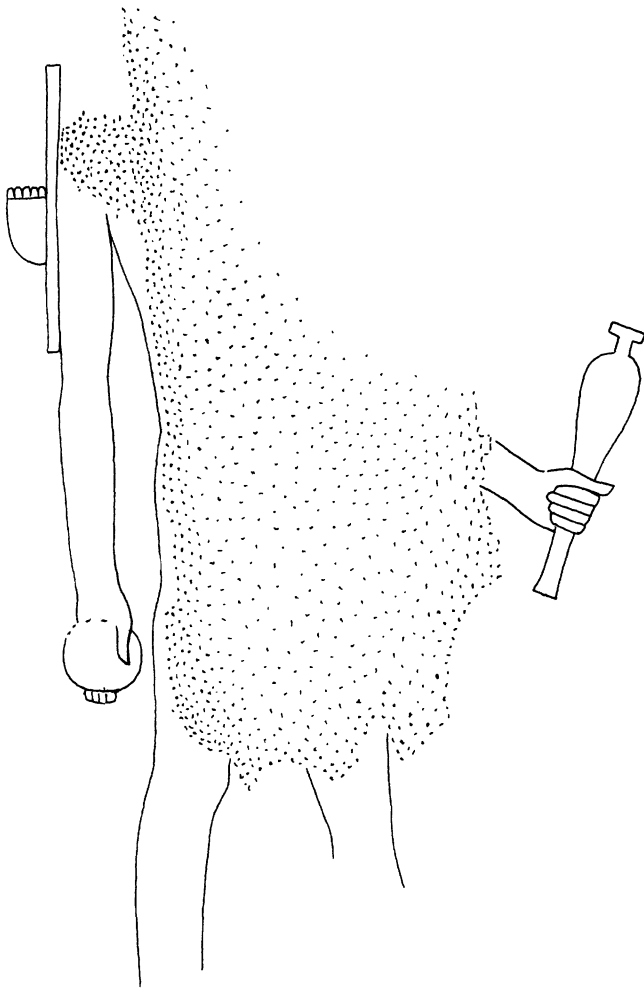


FIGURE 25

Lower part of the panel of Hesi-Re illustrated in Figure 11

Even if the $\bar{\text{H}}$ -jar was placed in Hesi-Re's hand for some such reason as this, it is difficult to believe that it did not, at the same time, allude to his name, and that it would not have been recognized as such by anyone who knew him by the shorter version of his name, Hesy. A rather similar emblematic allusion to the most distinctive element of a name occurred in at least one other instance during the Old Kingdom; the false door of a man named $N\bar{h}t-s3.s$, "Her protection is mighty," shows a large $s3$ -sign ($\bar{\text{X}}$) superimposed on a miniature replica of a false door behind the owner (Figure 26).⁵⁴

The round object in Hesi-Re's other hand may be a flat loaf of bread ($\bar{\text{X}} \odot$)⁵⁵ or a lump of natron. The position of the hand favors the first alternative, but does not rule out the second. The second alternative is favored by the size of the object, but this does not rule out the first. Perhaps the lump of natron is the more likely alternative, since it is known to accompany the funerary ritual of libation/lustration.⁵⁶ In either case one might expect the fingertips to be curled upward; it would seem that they were extended in order to reveal the object's round contour as clearly as possi-

other services, including the presentation of the $\bar{\text{H}}$ -jar.⁴⁹ Hesi-Re's reliefs and paintings are remarkable for the absence of such a retinue,⁵⁰ and it is doubtless for that reason that he himself carries the items in question. This reasoning is supported by the existence of statues, dating from the Fourth Dynasty onward, that represent the tomb owner as a scribe, for the statue is an isolated monument, lacking the context with which the reliefs were so frequently supplied.⁵¹

There is no parallel in statuary for the $\bar{\text{H}}$ -jar from before the Twelfth Dynasty, but the single example that is known suggests a very similar conclusion. It belonged to a simple steward who is not given any priestly titles either on the statuette or on the coffin in which it was found;⁵² thus isolated with the deceased, it provided, as an intermediary identified with himself, a benefit borrowed from the statuettes of two female offering-bearers stationed outside the coffin, each of whom carries a $\bar{\text{H}}$ -jar as well as a basket of offerings.⁵³

49. For an example of both see H. Junker, *Giza*, II (Vienna and Leipzig, 1934) figs. 18, 19.

50. Cf. Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, pp. 17–18.

51. For the earliest examples, belonging to Ka-wab, the son of Cheops, see W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1946) pp. 30–31. The generic scribal statue should be distinguished from other cases where an implement is more specifically emblematic; as far as I know, the only example of this kind that antedates the New Kingdom is the Second or Third Dynasty statue of a shipbuilder ($\bar{\text{S}}$) who has an adze over his left shoulder (British Museum, no. 70: *Hieroglyphic Texts*, VI [London, 1922] pl. 19; E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum* [London, 1914] pl. 1).

52. G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I, *Das Grab des Mentuhotep* (Berlin, 1896) pl. 7. The statuette is Berlin, 4650.

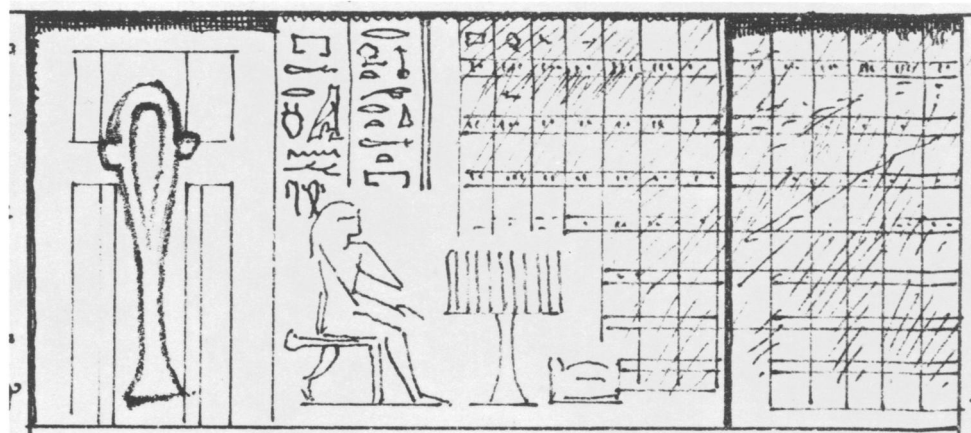
53. Steindorff, *Mentuhotep*, pl. 11.


54. A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, p. 366.

55. For the writing and meaning see K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, II (Glückstadt-Hamburg and New York) p. 236. Also A. Weigall, "Upper Egyptian Notes," *ASAE* 9 (1908) p. 111.



56. Cf. H. Junker, *Giza*, III (Vienna and Leipzig, 1938) p. 104, fig. 10a on p. 106.

FIGURE 26
Detail of the false
door of Nht-s3.s.
After Mariette



ble.⁵⁷ I feel somewhat doubtful, however, that the object has an emblematic meaning in its own right, as a graphic allusion to ☉, referring to the second element in the name Hesi-Re. It is true that in the reign of Djoser, when Hesi-Re made his tomb, the sun disk was represented in a curious context, attached to the upper edge of broad collars worn by divinities.⁵⁸ But the disk would hardly be expected to appear in the hand of an individual, even if it were suggested by an object of similar shape; and the indirectness of such an allusion seems contrary to the rather literal mentality of the Egyptians. Furthermore, nonroyal names of the Old Kingdom, such as , consistently use a phonetic writing in referring to the name of Re, in contrast to royal names, which employ the ideographic ☉.⁵⁹


I do not know of further emblematic writings of names prior to the New Kingdom, but a Twelfth Dynasty stela in the Louvre shows an analogous pres-


entation of the epithet *nb imsh*, "possessor of reverence," which, by this period, was often reduced to , as it is here, so that it was possible to convey the meaning by putting a large -hieroglyph in the hand of the individual who "possesses" it (Figure 27).⁶⁰

From the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty onward, devices of this kind became increasingly popular, and it may be no coincidence that there was, at the same time, an increasing tendency to place inscriptions on the body of a statue, as had been done in the Archaic Period. The interrelationship of the inscripational and representational aspects of Egyptian monuments is evident throughout pharaonic history, but these aspects complemented each other more discretely in the Old, Middle, and early New Kingdom. To illustrate how completely amalgamated they sometimes became in the later periods, three categories of examples may be cited.

57. Thanks to the kindness of Labib Habachi and Henry Riad, I have been able, at the last minute, to check this detail on a photograph that was taken under different lighting. It should also be noted that the hand is represented, for the sake of clarity, as though viewed from the other side. This peculiarity does not occur on the other surviving panels of Hesi-Re, but is known from a Third Dynasty relief of only slightly later date (A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet, and J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 2nd ed. [London, 1952, 1955] pl. 1 [1 a] and p. 53, where it is recognized that the king in question is Sekhemkhet, the successor of Djoser). For this last example, cf. W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1949) p. 273, fig. 32. Dr. Habachi assures me that no detail is to be seen within the disk.

58. H. Schäfer, "Reliefschmuck," *MDIK* 4, p. 14, pl. II (a).

Also note the hieroglyphic monogram  (*hrt hrw*, "the course of the day," e.g., N. de G. Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, II [London, 1901] pl. 17), where the sun disk rests on a butcher's block.

59. Cf. A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, II (Leipzig, 1928) p. 401. This distinction was not made in the Archaic Period, to judge from an unpublished stela uncovered by the excavations of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities at Saqqara, which names a "scribe of the document house," , *Hwi-R*. Cf. Kaplony, *Inschriften*, III, pl. 139 (834).

60. Louvre, C 85; C. Boreux, Musée National du Louvre, Département des antiquités égyptiennes: *Guide-catalogue sommaire* (Paris, 1932) p. 146; P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre*, II (Paris, 1878) p. 6.



FIGURE 27
Verso of late Middle Kingdom stela. Louvre, C 85 (photo : Archives photographiques, Paris)



FIGURE 28
Emblematic writing of *Nb-m3't-R'*, Amenophis III. After Hayes

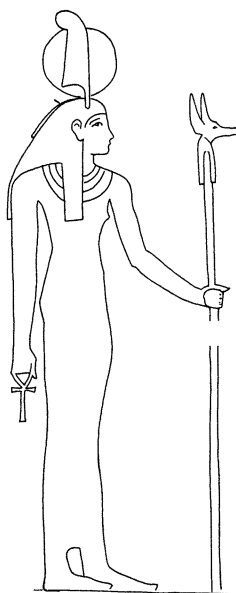


FIGURE 29
Emblematic writing of *Wsr-m3't-R'*, Ramesses II



FIGURE 30
Emblematic writing of the name *'nh-hrd-nfr*. After Naville

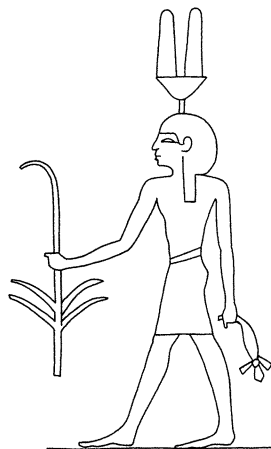


FIGURE 31
Emblematic writing of the name *Šd-šw-Nfrtm*. After Drioton

1. The praenomen of Amenophis III, *Nb-m3't-R'* (Figure 28),⁶¹ and that of Ramesses II, *Wsr-m3't-R'* (Figure 29),⁶² provide the most familiar ideographic combinations of the kind that is first attested from the First Dynasty. In the first case the king (*nb*, "lord") holds or "possesses" the feather representing *m3't*, and his head is surmounted by a sun disk (*R'*). In the second case a personification of *m3't*, with the sun disk on her head, holds the hieroglyph *wsr* as though it were a staff. The names of nonroyal individuals are similarly represented by monograms on two statues dating to the Twenty-second Dynasty (Figures 30, 31);⁶³ one is $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, presumably meaning "May the beautiful child live!", while the other is $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, "May (the god) Nefertem save him!"

2. Such abbreviations are also to be found in three-dimensional sculpture of the New Kingdom and later,

61. See W. C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10 (1951) p. 158, figs. 30–33. The drawing is taken from his S 33 in fig. 31.

62. This example is taken from the north wall of the chapel to the south of the great temple of Abu Simbel.

63. Figure 30 is from E. Naville, *The Store City of Pithom* (London, 1888) pl. 4; this is British Museum, no. 1007. Figure 31 is from Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale," *ASAE* 40, p. 318 (also L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, III [Berlin, 1930] no. 741, p. 68). These writings may well have been inspired by royal examples such as that of Ramesses III in Oriental Institute, *Medinet Habu*, VIII (Chicago, 1970), pl. 643.

for example, the seated figure of a queen in a boat in the British Museum, representing the name *Mwt-m-wis*, “Mut is in (her) divine bark”;⁶⁴ a contemporary statue in Berlin that presents the praenomen of Mutemweya’s royal son, Amenophis III, as described earlier;⁶⁵ the well-known statue in the Cairo Museum embodying the name *R'-mš-šw*, Ramesses (II), in the form of a child (*mš*) who holds 𓂏 (*šw*) and wears the sun disk on his head;⁶⁶ the statue group representing this king’s praenomen (*Wšr-mš't-R'*) over the door of his larger temple at Abu Simbel;⁶⁷ and the falcon group in the Metropolitan Museum representing *Nekht-Hor-heb* (Nektanebo II of the Thirtieth Dynasty).⁶⁸ In the last case the falcon (Hor) stands behind a smaller figure of the king, who holds a scimitar (for *nht*, “mighty”) in one hand and the hieroglyph 𓂏 (*hb*, “festival”) in the other; taken together, these elements spell out the name meaning “Horus is mighty in jubilees.”

3. Even more remarkable are the rarer cases where an emblem is either supplemented by a hieroglyph or is used as part of a following inscription. One example, dating to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, is the fragmentary statue of a man from whose neck a large 𓂏-pendant is suspended; the hieroglyph 𓂏 is added below this, and the whole probably represents the owner’s name: ‘*nh-htp*’.⁶⁹ In another case a block statue of the Twenty-third Dynasty has a pendant in the form of 𓂏, and the column of inscription below it begins with the

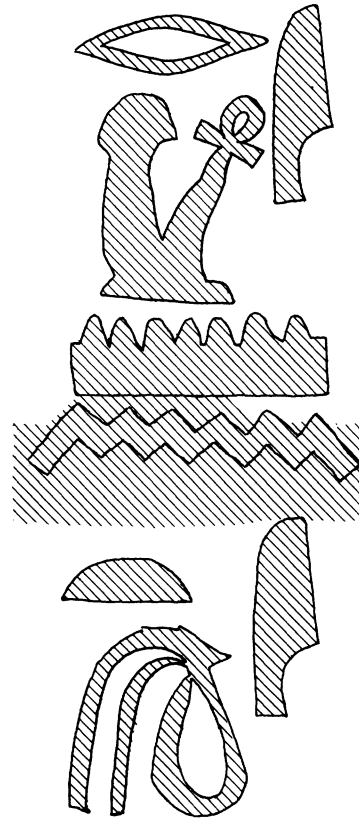


FIGURE 32
Detail of a late Twelfth Dynasty inscription.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 1971.403

64. British Museum, nos. 379–380; E. A. W. Budge, *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (London, 1909) pp. 110–111.

65. Berlin, 2293; A. Erman, “Königsnamen durch Skulpturen ausgedrückt,” *ÄZ* 29 (1891) pp. 124–125, and J. Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne*, III: *La Statuaire* (Paris, 1958) pl. 155 (4). Recently republished by V. Wessetzky, “Königsname und Titel Ramses’ II. in doppelter rundplastischer Darstellung,” *ÄZ* 97 (1971) pp. 140–142.

66. Cairo J. d’Entrée 64735; P. Montet, “Les statues de Ramsès II à Tanis,” *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 2e fasc., *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire* 66 (Cairo, 1935–1938) p. 501, pl. 2; also Vandier, *Manuel*, pl. 133 (2). Cf. the cryptographic equivalents discussed by Drioton, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40, pp. 318, 322–323 (18).

67. Most clearly illustrated on the title page of David Roberts, *Egypt and Nubia* (London, 1846) and in the photograph shown by Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe* 5 (Glückstadt, 1969) pl. 5 (a); cf. Habachi’s pp. 9–10 as well as the other rebus writings in statuary of the same king, pp. 37–39,

figs. 24–29. It may be added that the statue group over the entrance at Abu Simbel is paralleled by the writing of the king’s name within the same temple: 𓂏

68. H. E. Winlock, “Recent Purchases of Egyptian Sculpture,” *BMAA* 29 (1934) fig. 2, p. 187; cf. J. Yoyotte, “Nectanébo II comme faucon divin?,” *Kémi* 15 (1959) pp. 70–74.

69. E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, part III (London, 1913) p. 22 and pl. 5 (3). Since the principal inscription is lost, it cannot be proven that the combination of hieroglyphs represents the name. The alternative is to interpret both signs as a “motto,” like those of the small Middle Kingdom clasps shown in H. E. Winlock, *The Treasure of El Lāhūn* (New York, 1934) pl. 13. These two hieroglyphs are actually combined in one of the elements of a Middle Kingdom necklace (J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894–1895* [Vienna, 1903] pl. 5 [47]), but it seems likely that this was the central element of a continuous inscription. In the case of the statue the pendant itself is probably simply 𓂏, like the one worn by the Twenty-fifth Dynasty statue of Hor-em-akhet, Cairo Museum, Cat. gén. 42204 (G. Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes de Rois et de Particuliers*, III [Cairo, 1914] pp. 12–13, pl. 11).

title ꜥ Δ.⁷⁰ No such title is to be expected, however, and it is perfectly clear that this belongs to the pendant, above it, representing the familiar office of ꜥ Δ ꜥ, as elsewhere in the inscriptions of the same statue.

Considering the ease with which hieroglyphs could be used for emblematic purposes, one can hardly find it surprising that this possibility was promptly recognized, and that—in the case of royal monuments at least—it was eventually exploited to the full. If, furthermore, one considers that rebus allusions are also attested on Greek monuments, where the link between writing and representation was far less evident,⁷¹ the paucity of such allusions in the classical periods of Egypt—the Old, Middle, and early New Kingdoms—becomes even more significant. It emphasizes the degree to which, in these periods, the artist-scribe respected the complementary relationship of inscriptions and larger-scale representations; the phonetic aspect of this combination was properly confined to the hieroglyphs, while the larger representations remained purely ideographic.

Postscript: An indirect allusion to a personal name is possibly to be recognized in a late Twelfth Dynasty

inscription recently purchased by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (acc. no. 1971.403);⁷² the owner's name is ꜥ ꜥ ꜥ, "He who lives," and in one of his titles (Figure 32), *iry mnit*, "keeper of the *mnit*-necklace," the hieroglyph ꜥ (or ꜥ) clearly, and most exceptionally, holds the ꜥ-sign in place of the knife (?) or the stick and cord.

The ritual vessel Metropolitan Museum 19.2.16 is also mentioned and illustrated by Ursula Schweitzer, *Das Wesen des Ka* (Glückstadt, 1956) p. 21 and pl. 1a; she reports that Hermann Kees saw a similar piece in the Desert Institute at Esbet Walda in Egypt.

PERIODICALS ABBREVIATED

ASAE—*Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte*.

ÄZ—*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.

BIFAO—*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*.

BMMA—*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*.

MDIK—*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*.

PSBA—*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.

70. Cairo Museum, Cat. gén. 42211; Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes*, III, p. 29, pl. 20.

71. See Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, "ΚΤΩΝ ΑΑΚΩΝΟΣ-ΚΤΩΝ ΑΑΚΑΙΝΑ," *Antike Kunst* 13 (1970) pp. 98–99.

72. To be published in a forthcoming article by William K. Simpson in *Chronique d'Égypte*. Dr. Simpson has kindly supplied me with a photograph of this piece and has given permission to cite the detail in question.

A Bronze Vase from Iran and Its Greek Connections

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IN HIS RECENT discussion of the origin and background of East Greek orientalizing vase painting—the so-called Wild Goat style—Pierre Amandry suggested that a Near Eastern source was evident but that “on n’a pas, jusqu’à présent, trouvé des modèles dont le décor des vases du ‘wild goat’ style soit directement dérivé.” He went on to say, “si l’on découvre un jour des objets de métal qui aient pu servir de modèles aux peintres de vases grecs d’Asie, il y a de fortes chances pour que ce soit dans la partie la plus reculée de l’Anatolie, dans l’Est de la Turquie ou le Nord-Ouest de l’Iran actuel.”¹

Amandry’s perceptive statement is a good introduction to a study of a bronze vase acquired in 1964 from an antiquities dealer by The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 1–11).² The vessel was said to have come from Iran, specifically from Luristan, but unfortunately the dealer’s statement can have no scientific value. There is no doubt, to my mind, that the vessel does come from Iran, but because dealers may assign ob-

jects to areas for their own convenience, or are misinformed by their sources, we cannot automatically accept the Luristan attribution.³ In short, we have no archaeological information about the vessel: what area in Iran it came from, or whether it came from a tomb or a city mound.

Portions of the vessel are damaged, and the lower section, including the base, is missing. A base, slightly flaring out and with walls partially preserved, was acquired with the vase, but examination and measurement indicated that it does not belong to our vase (Figure 12). It must be part of another, perhaps similar, vessel, the whereabouts of which are presently unknown.

The vase has a high neck consisting of a slightly everted lip below which are three raised bands and a zone of connected conelike buds that are decorated by short lines; the buds are in two rows that touch each other, and those in the upper row are larger than those in the lower. The top of the lip has a ledge 1 cm. wide

1. Amandry, “La Grèce d’Asie,” p. 93.

2. Acc. no. 64.257.1. A photograph appears in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 24 (1965–1966) p. 46.

3. In recent writings scholars are showing more cautious attitudes toward dealers’ attributions, viz., Hans-Volkmar Herrmann, “Frühgriechischer Pferdeschmuck vom Luristantypus,” *Jahrbuch*

des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 83 (1968) p. 6, note 26; P. R. S. Moorey, “Towards a Chronology for the Luristan Bronzes,” *Iran* 9 (1971) p. 115. Some dealers give specific areas as sources for their objects because they have been given that information by the vendor. But the information is still without value.



FIGURES 1-3

Bronze vase, Iranian. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 64.257.1



formed by bending back metal into the interior of the neck. The walls of the vessel swell outward from the neck toward the belly and then curve back toward the base to form an ovoid. Six registers of animals, executed in repoussé and chasing, and divided by narrow raised bands, decorate the vessel, as preserved, completely. The vessel was made from two separate pieces joined together between registers three and four. A narrow strip of bronze, part of the lower body, was placed under a similar plain strip belonging to the upper body, and the two strips were joined together by six studs.

The preserved height of the vessel is 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (33.3 cm.), the diameter at its maximum is 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (20.9 cm.), and the diameter of the lip is 4 in. (10.1 cm.). The vessel shows definite signs of use, as some of the decoration is worn away in places.

A detailed and complete description of each of the forty-three preserved animals, and each of the forty-four preserved rosettes, plants, and other filler ornaments, would be costly in time and space and would put a strain on the reader's patience. Therefore, in order to discuss each of the six registers as economically



FIGURE 4
The Metropolitan Museum's vase before cleaning



FIGURE 5
The Metropolitan Museum's vase after cleaning



FIGURES 6–8
 Details of the Metropolitan
 Museum's vase





as possible, I shall refer only to what is basic for an understanding of the extensive variety and types of decoration employed in the creation of this truly fine vessel. The reader should be able to follow the discussion and fill in details by studying the excellent photographs taken by William Lyall of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the helpful drawings executed by my wife, Grace Freed Muscarella: to both I wish to express my thanks.

Each creature and plant has its own distinct type of body decoration, individually drawn and chased. No two creatures nor plants look exactly alike; each is clearly meant to be individualized by its decoration. This is all the more exciting and significant for those interested in ancient art and artists because it seems definite that the upper three registers and the lower three registers were executed by two different artists. By examining and comparing the execution of horns, eyes, tails, wings, and other body elements of the creatures on the two parts, we find this conclusion to become obvious. I shall return to the differences later,

but it should be emphasized that they are not stylistic, and had the two parts of the vessel been found separately, they would certainly be recognized as having come from the same specific cultural area.

Register 1: Three bulls and one winged composite creature walk to the right. The latter animal has ibex horns—curved up with articulated knobs—and a long bull's tail, and it is smaller than the grazing ibex below. The hair of the animals is depicted by short vertical and horizontal lines, or by a net pattern formed from dots. The stomachs are outlined by a single line and decorated with lines. The upper part of the front legs of the bulls extends partly up the body to describe a shoulder, which is also decorated; it curves back and then forward again in a hooklike fashion. Concentric arcs decorate the shoulder, the joints of the legs, and the cheeks. Note that the curved section of the shoulder resembles a female breast. Series of parallel lines decorate the legs.

The horns of the bulls sweep down gracefully before they turn back into a hook. Manes, decorated by two

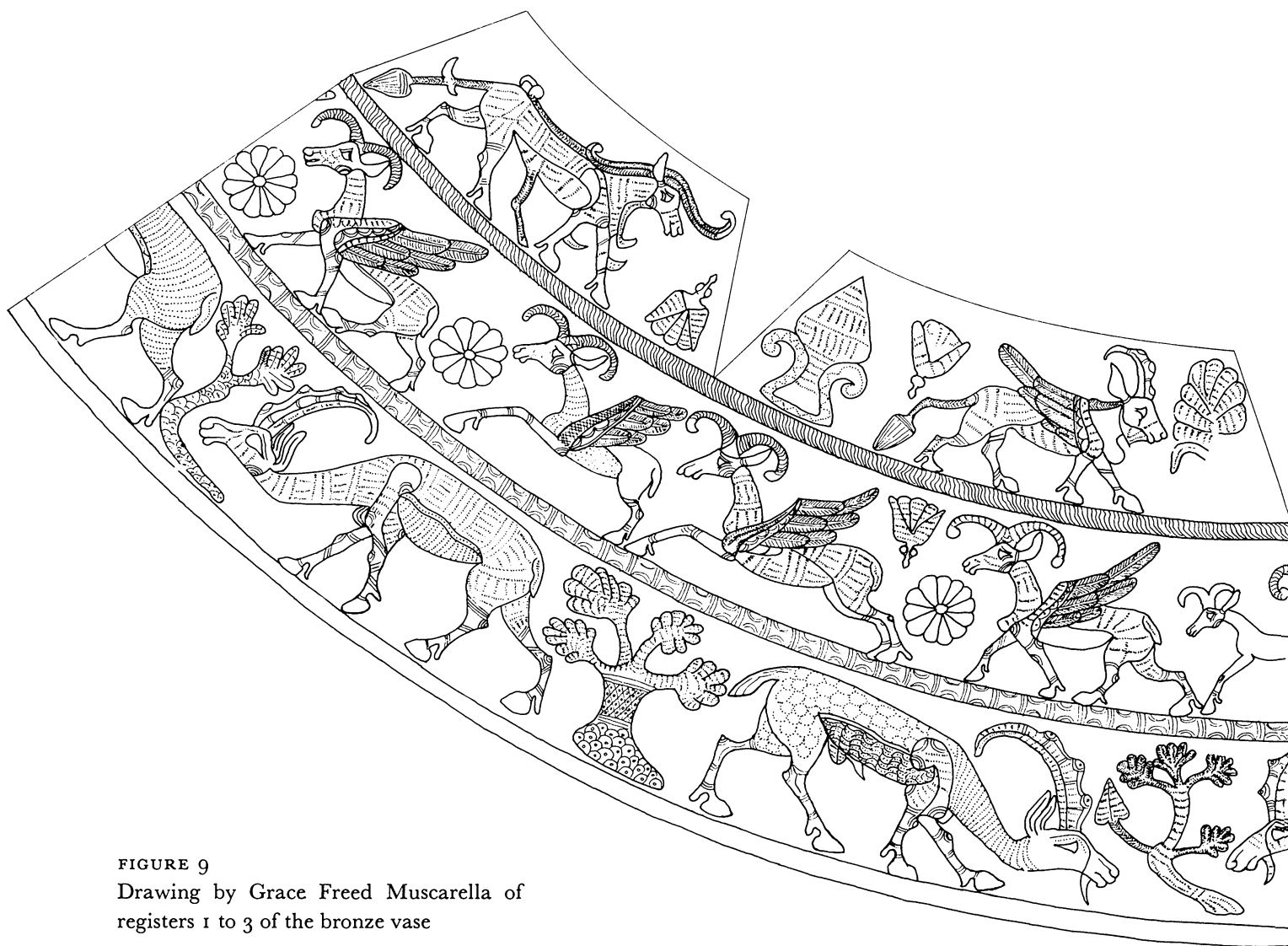


FIGURE 9
Drawing by Grace Freed Muscarella of
registers 1 to 3 of the bronze vase

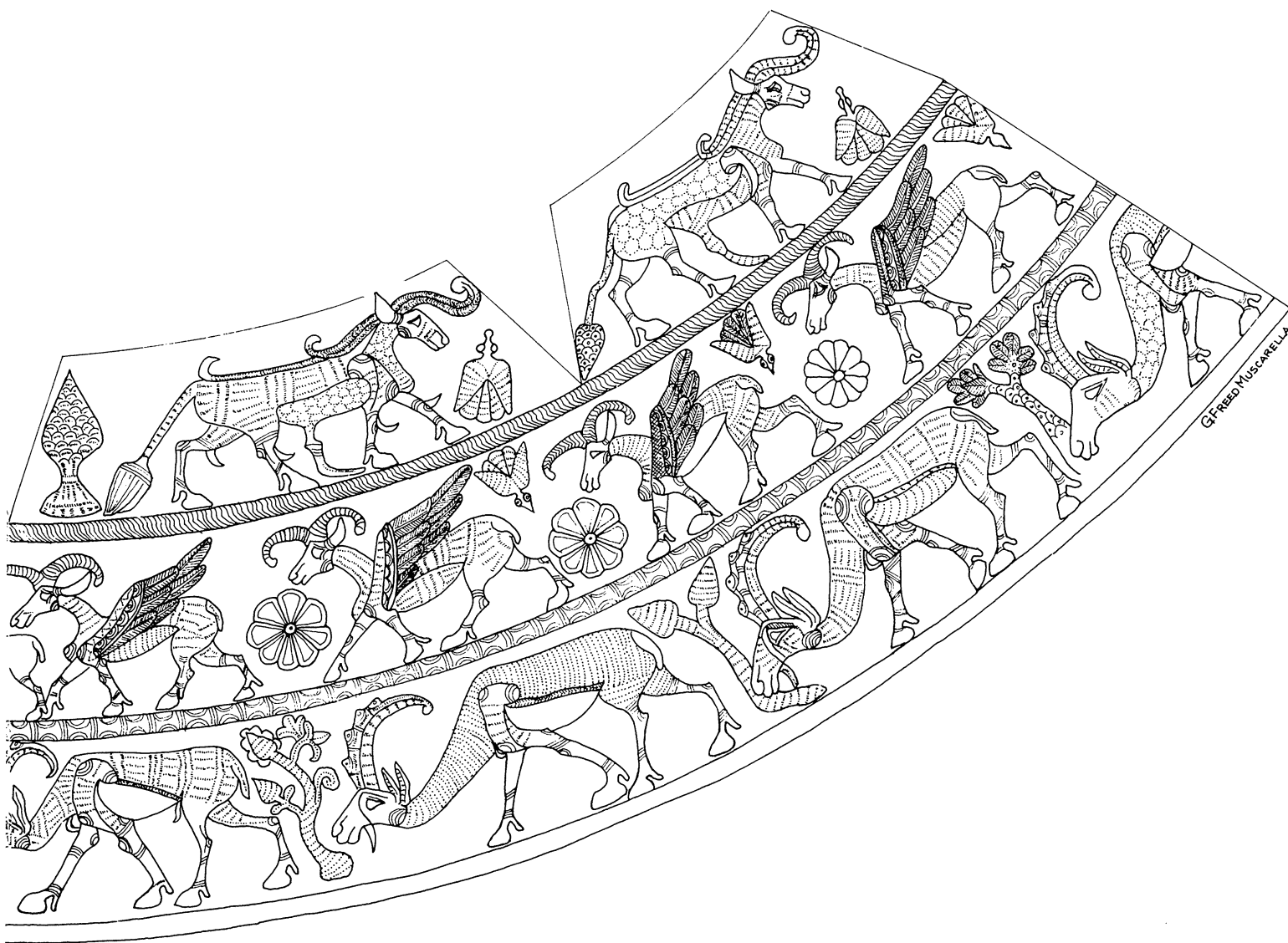
curls, continue the line of the horns and reach to the rump. The tails project down at an angle and end in a spadelike motif. Sicklelike tufts of hair project from the legs of all three bulls and from the tail of only one.

Sex on the bulls appears to be represented by a thin curved pendent projecting down from the stomach. This can only be a penis and is certainly not a fifth leg.

Separating the animals are stylized plants and winged birdlike creatures. They have distinct beaks—both pointed and ducklike—and large eyes. They also have a tripartite division of their rear ends, resembling feathers, and one, in register 2, has a herringbone pattern that could more strongly be said to represent tail

feathers, inasmuch as this decoration is used on all the wings of animals represented on the vessel. However, the flying creatures in the lower part of the vessel look more like bees than birds, and therefore it could be assumed that the upper winged creatures are meant to be the same; but we cannot of course be certain. Each of the three plants is of a different type with decoration consisting of rows of dots and short lines. Two of the plants seem to rest in pots; the third is damaged at its base.

Register 2: Eight winged goats, judging by the horns, and one kid, all with short tails, move to the left. Two



of the goats gambol or run; the others walk. The kid seems to have been squeezed in as a filler and apparently was left undecorated. Six rosettes, outlined either with a single or a double line, and winged creatures, all flying downward, also serve as fillers; there are no plants.

The bodies and outlined stomachs have the same basic variety of decoration as in register 1: parallel rows of dots, short lines, and the net pattern. The stomachs of three goats are undecorated.

The shoulders of the walking goats have the breast-like joint and form one unit with the forepart of the wings; the running goats do not have the breastlike

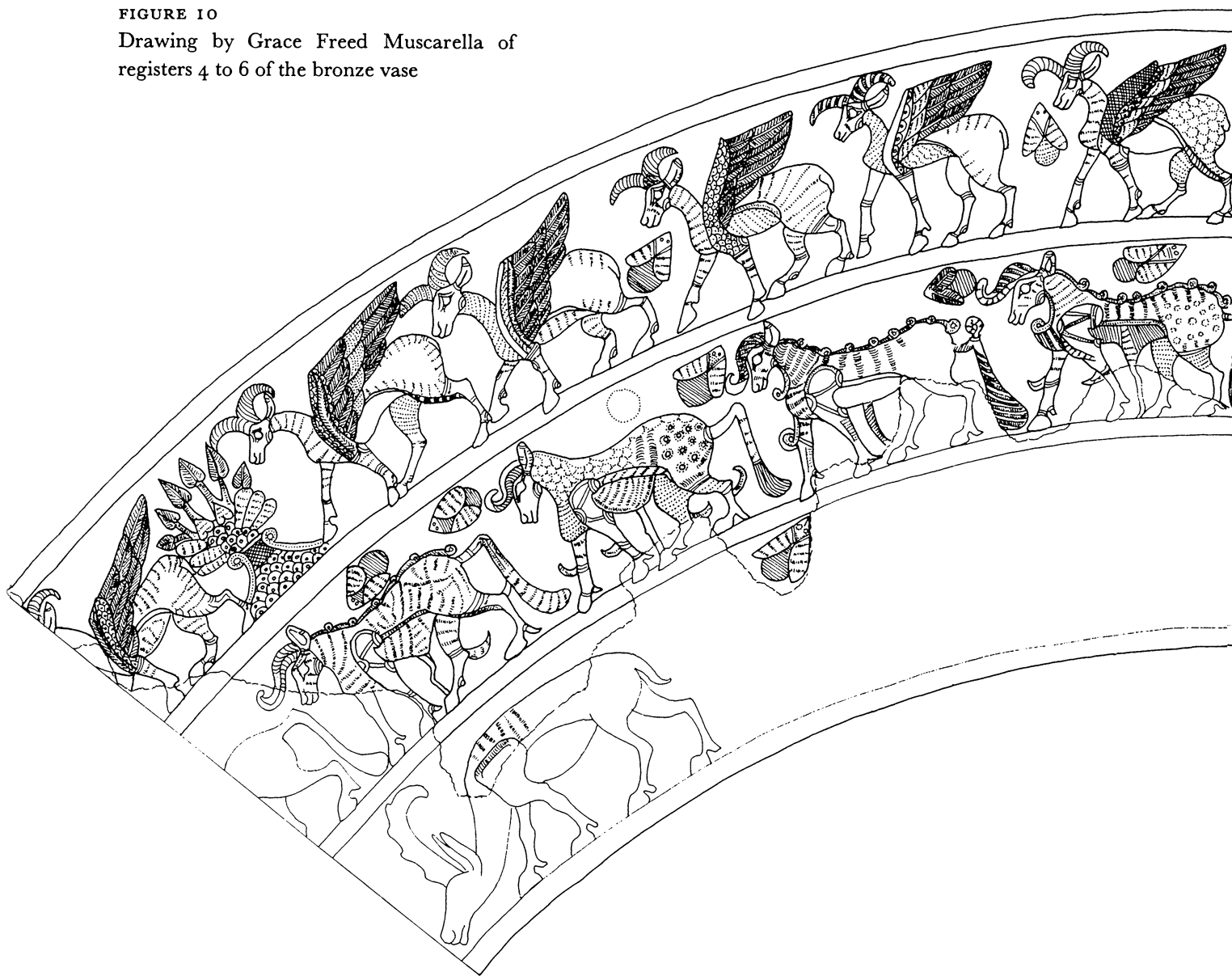
joint. Wings are decorated in typical herringbone patterns and are drawn in two layers or bands; the forepart of the wing is divided into two or three vertical zones elaborately decorated by cross-hatching, herringbones, concentric half-circles, and dots. The two horns are represented projecting left and right from the head and then curving inward; they are decorated with curved lines.

Sex is not represented on any of the creatures.

Register 3: Five large ibex graze to the left; one grazes to the right. They have long, gracefully extended necks and long, curved horns with articulated

FIGURE 10

Drawing by Grace Freed Muscarella of registers 4 to 6 of the bronze vase



knobs; it is not clear if one horn is meant to be represented, divided into decorated zones, or whether both horns are shown overlapping. In any event, both ears are represented.

The body decoration is typical. The stomachs are marked off by two lines and are decorated or left plain; the space between the two lines is decorated also, except on a single ibex. Shoulders are drawn in the hook-like fashion of register 1, with the breastlike joint.

Male sex is represented on only two of the ibex, and four of them have beards.

Each ibex is separated from his neighbor by a stylized plant or tree—it is not really clear which is meant to be shown—whose base curves to fit the available space. Each plant is different in shape and decoration from the others. In two instances an ibex is shown either overlapping a plant or nibbling at it. There are no winged creatures or rosettes.

Register 4: Twelve winged goats walk to the left; several step below the groundline. The body decoration is basically the same as on the goats of register 2: rows



of dots, lines, and net pattern. One goat is completely destroyed except for parts of its legs and wing.

The stomachs are outlined with a double or, in one case, a single line; some of the stomachs are decorated, while others are left plain. An interesting type of decoration on the stomach of one goat consists of oblique parallel lines filled with short lines.

Joints and sometimes cheeks are represented by concentric arcs; veins are represented by parallel lines. The horns are decorated like those of the goats in register 2, but there is more variety here.

The wings are depicted as having one, two, or three layers or bands of feathers. In two cases rows of lines, and in one case rows of dots, substitute for the herring-bone pattern in one of the layers. The forepart of the wing is a clear continuation of the leg and is divided in sections decorated by dots, dotted circles and lozenges, dotted net patterns, curved lines, and cross-hatching.

Two of the goats are separated by a magnificently elaborate plant that apparently grows from a pot; it has three different kinds of leaves and is quite different in type from the plants in registers 1 and 3.

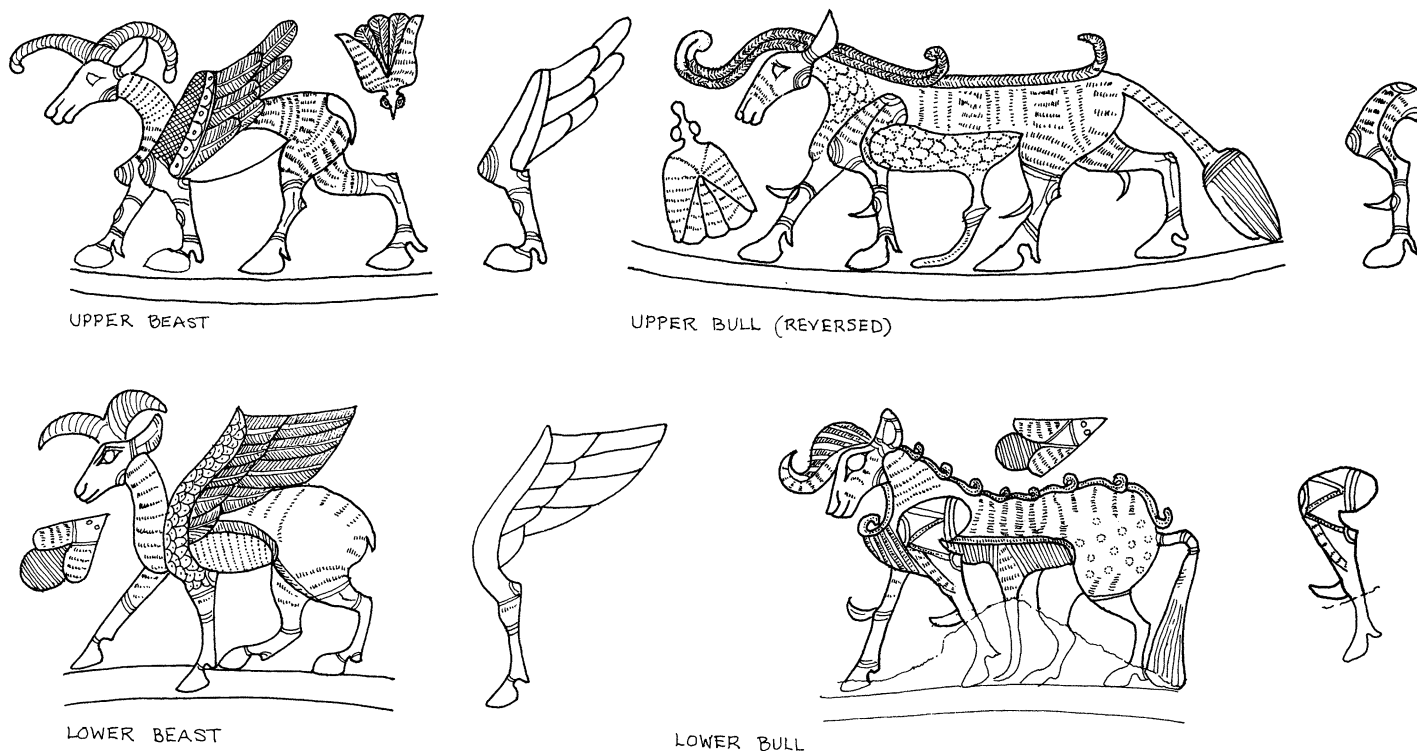


FIGURE 11

Drawings by Grace Freed Muscarella of details of animals on the bronze vase

The eight winged creatures flying around the goats are not drawn in the same manner as those in registers 1 and 2 and look more like insects, probably bees. Their wings are decorated with rows of short lines, their bodies by lines or rows of dots, and there is no tripartite division of the rear end. Small circles represent the eyes, and the head is not separated from the body.

Register 5: Nine bulls walk to the left; a few step below the groundline. Some of the bodies have typical decoration. But one has short curved lines; another, a combination of a net pattern, short curved lines, and dot rosettes; and a third, a combination of rows of dots, short wavy lines, dot rosettes, and an oval motif. Some bulls have a plain back, some have a back decorated with a double line running the length of the body, and some have one or more curls.

Stomachs are outlined with a double decorated border, and the stomach decoration is varied more than on the other registers: oblique straight lines framing

rows of dots, rows of V-shaped lines, and double V-shaped liens decorated with short lines. The shoulders are similar to other shoulders in registers 1 and 3, but the joint has a less obviously breastlike form. Decoration consists of double lines connecting the joints or moving in zigzag fashion.

Tails project horizontally for a short distance and then drop vertically; they are decorated and one bull has a curl at the right angle of its tail. Projecting from the legs, both forward and backward, are bladelike tufts of hair; some bulls have them on all legs, while others have them only on some legs.

Horns are short and thick and curve out before turning back to form a hook; they are divided into decorated zones. Just as with the bulls in register 1, we cannot state whether or not one or two horns are meant to be shown.

Every bull but one has the long thin pendant projecting from the stomach, which we concluded was a penis.

The bees are of the same type as in register 4, except for one that has a long oval shape, and another that has a herringbone decoration on the wing. In this register the bees are placed above the bulls, not between the animals as in register 4.

A dotted circle, .6 cm. in diameter, and not in *repousée*, exists above one of the bulls; its meaning is not clear.

Register 6: Traces of three grazing ibex moving to the left are extant on this poorly preserved register; there seems to be room for only two more of them. Body and stomach decoration are familiar to us; in one case the stomach is plain. The hooked and decorated shoulders are like those on the bulls in register 5, without the obviously breastlike motif on the joint. Both ears are shown, but again we do not know if both horns are depicted.

One bee has a herringbone pattern on its wing, while the others are similar to the majority of the bees above.

The differences between the upper and lower parts of the vessel, between registers 1 to 3 and 4 to 6, are essentially in details, not in style. Artist A (upper registers) was apparently less restricted by convention or canon than artist B (lower registers). Thus artist A allowed the animals in one register to move to the right while all the others move left, except for an ibex in register 3; he also broke up the monotony of eight goats walking in one direction by allowing two goats to gambol, and by adding a kid to fill a space, rather

than another rosette. The animals of artist B all move in one direction, and all are walking. Artist A used winged creatures, plants, and rosettes as fillers to break up the endless rows of animals; artist B used bees as fillers to break up the rows of animals only in one register and did not draw rosettes at all. Artist A also decorated two of the narrow bands dividing the registers from one another, while artist B left all his bands plain.

In execution of line both artists were masters of the first order, and I see no reason to conclude that one artist was better or more skilled than the other. They had very similar ideas about how to draw and decorate an animal, and one must look carefully at details to discover the differences. We may summarize these differences as follows:

The flying creatures of A look like birds, while those of B look like insects.

The horns of A's bulls are long with blunt tips, while those of B's are short and thick, and have sharp tips (Figure 11). The horns of A's goats are long and blunt, while those of B's are short and pointed (Figure 11). The horns of A's ibex curve back sharply and have pointed knobs, while those of B's are more vertical, with rounded knobs.

The tails of A's bulls fall obliquely and have a spade-like end. Those of B's project horizontally and then drop vertically, forming a right angle; they also have less elaborate ends.

Artist A drew his eyes in profile, making them look like curved triangles, whereas artist B drew his as seen from the front, making them round or oval.

The breastlike joint seen in the shoulders of artist A is absent in B's shoulders (Figure 11). The manner in which the upper stomach line becomes the outer line of the left rear leg is handled differently by both artists. And the stomach and body decoration differs slightly in the use of lines.

In the execution of the animals' wings we also see differences in that artist A always used two layers of feathers while B used one, two, or three layers. Also, the manner in which the forepart of the wing joins the left front leg is different for each artist (Figure 11).

Other minor differences occur, but they need not be brought forth as the evidence is clear enough to document the conclusion that two artists worked on the vase.

There can be little doubt that the vessel is an Iranian

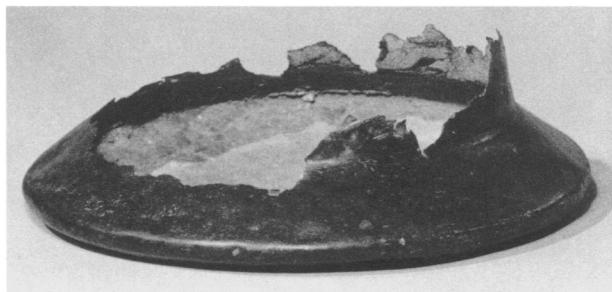


FIGURE 12
Base of a bronze vase. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 64.257.1b

work of art. Not only in specific details of the form and position of the animals and in the motifs used to decorate them, but also in the basic concept of the procession, the *Tierfries*, there are many parallels within Iranian art of the late second and the early first millennium B.C.

Several gold and silver vessels excavated at Marlik are decorated with processions of boars, cows, bulls, deer, griffins, and what seem to be unicorns.⁴ Other vessels or metal objects apparently from the south Caspian region also display processions of animals.⁵ Metal objects from Luristan⁶ may also be cited here, and many metal and ivory objects allegedly from Ziwiye depict processions of various kinds of animals and mixed creatures.⁷

Animal friezes have an ancient history in Iran and continued to be represented in art across the millennia.⁸

FIGURES 13, 14

Bronze goblet, Iranian. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of H. Dunscombe Colt, 61.264



4. Negahban, *Marlik*, figs. 103, 108, 109, 111, 113, 136, 140, 144, pls. iv, viiiA, xii, xvi.

5. Porada, *Ancient Iran*, p. 94, fig. 61; Wilkinson, "Marlik Culture," frontispiece, p. 106, fig. 7, p. 108, fig. 10, p. 109, fig. 11.

6. Arthur U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, VII (Oxford, 1964–1965) pl. 68B, the Holmes beaker; Ghirshman, *Ancient Iran*, p. 70, fig. 91, a quiver in the Metropolitan Museum.

7. André Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiye* (Haarlem, 1950) pp. 80, 90, 119 ff., figs. 69, 79, 100–106; Wilkinson, "Mannean Land," pp. 275 ff., figs. 2–5; R. Ghirshman, "Le Trésor de Sakkez," *Artibus Asiae* 13 (1950) pp. 186 f., figs. 9, 10.

8. Louis Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran Ancien* (Leiden, 1959) pp. 12, 75, 78 f., 84 f., 88, 131, figs. 4, 20, 23, 25, 27, 40, 42, pls. 47, 113, 114, 164; Pierre Amiet, *Elam* (Paris, 1966) pp. 99, 139 f., 151, 170 f., 206 f., 273, 283; Robert H. Dyson, Jr., "Where the Golden Bowl of Hasanlu was found . . .," *Illustrated London News*, January 23, 1960, p. 133, fig. 7; T. Cuyler Young, Jr., *Excavations at Godin Tepe* (Toronto, 1969) p. 17, fig. 18, nos. 4, 6, fig. 19, no. 8, fig. 22, no. 1; T. Burton Brown, *Excavations in Azerbaijan, 1948* (London, 1951) pp. 132, 135, fig. 30, nos. 51, 52, fig. 31, no. 49, pl. ix, no. 735.

FIGURE 15
Gold vessel, from Marlik,
Iran. Iran Bastan Museum,
Teheran



First-millennium examples have been found at Hasanlu, in the Ardebil region, and in Luristan.⁹ A goblet in the Metropolitan Museum with an animal procession is said to have come from Luristan; it surely comes from Iran (Figures 13, 14).¹⁰

9. R. H. Dyson, Jr., "Excavating the Mannaeen Citadel of Hasanlu . . .," *Illustrated London News*, September 30, 1961, p. 536, fig. 8; Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie*, pl. 152A, B; *Trésors de l'Ancien Iran*, exhibition catalogue, Musée Rath (Geneva, 1966) pl. 38; C. Goff Meade, "Luristan in the First Half of the First Millennium B.C.," *Iran* 6 (1968) fig. 6, no. 13: I cannot find a reference to this sherd in the text; is it intrusive?; Pope, *Survey*, pl. 11A.

10. Acc. no. 61.264. Its height is 5½ in. (13.7 cm.). There are other unpublished examples of vessels from Iran that have animal processions.

When we seek comparisons for specific decorative details on our vessel, we find that they are thoroughly at home in Iranian art. Exact or close parallels are evident on many vessels excavated in Iran or said to have been found there (with justification in some cases). The research involved in seeking out parallels is not difficult when we are working with excavated pieces from Marlik or from Hasanlu. But it is very difficult and frustrating when we examine many metal vessels that have no archaeological attributions. Many of these are on exhibition in museums, have been displayed in special shows, or are published in catalogues and books dealing with the history of Iranian art. In particular, the proliferation of gold vessels on the antiquities market in



FIGURE 16

Bronze bowl, Iranian. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 51.114

the last decade with attributions claiming that they had been found in Iran and are ancient, when to some eyes they seem to be either outright forgeries or at least of doubtful authenticity, is staggering and frightening. I do not claim that I have seen and examined every such object in this category, but any object known to me that has aroused my suspicion will of course not be discussed or cited here.

The decorated stomach outlined as a separate part of the animal's body occurs often in Iranian art. A few examples will suffice: It occurs on the so-called unicorn vessel (Figure 15), on the vessel with winged bulls and griffins, and on the vessel with the upright bulls, all of gold and all from Marlik,¹¹ and on the gold bowl and the silver beaker from Hasanlu.¹² It also occurs on a gold vessel in the Louvre, and on the gold gazelle cup and a bronze bowl (Figure 16) in the Metropolitan

Museum, all probably from the south Caspian area.¹³ Animals represented on bronze beakers with nipple bases (sometimes called situlae, and probably Iranian), as well as a few objects in the art of Luristan and from Susa, also have the outlined stomach.¹⁴

The characteristic shoulder curved back in a hook-like fashion occurs often on animals represented on vessels from Marlik and the south Caspian area and also on some objects from western Iran and Luristan. These include the gold unicorn and "Cycle of Life" vessels from Marlik, several vessels in the Louvre, a gold cup in the Guennol collection, horse bits formerly in the Graeffe collection, and a bronze goblet (Figures 13, 14), a bronze disk pin (Figure 17), a bronze quiver, the bronze bowl, and the gazelle cup, all in the Metropolitan Museum. Moreover, some of these animals have the distinctive breastlike shoulder joint.¹⁵ This feature is

11. Negahban, *Marlik*, figs. 109, 111, 114, 136, 140, pls. v, xii, xvi.

12. Porada, *Ancient Iran*, p. 95, pl. 23, pp. 98 f., figs. 63, 64; Oscar White Muscarella, "Hasanlu 1964," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 25 (1966–1967) p. 127, fig. 10.

13. André Parrot, "Acquisitions inédits du Musée du Louvre," *Syria* 35 (1968) pl. xv; Wilkinson, "Marlik Culture," pp. 104 ff., frontispiece.

14. Peter Calmeyer, "Eine westiranische Bronzewerkstatt des 10/9 Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zwischen Zalu-Ab und dem Gebiet der Kakavand-I," *Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 5 (1965) pp. 24, 28 f., 32 f., 40 f., nos. F1, F5, G2, H3; Ghirshman, *Ancient*

Iran, p. 70, fig. 91; Porada, *Ancient Iran*, p. 71, pl. 15, right; Amiet, *Elam*, pp. 498 ff., figs. 375, 376.

15. Negahban, *Marlik*, pp. 103, 109, 113, 114, 136, pls. viiiA, xvi; Wilkinson, "Marlik Culture," frontispiece, p. 106, fig. 7; Parrot, "Acquisitions," pl. xv; Pierre Amiet, "Acquisitions Iranienes récemment acquises par le Musée du Louvre," *Syria* 45 (1968) p. 252, fig. 2; Edith Porada, "Facets of Iranian Art," *Archaeology* 17 (1964) p. 200 for a photograph that is not too clear; Ghirshman, *Ancient Iran*, p. 70, fig. 91, p. 78, fig. 95; Wilkinson, "Marlik Culture," p. 105, fig. 6; G. Goossens, *Bronzen uit Loeristan* (Brussels, 1954) fig. 3; André Godard, *Les Bronzes du Luristan* (Paris, 1931) pl. XLVIII, 182; Pierre Amandry, "Un Motif 'Scythe' en Iran

also evident on the bulls that pull chariots on the gold bowl from Hasanlu, on gold and silver vessels in the Louvre, and on a crude gold vessel from Gilan in the Iran Bastan Museum in Teheran.¹⁶

The position of the bull's horns in register 5, partly resting on the forehead before they curve out, is very clearly paralleled on the Marlik unicorn vessel, on the crude vessel from Gilan,¹⁷ and on the bulls on the disk pin from Luristan in Figure 17.

Most of the bulls on the bronze vase have a mane marked off from the ears to the rump. This feature occurs fairly often in Iranian art from Marlik and Hasanlu, on bronze beakers from western Iran, on objects from Luristan, and on some ivories said to have been found at Ziwiye.¹⁸ Curls of hair on the mane and back of an animal, while not common, are to be seen on some south Caspian and Luristan objects.¹⁹ The same animals have their tails held at a right angle from the body. Likewise, we find curls or tufts of hair projecting from the legs of several animals from the same areas.²⁰

All of the small motifs used on the animals' bodies on the bronze vase, such as the short lines and dots, and net pattern, dot rosettes, outlined joints, and parallel lines for veins, exist on practically every one of the animals cited in the preceding paragraphs, and on still others.²¹ Note also that the stomachs of all the animals on the silver beaker from Hasanlu have the very same



FIGURE 17
Bronze disk pin,
Luristan, Iran. The
Metropolitan
Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund,
39.96.2

decoration as that on a goat and a bull from registers 4 and 5 on our bronze vase.²² Many of these objects also have rosettes used as space fillers, and at least one vessel, that shown in Figures 13 and 14, has a tree very similar to one represented in register 1 of the bronze vase. Moreover, the very same decoration occurs on

et en Grèce," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24 (1965) pl. xxvi, 2. Note that a bronze ibex found on Samos and attributed to Iran by Günter Kopcke, "Heraion von Samos: Die Kampagnen 1961/1965 im Südtemenos," *Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 83 (1968) pp. 291 f., fig. 33, pl. 123, 1, has these features, along with others he points out, which strengthen its attribution to Iran. A hooked shoulder, but without the breastlike joint, occurs in Phrygian art, Ekrem Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst* (Ankara, 1955) pls. 12b, 14a, 16a, b, 21b; Rodney S. Young, "The Nomadic Impact: Gordion," in *Dark Ages and Nomads*, ed. Machteld Mellink (Istanbul, 1964) pl. xvi, 1. In Urartian art it may be seen on lions, Guitty Azarpay, *Urartian Art and Artifacts* (Los Angeles, 1968) p. 37, fig. 8; Maurits van Loon, *Urartian Art* (Istanbul, 1966) p. 179, fig. 22. In North Syrian art it may also be seen on lions, Helmuth T. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin, 1942) fig. 853; see also Max Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, II (London, 1966) pp. 512 f., figs. 416–417.

16. Porada, *Ancient Iran*, p. 95, pl. 23, pp. 98 f., figs. 63, 64; Parrot, "Acquisitions," pl. xv; Amiet, "Acquisitions Iranienues," p. 252, fig. 2; Jean-Louis Huot, *Persia*, I (New York, 1965) fig. 138.

17. Negahban, *Marlik*, figs. 103, 136, pl. xvi; Huot, *Persia*, fig. 138. I have not seen (except in photographs) the copper and silver vessel published by Pierre Amiet, "Un Vase Rituel Iranien," *Syria* 43 (1965) p. 236, fig. 2, pls. xvi, xvii, and therefore I do not cite it here.

18. Negahban, *Marlik*, figs. 109, 136, pl. xvi (but not continuing all the way to the rump); Muscarella, "Hasanlu 1964," p. 130, fig. 21; Dyson, "Where the Golden Bowl of Hasanlu was found . . .," p. 132, fig. 3; Calmeyer, "Bronzwerkstatt," pp. 32 f., 36 f., 40 ff., nos. G2, H3, I1, L2, M1; Porada, *Ancient Iran*, p. 87, fig. 59; Godard, *Bronzes du Luristan*, pl. xlvi, 182; Godard, *Ziwiye*, pp. 78 ff., figs. 66, 69, 79, 80–82; Wilkinson, "Mannean Land," pp. 274, 276, 282, figs. 1, 4, 14. See also Jeanny Vorys Canby, "Decorated Garments in Ashurnasirpal's Sculptures," *Iraq* 33 (1971) pp. 41 ff.

19. Negahban, *Marlik*, figs. 109, 136, pl. xvi; Huot, *Persia*, fig. 137; Goossens, *Bronzen*, fig. 3.

20. See note 18 and Porada, *Ancient Iran*, p. 94, fig. 61; also Amiet, "Un Vase Rituel Iranien," p. 237, fig. 2, pls. xvi, xvii; Pope, *Survey*, pl. 37b.

21. For references see notes 4–20; also Ghirshman, *Ancient Iran*, p. 40, fig. 49; Negahban, *Marlik*, figs. 105, 107; Ali Hakemi, "Kaluraz," *Archaeologia Viva* 1 (September–November 1968) figs. on pp. 63, 64, pl. xxxiii.

22. Muscarella, "Hasanlu 1964," p. 127, fig. 10. Although the style of the silver beaker is not close to that of our vase, some of the motifs used to decorate the animals are the same.

the raised bands of the Metropolitan Museum's goblet and on the upper section of the bronze vase.²³

I have been able to find three examples of Iranian art where bees are shown in the field. One example is a silver fragment in the Sackler collection of Columbia University. Another is a dagger formerly in the Graeffe collection where nine bees are exhibited in a row along the blade. The third is a belt or band in the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin on which we see a triangular object, over a rosette, that could be interpreted as a bee.²⁴

An area where bees seem to be commonly represented in art is Crete, on objects from the sites of Fortetsa, Arkhades, and Praisos.²⁵ One pottery vessel from Fortetsa, no. 1247, has bees that are very close in style to those on the upper register of our bronze vessel.

This detailed account of comparisons surely leads to the easy conclusion that the bronze vase is a product of an Iranian workshop. As demonstrated, the best parallels are on several objects excavated at Marlik, and on other objects attributed to the same south Caspian area. Of special importance is the beautiful unicorn vessel on which there are over a half dozen elements and motifs related to our bronze vase. Other good parallels have been found on objects from Luristan and western Iran, and in the art represented by the beakers.²⁶ A few

good parallels have been cited on objects excavated at Hasanlu.

The chronology of most of the objects referred to here is not quite settled, and discussions on the subject continue. The fifty-three graves in the cemetery at Marlik have yet to be published, and we are thus prevented from reaching firm conclusions concerning the date of their contents. The excavator has maintained in his preliminary reports that the cemetery was in existence for several hundred years, beginning in the late second millennium B.C. and continuing into the first.²⁷ Other scholars have supported this conclusion.²⁸ Edith Porada has assigned a date in the twelfth–eleventh centuries to both the unicorn vessel and the vessel with the upright winged bulls from Marlik.²⁹ She dates the gold bowl from Hasanlu to the same period but considers the silver beaker from Hasanlu to be ninth century B.C. in date.³⁰ I have stated elsewhere that I believe the gold bowl was made in the ninth century,³¹ and it is quite possible that this conclusion may have some bearing on scholars' attitudes about lowering the dates for some of the gold vessels from Marlik. But it is too early to press this suggestion because all the evidence has not been published.

Other objects, not scientifically excavated, but presumably found in the south Caspian area, are generally

23. This decoration also occurs on a bronze beaker in the Teheran Museum that is of the same shape as the goblet in Figures 15, 16, Rosa Maria Carless, "Notes on Luristan Bronzes," *Apollo* 82 (1965) p. 27, fig. 2.

24. Emma C. Bunker, C. Bruce Chatwin, and Ann R. Farkas, "Animal Style" *Art from East to West* (New York, 1970) p. 33, no. 6; Goossens, *Bronzen*, fig. 1; Peter Calmeyer, *Datierbare Bronzen aus Luristan und Kirmanshah* (Berlin, 1969) p. 124, fig. 125; Wolfram Nagel, *Altorientalisches Kunsthandwerk* (Berlin, 1963) pp. 20 f., no. 57, pl. xxxi, and sketch at the back of the volume; a similar triangular motif over a plant may be a second insect. P. R. S. Moorey, "Some Ancient Bronze Belts: Their Antecedents and Relations," *Iran* 5 (1967) p. 97, calls the insects on the Graeffe dagger flies. Moorey also cites a bronze object said to come from Ziwiye as having flies, but I am not convinced. See also Edith Porada, "Nomads and Luristan Bronzes," in *Dark Ages and Nomads*, p. 12, note 12; and her *Tchoga Zanbil*, IV, *La Glyptique* (Paris, 1970) p. 12, for references to flies/bees in Elamite art, and pp. 18, 28, 33, nos. 11, 27, for representations on seals. [Now see note 80.]

25. J. K. Brock, *Fortetsa* (Cambridge, 1957) pp. 107 f., pl. 100, no. 1247, p. 110, no. 1279, pl. 100, pattern 15d; Doro Levi, "Arkhades," *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 10–12 (1927–1929) p. 136, figs. 123a, b, p. 430, fig. 578; Paul Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins* (Oxford, 1956) p. 74, fig. 293, also figs. 292, 294. The illustrations in Schiering, *Werkstätten*, Beil. 10, upper row, may be of bees or

lotus blossoms. See R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, (Leiden, 1966) pp. 80 ff., for a discussion of bees in ancient cultures.

26. Calmeyer, *Bronzewerkstatt*, pp. 46 f., 61 f., narrows the area where he thinks the bronze beakers were made to the Kirmanshah region; I think western Iran is more accurate given our present knowledge.

27. Negahban, *Marlik*, pp. 37 ff.; also in his "Notes on Some Objects from Marlik," *JNES* 24 (1965) pp. 311 ff., 326 f. Ekrem Akurgal, *Urartäische und Altiranische Kunstzentren* (Ankara, 1968) pp. 81 ff., 97 ff., dates most of the Iranian material from Marlik to the seventh century B.C.

28. Robert H. Dyson, Jr., "Problems of Protohistoric Iran as Seen from Hasanlu," *JNES* 24 (1965) p. 211, where his chart dates Marlik from 1200 to 750 B.C.; Wilkinson, "Mannean Land," p. 102; Porada, *Ancient Iran*, p. 90.

29. Porada, *Ancient Iran*, pp. 91 ff., 94 ff.

30. Porada, *Ancient Iran*, pp. 113 ff., pls. 23, 24, 28; also in her "Notes on the Gold Bowl and Silver Beaker from Hasanlu," *A Survey of Persian Art*, XIV, ed. Arthur U. Pope (Tokyo, 1967) p. 1968, note 16.

31. Oscar White Muscarella, "Hasanlu in the Ninth Century B.C. and its Relations with other Cultural Centers of the Near East," *American Journal of Archaeology* 75 (1971) p. 265; also in my forthcoming "Hasanlu and the Near East in the Ninth Century B.C.," in *Iran and its Influences*, ed. James Muhly.

dated to the late second or early first millennium B.C., but if the Marlik material is to be lowered to the early first millennium B.C., the date of these objects must follow the same pattern. These objects, all of gold, include the gazelle cup, the cup found at Kalar Dasht, the Guennol cup, and the vessel in the Louvre.³²

The bronze beakers have recently been discussed in detail by several scholars, and there is general opinion that they should be dated to the tenth–ninth centuries B.C.³³ The handful of objects cited from Luristan and western Iran are difficult to date, but there is growing evidence that they should not be dated before the early first millennium B.C. The dagger formerly in the Graeffe collection is about 1000 B.C. in date, maybe even earlier,³⁴ but the horse bits, also formerly in the Graeffe collection, were surely made a century or more after 1000 B.C.³⁵ Porada has called attention to the relationship of the Metropolitan Museum quiver to the Marlik styles, but she prefers to date the quiver to the beginning of the first millennium.³⁶ Recent studies have narrowed the range of dates for Luristan disk pins (Figure 17) to the ninth century, perhaps continuing into the eighth.³⁷ Other objects, such as the Holmes beaker and the vessels illustrated in Figures 13, 14, and 16, cannot be dated independently of the Marlik and south Caspian material, to which they relate stylistically.

I am reluctant to suggest a date for the bronze vessel other than in broad terms. Clearly the date of the Marlik material, especially the unicorn vessel, is crucial in

this matter. If we fall back upon the general chronological formula of late second–early first millennium B.C., we will no doubt be correct, but perhaps excessively vague. My present opinion, based on the evidence presented above, is that it is quite possible to believe that the vessel was made sometime between 1000 and 800 B.C.³⁸ Those who believe that the material cited from Marlik is actually second millennium in date may think the dating offered here too low. But until the archaeological sources show evidence for such a date for the Marlik material cited above, I prefer to see the vessel as early first millennium in date.

Objects acquired from the antiquities market exist in an archaeological void. We may make comparisons and add up the number of parallels gathered in order to help us reach a tentative conclusion, but we will never know for sure if we are correct in our deductions. It seems, therefore, safer and wiser to offer only suggestions rather than definite statements about the possible proveniences of such objects. With this in mind I suggest that the bronze vessel was made in an area bordered by Luristan in the south and the south Caspian in the north. And because there appear to be more parallels from the latter area, I think we may assume that it was made in a workshop that also made some of the works of art excavated at Marlik. For if the vessel had been excavated at Marlik by archaeologists, it would not stand out from the other objects in terms of style. In fact, bronze vessels, up until now unpublished and not available to scholars, were excavated at Marlik.³⁹ It would be a pleasant surprise if subsequent publication of that material would show that vessels similar in shape and decoration to our vase were used there.

This study of the Metropolitan Museum's bronze vase began with Amandry's comments that models for the East Greek friezes would turn up somewhere in the area of eastern Turkey or northwestern Iran. Had the bronze vase been available to Amandry, he would no doubt have identified its decoration as a classical Iranian example of the animal frieze, in fact, the best example of an animal frieze known at present from Iran. Its theme of decoration is so close in conception to that on many East Greek vessels that it surely must be brought into a discussion about the origin or the sources of influences on the Wild Goat style. In works in this style we see continuous processions of animals walking or

32. Porada, *Ancient Iran*, pp. 91 ff., 93 ff., fig. 61, pl. 22b; Wilkinson, "Mannean Land," pp. 101 ff. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie*, p. 5, dates the Kalar Dasht finds to 1000–800 B.C.

33. Calmeyer, *Werkstatt*, pp. 1 ff.; Pierre Amandry, "Situles à Reliefs du Princes de Babylone," *Antike Kunst* 9 (1966) pp. 57 ff., 69; Porada, *La Gyptique*, p. 130; see also my forthcoming article "Decorated Bronze Beakers from Iran."

34. Calmeyer, *Datierbare Bronzen*, p. 122; Robert H. Dyson, Jr., "Notes on Weapons and Chronology in Northern Iran around 1000 B.C.," in *Dark Ages and Nomads*, pp. 32 ff., and p. 34 for a very similar sword from Giyan, Tomb 10.

35. Moorey, "Chronology for the Luristan Bronzes," pp. 123 f.

36. Porada, *Ancient Iran*, p. 88.

37. Maurits van Loon, review of *Dark Ages and Nomads* in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 24 (1967) p. 24; Moorey, "Chronology for the Luristan Bronzes," p. 127.

38. The objects cited from Ziwiyeh are not so close to the bronze vase in style that they would effect a lowering of the date to the eighth or seventh century B.C.

39. Negahban, *Marlik*, p. 27.

grazing in one direction and set off in horizontal registers; sometimes the animals in one register move in a direction opposite to the others. There are also a number of filler ornaments, including rosettes and plants, and a few vessels even have small birds in the field.⁴⁰ These motifs and the form of their representation are quite close to those found on our bronze vase. Indeed, not all of the types of animals, birds, and ornaments found on East Greek vessels appear on the bronze vase or in other Iranian processions, and the animals, birds, and plants are drawn in a different fashion, with far less elaborate body decoration, but form and concept make a comparison inevitable. We are not, after all, dealing with a one-to-one copy, but rather with what appears to be an adaptation. All one need do is place the bronze vase next to an East Greek Wild Goat vase and some degree of relationship is established (Figures 1–11, 18, 19).

There is general agreement among scholars concerned with East Greek pottery that the Wild Goat style did not develop before the seventh century B.C. In fact, no one seems to date its inception before the second quarter of that century. Thus Wolfgang Schiering and R. M. Cook date the earliest vessel in the style to about 660 B.C.,⁴¹ while Karl Schefold and John Board-

man place it about 650 B.C.⁴² And it has recently been argued that the style was not known at Sardis until the end of the century.⁴³

Processions of animals existed also in works produced on the Greek mainland. Athenian Late Geometric pottery and Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery at Corinth present the earliest first-millennium examples.⁴⁴

No one doubts that the animal frieze as a decorative element existed earlier on the mainland than in the islands.⁴⁵ The animal frieze on a vase in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, 804, painted by the Dipylon Master, is the earliest example of the motif, according to the most recent discussion of Geometric art.⁴⁶ The vase's date has been discussed by many scholars, and the majority would place it close to 750 B.C.⁴⁷ A vase in the Museum für Antike Kunst in Munich, 6080, also with an early frieze and also by the Dipylon Master, is usually placed close to the vase 804 in date.⁴⁸

It is of interest to note that the animal frieze on Late Geometric pottery usually consists of isolated registers—sometimes one, at other times two, and rarely, several—juxtaposed to registers of geometric motifs and genre scenes.

40. Schiering, *Werkstätten*, pls. 4 ff., 12; K. F. Kinch, *Vroulia* (Berlin, 1914) pp. 191, 207, 214, figs. 73, 91, 101, pls. 15, 16; Pierre Demargne, *The Birth of Greek Art* (New York, 1964) p. 341, fig. 437; Elena Walter-Karydi, "Äolische Kunst," *Antike Kunst*, supplement 7 (Bern, 1970) pls. 1, 2, 3, 1 and 3; Chrysoula Kardara, *Rodiaki Angeiographia* (in Greek) (Berlin, 1963) pp. 91, 98, 99, 101 ff., figs. 59, 63, 64–68, 71; Karl Schefold and Johannes Boehlau, *Larisa am Hermos*, III (Berlin, 1942) pls. 16, 19, 25, 29; pl. 19, 1, even has a young ibex tucked in between two grown ibex, as on the bronze vase. Small birds drawn naturally and used as fillers may be seen in Skevos Zervos, *Rhodes* (Paris, 1920) p. 155, fig. 352, XIII, XV; E. Homann-Wedeking, *The Art of Ancient Greece* (New York, 1968) pl. on p. 63; Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., "Orientalizing Pottery from Sardis: The Wild Goat Style," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 3 (1970) pl. 3, 2; Kardara, *Rodiaki Angeiographia*, pp. 86, 157, figs. 55, 129. I also wonder if the pendant triangles with a "head" and a "beak" found on some East Greek vessels might not be related to the type of winged creature represented on the upper registers of our bronze vase. It is possible, I believe, to understand these triangles as stylized birds; see Kardara, *Rodiaki Angeiographia*, pp. 103, 167, figs. 68, 138.

41. Schiering, *Werkstätten*, pp. 8–11; R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London, 1960) p. 116, and also in *Gnomon* 37 (1965) p. 506; Demargne, *Greek Art*, p. 338, dates it to c. 675 B.C.

42. Karl Schefold, "Knidische Vasen und Verwandtes," *JdI* 57 (1942) p. 125; John Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952–1955:*

Greek Emporio, supplement no. 6 of *The Annual of the British School at Athens* (London, 1967) p. 148.

43. Greenewalt, "Orientalizing Pottery from Sardis: The Wild Goat Style," pp. 66 f. and note 36.

44. J. Nicholas Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968) pls. 6, 7d, 8e, 11g, 14b, c, e (for four registers); Humfry Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* (Berlin, 1933) pls. 5, 9, 15, 30, 31; Humfry Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931) pls. 8 ff.

45. Kunze, *KB*, p. 163; Ekrem Akurgal, *The Art of Greece* (New York, 1966) pp. 170, 202; Amandry, "La Grèce d'Asie," p. 90; also Amandry in *Le Rayonnement des Civilisations Grecque et Romaine* . . . (Paris, 1965) p. 487; compare Frederik Poulsen, *Der Orient und die Frühgriechische Kunst* (Leipzig, 1912) p. 18.

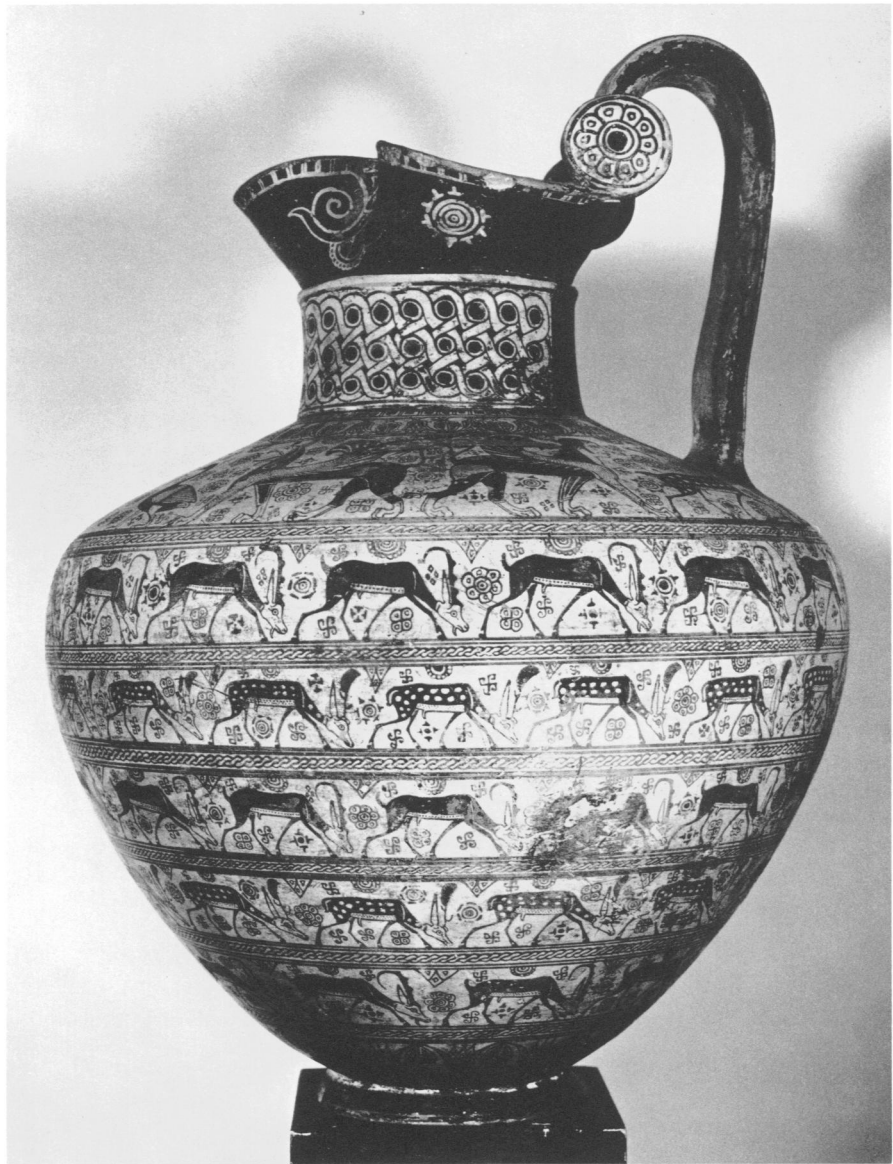
46. Coldstream, *Geometric Pottery*, pp. 40, 45, pl. 6.

47. 775–750 B.C.: Peter Kahane, "Die Entwicklungen der Attisch-geometrischen Keramik," *AJA* 44 (1940) p. 477. 750 B.C.: Gerda Nottbohm, "Der Meister der grossen Dipylon-Amphora in Athens," *JdI* 58 (1934) p. 31; J. M. Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops* (New Haven, 1961) p. 129; Eva Brann, *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery* (Princeton, 1962) p. 13; Jack L. Benson, *Horse Bird and Man* (Amherst, 1970) p. 18. 760–740 B.C.: Coldstream, *Geometric Pottery*, pp. 330 f.

48. Coldstream, *Geometric Pottery*, pp. 32 f., 174, note 4; Davison, *Workshops*, p. 129; Dieter Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche* (Berlin, 1953) p. 133, note 30, dated early eighth century and claimed as the earliest example of a frieze on geometric pottery.

FIGURE 18

East Greek vase: the
Levy Oenochoe. Musée
du Louvre (photo:
Maurice Chuzeville)



Gold bands with animal friezes have been found at Athens, and it has been suggested by some scholars that they are earlier than the friezes on pottery.⁴⁹ However, the dates of these bands have been lowered, and there is no strong reason to assume that they are earlier.⁵⁰

49. Ohly, *Goldbleche*, pp. 73, 133, note 30; Thomas J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and Their Eastern Neighbors* (London, 1957) p. 44; also Amandry "Un Motif 'Scythe,'" p. 158, note 41.

50. Kunze, *KB*, p. 206; Coldstream, *Geometric Pottery*, p. 361; Brann, *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery*, p. 13.

51. K. F. Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens* (Paris, 1923) p. 185; Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, p. 20; T. J. Dunbabin, "The

K. F. Johansen and Humfry Payne, supported by Thomas J. Dunbabin, have maintained that the orientalizing period at Corinth began after about 750 B.C.⁵¹ Saul Weinberg and J. Nicholas Coldstream have lowered this date to about 725 B.C.,⁵² which makes the

Chronology of Protocorinthian Vases," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1953-1954, pp. 247-267.

52. Saul Weinberg, *Late Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery* (Cambridge, 1943) p. 33; also in Weinberg's "What is Protocorinthian Ware?," *AJA* 45 (1941) p. 35; Coldstream, *Geometric Pottery*, pp. 110 f.



FIGURE 19
East Greek vase. The Metropolitan Museum of
Art, Rogers Fund, 19.192.12

Athenian animal friezes earlier than those at Corinth. However, in the earlier stages of Protocorinthian pottery the frieze was usually confined to one register, a point of similarity to the friezes on Late Geometric Athenian pottery. It was not until the later Protocorinthian and the transitional period to Corinthian styles that the frieze in several registers came into full development (Figure 20).

Perhaps the best examples of animal friezes in early Cretan art occur on the often discussed shields. But there is much disagreement about the range of dates accepted for their manufacture. Some would date them beginning in the late ninth century B.C., continuing into the eighth century,⁵³ others see them not earlier than the eighth century,⁵⁴ and one scholar has dated them all to the seventh century.⁵⁵ There can be little doubt that the shields were being used in the eighth century and also in the seventh century, as proven by the shield from Arkhades.⁵⁶

The question that naturally arises from this brief survey of the occurrences of the animal procession in the Greek world is: what was the source, or sources, of this idea? We have already seen the Iranian evidence for the frieze and taken note of the existence of the same idea and animals that occur in Greek art. But what of other areas in the Near East? How common was the use of the frieze outside Iran?

Uratian art yields evidence that the animal frieze was a favorite motif, especially on shields, beginning in the early eighth century B.C. Shields of Argishti I (c. 786–764) and Sarduri II (c. 764–735) have lions and bulls walking in rows around the rim; the idea continued into the seventh century.⁵⁷ A fragmentary bronze bowl found at Toprakkale also has an animal-frieze decoration of lions and bulls.⁵⁸ But these friezes do not occur on pottery or on metal vases in registers, that is, at least none have been found to date. They occur rather in a circular fashion, and there are no ibex, goats, or filler ornaments used on the shields.

Phrygia is another area where the animal frieze was used in art. It is best seen on the so-called Alishar IV, or *frühphrygische*, pottery.⁵⁹ Here processions of skidding deer and goats or ibex were drawn in black silhouette in a single register. The repertory of animals was limited, and linear trees and concentric circles were the favorite filler ornaments. The date of this pottery appears to be late eighth century, and it is contemporary, at least in part, with the pottery painting called *reifphrygisch* by Ekrem Akurgal.⁶⁰ This latter style has lions, bulls,

53. Kunze, *KB*, p. 247; Hugh Hencken, "Herzsprung Shields and Greek Trade," *AJA* 54 (1950) pp. 297 ff.; John Boardman, "The Khaniakia Tekke Tombs, II," *BSA* 62 (1967) p. 59; earlier, in *The Cretan Collection in Oxford* (Oxford, 1961) pp. 84, 138, Boardman dated the shields to the eighth and seventh centuries; James Muhly, "Homer and the Phoenicians," *Berytus* 11 (1970) p. 48.

54. Coldstream, *Geometric Pottery*, p. 382, note 19; Demargne, *Greek Art*, p. 316, beginning of the eighth century.

55. Sylvia Benton, "The Date of the Cretan Shields," *BSA* 39 (1938–1939) pp. 54, 61, 62 f.

56. Levi, "Arkhades," pp. 40, 245.

57. Van Loon, *Uratian Art*, p. 117, fig. 13, pl. xxv; Azarpay, *Uratian Art and Artifacts*, pls. 7, 18–20, 56, 58.

58. Van Loon, *Uratian Art*, p. 179, fig. 22; probably later than other Uratian material.

59. Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst*, pp. 4 ff., figs. 1–9, 15, pls. 1–8; R. S. Young, "The Gordion Campaign of 1957," *AJA* 72 (1968) pl. 75, fig. 26.

60. Muscarella, "Hasanlu in the Ninth Century B.C.," p. 263.



FIGURE 20

Transitional Corinthian olpe. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 96.18.41

goats, stags, and birds drawn in individual metopes, and therefore has no relationship to a true frieze.⁶¹ A fragmentary and charred piece of wood from Gordion has some kind of animal frieze, but too little is preserved to enable us to know exactly what exists.⁶² The use of black silhouette drawing and the framing of an animal

in a metope seem to exclude Phrygian art as a source for animal friezes in the West.

In north Syria the animal frieze was not common. However, a few examples of pottery exhibit a row of black silhouetted animals in one register.⁶³ One may argue that the stone reliefs sculpted on the orthostates of some city walls are friezes. But this would be pushing the evidence too far, and we should be concerned mainly with representations on vessels.⁶⁴ I do not think any of the pottery friezes from north Syria relate to those known in the West.⁶⁵

The Assyrians apparently did not use the animal frieze as a decorative motif,⁶⁶ but ivories and bowls, presumably of north Syrian and Phoenician manufacture, have been recovered from Assyrian ruins. Some of the ivories from Nimrud are in the form of individual plaques representing grazing stags or horned animals; other ivories in the round depict grazing antelopes, bulls, or sphinxes, sometimes in registers.⁶⁷ Single plaques showing grazing animals have been found also at Arslan Tash and Samaria, and on Crete.⁶⁸ Bowls classified as Phoenician or Cypriote and found at Nimrud and Cyprus have friezes of animals as well, sometimes in registers.⁶⁹ Aside from the Iranian evidence, these friezes or representations of grazing animals are the closest in concept to the friezes known to the Greek painters.

61. Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst*, pls. 12, 14, 16, 19, 22.

62. R. S. Young, "The Gordion Campaign of 1959: Preliminary Report," *AJA* 64 (1960) p. 240, pl. 61, fig. 24.

63. P. J. Riis, *Hama, Les Cimetières à Cremation* (Copenhagen, 1948) pp. 48, 50, figs. 24, 25, 28; C. Leonard Woolley and R. D. Barnett, *Carchemish, III* (London, 1952) pl. 68b, which reminds us strongly of the skidding deer on Phrygian pottery, and pl. 68c, which reminds us of the figures on a vessel found at Hasanlu, and cited in note 9.

64. For examples of animal friezes in stone reliefs see Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf, III* (Berlin, 1955) pls. 56 ff., and also the reliefs from Ankara, Bossert, *Altanatolien*, pls. 1053–1056.

65. The double-headed lion common on north Syrian reliefs was adapted in Greece not in a frieze context, but as a single motif, Dunbabin, *Greeks and Their Eastern Neighbors*, pl. xv, 1, 2; Oscar White Muscarella, "Near Eastern Bronzes in the West: The Question of Origin," in *Art and Technology*, ed. Suzannah Doeringer and David G. Mitten (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970) p. 120.

66. But see Peter Calmeyer, *Altiranische Bronzen der Sammlung*

Bröckelschen (Berlin, 1964) pp. 49 f., no. 106, fig. 7, which is apparently an Assyrian object.

67. R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957) pls. 2, 5, 40, 46–47, 65, 68; Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, II, figs. 416, 417, 435–439, 550, 561, 562. For an imported example found at Samos see E. Buschor, "Samos 1952–1957," *Neue Deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet und im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin, 1959) p. 211, fig. 13.

68. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan Tash* (Paris, 1931) pl. xxxi, nos. 61, 62; J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria* (London, 1938) pl. x, 8; R. D. Barnett, "Early Greek and Oriental Ivories," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 68 (1948) p. 4, fig. 1, also pl. viii, d, from Sparta.

69. Poulsen, *Der Orient*, p. 34, fig. 22; C. P. di Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities* (New York, 1903) III, part 2, pl. xxxiii, 4; Austen Henry Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd ser. (London, 1853) pls. 57, 59c, 60, 61a, 64; Einar Gjerstad, "Decorated Metal Bowls from Cyprus," *Opuscula Archaeologica* 4 (1946) pls. ii, xi, xiii, dated seventh century and later, pp. 15 ff.

It would appear from this brief summary that the isolated register of animals in the eighth-century Greek friezes could conceivably have been derived and adapted from any one of several Eastern cultures. In seventh-century art we notice a similarity in the use of multiple registers and processions of animals between the Corinthian and the East Greek friezes. The Corinthian friezes tend to include heraldic scenes, or different types of animals and birds juxtaposed, often in hunting situations. The East Greek examples are more concerned with continuous processions of the same animal, walking or grazing usually in one direction. Humfry Payne and others have discussed the spiritual and technical differences between the two styles of painting.⁷⁰ While emphasizing the differences, they admit, at least by implication, that there was some degree of similarity in concept. It is not impossible to my mind that both mainland and island pottery painters may actually have been influenced by the same Near Eastern stimuli but translated them in a different manner and style.⁷¹ Of course, we are not in a position to know if this is true or not, and it could be argued equally that they reflect different Eastern sources. In any event, whatever the Eastern source for the mainland friezes, I believe that we are able to recognize Iranian art, expressed by the bronze vase and the other objects referred to already, as the best candidate available for

the stimuli and inspiration that played some role in the development of the East Greek style.⁷²

If there were no chronological differences between the Iranian material and the East Greek art under discussion, there would be little hesitation in regarding the former as a model for the latter. But there is a chronological gap of approximately 150 to 250 years. Some scholars have suggested that the friezes on Phoenician bowls were the models for Greek friezes,⁷³ and in some ways these friezes are close: a continuous procession of animals displayed in several registers. Nevertheless, the Phoenician frieze is always on the interior of bowls and never, to my knowledge, on the outside of vases. Those who believe that the grazing animals on the ivories found in Assyrian contexts influenced the Greek painters have a strong argument. But I believe that the Iranian evidence is stronger, that is, it is closer than the ivory friezes to the East Greek style.

Akurgal has suggested that the "harmless strolling lions" of the East Greek pottery reflect knowledge of the Urartian lions represented on shields.⁷⁴ But the East Greek lions appear to reflect Assyrian and north Syrian lion types,⁷⁵ especially in the manner in which the feet are drawn and in the position of the tongue. Furthermore, the East Greek lion is usually not drawn in a continuous frieze, as is the case in Urartian art.

Amandry has rejected Urartu and Phrygia as sources

70. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, pp. 17 ff., pl. 32; Schiering, *Werkstätten*, p. 94; Amandry, "La Grèce d'Asie," p. 90; Scheffold, "Knidische Vasen," pp. 125, 142; Demargne, *Greek Art*, p. 338; R. M. Cook, "Ionia and Greece in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.," *JHS* 66 (1946) p. 95.

71. A detail of decoration that occurs in middle and late Protocorinthian painting is the hooked shoulder discussed above in the text and in note 15; see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pls. 28, 4, 29, 8; J. L. Benson, "The Ampersand Painter," *AJA* 64 (1960) pl. 81, figs. 1-3, pl. 82, figs. 10, 11, pl. 83, fig. 13. It has also been pointed out that incisions on Protocorinthian pottery suggest that metal models were known and that the technique used on these vessels was adapted to pottery, Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 7; R. M. Cook, "Ionia and Greece," p. 93. The hooked shoulder does not, to my knowledge, occur in East Greek art.

72. See A. U. Pope, "The Art of Persia and Associated Cultures . . .," *Illustrated London News*, August 24, 1935, the caption of the East Greek vessel on p. 315. Jack L. Benson, who, with typical generosity, read the manuscript of this study and shared his opinions with me, disagrees with the conclusions I have reached. He believes that the East Greek frieze may best be understood as a development from mainland art, Protocorinthian and Protoattic, and is not necessarily a result of Near Eastern influence. (Note his comment in *Horse Bird and Man*, p. 70, that the mainland Greeks,

knowing the frieze from their Mycenaean heritage, were inspired by oriental friezes to adapt the motif to their own needs.) Benson also thinks that because most (not all) Greek friezes move from left to right, while the bronze vase discussed here moves basically from right to left, this may be a further indication of East Greek borrowing from the West rather than from the East. Although I do not deny that there are some agreements between mainland and East Greek friezes, there is also agreement between the latter and Iranian friezes (some of which indeed move from left to right), and I doubt if we should assume this is fortuitous. The visual impact of the relationship is too powerful to my mind to be ignored, and I feel justified in defending the relationship. Several scholars mentioned in this study (note 70) have called attention to the differences between mainland and East Greek friezes, and surely it is at least a viable possibility that an oriental style (Iranian, as argued here) was admired and adapted by island painters, thereby causing the differences noted.

73. Poulsen, *Der Orient*, p. 91; Kunze, *KB*, pp. 164 f.

74. Akurgal, *The Art of Greece*, p. 197; note that on p. 193 he compares lions on Protocorinthian and early Attic vases to a disk published by Ghirshman, but the latter piece is not Iranian, as claimed by Akurgal, but Italian; E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens* (Berlin, 1961) pp. 178 f.

75. Schiering, *Werkstätten*, pp. 53 f.

for the Greek frieze and suggested Iran. His main source for parallels is a group of objects allegedly from Ziwiye, of eighth–seventh-century date: silver disks with a circular frieze of running goats with a lotus and bud design.⁷⁶ There is no doubt that the goats and floral motif are close to the East Greek examples, but they are not in a horizontal frieze. Some of the gold objects said to come from Ziwiye, cited above, have horizontal friezes, but I do not think that they could be considered as directly related to the East Greek examples. We are left then with the earlier Iranian representations of the frieze on vessels, especially our bronze vase.

There is no easy explanation for the long span in time between the early first-millennium Iranian evidence and the seventh-century East Greek paintings. Nor do we know anything about the dynamics of the adaptation of the Iranian frieze by East Greek artists who apparently were aware of the earlier mainland use of friezes. One may bring in archaeological clichés that could solve the problem: (1) The bronze vase and closely related material, being valuable, were kept as heirlooms for a long time after their manufacture. These objects were seen by or passed on to Western (East Greek) artists in the seventh century. (2) There were vases with friezes in registers made in Iran over a long period of time. It was these vases that were seen by Western artists and adapted. Because of archaeological accident, they have not yet been recovered in excavations.⁷⁷ Although neither of these conclusions may be proven, for the present I prefer to leave them stand as tentative explanations for the adaptation and chronological gap.

A discussion of the possible routes from Iran to the

West would not prove fruitful as conclusions about them tend to be subjective. Judy Birmingham, Boardman, and earlier, J. Wiesner,⁷⁸ saw no difficulty in proposing a direct land route; R. D. Barnett and also Wiesner saw the possibility of a Black Sea route.⁷⁹ A land and a sea route are both feasible, and it is not necessary to prefer one over the other.

The Metropolitan Museum's bronze vase has become another chapter in the study of Greek-Oriental, specifically Greek-Iranian, relations in the Iron Age. One hopes that its presentation here will lead to further discussion in this area of research and encourage more material to be published so that our understanding of first-millennium cultural exchanges will be increased.⁸⁰

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 Ghirshman, *Ancient Iran*—Roman Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1965).
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 Wilkinson, "Marlik Culture,"—Charles K. Wilkinson, "Art of the Marlik Culture," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 24 (1965–1966) pp. 101–109.

76. Amandry, "La Grèce d'Asie," p. 93, and in *Le Rayonnement des Civilisations*, p. 488; see also notes 7 and 38.

77. At least two Iranian pottery vessels with animal friezes, one from Hasanlu, the other said to come from the Ardebil area, and not pre-ninth century in date, have been published: see note 9.

78. Judy Birmingham, "The Overland Route across Anatolia," *Anatolian Studies* 11 (1961) p. 192; Boardman, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford*, p. 100; J. Wiesner, "Zur orientalisierenden Periode der Mittelmeerkulturen," *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* 1942, pp. 454 ff.

79. R. D. Barnett, "Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece," in *The Aegean and the Near East*, ed. Saul S. Weinberg (New York, 1956) pp. 228 f., 233. James Muhly "Homer and the Phoenicians," p. 49, attacks the land-route theory, but apparently only the alleged route from Urartu to the West; he says nothing about Iran.

80. In 1964 I saw, briefly, a bronze vase, said to come from Iran, that was quite similar to the Metropolitan Museum's bronze vase. The whereabouts of the vase has been unknown to me since that time, and I did not remember decorative details. Recently, and after the completion of the present study, I was allowed to see some photographs (not showing all sides). The vase is presently in a private collection, but no more information was made available. It is basically the same shape as the Museum's vase but for the neck, which, although of the same type and shape, has no bud decoration and is joined to a flat and plain ledge rather than to the upper frieze; this part of the vessel deserves examination. The base is similar to that shown in Figure 12. The vase is also formed from two sections joined together by rivets. There are four registers: The one at the top, curved inward, like the top register of the



FIGURE 21

Bronze goblet. British Museum, 134685. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

Museum's vase, consists of a frieze of birds with ducks' beaks and, apparently, webbed feet, walking left; rosettes in the form of hair swirls are used as fillers. The register below consists of a frieze of vultures, heads down, moving right; the hair-swirl type of rosette separates each (?) bird from its neighbor. Below this is the join area and then a frieze of winged goats moving left; both regular and hair-swirl rosettes are used as fillers. The lowest register consists of a frieze of grazing ibex moving right; regular rosettes are used as fillers here. Body decoration on all the creatures is basically the same as that employed on the Museum's vase, but is not so finely executed. In addition, the workmanship in general is not as fine, and there are no trees or bees used as fillers. The vessel, while probably made in the same area as the Museum's vase, was clearly not made by the same artists. In addition to a vessel of aesthetic value, we now have another important example of an early first-millennium B.C. Iranian frieze.

After the completion of this study (October 1971) I received from R. D. Barnett photographs of a bronze goblet in the British Museum (134685). Through Barnett's courtesy, I am able to publish one of those photographs here (Figure 21). The vessel has the same shape as the goblet in the Metropolitan Museum, Figures 13, 14, and the one in Teheran mentioned in note 23. The upper register displays a frieze of grazing antelope (?) moving left in a lower

zone and right in an upper zone; not shown in figure 21 is a lion attacking a hare (?) in the upper zone. Rosettes and a winged creature are used as fillers. The lower register also has two zones of grazing antelope, one moving right, the other left. There is also a man in a *knielauf* position holding an axe in his right hand and touching an antelope with his left (compare a similar scene at Carchemish, Bossert, *Altanatolien*, no. 853, and at Hasanlu, Robert H. Dyson, Jr., "Early Cultures of Solduz," in *A Survey of Persian Art*, XIV, p. 2963, fig. 1034). The registers have no groundlines (compare the goblet in Teheran mentioned in note 23). What is of particular interest to us is the occurrence of the animal frieze and the type of body decoration and forms employed: rows of dots, dot net pattern, hooked shoulders, and the rear leg of sicklelike shape. Note also that the winged creature looks very much like a bird. And its head shape and body decoration are very similar to those of the winged creatures in the upper registers of the Metropolitan Museum's bronze vase. That the figure on the British Museum goblet is a bird seems certain to me. Therefore, it would appear more likely that the creatures in the Metropolitan Museum's upper registers are also birds (see note 40, with its references to East Greek birds). I still believe, however, that the creatures on the lower registers of our bronze vase, and those cited in note 24, are bees, and not birds.

Giovanni Pisano at the Metropolitan Museum Revisited

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THE METROPOLITAN Museum of Art made three different purchases of sculptures attributed to Giovanni Pisano during a period of eleven years starting in 1910. All the sculptures are carved of Carrara marble. The first purchase in the series was a pair of pilasters, each with two angels blowing long trumpets, as seen in representations of the Last Judgment (Figures 1–4). In excellent condition, these sculptures bear some remains of polychromy, principally in the deeply carved areas.¹ The second purchase, made in 1918, was a lectern in the shape of an eagle grasping an open book in its claws, with an octagonal bookrest (Figures 5, 6). The head, once broken off, had been reattached.² The third purchase, made in 1921, was a standing angel with a lion and an ox crouching on either side, all three of the figures holding closed books (Figures 7–9). This sculpture is, obviously, a representation of the symbols of the Evangelists—a tetramorph—but the symbol of St.

John, the eagle, is missing. Like the pair with the angels, this pilaster presents remains of polychromy.³

Though the relationship of these sculptures with Giovanni Pisano's work was pointed out from the beginning, their provenance was not clear. The angels were first published among new acquisitions by Joseph Breck, shortly after they were bought, as the work of a follower of Giovanni.⁴ Though they were identified by Wilhelm Valentiner as by Giovanni himself, and possibly from the pulpit of the Duomo of Pisa,⁵ it was not until 1932 that Franziska Fried made a positive identification of the two angel pilasters as coming from the Pisa pulpit.⁶ She did not seem to know, however, of the existence of the incomplete tetramorph and the eagle lectern in the Museum's collection, despite their having been published, even if briefly, by Breck in 1921.⁷ The tetramorph was exhibited in Detroit in 1938 and identified by Valentiner as from the Pisa

1. Acc. no. 10.203.1: height 33½ in. (85.1 cm.); width 4¾ in. (10.2 cm.). Acc. no. 10.203.2: height 33¾ in. (84.5 cm.); width 9½ in. (22.9 cm.).

2. Acc. no. 18.70.26: height 28 in. (71.1 cm.); width 23 in. (58.4 cm.); width of base 6¾ in. (17.2 cm.); depth of base 9½ in. (24.1 cm.).

3. Acc. no. 21.101: height 33½ in. (84.2 cm.); width (at the uncarved part of the back) 3¾ in. (9.5 cm.). Like the two angel pilasters, the tetramorph was purchased in London from the English collector and scholar R. Langton Douglas and came from the collection of John Ruskin. The provenance of the eagle lectern was very vague: "a church in Pisa."

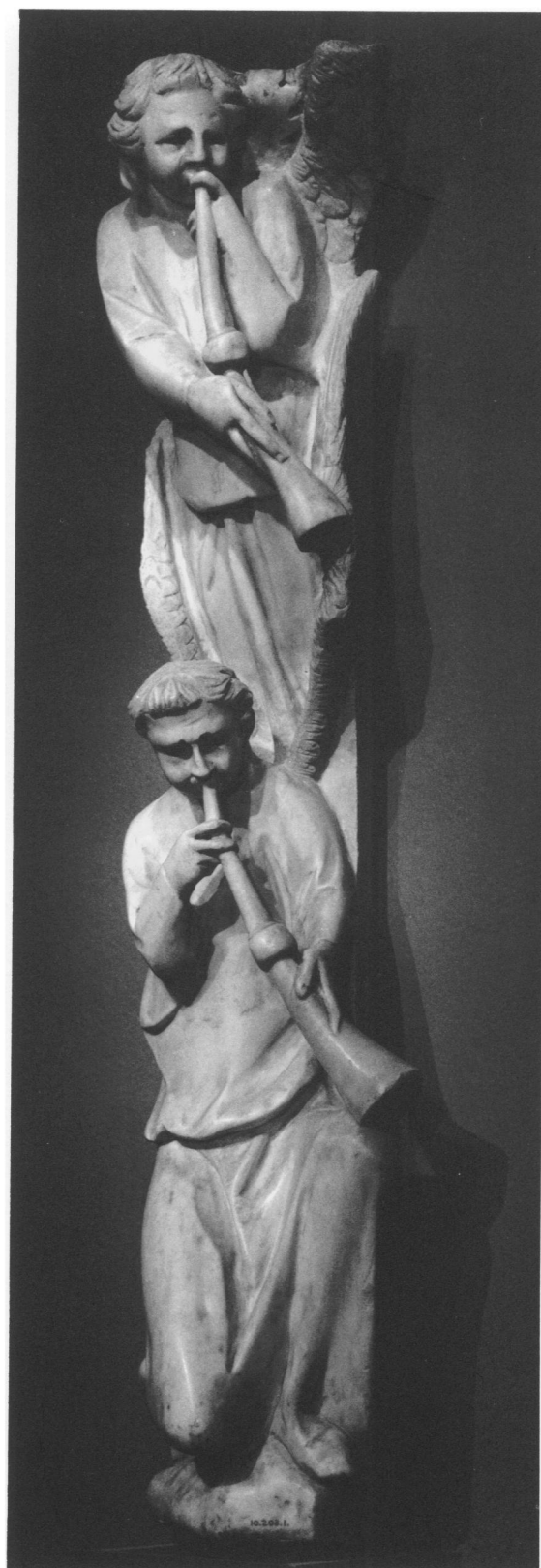
4. Joseph Breck, "Giovanni Pisano: A Recent Purchase of Two Sculptured Pilasters," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 6 (1911) p. 44. Breck believed the angels to have "enframed a relief of the Last Judgment in some sculptured pulpit of which we have no record." And later on: "It is only in occasional passages where the exaggeration is felt to be a mannerism rather than an explanation that ground is given for questioning an unqualified attribution to the master himself."

5. Wilhelm R. Valentiner, "Werke um Giovanni Pisano in Amerika," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 1919–1920, p. 114.

6. Franziska Fried, "Zwei Engelgruppen von Giovanni's Domkanzel in Pisa," *Josef Strzygowski Festschrift* (Vienna, 1932) pp. 54–56, pl. 10.

7. Joseph Breck, "Sculpture by Giovanni Pisano," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 16 (1921) pp. 145–146, ill. The angels appear this time as by Giovanni.

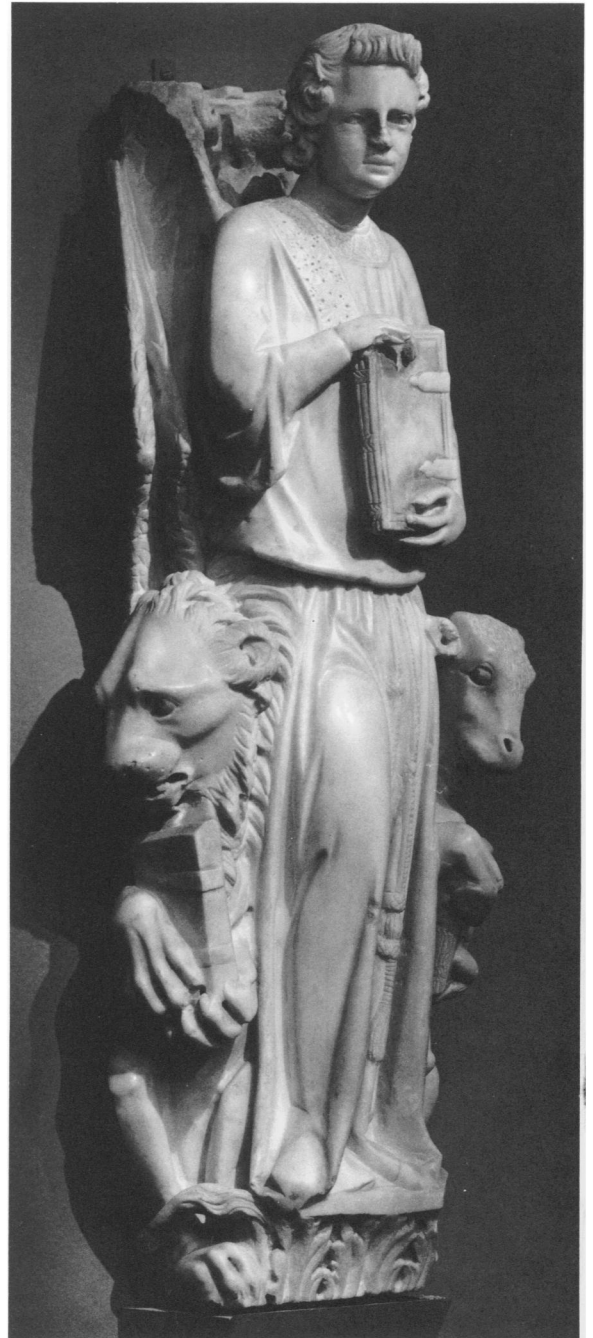
FIGURES 1-4
Two pilasters from
the parapet of a pulpit
with two pairs of
angels blowing the
trumpets of the Last
Judgment. The
Metropolitan
Museum of Art,
Frederick C. Hewitt
Fund, 10.203.1, 2





FIGURES 5, 6

Lectern with the eagle, symbol of St. John the Evangelist, for the reading of the Gospels in a pulpit. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 18.70.26



FIGURES 7-9

Pilaster with the symbols of three Evangelists—the angel of St. Matthew, the lion of St. Mark, and the ox of St. Luke—from the parapet of a pulpit. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 21.101

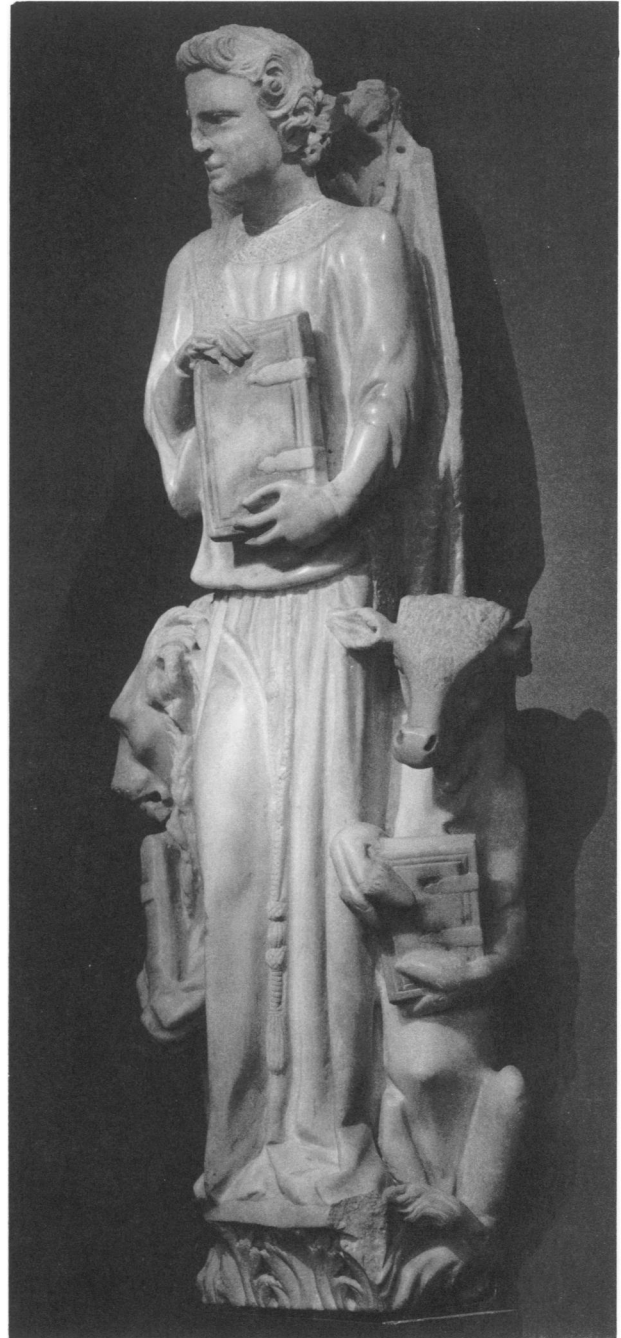




FIGURE 10

Pulpit of the church of Sant'Andrea, Pistoia, by Giovanni Pisano (photo: Brogi)

The identification of the angels of the Last Judgment and the tetramorph with the parapet of Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in the Duomo of Pisa has been generally accepted, though sometimes with reservations due mostly to the difference in style between them.⁹ To explain these differences, one has to consider the circumstances surrounding the construction of the Pisa pulpit, the lack of stylistic unity of its sculptural components, and the adventurous existence of the pulpit itself.

Having collaborated with his father, Nicola, in the pulpit for the Duomo of Siena (1265–1268) and the monumental fountain of Perugia (completed in 1278), Giovanni produced some works on his own prior to the pulpit for the Duomo of Pisa; the most important are the façade of the Duomo of Siena (1248–1299), for which he served as both architect and sculptor, and the pulpit for the church of Sant'Andrea in Pistoia, completed in 1301 (Figure 10). In the latter, particularly, Giovanni abandoned Nicola's monumental classicism, sacrificing perfection of form for a much stronger, deeper, and sometimes tormented expressionism. The figures in the reliefs of the parapet of the Sant'Andrea pulpit, and even more, in the pulpit of Pisa—above all in the scenes of a dramatic character, like the Massacre of the Innocents or the Last Judgment—cannot be isolated from one another. They all breathe together, suffer together, scream together, as in a soulful lament coming from the very depths of the earth. Only in a work like Picasso's *Guernica* can one find a parallel for Giovanni's heartrending tragedy (Figure 11). If the sculptures of the pilasters between

pulpit.⁸ The unfortunate and misleading way that the three pilasters and the lectern were exhibited at the Museum for many years is, perhaps, one of the reasons why these sculptures, which are among the very few examples in the medieval collection that can be attributed to a well-known artist and traced to dated monuments, have been almost completely neglected and left to the sporadic attention of outside scholars who, in most cases, only knew them by photographs.

8. W. R. Valentiner, *Italian Gothic and Early Renaissance Sculptures*, exhibition catalogue (Detroit, 1938) no. 5, ill.

9. In a conversation with the author, held in Florence in 1963, the German Pisano scholar Harald Keller expressed no doubts about the Metropolitan pilasters' coming from the Pisa pulpit. He believed, however, that the angels were by Giovanni himself while the tetramorph was probably the work of an assistant. John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture* (London, 1955) p. 181, mentions the three fragments (angels and tetramorph) as coming from the Pisa pulpit.



FIGURE 11

The Massacre of the Innocents from the pulpit of Sant'Andrea, Pistoia (photo: Brogi)

the reliefs both at Pistoia and at Pisa and the sibyls and prophets in the spandrels of the arches are more conservative than the figures in most of the reliefs, they are still far from Nicola's classicism and give a feeling of arrested movement, with frequent use of *contrapposto*, which goes beyond the Renaissance and into mannerism.

All these characteristics are consistent throughout the Pistoia pulpit, where the presence of assistants is hard to detect, and even if they were there, Giovanni must have given this work his undivided attention. Moreover, the Pistoia pulpit has not suffered any great damage, losses, or transformations, perhaps because of

its being situated in a small church and in a city with a life much more peaceful than that of Pisa.

At the peak of his career, Giovanni was commissioned by Burgundio di Tado, *operaio* of the Duomo of Pisa, to carve a pulpit to replace the twelfth-century one by Master Guglielmo, which went eventually to the cathedral of Cagliari in Sardinia. If Guglielmo's pulpit was considered old-fashioned in 1302, now it is admired as one of the greatest achievements of the Italian Romanesque.

A series of documents dated from 1302 to 1305, preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Pisa, gives all kinds of details about the acquisition and transportation of

the blocks of marble from Carrara to Pisa and the salaries, names, and towns or regions of origin of a considerable number of workmen who assisted in different capacities in the making of the pulpit.¹⁰ Though most of these assistants must have been just stonecutters, some of them were probably sculptors in their own right even if they were working under the instructions of the *caput magister*, Giovanni Pisano, son of Nicola. The variety of styles and quality of craftsmanship seen in the sculptures of the Pisa pulpit—and not apparent in Pistoia—indicate also that Giovanni left a great deal of the work in the hands of those up to now unidentified assistants who came not only from Pisa but from other Tuscan cities like Florence, Siena, and Pistoia, and from Lombardy.¹¹ Several reasons why Giovanni gave less of himself to this pulpit than to the Sant'Andrea one could be proposed. First, the work was too big and elaborate; second, it had followed too closely the carving of the previous pulpit, and for an artist of an obviously strong and probably difficult temperament—as shown in his quarrel with his patron for economic reasons in 1307—to repeat the same subject in a similar way can be deadly; third, perhaps the master had to attend to other commitments outside Pisa. It cannot be because he was in decline as an artist, as his last major work, the funerary monument of Margaret of Luxembourg, started in 1311, is one of his greatest works and certainly the one in which he shows the deepest and most tender feelings. The pulpit of Pisa was finished in 1310.

As is well known, the Duomo of Pisa was almost completely destroyed by fire in 1595, but the dome did not collapse and protected the pulpit sheltered under it. When the building was reconstructed some years later, Giovanni's pulpit—like Master Guglielmo's three centuries earlier—was considered obsolete, and by 1602 all its marble components were put in storage. Some of

FIGURE 12

Pulpit of the Duomo of Pisa, by Giovanni Pisano and assistants, as reconstructed by Pèleo Bacci (photo: Alinari)

them were used in a new pulpit by the Florentine Chiarissimo Fancelli in 1630, while the rest, with the exception of a few elements that were kept in the cathedral, were put away in the Campo Santo. During the nineteenth century several of the carvings were separated from the rest and some were lost, making it impossible to return the pulpit to its original appearance.

Though there are some descriptions of the pulpit before the fire, none of them is sufficiently informative to allow an accurate reconstruction, even if copies or casts of the separated parts could be incorporated into it.¹² After several attempts, it was not until 1926 that the pulpit was reconstructed as it appears now following Pèleo Bacci's conscientious and rather convincing study and project (Figure 12).¹³ For reasons that are not clear, the pulpit was not returned to its original location, at the intersection of the choir and the right transept, but was placed on the left side of the central nave near the left transept. The sequence of the stories in the parapet was no problem because they follow the New Testament from the birth of the Baptist to the Last Judgment, but other elements, such as the supporting sculptures that were scattered or are missing, have been reinstalled in an arbitrary manner because the complete program of the pulpit is unknown. Though the Pistoia pulpit is considerably smaller, and hexagonal instead of octagonal, the scenes represented in both are similar, and so are the sibyls and prophets of the spandrels. But the Pistoia pulpit stands on seven columns, three of the outer ones supported by a lion,

10. The documents of the construction of the Pisa pulpit were published in Pèleo Bacci, *La ricostruzione del Pergamo di Giovanni Pisano nel Duomo di Pisa* (Milan, 1926) pp. 22 ff.

11. The name of Tino di Camaino was brought into the discussion of the Pisa pulpit by I. Benvenuto Supino, "Il Pergamo di Giovanni Pisano nel Duomo di Pisa," *Archivio Storico dell'Arte* 5, fasc. 2 (1892), but in association with the wrong statues. He changed his opinion a few years later in his *Arte Pisana* (Pisa, 1904). Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic*, p. 182, also saw the possibility of Tino's intervention.

12. Bacci, *Ricostruzione*, p. 19, published these descriptions, one by Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici from about 1425, which refers to columns with figures, and another by an anonymous writer, included in the "Codex Magliabechiano," also from the fifteenth century, which only mentions "undici colonne di pietre fini."

13. As Supino's intervention in 1892 to stop a project of reconstruction by Fontana, whose wooden model is preserved in the Museo Civico of Pisa, is well known and sufficiently published, I am not going into further discussion of the problem.

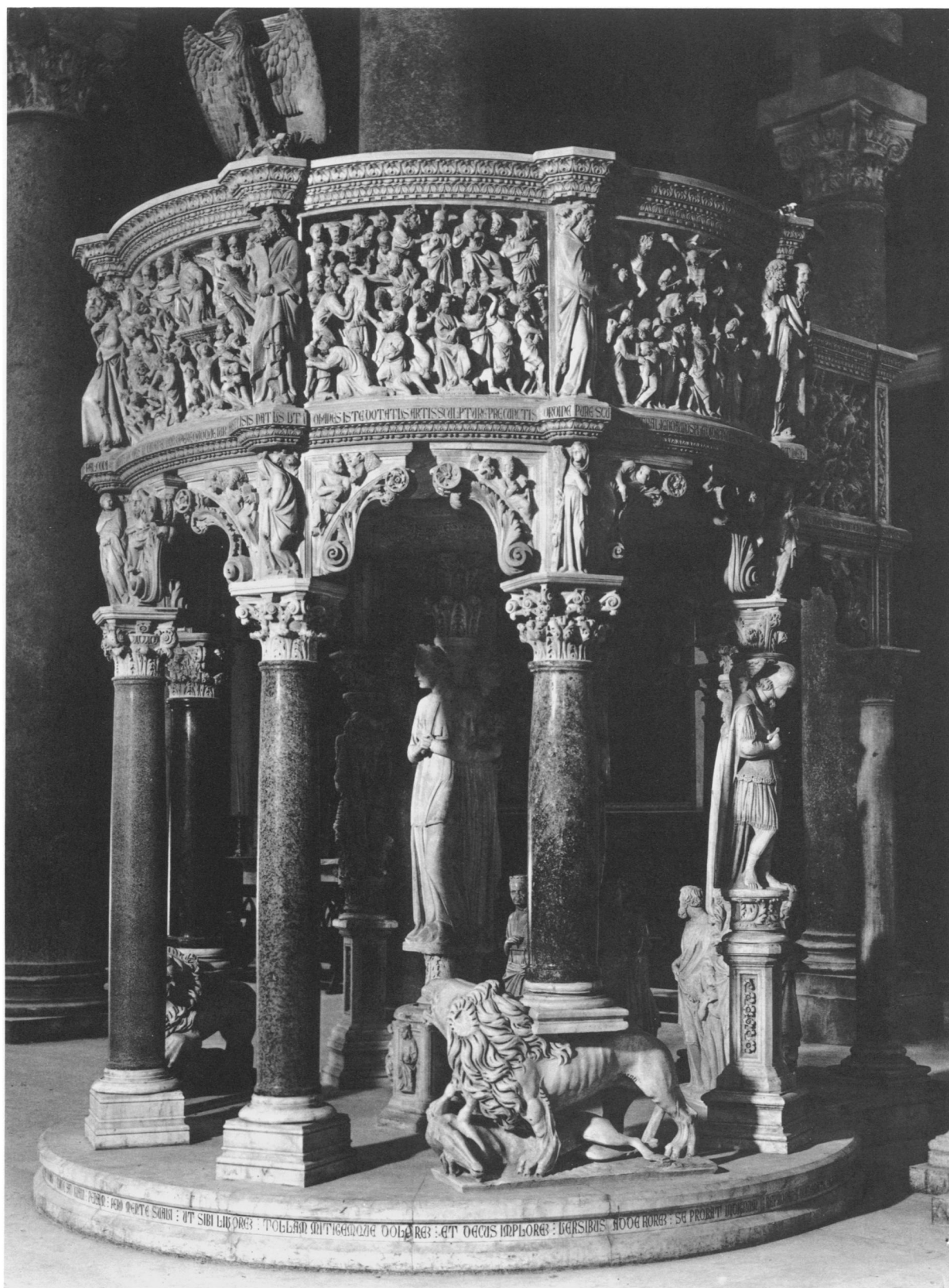




FIGURE 13

Detail of the Last Judgment from the pulpit of the Duomo of Siena, by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano (photo: Alinari)

a lioness, and a crouching atlas, and the middle one by a group with a griffin, an eagle, and a lion; furthermore, it has no supporting sculptures of human shape that could have served as prototypes for the Pisa pulpit.

When Bacci made his reconstruction, two of the sibyls were in Berlin, where they were subsequently destroyed in the fire of 1945 in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Bacci replaced them with nineteenth-century copies. He did not know of the existence of the two

pilasters with angels, which, as in Siena and Pistoia (Figures 13, 14), should have been next to the reliefs of the Last Judgment.¹⁴ He suspected, however, that the pulpit must have had a tetramorph, as in the two pulpits just mentioned.¹⁵ To replace it in his reconstruction, Bacci used a prophet carved by the Sienese sculptor Tito Sarrochi (1873–1922), who worked on one of the previous plans for reconstruction that were never accomplished.

14. Instead of figurative pilasters at the beginning and the end of the parapet, Bacci used two ornamental bands.

15. Bacci, *Ricostruzione*, p. 105: "Il collocamento del gruppo comprendente l'Angelo, il Leone e il Bove. . . . Ma il gruppo, pur

troppo, è irrimediabilmente perduto, almeno che non si trovi nascosto e ignorato in qualche Raccolta." As we saw in note 7, the tetramorph had been published five years earlier as having been purchased by the Metropolitan Museum.

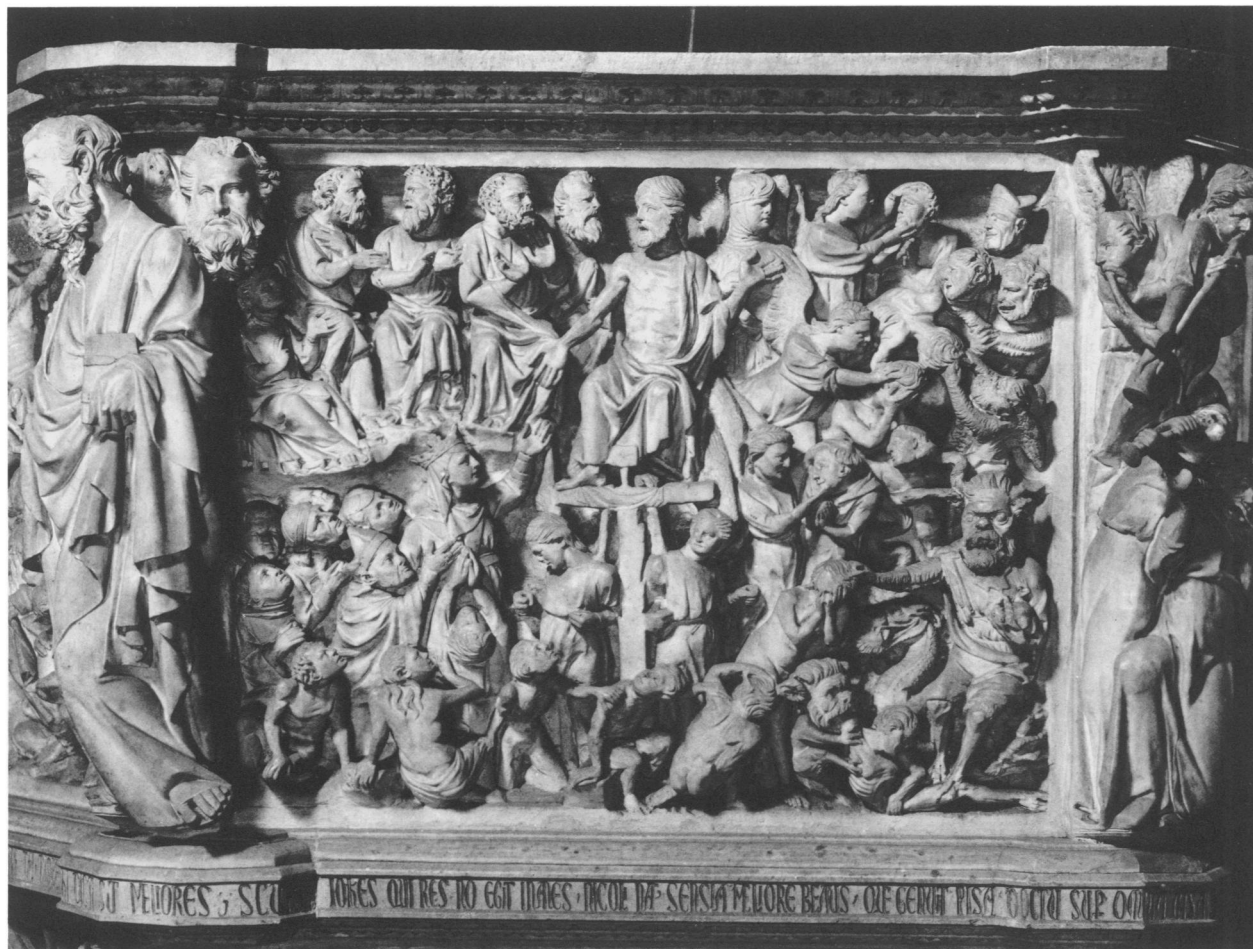


FIGURE 14

The Last Judgment from the pulpit of Sant'Andrea, Pistoia (photo: Alinari)

The angel pilasters did not appear in any project of reconstruction until Geza Jászai's in 1968.¹⁶ Though his project is not entirely convincing in some aspects, Jászai places the angel pilasters where they should have been: on either side of the pair of panels with the Last Judgment, which are separated—or rather united—by the pilaster representing Christ as Judge with two

standing angels holding the attributes of the Passion (Figure 15), as in the Pistoia pulpit. There is a difference, however. Since the Sant'Andrea pulpit has five panels instead of nine, the Judgment is represented in a single panel, and instead of two pilasters, each with two angels, it has only one with four angels closing the cycle on the right (Figure 14).¹⁷

16. Geza Jászai, *Die Pisaner Domkanzel* (Munich, 1968) pp. 29–32, note 47, p. 69, ill. 7, 8.

17. The pulpit of the cathedral of Siena, where Giovanni collaborated with his father, also has a single group of trumpet-blowing angels. At present they appear on that pulpit, after a bad reconstruction done in 1837, between the Flight into Egypt and the Massacre of the Innocents. For details about the Siena pulpit, see Enzo Carli, *Il pulpito di Siena* (Bergamo, 1943). If the idea of

the trumpet-blowing angels incorporated into the carvings of a pulpit was taken from existing models—like other features of the Siena pulpit, such as the tetramorph and the Writers of the Canonical Epistles—or whether they were an innovation introduced by Nicola, or maybe by Giovanni, is hard to tell. It is certain, however, that they do not appear in any extant pulpit in Tuscany dating from before Giovanni's time.

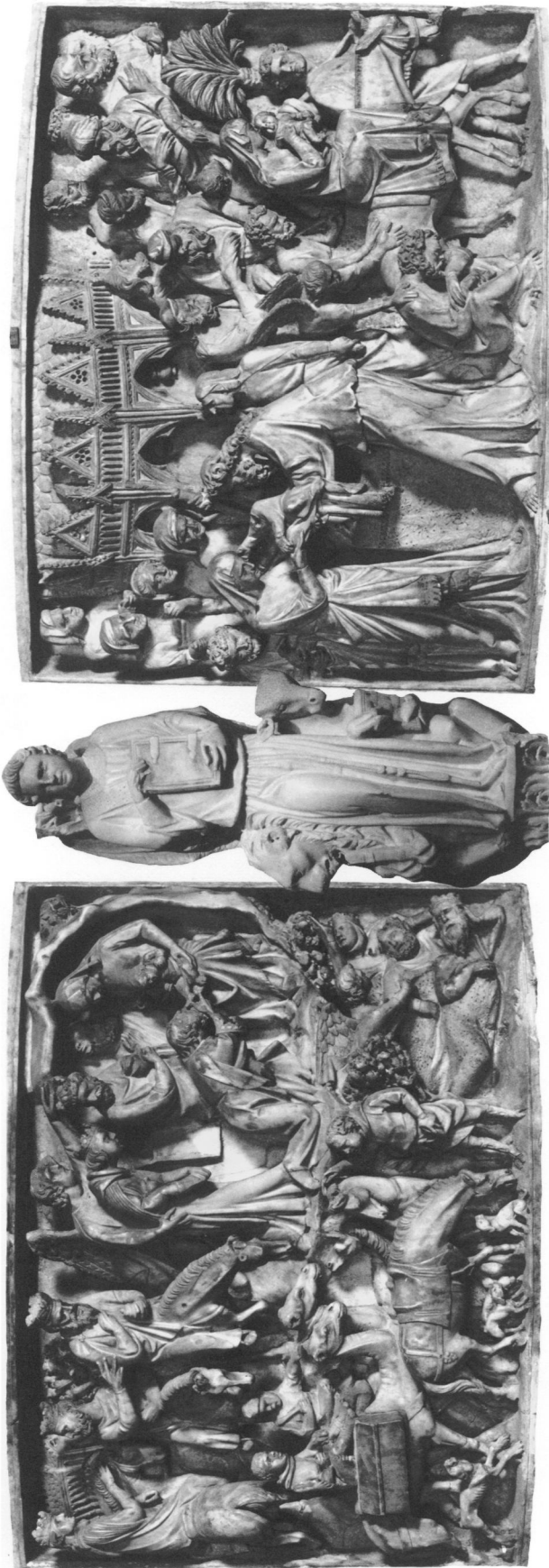


FIGURE 15

The Last Judgment panels and pilaster from the pulpit of the Duomo of Pisa completed with the two Metropolitan Museum angel pilasters
(Pisa photos: Alinari)

FIGURE 16

The Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation at the Temple and Flight into Egypt from the pulpit of the Duomo of Pisa and the Metropolitan Museum tetramorph (Pisa photos: Alinari)



The Metropolitan angels show the attenuated volumes and intense expressiveness of several of the figures of the Pisa pulpit. Their proportions are more elongated, as if the bodies had been stretched to fill in the space that in Sant' Andrea is filled with four angels, but the heads were left small. The eyes are deep and very long, as we see also in some of the figures in the scenes of the Massacre, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment both in Pistoia and in Pisa, and their depth is accentuated by the remaining polychromy almost black in color.¹⁸ The angular shapes of the angels give little impression of a body underneath their garments, as if they were just personifications of a vibrating sound, the sound that will raise the dead from their tombs. It is impossible to say whether these two pilasters are Giovanni's own work or an assistant's because we do not know which parts of the pulpit the master carved. We can say that they are by the same hand that carved the Last Judgment panels and played a part in the carving of other panels and some of the pilasters representing prophets and the Apocalyptic Christ. They have little in common with the sibyls and prophets of the spandrels and with the supporting figures, but the similarity to some of the figures in the Pistoia pulpit is rather clear.

In Jászai's project, followed by the much more extensive and comprehensive study by Michael Ayrton, the tetramorph was placed between the panel representing the Adoration of the Magi and the one with the Presentation in the Temple and the Flight into Egypt (Figure 16).¹⁹ Bacci would have placed it between the panel with the Massacre of the Innocents and the panel with the Taking of Christ and other scenes of the Passion, where he placed the nineteenth-century prophet. In Pistoia the tetramorph is between the Massacre and the Crucifixion (as there is no panel with other scenes of the Passion), and the Writers of the Epistles group appears on the other side of the Crucifixion, the most

18. The entire pulpit must have been polychromed, and probably the Pistoia one also. A description made by Raffaello Ronzoni before the 1595 fire speaks about the caryatid representing Ecclesia as having brilliant colors (see Bacci, *Ricostruzione*, p. 59). Harald Keller, in *Giovanni Pisano* (Vienna, 1942) p. 58, indicates the possibility of the Pisa pulpit's having had glass tesserae on the backgrounds, like those still visible in the Nativity panel in Pistoia.

19. Jászai, *Domkanzel*, pl. IV/B; Michael Ayrton, *Giovanni Pisano Sculptor* (New York, 1969) p. 225, figs. 285, 287, 288.



FIGURE 17
Tetramorph of the pulpit of the Duomo of Siena
(photo: Alinari)



FIGURE 18
Tetramorph of the pulpit of Sant'Andrea, Pistoia
(photo: Brogi)

important scene of the cycle and the center of the pulpit. In the Jászai project for the Pisa pulpit, the Epistles group appears between the Passion panel and the Crucifixion—leaving three panels and two pilasters between the two reading lecterns and three other panels on either side of them.

Unlike the angels of the Last Judgment, the tetra-

morph, in the form in which it occurs in Nicola's and Giovanni's works (Siena and Pistoia; Figures 17, 18), appears in several earlier pulpits of the rectangular shape traditional in Tuscany until Nicola introduced the polygonal type in the pulpit for the baptistery of Pisa in 1260. In those earlier examples, such as Guido da Como's pulpit from the church of S. Bartolomeo in



FIGURE 19
Tetramorph from the pulpit of the church of S. Bartolomeo, Pistoia, by Guido da Como (photo: Brogi)



FIGURE 20
Tetramorph from the pulpit of S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas, Pistoia (photo: Brogi)

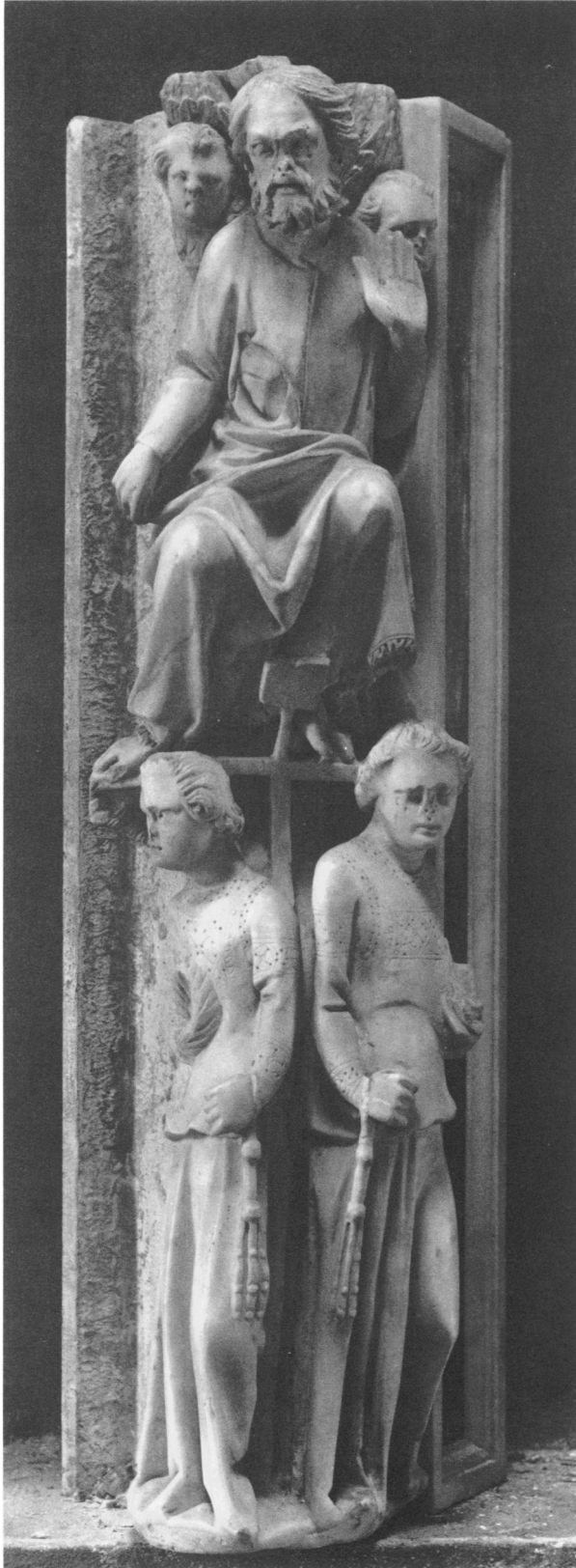


FIGURE 21

Christ as Judge with two angels from the pulpit of the Duomo of Pisa (photo: Alinari)

Pistoia (Figure 19),²⁰ or the twelfth-century one by Master Guglielmo now in Cagliari, the lion and the ox stand with their heads on the same level as the angel's. The same can be applied to several isolated tetramorphs from lost pulpits of the same period preserved in the Campo Santo and other museums. The eagle of St. John, as seen in the S. Bartolomeo and Cagliari pulpits, was used for the reading of the Gospels, while the lecterns above the group with St. Paul, Titus, and Timothy in Guglielmo's pulpit and the group with St. Paul, St. Mark, and St. Peter in the pulpits by the Pisani were used for the reading of the Epistles.

The first time that Nicola and Giovanni used the tetramorph, in the Siena pulpit, they kept the frontality of the Romanesque examples and placed the gigantic eagle above the angel without a cornice in between, also a feature of the prototypes. In the other two beasts, however, they made a rather unsuccessful change. Considering that the standing position of the lion and the ox was illogical, but not knowing very well what to do with them, they placed them above the wings of the angel with proportions totally out of scale with the other two symbols, breaking in this way the balance of the tetramorph, where all the symbols should have the same importance (Figure 17).

In the Pistoia pulpit Giovanni changed completely the Romanesque concept of the tetramorph, producing one of the most beautiful sculptural groups of Italian art (Figure 18). The angel, no longer frontal and hieratic, stands in a relaxed posture—right knee bent, head turned to the right and lifted in an almost arrogant attitude, with hair floating back as if pushed by an invisible breeze, and lips parted as if ready to start enouncing the Word of the Lord. The lion and the ox are no longer standing or perched on top of the angel's wings. With magnificent heads and powerful bodies, they crouch on either side of the angel holding their Gospel books. This apparently new and more natural way of representing these beasts was not Giovanni's invention. Though still rectangular and with the scenes distributed in two stories, like in the Romanesque examples, the pulpit still *in situ* in S. Giovanni Fuor-

20. Now in the Museo Civico in the Palazzo Marchetti, Pistoia.



FIGURE 22

Christ as Judge with two angels from the pulpit of Sant'Andrea, Pistoia (photo: Brogi)

civitas, Pistoia, carved in 1270 by a contemporary of Nicola's, Fra Guglielmo, already presents the lion and the ox in the same naturalistic posture, and the angel somewhat more relaxed than in the earlier examples and with longer and fluffier hair (Figure 20). The eagle is still as gigantic as the one in Siena. It seems quite positive that Giovanni became familiar with Fra Guglielmo's pulpit when he went to work in Pistoia, but he could not have seen it when he worked on the Siena pulpit because the latter was finished two years earlier.

The Metropolitan Museum tetramorph is basically like the one in Sant'Andrea but lacks its power and originality, and though quite beautiful and appealing, it shows a timidity and slickness that would seem to be characteristic of the work of one of Giovanni's assistants. Its style is very close to that of the Christ as Judge and, above all, the two accompanying angels with the attributes of the Passion in the Pisa pulpit (Figure 21), which are also much softer than their counterparts in Pistoia (Figure 22). There are other figures in the pulpit of Pisa that could also be by the same artist. One is the figure of St. Michael (Figure 23), which shows similar softness and a fondness for delicate punched and incised decorative motifs of the type used by Nicola and some of his contemporaries and by conservative sculptors like Tino di Camaino, who worked in the Pisa Duomo in the years Giovanni's pulpit was being carved and became *capomaestro* in 1315. The same type of decoration appears also in the two angels below the Christ as Judge, which are, perhaps, the closest in every way to our tetramorph (Figures 21, 24). The works of Tino di Camaino in Pisa have been almost completely destroyed, but what is left from that early period of his career does not seem close enough in style to any of the figures or reliefs in the Pisa pulpit to enable us to theorize about the possibilities of his working on it.²¹

21. The figures of the Theological Virtues in the middle pillar of the Pisa pulpit are among the less convincing as works by Giovanni of all the supporting figures. They recall the sculptures of the Virtues in Tino di Camaino's Monument of Marie de Valois in S. Chiara, Naples. Chronological and geographical distances, however, make impossible any connection between them. For more about the problem of Tino and the Pisa pulpit, see note 11.



FIGURE 23
Saint Michael, supporting figure from the pulpit
of the Duomo of Pisa (photo: Anderson)

I have been deliberately keeping the discussion of the Metropolitan eagle lectern apart from that of the angels and the tetramorph. The misleading way this piece was exhibited above the pilasters created a feeling of suspicion as it was quite clear that they did not

FIGURES 24–26

Details of the angel, the lion, and the ox from the
Metropolitan Museum tetramorph

belong together, being very different in style and concept, and if the pilasters were considered as Giovanni's work, most probably the eagle could not have been. Apart from these discrepancies, it could not be the lectern of the Pisa pulpit because the latter, which was not used by Bacci but is now on the pulpit, had been used for centuries as a lectern in the choir of the Duomo (Figure 27). The epistle lectern is still on the left of the choir. Broken and restored with a piece of uncarved marble, this lectern represents a half figure of Christ between two angels, the Corpus Christi.²² Both lecterns have the same border of incised parallel lines that we see in the books of the angel, the lion, and the ox of our tetramorph (Figures 24–26). The eagle lectern in Pisa and the angel of our pilaster are looking to the left, which would have been in the direction of the main altar when the pulpit was in its original location.

The pulpit of Sant'Andrea in Pistoia, which has suffered only minor losses—like the two lecterns—is located on the left of the central nave; the angel of the tetramorph faces to the right, toward the main altar, and so would the eagle above him. The eagles of other extant tetramorphs in Tuscan pulpits look in the same direction as the angel, which is to the front. The Metropolitan Museum eagle has the head turned to the right and tilted up at very much the same angle as the head of the Pistoia angel. A comparison between the Metropolitan eagle and the eagles carved by Giovanni Pisano, such as the two in the reliefs of the Perugia fountain (Figure 28), another from one of the decorated columns of the façade of the Duomo of Siena (Figure 29), and the one at the base of the middle supporting column of the Pistoia pulpit (Figure 10), reveals similarities of style and conception that are quite obvious, the most striking being an aggressive bravura in the rendering of the feathers with strong, sweeping strokes of the chisel, almost horizontal in the legs, which conveys a feeling of air and movement. Even in the way the legs are set apart and the wings cut in sharp angles, the Museum's eagle is extremely

22. See Ayrton, *Giovanni Pisano*, fig. 301a.

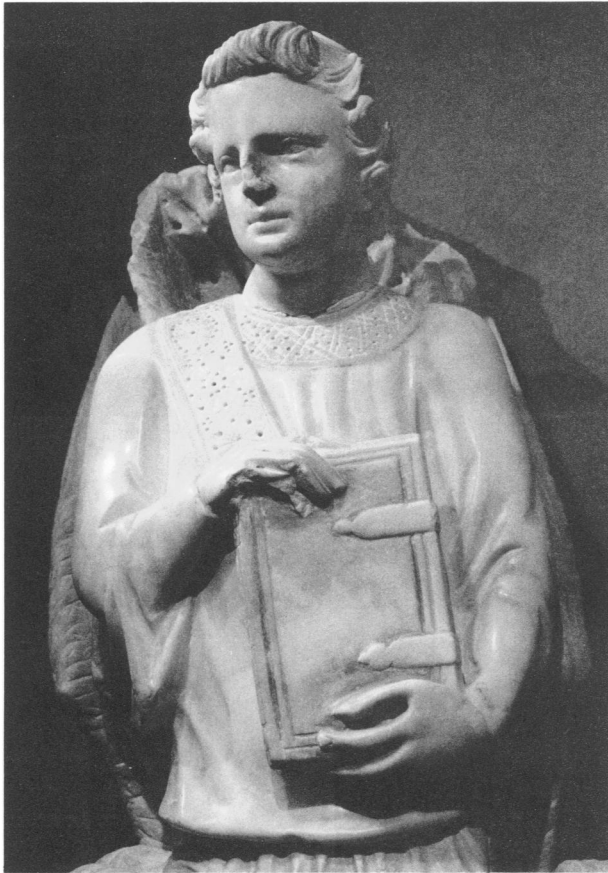




FIGURE 27

Eagle lectern for the reading of the Gospels from the pulpit of the Duomo of Pisa (photo: courtesy of the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)

close to the Perugia and Siena ones.²³ All these examples are very far in style from the eagle of the Pisa lectern—with its heraldic quality and conventional way of describing the feathers, row upon row in a manner more decorative than naturalistic—which, in

FIGURE 28

Two eagles from the Fontana Maggiore of Perugia, by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano





FIGURE 29
Eagle from a column on the left side of the façade
of the Duomo of Sienna, by Giovanni Pisano

turn, coincides in its more quiet mood and precise but soft technique with the Metropolitan tetramorph, or, we could say, the Pisa tetramorph.

Jászai, and Ayrton after him, published the Metropolitan eagle lectern as from Pistoia but without giving any explanation. Probably they concluded: We have a tetramorph without an eagle and an eagle without a tetramorph. Why not put them together? One can only make this strong suggestion basing it on size, style, position of the head, and an originality of con-

23. The detail of the eagle from the decorative motifs of the façade of the Duomo of Siena appeared for the first time in Max Seidel's brilliant study "Die Rankensäulen der Sieneser Domfassade," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 11 (1969) pp. 81–157, fig. 38. I am very indebted to Max Seidel for his generosity in providing me with that photograph and the one of the Perugia eagles (published in the same article, fig. 39) and for his friendliness in exchanging ideas and listening to my problems.

24. I owe my gratitude to Ursula Mende for her kindness in providing me with the photograph published here and to Peter Bloch for granting the permission of publication.

25. Jászai, *Domkanzel*, fig. 3; Ayrton, *Giovanni Pisano*, p. 223, fig. 302; Gian Lorenzo Mellini, *Il pulpito di Giovanni Pisano a Pistoia* (Florence, 1969) fig. 110.

ception that corresponds to Giovanni's most successful works. Among the original features of our eagle are the open book—the others are all closed—and the polygonal bookrest.

There is another lectern representing the Corpus Christi—like the one from the Pisa pulpit—in the Berlin-Dahlem Museum (Figure 30).²⁴ It has been published as from Pistoia by Jászai, Ayrton, and Gian Lorenzo Mellini.²⁵ Though somewhat clumsier and less vigorous than the Christ as Judge and the two angels below him in the scene of the Last Judgment of the Pistoia pulpit (Figure 22), there is no question in my opinion about the strong similarities, above all between the angels. Since I have not been able to study personally the Berlin lectern, it is difficult to be more positive. Nevertheless, I think that if Giovanni had any assistants on the Pistoia pulpit—as he probably did—one of them could have taken an active part in the carving of the Berlin lectern, and this would account for the weaker quality of the Berlin piece as compared to the group mentioned above, which is iconographically the closest parallel we can find in the

FIGURE 30
Corpus Christi lectern for the reading of the
Epistles, attributed to Giovanni Pisano. Courtesy
of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem





FIGURE 31

The Metropolitan Museum tetramorph with the eagle lectern from the Pisa pulpit



Sant'Andrea pulpit. The Berlin-Dahlem epistle lectern looks like a perfectly genuine work of art, and if it does not come from the Pistoia pulpit, I cannot think of another one to which it could belong.²⁶

In conclusion, after long comparison and debate, using the photographs of the Metropolitan pieces against the original pulpits of Pisa and Pistoia several times and during several years in and out, with a completely open mind, I believe: The two pilasters with the angels of the Last Judgment and the pilaster with the angel of St. Matthew, the lion of St. Mark, and the ox of St. Luke belong to the pulpit of the Duomo of Pisa, carved by Giovanni Pisano and assistants between 1302 and 1310, though the actual work did not start, probably, until 1305. The angels are in the style of Giovanni's most expressionistic period and are probably the work of a very close assistant, whose deviations from the master's style can barely be detected. The tetramorph is the work of another assistant, one more conservative and delicate in his handling of the chisel and with a fondness for carefully rendered decorative motifs within the tradition of Nicola Pisano, his contemporaries, and later masters like Tino di Camaino; the personality of this artist can be detected in several figures of the Pisa pulpit, as described above, which have little in common with Giovanni's progressive expressionism (Figure 31). And finally, the eagle lectern must come from the Sant'Andrea pulpit at Pistoia and is probably the work of Giovanni himself, with or without the assistance of a helper, who, if he did any work on it, did not leave any mark of his personality (Figure 32).

26. Max Seidel, who knows the Berlin lectern well, has doubts about its belonging to the Pistoia pulpit. A cast of each lectern, Berlin and Metropolitan, should be made sometime so that we can determine *in situ* whether both of them come from the same pulpit.



FIGURE 32
The Sant'Andrea tetramorph with the Metro-
politan Museum eagle lectern



“a harnes all gilte”

A Study of the Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac and the Iconography of Its Decoration

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

AMONG THE MOST controversial pieces in the field of arms is the garniture for man and horse, acc. no. 19.131.1–2 in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, known as the Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac (Figures 1–3). It has been claimed for the Royal Armory of the French court,¹ the Royal English Workshop (Greenwich School),² and unknown Italian masters working either in Milan or in France.³ Being dated—1527—it would be the earliest datable product of either of the court workshops, and of key importance in any case.

Literally every single plate of this extraordinary armor, which has been called the finest in the world, has been scrutinized and interpreted from the technical point of view over the years, extensive historical research has been done by sifting through documents and printed sources, and finally three candidates have

emerged as the possible owner: Jacques Gourdon de Genouilhac, *dit* Galiot, Grand Maître de l'Artillerie and Grand Ecuyer du Roi de France; Henry VIII, king of England; and François II de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne. It is thought by those scholars who assign the armor to Galiot de Genouilhac that it was made either in the French Royal Armory or by an Italian master otherwise in French service, while those who consider it to have been owned by either Henry VIII or the vicomte de Turenne emphasize its origin in the Royal English workshops at Greenwich.

According to an oral tradition in the family de Crussol, ducs d'Uzès, the armor belonged to Galiot de Genouilhac (1465–1546), and it was handed down in the family until its sale in 1914. It was said that it

1. Sir Guy Francis Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms through Seven Centuries* (London, 1920) III, p. 230–239, figs. 1021 a and b, 1022, 1028 a.

2. James G. Mann, “Identifying a Famous Armour,” *The Connoisseur* 93 (1934) pp. 50–53, ill. James G. Mann, *Exhibition of Armour made in the Royal Workshops at Greenwich*, exhibition catalogue, Tower of London, May 22–September 29, 1951, cat. no. 3, pl. 3. James G. Mann, “The Exhibition of Greenwich Armour at the Tower of London,” *The Burlington Magazine* 93 (1951) pp. 379–383, ill. Claude Blair, “New Light on Four Almain Armours: 2” *The Connoisseur* 144 (1960) pp. 240–244, ill. Ortwin Gamber, “Die

königlich englische Hofplattnerie,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 59 (1963) pp. 7–39, ill. Helmut Nickel, “English Armour in the Metropolitan Museum,” *The Connoisseur* 172 (1969) pp. 196–203, ill. *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries*, exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1970, cat. no. 247.

3. Bashford Dean, “Gilded and Engraved Armor for Man and Horse,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 14 (1919) pp. 210–215, ill. Stephen V. Grancsay, “The Genouilhac Armor,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29 (1934) pp. 190–191, ill. Stephen V. Grancsay, *The Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac*, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers*, no. 4 (New York, 1937).



FIGURE 1

Garniture for man and horse, with jousting reinforcements, tilting breastplate, and bridle gauntlet. Traditionally attributed to Galiot de Genouilhac, dated 1527. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, William H. Riggs Gift and Rogers Fund, 19.131.1-2



FIGURE 2

Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac, with reinforcing breastplate in place



FIGURE 3

Rear view of the armor of Galiot de Genouilhac

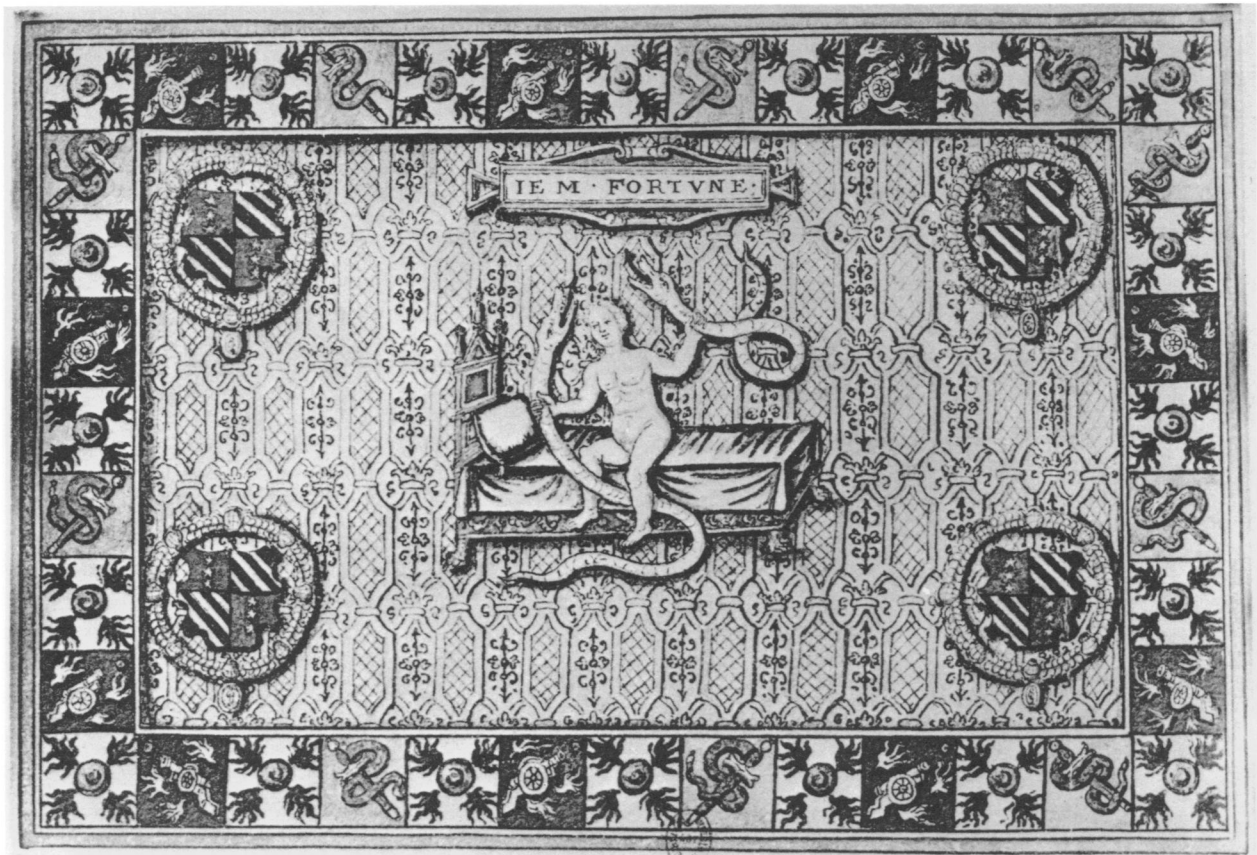


FIGURE 4

Drawing of a tapestry once in the castle of Assier. One of the Hercules series, displaying the arms, badges, and motto of Galiot de Genouilhac. After Vaux de Foletier



FIGURE 5

Detail of a rubbing made from the reinforcing breastplate of the Genouilhac armor, showing a banner with a heraldic animal thought to be the dragon of Wales

FIGURE 6
Drawing of a standard
of Henry VIII. After
de Walden



came into their possession through Jeanne de Genouilhac, dame d'Assier, Galiot's daughter, who married Charles de Crussol in 1523.⁴ Iconographical proof of this ownership has been derived from the representation of four deeds of Hercules on the leg defenses of the armor. The much-admired castle Galiot had built at Assier in 1524, and the parish church of neighboring Lonzac, which he had built before 1530, were both decorated with reliefs that portrayed—among other motifs—the labors of Hercules. Furthermore it is known that there was a series of tapestries with the same subject in the castle of Assier (Figure 4).⁵ On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the emblems of Galiot's offices as Grand Ecuyer du Roi and Grand Maître de l'Artillerie—the belted sword, the cannon, and the flaming cannonball—do not appear at all in the overrich decoration of the armor, although they were repeated many times in the reliefs of the castle of Assier and the church of Lonzac, in the borders of the

tapestries once at Assier, and, finally, in the decoration etched on a fragmentary suit of armor, attributed to Galiot de Genouilhac, parts of which are in the Musée de l'Armée at Paris (G 36) and in the John Woodman Higgins Armory at Worcester, Massachusetts.⁶

The original owner was said to have been Henry VIII (1491–1547) for reason of the large size of the armor and its royal splendor, and especially because of several extraordinary technical features, such as a ventral defense, that it shares with a suit of armor in the Tower of London (II.8) that he undoubtedly owned.⁷ In addition to this, it has been suggested that the device on the banner held by a putto in the castle on the back of an elephant—etched on the right side of the reinforcing breastplate—is a dragon and was meant to be the dragon of Wales (Figure 5), one of the “heraldic beasts” of the king (Figure 6), and, of course, especially dear to the House of Tudor.⁸ Unfortunately, this tiny animal, whose real identity is

4. After the death of his only legitimate son, François Ricard de Genouilhac, in the Battle of Cersola in 1544, Galiot made his only daughter, Jeanne, his universal heir in his testament of June 5, 1545. After the death of his son-in-law, Charles de Crussol, vicomte d'Uzès, in March 1546, he added a codicil to his will in favor of his grandchildren, the children of Jeanne. Her eldest son, Antoine, was made duc d'Uzès in 1565. François de Vaux de Foletier, *Galiot de Genouilhac* (Paris, 1926) pp. 101–142. Grancsay, *Armor of Genouilhac*, pp. 32–33.

5. Vaux de Foletier, *Genouilhac*, pp. 119, 122–124, ill., mentions especially the slaying of the Nemean lion and the Hydra. A surviving drawing of one of the tapestries shows Hercules as a child strangling the two serpents sent by Juno. Grancsay, *Armor of Genouilhac*, pp. 32–33.

6. Mann, “Identifying,” p. 53. On occasion of a visit to the Higgins Armory, together with Vesey A. B. Norman, Assistant to the Director of the Wallace Collection, London, we discovered that the shoulders of the composed armor illustrated on p. 38 of the *Catalogue of Armor, The John Woodman Higgins Armory* (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1961) by Stephen V. Grancsay, bore a border of cannons and flaming cannonballs in gilt etching identical to that on the cuirass G 36 in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris.

7. Mann, “Exhibition,” pp. 379–383. In this article Mann points out that there is no suit of armor among those known as having belonged to Henry VIII that could rival the splendor of the Genouilhac armor. It seems to him unlikely that Henry might have presented to anybody a finer suit of armor than he owned himself. Blair, “Almain Armours: 2,” revives the claim of Henry VIII to this armor and states that only a small portion of the king's personal armor has survived.

8. Lord Howard de Walden, *Banners, Standards, and Badges from a Tudor Manuscript in the College of Arms* (1904) pp. 12–15, 20, 77, shows “heraldic beasts” used by Henry VIII: lion or and dragon gules (as supporters of arms of England); “a falcon in its kynd” holding the royal banner of England; a lion or holding Henry's banner with the Tudor rose; an apostolic eagle holding the banner with Henry's and Katharine's badges of the Tudor rose and the pomegranate; the dragon of Wales on Henry's standard. It should be mentioned that in the same manuscript (MS. 12) the dragon supporting the banner of North Wales is represented as a wyvern, as shown on de Walden's p. 22. The shape of the banner topping the elephant's castle on the breastplate—square with a streamer at the upper corner of the fly—is not encountered in England, but is not unusual for banners in France, Burgundy, and even Italy, and particularly common in Germany and Switzerland.

rather questionable, for it might even more rightfully be called a wyvern, a basilisk, a cockatrice, or even a griffin, is more than half hidden when the lance rest is in position, which makes it difficult to claim it as a mark of identification.

The vicomte de Turenne (1497–1532) was claimed to have been the owner on the strength of a written source, the secretary Dodieu's account of the visit of two French ambassadors, the vicomte de Turenne and the bishop of Tarbes, on a special mission to England. When on March 12, 1527, Henry brought the vicomte

to Greenwich "to see the furnitures and riches of the King," the jovial monarch ordered "a suit of armor made for Turenne like his own, which are said to be the safest and the easiest that are made." In addition to this, and stressing this point, there is usually quoted from Edward Hall's chronicle a description of a tournament held in honor of the French ambassadors at their arrival: "On shroveste wesdaie, the kyng himself in a newe harnes all gilte, of a strange fashion that had not bene sene, and with him viii gentylman . . . came to the tilte and there run many freshe courses." The com-

FIGURE 7

The reinforcing breastplate with lance rest in position



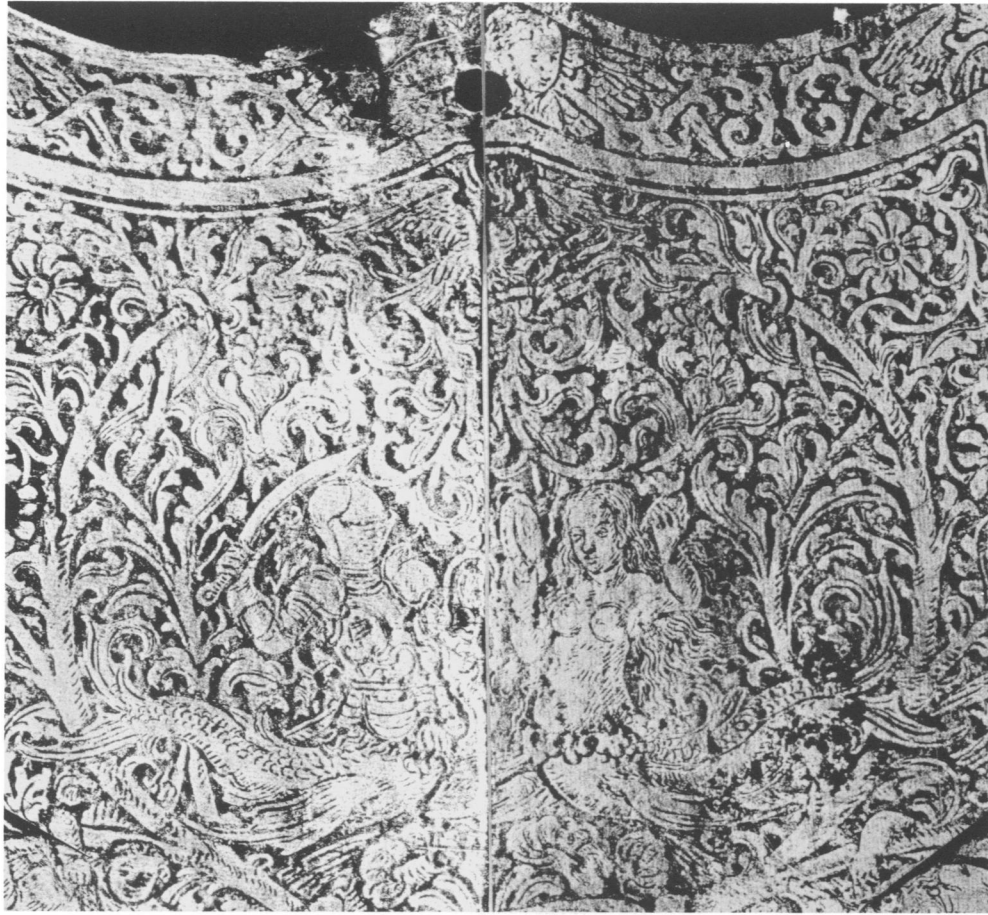


FIGURE 8
Merknight and mermaid, detail of a rubbing made from the reinforcing breastplate

bination of these two quotations suggests that the armor given to the vicomte de Turenne was modeled after this “harnes all gilte,” assuming that the king’s armor is lost. On the other hand, the description in Hall’s chronicle has been used as a basis for proposing that the Genouilhac armor might be the king’s own “harnes all gilte, of a strange fashion.”⁹

No interpretation of motifs of the decoration has been brought forward yet that would suggest an iconographical allusion to the person of the vicomte de Turenne, as was the case with the other two proposed owners, the deeds of Hercules being linked with Galiot de Genouilhac, and the dragon of Wales with Henry VIII.

Though Stephen V. Grancsay in his fundamental monograph *The Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac* pointed out that “in the case of the Genouilhac-armor the etching alone may ultimately serve to establish a definite

provenance,”¹⁰ practically no research in this direction has yet been published, with the notable exception of an article by Claude Blair,¹¹ in which he observed the striking similarity of one of the main motifs on the reinforcing breastplate—a mermaid and a merknights (Figures 7, 8)—with figures in the relief decoration in “Wolsey’s Closet” at Hampton Court (Figures 9, 10). The present study will leave technical and structural considerations aside and deal only with the decoration of the armor, its provenance, and the possible significance of its iconography.

The entire surface of the armor is etched and gilded, the decoration comprising a dense network of foliage mixed with architectural motifs in Renaissance fashion

9. Mann, “Identifying,” p. 53.

10. Grancsay, *Armor of Genouilhac*, p. 24, note 17.

11. Blair, “Almain Armours: 2,” pp. 242–243.

and figural scenes.¹² The overall effect is very much like that of glittering cloth of gold, giving an overwhelming impression of richness and splendor. Handled piece for piece and at thoughtful leisure, however, the individual elements reveal all the marvelous details of the decoration.

The most conspicuous motif is on the reinforcing breastplate: a mermaid and a merknicht, as already mentioned, accompanied by two elephants with castles on their backs, and surrounded by putti playing with leashed parrots.¹³ On the central plate of the breastplate proper, an area that would be covered when the reinforcing breastplate was put in place, the main motif is a morris dance executed by seven putti in various disguises (Figures 11, 12).¹⁴ They are hopping about in the spiral branches of a treelike form that grows out of a fountain around which a lion, three deer, and two cranes are assembled, while a unicorn is about to plunge its horn into the water. On the side plates are putti watching a cockfight and a battle between rams (Figures 13, 14).

The backplate displays in its center an arrangement of two griffins facing each other over a stag's head surmounting a peacock in his pride (Figures 15, 16). At the sides, in the foliage filled with doves and other small birds, are putti chasing hares and cranes with the assistance of hounds and falcons (Figures 17, 18).

On the shoulder guards are represented a lion confronting a serpent to protect two lionesses (left shoulder) and a putto riding a horse pursued by a large canine (wolf?) and its cub (right shoulder) (Figures 19, 20).

The helmet bowl shows on its left side a centaur shooting an arrow against a warrior in classical attire; on its right side there is a wild man with his family. Putti wrestling and playing appear on both sides and on the visor (Figures 21, 22).

12. The technique of etching in this case was in what was later called the "Italian" fashion, whereby the entire surface was covered with an acid-resistant wax-resin mixture, the design was silhouetted by scraping, and details were added within the bodies by drawing with a needle-pointed stylus. In the "German" type of etching, the design was drawn in liquid wax with a brush, leaving the background blank. However, particularly during the first half of the sixteenth century, it was not unusual for a German etcher to use the "Italian" method if he desired. Details were filled in with a stylus in any case. For a detailed description of the armor, plate for plate, see Grancsay, *Armor of Genouilhac*, pp. 22-27.



Putti singing and playing musical instruments are on the colletin, front and back, surmounted by cloud motifs, sun, and stars (Figure 23).

On the leg defenses are the deeds of Hercules, already mentioned (Figure 24). On the left cuish is the killing of the Hydra, on the left greave the slaying of the Nemean lion. On the right cuish is the wrestling of Hercules and Antaeus, on the right greave Hercules carrying the Pillars of Gades.

The tassets show Mars, Venus, and Cupid (right), and the drunken Bacchus (left) (Figures 25, 26).

On the horse armor, the chamfron shows putti at play, the saddle pommel plate shows them riding a horse, and each of the lames of the crinet is etched with the head of a different animal: lion, stag, falcon (?), hound, lioness (?), ram, griffin, lion (Figures 27, 28).

The rest of the plates are full of putti romping in foliate scrollwork. A noteworthy detail on the cuff of the tilting gauntlet (Figures 29, 30) shows a putto being swallowed by a monstrous serpent with a foliate body and a human profile mask attached to its tail. Both surviving reinforcement pieces for the joust,

13. These leashed birds have been described as owls by Dean and as falcons by Grancsay. However, the leashes represented are much too heavy for falcons' jesses. Moreover, the bird on the left side of the breastplate is leashed around its neck, a feature that is used for characterizing popinjays in heraldry, and its counterpart on the right side is depicted as trying to climb up the leash in typical parrot fashion. The bird at the very top of the breastplate bears a crest of fanned-out feathers and has a curved bill, two characteristics only a cockatoo would show.

14. The morris dance was not recognized as such in earlier descriptions.



FIGURE 9

Relief frieze in Wolsey's Closet, Hampton Court (photo: National Monuments Record, London)

FIGURE 10

Lead cistern with relief made in the same mold as the frieze in Hampton Court. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 69.177



namely, the reinforcing breastplate and the tilting gauntlet, have in common a moderately wide border with cherubs' heads. Probably this was the distinctive mark of the garniture for its jousting elements, and could be expected to have been present, for example, on the now lost grand guard.

In the style of the etching two different hands can be clearly distinguished. After their most conspicuous motifs we shall name the artists conveniently the Master of the Many Animals and the Master of the Deeds of Hercules.

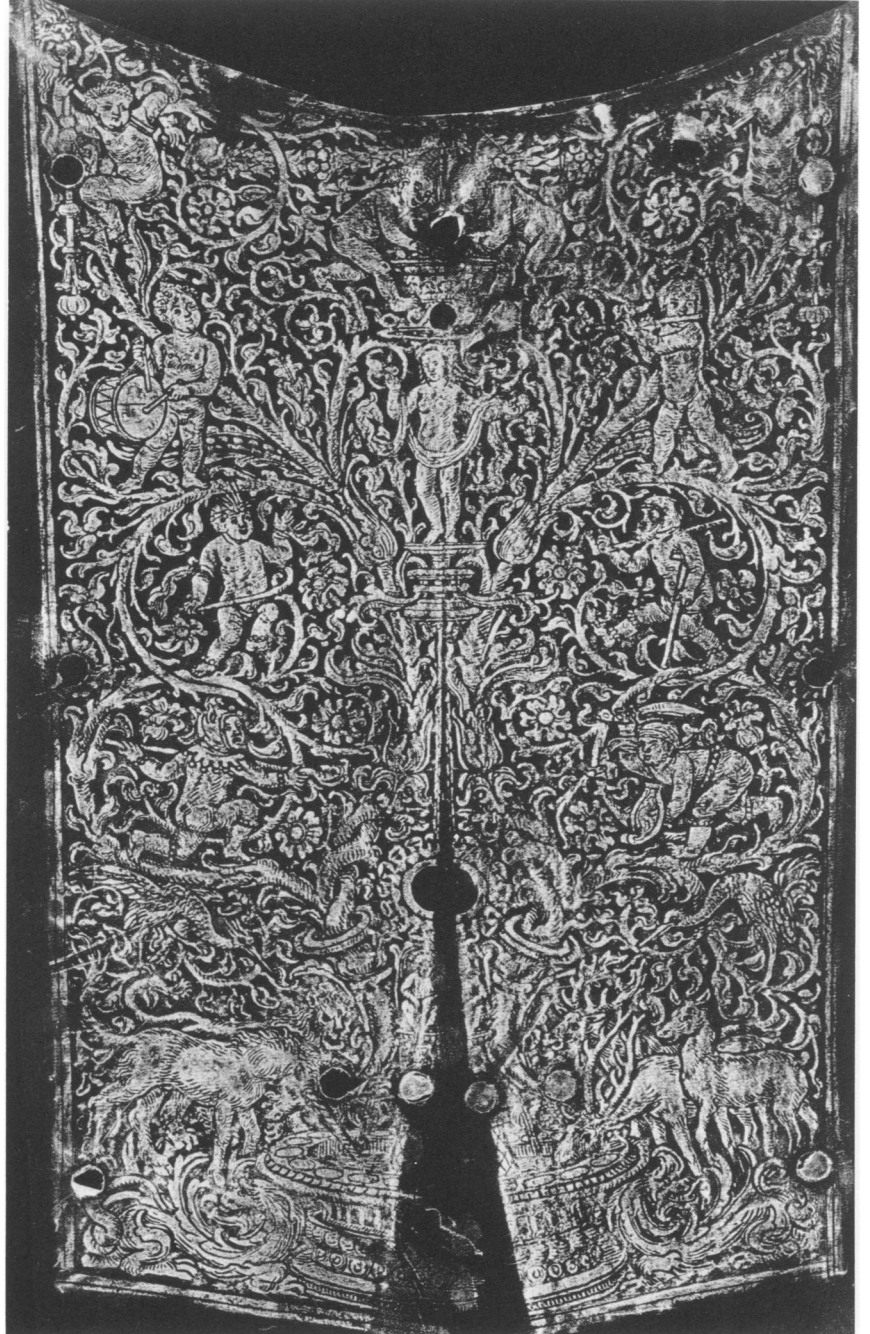
The Animals Master decorated the cuirass, including the reinforcing breastplate and ventral defense, and the helmet, including the colletin, as well as the pauldrons, while the Hercules Master embellished the arm and leg defenses, the folds of the cuirass, and the tassets. Of the horse armor, the saddle plates can be attributed to the Animals Master, and the chamfron and crinet to the Hercules Master. Artistically the two masters' work differs widely in quality. The crisp designs of the Animals Master are at the very top of all etched work in arms and armor, while the Hercules Master was a mediocre draftsman, whose figures are rather clumsy and whose foliage is rank and flabby.

The style of the etching has been called French by Bashford Dean and Italian by most other authors. Claude Blair suggested that the decoration was designed and perhaps even executed by Giovanni da



FIGURE 11
The cuirass with the tassets

FIGURE 12
Rubbing made from the central lame of the breastplate of
the cuirass



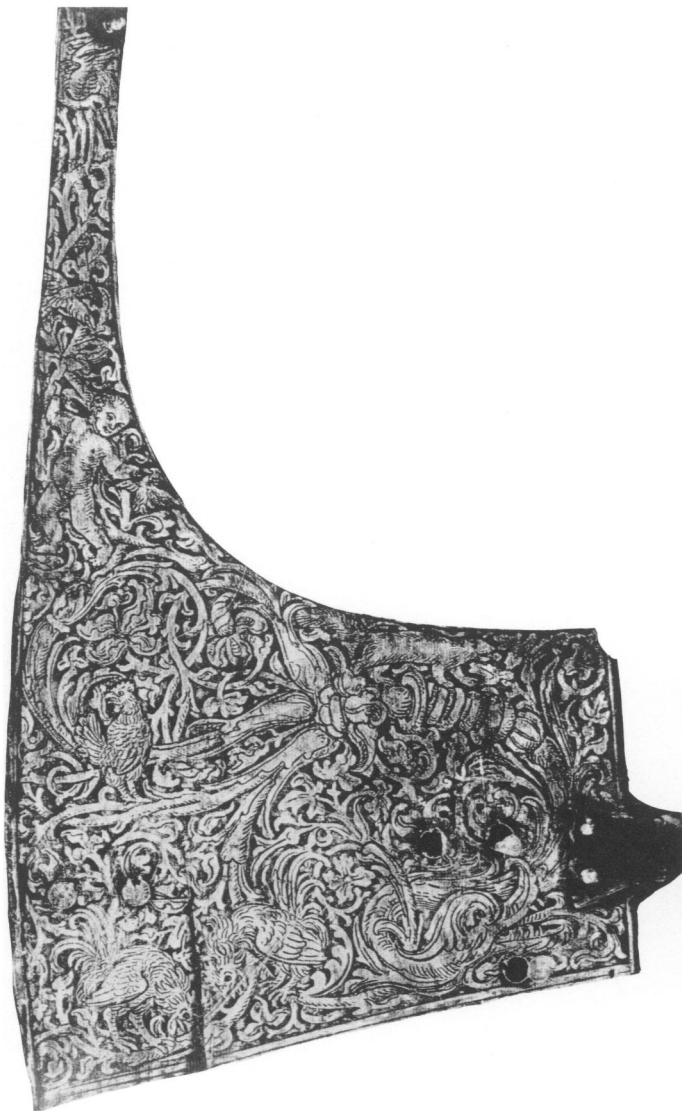


FIGURE 13
Cockfight, rubbing of the left side lame of the
breastplate



FIGURE 14
Rams fighting, rubbing of the right side lame of
the breastplate

FIGURE 15 (opposite)
Rear view of the cuirass

FIGURE 16
Rubbing of the central lame of the backplate, showing
the date 1527





FIGURE 17
Rubbing of the left side lame of the backplate

FIGURE 18
Rubbing of the right side lame of the backplate



FIGURE 19

Lions and serpent, rubbing of the left shoulder guard; a second lioness lying on the ground to the far right is not visible

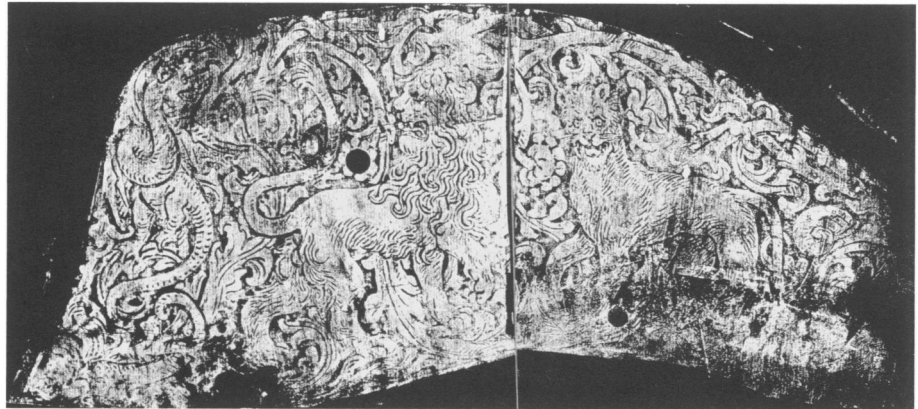


FIGURE 20

Horse and wolves (?), rubbing of the right shoulder guard

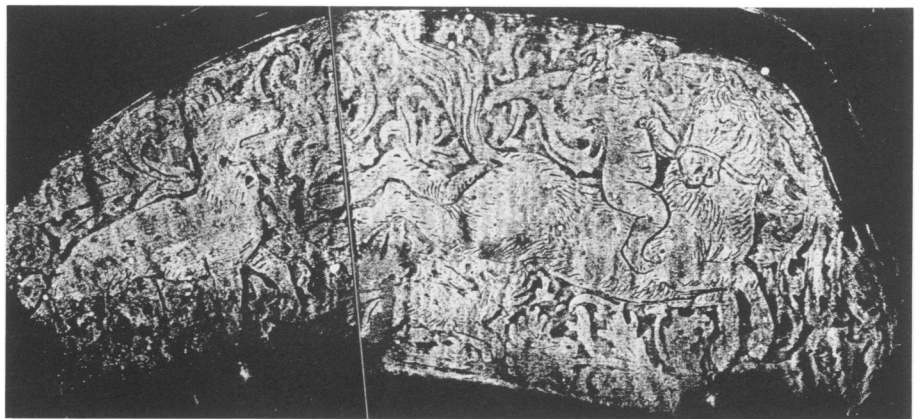
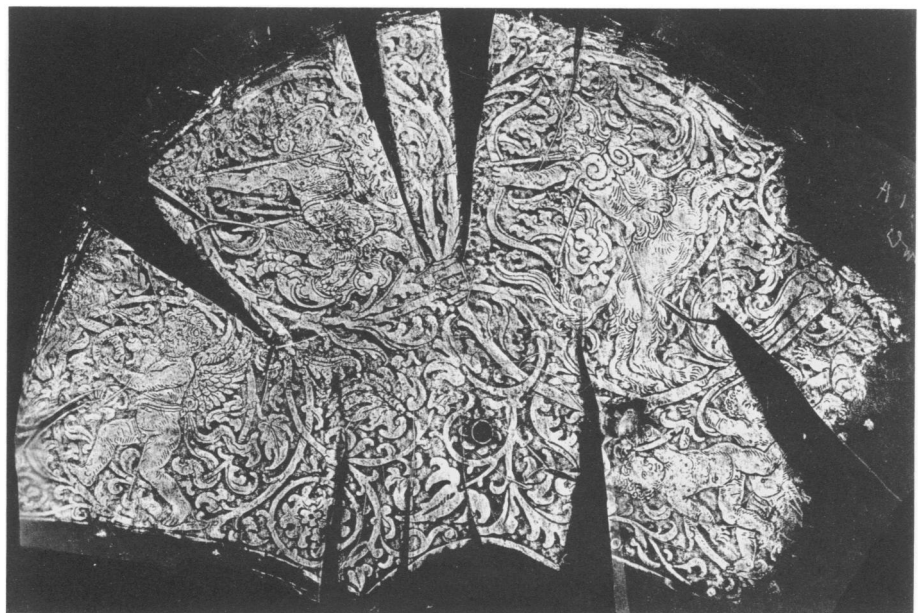


FIGURE 21

Centaur and warrior, putti wrestling, rubbing from the left side of the helmet bowl



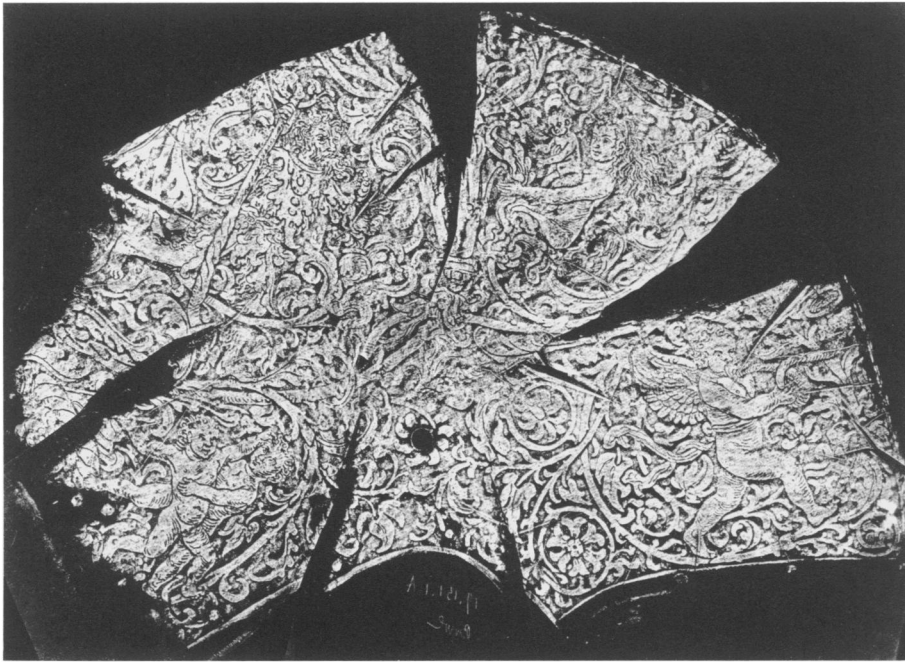


FIGURE 22
Family of wild men, putti
wrestling, rubbing from
the right side of the
helmet bowl



FIGURE 23
The helmet with colletin



FIGURE 24
The left leg defense

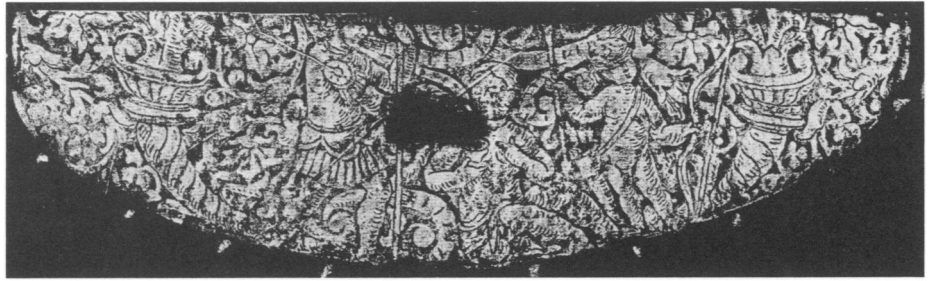


FIGURE 25
Mars, Venus, and Cupid, rubbing from the lowest lame on the right tasset

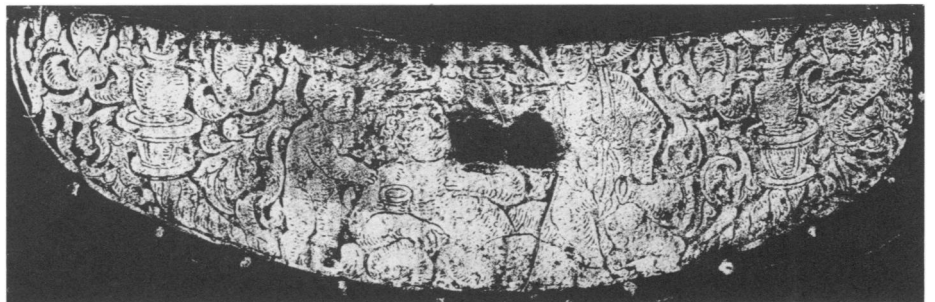


FIGURE 26
Bacchus drinking, rubbing from the lowest lame on the left tasset

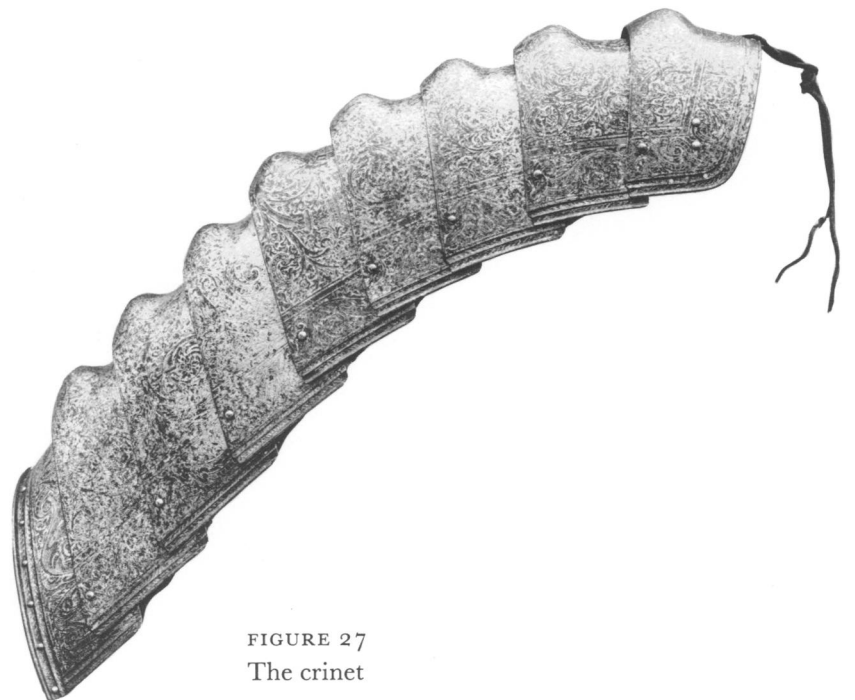


FIGURE 27
The crinet

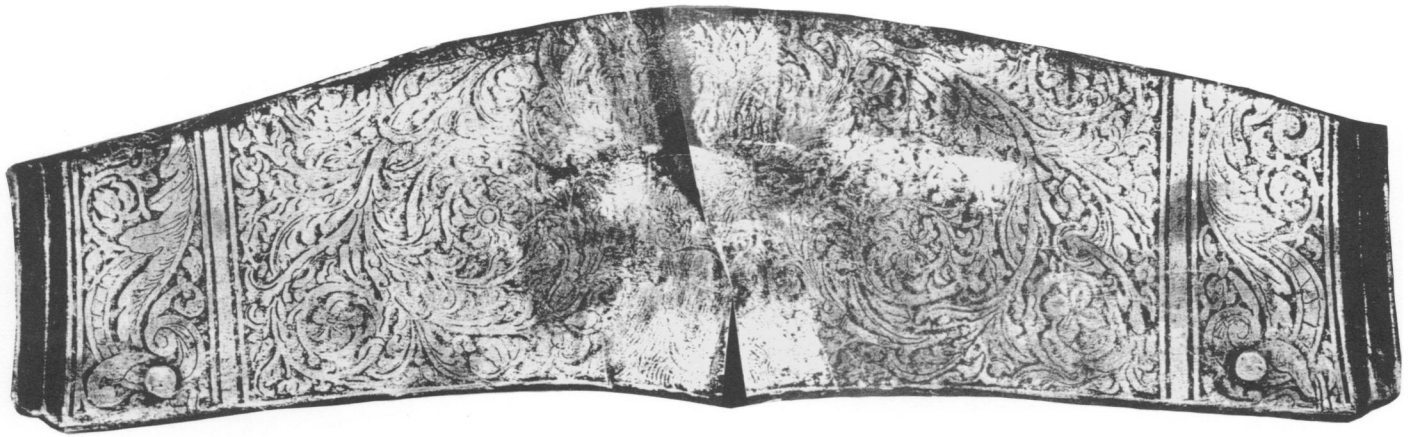


FIGURE 28
Head of a stag, rubbing from the
second lame of the crinet



FIGURE 29
The tilting gauntlet



FIGURE 30
Rubbing from the tilting gauntlet

Maiano, a Florentine sculptor and “graver” who ran a very busy workshop at the court of Henry VIII. The main support for this attribution has been derived from the similarity between the merknights and mermaids on the breastplate and at Hampton Court (Figures 7–10). Giovanni da Maiano indeed contributed several reliefs—“octo rotundas imagines exterra depictas et deauratas . . . ac similiter tres historias Herculis”—for Hampton Court, as stated on his request for payment, dated June 18, 1521.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the “tres historias Herculis” have not survived, and the other eight

“imagines” cannot be identified, leaving us with no clue to the personal style of Giovanni da Maiano.

The merknights and mermaid, however, are an absolutely un-Italian motif—an Italian artist would have chosen a pair of tritons in classical costume instead of these marine monsters of Late Northern Gothic extraction—but they are virtually a leitmotiv of Flemish art, to be found again and again in works of decorative art, such as misericords,¹⁶ and in prints and paintings (Figures 31–33).¹⁷ Therefore, the merknights and mermaid on the breastplate, since they have counterparts

15. Blair, “Almain Armours: 2” pp. 242–243, figs. 12–14. The molds employed for the forming of the reliefs at Hampton Court were also used for the casting of the lead cistern illustrated by Blair, fig. 14. It is now in the Metropolitan Museum; see Figure 10 in this article.

16. L. Maeterlinck, *Le genre satirique, fantastique et licencieux dans la sculpture flamande et wallonne* (Paris, 1910) p. 168, fig. 102, illustrates a merknights on a misericord in the cathedral of Aarschot and further mentions examples in Louvain (St. Pierre), Hoogstraten, Diest, and Walcourt. The merknights from the choir stalls of the cathedral of Diest is illustrated in *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, the catalogue of the exhibition *Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, October–December 1960, p. 250, nos. 81–84: “The subject . . . of the knight with the fish tail [is] found at this same period [c. 1491] in the works of Hieronymus Bosch. Combats of marine knights were popular; they appeared in the program of the festivals organized on the occasion of the reception of Philip the Good at Bruges in 1440 and at Ghent in 1458, where were to be seen in the river Lys, near the bridge close by the meat market ‘sea knights swimming in the water and fighting with each other’ as reported by an eye witness, Georges Chastellain (Chastellain, *Chronique*, 1454–1458, edited by Kervyn de Lettenhove, III, 1864, p. 414).” The merknights brandishing his falchion juxtaposed with the mermaid combing her hair is a leitmotiv of Flemish art to such a degree that one can trustfully look for them wherever a Flemish artist carved choir stalls, for instance, as far away as in the cathedral of Toledo, where the pews were carved by “Rodrigo de Alemania.” A merknights and a mermaid are supporters of an unidentified coat-of-arms on a pair of andirons (Flemish, fifteenth century) in the Irwin Untermyer Collection, New York. See Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Bronzes, Other Metalwork, and Sculpture in the Irwin Untermyer Collection* (New York, 1964) nos. 141–142, pls. 130–131. The sign of the house “In de zeeridere” at Brussels was used as the printer’s mark of Thomas van der Noot (Figure 32). The arms of the van der Noot family appear on the merknights’s shield. See Wouter Nijhoff, *L’Art Typographique des Pays-Bas, 1500–1540*, II, *Les Pays-Bas Méridionaux* (The Hague, 1926). The same device was usurped by the Paris printer François Regnault, as a pun on his name: “règne eau”! See Ludwig Volkmann, “Von der Bilderschrift zum Bilderrätsel,” *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 18 (1926) pp. 62–82, fig. 7. Two merknights poised as if fighting each other form the clasps of the cloak of St. Agnes in a painting, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, GM 1634, by the “Meister des Bartholomäus-

Altars” (Cologne, 1475–1510). *Spätgotische Kunst am Niederrhein*, exhibition catalogue, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 1970. Merknights are found, too—as to be expected—in Netherlandish heraldry, for instance, in the arms of Calandrin (Flanders), Meerman (Rotterdam), Meerman (Leiden), Nerée de Babberich (Guelders), and Visch (Holland); the only Continental occurrence outside the Netherlands is in the arms of Zweifel (Rothenburg ob der Tauber). J. B. Rietstap, *L’Armorial Général* (Paris and The Hague, 1903–1926). The arms of the Fishmongers Company of London, too, have an armed merman and a mermaid with her mirror as supporters, but significantly the merman is in classical armor. Charles Welch, *Coat-Armour of the London Livery Companies* (London, 1914) pp. 10–11, pl. 12. A very late example of merknights and mermaid as a pair is to be found on the group portraits of the officers of the Guilds of St. George and St. Adrian at Haarlem, by Frans Hals (1616). Here the halberds have blades cut and pierced in the shape of these figures. A halberd of this type that was used in Colonial America is no. L 1607 in the Metropolitan Museum. Bashford Dean, “On American Polearms, Especially Those in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,” *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1 (1928–1929) pp. 32–48, fig. 4.

17. Merknights are especially numerous, and to be found even along with mermaids, in Hieronymus Bosch’s Garden of Delights, in the Prado Museum, and on prints by Albrecht Dürer after Bosch. The typical merknights wearing Late Gothic armor and helmet—either sallet or armet—is not to be confused with the triton in classical attire, who came to the North with the Renaissance fashion, and by the middle of the sixteenth century had crowded out the older merknights almost completely. The strange conception of the merknights seems to originate from the description in *Hortus Sanitatis*: “A monster of the see is zytyron ye cōmonli is named a merman or merknights & is grete, & out of mesure stronge & his vper body is lyke an armed man wt a helmet on his hede & a great holowe shelde hangige about his necke thre square & it semeth festened wt myghti stronge senewes of his body. he hath stronge armes and hys hand is ones clouē semyng also yt he hath a gawntlet on wt .ij. grete figers to put his hādein wherewt he striketh ryght sore & therefore he cā nat well be takē & yet though he be taken he can nat well be slayn but wt yron hamers.” Noël Hudson, *An Early English Version of Hortus Sanitatis. A Recent Bibliographical Discovery* (London, 1954) chap. 105. It is certainly a marvel to behold what the fertile imagination of the illustrators made out of this very clear description of a lobster!

FIGURE 31
Drawing of a
misericord in the
cathedral of
Aarschot, late xv
century. After
Maeterlinck



FIGURE 32
Printer's mark of
Thomas van der
Noot, Brussels,
1517. After Nijhoff



FIGURE 33
Detail of St. Christopher, engraving after Hieronymus Bosch, by Alaert Duhamel

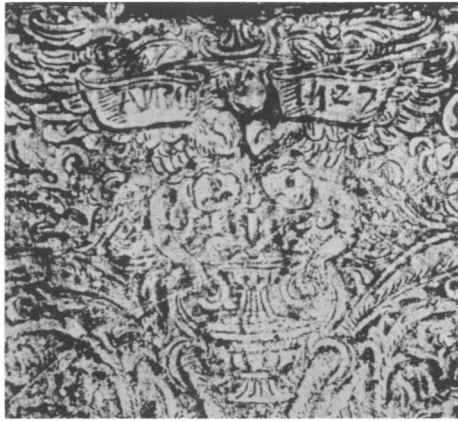


FIGURE 34
Detail with the date 1527, from rubbing of back-plate

at Hampton Court, might be the first indication of an English origin for the decoration of our armor, under strong Flemish influence, which was exactly the case in the “Almain” workshop of Greenwich under its master Martin van Royne. The connection between our armor and the decoration at Hampton Court is strengthened by a comparison of the putti holding a garland on top of the roundels with the royal badges in Wolsey’s Closet (Figure 9) and those in the upper part of the central lame of the breastplate (Figures 11, 12).

Most of the other decorative elements, such as candelabra, profile heads in medallions, and slotted scrolls, are, of course, derived from Italian prototypes, as is the case with sixteenth-century Northern art in general. However, the execution of the etching itself, the “handwriting” of the artists, is quite different from that found in comparable Italian works of art.

Indeed, the actual handwriting of the Animals Master in his date, *ANNO DMI 1527* (Figures 16, 34),¹⁸

18. Up to now the date has been read *ANNO 1527*; the letters *DMI* have been overlooked because they are nearly blocked out by a rivet.

19. This particular 5 is typical for Lucas van Leyden and Master DS from Basel, among other artists. Jacques Lavalleye, *Lucas van Leyden—Pieter Brueghel d. Ä.* (Vienna and Munich, 1967); Elfried Bock, *Holzschnitte des Meisters DS*, (Berlin, 1924).

20. Friedrich Winkler, *Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer* (Berlin, 1929) VII, figs. 764–775.

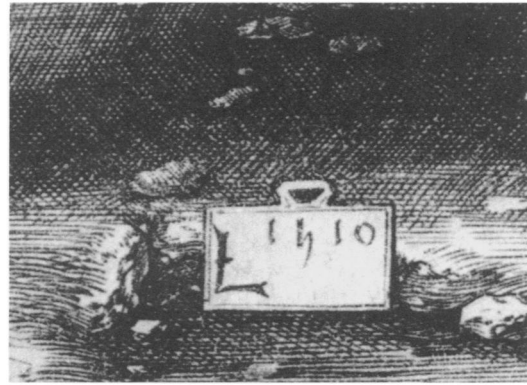


FIGURE 35
Detail of *The Milkmaid*, engraving by Lucas van Leyden, 1510. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Felix M. Warburg and his family, 41.1.24

is not only un-Italian in style, but includes a particular form of the digit 5 that is typical for the countries along the Rhine, from the Netherlands to Switzerland (Figures 35, 36).¹⁹ Furthermore, practically all of the directly traceable inspirations for figural compositions come from German and Netherlandish graphic sources.

The most striking example of this is the use of drawings by Albrecht Dürer for the Hercules scenes on the cuishes and greaves. These drawings, dated 1511, are part of a series of twelve depicting events from the life of Hercules and were formerly—up to their loss in World War II—in the Kunsthalle, Bremen.²⁰ They are loosely based upon a set of prints by Giovanni Andrea Vavassori, *detto* Guadagnino, in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.²¹ Though the drawings served as models for relief carvings in mother-of-pearl and for medals,²² they were apparently not among Dürer’s more popular and widely copied designs. They were never directly and fully transposed into prints, but two small scenes in the multicompartmented woodcut title

21. Oskar Lenz, “Über den ikonographischen Zusammenhang und die literarische Grundlage einiger Herkuleszyklen des 16. Jahrhunderts und zur Deutung des Dürerstiches W 73,” *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* NF 1 (1924) pp. 80 ff.

22. Edmund Wilhelm Braun, “Eine Nürnberger Goldschmiedewerkstätte aus dem Dürer-Kreise,” *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst* 4 (1915) pp. 37 ff., fig. 4. Rudolf Berliner, “Französische Muschelschnitte,” *Münchner Jahrbuch* NF 1 (1924) pp. 26 ff., fig. 7.

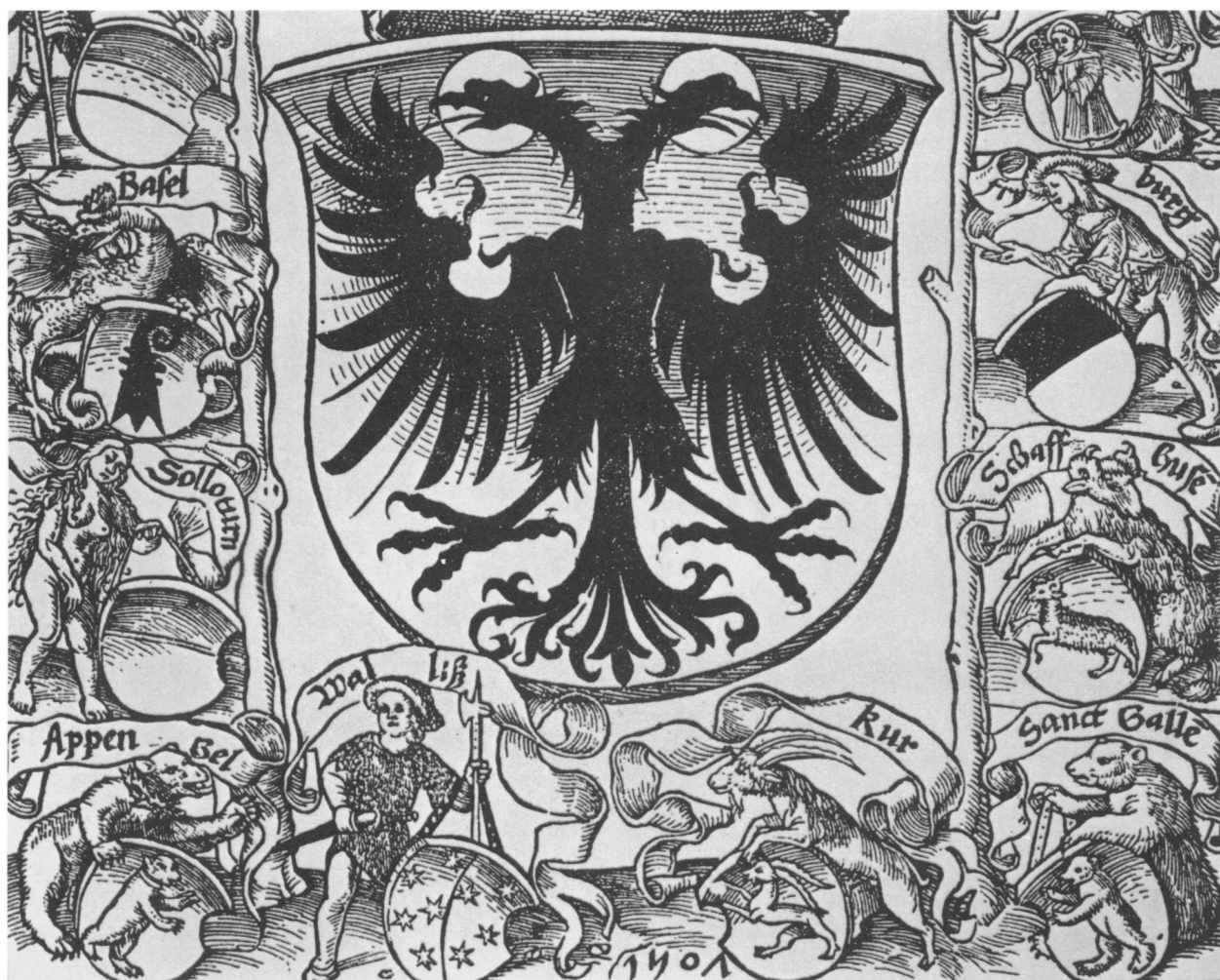


FIGURE 36

Detail of the arms of the Holy Roman Empire surrounded by the arms of the Swiss cantons, woodcut by Master DS, Basel, 1507. After Bock

frame with the life of Hercules by Anton Woensam von Worms, first published in Cologne in 1524,²³ were influenced by these drawings (Figure 37).

The master who designed the compositions for the Hercules scenes employed the intriguing method of mixing elements taken from different figures in Dürer's drawings with details from the woodcut. A characteristic example is the slaying of the Hydra (Figure 38),

where the bat-winged monster with its doubly curled tail and its chopped-off heads lying on the ground was rather faithfully copied from Dürer, though reversed (Figure 39). The wild tangle of the serpents' heads is somewhat simplified, perhaps suggested by the straightened-out version in the woodcut. The upper portion of Hercules's body was taken from the drawing The Abduction of Deianira (Figure 40), but the position of his legs corresponds to that in the Hercules Taming Cerberus (Figure 41). Interestingly, Hercules in our etchings carries a mace instead of the knobby-headed club seen in the drawings; the Hercules in the woodcut brandishes a mace too.

23. Albert Fidelis Butsch, *Die Bücherornamentik der Renaissance* (Munich, 1921) pl. 84. A. F. Butsch, *Handbook of Renaissance Ornament: 1290 Designs from Decorated Books* (New York, 1969) pl. 91.



FIGURE 37
Detail of title page with Hercules story, woodcut by Anton Woensam von Worms, Cologne, 1520. After Butsch

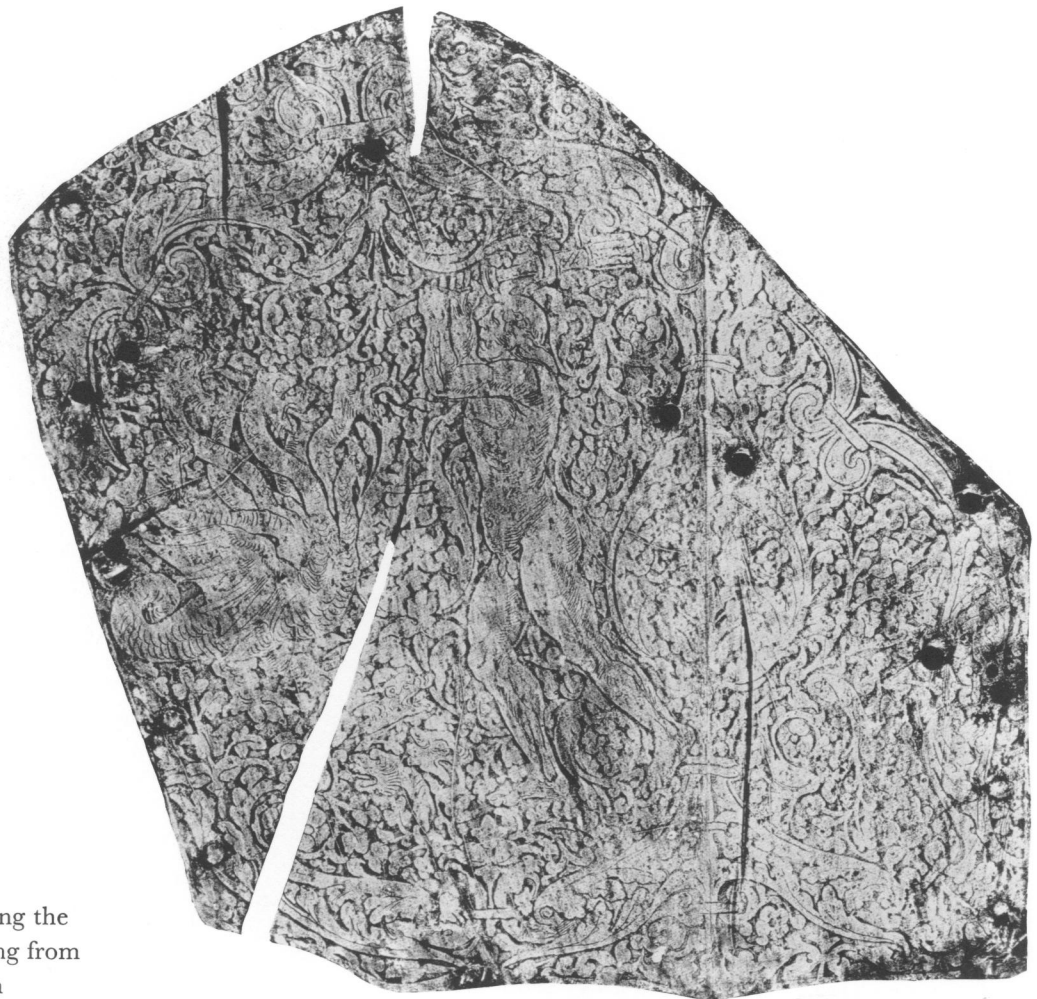


FIGURE 38
Hercules slaying the
Hydra, rubbing from
the right cuish

FIGURE 39
Hercules Slaying the Hydra, drawing by Albrecht Dürer, 1511. Formerly in the Kunsthalle, Bremen (photo: Kunsthalle, Bremen)



FIGURE 40
The Abduction of Deianira, drawing by Albrecht Dürer, 1511. Formerly in the Kunsthalle, Bremen. After Winkler



FIGURE 41
Hercules Taming Cerberus, drawing by Albrecht Dürer, 1511. Formerly in the Kunsthalle, Bremen. After Winkler



The killing of Antaeus (Figure 42) conforms basically with Dürer's drawing (Figure 43), with the exception of the position of the dangling legs of Antaeus, which is much closer to that on Woensam's title page.

The carrying of the pillars (Figure 44) corresponds to Dürer (Figure 45) in all major points, except the

figure of Hercules is somewhat simplified, for instance, in the position of the head; in addition, the pillars are more parallel.

The strangest adaptation of the Dürer prototypes took place with the design of the adventure of the Nemean lion (Figure 46). There is no direct model im-

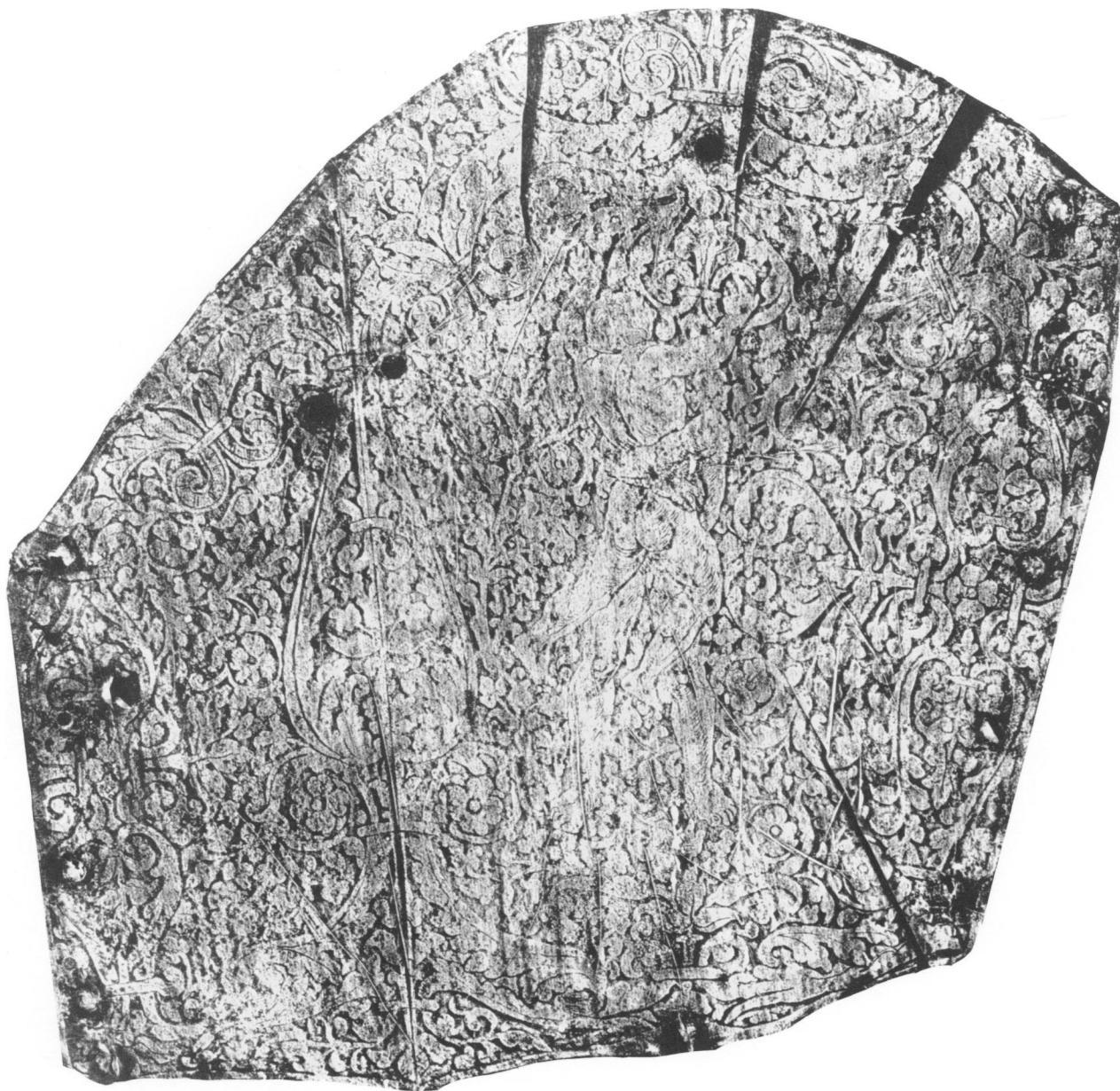


FIGURE 42
Hercules wrestling with Antaeus, rubbing from the left cuish



FIGURE 43
Hercules Wrestling with Antaeus,
drawing by Albrecht Dürer, 1511.
Formerly in the Kunsthalle, Bremen.
After Winkler

mediately recognizable in Dürer's drawings, but on closer study one discovers that the designer cleverly copied Dürer's lion (Figure 47), but turned him ninety degrees so that he stands upright. The lion's head, tilted backward with a wide-open maw and lolling tongue, is fairly faithfully rendered; the general silhouette of the body is preserved, but simplified by only showing the left foreleg of the lion instead of both, as in Dürer's drawing. The figure of Hercules is, however, quite different from any of the other representations of the subject. It appears, though, that with its strangely angled leg and hunched shoulder it might be composed out of two rather incongruous parts from *The Abduction of Deianira* (Figure 40). The legs with their weak stance are similar in silhouette—though right and left are reversed—to those of the desperately struggling Deianira, while the upper body, shoulder, arm, and head come close to those of the centaur Nessus.

For a number of other motifs a source seems to have been the earliest *Modelbuch*, printed by Hanns Schoens-

perger of Zwickau in 1524.²⁴ The unicorn purifying the water on the central lame of the breastplate (Figure 48) is closely related to a design of two unicorns at a fountain in the *Modelbuch* (Figure 49); in particular, the decorative fluting on the basins is strikingly similar.

On the tilting gauntlet a serpent swallowing a putto (Figure 50) has been thought to be a hint at the armorial device of the Visconti-Sforza of Milan, the well-known *vipera*, and therefore evidence for the Italian origin of the etching,²⁵ but this heraldic animal is always shown in a standardized form quite different from that of the creature on the gauntlet with its acanthus-shaped body appendage and tail mask. In any case, the monster's head as well as the mask have their exact counterparts in the *Modelbuch*, even down to the mask's bumpy nose (Figures 51, 52). On the other hand, the *Modelbuch's* fish monsters with their characteristic series of scales at their throats seem to have served as models for the "dolphins" in the Hampton Court frieze (Figure 9).

24. Arthur Lotz, "Die Entstehung der Modelbücher," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* NF 18 (1926) pp. 45–56, ill. The Print Department of the Metropolitan Museum owns the only known copy of the first edition (October 22, 1524) of Schoensperger's *Ein new Modelbuch*.

25. Dean, "Engraved Armor," pp. 212–214. Grancsay, *Armor of Genouilhac*, pp. 22–24, fig. 6. Interestingly enough, a similar serpent swallowing a man is on one of the misericords of Basel Cathedral. Maeterlinck, *Genre satirique*, p. 288, fig. 195.



FIGURE 44
Hercules carrying the pillars, rubbing from
the right greave



FIGURE 45
Hercules Carrying the Pillars, drawing by Al-
brecht Dürer, 1511. Formerly in the Kunsthalle,
Bremen. After Winkler



FIGURE 46

Hercules killing the Nemean lion, rubbing from the left greave



FIGURE 47

Hercules Killing the Nemean Lion, drawing by Albrecht Dürer, 1511. Formerly in the Kunsthalle, Bremen. After Winkler

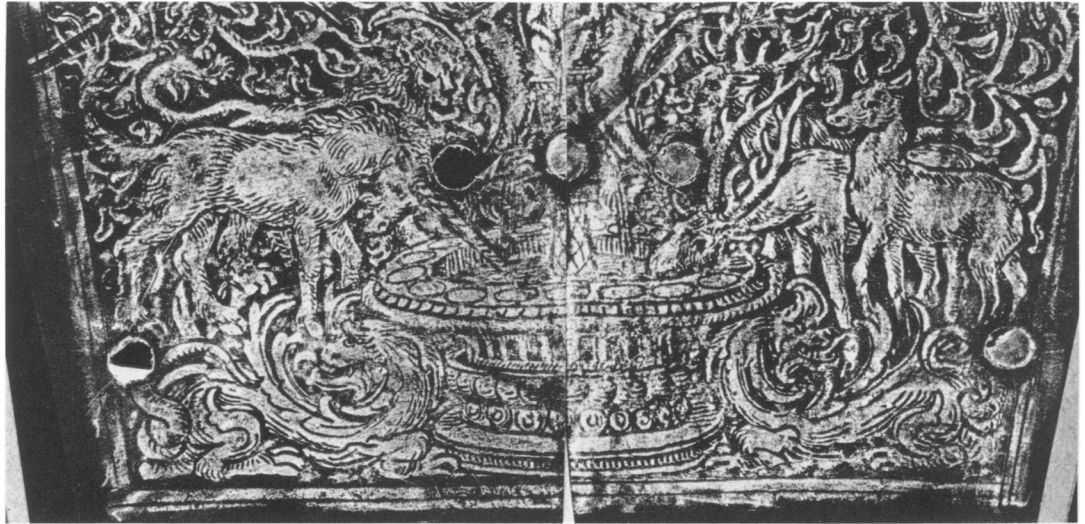


FIGURE 48
The unicorn purifying the fountain, detail of rubbing from the central lance of the breastplate

FIGURE 49
Unicorns at a fountain, woodcut from Schoensperger's *Modelbuch*, Zwickau, 1524

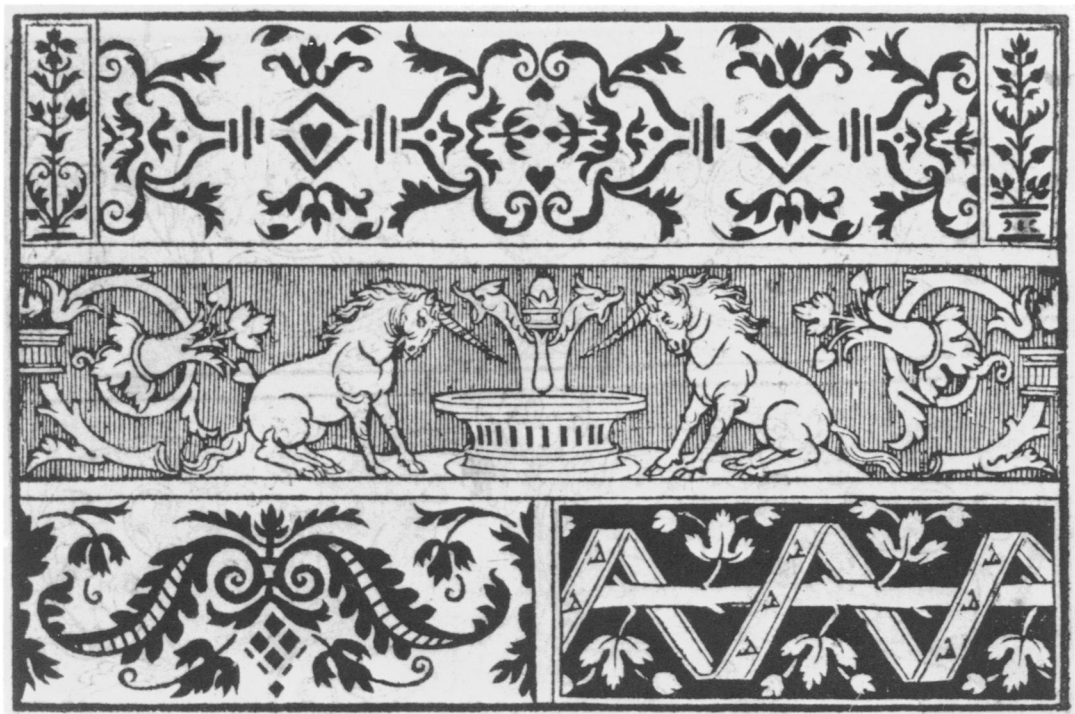




FIGURE 50
Serpent swallowing a putto, detail of rubbing from the
tilting gauntlet

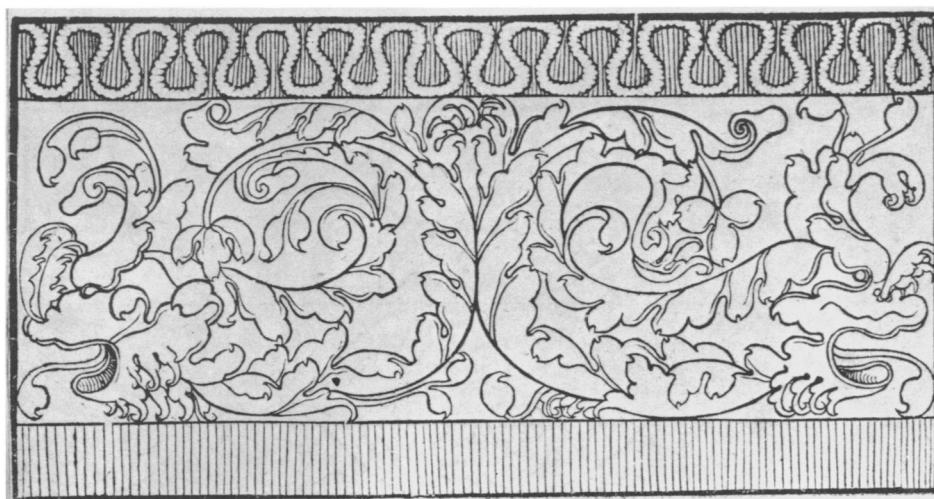


FIGURE 51
Marine monsters,
woodcut from Schoen-
sperger's *Modelbuch*,
Zwickau, 1524

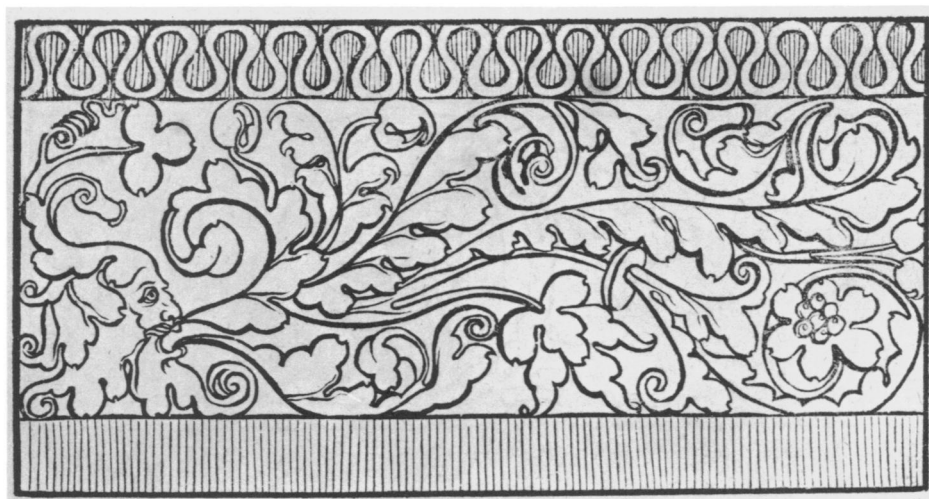


FIGURE 52
Foliate mask, woodcut
from Schoensperger's
Modelbuch, Zwickau,
1524

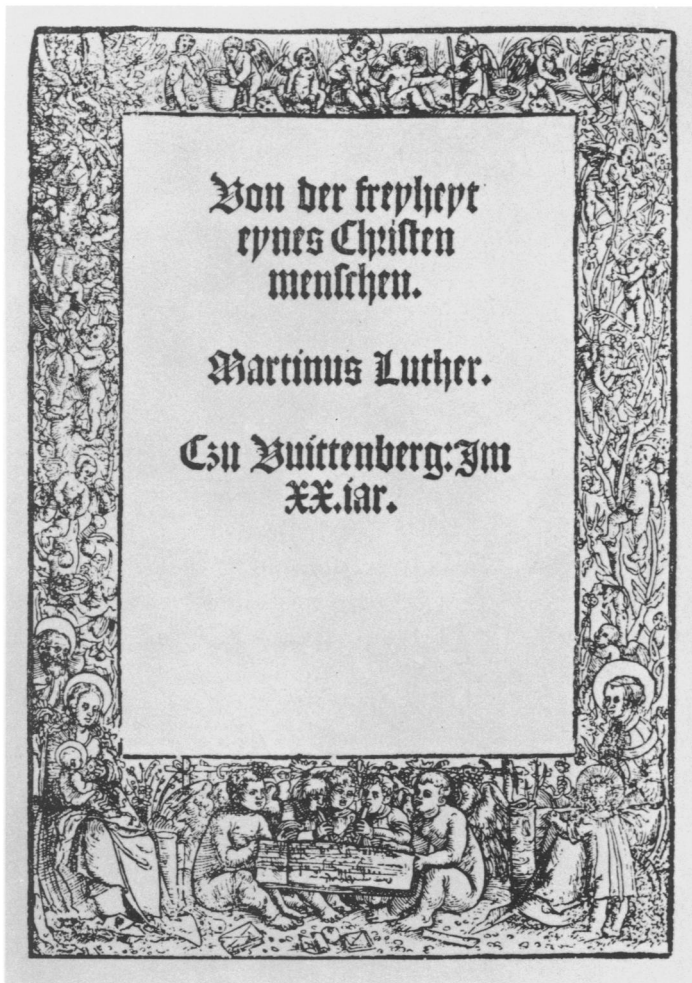


FIGURE 53

Title page of Luther's pamphlet *Von der Freyheit eynes Christenmenschen*, woodcut, school of Lucas Cranach, Wittenberg, 1520

A number of other German book illustrations appear to have served as prototypes for figural motifs too. There is, for instance, a strong resemblance between the singing angels at the bottom of the frame on the title page of Martin Luther's celebrated pamphlet *Von der Freyheit eynes Christenmenschen* (Figure 53)²⁶ and the putti singing and playing musical instruments on the colletin of our armor (Figure 54). The angelic musicians on the woodcut by Hans Holbein on the title page of the Adam Petri Bible, published in Basel in 1524 (Figure 55),²⁷ are of the same spirit, though they are clothed. The border of cherubs' heads encircling the reinforcing breastplate (Figures 7, 56) is strongly reminiscent of the title frame of the German hymnbook *Geystliche gesangk Büchleyn*, Wittenberg, 1524 (Figure 57).²⁸ A very similar frieze is in the architectural back-

26. Klaus Popitz, *Von der Freyheit eynes Christenmenschen*, exhibition catalogue, Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, October 13–November 26, 1967, cat. no. 24, ill. Butsch, *Handbook*, pl. 95.

27. Ph. Schmidt, *Die Illustration der Lutherbibel, 1522–1700* (Basel, 1962) p. 151, fig. 86.

28. Friedrich Zelle, "Drei Seltenheiten," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 5 (1901–1902) pp. 437–441, ill.

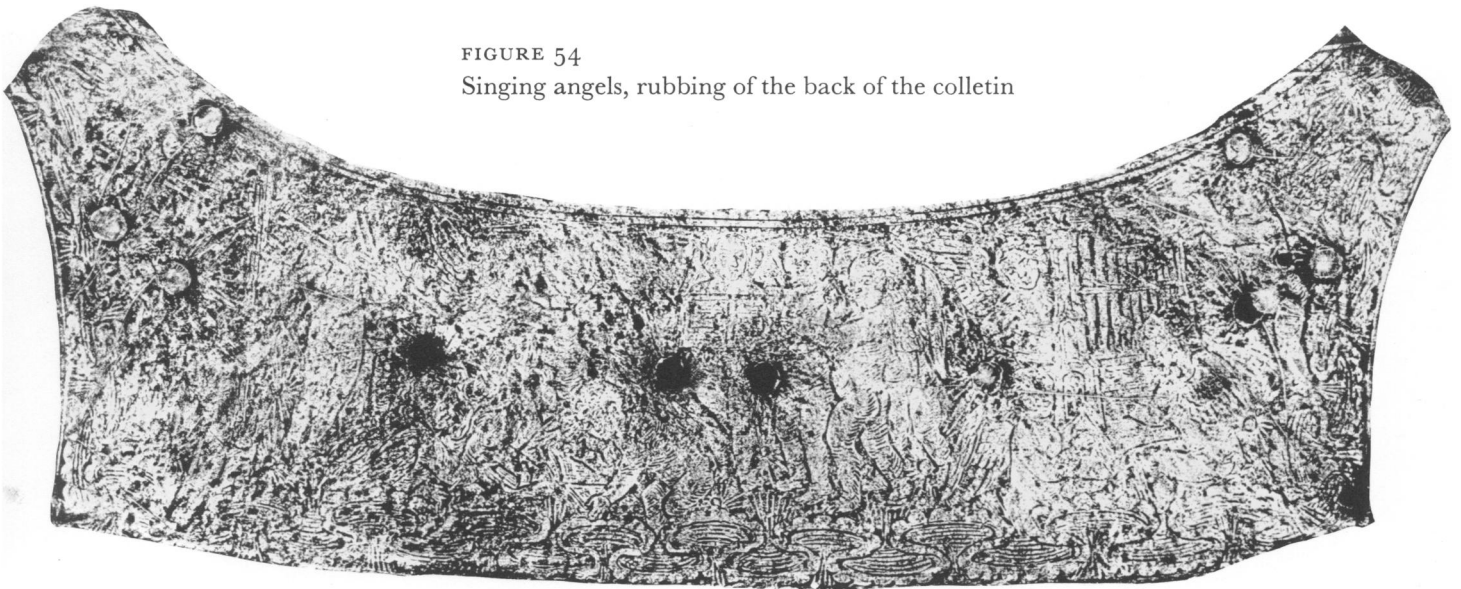


FIGURE 54

Singing angels, rubbing of the back of the colletin

Das erst buch Rose.

I



Das Erst Capitel.



Anfang schuff Gott

hymel vnd erden / vnd die erde war wüst
vnd leer / vnd es war finster auff der tieffe /
vnd der wind Gottes schwebet auff dem
wasser.

† oder geist.

Vnd Gott sprach / Es werde liecht /
Vnd es ward liecht / vnd Gott sahe das
liecht für güt an / Da scheydet Gott das

A

FIGURE 55
Title page by Hans
Holbein for a Bible
printed by Adam Petri,
Basel, 1524. Kunst-
museum, Basel

FIGURE 56
Rubbing of the reinforcing breastplate



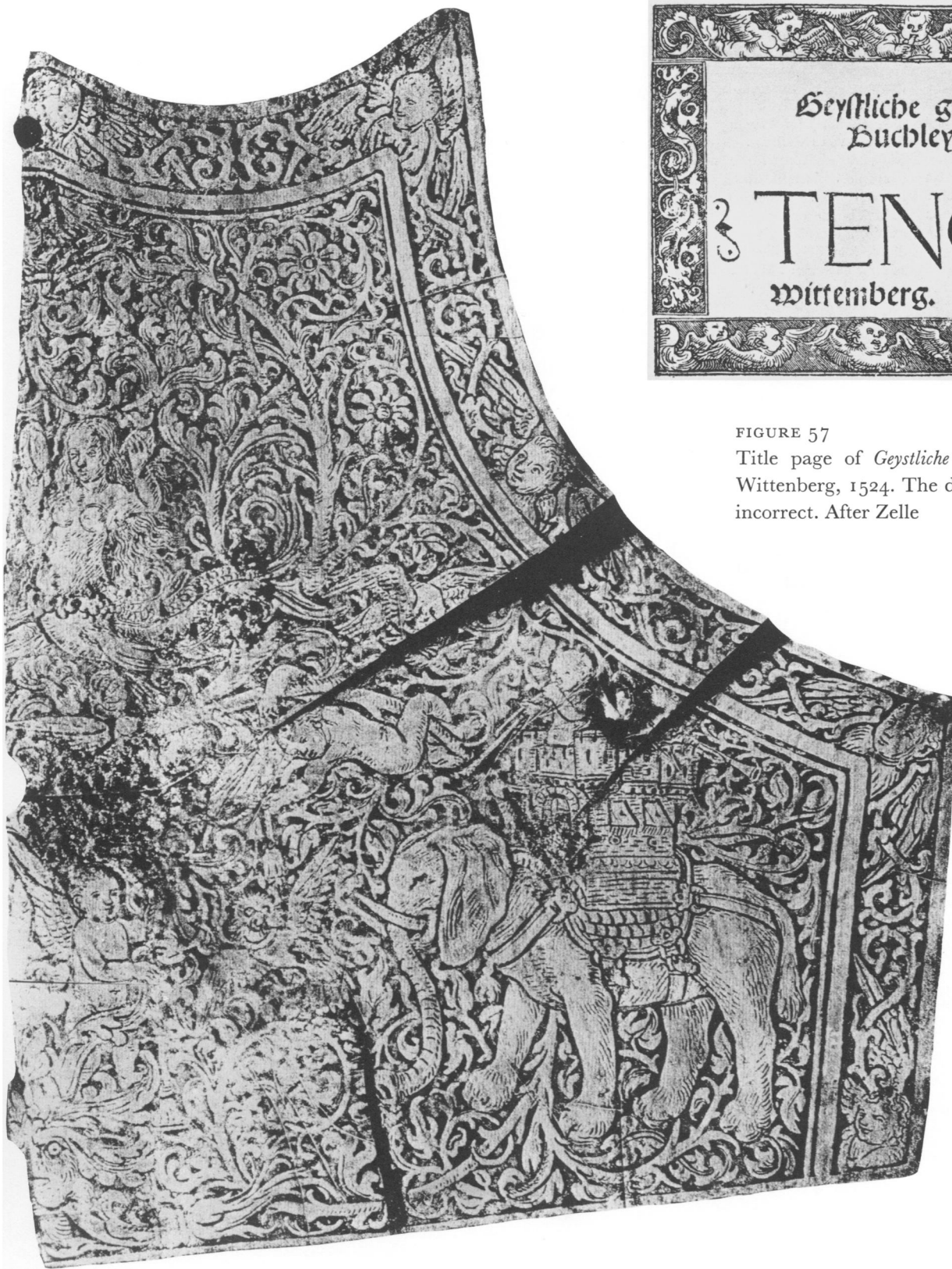


FIGURE 57
Title page of *Geystliche gesangk Būchleyn*,
Wittenberg, 1524. The date, as printed, is
incorrect. After Zelle

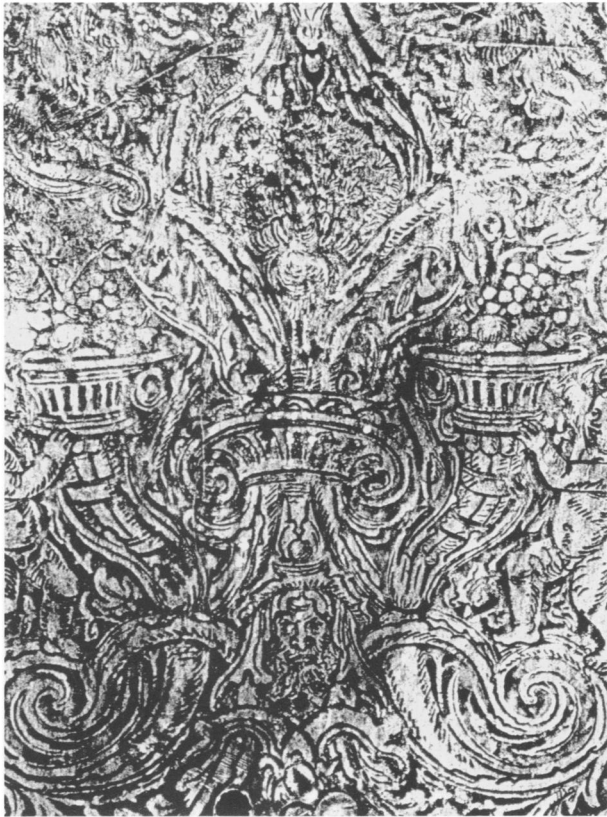
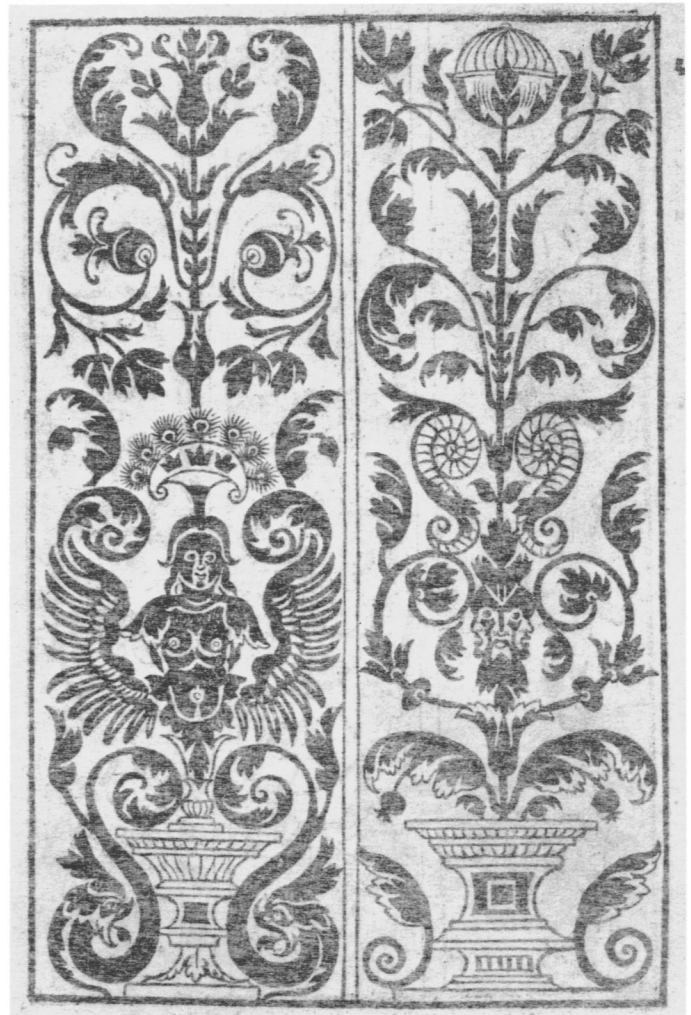


FIGURE 58
Bearded mask in foliage surmounted by columnar capital and peacock, detail of rubbing from the backplate

FIGURE 59
Woodcuts from *Musterbüchlein* by Peter Quentel, Cologne, 1527–1529



ground of a Holbein drawing, *Madonna im Strahlenkranz*, in the Kunstmuseum, Basel.²⁹

Interestingly enough, there is even an odd detail in the decoration of the backplate that can be traced to what was, at the time the armor was made, the very latest in model books, the *Modelbuch*'s successor, the *Musterbüchlein* by Peter Quentel, Cologne, 1527–1529 (Figures 58, 59).³⁰ Here several woodcuts show elements related to the composition on the backplate. There are bearded masks in foliage, combined with scrolls, and a fanlike headdress adorned with peacock feathers. This headdress, incidentally, is a variation of the crest of the municipal arms of Cologne.

One of the very few direct Italian influences is traceable in the appearance of the elephants on the reinforcing breastplate (Figures 7, 56). Here an illustration of

29. Wilhelm Waetzoldt, *Hans Holbein der Jüngere, Werk und Welt* (Berlin, 1938) pl. 43.

30. *Musterbuch für Ornamente und Stickmuster von Peter Quentel (1527–1529). Vorlagen für Kunsthandwerker und weibliche Handarbeiten* (Leipzig, 1882).

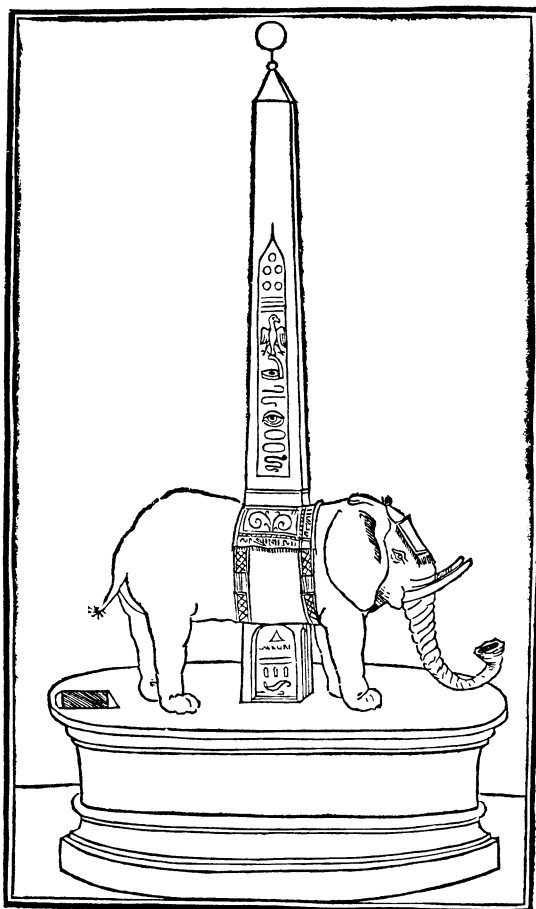
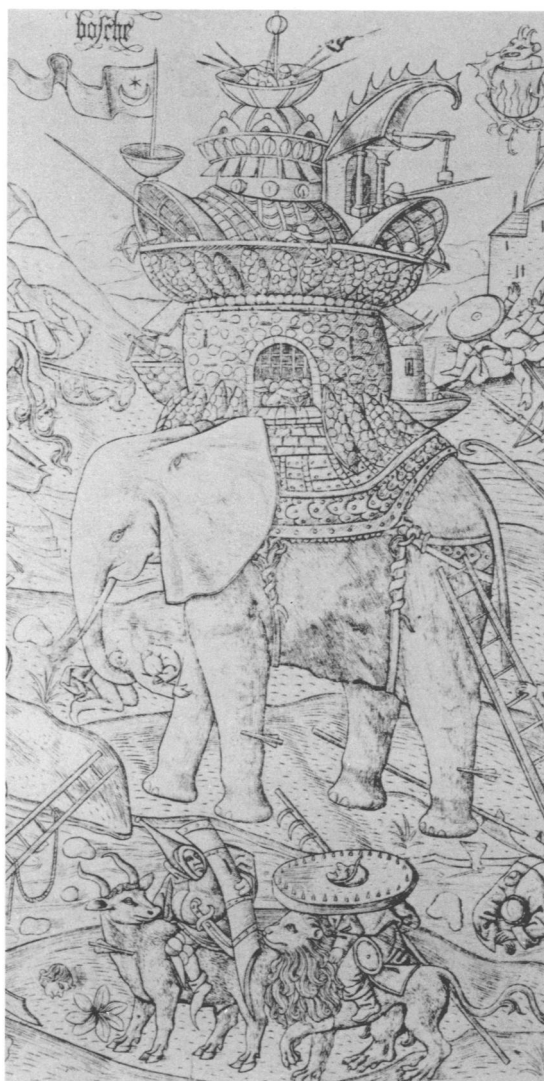


FIGURE 60

Elephant carrying an obelisk, woodcut from *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, by Francesco Colonna, Venice, 1499

FIGURE 61

Detail of *The Siege of the Elephant*, engraving after Hieronymus Bosch, by Alaert Duhomeel



an elephant carrying an obelisk on his back from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Figure 60)³¹ must have served as a model. The attachments used to secure the castle and the detail of a human figure writhing in the grasp of the elephant's trunk, however, are derived from a Netherlandish source, a print by Alaert Duhomeel (Figure 61).³² This particular putto is very similar, too, to one in the printer's mark of Froben of Basel, which was designed by Ambrosius Holbein, Hans's brother (Figure 62).³³

This stylistic evidence suggests that the Genouilhac armor was decorated by a master from the countries along the Rhine, who must have been either a German

31. Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499).

32. Duhomeel's elephant, however, is much more realistically drawn and clearly identifiable as an African elephant.

33. H. Knackfuss, *Holbein der Jüngere* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1896) p. 11, fig. 6. Butsch, *Handbook*, pl. 67.



FIGURE 62
Printer's mark of Froben, Basel, c. 1517, by
Ambrosius Holbein. After Butsch



FIGURE 63
Design for metal decoration, by Hans Holbein.
Kunstsammlung, Basel



or a Netherlander—or, most likely, a German who had traveled in the Netherlands—and who was working in England. Artistically the quality of the draftsmanship of the Animals Master is just too high to permit thinking of an artist of less than first rank. Hans Holbein was the only great German artist present in England in 1527, and comparisons with his designs for metalwork and other decorative arts (Figures 63–66) make the conclusion inevitable that no one but he could have been the designer, and, in part, the etcher, of this armor.³⁴ Even the mediocre draftsmanship of the Hercules Master cannot completely obscure the Holbein style.

When Giovanni da Maiano was setting up two triumphal arches for the banquet hall in Greenwich on

34. Netherlandish motifs and details in this decoration are natural in a workshop largely staffed with Flemings; the probable origin of the designer from the Upper Rhine, however, is indicated by small details, such as the putti playing fifes or transverse flutes, called “German flutes” in England, and *Schweizerpfeif* in Germany. F. W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music* (London, 1910) pp. 150–154. Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History* (New York, 1957) p. 248. The foolscap of the morris dancer is, with its cockcomb and asses’ ears, exactly like those in Holbein’s illustrations to Erasmus’s *In Praise of Folly*.



FIGURE 64
Design for a decorative frieze, by Hans Holbein.
Kunstsammlung, Basel



FIGURE 65
Design for the organ wings of Basel Cathedral, by Hans Holbein. Kunstsammlung, Basel

occasion of the farewell party in honor of the vicomte de Turenne, he had as an assistant a painter named "Maister Hans."³⁵ A. B. Chamberlain, followed in turn by Wilhelm Waetzoldt³⁶ and Claude Blair,³⁷ suggested that "Maister Hans" might have been Hans Holbein, because there seems to have been no other painter named Hans at the court of Henry VIII at the time.

Decorative work of this kind is an important part of Holbein's oeuvre, along with designs for goldsmiths and other metalworkers. He must have had very good relations with the armor shop too, because the first of the four witnesses of his testament, signed October 7, 1543, was "Anthony Snecher," armorer at Greenwich.³⁸ "Anthonius Snyster"—certainly the same person, and probably a member of the Augsburg armorers' family Schnitzer³⁹—had appeared already in the name roll of the Almain workshop in 1518.

The use of German book illustrations as models as well as the appearance of Flemish pictorial motifs would be most natural in a workshop staffed with Flemings and Germans, as was the case in Greenwich. With regard to the *Geystliche gesangk Büchleyn*, we even can be absolutely sure that Holbein was familiar with it and perhaps even owned a copy, because this little hymn-book is represented in his double portrait of the French ambassadors Jean de Dinteville and George de Selve.⁴⁰

35. A. B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger* (London, 1913) I, pp. 311–317, mentions that between February 8 and March 3, 1527, a Master Hans received four shillings a day for work on the triumphal arch, together with a Master Nycholas who was paid "by the kyngs plessyre." It seems that both men, Master Hans and Master Nycholas, were employed in a supervisory capacity. Master Hans is expressly mentioned as a painter, but nothing is said about the work of Master Nycholas. Chamberlain cannot identify Master Nycholas; however, I would like to suggest that he might be Niklaus Kratzer, the king's astronomer. Edward Hall, *The Triumphant Reigne of Kyng Henry The VIII*, ed. Charles Whibley (London, 1904) II, p. 86, describes the arch in great detail and mentions as its crowning structure a great map of the world surrounded by heavenly bodies, zodiacal signs, and planets and set up "by the kyng's astronomer." Since Kratzer was a German and his portrait is one of three painted by Holbein in 1527, it is quite possible that he had arranged for Holbein to work on the big project. As king's astronomer he would logically be paid not a fixed wage but at the king's pleasure. Master Hans's special contribution to the decoration of the arch was a large canvas depicting the siege of "Tyrwin" (Thérouanne) of 1521. Though the English claimed the victory of the day, the vicomte de Turenne distinguished himself greatly as defender of the citadel of Thérouanne. Therefore Henry's pointing

If, after having followed stylistic clues in order to establish the identity of the artist and the workshop, we now turn to the problem of interpreting the iconography, it becomes clear that there must be a definite program in the profusion of motifs in the decoration.

Unfortunately, several important elements of the armor, such as the grand guard and the peytrel, are missing.⁴¹ In all probability they bore additional motifs, which might have given us the key to the problem's solution—on Henry VIII's engraved and silvered armor, for instance, the royal ciphers and badges are on the peytrel. Therefore, a complete and definite interpretation cannot possibly be put forth.

About twenty different species of "animals" are represented: centaur, cock and hen, crane, dog, dove, elephant, falcon, griffin, hare, horse, lion, merknicht, mermaid, owl, parrot, peacock, ram, snake, stag, unicorn, weasel (?), wild man, wolf. Some of them are displayed in prominent places, either individually, for example, the merknicht and the mermaid, the elephants on the reinforcing breastplate, and the griffins on the backplate, or arranged in scenic groups, for instance, that on the breastplate, where unicorn, lion, and three stags are gathered around a fountain, with two cranes watching from above, and the hunting and hawking scenes on the side plates of the cuirass. Others are scattered throughout the foliage.

out the battle painting expressly to the French ambassadors (Hall, p. 87) was less gauche than Chamberlain thought. On the contrary, it might have been meant as flattery, though somewhat heavy-handed.

36. Waetzoldt, *Holbein*, p. 184.

37. Blair, "Almain Armours: 2," p. 243.

38. U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1937) XXXI, p. 186. Chamberlain, *Holbein*, II, pp. 295–298. Waetzoldt, *Holbein*, p. 228.

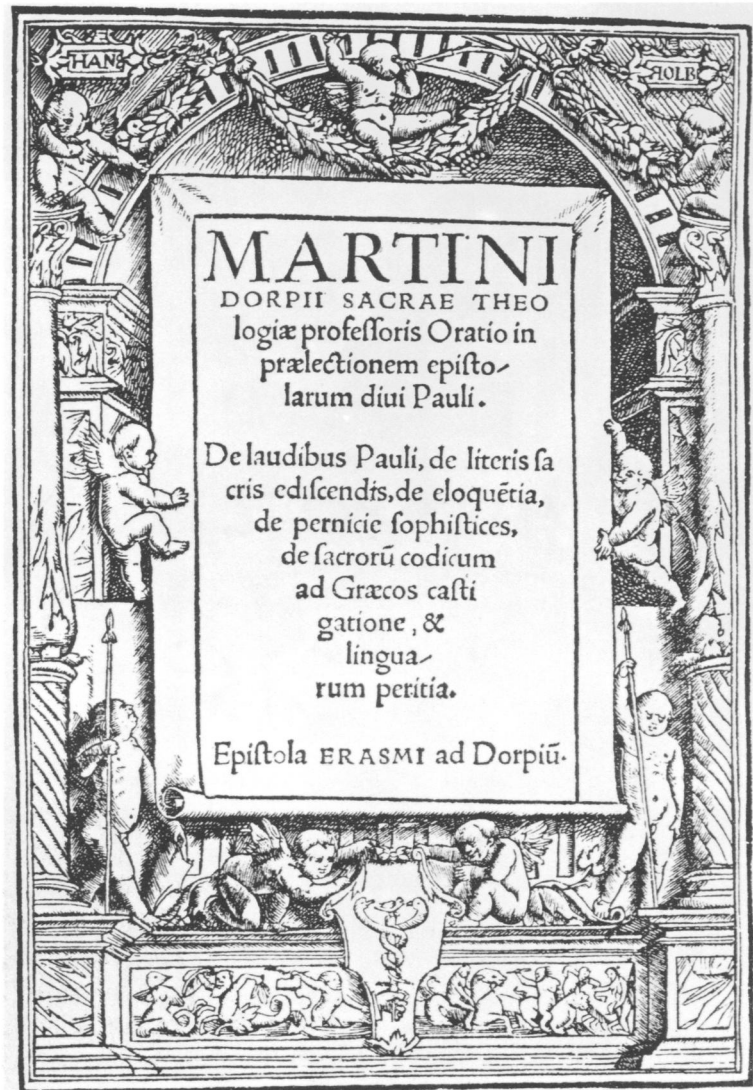
39. On the other hand, there were two Anthonius Schnitzers, father and son, trumpet makers in Nuremberg, in the second half of the sixteenth century.

40. Waetzoldt, *Holbein*, p. 217.

41. Gamber, "Hofplattnerrei," pp. 22–23, fig. 18, reconstructs the great garniture of Henry VIII in the Tower, which was composed of the same elements as the Genouilhac armor, though it is dated 1540. Another reconstruction, without horse armor, is in A. V. B. Norman, *A History of War and Weapons, 449 to 1660* (New York, 1966) pp. 158–159 (originally published in Great Britain under the title *Warrior to Soldier*). The decoration of the great garniture II.8 is thought to have been etched by F. Queblaunche, who was on the payroll in 1539, after designs by Hans Holbein made in 1533–1536.

FIGURE 66

Title page, woodcut by Hans Holbein. After Butsch



The most prominently displayed animals are the elephant, unicorn, lion, stag, crane, and griffin. Among these, the unicorn, lion, and griffin are quite common in heraldry, but the elephant, stag, and crane are rather unusual. Therefore it seems to be more than a coincidence that the five animals represented on the breastplates—lion, unicorn, stag, elephant, and crane—are

to be found on an armorial tapestry of about 1375 in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, acc. no. 46.175 (Figure 67). Here the first four of these "heraldic beasts" display mantlings with the arms of Guillaume Rogier II, comte de Beaufort and vicomte de Turenne.⁴² Anne de Beaufort, vicomtesse de Turenne, an heiress in her own right, married Agnet IV de la Tour d'Au-

42. Other fragments of the same tapestry or set of tapestries are in: The Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow (inv. 73); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts (26.282); Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Sammlung Baron von Thyssen, Schloss Rohoncz (Lugano); Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island; Coll. Guennol, Long Island. Christoffe Justel, *Histoire Généalogique de la Maison d'Auvergne* (Paris, 1645) livre second, pp.

64–65. The combination of arms is: Beaufort, "Argent, six roses gules, a bend azure overall"; Turenne, "Bendy of twelve, or and gules"; Comminges, "Argent, a cross patée gules." On the tabards Beaufort and Turenne quarterly—the arms of Guillaume Rogier—are impaled with Comminges—the arms of his wife, Alienor—charged with small shields of Turenne.

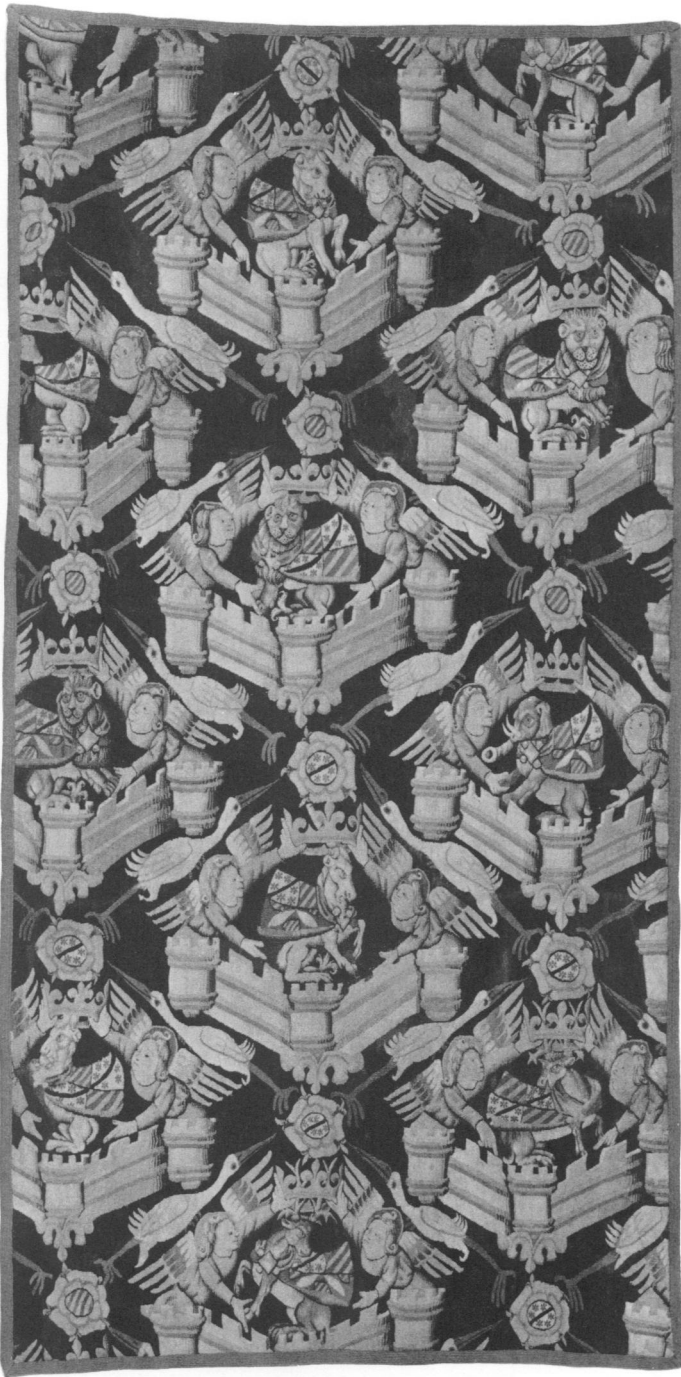


FIGURE 67
Armorial tapestry displaying “heraldic beasts” bearing the arms of Guillaume Rogier, comte de Beaufort and vicomte de Turenne, and his wife, Alienor de Comminges, French, about 1375. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 46.175

vergne, seigneur d’Oliergues, in 1444. It was their grandson, François II de la Tour d’Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne, who visited England in 1527.⁴³

“Vicomte de Turenne” was a feudal title that was inseparably connected with the holding of the vicomté de Turenne. There seems to be no doubt that this very tapestry had actually come down to our vicomte de Turenne, François II de la Tour, together with title, land, and castle. It seems quite natural that the motifs of the tapestry served—of course indirectly—as inspirations for the etcher of the armor. The harassed designer, facing the tremendous task of covering the entire surface of a full suit of armor with—preferably meaningful—decoration, certainly would have been grateful for any suggestion, and it is unlikely that he would have failed to ask the owner-to-be for possible instructions.⁴⁴ After all, the Genouilhac armor is the earliest surviving Greenwich armor with etching, and etching covering its entire surface at that; one wonders whether this new method of decoration was the “strange fashion that had not bene sene” of the gilded armor of Henry VIII that presumably served as a model for the armor given to Turenne.

When we examine the other animals on our armor for their possible heraldic significance, we find that griffins were the supporters of the de la Tour arms and a falcon was their crest. Furthermore, a unicorn’s head is the crest of the Beaufort family, and the supporters of the arms of Pierre de Beaufort, vicomte de Turenne, the father of the heiress Anne, were wild men.⁴⁵ Perhaps

43. Christoffe Justel, *Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de Turenne* (Paris, 1645) livre sixième, pp. 190–199. On p. 198 Justel states erroneously that the mission to England took place in 1525; it is absolutely clear from Hall’s chronicle that the period in question was March through May 1527. Furthermore, François II de la Tour could not have been called “Viscount de Tourayne” by Hall in 1525, because at that time François’s father, Anthoine, was still alive (died February 1527) and held the title. The error in Justel’s statement might be a simple misprint. The printer in setting the passage “Et l’an M.D.XXV. il fut enuoyé Ambassadeur . . .” may have confused the last two digits of the proper date, “M.D.XXV.II,” with the following “il” and skipped them.

44. Justel, *Histoire . . . d’Auvergne*, “Preuves,” p. 95, illustrates the seal of Jean d’Auvergne (1253) with griffins, lions, and angels as supporters; p. 191, seal of Hugues de la Tour (1261 and 1279) with griffins as supporters; “Additions aux preuves,” p. 326, seal of Hugues de la Tour (twelfth century) with griffins as supporters.

45. Justel, *Histoire . . . d’Auvergne*, p. 149, seal of Pierre de Beaufort (1443), ill.

even the putti playing in the etched foliage are allusions to the angels in the armorial tapestry. Equipping the elephants with turreted castles might have had an extra meaning as a hint at the name “de la Tour,” the same way that “Beaufort” is indicated by elements of fortified architecture in the tapestry.

With the interpretation of some of the animals as “heraldic beasts” connected with the vicomtes de Turenne, the question of the meaning of the rest of these animals arises, and we see that practically all of these beasts and monsters are to be encountered as symbols of love in the allegorical system of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. This find, at first glance rather surprising, fits perfectly well into the iconographical program, if we consider the main purpose of the mission of the vicomte de Turenne. He was at the court of Henry VIII negotiating for a marriage between the princess Mary—later Bloody Mary—and the duc d’Orléans, later Henry II of France.

The significance of dove and hare, animals sacred to Venus, and peacock, the bird of marriage-protecting Juno, is obvious; ram, cock, and horse, too, do not leave anything to be desired as love symbols, but even wolf and parrot were not to be misunderstood by any sixteenth-century connoisseur.⁴⁶ The parrot, for instance, was a symbol of the Immaculate Conception of

the Virgin, because it is told in the bestiaries that once a parrot hailed Julius Caesar with the words “Ave Caesar” in the same way as the Angel of the Annunciation came to Mary with the greeting “Ave Maria”! Thus the parrots on the reinforcing breastplate are a very appropriate allusion to the proposal of marriage, considering the fact that the name of the courted princess was Mary.

The elephants, too, fit into the pattern very well, because one of the many pleasant characteristics of elephants as recorded in the bestiaries was that they “never quarrel with their wives, for adultery is unknown to them.”⁴⁷

Some of these symbolic animals are skillfully grouped in scenes illustrating knightly sports, such as hunting and hawking (Figures 17, 18), with hounds well known for their loyalty, and falcons, who return to the falconer’s hand not through force but out of their own will, as symbols of knightly and true love. Others, such as the cocks and rams engaged in fighting (Figures 13, 14), combine the warlike spirit appropriate for the decoration of armor with the obvious meaning of battlers for the favors of the female. Incidentally, the little animal in the foliage above the fighting cocks has been thought to be a fox. The association of chicken and fox is, of course, only natural, but the “fox” looks more like a

46. A readily available source for animal symbolism is T. H. White, *The Bestiary, A Book of Beasts, Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (New York, 1960). Concerning the wolf (pp. 56–61) it is said “that on the backside of this animal there is a small patch of aphrodisiac hair, which it plucks off with its teeth if it happens to be afraid of being caught, nor is this aphrodisiac hair for which people are trying to catch it of any use unless taken off alive.” On the right shoulder guard and on the saddle bow plate appear horses, which were regarded as symbols of “unbridled” passion—“They were as fed horses in the morning: every one neighed after his neighbor’s wife,” Jeremiah 8:5—though on a saddle plate no justification for the presence of a horse is needed.

47. It is also said of the elephant (White, *Bestiary*, pp. 24–28): “If one of them wants to have a baby, he goes eastward toward Paradise, and there is a tree called Mandragora, and he goes there with his wife. She first takes the tree and then gives some to her spouse. When they munch it up, it seduces them, and she immediately conceives in her womb. When the proper time for being delivered arrives, she walks out into a lake, and the water comes up to the mother’s udders. Meanwhile the father-elephant guards her while she is in labor, because there is a certain dragon which is inimical

to elephants. Moreover, if a serpent happens by, the father kills and tramples on it till dead. . . . Now the Elephant and his wife represent Adam and Eve. For when they were pleasing to God before their provocation in the flesh, they knew nothing about copulation nor had they knowledge of sin. When, however, the wife ate of the Tree of Knowledge, which is what the Mandragora means, and gave one of the fruits to her man, she was immediately made wanderer and they had to clear out of Paradise on account of it. For, all the time that they were in Paradise, Adam did not know her. But then, the Scriptures say: Adam went in to his wife and she conceived and bore Cain, upon the waters of tribulation. Of which waters the Psalmist cries: Save me, O God, for the waters have entered in even unto my soul. And immediately the dragon subverted them and made them strangers to God’s refuge. That is what comes of not pleasing God.” The relationship of this story to Mary and the Immaculate Conception, and the proposal of marriage as represented by the parrot, who has called “Ave Caesar,” would have been quite obvious to a sixteenth-century observer, because of the symbolism of the Virgin Mary as the “New Eve,” and the salutation of the Angel of the Annunciation, “Ave,” which is “Eva” in reverse.

member of the weasel family. Probably it was meant to be an ermine, the symbol of purity and chastity.⁴⁸

The idea of love is quite plain in the group of the merknicht with the nude mermaid (Figures 7, 8, 56), but perhaps there was even a pun intended between the “scientific” term for merknicht, “zytyron,” and the name “Turenne.”⁴⁹

The wild men on the helmet bowl⁵⁰ are symbols of life—and love—in natural innocence (Figure 22). Wild men were extremely popular in the decorative arts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to such a degree that an entire class of South German tapestries is called *Wildleuteteppiche* since they have them as subjects.

The centaur fighting a nude warrior in a classical helmet comes out of the more “modern” school of humanistic thought (Figure 21). It could well be an allusion to the wedding of Peirithous and the fight of the centaurs and Lapiths.

A particularly charming solution for arranging the “heraldic beasts” of the vicomtes de Turenne has been

found in a scene—heavy with meaning—on the central plate of the breastplate: unicorn, lion, and three deer are assembled around a fountain, with two cranes watching them from the foliage above (Figures 12, 48). The unicorn is dipping his horn into the water of the basin in illustration of the well-known legend about the mysterious powers of the unicorn’s horn to purify waters poisoned by the venom of a snake. As was commonly believed in the thirteenth century, it was “one odd thing about a snake that when it goes to the river to drink water, it does not take its poison with it, but spews it in a hole.” Apparently this laudable custom was no longer obeyed by the sixteenth-century snakes, and thus the services of the unicorn were essential to all animals, but particularly to the stag, who, according to a legend rooted in antiquity, used to “suck snakes from their holes with a snort of the nostrils.” This, of course, was an extremely dangerous practice, for when the snake in the stag’s belly bit him, its venom caused such heat that the stag would surely die, if he did not find

48. A baffling group is the one on the right shoulder guard: a putto riding a horse that is kicking out against a wolf and its cub. This peculiar composition raises the question as to whether yet another source besides the bestiaries might be responsible for the symbolism of the etchings, namely, the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollon. The fantastic interpretations of Egyptian hieroglyphs by this late antique author were extremely popular in the early sixteenth century with scholars and interested laymen, who thought them a key to unlock the mysteries of the wisdom of the ancients. In his second volume Horapollon describes a “Hieroglyph”: “When they wish to indicate a woman who has aborted, they draw a mare kicking a wolf. For not only does a mare which has kicked a wolf abort, but also, if she touches the spoor of a wolf, does she abort.” *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollon*, trans. George Boas (New York, 1950) II, p. 45. Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance. Hieroglyphik und Emblematik in ihren Beziehungen und Fortwirkungen* (Leipzig, 1923; 2nd ed., 1962). Volkmann, “Bilderrätsel,” pp. 65–82. This interpretation, however, seems out of the question under the circumstances. It is not likely that there was a deliberate ill wish hidden in the symbolic decoration. It should be mentioned, however, that the marriage project between Princess Mary and the duke of Orléans was not popular at all. As Edward Hall puts it: “The common people repugned sore against that demaund, for they said that she [Princess Mary] was heire apparent to her father, and if he should dye, they would have no Frenchemen to be kyng of Englande, and thus the common people spake, as their myndes served them.” Even if Horapollon should not be among the sources of the iconographical program, it is interesting to see that he used falcons and goats as “hieroglyphs” for most powerful love, while elephant, lion, and crane are representations of highly flattering qualities.

49. The group is certainly meant as a *Minneszene*, a love scene, as might be found on *Minnekästchen* (carved caskets used as presents

and love tokens). In the nakedness and beauty of the mermaid there was always a certain piquant appeal that made her, in much the same way as the wild man, a personification of sensual love. It might even be that there was a personal reason for the introduction of the mermaid into the program, because François II de la Tour’s wife, Anne de la Tour, *dit* Bologne, could claim relationship with the kings of Jerusalem, and thus descentance from the ancestress of the illustrious Lusignans, La Belle Mélusine! If the Flemish word for mermaid, *meerminne*, which can be read as *meer minne*—“more love”—was hinted at, it would have been a very appropriate pun that unfortunately was probably wasted on a Frenchman. The doughty merknicht is a reasonable counterpart to the alluring mermaid. He might have an underlying meaning as the “knight from the sea,” meaning the “knight from beyond the sea,” i.e., France, where the Knight of the Lake, Sir Lancelot, came from. In relation to this the description of the tournament held in honor of the French ambassadors might be quoted in full: “On shroueste wesdaie, the Kyng hymself, in a newe harnes all gilte, of a strange fashion that had not been seen, and with hym .viii. gentleman all in cloth of golde of one suite, embrodered with knottes of siluer, and the Marques of Excester, and .viii. with hym in blew velvet and white saten, *like the waues of the sea* [italics added], these men of armes came to the tilte, there ran many freshe courses, till .cc.lxxx. speres were broken, and then they disarmed and wēt to the quenes chamber, where for them was provided a costly banquet.”

50. Incidentally, among Dürer’s drawings for the silver armor of Emperor Maximilian, 1515–1517, there is a wild man shown in the same place on the helmet bowl. The drawing itself (W174) was destroyed in Paris in 1871 but is illustrated in Hermann Warner Williams, Jr., “Dürer’s Designs for Maximilian’s Silvered Armor,” *Art in America* 29 (1941) pp. 73–82.

fresh water quickly and drink it to counteract this fatal effect.⁵¹

This scene obviously was meant to be a protective charm for the wearer, but there seems to be a second meaning hidden in this group of animals. All these animals have one thing in common: their hostility against the snake. The tactics of unicorn and stag have just been mentioned, and the crane's appetite for reptiles is a zoological fact. Of the lion, it was said that the snake was his only enemy, "for snake poison kills him," though he can crush the snake with his claws.⁵²

Therefore this group of beasts gathered around "the fountain of living water" is to be understood as another symbol of Mary, who is otherwise often represented as treading upon the head of the old serpent. It is an intriguing thought that this relation to the cult of the Virgin Mary might have been the decisive factor in the original selection of the "heraldic beasts" of Guillaume Rogier, comte de Beaufort and vicomte de Turenne.⁵³

51. White, *Bestiary*, p. 37: "A Stag is called 'Cervus' from its habit of snuffing up the Cerastes—which are horned snakes—or else from their 'horn-bearing', for horns are called 'cerata' in Greek. . . . These creatures are enemies to the serpents. . . ." Apparently the designer of the group around the fountain was not quite sure just which one of the two species of European deer—the red deer or the fallow deer—was to be credited with this ability. Therefore he drew one representative of either species, with meticulous accuracy in the different shapes of their antlers. The red deer is already drinking, while the fallow deer behind him is still waiting.

The purifying power of the unicorn's horn made it a highly prized medicine, and narwhales' tusks—thought to be unicorns' horns—were treasured possessions and worth their weight in gold because of the tremendous difficulty in obtaining the horn. "He [the unicorn] is excessively swift, with one horn in the middle of the forehead, and no hunter can catch him. But he can be trapped by the following stratagem. A virgin girl is led to where he lurks, and there she is sent off by herself into the wood. He soon leaps into her lap when he sees her, and embraces her, and hence he gets caught." White, *Bestiary*, pp. 20–21. For reason of this legend the unicorn became a symbol of chastity; during the fifteenth century it was represented in allegorical scenes as taking refuge in the lap of the Virgin in the "hortus conclusus," thus becoming another symbol of Mary.

52. White, *Bestiary*, p. 11.

53. The original name of the Beaufort family was Rosiers de Beaufort, which is reflected in their canting arms: "Argent, six roses gules, a bend azure overall." The repeatedly mentioned armorial tapestry shows not only the "heraldic beasts," but also roses charged with the arms of Beaufort and Turenne (but not Comminges!). Probably the roses of the arms and these badges

Immediately above this group there is to be seen the by far most peculiar representation within the entire iconographical program: putti performing a morris dance! A nude girl in the center is holding prizes for the dancers in her hands: a ring and an apple. The dancers, who are hopping merrily around her to the music of a fife and a drum, the typical instruments used in this dance, have bells harnessed to their wrists and ankles and represent the stock characters of the morris dance: the fool, the sword dancer, the comic old man, and the blackamoor.⁵⁴ As the name and the presence of the blackamoor indicate, the morris dance is of Hispano-Mauresque origin (Figures 12, 68).

Though the morris dance was extremely popular throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there are not many more than a dozen illustrations of it in contemporaneous art. Most of these representations are of German or Netherlandish origin. As a decoration on a suit of armor this motif has only one parallel.⁵⁵ It would be a rather frivolous feature, quite out of style,

were considered to be connected with the *rosa mystica*, a symbol of the Virgin Mary, and therefore other symbols of Mary were chosen as "heraldic beasts." The reason why the fifth "heraldic beast" of the Turennes, the elephant, whose enmity against the snake is mentioned in note 47, is missing from the group around the fountain might be that he was not considered to be a "wild" animal since he bore a castle on his back. However, it might have been for this "tower"—"la Tour"—that he was placed in an even more conspicuous spot on the outer breastplate.

54. The blackamoor is characterized by his club and "savage" feather headdress, the old man by crutches, warm cap, and false beard, the fool by his foolscap and bauble, and the sword dancer by his falchion and a buckler. The headband of the last named is reminiscent of a turban, hinting at the exotic origin of the dance. It is interesting that the typically English element of the hobbyhorse is absent, while the musicians are a fifer and a drummer in the style of the Swiss-German military bands of the period. Most non-German representations of morris dances have a single musician playing a recorder and simultaneously beating a small drum suspended from his left arm.

55. On the cheekpieces of the helmet A328 in the Waffensammlung, Vienna, which belonged to Charles de Bourbon, connétable of France (1489–1527), there appear two etched scenes of nude youths with bells attached to their wrists and ankles, and dancing to the accompaniment of a drum and a bagpipe, though no girl is present. The style of the rather mediocre etching is Italian, c. 1510. Interestingly enough, there are four deeds of Hercules—the slaying of the Nemean lion, the killing of the Hydra, the capture of the Cerynean hind, and the abduction of Deianira by Nessus—distributed in the decoration of the helmet (see also note 62). Philipp Maria Halm, *Erasmus Grasser, Studien zur Süddeutschen Plastik* (Augsburg, 1928) mentions in its Appendix II, "Der Morisken-



FIGURE 68
Morris dance, detail of rubbing from the breastplate

if not a faux pas, on armor made for an old warrior such as Genouilhac, who was sixty-two in 1527, but it would be appropriate for a younger man of barely thirty years, on a *galante* mission, as was the case with the vicomte de Turenne. Since the girl displays a ring, the token of betrothal, in addition to the traditional apple, she emphasizes the special occasion, the proposal of marriage to Princess Mary.⁵⁶ It is an exceptional feature that the maiden is nude, and, of course, a naked woman with an apple in her hand immediately suggests the arch-mother, Eve. In contrast to the “old Eve,” who succumbed to the guile of the snake, she is the “new Eve,” the Virgin Mary, who destroyed the might of the “old serpent.” Another elaborate allusion to the name of the princess and Turenne’s mission might well be the actual linking of the maiden with the heraldic animals at the “fountain of living water”—a symbol for Mary—by means of a chain that stretches between the pedestal, on top of which the maiden is standing, and the centerpiece of the fountain.

The decisive factor in the selection of this extraordinary morris-dance motif, apart from the admittedly rather sophistic solution presented above, seems to have been a flattering personal experience of the vicomte de Turenne during his stay in England. Edward Hall in his chronicle gives a detailed account of the ambassador’s visit, devoting nearly three pages to the great banquet held at Greenwich “Sondaye the fifthe daye of Maye” 1527 as a farewell party “for the more enter-

teinyng of the French ambassadors.” Here, after a “solēpne Iustes . . . notwythstandyng that yt rained apace,” the entertainment was continued in the great banquet hall with pageants and “maskedaunces.”

Then sodenly the Kyng and the viscount of Tourayne were conueighed out of the place into a chambre thereby, & there quicklie they .ii. and six other in maskyng apparel of cloth of gold and purple tinsell sattin, greate, lōg, & large, after the Venecians fashiō & ouer .viii. noble personages entred and daunsed long with the ladies, and when they had daunsed there fill, then the quene plucked off the Kynges visar, so did the Ladies the visars of the other Lordes, then all were knowē: thē the Kyng gaue to the viscōnt of Torayn, the maskyng apparel that the kyng hym self ware. . . .⁵⁷

The pageant accompanying the banquet at Greenwich included a foot combat between six knights, and it is interesting to realize that the morris-dance motif is represented on the particular breastplate that would have been used in a foot combat.

This signal honor of the gift of the king’s own costume by the king’s own hands suggests that Henry VIII and the vicomte de Turenne must have been of about the same build; this makes it even more understandable that our armor sometimes has been thought to be one of Henry’s own harnesses.

Several other scenes in the decoration can be interpreted as love symbols too. On the tassets (Figures 25, 26) the group of Mars, Venus, and Cupid needs no

tanz,” the following representations in connection with the famous figures in the Old City Hall at Munich: two engravings by Israhel van Meckenem (G. 383 and G. 465) of c. 1480; a drawing attributed to Hans von Kulmbach (c. 1510) in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden; a woodcut by Hans Leinberger (Lossnitzer 30) of 1520; a drawing by Erhard Schön (1542) in the Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Sammlung at Donaueschingen; the carved frame of a chess-board (fifteenth century) in the Museo Nazionale, Florence; the reliefs of the Goldene Dachl (1500) at Innsbruck; four terracotta reliefs from Turin (?) in the Figdor Collection; and the lost “Merry May” stained-glass window from Bentley in Staffordshire. The last seems to have been modeled after Israhel van Meckenem’s engraving, with the addition of several specific English figures, such as the hobbyhorse. The interpretation of the fresco in the lobby of the Goldene Dachl as part of the morris dance is erroneous, and thus it cannot be used as proof for the far-reaching English influence on the morris dance on the Continent. The figure of the horse is not the English hobbyhorse, but a specific Tyrolean rendering of the classical motif of the “Bocca della verità.” See Günther Schiedlausky, “Ein Tiroler Fayence-Ofen von 1555,” *Keramos*, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Keramikfreunde*, April 1960, pp. 3–

12, ill. One example not mentioned by Halm is a woodcut border in the Cologne Bible (*Kölner Bibel*) of Heinrich Quentell, 1479, though there the musical instrument used is a bagpipe; another is a Florentine print, c. 1460–1470, called a Round Dance in the Antique Manner but undoubtedly representing a morris dance, as can be seen from the bells attached to the wrists of the naked youths prancing around a nude girl who holds aloft a jeweled ring. See Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving* (London, 1938) part I, vol. II, pl. 97 (A.II.12). Two borders from illuminated Hours of the Virgin in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.157, French, c. 1450, and M.358, Franco-Flemish, early fifteenth century, show the exaggerated dress of the dancers particularly well.

56. The prize given by the maiden in the English morris dance seems to have been a carnation; on one of the engravings by Israhel van Meckenem (G. 383) and on the Florentine print the girl holds a ring, but usually she is represented holding an apple. In a Nuremberg *Fastnachtsspiel* (shrovetide play) of the fifteenth century, with the title *Morischgentanz*, the maiden says: “Nu sagt, ir lieben nerrlein,/Als lieb euch mug der apfel sein. . . .”

57. Hall, *Triumphant Reigne*, pp. 88 ff.

further explanation, while the drunken Bacchus is probably a charming allusion to the sumptuous entertainment so faithfully recorded by Edward Hall. The pairs of putti fighting or wrestling on the arm defenses (Figure 69) and the helmet (Figures 21, 22) might well be Eros and Anteros, representants of the two aspects of love, giving and taking, or, as the change in interpretation at the beginning of the sixteenth century would have it, of worldly and spiritual love.⁵⁸ One of the classical representations of Eros and Anteros was putti watching a cockfight, which is the scene on the left side lame of the breastplate (Figure 13). The collection is etched with a large group of putti singing to the accompaniment of instruments, some of which—flutes, for instance—had a definite amorous meaning, while others—lute and harp—were symbols of love in its more idealistic, spiritual aspects.⁵⁹

The remaining motifs—the labors of Hercules—were allusions that, of course, could have been considered as flattering by anybody, but beyond this general application they seem to have a special significance in this particular case. A second, secret purpose—but probably the more important one—of the vicomte's mission was to make proposals and arrangements for an alliance between France and England against the Holy Roman Empire.⁶⁰ The slaying of the practically indestructible Hydra, whose heads regrew faster than they could be hacked off, the killing of the invulnerable Nemean lion (the lion being the armorial beast of the Habsburgs), and the struggle with Antaeus, who only grew stronger when thrown to the ground, are all signs of wishful hope to overcome an awesome foe. But the

most revealing motif is that of the planting of the pillars. This is an unmistakable hint at the ambitious personal device of Charles V, the pillars of Hercules with the motto *PLUS ULTRA*, and it is obviously meant to be a challenge to thwart the far-reaching claims of the emperor.⁶¹ But beyond this, an even more direct, personal connection with François de la Tour, vicomte de Turenne, could be present, because he could claim to be descended from Hercules himself. Among his ancestors was Mahaud, duchess of Burgundy, and the House of Burgundy insisted that its line was descended from the planter of the pillars and a noble Burgundian lady, Alise.⁶²

If it can be assumed, as a result of these interpretations, that the Genouilhac armor was made in England for François II de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne, it still has to be explained how the armor came into the possession of the family de Crussol, the later ducs d'Uzès.

Sir James Mann in his article "Identifying a Famous Armour," where he claimed this armor for the vicomte de Turenne for the first time, suggested that it might indeed have been owned by Galiot de Genouilhac, and thus the tradition of the House d'Uzès might be proven right, though the armor originally had not been made for the Grand Maître de l'Artillerie. He mentions that Galiot's sister, Jacqueline de Genouilhac, was married to Annet de Turenne, seigneur d'Aynac, and he "wonders whether the ambassador after his return to France passed on his newly acquired armor to his distinguished relative in recognition for favors received, or perhaps because it arrived from England accom-

58. Robert V. Merrill, "Eros and Anteros," *Speculum* 19 (1944) pp. 265–284. Themistius in the fourth century B.C. told the story of Eros, who was unable to grow until he had his brother Anteros as a stimulant. This story was published by Mario Equicola in his *Libro di natura d'amore* (1525). Cicero identifies Anteros with the son of Venus by Mars!

59. These allegories appear fully developed in Andrea Aciati's *Emblemata*. Though this work was published a few years after our armor was made, in 1531, it shows that these ideas were generally understood by the contemporary observer.

60. After the return to France of the vicomte de Turenne, Henry VIII asked Charles V for half of the ransom of Francis I, which was forfeited by his capture at Pavia in 1525, as a reward for England's neutrality. He threatened war in case Charles V would not agree to pay.

61. In this connection it might be mentioned that Hercules planting the pillars is a motif that was popular in the iconographical program of the decoration of the so-called Louvre School armor of Henry II of France, who too spent the greater part of his life fighting against Charles V, after having been a hostage in Spain for the parole of his father. He was released from this predicament, incidentally, through the services of the vicomte de Turenne, who apparently was a diplomat of considerable skill.

62. Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (New York, 1953) p. 25. Since the dukes of Bourbon were descended, in the maternal line, from the House of Burgundy, too, the deeds of Hercules on the helmet with the morris dance of the connétable Charles (Waffen-sammlung, Vienna, A328), if the attribution should be correct, would have the same justification. Charles de Bourbon's grandmother, incidentally, was Gabrielle de la Tour d'Auvergne, the great-aunt of François, vicomte de Turenne.



FIGURE 69
Putti fencing, rubbing
from left vambrace

panied by an unexpected bill which he was not quite prepared to meet.”⁶³

This explanation is not quite convincing, though the latter part of it would be in keeping with the sometimes rather unpleasant character of Henry.⁶⁴ Unfor-

tunately, Mann is confusing here the family de Turenne with the vicomtes de Turenne, who are only very loosely related.⁶⁵ The family de Turenne is a bastard branch descending from Raymond, comte de Beaufort and vicomte de Turenne, the son of Guillaume Rogier, who

63. Mann, “Identifying,” p. 53. The suggested picking up of the unexpected bill by Galiot de Genouilhac would have been quite possible as such. Genouilhac was extremely wealthy by means of his high offices, and even more so through two rich marriages. Though he had been taken prisoner, together with his sovereign, in the catastrophe of Pavia in 1525, he did not suffer any great financial losses. He had the good luck of being captured by a Spanish captain whom he had taken prisoner himself once during the Neapolitan War and whom he had let go free without

ransom. The grateful Spaniard was chivalrous enough to return this favor. Vaux de Foletier, *Genouillac*, p. 69.

64. Negotiations about the marriage of Princess Mary to one of the French royal princes—sometimes the duc d’Orléans, the second son, at other times the dauphin—dragged on in a very confusing way, until finally, a couple of years later, the entire project was abandoned. Therefore, it could be quite a plausible reaction on Henry’s side to try to recover at least part of his expenses.

65. This confusion has been corrected by Stephen V. Grancsay, “Genouilhac Armor,” p. 190, note 2.

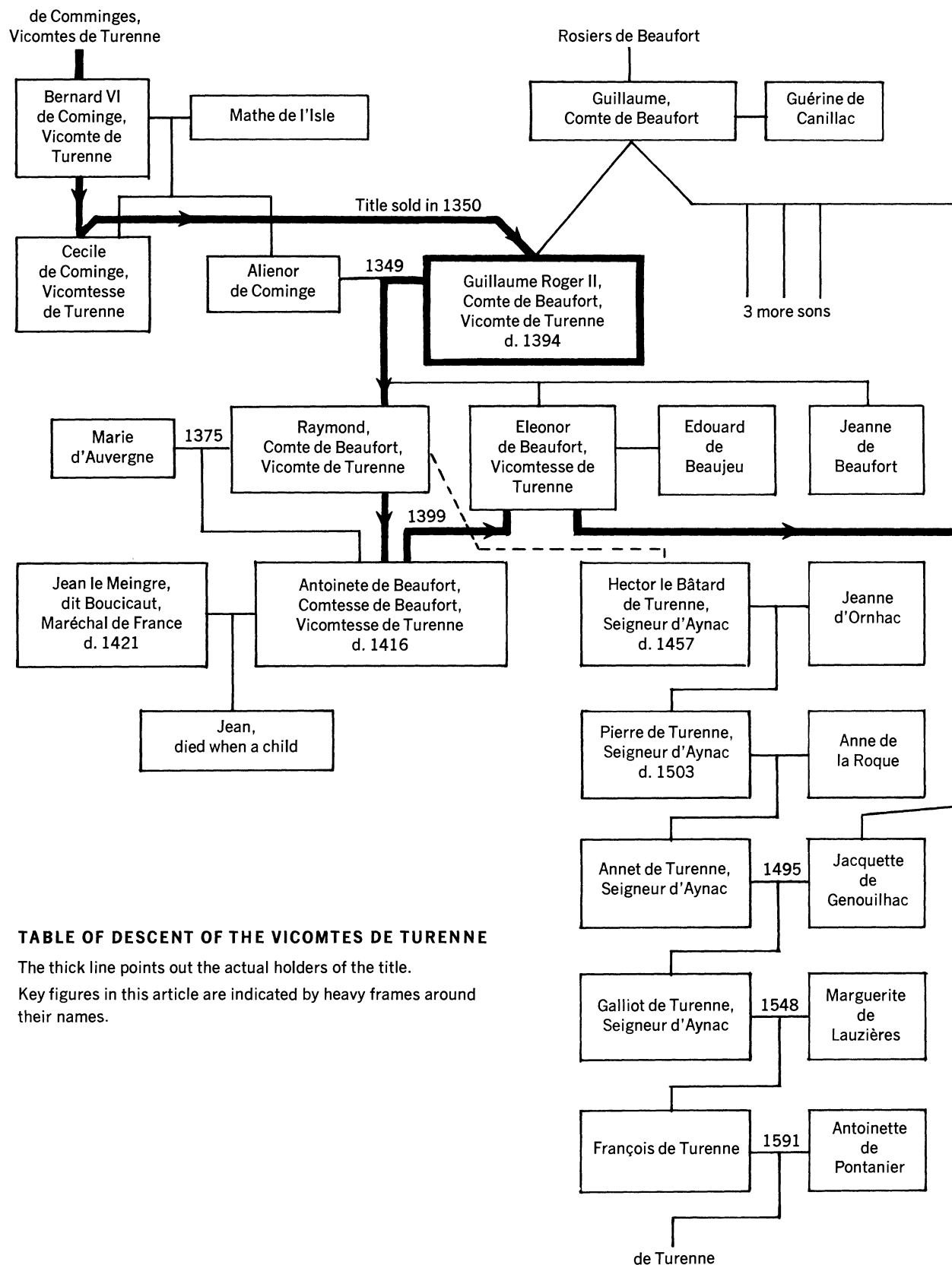
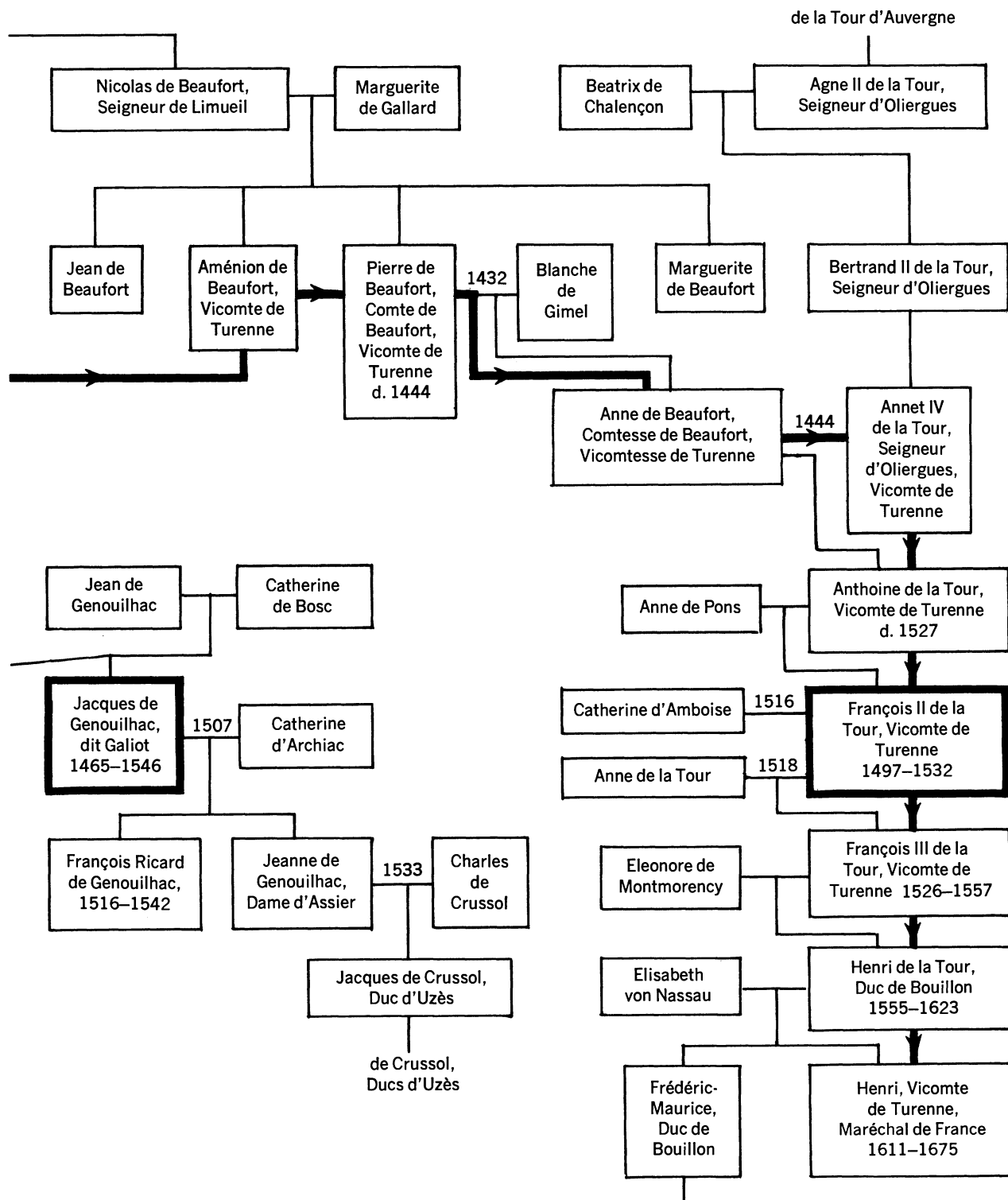


TABLE OF DESCENT OF THE VICOMTES DE TURENNE

The thick line points out the actual holders of the title.

Key figures in this article are indicated by heavy frames around their names.



had commissioned the armorial tapestries that have been such an important clue in the unravelment of the Genouilhac-Turenne problem. In the fifteenth century the title of vicomte de Turenne together with the landholdings had passed through the hands of several members of the family de Beaufort before it came to the de la Tour d'Auvergne. In order to show the complicated pattern of relationship between the persons involved, a table of descent, including the succession of the title vicomte de Turenne, is included here.⁶⁶

But, though there was no immediate relationship between François de la Tour and Galiot de Genouilhac, it is most likely that Mann was right in assuming that the armor was given to Genouilhac as a present "for favors received," because the two heroes were in otherwise close connection with each other. The vicomte de Turenne had been the liege lord of Galiot de Genouilhac for his seigneurie of Gramat, while on the other hand Galiot held the administrative key position of seneschal of Quercy, the province where the vicomté de Turenne was situated.⁶⁷ When François de la Tour died in 1532,

just five years after he was presented with the armor from England, Galiot came to his funeral, and perhaps the family de la Tour saw an opportunity to make sure of the good will of one of the mightiest men in the realm.⁶⁸ The golden armor that certainly was known to Galiot would have been especially suitable for this occasion and purpose, displaying among its lavish decorations the labors of Hercules, a motif that was particularly dear to Galiot de Genouilhac.⁶⁹

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66. The table of descent is based upon: Justel, *Histoire . . . d'Auvergne*; Justel, *Histoire . . . de Turenne*; Henri Jouglas de Morena, *Grand Armorial de France*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1834-1852); Vaux de Foletier, *Galiot de Genouillac*.

67. Guillaume Lacoste, *Histoire Générale de la Province de Quercy* (Cahors, 1886) p. 63.

68. Since François II died when his son François III was only six years of age, his brother Gilles de la Tour, seigneur de Limueil, was considered the oldest male member of the family, and thus presumably had an important voice in business matters concerning the family. It might be significant that he had his eldest son baptized Galiot. Justel, *Histoire . . . d'Auvergne*, p. 196. *Galiot* is a surname derived from the name of an Arthurian knight, Sir Galahault, otherwise "Galehot" or "Galeotto," who was the friend of Sir Lancelot du Lac. Galahault was said to have been the son

of the "Fair Giantesse," and therefore of powerful stature himself. Galiot de Genouilhac lived up to the expectations of his surname during the battle of Pavia when, in a Herculean feat, he overturned a field cannon in his just wrath over the fatal order by the king to stop his effective cannonade of the advancing imperial pikemen.

69. An additional iconographical point in the decoration of the armor that might have pleased Genouilhac would have been the motif of the merknicht and the mermaid that could have been interpreted—admittedly rather forcedly—as a Knight of the Lake and the Lady of the Lake. Furthermore, since elephants are, among other things, symbols of magnanimity (because this largest of animals does not prey upon others, but is content with feeding on leaves and grass), this would be flattering as a reinterpretation in regard to Genouilhac's dealings with the Spanish captain.

Whistler in America: An Album of Early Drawings

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THE ALBUM of early sketches by James Whistler recently acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art forms the largest known group of independent drawings executed by him before he left for Paris in early September of 1855. It was originally owned by Thomas Winans of Baltimore and remained in the possession of his descendants until it was presented to the Museum. This assembled album contains sixty-one sketches, including the earliest surviving drawing by Whistler and several works from Pomfret and West Point, with the majority dating from the period after his dismissal from the military academy in June of 1854. The album also includes seven fragments from the Coast Survey Plate No. 1 and twelve of the thirteen impressions from Whistler's first set of etchings, entitled *Douze Eaux*

Fortes d'après Nature, or otherwise known as the "French" set, which were attached at a later date.¹ This group of works, published here for the first time, affords an excellent opportunity for reassessing Whistler's life and career in America.² The drawings provide a fresh perspective on his youthful oeuvre as a whole and reveal much new information about his early style and his sources.³

Whistler was born on July 10, 1834, in Lowell, Massachusetts, the son of George Washington Whistler, an 1819 graduate of West Point, and Anna McNeill, his second wife. In the summer of 1842 Major Whistler accepted an appointment as consulting engineer of the Russian railroad to be built between St. Petersburg and Moscow. He departed for Russia, leaving his family in

1. A brief descriptive note on the album and journal is contained in Appendix A, at the end of the text. A complete catalogue of the individual sketches and etchings has been placed on file in the Department of American Paintings and Sculpture and in the main catalogue at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

2. Aside from the numerous reminiscences published in the decade following Whistler's death in 1903, little has been written about the artist's early career in America since the Pennells's *Life of Whistler*, which, while enormously helpful, did not discuss at any length the problem of his early style. The only other study is

an article by John Sandberg, "Whistler's Early Work in America 1834-1855," *Art Quarterly* 29 (1966) pp. 46-59. It follows the Pennell text fairly closely, and except for the addition of information from letters in the Birnie-Philip Collection, University of Glasgow, and an interesting concluding discussion on the reasons why Whistler chose to study in Paris, contributes little new to Whistler studies.

3. A list of all the known works executed by Whistler before he left for Paris is included in Appendix B.

4

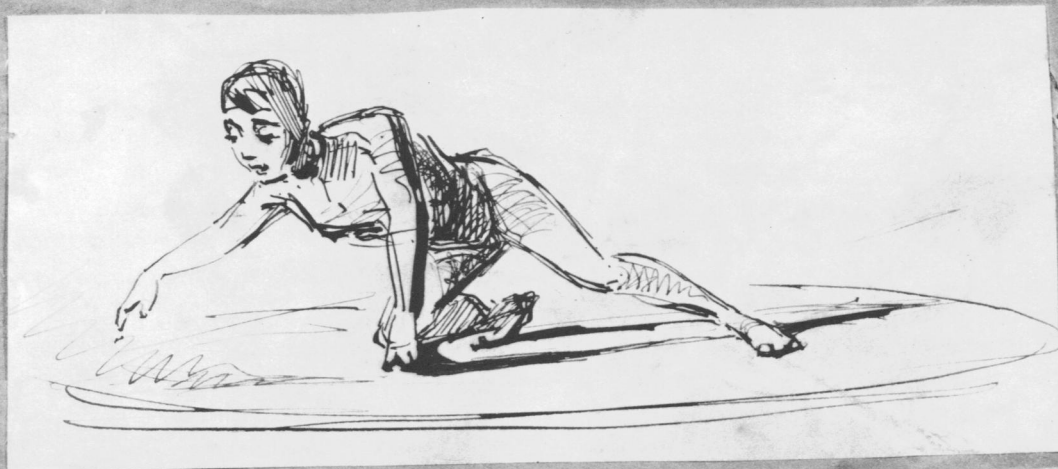
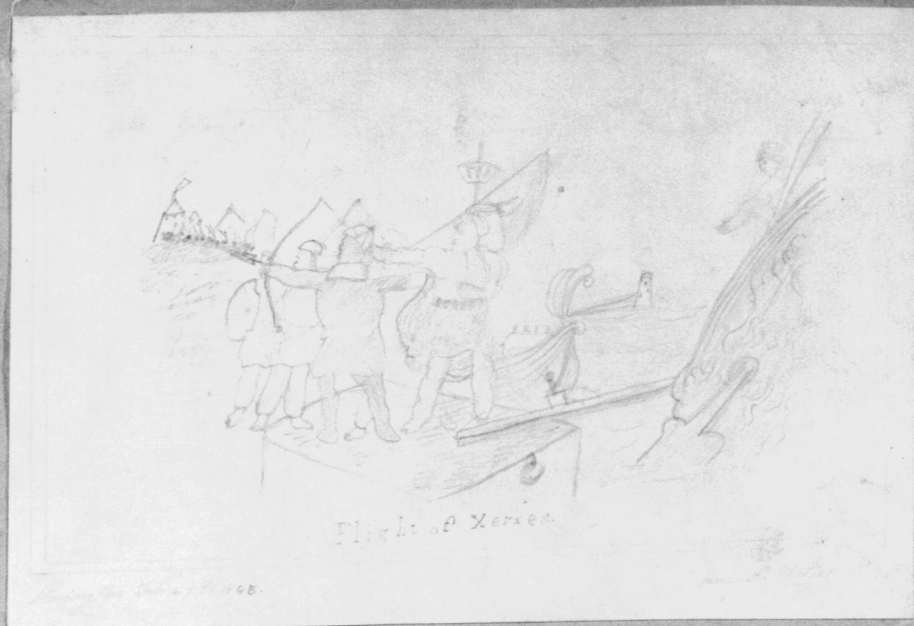


FIGURE 1

Flight of Xerxes, pencil; Gladiator, pen and ink; Man with Cigar, pen and ink; Man and Woman at Table, pen and ink; fragments from Coast Survey Plate No. 1, etching. Album page 4, by James McNeill Whistler. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Margaret C. Buell, Helen L. King, and Sybil A. Walk, 1970.121.10–15

Stonington, Connecticut, with his brother-in-law, Dr. George F. Palmer.⁴ The earliest known sketch by Whistler dates from this period and is in the Museum album (Figure 1, top).⁵ It was copied possibly from a reproduction in a school book or a work in his uncle's library and is carefully enclosed in a penciled frame. Although proudly signed "James A. Whistler" and dated "Stonington Feb. 27th 1843," this awkward and childish drawing entitled *Flight of Xerxes* suggests no precocity or particular promise.

The family joined Major Whistler in St. Petersburg in the late summer of 1843. It was here that Whistler was to receive his initial formal training as an artist, and where, for the first time, he was able to view at the Imperial galleries and palaces and the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts major collections of painting, drawing, and sculpture.⁶ There survives from his first year in Russia

a pencil sketch of his aunt Alicia, the half sister of his mother, who had come to visit the family in St. Petersburg in July of 1844.⁷ Although done in the tentative manner of a child with unsure lines and a limited grasp of volumetric form, it effectively and not unaffectionately captures the spirit of an old maiden aunt.

Whistler was entered into the drawing class at the Imperial Academy in April 1845, under the instruction of Alexander Ossipovich Karitsky.⁸ A pen-and-ink sketch of a fallen gladiator or warrior in the Metropolitan's album (Figure 1, center) is closely related to two small drawings in a Russian sketchbook, c. 1846–1848, that were probably drawn from plaster casts of classical works, a great number of which existed at the academy.⁹ The Museum sketch with its more fluid and delicate drawing was probably executed in Pomfret c. 1850–1851 or later and was perhaps copied from an earlier St. Petersburg work.

Whistler and his family spent the summer of 1847 in England, during which time his half sister Deborah married Francis Seymour Haden, a highly successful surgeon who was later to become a distinguished etcher.¹⁰ The family returned to England the following summer, and it was decided that for reasons of his health James should remain in London with the Hadens. The young and impressionable Whistler was

4. Dr. Palmer's wife, Kate, was Mrs. Whistler's sister. Their relationship was a close one, and it was to Kate that Anna addressed the lengthy diary that she kept during the Russian years. This diary is now in the Manuscript Division of The New York Public Library.

5. The Pennells illustrate a sketch of a duck that Whistler was supposed to have done at the age of four and mention seeing other pencil drawings done at this same time. All of these were owned by a Mrs. Livermore, but their present whereabouts is unknown and the dating cannot be verified. Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 10.

6. Some of the places mentioned in Mrs. Whistler's diary that the family visited are the Winter Palace, the Catherine Palace, the New Palace, and the gardens at Peterhoff. She also mentions in her diary for May 2, 1846, having seen on several occasions the *Triennial Exhibition* of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts "because we like the boys to become familiar with the subjects of the Modern Artists." A. J. Bloor, "Whistler's Boyhood," *The Critic* 43 (1903) p. 253. On his way to England in the summer of 1847 Whistler visited Mr. Fluke's gallery in Lübeck, Germany. Letter to Major Whistler from James dated June 21, 1847, in the University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Collection, B.P. II Res. 1/4. This collection will hereafter be referred to as B.P. II.

7. Reproduced in A. J. Bloor, "The Beginnings of James McNeill Whistler," *The Critic* 48 (1906) p. 132. See Appendix B, no. 2.

8. Kate R. McDiarmid, "Whistler's Mother, Her Life, Letters and Journals" (manuscript in the collection of the University of Glasgow, 1936) p. 160.

9. These two drawings are located on pp. 58 and 59 of the Russian sketchbook presented to the University of Glasgow as part of the Joseph Revillon Bequest in 1955. The sketchbook contains sixty-eight pages of drawings, almost all of which are by Whistler. See Appendix B, no. 6. In a letter to Elsie Celeste Hutton dated October 30, 1950, Revillon mentions a pencil sketch of a girl's head that he said was obviously copied from a plaster cast done at "an art school in Russia" and had Whistler's name written in Russian characters over his signature. The drawing was formerly owned by Miss Hutton, but its present whereabouts is not known. A Xerox copy of this letter is in the archives of the American Paintings Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Joseph Revillon was the grandson of George W. Whistler, the artist's half brother.

10. Although Haden had executed several etchings during a trip to Italy in 1843–1844, it wasn't until the late 1850s, in part stimulated by his deep interest in Rembrandt and by Whistler's successful early attempts in the medium, that he seriously devoted himself to the arts.



FIGURE 2

The Margrave, the Prince[ss?] and the Hermit,
by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.36

greatly influenced by his talented and self-assured brother-in-law, who took him to various museums and galleries. Haden also probably accompanied Whistler when he attended Charles R. Leslie's lectures on the history of British painting at the Royal Academy.¹¹ Whistler later acknowledged their continued friendship by dedicating his first set of etchings "A mon viel ami Seymour Haden."¹² He was also befriended by the artist Sir William Boxall, who had been commissioned by Major Whistler in 1847 to paint a portrait of James.¹³ Judging from Whistler's letters, his resolve to be an artist dates from this period.¹⁴ While in England, he saw, probably for the first time, *Punch* and *The Illustrated London News* with their designs in the caricatural mode of Cruikshank and Hablot K. Browne (Phiz),¹⁵ a style that was subsequently to have some influence on his early work. Although numerous drawings are mentioned in his letters, only one known sketch, Annie, survives from this period.¹⁶

Mrs. Whistler returned to America with her two sons in August 1849 to settle in Pomfret, Connecticut, after the untimely death of her husband in May. Only one work in the Museum album, a delicate and expertly drawn map of the Western Hemisphere, dated 1851

(acc. no. 1970.121.62), can be definitely assigned to the Pomfret years, 1849–1851. Whistler apparently excelled at making maps in geography class, and one other to survive, now in the Library of Congress, is of the northeastern states with West Point clearly indicated.¹⁷ A second drawing in the album, set in a monastery and tentatively identified by the verso inscription as *The Margrave, the Prince[ss?]* and the Hermit (Figure 2), probably also dates from Pomfret. The figure at the left with downcast eyes and feathered cap is identical to a brooding youth standing in the interior of a Gothic church in another sketch executed at this time.¹⁸

11. One of the collections Whistler saw was that of The Vernon Gallery in London. Leslie's lectures included discussions on Reynolds, Stothard, Bewick's woodcuts, West, and Hogarth's prints. Letter to his mother dated March 17–20, 1849, B.P. II Res. 1/52.

12. After the French set was first printed in Paris in November 1858, Whistler went to London and lived with the Haden during the winter of 1858–1859 before taking a studio on Newman Street the following spring. While Haden was extremely generous to his brother-in-law, they were both arrogant personalities, and during Whistler's first several years in London an antagonism grew between them. This seems to have been based in great part on Haden's deep disapproval of Whistler's long liaison with Jo Heffernan, and even after Jo had left the artist's home, he would not allow his wife, Deborah, to dine where Jo had once lived. In the spring of 1867, while in Paris, Whistler pushed Haden through a plate-glass shop window. Not surprisingly, Haden never spoke to him again.

13. Boxall took Whistler to Hampton Court to see the Raphael cartoons and gave him a copy of Mrs. Jameson's *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters and the Progress of Painting in Italy*. B.P. II Res. 1/52. Boxall's painting of Whistler was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1849 and is now in the collection of the University of Glasgow.

14. Letter to his father dated January 26, 1849, B.P. II Res. 1/46. Although his parents sent him drawing instruments and paints and praised his sketches, they were not enthusiastic about his early choice of profession. His father wrote that a taste in the fine arts should be encouraged as long as it wasn't too poetical, and his mother's response to his choice was that he should follow his father and become an architect or engineer and save his drawing for hours of leisure. Letters dated Thursday 22, 1849, and March 16, 1849, B.P. II Res. 1/44 and 1/51 respectively.

15. See letters to the artist from his mother dated August 23, 1849, November 9, 1851, and December 15, 1852, B.P. II Res. 1/56, 1/71, and 1/87.

16. For a discussion of this drawing see Appendix B, no. 8. Annie was the first child of Deborah and Seymour Haden.

17. Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 28; Library of Congress, acc. no. 360106; see Appendix B, no. 10.

18. This is one of the seven drawings that, as of 1924, were in the possession of the widow of Rev. E. L. Hyde, who was a fellow student of Whistler's at the Christ Church Hall School in Pomfret. A photostatic copy of the drawings in the size of the originals was enclosed in a letter to Joseph Pennell dated August 26, 1924, from

Although this period is poorly represented in the Museum album, there fortunately still survives a group of twenty-seven drawings that Whistler gave to Samuel Hammond, a younger classmate of his at the Christ Church Hall School in Pomfret.¹⁹ These diversified and versatile drawings indicate the artist's familiarity with nineteenth-century book illustrations and prepare one for the more accomplished works of a few years later in the Museum album. They include amusing caricatures, such as the soldier being shot out of a cannon, and a group of pen-and-ink illustrations after books Whistler was reading, among which are the sketches entitled *Old Casper Southey*, *Counsel of War*, and *Mr. Frampton Uses His Umbrella!!* (Figure 3) and one inscribed with lines from the play *The Lost Lord*. In addition, there are several delicate watercolors also depicting literary subjects and a few elegant pen-and-ink designs, all executed in a sentimental and brooding romantic style, quite distinct from the humorous or descriptive character of the other designs.

The Pomfret sketches as a whole are problematic as to subject and specific stylistic sources, in part because of Whistler's independent method of drawing even at this early age. Two of the sketches depict Mr. Frampton, the old, fat, "umphing" gentleman-companion of Frank Fairlegh in the novel by the same name, published in 1850 in London with thirty illustrations engraved on steel by George Cruikshank. We know from

his mother's letters that Whistler possessed a copy of the book, which he later gave to a Mrs. Gellibrand.²⁰ One sketch simply depicts Mr. Frampton; the other illustrates an episode in the novel in which Fairlegh comes to the rescue of Mr. Frampton, who, pummeling one of his attackers with his umbrella, is unaware of the second ruffian about to hit him with a wooden club.²¹ Cruikshank quite literally depicts the scene where Fairlegh has subdued the second assailant with the stick, only to find Mr. Frampton being robbed by his first attacker.²² Although he may have been stimulated by Cruikshank's choice of episode, Whistler in no way follows his illustration and, in fact, does not even accurately follow the text, confusing Mr. Frampton's two attackers. The only resemblance to the Cruikshank engraving is in the stump of the tree. This imaginative independence continued in Whistler's later illustrations to Dickens and W. H. Ainsworth, whose work in almost every edition contained engravings by Cruikshank or Phiz to which he could have referred.

The descriptive style of drawing in the group of pen-and-ink illustrations that includes the Frampton sketches is difficult to isolate. Perhaps the closest affinity is with Felix Darley's designs for Washington Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York* and *Tales of a Traveller*,²³ although it also suggests an appreciation of French illustrations, in particular the style of Tony Johannot. Most important for the future, the Pomfret

FIGURE 3

Mr. Frampton Uses His Umbrella!!, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. Mason Hammond, Cambridge, Massachusetts



Mary E. Hyde, Mrs. Hyde's niece. Also mentioned in the letter were two watercolors, one of a priest, owned by Miss Hyde, and one of a small head, owned by her sister. Library of Congress, Pennell-Whistler Collection, Box 231. The present whereabouts of these drawings is not known. See Appendix B, no. 11.

19. These drawings are now in the possession of his grandson, Mason Hammond. They were apparently found in an envelope after Samuel Hammond's death, c. 1896, and were framed by his son, also named Samuel Hammond, who exhibited them for the first time at *The Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Mr. J. McNeill Whistler*, held at the Copley Society, Boston, in 1904, no. 170. Five of the sketches mentioned below are illustrated in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 28, while the remainder of the drawings have never before been reproduced or discussed. See Appendix B, nos. 13–39.

20. Letter from Mrs. Whistler to James dated August 6, 1851, B.P. II Res. 1/64.

21. Frank E. Smedley, *Frank Fairlegh or Scenes from the Life of a Private Pupil* (London, 1850) pp. 241–242.

22. Smedley, *Fairlegh*, illustrated opposite p. 242.

23. Both of these novels were written under pseudonyms: Geoffrey Crayon, Gent., *Tales of a Traveller* (New York, 1850) and Diedrich Knickerbocker, *A History of New York* (New York, 1850).

drawings demonstrate that by 1851 Whistler had already looked at engravings after the French artist Gavarni, for there exists a tiny sketch of a figure taken directly from his series *Les Débardeurs*.²⁴

Admitted to West Point on July 1, 1851, Whistler entered the academy, following the precedent of his father and half brother George. He was by temperament unfit for the regimentation of military life, and the long list of 218 demerits from January to June 1854, which hastened his dismissal, testifies to his indifference to the disciplinary code.²⁵ The stories of his escapades, pranks, and drinking binges are legendary, and years later he was still remembered for his gaiety, charm, and devilish wit.²⁶ Throughout this period he continued to draw prolifically. There are humorous and satirical scenes from cadet life, for example, *One of the Board* and *The Admiration of the Furloughmen*,²⁷ and spirited illustrations to the novels and plays that he was reading, including works by Victor Hugo, Thackeray, Dickens, Dumas, and Sir Walter Scott.²⁸ One of his more mannered compositions is the cover design for the sheet music of the *Song of the Graduate*, 1852, and there is also a vignette of an encampment drawn on wood and engraved with a penknife that served as a decoration for an 1852 West Point dance card.²⁹

Whistler also made drawings after genre and religious prints, such as *Milkmaids*, *A Man Dispensing*

24. This sketch was also among the seven owned by Mrs. E. L. Hyde as of 1924. Gavarni was to prove most influential in determining Whistler's early style of drawing in the years immediately following his departure from West Point. A further discussion on *Les Débardeurs* and Gavarni follows on pp. 139–144 below.

25. Whistler's demerits were almost always for minor offenses such as being late for roll call and meals, shoes not blackened, inattention, coat out of order in the drawing academy, and long hair. A list of his demerits is on file at the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.

26. For a more detailed discussion of Whistler's life at West Point see Pennell, *Life*, I, pp. 30–38, and II, pp. 305–313. His behavior obviously caused his mother great embarrassment, and after a trip to Baltimore in May 1854 she admonishingly wrote him that his revelry and popularity at the academy had been won at the expense of the good opinion of their friends. Letter dated May 29, 1854, B.P. II Res. 1/99.

27. Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 116. See Appendix B, nos. 52, 49.

28. Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 36, and II, pp. 307–308, 312.

29. Reproduced in Sandberg, "Whistler's Early Work," p. 50, fig. 4; the vignette for the dance card is reproduced and discussed in Ida Clifton Hinshaw, "Whistler's First Drawings," *The Century Magazine* 79 (1910) pp. 740–741. See Appendix B, nos. 45, 46.



FIGURE 4
Two Lovers and an Old Woman, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

FIGURE 5
Albanian, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. Mason Hammond, Cambridge, Massachusetts



Alms, and Seated Monk;³⁰ the prints were provided as standard objects of study in the drawing classes of Robert W. Weir, an instructor and later professor in drawing at West Point from 1834 to 1876.³¹ During his three years at the academy, Whistler remained at the head of his class in drawing, and there is every reason to assume that Weir was aware of his pupil's obvious abilities. It seems that Weir allowed him to visit his studio, containing numerous paintings and an important collection of drawings and engravings, and also gave him occasional access to his extensive library.³² A drawing in the Museum album, Christ and Two Disciples on the Road to Emmaus (acc. no. 1970.121.41), may have been inspired by this experience.³³

Because of Whistler's eclectic manner of working, the drawings executed at West Point are difficult to date precisely, although some sense of a development in style can be discerned. The four frames of On Post in Camp and a companion work, Asleep on the Post, would seem to date from the beginning half of his first year at the academy.³⁴ The drawing is tentative and crude and the whole conception of body structure awkward and poorly understood. The five small sketches in the souvenir album of Archie Gracie, now in the Freer Gallery, probably date from the end of the first year, c. June 1852.³⁵ The precise and narrative style of drawing, while more advanced than that of the Pomfret sketches, still reflects the same illustrator's use of numerous fine lines and close cross-hatching. The deli-

cate and sweet faces of the young woman and man in Two Lovers and an Old Woman (Figure 4) are drawn in a sentimental style similar to that of the Albanian (Figure 5) or the boy and girl in the sailboat of the Hammond sketches.

Within a short period of time, Whistler's style began to evolve, leading to more forceful and playfully satiric caricatures, such as Merit It's [*sic*] Own Reward and Position of a Soldier: Annihilation of the Bowels,³⁶ which probably date from the late summer of 1852, and more animated illustrations drawn with quick exaggerated strokes, such as Sam Weller and Mary Fold a Carpet and The Valentine from Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*.³⁷ During the last half of this year, Whistler was experimenting with a whole range of styles, moving at will from the illustrative mode of the Dickens drawings to the elegant and graceful sketch in the Museum album of Dress Parade (Figure 6), or from the impulsive contours of Sketches of Russian Soldiers³⁸ to the play with light values in the manner of old-master drawing seen in three of the sketches in the Beaverbrook Art Gallery (Figure 7).³⁹ These three drawings can be dated to the summer of 1852 as they belonged to the daughter of a West Point chemistry professor, Maria "Kitty" Bailey, who was killed in a ship disaster in late July of that year. Two of the sketches set in a gloomy dungeon interior combine the sentiment of the Gothic horror romance with a competent mastering of a Rembrandtesque use of deep black shadows and blazing light to define dra-

30. Milkmaids and A Man Dispensing Alms are reproduced in Sandberg, "Whistler's Early Work," p. 50, fig. 3, and p. 49, fig. 2. Seated Monk is reproduced as Monk Reading in Frank M. Bristol, "The Earliest Portrait of Whistler," *The Critic* 44 (1904) p. 232. These works are discussed in a letter from Colonel Larned, Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 32. See Appendix B, nos. 61–63.

31. Pennell, *Life*, I, pp. 31–32. For Weir's "Outline of Instruction in Drawing 1839" see Irene Weir, *Robert W. Weir, Artist* (New York, 1947) pp. 66–67.

32. John Ross Key notes that he remembered hearing at the time that Weir had declared that "Whistler with only the most ordinary industry would make a name as an artist." John Ross Key, "Recollections of Whistler while in the Office of the United States Coast Survey," *The Century Magazine* 75 (1908) p. 928. In a letter to James dated July 29–31, 1854, his mother asked him if he had accepted Weir's invitation to visit his studio. B.P. II Res. 1/101. For a description of Professor Weir's studio see Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven, 1960) pp. 5–6. An abbreviated list of the contents of Weir's collection at the time of his death is in Weir, *Robert W. Weir*, pp. 117–118.

33. A West Point dating of this drawing would seem to be con-

firmed by a related pen-and-ink sketch of Christ and two figures on the verso of the Museum sketch acc. no. 1970.121.16, there being two sketches of cadets on the same sheet.

34. Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 120 and opposite p. 36, respectively. See Appendix B, nos. 43, 44.

35. Archie Gracie was a classmate of the artist's at West Point. The sketches are scattered throughout the souvenir album, which opens with the Graduation Song of 1852. Another drawing in the album, Group of Figures at West Point, has been attributed to Whistler. It is done in a more advanced style than the other sketches, and, if by him, was added at a later date. See Appendix B, no. 47.

36. Reproduced in Gustave Kobbe, "Whistler at West Point," *Chapbook* 8 (1898) pp. 441, 440. See Appendix B, nos. 50, 48.

37. Reproduced in Hinshaw, "Whistler's First Drawings," pp. 738, 737. See Appendix B, nos. 58, 57.

38. Reproduced in Hinshaw, "Whistler's First Drawings," p. 741. See Appendix B, no. 60.

39. Reproduced in Susan Clayton, "Kitty's Whistlers in the Beaverbrook Collection," *Atlantic Advocate* 50 (1959) pp. 40, 41, 45. See Appendix B, nos. 64–67.

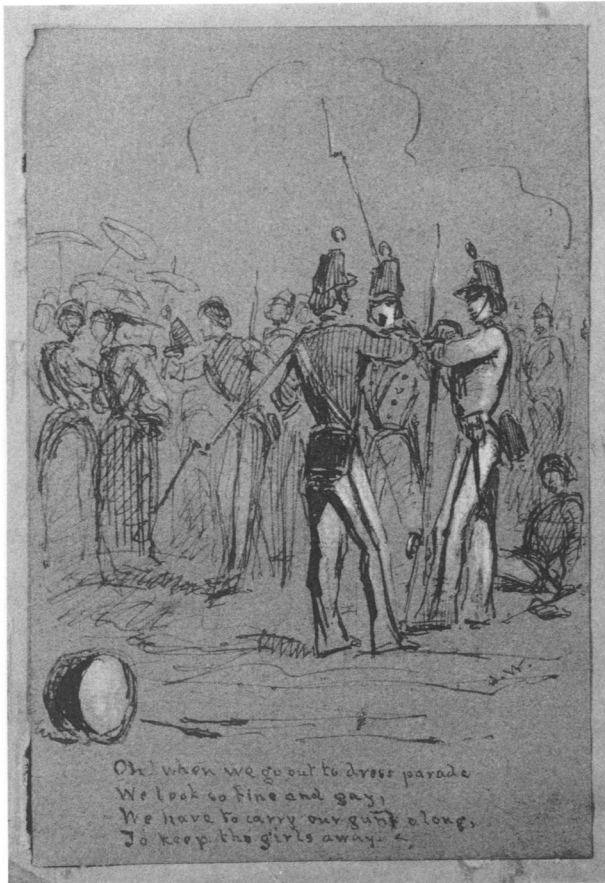


FIGURE 6

Dress Parade, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil, Chinese white. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.18

FIGURE 7

Prison Scene with an Old Man, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. Collection of the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada



matically form and space. A pencil drawing in the Museum album, *Oil Night* (Figure 8),⁴⁰ inscribed "West Point, Nov. 1852," displays a sketchy handling of the human form through a generalized, abstract shading and broken silhouettes, while a small pen-and-ink sketch, *The Guard Tents* (acc. no. 1970.121.68), reveals an economy of means that hints at Whistler's mature style. A third work in the album, of a *Girl with Parasol and Cadet* (Figure 9), can be dated among the latest of the West Point sketches, c. 1854, and more closely resembles in style the ensuing works executed in Baltimore.

After his dismissal from the academy on June 16, 1854, Whistler made every endeavor to be reinstated. He wrote to Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war, from Washington on July 1 petitioning to be reexamined by the Academic Board at West Point, but his petition was refused and all other efforts failed.⁴¹ During the summer, Whistler traveled frequently, visiting Stonington, New York, Baltimore, and Washington, but in

September he appears to have settled down in Baltimore and been fairly well ensconced in the luxurious home of Thomas Winans.⁴² His half brother George, who had married Winans's sister in June, lived directly across the street, and his younger brother Willie was employed at the Winans Locomotive Works, where

40. There is another sketch of a drinking scene, entitled *Christmas Comes but Once a Year*, reproduced in T. Wilson, "Whistler at West Point," *The Book Buyer* 17 (1898) p. 113. See Appendix B, no. 54.

41. A holograph copy of Whistler's petition, which includes the comments of Jefferson Davis and Brevet-Colonel Robert E. Lee, Commandant of the Academy, is in the Birnie-Philip Collection, University of Glasgow.

42. According to entries in the George A. Lucas diaries at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland, dated June 29, 1854, and July 25, 1854, which were seen with the kind permission of Lilian M. C. Randall, Whistler was in New York City on these dates. A letter from his mother to one of his admirers dated September 2, 1854, mentions that he had been in Stonington and had left two weeks earlier on a second trip to Washington. His mother had apparently opened his mail and was trying to discourage the young lady's interest. B.P. II Res. 1/102.

George was a partner. His mother moved to Baltimore by the end of October, shortly before Whistler left for Washington on November 6 to work in the Coast Survey Office, after Winans and George had attempted without success to interest him in working with them.⁴³

It was during this period that Thomas Winans, the first owner of the Metropolitan Museum's album of sketches, assumed an active supportive role assisting the then somewhat confused and restless artist. Although scarcely mentioned in the literature on Whistler, the Winans association with the artist's family was, in fact, a fairly close one and extended over a considerable period of time. It had been on Major Whistler's recommendation that the Winanses were first called to Russia to build the locomotives and rolling stock for the railroad to be constructed between Moscow and St. Petersburg. Thomas Winans had been sent in place of his father and remained in Russia for some eight years, marrying there Celeste Revillon, of Russian-

FIGURE 8

Oil Night, by James McNeill Whistler. Pencil, charcoal. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.35



Italian descent.⁴⁴ Returning to Baltimore in the early 1850s with a personal fortune estimated at two million dollars, Winans built a magnificent mansion, which he named Alexandroffsky after the Russian town where he had lived.⁴⁵

The American community in St. Petersburg and Alexandroffsky tended to remain close and insular, and the Winanses' friendship with Whistler's mother, established there, continued in the United States.⁴⁶ Anna was a guest at Alexandroffsky Villa in May 1853 and

FIGURE 9

Girl with Parasol and Cadet, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.39



43. Contrary to what has been previously surmised, there is little evidence to suggest that Whistler was ever actually employed at the locomotive works. Frederick Miles, who was apprenticed there at the time, was probably most accurate when he described the artist as simply "loitering in his peculiar *bizarre* way about the drawing office and shops and at my desk in Tom Winans' home." Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 40.

44. His father, Ross Winans, was an inventive genius responsible for such inventions as the friction wheel, cigar steamer, light-wheel coach, and steam gun. Extensive information on Ross Winans and the Winans family is on file in the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. Thomas Winans was joined in the Russian town of Alexandroffsky by the firm of Andrew Eastwick and Joseph Harrison of Philadelphia and by his younger brother William Louis Winans, who was a frequent visitor in the Whistler household.

45. The mansion was luxuriously furnished and the gardens adorned with classical sculpture. Tradition has it that Winans's neighbors were offended by the nude figures in the gardens, and, outraged, he built a wall around his entire property sufficiently high that no one could ever see in again.

46. For mention of her friendship with the Winans family see letters to James dated January 8 and May 10, 1849, B.P. II Res. 1/41 and 1/54, among others.

visited with the Winanses again during another trip to Baltimore in the fall of that year.⁴⁷ By the time of this first visit Thomas Winans had already begun to take a personal interest in James and Willie, for Anna writes “Jemie” that she “thanked Mr. Tho. Winans for his attention and friendship towards my Boys, he could not have felt the force of the remark as I did *painfully* that Jemie would always have to be taken care of.”⁴⁸ She returned to Baltimore in May 1854, on the occasion of George’s imminent marriage to Julia Winans, although she did not stay for the actual wedding on June 1. Her letters from this trip reveal that she strongly disapproved of the Winanses’ luxurious style of life at Alexandroffsky, and she seemed extremely uncomfortable about remaining there.⁴⁹

Whistler, on the contrary, delighted in the luxuries and amenities of the household.⁵⁰ Thomas Winans appears to have been rather fond of James and sympathetic to his artistic inclinations, an interest and enthusiasm apparently not shared by his father, “old” Ross Winans. Thomas’s daily journal from the years 1854–1855 records numerous small loans to Whistler including money for paints and brushes.⁵¹ During the period that the artist was in Washington at the Coast Survey Office and in the months after he resigned in February 1855, Winans continued to be concerned about his well-being. In April of 1855 Winans wrote

47. See letters to Whistler from his mother dated 27, 1854 (probably April), and November 16, 1853, B.P. II Res. 1/98 and 1/91.

48. Letter to Whistler from his mother dated November 16, 1853, B.P. II Res. 1/91.

49. First suggested in a letter to Whistler before her trip to Baltimore dated 27, 1854, B.P. II Res. 1/98, and discussed at length when she returned to Scarsdale after the visit. Letter to Whistler dated May 29, 1854, B.P. II Res. 1/99. Her excuse for not staying on for the wedding was that she felt her health could not withstand the excitement.

50. Anna moved to 176 Preston Street, Baltimore, at the end of October 1854. On October 30 she sent a note to her son at Alexandroffsky accusing him of having preferred the luxury of the Winanses’ home to that of his own and to having succumbed to pleasure and indolence. She told him to pack his bags and come to where she was living, B.P. II Res. 1/108.

51. The Winanses’ daily journals are in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. The following notations appear in Thomas Winans’s journal for 1854: “July 14 Jas Whistler 35.00,” which was subsequently crossed out with notation “to be charged to G. W.”; “Nov. 6 10.00, Jas. Whistler he left to take service at Washington.” The following entries were made in the journal for 1855: “March 14 went to Washington 10.00 G. Whistler 5.00” (this trip was probably to see James); “April 21 J.

to him inviting him to come back and stay at Alexandroffsky, an offer that was to be readily accepted:

Dear Jemie—

You have been long enough in Washington. . . . bring on your *easel* & brushes & I will find you a face to paint here, that, will ease your pocket & give you practice— & perhaps fame. . . .⁵²

He became, then, Whistler’s first patron, and their relationship as such continued until at least 1867. That the artist’s mother recognized Winans’s role as patron is evident from a letter to James on his twenty-first birthday in which she requested his first painting, a portrait of his cousin Annie Dennys:

Remember I claim Annie Dennys as your first assay, if your Patron wants it & you *think the major* would not be offended, copy it for Mr T Winans, but tell him I expect him not to interfere with my claim to that one.⁵³

The painting was greatly admired for its competence, and there seems to have been considerable dispute about its ownership, for Anna petulantly wrote a few weeks later:

*Be sure to bring me Annies likeness I have associations with it which entitle me to it. T Winans as a rich man may secure your more successful efforts, but I should not value the Art, as I do your first attempt. he shall not have that !*⁵⁴

Whistler 50.00”; “May 15 5.25 paints and brushes for Jas. Whistler”; “July 30 Loaned Jas A. Whistler for 6 months 450.00 have his note for the amt— George W. Whistler will settle it.” A letter to Whistler from his mother, probably written in late March 1855 while she was at Alexandroffsky, mentions that Winans was surprised that Whistler hadn’t written to him. She complains that he should have promptly acknowledged Winans’s favor. This “favor” would appear to be associated with Winans’s March 14 trip to Washington. B.P. II Res. 1/119.

52. B.P. II Res. 9/2. All quotations from the letters in the Birnie-Philip Collection are printed here by permission of the University of Glasgow and may not be reproduced without the university’s consent.

53. Letter to Whistler dated July 11, 1855, B.P. II Res. 1/127. The present whereabouts of this painting is not known. In a letter to Whistler in Baltimore dated May 3, 1855, Frank Hunt, a Washington friend, mentions that Mrs. Larned thought the painting among the most lovely she had seen, B.P. II Res. 11/1. The portrait is mentioned in Mrs. Whistler’s letters to James while he was still in Washington. Letter dated April 24, 1855, B.P. II Res. 1/126, and an earlier letter dated 1855 in which she mentions Winans’s great interest in the painting, B.P. II Res. 1/120.

54. Letter to Whistler dated July 25, 1855, from his mother in Stonington, B.P. II Res. 1/128.

On July 30, 1855, before leaving Baltimore for New York and Paris, Whistler was released from the guardianship of his brother George, and the estate was settled in full by a sum of \$5000, which George was given power of attorney to manage.⁵⁵ In a note dated two days later, Whistler wrote out an I O U "in favor of Thomas Winans" for the amount of \$450.⁵⁶ The following year Winans sent him an additional \$150,⁵⁷ and the flow of money continued over a period of about twelve years. Once Whistler was more firmly established, Winans would often deposit a sum of money in the artist's account toward some future purchase of a painting.⁵⁸ Apparently by early 1867 Winans was losing patience with his friend's continued money difficulties, and Whistler wrote him to explain the period of experimentation of the preceding two years and its importance for his artistic integrity. He closed the letter with the inevitable: "Here my dear Mr. Winans is the story of the whole business—and if you are not tired of helping me as well you might be, and will trust me with another loan, Five hundred pounds. . . ."⁵⁹ Winans, whose wife had died in 1861, wrote Whistler on April 6, 1867, explaining perhaps why, despite his interest and prolonged assistance, he made so few purchases of Whistler's paintings:

My dear Jemmy . . . I now write to say that I am not collecting pictures to any extent, and in the unsettled state in which I am living, would not know what disposition to make of so many pictures if I had them. . . .⁶⁰

In the same letter he goes on to say, however, that he will select a sea piece when he sees him next and encloses a 200-pound loan from which the picture could be deducted. Later that year Winans purchased *Wapping*, which was exhibited at the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris in 1867, and there is no surviving record of any further contact after this date, although presumably some desultory correspondence must have been maintained.

The majority of the sketches in the Museum album date from Whistler's first stay with Thomas Winans during the fall of 1854 until the time he left Baltimore on August 1, 1855. They cover a wide range of subjects and document a significant development in his style. There are several literary illustrations that as a group closely relate to his early oeuvre, and one, inscribed "Sir John Chester" (Figure 10), from Dickens's *Barnaby*



FIGURE 10
Sir John Chester,
by James Mc-
Neill Whistler.
Pencil, pen and
ink. The Metro-
politan Museum
of Art, 1970.
121.29

55. The documents of release from guardianship and of power of attorney were part of the Joseph Revillon Bequest to the University of Glasgow, Rev. 1955 W/9 and W/10, hereafter referred to as Rev. 1955. Although there has been a great deal of discrepancy in the Whistler literature as to when the artist actually departed for Paris, it can be securely established that he left New York at the beginning of September 1855. A letter to his mother dated October 10, 1855, from the Hadens' home at 62 Sloane Street, mentions that he has been away for more than a month. B.P. II Res. 1/129. A memorandum from his brother, Dr. William Whistler, given to the Pennells and dated September 29, 1902, states that Whistler left America in September 1855. Library of Congress, Pennell-Whistler Collection, Box 303. According to Whistler's passport he arrived in Le Havre, France, on November 2, 1855, after having spent about a month in London. B.P. II 1. By November 5, 1855, he had already received an entrance card for morning classes in the *École Impériale et Spécial de Dessins*. B.P. II 36/33.

56. Rev. 1955 W/117.

57. Rev. 1955 W/113. The Winans journal notes this as a loan of July 30, but Whistler's I O U is dated August 1.

58. Thomas Winans was in Europe for an extended stay in 1862. Whistler probably saw him in June, and a letter from Winans dated August 25 mentions that he has placed a 50-pound deposit in Whistler's account toward purchase of a painting if he gets back to England early enough. B.P. II Res. 9/4.

59. Rev. 1955 W/188: typescript and photograph of Whistler's letter to Winans.

60. Letter to Whistler dated April 6, 1867, B.P. II Res. 9/5. In addition to the album of sketches, several etchings, and the painting *Wapping*, Thomas Winans also owned the painting *The Fishwife* with a preliminary pen-and-ink sketch, now in the possession of Sybil A. Walk, which was done possibly in America or during his first years in Paris. He also possessed a portrait of himself painted in Baltimore; the present whereabouts of this portrait is not known.

Rudge, may even date as early as 1852. The sentimental and delicate style of this pencil drawing suggests that it is from the West Point period and was touched up with pen and ink at a later date, perhaps when the album was assembled. Sir John Chester, who had already interfered unscrupulously with the affairs of his son Edward, is shown ordering him to “return to this roof no more . . . and go to the devil, at my expressed desire.”⁶¹ *Barnaby Rudge* was first published in book form in 1841 with illustrations by George Cattermore and Hablot K. Browne, and Whistler, in his choice of Edward’s costume and pained expression, followed fairly closely Browne’s engraving of a related scene from this same episode.⁶² A second Dickens illustration is the small pen-and-ink sketch of Captain Cuttle emphatically gesturing with his hooked hand (acc. no. 1970.121.54). Derived from *Dombey and Son*, it resembles the frontispiece to an edition published by Harper and Brothers in 1852 with numerous illustrations after Phiz and can be roughly dated c. 1854–1855.⁶³

The sketch *Sir Piercie Shafton Sings* (Figure 11) captures an amusing passage from Sir Walter Scott’s *The Monastery*, where at the Family Glendinning meal Sir Piercie with eyes half shut sang “without mercey or remorse” until when finished “looking round he discovered that the greater part of his audience had, in the meanwhile, yielded to the charms of repose.”⁶⁴ Although the fine lines of the drawing and the slightly sentimental narration of the scene relate it to the West Point works, the confident and sketchy handling of the figures, which are drawn with great facility, suggests that it was executed during the fall of 1854. A more accomplished illustration is the pen-and-ink drawing Jack Shephard [*sic*], Edgeworth Bess and Pol (Figure 12), dated 1855, which was probably inspired by W. H. Ainsworth’s novel *Jack Sheppard: A Romance*, published in 1839 with extensive illustrations by Cruikshank.⁶⁵ Sheppard’s remarkable escapes from Newgate Prison and his notorious escapades, which ended with his death on the gallows in 1724, had made him something of a romantic hero.⁶⁶ Whistler’s sketch, completely independent of Cruikshank’s rather melodramatic designs, depicts an exuberant Sheppard with arms round his preceptor in crime, Edgeworth Bess, and her friend Mrs. Pol Maggot. Although the drawing may specifically refer to their merry first meeting in a tavern or to their victorious celebration after Sheppard escaped



FIGURE 11

Sir Piercie Shafton Sings, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.56

from the condemned cell with their cunning assistance, it is, more likely, simply a sympathetic portrait of this roguish group of social outcasts. There are a few other drawings of unidentified subjects in the album apparently inspired by literary sources, among which are Mr. Feathersanall Lodger (Figure 21), Then Sir—I, am the King of Spain!!! (Figure 13, upper left), and a scene of flirtation in a church (acc. no. 1970.121.16).

61. Charles Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge: A Tale of the Riots of 'Eighty* (London, 1841) p. 120.

62. Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge*, p. 118.

63. Charles Dickens, *Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son* (New York, 1852). In the frontispiece by Phiz, Captain Cuttle is depicted without a hat.

64. Sir Walter Scott, *The Monastery* (Edinburgh, 1820) II, p. 200.

65. W. Harrison Ainsworth, *Jack Sheppard: A Romance* (London, 1839).

66. Sheppard's portrait was painted by Sir John Thornhill; a pantomime, *Harlequin Sheppard*, was produced at Drury Lane, a place he used to frequent; Daniel Defoe wrote a narrative about him in 1724; and there were several dramatizations of Ainsworth's novel after it was published in 1839.

One other illustration to Dickens that should be mentioned is a watercolor in the Freer Gallery entitled *The Cobbler: Sam Weller's Lodgings in the Fleet Prison, from Pickwick Papers*.⁶⁷ Executed during Whistler's employment at the Coast Survey Office, it was described by a colleague, John Ross Key, as the only work he had seen him make during this period that could be called a picture.⁶⁸

The etching fragments from the Coast Survey Plate No. 1 (K.1)⁶⁹ included in the album are of special importance as they are almost certainly unique surviving impressions printed at the Coast Survey Office from Whistler's first experimental plate. They are on a heavy, almost cardboardlike paper not normally used

FIGURE 12

Jack Shephard, Edgeworth Bess and Pol, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.30



for printing and differ from any other known impression. John Ross Key, who was witness to this first venture in etching, later purchased the discarded plate, which he had discovered among scraps of paper in the engraving department.⁷⁰ He kept the plate for some forty years, and all other surviving impressions can be traced to those he had taken from the plate or to standard printings from the years between its sale (c. 1897) and its ultimate purchase by Charles L. Freer (1913).⁷¹ All of the Key impressions were probably printed on the same onion-skin-like paper of the only known example, now in the Avery Collection of The New York Public Library, which bears the notation "obtained . . . from Key."⁷²

The Museum's fragments are from the upper portion of the plate and include the center scene of part of Boston Harbor signed on the plate "JW" and a series of heads and a vignette of a young girl and old woman from the corners.⁷³ The heads, particularly the group of three in the upper left corner (Figure 1, lower right), are closely related in manner of execution to many of the sketches in the album. The rounded female face at

67. Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 36. Dated c. 1850 by the Freer Gallery and the Pennells. See Appendix B, no. 79.

68. Key, "Recollections," p. 929.

69. Reproduced in Edward G. Kennedy, *The Etched Work of Whistler* (New York, 1910) Plates, I. The number used by Kennedy will hereafter be given following the title of each etching mentioned.

70. Key, "Recollections," p. 931. For full discussion of Whistler's stay in the Coast Survey Office see Key's article. While employed there he also contributed to a second plate, *Anacapa Island*, which includes his name along with those of other engravers. Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 44.

71. In a letter to Charles L. Freer dated February 15, 1896, Key wrote: "I have never had more than 25 or 30 taken and the plate has never been out of my possession. I sent a few copies years ago to S. P. Avery, N. Y. (3 or 4)." Folder 289, Reference Library, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. Key sold the plate to Keppel & Co., and it was later bought by a Mr. Hellman. Letter dated November 13, 1906, from FitzRoy Carington to the Pennells, Pennell-Whistler Collection, Library of Congress, Washington. The plate was listed in the exhibition catalogue *Paintings, Drawings, Etchings and Lithographs; Memorial Exhibition of the Works of the late James McNeill Whistler*, International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers, New Gallery, London, 1904, p. 46, no. 401, as lent by W. Heineman, Esq.

72. Given to The New York Public Library in 1901. Notation in full reads: "Avery obtained impression from Key who owned plate for 40 years and sold it to Keppel."

73. The entire plate is reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 44.



FIGURE 13

Then Sir—I, am the King of Spain!!!, pen and ink; Cavalier, pen and ink; Girl with Hat, pen and ink; Man Playing Mandolin, pen and ink. Portion of album page 14, by James McNeill Whistler. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.63–66

the left in this group closely resembles the face of the model in Artist's Studio (Figure 32), though in reverse, while the center figure is conceived in a manner similar to that of Man Playing Mandolin (Figure 13, lower right). The evocative device of shaded eyes and brow seen in the third figure appears in a number of the sketches and is employed in an exaggerated manner in

Jack Shephard, Edgeworth Bess and Pol. This sensitive use of light and dark is most obviously derived from seventeenth-century Dutch prototypes. What may have been in the Beaverbrook drawings only a casual interest in the Rembrandtesque play with light and rich black shadows seems to have deepened and broadened considerably in the post-West Point period. Both

in technique and subject such drawings as *Two Men Drinking* (Figure 14), *Man Playing Mandolin*, *Man Playing Guitar* (Figure 15), *Cavalier* (Figure 13, upper right), and a verso sketch of a man in a wide-brimmed hat (acc. no. 1970.121.27) suggest a more serious consideration of the Dutch School, an interest that was carried over to the Parisian years, as is most obviously demonstrated by the early etching *The Dutchman Holding A Glass* (K.4). What becomes apparent in the late drawings in the album is that Whistler was experimenting with the rather novel combination of a baroque use of shadow and the subtle and detailed cross-hatching of Dutch prints with the then more powerful influence on his work of the spirited and caricatural mode of drawing best exemplified in French illustrations.

Whether inspired by such illustrated French books as *Le Diable à Paris* and *Oeuvres Choieses de Gavarni*⁷⁴ or by a fresh look at *Punch* and the studies of morals and manners based on French prototypes in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*,⁷⁵ a dramatic change and development did occur in Whistler's style from the sketches and illustrations of the West Point period to the latest drawings in the album. The conceptual character of his work moved away from the narrative and sentimental designs of fictitious subjects and the descriptive and almost cutely humorous scenes of West Point life toward a more satirically humorous but realistic depiction of the human figure conceived in a caricatural style.

74. *Le Diable à Paris: Paris et Les Parisiens*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1845–1846); M. P. J. Stahl, ed., *Oeuvres Choieses de Gavarni*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1846–1848). The original lithographic designs for these and similar French books that Whistler could have seen were engraved on wood by various craftsmen and then printed in the books. It was the graphic technique and lines of the wood engraving rather than the lithograph that influenced Whistler, and most likely his only familiarity with Gavarni and any other of the major French illustrators was through the engravings after their work. Whistler could have seen some of these publications at Alexandroffsky, for Winans apparently had an extensive library. An advertisement of the auction to be held at the mansion on November 5, 1925, when it was being dismantled, lists among the contents of the collection “a large lot of Classics, novels and Histories in the French language, some of them in very beautiful bindings.” Winans clippings file, Maryland Historical Society.

75. In most issues of *Harper's Monthly Magazine* there was an illustrated section entitled “Life in Paris: People and their Principles.” The caricatures of Cruikshank and those by other artists that appeared in *Punch*, as well, were frequently characterized by an extravagance of gesture and an emphasis on the grotesque not normally found in French illustrations.



FIGURE 14
Two Men Drinking, by James McNeill Whistler.
Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
1970.121.22



FIGURE 15
Man Playing Guitar, by James McNeill Whistler.
Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
1970.121.26

Drawing less from his imagination, he began to look more carefully around him, catching a moment of unguarded behavior or simply the amusing attitudes of people in everyday situations. This whole attitude of viewing is most closely aligned with the caricature of manners popular in French illustrations and especially seen in the work of Henri Monnier, Bertall, and Gavarni.

Once again Whistler did not copy specific figures created by these artists. Rather, he was influenced by

their mode of seeing, which he absorbed and made his own. What he learned most especially from someone like Gavarni, and to a lesser degree Bertall, was the use of contour and line to indicate character and mood, as expressed in the position of the body, the twist of a limb, the turn of a head, or a grimace on the face. He was also influenced by certain conventions of representation, such as the building up of shadows and backgrounds with rich blacks and spiraling lines (Figure 16), a stylistic mannerism particularly favored by Bertall (Figure 17),⁷⁶ but also seen in the works of Gavarni, and used more statically in numerous *Punch* illustrations. Also appearing for the first time in the late drawings in the album was a preference for a zigzagging and spiraling cross-hatching combined with liquid black shadows to develop volume and give an expressive animation to

the forms. Although Whistler could have learned this graphic device from English illustrations or from the American Felix Darley, it is more likely that he was attracted by the particularly spirited manner with which it was employed to heighten caricatural effect in the engravings after Monnier and Gavarni.

Other resemblances to French illustrations can be seen in certain attitudes, such as the spread legs slightly balanced backward in Olol C'lo (Figure 18) and Man with Walking Stick (Figure 19), which recall Gavarni's illustrations of Réélu and that of Le Rhétoricien (Figure 20) in volume II of *Le Diable à Paris*.⁷⁷ The slightly caricatural expression and gestures of the young man in the sketch Mr. Feathersanall Lodger (Figure 21) are closely paralleled in a design by Gavarni for "Hommes et Femmes de Plume" in the same volume of *Le Diable*



FIGURE 16
May 18th (55), by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink over pencil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.38



FIGURE 17
Untitled wood engraving, by Bertall. Printed in *Le Diable à Paris*, I

76. Printed in *Le Diable*, I, p. 62.

77. Engraved by Pierre Levielle and printed in *Les Français Peints par Eux-Mêmes* (Paris, 1840-1842) II, opposite p. 241; engraved by Charles Tamisier and printed in *Le Diable*, II, between pp. 26 and 27.



FIGURE 18
Olol C'lo, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.55



FIGURE 19
Man with Walking Stick, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.5



FIGURE 20
Le Rhétoricien, by Gavarni. Wood engraving of an original lithograph. From *Le Diable à Paris*, II



FIGURE 21
Mr. Feathersanall
Lodger, by James
McNeill Whistler.
Pen and ink, pencil.
The Metropolitan
Museum of Art,
1970.121.60

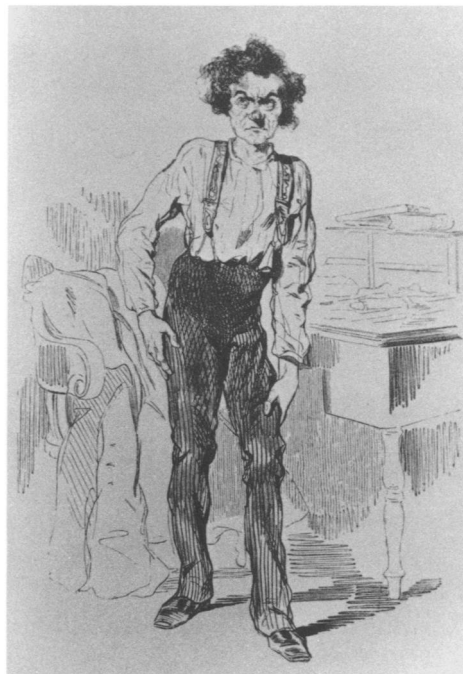


FIGURE 22
Ardeur, Ardeur. . . ,
by Gavarni. Wood
engraving of an
original lithograph.
From *Le Diable à
Paris*, II



FIGURE 23
Pour Boire, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.46



FIGURE 24
Untitled wood engraving, by Honoré Daumier. From *Le Prisme: Encyclopédie Morale du Dix-neuvième Siècle*

(Figure 22).⁷⁸ The Whistler figure inscribed with the French “pour boire” (Figure 23) is very similar in conception to a caricature by Daumier in *Le Prisme: Encyclopédie Morale du Dix-neuvième Siècle* (Figure 24) and to several Gavarni designs.⁷⁹ The exaggerated momentary posture and amusing twist of legs in Ross Winans Playing Violin (Figure 36) have counterparts in a sketch of two young men from Gavarni’s *Les Etudiants de Paris*.⁸⁰ Also, the caricature of Mrs. Tiffany (Figure 25) and Girl with Parasol (Figure 26) reflect a satirically humorous vision of the comedy of manners similar to that of Gavarni’s *Ma Cadette* (Figure 27) and *La Panthère* (Figure 28).⁸¹ The choice of individuals as subjects in *Taxes* (acc. no. 1970.121.61), *Woman Carrying Basket* (acc. no. 1970.121.31), and *Terrible Disaster! Loss of the Arctic!!* (acc. no. 1970.121.43) also brings to mind numerous French prototypes.⁸²

One of the more finished and skillful drawings in the

FIGURE 25
Mrs. Tiffany, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.50



album (Figure 29) was inspired by Gavarni’s *Les Débardeurs*, a series of some sixty-six designs depicting the loves and lives of a group of bohemian figures whose fancy dress resembled the working apparel of the dock-hand.⁸³ The costume, shoes, and hat of Whistler’s jubilant figure and Gavarni’s *débardeuse* are identical, al-

78. Engraved by Bara and Gérard and printed in *Le Diable*, II, between pp. 34 and 35.

79. Printed in *Le Prisme: Encyclopédie Morale du Dix-neuvième Siècle* (Paris, 1841) p. 96. A similar Gavarni design with the subtitle “Monseigneur, C’est Moi Qui . . .” was engraved by Le Blanc and printed in *Le Diable*, II, between pp. 10 and 11.

80. Engraved by Henri Désiré Porret and printed in Stahl, *Oeuvres Choiesies*, III (1847) from *Les Etudiants de Paris*, with the subtitle “O l’amour d’une femme! O ineffable chose!”

81. *Ma Cadette* engraved by Antoine Alphée Piaud and printed in *Le Diable*, II, between pp. 328 and 329. *La Panthère* printed in M. Louis Huart, *Muséum Parisien* (Paris, 1841) p. 19.

82. This last drawing documents a terrible maritime disaster, the sinking of the steamship *Arctic* with a loss of over 320 lives. On Wednesday, October 11, 1854, *The New York Herald*, which the newsboy holds up in Whistler’s sketch, was the first newspaper to carry word of the tragedy, thirteen days after the fatal collision. See Alexander Crosby Brown, *Women and Children Lost: The Loss of the Steamship “Arctic”* (London, 1961).

83. The first of the lithographs for *Les Débardeurs* was published on January 17, 1840, and most of the designs appeared in the periodical *Le Charivari* during the next few years. Several were also printed in books, such as *Le Diable*, and wood engravings after the entire series were published in Stahl, *Oeuvres Choiesies*, IV (1848).

FIGURE 26

Girl with Parasol, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.48



FIGURE 27

Detail of Ma Cadette, by Gavarni. Wood engraving of an original lithograph. From *Le Diable à Paris*, II



FIGURE 28 La Panthère, by Gavarni. Wood engraving. From *Muséum Parisien*



FIGURE 29

Vive les Debardeures!!, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.34



FIGURE 30

Après le Débardeur la Fin du Monde!, by Gavarni. Wood engraving of an original lithograph. From *Le Diable à Paris*, I



FIGURE 31
Standard Bearer, by James McNeill Whistler.
Lithograph. Courtesy of the Library of Congress,
Washington, D.C.



FIGURE 32
Artist's Studio, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen
and ink, pencil, Chinese white. The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, 1970.121.57

though none of Gavarni's figures are posed precisely in the manner of the Whistler drawing. The most closely related example is a design from "En Carnival" published in *Le Diable à Paris* with the inscription "Après le débardeur, la fin du monde!" (Figure 30).⁸⁴ One figure lies on the ground, wine glass by his side, while a female *débardeuse* gestures uninhibitedly with arms outspread. Whistler's witty retort to this design would seem to be the "Vive les Debardeures [*sic*]!" inscribed beneath his drawing. The particularly close cross-hatching of the velvet pantaloons in his sketch more closely resembles that on another of Gavarni's *débardeur* figures.⁸⁵

84. Engraved by Louis Henri Brevière and printed in *Le Diable*, I, between pp. 164 and 165.

85. Engraved by Paul Constant Soyer and printed in Stahl, *Oeuvres Choisies*, IV, from *Les Débardeurs* with the inscription "Ah C'a! décidément Caroline est folle du petit Anglais."

86. Some of Gavarni's most famous lithographic series are *Les Etudiants de Paris*, *La Vie de Jeune Homme*, *Les Lorettes*, and *Le Carnival à Paris*. Gavarni held a strong appeal for Whistler,

The bohemian world of the Latin Quarter depicted in several of Gavarni's most important series of lithographs would have immensely appealed to Whistler before he left the States.⁸⁶ Since Whistler was convinced of his choice of profession and already circulating in a quasi-bohemian group in Washington, the amusing and tantalizing escapades of Gavarni's independent youth could only have reaffirmed his decision to study in Paris.

It would appear that all the drawings in the album date from before Whistler left Baltimore for Paris, even though, not surprisingly, there are strong links between some of the sketches and the few drawings that survive

who continued to sketch "Les Gens de Paris" in the manner of this French artist during his first years in Paris. Henry Oulevey remembered him as "always drawing, in the manner of Gavarni, the people and the scenes of the *Quartier*," and the drawings that Whistler's fiery mistress Fumette had torn up in a moment of jealousy while he was living in Rue Saint-Sulpice were said to have been Gavarni-like. Pennell, *Life*, I, pp. 56–57.

from his first years in France.⁸⁷ The main stylistic evidence supporting this contention is provided by the lithograph *Standard Bearer* (Figure 31), which, according to the verso annotation, was executed in Baltimore on July 17, 1855.⁸⁸ Its swirling, rich black lines and spiraling, zigzagging cross-hatching combined with a Rembrandtesque use of lights and darks are more closely paralleled in the latest of the Museum's sketches than in anything that follows from his stay in Paris.

The only drawing that might present some problem as to a post-August 1855 date is *Artist's Studio* (Figure 32), a sketch of a studio interior with four figures. While it may be the most complex and successful sketch in the album, the style of drawing does not differ notably from that of the other later works. There are, however, two larger, closely related, tondo drawings of studio interiors in the collections of The Art Institute of Chicago (Figure 33) and the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Figure 34)⁸⁹ that were undoubtedly executed in Paris, as the Freer work is inscribed: "J. Whistler / Au 5^{ime} No. 7 / Rue Galeres / Quatier Latin." There is also an early Parisian etching of an artist's studio (Figure 35), probably done shortly after he arrived, which is entitled on the plate *Au Sixième* (K.3) in a script identical to that used by Whistler in inscribing many of the Museum's sketches. But these evocative works are more accomplished studies and are conceived with a romantic and brooding intensity that is only barely suggested in the more casual Museum

sketch. The subject of the artist's studio and "la vie de bohème" was extremely popular in early nineteenth-century art and, as we have seen, would have appealed to Whistler before he left for Paris. It is quite possible, then, that the Museum's sketch could have been done shortly before his departure as a preliminary working out of a theme he later developed in the more fully realized Freer and Chicago drawings and *Au Sixième*.

There are a few other sketches in the album that thematically look forward to the more proficient works of the next several years. The sketch *Ross Winans Playing Violin* (Figure 36) anticipates the drawing *Seymour Haden Playing Cello*, c. 1858–1859 (Figure 37), and the etching *Ross Winans* (K.88), c. 1860.⁹⁰ While the Museum sketch is still an amusing study bordering on caricature, the Haden drawing is poetically realized, relying more on the strong contrast of light and dark than on vivacity of gesture and angularity of contour. In addition, the theme of a woman reading at a table seen in *Man and Woman at Table* (Figure 1, bottom) occurs in the etchings *Reading by Lamplight* (K.32) and *The Music Room* (K.33), c. 1858–1859;⁹¹ and the subject of women under parasols seen in two of the Museum drawings appears in the etching *En Plein Soleil* (K.15) from the French set and in numerous other compositions.

Given the fact that the etching fragments from the *Coast Survey Plate No. 1* glued to pages 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8 are attached in such a manner as to be an integral part of the page arrangement, the album could not

87. Four pen-and-ink drawings of bohemian types executed by Whistler c. 1856–1858 are reproduced in the sale catalogue of Sotheby and Co., London, December 15, 1971, lot 1. Although more realistic in conception and relying less on caricatural style, they do reveal an interesting continuity with the late Baltimore sketches. One of the drawings, of a seated man and young woman, resembles a pencil drawing in the Freer Gallery of two figures, a girl seated and a man on the ground at her left, c. 1858 (acc. no. 98.166), and is also somewhat similar to a sketch in the Metropolitan's album, *Woman with Young Man Resting at her Feet* (acc. no. 1970.121.28), which is more in the style of Greuze.

88. *Standard Bearer* was acquired by the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., in 1938. It had been in the possession of Mrs. John Sylvester of Augusta, Georgia, who had found it in a scrapbook of sketches by friends of her step-father, Frank B. Mayer. See A. Hyatt Mayor, "An Early Whistler Lithograph," *The Print Collector's Quarterly* 24 (1937) pp. 305–307.

89. The Freer Gallery drawing, *An Artist in His Studio*, acc. no. 06.104, is done in pen and ink and pencil and measures 9¼ inches in diameter. There is no reference in the Whistler literature

to the artist's living on Rue Galères, and it is not among the addresses mentioned by Oulevey. Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 54. The Art Institute of Chicago drawing, *A Scene from Bohemian life*, acc. no. 56.350, is executed in pen and ink over pencil and measures 9¾ inches in diameter.

90. The pen-and-ink drawing of Seymour Haden is in the Freer Gallery, acc. no. 98.160; it is 7¼ inches high and 4¼ inches wide. The etching of Ross Winans shows him with an accordion in his hands and violin by his side. Reproduced in Kennedy, *Whistler*, Plates, I. The Ross Winans portrayed both in the etching and in the Museum sketch is almost certainly Thomas Winans's younger brother, although he is represented somewhat differently, in great part due to the change in Whistler's style. "Old" Ross Winans, their father, was quite stout, and photographs of him from the 1860s in the collection of the University of Glasgow show him with a thick white beard.

91. Reproduced in Kennedy, *Whistler*, Plates, I. Another pen-and-ink drawing of a man and woman seated at a table with a lamp occurs on the verso of the Museum sketch acc. no. 1970.121.18.



FIGURE 33
A Scene from Bohemian Life, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago

FIGURE 34
An Artist in his Studio, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

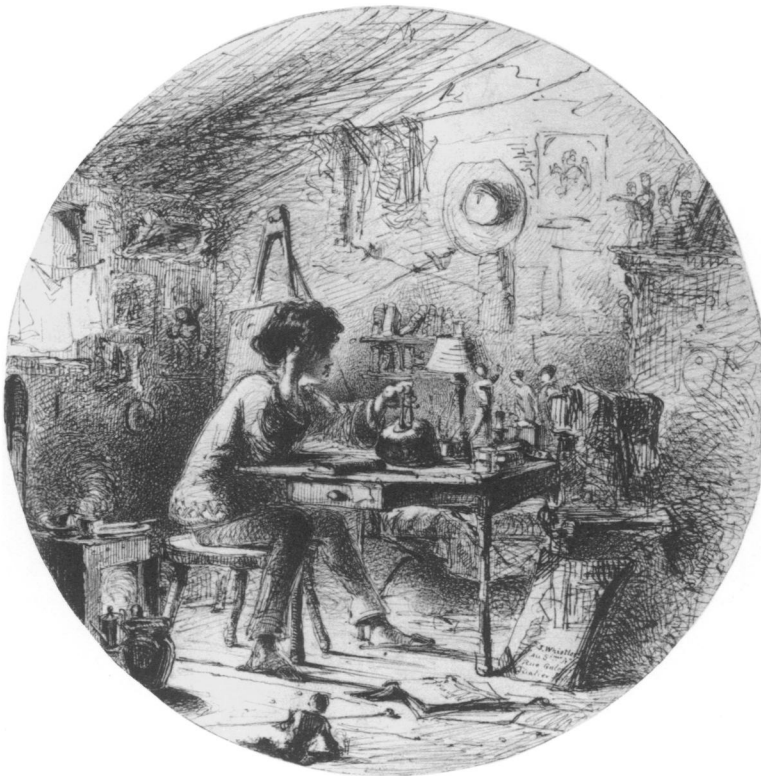


FIGURE 35
Au Sixième, by James McNeill Whistler. Etching. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

have been put together earlier than the period of the artist's service at the Coast Survey Office, from November 6, 1854, to late February 1855. It would seem logical to conclude, then, that the album was assembled in America before Whistler embarked for Europe and, since it was owned by Thomas Winans, that it was put together at Alexandroffsky, probably by Whistler himself, during his residence there between late April 1855 and August 1 of the same year, when he left Baltimore for New York and Paris. This conclusion is supported by a note in an unknown hand on the left margin

of a letter dated October 30, 1950, from Joseph Revillon to Elsie Celeste Hutton, a former owner of the album, which reads, "Whistler made the skbk when he was at Alexandroffsky with Thomas Winans."⁹² It is further substantiated by the observation that at least three of the four inscriptions on the album pages would seem to be in Whistler's hand, although it is difficult to say with absolute certainty because of the variability of his

92. A Xerox copy of the letter is in the archives of the American Paintings Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

FIGURE 36

Ross Winans Playing Violin, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.2



FIGURE 37

Seymour Haden Playing Cello, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



handwriting.⁹³ The sketches were placed in the album somewhat haphazardly with no attempt at following a chronological development or thematic ordering, a lackadaisical approach consistent with the artist's capricious nature.

This would not have been the first sketchbook Whistler assembled, for as early as 1848 he wrote his father in St. Petersburg that he was sending him a scrapbook of drawings he had made.⁹⁴ The Museum album, which includes at least two drawings of members of the Winans family, may very well have been assembled at the suggestion of Thomas Winans after he had collected a group of the many sketches the prolific Whistler would have executed while living at Alexandroffsky. One can only surmise from where the earlier sketches came. Judging from her letters, Whistler's mother was a frequent visitor to the Winans home while she was living in Baltimore, from October 1854 until late the following spring, and George, now Winans's brother-in-law, lived next door. Grateful for his assistance to James, they may have contributed a few of the drawings they had saved, or these early works may have been among those that Whistler himself had kept.

The etchings from the French set, attached at a later date, possibly by Winans, follow the sketches in the album.⁹⁵ They are exceptionally fine impressions and would seem to belong to the edition issued by Whistler

in 1859 at 62 Sloane Street, London.⁹⁶ A letter to Seymour Haden from Thomas Winans, dated June 20, 1859, enclosing 63 pounds sterling, acknowledges receipt of a set of etchings, almost certainly the Museum impressions, which, he wrote, "are considered very fine, doing Jemmy great credit, I hope he will get up another set."⁹⁷ The etchings remain an integral part of the album, for the mode of vision and drawing first suggested in many of the sketches, c. 1854-1855, became fully realized in the finest of these prints.

The album is a major addition to early Whistler scholarship, revealing the inventiveness and exuberance of the artist's early style, the range of his experimentation in an illustrative genre, and the extent of his knowledge of European art. It documents an essential link in his stylistic and iconographic development between the West Point sketches and the early Parisian works, thus making his early oeuvre, as a whole, more comprehensible and meaningful. Moreover, the confident and subtle use of line in such sketches as *Artist's Studio* and *Vive les Debardeurs!!* contributes an important new dimension to the aesthetic quality of Whistler's youthful achievement. The drawings confirm that before he had left for Paris Whistler had demonstrated sufficient talent and promise to have won the support not only of a sympathetic patron but of his family as well.

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problem of early Whistler. In addition thanks should be mentioned to two other members of the Metropolitan Museum staff, Merritt Safford, Conservator of Drawings, and Weston Naef, Assistant Curator of Prints.

FREQUENTLY CITED SOURCE

Elizabeth J. and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* (London, 1908) 2 vols.

93. P. 1 of the album is inscribed in ink "R.W.!" beneath the sketch of Ross Winans Playing Violin; p. 2 is inscribed in pencil "T.W.'s family" (acc. no. 1970.121.3), possibly not in Whistler's hand; p. 5 is inscribed in ink "After Dinner" beneath a sketch possibly of Ross Winans (acc. no. 1970.121.17); and p. 8 is inscribed in ink "pour boire."

94. Letter to his father dated March 17-20, 1849, B.P. II Res. 1/52.

95. The drawings were glued to the first eighteen pages of the album and were then immediately followed on the next twelve pages by the set of etchings. In two instances the title glued be-

neath the etching is incorrect, and one impression from the French set, *The Kitchen*, was not included in the album.

96. The French set, printed by Delâtre, was first issued in Paris in early November 1858. Seymour Haden apparently supervised the sale of this first printing, and in 1859 Whistler reissued the set of etchings as "Twelve etchings from Nature, by James Abbott Whistler. London: Published by J. A. Whistler, at No. 62 Sloane Street." The majority of the impressions were printed on a wheat-colored paper.

97. B.P. II Res. 9/3.

Appendix A

THE ALBUM, along with a four-page journal written by Whistler after he left West Point, was the generous gift of Margaret C. Buell, Helen L. King, and Sybil A. Walk. The album was bequeathed by Thomas Winans to his daughter, Celeste Marguerite Hutton, and upon her death was given to her daughter, Elsie Celeste Hutton. She, in turn, left it to her three nieces, the donors of the album. Upon its arrival at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the album included some one hundred sheets, the first thirty of which contained the sketches and etchings. The remainder of the pages were blank except for four drawings by another hand on pages near the end and on the last sheet. Almost all of the first thirty pages were numbered consecutively in black ink in the upper right corner. The sheet size of the album is $10\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The album has subsequently been dismembered, and all the pages containing Whistler's work have been taken out and the sketches and etchings removed. After restoration the contents were remounted on rag-board backings, the original sequence and placement in the album being retained.

The individual sketches are on various kinds of paper ranging from blue-lined writing paper to thin cardboard, and almost every sketch is on an irregularly cut sheet. The accession numbers for the sketches and etch-

ings by Whistler are 1970.121.1-80, and the sketches by another hand are numbered 1970.121.81-84.

The four-page daily journal (acc. nos. 1970.121.85-88) was written by Whistler shortly after his departure from West Point. It was found in an old studio at Alexandroffsky by Elsie Celeste Hutton while she was clearing out the mansion before it was sold in 1925. On the front page of the journal is a pen-and-ink sketch of a figure in a monk's cowl, possibly Whistler himself, under which is inscribed: "Nulla dies sine linea."* The following three pages contain an amusing discourse on the writing of a diary, mention of his "brief but brilliant career as a military man" with "three years of fun, folly and cadetship," and a witty lament for his love "the belle of the point," who had "large languishing deep black eyes" and "such beautiful, *really* beautiful rich red lips." The diary, which also contains three other drawings interspersed with the text, does not seem to have gone any further than this entertaining introduction.

* This well-known adage of Apelles comes from Pliny's *Naturalis Historiae* 35. 84. It was debated by theoreticians and used by artists down through the ages and would have been a particularly appropriate motto for a daily journal and sketchbook.

Appendix B

THE PURPOSE of this Appendix is to provide a working list of all the known works executed by Whistler before he left for Paris that have so far come to the attention of the author, excluding those in the Metropolitan Museum album. The sketches are grouped chronologically by period but are not dated precisely within each grouping. Measurements are given in inches with the height first.

1. Duck

Coll.: Mrs. Livermore as of 1908; present whereabouts unknown.

2. Aunt Alicia

Pencil. $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{11}{16}$. Signed and dated (bottom right): James. To Aunt Kate.— / 1844.

Coll.: Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, gift of Miss Mary E. Dreier, from the estate of her sister Katherine S. Dreier, 1953.

Wrongly identified as of Aunt Kate in the annotation by Katherine Dreier on the back of the frame. Bloor, "Beginnings of Whistler," p. 132, also says it is of Aunt Kate, but Emma Palmer, who gave the sketch to Katherine Dreier, and the Pennells, *Life*, I, p. 9, identify the subject as Aunt Alicia, who, without question, it is. It may be the same drawing mentioned in a letter to Whistler in New York from his mother dated April 9, 1850, in which she asks him to bring home the sketch of Aunt Alicia if he finds it among their papers sent back from Russia. B.P. II Res. 1/58.

3. Sketches inside back cover of *Recueil des principaux homographes et homonymes français*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1840)

Pen and ink. Sheet size (double): $8\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$.
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Collection.

4. Sketches inside front and back cover of *Russian Grammar Book*

Pen and ink, pencil. Sheet size: $8\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$.
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Collection.

5. Sketches inside front cover of Noel and Chapel, *Abrégé de la Grammaire Française* (St. Petersburg, 1840)

Pencil, pen and ink. Sheet size: $7\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$.
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Collection.

6. Russian sketchbook

Sixty-eight pages of sketches, almost all by Whistler, in pencil, pen and ink. Sheet size: $6\frac{5}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{8}$. C. 1845–1848. The sketches range from full-page compositions with several figures to small overlapping drawings filling up entire sheets and obviously added over a period of time. They revealingly indicate the type of subject that appealed to Whistler at an early age. Included are sketches of biblical subjects and scenes from ancient history, as well as portraits and drawings from plaster casts.
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Joseph Revillon Bequest, 1955.

7. Valentine—sketch of a young man and girl with verse by Whistler's mother beneath

Watercolor. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$.
Coll.: James McNeill Whistler Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Sherman Lurie, New York.
The valentine was drawn for Whistler's cousin Emma Palmer and probably dates from the Russian period, c. 1846–1848.

8. Annie

Pencil. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$. Inscribed (across bottom): Mon Niece! . . .; annotated (on verso in ink): Uncle Jim Fecit / 1848—.

Coll.: University of Glasgow, Joseph Revillon Bequest, 1955.

This sketch, which obviously has been touched up, may be the one referred to in a letter to his father in which

Whistler writes that he did a drawing of the baby Annie that Seymour finished for him. B.P. II. Res. 1/52.

9. Mother and Child

Pen and ink, Chinese white. Tondo, diameter: $2\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$. Signed (lower right): J. W.

Coll.: University of Glasgow, Joseph Revillon Bequest, 1955.

Dates from either shortly before he left England or from Pomfret, c. 1849–1850.

10. Map of northeastern states

Pencil, pen and ink, watercolor. $4\frac{1}{16} \times 6$. Signed (lower right): J. Whistler. C. 1849–1851.

Coll.: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

11. Seven sketches executed at Pomfret belonging to Mrs. Hyde as of 1924 (see note 18).

As they are only known through a photostatic copy of the originals, they will be identified below only by subject.

- a. The Smugglers' Cave
- b. Head of a girl
- c. Head of a man
- d. Head of a man
- e. Interior of church with brooding figure
Signed (lower right): J.A.W.
- f. Fishing [?]
- g. Le Débardeur
Signed (lower right): J.W.

12. A Fire at Pomfret

Watercolor. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$. C. 1850.

Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (05.333).
Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 36.

Nos. 13–39 are drawings executed at Pomfret, Connecticut, that are now in the possession of Mason Hammond. All dimensions are sight.

13. Old Casper Southey

Pen and ink. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$. Signed (lower left): J.W. Inscribed (across bottom): Old Casper . . . Southey.

14. Mr. Frampton

Pen and ink. $3\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$. Signed (lower right): J.W.

15. Mr. Frampton Uses His Umbrella!!

Pen and ink. $4\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. Inscribed (across bottom): Mr. Frampton uses his umbrella!!

16. Figures feasting at table

Pen and ink. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 5$.

17. What I Once Was

Pen and ink. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$. Signed (lower right): J W. Inscribed (bottom): "What I once was" / The Lost Lord. Act. III / "Hadst thou seen me in my glory!"

18. Counsel of War

Pen and ink. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Signed (lower right): J W. Inscribed (bottom): Counsel of War.

This is probably the first example in Whistler's work of a lifelong fascination with nocturnal lighting. The lantern with its arc of light appears again in the sketches listed below as nos. 64–66, and in a verso drawing in the Metropolitan Museum album, acc. no. 1970.121.18.

19. Sketches of two men smoking, girl skipping
Pen and ink on blue paper. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$.
20. Albanian
Pen and ink. $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$. Inscribed (bottom, right of center): Albanian.
21. Three-quarter-length profile portrait of young woman
Pencil. $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$.
22. Fidelis in the Arbour
Watercolor, pencil. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. Inscribed (in brown watercolor, lower left): Fidelis in the Arbour.
23. An Officer Attacked by Brigands
Collage silhouettes on white paper, ink. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$. Inscribed (in ink across bottom): An officer attacked by Brigands in a dense wood.
24. May Morning Preparations
Pen and ink, wash. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$. Signed (lower left): W. Inscribed (bottom): May Morning Preparations.
25. Chatty and Jola
Watercolor, wash over pencil. $4\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$. Signed (lower right): J.W. Inscribed (lower left): Chatty and Jola.
26. Woman by harp with dog
Watercolor, pencil. $4\frac{11}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$.
Similar in theme and mood to no. 40.
27. Boy and girl in sailboat
Pencil, pen and ink, wash. $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$.
28. Artist seen from rear, painting
Watercolor. $4\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$.
29. Russian figure in long cloak with pipe
Pen and ink, pencil. $5 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$. Signed (lower right): J.W.
30. Soldier being shot out of cannon
Pencil, colored wash. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$.
31. Two figures, one seated, one playing flute
Pencil. $3 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.
32. Two soldiers
Watercolor, ink. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$. Inscribed (bottom center): Shoulder browns [?].
33. Scene outdoors with several figures
Pen and ink. $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$.
34. Monk
Pen and ink. $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$. Signed (lower right): J.W. Inscribed (bottom): Sack cloth without; and a good sack within.
35. Soldier
Watercolor. $4 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$.
36. Figure seated at table
Pencil. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 4$.
37. Man pulling dog's tail
Pencil. $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{11}{16}$.
38. Man riding horse
Pen and ink. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$.
39. Night scene: man on horse
Watercolor, brown wash. $2 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$. Signed (lower right): J.W.
40. Standing figure of a woman in profile with a dog in front of her
Pen and ink, slight wash. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$. Signed (lower right): J.W.
Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art (04.453).
Probably dates from Pomfret, c. 1850–1851. Similar to no. 23 and to the woman in the Metropolitan Museum drawing *The Margrave, the Prince[ss?]* and the Hermit.
41. St. Augustine and Other Figures
Pen and ink, pencil. $6\frac{11}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Signed (at right, below center): J.W. Inscribed (beneath sketch at right): St. Augustine.
Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art (05.334).
Possibly dates from Pomfret and is similar in conception to no. 34. Probably the same drawing shown at *The Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Mr. J. McNeill Whistler*, Copley Society, Boston, 1904, p. 122, no. 124, entitled *Benedictine Monks* and lent by Mrs. W. McNeill Whistler.
42. Light at the Door
Sepia wash.
Coll.: Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton as of 1904, when it was exhibited at *The Memorial Exhibition . . .*, Boston, 1904, p. 21, no. 169. Present whereabouts not known.
43. On Post in Camp
Pen and ink. Four separate drawings framed together with matting: $25\frac{3}{8} \times 28\frac{3}{4}$.
a. Inscribed (bottom center): First Half Hour.
b. Inscribed (bottom): Second half hour.
c. Inscribed (bottom center): Third half hour.
d. Inscribed (bottom): Last half hour!
All four frames are inscribed at top: On Post in Camp.
Coll.: United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.
44. Asleep on the Post
Pen and ink, wash. Sight: $12\frac{7}{8} \times c. 15\frac{1}{2}$; with matting: $14\frac{3}{8} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$. Signed (lower right): Compliments of / J.A.W.

- Coll.: United States Military Academy, West Point.
This drawing along with *On Post in Camp* was given by Whistler to Mrs. Baird, wife of Absalom Baird, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, United States Military Academy, 1853–1859. The drawings were kept in her scrapbook until presented to the academy by her son, Captain William Baird, in 1907.
45. Cover design for the *Song of the Graduate*, 1852
Lithograph. Whistler executed the original design, but the drawing of the actual lithograph was almost certainly not done by him.
An impression is in the Rosenwald Collection, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.
46. Vignette for a dance card, 1852
Drawn on wood and engraved with a penknife.
47. Album of Archie Gracie
C. 1852.
Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art (o8.10A–E).
a. The Game of Chess
Pen and ink. $1\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$. Signed (lower right): J. Whistler. Inscribed (on album page below drawing): The Game of Chess.
b. A la Yankee
Pen and ink. Oval. $1\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$. Inscribed (top): "A la Yankee." One of two sketches on album page.
c. An Outside
Pen and ink. Oval: $1\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$. Signed (lower right): J.W. Inscribed (at left): An Outside. One of two sketches on album page.
d. Group of Figures at West Point
Attributed to Whistler. Pencil, ink. $8\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$. C. 1852–1854.
e. Two Lovers and an Old Woman
Pen and ink. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$.
The face of the old woman is nearly identical to that of the chaperone in the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum album of a flirtation scene in a church interior, acc. no. 1970.121.16.
f. The Corkscrew
Pen and ink. Sketch on album page. Sheet size: $8\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$. Signed (right of center): J.W. Inscribed (bottom center): The Corkscrew.
48. Position of a Soldier: Annihilation of the Bowels
Pen and ink. $6\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$. Signed (lower left): J.W. Inscribed (bottom): Position of a Soldier: Annihilation of the Bowels. Later annotation in pencil by another hand: J. McN. Whistler / 1852.
Coll.: Library of Congress.
49. The Admiration of the Furloughmen
Pen and ink. $4\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$. Signed (lower right): J.W. Inscribed (across bottom): The Admiration of the Furloughmen. Later annotation by another hand (in pencil, lower right): Whistler.
Coll.: Library of Congress.
50. Merit It's Own Reward
Pen and ink, wash. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. Signed (lower left): J.W. Inscribed (bottom center): Merit it's own Reward. / or / The best man leads off the Squad. Later annotation by another hand (in pencil, lower right): J. McN. Whistler / 1852.
Coll.: Library of Congress.
51. Sketches on the upper half of the back of a prospectus for Racine College
Pen and ink. Sheet size: $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$.
a. At top: Three Cadets
Inscribed (at left): Cadet Whistler / and other members of / the 21st look on!
b. Below: Willie Whistler and Camarades
Inscribed (below): Willie Whistler and "Camarades" on their way to / Chapel after putting on the Canocks.
Coll.: Library of Congress.
Lower half of sheet contains sketches done at a later date and signed with butterfly signature. Sketch a is very similar in style and in the positioning of the figures to no. 50. The prospectus announces the second session to begin on January 5, 1853. The president of the college was Rev. Roswell Park, former head of the Christ Church Hall School, which Whistler attended in Pomfret.
52. One of the Board
Pen and ink. Inscribed (at bottom): One of the Board.
Coll.: Thomas Childs, Esq., as of 1908.
53. Title page from school book, with sketches
Coll.: Thomas Childs, Esq., as of 1908.
Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 34.
54. Christmas Comes but Once a Year
Present whereabouts unknown.
Drinking scene in cadet barracks.
55. Sketches in Cadet Peyton H. Colquitt's algebra book, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, 1852
Sheet size: $9\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$.
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Bequest.
a. Boning and Not Boning
End paper: Pencil, pen and ink. Inscribed (below upper sketch): Boning; and (below lower sketch): Not Boning.
b. Oriental figure, chemistry experiment, and other sketches
End paper: Pen and ink, wash.
c. Oriental figure and other sketches
End paper: Pencil, pen and ink.
d. Soldier
End paper: Pencil, pen and ink, wash. Inscribed (right of sketch): Will ye plaze to step on / the tail av me Coat? Inscribed elsewhere on the sheet: U.S. Military Academy / May 17.th 1852.
e. Cloister interior(?) with two monks
P. 41. Pen and ink, wash.

Nos. 56–60 were in the possession of Mrs. Cornelia Taylor Long, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, as of 1936. Their present whereabouts is not known. The sketches originally belonged to William Robertson Boggs, who was adjunct of the Corps of Cadets at West Point while Whistler was there. They are all reproduced in Hinshaw, “Whistler’s First Drawings,” pp. 736–741.

56. Plebs “Policing” the Camp and A Caged Cadet
Pen and ink.
57. The Valentine
Pen and ink. Inscribed (bottom center): The Valentine. Suggested, along with no. 58, by Dickens’s *Pickwick Papers*.
58. Sam Weller and Mary Fold a Carpet
Pen and ink. Inscribed (bottom center): Sam Weller and Mary Fold a carpet.
59. Sketches of a West Point drummer and a cadet playing a flute, and numerous drawings of babies
Pen and ink.
60. Sketches of Russian Soldiers
Pen and ink. Inscribed (bottom left): Russian Dragoon.
61. Milkmaids
Watercolor. 18 × 25. C. 1852–1854.
Coll.: United States Military Academy, West Point.
Probably touched up by Robert W. Weir.
62. A Man Dispensing Alms
Pen and ink. 30 × 22. C. 1853.
Coll.: United States Military Academy, West Point, gift of Col. Larned along with Milkmaids.
This sketch, drawn after an unidentified print, was also probably touched up by Weir. A drawing of the identical scene by George Cattermole, dated 1864 and entitled “The Unknown” Dispensing Alms from *I Promessi Sposi*, was sold at Christie’s, London, July 13, 1971, no. 274.
63. Seated Monk
Watercolor and gouache. 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 15 $\frac{3}{8}$. Signed (lower right): J. Whistler. Inscribed on verso: Presented to Cadet A. K. Leigh by his affectionate room-mate / Cadet James A. Whistler.
Coll.: City Art Museum of St. Louis, gift of W. R. Bixby, 1923.
Bristol, “The Earliest Portrait,” p. 232, believes this to be a portrait of Whistler. Col. Larned disputes this contention and identifies it as a copy of an old print used by Weir in his drawing classes. Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 32.

Nos. 64–67, four drawings in the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada (59–278–81), drawn in an album originally belonging to Maria “Kitty” Bailey, daughter of Jacob Whitman Bailey, Professor of Chemistry at West Point.

64. Prison Scene with an Old Man
Pen and ink. 5 × 6. Signed (bottom right): J. Whistler.
65. Prison Scene
Pen and ink. 5 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed (bottom right): J. [Whistler?].
66. Girl with a Lamp
Pen and ink. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed (bottom right): J.W.
67. Head of a Man
Pen and ink. 2 × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$.
68. Man with Hat
Pencil. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$. Signed (lower right): J. Whistler.
Coll.: Library of Congress.
Found in 1933 along with no. 69 by Lillian McNeill Palmer in a trunk under the eaves of the Palmer home-
stead in Stonington, Connecticut. Probably dates c. 1852–1854.
69. Cemetery, Stonington, Connecticut
Pen and ink, pencil, on black-bordered stationery. Sheet size: 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$. Signed (lower right): J. W.
Coll.: Library of Congress.
According to Miss Palmer the scene depicted is the cemetery in which Whistler’s father is buried.

Nos. 70–74, five drawings in *The Art Institute of Chicago*, probably dating from the West Point period. These have not been seen by the author.

70. Recto: young cadet or soldier in fanciful hussar uniform; verso: head and man in a top hat
Recto: pen and ink over pencil; verso: pencil. 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{7}{8}$. (34.680.)
71. Lancer
Pen and ink. 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{7}{8}$. (27.5881.)
72. Soldier with Lance and Fur Cap
Pen and ink. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{8}$. (27.5878.)
73. Policeman and Citizen
Pen and ink. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{8}$. (27.5879.)
74. Gendarme
Pencil, pen and ink. 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{8}$. (27.5880.)

75. Four sketches in a journal written sometime between July 1854 and July 1855
 Pen and ink. Sheet size: $8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$.
 Coll.: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1970.121.85-87.
 a. Figure in monk's cowl, possibly Whistler
 Inscribed (below): "Nulla dies sine linea."
 b. Two sketches of an old man whom Whistler imagines reading the journal many years hence
 c. Whistler changing his cadet clothes for a new Plebe's attire
76. P. B. S. in Amos Palmer's Shop
 Pen and ink on blue lined paper. $6 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$. Inscribed and dated (bottom right): P. B. S. in Amos Palmer's Shop—Sept. 29th/54.
 Coll.: University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Collection, B.P. II Res. 11/6.
77. Eleven sketches in letter to "Paul" in Stonington written from the Winans home in Baltimore, late October, 1854
 Pen and ink. Sheet size: $13\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$.
 Coll.: Library of Congress.
78. Portrait of John Ross Key
 Pastel, crayon, and chalk. $20\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$. C. late 1854.
 Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art (08.200).
79. The Cobbler: Sam Weller's Lodgings in the Fleet Prison
 Watercolor. $4\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$. C. late 1854.
 Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art (05.332).
80. Coast Survey Plate No. 1
 Etching: Plate size: $5\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Signed (at left below sketch of Boston Harbor at top): JW.
 Coll.: Plate is in the Freer Gallery of Art.
81. Standard Bearer
 Lithograph. Plate line: $8 \times 5\frac{5}{8}$. Signed on stone (lower left): J. Whistler. Annotated on verso (in pencil, center): J. Whistler, fecit / Baltimore. 1855. 17 July / to / Frank B. Mayer.; and (in pencil, lower left): FM from J. Whistler / Balto. July 17, 1855—.
 Coll.: Unique impression, Library of Congress.
 Annotations by Frank B. Mayer.

NOTE

A Study of the Works of Gassan Sadakazu in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

BENJAMIN VINCENT

Clawson Mills Fellow, Department of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

GASSAN SADAKAZU (1837–1919), the most brilliant Japanese swordsmith of the Meiji era, came from a nonswordmaking family named Tsukamoto, whose home was in Omi province. At a very early age, the young Tsukamoto was adopted by Gassan Sadayoshi, a fairly well-known swordsmith residing in Osaka, and given at first the name Yagoro and later Sadakazu.¹ Yagoro proved to be a very precocious student with an amazing talent for making swords and began producing them at the age of fourteen.² Undoubtedly he deserves to be called a genius; even the unusually staid *Nihonto Koza* enthuses that Sadakazu was “born into this world for the purpose of making swords.”³ Great ability at carving decorative designs paralleled Gassan’s expertness with forging techniques, and a close study of the blades of earlier masters enabled him to produce excellent works in the Yamato, Yamashiro, Bizen, and Soshu styles, a feat unequaled by any other artist. Additionally, the Osaka marvel perfected the technique of forging rippling ayasugi jihada⁴ and executed calligraphies and paintings of high merit.

Sadakazu’s swordmaking career seems to have fallen into an unusual cycle. The blades he made during his earliest years were often signed by his foster father. Then, around the beginning of the Meiji era, Sadakazu began forging swords in the Yamato and Yamashiro styles. During his middle years, however, counterfeiting the costly works of prominent swordsmiths occupied his energies for reasons that are not completely under-

stood.⁵ As Sadakazu himself became increasingly well known, lesser smiths made forgeries of his work in turn, and in later years he inscribed his name on blades made by his son, Sadakatsu.

In the collection of the Metropolitan Museum’s Arms and Armor Department, there are six blades that bear the noted Gassan inscription, five of which are authentic. A fine early one is a tanto in the style of the first-generation Tadayoshi (Figures 1–3). Of *katakiriba* shape, it is 10.6 inches long and 1.2 inches wide, with *horimono* of a descending dragon grasping a *ken* on the *omote* and a *bobi* with *tsurebi* on the *ura*. In keeping with the Tadayoshi tradition, the *hamon* is a *nie deki suguha* with a touch of *notare* in places and the *boshi* is *komaru* with the *kaeri yoru*, while the *jihada* is a somewhat flat *Hizen*-style *itame*. On the *omote* the signature reads, “Naniwa Gassan Sadakazu, *hori mono do saku*,” which indicates that Gassan Sadakazu of Osaka, for which *Naniwa* is an ancient name, made the blade and also executed the carvings.⁶ Near the tip of

1. *Sadakazu* can also be read *Teiichi*.

2. Mitsuo Shibata, *Shin-shinto Nyumon* (Tokyo, 1969) p. 156.

3. Kunzan Homma and Kanzan Sato, eds., *Shinpan Nihonto Koza*, V (Tokyo, 1967) p. 321.

4. For many of the technical terms used to describe Japanese swords, no equivalents exist in English. In order to make this note on Gassan Sadakazu more intelligible, a glossary has been included at the end.

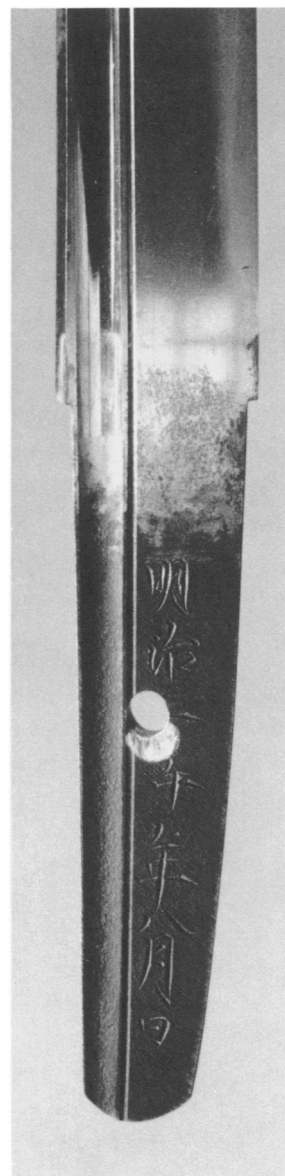
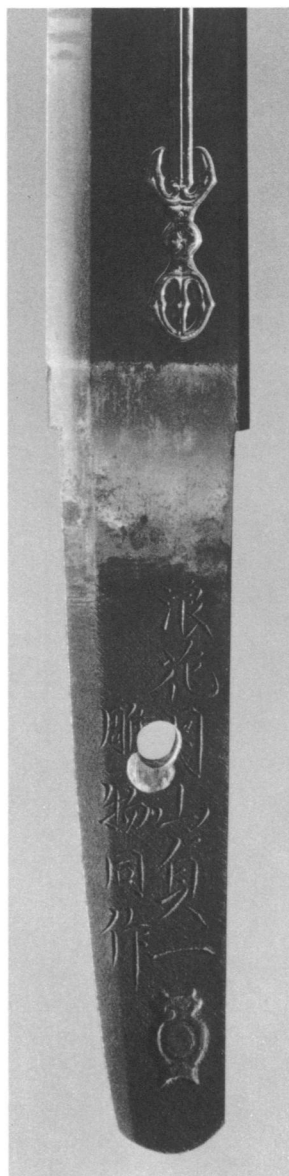
5. Sho Kawaguchi, *Shinto Koto Taikan*, II (Tokyo, 1930) p. 158.

6. Intricate carvings were often done by specialists rather than by the makers of the blades themselves.



FIGURE 1
Tanto in the style of the
first-generation
Tadayoshi, by Gassan
Sadakazu. The Metro-
politan Museum of Art,
bequest of Michael
Friedsam, The Friedsam
Collection, 32.100.470

FIGURES 2, 3
Details of the signed and
dated sides of the tanto in
Figure 1



the tang is a deeply impressed seal in the shape of an owl, inside of which is the Japanese character *sada*. On the reverse is inscribed a date reading, “Meiji san uma nen hachi gatsu hi,” or “a day in August in the third, horse, year of the Meiji period,” which corresponds to the Western date 1870.

Gassan’s early, Yamato-style technique is illustrated by a superb tanto of unokubi shape having a length of 9.4 inches and a breadth of 1.1 inches (Figures 4–7). The jihada is a beautiful masame covered profusely with sparkling nie, and the hamon features a hotsureta suguha leading to a boshi with medium kaeri. The inscription has some interesting features. The usual

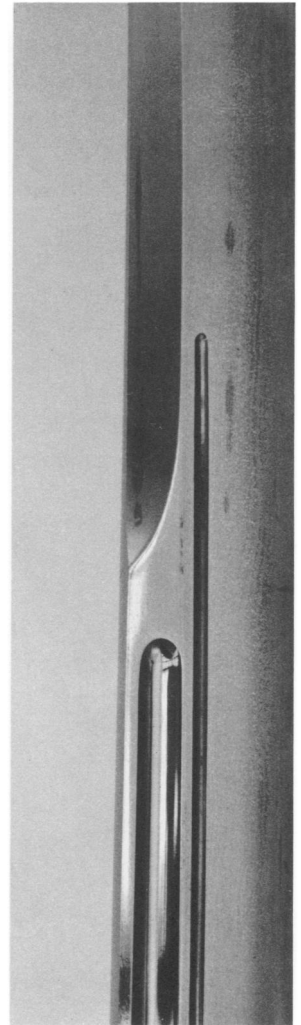
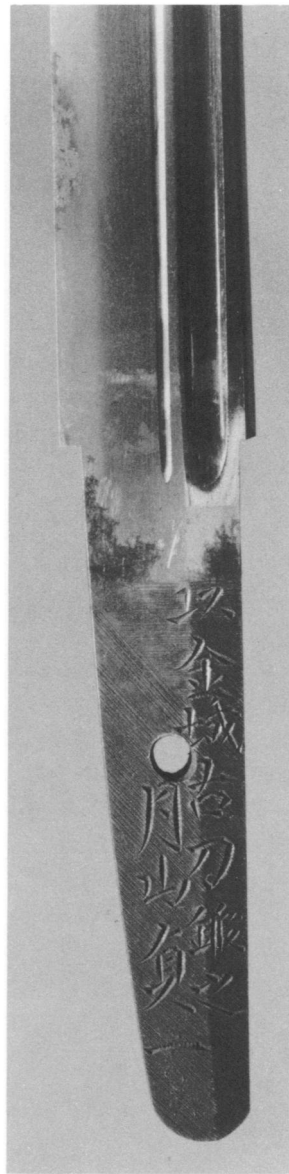
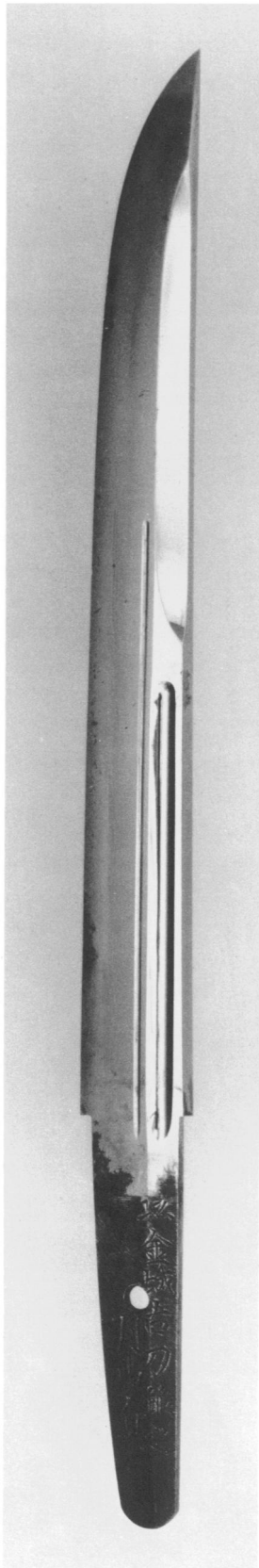


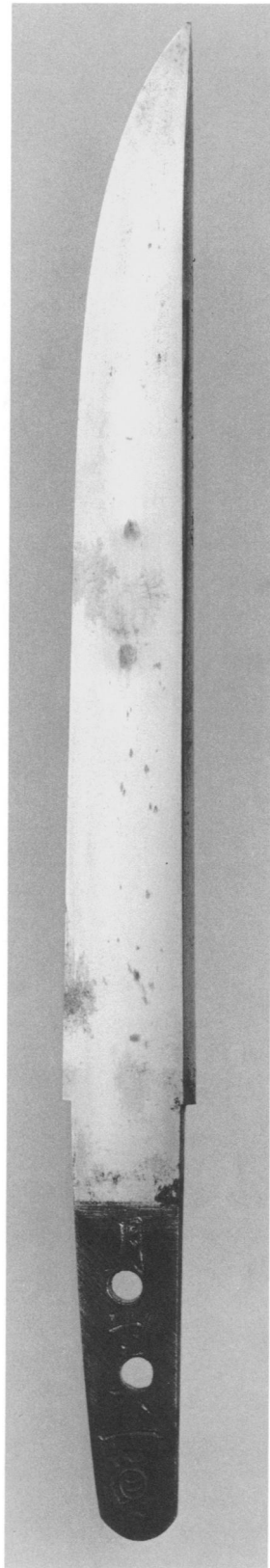
FIGURE 4
Tanto of unokubi shape,
by Gassan Sadakazu. The
Metropolitan Museum of
Art, gift of Brayton Ives
and W.T.Walters, 91.2.35

FIGURES 5–7
Details of the tanto in
Figure 4 showing the
signed side, the dated side,
and the straight forging
grain and nie

part of the signature, which reads “Gassan Sadakazu,” is followed by “Motte kinjo koto kitaeru kore,” meaning “This was forged using [steel from] an old sword of *kinjo*.”⁷ The inscription on the reverse begins, “Tame Genda,” which indicates that the artist forged the blade for a man named Genda. The presence of this name serves as an important indicator as to the reason for the blade’s superiority, for special-order blades usually contain the highest-quality workmanship. Next, “tatsu nen shoko” means that this dagger was forged in “early summer of the dragon year.” Ascribing this particular cyclical date to a specific year presents some

7. *Kinjo* was another name for Osaka Castle.

FIGURE 8
Sa-style tanto, by Gassan
Sadakazu. The Metro-
politan Museum of Art,
bequest of Mrs. H. O.
Havemeyer, The H. O.
Havemeyer Collection,
29.100.1372



difficulty since Gassan's lifetime included seven years of the dragon. But the first of these years occurred in 1844 when Sadakazu was only seven years old and can be eliminated. In 1856, when the Osaka master became nineteen, the second dragon year came, and it was possibly at this time that the Metropolitan's work was constructed. However, a very strong case can be made for contending that the next dragon year, 1868, saw the forging of this blade, since around that time Gassan often added two-character seasonal notations to his signature, such as the *shoko* on this example.⁸ When Sadakazu reached forty-three in 1880, the next dragon year arrived; but by then his interest had turned from making Yamato-style blades, and therefore this and the following dragon-cycle years can be eliminated.

A third blade by Sadakazu in the Museum's collection is a Sa-style tanto that has a length of 7.6 inches and a width of .9 inch, uchizori, shin-no-mune, nie deki notare midare hamon with a sampin-style boshi, and itame jihada (Figure 8). The simple four-character signature of Gassan Sadakazu has beneath it a deeply impressed owl-shaped *sada* seal. This dagger's quality, while far from being poor, falls below the very high level of the previously mentioned early examples, merely proving that even Gassan did not always produce a masterpiece.

Throughout the history of Japanese art, forgeries of the works of successful artists were made, and swords bearing spurious signatures appearing to be that of Sadakazu present difficulties to students and collectors. An example of such a work is a tanto in the Museum's collection.⁹ A comparison of the tang with that of the tanto just discussed, aided by photographic enlargements about three times actual size, should adequately illustrate the basic differences between the forgery (Figure 9) and the authentic blade (Figure 10).¹⁰

8. Homma and Sato, *Nihonto Koza*, V, p. 326; Shibata, *Shin-shinto Nyumon*, p. 26; Oichi Hiroi and Kazuo Iida, *Nihonto Kantei Nyumon* (Tokyo, 1971) p. 90; and Yoshio Fujishiro, *Nihon Toko Jiten* (Tokyo, 1965) p. 375, contain other examples of these seasonal dates along with more accurate period dates, all of which are around the beginning of the Meiji era.

9. Since this blade is a forgery and atypical for Sadakazu, there is no need here for a technical description.

10. To judge the authenticity of shin-shinto solely by the workmanship is often dangerous since the productions of the majority of late smiths vary widely in quality and style. The distinctive steel that had often typified the blades of earlier individual smiths or schools had generally ceased to be utilized.

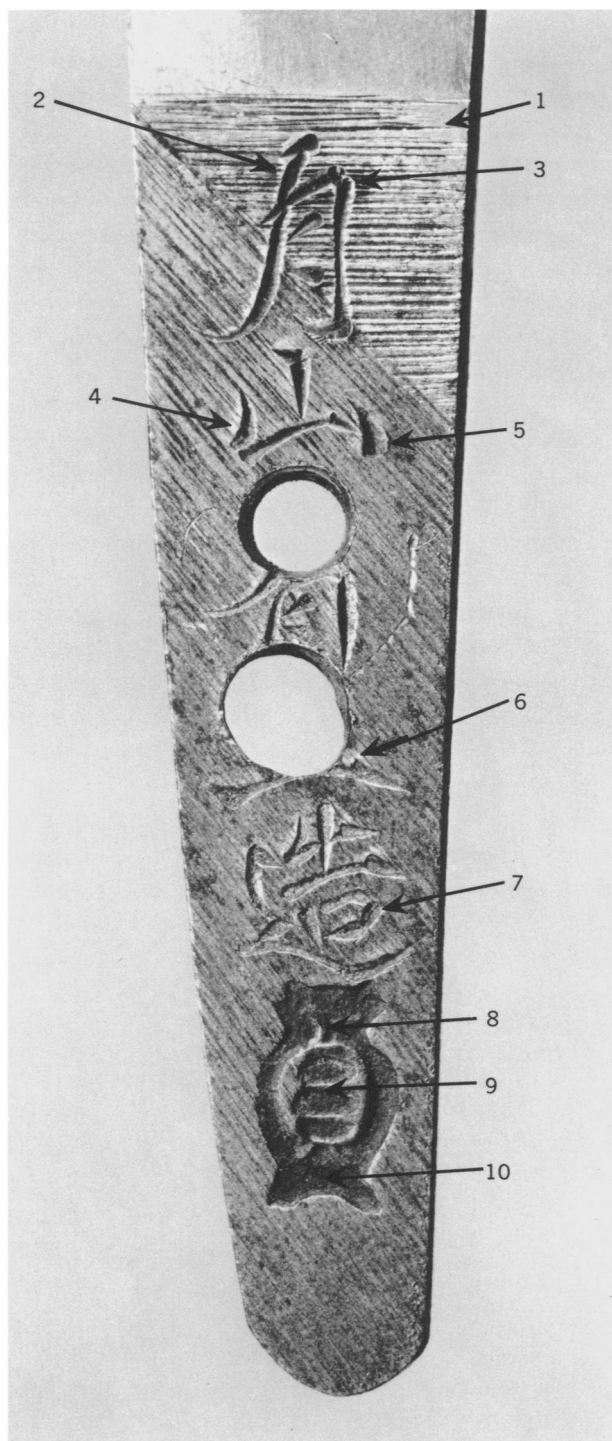


FIGURE 9
Detail of a tanto with the forged signature of Gassan Sadakazu. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Brayton Ives and W. T. Walters, 91.2.26

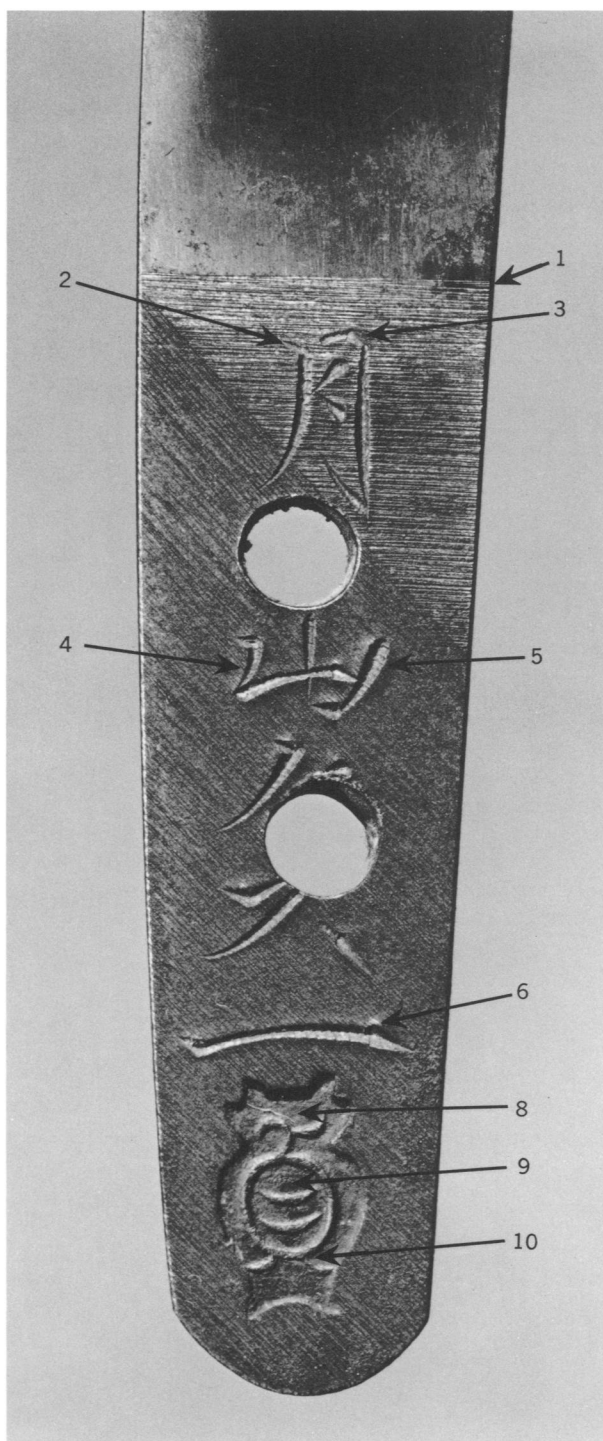


FIGURE 10
Detail of the signed side of the tanto in Figure 8

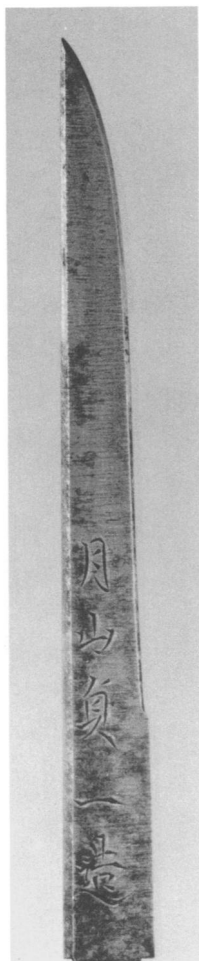


FIGURE 11
Kozuka blade, by Gassan
Sadakazu. The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, gift of
Brayton Ives and W. T. Walters,
91.2.29

To begin with general considerations, the tang of the forgery is too long and narrow in relation to the length and width of the blade. Further, the file marks are too coarse.

In addition, many of the atari tagane, or chisel marks, and the strokes forming the characters do not match those on authentic blades. Specific points of comparison are numbered on the photographs. Note point 1: on the forgery the file marks do not touch the edge of the tang, which is a serious fault. The uppermost character in each case is substantially different. At point 2 on the forgery the stroke was greatly over-extended. At point 3 on the authentic blade there is a special triangular chisel mark; this is missing on the forgery. On the next character there are differences in the taper of certain strokes. For example, at point 4 on the forgery the stroke incorrectly widens from top to

bottom. A similar divergency is present at point 5. The next character is partially obliterated by tang holes, so it will not be studied here. The simple fourth character would seem the easiest to forge, but even in this case there is a very clear and essential difference. Inside the groove at point 6 on the authentic blade there is a series of fine chisel marks; on the forgery no such marks are visible. The character *tsukuru*, meaning "made," appears next on the forgery, at point 7, and has incorrectly formed parts, but it is not present at all on the authentic blade.

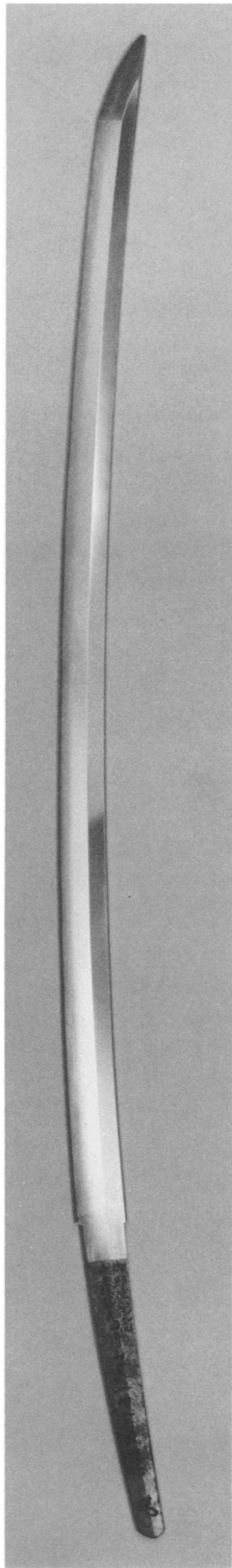
The owl seals also provide important clues about authenticity. Notice how crisp the eyes of the owl are at point 8 on the authentic example, when contrasted with the forgery. Also, the two horizontal lines inside the character *sada*, within the owl (9), are concave on the authentic blade but straight on the false one. The feet of the character are spread farther apart at point 10 on the authentic blade than they are on the forgery.

Kozuka blades generally have little artistic merit and were mass-produced by minor smiths, although many bear the forged names of great masters. On occasion, however, Gassan Sadakazu made kozuka blades of superior quality. In the Arms and Armor Department's collection, there is a fine one signed "Gassan Sadakazu tsukuru" (Figure 11).¹¹ While few sword-makers took the pains with these small knives that they took with their larger works, this blade has definite merit, as seen in the graceful shape, the distinct execution of the decorative file marks on the face and top, the skillful *suguha hamon*, and the beautiful calligraphy of the signature.

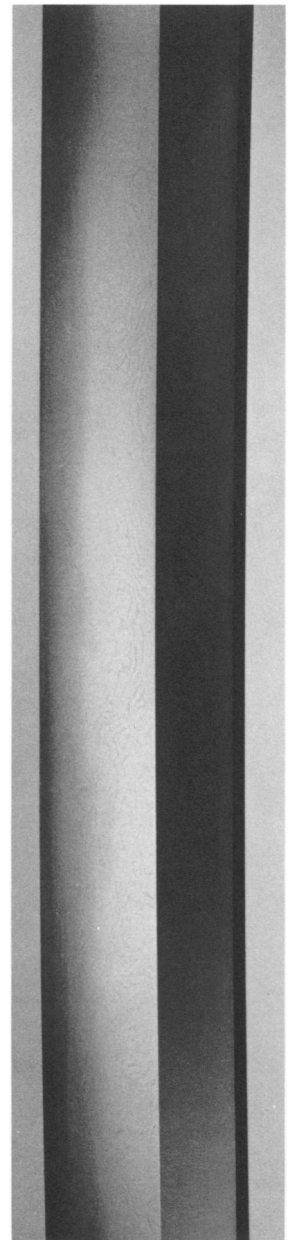
11. This kozuka blade is part of a mounting with the acc. no. 91.2.29.

FIGURE 12
Daito, by Gassan Sadakatsu, but signed by
Sadakazu. The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 17.217.1

FIGURE 13
Detail of the signed side of the daito in Figure 12.
Note the written seal of Sadakatsu at the very
bottom and the burnished signature of the pol-
isher just above the file marks



FIGURES 14, 15
Details of the daito in
Figure 12 showing the
dated side and the
forging pattern



One of the most impressive Gassans in the Metropolitan is a long sword in the style of Masamune, the most famous of all Japanese swordsmiths (Figures 12–15). In keeping with the style of the Yoshino period, this daito, with a length of 28.1 inches and breadth of 1.2 inches, has an elongated point and Soshu-type itame jihada, which was skillfully imitated by mixing steels of varying hardness, thus rendering the appearance of the plentiful jikei so characteristic of Masamune's work. The hamon is a nie deki gonnome midare that continues into the point, and there is moderate kaeri.

The inscription is very informative. Following the regular four-character Gassan Sadakazu signature are the words “Toki hachiju sai kosaku,” indicating that the sword was “respectfully made at the time of eighty years of age.” The inscription continues with “gosokui kinen,” meaning “in commemoration of the corona-

tion,” which would be that of the emperor Taisho. “Teishitsu gigei-in,” which appears next, refers to Sadakazu's appointment in 1905 to a position as a “member of the Imperial Household artisans.” At the bottom is the written seal of Sadakazu's son, Gassan Sadakatsu, who no doubt made this blade, as well as most other works purported to have been made by Sadakazu at an advanced age. On the reverse is the date “Taisho yonen juichi gatsu kichinichi,” which can be rendered as an “auspicious day in November of the fourth year of the Taisho era” (1915). Then come the characters reading “motte Soshu Kamakura Goro Masamune den,” or “using the style of Goro Masamune of Kamakura in Soshu.” In addition to the inscriptions by Sadakazu and Sadakatsu, the sword bears the name of Yoshida Toshiyuki, who polished the blade, and the date of his work, which was also November in the fourth year of the Taisho era.

GLOSSARY

ayasugi jihada	a forging pattern with uniform undulation	masame	straight-grained forging pattern
bobi	wide longitudinal groove	midare	variation in the width of the temper line
boshi	pattern of the temper line in the area of the point	nie	troostite
daito	long sword	nie deki	temper line formed of troostite
gonnome	peaked temper-line pattern	notare	undulating temper-line pattern
hamon	overall pattern of the temper line	omote	the signed side of a blade
horimono	carvings on a blade	sampin	literally, “three things”; describes the temper pattern of a point that resembles an irregular triangle
hotsureta suguha	literally, “unraveled” suguha; straight temper line that looks like a piece of unraveled string	shin-no-mune	the back of a blade formed in three planes
itame	forging pattern resembling burl wood	shin-shinto	swords that were made after about 1780
jihada	the forged pattern of the steel	suguha	straight temper-line pattern
jikei	accumulation of troostite that forms a shiny line on the side of a blade	tanto	dagger
kaeri	the return portion of the temper line around the area of the point	tsurebi	small groove accompanying a larger groove
katakiriba	shape of blade in which the single ridge line is close to the edge	uchizori	literally, “inside curve”; type of blade in which the curvature is toward the edge
ken	double-edged straight sword; a stylized rendition of such a sword, when used in reference to carvings	unokubi	literally, “cormorant's neck”; a blade shape said to resemble the neck of a cormorant
komaru	temper line in the point having a fairly small amount of roundness	ura	the side of a blade on the reverse of the side that has the signature
kozuka	handle for a small side knife, which was often carried in a special pocket in the sheath of a sword	yoru	type of temper pattern in the area of the point in which the reverse portion leans toward the edge