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Illustration on p. 2: Qian Xuan (Chinese, ca. 1235–before 1307). Detail of *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese*, late 13th century. See fig. 10, p. 36.

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MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

Founded in 1968, the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is a double-blind peer-reviewed scholarly journal published annually that features original research on the history, interpretation, conservation, and scientific examination of works of art in the Museum's collection. Its scope encompasses the diversity of artistic practice from antiquity to the present day. The *Journal* encourages contributions offering critical and innovative approaches that will further our understanding of works of art.

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p. 65; Smith and Harding 2006, pp. 7–10, fig. 23).

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ABBREVIATIONS

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

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

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The Cornish Celebration Presentation Plaque by Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Newly Identified Sources

THAYER TOLLES

In 2017, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a gilded bronze bas-relief plaque modeled by Augustus Saint-Gaudens to commemorate an open-air masque held on June 22, 1905, in Cornish, New Hampshire (fig. 1). The plaque was presented by the sculptor's widow, Augusta Saint-Gaudens, to Louis Evan Shipman, the playwright and author who wrote the pageant's script, and it remained in his family, unknown to scholars, until it was sold in 2007. It joins the Museum's extensive collection of some fifty works by Saint-Gaudens. An acquisition such as this recent one allows for a more layered understanding of the sculptor's creative process and for greater interpretive potential. Moreover, it demonstrates the potency of the Museum's collection for compositional and conceptual inspiration, a legacy that continues

fig. 1 Augustus Saint-Gaudens (American, 1848–1907). *Cornish Celebration Presentation Plaque*, 1905–6; cast ca. 1913. Bronze, gilt, 32½ × 18⅞ in. (82.6 × 48 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Marguerite and Frank A. Cosgrove Jr. Fund, 2017 (2017.155)





fig. 2 Augustus Saint-Gaudens. *Cornish Celebration Presentation Plaque*, 1905–6. Bronze, silver, $3\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (8.3 × 4.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Kenyon Cox, 1908 (08.216)

unabated to this day. In his sculpture Saint-Gaudens integrates two major acquisitions of 1903: the Etruscan bronze chariot inlaid with ivory from Monteleone (second quarter of the 6th century B.C.) and the Roman wall paintings from the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (ca. 50–40 B.C.).

Saint-Gaudens's stele-shaped plaque contains three sections. The central one depicts a landscape setting with a small elevated portal with Ionic columns. The visual focus is a flaming altar bearing garlands and other vegetal ornament, an eagle with outspread wings,

and the inscription AMOR VINCIT (Love Conquers All). On either side of the structure are clusters of trees with branches framing the scene and conveying spatial depth. The two front-most flanking trees are adorned with suspended theatrical curtains and comic masks. A winged Amor (or Eros) stands on the steps with a raised lyre while a grassy knoll and a bench of classicizing design appear in the foreground. In the register above, a pediment is flanked by two inverted cornucopia and topped by a bowl with low-relief figural decoration. It is densely inscribed with names of the masque's participants that continue on the plinth, some ninety of them in all recording a roster of talent. The lower section also features a frontal view of a chariot, with figural decoration that is flanked by the players' names. An inscription along the lower edge declares the sculpture as an "affectionate remembrance of the celebration" and erroneously records the event as having occurred on June 23, 1905.

In early 1906, Saint-Gaudens sent the master model for the commemorative presentation plaque to Paris. The composition was reduced to $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high and struck in bronze by the firm V. Janvier & L. Duval, esteemed for reducing lathes of Janvier's invention. The sculptor and his wife presented plaquettes with a silvered finish to each of the participants as "a token of our appreciation," as noted in an accompanying pre-printed letter, dated September 17, 1906.¹ Their names were listed on the front, while each individual had his or her name recorded on the reverse of a plaquette. Saint-Gaudens gave one of the silvered bronze plaquettes to the artist Kenyon Cox, which he in turn donated to the Museum in October 1908 (fig. 2).² Of the three full-size bronzes, the first one, with no foundry mark (Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park, Cornish, N.H.), was lent by Augusta Saint-Gaudens to the sculptor's memorial exhibition held from March to May 1908 at the Museum in the Hall of Sculpture (now the Great Hall).³ Another, cast by the Gorham Company, is privately owned.

Augusta Saint-Gaudens's gift to Shipman of the Museum's full-size bronze plaque was based on a long friendship between their families beginning in the late 1890s. The Shipmans had a house in the neighboring town of Plainfield and were sociable and popular members of the Cornish Colony. In the early 1900s, Shipman was a year-round resident, as were Saint-Gaudens, artist Maxfield Parrish, poet and dramatist Percy MacKaye, and their families. This tightly bound group was known as the Chickadee Club, named for the small nonmigratory bird with great capacity for enduring cold climates.

Shipman had established his reputation with *D'Arcy of the Guards* (1899), which was turned into a play in 1901. He went on to dramatize his own writings and those of others, including *The Crossing* by novelist and fellow Cornish Colonist Winston Churchill, in autumn 1905, months after the masque was performed. At the time Shipman was married to Ellen Biddle Shipman, who would become an influential landscape architect (the couple later divorced).

The Shipmans and their daughter each received masque plaquettes from Saint-Gaudens in 1906. Earlier that year, in January, Shipman had purchased a small version of the portrait relief of Robert Louis Stevenson, one of Saint-Gaudens's most commercially successful works; the two men shared an enthusiasm for the Scottish author's writings.⁴ Recent research confirms that the Museum's plaque was not presented to Shipman from Saint-Gaudens when the plaquettes were distributed in September 1906, as previously posited. Rather, in November 1912, Augusta Saint-Gaudens, who was actively casting her late husband's small bronzes for retail sale and for placement in museums (including the Metropolitan Museum), wrote to Shipman: "I have something to tell you that if it gives you a tenth as much pleasure for you to hear as it does

me to write it will more than repay me. . . . When you build that room I am going to send you a full size bronze of the 'Masque' you said you would like to have."⁵ By doing so, she was echoing Saint-Gaudens's practice of presenting his sculptures as gifts of friendship. No documentation thus far has been discovered that proves exactly when Augusta Saint-Gaudens followed through on her promise to cast and present a bronze to Shipman; it was likely about 1913. It bears the mark of Roman Bronze Works, a New York foundry with which she worked consistently in the 1910s to produce estate casts. The gilded surface, which distinguishes this bronze from the two others of similar scale, may be a witty allusion to the title of Shipman's script, "A Masque of 'Ours,' The Gods and the Golden Bowl."

On December 3, 1903, the architect Charles McKim wrote to Saint-Gaudens, his longtime professional collaborator and personal friend: "Don't forget that when you are next in New York we are to go up to the Metropolitan Museum, to see the Greek Chariot and the old Roman models, which are all very fine. I promised Mr. [Frederick] Rhinelander that we would make him a visit at the Museum."⁶ The bronze chariot (fig. 3), soon reassigned from Greek to Etruscan, and the



fig. 3 Monteleone chariot. Etruscan, second quarter of the 6th century B.C. Bronze, ivory, total H. 51 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (130.9 cm); length of pole 82 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (209 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.1)

fig. 4 Cubiculum (bedroom)
from the Villa of P. Fannius
Synistor at Boscoreale.
Roman, ca. 50–40 B.C.
Fresco, room 8 ft. 8½ in. ×
10 ft. 11½ in. × 19 ft. 1½ in.
(265.4 × 334 × 583.9 cm).
The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903
(03.14.13a–g)



Roman wall paintings (fig. 4) were acquired with great fanfare in 1903. The chariot had been discovered in fragments in a subterranean tomb at Colle del Capitano near Monteleone di Spoleto in Valnerina, in February 1902. The frescoes originated from the villa of P. Fannius Synistor in the town of Boscoreale, on the southern slope of Mount Vesuvius, and were buried during the volcanic eruption in A.D. 79. Sixty-eight wall sections were excavated in 1899–1900 and brought to Paris for auction in June 1903; the chariot was transported there for sale as well.⁷ Based in Paris in summer 1903, Rhineland, then president of the museum, negotiated on behalf of longtime director Luigi Palma di Cesnola and the trustees' Committee on Purchases. The acquisition of nineteen fresco panels and the chariot was made possible through the Rogers Fund, an unexpected \$5 million bequest from Paterson, New Jersey, locomotive magnate Jacob S. Rogers. They were among the very first objects acquired through that windfall, which had become accessible beginning in early 1903, generating some \$200,000 annually for art purchases.⁸ In his plaque Saint-Gaudens directly references these two major acquisitions.

Of their respective types, the parade chariot and the fresco paintings are arguably among the finest and best preserved ever found. They were celebrated acquisitions well publicized in newspapers at the time, as a

methodically assembled scrapbook in the Museum holdings attests.⁹ Numerous pages of clippings document their accession and installation, relating the circumstances of the discovery, purchase, and arrival of the “new treasures” in New York. The range of sources in which articles about these acquisitions were published confirms that the reach was not only local but also international. In November 1903, the popular journal *Scientific American* published an illustrated article on the chariot, detailing its restoration and assembly on a modern-day substructure.¹⁰ On October 26, 1903, the Museum held a private viewing of the new acquisitions, with the *New York Herald* reporting that “several hundreds [*sic*] took advantage of the opportunity to inspect the ancient bronze chariot . . . and the frescoes.”¹¹

Whether Saint-Gaudens and McKim together made the proposed visit to see the new collection as well as board president Rhineland is unrecorded, although the sculptor is documented as having been in New York in early November 1903 and already may have seen the objects. Saint-Gaudens enjoyed strong ties to the Metropolitan Museum, mingling easily with its trustees, staff, and donors, and displayed an awareness of its developing collection.¹² While there is ample evidence that Saint-Gaudens was familiar with the Museum's ancient art holdings, the question of how the chariot and the frescoes became the deliberate formal

forerunners not only for his sculpture but also for the pageant's setting, scenery, and props remains unanswered. Encountering the objects in New York impacted him, and presumably the masque organizers, in the novelty of their type and function. However, no letters or writings have yet been found that document their deliberate referencing of Metropolitan Museum objects. Additionally, although Saint-Gaudens was aware of the planning for the event, he was not privy to the specifics of the production, nor presumably did he make recommendations. He wrote of "being kept in ignorance" of the "great and secret doings . . . going on all over my field" during weeks of preparations.¹³

A masque, or pageant, of the sort that took place in Cornish is by definition a dramatic performance of a historical scene or scenes, or an event with historic reference points (fig. 5). The early years of the twentieth century saw a tremendous surge of interest in lavishly produced outdoor pageants, especially in Great Britain and the United States.¹⁴ In describing this dramatic phenomenon, Percy MacKaye, one of its most committed advocates and an organizer of the Cornish masque, wrote of the arts of painting, sculpture, dance, and music as collaboratively forming the basis for the art of pageantry.¹⁵ While the Cornish masque has been assessed in this context, and is recognized as the first

important one in this country, what scholars to date have overlooked is the indebtedness of the pageant's planners to specific ancient works of art in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and, in turn, Saint-Gaudens's incorporation of these antiquities in the plaque. The commonly held perception of Cornish as a modern-day Arcadia—a combination of classical and New England rural—while apt, has deflected understanding of the event and the resulting sculpture as deliberate nods to specific ancient sources for both formal and symbolic inspiration.

There is a robust literature on the 1905 masque as well as the resulting 1905–6 presentation plaques and plaquettes.¹⁶ The event was meticulously planned for several months by members of the Cornish Colony, the artists, architects, writers, musicians, and actors who gathered in the bucolic New Hampshire enclave for creative inspiration and for camaraderie. Saint-Gaudens was among the region's first seasonal inhabitants, and the colony's symbolic leader, spending his first summer there in 1885, and after 1900, living there year-round. At the time of the masque in 1905, he was gravely ill with intestinal cancer (he would die two years later). Colony inhabitants intended the private event as a fond celebratory tribute to Saint-Gaudens, his wife, Augusta, and their twenty years' residency in Cornish. The masque



fig. 5 Masque cast in dress rehearsal for "A Masque of 'Ours,' The Gods and the Golden Bowl," 1905. Photograph, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park, Cornish, N.H.

was held on Saint-Gaudens's property, Aspet, in the lower meadow at the edge of a pine grove. The event was originally to have taken place on June 20, to coincide with the summer solstice, but was delayed by rain until June 22. Attendance was by invitation only, extended by the organizers and by Saint-Gaudens himself.

Shipman, the plaque's original owner, was joined by considerable local talent—many Cornish Colony residents held national reputations. Community collaboration and participation were central to the spirit of the masque. In addition to Shipman, the organizing committee included sculptor Herbert Adams; family friend William E. Beaman; actor John Blair; painters Kenyon Cox, Henry Fuller, and Maxfield Parrish; Percy MacKaye; and architect Charles A. Platt. MacKaye wrote the prologue, a tribute to Saint-Gaudens's artistic accomplishments,¹⁷ while Blair coached the actors and directed the performance. Music was composed and conducted by Arthur Whiting and performed by members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Cornish residents young and old served as actors who assumed the guise of gods and goddesses, nymphs, bacchantes, fates, and muses, wearing costumes and bearing props custom-made for the event.

Those involved conceived the evening as a tribute to Saint-Gaudens's love of the antique, fostered through his move in 1870 to Rome, where he encountered "a door . . . thrown wide open to the eternal beauty of the classical."¹⁸ The narrative centered on Roman (and occasionally Greek) mythological figures. There were frequent inside references to the members of the Cornish Colony and to the surrounding landscape, both in MacKaye's prologue and in Shipman's script. Colony member Laura Walker recalled the event as a fusion of past and present: "The idea was that the beautiful Cornish hills were occupied by the ancient gods and goddesses of mythology."¹⁹ For instance, Kenyon Cox wrote of the sculptor Herbert Adams costumed as the Greek god Pan: "gilded all over and exactly imitating the reproduction of a well-known archaic Greek statue which has long ornamented the grounds of Aspet."²⁰ In the early 1890s, Saint-Gaudens had placed in his garden a gilded bronze statue of a draped Pan playing a flute. It was a copy after a well-known marble herm in the British Museum probably dating to the first century B.C. and of Roman origin, but executed in an early fifth-century archaizing Greek style.²¹ Through the re-creation and assimilation of these objects, ages and places past were brought to life, even if ephemerally, a phenomenon Saint-Gaudens described in his *Reminiscences* as "a spectacle and a recall of Greece

of which I have dreamed, but have never thought actually to see in Nature."²² That both the organizers and Saint-Gaudens conflated ancient Greece and Rome into a larger idealization of the classical is evident in their descriptions of the event.

The specific contents of Shipman's original script were unknown for many years. Three copies were held by the same descendants who owned the Museum's plaque. In 2005, the centennial year of the masque, they presented them to the Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park. Titled "A Masque of 'Ours,' The Gods and the Golden Bowl," the script was written in loosely rhyming verse.²³ It revolved around Jupiter's decision to abdicate his reign as ruler of the gods, forcing a standoff between Pluto and Neptune and a spirited discussion among the assembled gods and goddesses. When Jupiter calls in Minerva to settle the dispute as to who will assume power, she approaches an altar and touches it with her spear. A burst of smoke and flames erupts and Fame steps forth with a bowl raised high. Minerva then looks into the "golden bowl of the gods" that she has received from Fame and summons Saint-Gaudens from the audience, declaring him the worthiest successor: "I've a candidate from amongst the mortals, One whose [*sic*] never passed Olympus' portals." When Jupiter questions, "Is he painter, poet, sage?" she responds, "He's all in one. The maker of a new Augustan Age." The newly empowered sculptor-god was then presented the ceremonial golden bowl. He and his wife were pulled in a chariot to dinner at Saint-Gaudens's recently completed Little Studio surrounded by "a long procession of picturesque citizens of the mythological world."²⁴

Writing days later to his trusted assistant James Earle Fraser, Saint-Gaudens enthused: "The 'Masque' was extraordinary. . . . I never saw anything more beautiful and impressive."²⁵ In his *Reminiscences*, the sculptor characterized the evening as a "delightful and in every sense remarkable . . . 'Fête Champêtre.'"²⁶ Over the ensuing months, in late 1905–early 1906, he made tangible his gratitude by modeling a full-size commemorative relief in which the classical overtones in the masque's content and presentation carry over, namely through his assimilation of specific elements from the chariot and the frescoes. Correspondence suggests he remained intensely focused on these objects and the sensation that they had caused since they were accessioned by the Museum in autumn 1903. For instance, in August 1905, two months after the Cornish masque, he invited the young painter and muralist Barry Faulkner to produce a half-size copy of the panel from Room H of the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, which was



fig. 6 Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Sketch for Cornish Celebration Presentation Plaque, 1905, destroyed. Photograph, Augustus Saint-Gaudens Papers, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.

a dining or reception room. It depicts a seated woman playing a gilded kithara with a young child looking over her shoulder; its background is the rich “Pompeian red” that Saint-Gaudens replicated on the exterior pergola wall of his new Little Studio. His letter to Faulkner reveals an easy familiarity with the Museum’s galleries, noting that the panel in which he was interested was “the first one on the left as you enter from the little room where that wonderful chariot is; it is on the north wall.”²⁷ Faulkner produced the copy, visible in a contemporary photograph of the sculptor’s Little Studio.²⁸

Furthermore, in early May 1906, while the resulting masque plaquettes were being produced in Paris, Saint-Gaudens suggested to his son, Homer, an aspiring arts journalist:

a history of the finding of that extraordinary Chariot “The Biga” [two-horse chariot] in the Metropolitan Museum

and of that room at Bosco Reale, well-illustrated, would be of very great interest. It has only been done as far as I know in the weekly papers, and these discoveries [the frescoes], particularly as it was on the slope of Vesuvius and the place was almost destroyed from the recent eruption [on April 7, 1906].²⁹

No publication by Homer is known to have resulted from his suggestion, possibly because scholarly articles on the chariot and the frescoes appeared in the Metropolitan Museum’s *Bulletin* in May and June 1906 respectively.³⁰

As a sketchily rendered preliminary drawing records, from the outset Saint-Gaudens conceived of the relief as stele-shaped and having a tripartite arrangement (fig. 6). The upper portion features scrollwork and the golden bowl, from which wisps of smoke are rising. In the lower section is a profile view of the chariot, with the car to the right and the draft pole to the left, along with first attempts at the content of the dedicatory inscription. The subsequent inclusion of the participants’ names in the final version necessitated expanding the top section to form a pediment as well as turning the chariot ninety degrees and centering it in the bottom field. In the middle section, Saint-Gaudens recorded the set’s principal elements: portal and flaming altar, trees and bushes, parted curtains and comic masks.

A comparison of the set photograph (fig. 7) to Saint-Gaudens’s central section of the final plaque (see fig. 1) reveals that he made several significant editorial decisions. In the outdoor setting in front of a pine grove, an elevated portal with paired Ionic columns is flanked by two additional Doric columns fabricated in plaster and wood by Saint-Gaudens’s studio assistant Henry Hering.³¹ All are festooned with garlands. The strong resemblance of the central portal structure to Stanford White’s design for the setting of Saint-Gaudens’s Peter Cooper monument (1894; dedicated 1897) suggests that Hering relied on it for direct inspiration. Two curtains, known to have been gray-green, are suspended from trees to frame the set. Two large gilded comic masks likewise hang from the trees in front of the curtains. The masks were designed by Maxfield Parrish, and then made six times as large, gilded and colored by Saint-Gaudens’s assistants Frances Grimes and Henry Hering.³² Seven benches of classicizing design are set in a semicircle while the pine grove’s edge forms a background scrim.

In order to accommodate the vertical orientation of his composition, Saint-Gaudens eliminated the



fig. 7 Stage, "A Masque of 'Ours,' The Gods and the Golden Bowl," 1905. Photograph, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park, Cornish, N.H.



fig. 8 Detail of cubiculum (bedroom) from the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (fig. 4), showing detail from east wall

flanking Doric columns from the outdoor set and retained only the bench at the left. In doing so, he minimized man-made architecture in favor of the natural landscape. An intimate framing canopy of trees and drawn curtains leads back to the stepped portal, which he faithfully copied from Hering's appropriation of White's design. The sculptor added narrative references, specifically the flaming altar's decorative appurtenances and eagle with outspread wings, and the figure of Amor, which like the bowl above and the chariot below reference the masque's plot.

In opting for the vertical format, Saint-Gaudens borrowed directly from the panels constituting the cubiculum of P. Fannius Synistor (Room M) (see fig. 4).

In the broadest sense, Saint-Gaudens appropriated the dialogue between the illusionism of architectural space and landscape, an equilibrium between human-produced and natural. Two specific scenes are particularly relevant (fig. 8) in terms of appropriation. They are similar in composition, facing and echoing each other in the center of the long side walls. Each is a framed view featuring a garland-festooned portal with Ionic pilasters and a heavy cornice, flanked by trees and bushes. Below are an altar smoldering with incense and two benches on which rest urns. The panels vary in such details as the statues and masks. The dado running below each of the panels may have inspired Saint-Gaudens to conceive of his relief as having distinct divided spaces, with planar top and bottom sections and a central one with a deeply recessed treatment of space.

The outdoor grotto scene (see fig. 4) flanking the window on the bedroom's rear wall also deserves mention. The lone bench that appears in Saint-Gaudens's plaque, tucked in against the high vertical of the stage curtain and trees, finds precedent in the benchlike fountains resting against steep rocky outcroppings. The trailing ivy on these panels is repeated on the top section of the plaque near the cornucopia; Saint-Gaudens often incorporated the plant into his relief portraits as emblematic of friendship and permanence, and it is particularly resonant here. But even beyond the compositional influence of the fresco panels on the plaque, as a monumental sculptor Saint-Gaudens would have been keenly attuned to the lived or participatory experience that viewers enjoyed when encountering the villa panels as a complete environment. Even as installed at the Museum beginning in 1903, they transport viewers to a different time and place, much as the Cornish masque invited its audience to enter a world of spatial and temporal illusion.

The single figure in the masque panel, Amor playing a chelys (tortoiseshell lyre), is a stand-in for the many masque participants and serves to deliberately position the scene in a classical time and place (fig. 9). The figure does not appear to have a specific ancient prototype; rather, it may be a generalized allusion to statuettes of winged *erotes* and cupids in bronze and terracotta bearing such accessories as musical instruments, torches, and branches. It is quite possible that Saint-Gaudens knew of the specific example of a Hellenistic bronze statuette of a running Eros, given to the Museum in 1897 by Henry Marquand, president of the Museum's board of trustees who sat ex-officio on the Committee on Casts on which the sculptor served

fig. 9 Detail of *Cornish Celebration Presentation Plaque* (fig. 1), showing Amor

fig. 10 Statuette of Eros running. Roman, 1st–2nd century A.D. Bronze, H. 9½ in. (24.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1897 (97.22.5)

between 1891 and 1895 (fig. 10).³³ Saint-Gaudens's figure—lacking skeletal definition and ill-proportioned—recalls other representations of full-length youths in his oeuvre, most directly the nude male figure on the rejected reverse for the World's Columbian Exposition Commemorative Presentation Medal (1892; American Numismatic Society, New York). Homer Saint-Gaudens noted that the Amor on the masque plaque (which he called “a young god”) appears “in an attitude reminiscent of the sketches of the winged Liberty for the coins,” a reference to Saint-Gaudens's contemporaneous work on the obverse of the twenty-dollar gold piece (1905–7).³⁴ While the similarity in pose between the striding winged female with shield, torch, and headdress and the active Amor with raised lyre warrants consideration, it is likely no more than creative coincidence.

The frontally oriented chariot in the bottom section (fig. 11) alludes to the one used to transport Augustus and Augusta Saint-Gaudens from the masque setting to the banquet in his studio. Shipman's script for the masque ends with Saint-Gaudens being led out from

the audience before he receives the golden bowl, so Shipman had not specified the chariot as a specific prop. How and why the masque organizers decided to appropriate the Museum's Monteleone chariot (see fig. 3) is unknown, but the newness of an object of this type being in New York no doubt captured their collective imagination. Further, its ceremonial function would have resonated: Etruscan-Italic parade chariots were used to transport heroic individuals on triumphant occasions, moving at a walking pace, just as transpired in Cornish.

The actual chariot was constructed of sheet metal with a wood framing system by Lucia and Henry Brown Fuller, painters and longtime Cornish Colony residents (fig. 12).³⁵ In replicating the chariot for the masque, the Fullers followed the basic construction of the Monteleone parade chariot: a two-wheeled vehicle with the car balanced atop an axle and propelled using a draft pole. However, they made several notable adjustments. The car has a wood plank platform considerably wider than the Monteleone original in order



to accommodate Augustus and Augusta Saint-Gaudens standing side by side. While the Monteleone chariot would have been drawn by two horses, with the yoke from the draft pole resting on their necks and steered by a driver accompanying the passenger, the Cornish chariot was human-propelled using two sets of handle poles. The Cornish pole is similarly attached to the car at the bottom of the central panel, but it extends out horizontally rather than upward as the original does to accommodate animal locomotion. The Monteleone chariot has nine-spoked bronze, iron, and wood wheels, while the Cornish ones are four-spoked and wood, painted on

fig. 11 Detail of Cornish Celebration Presentation Plaque (fig. 1), showing chariot

fig. 12 Henry Brown Fuller (American, 1867–1934) and Lucia Fuller (American, 1870–1924). Chariot for “A Masque of ‘Ours,’ The Gods and the Golden Bowl,” 1905. Wood, sheet metal, mixed materials, and pigment. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park, Cornish, N.H.



their side faces with decorative patterns. The narrow strip of concave and convex banding at the top railings of the Monteleone panels is replaced on the Cornish copy by a dentilated design with gold-and-yellow banding surrounding it.

The Monteleone car has three main bronze panels (fig. 13), which were placed over a wood substructure after the 1903 restoration. A tall central panel and two lower ones at each side feature repoussé decoration of high and low relief with chased, punched, and incised surface tooling.³⁶ The Cornish chariot is composed of one sheet metal panel over a wood frame, taller in the center and receding downward on the two sides. The program of the polychrome painted sheet metal copy hews closely enough to the Monteleone original to conclusively ensure its identity as the formal forerunner. The very deliberate and complex iconographic program on the three main panels of the Monteleone chariot is widely accepted as depicting the life of Achilles, Greek hero of the Trojan War.³⁷ This plan is selectively followed on the Cornish copy, with no intentional references to the original identity of the figures represented on the Monteleone chariot. Rather than reproducing the panel on the left that shows combat between two warriors identified as Achilles and the Trojan Memnon, the Fullers understandably opted for a less confrontational subject. Both the left and right scenes of the Cornish chariot reproduce part of the panel on the right of the Monteleone one, which is far more resonant with the masque's narrative—the apotheosis of Achilles. In both versions he is shown ascending in a chariot drawn by the winged horses Xanthos and Balios; the recumbent woman below them in the Monteleone original, whose identity attracts ongoing scholarly debate, is excluded in the Cornish copy. The Fullers also included decorative touches to the gray-green background, including laurel wreaths that separate the winged horses from the principal narrative.

The center section of the Monteleone chariot depicts two standing figures facing each other in profile: Achilles on the right receives a shield and helmet from his mother, Thetis, on the left to replace that armor which Achilles had given his friend Patroklos, who battled the Trojan Hektor. Patroklos lost his life to Hektor, who took Achilles's armor as war spoils. While this particular part of the myth was widely known through Homer's *Iliad*, it had little bearing on the narrative for the Cornish chariot. Thetis and Achilles are faithfully replicated in appearance, but here the helmet and lozenge-shaped shield have been replaced by a laurel

fig. 13 Montage of photographs of proper right, center, and proper left panels of the Monteleone chariot (fig. 3)



wreath that they hold above an oval shield bearing Saint-Gaudens's head in right-facing profile to the viewer against a black background. The sculptor was known for his distinctive profile, instantly recognizable to the masque participants and other cognoscenti. His sharp nose and bearded face were captured and celebrated in many painted, sculpted, and photographed images throughout his career, including in the best known of them all, Kenyon Cox's portrait of Saint-Gaudens in his Thirty-Sixth Street studio; a 1908 copy of the 1887 original is in the Museum's collection.³⁸ Why the Fullers chose to faithfully depict the figures above Thetis and Achilles—two plunging birds of prey flanking a ram's head and a helmet crest (without a helmet) in profile—is unknown, for their presence creates an inchoate narrative that does not correspond to the bestowing of the triumphal wreath below.

In appropriating the chariot for his plaque, Saint-Gaudens took considerable liberties, aiming at suggestion rather than faithful representation. He depicts the central panel with Thetis and Achilles facing each other in profile with arms outstretched, but they bear no identifying characteristics. They are flanked by the front legs of single-winged horses on either side, indicating that Saint-Gaudens was referring to the Cornish copy. He added wavelike decoration on the top and the bottom of the car as well as a meander (Greek key) pattern along the axle. The modest sculptor understandably eliminated the shield bearing his profile, instead adding a strongly vertical chariot pole with

two yokes as well as decorative embellishment on the top and bottom. The addition of two yokes rather than one alludes to the handles on the Cornish copy, but their curving shapes signal Saint-Gaudens's awareness of the Monteleone draft pole with curved yoke at the Metropolitan Museum. Further, his draft pole has an animal-head finial on its end; whether it is an eagle as on the Monteleone chariot, or another creature, is cause for speculation. Saint-Gaudens's interpretation of the chariot is not literal; it serves as an idealized stand-in for the culminating celebratory moment of the masque, a moment shared by all those whose names appear on the plaque and who would receive plaquette-scale replicas.

The golden bowl that was presented to the Saint-Gaudenses at the end of the masque is reproduced at the top of the panel above the pediment (fig. 14). Originally the organizers had intended to use a sundial, but they opted for a bowl instead after it was learned that Saint-Gaudens's longtime friend Henry James planned to attend the performance. Louis Shipman revised his script and nodded to James in his writing, both by referencing him and adding the subtitle "with no apologies to H.J." James's novel *The Golden Bowl* had been published in 1904, and as the content of the masque's script attests, Shipman was aware of its psychological complexities, with the lives of the protagonists finding expression in the bowl. The bowl used in the masque was gilded brass and engraved with a dedicatory inscription around the

fig. 14 Detail of *Cornish Celebration Presentation Plaque* (fig. 1), showing golden bowl

inside rim: AVGVSTVS AND AVGVSTA SAINT GAUDENS IN COMMEMORATION, 1885, CORNISH 1905 (fig. 15).

The source for the bowl may now be specifically identified as a copy made after a clay mold in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 16). In 1904 the museum purchased a group of eighteen Arretine molds (both intact and in fragments) for bowls, cups, and covers from the Boston-born Edward Perry Warren, a respected collector of art and antiquities.³⁹ The molds, of the Roman period, were used to produce fine red terracotta ware in workshops around the ancient Tuscan town of Arretium (modern-day Arezzo) in the last century B.C. and the first century A.D. Plaster copies were commonly produced from molds so that the low-relief figural decoration could be studied more easily. By 1898, the Boston museum was selling impressions from its collection of Arretine molds varying in price “from fifteen cents to two dollars” apiece.⁴⁰

The circumstances regarding the selection of the bowl for the masque are vague; no documentation has yet been located that sheds light on the choice of that particular mold design. It is reasonable to speculate that the organizers purchased a plaster copy from the Museum of Fine Arts, from which a brass was then cast. A circular distributed to the masque participants on June 3, 1905, detailing expenses includes reference to “the cost of presenting to Mr. and Mrs. Saint-Gaudens the reproduction of a Greek bowl, which is being cast under the supervision of Mr. [Charles] Platt.”⁴¹ Platt was a prominent architect based in New York and documentation suggests that the brass bowl was cast by

Edward F. Caldwell & Company, a leading designer and manufacturer of lighting fixtures as well as ornamental iron and bronze objects.⁴²

The specific mold from which the masque’s brass bowl is derived is composed of five joined fragments and is signed M. PEREN TIGRANI, indicating the workshop of Marcus Perenius Tigranus, the most prominent of the Arretine potters.⁴³ Its low-relief decoration in the main field features five figures: Apollo Citharoedos (Apollo with a kithara); a female winged genius playing the double flute; two maenads, one holding a *liknon* (a winnowing fan), the other a *tympanum*; and a dancing satyr with a double flute. They are divided into separate fields by four incense burners and a tripod. The mold for the bowl has a rolled lip with “a very delicate wreath made up of sprays of grapevine, olive, ivy, and poppy, together with somewhat conventionalized leaves and flowers”;⁴⁴ this decoration is visible on the exterior of the brass copy. The empty space on the top of the interior lip of the copy was used for the dedicatory inscription to the Saint-Gaudenses. In depicting the bowl on his plaque, Saint-Gaudens included Apollo Citharoedos and the genius playing the double flute who flank the tall tripod. His selection of the god Apollo would have been foregone. Since Apollo was facing right toward the tripod, so too was the choice of the corresponding left-facing genius figure (who must have resonated with Saint-Gaudens, himself an enthusiastic player of the flute).

In light of recent identification of the formal sources for the masque and for Saint-Gaudens’s relief, a 1923 description of the composition by Adeline Adams, a Cornish Colony resident and author of *The Spirit of American Sculpture*, takes on added insight: “Here is no hodge-podge of unrelated symbols, but a beautiful and lovingly considered arrangement of deeply significant things.”⁴⁵ Saint-Gaudens’s carefully composed homage to people, places, and things is a visual acknowledgment of his affection for his friends as well as for their shared reverence of the classical past, a past to which they actively positioned themselves as modern-day successors.

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fig. 15 Bowl for "A Masque of 'Ours,' The Gods and the Golden Bowl," 1905. Brass, gilt, H. 4 ½ in. (11.4 cm), Diam. 8 ¾ in. (22.2 cm). U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park, Cornish, N.H.



fig. 16 Mold of bowl. Roman, 30 B.C.–A.D. 50 or modern. Ceramic, H. 5 ½ in. (12.8 cm), Diam. 9 ¾ in. (23.3 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (04.20)



Augustus Saint-Gaudens Papers and other collections related to the Cornish Colony. Christine Kondoleon, Laure Marest-Caffey, and Maureen Melton at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, kindly responded to my inquiries about Arretine molds and their relationship to the Golden Bowl. My greatest debt is reserved for my colleague Joan R. Mertens, curator, Department of Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for generously sharing ideas and research sources, reading article drafts, and encouraging me to look at American sculpture through an expansive lens.

THAYER TOLLES

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NOTES

- 1 An example of this letter, preprinted in multiple copy, is in the Kenyon Cox Papers, 1860–1922, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York, box 3, folder 4.
- 2 Cox played the role of Pluto in the masque and later served as a member of the committee that organized the artist's memorial exhibition at the Museum. He presented the plaquette to the museum since his family had received several replicas. See Tolles 1999, pp. 324–25.
- 3 Metropolitan Museum 1908, p. 51, no. 99, as "Plaque Commemorative of the Cornish Celebration, June 23, 1905." The plaque was also included in the exhibition's four subsequent venues.
- 4 Income figures notebook (1897–1908), p. 151, Augustus Saint-Gaudens Papers, 1866–1981, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H. (hereafter Saint-Gaudens Papers), box 53, folder 5.
- 5 Augusta Saint-Gaudens to Louis Evan Shipman, November 5, 1912, Louis Shipman Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (hereafter Shipman Papers), box 12.
- 6 Charles McKim to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, December 3, 1903 (typescript copy), Charles Follen McKim Papers, 1838–1929, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., box 4, letter book 12, p. 120. Frederick W. Rhinelanders was a founder of the Metropolitan Museum, serving as a trustee, and from 1902 as president, until his death in September 1904.
- 7 Bergmann 2010, p. 12; Emiliozzi 2011, pp. 10–12, 21–22.
- 8 Tomkins 1989, pp. 90–91.
- 9 Newspaper clippings (1900–1904) held in an oversize volume in the MMA Museum Archives (Watson Bookcase call no. N610 .A84 Q).
- 10 *Scientific American* 1903, p. 385. The restoration was carried out by Cesnola and his assistant Charles Baillard. See Emiliozzi 2011, pp. 22–24.
- 11 *New York Herald* 1903.
- 12 Saint-Gaudens's involvement is detailed in Tolles 2009, especially p. 51.
- 13 Saint-Gaudens to John Hay, June 14, 1905 (typescript copy), Saint-Gaudens Papers, box 10, folder 20.
- 14 See Glassberg 1990, Prevots 1990, and Du Toit 2009.
- 15 MacKaye 1909a, p. 34.
- 16 See, for instance, Dryfhout 1985, pp. 52–54; *Celebrating Augustus Saint-Gaudens* 2009; Madsen 2009, pp. 161–82; and Goldstein 2015, pp. 33–39. The most complete contemporary account is [Cox] 1905.
- 17 Later published as "Prologue to the Saint-Gaudens Masque," in MacKaye 1909b, pp. 38–41.
- 18 Saint-Gaudens 1913, vol. 1, p. 104.
- 19 Quoted in *Celebrating Augustus Saint-Gaudens* 2009, p. 12.
- 20 [Cox] 1905, p. 520.
- 21 British Museum, London, 1805.0703.26.
- 22 Saint-Gaudens 1913, vol. 2, p. 352.
- 23 The script is in the collection of the Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park, Cornish, N.H., SAGA #8443 (gift of Nicholas Angell). See also *Celebrating Augustus Saint-Gaudens* 2009, pp. 13–51, passim.
- 24 "The Masque at Cornish," unidentified newspaper clipping, [1905], Saint-Gaudens Papers, box 41, folder 9.
- 25 Saint-Gaudens to James Earle Fraser, June 27, 1905 (copy), Saint-Gaudens Papers, box 8, folder 1.
- 26 Saint-Gaudens 1913, vol. 2, pp. 351–52.
- 27 Saint-Gaudens to Barry Faulkner, August 28, 1905, Saint-Gaudens files, American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York.
- 28 For the photograph, captioned "Interior of Saint-Gaudens' Little Studio with the Clay Models of the *Brooks Monument* and *Hay Bust*, ca. 1906," see Dryfhout 1982, p. 308. The copy was destroyed by fire in 1944. It served as the basis for the figures of Love and Art in the two groups for the entrance to McKim, Mead & White's Boston Public Library. The groups were unfinished at the time of Saint-Gaudens's death.
- 29 Saint-Gaudens to Homer Saint-Gaudens, May 4, 1906 (typescript copy), Saint-Gaudens Papers, box 70, folder 3.
- 30 See Robinson 1906, pp. 82–83, and Richter 1906, pp. 95–97.
- 31 Saint-Gaudens consulted with White about reproducing the structure in Keene cement in 1906 and his firm drew up plans (Saint-Gaudens to White, May 5, 1906 [typescript copy], Saint-Gaudens Papers, box 21, folder 3). When it was reproduced in Vermont marble in 1914 to serve as the Saint-Gaudens family tomb it was documented as a design by William M. Kendall of McKim, Mead & White.
- 32 Frances Grimes to Barry Faulkner, [May or June 1905] (typescript copy), Saint-Gaudens Papers, box 48, folder 1.
- 33 In 1890 Marquand donated the first two works by Saint-Gaudens to enter the Museum's collection, examples of the George Washington Inaugural Centennial Medal (90.18.1, 2).
- 34 Saint-Gaudens 1913, vol. 2, pp. 352–53.
- 35 On the Fullers, who played the parts of Proserpina and Apollo in the 1905 masque, see Colby and Atkinson 1996, pp. 203–10.
- 36 For an extended consideration of the recent reconstruction of the Monteleone chariot, completed in 2007, see Emiliozzi 2011, especially pp. 63–64.
- 37 *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 42–49.
- 38 MMA 08.130.
- 39 Hill 1905, pp. 59–61. See also Chase (1916) 1975, pp. 31–33.
- 40 Robinson 1899, p. 77.
- 41 Shipman Papers, box 8, album 23, p. 1.
- 42 Henry J. Duffy, curator, Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park, email message to author, September 25, 2018. The object catalogue card indicates the bowl was possibly cast at Caldwell.
- 43 The Boston mold was deemed to be a modern forgery by Porten-Palange 1989, p. 96. It is among a group of molds the authenticity of which has been questioned and awaits verification by thermoluminescence testing.
- 44 Chase (1916) 1975, p. 31.
- 45 Adams 1923, p. 156.

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