





ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES: An Exhibition

In this age of synthetic fibers and mass-marketed fashion, our sensitivity to the rich embroidery and costly textiles of other centuries seems to have waned. But during the Middle Ages, long before the reign of industrial technology and the pervasiveness of consumer goods, even the simplest woven fabric was held as an object of value not only because of the function it fulfilled but also because of the meticulous hand labor it represented.

By today's standards, none but the richest households of the Middle Ages could boast vast arrays of material possessions. Distinctions of wealth and position were achieved not through accumulation alone but rather through the richness and artistry invested in these possessions. Textiles therefore became an important medium through which one's rank, wealth, and prestige were symbolized in both secular and ecclesiastical spheres. It is not surprising, then, that elaborate ceremonial costumes, richly decorated bed hangings, and heraldic banners appear frequently in private inventories throughout the Middle Ages. Unfortunately, virtually none of these are extant today.

The finest examples of embroidered textiles that survive were ordered by and for the use of the greatest of all medieval patrons — the church. These surviving textiles, however, can give us only an indication of the size and splendor of the original production, because much has been destroyed by war and reformation and through the continual changes in liturgy and fashion, as outmoded vestments were often recut, otherwise mutilated, or even destroyed.

Collections of ecclesiastical vestments of the Middle Ages in this country are not as impressive as many in Europe, partly because of a general lack of interest in such lesser and parochial arts, and partly because of the unavailability of these objects. Most of the finest examples are preserved in church or private treasuries or have found their way into important European museums. Nonetheless, The Metropolitan Museum of Art has accumulated a superior collection, whose particular strength is in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century vestments.

Ecclesiastical Vestments of the Middle Ages, currently at The Cloisters, is the third in a series of special exhibitions initiated and designed by Florens Deuchler, Chairman of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, to display rarely seen objects from the collections. Not only are many of the vestments being shown for the first time, but the exhibition is one of the very few in this country ever devoted exclusively to this material.

About twenty-five vestments, including all the major types and ranging in

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FRONTISPIECE

A detail of one of the most beautiful vestments at The Cloisters — the Chichester-Constable chasuble, discussed in the article beginning on page 291

ON THE COVER

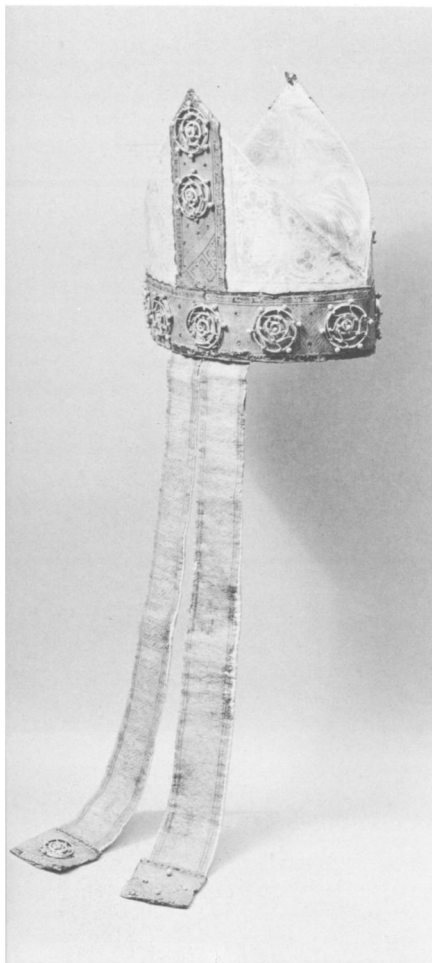
Front: An angel holding instruments of the Passion. Detail from the embroidered orphreys of the Burgos cope, illustrated on pages 290 and 309

Back: Louis-Marie, Vicomte de Noailles, by Gilbert Stuart. This recently acquired painting is discussed in the article beginning on page 327

date from the early thirteenth through the early sixteenth centuries, are on display. Probably the oldest and one of the finest pieces is a thirteenth-century Austrian miter from the treasury of the Benedictine abbey church of St. Peter in Salzburg (Figure 1). It is mentioned in the oldest surviving inventory of the church, dating from 1462, and is referred to as one of "three old miters." The material from which it is made is believed to date to the twelfth century, but because the abbots of St. Peter's were granted the privilege to wear miters only in 1231, it is generally dated on or around that year.

Another early vestment, the oldest of three examples in the Museum's collections of the so-called *opus anglicanum*—famous for the high levels of artistry it achieved—is an English alb apparel with a Crucifixion scene and four saints within a cinquefoil arched arcade (Figure 2). In the spandrels of the arches are six coats of arms that have been identified as those of Hastings, the earl of Arundel, England, Castile-Leon, Clare, and de Vere. The presence of the arms of Castile next to those of England could indicate a date prior to the death of Eleanor of Castile, queen of Edward I, in 1290. Undoubtedly the finest vestment in the Museum's collections, the second example of *opus anglicanum*, is the Chichester-Constable chasuble, which has been dated between 1330 and 1350 (see the article that begins on page 291). The third is an early sixteenth-century cope that has lost its orphreys but retains its remarkable embroidery depicting the Assumption of the Virgin surrounded by a host of seraphim on a red velvet field (Figure 3).

The orphreys of a Bohemian chasuble of the early fifteenth century (Figures 4, 5) are of particular interest for their stylistic similarities with a large altarpiece painted in Bohemia around 1390 by the Master of Wittengau. The full, rounded faces with broad foreheads tapering down to small chins, exemplified by the Virgin in the Coronation scene, are characteristic of the so-called Beautiful style prevalent in Bohemia at the time. This type of angel is remarkably close to the Master of Wittengau and seems to have been an invention of South Bohemia.



1. Miter from the Treasury of St. Peter's, Austrian (Salzburg), about 1231. Silk with painted gold patterns; mounts of silver-gilt filigree set with coral beads, height $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches, length of lappets $18\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 53.19.1

2. Alb apparel. English, 1280-1300. Silver-gilt, silver, and silk thread on silk, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 29\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.186

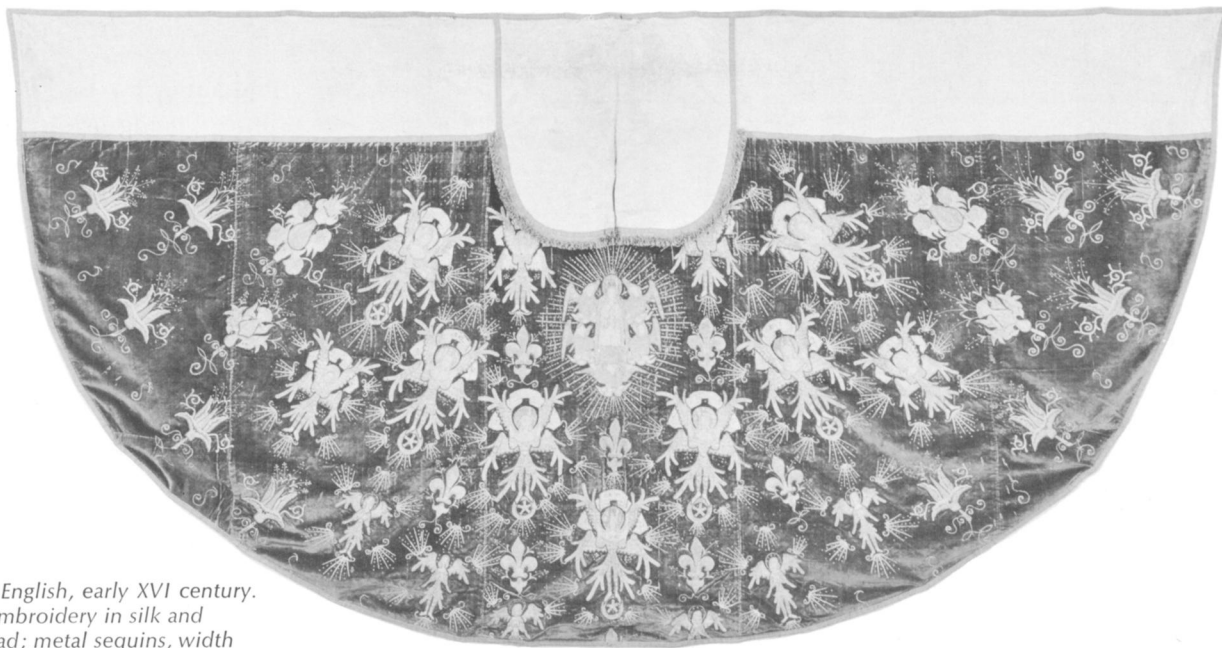


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3. Cope. English, early XVI century. Velvet; embroidery in silk and gold thread; metal sequins, width 8 feet 5½ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 53.63.1

4. Chasuble, front view. Bohemian, early XV century. Cut and voided velvet; embroidery in silk, gold, and silver thread, greatest width 29 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 61.16



5. The Coronation of the Virgin, detail from the back of the chasuble in Figure 4





6. Chasuble, back view. Spanish or Italian, late XV century. Velvet with pile cut at two different heights; embroidery in silk, gold, and silver thread, greatest width 30 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 53.35.1



7. Chasuble, back view. German (Lower Saxony), early XV century. Wool; leather; embroidery in silk and wool thread, greatest width 27 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 57.18



8. Chasuble, front view. Spanish, early XV century. Cut and voided velvet; embroidery in silk and gold thread, greatest width 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 53.63.2

Not all embroidery can be so easily placed on the basis of style. One of the best-preserved vestments is a chasuble, whose iconographic and stylistic characteristics are too general to enable us to determine its source (Figure 6). The lavish use of couched gold thread on the borders and the design of the architectural settings are generally associated with Spanish needlework, but the iconography and some of the stylistic details are more Italianate. All the orphrey panels represent scenes from the Life of Christ, except the bottom one on the back, which depicts St. George and the dragon. This departure from the iconographic sequence may indicate that the chasuble was commissioned either for a church dedicated to St. George or by a donor whose patron saint was St. George.

A charming provincial German chasuble of the fifteenth century, probably from Lower Saxony, is unusual in its use of appliquéd leather, which may originally have been silvered, for parts of the design, and wool for the field in place of the velvet brocade or cut and voided velvet that were usually used as backgrounds (Figure 7; page 307, Figure 14).

In many vestments, the orphreys and the velvet to which they are attached are not contemporary, usually because badly worn velvet has had to be replaced. In the case of an early fifteenth-century Spanish chasuble, the original velvet is Spanish, but the upper two-thirds of the front has been replaced with Italian velvet (Figure 8). In other cases, however, imported materials were used originally; thus Spanish orphreys may also appear on Italian velvet in an unrestored vestment.



9. Hood of the Burgos cope, showing the coat of arms of Don Alfonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, below a Pietà. Spanish, about 1437. Embroidery in silk and gold thread, height 15¹/₄ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 53.22

10. Hood from a cope, showing the Death and Assumption of the Virgin. Flemish, late XV century. Embroidery in silk and gold thread with silver-gilt fringe, height 19¹/₂ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 55.146 b

11. Orphrey panels from a cope, showing Sts. Peter, Paul, Bartholomew, and John the Evangelist. Italian, XV century. Embroidery in silk and gold thread, width of each panel 8¹/₄ inches. Gift of Samuel H. Kress, 46.109.21

The highest level of Spanish needlework is seen in a cope that once belonged to Don Alfonso of Cartagena, whose coat of arms appears on the hood (Figure 9; page 309, Figure 18; cover). Born of a converted Jewish father who had risen rapidly in the Spanish church, Don Alfonso was Bishop of Burgos from 1435 to 1456. While attending the Council of Basel, he expanded his power and prestige. This particular cope, along with forty others in a series of which twenty-four survive, is thought to have been presented to the Cathedral of Burgos by the bishop upon his return from Basel in 1437.

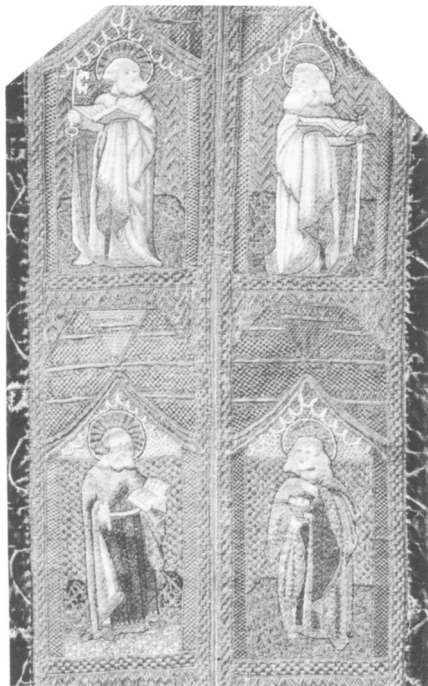
The South Netherlandish style appears in the hood of a handsome fifteenth-century cope of Spanish velvet (Figure 10). Its scene of the Dormition of the Virgin is strongly reminiscent of Hugo van der Goes's painting of the same subject. This embroidery employs a technique very rich in gold and referred to as *or nue*, or shaded gold, which is primarily associated with the Burgundian court, as it was used extensively in a famous set of vestments made for the Order of the Golden Fleece during the reign of Philip the Good.

An Italian cope of green velvet has colorful orphreys and hood in an extremely fine state of preservation (Figure 11). Although St. Bartholomew was a popular saint throughout Europe, his inclusion in these orphreys points to the cope's Florentine origin, because he was the patron saint of several important Florentine merchant guilds. Like *opus anglicanum*, Florentine embroidery reached its highpoint in the fourteenth century but continued in the medieval tradition well into the fifteenth century.

Unfortunately, we rarely have as much information on vestments as we have on the Burgos cope, and the need for further research is acute. The following contributions by members of the Cloisters staff are intended as a brief introduction to the subject, and further information on the history and technique of individual vestments will be available on the exhibition labels. The exhibition itself is complemented by related works, such as panel paintings, sculpture, ivories, stained glass, and enamels, which demonstrate the transformation of types through the centuries and depict some of the more unusual vestments. We hope that the exhibition will generate interest in an area that has long been overlooked and lead to greater knowledge of these splendid objects.

TIMOTHY B. HUSBAND

Assistant Curator in Charge of Administration, The Cloisters



De opere Anglicano," "de l'ouvrage" or "à la façon d'Angleterre," "de obra Anglaterra" — of English workmanship — appears again and again in descriptions of embroidered vestments found in continental inventories of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the period when English embroidery reached its greatest height. The term *opus anglicanum* as used today is more general — it can now refer to English embroidery of the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. There is ample evidence that this English work was in great demand at the very top of the church hierarchy. In the Vatican inventory of 1295, *opus anglicanum* is mentioned 113 times; it is also frequently found in the 1361 Vatican inventory and in fourteenth-century inventories of the rival papal court at Avignon. The thirteenth-century English chronicler Matthew of Paris tells this anecdote concerning Innocent IV's greed for such work:

About the same time [1246] my Lord Pope, having noticed that the ecclesiastical ornaments of certain English priests, such as choral copes and mitres, were embroidered in gold thread after a most desirable fashion, asked whence came this work? From England, they told him. Then exclaimed the pope, "England is for us surely a garden of delights, truly an inexhaustible well; and from there where so many things abound, many may be extorted." Thereupon the same Lord Pope, allured by the desire of the eye, sent letters, blessed and sealed, to well nigh all the Abbots of the Cistercian order established in England, desiring that they should send to him without delay, these embroideries of gold which he preferred above all others, and with which he wished to decorate his chasubles and choral copes, as if these acquisitions would cost him nothing. This command of my Lord Pope did not displease the London merchants who traded in these embroideries and sold them at their own price.

In 1317, Isabella, queen of Edward II of England, purchased from Rose, wife of John de Bureford, citizen and merchant of London, a cope to be presented to Pope John XXII, and this fortunate pontiff also received precious and sumptuously embroidered copes from the Bishop of Ely and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

A record referring to payments and labor in connection with the execution of a famous embroidered frontal made for the high altar of Westminster Abbey around 1271 (now lost) gives us not only a description of the piece but also some idea of how time-consuming the work involved in



Opus Anglicanum

BONNIE YOUNG *Senior Lecturer, The Cloisters*

opus anglicanum was: it took four women almost four years to complete the frontal.

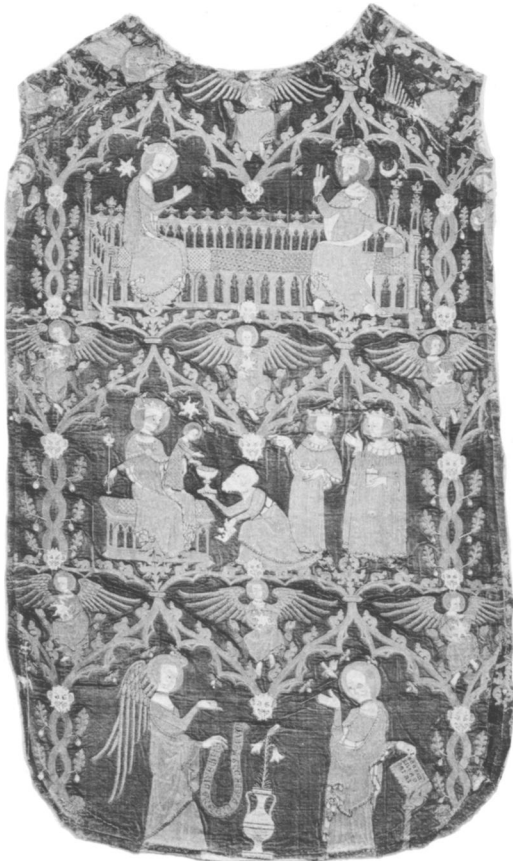
Opus anglicanum was so often adorned with gold thread and jewels that it really can be considered a form of goldsmith's art. William of Gloucester, goldsmith to Henry III, was paid twenty marks in 1258 for working "a certain precious cloth for the altar of the Blessed Edward" in Westminster, and somewhat earlier Joseph the Goldsmith had been paid for a miter he made for the king. Gold thread, pearls, and other jewels prominently figure in various inventory listings, some of which were fairly simple, such as "a cope of red velvet with gold and pearls of English work," or "an English cope, the entire field in gold thread, with many images and figures of birds and beasts with pearls"; other listings were longer and more explicit.

One of the most beautiful vestments in the current Cloisters exhibition is a splendid example of *opus anglicanum*. Its description in a medieval inventory might have read something like this: *A chasuble of crimson velvet of English work, all embroidered in gold with the Annunciation, the Three Kings, and the Coronation of Our Lady, and*

1. *St. James, one of the large apostles seated on faldstools, on the front of the Chichester-Constable chasuble. He wears the pilgrim's hat and carries the pilgrim's staff. On his pouch is his badge, the cockleshell*



2. The Chichester-Constable chasuble, front view. English, 1330-1350. Silk and metallic threads (in underside couching, split stitch, laid and couched work, and raised work) on velvet, greatest width 30 inches. Fletcher Fund, 27.162.1. At the top, parts of Sts. John the Evangelist and John the Baptist can be seen. John the Evangelist sits on a folding chair that has heads of his symbol, the eagle, rather than heads of dogs as handles. In the middle are Sts. Peter and Paul, and at the bottom Sts. Andrew and James the Greater. In the fragments added to the right side can be seen St. Catherine's wheel and part of St. Lawrence with his grill



3. The Chichester-Constable chasuble, back view. The three scenes – embroidered directly on the velvet field – are, from the bottom: the Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, and Coronation of the Virgin. Underneath the shoulder seams can be seen the tails of what were originally parakeets (see Figure 17). To the left of the Coronation, part of St. Stephen holding the stones with which he was martyred is visible



4. Detail of Figure 3, showing an acorn with most of the remaining pearls on the chasuble



5. Stole and maniple composed of fragments cut from the Chichester-Constable chasuble when it was reshaped. Length of stole 8 feet 1 inch; maniple 3 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Fletcher Fund, 27.162.2, 3

on the front six large seated saints with numerous other smaller saints and kings in niches, and angels holding stars, animal heads, and intertwining oak branches with acorns, the crowns, stars, animal heads, and acorns all done in pearls (Figures 2, 3). Although almost all the pearls are missing today (Figure 4), the velvet background of the chasuble is still a rich red in tone, and the gold embroidery is almost completely intact, but some of the original smaller figures were cut off or cut apart during a later remodeling.

A cope in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is extremely close both in style and subject matter to the Metropolitan's chasuble, is believed to have come from the same set (or chapel) of vestments as the Museum's piece (Figures 6, 10, 14, 17). Two fragments, now sewn together, though not as close, have also been connected with the cope and chasuble (Figure 7).

The cope and chasuble are thought on stylistic grounds to have been made between 1330 and 1350. Although there are no documents tracing the early history of these vestments, the chasuble, from at least the sixteenth century, is believed to have belonged to the Chichester-Constable family of Burton Constable in Yorkshire, while the cope belonged to another important Catholic family, the Butler-Bowdons of nearby Derbyshire, for generations. For many years each vestment has been known by the name of the family that formerly owned it.

The chasuble was reshaped, sometime after the early sixteenth century, when chasuble shapes changed (see page 307), and some of the pieces that were cut away were used in remodeling the shoulders and extending the edges and to form the stole and maniple that came to the Museum with the chasuble (Figure 5). The cut-off areas include a series of saints that are smaller than the main figures on the front and back. Three of these are identifiable: a fragment of St. Stephen holding the rocks with which he was martyred (Figure 3), a hand of St. Catherine with her wheel, and part of St. Lawrence with his grill (Figure 2). All these saints are also found in the cope. Among the fragments in the stole can be found a bishop, a seated saint, a king (Figure 9), and part of another king's head. These royal personages may have been Edward the Confessor and St. Edmund of Bury, both



6. St. Catherine and St. Lawrence from the Butler-Bowdon cope. English, 1330-1350. Silk and metallic threads on velvet, 5 feet 6 inches x 11 feet 4 inches overall. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The cope's former owner, Colonel W. Butler-Bowdon, suggested that the vestment may originally have been commissioned by a religious institution

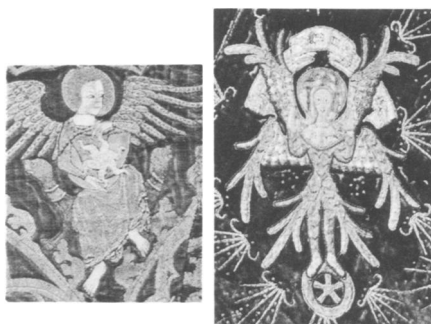
7. Part of an altar frontal or dossal showing Sts. Lawrence and Barbara. English, 1320-1340. Colored silk and silver-gilt thread on velvet, 21½ x 22 inches. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C.



of whom appear on the cope (Figure 10). The cope was completely cut up at some time to make a chasuble, stole, maniple, and altar frontal. Although it has been reassembled, some portions are still missing.

Certain features of the cope and chasuble are unusual: no other existing *opus anglicanum* has isolated saints that are as large as those on the front of the chasuble, nor do the folding chairs on which the apostles and angels sit have such importance (Figure 1). (These chairs, called *faldstools*, were a form of ecclesiastical furniture reserved for bishops or kings.) Another unusual feature is the fact that the angels hold star-shaped objects; rarely does one find a vestment of *opus anglicanum* without some member of the celestial hierarchy, but they either hold nothing, like the seraphs standing on wheels on another vestment (Figure 8), or they appear with such objects as censers or musical instruments.

8. Left: Angel from the Chichester-Constable chasuble. Right: Seraph standing on a wheel from an *opus anglicanum* cope, a traditional motif that has been found in embroidery dated as early as the thirteenth century. English, early XVI century. Silk and metallic threads on velvet, height of seraph about 11 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 53.63.1



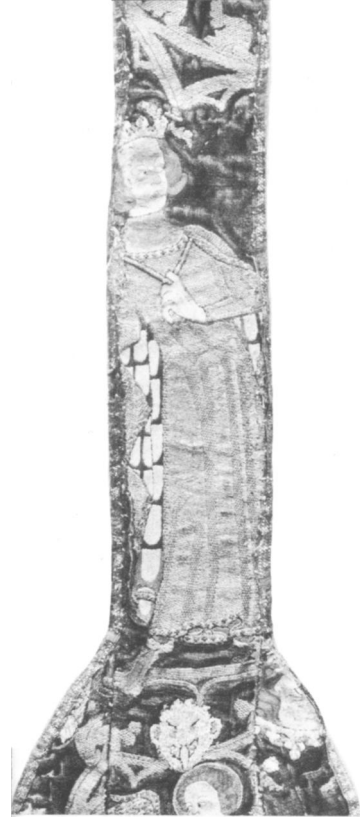
While the particular combination and order of the three scenes on the back of our chasuble, which are repeated on the back of the cope, do not appear in any other existing *opus anglicanum*, they are known to have occurred in at least two other copes of the period: a cope of crimson velvet listed in the Duke of Berry's 1402 inventory and a cope of red camaca described in a 1399 inventory of the Cathedral of St. Albans. The St. Albans cope was said to have fretwork of gold, canopied niches with likenesses of saints, and — on the back, from the bottom up — the Annunciation, the Adoration, and the Coronation. Eileen Roberts recently suggested that this description might refer to the Victoria and Albert cope, but such an identification is open to question. Although the word *camaca* — one of those elusive terms used in the Middle Ages to describe

textiles — could refer to velvet, one would expect instead one of the names more usually used: *vellutim*, *velvetto*, or, as in the Duke of Berry's list, *veluau*. Furthermore, one would expect to find a mention of pearls, particularly since materials used in this cope were noted in the inventory: "orphrey of this cope is in fact gold, and the figures indeed of silk."

As we have seen, the early history of these vestments is a matter of speculation. In an article written in 1927, when the chasuble first came to the Museum, Frances Morris, then in charge of the Museum's textile collection, suggested that it might have been part of a set of vestments made for King Edward III (reigned 1327-1377), because of the similarity of the animal heads in the chasuble to those in the border of an illustration showing Edward with his counselors in the *Liber de officiis Regnum* written for Edward by Walter de Milemete in 1326-1327 (Figure 11). Fantastic masks and animal heads turn up quite frequently in other English embroideries, manuscripts, and architectural decoration of the period, but the head seen in the chasuble, cope, and manuscript definitely appears to be that of the lion passant guardant of the royal arms of England (Figure 12). This heraldic figure, itself, appears in the manuscript illustration and in the orphreys of the Victoria and Albert cope.

Historically, the period in which the cope and chasuble were produced is intriguing. Edward II was deposed by parliament and shortly thereafter murdered, most probably by the adherents of his wife, Queen Isabella, and her lover, Roger Mortimer. Although Edward III was proclaimed king at that time (1327), he did not take over the throne in his own right until three years later, after he had tired of the rule of his mother and Mortimer and had had Mortimer put to death. At about this time, he claimed the throne of France by right of inheritance through his mother, Isabella, sister of the last monarch in direct line of the house of Capet. He eventually invaded France in support of his claim against that of the house of Valois.

While Edward was fighting the house of Valois during the first half of the Hundred Years' War, he was also competing with the French in other



ways: he was taking every possible step to establish Edward the Confessor as a rival of St. Louis (King Louis IX of France, 1214-1270) and was rebuilding St. Stephen's chapel in the royal palace in Westminster to compete in splendor with the Ste. Chapelle in Paris built by St. Louis. The construction of St. Stephen's was completed by 1350 and the interior was then lavishly painted with frescoes and decorated with gilded gesso ornament.

Unfortunately, at the time of the Reformation this chapel was given over to serve as the House of Commons, and finally in 1834 was almost entirely burned. From drawings and reconstructions made shortly after, however, we have some idea of the interior's decoration, which includes arches and masks reminiscent of those in the chasuble and cope, and more particularly includes a lion with a head like those in the embroidery and a

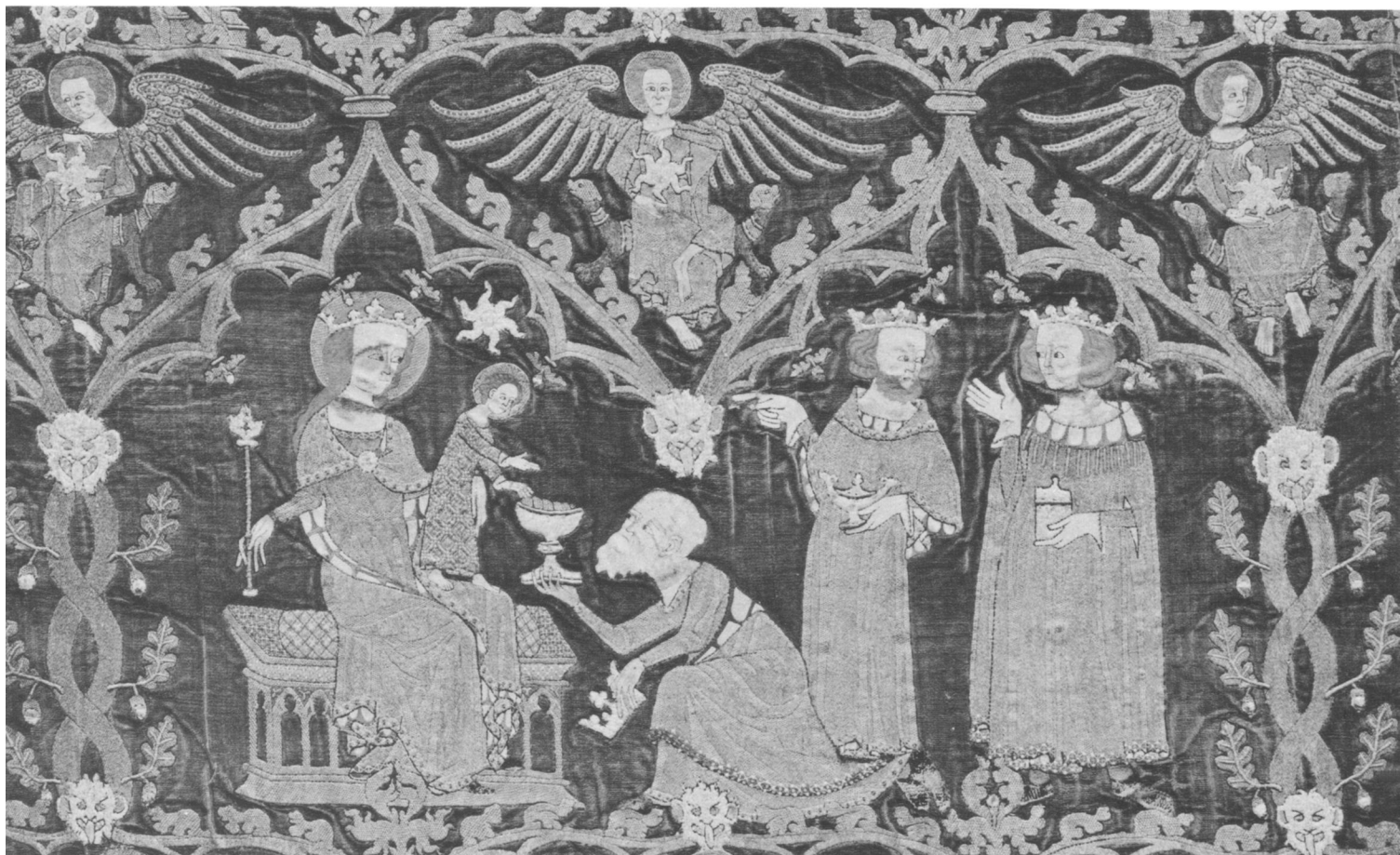
9. A king from the stole made up of fragments from the Chichester-Constable chasuble

10. Edward the Confessor holding a model of Westminster Abbey from the Butler-Bowdon cope. It has been suggested that the inclusion of the model might indicate that the cope and chasuble were made for use in the Abbey. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

11. King Edward III with his counselors. From the *Liber de officiis Regnum* written for Edward in 1326-1327 by Walter de Milemete. 9³/₄ x 6¹/₄ inches. The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford, ms 92, fol. 8B

12. Fragment of a heraldic embroidery with the lion passant guardant. English, 1330-1340. Silk and metallic threads on velvet, about 22 inches x 4 feet. Musée de Cluny, Paris. Photograph: Cliché des Musées Nationaux, Paris. This rare example of secular embroidery is part of what may originally have been a horse trapping, probably made for royal use





13. *The Adoration of the Magi from the Chichester-Constable chasuble*

profusion of star-shaped objects like those held by the angels in the chasuble and cope (Figure 15).

The use of this star motif may have been inherited from the period of Henry III (1207-1272), and seems to have been associated with the royal family of England. Lead stars and crescents, once evidently covered with gesso and gilded, have been discovered at the site of one of the numerous palaces remodeled by Henry. Although the star and crescent motif was not exclusively associated with this king, it was one of his badges. It appears in another embroidery in the exhibition, which has the arms of Henry's son Edward I and his queen, Eleanor of Castile (Figure 16; page 286, Figure 2). Our chasuble is the only known example of *opus anglicanum* in which this motif occurs in the Coronation of the Virgin scene.

The prominence accorded the Adoration of the

Magi scene in both the cope and chasuble (Figures 13, 14) may derive from the fact that real kings or princes—who may have imagined descent from the Three Kings—occasionally figure among the Magi in medieval art. In this light, it might be well to consider another suggestion made by Miss Morris in 1927: the old king might represent Edward the Confessor, followed by Edward II and III. This arrangement would have been appropriate at the time, as Edward III had proclaimed his father a martyr and was encouraging the cult that grew up around his tomb in Gloucester Cathedral, and, as mentioned earlier, he wanted Edward the Confessor to be as important to his English subjects as St. Louis was to the French.

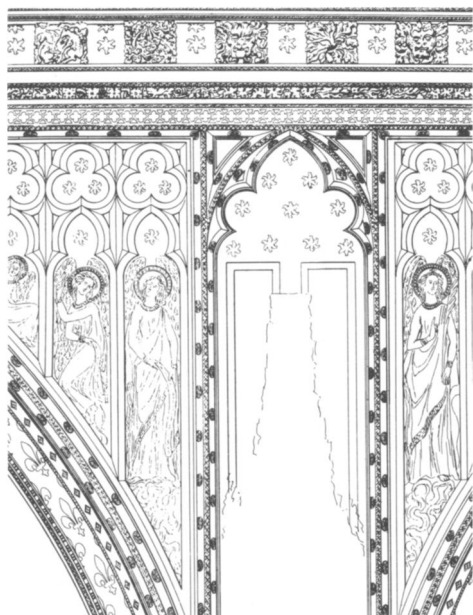
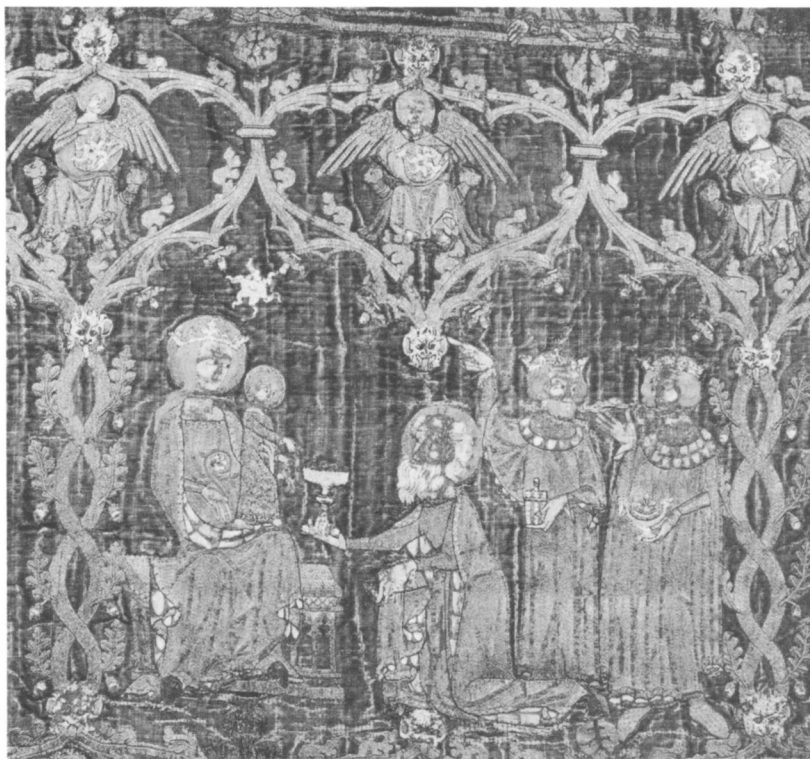
If the chasuble and cope were indeed connected with Edward III, they may well have come into the possession of the Chichester-Constable and Butler-

Bowdon families either by gift or inheritance. The earliest known mention of what is probably the Chichester-Constable chasuble is in the will (1559) of Lady Margaret Scrope, wife of Sir John Constable, in which she bequeaths “ye antient vestment” to “ye fair chappelle,” which was among the additions made by her husband about that time to his “goodly manor house of antient building.” Her ancestor Lord Henry Scrope and other members of that family served both Edward II and III in important capacities, and the chasuble might well have been a royal gift.

In a 1945 letter, Colonel W. Butler-Bowdon, who at that time still owned the cope, mentioned another medieval vestment in his possession that had coats of arms referring to the 1398 marriage of the Earl of Stafford to Anne Plantagenet, a granddaughter of Edward III. Since that vestment had come to his family by direct inheritance, it is possible that the Victoria and Albert cope did too.

While we may never be able to establish beyond any doubt for whom the cope and chasuble were made, we can state with reasonable certainty that they were produced in London, the center of *opus anglicanum* manufacture from the middle of the thirteenth century on. The age, richness, and sophistication of workmanship make the chasuble the unquestioned star of the Cloisters exhibition.

14. *The Adoration of the Magi from the Butler-Bowdon cope.*
Victoria and Albert Museum, London



15. *Details from plate 14 of The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster (London, 1844), by Frederick Mackenzie*



16. *St. Peter from an alb apparel. English, 1280-1300. Silver-gilt, silver, and silk thread on silk, height 7½ inches. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.186*





17. A parakeet from the Butler-Bowdon cope, like the one originally in the Chichester-Constable chasuble (see Figure 3). Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Notes

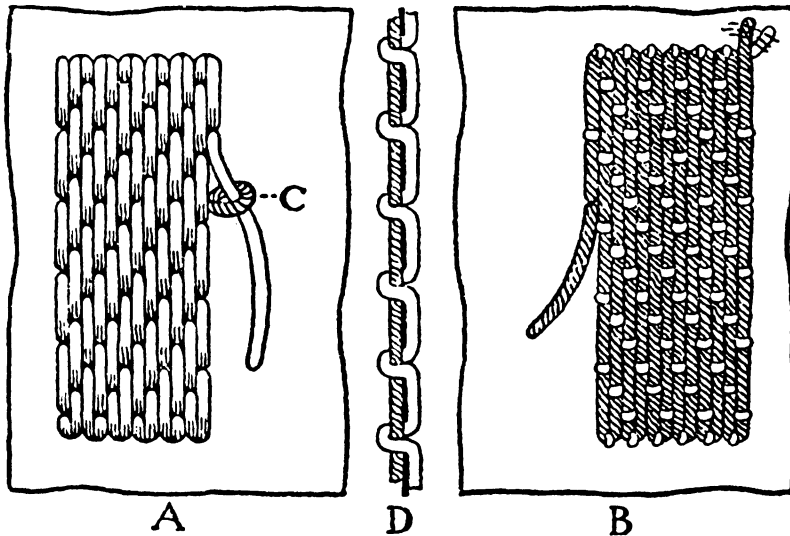
Although London was the center of production for *opus anglicanum* from the middle of the thirteenth century on, very little is known about the actual methods of manufacture. Because of the recurrence of certain decorative elements, it seems likely that embroidery workshops may have had collections of designs deriving from a common source, and, through a stroke of good fortune, a pattern book still survives in Magdalen College, Cambridge. It appears to have been in use from the late thirteenth to the late fourteenth century, and it includes a sketch of a long-tailed parakeet like the one in the cope (Figure 17) and chasuble (Figure 3).

The recurrence of design motifs is not, however, limited to embroideries. There are similarities in figure style and architectural and other details to manuscript illumination and painting of the period, suggesting that one designer may have worked in several fields, or that the same sort of pattern books were used by other craftsmen.

Technique

To facilitate embroidering directly onto the velvet of the chasuble, a thin layer of fabric was placed over the velvet to provide a smooth surface on which to trace the pattern. When the embroidery was completed, any fabric not covered with stitching was cut away. For silk threads, the split stitch was used more than any other stitch.

Gold threads (formed of strips of tin covered with gold leaf and wound on yellow silk) were stitched in underside couching, which was widely used during the Middle Ages. In this stitch (see diagrams at left), the gold thread is laid on the surface of the velvet and held taut with the left hand as the linen thread is brought up to encircle it. The linen thread is then returned to the back through the same hole, carrying a loop of gold thread with it. The process is repeated at regular intervals until the surface is covered with a series of closely set lines of gold. In this way the linen couching thread appears not on the surface but in long strands on the back. The durability of the embroidery is increased because the linen securing thread on the reverse is protected from surface wear, and the loops of gold on the back act like a series of little hinges, giving the goldwork the pliability that allowed the finished garment to hang in graceful folds.



In these diagrams the plain thread represents the gold and the hatched thread is the linen. The surface is shown in A, the back in B, and a cross section in D. At the point marked C in diagram A, the gold thread is about to be looped through the hole made by the linen. Reproduced from *Opus Anglicanum: English Medieval Embroidery* (London, 1963), with the permission of Clarendon Press, Oxford

1. *Scenes from the Life of St. Augustine*, by the Master of St. Augustine (active about 1490), Flemish. Oil on wood, 54¹/₄ x 59 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 61.199



sacred vestments as they developed in the middle ages

JANE HAYWARD *Associate Curator, The Cloisters*



2. *Christ and Apostles. Early Christian, mid-IV century. Fresco. Catacomb of St. Domitilla, Rome. Photograph: Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich*

With the possible exception of armor, church vestments preserve the most accurate and complete record of the wearing apparel of the Middle Ages. It is surprising how little is known of secular dress, especially in the earlier centuries. The best sources, works of art that depict actual people rather than biblical or saintly personages, are so generalized that a detailed idea of the costumes worn is all but impossible to determine. Refinements of garments, such as ornament, trimmings, or seamings, are rarely shown, and yet the fragments still preserved of sumptuous fabrics imported into Europe from the Near East lead to the supposition that the noble class, at least, was richly attired. Ecclesiastical vestments, on the contrary, are depicted frequently and in considerable detail in works of art even from the beginning of the Middle Ages.

Preserved examples of pontificals themselves — from as early as the twelfth century — are not uncommon. The reasons for their preservation are threefold. First, they were not worn out (the fate of secular clothing) because they were used only for ritual functions and at other times were stored in special chests and cupboards in the sacristy of the church, together with the liturgical vessels and like them restricted to the celebration of the mass. Second, because of their sacerdotal nature and because of the richness of the fabrics and embroidery lavished upon them, these objects were passed down from generation to generation of clerics, as indicated in the will of St. Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, who died in 542. Third, burial customs of medieval times permitted the regular clergy to be interred in clerical dress rather than the shroud common to the laity. Excavated tombs have yielded numerous fragments and articles of ecclesiastical garb. Thus a sizable body of material

exists for the study of the history and development of church vestments. This, in addition to information gleaned from texts of medieval writers, church inventories, and papal documents, permits us to draw conclusions not only as to the development but also as to the reasons that lie behind this development.

For the early Christian period (the “primitive period,” up to about 400, in Wharton Marriott’s widely accepted three-part classification of vestments), historians have much less to rely on, and some of that is conflicting. Most scholars, following the ninth-century writer Rabanus Maurus, believe that during the early years of Christianity no differentiation was made between the dress of a priest and that of a layman. Indeed, it seems highly unlikely that such a small and poor sect without even a formal building in which to worship would attempt to make such distinctions in matters of dress.

On the other hand, it seems improbable that Silvester, as the bishop of Rome who consecrated such an impressive building as Old Saint Peter’s in 327, would not himself have been distinguished by the wearing of special apparel. Support for this contradiction of Maurus’s view can be found in two early Christian documents: according to the medieval writer Walafrid Strabo, Pope Stephen I (253-257) directed that priests should not employ their sacred vestments in the ordinary usage of daily life; and Silvester (pope between 314 and 336) ordained that deacons should wear the *dalmatica* (probably the *tunica dalmatica*, a long-sleeved, close-fitting garment of the time) in church rather than the *colobium*, a short-sleeved garment, and that their left hand should be covered with a cloth.

Works of art during the first four centuries confuse rather than illuminate the problem, since most

of them depict biblical rather than historical personages.

Throughout this period, the dress employed for representations of Christ and his followers, as well as other important individuals, is the old Roman ceremonial costume consisting of the toga worn over the *tunica talaris*, a long, loose-fitting garment with tight sleeves and narrow, black or purple, vertical bands called *clavi* reaching from the shoulders to the hem (Figure 2). This has led some writers to assume that the *tunica* and toga were the vestments worn by priests, but in all probability only the former one was employed, because the toga would have been too unwieldy for the celebrant during the mass.

By the fourth century a definite distinction is made between the toga worn by Christ and his apostles and the *chlamys* of current usage employed for others (Figure 3). A rare instance when any

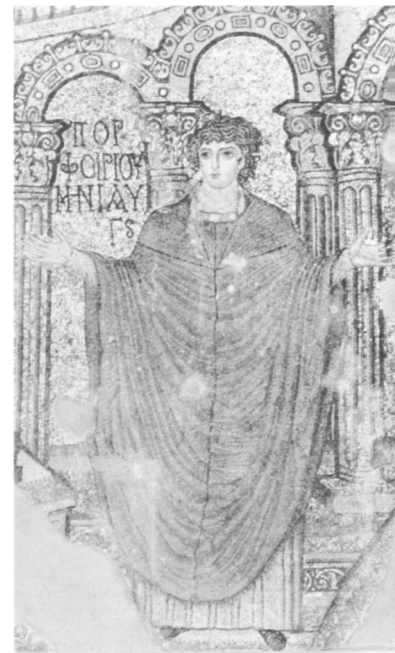
differentiation was made between secular and clerical garb occurs at the very end of the fourth century in the mosaics that decorate the dome of the church of St. George at Salonika. There a series of orant saints, with arms upraised—some are laymen, others clerics—stand in front of arcades. The lay saints wear the embroidered *tunica alba* with a narrow girdle under the *chlamys* (Figure 4). The clerics wear the plain *tunica alba* under a *paenula*, or sleeveless, semicircular cloak of a dark color closed down the front and draped up over the arms (Figure 5).

What may be said of vestments in this early period is, then, quite uncertain. The evidence points to the existence of special garments, a long tunic to be worn while saying mass and a cloak. We do not know, however, whether the latter was worn as a vestment or only as a covering against the cold. In all probability, usage and types varied widely throughout the empire. The standardization of church vestments that took place in the ensuing period was due in no small measure to the general organization of the clergy and its functions that resulted from the undisputed authority over all other bishops granted to the pope by the imperial edict *De Fede Catholica* of Theodosius in 380. By this time, Christianity had evolved into the official religion of the Roman Empire, and the primacy of Rome over the Bishop of Constantinople was confirmed in the second imperial edict, issued in 381. Papal decrees were thereafter absolute as means of standardizing religious practice.



3. *The Trial of Christ*. Early Christian, second half of the IV century. Lid of an ivory casket, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Museo Civico, Brescia. Photograph: Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich

4, 5. *St. Onesiporos and St. Porphyros*. Byzantine, about 400. Mosaics. Church of St. George, Salonika. Photographs: Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich





6. *The Transfiguration. Byzantine, about 549. Mosaic. Sant' Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna. Photograph: Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich*

During the second period, the fifth to the ninth centuries, called by Marriott transitional, the basic ecclesiastical vestments as they are known today appeared and were standardized throughout the shrinking empire. This was the time of barbarian invasions and the subsequent Christianization of the North. The principal literary sources for descriptions of vestments during this period are acts of the fourth council of Toledo, which sat under the presidency of St. Isidore of Seville in 633, and some letters of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604). The twenty-eighth canon of the council enumerates the vestments that were to be returned to various orders of the clergy upon reinvestiture, as follows: the bishop was to receive the *orarium* (or stole), ring, and staff; the priest, the *orarium* and *planeta* (a cloak similar to the *paenula* but made of richer fabric and apparently the forerunner of the chasuble); the deacon was to be invested with the *orarium* and *alba*. Since the insignia, or official garments, of the upper orders were in all probability added to those of the lower, the vestments of the bishop at that time would have included, in modern terminology: the alb, stole, chasuble, ring, and staff. Since all these articles were considered insignia of office, the chasuble or its predecessor, the *planeta*, was by that time worn at mass as part of the pontificals. Three additional vestments are mentioned in the

letters of Gregory the Great as being peculiar to Rome: the *dalmatica*, *mappula*, and *pallium*. Previously mentioned by Pope Silvester, the *dalmatica* seems at this time to have assumed its modern usage, being worn as a separate vestment over the longer alb. During the early part of the period the dalmatic was granted to certain bishops and deacons as a special papal privilege, but by the end of the sixth century it had come into general usage for all clergy. The *mappula* was a narrow strip of cloth first carried in the fingers of the left hand (Figure 8) and later worn looped over the left wrist. As its name implies, the *mappula*, or maniple, was originally a small napkin and is probably the descendant of the cloth that Pope Silvester said should be worn over the left hand. The *pallium*, the third vestment, was a strip of cloth ornamented by crosses worn about the neck with the ends crossed over the left shoulder (Figure 6). It was worn by the pope and bestowed by him upon certain archbishops as a mark of honor.

The most extensive record in works of art of church vestments of this period comes from the sixth-century mosaics at Ravenna. In the apse mosaic of Sant' Apollinare in Classe the patron saint is shown as a bishop wearing an elaborately embroidered chasuble, an alb, and the pallium (Figure 6). His counterpart at San Vitale, St. Ecclesius, has

similar vestments including a dalmatic with bands of ornament and, in addition, a stole. A curious type of chasuble seems to have been in general use both at Rome and Ravenna during the fifth and sixth centuries. Probably influenced by the *chlamys*, it was cut upward to just below the shoulder leaving the right arm free while the left was enveloped in the folds of the garment. Bishop Maximianus at San Vitale wears such a vestment under his papal *pallium*, or pall (Figure 7). It is quite possible that this particular vestment enjoyed only local usage and that there were other local variations in episcopal dress elsewhere. The figure of Bishop Johannes at St. Dimitrios in Salonika, for example, retains the Roman *toga contabulata* (a short, folded variant of the classical toga) worn above the dalmatic.

The ecclesiastical dress of the transition period, therefore, exhibits considerable variety on the one hand and a marked tendency toward standardization on the other. Canons of church councils and papal ordinances indicate the establishment of rules for vestiture, and, in the case of Pope Celestine's sharp reproof of the bishops of Vienne and Narbonne for superstitious observances in dress, papal desire for conformity.

The last period according to Marriott, the ninth to the twelfth centuries, was one of clarification and scholarly inquiry into the nature of ecclesiastical garb. In the year 800, Charlemagne, king of the

7. Emperor Justinian with Archbishop Maximianus and courtiers. Byzantine, about 547. Church of San Vitale, Ravenna. Photograph: Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich





8. Charlemagne between Pope Gelasius and Pope Gregory the Great (?). Carolingian, second half of the IX century. From *Coronation Sacramentary of Charles the Bald*, ms Lat. 1141, fol. 2v., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Franks, was crowned emperor by the pope at Rome. In his desire to solidify his empire, Charlemagne adopted many Roman customs. The palace school was set up at Aachen to teach classical learning, and Roman rite was introduced into the Gallican church. Roman vestiture replaced the unorthodox Gallican vestments and, for the first time, writers — especially those in the northern provinces — not only composed lists of vestments but also endowed each of them with mystical meaning. Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mainz, writing about 820, listed nine vestments as proper to a bishop: the pall, alb, girdle, amice, stole, maniple, dalmatic, chasuble, and sandals. Vestments in this list not previously mentioned by medieval writers are the amice and sandals. By the beginning of the eighth century the amice, a neckcloth, had, according to *Ordo Romanus I*, been adopted by the clergy. In all probability, the need for a linen neckcloth arose with the introduction of more elaborately ornamented chasubles, whose metallic threads might irritate the skin. The sandals, first mentioned by Rabanus, were of the openwork or fenestrated variety, which he likened in a mystical sense to the partly revealed Gospel.

Contemporary works of art, such as the “Charlemagne between two popes” page from the *Coronation Sacramentary of Charles the Bald* (Figure 8), support the writings of the theologians regarding what was by this time a standard vestiture for the clergy. The two popes appear in full pontificals, including the pall, now knotted on the breast rather than crossed on the shoulder, the maniple, and the dalmatic ornamented with rows of tassels.

Between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, a curious phenomenon took place: writers on vestments became preoccupied not only with the mystical significance of the various garments but also with defining a correspondence between them and the Levitical vestments of the Jewish priests.

Interest on the part of Christian theologians in Judaic tradition and ritual was, however, not exclusive to the Carolingian period. Following Josephus, the Jewish historian of the first century, St. Jerome in a letter written to Fabiola in 396 described in considerable detail the Levitical vestments and commented upon their mystical meaning. St. Augustine’s *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* in about 397, the sixth-century anonymous sermon erroneously

attributed to St. John Chrysostom, and the writings of St. Gregory the Great, also in the sixth century, all recapitulate and augment the commentary of St. Jerome. In all of these early discourses, however, the emphasis is placed upon the mystical transference of the spiritual meaning attributed to these vestments by the Jews to a corresponding significance within Christian doctrine. At no time is any attempt made to physically relate Levitical to ecclesiastical vestments.

Between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, however, innumerable attempts were made to point out such a physical relationship between the two vestitures. The motivations that lay behind what must be called a compulsion for making comparisons and finding a precedent for Christian vestments in the Hebraic tradition were undoubtedly the same as those that produced the need for finding a prefiguration for the New Law in the Old that preoccupied theologians throughout this period of the Middle Ages. Isidore of Seville in his *Questiones in Vetus Testamentum* and other works began his compilation of Old Testament texts that were relevant to a symbolic interpretation of the Gospels, while Walafrid Strabo in his *Glossa ordinaria* produced a study on the iconography of the Bible so vast that it served as a standard on the subject throughout the Middle Ages. How extraordinary that these very writers were the first to suggest a similar concordance between the priestly vestments of the Old Law and the New. Isidore likened the tonsure of the bishop to the tiara of the Jewish high priest, and Strabo contended that the eight vestments of the Levitical high priest corresponded in number to the eight worn by the Christian bishop and that the gold breastplate worn only by the high priest could be linked to the *pallium* worn only by the archbishop. For these two writers, as well, no doubt, as for most of their contemporaries, the parts of the Jewish vesture recorded in the Bible just as logically prefigured the vestments of the Christian priest as did the personification of the Synagogue symbolize the image of the Church.

Later writers, such as pseudo-Alcuin, Ivo of Chartres, Honorius of Autun, and Pope Innocent III, multiplied the list of specific correspondences attempting to make a parallel between each piece of the two vestitures — sometimes with ludicrous con-

sequences, as for example the relationship between the sandals of the bishop and the linen drawers, because both clad the legs of the wearer. Among the more plausible comparisons were the alb and the linen inner tunic of the high priest, since both were originally simple undergarments, and by the twelfth century the voluminous alb of early Christian times had with the multiplication of outer vestments shrunk to a sheathlike garment closely resembling its Levitical counterpart.

Many of the vestments that came into use between the ninth and the twelfth centuries — and they actually doubled — such as the subcingulum, rationale, miter, gloves, tunicle, and orale, were probably merely copies or adaptations made to prove the relationship. Some of them, such as the rationale (the counterpart of the Jewish rationale or breastplate) and the subcingulum (compared with the inner girdle), were extremely short-lived or rare. Others, such as the miter, likened to the Levitical tiara, and the tunicle, related to the “Tunic of Blue,” have survived to the present time. Apparently no counterparts were ever found for the chasuble or the maniple.

By the end of the twelfth century, Christian vestments had become standardized both in number and in type, and a period of refinement, which is well represented in objects from the Museum’s collections, was introduced. Throughout this later medieval period — the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries — no new pieces were added but there followed a considerable amount of modification in form. Some altered radically and with great rapidity, while others retained their original shape. It was also during this period that another class of vestments, those termed processional, achieved their most elaborate stage of development. These were articles not worn or employed by the celebrant during the mass, but rather in procession or on ceremonial occasions. Chief among these were the cope and crosier of the bishop and the crossed staff of the archbishop, which was carried before him in processions but never by him.

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of vestments during this period is their sumptuousness. Copes, chasubles, and dalmatics were made of rich silks and velvets shot with metallic threads and woven in magnificent patterns (Figure 1). These gar-

9. Detail of the Annunciation from the Merode triptych, by Robert Campin (died 1444), Flemish. Oil on wood, 25 3/16 x 24 7/8 inches overall. The Cloisters Collection

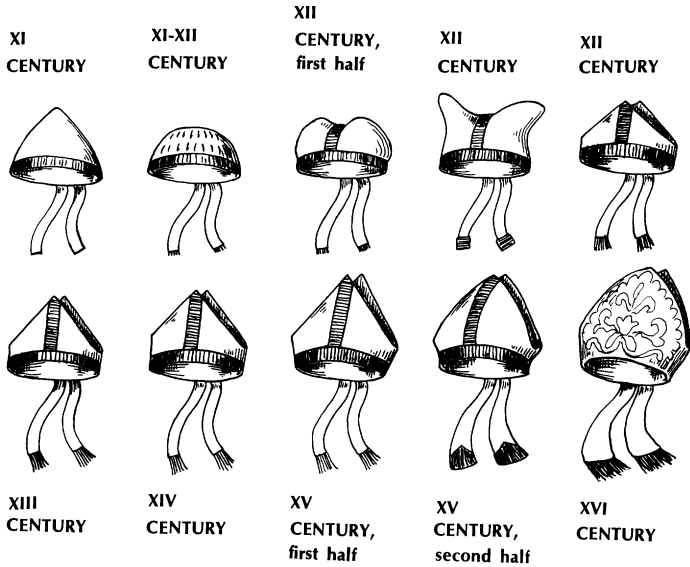


ments were further enriched with broad bands of applied embroidery called orphreys. Even the simpler vestments such as the amice and the alb received patches of embroidery known in the case of the alb as apparels (Figure 9). It was not uncommon from the fourteenth century onward to find vestments made in sets, known as chapels, in which not only the outer garments but also the altar coverings would be woven and embroidered alike. The remains of such a set in the Museum's collection are discussed in the article by Bonnie Young that starts on page 291.

Of those vestments whose form altered in the later Middle Ages, perhaps the miter showed the most radical changes (Figure 10). The miter had been newly created and added to the vestiture in the eleventh century as a means of providing a suitably impressive head covering for the bishop. From the seventh century, the pope had worn a tall pointed hat (Figure 11) that in the process of evolution became the triple tiara of the sixteenth century (Figure 12). The bishop's miter began, as contemporary miniatures show, as a round pointed cap with two streamers called lappets hanging from behind, used originally as a means of securing it to the head. Contemporary with this first type was a spherical or bowl-shaped miter that continued in use into the twelfth century. Two other types seem to have made their appearance in the twelfth century. The first was a cap with slightly puffed side pieces protruding from a band passing across the head from front to back (this type evolved into a two-horned shape). The second and most common type consisted of two shallow pointed triangles joined at the sides and ornamented front and back with vertical strips of embroidery. It was this latter type that continued to develop by becoming more exaggerated in height up to the fifteenth century. At this time the points of the miter were bent toward the center and the sides were flared outward. This latter type has continued in use to the present.

Between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, the chasuble underwent a similar development (Figure 13). Originally a circular garment, it at first assumed a pointed appearance slightly longer in back than in front and then became increasingly shorter over the arms. By the end of the fifteenth century, the old circular shape had vanished and in its place was a garment consisting of two oval aprons hanging from

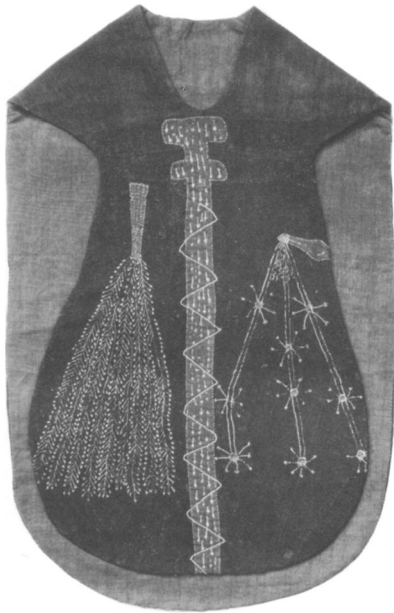
the shoulders, the one in back slightly fuller and longer than the one in front. Gradually, for more convenient movement of the arms of the priest, the sides of the front apron below the shoulders were curved inward in the "fiddle" shape employed today (Figure 14).



10. Development of the miter from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries

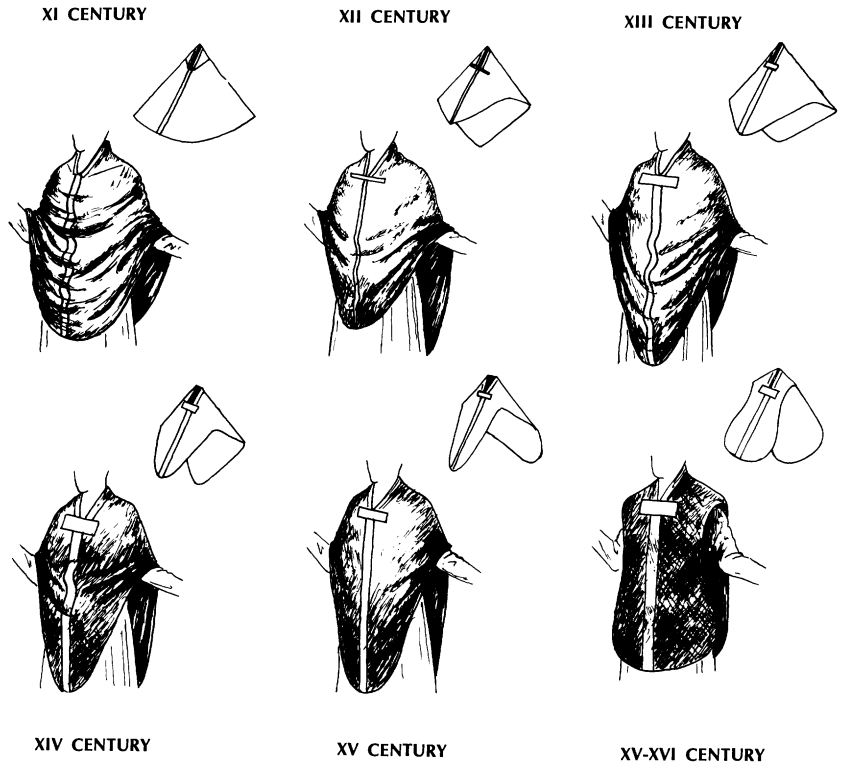
11. St. Peter as pope. Spanish, early XIV century. Polychromed wood, height 6 feet 7 inches. Rogers Fund, 27.18.2

12. St. Peter as pope with donor. Flemish, XVI century. Stained glass, diameter 8³/₄ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 32.24.62



13. Development of the chasuble from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries

14. Chasuble. German (Lower Saxony), early XV century. Wool; leather; embroidery in silk and wool thread, greatest width 27 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 57.18



XI CENTURY

XII CENTURY

XIII CENTURY

XIV CENTURY

XV CENTURY

XV-XVI CENTURY



By the twelfth century, the dalmatic had assumed its standard form as a slightly flared, shirtlike, one-piece garment with long, loose sleeves, sometimes not sewn together beneath the arm (Figure 15). It hangs to the calf with slits part way up the side seams.

15. Dalmatic. Flemish, XV century. Cut and voided velvet, embroidery in silk and metallic threads, height from shoulder to hem 46 inches. Rogers Fund, 18.24.3



16. St. Martial and St. Fabian. French (Poitiers), about 1210-1220. Stained glass, 31 x 15 1/2 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 25.120.394

The pall ceased to be a strip of material looped around the neck and became by the eleventh century a horizontal loop worn about the shoulder with vertical streamers hanging front and back. It was usually decorated with crosses but the number varied from two to as many as eight (Figure 16).

17. Three crosiers. French, XII, XIII, and XIV centuries. Left and right, ivory, heights 6 1/2 and 5 3/4 inches; center, champlevé enamel, total height 60 inches. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.232, 833, 164

Of the processional vestments, the crosier showed the greatest variation in shape throughout its development (Figure 17). It began as a simple crook in the seventh century and then became spiral shaped. As it developed it was more and more elaborately ornamented with figures and scenes enclosed in the spiral. Securing the head of the staff was a knob of metal or ivory, which also became increasingly elaborate until, in the fifteenth century, it assumed the form of an architectural canopy from the top of which the crook protruded (see Figure 1).



Certainly the most magnificent of the processional vestments was the cope (Figure 18). It was originally a hooded cloak used as protection against the cold by clergy and laity alike. When, in the twelfth century, it developed as a purely processional vestment, the hood became a mere patch of embroidery, at first a small triangle. This patch evolved into a magnificently embroidered shield, which not only enriched the garment but also by its shape recalled the original function of the hood as a head covering (see page 290, Figure 9).

18. Cope, front and back views. Spanish (Burgos), about 1437. Velvet, appliquéd design in gold thread; embroidery in silk and metallic thread, 10 feet x 4 feet 8 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 53.22



The vestment as an art form achieved its apogee of perfection in the fifteenth century. Never before or since had fabrics been so magnificently woven or embroidery done with such skill. The best of textiles were employed in making ecclesiastical vestments: the finest velvets, brocades, and silks, and the most intricate and beautiful embroidery. In these vestments are also to be found masterful cutting, sewing, and fashioning of the garment. But very little is known of how and under what circumstances they were made. Was it in the cloister, the work of nuns? Or, were they products of the craft guilds in the cathedral towns? What caused the many changes in their form in the later Middle Ages and where did they first occur? The answers to these and many other questions are waiting to be uncovered.

Note

For bibliography and definitions of terms, see the bibliography and glossary sections of this *Bulletin* (pages 313-317).

Ecclesiastical Vestments

in the Modern Church

REVEREND MONSIGNOR JOHN T. DOHERTY

*Executive Secretary, The Liturgical
Commission, Archdiocese of New York*

Ecclesiastical vestments in the past reflected the art and culture of the times and represented, to some degree, the Church's view of herself and her mission. Even the dominant theological themes of an age found expression in vestment decoration, just as they did on Dante's pages and in Michelangelo's frescoes. When the "kingly" model of the bishop's role prevailed and the "court" model of the liturgy strongly influenced the sacred ceremonies, vestments and insignia of office tended to be ornate, rather regal, and strongly concerned with visual impact and symbolism. When the "shepherd" model of the bishop and priest prevailed, vestiture tended to return to the more simple, austere, and functional. It is this latter mood that has emerged recently as the Church has undergone radical self-study and the ecclesiastical arts have caught the mood.

The Second Vatican Council, which ended in 1965, left a heritage of reform and renewal that will be felt for many years. It was the Council that brought together developing awarenesses of the Church's self-image as "the people of God," the "pilgrim people," characterized by simplicity in form and practice. These concepts left their mark almost everywhere in the Church, including the attitude toward official and liturgical vestiture.

The liturgical vestments of the bishop are a good point of departure for understanding the attitude of the Church in this field, because the bishop is seen as the chief celebrant of the Eucharist in his diocese. Every priest and every gathering of people for Eucharist within a diocese have a direct relationship to the bishop and his celebration of Mass. When he celebrates in the most solemn fashion, especially in his cathedral church, it is called a pontifical Mass

and the full vestments of the Church are used. An example of a theological implication can be seen in the long tradition of the bishop's wearing not only a chasuble that represents his priesthood, but also the vestments of lesser orders as well, such as the deacon's dalmatic and the subdeacon's tunic. In 1960, after many requests from the bishops of the world, the Sacred Congregation of Rites in Rome removed the obligation of wearing these extra vestments, leaving it optional to each bishop.

After the Council had greatly simplified all the sacred rites, bishops made urgent appeals that the *Ceremonial of Bishops* (the book governing their rites, insignia, and vestments for sacred use) be quickly revised in order to conform to the total liturgical renewal. Since this would necessarily take time, an interim document was issued in June 1968, which can be summed up by its own reference to "elements which are obsolete and out of harmony with our age." It asks for the preservation of "the venerable traditions of ancient liturgical services," especially in the bishop's liturgy that is so central, but at the same time its overall tone is set by phrases such as "return[ing] sacred rites to a noble simplicity and to an authenticity of sign." This is a long step from the twelfth-century concept of a bishop's wearing nine vestments in order to represent nine different aspects of his pastoral office! Some changes covered by this document are significant. The dominant note is simplicity. The traditional canopy over the bishop's chair ("*cathedra*" — hence the word "cathedral") was abolished, as were the kneeling cushion, thrones for other bishops present, and genuflection before the bishop.

Within nine months the Papal Secretariat of State issued another instruction, concerning the dress and insignia of cardinals. Pope Paul was quoted as wanting to bring the exterior forms of ecclesiastical life "into closer correspondence with the changing circumstances of the times, and of making them now accord better with the higher spiritual values which they should express and promote." The Secretariat noted that "the modern mentality is particularly sensitive [to this subject], one that demands the avoidance of possible extremes in one direction or the other, and an ability to bring correctness and decorum into harmony with simplicity, practicality, and the spirit of humility and poverty." As a result, the simple black cassock became the dress for optional use on ordinary occasions. The mantelletta (a sleeveless, knee-length vestment) was abolished, as well as the traditional sash with tassels and the "galero" or red cardinalial hat. Some items of dress were left optional; still others were suppressed.

The liturgy of the Roman Rite was dramatically revised almost in its entirety and the revisions became effective in March 1970 in most parts of the world. Of interest to those viewing this exhibition of medieval ecclesiastical vestments

are two principles laid down in this revision regarding vestments. The first principle is this: "the beauty of a vestment should derive from its material and form rather than from its ornamentation. Any ornamentation should include only symbols, images, or pictures suitable for liturgical use and anything unbecoming should be avoided." The second principle is that "in addition to traditional materials, vestments may be made from natural fabrics of the region or artificial fabrics in keeping with the dignity of the sacred action and the person wearing them." Judgments regarding the second principle are left to the body of bishops in each country or cultural region. In the United States, the National Conference of Bishops saw fit simply to repeat that principle and then to turn the judgment over to the local bishop in any cases of doubt about suitability. What is significant is the opening up of liturgical vestiture to development in all parts of the world: vestments now can depart from the traditional materials, decorations, and form to meet the cultural needs, resources, and wishes of each locality. Synthetic and local natural materials will supplement the traditional silk and linen we are so accustomed to. It is of interest to view the medieval examples of vestments in the light of these developing principles.

One additional note should be made. The revised liturgy provides for the Mass being offered with the celebrant facing the people, instead of having his back to them. This is now common practice and will probably have considerable effect on the designing of vestments in the future. When the people were more in a "spectator" role than in a "participant" role, the back of the chasuble became the center of visual attention and was often decorated with a cross, a liturgical symbol, or even a picture of the Last Supper. It harmonized with the sanctuary and with the vestments of the assisting ministers. Now, with the priest facing the people, his face, hands, words become the center of attention and the vestment falls into a secondary visual role. Thus the first principle stated above comes into a context where the material and the form rather than decoration dominate the vestment.

In summary, the Church's attitude toward the use of vestments in our time grows out of her present view of her mission and image. While firmly committed to sacred vestments in the performance of the liturgy and to maintaining the basic tradition of the past, the Church will see adaptation and creativity grow and increase, based not on a Roman or a Catholic or a baroque model, but arising from varying cultures and local expression.

The Study of Medieval Ecclesiastical Costumes— A Bibliography

DOBRILA-DONYA SCHIMANSKY *Assistant at The Cloisters*

While medieval ecclesiastical costumes may be examined from several different viewpoints, no one approach should be used exclusively. To acquire a meaningful understanding of their historical and aesthetic value, one should evaluate the vestments themselves, their stylistic relationship with contemporary works of art, original documents pertaining to them, and historical or artistic studies about them.

We owe much of our knowledge of vestments to such primary sources as medieval inventories of royal and noble houses, of monasteries, churches, cathedrals, and papal treasuries, some of them dating from the end of the eighth century. The 1295 inventory of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, even lists useful technical terms used by embroiderers, such as *opus pulvinarum* and *opus consutum*. The names of some designers and embroiderers as well as indications of the time and funds spent to make vestments are preserved in other documents. Medieval chroniclers make frequent mention of priestly vesture, praising the richness of the material and design, and sometimes describing them thoroughly. Early Christian and medieval church writers wrote on vestments: for example, Durandus, whose *Rationale divinarum officiorum* in eight books (1286) is still considered valuable for the study of the Roman ritual of the thirteenth century, gives allegorical explanations of vestments. Valuable information on ecclesiastical dress can be found in church decrees, council decisions, and liturgical books. *Ordines Romani* (first printed by Jean Mabillon in his *Museum Italicum* in 1689), covering the period from the sixth to the fifteenth centuries, is a ritual book that provides reliable information on the early liturgical practices of the Roman church, as well as on the proper usage, shape, and colors of vestments. For the Middle Ages, the last five *Ordines* (X through XV) are essential.

Interest in church embroidery diminished after the Middle Ages, when pure ornament rather than religious scenes adorned ecclesiastical garments. Inventories continued to list vestments but — with a few exceptions — no important studies on their liturgical use were written. One of the exceptions, *Rerum liturgicarum libri duo* by Giovanni Bona, covers subjects relating to the mass, such as rites and vestments; it was used and commented upon for a long time

after it was published in 1671 in Rome. Perhaps the best work written on ecclesiastical dress at that time was *Liturgia Romani Pontificis in celebratione missarum sollemni* by Dominico Giorgi (1744), which also treated papal vestments. *Vetus liturgia alemannica . . .* by Martin Gerbert (1766) contains a treatise on sacred dress with rich illustrations of examples that still existed at that time.

The nineteenth-century revival of interest in religious art and its use in ecclesiastical services brought about reforms in the shape, texture, and ornamentation of vestments. Medieval garments were considered, with good reason, as the ideals in form and design. Investigations of their origin and development abounded and were followed by numerous defenses of either side of the resultant controversy: one view held that the vestment was the natural outgrowth of civil Roman costume, while the other claimed that ecclesiastical dress stemmed from the ceremonial robes of the Jewish priesthood. Books were written, mostly by the clergy, to explain the use of *vestis sacra* and *habitus ecclesiasticus* (the former for liturgical functions and the latter for everyday use). Although no critical methods of stylistic analysis were applied, these studies should be explored since they not only describe vestments but quote selected passages on sacred apparel from works of classical and medieval writers. Besides, a full translation or a commentary was usually given when it appeared necessary for the elucidation of meaning.

While there have not been as many studies produced in the twentieth century, many more aspects of the subject have been treated. The neo-Gothic period in the earlier part of the century saw the publication of works on the conservation as well as manuals for the proper use and manufacture of church costumes, taking as examples medieval vestments. Scholarly historical studies and monographs on church embroidery have been written in our century and essays dealing with individual vestments have appeared frequently in such magazines as *The Art Bulletin*, *Artizan Liturgique*, *The Burlington Magazine*, *Christian Art*, and *Christliche Kunst*. Museums with large holdings of medieval embroidery have published descriptive catalogues of their collections, and exhibitions in Berlin (1912) on medieval ecclesiastical vestments, in Stockholm (1928) on Swedish medieval textiles, in London (1930, 1955, and 1963) on ecclesiastical embroidery, in Munich (1955 and 1961), and in other places, were accompanied by richly illustrated catalogues that often included evidence on the history, iconography, and aesthetic value of medieval ecclesiastical dress.

Even though vestments are classified as "Applied Art — costumes (or textiles) — ecclesiastical" in bibliographies and therefore rarely mentioned in standard histories of art, a substantial number of the twentieth-century monographs on medieval textiles deal mostly with artistic expression in church dress. Eventually, church embroidery may be universally characterized as a fine art rather than a craft.

The following selective bibliography concentrates on English-language secondary sources dealing primarily with the history of medieval liturgical vestments. Some of the works also include everyday clerical garments and those of the religious orders.

Bibliographies, Encyclopedias, Dictionaries

Hilaire and Meyer Hiler. *Bibliography of Costume* (New York, 1939), 911 pp. An extensive bibliography of costumes and adornments in the form of a dictionary catalogue with author, subject, title entries, and references, covering the period from prehistoric times to the date of publication. It is international in scope. Vestments are also arranged chronologically and within an alphabetical list of countries.

Fernand de Mély and Edmund Bishop. *Bibliographie générale des inventaires imprimés*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1892-1895). A compilation of the printed inventories of western European churches and other institutions from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. Since it gives short summaries of the inventories and the titles of the publications in which they were printed, it is especially useful for art research on ecclesiastical costumes.

James Robinson Planché. *A Cyclopaedia of Costume or Dictionary of Dress*, 2 vols. (London, 1876-1879). An alphabetical glossary of costumes, including ecclesiastical dress, arranged as a dictionary. Volume 2 is a general history of European lay and church dress from the beginning of the Christian era to the eighteenth century.

Handbooks, Histories, Monographs

XIX CENTURY

Matthew Halbecke Bloxam. *Companion to the Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture; Being a Brief Account of the Vestments . . .* (London, 1882), 403 pp. Ecclesiastical vestments are treated in chronological order. The development is traced from the beginning, through the Middle Ages, and up to the death of King Henry VIII in 1546 by means of an examination of sepulchral effigies of clergymen.

Franz Bock. *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1856-1871). This comprehensive history of vestments from their beginning deals with color, design, texture, and liturgical use of the garments, frequently referring to documentary sources. Volume 1 covers early Christian times; volume 2 discusses the Middle Ages and includes a short text on the last three centuries; volume 3 deals with altar clothing.

Anastasia Dolby. *Church Vestments* (London, 1868), 203 pp. An illustrated, popular study of the development of sacerdotal vesture with emphasis on vestments of the Middle Ages. Short instructions are given concerning proper forms and designs for use by the Catholic clergy of the period.

Louis de Farcy. *La Broderie du XIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours d'après des spécimens authentiques et les anciens inventaires*, 3 vols. (Angers, 1890-1900). An important and richly illustrated work on embroidery covering the period from the eleventh century through the nineteenth that concentrates on the embroidery on medieval church vestments. Farcy classifies embroidery according to the country of origin (for example, "opus theutonico," "opus anglicanum," "opus florentinum"), and describes and illustrates different designs and techniques of ecclesiastical garments.

R. A. S. Macalister. *Ecclesiastical Vestments* (London, 1896), 270 pp. The author discusses the liturgical uses of ecclesiastical dress and its genesis, pointing to Roman civil dress of the first three centuries of the Christian era as the true progenitor of the liturgical dress of his own time. He deals not only with the garments of the Western and Eastern churches in the Middle Ages but includes those of the reform churches and of the religious orders as well as medieval university costumes.

Wharton Booth Marriott. *Vestiarium Christianum* (London, 1868), 252 pp. This scholarly contribution is the most important work in English and can serve as a source book because of its extensive quotations from ancient and medieval documents. The history of ecclesiastical dress is divided into three parts: up to the year 400; from 400 to 800; and from 800 up to the time of publication. Marriott reproduces in their original language excellent passages from classical authors, who mention dress that may have carried over into ecclesiastical use, as well as passages from early Christian writers dealing with the questions of Levitical origin of Christian vestments or with the significance of colors. In a listing of sacerdotal vesture of the Roman church, Marriott has included an indication of the origin of each vestment and the successive modifications it underwent with time.

Charles Rohault de Fleury. *La Messe; Etudes archéologiques sur ses monuments . . .*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1883-1889). A monumental, richly illustrated work on the mass. Volumes 1-5 deal with the mass, works of art, and iconography beginning from the early Christian era; volume 6 treats vestments of the altar; volumes 7 and 8 deal with the history of ecclesiastical costume from the viewpoint of prescribed liturgical use.

XX CENTURY

Mary Antrobus. *Needlework in Religion* (London, 1924), 229 pp. A practical manual on the subject. Part I is a historical survey of Eastern and Western church vestments frequently based on examples of the Middle Ages; part II deals with the texture and patterns of the cloth, with tools, and with stitches of the needlework.

Joseph Braun, S. J. *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (Freiburg, 1907), 797 pp. This important work, containing invaluable documentation on

medieval ecclesiastical costume, is still unsurpassed. Even though the book was written as a contribution to the history of liturgy, it is the prime authority and definitive work on liturgical dress, for its origin, development, usage, and symbolism. Vestments are grouped into undergarments, overgarments, vestments of the head, arms, and feet, and the insignia. Lists of medieval documentary sources, inventories, and titles of frequently cited works are included.

A. G. I. Christie. *English Medieval Embroidery* (Oxford, 1938), 206 pp. A scholarly, well-illustrated work on English medieval embroidery fully covering ecclesiastical vestments. An excellent descriptive catalogue of existing examples with bibliographical references is the major part of the book. Names of embroidery workers and embroideries recorded in medieval documents are listed in the appendices.

H. J. Clayton. *The Ornaments of the Ministers as Shown on English Monumental Brasses* (London, 1919), 192 pp. A practical study of the medieval mass, choir, and processional vestments that are illustrated on English monumental brasses representing ecclesiastics. It covers the period from the latter part of the thirteenth to the end of the seventeenth century.

Pauline Johnstone. *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (Chicago, 1967), 144 pp. One of very few histories of church embroidery made for liturgical use in the Greek Orthodox church, covering the period from the sixth century to the nineteenth. A general description of vestments, their iconography, and the techniques used, with emphasis on their place in the historical and artistic background of their time.

Herbert Norris. *Church Vestments, Their Origin and Development* (New York, 1950), 190 pp. A history of ecclesiastical costume from the earliest times up to 1400, but including many fifteenth-century examples. The vestments are not listed in alphabetical order but according to their liturgical significance. The numerous drawings by the author bring out the essential features of the vestments.

Eugène Augustin Roulin. *Vestments and Vesture . . .*, trans. by Justin McCann (London, 1931), 308 pp. A practical guide to liturgical vestments and their accessories, giving an introductory history, but dealing mostly with the aesthetic value of the shape, design, and ornaments of the vestments. Illustrations, with a brief explanatory text, are usually arranged so as to show the contrast between "good" and "bad" examples of vestments.

Glossary

The following ecclesiastical vestments are represented in the current exhibition at The Cloisters and can be seen in this fifteenth-century Netherlandish panel painting.



- 1 **Alb** An ankle-length undergarment with loose sleeves for deacons, priests, and bishops. Choristers, acolytes, and subdeacons wore the alb alone. It is usually made of white linen and often decorated with applied embroidery (see Apparel).
- 2 **Amice** A rectangular linen cloth first laid across the shoulders, tied in front of the neck, and raised onto the head like a hood. The alb is then put on and the amice is lowered and adjusted around the neck as a collar. It is the first sacred vestment donned and is worn by practically all clergy. Like the alb, it may be decorated with embroidery (see Apparel).
- 3 **Apparel** A decorative panel, usually embroidered, applied to an amice and to the lower front or lower back near the hem or at the sides of the cuffs of an alb. For no apparent reason, panels of a similar nature applied to any vestment other than the alb and amice are called orphreys.
- 4 **Chasuble** The principal vestment worn by a priest, bishop, or archbishop in the celebration of the mass. The last vestment put on, it is usually made of a rich material and decorated with orphreys. Originally the chasuble was more or less conical, but in the later Middle Ages it was cut in at the sides.
- 5 **Cope** A semicircular cloak worn over the shoulders and fastened across the chest by a strip of material or a brooch (see Morse). Strictly speaking, the cope is a processional vestment rather than one used in celebration of the mass. In the early Middle Ages it was worn by all orders as a protection from the cold, but later it developed into a ceremonial dress worn as a privilege by priests and higher clergy.
- 6 **Dalmatic** A shin-length tunic with sleeves, sometimes split, which is the principal vestment on deacons but is also worn underneath the chasuble by priests, bishops, and archbishops. It was often decorated with two embroidered panels passing from the shoulders to the lower edge of the garment (see Orphrey).
- 7 **Hood** A triangular or shield-shaped piece of cloth on the back of the neck of a cope. Originally designed to be pulled over the head, it soon developed into a richly ornamented but functionless appendage.
- 8 **Maniple** A narrow strip of elaborately embroidered material, often decorated with three crosses, worn over the left forearm by all but the lowest orders of clergy.
- 9 **Miter** A cap with two points, or horns, often elaborately decorated, worn by bishops, archbishops, and some abbots. From the back hang two narrow strips of material called lappets, which usually end in a fringe.
- 10 **Morse** A strip of embroidered material or a brooch, usually fashioned in metalwork and set with precious or semiprecious stones, used to clasp the cope across the chest.
- 11 **Orphrey** A decorative band, often embroidered, applied to chasubles, copes, and dalmatics. Orphreys were applied in a line across the straight edge of a cope; in vertical rows, or pillars, on dalmatics; and in a variety of patterns, including Y shapes, straight pillars, and cross forms, on both the front and back, or pectoral and dorsal, sides of chasubles.
- 12 **Stole** A very long, narrow strip of cloth, often elaborately embroidered. A deacon hangs the stole from his left shoulder; a bishop drapes it across the back of his neck with it falling in the front from both shoulders; and a priest wears it around his neck, crossed at the breast, and held in place under his girdle, or sash. In all cases it is worn under the dalmatic or chasuble and extends to just above the ankle.

The following objects, though of a lesser nature, are considered ecclesiastical vestments, with the exception of the crosier, which, like the cope, is more properly termed a processional vestment. With the exception of one crosier and several crosier heads, none of these vestments is represented in the exhibition but most are mentioned in the articles:

Crosier or pastoral staff A crook-headed staff, usually made of metal or ivory, gilded, and richly ornamented with enamel, and precious stones; the symbol of the office of a bishop.

Gloves and ring Gloves were usually embroidered and were worn chiefly by bishops. The ring worn above the second joint of the index or middle finger was the sign and often the seal of the bishop's office.

Tiara A three-tiered crown worn only by a pope.

Tunicle A long-sleeved tunic, similar to the dalmatic, but worn only by subdeacons.

ORIGIN and INFLUENCE

Cultural Contacts: Egypt, the Ancient Near East, and the Classical World

There is abundant evidence of cultural contact in the art of the Near East, Egypt, and the Greek and Roman world. The exact routes by which certain types, techniques, and subjects traveled between these areas are still debated, but the interrelations are extensive, as any study of the material remains of the ancient world proves.

In the fourth millennium B.C. the evidence is sparse, but in the third, second, and first millennia it becomes overwhelming. Peaceful trade movements of itinerant craftsmen and the capture in war of objects and the artisans who made them all contributed to the breaking of the boundaries between these countries — at least in the realm of art. By the middle of the first millennium A.D. a further stage is reached: to a large degree, the Near East comes to share a common language of art with the West.

Cultural interconnections appear to us to result in abrupt changes in taste or style. In fact, the process was probably gradual and, while many foreign elements may have been absorbed in a country's art, its institutions, beliefs, or customs often remained relatively unaltered.

The primary intention of the exhibition *Origin and Influence*, which will be on view through April 23, has been to trace the sources of various motifs and techniques. It has been of nearly equal interest, however, to compare the original with the imitation in order to discover something of the culture of the borrower. Additions or omissions are often a matter of deliberate choice, not accident. Some of the themes in the exhibition are illustrated and discussed on the following pages.

This article was prepared by Prudence Harper, Associate Curator of Ancient Near Eastern Art; Andrew Oliver, Jr., Associate Curator of Greek and Roman Art; Nora Scott, Curator of Egyptian Art; and Christine Lilyquist, Assistant Curator of Egyptian Art

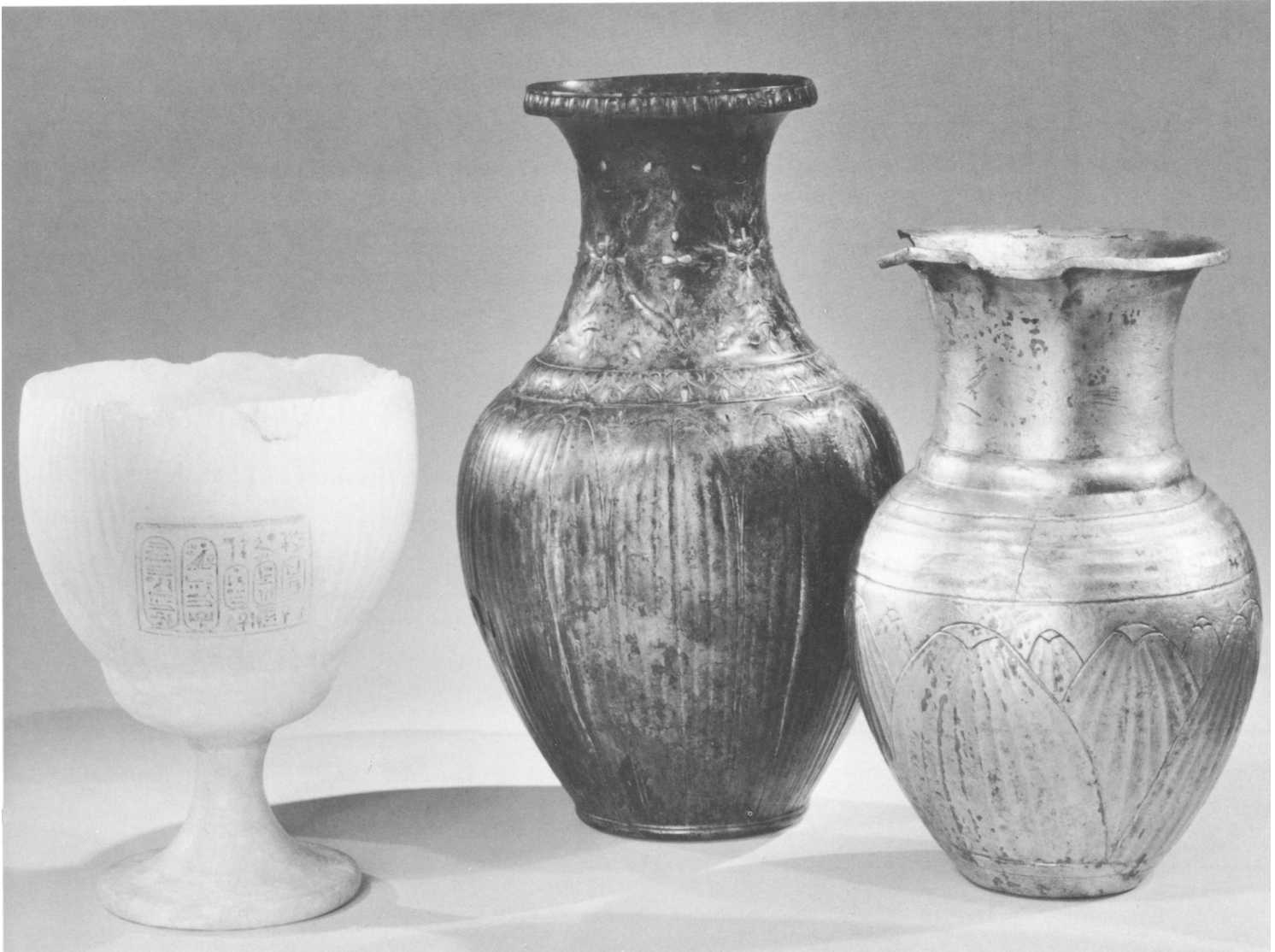
The blue lotus, a plant abundant in Egypt, was used decoratively for millennia in Near Eastern art, almost more than any other floral design. On the blue faience cup from Egypt at the right, the base of the bowl is covered with the pointed petals of this flower, while the foot bears an abbreviated form having only five petals, alternating with a bud.



Much less common—and consequently more intriguing—is the occurrence of another species, the white lotus, in the art of Egypt, the Near East, Greece, and Italy. The white lotus differs in form from the blue: the petals are broader and vertically ribbed. The picture below shows three examples of this flower: at the left is an alabaster cup from Egypt that indicates the way in which it is characteristically employed, to decorate or form the body of the vessel. At the right is a fourth-century B.C. silver vase found in Egypt, possibly of Syrian origin, that shows a later development with the tips of the petals turned over. The similarly shaped bronze vessel of the first century B.C. in the center of the illustration continues the tradition. It was found in Iran but must have been made in a Roman workshop, since there is nothing in the form, technique, or style to suggest Near Eastern workmanship. The petals on this late vessel no longer overlap naturally, but are rigidly separated and placed side by side. Although this piece is an import from the West, a glass vessel with the same motif of the fourth century B.C. found at Nippur in Mesopotamia proves that the design itself was familiar to Near Eastern artisans and occasionally used by them.

Opposite: Egyptian, 950-650 B.C. Faience, height 5½ inches. Rogers Fund, 13.182.53

Below, left: Egyptian, reign of Akhenaten (1379-1362 B.C.). Alabaster, height 5½ inches. Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 22.9.1. Center: Found in Iran, late 1 century B.C. Bronze with silver inlay. Gift of H. Dunscombe Colt, 66.235. Right: From Egypt, IV century B.C. Silver. Lent by The Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 54.50.39



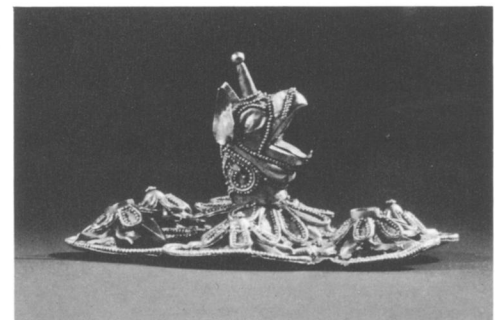
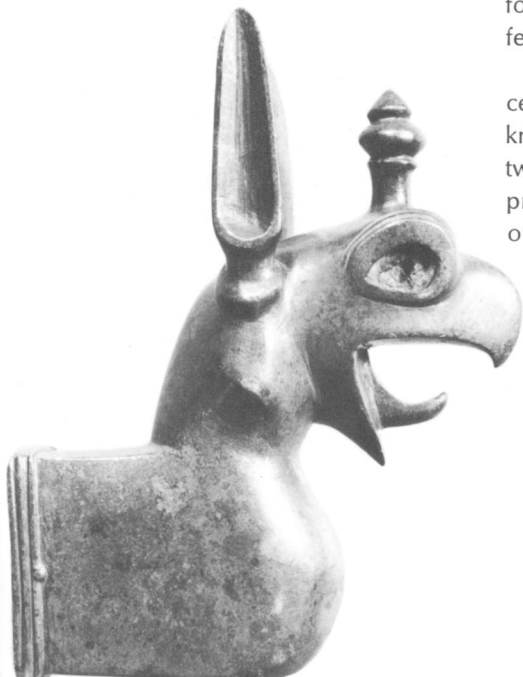


Two fantastic creatures, the griffin and the lion-griffin, are closely linked iconographically in Near Eastern art. Griffins have the body of a lion and the head of a bird; they occur as early as 3000 B.C. in Iran, and from that source passed to Egypt, although they were never represented with any frequency in Egyptian art. The one on the Twelfth Dynasty wand above is quite different from Near Eastern types. It has a falcon's head (the stylization of the feathering around the eye is characteristically Egyptian), a long, thin neck, and wings placed well back on the body.

Toward the end of the third millennium lion-griffins appear on Mesopotamian seals, at first as the attribute of the weather god and then as the subject of innumerable contests with other animals and with human or divine beings. Lion-griffins have a lion's body, a leonine head with tall upright ears, wings, a feathered tail, and hind legs like those of a bird of prey. In the second millennium on Middle Assyrian seals, a pronounced knob projects from the forehead. The lion-griffin in the Schimmel collection, shown at the right, has the typical head with upright ears, and a ruff around the neck as well.

By the second and early first millennium B.C., griffins had taken on many of the features of lion-griffins—upright ears, neck ruff, and forehead knob. Different types were characteristic of different areas. The version current in the eastern Mediterranean had long S-shaped locks and a crest with one or more upright curls. An ivory from Nimrud (left) provides a good illustration of this type: although the ivory was found in Assyria, the griffin is based on Western forms, differing from the Assyrian type that invariably has a crest of stiff upright feathers running from the top of the head down the neck.

The Greeks took over the idea of the griffin in the late eighth and seventh century B.C. In Greek art the monster's characteristic features were a forehead knob, upright horses' ears, and gaping beak. These are clearly visible on the two griffin heads illustrated below: one on the center of a gold ornament, probably made on the island of Rhodes in the seventh century B.C., and the other the bronze finial of an Etruscan chariot pole.





Above: Iranian, early 1 millennium B.C. Bronze, length 8 inches. Lent by Norbert Schimmel, L 1970.73.1

Opposite page, counterclockwise from top:

Fragments of a magic knife (the center section is in the Louvre). Egyptian, about 1800 B.C.

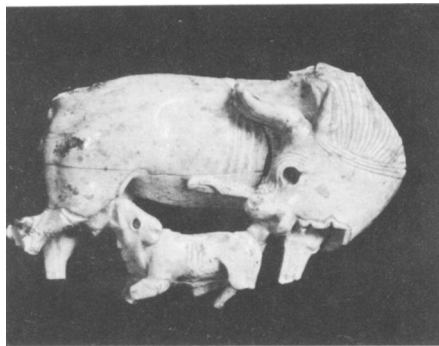
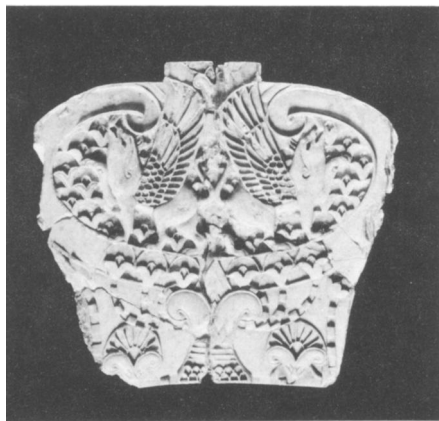
Hippopotamus ivory, length of right section $4 \frac{13}{16}$ inches. Carnarvon Collection, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 26.7.1288

Impression of a cylinder seal with griffins of the Assyrian type. Iran (Hasanlu), IX century B.C. Joint expedition with the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Gift of Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff, 61.100.80

Nimrud, IX-VIII century B.C. Ivory, height $3 \frac{1}{16}$ inches. Rogers Fund, 64.37.4

Etruscan, early VI century B.C. Bronze, height $7 \frac{1}{8}$ inches. Samuel D. Lee Fund, 42.11.2

Probably Rhodian, VII century B.C. Gold, height $\frac{7}{8}$ inch. Rogers Fund, 12.229.24



Craftsmen living in Assyria and Cyprus from the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. belonged to an international community in which artistic forms were borrowed, traded, and transformed by the various cultures. This silver-gilt bowl, probably datable to the seventh century B.C., was found on Cyprus and is perhaps the work of a Phoenician artist. It illustrates a number of subjects that had been current in the art of the Mediterranean world as well as that of Syria and Palestine almost a millennium earlier. Three such motifs are the cow suckling a calf, a figure spearing a griffin, and the volute tree on which two griffins place their forelegs. The similarity between these designs and those carved on ivories from Nimrud in northern Assyria (shown at the left) is therefore not surprising, although the ivories are almost a century earlier in date. The majority of the ivory carvings found in the royal residences and storerooms at Nimrud illustrate Mediterranean motifs and styles. They indicate the extent to which the taste of the Assyrian royalty and nobility early in the first millennium B.C. was influenced by the art of the newly conquered lands to the west. Some of the ivories must have come to Nimrud as tribute or booty, mounted in furniture or decorating small objects of luxury. Eventually foreign artisans came or were brought to Nimrud and, working there, may have trained Assyrian craftsmen to reproduce this style.

The bowl is set apart from the ivories by the slender proportions of its figures and by the great delicacy of its repoussé and chased designs. The ivories were originally covered with gold foil, however, and it is possible that additional details were finely chased in the gold. Such a theory remains pure speculation, since the foil was systematically torn from the ivories in Nimrud's final destruction, and in only a few instances are small pieces preserved.



Right: From Cyprus, VII century B.C. Silver-gilt, diameter 6 11/16 inches. Purchased by subscription, 74.51.4554

Above: Three ivories from Nimrud. IX-VIII century B.C. Heights 4 15/16, 4 3/16, 1 3/4 inches. Rogers Fund, 61.197.11, 61.197.1, 64.37.3



Left: Egyptian, XXVI Dynasty (664-525 B.C.). Bronze, height 5 3/4 inches. Rogers Fund, 52.95.2. Center, right: Nimrud, IX-VIII century B.C. Ivory, heights 4 3/4, 3 15/16 inches. Rogers Fund, 62.269.8, 64.37.11

Left: Egyptian, I millennium B.C. Bronze, height 2 3/16 inches. Bequest of Mary Anna Palmer Draper, 15.43.7. Right: Nimrud, IX-VIII century B.C. Ivory, height 2 1/16 inches. Rogers Fund, 62.269.10

Many of the Nimrud ivories illustrate themes of Egyptian origin. But comparison of Egyptian models with the ivory imitations reveals significant differences in iconography and presents clear proof that the Nimrud ivories, although Egyptian in appearance, were not actually made in that country.

The Egyptian bronze above is a form of the god Horus, here shown as the local divinity of a town in the Nile delta. Wearing an elaborate *hnmw* crown, he is trampling on a white oryx, a hostile animal believed to attack children.

The figures of Horus on the Nimrud ivories illustrated above differ from this representation, although it is clear that they are modeled on the Egyptian deity. In both the ivories, the god is clothed not only in a short kilt, as in the Egyptian piece, but in a long mantle as well. In the first example, Horus wears a strange version of the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and has an empty cartouche placed in the field before him, an element that should accompany a royal figure. The wavy lines of the hair on the other Nimrud ivory, the false hieroglyphs, the floral "scepter," and the type of garment distinguish this figure from Egyptian models too.

More alike in form are two examples of the aegis of Sekhmet, illustrated at the upper right: one, a bronze from Egypt, the other, an ivory from Nimrud. The lion with a ruff, much abbreviated on the ivory, and the lappets of a wig are present in both. The artist who made the ivory, however, omitted the uraeus and sun



Left: Egyptian, I millennium B.C. Bronze, height 5 1/2 inches. Gift of Darius Ogden Mills, 04.2.588. Right: Nimrud, VIII century B.C. Ivory, height 4 1/8 inches. Rogers Fund, 61.197.12

disk on the head but added an upright "crest" between the ears. Whether in this detail he confused the image with that of Bes, who is regularly shown with feathers in this position, or intended to show a headdress worn by Egyptian goddesses and queens, is uncertain.

Two depictions of Sekhmet herself, above, dramatize the difference between an Egyptian original and a Near Eastern interpretation. In the Egyptian bronze Sekhmet is shown as a woman, while on the Nimrud ivory the divinity is clearly male, wearing a man's short kilt. Further, the monkey seated on the lotus is not associated with Sekhmet in Egyptian art and the scepter is unlike the floral scepters assigned to goddesses in Egypt.



Of all the felines represented in Near Eastern art, the lion is the commonest, the companion or attribute of gods, the antagonist of kings. Of less significance to the Near Easterner were the leopard and tiger. The leopard occurs as early as the third millennium B.C. in the art of Mesopotamia, but a new stimulus for the representation of this animal (often referred to as a panther) came from the introduction, late in the first millennium B.C., of objects from the West related to the cult of Dionysus. As a fierce and agile beast the leopard was a suitable companion for the god of wine, and was frequently depicted in mosaics, marble sculpture, and smaller works of art, such as the bronze above. The female,

Above: Roman, I-II century A.D. Bronze, with silver, copper, and niello inlay, length 8 3/8 inches. Rogers Fund, 07.261. Below: Iranian (Sasanian), VI-VII century A.D. Silver and niello, length 10 3/8 inches. Lent by Norbert Schimmel, L 1970.73.3



thought to be the fiercer sex, was preferred in Roman art and was likewise favored in the East; this one, playfully rolling on her back, was probably part of a group showing Dionysus or one of his retinue, a satyr or a maenad. Its spots are indicated by niello and silver inlays. The tiny silver leopard at the right, springing out of leaves, served as the handle of a drinking vessel — perhaps a wine goblet, for which such a handle would have been appropriate.

Much of the symbolism of the cult, and at first possibly its religious significance, was adopted in the East. By the Sasanian period (A.D. 226-651), however, the meaning of scenes with grapevines and animals, drinking figures, dancing females, and winemaking is uncertain. Some reinterpretation, some different sense may lie behind the Sasanian representations. For instance, on the late Sasanian bowl in the Schimmel collection shown at the bottom of the opposite page, the traditional leopard has been replaced by a tigress. This more exotic animal, native to Mazanderan in Iran, usually occurs in Sasanian art as the object of a hunt.

Most Sasanian works with niello belong to the last century and a half of that period, and it may well be that its use is an indication of Byzantine influence. Here, the stripes of the tigress are simply inlaid with niello, the common way in which the material was employed in the West; the Sasanians, however, also used niello in a more unusual fashion, to form raised parts of the design, in this instance the bunches of grapes.

In Islamic art, the leopard continued to appear on vessels perhaps used as containers for wine. The one on the right probably dates from the early Islamic period, the late seventh or early eighth century (although similar ones occur at least as late as the twelfth century): the vase's shape, its circular mouth, and the ducks' heads decorating the rim are without parallel in Sasanian art and reflect a renewed influence of Roman forms on objects of the early Islamic period. This may perhaps be explained by the establishment of the Omayyad capital in the west at Damascus, or, in the case of this particular vessel, by the fact that it comes from the Caucasus, an area where quantities of Roman vessels have been found and where late antique forms and designs persisted for centuries.



Iranian (Sasanian), VII-VIII century A.D. Bronze, height 18 1/4 inches. Fletcher Fund, 47.100.90. Compare the ducks' heads on the rim of this ewer (lower detail) with those on a Syrian jug of the Roman period (upper detail), 1 century A.D.



Roman, I-II century A.D. Silver, height 2 1/8 inches. Rogers Fund, 10.210.41





The idea of protecting a design in gold by means of a transparent substance was conceived of as early as the sixth century B.C.: in the Etruscan earring of that date (shown at the upper left), gold filigree is covered by a rock-crystal disk. But the practice of placing gold leaf between two glass casings in a drinking vessel did not develop until about 200 B.C. It lasted into Byzantine times, some six hundred years later. In Hellenistic gold glass (the fragment at the upper right), the floral designs were fashioned from small geometric bits of gold leaf—lozenges, triangles, and the like—whereas in Roman and Byzantine gold glass (the two fragments below, showing the figures of Ocean and St. Lawrence), the designs were formed by contouring large areas of gold leaf and then scratching details through.

Above, left: Etruscan, late VI century B.C. Gold and rock crystal, diameter 2 7/16 inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 40.11.9. Right: Hellenistic (Alexandria?), about 200 B.C. Gold glass. Rogers Fund, 23.160.76. Below, left: Roman, III century A.D. Gold glass. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.194.2343. Right: Early Christian, late IV century A.D. Gold glass. Rogers Fund, 18.145.3

“A Young Man Impatient to Distinguish Himself”

The Vicomte de Noailles as Portrayed by Gilbert Stuart

JOHN K. HOWAT *Curator of American Paintings and Sculpture*

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM recently purchased an extremely beautiful, important, and intriguing addition to its collection of American portraiture, a previously undiscovered full-length portrayal of Louis-Marie, Vicomte de Noailles (shown in color on the back cover), painted in Philadelphia during 1798 by Gilbert Stuart. It was the Vicomte, representing the French troops under General Rochambeau, who, in partnership with Colonel Laurens, representing General Washington, negotiated with the British on October 20, 1781, prior to the surrender the following day at Yorktown. This recollection is an agreeable one to Americans as we await the bicentennial of the country, but the Vicomte's martial activities at and before Yorktown were only a small part of his flirtation with history.

The Vicomte today seems to fulfill a past generation's ideal of the dashing adventurer who combines high birth, intelligence, liveliness, charm, idealism, and courage with a driving thirst for glory that finally entices him to a patriotic death. His political changeability from *ancien régime* aristocrat to Revolutionary politician to émigré Royalist to Napoleonic warrior might detract from the perfect picture of the ideal adventurer, but it should not be forgotten that his more famous contemporary and acquaintance, Tallyrand, provided a dazzling model of a political gymnast. Political activity, after all, may well be defined as the art of compromise and survival in the furtherance of certain ideals, and of life itself.

Louis-Marie, Vicomte de Noailles, was born in Paris, April 17, 1756, the second son of the Duc de Mouchy, a marshal of France and member of one of France's most noble families, which has produced numerous distinguished diplomatic, literary, and military figures. Noailles was raised and trained by his father to be a military man. With his marriage in 1773 to a daughter of the Duc d'Ayen, Noailles became brother-in-law to the Marquis de Lafayette, and with Lafayette and their youthful contemporary and relative Louis-Philippe, Comte de Ségur, he was a ranking member of Marie-Antoinette's extravagant and coquettish court that foregathered at the Epée de Bois, a country cabaret near her country retreat at Les Porcherons. The Vicomte apparently distinguished himself there as a heavy drinker in the newly imported English style, and for his “manly accomplishments.” According to Ségur's *Memoires, ou Souvenirs et Anecdotes*, published in the 1820s:

He [Noailles] had long hated study, and thought only of pleasure, play, and women. But recently he had been seized with military ardor, and dreamed but of arms, horses, school of theory, exercises, and German discipline. . . . [The avid Noailles came to Ségur with a remarkable request:] "I want to know positively what effect strokes with the flat of the sword may have on a strong, courageous, well-balanced man, and how far his obstinacy could bear this punishment without weakening. So I beg you to lay on until I say 'Enough.'" . . . [When Ségur had finished belaboring Noailles, Noailles insisted that he in turn belabor Ségur.] Overcome by his prayers, I let him take the fatal weapon; but after he had given me the first stroke, far from imitating his obstinate endurance, I quickly called out that it was enough, and that I considered myself sufficiently enlightened on this grave question.

Ségur recalled that he, Lafayette, and Noailles, "united by friendship, . . . full agreement of feeling, . . . and the bonds of blood," were the first three noble Frenchmen to offer "the aid of their swords to the Americans," possibly following a tantalizing description of the growing American insurrection given them by George III's brother, the Duke of Gloucester, at a dinner in 1775. In November 1776, the Baron de Kalb, who had reconnoitered the American situation for the French government in the late 1760s, introduced the threesome to the American agent in Paris, Silas Deane, who, suitably impressed with their desire to serve the American cause, promised to accept their offer. According to Ségur their "ardor was too lively to remain long discreet," and they asked Noailles's and Lafayette's father-in-law, the Duc d'Ayen, to arrange the necessary commissions with the government. At some point, presumably then, Noailles sent an amusingly presumptuous letter to the prime minister, the Comte de Maurepas: "I don't know if you approve the project of a young man impatient to distinguish himself. The help you send to the insurgents appears to open a military and political career which few could lay claim to . . . the American war consists more of defending posts than in following a set and steady plan. Perfect knowledge of the country and language seem to me preferable to the abilities met with in our generals. The time I have spent in England and the interest I have taken in these affairs has put me forward more than had I remained in France." The duke arranged, instead, for a kindly refusal from the prime minister, saying he "knew nothing about the entry of French officers into the service of the English colonies; such a move would be a hostile act definitely contrary to the king's wishes; the king was nevertheless pleased with the proof the Vicomte de Noailles gave of his zeal, but he must not think any further of going to America." Both Noailles's and Ségur's incomes were controlled by their families, and unlike the independent Lafayette they could not forge ahead with the enthusiastic plan to join the Americans. Indeed, a correspondent wrote to de Kalb that "M. de Noailles, having suddenly abandoned his plan, probably will try to dissuade the marquis [de Lafayette] from his enterprise. . . ." On December 7, 1777, Lafayette, after considerable badgering of Silas Deane, received a commission as major general of "Infantry and light troops destined to serve in the Armies of the United States of America," and shortly thereafter he sailed to America.

Two years later the mercurial Vicomte, at the age of twenty-three, following renewed requests to Maurepas, at last was attached as colonel of cavalry to the French naval and military expedition of the Comte d'Estaing against the British forces in the West Indies (Grenada and St. Vincent) and the Carolinas. After the

successful siege of Grenada, July 4, 1779, Noailles's actions at the head of two divisions drew from d'Estaing various praises and mention in dispatches, noting "M. de Noailles's love for war, for his profession, in which I am pleased to anticipate and predict he will go to the highest limit." During the unsuccessful joint attempt by d'Estaing and the American General Lincoln to take Savannah the following September, Noailles, who had been an enthusiastic advocate of the campaign, was cited for "wise and truly military precautions and dispositions . . . in the execution of the Comte d'Estaing's orders in every circumstance." In a dispatch to the Ministry of the Marine, d'Estaing wrote that Noailles "again deserved the thanks of the king" for his excellent performance in the trenches. He received the Cross of St. Louis and an apparently temporary brigadier generalship. The expedition returned to France where Noailles was made lieutenant colonel of the Royal-Soissonais regiment on March 8, 1780, in time to embark with Rochambeau's army at Brest on April 6. The ships landed at Newport in July, and the sociable young Vicomte began to make himself known to Americans, among them the ladies of Newport, who entertained Rochambeau's officers until the army finally marched on June 10, 1781, to join Washington on the Hudson River. Noailles was apparently one of the French officers who accompanied their general to his famous meeting with Washington held in Hartford on September 21, 1780, at the house of Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth. There Washington unsuccessfully attempted to persuade Rochambeau to march south against the British before the promised French fleet and additional troops had arrived. Noailles seems to have agreed with Lafayette that Rochambeau was unduly cautious, for he wrote a wildly ungrammatical letter to Colonel Wadsworth on October 23, 1780:

I pray you my dear colonel to be kind enough to send this packet of letters at my brother the marquis de Lafayette. You know how much I ardently wish to serve your country; this campagne end without that America may have receive any advantage from the frensh army and without that one of his officers may have do nothing for his own glory. if I can obtain to make war with your troupes this winter; I hopes to can prove that they are frensh men able to sacrifice their own existence with pleasure to serve an ally [illegible] which as obtained all and eternal rights to their thankfulness.

The Vicomte's earlier claims to expertise in the English language seem as touching as they were ineffective in argument with Maurepas.

Noailles and his fellow officers avoided the enforced waiting and boredom in Newport by traveling through the northeastern states and flocking to Washington's camp to meet the great man. On December 10 Washington wrote to Rochambeau saying he had "experienced the highest satisfaction in the visits which the Chevalier Chattelus [Chastellux], Viscount Noialles [*sic*], Count de Damas, Count de Custine and Marquis de Laval have done me the honor to make me. I have only to regret that their stay with me was so short." That particular jaunt, during most of November and December, took the Frenchmen as far south as the Brandywine battlefield and as far north as Fort Edward, above Albany. Washington provided Noailles with a letter of introduction to Samuel Huntington, President of the Congress in Philadelphia: "I have the honor to introduce to your Excellency's acquaintance the Vis-count de Noailles, Colonel in the French army. You will find in him an officer of distinction, a Gentleman who possesses those

talents and qualities which ornament birth and fortune, who has besides the advantage of being allied to the Marquis De la Fayette, and participates in the same zeal for the service of America." Noailles may have gone to Philadelphia to meet political leaders, but the ladies there had other ideas, according to the Marquis de Chastellux, who attended a pre-Christmas ball on December 14: ". . . in Philadelphia, as in Paris, the best company seldom go to balls before Christmas. However, on entering the room, which was rather well lighted, I found twenty or twenty-five ladies dancing. It was whispered to me that having heard a great deal about the Vicomte de Noailles and the Comte de Damas, they had come with hopes of having them for partners; but they were completely 'disappointed, for these gentlemen had set out that very morning."

Noailles returned to Newport for the winter to continue the soldierly routine of drills and dancing, with a side trip to Boston, until the French army marched in June and July across Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Westchester County to join Washington at Phillipsburg on the Hudson before the campaign against Cornwallis on the Chesapeake. The Comte de Custine and Noailles won many compliments for setting an example by marching on foot at the head of their regiments. En route, Noailles dispatched a series of warm letters—fortunately preserved—to a Miss Robinson of Newport recalling their friendship and discussing the war. From Wilmington on September 6, 1781, he noted: "Cornwallis position lays on the York river, covering the town with five thousand of the best troops in the English army. We received by Count de Grasse that a reinforcement of three thousand two hundred, besides the garrison of the ships. . . . Eight and twenty ships of the line are anchored in Sheepshead besides the Newport fleet. I think we are good allies. Your country was never so well supplied." The Vicomte proved his value as an ally during the ensuing siege of Yorktown when he was in the midst of a direct British attack led by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Abercromby against the allied lines early on October 16. Douglas Southall Freeman in his biography of George Washington retells the story:

When the redcoats came to the French communications trench . . . they halted doubtfully but found close at hand Savage's American Battery, which they could not identify.

"What troops?" the commanding officer [Abercromby] challenged.

"French" was the reply, perhaps with a tell-tale accent.

"Push on, my brave boys," the British leader shouted, "and skin the bastards!"

Noailles overheard this and led the successful counterattack shouting "Vive le Roi!" To Miss Robinson he modestly wrote the following week that "the siege continued but twelf days, and the allied army was so pretty near the town that the British thought prudent to surrender. They made but a sorty and were obliged to return briskly."

Although Noailles fails to mention in the Robinson letters his role as negotiator for the French before the British surrender on October 19, George Washington noted in his diary for October 18 that "the commissioners met accordingly; but the business was so procrastinated by those on their side (a Colo. Dundas and Major Ross) that Colo. Laurens and the Viscount De Noailles who were appointed on our part could do no more than make the rough draft of the articles which were to be submitted for Lord Cornwallis' consideration."

The Vicomte, who was the more lenient of the two allied commissioners, wrote touchingly to Miss Robinson of the British surrender: "You very often reproached me to be a great enemy to this nation, however I can assure you that their unhappy situation hurted my feelings. What disagreeable moment for men of honor, to be obliged to march upon the sight of their enemies; to ground their arms and return conducted by militia men. Indeed I would not bear such a spectacle, if I shall ever find myself in such a situation pity me than I shall want to be much complained. Lord Cornwallis supports his misfortune with a great fortitude, he his beloved by his whole army and deserves it."

WITH THE FRENCH participation in the war concluded, Noailles sailed on December 23, 1781, from Boston for France aboard the *Alliance* with Lafayette. Home again, the Vicomte was rewarded the following spring with the colonelcy of the king's light horse regiment. Noailles wrote Washington of his appointment and received a moving reply:

Be assured the Receipt of that Letter afforded me much pleasure, as it gave me the Satisfaction to be informed of your Health and Welfare, as from your own Mouth.

I am happy Sir! to hear of the favors your Services in America have obtained from his Most Christian Majesty, and I most sincerely congratulate you on the pleasing Occasion.

The kind and generous Offices which your Nation have rendered to this Country, will I hope forever endear them to us, and be a Means of cementing an everlasting Friendship between France and America. I assure you, I shall ever cherish a particular Regard for your person and Character, and shall at all Times be happy in an Assurance of your Happiness and Glory.

Noailles returned to his life in Paris as a dashing military and court figure. Samuel Breck, who met him as a boy in Boston in 1781 and knew him as a friend later in Philadelphia, recorded what may have been partly Noailles's own reminiscences: "No amateur in Paris danced so perfectly as he did, and at the court-balls he was frequently the partner of Queen Marie Antoinette. It was the custom among the young men of fashion to wear shoes with leaden soles all the day long when they expected to dance in the evening, so that on dressing in light pumps for the party they acquired great buoyancy and cut their entrechats à sixe like a veritable artist." Breck may have referred there to Noailles's pre-war ballroom successes, since Marie-Antoinette was not known for her enthusiasm toward the liberal ideas brought back to France by "Les Américains," as Lafayette, Noailles, and other veterans were called. One incident during this period gives an idea of Noailles's robust and sympathetic character; one of his captains, imagining himself insulted, challenged the Vicomte to a duel. The duel over, with no harm done to either party, Noailles promoted the captain to major for the spirit he showed. These were the days loved by Tallyrand: "*Qui n'a pas vécu alors ignore le bonheur de vivre.*"

Noailles, highly enthusiastic about the American experiment, also devoted himself in these years to correspondence with American leaders, such as Washington's banker during the war, Robert Morris of Philadelphia. In 1787 the Vicomte's political interests led him to join the Assembly of the Notables where he distinguished himself with reports on the militia and army recruitment. The

next year he was made colonel of the Chasseurs d'Alsace regiment of which he subsequently became brigadier general.

Noailles is remembered in France, however, not for his military or social glitter, but for his seminal performance as deputy from Nemours to the Estates General (opened May 5, 1789), the first such assembly in France since 1614, in which he allied himself to the liberal left. While the countryside in France was wracked by violence, the deputies in Paris rambled on in speeches. It was "Noailles à la Nuit," as he was subsequently nicknamed, who on the night of August 4, 1789, rose in the Assembly to speak briefly and to the point: the peasants had long since sent in their petitions for lightening their feudal burdens, but the Assembly only discussed the "public good." Said Noailles, the public good would better be served if the Assembly agreed:

- 1 That henceforth taxes be paid by all individuals in the kingdom according to income.
- 2 That all public burdens be born equally by all.
- 3 That all feudal requirements be repurchasable by the community for a fair price.
- 4 That seigneurial forced labor, inalienable tenures, and other personal servitudes be abolished without repurchase.

"So began," wrote Crane Brinton in his *A Decade of Revolution*, "the night of August 4; before it was over dozens of deputies had appeared at the orator's desk and given up privilege after privilege. . . . When early in the morning of the 5th the tired president succeeded in stopping the flow of sacrifices, the old régime had been in principle destroyed, equality of taxation and equality of opportunity had been in principle established."

The revolution was under way, carrying with it an unsuspecting Noailles who labored on in behalf of unified constitutional government, honest administration, and solid military planning to protect the nation, repeatedly stressing the need for reorganization. He thereafter supported the suppression of noble titles and livery and belonged to a Jacobin club. A notable action on his part as leading member of the military committee of the Assembly was the establishment of the Gendarmerie Nationale in December 1790. On February 26, 1791, Noailles became President of the Assembly, and still was on speaking terms with the Jacobins. He supported the issue of *assignats*, the paper money of the revolution, and in May put down an insurrection in Colmar. In June 1791 the royal family attempted flight, and on their return to Paris from Varennes Noailles was one of those who, although opposed to the king's action, physically thrust himself as a shield between the queen and the mob. On September 5, 1791, Noailles, still in favor of the ideals of the revolution, made what appears to be his final speech in the Assembly, advocating again the need for military planning against foreign attack. In his remarks he presciently commented that "there is no sensible man who wouldn't predict grievous misfortunes for the king and his descendants if he does not devote himself seriously to the revolution."

At the close of the Assembly session, Noailles rejoined the army in October as brigadier general and commandant at Sedan. In April 1792, with Dumouriez's armies, but directly under command of Lafayette, he moved into the front line at Valenciennes on the Belgian border, following France's declaration of war against the Austro-Prussian alliance. Suffering from many desertions and from the gen-

eral political dissension, the armies of Dumouriez were disorganized and unsuccessful, as Noailles had feared they would be: outside of Lille on April 29, 1792, the troops of General Théobald, Comte de Dillon, mutinied and murdered their general and his supporting officers before the eyes of his colleague Noailles. The Vicomte, to quote his relative the Marquise de Montagu, "was obliged to seek refuge beyond the frontier, where he was immediately declared an émigré and proscribed." This is not strictly so, since Noailles apparently continued to command troops until after his defeat at the hands of Duke Saxe-Teschén shortly after the horrible affair at Lille. It is here that Noailles's hope to forge a link between the feudal past and a constitutional future was broken. Following the seizure of government in Paris and the overturning of the monarchy by the Commune and the Jacobin clubs on August 10, 1792, any support of reason and law on which Noailles had relied was knocked aside as the Terror began in earnest. Possibly traveling via Germany, Noailles emigrated to London, where it is said he worked briefly as a banker. There, on December 27, 1792, he had occasion to write to Miss Robinson in Newport, breaking a silence of many years:

I am so much indebted to you for the greatest satisfaction of my present situation which is derived from the kindness you had to teach me the English language, which I am now obliged to make use of. In the conversation we had in Newport with Col. Ward, I told you that I thought a revolution would take place in our country, that my love for liberty wd. support it. Everything has happened as I foretold you but what I never had thought, is that the spirit of enmity, jealousy, and cruelty should take the place of this mild, which was the character of the French nation. As long as it was possible to serve the cause of liberty, I never deserted it, but when it became criminal, I left my country, quitted the part of the world where crimes were committed, and fled to England, where I pity the errors of the French people, and cannot forget their cruelty. I am far from my family and connections, perhaps parted forever, I am desirous to go to America, the pleasure to meet your family, to see you, to travel in a country exempted of despotism, and of the scenes of revolutions, will call me in the new continent.

To his friend Alexandre, Comte de Tilly, Noailles subsequently commented: "Once I thought the Revolution unavoidable, but that we could guide it; later, being carried away beyond what I had foreseen, I thought that it would be better to follow the Revolution than to allow myself to be crushed by it." Noailles's hopes for peaceful revolution were subsequently further proven mistaken in the most atrocious way possible, as his father, mother, and wife were guillotined after he failed to extricate them from France.

Once in London, despite his natural patriotic antipathy to the English, he got in touch with staunchly anti-Jacobin members of the English government to offer them his services. Indeed, the foreign secretary, Lord Grenville, wrote George Hammond, the English minister in Philadelphia, on July 25, 1793, that "Before M. Noailles left England for America he made some offers of service here which were civilly declined on account of his former connections and conduct. . . . He expressed however a desire of being of service to you when he got there, and stated himself to have the means of being so, desiring at the same time that his disposition to that effect might be mentioned to you." Presumably Noailles had made contact and some sort of peace with the royalist elements in Germany and England, for it seems he was greeted in Philadelphia as their agent. Alexander

Hamilton's sister-in-law, Angelica Church, wrote Hamilton from London on February 17, 1793, introducing Noailles: "He goes to America to partake of that liberty for which he has often exposed his life, and to render it all the services his knowledge of Europe and of the emigration about to take place to America, give the opportunity of doing."

THE VICOMTE'S arrival in Philadelphia on May 3 caused no little stir in the then capital of the United States, which had long since been divided between the Hamiltonians or antirevolutionary faction and the Jeffersonians or pro-Jacobin faction. Feelings were extremely heated, as is obvious in a letter dated May 4 from John Phillips Ripley, an employee of Hamilton's in the Treasury Department, to a New Hampshire friend:

I would inform you, that last evening at nine o'clock arrived here, from the Court of the Ex Princes at Coblenz, Count de Noailles, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the Prince Regent of France. At a very late hour he waited on the President, with whom he was in private conversation until near morning. Mr. Genet, minister from the Republic, is on his way from Charlestown, S.C. and is daily expected. The crisis of affairs, it is generally thought, will demand a session of Congress.

Mr. Ripley, like so many others at the time, was probably reporting rumor, for apparently Noailles had only attended Mrs. Washington's public reception that evening, where he met Washington for the first time in many years. The President, precise on all counts following his April 22 Proclamation of Neutrality (vis-à-vis "Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, on the one part, and France on the other") wrote on May 5 to Hamilton, to whom he had obviously referred Noailles the evening before:

I pray you intimate to him [Noailles] gently and delicately, that if the letters or papers wch. he has to present, are (knowingly to him) of a nature which relates to public matters, and not particularly addressed to me; or if he has any verbal communications to make of a similar kind, I had rather they should come through proper channel. Add thereto, generally that the peculiar situation of European Affairs at this moment my good wishes for his Nation agregately, my regard for those of it in particular with whom I have had the honor of acquaintance; My anxious desire to keep this Country in Peace; and the delicacy of my situation renders a circumspect conduct indispensably necessary on my part. I do not, however, mean by this that I am to with-hold from him such civilities as are common to others.

(Washington wrote an almost identical letter concerning Tallyrand, who appeared in Philadelphia a year later.)

Edmond Charles Genet's triumphal and inflammatory progress at the same moment up the coast from Charleston, accompanied by his flagrant hire of American privateers to raid English shipping, ended in Philadelphia where he entered into bitter controversy with Washington's government and the royalist element. In this Genet was at first warmly, then lukewarmly, supported by Jefferson who, in the end, was as glad as everyone else to see Genet removed from his position. Noailles quickly compiled and dispatched (June 1, 1793) a very lengthy report to William Windham in London, soon to be Secretary-at-War under Pitt. Thanking

Windham for his recent "affectionate attention," he reported that Washington "disliked the System of the New Republicans as much as might be expected from a man sensible of the true principles of a good government and anxious for the happiness of mankind." He told at length how America was divided in reaction to the current situation in France, after having been in favor of the first movements toward a constitutional government. He found it "remarkable that the states which admit slavery were all the more in favor of equality and licentiousness." In a detailed and, it would seem, partisan description of the members of Washington's cabinet he praises Hamilton as "a man of great understanding, fine talents, a communicative genius, an untainted probity, an absolute disinterestedness," while "Jefferson is the chief of the Jacobin party; had he the talent and capacity of Hamilton he would acknowledge with him that there is no prosperity for a great Empire without a repressive force directed against everyone who wishes to rise above the law." Noailles had experienced enough such risings. He detailed Genet's warm welcome in the southern states and the latter's activities contrary to Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality, which was quoted in entirety by Noailles. He estimated extraordinarily accurately, in the light of subsequent history, that the United States would remain neutral as long as England ended the war quickly and did not "take any French ship armed with an American [sic] captain and an American crew." He advised that if England acted differently "America will make some reclamations. In this case do not threaten or come to a war." Noailles then provided Windham with figures on American population, finances, taxation, debt, Indian problems, and military arrangements. Noting that America could defend itself but not make offensive war, he counseled that it was "the interest of England not to quarrel with America, as it is the interest of America to keep not only the most exact neutrality but a perfect harmony."

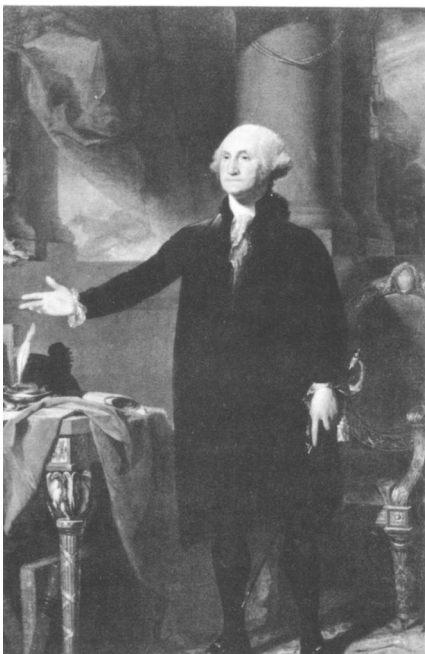
Noailles's primary interests on arriving in Philadelphia appear most clearly, however, in the final part of this extraordinary letter: "To give you a general view of the situation of America, I must now consider it with respect to the resources it offers to speculations. The main things are 1. trade, 2. acquisition of cultivated land, 3. the loan upon individuals, 4. the loan upon the Unitate [sic] States, 5. the reestablishment of French colonies, 6. the acquisition of uncultivated land." He recommended the commission business in trade, loans to individuals, and the purchase of uncultivated lands as the best ways to make money. "The reestablishment of French colonies is uncertain," he noted, "and perhaps the moment it will take place far from the present; but the instant it shall take place be very favourable to the possessors of land in this country." Noailles closed the letter hoping "it contains some particulars useful to the cause you support and that my former knowledge of this country has rendered me able to observe. What I mention relative to the employment of funds [funds?] may be serviceable to those of our countrymen who may be desirous of an establishment here."

The compilation of such a complete, well-informed, and thoughtful document within a month of Noailles's arrival in this country must have resulted in part at least from consultation with his old correspondent, Robert Morris, who was, with his partner William Bingham, one of America's most successful land speculators and general businessmen. Noailles quickly made a trip into "uncultivated" lands of Morris and John Nicholson, another of Morris's associates in land speculation,



1. J.-B. Bossuet, 1723, by P.-I. Drevet (1697-1739), French, after Hyacinthe Rigaud's painting. Gilbert Stuart freely based the architecture, drapery, and pose of his "Lansdowne" and "Lenox" Washingtons – illustrated below and opposite – on this print. Engraving, 20¹/₄ x 13³/₄ inches. Gift of Edith Root Grant, Edward W. Root, and Elihu Root, Jr., 37.17.24

2. George Washington, by Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828), American. This, the "Lansdowne" portrait, was painted in Stuart's new Germantown quarters to the order of William Bingham. Bingham was so pleased he ordered a replica that was sent to his friend, Lord Lansdowne in England. The sword was given to Stuart by Noailles for use in the painting. Signed and dated (lower left, on books): G. Stuart/1796. Oil on canvas, 90 x 60¹/₂ inches. The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts



in upper Pennsylvania along the Susquehanna in search of a settlement place for French émigrés. Noailles and Antoine-Omer Talon, another former French politician, formed a partnership to found the town of Azilum ("asylum") for their unfortunate compatriots, to be located on the west bank of the north branch of the Susquehanna River near present-day Towanda, Pennsylvania. The best contemporary account of the undertaking came from the Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (*Voyage dans les Etats-Unis d'Amérique Fait en 1795, 1796, et 1797*), who visited Azilum at some length:

Messrs. Talon and de Noailles, who arrived here from England richer in hopes than in cash, fancied they should be able to purchase, cultivate and people 200,000 acres of land. They interested in their project some planters of Santo Domingo, who escaped from the ruins of that colony. . . . Messrs. Morris and Nicholson, who possess immense tracts of land in the United States, were willing and ready to meet their views . . . the first trees were felled in December, 1793, . . . Mr. de Noailles took upon himself the management of the concerns of the company in Philadelphia.

The company rapidly ran out of money, and Noailles and Talon had to be released from their contract with Nicholson and Morris. The company was reorganized in April 1794, with Morris, Nicholson, Talon, and Noailles as partners, with Talon as manager, and was again reorganized in 1795, at which point Noailles and Talon sold Nicholson their interests in the company. According to La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, ignorance of the language and lack of business experience and money defeated the undertaking, whose purpose he saw as to provide "unfortunate compatriots with a sure, peaceful, and happy refuge, to help them in the beginning of their settlement, and to make a true foundation for a colony as honorable to the French name as it would be useful to the unfortunates it gathered in."

A rather more mordant view of Noailles's undertaking was expressed by another ex-officer under Rochambeau and émigré, Charles-Albert, Chevalier de Pontgibaud and Comte de Moré, who obviously detested Noailles. According to Moré, Noailles, Morris, and a mysterious Mr. "S." speculated on the lands merely to make money, even if it were necessary to bilk the unsuspecting émigré. "It is literally true that this enterprising company had agents on the look-out for all emigrants who arrived from Europe. . . . I knew of a milliner who had some money, and who purchased an estate at Asylum, the fictitious capital of this imaginary colony. The poor dupe went to inspect the estate . . . and then she came back to Philadelphia to gain her living with her ten fingers as she had previously done." Moré's unwillingness to accept the existence of the colony, which indeed did survive until France allowed all émigrés to return safely, stems directly from his hatred of Noailles's political past. In recalling the American war he bitterly wrote:

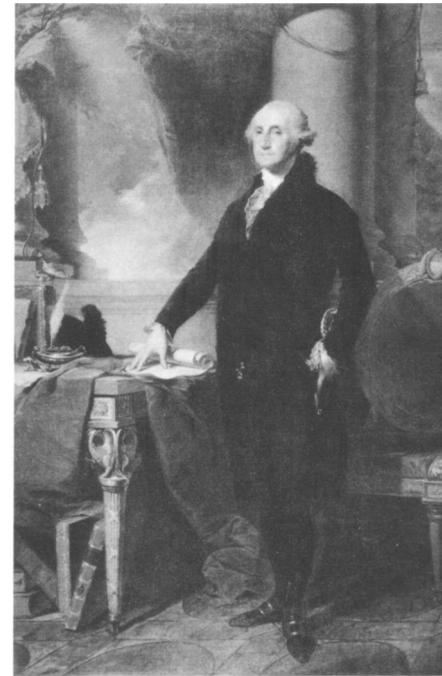
Comte de Rochambeau's officers had nothing better to do, I suppose, than travel about the country. When we think of the false ideas of government and philanthropy which these youths acquired in America, and propagated in France with so much enthusiasm and such deplorable success,— for this mania of imitation powerfully aided the Revolution, though it was not the sole cause of it,— we are bound to confess that it would have been better, both for themselves and us, if these young philosophers in red-heeled shoes had stayed at the court.

Noailles was extremely active in Philadelphia social, intellectual, and business

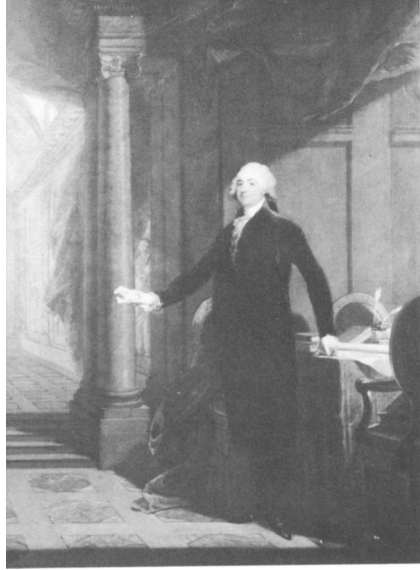
life during his ten-year sojourn there. The Vicomte mixed with his fellow émigrés of various persuasions, such as the ex-leader of the early revolution, Moreau de St. Méry, now reduced to selling books, paper, and pens, but he appears to have devoted himself more to the very gay Federalist high society that revolved around the beautiful and spoiled Mrs. William Bingham. It was her husband, noted then as the richest man in America, who took Noailles into Bingham and Company as well as into his house. Bingham was a born and perfected snob who preferred titled friends whenever they were available. Samuel Breck became a friend of Noailles's, and affectionately described the newly fledged businessman: "his form was perfect; a fine face; tall, graceful, the first amateur dancer of the age, and possessed of very pleasing manners, he was a general favorite. . . . It was amusing to see the spirit with which he embraced this new association, so foreign from the pursuits of his former life. . . . Every day at the coffee-house, or exchange where the merchants met, that ex-nobleman was the busiest of the busy, holding his bank-book in one hand, and a broker or merchant by the button with the other, while he drove his bargains as earnestly as any regular-bred son of a countinghouse." Noailles supposedly did very well in his new calling.

PHILADELPHIA in the 1790s was the political, financial, commercial, intellectual, social, and artistic capital of the youthful nation, and it is not surprising that two such intelligent and lively souls with ready tongues as Noailles and Gilbert Stuart would be drawn first to the city and then to each other's company. Stuart settled in his Germantown studio in 1794 following an artistically successful but financially disordered twenty-year career of portrait painting in Newport, London, Dublin, and New York. In Philadelphia he led the artistic pace and was rewarded with the patronage of William Bingham who had previously ordered portraits from Stuart in London in the 1780s. William and Anne Bingham, already owners of a bust portrait of Washington by Stuart (a so-called Vaughan type) prevailed upon the President to sit for another portrait, this one to be full-length. On April 11, 1796 the obliging Washington, who hated sitting for his portrait, wrote to Stuart: "Sir. I am under promise to Mrs. Bingham to sit for you tomorrow, at nine o'clock, and wishing to know if it be convenient to you that I should do so, and whether it shall be at your own house (as she talked of the State House), I send this note to you to ask information."

With that preliminary Stuart began the first of the great series of full-length Washingtons, now known as the Lansdowne type (Figure 2), with its variant, the Lenox type (Figure 3). Writing in 1876, Jane Stuart said that while Washington posed "my father's painting room was the resort of many of the most distinguished and interesting persons of the day. Nelly Custis, Mrs. Law, Miss Harriet Shaw (afterward Mrs. Carroll), generally accompanied Mrs. Washington; General Knox and General Henry Lee, and others, came with the President. The British Minister and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Liston, Louis Phillipe d'Orleans, Counselor Dunn (an Irish barrister) and the Viscount de Noailles were particularly fond of Stuart's society, and were daily visitors." George C. Mason, in his 1879 publication, *The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart*, noted he "had it from the late Mrs. William Bingham Clymer . . . that the Comte de Noailles stood for the figure [of the Washington]," and from Jane Stuart he learned "that while her father was painting a full-length of Washington . . . he wanted to introduce a dress-sword,



3. *George Washington, by Gilbert Stuart. This, the "Lenox" portrait, was possibly painted before the "Lansdowne" portrait, but any dating is uncertain. Noailles is said to have posed for the figure, which assumes a swordsman's stance, unlike the "Lansdowne" figure. Painted for Peter Jay Munro of New York, the portrait was bought in 1845 by James Lenox. Signed (on table apron): G. ST. Oil on canvas, 95 x 64 inches. The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations*



4. *William Bingham*, by Gilbert Stuart. Probably painted at the time Stuart was working on the full-length *Washingtons*, this portrait is closely related in size, relation of figure to space, and degree of finish to the portrait of Noailles. Bingham, after whom Binghamton, New York, is named, was owner of extensive lands, including one million acres in the State of Maine that he sold to the Baring brothers. Oil on canvas, 45 x 35 inches. Baring Brothers and Company, Limited, London

5. *Louis-Marie, Vicomte de Noailles*, by Gilbert Stuart. Painted in Philadelphia, the portrait has remained until recently in the possession of the Noailles family in France. Signed and dated (lower left): G. Stuart 1798. Oil on canvas, 50 x 40 inches. Henry R. Luce Gift, Elihu Root, Jr., Bequest, Rogers Fund, Maria DeWitt Jesup Fund, Morris K. Jesup Fund, and Charles and Anita Blatt Gift, 1970. 262



and the Comte de Noailles kindly furnished a superb silver-mounted rapier, which he brought himself, and presented it to Stuart, saying that it might be useful in painting other portraits of Washington." Mrs. Stuart later melted down the silver hilt and had spoons made from it. Indeed, the same rapier appears in all the different renditions of the Lansdowne and Lenox *Washingtons*. Gustavus Eisen in his highly detailed study, *Portraits of Washington*, differentiated between the rather stubby and clumsy figure in the Lansdowne picture (posed for by Stuart's landlord Smith, or by Alderman Keppeler) and the elegant swordsman's pose in the Lenox version, which he attributed to the use of Noailles as model. Eisen thought Noailles's figure too slim to represent Washington, and on this ground suggests Stuart painted the Lenox version first, then switched to the heavier Smith or Keppeler to produce the later Lansdowne painting. The point is minor since Stuart produced several replicas of both pictures. The ornate and pompous composition of the series is freely based on Hyacinthe Rigaud's portrait of Bossuet, probably known to Stuart in a print (Figure 1), and it is interesting that in 1797, as the portraits were progressing, Noailles wrote to the tutor and guardian of his children living in Paris that they should read Bossuet to learn eloquence, which "is the strongest weapon one can exercise under a representative government."

At some moment before 1800, when William Bingham and Stuart argued and parted ways over the copyright of the Lansdowne portrait, Stuart produced a little-known but excellent portrait of Bingham (Figure 4), shown in his role as United States Senator or imposing businessman. The picture is rare in Stuart's work for its small scale (the figure is twenty-seven inches high), but it belongs with the large *Washingtons* as a successful example of Stuart's full-blown and detailed *portraits d'apparats*.

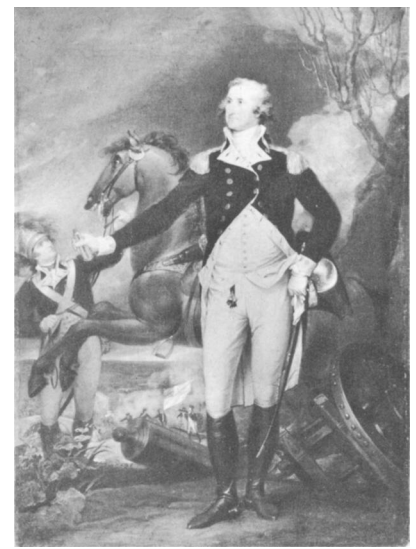
Under the spell of friendship with Stuart and presumably impressed by the *Washington* full-lengths and Bingham's portrait, Noailles posed in 1798 for the picture just acquired by the Museum (back cover and Figure 5). The picture is only five inches in each dimension larger than the Bingham portrait, and is the only other known finished Stuart of this size and figure scale. Noailles is shown in a commanding pose atop a bluff prepared to mount his horse. To the right is his already mounted body servant and in the distance, somewhat obscured by the dramatic sweep of smoke that circles above Noailles, is his cavalry in passing parade. The Vicomte is dressed as brigadier general commanding the first regiment of *Chasseurs à Cheval d'Alsace*, originally the fifteenth regiment of *Boufflers Dragons*, which Noailles joined in 1788 when the unit's name changed. The dark green uniform coat with scarlet facings was prescribed in the 1789 dress regulation, and his furry "caterpillar" helmet was prescribed in 1791. The bright scarlet and gold waistcoat and gold braid denotes Noailles's rank as general. His saber of the Polish "karabela" type was a nonregulation weapon. Noailles must have taken the uniform with him to the United States, which suggests that it was the one he wore during his campaigns in the north of France. The generalized landscape is hard to identify exactly but it could possibly depict Colmar, where Noailles put down the 1791 insurrection, or a romanticized view of Sedan, where he was commandant in late 1791. In the foreground is an emblematic accumulation of thistles, snake, and horse's skull, which probably symbolizes war: thistles usually grow in untilled or barren fields, and the skull and snake form the traditional me-

mento mori. The ubiquitous thistle, however, is found in the coat of arms of Strasbourg and is also associated heraldically with Scotland. In the King's Regiment, of which Noailles had been colonel, the *Companie Ecosaise* had long been associated with the Noailles family, adding another possible meaning to the symbol. As a youth Noailles had his first military service in the *Companie Ecosaise*.

The portrait depicts Noailles in all his dramatic grace and military splendor, at what he must have thought of as the height of his career, fighting in behalf of his country as a general. The picture, well preserved, is beautifully painted in Stuart's best manner, with a fully developed surface ranging from transparent loose washes in the background to rich liquid impastos in the main figure. As usual in his finest portraits, Stuart catches both the luminous quality of flesh and the spirited glance that brings the subject to life. In scale and composition the picture recalls earlier small full-lengths of Washington painted by John Trumbull, one of which is owned by the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 6). In the Stuart portrait, however, the richness and subtlety of color, lush paint surface, and ambient space go far beyond Trumbull's conception. Stuart subsequently used his idea in the somewhat pared-down composition of Washington at Dorchester Heights, which he first sketched in 1800 and then completed in the large version in 1806 (Figure 7). Washington and his horse occupy a larger portion of the canvas than in the Noailles portrait, and the extra horseman on the right has been removed, but other than that the conceptions are very close. This series of full-length portraits by Stuart—Lansdowne and Lenox Washingtons, William Bingham, *Vicomte de Noailles*, and Washington at Dorchester Heights—are closely related in composition, handling, and regal mood, as well as in time (all conceived between 1796 and 1800), and together they form the most important coherent block of Stuart portraits. It may be that Noailles had the picture painted to send to his children in France; the painting remained in the Noailles family until the past year.

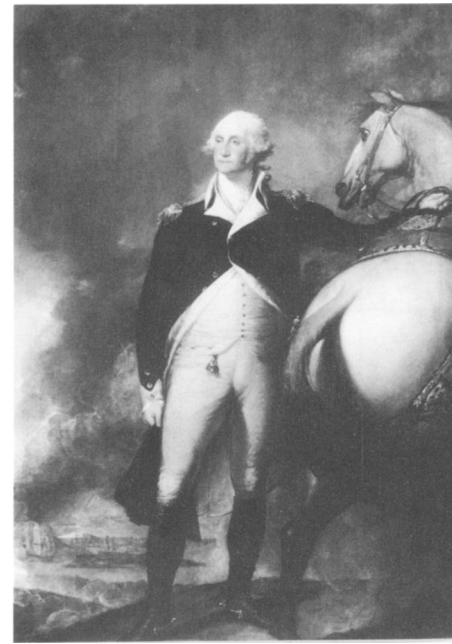
Noailles probably never returned to France, although he managed to have his name removed from the list of émigrés and to have his properties returned to him. Ever anxious to serve France and to distinguish himself militarily, Noailles offered his services by letter to the fledgling Napoleonic government in Paris in 1802 or early in 1803. In 1803 he received a commission as brigadier general under General Donatien, *Vicomte de Rochambeau* (son of Noailles's former commander), who was attempting to save Santo Domingo from English conquest. After the fall of Santo Domingo late in 1803, Noailles, in command of the French schooner *Courrier* en route to Havana, captured the English corvette *Hasard*, after fooling the English commander with his by then quite fluent English, which allowed the *Courrier* to come within boarding distance of the *Hasard*. Noailles died January 5, 1804, of wounds received in this action, and his remains were returned to France for burial.

Noailles was a man of great bravery and intense dedication to the ideas of the American Revolution and to the reformist ideas of the French Revolution as they were propounded before the Reign of Terror. His dedication to America and to France cannot be doubted. How fortunate it is that Gilbert Stuart's beautiful portrait of the *Vicomte* has survived to show Stuart's power as a painter and to remind us of Noailles's importance to history.



6. *Washington before the Battle of Trenton*, by John Trumbull (1756-1843), American. The original version of this portrait was painted in Philadelphia in 1792. This is one of at least four replicas. The size of the figure and composition prefigure Stuart's portraits of Noailles and Bingham. Oil on canvas, 26½ x 18½ inches. Bequest of Grace Wilkes, 22.45.9

7. *Washington at Dorchester Heights*, by Gilbert Stuart. This large portrait, painted in Boston in 1806, was preceded by a small sketch (26½ x 17½ inches) done in 1800 during Stuart's residence in Germantown. Washington's pose with his horse atop a bluff refers back to the composition of the Noailles portrait. Inscribed (on back): Gilbert Stuart/Painted this picture/of/Genl. Washington/for/The Honbl/Saml. Parkman/who/Presented it to the Town/of/Boston/July 4th/1806. Oil on panel, 107½ x 71¼ inches. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



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The Main Building: Open weekdays, except Tuesdays, 10-5; Tuesdays 10-10, Sundays and holidays 1-5. Telephone information: 736-2211. The Restaurant is open weekdays 11:30-2:30; Tuesday evenings 5-9; Saturdays 11:30-3:45; Sundays 12:00-3:45; closed holidays.

The Cloisters: Open weekdays, except Mondays, 10-5; Sundays and holidays 1-5 (May-September, Sundays 1-6). Telephone: WAdsworth 3-3700. There is a Pay-What-You-Wish admission charge to the Main Building and The Cloisters; there is no additional charge for special exhibitions. Members free.

Membership: Information will be mailed on request.

American Paintings and Sculpture: John K. Howat, *Curator*. James Pilgrim, *Associate Curator*

American Wing: Berry B. Tracy, *Curator*. Mary C. Glaze, *Associate Curator*. Morrison H. Heckscher, Frances M. Gruber, and Marilynn Johnson, *Assistant Curators*

Ancient Near Eastern Art: Vaughn E. Crawford, *Curator*. Prudence Oliver Harper and Oscar White Muscarella, *Associate Curators*

Arms and Armor: Helmut Nickel, *Curator*

The Costume Institute: Adolph S. Cavallo, *Chairman*. Stella Blum and Mavis Dalton, *Assistant Curators*. K. Gordon Stone, *Costume Reference Librarian*

Drawings: Jacob Bean, *Curator*. Linda Boyer Gillies, *Assistant Curator*

Egyptian Art: Nora Scott, *Curator*. Henry G. Fischer, *Lila Acheson Wallace Curator in Egyptology*. Virginia Burton, *Associate Curator*. Kent R. Weeks and Christine A. Lilyquist, *Assistant Curators*

European Paintings: Everett Fahy, *Curator in Charge*. Margaretta M. Salinger, *Curator*. Elizabeth E. Gardner and John Walsh, Jr., *Associate Curators*. Richard Friedman, *Assistant Curator*

Far Eastern Art: Fong Chow, *Associate Curator in Charge*. Jean K. Schmitt, *Assistant Curator*

Greek and Roman Art: Dietrich von Bothmer, *Curator*. Andrew Oliver, Jr., *Associate Curator*. Jiri Frel, *Senior Research Fellow*

Islamic Art: Richard Ettinghausen, *Consultative Chairman*. Marie Grant Lukens, *Associate Curator*. Marilyn Jenkins, *Assistant Curator*

Medieval Art and The Cloisters: Florens Deuchler, *Chairman*. William H. Forsyth, *Curator of Medieval Art*. Carmen Gómez-Moreno and Jane Hayward, *Associate Curators*. Harvey Stahl and Jeffrey M. Hoffeld, *Assistant Curators*. Timothy Husband, *Assistant Curator in Charge of Administration, The Cloisters*. Bonnie Young, *Senior Lecturer, The Cloisters*

Musical Instruments: Emanuel Winternitz, *Curator*

Primitive Art: Robert Goldwater, *Consultative Chairman*. Douglas Newton, *Curator*

Prints and Photographs: John J. McKendry, *Curator in Charge*. Janet S. Byrne, *Curator*. Mary L. Myers and Colta Feller Ives, *Assistant Curators*

Twentieth Century Art: Henry Geldzahler, *Curator*

Western European Arts: John Goldsmith Phillips, *Chairman*. Carl Christian Dauterman, James Parker, and Olga Raggio, *Curators*. Jean Mailley, *Associate Curator, Textiles*. Malcolm Delaorte, *Assistant Curator, Textiles*. Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Senior Research Fellow*. Jessie McNab Dennis and Clare Vincent, *Assistant Curators*

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Conservation: Paintings: Hubert von Sonnenburg, *Conservator*

Metals, Stone, Textiles, Decorative Arts: Kate Lefferts, *Conservator Administrator*. Walter E. Rowe and Patrick Staunton, *Master Restorers*

Arms and Armor: Harvey Murton, *Armorer*

Drawings and Prints: Merritt Safford, *Conservator*

Research Chemist: Pieter Meyers

Exhibition Design: Stuart Silver, *Manager*. Peter Zellner and Vincent Ciulla, *Associate Managers*

High School Programs: Philip Yenawine, *Associate in Charge*

Junior Museum: Louise Condit, *Associate in Charge*. Roberta Paine, *Senior Lecturer*

Library: Elizabeth R. Usher, *Chief Librarian*. Victoria S. Galbán and Ruth Nachtigall, *Senior Librarians*. David Turpig, *Administrative Assistant*

Membership: Dorothy Weinberger, *Manager*. Suzanne Gauthier, *Assistant Manager*

Photograph and Slide Library: Margaret P. Nolan, *Chief Librarian*. Emma N. Papert, Evanthia Saporiti, and Priscilla Farah, *Senior Librarians*. Monica Miya, *Administrative Assistant*

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