

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM  
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The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and serves as a forum for the publication of original research. Its focus is chiefly on works in the collections of the Museum and on topics related to them. Contributions, by members of the curatorial and conservation staffs and by other art historians and specialists, vary in length from monographic studies to brief notes. The wealth of the Museum's collections and the scope of these essays make the *Journal* essential reading for all scholars and amateurs of the fine arts.

THE SUBJECTS discussed in Volume 22 range from a previously unpublished fragment by the Attic red-figure vase painter Euphronios to the identification of a French nineteenth-century printed cotton. A major study, based on the records of the German-born archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948), is devoted to the architecture and wall paintings of Kuh-e Khwaja, Iran—a site of unique importance to the history of art in the ancient Near East. The Chinese tradition of flower painting and poetry is explored in the context of a handscroll by the thirteenth-century artist Ch'ien Hsüan. Other articles relate to Burgundian sculpture and to Italian art of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The volume concludes with a group of studies prompted by works shown at the Metropolitan Museum in 1985–86 as part of the loan exhibition "Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections."

Euphronios and Memnon?  
Observations on a Red-figured Fragment

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of Flower Painting and Poetry  
from Sung to Yüan

ROBERT E. HARRIST, JR.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

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

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# LIECHTENSTEIN STUDIES

Five studies relating to works shown at  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1985–86  
as part of the loan exhibition “Liechtenstein:  
The Princely Collections”

# Euphronios and Memnon? Observations on a Red-figured Fragment

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

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IN 1946 JOHN D. BEAZLEY returned to America for the first time since the summer of 1914 to give the Arthur Gillender lectures in the Metropolitan Museum. Arriving in Halifax on August 16, he went straight to New York, his home base for the three months he stayed on the continent. His first visit had been more hurried: he had sailed on the *Cedric* on July 30, 1914, just a few days before the outbreak of World War I, and had to be back at Oxford by September. This time the pace was more leisurely, and he spent many weeks in New York, not only studying all the accessions made since 1914 by the Museum's Greek and Roman Department but also looking afresh at everything in the department. Beazley's prolonged stay led to many new attributions. Those relating to Attic red-figure were in due time typed up for his manuscript paralipomena, which he had begun shortly after his *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (published in 1942) had reached the stage when no more additions to the book could be accepted by the Clarendon Press. Copies of this manuscript in progress had been sent to New York regularly, and as the new information allowed us to keep abreast of Beazley's scholarship, these installments were eagerly awaited.

His manuscript paralipomena were continued for fifteen years, until April 1957, when Beazley began to work on the new edition of *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*. The three volumes of this edition were published six years later, and it has sometimes been assumed that they incorporated the material contained in all 2,655 pages of the paralipomena. This brief note, however, may serve to illustrate that the manuscript, like the sketch or *bozzetto* of an artist, often contains thoughts or tentative attributions with which

Beazley did not feel totally comfortable and which were therefore excluded from the printed book.

A fragment of a red-figured calyx krater in the Museum (Figure 1), acquired in 1911 from Paul Hartwig, who said it came from Taranto, has never been published; it was, however, included as "fragment of a red-figured vase" in the complete list of Museum accessions for the period September 20 to October 20, 1911, issued in the same year.<sup>1</sup> The cul of the vase shows remnants of a complex palmette and lotus configuration; what is left of the figure representation gives us the toes of a left foot, a nearly vertical staff or spear, the right foot of a draped figure striding to the right, and the feet of a fallen warrior. The shape of the fragment, the floral pattern, and what remains of the figures clearly mark it as an archaic work, close to 500 B.C. The drawing is excellent. Beazley included the fragment in an installment of his typed paralipomena received in March 1948 (p. 384): "Pp. 15–8 and 948, Euphronios: perhaps late work by him, the fragment of a calyx-krater in New York, 11.140.6, from Taranto (fight—gigantomachy?)."

This entry, which was not incorporated in the second edition of *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, is a good illustration of Beazley's language. "Perhaps" is less strong than "probably," and the question mark after "gigantomachy" implies a doubt as to the exact nature of the fight; "late work" gives us a hint that if the

A list of abbreviations is given at the end of this article.

1. Acc. no. 11.140.6; preserved H.  $3\frac{7}{16}$  in. (8.8 cm.). See "Complete List of Accessions: September 20 to October 20, 1911," *MMAB* 6 (1911) p. 221.



fragment were by Euphronios it would be late in his career, and as Beazley did not in his published lists of works by Euphronios distinguish early, middle, and late periods, the qualification "late" almost explains the "perhaps." It is as if he meant: "I cannot be sure that the fragment is by Euphronios, being later than the other works attributed to him and hence without a good parallel."

The most conspicuous feature on the small fragment is the left foot of the fallen warrior. Drawn in top view, it is rigidly extended and turned slightly outward. The contours of the lower leg, the ankles, and the foot are drawn in relief lines, as are the toes, the spatulate nails, the interstices of the toes, and short horizontal lines setting off the distal phalanges. Dilute glaze is employed for the greave (two thin vertical lines and two brushstrokes), the inner contour of the ankle bone on the inside, three lines on the instep, and three paired hooks at the end of the tendons. The other three feet are shown in profile: two of them, a left foot (lost save for the toes) and the fallen warrior's right foot, viewed from the inside; the third, a right foot seen from the outside. In the inside profiles the big toes are well articulated, each with the nail and the distal phalanx marked above by two short transverse lines and below by an interrupted curved line. The right foot of the fallen warrior has only a rather faint line in dilute glaze above the arch and no marking of the ankle; the right foot of the advancing draped figure, for the most part overlapped by the fallen warrior's left foot, reveals no dilute glaze.

When Beazley commented on the New York fragment early in 1948, only three feet in top view by Euphronios were known to him: those of the reclining kottabos player on a neck amphora in the Louvre,<sup>2</sup> and of the javelin thrower on the stamnos in Leipzig<sup>3</sup> and his counterpart on the kalpis in Dresden.<sup>4</sup> Not yet known were the discobolus on a neck amphora in the Louvre<sup>5</sup> and Thoudemos of the Munich banquet,<sup>6</sup> let alone Sarpedon of the New York calyx krater,<sup>7</sup> to which we shall return. The foot of the Dresden acontist is not drawn straight on but slightly foreshortened, like the feet of the acontists by Phintias;<sup>8</sup> the toes of the acontist on the stamnos in Leipzig are missing. The left foot of the symposiast in the Louvre is roughly drawn, in outline resembling a lozenge, without toenails, though with three tendons drawn in dilute glaze.

Of the three newcomers—the neck-amphora frag-

ments in the Louvre, the calyx krater in Munich, and the Sarpedon krater in New York—Beazley was to know the first two. The Munich banqueter's foot has lost its outer edge and four toes, though it preserves the tendon in dilute glaze above the big toe; the toes of the right foot of the Louvre discobolus are more separated than in the New York example, and the inner markings for ankles and tendons are drawn in relief line, but its toenails are quite similar to those of the foot in New York, even though its big toe is somewhat shorter. Lastly, Sarpedon's left foot on the New York krater (Figures 2, 3): less everted than the foot

1. Fragment of an Attic red-figured calyx krater, late 6th century B.C.: standing male holding a staff or spear; woman striding to the right; feet of a fallen warrior. H. 8.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 11.140.6



2. ARV<sup>2</sup>, p. 15, no. 9.
3. ARV<sup>2</sup>, p. 15, no. 8.
4. ARV<sup>2</sup>, p. 16, no. 13.
5. ARV<sup>2</sup>, p. 15, no. 10.
6. ARV<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1619 and 1705, no. 3 bis.
7. Acc. no. 1972.11.10. D. von Bothmer, "Greek Vase Painting," *MMAB* 31:1 (1972) no. 15 (rev. ed., *Greek Vase Painting* [New York: MMA, 1987] no. 19); idem, "Der Euphronioskrater in New York," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1976) pp. 484–512; *Greek Vase*, pp. 63–80.
8. ARV<sup>2</sup>, p. 23, no. 1, and p. 24, no. 11.



2. Detail of Figure 3: Leodamas standing by, Hypnos lifting Sarpedon's legs

3. Attic red-figured calyx krater signed by Euphronios as painter and Euxitheos as potter, ca. 515 B.C.: Hypnos and Thanatos with the body of Sarpedon. H. 45.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Joseph H. Durkee, Gift of Darius Ogden Mills, Gift of C. Ruxton Love, by exchange, 1972.11.10





4. Detail of an Attic red-figured cup signed by Pamphaios as potter and attributed to the Nikosthenes Painter, late 6th century B.C.: Sleep and Death lifting the body of a dead hero. London, British Museum E 12 (photo: British Museum)

on the fragment, it shares nonetheless with the latter the careful drawing of the spaces between the toes, of the nails, and of the short tendons above the toes. Of all the contemporary top views of feet, Sarpedon's is closest to that of the fallen warrior on the fragment. Once again we can only marvel at the prescience of Beazley, who in spite of more limited comparisons at hand grasped at once the Euphronian air conveyed by the fragment.

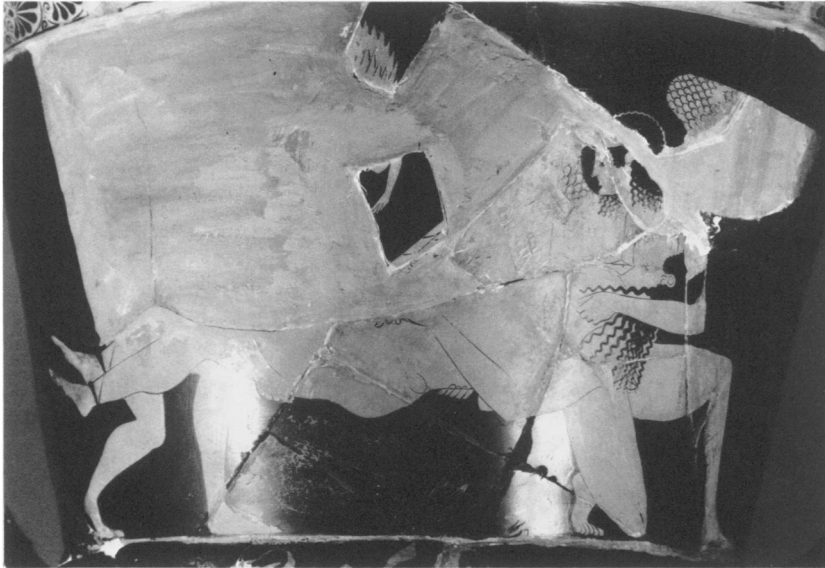
There remains the question of the precise subject: "fight—gigantomachy?" in Beazley's words. The grave of the fallen figure clearly marks him as a warrior, and the long dress of the figure striding to the right behind him may have prompted Beazley to think of Athena fighting a giant, but the figure on the extreme left is hardly in a fighting pose; with his spear or staff held upright, he is reminiscent of Leodamas on the Sarpedon krater. The fallen warrior must be dead, and the draped figure moving to the right may be Eos, the mother of Memnon, bending over his body. The hoplite on the left, in that case, may well be a Trojan on the analogy of the Sarpedon krater, with another Trojan to be thought of as standing guard on the right of the scene. In representations of the duel between Achilles and Memnon, the immortal mothers Thetis and Eos are often shown behind their heroic sons. Though the disposition of the feet of the fallen warrior is strikingly similar to that of Sarpedon's feet on the Euphronios krater, the dead hero can hardly be Sarpedon, whose

removal from the battlefield was not attended by a woman; on the other hand, Eos witnessing the death of her son was there in person, ready to take care of Memnon's body.

In this context the puzzling question of a famous cup in London has to be reopened.<sup>9</sup> When the cup was first published by Samuel Birch in 1841,<sup>10</sup> the subject of the obverse of the exterior was identified as the removal of Memnon's body from the battlefield (Figure 4). Two winged hoplites lift the naked body, while a woman rushes up on either side. The woman on the left holds a caduceus and hence should be Iris; the one on the right, without attributes, should be Eos. This interpretation receives partial support from the scene on the reverse, seven arming Amazons, since in the epic *Aithiopsis* by Arktinos the battle of Achilles and Memnon followed the victory of Achilles over Penthesilea and her army of Amazons. Birch called the winged hoplites who lift the body Boreas and Zephyros, Memnon's half-brothers. Carl Robert, however, saw in them Hypnos and Thanatos, identified the dead warrior as Sarpedon, and changed the scene from the Trojan battlefield to Sarpedon's return to Lycia, assuming the woman on the right to be either Sarpedon's wife or

9. ARV<sup>2</sup>, p. 126, no. 24.

10. "Explanation of the Myth upon a Fictile Vase Found at Canino, now in the British Museum," *Archaeologia* 29 (1841) pp. 139–144, pl. xvi.



5. Obverse of an Attic red-figured calyx krater attributed to the Eucharides Painter, ca. 490 B.C.: Sleep and Death with the body of Sarpedon; a winged *eidolon* flying downward. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 163 (photo: H. Giroux)

his mother.<sup>11</sup> Beazley, in 1918, followed Robert in calling the winged hoplites Hypnos and Thanatos, but he retained Birch's Memnon, naming the painter of the cup "The Painter of the London Sleep and Death,"<sup>12</sup> as did Buschor some years later in publishing Reichhold's drawing.<sup>13</sup> By 1925 Beazley had detached the London cup from the other works that he had given his painter of the London Sleep and Death, named the artist the Nikosthenes Painter, and appended the London cup, the former name piece, as "related." With his habitual caution he explained: "Diese Vasen habe ich früher um die schöne Londoner Schale mit Schlaf und Tod gruppiert. Jetzt scheint es mir vorsichtiger einen anderen Mittelpunkt zu wählen und die Londoner Schale vorläufig an die Peripherie zu stellen."<sup>14</sup> For the subject, however, he kept his old heading, a compromise between Birch and Robert: "Hypnos and Thanatos mit der Leiche Memnons." By 1942 Beazley had come to accept Robert's interpretation of the cup in full, and the entry then read "Hypnos and Thanatos with the body of Sarpedon," though he still kept the cup somewhat apart, saying that it "might also be by the Nikosthenes Painter, unusually good work of his prime."<sup>15</sup> This statement was further elaborated in 1963: "I think that this splendid cup cannot be denied to the Nikosthenes Painter, in spite of its being on an altogether different level from even the better pieces in the list of his works. The artist would for once be doing his very best; perhaps copying work by another, although to affirm this would not be fair.

For the interior, his inspiration, or his model, failed him."<sup>16</sup>

The appearance of the Sarpedon krater in New York, with two armed winged creatures clearly labeled Hypnos and Thanatos lifting the body of a dead warrior identified by the inscription as Sarpedon, gave unexpected confirmation to Carl Robert's interpretation of the London cup. At the same time it reinforced Beazley's suspicion that the Nikosthenes painter was inspired by the work of a greater artist.

Another famous vase, a calyx krater by the Eucharides Painter in the Louvre,<sup>17</sup> had undergone a similar change of interpretation. On the obverse (Figure 5) two winged youths, one of whom is inscribed "Hypnos," lift or deposit a fallen warrior

11. "Thanatos," Berlin *Winckelmannsprogramm* 39 (1879) pp. 9ff.

12. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918) p. 25.

13. A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei III* (Munich, 1925) p. 244.

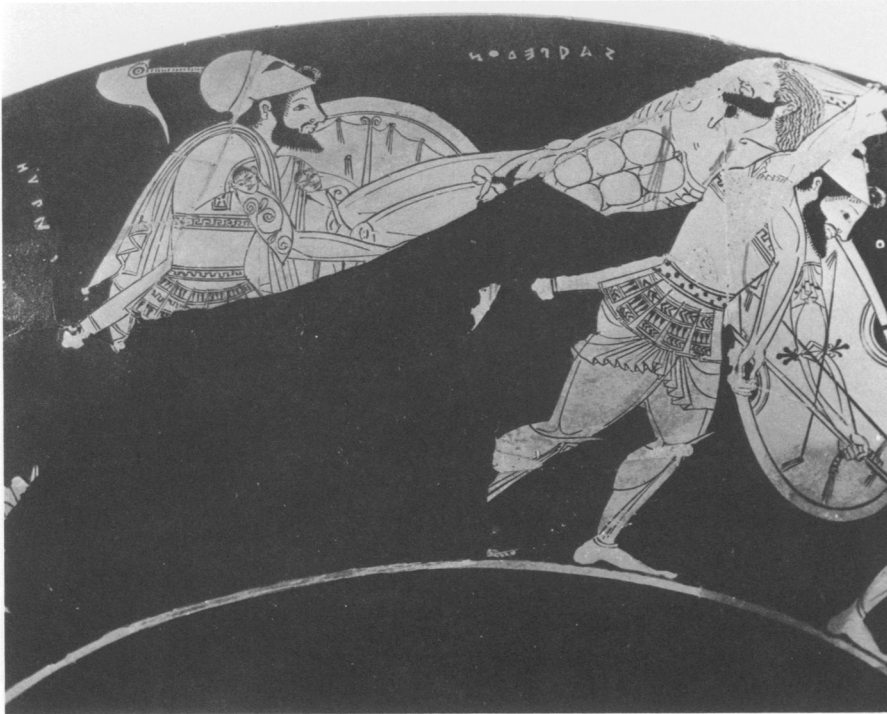
14. *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (Tübingen, 1924) p. 43 (Beazley's second book was written in German and published in Germany).

15. *ARV*, p. 101.

16. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 126, no. 24.

17. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 227, no. 12. Compare Sarpedon's red ankle-protectors with the ones on a fragmentary amphora by the Eucharides Painter in Malibu (J. Paul Getty Museum 85 AE 499). In shape they resemble spats and probably represent ankle-protectors made of leather, differing from the strips of cloth discussed most recently by A. Greifenhagen (*Neue Fragmente des Kleophradesmalers* [Heidelberg, 1972] p. 20, n. 37).





6. Detail of an Attic red-figured cup signed by Euphronios as painter, ca. 520 B.C.: Sleep and Death with the body of Sarpedon. Dallas, Nelson Bunker Hunt Collection (photo: courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum)

whom Beazley, like others before him, first took to be Memnon; he changed his mind sometime before 1942, when he followed Robert in calling the warrior Sarpedon. Robert had argued for this identification on the grounds that only the transport of Sarpedon's body by Sleep and Death was attested in ancient Greek literature. It always puzzled me that the painter had gone to the trouble of naming Hypnos on this krater and yet appeared to have neglected to label the dead hero. Cleaning of the vase (which is quite fragmentary and had been hideously restored) brought to light the missing inscription below the body of the fallen hero: in the summer of 1979 the faint letters were made out by me in a good raking light, and I was not overly surprised that they read "Sarpedon" rather than "Memnon."<sup>18</sup>

The genealogy of the iconography has hitherto seemed to be reasonably clear. The young Euphronios painted a cup, now in the Nelson Bunker Hunt collection in Dallas,<sup>19</sup> on which wingless hoplites inscribed "Hypnos" and "Thanatos" carry a dead bearded warrior (Sarpedon, as we learn from the inscription); the warrior is naked, save for his greaves, and still bleeding from two wounds (Figure 6). A few years later, on the krater now in New York, Euphro-

nios created his masterly scene of the body of a beardless Sarpedon lifted by Hypnos and Thanatos. Moved by this work to paint a similar scene on the cup now in London, the Nikosthenes Painter suppressed the wounds and omitted the greaves, but he kept the hero's beard as on the Euphronios cup; at the same time he transformed the bearded Hypnos and Thanatos of Euphronios into young winged hoplites and substituted two women, Iris and the wife or mother of Sarpedon, for the flanking Trojan soldiers of the calyx krater. Lastly, on the calyx krater in the Louvre, the Eucharides Painter kept the youthful appearance of Sarpedon and Hypnos (the face of Thanatos is lost), omitted their armor, and added the winged *eidolon*, likewise unarmed. Instead of greaves as on the Euphronios cup and krater, Sarpedon now only wears ankle guards, and both his legs and feet are in strict profile. The Nikosthenes Painter, on the other hand, kept the top view of one

18. *Greek Vase*, p. 80, fig. 74.

19. *Wealth of the Ancient World: The Nelson Bunker Hunt and William Herbert Hunt Collections*, exh. cat. (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1983) pp. 54–57.

of Sarpedon's feet with a careful, almost Euphronian drawing of the spaces between the toes and the ends of the tendons.

The fragment of a calyx krater in New York disturbs this straight line of logical iconographic succession, for we must now bear in mind the existence of another scene by Euphronios, similar in overall composition to that on his Sarpedon krater, yet depicting not Sarpedon but Memnon. Those who copied Euphronios or were inspired by him, like the Nikosthenes Painter at his best, drew on more than one model, combining or even conflating two different subjects. Such an artist may well have thought that he was painting the removal or deposition of Memnon's body, being unsure whether it had been carried away by Sleep and Death, like Sarpedon's, or by Eos. As the Nikosthenes Painter did not add names to his figures, perhaps we shall never know the extent of his

conflation, though with luck one day more of the calyx-krater fragment in New York will be found or located, either confirming this tentative interpretation or supplying us with a better one.<sup>20</sup>

#### ABBREVIATIONS

*ABL*—C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (Paris, 1936)

*ARV*—J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1942)

*ARV*<sup>2</sup>—J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963)

*Greek Vase*—D. von Bothmer, "The Death of Sarpedon," in *The Greek Vase*, ed. Stephen L. Hyatt (Latham, N.Y., 1981)

7. Detail of an Attic lekythos in Six's technique attributed to the Diosphos Painter, ca. 490 B.C.: Eos in flight with the body of Memnon. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 24.97.29



20. A skyphos of Corinthian type in the Louvre (G 66; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 126, no. 25) attributed to the Nikosthenes Painter gives us another instance of Euphronian influence on him. The chief figures on the skyphos, Athena and Herakles, owe much to the Kyknos krater by Euphronios in the N. B. Hunt collection (*Wealth of the Ancient World*, cover, pp. 58–61), while the fallen opponent of Herakles betrays in the disposition of his legs an unmistakable dependence on conventions established by Euphronios for Sarpedon and Memnon on his krater and krater fragment in New York. This convention remains alive as late as the Eos and Memnon cup in the Louvre attributed to Douris (G 115; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 434, no. 74) and can also be detected on the Pythoclean glaux in Berlin (2318; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 36) with the same subject, save that the painter of the Berlin vase has not bothered or attempted to draw the left foot of Memnon in top view, but shows it in profile.

I have not seen the lost lekythos with "Eos lifting the body of Memnon from the battlefield" reported by C. H. E. Haspels and attributed by her to the Sappho Painter (*ABL*, p. 226, no. 21). For black-figured vases with Eos carrying the dead Memnon from the battlefield see: the unattributed neck amphora Louvre CA 4201 (ex Lord Elgin), now on loan in Béziers (*Greek Vase*, pp. 76 and 157 n. 19, fig. 80); the small neck amphora by the Diosphos Painter in New York (*Greek Vase*, pp. 74–75, p. 157 n. 16, fig. 79); and the Diosphos Painter's four lekythoi in Six's technique (*ABL*, p. 236, nos. 80, 85, 86, and 92), of which the one in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (*ABL*, no. 92) is here illustrated (Figure 7). I have not seen the black-figured lekythos, whereabouts unknown, attributed by Miss Haspels from a photograph in the Palermo Museum to the Sappho Painter (*ABL*, p. 226, no. 21), or the much broken lekythos in Nauplia attributed by her to the Emporion Painter (*ABL*, p. 265, no. 41). All of the above are to be added to F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, 3rd ed. (Marburg, 1973) p. 402, section A.

# Kuh-e Khwaja, Iran, and Its Wall Paintings: The Records of Ernst Herzfeld

TRUDY S. KAWAMI

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THE BLACK BASALT MOUNT of Kuh-e Khwaja, rising out of the marshes of Lake Hamun, is one of the most striking landmarks of the province of Sistan in eastern Iran, a vivid exception in the desolate panorama of the Helmand Basin. The eastern slope of the dark outcropping is marked in its upper reaches by a large pale area, the weathered remains of Ghaga-shahr, a complex structure consisting of a maze of courts and rooms built of mud brick (Figure 1). The dramatic setting may be in part responsible for the construction of this enigmatic complex, which has been associated with Caspar (Gondophares), one of the Three Wise Men.<sup>1</sup> The numerous Moslem tombs on top of the rocky ridge testify to the continued sanctity of the place, which was still the objective of *Now Ruz* (New Year's) pilgrims into the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

Kuh-e Khwaja was visited by many travelers in the

nineteenth century,<sup>3</sup> but the first thorough examination of the site, by the Hungarian-born British archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein, did not occur until December 1915. Stein mapped the large complex, photographed the painted decorations that remained in some rooms, and removed many of these paintings. He was then working for the Archaeological Survey of India and the wall paintings were sent to the National Museum in New Delhi, where they remain. Stein first published his discoveries in 1916, but full documentation had to wait until 1928, with the publication of his work *Innermost Asia*.<sup>4</sup>

The second archaeologist to inspect Kuh-e Khwaja was the eminent German scholar Ernst Emil Herzfeld (1879–1948), who first came in February 1925, and returned with a small crew in 1929 to spend February and March measuring and mapping the rooms and removing the wall paintings he found. These

A list of frequently cited sources appears at the end of this article.

1. Ernst Herzfeld, "Sakastan," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 4 (1931–32) pp. 115–116; and Herzfeld 1935, pp. 61–66. For a summary of the history of Christianity in Sistan see C. E. Bosworth, "Sistan Under the Arabs: From the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Saffarids (30–250/651–864)," *IsMEO Reports and Memoirs* 11 (1968) pp. 6–10.

2. Herzfeld 1935, pp. 59–60; Herzfeld 1941, p. 291; Stein, II, pp. 922–923; and George N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (London, 1892; repr. London, 1966) I, p. 226. Illustrations of the festive pilgrims are found in the Herzfeld Archive, Photo File 29, nos. 49–51.

3. Faccenna, pp. 83, 84, n. 1. For the geology of the site see Walter A. Fairservis, Jr., "Archaeological Studies in the Sistan Basin of South-West Afghanistan and Eastern Iran," *Anthropo-*

*logical Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 48, pt. 1 (1961) pp. 14–21 and esp. fig. 3, where the distinctive igneous character of the Kuh-e Khwaja outcropping is noted; and Klaus Fischer, "Field Surveys in Afghan Sistan, 1969–1974," in "Prehistoric Sistan I," *IsMEO Reports and Memoirs* 19 (1983) pp. 31, 41, figs. 45, 46. For recent archaeological surveys of the entire Helmand Basin see Fischer, "Field Surveys," pp. 3–4; and Klaus Fischer, "Types of Architectural Remains in the Northern Parts of Afghan Seistan," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 2 (1971) pp. 40–72.

4. Stein, II, pp. 909–925; III, pl. 54. For an account of Stein's life see Jeannette Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein* (Chicago, 1977), esp. pp. 390–391 for Kuh-e Khwaja. A few years after Stein's *Innermost Asia* was published, his friend and colleague Fred H. Andrews provided a fuller description of the paintings in *Catalogue of Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia and Seistan* (Delhi, 1933) pp. 57–59.



1. View of Kuh-e Khwaja, looking south over the ruins of Ghaga-Shahr, photograph taken by Herzfeld in spring, 1929; in the foreground to the left, the North Gate (photo: Herzfeld Archive, neg. no. 4057)

paintings were taken to Berlin for conservation.<sup>5</sup> Their subsequent history is unknown and they are assumed to be lost. Only the two small fragments that remain in Herzfeld's possession survived. These were subsequently acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Though Herzfeld published a historical study of Kuh-e Khwaja in 1932,<sup>6</sup> his actual description of the site did not appear until 1941 in *Iran in the Ancient East*, in which some of the paintings, including the two fragments in the Metropolitan Museum, were illustrated for the first time.<sup>7</sup>

It has been assumed that Herzfeld published all his information about Kuh-e Khwaja, but this is not the case. The Herzfeld Archive in the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., contains not only Herzfeld's 1925 notebook and sketchbook and his 1929 sketchbook, but also a large

number of unpublished photographs and forty-one Uvachrome color lantern slides taken at Kuh-e Khwaja in 1929.<sup>8</sup> Comparison of these photographs with the illustrations published by Herzfeld demonstrates that the published pictures had been retouched. The photographs and sketches in the archive are a rich source of new information about the site, and are particularly valuable in view of the thirty-two years that elapsed before the site was visited again, by an Italian expedition, in 1961.<sup>9</sup> By then

5. In a letter to Herzfeld dated Nov. 6, 1929, Stein mentions having seen the paintings in Berlin in September (Bodleian, fol. 176r).

6. Herzfeld, "Sakastan."

7. Herzfeld 1941, pp. 291–297, 301, pls. xcvi, civ. MMA acc. nos. 45.99.1, 45.99.2.

8. Herzfeld bequeathed most of his papers to the Freer Gallery. On the Herzfeld Archive in the Metropolitan Museum, acquired on Herzfeld's retirement in 1944, see Margaret Cool Root, "The Herzfeld Archive of The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *MMJ* 11 (1976) pp. 119–124.

9. The work of this Italian expedition was published by Gullini. (See the list of frequently cited sources.)



even more details had been lost to the weather. The chance discovery by an Italian restoration team of a new painting fragment, during the winter of 1975–76,<sup>10</sup> has made Herzfeld's records central to any attempt to understand Kuh-e Khwaja and its place in the history of Iranian art and architecture.

The date of the Ghaga-shahr ruins has never been clear and no two excavators have produced quite the same chronology. Stein speculated that the site was Parthian,<sup>11</sup> but did not commit himself in print. He merely called attention to Greek, Sasanian, and Central Asian Buddhist parallels.<sup>12</sup> Like those of Stein, Herzfeld's first impressions regarding the date of the ruins differed from his later published statements. In a notebook and a letter recording his 1925 visit, he clearly describes the building phases—an earlier phase containing paintings and sculpture, and a later, simpler phase without paintings. He placed the first in the Sasanian period and the second in the early Islamic.<sup>13</sup> Herzfeld's 1929 sketchbook implies the same dating. But almost immediately Herzfeld changed his mind, influenced by the Hellenic characteristics he noted in buildings of the first phase and by his identification of Kuh-e Khwaja as the site of Zoroaster's preaching.<sup>14</sup> Thereafter he considered the initial phase, including the paintings and the stucco sculpture, a Parthian development of the first century, and the later phase a Sasanian alteration of the third century.<sup>15</sup> In 1932, three years after his last visit to the site, he attributed the first phase to the reign of Gundofarr-Rustam, a regional ruler he dated between A.D. 20 and 65 and identified with Gondophares of Christian legend.<sup>16</sup>

The Italian investigation of 1961, led by Giorgio Gullini, uncovered a sequence of six levels, ranging from Achaemenid to Islamic date, based on a series of trenches sunk in the south side of the main courtyard.<sup>17</sup> These levels not only paralleled the two phases noted by Herzfeld (Herzfeld's first-century phase the equivalent of Gullini's level IV, and Herzfeld's third-century phase Gullini's level III), but refined the chronology. Gullini noted a second Sasanian phase, level II, dated to the sixth century A.D., and uncovered evidence of earlier structures having a different orientation (level VI, Achaemenid; level V, early Parthian, mid-second century B.C.). Gullini also described the most recent or top layer, level I, as Islamic with evidence of occupation as late as the fifteenth century.

Despite these examinations, the date of any particular segment of Kuh-e Khwaja is difficult to determine. The site was very "clean." Only potsherds have been found, and our present ignorance of the eastern Iranian ceramic sequence makes the fine red ribbed fragments difficult to analyze.<sup>18</sup> The absence of other datable material compounds the problem and makes the actual, rather than theoretical, correlation of the various excavators' phases extremely uncertain. This study will provide new evidence concerning the architecture and its paintings, including detailed documentation of the Ghaga-shahr remains in 1929, and will underline the importance of this unique site to the history of art in the Near East.

## THE ARCHITECTURE

The main ruins of Kuh-e Khwaja, called Ghaga-shahr as distinct from the other remains on the mount, are approached by a narrow path that zigzags through the ruins of the lower slope<sup>19</sup> to reach the

10. Faccenna, pp. 85–87.

11. Mirsky, *Stein*, p. 391.

12. Stein, II, pp. 924–925. Stein modified a 1916 suggestion that the site had been a Buddhist monastery in response to objections expressed by Herzfeld in a letter (Bodleian, fol. 144r).

13. N-85, pp. 12a, 15; Bodleian, fol. 147.

14. Bodleian, fols. 161, 163v.

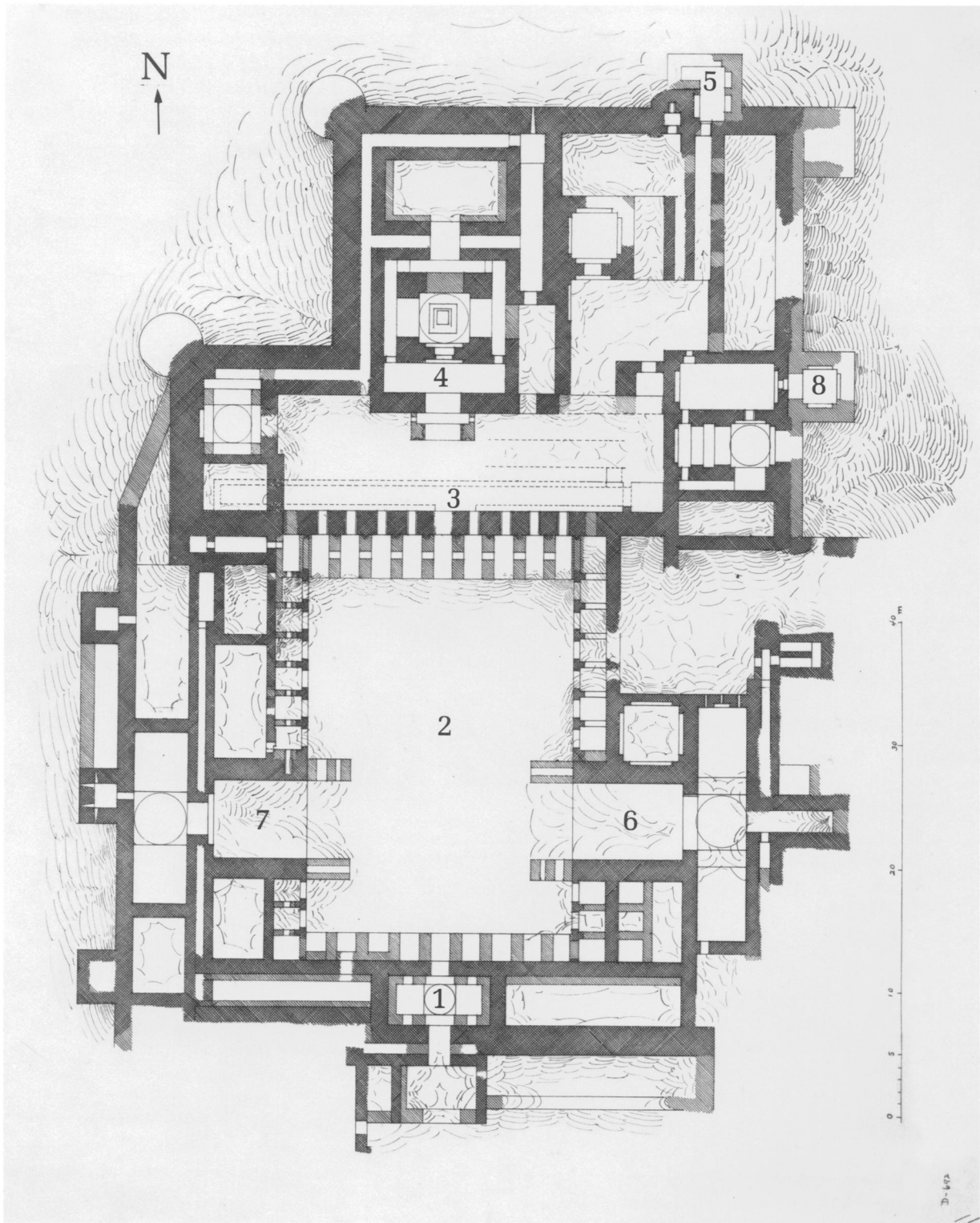
15. Herzfeld 1935, pp. 67, 74; and Herzfeld 1941, pp. 292–293.

16. Herzfeld, "Sakastan," pp. 115–116. For the dates of Gondophares see A. D. H. Bivar, "The History of Eastern Iran," in E. Yarshater, ed., *Cambridge History of Iran: III. The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods* (Cambridge, 1983) p. 197. For the documents and legends of early Christianity in eastern Iran see also Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India* (Cambridge, 1984).

17. Gullini, p. 354, figs. 53–56. For a detailed review of Gullini see G. Tucci, *East and West* 16 (1966) pp. 143–147; I am indebted to Mas'oud Azarnoush for this citation. For a summary of the excavation see Faccenna, pp. 91–92. Regarding the supposed Achaemenid level see Rémy Boucharlat, "Monuments religieux de la perse achéménide: Etat des questions," in *Temples et Sanctuaires*, Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient VII (Paris, 1984) pp. 129–130.

18. E. Haerinck, *La Céramique en Iran pendant la période parthe* (Ghent, 1983) pp. 221–223. The pottery that Herzfeld collected was sent back to Tehran, but its location is no longer known. Herzfeld's drawings of the ceramics are found in Sk. XV, pp. 39–43, 46; neg. nos. 1102, 1106, 1111–1116, 423. Other examples are shown in Gullini, pp. 223–250, figs. 168–175.

19. Neg. nos. 2066, 2069, 2070.



2. Herzfeld's plan of Ghaga-Shahr, Kuh-e Khwaja: 1. South Gate; 2. Central Court; 3. Painted Gallery; 4. Temple; 5. North Gate and Tower; 6. East *Iwan*; 7. West *Iwan*; 8. Tower A (photo: Herzfeld Archive)

east side of an almost triangular terrace.<sup>20</sup> Supported at least in part by vaults, this terrace once bore an arcade along its edge, but the eroding mud brick<sup>21</sup> made details of plan (Figure 2) and elevation difficult to determine. Near the northwest corner of the terrace, a sequence of two high-vaulted rooms, called by Herzfeld the South Gate, formed a passageway between the terrace and the open court, one of the major features of the complex. The first room was in a state of partial collapse, with only a thin arch remaining over its entrance.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, remnants of crenellations could be seen along the parapet at the top of this arch, and a thin rectangular opening remained high on the east side of the gate. The exterior of the South Gate was also notable because the bricks had deteriorated at a more rapid rate than the mortar, leaving the horizontal lines of the courses in relief against the eroded brick. In an early phase, one door jamb of this entrance bore a decorative stucco panel with bands of geometric patterns.<sup>23</sup>

The second room of the South Gate, rectangular in plan, retained more of its vaults. The central square was covered with a dome on hooded squinches and was lighted by four arched windows.<sup>24</sup> The remaining space at each side was covered with a tripartite vault constructed in the pitched technique.<sup>25</sup> The upper story of each side was enhanced by a continuous series of round niches framed by thick, applied colonnettes<sup>26</sup> that supported a simple molding around the arch of each niche. A string-course ran above the niches at some distance.<sup>27</sup> Weathering subsequent to Herzfeld's visits has revealed that this ornament was added later, and in fact covered wall paintings in the upper story.<sup>28</sup>

While the ground plans of the two rooms of the South Gate show them to be rectangular, the domes and vaults delineated spatial squares within the rooms, and, at least in the structure's later phase, the colonnettes and niches in the upper story reinforced the verticality of the spaces. The viewer, then, moved from the open, "external" space of the terrace, through the tall constricted entrance rooms, to the open, "internal" space of the courtyard.

This courtyard, originally some thirty meters long and twenty wide, was edged on all sides with small chambers, presumably vaulted, that had been worn down to stubby mounds of disintegrated mud brick. No clear evidence remained to indicate the exact height of these rooms, or their exterior ornament, if

any.<sup>29</sup> These rooms were interrupted on the east and west sides of the court by two huge *eivans* (rectangular vaulted rooms left open on one of their shorter sides, in this case the side of the court), whose main supporting walls jutted into the court. When the vaults, built by the pitched-brick method, were intact, these *eivans* would have been the dominant feature of the courtyard.<sup>30</sup> Their placement, slightly off center to the south, and their projection into the courtyard suggest that they were an addition to the original plan; Gullini's findings support this interpretation.<sup>31</sup> The construction of the *eivans* altered the symmetry of the court and diverted the viewer's eye from the logical focal point, the north wall of the courtyard with its terrace, stairs, and domed buildings. The north wall, some seven meters high, was the primary view as the observer moved through the South Gate into the courtyard.<sup>32</sup>

The north face of the courtyard, like the east and west sides, had been changed from its original appearance. At first it was a mud-brick wall articulated with applied "Doric" columns having bases and capitals of baked brick.<sup>33</sup> These columns supported a simple architrave with a narrow scroll or volute pattern in white plaster,<sup>34</sup> fragments of which remained above the two center columns on the eastern half of the wall in 1929.<sup>35</sup> Each intercolumniation was pierced by a window with an elliptical, offset arch

20. Gullini, figs. 44–50, 265.

21. According to Stein, the size of the bricks at Kuh-e Khwaja varied from 22 × 15 × 5 in. to 17 × 12 × 4 in. (Stein, II, p. 910).

22. Neg. nos. 2072, 3988, 3989, 3993. Gullini, fig. 99, shows further weathering. The arch collapsed in the winter of 1974–75; see Faccenna, p. 85, n. 2.

23. Sk. XV, p. 5; neg. nos. 3973, 3974. Kröger, pp. 226–227, fig. 135 (a reconstruction sketch), pl. 103; and Herzfeld 1941, pl. xcix.

24. Neg. nos. 2076, 2085.

25. Neg. nos. 2076, 2077.

26. Sks. XIII, p. 10; XV, p. 36; neg. no. 2078.

27. Neg. no. 2075.

28. Faccenna, p. 84, fig. 11.

29. Neg. nos. 2085 (south side), 8345. For a different interpretation see Faccenna, p. 91. Stein's plan, Stein, III, pl. 54, is also unclear as to the extent of the surrounding chambers.

30. Neg. no. 3992.

31. Gullini, pp. 187–193.

32. Neg. nos. 2080, 3969.

33. Neg. no. 1158.

34. Sk. XV, pp. 5a, 24.

35. Neg. nos. 1172, 4002.



3. North facade of the Central Court, with remains of a stucco figure on the east side of the doorway (left) and a painting (right); Herzfeld's photograph, 1929 (photo: Herzfeld Archive, neg. no. 1173)

only half as high as the columns. The wall above the windows was slightly recessed. An opening or door in the center of the wall was reached by a staircase that Herzfeld described as having separate flights to the east and west.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately no trace of this stair can be seen in the Herzfeld Archive photographs, and all that remains as documentation is Herzfeld's sketches.<sup>37</sup>

On each side of the door was a life-size stucco figure modeled in very high relief.<sup>38</sup> Only drapery fragments of the westernmost figure survived, but the opposing image was better preserved, retaining por-

tions of the left shoulder, arm, torso, and leg, as well as a mass of curly hair and several ribbons (Figure 3). The plastic modeling of the figure, the thin clinging clothing with its rippling edges, the vigorously modeled curls, and the animated flutter of the ribbons are all characteristics of Sasanian rather than Parthian style.<sup>39</sup> Since the ornamental straps crossing the torso are a royal Sasanian device, the figure may be identified as a Sasanian king. The chronological implications of this identification are crucial to the dating of the Painted Gallery and will be discussed later.

Directly to the east of the column against which this figure stood was a section of flat, plastered wall with a painting of rippling ribbons and a circle or ring.<sup>40</sup> This painting was noticed by Stein,<sup>41</sup> though other visitors have not mentioned it.

At some later time, the entire north wall was covered with a double arcade some five meters deep. The vaulted chambers formed by this addition were connected by small doorways in each pier. The new facade was decorated—at least on the portion that still remained in the northwest corner of the courtyard—with vertical moldings and a horizontal course of thick, doughnutlike forms that marked the division between the stories.<sup>42</sup> This frieze was still visible in 1961.<sup>43</sup> The arched windows of the earlier phase were sealed and the stairs were modified into a single straight flight.<sup>44</sup> Whatever the aesthetic reason for this major change, there may have been a structural one as well. The north side of the court supported a terrace that was itself partially hollow. A vaulted gallery rather like a Roman cryptoporticus ran the length of the north side.<sup>45</sup> Lit by the windows of the first phase and ornamented with extensive wall paintings, the narrow Painted Gallery, about two and one-half meters wide and three high (see Figure 9), was

36. Sk. XV, p. 26.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

38. Herzfeld 1941, p. 292, pl. xcvi bottom; and Kröger, pl. 104.

39. For related stucco pieces see M. Azarnoush, "Excavations at Hajiabad, 1977: First Preliminary Report," *Iranica Antiqua* 18 (1983) pp. 171–175, pls. I, III.

40. Neg. no. 1173.

41. Stein, II, p. 913.

42. Sk. XV, p. 5; neg. nos. 966, 2082.

43. Gullini, p. 389, fig. 219.

44. Sk. XV, p. 44. See also Stein, p. 912.

45. Neg. nos. 3970, 3991.

at some point reinforced internally with mud-brick walls whose bricks were narrower and thinner than usual.<sup>46</sup> These secondary walls covered not only the paintings but also the simple two-step molding that marked the springing point of the vault.<sup>47</sup>

On the terrace, Herzfeld recorded another set of buildings whose state of extreme disintegration obscured their plans. The best-preserved structure, its main entrance directly in line with the stairs and the South Gate, featured a square central room once covered with a dome. Both the domed room and the chamber behind it were encircled by a corridor or ambulatory that also connected with a small domed structure on the western edge of the terrace and, through a series of doors and small rooms, with the east side of the terrace. Herzfeld and most subsequent writers have considered the set of rooms in line with the South Gate to be a fire temple.<sup>48</sup> This domed Temple with its reliefs, elevated above the north wall of the courtyard, was the ultimate goal of any progress through the complex from the outer terrace.

The entry to the Temple was framed by a pair of buttresses decorated with shallow semicircular niches. Each niche had a simple three-step profile modeled into the surface coat of clay.<sup>49</sup> The western wall of the Temple facade bore blurred remnants of a stucco relief showing a horseman meeting the attack of a rearing feline.<sup>50</sup> The horseman faced away from the entrance to the Temple. The motif of a horseman facing an attacking lion was popular in Iran and neighboring regions during the first millennium B.C. The scene appears on such disparate objects as the chalcedony cylinder seal of the Elamite Ayanakka (seventh century B.C.),<sup>51</sup> the Oxus scabbard (sixth century B.C.),<sup>52</sup> and an amphora now in the Archaeological Museum, Ankara (fourth century B.C.).<sup>53</sup> Later painted versions are known from tombs at Marissa near Jerusalem (first century B.C.)<sup>54</sup> and at Kertsch (ancient Pantikapaeon, first century A.D.) on the north coast of the Black Sea.<sup>55</sup> Seal impressions from the Arsacid capital at Nisa<sup>56</sup> and rock reliefs in Xuzestan<sup>57</sup> show that the scene continued to be popular during the second and third centuries A.D.

An adjoining wall farther west had an equally worn relief of three horsemen facing in the same direction as the equestrian hunter. One wonders if these three figures are responsible for the association of the site with the Magi. Equestrian processions,

however, are known in Iranian art as early as the seventh century B.C., to judge from a carved ivory plaque said to have been found at Ziwiye.<sup>58</sup> While stately processions are a major feature of the Achaemenid reliefs at Persepolis, no mounted figures appear there. A procession of female riders does occur on an Achaemenid relief from Eregli in Anatolia,<sup>59</sup> male figures in line ride around the edge of a knotted carpet from the tombs at Pazyryk,<sup>60</sup> and it is likely that other Achaemenid examples once existed. Curiously, no Parthian processions are known, though a Sasanian parallel has been excavated at Bishapur.<sup>61</sup> Thus, both of the equestrian reliefs are traditional in their content; the weathering-away of details has removed other possible indications of date.

The east facade of the Temple was totally worn down, but presumably also had reliefs.

46. Neg. no. 2100. The bricks averaged  $24 \times 13 \times 3$  in.; see Stein, II, p. 919.

47. Sk. XV, p. 5.

48. Herzfeld 1941, p. 301; Klaus Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer* (Berlin, 1971) pp. 62–63, 399–402; and Mary Boyce, "On the Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95 (1975) pp. 461–462.

49. Sk. XV, p. 13; neg. nos. 1172, 1173, 2090.

50. Sk. XV, p. 29. Herzfeld 1941, pl. xcvi middle; and Kröger, p. 7, figs. 1, 2.

51. British Museum 89009. D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia* (London, 1959) no. 107. For a slightly earlier version see M. Noveck, *The Mark of Ancient Man* (New York, 1976) p. 63, no. 47; and Pierre Amiet, *Elam* (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1966) p. 569.

52. O. M. Dalton, *The Oxus Treasure* (London, 1926) pp. 9–11, pl. ix. For other Achaemenid examples see A. Farkas, "Horse and Rider in Achaemenid Art," *Persica* 4 (1969) pp. 65–74.

53. Ark. Muz. 26067. M. Mellinck et al., *Art Treasures of Turkey* (Washington, D.C., 1966) no. 143.

54. J. P. Peters and H. Thiersch, *The Painted Tombs of Marissa* (London, 1905) pp. 23–24, pl. iv.

55. M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Classical Studies* 5 (1935) fig. 66:1, 2.

56. M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugachenkova, "Ottiski parfianskikh pechatei is Nisi" [Impressions of Parthian Seals from Nisa], *Vestnik Drevnyei Istorii* [Bulletin of Ancient History] 4 (1954) p. 167, nos. 2–6, 8.

57. Kawami, pp. 95–96, 104–105.

58. A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiye* (Haarlem, 1950) p. 102, fig. 87.

59. Roman Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1964) p. 348, fig. 441.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 360, fig. 466.

61. Ghirshman 1971, pl. xxxv:1–3.

The special setting of Kuh-e Khwaja, the marshes and the mountain, makes comparison with other sites difficult. Because the architecture of Ghaga-shahr is a specific response to a unique location, parallels with other structures will be sought on a somewhat wider scale than might be expected. The typical is easy to understand; the unique, by its very existence, poses problems.

No Near Eastern site has a generally comparable situation, and none such a subtly modulated approach. The Athenian Acropolis is one of the other rare sanctuaries in which the main focus of the approach, the Parthenon, is visible at a distance, disappears as one climbs upward, and then suddenly reappears as the viewer passes through a clearly defined gate.<sup>62</sup> The complex at Ghaga-shahr is further distinguished by the fact that, once inside the court, the viewer continues to ascend, from the court to the terrace and from the terrace to the Temple. This rhythmic progression, alternately forward and upward, from open spaces to enclosed transitional zones, stands in contrast to the simple, direct approach more common in Near Eastern religious architecture.

The Parthian period in Iran (ca. 250 B.C.—A.D. 224) provides little for comparison because, for the most part, only single buildings or parts of buildings are known at various sites.<sup>63</sup> The Parthian capital of Nisa, in what is now Soviet Turkmenistan, preserves no evidence that its monumental structures followed a carefully organized arrangement.<sup>64</sup> The terrace shrine, an Iranian development of the Achaemenid period, is clearly an antecedent of the Ghaga-shahr plan, but neither the late Achaemenid example at Pasargadae (fourth century B.C.)<sup>65</sup> nor the later Parthian versions at Masjid-e Sulaiman and Bard-e Neshandeh<sup>66</sup> have the dramatic setting and spatial sophistication of the ruins at Kuh-e Khwaja.

Farther to the east, the Kushan shrine at Surkh Kotal in northern Afghanistan (first–second century) has a hillside setting, though it lacks the rocky peak and surrounding marshes.<sup>67</sup> Its approach is along a single axis up the terraces, without any counterpoint of open and closed spaces to modify the steady upward progression. The Sasanian period in Iran (224–647), likewise, has few comparable sites. Only the sanctuary of Takht-e Sulaiman in northwestern Iran has a striking mountaintop setting in any way comparable to Kuh-e Khwaja. But, unlike Kuh-e Khwaja, the site itself is level and the buildings of Takht-e Su-

laiman focus on a seemingly bottomless lake that dominates the complex enclosing it.<sup>68</sup> Here the goal of the pious pilgrim was not a temple or altar, but a natural phenomenon.

The three basic elements of the first phase at Ghaga-shahr—an entrance suite, a central court bordered by small rooms, and a raised terrace containing a vaulted gallery, all arranged along a single axis—find few Iranian parallels. Only two such parallels present themselves: the central court at early Sasanian Firuzabad,<sup>69</sup> which is about the same size as that of Ghaga-shahr, and the late Sasanian ruins at Qasr-e Shirin near the Iraqi border.<sup>70</sup> Neither site, however, corresponds closely in other ways to Kuh-e Khwaja. A symmetrical central space around which other architectural elements are arranged appears in the “Great Hall” at Sasanian Bishapur<sup>71</sup> and earlier in the “Treasury” at Parthian Nisa.<sup>72</sup> But both the Bishapur and Nisa examples are only single buildings and do not dominate the complexes of which

62. William Bell Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (New York, 1950; repr. New York, 1975) pp. 197–198; and Vincent Scully, *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods* (New York, 1969) pp. 179–181.

63. For a survey see Colledge, pp. 21–79; and Trudy S. Kawami, review of Colledge, *Art Bulletin* 61 (1979) pp. 471–472.

64. Pugachenkova 1958, pp. 60–117; and Pugachenkova 1967, pp. 34–41, 208, pls. 12–16. More accessible plans may be found in Herrmann, pp. 34–35; and Colledge, pp. 23, 38, 53.

65. David Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford, 1977) p. 144.

66. Roman Ghirshman, *Les Terraces sacrées de Bard-e Nechandeh et de Masjid-i Sulaiman*, Mémoires de la délégation archéologique en Perse XLV (Paris, 1976).

67. Gerard Fussman, *Surkh Kotal*, Materialien zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie XIX (Munich, 1983) pp. 14, 15; Burchard Brentjes, *Das alte Persien* (Vienna, 1978) pp. 196–198, pls. 102–105; Daniel Schlumberger, “Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane,” *Journal Asiatique* 240 (1952) pp. 435–436, pl. II; and idem, “Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane,” *Journal Asiatique* 243 (1955) p. 272, pl. I.

68. For color photographs of the site see Herrmann, pp. 113–118. For the excavations see R. Naumann, D. Huff, and R. Schnyder, “Takht-i Suleiman: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen 1965–1973,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1975) pp. 109–204.

69. Herrmann, p. 84; and Lionel Bier, “Sasanian Palaces in Perspective,” *Archaeology* 35:1 (1982) pp. 31, 33–35.

70. Gertrude Bell, *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir* (Oxford, 1914) pp. 45–51, pls. 54, 59, 62, 63:1; and Oscar Reuther, “Sasanian Architecture: History,” *SPA I*, pp. 540–541, fig. 153.

71. Ghirshman 1971, pl. II; and Roman Ghirshman, “Les Fouilles de Chapour, deuxième campagne,” *Revue des arts asiatiques* 12 (1938) pp. 15–17, pls. X, XII, XIII. See also Herrmann, pp. 102–103.

72. Colledge, p. 53, fig. 24; and Pugachenkova 1958, pp. 69–78.



they are a part. The large court in the Parthian palace at Assur in Mesopotamia might at first seem a parallel, but that structure was formed over a period of time, the addition of one element after another transforming an open space into an articulated, if somewhat asymmetrical, central court.<sup>73</sup>

Shifting the search for parallels to the east is somewhat more productive, for comparable features appear in eastern Iranian and Central Asian buildings before the Parthian period. A geographically closer parallel to the spatial configuration of the first phase of Ghaga-shahr may be the "Sacred Building" (building no. 3) at Dahan-e Ghulaman, some thirty-five kilometers southeast of Kuh-e Khwaja.<sup>74</sup> The ruined mud-brick structure consists of a large court containing three altars surrounded by a walled portico. The building is entered through a single narrow door, suggesting that the interior space was not generally accessible to casual visitors. Dahan-e Ghulaman has been called Achaemenid and its plan compared to portions of Persepolis,<sup>75</sup> but it is an inversion of the usual Achaemenid building form, with an open space where the densely columned hall would be.

The monumental complex of Altyn-10 in northern Afghanistan presents larger, more complicated versions of the Dahan-e Ghulaman type. Building I at Altyn-10 is a large double court with porticoes.<sup>76</sup> Building II, an apparently palatial structure with a well-marked entrance, a central court with pool, and an ambulatory corridor,<sup>77</sup> also echoes the plan of Kuh-e Khwaja. Dated to the early Achaemenid period (late sixth–fifth century B.C.),<sup>78</sup> Altyn-10 shows the Central Asian preference for centralized courts as early as the middle of the first millennium B.C.<sup>79</sup>

This regional preference continues in later centuries, to judge by the ruins of Saksanakhyr (Saksanokur) on the upper reaches of the Amu Darya (ancient Oxus) in Bactria. Located about forty kilometers from the Seleucid site of Ai Khanum on the Russian-Afghan border, Saksanakhyr contains, among other structures, a palace/temple complex with an open court approximately the same size as that of Ghaga-shahr. Dated either to the post-Alexandrine period (third–first century B.C.)<sup>80</sup> or to the Kushan period (first–third century A.D.),<sup>81</sup> Saksanakhyr displays both the central court and the axial organization seen at Kuh-e Khwaja.

The combination of the central court, a subterranean gallery at one end of the court, and subsidiary rooms symmetrically placed on a unified axis is

found at another Bactrian site, the Buddhist shrine at Kara Tepe, also on the upper Amu Darya. At Kara Tepe, the two courts have rectangular subterranean ambulatories cut into the living rock that rises above the court. These two courts plus a third are arranged along a central axis that ends in a square, constructed ambulatory. Dated between the second and fourth centuries A.D.,<sup>82</sup> Kara Tepe is one of a number of shrines or *viharas* of similar organization in the area. The Buddhist complexes of Takht-i Bahi in Gandhara and Gul Dara near Kabul present other parallels to Ghaga-shahr even farther east.<sup>83</sup>

The first phase of Ghaga-shahr thus finds its nearest parallels not in Parthian and Sasanian buildings

73. Oscar Reuther, "Parthian Architecture: History," *SPA I*, p. 434; Trudy S. Kawami, "Parthian Brick Vaults in Mesopotamia, Their Antecedents and Descendants," *Journal of the Ancient Near East Society* 14 (1982) p. 62; and Walter Andrae and Heinz Lenzen, *Die Partherstadt Assur* (Leipzig, 1933) pp. 25–54, pls. 9–11.

74. U. Scerrato, "Excavations at Dahan-i Ghulaman (Seistan, Iran), First Preliminary Report (1962–63)," *East and West* 16 (1966); and Sylvia Matheson, *Persia: An Archaeological Guide* (London, 1976) pp. 284–286.

75. Matheson, *Persia*, p. 285.

76. Viktor Sarianidi, "Bactrian Centre of Ancient Art," *Mesopotamia* 12 (1977) p. 101, figs. 46–50.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 102, fig. 45.

78. Viktor Sarianidi, *Drevnie Zemledel'chi Afganistana* [Ancient Agriculturalists of Afghanistan] (Moscow, 1977) pp. 122–126, 165.

79. Architectural centrality based on an open square is a characteristic of Central Asian architecture in general. It is also manifested in the solid symmetry of Buddhist stupas. The large square court with circumambulatory corridor at the Dashli Oasis (site 3) in northern Afghanistan dates this architectural feature as early as the late second millennium B.C. The site also reveals the use of pitched brick vaulting. See Sarianidi, "Bactrian Centre," pp. 97, 100–101, figs. 35, 42, 43; *idem*, *Afganistana*, pp. 42–45, 161; and G. A. Pugachenkova, "K Tipologii Monumentalnogo Zochestva Drevnikh Stran Sredneaziatskogo Regiona" [Towards a Typology of Monumental Architecture in the Ancient Countries of the Central Asian Region], *Iranica Antiqua* 17 (1982) p. 40.

80. Herrmann, p. 35; and G. Frumkin, "L'Art ancien de l'Asie Centrale soviétique," *Arts Asiatiques* 39 (1977) pp. 185–186.

81. Vadim M. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte* (Munich, 1982) p. 86.

82. Stawiski, pp. 106–107, fig. 101; Frumkin, "L'Art ancien de l'Asie Centrale soviétique," p. 188; and Rehka Morris, "Some Observations on Recent Soviet Excavations in Soviet Central Asia and the Problem of Gandhāran Art," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983) pp. 562–564.

83. W. Zwalf, *The Shrines of Gandhara* (London, 1979) p. 13; and H. G. Franz, "Stupa and Umgangstempel in Zentralasien," *Das Altertum* 27 (1981) p. 159.

of central and western Iran, but in the palaces and sanctuaries of Central Asia—and particularly of northern Bactria—in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The only site that, like Kuh-e Khwaja, combines a central court with a subterranean gallery on a unified axis is a Buddhist shrine of, at the earliest, late Parthian date.

Apart from site and general plan, the individual buildings of Ghaga-shahr present many problems of interpretation and analysis, not the least of which is the lack of differentiation between the various building phases that remain above ground. All who have considered the site agree that there are two main phases, the earlier one encompassing the South Gate, the Central Court, and the north terrace and Temple, and the later one the addition of *evans* to the court, the reinforcement and alteration of the terrace, and the remodeling of the South Gate. But human and seismic activity, not to mention the innate vulnerability of mud brick, must have necessitated numerous repairs, reinforcements, and additions at each phase; when a specific detail is examined, it can be difficult to determine to which phase it belonged. With this in mind, aspects and details of the architecture will be considered individually, in an attempt to unravel a few of the tangled elements that made up the complicated structure.

The vaults of Ghaga-shahr are distinctive for their high degree of preservation. Although brick vaults were widely used throughout the ancient Near East, specific details of construction and use can serve as chronological markers and so help to establish a date for the first phase of the site. The domed entrance chamber of the South Gate is an architectural feature without parallel in Parthian times, either in Iran, Mesopotamia, or Central Asia. Domed entrance suites appear primarily in Islamic architecture,<sup>84</sup> the only Sasanian example being the very late structure at Qasr-e Shirin.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, the dome on hooded squinches, a specific device for accommodating the round dome on the square chamber, is also common in Islamic structures, the best-known examples in Iran being those in the post-Sasanian palace at Sarvistan.<sup>86</sup> It appears that the dome of the South Gate was a replacement, reflecting the building practices of a period later than that in which the basic plan of the entrance suite was determined. The tripartite vaults of the side chambers of the South Gate may be earlier, however, for their simple

pitched construction is based on vaulting techniques used in Mesopotamia from the late third millennium B.C. and widespread by the Parthian period.<sup>87</sup>

The Painted Gallery on the north side of the court was also constructed of pitched rather than radial courses and thus can be distinguished technically from the dome of the South Gate and related to the tripartite vaults of the side rooms. The windows of the Painted Gallery, closed by the additions of the second phase, have a distinctive inset or keyhole form: the arch does not spring smoothly from the top of the jamb but cuts into the wall above the jamb, which as a consequence projects into the opening. This window shape, unknown in the Parthian period, occurs in the early Sasanian buildings (third century) at Firuzabad and in the temple at Takht-e Sulaiman<sup>88</sup> and continues throughout the Sasanian period. The vaulting of the Painted Gallery and of its windows suggests construction at the earliest in the Sasanian period.

The applied architectural elements of the north wall are not so secure a guide to the date of the building, for they are not structural and could, theoretically, have been added later. But since the entire north wall was covered by the buttresses of phase two, the engaged columns and the running scroll must antedate that later construction.

The “Doric” capitals on the columns raise the possibility of Greek influence in eastern Iran and are one of the reasons that Herzfeld dated the first phase of Ghaga-shahr as early as the late Parthian period (first–third century). The general scheme of engaged brick columns alternating with smaller arched windows was in use in Mesopotamia before A.D. 110, and

84. John D. Hoag, *Western Islamic Architecture* (New York, 1963) pp. 16–17, pls. 22, 24, 26; Aptullah Kuran, “Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Mosques in Turkey,” *Archaeology* 24 (1971) pp. 236, 241, 244, 250; and Reuther, *SPA* I, p. 503.

85. Arthur Upham Pope, *Persian Architecture* (New York, 1965) pp. 64–65; and Reuther, *SPA* I, pp. 540–542, figs. 153, 154. The Sasanian date of Qasr-i Shirin is questioned by Lionel Bier, *Sarvistan: A Study in Early Iranian Architecture* (University Park, Pa., 1986) p. 70.

86. Bier, *Sarvistan*, esp. pp. 48–53, where numerous parallels to the Islamic palace at Ukhaidir are noted. See also Herrmann, pp. 108–109, where it is dated to the reign of Khosro II (591–628); and Bier, “Sasanian Palaces,” p. 36. I am indebted to Dr. Bier for his helpful comments.

87. Kawami, “Parthian Brick Vaults in Mesopotamia,” pp. 61–67.

88. Herrmann, pp. 86, 114, 116–117.

the production of terracotta capitals and bases there can now be documented.<sup>89</sup> "Doric," "Ionic," and "Corinthian" architectural elements in terracotta have also been excavated at the Parthian royal capital of Nisa.<sup>90</sup>

Classical influence in architecture was not limited to the Parthian period in Iran, but continued into the Sasanian. Hellenic architectural elements appear as decoration in early Sasanian buildings at Bishapur,<sup>91</sup> Hajiabad,<sup>92</sup> and Qasr-i Abu Nasr,<sup>93</sup> and "Corinthian" capitals of stone are found at Istakhr near Persepolis<sup>94</sup> and at Takht-e Sulaiman.<sup>95</sup>

The use—and misuse—of the classical orders spread from Iran through Parthia and Central Asia, as Ionic-style bases from Nisa (first–second century),<sup>96</sup> Khalchayan (first century B.C.–first century A.D.),<sup>97</sup> and the Buddhist shrine of Kara Tepe,<sup>98</sup> among other sites, show. The "Doric" columns of Ghaga-shahr are just one example of the widespread use of imperfectly understood Greek architectural elements that persisted throughout the Near East and Central Asia well into the Sasanian period.

The volute or scroll pattern on the architrave of the north wall is a Greek decorative motif known in Hellenistic mosaics,<sup>99</sup> vase painting,<sup>100</sup> and textiles,<sup>101</sup> but very rare in architecture. Its association with water, in fact, would have made it less suitable in Greek eyes as an architectural ornament.<sup>102</sup> At present, we do not know when the running volute was introduced into Iran, but it does occur in the pavilion at Kaleh Zohak, whose date, Parthian or Sasanian, is uncertain.<sup>103</sup> The motif ultimately spread into Central Asia, where it remained in use, at least on ceramics, as late as the sixth century.<sup>104</sup> Its occurrence at Ghaga-shahr is another sign that the artisans responsible for the structure were already far removed from the Hellenic world. Taken together, the applied "Doric" columns and the running scroll in the architrave point to no precise date of construction. They merely suggest a time in the late Parthian or early Sasanian periods and link the complex at Kuh-e Khwaja to numerous other structures in Mesopotamia, Iran, and Bactria.

The general plan of Ghaga-shahr, the simple vaulting of the side chambers of the South Gate, the keyhole windows of the Painted Gallery, and the applied ornament of the north wall, particularly the stucco figure, indicate that the initial construction, the first phase, took place in the early Sasanian pe-

riod (third–fourth century), not the late Parthian. While the architectural details link the structure to Sasanian buildings in central and western Iran, the

89. For instance, the facade of the Gareus Temple at Uruk (Warka). See Colledge, p. 36, fig. 9c, pp. 74–76, fig. 37; and Antonio Invernizzi, "Trench on the South Side Archive Square," *Mesopotamia* 12 (1977) pp. 9, 10, figs. 1, 2.

90. Pugachenkova 1958, pp. 82–83, 96–97, 101–102; Pugachenkova 1967, pp. 38–39, pls. 12–13, 15–16, col. pl. III; and Herrmann, p. 36.

91. Ghirshman 1971, pl. XL:3.

92. M. Azarnoush, "Excavations at Hajiabad," pp. 172–173.

93. Joseph M. Upton in Richard N. Frye, ed., *Sasanian Remains from Qasr-i Abu Nasr* (Cambridge, 1973) p. 15, fig. 11; and Donald S. Whitcomb, *Before the Roses and Nightingales: Excavations at Qasr-i Abu Nasr, Old Shiraz* (New York: MMA, 1985) pp. 44–45.

94. Paul Bernard, "Les Chapiteaux corinthiens d'Istakhr," *Journal Asiatique* 262 (1974) pp. 254–258, figs. 1–6.

95. Dietrich Huff, "Takht-i Sulaiman, 1965–1973," *Archäologische Anzeiger* (1975) pp. 171–172, figs. 63, 64.

96. Pugachenkova 1958, pp. 86–91, 99–100.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 99, figs. 22, 25; and G. A. Pugachenkova, *Khalchayan* (Tashkent, 1966) pp. 44, 48, 61–62, 132.

98. Stawiski, pl. 101. See also Fussman, *Surkh Kotal*, pp. 26, 28, 49; Schlumberger, "Le Temple de Surkh Kotal," pp. 439–440, pls. III:2, IV:2; Mortimer Wheeler, *Flames over Persepolis* (New York, 1968) p. 118; and G. A. Pugachenkova, "Novie Dannii o Khudozhestvennoi Kulture Baktrii" [New Data on the Artistic Culture of Bactria], *Iz Istorii Antichnoi Kul'turi Uzbekistana* [Towards a History of the Ancient Culture of Uzbekistan] (Tashkent, 1973) pp. 88–89.

99. D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture* (Cambridge, 1971) p. 300, pl. xxxii:a; T. B. L. Webster, *The Art of Greece: The Age of Hellenism* (New York, 1967) p. 156, pl. 47; and Gisela M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (London, 1963) p. 276.

100. Pierre Devambez, *Greek Painting* (New York, 1962) pp. 156–157; Richter, *Handbook*, pp. 350, 353; and Rodney S. Young, "Early Iron Age, Classical and Roman Empire," in Thomas C. Witherspoon, ed., *Art Treasures of Turkey* (Washington, D.C., 1966) pp. 33, 93, pl. 143.

101. Manolis Andronikos, "The Royal Tombs at Vergina," in *The Search for Alexander* (Boston, 1980) pp. 36–37, fig. 19.

102. On the choragic monument of Lysikrates, the running wave refers directly to the myth illustrated in the frieze. See Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 238.

103. Wolfram Kleiss, "Bericht über Erkundungsfahrten in Iran im Jahr 1971," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 5 (1972) p. 164, pl. 442. See also Reinhard Pohanka, "Zum Bautyp des Pavillons von Qal'eh Zohak, Nordost-Aserbeidschan, Iran," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 16 (1983) pp. 237–254.

104. Martha L. Carter, "Royal Festival Themes in Sasanian Silverwork and Their Central Asian Parallels," *Acta Iranica* 1 (1974) pl. xi; Boris Stawiski, *Iskusstvo Srednei Azii* [Art of Central Asia] (Moscow, 1974) pp. 176–177; and Pugachenkova 1967, pl. 67. For its architectural use in Mauryan India see Wheeler, *Flames*, p. 130.

overall plan shows the strong influence of the north and east, especially of Buddhist Central Asia.<sup>105</sup>

Within the first phase of Ghaga-shahr, changes and additions were made. Alterations to the South Gate included an elaborate stucco panel, recently dated to the late Sasanian period,<sup>106</sup> that was covered in the second phase. The windows of the North Tower and North Gate and other windows near Tower A on the east side of the complex are offset rather than inset, a late Sasanian characteristic.<sup>107</sup> These later elements do not undercut the evidence that the first phase of construction at Ghaga-shahr occurred in the early Sasanian period. They only show the normal repairs and alterations one would expect in a large and much-used complex.

In the second building phase at Ghaga-shahr, the South Gate was extensively replastered and the size of the court was diminished by the addition of the large *eivans* on the east and west and by the row of deep buttresses forming vaulted rooms against the north wall of the court. Vaulted space became more important both in appearance and in actual area. In the main chamber of the South Gate, whose upper walls were articulated by a continuous series of deep, rounded niches framed by thick colonnettes, the base of the vault became a continuously undulating surface alternately protruding and receding. The flat wall of the earlier phase had been covered with plaster moldings and the architectural emphasis shifted from the flat horizontal panel at the base of the vault to the plasticity of the vault itself.

Single round niches with simple two-step moldings are known in the early Sasanian palace at Firuzabad,<sup>108</sup> and rows of shallow niches with flanking colonnettes are found in the late Sasanian Taq-e Khusro at Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia.<sup>109</sup> In both buildings, however, the niches are flat or very shallow and the slender columns do not project strongly from the wall. The contrast between the plump colonnettes and deeply hollowed niches at Kuh-e Khwaja and the flat mortar-and-rubble surfaces of most Sasanian buildings in Iran suggests a post-Sasanian architectural aesthetic. Closely spaced niches or windows alternating with pairs of short, thick colonnettes occur in early Islamic structures such as the eighth-century Qasr-al-Kharanah in Jordan and Ukhaidir in Iraq.<sup>110</sup>

The *eivans* that project into the court also point to a date for the second phase after the Sasanian period. *Eivans* covered with pitched-brick vaults appear

at Nippur and Assur during the Parthian period in Mesopotamia.<sup>111</sup> They were used in both public and domestic architecture in the Sasanian period and spread to the Iranian plateau, where they became a common architectural feature.<sup>112</sup> Neither Parthian nor Sasanian *eivans* extend into the courts they face as do the *eivans* at Ghaga-shahr. The T-shaped configuration of the Kuh-e Khwaja *eivans*, with domed back room, is also unusual; the closest parallels are at Khirbat Minyah (early eighth century) and especially at Ukhaidir, a complex with strong Iranian connections.<sup>113</sup> These comparisons reinforce the probability that the Kuh-e Khwaja *eivans* were added to the court after the Sasanian period.

Only the foundation vaults remain for the buttresses added to the north wall of the court, with the exception of a small segment in the northwest corner. There, some plain vertical molding and a short section of the stringcourse remain. The stringcourse with its single row of thick circles is without parallel in Sasanian architecture, though the form plays a prominent role in the decorative vocabulary of Samanid (ninth–tenth century) and Ghaznavid (tenth–twelfth century) architecture of Central Asia and Afghanistan. The Samanid Tomb of Ismail at Bukhara<sup>114</sup> and the remarkable minaret at Jam, Afghanistan,<sup>115</sup> are two important structures having a

105. Indo-Buddhist influence was suggested as early as 1938 by Reuther, *SPA* I, p. 512.

106. Kröger, p. 257.

107. Gullini, p. 416, fig. 277, also noted the late Sasanian characteristics of the North Tower.

108. Dietrich Huff, "Zur Rekonstruktion des Turmes von Firuzabad," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 19/20 (1969/70) pp. 336–338, pl. 64:2; and Reuther, *SPA* IV, pl. 147B.

109. Pope, *Persian Architecture*, p. 57, pls. 43, 44.

110. G. Lankester Harding, *The Antiquities of Jordan* (New York, 1967) pp. 160–161, pl. 22B; and Bell, *Ukhaidir*, pl. 8, fig. 3; pl. 16, fig. 1; pl. 31, fig. 1.

111. Edward Keall, "Some Thoughts on the Early Eyvan," in Dickran K. Konymjian, ed., *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* (Beirut, 1974) pp. 123–130. See also Kawami, "Parthian Brick Vaults in Mesopotamia," pp. 61–67.

112. Keall, "Eyvan," pp. 126, 129, fig. 3.

113. Bell, *Ukhaidir*, pp. 84–86, pl. 2; and Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, 1973) pp. 147–148, figs. 58, 63.

114. Pope, *Persian Architecture*, p. 83, fig. 77.

115. G. A. Pugachenkova, *Iskusstvo Afganistana* [Art of Afghanistan] (Moscow, 1963) p. 111.

stringcourse or banding of circular brick ornament exactly comparable to that at Kuh-e Khwaja.

Considered together, the colonnettes and niches of the South Gate, the *ivans* of the court, and the plaster ornament of the north wall suggest that the second phase of Ghaga-shahr was constructed in Islamic times. Indeed, a comparison of this later state of Kuh-e Khwaja with Islamic structures such as those at Bost (eleventh-century Samanid)<sup>116</sup> and Lashkari Bazar (eleventh-century Ghaznavid) and the fortress of Shahr-i Gholghola (A.D. 1222)<sup>117</sup> yields many points of similarity in the treatment of wall surface, arrangement of internal spaces, and details of vaulting. Sistan prospered under the Ghaznavids,<sup>118</sup> and a major rebuilding at Ghaga-shahr during that period appears likely. Thus, we have come full circle in our dating of the second phase, for Herzfeld initially proposed an early Islamic date to Stein.<sup>119</sup>

## THE PAINTINGS

The walls of Ghaga-shahr were once extensively decorated with paintings,<sup>120</sup> but by 1929 most of the ornamentation had vanished. The extant paintings were concentrated in two main areas, the South Gate and the Painted Gallery under the terrace on the north side of the courtyard. A few small fragments could also be seen in little rooms on the northern and eastern walls.

Figured wall paintings are documented in Iran from at least the fourth century B.C.,<sup>121</sup> but few wall paintings of the Parthian and Sasanian periods have survived. Those that remain from Parthian Assur<sup>122</sup> and Sasanian Ctesiphon,<sup>123</sup> Susa,<sup>124</sup> Damghan,<sup>125</sup> and Hajiabad<sup>126</sup> are badly fragmented, with the total compositions now lost. The study of painting in the ancient Near East has therefore focused on later periods and the more distant regions of Central Asia.<sup>127</sup> The paintings of Kuh-e Khwaja are a precious addition to a very small corpus.

### The South Gate

Sir Aurel Stein, the earliest explorer of Kuh-e Khwaja, uncovered near the western facade of the South Gate paintings in two distinct styles. The first painting—of a tall robed figure, almost life-size, and adjacent fragmentary figures—was found on a wall

sealed by later construction.<sup>128</sup> Only faint colors and the general contours were visible. Nonetheless, the garments, jewelry, and poses strongly evoked Central Asian Buddhist parallels for Stein, and led him to speculate on the possibility of a Buddhist foundation at Kuh-e Khwaja.<sup>129</sup> As we have seen, the architectural antecedents of the early phase support Stein's observations, and additional documentation of Buddhism in Iran has since appeared.<sup>130</sup>

Herzfeld may have seen this Buddhist painting during his 1925 visit to the site.<sup>131</sup> In the absence of a clear photograph (Stein was well aware of the inadequacy of his illustration<sup>132</sup>), it is difficult to compare the image with other works.

The second painting occupied a later, adjacent wall.<sup>133</sup> Damaged at top and bottom and ultimately walled up, this painting showed two registers of standing figures in belted tunics, trousers, and high boots. The static frontal pose of the figures, with feet turned out to each side, was mitigated somewhat by the slight angle of their heads to the viewer's right. In the lower register, a partly obliterated seated figure faced the standing ones. In spite of the pitted

116. B. Brentjes, "Vorislamisch-mittelasiatische Traditionen in der Architektur des Islam," *Das Altertum* 23 (1977) pp. 101–103.

117. Jeanine Auboyer, *The Art of Afghanistan* (Prague, 1968) p. 57, pls. 101, 103–107.

118. Curzon, *Persia*, pp. 228–229. On the literary importance of Sistan in this period see Bosworth, *Sistan*, pp. 122–123.

119. Bodleian, fol. 147.

120. Herzfeld 1935, p. 67.

121. Athenaeus, XIII, 35, 575. See also L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*, American Philosophical Association, Philological Monograph XX (New York, 1960) p. 39.

122. Andrae and Lenzen, *Assur*, pp. 111–114, pls. 61, 62.

123. Kröger, pp. 88–89, pl. 29.

124. Ghirshman 1962, p. 183, fig. 224.

125. Erich F. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar, Damghan* (Philadelphia, 1937) pp. 337–338, figs. 174, 175.

126. Azarnoush, "Excavations at Hajiabad," pp. 173–174.

127. Mario Bussagli, *Central Asian Painting* (New York, 1979); and Azarpay.

128. Faccenna, pp. 92–93, fig. 3.

129. Stein, II, pp. 917–918, fig. 467.

130. Richard Bulliet, "Naw Bahar and the Survival of Iranian Buddhism," *Iran* 14 (1976) pp. 140–145; and Warwick Bell, "Some Rock-Cut Monuments in Southern Iran," *Iran* 24 (1986) pp. 95–116.

131. Sk. XIII, p. 10.

132. Stein, II, pp. 917–918. I have thus far been unable to locate the original photograph or its negative.

133. *Ibid.*, pp. 913–918, fig. 468.

surface, many colors retained their intensity, and numerous details of dress, fabric, and ornament were clearly visible. The style of the painting was characterized by the use of flat areas of strong color articulated by sharp lines of contrasting tones. Modeling, shading, and other attempts to render three-dimensional surfaces were not used. The light-colored halos of the figures in the lower register nearly covered the dark ground, creating the appearance of an arcade.

Among the distinctive images that caught Stein's eye were a three-headed figure suggesting Central Asian Buddhist connections and an ox-headed mace held by the seated figure. This unusual weapon recalled the famous mace of Rustam, the legendary hero of eastern Iran whose deeds were celebrated in the Iranian national epic, the *Shahnameh*.

Rows of standing figures occur frequently in both Parthian and Sasanian art, as well as in Kushan art of Afghanistan and Pakistan.<sup>134</sup> One figure in the South Gate painting had diadem ribbons that flew straight up on either side of the head, a detail that appears most frequently in late Sasanian art.<sup>135</sup> The style of the painting is closer to that of a row of donor figures from Qizil, produced in the early seventh century,<sup>136</sup> than to naturalistic representations of an earlier date. This painting, like the patterned stucco panel mentioned above, points to a redecoration of the South Gate in the late Sasanian period. Whether the Buddhist paintings remained visible over a long period of time is impossible to say.

The main chamber of the South Gate was also painted. In 1974, a painting fragment was uncovered on the western corner of the south entrance to this room.<sup>137</sup> This painting, like those noted by Stein outside the South Gate, had been covered by later remodeling that included the plaster colonnettes. This new example shows two overlapping male heads in profile to the left, and below them, to the right, four male heads compressed into the same amount of space. The heads are placed against a dark ground in a setting of light-colored walls, battlements, and towers. The painting, described as a fresco,<sup>138</sup> showed extensive use of light pigments to model the features of the face, as well as dark outlines to distinguish figure from figure and figure from ground. The clean-shaven images, the repeated use of profile faces, and the sophisticated internal modeling produced a classical—that is, Hellenic—appearance in contrast to

the flat and patterned paintings discovered by Stein. The first century has been proposed as a date for this painting, on the basis of its location (Gullini's level IV) and classical style,<sup>139</sup> but the architecture upon which the painting was executed points to a later, at least third-century, date. Classical architectural elements were used well into the fourth century in the Near East, and it is likely that classical images and techniques continued in painting as well. A classicizing head from third-century Toprak Kala, already linked to Kuh-e Khwaja,<sup>140</sup> and the head of a bowman from Koi-Krylgan-Kala<sup>141</sup> may be compared with the new South Gate fragment. Even closer are the Kushan (second–fourth century) Buddhist paintings of Fayaz Tepe near Termez, also featuring naturalistically rendered male heads in profile.<sup>142</sup> Thus, this newest fragment also points to artistic activity at Kuh-e Khwaja in the Sasanian period.

Herzfeld, too, noted paintings on the south wall of the domed chamber in 1925,<sup>143</sup> though he did not mention them in his publications. Since he made no further reference to the paintings in 1929, when a part of the South Gate served as his camp kitchen, the painted mud plaster may have already fallen from the vaults.

In summary, the paintings of the South Gate in its first phase displayed three different styles in both painting and composition: Buddhist, modeled (Hellenic), and flat, patterned (Sasanian). All these paintings were eventually covered by later walls, though it is not possible to know if all were obscured at the same time. The variations in style as well as imagery suggest that the painted decoration of the South Gate at Kuh-e Khwaja was not the result of a single program; just as the architecture of the South Gate was altered during the first phase, so, too, were the paintings.

134. W. Zwalf, *Buddhism, Art and Faith* (London, 1985) no. 9, pp. 13, 29; Colledge, pls. 17–19, 24b, 31b, 47a, 48c; and Ghirshman 1962, pp. 158, 171, 176–184.

135. Ghirshman 1962, pp. 192, 205, 206, 240–241; and Reuther, *SPA I*, pp. 526, 528.

136. Bussagli, *Central Asian Painting*, pp. 80, 83.

137. Faccenna, pp. 84–86.

138. *Ibid.*, p. 85, n. 3.

139. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

140. Azarpay, p. 84, pl. 2.

141. S. P. Tolstov and B. I. Vainberg, *Koi-Krylgan-Kala* (Moscow, 1967) p. 215.

142. Stawiski, p. 141, pl. 102. See below and note 244.

143. Sk. XIII, p. 10.



## The Painted Gallery

The best-preserved paintings of Ghaga-shahr, noted by both Stein and Herzfeld, covered the vaulted underground gallery on the north side of the Central Court. Herzfeld photographed and drew these paintings, but never fully published his findings; his photographs and sketches in the Herzfeld Archive allow us to reconstruct this now lost cycle.

The decoration of the Painted Gallery was divided into two major zones—the vaulted ceiling and the walls—by a simple two-step cornice marking the springing point of the vault.<sup>144</sup> The barrel vault, where it still existed, bore a pattern of painted coffers arranged in three rows ascending from the cornice to the apex of the vault. This uppermost point was further defined by small rosettelike forms at the juncture of the coffers.<sup>145</sup> The painted squares evoked, by painterly means, the three-dimensional qualities of an actual coffered ceiling. The broad red-brown frames of the squares had a lighter inner band whose edge, where it was well preserved, was delineated by a thin light or dark line. At the corner of each square, fine contrasting lines showed the oblique junction of the horizontal and vertical elements of each frame, recalling the classical trompe-l'oeil painting technique of the Mediterranean world. From the various photographs in the Herzfeld Archive, it appears that alternating squares were filled with floral rosettes of varying designs and styles. Some rosettes had a solid circular form much like a dense sunflower or lotus;<sup>146</sup> others had long, curling leaves that unfurled into the corners of the square.<sup>147</sup> Some of these long leaves or petals folded back on themselves.<sup>148</sup>

The remaining squares held single figures or simple groups that also varied in painting and compositional style. Some figures, such as the seated one with a cushion (Figures 4, 5)<sup>149</sup> or the acrobats (Figures 6, 7),<sup>150</sup> relied on dark outlines for clarity. Other images, such as Eros riding a horse<sup>151</sup> or a feline,<sup>152</sup> achieved their impact with solid areas of strong color and some modeling. Still other coffers contained partial figures<sup>153</sup> or images too fragmentary for analysis.<sup>154</sup> All the images, however, had more subtle details and greater elegance of execution than was apparent in the retouched photographs published by Herzfeld.

The placement of at least one coffer can be determined from the Herzfeld photographs,<sup>155</sup> which show the little Eros on a feline in the second row above the cornice, on what appears to be the back or north wall of the Painted Gallery. The first row of coffers directly above the cornice was already totally destroyed, and the oblique angle of the camera to the surface of the vault obscured the other squares.

Similar decorative schemes, applied to either flat or curved ceilings, are known throughout the classical world, occurring not only in Italy<sup>156</sup> and Egypt<sup>157</sup> but also in south Russia<sup>158</sup> in the first century A.D. Actual carved stone coffering appears in the Near East at the same time, in Anatolia<sup>159</sup> and Syria.<sup>160</sup> Rosettes with folded leaves and petals are common on Hellenistic and Parthian metalwork from the first century B.C. through the first century A.D.<sup>161</sup> The absolute

144. Neg. no. 4036; color slide 5100.

145. Sk. XV, p. 9; neg. nos. 4039, 4048.

146. Sk. XV, pp. 8, 10, 32; neg. nos. 4031, 4042–4044, 4047, 4050.

147. Sk. XV, pp. 7, 8; neg. nos. 4027, 4032; D-356.

148. Sk. XV, p. 6.

149. Sk. XV, p. 7; neg. no. 4028; color slide 5098.

150. Sk. XV, p. 6; neg. no. 4031.

151. Sk. XV, p. 12; neg. no. 4043; color slide 5195.

152. Neg. no. 4029.

153. Neg. no. 4026.

154. Neg. nos. 4038, 4050.

155. Neg. no. 4036; color slide 5100.

156. A. Boethius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (London, 1970) pp. 118–119; and H. Mielsch, *Römische Stuckreliefs* (Heidelberg, 1975) pp. 122, 133, pls. 18, 19, 32.

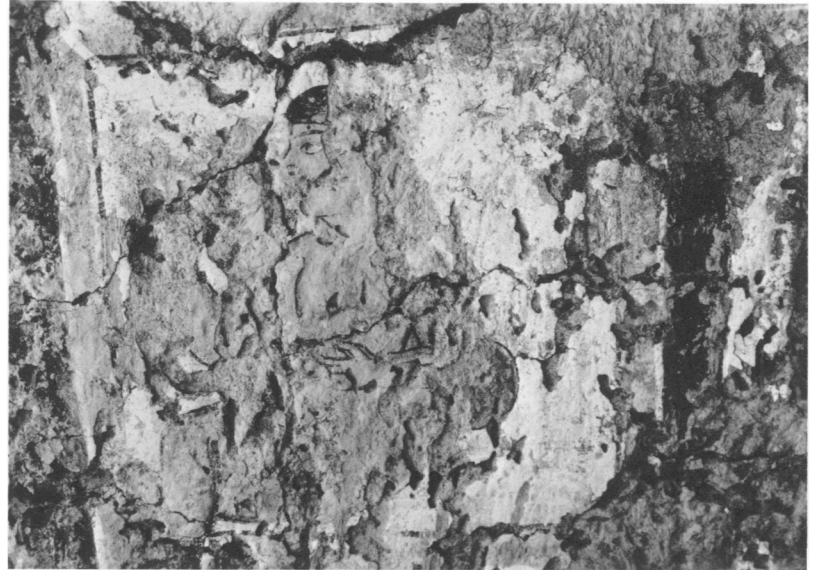
157. B. Brown, *Ptolemaic Painting and Mosaics in the Alexandrian Style* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957) p. 54; and Irving Lavin, "The Ceiling Frescoes in Trier and Illusionism in Constantinian Painting," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967) fig. 20.

158. Mikhail Rostovtzeff, "Ancient Decorative Wall Paintings," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 39 (1919) p. 152, pl. IX.

159. G. M. A. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine* (Ann Arbor, 1975) pp. 37–38.

160. M. A. R. Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra* (Boulder, 1976) pp. 83–84, fig. 47, pl. 113; and Lavin, "Ceiling Frescoes," pp. 108–109, fig. 20. Similar painted ceiling schemes remained popular not only in post-Classical Europe, but also in the Near East well after the Parthian period. For an 8th-century Islamic example in Jordan see F. Zayadine, "The Umayyad Frescoes of Quseir 'Amra," *Archaeology* 31:3 (1978) p. 27; and J. M. Blazquez, "La pintura helenística de Qusayr 'Amra II," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 56 (1983) pp. 169–196. I am indebted to Prudence O. Harper for this last reference.

161. L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, "Les Bols mégariens," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 28 (1953) pp. 1–21; H. Kuthmann, "Beiträge zur hellenistisch-römischen Toreutik, I," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 5 (1958) pp. 94–127, pls.



4, 5. Seated figure from the ceiling of the Painted Gallery; Herzfeld's sketch and photograph, 1929 (photos: Herzfeld Archive, Sk. XV, p. 7 and neg. no. 4028)

regularity of the Kuh-e Khwaja designs suggests a date in the first century A.D. or later.

The figured squares also depend on Hellenistic sources. Erotes riding horses or felines relate to the late Hellenistic house decorations on Delos and to Ptolemaic sculptures in Egypt,<sup>162</sup> but are unknown in Iran until they appear at Kuh-e Khwaja.<sup>163</sup> The charging equestrian, however, is a common theme in Near Eastern art.<sup>164</sup> Although the Kuh-e Khwaja example is painted in a classical style, the dark trousers of the rider are Iranian rather than Greek garb. The local adaptation of classical imagery was already well under way.

One ceiling panel shows a male figure seated, resting his left elbow on a cushion; one leg is tucked beneath him, the other hangs down, crossing the frame of the panel (Figures 4, 5). Versions of this pose appear in Iranian art as early as the second century B.C., but only in representations of Herakles.<sup>165</sup> Unlike the Herakles images though, the Kuh-e Khwaja figure is beardless and exhibits none of the attributes of the Greek hero—the lion-skin, club, bow, or cup.

Rulers and aristocrats of the late Parthian and the Sasanian periods also assumed the recumbent pose of Herakles.<sup>166</sup> The painting at Kuh-e Khwaja may illustrate one stage in the secularization of the image in Iran.

The most unusual panel, however, depicts a pair of acrobats, one doing a handstand; only the feet and

6–13; H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blatterkelch* (Olten, 1961); L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, "Les Bols hellénistiques en verre doré," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 45 (1970) pp. 129–141; and Andrew Oliver, Jr., *Silver for the Gods* (Toledo, 1977) pp. 71, 75.

162. J. P. Lauer, *Saqqara: The Royal Cemetery of Memphis* (New York, 1976) pp. 23–24, pls. 3, 8, 9; and P. Bruneau, *Délos: XXIX. Les Mosaïques* (Paris, 1972) pp. 290–292, pl. c.

163. Erotes playing with felines do occur in the late Parthian period in western Iran at Qal'eh-e Yazdigird. See J. E. Vollmer, E. J. Keall, and E. Nagai-Berthrong, *Silk Roads, China Ships* (Toronto, 1983) p. 42.

164. For a discussion of this image see Kawami, pp. 37–40.

165. For instance, the Bisotun Herakles dated 148 B.C. (see Herrmann, p. 31) and a stone plaque from Masjid-e Sulaiman. For a discussion of these images see Kawami, pp. 111–117.

166. Herrmann, p. 83; Tolstov and Vainberg, *Koi-Krilgan-Kala*, p. 204, figs. 76, 77; Ghirshman 1962, pp. 218, 242, figs. 259, 296, 297; Harper 1978, pp. 74–76, 148; and Pugachenkova 1967, pl. 67.

legs, with bent knees, of the other had survived (Figures 6, 7). Both figures slightly overlapped the panel frame. This representation is without parallel in Iran, though much earlier images of acrobats are found in Egypt<sup>167</sup> and Mesopotamia.<sup>168</sup> More relevant to the Kuh-e Khwaja pair, however, are the scenes of acrobats doing handstands painted on vases from southern Italy in the fifth through the third century B.C.<sup>169</sup> The only known Parthian acrobat doing a handstand is carved on a bone rhyton excavated at Olbia on the north coast of the Black Sea.<sup>170</sup> Neither the posture nor the style of the Olbia acrobat is close to the painted example from Kuh-e Khwaja. Chinese records of the Han dynasty refer to acrobats from Rome and Parthia,<sup>171</sup> so perhaps the Kuh-e Khwaja painting illustrates a pair of these far-traveling entertainers.

The springing point of the Painted Gallery vault was marked by a simple molding and an elaborate painted frieze (Figures 8, 17).<sup>172</sup> Both the molding and the frieze ran the length of the window wall, that is, the outside or south wall of the Painted Gallery.

The first element at the top of the frieze was a row of red and white dentils, painted in an illusionistic manner and framed by a red band at top and bottom. Below this was a pale two-step molding followed by

167. M. A. Murray, *Egyptian Sculpture* (London, 1930) pl. XXI:2; and C. Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte XV (Berlin, 1975) pp. 314, 345, pls. 282b, 333b.

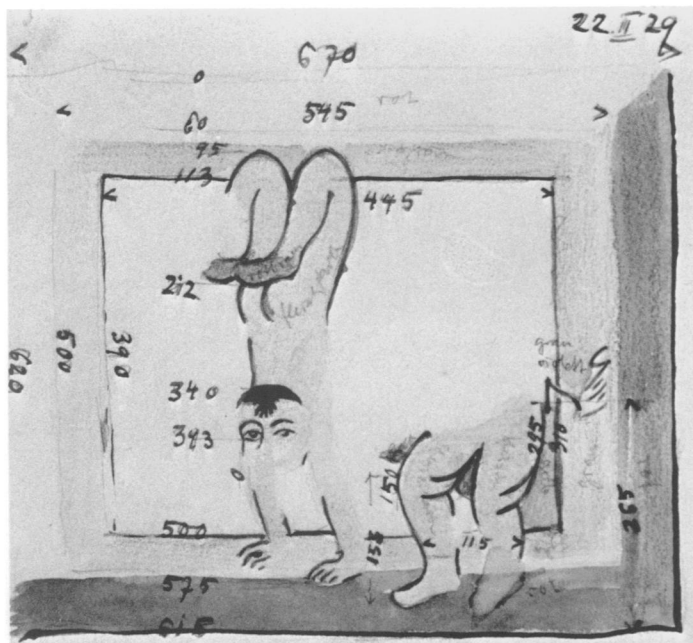
168. B. Buchanan, "A Snake Goddess and Her Companions," *Iraq* 33 (1971) pp. 1-18.

169. G. Prudhommeau, *La Danse grecque antique* (Paris, 1965) figs. 469, 471, 474-476; G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman* (Oxford, 1926) fig. 366; and A. D. Trendall, *Phylax Vases*, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, suppl. 19, 2nd ed. (London, 1967) no. 80, pl. 6b.

170. Ghirshman 1962, p. 268, fig. 348; and Lukonin, pl. 4. For the date of this piece see E. Belin de Ballu, *Olbia* (Leiden, 1972) p. 181. The geographical gap between the Greek examples and the Parthian ones may be filled in part by a scene of gymnastics painted at Gordion ca. 500 B.C. and reported by R. Young, "Gordion: Preliminary Report, 1958," *American Journal of Archaeology* 59 (1955) pl. 5, fig. 19.

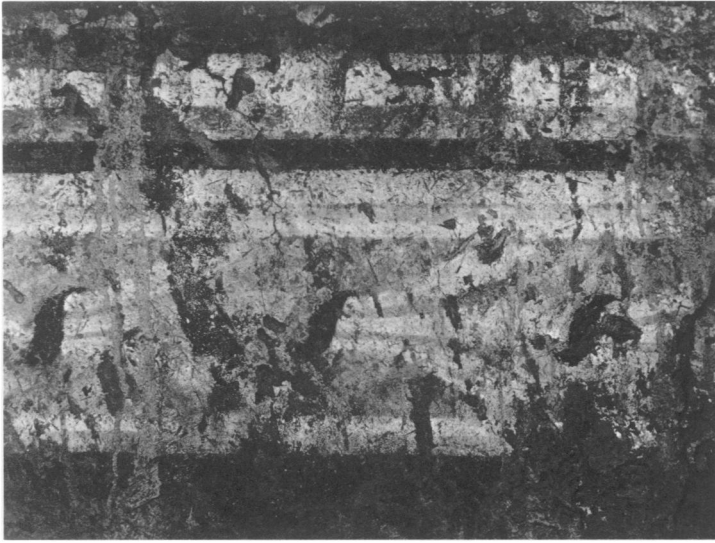
171. J. I. Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969) pp. 133-135.

172. Sk. XV, p. 10; neg. nos. 4035, 4036, 4049.



6, 7. Pair of acrobats from the ceiling of the Painted Gallery; Herzfeld's sketch and photograph, 1929 (photos: Herzfeld Archive, Sk. XV, p. 6 and neg. no. 4031)





8. Detail of the painted cornice from the back (north) wall of the Painted Gallery; Herzfeld's photograph, 1929 (photo: Herzfeld Archive, neg. no. 4035)

9. Schematic elevation of the window (south) wall of the Painted Gallery (D. Kawami after Herzfeld, Sk. XV, pp. 29, 30)



a broad yellowish frieze featuring white (formerly green?) laurel leaves wrapped with a dark red ribbon. This festoon was in turn bordered at the bottom by a wide, dark red band with a floral pattern in red and green based on the Greek Lesbian cyma.

Ornate painted cornices, including some with Lesbian cymas, are known from the Hellenistic houses of Olynthos and Delos,<sup>173</sup> though fewer examples have survived in the Near East. A Lesbian cyma painted on a mud-brick wall at Ai Khanum in northern Afghanistan shows the spread of such illusionistic devices well to the east of Kuh-e Khwaja,<sup>174</sup> and a stiffened version from Dalverzhin Tepe documents the continued representation of laurel festoons in Central Asia.<sup>175</sup>

The function of the elaborate painted cornice was to set off a series of figures, somewhat over life-size, arranged in groups of two or three between the eight windows that pierced the wall at regular intervals (Figures 9, 17). Herzfeld's sketches<sup>176</sup> recorded the arrangement of the images and this description will follow his order, proceeding westward from the eastern end of the gallery.

The first preserved painting showed a pair of beardless figures painted in pale tones against a dark

purplish background.<sup>177</sup> The figure on the left, a youth with short curly brown hair shown in three-quarter frontal view,<sup>178</sup> supported an upright trident with his left hand (Figures 10, 11). The right arm was probably held at his side, but the painting was very damaged here and the exact disposition of the lower arm and hand is lost. The trident bearer wore a long yellow tunic decorated with a red band with yellow and green roundels about the neck.<sup>179</sup> A similar decorative strip, perhaps indicating embroidery,

173. P. Bruneau, "Les Peintures et mosaïques de Délos," *Monument Piot* 14 (1908) figs. 39, 42, 43, pls. vi, viA, and esp. vii; Marcel Bulard, *Délos: IX. Description des revêtements peints à sujets religieux* (Paris, 1926) fig. 49; D. M. Robinson, *Olynthos II* (Baltimore, 1932) pp. 19–21, pl. iii, fig. 86; and idem, "Olynthos," *Annals of the British School at Athens* 22 (1918–19) pl. xii:3.

174. Paul Bernard, "Chapiteaux corinthiens hellénistiques d'Asie Centrale découverts," *Syria* 45 (1968) pp. 140–141, figs. 15, 16.

175. G. A. Pugachenkova, *Iskusstvo Baktrii Epokhi Kushan* [Bactrian Art of the Kushan Period] (Moscow, 1979) pp. 176–177, figs. 210, 212.

176. Sk. XV, pp. 29–30.

177. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

178. *Ibid.*, p. 35; neg. no. 6338.

179. Neg. no. 4024; color slide 5107.

ran down the front. A mantle was wrapped around the waist and fell over the left shoulder in a triangular fold. The mantle was edged with a red strip bearing a symmetrical leaf pattern in yellow between green borders. Black outlines once sharpened the basic shape of the figure and the folds of the garment, but most of the pigment had flaked off by the time Herzfeld photographed the paintings.

The light brown hair of the youth was rendered with loose, curling brushstrokes, the whole being set off by a few black lines. Vigorous modeling, later obliterated in the retouched photographs, emphasized the solidity of the face around the eyes, on the bridge of the nose, and on the left cheek.<sup>180</sup> The eyes were gouged out, though adjacent areas were not damaged. At first glance, the figure appears bareheaded, but a long, dark, vertical strip between the left eye and the ear suggests that some sort of ornament or device was on the head. The naturalism of the figure gives few clues to its date. Even the classical three-quarter view had spread into Central Asia by the third century A.D.<sup>181</sup>

Standing to the right of the trident bearer was a female figure resting a long rod with a rounded head, called a mace by Herzfeld,<sup>182</sup> against her left shoulder (Figure 12).<sup>183</sup> She wore a yellow sleeveless gown gathered above her right breast by a roundel or brooch, whose greenish center simulated a mounted stone. A horizontal dark band at the base of the throat implied the edge of an undergarment, though the pattern of interlocking half circles, painterly shorthand for a guilloche or braid, and the skin-pink area beneath the line raise the possibility that it represented a gold chain instead. The actual neckline of the gown, pulled straight by the brooch, had a pearled or beaded border indicated by a row of greenish dots set within thick yellow circles.

With her raised right hand, the mace bearer pulled the white mantle already covering her left shoulder over her right. The dull bluish border of the mantle was visible only where it draped over the left shoulder. The right arm, its thin round bracelets, and the shoulder were still well preserved, retaining in their original modeling not only the darker shadings on the edges of the forms but also the fine, supple zigzags of very light paint that created highlights on the arm and the shoulder (Figure 13).<sup>184</sup> Likewise, the folds in the gown gathered above the breast were far more plastic and naturalistic in exe-

cution than could have been deduced from the retouched photographs.

In contrast to the naturalistic style in which both figures were painted, the soft, broad fingers of the woman's right hand are not well articulated or carefully modeled. Rather than evoking Greek or Roman style, the rubbery, jointless fingers are typical of Sasanian hands.<sup>185</sup> The combination of a characteristically Sasanian manner of rendering fingers with lifelike classical modeling indicates the stylistic complexity of painting in the Sasanian period.

The two figures must have been impressive when viewed within the confines of the narrow chamber, for they were over life-size and completely filled the space allotted to them. The left elbow of the mace-bearing woman virtually leaned against the upper arch of the window,<sup>186</sup> and the trident of the beardless youth protruded slightly into the painted cornice at the top of the wall.<sup>187</sup> This overlapping, like that of some of the coffer figures, showed a disregard for the classical relationship of picture to frame, and indicated that the painters of Kuh-e Khwaja were already at some remove from their classical source.

The identity of these two figures is not easy to determine, despite their attributes and gestures. Herzfeld called them deities,<sup>188</sup> and in general the available comparisons support him. The trident was the identifying attribute of the Greek sea god Poseidon, who appeared on the coins of Antimachos of Bactria (ca. 190 B.C.)<sup>189</sup> and on the carved ivory rhyta from Nisa, the Arsacid dynastic capital.<sup>190</sup> The trident was also carried by the Sogdian god Veshparker<sup>191</sup> and by

180. Neg. no. 4019.

181. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art of Central Asia* (New York, 1974) p. 44; and Bussagli, *Central Asian Painting*, pp. 18, 22, 23.

182. Sk. XV, pp. 29–30.

183. Color slide 5112.

184. Neg. no. 4023.

185. I am grateful to Mas'oud Azarnoush for calling this to my attention. For a discussion of the representation of female hands in Sasanian art see Lionel Bier, "A Sculptured Building Block from Istakhr," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 16 (1983) pp. 308–309, pl. 27.

186. Color slide 5112.

187. Neg. no. 2097.

188. Herzfeld 1941, p. 296.

189. Stawiski, pl. 28.

190. M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugachenkova, *The Parthian Rhytons of Nisa* (Florence, 1982) pp. 40, 80, 102–103, nos. 2, 65, pls. 22:1, 71:1.

191. Azarpay, p. 29, fig. 5.

the Indian god Shiva on Kushan coins, seals, and even sculpture.<sup>192</sup> But the trident was not exclusively a divine attribute; in their numismatic portraits, Kushan rulers such as Vima Kadphises and Vasudeva, who ruled in the second and third centuries, held tridents with their left hands,<sup>193</sup> as did the Kushano-Sasanian rulers of eastern Iran in the fourth century.<sup>194</sup> Thus, the beardless trident bearer of Ghagashahr cannot be assumed to be divine merely on the basis of his weapon.

The identity of the woman accompanying him is also hard to establish. The macelike object she holds

has no classical parallel, and there are no antecedents in earlier Iranian art, where armed female figures are extremely rare. Athena appears occasionally in Arsacid art, her weapon always a spear,<sup>195</sup> and the

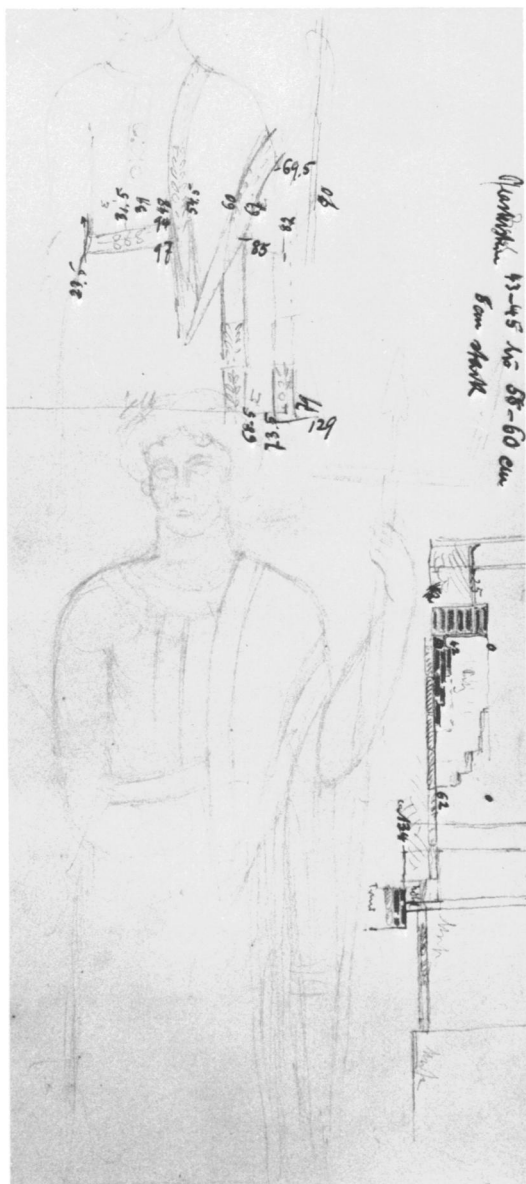
192. Herzfeld 1941, p. 296; and Rosenfield, pp. 22–24, 93–94, pl. II:19–27; pl. XVI:6,7; fig. 126.

193. Stawiski, p. 62; Lukonin, pl. 50; and Rosenfield, pl. XI:218, 222–229.

194. Harper 1981, pp. 43–44, fig. 13.

195. For numismatic examples see David Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* (London, 1971) Type 52/25, p.

10. Trident bearer in the Painted Gallery; Herzfeld's sketches, 1929 (photo: Herzfeld Archive, Sk. XV, p. 35)

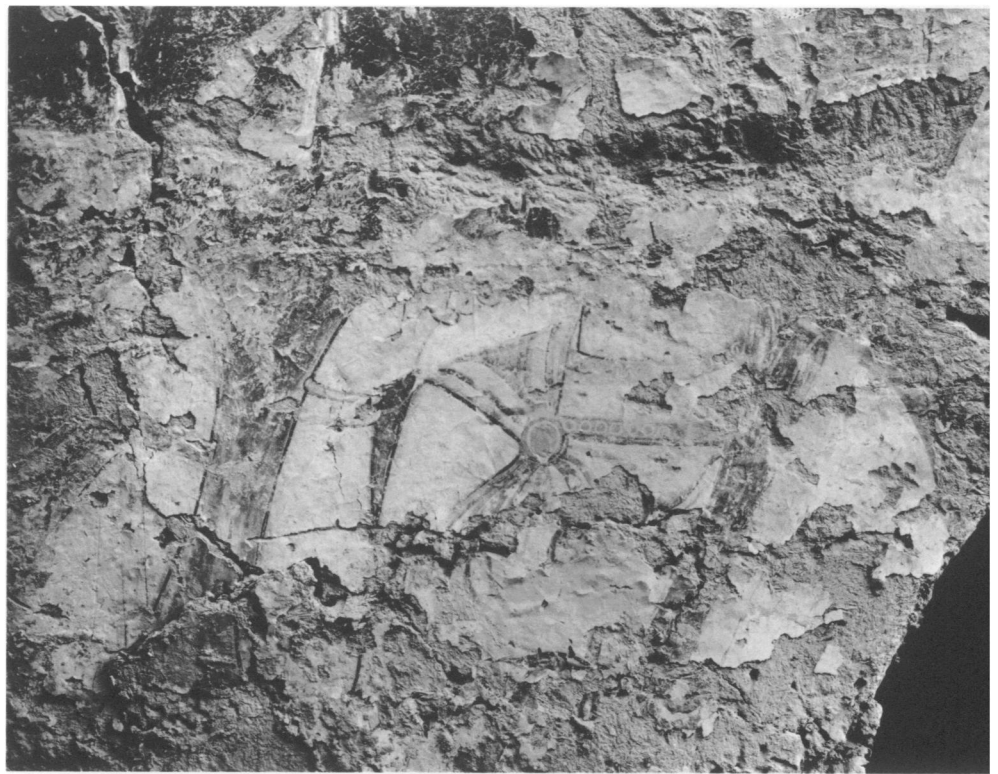


11. Head of the trident bearer; Herzfeld's photograph, 1929 (photo: Herzfeld Archive, neg. no. 4019)





12. Herzfeld's photograph, 1929, showing (from left to right) the trident bearer's left arm and part of the trident, the upper body of the female mace bearer, and part of the arch of the second window in the Painted Gallery (photo: Herzfeld Archive, neg. no. 4022)



13. Detail of the female mace bearer's right arm, hand, and shoulder; Herzfeld's photograph, 1929 (photo: Herzfeld Archive, neg. no. 4023)



few images of Artemis show only a bow.<sup>196</sup> Farther east, Kushan kings, on their coins, hold maces with elongated oval heads,<sup>197</sup> and at Khalchayan a male figure, identified by the excavator as a ruler, also holds a mace.<sup>198</sup> In all of these representations, the mace, which does not match the Ghaga-shahr example with its narrow shaft and broad, apparently elliptical head, is carried in the right hand; in contrast, the painted figure at Kuh-e Khwaja holds her mace on the left side. A Kushan(?) plaque from Afrasiab, which shows an enthroned female with a mace resting against her left shoulder,<sup>199</sup> suggests that the manner in which the mace is carried may depend on the bearer's gender; unfortunately, however, the plaque gives us no indication as to whether the person depicted is mortal or divine. Her jewelry is of no help, either, in the search for an identification, for the bracelet and roundel can be duplicated from Palmyra to India from the first through at least the sixth century A.D.

The distinctive gesture of the female figure, drawing a mantle or veil over her right shoulder, is equally ambiguous. This gesture, related to that of the bride removing her veil in the presence of her husband, is known in Greek art from at least the early fifth century B.C.,<sup>200</sup> but does not appear in Iranian art. It does appear in a Buddhist relief from Takht-i Bahi, a site that also has architectural parallels with Kuh-e Khwaja.<sup>201</sup> By Roman times, the gesture did not always indicate marriage or sexual intimacy.<sup>202</sup> Nonetheless, the pairing of the male and female figures between the windows at Kuh-e Khwaja, and the use of the hand nearest the male figure to adjust or open the mantle, indicate that the figures are meant to be seen as a pair. Furthermore, the uncertainty over the possible divinity of the pair is significant. Kushan rulers regularly took on divine attributes and epithets, including "God-King" (*begoshao*),<sup>203</sup> and it is possible that this couple in the Painted Gallery were not strictly gods but rulers, or perhaps heroized or divinized ancestors.

The wall between the second and third windows was filled with three standing figures, all apparently male (Figures 14, 15).<sup>204</sup> More damaged than the first section, this part of the wall also suffered from a broad crack that cut through the central figure. The collapse of the vault at this point further exposed the gallery to the weather. In this section, the dark ground was framed at each side by a light-colored

vertical strip. The strip on the right was marked by several tall thin lines that Herzfeld, in his reconstruction drawing,<sup>205</sup> interpreted as corners of towers. The three figures—visible only from the waist up, like all the figures in the Painted Gallery—stood in three-quarter view, turning to the viewer's left. They were grouped very closely, so that one shoulder of each outside figure overlapped a significant part of the man between them; all three were alike in having broad, sloping shoulders, a thick neck, and a small head. The two on the left had dark hair and rounded beards. They wore tunics and mantles over their left shoulders in the manner of the mace carrier. The white mantle of the man on the far left had a broad black or purple border that contrasted with his blue tunic and its dark yellow central panel. The yellow mantle of the central figure, who was clad in a dark green tunic, had a dark border.

The third figure, the most damaged of the group, was also the most unusual. Unlike the other two, he was beardless and wore on his head a round, light-colored cap or helmet with a thin rim and a winglike feature rising at each side. The wing on the left still retained the round attachment by which it was fixed

158, Type 52/11, p. 155, Type 63/18, p. 195, Types 78/10, 78/18, p. 247; and W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia* (London, 1903) pls. xix:9, xxi. For the rock relief at Tang-e Sarvak see Herrmann, p. 83; and Kawami, pp. 88–110, for the dating. See also Olivier Guillaume, "Nouvelles Tessères de Suse," *Syria* 59 (1982) pp. 251–252, fig. 6, no. 2669.2. I am grateful to Edith Porada for calling this to my attention. For new Bactrian examples see Viktor Sarianidi, *The Golden Hoard of Bactria* (New York, 1985) pp. 124, 168–196, 230–231, 246, nos. 2.1, 2.2, 3.7.8.

196. Sellwood, *Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia*, Types 30/25, 30/26, p. 81, Type 34/6, p. 94, Type 63/16, p. 194; and Wroth, *Parthia*, pl. xxvii:9.

197. Rosenfield, pp. 179–181, pls. III:47–60, v:95–99.

198. G. A. Pugachenkova, *Skulptura Khalchayana* (Moscow, 1971) p. 51.

199. *Ibid.*, pl. 49.

200. Martin Robertson, *A Short History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1981) pp. 59, 61, 84, 104, 173, figs. 85, 124, 144, 236; and John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (New York, 1970) p. 299, no. 733.

201. Colledge, pl. 24b.

202. John Ward-Perkins and Amanda Claridge, *Pompeii A.D. 79: Treasures from the National Archaeological Museum, Naples, with Contributions from the Pompeii Antiquarium and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1978) II, pp. 166–167, fig. 133.

203. Rosenfield, pp. 202–206.

204. Neg. no. 4045.

205. Sk. XV, p. 31.

14, 15. Three male figures between the second and third windows of the Painted Gallery  
(photos: Herzfeld Archive)



14. Herzfeld's watercolor sketch, date unknown (color slide 8225, neg. no. 6336)



15. Herzfeld's photograph, 1929 (neg. no. 4045)

to the headgear. Herzfeld's retouched photographs and sketch (Figure 14) of this group show an additional wing on top of the head, but the actual plaster was damaged and no clear indication of such a wing can be seen in the original photograph (Figure 15). All that remained was a small ferrule like that of the wing on the left. The dark ground retained no remnant of a central wing, and whatever the missing element was, it must have been small and perhaps vertical.<sup>206</sup> This third figure wore a white tunic bearing a red band with a yellow floral pattern down the front and two geometrically patterned bands on the upper right sleeve.<sup>207</sup> His left side was partly covered by a large reddish-brown and yellow shield, whose concentric rings retained a suggestion of modeling.

Unlike the mace and trident bearers, these figures have little in the way of distinctive weapons, attributes, or gestures. The winged headgear of the right-hand man recalls the Greek messenger-god Hermes, but the shield is not consonant with this identification.<sup>208</sup> Alternatively, he may be a mortal, for elaborate crowns with wings shown in profile are worn by Sasanian kings in the late third and early fourth century.<sup>209</sup> By the fifth and sixth centuries the wings appear frontally, rising as a symmetrical pair from the top of the head.<sup>210</sup> Wings do not appear on Parthian, Kushan, or Kushano-Sasanian crowns, suggesting that the source for this distinctive headgear is western Iran rather than India or Central Asia.<sup>211</sup> The large shield, typical of Greek or Roman rather than Iranian military equipment, underlines the western influence. Other details of dress, unfortunately, are of little help in identifying the other two figures or in ascertaining whether they represented mortal or divine characters.

The painting that would have occupied the space between the third and fourth windows in the Painted Gallery was already destroyed when Herzfeld visited Kuh-e Khwaja. Similarly, the space in the western half of the gallery, between windows five and six, was devoid of paintings. Between the sixth and seventh windows, however, Herzfeld recorded "two heads, the left with a red helmet, yellow dotted; the right [figure] in a red robe with yellow."<sup>212</sup> No sketches or photographs of these figures are known, though one very dark photograph may be tentatively assigned to this place.<sup>213</sup> The photograph shows traces of black and white lines as well as areas of skin tone, but nothing more definite. The notation in Herzfeld's note-

book for the space between the seventh and eighth windows is illegible.

The painting between the eighth window and the western end of the gallery was very damaged; all one can see is a pale form against the dark ground.<sup>214</sup> Herzfeld drew this as a beardless male framed by a yellow nimbus and bearing a red and yellow crescent on his head (Figure 16).<sup>215</sup> For obvious reasons, Herzfeld identified him as a moon god. Few of the details of Herzfeld's sketches, such as the arrangement of the robe or the red and yellow vine-scroll pattern on the neckline, can be verified from the photographs. Only the general outline of the face, which turned slightly to the left, the dark hair or head covering, the faint suggestion of the halo, and the edge of the painted cornice above can be seen. The line defining the lower jaw was the sole surviving detail.

Crescent-crowned moon gods appear in the art of ancient Mesopotamia as early as the twentieth century B.C. and as late as the third century A.D.<sup>216</sup> Only one example, a Sasanian stamp seal, is known from

206. The plumelike ornament rising from the helmet of Athena on one of the rhyta from Nisa may be the type of element indicated. See Pugachenkova 1958, p. 165, nos. 9, 22. Another example occurs on the helmet of a defeated horseman identified as a Georgian in the relief of Hormuzd II (302–309) at Naqsh-i Rostam. See Georgina Herrmann, *Naqsh-i Rostam 5 and 8: Sasanian Reliefs Attributed to Hormuzd II and Narseh*, *Iranische Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1977) pp. 7–9, pl. 7.

207. Sk. XV, p. 32.

208. A female figure with winged headgear on an ivory rhyton from Nisa was identified as Hera by the excavators. See Masson and Pugachenkova, *Parthian Rhytons*, p. 69, no. 30, pl. 32. It is unlikely that Athena is the deity represented, as her standard headgear is quite different.

209. Lukonin, pls. 113, 114, 118, 151, 207; and Harper 1981, pp. 25, 30, 37, pl. 2.

210. Lukonin, pls. 123, 143; and Hubertus von Gall, "Globus oder Diskus auf der Krone Hosrows II," in *Orientalia J. Duschesne-Guillemin Emerito Oblata* (Leiden, 1984) p. 182, fig. 1, pls. xxiv–xxvi.

211. Winged headgear for mortal rulers did penetrate former Kushan areas by the 5th century, to judge from the remains at Kuev-Kurgan in Uzbekistan. See Vadim M. Masson, "The Forgotten Kushan Empire: New Discoveries at Zar-tepe," *Archaeology* 37:1 (1984) p. 37.

212. Sk. XV, p. 30.

213. Neg. no. 4046.

214. Neg. no. 4025; color slide 4025.

215. Sk. XV, p. 30.

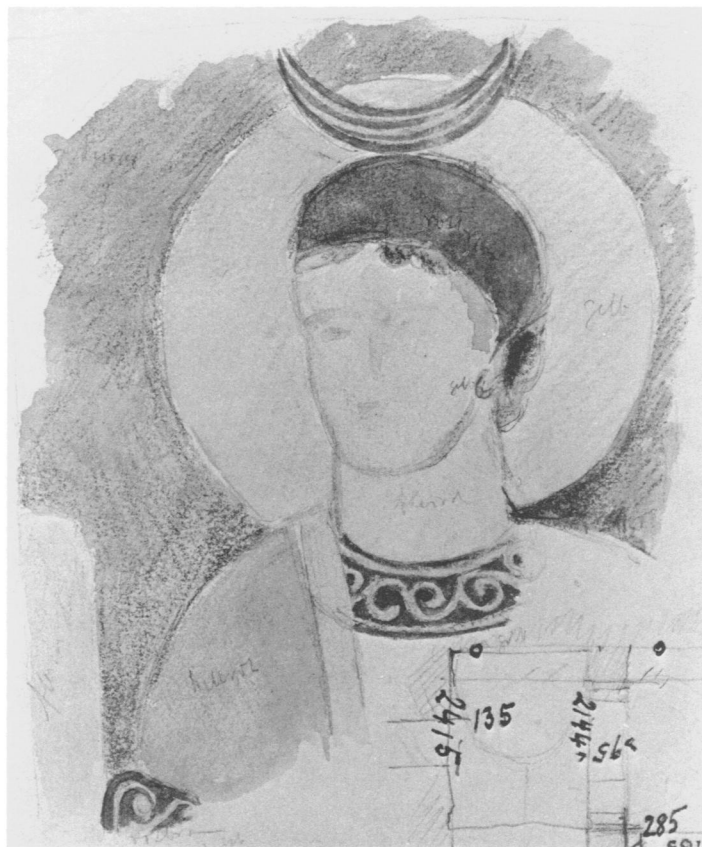
216. Anton Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia* (London, 1969) pp. 72, 73, pl. 194; and Colledge, pl. 11c.

Iran, however.<sup>217</sup> Male lunar deities are known farther east, the most important being the Indian Shiva<sup>218</sup> and the Kushan Mao (Mah).<sup>219</sup> A few, rare representations use the Greek-based name Salene to identify the figure.<sup>220</sup> Many of the Kushan representations also have a crescent rising from their shoulders, an attribute that appears as late as the sixth century in the Buddhist frescoes of Fondukistan in Afghanistan.<sup>221</sup> The fact that the Kuh-e Khwaja figure is male underscores that it is indigenous. The Greco-Roman lunar deity Artemis or Selene is female.

Stein, the first to explore the Painted Gallery, removed a section of painting from the window wall, noting that the plaster was harder and finer than that of the South Gate paintings.<sup>222</sup> This fragment, now in the National Museum of India, New Delhi, depicts a scene of two life-size beardless males shown in profile. Clad only in light-colored drapery about the waist, both figures hold long lances. The man on the left bends forward, grasping his leveled lance with both hands as if to drive it into the figure on the right, who leans back as if anticipating the thrust, his weapon remaining upright, supported by his left hand. The legs are missing, but from the fragmentary remains both men seem to be seated on or astride dark, slightly curving forms.

Above the scene runs a section of painted cornice with its dentils, beribboned laurels, and dark red bands, indicating that the fragment was clearly part of the series of paintings revealed and described by Herzfeld. Unfortunately, Stein did not record the exact location of the section he took, but it appears to have been somewhere near the center of the gallery, in the area of the head of the stairs. The space between the windows nearest this opening was “empty” when Herzfeld visited Kuh-e Khwaja, and it is probable that Stein’s fragment came from either the eastern or western side of the opening. Indeed, Herzfeld labeled the space directly to the east of the stair opening “destroyed” (“*Zerstört*”),<sup>223</sup> and it is tempting to place the Stein piece between windows three and four (Figure 17).

While Stein’s example matches the Herzfeld paintings in scale, style, and upper borders, it differs from them in two major ways: first, the figures are active—particularly the male on the left, who lunges forward; second, the ground is white, unlike the dark purplish ground of the Herzfeld paintings. These



16. Herzfeld’s sketch of the crescent-crowned figure between the eighth window and the western end of the Painted Gallery, 1929 (photo: Herzfeld Archive, Sk. XV, p. 30)

two characteristics raise the possibility that the window wall of the Painted Gallery bore one (or perhaps two) significant scenes of action set off by a white ground, and that these were witnessed by the row of standing figures painted between the other windows.

The classically beardless heads in profile and the bare torsos of the men in the Stein fragment suggest that the event depicted occurred prior to the time of

217. Harper 1978, p. 149.

218. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India* (New York, 1963) pp. 310, 315.

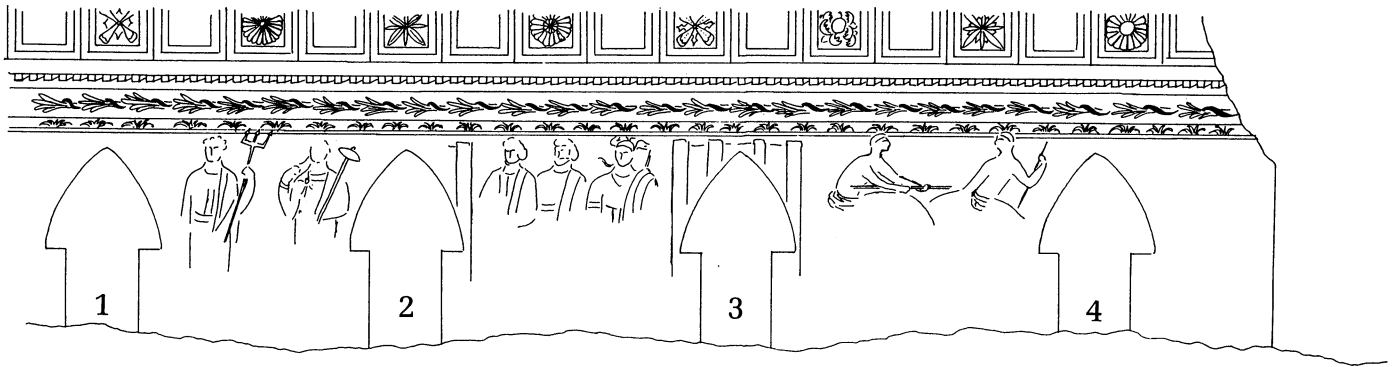
219. Rosenfield, pp. 72, 80–81, pls. III:59, VI:103–112.

220. *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 98.

221. J. Hackin, “Travaux en Afghanistan,” *Revue des arts asiatiques* 12 (1938) p. 9, pl. VII:23.

222. Stein, II, pp. 919–920.

223. Sk. XV, p. 30.



17. Reconstruction of the eastern half of the window (south) wall of the Painted Gallery (drawing: author)

Herzfeld's paintings. It is probable that a combat scene was intended, though the type of combat is not clear. If both figures rode horses, the distinctive equine heads and necks should appear between the figures; and the dark sloping form behind the right figure does not resemble a horse's back or hindquarters. Camels, with their easily identifiable silhouettes, are even less likely mounts here. Elephants, however, fit the two dark shapes between the combatants, the sloping form on the right having the characteristic slant of an elephant's back.

Elephants appear on the coins and metalwork of Central Asia, especially in Bactria, whose early Greek rulers were displayed with elephant-scalp helmets.<sup>224</sup> Seleucid coins bear images of elephants and elephant combat,<sup>225</sup> and the Sasanian rulers Shapur I (241–272/3) and Khusro II (591–628), who had elephants in their armies,<sup>226</sup> included them in their triumphal sculpture and hunting reliefs.<sup>227</sup> At least one small-scale Sasanian sculpture of an elephant is also known.<sup>228</sup> Thus, a surprisingly long tradition of elephant representation in Iran and Central Asia can be documented.

The laurel festoon that runs along the painted cornice supports an interpretation of the Stein painting as triumph through combat or contest. The front of a painted altar from the domestic quarter of Hellenistic Delos features two boxers or wrestlers struggling beneath a laurel festoon, while the sides of the altar show spectators or witnesses with palm branches.<sup>229</sup> However, both the location of the Stein piece and its interpretation remain hypothetical, of course, in the absence of more specific documentation.

The walls and vaults of the window recesses were also decorated, and at least two windows still retained some of their painted ornament. The second window from the east end of the gallery was described by Herzfeld as having “coffers and pictures.”<sup>230</sup> A few pages later, his notebook contains a sketch of the elevation of “the painted window, eastern part of the gallery.”<sup>231</sup> Herzfeld's use of the definite article (*das*) implies that this was the elevation for the only painted window on the east side. This window is probably the same one as was observed by the Italian restorers in the mid-1970s. Certainly their description of a rosette set in a geometric panel is congruent with Herzfeld's brief notation.<sup>232</sup>

224. For example, MMA acc. nos. 26.7.1430, 55.11.11, 55.11.12. See also Colledge, pp. 107, 115, pls. 39i,k,l, 46a; Lukonin, p. 215, pls. 38, 40; Masson and Pugachenkova, *Parthian Rhytons*, pp. 131–132; and Herrmann, p. 46.

225. Herrmann, p. 26; G. Hafner, *The Art of Crete, Mycenae and Greece* (New York, 1969) p. 213; and George F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922) pp. cxlv–cxlvi, 191, pl. xxii:18.

226. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXV.1.14.

227. Herrmann, p. 134; Ghirshman 1962, pp. 184, 194, 196, 199; Ghirshman 1971, pp. 70, 89, pls. 15, 19–21, fig. 10; and Georgina Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur, Iranische Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1980–83) I, pp. 14–15, 43, pls. 9, 14, 15; II, pp. 31–32, fig. 3, pl. 29. For a summary of Sasanian Iran's relations with India see Jens Kröger, “Sasanian Iran and India: Questions of Interaction,” in Herbert Härtel, ed., *South Asian Archaeology 1979* (Berlin, 1981) pp. 441–448.

228. Harper 1978, pp. 172–173.

229. Bulard, *Délos: IX. Description des revêtements peints*, pls. III:2, v:1d, 1e, 2, VIII, XVI.

230. “Im Fenster Kassetten u. Bilder erhalten,” Sk. XV, pp. 29–30.

231. “Das bemalte Fenster, Ostteil d. Gallerie,” Sk. XV, p. 43, left.

232. Faccenna, p. 87, n. 5.



Two pages after he mentioned the painted window, Herzfeld made an annotated sketch of a row of five standing figures on the wall of a window recess in the eastern half of the Painted Gallery (Figure 18).<sup>233</sup> Since he referred specifically to no other window in the intervening pages, we may assume that Herzfeld meant the second window as the location of the five figures.

All five figures were shown frontally, with their heads in profile to the viewer's right. Each figure had the right hand raised to chest level, while the left arm was held to the side and bent across the waist. All the figures had short dark hair and wore sleeved tunics of undetermined length. Four of the five, slightly overlapping, were roughly the same height and bearded. At the head of this static procession on the right was a figure half the size of the others. Substantial damage to the painting made it impossible to determine whether this was another bearded male or a beardless child.

This smaller figure carried an indistinct vertical item in the raised right hand. The man behind, clad in white, held in his right hand an almost white tulip-like flower with two green leaves and in his left a red-

dish ball-like object that could be interpreted as the hilt of a sword.<sup>234</sup> His face had been vandalized, but sufficient detail remained for one to appreciate the subtle dark line of the profile with its aquiline nose, and to note the naturalistic modeling of the cheek and nostrils in contrast to the superficially painted ear.<sup>235</sup> The hair was short and fluffy, with small curls falling over the forehead. The beard, which is difficult to discern in Herzfeld's photographs, seems to have been fairly small and perhaps tapered.

Behind the flower bearer stood another white-clad figure, carrying in his extended right hand an oval ring.<sup>236</sup> This ring was decorated with spirals or linked circles on a dark background. The man's face was badly damaged, though his pointed nose and sharp chin with its very short beard could still be seen.<sup>237</sup> A line running obliquely downward from the base of the nose defined the contour of the cheek, and an adjacent horizontal line suggested the mouth. Above the head were two small flowers, one with four petals

233. Sk, XV, p. 45; "Festerwand, Westseit in ostl. Hälfte d. Gallerie."

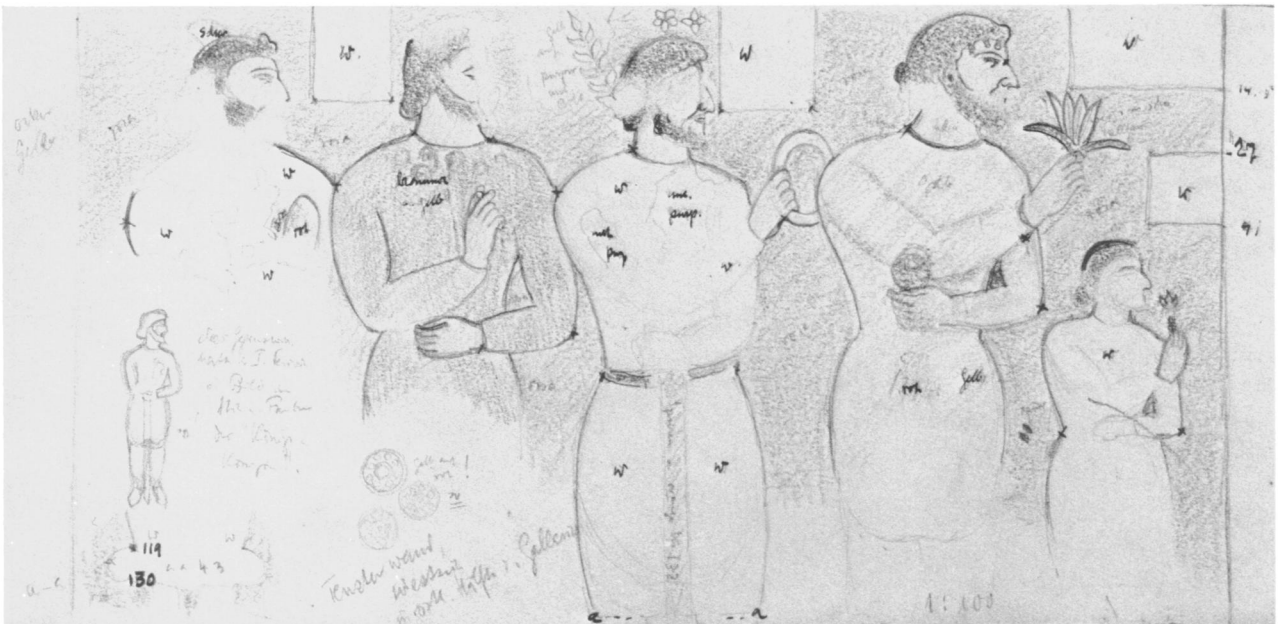
234. Neg. no. 4016.

235. Neg. no. 4041; color slide 5117.

236. Herzfeld described all the figures as carrying flowers (Herzfeld 1941, p. 297), but this is not the case.

237. Color slide 5110.

18. Herzfeld's sketch, 1929, of the five figures in the second window recess of the Painted Gallery (photo: Herzfeld Archive, Sk. XV, p. 45)



and one with five, and behind it rose a pale yellow leafy branch, rather like a stylized laurel.<sup>238</sup> The man may have worn some sort of headband or coronet to which these elements were attached. This figure was also distinguished from the others by his thin belt and his inverted sword, held by the hilt in the left hand.

Behind the ring bearer stood a man in a dark red robe, which was decorated on the upper part with yellow circles; other ornament appeared faintly along the robe's neckline.<sup>239</sup> Herzfeld had drawn the yellow circles separately as roundels with smaller circles inside them, but these details and several others are not visible in the photographs. The face and the top of the man's head were obliterated, but in the photograph a dark outline clearly indicated the hair, which fell with a gentle curve down the neck, and continued from the neck along the top of the shoulder. A second line marked the top of the beard but there was no indication of its extent or shape. Herzfeld's sketch shows part of an eye and more of the beard, elements that cannot be confirmed in the photographs.

The figure at the extreme left was the most damaged of the five, and only traces of his shoulder, torso, and upper head remained.<sup>240</sup> His white robe, where it still existed, contrasted with the reddish ground and with the dark red of his neighbor's garment. The sure, supple lines of the nose, eyebrow, and forehead recall the features of the flower bearer, as does the modeling at the bridge of the nose. It seems from these details that one hand was responsible for all five figures.

These figures have been considered Parthian, but it is readily apparent that their faces in profile, their posture, and their dress are typically Sasanian. Parallels are not found in the figural arts of the Parthian period (ca. 250 B.C.–A.D. 224), with its emphasis on frontality.<sup>241</sup>

Rows of male attendants, shown frontally with heads in profile, appear in royal reliefs throughout the Sasanian period. They may stand with arms folded, or with the right hand raised before them. Frequently they hold the long Sasanian sword before their bodies.<sup>242</sup> The arrangement of the Ghaga-shahr figures, with the shoulder of one figure slightly overlapping the man behind, the broad and simple forms of the neck and upper torso, and the placement of the left arm across the front of the body find paral-

els most frequently in the reliefs of the third century, particularly those of Ardashir I (224–241) and Shapur I at Firuzabad and Naqsh-e Rājab.<sup>243</sup>

Similar rows of male figures also appear in the wall paintings of Fayaz Tepe, a Buddhist shrine near Kara Tepe in northern Bactria, active between the second and fourth centuries.<sup>244</sup> The donors of Fayaz Tepe have small heads shown in profile with short hair, and the same thick necks and broad shoulders as the Kuh-e Khwaja figures. Thus, the composition of the Kuh-e Khwaja painting, and the proportions of its figures, may indicate Bactrian rather than Sasanian influence.

The royal Sasanian reliefs do not offer many parallels to the short hair and short tapered beards of the painted figures. A few attendants of Shapur I at Naqsh-e Rājab and of Bahram II (276–293) at Naqsh-e Rostam affect the same hair style.<sup>245</sup> Comparable heads on Sasanian royal silver are also uncommon, and all date to the late third and early fourth century.<sup>246</sup> Engraved seal stones provide some representations of individuals with short hair and short tapered beards, though these two characteristics are not always found together.<sup>247</sup>

238. Traces of leafy branches can be seen near the heads of the Sasanian knights on relief III at Bishapur, left side, register 3, figures 4 and 5. The relief is dated to the reign of Shapur I. See Herrmann, *Sasanian Rock Reliefs*, I, pp. 15–16, pls. 17, 21, 22.

239. Neg. nos. 4015, 4018.

240. Neg. no. 4037; color slide 5108.

241. For a survey of the art of this period see Kawami.

242. For examples of these swords see Harper 1978, pp. 83–84.

243. Louis Vanden Berghe, *Reliefs rupestres de l'Iran ancien* (Brussels, 1983) pp. 62–66, 126–127, pls. 17, 20.

244. Stawiski, pp. 137, 141, pl. 102; and Tokyo National Museum, *Cultural Contacts Between East and West in Antiquity and the Middle Ages from the USSR* (Tokyo, 1985) no. 66 (color photo).

245. Vanden Berghe, *Reliefs*, pp. 128, 134, pls. 20, 26; and Lukonin, pl. 124.

246. Harper 1981, pp. 25–31, 36–37, pls. 3, 6. Attendants on the late Sasanian plate from Strelka (*ibid.*, pp. 100, 110–111, pl. 19) have very short hair and short pointed beards, though their smooth, domed headgear creates quite a different appearance overall.

247. Lukonin, pls. 100, 102, and esp. 103; Ghirshman 1962, p. 241, fig. 294F; Christopher J. Brunner, *Sasanian Stamp Seals in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1982) pp. 54, 57; and A. D. H. Bivar, *Catalogue of Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamp Seals: II. The Sassanian Dynasties* (London, 1969) pls. 1–3.

The objects held by at least two of the figures—the tuliplike flower and the ring—appear not only in the royal reliefs but also in the less monumental and often nonroyal arts of the Sasanian period. Both male and female figures hold a single flower in the reliefs of Bahram II;<sup>248</sup> the flower also appears on silver plates and bowls, primarily from the late third and early fourth century, and on seals.<sup>249</sup> The form of the flower varies from a round lotuslike bud to a small foliate sprig. The tuliplike flower from the Painted Gallery, with its petals and pair of slender framing leaves, is found by itself on engraved seal stones, perhaps as a symbol of growth and prosperity.<sup>250</sup>

Pairs of figures holding or passing a ring appear in scenes of investiture and marriage.<sup>251</sup> More unusual are scenes in which a single figure holds a ring as an attribute. This occurs in two royal reliefs from the reign of Bahram II, in which the ring bearer is identified as the crown prince, later Bahram III. The single figure with a ring also occurs on a few seal stones and on a third-century bone plaque from Olbia.<sup>252</sup>

When compared with other Sasanian art, the Painted Gallery figures appear to reflect the style of royal art in the late third and early fourth century. There is nothing specifically royal about the Painted Gallery composition or iconography, however, and indeed the hair and beard styles of the figures indicate associations outside Sasanian court circles.

Four white rectangles more or less adjacent to the heads of the figures stood out clearly from the dark ground. Though these rectangles were blank when Herzfeld photographed them, they may have held, or been designed to hold, painted inscriptions identifying the five people depicted. Similarly placed identifying inscriptions are carved on rock reliefs in Iran,<sup>253</sup> and painted inscriptions have also survived.<sup>254</sup>

Herzfeld's notes place the five-figure painting in the second window from the east end of the Painted Gallery, but Herzfeld did not indicate on which side of the window he found it. The exact placement of the painting is significant, for it determines the orientation of the figures. Did they face outward to the Central Court or inward to the Painted Gallery? Did they turn their backs on the figures in the gallery, or did they raise their hands in salute to them? Herzfeld's photographs show a light source both in front

of and behind the figures. One source would have been the collapsed roof of the Painted Gallery; the other would have been the courtyard itself, after the buttresses of the second stage had been removed, opening the original windows. Herzfeld's published description implies that the figures faced inward,<sup>255</sup> and his sketch may be interpreted in the same way by assuming that the vertical line before the figures is the inner edge of the window. This edge would have been clear and easy to record, whereas the faint line behind the figures would have been the less visible outer corner of the window that was damaged and/or obscured by the construction of the buttresses of the second phase. One photograph<sup>256</sup> shows the edge

248. Vanden Berghe, *Reliefs*, pp. 80–81, 135–136, pl. 27; and Leo Trümpelmann, *Das Sasanidische Felsrelief von Dārāb*, *Iranische Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1975) pp. 1, 2, 4, 20, pl. 5, where it is dated to the reign of Shapur I (241–272/3).

249. For the flower on silver plates and bowls see Harper 1981, pp. 24–25, 27, 37, 108–109, pls. 1, 2, 7 (all 3rd and early 4th century); and Harper 1978, p. 74 (late Sasanian at the earliest). For the flower on seals see Harper 1978, pp. 143, 145; Prudence O. Harper in Frye, ed., *Qasr-i Abu Nasr*, pp. 69–70, no. D.48; Brunner, *Sasanian Stamp Seals*, pp. 60–61; and Bivar, *Sassanian Dynasties*, p. 25, pls. 7, 8.

250. Christopher J. Brunner in M. Noveck, *The Mark of Ancient Man* (New York, 1975) p. 89, no. 89. For the identification of the flower as a pomegranate blossom see Harper in Frye, ed., *Qasr-i Abu Nasr*, p. 80. See also Brunner, *Sasanian Stamp Seals*, pp. 116–118; and Bivar, *Sassanian Dynasties*, p. 106–108, pl. 25.

251. The ring as a symbol of delegated authority has its origins in the late 3rd millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia. The motif seems to have spread to Iran only in the Parthian period (see Kawami, pp. 50, 165) and appears in the royal reliefs of the early Sasanian period. See Lukonin, p. 110, pls. 126, 127; and Herrmann, pp. 90–91. For the ring in scenes of marriage see Harper 1978, pp. 74–75, 148.

252. Lukonin, pl. 103; Brunner, *Sasanian Stamp Seals*, pp. 60, 64, 65; and Ghirshman 1962, pp. 270, 271. For the date of the Olbia plaque see E. Belin de Ballu, *Olbia* (Leiden, 1972) p. 181.

253. For instance, the Parthian reliefs at Shimbar and Tang-e Sarvak, and the Sasanian reliefs at Naqsh-e Rostam and Naqsh-e Rajab. See A. D. H. Bivar and S. Shaked, "The Inscriptions at Shimbar," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27 (1964) pp. 269–290; W. B. Henning, "The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak," *Asia Major* n.s. 2 (1951) pp. 151–178; and Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis III* (Chicago, 1970) p. 131, pls. 83, 85, 98. See also Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (Cleveland/New York, 1963) p. 185, pl. 42.

254. Christopher J. Brunner, "The Iranian Epigraphic Remains from Dura-Europos," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 92 (1972) pp. 492–497.

255. He called them "spectators" (Herzfeld 1941, p. 297).

256. Neg. no. 4016.

of the window against a very bright, virtually overexposed background. This bright light, which does not fall into the window, is from the late winter sun. Its southern slant, observable in all Herzfeld's 1929 photos, fell on the exposed northern wall of the Painted Gallery, providing only indirect, reflected light on the paintings Herzfeld photographed. Thus, the five standing figures were painted on the western wall of the window and faced inward, becoming a part, if only by their orientation, of the pictorial scheme of the Painted Gallery.

We may assume that all the windows of the Painted Gallery once bore painted coffering, for Herzfeld observed traces of painted coffers in the vault of the eighth and last window in the western end of the gallery, adjacent to the painting of the moon god.<sup>257</sup>

The back or north wall of the Painted Gallery was windowless and bore along its upper edge remnants of the same painted cornice noted on the window wall.<sup>258</sup> However, only one section of the wall painting itself survived, directly opposite the trident bearer in the eastern half of the gallery. The plaster here was far more damaged than that of the window wall and fewer details survived. The collapse of the vault had exposed the surface not only to the rare rains but also to the fierce sunlight and to abrasion by wind-borne sand.

The only extant painting on the back wall showed three standing figures, one overlapping pair and a single figure barely visible on the left (Figure 19).<sup>259</sup> The slender figures of the pair undulated in a sort of contrapposto, the slight curve implying a three-quarter stance with the figures looking to the viewer's right. The heads, hands, and indeed all details of the pair were obliterated, leaving only general shapes and areas of color. The darker of the two figures was clad in a long tunic that seems to have had a deeply cut V-shaped neckline edged by an even darker band. The figure's right hand may have been held across the chest, for a dark band appeared to mark the end of the sleeve. This figure is identifiable as male by the sword hanging from a thin belt worn low over the hips. The light, fluttering ties of the belt are one of the few details of dress that can be verified from the photograph.

The second figure, presumed to have been female, also wore a long V-necked tunic with a dark border at the neckline and the sleeve. Her left arm hung at the side while her right arm was concealed behind

the male figure. Herzfeld called this group "King and Queen."<sup>260</sup> His detailed watercolor renderings and reconstructions of the scene (Figure 20)<sup>261</sup> illustrate royal headgear, hair styles, jewelry, and textile patterns, but none of these specifics can be confirmed in the photographs.

The "royal" couple were set within a frame of light and dark vertical bands. To the viewer's right, the end of a broad, light-colored ribbon fluttered across some of the vertical bands. The vague shape of a standing figure to the viewer's left was not included in all Herzfeld's sketches. Herzfeld's photographs show little of this figure except for the vertical strips of contrasting color on the lower portion of the garment.

Damaged as it was, the painting on the north wall showed clear differences in style from the paintings of the window wall. The human forms were willowy and far more slender than the broad-shouldered figures on the window wall. The degree of overlapping was much greater, too, and the background far more ornate than the simple dark ground of the window-wall paintings. Without additional photographic evidence it is impossible to say whether the paintings of the north wall showed the same concern for modeling of form and the same use of shaded edges and bright highlights seen in the better-preserved portions of the window-wall paintings.

These differences raise the possibility that the two walls of the Painted Gallery were not painted at the same time. This would not be surprising in a structure with as long and complicated a history as Ghagahshahr, but without clearer documentation the chronology remains a matter of speculation. One can say, however, that before the addition of the buttresses in the second phase and before the reinforcement walls were erected within the gallery, the long corridor, its ceiling, and its windows were decorated with a complex scheme that featured figures in several types of dress framed by painted architectural details.

Given the Sasanian and Kushan parallels for the figures in the Painted Gallery, these paintings would

257. "In diesem Fenster Rest d. Gewolbe-Kassetten"; Sk. XV, p. 30.

258. Stein, II, p. 921.

259. Neg. nos. 4010, 4017, 4020.

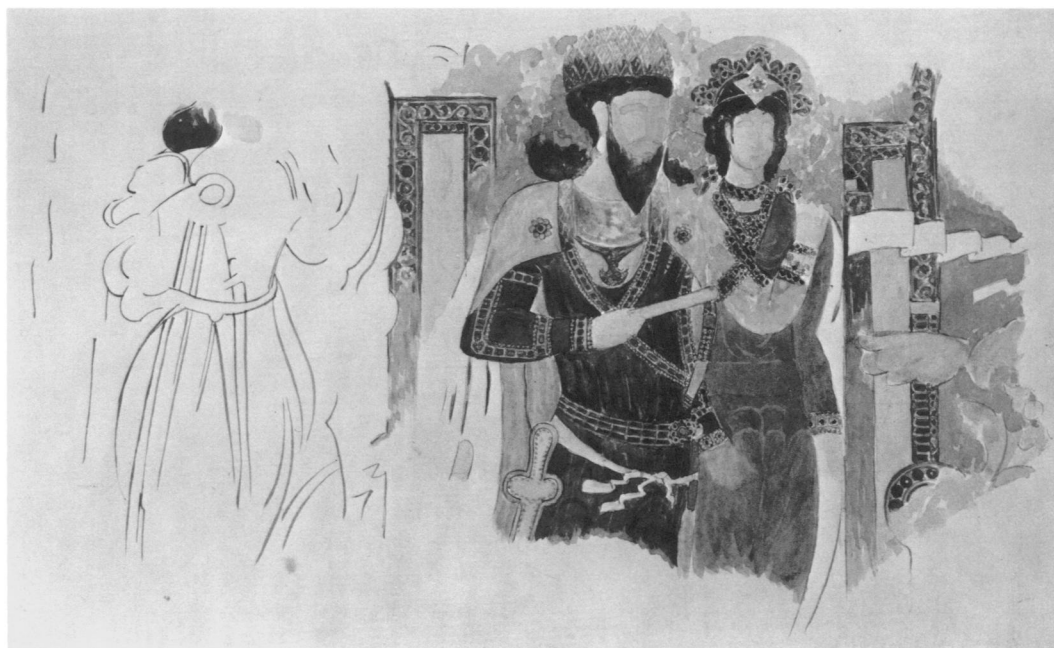
260. Herzfeld 1941, p. 295, pl. CIV top.

261. Sk. XV, pp. 37, 38; D-354, neg. no. 4021.

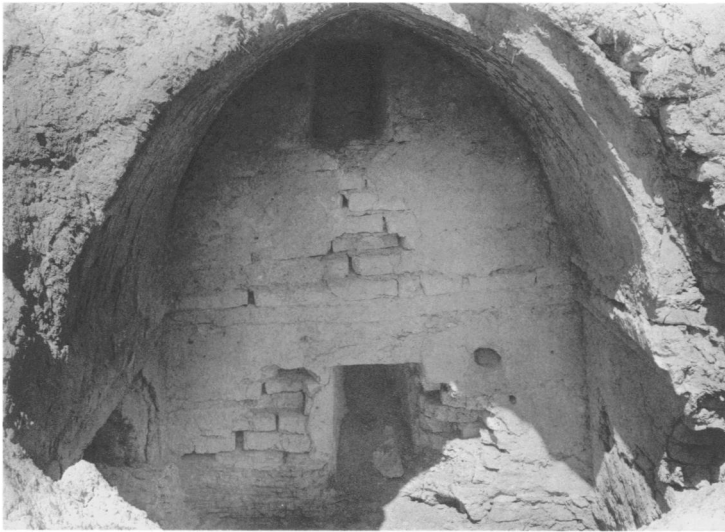
19, 20. The so-called King and Queen figures on the back (north) wall of the Painted Gallery (photos: Herzfeld Archive)



19. Herzfeld's photograph, 1929 (neg. no. 4017)



20. Herzfeld's watercolor sketch, date unknown (D-354)



21. View of the upper chamber of the North Tower, the site of the two paintings now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (see Figures 24–27); Herzfeld's photograph, 1929 (photo: Herzfeld Archive, neg. no. 2097)

seem to date to the late third or early fourth century. Their iconography reflects a rich melding of classical, Iranian, and Indian influences. The classical and Indian influences, however, arrived by complicated routes that are very difficult to trace to their origins. It is not even evident what the purpose of the Painted Gallery was. In these ways the gallery points to the uncertainties of the political history of Sistan. Sasanians and Kushans were at various times allies and enemies, and it is not always easy to separate the ruling elite of both groups. In view of the late third-century rebellion of Kushanshah Hormizd I, brother of Sasanian King Bahram II, it is tempting to see the figures of the Painted Gallery as reflecting Kushan influence and the stucco sculpture as evidence of royal Sasanian activity.<sup>262</sup>

### The North Gate

The north terrace with its Temple and subsidiary buildings was contained within a thick defensive wall. The only entrance, Herzfeld's North Gate, was a two-story vaulted structure with a dogleg plan.<sup>263</sup> Fitted into the angle of the North Gate on its west side was a small tower;<sup>264</sup> its upper room, which was the high-

est point of Ghaga-shahr and would have caught any breeze, retained traces of wall paintings (Figure 21). Two fragments of these paintings, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, are the only surviving examples of all the paintings Herzfeld recorded.<sup>265</sup>

Additional paintings may have been visible in or near the North Gate, for Stein refers to faded paintings in a small vaulted "cella vii" in the north corner of the defensive walls.<sup>266</sup> In Stein's plan, however, "room vii" is not in the north corner but in the North Gate, presumably on the upper story. Stein's "chamber vi," which in his plan adjoined the North Gate, corresponds to Herzfeld's "upper tower room near the North Gate," the original location of the Metropolitan Museum's paintings.

The east side of the north terrace also had a tower room that jutted out and above the other remains.<sup>267</sup> On his first trip to Kuh-e Khwaja in 1925, Herzfeld recorded wall paintings in or near this tower.<sup>268</sup> In 1929 he made no mention of them, however; apparently they had deteriorated in the intervening years.

The Metropolitan Museum fragments have been associated with the ceiling coffers of the Painted Gallery,<sup>269</sup> but Herzfeld clearly recorded that one of them came from a niche in the north wall of a small room in the tower on the west side of the North Gate (Figures 22, 23).<sup>270</sup>

The fragments consist of two heads. The larger of the two shows a beardless male in profile to the left (Figures 24, 25).<sup>271</sup> His black hair is short and curly, with the remains of a fillet or band of twisted white cloth near the top of the head. The nose is aquiline, the lips are full, and the jaw is rounded and heavy. The skin is a rich red brown, the color that tradition-

262. A. D. H. Bivar, "Sasanians and Turks in Central Asia," in G. Hambly, ed., *Central Asia*, Delacorte World History XVI (New York, 1969) pp. 51–52.

263. Sk. XV, p. 16 (partial elevation); neg. nos. 2099 (inside), 2062, 2101 (outside).

264. Sk. XV, pp. 13–14; neg. nos. 2097, 2098. See also Gullini, p. 416, fig. 277.

265. MMA acc. nos. 45.99.1, 45.99.2. Sk. XV, p. 9, records their original location (see Figure 23): "½ n. Gr. weißer Grund aus d. oberes Turm-Kammer neben N Tor in Fensterlaibung links 22.II."

266. Stein, II, pp. 912–913, pl. 53.

267. Neg. no. 3986.

268. Sk. XV, p. 7 (right).

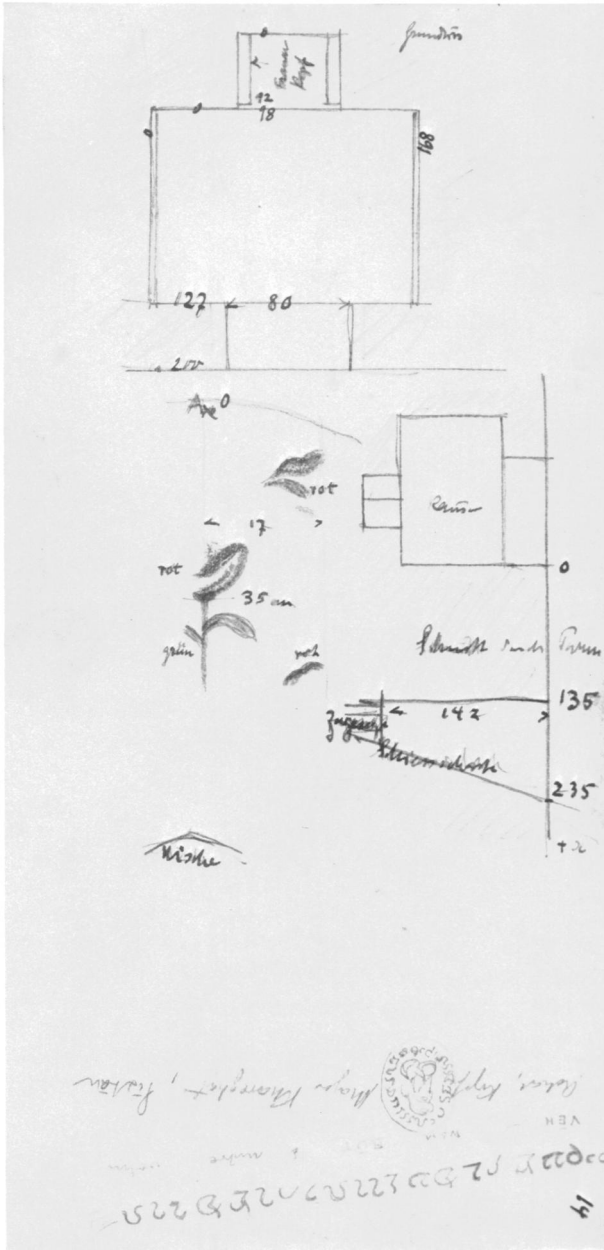
269. Faccenna, p. 89, n. 7.

270. Sk. XV, pp. 9, 13, 14, 20.

271. MMA acc. no. 45.99.2; neg. no. 4033.

ally denotes a male. The black lines defining the back of the neck and the edge of the garment at the base of the neck have largely disappeared, though Herzfeld's photograph shows these lines quite clearly. The figure's white eye, with its black outline, was inten-

22. Herzfeld's sketches, 1929, of the plan and elevation of the North Tower chamber and of remains of painted flowers (photo: Herzfeld Archive, Sk. XV, p. 14)



tionally mutilated by a carefully placed gouge in the center. Nonetheless, enough pigment remains to show that the configuration of pupil and iris touched only the upper lid, giving the face an uplifted gaze.

On the left side of the fragment, opposite the eye and the shoulder, are two bright pink oval forms partially outlined in black. The upper oval has a broad black band diagonally across it. The pink of these shapes is different in tone from the ruddy skin, so it is unlikely that they were the man's raised hands. In their much-reduced state they can only remind us that the figure was part of a larger and more complex scene.

The band of twisted white cloth on the head is the only distinctive attribute that survives. Similar headgear, based on the thick, ribbon-bound wreath of classical antiquity, appears in Iran in the Parthian period, crowning the heads of a few apparently immortal figures.<sup>272</sup> A Greco-Indian Nike from Tillya Tepe in northern Afghanistan<sup>273</sup> wears related headgear that recalls the narrow turbans of early Buddhist figures from Afghanistan.<sup>274</sup> Although these parallels place the head in an eastern Iranian and Central Asian context, they offer little help in identifying the person represented.

The second fragment shows a beardless head in profile to the right (Figures 26, 27).<sup>275</sup> Herzfeld identified it as female, and later as a flute player,<sup>276</sup> though we shall see that the first description is uncertain and the second incorrect. The fragment shows the same flat, linear style and limited color range as the other head, but it is smaller and painted by a different hand. The curve of the jaw is stiff and mechanical, produced in three separate strokes rather than in one smooth, continuous line as in the first head. Each of the three strokes is also thicker than the line of the first head, with abrupt and arbitrary changes in width. The short dark hair is smooth, unlike that of the first head, and its sleek shape is accentuated by the long lock falling in front of the ear. The eye has been scraped so that the pupil is totally

272. Ghirshman, *Bard-e Nechandeh et Masjid-i Solaiman*, pls. xxxii:1-4, cxxv:4-6.

273. Sarianidi, *Golden Hoard*, p. 157, no. 6.3, pl. 99.

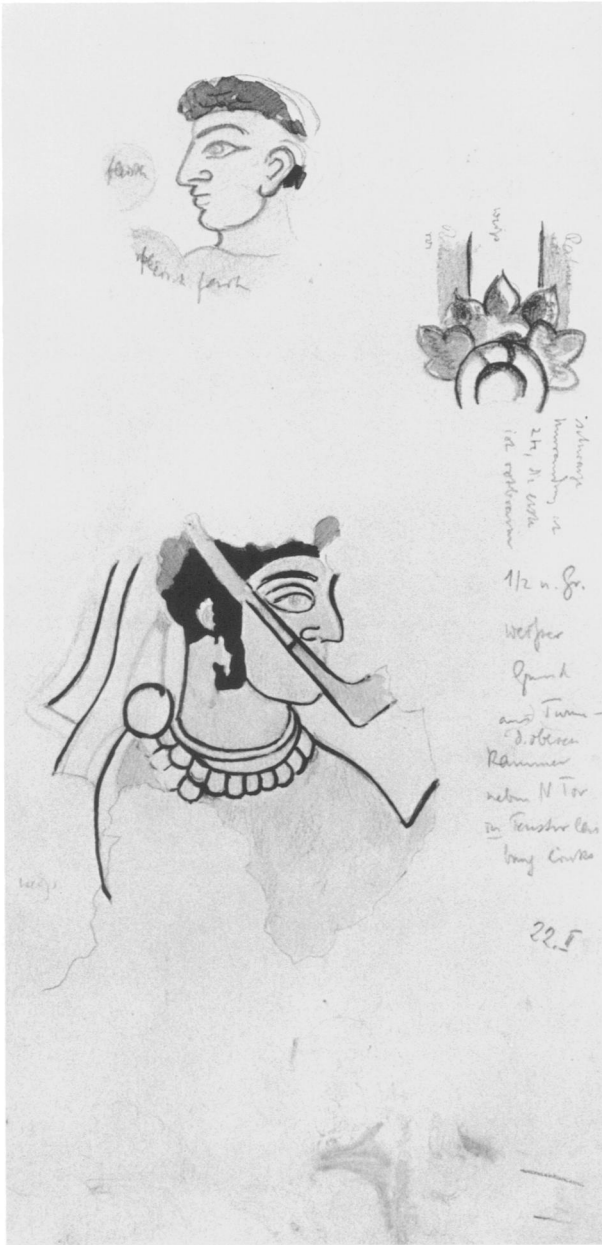
274. Colledge, pl. 25c.

275. MMA acc. no. 45.99.1; neg. no. 4030.

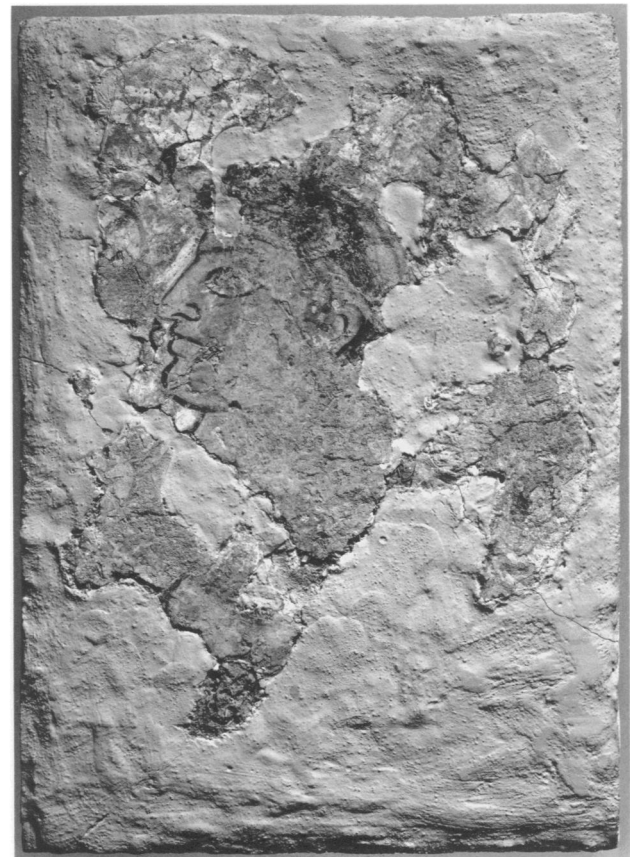
276. For identification as female, Sk. XV, p. 14; for identification as a flute player, Herzfeld 1941, caption to pl. ciii (top left).



24, 25. Head of a man in profile to the left, from the North Tower chamber



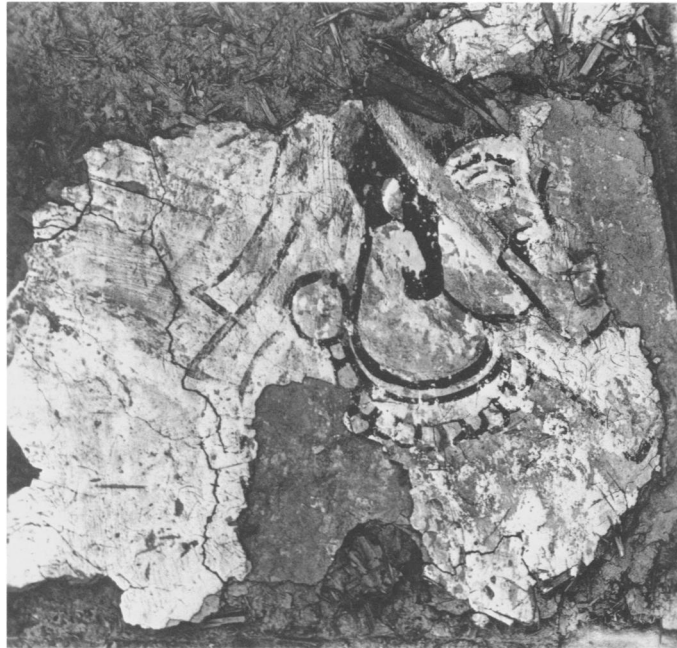
23. Herzfeld's sketches, 1929, of two paintings found in the North Tower chamber and of part of the decoration of the ceiling in the Painted Gallery (photo: Herzfeld Archive, Sk. XV, p. 9)



26, 27. Head of a person wearing a *padam*, from the North Tower chamber

LEFT:

24. Reproduced from Herzfeld's color slide, 1929; the blurring of some sections is due to the shifting of the color layers in the original film (photo: Herzfeld Archive, color slide 17, neg. no. 4033)



26. Herzfeld's photograph, 1929 (photo: Herzfeld Archive, neg. no. 4030)

27. The fragment in its present state. Overall,  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{5}{8}$  in. ( $21 \times 24.4$  cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 45.99.1

LEFT:

25. The fragment in its present state. Overall,  $13\frac{5}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$  in. ( $34 \times 24$  cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 45.99.2



erased; nonetheless, the upper and lower lids and the eyebrow can still be discerned. A long, thin band cuts diagonally across the head and cheek, terminating in a broad rectangular shape in front of the mouth. This element, which Herzfeld interpreted as a flutist's mouth-binding, is in fact a *padam*, a ceremonial mouth-covering mentioned in Iranian texts,<sup>277</sup> and illustrated in Sasanian and post-Sasanian works.<sup>278</sup> Four white ribbons fall at the back of the figure's neck, and these may be the ties of the *padam*, which would have been fastened on top of the head.

The figure wears a white necklace composed of two bands and secured at the back by a large roundel. The lower, broader band of this collarlike ornament has a row of semicircular tabs pendent from it. The figure's right shoulder is missing, though Herzfeld supplies it in his sketch;<sup>279</sup> a portion of the left arm, bent upward at the elbow, suggests that the missing hand was held before the face.

Both fragments have a smooth ground of fine reddish-brown clay laid over a base or scratch coat of coarse clay mixed with chopped straw. This differs from the prepared plaster in the South Gate.<sup>280</sup> The heads were first sketched with brown iron oxide pigment,<sup>281</sup> then the skin areas were painted with various iron oxide and gypsum mixtures. Finally, the black hair and details of eyes, ears, and costume were added with a carbon-based paint.<sup>282</sup> The image was finished with a thin black outline, and a whitewash of gypsum was applied to the ground. This method of painting and the sequence in which each element was laid down can be seen when the surface of either piece is examined under magnification. The gypsum ground consistently overlaps the black outline, which in turn is painted over the skin tone. The gypsum is never found beneath the brown underdrawing; this, in a Renaissance fresco, would be called a *sinopia*.<sup>283</sup> The black lines were added late in the painting process, when the surface was fairly dry. The carbon-based pigment did not bond well with the other layers and has flaked off in many places. Under magnification, however, sufficient traces of it can be seen to follow the nearly lost lines.

The palette of the Metropolitan Museum heads seems limited in view of the use of yellow, green, purple, and blue in the South Gate paintings<sup>284</sup> and in the Painted Gallery. It is possible, however, that the clothing of the North Gate figures was more colorful. Consideration of the varied and vivid pig-

ments used in the Achaemenid period (late sixth through fourth century B.C.),<sup>285</sup> of the roughly contemporary Kushan paintings from Bactria,<sup>286</sup> and of the seventh- to eighth-century wall paintings at Pianjikent<sup>287</sup> only underlines these chromatic restrictions. They may have had more to do with the relative unimportance of the room than with the general availability of additional pigments.

The pigments, dissolved in water with perhaps some organic binders, were applied with a thin brush

277. Carter, "Royal Festal Themes" (cited in note 104), pp. 180, 191. For the use of the *padam* in Indian Zoroastrianism see Jivanji J. Modi, *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis*, 2nd ed. (Bombay, 1922) pp. 152–153. For Iranian practice see Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism: I. The Early Period*, Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden, 1975) pp. 189, 309, 322–323; and idem, *A Persian Stronghold of Zoroastrianism* (Oxford, 1977) p. 231. The *padam* may be the *paragnathiades* of the "fire priests" seen by Strabo (*Geography*, XV.3.15) and is perhaps illustrated in an Achaemenid stone relief from Anatolia (Ghirshman, *Ancient Iran*, p. 347, fig. 440). For an apparently nonreligious depiction of a related mouth-covering from Susa see Ghirshman, *Ancient Iran*, p. 144, fig. 194. I would like to acknowledge my debt to James Russell, Columbia University, for his help with questions of Zoroastrian belief and practice through the ages.

278. Carter, "Royal Festal Themes," pls. v, vi, xi; Harper 1978, pp. 74–76; and Tokyo National Museum, *Cultural Contacts*, no. 86.

279. Sk. XV, p. 9.

280. Faccenna, p. 85, n. 3.

281. Kurt Wehlte, *The Materials and Techniques of Painting* (New York, 1975) pp. 98–99. Interestingly, among the strongest red earth (iron oxide) pigments mentioned by Wehlte was "Persian Gulf oxide."

282. *Ibid.*, pp. 167–168. See also Appendix.

283. Millard Meiss, *The Great Age of Fresco* (New York, 1970) p. 16. For a late medieval account of how to execute a *sinopia* see Cennino Cennini's *Il libro dell'arte* in E. G. Holt, *A Documentary History of Art I* (New York, 1957) p. 142. The use of *sinopia* antedates the Renaissance by millennia, however. For an Assyrian example see A. Parrot, *The Arts of Assyria* (New York, 1961) p. xv.

284. Faccenna, pp. 85–86.

285. Judith Lerner, "A Painted Relief from Persepolis," *Archaeology* 26 (1973) pp. 116–122 and corrigenda, p. 305; A. B. Tilia, "Color in Persepolis," *IsMEO Reports and Memoirs* 18 (1976) pp. 31–32, 68–69, pls. A, B; Stronach, *Pasargadae*, pp. 85–86; J. Perrot, A. LeBrunet, and A. Labrousse, "Recherches archéologiques à Suse et en Susiane en 1969 et en 1970," *Syria* 48 (1971) p. 40; and Audran Labrousse and Rémy Boucharlat, "La Fouille du palais du Chaour à Suse en 1970 et 1971," *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran* 2 (1972) p. 83. For even earlier wall paintings see Yoko Tomabechi, "Wall Paintings from Till Barsip," *Archiv für Orientforschungen* 29/30 (1983–84) pp. 63–74 and esp. n. 33.

286. Azarpay, p. 35, n. 70.

287. *Ibid.*, pp. 161–165.

whose softness and flexibility can be seen in the better-preserved lines. The brush was made of hair rather than vegetable fiber, to judge from the bristles stuck in the plaster of the second fragment. This is rare physical evidence of painters' tools in the ancient Near East.

The second head, with its unusual headgear, is of particular interest, because it was altered at the very time it was being painted, and again shortly afterward. In examining this painting we come a little closer to the anonymous artisans responsible for these works. The head and neck were originally painted a strong, bright pink, the classical color for a female. This pink, which has a high iron content, was then concealed by an opaque white coat of gypsum on which the black outlines of the features were painted. The white skin was then painted the same ruddy tone as that of the larger head, presumably signifying a change in gender. The hair was not altered; the thin black pigment on the back of the head was painted directly on the brown clay ground before the color of the flesh was changed. The long black lock, however, was added later, on top of the final reddish skin color. The ornamental collar and the white ribbons seem to have been painted last. The black lines of the necklace overlap the ruddy flesh tint, and the "shadows" of three of the four ribbons show that they were painted, without a *sinopia*, after the background had been washed with gypsum and allowed to dry. The carbon pigment did not bond with the surface and the lines flaked off.

Fugitive pigment, however, was not the cause of the lack of detail in the eye and on the *padam* band. These two areas were carefully abraded, so that most of the paint was removed. This action was not accidental, for the scraped area is neatly confined to the eye and the band, stopping abruptly near the nostril. The reason for the abrasion is difficult to understand. Perhaps there was something unsatisfactory about the rendering of these elements and they were rubbed off to prepare for a repainting that never occurred; or it is possible that the alteration took place during the second, Islamic phase of the site and is an erasure of elements associated with the Zoroastrian religion.

With its heavy, hesitant brushwork, the deliberate change in the color of its skin, its scraped areas, and an inexplicable black line curving outward from the nose as if to delineate a frontal eye, the second head

stands in contrast to the first, with its fluid line and ease of execution. One is tempted to see the second head as the work of an apprentice or inattentive journeyman assigned to a back room under the eye of a more experienced artist. This same painter used the disintegrating brush that left its hairs embedded in the painting.

In this second fragment the form of the *padam*—a thin band tied across the mouth and fastened at the top of the head—is distinct from the loose, billowing version known on Sogdian reliefs and paintings of late Sasanian or post-Sasanian date.<sup>288</sup> Instead, it closely resembles the *padams* worn by royal attendants in banquet scenes on a few post-Sasanian silver plates<sup>289</sup> and on a painted vase excavated at Merv.<sup>290</sup> These Central Asian parallels, which are all in secular rather than religious contexts, suggest that the second head was that of a servant or attendant at a banquet. The *padam* cannot, then, be taken as an indication of religious activity.

Another distinctive element of the second head is the lock of hair falling before the ear. It occurs in early Sasanian images<sup>291</sup> and in Central Asia, where it remained popular well past the Sasanian period.<sup>292</sup> It was always a female hair style.

The third distinctive attribute, the necklace or collar, evokes the typical Sasanian necklace of large beads, although it has no actual parallel in Sasanian art.

Herzfeld specified that the second head came from the western wall of the niche in the tower room; he did not note the exact location of the first head, but we may assume that it came from the same niche. The wall into which the niche was set was also decorated. It was painted with trilobed red flowers on thin green stems with occasional leaves, against a

288. Tokyo National Museum, *Cultural Contacts*, no. 86; and Azarpay, p. 200, pl. 21.

289. Carter, "Royal Festal Themes," p. 180, pl. v, fig. 3, pl. vi, fig. 4.

290. *Ibid.*, p. 191, pl. xi, fig. 10b; and Tokyo National Museum, *Cultural Contacts*, no. 81 (col. pl.). An interesting sidelight to this is the fact that the vase was excavated from a Buddhist stupa, where it had been reused as a receptacle for religious texts.

291. Harper 1981, pp. 32–35, pls. 5, 36, 38; and Harper 1978, pp. 48–49, no. 12; pp. 74–75, no. 25; p. 109, no. 4.

292. Carter, "Royal Festal Themes," pp. 191–192; Harper 1978, pp. 77–78, no. 26; Azarpay, pp. 64, 128, pls. 6, 12, 18; and Bussagli, *Central Asian Painting*, p. 25.

white ground (see Figure 22).<sup>293</sup> The flattened, ornamental shapes of the flowers and the manner in which they were scattered over the ground find close parallels in the floral “fillers” on a post-Sasanian silver plate and on the painted vase from Merv,<sup>294</sup> both pieces that show secular scenes of feasting and include *padam*-wearing attendants. Thus, the Metropolitan Museum fragments may be all that remains of a banqueting mural, a fitting decoration for a room well situated to be a cool and pleasant retreat.

The simplicity of the Metropolitan Museum fragments contrasts with the illusionistic structure of the Painted Gallery ceiling and the dense composition of the paintings in the South Gate. This suggests, at most, a late Sasanian date for the New York pieces.

The wall paintings of Kuh-e Khwaja, like the architecture of the site, do not form one contempora-

neous whole, but reflect changes, additions, and perhaps repairs made over a span of time. The earliest painting, a Bodhisattva on the wall embedded in the South Gate, illustrates the site's earliest function as a Buddhist shrine. The other paintings of the South Gate and those of the Painted Gallery show a mixture of Kushan and Sasanian imagery with divine and/or mortal figures painted in a variety of styles. This diversity reflects the varying tides of political power and patronage in the third and fourth centuries. The final paintings, the fragments from the North Gate, seem to be related to late Sasanian and post-Sasanian works depicting courtly pastimes; as now understood, they carry no religious meaning. Considered together, the murals of Kuh-e Khwaja provide an unexpectedly complex picture of artistic activity in Sistan and form the largest corpus of painting in ancient Iran.

293. Sk. XV, pp. 13, 14.

294. Carter, “Royal Festal Themes,” pl. v, fig. 3, pl. xi, fig. 10.

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# Appendix

## A TECHNICAL NOTE

Analysis and optical examination of pigment and ground samples from the two wall-painting fragments excavated at Kuh-e Khwaja and now in the Metropolitan Museum (acc. nos. 45.99.1, 45.99.2) indicate that the white ground is gypsum (calcium sulfate dihydrate), the black pigment is carbon, and the reds and flesh tones are iron compounds combined with gypsum. These are the only colors present, except for scattered green particles on acc. no. 45.99.2, which may be the result of the spattering of pigment that was applied elsewhere on the wall.

Samples of the white ground from both fragments dissolved without effervescence in dilute hydrochloric acid. When the solution dried, the characteristic "wheat sheaves" of gypsum were observed under the microscope. Analysis of the white-ground samples by scanning electron microscopy/energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry (SEM/EDS) showed the principal elements present to be calcium and sulfur, components of gypsum.

When samples from the red areas and from the flesh tones were dissolved in concentrated hydrochloric acid followed by potassium ferrocyanide solution, they gave a blue precipitate, indicating the presence of iron (III) compounds in the pigment. Samples of reds and of flesh tones dissolved without effervescence in dilute hydrochloric acid and, when dry,

formed "wheat-sheaf" needles characteristic of gypsum. Further microchemical tests revealed no trace of lake pigments.

Examination of the reds and flesh tones by SEM/EDS showed calcium, sulfur, and iron as the principal elemental components, confirming the presence of gypsum and iron compounds. More specific mineralogical information might be provided by X-ray diffraction. No mercury was found by SEM/EDS, eliminating the possibility of vermilion (cinnabar).

Optical examination indicated that the black pigment was some form of carbon black. The atomic number of carbon is too low for elemental identification by the Museum's SEM/EDS. Samples of black pigment were, however, analyzed by SEM/EDS for the presence of phosphorus, and none was found, thus eliminating the possibility of bone or ivory black, both of which are composed primarily of calcium phosphate.

The scattered green particles present on part of the surface of acc. no. 45.99.2 were analyzed by SEM/EDS and found to be primarily copper, with zinc as a secondary component. In addition to the elements already mentioned, SEM/EDS revealed variable amounts of sodium, magnesium, silicon, aluminum, potassium, and chlorine, all commonly found in soil such as that of eastern Iran.

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# Ch'ien Hsüan's *Pear Blossoms*: The Tradition of Flower Painting and Poetry from Sung to Yüan

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AMONG THE FLOWER PAINTINGS by Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1235–before 1307) are several accompanied by the artist's poems. In *Pear Blossoms*, a handscroll in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ch'ien's poem follows an image of six clusters of flowers growing from a stark, knobby branch (Figures 6, 7).<sup>1</sup> This work, which according to a fifteenth-century colophon dates from Ch'ien's old age,<sup>2</sup> is not only one of the most visually appealing of his flower paintings, but is also one in which the interaction of poetry and painting achieves a richness and complexity of meaning new in Chinese art. The relationship between words and images in Ch'ien's landscape painting is the subject of two recent studies;<sup>3</sup> a similar and equally important relationship in his flower painting has not yet been analyzed. Focusing on the Metropolitan Museum handscroll and the tradition to which it belongs, this article will explore some of the issues raised by Ch'ien Hsüan's works in the flower genre that combine the arts of poetry and painting.

Active in the late Southern Sung (1127–1279) and early Yüan (1279–1368) dynasties, Ch'ien Hsüan was heir to ancient traditions of poetry and painting that deal with the subject of flowers. With their synaesthetic appeal to the senses of sight, smell, and touch, flowers offered Chinese poets and painters subjects of almost unlimited symbolic and metaphoric potential. Beginning with the *Book of Odes* (*Shih-ching*) (seventh century B.C.) and *Songs of Ch'u* (*Ch'u-t'zu*) (third century B.C.), and continuing in "palace-style poems" (*kung-t'i shih*) of the Six Dynasties (317–589), flowers in Chinese poetry are frequently symbols of beautiful women, and floral imagery often has unmistakably

erotic overtones. Flowers are equally common, however, as symbols of scholarly purity, reclusion, and nobility.

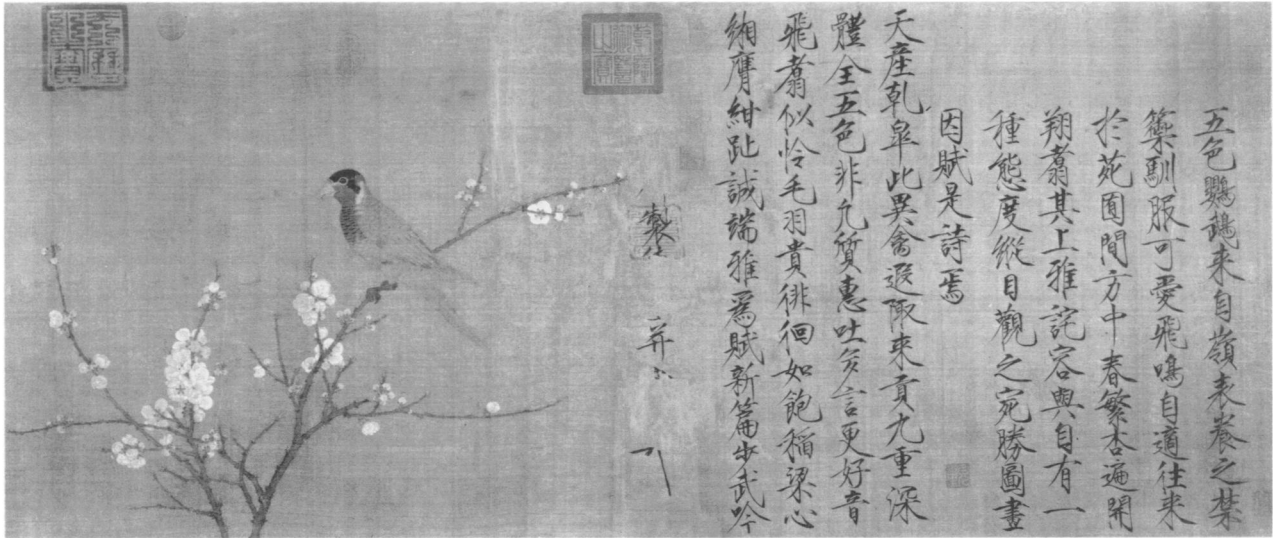
In painting, flowers and other plants emerged as independent subjects in the works of the Six Dynasties artists Ku K'ai-chih (ca. 344–406) and Chang Seng-yu (active 500–550). Also in the Six Dynasties,

A Chinese glossary is given at the end of the article, following the Chinese of the passages quoted as extracts in the text and identified by lowercase letters. The calligraphy is by Feng Ming-huei. Translations, unless otherwise attributed, are by the author.

1. Wen Fong and Maxwell K. Hearn, "Silent Poetry," *MMAB* 39:3 (1981/82) p. 36. See also Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols: The Yüan Dynasty (1279–1368)*, exh. cat. (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1968) no. 181. Scores of extant Chinese flower paintings are attributed to Ch'ien Hsüan. *Pear Blossoms* is one of a handful generally accepted as authentic. The most recent discussion of Ch'ien's flower painting, which includes the Metropolitan Museum handscroll in a list of eight authentic works, is by Wang Wei, "Lun Ch'ien Hsüan ti hui-hua i-shu chi li-lun" [A Discussion of Ch'ien Hsüan's Art of Painting and Theory], *Ku-kung po-wu yüan yüan-k'an* [Palace Museum Journal, Peking] 28:2 (1985) pp. 53–59.

2. Colophon by Wang Shen (1360–1440) recorded in Wu Sheng, *Ta-kuan lu* [Record of Extensive Observations] (preface dated 1712; repr. Taipei, 1970) *chüan* 15, pp. 58b–59a.

3. Shou-chien Shih, "The Eremic Landscapes of Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1235–before 1307)," Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University, 1984); John Hay, "Poetic Space: Ch'ien Hsüan and the Association of Painting and Poetry," paper delivered at "Words and Images: An International Symposium on Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting," MMA, New York, May 1985 (see Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong, eds., *Words and Images: Relationships Between Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting* [New York: MMA, forthcoming]).



1. Emperor Sung Hui-tsung (1082–1135), *Five-Colored Parakeet*, before 1126. Section of a handscroll, ink and colors on silk, 53.3 × 125.1 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Maria Antoinette Evans Fund, 33.364 (photo: courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

painters combined images of flowers and birds to create the extremely durable genre of *hua-niao hua*, or “bird and flower painting.” During the tenth century, Huang Ch’üan (903–968) of the Shu kingdom and Hsü Hsi (active 960–ca. 975) of the Southern T’ang kingdom brought flower painting to a new perfection. Judging from the entries in the *Painting Catalogue of the Hsüan-ho Era (Hsüan-ho hua-p’u)* (preface dated 1120), in which bird and flower paintings far outnumber those of any other category, by the late Northern Sung (960–1127) flowers were the most popular of all subjects in Chinese painting.

Although floral imagery appears in pre-Sung illustrations of narrative poems and Buddhist texts, it was not until the twelfth century that artists began to combine lyric poetry and flower painting in a single work. This alliance of words and images reflects a pervasive Sung interest in using poetry as a source of enrichment for pictorial art. Comments by Kuo Hsi (ca. 1001–ca. 1090) on lines of poetry he found well suited to depiction in painting, discussions by the poet Su Shih (1037–1101) and members of his circle concerning the convertibility of the two arts, and the examination system of Emperor Sung Hui-tsung (1082–1135) in the painting academy, which tested

students’ ability to translate lines of poetry into painting with sensitivity and originality—all are late Northern Sung examples of artists’ fascination with the interplay of poetry and painting.<sup>4</sup> The confluence of the two arts became increasingly subtle when Hui-tsung began to write poems on or directly adjacent to his paintings. In the twelfth century, Emperor Sung Kao-tsung (1107–87) and other imperial artists introduced the fashion of having silk fans inscribed on one side with a quatrain and decorated on the other with corresponding painted images. With these works, in which painting and poetry were combined in a single creative process, Chinese art entered a period of new complexity.

The most popular forms for flower painting in the Southern Sung were fans and album leaves, where artists focused on a single blossom or flowering branch.<sup>5</sup> These Southern Sung flower paintings, much like the famous “one-cornered” landscapes of

4. For Kuo Hsi’s comments see “Lin-ch’üan kao-chih” [Lofty Aims in Forests and Streams] in Yü Chien-hua, ed., *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien* [Classified Discussions of Chinese Painting Theory] (Peking, 1957) I, pp. 640–641; for a summary of the theories of Su Shih and his circle see Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch’i-ch’ang (1555–1636)*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies 27 (Cambridge, Mass., 1971) chaps. 1, 2; for the examinations in Hui-tsung’s academy see Teng Ch’un, *Hua-chi* [A Continuation of Painting History] (Hua-shih ts’ung-shu ed., Shanghai, 1963) *chüan* 1, pp. 2–3.

5. For flower paintings in this tradition see Yonezawa Yoshiro, *Flower and Bird Painting of the Sung Dynasty* (Tokyo, 1956).

the Ma-Hsia school, concentrate on a limited, highly selective vision of the natural world. In his study of Southern Sung lyric poetry, Shuen-fu Lin points out a striking similarity between this phenomenon in painting and a major shift of focus in Chinese lyric poetry, specifically in *yung-wu tz'u*, or “songs on objects,” of the Southern Sung. Lin’s analysis shows that, when writing in this genre, the Southern Sung poet “shrinks from the vast world of his lived experience and concentrates his creative vision on one tangible object.”<sup>6</sup>

The fascination with individual objects selected from nature in Southern Sung flower painting makes Shuen-fu Lin’s theories of *yung-wu* poetry of particular value in understanding the traditions that lie behind Ch’ien Hsüan’s art. The basic meaning of the word *wu* in the term *yung-wu* is “anything that can be perceived by the mind”;<sup>7</sup> but the conventions of the *yung-wu* genre are such that its themes are limited to small objects from nature: flowers, birds, or insects, never human beings, landscapes, or events. In light of this definition, many Southern Sung flower paintings are clearly pictorial equivalents of *yung-wu* poems. But not all the poems that appear on these paintings fall into this category. It is the entire work, in which poetry and painting merge to create a single semantic and expressive unit, that corresponds to the *yung-wu* aesthetic articulated by Shuen-fu Lin.

Hui-tsung frequently inscribed poems on his paintings.<sup>8</sup> Several of his works in the bird and flower genre provide important evidence of the relationship between poetry and painting in the late Northern Sung. Hui-tsung’s *Five-Colored Parakeet* (Figure 1) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, depicts a bird perched on a fragile branch.<sup>9</sup> This jewel-like image of the emperor’s exotic pet is painted with astonishing attention to minute details of feathers, eyes, and feet. Like Hui-tsung’s *Finches and Bamboo* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>10</sup> this is a work of “super realism.” Preceding the painting, Hui-tsung writes a preface and an eight-line poem that belongs to the *yung-wu* category:<sup>11</sup>

The five-colored parakeet came from Ling-piao. Reared in the imperial enclosure he has become docile and is lovable. He flits and sings as he pleases, moving to and fro in the garden. In mid-spring, when apricots blossom

everywhere, he flies to the top of a branch. He is noble and placid, and possesses a dignity peculiarly his own. As I gaze upon him he seems to present a sight superior to a picture. Therefore I compose this verse:

Heaven produced the parakeet, this strange bird,  
From far away he came to the imperial precinct.  
His body is complete with five colors and his nature  
rare.  
Blessed is he, uttering many a fine speech, his tone  
most beautiful.  
When flying high, to be envied is he, his feathers ele-  
gant.  
When walking about, contented is he, fed with choice  
grain.  
His yellow breast and purple feet are truly perfect,  
Thus I compose a new verse and sing as I stroll.<sup>a</sup>

Hui-tsung’s poem, like his richly detailed painting, describes the form and appearance of the bird, its feathers, voice, and bearing. Although the emperor attributes to the parakeet human qualities of nobility and dignity, he does not attempt to endow it with the capacity to experience human feelings; and whatever symbolic qualities the bird may have—as an image of freedom or naturalness—they remain so general as to have little meaning. The poem is primarily descriptive and the painting that illustrates it attempts to capture a convincing image of the avian subject.

Although his laboriously naturalistic painting style may have differed radically from the sketchy ink-play of late Northern Sung literati painters, Hui-tsung’s combination of painting and poetry is artistically consonant with statements made by Su Shih and his

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and Palace Museum, Peking, *Ku-kung po-wu yüan ts’ang hua-niao hua hsüan* [Selected Flower and Bird Paintings in the Palace Museum, Peking] (Peking, 1965).

6. Shuen-fu Lin, *The Transformation of Chinese Lyrical Tradition: Chiang K’uei and Southern Sung tz’u Poetry* (Princeton, N.J., 1978) p. 11.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

8. See Tseng Yo-ho Ecke, “Emperor Hui-tsung the Artist,” Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1972).

9. *Sekai no bijutsukan XV: Boston Bijutsukan—Tōyō* [Museums of the World XV: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston—Oriental] (Tokyo, 1968) pl. 70.

10. Acc. no. 1981.278; Lawrence Sickman, ed., *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.*, exh. cat. (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1962) pl. 3.

11. Trans. Kojirō Tomita, “The Five-Colored Parakeet by Hui-tsung (1082–1135),” *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 31 (1933) p. 78.

circle concerning the convertibility of words and images. Although these artists and poets frequently discounted the value of “form-likeness” in painting and saw poetry as a way to express meaning beyond what could be conveyed pictorially, they recognized the descriptive power shared by the two arts. For example, when Ch’ao Pu-chih (1053–1111) responded to a poem Su Shih had written for a painting of a goose, he wrote, “Why should I look at the painting? / When I see the poem, the goose is really there.”<sup>12</sup> What Ch’ao praises is Su Shih’s skillful poetic evocation of the bird’s living presence. Although the painting Su wrote about is lost, the relationship between it and his poem must have been similar to the relationship between Hui-tsung’s meticulously depicted parakeet and the descriptive preface and poem that accompany it.

Many of the Southern Sung flower paintings in the form of fans or album leaves were accompanied by quatrains in the calligraphy of various imperial writers.<sup>13</sup> Only in rare cases, however, have the original pairings of poetry and painting been preserved. The earliest known example is the silk fan (Figures 2, 3) excavated from the tomb of the Ming prince Chu Tan (d. 1389).<sup>14</sup> In its original form this collaborative work consisted of an anonymous artist’s painting of a butterfly hovering over an autumn mallow and a poem in the calligraphy of Kao-tsung. The two pieces of silk were pasted back to back to form a round, hand-held fan. During the Yüan dynasty the two sides of the fan were separated and mounted side by side in a short handscroll. Kao-tsung’s calligraphy, in four lines of cursive script, is in gold. According to a colophon by Feng Tzu-chen (1257–after 1327), this is a work of Kao-tsung’s late years, done after the emperor had retired to the Te-shou palace in 1162.<sup>15</sup> The poem is not Kao-tsung’s own composition, but is a modified version of a quatrain by Liu Ch’ang (1019–68), a Northern Sung scholar-official, poet, and antiquarian:<sup>16</sup>

White dew has just passed hurrying away the eighth month,  
Purple corolla and red leaves share chilly loneliness.  
The yellow blossom, neglected, there is no one to see:  
Alone, it naturally inclines its heart toward the sunset.<sup>b</sup>

Although the quatrain is not a popular *yung-wu* form, Kao-tsung’s revision of Liu’s poem can be con-

sidered a *yung-wu* poem. Lacking the preface or title that usually establishes a context for a Chinese quatrain, the poem depends on the painted image to make clear its subject, the autumn mallow (*ch’iu-k’uei*), a plant valued both for its medicinal potency and for the beauty of its large yellow blossoms.<sup>17</sup> Because the mallow always grows facing the sun, a proverbial saying from the *Huai-nan tzu* (second century B.C.), a text composed at the court of the prince of Huai-nan, states, “The relationship between a sage and the Way is like the relationship between a mallow and the sun.”<sup>18</sup> But read in the context of Chinese poetic tradition, the poem on the fan is not about a sage but about a court beauty. Recognition of this fundamental metaphor is essential to interpretation of both the painting and the poem.<sup>19</sup>

The first line of the quatrain establishes a temporal setting: “white dew” (*pai-lu*) is one of the twenty-four climatic periods of the lunar year, beginning on either the eighth or ninth day of the ninth month. Endowed by the poet with the capacity to experience human feelings, the personified flower suffers “chilly loneliness” and neglect. These are precisely the feelings conventionally attributed to abandoned beauties in poems of the *kuei-yüan*, or “inner-chamber resentment,” genre in which poets write in the personae of

12. Bush, *The Chinese Literati*, p. 26.

13. Writing quatrains on fans seems to have been a craze at the Southern Sung court. Emperor Sung Hsiao-tsung (reigned 1163–90) was so fond of these four-line poems that to please him Hung Mai (1123–1202) compiled the *T’ang-jen wan-shou chüeh-chü* [Ten Thousand Quatrains by T’ang Poets]. See Yoshikawa Kojirō, *Sung Poetry*, trans. Burton Watson (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) p. 163.

14. Shantung Provincial Museum, “Fa-chüeh Ming Chu Tan mu chi-shih” [Report on the Excavation of the Tomb of Chu Tan of the Ming Dynasty], *Wen-wu* [Cultural Relics] (1972) 5, pp. 25–37.

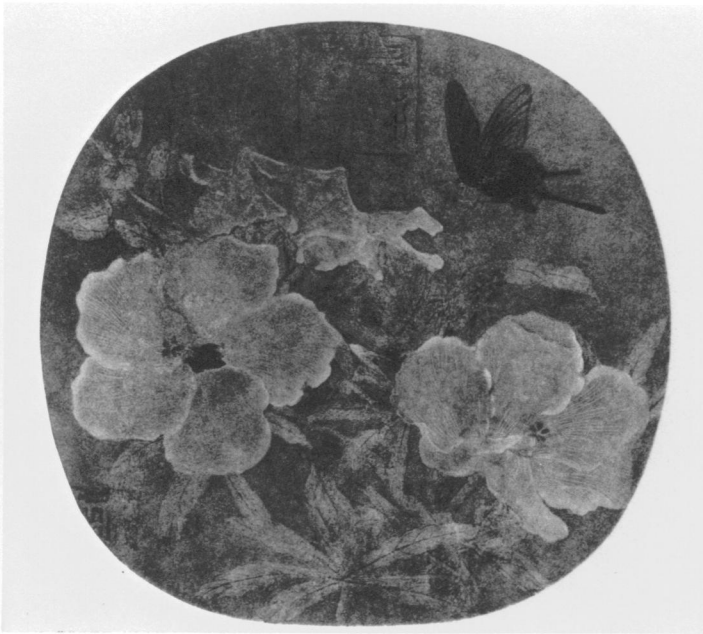
15. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

16. For the text of Liu’s poem see Ch’en Meng-lei et al., eds., *Ku-chin t’u-shu chi-ch’eng* [Assembled Library of Ancient and Modern Works] (1975; Wen-hsing shu-tien ed., Taipei, 1964) LXV, p. 885.

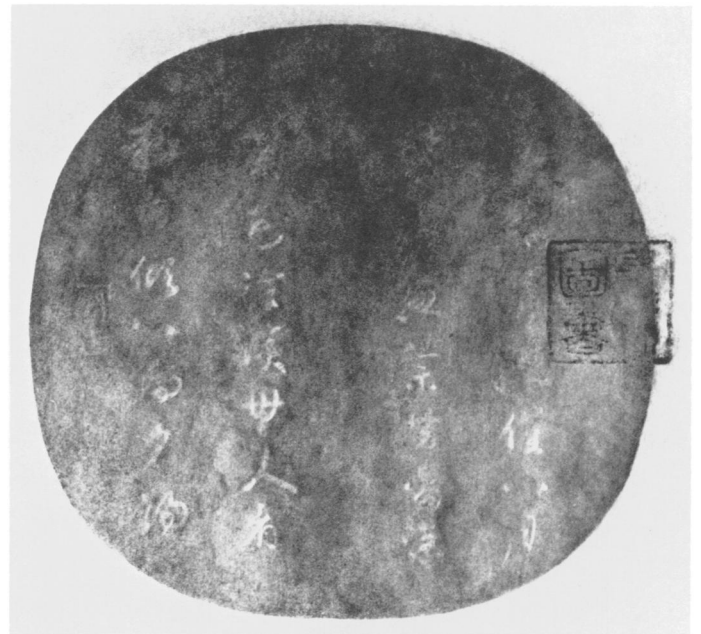
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 873–888. Poems on the theme of the mallow are collected in Chang Yü-shu et al., eds., *P’ei-wen chai yung-wu-shih hsüan* [The P’ei-wen Studio Selection of *yung-wu* Poems] (1970; repr. Taipei, 1970) IX, pp. 6075–6078.

18. Quoted in Ch’en Meng-lei et al., eds., *Ku-chin t’u-shu*, LXV, p. 876.

19. The poetic conventions of the lady/flower theme are discussed in Hans Frankel, *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady: Interpretations of Chinese Poetry* (New Haven, 1976) chap. 1.



2. Anonymous, *Autumn Mallows*, undated. Ink and colors on silk (photo: after Umehara Kaoru, *Zusetsu Chūgoku no rekishi* [Illustrated History of China] V, Tokyo, 1976, col. pl. 15)



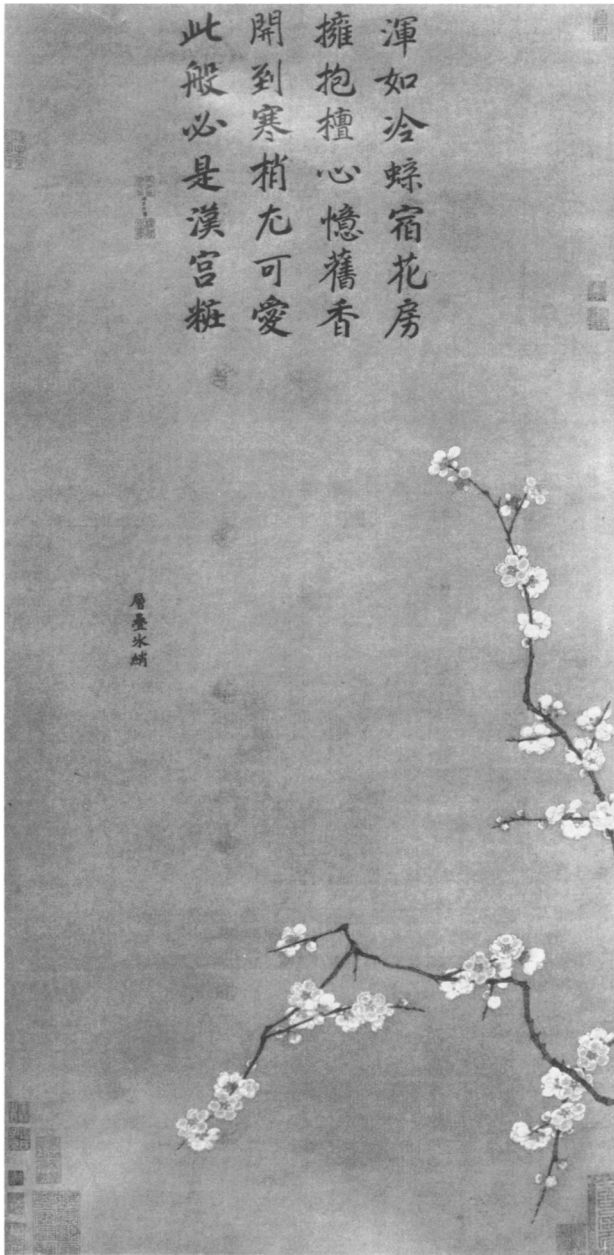
3. Emperor Sung Kao-tsung (1107–87), poem adapted from Liu Ch'ang (1019–68), undated. Gold on silk (photo: after *Wen-wu*, 1972, no. 5)

lonely ladies pining for thoughtless lovers. In the last line, Kao-tsung adapts a cliché found in many Chinese poems on the theme of the mallow: “it inclines its heart to the sun.” Here it is a setting sun, and the suggestion of crepuscular light adds to the melancholy of the poem. Though not mentioned in the poem, the butterfly seen in the painting makes more poignant by its very presence the absence of a sympathetic human observer.

In the anonymous painting paired with Kao-tsung’s calligraphy, the artist uses gold and purple pigments for the mallow blossoms and silver, now darkened to a dirty gray, for the butterfly hovering above. With consummate skill, the artist foreshortens the long, serrated leaves and the uppermost blossom to create a convincing illusion of objects existing in real space. Contours of the petals are soft and wavy; they fold and turn back on themselves with great naturalness, and the gold striations on the petals delineate the living plant’s veins. The butterfly, its gossamer

wings painted with utmost delicacy, is an entomological portrait of impeccable accuracy.

When we compare the relationship between poetry and painting in Hui-tsung’s *Five-Colored Parakeet* with that in Kao-tsung’s fan, which dates from no earlier than 1162, we discover a significant difference. Hui-tsung’s poem, in its detailed evocation of the parakeet’s form, is highly descriptive; his painting illustrates the accompanying poem but adds to it no metaphoric dimension. We feel, as Ch’ao Pu-chih felt regarding Su Shih’s poem describing a goose and the corresponding painting, that reading Hui-tsung’s poem we do not need to see his painting. In the Kao-tsung fan, a more complex relationship prevails between poetry and painting. No less concerned with naturalism than is Hui-tsung in his bird painting, the artist of the fan carries the viewer close to the yellow blossoms and skillfully evokes their sensuous presence as real objects. But with the addition of the quatrain, which not only describes the flowers but also



4. Ma Lin (active early–mid-13th century), *Layers of Icy Silk*, dated 1216. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 101.5 × 49.6 cm. Peking, Palace Museum (photo: Far Eastern Photographic Archive, Princeton University)

introduces levels of personification and metaphor, the fan is no longer merely a combination of verbal and pictorial description: through the interaction of poetry and painting the autumn mallow has become an emblem of human feeling.

*Layers of Icy Silk* (Figure 4) by Ma Lin (active ca. 1210–40), in the Palace Museum, Peking, develops further what might be called the lady/flower theme.<sup>20</sup> The earliest dated work by this Southern Sung court academician, the painting depicts two fragile branches of blossoming plum against a blank background. At the top of the scroll, in her familiar standard script (*k'ai-shu*), is a quatrain by Yang Mei-tzu (1162–1232), consort of Emperor Sung Li-tsung, and her seal for the year 1216. Four characters in the lower left, also by Yang, read “layers of icy silk” (*ts'eng-tieh ping-hsiao*), a reference to a type of thin white cloth.<sup>21</sup> This inscription is a clue to the meaning of both the painting and the poem, translated here:

Like a chilled butterfly resting in the corolla,  
Embracing the rouge heart, remembering former fragrance.  
Blossoming to the tip of the cold branch, it is most lovable:  
This must be the makeup that adorned the Han palace.<sup>c</sup>

The collaborative work of Ma Lin and Yang Mei-tzu belongs to a tradition Susan Bush calls the “cult of the plum.”<sup>22</sup> A favorite subject for painters and poets, admired by both courtiers and recluses, the prunus, also known as the Japanese apricot, was the

20. See the biography of Ma Lin by Robert J. Maeda in Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies* (Wiesbaden, 1976) IV, pp. 105–109.

21. Written with the “silk” radical, as in the four-character inscription, the word *hsiao* means “plain silk.” Because this character can sometimes be interchanged with a homophone written with the “wood” radical that means “tip of a branch,” some Western translators have interpreted the phrase *ts'eng-tieh ping-hsiao* as “layers of icy tips” (see Max Loehr, “Chinese Paintings with Sung-dated Inscriptions,” *Ars Orientalis* 4 [1961] p. 264). However, the compound *ping-hsiao* clearly refers to a type of thin white silk (see Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai kan-wa jiten* [Great Chinese–Japanese Dictionary] [Tokyo, 1955–60] II, p. 1223), and the translation “layers of icy silk” seems to be a more meaningful title for the painting. I am grateful to Ch'en Pao-ch'en and T'ang Hai-t'ao, both of Princeton University, for helping me with this point.

22. Bush, *The Chinese Literati*, p. 103.



object of deep affection in Southern Sung culture.<sup>23</sup> Its popularity can be judged by the many twelfth- and thirteenth-century treatises on plum blossoms, including *Plum Catalogue* (*Mei-p'u*) by Fan Ch'eng-ta (1126–93), *Plum Classifications* (*Mei-p'in*) by Chang Tzu (1153–ca. 1212), and *Manual of Plum Likenesses* (*Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u*) by Sung Po-jen (active 1225–65), in which poetic commentaries accompany illustrations of the stages of the plum blossom's growth.

Because the plum braves late winter snows to bloom earlier than other flowers, it symbolizes the moral strength of a virtuous man. The poet Yang Wan-li (1124–89) summarizes this view of the plum in his lines “The flowering plum in the grove is like a recluse / Full of the spirit of open space, free from the spirit of wordly dust.”<sup>24</sup> Though deeply compelling as a symbol of the lofty recluse, the plum also suggested other meanings to Southern Sung artists and poets. The *yeh-mei*, or “wild plum,” symbolizes the hermit, but the *kung-mei*, or “palace plum,” represents a court beauty.<sup>25</sup>

When looking at Ma Lin's hanging scroll, the viewer familiar with the poetic conventions of the plum theme decodes a sequence of words and an image, beginning with the inscription “layers of icy silk.” The “icy silk” is as white as the plum blossoms themselves, which in their delicacy and fragrance symbolize a lady's beauty. These already complex layers of meaning in the inscription function as a preface to the poem. We noted that in the Kao-tsung fan the butterfly in the painting is not mentioned in the accompanying poem; in the Ma Lin–Yang Mei-tzu hanging scroll this feature is reversed: the insect, which does not appear in the painting, is conjured up by the first line of the poem. The image of a butterfly resting in a corolla, literally the “floral chamber” (*hua-fang*), is a yin-yang combination that hints at the union of male and female lovers.

Several other expressions in Yang Mei-tzu's quatrain underscore the feminine identity of the plum blossoms. The “rouge heart” (*t'an-hsin*) refers to the center of the blossoms. Because the word *t'an* appears frequently in other contexts with the word *k'ou*, or “mouth,” to describe a lady's painted red lips, Yang Mei-tzu's use of the word strengthens the metaphoric connection between flower and lady. “Makeup that adorned the Han palace” (*Han-kung chuang*) is a metonymic expression for a palace lady: “Han palace” can refer to the imperial palace of any dynasty,

and “makeup” (*chuang*) stands for the woman who wears it.

Yang Mei-tzu's quatrain reflects a further movement away from the descriptive techniques used in Hui-tsung's poem about the parakeet. Although the poem on the Kao-tsung fan goes beyond simple description to personify its subject, the mallows remain the focus of the poem. In the Yang Mei-tzu quatrain, however, the floral subject is meaningful only to the extent that it stimulates human feelings. The voice heard in the poem is that of a male lover who, coming upon the blossoms, recalls a past amorous encounter. “Resting in the corolla,” the butterfly transforms the flowers into an image of remembered intimacy.

The painting that corresponds to this highly suggestive poetic meditation is chaste and refined. Thin, spidery branches, one growing upward, one downward, form a textured tracery that supports and contrasts with the white plum blossoms. Differing in size from buds to fully opened blossoms, some turned toward, some away from the viewer, the flowers grow in closely bunched layers—the “layers of icy silk” in Yang Mei-tzu's inscription. Instead of focusing on one or two blossoms, the viewer savors the overall pattern of understated floral beauty, moving back and forth freely between poetic and painted statements. In contrast to the mallows pressed close to the viewer in the Kao-tsung fan, Ma Lin's plum blossoms appear remote and inaccessible. Nevertheless, as a court academician whose art was shaped by representational standards de rigueur in his profession, Ma Lin paints the plum blossoms as tangible objects existing in three-dimensional space. Though it is restrained, elegant, and cool, his painting aims above all at representational accuracy.

Ma Lin's hanging scroll and the Kao-tsung fan, separated in time by some fifty years, are representative flower paintings from the Southern Sung academic tradition. Collaborative efforts that combine

23. Discussed in Roberta Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade, Soul of Ice*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1985), and Hans Frankel, “The Plum Tree in Chinese Poetry,” *Asiatische Studien* 6 (1952) pp. 88–115.

24. Cited by Bush, *The Chinese Literati*, p. 106, and translated by Frankel, “The Plum Tree in Chinese Poetry,” p. 106.

25. See Frankel's discussion of the palace-plum theme, *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady*, chap. 1.

the calligraphy of imperial writers and the painting of court artists, both explore the popular theme of flowers seen as symbols of beautiful women. The name of the fan painter is unknown, and although we know something of Ma Lin's life and career, both artists remain anonymous as personalities; their paintings, though marvels of skill and sensitivity, are institutional works that tell us almost nothing about the artists' private worlds of ideas and feelings.<sup>26</sup>

Outside the imperial court, scholar-painters of the Southern Sung continued to pursue aesthetic goals that had been articulated in the late Northern Sung by Su Shih and his like-minded associates, who saw painting as a reflection of the artist's mind and a revelation of his personality. For Su Shih and his friends, painting was not merely a record of sensory experience but also an expression of a superior man's deeply held values—the *wen* or broad humanistic culture of China's educated elite.

In her indispensable discussion of subject matter in the literati tradition, Susan Bush notes that Sung scholar-painters tended to focus on a single object, one type of flower or tree removed from its natural setting, thus inviting the viewer to contemplate the meaning of a given image and to question the artist's reasons for choosing to paint it.<sup>27</sup> Literary and historical traditions gave certain subjects, especially bamboo, orchid, chrysanthemum, and plum, special significance as symbols of scholarly values, and paintings of flowers or plants could be statements of high moral aspiration. Moreover, these subjects frequently were interpreted as images of the men who painted them. This is exemplified in Su Shih's remarks on the bamboo painting of Wen T'ung (1019–79).<sup>28</sup> Su said that people who saw his friend's bamboo would realize that it was bending but unyielding, just like Wen T'ung himself. Poems and colophons on paintings of botanical subjects document similar interpretations dating to the Southern Sung. When he inscribed a bamboo painting by Su Shih, the philosopher Chu Hsi (1130–1200) wrote that “when people look at this painting they will still be able to see him in their minds.”<sup>29</sup>

The pronouncements of the Northern Sung literati painters and their artistic heirs in the Southern Sung suggest that in bamboo and flower painting these scholarly artists found vehicles for self-expression more direct than in landscape painting

and better suited to their amateur techniques. Among extant paintings by Southern Sung scholar-painters who specialized in flowers, those by Chao Meng-chien (1199–before 1267), a member of the Sung imperial family, presage most directly the art of Ch'ien Hsüan. Chao's long handscroll in The Metropolitan Museum of Art depicts a panorama of narcissi in bloom (Figure 5). The scroll is painted in the *pai-miao*, or “plain drawing,” manner favored by Sung literati artists and closest of all painting modes to calligraphy, the premier art of the scholar.<sup>30</sup> In Chao's hands this painting technique creates a seemingly endless variety of ink outlines and washes. Waving gracefully above the pond, the plants seem far removed from the realm of tangible objects depicted by Hui-tsung and Ma Lin.

Shortly after Chao Meng-chien's death, his handscroll took on new meaning. Colophons and poems of the late thirteenth century attached to the painting reveal that viewers of Chao's ethereal narcissi saw the plants not only as reflections of the artist's lofty character but also as symbols of China before her defeat by the Mongols in 1279.<sup>31</sup> It was in this historical context, in which flowers could be seen as images of both a man and an entire nation, that Ch'ien Hsüan began his career as an artist.

Ch'ien Hsüan was in his early forties when the Mongols swept into southern China. By 1279, for the first time in history, the entire nation was brought under

26. I have borrowed the term “institutional” in this context from Richard Barnhart, who applies it to Hui-tsung's *Finches and Bamboo* (Richard Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring: Gardens and Flowers in Chinese Paintings* [New York: MMA, 1984] p. 30).

27. Bush, *The Chinese Literati*, p. 101.

28. Annotated in Yü Chien-hua, ed., *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien*, II, pp. 1026–1027.

29. Bush, *The Chinese Literati*, p. 103.

30. Wen Fong and Marilyn Fu, *Sung and Yuan Paintings* (New York, 1973) no. 12, pp. 82–83. Another important *pai-miao* work in this tradition is the anonymous Southern Sung handscroll, *One Hundred Flowers (Pai-hua t'u)*, in the Palace Museum, Peking. See Shan Kuo-ch'iang, “Wei pai-hua ch'uan shen chieh-shao Sung jen pai-hua t'u” [Transmitting Spirit Through One Hundred Flowers: Introducing *One Hundred Flowers* by an Anonymous Sung Artist], *Mei-shu* [Fine Arts] (1978) 2, pp. 45, 48.

31. Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring*, pp. 37–39; Fong and Fu, *Sung and Yuan Paintings*, pp. 70–71. For political symbolism in orchid painting see the discussion of Cheng Ssu-hsiao (1241–1318) in James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River* (New York/Tokyo, 1976) pp. 16–17.



5. Chao Meng-chien (1199–before 1267), *Narcissi*, undated. Section of a handscroll, ink on paper, 33.2 × 372.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of The Dillon Fund, 1973.120.4

the control of foreign conquerors. Like all men of his education and social class, Ch'ien was profoundly affected by this catastrophic defeat.

During the years immediately preceding the Mongol conquest, Ch'ien Hsüan had established himself as a promising scholar who could look forward with confidence to a secure future in the Southern Sung civil bureaucracy. He had also won a place for himself in distinguished literary circles at the Southern Sung capital of Hangchow. As portrayed in the memoirs of scholarly gentlemen who knew its stunning lakeside scenery, lavish mansions, and superb gardens, mid-thirteenth-century Hangchow was a city of elegant diversions, where “hardly a day passed with-

out a romp or amusement.”<sup>32</sup> Ch'ien Hsüan knew the city well. In a nostalgic poem of his later years, Ch'ien wrote, “Do not laugh at me, young lords of the capital; / I also scattered gold there to enjoy my youth.”<sup>33</sup>

Although Hangchow escaped destruction when the dynasty fell, the patterns of life for educated men who had lived in the area were drastically disrupted. Scholars who, under a native Chinese dynasty, would have sought official employment suddenly found

32. Lin, *Transformation*, p. 15. See also Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in Sung China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion, 1250–1276*, trans. H. M. Wright (Stanford, Calif., 1962).

33. Li O and Ma Yüeh-kuan, eds., *Sung-shih chi-shih* [Records of Occasions in Sung Poetry] (1746; Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ed., Taipei, 1968) *chüan* 68, p. 1745; trans. Shih, “The Hermitic Landscapes,” pp. 50–51.



themselves the subjects of an alien regime deeply suspicious of China's literati elite. Later, when the Mongols attempted to recruit Chinese scholars into the vast bureaucracy needed to govern the empire, the thought of serving their conquerors led many Chinese to give up their status as scholars and turn to painting, fortune-telling, medicine, and other unorthodox professions formerly scorned by fastidious literati. Eremitism, a tradition of great importance in Chinese culture, became widespread, as men who saw themselves as *i-min*, or "leftover subjects," of the Sung retreated from active involvement with the world.

For Ch'ien Hsüan, life as an *i-min* brought about a profound change of status. Although he had completed several volumes of classical scholarship while still a young man, not long after the fall of the Southern Sung Ch'ien renounced scholarly life, burned his books, and began a career as a professional painter in his native city of Wu-hsing, Chekiang province. His abdication as a scholar seems to have been motivated by more than his desire to avoid government service. On a painting titled *Making Enemies of Books* Ch'ien inscribed a poem expressing contempt for useless literati, the traditional guardians of Chinese culture, who had spectacularly failed to protect the nation from the Mongol threat.<sup>34</sup> He also refused to register as the head of a *ju-hu*, a "Confucian household," a status the Mongols accorded men of learning, exempting them from certain taxes and corvée obligations.<sup>35</sup>

As a professional painter, Ch'ien Hsüan was obliged to market his works in teashops and bookstores. When forgeries jeopardized his livelihood, he changed the manner in which he signed his paintings

6, 7. Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1235–after 1307), *Pear Blossoms*, undated. Section of a handscroll, ink and colors on paper, 31.1 × 95.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1977-79

and altered his style, thus, he hoped, putting the forgers to shame.<sup>36</sup> Ch'ien Hsüan's career was also threatened by his alcoholism. His addiction to wine was not simply an excessive fondness for the convivial imbibing enjoyed by all Chinese literati; according to his friend Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322), Ch'ien's drinking brought on frequent spells of trembling that left him unable to paint. Nevertheless, Ch'ien Hsüan endured. Contrasting Ch'ien's life with that of men who chose to serve in government, the poet Chang Yü (1337–85) wrote, "Who could imagine that Mr. Ch'ien alone chose hardship to express his virtue, serving as a craftsman-painter until his hair turned white?"<sup>37</sup>

As a professional artist Ch'ien Hsüan specialized in landscapes and flower painting.<sup>38</sup> In his landscapes, often painted in the archaic "blue-green" style, er-

34. See Ch'ien Hsüan's poem titled "Hating Books" in Li O and Ma Yüeh-kuan, eds., *Sung-shih chi-shih, chüan* 68, p. 1745.

35. Shih, "The Eremitic Landscapes," p. 71.

36. Shantung Provincial Museum, "Fa-chüeh Ming Chu Tan mu chi-shih," p. 29.

37. Chang Yü, *Ching chü chi* [Ching chü Collection] (Ssu-pu ts'ung k'an ed., Shanghai, 1936) *chüan* 3, pp. 7b–8b; trans. Shih, "The Eremitic Landscapes," p. 75.

38. In addition to Shih, "The Eremitic Landscapes," see recent discussions of Ch'ien Hsüan's art by Cahill, *Hills*, pp. 19–37; Wang Wei, "Lun Ch'ien Hsüan"; and James Jay Robinson, "The Vitality of Style: Aspects of Flower and Bird Painting During the Yüan Dynasty (1279–1368)," Ph.D. diss. (University of Michigan, 1984).

eremitic retreat is a recurring theme. Poems Ch'ien Hsüan inscribed on these images of secluded dwellings express his own longing for escape from a distasteful world.<sup>39</sup> Though created, like his landscapes, for a public audience, Ch'ien's flower paintings and the poems he inscribed on them are also imbued with his private melancholy. Seen in their art-historical context, Ch'ien's works, along with those of Chao Meng-fu, herald an irrevocable change in Chinese painting, as brush and ink become the means through which artists "write out their feelings" in pictorial form.<sup>40</sup> In Ch'ien's *Pear Blossoms*, both the relationship between words and image and the style in which the blossoms are painted reflect the emergence of this new artistic world.

7. Detail of Figure 6



According to the *Precious Mirror of Painting* (*T'u-hui pao-chien*) of 1365, Ch'ien usually added poems to his best paintings.<sup>41</sup> The Metropolitan Museum's handscroll surely belongs in this category of outstanding works (Figure 6). Although the handscroll format could easily permit a longer poetic complement,

39. Discussed at length by Shih, "The Eremic Landscapes," chaps. 2, 3.

40. The innovations of Chao Meng-fu are discussed by Wen Fong in Wen Fong et al., *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at The Art Museum, Princeton University*, exh. cat. (Princeton, N.J.: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984) chap. 4.

41. Hsia Wen-yen, *T'u-hui pao-chien* [Precious Mirror of Painting] (preface dated 1365; Hua-shih ts'ung-shu ed., Shanghai, 1963) *chüan* 5, p. 126.

Ch'ien Hsüan continues the Southern Sung practice of matching quatrains and painting:<sup>42</sup>

The lonely tear-stained face, teardrops drenching the  
branches,  
Though washed of makeup, her old charms remain.  
Behind the closed gate, on a rainy night vainly sor-  
rowing,  
How differently she looked bathed in golden waves of  
moonlight before darkness fell.<sup>d</sup>

Written immediately following an image of pear blossoms and ostensibly a poem on the subject of flowers, Ch'ien's quatrain surprisingly contains only one word, "branches" (*chih*), that refers directly to what is shown in the painting; and the significance of even this word is oblique—on the branches fall tears from the face of the poem's true subject, a palace lady. This subject is made clear by the quatrain's first line, which alludes to "Song of Unending Sorrow" (*Ch'ang-hen ko*) by Po Chü-i (772–846). This poem, familiar to every literate Chinese, recounts the story of the T'ang-dynasty concubine Yang Kuei-fei (d. 756), whose love affair with Emperor Hsüan-tsung (reigned 713–756) not only brought chaos to the empire but also led to her murder by mutinous imperial bodyguards. In the couplet to which Ch'ien Hsüan alludes, Po Chü-i compares the concubine's face to pear blossoms:<sup>43</sup>

The lonely jade countenance, shedding flowing tears:  
A branch of pear blossoms drenched in spring rain.<sup>e</sup>

Although Ch'ien Hsüan's allusion to these famous lines evokes memories of the ill-fated concubine, by the thirteenth century Yang Kuei-fei was no longer merely an historical figure: for Ch'ien and his contemporaries she was an archetype of all palace ladies and a symbol of tragic beauty.

The lady/flower theme Ch'ien Hsüan explores in the Metropolitan Museum handscroll draws on traditions of flower painting from the Southern Sung court. Yet the relationship between poetry and painting in Ch'ien's work departs from Southern Sung precedents. In their poems for flower paintings already discussed, Kao-tsung and Yang Mei-tzu use complex metonymic and metaphoric expressions to equate flowers with human beings and to find in flowers parallels for human feeling. But in his poem for the painted pear blossoms, Ch'ien writes *only*

about a human subject. His painting, in turn, creates a context for the quatrain. Here, poetry and painting are no longer convertible. The two arts have become mutually dependent: without his painting, Ch'ien's poem lacks a meaningful context; and, however evocative its imagery, the painting loses its metaphoric richness without the accompanying poem.

Ch'ien Hsüan's painting in no way illustrates the quatrain: we see only flowers on a background of blank paper. The sinuous branch is painted with layers of light and dark ink that suggest the rough texture of the bark; cropped at the bottom and extending in an S curve almost to the top of the scroll, the branch provides a textural and rhythmic counterpoint to the pale white buds and blossoms. The leaves are outlined with brownish ink and painted with dark green pigment, most of which has worn away. Where leaves and stems join the branches, the overlapping tones are finely modulated with gray shading.

Although Ch'ien Hsüan violates no botanical verities, his painted flowers lack the eye-catching sensuous appeal of most Southern Sung works in this genre. The pear blossoms seem as remote in time and space as Yang Kuei-fei herself. Why is this so? How is this effect achieved? What is its significance?

It is not merely the absence of background or atmosphere—these are lacking in earlier flower paintings as well—or the pale colors that make the pear blossoms appear to grow in a realm not bound by time and space. This effect is created primarily by

42. Based on a translation by Wen Fong and Maxwell K. Hearn, in Fong and Hearn, "Silent Poetry," p. 36.

43. P'eng Ting-ch'iu et al., eds., *Ch'üan T'ang shih* [Complete T'ang Poetry] (1707; Chung-hua shu-chü ed., Peking, 1960) VII, p. 4816. K'o Chiu-ssu (1290?–1343) mentions this famous couplet in his poem for a painting of pear blossoms by Ch'ien Hsüan. The painting K'o saw was either the Metropolitan Museum handscroll or one like it that bore a similar poetic inscription. See K'o Chiu-ssu, "T'i Ch'ien Shun-chü hua li-hua" [Inscribed on Ch'ien Shun-chü's Painting of a Pear Blossom], *Tan-ch'iu chi* [Collected Works of Tan-ch'iu] (Li-tai hua-chia shih wen-chi ed., Taipei, 1971) pp. 67–68. Another K'o Chiu-ssu poem appears on Ch'ien Hsüan's *Doves and Pear Blossoms* in the Cincinnati Art Museum. Although K'o mentions Yang Kuei-fei in this poem, the presence of the two doves in the painting changes the symbolic import of the allusion. See Lee and Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols*, no. 181. For a selection of poems on the theme of pear blossoms that allude to Po Chü-i's "Song of Unending Sorrow" see Chang Yü-shu et al., eds., *P'ei-wen chai*, VIII, pp. 5349–5362.



the abstract, schematic clarity of Ch'ien's style. Although the painted leaves seem to turn naturalistically in space, Ch'ien subtly distorts the foreshortening of their folded edges to create strongly two-dimensional patterns. This is most evident in the cluster of flowers farthest to the right (Figure 7). Outlines of the leaves are precise and unassertive, but just sharp enough to keep the forms they define parallel to the picture plane; the leaves extend horizontally and vertically but not back into space. The schematization in Ch'ien's drawing becomes clear when the leaves in his handscroll are compared with those in the Kao-tsung fan, which are carefully foreshortened to recede naturalistically into an imaginary void.

This abstraction extends also to Ch'ien Hsüan's drawing of the flowers. He composes the unopened buds as round or oval shapes subdivided by pale lines into layers of petals. Likewise, Ch'ien's drawing of the opened buds creates a subtle tension between the illusion of three-dimensional objects in space and the two-dimensional graphic formula by which they are depicted. Where petals curl back on themselves, they form flat shapes subdivided into smaller parts rather than a single plane turning in space. As James Cahill notes concerning another of Ch'ien Hsüan's flower paintings, the schematic folding of leaves and blossoms is a device for creating pattern and tonal variety rather than a means of depicting real objects in nature.<sup>44</sup>

Ch'ien Hsüan's style in the Metropolitan Museum handscroll should be contrasted with that of one of his imitators as seen in *Pear Blossoms and Bird* (Figure 8), which is a hanging scroll in the John B. Elliott Collection, on loan to The Art Museum, Princeton University.<sup>45</sup> The composition and colors of this work make it similar to Ch'ien Hsüan's painting, but the underlying pictorial conceptions are different. In the Elliott scroll, leaves are foreshortened to turn three-dimensionally in space; many end in long brown tips that extend aimlessly outward. Contours of the petals lack the cool precision of Ch'ien's drawing, and buds display none of the geometric clarity seen in the Metropolitan Museum scroll. Ch'ien's imitator successfully reproduces those aspects of the master's style closest to Southern Sung court painting—the elegant



8. Anonymous, *Pear Blossoms and Bird*, ca. 1300. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 91.5 × 30.7 cm. Princeton, N.J., John B. Elliott Collection, on loan to The Art Museum, Princeton University (photo: The Art Museum, Princeton University)

44. Cahill, *Hills*, p. 21.

45. Fong et al., *Images of the Mind*, no. 8, p. 288.

sweep of the branches, the colorful and alert bird, and the fine botanical detail—but he fails to grasp Ch'ien's transformation of this tradition.

Artistic and poetic transformation of conventional subject matter are achieved with great eloquence in a handscroll by Ch'ien Hsüan excavated from the same tomb that yielded the Kao-tsung fan.<sup>46</sup> Like the Metropolitan Museum's *Pear Blossoms*, this work combines painting and poetry on the theme of flowers. The scroll depicts three lotus blossoms and several large leaves, all seen as if from a frog's-eye view, as they rise from a pond (Figure 9). Following the painting is Ch'ien's quatrain:

Softly waving above the jade pool: white lotus blossoms.  
 Going, coming, blue birds are tranquil and silent.  
 The hermit doesn't drink, but leisurely carries his staff,  
 Merely recalling the pure fragrance of flowers in the moonlight.<sup>f</sup>

Like most flowers, the lotus has several different meanings in Chinese culture. It was a favorite blossom of Ch'ü Yüan (343–227 B.C.), the virtuous poet who drowned himself after failing to win recognition from the king of Ch'u. In Buddhist iconography it is the sacred flower of Sakyamuni.<sup>47</sup> The lotus gained further significance when the great Neo-Confucian philosopher Chou Tun-i (1017–73) composed an essay praising the flower as a symbol of purity.<sup>48</sup> In Ch'ien Hsüan's poem and painting, however, the lo-

tus becomes a vehicle for expression of the artist's private ideals.

Ch'ien Hsüan's quatrain introduces the flowers with imagery traditionally associated with a Taoist divinity, the Queen Mother of the West (Hsi wang mu). By the Yüan dynasty, however, the "jade pool" of her palace and the "blue birds" that announce her arrival had lost any specific connection with the mythic Queen Mother and were conventional expressions found in countless poems on the theme of the lotus.<sup>49</sup> In the second couplet Ch'ien's poem takes an unexpected turn, and the flowers are suddenly transformed into objects of contemplation for a strolling hermit, or *yu-jen*. Interpreted in the context created by Ch'ien's poem, the painted lotuses acquire new meaning: as symbols of eremitic life they allude to Ch'ien Hsüan's deepest longings.

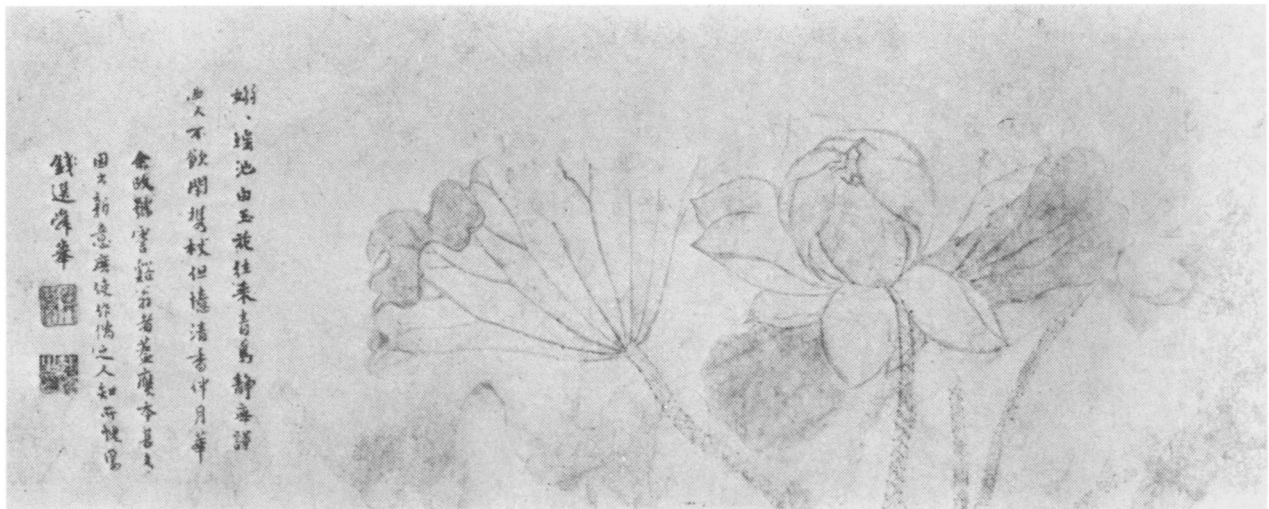
Just as Ch'ien's quatrain transforms conventional

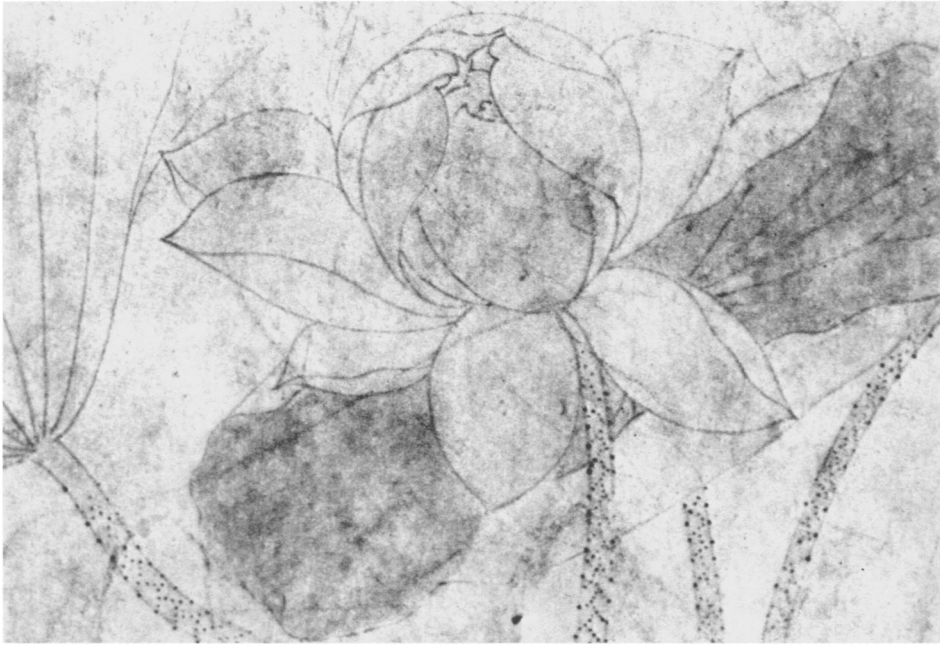
46. Shantung Provincial Museum, "Fa-chüeh Ming Chu Tan mu chi-shih," p. 27.

47. In their colophons attached to Ch'ien Hsüan's painting, Feng Tzu-chen and Chao Yen (active first quarter of the 14th century) mention the Buddhist monk Hui-yüan (334–417), founder of the White Lotus Society, who planted lotuses near the Tung-lin monastery on Mt. Lu. See *ibid.*, p. 29.

48. For a translation of the essay see H. L. Li, *The Garden Flowers of China* (New York, 1959) p. 66.

9, 10. Ch'ien Hsüan, *Lotuses*, undated. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper, 42 × 90 cm. Tsinan, Shantung Provincial Museum (photos: after *Wen-wu*, 1972, no. 5)





10. Detail of Figure 9

poetic imagery to endow the lotuses with private meaning, his pictorial style transforms the painted flowers into something more than a depiction of real objects. Since Ch'ien's true subject is a state of mind, he eschews the sensuous realism of Southern Sung flower painting in favor of a more abstract style. In this painting the same cool schematization as seen in the Metropolitan Museum handscroll makes the lotuses appear to be timeless, unchanging archetypes of noble flowers, rather than ordinary plants destined to wither and decay. The blossoms are drawn in firm ink outlines and colored with light green washes; opened petals are outlined with taut, geometric contours too perfect for depiction of real plants (Figure 10). Folded leaves remain flat shapes.

The complex interaction of poetry and painting in this handscroll, which gives unexpected meaning to the theme of the lotus, corresponds to that found in Ch'ien's *Pear Blossoms*. There, poetic allusion to a doomed concubine and a painting style that makes the rain-washed blossoms appear distant and inaccessible evoke feelings of loss, regret, and nostalgia. We have seen that flower paintings such as Chao Meng-chien's ethereal *Narcissi*, which presage Ch'ien's art, were interpreted by *i-min* connoisseurs as symbols of profound political and cultural import. Ch'ien's pear blossoms demand equally subtle interpretation. Ac-

cordingly, Richard Barnhart sees in Ch'ien's painting and poem an evocation of China's sorrow under Mongol rule:

With the same careful irony in painting and poem, Ch'ien plays upon traditional imagery and symbolism, evoking a court beauty, abandoned and aging, weeping by a veranda. Now, dramatically, the beauty is Sung China, behind a locked gate, in darkness and rain—China in a Mongol prison.<sup>50</sup>

This reading of Ch'ien's handscroll gains further depth when the poem and painting are related to the vicissitudes of the artist's life. For Ch'ien, the scholar turned professional painter, the pure beauty of the pear blossoms was as remote as the closing years of the Southern Sung, when, as a promising young man in Hangchow, Ch'ien "scattered gold" to enjoy the capital's pleasures. The Mongol conquest and his sudden change of status and profession brought this idyllic period of his life to a painful and irrevocable close. Enriched by the artist's poetry, painted as a private vision of a lost world, Ch'ien Hsüan's pear blossoms evoke his sad dream of this golden past.

49. See Chang Yü-shu et al., eds., *P'ei-wen chai*, XI, pp. 6021–6070.

50. Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring*, p. 40.

(a)

五色鸚鵡來自嶺表養之禁籞  
馴服可愛飛鳴自適往來於苑  
園間方中春繁杏遍開翔翥其  
上雅詔容與自有一種態度縱  
目觀之宛勝圖畫且賦是詩焉

天產乾臯此異禽  
遐邇來貢九重深  
體全五色非凡質  
惠吐□言更好音  
飛翥似憐毛羽貴  
徘徊如飽稻梁心  
絢脣紺趾誠端雅  
為賦新篇步武吟

(b)

白露才過催八月  
紫房紅葉共淒涼  
黃花冷淡無人看  
獨自傾心向夕陽

(c)

渾如冷蝶宿花房  
擁抱檀心憶舊香  
開到寒梢尤可愛  
此般必是漢宮粧

(d)

寂寞闌干淚滿枝  
洗粧猶帶舊風姿  
閉門夜雨空愁思  
不似金波欲暗時

(e)

玉容寂寞淚闌干  
梨花一枝春帶雨

(f)

嫋嫋瑤池白玉花  
往來青鳥靜與譁  
幽人不飲閑携杖  
但憶清香伴月華

GLOSSARY

<i>Ch'ang-hen ko</i>	長恨歌	Hsü Hsi	徐熙
Chang Seng-yu	張僧繇	<i>Hsüan-ho hua-p'u</i>	宣和畫譜
Chang Tzu	張鎡	Hsüan-tsung	玄宗
Chang Yü	張羽	<i>Hua-chi</i>	畫繼
Chang Yü-shu	張玉書	<i>hua-niao hua</i>	花鳥畫
Chao Meng-chien	趙孟堅	<i>Huai-nan tzu</i>	淮南子
Chao Meng-fu	趙孟頫	Huang Ch'üan	黃筌
Ch'ao Pu-chih	晁補之	Hui-tsung	徽宗
Chao Yen	趙嚴	Hui-yüan	慧遠
Ch'en Meng-lei	陳夢雷	Hung Mai	洪邁
Cheng Ssu-hsiao	鄭思肖	<i>i-min</i>	遺民
Ch'ien Hsüan	錢選	<i>ju-hu</i>	儒戶
<i>Ching chü chi</i>	靜居集	<i>k'ai-shu</i>	楷書
<i>ch'iu-k'uei</i>	秋葵	Kao-tsung	高宗
Chou Tun-i	周敦頤	K'o Chiu-ssu	柯九思
Chu Hsi	朱熹	<i>k'ou</i>	口
Chu Tan	朱橚	Ku K'ai-chih	顧愷之
<i>Ch'u-t'zu</i>	楚辭	<i>Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng</i>	古今圖書集成
Ch'ü Yüan	屈原	<i>Ku-kung po-wu yüan ts'ang</i>	故宮博物院藏
<i>Ch'üan T'ang shih</i>	全唐詩	<i>hua-niao hua hsüan</i>	花鳥畫選
<i>Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien</i>	中國畫論類編	<i>Ku-kung po-wu yüan yüan-k'an</i>	故宮博物院院刊
<i>Dai kan-wa jiten</i>	大漢和字典	<i>kuei-yüan</i>	閨怨
"Fa-chüeh Ming Chu Tan mu chi-shih"	發掘明朱橚墓 紀實	<i>kung-mei</i>	宮梅
Fan Ch'eng-ta	范成大	<i>kung-t'i shih</i>	宮體詩
Feng Tzu-chen	馮子振	Kuo Hsi	郭熙
Hsi wang mu	西王母	Li O	厲鶚
Hsia Wen-yen	夏文彥	Li-tsung	理宗
<i>hsiao</i>	綃	<i>Lin-ch'üan kao-chih</i>	林泉高致
<i>hsiao</i>	梢	Liu Ch'ang	劉敞
Hsiao-tsung	孝宗	"Lun Ch'ien Hsüan ti hui-hua i-shu chi li-lun"	論錢選的繪畫 藝術及理論

Ma Lin	馬麟	"T'i Ch'ien Shun-chü hua li-hua"	題錢舜舉畫梨花
Ma Yüeh-kuan	馬曰琯	<i>ts'eng-tieh ping-hsiao</i>	層疊冰綃
<i>Mei-hua hsi-shen p'u</i>	梅花喜神譜	<i>T'u-hui pao-chien</i>	圖繪寶鑑
<i>Mei-p'in</i>	梅品	Umehara Kaoru	梅原郁
<i>Mei-p'u</i>	梅譜	Wang Shen	王紳
<i>Mei-shu</i>	美術	Wang Wei	王衛
<i>Pai-hua t'u</i>	百花圖	"Wei pai-hua ch'uan shen	為百花傳神
<i>pai-miao</i>	白描	chieh-shao Sung jen	介紹宋人
<i>P'ei-wen-chai yung-wu-shih hsüan</i>	佩文齋詠物詩選	pai-hua t'u"	百花圖
P'eng Ting-ch'iu	彭定求	<i>wen</i>	文
Po Chü-i	白居易	Wen T'ung	文同
<i>Sekai no bijutsukan</i>	世界の美術館	<i>Wen-wu</i>	文物
Shan Kuo-ch'iang	單國強	Wu Sheng	吳升
<i>Shih-ching</i>	詩經	Yang Kuei-fei	楊貴妃
Su Shih	蘇軾	Yang Mei-tzu	楊妹子
Sung Po-jen	宋伯仁	Yang Wan-li	楊萬里
<i>Sung-shih chi-shih</i>	宋詩紀事	<i>yeh-mei</i>	野梅
<i>Ta-kuan lu</i>	大觀錄	Yü Chien-hua	俞劍華
<i>Tan-ch'iu chi</i>	丹邱集	<i>yung-wu</i>	詠物
<i>T'ang-jen wan-shou chüeh-chü</i>	唐人萬首絕句	<i>yung-wu t'zu</i>	詠物詞
Teng Ch'un	鄧椿	<i>Zusetsu Chügoku no rekishi</i>	圖說中國の歴史

# Three Fifteenth-Century Sculptures from Poligny

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART has an outstanding collection of Gothic sculpture from Burgundy and the Franche-Comté. Four splendid examples are in a class by themselves and deserve more attention than they have yet received either here or abroad. The earliest, a monumental *Virgin and Child* attributed to Claus de Werve and dating from about 1415–17, has recently been published in these pages.<sup>1</sup> This article discusses the other three, statues of St. Paul, St. James the Greater, and St. John the Baptist. Although they reached the Museum independently and at different dates, all four sculptures were originally from Poligny in the Franche-Comté, today a small town but in the fifteenth century an important administrative center of the Valois dukes. The limestone in which the three saints' figures were carved was probably quarried in the region.<sup>2</sup>

1. Acc. no. 33.23; see William H. Forsyth, "A Fifteenth-Century *Virgin and Child* Attributed to Claus de Werve," *MMJ* 21 (1986) pp. 41–63; and idem, *Hommage à Hubert Landais: Art, objets d'art, collections* (Paris, 1987) pp. 662–666.

2. It is characterized as bioclastic, oolitic stone of the Middle Jurassic period by Professor Pierre Rat, Institut des Sciences de la Terre, University of Dijon. The author is indebted to Professor Rat for this information, and also to Pete Dandridge and George Wheeler of the Objects Conservation Department, MMA, who examined the condition of the three statues and analyzed the stone as fossiliferous, soft, and tufflike when first quarried. According to Professor Rat, the stone in which the Poligny *Virgin and Child* was carved must have been quarried near Dijon, at Asnières; see Forsyth, "A Fifteenth-Century *Virgin and Child*," p. 59 n. 65.

3. See Joseph Breck, "A Statue of the School of Claus Sluter," *MMAB* 17 (1922) pp. 79–83; Georg Troescher, *Claus Sluter und die burgundische Plastik um die Wende des XIV. Jahrhunderts I* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1932) pp. 80–81, pls. XLV, XLVI (center); idem, *Burgundische Plastik des ausgehenden Mittelalters*

(Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1940) pp. 116–117; James J. Rorimer, "Late Medieval Sculpture from the Byways of Burgundy," *MMAB* n.s. 9 (1951) p. 183; Anne McGee [Morganstern], "A Study of the Fifteenth-Century Sculpture from Poligny," M.A. diss. (New York University, 1961) pp. 14–20; and Pierre Quarré, "Les Statues de Claus de Werve en Franche-Comté," *Archéologie occitane: Moyen-Age et Epoque Moderne—Actes du 99e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes* 2 (1974) p. 125.

4. Breck, "Statue of the School of Claus Sluter," p. 80, and Rorimer, "Late Medieval Sculpture from the Byways of Burgundy," p. 183.

5. According to a note by James Rorimer on the catalogue cards of the Medieval Department, MMA, this book contained the following inscription: "Ce livre appartient a moy Claude Antoine Dubois au faubourg de Notre Dame du departement du Jura. Achete aux Jacobins le 8 oct. 1792. L'an premier de la Republique." The Medieval Department records are the source of many of the otherwise unattributed statements in this article.

6. Breck, "Statue of the School of Claus Sluter," pp. 80–81, and Rorimer, Medieval Department records.





1. *St. Paul* from Poligny (Jura), Burgundian, first third of 15th century. Limestone with traces of paint, H. 47 in. (119.4 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harkness Fund, 22.31.1

the Poligny *Virgin and Child* and the statues of St. Paul, St. James, and St. John the Baptist on the market. In 1919 he sold the *St. Paul*, which he remembered as a boy seeing on a corbel in the church of the Jacobins, to Georges Demotte, the international antiquarian dealer. Demotte brought the statue to America and sold it to the Metropolitan Museum in 1922.

The partially bald head and the long beard identify the figure as Paul the Apostle. The book in his right hand represents his epistles to the Gentiles, the sword in his left the instrument of his martyrdom.

The condition of the sculpture is generally good,

although there has been some weathering on the front and some restoration on the outer surfaces of the folds on the back. The nose has been replaced, and the mouth, beard, and eyebrows are possibly reworked. The most important of the restorations, which were probably all effected by Demotte, is a section of drapery over the hilt of the sword. A photograph taken before this restoration was carried out (Figure 2) suggests that the original graceful curve of the edge of the drapery was replaced by the present stiff line, obscuring the left hand, which is carved with the same consummate skill as the right (Figure 3).

Although the statue must have been painted several times, it now appears an indiscriminate gray. Microscopic examination has revealed traces of gesso and brownish red underpaint, minute specks of blue over red, and some gilding. The process of making a cast may have contributed to the loss of paint and



2. *St. Paul* prior to restoration and cleaning, before 1919 (photo: Vuillermet?)



3. *St. Paul*, detail of the right hand with book



4, 5. *St. Paul*, views of the sides

6. *St. Paul*, detail of the sword



gesso, and may account for certain deposits of whitish plaster.<sup>7</sup>

The composition is well conceived and the statue skillfully carved. The posture is easy, showing slight contrapposto, with legs somewhat flexed and arms in a natural position. The left leg is advanced, with the bare foot extending to the corner of the pedestal. The ample silhouette of the cloak below and around the outside of the right arm is in beautiful counterpoise to the rigidity of the sword on the opposite side.

The fullness of the drapery enhances the dignity and solemn gravity of the statue. The wide, rhythmic sweeps of the cloak are tucked under and around each other in soft, deep folds. One end falls in a bold diagonal curve to the base. The other end is thrown across the body and over the sword. This complex arrangement gives depth and monumentality to a

statue measuring only eleven inches from front to back (Figures 4, 5).

On the statue's left side, a section of drapery falling down behind the scabbard of the sword furnishes visual as well as structural support (Figure 6). A carefully detailed sword belt, with buckles and quatrefoil mounts, is twisted around the scabbard.<sup>8</sup> The hidden pommel of the sword is covered by drapery in a way that recalls the draped attributes held by Moses and David—the tablets of the Law and a harp respec-

7. A cast of the figure has been placed in a chapel off the north aisle of St.-Hippolyte, Poligny. See *Art sacré dans le Jura du Moyen-Age au XVIIIe siècle: Poligny, Baume-les-Messieurs, Saint-Cloud*, exh. cat. (n.p., 1972) no. 47, p. 56.

8. This typical usage was pointed out by Dr. Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor of the Metropolitan Museum. The three straps of belt and suspension attached to the sword scabbard meet in a ring with three metal attachments.



7. Puits de Moïse (Well of Moses), Burgundian, ca. 1400: detail showing Moses, with partial views of David (right) and Isaiah (left). Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Chartreuse de Champmol (photo: Archives Photographiques)

tively—on the Puits de Moïse in Dijon, dating to about 1400 (Figure 7). The figure of Moses is attributed to Claus Sluter (d. 1406), head of the ducal workshop, and that of David to Claux de Werve (d. 1439), then Sluter's chief assistant.<sup>9</sup>

On the back (Figure 8) the cloak rises up to form a high collar in the fashion of the early fifteenth century. The careful modeling is quite different from the usual cursory treatment of a rear view and reinforces the probability that the figure originally stood on a corbel rather than in a niche. The handling of the drapery, though less complicated than on the front, is no less impressive. A direct comparison can be made with a small pleurant (Figure 9) on the tomb

9. A. Kleinclausz, *Claus Sluter et la sculpture bourguignonne au XVe siècle* (Paris, n.d.) pp. 63–82; Troescher, *Claus Sluter*, pp. 85–107; and Aenne Liebrich, *Claus Sluter* (Brussels, 1936) pp. 77–96.



8. *St. Paul*, view of the back

9. Claux de Werve, pleurant no. 32 from the tomb of Philip the Bold, 1404–11. Alabaster, H. approx. 16 in. (40 cm.). Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon)





10. *St. John the Evangelist*, first third of 15th century. Limestone, Baume-les-Messieurs (Jura), Abbey Church (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)



11. *St. John the Evangelist*, first third of 15th century. Limestone, H. approx. 6 ft. (174 cm.). Poligny, St.-Hippolyte (photo: Archives Photographiques)

of Philip the Bold, probably the work of Claux de Werve after his appointment in 1406 as sculptor to Philip's son, John the Fearless.<sup>10</sup> The deeply pocketed folds, framed by vertical falls of ponderous and supple drapery, are very close to those on the back of the Metropolitan Museum's *St. Paul*.

The *St. Paul* belongs to an interrelated group of

roughly contemporary sculptures in Poligny and in nearby Baume-les-Messieurs, all associated with the style of Claux de Werve. This stylistic relationship is

10. Pierre Quarré, *Claux de Werve et la sculpture bourguignonne dans le premier tiers du XVe siècle*, exh. cat. (Dijon, 1976) pp. 37–39 and doc. 5, pp. 22–23.





12. *St. Andrew*, first third of 15th century. Limestone, H. approx. 6 ft. (174 cm.). Poligny, St.-Hippolyte (photo: Archives Photographiques)

paralleled by political and historical associations between the two towns.<sup>11</sup>

Fundamentally similar to the *St. Paul* is a figure of *St. John the Evangelist* in the abbey church at Baume (Figure 10), attributed to Claus de Werve.<sup>12</sup> The statue stands on a corbel above the tomb of the donor of the church, Abbot Amé de Chalon (d. 1431).

Though its silhouette is less ample than that of the *St. Paul*, the two sculptures are alike in the overlapping planes of drapery and in the way the cloak falls in parallel curving lines.

Two of the statues in the sanctuary of the collegiate church of St.-Hippolyte in Poligny, a *St. John the Evangelist* and a *St. Andrew* (Figures 11, 12), can also be compared to the Metropolitan Museum's *St. Paul*. The sanctuary was finished in 1422, and the statues are probably contemporary with it. A third figure in the series is presumed to represent the donor, Jean Chousat (d. 1433), in the guise of *St. Thibault* (Theobald of Provins).<sup>13</sup> For these sculptures Chousat, who was chief financial adviser to the dukes of Burgundy, would naturally have turned to de Werve, by then head of the ducal workshop.<sup>14</sup>

The Poligny *St. John the Evangelist* wears the same kind of loosely flowing garments as his counterpart in Baume<sup>15</sup> and the Metropolitan Museum's *St. Paul*. In the lower half of all three figures, the folds sweep down in a curvilinear pattern to the base, where they lie spread out. The *St. Paul* differs from the two statues of the Evangelist in the arrangement of the cloak, drawn across the top of the figure in front and folded back over the right shoulder; this arrangement corresponds to that of the more voluminous

11. The abbots of Baume-les-Messieurs had rights in Poligny at least from the 11th through the 15th century; see Alphonse Rousset, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et statistique des communes de la Franche-Comté* (Lons-le-Saunier, 1857; repr. Paris, 1969) V, pp. 170, 233–237. The two chief donors, the abbot Amé de Chalon (d. 1431) at Baume and Jean Chousat (d. 1433) at St.-Hippolyte, Poligny, were contemporaries who owned adjacent lands in Poligny and must have known each other. See Abbé Brune, "Le Mobilier et les oeuvres d'art de l'église de Baume-les-Messieurs (Jura)," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques* (1894) pp. 458–478; Pierre Quarré, "La Collégiale Saint-Hippolyte de Poligny et ses statues," *Congrès archéologique de France en Franche-Comté en 1960* (Paris, 1960) pp. 210, 215, 218; and McGee [Morganstern], "Fifteenth-Century Sculpture from Poligny," pp. 30–34.

12. Henri David and Pierre Quarré both felt that Troescher (*Claus Sluter*, pp. 80–81, 95) was in error in attributing the statue to Sluter (personal communications, Medieval Department records). See McGee [Morganstern], "Fifteenth-Century Sculpture from Poligny," pp. 32–33; Quarré, "Statues de Claus de Werve en France-Comté," p. 123; and Rorimer, "Late Medieval Sculpture from the Byways of Burgundy," p. 183.

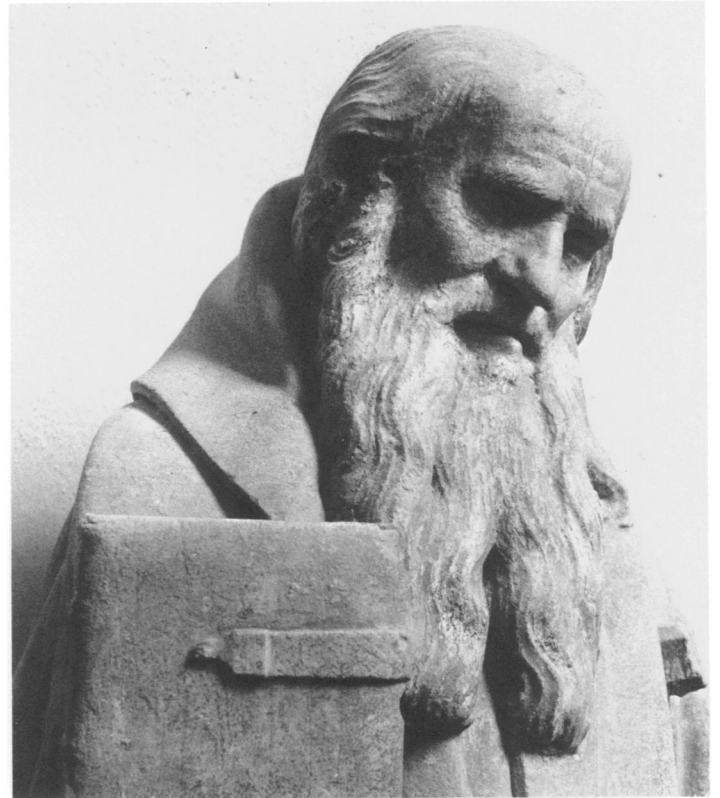
13. Quarré, "Collégiale de Saint-Hippolyte," pp. 215–216.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

15. *Ibid.*, and McGee [Morganstern], "Fifteenth-Century Sculpture from Poligny," pp. 28–29, 32–33.



13. *St. Paul*, first third of 15th century. Limestone, H. 3 ft. (90 cm.). Baume-les-Messieurs, Abbey Church (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)



14. *St. Paul* (Baume-les-Messieurs), detail of the head (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)

cloak worn by the Poligny *St. Andrew*.<sup>16</sup> Despite differences in composition, the bearded figures of *St. Andrew* and *St. Paul* can be compared in posture and head type; their curving drapery is similar, although falling in the reverse direction below the knees; the downward tilt of their heads suggests that both statues were originally placed above eye level, as the *St. Andrew* still is.

An image of *St. Paul* at Baume (Figure 13),<sup>17</sup> though smaller, simpler, and of lesser quality, seems to be related to and dependent upon the Metropolitan Museum's *St. Paul*, whose reflective mood it shares. The extended left leg, with bare foot, is similarly placed just ahead of the tip of the sword. Although here the cloak falls in a prominent uninterrupted curve, exposing the front of a belted tunic, the cloth spreads over the base as it does in the larger figure, but in a more exaggerated fashion. Both heads are slightly tilted in the same manner, and

each has a two-forked beard (Figures 14, 15). The statues of *St. Paul* and of *St. Andrew* (see Figure 12) are linked by a similar expression of benignity and quiet majesty. All three heads are related to a head of *St. Anthony* in the Musée Archéologique de Dijon (Figure 16), attributed to Claux de Werve.<sup>18</sup>

The figure of a kneeling donor (Figure 17), now in the Louvre,<sup>19</sup> comes from the same source as the

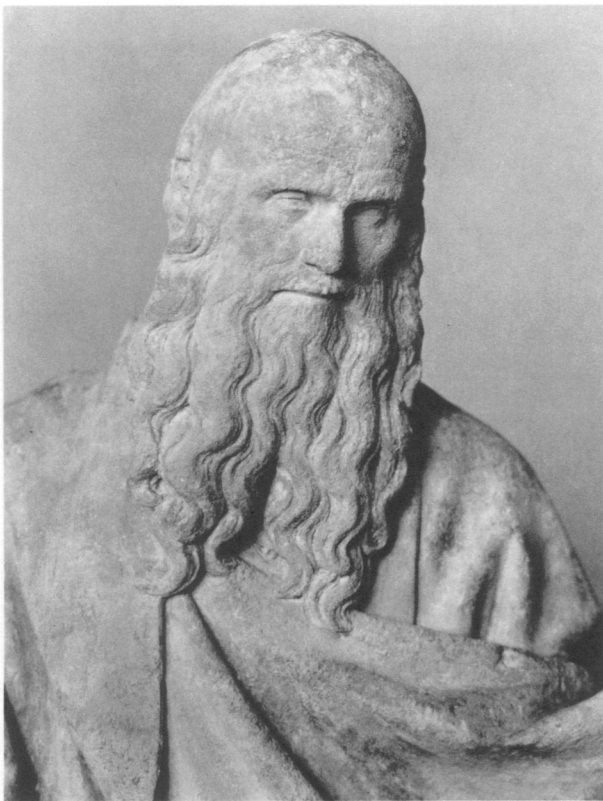
16. Quarré, "Collégiale de Saint-Hippolyte," p. 218, and McGee [Morganstern], "Fifteenth-Century Sculpture from Poligny," pp. 22–28.

17. Brune, "Le Mobilier et les oeuvres d'art de l'église de Baume-les-Messieurs," p. 473; Troescher, *Claus Sluter*, p. 81; Emile Mâle, "L'Art chrétien: Les Apôtres Pierre et Paul," *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Aug. 1955) p. 391; and *Art sacré dans le Jura*, p. 84. All these sources agree in relating the statue to the style of Sluter.

18. Quarré, *Claux de Werve et la sculpture bourguignonne*, pp. 47–48, pl. xxx, and Troescher, *Claus Sluter*, p. 58, pl. vii.

19. Pierre Quarré, *Antoine le Moiturier, le dernier des grands*





15. *St. Paul* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), detail of the head



16. *St. Anthony*, first third of 15th century. Limestone, H. approx. 20 in. (48 cm.). Dijon, Musée Archéologique (photo: Musée Archéologique)

17. *Kneeling Donor* from church of the Jacobins, Poligny, 15th century. Painted limestone, 40 × 28 in. (107 × 75 cm.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. R.F. 1679 (photo: Studio De Guerny)

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*imagiers des ducs de Bourgogne*, exh. cat. (Dijon, 1973) no. 61, pl. xxxviii. Marcel Aubert and Michèle Beaulieu, Musée National du Louvre, *Description raisonné des sculptures du Moyen-Age, de la Renaissance, et des temps modernes: I. Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1950) no. 356, fig. 356, assign the statue to the second half of the 15th century. This date and the identification of the figure as Thomas de Plaine (d. 1506)—an earlier member of the family may be involved—have been contested on the basis of costume, hair style, and resemblances to several pleurants on the tomb of Philip the Bold: see Troescher, *Burgundische Plastik*, p. 116, and McGee [Morganstern], "Fifteenth-Century Sculpture from Poligny," pp. 14–19. The latter (p. 10) cites two chapels founded by members of the de Plaine family in the church.



Metropolitan Museum's *St. Paul*—a de Plaine chapel in the former church of the Jacobins in Poligny. There is a general stylistic resemblance between the two sculptures, despite differences in posture, in the folds of drapery on the base, and in the carving of the features (those of the donor are heavily restored). In both sculptures the fabric is draped in widely spaced pockets. The broad parallel fold curving backward from the shoulder of the Louvre figure to the base recalls the frontal sweep of *St. Paul's* cloak. The way in which the garment covers the back of the neck of both figures is distinctive.

In summary, the sequence of sculpture in Burgundy during the first third of the fifteenth century under the dominating influence of Claux de Werve clearly includes the Metropolitan Museum's *St. Paul*. The gentle, easy posture, the head type with a full, curling beard, the beautifully modeled hands, and the carefully detailed strapping of the sword are the handiwork of a master, either Claux de Werve himself or one of his followers. More specifically, the statue is related to works attributed to de Werve or his followers that were commissioned for the abbey church at Baume-les-Messieurs before 1431 and for the sanctuary of St.-Hippolyte at Poligny before 1433. Allowing some leeway, one can thus date the *St. Paul* to the 1420s or 1430s.

The statues of St. James the Greater (Figure 18) and St. John the Baptist (Figure 19) differ from the *St. Paul* in general appearance and style.<sup>20</sup> Undoubtedly they came from a church in Poligny, but which one is not known.<sup>21</sup> The tilted heads and shortened legs of

20. Troescher, *Burgundische Plastik*, pp. 117, 153, pl. LXVII; James J. Rorimer, "A Statue of Saint John the Baptist Possibly by Claus Sluter," *MMAB* 29 (1934) pp. 192–195; idem, "Late Medieval Sculpture from the Byways of Burgundy," pp. 182–183; and McGee [Morganstern], "Fifteenth-Century Sculpture from Poligny," pp. 5–14, 37–39 (under "The Master of St. James" she attributes the two sculptures correctly to a master following Sluter, but erroneously to a date in the late 14th century).

21. Rorimer ("Late Medieval Sculpture from the Byways of Burgundy," p. 183) and Troescher (*Burgundische Plastik*, p. 106) both believed that the statues came from the church of Mouthier-Vieillard; this church, however, was largely abandoned and partly destroyed before the middle of the 15th century and before the probable date when the statues were carved. McGee [Morganstern] ("Fifteenth-Century Sculpture from Poligny," p. 13) believes they came from the chapel of St. James in the church of the Jacobins. The devastation suffered



18. *St. James the Greater* from Poligny, third quarter of 15th century. Limestone, H. 62 in. (156 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 47.101.17



19. *St. John the Baptist* from Poligny, third quarter of 15th century; before restoration of the leg. Limestone, H. 59½ in. (151 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Pulitzer Bequest, 34.44



20. Niche in cemetery wall, Mouthier-Vieillard, Poligny, ca. 1930 (photo: Rorimer)

these figures imply placement on corbels high above eye level.<sup>22</sup>

Whatever the original source, old residents of Poligny in the 1930s remembered the two statues when they had stood in niches set into a cemetery wall in Mouthier-Vieillard on the outskirts of the town (Figure 20).<sup>23</sup> Erosion on the front of the statues is evidence of their exposure to the elements. The wall,

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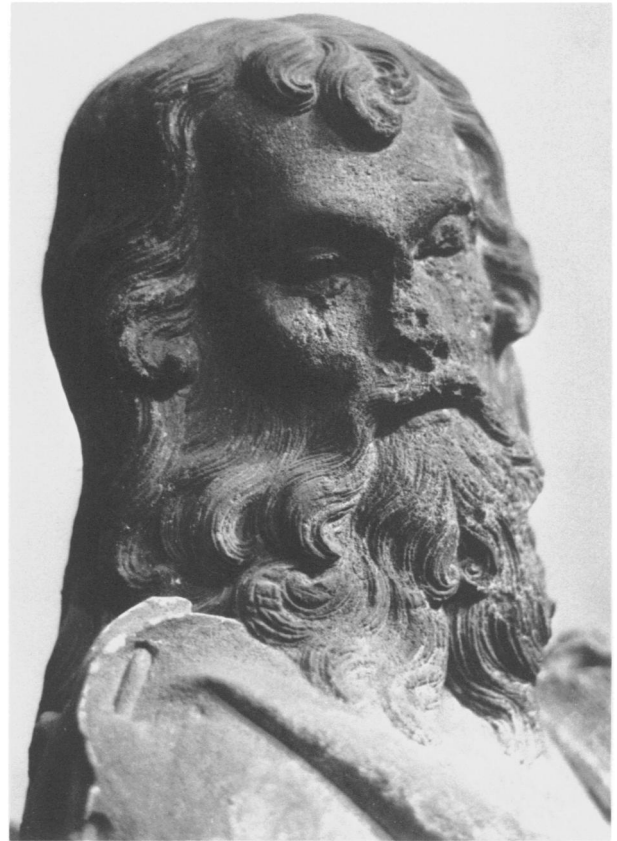
during the 16th and 17th centuries by the churches of Poligny, coupled with the lack of records, makes it impossible to determine a specific source. See Rousset, *Dictionnaire*, V, pp. 240–241, 258–259.

22. Such figures were customarily placed against the piers of churches, sometimes at a considerable height. Well-known examples are found in the Ste.-Chapelle, Paris (1248), for which see Denise Jalabert, *La Sainte Chapelle* (Paris, 1947) p. 18 and ill. pp. 8, 9, 15. For examples in Cologne Cathedral see Paul Clemen, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Köln: 1:3. Dom zu Köln* (Cologne, 1937) pp. 144–147.

23. Rorimer checked the size of the niches in the 1930s before the wall disappeared. He noted that although they were high enough to accommodate the sculptures, the scale and proportions of these did not accord with a placement at eye level (Medieval Department records). The statues are too sophisticated and fine in quality to have been made for the cemetery wall, which was rustic in style and appears, from a 16th- or 17th-century doorway set into it, to have been later in date.



21. *St. James*, detail of the head



22. *St. John the Baptist*, detail of the head (photo: Kent, courtesy Anne McGee Morganstern)

which has since disappeared, had five niches in all, suggesting that there were other figures in the series for which places had been made.<sup>24</sup>

After acquiring the statues of the Baptist and St. James, François Vuillermet sold them in 1918 to Georges Demotte, who brought them to America. Joseph Brummer, the well-known dealer in medieval art, sold the figure of the Baptist to the Metropolitan Museum in 1934; the *St. James* was bought by the Museum in 1947 from Brummer's estate before this was dispersed at auction two years later.

Although both statues are skillfully carved, that of the Baptist shows a better sense of volume and a more dramatic stance, indicating the hand of a more creative and powerful sculptor. A prominent feature of both figures is the majestic cloak draped across the shoulders and arms. The deeply pocketed folds of the Baptist's cloak cascade down the center in the form of inverted triangles; these are framed by two

heavy folds, one vertical beneath the book on the right, the other diagonal, descending to the base on the left. St. James's cloak, which lacks the monumental sweep of the other, has three layers, the lowest cut diagonally.

The hair of both saints curls with the same wide parallel lines and thick, slightly hooked tips, and their beards are each bisected by a vertical line (Figures 21, 22). Despite considerable damage to the face

24. A Capuchin cycle of 1410 in the Prague National Gallery includes the disciples and the Baptist; see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* I (Rome, 1968) p. 163. For a group of disciples from Dole (Jura), a few miles north of Poligny, see Troescher, *Burgundische Plastik*, p. 119, pl. LXXXI, nos. 340–347. A bearded head in the Poligny Museum is too badly battered to be confidently considered as having belonged to one of the missing figures. See Rorimer, "Statue of Saint John," p. 194, and McGee [Morganstern], "Fifteenth-Century Sculpture from Poligny," pp. 8–9, fig. 7.



and the fact that the head has been broken off and reset, St. James's features are clearly of the same type as those of the Baptist.

The differences in style between these two and the *St. Paul* are evident. The quiet attitude of the other figure and the placid serenity of the drapery point to the influence of Claux de Werve. *St. James* and *St. John the Baptist*, with their livelier postures and more animated garments, belong to a later period—the 1440s to the early 1460s, when the style of Jean de la Huerta was dominant.<sup>25</sup> Huerta (d. after 1462), a turbulent Spaniard from Aragon, was commissioned in 1443 to carve the tomb of John the Fearless, and his

23. *St. James*, three-quarter view



series of pleurants on the tomb introduced a new dynamism into Burgundian sculpture.<sup>26</sup> He is known to have been active in several places in the Franche-Comté, probably including Poligny.<sup>27</sup>

The two statues are also differentiated from the *St. Paul* by the quality of the stone, which is coarser and marked by pitted erosions. The large hole below the knee of the Baptist is apparently due to the loss of a conglomerate shelly mass of rough material in the body of the stone. There are similar wide-grooved and slightly interlacing chisel marks on both statues,<sup>28</sup> with traces of reddish orange pigment not found on the *St. Paul*.

Although St. James was an apostle and a leader of the early church in Jerusalem, he is shown here in his traditional medieval garb as a simple pilgrim, a reference to his shrine at Compostela in Spain, which was, after Jerusalem and Rome, the most frequented in Christendom.<sup>29</sup> Identifying attributes are the soft-brimmed hat, the cockleshell badge, and the pilgrim's staff. Fragments of this staff remain above the saint's right arm and contiguous with the front of his garment; a hollow between his feet indicates where the bottom of the staff rested.

There is a certain ambiguity in the posture of the statue. Its placement on the base indicates that the saint is taking a step to his left, but the drapery of the cloak is arranged as though he were standing frontally (Figure 23). The statue's direction could mean that it was designed to stand at the left end of a series, whose existence has already been suggested in connection with the five niches in the Mouthier-Vieillard wall.<sup>30</sup> Before the left foot was broken off, it

25. Pierre Quarré, *Jean de la Huerta et la sculpture bourguignonne au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, exh. cat. (Dijon, 1972) pp. 5–20, 21–26 (bibliography), and doc. 8, pp. 37–40. Huerta was succeeded by Antoine le Moiturier, who completed his last commission in 1469; see idem, *Antoine le Moiturier*, pp. 6–7.

26. See Quarré, *Jean de la Huerta*, pp. 6–9, doc. 1, pp. 27–30, and pls. viiff. See also idem, *Les Pleurants des tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne* (Dijon, 1971) pp. 13–16, pls. 51–78.

27. Quarré, *Jean de la Huerta*, pp. 8–9, 15–16, and doc. 7, pp. 36–37; idem, "La Collégiale de Saint-Hippolyte," p. 221.

28. For chisel marks as a possible means of distinguishing the sculptor's hand see Forsyth, "A Fifteenth-Century *Virgin and Child*," app. 3, p. 63.

29. Jeanne Vieillard, ed. and trans., *Guide du pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle* (Mâcon, 1938), gives the Latin text, with a French translation, of a guide for pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela written in the 12th century.

30. See above and note 24.



24–26. *St. James*, views of the sides and back

projected over the edge of the base. The saint's hands and the lower half of his book are missing; he was perhaps shown reading as he walked.

Below the center parting of the beard are the two terminals of a cord that secures the hat under the chin. The hat makes *St. James's* head seem out of proportion to his body, rendering the figure slightly top-heavy.

Seen from the sides (Figures 24, 25), the statue appears exceptionally shallow. More of the edge of the cloak is missing below the saint's right arm than is apparent in the photograph. On the back (Figure 26),

the folds of the cloak are almost as carefully finished as on the front; the concentric swirls are very different from the quiet draping on the back of the *St. Paul* (see Figure 8), a clear indication of the contrasting styles of Huerta and de Werve. The metal mounts of the cover of the book, visible only from the back, are carved with sharp precision (Figure 27).<sup>31</sup>

No other sculpture of *St. James the Greater* known

31. The Prophet Isaiah on the Puits de Moïse from an earlier period carries a book with mounts of a similar type (Figure 7, extreme left).



27. *St. James*, detail of the back of the book

to the author is close enough to make a significant comparison. A smaller Burgundian statue of the saint in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 28), although iconographically almost the same, is of a totally different style.

The figure of St. John the Baptist is identified by the lamb—the visual image of Christ as Lamb of God (John 1:29)—and by small sections of the “raiment of camel’s hair” (Matt. 3:4) barely visible beneath the saint’s right arm and behind the break in the leg (Figures 29–31). He carries an open book, one side supporting the lamb, the other resting against his left

28. *St. James the Greater*, Burgundian, 15th century. Limestone, H. 39 in. (98 cm.), with some restorations. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Bequest, 17.120.3







29. *St. John the Baptist*, upper half

shoulder; an extension of the leather binding falls over the upper pages, its straps and studs treated in considerable detail. The Baptist's right hand, once attached by a dowel and now missing, must have pointed to the lamb. The lamb, which has lost its head, faces right, away from the saint.

The head of the Baptist is turned abruptly to the left—a most unusual attitude—as if to counterbalance the lamb and the book. The features are strongly marked, with high cheekbones and sunken eyes (see Figure 22), as in a number of Huerta stat-

ues.<sup>32</sup> The hair is arranged with three curls on the forehead.

Seen from its right side (Figure 30), the statue appears less calm and erect than from the front. The head and body tilt backward above the waist. The right leg, now restored from the calf to the foot (Figure 31), extends outward, stabilizing the body and acting as a foil to the diagonal folds of drapery. On the other side (Figure 32), the monumental quality of the drapery beneath the book is impressive.

32. For example, the statue of St. John the Evangelist at Bar-le-Régulier; see Quarré, *Jean de la Huerta*, no. 61, pl. XL.

30. *St. John the Baptist*, three-quarter view, the leg restored



31. *St. John the Baptist*, lower half



The heavy, regular folds on the back of the statue are fully realized (Figure 33), somewhat recalling those on the back of the *St. Paul* (see Figure 8). They have been roughly chiseled away near the bottom right, probably when the piece was moved into its

wall niche at Mouthier-Vieillard. The curling hair falls over the shoulders in ringlets that resemble those of *St. James's* beard (see Figures 18, 21).

There are a number of surviving Burgundian statues of the Baptist, some of them loosely related to this one. An example at Châteauneuf (Figure 34) was probably commissioned by Philippe Pot, grand sene-

32, 33. *St. John the Baptist*, views of the left side and back



schal of Burgundy, who was buried in a chapel at Cîteaux dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Philippe acquired the castellany of Châteauneuf in 1460, and the statue may have been carved after that date.<sup>33</sup>

By far the closest comparison, however, to the Metropolitan Museum's figure is found in the parish church at Rouvres-en-Plaine (Figure 35), in a chapel commissioned from Jean de la Huerta in 1445 by Philippe Mâchefoing, mayor of Dijon and châtelain of the ducal castle at Rouvres.<sup>34</sup> It may be assumed that this statue of the Baptist, which is set in the retable above the altar, was finished by 1448, when a

violent quarrel over the completion of other work in the chapel was brought into court.<sup>35</sup>

33. See Henri David, *De Sluter à Sambin I* (Paris, 1933) pp. 28–30, and Quarré, *Antoine le Moiturier*, no. 39, pl. xx. For a very similar statue of the Baptist at Bussy-la-Pesle (Côte-d'Or) see David, *De Sluter à Sambin*, I, pp. 75–76, and Quarré, *Antoine le Moiturier*, no. 40, pl. xiv; the forelocks on the Bussy figure recall those of the statue in New York.

34. David, *De Sluter à Sambin*, I, p. 10, and Quarré, *Jean de la Huerta*, no. 44, pl. xxv, and p. 14.

35. Quarré, *Jean de la Huerta*, pp. 13–14, docs. 4, 5, pp. 33–35.

34. *St. John the Baptist*, Burgundian, after 1460. Painted limestone, H. 52 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (133 cm.). Châteauneuf (Côte-d'Or), St.-Philippe and St.-Jacques (photo: Inventaire Général de Bourgogne)



35. *St. John the Baptist*, Burgundian, 1445–48. Limestone, H. approx. 54 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (134 cm.). Rouvres-en-Plaine (Côte-d'Or), Parish Church (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon)





The Rouvres sculpture is monumental in breadth and dignity, and easy in posture. St. John holds an open book supporting the lamb (now missing except for the legs). The weight of the saint's body rests on the right leg, hidden by thick drapery. The stance is

36. *Virgin and Child*, Burgundian, ca. 1447. Limestone, H. 72 in. (180 cm.). Auxonne (Côte-d'Or), Notre-Dame, from the old Porte de Pantesson (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon)



modified by the way in which the cloak indicates the position of the slightly flexed left leg, partly breaking up the long diagonal of the cloak in its descent from the right shoulder and somewhat activating the figure. The head is tilted to the saint's right. The hair, heavily framing the face, is arranged in long locks, one of which is held in the fingers of the right hand, with a curl passing over the top of the hand; the only known recurrence of this detail is in a fragment from an earlier statue of the Baptist, which was excavated by Pierre Quarré in the ducal oratory at Champmol.<sup>36</sup>

Georg Troescher and Quarré alike pointed out the relationship of the *St. John the Baptist* in New York to the style of Jean de la Huerta, sculptor of the figure at Rouvres.<sup>37</sup> In both statues, the saint's majestic stance is emphasized by a voluminous cloak, which envelops the body at Rouvres but is open on one side on the other. In both, the front panel of the cloak has fundamentally the same drapery scheme: a cascade of deep transverse folds framed on one side by a long diagonal fold sweeping down from the right arm and curving around the base, and on the other by a cluster of vertical folds that hangs directly below the book. This distinctive scheme is found in a number of sculptures associated with Huerta, among them a statue of the *Virgin and Child* that was carved for a city gate at Auxonne around 1447 (Figure 36).<sup>38</sup>

Although completely different from each other in mood and execution, the figures of *St. John the Baptist* at Rouvres and in the Metropolitan Museum are

36. The statue at Champmol was probably carved by Jean de Marville before 1389 and could have served as a model for the Rouvres figure. Another fragment from the same statue, further identifying it as of the Baptist, consists of the corner of a book with the imprint of a lamb's hoof. See Pierre Quarré, *La Chartreuse de Champmol: Foyer d'art au temps des ducs Valois*, exh. cat. (Dijon, 1960) no. 16, and his report, "Les Statues de l'oratoire ducal à la Chartreuse de Champmol," in *Recueil publié à l'occasion du cent cinquantième de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (1804-1954)* (Paris, 1955) pp. 247-251, figs. 2a, 2b.

37. In conversations with Rorimer (Medieval Department records).

38. This statue, now in the Collégiale at Auxonne, served as a prototype for statues at Pluvault (Côte-d'Or), Autun (before 1459, from the cathedral jubé), Sully, Laizy, and Beaumont-sur-Vingeanne (all Saône-et-Loire); see Quarré, *Jean de la Huerta*, nos. 46-52, pls. xxviii-xxxiii. A pleurant by Huerta on the tomb of John the Fearless (no. 64, before 1456), now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, shows the same drapery scheme; see *ibid.*, p. 43, and pl. xiv.

similar in composition. Even without the damage it has sustained, the Museum's statue lacks the finish and careful detail of the one at Rouvres, but it is carved with greater élan. The bravura interpretation of the theme, the impetuous posture with head thrown nobly back, the bold draping, the casual ease of the book against the shoulder—all suggest that Jean de la Huerta may himself have been the sculptor.

One stops short of an outright attribution to Huerta, however, because of the lack of direct evidence. At the least the similarity in composition to the figure at Rouvres allows the hypothesis that Huerta could have made a model or sketch for a talented assistant to execute. The statue certainly has the stamp of a great master.

As for the date of the Museum's *Baptist*—and by extension that of the *St. James*—sometime in the third quarter of the fifteenth century seems to be likely. This view is based on the supposition that the meticulously carved figure of the Baptist at Rouvres, made before 1448,<sup>39</sup> preceded the simpler, more carefree version now in New York.

The Metropolitan Museum's four statues from Poligny were carved at a time when the arts of Burgundy were a dominating influence throughout Europe. Beginning with the *Virgin and Child*, they range in date from the first to the third quarter of the

fifteenth century, roughly spanning the active careers of two sculptors employed by the dukes of Burgundy, Claux de Werve and his successor Jean de la Huerta, whose very different styles they exemplify. Where the *Virgin and Child*, which came from a convent of the Poor Clares founded by John the Fearless, can confidently be attributed to de Werve himself, the statues of St. Paul, St. James, and St. John the Baptist are less easily assigned. However, the masterly quality of the *St. Paul* and the *St. John the Baptist* suggests that they were designed, and may well have been executed, by de Werve and Huerta respectively. Together these four sculptures are invaluable witnesses to the artistic sophistication and high level of aesthetic accomplishment of the time and place of their creation.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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39. See above and note 35.

# A Drawing of Fame by the Cavaliere d'Arpino

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IN THE AUTUMN OF 1986, the collection of the Department of Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum was significantly enriched with the gift of a drawing by Giuseppe Cesari, known as the Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640). An altogether typical example of the artist's graphic work, this fine sheet represents an allegorical figure of Fame (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> It is executed in graphite and red chalk (a color combination often used by the artist), and is the first drawing by Cesari in this mixed medium to enter the Museum's collections.

Cesari d'Arpino was a highly visible presence in the Roman art world at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Stylistically a transitional figure, he can be seen as bridging the gap between the self-conscious Roman Mannerism of the previous generation and the "modern" art brought to Rome by the Carracci and Caravaggio (the latter, incidentally, spent some time in Cesari's workshop in 1593).

Cesari came to Rome as something of a prodigy in 1582 at the age of fourteen, and was immediately employed as one of the team of artists decorating the Logge in the Vatican Palace. Participation in subsequent projects at the palace (the Sala Vecchia degli Svizzeri and the Sala dei Palafrenieri) led to work in Roman churches and the Certosa di S. Martino in Naples. In 1587 he was commissioned to fresco the Olgiati Chapel in S. Prassede, Rome, although he did not execute the decorations until 1593–95. The Museum owns a pen and wash drawing of the Resurrection by Cesari that served as a preparatory study for a section of the fresco decoration in S. Prassede.<sup>2</sup>

Cesari received the title of Cavaliere di Cristo from Clement VIII in recognition of his work in S. Giovanni in Laterano, where he supervised the decora-

tion of the transept (1599–1601). Other major achievements included frescoes in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, designs for mosaics in the cupola of St. Peter's, and the direction of the decoration of the Cappella Paolina in S. Maria Maggiore (1610–12).

Between 1613 and 1615, when at the height of his power and influence, Cesari supervised the fresco decoration of the Palazzina Montalto, one of the twin casinos that stand in the terraced gardens of the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, north of Rome. The *palazzina*, designed by the architect Carlo Maderno, was constructed and decorated at a time when the villa was the property of Cardinal Alessandro Montalto, nephew of Pope Sixtus V.

In the center of the ceiling of a small room in the casino, Cesari painted in fresco an airborne figure of Fame (Figure 2), leaving to his assistants the execution of the six allegorical female figures that appear seated in irregular fields surrounding the central rectangle.<sup>3</sup> Cesari's painting and the Metropolitan Museum's new drawing are clearly related. The pose in each case is essentially the same, although in the fresco Fame does not sound her trumpet as she does in the drawing. Oddly enough, the artist has cropped

1. Gift of Mrs. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., 1986.318. The drawing was reproduced as no. 32 in *Centennial Loan Exhibition: Drawings and Watercolors from Alumnae and Their Families*, exh. cat. (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Vassar College, 1961), but its connection with Cesari's Villa Lante fresco was not mentioned.

2. Acc. no. 87.12.34; see Jacob Bean with the assistance of Lawrence Turčić, *15th and 16th Century Italian Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1982) no. 46, ill.

3. The whole ceiling, with subsidiary panels, is reproduced by Luigi Salerno, "Cavaliere d'Arpino, Tassi, Gentileschi and Their Assistants: A Study of Some Frescoes in the Villa Lante, Bagnaia," *Connoisseur* 146 (1960) p. 160, fig. 8.





off the flared ends of the trumpets in the painted version. Modifications have also been made in the position of the wings, the length of the hair, and the disposition of the drapery, which in the painting has been rearranged in such a way as to bare the figure's breasts. Despite the variations, it does not seem unreasonable to consider the drawing a preparatory study by Cesari for his ceiling fresco at the Villa Lante.

An impressive provenance enhances the interest of the drawing. It was once in the collection of the renowned eighteenth-century French connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774), whose collector's mark is visible at the lower left. The sheet is affixed to a beautifully preserved blue Mariette mount, complete with a cartouche that bears the identifying inscription: *EQUES JOSEPH / CESARI / ARPINATEN.* (Figure

3). In the posthumous sale of Mariette's collection (1775–76) the drawing was part of lot 126 and was described in the sale catalogue as "L'Etude d'une figure de Renommée, aux crayons, rouge et noir." Subsequently it belonged to the noted Viennese collector Count Moriz von Fries (1777–1826); his collector's mark—a blind stamp in the form of an encircled cross—appears next to Mariette's at the lower left.

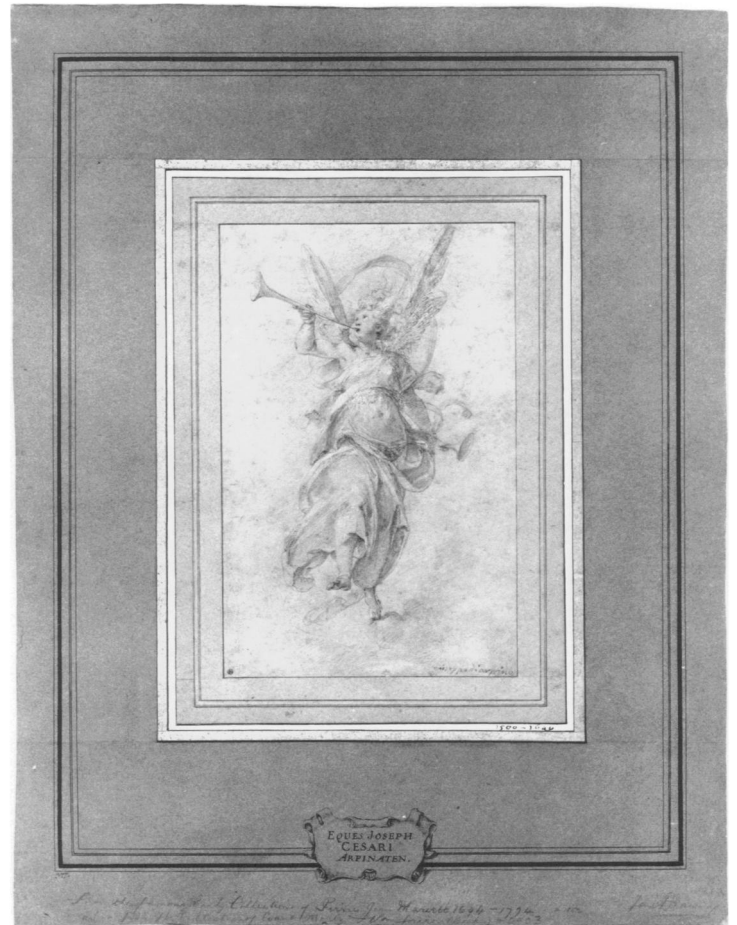
The Cavaliere d'Arpino's drawing of Fame comes to the Museum from a source no less distinguished than these. It was presented by Mrs. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., whose late husband was one of the founders of the Museum of Modern Art in New York and for many years its director. Mrs. Barr recalls that they purchased the drawing at R. H. Macy and Company, New York, around 1936.

FACING PAGE:

1. Giuseppe Cesari (Cavaliere d'Arpino, 1568–1640), *Fame*, ca. 1613–15, inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right: *giuseppe d'arpino*. Graphite and red chalk heightened with a little white (somewhat oxidized), lined; 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (25.0 × 15.9 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., 1986.318

BELOW:

2. Cesari, *Fame*, ca. 1613–15. Fresco. Bagnaia, Villa Lante, Palazzina Montalto (photo: after *Lazio*, Milan, n.d., fig. 406)
3. Cesari's drawing of Fame on its Mariette mount



# A Terracotta Relief of the Agony in the Garden by Massimiliano Soldani Benzi

KATE McCLUER

SINCE THE PUBLICATION of Klaus Lankheit's seminal *Florentinische Barockplastik* in 1962, the sculpture of Massimiliano Soldani Benzi (1656–1740) has been the subject of study both in the United States and abroad. Special attention has been paid to the small works in bronze, several high-quality examples of which can be found in American museums. The artist's relief sculpture, however, is perhaps less widely known, and a comprehensive study of his medals and pictorial reliefs has yet to appear, in spite of the fact that Soldani's earliest Roman training was in the art of *basso rilievo* and that by far the largest part of his extant works is in two dimensions.

Any discussion of the reliefs of Massimiliano Soldani should include the finely modeled terracotta relief of Christ's Agony in the Garden in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>1</sup> In common with many of Soldani's works, the relief is not documented and has no firm date; recent attempts to place it in the period between 1695 and 1708 are to my mind stylistically unconvincing.<sup>2</sup> The piece has no established provenance before 1910 and no known patron, and the object's function and meaning and the way in which it was intended to be displayed have not been sufficiently explored. It is precisely the questions of dating, iconography, purpose, and style that I wish to address here. In the course of discussion, Soldani's position among the sculptors of the Florentine late Baroque may emerge with greater clarity.

The composition of the *Agony in the Garden*, which is modeled in a pale, buff-colored clay, consists of twelve figures set in a rocky landscape (Figure 1). The figure of Christ, slightly off center, is flanked by

two adult angels. The angel on the right supports the limp body of Christ, while the one on the left, shown as if arriving on the scene, holds a chalice aloft in his right hand. These figures are modeled in very deep relief, and the gradated treatment of the clouds to the left makes a beautifully modulated transition from the back plane of the relief to the foreground; the clouds serve, too, as a kind of platform on which the angel on the left stands.

Also modeled in deep relief are the three putti flying above, the topmost of whom extends his partly draped right leg in exactly the same manner as the arriving angel below. The three putti in the bottom

1. This article developed from a report given in a seminar conducted by Olga Raggio at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, in the fall of 1985. The relief has been published in K. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik* (Munich, 1962) p. 135, pl. 90; *Florentine Baroque Art from American Collections*, exh. cat. (New York, 1969) p. 74, no. 83; J. Montagu in *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670–1743*, exh. cat. (Detroit, 1974) p. 102, no. 64, col. pl. II; and H. Hibbard, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980) p. 296, fig. 561. The relief was purchased from the German dealer Böhler in 1910 as "in the manner of Bernini"; the attribution was changed by the Museum to Bernini. In 1935 the work was described as "Italian, XVIII–XIX century," and in 1961 it was attributed to Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, "XVII–XVIII century."

2. Lankheit, *Barockplastik*, p. 135, admits some doubt as to whether the work is early or late, dating it between 1685 and 1730—this encompasses almost the whole of Soldani's documented career. He narrows the range to 1691–95 on the basis of the work's similarity to the bronze relief of the *Pietà* in Munich (fig. 89; see Figure 12). Montagu, *Twilight of the Medici*, p. 102, dates the terracotta to 1695–1708; it is at present exhibited with this date.





1, 2. Massimiliano Soldani Benzi (1656–1740), *The Agony in the Garden*. Terracotta relief, 23¾ × 16 in. (60.3 × 40.6 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 10.180

right corner of the composition (Figure 2) hold up a cloth decorated with the symbols of Christ's Passion: the column, scourge, three nails, pincers, lance, sponge with vinegar, and the crown of thorns.<sup>3</sup> The putto on the far right looks up and gestures toward the group of putti above, two of whom gaze downward to the central group with Christ. Immediately above the lower group of putti, and modeled in shall-

2. Detail of Figure 1: putti with the instruments of the Passion

low *stiacciato*, are the three sleeping apostles, those who accompanied Christ to the Mount of Olives: Peter, James, and John.

The iconic nature of the work is emphasized by the arrangement of these twelve figures into four roughly triangular groups of three. This could refer

3. A similar group of three putti holding the instruments of the Passion can be found decorating a scroll on the base of a porcelain *Pietà* based on a model by Soldani and known today in several versions (see *Twilight of the Medici*, p. 420, no. 246). Their inclusion in a scene of the Agony in the Garden is a reference to Christ's vision of his coming death on the Cross. Putti or angels bearing the instruments of the Passion were part of the standard iconography of earlier representations of the scene; for an Italian example see Mantegna's *Agony in the Garden* (National Gallery, London).





3. Soldani, *Spring*, 1708. Terracotta relief in original frame behind glass,  $35\frac{3}{8} \times 28\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. ( $90 \times 72 \times 14$  cm.). Florence, Museo degli Argenti (photo: Soprintendenza, Florence)

to the Trinity, as well as to the fact that in the Garden of Gethsemane Christ prayed three times to God the Father that the cup be removed from him and that he was presently to be denied three times by one of his own disciples. This emphasis on number symbolism, in addition to the small size of the piece, points to its probable function as an object for private devotion.

The work is not a *bozzetto* but a highly finished *modello*—as Jennifer Montagu points out, a model probably meant to be cast in bronze and then gilded or patinated as were, for example, the reliefs of the Four Seasons for Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm.<sup>4</sup> There is also the possibility that the relief was not just a model for a bronze now lost but was considered a work of art in its own right. The precedent for this lies in the terracotta *modelli* for the same *Four Seasons* reliefs, mentioned by Soldani in his autobiography of 1718 as “modelli de quali di terra cotta si ritrovano ancora dentro a’ suoi Cristalli, nella Camera dell’Audienza del medesimo Sig.r Principe [Ferdinando de’ Medici], essendosi adattato al di lui finissimo gusto.”<sup>5</sup> Thus, Prince Ferdinando gave the finished bronzes as a royal gift and put the terracotta reliefs on display in his own palace, surrounded by decora-

tive gilt frames and protected by glass (Figure 3). Something of a similar nature may have occurred with the terracotta *Agony in the Garden*.

The terracotta *Four Seasons* were not gilded or patinated in an attempt to disguise the fact that they were made from common clay, and neither is there any evidence for patination on the surface of the *Agony in the Garden*. The work was cleaned and restored in 1969. At that time earlier restorations, such as the raised right arm of the topmost putto visible in the photograph published by Lankheit in 1962, were removed. Most notable damage to the relief is the loss of this arm, a crack running across the bottom left corner which cuts through the right foot of the angel on the left and the knees of Christ, several small losses along the top and left edges of the relief, and the loss of most of the extended fingers of the putti. The terracotta has been mounted on a simple wooden board, which extends a few inches on all four sides. This is suggestive of the elaborate frame in which the work would have most probably been displayed.

There is no mention of the relief during Soldani’s lifetime, in spite of the fact that there are quite a few surviving documents relating to the artist. These include Soldani’s own autobiography of September 18, 1718; the *Vite* by Gabburri and Conti; letters by and about Soldani concerning his academic training in Rome from 1678 to 1682; much of the artist’s correspondence, among it his letters to Prince Johann Adam of Liechtenstein;<sup>6</sup> the artist’s last will and testament;<sup>7</sup> and the inventories of the Medici Guardaroba. Montagu connects the piece to Soldani’s letter of May 31, 1695, to the prince of Liechtenstein;<sup>8</sup> this mentions that the artist is sending a wax model for a relief, which “staria bene di Bronzo dorato, da collocarsi vicino ad un Letto, essendo cosa devota, e di maniera finita, proprio per tale effetto.”<sup>9</sup> Although the reference could indeed be to a wax model of the

4. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

5. Lankheit, *Barockplastik*, doc. 47, p. 233.

6. *Ibid.*, docs. 36, 47, 51, 128–185, 298–346.

7. G. Corti, “L’inventario dell’eredità di Massimiliano Soldani Benzi,” in *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana: Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici* (Munich, 1976) pp. 176–181.

8. *Twilight of the Medici*, p. 102.

9. Lankheit, *Barockplastik*, doc. 641, p. 328. He connects the document with the bronze *Pietà* now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (p. 129, fig. 89; see Figure 12).



terracotta now in the Metropolitan Museum, this seems to me unlikely.

While Soldani might have offered the prince a relief of a religious subject, the works that Johann Adam actually commissioned from the artist for his palace in Vienna seem to have been of a different sort: mythological subjects, or copies either after the antique or after famous sculptures from Renaissance and Baroque masters such as Michelangelo, Algardi, and Bernini. In fact, this offer to execute a devotional piece for the prince seems to have been unique. By 1702, Soldani fully understood his pa-

4. Soldani, *The Agony in the Garden*. Wax cast of Figure 1, 25<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 16<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (65 × 43 cm.). Sesto Fiorentino, Museo delle Porcellane di Doccia (photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence)



tron's taste for "belli nudi e belle idee."<sup>10</sup> Statues of dolphins, gladiators, Greek gods, and nude cupids appear on the list of available models that he sent to the prince on February 21 of that year, but not one religious subject is mentioned among them.<sup>11</sup>

In addition, Soldani's letter to the prince refers to a work of 1695, and this early date is incompatible with the style of the terracotta for reasons to be discussed. The letter does, however, suggest a suitable use for a work of the type represented by the *Agony in the Garden*. A "cosa devota" such as this would be pleasing in gilt bronze, hung in the bedroom of some wealthy patron, Soldani says, perhaps above a prie-dieu where private devotions could be said. The high degree of finish characteristic of all Soldani's reliefs is seen at its best advantage when viewed at close range in the intimacy of a domestic space. The continued popularity of the *Agony* relief was assured by Marchese Carlo Ginori's purchase of a number of plaster molds left by the artist in his house in the Borgo Santa Croce upon his death.<sup>12</sup> These were reproduced with great success in inexpensive porcelain copies. A wax cast of the *Agony in the Garden* (Figure 4) and its *forme* (piece-mold sections), as well as a written reference to it in the Ginori Archives, are still to be found in the Doccia porcelain factory near Florence.<sup>13</sup>

The *Agony in the Garden* represents the spiritual struggle between the human and divine sides of Christ's nature. It has traditionally formed part of large Passion cycles—for example, Duccio's *Maestà* for Siena Cathedral, Ghiberti's bronze doors for the Florentine Baptistery, and Pontormo's fresco cycle in the Certosa di Galluzzo near Florence; beginning with the Renaissance, it proved a popular subject for small-scale devotional pieces as well.<sup>14</sup> Less frequently, the *Agony in the Garden* appears as a subsidiary scene in the background of depictions of the

10. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, exh. cat. (New York, 1985) p. 65.

11. Lankheit, *Barockplastik*, doc. 671, pp. 334–335.

12. *Ibid.*, doc. 351, p. 284.

13. Listed in the "Inventario de' modelli" (ca. 1780) p. 38, no. 102: "un basso-rilievo rappresentante Gesù Cristo all'Orto, di cera. Del Soldani, con forme." Published by K. Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982) p. 137.

14. For example, the glazed earthenware "Hafner-ware" panel produced in Nuremberg ca. 1480 now in the Metropolitan Museum (1977.216.61), and the small, oval piece of lapis

Last Supper.<sup>15</sup> Its inclusion there underscores the continuity of action in time, the Agony occurring immediately after Christ's final meal with the apostles and directly before his arrest, and gives it a visual connection to the Last Supper as a model for the rite of Holy Communion.

The relative conservatism of most Tuscan versions of the scene, which derive from Duccio and ultimately from Byzantine art, contrasts with the approach of Northern and North Italian artists such as

5. Jacopo Ligozzi (ca. 1547–1626), *Christ on the Mount of Olives Supported by an Angel*, 1608. Oil on copper set into portable altar in wood with pietra dura inlay; painting, 10½ × 6¼ in. (26.7 × 15.9 cm.); altar, 23 × 13¼ × 3¼ in. (58.4 × 33.7 × 8.3 cm.). Oberlin, Ohio, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, R. T. Miller, Jr. Fund, 58.1 (photo: Allen Memorial Art Museum)



Dürer, Tintoretto, and Palma il Giovane, for whom the human drama of Christ's nocturnal entreaties to the Father at Gethsemane provided the source material for multiple reworkings of the scene. The result was often the perfect marriage of subject matter and style. When Vasari praises the realism of Correggio's little *Agony* of 1526–28 for Reggio Emilia—"pittura finta di notte . . . che è tanto simile al vero, che non si può nè immaginare nè esprimere meglio"<sup>16</sup>—he recognizes in it qualities of naturalistic lighting and landscape that are conspicuously absent from most of the complex religious paintings of the Florentine *maniera*.<sup>17</sup>

Correggio's much-copied work depicts a pleading Christ with arms outstretched in supplication; the final quarter of the sixteenth century saw the development of a more accepting Christ as well. Characteristic of these post-Tridentine images, which seem to have enjoyed special popularity in the Veneto,<sup>18</sup> is the

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lazuli, now lost, painted with a "Cristo nel orto" for which Il Cigoli is documented as having asked the Medici Guardaroba for payment on July 12, 1602; Matteoli says that the work was possibly intended as a grand-ducal gift to a relative or foreign prince (document reprinted by A. Matteoli in *Ludovico Cardo-Cigoli, pittore e architetto* [Pisa, 1980] p. 309; see also p. 436). In addition, Michelangelo provided Marcello Venusti, a painter of small devotional panels, with a cartoon of the Agony in the Garden of which H. Thode (*Michelangelo: Kritische Untersuchungen über seine Werke II* [Berlin, 1908] p. 462) located seven painted versions.

15. Pietro Perugino (Cenacolo di Foligno, Convent of Sant'Onofrio, Florence), Cosimo Roselli (Sistine Chapel, Vatican), and the tapestry for the Compagnia del Sacramento, Camaiore, dated 1516; this last is a *Communion of the Apostles* based on that by Justus of Ghent in Urbino, and the Agony in the Garden in the background is quite close to the one designed by Raphael for the Colonna Altarpiece (see Figure 7).

16. G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 1906) IV, pp. 117–118. Correggio's small devotional panel is now in the Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London. Among the works influenced by it are those by Titian (Monastery of S. Lorenzo, El Escorial), Bartolomeo Cesi (S. Girolamo alla Certosa, Bologna), and a follower of Poussin (formerly Collection Anthony Blunt, London).

17. For Correggio as a precursor of the art of the Counter-Reformation see E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente: Etude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe siècle, du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1932) chap. VI, pp. 229–295. M. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation* (Oxford, 1979), discusses the differing approaches of Florentine and Emilian painters to the requirements of religious art during the cinquecento; see esp. pp. 35, 85–87.

18. The Agony in the Garden with Christ supported by the angel seems to be a Venetian invention. It was seen first either

emphasis on submission rather than prayer. At the same moment that Christ mentally accepts his coming death on the cross, he accepts the physical embrace of the consoling angel, who appears only in the Gospel of Luke. These two opposing types of Christ are perhaps indicative of the inherent contradiction in the Agony in the Garden, mentioned by St. Francis of Sales in his *Traité de l'amour de Dieu* of 1616: he describes the nature of Christ's Agony as a desire for death caused by love and a horror of death caused by sorrow.<sup>19</sup>

The intimacy of this most private of moments in Christ's last hours on earth is beautifully rendered by the Veronese artist Jacopo Ligozzi in his tiny *Agony in the Garden* of 1608 (Figure 5), painted in jewel-like colors on copper. The subject of this portable altar has been identified by Bacci as the "swooning of Christ."<sup>20</sup> Only Christ and the angel are depicted, and a ray of light falls on the chalice in the upper left-hand corner to highlight its importance. The chalice is the artist's visualization of the metaphorical cup mentioned in the Gospels (Matt. 26:39, Mark

14:36, Luke 22:42). Although totally without textual sanction, Christ's acceptance of this cup of bitterness, which represents his fate or lot in life, came to have eucharistic significance.

The angel who ministers to Christ on Donatello's bronze pulpit relief in S. Lorenzo in Florence, for example, holds the chalice in the corporal in the same way as does the priest during Mass. And Raphael's Christ from the *Agony* predella panel of the Colonna Altarpiece, shown kneeling in profile with hands folded in prayer, is the perfect model of the communicant before the altar (Figure 6).<sup>21</sup> This image was all the stronger in the original composition, visible in X-rays and in the cartoon in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Figure 7), where the chalice is not carried by an angel but stands atop the rocky mass on the right. The panel has been linked to Umbrian and Florentine painting, although not always convincingly.<sup>22</sup> In fact, Raphael's decision to place the chalice on the mound before which Christ kneels instead of putting it in the hands of an angel has no real parallels in Central Italian art but seems to derive from German

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in drawing no. 3070 in the Fitzwilliam Museum by Palma il Giovane (inscribed *giovane 1575*, a date accepted as autograph by J. W. Goodison and G. H. Robertson, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: Catalogue of Paintings* II [Cambridge, 1967] pp. 118–119, and by D. Scrase, *The Genius of Venice: 1500–1600*, exh. cat. [London, 1983] p. 264; but rejected by H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the XVth and XVIth Centuries* [New York, 1944] p. 201, and by S. Mason Rinaldi, *Palma il Giovane: L'opera completa* [Milan, 1984] p. 103, both of whom date the work to after 1600), or in Veronese's oil painting no. 241 in the Brera, Milan (dated ca. 1570 by L. Coletti, "Risposta alla recensione della Brizio," *L'arte* 31 [1928] p. 45, and to the 1580s by T. Pignatti, *Veronese: L'opera completa* [Venice, 1976] I, p. 167). Other examples of this type include: Palma il Giovane (Albertina, Vienna, ca. 1590; Tempio Canoviano, Possagno, 1600–04; and Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, 1600–04); Ludovico Carracci (Matthiesen Gallery, London, ca. 1600); school of Veronese (Palazzo Ducale, Venice, before 1587); Leandro Bassano (S. Cassiano, Venice, after 1600); Jacopo Ligozzi (Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, 1608); Cecco Bravo (private coll., Florence, 1650s); Rembrandt (Kunsthalle, Hamburg, 1650–55); Giuseppe Lonardi (Parrocchiale, Arzare, 1690); Francesco Trevisani (S. Silvestro in Capite, Rome, 1695–96); Antonio Balestra (private coll., London, after 1695); and the painting attributed to Carlo Maratta (Burghley House, England, after 1696). See also P. Askew, "The Angelic Consolation of St. Francis of Assisi in Post-Tridentine Italian Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969) p. 293 and n. 55.

19. F. de Sales, *Traité de l'amour de Dieu* (Paris, 1934) II, pp. 271–272.

20. M. Bacci, "A Portable Altar by Ligozzi," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 20 (1962–63) p. 47.

21. First noticed by Lady Eastlake in Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake, *The History of Our Lord as Exemplified in Works of Art* (London, 1864) II, pp. 30–31, but not emphasized in the subsequent literature on the piece. For a summary of the literature see F. Zeri and E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings. A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Siennese and Central Italian Schools* (New York, 1980) pp. 76–78.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 76, where it is related to the Agony Perugino painted in the background of his *Last Supper* for the convent of Sant'Onofrio, Florence, and to the scene on the embroidered cope in Piero della Francesca's *St. Augustine* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon). The Perugino resembles the repainted panel, not Raphael's original design, while the scene on St. Augustine's cope can be related to scenes decorating actual liturgical garments of the late quattrocento, such as the richly embroidered cope designed by Justus of Ghent in Gubbio Cathedral (see A. Venturi, "Paramenti istoriati su disegno di Justus di Gand e Luca Signorelli," *L'arte* 15 [1912] pp. 299–304, fig. 1). Piero did not invent the scheme of Christ facing right in profile with hands clasped in prayer, as Zeri suggests (Zeri and Gardner, *Italian Paintings*, p. 76). This is the traditional manner of depicting Christ's Agony in the Garden and can be seen in the earliest extant examples; see the 6th-century Italian Gospels of St. Augustine (MS 286, fol. 125r), in which even the familiar details of landscape—the incline on which Christ kneels and the tree behind him—have been established (F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine, Corpus Christi College ms. 286* [Cambridge, 1954] pl. iv).

and Flemish tradition.<sup>23</sup> In this context one might remember the presence of Justus of Ghent at the court of Urbino from 1472 to 1475 and his influence on Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi. The unknown Um-

6. Raphael (1483–1520), *The Agony in the Garden*, predella panel from the Colonna Altarpiece, 1502–05. Tempera and oil on wood, 9½ × 11¾ in. (24.1 × 28.9 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Funds from various donors, 32.130.1



7. Raphael, cartoon for *The Agony in the Garden*, pricked for transfer. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (photo: Pierpont Morgan Library)



brian artist who painted in the cup-bearing angel, possibly after completion of the altarpiece, did so in order to conform to the iconography more common in Italy.

The figure of Christ in prayer before a chalice standing on a rocky “altar” continued to be a feature of Northern scenes of the Agony in the Garden well into the sixteenth century, and its persistence there can perhaps be related in part to the *Kelchstreit* (chalice controversy). The Protestant reformers claimed the layman’s right to receive communion under two kinds, the wine and the bread, insisting, in Luther’s words, that the Mass was not a sacrifice but a mere “testament and sacrament wherein, under the seal of a symbol, a promise is made of the redemption of sin.”<sup>24</sup> Catholics considered this heretical. In chapter 6 of his *De missae sacrificio et ritu adversus Lutheranos* of 1531, the Dominican Cardinal Cajetan stated unequivocally: “the victim by bloodshed [Christ on Calvary] and the unbloody victim [Christ’s body and blood under the appearance of the bread and wine] are not two, but one victim.”<sup>25</sup>

23. An early instance of the visual equation of Christ’s prayer in the garden with the sacrament of Holy Communion is the 10th-century ivory book cover from the Rhineland now in London, where Christ kneels before an actual cloth-covered altar, on which lies a cross. The cross is replaced by the chalice and the altar by the rocky mound in works by a Central Rhenish master, ca. 1410 (Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, Utrecht), the Master of the Golden Panel from Lüneburg, ca. 1418 (Niedersächsische Landesgalerie, Hanover), Jan Gossaert, ca. 1500–12 (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin), an artist painting in the style of Bernaert van Orley, ca. 1510 (MMA acc. no. 41.190.14), Albrecht Dürer, 1515, etching (Staatsbibliothek, Bamberg), and Hendrick Goltzius, 1597 (Prentenkabinet, Leiden). The Venetian Jacopo Bellini experimented with this sacramental imagery in a drawing (ca. 1450) now in London (British Museum sketchbook, fol. 44a); however, the motif of the chalice atop the rocky “altar” was not picked up by his son Giovanni Bellini or by his son-in-law Andrea Mantegna in their versions of the scene (both National Gallery, London), which otherwise seem to depend on Jacopo’s drawing.

24. Quoted in E. Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, 1945) I, p. 222, who notes that in Dürer’s later drawings and woodcuts of the Last Supper the artist conspicuously emphasizes the sacramental chalice while eliminating the sacrificial lamb present in his earlier versions of the scene, thus appearing to profess Luther’s point of view. A similar shift seems to take place in Dürer’s depictions of the Agony in the Garden, which, around 1515, change from dramatic and impassioned to calm and communionlike.

25. Cited by F. Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1967) p. 88.

It is the “unbloody victim” that is presented in Ligozzi’s little altarpiece (Figure 5); Christ’s sacrifice is further emphasized in the small pietra dura scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac on the predella below. Both concern a father’s sacrifice of his son in the presence of an angel. Moreover, the artist’s decision to link the two can perhaps be understood in terms of St. Augustine’s *De civitate Dei* (X.20). Augustine says that although Christ in his divine nature accepts the sacrifice in unity with his Father, with whom he is one God, yet serving in his human nature he chooses rather to be the sacrifice than to accept it, lest anyone should think that the sacrifice may instead be offered to a creature. In this way the New Testament sacrifice on Calvary differs from its Old Testament prototype where, at the last moment, a ram is offered to God in place of Isaac. The role played by the angel in these scenes may have been suggested by the prayer found in almost all ancient liturgies, that the sacrifice of the earthly altar should have its mystical counterpart or be made effective on high through the ministry of angels.<sup>26</sup> Both ideas were current in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in sermons and theological writings on the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist.<sup>27</sup>

Visual reference to the Passion is also intended by the sorrowful gesture of the angel in Ligozzi’s painting, who, raising his arms in dismay, recalls the gesture of the Marys in scenes of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ. The combination of a reclining figure with a supporting figure behind is familiar from countless renderings of the Deposition from the Cross, the Bearing of the Body, and the Pietà.<sup>28</sup> For the Agony in the Garden this pose suggests the literal interpretation of the Gospel of Luke: “And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him” (22:43). Ligozzi’s straightforward composition makes these analogical relationships quite evident to the pious viewer and thereby provides a visual aid to devotion in the tradition of St. Bonaventure and the *Itinerarium mentis ad Deum*.

Ligozzi, like Soldani, worked in the service of the Medici court, and although a century separates their careers there are similarities between the two representations of Christ that suggest some memory of Ligozzi’s version may have influenced Soldani: for example, the way in which the drapery with its several deeply cut, diagonal folds is wrapped around Christ’s left thigh, or the way in which the neckline of his gown gaps at the top to form one vertical fold. In



8. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1573–1610), *Ecstasy of St. Francis*, ca. 1595. Oil on canvas, 36<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 50<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in (92.4 × 127.6 cm.). Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection (photo: Joseph Szaszfai)

both scenes Christ is supported on one side—his right in Ligozzi, his left in Soldani—by the angel’s knee pushed up under his armpit, while his arm on that side hangs limply against the angel’s lower leg.

Another painting in which an angel is shown giving support to a reclining figure from behind is Caravaggio’s *Ecstasy of St. Francis* (Figure 8). Although

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 422–423, notes that the liturgy of St. Cyril of Alexandria specifically links the angelic ministry to the Sacrifice of Isaac, a scene that is often sited directly over the high altar in Byzantine churches. The continuation of this tradition into the late 17th century is represented by the bronze tondo of the Sacrifice of Isaac designed by Gian Battista Foggini, which decorates the left side of the high altar itself in Santissima Annunziata, Florence (see Lankheit, *Barockplastik*, pl. 49). In this context, it is possible that the flat stone ledge on which Christ’s body rests in both Ligozzi’s painting and Soldani’s relief is meant to suggest the altar of angelic sacrifice or, alternately, the stone of unction.

27. See the *Sermones discipuli de tempore et sanctis* by the Dominican preacher John Herolt, which was a best-seller throughout Europe, and the *De quibusdam in Ecclesia controversiis opusculum* by James Latomus, rector of the University of Louvain; cited by Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, pp. 547, 539.

28. Askew, “Angelic Consolation,” p. 290, who also relates this combination of reclining and supporting figures to scenes of the Trinity, the Dead Christ Supported by Angels, and St. Francis in Ecstasy. For other images of the sacramental Christ and the Eucharistic Pietà in context see M. E. Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the Sixteenth Century* (New York/London, 1979) pp. 26–65, 144–163.





9. Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669), *Pietà*, 1635. Fresco. Vatican Palace, altar of the Chapel of Urban VIII (photo: Vatican Museums)

10. Alessandro Algardi (1598–1654), *The Beheading of St. Paul*, 1648. Bronze relief, diam. 19¼ in. (49 cm.). Bologna, S. Paolo Maggiore (photo: Villani, Bologna)



there is no certainty that Soldani ever saw this work, the way in which a youthful, athletic angel is shown, one muscular arm left undraped as if to emphasize its physical function, is similar in both. Parallels between the two stories, literary as well as visual, have been drawn before: St. Francis on Monte La Verna as *imitator Christi* on the Mount of Olives.<sup>29</sup> Caravaggio's composition differs from Soldani's in his invention of the scene of St. Francis supported by a single angel. Pamela Askew proposes that it was in the circle of Annibale Carracci in Rome that the theme of St. Francis supported by two angels of human scale was adopted and developed.<sup>30</sup> The fact that representations of the Agony in the Garden with two adult angels flanking Christ are extremely rare indicates that Soldani's composition is an outgrowth of this Franciscan tradition.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 293, and de Sales, *Traité*, I, pp. 293–295. See also L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1955–59) III:1, p. 527.

30. Askew, "Angelic Consolation," p. 296; an example by Giovan Francesco Gessi can be seen in the Pinacoteca, Bologna. According to Askew, Caravaggio's Hartford *St. Francis* specifically recalls Veronese's *Agony in the Garden* in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, in which Christ is shown receiving physical support from one angel of human scale. Conversely, I could find no scenes of the Agony in the Garden in which Christ is shown flanked by two angels, with the exception of Francesco Trevisani's lunette in S. Silvestro in Capite in Rome (see Figure 11), the painting attributed to Carlo Maratta in Burghley House, England, and Soldani's terracotta; thus, these scenes seem to be a retranslation of the two-angel Ecstasy composition, developed in the Carracci circle, back into a scene of the Agony in the Garden.





11. Francesco Trevisani (1656–1746), *The Agony in the Garden*, 1695–96. Oil on canvas, approx.  $84\frac{3}{8} \times 133\frac{7}{8}$  in. (215 × 340 cm.). Rome, S. Silvestro in Capite, Crucifixion Chapel (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

Soldani spent four years in Rome as a student (1678–82) and could well have been influenced by work done there earlier in the century. The Christ from Pietro da Cortona's *Pietà* in the chapel of Urban VIII in the Vatican (Figure 9) is a very compelling source for the facial type of Soldani's Christ, with his heavy-lidded eyes, sharply contoured nose seen in profile, and stringy strands of hair that fall across his neck, while the snub-nosed little faces of the putti are pure Algardi. And it was surely Algardi's *Beheading of St. Paul* for Bologna (Figure 10) that provided the model for Soldani's low-relief treatment of the landscape and trees, as well as for the characteristic physiognomy of the bearded apostles in the background.<sup>31</sup>

The one work, however, which is closest to Soldani's in both composition and mood and which can thus be singled out as the prototype for the relief is Francesco Trevisani's oil painting of the Agony in the Garden executed in 1695–96 for a lunette in the Crucifixion Chapel of S. Silvestro in Capite in Rome (Figure 11). Soldani's composition conforms to Trevisani's in all the particulars. Both follow the "St. Francis tradition" described above by depicting the reclining Christ flanked by two angels of human scale instead of the one mentioned in the Gospel of Luke; I could find no earlier scenes of the Agony in the Garden where this was the case. The disposition of the angels in relation to the body of Christ is similar, as is the fact that both adult and child angels are present. A strong diagonal running from the upper left through the outstretched arm of the angel and down through Christ's limply hanging left arm to the bottom right side of the composition is a feature of both. In addition, both representations locate a smaller, secondary scene in the background at the bottom right: in Soldani's work the sleeping apostles and in Trevisani's the arrival of the guards to arrest Christ. The putto in the relief who holds the cloth with the symbols of the Passion recalls the flying putti

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31. Terracotta and gesso *modelli* from Algardi's studio passed via Ercole Ferrata into the Florentine Academy in Rome, where they were used as teaching tools for several generations of students, Soldani among them; in fact, Grand Duke Cosimo III is documented as having singled out Algardi's *Beheading of St. Paul* as the best example that these sculptors-in-training could follow for the technique of low relief (Lankheit, *Barockplastik*, doc. 212, p. 263).

with Passion symbols painted in the pendentives of Trevisani's chapel.

That Soldani knew this work is not at issue. All of Rome knew it: the *Avviso di Roma* of January 5, 1697, records that Trevisani's Crucifixion Chapel was much admired by the citizens of Rome, who crowded in to see it when it was unveiled.<sup>32</sup> In addition, Trevisani made several studies and drawings for his *Agony in the Garden*. These include a *modello* formerly in Dresden, which, because of the greater emphasis on the landscape to the right, was perhaps closest to Soldani's relief; a *bozzetto* in Marseilles; and a drawing after the composition now in Düsseldorf.<sup>33</sup> These sketches further record what was, for Roman painting at this time, a very modern composition. With the *Agony in the Garden* the artist disassociated himself from the charged emotionalism and epic seriousness of his own century and anticipated instead the gentler, more empathetic vision of the eighteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Trevisani's Christ is not a character in an evolving drama but is presented at the very moment he embraces the inevitability of his Crucifixion. Static and sculptural, his languid pose is modeled on that of the Pietà; in this way acceptance of death is presented in the guise of death itself.

The fact that Soldani looked to Trevisani for a visual source is not in itself unusual. The two artists were contemporaries, Trevisani leaving Venice to come to Rome in 1678, the year of Soldani's arrival in the city. (They may even have known each other as students there.) The very lack of a strongly innovative visual tradition in Florence for representing the *Agony in the Garden*, coupled with the fact that Northern examples are so plentiful, would have made the north of Italy a logical place to turn. A specifically Venetian source for Soldani's work is consistent with the high regard shown for Venetian art by certain members of the Medici court. Prince Ferdinando, an important patron for Soldani, was enamored of Venice and what he called the "gran gusto" of Venetian art. He was especially fond of the paintings of the Venetian cinquecento, but he is also documented as having owned a *modello* of Trevisani's *Banquet of Antony and Cleopatra*, painted for Cardinal Fabrizio Spada-Varallo.<sup>35</sup> In light of the prince's avowed passion for collecting *modelli* of pictures painted for other patrons, it would be interesting to know more about the early history of Trevisani's *mo-*

*dello* for the *Agony in the Garden*, formerly in Dresden, which was so close in composition to Soldani's relief.

Differences between the two compositions probably derive from differences in function. Trevisani's *Agony in the Garden* for S. Silvestro in Capite is part of a series of five large-scale Passion scenes and, as such, is organized so that it helps to advance the narrative as one looks from scene to scene around the chapel walls. Despite the quiet mood of the lunette, there is action indicated by the glance the two angels exchange, and by the way in which the angel on the left gestures excitedly as if to alert the other to the fact that the guards of the Sanhedrin are fast approaching. This contrasts with what can only be called the non-narrative quality of Soldani's small relief; the scene seems frozen in time. This may well reflect the private devotional purpose for which the relief would have been intended. As an aid to prayer, Soldani's scene would be ideal, providing as it does a neutral starting point for the worshiper's meditations on the life and death of Christ.

The specific iconography of the piece indicates a further meaning. Montagu notes that the cloth held by the putti suggests a connection with a confraternity of the Passion,<sup>36</sup> but she does not pursue this thought. A possible candidate for such a confraternity in Florence would be the Oratorio della Meditazione della Passione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, founded at the end of the sixteenth century in the

32. F. R. DiFederico, "Studies in the Art of Francesco Trevisani: A Contribution to the History of Roman Painting," Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1970) I, p. 149.

33. *Ibid.*, II, figs. 146, 149; the drawing in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (FP 10030), is by a follower of Trevisani.

34. F. R. DiFederico, *Francesco Trevisani—Eighteenth-Century Painter in Rome* (Washington, D.C., 1977) pp. 14–16. DiFederico sees Trevisani's *Agony* lunette as a visualization of the ideals of the classicizing, anti-Baroque Accademia degli Arcadi, a literary movement in Rome to which Trevisani belonged. Soldani himself had some contact with Arcadian ideas during the period Feb.–Aug. 1681, when he is documented as having worked for Queen Christina of Sweden in Rome (Lankheit, *Barockplastik*, docs. 167–179, pp. 259–261); the queen's Accademia Reale was the literary group upon which the later Accademia d'Arcadia was modeled.

35. F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (London, 1963) p. 233, n. 1.

36. *Twilight of the Medici*, p. 102.

wake of the Counter-Reformation by members of the Florentine nobility. Of the almost one hundred confraternal orders mentioned by Ronald Weissman,<sup>37</sup> many of which are dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, only this one makes specific reference to the meditation on Christ's Passion. The 1590 *Capitoli* of the order stress the hierarchical obedience, both to God and to one's earthly superiors, which according to Weissman was central to the nature of ritual experience in post-Tridentine confraternities. Chapter 10 of the *Capitoli* defines disobedience as the worst sin, the sin that is at the root of all others. Conversely, obedience is the greatest virtue, and no other stands us in such good stead "when we negotiate with God about our deeds."<sup>38</sup> God uses neither humility, chastity, patience, nor abstinence as a test of human worth but only obedience. This, of course, is the main thrust of the visual message inherent in Soldani's relief: Christ's obedient acceptance of the bitter cup offered to him by his Father's angelic messengers. There is no room for negotiation in the statutes published by the Oratorio, nor does Soldani's Christ negotiate with the Father concerning his imminent death: "nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt" (Matt. 26:39).<sup>39</sup>

Obedience to a higher authority could also mean, in a political sense, obedience to the ruling power. The Medici began to patronize local confraternities as early as the end of the fifteenth century when they came to view them not as threats to the civic order but as potential sources of political support for the Medici regime. The family also supported the confraternities' shift in the sixteenth century from public ceremonies to a more private type of devotion that put a renewed emphasis on the celebration of the Mass. Communion became the central rite of the confraternities: the brothers of the Oratorio accepted as members only those applicants who had taken communion regularly for the past six months.<sup>40</sup>

This emphasis on the body and blood of Christ is surely intentional in the central placement of the Lord's body and the emphasis given to the chalice in Ligozzi's 1608 painting, which, because of its date, can be taken as a visualization of post-Counter-Reformation eucharistic piety. There is every indication that personal devotion to the Eucharist and to the Holy Office was strengthened under the pious

Cosimo III, Soldani's patron. And while there is no published document linking Soldani's relief to any specific confraternity, its iconography is certainly in keeping with the documented aims and philosophy of the Oratorio.

Dating of Soldani's *Agony in the Garden* is something of an open question. The tendency has been to date it fairly early. Lankheit perceives a similarity in style between the terracotta and the Munich *Pietà* of 1691–95 (Figure 12); he also sees the *Agony* as one of a series of four Passion scenes of similar size known today from wax models in the Museo delle Porcellane.<sup>41</sup> In his opinion, all these works share a certain spacelessness and awkwardness of composition, and thus belong to Soldani's early period. Montagu follows Lankheit in noting the remarkable consistency of Soldani's physical types and formal vocabulary throughout his career. She justifies her date of about 1695–1708 by stating that it would be hard to imagine the piece as earlier than the *Peace and Justice* for the prince of Liechtenstein or as later than the *Four Seasons* reliefs.<sup>42</sup>

Neither theory is wholly convincing. Lankheit seems to confuse similarities of subject matter and function with similarities of style. Both the Munich *Pietà* and the *Agony in the Garden* are devotional in purpose; in addition, they are similar in size and theme, the *Pietà* being iconographically and compositionally related to the *Agony in the Garden* for reasons already discussed. There is even a certain resemblance in the way in which the angel on the right supports the swooning figure in each. For me, the

37. R. F. E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1982) pp. 237–241. The Florentine Archivio di Stato contains chapter books of the order dating from 1590 to 1748.

38. *Capitoli* 793, chap. 10, fol. 11r/v. Reprinted in part in Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, p. 219.

39. Heb. 5:7–8 also stresses Christ's obedience to his Father's will at Gethsemane: "in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared; Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered."

40. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, p. 224; see also pp. 229–235 for a discussion of the Quarantore, or Forty Hours, a related eucharistic devotion that became popular in the mid-16th century and was heavily supported by the Medici.

41. Lankheit, *Barockplastik*, pp. 135–136.

42. Montagu, *Twilight of the Medici*, p. 102.

similarities end there; furthermore, they are outweighed by quite noticeable differences between the two reliefs.

The *Pietà* is organized with the emphasis on the horizontal and all the figures are located in the bottom half of the field. The *Agony* features several roughly triangular groups of figures placed at diagonals to one another; this is also a characteristic of the 1729 relief for the Vilhena monument in Malta.<sup>43</sup> The treatment of the leafy branches of the trees is different in each; both the trees and the awkward way in which the tomb is located in space in the *Pietà* are similar to the way in which the trees and the temple are handled in the 1694 bronze relief for the prince of Liechtenstein.<sup>44</sup> Soldani's habit of putting a kind of still-life arrangement of objects in the foreground is typical of his early reliefs and is a feature of both the *Pietà* and the *Truth and Justice*. In the *Ag-*

12. Soldani, *Pietà*, 1691–95. Bronze relief, 22¼ × 14⅝ in. (56.5 × 37 cm.). Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (photo: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum)



*ony in the Garden*, however, the main group of figures is located farther towards the center of the relief and the landscape forms a rocky platform for them to rest upon; compare this to the way in which the bed is used in the 1720 relief of the Death of St. Joseph (Figure 13). The unresolved treatment of Christ's leg noticed by Lankheit in the *Pietà* is not present in the similar treatment of the reclining figure in the *Agony*; moreover, there is an almost rhetorical presentation of the story in the *Pietà* that recalls the dramatic gestures and episodic narrative style of the Sansedoni reliefs in Siena of about 1692–1700.<sup>45</sup> This is in direct contrast to the dreamy, self-contained quality of the terracotta.

Lankheit's theory that the *Agony in the Garden* is part of a Passion cycle represented by the reliefs in the Museo delle Porcellane is even more difficult to sustain. He is correct in pointing out that the four wax models are of similar size (roughly 64 by 44 centimeters) and that the "Cristo nel orto" is listed directly after the "Flagellazione alla colonna" on page 38 of the Ginori inventory of about 1780.<sup>46</sup> These two reliefs share at least a superficial similarity in the positioning of the raised right arm and draped right leg of the figure on the extreme left of each—the angel in the *Agony*, the soldier in the *Flagellation* (compare Figures 4 and 14). Lankheit relates all four reliefs to the pictorial style of Pietro da Cortona and to the relief style of Gian Battista Foggini. Actually, the *Flagellation*, the *Crowning with Thorns*, and the *Carrying of the Cross* in the series of wax reliefs resemble more closely Giambologna's 1584 bronze reliefs for the Grimaldi Chapel in Genoa,<sup>47</sup> both in the treatment of the architecture with its characteristic crenellations and oculus windows and in the way in which small-scale figures located on ledges, parapets, or behind columns are cast as onlookers in the scenes. Soldani could have studied the original reliefs during his trip to Genoa in 1699 for work in S. Maria del Carignano, or closer to home, the copies in Santissima Annunziata in Florence. Further stylistic simi-

43. Lankheit, *Barockplastik*, fig. 102.

44. *Ibid.*, fig. 93.

45. *Ibid.*, figs. 38–43.

46. Published by Lankheit, *Doccia*, nos. 101, 102, pls. 63 and 62, along with the *Crowning with Thorns* (no. 78, pl. 64) and the *Carrying of the Cross to Calvary* (no. 80, pl. 65).

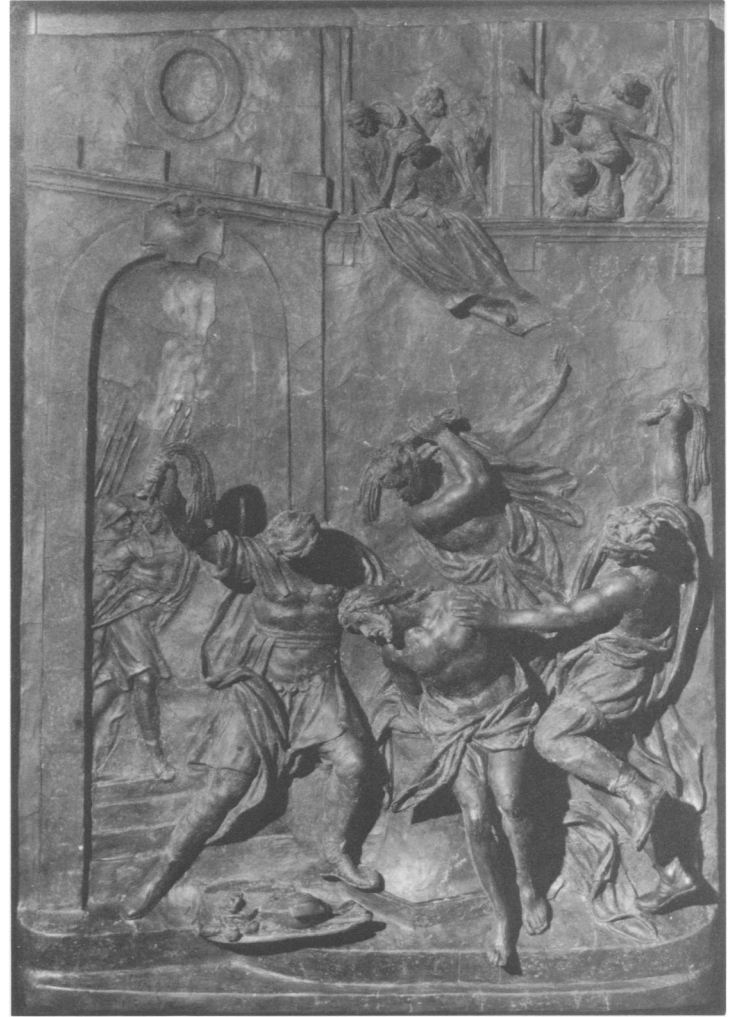
47. See *Giambologna 1529–1608: Sculptor to the Medici*, exh. cat. (Edinburgh/London/Vienna, 1978) figs. 122–127.



13. Soldani, *The Death of St. Joseph*, ca. 1720. Bronze relief, 25½ × 17¼ in. (65 × 44 cm.). Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (photo: Soprintendenza, Florence)

larities between Soldani's three Passion scenes and his Sansedoni reliefs for Siena would make a date of around 1700 seem reasonable for the wax reliefs. Their complex figure groupings and almost violent pictorial style are, in fact, not at all typical of the refined, medallion relief style usually adopted by the artist and certainly have nothing in common with the *Agony in the Garden*. Furthermore, the inclusion of the clearly symbolic group of putti in the lower right-hand corner of the terracotta should be indication enough that this relief was not meant to be part of a narrative cycle.

Similarly, Montagu's theory that the work could not have been executed after the *Four Seasons* reliefs



14. Soldani, *The Flagellation of Christ*, ca. 1700. Wax cast, 25¼ × 17¼ in. (64 × 44 cm.). Sesto Fiorentino, Museo delle Porcellane di Doccia (photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence)

is not upheld by stylistic comparison. She rightly observes that the *Agony in the Garden* is not contemporary with the *Four Seasons* reliefs and is not of the period 1708–11; however, in spite of what she terms the artist's "remarkably constant" formal vocabulary, Soldani continued to experiment and change during the remaining twenty-five years of his career.

What is apparent to me is the move away from the crowded and more spatially complicated compositions of Soldani's middle period, characterized by the Bacchus relief (1697)<sup>48</sup> and the *Four Seasons*, towards

48. Lankheit, *Barockplastik*, fig. 104.



15. Saldani, *Christ Mourned by the Virgin and an Angel*, ca. 1715. Bronze, H. excl. base 19<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (50.5 cm.). Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery (photo: Walters Art Gallery)



a reductive style of almost classical restraint. This is true for the reliefs as well as for the three-dimensional bronzes. The Walters Art Gallery *Christ Mourned by the Virgin and an Angel* of 1715 (Figure 15) beautifully combines the exquisite chasing and surface treatment of Soldani the medalist with the tabeaulike three-figure grouping of Soldani the emerging classicist. Notable is his emphasis on symbolic gesture: the diagonal movement from left to right allows the eye to rest for a moment on the cup held by the angel in the *Agony in the Garden* and on the crown of thorns held between the angel and the Virgin in the bronze. In a similar manner Soldani highlights the knife once brandished by Jephthah in the *Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter* in the Metropolitan Museum, one of a series of twelve bronze groups made for Electress Palatine Anna Maria Luisa in 1722.<sup>49</sup> These inanimate objects, like props in a stage play, are necessary elements in the drama.<sup>50</sup>

The stepped-back platform of the rocky ledge in the *Agony in the Garden* is the stage on which the action takes place, just as the raised bed in Soldani's *Death of St. Joseph* (Figure 13) provides the setting for a comparable cast of characters. It is perhaps the similarity to this relief, dated by Lankheit to 1720, that makes the strongest case for a later date for the *Agony* terracotta. In both, pictorial values are suppressed in favor of sculptural ones. The figures are arranged parallel to the relief plane, and there is very little integration between background and foreground, giving the impression that even if the backdrop against which the central figures are seen were to be removed, they could exist without it, in isolation. For this reason the terracotta relief merits comparison with the documented series of bronze groups for the electress palatine mentioned above, as well as with the three-dimensional gesso group of the *Crucifixion with the Magdalene and an Angel* (Figure 16) for the Benedictine convent of S. Maria degli Angeli at Pistoia. Paolucci was the first to notice similarities of style between this impressive group and the *Agony in the Garden*, on the basis of which he dates both to the second decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>51</sup> A date just preceding 1720 seems to me justified for Soldani's terracotta relief of the *Agony in the Garden*. The profundity of religious feeling of these late works is a telling reminder of those devotional exercises fostered by the Medici throughout settecento Tuscany.



16. Soldani, *The Magdalene and an Angel*, detail of *The Crucifixion*, 1710–20. Gesso, overall  $70\frac{7}{8} \times 21\frac{1}{4}$  in. (180 × 54 cm.). Pistoia, Convent of S. Maria degli Angeli (photo: Soprintendenza, Florence)

49. For the bronzes see S. Casciu, "Due episodi della scultura fiorentina del settecento nel mecenatismo di Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici," *Paragone* 435 (1986) pp. 83–100, including Soldani's receipt of payment for *Jephthah's Daughter*, Dec. 29, 1722, doc. 5, p. 97; O. Raggio in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1985–1986* (New York, 1986) pp. 22–23; J. Montagu, "The Bronze Groups Made for the Electress Palatine," in *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana*, pp. 126–136; and K. Lankheit, "Two Bronzes by Massimiliano Soldani Benzi," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 19 (1956) pp. 9–17, figs. 1, 3, 5.

50. Theatrical allusions are perhaps not out of place since the stage might have had some influence on how these little scenarios were conceived; it certainly seems to have had an influence on how they were displayed. One of the few instances in which the original 18th-century setting has survived is the elegant carved and gilded wooden "shadowbox" that houses the *Pietà* group in the Villa La Quiete in Florence (see A. Paolucci, "Contributi per la scultura fiorentina del Settecento," *Paragone* 339 [1978] fig. 36), a construction which gives the effect of a miniature stage set.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 70. Most recent publication of the piece is *La Maddalena tra sacro e profano*, exh. cat. (Florence, 1986) pp. 113–114, no. 34.

# Five Scenes from a Romance: The Identification of a Nineteenth-Century Printed Cotton

LOURDES M. FONT

"FIVE SCENES FROM A ROMANCE" is the title given to two printed cottons in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, attributed to Alsace and believed to date from about 1830. They are two versions of the same engraved copper roller, both printed in purple, one on a white ground (Figure 1), the other (Figure 2) overprinted in mustard with discharge or resist-treated areas in white for a three-color effect. The engraved design consists of two registers, one with two scenes, the other with three. The monochrome version, although it is faded in some parts, is the sharper and more complete of the two. It is composed of three pieces that have been darned together for a combined length of 7 feet 9 inches, and it is of full loom width (32½ inches). The second example, which is 22⅝ inches long by 27¾ inches wide, must have had slightly over 2¼ inches cut off on either side; it shows a single repeat, with the two-scene register at the bottom. This three-color version, in which some figures and details of costume and landscape are veiled in white, is especially intriguing not only because of its technique, which at this date may have been experimental, but for the seemingly whimsical way in which the technique was employed. The more immediate puzzle, however, is the subject of the design.

These cottons are part of a group of French pictorial prints from the first third of the nineteenth century featuring figures in Scottish dress, but their subject has been more difficult to identify than that of others in the Museum's collection, such as *Marie Stuart* (Figure 3) or *The Lady of the Lake* (Figure 4), both signed examples from the rival printing indus-

tries centered at Nantes and Mulhouse.<sup>1</sup> The *Lady of the Lake* cotton was probably inspired by Rossini's highly successful four-act opera *La donna del lago*, which premiered in Naples in September 1819 and was first given in Paris in 1824. The opera was in turn based on Sir Walter Scott's narrative poem, originally published in 1810. The popularity of Scottish scenes during the period 1810–30 was pervasive in the arts, and a search for any one manifestation of this taste involves a very wide field, but undoubtedly the most influential source for Scottish scenes in theatre and art was the work of Sir Walter Scott.

When Scott first visited Paris in 1815, he had no

1. The *Marie Stuart* cotton is signed by the designer Samuel Cholet (1786–1874), who is known to have worked in Nantes until 1836. The source for these scenes could have been any one of a number of literary, theatrical, and operatic treatments of the queen's life. For a complete account of possible sources see Musée de l'Impression sur Etoffes de Mulhouse, *Toiles de Nantes des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, exh. cat. (Mulhouse, 1978) p. 86, no. 62, printed by Favre, Petitpierre et Cie. The Metropolitan Museum also owns a fragment of the *Marie Stuart* repeat (acc. no. 25.55.5), consisting of one scene illustrating the queen's departure from Scotland, which is signed by Marius Rollet and is attributed to Alsace. A third variant of the *Marie Stuart* cotton, printed by Lecoq Le Jeune et Fils at Bolbec in Normandy, is no. 249 in Bibliothèque Forney, *Toiles Imprimées des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1982) p. 93. Samuel Cholet's signature also appears on another example of a *Lady of the Lake* cotton, from the Nantes firm of Favre, Petitpierre et Cie (Musée de l'Impression sur Etoffes, *Toiles de Nantes*, p. 84, no. 60). A panoramic wallpaper of the same subject, probably designed by Jean-Michel Gué (1789–1843), was produced in 1827 by the firm of Zuber et Cie at Rixheim (Bernard Jacqué, "Les Papiers peints panoramiques de Jean Zuber et Cie au XIXe siècle," *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse* 2 [Mulhouse, 1984] p. 91).



1. "Five Scenes from a Romance," French (Alsace), ca. 1830. Cotton, engraved copper roller print, purple on white; overall, 7 ft. 9 in. × 32½ in. (236.2 × 82.6 cm.); repeat, 22½ in. (57.2 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Harcourt Amory, 63.181.2

great literary reputation. His first novel, *Waverley*, had been published anonymously a year earlier and had not yet appeared in French. By 1822, however, all of Scott's major works were known in France. In the same year he acquired a new French publisher, Charles Gosselin, who proceeded to reissue the novels in new and vastly improved translations.<sup>2</sup> It has

2. "Five Scenes from a Romance," French (Alsace), ca. 1830. Cotton, engraved copper roller print, purple on white, overprinted with mustard, discharge or resist-treatment in white; 22⅞ × 27¾ in. (57.5 × 70.5 cm.); repeat, 22½ in. (57.2 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 13.133.26

2. Scott's novels in order of their appearance in French translation, 1816–22: *Guy Mannering*, 1816; *Les Puritains d'Ecosse* (*Old Mortality*) and *Le Nain mystérieux* (*The Black Dwarf*), 1817; *L'Antiquaire*, 1817; *Rob Roy*, 1818; *Waverley*, 1818; *La Prison d'Edimbourg* (*The Heart of Midlothian*), 1818 (at this point the rights to publish Scott in France rested with the publisher Nicolle. *La Prison d'Edimbourg* was the first novel to bear Scott's name as author, on either side of the Channel. All previous editions were published as "by the author of *Waverley*," itself published anonymously); *L'Officier de fortune*, 1819; *La Fiancée de Lammermoor*, 1819; *Ivanhoe*, 1820; *Le Monastère*, 1820 (this title, Nicolle announced, was the first novel in his projected collected edition of Scott); *L'Abbé*, billed by Nicolle as a sequel to *Le Monastère*, 1820; *Kenilworth*, 1821. The Gosselin editions all bore







3. *Marie Stuart*, French (Nantes), ca. 1830; signed *S. Cholet* on stone below scene illustrating the queen's flight from Scotland. Cotton, engraved copper roller print, red on white; repeat, 36½ in. (92 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift, 34.96



4. *The Lady of the Lake* (*La donna del lago*), French (Alsace), ca. 1820; signed *G. Merklen Mulhouse* on stone parapet, center of upper register. Cotton, engraved copper roller print, purple on white; repeat, 34 in. (86.4 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 62.110

been estimated that Gosselin sold over 1,400,000 volumes of his four-volume editions by 1832, while a new, illustrated edition had already begun to appear.<sup>3</sup> The decade between these two editions corresponds to the height of Scott's popularity in France. The novels enjoyed a wide readership as well as the admiration of French writers and critics. Alexandre Dumas, then a young, aspiring novelist, said in 1822: "Walter Scott is the reigning monarch in London and Paris."<sup>4</sup> Scott became the favorite author of fashionable young women, who admired his heroines Alice Lee, Diana Vernon, and Flora MacIvor, and longed to emulate them. In his memoirs, Armand de Pontmartin recalled the words of a girl at a ball in 1832: "Oh! to be Diana Vernon for a fortnight, and then die!"<sup>5</sup> The influence of "la mode écossaise" extended

the date 1822, beginning with *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering*. Gosselin published Scott's subsequent works within a few months of their original appearance in Edinburgh. For detailed bibliographic information see E. Preston Dargan, "A List of the First French Translations of the Waverley Novels" (appendix) in "Scott and the French Romantics," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 49 (1934) p. 627.

3. The 32-volume edition of the collected works, illustrated by the Johannot brothers, was published by Furet, 1830–33. Out of approximately 220 novels published in France in 1830, 111 were by English authors, and 82 of these were by Scott. Beth Segal Wright, "Scott's Historical Novels and French Historical Painting 1815–1855," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981) p. 271.

4. F. W. M. Draper, *The Rise and Fall of the Romantic Drama* (London, 1923) p. 12.

5. Armand de Pontmartin, *Mes Mémoires: Enfance et jeunesse* (Paris, 1833) p. 284. "Toques à la Marie Stuart" and "fichus Dame blanche" are also cited by Louis Maigrin, *Le Romantisme et la mode* (Paris, 1911) p. 1.

to dressing children in kilts, to “challes Lammermoor,” and to “toiles Diane Vernon.”

Scott's influence on art during this period was no less evident. Paintings derived from the *Waverley* novels first appeared in England in 1816, and were at their most numerous at the Royal Academy exhibitions in the late 1820s.<sup>6</sup> An early example of a Scott subject in French painting is Horace Vernet's portrayal of Allan MacAulay (Figure 5), a character in Scott's *A Legend of Montrose*. A major picture by an established artist, this image of the Highlander was praised for its local color at the Salon of 1824, and served as a model for other painters and Scott illustrators.<sup>7</sup> Seven years later, at the Salon of 1831, over thirty pictures were derived from the *Waverley* novels, including Delacroix's *Murder of the Bishop of Liège*.<sup>8</sup> Subjects “à la Walter Scott” included: *Le Prétendant sauvé par Miss MacDonald*, *Marie Stuart quittant l'Écosse*, *La Mort de Julien d'Avenel*, *La Mort de l'espion Morris*, and *Amy Robsart*.<sup>9</sup>

In the theatre, “la mode écossaise” coincided with the development of the popular boulevard genres of melodrama and comic opera. The first comic opera with a Scottish setting was Charles-Simon Catel's *Wallace, ou le ménestrel écossais*, which opened at the Opéra-Comique on March 24, 1817.<sup>10</sup> As soon as Scott's novels began to appear in French, they were raided for plots, characters, and settings. *La Sorcière, ou l'orphelin écossais* by Victor J. H. Brahain-Ducange and Frédéric Dupetit-Méré, based on *Guy Mannering*, was one of the first plays to exploit the Walter Scott craze, opening at the Théâtre de la Gaité on May 3, 1821.<sup>11</sup> In 1822, the year of Gosselin's first edition of Scott, *Le Château de Kenilworth* by Eugène de Boirie, Henri Lemaire, and Dupetit-Méré opened at the Théâtre de la Porte St.-Martin. In its review, the *Jour-*



5. Horace Vernet (1789–1863), *Allan MacAulay*, 1823. London, The Wallace Collection (photo: reproduced by permission of the Trustees, The Wallace Collection)

*nal des Débats* announced: “Ivanhoe, Rob Roy, and the Abbot are about to appear very shortly on the boulevard.”<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, the Opéra-Comique was rehearsing another version of *Kenilworth*, with music

6. Catherine Gordon, “The Illustration of Sir Walter Scott: Nineteenth-Century Enthusiasm and Adaptation,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971) p. 307. *Guy Mannering* was the first of Scott's novels to supply the subject of a picture: portraits of Meg Merrilies were shown at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1816–18. Within a few years Scott-related paintings were so numerous as to qualify as a separate genre altogether. Between 1805 and 1870, 300 painters exhibited over 1,000 Scott pictures at the Royal Academy (Gordon, “The Illustration of Sir Walter Scott,” p. 297).

7. Wright, “Scott's Historical Novels and French Historical Painting,” p. 274. *Allan MacAulay* was purchased by the duc d'Orléans, and is now in the Wallace Collection.

8. Théodore Aynard, *Salons d'autrefois* (Paris, n.d.), cited by Draper, *The Rise and Fall of the Romantic Drama*, p. 12.

9. Théophile Gautier, *Histoire du romantisme* (Paris, 1877) p. 194.

10. Richard Altick, *Paintings from Books: Art and Literature in Britain, 1760–1900* (Columbus, Ohio, 1985) p. 427. *Wallace* was the last success of Catel (1773–1830). The libretto was by J. V. Fontanes de St.-Marcellin.

11. Henry Adelbert White, *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage* (New Haven, 1927) pp. 31–32.

12. Draper, *The Rise and Fall of the Romantic Drama*, p. 28. *Le Château de Loch-Leven, ou l'Évasion de Marie Stuart*, a tragedy by René-Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt based on *The Abbot*, played at the Théâtre de la Gaité in 1822.



by Daniel F. E. Auber and a libretto by Eugène Scribe and Alexandre Méléville, which premiered in January 1823.<sup>13</sup> The following year the first Paris production of Rossini's *La donna del lago* opened, and Scott's conquest of the French stage seemed complete.<sup>14</sup> From the Opéra to the Théâtre du Gymnase, which staged a one-act vaudeville titled *Les Femmes romantiques* drawn from several of the novels, Parisian audiences could indulge their taste for Sir Walter Scott.<sup>15</sup> Outside of Paris, touring companies brought the most successful productions to the principal provincial cities.

It was in this atmosphere that a new work titled *La Dame Blanche*, a blend of plots from three of the *Waverley* novels, opened at the Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique on December 10, 1825, and became an immediate success. *La Dame Blanche*, however, with music by François-Adrien Boieldieu and a libretto by Eugène Scribe, was not just another adaptation of Sir Walter Scott; it was an important work in its own right, one that stretched the boundaries of the comic-opera genre and created a sensation among audiences and critics.<sup>16</sup>

The librettist and the composer had, in fact, both spent years working on the project. Eugène Scribe (1791–1861) was already an enormously successful playwright, known as a superb craftsman of the theatre, a master of plot techniques.<sup>17</sup> He also had an intuitive understanding of the tastes of the boulevard public. In 1821, he gave Boieldieu the libretto of a three-act comic opera called “*La Dame d’Avenel*,” inspired by *Guy Mannering* and *The Monastery*, with elements of *The Abbot* and *The Lady of the Lake*.<sup>18</sup> Boieldieu (1775–1834) was a respected professor at the Paris Conservatory, but his operatic successes (*Le Caliph de Bagdad* was the most notable) were in the past. He had spent seven years away from Paris (1803–10), in the service of the Russian court, where several of his comic operas were produced. Since his return, success on the stage had eluded him, and he was burdened by teaching duties and by failing health.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, he was immediately interested in “*La Dame d’Avenel*,” perhaps because of its resemblance to his own *La Dame invisible*, a one-act opera performed at St. Petersburg in 1808.<sup>20</sup> Boieldieu made important contributions to the development of the libretto, but his poor health kept him from completing the score until 1825. Once *La Dame Blanche*

was finished, it was approved, copied, and rehearsed within twenty-eight days.<sup>21</sup>

The completed libretto was a seamless union of three complex plots. From *Guy Mannering*, Scribe borrowed the theme of the return of the long-lost heir, and from *The Monastery* he took the White Lady of his title. The elements of disguise and conspiracy were drawn from *The Abbot*, and all the atmospheric ingredients of the *Waverley* novels—the Highland costumes, mountain landscapes, Gothic ruins, secret passageways, and mysterious apparitions—were thrown in for good measure. Boieldieu made an effort to reflect the Scottish setting musically as well. Théodore Labarre, one of his students at the Conservatory, had visited Britain several times and was able to contribute some Scottish themes, including the popular tune “Robin Adair.”<sup>22</sup> Another student, Adolphe Adam, helped to complete the overture in time for the premiere.<sup>23</sup> As for the staging, the scenery and costumes were probably recycled from the Opéra-Comique’s 1823 production of *Le Château de Kenilworth* by Auber, Scribe, and Méléville.<sup>24</sup>

13. Eric Partridge, *The French Romantics’ Knowledge of English Literature, 1820–1848* (New York, 1968) p. 225.

14. Karin Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and the French Opera of the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1979) p. 278.

15. Draper, *The Rise and Fall of the Romantic Drama*, p. 28.

16. Neil Cole Arvin, *Eugène Scribe and the French Theatre, 1815–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924) pp. 17–18.

17. Helene Koon and R. Switzer, *Eugène Scribe* (Boston, 1980) p. 17.

18. Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and the French Opera*, p. 278. This early version of the libretto also contained traces of a Gothic novel by Désirée de Castéra, *Le Fantôme blanc, ou le protecteur mystérieux*, first published in 1810, with a second edition in 1823.

19. It had been seven years since Boieldieu’s last opera (Félix Clément and Pierre Larousse, eds., *Dictionnaire des opéras* [Paris, 1969] I, p. 290).

20. Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and the French Opera*, p. 279. The opera was based on a tale told to Boieldieu by a French émigré in St. Petersburg about a man whose paternal estate was saved by his servants, who bought and held it for him; a plan along the same lines is part of the plot of *La Dame Blanche*.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

22. *Ibid.* Adam suggested the scene in act 3 in which the hero recognizes and finishes a Scottish air.

23. Alfred Loewenberg, comp., *Annals of Opera 1597–1940* (Totowa, N.J., 1978) pp. 698–699. The rhythmic and harmonic treatment of the Scottish airs is nevertheless characteristically French.

24. Roy Morgan Longyear, “‘Le livret bien fait’: The Opéra-Comique Librettos of Eugène Scribe,” *Southern Quarterly* 1

A member of the audience at the premiere of *La Dame Blanche* reported that it was “welcomed with enthusiasm by both sexes.”<sup>25</sup> There followed nearly 150 consecutive performances during 1826.<sup>26</sup> A sure sign of success was the overnight appearance of several parodies.<sup>27</sup> Scribe’s libretto was published in Paris before the end of 1825, followed by Boieldieu’s complete score early in 1826. *La Dame Blanche* proved appealing to amateur singers, for it offered a variety of song forms with infectious melodies that even untrained voices could perform, and yet it had the dramatic qualities of grand opera.<sup>28</sup> The score’s popularity was in turn bolstered by a touring production of *La Dame Blanche*, which opened a three-month circuit in Boieldieu’s native city of Rouen in February 1826.<sup>29</sup> Rouen was one of France’s most important centers of cotton printing, in direct competition with the cities of Nantes and Mulhouse, and it is conceivable that the first translation of *La Dame Blanche* from the stage to the medium of printed cotton occurred there. As we have seen, it was a passage that had already been made in 1824–25 by Rossini’s *La donna del lago*, and by many other theatrical subjects since the late eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

The designer of the Metropolitan Museum’s printed cottons, whether in Rouen or Alsace, selected moments from the comic opera that would be readily understood by anyone familiar with the work, either as staged or from the published libretto. On one register (A), there are two scenes from act 1, and on the other register (B), two scenes from act 2 flank the central scene from act 3.

The setting of the first act is described in Scribe’s libretto as “the interior of a Scottish farm; the back, which is open, allows a picturesque setting to be seen, of trees, boulders, and a road which descends the mountain to the farm.”<sup>31</sup> In the printed cotton, the general setting is established in the central space of register A, which in the manner of a theatrical backdrop pictures the shores of a lake with mountains and a massive stone castle in the distance. In the foreground are two exterior views: a stone cottage to the right, and the open porch of a second building to the left. By linking the two scenes at either side with the distant view, the designer has skillfully illus-

trated the structure of the first act, which begins with an arrival and ends with a departure.

Georges Brown, a young English officer on leave, finds himself at a farmhouse on the Avenel estate.<sup>32</sup> After his entrance song (“Ah quel plaisir d’être soldat!”), he meets the young farmer Dikson and his wife Jenny, who are celebrating the christening of their son with a group of friends. In a scene that owes little to Sir Walter Scott, the rakish Georges flirts openly with Jenny. Nevertheless, he and Dikson

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(1963) pp. 169–192. Longyear claims that the scenery and costumes for *La Dame Blanche* were recycled from the Opéra-Comique’s production of Catel’s *Wallace* (see above and note 10), and therefore dated from 1817.

25. Oliver Strunk, “Musical Life in Paris, 1817–1848,” *Musical Quarterly* 17 (1931) pp. 259–271, 389–403. The diarist and amateur music critic Sophie Augustine Léo saw *La Dame Blanche* as an entry in the battle joined between French and Italian music in Paris.

26. Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and the French Opera*, p. 274.

27. *Les Dames à la mode* by N. Gersin, N. Brazier, J.-J. Gabriel, and A. Voulpian, lampooning not only *La Dame Blanche* but also Rossini’s *La donna del lago*, opened at the Théâtre de Vaudeville on Jan. 5, 1826. *La Dame Jaune* opened at the same theatre on Mar. 9, 1826; *La Dame Noire, ou le tambour et la grisette* by C. Honoré opened in Bordeaux in Feb. 1827. Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera*, pp. 698–699.

28. Clément and Larousse, eds., *Dictionnaire des opéras*, I, p. 290. The published score of *La Dame Blanche* carried a dedication to the young daughter-in-law of Charles X, the duchesse de Berry, an avid participant in the “mode écossaise.” In Jan. 1829, she held her celebrated “quadrille Marie Stuart,” which she attended dressed as the tragic Queen of Scots. The artist and Scott illustrator Eugène Lami (see note 69 below) was responsible for designing the costumes. Maigrion, *Le Romantisme et la mode*, pp. 6–7.

29. In 1826 *La Dame Blanche* was performed in Liège, Brussels, Vienna, Berlin, London (translated as *The White Lady* by S. Beazley), and Copenhagen. Produced repeatedly and all over Europe in the late 1820s and 1830s, it even reached New York (where it premiered Aug. 10, 1827) and Rio de Janeiro (in 1846). See Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera*, pp. 698–699.

30. One of the earliest theatrical subjects was Beaumarchais’s *Le Mariage de Figaro*. The printed cotton was produced by Oberkampf at Jouy in 1784, at the height of the play’s success. See Musée de l’Impression sur Etoffes, *Littérature et toiles imprimées des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, exh. cat. (Mulhouse, 1965) p. 23.

31. “Le théâtre représente l’intérieur d’une ferme écossaise; le fond, qui est ouvert, laisse voir un site pittoresque, des arbres, des rochers, et une route qui descend de la montagne à la ferme.” Eugène Scribe, *La Dame Blanche* (Paris, 1825) p. 15.

32. “Il est en vêtement très simple, et porte sur son épaule un petit paquet attaché au pommeau de son épée.” *Ibid.*, act 1, sc. 3, p. 16.



6. Detail of Figure 1:  
*La Dame Blanche*,  
act 1, scene 5

soon become fast friends. Georges relates that he knows nothing of his family origins, apart from some confused early memories. He had been taken aboard ship as a child by a man named Duncan and raised to be a sailor, but after years of ill treatment he managed to escape. He then became a soldier “du roi Georges” and was wounded in battle in Hanover.<sup>33</sup> Wandering in search of shelter, he was nursed by a mysterious young woman, whose name he never learned. Dikson, whose Scottish superstitions amuse Georges, suggests that possibly she was an incorporeal being: “Maybe she was your good angel, or some familiar spirit, the kind we have so many of around here.”<sup>34</sup>

A pivotal scene (act 1, scene 5) is represented in the printed cotton (Figure 6). It opens with Georges, Dikson, Jenny, and a chorus of friends singing a “morceau d’ensemble”:

*Dikson:* Il faut rire, il faut boire  
A l’hospitalité!  
*Georges:* A l’amour, à la gloire,  
Ainsi qu’à la beauté!<sup>35</sup>

At the conclusion of the song, Georges learns the story of the Avenels. Having taken up the Stuart cause, the earl of Avenel and his family were forced

to flee to France a dozen years before, where it is rumored that the earl died. Owing to mismanagement by their steward, Gaveston, the Avenel estate is about to be auctioned to pay creditors, and Gaveston plans to purchase the property himself and take the place of his former master. Dikson and his fellow farmers, loyal to the earl and hopeful that his heir may someday return to claim the estate, are banding together to make a counterbid but doubt if they can raise enough money. Georges learns, too, of the legendary White Lady of Avenel, a spirit who for hundreds of years has been the protectress of the family. When some event of good or ill is about to befall the house of Avenel, she is sure to appear, dressed in a long white gown. Jenny tells the assembled group that their farmhand, Gabriel, has spotted the White Lady walking at dusk on the turrets of the ruined castle. At this news, Dikson is struck with terror, but Georges is intrigued and amused. The design shows Georges at the far left, standing in front of the open

33. The historical background to the plot of *La Dame Blanche* is taken from *Guy Mannering*, and the libretto states accordingly: “La scène se passe en Ecosse, en 1759.” *Ibid.*, p. 15.

34. “C’était peut-être votre bon ange, quelque démon familier, comme il y en a tant dans le pays.” *Ibid.*, act 1, sc. 4, p. 17.

35. *Ibid.*, act 1, sc. 5, p. 18.

7–9. Fashion plates from *Ackermann's Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashion*, London, 1809–28. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 39.38



7, 8. “La mode écossaise”: evening dress (1822); morning dress and child’s Highland costume (1825)

9. Dinner dress (1825)

porch with a table laden with bottles and plates in the background. Jenny is at the center of the scene, singing the Ballad of the White Lady, which warns:

Prenez garde  
La dame blanche vous regarde!  
La dame blanche vous entend!<sup>36</sup>

To the right of Jenny, Dikson is startled by Gabriel, who rushes in to tell his master that the other farmers have come to discuss the next day’s sale.

At this point, a brief word about the costumes represented may be helpful. The French image of the Highlander was derived from Scott’s descriptions and from pictures like Vernet’s *Allan MacAulay*. In the printed cottons this image has been interpreted rather fancifully. Instead of the kilt, the Highlanders wear knee-length tunics in “tartan” patterns of single and double windowpane checks. “La mode écossaise” had made such borrowings acceptable (Figures 7, 8). The tartan dresses of Jenny and her friends invite comparison with the similar patterns in the *Marie Stuart* cotton (Figure 3) as well as with the evening

dress from 1822 (Figure 7). Their silhouette follows the fashionable lines of the mid-1820s (Figures 6, 9). The bodices have rounded necklines, with the beginnings of fullness in the upper sleeve; the waistlines have descended almost to the natural level, and the full skirts widen at the hem.<sup>37</sup> Scott described how Highland women wore their plaids drawn over head and shoulders, but his heroines were more often portrayed wearing hats.<sup>38</sup> The brimmed, ostrich-plumed

36. *Ibid.*, act 1, sc. 5, p. 19.

37. Figure 7, a fashion plate illustrating the “mode écossaise” for small boys, resembles the Scottish dress of Vernet’s *Allan MacAulay*. For additional French fashion plates ca. 1825–27 see Millia Davenport, *The Book of Costume* (New York, 1948) pp. 835–837, and Stella Blum, ed., *Ackermann’s Costume Plates* (New York, 1978).

38. For portraits of most of Scott’s heroines see the *Waverley Gallery of the Principal Female Characters in Sir Walter Scott’s Romances*, a collection of prints produced during the 1830s under the supervision of Charles Heath (London, 1841). Several Highland women (e.g., Anne of Gierstein, no. 27, and Helen MacGregor from *Rob Roy*, no. 53) are shown wearing masculine feathered bonnets or plaids draped diagonally across the body

hat was a fashionable accessory for women in 1825–27, one of several elements of “historical” sixteenth- and seventeenth-century costume that became fashionable during this period.<sup>39</sup> Jenny’s long, hanging braids, however, appear to be a sign of rusticity. In the case of characters who are not Scottish peasants, an attempt at historical costume has been made. The *Waverley* novels were set in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Since the libretto of *La Dame Blanche* states that the events take place in Scotland in 1759<sup>40</sup> and there are repeated references to King George and to Hanover, the costume should reflect the mid-eighteenth century. But Georges has the short, tousled hair of a Byronic hero and his knee-length coat is the “doublet” of contemporary book illustration and stage practice, a conventional form denoting “olden times” rather than any specific historical period.

To return to the plot of *La Dame Blanche*, Dikson reveals that he himself has seen the White Lady, who once gave him a purse full of gold coins and now that Avenel is threatened, claims his help. He has received a note from her telling him to be at the castle that evening.<sup>41</sup> Dikson then expresses his fears in song:

Et si je brave sa colère,  
 Songe à ce que nous deviendrons,  
 Adieu notre fortune entière,  
 Adieu l'espoir de nos moissons,  
 Et chez moi, toutes les semaines,  
 Des lutins qu'elle aura payés  
 Viendront avec un bruit de chaînes  
 La nuit me tirer par les pieds.<sup>42</sup>

Intrigued by this mystery, Georges volunteers to go in Dikson’s place. He takes the White Lady’s note and exits singing:

Et toi, la plus belle des belles,  
 Dame blanche, esprit ou lutin,  
 Sur tes créneaux, sur tes tourelles,  
 J'accours en galant paladin.<sup>43</sup>

This scene is represented on the right of register A (Figure 10). Georges is taking the White Lady’s note and what appears to be a drinking horn from Dikson. The stage directions call for Dikson to accompany Georges upstage left, on the road to Avenel Castle, and for Jenny to remain in front of the farmhouse, “with her arms raised to heaven.”<sup>44</sup> The de-

signer has skillfully stationed Dikson in front of a massive ruined pillar, in a way that preserves both the action and the sentiment of the theatrical scene. The right-hand face of the pillar is made of stone, which frames Jenny’s gesture and the farmhouse in the background, while the left-hand side is transformed into a tree that belongs to the view of the road behind Georges.

Act 2 introduces Marguerite, the former servant of the Avenel family, and Anna, an orphan adopted by Lady Avenel and now Gaveston’s ward. The setting is a Gothic room at the castle gatehouse. Marguerite asks for news of the family, particularly of Julien, the heir to the estate. Anna tells her that Julien disappeared as a small child, and that the earl and countess of Avenel are both dead. She herself was forced to accompany Gaveston on a trip to the Continent, where she nursed a wounded soldier and fell in love with him. Returning with Gaveston to Scotland, she never saw the soldier again. Anna opposes Gaveston’s plan to acquire the estate and is hopeful that his ambitions may yet be thwarted. The villainous Gaveston is interrogating Anna on the whereabouts of the Avenel treasure, a fortune hidden somewhere in the castle, when the tower bell signals an arrival at the gate. After convincing Gaveston to allow the visitor to stay, Anna retires for the night, whereupon Georges enters and announces that since being in Scotland he has heard of nothing but phantoms and apparitions and that he has come seeking a tête-à-tête with the White Lady.

The next scene begins with Georges alone in the dark room of the Gothic gatehouse. As he moves to relight the fire, he calls for the White Lady to appear, in the most celebrated aria of the opera:

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(no. 33, Effie Deans from *The Heart of Midlothian*), but more typical is no. 32, a portrait of Julia Mannering from *Guy Mannering* wearing a plaid draped on the shoulders, over fashionable dress.

39. Blum, *Ackermann’s Costume Plates*, introduction, p. vi.

40. See note 33 above.

41. “Tu m’as juré obéissance; l’heure est venue, j’ai besoin de toi. . . . Trouve-toi ce soir à la porte du vieux château, et demande l’hospitalité au nom de saint Julien d’Avenel. Signé: La Dame Blanche.” Scribe, *La Dame Blanche*, act 1, sc. 8, p. 21.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

44. “Georges sort, conduit par Dikson; Jenny reste seule, en les suivant des yeux, et en levant les bras au ciel.” *Ibid.*



10. Detail of Figure 1:  
*La Dame Blanche*,  
act 1, scene 8

Viens, gentille dame;  
Ici, je réclame  
La foi des serments;  
A tes lois fidèle,  
Me voici, ma belle;  
Paris, je t'attends!

Que ce lieu solitaire  
Et que ce doux mystère  
Ont des charmes pour moi!  
Oui, je sens qu'à ta vue  
L'âme doit être émue;  
Mais ce n'est pas d'effroi.

Chorus, Etc.<sup>45</sup>

As the aria ends with the sound of harp strings, Anna appears, emerging from a secret panel to the right. The scene (act 2, scene 7) is represented on register B of the design at the left (Figure 11). Up to this point, the stage directions call for Anna to wear a blue dress with “un manteau écossais.”<sup>46</sup> Now impersonating the White Lady of Avenel, she is dressed in white, and her head is covered with a veil. When Anna realizes that the visitor is not Dikson but the wounded soldier she had nursed back to health, she

45. *Ibid.*, act 2, sc. 6, pp. 26–27.

46. *Ibid.*, act 2, sc. 7, p. 23.

47. *Ibid.*; act 2, sc. 2, p. 27.

demonstrates her supernatural powers by telling the skeptical Georges his military rank, and of his injury in Hanover. He thinks he recognizes the voice of the girl he loves. The “White Lady” assures him that he will see his lost love the very next day, if only he swears to do all she asks. They join hands, and he sings:

Mais que cette main est jolie!  
Pour un lutin quelle douceur!  
Est-ce l'amour ou la magie  
Qui fait ainsi battre mon coeur?<sup>47</sup>

11. Detail of Figure 1: *La Dame Blanche*, act 2, scene 7







12. Detail of Figure 1: *La Dame Blanche*, act 2, scene 9

As Georges sings, he holds the “White Lady’s” hand and follows her around the room, until finally she leaves as mysteriously as she had arrived. The printed cotton illustrates the scene during Georges’s song, just before the “White Lady” vanishes. The setting is a Gothic ruin, rather than the interior of a gatehouse. Lying on a table or bench in the background to the right are Georges’s discarded cloak, hat, and sword. To the left is the dark doorway that replaces the pivoting panel of the stage set.

The morning after Georges’s encounter with the “White Lady,” the auction of the Avenel estate takes place. The scene (act 2, scene 9) is shown on the right of register B (Figure 12). The local justice of the peace, Mac-Irton, and various “gens de justice” accompanying him are directed to take their places “around a table in the middle of the stage. Gaveston stands to the left, not far from him [Mac-Irton]. In the foreground to the right, Georges seated in an armchair, Dikson surrounded by all the farmers.”<sup>48</sup> In the printed cotton, Mac-Irton, wearing the formal

white bands of a French advocate or magistrate, sits at a high desk festooned with drapery. Many of the supporting cast have been omitted, and the relative positions of Gaveston and Georges are reversed. The bidding gets under way with Gaveston and Dikson singing out their bids until Dikson is forced to drop out, at £95,000. It appears that Gaveston will win the auction with a bid of £100,000, when Anna—in her blue dress—enters and urges Georges to carry out his part of the bargain with the White Lady. Georges rises and begins to bid against the furious Gaveston. Conceding defeat at £500,000, Gaveston asks Mac-Irton to read Georges the law: the purchase price must be paid that day at noon, in bank notes, or else Georges will be arrested. The designer has chosen to illustrate this scene at its climax, when Georges, prompted by Anna, is on his feet bidding, and Mac-Irton lowers the gavel. The man behind Gaveston and largely hidden by him may be the bewildered Dikson or one of Gaveston’s lawyers. Anna is standing with one arm across the back of Georges’s chair, her unveiled head and light dress serving to indicate her dual role in the plot. Behind her, the figure of a young woman may represent Jenny.

Act 3 opens in:

a rich Gothic apartment, a door at the back; above the door, a gallery that runs across the entire back of the stage, and that is reached by two lateral staircases; at the foot of the staircases there are four pedestals, only three of which support statues; to the left of the audience, downstage, there is a little secret door.<sup>49</sup>

This is the setting alluded to in the central scene of register B of the design (Figure 13). As in the other four scenes, the architectural interiors described in the libretto are transformed into exterior settings and framed by trees and shrubbery. The figures are then grouped in the foreground, like actors in front of a painted backdrop.

48. “Ils vont se placer autour d’une table au milieu du théâtre. Gaveston se tient debout à gauche, non loin de lui. A droite, sur le premier plan, Georges assis sur un fauteuil, Dikson environné de tous les fermiers.” *Ibid.*, act 2, sc. 9, p. 29.

49. “Le théâtre représente un riche appartement gothique, une porte au fond; au-dessus de la porte une galerie qui tient tout le fond du théâtre, et à laquelle on monte par deux escaliers latéraux, au bas des escaliers quatre piédestaux, dont trois seulement portent des statues; à gauche des spectateurs, sur le premier plan, une petite porte secrète.” *Ibid.*, act 3, sc. 1, p. 32.

In the opera, the first few scenes of act 3 revolve around Anna's efforts to fulfill her plan. As she tells Marguerite, the dying Lady Avenel had given her a letter revealing that the family fortune was hidden in a small chest inside a statue of the White Lady. Anna needs to find the chest and deliver the money to Georges before noon, but the statue is missing from its pedestal. While searching for it, Anna finds a secret passage that allows her to overhear a conversation between Mac-Irton and Gaveston. Mac-Irton has learned that Georges Brown is really Julien Avenel, a revelation that dismays Anna, for as a lowly orphan she can never marry the heir to the estate.<sup>50</sup> In the meantime, Marguerite has found the statue of the White Lady in an underground chapel. Anna decides to carry out her plan to save the estate and afterwards leave Avenel forever.

The final scene of *La Dame Blanche* (act 3, scene 14) finds Georges/Julien, Gaveston, Dikson, Jenny, Marguerite, and assorted farmers and peasants on stage. Mac-Irton demands payment from Georges, who replies that it is not yet noon. As he speaks, the sound of a harp is heard, and Anna, dressed as the White Lady and carrying a small chest, appears at the far end of the gallery.<sup>51</sup> Unremarked by those on stage, she descends the stairs and stands on the pedestal intended for the statue of the White Lady, while Georges/Julien, in an attempt to summon the White Lady, sings:

O toi que je révère,  
O mes seuls amours!  
Déité tutélaire,  
Tu viens à mon secours.<sup>52</sup>

The printed cotton captures the moment when the "White Lady," heavily veiled and bearing a casket, is standing on a pedestal in the background. Downstage, Georges/Julien, with Dikson and Jenny behind him, confronts Gaveston. Behind Gaveston is a Highlander, perhaps Gabriel, and another man.

50. Gaveston is reminded by Mac-Irton that a dozen years ago, Julien was entrusted to his tutor Duncan, who was given a considerable sum to take the child to France. Instead, Duncan abandoned the child aboard ship and absconded to America. Now dying in a London hospital, Duncan has signed a confession affirming that Julien is alive and serving in the army as Georges Brown. *Ibid.*, act 3, sc. 7, p. 35.

51. "Ils se pressent tous en cercle sur le devant du théâtre, et pendant ce temps Anna, vêtue de blanc et tenant sous son voile

Once the "White Lady" is seen, she reveals Georges's true identity and steps down from the pedestal, places the chest upon it, and walks to the front of the stage, the terrified onlookers giving way. She then tries to leave by the secret passage, but Gaveston seizes her and snatches off her veil. She throws herself at Julien's feet. Recognized by Julien as his lost love, Anna claims that a poor orphan cannot be his wife. At Julien's insistence, Anna finally gives him her hand, and the chorus sings:



13. Detail of Figure 1: *La Dame Blanche*, act 3, scene 14

un coffret, paraît à la droite de la galerie qu'elle traverse lentement. Gaveston, Julien et le chœur, qui sont sur le devant du théâtre, lui tournent le dos et ne l'aperçoivent point encore." *Ibid.*, act 3, sc. 14, p. 37.

52. "Pendant cet ensemble, Anna a traversé la galerie, a descendu l'escalier à gauche, et est venue se placer debout le piédestal de la dame blanche qui est au bas de l'escalier à gauche; en ce moment, tout le monde se retourne et l'aperçoit." *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

Chantez, joyeux ménestrel,  
Refrains d'amour et de guerre;  
Voici revenir la bannière  
Des chevaliers d'Avenel.<sup>53</sup>

The audiences that saw the original production of *La Dame Blanche* were witnessing a new development in the evolution of French musical theatre. In the traditional school of comic opera, the libretto was no more than a mere sketch to set up the songs. *La Dame Blanche* was a real play that was enriched by the music but could stand on its own without it. As the critic from the *Journal des Débats* put it: "la musique n'est appelée que comme auxiliaire."<sup>54</sup> The year after the consecration of Italian opera with Rossini's appointment as director of the Paris Opéra, *La Dame Blanche* renewed the vitality of the native French genre of comic opera, and gave the favorite entertainment of the Parisian bourgeoisie a new dignity and refinement.<sup>55</sup> While it was "comic" in that it had a happy ending, it was not a farce or a parody. The humor of *La Dame Blanche* was of a more delicate and sophisticated variety. For example, Jenny, the Highland farmer's wife, says of the old castle: "the ruins and the underground crypts are superb; all the painters go to see them!"<sup>56</sup> Jenny and Dikson appear to have been modeled on Dandie Dinmont and his wife, Ailie, a pair of rustics who befriend the George Brown of *Guy Mannering*. As the Opéra-Comique audience was well aware, Scott's characters would have been incapable of the kind of speech that could be easily overheard in Paris at a boulevard café. Similarly, neither the George Brown of *Guy Mannering* nor Halbert Glendinning, the hero of *The Monastery*, possesses the wit of Scribe's Georges/Julien.

*La Dame Blanche* differs in other respects from its sources in Sir Walter Scott, the most basic being its treatment of the White Lady of Avenel. In *The Monastery*, the White Lady is a true supernatural being. She appears in the woods at night, melting in and out of the air. She is usually melancholy and downcast, and her behavior is dangerously unpredictable. She was so unpopular with readers that Scott felt that he needed to explain her, as he did in his introduction to the 1830 edition of the novel.<sup>57</sup> In *La Dame Blanche*, on the other hand, the audience is meant to be amused by the Highlanders' terror of the supposed apparition.

The character of Anna most closely resembles Catherine Seyton of *The Abbot*, Scribe's third source for *La Dame Blanche*. *The Abbot* is the story of a page to Mary, Queen of Scots, Roland Graeme, who is unaware of his true identity. He falls in love with Catherine, the queen's lady in waiting, and through her becomes involved in a conspiracy to save the queen's life. Catherine appears to him in various disguises, eventually revealing that Roland is the son of Julian Avenel, the heir to the Avenel estate. The novel ends, like *La Dame Blanche*, with the prospect of marriage between the two protagonists.<sup>58</sup> Scribe borrowed *The Abbot's* plot devices of disguise and conspiracy to explain the appearances of the White Lady, neatly eliminating the element of fear from the mystery.

A unique mixture of suspense, gaiety, and sentimentality, with all of the color and excitement of Sir Walter Scott but none of the melancholy, *La Dame Blanche* was exactly in step with contemporary French taste in art and literature. The theme of the return of the rightful heir had a natural appeal to a Restoration audience that had witnessed the return of Royalist émigrés and that wanted to believe in the stability of the Bourbon monarchy.<sup>59</sup> The special humor and charm of *La Dame Blanche* depended on the spectator's knowledge and enjoyment of the fashions of the times, but the beauty of Boieldieu's score

53. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

54. Arvin, *Eugène Scribe and the French Theatre*, p. 178.

55. Longyear, "Le livret bien fait," p. 182.

56. Scribe, *La Dame Blanche*, p. 15.

57. "The White Lady of Avenel . . . is represented as connected with the family of Avenel . . . by one of those mystic ties which, in ancient times, were supposed to exist . . . between the creatures of the elements and the children of men. . . they are known among the traditions of the Highlands, which, in many cases, attached an immortal being or spirit to the service of particular families or tribes. These demons, if they are to be called so, announced good or evil fortune to the families connected with them. . . . It is with reference to this idea of the supposed spirits of the elements that the White Lady of Avenel is represented as acting a varying, capricious, and inconsistent part . . . manifesting interest and attachment to the family with whom her destinies are associated, but evincing whim, and even a species of malevolence, towards other mortals. . . . In these particulars she seems to constitute a being of the middle class, between the *esprit follet*, who places its pleasure in misleading and tormenting mortals, and the benevolent fairy of the East, who uniformly guides, aids and supports them." Walter Scott, *The Monastery* (Edinburgh, 1830) pp. xii–xv.

58. Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and the French Opera*, p. 283.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 279. *La Dame Blanche* received the greatest praise from ultra-Royalist newspapers.

helped to ensure its popularity for decades. At the Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique, 1,340 performances were given over a fifty-year period.<sup>60</sup>

The Metropolitan Museum's printed cottons after *La Dame Blanche* are believed to have been manufactured in Alsace. The Statistique Générale du Haut-Rhin of 1828 listed twenty-four establishments in Mulhouse, the largest center of printing on cotton in Alsace, producing 459,835 pieces of approximately 20 meters each, and employing almost 10,000 workers.<sup>61</sup> Recovering from the economic crisis caused by the Empire's collapse in 1814–15, the industry had been expanding steadily. During the 1820s, competition among manufacturers encouraged experimentation with machinery and chemical processes to produce new types of printed textiles.<sup>62</sup> The horizontal emphasis of the *Dame Blanche* design indicates the use of one such innovation, an engraved copper roller. Roller printing was a technique developed in England to produce higher volume at lower cost. The first roller-printing machine in Alsace was set up by the Wesserling firm of Gros, Davillier, Roman et Cie in 1802.<sup>63</sup> Some years later the brothers Mathieu and Jérémie Risler founded the Société Risler Frères et Dixon, a machine foundry which supplied all the main textile-printing works of the region until it went out of business in 1822.<sup>64</sup>

The Alsatian printing industry was quick to exploit the advances of chemistry in the early nineteenth century. In 1808, the experiments of Jean-Michel Haussmann (1749–1824) with the application of various substances on printed cotton resulted in the technique of white *enlevage*.<sup>65</sup> In subsequent years a

variety of substances were used by different firms to produce selected white areas on printed cloth. In 1815, Hartmann et Fils of Munster used stannous chloride to obtain white *enlevages*; Camille Koechlin at Cernay applied an insoluble lead salt directly onto the cloth. Certainly, by 1826–28 various methods of white application were known and practiced.<sup>66</sup> The three-color version of the *Dame Blanche* cotton was probably produced by one of these methods. White *enlevage* was most often used in floral designs,<sup>67</sup> but the *Dame Blanche* was obviously a tempting figural subject for this treatment. Rather than restrict the areas of *enlevage* to the two appearances of the White Lady, which would have marred the balance of the whole, the printer has applied white throughout all five scenes. In addition to entire and partial figures, details of architecture (a castle tower, a Gothic arch) and foliage have been selected, possibly in an attempt to create three-dimensional effects. It seems reasonable to conclude that the subject of *La Dame Blanche* led the printer to experiment with the technique, and that this version of the subject was probably considered a novelty product, secondary to the monochrome version.

During the height of the opera's popularity in the period 1826–28, *La Dame Blanche* was clearly an ideal subject for a printed cotton. The textile designer would have been able to draw from a number of pictorial sources. The success of the comic opera may have inspired Camille Roqueplan (1803–55) to portray Scott's White Lady in his *La Dame Blanche d'Avenel*, a painting exhibited at the Salon of 1827. Hippolyte Garnier's lithograph after Roqueplan dates to the following year.<sup>68</sup> Roqueplan's sources, in turn, were among the earliest images of the White

60. Arvin, *Eugène Scribe and the French Theatre*, p. 216.

61. Henri Clouzot, *Histoire de la manufacture de Jouy et de la toile imprimée en France* (Paris/Brussels, 1928).

62. Jean-Michel Tuchsherer, *The Fabrics of Mulhouse and Alsace 1801–1850* (Leigh-on-Sea, 1972) p. 21.

63. Gros, Davillier, Roman et Cie was famous throughout the 19th century; in 1825 the firm opened branches in Bordeaux and Lyons, and a warehouse in Brussels (Tuchsherer, *The Fabrics of Mulhouse and Alsace*, p. 23). According to Sebastien Le-Normand (*Manuel du fabricant d'étoffes imprimées* [Paris, 1820] pp. 37–39), Oberkampf of Jouy was the first French firm to attempt roller printing in 1801, but their efforts were unsuccessful. Some years later a certain "M. Mollard jeune" went to England to study methods of roller engraving and printing. LeNormand

credits Mollard's diagram of a roller-printing machine as the first published description in French of the new technology.

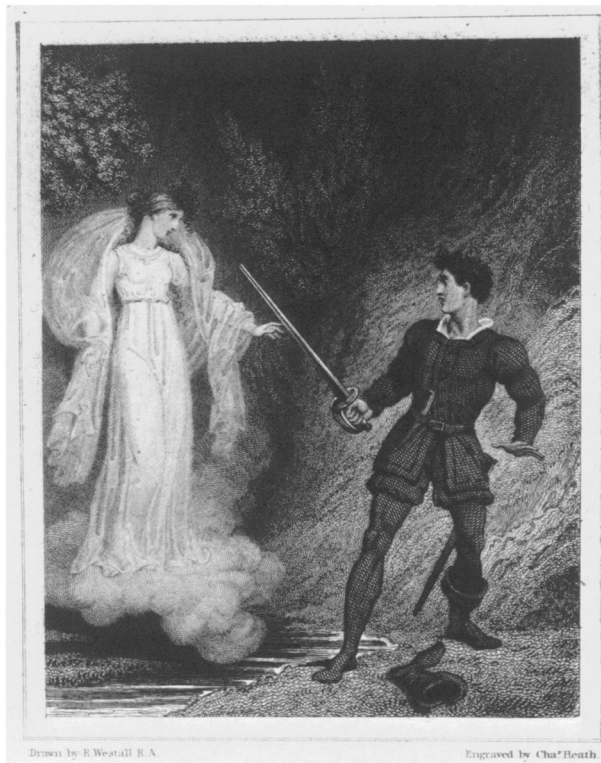
64. Tuchsherer, *The Fabrics of Mulhouse and Alsace*, p. 13.

65. Haussmann experimented with substances that had previously been used on wool and silk, e.g., cochineal, smokewood, dyer's oak, solanum, oak bark, safflower, nutgall, sumac, annato (Tuchsherer, *The Fabrics of Mulhouse and Alsace*, p. 14).

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–19.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

68. Wright, "Scott's Historical Novels and French Historical Painting," p. 276. This picture turned up in a sale of the effects of the painter Théodore Richard in 1858. Roqueplan's other contribution to this Salon was also a Scott subject, *La Mort de l'espion Morris* (from *Rob Roy*).



14. Charles Heath after Richard Westall (1765–1836), *Halbert Glendinning's First Invocation of the White Maid of Avenel*, from *Illustrations of the Monastery; A Romance by the Author of Waverley*, London, 1821. The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, General Research Division (photo: New York Public Library)

Lady—the illustrations by Richard Westall (1765–1836) for the 1821 London edition of *The Monastery*.<sup>69</sup> Westall's *Halbert Glendinning's First Invocation of the White Maid of Avenel* is a faithful portrayal of Scott's supernatural apparition, floating among billows of clouds and drapery before a terrified Halbert, who draws his sword against her in vain (Figure 14). A comparison with the corresponding scene on register B of the printed cotton reveals the difference in tone and content between Scott's novel and the comic opera. The juxtaposition of these two images also points to the differences between British and French tastes in musical theatre at this period. The rationalism, skepticism, and humor that animate *La Dame Blanche* may not have been emphasized in the London production, which opened (as *The White*

*Lady*) at the Drury Lane Theatre in October 1826.<sup>70</sup> A portrait of Isabella Paton as Anna in her White Lady disguise, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, suggests a characterization much closer to Scott and Westall than to Scribe. This “White Lady” is a ghostly figure standing knee deep in brackish water.<sup>71</sup>

The spirit of Scribe and Boieldieu's comic opera, however, has been preserved in the *Dame Blanche* cottons. They belong to a type of figural print that was ideally suited to the presentation of theatrical scenes and to the techniques of roller printing.

This distinct type of printed cotton may have originated at Nantes, which had been celebrated for its figural prints since the late eighteenth century. Between 1786 and 1835, the Nantais firm of Favre, Petitpierre et Cie produced printed textiles on 150 different subjects, as against the 50 produced at Jouy.<sup>72</sup> During the period 1800–15, Favre Petitpierre's many printed cottons with theatrical subjects were densely engraved and made up of squared-off scenes arranged horizontally.<sup>73</sup> These cottons appear to have set the style for the translation of theatrical scenes to the medium of printed textiles. An early example is *L'Histoire de Joseph*, a roller print dated 1810, with labeled scenes from the 1808 biblical opera by Méhul.<sup>74</sup> *Abélard et Héloïse* is an example of this style at its apogee, around 1825: the six scenes from the romance are arranged in squares, like six stage

69. Westall's illustrations of Scott were issued separately by the London publisher Hurst Robinson and Co. in 1821. In his illustrations to *Guy Mannering*, the heroines Julia Mannering and Lucy Bertram wear fashionable 1820s dress, with a few evocative details: high white ruffs, tartan cloaks, and feathered hats. Westall's Scott illustrations had considerable influence on Gosselin's collected edition in French of 1822–33, which had 86 vignettes and 84 illustrated title pages. They were designed primarily by Alexandre Joseph Desenne (1785–1827), assisted by Eugène Lami (1800–90) and the Johannot brothers Alfred (1800–37) and Antoine (Tony) (1803–52), and engraved by a team of English and French engravers including Charles Heath.

70. Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera*, p. 698.

71. The portrait of Isabella Paton is reproduced in Jerome Mitchell, *The Walter Scott Operas* (University, Ala., 1977).

72. Musée de l'Impression sur Etoffes, *Littérature et toiles imprimées*, p. 27.

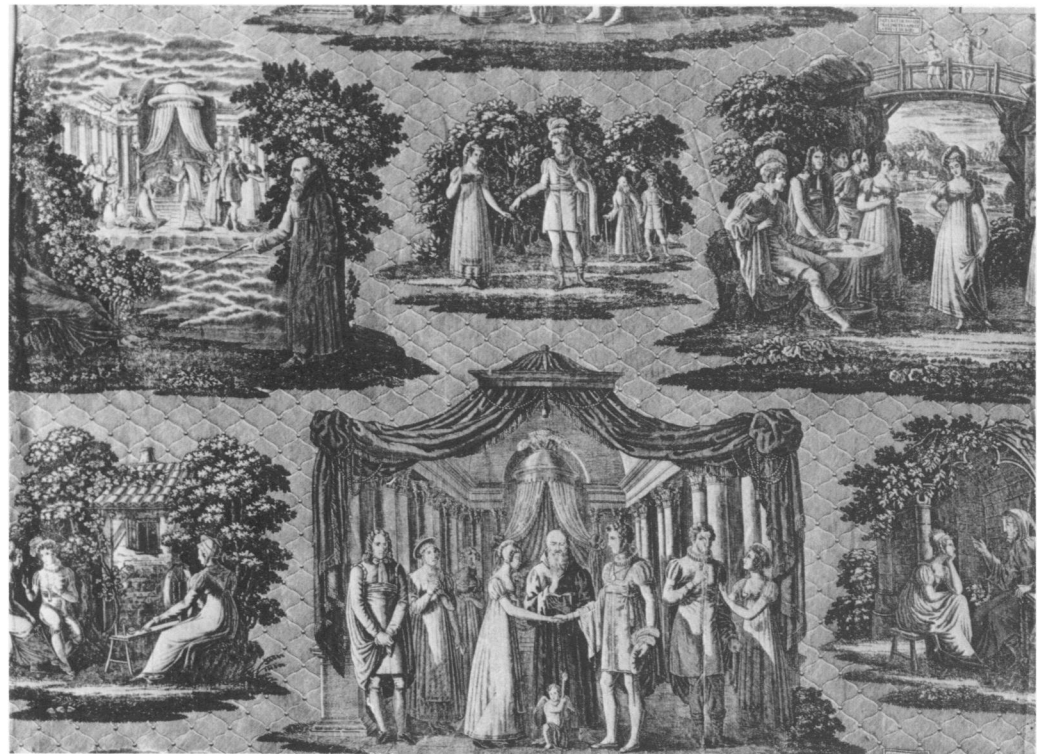
73. For examples of prints by Favre, Petitpierre et Cie in this distinctive style see Musée de l'Impression sur Etoffes, *Les Toiles de Nantes*, nos. 47–51, 53–55.

74. *L'Histoire de Joseph* is reproduced in Musée de l'Impression sur Etoffes, *Les Toiles de Nantes*, no. 13.

15. *Le Solitaire*, French (Alsace), ca. 1822; signed *Marius Rollet* on rock below bridge. Cotton, engraved roller print, mulberry on white; repeat, approx. 30 in. (76.2 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 13.133.15



16. *La Trêve de Dieu*, French (Alsace), ca. 1820. Cotton, copperplate or engraved roller print, dark purple on white; repeat, 18¾ in. (47.6 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Miss Frances Morris, 28.135.6





sets, and are framed by Gothic architecture.<sup>75</sup> If indeed the fashion in theatrical and operatic subjects began with Nantes, it was also exploited in Alsace. *Le Solitaire* (Figure 15), which represents a popular subject drawn from a musical adaptation of a novel, is a roller print signed by Marius Rollet, who is known to have worked for the firm of Hartmann et Fils at Munster in the 1820s.<sup>76</sup> *La Trêve de Dieu* (Figure 16) is another example of an operatic subject from Munster, dated about 1820.<sup>77</sup> Here the individual scenes have been arranged against a diaper background pattern, but their theatrical presentation, the style and proportions of the figures, and the *style troubadour* costume of the young hero are all related to the *Dame Blanche* cottons.

The identification of the subject of these cottons permits them to be dated more precisely and to be considered in their context. On the basis of the chronology established for the comic opera's success and growing popularity, as well as on the evidence of the costume and figural style, the monochrome version

of the design can be dated to 1826–27; perhaps the “three-color” variant was an experiment or a novelty offered a season or two later. This would place them between the *Lady of the Lake* of about 1820 (see Figure 4), signed by G. Merklen of Mulhouse, and the Samuel Cholet *Marie Stuart* (see Figure 3), which may date to 1830. The *Dame Blanche* cottons would thus be contemporary with the panoramic *Lady of the Lake* wallpaper (also known as *Vues d’Ecosse*) printed in 1827 by Jean Zuber et Cie at Rixheim, near Mulhouse.<sup>78</sup> In this connection it is interesting to note that the designer of the wallpaper, Jean-Michel Gué (1789–1843), was formerly a set designer at the Théâtre de la Gaité in Paris, where many popular “dramas musicaux” were staged. For what the *Dame Blanche* cottons demonstrate perhaps most clearly are the alertness with which manufacturers responded to public taste, and the importance of literature and the theatre as inspiration for the decorative arts of the period.

75. *Abélard et Héloïse* is reproduced in *ibid.*, no. 58.

76. *Le Solitaire*, by the vicomte d’Arlincourt, an extremely popular romance about a hermit, was published in 1821. An operatic adaptation by Carefa (Michel-Henry François Carefa de Colobrano), with a libretto by F. A. E. de Planard, was first performed at the Théâtre de l’Opéra-Comique in 1822 (Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and the French Opera*, p. 239).

77. The subject is taken from the opera of the same name, first performed at the Théâtre de la Porte St.-Martin in 1820 (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Printed Fabrics* [New York, 1927] no. 134).

78. Jacqué, “Les Papiers peints panoramiques,” p. 91; see note 1 above.

# Schäufelein as Painter and Graphic Artist in *The Visitation*

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HANS SCHÄUFELEIN, who was probably born in Nuremberg sometime between 1480 and 1485, first earned distinction as an artist in Dürer's workshop, where he was employed from about 1503 until about 1506 or 1507. Dürer thought enough of his abilities to entrust him with the execution of the Ober Sankt Veit Altarpiece in 1505 (Vienna, Diözesan Museum), a commission for which Dürer had already made the designs. By 1515 Schäufelein had relocated to Nördlingen, where he established his own workshop, there serving the counts of Oettingen, among others, until his death between 1537 and 1540.

Schäufelein's paintings are uneven in quality and today they are less well known and perhaps less prized than his prints. He was a prolific printmaker and produced prints for books (the *Beschlossen Gart*, the *Speculum Passionis* of Ulrich Pinder, contributions to Maximilian's *Theuerdank*, *Weisskunig*, and *Triumphzug*) as well as numerous single-leaf woodcuts. A gifted storyteller, Schäufelein seems to have found a natural outlet for his particular talents in the graphic medium. Clearly, in this regard he owed a debt to Dürer.

Those artists who studied with Albrecht Dürer in the first decade of the sixteenth century assimilated not only their master's technical vocabulary, but also his versatility in various media. They left a legacy of paintings, prints, and drawings and designs for projects in stained glass, metalwork, and architectural decoration. The artistic range of this group of artists—which, in addition to Schäufelein, included Hans Baldung Grien and Hans Süss von Kulmbach among others—has often been admired and discussed. What has received much less attention in the literature is the question of the interrelationship be-

tween these different media, particularly as evidenced by the working methods of given artists. Such evidence is revealed in the underdrawings of paintings, affording an opportunity to study more closely the inception of the work of art and to relate the preliminary stages of a painting to the creative process observable in other works by the same artist.

At the time of the exhibition "Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections," it was possible to study the *Visitation* by Hans Schäufelein (Figure 1),<sup>1</sup> and, in particular, to investigate the artist's working procedure through the painting's underdrawing, now made visible by means of infrared reflectography.<sup>2</sup> Schäufelein's paintings have not been studied previously in this way, and, as there are very few works by him in

1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, exh. cat. (New York, 1985) pp. 235–237, no. 150, col. ill.

2. Infrared reflectography is a video system responsive to the range of infrared light between 900 and 2,000 nanometers. It can penetrate most pigments to reveal underdrawings in carbon black in the subsurface layers of the painting. The infrared reflectogram assembly, the visual document of the underdrawing, is recorded photographically from a monitor screen or, through more recent developments, by computer from the digitized infrared signal. The literature on this subject is vast. For a more detailed discussion of the technique and its interpretive value for art-historical research and for the basic bibliography see Maryan Wynn Ainsworth and Molly Faries, "Northern Renaissance Paintings: The Discovery of Invention," *Saint Louis Art Museum Bulletin* n.s. 18:1 (1986). This method of investigation is being used in the Paintings Conservation Department of the Metropolitan Museum for an ongoing study of early Netherlandish, German, and French paintings. Two interns for this project, Katherine Crawford and Ronda Kasl, assisted in the study of the Schäufelein painting. The research is made possible by the generous support of the Rowland Foundation.



American collections, the opportunity to examine the Liechtenstein painting was a welcome one. The recovery of the preliminary sketch on the panel for the *Visitation* provides new visual evidence for the discussion of several issues, including the function of the underdrawing vis-à-vis the subsequent painted lay-

ers, its relationship to the artist's drawings and prints, and the clarification of the dating of the painting.<sup>3</sup>

The underdrawing of the *Visitation* (Figures 2–6) is remarkable for its state of completion and for its complexity. Though no drawing could be detected in the landscape (perhaps because it is obscured by the

3. The Hohlheim Altarpiece, of which the *Visitation* is part, is variously dated from 1518–19 by Modern to 1525–32 by Buchner. In the *Liechtenstein* catalogue entry for this picture, Guy Bauman suggests a date of about 1520. See H. Modern, "Der Mömpelgartner Flügelaltar des Hans Leonhard Schäufolein

und der Meister von Messkirch," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlung des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 17 (1896) pp. 307–397; E. Buchner, "Schäufolein," in U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1935) XXIX, pp. 557–561; and Bauman, in *Liechtenstein*, p. 237.

1. Hans Schäufelein (ca. 1480–ca. 1540), *The Visitation*, ca. 1520. Oil on wood, 30<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 25<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (78 × 65 cm.). Vaduz, Collections of the Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein, inv. no. 934 (photo: Walter Wachter)

2. Infrared reflectogram assembly of *The Visitation*, detail of Mary, Elizabeth, and two donors



dark pigments used there), all of the figures are fully worked up in a brush underdrawing, the directness and facility of which are immediately apparent. The drawing shows very free and expressive lines for the contours and interior folds of drapery. Further modeling with parallel hatching and crosshatching creates the desired gradations of light and dark (Figures 3–5).

In some areas, such as in the head of the Virgin (Figure 3), the intention was to suggest the volume of forms, and the hatching conforms to the rounded contours of the face. In other areas, such as in the

hands of Elizabeth and Mary or in the face of the donor at Elizabeth's feet (Figures 5, 6), the purpose of the underdrawing was to establish a system of shading through even, straight, parallel hatching, which by its very nature entirely flattens the forms. There is here a kind of play, even competition, between linear patterning and tonal effects. The underdrawing reveals the variety of purposes served by Schäufelein's technical vocabulary, ranging from expressions of plasticity to seemingly more decorative concerns.

The very finished quality of the preliminary design is further revealed in areas such as Elizabeth's left



3. Infrared reflectogram assembly of *The Visitation*, detail of the Virgin



4. Infrared reflectogram assembly of *The Visitation*, detail of Elizabeth

5. Infrared reflectogram assembly of *The Visitation*, detail of the hands of Mary and Elizabeth



6. Infrared reflectogram assembly of *The Visitation*, detail of the donor at Elizabeth's feet



7. Schüpflein, *The Sealing of the One Hundred and Forty-four Thousand* (Rev. 7:1–4). Woodcut illustration from Martin Luther, *Jesus: Das Neues Testament Teütsch . . .*, Augsburg, 1523 (1524 ed.). The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division (photo: New York Public Library)

cheek or the cloak folded back at her right arm (Figures 2, 4), where it is clear that Schüpflein added dark-toned washes to the underdrawing. These areas do not correspond exactly to the applications of paint on top of them, but appear to have been employed simply in order to describe the forms more fully in the underdrawing itself. An underdrawing of such complexity and finish could have served as a presentation drawing or *vidimus* for the approval of the patron, and perhaps did.<sup>4</sup>

The relatively minor adjustments from the underdrawing to the painted layers, in contours of forms as well as the configuration of drapery folds, indicate a well-established working drawing, which may have been based on a compositional sketch on paper. The underdrawing should not be confused with the additional brush drawing in the uppermost layer of the painting with which Schüpflein reinforced his final decisions about the edges of forms and further characterized the shading of the arms and legs of the donors. In Figures 3 and 6 this surface drawing appears as the darkest lines. Sandwiched between the under- and overdrawing are broad, flat areas of color and their modifying glazes. The addition of color and of surface drawing produces a less volumetric and three-dimensional effect than is evident in the underdrawing. The planar, rather decorative appearance of the finished painting is due in large part to these additions. Whereas the underdrawing displays a high degree of spontaneity, the overdrawing is more labored as it refines and straightens contours, and the



8. Schüpflein, *St. Sebastian*, 1522. Drawing. London, British Museum (photo: British Museum)

4. This is an issue for further study. Very fully worked-up underdrawings, including the addition of thin gray washes, have been noted in the paintings of other early 16th-century artists, such as Bernaert van Orley, Lucas van Leyden, and Erhard Altendorfer, in research carried out by Jan Piet Filedt Kok, Molly Faries, and Maryan Ainsworth (see Ainsworth and Faries, "Northern Renaissance Paintings," p. 37, n. 37, for references). How these very finished underdrawings relate to questions of workshop participation in the execution of a painting cannot be answered until further examples are studied.



and the rendering becomes more mechanical as the artist copies himself.

This technique of reintroducing the drawing in the uppermost layer is not unusual in early sixteenth-century German painting. Hans Baldung Grien, among others, used the same method in works such as *St. John on Patmos* in the Metropolitan Museum's collection.<sup>5</sup> The visual effect here is similar to contemporary chiaroscuro woodcuts, where independent line and color blocks were superimposed.<sup>6</sup> Aside from its form-defining function, this overdrawing is a deliberate reference to a graphic convention borrowed from printmaking. Its use in paintings may reflect a desire by the artist to appeal to the prevailing aesthetic.

From the preliminary stages of the *Visitation* to the finishing touches, it is clear that Schäufolein thought in terms of printmaking, in which he excelled and earned his reputation. His predilection for the graphic mode is at once apparent in the style of the underdrawing, in the precise and even quality of the hatching and crosshatching in areas of shadow, and in the broadly defined areas of drapery. The closest comparisons with other works of art, in fact, are with Schäufolein's woodcuts and drawings for woodcuts.

Among these comparisons are Schäufolein's woodcut illustrations for the 1523 New Testament (Figure

7)<sup>7</sup> and his drawings of the Life of St. Peter, which were probably made in preparation for a print series.<sup>8</sup> In addition, a group of independent sketches of saints and apostles also shows the same drawing conventions and stylistic traits that are evident in the underdrawing of the *Visitation*. These are a *St. Sebastian* (dated 1522, Figure 8) and a *St. Peter* (British Museum, London), *St. John on Patmos* (formerly Paris, A. Drey Collection), and an *Apostle Philip* (Erlangen), all dating from the 1520s. These examples help to secure a dating for the *Visitation* in the early 1520s.<sup>9</sup>

From the comparisons above it is clear that Schäufolein was quintessentially a printmaker. The quality of his line, the way he structured groupings of lines, the form and function of these lines—all were conceived in terms of graphic conventions. The fact that his talents were primarily those of a printmaker rather than a painter is nowhere more emphatically apparent than in the underdrawing of the *Visitation*. This preliminary and heretofore invisible stage of the painting can now be seen to constitute the most expressive one, articulated in terms of the language in which Schäufolein communicated best. Future research on other paintings by Schäufolein will surely address some of the issues outlined here and will help to clarify the accomplishment of Schäufolein as a graphic artist as well as a painter.

5. Acc. no. 1983.451.

6. Lucas Cranach can be credited with the first use of this technique in Germany, around 1506–08. Baldung subsequently popularized the chiaroscuro woodcut in his works after 1510. For a brief history of the technique and illustrations of early examples see Walter L. Strauss, *Chiaroscuro: The Clair-Obscur Woodcuts by German and Netherlandish Masters of the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries* (Greenwich, Conn., 1973).

7. See M. Consuelo Oldenbourg, *Die Buchholzschnitte des Hans Schäufolein: Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis ihrer Verwendungen, Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* 340 (Baden-Baden, 1964) pp. 83–85, 118–123; and Michèle Hébert, *Inventaire des gravures des Ecoles du Nord I* (Paris, 1982) pp. 251ff.

8. Friedrich Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Hans Süss von Kulmbachs und Leonhard Schäufoleins* (Berlin, 1942) pp. 130, 152, and

ills. 46–48. Winkler summarizes the various opinions about the dating of these drawings (p. 152), which range from 1510 to 1530. Comparison with securely dated prints and drawings of the early 1520s argues in favor of a date ca. 1520.

9. For a discussion of these examples and illustrations of them see Edmund Schilling, "Zeichnungen des Hans Leonhard Schäufolein," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 9 (1955) pp. 151–180; and Franz Winzinger, "Unbekannte Werke des Hans Süss von Kulmbach und des Hans Schäufolein," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 24 (1970) pp. 61–70. The chronology of Schäufolein's late works is problematic because of the paucity of securely dated examples. Now the additional evidence of the underdrawing allows for a reexamination of this issue based on comparisons of the underdrawing with dated prints and drawings.

# A Heraldic Note About the Portrait of Ladislaus, Count of Haag, by Hans Mielich

HELMUT NICKEL

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AMONG THE PAINTINGS in the collections of the princes of Liechtenstein, the earliest traceable—in the inventory of 1613—is the portrait of Ladislaus von Fraunberg, count of Haag, by Hans Mielich of Munich, court painter to the duke of Bavaria, Albrecht V (Figure 1). The painting is signed by the artist, and is dated 1557.<sup>1</sup> It shows the count in fashionable Spanish-style court dress, standing in front of an open window that permits a view of a wintry landscape with Castle Haag in the distance.<sup>2</sup> In the window's upper half is a stained-glass panel with the full armorial achievement of the count: gules, an argent horse, bridled sable, rearing to the sinister, and as its crest, a woman's torso, clad in a gown azure, semé with fleurs-de-lys or, holding up a pointed hat ermine, topped by a plume of peacock feathers. The mantlings are in the colors of the shield, red and white.<sup>3</sup> The fleurs-de-lys on the woman's gown are an augmentation of honor granted to Count Ladislaus by Francis I, king of France, when he had distinguished himself in French service. The figure of the woman itself—*Frau* in German—is a canting device, as a wordplay on Ladislaus's family name, von Fraunberg; this is one of the rare cases of a canting crest (instead of a shield charge). Surrounding this heraldic achievement is an architectural frame, enlivened with figural representations of the four cardinal virtues.<sup>4</sup>

The room the count is standing in repeats in its red-and-white floor tiles and white walls with red wainscoting the livery colors of his arms, and it is filled with objects selected with great iconographical care to project complex messages referring to the precarious political situation in which Ladislaus found himself at the time the portrait was painted.

The county of Haag was a tiny, independent enclave within the duchy of Bavaria; it was barely one

hundred and twenty square miles in size, and located only thirty miles due east of Bavaria's capital, Munich. From 1245 on—after the earlier lords of Haag, of the Gurren family, had become extinct—it was in the possession of the Fraunbergs. The prancing white horse in the count's coat of arms is a somewhat unflattering canting device for the name of the original owners; *Gurre* is a dialect word for a mare of poor quality.<sup>5</sup>

For centuries the dukes of Bavaria had tried to eliminate the various independent territories within their reach. When Albrecht V succeeded to the dukedom in 1550, he focused his attention on Haag,

1. G. C. Bauman in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, exh. cat. (New York, 1985) pp. 241–243, no. 253, col. ill. The signature reads: ANNO DN.M.D.LVII.HANNES MIELICH A MONAC.FECIT.

2. Castle Haag was demolished in 1804; only its main tower (the "Bergfried"), the chapel, and a gatehouse are left standing. *Die Kunstdenkmale des Regierungsbezirks Oberbayern*, ed. G. von Bezold, B. Riehl, and G. Hager, 3 vols. (Munich, 1902) I, pt. 2, pp. 1960–1971.

3. The family arms of Fraunberg are: gules, a pale argent. Usually they are found quartered with those of Haag; here they are omitted, probably to emphasize the ownership of the county of Haag. Their original crest was a pointed hat, upturned, ermine, topped by a plume of peacock feathers.

4. Flanking the Haag arms are the standing figures of Fortitudo with a column as her attribute, and Prudentia holding a snake; reclining on the lintel are Temperantia with compass and goblet, and Iustitia with her balances.

5. The horse in the shield is leaping to the sinister, as opposed to the normal heraldic practice of showing animals as facing to the dexter. In German heraldry the arms of a married couple would be represented by two shields side by side, with the figures of the husband's shield reversed, facing to the sinister for "courtoisie." Interestingly, however, the armorial shield carved on the facade of the main tower of Castle Haag (illustrated in *Kunstdenkmale Oberbayern*, see note 2) shows the horse leaping to the sinister, too. Possibly this "wrong" position was an attempt to identify the horse graphically as a wretched "Gurre."



1. Hans Mielich (1516–73),  
*Ladislaus von Fraunberg,*  
*Count of Haag, German*  
*(Munich), 1557. Vaduz,*  
*Collections of the Reigning*  
*Prince of Liechtenstein,*  
*inv. no. 1065 (photo:*  
*Walter Wachter)*

which he wanted to get into his power by all means fair or foul. Count Ladislaus was in an especially vulnerable position. After the death of his younger brother, Leonhard, in September 1541, he was the last of his line. Though he had married Marie Salome, a daughter of the margrave of Baden, in early 1541, all the children of this marriage died in infancy. To complicate matters even more, Marie Salome was a Protestant, and quarrels that arose between Count Ladislaus and a monastery within his domain were blamed on her subversive influence, and taken as a welcome pretext for interference by the staunchly Catholic Duke Albrecht—then still co-ruler with his father, Duke Wilhelm—righteously posing as defender of the Old Faith.

After Marie Salome's death in 1549, Duke Albrecht increased his pressure on Ladislaus, which led to an actual blockade of the county of Haag in 1552 and in 1555 to a secret treaty between Duke Albrecht and Emperor Charles V. Taking advantage of rumors about Ladislaus's Protestant leanings, Duke Albrecht obtained the emperor's assurance that after Ladislaus's death the county would cease to be an independent territory of the empire, and would be handed over to Albrecht and his heirs in order to ensure the preservation of the Catholic faith.

In the meantime Count Ladislaus tried desperately to prevent the extinction of his house. Using old acquaintance with the duke of Ferrara, Ercole II d'Este, he married a niece of the duke's, Emilia Roverella de Pio di Carpi, in 1555. The duke showed Ladislaus great favor, offering him not only the county of Scandiano, a lordship in his domain, but also the well-salaried position of captain-general of the ducal forces, with the right to the arms of the house of Este as an augmentation to his own.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, Ladislaus's mother-in-law insisted on adding extortionate demands to the already signed marriage contract, in order to keep Emilia's dowry as well as Ladislaus's marriage gifts.<sup>7</sup> Exasperated, Ladislaus even agreed to take Emilia "only in her shift" without any dowry and to pay 10,000 crowns to her family, deposited with the banking house of Fugger. If Ladislaus should die before Emilia, this sum would be paid to her within four years; if there were any children, however, she would get only five percent interest on it as an annuity for life. If she should die before Ladislaus, the entire amount would be returned to him.

After the signing of this new contract, Emilia's mother had her daughter spirited away into a convent. When Ladislaus asked the duke for his help and arbitration, Emilia's mother managed to get another 15,000 crowns. In order to do everything possible to ensure that her daughter would become a widow before Ladislaus had a reasonable chance to sire any children, she arranged for two assassination attempts on his life.

Understandably disappointed, Ladislaus returned home and tried to have this unworkable marriage dissolved. However, the Pio family held on to their contract, and a papal dispensation could not be obtained. Minor nuisances, such as unsuccessful assassination attempts, were not counted as valid reasons for a divorce by the standards of sixteenth-century Italy. As a last resort Count Ladislaus even converted to Protestantism in 1556, in order to get his divorce from Protestant theologians, but this also turned out to be an exercise in frustration.

In the meantime his old archenemy, Duke Albrecht, had been biding his time. When Ladislaus's widowed sister, Maximiliane von Ortenburg, planned to remarry, her brother-in-law, as the guardian of her five children, laid claim to her dowry and other property. Maximiliane appealed to Duke Albrecht, the feudal lord of the Ortenburgs. The duke set up a committee for arbitration, and Maximiliane asked her brother to attend the negotiations. When Ladislaus arrived at the meeting place, Alt-Oetting, on September 12, 1557, he was arrested and conducted to Munich on trumped-up charges. In spite of the blatant illegality of this procedure, Duke Albrecht insisted on a payment of a "penalty" of 25,000 thalers, even against serious protests from his own vassals

6. W. Goetz, "Ladislaus von Fraunberg, der letzte Graf von Haag," in *Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte* XLVI (1889–90) p. 138.

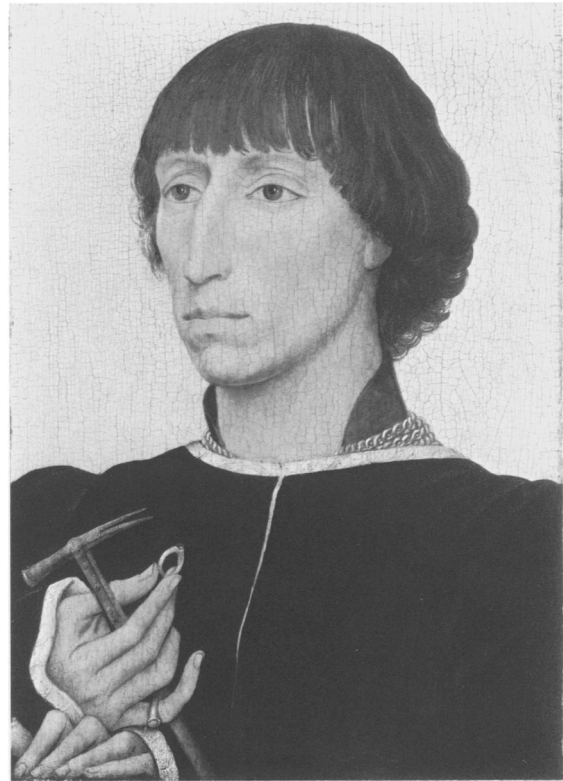
7. In the original contract Emilia's dowry was set at 10,000 crowns, to be paid as 2,000 crowns in cash at once, 4,000 crowns in the form of a palazzo at Ferrara, and the remaining 4,000 crowns in annual installments of 1,000 crowns each. To counter this Ladislaus was to offer a marriage gift of 10,000 crowns, plus a special bonus ("Morgengabe") "for reason of her virginity"; they were to be Emilia's exclusive property, to be used according to her own wish. The additions were such that the dowry, the marriage gift, and the "Morgengabe" were to stay "semper et in perpetuum" (forever and ever) in Italy, within the mother's reach.

2. Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400–1464), *Francesco d'Este*, Flemish, ca. 1460. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931, The Friedsam Collection, 32.100.43

and lukewarm measures by the emperor. On November 2, 1557, Ladislaus was brought back to Haag, and was kept as a prisoner in his own castle until he paid the entire ransom, 20,000 thalers of it in cash, the remaining sum in plate, jewels, and so on, to be redeemed within six weeks.<sup>8</sup>

It would have been either during the last days of his captivity, or immediately after, during the early winter weeks of 1557–58, that Hans Mielich painted Ladislaus's portrait, in keeping with the spirit of the period, filled with poignant symbols.

The military trophy on the wall represents the solitary career of the count;<sup>9</sup> the memento mori assembly of skull, crucifix, and hourglass on the shelf, together with the Vanitas symbol of the mirror hanging from the cornice, is a reminder of the low ebb of Count Ladislaus's fortunes in 1557.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the carnation—since the Middle Ages a traditional symbol for a bridegroom—in a glass vase on the table indicates hope for a new and this time more



8. All details of Count Ladislaus's stormy life are taken from Goetz, "Ladislaus von Fraunberg," pp. 108–165.

9. In 1524, at the age of twenty, Ladislaus participated in the Italian campaigns that culminated in the Battle of Pavia (Feb. 24, 1525), but he was taken prisoner by the French "because of overmuch boldness." In a characteristic show of the proverbial ingratitude of the house of Hapsburg, Emperor Charles V refused to ransom him. After his ransom was paid by his brother, therefore, Ladislaus went into French service until 1529. In the meantime he had been attainted, and his half of the county (the other half was his brother's share) was confiscated and occupied by the Bavarians. He was fortunate to get his property back after payment of a fine of 6,000 gulden. In 1536–38 he was again in imperial service, campaigning in Italy and Provence. In 1547, under the threat of the War of the League of Schmalkalden, he was appointed one of the three captains-general of the imperial forces in Bavaria, and in 1553 he was to raise twenty companies of *Landsknechte* for a planned campaign in Burgundy.

10. The branches of taxus tucked behind the trophy had been symbols of death since classical antiquity, but there might also be a specific hidden wordplay involved. Taxus is not only a favorite tree in churchyards, it is also much favored as shrubbery for hedges. A German word for "hedge" is *Hag*.

3. Reverse of the portrait of Francesco d'Este, with the sitter's arms



successful marriage,<sup>11</sup> which might give the county of Haag its so desperately longed-for heir.

Indeed, immediately after his return from his unhappy Italian adventure, Count Ladislaus had approached the lady of a nearby castle, Margarethe von Trenbach, and actually promised to marry her as soon as his burdensome marriage with Emilia could be dissolved. However, this was not to be, and Margarethe died, single, probably in 1565.

Ladislaus himself died in 1566, without issue, and his beloved little county was pocketed by a triumphant Duke Albrecht; it is still part of Bavaria.<sup>12</sup>

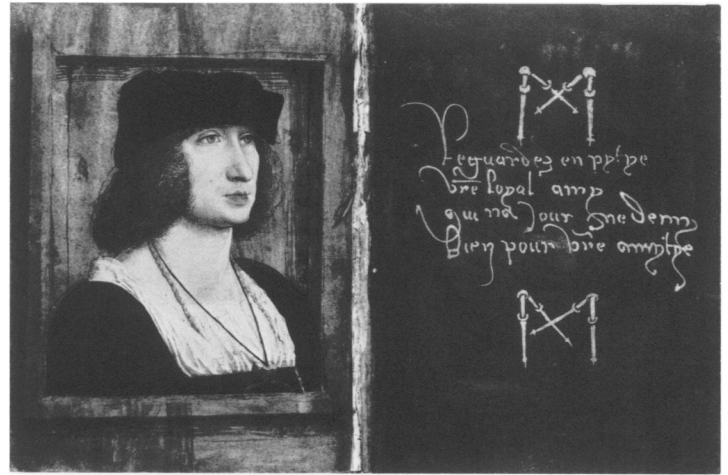
The most striking feature, though, in this painting—so heavily loaded with iconographical hints—is the leopard rubbing against Count Ladislaus’s leg like an overgrown housecat. This leopard must have been a family celebrity. Almost a century later, in a letter dated July 31, 1640, Prince Gundacar von Liechtenstein, a grandson of Ladislaus’s sister Maximiliane, advised his son, Prince Ferdinand, to show a visiting Cardinal Pio all the ancestral portraits at Castle Feldsberg, in particular the one of “Graf Lassla von Haag” by “an excellent master’s hand,” because this ancestor was once married to a lady of the house of Pio, and was seen in the picture with a “Tigertier,” which had been given to him by one of his Pio brothers-in-law and “which used to follow him around like a dog.”<sup>13</sup>

It is not known which of Emilia’s two brothers, Ercole or Enea, was the generous donor of this gift, remarkable not only for its sheer magnificence but also for its value as a thoughtful gesture of deeper symbolic nature. The leopard was a crest of the house of Este, and, as mentioned earlier, Emilia’s uncle, the duke of Ferrara, Ercole II d’Este, had offered to be-

11. The glass vase could also be a pessimistic reminder of the German proverb “Glück und Glas—wie leicht bricht das!” (Luck and glass—how easily broken!).

12. After Ladislaus’s death Emilia married again, a Count Onofrio Bevilacqua. Conte Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane* (Milan/Turin, 1819ff.) IX, dispensa 16, s.v. Pio di Carpi, table IV, mentions tersely that Emilia “fu dapprima moglie di un barone tedesco.”

13. “Weil der Cardinal Pio die Verwandtnus selbst anziehet, so können Deine Liebden data occasione ihm alle die Ahnen zeigen und vermelden, das unser Mütterlichen Ahnfrau Bruder (Graf Lassla von Haag genannt) eine von seinem Hause Pii gehabt und das einer der Pii, sein Schwager, ihme ein Tigertier, so wie ein Hundt stets bey ihme gewesen, geschenkt habe, mit welchem Tigertier er auch noch bis dato zu Veldsperg von eines



4. Jean Perréal (ca. 1455–1530), *Pierre Sala*, with dedicatory inscription in Sala’s *Emblemes et devises d’amour*, French (Lyons), ca. 1500; reproduced in reverse, the inscription being in mirror writing. London, British Library, Stowe MS 955, fols. 16v, 17r (photo: British Library)

stow on Count Ladislaus the right of using the Este arms with his own.

An outstanding example of these arms appears on the reverse of a panel painting by Rogier van der Weyden in the Metropolitan Museum, which was identified by Ernst H. Kantorowicz as a portrait of Francesco d’Este, marquis of Ferrara (Figures 2, 3).<sup>14</sup> The armorial shield is quartered (1 and 4) with the augmentation of honor that King Charles VII of France had bestowed on the house of Este in 1432: azure, three fleurs-de-lys or, in a bordure emmanchée gules and or; and (2 and 3) with the family arms of Este: azure, an eagle argent. As a crest there is a

vortrefflichen Meisters Hand abcontrafact vorhanden” (Since Cardinal Pio himself points out the relationship, you may, my dear, on given occasion show him all the ancestors and mention that our maternal grandmother’s brother [called Graf Lassla von Haag] had a wife of the house of Pio, and that one of the Pii, his brother-in-law, gave him a tiger-beast as a present, which followed him around like a dog, and with which tiger-beast he can still be seen to this day at Veldsperg, portrayed by an excellent master’s hand). Quoted from a letter in the Princely Archives.

14. E. H. Kantorowicz, “The Este Portrait by Roger van der Weyden,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 3 (1939–40) pp. 165–180; and G. Bauman, “Early Flemish Portraits, 1425–1525,” *MMAB* 43:4 (1986) pp. 38–42, figs. 29, 30, and cover.





5. Reverse of medal of Lionello d'Este, by Master Nicholaus, Italian, ca. 1445. London, British Museum (photo: British Museum)
6. The arms of the margraves of Ferrara (center). *Grünenbergs Wappenbuch*, 1483 (photo: after facsimile edition, 1875)



seated leopard blindfolded with a long, fluttering scarf; two rampant leopards are the supporters of the shield. Above these arms are inscribed the words *v̄rē tout*, while below is written *francisque*. Flanking the crested helmet are the monogrammatic letters *m* and *e* tied together by love knots. The inscription *non plus / courcelles* scratched into the upper left-hand corner next to the motto *v̄rē tout* must be a later—though near-contemporary—addition.

Francesco d'Este was a natural son of Lionello, margrave of Ferrara (1407–50).<sup>15</sup> He spent most of his life at the court of Burgundy, where he was sent by his father for his education, in 1444, at the age of fifteen; in the 1460s “le marquis de ferrare, chambellan du Duc” is repeatedly mentioned, but he also held several military commands at that time. This service at the Burgundian court would explain the French form of his name on the painting, as well as his French motto: “Votre tout” (All yours) (Figure 4).<sup>16</sup> The letters *m* and *e* would stand for “marquis este” or “marchio estensis,” a title used by his father, Lionello.<sup>17</sup> The last time Francesco’s name is recorded is in October 1475, when he is registered in the *Chambre des Comptes* of Lille as Captain of Westerlo. Kantorowicz pointed out the possibility that he might have been killed in one of the luckless battles his master, Charles the Bold, had to fight in the last year of his life, such as Grandson (March 2, 1476), Murten (June 22, 1476), or Nancy (January 5, 1477). Interestingly, right on the edge of the battlefield of Grandson is a tiny hamlet named Corcelles. Although there was an important Burgundian family, de Courcelles, who might be referred to in the enigmatic inscription *non plus / courcelles* (No more / Courcelles), and in Burgundian territory there are a couple of dozen towns and villages with names such as Courcelles, Courselles, or Corcelles, could it be

15. Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*, fasc. XXVI, s.v. Este III, table XII, quotes the erroneous date of 1444 for Francesco’s birth. For a discussion of the correct date see Kantorowicz, “The Este Portrait,” nn. 28–33.

16. The motto was previously read as “Voire(?) tout” (See everything). However, the abbreviation “v̄rē” for “votre” is a common one, as in *Emblemes et devises d’amour* by Pierre Sala (Lyons, ca. 1500), British Library, Stowe MS 955, fol. 16v: “Regardez en pytye / v̄rē loyal amy / qui na jour ne demy / bien pour v̄rē amytye” (see T. Kren, ed., *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library*, exh. cat. [New York, 1983] pp. 169–174, no. 22, pl. xxvii).

17. Kantorowicz, “The Este Portrait,” p. 167.



7. Dog collar with the initials of Christian II and Johann (Hans) Georg, dukes of Saxony, German (Saxon), 1600–11. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Bashford Dean, 29.150.154

that Francesco's military career and life ended on the snow-covered battlefield of Grandson/Corcelles?

The blindfolded leopard in the crest of the margraves and later dukes of Ferrara was an adaptation of an *impresa* of Francesco's father, Lionello. On the reverse of his portrait medals by Pisanello, Amadio di Milano, and Master Nicholas, a blindfolded feline, identified by its pointed ears and stubby tail as a lynx, is seated on a square pillow; on Master Nicholas's medal the animal is encircled by the motto *QVAE VIDES NE VIDE* (Don't see what you see) (Figure 5).<sup>18</sup> The lynx's blindfold would be an allusion to its superior eyesight, which according to folklore was even able to penetrate walls. The animals in Francesco's arms, however, are clearly long-tailed leopards, and a blindfolded leopard was an accepted variant of the crest of the margraves and/or dukes of Ferrara since Lionello's time (Figure 6).<sup>19</sup>

The change from lynx to leopard was probably due to the blindfold in the device. As it was customary to hood a falcon in order to prevent its taking off prematurely after its intended prey, so a hunting cheetah was blindfolded to keep it from chasing off at the wrong moment. It is likely that the blindfolded lynx was mistakenly seen as a hooded cheetah, which in turn was misinterpreted as a leopard, a more canonical heraldic beast. Exact classification of species of large exotic cats is usually quite vague among nonzoologists, as the "Tigertier" quoted from Prince

Gundacar's letter bears witness. In any case, the spotted felines in the Este arms are lacking the characteristic face markings of the cheetah, and Count Ladislaus's pet is clearly a leopard.

The cypher LS on the leopard's collar has been interpreted as an unusual monogram for Ladislaus, incorporating the first and the last letter of his name. Cyphers and monograms, sometimes of a very elaborate nature, were commonly used on collars for hunting dogs; the collars of the hounds in the *Hunt of the Unicorn* tapestries in *The Cloisters* are fine examples in art, and in real life the collars of the hunting dogs of the dukes of Saxony, monogrammed with their owners' names and titles, are the pride of many museum collections (Figure 7).<sup>20</sup> As it can be presumed that the leopard's collar was specially made to fit this prized animal, and therefore was probably part of the original gift by the count's generous brother-in-law, the cypher LS might stand for Ladislaus and Scandiano, the lordship the count was on the point of receiving when family relations at Ferrara were still friendly.

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18. G. F. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1920) pp. 37–38, pl. iv:3; G. F. Hill and G. Pollard, *Renaissance Medals: Complete Catalogue of the Samuel H. Kress Collection* (London, 1967) p. 9, pl. 8; U. Middeldorf and D. Stiebrl, *Renaissance Medals and Plaquettes* (Florence, 1983) pls. II, XXIX; and Kantorowicz, "The Este Portrait," fig. 4b.

19. *Konrad Grünenbergs Wappenbuch, 1483*, facsimile, ed. Graf Stillfried-Alcantara (Görlitz, 1875) pl. VII.

20. The letters on the dog collar signify the dukes of Saxony, Christian (1601–11) and Johann Georg (coregent before 1611, reigned 1611–56): CHG as a cypher—Christian, Hans Georg; HZSC—Herzog zu Sachsen, Churfürst (Duke of Saxony, Prince Elector).

# A Pair of Wheel-Lock Pistols Attributed to Wolf Lucz of Mergenthal

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THE RECENT EXHIBITION at the Metropolitan Museum, "Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections," included a display of one hundred and thirty firearms as an evocation of the famous Gewehrhammer, or cabinet of arms, assembled by the princes of Liechtenstein from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century. Among these was a pair of richly decorated German wheel-lock pistols dating to about 1580–90 (Figures 1–5).<sup>1</sup> The heavy construction of the barrels and locks, the sharply down-turned angle of the grips, and the large spherical pommels identify them as belonging to a distinctly German type of cavalryman's side arm, known as *Puffer*, that was used during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. These pistols, invariably made in pairs, were carried in holsters at the front of the saddle, from which they could be drawn in battle and fired at close range. As would be expected of practical, deadly weapons of war, most of these pistols were relatively plain, although highly decorated (and therefore more expensive) examples were also made to satisfy customers of wealth and more demanding taste. The Liechtenstein pair, with their richly etched and gilt barrels and locks, and their intricately inlaid stocks, are among the most elaborately embellished and beautiful *Puffer*-type pistols in existence.

The profusion and variety of figural ornament on the stocks of these firearms set them apart from the majority of late sixteenth-century German pistols. The stocks are inlaid with dense foliate scrolls inhabited by human and allegorical figures, animals, birds, and grotesques. As was noted in the catalogue of the "Liechtenstein" exhibition, much of the decoration was copied from a variety of French and German ornamental prints. Some of the graphic sources can be illustrated here. A number of motifs are based on a

series of allegorical figures engraved by the Paris goldsmith and printmaker Etienne Delaune. The personifications of Theology and Jurisprudence on the backs of the grips (Figure 2) are copied after Delaune's prints of the same subjects (Figures 6, 7); on the left side of the stocks (Figure 3), the reclining river god and goddess between the lock screws are taken from *Dialectique* (Figure 8), and the confronted dogs that frame the forward lock screw are from the print of *Phisique* (Figure 9).<sup>2</sup> The large curved plaques of staghorn serving as ramrod pipes (on the underside of the stocks near the muzzle) are engraved with equestrian battles; one of these (Figure 4) is inscribed EVRYTI REGIS FILIAM IOLAM OCCISO PATRE ABDVXIT HERCVLES (Hercules abducted Iole, the daughter of King Eurytus, after having slain her father), the other (Figure 5) HERCVLES MVLTI BELLIS LACESSIT TROIAM (Hercules provoked Troy in many battles). Both are copied, with considerable simplification, from two engravings in Hans Sebald Beham's *Labors of Hercules* series published between 1542 and 1548 (Figures 10, 11).<sup>3</sup>

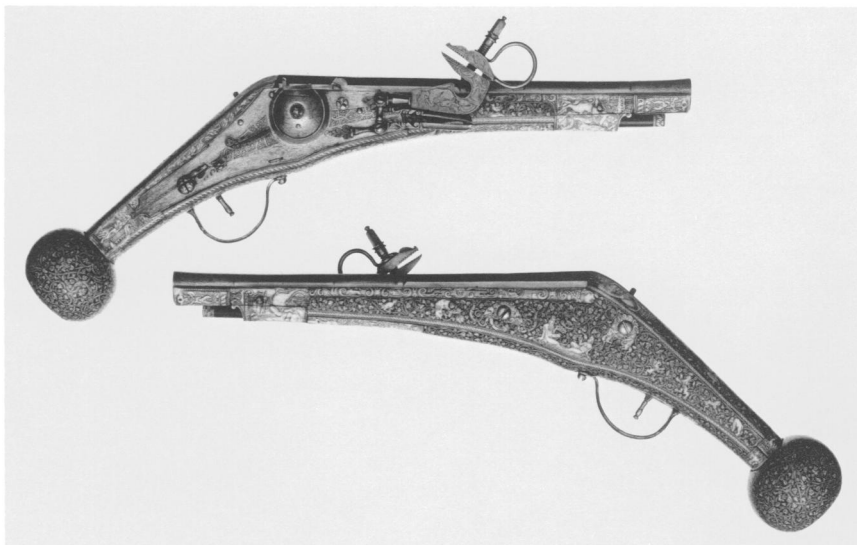
Another graphic source for the stock decoration can be added to those already mentioned in the *Liechtenstein* catalogue. The satyrs within strapwork

1. I have described and discussed these pistols in *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, exh. cat. (New York, 1985) pp. 118–119, no. 77, col. ill. Three color illustrations of the pistols were published in S. W. Pyhrr, *Firearms from the Collections of the Prince of Liechtenstein* (New York, 1985) pp. 10–11.

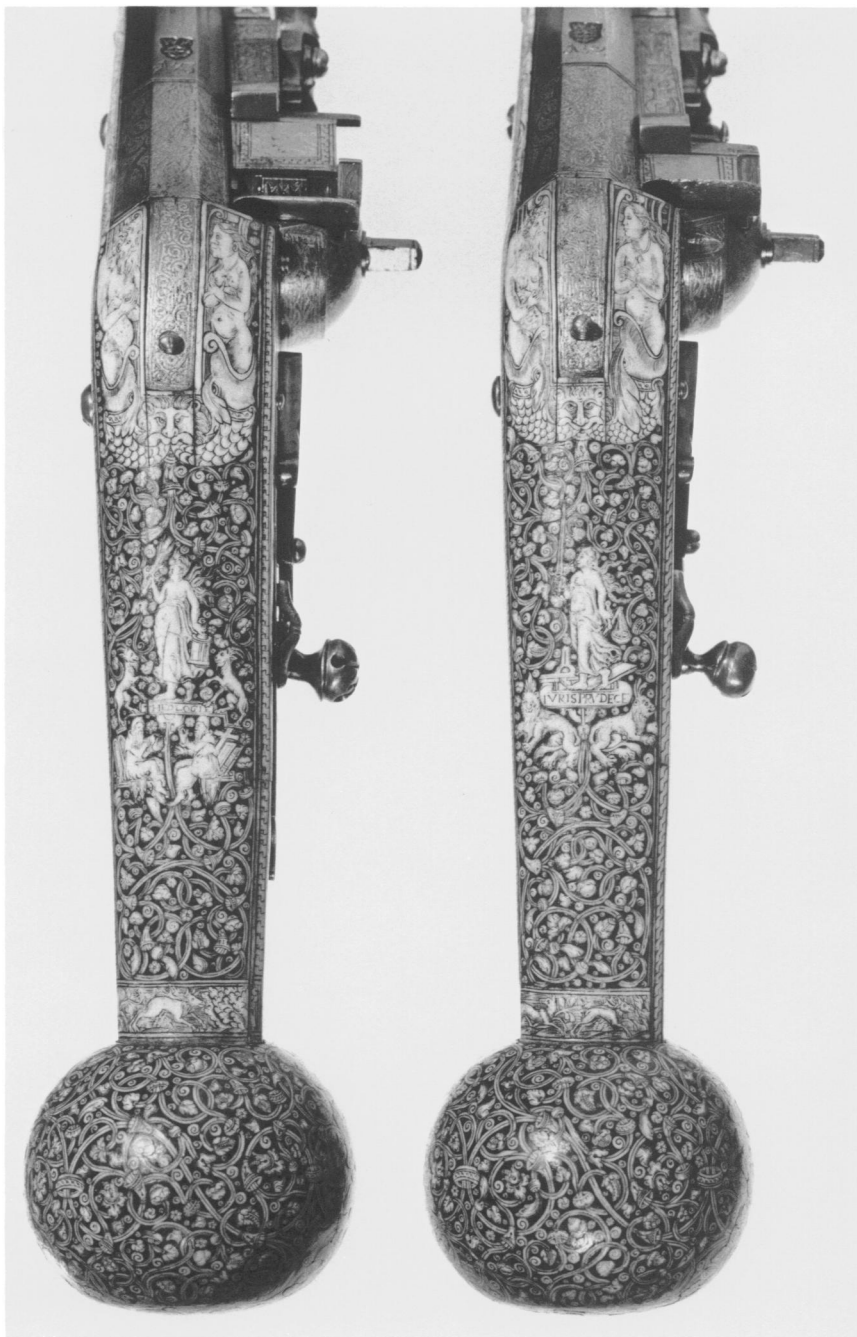
2. For the Delaune series see A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le Peintre-graveur français* (Paris, 1835–71; repr. Paris, 1967) IX, pp. 103–104, nos. 340–345.

3. For Beham see F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700* (Amsterdam, n.d.) III, pp. 67–69.

1-5. Pair of wheel-lock pistols, German (Mergenthal/Bad Mergentheim), ca. 1580-90. L. 20 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (51.2 cm.). Vaduz, Collections of the Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein, inv. nos. 142, 143 (photos: Walter Wachter)



2. Grips of the pistols, showing the allegorical figures of Theology and Jurisprudence





3. Detail of the left (or inner) side of one pistol, showing the decoration around the lock screws

OVERLEAF:

For purposes of comparison, Figures 4 and 5 are shown on the following page.

6–9. Etienne Delaune (1518/19–83), engravings of allegorical figures. The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 6–8. Gift of Harry G. Friedman, 62.635.62(5, 3, 2); 9. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 47.139.106





4. Detail of the ramrod pipe beneath the barrel of pistol no. 143, showing Hercules abducting Iole

5. Detail of the ramrod pipe beneath the barrel of pistol no. 142, showing Hercules battling the Trojans



10. Hans Sebald Beham (1500–50), *Hercules Abducting Iole*. Engraving dated 1544. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 17.3.479

11. Hans Sebald Beham, *Hercules Battling the Trojans*. Engraving dated 1545. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 17.3.480



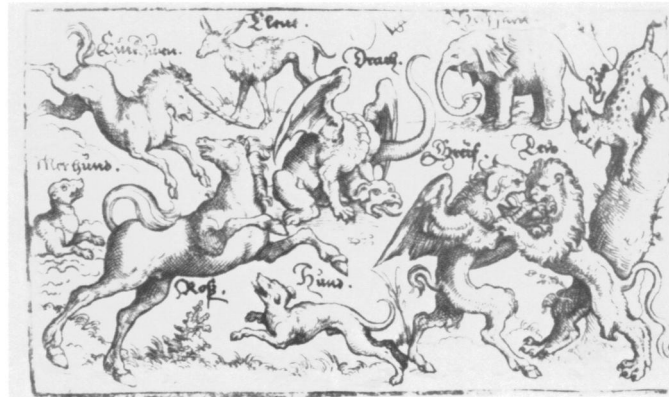


on the plaques at the muzzle come from the decorative borders framing a series of portrait medallions engraved by the prolific Nuremberg printmaker Virgil Solis.<sup>4</sup> The tiny figures of the bear, cheetah, lion, and griffin, and probably also the birds, that appear on the left side of the stocks were adapted from two series of animal prints issued by Solis in 1557 and 1572 (Figure 12).<sup>5</sup> The later date also provides a *terminus post quem* for the decoration of the pistols.

While the identification of the graphic sources for the decoration is evidence of the variety of prints available to the stocker and demonstrates his talent for integrating different motifs, it does not provide a clue to his identity or to the town or region in which he worked. The prints were widely distributed throughout Europe and were utilized by craftsmen in all media—goldsmiths, jewelers, cabinetmakers, and potters, as well as decorators of arms and armor. There is in fact no internal evidence to indicate where in Germany these pistols were made. The only mark on the pistols—a shield containing the letters WM above a cogwheel stamped on the breech of each barrel—is presumably the barrel maker's and is unrecorded.<sup>6</sup>

An attribution for the Liechtenstein pistols was, however, suggested in the exhibition catalogue on the basis of a comparison with a matchlock rifle in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (Figures 13–16), which has an identical style of stock inlay. The Munich rifle is signed and dated as by “Wolf Lucz, gunstocker at Mergenthal, 1584.”<sup>7</sup> This note is intended to explore more fully the relationship between the rifle and the Liechtenstein pistols, as support for the attribution of the pistols to Wolf Lucz.

The Munich gun belongs to a distinctive group of



12. Virgil Solis (1514–62), engraving of animals, including a griffin and lion in combat, 1572 (photo: after O'Dell-Franke, *Virgil Solis*, pl. 87, no. g 103)

snap-matchlock rifles intended exclusively for target-shooting; as luxury sporting arms, they were all elaborately decorated.<sup>8</sup> The stock is inlaid with scrollwork exactly matching that on the Liechtenstein pistols, including the distinctive bell-shaped pods which appear to be a characteristic of this decorator's style. The rifle's decoration, too, includes a large number of figures derived from identifiable graphic sources. The figures of Adam and Eve on the underside of the stock are copied after an engraving of 1540 by Heinrich Aldegrever,<sup>9</sup> while the piper and drummer on the cheek are reversed copies after Jost Amman.<sup>10</sup> By far the largest number of figures were taken from the oeuvre of Virgil Solis. The figure of Judith on the underside of the stock is copied from a Solis design for the end of a scabbard (Figure 17),

4. I. O'Dell-Franke, *Kupferstiche und Radierungen aus der Werkstatt des Virgil Solis* (Wiesbaden, 1977) pl. 95, no. h 57.

5. *Ibid.*, pls. 84, 85, nos. g 83–92 (1557 series), and pls. 86, 87, nos. g 93–103 (1572 series).

6. The mark is not found in the standard compendia of gunmakers' marks, J. F. Støckel, *Haandskydevaabens bedømmelse*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1938–43), and E. Heer, *Der neue Støckel*, 3 vols. (Schwäbisch-Hall, 1978–82). Claude Blair (letter of June 2, 1984) suggests quite reasonably that the wheel, apparently a miller's waterwheel, may be a canting device for a maker named Müller.

7. For the Munich rifle see A. Hoff, “Late Firearms with Snap Matchlocks,” *Tøjhusmuseets Skifter* 7 (1963) p. 16, where the town of Mergenthal is correctly identified as [Bad] Mergentheim in northern Württemberg. The rifle was subsequently catalogued

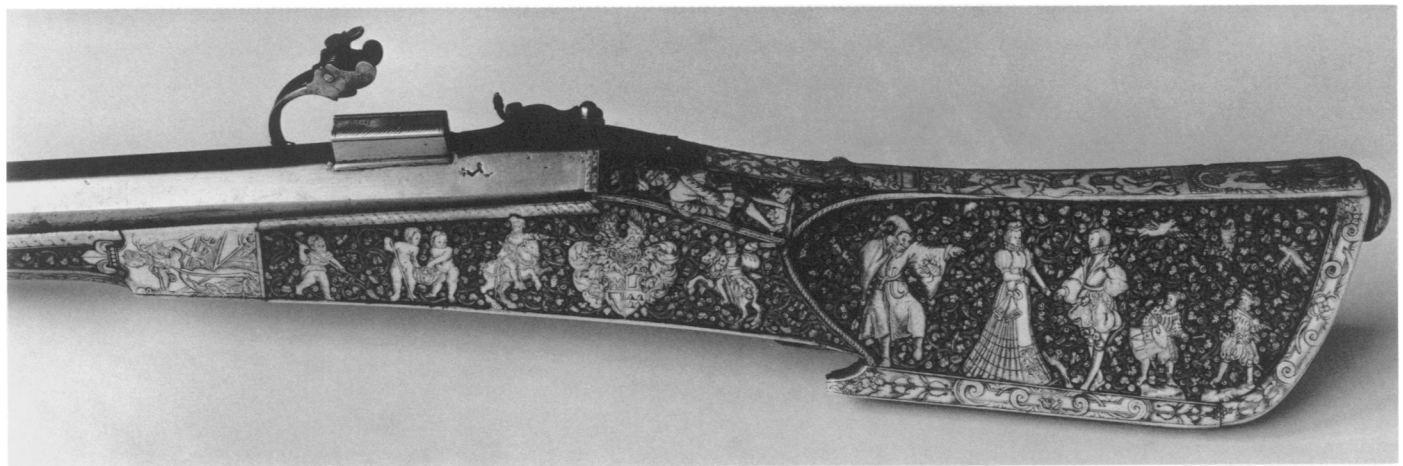
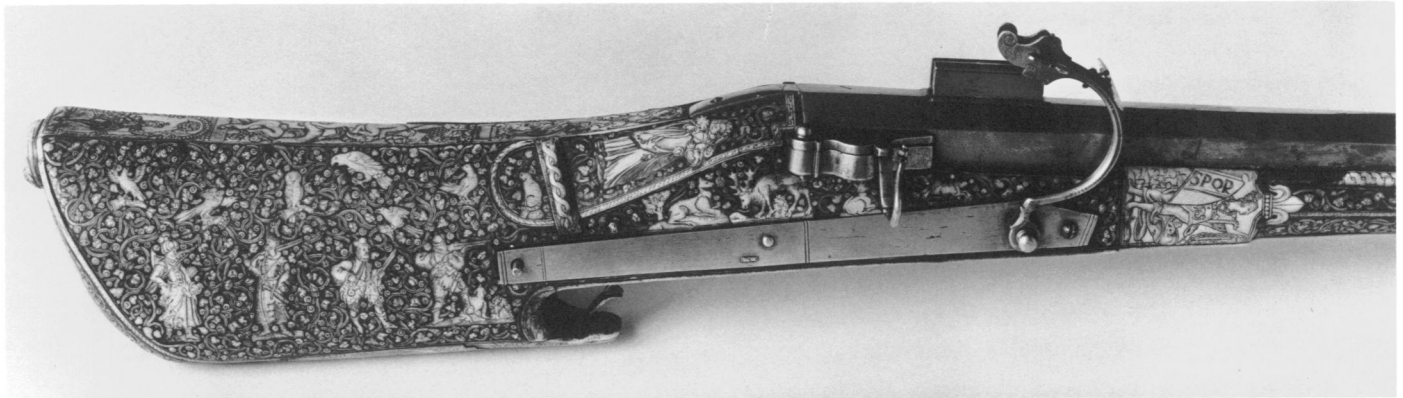
by E. Schalkhauser, “Die Handfeuerwaffen des Bayerisches Nationalmuseums,” *Waffen- und Kostumkunde* 8 (1966) pp. 7–8, where it is inexplicably called “Bohemian.” Following Schalkhauser, Heer, *Der neue Støckel*, I, p. 731, records Wolf Lucz as active in “Mergenthal(?) Böhmen.”

8. For this snap-matchlock group see Hoff, “Late Firearms with Snap Matchlocks,” p. 16.

9. Hollstein, *German Engravings*, I, pp. 6–7; the Aldegrever source was already noted by Schalkhauser, “Handfeuerwaffen,” p. 8.

10. Leonhard Fronspurger, ed., *Kriegs Ordnung . . .* (Frankfurt am Main, 1564) p. 51v. Similar figures were also engraved by Solis; see O'Dell-Franke, *Virgil Solis*, pl. 53, no. f 12 (piper), and pl. 54, no. f 19 (drummer).

13–16. Matchlock target rifle, the stock by Wolf Lucz of Mergenthal, German, dated 1584. L. overall 52½ in. (132.5 cm.). Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. W1447 (photos: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum)



14. Cheek side of the rifle

and the three female figures holding shields at the side and underside of the stock, just forward of the lockplate, can be identified as Veturia, Lucretia, and Brigita from Solis's series of the nine heroines (Figure 18).<sup>11</sup> The male and female figures to either side of the barrel tang on the top of the stock are extracted from two prints of dancing couples.<sup>12</sup> The playful monkeys on the butt and those on the top of the stock come from a series of engraved playing cards (Figure 19),<sup>13</sup> and the many birds and animals that inhabit the scrollwork are, like those on the Liechtenstein pistols, copied from Solis's composite groupings of birds, insects, and animals.<sup>14</sup>

A staghorn plaque beneath the stock is engraved with two putti framing the inscription WOLF LVCZ SCHIFDER ZV MERGENDHAL 1584. On the left side of

the stock is the coat of arms of a member of the Cronberg (or Cronenberg) family,<sup>15</sup> for whom the rifle was made. A Walther von Cronberg (d. 1558)

11. O'Dell-Franke, *Virgil Solis*, pl. 122, no. i 116, and pl. 22, nos. c 13, c 14, and c 18 respectively.

12. *Ibid.*, pl. 59, nos. f 56 (female figure) and f 58 (male figure).

13. *Ibid.*, pl. 63, nos. f 90 and f 92.

14. The stag and doe above the lock were copied from Virgil Solis, *ibid.*, pl. 85, no. g 92. The pelican and ostrich on the underside of the stock came from the same series of 1557, *ibid.*, pl. 84, no. g 87 (pelican), and pl. 85, no. g 88 (ostrich).

15. For the Cronberg arms see *Siebmachers Wappenbuch*, ed. A. M. F. Gritzner (Nuremberg, 1878) I, 3. Abt., II Reihe: "Die erlauchten Grafengeschlechter in Deutschland," pp. 6–7, pls. 6, 7. The arms on the Munich gun were identified by Alexander von Reitzenstein as probably those of Deutschmeister Franz von Cronberg (Hoff, "Late Firearms with Snap Matchlocks," p. 16).

15. Underside of the rifle

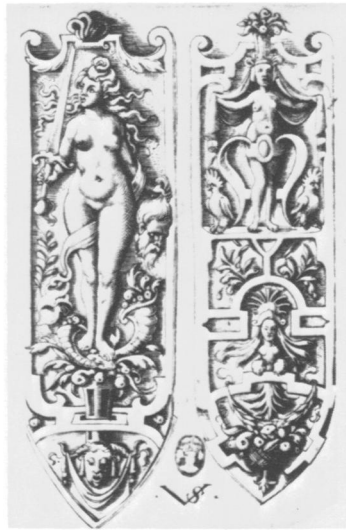


16. Detail of Figure 15, showing the gunstocker's signature



17. Virgil Solis, engraved design for a scabbard chape with the figure of Judith (photo: after O'Dell-Franke, *Virgil Solis*, pl. 122, no. i 116)

18. Virgil Solis, *Brigita*, engraving (photo: after O'Dell-Franke, *Virgil Solis*, pl. 22, no. c 18)



19. Virgil Solis, *Seven Monkeys*, from a series of engraved playing cards (photo: after O'Dell-Franke, *Virgil Solis*, pl. 63, no. f 90)

held the double title of *Hoch- und Deutschmeister* of the Teutonic Order, whose headquarters were transferred to Mergenthal in 1527.<sup>16</sup> Presumably other members of the family can also be associated with that town.

There is little documentation about Wolf Lucz or gunmaking in Mergenthal, a town known today as Bad Mergentheim, in Württemberg, about twenty-five miles south of Würzburg. The town once had a gunsmiths' guild, but the records are preserved only for the period 1700–49.<sup>17</sup> However, a list dated July 16, 1586, of burghers residing in Mergenthal mentions a Wolf Lutz as living in the city's fourth quarter together with his wife, seven children, and a male servant. He is again mentioned, this time without family or servant, in a similar list dated March 11, 1592.<sup>18</sup> Although his trade is not mentioned, this Wolf Lutz is presumably identical with the gunstocker Wolf Lucz. The Munich rifle is the only known gun signed by Lucz, and it appears to constitute the sole record of firearms making or decorating in Mergenthal in the sixteenth century.

In spite of the lack of documentation, some conclusions can be drawn about the gunstocker Wolf Lucz based on the signed gun in Munich and the pair of pistols in the Liechtenstein collection. Lucz was a highly skilled and inventive craftsman, in no way provincial, and was up to date in the latest fashions

of late Renaissance ornament. His workshop possessed dozens, and probably hundreds, of ornamental prints by the leading graphic artists of France and Germany, from which he selected and combined motifs as needed for his decorative schemes. The presence of the Cronberg arms on the Munich gun shows that Lucz enjoyed the patronage of the leading family of Mergenthal, and perhaps attained a wider reputation through his patrons' connections with the Teutonic Order.

The original owner of the Liechtenstein pistols is not known. The pistols unfortunately are not identifiable in the early seventeenth-century inventories of the princely *Gewehrhammer* and therefore cannot be definitely associated with a member of the house of Liechtenstein. The owner was no doubt a man of taste, however, and most likely acquired the pistols not as weapons but as works of art.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank especially my colleague and friend Dr. Rudolf Wackernagel, who made inquiries about Wolf Lucz on my behalf in the archives of Bad Mergentheim, the *Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg*, and the *Zentralarchiv des Deutschen Ordens*, Vienna.

16. P. M. Tumlner, *Short History of the Teutonic Order* (n.p., n.d.) p. 30.

17. I am grateful to Dr. A. Seiler of the *Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg* for this information about the extant records (B284 Bū40). The only other gun signed by a master from Mergenthal/Bad Mergentheim that has come to my attention is one formerly in the collection of W. J. Bernhard Smith, sold at Sotheby's, London, May 14–15, 1884, no. 96: a wheel-lock rifle bearing the arms of the Kress family, the date 1653, and the maker's signature on the barrel DAVID ARNET A MERGENTHEIM (*sic*). Heer, *Der neue Stöckel*, I, p. 30, records the following gunmakers active in Bad Mergentheim: David Arnet (Arnth), ca. 1653; J. Friedrich Arnet (Arnth, Arneth), ca. 1730; and David Arnet (Arnth), ca. 1800.

I would also acknowledge the help of Mr. Leo Springer, honorary keeper of the city archives of Bad Mergentheim, and Father Dr. Bernhard Demel, O.T., of the *Zentralarchiv des Deutschen Ordens*, Vienna, for their search, unfortunately unsuccessful, for documents concerning Wolf Lucz.

18. *Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg* (B289 Bū69).

# Prince Karl I of Liechtenstein's Pietre Dure Tabletop

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A MAGNIFICENT PIETRE DURE TABLETOP in the collection of Prince Franz Joseph II of Liechtenstein is a rare survival of the art of the Prague workshops that specialized in this costly and difficult medium. Commissioned by Karl I, the first prince of Liechtenstein, and reflecting the artistic and intellectual preoccupations of late Renaissance Prague, the tabletop was among the objects lent to the exhibition "Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections," held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art from October 26, 1985, until May 1, 1986. This article is an expansion of some of the exhibition catalogue entries for Prince Franz Joseph II's pietre dure objects, focusing, in particular, on the tabletop.

Karl von Liechtenstein's taste was, in fact, largely formed in the court of the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolf II (1552–1612), who was perhaps the greatest patron and collector of his age. Emperor Rudolf's chosen residence was in Prague, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Bohemia and the seat of the Bohemian Estates. Rudolf held his councils in Prague and received foreign ambassadors there, making the city, for a time, the capital of all the territories of the Holy Roman Empire. The emperor's interests were cosmopolitan in the extreme, and the imperial court at Prague became a great center of late Renaissance art, science, and humanist learning. Like his father, Emperor Maximilian II (1527–76), Rudolf II surrounded himself with an extraordinary group of scholars and artists from every part of the empire, as well as from elsewhere in Northern Europe and Italy. His taste as a collector was equally broad. Early in his reign, Jacopo Strada (1515–88), one of the most remarkable antiquaries of the sixteenth century, was his chief adviser and agent, but Rudolf also charged

his artists and diplomats with amassing the enormous collection that was housed in the Hradschin, his castle in Prague. The collection included both a splendid picture gallery and the all-but-legendary imperial *Kunstkammer*, a kind of encyclopedic grouping of artifacts and natural curiosities, such as minerals and gems, stuffed animals, bird and fish skeletons, sea shells, scientific instruments, globes, clocks that demonstrated the motions of the heavens, coins, medals, porcelains, small bronzes, and all manner of objects made of rare and precious materials.<sup>1</sup>

Although the present distinctions between the sciences and pseudo-sciences had not yet been precisely drawn, Rudolf II's patronage of astronomers and natural scientists carried over into support for an extravagant variety of astrologers, alchemists, numerologists, and unabashed wizards. Yet in the Danish

A list of frequently cited sources is given at the end of this article.

1. See Heinrich Zimmermann, "Das Inventar der Prager Schatz und Kunstkammer vom 6. Dezember 1621," *JKSAK* 25 (1905) pp. xiii–lxxv; Alphons Lhotsky, *Die Geschichte der Sammlungen, Festschrift des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien, 1891–1941* (Vienna, 1941–45) II, pt. 1, pp. 237–298; R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576–1612* (Oxford, 1973) pp. 176–183; Rotraud Bauer and Herbert Haupt, eds., "Die Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolfs II. in Prag, ein Inventar aus den Jahren, 1607–11," *JKSW* 72 (1976); Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, "Remarks on the Collections of Rudolf II: The *Kunstkammer* as a Form of *Representatio*," *Art Journal* 38:1 (1978) pp. 22–28; Elisabeth Scheicher, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Habsburger* (Vienna/Munich/Zurich, 1979) pp. 142–178; and Eliška Fučíková, "The Collection of Rudolf II at Prague: Cabinet of Curiosities or Scientific Museum?" in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford, 1985) pp. 47–53.

astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) and the German mathematician Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), who between them put the Copernican system into something resembling its modern form, the imperial court sustained both the greatest observational astronomer and the foremost theoretician of the age. The emperor's Flemish-born personal physician Anselm Boethius de Boodt (1550–1632) contributed the most influential treatise of the seventeenth century on gemstones, minerals, and hardstones. First published in 1609, the *Gemmarum et lapidum historia* underwent several subsequent editions, and it appeared in a French translation as late as 1644.

The history of the Liechtenstein family began not in Prague, however, but in a different section of Central Europe, with the erection in the twelfth century of a castle perched high upon a cliff, not far to the south of the city of Vienna in Lower Austria, known as the *lichte Stein* or Stone of Light; hence the family name of Liechtenstein.<sup>2</sup> The family fortunes were, until modern times, bound up with the lands of Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia and with the emperors who ruled the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. Thanks not only to the Lutheran Reformation in these lands, but also to the legacy in Bohemia and Moravia of the fifteenth-century religious reformer Jan Hus, the Liechtensteins in the sixteenth century were Protestant, and in this they were, in fact, joined by the majority of the population of their native land. Besides the castle of Liechtenstein near Vienna, their holdings in Lower Austria and Moravia were already extensive, and they had a long history of service to the Austrian Hapsburg dukes.

Karl von Liechtenstein was born in 1569. In his youth he studied in Geneva and traveled to France, but by 1596 the death of his father and uncles left him head of the Liechtenstein family, and before the end of the century he had, through a combination of marriage, inheritance, gifts, and financial acumen, become the richest noble in Moravia, a status that enabled him to lend both money and counsel to Emperor Rudolf II. Appointed Imperial High Steward (*Obersthofmeister*) three times during the years from 1600 to 1606, he was not only close to the emperor, but also very much involved with the practical problems of the support of the wide variety of artists, scientists, and craftsmen who held court appointments. He left Prague early in 1607 and returned to Moravia as governor. In the following year he was

elevated to the rank of prince. By that time he was already in the service of Archduke Matthias (1557–1619), the emperor's brother and successor. Matthias, as emperor, added substantially to Prince Karl's territories, naming him duke of Troppau in 1613. Prince Karl had become a Catholic not long before his first appointment as Imperial High Steward, and he remained a loyal supporter of the Catholic Hapsburgs during the Bohemian revolt of 1618 that touched off the opening of the Thirty Years' War in Central Europe. After the defeat of the Protestant rebels at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, a third Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand II (1578–1637), appointed him Viceroy and Imperial Governor of Bohemia. As viceroy, Prince Karl presided over the execution of the rebel leaders and the confiscation of their property, the drafting of a new constitution, and the introduction of a thoroughgoing Counter-Reformation in Bohemia. In recognition of his service, the emperor bestowed numerous estates upon the prince and in 1623 a second duchy, Jägersdorf.<sup>3</sup>

During the period of his stewardship to Emperor Rudolf II, Prince Karl's own collection remained quite modest, probably, as Rudolf Distelberger has pointed out, a wise policy to avoid the possibility of arousing the emperor's jealousy.<sup>4</sup> By 1613, the year after the emperor's death, a Liechtenstein household inventory shows that the prince had begun to collect objects made of rock crystal, hardstones, and other rare materials, some mounted in gold and set with gemstones, others in silver gilt.<sup>5</sup> It was a taste that he surely must have developed in the emperor's service, for the emperor's *Kunstkammer* was renowned for its collection of such objects, many of them made in the imperial workshops, but others from the great Italian centers of the lapidary arts, Milan and Florence, and others still from the Spanish workshop of the Milanese Leoni family who were employed by Rudolf's cousin, King Philip II. From 1600, when Karl von Liechtenstein became Imperial High Steward, until his death early in 1627, the Liechtenstein

2. *Liechtenstein*, introduction by Reinhold Baumstark, p. xi.

3. See Jacob von Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses Liechtenstein II* (Vienna, 1887) pp. 125–242; Haupt, I, pp. 9–32; and *Liechtenstein*, pp. xi–xix.

4. Rudolf Distelberger, "Werke der Goldschmiede- und Steinschneidkunst," in Haupt, I, pp. 71–72.

5. FLH Vaduz, MS 339, quoted by Haupt, II, pp. 189–190.



household and court accounts contain the names of many of the artists and artisans who had been employed by the emperor. Among them were the court painters Hans von Aachen<sup>6</sup> and Georg Hoefnagel,<sup>7</sup> the engraver Aegidius Sadeler,<sup>8</sup> the sculptor Adriaen de Fries,<sup>9</sup> the imperial goldsmith Magnus Kornblum,<sup>10</sup> the imperial stonemason Ottavio Miseroni,<sup>11</sup> the imperial instrument maker Erasmus Habermel,<sup>12</sup> and the imperial clockmakers Christof Margraf<sup>13</sup> and Jost Bürgi.<sup>14</sup> The inventory of the prince's household made in 1613 describes several paintings by the Rudolfiner favorite Bartholomäus Spranger,<sup>15</sup> while drinking cups and vases of rock crystal, jasper, and exotic materials of the kind prized by the emperor are listed in both the 1613 inventory and another drawn up in 1623.<sup>16</sup> In addition, we know from an eighteenth-century gouache that even the design of Prince Karl's crown was patterned on the one made for Emperor Rudolf II about 1602.<sup>17</sup>

The tabletop (Figure 1),<sup>18</sup> with its companion casket (Figure 2),<sup>19</sup> is one of the few objects in the

Princely Collections of Liechtenstein in Vaduz that survive from Karl I's time. As we shall see, the choice of medium and form for a prized possession of this ambitious prince could have been no accident. In commissioning the tabletop, Prince Karl I would have been emulating Emperor Rudolf II, for the emperor's Florentine *pietre dure* tabletop was famed as one of the most precious objects in the whole of the imperial *Kunstkammer*.

No written record of Prince Karl's commission has been found. The tabletop is described for the first time in an eighteenth-century catalogue of the Liechtenstein Gallery in Vienna.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, Prince Karl's monogram, consisting of interlaced adjoined *C*'s and surmounted by a coronet, is incorporated into the decoration of the four corners of the tabletop and on a banner in one of the military trophies. In addition, his coat of arms,<sup>21</sup> inlaid in appropriately colored hardstones, surmounted by a prince's ermine-lined cap of maintenance (*Fürstenhut*), and framed by a band of gilt bronze inlaid with

6. FLH Vaduz, Schachtel 483: Rechnungsbuch 1599/1600, fol. 11v, and FLH Vienna, Schachtel H76: Hofzahlamtsbuch 1604/05, fol. 49r, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 135, no. 30, and p. 138, no. 59.

7. FLH Vaduz, Schachtel 483: Rechnungsbuch 1599/1600, fol. 28v, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 136, no. 41.

8. FLH Vaduz, Schachtel 482, Extract No. 4, fol. 4v, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 310, no. A16.

9. FLH Vaduz, Schachtel 33 (1609), quoted by Haupt, II, p. 164, no. 137.

10. FLH Vaduz, aus Schachtel 604, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 291, no. 759.

11. FLH Vienna, Schachtel H77: Hofzahlamtsbuch 1622, fol. 29v, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 251, no. 456; FLH Vienna, Schachtel H77: Hofzahlamtsbuch 1623, fol. 22r, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 254, no. 501; and a document, cited by Gustav Wilhelm, "Die Fürsten von Liechtenstein und ihre Beziehungen zur Kunst und Wissenschaft," *Jahrbuch der liechtensteinischen Kunstgesellschaft* 1 (1976) p. 24, which can no longer be found. See Haupt, II, p. 258, no. 555a (1623).

12. FLH Vaduz, Schachtel 483: Rechnungsbuch 1599/1600, fol. 36r, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 136, no. 47.

13. FLH Vaduz, Schachtel 482, Extract No. 1, fol. 12r, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 309, no. A6.

14. FLH Vaduz, MS 99, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 290, no. 753; FLH Vaduz, Schachtel 482, Extract No. 4, fol. 3v, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 310, no. A14; and FLH Vaduz, Schachtel 482, Extract No. 1, fol. 48v, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 309, no. A2. The last states that Prince Karl paid Jost Bürgi and Johann Poestdorffer 200 florins between 1620 and 1624. The association of the two clockmakers undoubtedly provided the opportunity for the transmission of the technical secrets of Bürgi's cross-beat escapement for clocks and watches from Prague to Dresden.

See Bruce Chandler and Clare Vincent, "A Rock Crystal Watch with a Cross-Beat Escapement," *MMJ* 15 (1981) pp. 193–201.

15. FLH Vaduz, MS 339, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 186, nos. 254<sup>N</sup> and 255<sup>N</sup>.

16. FLH Vaduz, MS 351, fols. 26r/v, 27r/v, quoted by Haupt, II, pp. 262–263, 267–269, and see note 5.

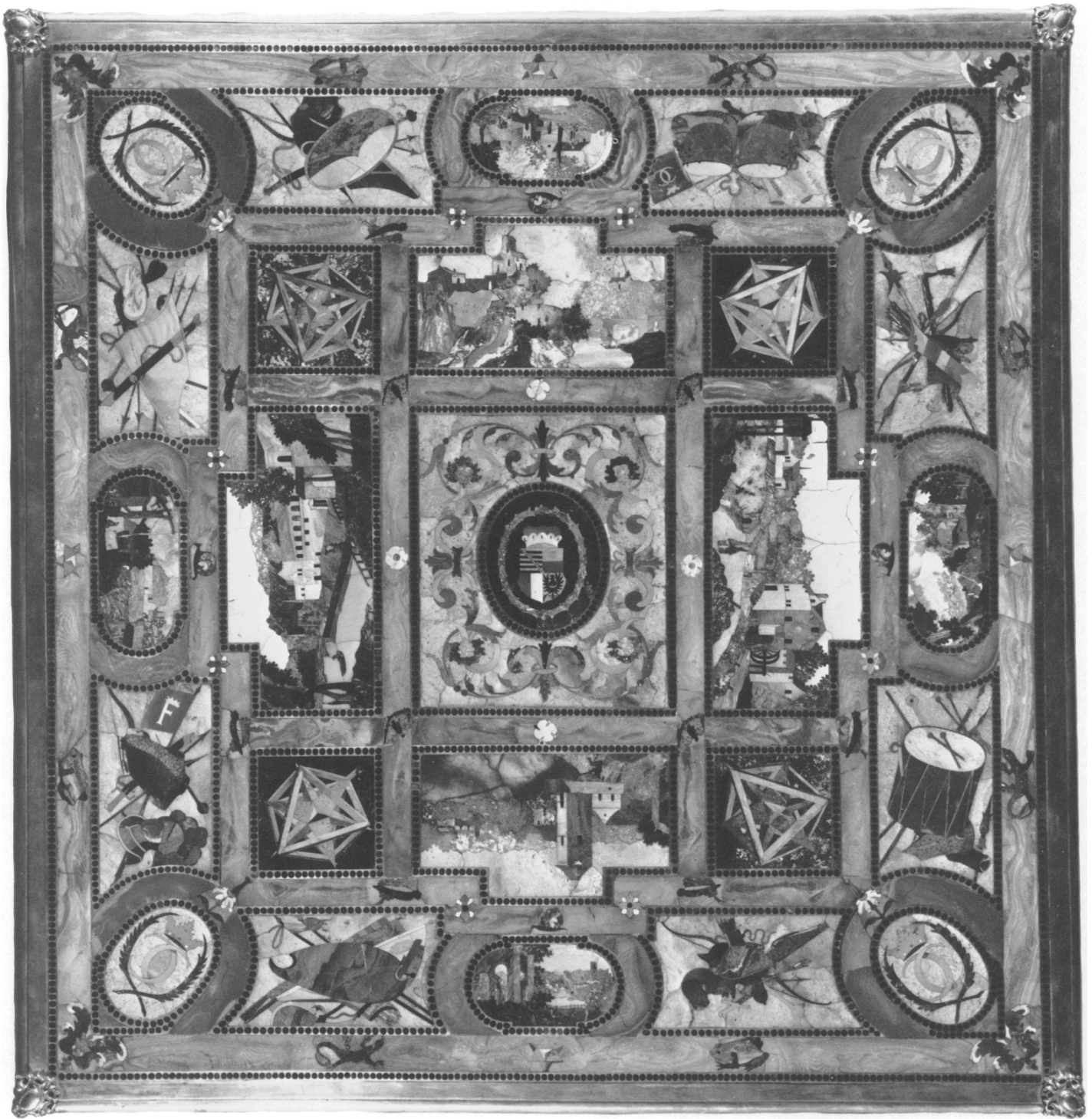
17. See Gustav Wilhelm, "Der historische liechtensteinische Herzogshut," *Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins für das Fürstentum Liechtenstein* 60 (1960) pp. 7–20; Victoria and Albert Museum, *Princely Magnificence: Court Jewels of the Renaissance, 1500–1630* (London, 1980) pp. 6, 131, no. G46; and *Liechtenstein*, pp. 33–35, no. 20, col. ill.

18. See Vincenzo Fanti, *Descrizione completa di tutto ciò che ritrovasi nella galleria di pittura e scultura di sua altezza Giuseppe Wenceslas del S.R.I. Principe Regnante delle casse di Lichtenstein* (Vienna, 1767) p. 59, no. 26; Distelberger (1980) p. 63; and *Liechtenstein*, pp. 45–48, no. 26, col. ill.

19. See Fanti, *Descrizione completa*, p. 47, no. 24; Neumann, pp. 191–192, fig. 217, and p. 201, no. 32; Distelberger (1980) pp. 61–63; and *Liechtenstein*, pp. 42–45, no. 25, col. ill.

20. Fanti, *Descrizione completa*, p. 59, no. 26: "Una Tavola con cornice d'ottone e sostenuta da un piede di legno intagliato a fogliami, lunga piedi 2, once 11, e larga piedi 2., once 9. e un  $\frac{3}{4}$ , questa i tutta intarsiata di pietre dure con diversi Paesetti, i Medaglie rappresentanti di militari Trofei; nel mezzo evvilo stemma Gentilizio della serinissima Casa di Lichtenstein, e tutti questi lavori sono distintamente contornati di granate."

21. Quarterly, barry of eight or and sable, a crown of rue in bend vert (Kuenring); per fess or and gules (Liechtenstein); per pale gules and argent (Troppau); and or, an eagle displayed sable, charged on the breast and wings with a crescent argent trellé at the ends, supporting in the center a cross (Silesia).

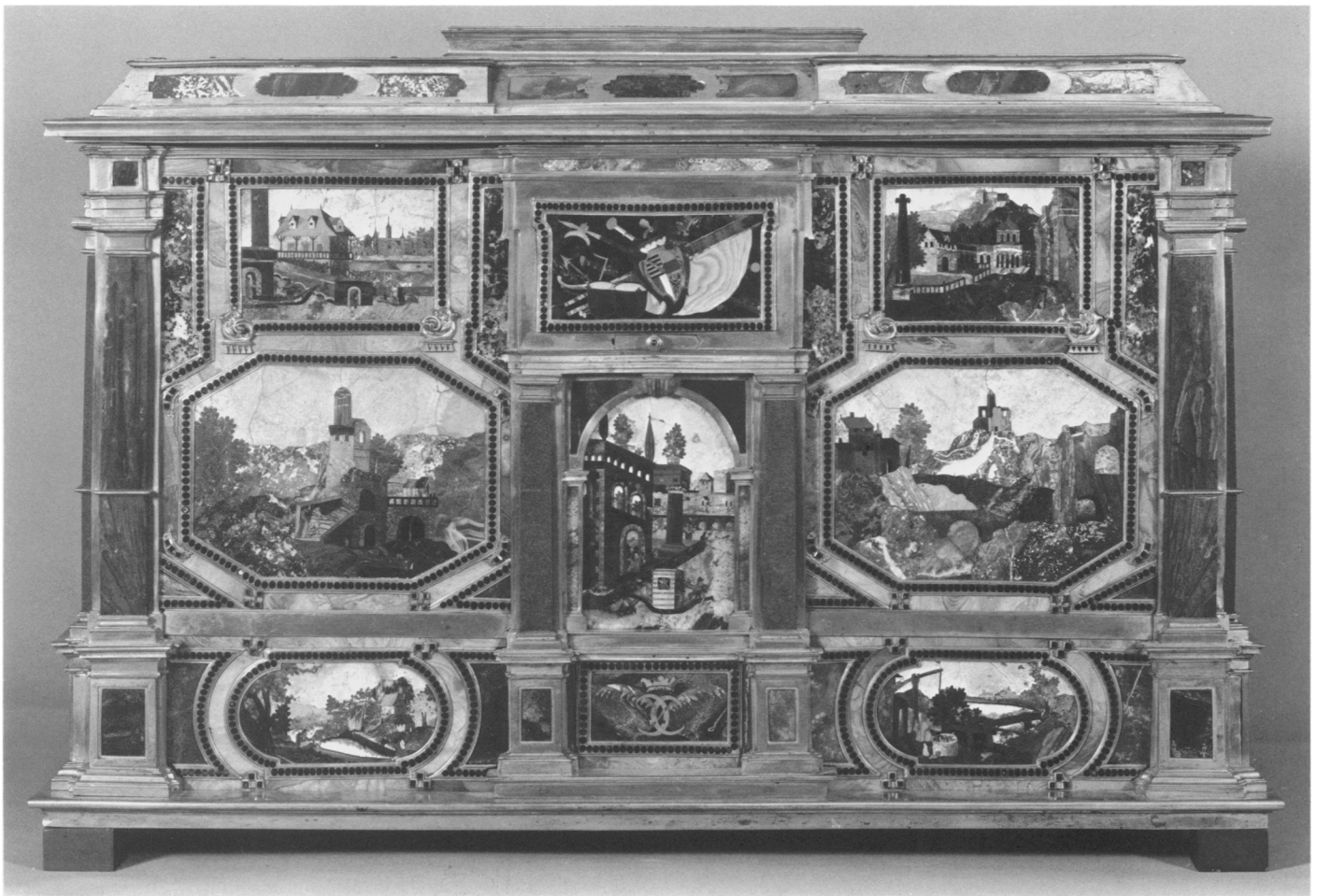


1. Tabletop, made by the workshop of the Castrucci (act. 1596–ca. 1622?), Bohemian (Prague), probably finished ca. 1620–23. Hardstones, garnets, and gilt bronze; 36 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 35 in. (93 × 88.5 cm.). Vaduz, Collections of the Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein, inv. no. 1401 (photo: Walter Wachter)

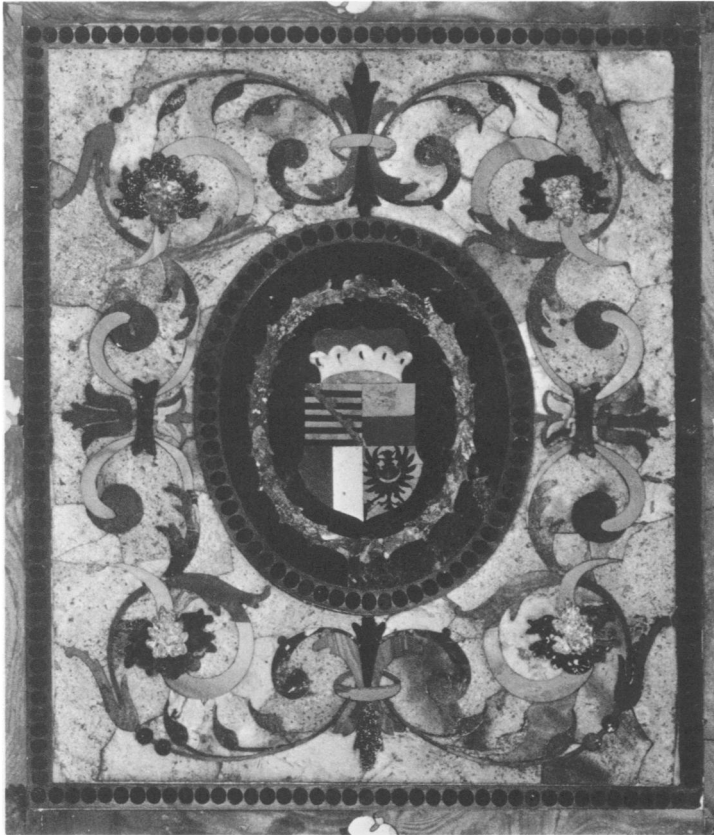
garnets (Figure 3) in the center of the tabletop, unmistakably identifies the original owner. Moreover, the choice of quarterings in the coat of arms permits a fairly accurate estimate of the date of the completion of the table. Evidence provided by a former director of the Liechtenstein collection indicates that Prince Karl I did not use the quartering for Kuenring in the upper left-hand corner until 1620, and that when he became duke of Jägerndorf in 1623, he promptly added a golden hunting horn that is not to be found in the arms on the tabletop.<sup>22</sup> The date of the table can thus be narrowed to the period between 1620 and 1623. Further support for the date of the

tabletop can be found in a suggestion of Rudolf Distelberger's that among the banners in the military trophies, the one with a device of a crowned *F* (Figure 4) probably alludes to Ferdinand II, whose election in 1619 as Holy Roman Emperor and defeat in 1620 of Elector Palatine Frederick V in a

22. Gustav Wilhelm, "Fürst Karl von Liechtenstein und seine genealogischen und heraldischen Bestrebungen (Die Entwicklung des Wappens der Fürsten von Liechtenstein)," *Neues Jahrbuch der heraldisch-genealogischen Gesellschaft "Adler"* 2 (1947–50) pp. 7–8 and p. 11, fig. 6.

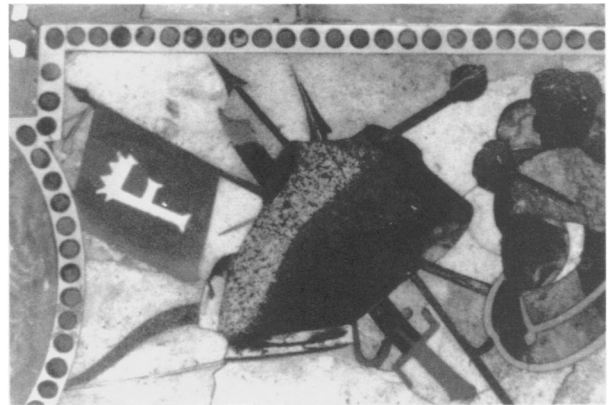


2. Casket, by the workshop of the Castrucci but probably finished in the workshop of Ottavio Miseroni (ca. 1588–1624), Bohemian (Prague), finished ca. 1620–23. Hardstones, marble, garnets, gilt bronze, and ebony veneer; 21<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 34<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 19<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (55 × 88 × 48.5 cm.). Vaduz, Collections of the Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein, inv. no. 599 (photo: Walter Wachter)



3. Detail of Figure 1 showing the coat of arms used by Prince Karl I of Liechtenstein between 1620 and 1623

4. Detail of Figure 1 showing a military trophy with a banner and a crowned *F* device probably alluding to the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637) (photo: Vincent)



struggle for control of Bohemia constituted the opening events of the Thirty Years' War.<sup>23</sup> Prince Karl's brother Maximilian (1578–1643) served as Grand Master of the Ordinance to Emperor Ferdinand II, and for his own loyal support during this troubled period, Karl I was richly rewarded by the emperor.

Like the trophies and the coat of arms, the remaining surface of this splendid tabletop is composed of plaques of inlaid hardstones and minerals, called Florentine mosaic or *pietre dure* work (*commesso di pietre dure*). It is a technique which has more in common with another Italian specialty, wooden intarsia, than with traditional mosaics made of numberless small cubes of stone or glass. Florentine mosaic is composed, instead, of larger, irregularly shaped pieces cut and polished to exploit the color and figure of the stones—marble, petrified wood, minerals, and the hardstones such as jasper, agate, chalcedony, alabaster, lapis lazuli, or onyx—in order to create naturalistic pictorial effects. The Florentine workshop for this medium, the *Opificio delle Pietre Dure*, was established in the Uffizi by 1586, and two years

later it was reorganized under the Medici Grand Duke Ferdinand I (1549–1609). Grand Duke Ferdinand gave a table with a Florentine *pietre dure* top to Emperor Rudolf II not long after the reorganization of the *Opificio*. Almost immediately, Rudolf II ordered a second table from the *Opificio*.<sup>24</sup> The Milanese brothers Gian Ambrogio and Stefano Caroni (d. 1611) and Cristofano Gaffuri (d. 1626) began work on the second tabletop in 1590 under the supervision of the goldsmith Jacques Bylvelt (1550–1603). The final payment was made in 1597.<sup>25</sup>

This table is now lost, but the introduction to the 1609 edition of de Boodt's *Gemmarum et lapidum historia* refers to "the jeweled table, which your Majesty ordered to be made, the eighth wonder of the world, in the manufacture of which so many years and so much money has been spent, and which has been so

23. Distelberger (1980) p. 63.

24. Neumann, pp. 168–173.

25. C. Willemijn Fock, "Pietre Dure Work at the Court of Prague: Some Relations with Florence," *Leids kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1 (1982) pp. 264–267.

cunningly executed, that the gems (joined invisibly) represent forests, trees, rivers, flowers, clouds, animals, and various shapes of beautiful things so well, that they appear to be painted from life." De Boodt went on to say that a similar work was not to be found in all the world.<sup>26</sup>

The table had a base provided for it by the imperial sculptor Adriaen de Fries, and it is the base rather than the top which is primarily visible in the only surviving visual records of the table. These consist of two paintings by David Teniers the Younger (1610–90) illustrating the seventeenth-century cabinet of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, a younger brother of Emperor Ferdinand III who was Stadholder of the Netherlands. One is in the Gemäldegalerie of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,<sup>27</sup> and the second is in the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts in Brussels.<sup>28</sup>

At about the same time that this prodigious work of lapidary art was completed, the emperor installed two Florentine specialists in *pietre dure*, Cosimo Castrucci and his son Giovanni, in the workshops at his imperial court in Prague. Erwin Neumann was the first to recognize the artistic identities of the two Castrucci in three *pietre dure* plaques that are now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (inv. nos.

3037, 3397, and 3002). He identified these with entries in the inventory of the Prague *Kunstammer* of the emperor made between 1607 and 1611.<sup>29</sup> Neumann noted that the earliest mention of Cosimo Castrucci as a stonemason in Prague was a record of a payment to him in 1596.<sup>30</sup> Payments to Giovanni Castrucci were made between 1605 and 1612, and Giovanni was appointed hardstone cutter (*Kammer Edelsteinschneider*) to the emperor in 1610, suggesting that Cosimo had died in that year.<sup>31</sup>

Additional records of the Castrucci have subsequently been discovered in Florence. In 1611 Giovanni was invited to work in the Florentine *Opificio*, but he seems to have remained in Prague and died about 1615.<sup>32</sup> The workshop in Prague also employed Giovanni's son, Cosimo di Giovanni, at least as early as 1615, and a son-in-law, Giuliano di Piero Pandolfini, who is mentioned in a document of 1622.<sup>33</sup> Pandolfini became a master in the Florentine *Opificio*,<sup>34</sup> and he is probably the maker of the *pietre dure* tabletop commissioned by Prince Karl I's son Prince Karl Eusebius, which is also still in the Princely Collections of Liechtenstein at Vaduz.<sup>35</sup> The existence of yet another member of the Prague workshop, Hans Bartzels, is evident from the record of a payment made to him as late as 1627, but it is not

26. Anselmi Boetii de Boodt, *Gemmarum et lapidum historia* (Hanau, 1609) pp. 7–8: "Hanc Sacr. Caes. Majest. vestrae esse mentem, ostendit mensa illa gemmea quam Sacr. Caes. Majest. vestra extrui iussit, octauum mundi miraculum, in qua fabricanda tot annis, tantisque expensis desudatum est, quaeque tanto artificio elaborata est vt gemmae sibi inuicem commissuris, quae conspectum fugiunt vnitae siluas, arbores, flumina, flores, nubes, animalia, variisque rerum pulcherrimarum formas ita referent, vt depictae ad viuum videantur, ac simile opus in toto orbe reperiri non possit." The passage describing the tabletop was noted by Arpad Weixlgarten, "Die weltliche Schatzkammer in Wien," *JKSW* n.s. 2 (1928) p. 280. Weixlgarten's German translation was reprinted by Neumann, pp. 171–172. I wish to thank J. H. Leopold, however, both for the Latin original and for the English translation used here and below (see note 66).

27. See Neumann, p. 173, fig. 202.

28. See Fock, "Pietre Dure Work," p. 267, fig. 7.

29. This inventory was discovered in recent times in the Liechtenstein collection by the former director, Gustav Wilhelm. It was subsequently published by Rotraud Bauer and Herbert Haupt (see note 1).

30. Hofkammer- und Finanzarchiv, Vienna: Hofzahlamts-Rechnungsbuch, 1596, fol. 108v, Apr. 23, 1596, quoted by Wendelin Boeheim, "Urkunden und Regesten aus der K.K. Hofbibliothek," *JKSAK* 7 (1888) p. ccxxvi, no. 5554.

31. Hofkammer- und Finanzarchiv, Vienna: Hofzahlamts-

Rechnungsbuch, 1605, fol. 148r, Oct. 1, 1605, quoted by Wendelin Boeheim, "Urkunden und Regesten aus der K.K. Hofbibliothek," *JKSAK* 10 (1889) p. xv, no. 5645. The second and third records of payments, dated Aug. 31, 1608, and Apr. 1, 1610, are quoted by Boeheim, *JKSAK* 10 (1889) p. xvii, no. 5672, and p. xviii, no. 5685. The 1612 payment recorded in the Hofzahlamts-Rechnungsbuch, 1611–14, fol. 476v, Mar. 10, 1612, is quoted by Heinrich Zimmermann, "Auszüge aus den Hofzahlamtsrechnungen in der K.K. Hofbibliothek," *JKSAK* 29 (1910–11) p. v, no. 19517.

32. J. Krčálová and Kirsten Aschengreen Piacenti, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* XXII (Rome, 1979) p. 251.

33. Archivio di Stato, Florence: Guardaroba Medicea, Filza 433, fol. 17r, quoted by Claudia Przyborowski, *Die Ausstattung der Fürstenkapelle an der Basilika von San Lorenzo in Florenz*, diss. (Berlin, 1982) II, pp. 593–594. See also Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *The Art of Mosaics: Selections from the Gilbert Collection*, catalogue by Alvar Gonzalez-Palacios and Steffi Röttgen, rev. ed. (Los Angeles, 1982) pp. 83–84.

34. Antonio Zobi, *Notizie storiche riguardanti l'Imperiale e Reale Stabilimento dei Lavori di commesso in pietre dure di Firenze* (Florence, 1841) p. 266.

35. See *Liechtenstein*, pp. 48–50, no. 27. I should like to thank Reinhold Baumstark for locating the document that identified Pandolfi or Pandolfini as the maker of a tabletop that is probably this one.







5. *Landscape with a Chapel*, signed by Cosimo Castrucci and dated 1576 or 1596, Italian (Florence) or Bohemian (Prague). Hardstones,  $9\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$  in. (24.5 × 18.3 cm.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 3037 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)
6. *Riverscape with a Bridge and Obelisk*, by Giovanni Castrucci, Bohemian (Prague), probably early 17th century. Hardstones,  $19\frac{3}{8} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$  in. (49.3 × 34.2 cm.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 3397 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

known just how long the workshop itself remained in existence.<sup>36</sup>

The only surviving work that is unquestionably by Cosimo Castrucci is a signed landscape (Figure 5) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (inv. no. 3037), which is dated 1576 or 1596, depending upon how the third digit is interpreted.<sup>37</sup> This plaque is distinguished by a highly successful choice of colored hardstones that are used to suggest a directional source of light and to create the illusion of aerial perspective.

Neumann identified Giovanni Castrucci's style in a plaque titled *Riverscape with a Bridge and Obelisk* now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Figure

7. *Riverscape with a Scene from Aesop*, engraving by Johannes Sadeler I after Lodewijk Toeput, Flemish, dated 1599.  $8\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$  in. (21.2 × 26.7 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)



6). The arms of Emperor Rudolf II are prominently displayed on the plinth of the obelisk, enabling Neumann to recognize the plaque in one of the entries in the 1607–11 inventory of the emperor's Prague *Kunstammer*, where it is stated to be from Giovanni's own hand.<sup>38</sup> The scene is based on an engraving by Johannes Sadeler I (1550–ca. 1600) titled *Riverscape with a Scene from Aesop* and dated 1599 (Figure 7); this, in turn, is based on a drawing by Lodewijk Toeput (ca. 1550–1603/05), which is in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.<sup>39</sup> Toeput, an artist of the so-called Netherlandish-Venetian School, was born in Malines. He spent much of his career in Italy, however, where he was known as Lodovico Pozzoserrato; hence the inscription *Lodovico pozzo inuēt* on the engraving. Giovanni's *pietre dure* plaque displays a more ambitious composition than Cosimo's, perhaps owing to its engraved model, but Giovanni's attempts to suggest pictorial depth are inconsistent with the laws of perspective, and he shows himself to be far less skillful than his father in the use of this difficult medium to create illusionistic effects.

Neumann also attributed another plaque in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (inv. no. 3002),<sup>40</sup> to Giovanni, a landscape with a man drawing water from a well (Figure 8). The motif of a well with a long wellsweep counterweighted by a heavy stone can also be found at the left edge of the *Riverscape with a Bridge and Obelisk*, but the motif is not taken from the same engraved source. The counterweighted wellsweep does appear, however, in another roughly contemporaneous engraving, this one by Johannes Sadeler's nephew Aegidius (Figure 9).<sup>41</sup>

Aegidius Sadeler was born in Antwerp about 1570 and in 1597 went to Prague, where he became the leading engraver at the court of Rudolf II. He died in Prague in 1629. As the inscription on the engraving indicates, Aegidius Sadeler's print is based on a

36. FLH Vienna, Schachtel H77: Hofzahlamtsbuch 1626/27, fol. 64r, Mar. 22, 1627, quoted by Haupt, II, p. 287, no. 739, and p. 324.

37. Neumann, p. 168, figs. 197, 198, p. 184, n. 111, and p. 199, no. 1. From the absence of any evidence of Cosimo Castrucci's presence in Prague before 1596, it would seem that the date of the plaque is more likely to be 1596.

38. Neumann, p. 170, fig. 200, p. 171, fig. 201, p. 185, and p. 199, no. 3.

39. Boon, XXI, p. 180, no. 583; XXII, p. 161, no. 583.

40. Neumann, p. 175, fig. 203, and p. 199, no. 4.

41. Boon, XXI, p. 52, no. 252; XXII, p. 64, no. 252.



8. *Landscape with a Man Drawing Water from a Well*, attributed to Giovanni Castrucci, Bohemian (Prague), before 1611. Hardstones,  $7\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. ( $20 \times 14.6$  cm.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 3002 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

design by another Flemish artist, Pieter Stevens (ca. 1567–after 1624), who worked at the imperial court between 1594 and 1612. Stevens, born in Malines, was one of a group of Flemish and Dutch landscape painters, many of whom had traveled in Italy, who were drawn to the Rudolfiner court. There they created a new and fanciful form of landscape, full of mysterious and foreboding forests and dotted with ruined castles and peasant huts. Their style is evident in a number of the plaques incorporated into the Liechtenstein pietre dure objects, especially the casket.

The motif of the well with a long, stone-weighted wellsweep appears in two of the Liechtenstein plaques, one on the casket (Figure 10) and one on the tabletop (Figure 11). Although the casket scene is much more successful in creating an illusionistic effect than the one on the tabletop, neither appears to be the work of the maker of either of the Kunsthistorisches Museum's plaques with wells. It has been suggested, in fact, that the third Kunsthistorisches Museum plaque (inv. no. 3002) is only a workshop piece and not by Giovanni Castrucci as Neumann thought.<sup>42</sup> The suggestion seems a reasonable one, as the jagged silhouettes of the trees in the scene and the somewhat nervous, expressionistic composition are quite unlike the rather placid and comparatively literal interpretation of the *Riverscape with a Bridge and Obelisk*. All of them are surely products of the Castrucci workshop, however, if not by either Cosimo

or Giovanni Castrucci. They were apparently made by various members of the workshop whose personal styles can perhaps be differentiated, but whose identities may never be known.<sup>43</sup>

Although the date of the completion of the tabletop can be placed with confidence between 1620 and 1623, the dates of the individual scenes incorporated within the tabletop are harder to determine. We must, therefore, try to decide whether the landscapes of the tabletop were left from an earlier period in the workshop's production or whether the evident awkwardness in execution to be found, for example, in the scene with a well represents the work of a later, less skilled member of the workshop.

The similarities of some of the motifs in the plaques to one another are probably traceable to the use as models of drawings or prints by one or another of the artists working at the imperial court. While none of the plaques of the Liechtenstein casket or tabletop is as close to an identifiable engraving as Giovanni Castrucci's *Riverscape with a Bridge and Obelisk*, similarities between the plaques and engravings made in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are found too often to be entirely coincidental.

42. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *The Art of Mosaics*, p. 84.

43. I am indebted to Rudolf Distelberger not only for allowing me to study these and the rest of the pietre dure plaques made in Prague that are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, but also for his invaluable advice.

9. *Riverscape with Some Crafts* (with a counterweighted well-sweep and a man fishing), Flemish, before 1614. From a series of eight *Scenes in Bohemia* engraved by Aegidius Sadeler after Pieter Stevens. 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (23.7 × 36.7 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)



10. *Landscape with a Man Drawing Water from a Well*, detail from the casket in Figure 2



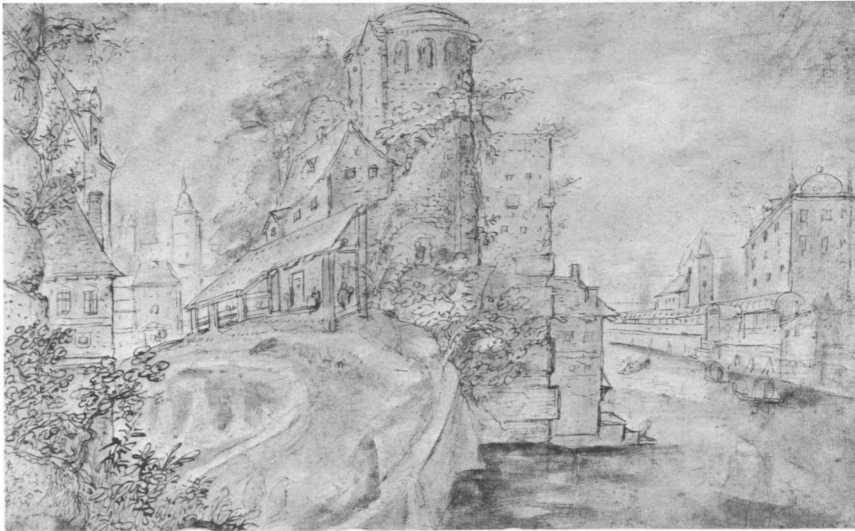
11. *Landscape with a Man Drawing Water from a Well*, detail from the tabletop in Figure 1



12. *Gondolas on a Canal*, Flemish, probably early 17th century. From a series of eight *Scenes in Bohemia* engraved by Aegidius Sadeler after Pieter Stevens. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 14 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (23.7 × 36.7 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)



13. *Canal with Gondola*, detail from the casket in Figure 2



14. Pieter Stevens, *Riverscape with Gondolas and a Tower*, pen and watercolor, Flemish, probably early 17th century. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 13 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (19.7 × 32.2 cm.). Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet, inv. no. B.16606 (photo: J. Lathion, Nasjonalgalleriet)

The point will be best made using plaques from various sources in the Liechtenstein collection rather than from the tabletop alone. An Aegidius Sadeler engraving, *Gondolas on a Canal* (Figure 12), comes from a series of imaginary landscapes in which the artist drew upon motifs from a variety of sources.<sup>44</sup> In this engraving, the gondolas in the lower right-

hand corner are typical of the distinctive vessels used in Venice, but the architectural background with its towers and colonnade and the rustic structure in the center foreground have no known counterparts in Venice. This same juxtaposition of gondolas and ar-

44. Boon, XXI, p. 51, no. 250; XXII, p. 63, no. 250.

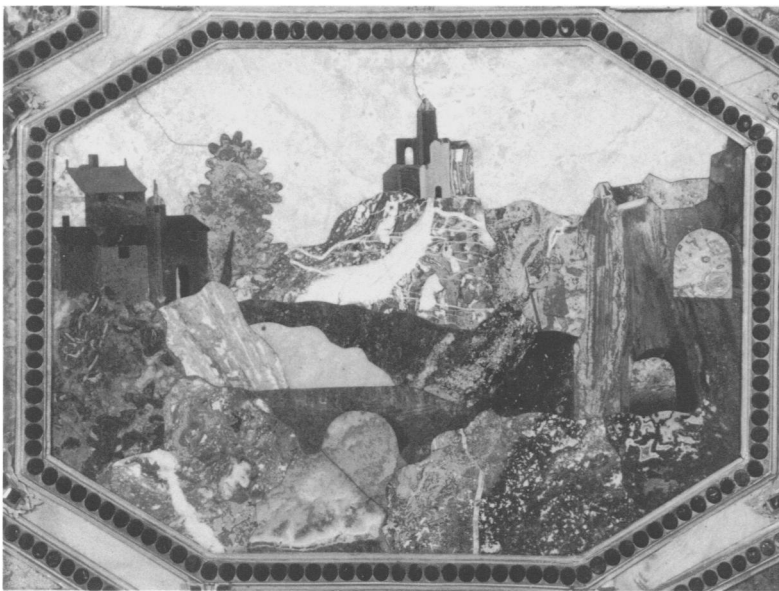
chitectural background appears in a pietre dure scene on the central panel of the front of the Liechtenstein casket (Figure 13), where a Venetian gondola floats in a canal before a towered structure fronted by an arcade. While the palazzo in the left foreground of the pietre dure plaque bears no resemblance to anything in the print, the potted shrubs and strange, finial-like forms set along its roof line are reminiscent of the obelisk and potted tree that Sadeler placed on top of the building on the far right of the engraving. Two surviving drawings by Pieter Stevens are connected to the Sadeler engraving. One of these, in the National Gallery in Oslo (Figure 14), shows more clearly the northern character of the architectural setting into which the gondolas have been introduced than the Sadeler engraving does. In the second drawing Stevens introduced the gondolas found in Sadeler's print, as well as the peculiar, finial-

like elements among the gables of one of the buildings that are also prominent on the palazzo in the pietre dure plaque.<sup>45</sup> The ruins, the bridge spanning a gorge, and the turreted castle atop a rocky landscape in another plaque on the front of the casket (Figure 15) seem to be similarly rearranged elements from still another Aegidius Sadeler print, one of a series after designs by Pieter Stevens titled *Bohemian Land- and Riverscapes* (Figure 16).<sup>46</sup>

Not all the Liechtenstein pietre dure plaques are from the same sources of design. There is a landscape on the left side of the casket depicting an arch between a group of buildings and a tower which can

45. See An Zwollo, "Pieter Stevens: Nieuw Werk, Contact met Jan Brueghel, Invloed op Kerstiaen de Keuninck," *Leids kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1 (1982) p. 97, fig. 2, and p. 98, fig. 4.

46. Boon, XXI, p. 52, nos. 255–262; XXII, p. 66, no. 255.



15. *Landscape with a Stone Bridge*, detail from the casket in Figure 2



16. *Landscape with a Stone Bridge*, Flemish, before 1614. From a series of eight *Bohemian Land- and Riverscapes* engraved by Aegidius Sadeler after Pieter Stevens.  $8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$  in. (21.4 × 28.2 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)





17. *Landscape*, detail from the casket in Figure 2



18. *View of Ripa Grande*, Flemish, 1618 ed. From the *Variae Antiquitates Romanae Sive Ruinae ad Vivum* by Willem van Nieulandt II. 4 × 6½ in. (10.2 × 15.5 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittlesey Collection, The Elisha Whittlesey Fund, 49.95.1033(5)

be identified with those of the Roman ruins of Ripa Grande (Figure 17). This scene was probably taken from an engraving (Figure 18) by the Flemish artist Willem van Nieulandt II (ca. 1584–1636), which belongs to an engraved series of Roman ruins that appeared shortly after Nieulandt's visit to Rome between 1602 and 1605 and was reissued in 1618 by C. I. Visscher.<sup>47</sup>

Paul Brill (1554–1626), another Flemish artist who left his native land and settled in Rome, was probably the source of at least one design used by the Castrucci. This appears on a plaque in the Liechtenstein collection which was formerly incorporated into the decoration of a wooden cabinet of nineteenth-century origin (Figure 19).<sup>48</sup> The plaque, showing a landscape with a tower and houses on a rock, is probably closer in quality to the one signed by Cosimo Castrucci in the Kunsthistorisches Museum than any other of those in the Liechtenstein collection. It is also one of the most literal of all the adaptations known to have been made from an engraving, this one signed *Joan Sadeler excudit* and dated 1593 (Figure 20). The print, in turn, is believed to have been made from a drawing of the subject in reverse, which is now in the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt (Figure 21). The drawing has been attributed to Paul Brill on the basis of an inscription giving the artist's name, the place (Rome), and the date (1603) in

47. F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700* XIV (Amsterdam, 1956) pp. 164 and 165, fig. 18.

48. *Liechtenstein*, pp. 50–51, no. 28.



19. *Landscape with a Tower and Houses on a Rock*, made by the workshop of the Castrucci, Bohemian (Prague), late 16th or early 17th century. Hardstones,  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$  in. (18.3 × 25.5 cm.). Vaduz, Collections of the Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein, inv. no. 1461 (photo: Walter Wachter)



20. *Landscape with a Tower and Two Houses on a Rock*, engraved by Johannes Sadeler I, Flemish, dated 1593.  $9\frac{15}{16} \times 11$  in. (22.6 × 27.8 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

21. *Riverscape with a Tower and Two Houses on a Rock*, inscribed 1603/P. Brill fe Roma but attributed to either Paul Brill or Lodewijk Toeput and presumably dated before 1593. Pen and charcoal,  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$  in. (22.1 × 28.9 cm.). Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. AE 396 (photo: Hessisches Landesmuseum)

22. *Landscape with a Tower in the Middle Ground*, engraved by Justus Sadeler after Paul Brill, Flemish, probably early 17th century.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$  in. (19.6 × 27.3 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 53.601.351(46)

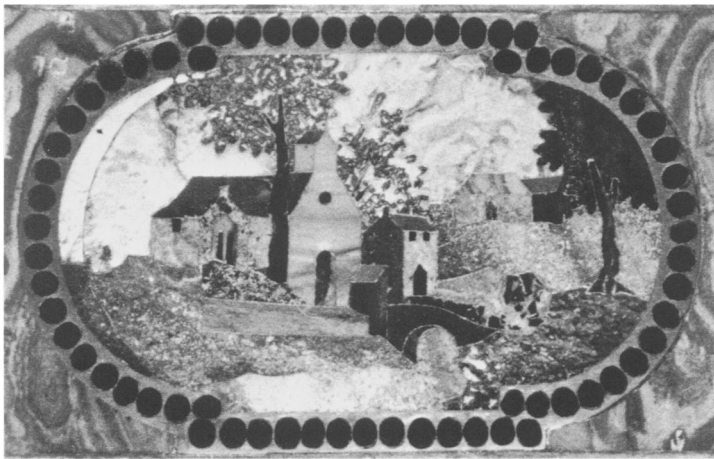
23. *Landscape with Towers*, engraving signed P. Brill inventor / Sadeler excud., Flemish, probably early 17th century.  $7\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{9}{16}$  in. (19.8 × 26.8 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittlesey Collection, The Elisha Whittlesey Fund, 60.628.43





24. *Riverscape, in Foreground Two Men Rowing*, engraved by Johannes Sadeler I after Paul Bril, Flemish, probably late 17th century.  $7\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$  in. (20.2 × 27.1 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

25. *Landscape with a Church*, detail of the tabletop in Figure 1



the lower right-hand corner;<sup>49</sup> but the date is ten years later than that of the print, and the attribution has been questioned. D. de Hoop Scheffer thought the inscription to be a later addition and the drawing to be either by Bril or by Toeput,<sup>50</sup> and such caution seems justified. Bril's connection with the drawing is supported, however, by the existence of at least three prints depicting variants of the tower for

which he is identified as either the source of the design or the engraver of it. One (Figure 22)<sup>51</sup> is signed *Iusto Sadeler excud. and Paulus Bril inuētor*. Another, showing the same tower in a somewhat rearranged landscape identified as a view of the coast of Campania, was engraved by Bril himself and dated 1590.<sup>52</sup> There is also a version of the latter scene in reverse, this one signed *P. Bril iuētor / Sadeler excud.* (Figure 23).

Whether or not the drawing in the Hessisches Landesmuseum can be firmly attributed to Bril, the Johannes Sadeler I engraving of 1593 is clearly the source of the pietre dure landscape in the Liechtenstein collection, and Bril can be connected to three other engravings incorporating the tower. It seems justifiable, therefore, to look for similarities between other designs by Bril and the pietre dure landscapes from the Castrucci workshop. Thus, a rustic church on a hillside above a stream with a bridge in an engraving signed *P. Bril inuētor and Joānes / Sadeler scal.* (Figure 24)<sup>53</sup> seems not unlike the church in the small oval landscape above the arms of the Liechtenstein tabletop (Figure 25), while the large landscape set between the oval and the arms (Figure 26) may be compared to an engraving by another of the Sadelers after a design by Bril (Figure 27).<sup>54</sup> Finally, the small oval plaque with a man fishing (Figure 28), to the right of the arms on the tabletop, which like the man drawing water from a well is a repetition of a plaque on the casket (Figure 29), may have been drawn from the same printed source. Although none of the pietre dure plaques are exact reproductions of these engravings, or in fact precise copies of details, they have the appearance of being products of a workshop well supplied with pictorial models suitable in

49. Inv. no. AE 396. See Gisela Bergsträsser, "Niederländische Zeichnungen 16. Jahrhundert im Hessischen Landesmuseum Darmstadt," *Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein* 18–19 (1979) p. 31, no. 21.

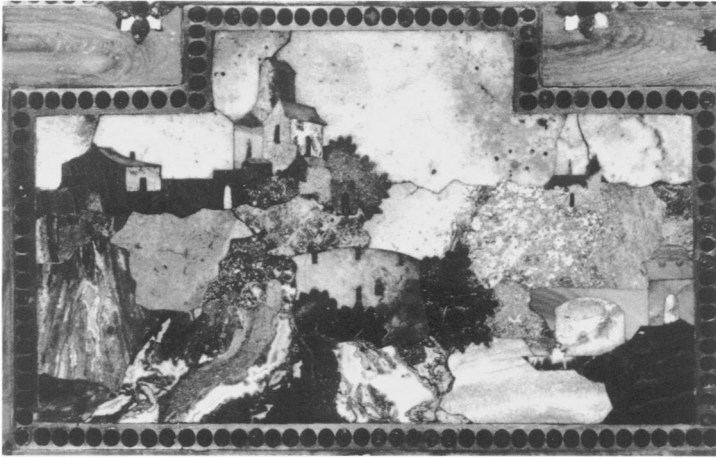
50. Boon, XXI, p. 288, no. 26; XXII, p. 227, no. 26.

51. Boon, XXI, p. 205, no. 69; XXII, p. 180, no. 69.

52. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings* III (Amsterdam, n.d.) p. 219, no. 1. The scene is a somewhat rearranged version of the fresco by Bril in the Lateran Palace in Rome (see Anton Mayer, *Das Leben und die Werke der Brüder Matthäus und Paul Brill* [Leipzig, 1910] p. xiii). Mayer dates the fresco about 1589.

53. Boon, XXI, p. 179, no. 579; XXII, p. 160, no. 579. The Bril drawing in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett is illustrated by Mayer, *Das Leben*, pl. LIIb.

54. Boon, XXI, p. 298, no. 19; XXII, p. 236, no. 19.



26. *Landscape with a Castle and a Bridge*, detail of the tabletop in Figure 1



27. *Rocky Riverscape*, engraving signed *P. Brill invent: / Sadeler excud.*; Flemish, probably late 17th century. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (19.4 × 26.6 cm.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

subject and style for adaptation to the needs of its medium.

From some of these engraved sources, whether more or less exact in their imagery, we can make a rough estimate of the date of some of the pietre dure plaques. We have a firm date of 1593 for one of the

Johannes Sadeler I engravings (Figure 20) and a date of probably before 1600 for the other (Figure 24), as Johannes I is believed to have died about that year. None of the Aegidius Sadeler/Pieter Stevens prints shown here is dated, but the Bohemian landscapes which include the *Gondolas on a Canal* (Figure 12) and *Riverscape with Some Crafts* (Figure 9) are earlier than 1614, because about that time they are known to have been reissued in an edition by Marcus Sadeler.<sup>55</sup> The van Nieulandt scene (Figure 18) must be dated earlier than 1618 and perhaps as early as 1605.

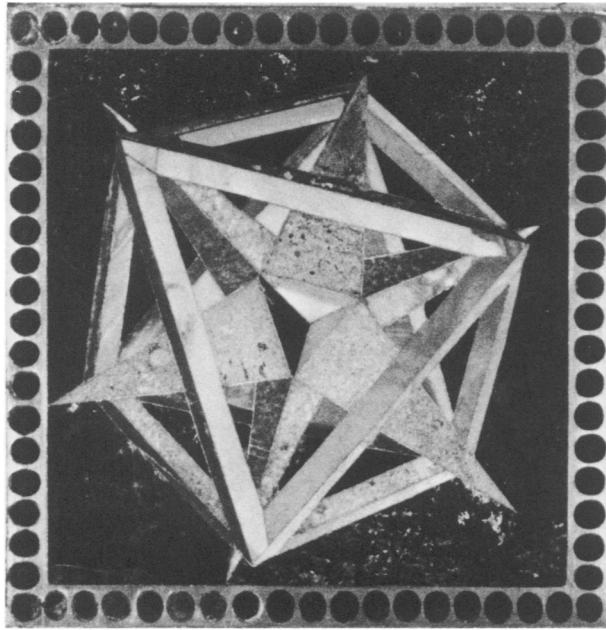
55. Boon, XXI, pp. 51–53, nos. 247–254, and p. 207. While there is a record of payments made by Prince Karl to Pieter Stevens (Peter Steffan) between Sept. 7, 1620, and Aug. 31, 1624 (see Haupt, II, p. 309, no. A7), there is no evidence that Stevens supplied designs for pietre dure work during this period.



28. *Landscape with a Man Fishing*, detail of the tabletop in Figure 1

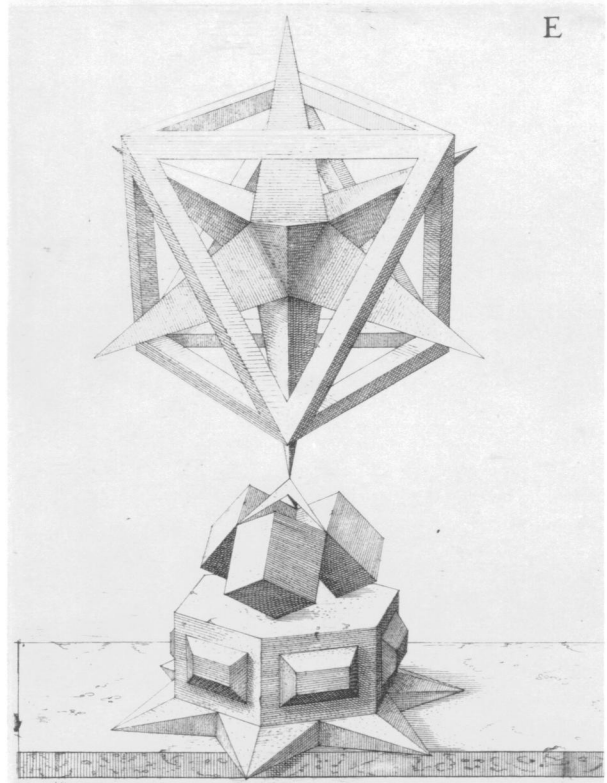
29. *Landscape with a Man Fishing*, detail of the casket in Figure 2





30. Detail showing a geometric figure from the tabletop in Figure 1

It seems, therefore, that the relevant sources for the landscape plaques come from the period of 1593 to about 1614 or 1618 at the latest. By 1610 Cosimo Castrucci was presumably dead, and we hear no more of Giovanni after 1615. Certainly, when compared with the plaques by Cosimo and Giovanni Castrucci in the Kunsthistorisches Museum and the plaque in the Liechtenstein collection that is based on the Johannes Sadeler I engraving of 1593, the landscapes of both casket and tabletop demonstrate a diminishing skill in creating naturalistic effects. They are far from the least skilled of the products of the workshop, however. The landscapes incorporated into an ebony cabinet in a private collection that have been compared elsewhere<sup>56</sup> to those of the Liechtenstein tabletop are more simplified, both in the forms represented and the attempts at perspective they display. At the other extreme, the landscape plaques from Prague incorporated into a tabletop now in the Museo degli Argenti, Florence,<sup>57</sup> are of a very high order of skill indeed. Unfortunately, in neither case can we be certain of a date for these plaques. It would appear that the landscapes of both the Liechtenstein casket and the tabletop, however, represent



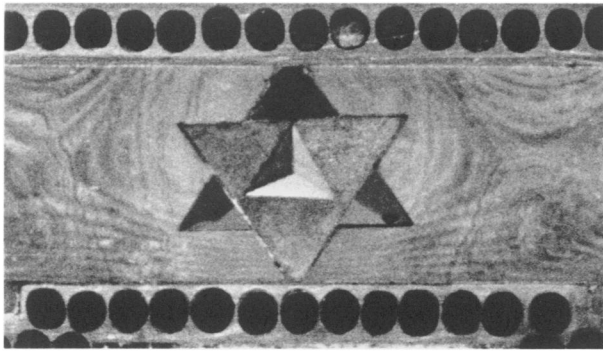
31. Detail of pl. E.vi engraved by Jost Amman (1539–91) from Wenzel Jamnitzer's *Perspectiva corporum regularium* (Nuremberg, 1568), showing the geometric figure in Figure 30. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 24.45.1

the latest phase of the Castrucci workshop production of pictorial plaques. It is impossible to be certain that any of these are later than 1614, and we know almost nothing of the fate of the Prague workshop after about 1615 except for the mention of Giovanni's son, Cosimo di Giovanni, and his son-in-law Giuliano di Piero Pandolfini in later documents. The landscapes may, in fact, have been older, unmounted plaques that were incorporated into the Liechtenstein commissions. The practice was not unknown, for there is a table signed by Lucas Kilian and Hans Georg Hertel and dated 1626 in the Residenz in Mu-

56. Eugen von Philippovich, "Eine bunte Welt aus Steinen," *Kunst und Antiquitäten* 5 (Sept.–Oct. 1981) pp. 22–27.

57. Umberto Baldini, Anna Maria Giusti, and Annapaula Pampaloni Martelli, *La Cappella dei Principi e le pietre dure a Firenze* (Milan, 1979) p. 260, no. 13, and figs. 18–28.



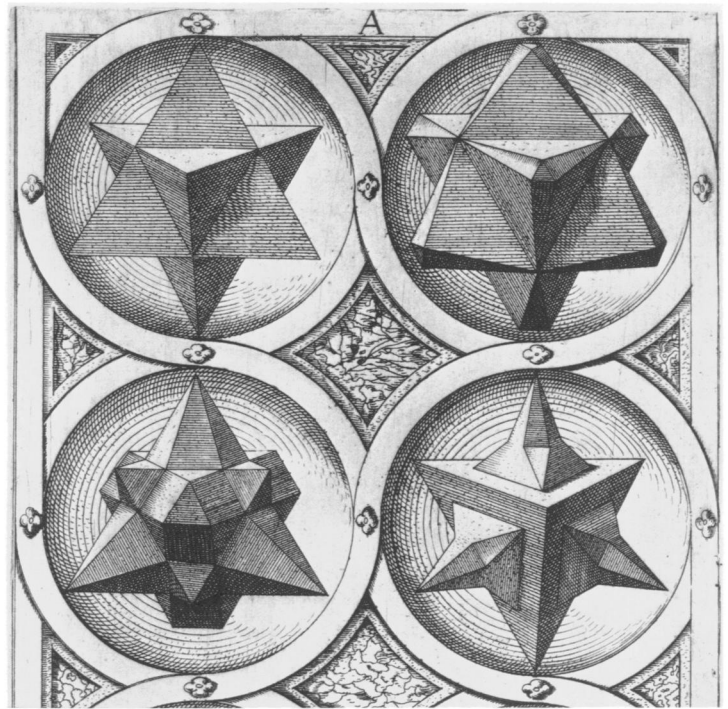


32. Detail with a geometric figure from the tabletop in Figure 1

nich with a Prague pietre dure plaque inlaid in its top,<sup>58</sup> as well as a cabinet made for Max Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, in the latter part of the seventeenth century,<sup>59</sup> now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich, that incorporates Prague landscape plaques from the beginning of the century.

If the pictorial style of the landscapes has been shown to have been strongly influenced by Flemish artists working at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, the geometric figures (Figure 30) that were used in the ornamental scheme of the tabletop have their origins in an earlier period of the sixteenth century. They are direct copies of a fanciful construction of a star octahedron nested inside an openwork octahedron (Figure 31) illustrated in Wenzel Jamnitzer's *Perspectiva corporum regularium*, published in Nuremberg in 1568.<sup>60</sup> The geometric figures set in the outermost borders of the tabletop (Figure 32) are taken from another illustration in the *Perspectiva*, that of two interpenetrating tetrahedrons (Figure 33).<sup>61</sup> In Jamnitzer's text, Platonic solids are equated with the elements of Renaissance cosmology: the tetrahedron with fire and the octahedron with air.<sup>62</sup> The identification of these figures also helps to explain the presence of the small lizards, frogs, caterpillars, snails, and moths that populate the jasper borders separating the pietre dure plaques of the tabletop.

Wenzel Jamnitzer (1508–85) is better known as the greatest of the Nuremberg goldsmiths of the sixteenth century who specialized in the kind of literal borrowing from nature found in the decorative motifs on the Liechtenstein tabletop. The 1607–11 in-



33. Detail of pl. A.IIIII from Jamnitzer's *Perspectiva*, showing (upper left) the geometric figure in Figure 32

ventory of Rudolf II's Prague Kunstkammer has references to no fewer than eleven works by Jamnitzer, but one of the best extant examples of his use of various creatures cast from life for decorative purposes is a silver inkstand (Figure 34) from the Schloss Ambras collection of the emperor's uncle, Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–95), which is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.<sup>63</sup> The inkstand is one of the most extreme examples of the style christened "Stil Rustique" by Ernst Kris, a style which

58. See Hans Kreisel, *Die Kunst des deutschen Möbels I* (Munich, 1968) pp. 169–170; and Herbert Brunner, *Die Kunstschätze der Münchner Residenz* (Munich, 1977) pp. 278–279.

59. Alvar González-Palacios, *Mosaici e pietre dure: Firenze-Paesi Germanici-Madrid* (Milan, 1981) pp. 62–63.

60. Jamnitzer, pl. E.VI. I should like to thank Bruce Chandler for his assistance in describing this geometric figure and the one in Figure 33.

61. Jamnitzer, pl. A.IIIII.

62. Jamnitzer, pls. A.I, A.VI.

63. See Ernst Kris, "'Der Stil Rustique': Die Verwendung des Naturabgusses bei Wenzel Jamnitzer und Bernard Palissy," *JKSW* n.s. 1 (1926) p. 155, pl. xxii; Scheicher, *Die Kunst- und*

had its beginnings in the fountains and artificial grottoes of Italian gardens in the 1530s, but which soon traveled northward with School of Fontainebleau artists of the 1540s and had perhaps its most exuberant expression in the late sixteenth century among the goldsmiths of Nuremberg and Augsburg.

Taken together, the choice of these decorative motifs for the tabletop—the creatures of water, earth, and air (Figures 35–37)—suggests a deliberate play upon their correspondences with the four elements: earth, air, fire, and water. Indeed, Jamnitzer included frogs and snails in the decorative trophies used for the frontispiece of the chapter of the *Perspectiva* equating the geometrical figures of the icosahedron with the element water (Figure 38), and a moth, which flies above the decorative frame of the frontispiece of the chapter on air as symbolized by the octahedron (Figure 39).

In its use of rare and costly materials for the scheme of its decoration, the tabletop also reflects Rudolfine taste. The emperor's *Kunstkammer* was renowned for its collection of objects made of pre-

cious stones, rock crystal, and hardstones, as well as for the *pietre dure* work we have been discussing. The emperor also had a deep interest in the mines of Bohemia and Saxony, and he spent large sums on minerals and gems. His *Kunstkammer* contained an extensive collection of these,<sup>64</sup> which he prized not only as natural specimens but also for their mystical properties. The space devoted to explaining the mystical properties of gemstones and hardstones in de Boodt's *Gemmarum* demonstrates how pervasively the science of description and classification was still allied to notions of magic and the occult.

The splendidly decorative objects made in these intractable media could thus be viewed by the initiated on various levels: as costly rarities, as prodigies of craftsmanship, or as symbols and visual manifestations of higher abstractions. R. J. W. Evans has included an excellent analysis of this typical Rudolfine way of thinking in the chapters on the arts, sciences, and the occult in *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in*

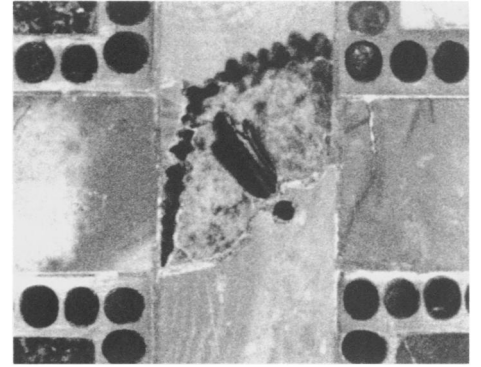
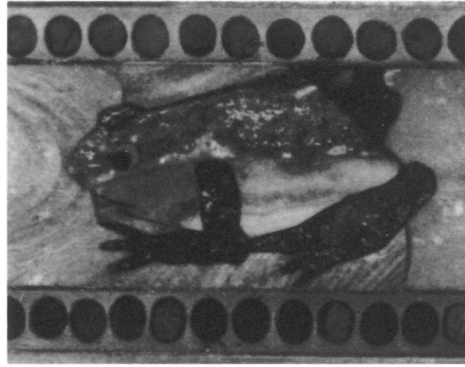
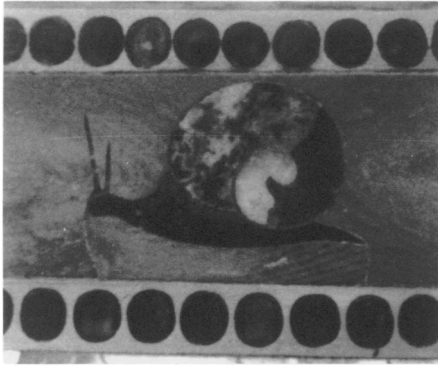
34. Inkstand, with creatures on the sides and cover cast from nature by Wenzel Jamnitzer, German (Nuremberg), ca. 1560–70. Silver,  $2\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{15}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$  in. ( $6 \times 22.7 \times 10.2$  cm.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 1155–64 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

*Wunderkammern* (cited in note 1), pp. 91–92; Manfred Leithe-Jasper and Rudolf Distelberger, *The Kunsthistorische[s] Museum, Vienna* (London, 1982) pp. 96–97; and Germanisches Nationalmuseum, *Wenzel Jamnitzer und die Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst 1500–1700* (Munich, 1985) pp. 226–227, no. 21.

64. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World* (cited in note 1), pp. 192–193, 215–218; and Bauer and Haupt, “Die *Kunstkammer* Kaiser Rudolfs II. in Prag” (cited in note 1), p. xvi.

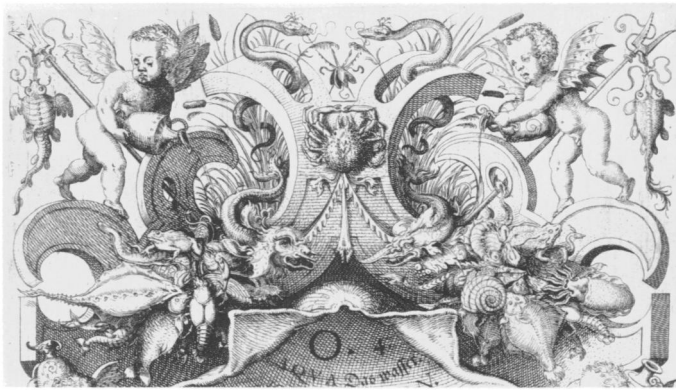




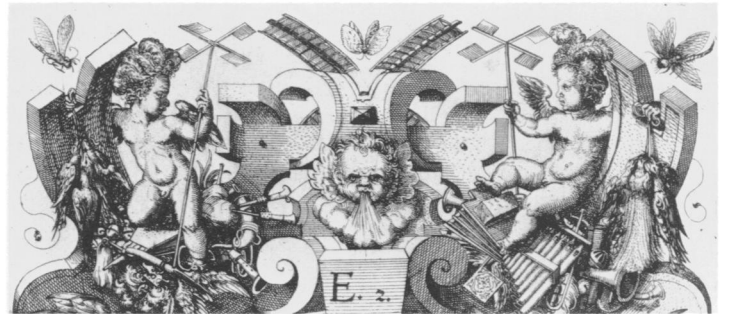


35–37. Details of the tabletop in Figure 1 showing a snail, a frog, and a moth

38. Detail of pl. c.IIIII from Jamnitzer's *Perspectiva*, with creatures of the water



39. Detail of pl. A.vi from Jamnitzer's *Perspectiva*, with creatures of the air



*Intellectual History*.<sup>65</sup> Gems and various kinds of minerals and stones were valued not only for their intrinsic worth or as specimens worthy of scientific study, but also for their mystical properties. As Evans pointed out, de Boodt himself provides the most succinct explanation for the abiding belief of Rudolf II and his contemporaries in the mystical properties of gems. The emperor, said de Boodt, was more learned than all other princes in the understanding of gems. “Not however so that by them your dignity and majesty may be increased (which is by itself already so great, that it needs no external support) but so that in them you may contemplate the perfection of God and his ineffable power, which seems to have brought together the beauty of the whole world and to have enclosed the power of all other matter in such minuscule bodies, and that you may ever have before your eyes something of the light and appearance of divinity.”<sup>66</sup>

The rich and costly medium of the Liechtenstein tabletop reflects the wealth and power of the prince who commissioned it. It reflects his aesthetic discrimination as well, but above and beyond, it suggests a man cognizant of the new intellectual interest in the natural and mathematical sciences, as well as of their importance to the greater understanding of the cosmos and its creator. Prince Karl I could hardly have left us a more resonant example of his taste.

65. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World*, pp. 162–274.

66. De Boodt, *Gemmarum et lapidum historia* (cited in note 26), p. 7: “non quidem vt iis suam augeat dignitatem et majestatem, (quae per se tanta est, vt adminiculis nullis extraneis indigeat) sed vt in iis Dei excellentiam, eiusque vim ineffabilem, qui in tam exiguis corpusculis totius mundi pulchritudinem coegisse, ac omnium aliarum rerum vires inclusisse videtur, contempletur, ac ante oculus diuinitatis quandam lucem et speciem perpetuo habeat.”

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# Bodies by Rubens: Reflections of Flemish Painting in the Work of South German Ivory Carvers

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IN HER CLASSIC EXPLORATION of the inventiveness of German relief artists vis-à-vis their graphic sources, Erika Tietze-Conrat revealed how these artists still remained dependent upon two-dimensional compositions.<sup>1</sup> My purpose in this note is to suggest some heretofore unremarked ways in which the carvers of ivory figures in the round also reflect the influence of such sources and, in particular, the extent to which their art was permeated and transformed by the style of Peter Paul Rubens.

In the course of preparing *Liechtenstein* catalogue entries for two ivory sculptures which have recently been attributed to the Master of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (see Figures 11, 13),<sup>2</sup> my attention was drawn to two other carvings (one in Liverpool, the other in Buffalo, N.Y.), which, while not by the same hand, nonetheless appeared to relate to them in certain respects. Both previously published although not widely known, they are of considerable interest not only on their own account but also for the light they shed on the creative processes of their makers and the world of virtuoso ivory carving that flourished in southern Germany and Austria in the later seventeenth century.

Of primary interest to the student of imagery is the relation each bears to the work of Rubens. The first of these ivories is a sprawling male nude in the Albright-Knox Art Gallery (Figure 1).<sup>3</sup> Long designated "The Unrepentant Thief," this has always been photographed in conformity with the conventional iconography of that subject. The powerfully muscled torso has traditionally been oriented vertically and frontally, the right arm stretched upward, the left arm bent and cradling the head thrown back in agony; the right leg is extended downward and slightly

out, the left sharply bent; and a cloth is draped over the left thigh, falling between the legs and over the genitalia.

Students of the ivory have long seen in it a commingling of Northern European stylistic traits with elements of classical antiquity. In the past it has been attributed to such disparate artists as the Fleming François Duquesnoy (1597–1643), or the Augsburg sculptor Georg Petel (1601/2–34), presumably on the basis of a generalized resemblance to Petel's much-replicated sculptures representing the Good and Bad Thieves from a *Crucifixion*.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently it was recognized as the work of a distinctly different hand, although later cataloguers still inclined to see in it

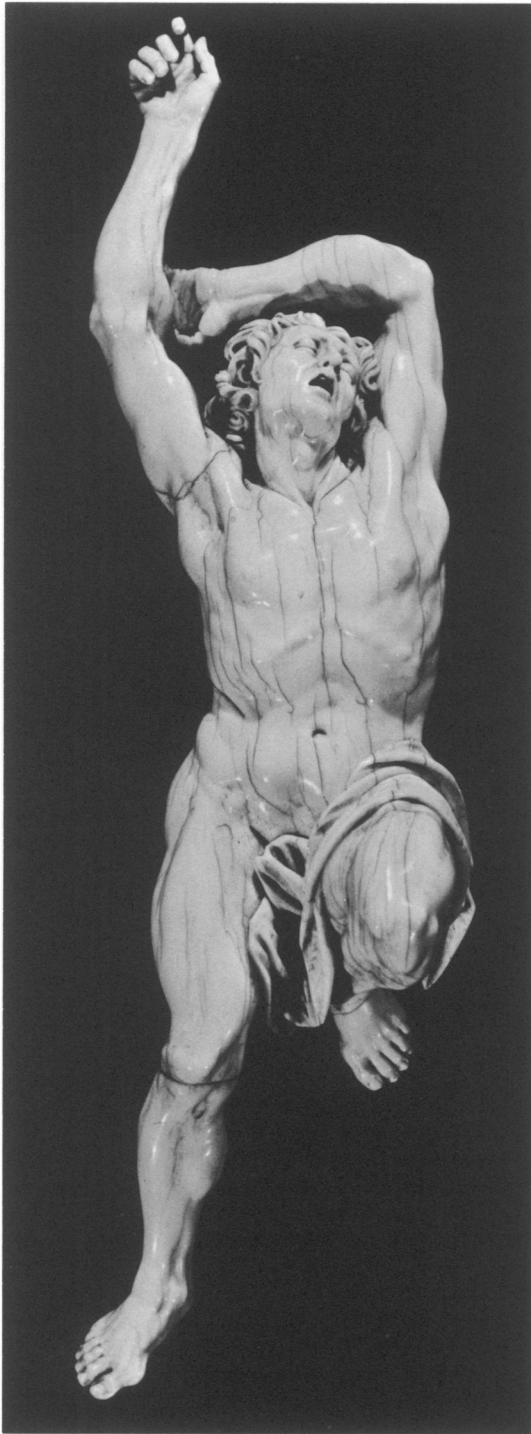
1. "Die Erfindung im Relief: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kleinkunst," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 35 (1920/21) pp. 99–176.

2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, exh. cat. (New York, 1985) pp. 97–100, nos. 65, 66, ills. The master is named after reliefs in Vienna and Linz (see Figures 9, 10). See E. von Philippovich, *Elfenbein*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1982) pp. 303–304, figs. 255, 256, where this master is identified, incorrectly in the view of others, with the carver J. C. Schenck. This theory is developed more extensively in idem, "Hauptwerke des Elfenbeinkünstlers Johann Caspar Schenck," *Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein* 13 (1973) pp. 47–51.

3. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Steven A. Nash (with Katy Kline, Charlotta Kotik, and Emese Wood), *Painting and Sculpture from Antiquity to 1942* (New York, 1979) pp. 168–169. The possible relationship between this carving (acquired from Mathias Komor) and the Liechtenstein ivories was first pointed out to me by Dr. Reinhold Baumstark, Director of the Princely Collections, when I was studying the Vaduz pieces in 1983.

4. No examples of the Christ that was presumably central to the group are known but numerous figures of the thieves exist. The prime examples of these, in gilt bronze, are in Berlin; see K. Feuchtmayr and A. Schädler, *Georg Petel* (Berlin, 1973) no. 7, figs. 22, 23 and 27, 28.

1. Figure called "The Unrepentant Thief," probably South German, second half of 17th century. Ivory, H. 11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (29.5 cm.). Buffalo, Albright-Knox Art Gallery, George B. and Jenny R. Mathews Fund (photo: Albright-Knox Art Gallery)



an awareness of Hellenistic sculpture, suggesting some sort of immediate Roman experience.<sup>5</sup> There is, however, little reason to infer such a direct acquaintance with the antique on the part of its creator. When the figure is viewed from a fresh perspective, recumbent on the ground (Figure 2), the parallel with Rubensian imagery leaps to the eye and it becomes apparent that, whatever distant connection the work may bear to the sculptures of antiquity, a far more direct prototype is available.

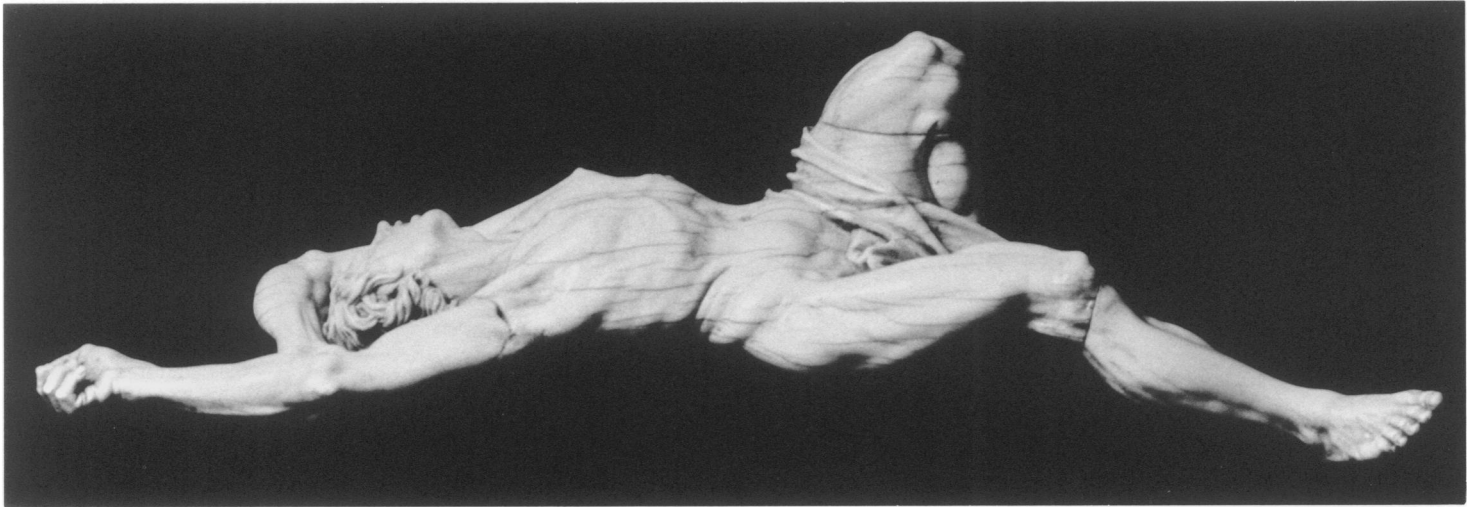
The general pose to which the present ivory corresponds is a recurrent one in Rubens's early painting, appearing over the course of several years, generally speaking between 1605 and 1620. Variations on the theme appear in paintings and sketches by Rubens too numerous to list here. Most, however, show the figure in a more dynamic pose.<sup>6</sup> The example closest to the ivory occurs in the painting depicting the Death of Decius Mus (Figure 3), one of eight canvases making up the great cycle in the Liechtenstein collection devoted to the heroic Roman's personal sacrifice.<sup>7</sup> There, stretched out the vast length of the picture and anchoring the tumultuous equestrian combat above, lies a moribund warrior. By virtue of its stark placement as well as the pallid glow it emits, this form at once heroic and pathetic stands out from the enormous composition almost more vividly than the figure of the wounded Decius himself.<sup>8</sup>

5. Schädler, who linked it to the Barberini Faun, put it in the circle of the Roman sculptor Alessandro Algardi (*ibid.*, p. 90 n.), while the Albright-Knox, still seeing in it signs of Northern origin, published it as the work of a Flemish or German artist trained in Rome (Nash, *Painting and Sculpture*, p. 168).

6. The earliest appears to be the *Fall of Phaeton* of 1605 (M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* [Ithaca, N.Y., 1977] col. pl. iv). Rubens's interest in the motif continued until as late as 1620, when he used it for the figure of Lucifer in the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (J. R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* [London/New York, 1968] pp. 5–58, figs. 8–16). See also note 16 below.

7. The relationship between the Liechtenstein canvases and the numerous sets of tapestries woven after Rubens's cartoons has not been conclusively settled, but because of the reversal of left and right it is only the painting and not the tapestry that can be at issue as the model for this ivory. No 17th-century prints of the paintings, which have been dated to 1616–18, are known. The pictures remained in Flanders until they were brought to Vienna by Prince Johann Adam of Liechtenstein, who acquired them in 1693.

8. While prototypes for the equestrian battle scene itself are too numerous to name, the *Battle of Anghiari* being generally considered the most important, none includes a moribund figure in the foreground. Rubens's conflation of these images is



2. The ivory in Figure 1 seen in a recumbent position  
(photo: Albright-Knox Art Gallery)

3. Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), *The Death of Decius Mus*, 1616–18. Oil on canvas, 113 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 195 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (288 × 497 cm.). Vaduz, Collections of the Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein (photo: Walter Wachter)



4. Rubens, *The Lament for Adonis*, ca. 1614.  
Oil on canvas,  
83½ × 128⅜ in.  
(212 × 326 cm.).  
New York, Saul P.  
Steinberg collection  
(photo: Geoffrey  
Clements)



Another instance of Rubens's use of the motif occurs in a radically different iconographical context: the *Lament for Adonis*, in the collection of Saul P. Steinberg, New York (Figure 4).<sup>9</sup> Despite the fact that this painting includes only six figures (plus two dogs), its scale is nearly as imposing as that of the *Decius Mus*;<sup>10</sup> the recumbent figure, however, plays a very different role in the two pictures. In the *Adonis* the function of the motif is less emblematic and its interaction with the *dramatis personae*, as well as with its audience, is more poignant and tenderly intimate. However powerful and tragic an emblem the warrior fallen in battle is, he remains thematically and psychologically distant from the main action of the pic-

ture and thus relates to the viewer on a different plane. The body serves as a framing device, anchoring the somewhat schematic triangular composition, and as a vivid reminder of the corporeal reality of death, furnishing a gloss on the elevated and noble spirituality embodied in the main subject.<sup>11</sup>

Those who have previously noted the recurrence of this motif in Rubens's work have also attempted to find *his* source in the sculpture of antiquity.<sup>12</sup> But while in many instances his recollection of antique compositions is evident, and his acquaintance with the originals is often documented by surviving drawings,<sup>13</sup> here none of these identifications is really more than suggestive.<sup>14</sup> More to the point as far as we

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not entirely seamless, but the dead warrior's air of isolation contributes to the power of his composition. In the closely related *Fall of Sennacherib* (A. Rosenberg, *P. P. Rubens: Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. R. Oldenbourg, *Klassiker der Kunst* V, 4th ed. [Stuttgart/Berlin, 1921] p. 156), the slain figure is more fully integrated into the composition.

9. Royal Museum of Fine Arts, *P. P. Rubens: Paintings, Oil-sketches, Drawings*, exh. cat. (Antwerp, 1977) pp. 27–29, with previous literature; dated 1612–14; notes oil sketch in Dulwich.

10. The New York picture measures 212 × 326 cm.; the Liechtenstein canvas, 288 × 497 cm.

11. See H. G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk: Neue Forschungen* (Brussels, 1943) pp. 129ff., for a thorough discussion of the emotional impact of the compositional variants. It should also be noted that the oil sketch in the Prado shows a somewhat different emphasis. See J. S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Ru-*

*bens: A Critical Catalogue* (Princeton, 1980) I, no. 3a, where copies and other sketch stages of the composition are noted.

12. Günther Brucher, *Der Decius Mus-Gemäldezyklus von Peter Paul Rubens* (Graz, 1984) pp. 56–68. Among the ancient compositions the author cites as precedents are the *Dying Niobid* in the Uffizi Gallery (G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le sculture* [Rome, 1958] I, no. 73) and the *Dying Gaul* in the Museo Archeologico, Venice.

13. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, pp. 79–84, figs. 267–317; also G. B. Fubini and J. S. Held, "Padre Resta's Rubens Drawings After Ancient Sculpture," *Master Drawings* 2 (1964) pp. 123–141.

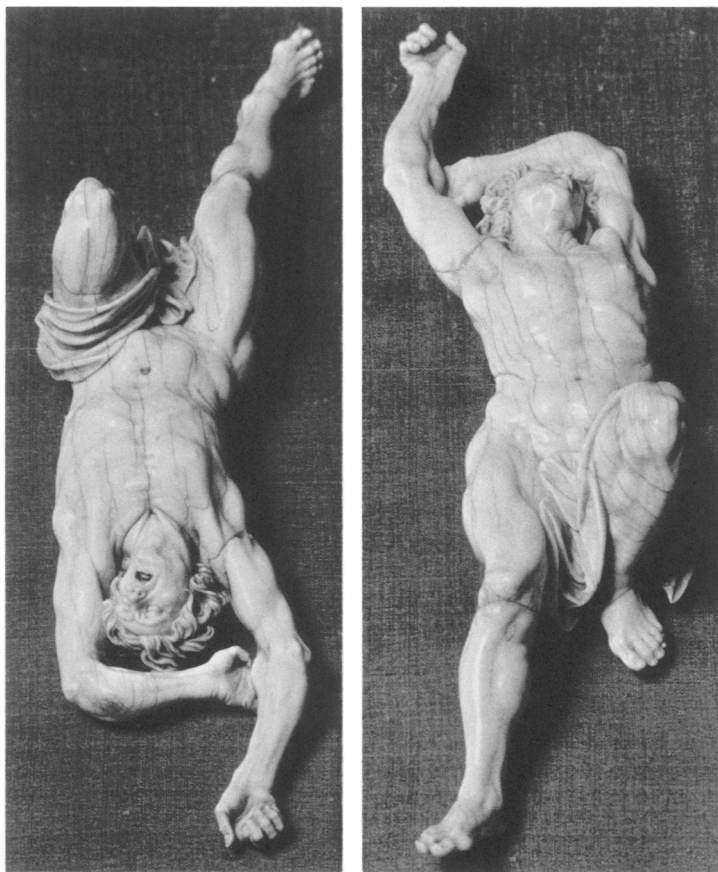
14. It is worth observing, however, that while at first glance the *Laocoön* would not suggest itself as a source for this figure as a whole, in his drawings between 1601 and 1606 (Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, figs. 306, 307) Rubens displays his evolving pre-



are concerned, none of these sculptures is the source of the ivory carving itself; the Rubens composition, whatever its minor differences, presents a far closer link to the figure in Buffalo than do the Greek or Roman prototypes.

From the perspective suggested by the Rubens composition, the Buffalo figure conveys an entirely different impression from the one it creates in the pose of "Unrepentant Thief." The numerous awkward elements, the uncoordinated, disjointed, and sprawling quality, suddenly disappear, and odd compositional elements fall into place. Among them, what formerly seemed to be a strangely artificial fall of drapery, which when the figure was displayed upright appeared magically suspended over the loins, now appears far more logical. Further, if perhaps more subjectively, the oddly splayed and twisted right foot no longer strikes the viewer as unmoored from its ligaments,<sup>15</sup> and the vacantly clutching right hand

5, 6. The ivory in Figure 1 seen from other viewpoints (photos: Albright-Knox Art Gallery)



can be seen merely to have lost the weapon it was gripping at the moment of death. What now presents itself is a coherent and moving composition whose vivid outline evokes the masterly draughtsmanship of its Flemish source.

This is not to imply that the perspective corresponding to the *Decius Mus* composition is the only one that should govern one's view of this carving. Indeed, other views of the figure, recumbent, turn out to be equally rewarding, especially those that show the powerfully expressive face (Figures 5, 6).<sup>16</sup> Similarly, recognizing the source of the versatile motif does not impose any particular iconographic interpretation on the carving. One possible identification, however, although at variance with any of the Rubensian models, is suggested by a small pair of holes (now filled in) on either side of the right heel. The notion that the shaft of an arrow once protruded from the ankle is, perhaps, not farfetched, and could indicate that the carving may have been intended to portray the dead Achilles.

The second carving whose possible Rubensian connection I should like to point out is one in Liverpool (Figure 7), which by its nature suggests a narrower range of subject.<sup>17</sup> In an early publication, this prone, decapitated nude was described as Holofernes or, possibly, John the Baptist.<sup>18</sup> Despite the fact that the

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occupation with an aspect of that sculpture that parallels elements of the motif under discussion, in particular the raised arm and expanded chest. Rubens's perspective infuses the Hellenistic group with a degree of contortion even stronger than it would display from a normal point of view.

15. Although the figure's left foot and right leg below the knee are both separately carved (as is the right arm), only the left foot seems to be an obvious replacement. Another element of the figure's condition, its shaved-down backside, might be noted as well, as it tends to confirm the hypothesis that the figure was intended not to hang from a cross but rather to lie securely against a flat ground.

16. As noted above (see note 6), Rubens also drew upon the motif to serve other compositional functions. These sketches and paintings bring to mind particularly the Flemish artist's interest in the Sistine Ceiling. The image most specifically reminiscent of these more dynamic airborne creatures is the tormented figure of the crucified Haman (Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, figs. 9, 11).

17. The figure is now in the Merseyside County Museum. See British Museum, Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ivory Carvings Lent by the City of Liverpool Public Museums, Mostly from the Mayer-Fejervary Collection* (London, 1954) p. 19, no. 52.

18. Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Carvings in Ivory* (London, 1923) p. 98, no. 183; called Italian, late 16th century.

Rubens composition it most closely resembles is the *Head of John the Baptist Presented to Salome* (Figure 8),<sup>19</sup> there is again no reason to believe that the sculptor adhered to the subject so closely. Taken on its own, the ivory might indeed represent Holofernes, as it is currently designated by the museum.

What is the implication of these connections for the student of sculpture? Unfortunately, the addition of these carvings to the already considerable list of small sculptures that derive from Rubensian imagery is of little assistance in narrowing the field of possible attributions. Many ivories previously linked to Rubensian sources have been attributed to Flemish artists (such as Duquesnoy, Artus Quellinus the Elder [1609–68], and Lucas Faydherbe [1617–97]); to the Augsburg sculptor Georg Petel, who also worked in close proximity to Rubens in Antwerp; or to carvers in Petel's circle.<sup>20</sup> The present carvings, however, point even farther south; they are stylistically just as plausibly linked to a somewhat more eccentric group of loosely related ivory works that derive from an area stretching from southwestern Germany to Vienna. These often virtuoso creations (sometimes more Rubensian even than those Flemish and Augsburg carvings which we know to have been done after Rubens's designs) have been attributed to a number of different artists who all share stylistic links

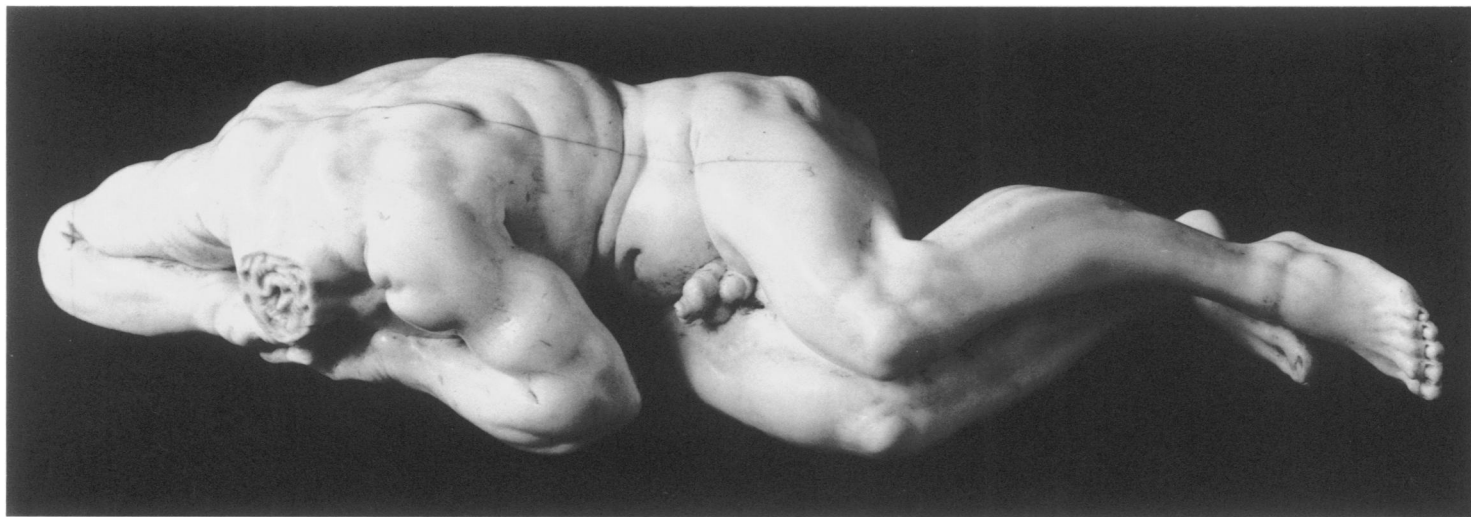
7. *Holofernes* or *St. John the Baptist*. Probably South German, second half of 17th century. Ivory, L. 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (22.1 cm.). Liverpool, Merseyside County Museum (photo: Merseyside County Museum)

to the anonymous Master of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian.<sup>21</sup> Characteristic of the style in its purest form (most noticeable in those works attributed to the Sebastian Master's immediate circle) are distinct remnants of medieval Swabian carving technique: an

19. Unfortunately, neither the original painting nor its sketch has survived, but copies, one of which is in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, show this parallel most vividly. See Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p. 572, no. 414; II, fig. 471. Somewhat further afield iconographically is the similarly posed but fully clothed figure of the sleeping St. Peter in Goltzius's *Agony in the Garden*, pointed out by Lionel Burman, Keeper of Decorative Arts, County Museum, Liverpool, in a written communication to the author.

20. Some of the ivories after Rubens drawings once attributed to the Flemish sculptor Lucas Faydherbe (see G. Glück, "Über Entwürfe von Rubens zu Elfenbeinarbeiten Lucas Faydherbes," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 25, no. 2 [1905] pp. 73–79) have been recently reconsidered. See, e.g., Feuchtmayr and Schädler, *Georg Petel*, nos. 14, 21; also K. Aschengreen-Piacenti, "Rubens e gli intagliatori di avorio," in M. Gregori, ed., *Rubens e Firenze* (Florence, 1983). For a general discussion of broader sculptural influences on Rubens and vice versa see W. Kitlitschka, *Rubens und die Bildhauerei: Die Einwirkung der Plastik auf sein Werk und Rubens' Auswirkung auf die Bildhauer des 17. Jahrhunderts*, diss. (Vienna, 1963).

21. Some other artists linked to this master's circle are Matthias Rauchmiller (see C. Theuerkauff, *Studien zur Elfenbeinplastik des Barock: Matthias Rauchmiller und Ignaz Elhafen*, diss. [Freiburg im Breisgau, 1965]; also V. Birke, *Matthias Rauchmiller* [Vienna, 1980]). The Monogrammist B. G. and the Swabian carver C. M. Maucher also show affinities to this group (C. Theuerkauff, "Zum Werk der Monogrammisten B. G.," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 [1973] pp. 245ff., and Wadsworth Atheneum, *J. Pierpont Morgan, Collector*, exh. cat. [Hartford, Conn., 1986] no. 30).





8. *The Head of John the Baptist Presented to Salome*, after a lost painting by Rubens, ca. 1609. Oil on panel, 11 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 14 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (29.5 × 37.5 cm.). Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle (photo: Staatliche Kunsthalle)

extreme linearity of detail (which manifests itself most notably in separate, parallel carved strands of hair) and a tendency towards exaggerated facial expressions that at times verge on parody.

The present carvings also share certain characteristics with this style. The Buffalo figure in particular, with its heightened expressiveness, exaggerated musculature, and flat, bony forearms, recalls the workshop of the Sebastian Master and the closely associated Schenck family.<sup>22</sup> The Liverpool figure shows some of these same characteristics, as well as others: for example, the parallel cords delineating the figure's calf muscles and the schematic configuration of the toes. At the same time, both figures exhibit a cer-

22. See note 2 above.

tain softness of carving and a lessening of the fanatic commitment to detail that we generally find in both of these workshops.

Whatever precise attributions and relationships may ultimately be established among these various objects and artists, what strikes one most in the end is the extent to which so many of them adhered to a graphic prototype and how fundamentally their art was grounded, in both conception and technique, in the act of carving in relief. Indeed, much of their style can be understood as an attempt to liberate their designs from the realm of the plane. This effort can be judged effectively through a comparison of the two *St. Sebastian* reliefs (Figures 9, 10). While the earlier version of the subject from the Sebastian Master's circle, dated 1655, is characterized by extremely high relief carving, the second of the two, dated 1657, scarcely appears to be a relief at all; rather, the figures almost resemble statuettes mounted against a relief background.

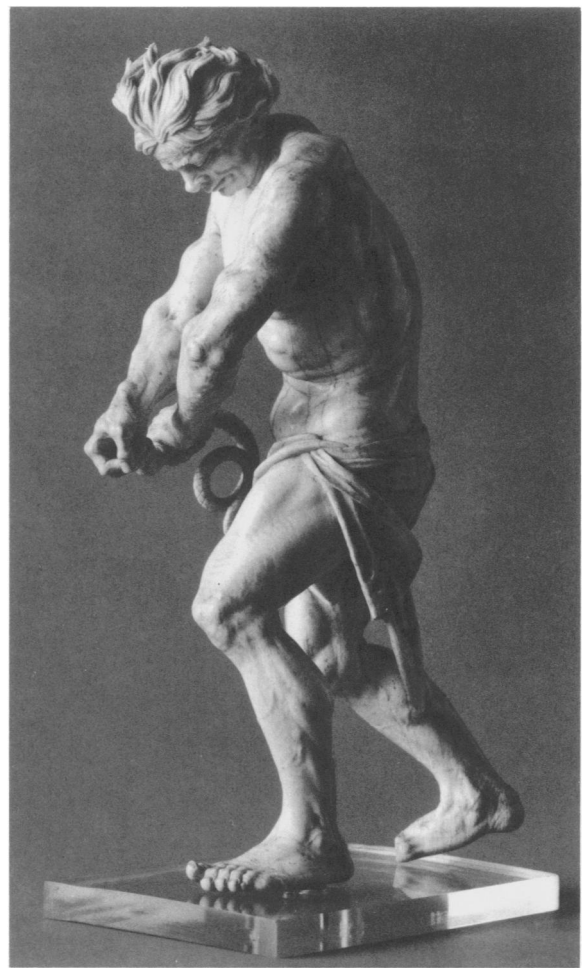


9. Master of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, South German or Austrian, dated 1655. Ivory, 21¼ × 31½ in. (54 × 80 cm.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

10. Master of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Workshop?), *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, South German or Austrian, dated 1657. Ivory relief, 20⅞ × 31⅞ in. (53 × 81 cm.). Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum (photo: Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum)



11. Master of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, *Man Struggling with a Serpent*, South German or Austrian, third quarter of 17th century. Ivory, H. 9 in. (22.8 cm.). Vaduz, Collections of the Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein (photo: Walter Wachter)



12. Attributed to the Workshop of the Master of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, *The Judgment of Solomon*, South German or Austrian, third quarter of 17th century. Ivory relief,  $5\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$  in. (15 × 21 cm.). Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum (photo: Hessisches Landesmuseum)







13. Workshop of the Master of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, *Kneeling Captive*, South German or Austrian, third quarter of 17th century. Ivory, H. 4¼ in. (10.8 cm.). Vaduz, Collections of the Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein (photo: Walter Wachter)

23. Philippovich, "Hauptwerke," fig. 6, there attributed to J. C. Schenck. This relief has recently been classified by Theuerkauff among the works he attributes to the workshop of the Sebastian Master. See C. Theuerkauff, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *Die Bildwerke der Skulpturengalerie Berlin: II. Die Bildwerke in Elfenbein des 16.–19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1986) p. 285, no. 81.

24. See also Philippovich, "Hauptwerke," figs. 3–5, who points to similarities between this figure and the *Sebastian* reliefs.

25. Even such a fully sculptural creation as the *Hercules and Antaeus* in the Linsky Collection (*The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* [New York, 1984] no. 93, entry by James David Draper) reveals this graphic approach, both internally, in its delineation of detail, and in its overall con-

In a similar way, the *Man Struggling with a Serpent* (Figure 11), one of the two Liechtenstein ivories mentioned earlier, also relates to a flat carving: the small, highly pictorial *Judgment of Solomon* in Darmstadt (Figure 12).<sup>23</sup> The graphic outlines of the statuette parallel so closely those of the executioner in composition that one imagines this aspect must surely have dominated the sculptor's imagination. The other Liechtenstein figure, a *Kneeling Captive* (Figure 13), also presents a dominant view that compels one to associate it immediately with the conventional bound figures that Rubens (as well as many others) utilized as attributes in depicting allegories of victory.<sup>24</sup>

The characteristic emphasis on powerfully bunched and craggy back and shoulder muscles that all these ivory figures share has a particularly enlivening effect on their sculptural outline; and whether or not one can identify specific pictorial models, one feels that some such source must have played a role in the conception of the object and the sculptor's approach to his task.<sup>25</sup> Hence the great interest of the Buffalo and Liverpool figures: their allusions to Rubens's compositions indicate that the broad swath cut by his artistic presence was one of the main routes through which the style of the classical Baroque entered the idiosyncratic and somewhat provincial world of the virtuoso South German ivory carver.

cept. The carving presents itself in a series of faceted views as if the carver were attacking the piece of ivory one side at a time, and engraving these images on a succession of flat surfaces. The most vivid example of this impulse, however, is the recently published *Adam and Eve* group in Hartford (Wadsworth Atheneum, *J. Pierpont Morgan, Collector*, pp. 106–109, no. 27). This ambitious and beautiful carving, which Theuerkauff also attributes to the Sebastian Master, has been connected to a drawing in East Berlin from which it nonetheless appears to differ in minor ways. The correspondence is, however, decidedly closer if one imagines the drawing distributed around a cylindrical form. The images of Adam and Eve correspond more nearly to the drawing if each is seen from the side, and they appear more physically coherent as well.



*continued from front flap*

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