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The Metropolitan Museum Journal is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works in the Museum's collections and the areas of investigation they represent. Contributions, by members of the Museum staff 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.

This volume is unusually wide-ranging in subject, beginning with a proposed Etruscan source for a motif in Greek vase painting to a late-nineteenth-century Russian literary portrait. Three of the articles treat ancient Roman art—the wall paintings from Boscotrecase, an engraved glass, and the Badminton sarcophagus. An appropriate sequel is provided by the publication of a recently identified Early Christian sarcophagus. Three studies are concerned with patronage in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They shed light on a Neapolitan armor, a painted enamel watch belonging to Louis XIV's Surintendant des Plaisirs du Roi, and a set of embroidered hangings commissioned by the king's mistress Madame de Montespan. A specialist in Chinese studies reveals the iconographical complexity and refinement of a Yüan-dynasty painting. Two articles deal with American artists abroad: Matthew Pratt's group portrait of painters in England and John Singer Sargent's sketches made in the Swiss Alps when he was sixteen years old. Finally, the 1884 portrait of an intellectual by the Russian painter Ilya Repin is analyzed in terms of its political as well as artistic context.

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JACKET ILLUSTRATION: Detail, north wall of the Black Room from Boscotrecase (Roman, ca. 12 B.C.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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Contents

Reflections of an Italian Journey on an Early Attic Lekythos? JOAN R. MERTENS	5
Roman Wall Paintings from Boscotrecase: Three Studies in the Relationship Between Writing and Painting ELFRIEDE R. KNAUER	13
A Roman Figure-Engraved Glass Bowl BEAUDOUIN CARON	47
Carving the Badminton Sarcophagus ELIZABETH BARTMAN	57
An Early Christian Sarcophagus from Rome Lost and Found HELEN EVANS	77
A Neapolitan Patron of Armor and Tapestry Identified DONALD J. LAROCCA	85
A Watch for Monsieur Hesselin J. H. LEOPOLD AND CLARE VINCENT	103
Children of the Sun King: Some Reconsiderations EDITH A. STANDEN	121
Literary and Visual Interactions in Lo Chih-ch'uan's <i>Crows in Old Trees</i> CHARLES HARTMAN	129
A Painter's Progress: Matthew Pratt and <i>The American School</i> SUSAN RATHER	169
"Splendid Mountain," A Sketchbook by the Young John Singer Sargent MARJORIE SHELLEY	185
The Writer as Artist's Model: Repin's Portrait of Garshin ELIZABETH KRIDL VALKENIER	207

ABBREVIATIONS

MMA—The Metropolitan Museum of Art

MMAB—*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*

MMJ—*Metropolitan Museum Journal*

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Reflections of an Italian Journey on an Early Attic Lekythos?

JOAN R. MERTENS

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IN 1828 ANCIENT GREEK VASE PAINTING made its first significant appearance in modern Europe. The occasion was the discovery of an Etruscan necropolis filled with imported Athenian vases at Canino, near Vulci, by Lucien Bonaparte, a brother of Napoleon. Not only did the subsequent reemergence of Greek pottery occur, in large part, on north Italian soil, but during the last 150 years the role of the Etruscans as importers of Greek, principally Attic, vases has also been a focus of archaeological scholarship. One of the first achievements of this scholarship was the recognition that, although found in Etruria, the vases had actually been made in, and imported from, Greece proper. The decisive evidence lay in the inscriptions, written in perfect Greek, that many of them bore. As Dietrich von Bothmer has shown,¹ the Metropolitan Museum's amphora by the Taleides Painter—found in Sicily before 1800—was the first vase with an ancient potter's signature to come to light in modern times; Lucien Bonaparte would unearth many more at Canino.

Once the place of manufacture had been established for the thousands of fragments and whole vases that began to be found throughout the area of ancient Etruria, questions arose as to the connections between Attic ceramic workshops of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. and their Etruscan clientele. It has become an accepted fact that some products were made specifically for export. Of particular pertinence here are the Nicosthenic neck-amphorae and kyathoi, shapes of Etruscan origin that were reinterpreted in Athenian workshops and produced in quantity specifically for the Etruscan market. Two terracotta stands in the Metropolitan Museum illustrate this phenomenon on a very small scale; they must have been bespoke, for they are unique.² Study of the painted and incised inscriptions that marked batches of pots for shipment has

provided insights into the designation and accumulation of material for export.³ More than ever, scholars today are preoccupied with the commodities contained in these quantities of pottery,⁴ how the vases were understood by their importers,⁵ and what impact they may have had on Etruscan art and culture.⁶

As this preamble will indicate, the weight of evidence concerning Etruscan demand for Attic pottery lies almost entirely on the Etruscan side. Traces of Etruscan presence of any kind in Attica or in Attic art have proved to be minimal as well as elusive.⁷ Therefore, any glimmer or echo of such a presence seems worth noting. In this endeavor I should like briefly to reconsider a vase of the very early sixth century B.C. in Berlin and the group of iconographically related pieces that have been assembled around it.

Berlin V.I. 3764 (Figures 1–3) is a Deianeira lekythos characterized by an uninterrupted ovoid body, echinus foot, and cup-shaped mouth with pronounced drip ring; the shape was popular during the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. The vase is said to have been found in Greece. Originally attributed by Sir John Beazley to a painter working in the manner of the Gorgon Painter,⁸ it has recently been assigned by Dyfri Williams to the Deianeira Painter.⁹ In a subordinate zone occupying the top of the body, the decoration consists of a snaky creature with a fish tail and the head of a bearded man in its richly toothed mouth. In the main scene below, a pair of lions flank a bearded man; naked except for the baldric holding his sword and scabbard, the man looks back as he runs toward the right. Between the hindquarters of the two lions, below the handle of the lekythos, appears an unusual creation. It is made up of the bearded head of a man, shown in profile, set on top of a squat, roundish base; two incised lines mark the junction of the base and the human neck. This element in the decoration has been discussed repeatedly but never satisfactorily explained.

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The notes for this article begin on page 11.



Figure 2. Detail of lekythos in Figure 1



Figure 3. Detail of lekythos in Figure 1

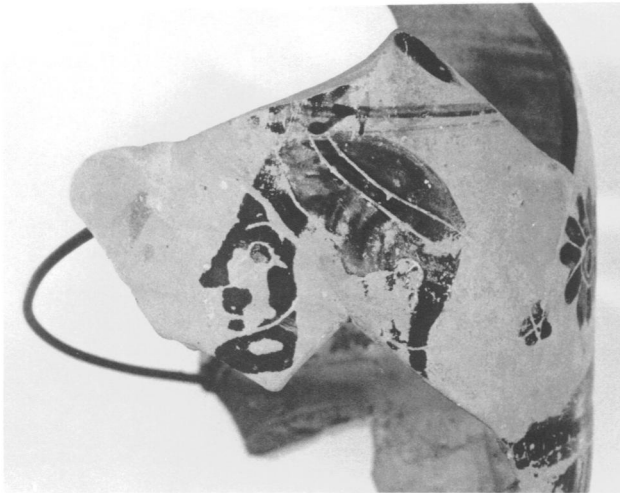
Figure 1. Lekythos, attributed to the Deianeira Painter, Greek (Attic), ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, H. 26 cm. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, V.I. 3764 (photo: Jutta Tietz-Glagow, Antikensammlung, Berlin)



Figure 4. Lekythos, attributed to the Deianeira Painter, Greek (Attic), ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, H. 24 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1958, IV-22,3 (photo: Cyprus Museum)



Figure 5. Alternative view of lekythos in Figure 4



Figures 6, 7. Lekythos (two views), attributed to the Painter of the London Olpai, Greek (Attic), ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, H. 18.8 cm. Basel, Herbert A. Cahn Collection 1410, 920, and 914 (photo: Herbert A. Cahn)

The man-headed form is known from other contemporary representations on Attic vases that have recently been brought together by Mary B. Moore.¹⁰ Most closely related, indeed by the same hand, is a Deianeira lekythos in Nicosia (Figures 4, 5), found at Polis tis Chrysochou.¹¹ The main scene on the body again shows a running man between lions; here, however, the figure wears a belted tunic and high boots. The man-headed object again appears below the handle. The base is somewhat squatter and more rounded than on the lekythos in Berlin; the head, however, shows the same distinctive detail of a fillet securing locks of hair that seem to be brushed upward at the middle of the forehead. The secondary scene, above, shows hounds coursing a hare.

A third lekythos with comparable iconography is in the collection of Herbert A. Cahn, Basel (Figures 6, 7). Dyfri Williams has attributed it to a follower of the Gorgon Painter whom he calls the Painter of the London Olpai.¹² On the body, the figure between two lions wears a belted tunic and boots; the head is evidently that of a woman. Interestingly, the fillet binding her hair is very like that of her male counterparts painted by the Deianeira Painter. Although the base of the man-headed object as well as the hindquarters of the lions are missing, the preserved elements are unmistakable. The narrow band above the main zone contains a wreath that seems to consist of fruit, such as olives or acorns, rather than leaves.

The other pertinent representations occur on amphorae. Athens, Agora P 24944¹³ preserves a bearded male head facing right; in front—or on top—of the base appears a thin, curving form that sug-

gests a snake (Figure 8). Copenhagen NM 13796,¹⁴ acquired on the Roman market, shows a pair of these male heads confronted; the bases have now lost their tautness and the execution is generally perfunctory. An oinochoe in the Humboldt University, Berlin (Figure 9), is one of two¹⁵ that have been associated with the aforementioned vases; the absence of the globular base below the profile head, however, places these pieces in a different iconographical category.

To date, scholarly discussion of the man-headed form has dealt with it as a bust. In his consideration of the Agora example, Homer Thompson spoke of “a very striking bearded head to which an abbreviated body is attached at the lower left; perhaps a male siren.”¹⁶ Ingeborg Scheibler sees an attempt to combine the bust of the deceased as depicted on funerary amphorae with birds as funerary symbols.¹⁷ Otfried von Vacano prefers to discern the first stages in the formulation of the bust as an iconographical motif,¹⁸ and Dyfri Williams also refers to the forms as busts. Although useful, these proposals remain inadequate because the execution of the Berlin lekythos is exceedingly competent, revealing no uncertainty in any aspect of the decoration; indeed, the Deianeira Painter has carefully but also very fluently drawn the man-headed form and articulated the container and significant details. In my opinion, he was depicting a real, self-contained object. What can have been the prototype?

Terracotta receptacles consisting of a plain, ro-tund base surmounted by a human head—usually male, occasionally female—represent a well-established class of object in Etruscan art of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.¹⁹ Although they are called

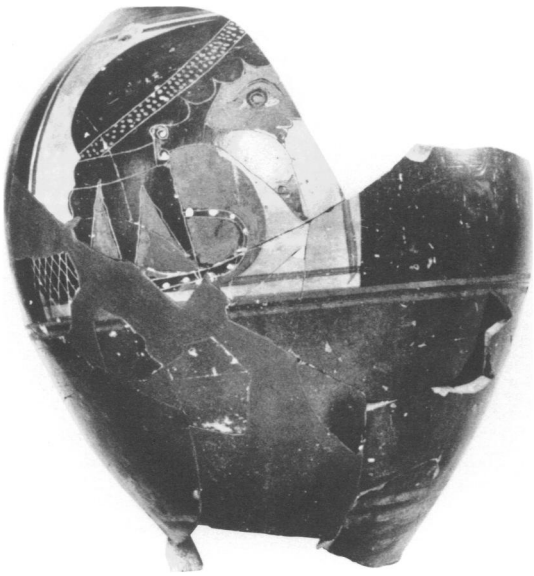


Figure 8. Fragment of an amphora, manner of the Gorgon Painter, Greek (Attic), first quarter of 6th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 24.9 cm. Athens, Agora P 24944 (photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations)

canopic jars, they held the ashes of the deceased, not the viscera. A major center of their production and use seems to have been Chiusi. Funerary practice entailed the placement of these urns upon a thronelike or seatlike support within a very large storage jar at the bottom of a pit cut deep into the ground; most of the receptacles known today have been separated from their supports. There are four general areas of resemblance between the urns and the forms on the Berlin and Nicosia lekythoi. In each case the object is three-dimensional; the lower part narrows toward the mouth on the one hand, toward the base on the other; its surface—and general impression—is unarticulated, not to say rough; and the presence of a distinct neck-line indicates that the head is separable from the element below.

The corpus of surviving urns indicates the rather narrow range of variation in such details as the presence of handles or arms at the widest portion of the body, or the inclusion of a distinct foot (Figure 10). Within the rich collection of the Museo Archeologico, Florence, a few examples can be singled out as being particularly useful to our inquiry. Some, of the late seventh century, present an especially marked chin that can be interpreted as a beard (Figure 11).²⁰ There is also strong emphasis upon the eye.²¹ An exceptionally well-preserved and complete ensemble of head, urn, and throne even retains a pair of snaky creatures on the shoulder of the urn (Figure 12).²²

The hypothesis that these Etruscan objects prompt is that, in the course of commercial contact, knowledge of a canopic urn, or urns, reached the Athenian potters' quarter. While the export of Attic pottery was just gaining momentum in the earliest decades of the sixth century, the production of the Gorgon Painter and his workshop catered not only to the home market but also to customers as far away as Marseilles in the west and Naukratis in the Egyptian Delta. Vases of the workshop found in Etruria range from the ambitious mixing bowl with its stand now in the Louvre²³ to the *olpai* and *amphorae* that were turned out in greater number. The very fact that commercial relations between Athens and Etruria were still at an early stage suggests that the novelty of western practices and objects may also have been greater than a century later. Modern scholarship has not yet elucidated fully how the trade in pottery, or other commodities, was organized and whether Etruscan purchasers came to Athens. The export wares mentioned above—the Nicosthenic amphorae and other shapes—testify to the fact that dealings between the respective parties took place.²⁴ Because the man-headed forms on the Berlin and Nicosia lekythoi have no compelling antecedents or contemporary counterparts in Attic iconography, and because the canopic vases were an established type of equipment in an area with which traders—if not also artists—had contact, the Etruscan urns could well have been the source of inspiration.

Two further considerations may support the notion of Greeks journeying to Etruria. Canopic jars are not the only surviving Etruscan objects that



Figure 9. Oinochoe, manner of the Gorgon Painter, Greek (Attic), first quarter of 6th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 12.7 cm. Berlin, Humboldt-Universität, Winckelmann-Institut, D 384 (photo: Winckelmann-Institut)



Figure 10. Canopic jar, Etruscan, last quarter of 6th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 55.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1896, 96.9.50



Figure 11. Canopic jar, Etruscan, first quarter of 6th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 57.0 cm. Florence, Museo Archeologico 94612 (photo: Soprintendenza alle Antichità, Florence)

present a human head upon a rounded support. A famous and impressive bronze bust found in Vulci, now in the British Museum, shows the head of a woman and her upper body rising above a narrow, beltlike ring (Figure 13).²⁵ The bust is dated to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. The torso of the figure is clearly articulated as human; the left arm is held against her chest and she holds a bird in her extended right hand. The present state of the object certainly does not represent its original appearance. However, in the treatment of the human body, the figure—whether divine or mortal—certainly bears a familial resemblance to the terracotta urns. Moreover, while it stands in relative stylistic isolation today, that would not have been the case in antiquity if indeed the piece was made in Vulci.²⁶ Thus, a Greek traveler to Etruria at the beginning of the sixth century would have seen a considerable variety of different objects that nonetheless were similar in appearance. It is impossible to gauge how much the ancient traveler would have known about the function and significance of the objects that he

saw. Most likely he was aware of the funerary purpose of the canopic jars. Given the primacy of the human figure in his own culture, he certainly responded to that element no matter how foreign the images might otherwise have appeared to him.

Finally, should the hypothesis advanced here have any validity for the representation under the handle of the Berlin and Nicosia lekythoi, the sea monster on the shoulder of the Berlin vase may be of more than purely decorative pertinence. Even if ancient seafarers avoided crossing open water and kept close to coastlines wherever possible, long-distance maritime journeys were perilous; abundant evidence exists in literature and works of art²⁷ for the fish-tailed serpent as a symbol of the dangers (Figure 14). With paradigmatic Greek terseness, the human head in the jaws of the Deianeira Painter's monster communicates an all too common fate.

Before an object such as the lekythos in Berlin, the modern interpreter becomes very aware that, while the artist or craftsman may enjoy considerable imaginative freedom, he himself does not. At the



Figure 12. Canopic jar, Etruscan, first quarter of 6th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 52.5 cm. Florence, Museo Archeologico 72729 (photo: Soprintendenza alle Antichità, Florence)



Figure 13. Figure of a woman, Etruscan, first quarter of 6th century B.C. Bronze, H. 34 cm. London, British Museum GR 1850.2-27.15b and 16 (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)

risk of exaggerating and wrongly relating the iconographical ingredients of the Berlin vase, it has seemed worthwhile to call attention to what might be an exceptional early Attic response to a foreign motif. The man-headed form is rendered most meticulously and enthusiastically on the vase in Berlin, whereas the drawing on the Nicosia lekythos already appears derivative, less interested, and less interesting. The head on the fragment in the Agora is even more cursory; one wonders, however, whether the spotted snake occurs by association with the canopic jar, if that was the prototype. The confronted heads on the amphora in Copenhagen may belong to this iconographical category; it is at least as likely that they present a short-lived variant of the human head on the earliest panel amphorae.²⁸

The Deianeira Painter must be imagined as learning about the subjects that he depicted either from visual models or from verbal, undoubtedly oral, descriptions. The decoration of the lekythos conveys



Figure 14. Gem, Greek, last quarter of 7th century B.C. Steatite, L. 2.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Pulitzer Fund, 1942, 42.11.11.

the essence of a dangerous sea journey to the west. While it is not identifiably mythological, it is surely narrative. The question—as so often—is whether the vase painter is illustrating a tale current in his day, or whether the modern observer is inventing a tale from an ancient picture.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. Herbert A. Cahn for allowing me to illustrate his Deianeira lekythos. For help with information and photographs, I thank Professor Adolf Borbein, Dr. Adriana Emiliozzi, Dr. Vassos Karageorghis, Dr. Francesco Nicosia, Dr. Gertrud Platz, Dr. Judith Swaddling, and Frau Sabine Uschmann.

NOTES

1. Dietrich von Bothmer, "The Taleides Amphora," *MMAB* n.s. 5 (1947) pp. 221–228.
2. Idem, "A Unique Pair of Attic Vases," *Revue Archéologique* (1972) pp. 83–92.
3. Alan W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (Warminster, 1979).
4. See, for instance, David W. Gill, "The Distribution of Greek Vases and Long Distance Trade," in *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, Jette Christiansen and Torben Melander, eds. (Copenhagen, 1988) pp. 175–181.
5. For instance, Nigel Spivey, "Greek Vases in Etruria," *Looking at Greek Vases*, Tom Rasmussen and Nigel Spivey, eds. (Cambridge, 1991) pp. 131–150.
6. For instance, Juliette de La Genière, "Images attiques et religiosité étrusque," *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Copenhagen, 1988) pp. 161–167.
7. Brian Shefton, "Other Non-Corinthian Vases," *Perachora II* (Oxford, 1962) pp. 385–386; Marina Martelli, "I luoghi e i prodotti dello scambio," *Civiltà degli Etruschi* (Florence, 1985) esp. pp. 175–181.
8. John D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* [hereafter *ABV*] (Oxford, 1956) p. 11, no. 19.
9. Dyfri Williams, "In the Manner of the Gorgon Painter: The Deianeira Painter and Others," *Enthousiasmos* (Amsterdam, 1986) pp. 61–68.
10. Mary B. Moore, *The Athenian Agora: Attic Black-figured Pottery* (Princeton, N.J., 1986) p. 101. Moore does not mention the Deianeira lekythos, Florence 3740 (*ABV* p. 12, 21), which is decorated with a woman between two lions. The drawing published in the *Bollettino d'Arte* (1921) (fig. on p. 161) shows an irregularly rounded conformation at the left edge. Dr. DeTommaso has, however, kindly confirmed that there is no decoration below the handle.
11. John D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1971) p. 8, no. 19bis.
12. Williams, "In the Manner of the Gorgon Painter," pp. 66–67 and n. 34. Bettina Kreuzer, *Frühe Zeichner: Vasenfragmente der Sammlung H. A. Cahn, Basel* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1992) pp. 29–30, no. 18.
13. See note 10.
14. *ABV*, p. 714, 9bis; *Paralipomena* p. 7, 9bis above.
15. *ABV*, p. 10, 2 (Taranto) and 3 (Berlin).
16. Homer A. Thompson, "Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1955," *Hesperia* 25 (1956) p. 58.
17. Ingeborg Scheibler, "Olpen und Amphoren des Gorgomalers," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 76 (1961) p. 45 n. 144.
18. Otfried von Vacano, *Kopfbilder auf schwarzfigurigen Vasen* (Bonn, 1973) esp. pp. 153–154 n. 119.
19. A most useful summary of the material is provided by Robert D. Gempeler, *Die etruskischen Kanopen* (Küsnacht, 1974).
20. For instance, Florence, Museo Archeologico 94612 (Gempeler, *Die etruskischen Kanopen*, p. 37, no. 24); Florence, Museo Archeologico 72783 (*ibid.*, p. 39, no. 27).
21. For instance, Florence, Museo Archeologico 79197 (*ibid.*, p. 41, no. 29).
22. Florence, Museo Archeologico 72729 (*ibid.*, pp. 68–69, no. 58).
23. *ABV*, p. 8, 1.
24. See Martelli, "I luoghi e i prodotti dello scambio."
25. Sybille Haynes, "Zwei archaisch-etruskische Bildwerke aus Vulci," *Antike Plastik IV* (Berlin, 1965) pp. 15–25; idem, "The Bronze Bust from the 'Isis-Tomb' Reconsidered," *Studi Etruschi* 57 (1991) pp. 3–9; J. Swaddling, forthcoming.
26. Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes* (London, 1985) pp. 252–253, no. 21.
27. Katharine Shepard, *The Fish-tailed Monster in Greek and Etruscan Art* (New York, 1940). A feature of the Berlin lekythos that seems so far to have been avoided by modern commentators is the inscription $\theta\omicron\pi\epsilon$ incised directly in front of the head of the sea serpent; it was evidently added after firing. The verb, a form of $\phi\omicron\pi\epsilon\omega$, functions as a kind of gloss on the image, saying "he is carrying it." One is leery of proposing an explanation that is so straightforward and obvious. On the other hand, it is worth remembering the predilection of Sophilos and Kleitias, the Gorgon Painter's artistic heirs, for labeling figures and occasionally even objects in their most important compositions. From this perspective, the inscription appears remarkable but not untoward.
28. *ABV*, p. 16, 2.

Roman Wall Paintings from Boscotrecase: Three Studies in the Relationship Between Writing and Painting

ELFRIEDE R. KNAUER

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THOMAS NIPPERDEY (1927–1992)

THE ROMAN VILLA RUSTICA at Boscotrecase is recognized as a key monument for the understanding of Roman wall painting. It originally belonged to Augustus's friend and aide M. Vipsanius Agrippa and his wife, Julia, the princeps' daughter.¹ The surviving decoration can be dated to about 10 B.C.² When the fifteen panels from the villa were reinstalled at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1987 and Peter von Blanckenhagen's fundamental study of all of the preserved wall paintings in New York and Naples, originally published in 1962, was reissued with color illustrations, a fresh evaluation of the panels became possible.

Here we shall be concerned with exploring the ways and degrees in which several specific objects and features that are integrated into the highly complex decorative system reflect reality. In each of the three preserved rooms it is now possible to understand more completely a specific ingredient of the decoration. In the process of elucidating each of these elements, one enters into the larger orbit of Roman history, culture, and language. The third part of this study is, in fact, primarily philological and takes one beyond the usual realms of art-historical investigation. The ramifications of our consideration of the word *vitrum*—glass—yield insights into the geographical and cultural expansion of the world that occurred under Augustus. The result is a better understanding of what these paintings may have conveyed to their patrons and to contemporary viewers.³

I. THE EGYPTIAN *PINAKES*

We shall begin by concentrating on the two *pinakes*, that is, framed pictures, supported by delicate candelabra in the niches that flank the central *aedicula* of the north wall of the Black Room (Figures 1–5).⁴ These niches differ markedly from the decoration of the central *aedicula*, where an airy gable at the top rests on colonnettes crowned with Corinthian capitals that incorporate framed roundels with the cameo-style profiles of male and female heads, probably Apollo and Artemis.⁵ By contrast, the stylistic ambience of each flanking candelabrum is patently different. Instead of the classical elements, the shafts display a succession of Egyptianizing calyxes and culminate in a lotus finial bearing an elegant lidded vase, also of Egyptian ancestry. From the topmost florals on each side, two shoots emerge, and the *pinakes* are balanced on the vases and these shoots. It has been rightly suggested that the *pinakes* are of papyrus framed in wood.⁶ Their intense yellow hue might provoke doubts about the nature of the substance, but it is known that papyrus was treated with cedar oil to extend its longevity.⁷ The color may indicate such a treatment. In accordance with the precarious position of the pictures, but unlike the few frames that have survived from antiquity, these frames seem extremely lightweight, as if made of bamboo or some similar material.⁸ In spite of their modest size and some damage, the pictures can be deciphered, and they clearly show cult scenes.

Because of their exotic subject these paintings have been subjected to repeated analyses over the last two decades.⁹ However, their poor state of preservation and the concomitantly imperfect legibility seem to have militated against an interpretation

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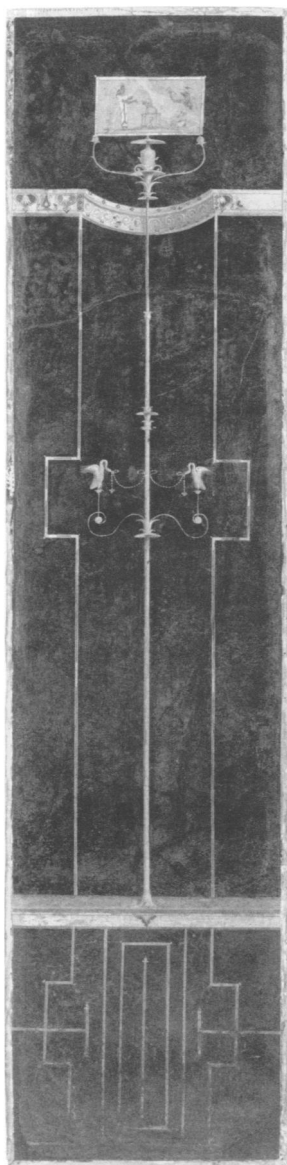


Figure 1. Black Room, north wall, left panel. Roman, ca. 12 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.2

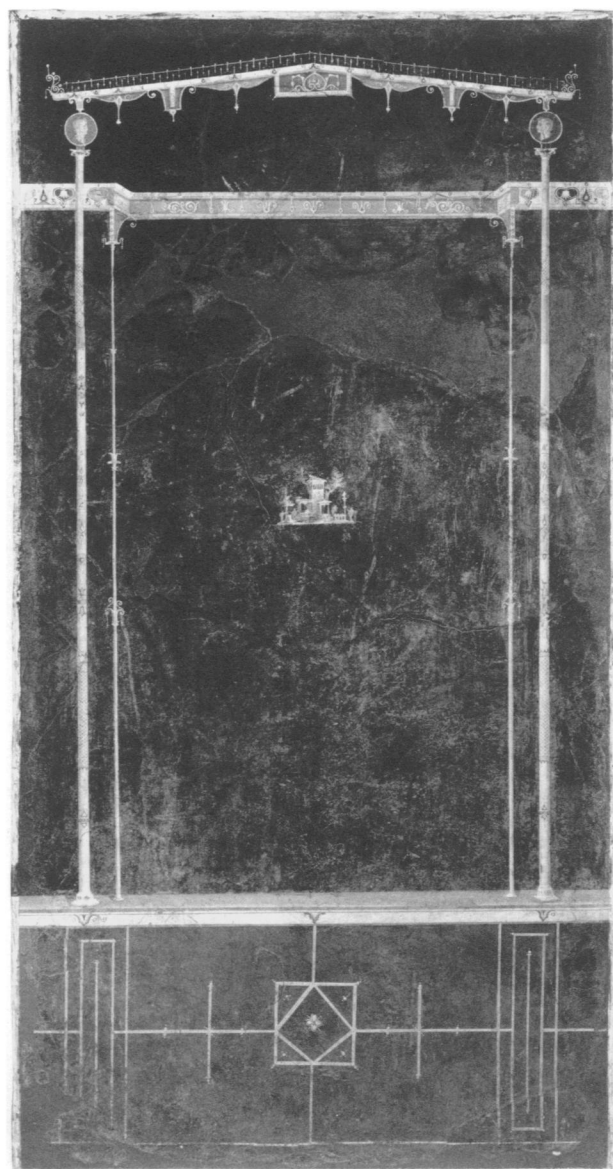


Figure 2. Black Room, north wall, central panel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.1

that could be generally accepted. Scholars strove to identify the Egyptian deities rather than explore the possible significance of a specific iconography in the context of the building and its owners. The most recent restoration has now revealed the original depiction and it is well worth reexamining the paintings.

The *pinax* on the left has in its center a four-legged table, apparently placed on an ocher hillock. On the table, drawn in perspective,¹⁰ stands a young horned animal. Damage has eradicated most of its hindquarters. Whether a bull or a cow—that is, whether the Apis bull or Hathor's cow—is intended, we cannot say. Both animals were often represented with the sun disk between their horns, a feature

missing here. Originally a symbol of fertility and renewal, Apis was also, during the late period, thought of as receiving the soul of the deceased Osiris, the divine consort of Isis. The Apis bulls were kept and revered in Memphis, the old royal city, and were buried in the Serapaeum at nearby Saqqara.¹¹ In the Egyptian creation myths, Memphis was thought of as one of the loci of the Primeval Hillock.¹² On the knoll under the table a uraeus, the cobra-shaped protector of kings, rears its hooded head.¹³ A long-necked amphora on a stand appears on the far left.¹⁴ Between the amphora and the animal stands a female¹⁵ votary of Isis in cultic garments, with feathers¹⁶ on her queenly vulture headdress.¹⁷ Her left hand, presumably with an at-

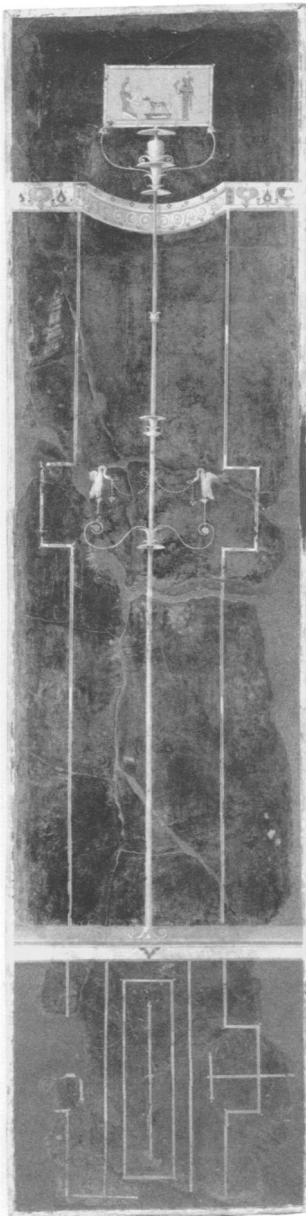


Figure 3. Black Room, north wall, right panel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.3

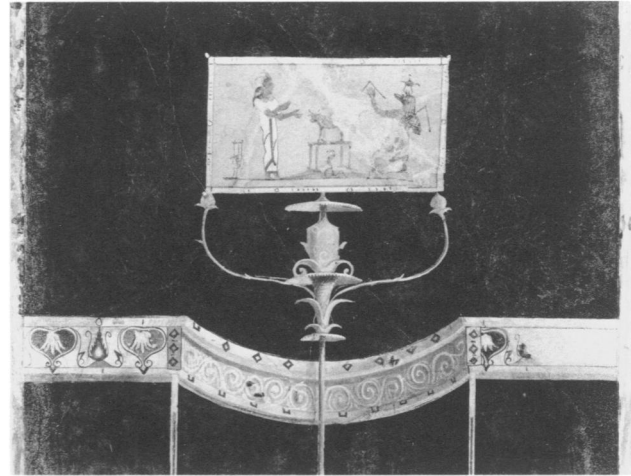


Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1

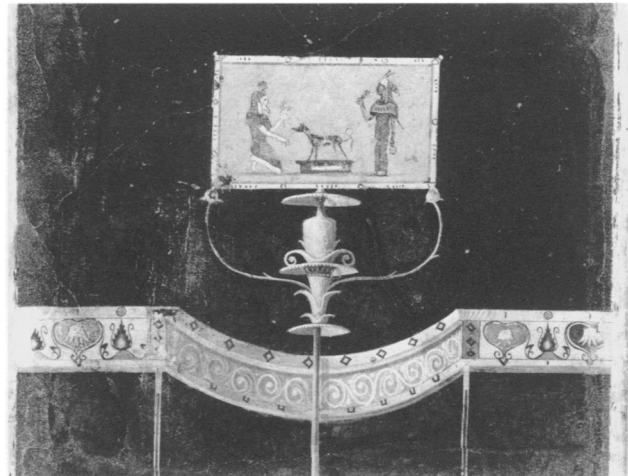


Figure 5. Detail of Figure 3

tribute, is missing. On the right, a kneeling male on a low blue base appears in the guise of the crocodile god Sobek with sun disk and Hathor horns atop his head.¹⁸

The cult of Sobek, or Suchos, was centered in the Fayum. It became enormously popular during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, when Sobek was conceived of as an “All-Gott,” combining the qualities of many of the major gods of the Egyptian pantheon. After Alexander’s conquest, Greeks—and after Octavian’s victory over Egypt, Roman veterans—settled in the rich farmlands of the Fayum;¹⁹ the newcomers enthusiastically adopted the local cults, among them that of Sobek. The British Museum has a perfectly preserved late Roman crocodile-skin

suit of parade armor, consisting of helmet and cuirass, found in a burial cave at Manfalût (near Asyût, in the Lykopolis nome) and worn in religious processions by Roman soldiers who were followers of the cult (Figure 7).²⁰

The worshipping pose of the priest of Sobek suggests that he is a ruler. Throughout its history, Egyptian art, especially on monumental temples, abounds with such formal scenes showing kings on their knees revering their gods.²¹ We may thus conclude that the *pinax* represents a princely couple worshipping at a specific site. One feature, however, requires further attention. The kneeling votary shoulders what may be a whip and ostentatiously lifts a mason’s square (*hss/kheses*),²² which seems to



Figure 6. Relief from the temple of Kom Ombo, showing the crocodile-headed god Sobek (photo: George Holton)

rest on the fingertips of his raised right hand. It has been said that in such Egyptianized *pinakes*, Roman copyists tended to contaminate specific attributes that were no longer understood, elaborating them haphazardly or suppressing them altogether.²³ This charge, however, could be and has been made with equal justification against monuments in Egypt itself, or objects produced there by native artisans of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Although the traditional iconography still held sway, it was, indeed, occasionally misunderstood or corrupted by adjustments to and combinations with Hellenistic motifs.²⁴

The set square as a hieroglyph can mean a building's corners or the establishment of those corners at the laying of the foundation stone. Interestingly, this hieroglyph is recorded at three temples, Edfu, Dendara, and Kôm Ombo, all of which date from Graeco-Roman times.²⁵ The kneeling figure's gesture is so specific that the Romans responsible for the decoration at Boscotrecase must have had a more than casual understanding of the Egyptian

models (Figure 8).²⁶ The kneeling ruler displaying the set square is clearly a devotee of Sobek, but the meaning of the representation here must remain hypothetical. An intimate knowledge of Egypt and her ways, however, is evident throughout the wall paintings from Boscotrecase.

The following can be inferred from the details of Agrippa's career. He owned the villa at Boscotrecase until he died in Campania in 12 B.C. at the age of 51. The property passed to his son Agrippa Pos-



Figure 7. Crocodile-skin suit of parade armor, from Manfalût, Egypt. London, British Museum, EA 5473 (photo: British Museum)

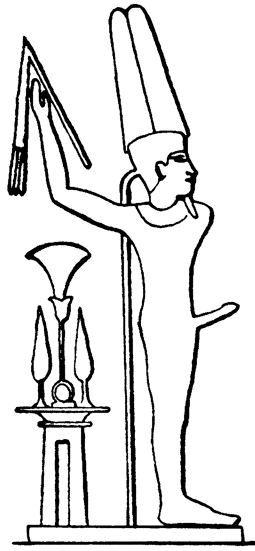


Figure 8. The god Amon raising a flail (from Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, fig. 11)

tumus, born shortly after his father's demise. The wall paintings in the three *cubicula* are stylistically the latest in the villa and are thought to have been produced soon after Agrippa's death by a Roman atelier that had, about ten years previously, created the murals and stuccos of the palatial structure under the Villa Farnesina in Rome, on the north bank of the Tiber. This may have been the *villa suburbana* of Agrippa and Julia, whom Augustus had just united in matrimony.²⁷ Not only was Agrippa the quasi-coregent and most trusted commander to whom Augustus owed the decisive victories of his early career, but Agrippa had also advised him at Actium and been presented, after the defeat of Cleopatra, with vast *latifundia* in Egypt.²⁸ Agrippa must have been perfectly familiar with the sophistication and elegance of late Ptolemaic court life in Alexandria and elsewhere. That would account for the deliberate and very refined allusions to Egypt in both villas. To suggest, moreover, a link between Agrippa and the cult of Sobek is not sheer caprice. Greek troops who had fought in Egypt and been disbanded after Actium were settled in Nemausus (Nîmes). A series of coins—the so-called crocodile coins—were minted in this new colony. They had, on the obverse, the heads of Octavian and Agrippa and, on the reverse, a crocodile chained to a beribboned palm frond (Figure 9).²⁹ The scene on the *pinax* may metaphorically record the foundation of Agrippa and Julia's home under the protection of propitious divinities.

The second *pinax*, on the right side of the north wall of the Black Room, shows another cult scene.

A kneeling ruler, characterized by the ceremonial beard and the *nemes*, the regal headcloth, proffers an olive branch³⁰ to an image of Anubis on a shrine, while a standing female in a linen garment officiates with a sistrum and a container of holy water as a priestess of Isis (cf. Figure 10).³¹ Again, one might imagine Agrippa in the guise of an Egyptian king extending the symbol of peace to Anubis, the *latrator*, the jackal-shaped barker that served the Roman



Figure 9. Roman coin showing Agrippa and Octavian and a crocodile chained to a palm frond (from *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Coins*. Numismatics Fine Arts Auction 27 [Los Angeles, 1992] fig. 1076)



Figure 10. Mural from the House of Loreius Tiburtinus at Pompeii, showing priest of Isis: (from V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza [anni 1910–1923]*, fig. 489)

poets of the period as a figure, by synecdoche, for Egypt and its pantheon.³² Again, there is Julia as a priestess, undoubtedly of Isis. The popularity of the goddess need not be emphasized. Her cult had already spread over the Mediterranean before she became hellenized. Isis, too, was an “All-Göttin” during the late period.³³ Although Augustus and Agrippa prohibited the cult of Egyptian gods around Rome and within its *pomerium*,³⁴ the prominence of Isis is impressively demonstrated by, for example, the Aula Isiaca on the Palatine³⁵ and her temple in Pompeii.³⁶ The fact that Agrippa should here appear twice as a king cannot be a surprise. From 23 B.C. on he was given the *imperium* over the eastern part of the Mediterranean, which meant that he virtually shared the princeps’ rulership. Julia, who became his consort in 21 B.C., resided with him in the East between 17 and 13 B.C. There he accepted the honors customary in the cult of the imperial house.³⁷ The decoration of the *cubicula* was commissioned either by Agrippa, while he and his consort were still away in the East, or by his widow after Agrippa’s death. Their heir, Agrippa Postumus, might have been the patron, although that would require dating the frescoes somewhat later.

The poses of the figures on the two *pinakes* have justly been called stiff and the coloration hard and flat, especially when compared with the supreme renditions of the swans that flank the candelabra below the Egyptian pictures (Figure 11).³⁸ I believe that the rendering attests to their authenticity.

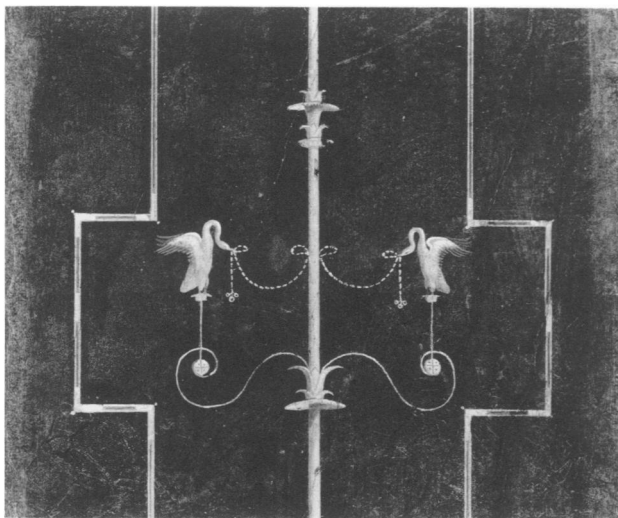


Figure 11. Detail of central section of Figure 1, showing swans with jewelry



Figure 12. Vignette from a Ptolemaic papyrus. The Hague, Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum, Inv. 42/88 (photo: Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum)

When compared with illustrations from some of the contemporary late Ptolemaic Egyptian funerary papyri, the *pinakes* prove very similar iconographically, stylistically, and coloristically. The illustrations usually accompany funerary texts from the Book of the Dead. For comparison, see the vignette—one of two—from a papyrus given by Bonaparte to Vivant Denon, a participant in the Egyptian campaign (Figure 12).³⁹

If one steps back from the detail to consider the north wall of the Black Room as a whole, one becomes all the more aware of a subtle interplay between motifs from the classical and those from the Egyptian world. There is a clear indication of the very special role Egypt played in the princeps’ circle. Theirs was a generation bruised by decades of civil war. After the hostilities had ended, Egypt with its age-old culture, its bewitching scenery, and its cosmopolitan atmosphere must have evoked feelings of happiness and of an elated existence. No wonder that Octavian’s companions wanted to recall and perpetuate them, though in a very different climate, by artful substitutes on their walls.⁴⁰

II. THE SCROLL HOLDERS

The three wall surfaces of the Red Room, today in the Naples Museum, are dominated by three large sacro-idyllic landscapes.⁴¹ The paintings appear to be mounted on easels framed by shallow *aediculae*, and the dreamlike sceneries seem to float on the white atmospheric background of their “canvases.”

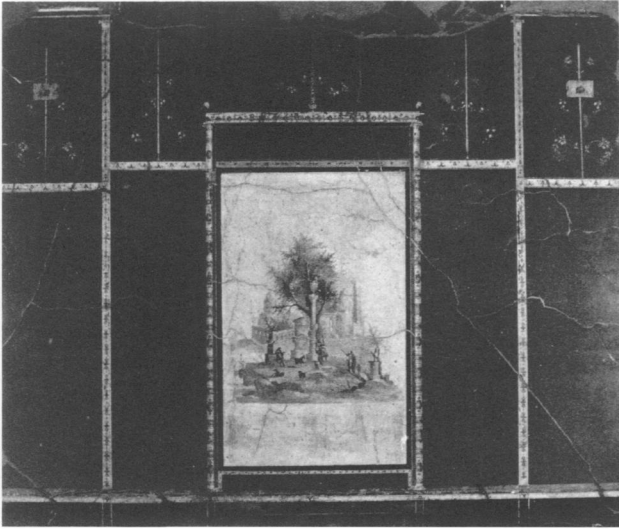


Figure 13. North wall of the Red Room. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 147501 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pl. 21.2)

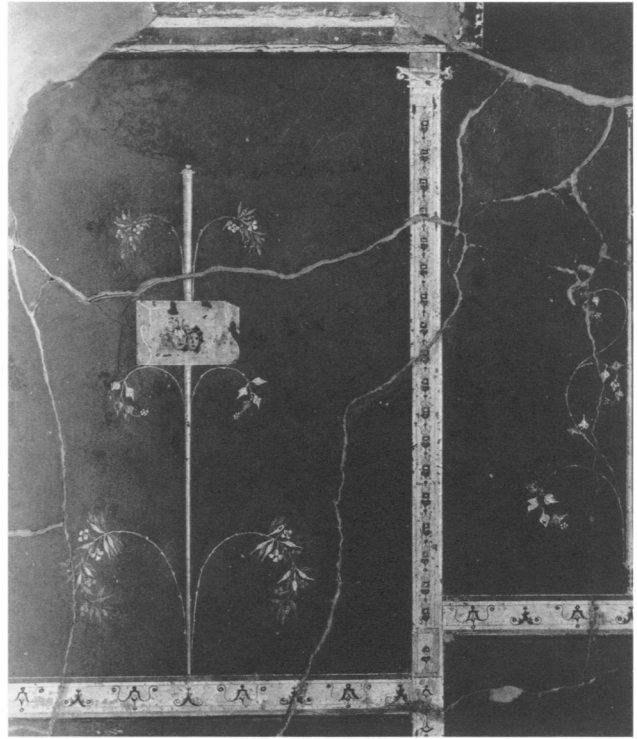


Figure 15. Detail of Figure 13 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

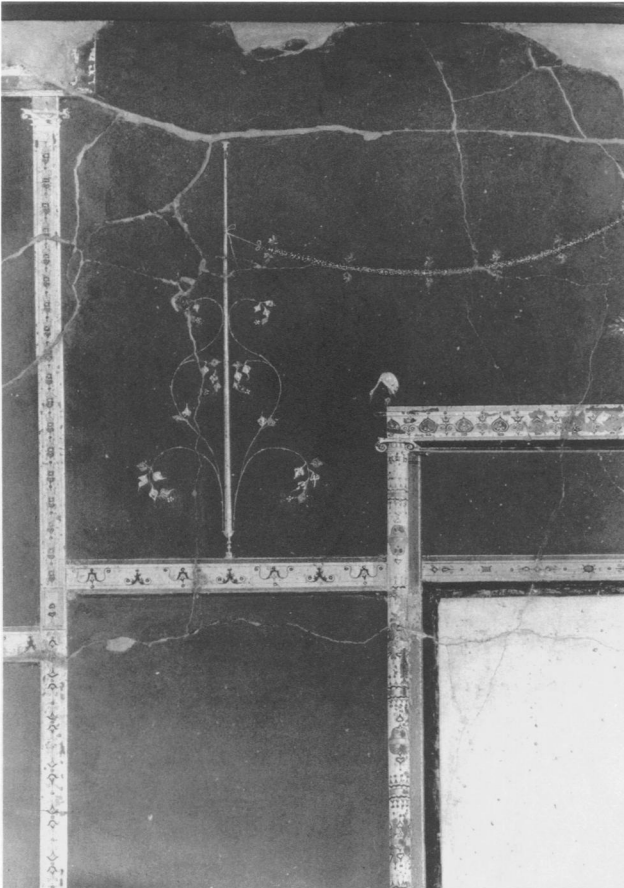


Figure 14. Detail of Figure 13 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)



Figure 16. Detail of Figure 13 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pl. 28.1)

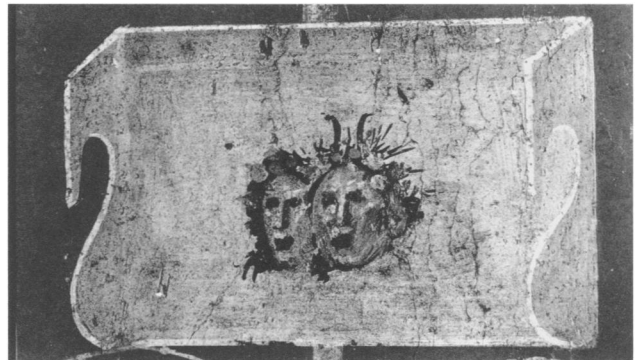


Figure 17. Detail of Figure 13 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pl. 23.2)

The prominence of these superb pictures somewhat eclipses the other components of the walls. Again, let us begin with the central, or north, wall of the *cubiculum* (Figures 13–15). Unlike the black background of the first room, which is so suggestive of depth, the red walls convey the impression of a more substantial medium: the textile panels, as it were, of a large cinnabar-colored tent. The structure is so high that it seems to require a subdivision into two stories. What appears to be a rather straightforward edifice, propped up by a wooden framework, reveals itself on closer inspection as defying coherent architectural logic. The upper section of the tripartite north wall imparts the illusion of a roof garden animated by two ibises, which crane their necks at the corners of the *aedicula*. While intensely lifelike in detail, the vegetation is disposed in puzzlingly heraldic patterns. Delicate boughs of blooming ivy and oleander sprout from slim turned shafts or are combined with the elaborate central flower-candelabrum and its swags, as if nature were grafted onto the products of elegant crafts. Once attuned to the “magic realism” of this orderly cosmos, which corresponds to similar horticultural figments on the dark dado, the eye is caught by the two strange boxlike objects attached to the tapering staves in the upper sections of the side panels of the north wall (Figures 16, 17).

Because the muralist foreshortened these “boxes,” what they are made of is very clear. Constructed of a lightweight material, probably wood, the boxes have a back wall with a slim horizontal ledge near the bottom that continues into the two side walls jutting out at right angles. The sides are elegantly S-shaped below and form a kind of hook above. The contours are not merely decorative but are primarily functional; we shall see that their purpose may be to secure an object. Each box is embellished with the masks of a satyr and a maenad painted on the back wall; each is the mirror image of the other. Both masks are wreathed; the horned satyr’s complexion is reddish, the maenad’s a pale grayish-blue. The masks cast shadows, again mirror-image fashion, which is perfectly logical, since they are on the north wall of the room, which receives its light from the one door in the south wall. Leaving aside the features represented in the landscape panels, these small rectangular boxes are—because of their three-dimensionality—the only “tangible” objects on the wall. We therefore need to establish their character in order to comprehend the sense of the ensemble. Even a brief survey of the body of recorded wall paintings reveals that such boxes are



Figure 18. Stucco painting of a victorious actor from Herculaneum. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Inv. 9019 (from C. L. Ragghianti, *Pittori di Pompei* [Milan, 1963] pl. 23)



Figure 19. Detail of Figure 19 (from C. L. Ragghianti, *Pittori di Pompei*, pl. facing p. 71)

neither as rare nor as neglected by scholars as might appear; however, no convincing attempt at an identification of their purpose has been made so far.⁴²

The comparative examples to be examined are Pompeian; they all figure in more crowded compositions than those of the Red Room and may thus have escaped closer scrutiny. Most are also somewhat later than the Boscotrecase examples, which are distinguished by their sober elegance and the plain, natural color of the wood. Closest in design is the box in a well-known stucco painting from Herculaneum, in Naples, with a victorious actor (Figures 18, 19). It is to the right of the seated performer, and stands on the pillar at which a muse (or some other personification) busies herself with an honorific inscription. The simply curved sides of the box reveal it as an early example within our *stemma*. The object is painted light blue; white *tæniae*, or scarves, are draped over it; and the inside is fully covered with the image of a tragic mask. The many descriptions of this scene assume that a real mask, in fact the mask worn by the victorious actor, is depicted on the support.⁴³ If this were the case, the mask would jut out and overlap the lower edge of the box. Often, when a painted mask is intended to be understood as a three-dimensional object, its hair is rendered as hanging down and over the edge of the box or its support. But here the mask clearly remains within the box. It must be a painted rendition, depicted with consummate artistry. The actor himself wears regal attire, with a sword in his lap and a long scepter; his noble features have been likened to the often replicated sculptural portrait of Menander. The Hellenistic original of this painting must date from about 300 B.C., the copy in Naples from about 25 B.C.⁴⁴

In the House of Sulpicius Rufus at Pompeii, Room E has another box in the center of the upper section of the back wall.⁴⁵ As in Boscotrecase, the object is attached to a candelabrum and decorated with two painted masks. Wide *vittae* are slung across it, and a cord serves as an additional means of suspension.⁴⁶ It is worth noting that the sharply foreshortened room, apparently an atrium with *impluvium*, in whose axis the candelabrum stands, has two theatrical masks perched on ledges above the side doors. In contrast to the examples in the box, they are placed on the ledges and are meant to be perceived as three-dimensional.

From the frieze zone of the back wall of a room in the Casa dei Quattro Stili, dating from the Augustan to the Tiberian period, comes an example that is now in poor condition.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it is

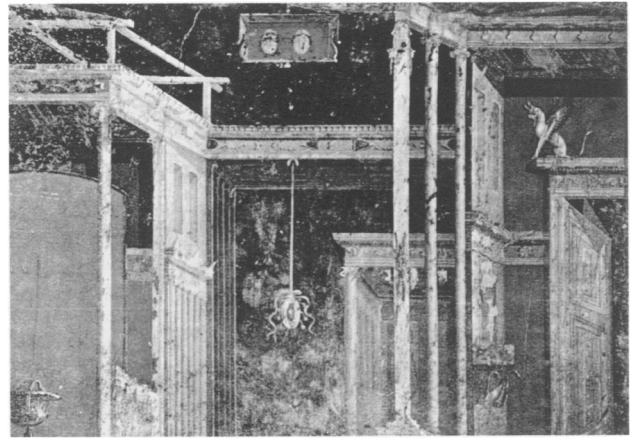


Figure 20. Detail of the south wall of the *tablinum* in the House of Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii (from Ragghianti, *Pittori di Pompei*, pl. facing p. 89)

clearly the same kind of object. High up on the wall and perched on a sculpted prop, it appears to be secured by a string. Curiously, the design of the side walls has been reversed. The S-curve is upside down, and the hooks below are more rounded. Three painted overlapping masks occur on the back wall.

A pair of boxes is in the frieze zone on the south wall of the *tablinum* in the House of Lucretius Fronto (Figure 20, detail of wall).⁴⁸ These splendidly contrived specimens of architectural illusionism have frequently been reproduced. Paired and foreshortened like those of the Red Room, the cases have two painted masks, each on a bright red ground. The rectangular boxes show an attenuated variant of the traditional design. However, the narrow ledge at the lower edge is now placed above, like a small protective roof for the painted masks. They appear high up and at the very back of deep recesses within a complex tripartite architecture whose focus is an immense tripod. The porches to either side contain large metal kraters. The presiding deities here seem to be Apollo and Bacchus.⁴⁹

A rather hybrid example comes from the House of the Hermaphrodite. It sits above the main cornice and a splendid swag. The box has rather large and intricately shaped wooden sides and is green inside. Instead of the painted masks, it contains a three-dimensional tragic mask with corkscrew curls descending from the foreshortened lower ledge.⁵⁰ This variant brings to mind a marble object found in situ, together with other small-scale sculptures, aligned along the transversal *euripus*, or channel, in the garden of M. Loreius Tiburtinus's house in the

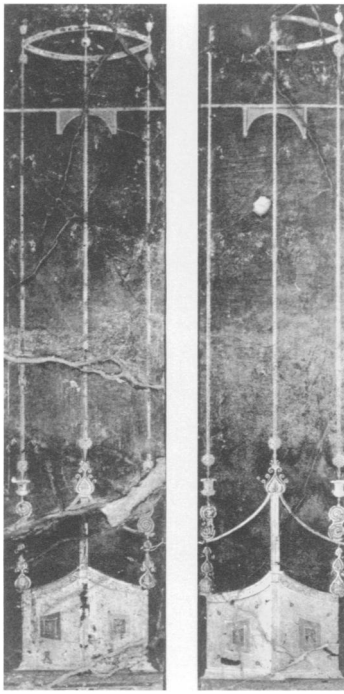


Figure 21. Panel from the east wall of the Black Room, showing a tripod. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 138992 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pl. 14.1)

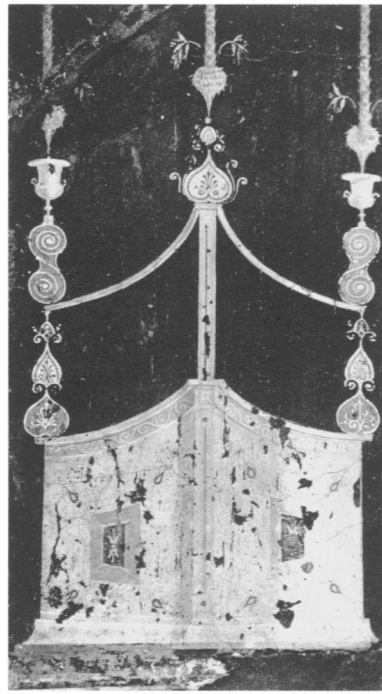


Figure 22. Detail of panel from the east wall of the Black Room (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pl. 15.1)

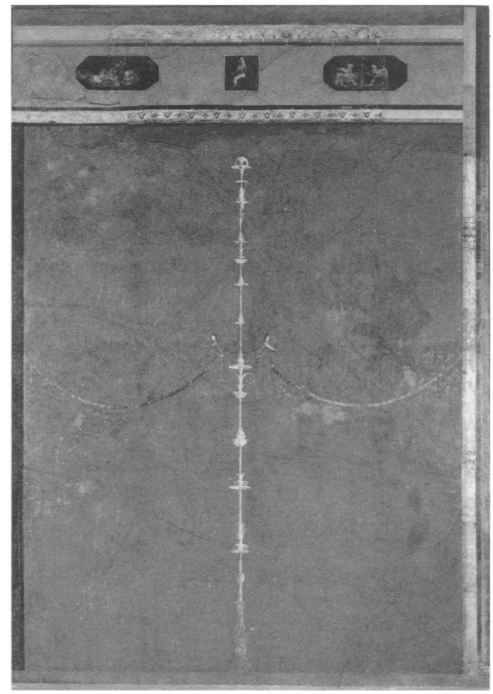


Figure 23. Panel with candelabrum and egyptianizing sirens from the east wall of the Mythological Room. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.13

Via dell'Abbondanza (Figure 24).⁵¹ Wealthy and politically influential, this citizen of Pompeii seems to have been a devotee of Isis. Unlike the mask in the House of the Hermaphrodite, which appeared to rest on the lower ledge of the box, this one seems attached to the back wall, more like the painted masks in the boxes from Boscotrecase that opened our sequence. Obviously, these objects, though clearly of the same family, differ in details.

The series of examples we have just considered entitles us to assume that such objects really existed in antiquity, although the contexts in which they appear do not reveal their use or purpose. Since they are most often associated with masks, one might take them for containers or repositories of theatrical masks. But they do not seem particularly well designed for that purpose. Moreover, depictions exist of shelves on which masks are placed and of receptacles for the transportation of masks: both look quite different.⁵²

Enlightenment comes from an unexpected chance find. Between 1971 and 1974, during the excavation of a tract of the late antique city walls of Roman Novum Comum (present-day Como) in the lake region north of Milan, four marble bases were found, together with a dedicatory inscription that

mentions Pliny the Younger. They are now on exhibit in the Civico Museo Archeologico Paolo Giovio in Como. These supports—probably of columns or pillars from a public building—are each sculpted on all four sides. The architectonically framed reliefs



Figure 24. Marble "box" with mask, from the garden at the House of M. Loreius Tiburtinus at Pompeii (from Spinazzola, *Scavi nuovi*, fig. 455)



Figure 25. Relief on marble basis from Como, showing a young poet and Muse. Como, Civico Museo Archeologico Paolo Giovio (photo: Civico Museo Archeologico, Como, and Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia)



Figure 26. Relief on marble basis from Como, showing an old poet and Muse. Como, Civico Museo Archeologico Paolo Giovio (photo: Civico Museo Archeologico, Como, and Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia)

show scenes from mythology, victorious athletes, horsemen, and two seated men of letters (one young, the other mature), each accompanied by a Muse (Figures 25, 26).⁵³ The pensive young poet, with a mantle draped about his lower body and a *scrinium*, or *capsa*, for his scrolls, is bent over a *rotulus* and seems to look at a passage that the Muse, who leans on his shoulder, points out to him. In front of the two figures stands a fluted pedestal supporting what is unquestionably one of our boxes. The provincial style of the reliefs does not allow for sophisticated perspective, and so the rather elaborately shaped side walls appear flattened. The side walls also seem to be upside down, with hooks pointing up, but there can be no doubt about the identity of the object. No mask is visible, but since the paint that originally articulated the reliefs has disappeared, we do not know whether the box was embellished with a mask. In view of our sequence, however, it is likely that it was.

We now suggest that the masks indicated the literary genre of the author's work. The Naples painting of the actor (Figures 18, 19) is so far the earliest instance of such a box, with Boscotrecase coming close on its heels. The notion of interpreting the mask in the box as the one actually worn by the

actor in his role as a king can be dismissed as rather unlikely. His would have been the bearded mask of a mature ruler, not a generic tragic mask. Although we still have no clue as to the boxes' actual use, the relief of a youth and Muse in Como establishes a definite link with literature. Confirmation is provided by the relief in Como that depicts an older man of letters: he holds a stylus and writing tablet and attentively studies a passage in the roll that a Muse presents to him in one of our boxes or stands (Figure 26). The angle of one of the—less ornate—side walls is clearly visible.

Without a definitive publication of the reliefs in Como, scholarly opinion is divided over the exact interpretation of the scenes. They probably belonged to the decoration of a gymnasium or library, institutions often united under the same roof. The first brief descriptions of the finds suggested that the statue-base of identical marble mentioning Pliny the Younger, a native of Como who is known to have given a library to his hometown, might have been part of one and the same building.⁵⁴ The idea has recently been abandoned for stylistic and technical reasons.⁵⁵ The date of the Como reliefs with the boxes is likely to fall in the mid-second century A.D. or later. The significant evidence comes from



Figure 27. Left section of sarcophagus lid, from the Via Appia near Rome. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. 844 (photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz)

Greek sarcophagi, especially the short ends that seem to have served as models for the framed reliefs. They were not imported into the artistically rather barren northern provinces before A.D. 160, and Pliny died about A.D. 114. Because of the scarcity of models and the lack of an artistic tradition in northern Italy, the construction or decoration of Pliny's library could have been delayed for half a century. Among the reliefs, the intimate group of the young poet and his Muse has been singled out as an iconographically unusual scheme, especially in the cultural ambiance of the province.⁵⁶ It is in fact based on a type to be found on the lid of the sarcophagus with Muses in Berlin: there it appears with a seated elder whom a Muse assists as a living lectern, exactly as in the Como reliefs (Figure 27).⁵⁷

Virgil and Homer have been proposed as candidates for the two literati on the reliefs, but the established iconography of both does not favor the idea.⁵⁸ The two men might be Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger's revered uncle, who had adopted and educated his nephew, and Pliny the Younger himself, though no portrait of either is known. Iconographic qualms may rule out the suggestion, because the chiton and mantle worn by the bearded man are considered the trademark of philosophers, while the young man's Greek attire is that of a poet. Neither author is traditionally thought of as having been a philosopher or a poet.

However, Pliny the Younger, whose career as an orator, lawyer, military man, and administrator is amply documented, tried his hand at poetry as a

youth; he may have taken his early activities more seriously than posterity has.⁵⁹ One could object that a Roman citizen and magistrate would hardly be represented in Greek dress; but the role Pliny might have wished to assume demanded it, especially in the sphere of the late classical models that these reliefs follow. There exist, moreover, contemporary depictions in Roman wall paintings of youthful poets wearing the same classicizing garb. A contemporary fresco from Stabiae in the British Museum shows two youthful poets, wreathed and mantled, each with a beribboned laurel branch in one hand and a folded-over scroll and a stylus in the other (Figure 28).⁶⁰ The elder Pliny's literary production was also wrung from an extremely busy official existence.⁶¹ His working habits are well known. Taking notes on tablets while a slave read to him was the first step, drafting and dictating the second; the finished work then went out into the world on papyrus scrolls. As the author of the *Naturalis historia*, Pliny may have qualified as a philosopher and been entitled to the costume. Who the assisting Muses are is not easy to ascertain, but they need not concern us here. What matters is that we now know the use to which the boxes or stands were put. They served as portable lecterns.⁶²

One might ask whether the sinuous side walls of the stands are decorative or functional. The Como reliefs inform us that the side walls held the scroll (*rotulus*) securely in place when it was partly unwound for reading. But what purpose was served by the deep, rounded indentations or cutouts in the side walls? In the early examples (cf. Figures 16–19) they may have facilitated the actual and simultaneous unscrolling and rolling up of the manu-



Figure 28. Roman wall painting from Stabiae, showing two youthful poets. London, British Museum, GR 1867.5–8.1357 (photo: British Museum)

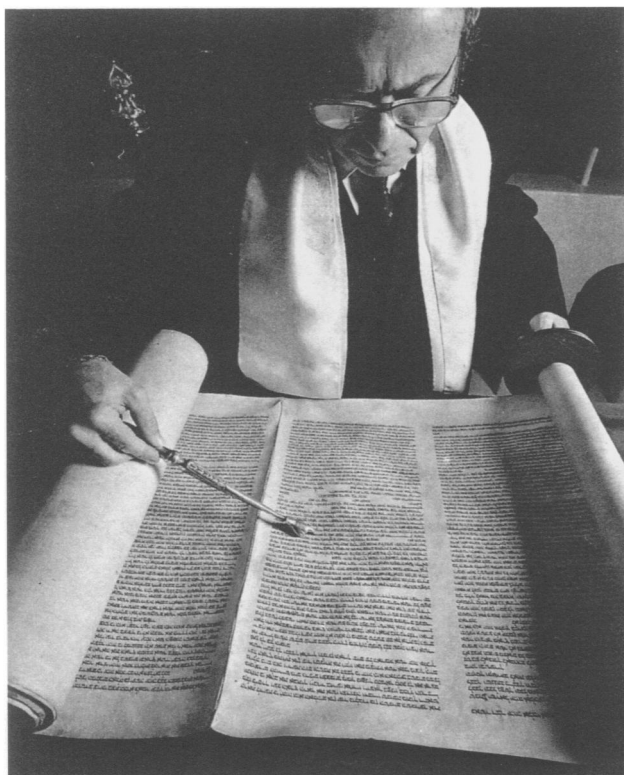


Figure 29. Reading a scroll (from *Marie Claire Aktuell* [Dec. 1991] p. 83)

script while it was being read on the stand. Papyrus rolls were normally wound around *umbilici*, sticks of wood or more precious materials that served as spines and protruded slightly from the scrolls.⁶³ Occasionally these projections were curved, and therefore called *cornua*, “horns”; they presumably helped prevent the wound-up rolls from slipping off their *umbilici*.⁶⁴ Once a reader had finished with a roll and wanted to take it along, he may have used the box or stand as a carrying device. The scroll would be put into it lengthwise, with the *cornua* secured in the cut-out side walls. Here an epigram of Martial comes to mind. It is found in the book named *Aphophoreta*, a title denoting the kind of gifts a host gives his guests to take home: the epigram is entitled *Manuale*:

Ne toga barbatus faciat vel paenula libros,
Haec abies chartis tempora longa dabit.

(A Wooden Book-Holder

To prevent your toga or cloak making your books frayed, this fir-wood will give long life to your paper.)⁶⁵

Lightweight fir seems to be a very suitable material for these multipurpose objects that could serve

as lecterns for manuscripts and as protective carriers when single scrolls had to be handled. While the Greek terms for the lecterns (*analogeion*, *anagnosterion*) have long been known from glosses and were connected with a handful of late and rather crude representations, we can now see them as belonging to one family. The funerary stela of the ten-year-old Avita from the Roman imperial period, now in the British Museum, shows the girl seated on a stool and writing in tablets or on a scroll in her lap (Figure 30).⁶⁶ She may be copying from a roll propped up in one of our boxes or lecterns. Whether the object has been put on top of the columnlike support and would thus qualify as a *manuale*, or whether it is of a piece with it, we cannot say.

The *analogeia*, or *anagnosteria*, seem to have been of the one-piece kind, that is, stand and lectern combined. Besides Hellenistic terracottas depicting a seated man and a boy next to a lectern with an apparently turned-wood support,⁶⁷ the best-known, although fragmentary, example is on the fine relief with Menander and a Muse(?) in the Lateran/Vatican (Figure 31),⁶⁸ which dates from the first half of



Figure 30. Roman funerary stela of Avita. London, British Museum, Inv. 1805.7–3.187 (photo: British Museum)



Figure 31. Marble relief of Menander and a Muse(?). Rome, Lateran/Vatican (from K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* [Basel, 1943] p. 164.3)

the first century A.D. and may elaborate on a Greek model. The poet has picked up a character mask, leaving two others on the table before him, which also has a scroll hanging over its edge.⁶⁹ On a slim, turned column behind the table is a flat box containing a scroll; the right half of the box broke off at some point and was smoothed down, and in the process the original features were almost obliterated. The slight indentations in the left side wall are evidently damage, not cut-out contours.

The elegant *manualia* of the Red Room, perhaps made of fir, are therefore among the earliest representations known. They could well have been a Hellenistic invention, as is suggested not only by the stucco painting in Naples, but also because their more massive Hellenistic predecessors must have proved cumbersome and were replaced by a more lightweight contraption. The *manualia* must have received their name because of their handiness and manageability. Since reading and writing while seated at a desk or table do not seem to have been generally favored before the Carolingian age,⁷⁰ adults as well as schoolchildren held the *manualia* in their hands, as attested by a fragmentary relief from Neumagen, now in Trier.⁷¹ They were undoubtedly objects of daily use. When depicted on Roman walls, however, they required a further specification to establish their meaning in the context of the room. We have already proposed that the painted masks inside the *manualia* might indicate the literary genre of the manuscript.

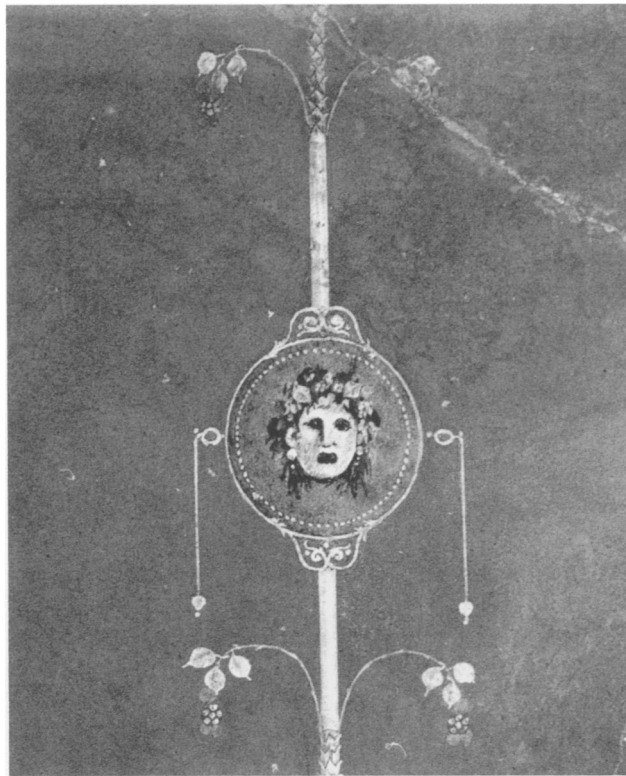
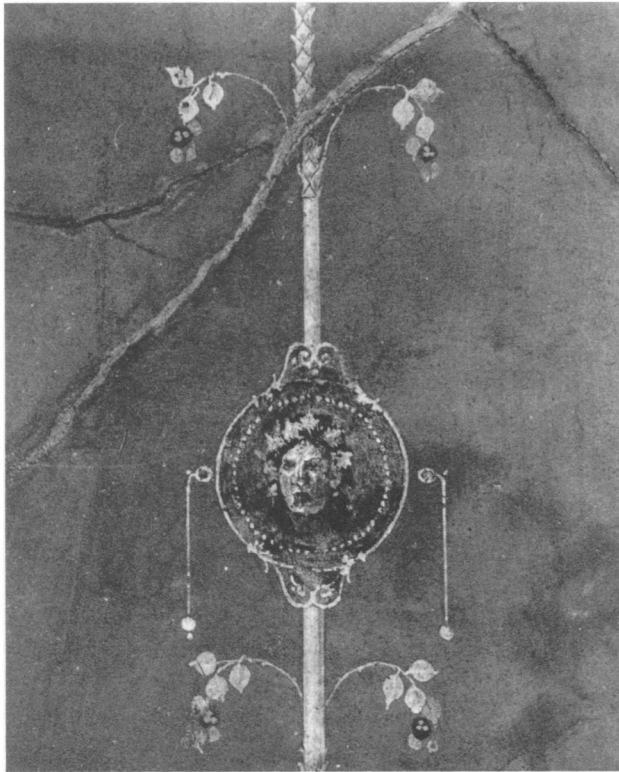
On walls of the Second Pompeian Style, large theatrical masks, rendered as real three-dimensional objects, figure prominently. Strategically positioned

on sturdy partition walls or on ledges, or occasionally suspended, they accord well, in their stern, almost menacing presence, with the severe architecture depicted and must have been intended to indicate the character of the locale: sacred precinct, palace, or stage. The totally different nature and function of the walls of the Third Style has no use for such massive things. Masks still abound, but they are smaller in size and often suggestive of different, more refined substances than the heavy wooden objects of old. But has their function changed, too?⁷²

To return to the north wall of the Red Room at Boscotrecase and to its sacro-idyllic landscape, it seems appropriate to ask which divinity might be depicted enthroned next to the central column (Figures 13 and 32). Persephone, Demeter, Tyche, Cybele, and Isis have been proposed instead of Bacchus, because of the alleged femininity of the statue.⁷³ However, besides the *thyrsos*, the long garment with its full sleeves points to Bacchus, and the bronze vessel atop the column provides further evidence. So do, to my mind, the two *manualia* (Figures 16, 17) with the masks of satyrs and maenads that flank the landscape panel, as well as the two *oscilla*, bearing arrestingly accomplished maenad masks, that are suspended on sprouting shafts in the center of the lateral walls of the Red Room (Figures 33, 34).⁷⁴ The prevailing vegetation on the red panels of this room, namely blooming ivy, is clearly Bacchic. The thyrsuslike staves of the upper portion of



Figure 32. Detail of landscape from the north wall of the Red Room. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 147501 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pl. 25.2)



Figures 33, 34. Details of the right and left side panels of the west wall of the Red Room. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 147504, 14705 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pls. 29.3, 29.4)

the walls not only generate ivy tendrils, but they—tellingly—emerge from bronze kraters (Figure 35).

In the Red Room the sacred landscapes undoubtedly take visual precedence over the rest of the decoration, but the viewers' delight must have been enhanced when they perceived the felicitous references to the appropriate literature, bucolic poetry. As noted, pertinently decorated *manualia* and *oscilla* replace the theatrical masks that previously embodied the required literary genre in conjunction with the given locale. Compared to such ponderous mise-en-scènes on Second Style walls, the decorations on early Third Style walls display an ever-growing allusive sophistication that is most interesting to follow. Indications of locale and genre

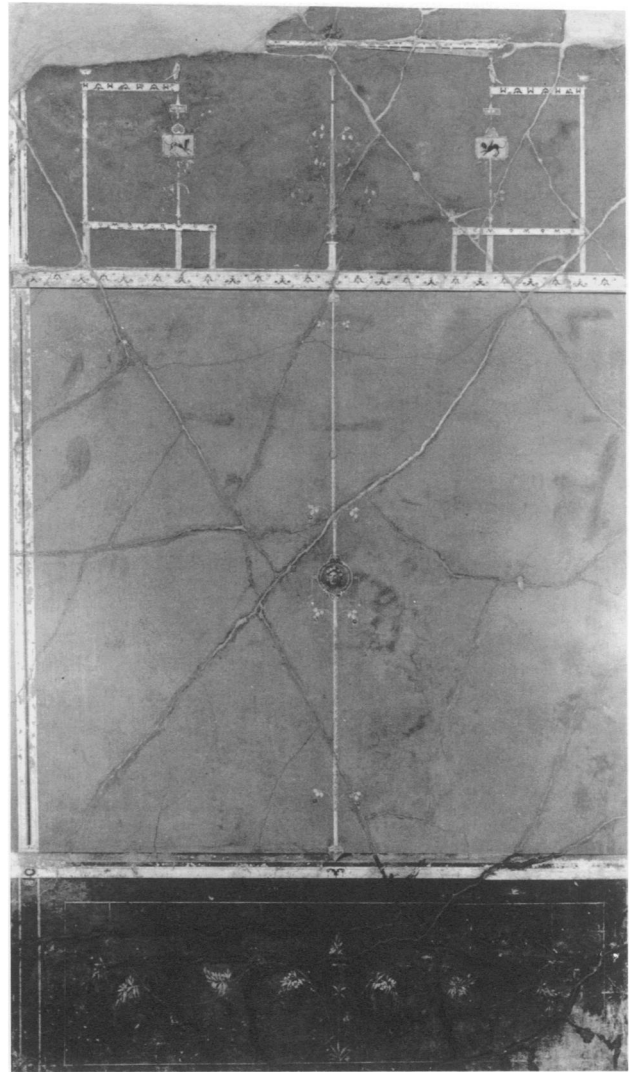


Figure 35. Detail of the left side panel of the east wall of the Red Room. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 147505 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

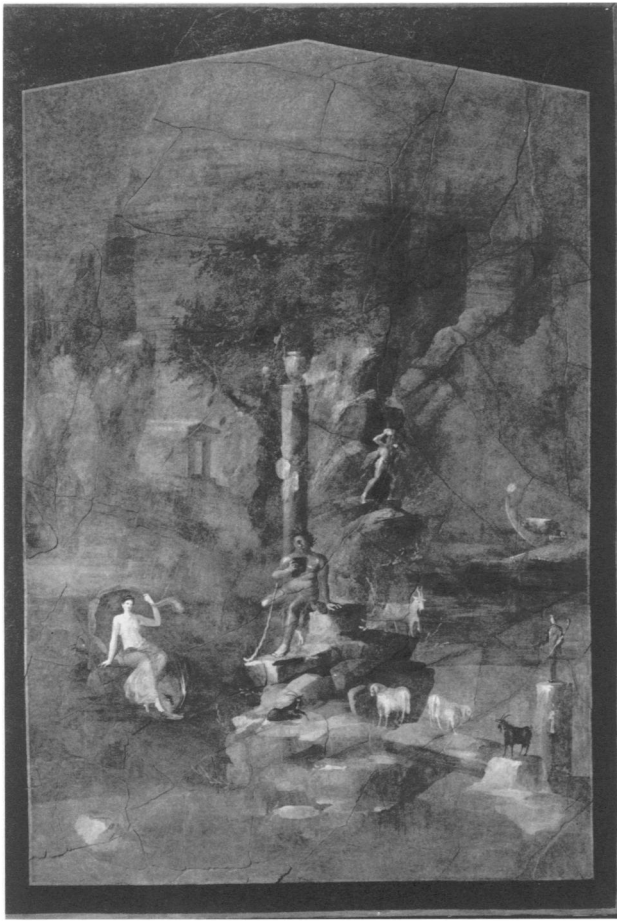


Figure 36. Detail of the west wall of the Mythological Room, showing landscape with Polyphemus and Galatea. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.17



Figure 37. Detail of the east wall of the Mythological Room, showing landscape with Andromeda rescued by Perseus. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.16

were, naturally, still vital. But they were increasingly relegated to less prominent sections of the walls, for instance the frieze.

The villa under the Farnesina in Rome, decorated by the same workshop that later created the Boscotrecase frescoes, provides an illuminating parallel. The White Ambulatorium G, in the Museo Nazionale Romano, has—above a sober white dado—a restrained colonnade in front of a plain white background. The slim shafts are topped by swag-bearing caryatids that support the frieze. Here still lifes alternating with sacro-idyllic landscapes consist of assemblages of masks. Although they are rendered very realistically, propped up at various angles and shown in perspective, they lack the intimidating corporeality of the Second Style specimens. Their casual display suffices to evoke the genre.⁷⁵ The artist of the Red Room goes one step further. The sacred landscapes have now become easel paintings, deliberately at one remove from reality, and the masks

are reduced to mere two-dimensional renditions. They embellish either carriers of literary products (the *manualia*) or decorative objects from the Bacchic sphere (the *oscilla*). A higher degree of sophistication is scarcely attainable. It is certainly indicative of the consummate refinement of Octavian's circle.⁷⁶

III. GLASS AND PIGMENT

The color scheme of the third *cubiculum* from Boscotrecase, the so-called Mythological Room, strikes one as the most vivid of the three that are preserved. Although it is the most fragmentary room—the painting on the back wall of the *cubiculum* has not survived—enough is preserved to visualize the contrasts of the various sections of the walls (Figures 36, 37). Dark, rich, at times greenish, blues are the

dominant hues of the two extant pictures. Both of their subjects, Polyphemus and Galatea and Perseus and Andromeda,⁷⁷ have seascape settings. The atmospheric wedding of air and sea in them has been supremely realized. Within the extant body of Roman wall paintings there are few landscapes that attain their degree of persuasiveness through purely pictorial means.⁷⁸ Infinite shades of blue define the space and yet they defy analysis. Inscrutable as they are, the paintings' inky depths would absorb the viewer's total attention were they not counterbalanced by the strong colors of the surrounding sections of the walls. The scenes are flanked by red side panels and topped by a yellow frieze that supports trelliswork on a black background (Figure 38).⁷⁹

During the recent restoration, the pigments were analyzed and the methods of their application studied. Good greens and blues are the most fugitive of the ancient colors, because the pigments used to produce them were minerals, coarsely ground to achieve a refractive effect. Unlike the earth colors made from ocher, red ochers, umber, and also organic black, Egyptian blue was, according to classical texts, not only difficult and expensive to obtain, but the pigment had to be applied thickly in order to adhere well and to achieve luster. Christel Faltermeier points to these facts and records that "individ-

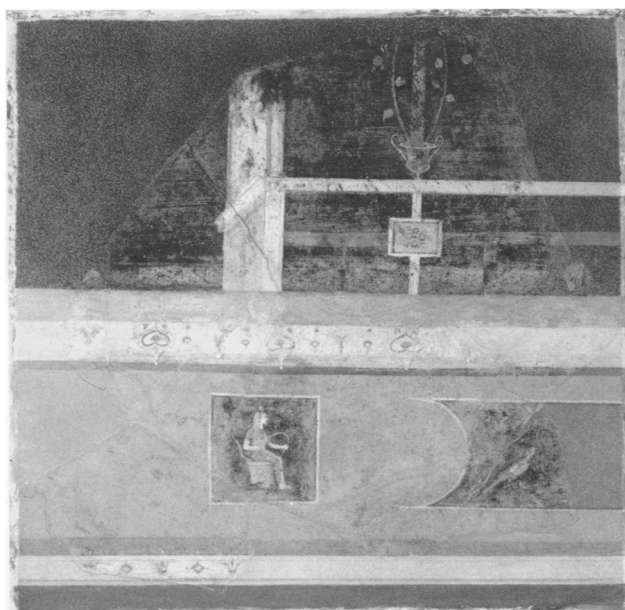


Figure 38. Detail, probably from the north wall of the Mythological Room, showing frieze and trellis. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.14

ual particles of blue can be distinguished with the naked eye in the Polyphemus and Andromeda panels.⁸⁰ The composition of the pigment that produced the color known as Egyptian blue intrigued scientists from the early nineteenth century on. It was known to be a vitreous substance, but only recently was its chemical composition proved to be $\text{CaCuSi}_4\text{O}_{10}$.⁸¹ Research intensified after the large-scale discoveries of murals and faience artifacts in Egypt throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The ever-closer collaboration between archaeologists and other scientists has recently led to a number of sophisticated studies in the field. They provide insights that were not available even a decade ago.⁸² In addition to the objects themselves, ancient texts raise some fundamental questions concerning the production, composition, and use of blue paint in antiquity and its kinship with glass. This unexpected revelation will lead us to an examination of the—as yet unexplained—etymology of the Latin noun *vitrum*,⁸³ “glass,” and terms denoting related substances. Pursuing this line of investigation may also bring us closer to resolving some puzzling and age-old misunderstandings about *vitrum* as matter and as color.

When surveying the development of the art of painting, Pliny the Elder first of all discusses the nature of painters' colors (*Naturalis Historia*—henceforth *N.H.*—35.29ff.). As the most costly pigments, he lists the various shades and intensities of purple (35.44); they are followed by the—apparently equally expensive—best blue, namely indigo from India, which he rightly, if somewhat vaguely, describes as a plant product. Pliny also records cheaper substitutes for expensive pigments, especially for indigo (35.46):

qui adulterant, vero Indico tingunt stercora columbina aut cretam Selinusiam vel anulariam vitro inficiunt.

(People who adulterate it [scil. indigo] stain pigeons' droppings with genuine indigo, or else color earth of Selinus or ring-earth with woad.)⁸⁴

What he means by “ring-earth” or “ring-white” he explains a little farther on (35.48):

Anulare quod vocant, candidum est, quo muliebres picturae inluminantur; fit et ipsum e creta admixtis vitreis gemmis e volgi anulis, inde et anulare dictum.

(The other color is that called “ring-white,” which is used to give brilliance of complexion in paintings of

women. This itself also is made from white earth mixed with glass stones from the rings of the lower classes, which accounts for the name “ring-white.”)

We learn, first, that—apparently in order to stretch the precious substance—genuine indigo was either mixed with pigeon droppings or replaced altogether by combining (white) earth of Selinus or (white) ring-earth with *vitrum*.⁸⁵ Pliny does not explain whether *vitrum* means glass or a blue pigment extracted from a plant, namely woad,⁸⁶ a common weed used in dyeing. Second, we are told that *anulare* (from *anulus*, “finger-ring”), or “ring-white,” was used to highlight the female complexion in paintings and that it was produced by mixing white earth with (presumably ground-up) glass imitation gems (*vitreis gemmis*) from cheap rings. Traditionally, in 35.46, *anulariam vitro inficiunt*, the word *vitrum* has been translated as “woad.” We would rather suggest from the context and from parallel passages, as well as from the archaeological evidence, that crushed blue glass was mixed with white earth. Pliny seems to expect this interpretation to be self-evident. His mention of glass as a coloring agent presupposes an established practice. Considerable numbers of gems and ring stones of clear glass must have been recycled commercially to satisfy the demand of Roman workshops for white paint. As will become apparent, we suspect that blue glass was also being recycled to produce durable blues.

Since Pliny was a scholar and not a practicing artist or craftsman, it is natural that his information for the *N.H.* would have been derived mainly from literary sources rather than from personal experience.⁸⁷ Mainly, but not entirely. He was stationed in Germany, more specifically in the lower Rhine Valley, on various military missions between A.D. 47 and 58 and must have gained a profound knowledge of the country. Though his twenty books on the Germanic Wars are lost, a wealth of information survives in the *N.H.* The other region he knew very well from a stay as procurator was Spain, rich in silver and other minerals, where he apparently took a great interest in mining techniques.

One of Pliny’s sources was Vitruvius’s *De architectura*, although Vitruvius’s background—he was a professional architect and contemporary of Augustus—was different. In our particular context it is interesting to remember that, as a man of rather conservative tastes, Vitruvius sharply disapproved of the vagaries of the Third Style (7.5.3–8). At the same time, he had unquestionably mastered the

practical side of his avocation. In a chapter on artificial colors (7.14.2) he writes as follows on the subject of blue paint:

Item propter inopiam coloris indici cretam Seliniam aut anulariam vitro, quod Graeci isatin appellant, inficientes imitationem faciunt indici coloris.

(Also, because of the scarcity of indigo they make a dye of chalk from Selinus, or from broken beads, along with woad [which the Greeks call *isatis*], and obtain a substitute for indigo.)⁸⁸

While stated more briefly than in Pliny’s account, the facts seem to be the same. Vitruvius’s idiosyncratic style is not always clear, and this is magnified by the ambiguity of traditional translations. Does Vitruvius say that the substitute for indigo is composed of either (white) earth from Selinus or of a substance made of crushed beads of (clear) glass (*anulare*, “ring-white”), each with an admixture of vegetable blue from a plant that the Greeks call *isatis*, or does he say that the (white) chalk from Selinus or “ring-white” is tinged blue by mixing it with (ground) blue glass, a color that the Greeks call *isatis* (because of similar hues)? I would argue for the latter, especially since in the three occurrences of the word in Vitruvius and in the more than fifty passages in Pliny, *vitrum* undoubtedly means glass. The most instructive mention is the following (*N.H.* 36.198):

Fit [scil. vitrum] et album et murrina aut hyacinthos sappirosque imitatum et omnibus aliis coloribus, neque est alia nunc sequacior materia aut etiam picturae accommodatior.

(There is, furthermore, opaque white glass and others that reproduce the appearance of fluor-spar, blue sapphires or lapis lazuli, and, indeed, glass exists in any color. There is no other material nowadays that is more pliable or more adaptable, *even to painting* [my italics].)

By Pliny’s time, glass was already a multipurpose commodity,⁸⁹ and one could hardly ask for a more explicit statement of its use in painting. In view of the majority of the references, we can, with some confidence, interpret those ambiguous passages discussed above as meaning glass and not woad. The small number of occurrences of the word *vitrum* in Latin literature before Pliny concur, except for one from Caesar’s *Galic War* (5.14.2):

Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu.

(All the Britons, indeed, dye themselves with woad, which produces a blue color, and makes their appearance in the battle more terrible.)⁹⁰

Vitrum in this passage has always been understood as a clear reference to woad. The notion had to be abandoned recently because of the dramatic discovery, in 1984 and 1987, of the well-preserved upper body of a young man and the complete body of another in Lindow Moss, a peat bog near Wilmslow, Cheshire.⁹¹ Through extensive scientific investigation, it could be ascertained that the first man (Lindow II), who to judge from his well-groomed appearance must have been a member of the upper class, was killed about the time of the Roman invasion of Britain in the second half of the first century A.D. as a sacrificial victim of some Celtic rite and seems to have been buried in a sacred spring. The victim may have died to assuage the gods in a period of great uncertainty for Celtic Britain. The second man (Lindow III), equally young and of high social status, has not attracted quite so much attention, since complex investigations are still in progress. However, a special exhibition at the museum of Manchester University in the summer of 1991 presented the available evidence in the context of Celtic religious life and archaeology.⁹² At the same time a publication, of the utmost importance in our context—"Non Isatis sed Vitrum, Or the Colour of Lindow Man," in the *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*—addressed the questions raised by Caesar's statement quoted above.⁹³

Electron-probe X-ray microanalysis revealed that, besides being tanned by the acids and minerals in the peat, fragments of Lindow III's skin showed the presence of, mainly, aluminum, silica, and copper, apparently the residues of a clay-based pigment containing various colorants in addition to copper. A variety of shades in the range of green, blue, and black could thus have been achieved: in view of Caesar's report on Celtic battle habits, blue seems to have been the most likely hue. The conclusion that may be drawn, therefore, is that the Lindow man's skin was not dyed with a vegetable substance but rather with mineral colorants.⁹⁴

In the second part of the article J. R. Magilton and P. C. Buckland discuss Caesar's crucial passage on Celtic body paint, as well as some of Pliny's com-

ments, and the impact of these authors' observations on other Roman writers, including poets. They also establish that woad (*Isatis tinctoria* L.) as a colorant does not seem to have been used in Britain before Anglo-Saxon times. Imported as a dyestuff, mostly from France, during the Middle Ages, it was later grown extensively in England until imported indigo replaced it during the early seventeenth century.⁹⁵ The authors also pursue Pliny's notion that a plant used as a dye, *glastum* (which he compares to the plantain, *plantago*), might be woad, but they remain baffled by this passage. I here suspect a confusion to which Pliny himself fell victim. In the present context we cannot pursue this matter in detail. Only some aspects will be considered, in the hope that specialists in the fields involved may address the problems afresh.

To emphasize the necessity of understanding Caesar's use of the word *vitrum* to denote a mineral pigment, the authors cite part of the Pliny passage on adulterating indigo (35.46) quoted above; they conclude that since "both *creta Selinusia* and *creta anularia* are unknown" one might deduce that "blue glass may have been intended"⁹⁶; they draw into the argument another passage (34.123), where Pliny lists the natural occurrence of copper sulfate—a mineral from which a brilliant blue can be produced,

color [scil. atramenti sutorii] est caeruleus perquam spectabili nitore, vitrum esse creditur.

(Its color is an extremely brilliant blue, and it is often taken for glass.)

Now we have already seen that *anularius*, *-a*, *-um* (adjective) and *anularis*, *-e* (adjective) are technical terms employed by Vitruvius and Pliny as a matter of course, namely for crushed ring stones of cheap white (or blue) glass as coloring agents in painting. Here, we must look at a particularly perplexing passage in Pliny (22.2), cited only in part by the authors⁹⁷:

inlinunt certae aliis aliae faciem in populis barbarorum feminae, maresque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora sua inscribunt. similis plantagini glastum in Gallia vocatur, Britannorum coniuges nurusque toto corpore oblitae quibusdam in sacris nudae incedunt Aethiopum colorem imitantes.

(At any rate among barbarian tribes the women stain the face, using, some one plant and some another; and

the men too among the Daci and the Sarmatae tattoo their own bodies. In Gaul there is a plant like the plantain, called *glastum*; with it the wives of the Britons, and their daughters-in-law, stain all the body, and at certain religious ceremonies march along naked, with a color resembling that of Ethiopians.)

Book 22 deals exclusively with plants and their properties. In Latin literature the word *glastum* is found only here and in Tacitus. The rare occurrence of a word always requires special caution. In the light of the evidence reviewed so far, I would suggest that Pliny has, as is his habit, copied a source without questioning it. Ironically, he does not see a relationship between *glastum* and another word he was the first to use in Latin: *glaesum* or (better) *glēsum*, namely, amber. The connection between *glaesum* and *glastum* was made by linguists long ago.⁹⁸ When speaking at length about amber and the high esteem it enjoys as a luxury substance, Pliny employs a generic term for it: *sucinum*, “sap” (37.30); but of its best-known deposits he says (37.42):

Certum est gigni in insulis septentrionalis oceani et ab Germanis appellari glaesum, itaque et ab nostris ob id unam insularum Glaesariam appellatam, Germanico Caesare res ibi gerente classibus, Austeraviam a barbaris dictam.

(It is well established that amber is a product of islands in the Northern Ocean, that it is known to the Germans as *glaesum*, and that, as a result, one of these islands, the native name of which is Austeravia, was nicknamed by our troops Glaesaria, or Amber Island, when Caesar Germanicus was conducting operations there with his naval squadrons.)

Tacitus (*Germ.* 45), who probably drew on Pliny, reports on German amber-collecting tribes who call the substance *glaesum*. *Glaesum* is clearly a Germanic word that also occurs in Anglo-Saxon. At its root seems to be the Indo-Germanic *ghlêso*, “the shining,” and in both these Germanic languages its variant forms over time have borne the meanings “amber,” “resin,” and “glass.” Now as we saw, Gaulish-Latin *glastum* is understood by Pliny, in its single occurrence, as the name of a plant used by barbarian tribes as a body pigment. In other Celtic languages, such as Irish, *glass* means “green,” “gray,” “blue”; in Welsh *glas* means “blue”; in Breton *glaz* means “green.” Related Celtic words cover a similar range, e.g., Irish *glan*, “pure” and *glain*, “glass,” “crystal”;

but Welsh *glain*, “precious stone.” In modern insular Celtic languages *glasto-* becomes *glas*.⁹⁹ I would surmise that the authority Pliny relies upon mistook *glastum* for a plant with which to stain the body, instead of a mineral compound, which, as we saw, was used on the skin of Lindow III. Indeed, *glastum* was probably commonly used for that purpose in the Celtic realm, whereas there seems to be no evidence for the use of woad in the north before late Anglo-Saxon times.¹⁰⁰

By contrast to *glastum*, the etymology of *vitrum* is obscure, as is that of *woad*.¹⁰¹ A recent attempt to link *vitrum*—by way of Middle-Iranian words for glass—with **wed-r-*, “water,” remains to be discussed by experts.¹⁰² Although unquestionably much later than the first finds of glass in Italy,¹⁰³ the majority of these literary references are quite clear as to the meaning of the word *vitrum*. Once the blowpipe had been introduced from the eastern Mediterranean about the time of Augustus, glass became an inexpensive commodity,¹⁰⁴ and the word *vitrum* was used to describe it as a substance; it also served as a metaphor for translucent, shiny objects.

To come full circle in our consideration of *vitrum*, one more step remains to be taken. If we accept the results of the Lindow III investigation, that the surviving body paint was of a mineral nature, we must ask as of when and in what way did the Celtic tribes familiarize themselves with, import, or even produce glass? Luckily, a considerable number of recent studies on the subject exist. Moreover, the comprehensive exhibition *The Celts*, shown in Venice in 1991, offered an unparalleled opportunity to survey a huge inventory of important and rarely seen Celtic artifacts from an area encompassing Central Europe and extending as far as Turkey and Spain, as well as the British Isles and Italy.¹⁰⁵

Among the most striking features of the exhibition were the intricately wrought blue glass armlets. These came mostly from women’s and children’s burials but also from settlements, in the transalpine regions from the former Yugoslavia, from northern Italy, and from as far south as Umbria and the Marche (Figure 39).¹⁰⁶ They date from the second third of the third to the first century B.C.; later specimens exhibit lighter hues, of honey-colored, purple, greenish, and clear glass. More than fifteen hundred of them, complete and in fragments, have been recovered.¹⁰⁷ Scholars largely agree on their amuletic character. Even today, the intense blue commands the viewer’s attention. Local variations in the shape and color of the bracelets occur in the



Figure 39. Armlets and necklace of blue, greenish, yellow, and clear glass from Manching. Second century B.C. Munich, Prähistorische Staatssammlung (photo: Prähistorische Staatssammlung)

Czech and Slovak republics, Germany, Switzerland, and northern Italy, where they may have been produced first. It is worth noting that many of the dark blue examples of second-century date are embellished with yellow and white zigzagging trails that seem to imitate features of small Hellenistic *unguentaria* (perfume bottles), ultimately of Egyptian inspiration and imported from the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁰⁸ Fragments of such blue *unguentaria* with white and yellow decoration have been found in Celtic settlements north of the Alps.¹⁰⁹ The bracelets attest to the amazingly adaptive creativity of the Celtic artisans, but the highly sophisticated method of manufacturing the armlets has yet to be properly understood.¹¹⁰ Moreover, actual glassmaking installations for the production of raw glass remain to be clearly identified. Although chunks of raw glass have been recovered from several Celtic sites (*oppida*) where glass was doubtlessly worked, it is not known with absolute certainty whether it was produced locally or imported from the Mediterranean.¹¹¹ By the fourth century B.C., Celtic mercenaries were in the service of Greek rulers, principally in Sicily and Italy,¹¹² where they could have gained access to the primary material. Even if proof, in the strictest sense, for independent production of raw glass is still missing, considerable evidence points to a sophisticated mastery of glass technology in the Celtic realm.¹¹³ In any case, sufficient amounts of cullet were surely available to provide the basic material for ritual blue body paint.¹¹⁴

Glass armlets are rare in Britain, where blue glass is less common than on the Continent. However,

there is evidence for the production of beads of faience, a substance with a vitreous component, as far back as the late Bronze Age in Britain as well as on the Continent. Powdered blue glass is a prerequisite for the manufacture of faience. Again, in the absence of proven glassmaking establishments, the question of local production or importation can as yet not be positively decided. What matters in our context is that blue vitreous substances were available in Britain long before Caesar's time.¹¹⁵ The evidence of Lindow III should thus not be a surprise, since it represents long-standing technical knowledge.

This essay should conclude with a few thoughts on a historical and cultural hypothesis that might throw some light on the possible etymology of Latin *vitrum*. It is now generally accepted that from the early Iron Age Hallstatt period—long before the movement of Gaulish tribes into Italy and the Balkans began about the beginning of the fifth century B.C., during the La Tène period—Paleo-Celtic tribes settled in the western Alps, specifically around Lake Maggiore and Lake Como.¹¹⁶ Thus, contrary to what the Roman historians might make us believe, the Gauls did not suddenly appear out of the blue to sack Rome in 387 B.C. Their thrust into the Italian peninsula had instead been preceded by long cohabitation between Celtic and Italic tribes in northern Italy. The Celts had developed various writing systems of their own, modeled on the Etruscan script. One of them, the Lugano alphabet, was adopted by the Gauls. A number of inscriptions survive, among them bilinguals. Published in exemplary fashion recently, they do not furnish a technical vocabulary because of their dedicatory nature.¹¹⁷ The word *vitrum* does not occur.

However, these texts attest to Gaulish as a current language in Italy down to the second and first centuries B.C. Technical terms tend to be the first to be taken over into other languages, and close proximity surely favors such borrowing. *Gladius*, “sword,” is one of the better-known examples: the Romans appropriated this Celtic weapon together with its name.¹¹⁸ Pliny (*N.H.* 33.40) somewhat disdainfully records a related case: there are (Roman) men who, in an outlandish fashion, wear gold bracelets, called *viriolae* in Celtic and *viriae* in Celtiberic. These Celtic words belong to the root *uei*, “bend, twist” (cf. English *wire*).¹¹⁹ The suggestion that *vitrum* might also be a Celtic word that entered Latin in the period when Gaulish and Italic tribes coexisted in ancient Italy seems eminently possible, especially in view of

the amazing dexterity of Celtic artisans in glass- and metalworking.

We have taken a long journey from the rich and diverse blues found in the two mythological frescoes from Boscotrecase, pigments that owe their brilliance and luminosity to the admixture of crushed glass. These properties must have suggested to Celtic and other tribes magic and protective qualities as fragments of dark blue Celtic armlets have been recovered in Migration-period tombs of the Alamanni in Bavaria. Whether chance finds or items actively sought out in ancient cemeteries, they were treasured as amulets hundreds of years after their manufacture.¹²⁰

In this article we have embarked on problems to which there are no answers as yet; but our peregrinations demonstrate the necessity, and complexity, of giving things their proper names.¹²¹ Our voyage included the realm of philology and linguistics, and as we have seen, the visit proved not unprofitable, since the influence of languages from outside the classical world on Latin technical terms was strong.¹²² Let us, however, end where we began, with the frescoes. Seemingly modest as objects, the features we chose to explore in these wall paintings provided unexpected vistas on many and very diverse constituents of Roman reality in the Augustan age. Part I focuses on Egypt, Part III on the Celtic realm, territories which became integral parts of the empire under Augustus. The cultural impact of these regions had already made itself felt for some time, but it culminated in the reign of the Princeps. Part II enlarges our understanding of the ethos of those who owned villas such as Boscotrecase—who commissioned the paintings, decided the subject matter, and made them a reflection of their intellectual aspirations. In this set of panels, of the highest artistic quality, multiple influences from the vast expanse of the empire are gathered; not only gathered but, more significantly, integrated into an entirely balanced, discrete whole, as the components in a crucible would be. Unprecedented, scintillating products are the result. To have achieved this fusion is Rome's supreme accomplishment and lasting legacy.

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NOTES

1. See Peter H. von Blanckenhagen and Christine Alexander, *The Augustan Villa at Boscotrecase*, with contributions by Joan R. Mertens and Christel Faltermeier (Mainz, 1990).

2. Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pp. 1–3 and 47–49. See also F. L. Bastet and M. De Vos, *Proposta per una classificazione del terzo stile pompeiano* (The Hague, 1979) pp. 8ff.; also Umberto Pappalardo, “Der Dritte Stil,” in *Pompejanische Wandmalerei*, Giuseppina Cerulli Irelli et al., eds. (Stuttgart/Zurich, 1990) p. 227.

3. For a previous attempt to explain a feature in the Black Room of the villa, see E. R. Knauer, “Wind Towers in Roman Wall Paintings?” *MMJ* 25 (1990) pp. 5–20. For a colorplate of the “wind tower,” see Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pl. 1.

4. See the colorplates in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pls. 4; 8.1; 9.1; cf. also pls. 2.1 and 3.1 for the position of the *pinakes* within this room. Good colorplates are to be found in Jacqueline and Maurice Guillaud, *Frescoes in the Time of Pompeii* (Paris/New York, 1990), where, sadly, the *pinakes* (figs. 205 and 206) are reversed.

5. See the colorplates in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pls. 5–7.

6. Mertens in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, p. 53.

7. See Charles Daremberg and Edmond Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* III.2 (1904), s.v. “*liber*,” p. 1179 (G. Lafaye). The intense perfume kept insects at bay. A comprehensive study of papyrus as writing material is N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1974).

8. A similar lightweight and cream-colored frame with small knobs at the corners can be seen in a panel from a house found in 1979 (Pompeii, *Insula Occidentalis* VI 17,42) and decorated in

later Third Style; the panel forms part of the frieze in the *oecus* with garden paintings. See *Rediscovering Pompeii*, exh. cat., IBM Gallery of Science and Art, New York City, July 12–Sept. 15, 1990 (Rome, 1990) no. 163, p. 233. See also below, note 75. For antique frames see Werner Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1954). His chapter “Einfache viereckige Rahmen,” pp. 90–93, offers no close parallels. There is a well-preserved second-century Romano-Egyptian framed picture from Hawara on exhibition in the Life Room of the British Museum. The painting, on a wooden panel and now almost obliterated, was apparently protected by a glass pane or a wooden board. That, at least, is suggested by this complex piece of joinery. See Roger P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London, 1933) no. 85; Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, pp. 83–87. Unlike the Boscotrecase *pinakes*, most depictions of antique frames show the ends of the wooden ledges crossing each other at the corners (Ehlich, “Achtendenrahmen,” pp. 80–87); see, e.g., the examples in a painter’s studio represented on the inside of a first-century A.D. sarcophagus from South Russia in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, not mentioned by Ehlich but illustrated in Victor Gajdukevich, *Das bosporanische Reich* (Berlin, 1971) fig. 126 and p. 432 and in *Gold der Steppe: Archäologie der Ukraine*, Renate Rolle et al., eds. (Schleswig, 1991) p. 194, fig. 8.

9. The most thorough analysis, incorporating previous attempts at interpretation, is by Mariette De Vos, *L’Egittomania in pittura e mosaici romano-campani della prima età imperiale* (Leiden, 1980) no. 3, pp. 5–7 and pl. II.2. The line drawing of the Anubis panel (the fifth of her fig. 3) is reversed.

10. De Vos, *L’Egittomania*, pp. 6ff., draws attention to this un-Egyptian feature; cf. a similar table in fig. 12, pp. 23ff. (pl. E and fig. 5, right) from Herculaneum, in Naples.

11. For Apis, see Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952) pp. 46–51; cf. *ibid.*, s.v. “Tierkult,” pp. 812–824; see also *ibid.*, s.v. “Hathor,” pp. 277–281. More recent is *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, W. Helck and E. Otto, eds. (Wiesbaden, 1975) s.v. “Apis,” pp. 338–350 (Vercoutter); see also *ibid.*, s.v. “Hathor,” pp. 1027–1033 (Daumas), and s.v. “Hathorkuh,” p. 1041 (Arnold). For the iconography of Apis in Egyptian art, see Erich Winter, “Apis in der hellenistischen Welt,” in his *Der Apiskult im alten Ägypten* (Mainz, 1978) pp. 34ff. For Graeco-Roman representations of Apis, see G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes and M. J. Vermaseren, *Apis* (Leiden, 1975–77): vol. I, *The Monuments of the Hellenistic-Roman Period from Egypt*; vol. II, *Monuments from Outside Egypt*; vol. III, *Inscriptions, Coins and Addenda*, in *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’empire romain*. See also the recent survey by László Kákósy, “From Fertility to Cosmic Symbolism. Outlines of the History of the Cult of Apis,” *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecensis* 26 (1990) pp. 3–7.

12. See *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI (Wiesbaden, 1986) s.v. “Ur-hügel,” pp. 873–876 (K. Martin).

13. See *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV (Wiesbaden, 1982) s.v. “Ornat,” pp. 613–618 (E. Staehelin). The article covers the main royal attributes, among them the uraeus.

14. De Vos, *L’Egittomania*, p. 7 n. 5, lists examples of such amphorae on stands.

15. In a genuine Egyptian painting, dark skin would denote males; however, this convention was occasionally neglected in the late period; see, e.g., the female deities on the set of four polychrome Egyptian wood panels, ca. 2nd century B.C.–1st century A.D., nos. 147–150 in Jerome M. Eisenberg, *The Age of Cleopatra, The Art of Late Dynastic and Graeco-Roman Egypt*, exh. cat., Royal-Athena Galleries (New York/Beverly Hills) Art of the Ancient World, vol. V, Part II, Oct. 1988. The panels are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

16. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II (Wiesbaden, 1977) s.v. “Federn und Federkrone,” pp. 142–145 (I. Grumach-Shirun).

17. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II (Wiesbaden, 1977) s.v. “Geierhaube,” p. 515 (E. Brunner-Traut).

18. Sobek, without that symbol, appears in the same attitude on one of the four panels with single Egyptianizing figures from Boscotrecase; it is not reproduced in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, but in De Vos, *L’Egittomania*, end of top row in fig. 3. For the god see Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, s.v. “Suchos,” pp. 755–759, and *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V (Wiesbaden, 1984) s.v. “Sobek,” pp. 995–1031 (Brovarski); esp. pp. 1013ff. for the colonization of the Fayum by Greek mercenaries and its prosperity in Graeco-Roman times. Our Figure 6 shows a relief of the god Sobek in the temple at Kôm Ombo, dating from the Roman period.

19. See E. Van’t Dack, “L’Armée romaine d’Égypte de 55 à 30 av. J.-C.,” essay XI in *Ptolemaica selecta: Études sur l’armée et l’administration lagides* (Louvain, 1988) pp. 185–213.

20. Inv. no. EA 5473. The suit has been radiocarbon dated to the 3rd or 4th century; see also I. Jenkins in *British Museum Magazine* 6 (Summer 1991) p. 7. In Egypt desegregation seems to have been a matter of course, and Roman soldiers, many of them of oriental origin themselves, actively participated in the civic and religious life of the natives.

21. E.g., the relief in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos, shown in Hans Schäfer and Walter Andrae, *Die Kunst des Orients, Propyläenkunstgeschichte* II (Berlin, 1925) fig. 315. The king is kneeling before Amon, who presents him with multiple Sed festivals, symbols of longevity and stability of tenure; see below, note 25.

22. For the actual object cf. the hardstone amulets in the form of a miniature set of architect’s tools, among them a set square, in Charles Ede Ltd., *Small Sculpture from Ancient Egypt* (n.p., n.d., unpaginated; London, 1991) no. 5d, and pictured at the bottom of the page, with references.

23. De Vos, *L’Egittomania*, pp. 79ff.

24. Our Figure 6 provides a good example: although conceived in the classic Egyptian style, the relief mistakenly depicts the left end of Sobek’s royal headcloth (*nemes*), which should emerge below his lower jaw, as appended to his necklace. For the contamination of styles see, e.g., Sami Gabra, “La Maison 21,” in *Rapport sur les fouilles d’Hermoupolis ouest (Touana el-Gebel)* (Cairo, 1941) pp. 39–50, esp. p. 44, and pl. XII.1 and 2. The female deceased is rendered in Hellenistic fashion, her face in three-quarter view, while the gods ministering to her, although lacking in the customary elegance, follow the Egyptian tradition. The bright patterns of their garments are alien to classical Egyptian fashion; they are

noteworthy because such patterns are frequently met with in Egyptianizing Roman wall paintings, among them the *pinakes* and the small panels with single deities from Boscotrecase; see Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pls. 8, 9, 35, and 41.1. Cf. De Vos's remarks on garment patterns, *L'Egittomania*, p. 80. See also "Die Gräber des Petubastis and Petosiris," in *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*, Aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhri, Jürgen Osing et al., eds. (Mainz, 1982) pp. 71–101, pls. 20–44, esp. pl. 32. The *Mischstil* of these tomb paintings is close to that of the previous example. The reference to both I owe to David O'Connor. The contamination of styles is particularly noteworthy in the decoration of funerary shrouds; see Sue d'Auria et al., *Mummies & Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, exh. cat. (Boston, 1988) nos. 153, pp. 203ff., and 154, pp. 204ff.; cf. also nos. 158 and 165 (reference kindly supplied by David Silverman). See also the blue glass flutes with enameled scenes in Meroitic/Hellenistic *Mischstil* from the Sudan discussed by Robert H. Brill, "Scientific Investigations of Some Glass from Sedeinga," *Journal of Glass Studies* 33 (1991) pp. 11–28. A particularly striking case is the iconography of the second-century A.D. sarcophagus of the lady Teüris in Amsterdam. It exhibits not only features that have been characterized as un-Egyptian when met with in Egyptianizing Roman wall paintings (De Vos, *L'Egittomania*, p. 8), namely a capelike piece covering the shoulders, but also traits so far known almost exclusively from Roman monuments documenting the cult of Isis outside of Egypt, namely a peculiar beaked pitcher that is being handled by a priest with cloth-covered hands; see Dieter Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris: Eine Studie zum Totenglauben im römischen Ägypten* (Mainz, 1990), where the traditional collars assume capelike proportions, e.g., scene II 1–2; cf. also the similar sarcophagus in the museum in Minia (Egypt) pls. 5–10. For the priest with pitcher see scene II 2, pl. B and 2.1, also pl. 7.1. For Roman examples of such beaked pitchers see the frieze in the Aula Isiaca on the Palatine, discussed in Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, the Centre of Power: Roman Art to A.D. 200* (London/New York, 1970) fig. 129, and the two priestesses from a Third Style frieze in Naples (Inv. 8972) in *Pompeji: Leben und Kunst in den Vesuvstädten*, exh. cat., Villa Hügel, Essen (Recklinghausen, 1973) no. 222; for an Egyptian priest officiating with covered hands see the wall painting from Herculaneum in Naples. Kurth, p. 13 n. 147, recognizes that this type of vessel does not occur within the range of ancient Egyptian shapes, but he fails to connect it with examples found in Italy of the cult of Isis, which seems to have influenced the practice in Roman Egypt during the late period. Kurth comments on the unusual attitude of the priest, but seems unaware of the numerous parallels; see the materials collected by Robert A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (Leiden, 1981).

25. See Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, "Ecken eines Gebäudes: sie festlegen (bei der Grundsteinlegung)," in *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* III (Berlin, 1971) p. 400.9, and idem, *Die Belegstellen* III (Berlin, 1951) pp. 81ff. I am greatly obliged to David Silverman for discussing the possible meaning of the *pinax* with me and for suggesting this possibility. The scene may have conveyed more than one meaning: with his left hand Sobek seems to shoulder a flail, one of the traditional scepterlike attributes of gods and kings. See *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II (Wiesbaden, 1977) s.v. "Geissel," pp. 516ff. (Fischer) and *ibid.*, IV (1982) s.v.

"Ornat," pp. 613–618 (Staehelin), and, for an illustration of the actual object, Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *Die Hauptwerke des Ägyptischen Museums in Kairo* (Mainz, 1986) no. 116. Beginning with the Old Kingdom, there are many representations extant of the king running, with shouldered flail and crook, during a ritual performed at the royal jubilee. Originally this so-called Sed festival appears to have been celebrated at the occasion of the king's 30th regnal anniversary. Later, especially from the Ptolemaic era on, it seems that no more Sed festivals were observed; however, down into the Roman period kings were addressed as the recipients of Sed festivals, awarded by the gods, clearly as symbols of prosperity and continuity. For the festival see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V (Wiesbaden, 1984) s.v. "Sedfest" (hb-sd), pp. 782–790 (Martin); cf. the remark on p. 786 on the increasing prominence of the queen in representations of the Sed festival from the New Kingdom. See also Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest* (Geneva, 1974; reference to the book kindly supplied by David O'Connor); for a late example see p. 88 n. 17: Caesarion, son of Caesar and Cleopatra, as recipient of the jubilee. Since the hieroglyph for the Apis bull, hp (Coptic: hape), comprises two stacked squares, as does hp, to run (e.g. to sacrifice), and since hp is phonetically close to hb = festival (see Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* [Oxford, third ed., 1957] p. 540.4 and Adolf Erman and Herman Grapow, *Ägyptisches Handwörterbuch* [Hildesheim, 1987] p. 107), it may have suggested the celebration of a jubilee in the Boscotrecase *pinax*. I am very grateful to Jeffrey Spencer for suggesting this possibility.

26. For other examples of this specific display of an attribute, cf. Bonnet *Reallexikon*, figs. 11 (our Figure 8), 57 (the god Amon-Re), and 105 (a lion god); our Figure 8 shows the ithyphallic god Amon from a relief of the time of Amenophis III in Luxor. Cf. also the stele from Tanis, in London, with the ithyphallic god Min being revered by Ptolemy IV (222–205 B.C.) and his consort, in *Kleopatra: Ägypten um die Zeitwende*, exh. cat., Munich, 1989 (Mainz, 1989) no. 13.

27. For the evidence, see above, note 2.

28. For Agrippa, see *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9A1, Nachträge 2 (1961) s.v. "M. Vipsanius Agrippa," pp. 1226–1275 (Rudolf Hanslik); for the Egyptian estates (*ousia Agrippianæ*) see pp. 1246ff. See also the contributions on various aspects of Agrippa's career in Università di Genova, Facoltà di lettere, Dipartimento di archeologia, filologia classica e loro tradizioni, *Il bimillenario di Agrippa* (1990) and Jean-Michel Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, vol. CCLIII, *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* (Paris, 1984). For Agrippa's *latifundia*, see pp. 188f.; for his and Julia's interest in the new Third Style and his employment of artists oriented on Hellenistic, specifically Alexandrian models, see pp. 249–251.

29. For a discussion of the coins see Hanslik, s.v. "M. Vipsanius Agrippa," p. 1255, and Konrad Kraft, "Das Enddatum des Legionslagers Haltern," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1955/56 (1955/56) pp. 95–111, pls. 15ff. For our example, see *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Coins*, Numismatic Fine Arts, Auction XXVII, Spring Mail Bid Sale 1992, Los Angeles, Closing Date April 23, 1992, no. 1076. Agrippa and Octavian face in opposite directions as if to symbolize their respective rule over the eastern and the western part of the empire. See also M. Grant, "Agrippa's Coins," in Università di Genova, *Il bimillenario di Agrippa*, pp. 9–17, no. 3

(the type is not pictured). See also Ulrich-Walter Gaus, "Der Quellbezirk von Nîmes," *Römische Mitteilungen* 97 (1990) pp. 93–125, esp. p. 124, for the Egyptianizing acanthus bases of the nymphaeum at Nîmes as a natural consequence of the resettlement of Greeks from Egypt in that city under Augustus.

30. Erich Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Vienna, 1968) pp. 98–102, draws attention to the reversal of a traditional scheme on reliefs of the Graeco-Roman period: now it is the king who presents cultic or symbolic objects to the god, not the other way around.

31. The same traditional cultic objects, in addition to a *patera*, are held by a clean-shaven priest of Isis, by the name of Amulius Faventinus Tiburs, depicted in the shrine of Diana-Isis in the House of Loreius Tiburtinus in Pompeii; see Vittorio Spinazzola, *Pompeii alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza (anni 1910–1923)* (Rome, 1953) fig. 489 and pp. 428ff. See also *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V (Wiesbaden, 1984) s.v. "Sistrum," pp. 959–963 (C. Ziegler) and s.v. "Sistrum, diffusion gréco-romaine," pp. 963–965 (N. Genaille); also Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, s.v. "Sistrum," pp. 716–720.

32. For the Egyptian deity see Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, s.v. "Anubis," pp. 40–45 (Kees); *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I (Wiesbaden, 1975) s.v. "Anubis," pp. 327–333 (B. Altenmüller). For the god's role in the later periods see Jean-Claude Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain* (Leiden, 1977); the Boscotrecase *pinax* is no. 240, and cf. pl. xxvii. For the *latrator Anubis*, see Servius's commentary (pp. 355–410) on *Aeneid*, VIII.696–700, and cf. "Sources mythographiques et littéraires," in Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin*, p. 59, no. 18, also p. 60, no. 19 (Propertius, *Elegies*, III, XI.39–42) and p. 61, no. 20 (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX.688–695). Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI.11 (Grenier, p. 71, no. 33), describes the dog-headed god as carrying a caduceus and a palm branch. In the Pharaonic period canine-shaped Anubis invariably appears lying on a chest; his standing position on the *pinax* is unusual, as is his tail; but cf. the various types on late *Mischstil* stelae: Abd el-Hafeez et al., *Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou* (Paris, 1985), e.g., pls. 10, 11, 30ff., and the discussion of iconographic problems on pp. 64–66 and 78–85. However, there can be little doubt about the animal's identity on the *pinax*, because of the characteristic neckband of the jackal. Anubis, master of the necropolises and son of Osiris, benefited from the triumphal expansion of the cult of Isis in the Mediterranean world during the Hellenistic age. The anubophores, participants in the Osiris drama, wore canine masks. (See the terracotta example in the Roemer und Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim, *Suche nach Unsterblichkeit: Totenkult und Jenseitsglaube im alten Ägypten* [Hildesheim, 1990] inv. no. 1585, pp. 34ff., ascribed to the "6th–4th century B.C. or later." The mask is provided with slits to provide better vision for the wearer.) How commonplace the sight of such masked believers must have been in the late Republic is proved by the stratagem, reported in detail by Appian (*Bell. Civ.*, 4.200), of the proscribed aedile M. Volusius, who disguised as a mendicant Isiac, safely reached the camp of Pompey. See *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9,1 (1961) s.v. "Volusius": 4) M. Volusius, p. 903 (A. Lippold); Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin*, p. 74, no. 36; and R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, 1971) pp. 204ff. Cf. the wall painting of an Isiac wearing an

Anubis mask from the temple of Isis in Pompeii in *Alla ricerca di Iside. Analisi, studi e restauri dell'Isco pompeiano nel Museo di Napoli*. Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Napoli e Caserta (Rome, 1992) cat. no. 1,36 and pl. vii. See also K.A.D. Smelik and E.A. Hemelrijk, "Who knows not what monsters demented Egypt worships." Opinions on Egyptian animal worship in antiquity as part of the ancient conception of Egypt," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II, 17.4 (Berlin/New York, 1984) pp. 1852–2000. I have not seen R.A. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Anoebis de blaffer," *Vereniging van Vrienden Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam. Mededelingenblad* 51 (1991) pp. 17–20.

33. For the goddess in Pharaonic times see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III (Wiesbaden, 1980) s.v. "Isis," pp. 186–203 (Beinlich); for her part in the ideology of kingship, *ibid.*, p. 197; for the late period p. 199. Her main temple on the island of Philae was closed as late as A.D. 537, under Justinian. The goddess's complex role in Graeco-Roman times as bestower of Sed festivals; as mother, consort, and wisdom of kings (one of her attributes is the throne); as mother of Apis (apart from her relationship with Osiris and Horus); as mistress of Memphis; as "Ur-" and "All-Göttin," is skillfully explored by Jan Bergman, *Ich bin Isis: Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretologien* (Upsala, 1968). For her role in the royal city of Memphis, together with the human-bodied Ptah, see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV (Wiesbaden, 1982) s.v. "Memphis," pp. 24–41 (C. M. Zivie) and s.v. "Ptah," pp. 1177–80 (H. teVelde). See also Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*. For the role of women in her cult see *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1916) s.v. "Isis," pp. 2084–2132 (Roeder). Arresting documents of her cult are the numerous funerary monuments of female initiates made in Athens under Roman rule from the late 1st century B.C. to the early 4th century A.D.; see E. J. Walters, *Attic Grave Reliefs That Represent Women in the Dress of Isis (Hesperia: suppl. XXII, Princeton, N.J., 1988)*. I thank Homer Thompson for the reference. J. Eingartner's study *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leiden, 1991) partly overlaps with Walters's work. Also important for the history of the diffusion of her cult is a study by V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi* (Paris, 1964). See also *idem*, *Le Culte des divinités orientales à Herculaneum* (Leiden, 1971); *idem*, *Le Culte des divinités orientales en Campanie* (Leiden, 1972); and the comprehensive studies by Michel M. Malaise in *Conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie* (Leiden, 1972) for the iconography of Roman Isis, pp. 176–181; cf. also Anubis, pp. 208–211; Apis, pp. 212–214; and his sections "Pénétration des cultes égyptiens en Italie: itinéraires et agents" and "La Diffusion des cultes égyptiens sur le sol italien"; also Ladislav Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin, 1970), based on the inscriptional evidence, especially chap. 2, "Die Anfänge des Kultes bei den Griechen," pp. 27–47, and chap. 5, "Die Anfänge des Kultes bei den Römern"; and Anne Rouillet, *The Egyptian and the Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden, 1972). More recent works are *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI (Wiesbaden, 1986) s.v. "Verehrung ägyptischer Götter im Ausland, bes. griech.-röm. Zt.," pp. 920–969 (Hölbl). Karl Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji* (Berlin/Munich, 1962) pp. 64ff., interprets the scene on the *pinax* as a prince, perhaps Agrippa Postumus, and a queen engaged in the service of Isis and her circle.

34. The perplexing problem of the official interdiction of the cult and the simultaneous appeal of *aegyptiaca*, verging on a fixation, within the circle of Augustus is discussed by Tran Tam Tinh in *Essai sur le culte*, pp. 21ff. The cult, which reached Italy with the maritime trade, had already taken root in the coastal cities in the 2nd century B.C. Under the Triumvirs Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus a temple of Isis was erected in Rome and paid for by the state in 43 B.C., the political and personal bonds with Egypt then being strong. The cult was shunned by the aristocracy and embraced by the lower classes and the slaves. For Octavian's refusal to visit the Apis bull when in Egypt, see Suetonius, "Augustus" in *The Twelve Caesars*, 93. As princeps, he instituted a program of renewal of the autochthonous cults, which must have required the restriction of foreign ones. See also Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte*, pp. 8–11, and Malaise, *Conditions de pénétration*, the chapter "Les Romains face aux dieux égyptiens," pp. 282–311.

35. See Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, the Centre of Power*, pp. 123–125, figs. 128ff.

36. See Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte*, pp. 30–40 n. 33, and *Alla ricerca di Iside: Analisi, studi e restauri dell'Iseo pompeiano nel Museo di Napoli*. Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Napoli e Cuseta (Rome, 1992).

37. See *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9A, Nachträge 2 (1961) s.v. "M. Vipsanius Agrippa" (Rudolf Hanslik); p. 1260. In Egypt, the cult of Augustus was installed as a direct continuation of the cult of the Ptolemaic kings; see Dorothy J. Thompson, "The High Priests of Memphis under Ptolemaic Rule," in *Pagan Priests*, Mary Beard et al., eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990) pp. 97–116, esp. pp. 115ff.

38. Mertens in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, p. 53.

39. See P. J. E. Boddens Hosang, *De Egyptische verzameling van Baron van Westreenen/The Egyptian Collection of Baron van Westreenen* (The Hague, 1989) pp. 68–70, and pp. 16–18 for the history of the collection. The papyrus (from the "Book of Breathings") is exhibited in the Museum Meermann-Westreenianum in The Hague; cf. also Vivant Denon, *Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1804), where the piece is pictured on an unnumbered, tripartite plate. Another late Ptolemaic example is on exhibition in the British Museum: the papyrus of Ker Asher (inv. no. 9995) containing text from the "Book of Breathings" and vignettes from the Book of the Dead. Too few such papyri are as yet published; see Luc Limme, "Trois Livres des morts illustrés des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire à Bruxelles," *Artibus Aegypti, Studia in honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer* (Brussels, 1983) pp. 81–99. See also *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI (Wiesbaden, 1986) s.v. "Totenbuch," pp. 641–643 (M. Heerma van Voss). See also Paolo Ronsecco, "The Funerary Books of the New Kingdom," in *Egyptian Museum of Turin, Egyptian Civilization. Religious Beliefs*, Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri, ed. (Milan, 1988) pp. 188–197.

40. See the excellent discussion of the phenomenon by De Vos, "L'inquadramento storico-culturale," in *L'Egittoomania*, pp. 75–95. See also Elena Walter-Karydi, "Die Entstehung der Groteskenornamentik in der Antike," *Römische Mitteilungen* 97 (1990) pp. 137–152, who characterizes this aspect of the Third Style as "Gattungsstil" and "Otiumskunst" and as deliberately contrasting the official "Staatskunst." Plutarch (Antonius 80) interestingly

cites three grounds for Augustus's sparing the city of Alexandria after his victory: the reputation of its founder, Alexander; its size and beauty; and as a favor to his friend, the philosopher Arius (Didymus).

41. See Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pls. 24ff., and 30–33, and pp. 12–27; cf. also Joan Mertens' analysis of the room's elements and character, *ibid.*, pp. 57–59, and 63ff.

42. Ludwig Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis: Eine Einführung in ihr Verständnis* (Darmstadt, 2nd ed., 1960) pp. 66 and 276 and figs. 33, 35, and 123, was the first to draw attention to such *Kästen*; he assumes that they already appear during the Second Style, and does not attempt an explanation. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, pp. 98–100, takes the objects for framed pictures, see below, note 43. See also Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen in der römisch-kampanischen Wandmalerei* (Munich, 1974) cat. nos. 7, 10, 19, 47, 50, 51, 72, 79, and 87. She lists the twin masks from the north wall of the Red Room (cat. no. 7, 1–2, text pp. 38–40) as painted on *kleine Pinakes* with curved side walls, but also calls such objects *Maskenschreine* (pp. 42, 56–58, 62ff.), without analyzing their function. Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, p. 7, describe one of the objects as "a box-like bracket holding two theatrical masks."

43. E.g., Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, p. 276; Karl Scheffold, *Pompeji: Zeugnisse griechischer Malerei* (Munich, 1956) p. 37; Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen*, p. 42 n. 154, rightly takes the *Maskenschrein* of the actor as "frühestes Zeugnis für solche Schreine," because of the picture's Hellenistic model, but she apparently thinks of an actual mask placed in the box. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, p. 100, takes the object for a framed panel painting. He subdivides his catalogue of seven examples into "I. Rahmen mit plastischen Theatermasken als Inhalt" and "II. Rahmen mit Maskentafelbildern als Inhalt," pp. 99ff. See also his comment on "Bilder mit Weihebändern," pp. 113ff.

44. See *Enciclopedia dell'arte classica e orientale* VI (1965) s.v. "pittura," p. 216 (R. Bianchi Bandinelli).

45. See Wolfgang Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen an römischen Wandmalereien von der späten Republik bis zur Zeit Neros* (Mainz, 1987) pp. 106ff., pl. 71, fig. 291. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, pp. 99ff., II, 4; he takes it as a *Maskentafelbild*. See also Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen*, cat. no. 72, "Pinakes mit geschwungenen Seiten."

46. But cf. the *taeniae* decorating the box on the panel with the victorious actor, Figures 18, 19. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, pp. 113ff., describes them as "Bilder mit Weihebändern." In a similar central position in the frieze is a box in the Casa di Sirico in Pompeii (VII 1.25–47); see Bastet and De Vos, *Proposta*, pl. LVIII.

47. See Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, p. 78, pl. 84, fig. 332. The object is termed a *Maskenbild*.

48. See Scheffold, *Vergessenes Pompeji*, pl. 48 (complete wall); Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, fig. 35 (part of the wall); Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti, *Pittori di Pompei* (Milan, 1963) pl. opp. p. 89; Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, pl. 63, fig. 264 (part of the wall) pp. 96–100. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, p. 99, II, 2, has a photo (fig. 88, p. 245) of a wooden copy of the "frame" of one of these *Maskentafelbilder*, manufactured by himself. See too Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen*, cat. no. 50, *Maskenschreine*.

49. Here a digression is called for, because this particular combination is already prefigured in all three *cubicula* from Boscotrecase (see Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pls. 2 and 3, for the overall design of the walls and 4, 5, 8–12, and 14–17 for details of the Black Room). Griffins atop the *aediculae* of the side walls, the superb swans holding strings of jewels in their beaks (fig. 11) and flanking the central *aedicula*, and the huge tripods on the side walls (figs. 21 and 22)—all attest to a prevalently Apollonian atmosphere. However, Dionysiac hints are not altogether absent: sprouting ivy and tiny golden kraters and jugs built into the tripod legs that, in turn, are shaped like thyrsos. The third ingredient, the Egyptian elements, has already been discussed. The perched Horus falcons of the side walls of the Red Room (pls. 26–28) should be added. As mentioned (see Knauer, “Wind Towers”), the tower of the central landscape vignette of the Black Room has also been shown to have an Egyptian ancestry. This complex reference system can only be mentioned here. It brings to mind two points. First, Alexandria had been the locus of the legendary procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus at the first celebration of the Ptolemaia, an event that took place in the middle of winter, most likely in 279/8 B.C. (see Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, vol. II of the Loeb Classical Library ed., with Eng. trans. by Charles B. Gulick [London/Cambridge, Mass., 1967] and E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* [Oxford, 1983] esp. for the date, pp. 182–187). The description of the pavilion set up for the guests within the citadel mentions columns “shaped like palm trees, but those which stood in the middle had the appearance of Bacchic wands [*thyrsos*]” (V.196c; p. 389), and also the lavish decoration of “the outer side of the enclosing curtains” with various branches, and the floor “entirely strewn with all sorts of flowers. For Egypt, both because of the temperate quality of its atmosphere, and also because its gardeners can grow plants which are either rare or found at a regular season in other regions, produces flowers in abundance and throughout the whole year. . . .” (V.196d; p. 389). One is reminded of the flower-decked, tentlike structure of the Red Room, where the seasons for roses, ivy, and figs miraculously coincide (see Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pls. 18–22, 26–29, and 31). Even more striking are the details reported of the giant “Delphic” tripod being carried about (among other somewhat smaller ones) in the ensuing procession in the city stadium: one “of forty-five feet; on this were figures in gold . . . , and a vine-wreath of gold encircled it” (V.205c; p. 415). The tripods in the Black Room (Figures 21, 22) appear like variants of those in that description. If we add the figures (*zoa*) on the tall tripod candelabra in the Mythological Room (Figure 23; cf. Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pls. 36–41)—a chamber containing the same ever-so-subtle references to both the Apollonian and Dionysiac realms, interspersed with *aegyptiaca* as in the Black and the Red Rooms—there seems little doubt that the decorators of Boscotrecase must have had a thorough knowledge of the fantastic and yet real appurtenances displayed during Ptolemaic pageantry. The rhetorical blending of seasons also occurs in the Third Style *oecus* with splendid garden paintings in the house found in Pompeii in 1979 (*Insula Occidentalis*, VI 17.42); see *Rediscovering Pompeii*, no. 163. It is described there (p. 232) as dreamlike and without basis in reality, whereas to my mind it clearly refers to the climatic circumstances of Egypt so graphically described in the account of Ptolemy’s tent mentioned

above. The second observation concerns the artful compositional links among the three main strands of motifs, within the single walls as well as among the three walls in each room. One is reminded of certain rhetorical figures current at the time; see, e.g., Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik I* (Munich, 1960) paragraphs 443–452, pp. 241 ff., on *dispositio* of the *inventio* in three parts (*tria loca*), and paragraph 462, pp. 253 ff. on the four modifying categories of the *elocutio*, esp. no. 3, *per transmutationem (metathesis)*: a) *anastrophe*, b) *hyperbaton*. Suetonius, in his life of Augustus (86), calls the emperor’s literary style pure, elegant, and concrete. As we shall see, attention to these features, namely the degree of reality we must attribute to the sceneries of the Third Style and the high degree of literacy of their patrons, will help us to establish the character and the meaning of the objects studied here.

50. See Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, fig. 123, and Karl Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin, 1957) p. 100. Unlike the example from the House of Lucretius Fronto, no “roof” can be seen at the upper edge of the box. One must assume that this indispensable part is thought of as being at the lower edge where it is hidden by the shelf, since the object is seen from below, or that this shelf itself is the part in question. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, p. 99, I, 2, lists the object under his “Rahmen mit plastischen Theatermasken als Inhalt.” Cf. also Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen*, cat. no. 51: *Maskenschrein*. For a similarly positioned box in the Casa dell’ atrio a mosaico in Pompeii, see *Pompejanische Wandmalerei*, Giuseppina Cerulli Irelli et al., eds. (Stuttgart/Zurich, 1990) pl. 127 and Allroggen-Bedel, cat. no. 19, “Schrein.”

51. See Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte*, pl. 2, giving the original arrangement, and p. 44. Joan Mertens kindly referred me to fig. 455.2, p. 399 in Spinazzola, *Scavi nuovi*. Spinazzola thinks of the object as the closure of a vent or of a small niche. The marble box is of simple design. The S-shaped side walls are again inverted, so that the hooks point upward: on the back wall, in high relief, there is the mask of a young woman.

52. A gabled shelf, or doorless cupboard, containing masks is pictured in Cod. Vat. Lat. 3868 (Terence), see fig. 1091, *Enciclopedia dell’arte antica e orientale IV* (1971) s.v. “maschera teatrale,” pp. 910–918 (G. Krien-Kummrow). A receptacle with a mask inside is on the floor on the mosaic with actors in Naples, see *ibid.*, I (1958) s.v. “attore,” pp. 909 ff. (P. E. Arias), colorplate opp. p. 910; the actors, dressed up as satyrs, surround a seated old man, clad only in a mantle, with a scroll in his hand. Another mask is on a table. In view of the Pompeian marble box from the reign of Vespasian, one might imagine that by that time, painted masks at the back wall of such boxes might have been replaced, for the greater effect the Fourth Style required, by masks done in relief or by real masks, such as are found in the wall painting from the House of the Hermaphrodite mentioned above. More such instances from walls could be adduced, although with less elaborate frames. They may have led to the notion of “Maskenschrein” found in some authors. Masks were, indeed, occasionally dedicated. The first visual records (vase-paintings and reliefs) date back to the beginning of the 5th century B.C., cf. J. Richard Green, “Dedication of Masks,” *Révue archéologique* (1982) pp. 237–248, but in the context of theatrical performances. Therefore, prior to creating new terms, like *Maskenschrein*, for want of a better explanation, we should try to establish the character of such objects first.

53. See the brief account, “le basi di Como,” by A. C. M. in Soprintendenza archeologica della Lombardia, 1977–81, *Restauro archeologici in Lombardia* (Como, 1982) p. 63; Bianca Maria Scarfi, “Recenti rinvenimenti archeologici in Lombardia,” *Annali Benacensi*, no. 3, *Atti del III convegno archeologico Benacense* (1976) pp. 11–18; Scarfi, the excavator, also gave a talk entitled “Le scoperte archeologiche urbane: L’arte figurativa” at a meeting (*Novum Comum 2050*), celebrating the foundation of Como in A.D. 59, and held in that city on Nov. 8–9, 1991. The last two references are owed to Fabrizio Slavazzi, who also kindly supplied a copy of the article and notes on the meeting, as well as a copy of the important study by Antonio Frova, “Temi mitologici nei rilievi romani della Cisalpina,” in *Scritti in ricordo di Graziella Massari Gaballo e di Umberto Tocchetti Pollini* (Milan, 1986) pp. 173–193, esp. pp. 177–186, part of which deals with these reliefs. There are more references to be found on p. 177 n. 18.

54. See Scarfi, “Recenti rinvenimenti,” pp. 17ff. She suggests as names for the two poets Virgil and Homer and dates the reliefs from about A.D. 100. A. C. M., in *Restauro archeologici*, p. 63, basically shares Scarfi’s opinion but prefers a date early in the 2nd century.

55. Scarfi, “Le scoperte archeologiche.”

56. Frova, “Temi mitologici,” pp. 185ff., critically summarizes the literature on the iconography of the Muses, individually and in conjunction with poets and philosophers; he reaffirms the lack of a coherent system of their symbols up to the late period and the growing importance of the pairing of the deceased with a Muse (*mousikos aner*) on sarcophagi, especially during the 3rd century. He leaves open the question whether we have to do with two poets or a poet and a philosopher, and he calls the attitude of the Muse with the younger man “insolito.” For the date of the reliefs (middle of the 2nd century) and Pliny the Younger’s role in the intellectual history of Como see pp. 192ff. For a summary of the recent literature on the tardy and restricted acceptance of classical models in the sculpture of provincial northern Italy see Fabrizio Slavazzi, “Il *Satiro in riposo* di Prassitele: una nuova replica della testa da Bergamo,” *Arte lombarda* 96/97 (1991) pp. 67–72.

57. See Max Wegner, *Die Musensarkophage*, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 5,3 (Berlin, 1966) no. 16, p. 13, pls. 22, 23; 41a; 142a. Wegner speaks of *Schulszenen* on the lid, but singles out the two first scenes to the left of the inscription as showing Muses (with feathers on their heads) in conjunction with poets. The first scene has the Como group reversed and adds two more figures: an additional bystander and a second Muse, who sits next to the young man while he studies his scroll with the help of a Muse leaning over his shoulder. The second group to the left of the inscription has the seated older poet (here clad with but a mantle) to whom a Muse presents a rectangular object, perhaps a scroll on a stand, as on the Como relief. Although the scale is too small to decide on this detail, the types in these two groups match those in Como and must go back to a common model.

58. See Karl Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* (Basel, 1943); for Homer, pp. 62ff., 78ff., 88ff., 142–145, 148ff., 158ff., and 172ff.; for Virgil, pp. 168ff. and 170ff.

59. See *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 21,1 (1951) s.v. “C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus”: 6), pp. 439–456; for

Pliny as a poet, p. 447; the important inscription (*CIL* V 5262), attesting to his dedication of a library, is transcribed on p. 439 (M. Schuster).

60. See Hinks, *Catalogue*, no. 53; the poet on the left is erroneously described as holding a *patera*. A neat distinction according to dress between poet and philosopher does not seem possible. There are further representations of men of letters extant in Roman wall paintings; see, e.g., that of Menander, in the Casa di Menandro at Pompeii, in Schefold, *Bildnisse*, p. 164,1, seated, with a scroll and clad in a mantle; the statue of a seated writer, *ibid.*, p. 164,2 (“Plautus”), shows him with scroll, but with tunic and mantle. For a later example of an elderly poet dressed in only a mantle see Irina I. Saverkina, *Römische Sarkophage in der Eremitage* (Berlin, 1977) no. 25, pp. 51ff., pl. 55. For a survey of the forty-eight painted representations of poets in Pompeii and Herculaneum (eighteen of which are of the Third Style), see Mariette De Vos, “Pavone e poeta: Due frammenti di pittura parietale dell’Esquilino,” in *Le tranquille dimore degli dei: La residenza imperiale degli horti Lamiani*, Eugenio La Rocca et al., eds. (Rome, 1986) pp. 67–75 and pl. 8. I would like to thank Ann Kuttner for drawing my attention to this exhibition catalogue.

61. See *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 21, 1 (1951) s.v. “C. Plinius Secundus der Ältere”: 5) pp. 271–285, his life (K. Ziegler) and p. 439, his works (Kroll); for comments on uncle and nephew, see the following essays in Ronald Syme, *Roman Papers* VII, Anthony R. Birley, ed. (Oxford, 1991): “Consular Friends of the Elder Pliny,” pp. 496–511; “Pliny’s [the Younger’s] Early Career,” pp. 551–567; and “The Acme of Transpadana,” pp. 635–646 (esp. p. 646 for Pliny’s own literary judgment).

62. Frova, “Temi mitologici,” p. 178, describes the object as follows: “un liscio riquadro incorniciato da un motivo fogliaceo[?], forse leggio.”

63. The reading of scrolls is still practiced in the synagogue. The rolls were initially wound about a single rod, but two became customary in the 16th century. Kept in an upright position in the Torah shrine, the rolls are put on a pulpit for reading. Since the script may not be touched by human hands, a hand-shaped pointer is used to follow the lines; cf. Figure 29.

64. Still useful, in particular for the technical details, are Theodor Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältnis zur Literatur: Mit Beiträgen zur Textgeschichte des Theokrit, Catull, Propertius und anderer Autoren* (Berlin, 1882; repr. Aalen, 1974) and *idem*, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst: Archäologisch-antiquarische Untersuchungen zum antiken Buchwesen* (Leipzig, 1907). See also *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 3,1 (1897) s.v. “Buch,” pp. 939–971 (Dziatzko); Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, s.v. “liber,” pp. 1177–1188; *Enciclopedia dell’arte antica e orientale* V (1963) s.v. “papiro,” pp. 943–947 (V. Bartolotti); *ibid.*, VI (1965) s.v. “rotulo,” pp. 1031–1036 (C. Bertelli); Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (Oxford, 1983); Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1971), esp. the commentary to illus. 9 and 10 and the 2nd ed., rev. and enl. by Peter J. Parsons (London, 1987). The reference to this edition is owed to the kindness of Peter Parsons. In the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge there is a contraction of ivory that can be assembled and disassembled (GR.25a/k-1980, part of the Lester

Collection); allegedly found together with other ivory objects in a Roman lady's tomb, it has been interpreted as an apparatus to rule papyrus scrolls. Such objects are also attested from Nîmes, Ostia, and Pompeii. Little is known about that step in the preparation of rolls. See Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, *The Annual Reports of the Syndicate and of the Friends of the Fitzwilliam, for the Year Ending 31 December 1980*, p. 13 and pl. III, and *Palladion: Antike Kunst, Katalog 1976*, pp. 100–102. The actual mounting at the museum is more suggestive than the photos. I thank David Gill for kindly supplying the references. For a similar object see Beate Schneider, "Zwei römische Elfenbeinplatten mit mythologischen Szenen," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 23 (1990) pp. 255–272; Schneider has no knowledge of the piece in Cambridge and wants to reconstruct the object in Cologne as either a cart or a suspended receptacle.

65. Martial, *Epigrams*, 14.84 (in vol. II of Loeb Classical Library ed., with Eng. trans. by Walter C. A. Ker [London/New York, 1968]). Cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* VIII (Leipzig, 1966) s.v. "manuale, -is" n., p. 335 (Bömer). Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, pp. 77 and 83ff., in attempting to see a logical link between the disparate *apophoreta* paired by Martial (*manuale* appears next to a back scratcher, *scalptorium*), sees it in the concept of *manus*. The *manuale lectorium* (Greek: *analogeion*, *anagnoterion*) is defined as a wooden lectern. Birt, *Die Buchrolle*, pp. 175–181, lists, besides the sources, a good number of representations, all of them, however, showing lecterns attached to solid stands. He abstains from deciding whether the *manualia* took their name from being easily transportable (p. 176). Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, p. 7, connects the Greek terms (*analogeion*, *anagnoterion*) with Martial's term *manuale*, but omits this passage in the 2nd ed.

66. Inv. 1805.7–3.187. The relief serves as frontispiece in both editions of Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*; cf. his comments, p. 7; p. 6 in 2nd ed. See also Wolfgang Binsfeld, "Leseplatte auf Neumagener Reliefs," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 173 (1973) p. 201, fig. 2. For an even more provincial example, see the funerary stela of the philosopher or poet Stratonikos from Kertch, of the first century A.D. (here four scrolls are naively placed on top of the stand and yet there can be no doubt as to the character of the object) in Victor Gajdukevich, *Das Bosphoranische Reich* (Berlin, 1971) pp. 419ff and fig. 115.

67. See Birt, *Die Buchrolle*, p. 172, fig. 108. For another related example see Franz Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* II (Berlin/Stuttgart, 1903) p. 405, ill. 8; the original, from Priene, is in Berlin, Antiquarium, inv. no. 8558.

68. Wolfgang Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* I (Tübingen, 4th ed., 1963) no. 1069. See Birt, *Die Buchrolle*, pp. 178ff., fig. 113, who lists further examples under the heading "Leseplatte"; Schefold, *Die Bildnisse*, p. 164, 3. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, pp. 145ff., thinks the object is a framed mirror, a necessity for an actor.

69. That does not mean that scrolls were written or read at a table, cf. Birt, *Die Buchrolle*, p. 178. Not before the 8th or 9th century is there evidence for scribes seated at desks; see Bruce M. Metzger, "When Did Scribes Begin to Use Writing Desks?" *Historical and Literary Studies, Pagan, Jewish and Christian* (Leiden, 1968) pp. 123–137, and Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 2nd ed., p. 6 n. 17.

70. See Metzger, "When Did Scribes Use Desks?"

71. See Binsfeld, "Leseplatte," pp. 201–206; Binsfeld also discusses the relief in the British Museum (our Figure 30) p. 201 and fig. 2, and he connects the "Handpult" (*manuale*) of the Neumagen relief, fig. 1, with Martial's distich (14.84). The sides of the schoolboy's (fragmentary) *manuale* are straight and show no cutouts. Cf. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 2nd ed., p. 6 n. 17.

72. For a persuasive characterization of masks of the Second to Fourth Style see Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen*, pp. 28–35, and esp. pp. 38–43. The author contrasts the corporeality of Second Style masks with the less expressive abstraction of Third Style walls (p. 42): "Es drückt sich darin ein anderes Verhältnis zur Realität des Dargestellten aus; die Dekorationen stellen nicht eine weitere, über die Wirklichkeit hinausgehobene Realität dar, sondern die Wand ist zur Bildfläche geworden, auf der die Gegenstände als Motiv erscheinen. Sie sind vom Betrachter als System von Anspielungen zu verstehen." See also W. Ehrhardt's remarks on the difference in the concept of space in Second and Third Style walls, dictated by an ideological change, "Bild und Ausblick in Wandbemalungen Zweiten Stils," *Antike Kunst* 34 (1991) pp. 28–64, esp. p. 63. See also Pappalardo, "Der Dritte Stil," pp. 223–232, esp. p. 229.

73. See Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, p. 13.

74. Joan Mertens (in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, p. 52) has aptly described the grillwork of the north wall *aedicula* in the Black Room, with its rising and hanging pendants, as evoking the goldsmith's art. This also holds true for these *oscilla*. They leave one in doubt whether the masks are painted on metal—or possibly glass—disks, studded with pearls and hung with precious pendants. To the best of my knowledge, no such jewelry has survived. One is, however, reminded of the pair of black obsidian skyphoi found near Stabiae that are inlaid with bright-colored Egyptianizing cult scenes placed within *aediculae*—a coloristic effect not unlike that found in the Black Room. The priestly or regal figures on the skyphoi present jewelry to theriomorphic idols—jewelry that is close in character to the Boscorease pendants. Egyptian spoils embellished the statue of Victory in the Curia Julia in Rome after the battle at Actium (Dio Cassius 51.22.2). Although the Greek term used (*ta laphyra*) is generic, meaning booty, plunder, spoils of war, it seems more likely that the statue was hung with jewels rather than with heavy weapons. However this may be, models for such ornaments were certainly available to the muralists. For a good color reproduction of one of the two skyphoi, kept in the National Museum in Naples, see *Encyclopaedia dell'arte classica e orientale* VII (1966) facing p. 460; Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, the Centre of Power*, fig. 218; Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren, *Apis*, II, no. 308, pl. lix ff.; De Vos, *L'Egittomania*, p. 93. Although we do not have evidence for the actual use of jewels in architectural settings during the reign of Augustus, it can be documented for the early imperial period. Gilded copper ornaments studded with precious stones, rock crystal, or glass and nailed to wooden beams, thus forming friezes, were found during the later 19th-century excavations on the grounds of the imperial villa of the horti Lamiani in Rome; see Maddalena Cima, "Il 'prezioso arredo' degli horti Lamiani," pp. 104–144; for the jewels, see color pls. 11–24, 27–43, 46–50; for parallels in wall painting, see color pls. 25f. and 44f. and the

black-and-white photographs and drawings in the catalogue section, pp. 129–144. Cima seems to think of these ornaments as decorations of pieces of furniture, esp. a throne. La Rocca, however, leaves no doubt about their having served as architectural fittings.

75. See Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pl. 60.1, and p. 20; Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen*, pp. 36–38. One step further in the Third Style tendency to tone down three-dimensional effects occurs in the *oecus* with garden paintings in the Pompeian house found in 1979; see *Rediscovering Pompeii*, no. 163, p. 233. Above the “all-seasons-garden,” in the center of the frieze, there are lightly framed *pinakes* with paired masks of a satyr and a maenad, three-quartered and slightly overlapping, on a red background, much reminiscent of those painted on the *manualia* of the Red Room. A good color photo is in *History Today* 42 (April 1992) p. 2. If one looks for iconographic sources for such cheek-to-cheek masks, the coins of Istrus come to mind; see R. Stuart Poole, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, & C.* (London, 1877) p. 25, 1–14; however, one of the heads is always inverted.

76. For a summary of the intellectual atmosphere of that urbane circle see De Vos, *L'Egittomania*, pp. 75–95: “Inquadramento storico-culturale”; Tran Tam Tinh, *Le Culte à Herculanium*, pp. 8–11, and Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pp. 25ff.

77. Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pls. 42–47 and pp. 28–40; Blanckenhagen has traced the influence of both compositions on later Roman wall paintings, esp. on pp. 37–40, and he hints at the Hesione myth as a parallel to that of Andromeda (p. 35). The repercussions were obviously also felt in other media, see, e.g., the relief with Hesione and the sea monster on a funerary altar from Acqui in the Archaeological Museum at Turin: Frova, “Temi mitologici,” p. 173, with n. 2, and p. 175, with nn. 7ff., for iconographic parallels (reliefs and wall paintings). The article on Hesione has been relegated to a future supplement of *LIMC*, see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* V, 1 (1990) p. 394.

78. See Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pls. 42ff., and the analysis, pp. 28–35.

79. *Ibid.*, pls. 34–41, and the reconstruction suggested by Mertens, pp. 59–63.

80. See her contribution in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pp. 65–73, esp. p. 67.

81. A calcium-copper tetrasilicate mineral. In 1814 a small container with the pigment was found at Pompeii and analyzed by a number of scientists; see M. S. Tite et al., *The Technology of Egyptian Blue*, British Museum Occasional Paper 56 (London, 1987) pp. 39–46, esp. p. 39, where there is a brief historical survey of the study of the substance and an account of its positive identification as $\text{CaCuSi}_4\text{O}_{10}$. I am grateful to Andrew Middleton for a copy of this paper. See also the commentary to Pliny, *N.H.* 33.158 and 161 in *C. Plinius Secundus d. Ä., Naturkunde, Lateinisch-Deutsch*, Book XXXIII: *Metallurgie*, pub. and trans. by Roderich König, with Gerhard Winkler (Darmstadt, 1984) pp. 184–186; the blue pigment *caeruleum* is here identified as $\text{CaCuSi}_4\text{O}_{14}$. A very useful but somewhat neglected account of Egyptian blue is in Hugo

Blümner, “Die Farben der alten Maler und ihre Bereitung,” in his *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* IV (Leipzig, 1887; repr. Hildesheim, 1969) pp. 464–518, esp. pp. 503ff., which also includes a bit of *Forschungsgeschichte*, and the observation that the Egyptian artists’ reason for using pulverized blue glass rather than crushed copper (the actual coloring agent for blue glass) when preparing Egyptian blue must have been their awareness of the greater durability of the color prepared by the more complex process. See now D. Ullrich, “Egyptian Blue and Green Frit: Characterization, History and Occurrence, Synthesis,” *PACT. Revue du groupe européen d’études pour les techniques physiques, chimiques et mathématiques appliquées à l’archéologie* 17: *Datation—Caractérisation des peintures pariétales et murales*, François Delamart et al., eds. (1987) pp. 323–332, and also A. Barbet, “L’emploi des couleurs dans la peinture murale romaine antique. Marqueurs chronologiques et révélateurs du ‘standing’ social?” in *Pigments et colorants de l’antiquité et du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1990) pp. 255–271. I have not seen E. Riedel, “Bibliographie über die Pigmente der Malerei,” *Berliner Beiträge zur Archäometrie* 10 (1988) pp. 173–192.

82. Besides Tite et al., *Technology of Egyptian Blue*, see idem, “Characterization of Early Vitreous Materials,” *Archäometrie* 29, no. 1 (1987) pp. 21–34; Julian Henderson, “Glass Production and Bronze Age Europe,” *Antiquity* 62 (1988) pp. 435–451 (a copy of this paper is owed to the kindness of Andrew Middleton); idem, “The Scientific Analysis of Ancient Glass and Its Archaeological Interpretation,” in idem, ed., *Scientific Analysis in Archaeology, and Its Interpretation*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 19, and UCLA, Archaeological Research Tools 5 (1989) pp. 30–62, with rich bibl.; idem, “The Evidence for Regional Production of Iron Age Glass in Britain,” in *Le Verre préromain en Europe occidentale*, M. Feugère, ed. (Montagnac, 1989): pp. 63–72; idem, “Industrial Specialization in Late Iron Age Britain and Europe,” *The Archaeological Journal* 148 (1991) pp. 104–148, especially the section “Glass Production: A Model for Later Prehistoric Specialized Industry,” pp. 122–135, and idem and Richard Ivens, “Dunmisk and Glass-making in Early Christian Ireland,” *Antiquity* 66 (1992) pp. 52–64. It was a windfall when utensils from a painter’s workshop, that is, shards and shells filled with pigments, among them Egyptian blue, where discovered in the temple of Thutmosis III (1490–39 B.C.) at Karnak in 1984; see O. Rouchon et al., “Pigments d’Égypte: Étude physique de matières colorantes bleue, rouge, blanche, verte, jaune, provenant de Karnak,” *Revue d’archéométrie* 14 (1990) pp. 87–97. See also Emma Angelini et al., “Plasma-source Mass Spectrometric Analysis of Ancient Egyptian Pigments,” in *Pigments et colorants de l’antiquité et du moyen âge: Teinture, peinture, enluminure, études historiques et physico-chimiques* (Paris, 1990) pp. 117–126, an investigation of pigments found during the 1903–5 Italian excavation at Heliopolis, now at the Egyptian Museum at Turin; the sample (suppl. 3603) of Egyptian blue ($\text{CaCuSi}_4\text{O}_{10}$) contained noticeable amounts of quartz and high concentrations of sodium and iron, with tin and lead as minor components; Daniel le Fur, “Les Pigments dans la peinture égyptienne,” *ibid.*, pp. 181–188, esp. the section “Les pigments bleus,” pp. 184ff. I am grateful to Josef Riederer, who heads the Rathgen-Forschungslabor of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin at Charlottenburg, for his information about the limited possibility of distinguishing between Egyptian blue and blue glass under a mi-

croscope as well as by other kinds of analyses of antique wall paintings. Besides Egyptian blue, he has encountered azurite, in rare cases indigo and lapis lazuli, and in Egyptian specimens, cobalt as well. The chemical and microscopic properties of blue glass can apparently be confounded with those of Egyptian blue. Hansgeorg Bankel has kindly sent me a copy of the relevant passage in his book *Der spätarchaische Tempel der Aphaia auf Aegina* (Berlin/New York 1992) pp. 68–70 and 111–113, documenting the use of Egyptian blue and azurite (besides other pigments) as colorants of the architectural members of the 6th- to 5th-century B.C. temple. See also D. G. Ullrich, “Malpigmente der Klassik und des Hellenismus im östlichen Mittelmeer,” *Akten des 13. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie* (Mainz, 1990) pp. 615–617. I have not seen Fabienne Laveaux Vergès, *Bleus égyptiens: De la pâte autoémaillée ou pigment bleu synthétique* (Louvain, 1992); reference kindly supplied by Joan Mertens.

83. See A. Walde, and J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 3rd ed., 1954) s.v. “vitrum”: 1, pp. 805ff. Although the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* has not yet reached the letter *v*, Ursula Keudel generously provided me with a list of references to the words *vitrum* and *vitreus* from its files, covering the period from the first occurrence late in the first half of the 1st century B.C. to the early 2nd century A.D. In addition, Georg Nicolaus Knauer and Vanessa Gorham kindly supplied an *Ibycus* printout of the relevant passages in Latin literature, thus permitting a reliable survey.

84. All translations of Pliny are taken from Pliny, *Natural History*, 10 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass./London), vols. 1–5 and 9, with Eng. trans. by H. Rackham (1969–84); vols. 6–8 and 10, with Eng. trans. by D. E. Eichholz (1969–80). Translations of important passages of Pliny’s books on minerals (33), bronze (34), painting (35), and marble (36) are to be found in J. Isager, *Pliny on Art and Society: The Elder Pliny’s Chapters on the History of Art* (Odense, 1991).

85. See the brief mention of *anulare* by Blümner, “Die Farben der alten Maler,” p. 470.

86. See Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. “vitrum”: 2, p. 806. But see my text above.

87. For Pliny see the references above, note 61.

88. Vitruvius, *On Architecture* (Loeb Classical Library ed., with Eng. trans. by Frank Granger [Cambridge, Mass./London] 1970). See also *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9 A,1 (1961) s.v. “Vitruvius”: 2, L. Vitruvius Mamurra, pp. 427–489 (P. Thielscher), see also Heiner Knell, “Vitruvs Kritik an Bau- und Kunstwerken seiner Zeit,” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 39 (1989) pp. 281–288.

89. Still useful is *Enciclopedia dell’arte classica e orientale* VII (1966) s.v. “vetro,” pp. 1150–1157 (Donald B. Harden). See also Harden’s introductory essays to the chapters in Part II of Donald B. Harden et al., *Glas der Caesaren* (Milan, 1988) with bibl.; the remarks by William Gudenrath, Kenneth Painter, and David Whitehouse, “The Portland Vase,” *Journal of Glass Studies* 32 (1990) pp. 12–189; and Veronica Tatton-Brown, “The Roman Empire,” in H. Tait, ed., *Five Thousand Years of Glass* (London, 1991) pp. 62–97. Two passages in Martial (1.41.3–5 and 10.3.3ff.) attest to a flourishing trade in broken glass. In Trastevere, vendors of brimstone matches bartered them

for glass sherds, which were either mended with sulfurous glue or collected for recycling; see L. Friedlaender, *M. Valerii Martialis epigrammaton libri* (Leipzig, 1886) p. 189, with a reference to Statius’ *Silvae* 1.6.73, describing the same routine. See also M. Sternini, “A Glass Workshop in Rome (4th–5th century A.D.),” *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989) pp. 105–114, esp. p. 113. It was the adoption of the blowpipe that made mass production possible. Marianne Stern kindly tells me that the first blowpipes may not have been fashioned of iron—a technically difficult process—but were more likely made of clay.

90. Caesar, *The Gallic War* (Loeb Classical Library ed., with Eng. trans. by H. J. Edwards [Cambridge, Mass./London] 1979).

91. See Jan M. Stead et al., *Lindow Man: The Body in the Bog* (London, 1986); Anne Ross and Don Robins, *The Life and Death of a Druid Prince: The Story of Lindow Man, an Archaeological Sensation* (New York, 1989) pp. 128ff., for Lindow III and additional parts of Lindow II, recovered in 1988.

92. The public was provided with a folder, *Lindow Man: A Guide to the Exhibition* (Manchester, 1991).

93. See F. B. Pyatt et al., “Non Isatis sed Vitrum, Or the Colour of Lindow Man,” *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10, no. 1 (1991) pp. 61–73.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 66–70.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

98. See Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. “glaesum,” p. 604; *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* VI 2 (Leipzig, 1934) s.v. “glastum,” p. 2035, and s.v. “glaesum,” p. 2028; Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* IV 1,4 (Leipzig, 1949) s.v. “Glas,” p. 7659; Eric Hamp (see next note) advises that caution be exercised in considering the connection. See also Eckhard Meineke, chaps. 6, “Gler,” and 7, “Glas” in *Bernstein im Althochdeutschen, mit Untersuchungen zum Glossar Rb. Studien zum Althochdeutschen*, vol. 6 (Göttingen, 1984).

99. See Pyatt et al., “Non Isatis sed Vitrum,” p. 68; Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, II, p. 604, and *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, A Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, fasc. 28 (University of Wales, 1976) s.v. “gwydr,” p. 1751. This reference was provided by Eric P. Hamp, to whom I am greatly obliged. He generously shared his erudition and gave much of his time to my questions concerning the Celtic background. He draws attention to the necessity of relating Celtic *glas(s)* and *glan* and Irish *glain*, and he notes that Celtic colors seem to have been based more on intensity than on hue. It is useful to consult Hugo Blümner, *Die Farbbezeichnungen bei den römischen Dichtern* (Berlin, 1892) pp. 217–220, “*vitreus, prasinus* u.a.,” which he lists under “Grün,” insisting that the word *vitreus* means glasslike, or better, greenish, like glass.

100. See Pyatt et al., “Non Isatis sed Vitrum,” pp. 68–70; Cyril Stanley Smith and John G. Hawthorne, “Mappae Clavicula: A Little Key to the World of Medieval Techniques—An Annotated Translation Based on a Collation of the Sélestat and Phillipps-Corning Manuscripts, with Reproductions of the Two Manuscripts,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 64, no. 4

(1974) p. 51 n. 108, reference kindly supplied by Eric P. Hamp; for woad see also the excellent entry in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9 A,1 (1961) s.v. "vitrum" (Waid, Glastum, Isatis) pp. 1277–1280 (H. Gams); the production of woad is first reported in Germany (Swabia) in 1276, see *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* XIX (1974) s.v. "Waid," p. 798. Cf. also Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* I (2nd ed., Leipzig/Berlin, 1912; repr. Hildesheim 1969) pp. 248–256. That woad and *glastum* were regularly confused in medieval times, too, is not surprising; see Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld, "And. *rōda, ahd. *matara, mlat. *gaisto, gaisdo*, ahd. *retza*, frühmhd. *risza, rizza*, 'Färberröte, Krapp, Rubia tinctorum L.' und Verwandtes," *Festschrift für Gerhard Cordes zum 65. Geburtstag* II (Neumünster, 1976) pp. 257–293, especially "3. *gaisto, gaisdo* und der Austausch der Farbbezeichnungen," pp. 269–276, reference kindly supplied by Terry Hoad. For indigo and woad see also Charles Singer et al., *A History of Technology*: vol. I, *From Early Times to the Fall of Ancient Empires* (Oxford, 1975) pp. 247 and 249, and F. Sherwood Taylor and Charles Singer, "Pre-Scientific Industrial Chemistry," in *ibid.*, vol. II, *The Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages, ca. 700 B.C. to A.D. 1500* (Oxford, 1972) pp. 347–369.

101. See Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* II, s.v. "vitrum" 1. and 2. *The Oxford English Dictionary* XX (2nd ed., 1989), s.v. "woad," p. 473; J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1922) s.v. "Waid," pp. 1032–1034. However, an *Urverwandtschaft* between *vitrum* and *woad* (German *Waid*) is assumed by Gams in his treatment of *vitrum* in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9 A,1 (1961) pp. 1277–1280, and by Eric Hamp, who has kindly communicated his present view as follows: "Waid < Gmc. **waiþa* < **uōito-*; woad < Gmc. **uaida-* < **uōitō-*. Both of these reflect the IE *nomen instrumenti*, thematic *-to-in *o*-grade best seen in Old Prussian *dalptān* 'chisel.'" Hamp exemplifies this type of word formation in "Varia 2," *Eriu* XXV (1974) pp. 255–261, with *Vesta*/hearth. See also below, note 122, Hamp's suggestion for *vitrum*. I would like to thank Terry Hoad for help in my search for more references to the etymology of *woad*.

102. See Oswald Szemerényi, *An den Quellen des lateinischen Wortschatzes*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 56 (Innsbruck, 1989) pp. 24–26, a reference kindly supplied by Alfred Bammesberger. I would like to thank Don Ringe for his critical scrutiny of Szemerényi's suggestion, which he takes to be possible but, for arguments too complex to report here, finds not altogether acceptable. Eric Hamp kindly informs me that he rejects Szemerényi's derivation. Equally questionable is the attempt to associate *vitrum* (as used in Cicero, *Rab. Post.*, 14.40, dated 54 B.C.) with *vitor* "basketmaker," giving it originally the meaning "translucent woven rush." See Louis Deroy, "D'où vient le nom latin du verre?" *Annales du 9e Congrès international d'étude historique du verre, Nancy (France) 22–28 mai 1983* (Liège, 1985) pp. 21–25; see p. 22 for the difficulties in the transmission of the text. For a straightforward translation of the passage as glass see *Marcus Tullius Cicero, Sämtliche Reden*, eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von Manfred Fuhrmann (Zurich/Munich, 1980) p. 312. Besides passages in Lucretius (6.993), Varro (*Men.* 382), and in the *Appendix Vergiliana* (*Copa* 29) that unquestionably refer to glass, there

are no earlier mentions of *vitrum* in Latin literature than Caesar's, discussed above, where it can no longer be understood to mean woad, and Cicero's (*Rab. Post.*, 14.40), where *vitrum* is most likely specified, together with paper and linen, as merchandise arriving by boat from Egypt at Puteoli. What seems clear, however, is the direct assumption of the Latin *vitrum* by British Celtic as *gwydr* "glass," a borrowing that has other parallels and must have occurred during the time of the Roman occupation of Britain. The word then found its way into Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. See above, note 99.

It is noteworthy that no blue glass seems to have been used in the manufacture of paint in medieval times. Lapis lazuli served as an (extremely expensive) pigment for the illumination of manuscripts as well as for wall paintings, even of such size as Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. Chap. 10 to 33 of the famous 12th-century handbook by the monk Theophilus, *The Various Arts: De diversis artibus*, C. R. Dodwell, ed. and trans. (Oxford, 1986), deal with all aspects of the production and working of glass; purple and yellow, but no blue, glass is mentioned.

103. For early finds in Italy, see below, note 108.

104. See above, note 89. Pliny (*N.H.*, 36.114) characterizes the fact that the middle story of the stage of the theater of Scourus (1st century B.C.) was decorated with glass as "an extravagance unparalleled even in later times," while Trimalchio, the social climber, surprisingly prefers glass vessels to ones of precious metal, in spite of their being inexpensive, because glass "does not smell" (Petronius, *Sat.*, 50.7.1).

105. The British Isles, especially early Ireland, were somewhat underrepresented. For a bibl., see *The Celts*, Sabbatino Moscati, ed., exh. cat., Palazzo Grassi, Venice (Milan, 1991) pp. 693–700, and for our purposes, the chapter by Natalia Venclová on Celtic glass, pp. 445–447; also Venclová, *Prehistoric Glass in Bohemia* (Prague, 1990). I have not seen the important exhibition catalogue *Das keltische Jahrtausend*. May 19–Nov. 1, 1993, of the Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München in Rosenheim (Mainz, 1993).

106. These specimens come from the *oppidum* of Manching in Bavaria, the richest findspot north of the Alps. Cf. also Moscati, *The Celts*, nos. 519, 522f., 526–529, 535, and 545, and photos on pp. 233, 247, 257, and 445–447.

107. See Rupert Gebhard, *Der Glasschmuck aus dem Oppidum von Manching*, Ausgrabungen in Manching XI, 11 (Wiesbaden/Stuttgart, 1989); Venclová, *Prehistoric Glass*, esp. the sections "The Chronology of Bracelets," pp. 131–135, "The Distribution of Celtic Glass and the Question of Production Centres," pp. 142–156, and "Celtic Glass: Its Use and Significance," pp. 156–158. The British Isles stand somewhat apart: see J. Price, "Romano-British Glass Bangles from East Yorkshire," in *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire: Studies in Honour of M. K. Clark* (Oxford, 1988) pp. 339–366.

108. The Toledo Museum of Art has a vast collection of such vessels; see David F. Grose, *The Toledo Museum of Art, Early Ancient Glass* (New York, 1989) colorpls. 96–108 and chap. 3 ("Mediterranean core-formed bottles, 550 B.C.–A.D. 10"). For earlier imports of Egyptian frit objects into Italy see Günther Hölbl,

Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien (Leiden, 1979) pp. 372ff. and the summary pp. 367–394. See also Grose, *Toledo Museum Ancient Glass*, pp. 81ff., “Italic and Etruscan core-formed and rod-formed vessels and objects,” who puts the beginning of glassmaking in Italy into the 8th century B.C. Cf., however, Henderson, “Glass Production,” pp. 448ff., who cites strong evidence for 11th- to 9th-century B.C. glassworking and possibly glassmaking at Frattesina, in Northern Italy.

109. A piece from Chalon-sur-Saône (6th–5th century B.C.) was on exhibit in Venice; see Moscati, *The Celts*, p. 118 (bottom).

110. See Gebhard, *Glasschmuck von Manching*, pp. 142–148.

111. See Venclová, *Prehistoric Glass*, p. 145. However, Henderson, “Scientific Analysis,” p. 35, and pp. 44–53, “Aspects of Later Prehistoric and Early Historic Glass Production,” not only convincingly posits a strong possibility that glass was manufactured in Iron Age Europe, he also adduces evidence for the production of, and trade in, European Bronze Age faience and glass (pp. 36–44); cf. also idem, “Regional Production of Iron Age Glass,” pp. 71ff. A chunk of purple raw glass found at the *oppidum* at Manching was on exhibition in Venice; see Moscati, *The Celts*, cat. no. 545 and photo on p. 446, and Gebhard, *Der Glasschmuck von Manching*, p. 148 and pl. 37.

112. In 386 B.C. Dionysius of Syracuse made the Celts, who had just sacked Rome, his allies; they settled around Ancona. The tribe of the Senones was not defeated by the Romans until 283 B.C. and Sena Gallica (Sinigallia in the Marche) was made a Roman colony. For summaries of the Celtic presence in Italy, see Venceslas Kruta, “I Celti,” in *Italia omnium terrarum alumna: La civiltà dei Veneti, Reti, Liguri, Celti, Piceni, Umbri, Latini, Campani et Iapigi* (Milan, 1988) pp. 263–311. See also idem, “The First Celtic Expansion: Prehistory to History,” Daniele Vitali, “The Celts in Italy,” and Ermanno A. Arslan, “The Transpadane Celts,” in Moscati, *The Celts*, pp. 195–212; pp. 220–235, and pp. 461–470. Also T. J. Cornell, “Rome and Latium to 390 B.C.,” in *The Cambridge Ancient History* XII, 2, F. W. Walbank et al., eds. (Cambridge, 2nd ed., 1989) pp. 302–306, and map 4 on p. 304. “The Celts in Northern Italy,” and Maria Teresa Grassi, *I Celti in Italia* (Milan, 1991). Familiar with the luxuries of courtly life, the Celtic chieftains cannot have failed to take note of such objects as the splendid Hellenistic blue glass footed bowl, cast, lathe-cut, ground, and polished, of the 3rd century B.C., illustrated in *NFA Classical Auctions, Inc., Egyptian, Near Eastern, Greek and Roman Antiquities*, cat. of an auction held in New York, Dec. 11, 1991, lot 108.

113. See Henderson, “Regional Production of Iron Age Glass,” pp. 63–72, “Aspects of Later Prehistoric,” pp. 44–53, and “Industrial Specialization,” esp. the section “Glass Production: A Model for Later Prehistoric Specialized Industry,” pp. 122–135; E. Marianne Stern, “A Fourth-Century Factory for Gathering and Blowing Chunks of Glass?” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5 (1992) pp. 490–494; a review of Gladys Davidson Weinberg, *Excavations at Jalame: Site of a Glass Factory in Late Roman Palestine* (Columbia, Mo., 1988), appears to offer a solution for a number of unsolved questions concerning ancient glassworking. I can imagine that in the Celtic *oppida* as well, the absence of certain features heretofore believed indispensable for glassmaking could be explained by this novel view of ancient glassworking practices.

114. Pyatt et al., “Non Isatis sed Vitrum,” p. 70, draw attention to a group of small bronze pestles and mortars, found in England and of Iron Age and early Roman date, but “without an unequivocal male context.” There were surely a variety of methods available for crushing glass. For the meaning of colors in ancient societies, see Lia Luzzatto, Renata Pompas, *Il significato dei colori nelle civiltà antiche* (Milan, 1988) esp. chap. IV, “Il blu-azzurro,” pp. 127–151.

115. See the evidence in Henderson, “Glass Production,” and R. G. Newton and Colin Renfrew, “British Faience Beads Reconsidered,” *Antiquity* 44 (1970) pp. 199–206.

116. See Raffaele C. De Marinis, “Golasecca Culture and Its Links with Celts beyond the Alps,” and Ludwig Pauli, “The Alps at the Time of the First Celtic Migration,” in Moscati, *The Celts*, pp. 93–102 and pp. 215–218. Also G. Dobesch, “Zur Einwanderung der Kelten in Oberitalien: Aus der Geschichte der keltischen Wanderungen im 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr.,” *Tyche* 4 (1989) pp. 35–85; I. Wernicke, *Die Kelten in Italien: Die Einwanderung und die frühen Handelsbeziehungen zu den Etruskern* (Stuttgart, 1991); and O. H. Frey, “Como fra Etruschi e Celti,” *Rivista archeologica dell'antica provincia e diocesi di Como* 171 (1989) pp. 5–26.

117. Michel Lejeune, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises II 1, Textes gallo-étrusques, textes gallo-latins sur pierre* (XLVè supplément à *Gallia*, Paris, 1988) especially pp. 3–8, for the historic frame. The reference was kindly supplied by Eric P. Hamp. In response to this work and its concomitant volumes, Aldo L. Prosdocimi and Patrizia Solinas, “The Language and Writing of the Early Celts,” in Moscati, *The Celts*, pp. 51–59, esp. p. 59, n. 1, plead for including “non-Gaulish Italian Celticity.” See also E. P. Hamp, “Varia 2, The Lepontic Vergiate Epitaph,” *Celtica* XXII (1991) pp. 34–38.

118. See Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. “gladius,” pp. 603ff.; *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* VI 2 (Leipzig, 1934) s.v. “gladius,” pp. 2011–2028 (Koch). The same holds true for much of the equestrian terminology as well as for specialized types of chariots; for the latter see Moscati, *The Celts*, p. 356. Eric Hamp kindly adduces the word *carpentum*—a two-wheeled carriage—and its dependents (*carpentarius*), and other products of artisans. See also P. F. Stary, “Die militärischen Rückwirkungen der keltischen Invasion auf die Apennin-Halbinsel,” *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 13/14 (1986–87) pp. 65–117.

119. See Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* II, s.v. “viriae,” pp. 799ff. Here, Pliny clearly states the linguistic background, something he fails to do in another, highly illuminating context. In book 33 (which deals with metallurgy), when describing methods of gold mining, he uses a number of technical terms of Celtiberian origin, apparently picked up during his time as procurator in Spain: *segutilum* (67), *talutium* (67), *apitascudis* (69), *tasconium* (69), *arrugiæ* (70), *gangadia* (72f.), *urium* (75), *palagae/palacurmael/baluces* (77); see König and Winkler, *C. Plinius Secundus Metallurgie*, commentary to the passages, pp. 147–151, and J. Kroll in his comments on Pliny’s *Natural History*, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 21 (1951) p. 395. See also H. Hoenigswald, “Celtiberi: A Note,” in *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture, Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp*, A. E. T.

Matonis and Daniel F. Melia, eds. (Van Nuys, Calif., 1990); Martin Almagro-Gorbea, "The Celts of the Iberian Peninsula," in Moscati, *The Celts*, pp. 389–405; and Francisco Barillo Mozota, "The Origin of the Celtiberians," *Mediterranean Archaeology* 4 (1991) pp. 65–90. I have not seen Majolie Lenerz de Wilde, *Iberia celtica. Archäologische Zeugnisse keltischer Kultur auf der Pyrenäenhalbinsel*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1991).

120. The Prähistorische Staatssammlung in Munich has a rich array of such fragments from tombs excavated recently at Munich-Aubing. For their use as amulets cf. Venclová, *Prehistoric Glass*, pp. 157f.

121. The method followed in this study has something in common with the approach of the journal *Wörter und Sachen, Kulturhistorische Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Sachforschung* 1–18 (Heidelberg, 1909–37), continued as *Zeitschrift für indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft, Volksforschung und Kulturgeschichte* 19–23 (1938–41/2). The demise of the journal left a gap in the field, but a renewed interest is clearly arising; see Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, "Wörter und Sachen: Zur Bedeutung einer Methode für die Frühmittelalterforschung—Der Pflug und seine Bezeichnungen," in *Wörter und Sachen im Lichte der Bezeichnungsforschung*, by Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, ed. (Berlin, 1981) pp. 1–41, esp. p. 2 n. 9. M. Foucault's *Les Mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris, 1966) is focused on different problems.

122. Linguists have conjectured that *vitrum*, like *glaesum*, might derive from the north (Germanic **hvitra-*); they also hypothesized an *Urverwandtschaft* with ancient Indic *śvitrāh* and its relatives, meaning "white" or "shining." Cf. Walde and Hofmann, *Latein-*

isches etymologisches Wörterbuch, II, s.v. "vitrum" p. 806. Eric Hamp stresses reservations about this and thinks "*vitrum* would be Latin ← Celtic **ui-tro-m*, a *nomen instrumenti* like *arātrum*, or Irish *criathar*, < IE **-tro-*." It is noteworthy that the Greek word for glass (*hualos*) also has no known etymology; see Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Heidelberg, 4th ed., 1950) p. 996, and Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1970) p. 953: "Technisches Wort ohne sichere Erklärung." Both hint at the similarity with the first part of the "Scythian" (i.e., Iranian) word for amber reported by Pliny (*N.H.* 37.33), *sualiternicum*: "... it is a mineral which is dug up in two regions of Scythia, in one of which it is of a white, waxy colour and is called 'electrum,' while in the other it is tawny and known as 'sualiternicum.'" I would like to thank Rüdiger Schmitt for kindly communicating his hesitation about the possible Iranian background of Greek *hualos* and Latin *sualiternicum*. It should be kept in mind that the word *sualiternicum* in Pliny's text is badly transmitted. The editor of the Loeb text conjectures *hyalelectricum*. Frisk also refers to the semantically close *glēsūm* (see above, note 98). Interestingly, the two terms for glass in Chinese, *po-li* and *liuli*, are foreign words. Victor Mair kindly suggests that the more common form *po-li* may be a transcription of Pali/Prakit *phalika*, Sanskrit *sphatika*, crystal, i.e., one of the seven Buddhist jewels or precious substances. Even though the manufacture of glass was clearly first practiced in the Middle East during the Bronze Age (see Tait, *Five Thousand Years of Glass*, chap. 1), the special uses glass and related substances were put to by northern tribes and the terms they introduced seem to have influenced the classical world very strongly.

A Roman Figure-Engraved Glass Bowl

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IN 1910 J. PIERPONT MORGAN gave to The Metropolitan Museum of Art a remarkable collection of Roman glass, formerly the Julien Gréau collection,¹ which included a score of figure-engraved pieces. In 1928, at an auction held at the Anderson Gallery in New York,² a number of these figure-engraved glasses were sold.³ The most interesting piece, however, is still in the Department of Greek and Roman Art⁴ and has yet to be fully published (Figure 1).

Blown glass bearing engraved figures appears as early as the first century A.D. (although most pieces date from the second to the fifth century) and is found predominantly in the western provinces of the Roman Empire. The quality of this relatively late production belies the widespread conception that glassware was a declining industry at the end of the empire.⁵ As far as I know, neither an engraver's workshop nor any engraving tools dating back to the Roman Empire have yet been discovered.⁶ R. J. Charleston assumed, rightfully, that these must have resembled gem-engraving tools: a small hand-powered lathe, at the extremity of which the worker could adapt a number of wheels or sharp points. With these he would trace lines, dots, or shallow incisions in the wall of the glass.⁷ A passage in Pliny's *Natural History* obviously applies to cast vessels that were afterward ground and polished on a lathe rather than to engraved glass. This kind of cast-and-ground or polished ware, still popular in the lifetime of Pliny, had all but disappeared by the third century.⁸

In the 1920s, Fritz Fremersdorf, the late curator of the Cologne museum, undertook the task of classifying, by workshops, the large glass collection in his museum.⁹ A number of interesting studies have been published since, and they have considerably

enlarged the corpus of known material.¹⁰ Thus, according to my research, about twenty different workshops can be identified today.

Engraving techniques, such as deep wheel-cutting of narrow incisions, facet-cutting, and lines of points, serve as markers to distinguish one group from another.¹¹ The shape of a vase may help to provide a date. Unfortunately, only a precious few engraved glasses have been found in well-dated contexts. The subject of the scene within each group or workshop may vary widely—Christian or pagan scene, hunting scene, circus scene. This variety reflects the different origins of the patrons.

Patrons probably did not decide exactly what was to be engraved but most likely chose the elements of a particular scene from a sketchbook or pattern-book. Indeed, though details may differ, many subjects (hunting scenes, for instance) seem to follow a set pattern. The small surface of the glass allowed relatively few variations for the engraver. These objects, sometimes available even to customers of modest means, were not intended for everyday use. One can assume that, just like the silverware belonging to wealthier families, they commemorated a happy event in the lives of their owners or were made as gifts (*largitiones*).

Some of the most exquisite pieces, however, were obviously commissioned as presentation plates, or *missoria*,¹² by very wealthy patrons. The best example is a lavishly decorated plate, now lost, documented in drawings of the seventeenth century (Appendix 31). It seems to commemorate the nomination of a very high civil servant in Rome: a prefect of the city or, more likely, a prefect of the *annona* (wheat supply). For such occasions, these plates could be tailor-made to suit the taste of the client.

The reader must realize that the glassblower and the engraver worked independently, not together. A provision existed in Roman law¹³ concerning the

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The notes for this article begin on page 52.



Figure 1. Roman glass bowl. From Froehner, *Collection Julien Gréau* (1903)

responsibility of a glassblower who provided the engraver with a defective glass. Had they worked in the same workshop under common supervision, such legislation would have been unnecessary. Besides, in lists of artisans granted immunities both Theodosian and Justinian codes clearly separated the *vitriarius* (glassblower) from the *diatretarius* (engraver).¹⁴

It is therefore difficult to pinpoint the area of production of engraved glass, because the engraver (much more easily than the glassblower) could travel from city to city, with a small provision of unadorned bowls and plates, in search of better markets. This fact, rather than export alone, might explain the wide diffusion of certain groups.¹⁵ By the concentration of known findspots, the main centers seem to have been situated in Italy, especially around Rome, and in the Rhine area, namely Cologne and Trier, cities that gained military and political importance in the fourth century. Craftsmen were then able to find a large clientele of civil servants and officers in these centers. This may also explain the mix of pagan and Christian themes; the aristocracy in the Western world (especially in Rome), the driving force behind the conservative

reaction, clung tenaciously to its old beliefs.¹⁶

Several of the fragments come from scattered findspots in the eastern provinces—Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. Alexandria must have been home to some workshops, but its devastation and economic decline brought about by the Domitianus rebellion of 297–298 probably forced them to move elsewhere in search of clients.

The Metropolitan Museum's vase, to which we now return (Figure 2), is a free-blown hemispherical bowl. The outer side of the rim is underlined by three parallel grooves. The engraving, done with a rotating wheel, left deep facets on the outer surface. When acquired, it was already broken into nine joined fragments. The bottom, as well as parts of the rim and wall, are missing. The glass, slightly greenish originally, is now somewhat iridescent and very pitted in places: the engraving is almost obliterated where the pitting is very bad.

The wall of the bowl is decorated with seven figures and four animals divided into two groups. The first group is flanked on either side by a clump of trees; the first figure, a man clad in a simple pallium, leans on his spear, held in the left hand; he is kept from falling by another man, dressed in a short



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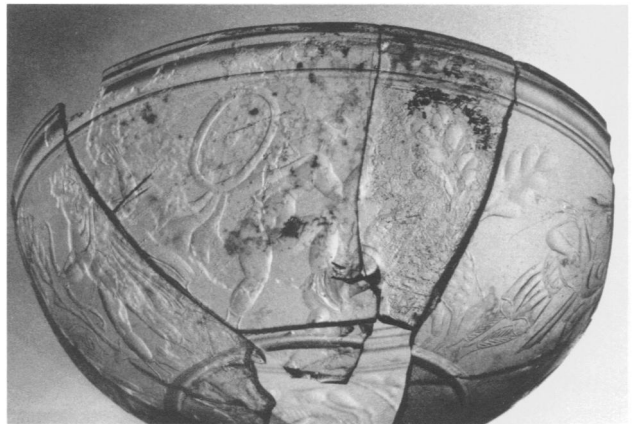
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Figures 2–7. Bowl, Roman, early 4th century A.D.? H. 7.7 cm, Diam. 18 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1910, 17.194.328



Figure 8. Detail of “little hunt” section of Piazza Armerina mosaic, Roman, early 4th century. Rome, Piazza Armerina



Figure 9. Bowl (Appendix 1), Roman. Glass, 14.2 x 8.1 cm. Rome, Vatican Museum (photo courtesy of the Biblioteca Vaticana)



Figure 10. Drawing of a second-century A.D. Roman sarcophagus, showing scene from Euripides' *Phoenician Women* (from C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarcophagreliefs II, Mythologische Cyklen*, 1890, pl. 60)

tunic and wearing leggings. To the right, a woman is running in their direction with her arms outstretched. A long veil hangs from her elbows; the folds of a pallium are visible behind her legs. At her left, behind the foliage of the tree (Figure 3), a thick fillet delimits the entrance of a lair, from which a boar charges toward the right (Figure 4). This feature marks the beginning of the second group of figures. Because of a break in the wall of the vase, only the boar's back survives, etched with a triple line of ovolos and bristly hair.

In front of the boar, a hunter rushes forward, a spear held firmly with both hands (Figure 5). His right shoulder is covered by a pallium that hangs down to his waist. Two dogs, one by his side and the other near the entrance of the lair, also attack the boar. Behind the hunter, two archers take aim at the animal. Their left hands are held up, the thumb and the index finger still held close together, as if

they had just released their arrows. The first archer, a woman (Figure 6), wears a short tunic with a single strap and the second, a man, has a pallium around his shoulder.

The seventh character, a bearded man who turns his back to the archers, confronts another boar, already half hidden in its lair (Figure 7). He stands with his left leg raised, as if to avoid the charge of the beast. He holds a shield high in his right hand and a spear in the left—a now invisible spear because of the pitting of the glass. His pallium floats behind him and he wears either a helmet or a Phrygian cap.¹⁷ Only the back of the boar is visible behind some foliage,¹⁸ partly obliterated by the poor state of the glass. This episode obviously belongs to the first scene; the boar pictured here has just wounded the falling hunter and escapes toward the bush (Figure 2). G. Del Massias, who made beautiful engravings of these scenes, misread their sequence.

The theme of the boar hunt, rather common in Roman art, is often associated with the myths of the Calydonian hunt and the death of Adonis. The engraver united both subjects here, as Christoph Clairmont and Victorine von Gonzenbach noticed in 1958;¹⁹ on the left, Aphrodite runs toward a fatally wounded Adonis, while the killer boar disappears in the forest in front of the helmeted(?) hunter. In the iconography of Adonis the hunt and the death of the hero usually appear together.²⁰

On the right, one recognizes Meleager and the Calydonian boar; behind Meleager the first archer would be Atalanta, clad in the tunic this huntress customarily wears. As far as I know, this is the only example where both myths are pictured together.

The Metropolitan Museum's glass, as well as a few of the vases belonging to the same group, call to mind a section of the famous mosaic of Piazza Armerina, dated to the early fourth century.²¹ Indeed, we can compare to the Museum's glass the so-called little hunt section (Figure 8), which shows a hunter thrown down on the ground and Adonis' hunting mate, into whose arms he is falling. The latter is also the look-alike of an unseated rider on an engraved glass bowl in the Vatican Museum (Figure 9).²² Both figures have the same gesture, the same clothes with the same folds, and the same leggings. It seems that the engraver and the mosaicist used the same source—conceivably even the same patternbook. While we do not have to look for a particular relation between the glass group and the mosaic of Piazza Armerina, the recurrence of this figure raises the complex problem of the diffusion of sketchbooks in the artistic milieu where mosaicists and glass workers, among others, were especially mobile.

The sources copied in these sketchbooks, none of which has survived, may have been illuminated manuscripts, mosaics, reliefs on public and private monuments, such as sarcophagi, and perhaps other artists' sketchbooks.²³

The figure of Atalanta is reminiscent of the huntress seen on many a Meleager sarcophagus;²⁴ as for Aphrodite, she resembles the Nereids on a sarcophagus of the second century A.D., now in the Ancona Museum.²⁵

The helmeted(?) hunter is puzzling, for it is unusual to see a figure rendered in this way on a hunting scene. It is perhaps derived from a damaged sarcophagus dated to the second century A.D. that bears several scenes from Euripides' *Phoenician Women*.²⁶ Capaneus, among others, is seen about to

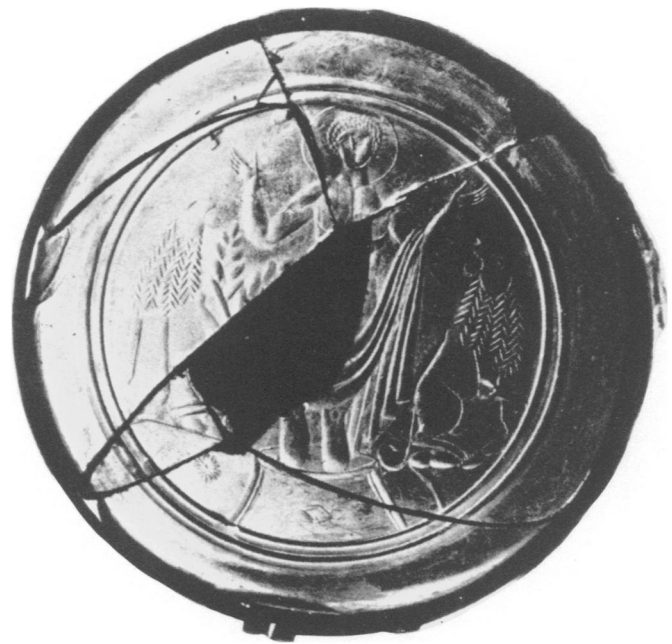


Figure 11. Bowl (Appendix 5), Roman, mid-4th century A.D. Glass, H. 3.6 cm; Diam. 15.8 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale Concordiese (photo from *Bolletino d'Arte*, 1952)

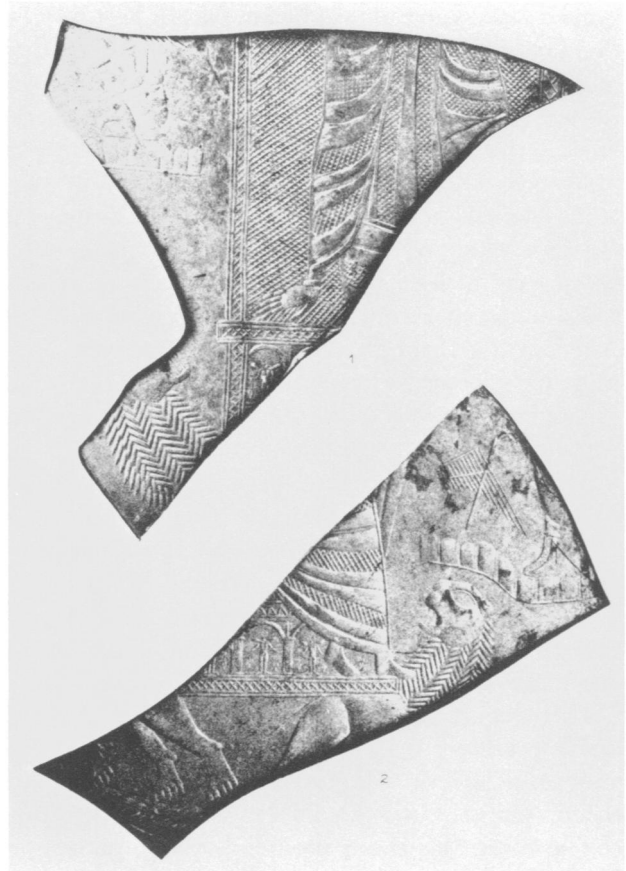


Figure 12. Plate (Appendix 11), Roman, 4th century A.D. Glass. Formerly Figdor Collection; whereabouts unknown (photo from Riegl, *Die Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, 2nd ed., 1927)

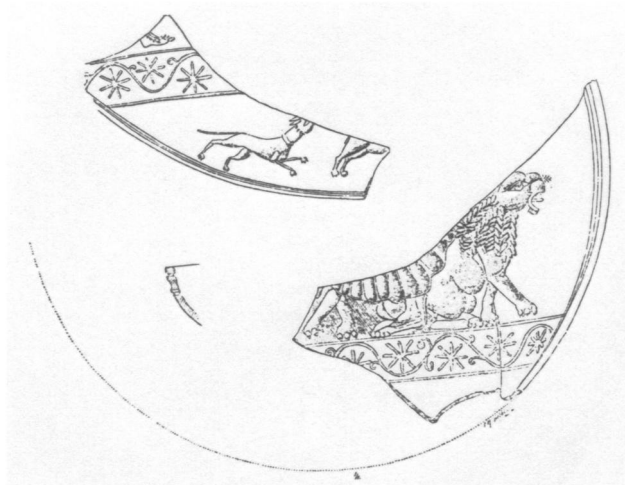


Figure 13. Bowl (Appendix 6), Roman. Glass. Whereabouts unknown (photo from *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita*, 1903)

scale a ladder to storm Thebes, defiantly raising his shield above his head, one foot on the lower rung of the ladder (Figure 10).

The Museum's bowl belongs to a group of engraved glasses already studied in part by R. Barovier-Mentasti.²⁷ She attributes it to a "Master of the Cup of Daniel" (named after the cup in the Museo Nazionale Concordese), whose floruit she places around the middle of the fourth century in the area of Rome, where his workshop was probably situated. She lists in her article ten vases, including the one illustrated in this essay (Figure 11). She believes it to be from the same hand, and I have no reason to challenge her conclusions as I agree with them. After sifting through the published sources, however, we may add several other glasses to the list of works by the "Master of the Cup of Daniel" (see Appendix).

Among them, two little-known vases are especially interesting. The first one (Figure 12),²⁸ formerly in a private collection, shows Cybele and the death of Attis, a rare enough scene in Roman art.²⁹ The lions in front of the goddess are quite similar to the ones pictured on either side of Daniel in the eponymous cup of the group.³⁰

The second one, a fragmentary bowl discovered in Italy (Figure 13),³¹ apparently represents Daniel and Habakkuk in the lion's den. Only one lion is clearly visible, but it is almost identical to the preceding ones with the triple herringbone pattern of the mane, large almond-shaped eyes, and a short snout.

All these bowls exhibit the same characteristics: the deep-facet cutting, the stiffness of the figures,

the twisting of the torsos (the abdomen is seen from a three-quarter view, the thorax is seen frontally), and the unusual length of the hands and fingers. The head, when seen in profile, is characterized by a long nose, large almond-shaped eyes, and hair and beard formed by several rows of small ovals. When the head is shown frontally, the cheeks are round, the mouth small, and the eyes still almond-shaped. The folds of the clothes are very wide and very stiff. The foliage³² is usually pictured by deep-facet cuts shaped like palmettes and the tree trunk by a row of ovals.

Because of the quality of its workmanship and the interest of its iconography, the Metropolitan Museum's bowl is one of the fine pieces in this group and it is unfortunate that it has remained little known for so long. The Appendix provides a list (which is by no means exhaustive) of the glasses I believe belong to the same group. They were not necessarily made by the same artist, but were decorated by engravers working in the same workshop (perhaps as apprentices) as the "Master of the Cup of Daniel" or heavily influenced by him.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Joan Mertens for allowing me to study the glass bowl in the Department of Greek and Roman Art, providing photographs of it, and giving me information on the whereabouts of glass formerly in the Museum's collections; Patricia Coyne and David Seale of Bishop's University, who read early drafts of this paper. Part of this research was done at the Dumbarton Oaks Library, while I was a summer fellow in Byzantine studies. It was the subject of a paper read to the congress of the Canadian Classical Association in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, May 25, 1992.

NOTES

1. W. Froehner, *Collection Julien Gréau. Verrerie antique . . . appartenant à M. John Pierpont Morgan* (Paris, 1903) nos. 1078–1095. Cf G. M. A. Richter, *MMAB* 6 (1911) suppl. 7.
2. A. Oliver, Jr., "Tapestry in Glass," *Journal of Glass Studies* 17 (1975) p. 68.
3. They were bought by the Sarasota Museum in Florida and the Higgins Armory, Hartford, which recently sold them again; Sotheby's sale cat. no. 1381, Dec. 1991, lot 213 et al.

4. Acquired in 1910, inv. 17.194.328. Froehner, *Collection Julien Gréau*, no. 1092, pl. 187, pp. 1–2; M. Ginsburg, *Hunting Scenes on Roman Glass in the Rhineland*, University of Nebraska Studies no. 41, 2 (Lincoln, 1941) p. 21, fig. 10, and p. 29 n. 47.

5. Contra R. J. Charleston, “Wheel-Engraving and -Cutting: Some Early Equipment,” *Journal of Glass Studies* 6 (1964) p. 87.

6. Charleston, “Wheel-Engraving,” p. 85, does mention Mesopotamian gem-engraving tools packed in a box that was discovered at Tell Asmar, Iraq, in a 2500 B.C. context.

7. Such a lathe is figured on a gem cutter’s gravestone. Charleston, “Wheel-Engraving,” p. 86 and n. 18, p. 85, fig. 2.

8. Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXVI, 193, “Aliud torno teritur, aliud modo argenteo caelatur”: the first part of the sentence, as Charleston explained (“Wheel-Engraving,” p. 85), means that glass may be worked on a rotary tool; but the rest is vaguer: “Some glass is engraved (or inlaid) like silverware.” He may be writing about relief cut-glass or, less likely, about obsidian plates ornamented with glass niello. A fragment of such a plate is in the Corning Museum of Glass; see S. Goldstein, *Pre-Roman and Early Roman Glass in the Corning Museum of Glass* (Corning, N.Y., 1979) p. 285, no. 858.

9. F. Fremersdorf wrote extensively on cut glass. See in particular: *Figürlich geschliffene Gläser, eine Kölner Werkstatt des 3. Jahrhunderts*, *Römische-Germanische Forschungen* 19 (Berlin, 1951); *Die römischen Gläser mit Schliff, Bemalung und Goldauflagen aus Köln*, *Denkmäler des römischen Köln* 8 (Cologne, 1967); *Antikes, islamisches und mittelalterliches Glas . . . in den vatikanischen Sammlungen Roms*, *Catalogo del Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* 5 (Vatican City, 1975).

10. For instance, M. Floriani-Squarciapino, “Coppa cristiana da Ostia,” *Bollettino d’Arte* 37 (1952) pp. 204–210; idem, “Vetri incisi portuensi del Museo Sacro del Vaticano,” *Rendi Conti della Pontificale Accademia di Archeologia* 27 (1953–54) pp. 255–269; D. B. Harden, “The Wint-Hill Hunting Bowl and Related Glasses,” *Journal of Glass Studies* 2 (1960) pp. 44–81; R. Barovier-Mentasti, “La coppa incisa con ‘Daniele nella fossa dei leoni’ al Museo nazionale concordiese,” *Aquileia Nostra* 57 (1983) pp. 158–172.

11. As far as I know, the technical studies of glass engraving prior to the Middle Ages are few. See, however, M. Pelliot, “Verres gravés au diamant,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 2 (1930) esp. pp. 302–308; Charleston, “Wheel-Engraving,” esp. pp. 83–87 with bibl.

12. There are at least five surviving examples of presentation dishes, not only two as D. B. Harden believed (*Glass of the Caesars* [Milan, 1987] p. 224); nos. 19, 24, and 31 of the Appendix, to which can be added a fragment of the former Gréau collection, now in Sarasota (Oliver, “Tapestry in Glass,” pp. 68–70), and fragments now in Rome, M. Armellini, “I vetri cristiani della collezione di Campo Santo,” *Römische Quartalschrift für Altertumskunde* 6 (1892) pp. 52–57, pl. 3.1; only a drawing is published. Although I could not obtain photographs of this vase, I believe it belongs to the group studied here. It is not, however, listed in the Appendix. K. S. Painter, “A Fragment of a Glass Dish in the Antiquarium Comunale, Rome,” *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989) p. 91, mentions a few more fragments he believes belong to presentation plates.

13. M. L. Trowbridge, *Philological Studies in Ancient Glass*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature XIII, 3–4 (Urbana, 1930) p. 110 n. 27, quoting the *Digest* of Ulpian, 9, 2, 27, 29.

14. Trowbridge, *Philological Studies*, p. 110 n. 28; the reference to the Justinian code should read 10, 64, 1.

15. On the problem of the origin of workshops, see, for instance, D. B. Harden, *Journal of Roman Studies* 43 (1953) pp. 201–202, and Ch. Clairmont, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report IV*, 5 (New Haven, 1963) pp. 58–59, on the Cologne cut glasses. Whereas Fremersdorf believed them to have been made in Cologne, Harden and Clairmont argued for an eastern origin; mass-produced glassware was indeed exported very long distances from eastern workshops. On the other hand, glass engravers sometimes received commissions for important pieces and could move from one province to another in search of such commissions.

16. This social struggle is well documented. See, for instance, Peter Brown, “Aspects of Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 51 (1961) pp. 1–12. The fragments of the Cybele and Attis plate (Appendix no. 11), to cite but one example, could perhaps be a relic of the short-lived official renewal of this cult by Nicomachus Flavianus under Eugenius (392–394). On this particular point, see J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Courts—364–425* (Oxford, 1975) p. 242 with bibl.

17. Ginsburg, *Hunting Scenes*, p. 30, identified it as a helmet.

18. On Roman hunting scenes boars are usually pictured rushing in and out of bushes. This is also in accordance with Ovid’s relation of the incident (*Metamorphoses* VIII, 334–337; X, 710–711).

19. They were the first to realize this: “Both myths, i.e., of Meleager and Adonis, are pictured. . . .” Letter dated Oct. 10, 1958, in the MMA Greek and Roman Department archives.

20. On the iconography of Adonis, see W. Attalah, *Adonis dans la littérature et l’art grec* (Paris, 1966); B. Servais-Soyez, “Adonis,” *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich, 1981) I, pp. 222–229; G. Daltrop, *Die kalydonische Jagd in der Antike* (Berlin, 1966).

21. R. J. A. Wilson, *Piazza Armerina* (Austin, 1983) with bibl.

22. Cf. Appendix no. 1.

23. For the complex question of the use of the sketchbook, see, for instance, K. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (London, 1978) p. 198; R. J. A. Wilson, “Mosaics, Mosaicists and Patrons,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 71 (1981) pp. 173–177; idem, “Roman Mosaics in Sicily. The African Connection,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 86 (1982) p. 425 and n. 5. The mosaics of Piazza Armerina, according to specialists, were made by North African artisans, who, like painters and sculptors, were itinerant and used sketchbooks; for all we know, these could have been copied and used by glass engravers. But it does not mean that we should look for any particular link between the mosaic of Piazza Armerina and the group of the Master of the Cup of Daniel.

24. G. Koch, *Die mythologische Sarkophage* (Berlin, 1975) VI, p. 91, no. 17, pl. 24a.

25. C. Robert and A. Rumpf, *Die antiken Sarkophagen V, 1, Die Meerwesen auf antiken Sarkophagreliefs* (Berlin, 1939) p. 48, no. 118, pl. 38.

26. C. Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs II, Mythologische Cyklen* (Berlin, 1890) p. 192, no. 184, pl. 60; I. Krauskopf, "Eteokles," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich, 1988) IV, p. 32, no. 36, with bibl.

27. Cf. Barovier-Mentasti, "La coppa incisa," pp. 157–172; cf. Appendix no. 5.

28. Cf. Appendix no. 11.

29. M. Vermaseren, "L'icongraphie d'Attis mourant," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden, 1981) pp. 419–431.

30. Cf. Appendix no. 5.

31. Cf. Appendix no. 6.

32. If any, as in the glass studied here and Appendix nos. 3, 13, 28.

APPENDIX

H. = height L. = length W. = width; all measurements are in centimeters

1. Fragmentary plate, unseated hunter, two separate fragments, found in Porto. Museo Vaticano, inv. 302–303. 14.2 x 8.1. G.-B. De Rossi, "Ustensili cristiani scoperti in Porto," *Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana* (1868) pl. 1, no. 2; Floriani-Squarciapino, "Vetri incisi portuensi," p. 261, fig. 4; Fremersdorf, *Antikes . . . Glas*, pp. 87–88, nos. 830, 831, pls. 47–48.

2. Fragment of hemispherical bowl, horseman. Museo Vaticano, inv. 304. H. 5.5, L. 7.6. Fremersdorf, *Antikes . . . Glas*, p. 88, no. 832, pl. 48.

3. Fragment of bowl, hunting scene, found in Palestrina. Murano, Museo Vitriario, box 40 A. Restored Diam. ca. 17.5. J. W. Salomonson, "Kunstgeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen zu einem Tonfragment in der Sammlung Benaki in Athen," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 48 (1973) fig. 36; R. Barovier-Mentasti, "Due vetri incisi tardo-romani al museo vitriario di Murano," *Bollettino dei Musei civici Veneziani* 3–4 (1973) p. 44, fig. 25; idem, "La coppa incisa," p. 166, fig. 2, 3.

4. Fragment of bowl, hunting dogs in pursuit of a deer. Toledo Museum of Art, inv. 23.1888. L. 21.6. *Art in Glass: a Guide to the Collection* (Toledo, 1969) p. 31; Salomonson, "Kunstgeschichtliche . . . Untersuchungen," p. 50, fig. 37.

5. Bowl, Daniel between two lions, six joined fragments, the center missing, found in Concordia. Museo Nazionale Concordiese, inv. 297. H. 3.6, Diam. 15.8. *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1882) p. 367; Floriani-Squarciapino, "Coppa cristiana," p. 209, fig. 7; *Bulletin de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre* 9 (1981–83) p. 87, fig. 2; Barovier-Mentasti, "La coppa incisa," pp. 154f.; B. Caron, "Un verre gravé de Cybèle et d'Attis mourant," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 66 (1991) p. 172, fig. 3.

6. Bowl, Daniel and Habakkuk in the lion's den, three fragments, two of them joined, found in Falerone. Whereabouts unknown. Restored Diam. 22. G. Brizio, "Scoperte di antichità varie dell'epoca romana," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1903) p. 111, fig. 7; Caron, "Un verre gravé," p. 174, fig. 6.

7. Bowl, the Good Shepherd, sixteen joined fragments, part of the rim is missing, found in Ostia. Museo Ostiense, inv. 5201. H. restored 5.6, Diam. 18. Floriani-Squarciapino, "Coppa cristiana," pp. 204–210; idem, "Vetri incisi portuensi," p. 256, fig. 1.

8. Fragment. Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Fla. 4 x 6.5. Much like the former; apparently pitted and damaged. Froehner, *Collection Julien Gréau*, no. 1098, pl. 188.4.

9. Fragment of plate, legs of two figures, found in Porto. Museo Vaticano, inv. 301. W. 9.1. Floriani-Squarciapino, "Vetri incisi portuensi," p. 265, fig. 7; Fremersdorf, *Antikes . . . Glas*, p. 87, no. 29, pl. 829; Caron, "Un verre gravé," p. 172, fig. 4.

10. Fragment of plate, figure in funerary garments and putto, found in Porto. Museo Vaticano, inv. 298. 14.5 x 5.5. Floriani-Squarciapino, "Vetri incisi portuensi," p. 260, fig. 5; Fremersdorf, *Antikes . . . Glas*, p. 90, no. 843, pls. 55, 57; Caron, "Un verre gravé," p. 173, fig. 5.

11. Plate, Cybele, dying Attis, and putto, two separate fragments, whereabouts unknown. Formerly in the Figdor collection. Found at Villa Nunziatella, near Rome. A. Riegl, *Die Spätromische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, 1901) pp. 170–171, pl. 23.1; Caron, "Un verre gravé," p. 170, fig. 1.

12. Bowl, Perseus flying, three joined fragments, found at Iruña. Archaeological Museum of Alava. L. 10.5. J. M. Blázquez Martínez, "Perseo volande sobre un vidrio de Iruña," *Zephyrus* 9 (1958) pp. 118–121, quotes G. Nieto, *El Oppidum de Iruña (Alava)* (Vitoria, Spain, 1958) fig. 116; M. Vigil Pascual, *Vidrio en el mundo antiguo* (Madrid, 1969) p. 151, fig. 130; A. Balil, "Vidrio tardo romano de Iruña," *Estudios de Arqueología Alavesa* 6 (1974) pp. 173–181; *Museo arqueológico de Alava* (Vitoria, Spain, 1983) pl. 146.

13. Fragment of plate, man in Phrygian clothes. Museo Vaticano, inv. 300. H. 8.6, L. 7. Fremersdorf, *Antikes . . . Glas*, p. 87, no. 828, pl. 46.

14. Fragment of plate, trans. of the "Lex Domini," found in Porto. Museo Vaticano, inv. 313. H. 7.8, L. 11. De Rossi, "Ustensili cristiani," pl. 1, no. 3; P. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana* (Prato, 1880) VI, pl. 464, no. 5; Floriani-Squarciapino, "Coppa cristiana," p. 209, fig. 8; idem, "Vetri incisi portuensi," p. 259, fig. 3; *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et liturgique*, VI, 2, col. 1578, fig. 5408; Fremersdorf, *Antikes . . . Glas*, p. 91, no. 846, pl. 55.

15. Bowl, procession, fragment of rim. Museo Vaticano, inv. 305. H. 5.9, L. 6.2. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte*, pl. 462, no. 13; Fremersdorf, *Antikes . . . Glas*, p. 91, no. 848, pls. 54, 56.

16. Bowl, scene of baptism, fragment of rim. Museo Vaticano, inv. 312. L. 8.1, W. 7.9. G.-B. De Rossi, "Insigne vetro, sul quale è effigiato il battesimo d'una fanciulla," *Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana* 3, 1 (1876) pp. 7–16, pl. 1, 1; Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte*, pl. 464, no. 1; A. Profumo, *Studi Romani* I, 1–2 (1913) p. 117.

pl. 14.1; *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et liturgique*, I, 2, col. 3130, fig. 1115; Fremersdorf, *Antikes . . . Glas*, pp. 91–92, no. 849, pls. 54, 56.

17. Plate, enthroned figure; in the background, putti and cornucopia, large fragment of rim, found in Porto. Museo Vaticano, inv. 299. L. 14.8, W. 8.7. Floriani-Squarciapino, "Vetri incisi portuensi," p. 253, fig. 6; Salomonson, "Kunstgeschichtliche . . . Untersuchungen," p. 55, fig. 40; Fremersdorf, *Antikes . . . Glas*, p. 87, no. 827, pl. 47.

18. Plate, Christ between two saints, three fragments, found in Porto. Museo Vaticano, inv. 314 and 315. L. 17 and 4.35. De Rossi, "Ustensili cristiani," pls. no. 1, 1a; Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte*, pl. 464, no. 2; Floriani-Squarciapino, "Coppa cristiana," p. 210, fig. 9; idem, "Vetri incisi portuensi," p. 257, fig. 2; Fremersdorf, *Antikes . . . Glas*, p. 91, nos. 844–845; Barovier-Mentasti, "La coppa incisa," p. 168, fig. 4.

19. Plate, enthroned figure, four fragments, found in Ravenna. Restored Diam. 25. Museo Nazionale di Ravenna, inv. RA 6529. F. Berti, "Vetri incisi," in *Ravenna e il porto di Classe* (Bologna, 1983) p. 174, no. 12.8.

20. Fragment of plate, musician. Museo Vaticano, inv. 14856. L. 9.3. Fremersdorf, *Antikes . . . Glas*, p. 88, no. 833, pl. 47.

21. Bowl, figure wearing a toga, fragment of rim, found in Marignano, near Aquileia. Museo nazionale di Aquileia, inv. 53323. Ca. 6 x 4.7, H. restored ca. 11. L. Bertacchi, "Deux nouveaux verres d'Aquilee à décor paléochrétien," *Annales du 4ème congrès de l'Association internationale pour l'Histoire du verre, Leyde 1967* (Liège, 1968) pp. 109–112.

22. Bowl, Christ and the paralytic, intact but for the chipped rim. Corning, New York, Corning Museum of Glass, inv. 66.1.38. Diam. 6.3. G. Sangiorgi, *Collezione di vetri antichi dalle origini al V sec. d.C.* (Milan / Rome, 1914) no. 149; L. Koetzche, in *The Age of Spirituality* (New York, 1978) no. 401; D. Harden, "Glass of the Caesars," p. 222, no. 123; D. Whitehouse, *Glass of the Roman Empire* (Corning, 1988) pp. 46–47.

23. Fragment of plate, forearm, found in Carthage. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, inv. 1 N 17. 7.6 x 4. J. W. Hayes, "Réflexion sur la verrerie des époques tardives à Carthage," *Cahiers des études anciennes* 17 (1985) p. 118, fig. 6.

24. Plate, seated emperor and his retinue, fragment of the rim, found in Rome. Rome, Antiquarium Comunale. Restored Diam. 21. L. Bruzza, "Frammento di un disco di vetroche rappresenta i Vicennali di Diocleziano," *Bollettino Comunale* 10 (1882) pp. 180f., pl. 10; H. Fuhrmann, "Studien zu den Consulardiptychen verwandten Denkmälern—eine Glasschale von der Vicennalienfeier Constantins des Grossen zu Rom im Jahre 326 A.D.," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archeologischen Instituts (ROM)* 54 (1939) pp. 161f.; Salomonson, "Kunstgeschichtliche . . . Untersuchungen," p. 54, figs. 39–40; P. Righetti, *Bulletin de l'Association internationale de l'Histoire du Verre* 9 (1981–83) p. 154, fig. 2; G. N. Brands, "Ein Glasschalenfragment im Antiquarium comunale in Rom," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 26 (1983) pp. 107f.; Harden, *Glass of the Caesars*, pp. 223–224, no. 124; Painter, "A Fragment of a Glass Dish," pp. 87–98.

25. Bowl, head of Isis, fragment of rim, found in Rome. Murano, Museo Vittrario. Restored Diam. 23. Barovier-Mentasti, "Due vetri incisi," pp. 39–49, fig. 21.

26. Bowl, fragment of rim. Rome, Museo nazionale romano. Rome Nikephoros. Paribeni, *Bollettino d'Arte* (1918) pp. 51–52, fig. 2; Floriani-Squarciapino, "Coppa cristiana," p. 210, fig. 10, n. 30; Salomonson, "Kunstgeschichtliche . . . Untersuchungen," fig. 35; Barovier-Mentasti, "Due vetri incisi," pp. 41–42, fig. 23.

27. Fragment of bowl, head of Triton or Okeanos, found near Ravenna. Private collection. Restored Diam. of the central zone 10.5. R. Farioli, "Un verre gravé de Ravenne de style roman [sic] tardif," *Annales du 3ème congrès des Journées int. du Verre, Damas 1964* (Liège, 1965) pp. 79–84; J. Philippe, *Le monde byzantin dans l'histoire de la verrerie* (Bologna, 1970) p. 89, fig. 47.

28. Fragment of plate, head of the Hydra of Lerna, whereabouts unknown. 7.8 x 6.5. Froehner, *Collection Julien Gréau*, no. 1094, pl. 188.2.

29. Plate, Pegasus and Bellerophon, thirteen fragments; part of the wall is missing. British Museum, inv. GR Dept. 1967.11–22.1. H. 3.8, Diam. 21.5. D. B. Harden, *Masterpieces of Glass* (London, 1968) no. 95; idem, *Glass of the Caesars*, p. 219, no. 121.

30. Bowl, nymph or personification of a spring, fragment of rim. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 17.194.916. 8 x 11.5. Froehner, *Collection Julien Gréau*, no. 1087, pl. 185.2.

31. Plate, distribution(?) of corn. Now lost, known from two drawings. One of the drawings is in the Dal Pozzo-Albani collection, Windsor Castle Library, Windsor, England; C. Vermeule, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Association* n.s. 56, P. 2 (1966) p. 31, ill. p. 114, and the other is in the Suares papers, in the Museo Vaticano; G.-B. de Rossi, "Le horrea sotto l'Aventino e la statio Annonae Urbis Romae," *Annali dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* 57 (1885) pp. 223–234; Dom H. Leclercq, "Annona," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* I, 2, col. 2274–2276, fig. 776. The analysis of the iconography (this was the topic of a paper read to the Canadian Classical Association meeting in Victoria, B.C., May 20, 1990) shows that the glass drawn by the two anonymous artists belonged to the group studied here. This object was in the Gualdi collection, which may have been the one dispersed in a 1887 sale; Oliver, "Tapestry in Glass," p. 70 n. 8.

32. Fragment of plate, a saint. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 380801. G. de Tommaso, "Vetri incisi dalle Collezioni del Museo Nazionale Romano di Roma," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989) p. 102, fig. 4 (only a drawing is published).

Four unpublished fragments in the Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, N.Y., probably belong to the same group and can also be mentioned: inv. 66.1.143; 66.1.145; 66.1.146; 66.1.148.

Carving the Badminton Sarcophagus

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SINCE THEY FIRST BECAME the subject of intensive study in the 1860s, Roman sarcophagi have posed many questions for modern viewers. Early investigators, Otto Jahn and Carl Robert, for example, examined sarcophagi primarily for their iconographic content: to link them with lost Greek paintings or simply to understand them on their own terms. Beginning in the 1920s, scholars such as Gerhart Rodenwaldt and Friedrich Matz considered how sarcophagi related to the overall development of Roman art; the questions they initiated led eventually to those of chronology and workshop attribution, which Bernard Andreae and others pursued in later years. More recently, the focus of inquiry has again shifted in the direction of the logistical and economic aspects of Roman sarcophagus production. Quarrying practices, marble identification, and patterns of marble distribution¹ have now emerged as appropriate fields of investigation for students of sarcophagi. In keeping with the latest direction of inquiry, this article will investigate the celebrated Badminton sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1)² for technical evidence as to its design and execution.

A large and impressive *lenos* (vat-shaped) casket of the highest quality, the New York–Badminton sarcophagus was carved in Rome in the first half of the third century A.D.³ Conventionally labeled a Dionysiac Seasons sarcophagus, it depicts personifications of the four Seasons (in cyclical order from left to right, Winter, Spring, Summer, and Autumn), flanking a central group consisting of Dionysus on a panther and an accompanying retinue of satyrs, maenads, and pans. Although the Seasons complement the Dionysiac realm thematically, the particular iconographic combination of the Seasons with the panther-riding god that appears in the New York chest is relatively rare.

In the short time since Matz's 1958 publication first brought it to wide attention, the Badminton sarcophagus has come to be regarded as a pivotal work among Roman sarcophagi and for Roman art in general. Matz himself called it a "Roman masterpiece" and Donald Strong singled it out as "one of the finest surviving sarcophagi" of its time.⁴ Its dense but coherent massing of figures, play of light and shadow, and highly tactile articulation of surfaces have all had many admirers. Clearly a workshop of virtuoso sculptors executed this magnificent casket. Yet its artistic quality stems from more than a skillful manipulation of tools. Indeed, the success of the finished work depends in no small measure on the extensive planning that preceded the actual cutting of the block—laying out the composition, calculating the relative scale and proportions of the figures, and determining their pose and orientation. To understand better this phase of the sarcophagus's making, it is necessary to examine a part of the Badminton sarcophagus that is often overlooked in the literature—its back. In this essay I shall consider the numerous markings found on the back of the Badminton casket as technical evidence for its production. Although some of these markings remain problematic in their interpretation, it will be argued that the back preserves a scheme followed by the Badminton workshop in working out the complex figural design of the front. The way in which it would have been used by the sculptors confirms long-standing speculation about the technical processes of Roman relief-carving and also has implications for the artistic direction of Roman art during the third century.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BACK OF THE SARCOPHAGUS

Like almost all *lenos* sarcophagi of the Western Roman type, the New York–Badminton sarcophagus was left uncarved at the back. (Uncarved does

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 28

The notes for this article begin on page 72.

57

not mean unworked, for the back of the New York sarcophagus bears the man-made marks that are the subject of this inquiry.) At present, the back (Figure 2) is divided into three superimposed horizontal sections, or bands, whose tooling and finish differ markedly from one another. At the top runs a wide (37 cm) band that projects approximately nine centimeters beyond the lower surface of the chest; this band has been picked roughly with the point in a crude, almost violent manner, but with a consistency of direction diagonally down and inward from the upper right corner. Below lies a narrower (varying from 8 to 9 cm) band that also bears marks of the point, although they are noticeably smaller and more densely clustered than the tool marks above. This middle zone is not uniform in its finish—on the left, patches of smoothly finished marble can be seen below the point marks, while on the right, any traces of smoothing that might have existed have been obliterated by deep and concentrated picking. In the third, lowermost, band the smooth surface whose traces can be seen above continues for 44.5 centimeters to the bottom of the chest. On its upper left this zone is distinguished by a drafted edge that extends approximately 13.5 centimeters inward from the outer edge. At that point it disappears, victim of a lack of finish rather than later damage by pointing.

With its range of surface finishes, the back of the New York sarcophagus has few parallels. As has already been mentioned, chests executed in Rome were generally left uncarved at the back in keeping with the Western practice of placing a sarcophagus flush against a tomb wall (as opposed to the Eastern practice of displaying the casket above ground along cemetery thoroughfares).⁵ Exceptions do exist—a third-century A.D. mythological sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum continues the pastoral landscape of its Endymion theme over the entire back, although the scenes on the back are clearly subordinate to those on the front by virtue of their lower relief.⁶ More typically, however, the backs of Roman sarcophagi never received more than preliminary shaping with the point because they were not meant to be seen.

The peculiarities of the back of the New York–Badminton casket have been variously explained. Matz interpreted the unfinished projection at the top as evidence of an ultimate intention to decorate the entire back;⁷ Anna McCann found the “indented” lower section to be a possible accommoda-

tion to the architectural features of the tomb where the sarcophagus originally stood.⁸ The present appearance, however, becomes more understandable if the sarcophagus is recognized as a reused block of marble that originally formed part of an entablature. The smooth lower zone of the sarcophagus preserves the finish of its frieze, while the roughly pointed upper zone is all that remains of its cornice.⁹ Originally carved with moldings that projected beyond what is preserved on the sarcophagus, the cornice was roughly hacked off to create an even, unadorned surface. When seen under raking light (as in Figure 2), moreover, the cornice clearly reveals traces of the three moldings that once ran horizontally across the length of the block. It can be imagined that a relatively narrow molding, such as egg and dart, filled the upper and lower zones and a taller molding, such as lotus and palmette, dentils, or acanthus rinceaux, was carved between them in the middle, but no conclusive evidence remains.

Recognizing that the sarcophagus was carved from a reused block is useful in several respects. Most important, it explains the presence of the smoothed back, an otherwise excessive expenditure of labor for no obvious purpose. And it also explains the smoothed bottom of the chest (which is now supported by the four black marble balls added at Badminton Hall in the eighteenth century).¹⁰ Of no use to a sarcophagus—and thus somewhat anomalous—this finished lower surface fits readily into an architectural context where it was either visible or closely joined to other elements. An earlier existence as a carved entablature block also helps to explain the rough treatment of the ends of the various zones of the back. Deliberate breakage has truncated preexisting bands: the smooth bottom zone has been obviously broken at its left end (when seen from the front, the sarcophagus’s right side), whereas a series of drill holes have terminated the left end of the projecting zone above.

Several other instances of the reuse of architectural marbles for funerary reliefs are known. A child’s sarcophagus in Djursholm (Sweden) was carved during Hadrianic times from an unfinished entablature block,¹¹ and the lid of a sarcophagus in San Antonio was carved from a row of coffers.¹² For a grave relief belonging to a merchant in Ostia a small block carved with a cyma reversa was reused in the Severan period.¹³ In comparison with the Badminton chest, however, these parallels represent



Figure 1. Front of the Badminton sarcophagus (removed from 18th-century base). Roman, first half 3rd century A.D. Marble, L. 22.05 cm at top, 21.09 cm at bottom; H. 9.0 cm; D. 9.3 cm at top, 7.9 cm at bottom. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Pulitzer Bequest Fund, 1955, 55.11.5

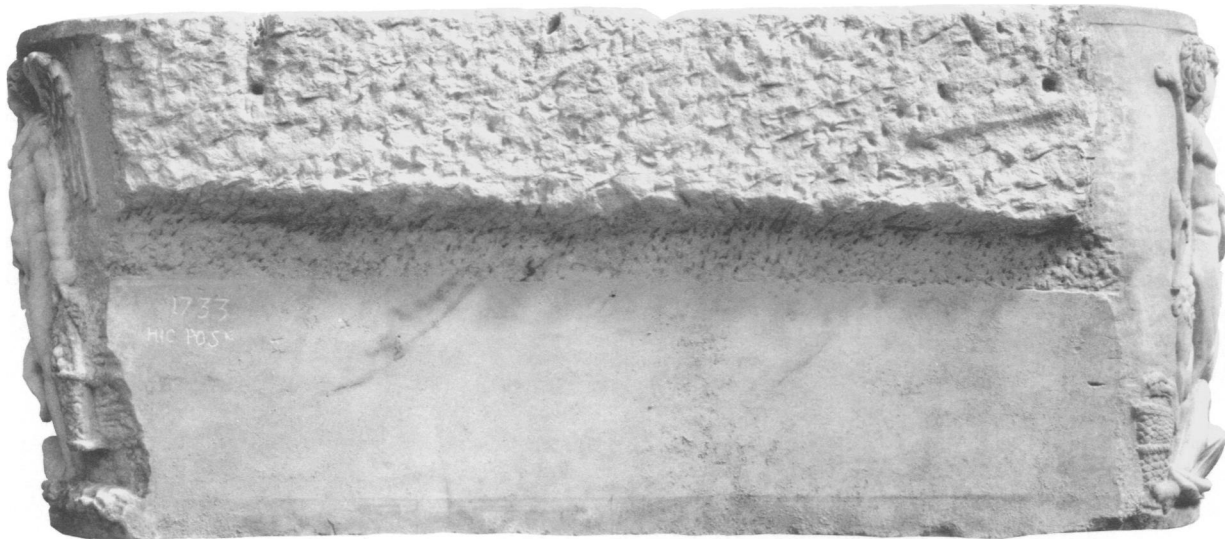


Figure 2. Back view of sarcophagus in Figure 1

considerably modest sculptural transformations.

It is difficult to estimate how much larger the entablature block was than the Badminton sarcophagus. In its present form the chest extends 2.16 meters in length,¹⁴ but the original block could easily have measured three or even four meters. Entablature blocks of this size are documented from various Roman buildings, such as the Temple of Concord or the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus.¹⁵ The only limitation to the size of the original block, of course, would have been the space of the intercolumniation below. The circumstances under which the block came to be used must remain speculative. Nonetheless, because the decorative blocks of Roman buildings generally received their final finish only after they had been set in place,¹⁶ the carved block from which the sarcophagus was cut must actually have been used.¹⁷ Damage by fire or earthquake, improper carving by an inexperienced mason, or even deliberate dismantling for economic or political reasons might serve as possible explanations for its removal from the original building. Obviously it was more economical for the sculptural atelier undertaking the Badminton commission to use an existing block of suitable dimensions than to quarry and transport a new block.

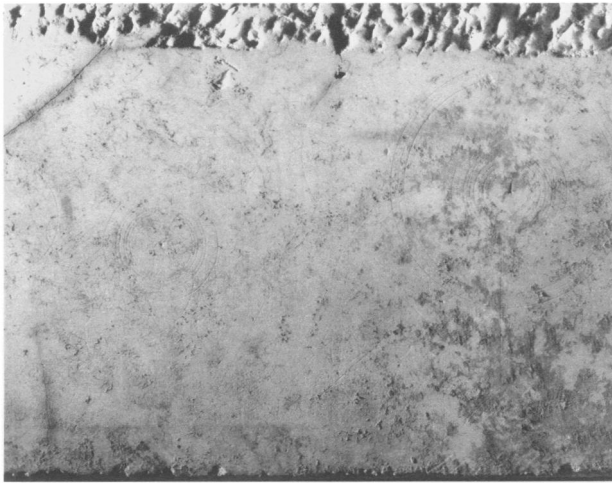
The marble of the New York sarcophagus is Proconnesian, quarried on the island of Marmara off the northern coast of Turkey.¹⁸ Used in major Severan building projects such as the Arch in the Roman Forum in A.D. 203,¹⁹ Proconnesian appears to have been the stone preferred by many well-to-do Roman patrons who commissioned expensive sarcophagi during the early decades of the third century. In view of the high status of Proconnesian marble, it is not surprising that it was used for a casket as luxurious and well carved as the Badminton sarcophagus. (In the Price Edict of Diocletian it was valued at four times the price of marble from nearby Thasos.²⁰) That the marble block itself was secondhand is unlikely to have compromised the value of the work, for a high-quality marble was esteemed as such regardless of its source. Despite the value placed on Proconnesian, its use by Roman sarcophagus workshops apparently slowed in the second half of the third century, possibly because quarrying activity was disrupted by the Herulian invasions in Greece in the 260s.²¹ On the basis of style rather than of marble type, several scholars would in fact date the Badminton sarcophagus to precisely this period.²² Because the Badminton sarcophagus is worked from an architectural block



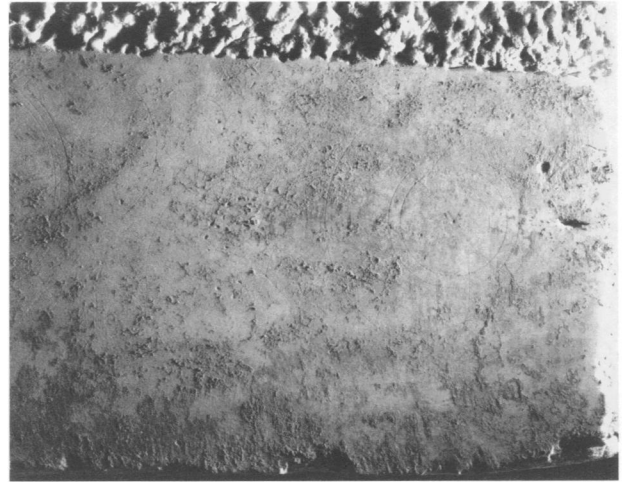
Figures 3a, 3b, 3c. Details of the back of sarcophagus in Figure 1 showing incised circles

rather than one freshly quarried, the state of production at the Marmara quarries is not relevant to dating the work (except inasmuch as diminished supplies of “new” marble may have encouraged patrons to seek out alternate sources for this prized material). During any period, the reuse of existing blocks was a practical solution that did not need to be justified by limited supplies or political turmoil.²³ Proconnesian marble is first documented in architectural projects in Rome during the late first century A.D.,²⁴ which leaves a long time span in which an architectural block could become available for recutting as a sarcophagus.

Two other technical features of the back warrant attention. The first is two vertical channels terminating in squarish dowel holes.²⁵ As can be seen in Figure 2, the channels begin at the upper edge of the sarcophagus and extend for 12 centimeters down the face of the chest. Similar channels are found on numerous caskets, where they are explained as the bedding for metal clamps often used to join a sarcophagus to its lid.²⁶ Although the channels of the Badminton sarcophagus lack the depth or careful cutting typical of these clamp settings, it is possible that the entire clamp did not rest against the marble, but only its ends. Sarcophagi in Boston and London preserve this form of clamp.²⁷ Alternatively, they may represent the “gripping points” for the tackle used in hoisting heavy stone blocks. According to this interpretation, the cuttings would have stabilized different pieces of the hoisting apparatus: in the dowellike holes, a metal hook, and in the channels, the ropes to which the hooks were



b



c

attached. Presumably, similar cuttings were made on the front of the sarcophagus, but these would have been removed during the carving of the relief.²⁸ With hoisting technology that we now know was in use for monumental architecture as early as the seventh century B.C.,²⁹ workmen could thus have lifted the multitonned block that became the Badminton sarcophagus during its journey to the sculptor's workshop.³⁰

Countless other sarcophagi of diverse typology and date bear similar marks. As most of these chests are smaller (thus, lighter) and rectangular in format, their cuttings are usually found on the ends rather than on the front and back and consist of

dowel holes without the accompanying channels above.³¹ Occasionally, the cuttings interrupt the design, raising the question of whether they were cut before or after the carving of the sarcophagus was complete or whether they even represent ancient cuttings at all.³² A number of unfinished Proconnesian sarcophagi from the aboveground cemetery at Tyre bear similar marks prominently on both chests and lids.³³ Cut deeply and cleanly, they may represent the bedding for metal clamps, to be inset as a precaution against dislodging, as John Ward-Perkins has proposed.³⁴ Yet not all of the cuttings on the chest and lid are precisely aligned one atop the other; sometimes they are of different shapes,

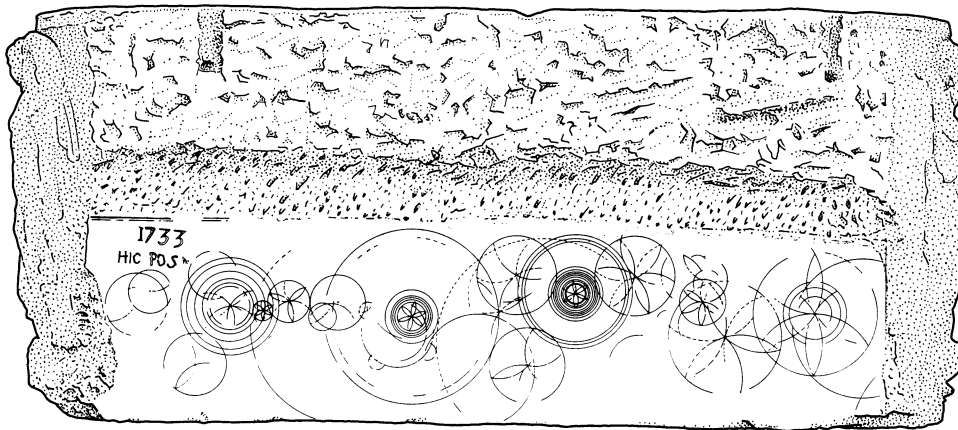


Figure 4. Drawing of the back of sarcophagus in Figure 1 (Elizabeth Wahle)

and frequently there is a dowel hole but no adjacent channel.³⁵ It does not seem likely that the cuttings have a single explanation.

The last technical feature of the back that remains to be discussed has far more important implications for the Badminton sarcophagus as a work of art. Concentric and intersecting circles made with a compass have been incised across the entire smooth surface of the back's lowest zone. (They are barely visible except under the right lighting conditions, as in Figure 3; see also Figure 4.) Engraved apparently randomly on the surface—they are not placed according to any discernible grid or pattern and sometimes even overlap one another—the circles look almost like casual doodles. Most of the circles are arranged as a series of multiple concentric rings, separated from one another by as few as 2 or as many as 67 millimeters. In their total diameter, the circles (that is, the outermost of those concentric circles) range from 3.7 centimeters to 36.5 centimeters. A few circles have six-petaled rosettes in their centers.

Few comparable examples of carving on the back are attested in the corpus of Roman sarcophagi. Three horse's heads and two concentric circles are found on the back of a Dionysiac sarcophagus in Baltimore (Figure 5),³⁶ and several Greek letters are inscribed randomly on the back of a Dionysiac sarcophagus in Paris.³⁷ In neither case, however, are the drawings as extensive or as carefully cut as on the Badminton chest.

INTERPRETING THE CIRCLES

Although noted by earlier commentators, the circles on the back have always been dismissed as irrelevant to the sarcophagus itself. Matz interpreted them simply as "tests" made by sculptors in the sarcophagus workshop,³⁸ and Sichtermann separated them chronologically from the reliefs altogether.³⁹ Only McCann suggested that the marks might bear some relation to the front of a sarcophagus, without specifying to which; for her the marks represented the sculptors' preliminary designs,⁴⁰ but she did not speculate as to how they were actually used.

The double life of the Badminton block—first as an architectural frieze and later as a sarcophagus—compounds the already difficult problem of interpreting circles for which there are few parallels. The incrustation that covers the circles in many

places does establish them as ancient rather than modern incisions; but do they belong to the architectural or the sculptural phase of the block's history? The few known parallels fail to resolve the question. Circles are found inscribed around the necks of the fluted columns of many buildings in Rome, where they served to fix the width and position of flutes and fillets on the shafts.⁴¹ Circular designs are also among the scores of drawings inscribed on the walls of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma over the course of approximately five centuries.⁴² Some of these drawings represent the preliminary designs for particular architectural features of the building and are executed on a one-to-one scale. If the circles had this function at Didyma, however, their role has not yet been determined.⁴³

Ancient drawings of circles are documented in several nonarchitectural contexts as well. Two concentric circles were cut into the back of a Dionysiac sarcophagus in Baltimore (Figure 5). In addition, circles circumscribing rosettes have been found on a fragment of wall painting from Delos,⁴⁴ the interior of several Hellenistic silver cups from Egypt,⁴⁵ and on what were probably paving stones from the fourth-century synagogue at Sardis.⁴⁶

Thus circles are drawn in a variety of ancient contexts ranging from architecture to wall decoration to sculpture to metalwork. They may preserve a specific design, as they do at Delos or Sardis, or they may simply mark off specific units of measure, as on the column shafts. In the absence of any precise parallel—the Badminton circles do not inscribe rosettes in the same manner as the drawings at Didyma, nor do they form concentric circles that look like those of the Baltimore sarcophagus—we cannot rely on extant comparisons and instead must formulate an explanation particular to the Badminton block itself, where the evidence is mixed. That at least one of the circles (placed on the far lower right of the back) was drawn by a compass whose center was located on a part of the block that is now missing would seem to suggest that the circles (or at least some of them) date from a time before the block was cut down and carved as a sarcophagus. Yet it is difficult to know what to make of this circle (or, more properly, half circle), for it appears never to have been completed at the bottom. If the block on which it was inscribed sat on top of an architrave, the circle could not have continued through the molded edge between them. Alternately, if this one block composed the entire entablature, there would

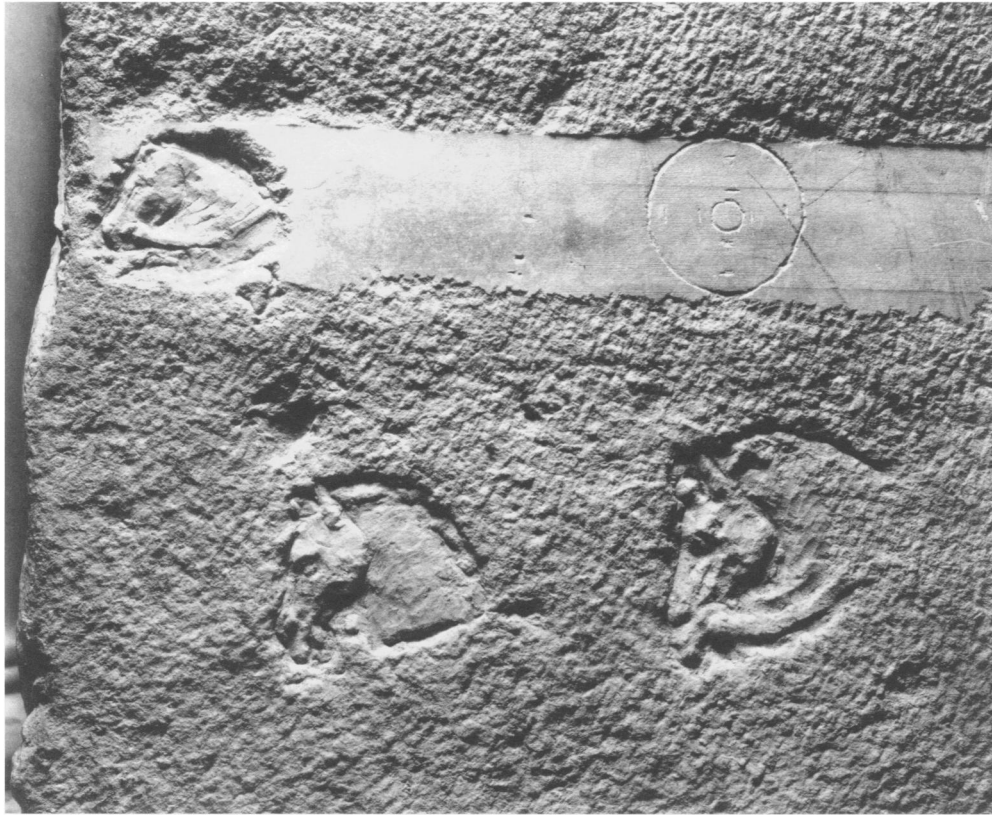


Figure 5. Detail of the back of a Dionysiac sarcophagus. Marble. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery (photo: Walters Art Gallery)

have been no marble surface below it upon which the rest of the circle could be inscribed. Its appearance in an architectural context thus remains enigmatic. Because the circles do not extend up into the block's middle zone, where the smoothed surface has been picked with the point, but are confined to the smooth lower band, it seems less certain that they were inscribed when the block had an architectural use.

Without compelling evidence for the circles' architectural meaning, we must consider their possible connection to the block in its second and final phase as a sarcophagus. As we shall see, there exists considerable evidence to suggest that the circles represent the preliminary drawings for the figural relief on the front. Related to the front in both general design and specific measurements, the circles incised on the back of the Badminton sarcophagus provide a rare glimpse of the elaborate planning that lay behind a casket of this type.

In relying almost exclusively on the compass to execute these drafted plans, the Badminton workshop acknowledged the capability of this simple tool

both to create perfect circles and to reproduce measurements accurately. To judge by its frequent depiction in relief on the tombs of craftsmen,⁴⁷ the compass, long a staple tool in the sculptor's workshop,⁴⁸ rose to particular importance during the Roman period. In the realm of the sarcophagus workshop the compass found numerous uses: to carve the circles for the round shield and, later, the portrait medallions that frequently adorned Dionysiac and mythological sarcophagi beginning in the late second century A.D.; to create the circular or semicircular forms of certain decorative borders;⁴⁹ and, in cases of extremely careful workmanship, to provide an outline for gorgoneia, rosettes, pateras, and possibly even acanthus rinceaux. Enough unfinished examples of these last forms survive to suggest that freehand execution rather than compass-assisted outlining was the norm, but the precise circular shapes found on some sarcophagi can only have been achieved with the aid of a compass. The drill hole in the center of many rosettes could well have served as the anchor point for the compass.⁵⁰ As we shall see, the extent to which the

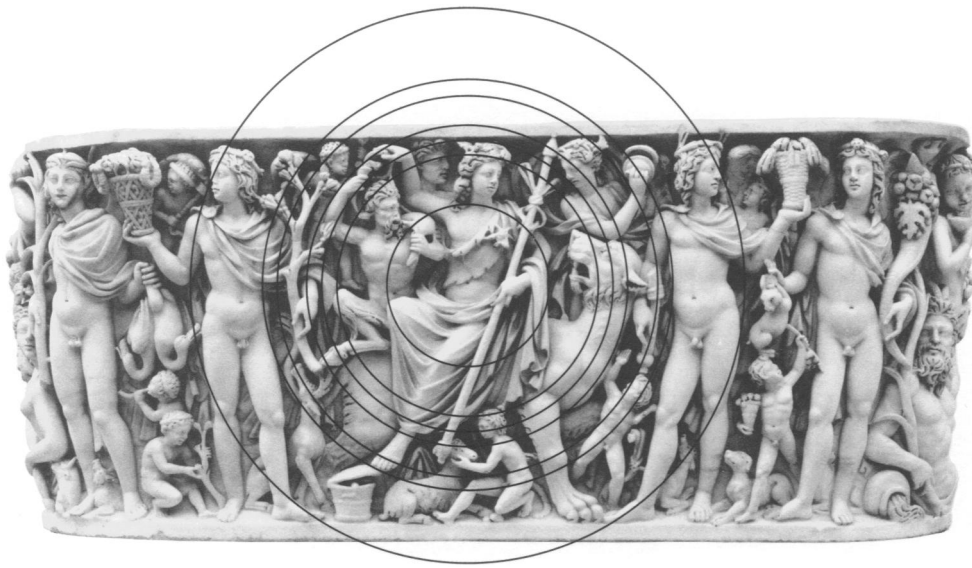


Figure 6. Front of sarcophagus in Figure 1 with circles inscribed

compass is employed on the Badminton sarcophagus represents a far more ambitious exploitation of this basic sculptural aid. Indeed, one of the primary motifs drawn on the back of the Badminton sarcophagus, the rosettes inscribed by the circles, may well exemplify the essential role of the compass in the design. There are two possible explanations for the rosettes: either they test that the circle about to be drawn on the front is of the correct size (that is, that the compass is open to the correct module) or they test the accuracy of the compass itself. (A bent instrument will draw rosettes whose petals overhang the circle; there are several of these on the Badminton chest.)

The location of compass-drawn “graffiti” on the back of the Badminton sarcophagus is not difficult to understand, for such smooth, finished surfaces were atypical for sarcophagi and thus would not often have been available in a sculptural workshop. We can imagine that the back of this particular sarcophagus remained visible and accessible in the workshop for a lengthy period. A piece as large and complex as the Badminton casket—it has forty figures, some carved almost completely in the round—would have required many months to execute.⁵¹

How the circle functioned as the determining element of the design of the Badminton relief emerges from an analysis of its compositional geometry. Figures 4 and 6 illustrate the argument.⁵² Using Dionysus’s navel as the stabilizing point for the compass, we can inscribe a series of concentric circles that enclose the major figures of the Bacchic procession. Although the god’s navel does not fall

in the exact middle of the relief, its use in the composition as the midpoint was appropriate because conventional attitudes toward the body regarded the navel as its center in antiquity. In addition, placing the compositional midpoint above the true center of the chest increased the optical emphasis on the upper half that was already conveyed by the outward slant of the relief itself (Figure 7). The innermost circle connects Dionysus’s drapery-clad knees and his lower neck; a second circle connects the head and raised knee of the Pan beside the god and the inner corner of the panther’s eye; and a third connects Dionysus’s head, the inside of Pan’s right arm, and the front of the Maenad’s face. A fourth circle links the outer edge of the panther’s neck and chest with the top of Dionysus’s right hand, while a fifth arc connects the inside contour line of Spring and Summer, the back of the Maenad’s head, the ear of the deer, Dionysus’s foot, and the right front knee of the panther. At this point, circles that are large enough to enclose the lateral figures of the Seasons but also centered on Dionysus’s navel extend beyond the frame of the relief at top and bottom. That sarcophagus sculptors used arcs (that is, segments of circles) alone in their designs, can be seen in numerous other chests that will be discussed below. Both of the inner Seasons can, in fact, be enclosed by two circles and were obviously laid out with the aid of a compass. Their lateral cohorts were composed according to an altogether different scheme.

The dominance of the circle in the central composition of the New York sarcophagus emerges all



Figure 7. Left end of sarcophagus in Figure 1

the more clearly when the chest is compared to its closest relative in terms of composition and iconography, a Seasons sarcophagus in Kassel (Figure 8).⁵³ Usually dated within a quarter century of the New York casket,⁵⁴ the Kassel chest parallels it so closely that the two must reproduce the same model. For all their similarities, however, the two sarcophagi differ in specific details, which provide telling evidence of the dominance of the circle in the design of the New York chest. Importantly, the designer of the Metropolitan Museum's sarcophagus eliminates the wings of the Seasons seen in the Kassel example,

as well as the voluminous draperies that hang behind and between them. He both simplifies the lines of the composition for greater visual clarity and makes space for several additional figures whose poses reinforce the circular rhythms of those at the center. Chief among these figures are the cymbal-playing Maenad, whose inward-turning face has already been shown to coincide with several circles and whose body torsion embodies physically what is expressed abstractly in the design, and the small Pan above Spring's bough, whose inward glance helps center the composition. At several other points, subtle differences further emphasize the circular shapes of the central Dionysiac group. The left forepaw of the panther, for example, is largely obscured by a standing Pan whose diagonal movement and back-turned head introduce a circular motion. By relegating the panther's paw to the background, the Badminton designer reaps a strong visual benefit from the strengthened effect of the panther's curving neck. Other new or adjusted forms whose curvature echoes the circular motif include the bough clasped by Spring (replacing the basket held by Spring on the Kassel chest), Pan's upraised right arm, and the sickle held by Summer. With these small alterations the workshop executing the Badminton sarcophagus interpreted the stock subject as a series of circles emanating from a central point. The result is stronger visual clarity.⁵⁵

A role for the circle in the design of the Badminton chest has been suggested, but how do the circles of the back relate directly to the front's carved reliefs? The pattern of circular rings created by the figures on the front (Figure 6) resembles nothing so much as the concentric circles inscribed on the back of the chest. Carefully incised, they vary in their



Figure 8. Front of a Seasons sarcophagus, Roman, first half 3rd century A.D. Marble, L. 21.4 cm; H. 9.9 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Museen (photo: Staatliche Museen)

spacing just as the circles on the front do. For this reason, they look like deliberate marks rather than casual doodles. I suggest that they represent a schematic rendition of the circle-based design on the front. Although their character cannot as yet be fully explained, it is likely that they rendered the design on a reduced scale. In addition, the corresponding sizes of some of the circles on the back with forms on the front suggest a direct relationship between the two. As the smooth space available on the back is only about one-half the height of the reliefs on the front, there obviously can be few one-to-one correspondences such as have been found between drawings and executed buildings at Didyma. The largest circle on the back, with a radius of 18.5 centimeters (Figure 4), matches the distance between Dionysus's navel and left knee, a circle that is by no means the largest to be discerned in the composition. Two smaller circles coincide roughly with the length of the Seasons' heads, a prominent element of the composition. A third possible correspondence, the length of the Seasons' bodies from chin to lower edge of knee, approximates the diameter of the 24-centimeter circle just right of center. It may be relevant that these four circles are all found close to one another on the back, just to the left of its center.

There are far too many circles (or sets of concentric circles) incised on the back of the Badminton sarcophagus for them to have all had a direct relationship to the design of its front alone, and there is no reason that they should have. It is unlikely that the workshop sculptors worked exclusively on the Badminton sarcophagus for the extensive period in which it was being carved, and it is entirely plausible that the smooth Badminton back simply offered itself as a surface upon which to configure the design or dimensions of other sarcophagi being executed at the same time.⁵⁶ Indeed, the "drawing board" provided by the Badminton back may actually have been more accessible to chests positioned next to it than to its own front. That the workshop would go to the trouble of drawing such marks on the block in the first place—rather than on a piece of linen, paper, or parchment, especially when such portable materials were used for the pattern books that disseminated sarcophagus motifs from one atelier to another—can be explained by the workshop's preference for a plan that would not stretch, tear, or fray during the long period in which it was being consulted.

The Badminton sculptors may have worked in

the following way: equipped with the measurements and abbreviated design drawn on the back, the sculptors laid out the design on the front. Inscribing a series of circles whose relationship to the intended figures had already been determined, they established the major outlines of the center of the composition. That the central circles had priority in the actual carving of the relief as well as in its planning can be seen from the treatment of the Seasons that flank the Dionysus group. At first glance, these four slightly pudgy young male personifications exhibit a strikingly homogeneous appearance. Reaching the full height of the relief, they share the same costume, pose, and coiffure. Upon closer examination, however, the initial impression of sameness from one to the other is altered. Although all four rest their weight casually on one leg, they vary the choice of weight-bearing leg from the right in the left-hand pair and the left in the right-hand pair. Their gazes do not follow the direction of their extended, free legs, but instead each couple turns inward. Within the group the proportions and spacing of the figures vary, but, importantly, only between the left and right pairs. Thus the left pair of Winter and Spring both measure 30.02 centimeters from the top of the head to the navel, whereas Summer and Autumn both measure 32.7 centimeters. (The drill holes from which the sculptor measured with his compass or caliper can be easily seen above the foreheads of the Seasons as well as of all other major figures; see Figures 9 and 10.) The spacing of the Seasons also varies from left to right, as Winter and Spring measure 40 centimeters from navel to navel while Summer and Autumn measure 34.5 centimeters. Because of the wide space available between Winter and Spring on the left there is room for two ducks with arched necks and two Pans, as opposed to the single hare and Pan between Summer and Autumn on the right.

The absence of absolute numerical symmetry in the seasonal pairs leads to some conclusions about the working procedures of the Badminton workshop. First, executing the work was a collaborative effort involving several sculptors and not the exclusive herculean effort of a single artist who functioned as both designer and carver, as Matz supposed.⁵⁷ Second, the team of carvers worked from general rather than specific instructions. And third, the rigid linear grid advocated by Andreae and others as the geometric underpinning of many sarcophagus reliefs is not at work here. It is worth describing Andreae's influential ideas in some de-



Figure 9. Detail of Winter and Spring from sarcophagus in Figure 1



Figure 10. Detail of Summer and Autumn from sarcophagus in Figure 1

tail. To illustrate his arguments, Andreae superimposed a symmetrical grid of vertical, horizontal, and diagonal lines on various sarcophagus reliefs; in his view, the conjunction of grid and relief highlights the simple geometric principles to which he reduces the often complex, multifigural carvings.⁵⁸ Attractive as Andreae's proposal may be on a theoretical level, it is not as convincing on visual grounds, because the major points of intersection on the grid—for example, the middle of the top edge—often do not fall on any element of importance in the relief. So the center of the top of the Great Ludovisi Battle sarcophagus in Rome,⁵⁹ supposedly the apex of the foremost triangle discerned by Andreae in the composition, falls above and to the left of the head of its main protagonist, the general. A similar problem of nonalignment occurs in virtually every sarcophagus that Andreae has analyzed in this manner.

This is not to say that sarcophagi were never composed according to a linear grid. The parts of many compositions, particularly the lateral figures of complex, multifigural scenes, often do seem to reflect a simple linear scheme of organization. So the barbarians on the Portonaccio sarcophagus,⁶⁰ or the pairs *Abundantia/Roma* and *general/wife* on the *Balbinus* sarcophagus⁶¹ function as side panels flanking a centerpiece in a triptychlike arrangement on their respective reliefs.

In the full-fledged form in which it has been presented, however, Andreae's linear grid appears unnecessarily detailed and actually in contradiction to the workshop practices that can be documented

elsewhere for Roman artists. In the realm of free-standing statuary, the workshops that made copies of Greek masterpieces typically followed their models carefully in terms of dimensions and certain iconographic details, but they freely interpreted the rest according to sometimes highly individualized modes.⁶² Even more comparable to the *Badminton* sarcophagus in terms of execution are the reliefs on *Trajan's Column*. Peter Rockwell's investigations have demonstrated the substantial latitude granted to individual stone-carvers working on the monument by their supervisor, who was probably the column's designer.⁶³ Told what type of scene to make and where to put it,⁶⁴ the sculptors apparently could interpret the subject largely as they wished. Scenes were executed primarily by two carvers, one responsible for the foreground figures, the other for the background. Mistakes and discrepancies noted by Rockwell between the two parts suggest that no detailed preparatory drawing served as a model for these sculptors. The working mode seen in these various sculptural genres can perhaps best be characterized as flexibility of interpretation within a structure of geometrical organization.

We encounter the same kind of loose working methods—and resulting compositional discrepancies—even in a work of such obviously virtuoso quality as the *Badminton* sarcophagus. Most glaringly, the sculptor(s) miscalculated the space between the panther and *Summer*, for the personification's right arm just grazes the animal's ear (Figure 1).⁶⁵ Similarly, the figures of each end are not

integrated with those on the front in an equivalent manner. As can be easily seen in Figure 1, Oceanus on the (viewer's) right bares nearly his entire upper torso to a viewer standing in front of the sarcophagus, while his counterpart on the left, Terra, remains much less visible. Oceanus's greater prominence, in fact, seems to result from a general shift of the entire composition slightly to the left from the center of the casket. As already noted, Dionysus's navel, which functioned as the midpoint for the central group, is not aligned with the precise center of the chest but, instead, lies higher and off-center by some six centimeters. Possibly the two-centimeter difference in length between the chest's top and bottom—due to the greater projection of the figures in the upper zone—caused the sculptors' confusion in locating the exact lateral center of the sarcophagus.⁶⁶

The working method by which the Badminton sarcophagus was carved can be summarized as follows: starting with a pattern book or sketch that provided the basic figural scheme of Dionysus astride the panther and the four Seasons—presumably close to if not identical with what was available to the carver of the Kassel sarcophagus—the Badminton workshop recast that scene to a design whose circular rhythms were more emphatic. (In their efforts the Badminton sculptors may well have been inspired by the portrait medallions that were so often inserted in contemporary Seasons sarcophagi,⁶⁷ for medallions and their typological predecessors, the *clipei* borne by Erotes, victories, and other personifications,⁶⁸ had established a precedent for compass-made circles at the center of the figural relief.) It is this stage of reformulation that is probably reflected in some of the circles on the back. We can imagine the designer or head carver instructing his assistants by means of these drawings (the artist's phrase "pencil-talk" comes to mind as a descriptive analogy) in preparation for carving the reliefs on the front; also some of the circles probably represent his attempt to establish the proportions and dimensions of individual figures of the relief (as they do on the column shafts described above). With these forms in mind, the sculptor began to carve the front by inscribing circles as guidelines for the central Dionysiac group and then chiseled in the outlines of its major figures.⁶⁹ (That no such similar circles or even lines have come to light within the extensive corpus of unfinished sarcophagi is perhaps due to the fact that almost all of the evidence consists of incomplete ends rather than fronts.) As

they are of secondary importance to the chest's design, the ends are likely to have been executed in a largely freehand manner without extensive preparation and measurement of the surface; thus the kinds of guidemarks we imagine for the front of the Badminton chest may never have existed on the ends at all.

Having completed a rough sketch of the center, the sculptor went on to outline the flanking pairs of Seasons. In view of the obvious miscalculation that occurred in the spacing between the panther and Summer, it seems unlikely that the sculptors had at their disposal a full preparatory cartoon such as was used by fresco painters of the Renaissance. Beginning the final carving with the central group rather than the side figures made sense because of the prominent role played by the center within the composition as a whole. Indeed, this same procedure would seem to have been employed as well in another Seasons sarcophagus, left unfinished, in Rome.⁷⁰ The midpoint of that relief is occupied by a standing figure, probably Dionysus; to his right stand four figures (probably two Seasons and two other personifications) in various stages of execution, which range from bare outline to near-completion. In other reliefs where different, non-centralized compositional arrangements prevailed, other sequences of carving may have been favored. It is doubtful that a single procedure found universal application during several hundred years of sarcophagus production throughout the empire.

THE CIRCLES IN THE CONTEXT OF THIRD-CENTURY SARCOPHAGI

In a general discussion of Seasons sarcophagi, Hellmut Sichtermann has remarked on the composite nature of the iconography in this category of Roman sarcophagi. Rarely do the Seasons appear alone, that is, without companions drawn from the mythological (particularly Dionysiac) or historical spheres. Typically, Seasons sarcophagi possess a central motif derived from one of these separate spheres: "They have as well, almost without exception, a central motif that belongs to another thematic sphere."⁷¹ With its complex and carefully constructed composition, the Badminton sarcophagus obviously represents no slapdash sandwiching of Dionysiac and Seasonal figures. Nonetheless, it clearly unites on its front two distinct compositional



Figure 11. Front of a Dionysiac sarcophagus, Roman, 3rd century A.D. Marble, L. 21.5 cm; H. 8.5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musée du Louvre)

elements that stem from separate artistic traditions. Dionysus on the panther derives from a Hellenistic design via the sarcophagus repertory⁷² and the Seasons from an extensive Hellenistic usage.⁷³ This same process of selection and combination, aiming to produce novelty within established pictorial conventions, operates as well in some of the finest sarcophagi coming from Roman workshops.

In its centered composition and “encircled” central motif, the Badminton sarcophagus accords perfectly with the prevailing principles of design of third-century Roman sarcophagi. Indeed, a new focus on the center was the foremost formal event to occur in Roman sarcophagus design during the Severan years of the early third century, a time of stylistic and iconographic transformation of the entire sculptural genre. How the center became the visual focus of the relief depended to some extent upon the typological category of the sarcophagus: on strigillated or Seasons sarcophagi the sequence of repeated forms could be interrupted in the center by tomb doors,⁷⁴ medallions bearing portraits of the deceased, or even more elaborate figural scenes.⁷⁵ On marine sarcophagi, by contrast, busts of Venus or the deceased encased in shells were inserted into the middle of the frieze.⁷⁶

The center received most emphasis on mythological sarcophagi in which the protagonists moved toward the frieze’s midpoint; there they were the focus of attention with their enlarged scale and, sometimes, portrait features. Thus Adonis and Venus, idealized in body but realistic in face, sit enthroned amid a dense assemblage of figures on a chest of Severan date.⁷⁷ Or Selene, placed at the center and filling the entire height of the relief, descends from her chariot to approach the sleeping Erydymion on another third-century chest.⁷⁸ The makers of Amazon, battle, and hunt sarcophagi, genres closely derivative from the mythological chests, used similar means to focus the viewer’s attention on the center.⁷⁹

That the motif of the circle was not confined to the actual compositional center of third-century sarcophagi can be seen from a number of chests whose carved reliefs contain figures arranged in a series of concentric arcs that pulsate like sound waves across the surface. A third-century Dionysiac sarcophagus in Paris offers a particularly elegant example (Figure 11).⁸⁰ In the upper half of the chest, a small portrait medallion is held aloft by centaurs that gallop inward, pulling the chariots that carry their masters Dionysus and Ariadne. On this chest circles



Figure 12. Front of a Seasons sarcophagus. Marble, L. 16.5 cm; H. 6.05 cm; D. 6.02 cm. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)



Figure 13. Front of a Hylas sarcophagus. Marble, L. 18.0 cm; H. 6.5 cm. Rome, Palazzo Mattei (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)

determine the composition, for on either side of the center the centaurs, chariots, and figures can be neatly circumscribed by a series of circles that become ever larger as they radiate farther from the center. Similarly, the figures flanking the central portrait medallion on third-century chests as diverse in theme as an Eros sarcophagus in the Vatican,⁸¹ a Seasons sarcophagus in Pisa,⁸² or a marine sarcophagus in Naples⁸³ can all be circumscribed by the lines of concentric circles. Indeed, the compass worked so effectively to create a symmetrical and ordered composition that it was used even on chests where a central focus was absent—a Seasons sarcophagus in Rome (Figure 12),⁸⁴ the only known example of the genre without a central focus, aligns four chubby Seasons along two concentric circles.

With its reformulation of a stock scene into a more emphatically circular design, the Badminton sarcophagus combines the two modes of design that we see in these contemporary chests: compositional centering and figural arrangement with the aid of a

compass. Although rare, its design solution does have parallels. A small chest depicting Hylas and the nymphs (Figure 13),⁸⁵ for example, renders the figural triad in the center within an encompassing circle.⁸⁶ With nearly all its figures pushed into the foreground plane, the Hylas sarcophagus is strikingly simple in its conception compared to the Badminton chest, but nonetheless both would seem to be based on similar circle-based compositions. More akin in Dionysiac theme and spatial complexity to the New York casket is a lavish sarcophagus in Paris (Figure 14) rendering Dionysus's discovery of the sleeping Ariadne.⁸⁷ Here ingenious planning brings order to the potentially chaotic mass of figures: a pipe-playing Maenad stands in the middle of the upper zone of the relief while at her side cavort full-length figures whose contorted bodies line up with a series of circles emanating from the chest's center. The superb technical quality of this sarcophagus, comparable to the Badminton chest, points to an explanation for the relative paucity of reliefs whose centers are constructed in this way. Considerable



Figure 14. Front of a Dionysiac sarcophagus. Marble, L. 20.8 cm; H. 9.85 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musée du Louvre)

talent was necessary to rethink complex scenes from the existing workshop repertory according to the newly popular centralized design formulas. Thus the designers of the Paris and New York chests matched the actual carvers in their consummate ability.

Along with the impulse toward centering the composition, important iconographic and typological changes transformed the Roman sarcophagus in the first decades of the third century. Once-popular types were retired to make way for new ones. Large sarcophagi supplanted small ones as they became a primary means for patrons to express their wealth and social aspirations. Even chests of modest size achieved a more monumental effect by their decoration with enlarged figures that filled the entire height of the frieze. Such figures, whether arranged in circles or queued in paratactic sequences, permitted designs that were simpler and more legible than those found on earlier chests. In this sense, the circles of the New York–Badminton sarcophagus paved the way for the most far-reaching development of Roman art in the third century, the triumph of abstraction.

CONCLUSION

The many reliefs cited above illustrate clearly how the circle functioned as a primary design principle for sarcophagi during the third century. Making a break with prior solutions, the often complex, circle-based compositions of these chests required considerable planning. The preliminary stages of this planning are visible on the back of the Badminton sarcophagus, where the sculptural atelier made use of an available finished surface to work out the design of this and other chests. Although atypical in its provision of such a drawing board, the Badminton block preserves the evidence of essential planning that must have once been commonplace in the sarcophagus workshop. It is likely that further investigations of the backs and design of other Roman sarcophagi will shed additional light on the technical—but hardly insignificant—aspects of sarcophagus production that the Badminton chest raises so provocatively.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJA—*American Journal of Archaeology*

ASR—*Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Gerhart Rodenwaldt, Friedrich Matz, Bernard Andreae, eds. Vols. I–V (Berlin, 1890–1984)

Helbig⁴—Wolfgang Helbig et al., *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed. (Tübingen, 1966)

JdI—*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*

K-S—Guntram Koch and Hellmut Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage. Handbuch der Archäologie* (Munich, 1982)

Kranz—Peter Kranz, *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage*. *ASR*, V, pt. 4 (Berlin, 1984)

LIMC—*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Vols. I–V (Zurich/Munich, 1981–90)

LouvreCat—François Baratte and Catherine Metzger, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époques romaine et paléochrétienne* (Paris, 1985)

McCann—Anna McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1978)

Matz—Friedrich Matz, *Ein römisches Meisterwerk. Der Jahreszeitensarkophag Badminton-New York*. *JdI Erg.* 19 (1958)

MemPontAcc—*Memorie. Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia*

PBSR—*Papers of the British School at Rome*

RendPontAcc—*Rendiconti. Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia*

NOTES

1. For a recent survey of the major literature on these subjects, see Hazel Dodge, "Ancient marble studies: recent research," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 4 (1991) pp. 28–47.

2. Acc. no. 55.11.5. McCann, pp. 94–106, no. 17, and Kranz, pp. 62–63, no. 131, provide the most recent full discussion of the piece, although Matz remains an important starting point for any discussion. The sarcophagus is in excellent condition, with only a few very minor modern restorations (McCann, p. 95) and the obviously post-antique inscription "1733 HIC POS[ITU]M," recording its placement at Badminton. It has also lost its lid and the paint applied to the front (Matz, p. 5). On the practice of painting sarcophagi, see K-S, pp. 87–88.

3. There is much dispute about sarcophagus chronology in the third century. Envisioning a Gallienic renaissance in the 260s, German scholars have proposed radical revisions in the dating of a number of well-known caskets, including the Badminton. See Klaus Fittschen, *Der Meleagersarkophag*. Liebighaus Monographie (Frankfurt, 1975) p. 25; Bernard Andreae and Helmut Jung, "Vorläufige tabellarische übersicht über die Zeitstellung und Werkstattzugehörigkeit von 250 römischen Prunksarkophagen des 3. Jhs.n.Chr.," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1977) pp. 432–436; Kranz, p. 62. Their arguments have not convinced this author, who retains the traditional dating of the Badminton chest to the 220s or 230s. In support of the early date, see McCann, pp. 102–106; Friedrich Matz (*Die dionysischen Sarkophage*. ASR IV, pt. 4 [Berlin, 1975] p. 449, no. 258); George Hanfmann, review of Matz, *Gnomon* 31 (1959) p. 538; Robert Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques*. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 210 (Paris, 1966) p. 278.

4. Donald Strong, *Roman Art*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1988) p. 231.

5. K-S, p. 86.

6. Acc. no. 47.100.4; McCann, pp. 39–45, no. 4. For other exceptions, see K-S, p. 65.

7. Matz, p. 6.

8. McCann, p. 95. Its findspot is unknown.

9. For comparison, see the entablature of the Temple of Castor in Rome as illustrated in Fritz Toebelmann, *Römische Gebälke* (Heidelberg, 1923) p. 51, fig. 48.

10. For the history of the sarcophagus prior to its acquisition by the MMA, see McCann, p. 94; Osbert Sitwell, "The Red Folder—II," *The Burlington Magazine* 80 (1942) p. 117; and Cornelius Vermeule, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," *AJA* 59 (1955) p. 130.

11. Helga Herdejürgen, "Sarkophagrückseiten," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1988) pp. 87–96.

12. San Antonio Museum of Art, acc. no. 90.17. I thank Carlos Picón for notice of this work.

13. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 9517 (Friederike Sinn, *Vatikanische Museum. Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense. Katalog der Skulpturen. Die Grabdenkmäler I*, 1. *Reliefs, Altäre, Urnen* [Mainz, 1991] pp. 48–49, no. 21, figs. 55–59).

14. This is the measurement at the top. It is slightly shorter at the bottom, measuring 2.14 m. This difference reflects the subtle flare of the chest upward and outward in order to enhance its visual effect.

15. See Toebelmann, *Römische Gebälke*, fig. 46 following p. 50 and fig. 39 following p. 36.

16. Peter Rockwell, "Carving Instructions on the Temple of Vespasian," *RendPontAcc* 60 (1987–88) p. 57.

17. Hairline cracks found on the front running from Dionysus's chest to the panther's neck and on the left side of the back's smoothed section, even if they were apparent in antiquity, obviously did not deter the carver.

18. Identification of the marble (which is technically not marble but undurated limestone) is based on isotopic analysis of a sample undertaken by Norman Herz at the Center for Archaeological Sciences, University of Georgia, in May 1992. The sarcophagus has the distinctive color of stone from this quarry, white streaked with blue/gray. On Proconnesian marble in general, see Dario Monna and Patrizio Pensabene, *Marmi dell'Asia Minore* (Rome, 1977) pp. 145–177; p. 157 discusses its use in architectural contexts.

19. On the Arch and other Proconnesian monuments, see L. Lazzarini et al., "Determination of the Provenance of Marbles Used in Some Ancient Monuments in Rome," in *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade*, Norman Herz and Marc Waelkens, eds. (Dordrecht, 1988) pp. 399–409; and John Ward-Perkins, "Nicomedia and the Marble Trade," *PBSR* 35 (1980) p. 31.

20. Monna and Pensabene, *Marmi dell'Asia Minore*, p. 154.

21. In a study of *lenos* sarcophagi with lions' head protomes, Susan Walker finds a reduction in the use of Proconnesian in the middle of the century: "The Marble Quarries of Proconnesos: Isotopic Evidence for the Age of the Quarries and for *Lenos*-Sarcophagi Carved at Rome," in *Marmi Antichi: Problemi d'Impiego, di Restauro, e d'Identificazione*, Patrizio Pensabene, ed., *Studi Miscelanei* 26 (1981–83 [1985]) pp. 57–65.

22. See Andreae and Jung, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, chart following p. 434.

23. Lazzarini et al., "Determination of the Provenance of Marbles," p. 405. There are even instances of the reuse of carved sarcophagi (see K-S, p. 86).

24. Lazzarini et al., "Determination of the Provenance of Marbles," pp. 403–405.

25. The dimensions of the left dowel hole are as follows: height, 2 cm; width, 2.2 cm; depth, 1.75 cm; and of the right: height, 3 cm; width, 2.2 cm; depth, 2.25 cm.

26. These clamps did not function as hinges, but rather as safeguards against dislodging during transit, or possibly, like a personal seal, as deterrents against tampering.

27. An iron clamp remains intact at the right end of a third-century Dionysiac sarcophagus in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts, acc. no. 1972.650; Mary Comstock and Cornelius Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone. The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* [Boston 1976] p. 153, no. 244) and two remain on a chest from Roman Britain (London, The British

Museum, PRB 1853.6–20.1–2; Susan Walker, *Catalogue of Roman Sarcophagi in the British Museum* [London, 1990] pp. 56–57, no. 71, pl. 30).

28. Such cuttings are found on the front of a sarcophagus from a tomb in Rome, now in Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery, inv. 23.32; John Ward-Perkins, “Workshops & Clients: the Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore,” *RendPontAcc* 48 [1975–76] p. 200, fig. 8), where they are aligned with cuttings on the lid. In this instance they look like an attempt (unsuccessful, in view of later pilferings of the tomb) at tomb security. As there are four across the front, they are too numerous to be explained either as the bedding for hoisting ropes or metal clamps to safeguard against dislodging.

29. See the finds from the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia (Frederick Hemans, “New Discoveries in the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia,” *AIA Newsletter* 7, 3 [1992] p. 3).

30. The removal of the stabilizing cuttings on the front makes it uncertain how the finished sarcophagus was moved from the workshop to its final location in the tomb. Perhaps no lifting was involved at this stage, and the sarcophagus could be moved with the aid of ramps and rollers alone.

31. For examples of cuttings like those of the Badminton sarcophagus, see an Adonis sarcophagus in the Vatican (Carl Robert, *Einzelmythen. Actaeon-Hercules*. ASR III, pt. 1 [Berlin, 1897] pp. 13–14, no. 12, pl. 3) and a Prometheus sarcophagus in Paris (Musée du Louvre, inv. Ma 339; *LouvreCat*, pp. 115–118, no. 47, fig. p. 117). For examples of the simple dowel holes, see a Meleager sarcophagus in Florence (Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 135; Robert, *Einzelmythen. Hippolytos-Meleagros*. ASR III, pt. 2 [Berlin, 1904] pp. 315–316, no. 248, pl. 84); a Proserpina sarcophagus in Pisa (Camposanto; Robert, *Einzelmythen. Niobiden-Triptolemos*. ASR III, pt. 3 [Berlin, 1919] pp. 488–489, no. 409, pl. 128); and a Muse sarcophagus in New York (MMA, acc. no. 10.104; McCann, pp. 46–50, no. 5, esp. fig. 49). In the New York chest the holes have been filled in (probably in modern times) with stucco.

32. E.g., an Endymion sarcophagus in the MMA, acc. no. 24.97.13; McCann, pp. 34–38, no. 3.

33. John Ward-Perkins, “The Imported Sarcophagi from Roman Tyre,” *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 22 (1969) pp. 109–145; idem, “Nicomedia and the Marble Trade,” *PBSR* 35 (1980) pls. 9a, 11b, 12a, and 12b. Particularly large and heavy, these chests sometimes have as many as six channels/holes, two on each long side and one at each end (see esp. pls. 11b and 12a).

34. Ward-Perkins, “The Imported Sarcophagi,” p. 116. Some other sarcophagi appear to preserve traces of metal. See, for example, the left hole of the right end of the MMA’s Endymion sarcophagus mentioned in note 32.

35. For sarcophagi with these respective features, see Ward-Perkins, “The Imported Sarcophagi,” pls. 11, 8, and 5.

36. Walters Art Gallery inv. 23–31, Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage*. ASR IV, pt. 2 (Berlin, 1968) pp. 231–233, no. 95, pl. 120. The smoothed band in which some of the drawings are cut seems to have been made with the saw (the closely spaced parallel lines made by the saw’s teeth are visible in Figure 5). On the saw see Sheila Adam, *The Technique of Greek Sculpture. Annual of the British School at Athens*, Suppl. 3 (Oxford, 1966) p. 83.

37. Musée du Louvre, inv. Ma 1346; *LouvreCat*, pp. 138–142, no. 67, fig. p. 141.

38. Matz, p. 6.

39. Sichtermann, in K-S, p. 86. The incrustation covering the circles in many places does secure them as ancient carvings rather than modern.

40. McCann, p. 95.

41. Amanda Claridge, “Roman Methods of Fluting Corinthian Columns and Pilasters,” *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, Suppl. 10 (Odense, 1983) pp. 119–128.

42. Ranging in date from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D. Lothar Haselberger, “Werkzeichnungen am jüngeren Didymeion,” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 30 (1980) pp. 191–215 and “Aspekte der Bauzeichnungen von Didyma,” *Revue Archéologique* (1991) pp. 99–113.

43. Lothar Haselberger, their discoverer, does not believe their function to have been architectural (personal communication, March 7 and Aug. 17, 1992).

44. P. Bruneau et al., *L’ilot de la Maison des Comédiens. Exploration archéologique de Delos* 27 (Paris, 1970) p. 157, fig. 111.

45. Michael Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit., Archäologische Forschungen XVI* (Berlin, 1987) pls. 19–24.

46. They may have served as guides to the workmen installing the *opus sectile* of the lower walls. These unpublished findings were reported to the author by Richard Stone.

47. On the compass, see Charles Daremberg and Edmond Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines* I, pt. 2 (Paris, 1918) pp. 1185–1186, s.v. *circinus* (Saglio). Fig. 1512 on p. 1186 and fig. 2 of Hugo Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* (Leipzig, 1884) III, p. 91, illustrate typical reliefs. See also a stele from Aquileia (Gerhard Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* [Berlin, 1982] p. 150, no. 70).

48. Adam, *The Technique of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 82–83, records its use as early as the archaic period in Greece, where it was employed, among other things, to carve perfect circles for leopards’ spots.

49. As on the end of a Phaethon sarcophagus in the cathedral at Tortona (ASR III, pt. 3, pp. 32–35, no. 350, pls. 114–115).

50. As on a garland sarcophagus in Thessaloniki (K-S, figs. 391–392).

51. Probably elevated during carving, the sarcophagus would have had even greater accessibility. For an image of a sarcophagus-carver at work on a strigillated *lenos* sarcophagus with lions’ head protomes, of roughly the same date as the Badminton chest, see the so-called Eutropos sarcophagus in Urbino (K-S, figs. 66, 67).

52. Any optical distortions caused by the camera are too minor to affect the accuracy of this illustration.

53. Staatliche Museen, inv. Sk 46 (Kranz, pp. 218–219, no. 130, pl. 56.1; George Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* [Cambridge, 1951] II, p. 175, no. 461, figs. 20, 28;

Margarete Bieber, *Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des königl. Museum Fridericianum in Cassel* [Marburg, 1915] pp. 43–45, no. 86, pl. 34). Unlike many earlier illustrations, Figure 8 shows the relief with its modern restorations removed.

54. There is dispute regarding the relative dates of the two chests. On the Kassel sarcophagus as the earlier, see McCann, pp. 102–103; Kranz, pp. 61–62; on the Badminton as the earlier, see Matz, pp. 142–147, *ASR* IV, pt. 4, pp. 449–452, nos. 258–259, and Hanfmann, review of Matz, p. 538.

55. The exceptional care with which the Badminton chest was designed can be seen as well in the division of the front figures into three categories of head size: that of Dionysus and the Seasons (ca. 11.5 cm), that of Pan and the Maenad (9.5 cm), and that of the little pans (ranging from 5.8 to 7.02 cm, with most measuring 6.8 cm).

56. Attempts have been made to connect the Badminton sarcophagus with contemporary sarcophagi as products of the same workshop, but there is little consensus. The major attributions are those of Matz (Matz, p. 167), Andreae (in Andreae and Jung, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, chart on p. 434) and Fittschen (*Der Meleagersarkophag*, p. 14). Among the sarcophagi associated, not always convincingly, with the Badminton workshop, I cannot discern any statistical preference for circular designs.

57. Matz, pp. 143–168. Hanfmann (review of Matz, p. 539) identified the heads of Terra and Winter (both on the left side of the sarcophagus) as by a single hand.

58. Bernard Andreae, “Imitazione ed originalità nei sarcofagi romani,” *RendPontAcc* 41 (1968) pp. 145–166, esp. figs. 7, 8; “Zur Komposition des grosse ludovisischen Schlachtsarkophags,” *Festschrift Gottfried von Lücken. Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostok* 17 (1968) pp. 633–640; Andreae et al., “Zusammenfügung der Fragmente eines Meleagersarkophags in Frankfurt und Kassel,” *Jdl* 87 (1972) figs. 25–27 on p. 423.

59. Museo Nazionale delle Terme, inv. 8574 (Helbig⁴ 2354; *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture* I, pt. 5, Antonio Giuliano, ed. [Rome, 1983] pp. 56–67, no. 25. For pictures of the grid, see Helbig and Andreae, *RendPontAcc* (1987–88) fig. 8.

60. Museo Nazionale delle Terme, inv. 112327 (Helbig⁴ 2126; *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture* I, pt. 8, Antonio Giuliano, ed. [Rome, 1985] pp. 177–188, no. IV, 4). For the superimposed grid plan, see Helbig and Andreae in *RendPontAcc*, fig. 7.

61. Rome, Praetextatus Catacomb (Margarete Gütschow, *Das Museum der Prätetstat-Katakomben. AttiPontAcc*, ser. 3, *Memorie* 4.2 [Vatican City, 1938] pp. 77–106, no. 3, pls. 10–15; Andreae et al., “Zusammenfügung der Fragmente,” fig. 27).

62. Elizabeth Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature* (Leiden, 1992) pp. 77–81.

63. Peter Rockwell, “Preliminary Study of the Carving Techniques in the Column of Trajan,” *Studi Miscellanei* 26 (1981–83) pp. 101–111, esp. pp. 103, 105.

64. Accepting the vertical stacking of scenes proposed by Werner Gauer, *Untersuchungen zur Traianssäule. I: Darstellungsprogramm und künstlerischer Entwurf* (Berlin, 1977).

65. How this awkward squeeze came about can be understood from Figure 6. Although both the panther’s neck and Summer’s torso fall within the circles generated from the center, the Season’s arm does not. In terms of the design the arm was an afterthought and as such suffered accordingly.

66. See note 14. It should be noted, however, that the compositional midpoint on sarcophagus reliefs frequently falls off-center on the finished chest. See also the location of Dionysus on the Kassel chest (see text above and Figure 8) and of a Satyr and Maenad couple on a sarcophagus in Boston (the so-called Farnese sarcophagus in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum; Matz, *ASR* IV, pt. 1, no. 9, pls. 13–15). Although the figures to either side of the Boston casket’s center echo one another in composition, they are by no means strict mirror reversals. As a rule sarcophagus designers avoided rigid symmetry.

67. For examples, see McCann, pp. 118–121, no. 19, and Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus*, figs. 2, 31, 32, 35, 37, 52, 54. On portrait medallions see K-S, pp. 13, 194, and Konrad Schauenburg, “Porträts auf römischen Sarkophagen,” *Eikones. Studien zum griechischen und römischen Bildnis. Hans Jucker zum sechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet. Antike Kunst*, Suppl. 12 (1980) pp. 153–159.

68. For examples, see *LouvreCat*, pp. 213–216, nos. 124, 125, and Hugo Brandenburg, “Meerwesensarkophage und Clipeusmotiv,” *Jdl* 82 (1967) pp. 195–245.

69. Sichtermann (K-S, p. 84) postulates inscribed lines as one of several methods for transmitting designs to the block. Given their minuscule depth, the inscribed circles would have been barely more invasive of the surface than the red paint also postulated for marking (K-S, p. 84; Ward-Perkins, “Workshops & Clients,” p. 220).

70. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Museo Nuovo, inv. 839 (Helbig⁴ 1794; K-S, fig. 69).

71. K-S, p. 217.

72. *LIMC* III, pt. 1, p. 461, nos. 430–433 and p. 548, nos. 89–91.

73. See Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus*, pp. 112–116, 127–141.

74. For example, the Seasons sarcophagus with tomb door in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (inv. 1185, Helbig⁴ 1451 [dated A.D. 240–250]; K-S, fig. 258).

75. Orpheus with a lyre and sheep in a landscape on a strigilated sarcophagus in Porto Torres, dated ca. A.D. 260 (Hellmut Sichtermann and Guntram Koch, *Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen* [Tübingen, 1975] p. 54, no. 55, pl. 141).

76. For example, a sarcophagus in Rome (Galleria Borghese, Andreas Rumpf, *Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagreliefs*. *ASR* V, pt. 1 [Berlin, 1939] pp. 36–37, no. 92, pl. 36) and one in Tipasa (K-S, fig. 242). On the trend see K-S, p. 196.

77. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 10409 (*ASR* III, pt. 1, pp. 22–24, no. 21, pl. 5; Helbig⁴ 1120; K-S, p. 132, fig. 142).

78. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. Ma 1335 (*LouvreCat*, pp. 71–75, no. 25).

79. On Amazon sarcophagi, see K-S, p. 139.

80. Musée du Louvre, inv. Ma 1013; *LouvreCat*, pp. 146–150, no. 71.

81. Inv. 20295; K-S, fig. 284; Hellmut Sichtermann, “Göttlicher Enthusiasmus. Dionysisches und Apollonisches auf römischen Sarkophagen des 3. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts,” *Römische Mitteilungen* 86 (1979) p. 359, pl. 95.

82. Camposanto, inv. 31; K-S, fig. 257; Kranz, pp. 196–197, no. 44, pl. 32 (dated 220s to early 230s).

83. Museo Nazionale, inv. 6589; K-S, fig. 316.

84. Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 1212; Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus*, p. 169, no. 372, fig. 30; Kranz, p. 217, no. 128, pl. 64 (dated to the late 230s).

85. Rome, Palazzo Mattei (Lucia Guerrini, *Palazzo Mattei di Giove. Le Antichità* [Rome, 1982] pp. 206–208, no. 55, pl. 60; Hellmut Sichtermann, *Späte Endymion-Sarkophage* [Baden-Baden, 1966] fig. 9).

86. A compass centered on Hylas’s navel encloses him and the surrounding nymphs. As in the Badminton sarcophagus, the figural groups to the sides of the middle lack strong symmetry.

87. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. Ma 1346. Cited in note 37 above. Dated to the A.D. 240s.

An Early Christian Sarcophagus from Rome Lost and Found

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART acquired in 1991 the surviving original portion of a major Early Christian frieze sarcophagus. It was the gift of Josef and Marcy Mittlemann,¹ and it had been a garden ornament at Burrwood, an estate in Cold Spring Harbor on Long Island. On the face of the restored sarcophagus, carved in high relief, are scenes from the life of Christ and the apocryphal life of St. Peter; on the ends, in low relief, events from the Old Testament are depicted. The composition of the sarcophagus—with its solid, almost chunky, figure style and deeply undercut drapery patterns—is typical of Roman early-fourth-century Christian sarcophagi. The juxtaposition of Petrine and Christological scenes makes the sarcophagus one of a group of approximately fifty works that give special preeminence to the story of St. Peter's life in Rome.² No other example of this type is known in an American collection.

As it exists today, five scenes appear on the face of the sarcophagus (Figure 1). At the far left end of the sarcophagus a bearded Peter draws water from the rock of his prison cell as attendant figures watch in wonder. Following to the right, across the front, is the Arrest of Peter with two men holding Peter's arms to restrain him. In the center a bearded Christ is shown in profile seated on a stiff-legged ass in an expansive depiction of his Entry into Jerusalem. At the right a bearded Christ stands flanked by two of his disciples behind baskets filled with loaves of bread that identify the event as the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes. At the far right end of the sarcophagus is the Raising of Lazarus in which a bearded Christ stands before the shrouded figure of Lazarus in his tomb. On the end of the sarcophagus near the Christological scenes Adam and Eve

cover themselves with large leaves beside the Tree of Knowledge after the Fall of Man (Figure 2). On the end near the Petrine scenes the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace raise their hands in prayer (Figure 3). The back and interior of the sarcophagus are roughly finished, like the background of the scene with the Three Hebrews and the figure of Eve.

The Petrine scenes are composed of overlapping figures carved in multiple layers of relief, which allows them to be compressed into narrowly defined spaces. With the exception of the man who grabs St. Peter's arm to the left of the scene of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, the heads of the major figures in each scene are thrust forward beyond the rim of the sarcophagus making the drama of the events project into the viewer's space. Their hair is defined by short runs of drill holes arranged in rows, and expressionistic shadows are created by the use of the drill at the inner edges of the eyes and mouths. Their clothing is deeply undercut in schematic designs that create vivid patterns of light and dark, which enhance the immediacy of the moment.

In contrast, the heads of the figures in the Christological scenes and that of the man holding the arm of Peter beside the Entry scene are carved with limited, random use of the drill and relatively shallow drapery folds. None of the other compositions is as densely packed with figures as those in the Petrine scenes. Each is essentially composed in two layers of relief arranged in a relatively regular rhythm of alternating highs and lows, with none of the figures projecting far beyond the rim of the sarcophagus.

A comparison of the Museum's sarcophagus with related Early Christian works reveals the extent of the difference between the Petrine and Christological scenes. Most similar in composition to the Museum's work is the sarcophagus Lateran 161 in the Museo Pio Cristiano in Rome, which is generally dated to the end of the first quarter of the fourth

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 28

The notes for this article begin on page 83.



Figure 1. Front of Early Christian sarcophagus, showing scenes from the Life of Peter and the Life of Christ, Late Roman, first third of 4th century. Marble, L. 213 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Josef and Marsy Mittlemann, 1991, 1991.366

century (Figure 4).³ The Old Testament scenes on the ends of the two sarcophagi are almost exact replicas. On both, the Three Hebrews stand in an elaborate wood-burning furnace made of brick. The scenes of Adam and Eve with their short fleshy bodies and tubular legs differ only in the presence of the snake twining around the tree in Lateran 161.

Four of the scenes on the front of the sarcophagi are similar. In both works, the Petrine scenes of Drawing Water from the Rock and the Arrest on the left are balanced by the Christological events of the Miracle of the Loaves and the Raising of Lazarus on the right. Only the central compositions dif-

fer: the expansive Entry into Jerusalem appears on the Museum's sarcophagus, whereas on Lateran 161 a female orans is flanked by two compact Christological scenes—Christ Changing Water into Wine at the Wedding in Cana and Christ Healing the Man Born Blind. In contrast to the Museum's sarcophagus, where only two scenes project forward, the entire face of Lateran 161 is covered by a series of densely composed scenes whose major figures dramatically thrust their heads beyond the rim of the sarcophagus. As in the Petrine scenes on the Museum's sarcophagus, drill holes are found at the corners of the eyes of all the major figures and the



Figure 2. End of sarcophagus in Figure 1 showing Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge

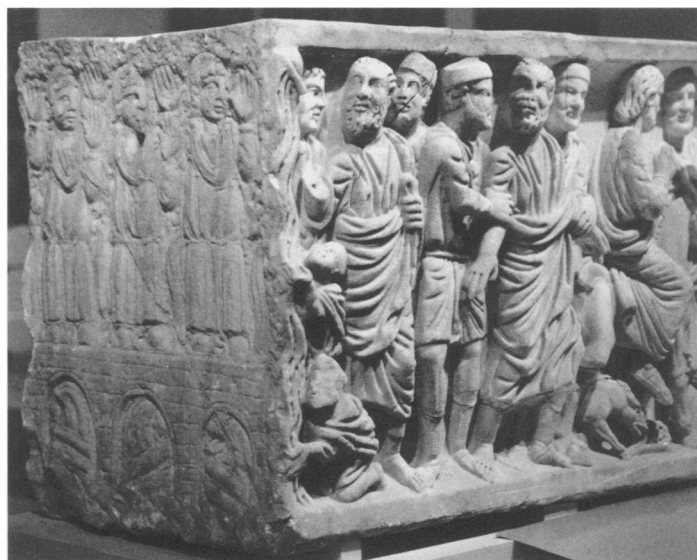


Figure 3. End of sarcophagus in Figure 1 showing Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace



Figure 4. Front and end views of Early Christian sarcophagus called Lateran 161. Late Roman, first quarter of 4th century. Marble. Vatican City, Vatican Museum (photos: Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie)

drapery patterns are consistently deeply undercut in schematic patterns: all characteristics of early-fourth-century sarcophagi.⁴

Not only the carving but also the compositions of the Petrine scenes on the two sarcophagi are remarkably similar. Only minor details in style and iconography differ in the depictions of Peter Drawing Water from a Rock and at his Arrest. The major figures share the same poses, projecting forward from the smooth background in densely packed layers of relief. On the Lateran sarcophagus Peter carries a wand in both of the scenes in which he appears. On the Museum's work the tip of the wand survives at the upper edge of the sarcophagus in the depiction of the water miracle but is not present at Peter's Arrest. In both works those who kneel to wonder at the flowing water in the water miracle wear a pileus, a short cylindrical hat worn by the Roman military elite.⁵

By contrast, the Christological scenes differ dramatically. Most significantly Christ appears as a bearded adult in each event on the Museum's sarcophagus. On Lateran 161, as is usual in Early

Christian art, he is portrayed as a beardless youth. Moreover, secondary figures on the Museum's sarcophagus, like the child beside Christ at the Raising of Lazarus, wear the pileus, a motif unknown in Early Christian narrative scenes of Christ's life. Only the base of the compositions of the scenes of the Miracle of the Loaves and the Raising of Lazarus are the same on the two sarcophagi. Both share the same densely packed groups of feet separated by baskets of bread and ending with a kneeling figure.

Most significant in explaining the discrepancy in the style and iconography on the face of the Museum's sarcophagus are the two breaks on the work which divide the sarcophagus's face horizontally and vertically. The compositional differences below and above the gaping fissure that marks the horizontal break running across the lower legs of the figures from the Arrest of Peter to the Raising of Lazarus have been noted. Equally significant is a narrow, irregular vertical break which follows the contour of the right side of the figure of Peter in the scene of his Arrest beginning at the roughly



Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1

repaired rim of the sarcophagus and ending at the horizontal break. This vertical break is most visible where the arm of the arresting man is joined with grainy mortar to the hand with which he grasps Peter's left arm (Figure 5). Within the rectangle formed by these break lines the marble has a smoother, whiter finish than elsewhere on the work—a contrast again most visible at the join between the figure of St. Peter and the man arresting him.⁶ If the rectangular slab of marble filled with the upper part of the Christological scenes is discounted, the remaining elements of the sarcophagus are consistent in style and iconography with early-fourth-century sarcophagi, such as Lateran 161, the earliest example of a sarcophagus with Petrine and Christological scenes.⁷ The Museum's work is probably of a slightly later date, although no later than the end of the first third of the century, as it possesses the squat proportions and dynamic compositional rhythm of the earlier works of the type.

All the known surviving Early Christian sarcophagi were carefully catalogued and illustrated by engraving in the fifth volume of P. Raffaele Garrucci's *Storia dell'arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa*, published in 1879.⁸ While minor details of the surviving sarcophagi were at times inaccurately rendered by the engravers, they are essentially accurate and have been used consistently by later scholars of Early Christian iconography.⁹ Among the works il-

lustrated by Garrucci combining Petrine and Christological themes is a damaged sarcophagus that can be shown to be the work now in the Museum's collection (Figure 6).¹⁰ Most significantly, Garrucci's engraving of the sarcophagus shows one of the men at the Arrest of Peter to survive only as the hand which grasps Peter's left arm at the elbow.¹¹ As seen in Figure 5, the vertical break on the Museum's sarcophagus runs across the arm of the figure holding Peter's left arm; the join occurs where the man's hand grabs Peter's elbow. As in the engraving, the rest of the upper body and the head of the figure are lost.

All other major elements of the Petrine scenes on the Museum's sarcophagus match details of the engraving, even to the position of Peter's wand in the scene of the water miracle. The Old Testament scenes on this sarcophagus also closely resemble those on the Garrucci engraving, including the length of the tongues of flame coming from the furnace in the Three Hebrews scene, the huge leaves held by Adam and Eve, and the notch in the trunk of the Tree of Knowledge.¹²

The sequence of feet and objects that extends across the broken lower portion of the sarcophagus in the engraving matches precisely the lower portion of the Museum's sarcophagus. On both, at the left, a very short-legged, rough-maned colt stretches forward from behind the rear legs of the ass to nibble a leafy branch that lies on the ground. At the

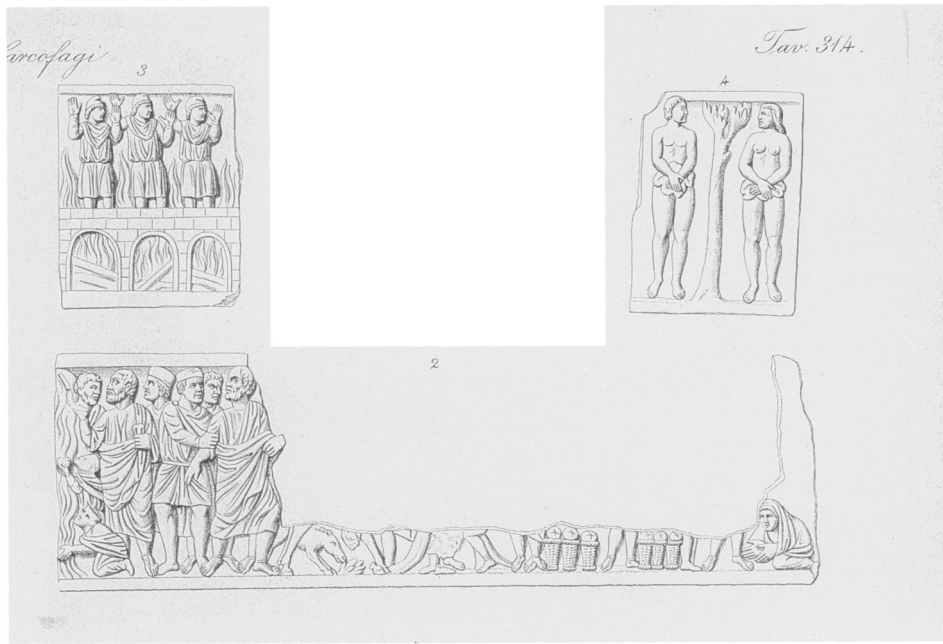


Figure 6. Front and end views of sarcophagus in Figure 1. Engravings from J. Raeffelo Garrucci's *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* (Prato, 1879) plate 314

forelegs of the ass, a curve of fabric falls to the ground, one of the garments laid before Christ at his Entry into Jerusalem. The legs of several people are clustered together—a straight one beside the forelegs of the ass, two facing away from the ass between two others that face the scene. The farthest away, bending at the knee toward the ass, is placed in front of the trunk of a tree. Following are a pair of legs with an extra foot projecting from behind the far leg, three tall baskets of bread, another pair of feet, three more baskets of bread, another leg, a pair of legs, and the kneeling figure of Martha with outstretched hands.

On the existing sarcophagus the upper portion of the figure of Martha has been lost, but photographs survive of it in situ at Burrwood (Figure 7).¹³ Moreover, the existing hands and knee on the Museum's sarcophagus match their position on the engraving. The angular patterns over the colt's head and to the right of the curve of the fabric in the engraving were meant to represent broken areas on the face of the stone. The area by the colt still exists, covered on the Museum's restored sarcophagus by the foot of Christ as he sits on the ass. The other area, located over the feet beyond the curve of the garment, is still visible on the sarcophagus. It is cleverly used as part of the lost lower portion of the body of the young child shown clutching the legs of the man holding the garment before Christ, a child's pose without precedent in Early Christian art.

The only significant discrepancy between the engraving and the Museum's sarcophagus is the route of the break across the baskets of bread. The engraving shows the front of the sarcophagus broken off in an irregular line that juts up to run over the baskets of bread. On the Museum's sarcophagus the break is a relatively straight line that runs across the rims of the baskets. The original break must have been regularized when the restoration was added to provide a stable base for the massive rectangular fill. That may also explain why the relief carving on the restoration is generally thickest at its base. The heads of the figures do not project as far forward as they do in the Petrine scenes, yet the rear of the ass and the frightened child in the Entry scenes are in such high relief that, if complete, their feet would project beyond the plane of the sarcophagus's base.

Garrucci's original identification of the missing scenes as consisting only of the Entry into Jerusalem, the Miracle of the Loaves, and the Raising of Lazarus has remained unchallenged in all subsequent publications.¹⁴ A careful consideration of the pattern of the feet in the original portion of the sarcophagus suggests that another event in the life of Christ should be added to Garrucci's three scenes and their later restoration. While the figures of the existing Entry into Jerusalem, with the exception of the small child, are standard for Early Christian iconography, they are spaced too far apart to be an

accurate reconstruction of the original composition.¹⁵ Furthermore, the two feet, and therefore the body, which turn away from the ass just beyond the fall of the garment cannot have been part of the original Entry. The restorer, who accounted for every element of the original portion of the sarcophagus in his work, solved the problem of the feet by inserting a frightened child turning to an adult for comfort. This solution, however, is not possible in an Early Christian image where everyone always faces Christ in welcoming him to the city.¹⁶

Moreover, the arrangement of the figures in the Miracle of Loaves, the following scene, is a variant on the standard Early Christian formula. Typically, as in the scene on Lateran 161, Christ is fully visible with the baskets of bread almost hiding the feet of the disciples who stand beside him. On the Museum's sarcophagus, it is Christ, the central figure in the event, whose feet are hidden. If the body of Christ was placed originally in the standard pattern, between the baskets over the surviving pair of feet, the foot barely visible in low relief beyond the baskets at the left would have been that of a disciple. The pair of feet beside the baskets and the feet turned away from the Entry would then have belonged to another event in the life of Christ.

The previously unrecognized event must have been Christ Healing the Man Born Blind. The scene, which is popular on Early Christian sarcoph-

agi, appears to the right of the orans in Lateran 161, where the man as small as a child stands in front of a larger figure. Christ stands alone, solidly set on both feet as he reaches out to touch the blind man's eyes (Figure 4). In reverse order the scene on Lateran 161 would have fit well on the Museum's sarcophagus with the blind man overlapping the figure of the man laying a garment before Christ and Christ standing alone. Depictions of the scene with the figures in reverse order, as they must have originally been on the Museum's sarcophagus, are known.¹⁷ With the addition of the scene of the Man Born Blind, the Christological subjects would have been compressed into dynamic, densely packed narrative compositions comparable to those on Lateran 161 and to the Petrine scenes on the Museum's sarcophagus.¹⁸

The history of the damaged sarcophagus of the engraving without the inaccurate restoration of the Christological scenes can be traced with some certainty into the early twentieth century when it was recorded as lost. After its identification by Garrucci, it was published a number of times in studies of Petrine and Christological iconography.¹⁹ In 1909 it was identified as missing from the Villa de Felice (formerly the Villa de Carpegna) in Rome.²⁰ No subsequent information about it was known until the work entered the Museum's collection.²¹ Research into its history at Burrwood, however, sug-



Figure 7. The sarcophagus in Figure 1 used as a fountain base at Burrwood, Cold Spring Harbor, New York (photo: Archives of American Gardens, Smithsonian Institution)



Figure 8. Detail of heads of Peter and attendant figure from scene of Peter drawing water from a rock on the sarcophagus in Figure 1

gests that the sarcophagus may have been brought to this country for Burrwood at approximately the date it was published as lost; it probably came to this country with the restorations.²² The Parke-Bernet sale catalogue for the furnishings of the estate in 1949 includes an early photograph of the house with the sarcophagus, fully restored, mounted on plinths in a place of honor.²³ By 1926 the sarcophagus had been placed against the brick wall of the estate's sunken garden as the base for a lion-head fountain (Figure 7).²⁴ The existing break at the end of the sarcophagus must have occurred after it was in use as a fountain.

While it is unfortunate that many of the original figures on the Metropolitan's sarcophagus have been broken and worn by years of being part of a garden ornament in Italy and then America, those heads protected by being carved in low relief under the sarcophagus rim offer startling insight into the sculptural tradition of Rome in the first third of the fourth century (Figure 8). Their intense expressions, like the dynamic rhythm of the compositions of the original portions of the sarcophagus, reveal the power of the earliest Christian art of Rome. In the original portions of the lost Early Christian sar-

cophagus, The Metropolitan Museum of Art has acquired a major Roman work of the early fourth century whose iconography is critical to the understanding of the development of Christian art.

NOTES

1. The MMA's acquisition of the sarcophagus was facilitated by Josef Mittlemann's interest in classical art and his faith in the quality of the sarcophagus.

2. *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1979) pp. 416–418; E. Dinkler, "Die ersten Petrusdarstellungen," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 11 (1938/39) pp. 1–80.

3. F. W. Deichmann, *Repertorium der Christlich-Antiken Sarkophage* (Wiesbaden, 1967) no. 6, with bibl.; *Age of Spirituality*, pp. 416–418.

4. G. Hanfmann, *The Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951) pp. 53–55.

5. B. Brenk, "The Imperial Heritage of Early Christian Art," in *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*, Kurt Weitzmann, ed. (New York, 1980) p. 40, argued that the presence of the hats, which had been worn by Roman officers who had had an important role in the persecution of Christians, was meant to stress that scenes of St. Peter being taken captive or in jail should be understood as events from the history of the persecution of Christians.

6. The vertical break is among many minor cracks that cover much of the face of the sarcophagus. Details of the scenes have been lost, including the hand with which Peter draws water from the rock, the rear leg of the ass, the base of the tomb of Lazarus, and the upper portion of the figure of Martha, who kneels beneath it at Christ's feet.

7. Dinkler, "Die ersten Petrusdarstellungen," p. 59.

8. P. R. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* (Prato, 1879) V.

9. Deichmann, *Repertorium*, used the engravings whenever photographs were not available as with the MMA's acquisition; E. Dinkler, *Der Einzug in Jerusalem: Ikonographische Untersuchungen im Anschluss an ein bisher unbekanntes Sarkophagfragment. Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften 167* (Opladen, 1970) fig. 12, used the engraving of the MMA's sarcophagus for his study of Entry-scene iconography.

10. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, pl. 314, figs. 2–4, pp. 27–29, where he identified the damaged base as containing the three Christological scenes found on the restoration today. He correctly identified the Old Testament events but could only identify the Petrine scenes as a bearded man drawing water from a rock and a bearded man being arrested.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 28, specifically noted the presence of the hand in the scene.

12. According to Alan Reiver, who supervised the removal and the subsequent restoration of the work, the diagonal breaks—clearly visible on the sarcophagus today and not indicated on the engraving—occurred when it was pulled from its setting at Burrwood.

13. The photograph of the garden is from the files of Mac Griswold, who also provided me with information on the development of the gardens at Burrwood. Mrs. Florence Nelson, a granddaughter of Walter Jennings, the builder of the estate, provided a photograph of a 1926 painting of the sunken garden, including the sarcophagus, by Helen Sides, thus confirming the location and condition of the sarcophagus at that time.

14. See note 10 for Garrucci's identification of the scenes; R. Grousset, *Étude sur l'histoire des sarcophages chrétiens. Catalogue des sarcophages chrétiens de Rome* (Paris, 1885) p. 81, no. 94 without illustration, where Garrucci's identification of the scenes on the sarcophagus was amended only by the identification of the Petrine scenes as events in the life of Moses; E. Becker, *Das Quellwunder des Moses in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Strasbourg, 1909) p. 44, accepted Garrucci's identification of the Christological scenes and continued the identification of the Petrine scenes as depictions of Moses; G. Stuhlfauth, *Die apokryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1925) p. 88, also accepted the identification of the Christological scenes while being the first to identify correctly the scenes with the bearded man as events from the life of St. Peter; J. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi* (Rome, 1929) II, p. 311, pl. 195, followed Garrucci's identification of the Christological events; M. Sotomayor, *S. Pedro en la iconografía paleocristiana* (Granada, 1962) p. 66 n. 120, also accepted the identification of three Christological events while supporting the identification of the other scenes as Petrine imagery; Deichmann, *Repertorium*, pp. 394–395 and pl. 151, figs. 946, 1–

946, 3, accepted Garrucci's identification of the Christological scenes while recognizing the Petrine imagery of the complete scenes. There the sarcophagus is dated to the first third of the 4th century. E. Dinkler, *Einzug in Jerusalem*, pp. 18, 22 and fig. 12, also accepted Garrucci's identification of the events without considering the feet turning away from the Entry.

15. Dinkler, *Einzug in Jerusalem*, p. 22, figs. 4 and 12, suggested the scene should be compared to the Entry on the Lateran sarcophagus 186. Deichmann, *Repertorium*, nos. 14 (Lateran 180), 21 (Lateran 186), 28 (Lateran 150A), for examples of Entry scenes on Early Christian sarcophagi where the colt also stands beneath its mother. On each, Christ sits astride the ass with one or two disciples in the background. Before him one figure leans forward on bended knee to spread a garment before the feet of the ass. In a tree beside the man, Zacchaeus peers through the branches to see Christ. No other figures are present.

16. See note 15 above.

17. Deichmann, *Repertorium*, nos. 6 (Lateran 161), 8 (Lateran 146), 10 (Lateran 166), 12 (Lateran 191), 14 (Lateran 180), 17 (Lateran 160), 20 (Lateran 173), 21 (Lateran 186), 22 (Lateran 222 and 227), 23 (Lateran 135), 621 (Cemetery of Sts. Mark and Marcellinus), 674 (St. Peter's), 771 (Museo Nazionale Romano, Aula III, Inv. 455), 772 (Museo Nazionale Romano, Aula III, Inv. 113302), and 919 (Villa Albani) for other early 4th-century frieze sarcophagi with the event. On nos. 17 and 23 Christ stands to the right of the Man Born Blind as he cures him, as he must have on the Museum's sarcophagus.

18. *Ibid.*, nos. 21 (Lateran 186), 23 (Lateran 135), 24 (Lateran 115), and 807 (Musei Capitolini, Sala I, Inv. 2400) shows that the composition of the remaining Christological scene, the Raising of Lazarus, is accurate as to the number of figures. However, the small child watching the event in the pileus of a Roman officer must have been originally a depiction of the risen Lazarus as on the sarcophagi in Deichmann. No small child attends the Raising of Lazarus on Early Christian sarcophagi, but at times Lazarus is depicted both dead, wound in his shroud in his tomb, and risen, a small naked figure beside Christ.

19. See note 14 above.

20. Becker, *Quellwunder des Moses*, p. 44, published the sarcophagus as lost.

21. Deichmann, *Repertorium*, p. 394, citing Becker, repeated the identification.

22. Mrs. Jackson Ravenscroft, a granddaughter of Walter Jennings, has the journals of the Jennings's family stay in Rome in 1908 when furnishings for Burrwood were being purchased. However, no specific record of the purchase of the sarcophagus could be found.

23. *Sale from the Estate of the Late Walter Jennings by Order of the Heirs, New York, October 25 and 26, 1949*, Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1949. The sarcophagus was not listed in the items in the auction, as by that date it had been built into the wall of the sunken garden. After the auction, the estate became The Brooklyn Home for the Blind, where the sarcophagus remained as part of the garden decoration. The reference to the illustration in the catalogue was provided by Josef Mittlemann.

24. See note 13 above.

A Neapolitan Patron of Armor and Tapestry Identified

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DEDICATED TO DR. NOLFO DI CARPEGNA

AN ARMOR OF ABOVE-AVERAGE QUALITY was invariably an individually commissioned work, made to suit the tastes of a specific patron. The decoration of this class of armor might often include the heraldic arms of the patron or other symbols that were particularly meaningful to him; for instance, the insignia of a chivalric order, the image of a patron saint, or a personal emblem, such as an *impresa*, or motto. Yet, despite these and other indicators, the original owner of a given armor often remains unknown. A coat of arms may identify a family but not an individual family member. Many orders of chivalry, like the Garter or the Golden Fleece, were shared by an international brotherhood of noblemen, each with the right to display the order's insignia. Patron saints were likewise popular images; an image of the Virgin and Child might as easily appear on the breastplate of an armor made for a German patron as an Italian one. An *impresa*, if not that of an illustrious individual, often remains unidentified because these highly personalized emblems were not hereditary. *Imprese* were not bound by the conventional rules of heraldry and were, as a result, much less apt to be consistently recorded.¹

Therefore, when the elements of a fine, late-sixteenth-century Milanese armor came to the Museum on long-term loan in 1985, it was regrettable but not surprising that the original owner was unknown, despite the presence of a prominent *impresa* on the breastplate (Figures 1, 2).² The elements of this armor consist of a gorget, a pair of pauldrons, and a breastplate with a single pendant fauld lame, all of which were once part of a complete armor for infantry use (*corsaletto da piede*).³ The surfaces of the plates are densely decorated with etched ornament

chiefly composed of vertical bands of classically inspired trophies alternating with bands occupied by two oval cartouches that are separated by entwined tendrils. The cartouches contain allegorical figures, some of which may represent the seven virtues. At the top of the border of the centermost cartouche appears the name "Pompeo," for Pompeo della Cesa (documented 1572 to 1593), the most renowned Italian armorer of the late sixteenth century.

The *impresa*, which serves as the focal point of the armor's decorative scheme, is composed of a flaming sphere, or sunburst, beneath a crown and above the motto, NULLA QUIES ALIBI, which may be translated as "no repose but here."⁴ The same intriguing *impresa* is also found, in equally prominent positions, on another richly etched armor signed by Pompeo (the remains of a small garniture for field and tournament) and on an unsigned white armor for man and horse, which are found in the collection of Warwick Castle (Figures 9, 14).⁵

The two armors by Pompeo were undoubtedly for the personal use of the same patron. Due to its plain character the armor for man and horse—undecorated save for the *impresa* boldly etched on the man's breastplate and the horse's peytral—may have been intended for this same patron or for one of his retainers. Together these armors represent the remains of what may have been a sizable private armory belonging to a nobleman of sufficient status to employ the most sought-after Milanese armorer of the period.

It was the presence of the same *impresa* on an unpublished, early-seventeenth-century tapestry in the Philadelphia Museum of Art that eventually led to the identification of the *impresa*'s creator and, thereby, the original owner of both the armors and the tapestry (Figure 3).⁶ The *impresa* on the tapestry appears not in isolation, as it does on the armors,

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 28

The notes for this article begin on page 98.



Figure 1. Pompeo della Cesa (Italian, documented 1572–93), Elements of an infantry armor, Milan, ca. 1595. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, anonymous loan, L.1985.159

but in conjunction with a coat of arms and a surname—those of a Neapolitan family, the di Capua. Moreover, the tapestry itself has been identified by Candace Adelson as a rare, well-documented product of the Medici tapestry manufactory (*Arazzeria Medicea*), made in Florence in 1617–18 as the fifth tapestry in a series of six.⁷

The *impresa* appears in the lower left and right corners of the tapestry's borders; a crown of gold above a flaming tricolor sun on a field of blue. The sun's sphere is gold, its inner aureole white and its outer one red. The banderole is white, the letters of the motto black. In the corresponding upper corners appears the di Capua coat of arms, *or, a bend argent, fimbriated sable*. The form of the shield is a type, typical to Italian heraldry, known as a *testa di cavallo* (literally, "horse's head"). Above it is a princely crown.⁸ The name di Capua appears in the caption in the center of the upper border, which reads IOANNES DE CAPVA EQVVM CVIINSIDEBAT REGI SEQ' STRATOREM PROEBVIT (Giovanni di Capua offered to the king the horse upon which he was sitting and himself as groom). The tapestry depicts a revered episode in the family's history that occurred during the battle of Seminara in 1495, in which Giovanni di Capua sacrificed his life by giving his horse to the king of Naples, Ferdinand II (1467–96), whose own horse had been killed. The other tapestries in the series represented the king's preparations for battle, the battle itself, and, following the Philadelphia tapestry, concluded with the scene of Giovanni's tragic death.⁹

The di Capua family traced its origins to the period of the Norman occupation of southern Italy and Sicily during the establishment of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily in the eleventh century. Their long and distinguished history is treated by several genealogical writers from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Only one, however, is so detailed as to include descriptions of some of the *imprese* used by succeeding generations of di Capuas. It is in Scipione Mazzella's 1601 *Descrittione del Regno di Napoli* that the identification of the *impresa* on the armors and the tapestry is found: "The prince of Riccia, Don Luigi Vincenzo de Capoa, uses for his *impresa* the flaming sphere, formerly used in his domains, with the motto, Nulla quies alibi."¹¹

Vincenzo Luigi di Capua (d. 1627), in addition to holding the title of prince of Riccia, was count of Montoro and count of Altavilla. This last title, which originated in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, was evidently a great source of pride to the

family. The antiquity and continuity of the title were, in fact, considered unparalleled at the time. As Mazzella wrote, "What is important is that this Contado has been preserved in this house from father to son without yet being lost, either through [lack of] a successor or through [extinction in] the female line, and Signor Don Luigi Vincenzo di Capua, the present prince of Riccia . . . is the fifteenth count of Altavilla, so that I know of no other family in Italy able to show such continuous greatness."¹²

The importance of the *impresa* and the Altavilla title to Vincenzo Luigi is evidenced by the prominence that both are given in his last will and testament, which is preserved in a bound volume of collected di Capua *testamenti*, found in the Archivio di Stato, Naples.¹³ The tooled- and gilt-leather cover of this book displays the di Capua coat of arms flanked below by Vincenzo Luigi's *impresa* and motto, just as they appear on the armors and the tapestry (Figure 4). The title and *impresa* were to form the chief decorative elements of his tomb in the Duomo in Naples. According to the instructions in Vincenzo Luigi's will the tomb was to be deco-

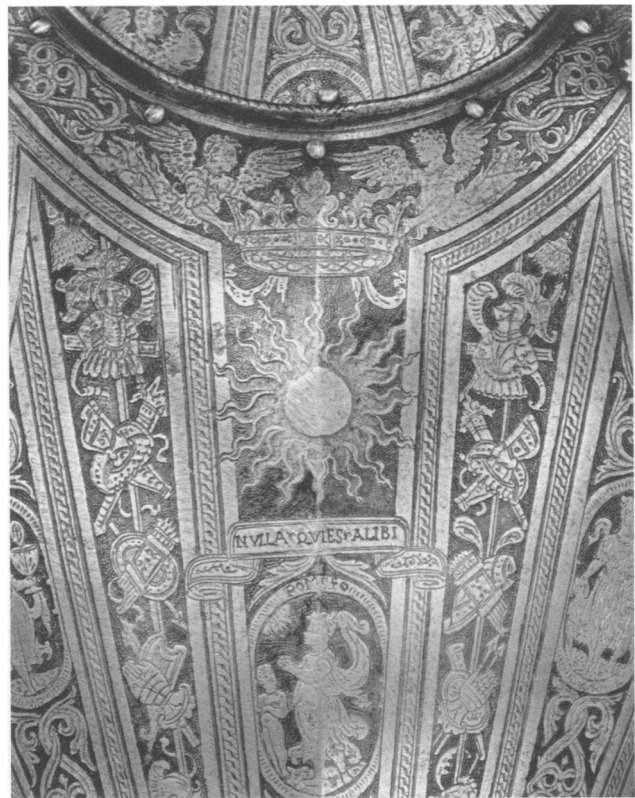


Figure 2. Detail of the breastplate in Figure 1



Figure 3. Tapestry representing *The Rescue of King Ferdinand II by Giovanni di Capua at the Battle of Seminara*, Italian (Florence), 1617–18. Philadelphia Museum of Art: Given by Mrs. Al Paul Lefton, 69–223–1 (photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art)

rated with marbles carved in low relief showing in the friezes of the corners “my *impresa* of the element of fire, with the motto below and a cartouche, and above, in proportion to it, the radiant crown, and in the upper part of the middle of the relief, but below the frieze, my coat of arms in a *testa di cavallo* shield with a similar radiant crown, and beneath this the

inscription in Latin which should say my name, family name, the titles of count of Montuori, prince of Riccia and by continuous succession fifteenth grand count of Altavilla, which letters should be the largest possible so that they can be read. . . .”¹⁴

Vincenzo Luigi di Capua succeeded to his titles in 1594 and presumably adopted his *impresa* shortly

thereafter. The creation of the *impresa* in or shortly after 1594 provides a terminus post quem for the construction of his two armors signed by Pompeo, which, for stylistic and chronological reasons that will be examined later, appear to have been made circa 1595. That the *impresa* was not employed by Vincenzo Luigi prior to his accession is indicated by the form of its crown—the radiant crown, or *corona à raggi*, signifying the princely status of the Riccia title.¹⁵

Further, the sunburst, or *sfera del fuoco*, as it is termed by Mazzella, may symbolize the county of Altavilla itself, the succession to which was such a source of pride to Vincenzo Luigi. A previous link between Altavilla and the sun motif is implied by Mazzella when, in his description of the *impresa*, he refers to the emblem as that formerly used or already known (*che stia già nella sua regione*) in Vincenzo Luigi's lands.¹⁶ This would account for the presence of a very similar sunburst device identified



Figure 4. Bound manuscript of the *testamenti* of the di Capua family. Naples, Archivio di Stato (photo: Archivio di Stato)

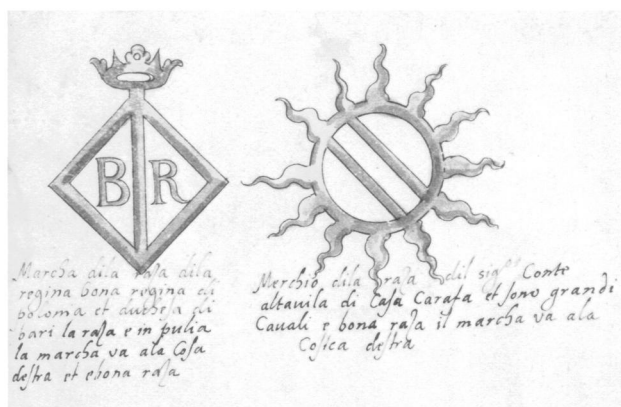


Figure 5. Detail from an anonymous manuscript book of horse brands, South Italian, ca. 1547. Private collection.

as the “mark used by the counts of Altavilla,” which appears in a manuscript of horse brands compiled about 1547 (Figure 5). The diagonal band running through the center of the sunburst is probably derived from the *bend ordinary* of the di Capua coat of arms.¹⁷

The prestige of the Altavilla title lay not only in its longevity but equally in its historical associations with the Hauteville dynasty of the Norman Kings of Sicily. The county of Altavilla was said to have originally been called Scandiano and to have been given to Luigi di Capua by the last Norman King of Sicily, William de Hauteville (William II, r. 1166–89). The name of this land was changed to Altavilla, the Italian translation of Hauteville, either by William in memory of the Hauteville territories in Normandy or by the di Capuas to commemorate the origin of the gift.¹⁸

The link between Altavilla, the sunburst device, and the Hautevilles may be found in the mosaic decoration of Monreale Cathedral. Built about 1170, the cathedral served as the burial place of the Hauteville kings.¹⁹ Its extensive program of mosaics constitutes one of the richest and best preserved artistic monuments to the Norman presence in Italy. Above the throne situated in the crossing, at the heart of the cathedral, is a mosaic depicting the coronation of William de Hauteville by Christ (Figure 6). Prominently represented on the wall between the throne and the coronation scene are William's coat of arms (*azure, a bend counter compony sable and argent*) and another shield bearing the sunburst device (*azure, a rais de soleil or*).²⁰ The *rais de soleil*, as the sunburst was described in early blazon,



Figure 6. Mosaic representing *Christ Crowning King William II*, Monreale Cathedral, Sicily, ca. 1185 (photo: courtesy of Luigi Artini, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence)

was a heraldic symbol peculiar to Normandy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²¹ Therefore, it is possible that the association of the sunburst with the county of Altavilla originated with the use of the device by the Hautevilles and remained current until Vincenzo Luigi's time.

Taking the sunburst to represent Altavilla—with all of its implications for the di Capua family—one can interpret the *impresa* and motto as signifying that there could be no repose for the di Capuas without possession of the Altavilla patrimony. The adoption of the *impresa* by Vincenzo Luigi in 1594 served as a visual declaration of his succession to the title. Such a declaration was probably motivated, at least in part, by the fact that the title had only recently passed to his branch of the family. Previously, it had descended through the line of his paternal uncle Giovanni, who died without male issue in 1588. By prior arrangement the title, with all of its assigns, was then ceded by Giovanni's daughter Ippolita to Vincenzo Luigi's father, Fabrizio, who held it until his death in 1594.²²

Before turning to a detailed discussion of the di Capua armors *per se*, one further iconographical element remains to be examined: the figure of a winged putto, which supports a royal crown overhead on outstretched arms. It appears directly beneath the sunburst *impresa* on the breastplate of the Warwick Castle armor signed by Pompeo (Figure 13) and on the central bow plate of that armor's matching saddle.²³ Like the subject of the Philadelphia tapestry, the winged putto and crown device also commemorates Vincenzo Luigi's ancestor Giovanni di Capua for his heroic rescue of King Ferdinand II at the battle of Seminara. As explained by Mazzella: "All of the men of the di Capua family carry as an *impresa*, after the salvation of the king from death, a royal crown with the spirit that says *Ob Regem Servatum*. It was the creation of Master Iacopo Sannazaro [*sic*]." ²⁴ Despite the lack of the *Ob Regem Servatum* motto on the armor it can reasonably be suggested that the winged putto and crown device is a version of Sannazaro's *impresa*. A poet of great renown, Iacopo Sannazaro (1456–1530) served the courts of King Ferdinand II and his successor, King Federigo I (r. 1496–1503), accompanying the latter into exile in France in 1501. Sannazaro is said to have also designed the *impresa* used by the twelve members of the Colonna family who took refuge at the court of King Federigo following their expulsion from Rome by Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia, r. 1492–1503) in 1500.²⁵

Pompeo della Cesa, the creator of two of the three known di Capua armors, was a prolific and highly creative craftsman. Archival documents date his activity from 1572 to 1593.²⁶ He is referred to with various titles: as armorer to the court of the governor of Milan (from 1585), as armorer to the governor (undated), and as royal armorer (in 1592).²⁷ The governor of Milan was a royal appointee of the king of Spain (at this time Philip II, 1527–98), the king also being the reigning duke of Milan. The king's governor was the ultimate civil and military authority in Spain's vitally strategic northern Italian territories. For the period in which Pompeo's titles are documented the appointment was held by a veteran of high office under the Spanish crown, Don Carlos d'Aragona y Tagliavia (d. 1599), duke of Terranova and prince of Castelbeltrán, governor from March 1583 to December 1592.²⁸ Based on Pompeo's titles, the duke of Terranova can be considered as his principal patron. Yet Terranova's patronage appears to have been largely if not solely titular, given that of the more than forty extant ar-

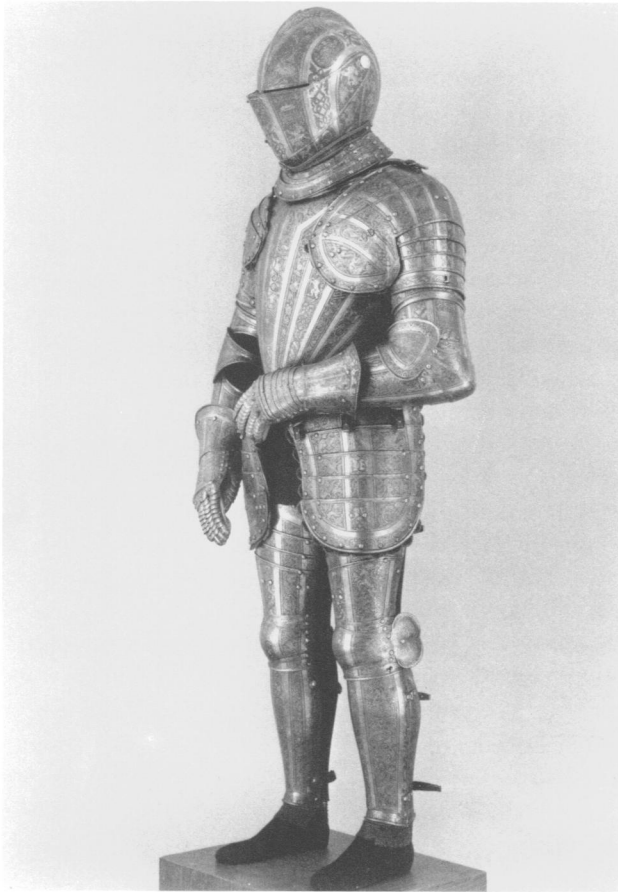


Figure 7. Pompeo della Cesa, Armor from a small garniture of Renato Borromeo, Milan, ca. 1590–95. Florence, Museo Stibbert, 3476 (photo: Museo Stibbert)

mors or armor elements signed by Pompeo, none is documented as having been made for the duke's personal use or specifically commissioned by him. It has been suggested, however, that the elaborate armor garniture given by the duke to Prince Philip (later Philip III, 1578–1621) about 1590 is the work of Pompeo.²⁹

Numbered among Pompeo's clientele were some of the most celebrated noblemen of their day. These included Emanuele Filiberto (1528–80), duke of Savoy; his successor, Carlo Emanuele I (1562–1630); Alessandro Farnese (1545–92), duke of Parma and Piacenza; and Vincenzo I Gonzaga (1562–1612), duke of Mantua. Typically, armors made for patrons of this rank were of very high quality. What may be Pompeo's most artistically accomplished armors survive in two garnitures made for Alessandro Farnese and the remains of another made for Vincenzo I Gonzaga.³⁰ It is in what can be termed Pompeo's second echelon of identifiable patrons that we may consider Vincenzo Luigi di

Capua, along with the Milanese soldier and statesman Renato Borromeo (d. 1608), count of Arona, and the Spanish grandee Don Juan Fernández Pacheco (1563–1615), fifth duke of Escalona. The armors made by Pompeo for these three are of uniformly high quality and were probably all made within the decade of 1585 to 1595.³¹

The etched decoration on many of Pompeo's armors can appear deceptively similar at first glance. However, Dr. Lionello Boccia has divided the ornamental programs employed by Pompeo into ten distinct groups.³² The two signed di Capua armors fall into two different groups and, as they are also quite different in terms of function (one is an infantry armor, the other a small garniture for field and tournament), they will be discussed separately.

In terms of decoration, *impresa* aside, the partial infantry armor on loan to the Museum is generally similar to several Pompeo armors but particularly so to both the Borromeo and Escalona armors (Figures 7, 8). The decoration of each consists principally of bands containing scrolling, foliate knot motifs supporting oval cartouches, alternating with bands containing a series of military trophies (i.e., armor parts, weapons, musical instruments). This basic decorative formula was used not only by Pompeo but also by other northern Italian armorers of the period. In Pompeo's work, however, it is used

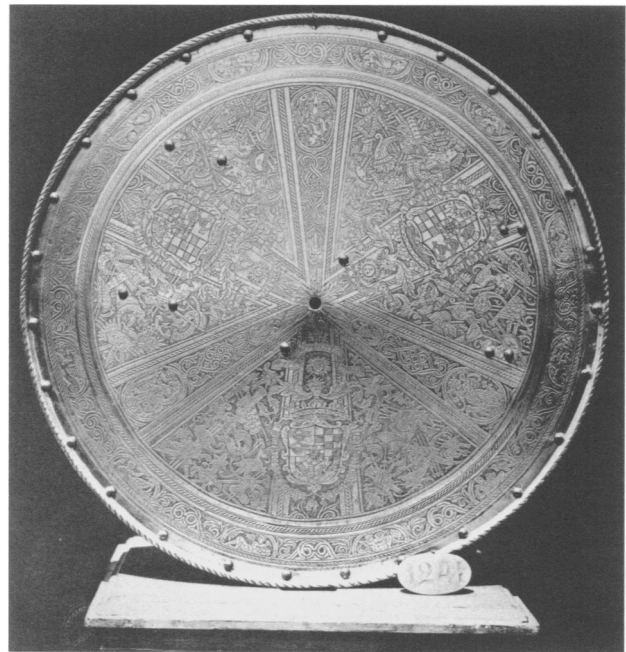


Figure 8. Pompeo della Cesa, Shield from a garniture of Don Juan Fernández Pacheco, Fifth Duke of Escalona, Milan, ca. 1595. Madrid, Real Armería, A.339

with endlessly subtle variations, so that the similarities never become merely repetitive.

Of Pompeo's work, only on the Borromeo armor are a patron's personal *impresa* incorporated more prominently into the decorative scheme than they are on the di Capua infantry armor. The most noticeable difference between the two armors lies in the type of narrow borders that separate the alternating bands of ornament. Again, these borders—typically a combination of narrow polished strips, blackened lines, and guilloches—vary subtly from one Pompeo armor to the next. The borders on the Borromeo armor consist of a relatively wide polished strip edged on one side by a narrow blackened line and a stylized guilloche. Similar borders appear on other Pompeo armors.³³

The pattern of the borders on the di Capua infantry armor consists of a well-defined guilloche flanked on either side by a blackened line and a broader polished strip. This combination, dividing alternating bands of the sort described above, apparently appears on only one other signed Pompeo armor, that of Don Juan Fernández Pacheco, duke of Escalona, who served Philip III as ambassador to Rome and as viceroy and captain general of Sicily.³⁴ In fact, a comparison of the two armors reveals that their overall decoration is remarkably similar. In addition to the borders many other elements of the decoration are nearly identical, such as the choice of motifs in the principal decorative bands, the form of foliate knot motifs, and the relation of the knots to the oval cartouches. Several of the figures within the cartouches are the same on both armors. For instance, the three female allegorical figures—probably representing Faith, Hope, and Charity—are found both on the center of the di Capua breastplate and, with only minor variations, on the three cartouches of the Escalona shield (Figure 8). Included on the shield is Fernández Pacheco's *impresa*, which, like that of Vincenzo Luigi, consists of a flaming sun, the difference being that Pacheco's sun bears human facial features (known in heraldry as a *sun in his splendour*). The motto beneath the sun, which reads *POST NULLA PHEBUS*, is etched on a tripartite banderole, as is the motto on the di Capua armor.

The striking similarities between these two armors suggest that both were decorated in Pompeo's shop at about the same time, i.e., circa 1595. In fact, the presence of the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece on Escalona's armor indicates that it

cannot predate 1593, the year in which he received the order from Philip II. The decorative scheme of one armor was more or less transferred with little change to the other. Presumably the parallel nature of the decorative campaigns would have been unknown to the respective patrons.

In terms of form there is nothing evident in the extant elements of the Museum's armor to indicate that it was ever anything more than a light infantry armor, or *corsaletto da piede*.³⁵ The symmetrical pauldrons and the breastplate with no lance-rest are characteristic features. In its original form the complete armor, in addition to the extant gorget, breast, back, and pauldrons, would have probably included a light, open-faced helmet of the cabasset type (*zucchetto aguzzo*), full vambraces, a pair of gauntlets, and a pair of tassets. The remnants of the two sets of three straps from which the tassets were suspended are still to be seen on the fauld lame. The tassets themselves were probably each of one plate, embossed and etched to simulate separate articulated, horizontal lames, such as were used by Pompeo on other, similar infantry armors.³⁶ The ensemble might well have also included a round metal shield, decorated *en suite*, much like that of the Escalona garniture.

An approximate date for the *corsaletto* elements can be posited from three factors: the presence of the *impresa*, the position of the armor in Pompeo's oeuvre, and the form of the armor itself. First, as suggested earlier, it seems that Vincenzo Luigi would not have used an *impresa* incorporating a princely crown before his elevation to the title of prince of Riccia, which occurred in 1594. Second, the latest recorded mention of Pompeo occurs in a letter of January 3, 1593, in which he is referred to as "Amarolo della Corte."³⁷ There is nothing inherent in this document to signify the end of Pompeo's activities. However, given the lack either of later documents or of later armors (other than the di Capua examples) that can be securely dated, it does seem that his career drew to a close, either through death or retirement, by the mid-1590s.³⁸ Third, the form of the armor, specifically its waistline, is a useful indicator of date. In general the waistlines of armors rose and fell according to the dictates of male clothing fashions. The deep peascod waist of the 1570s and early 1580s gave way to a lessening frontal curve through the mid-1590s, which became virtually a horizontal waistline by the first decade of the seventeenth century. The waist-

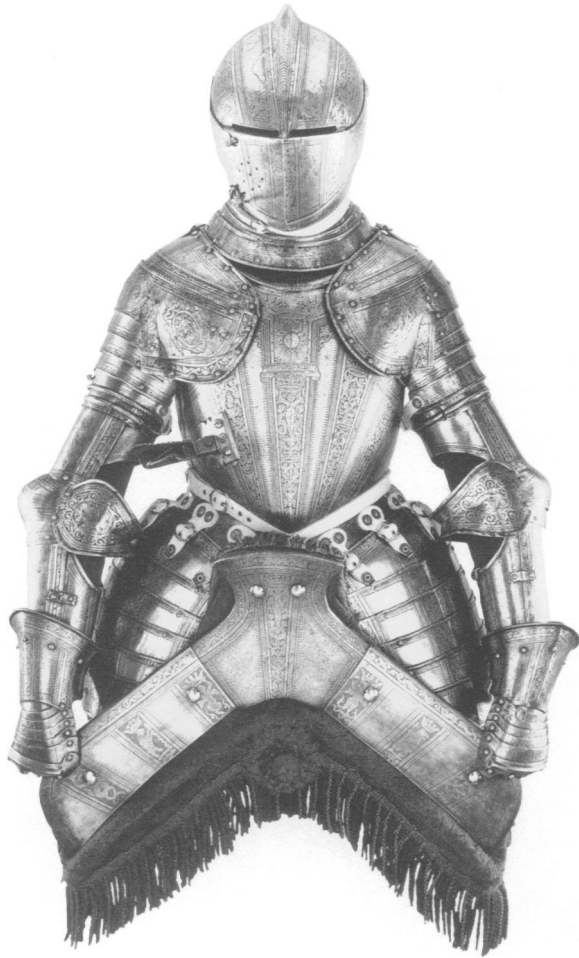


Figure 9. Pompeo della Cesa (in part), Composite armor with elements from a small garniture for field and tournament, Milan, ca. 1595. Warwick Castle, A.016 (photo: Warwick Castle)



Figure 11. Backplate associated with the armor in Figure 9 but originally made for the armor in Figure 1. Warwick Castle, A.016 (photo: Warwick Castle)

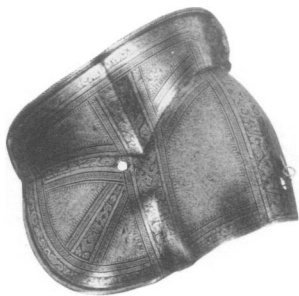


Figure 10. Reinforce for the left pauldron of the armor in Figure 9 (photo: Warwick Castle)



Figure 12. Saddle steel belonging to the armor in Figure 9. Rome, Odescalchi Collection, 392 (photo: courtesy of Nolfo di Carpegna)

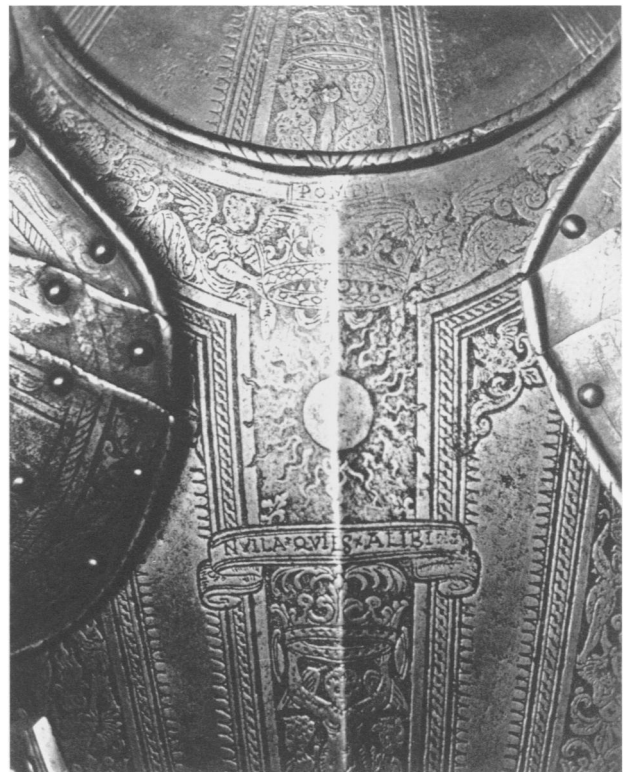


Figure 13. Detail of the breastplate in Figure 9 (photo: Warwick Castle)

line of the di Capua *corsaletto* can be placed stylistically somewhere within the period of circa 1590 to circa 1595.

Taken together these three factors provide convincing evidence to support a date for the *corsaletto* of 1594 or shortly thereafter, that is, circa 1595. The same dating criteria apply equally to the di Capua armor by Pompeo in Warwick Castle, making the two di Capua armors the latest of Pompeo's signed and securely datable works.

We may now turn our attention to a fuller examination of the Pompeo armor in Warwick Castle (Figure 9).³⁹ As mentioned earlier, of the two Warwick armors bearing Vincenzo Luigi's *impresa* only one, the remains of a small garniture for man and horse, is by Pompeo. The man's armor consists of a close-helmet with articulated neck lames, a gorget, a breastplate with lance-rest and a fauld lame, from which hang a pair of articulated, six-lame tassets, a pair of incomplete gauntlets, a reinforce for the left pauldron (Figure 10), and a backplate (Figure 11). The backplate was identified by A.V.B. Norman as actually belonging to the di Capua armor on loan to the Metropolitan Museum.⁴⁰ The arm defenses, consisting of symmetrical pauldrons and full vambraces, do not belong to the rest. The horse armor includes a demi-chanfron, and saddle steels consisting of a central bowplate and two cantle plates. The right and left bowplates and the escutcheon spike on the chanfron are restorations. The original left bowplate is in the Odescalchi Collection, Rome (Figure 12).⁴¹

The layout of the decorative scheme consists of bands of etched ornament alternating with unornamented, polished bands. Each band of etched ornament is bordered by a guilloche that is flanked by a blackened and a polished line. The outer edges of each border are finished with a stylized serrated edge, which forms an internal frame for the otherwise unornamented, polished bands. The decoration of the center of the breastplate is dominated by two *impreses*, one over the other: the crown, sunburst, and motto of Vincenzo Luigi, above the winged putto holding aloft a royal crown, as designed by Sannazzaro to be borne by all the men of the di Capua family (Figure 13; referred to above). In fact, the crown is the dominant motif for the decoration of the entire armor. Aside from the *impresa*, the ornament of the etched bands centers on a repeating crown, which is separated and supported by a variety of terms, putti, and entwined grotesques. As we have seen, the decorative schemes used throughout

Pompeo's oeuvre are frequently drawn from a pool of motifs and design elements that can appear and reappear with variations and in different combinations from one armor to the next. In this regard the decoration within the etched bands of the Warwick armor is unique, being neither derived from nor a variant of that found on any other signed by Pompeo. Moreover, the use of the repeating crown is not capricious. Rather, it has been employed by Pompeo to denote the rank of the armor's owner. The crown used simply as a decorative motif does occur elsewhere, particularly in the works of the Milanese armorers of the generation that immediately follows Pompeo.⁴²

Two other small but interesting decorative flourishes in the etching of the Warwick armor are seen in the winged mask and swag motif found in the spandrels flanking the top of the central etched band of the breast, and the lively, winged sea horses that decorate the brow of the helmet, just above the eye slits.⁴³

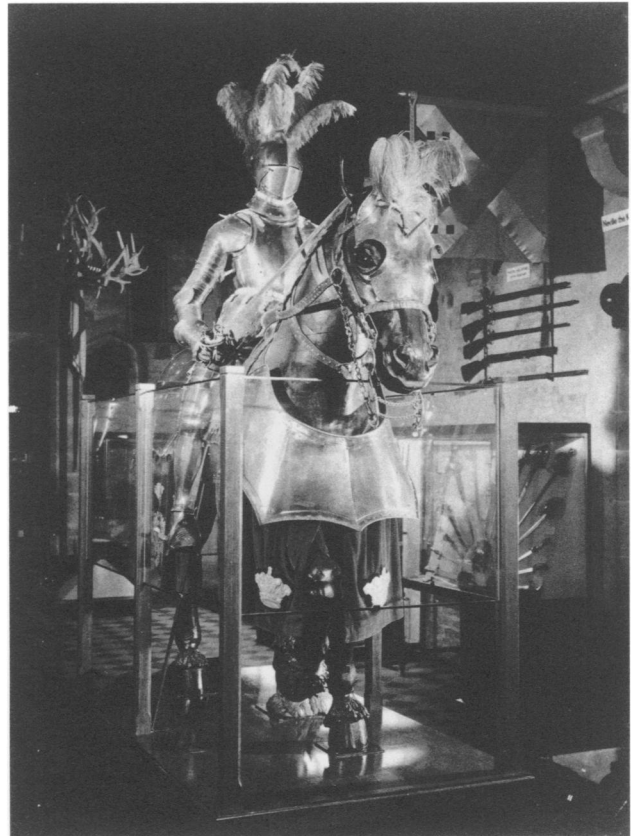


Figure 14. Composite armor for man and horse, Milan, ca. 1600. The chanfron, however, is part of the armor by Pompeo della Cesa in Figure 9. Warwick Castle, A.021 and H.8 (photo: Warwick Castle)



Figure 15. Breastplate of the man's armor in Figure 14. Warwick Castle, A.021 (photo: Warwick Castle)

The original nature of this armor as a garniture for field and tournament, rather than only a field armor, is indicated by the existence of the reinforce for the left pauldron (*buffa da torneo*; Figure 10), which was worn during the tournament fought with lance and sword.⁴⁴ Germane examples of other reinforces very similar to this one can be seen on an elaborate garniture made circa 1590 by Pompeo for an unidentified patron (Armeria Reale, Turin, no. B3-D9) and on the garniture given to Prince Philip of Spain by Pompeo's patron the duke of Terranova (Real Armeria, Madrid, no. 9). This last has been attributed to Pompeo and dated to circa 1590–1592.⁴⁵

Depending upon the extent of the garniture, it may have also originally included a reinforcing piece for the left elbow (*guardabraccio*) and a specialized gauntlet for the left hand and forearm (*manopolone da lancia*), which could have been worn in conjunction with the pauldron reinforce during the tournament. Such a garniture might also have included elements for a *corsaletto da piede*.⁴⁶ However, the existence of the di Capua *corsaletto* discussed previously makes it seem unlikely that Vincenzo Luigi would have ordered two armors with the same function in such a short span of time, whether or not one was part of a garniture.

The question arises as to which of these two di Capua armors was the first to be commissioned from Pompeo. As has been said, the criteria for a date of circa 1595 apply equally to each. Given that, it is still conceivable that, because of the iconography of its decoration, the Warwick Pompeo is the earlier of the two. The theme of the decoration fo-

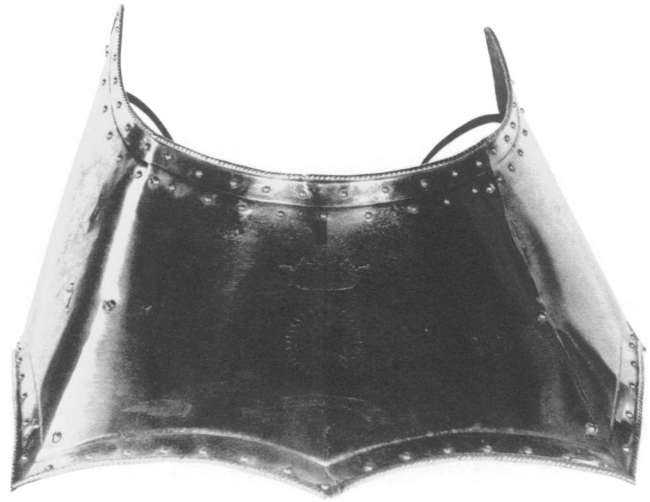


Figure 16. Peytral of the horse armor in Figure 14. Warwick Castle, H.8 (photo: Warwick Castle)

cuses entirely on crowns, which are scattered across its surface. Through the crowns the armor becomes first and foremost a proclamation of Vincenzo Luigi's newly achieved rank. Secondary to this are the putto and crown *impresa*, which evokes the di Capua family's proud history, and the sunburst *impresa*, which identifies Vincenzo Luigi himself in relation to the rest. The *corsaletto*, on the other hand, features only Vincenzo Luigi's own *impresa* and is perhaps more concerned in its decoration with his personal rather than dynastic identity. It is therefore plausible that the Warwick garniture, offering in its decoration a fuller pronouncement of Vincenzo Luigi's claims to fame, was probably commissioned first, followed shortly thereafter by the *corsaletto*.

The third known armor to carry the sunburst *impresa* is also found in Warwick Castle. It is a white field armor for man and horse (Figure 14).⁴⁷ Unlike the armors previously discussed it is not signed by Pompeo, and, other than the *impresa*, it is without surface decoration. The full *impresa*, consisting of crown, sunburst, and motto, is found in the center of the man's breastplate (Figure 15) and in the center of the horse's peytral (Figure 16). The scale of both *impresae* is large in relation to their size on the other di Capua armors.

The man's armor consists of a close helmet with three articulated neck lames front and rear, gorget, two asymmetrical horseman's pauldrons, full vambraces closed at the crook of the elbow by ten lames, a pair of gauntlets (lacking fingers), breastplate (the lance-rest missing), backplate, long, articulated tassets that reach to and include the knee, open

greaves that attach to the lowest knee lame, and sabatons.

Of the horse armor, the peytral and crupper appear to belong together. The crinet does not belong. The demi-chanfron is, in fact, that cited earlier as part of the Warwick di Capua armor by Pompeo.

A date of circa 1600 can be assigned to the man's armor based on two features of the breastplate: the low position of the holes for the lance-rest, and the contour of the waistline. The form and construction of the articulated tassets also suggest an unusual transitional type datable to circa 1600. Each tasset attaches to the breastplate at the fauld lame by a set of three straps, as is typical for the period. Highly untypical is the fact that the tassets are detachable (via turning pins and keyhole slots) at the sixth and tenth lames from the top. By this means the leg harness of the armor could have been worn in four different ways: first, detached at the sixth lame, as typical horseman's tassets; second, detached at the tenth lame, as long tassets reaching to slightly above the knee; third, with the knee defense attached and without the greaves, as three-quarter length or cuirassier's tassets; fourth, with all of the elements including the greaves attached, as a complete leg armor covering the wearer from hip to instep. For wear in the first manner, as standard horseman's tassets, an alternate pair of rigid cuisses might have also existed, which would have been partially overlapped by the tassets in the conventional way.

No exactly comparable tassets are known to me. Similar ones are found on an armor by Pompeo of about 1595–1600 (Armeria Reale, Turin, inv. no. B35) and on a Milanese armor of circa 1595 (Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. nos. 3572 and 4183).⁴⁸ However, the tassets of the Turin armor are detachable in only two places (above and below the knee) and those of the Naples armor in only one place (below the knee).

The vambraces of the Warwick armor, with the articulated lames closing the crook of the elbow and the distinctive diminutive elbow wings, indicate a date of circa 1610. However, they may or may not be original to this armor.

The peytral and crupper must have originally been accompanied by a crinet, full or demi-chanfron, and perhaps a defense for the horse's throat. The widely spaced cusps that form the edges of the peytral and crupper are characteristic of Italian horse armor from about 1575 on. However, full horse armor was rare by the end of the century. Examples of comparable form are found in the Royal Armouries, H. M. Tower of London (inv. no.

VI.18–20) and in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc. no. 21.139.2; Figure 17). Both date to about 1575–1600.

The overall deceptively plain appearance of the second Warwick armor invites the question as to whether this might have been the armor of a retainer rather than that of the count of Altavilla himself. Two factors argue against this. First, the innovative and versatile construction of the tassets shows this to be far from the typical kind of munitions armor one could expect to be supplied to a retainer. In addition the key element of the man's armor, its breastplate, is well made and of reasonably high quality. Second, the presence of what was once a full horse armor, a rarity on the battlefield by about 1600, suggests an owner of rank rather than one of his retainers. It seems likely, therefore, that the second Warwick armor was also for the personal use of Vincenzo Luigi di Capua.

The earliest documentary reference to an armor belonging to Vincenzo Luigi di Capua is found in his *testamento*: "I leave to the prince of Rocca Romana my arms for the tournament, which are embellished and fire-blued. . . ."⁴⁹ Unfortunately, neither the coloration of the armor as described nor its nature as strictly for the tournament applies to any of the extant di Capua armors. It would seem, therefore, that it constitutes yet another personal armor, now presumably lost or—if extant—unidentified.⁵⁰

The first documentary reference to what has here been identified as one of Vincenzo Luigi's surviving armors occurs in a Warwick Castle inventory dated 1800.⁵¹ Described among the contents of the building by the main gate known as the Porter's Lodge are a group of historical curiosities including items traditionally associated with the legendary Guy of Warwick.⁵² The same group is similarly described in Warwick Castle guidebooks of 1815, 1826, and 1829; in the last of which they are also illustrated (Figure 18).⁵³ The peytral and crupper of the di Capua white field armor are clearly recognizable in the illustration, immediately below the "Warwick Shaffron" (now in the Royal Armouries, H. M. Tower of London, no. VI.446).

The inventory of 1800 describes this part of the group as, "the Armour of the Head, Breast and Rump of his [i.e., Guy of Warwick's] Horse." Referring to these same pieces, the guidebook of 1815 is slightly more descriptive: "The Horse Armour of later date and lighter fabric—on which is an inscription, nearly obliterated. . . ."⁵⁴ It can be assumed that the presence of the di Capua peytral and crupper



Figure 17. Armor for man and horse, North Italian, ca. 1575–1600. The man's armor is composite and restored; the horse armor is complete and homogeneous. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.717 (man's armor); Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921, 21.139.2 (horse armor)

per in Warwick Castle by 1800 indicates that the other di Capua armors, still in Warwick Castle today, were also there at the time. The location of some or all of the di Capua armors in the Porter's Lodge would explain how they survived the great fire of 1871, which destroyed or severely damaged much of the celebrated Warwick Castle armory.

The *corsaletto da piede* on loan to the Metropolitan Museum has no known provenance before its appearance on the art market in the 1970s. Likewise, nothing is known of any of the Warwick Castle di Capua armors before the inventory citation of 1800. Attempts to discover the earlier history of these armors have failed to yield any specific documentation. Enough circumstantial evidence does exist, however, to allow a plausible suggestion as to how the elements of the garniture for field and tournament and the white armor for man and horse came to Warwick Castle.

The armory of Warwick Castle was largely a creation of George Greville (1746–1816), second earl of Warwick, who succeeded his father, Francis Greville (1719–73), in 1773. George Greville was described by Lady Frances Evelyn Greville, countess

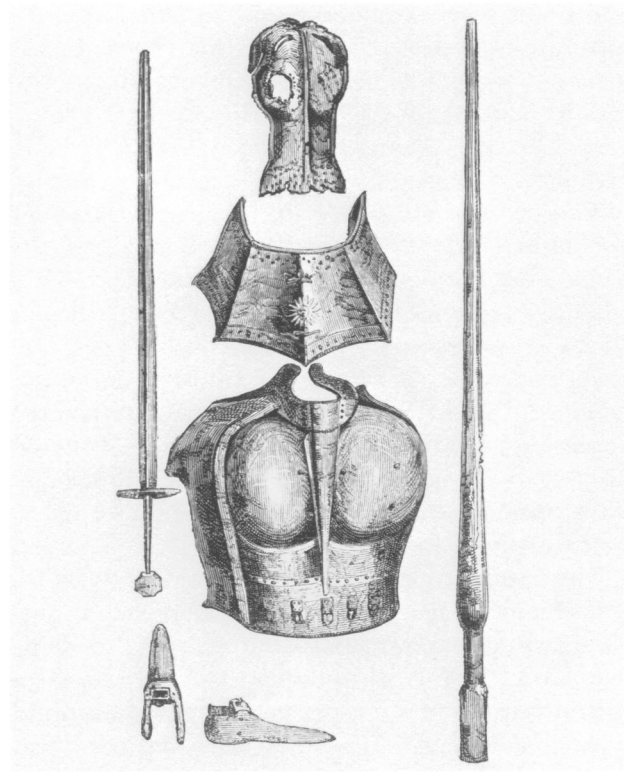


Figure 18. Illustration from *The Noble and Renowned History of Guy, Earl of Warwick . . .* (Warwick, 1829), including the peytral and crupper of the horse armor in Figure 14 (photo: courtesy of the Royal Armouries, H. M. Tower of London)

of Warwick, as “. . . the great virtuoso of his house and he did more for the embellishment of the Castle than any other of its occupants since the time of Sir Fulke Greville. He made this his life's work. . . .”⁵⁵ Greville improved the grounds and extensively remodeled the castle, filling it with a formidable art collection, which included paintings, antiquities, furniture, sculpture, as well as arms and armor. Unfortunately, contemporary information about the earl's collecting of arms and armor is scant. In his autobiography, published posthumously in 1816, Lord Warwick gives only the vague reference “I made an armoury. . . .”⁵⁶ In his 1786 *Treatise on Ancient Armour and Weapons* Francis Grose included seven plates illustrating items from the Warwick Castle armory.⁵⁷ Of those, however, only one was acquired by George Greville, that illustrated on plate XLIII: “An elegant suit of armour brought by Lord Warwick from Germany.”⁵⁸

Several of Lord Warwick's finest works of art were acquired through the good offices of his uncle Sir William Hamilton (1730–1803), who, in addition to serving as British envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of Naples from 1764 to

1800, was a celebrated antiquarian and volcanologist.⁵⁹ It is possible, therefore, that the di Capua armors were among the many items acquired in Naples by Hamilton for Warwick.

In a letter of August 28, 1779, Warwick wrote to Hamilton: "I am going on by degrees to furnish other rooms of the Castle. It is an expensive work and must be done with care as I should spoil the whole were I to put in light modern furniture—But what I put in must be handsome tho' in a particular stile. Fine portraits are what I particularly desire to have; and some very fine ones I now have but not enough. Should you ever see any well painted agreeable head or half length in old dress, I should be obliged to you to purchase them for me. I do not want ordinary things but such as would be handsome furniture for Warwick Castle."⁶⁰

The sporadic correspondence between Warwick and Hamilton includes scattered references to purchases of paintings, medals, and sculpture made by Hamilton for Warwick between 1774 and 1794. Unfortunately, there is no specific mention of historical arms and armor.⁶¹ The only such material that Hamilton is known to have owned consists of three shields, which he sent from Naples to Sir Horace Walpole in 1774. The shields, two with painted surfaces and one of embossed metal, were probably Italian, dating from the second quarter of the sixteenth century.⁶² Despite this circumstantial evidence no documented link exists between Hamilton and the di Capua armors. Therefore, the suggestion that Hamilton may have been the instrument by which the armors left Naples and entered the Warwick Castle collection remains purely conjectural.

The story of the *impresa* of Vincenzo Luigi di Capua, prince of Riccia and count of Altavilla, underscores the diversity of the important functions, both practical and symbolic, served by these idiosyncratic devices. The di Capua armors, identified through the *impresa*, are of four distinct types: an infantry armor for the field; a small garniture for field and tournament; a white field armor for man and horse; and a tournament armor (cited in the *testamento*). All but the white armor were decorative as well as functional. Together they illustrate the variety and quality of armors required by a fairly high-ranking nobleman for use in war and sport at the end of the sixteenth century. The identification of Vincenzo Luigi as the bearer of the sunburst *impresa*, and thereby the owner of these armors, adds yet another distinguished name to the list of Pompeo della Cesa's patrons while also bringing to light a rare and long-overlooked Florentine tapestry.

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The research for this article was greatly facilitated by the generous help of many individuals, especially F. H. P. Barker, Curator of Warwick Castle; Nicola Spinosa, Roberto Middione, and Antonio Tosini of the Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples; Candace Adelson and Lionello Boccia of the Museo F. Stibbert, Florence; Nancy Ramage of Ithaca College; Michael Stoughton of the University of Minnesota; Alvaro Soler del Campo of the Real Armería, Madrid; Ian Eaves of the Royal Armouries, H. M. Tower of London; Gennaro Toscana; Carl Strehlke; A. V. B. Norman; Claude Blair; and my colleague at The Metropolitan Museum of Art Stuart W. Pyhrr.

NOTES

1. The *impresa* of prominent families and individuals were certainly well known through the publication of books devoted to the subject, such as: Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell'Imprese Militari et Amoroze* . . . (Lyons, 1574) and Anselm de Boot, *Symbola Varia Diversorum Principum, Archiducum, Ducum, Comitum et Marchionum Totius Italiae* . . . (Arnheim, 1681).

2. MMA, loan n^o. L.1985.159. The armor was first brought to my attention by Stuart Pyhrr in 1986.

3. The backplate of the armor is mounted with armor no. A.016 in the collection of Warwick Castle and will be discussed below.

4. Assistance in reviewing and revising many of the translations from Latin and Italian was generously rendered by Professor John Marincola of Union College and Dr. Keith Christiansen, and Martin Fleischer, both of the MMA. However, any remaining errors or omissions remain solely the author's responsibility.

5. Warwick Castle, inv. nos. A.016, A.21, and H.8.

6. Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. 69-223-1, gift of Mrs. Al Paul Lefton. I am grateful to Alice Lefton, daughter of the donor, for attempting to discover how and when the tapestry was acquired by her family. Unfortunately the source of the tapestry remains unknown.

7. The tapestry was formerly catalogued as Flemish. The suggestion that it is Florentine, rather than Flemish, was made to the author in 1986 by Dr. Adelson, who plans to publish a detailed study of the di Capua tapestries and the circumstances surrounding their commission. For a list of the tapestries in the series, see Cosimo Conti, *Ricerche Storiche sull'Arte degli Arazzi in Firenze* (Florence, 1985) p. 62. I have been unable to locate any other surviving tapestries from the series.

8. For the identification of this form of crown specifically as a princely crown, see Scipione Mazzella, *Descrizione del Regno di Napoli* . . . (Naples, 1601) p. 500.

9. Conti, *Ricerche*, p. 62. On Giovanni di Capua's actions at the battle of Seminara and the significance of the event in di Capua family history, see Mazzella, *Descrittione*, p. 699; Scipione Ammirato, *Delle Famiglie Nobili Napoletane* (Florence, 1580) I, pp. 52, 70 (the latter quoting from Francesco Guicciardini's description of the battle); Conte Berardo Candida Gonzaga, *Memoria delle Famiglie Nobili delle Province Meridionali d'Italia* (Naples, 1875) I, pp. 169–170; for Guicciardini's description of Giovanni's exploits (as cited by Ammirato) I have referred to the French translation of Guicciardini, *Histoire des Guerres d'Italie* (Paris, 1612) p. 47 verso.

10. See Mazzella, *Descrittione*, pp. 698–702; Ammirato, *Delle Famiglie*, pp. 53–72; Erasmo Ricca, *Istoria de' Feudi del Regno delle Due Sicilie . . .* (Naples, 1859) I, pp. 29–35; Gonzaga, *Memoria*, pp. 167–170.

11. Mazzella, *Descrittione*, p. 701: "Il Prencipe della Riccia Don Luigi Vincenzo di Capoa fa per impresa la Sfera del fuoco, che stia gia nella sua regione, col motto, Nulla quies alibi." Note that although Mazzella refers to the prince as Luigi Vincenzo, the reverse order, Vincenzo Luigi, is used by the prince in his last will and testament (see note 13 and Figure 4) and so has been adopted here.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 698: "Quel che importa è, che questo Contado si conserva in questa casa da padre a figlio senza esser ancora mancato, ne per via di successore, ne per via di figlie femme, e il Sig. Don Luigi Vincenzo di Capua, di presente Prencipe della Riccia . . . e il decimoquinto Conte d'Altavilla, che non so qual' famiglia in Italia può mostrar tanta grandezza continuata." It should be noted that Mazzella and Ammirato disagree as to the chronology and the identity of the earliest counts of Altavilla. Ammirato's first count is considered the third by Mazzella, which would have made Vincenzo Luigi the thirteenth rather than the fifteenth count. Since Mazzella's chronology seems to be that adopted by Vincenzo Luigi, I have followed it here.

13. Naples, Archivio di Stato, Archivio di Sanseverino di Bisignano no. 45, pp. 70 recto–77 recto. The full title of the manuscript is "Tavola de Testimenti della casa dell Ill^{mo} et Ecc^{mo} Sig. D. Vincenzo Luigi di Capua, Gran Conte d'Altavilla." The manuscript contains di Capua *testamenti* from 1336 to 1763 and was apparently first compiled by the historically conscious Vincenzo Luigi in 1620 and later augmented by his descendants. I am grateful to the staff of the Archivio di Stato for their cooperation and especially to Signor Antonio Tosini of the Museo di Capodimonte for his invaluable assistance throughout my work in Naples.

14. *Ibid.*, ms. p. 73 recto and verso. The full passage reads: Item voglio, et ordino che fra termine di mesi sei dopò mia morte si faccia innanzi la detta mia Capella nella Chiesa dell'Arcivesc.^o, et propriè dove stia il sepolcro della sepultura un ornamento di marmi finissimi di basso rilievo, ben fatto senza però ottone, nel quale nelli frisi delli quattro cantoni si faccia scolpire la mia impresa dell'elemento del fuoco, con il motto di sotto con lo cartoccia, et di sopra la corona à raggi à proportione, et nel mezzo dell'ornamento dalla parte di sopra però sotto lo friso si facciano le mie armi con lo scuto à testa di cavallo con la corona similmente à raggi, et di sotto l'iscrizione in latino, il che dica il mio nome, cognome titolo di Conte di Montuori, Prencipe della Riccia, et decimoquinto per continuata successione Gran Conte d'Altavilla, quali lettere habbiano da essere le più gran di che potranno capire, et di piombo fatte con diligenza perforate, quale ornamento

voglio, che sia finito di tutto fra sei mesi, dopò sequita mia morte, et voglio che se ci spendano docati trecento.

The tomb no longer exists. It was apparently dismantled during the renovations to the Duomo carried out under Cardinal Guidice Carraciolo between 1833 and 1842. See Robert Di Stefano, *La Cattedrale di Napoli, Storia, Restauro, Scoperta, Ritrovamenti* (Naples, 1975) pp. 40–41. A worn marble slab in the floor of the left arm of the Duomo's transept is carved with the di Capua arms, apparently marking a family crypt. I have been unable to discover which, if any, members of the family are interred there.

15. Regarding the form of crowns, see note 8.

16. Mazzella, *Descrittione*, p. 701.

17. Unpublished manuscript, p. 15, formerly in a private American collection, present whereabouts unknown. The caption beneath the sunburst brand refers to the count of Altavilla as a member of the house of Carafa. The Carafa were an ancient and prestigious Neapolitan family with extensive feudal holdings, but the Altavilla title appears never to have been held by them. However, the Carafa and di Capua families were closely related by marriage, a fact that may have led the compiler of the brand manuscript to assign the title incorrectly. Regarding the Carafa, see Gonzaga, *Memoria*, I, pp. 173–183.

18. The Scandiano-Altavilla story is related by Mazzella (*Descrittione*, pp. 696–697) but is not mentioned by Ammirato, Ricca, or Gonzaga.

19. Eve Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic. The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily (1130–1187)* (Oxford, 1990) p. 53.

20. *Ibid.*, colorpl. viii (incorrectly identified in the caption as Roger II) and fig. 104.

21. Gerald J. Brault, *Early Blazon. Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries with Special Reference to Arthurian Literature* (Oxford, 1972) pp. 71, 106–107, 267, 270.

22. For contemporary mention of the concern regarding the fate of the title after Giovanni's death, see Ammirato, *Delle Famiglie*, p. 63. For a summary of the transfer of the title to Fabrizio, see Ricca, *Istoria*, pp. 30–31.

23. Warwick Castle, no. A.016. The armor and saddle are discussed below.

24. Mazzella, *Descrittione*, p. 701: "Tutti insieme gli huomini della famiglia di Capoa portano per impresa, dopò che liberarono di morte quel Re una Corona reale con lo spirito che dice Ob Regem servatum. Fu l'inventione di messer Iacopo Sannazaro [*sic*]."

25. For the *impresa* that Sannazaro designed for the Colonnese, see Giovio, *Dialogo*, pp. 73–74, and Mrs. Bury Pallisser, *Historic Devices, Badges, and War-Cries* (London, 1870) pp. 73–74.

26. The literature regarding Pompeo della Cesa is vast. For the most accurate and concise discussion, with full bibliographic references, see Lionello G. Boccia, "Pompeo della Cesa," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1988) XXXVI, pp. 3–8. See also Walter J. Karcheski, Jr., "An Armour by Pompeo della Cesa in the Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester," *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society*, XII, no. 6 (Sept. 1988) pp. 394–401 and pls. cxiv–cxx (published after the bibliography by Boccia was compiled). Regarding Pompeo's patrons, it should be noted that the name of Francesco de' Medici should be dropped from the list com-

piled by Bruno Thomas and Ortwin Gamber ("L'Arte Milanese dell'Armatura," *Storia di Milano* (Milan, 1958) XI, p. 799, no. 3). They confuse two armors formerly in the Raoul Richards collection (sold in Rome, March 3, 1890) by transposing the Medici arms on one (lot 935) onto another signed by Pompeo (lot 934).

27. Boccia, *Dizionario Biografico*, pp. 3–4.

28. The duke of Terranova also served Philip II as Grand Constable and Admiral of Sicily, as Viceroy of Sicily, and in several other key political posts. For biographical details, see Julian Pinedo y Salazar, *Historia de la Insigne Orden del Toison de Oro . . .* (Madrid, 1787) I, p. 258, and Gernàn Bleiberg, gen. ed., *Diccionario de Historia de España* (Barcelona, 1986) III, p. 755. See also *Storia di Milano* (Milan, 1957) X, pp. 71–75. Baron H. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *La Toison d'Or* (Brussels, 1907) p. 110, no. CCLVII, lists "Don Carlos d'Arragon, duc de Terranova, prince de Castelbeltran" among the members of the Order of the Golden Fleece under Philip II. He is listed as a member of the Order in 1585 in *La Toison d'Or. Cinq Siècles d'Art et d'Histoire* (Bruges, 1962) p. 42, no. 264.

29. Madrid, Real Armería, inv. no. B9. The breastplate of the armor bears a cartouche with an effaced signature, illustrated in José-A. Godoy, "Emmanuel-Philibert de Savoie (1528–1580): un portrait, une armure," *Geneva*, n.s. 32 (1984) p. 83, fig. 19. Godoy considers the armor as a product of Pompeo's workshop or his circle (*ibid.*, p. 84). Boccia attributes the armor to Pompeo (*Dizionario Biografico*, p. 6).

30. They are, respectively, the garniture "del giglio" (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, inv. nos. 1205 and 3507); the "Volat" garniture (same, inv. nos. 3511 and 3739); and a helmet for the barriers (Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli, inv. no. 2591).

31. The helmet of the Borromeo armor is in Milan (Museo Poldi Pezzoli, inv. no. 2592), the remainder is in Florence (Museo Stibbert, inv. no. 3476). The remaining elements of the Escalona garniture are part of a composite armor in Madrid (Real Armería, inv. nos. A.338–A.346).

32. Boccia, *Dizionario Biografico*, p. 6.

33. Compare especially an armor formerly in the MMA (04.3.257; deaccessioned in 1937), illustrated in Sir Guy Francis Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms Through Seven Centuries* (London, 1921) IV, p. 78, fig. 1155.

34. A very similar guilloche border pattern—varying somewhat in the width of the blackened lines and polished strips—is found on a *corsaletto da piede* formerly in the Richard Zschille collection (see R. Forrer, *Die Waffensammlung des Herrn Stadtrath Rich. Zschille in Grossenhaim (Sachsen)* [Berlin, n.d.] no. 168, pls. 73, 74; now in the collection of Lord Howard de Walden) and on an anonymous breast- and backplate in the Art Institute of Chicago (inv. no. 1982.2430), see Leonid Tarassuk, *Italian Armor for Princely Courts*, exh. cat., Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago, 1986) pp. 21–23.

For a brief biography of the duke of Escalona, see Pinedo y Salazar, *Historia* I, p. 261. For references to Escalona's election to the Order of the Golden Fleece by Philip II in 1593, see *La Toison d'Or* (1907) p. 110, no. CCLXII and *La Toison d'Or* (1962) p. 42, no. 280.

35. Oral communication from Lionello G. Boccia to the author, Oct. 6, 1989.

36. For example, compare the tassets on the following two infantry armors by Pompeo: Malta, Armoury of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the Palace, Valetta (no. 91 in Sir Guy Francis Laking, *A Catalogue of the Armour and Arms in the Armoury of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem* (London, n.d.); and Vienna, Hofjagd und Rüstammer, inv. nos. A1283, A1428.

37. J. Gelli and G. Moretti, *Gli Armaroli Milanese. I Missaglia e la Loro Casa* (Milan, 1903) p. 23 note b.

38. See Boccia, *Dizionario Biografico*, pp. 6–7 for his summation of these points.

39. Inv. no. A.016. This armor has been discussed previously by A. V. B. Norman, entry no. 23 in *The Treasure Houses of Great Britain. Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Great Art Collecting* (Washington, D.C., 1985) pp. 100–101; and cited briefly in Sir James G. Mann, "Die Alten Rüstammerbestände auf Warwick Castle. 2. teil," *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, n.s. 6 (15 Gesamtfolge) 1937–39, pp. 50–52 and figs. 6, 7.

40. Letter from A. V. B. Norman to the author, Nov. 19, 1987.

41. Inv. no. 392. I am especially grateful to Dr. Nolfo di Carpegna for granting me access to his manuscript notes and files regarding the Odescalchi Collection and for greatly facilitating my research in Naples and in Rome.

42. Regarding the use of crowns both as signs of rank and as decorative motifs, see Thomas and Gamber, "L'Arte Milanese," p. 805 and Lionello G. Boccia and José-A. Godoy, *Museo Poldi Pezzoli. Armeria I* (Milan, 1985) pp. 82–84.

Armors by Pompeo that use the crown as a sign of rank or as part of an *impresa* include: an armor for the barriers in the Kienbusch Collection (Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. 1977–167–37); the Borromeo armor (Florence and Milan, see note 31); the "giglio" and "Volat" garnitures (Naples, see note 30). Pompeo armors on which the crown surmounts the Virgin in a mandorla include: the ex-MMA *corsaletto da piede* (see note 33); and a superb garniture in Turin (Armeria Reale di Torino, inv. no. B3-D9).

43. Compare the spandrel figures with those on a Milanese *corsaletto da piede* in the Harding Collection, signed by the Master IFP and made ca. 1590–1600 (Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 1982.2194a–c; illustrated in Tarassuk, *Italian Armor*, cat. no. 7, pp. 16–17). Another closely comparable feature found on both armors is a pair of confrontant angels flanked by a pair of adorsed putti riding sea horses, seen in the etched decoration along the neck rim of the breastplate. It should be noted, however, that the Harding armor has been at least partially re-etched. The appearance of such similar design elements in the decoration of armors made by different Milanese armorers remains a factor to be investigated and explained.

44. It has been suggested by Ortwin Gamber that this form of pauldron reinforce was used for the field as well as for the tournament (see "Der Italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 54 [N.F., XVIII] 1958, esp. figs. 123, 124). However, both Boccia (*Dizionario terminologici. Armi difensivi dal medioevo all' Eta Moderna* (Flor-

ence, 1982) pls. 8, 55; and idem, *Il Museo Stibbert a Firenze* [Milan, 1975] cat. nos. 19, 131, 132) and Norman (*Treasure Houses*, pp. 100–101) consider it as intended for the tournament only.

45. For the Turin garniture, see Franco Mazzini et al., *L'Armeria Reale di Torino* (Busto Arsizio, 1982) cat. no. 38, pp. 333–334. For the Madrid garniture, see note 29 and Godoy, “Emmanuel-Philibert,” pp. 75ff. and Albert F. Calvert, *Spanish Arms and Armour* (London, 1908) pl. 85A.

46. For a discussion of the various forms of armor garnitures used in Italy in the second half of the 16th century, see Gamber, “Der Italienische Harnisch,” esp. pp. 115–120.

47. Inv. nos. A.21, H.7, and H.8. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to disassemble this armor or examine its interior. It is impossible, therefore, to say with certainty to what extent the elements of it are homogeneous or to comment on possible restorations beyond the most obvious ones. That the pauldrons are not a pair is suggested by the fact that the right pauldron has fixtures for the attachment of a removable haute-piece while on the left pauldron no such fixtures are visible. The sabatons appear to be relatively modern restorations.

48. For the Turin armor, see Mazzini et al., *L'Armeria Reale*, cat. no. 41, p. 335. For the Naples armor, see Lionello G. Boccia and E. T. Coelho, *L'Arte dell'Armatura in Italia* (Milan, 1967) entry no. 404.

49. Naples, Archivio di Stato, p. 72 verso: “Lascio al Sig.^r Prenc.^e di Rocca Romana le mie armi di torneo lavorate, et imbornite à fuoco.” The title of prince of Rocca Romana was hereditary in a collateral branch of the di Capua family. See Enrico Bacco and Cesare d'Engenio, *Il Regno di Napoli, Diviso in Dodici Province* . . . (Naples, 1622) p. 238.

Regarding the description of the tournament armor, the term *lavorate* was used to refer to various types of surface ornamentation. Compare, for instance, the use of the term in the mid-16th-century manuscript of designs for arms and armor by the Mantuan ornamentalist Filippo Orsoni (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. P. & D. Murray 7a; see J. F. Hayward, “Filippo Orsoni, Designer, and Caremolo Modrone, Armourer, of Milan,” *Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, 1982, Heft 1, pp. 1–16 and Heft 2, pp. 87–102). On ms. page AViii a close-helmet with etched bands is described as “celada da cavallo lavorata.”

I am grateful to Dr. Lionello Boccia for his interpretation of *imbornite* as an obsolete form of *burnite*, meaning burnished to a russet or blued color (letter to the author, Feb. 27, 1992).

Two other arms-and-armor related bequests appear in the *testamento*. A pair of pistols was bequeathed to Vincenzo Luigi's nephew, the prince of Cariati (p. 73 recto). To his page, Ferrante di Giodice, Vincenzo Luigi left the choice of 20 ducats or, if he wished to become a man-at-arms (*homo d'arme*), Ferrante could choose a colt (*uno polledro*) from his lord's herd (p. 76 recto).

50. I am very grateful to Professor Michael Stoughton for his efforts, unfortunately unsuccessful, to locate an inventory of Vincenzo Luigi's armory or other possessions among the notarial archives in the Archivio di Stato, Naples.

51. British Library, Add. MSS 29264, pp. 60–61 (photocopies of the Warwick Castle inventories of 1722, 1800, and 1853 were very kindly supplied to me by Paul Barker).

52. In addition to Guy's purported sword, shield, helmet, and breastplate, the Porter's Lodge contained such items as “a Rib of the Dun Cow, 6 feet long, 9 inches span. The Pith of her 2 horns . . . a walking staff 9 feet 10 inches long. . . . His kettle of Bell Metal, Weight 300 pounds . . .” (*ibid.*, inventory of 1800).

53. The guidebooks are as follows: William Field, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Town & Castle of Warwick and of the Neighbouring Spa of Leamington* (Warwick, 1815); *The Warwick Guide: Containing a Concise Historical Account of the Town, and Particular Descriptions of the Castle* . . . (Warwick, 1826); *The Noble and Renowned History of Guy Earl of Warwick* . . . (Warwick, 1829).

54. Field, *An Historical and Descriptive Account*, p. 233. The horse armor mentioned in connection with Guy of Warwick by William Dugdale in 1656 probably refers only to the Warwick shaffron. The reference reads, “Here is to be seen a large two handed Sword, with a helmet, and certain Plate Armour for Horse service . . .” See Sir William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* . . . , 2 vols. (London, 2nd ed., 1730; reprint ed., Manchester, n.d.) I, p. 428.

55. Lady Frances Evelyn Greville, countess of Warwick, *Warwick Castle and its Earls, from Saxon Times to the Present Day*, 2 vols. (New York/London, 1903) II, pp. 765–766.

56. George Greville, earl of Brooke and Warwick, *A narrative of the peculiar case of the late Earl of Warwick, from his Lordship's own manuscript* (London, 1816) p. 59. I am indebted to Claude Blair for checking this reference for me in the British Library.

57. Francis Grose, *A Treatise on Ancient Armour and Weapons, Illustrated by Plates taken from the Original Armour in the Tower of London, and other Arsenals, Museums, and Cabinets* (London, 1786) pls. XLII–XLVIII.

58. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

59. For Hamilton's life and career, see Brian Fothergill, *Sir William Hamilton, Envoy Extraordinary* (New York, 1969). For specific aspects of Hamilton's activities as an art collector, see Nancy Ramage, “A list of Sir William Hamilton's property,” *Burlington Magazine* 121 (Oct. 1989) pp. 704–706; idem, “Sir William Hamilton as Collector, Exporter, and Dealer: The Acquisition and Dispersal of His Collections,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 94, no. 3 (July 1990) pp. 469–480; Edward Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* . . . (London, 1870) pt. I, pp. 346–361; Carlo Knight, *Hamilton a Napoli. Cultura, Svaghi, Civiltà di una Grande Capitale Europea* (Naples, 1990) *passim*.

60. By permission of the Warwickshire County Record Office, CR1886/Box 393 /1 /XV.

61. The following sources were surveyed: Warwickshire County Record Office (see note 60). Same, CR 1886 /Box 393 /1 /iii; CR 1886 /Box 393 /1 /vi; CR 1886 /Box 393 /1 /ii; CR 1886 /Box 393 /1 /xvii; CR 1886 /Box 616; CR 1886 /Box 723 /22 and 23; CR 1886 /Box 393 /1 /xix pt 1 and pt 2. British Library, Add MS 41197 f 1 (1761) and Add MS 40714 f 31 (1768). Alfred Morrison, *The Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison (second Series 1882–1893). The Hamilton and Nelson Papers*, 2 vols. (London, 1893–94) *passim*.

It should be noted that Hamilton did possess a large number of Greek and Roman armor elements and weapons. See Edwards,

Lives, p. 351, and *An Abstract of Sir William Hamilton's Collection of Antiquities* (British Library 215, i, 2, 132) n.d., p. 1. I am grateful to Claude Blair for reviewing the contents of the latter for me.

62. For Walpole's enthusiastic reaction to the shields, see his letters to Hamilton of Feb. 22 and June 19, 1774, published in W. S. Lewis et al., *Horace Walpole's Correspondence . . .* (New Haven/London, 1973) 35, pp. 416-423. Unfortunately the letters from Hamilton in which he mentions the shields do not survive. I am grateful to Marie Devie of the Lewis Walpole Library for confirming this.

What may be one of the shields, or simply another of the same type, is seen in a painting of ca. 1770 attributed to Peter Fabris in which Hamilton is portrayed as one of the participants in a concert party at the Neapolitan house of his friend Lord Fortrose (Scottish National Portrait Gallery, PG2611). The shield hangs on the left among a group of assorted arms, consisting mainly of contemporary small-swords and flintlock pistols. For an illustration and a preliminary identification of the sitters, see Flora Powell-Jones, "A Neo-Classical Interior in Naples," *National Art Collections Fund Review*, 1985, pp. 104-107.

A Watch for Monsieur Hesselin

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ON AUGUST 31, 1662, after the death of the owner, an inventory was begun of the contents of a house in the Île Saint-Louis, Paris, that belonged to Monsieur Louis Hesselin. Among many other riches on the list (the inventory took four months to complete!) is a “cassette” with personal jewelry, including six watches. The document (Figure 1) describes them as follows:

Item a watch in a gold case enameled with several figures both inside and out, made by Fatry.

Item another gold watch enameled with several figures thought to represent Europa, on which is the best known portrait of the deceased.

Item another watch with a plain gold case, made by Martineau.

Item another watch set in a death's-head of gold, made by Martinot.

Item another watch in a silver case with figures, by Donnerque, having an alarm.

Item another watch in a gold case shaped like a death's-head, made by Martinot.¹

In itself this list is not of outstanding importance, although the two skull-shaped watches by Martinot, which would appear to have formed a pair, are certainly unusual.² What makes the inventory unique is that the second watch, “esmaillée de plusieurs figures reputans leurope sur laquelle est le pourtraict plus connue dudit desfunct,” can now be identified: it is a superb enameled watch (Figure 2) in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.³ There can be no doubt about the identification: the back of the case has a representation of Europa and the Bull, inside the case is a portrait painted after a known portrait of Hesselin, and the dial of the

watch is emblazoned with his coat of arms. Although it is sometimes assumed that owners did not carry their own portraits, here we have an example of an object with the owner's likeness and arms, accompanied by the evidence that the object was in the owner's possession when he died.⁴ Indeed, this is the first time that the original owner of a seventeenth-century painted enamel watch can be established with complete certainty.

The case of the Metropolitan Museum's watch is circular, about two and one-half inches in diameter, and made of gold. It is suspended from a gold pendant and bow (Figure 3) ornamented with enameled leaves reminiscent of the “peapod” style that was pervasive in French goldsmiths' work during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. The case has a hinged cover that snaps shut at the bottom, and when open, it reveals the dial (Figure 4). The dial is hinged to the case and attached to the movement, so that dial and movement can be made to swing out together to reveal the back plate of the movement and permit access for winding the main-spring by means of a key (Figure 5).

The case and cover are ornamented, both inside and out, with painted enamel miniatures that are among the finest to be found in a group of comparable watchcases known to have been produced in Blois and Paris during the middle years of the seventeenth century.⁵ These watchcases include among them many of the most magnificent ever made. The outside of the cover of the Metropolitan Museum's watch (Figure 2) depicts the myth of Europa and the Bull (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book II). The maiden Europa, arrayed in mustard yellow with light blue drapery, is seated on the back of an unusually docile bull and is attended by two handmaidens dressed in vermilion, pearl gray, gold, and pink, who are bedecking her with floral wreaths and

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The notes for this article begin on page 115.

103

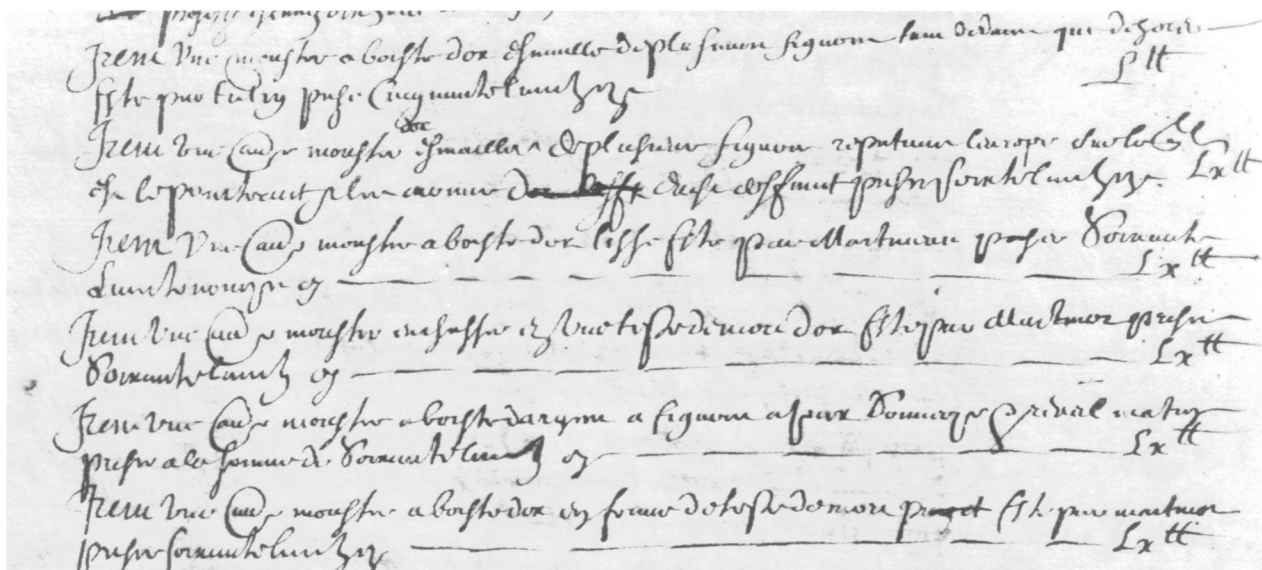


Figure 1. Page from the inventory of Louis Hesselin estate (detail) Paris, Archives Nationales (photo: Archives Nationales)

swags, assisted by a playful putto. The bull, an astonishing pure white with pink snout and golden brown eyes, reclines among the trees of a rural landscape and gives little hint of his ultimate intention, except for the lascivious look in his eye.

While there is much to admire in the exquisite colors and the Pointillist-like technique by which the enamel painter produced the subtle gradations of color used to model form and create shadow, the design is not an original creation. It is, with the omission of two flying putti in the upper left-hand corner, a miniature version of a painting by one of the foremost *grande manière* artists of the period, Simon Vouet (1590–1649), now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum in Madrid (Figure 6).⁶ The Vouet painting, in turn, owes much to *The Abduction of Europa*, a painting by Paolo Veronese in the Doge's Palace in Venice.⁷ Indeed, Vouet went to Venice in 1612 and remained there for a year, so he undoubtedly knew the paintings in the Doge's Palace.

An engraving (Figure 7) of Vouet's *Europa and the Bull* was made in 1642 by his son-in-law Michel Dorigny (1617–65).⁸ While the engraving would certainly have been available to the painter of the miniature on the Metropolitan Museum's watch, it seems likely that he must have known the original because he reproduced the colors as nearly as it would have been possible to do in a different and technically difficult medium. In addition, the scene

appears as it does in the painting rather than reversed as it is in the print.⁹

Another miniature appropriated from a Vouet painting is on the back of the Metropolitan Museum's watchcase (Figure 8). It was undoubtedly painted by the same anonymous hand as the one on the cover of the case, and like the *Europa and the Bull* miniature, it faithfully reproduces the style of the painting rather than exhibiting the sensibility of the enamelist. This miniature depicts *Mercury and the Three Graces* after a now-lost painting, but there exists at least one preparatory drawing for it in the Musée du Louvre,¹⁰ as well as a Dorigny engraving, dated 1642 (Figure 9).¹¹ As with *Europa and the Bull*, the scene of *Mercury and the Three Graces* was probably taken from the original painting, for when compared to the engraving, it too is reversed.

The Three Graces, in various stages of undress, are shown seated and kneeling. Their draperies of blue, vermilion, and white and Mercury's of mustard yellow echo the colors of the *Europa and the Bull*, but in the absence of the original painting it is impossible to know whether these were the colors used by Vouet, whether they were chosen by the enamelist to complement the colors of the miniature on the front of the case, or whether the colors harmonize simply because they are repeatedly found in Vouet's palette. The iconography of this scene also displays Vouet's familiarity with Venice. This time a painting by Tintoretto in the Anticollège at the



Figure 2. Watchcase with a scene depicting the Rape of Europa, French (probably Paris), ca. 1645. Painted enamel on gold, Diam. 6.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.1413



Figure 4. Watch in Figure 2 with the cover of the case open to show the dial



Figure 3. Detail of watch in Figure 2 showing the gold pendant and bow

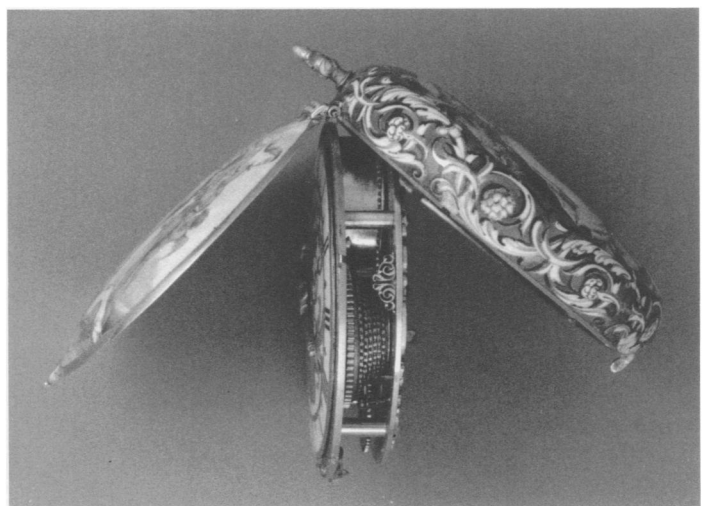


Figure 5. Watch in Figure 2 seen from the side, with the cover, dial, and movement partly visible



Figure 6. Simon Vouet (French, 1590–1649), *Europa and the Bull*, ca. 1641–42. Oil on canvas, 179.1 x 141.6 cm. Lugano, Switzerland, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (photo: Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection)



Figure 7. Michel Dorigny (French, 1617–65) *Europa and the Bull*. Engraving dated 1642, after the painting in Figure 6. 34 x 24.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1945, 45-97

Doge's Palace probably provided his model.¹² In the Tintoretto painting *Mercury*, with his winged hat and caduceus, watches over the seated Graces, one of whom holds a die, the second a rose, and the third a sprig of myrtle. The meaning has been explained as an allegorical representation of government officials who “are accompanied by Mercury since officials have to be appointed with wisdom.”¹³ It is an unusual representation and is believed to have derived from Vincent Cartari's *Imagines decorum*, in which Mercury is described as “the guide of the Graces who show reason and prudence.”¹⁴ Whether by error or by design, the enamel painter substituted ears of wheat for the traditional myrtle.

Both miniatures—*Europa and the Bull* and *Mercury and the Three Graces*—are surrounded by a narrow border of gold. The convex sides of the case are enameled in blue with a continuous band of white acanthus scrolls and acanthus flowers and with a mask at the bottom (Figure 10). The technique here is *champlevé* enameling, a technique in which large areas of gold are gouged out and filled with enamel, but in which visible sinuous scrolls of the gold are left to separate the painted enamel acanthus orna-

ment from the blue enamel ground. Acanthus scrolls and masks were common enough in the vocabulary of seventeenth-century ornament, but the robust character of those on the Metropolitan Museum's watchcase has much in common with the ornamental designs of Vouet, such as those in the murals he painted for the queen regent of France, Anne of Austria, at the Palais Royal in Paris (Figure 11).¹⁵

A third miniature (Figure 12), revealed when the cover of the Museum's watch is opened, is of a wholly different character from the two on the exterior, although it is painted with the same consummate skill and the same technique, in which tiny dots of color are used to create subtle shadings in the enamel. This is a minute battle scene in which mounted warriors, clad in what might pass for classical armor, wreak havoc on one another against a distant background where men and horses continue the struggle. No specific painting has been identified as the source of this miniature, but it displays a compositional style that is most likely not that of the enamel painter. There was, in fact, a tradition of battle-scene painting in French Renaissance



Figure 8. Back of the watchcase in Figure 2 with a scene depicting Mercury and the Three Graces.



Figure 9. Michel Dorigny, *Mercury and the Three Graces*. Engraving dated 1642, after a lost painting by Simon Vouet. London, The British Museum (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 10. Detail of the side of the watchcase in Figure 2 showing the mask and acanthus ornament

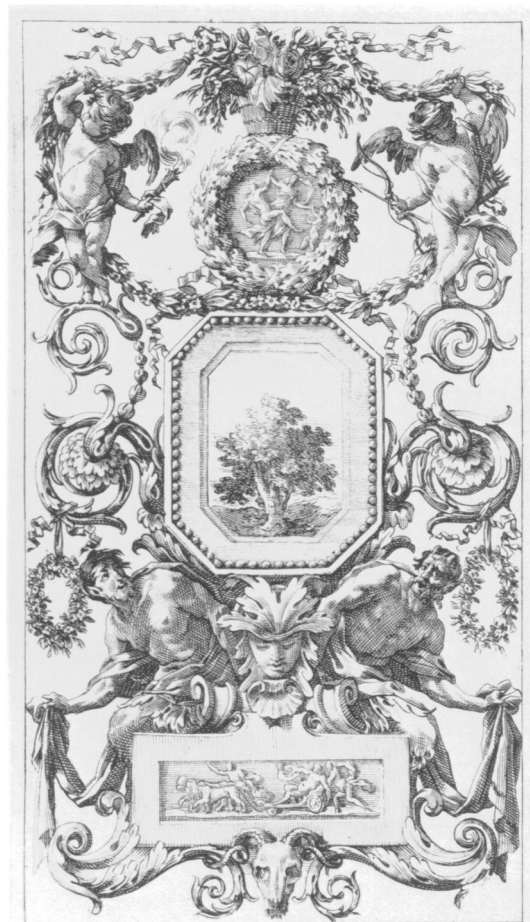


Figure 11. Michel Dorigny, *Ornament*, after a mural painting. Detail of plate 8 from the *Livre de Diverses Grotesques . . . gravées par Michel Dorigny* (Paris, 1647). Engraving, 24 x 13.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1934, 34.70.3(8)

enamels that grew out of the work of Luca Penni (1500–1556), his brother Giovanni Francesco Penni (1496–1528), and Giulio Romano (1499–1546) and that had its ultimate model in one of the frescoes in the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican in Rome. The representations belonging to this tradition are nearly always organized in dense compositions that fill the entire foreground, with either no depth beyond the mass of struggling humanity or a peaceful landscape in the distance.¹⁶ The pyramid-shaped group with a strong, left-leaning thrust in the foreground balanced against a deep, open background in which the battle continues, found in the miniature on the Metropolitan Museum's watch displays a compositional device that is a favorite of the seventeenth-century French painter Jacques Courtois, called *Le Bourguignon* (1621–76).¹⁷ Courtois specialized in battle scenes, and while most of his paintings depict warriors in contemporary dress, there are a few in which he has shown them in antique armor. The Detroit Institute of Arts has one of the better examples of the type (Figure 13),¹⁸ although an etching (Figure 14) in the British Museum's collection¹⁹ is perhaps equally useful in documenting the style, if not the exact model, for the enameled miniature.²⁰

The dial of the watch (Figure 15) consists of a gold disk with white champlevé enameling attached to a circular brass plate, or sink, bordered by an engraved and gilded pattern of leaves alternating with gadroons. The chapter of hours, in pristine white enamel, is painted with black Roman numerals to mark the hours and a double-dotted ornament to mark the half hours. The outer edge and



Figure 12. The interior of the cover of the watchcase in Figure 2 showing a battle scene

the gold ring, which is interrupted at each hour within the chapter ring, are raised portions of the gold plate. The Hesselin coat of arms is painted inside the chapter: quarterly, 1,4, *gules a griffin segreant or* (Cauchon); 2,3, *five bars azure and or, charged with 14 crosses flory, four, four, three, two, one, or and azure* (Hesselin). Two griffins proper (that is, in natural colors) support the shield, and above it is a closed helmet supporting the crest, a griffin segreant erased.²¹ The manteling is in red, blue, and



Figure 13. Jacques Courtois (French, 1621–76) *Cavalry*, mid-17th century. Oil on copper panel, 40.6 x 56.5 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of James E. Scripps (photo: Detroit Institute of Arts)



Figure 14. Jacques Courtois, *Battle Scene*. Etching, mid-17th century. London, The British Museum, Cracherode Collection (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)

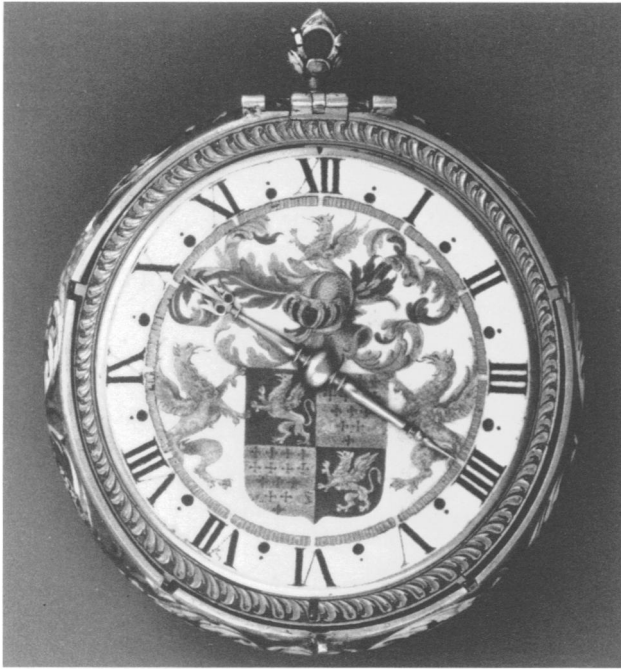


Figure 15. Dial of the watch in Figure 2 showing the coat of arms of the original owner, Louis Hesselin

gold, and the gold of the manteling and the arms is gold dust fired into the surface of the enamel.

The sink to which the disk is attached is hinged to the top of the case and secured by a spring bolt at the bottom. When lifted, the dial opens out from the case, carrying the movement with it and revealing the last of the enameled miniatures within a border of green enamel and gold dust with dark shading (Figure 16). The miniature itself (Figure 17) is a portrait of the owner of the watch as a man of early middle age, with curly brown hair, a well-trimmed mustache, a prominent nose, and pensive brown eyes. The original source from which the enamel painter took the likeness was the earlier of the two engraved portraits of Hesselin (Figure 18) by Robert Nanteuil (1623–78),²² the favored portraitist of many of the most important members of the court of King Louis XIV. Nanteuil's drawings, pastels, and engravings earned for him the appointment of Dessinateur et graveur ordinaire du roi in 1658. In that year Nanteuil made a second, dated portrait (Figure 19), which shows Hesselin as a considerably older man than he had been when the first was made.²³ Both portraits bear out a contemporaneous description of Hesselin as a man with "a quick mind and aquiline nose."²⁴

Who was this Monsieur Hesselin? Louis Treslon-Cauchon, as he was originally named, was probably

born about 1600 into a noble family from Champagne.²⁵ He was the son of Pierre Cauchon, seigneur de Condé, and Elisabeth, or Isabelle, Morin. A wealthy great uncle, Louis Hesselin, made him his heir on condition that he change his name to Hesselin, which he did in 1626.²⁶ Both rich and extravagant, the young Hesselin began to amass a collection that became famous in his own time. The gallery of his hôtel, or town house, in Paris contained a generous portion of his collection of Italian paintings, strongest in works of the Venetian Renaissance, but he also owned paintings by seventeenth-century French artists, such as Vouet, Dorigny, Poussin, Claude Lorrain, and Charles Le Brun.²⁷

The Hôtel Hesselin, demolished in 1935,²⁸ stood at 24 quai de Béthune on the Île Saint-Louis. It can be seen in its former dignity in a view of the west end of Île Saint-Louis (Figure 20) by Adam Perelle

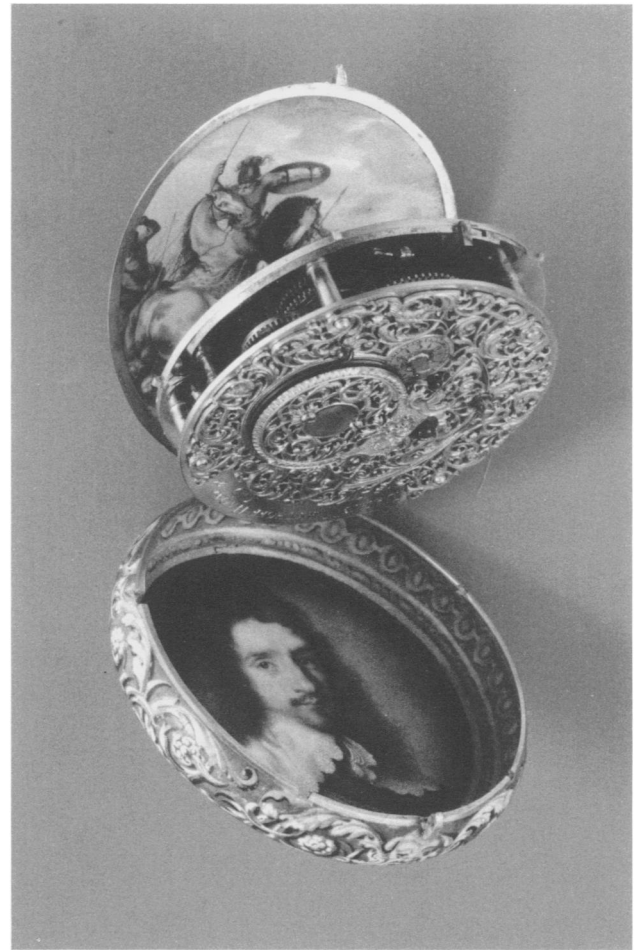


Figure 16. The watch in Figure 2, opened to show the movement and the enamel-and-gold-dust ornament that frames the portrait of Louis Hesselin



Figure 17. The portrait of Louis Hesselin inside the watchcase in Figure 2

(1640–95).²⁹ Hesselin bought the site in 1639 and commissioned the architect Louis Le Vau (1612–70) to build the hôtel. It was under construction by 1641, one of Le Vau's first commissions in the de-

velopment of the Île Saint-Louis.³⁰ Le Vau departed from the usual custom in Paris of setting the main living rooms of the house away from the street and behind a court. Anthony Blunt observed in his discussion of the plan of the hôtel that because the site was on a quiet quay on the Seine, rather than facing a noisy city street, Le Vau could place the main rooms directly along the quay, where the owner might enjoy a fine view of the river.³¹ On the tip of the western end of the quay stood Jean du Cerceau's magnificent Hôtel de Bretonvilliers (visible in Figure 20 as the hôtel with the large open garden at the corner where two quays meet), and around the corner at what is now number 2 rue Saint-Louis-en-l'Île, Le Vau's celebrated Hôtel Lambert still stands, its exterior and most of its seventeenth-century interiors intact.

Elevations and plans of the Hôtel Hesselin (Figures 21–24) were published by the French architect and engraver Jean Marot (ca. 1619–79),³² and the Parisian historian Henri Sauval (1623–76) described parts of the interior.³³ The entrance on the quay led to a courtyard and to the door to the Hôtel Hesselin, which was situated on the right. The door gave access to a vestibule and grand staircase to the main living rooms on the first floor. Both are to be found in the plan of the ground floor, or *rez-de-chaussée*, in Figure 22. The vestibule, *grande salle*, and *salle à l'italienne*, where Hesselin's collection of



Figure 18. Robert Nanteuil (French, 1623–78), *Portrait of Louis Hesselin*. Engraving printed from two plates, ca. 1650?, 30.1 x 37 cm. The device at the bottom center is a burning rocket with the motto SVPEREST DVM VITA MOVETVR (It survives so long as it is impelled by life). London, British Museum (photo: Trustees of The British Museum)



Figure 19. Robert Nanteuil, *Portrait of Louis Hesselin*. Engraving, second state (with text), dated 1658 (portrait) and 1660 (text), 32.3 x 25 cm. London, British Museum (photo: Trustees of The British Museum)

Italian paintings was hung, were decorated by Gilles Guérin (1606–78) and Gerard van Obstal (ca. 1594–1668), both pupils of Jacques Sarrazin (1588–1660) and subsequently collaborators with Sarrazin in carrying out the sculptural decoration for François Mansart’s Château de Maisons. Above the courtyard entrance was a bas-relief by Guérin representing Apollo with Virgil and Homer accompanied by personifications of Sculpture, Painting, and Architecture. The vestibule was ornamented with more sculptures by Guérin, notably four paired terms and a figure of Atlas supporting a celestial globe with a clockwork mechanism.³⁴ Facing the grand staircase was a mirrored wall, which was placed so that the vestibule gave the illusion of having a double staircase.

The staircase led to the resplendent *grande salle*, with a painted ceiling by Fioravente³⁵ and a chimneypiece with sculptured figures: a Venus and Cupid in plaster, a Bacchus and Satyr in plaster, and two stone satyrs by Guérin and van Obstal from models by Sarrazin. The two-storied *salle à l’italienne* had a chimneypiece by Guérin and van Obstal ornamented by two Vestal Virgins, which Sauval considered to be of “very considerable beauty.”³⁶ The room was elaborately decorated with a mirror, a perfume burner, a silver plaque, and large porcelain vases, and it was hung with Hesselin’s collection of Italian paintings, which Sauval estimated to be worth thirty thousand *livres* in all.³⁷ Some of the furnishings of the Hôtel Hesselin ended up in the possession of the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne,³⁸ which was founded by the king’s minister Colbert in 1663, the year after Hesselin’s death. Sauval also noted that Charles Le Brun (1610–90) was commissioned to paint one of the salons and Eustache Le Sueur (1616–55) the chapel, but these commissions were apparently still unfulfilled at Hesselin’s death.³⁹

As early as 1638 Jean-François Nicéron (1613–46), the French mathematician who had a special interest in optics, extolled Hesselin’s *cabinet* in an earlier residence as being “the quintessence of all Parisian *cabinets*,”⁴⁰ and noted not only the excellent mirrors and an extraordinary mirror cabinet (in which Nicéron was particularly interested), but also the paintings, sculpture, and scientific books. In fact, very little is known about Hesselin’s library except that he had his coat of arms stamped on the bindings of his books.⁴¹ Nicéron referred to Hesselin as *conseiller du roy et maître de la chambre aux deniers*; by 1655 Hesselin had apparently also become *surintendant des plaisirs du roy*,⁴² a role for which this splendor-loving man must have been



Figure 20. Adam Perelle (French, 1640–95), *View of the Isle Notre Dame*, second half of 17th century. Engraving, 18.7 x 28.4 cm. The building at the far right is the Hôtel Lambert; the L-shaped Hôtel de Bretonvilliers stands on the corner, and the Hôtel Hesselin is on the near corner of the next block. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.519.84

particularly well fitted. These appointments made him an important and influential person at court, even though his role in history was ephemeral, and it is perhaps not surprising that the best and certainly the most vivid source on his life is in the chatty letters of Jean Loret (1595–1665), with their endless tidbits of gossip about high society. From Loret’s letters we learn that Hesselin, whose “noble instinct for the magnificent” Loret praises, received with great pomp in his Château de Cantemesle at Essonne the prince de Conti; La Grande Mademoiselle, Anne-Marie d’Orléans, the king’s cousin; Queen Christina of Sweden; and the king himself.⁴³

The grand reception for Christina, the former queen of Sweden, whom Louis XIV had decreed should be received everywhere in France with all the formalities due a reigning monarch, took place at Essonne in 1656. The guests were entertained by a *divertissement* that began with a ballet and continued with a theatrical performance, followed by a display of fireworks. The occasion merited the almost immediate publication of a memoir by the Abbé Lescalopier recounting the day’s events.⁴⁴ Abbé Lescalopier praised Hesselin’s organizing talent in particular: “And what is even more remarkable is the tranquillity with which this marvelous man, within this incomparable magnificence, makes more than two hundred persons act out their various roles.”⁴⁵ The most astonishing feature of the entertainment seems to have been provided by the stage machinery, believed to have been the design of the Italian engineer and mathematician Giacomo Torelli da Fano (1608–78), who was both *ingénieur*

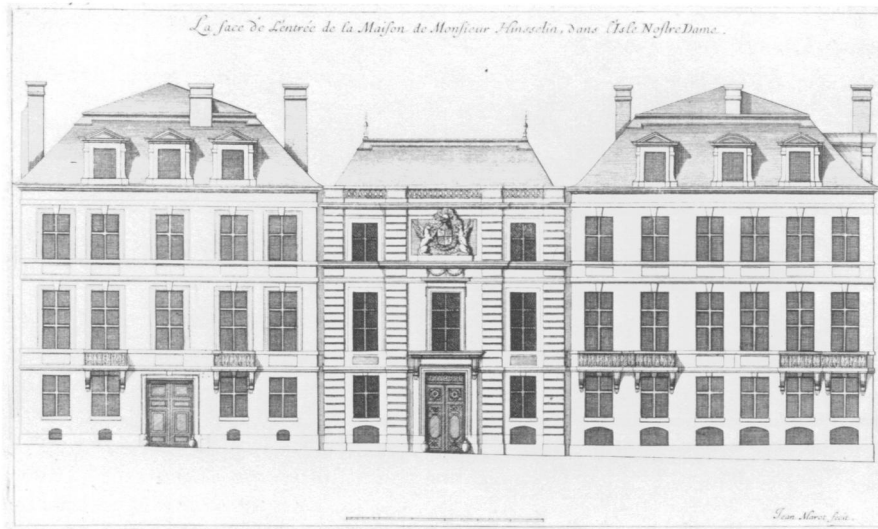


Figure 21. Jean Marot (French, ca. 1619–79), The Hôtel Hesselin and the Hôtel Saintot, ca. 1670. Engraving, 18.1 x 31 cm. The single façade is actually that of two hôtels, or townhouses. The Hesselin house, on the right, includes the entrance from the quay and the floors above. The smaller house on the left was built by Louis Le Vau for Nicolas de Saintot, Master of Ceremonies at the court of King Louis XIV. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.519.186

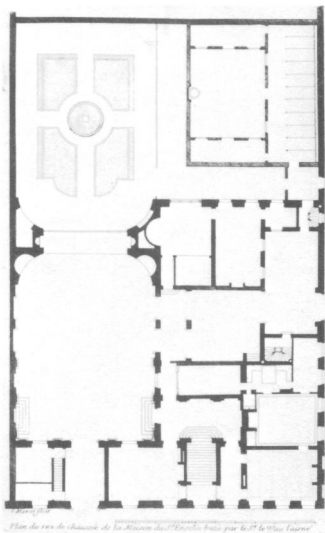


Figure 22. Jean Marot, Plan of the ground floor of the Hôtel Hesselin by Louis Le Vau (1612–70), begun ca. 1640. Engraving, 27.3 x 17 cm, included in *L'Architecture française* (Paris, ca. 1670). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.519.185

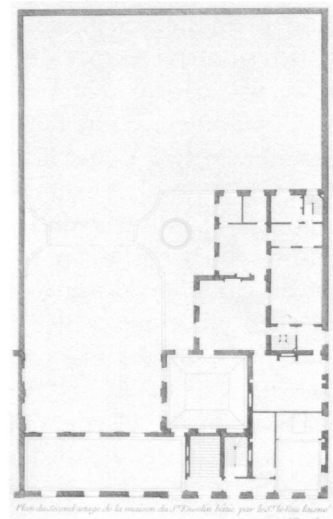


Figure 23. Jean Marot, Plan of the second floor of the Hôtel Hesselin. Engraving, 27.6 x 17.5 cm, included in *L'Architecture française*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.519.186

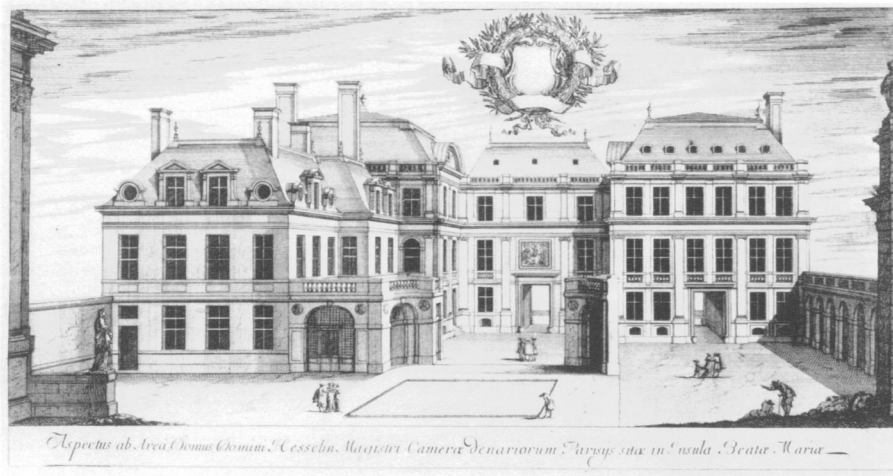


Figure 24. Jean Marot, The Hôtel Hesselin from the courtyard. Engraving, 21.3 x 40.5 cm, included in *L'Architecture française*. The steps to the main entrance of the Hôtel Hesselin can be seen on the left side of the inner court. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.519.185.

ordinaire to the king and a personal friend of Hesselin's. Scene changes were numerous and rapid, and at one point a *grande salle* filled with what seemed an infinite number of people vanished, giving immediate place to a deserted room ornamented with Doric columns (perhaps achieved with mirrors of the type that Niceron had admired). When the ballet was over, a deep grotto appeared. Above it two streams of water fell in cascades down a cypress-covered mountain and below a fountain played jets of water that formed a fleur-de-lis.⁴⁶

Monsieur Hesselin's organization of fêtes and ballets for the king caught Loret's attention also.⁴⁷ As early as 1651 Hesselin danced the role of Harlequin (Figure 25) in the "Ballet du Roy des Festes de Bacchus" given at the Palais Royal on the second and fourth of May.⁴⁸ "The Ballet du Temps," which Hesselin organized in December 1654, included a personification of the Golden Age danced by the king himself.⁴⁹ Bonnafé mentions several sets of designs for ballets that were once in Hesselin's possession,⁵⁰ one of them for the "Ballet de la Nuit" in which the king also danced. This was the spectacle that Cardinal Mazarin, the king's minister, ordered to amuse the fifteen-year-old king, who was himself a talented dancer. The first performance took place on February 25, 1653, but the ballet proved such a success that it was given again on February 27 and four more times in March. The poet Isaac de Benserade (1612–91) composed verses to accompany the dancing; Jean de Cambefort composed some of the music; and Giacomo Torelli designed the decor.⁵¹ If Bonnafé was correct, the costumes were designed by Stefano della Bella.⁵² The ballet consisted of forty-five entrées, ending with the rising sun, which both symbolized the king and was danced by him.⁵³ The ballet was one of the more memorable examples of this favorite form of entertainment at the French court, and its portrayal of the king as the rising sun was the earliest in which the young Louis XIV was apotheosized in a court entertainment as *Le Roi Soleil*.⁵⁴ In the even more successful "Ballet des Nopces de Pélée et de Thétis" Hesselin is reported to have directed activities while astride a camel.⁵⁵ Elsewhere we are told, however, that because live animals had proved unreliable on stage, the animals in these productions were really machines,⁵⁶ perhaps rendering Hesselin's performance a little less risky than it might otherwise have been.

The last ballet that Hesselin is known to have organized for the king was the "Ballet de l'Impatience," which was given at the Louvre on February



Figure 25. Workshop of Henry de Gissey, *Louis Hesselin as Harlequin*. French, ca. 1651. Pen, wash, and gouache, 33.7 x 22.5 cm, from a folio of 71 designs for costumes and 4 for scenery for the "Ballet des Festes de Bacchus" that came from Hesselin's library. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

4, 1661. The accompanying verses were by Benserade, and some of the music was composed by Jean-Baptiste Lully (1633–87),⁵⁷ better known as the composer of opera for the French court and later to become director of the Académie Royale de Musique. The spectators included the queen, the king's brother, the foreign ambassadors, as well as court dignitaries.⁵⁸ In the same year Hesselin also lent assistance to the king's surintendant des finances, Nicolas Fouquet, in organizing the fateful festivities for the king at Fouquet's newly completed château, Vaux-le-Vicomte, the unprecedented lavishness of which was said to have contributed materially to Fouquet's almost immediate disgrace and imprisonment.⁵⁹

Hesselin's end was appropriate for a man who had made the pleasures of life into a vocation. He died of a surfeit of half-ripe walnuts (*cerneaux*), considered a great delicacy, having eaten some three hundred of them for a bet.⁶⁰

Of the six watches listed among Monsieur Hesselin's jewelry only the one now in the Metropolitan Museum's collection is described without mentioning the maker's name. This omission is particularly unfortunate because the original movement has not survived. It was discarded in the eighteenth century, to be replaced by the present movement (Figure 26), which was made especially to fit the case and the dial and is signed "Lamb' Vrythoff Hagae 241." Lambertus Vrijthoff became a citizen of The Hague in 1724 and was presumably a member of the Clockmakers' Guild from about that time. He was a prominent watch- and clockmaker, who served many times as officer of the guild, and he died in 1769.⁶¹ Several of his watches survive, all of very good quality. His number 169 has gold cases hallmarked 1737;⁶² number 241 probably dates from about 1750. By that time watches had grown considerably smaller than was usual in the mid-seventeenth century, and it is interesting to note that Vrijthoff utilized the extra space in the large case by providing a movement that will go for eight days at a single winding. (This eighteenth-century "modernizing" of an enameled watch, incidentally, should not be confused with the later "marrying" of a case with a previously unassociated movement.)⁶³

The case of the Metropolitan Museum's watch is unsigned and undated, but it is possible to propose a date on the basis of accumulated evidence. While neither of the Vouet paintings from which the miniatures on the exterior of the case are derived can be dated with absolute certainty, both the *Europa and the Bull* and the *Mercury and the Three Graces* must have been earlier than 1642, the date on the engravings. The engraved portrait of Hesselin on which the portrait on the watchcase is based is usually dated about 1650, but the internal evidence provided by Hesselin's approximate age, as well as the certainty of what he looked like in 1658 when the second, dated portrait was engraved, indicates that a date of about 1645 would be more nearly correct. Thus, it is likely that the watch also dates from about 1645.

The place of origin of the watchcase is fairly certain. Similar cases that still house their original movements are usually signed by watchmakers in Blois or Paris, and that is where the enameler is most likely to have worked. As to the maker's identity: in this case that must remain a matter of conjecture. The problem with attempting to identify the painter of an unsigned enamel by its style is made particularly evident when the present watch



Figure 26. Lambertus Vrijthoff (Dutch, recorded 1724–died 1769), Back plate of the movement made for the watchcase in Figure 2. The Hague, ca. 1750. Gilded brass and steel, partly blued, Diam. 5.4 cm

is examined, for the styles of the two miniatures based upon Vouet paintings and the miniature of the battle scene are markedly different. Yet there is no reason to believe that all three were not executed by the same enamelist. His ability to produce a brilliant vermilion and his facility in using the pure white enamel of the *fond*⁶⁴ to great effect (for example, in the bull on the front of the cover) have their nearest parallel in a watch with a painted enamel case signed by Henri Toutin (1614–ca. 1683) of Châteaudun and, after 1636, of Paris. The Toutin watch bears representations referring to the marriage of the stadtholder William II of Orange and Mary Stuart in 1641.⁶⁵

Whatever his identity, the enamelist of the Metropolitan Museum's watchcase was a craftsman of the highest order. His skill in reproducing the work of some of the better artists of his time must be regarded as a considerable achievement.

ABBREVIATIONS

Blunt—Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500 to 1700* (Baltimore, 1957)

Bonnaffé—Edmond Bonnaffé, *Dictionnaire des Amateurs français aux XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1884)

Cardinal (1989)—Catherine Cardinal, *The Watch from its Origins to the XIXth Century*, Jacques Pages, trans. (Bristol, 1989)

Christout—Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le Ballet de Cour de Louis XIV, 1643–1672* (Paris, 1967)

Crelly—William R. Crelly, *The Paintings of Simon Vouet* (London / New Haven, 1962)

de Crèvecoeur—R[obert] de Crèvecoeur, “Louis Hesselin: Amateur Parisien, Intendant des Plaisirs du Roi, 1600(?)–1662,” *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Île-de-France* XXII (Paris, 1895) pp. 225–248

Galerias nationales—Galerias nationales du Grand Palais, *Vouet*, exh. cat. by Jacques Thuillier, Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée, and Denis Lavalley (Paris, 1990)

Loret—Jean Loret, *La Muze Historique*, new ed. by J. Ravenel and Ed[ward] V. de la Pelouse, 4 vols. (Paris, 1857–91)

Musée Carnavalet—Musée Carnavalet, *Île Saint-Louis* (Paris, 1980)

Petitjean and Wickert—Charles Petitjean and Charles Wickert, *Catalogue de l’oeuvre gravé du Robert Nanteuil*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925)

Robert-Dumesnil—A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le Peintre-Graveur Français IV* (Paris, 1839)

Wildenstein—Georges Wildenstein, “L’Inventaire de Louis Hesselin (1662),” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 49 (January 1957) pp. 57–63

NOTES

1. Archives Nationales, Paris, *Minutier Central*, XX, 310 (unpaginated). The text of Figure 1 reads:

Item vne montre a boiste dor esmaille de plusieurs figures tant dedans que dehors faite par Fatry . . . Lx livres

Item vne autre montre dor esmaillee de plusieurs figures reputans leurope sur laquelle est le pourtraict plus connue dudit desfunct . . . Lx livres

Item vne autre montre a boistre dor lisse faite par Martineau . . . Lx livres

Item vne autre montre enchassée en vne teste de mort dor faite par Martinot . . . Lx livres

Item vne autre montre a boiste dargent a figures par Donnerque a reveil matin . . . Lx livres

Item vne autre montre a boiste dor en forme de teste de mort faite par Martinot . . . Lx livres

The writing is not very clear and the reading of the names Fatry and Donnerque is not entirely certain; no makers of these names are recorded.

2. There were many Paris watchmakers of this name. The maker of two skull watches may have been Gilles Martinot, who was born in 1622, was married and therefore probably worked independently in 1643. He occupied the third *logement*, or workshop and boutique, in the Louvre between 1662 and 1670. See Tardy, *Dictionnaire des horlogers Français* (Paris, n.d.) II, pp. 439–440, and J. J. Guiffrey, “Logements d’artistes au Louvre: Liste générale des Brevets de logement sous la grande galerie du Louvre,” *Nouvelles Archives de l’Art français* (1873) II pp. 72–73, and 129. Tardy states that Martinot received various payments between 1670 and 1685 and that he died in 1688, but the *Brevet de logement* granting his son Henri Martinot the same workshop in 1670 (O I, 1055, p. 328) speaks of the late Gilles Martinot (“feu Gilles Martinot”).

3. Acc. no. 17.190.1413. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917. The watch was not included in G. C. Williamson’s *Catalogue of the Collection of Watches: The Property of J. Pierpont Morgan* (Paris, 1912) and was perhaps, therefore, a subsequent acquisition.

4. Mid-17th-century watches with portraits are rare. Notable examples are a watch with portraits of both King Louis XIII of France and Cardinal Richelieu, possibly a present from the former to the latter, in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (see T. P. Camerer Cuss, *The Camerer Cuss Book of Antique Watches*, rev. ed. [Woodbridge, Suffolk, England, 1976] p. 66, pl. 18, and Cardinal [1989] pp. 152–153), and a watch with an equestrian portrait and the arms of Louis XIV in the Robert Lehman Collection in the MMA. The latter watch will be discussed at a later occasion. In addition, there is a watch with a painted enamel portrait of King Philip IV of Spain on the cover in the collection of the Musée International d’Horlogerie, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland (see Catherine Cardinal, *Watchmaking in History, Art and Science* [Lausanne, 1984] pp. 30–31. Cardinal identified the source of the portrait as an engraving of 1663 by Balthasar Moncornet [ca. 1600–1668]). Another watch with a portrait of an unidentified man on the interior of the cover is in the collection of the Umelěckoprůmyslové Muzeum in Prague (see Libuše Uřešová, *European Clocks, An Illustrated History of Clocks and Watches* [Prague, 1986] pp. 174–175).

5. See E. Develle, *Les Horlogers Blésois au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle* (Blois, 1913) pp. 87–93; Pierre Verlet and Pierre Mesnage, *La Mesure du temps* (Paris, 1970) pp. 44–47, 58, 62, 63; Catherine Cardinal, *Catalogue des montres du Musée du Louvre I: La collection Olivier* (Paris, 1984) pp. 31–32; and Cardinal (1989) pp. 27–32.

6. See Rudolf J. Heinemann, *Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza* (Castagnola-Ticino, 1969) pp. 405–406 and pl. 303; Crelly, p. 206, no. 222, and fig. 173; and the *Galerias nationales* exh. cat., p. 320, no. 55, and p. 321, fig. 55. All three state that Albert Bloch-Levallois was a previous owner of the painting, but know nothing certain about the original owner. In the catalogue of French engravings in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1954) III, p. 485, no. 88, Roger-Armand Weigert states that the painting had once hung with a group illustrating scenes from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* at the Château de Chilly (Seine-et-Oise), where Vouet is known to have been employed in the 1630s, but Crelly (p. 95 and p. 95 n. 48) refuses to equate any of Vouet’s extant paintings with those (among them a *Europa*) that are known to have been at Chilly. Neither does the painting appear among the ones described in the portion of the inventory of Hesselin’s collection published by Wildenstein, pp. 59–63, although Hesselin did own several portraits (pp. 59 and 62) and a painting of the Virgin (p. 62) by Vouet. Wildenstein’s publication, however, refers almost entirely to the paintings in Hesselin’s Paris residence. On a visit to Hesselin’s château in Essones in 1644, the English diarist John Evelyn was impressed by the “many good paintings” he saw there. See John Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence* (Fontainebleau, 1644; rev. ed. London, 1850) p. 59.

7. See Crelly, p. 206. *The Abduction of Europa* is, in fact, so atypical of Vouet’s style that in the earlier years of the 20th century it was mistaken for a work of the 18th century. Crelly noted also that when the painting was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris (March 25–26, 1924, no. 11), it was attributed to an un-

known painter of the French School and dated to the early 18th century. Louis Dimier recognized it as a work by Vouet and subsequently published it in his *Histoire de la peinture française du retour de Vouet à la mort de Lebrun 1624–1690 I* (Paris / Brussels, 1926) p. 9 and pl. II. For an illustration and discussion of the painting by Veronese, see Rudolfo Pallucchini, *Veronese*, 2nd ed. (Bergamo / Milan / Rome, 1943) pp. 39, 51, no. 110, and fig. 110.

8. Acc. no. 45.97. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1945. Signed "Simon voüet pinxit/ M. Dorigny Sculpsit" and dated 1642. See Bibliothèque Nationale, *Inventaire*, p. 485, no. 88, and Robert-Dumesnil, pp. 284, 285, no. 88.

9. The engraving did, however, serve as a model for at least one painter of enameled watchcases. There is an example signed by the well-known Geneva enamelist Jean-Pierre Huaud (1655–1723) in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva (Inv. no. AD 430) in which the subject is both reversed and much more drastically abbreviated. See Hans Boeckh, *Emailmalerei auf genfer Taschenuhren von 17. bis zum beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1982) pp. 284–285, no. 11, and pl. 24, figs. 61 and 62.

10. Inv. no. RF 14720. See Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, *Inventaire général des dessins, École française: Dessins de Simon Vouet, 1590–1649*, cat. by Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée (Paris, 1987) p. 140, no. 133. The author dates the lost painting about 1640. There is another drawing in the Louvre (Inv. no. RF 28.161), as well as several elsewhere, including one in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris and another in the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Inv. no. M128) in Paris that have been associated with the painting of *Mercury and the Three Graces*, but Brejon de Lavergnée thinks it is less than certain that these are, in fact, related to the painting. See also Galeries nationales, pp. 394, no. 87, 395, fig. 87, p. 458, no. 125.

11. Signed "Simon voüet pinxit/M. Dorigny Sculpsit" and dated 1642. See Bibliothèque Nationale, *Inventaire*, p. 485, no. 89, and Robert-Dumesnil, p. 285, no. 89. This engraving also inspired the Geneva enamel painter Jean-Pierre Huaud. A signed example in the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli in Milan (Inv. no. 716) is illustrated in the chapter titled "Orologi Meccanici" by Giuseppe Brusa in the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli catalogue *Orologi-Oreficerie* (Milan, 1981) p. 197, fig. 72; see also p. 144, no. 51. The scene was obviously taken from the Dorigny engraving, as Catherine Cardinal has previously recognized. See Cardinal (1989) pp. 172–173, figs. 136 and 137. Another watch with the same scene on an enameled case signed "Les Deux Freres Huaut Les Jeunes," the signature used by Jean-Pierre Huaud when working with his brother Amy (1657–1724), and with a movement signed "J. van Ceulen Hague," probably the work of Johannes van Ceulen the Elder (working in The Hague 1677; d. 1715), appeared in Christie's sale cat. *Fine Watches and Clocks* (Geneva, Nov. 7, 1977) p. 46, lot 161, and fig. 161.

12. See Eric Newton, *Jacopo Tintoretto, The Four Allegories of Venice in the Doge's Palace, Venice* (London, 1951) p. 3, fig. 2, and pp. 6–9.

13. *Ibid.* p. 9.

14. *Imagines deorum, qui ab antiquis colebantur . . . a Vincentio Chartario* (Lyons, 1581) quoted by Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et Symboles dans l'Art profane, 1450–1600* (Geneva, 1958) pp. 178–179.

15. Vouet's designs were engraved by Michel Dorigny and published in the *Livre de Diverses Grottesques peintes dans Le Cabinet et Bains de la Reyne Régente au Palais Royal par Simon Vouet, peintre du Roy* (Paris, 1647).

16. *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1986) pp. 216–218, no. 138, and fig. 138.

17. Courtois spent most of his adult life in Italy, so he is known also as Cortese or Il Borgognone. He has been little studied in the 20th century and much of his work remains unidentified. A catalogue raisonné of the paintings in European collections outside France, unfortunately with only three illustrations, was published by Georges Blondeau ("L'Oeuvre de Jacques Courtois, dit le Bourguignon des Batailles," *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements* 28 [1914] pp. 114–156). See also the Musée de l'Orangerie, *Les Peintres de la réalité en France au XVII^e siècle*, intro. by Charles Sterling (Paris, 1934) pp. 32–34; Francesco Alberto Salvagnini, *Il Pittori Borgognoni Cortese (Courtois)* (Rome, 1937); Edward L. Holt, "The Jesuit Battle Painter Jacques Courtois," *Apollo* (March 1969) pp. 212–223; and Cleveland Museum of Art, *From Fontainebleau to the Louvre: French Drawing from the Seventeenth Century*, exh. cat. by Hillard T. Goldfarb (Cleveland, 1989) pp. 94–96.

18. Acc. no. 89.68. Gift of James E. Scripps. See the Galerie nationales du Grand Palais exh. cat. *La peinture française du XVII^e siècle dans les collections américaines* (Paris, 1982) p. 350, fig. 11; and Christopher Wright, *The French Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (Boston, 1985) p. 169.

19. Inv. no. V. 9.–51

20. Battle scenes were a popular subject for French 17th-century enamel-cased watches. One of the most prodigious examples was formerly in the delle Piane collection in Italy. The watch has a movement signed "Goullons à Paris" (probably Josias Goullons, working 1640–70), three battle scenes, one signed "Vauquer Fc" (probably the enamel painter Robert Vauquer, 1625–70), and two additional miniatures with military subjects. See Bruno Parisi, *Catalogo Descrittivo della Collezione delle Piane di Orologi da Polto e da Tasca* (Milan, 1954) pp. 19–21, no. 20, and pl. 1, figs. 20a–20d. The scene on the exterior cover is a direct copy of the central portion of the fresco after a design by Raphael depicting the Victory of Constantine over Maxentius in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican. The miniature on the back of the case is a somewhat freer adaptation of the left side of the fresco.

21. The engraved portrait of Hesselin dated 1658 by Robert Nanteuil displays this coat of arms, though not with the tinctures. See also Joannis Guigard, *Nouvel Armorial du Bibliophile* (Paris, 1890) pp. 259–260, and Eugène Olivier, Georges Hermal, and R. de Roton, *Manuel de l'amateur de reliures armoriées françaises XVII^e* (Paris, 1929) no. 1687. De Crèvecoeur states that the coat of arms on the façade of Hesselin's town house in Paris was heraldically incorrect, but Jean Marot's engraving of the façade (see Jean Marot, *L'Architecture française* [Paris, ca. 1670]) shows the coat of arms correctly.

22. See Petitjean and Wickert, I, pp. 205–206, no. 87, and II, no. 87. Two versions of this portrait are described, one without a frame, signed “Nanteuil *faciebat*,” and one with an ornamental frame inscribed “*Ludovicus Hesselin/Regis a seretioribus Consilijis Palatij & Camerae/Denariorum Magister*.” Two of the plates for these engravings were in Hesselin’s possession and were listed in the 1662 inventory, where the ornamental frame of one of them is described as being by Dorigny (“2 planches du portrait du défunt gravées par Nanteuil, avec aornemens du dessing de Dorigny prisée avec leur boîte de bois blanc, 20 livres”). See Wildenstein, p. 60. Wildenstein was convinced that the inventory is correct and that the engraved frame for this portrait is, indeed, the work of Dorigny and not that of Jean Boulanger, as Petitjean and Wickert, I, p. 205, and Robert-Dumesnil, p. 109, no. 109, had believed.

23. See Robert-Dumesnil, p. 109, no. 110, and Petitjean and Wickert, I, p. 208, no. 88. As the first portrait is not dated, there is some question about its date or whether, in fact, Nanteuil might have taken it from an earlier portrait by another artist. Petitjean and Wickert (p. 206) believed that the portrait is an original work by Nanteuil, and they dated it around 1650. However, if we consider the date of Hesselin’s birth to have been about 1600, the possibility that the earlier portrait was made well before 1650 should not be excluded.

24. Loret, II (Paris, 1877) p. 166, letter dated March 4, 1656, “Monsieur Hesselin, Esprit adroit, nez aquilin.”

25. The first to draw attention to Louis Hesselin as a patron and collector of art was Bonnaffé, pp. 139–141. The main biographical source, however, is de Crèvecoeur, pp. 225–248. De Crèvecoeur convincingly argued that he was not a member of the old Parisian family of Hesselins, as was recently stated in the Musée Carnavalet exh. cat., p. 80. De Crèvecoeur’s contention is supported by the genealogy of the Cauchon family published by E. de Barthélemy, “Généalogie historique de la famille Cauchon,” *Revue d’histoire nobiliaire et d’archéologie héraldique* I (1882) pp. 207–229 and 324–342, but the date of Louis Hesselin’s death was here (p. 341) given incorrectly as 1664. De Crèvecoeur also believed (p. 225) that Hesselin was born about 1600. A document found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris by Petitjean and Wickert (I, p. 206) led them to believe the actual year to have been 1597, but this date seems to make him too old to have been the man in the first Nanteuil portrait. Moreover, in his *Les Mémoires* (Paris, 1656) p. 31, Michel de Marolles, who knew him personally, mentioned Hesselin, a fellow student at the Collège de la Marche in Paris in 1616, as though he were nearly the same age or somewhat younger than himself. “I’auouë que ce me fut vne grande consolation, d’auoir trouué des esprits sociables, tels que mes chers compagnons d’Etude que i’ay desia nommez, & que d’autres encore qui n’estoient gueres plus auancez que nous, comme . . . M. Hesselin Louys Cauchon, Seigneur de Condé, depuis Maistre de la Chambre aux deniers, & l’vn des plus honnestes hommes de nostre temps. . .” De Marolles is known to have been born in 1600.

26. De Crèvecoeur, pp. 226–227.

27. See Wildenstein, pp. 57–63.

28. See Musée Carnavalet, p. 80. For photographs of the courtyard taken before the hôtel was demolished, see Paul Jarry, *Les Vieux Hôtels de Paris: L’Île Saint-Louis* (Paris, 1937) pl. II.

29. Acc. no. 52.519.84. Rogers Fund, 1952. Another state of this print is illustrated by [Jules] Vacquier, *Les Vieux Hôtels de Paris: L’Hôtel Lambert, par Louis Le Vau* (Paris, 1913) p. 4.

30. See Blunt, p. 132.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Marot, in *L’Architecture française*, referred to as the “Grand Marot.” See also Jarry, *Les Vieux Hôtels*, p. 2, and Musée Carnavalet, p. 83, fig. 123.

33. Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1724) III, p. 14. Sauval obtained permission to publish his *Histoire* in 1654, but the work did not, in fact, appear until 1724, after considerable revision and editing by a friend of Sauval’s named Rousseau. See Pierre Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1875) XIV, p. 278. Bonnaffé (pp. 139–140) quoted Sauval extensively, as did Jarry, *Les Vieux Hôtels* (p. 2), but Blunt (p. 132) seems not to have known of Sauval’s description.

34. While most of this description is taken directly from Sauval’s account of the Hôtel Hesselin, certain details, such as the globe with a clockwork mechanism and the eight terms, rather than four that came to Sauval’s attention, are taken from Bonnaffé (p. 139). The confusion in the number of terms may, in fact, have arisen from the likelihood that they were paired, perhaps in similar fashion to Jacques Sarrazin’s caryatid figures for the Pavillon de l’Horloge at the Louvre, which were executed in part by Guérin about the same time as were the interiors of the Hôtel Hesselin. See Marthe Digard, *Jacques Sarrazin: son oeuvre—son Influence* (Paris, 1934) p. 144 and pl. xv, and Blunt, pp. 181, 276–277 n. 274, and pl. 150A.

35. An artist seemingly unknown to the modern compilers of biographical dictionaries of artists. Sauval mentioned also that Michel Dorigny was responsible for something to be seen in the vestibule and that Vouet was responsible for the original design, but he omits to say what the designs were for. Aside from the paintings that he owned described in the inventory of his estate and the enamels on his watch, Hesselin can be connected with Vouet in a still more direct fashion, for de Crèvecoeur (p. 227) cites a document showing that in 1637 Hesselin was a witness to the baptism of Vouet’s son. See also *Galleries nationales*, pp. 122–123.

36. Sauval, *Histoire*, III, p. 14, “La cheminée porte sur le manteau deux Vestales d’une beauté très-considérable.”

37. In the portions of the inventory published by Wildenstein, the most expensive single paintings were valued at 200 *livres*. These were a *Nativity* by Tintoretto (p. 60) and a painting with an undescribed subject by Pietro da Cortona (p. 61).

38. P.-T.-N. Hurtaut and Magny, *Dictionnaire Historique de la Ville de Paris et des ses Environs* (Paris, 1779) III, p. 113, describe among the royal possessions “Lits et autres Ameublements” the following: “des pièces détachées très-riches, qui viennent d’un nommé Hincelin, où il est lui-même représenté.” The passage

was quoted by Bonnaffé (p. 141), who added that the name “Hincelin” is surely Hesselin. Bonnaffé’s supposition is confirmed by the use of a similar spelling of the name on one of Marot’s engraved elevations showing the hôtel on the quai de Béthune.

39. Musée Carnavalet, p. 80.

40. Jean-François Niceron, *La Perspective curieuse* (Paris, 1638) p.77, “on a peut dire l’abbregé des cabinets de Paris.” The 2nd edition (1663) slightly abbreviates the passage.

41. See Bonnaffé, pp. 140–141; Guigard, *Nouvel Armorial*, pp. 259–260; and Olivier, Hermal, and de Roton, *Manuel de l’amateur*, no. 1687.

42. De Crèvecoeur (p. 236) states that the title was never official, although it appeared contemporaneously in the *Gazette de France* without apparent retraction.

43. Loret, I (1857) pp. 492–493, letter of May 9, 1654, and p. 570, letter of Nov. 28, 1654. The quotation is from the latter, from which it also appears that Loret had firsthand experience of Hesselin’s hospitality. Another visit of the king is recorded in the *Gazette de France*, Sept. 28, 1658.

44. [Nicolas Lescaplier], *Relation de ce qui s’est passé a l’arrivée de la Reine Christine de Suede a Essaune en la maison de Monsierr Hesselin* (Paris, 1656). This rare book exists in several versions. The more common is the quarto edition cited here, but the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has a folio edition and a 12th edition has been recorded in Skokloster Slot, Sweden (Inv. no. III, 120–1175 19:1). See *Christina: Queen of Sweden*, exh. cat., Nationalmuseum (Stockholm, 1966) pp. 285–286, no. 647.

45. Lescaplier, *Relation*, p. 10. “Et ce qui est encore de plus admirable est la tranquillité avec laquelle ce marueilleux personnage fait agir dans cette incomparable magnificence, plus de deux cens personnes en des occupations toutes differentes.”

46. See Christout, pp. 81, 82, 96 n. 120; and 262, 1656, 6-ix. Christout notes that there is a copy of the 4^e edition of the *Relation* in the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal in Paris (B.3770 [12], Ra 4 279).

47. Loret I (1857) p. 573, letter of Dec. 5, 1654; II (1877) p. 17, letter of Feb. 13, 1655; p. 57, letter of June 5, 1655; p. 98, letter of Sept. 18, 1655; pp. 121–122, letter of Nov. 13, 1655; pp. 165–166, letter of March 4, 1656; pp. 239–241, letter of Sept. 9, 1656; pp. 444–446, letter of Feb. 16, 1658; III (1878) pp. 325–326, letter of Feb. 26, 1661; and pp. 391–393, letter of Aug. 20, 1661.

48. Christout, p. 65 n. 152.

49. Loret, I (1857) p. 573, letter of Dec. 5, 1654. See also Christout, pp. 77–78, 93 n. 72, 93 n. 75, 261, 1654, 3-II.

50. Bonnaffé, p. 140.

51. Christout, p. 68, and p. 259, 1653, 23-II. See also de Crèvecoeur (p. 234), who identified the drawing of Harlequin (Figure 25) as a representation of Hesselin in the role.

52. Bonnaffé’s remarks are supported by the tradition that some of the designs by Stefano della Bella for ballet costumes that were in Hesselin’s possession were among those later recorded in the collection of André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732). See Richard Real, A.-L. Lacordaire, and M.-A. de Montaignon, “Pierre et Charles-André Boulle: Ébénistes de Louis XIII et

Louis XIV,” *Archives de l’Art français* IV (Paris, 1855–56) p. 339 and p. 339 n. 2. Christout (p. 68) pointed out, however, that della Bella left Paris before 1653, and she suggested that the costumes for the “Ballet de la Nuit” may instead have been the design of Henry de Gissey.

53. For a more complete description, see Christout, pp. 68–71 and p. 259, 1653, 23-II.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71 and p. 91 n. 32. In the same year (1653) Gilles Guérin portrayed the king in the guise of the sun god, Apollo, in a sculpture erected in the Hôtel de Ville in Paris to commemorate the king’s victory over the forces of the Fronde. See Louis Hautecoeur, *Louis XIV: Roi-Soleil* (Paris, 1953) p. 7 and pl. opp. p. 10. Hautecoeur (p. 7) made it clear, as did Christout (p. 91 n. 32), that there were, in fact, many allusions to the sun in connection with the young king prior to his appearance in the “Ballet de la Nuit.”

55. Loret says nothing of this, but see de Crèvecoeur, pp. 234–235 and p. 235 n. 1.

56. Michel de Marolles, *Suite des Memoires* (Paris, 1657) p. 171.

57. Christout, pp. 103–104 and p. 264, 1661, 19-II.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 103. Among the guests was the Dutch mathematician Christiaan Huygens, who made a separate visit to inspect the stage machinery. See the entry for Feb. 16, 1661, in Huygens’s diary of his visit to Paris in 1660 to 1661, published in the *OEuvres Complètes* XXII (The Hague, 1950) pp. 554–555.

59. See Loret III (1878) p. 393, letter of Aug. 20, 1661, “Le renommé Monsieur Le Brun, / . . . / A, dit-on, bien prêté les mains, / Ou plutôt son sens et sa Teste, / Aux apareils d’icelle Feste: / où l’Ingenieux Hensselin, / Aux sumptüozitez enclin, / Pour à ce Grand Fouquet complaire, / Se rendit, aussi, nécessaire.” See also de Crèvecoeur, p. 241, where the reference is given in note 6 instead of the incorrectly numbered note 5. For a lively account of the affair, see Nancy Mitford, *The Sun King* (New York, 1966) p. 18, and for a more complete account of the ballet given for the entertainment of the king, see Christout, pp. 105–106, and p. 264, 1661, 17-VIII. Hesselin seems to have escaped disgrace, but his friend Torelli was not so lucky. He was banished from the kingdom for his role that evening. The inventory of Hesselin’s estate (Wildenstein, p. 60) records that Hesselin had stored some paintings that belonged to Torelli, or Thorely, as Hesselin’s porter referred to him, and that Torelli had gone back to Italy.

60. Loret, III (1878) p. 536–537, letter of Aug. 13, 1662. Later accounts say that he was poisoned by a servant (see Bonnaffé, p. 140). De Crèvecoeur (pp. 228–229) has shown that Hesselin never married, but had a natural son, Louis, whom he subsequently legitimized. It seems likely that this son died before his father. The son was certainly still alive on Jan. 12, 1662, when he appeared in the ballet “Hercule amoureux” (see Christout, pp. 106, 128 n. 60), but as the senior Hesselin made a new will on the day before his death (see de Crèvecoeur, p. 243) leaving his estate to a cousin, it is likely that his son had quite recently died. The inventory of the senior Hesselin’s estate was drawn up at the request of Henri Godet, a cousin, and the succession of the property became very involved, partly because the heir died soon after Hesselin and partly because Hesselin’s estate appears to have been financially much embarrassed (see *ibid.*, pp. 244–245).

61. Municipal Archives, The Hague, OA 1057, fol. O^v, OA 4897, OA 4898, Klapper Overlijden.

62. Gemeente Museum, The Hague.

63. In a future article, the authors intend to deal more fully with the use of painted enamel watchcases in the Netherlands.

64. The base coat of enamel to which colors are subsequently applied.

65. The movement is signed "Antoine Masurier / A Paris" (working 1637–49). The watch is illustrated by Tardy, *Dictionnaire des horlogers*, II, p. 454; Cardinal (1989) pp. 138, 139, figs. 104a, 104b; Giuseppe Brusa, *L'Arte dell'orologeria in Europa* (Milan, 1978) color pls. xvii–xx, and p. 105, nos. xvii–xx.

Children of the Sun King: Some Reconsiderations

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AMONG THE MOST COLORFUL WORKS of decorative art in the Metropolitan Museum are the four large embroidered hangings with representations of Louis XIV and three of his children, now hung on either side of a state bed in a gallery devoted to the art of his reign. Daniel Meyer's article "A Lost Opportunity for the Musée de Versailles, 1852," in Volume 26 of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, is a welcome contribution to the study of these embroideries, which are as interesting as they are unusual and beautiful.¹ His identification of the young boy in armor on the panel symbolizing Fire as the duc du Maine, son of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan (Figure 1), instead of his younger brother the comte de Vexin, is convincing. The entry that refers to these embroideries and the two other panels in King Louis Philippe's collection, discovered by M. Meyer in the inventory of 1821 taken after the death of the duchesse d'Orléans (widow of Philippe Égalité), is an important addition to the history of the hangings; it confirms the previous supposition that they were owned by the comte de Toulouse (another son of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan) in 1718.² The duchesse was the granddaughter of the comte and the mother of King Louis Philippe; it was the sale of the king's wall hangings, mostly tapestries, in 1852 that afforded the Musée de Versailles the lost opportunity regretted by M. Meyer.

As M. Meyer mentions, Louis Philippe had four other large embroideries of the same type, but with their grounds not filled in. He suggests that one representing Louis XIV may well be a piece sold at Christie's in 1978; it is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The design is almost identical with that of the hanging in the Metropolitan Museum, except that the ground is embroidered in pink wool instead of metal thread. Could this be the "Louis-XIV in needlework" seen by Horace Walpole at Sceaux, the château of the duc du Maine, in 1767?³

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 28

The notes for this article begin on page 127

The *Bacchus* named in the second group of Louis Philippe's embroideries may be identical with the hanging that was on the Paris art market in 1970 (Figure 2). The zodiacal signs for September, October, and November are placed like those of the appropriate months on the *Spring/Mademoiselle de Nantes* and *Summer/Mademoiselle de Blois* panels in the Metropolitan Museum. Bacchus in the central medallion holds a thyrsus and bunches of grapes, and he is accompanied by one of the leopards that draw his chariot. But the conspicuous sunflower beside him is more properly associated with Apollo; the plant was thought to turn continually to face the sun. Could it be here to suggest a connection between the boy and the Sun King? He might be another of Madame de Montespan's children, the comte du Vexin or the comte de Toulouse.

A set of similar embroideries was made for a member of the Créquy (or Créqui) family; eight pieces are in the museum of the Collegium Maius of the Jagiellon University, Krakow, and one is in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Marshal's batons, coronets, and the Créquy arms appear on each piece; there is no metal thread and the grounds are embroidered in yellow silk. Two of the Krakow pieces have trophies (neither resembling that of the Versailles hanging), one has the Créquy arms in the center, four represent the elements, and one has a seated Bacchus (without a sunflower) as the central figure; he presumably represents Autumn (Figure 3).⁴ Of the *Elements*, *Earth* with Cybele (Figure 4) has the same surrounding design (*alentour*) as the hanging panel in the Banque de France illustrated in M. Meyer's article, but *Air* with Juno (Figure 5) does not have that of the same subject (with Louis XIV as Jupiter) in the embroideries in the Metropolitan and Victoria and Albert museums. Jupiter in Krakow is a seated, bearded figure, quite unlike the king, and represents *Fire* (Figure 6); the *alentour* includes some of the same motifs as the same subject in the Metropolitan Museum. *Water*, with Neptune on a sea horse, is known only from the Krakow example (Figure 7). He is flanked by swans and his

121



Figure 1. *Fire/The duc du Maine*, embroidered hanging, detail. French, 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1946 (46.43.3)



Figure 2. *Bacchus/Autumn*, embroidered hanging. French, 17th century. Location unknown

wreath is made of coral, shells, and seaweed. *Spring* in Minneapolis has the *alentour* of the Metropolitan Museum version, but the central medallion contains Primavera and a winged zephyr, with the Créquy coat of arms above, replacing those of a legitimized *enfant de France*. There is no reason to suppose that the figures of the Créquy set represent individuals.

The designs of the central figures in several of the embroideries can be connected with other works of art. The resemblance of Louis XIV to his representation in Charles Le Brun's ceiling of the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles has long been noticed. *Bacchus* in Krakow and *Primavera* in Minneapolis are very close to figures in the Gobelins tapestries of *Autumn* and *Spring* in the *Seasons* series; *Neptune* is similarly related to the main figure in the tapestry of *Water* of the *Elements*. Both series were designed by Le Brun.⁵ As M. Meyer states, the upper part of Mademoiselle de Nantes's body is close to a portrait of her at Versailles; her legs, however, are found in a painting by Pierre Mignard of her half sister (the first Mademoiselle de Blois) in the Louvre.⁶ The two figures in the Banque de France embroidery are close reproductions of a painted overdoor formerly in the château de Fontenay, Normandy.⁷ The young woman also resembles a portrait of Mademoiselle de Nantes in the château de Chantilly.⁸

M. Meyer agrees with earlier writers that the embroideries were produced at the convent of St. Joseph in Paris, but he suggests that they were made after 1690, when the workshops began to fill commissions for Madame de Montespan's children. The duc du Maine, however, was twenty in 1690 and surely could not have been shown as the small boy of *Fire* (Figure 1). It seems more probable that Madame de Montespan ordered the four pieces in the Metropolitan Museum and the *Earth* in the Banque de France, with representations of *Autumn*, *Winter*, and *Water* that were already separated from the set by 1821. A date in the mid-1680s seems likely; the designs of the *alentours*, in any case, must be earlier than 1687, when the maréchal de Créquy died.

Perhaps the commission was given about the time of Mademoiselle de Nantes's marriage at the age of twelve in 1685. She was associated with the season of spring in that year at a party the king gave for her and her husband at Marly. According to Voltaire, four *boutiques* representing the seasons were set up in the central salon of the palace. They were filled with "ce que l'industrie des ouvriers de Paris avait produit de plus rare et de plus recherché." Madame de Montespan and the dauphin presided



Figure 3. *Bacchus/Autumn*, embroidered hanging. French, 17th century. Krakow, Muzeum, Collegium Maius, Jagiellon University (photo: Collegium Maius)



Figure 4. *Cybele/Earth*, embroidered hanging. French, 17th century. Krakow, Muzeum, Collegium Maius, Jagiellon University (photo: Collegium Maius)



Figure 5. *Juno/Air*, embroidered hanging. French, 17th century. Krakow, Muzeum, Collegium Maius, Jagiellon University (photo: Collegium Maius)



Figure 6. *Jupiter/Fire*, embroidered hanging. French, 17th century. Krakow, Muzeum, Collegium Maius, Jagiellon University (photo: Collegium Maius)



Figure 7. *Neptune/Water*, embroidered hanging. French, 17th century. Krakow, Muzeum, Collegium Maius, Jagiellon University (photo: Collegium Maius)

over the shop of *Autumn*, Madame de Maintenon and the duc du Maine had *Winter*, the bridegroom (the duc de Bourbon) had *Summer*, with Madame de Maintenon's sister, and the youthful bride, with another duchess, had *Spring*. After a lottery, the rare things in the shops were divided among the small and select Marly company, the king paying for everything, "d'une manière digne d'un roi."⁹

Rather than the somewhat gauche central figures, however, it is the abundance of appropriate and pleasing details in the *alentours* that is the greatest delight of the hangings. A drawing in the Louvre from the workshop of Charles Le Brun supplies the basic structure of the *alentour* for *Spring*, specifically for the example in Minneapolis, as it includes the Créquy arms at the top.¹⁰ The appropriate signs of the zodiac and such tokens of the season as two birds' nests (one with the bird sitting on her eggs, the other showing her feeding her chicks) have been added in the embroidery. Other springlike details are butterflies and garden tools, such as watering cans. *Summer* recalls the harvest with pitchforks and flails, sheaves of wheat and marauding birds. *Air* has birds, hawkers' lures, and wind instruments, such as horns, panpipes, and recorders, also castanets and bells. *Fire*, as well as weapons of war, has salamanders in the flames, braziers, and smoking censers. *Earth* shows animals and agricultural produce, monkeys and fruit above, lions and vegetables below. *Water*, instead of the floral wreaths of the other panels, has reeds and seaweed, shells and fish, with an overflowing fountain below the god. Only *Winter's* appurtenances, perhaps icicles and skates, are not yet known to us. Some anonymous worker in Le Brun's studio put a great deal of imagination and skill into these fantasies, for which we can be eternally grateful.

NOTES

1. *MMJ* 26 (1991) pp. 183–191. M. Meyer has not been well served by his translator, who is unfamiliar with precise English textile terms. The French "tapisserie au petit point" and similar phrases should have been translated as "embroideries," not "embroidered tapestries" or "petit-point tapestries"; correct English usage confines the word "tapestry" to a loom-woven fabric, "petit-point" meaning an embroidery in tent or cross-stitch on canvas. M. Meyer's original sentence describing bed curtains as made of "gros de Naples broché or fleur de lysé bordés d'un ruban et de

franges à torsades en or" has been cut down to the nonsensical "white Gros de Naples brocaded with gold fringe." Other solecisms could be cited, and the Versailles conservateur mentioned in note 25 is Béatrix Saule, not Daule.

2. Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1985) II, pp. 665–676, with earlier references. An error in this account (p. 674) should be corrected: the shield in the MMA with the head of Medusa is not now believed to have been owned by Louis XIV and is thought to date from ca. 1760. The statue of the king by Jean Warin holding such a shield shows him in Roman armor, presumably fanciful (Pierre Lemoine, *Le Château de Versailles* [Paris, 1981] p. 44, illus.).

3. *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Madame du Deffand and Wiart*, W. S. Lewis, ed. (New Haven, 1939) V, p. 322. Sceaux was inherited in 1767 by the duc du Maine's son the comte d'Eu, who died childless in 1775. The château then went to his cousin the duc de Penthièvre, son of the comte de Toulouse, and father of the duchesse d'Orléans already mentioned.

4. Adam Bochnak, *Makaty, Marszałka Francji Franciszka de Créqui, Ksienica de Lesdiguières* (Krakow, 1923) pp. 15, 16 (French summary), figs. 1–8. The original owner is identified as François de Blanchefort de Créqui (1629–87), maréchal de France. Neither of the trophies of arms resembles that in the Versailles hanging illustrated by M. Meyer. The upper and lower borders of all the pieces were slanted, presumably so that they could hang in a stairwell; all have since been altered to form rectangles. Rema Neumann Coen, "The Duc de Créquy's *Primavera*," *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* 53 (1964) pp. 17–25. The original owner is identified as the marshal's brother, Charles, duc de Créquy (1624–87), but the marshal's batons, so conspicuously displayed with the arms and coronet, render this identification unlikely. One of the Krakow armorials is reproduced in Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche 1. Teil. Die Niederlande* (Leipzig, 1923) II, pl. 463; erroneously identified as a Brussels tapestry ca. 1635 in a Polish private collection.

5. Bochnak, *Makaty*, p. 16.

6. Georges de Lastic, "Contributions à l'oeuvre de Pierre Mignard, portraitiste," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1980 (1982) p. 171, fig. 8. A workshop replica with bare legs is mentioned, which would be even closer to the embroidery. This resemblance was noted by Béatrix Saule, conservateur, Musée National du Châteaux de Versailles, in a letter of 1984.

7. Henry Solange-Bodin, *Châteaux de Normandie* (Paris, 1928) pl. LXXII; the château was destroyed in World War II. This resemblance was noted by Alfred E. M. Mare in a communication to the MMA in 1946.

8. Chantilly, Musée Condé, *Peintures de l'École Française* (Paris, 1970) no. 126. Attributed by tradition to Marc Nattier and dated ca. 1690.

9. *Oeuvres de Voltaire* (Paris, 1836) IV, p. 204, in chap. 17, "Suites des particularités et anecdotes" of the *Siècle de Louis XIV*.

10. Coen, "The Duc de Créquy's *Primavera*," fig. 5.

Literary and Visual Interactions in Lo Chih-ch'uan's *Crows in Old Trees*

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FOR WAYNE HARTMAN, PASSIONATE ART CRITIC, MASTER ORNITHOLOGIST

At all times the crows are sociable, but in the winter are doubly so, assembling by the hundreds at some common roosting place. True to the traits of the *Corvidae* group throughout the world, this crow holds "caucuses" at which time crows from miles around assemble to participate in the discussion of weighty clan affairs. . . . One can almost read into the assemblage of crows, courts of justice, some kind of a military system and the maintaining of observation posts. There is no family of birds where society seems to come so nearly having an organization and a system for maintaining order as with the *Corvidae*. We brand the parson crow a thief, a brigand and a rascal, all of which he is, yet we must in fairness to facts, agree that the eggs and nestlings destroyed, and the destruction to various crops of the farmer folk are insignificant wrongs as compared with the good done in search for food with which to satisfy the demands at home.

Harry R. and John C. Caldwell,
South China Birds (Shanghai, 1931) pp. 3-4.

THIS ARTICLE IS an iconographic study of the Chinese landscape painting known as *Crows in Old Trees* by the Yüan dynasty (1280-1368) artist Lo Chih-ch'uan 羅稚川 (ca. 1265-ca. 1340) in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1). Studies by modern art historians have confirmed the date of this work as early to mid-Yüan and placed its style securely within the Yüan continuation of the Li Ch'eng/Kuo Hsi tradition of Northern Sung dynasty (960-1126) landscape painting.¹ These studies have also hinted at possible meanings for the work. Wen Fong notes that the individual details "all convey a heavy sense of gloom and desolation."² Richard Barnhart writes that "it requires no great effort of the imagination to believe that this subject held symbolic meaning for the entire class of scholars living out the winter of Mongol occupation."³ The present article ex-

There is no doubt that these [Elliot's] pheasants are extremely local and not abundant anywhere. They are very timid birds, and to a certain extent this may account for their apparent scarcity. Their silence is another factor in keeping their presence from being known, and I have never heard these birds to utter a sound except under the provocation of extreme fear, or again when, feeding quietly, they give voice to the usual low phasianine murmur or chuckle.

William Beebe, *A Monograph of the Pheasant* (London, 1918-22) III, p. 192.

plores in detail the iconography of the painting in an effort to explain how the work articulates this perceived symbolic meaning. An examination of the painting in a series of cultural contexts, both literary and visual, will elucidate the symbolic value of the individual iconographic elements that make up *Crows in Old Trees*.

Lo Chih-ch'uan is not among the famous names in the history of Chinese painting. At present, only three of his works are known to survive. Of these, *Crows in Old Trees* is clearly the most impressive and interesting. The theme and composition of a second work entitled *Snowy River Bank* (*Hsüeh Chiang p'u t'u* 雪江浦圖) in the Tokyo National Museum are closely related to those of *Crows in Old Trees* (Figure 2).⁴ The third work, an album leaf in the Cleveland Museum of Art entitled *With Walking Staff Through the Cold Forest* (*Han-lin ts'e-chang* 寒林策杖), is related, albeit in a more distant way, to the first two works (Figure 3).⁵ With the exception of an old label set in the mounting of *Crows in Old Trees* there are

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 28

The notes for this article begin on page 162.



宋李營五古木寒鴉圖真跡之二

Figure 1. Lo Chih-ch'uan (ca. 1265–ca. 1340), *Crows in Old Trees*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk (131.5 x 80 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange, 1973, 1973.121.6

no signatures or inscriptions of any kind on these paintings, and their common attribution to Lo Chih-ch'uan rests on the presence of the artist's seals on each of the three works. There seems to be no question that the three works are genuine and from the hand of the same artist. A fourth painting, *Carrying a Lute on a Visit*, in the Cleveland Museum has been attributed to Lo on stylistic grounds, although there is no seal on the painting to strengthen this attribution (Figure 4).⁶

The Metropolitan's *Crows in Old Trees* is a hanging scroll 131.5 by 80 centimeters. The present mounting and restoration are modern, but the hosels on the roller are Ming dynasty red lacquer and, together with the old label, may survive from an earlier mounting. Fragments of a seal in the upper right-hand corner, unrecorded in previous scholarship, would also seem to indicate that the painting has been slightly trimmed during an earlier remounting. The old label reads *Sung Li Ying-ch'iu ku-mu han-ya t'u chen-chi shen-pin* 宋李營丘古木寒鴉圖真跡神品 "the painting *Jackdaws in Old Trees* by Li Ch'eng of the Sung dynasty. Genuine. A work of the inspired class." As we shall see, virtually every detail of this label is wrong, except perhaps the classification of the work as "inspired." The painting is also known in modern secondary literature as *Han-lin kwei-ya* 寒林歸鴉 (*Crows Returning to the Cold Forest*) and *Han-lin ch'ün-ya* 寒林羣鴉 (*Flocking Crows Over the Cold Forest*).⁷

Crows in Old Trees is indeed a painting of gloom and desolation. A frozen riverbed, covered with snow, enters the painting from behind a small promontory on the upper right and curves leftward around the promontory to exit again at the lower right. Mist weaves through a group of pine trees on the far shore at the upper left. In the foreground, two large deciduous trees rise from the eroded banks of the near shore and dominate the center of the painting. At the base of these trees, clumps of bamboo flank two male pheasants, one with his back to the viewer, the other partially hidden by the trunk of a smaller tree. A flock of crows (I count thirty-five) circles above the two trees. Eight have settled into the upper branches of the tallest tree, while several others remain on the opposite promontory. For reasons that will shortly become obvious, the painting almost certainly depicts an evening scene.

Traditional Chinese painting catalogues contain only one possible mention of the Metropolitan painting. In the winter of 1652 Wu Ch'i-chen 吳其

貞 saw a painting entitled *Li Ying-ch'iu Ku-mu han-ya t'u* 李營丘古木寒鴉圖 in the Su-chou residence of the younger brother of the painter Wang To 王鐸 (1592–1652). Wu commented on the work:

The style of the painting is elegant yet has the strength of age. There are rather many examples of this picture done by Sung artists, but here the tree branches are drawn with ease and maturity as when someone writes grass script. Only Li Ch'eng could have accomplished this.⁸

There is a good chance that the painting Wu Ch'i-chen saw was the Metropolitan *Crows in Old Trees*. Wu's attribution and title are identical to the old label, and his description of the style matches the painting. Wu usually recorded inscriptions in his catalogue, so his silence in this notice would indicate that, like the Metropolitan painting, the painting Wu saw was not inscribed. Wu unfortunately did not record seals. Finally, even though Wu does not question the attribution to Li Ch'eng, his high evaluation of this painting's quality tallies with his equally high evaluation of a signed Lo Chih-ch'uan painting he had seen, *Farmstead with Cattle and Sheep*, to which we shall return shortly.

The first part of this article collects and reviews references to Lo Chih-ch'uan and his paintings in Yüan dynasty literary collections. The publication of several new reference works has made it possible to expand considerably those references to Lo Chih-ch'uan first gathered by Shimada Shūjirō in his 1938 article.⁹ This enlarged body of texts affords a better view of the full range of Lo's artistic expression and presents a much wider context against which to understand his existing paintings, especially *Crows in Old Trees*.

The second part of the article examines the literary and visual associations of cold forests/old trees, pheasants, and crows—the work's major iconographic elements. Previous studies of the painting allude only in a general way to the presence of the birds—sometimes they are crows, sometimes jackdaws, sometimes pheasants, sometimes ducks. However, Chinese literate culture has from its very beginnings attached specific analogical values to the flora and fauna of the physical landscape, and in this system a pheasant is not a duck, and a jackdaw is not a crow. For a visual work of art to be part of this system of values, the viewer must be able to identify the fauna closely enough to link the visual representation with its corresponding literary parallels. Generic "birds" can never have analogic

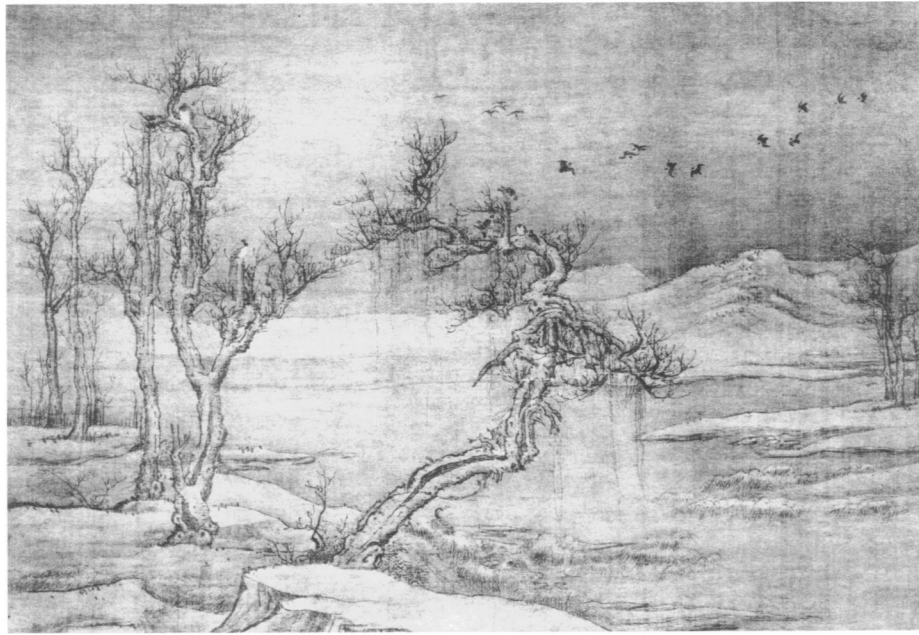


Figure 2. Lo Chih-ch'uan, *Snowy River Bank*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk (53.4 x 78.5 cm). Tokyo National Museum collection



Figure 3. Lo Chih-ch'uan, *With Walking Stick Through the Cold Forest*. Album leaf, ink on silk, 23.4 x 25.1 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, 15.536 (photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art)

value. Lo Chih-ch'uan has drawn his birds with such meticulous detail that in each case not only the genus but also their species can be precisely identified. The artist's detailed precision regarding ornithological characteristics is thus an important clue to the painting's symbolic meaning. The final section of the article will attempt to "read" the meaning of the painting in light of the analogic values of each iconographic element.

LO CHIH-CH'UAN, THE RECLUSE

A poem by Chieh Hsi-ssu 揭傒斯 (1274–1344) (text #7 below) identifies Lo Chih-ch'uan as a native of Lin-chiang 臨江; and this information is repeated in an early-sixteenth-century Japanese source (#21 below). In the Sung, Lin-chiang designated a military prefecture in the center of modern Kiangsi Province. A poem by Fu Jo-chin 傅若金 (1303–42) states that Lo Chih-ch'uan and the author were natives of the same district.¹⁰ Fu was a native of Hsin-yü 新喻 County, one of the constituent counties of Lin-chiang. Finally, Chao Wen's 趙文 (1239–1315) "Presented to Lo Chih-ch'uan for His Excellence in Painting," translated in full below, identifies Lo and his older brother as natives of Yü-ch'uan 渝川, the Yü River, an alternative name for the Yüan River 袁江 that flows through Lin-chiang Prefecture, joining the Kan River 贛江 at the Lin-chiang prefectural seat of Ch'ing-chiang 清江. The 1572 gazetteer of Lin-chiang notes about twenty-five miles downriver from Hsin-yü a "Lo Stream post station" 羅溪驛.¹¹ Although he is not mentioned in any of the Ming and Ch'ing gazetteers of Hsin-yü, and although I have been unable to determine his relation to the many Sung and Yüan dynasty Los mentioned in the same gazetteers, the three contemporary Yüan texts mentioned above strongly suggest that Lo Chih-ch'uan was a native of this area of the Yü River valley. The area was noted for the beauty of its landscape, and in the Southern Sung an important post road from the Sung capital to southwestern China ran through the valley of the Yü River.¹² This entire central Kiangsi region was an important cultural and economic center during the Sung and Yüan periods.¹³

I have to date discovered twenty-two references in literary sources to paintings by Lo Chih-ch'uan. Eighteen of these references are inscriptions on Lo Chih-ch'uan paintings preserved in the collected works of Yüan literary figures; four are mentions of



Figure 4. Unknown artist, Yüan dynasty (1280–1368), *Carrying a Lute on a Visit*. Style of the Li Ch'eng-Kuo Hsi school. Hanging scroll (non-paneled), ink on silk, 81.2 x 35.2 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase, General Income Fund, 19.974 (photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art)

his works in Chinese, Korean, or Japanese painting catalogues. The following list presents this information and contains the author of the inscription, his native place, and either a translation of the inscription or a summary of its contents. For natives of Kiangsi Province, I have given exact places of origin in relation to Lo Chih-ch'uan's native Hsin-yü; non-natives of Kiangsi are simply designated "non-native."¹⁴

1) Liu Shen 劉詵 (1268–1350), native of Chi-shui 吉水, Kiangsi, south of Hsin-yü, was a Confucian

recluse and private-school teacher who refused government appointment as an education official. “Inscribed on a Small Scene of Lo Chih-ch’uan” 題羅稚川小景:

The wind raps the small tree, the old tree has no leaves;
the near shore is half-covered in haze of evening clouds.
A man riding a donkey points to a high building and departs;
he does not know at whose house he will stay the night.¹⁵

2) Liu Shen. “Inscribed on a Small Scene of Lo Chih-ch’uan” 題羅稚川小景: In the distance is an island with hills, and then a closer flat island. There are tall trees with few leaves, smaller green trees, and a long stream with fishing boats. A waterside pavilion with balustrades leads to a house. A guest arrives and is met by the host, who leans on a staff. The last couplet compares the location to the T’ang dynasty poet Tu Fu’s residence at Ch’eng-tu and the figure to the famous recluse T’ao Ch’ien.¹⁶

3) Liu Shen. “Inscribed on Lo Chih-ch’uan’s *Painting of Palaces Amid Landscape* in the Collection of P’eng I-yüan” 題彭宜遠所藏羅稚川山水樓閣圖: The painting depicted a summer mountain landscape with fishermen, a poet, his servant, and a donkey crossing a bridge. There is a beautiful woman in a terraced building to the west of the mountains. The closing quatrain reads:

I have heard P’eng-lai has a place like this,
but flowing waters and falling flowers separate it
from the world of men.
Perhaps I could buy a pair of green straw sandals
and go there for a while to live a thousand years.¹⁷

4) Liu Shen. “Inscribed on the Painting *Village in the Mist* by Lo Chih-ch’uan in the Collection of T’ieh Chung-chien” 題鐵仲堅所藏羅稚川煙村圖 is translated in full below.¹⁸

5) Fan P’eng 范曄 (1272–1330), fellow native of Hsin-yü, was an official and major Yüan poet. “Inscribed on Chih-ch’uan’s *Painting of Rushes and a Goose*” 題稚川蘆鴈圖 is translated below.¹⁹

6) Chieh Hsi-ssu (1274–1344), native of Feng-ch’eng 豐城, Kiangsi, northeast of Hsin-yü, was a Yüan official and major poet. His “Inscribed on a *Painting by Lo Chih-ch’uan of the Chien Stream*

Residence of Lo I in Lin-ch’uan” 題羅稚川所畫臨川羅益謙溪居圖 describes a painting of a “scholar’s hut” beside a stream against a panorama of Lin-ch’uan Prefecture, the eastern neighbor of Lo Chih-ch’uan’s native Lin-chiang Prefecture.²⁰

7) Chieh Hsi-ssu. “Inscribed on *Autumn Reeds and a Flock of Geese*, a *Painting by Lo Chih-ch’uan Presented to Governor Li by Edict Attendant Chao of the Academy of Worthies*” 題集賢趙待制贈黎使君羅稚川所畫秋蘆羣鴈圖 opens with the following quatrain:

When the master painter Lo Chih-ch’uan of Lin-chiang
lowered his brush, he hoped to surpass Chao Ling-jiang.
This work that the Gentleman from the Academy
has acquired
shows the waters and skies of Lang-kuan Lake.²¹

The painting depicted a flock of geese against a panoramic landscape of the Lang-kuan Lake 郎官湖 area northeast of Han-yang 漢陽 County in Hupei Province.

8) Chieh Hsi-ssu. “Inscribed on Lo Chih-ch’uan’s *Evening Scene on an Autumn River* in the Collection of Ou-yang Lung-nan” 題歐陽龍南所藏羅稚川秋江晚景圖 first laments the frustrations of Chieh’s official career and the coming of old age. It goes on to describe a painting that depicted an evening autumn scene with a winding stream, leafless trees, and geese.²²

9) Yü Chi 虞集 (1272–1348), whose family took refuge in Lin-ch’uan, Kiangsi, at the end of the Sung and who retired there in 1333, was a major Yüan official and poet. His “Poem on Empty Mountain” 空山歌 was inscribed on a painting by Lo Chih-ch’uan of the retirement residence of a military official surnamed Nieh 聶 at Nan-ch’eng 南城, Lin-ch’uan Prefecture.²³

10) Chu Ssu-pen 朱思本 (1273–?) was a native of Lin-ch’uan Prefecture adjacent to Lin-chiang. His poem “Inscribed on a *Landscape Painting of I-ch’ün County Presented to Hsieh Ching-ch’u*” 題宜春山水圖贈謝景初 describes a panoramic landscape painting of I-ch’ün County, immediately upriver from Hsin-yü, by Lo Chih-ch’uan.²⁴

11) Ting Fu 丁復 (early Yüan dynasty), non-native, was recommended unsuccessfully for a Han-lin po-

sition in 1314. “Inscribed on a Landscape of Chih-ch’uan” 題稚川山水 is a long poem describing various scenes, perhaps on a handscroll. The life of a lonesome poet without wine or companion is contrasted to that of two fishermen who sell their fish for wine and sing themselves to sleep under the night moon. The place is compared to P’eng-lai, and the last couplet reads:

There where men will never grow old in a hundred years
laughing and sighing is Lo Chih-ch’uan.²⁵

12) Ch’en Lü 陳旅 (1287–1342), non-native, was recommended for government service by Yü Chi and entered the Han-lin in 1338. His “Inscribed on a Handscroll of Lo Chih-ch’uan” 題羅稚川畫卷 describes an autumn evening scene with river and rainy forest. A recluse (*tao-jen*) descends a mountain path to a thatched hut.²⁶

13) Hu Chu 胡助 (early 14th c.), non-native, went to the capital in 1330 and retired in 1345. “A Lo Chih-ch’uan Landscape” 羅稚川山水 reads:

The landscapes of Chih-ch’uan are deep and unusual,
detailed and distinct like those of Kuo Hsi.
Why does the boatman seem to hurry in his return?
The winds blow over the stream, the rains about to come.²⁷

14) Hu Chu. “A Lo Chih-ch’uan Snow Scene” 羅稚川雪景 reads:

A single fisherman alone on the cold river like a frozen fly,
five stories high, a thousand-year-old tree hung with dead creepers.
On the path to the north of the mountain there are no tracks,
around the houses beyond the forest snow fills the fishing nets.²⁸

15) Nasen 迺賢 (1309–?), non-native, was a Qarluq Turk, Chinese name Ma I-chih 馬易之, who settled in Honan and later Chekiang. He served in the Han-lin and in the military. His “Ten Rhymes on a Landscape of Lo Chih-ch’uan Inscribed for Ying K’o-li of Yung-tung” 羅稚川山水十韻為甬東應可立題 describes an evening scene in early autumn, a stream, an island covered with green vegetation, and tall trees. At the mouth of a valley is a small house; a fisherman in his boat approaches the shore, singing. The poem ends:

This bamboo path can detain the traveler;
in this peach-blossom spring, one can become a transcendent.

This painting is superlative,
with poetic inscriptions by famous men.
A recluse for his entire life,
full of emotion I think of Lo Chih-ch’uan.²⁹

16) Liu Jen-pen 劉仁本 (d. 1367), non-native. “Four Poems Inscribing Small Scenes by Lo Chih-ch’uan” 題羅稚川小景畫四首 are four *chüeh-chu* inscribed on scenes of the four seasons. The text of “winter” is translated below.³⁰

17) Lin Pi 林弼 (*chin-shih* 1347) was not a native of Kiangsi, but he served as magistrate of Feng-ch’eng, northeast of Hsin-yü. His poem “Inscribed on a Painting of Lo Chih-ch’uan” 題羅稚川畫 is translated below.³¹

18) Lin Pi. His Poem “Inscribed on a Painting *Fishing by the Autumn Bank*” 題秋浦捕漁圖 describes a fisherman preparing his catch for his wife and children. The painting by “old Chih-ch’uan” makes the author wish he could enter the painting and join the idyllic scene.³²

The remaining four references occur in painting catalogues:

19) Wu Ch’i-chen (17th c.) recorded his comments on a handscroll entitled *Farmstead with Cattle and Sheep* by Lo Chih-ch’uan, which he saw in 1638: “In his depiction of human figures, trees, and walls his brushwork is antique and elegant; but the cattle and sheep are extremely detailed. There is one steer that is crossing the water, its body submerged in the water with only its nose and the tips of its horns above water. The effect is very realistic. An inspired work.”³³ This is the only explicit mention of a painting by Lo Chih-ch’uan in a Chinese painting catalogue.

20) A Korean catalogue of 222 paintings in the collection of Yi Yong 李瑤, also known as Prince Anp’yöng 安平大君 (1418–53), compiled by Sin Sukchu 申叔舟 (1417–75) in 1445 records a single painting by Lo Chih-ch’uan entitled *Snowy Mountains* 雪山圖 and notes that the works of Lo “were famous for being unusual and subtle, their character refreshing and new.”³⁴

21) A Japanese catalogue published in 1511, the *Kundaikan-sayū-chōki* 君臺觀左右帳記, contains references to two paintings of Lo Chih-ch'uan. The first, a color painting of egrets and ducks, is likened by the catalogue to the work of Wang Yüan 王淵 (ca. 1280–after 1369).

22) The second painting mentioned in the Japanese catalogue is a monochrome landscape likened to the work of Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) and Chao Yung 趙雍 (ca. 1289–ca. 1362).³⁵

Examined carefully, these sources yield a wide range of information about Lo Chih-ch'uan and his work. Items #1–18 are particularly valuable, since these texts have been transmitted in the collected works of contemporaries of Lo Chih-ch'uan and not as transcriptions from possibly spurious paintings recorded in later painting catalogues.³⁶ Although it is possible that several of the above references may apply to the same painting, a careful examination of the titles and contents of the inscriptions strongly suggests that these references refer to twenty-two different paintings. The following analysis divides the information from these inscriptions into four parts: (1) Lo's life and artistic activities, (2) his artistic affiliations as a painter, (3) his theories of art, and (4) information specifically helpful to the study of *Crows in Old Trees*.

The Yü Chi (1272–1348) inscription, item #9, is the only text that was obviously composed at the same time as the execution of the painting. Yü Chi writes that he first saw Lo Chih-ch'uan paint in Fu-chou when he (Yü) was about twenty, thus about 1292. The implication is that Lo was somewhat older than Yü at that time. The text also states that the painting and the colophon were executed after Yü Chi's retirement and return to the Fu-chou area in 1333. Shimada Shūjirō estimated Lo Chih-ch'uan's life span at "the end of the Sung to about 1340." In light of the Yü Chi colophon, I would tend to accept the 1340 date but suggest that his birth date should be moved back by about a decade. Lo Chih-ch'uan's probable life span was thus about 1265–1340. This difference is important, for it means that Lo Chih-ch'uan would have been in his impressionable teenage rather than childhood years during the fall of the Sung in 1279.

Items #1–10 were all composed by scholars native to the central Kiangsi region. However, Fan P'eng's inscription on a Lo Chih-ch'uan painting of a goose among rushes (#5) provides interesting in-

formation about the dissemination of Lo's works beyond Kiangsi:

I do not see Mr. Lo, and my heart is troubled;
but his paintings have spread widely in the North.
He withdrew long ago to the Land of the
Immortals, and no one acknowledges him now,
just like this goose settled down beside the cold
rushes.

Fan P'eng left Kiangsi for the capital in 1307 and held various posts there for about twenty years prior to his retirement to Hsin-yü. This inscription thus confirms that by the second decade of the fourteenth century Lo's paintings circulated and were known in northern China, by which Fan probably means the Yüan capital at modern Peking.

A comparison of the ages and native places of the writers of these inscriptions reveals four probable stages in the diffusion of Lo's paintings. Local Kiangsi scholars, like the young Yü Chi in 1292, were obviously the first to appreciate Lo's talents. Second, these scholars then carried their appreciation (and doubtless numerous examples of the paintings themselves) with them to the North when they accepted government positions at the Yüan capital in the first decade of the fourteenth century. Inscriptions by the younger group of non-Kiangsi scholars (#11–17) represent a third stage in the spread of Lo's works, when colleagues of these Kiangsi scholars took examples of Lo's works with them home to other regions of the country. Finally, it is probable that the popularity of Lo's paintings in the Yüan capital, referred to in Fan P'eng's inscription, resulted in their diffusion to Korea (#20) and ultimately to Japan (#21–22).³⁷

The inscriptions also give a good sense of the range of the subject matter of Lo's paintings; and they clearly define him as a provincial practitioner of "literati painting" (*shih ta-fu hua* 士大夫畫). For instance, items #6 and 9 reveal that he was active in painting the country estates of locally retired scholars, a genre that was among the earliest subjects of literati painters.³⁸ Likewise characteristic of literati painting is the metaphorical depiction of animals. Fan P'eng's inscription translated above, for instance, shows that he understood the goose as a symbol for the painter himself; and it is likely that Lo's other paintings of animals, like the Metropolitan *Crows*, functioned in similar ways (#5, 19, 21).³⁹

The largest group of inscriptions, however, was recorded on landscape scenes to which the inscriptions attribute eremitic values (#3, 4, 11, 12, 15, 18).

Although the vocabulary of these texts is superficially “Taoist”—standard references to P’eng-lai, T’ao Ch’ien—there can be no doubt that the major commitment of the painter, as reflected in these texts, was toward the values of a Confucian reclusion that are well documented in this period.⁴⁰ That four of the surviving inscriptions derive from the pen of Liu Shen, one of the best-known Kiangsi Confucian recluses of the period, argues for an affinity of values between the poet and the painter.

There are two major aspects to this group of inscriptions on eremitic paintings. First, admiration for Lo’s life-style is expressed through the poetic fiction that he has attained immortality (#5, 11) and that his landscapes are depictions of the dwelling places of the immortals, P’eng-lai or Ying-chou (#3, 5, 11). In the inscription of the Qarluq scholar Nasen (#15), however, this admiration is tinged with a strong expression of regret that a man of Lo’s talents did not lead a more conventionally successful life, a sentiment also found in Fan P’eng’s poem (#5).

Second, one also finds among these texts the indirect association of reclusion with political non-conformity, which is characteristic of Yüan eremitism. Liu Shen’s inscription on Lo’s painting entitled *Village in the Mist* (#4) is the clearest expression of these sentiments, as well as being the best among the examples at hand of the Yüan genre of descriptive poems inscribed on paintings.

The deserted village is silent,
 mists trail through the mountains;
 whose is that rustic shop
 between the two trees,
 its green flag just extending
 beyond the tips of the branches,
 as autumn winds destroy the leaves,
 cold and scattered?
 The road passes by white rocks
 where flowing waters tumble,
 a long bridge dim and distant
 hugs the mountain stream.
 A fisher-woman has gotten her wine
 and looks to be hurrying home;
 with child in hand, they descend to cross the bridge,
 looking like geese alighting.
 Cold creepers on an old tree,
 and then another stream,
 and on a fishing boat food is being prepared,
 the nets hanging up at angles.
 There is fish and there is wine
 and once again a guest—
 with such manner of life

there is no need to be able to write poems.
 A confusion of crows dots
 the evening sky,
 about to land but not yet landed,
 they circle the tall tree.
 Seven or eight small boats
 spread over the shallows,
 some using long oars
 to retrieve fishing gear.

Do you not see
 “the Old Wine Skin” in his single boat
 roaming the five lakes
 and Yen Kuang in his lambskin coat
 fishing at T’ung-lü—
 how do we know these people
 are not their disciples?

Most lines in the poem describe physical details in the painting, obviously a scene of a fishing village on an autumn evening. Yet the details are selected with great attention to their allusive force: the old trees, the rocks, the image of geese alighting, but especially the wine motif—all suggest the recluse theme of the painting. This attention, in turn, highlights the work’s implicit narrative element: a woman has just purchased wine in the village wine-shop and hurries home to join in the evening meal, whose preparation has already begun. The poet’s first authorial intrusion into this descriptive narrative hints strongly at his understanding of the painting: people who enjoy this idyllic life have no need of poetry to enhance their appreciation of existence. The contrast is between the natural ease of the fisher-folk, in their effortless attainment of wine, food, and company, versus the studied reserve of the scholar-poet.

The final two couplets of the poem, however, frame the scene in mild political terms. “The Old Wine Skin” refers to Fan Li 范蠡, a fifth-century B.C. minister of the state of Yüeh. After reviving the fortunes of king and kingdom, Fan Li retired against his sovereign’s wishes into private life and departed for the state of Ch’i. There he amassed a personal fortune and was made minister but resigned once again to preserve his independence and integrity. He moved again to a third state and died honored, wealthy, and free.⁴¹ Yen Kuang 嚴光 was a childhood classmate of the Han emperor Kuang-wu (r. 25–57), but when the latter became emperor, Yen Kuang took up the life of a reclusive fisherman. Discovered by the emperor, Yen eventually agreed to visit the capital, where his relationship to the sovereign was so close that he was even invited to share

the imperial bed. Despite the obvious political advantages to be derived from this intimacy, Yen refused to accept a court position and returned to the life of a fisherman in Tung-lü, Chekiang, where he died happy in old age.⁴²

These concluding references to Fan Li and Yen Kuang underscore the poem's emphasis on the positive values of eremitism. The poem is not specifically anti-Yüan; it lauds rather the integrity of these two worthies, who managed not only to maintain individual honor in spite of their close contact with ultimate power but also to escape that power with honor and integrity and life intact. It is of course impossible to know how well Liu Shen's poem reflects the values of Lo Chih-ch'uan's painting; but the poet's status as one of the premier recluses of his age and his obvious affection for the painter would suggest that his poem is a sympathetic and informed reading of the painting.

Other inscriptions (#7, 13, 17, 19, 21-22) provide opinions about Lo's painting style and artistic affiliations. The most detailed of these is the colophon of Lin Pi (#17):

In the painting to the right by Lo Chih-ch'uan, the sloping banks, the trees, and rocks all have the flavor of Ching Hao and Kuan T'ung; but the mountains and the human figures resemble those of Ma Yüan, perhaps because Lo combined the styles of many people. Two figures sit in a boat dressed in the great robes of scholars with kerchiefs; their writing brushes, holders, and tea stove are clear in all details. Could they be disciples of Chang Chih-ho? Indeed, Chih-ch'uan is a painter from whom one can obtain the taste of life in retirement.

Lin Pi seems to make two observations about Lo Chih-ch'uan's painting, the first about its style, the second about its content.

Stylistically, Lo was an eclectic and "combined the styles of many people." There are two major sources of this composite style: his banks, trees, and rocks derive from the Li Ch'eng/Kuo Hsi tradition, here represented by the tenth-century originators of that style, Ching Hao 荆浩 and Kuan T'ung 關同. On the other hand, both the floating, indistinct mountain silhouettes and the detailed, precisely drawn human figures derive from the style of the Southern Sung Academy painter Ma Yüan 馬遠. In connection with Lin Pi's description of Lo's composite style, one may recall two contrasting comparisons from the above inscriptions: (1) Chieh Hsi-ssu's (item #7) comparison of Lo Chih-ch'uan to the late Northern Sung

painter Chao Ling-jang 趙令穰 (active 1070-1100), known for the soft, indistinct quality of his misty river scenes, and (2) Hu Chu's (item #13) remark that Lo's paintings were "detailed and distinct (*tien-chui fen-ming* 點綴分明) like those of Kuo Hsi." Lin Pi's colophon resolves these seemingly contrary characterizations and well describes the composite style of *Crows in Old Trees*, and particularly the Cleveland album leaf (Figure 3).

The reference to Chang Chih-ho 張志和 does not refer to the style of the painting but rather to the life-style that Lin Pi imputes to the figures in the painting and ultimately to the values he perceives the painter himself to have held. Chang was a mid-T'ang landscape painter who first served in the Han-lin Academy but left his position to become a reclusive fisherman; but "he never baited his hook when he went fishing, for his mind was not on the fish." Interestingly, Li Te-yü 李德裕 (787-850) compared him directly to Yen Kuang and attributed to him the latter's combination of integrity in public life and fame in reclusion.⁴³ So understood, the references in the colophon all serve to underscore the independence of Lo Chih-ch'uan, both in the eclectic nature of his painting style and in the eremitic values of his life.

We are fortunate to possess another text (not included in the above list) that purports to record Lo's theory of painting and an analysis of his style in his own words. This is a free-style poem entitled "Presented to Lo Chih-ch'uan for His Excellence in Painting" 羅稚川善畫作此贈之 by Chao Wen, a Kiangsi native and early Yüan education official.⁴⁴

When I look between Heaven and Earth,
everything I see is a painting or a poem.

In Yü-ch'uan are two members of the Lo clan
whose paintings are among the most handsome in
the world.

The Elder Lo is known far and wide for his poetry;
the Junior Lo has artistic inspirations that well up
inside him,

and he has no choice but to express them through
painting:

when you wield your brush, the creative power of
nature is shattered;

when you moisten your ink, the primal energy flows
richly.

Ah! On one occasion my old eyes got to view your
paintings;

and as my hands held them, some questions came to
my mind,

so I asked you, "What painters have there been
since Antiquity?"

Which master have you followed for this painting today?"

And you answered, "I use my eyes as my hands; and the myriad things between Heaven and Earth are my teacher.

Thus I am able to attain their meaning and inner order.

For their forms, I take the visible manifestation but particularize the surface appearance.

When a painting is completed, I really don't know if it looks like an actual scene or not; everyone, after all, has eyes of his own, and cannot be deceived.

We may compare the process to the way Ch'an seeks deliverance, but attachment to the Buddhas and Patriarchs is not delusion."

I have composed this poem to call attention to these eyes of the future that shall sweep away Hsü Hsi and Kuo Hsi.

In light of Lin Pi's observations on the eclectic nature of Lo's style, it is surely significant that in this exchange Lo declines to name any former masters as his models. Rather, "the myriad things of Heaven and Earth" or the physical objects of the visible world are his models. His goal is to express in painting both the "meaning" (*i* 意) and "inner order" (*li* 理) of the objects he portrays. The first term refers to the deeper significance of an object, to the analogical or metaphorical values that individual objects of the physical world were thought to possess. The second refers to the relationship of objects to each other, to the principles that Sung Neo-Confucianism sought to discern in the flux of Heaven and Earth. Although Lo takes the visible world as his starting point, he "particularizes the surface appearance" (*'e ch'i pi* 特其皮). I understand this phrase to mean that, although Lo takes his models directly from nature, he does not paint nature directly: the surface appearance of any given tree, rock, or mountain in a specific painting is particularized from the sum total of all the real trees, rocks, or mountains he has directly observed from nature. Thus even when the work is completed he is unable to say whether the total resembles any actual scene or not. His concern is only to express "meaning" and "inner order."

To clarify his theory, Lo draws an analogy with Ch'an Buddhism. He focuses on the Ch'an contrast between "delusion" (*ch'ih* 癡, Sanskrit *moha*), "to be misled by appearances, taking the seeming for the real," and *t'ou-t'o* 透脫, "deliverance, escape from worldly attachments."⁴⁵ The latter term is a euphe-

mism for enlightenment and is often paired in Ch'an literature with terms for freedom and independence from reliance on perceived phenomena, thus *t'ou-t'o tzu-tsai* 自在, "delivered and independent" or *t'ou-t'o wu-i* 無依, "delivered and without reliance."⁴⁶ The phrase refers to the self-sustaining and independent quality of the enlightened mind. Attachment to the Buddhas and Patriarchs is a necessary first condition in the quest for a deliverance that ultimately frees the Ch'an adept of all attachments, including attachment to the delusion of perceived reality and attachment to the Buddhas and Patriarchs themselves. In Lo's metaphor, visible reality must always be the starting point for the painter, just as devotion (i.e., attachment) to the Buddhas and Patriarchs is essential for the Ch'an novice. But the goal of both the religious novice and the novice painter is to transcend this initial dependence and attain a higher order of perception. From this new vantage point they perceive the meaning and inner order behind the surface appearance of reality and are freed at the same time from their earlier dependence on that same reality. For the painter and for the Ch'an adept, visible reality is both a delusion and the starting point for escape from that delusion. Thus the Ch'an master Lin-chi (d. 867) advises his students to "kill the Buddhas and Patriarchs, for only then shall you attain escape, be free of the visible world, delivered and independent."⁴⁷ In a similar iconoclastic and paradoxical vein Chao Wen writes that Lo Chih-ch'uan's paintings "shattered the creative power of Nature," even though Lo himself could state that "the myriad things between Heaven and Earth are my teacher."

Finally, the inscriptions listed above allow us to determine that the image of crows circling or perching on a large tree was a common motif in the works of Lo Chih-ch'uan. A couplet from the colophon of Liu Shen translated above (#4) describes precisely the scene of the Metropolitan painting:

A confusion of crows dots
the evening sky,
about to land but not yet landed,
they circle the tall tree.

The quatrain of Liu Jen-pen (#16) on the winter scene of four album leaves by Lo Chih-ch'uan likewise featured a slightly different crow motif:

An unusual rock—a squatting salt-white tiger—
a leafless stump—a suspended jade-white dragon:
hungry crows perch in rows,
no place to peck out the cold crickets.

The rock that looks like a tiger in white salt and the stump that looks like a suspended white dragon are clichés that describe abundant snowfall. In this poem the snowfall prevents the crows from ferreting out and consuming the crickets upon which they usually feed.

THE COLD FOREST

We move now to a consideration of the major iconographic elements of *Crows in Old Trees* and begin with the trees.

The metaphorical equivalence of trees and human beings occurs in Chinese culture as early as the Chou period (1122–256 B.C.) and continues into modern times.⁴⁸ Unlike in the West, however, where such equivalence also exists, in China this basic analogy developed into a complex, interrelated system of motifs that forms the background not only to *Crows in Old Trees* but also to the subgenre of Chinese landscape painting known as “Cold Forest” (*Han-lin* 寒林).⁴⁹ Relevant aspects of this diverse system include: first, a series of specific analogies between various species of trees and differing moral qualities and abilities of human beings; second, the concept of the forest or grove as an assembly of human beings; and third, the concept of the perch or “spot” in a tree or grove as a “spot” or position, either generally in society or specifically in government service.

For Mencius (372–289 B.C.), both “tall trees” (*ch'iao-mu* 喬木) and families able to produce trusted ministers generation after generation distinguish a great and ancient state.⁵⁰ Mencius took this expression for lofty trees and lofty men from the famous Chou dynasty *Classic of Poetry* (*Shih-ching* 詩經), and *ch'iao-mu* retained this possibility of dual reference throughout the course of traditional Chinese culture. In painting, the term occurs in the titles of works that usually feature a massive central tree that dominates the composition, often with one or two smaller trees in attendance to suggest the durability of the “tall tree” across generations. Among the best-known examples is *Old Trees, Bamboo, and Rocks* attributed to Li K'an 李衍 (1245–1320) in the Indianapolis Museum of Art, a work that Richard Barnhart describes as perhaps “the starkest and most powerful image of old trees surviving from the Yuan period” (Figure 5).⁵¹ This work, and the other paintings related to it, focus on the majesty, dura-

bility, and reliability of the Mencian equivalence of the great tree and the great man.

Among the clearest expressions of this equivalence in the theoretical literature on Chinese painting is Kuo Ssu's 郭思 (d. after 1123) account of his father Kuo Hsi's 郭熙 (ca. 1000–ca. 1090) *Pines Fill the View* (*I wang sung* 一望松):

My father took over two feet of a narrow piece of silk and made an old man leaning on a staff in front of a precipice under a large pine. Behind this point he painted innumerable pines, large and small in relative sequence. In a gorge below a twisting range there were several thousand pines in one uninterrupted view. Throughout the past there never had been a compositional arrangement [*pu-chih* 布置] of this sort. This painting was made for the [60th or 80th?] birthday of Wen Yen-po [1006–97, a long-term minister, enfeoffed], duke of Lu. The idea was to express the wish that his sons and grandsons become dukes and ministers in unbroken succession. The duke of Lu was greatly pleased.⁵²

Although Kuo Hsi invented the specific compositional arrangement (*pu-chih*) of this work to honor the birthday of Wen Yen-po, the painter was drawing on long-established correspondences between the great tree and the great man and the great tree as father to the forest.

Certainly the most influential passage on trees in early Chinese literature is the dictum of Confucius (551–479 B.C.) in *Analects* 9.28: “Only when the year turns cold is the point brought home that the pine and the cypress are the last to fade.” The pre-T'ang commentaries to this passage spell out its various assumptions and implications. The pine and cypress stand for the inner virtues of the superior man (*chün-tzu* 君子); the “common trees” (*chung-mu* 衆木) stand for the inferior man (*hsiao-jen* 小人). The *yang* 陽 seasons of spring and summer represent the peaceful reign of a good ruler; the *yin* 陰 seasons of autumn and winter are the chaotic reign of the bad ruler. During the warm seasons, when all the trees of the forest flourish green together, it is difficult to distinguish the unequal qualities of each variety. But when the cold seasons come, the inferior man is the first to abandon principle, just as the common trees are the first to wither and fade. But the same cold brings out the inner qualities of the pine and cypress, the superior man who abides by his virtues in adverse times. Thus does the cold distinguish the superior from the inferior man.⁵³ *Analects* 9.28 was reformulated countless times throughout the course

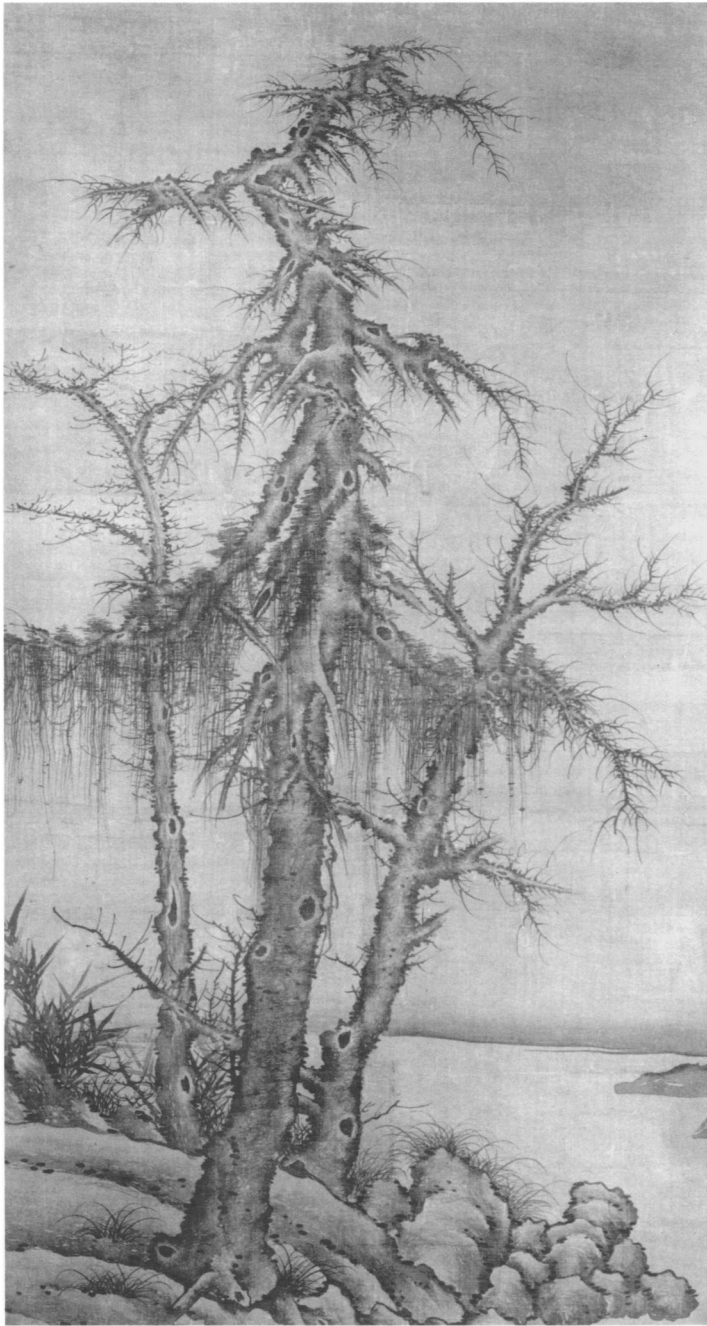


Figure 5. Attributed to Li K'an (1245–1320), *Old Trees, Bamboo, and Rocks*. Ink on silk, 159.4 x 85.7 cm. Indianapolis Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Eli Lilly (photo: Indianapolis Museum of Art)

of Chinese literature. Typical is the hope and consolation that the T'ang poet Ch'en Tzu-ang 陳子昂 (661–702) offered to a colleague dismissed into political exile: "The lone pine rights the close of year; but common trees love the fragrant spring" (*Ku sung i wan sui, chung-mu ai fang ch'ün* 孤松宜晚歲, 衆木愛芳春).⁵⁴

Paintings of large trees, especially pines, were often inscribed and presented as tokens of friendship. This symbolic import of the pine is most evi-

dent in the subgenre of paintings known as "Twin Pines" (*Shuang-sung* 雙松), where the doubling of the pine tree is clearly meant to suggest the indestructible union of the two parties. An early work of Wu Chen 吳鎮 (1280–1354), inscribed in the spring of 1328 and presented to a Taoist priest, is a classic example of the category (Figure 6).⁵⁵ Wu Chen has further reinforced the association of union by painting the two pines in a way that suggests an image of "trees with interlocking branches"



Figure 6. Wu Chen (1280–1354), *Twin Pines*, dated 1328. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 180.1 x 111.4 cm. Taipei, Collection of the National Palace Museum (photo: National Palace Museum)



Figure 7. Ts'ao Chih-po (1272–1355), *Twin Pines*, dated 1329. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 132.1 x 57.4 cm. Taipei, Collection of the National Palace Museum (photo: National Palace Museum)

(*lien-li mu* 連理木), a well-known omen of harmony and intimacy. This motif interacts with the open, springlike atmosphere of the background landscape to create a painting that expresses the strong, optimistic, and joyous character of the friendship.

The *Twin Pines* of Ts'ao Chih-po 曹知白 (1272–1355) creates a quite different impression (Figure 7).⁵⁶ Here the pines share a misty, autumnal forest with other, mostly deciduous and smaller trees. An oppressive and confining pall closes off the scene from the outside world, in stark contrast to the

openness and joy of Wu Chen's pines. Ts'ao's own inscription dates the painting to 1329 and records that it was "sent far away to Shih-mo Po-shan as an embodiment of my feelings for him" (*yüan chi Shih-mo Po-shan i yü hsiang ssu* 遠寄石末伯善以寓相思).⁵⁷ Three inscriptions by later scholars allow us to pinpoint the impression the work made on contemporary viewers. The opening couplet by Wang Ch'en 王臣 of Lü-ling reads: "The Han parks and Ch'in palaces are filled with rain and dew, / but these two people maintain their stand, embracing the

clean breeze" (*Han yüan Ch'in kung yü lu t'ung*, *shuang shen hsiu li pao ch'ing feng* 漢苑秦宮雨露通, 雙身修立抱清風). This couplet establishes both the metaphorical and the political context of the painting: Wang Ch'en saw the pines standing for Ts'ao Chih-po and Shih-mo Po-shan, and he saw the forest standing for the court or for government service in general, here referred to anachronistically as "Han parks and Ch'in palaces." The "clean breeze" refers to an official who has maintained his honesty and integrity until retirement. This idea is expressed again in the inscription of Sung Lien 宋濂 (1310–81), who writes that the painting

contains the idea of moral integrity that braves the year's cold (*sui han* 歲寒). I had received the honor of an official appointment but found the service too hectic, and so I returned home where I could savor this painting again.

Yet a third inscription refers to the "atmosphere of rectitude . . . that braves the snow and frost without bending and is no different from Po I and Shu Ch'i." This mention of the famous political recluses of antiquity completes the picture's frame of metaphorical references. Ts'ao is thus expressing his admiration for Shih-mo Chi-tsu, whose honesty and integrity during difficult times surpass that of his peers, and the painting becomes an expression of solidarity with Shih-mo Chi-tsu and an "embodiment" or, better, a "lodging" (*yü*) of Ts'ao's feelings for him. Although we do not know if the painting was given on the occasion of Shih-mo's retirement, or more likely sometime during his retirement, the writers of the three inscriptions clearly saw the painting as expressive of eremitic values.

Once one could talk about trees in the forest and at the same time refer to men, the image of the forest or grove (*lin* 林) soon followed as a metaphor for a collection of greater and lesser human talents. The *Shuo-wen* dictionary of the second century A.D. defines *lin* as "an assemblage of trees on level ground,"⁵⁸ but the term was routinely used to refer metaphorically to collections other than arboreal ones. Thus Ssu-ma Ch'ien writes of "the forest of errors made in our time."⁵⁹ In his famous "Letter to Jen An," he writes that "if a man possesses these five [inner moral] qualities, then he may entrust himself to the world and take his place among the forest of superior men [*chün-tzu chih lin*]."⁶⁰ So strongly did this metaphor appeal to Ssu-ma Ch'ien that he entitled his biographies of Confucian scholars the *Ju-lin* 儒林, a formulation that reappeared in

the T'ang as *Han-lin* 翰林, the "forest of brushes," to designate the emperor's personal collection of litterateurs, calligraphers, and painters.

There is little doubt that this conception of the forest as an assemblage of "brushes" goes back to the imperial hunting parks of antiquity, the most famous being the Shang-lin yüan 上林苑 of Ch'in and Han times. Edward Schafer has pointed out that the proper interpretation of *shang-lin* is "Supreme Forest" or "Forest of the High One" and that the attempt to include exotic flora and fauna from the far corners of the empire within the confines of "His Majesty's Forest" is best understood as an attempt metaphorically to represent the greater macrocosm of the empire in the microcosm of the park.⁶¹ The "forest" was a model of "all under Heaven."

Standard commentaries to the classic texts, principally to the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shih-ching*), reinforced such associations for traditional readers and viewers. For example, the ode Mao #192 contains the following couplet:

Look there to the middle of the forest,
there is only kindling and firewood.

Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (127–200), in his standard commentary, interprets this as follows: "The middle of the forest is the place of the great trees, but there is only kindling and firewood. This is a figure for the Court that should have men of worth but congregates only inferior men."⁶² In other words, the forest (Court) should have large trees (great men) at its center, but now has only brushwood (inferior men).

A similar allusive structure is behind the T'ang commentary to the following lines from the Han dynasty *Songs of the South* (*Ch'u-tz'u*). These are among the most famous passages on autumn in Chinese literature:

August Heaven divides the four seasons equally,
but I grieve only at the frigid autumn,
when the white dew falls on the hundred grasses
and covers and wounds the *t'ung* and catalpa.

According to the T'ang commentary, "the hundred grasses have already faded, but these sorrows likewise afflict the *t'ung* and catalpa. The hundred grasses are a figure for the common people; the trees of the forest are a figure for worthy men."⁶³

There is also evidence that the metaphorical extension of trees to men was not limited to literature but formed a part of daily discourse. The Han official K'ung Kuang 孔光 (65–5 B.C.) was known for his reluctance to discuss government matters out-

side the office and even forbade the women of his household to gossip about the Court. One day someone tried to draw him out by asking, "What is the quality of the wood in the trees in the palace courtyard?" But K'ung Kuang refused the invitation even to speak in metaphors and quickly changed the subject.⁶⁴

We cannot enter here into a full discussion of the "Cold Forest" in Sung painting, except to stress that the theme is closely related to *Crows in Old Trees* and to the metaphorical systems of reference that have been examined above. As is well known, the origin of the theme is usually traced to the Five Dynasties painter Li Ch'eng 李成 (919–67); and indeed the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* 宣和畫譜, the 1120 catalogue of the Northern Sung imperial collection, lists twenty-one Li Ch'eng paintings variously titled *Han-lin*.⁶⁵ During the Sung there arose the tradition that Li Ch'eng had used the allegorical techniques of poetry to express in painting his frustration at failure in official life.⁶⁶ The fullest development of this idea occurs in the 1167 *Hua-chi* 畫繼 of Teng Ch'un 鄧椿, in which Li Ch'eng's frustrations are directly linked to the Cold Forest theme:

Li Ch'eng was a scholar of great talent and ample learning. He had great ambitions when young and took the examinations many times without passing. In the end he was not successful and so expressed this meaning through his painting. The Cold Forests that he painted were often set among crags and caves and showed signs of cutting and pruning, thereby to serve as a figure for the gentleman [*chün-tzu*] out of office. The remaining vegetation [he painted] entirely on level ground, thereby to serve as a figure for the inferior man [*hsiao-jen*] in office. His meanings were quite subtle.⁶⁷

Teng Ch'un's ideas about Li Ch'eng's *Han-lin* paintings seem clear enough: trees painted among "crags and caves," the last a common metaphor for the recluse, stand for the adversity experienced by the man of principle when out of government office; trees painted on level ground stand for the comfort of the inferior man in undeserved office.

One should also note that the *Pi-fa chi* 筆法記 by Ching Hao, an immediate predecessor of Li Ch'eng, contains a passage that contrasts the easy life of trees that "form groves" with the difficult but independent life of those that "crouch by themselves as if to keep their own creeds within themselves."⁶⁸ We can, of course, never know if Li Ch'eng actually

painted Cold Forests with such allegorical meanings in mind. However, most *Han-lin* paintings attributed to Li Ch'eng, those that are routinely used to reconstruct his style, postdate Teng Ch'un's comments on Li Ch'eng's Cold Forests. In other words, by the mid-twelfth century it had become part of the accepted lore about Li Ch'eng that his Cold Forests participated directly and specifically in that system of metaphorical values by which trees stood for men; and this belief then became fact for later followers of his style, such as Lo Chih-ch'uan.

Also part of this system of reference is the metaphorical extension of the image of the tree as a perch for birds. In this late-Chou conception, the great tree is not only the great official but also the state position he occupies and the protection or shelter that that position can provide for others. One touchstone passage is the opening of *Shih-ching*, Mao #165:

Ting, ting—they chop the trees;
ying, ying—the birds cry out.
From the dark valley
they move to the high trees.
Ying they cry out,
seeking the voice of their companions.

In the Han dynasty Mao/Cheng commentary this ode is a celebration of political friendship. Small birds, frightened by the noise of tree felling, flee the low valley for the safety of the higher trees, those that have made the journey first calling out to guide those that would follow: "thus the superior man, although he has been promoted to high office, does not forget his friends."⁶⁹ Mencius paraphrased the second couplet, using the image of the birds moving from the valley to the high trees to represent men who abandon barbarian mores for the loftier virtues of Chinese civilization: "I have heard of coming out of the dark ravine to settle on a tall tree, but not of forsaking the tall tree to descend into the dark ravine."⁷⁰

A similar conception stands behind another touchstone passage on perching. In 484 B.C. Confucius, upon being asked an inappropriate question by the ruler of Wei, decided to leave that state, saying, "It is the bird that should choose the tree; how can the tree choose the bird."⁷¹ Confucius, referring to himself, makes the bird a metaphor for a servitor with the freedom to choose his own country of service. From these early references there evolved the traditional correspondence between a large tree, as

a safe place for birds to roost or nest, and a politically secure position. Typical is the passage in P'an Yüeh's 潘岳 (247–300) “*Fu on My Westward Journey*,” in which the author describes his difficulties in a time of changing political fortunes: “Without choosing the right nest in which to roost, / Few birds can survive a forest fire.”⁷²

Proof that such conceptions could provide a flexible system of coded references can be found in a *Kuo yü* 國語 (*Conversations of the States*) narrative concerning the fortunes of Duke Hsien of Chin. The duke captured the daughter of a barbarian chief and made her his consort. She became known as Lady Li; they had a son named Hsi-ch'i. Lady Li slandered the existing heir, Shen-sheng, and then plotted to have the duke kill Shen-sheng and install her own son as heir. Of the duke's three ministers, one supported Lady Li, one was opposed, and the third, one Li K'o, was undecided. Lady Li enlisted the aid of Actor Shih to neutralize Li K'o. The actor invited Li K'o to a banquet, at which he sang the following song to him:

You, contented gentleman, aloof and solitary,
no match for the flock of crows:
while others gather in the flourishing trees,
you perch alone on a withered branch.

When Li K'o asked the meaning of “flourishing trees” and “withered branch,” the actor responded that Lady Li was the duke's favorite consort and her son was a lord, so that their situation was that of a “flourishing tree.” Shen-sheng, on the other hand, was in disgrace; his mother was dead. He was a “withered branch.” Naturally, the poem intends to warn Li K'o of the precariousness of his perch on the withered branch of Shen-sheng and urge upon him the wisdom of joining the flock of crows in the flourishing trees.⁷³ The structure of the system of metaphors employed here is similar to those of later texts: the body politic is seen as a forest or grove; officials and courtiers are birds that gather and nest in the grove; various perches are preferable to others. Actor Shih formulates the political alternatives facing Li K'o as a contrast between perching in flourishing trees (*yüan* 苑) or on a withered branch (*ku* 枯). The image of the withered tree (*ku-mu* 枯木, or *ku-mu* 古木, the two expressions being often interchangeable) is a universal symbol in traditional China both for personal or political decline or both and for moral resistance to that decline.⁷⁴

Modern ornithologists count about a dozen species of pheasants native to modern China; traditional Chinese lexicographers, covering a smaller geographical area but not aware of the identity of many subspecies, counted fourteen.⁷⁵ The most widespread of these is the common ring-necked pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*), an import from China well known in the eastern United States. The bird is often depicted in Chinese painting (Figure 10). From a literary point of view, the most important of the traditional Chinese pheasants was the golden pheasant (*Chrysolophus pictus*; Chinese *pieh* 鷩, *chin chi* 錦鷄, *chin chi* 金鷄, *shan chi* 山鷄).⁷⁶ From a cultural point of view, this most spectacularly colored of all the Chinese pheasants became the quintessential expression of qualities and virtues attributed to pheasants in general; and golden pheasants also are often so pictured in Chinese painting (see Figure 9).

As with trees and other members of the plant kingdom, various animals were also organized according to perceived characteristics into a complex and nuanced system of metaphorical reference. As readers of the *Shih-ching* know, birds played an especially prominent role in this system, perhaps because of the importance of avian totemism in early China. The *Tso-chuan* (*Commentary of Tso*), under the year 525 B.C., records that Shao Hao, a legendary sovereign, named the offices of his government after birds and arranged these offices after patterns of organization he observed from the avian world; Confucius is reported to have approved of the system.⁷⁷ In a slightly different vein, the philosopher Chuang-tzu (369–286 B.C.?) refers to the life of a court official as “playing in the bird cage,” an image that remained in later literature as a metaphor for the intellectually and often physically confining nature of official life.⁷⁸ For Chuang-tzu the pheasant personifies this reluctance to be caged:

The swamp pheasant has to walk ten paces for one peck and a hundred paces for one drink, but it doesn't want to be kept in a cage. Though you treat it like a king, its spirit won't be content.⁷⁹

The expression *keng-chieh* 耿介 “constant and firm,” a phrase that first occurs in the *Ch'u-tzu*, defines this pugnacious fighting spirit of the pheasant. It denotes there the upright official who stubbornly

adheres to a strict observance of the rites and opposes the popular compromises of smaller men. This tenacity is best exercised in the context of the loyalty to death of the servitor for his lord. *Keng-chieh* thus has overtones of aloofness, stubbornness, and unconventionality; and it is a prime character trait of the poetic voices in the *Ch'u-tz'u*. *Keng-chieh* is, in short, the personality of Ch'ü Yüan (340–278 B.C.?), the central figure of the *Ch'u-tz'u*, although the term is never applied to him directly in the text.⁸⁰

The association of a “constant and firm” personality with the pheasant occurs in a number of Han dynasty works, always as commentary on a passage in the ritual texts that specifies pheasants as the appropriate offering for a “gentleman” (*shih* 士) to take when presenting himself on a visit.⁸¹ Typical of these comments is that of the first-century A.D. *Po-hu t'ung* 白虎通:

The gentleman takes the pheasant as his present because the pheasant cannot be enticed with food [i.e., salary] nor intimidated with awesome might; it will die before consenting to being reared in captivity. [Just so] the conduct of the gentleman is constant and firm [*keng-chieh*]; he maintains his loyalty [*shou-chieh* 守節] unto death and does not transfer it.⁸²

The term *shou-chieh* used in this passage may also refer to the loyalty of a woman to the memory of her dead husband. These resonances establish a second metaphorical equivalent for the passage: just as a woman expresses loyalty to her deceased husband through her refusal to remarry, so the loyal servitor retires upon the death of his sovereign and is not enticed by salary or awed by might into the service of another master. As we shall shortly see, these implications of pheasant symbolism became widespread in medieval poetry and assumed an obvious and special significance during the Sung-Yüan transition.

The use of pheasants as insignia on the court robes of emperors and officials was a visual expression of the force of the metaphor that linked the steadfastness and constancy of the pheasant with the Chinese imperium. Thus the *Chou-li* records that at certain banquets and ceremonies the Son of Heaven wore robes decorated with images of the golden pheasant, a practice that continued through the early T'ang.⁸³ Also well established by T'ang times was the system that designated the rank of an official on the nine-tiered civil-service ladder (*chiu p'in* 九品) with images of different birds on their



Figure 8. Rank badge with golden pheasant insignia for a civil officer of the second class, Ch'ing dynasty, 18th–19th century. Tapestry weave in red, orange, yellow, green, blue, and wrapped-gold silks with painted stripes on the neck, 30.5 x 32 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift, 1960, 60.98.8

official robes. Already in T'ang times, the golden pheasant indicated a second-class official, an equation that persisted through the famous “Mandarin squares” of late-imperial times into the twentieth century (Figure 8).⁸⁴

References to pheasants in Chinese poetry center on the “Music Bureau” (*Yüeh-fu* 樂府) title “Pheasants Fly at Dawn” (*Chih chao fei* 雉朝飛). There are two explanations of the origin of this title and both relate the pheasant to marital constancy. Tu Mu-tzu 犢牧子 was a recluse in the Warring States kingdom of Ch'i. Still unmarried at age fifty (some texts say seventy), he went out to gather firewood and saw pheasants flying together in pairs. The sight moved him to sorrow at his own loneliness; and he lamented that only he had failed to receive his sovereign's grace, which extended even to the plants and animals. He then composed the following lines:

Pheasants fly at dawn,
 their voices calling to each other,
 males and females together
 on the mountain slopes.
 It is my fate alone
 to be without a wife.
 Time moves on, and there is nothing I can do;
 Alas, there is nothing I can do.⁸⁵

The second explanation traces the origin of the title to the duenna of a daughter of the king of Wei. The girl had been betrothed to a prince of Ch'i, and, on the journey to her new home, she and her duenna learned that the prince had died. After attending his funeral in Ch'i, the girl committed suicide. While the duenna grieved at her tomb, a male and a female pheasant appeared, and the woman realized that her charge and the prince had been transformed into pheasants. The pheasants flew away, and the woman composed the song "Pheasants Fly at Dawn" to express her sorrow.⁸⁶ Both origins of this *yüeh-fu* title therefore link the images of pheasants in male-female pairs to aspects of marital fidelity. In the first of these two stories, the example is negative, and Tu Mu-tzu's loneliness is vaguely attributed to a fall from political grace. In the second case, the example is positive, the loyalty of the betrothed to her future husband's memory being the agent that transforms them into the blissful pheasant pair that so depressed Tu Mu-tzu.⁸⁷

The following poem by the Southern Sung official Ts'ao Hsün 曹勛 (1098–1174) calls upon the origin of the *yüeh-fu* title in Tu Mu-tzu's "Pheasants Fly at Dawn":

You pheasants fly at dawn,
the sounds of your voices follow one another.
In the morning you wash your feathers,
in the evening you feed your young.
Although there may be wind and rain,
never do you part in separation.
Alas for we humans
who have not done as you do.⁸⁸

The key to this poem is the lament in the last couplet and the term *p'i-li* 仳離 "to part, separate, divorce," a rare expression that also occurs in *Shih-ching* Mao #69, where it describes a woman forced by bad political conditions to separate from her husband.⁸⁹ Ts'ao's use of this phrase would have alerted contemporary readers toward possible Southern Sung parallels, wind and rain being a common metaphor for political disturbance. The last couplet implies that an application of some human initiative might end the separation: we have not behaved the way the pheasants do, but we could.⁹⁰

Naturally, the positive image of the pheasant as constant and firm was also turned into a counter-image, an "anti-pheasant," whose very virtues lead to his downfall. A beautiful expression of this sentiment is the first of an eight-poem series, "Moved to Incitation" (*Kan-hsing* 感興), by Fang K'uei 方夔.

Fang was a Chekiang native who, despite failed attempts to pass the examinations at the end of the Sung, remained loyal to the Sung cause and became a recluse in the early Yüan. He is an exact contemporary of Lo Chih-ch'uan.

Mottled and speckled are the pheasants of the forest,
cocks and hens together in morning sunlight.
Drumming their wings, they do not fly far
among the mountain fields, fertile with young wheat.

They eat and drink within a hundred paces
and return before dusk, following one another.
In spring they feed all the young chicks
till, full-grown, each flies off on its own.

In all the expanse of the wide world
I grieve for the smallness of your life:
till the end of the road you hold to a single track
and die among mushrooms and wild peas.⁹¹

The first two quatrains of this bitter poem ridicule the constant and firm virtues of the pheasant: the hundred paces of freedom that Chuang-tzu's pheasant preferred to the cage becomes here a metaphor for the smallness of the pheasant's world. It is the ambiguities of the last couplet, however, that express the depths of Fang K'uei's despair. Mushrooms are symbols of both imperial kindness and immortality; Po I and Shu Ch'i, the famous recluses of antiquity, starved to death on Shou-yang mountain gathering wild peas.⁹² In other words, the constant and firm imprison themselves by their narrow pursuit of a single track that leads only to death among ironized symbols of immortality and virtue.

Fang K'uei's poem is a variation on a long-standing tradition that views the pheasant as vulnerable because of the beautiful pattern of its coloration. And when pheasant qualities stand for human qualities, the outer beauty of the bird stands for the inner accomplishments of the man. The golden pheasant is sometimes called the "patterned avian" (*wen-ch'in* 文禽) with obvious connotations of "literary/cultured avian." This beauty can result in both self-pride and the envy of others. The *Po-wu chih* 博物志 of Chang Hua 張華 (232–300) records that golden pheasants could become so vain they would gaze at the beauty of their own reflection in the water until they became disoriented, fell into the water, and drowned. In a similar vein, the Reeves pheasant (*Syrnaticus reevesii*) could become so solicitous of his long tail that when there was snow on the



Figure 9. Attributed to Emperor Hui-tsung (1082–1135), *Golden Pheasant and Hibiscus*. Hanging scroll, ink on silk. Peking, Palace Museum (photo: Palace Museum)

ground he would roost only in tall trees, refusing to descend to eat, and so starve to death.⁹³ A Northern Sung commentator on this passage observes:

This is because *wen* [culture, literariness] is a thing that can drown you. We can see therefore that when a scholar becomes a man of the world he must disregard his own beauty and never allow his *wen* to destroy his *chih* [substance, content] and so become disoriented. The golden pheasant is the most beautifully colored of the birds. And yet he dies for this beauty because others despise the beauty that he has.⁹⁴

The tone here is cautionary: develop *wen* but do not imitate the error of the golden pheasant whose display of beauty attracts the envy of others.

Considering the centrality of the virtues represented by the pheasant to Chinese elite culture, it is hardly surprising that pheasants are among the species most often represented in “bird and flower”

painting. Among the best known of these paintings is the *Golden Pheasant and Hibiscus* (*Chin-chi fu-jung t'u* 錦鷄芙蓉圖) in the Palace Museum, Peking, attributed to the Sung emperor Hui-tsung (r. 1101–26) (Figure 9). The inscription on the painting, in the calligraphic style of the emperor, reads as follows:

His autumn strength wards off the fearsome frost,
with lofty cap, the brocade-feathered fowl:
his knowledge complete, perfect in the Five Virtues,
in ease and rest he surpasses the ducks and
widgeons.

This complex poem makes use of several polysemous references to establish the pheasant as a figure



Figure 10. Unknown artist, Sung dynasty (960–1279), *Flowers, Birds, and Two Pines*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 182.2 x 106.3 cm. Taipei, Collection of the National Palace Museum (photo: National Palace Museum)

for a man whose unique moral virtue surpasses that of the common crowd (here “ducks and widgeons,” a reference to *Shih-ching*, Mao #248). “Lofty cap” (*e-kuan* 峩冠) refers both to the comb or crest of the pheasant and to the high-topped hats worn by government officials. The “Five Virtues” (*wu-te* 五德) refer both to the famous passage in chapter 31 of the *Chung-yung* 中庸 (*Doctrine of the Mean*) and to a *Han-shih wai-chuan* passage on the five virtues of the pheasant.⁹⁵ The inscription fixes the image of the pheasant as a figure of moral perfection, a symbol of the Five Virtues. One may well imagine this painting as a gift from Hui-tsung, painted either by the emperor himself or by an Academy artist, to a high official, perhaps on the occasion of promotion to second-class rank.⁹⁶

Pheasants in male and female pairs provided images of the marital constancy articulated in the *yüeh-fu* poetry. For example, an anonymous Sung painting depicts a male and female ring-necked pheasant in a composition with two large pines and a pair of azure-winged magpies (*Cyanopica cyanta*) (Figure 10). The magpie is a standard symbol of happiness, most often of marital happiness. Coupled as they are in this painting with the pheasants (as symbols of marital constancy) and the pines (as symbols of long life), one may easily imagine the painting as a wedding gift that says, “May your marriage bring you happiness and long life.”

CROWS—COLD, HUNGRY, AND MOURNFULLY CALLING

If the traditional symbolism of the pheasant was focused and unitary (variations on the single “constant and firm” theme), the traditional symbolism of the crow was fluid and ambiguous. As we have seen, the Chinese tended to view all species of pheasants as sharing the virtues of the golden pheasant, a tendency that prevented the attachment of unique characteristics to each species. Just the opposite happened with crows: some species were associated with the positive values of compassion and filial piety, others with the antitheses of these same values. One reason for this state of affairs was perhaps the existence of a system of divination whereby the cries of the crow were interpreted as either good or bad depending on the time and direction from which they came.⁹⁷

Another reason may have been the relative diver-

sity of the corvid family in China. Unlike in the United States, where the common crow and the raven, both entirely black, are virtually the only members of the genus, China has at least five species of crows. Three are totally black, but two are a combination of white and black. These are the Daurian jackdaw (*Corvus dauuricus*; Chinese *han-ya* 寒鴉, *tz'u ya* 慈鴉, *hsiao wu* 孝烏) and the collared crow (*Corvus torquatus*; Chinese *yen wu* 燕烏, *pai-ching ya* 白頸鴉, *kuei ch'üeh* 鬼雀).⁹⁸ A glance at the names—“filial crow” versus “the ghost bird”—will suffice to indicate how strongly the Chinese distinguished the personalities of these two corvids.

The association of crows with maternal and filial piety derives from the corvid practice of feeding the young from food carried in the gullet or sublingual pouch of the adults, from which it is then regurgitated into the throats of the chicks.⁹⁹ The Chinese believed the mother fed the young in this way for sixty days. When the young were older, they then “reverse regurgitated” (*fan-pu* 反哺), feeding the mother in turn for sixty days.¹⁰⁰ In the Han apocrypha the filial crow is linked to the appearance of albino crows and three-legged crows, which serve as omens of imperial virtue.¹⁰¹ A contrary reference is contained in the *Bird Classic* (*Ch'in ching* 禽經), possibly a Chou dynasty work with commentary by Chang Hua from the third century A.D., which relates that the “white necks [i.e., the collared crow] are not auspicious.” Chang Hua comments that in the southwest they are called “ghost birds” [*kuei ch'üeh*] and that their call portends evil.¹⁰²

This ambiguity and its relation to crow augury can be found in Chinese literature as early as the *Shih-ching*. In Mao #41, the “North Wind,” for example, the speaker urges a companion to flee with him (her?). The crux of the traditional interpretation that reads the poem as a satire against government cruelty centers on the following couplet: “They are all red these foxes,/ they are all black these crows.” The Han commentators understand that both the king and his ministers are equally evil. Chu Hsi elaborates: “Foxes and crows are both creatures of evil omen and things people despise seeing. When one sees only these creatures, then one can know the impending chaos of the state.”¹⁰³ A passage in the Chou dynasty *Kuan-tzu* underscores the sentiments behind these interpretations: “When the relationship between men involves frequent deceitfulness, lack of feeling for truth, and general larceny, it is called the relationship of a flock of crows.”¹⁰⁴

With even greater relevance to Lo's painting, the *Shih-ching* also contains two passages in which flocking crows stand in a political context for the common people. Mao #192, "First Month," is a long satire against government misrule. The third stanza ends with the couplet, "Look there where the crows would stop;/ on whose house will it be?" The Han and T'ang commentators state that crows prefer to roost on the house of a rich man in order to seek food, and "this is a figure for the common people who would take refuge under a sovereign of enlightened virtue in order to seek the blessings of Heaven. These lines mean that since the people have nowhere to take refuge the degree of evil [misrule] is made clear."¹⁰⁵

A second passage, this time specifying not generic "crows" but jackdaws (here called *yü-ssu* 鷲斯), occurs at the beginning of Mao #197, a lament spoken by a ruler's eldest son who has been replaced as heir apparent, sent into exile, and slated for execution:

Joyful are the jackdaws
as they fly home in flocks to rest.
All among the people are happy;
I alone am in misery.

To this the Han commentators write: "The joyful jackdaws that go out to eat their fill in the fields and fly home in flocks to rest are a figure for the fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers, who go in and out the palace, eating, drinking, and being joyful together. He laments that he, the eldest son, is not like that."¹⁰⁶

Summarizing the implications of these *Shih-ching* passages, we find that its ambiguous moral nature and its penchant for gathering in large flocks made the crow an obvious metaphor for the common people. Furthermore, the image of a flock of crows returning home to roost after a day of feeding in the fields expressed the flocks of middling servitors anxious for the security of their salary (i.e., food) and the stability of their office (i.e., perch), both provided through the good rule of the sovereign (i.e., the house of the rich man). In later literature, elements of this metaphor system were used to either positive or negative effect; the *Kuo yü* passage analyzed above, in which flocks of crows in a flourishing grove stand for a political majority that supports a morally expedient policy, is such an example.

One could assemble many examples of T'ang and Sung poems that make use of this metaphor system. One important such poem is Tu Fu's "Gazing Over



Figure 11. Liang K'ai (late 12th–early 13th century), Southern Sung dynasty (1127–1279), *Untitled*. Circular fan painting mounted as an album leaf, ink and light color on silk, 24.6 x 25 cm. Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Gift of Denman Waldo Ross (photo: Harvard University Art Museums)

the Wild Plain" (*Yeh wang* 野望), composed at Ch'in-chou in 759:

In the clear autumn my gaze has no limits;
on the horizon layers of haze rise up.
Distant waters blend with the clean sky;
a solitary town is hidden in the depths of the fog.

The wind returns and drops the remaining leaves
just as the sun sets behind the far mountain.
Why does the lone crane return so late
when the crows of dusk have already filled the
forest?¹⁰⁷

The early commentators of Tu Fu interpreted the last couplet to be a "criticism of the multitude of petty men" (*chi hsiao-jen chung to yeh* 譏小人衆多也), associating the crane with the superior man (*chün-tzu*) and Tu Fu and the crows with the inferior man (*hsiao-jen*). Although this interpretation was later challenged, the image of multitudes of flocking crows in contrast with single or paired birds of more noble species became a standard corvid association.

A painted fan now mounted as an album leaf in the Arthur M. Sackler Museum at Harvard University is perhaps a representation of the final couplet of Tu Fu's poem (Figure 11). Although the leaf is signed Liang K'ai 梁楷 (early 13th century), the



Figure 12. Hou Mao-kung (1522–1620), *Returning Crows*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 69.0 x 30.3 cm. Berlin, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst (photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

work would seem to be an early imitation dating from the late Southern Sung, thus still slightly prior to Lo Chih-ch'uan.¹⁰⁸ In the winter scene a group of (five?) jackdaws clusters around the mound of an eroded bank from which the battered remains of a desiccated tree protrude. A single crane, visible through the central fork of the tree, descends into the scene, as if searching for a place to land. The carefully balanced composition uses the visual momentum of the horizontal tree as a connecting device to contrast the crane in the upper left against the jackdaws in the lower right, the same contrast as in the Tu Fu couplet.

The late Ming painter Hou Mao-kung 侯懋功 (1522–1620) also illustrated this couplet in a painting now in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Berlin. Hou Mao-kung inscribed Tu Fu's couplet, adding that he had "sketched the idea of this couplet for my older brother Pai-ku" (*wei Pai-ku hsiung hsieh-i* 為百谷兄寫意) (Figure 12). One may well imagine the painting as a gift sent to console the recipient over a career disappointment, the analogy being drawn between the crane, the *chün-tzu*, Tu Fu, and Pai-ku beset by the multitudes of jackdaws and "petty men" who have already filled up the "forest."

Two examples of poems slightly posterior to Lo Chih-ch'uan also use an image of crows that is close to the spirit of its use in his painting. The great Yüan/Ming poet Kao Ch'i 高啓 (1336–74) has a poem entitled "Returning Crows" (*Kuei ya* 歸鴉) that echoes Tu Fu's poem:

Caw-cawing, they cry noisily in the evening light,
fighting to land for the night, not fighting to fly.
They do not follow the far-flying swan
and are always first before the wild crane to return.

Through the deserted village the waters flow far
away,
over the old ramparts the slight mist is thin.
I beg to ask of the trees in the cold forest
upon which branch is the best perch?¹⁰⁹

Absent a biographical context, it is difficult to read this poem with confidence. Yet the clear relation of the poem to elements of the metaphor systems discussed above suggests various possible readings. The ambitions of the far-flying swan and crane place them in a superior position to the crows that are content merely to return early to obtain a favorable perch for the night. When perches are understood as positions in the cold forest (*han-lin*), then the poem becomes either a satire against complacency or, more likely, a self-deprecating request for

just such a lowly yet comfortable position.

Another poem that portrays crows, this time jackdaws, against other birds in the setting of a political allegory is “On a Painting of Jackdaws in Old Trees” (*Ku-mu han-ya t'u* 古木寒鴉圖) by the Ming scholar Hsieh To 謝鐸 (1435–1510). One will note that this poem was inscribed on a painting with the same title as that on the existing label of the Metropolitan’s Lo Chih-ch’uan painting.

From hanging cliffs an old tree
like hanging creepers,
its dragon-scale branches, twisted iron,
layered on high.
Cold winds howl through the day
but make no rain,
a flock of birds recoils in retreat
and fights to flee down and away.

From whence come these jackdaws
with their tragic-heroic mien,
two-by-two on the ends of the branches
standing erect, face-to-face?
Heads risen to visit the vast and empty sky,
they have left indecision behind,
carefully watching the mist and clouds,
desiring to be proud and aloof.

From time to time they fly high
in the Ch’ao-yang Hall,
filled with resolve to chase
the swallows on the carved beams.
The old phoenix of Ch’ao-yang
is silent and does not speak,
while cranes and *yüan-ch’u* birds
in multitudes censure and upbraid them.

Do you not see
at Yang-chou in the evening sun
the poplars and willows
and until even now only dead grass
and the shameful cry of the crows?¹¹⁰

The lack of any historical context once again frustrates interpretation of this poem; yet the allegorical nature of the poem is unmistakable and its artistic impression powerful. The attribution of human qualities and actions to the birds—the jackdaws have a “tragic-heroic mien,” have “left indecision behind,” and are “proud and aloof”; the cranes “censure and upbraid” them—is a common device for alerting readers to the presence of allegory. It is probable that the first two stanzas describe the jackdaws as they were drawn in the painting. The last two stanzas would then elaborate on elements that were not visually present and contain perhaps

Hsieh To’s own sentiments or ideas as to the painting’s allusions.

The Ch’ao-yang Hall and the old phoenix are transparent metaphors for the court and the emperor, once again by virtue of *Shih-ching* exegesis.¹¹¹ As in Kao Ch’i’s poem, there is a contrast between the lowly jackdaws, on the one hand, and, on the other, the elevated cranes and *yüan-chu* birds (the great legendary bird in *Chuang-tzu*: an eminent person). But Hsieh To has reversed the moral associations of the two groups in order to satirize the lofty cranes and the inactive phoenix. The last lines are an allusion to a famous couplet in “Sui Palace” by the T’ang dynasty poet Li Shang-yin: “So now fireflies are gone from the dead grass, / and only the evening crows remain in the drooping willows.”¹¹² The couplet describes the ravages inflicted on the Yang-chou area by the misrule of Sui Yang-ti (r. 605–17), images Hsieh To has borrowed to express the political desolation caused by the situation described in the poem.

Hsieh To’s poem brings us to an examination of other poems and paintings that use the title *Ku-mu han-ya* “Jackdaws in Old Trees.” Though this title does not occur in the Northern Sung imperial collection catalogue (*Hsüan-ho hua-p’u*) of 1120, it is present in the titles of poems written on paintings by early Yüan scholars, and so doubtless came into use sometime during the Southern Sung. One such poem is “On Hui-ch’ung’s Jackdaws in Old Trees” 惠崇古木寒鴉 by the well-known poet Yang Tsai 楊載 (1271–1323). Hui-ch’ung (965–1017) was a monk-painter from Fukien.

Autumn clouds are thin over the river
where the jackdaws fly in scattered confusion.
Before dawn, they always compete in their
squawking;
toward dusk, they again fight to return.

It seems they fear the weight of the frost’s majesty,
and yet detest the sparseness of the tree’s shadow.
The old monk practiced cessation and meditation,
and sketching these things has surely caught their
essence.¹¹³

The phrase here translated “the frost’s majesty” (*shuang-wei* 霜威) is a common metaphor for the awe-inspiring demeanor of imperial authority.¹¹⁴ So understood, this poem may also be read as an allegory in which the jackdaws represent contentious, small-minded people, fearful of exerting themselves yet still disdainful of the sparseness of their “perch.” Absent evidence for the existence of *Ku-mu han-ya* as a title in the ninth century, we may

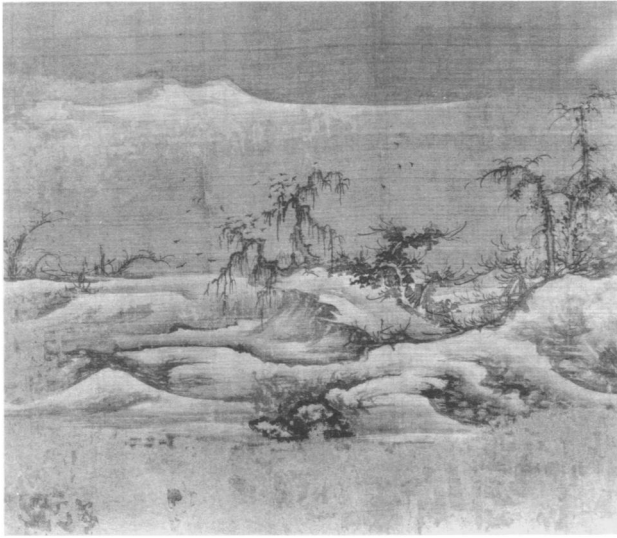


Figure 13. Attributed to Kuo Hsi (ca. 1001–ca. 1090), *Streams and Mountains After Snowfall* (detail). Handscroll, ink and opaque colors on silk, 55.2 x 480.7 cm. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (photo: Toledo Museum of Art)

surmise that Yang Tsai himself applied this title to Hui-ch'ung's painting. It is also likely that other paintings similar to Lo Chih-ch'uan's *Crows in Old Trees* existed in the early Yüan and influenced both Yang's choice of this title as well as the tone of his poetic inscription and interpretation of the earlier painting.

In this context we should recall that Chieh Hsi-su linked Lo Chih-ch'uan to the late-eleventh-century painter Chao Ling-jang (item #7 above). Surviving works attributed (probably all falsely) to Hui-ch'ung are stylistically similar to the works of Chao, and later generations often mistakenly attributed works in the Chao manner to Hui-ch'ung.¹¹⁵ A surviving work in the Chao Ling-jang manner is the well-known painting entitled *River Landscape in Mist with Geese and Flocking Crows* in the Yamato Bunkakan.¹¹⁶ The early-spring scene in this painting has a different tone and feeling from the intense winter scene of Lo's work. Yet the two paintings share at least three iconographical elements: (1) the swirling crows, (2) the countervailing presence of another species of bird on the ground (geese, birds with positive metaphorical associations, in the Chao work), and (3) the mist-shrouded evergreens in the background.

Another example of the flocking-crow motif that may date back to a Northern Sung prototype occurs in a handscroll in the Toledo Museum of Art entitled *Streams and Mountains After Snowfall* (Figure 13).

The scroll, probably a Yüan or Ming work, is attributed to Kuo Hsi and thought by Max Loehr to approximate his later style.¹¹⁷ The birds in this scroll are clearly not the diminutive jackdaw; nor has the artist attempted to portray them with the distinctive white neckbands of the larger collared crow. Yet the presence of corvids in this winter landscape and their occupation of the desiccated tree suggest a possible prototype for Lo's crows within the earlier Li Ch'eng/Kuo Hsi tradition.

There is some slight evidence to suggest that paintings with a flocking-crow motif may have existed in the late Northern Sung. For example, one of the very few paintings of crows listed in the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* is *Crows Gather in the Snowy Forest* (*Lin hsüeh chü ya* 林雪聚鴉) by Chao Shih-lei 趙士雷, a fifth-generation descendant of the Sung founder.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, a *Ku-mu han-ya* attributed to Hui-tsung himself occurs in Ming lists of earlier collections.¹¹⁹ Likewise, a *Ku-mu han-ya* handscroll is attributed to the Academy painter Li T'ang 李唐 (ca. 1049–after 1130).¹²⁰ There is, of course, no way to know if these paintings were genuine or if the titles were originally those of the painters or were added by later connoisseurs.

An anonymous fan painting mounted as an album leaf entitled *Ku-mu han-ya* and now in The

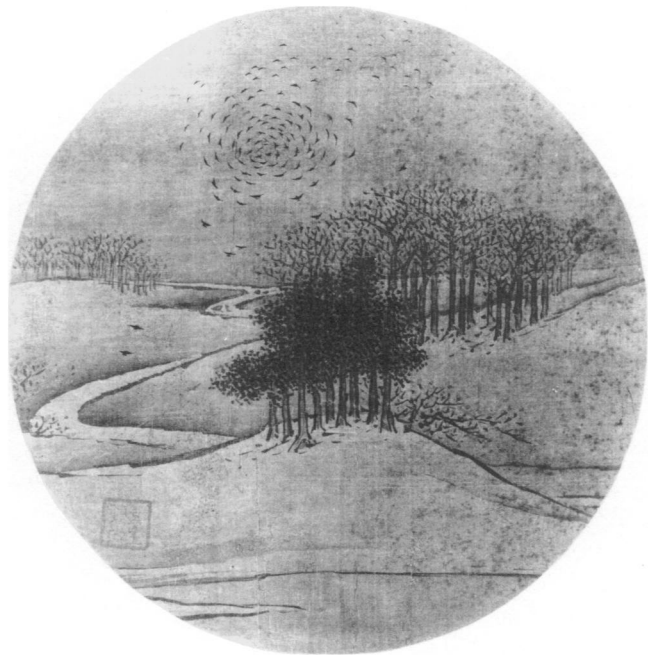


Figure 14. Unknown artist (late 13th–early 14th century), *Crows and Bare Trees in Winter*. Fan mounted as an album leaf, ink and color on silk, diam. 24.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1982, 1982.46

Metropolitan Museum of Art has been dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Figure 14). If the dating is correct, the fan would be contemporary with the works of Lo Chih-ch'uan. The late-autumn or early-winter scene shows a flock of crows swirling above a small grove of trees along a small stream. The crows are painted flying in a whirling pattern that creates a centrifugal motion perfectly in tune with the circular design of the fan. The effect is one of proportioned ease and coolness.¹²¹

A related painting, also known as *Ku-mu han-ya*, is the well-known album leaf by Pien Wu 邊武, active in Peking during the first half of the fourteenth century, in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Berlin, a work that Sherman Lee sees as continuing in the tradition of the Southern Sung Academy (Figure 15).¹²² This leaf exhibits the same sense of charm and “cool” intimacy as the Metropolitan fan, and the two works share the iconographic motifs of crows or jackdaws, tree, and stream.

A work on a grander scale and one with a complex and subtle relationship to Lo Chih-ch'uan's *Crows in Old Trees* is the short handscroll traditionally attributed to Li Ch'eng and known as *Jackdaws (Han-ya t'u)* in the Liao-ning Provincial Museum (Figure 16). Both the Liao-ning curators and James Cahill accept this handscroll as a product of the Southern Sung Academy.¹²³ Formerly part of the Ch'ing imperial collection, the handscroll now has four colophons; there is also a poem and a frontispiece inscribed by Emperor Ch'ien-lung in 1782. These texts are the only inscriptions on an extant Sung or Yüan painting of crows and are of great value for the interpretation of Lo Chih-ch'uan's painting. Their translation follows:

When I look at this painting, the deep forest, the accumulated snows, and the cold atmosphere are oppressive. A flock of birds circles round and perches. They have the appearance of being hungry, cold, and mournfully calling. One can say this is a gifted painting.

[Chao Meng-fu] Tzu-ang

I cannot bear to look at their hunger,
cold, and mournful calling.
If I even look once,
my heart is sad.
But at the rich harvest next year
the spring winds will be warm,
and they will fly far and high
on the broad strength of their wings.

Inscribed by Kuan Yün-shih



Figure 15. Pien Wu (active first half of 14th century), *Jackdaws*. Album leaf, ink and slight color on silk, 24 x 25.5 cm. Berlin, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst (photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

Over old trees and withered reeds
the skies have just cleared after snow;
the hungry crows fly and perch
in silence, their mouths clamped shut.
But when the flowers bloom early
on the caltrops in the sand,
then they shall share the spring wind
with the swallows and orioles.

1314, 7th month, Shan-ts'un jen Ch'iu Yüan

On the stream, by people's houses,
are fine trees
where flocks of crows come to roost
deep in the year.
But snowy skies clear, the clouds part,
and the spring breezes turn round,
and then we hear fine sounds
from the ends of the branches.

Inscribed in 1378, 12th month,
by Ch'en Yen-po in the Chen-cho Studio,
Ch'ien-t'ang

Finally, Ch'ien-lung's poem mounted before the painting reads:

Across the forest the leaves have fallen
and the branches of the trees are dry;
the crows perch, cry out in hunger,
and screech in the cold.
Ah! but my people are at peace
and are not like this;
around the warm brazier, I cannot bear
to open this painting and look.

1782, 12th month



觀此畫林深雪積寒色
 人聲鳥初集有飢鳴之
 二可謂能矣子昂
 饒陳哀鳴不思象
 佳在—見即心皎
 明年豔豔春坐
 暖逐舉高飛羽
 刁完見 貫雲石題
 老樹枯蒼雪作晴飢鳥飛集
 煤無聲蕪蕪沙上花開早
 且讓春風與燕鶯
 延祐元年七月山人仇遠
 上人家好樹林摩鳥未
 年深雪晴雲散春風轉
 枝頭有好音
 洪武戊午嘉平身担齋
 錢唐陳亮博題

Figure 16. Unknown artist, Southern Sung dynasty (1127–1279), *Jackdaws*. Handscroll, ink and light color on silk, 27 x 113 cm; colophons 27.7 x 64.1 cm; colophons by Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322), Kuan Yün-shih (1286–1324), Ch'iu Yüan (1261–?), and Ch'en Yen-po (early Ming dynasty). Liao-ning Provincial Museum (photo: from *Liao-ning sheng po-we-kuan ts'ang-hua chi* [Beijing, 1962] pls. 64–66)

Before discussing the literary aspects of these colophons, it is first necessary to address several technical issues concerning their authenticity and connection to this painting.

The Liao-ning handscroll can be documented from the Ch'ing imperial catalogue of 1795 back to the collection of Sun Ch'eng-tse 孫承澤 (1592–1675); the collectors' seals confirm an unbroken rec-

ord of ownership back to the late Ming.¹²⁴ However, other catalogues mention another painting, a hanging scroll also entitled *Han-ya t'u*, and record five inscriptions. The first three of these inscriptions are identical to the first three colophons on the present Liao-ning handscroll. This hanging scroll seems no longer to exist, but there is a detailed description in Wu Sheng's 吳升 *Ta-kuan lu* 大觀錄 of 1712:

Painting on silk, five *ch'ih* high, two *ch'ih* three *ts'un* wide. At the top are three seal script characters, *Hanya t'u*. One grove of about five old trees, the ends of the branches are dried out, their roots twisted, their stumps intertwined together. Crows perch on the branches. Over the sloping ground there are three or four layers of trees[?]. From a fissure in the rocks there jumps forth a small footpath. The elevated and subtle tone is pure and beautiful. It is reputed to be by Li Ch'eng but is in truth the work of Kuo Hsi. The inscriptions are extremely appropriate and can be savored.¹²⁵

It is clear that this painting is not the Liao-ning handscroll. After recording the inscriptions of Chao Meng-fu, Kuan Yün-shih 貫雲士 (1286–1324), and Ch'iu Yüan 仇遠 (1261–?), the *Ta-kuan lu* also records the following two inscriptions:

Amid the lingering snow a flock of crows
drops to the grass and weeds,
their forest perches unsettled,
their cries mournful.
The inspiration of the artist's brush
is here mature,
there lacks only in the distant sky
the lone crane approaching.

Shu-chai P'an Wei-chih [late Yüan]

After snow, in the cold forest
the ice-jade presses down the branches;
hungry and crying, they circle round and perch,
but cannot fly off.
In this world, how many creatures
are without knowledge—
unlike this flock of crows
possessed of the secret of understanding.

Hsing-chai Ch'en Mai [early Ch'ing]¹²⁶

The relationship between the lost hanging scroll and its recorded inscriptions, on the one hand, and the extant Liao-ning handscroll and its colophons, on the other, is a highly complex problem the detailed investigation of which must await further research. However, several observations and a hypothesis seem possible.

Wu Sheng notes that the five inscriptions of the hanging scroll are extremely appropriate. Indeed, read in the order in which they occurred on the hanging scroll (Chao, Kuan, Ch'iu, P'an, Ch'en Mai), the inscriptions form a coherent set. Chao's description of the birds as "hungry, cold, and mournfully calling" (*chi-tung ai-ming* 饑凍哀鳴) is repeated verbatim in the first line of Kuan's poem, is alluded to again in P'an's poem, and again in Ch'en

Mai's poem. Furthermore, all five poems recorded from the hanging scroll seem to be describing the same painting. On the other hand, the fourth and last poem on the Liao-ning handscroll (by Ch'en Yen-po 陳彥博) is very different in tone from the first three, a point to which we shall return shortly. One will also note that in Chao Meng-fu's colophon on the Liao-ning handscroll the graphs *tung ai* in the phrase *chi-tung ai-ming* are written in a smaller hand to the right of the main text, as if they had been omitted and added later. Considering the construction of this phrase, it is highly unlikely Chao Meng-fu would have made such an omission during the writing of his original colophon.¹²⁷

The Liao-ning handscroll probably assumed its present form sometime in the sixteenth century, a supposition that would explain why the collectors' seals begin only in the late Ming. The hanging scroll was among the possessions confiscated in 1562 from the powerful and corrupt minister Yen Sung 嚴嵩 (1480–1565).¹²⁸ Sometime before Sun Ch'eng-tse acquired the Liao-ning scroll, the first three inscriptions from the hanging scroll were copied and added to the handscroll painting. The fourth poem on the hanging scroll (by the late Yüan calligrapher P'an Wei-chih 班惟志) with its reference to the desirability of adding "a long crane approaching in the distant sky" (a reference to the Tu Fu poem discussed above), does not pertain, since the handscroll view does not extend above the treetops. Instead, another poem, by Ch'en Yen-po, dated 1378, was either copied from another source or forged. (The fifth inscriber, Ch'en Mai 陳邁, was an early Ch'ing figure, so that his poem would not have been on the hanging scroll at this time.) This substitution may have been made not only on practical but also on political grounds. The first and second poems, by Kuan Yün-shih and Ch'iu Yüan, are evenly balanced between a negative first couplet that describes the rigors of winter and a more optimistic second couplet that alludes to better conditions in the coming spring. Ch'en Yen-po's early Ming poem, on the other hand, is totally positive and reads as an optimistic fulfillment of the expectations expressed in the first and second Yüan poems, namely, for easier days when spring returns. *Hao-yin* 好音, "fine sounds," in Ch'en's last line can refer, once again via *Shih-ching* exegesis, both to the carefree chirping of birds or to "good tidings" of a political nature. In this case *hao-yin* would refer to the establishment of the Ming and the end of the "winter" of Yüan rule.¹²⁹ This fourth poem thus controls the under-

standing of the previous colophons and of the painting itself. Whoever put together the present Liao-ning handscroll attached and manipulated the colophons so that the winter crows would be interpreted as symbols of Yüan oppression relieved by the coming of the Ming.¹³⁰

In summation, although the painting in the Liao-ning handscroll may be a genuine Southern Sung Academy work, the first three colophons were probably written for another work that has since disappeared. But both the painting and the three colophons by Chao Meng-fu, Kuan Yün-shih, and Ch'iu Yüan are directly relevant to Lo Chih-ch'uan's painting. All these colophons speak of the sufferings of the jackdaws during the winter. Chao Meng-fu finds the painting "oppressive" and sees the jackdaws as "hungry, cold, and mournfully calling." Remembering the literary association already established between flocking jackdaws and the common people, one can easily read the painting as an expression of human suffering caused by the ravages of either an actual or a political winter.

In this context, Ch'ien-lung's colophon is particularly revealing. Though his contributions are often viewed as defacements to the paintings on which they are so prominently inscribed, in this case Ch'ien-lung's poem abandons the metaphors and, thus, the subtleties of the earlier colophon writers and states the matter bluntly: this painting shows the sufferings of the common people under an earlier rule that was not as enlightened as mine. Similarly, Sun Ch'eng-tse, who owned the Liao-ning handscroll in the early Ch'ing, characterized it as "Li Ch'eng's Cold Forest" (*Li Ch'eng Han-lin t'u*). In his notes on the handscroll he quoted the passage from Teng Ch'un's *Hua-chi* of 1167 (see note 67) in which Teng opined that the "Cold Forest" paintings of Li Ch'eng were political allegories of the gentleman versus the inferior man. Sun Ch'eng-tse then continued:

Looking at the appearance of the flock of crows in this painting—how they are hungry and perch together!—could it be that they are a figure for the wanderings and fatigue of the common people in times of political disorder?¹³¹

It would seem unlikely that the artist of the painting in the Liao-ning handscroll, if he were indeed a member of the Southern Sung Academy, intended or perceived of the possibility of such a meaning. More likely, the Liao-ning scroll and such images as

those in the Metropolitan fan and the Berlin album leaf are best perceived as examples of the routine seasonal expressions that crowd the pages of the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*. One can detect among Southern Sung Academy painters a strand of painting perhaps best described as "winter chic." Winter is portrayed in somewhat romantic terms, a temporary discomfort to be endured, perhaps even savored, until the coming of spring. The birds suffer no obvious discomfort, and the paintings, rather than dwelling on the real rigors of winter, exude a charm and delicacy that anticipate the coming of spring.

CROWS IN OLD TREES

It is now time to apply the information gathered above and to attempt an interpretation of *Crows in Old Trees*. The contemporary Yüan inscriptions on Lo Chih-ch'uan's paintings reveal a Confucian recluse and painter whose work local Kiangsi connoisseurs esteemed and whose reputation extended to the highest echelons of the Yüan literary establishment. These inscriptions, together with the three surviving examples of his work, document both his skill as a painter and his commitment to literati values. Lo's work and his concept of painting clearly relate to late Sung and early Yüan "literati painting." The inscriptions also reveal an artist personally very concerned with issues of integrity and independence both as an artist and as a human being. Lo Chih-ch'uan's use of the analogy between painting and Ch'an enlightenment in the dialogue with Chao Wen well illustrates his view of an art that is inclusive, transforming, and liberating.

Such a theory of artistic transcendence focuses on the combination of an object's significance (*i*) with the "inner order" (*li*) of that object and helps to confirm that Lo Chih-ch'uan valued a painting that explored and utilized the analogical values (meaning) and interactions (inner order) among the objects portrayed. Using analogical values associated with certain subjects in Chinese literature to express literati issues in visual form, his work thus depicts physical forms while expressing a meaning that transforms and transcends their physical appearance. A rather direct (some would say crass) articulation of similar views would be Teng Ch'un's contention that Li Ch'eng's *Cold Forests* expresses literati values as moral allegory. If *Crows in Old Trees* is a more nuanced expression of literati values, it

nevertheless arises from that same perceived relationship between literary and visual meaning.

Correlating in yet another way with Lo's artistic theory is the eclectic use in *Crows in Old Trees* of iconographic motifs that were common in previous painting, especially Southern Sung Academy painting—the winter scene, the flocking crows, the pheasants, trees, and bamboo—all combined in new ways and with careful attention to their analogical associations. The result both utilizes and transcends the prior use of these motifs and creates a highly individual work with a distinctive, personal meaning.

Compared with other works that contain the motif of flocking crows, such as the Toledo handscroll (Figure 13), the Metropolitan fan (Figure 14), the Pien Wu leaf (Figure 15), or the Liao-ning handscroll (Figure 16), Lo Chih-ch'uan's painting has a darker, more somber, almost sinister feeling. The pheasants at the base of the trees are central to the expression of this feeling. Their addition to the conventional *Ku-mu han-ya* formula draws a strong contrast between the pheasants and the crows, a contrast that is not present in paintings that depict only crows, and forces the observer to consider the very different and contrasting analogical associations of the two species. The poems examined above in which crows interact with other species all place the crows in stark contrast with other birds. The Tu Fu poem and its illustration in the Harvard leaf (Figure 11) and the Hou Mao-kung painting (Figure 12) are the clearest examples of this contrast.

Another painting that contrasts crows, in this case jackdaws, with another species is a fan mounted as an album leaf in the Cleveland Museum of Art and entitled *Birds and Ducks on a Snowy Islet* (Figure 17). Howard Rogers has linked this fan to the Hui-ch'ung and Chao Ling-jang tradition of "small scene" paintings and dated the work to the mid-thirteenth century.¹³² There is a marked similarity in compositional arrangement between this fan and Lo Chih-ch'uan's *Crows in Old Trees*. A river bisects the winter scene into a far promontory and a near shore; the tops of a tree group in the foreground are the gathering point for a flock of crows, while another species, in this case a male and female mandarin duck, huddles at the base of the trees. But the mood of the two works is totally different: Lo's painting is dark and sinister, while the fan is intimate, almost quaint. This fan is clearly a variation of the "small scene" *Ku-mu han-ya* formula of the Southern Sung: the mandarin ducks, a common symbol of marital bliss, and the "mandarin square"



Figure 17. Unknown artist, Southern Sung dynasty (1127–1279). *Birds and Ducks on a Snowy Islet*. Tradition of Chao Ling-jang. Fan-shaped album leaf, ink and slight color on silk, 24.6 x 25.9 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift from Junior Council (photo: Cleveland Museum of Art)

insignia of seventh-class rank, add poignancy and charm to the scene. The sinister power of *Crows in Old Trees* can best be understood when we recall that such iconologically conventional works as the Cleveland fan formed the background against which contemporary viewers would have understood Lo's work.

The full effects of this contrast can best be appreciated when one compares *Crows in Old Trees* with Lo Chih-ch'uan's *Snowy River Bank* in Tokyo (Figure 2). It is certainly remarkable that two of the three surviving works of Lo are so similar in motif, composition, and mood. This compositional arrangement clearly had special meaning for the artist. The frequent mention of flocking crows in the Yüan inscriptions also suggests the motif was a private symbol of some sort for Lo. A careful comparison of the two paintings indicates that the Tokyo painting may represent an earlier, less focused attempt at something like the Metropolitan painting. Iconographically speaking, the Tokyo painting may be seen as an intermediate step between a traditional Southern Sung winter composition like the Cleveland fan of Figure 17 and *Crows in Old Trees*. Cahill's conjecture that the Tokyo painting may be a fragment of a handscroll strengthens our perception of the Metropolitan painting as the culmination of a visual idea that the painter experimented with and perhaps painted many times.¹³³

First, the Metropolitan painting is conceived in a larger space than the Tokyo work: the horizon is farther away, the distance to that horizon greater, and the background more varied. The contrast in this regard with the Cleveland and Harvard fans, the Pien Wu leaf, and even the Liao-ning handscroll, all of which depict small, confined worlds, is especially striking. In terms of the overall scope of *Crows in Old Trees*, Lo was clearly thinking of paintings that depicted the great tree against a broad landscape, similar to the Li K'an (Figure 5) or Wu Chen (Figure 6) paintings discussed above. This conception is much better realized in *Crows in Old Trees* than in the Tokyo work.

Second, in the Metropolitan painting the central tree group consists of only two trees, a larger and a smaller one, in the center of the picture. This placement highlights the work's central vertical axis and allows the trees to dominate the composition without distracting from the avian activity at the top and bottom of the painting. In the Tokyo painting, on the other hand, the backward curve of the central tree diverts attention away from the crows toward the lesser trees along the receding shoreline to the left. Likewise, the Pien Wu leaf and the Liao-ning handscroll both manifest a basically horizontal orientation: the crows fly in horizontal lines to land in trees of diminutive stature, and the feeling created is one of closeness between the trees and the birds. On the other hand, the straight vertical axis through the middle of Lo's painting has the effect of drawing the birds down upon the trees in a threatening and menacing way. In this composition, the crows invade the trees.

Third, in the Metropolitan painting there is a much stronger opposition between the two banks of the river. In the Tokyo work the snow cover hides the bank of the far shore. In the Metropolitan painting the elevation of the promontory to the right creates a balance for the near shoreline and strengthens the opposition between promontory and shore. In this respect, *Crows in Old Trees* may be seen as an example of the "hills beyond a river" format typical of Yüan painting.

Fourth, the Metropolitan painting shows a much more focused treatment of the birds. The presence of three species (crows, pheasants, and ducks) in the Tokyo painting distracts from the possibility of opposition between any two. The positioning of the pheasants in the trees to the left is unnatural, and the flying motions of the crows seem helter-skelter and undirected. In the Metropolitan work, how-

ever, the focus on only two species (crows and pheasants) at the top and the bottom of the trees reinforces the opposition between the two species. The effect is similar to the contrast between the crane and the crows in the Harvard fan (Figure 11), with the important difference that the polarities in the two paintings are reversed: in the fan, the crows already hold the base of the tree, while the crane is about to land; in the Lo Chih-ch'uan work, the pheasants hold the base of the tree, while the majority of the crows are poised for an imminent landing in the top of the central tree.

The combined effect of these four features is to strengthen the contrast in the Metropolitan painting between the pheasants and the crows and to divide the painting into two groups of objects set against a neutral landscape of distant mountains and waters: (1) the near shore, the central tree group, the pheasants, and the bamboo at the base of the trees, and (2) the far promontory with its several crows and the crows swirling in the air. The two groups are linked by the imminent "invasion" of the crows into the top of the central tree. The large tree that so dominates the composition thus becomes an object of struggle between the two groups.

Crows in Old Trees skillfully combines elements from three distinct iconographic traditions: (1) the large tree derives from the tradition of Li Ch'eng/Kuo-hsi "Cold Forest" paintings, (2) the crows derive from the *Ku-mu han-ya* tradition of Southern Sung, and (3) the pheasants derive from the Southern Sung tradition of "bird and flower" painting. The trees in Lo's painting are clearly the *ch'iao-mu*, "tall trees," artistically linked to Li K'an's *Old Trees, Bamboo, and Rocks* (Figure 5) and the great desiccated trees of the Li Ch'eng/Kuo hsi tradition. Metaphorically, they may be traced to the *ch'iao-mu* of Mencius, for whom they stand for the state and perhaps even for civilization itself, as Mencius explains in his comments on *Shih-ching*, Mao #165 (see note 70). Lo's use of the leafless, desiccated tree as a symbol for political and cultural decay foreshadows Hsiang Sheng-mo's 項聖謨 (1597-1658) similar use after the collapse of the Ming.¹³⁴ In this connection one can perhaps better understand Lo's decision to expand the visible horizon and the scale of his painting beyond the narrow confines of the *Ku-mu han-ya* genre. *Crows in Old Trees* is thus not primarily a "bird and flower" painting but rather a landscape in which the "mountains and waters" are a synecdoche for "all under Heaven" (*t'ien-hsia* 天下). The

image of the trees here as symbols for the state and ultimately for the *t'ien-hsia* clearly links this painting to the twelfth-century tradition of allegorical “Cold Forests.”¹³⁵

The crows in the painting are also not the diminutive jackdaws of *Ku-mu han-ya*; they are the larger collared or parson’s crow. Jackdaws average about thirteen inches from bill to tail; the collared crow, on the other hand, can range up to twenty inches. In addition to this difference in size, not only the white collar around the neck but also the lower abdomen of the jackdaw is entirely white (Figure 18). These distinguishing features of the jackdaw can be clearly seen in the Liao-ning handscroll, the Pien Wu album leaf, and the other examples of Sung and Yüan *Ku-mu han-ya* painting. The white of the collared crow, on the other hand, extends only to the upper breast; the lower abdomen is black (Figure 19). Lo Chih-ch’uan’s crows, especially those on the far promontory, distinctly show these features of the collared crow (Figure 20).

As we have seen, the differences in metaphorical associations between jackdaws (*han-ya*) and “white-necks” are considerable. The former is a conventional symbol of the common people or of the lower ranks of officials, and is morally neutral: jackdaws may express either positive or negative values relative to other species. The “white-necks,” on the other hand, are a fully negative image of ill omen. It may be useful to remember that these associations are drawn from careful observations of the collared crow’s behavior. For instance, an early-twentieth-century Western observer writes that the collared crow is “a thief, a brigand and a rascal.”¹³⁶ By clearly drawing the “white-necks,” Lo Chih-ch’uan has subtly yet drastically heightened the negative associations of the crows in his painting and reinforced both their menacing posture toward the trees and their opposition to the morally positive pheasant. The effect of this subtle yet significant change is one of powerful irony: by carefully drawing the sinister collared crow, instead of the innocuous jackdaw as might be expected in a conventional formula, Lo Chih-ch’uan simultaneously draws upon and undermines the iconography of the traditional Southern Sung *Ku-mu han-ya* formula. This is clearly a case where Lo Chih-ch’uan has made good on his own theory to “use my eyes as my hands,” where he has “particularized the surface appearance” of objects in order to bring out their “meaning.”

Lo Chih-ch’uan’s careful attention to real-life detail also sharpens the existing analogical values

attached to the pheasant. The pheasants at the base of the Metropolitan painting are neither the common ring-necked nor the flamboyant golden pheasant. They are, I believe, Elliot’s pheasants (*Syrmaticus ellioti*), a long-tailed pheasant native to southeastern China, including Kiangsi Province. Unlike the ubiquitous ring-necked pheasant, the Elliot’s is an uncommon and reclusive bird that inhabits steep slopes and the tops of mountains. As the great naturalist William Beebe wrote of them, “Elliot’s Pheasants seem to keep to themselves, as independent as they are wary.”¹³⁷ By carefully drawing this particular pheasant, Lo has been able to draw upon the “constant and firm” qualities associated with pheasants in general and at the same time avoid the negative associations of the “patterned avian” (*wen-ch’in*). His pheasants are thus symbols not only of the constant and firm but also of independence and reclusion. They are clearly a self-image, and their pairing suggests that the painting may perhaps be understood as an expression of solidarity with an intended recipient. The pairing of the pheasants underscores the pairing of the trees and may perhaps be inspired by or allude to such images as the *Twin Pines* of Wu Chen and Ts’ao Chih-po (Figures 6 and 7).

There are two other relevant ornithological

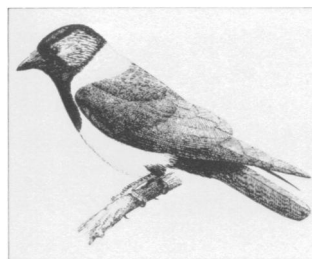


Figure 18. *Daurian Jackdaw* (*Corvus dauuricus*). (From Derek Goodwin, *Crows of the World* [2nd ed. London, 1986] p. 77)

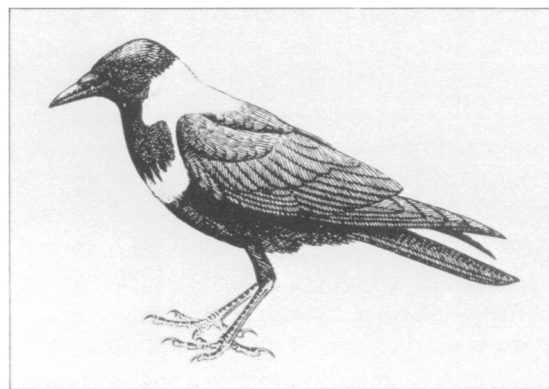


Figure 19. *Collared Crow* (*Corvus torquatus*). (From Goodwin, *Crows of the World*, p. 117)

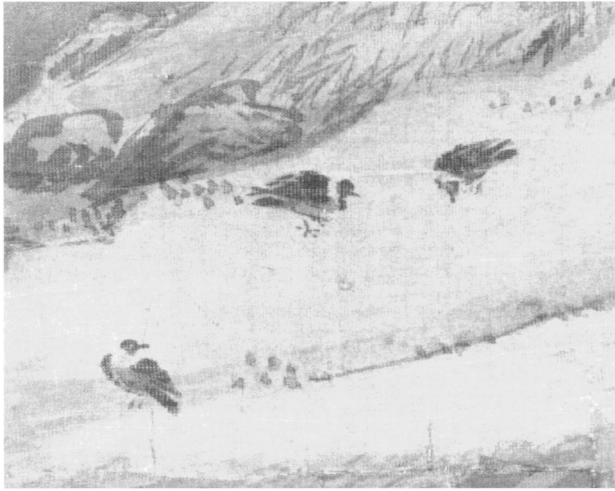


Figure 20. Detail of Figure 1

points. First, the Elliot's pheasant occurs in the mountains of southeast China and was never depicted in "bird and flower" painting, which preferred the ring-necked, golden, or Reeves pheasant. There is thus a possible local reference in Lo's clear depiction of this regional and reclusive bird of the Southeast—Kiangsi, Chekiang, and Fukien provinces—the stronghold of Southern Sung culture, a reference that would be understood by natives of the area but not by the invaders from the north. Second, the collared crow is essentially a bird of the plains. It does not normally occur above an elevation of sixty meters and is common in the cultivated fields of the highly populated lowlands. The Elliot's pheasant, on the other hand, is an upland bird that seeks out remote areas of uncultivated mountain slope. It would thus be highly unlikely for the two species to occur together in the same habitat. In short, although Lo Chih-ch'uan has been extremely faithful to reality in his attention to visual detail, the pairing of the birds and the overall compositional arrangement of the painting are a mental construct that emphasizes the "meaning" of the objects in the painting and highlights their "inner order" relative to each other. In this sense, the painting is an allegory, inspired by the contrast, common in the literary tradition, between crows and nobler species, such as cranes and swans.

Thus the artistic decision to divide the painting into a near shore versus a far promontory and the ensuing struggle for the central tree correspond to a moral divide between the raucous, invasive crows of the populated plains and the silent, reclusive

pheasant of the secluded mountains. Using the terms of the traditional literati, we might say that the moral divide is between the gentleman (*chün-tzu*) and the small man (*hsiao-jen*). The painting addresses the anguish of this moral struggle and hints darkly that the outcome may indeed remain in doubt. This message may be personal and psychological, or it may also be political. We have seen above that in the literary tradition the fidelity of male and female pheasants was a conventional symbol of political loyalty during periods of dynastic transition. Such a meaning is clearly possible in Lo's painting, especially if the pheasants are understood as a self-image or as an image of regional solidarity: they become an expression of loyalty to the fallen Sung dynasty. But, once again, Lo has altered conventional associations by altering detail: both pheasants in the painting are male (Figure 21). In connection with the previously mentioned Tu Mutzu and the origins of "Pheasants Fly at Dawn," the absence of these pheasants' mates serves to intensify the anguish of political separation from the fallen dynasty. Once again Lo Chih-ch'uan has used literary tradition to transform a routine image from



Figure 21. Detail of Figure 1

prior painting into one possessing great ironic power. Only if we understand that the visual prototypes of the two male pheasants at the base of Lo's painting were either the pomp and majesty of the emperor's golden pheasant (Figure 9) or a fulsome wish for marital bliss (Figure 10), can we then appreciate the irony of Lo's composition.

We may recall at this point the opening lines of *Shih-ching*, Mao #197:

Joyful are the jackdaws
as they fly home in flocks to rest.
All among the people are happy;
I alone am in misery.
What is my crime against Heaven?
What is my offense?
What shall be done
for the sadness of my heart?

Having contrasted the image of the contented jackdaws with his own political isolation and misery, the speaker continues:

The pheasant cries in the morning
still seeking his mate.
I am like that ruined tree,
sick and without branches.
Oh! the grief of my heart,
that no one understands it!¹³⁸

I am not suggesting that the painting is an illustration of these lines. But all of the major elements in the painting are present in the ode, and this *Shih-ching* text may have prompted Lo Chih-ch'uan consciously or unconsciously to experiment with this particular combination of images.

The doubling of the trees, the pheasants, and the two clumps of bamboo against the flocking multitude of crows may indicate solidarity with an intended recipient. Perhaps this work was painted as a present for a close, like-minded friend, perhaps for another recluse like Liu Shen, who could provide the understanding called for in the ode and comprehend the painting's dark insights. For *Crows in Old Trees* portrays not the conventional joy but the secret agony of the recluse. Its vision of the eremitic life is not the romantic P'eng-lai of the Yüan inscriptions on Lo's more conventional "Taoist" paintings but a real look into the dark winter of the soul: there is no hint of the coming of spring, but only loneliness and the relentless onslaught of "small men." The painting is a meditation not only on a subjugated nation but also on the arduous struggle toward personal independence and integrity, toward the inner battle for a state of

the soul that is "constant and firm," even in the depths of winter.

The lack of an inscription may indicate that the work was never presented. Perhaps Lo Chih-ch'uan decided this vision was too private after all. The scarcity of collectors' seals and the absence of inscriptions, together with the physical damage the painting has suffered from periods of neglect, may hint that the work was too disturbing to be displayed and appreciated in the polite social settings usual to Chinese connoisseurs. We may recall Emperor Ch'ien-lung's comments on the Liao-ning handscroll, a work with none of these darker overtones: "around the warm brazier, I cannot bear to open this painting and look."

ABBREVIATIONS

SKCS—*Wen-yüan ko Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* (repr. Taipei: Shang-wu, 1982).

SPPY—*Ssu-pu pei-yao* (repr. Taipei: Chung-hua, 1965).

SPTK—*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1919–36).

TSCC—*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng hsin-pien* (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng, 1986).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. Formerly in the collection of C. C. Wang, the painting was first studied in Richard Barnhart, *Wintry Forests, Old Trees: Some Landscape Themes in Chinese Painting* (New York, 1972), p. 43. For subsequent studies see Wen Fong, *Sung and Yuan Painting* (New York, 1973) pp. 95–96, 104, 147, and Barnhart, *Along the Border of Heaven: Sung and Yuan Paintings from the C. C. Wang Family Collection* (New York, 1983) pp. 121–126.

2. Fong, *Sung and Yuan Painting*, p. 96.

3. Barnhart, *Wintry Forests, Old Trees*, p. 43.

4. Shimada Shūjirō, "Ra Chi-san 'Sekko hozō' ni tsuite," *Hōun* 22 (1938) pp. 41–52.
5. *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, exh. cat. (Cleveland, 1980) no. 101. The Chinese title of this leaf is taken from *Hai-wai i-chen* [Chinese Art in Overseas Collections: Paintings] (Taipei, 1988) II, no. 34. In *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* the leaf is called *Ramblers over a Windy Stream*.
6. *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, no. 102. Cf. James Cahill, *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings: Tang, Sung, and Yuan* (Berkeley, 1980) p. 305.
7. The former appellation is by Wai-kam Ho, followed by Wen Fong; the latter by Suzuki Kei, *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku* [Comprehensive Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Paintings] (Tokyo, 1982) I, no. A1–002.
8. Wu Ch'i-chen, *Shu-hua chi* 書畫記, completed about 1677 (repr. Shanghai, 1963) p. 289.
9. For Shimada's article see note 4. The reference works in question are Ch'en Kao-hua 陳高華, *Yüan-tai hua-chia shih-liao* 元代畫家史料 [Historical Source Materials on Yuan Dynasty Painters] (Shanghai, 1980); and Igor de Rachewiltz and May Wang (Lou Chan-mei), *Repertory of Proper Names in Yuan Literary Sources* (Taipei, 1988).
10. *Fu Yü-li shih chi* 傅與礪詩集 (SKCS ed.) 3.28b.
11. *Lin-chiang fu chih*, 1572 edition (repr. Shanghai, 1962), Hsin-yü county map. Later Ch'ing dynasty gazetteers of Hsin-yü note a "Lo Village" 羅坊 in the same area, a predecessor of the modern Luofang. See *Hsin-yü hsien chih* (Hsin-yü, 1873) maps.
12. James M. Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126–1193)* (Stuttgart, 1989) pp. 192–193, 274.
13. For a detailed study of Fu-chou, the prefecture adjoining Lin-chiang, during the Sung see Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge, 1986); for the local literary culture of the area see Jonathan Pease, "Lin-ch'uan and Fen-ning: Kiangsi Locales and Kiangsi Writers During the Sung," *Asia Major*, 4.1 (1991) pp. 39–85.
14. This list does not include the references to Lo Hsiao-ch'uan 羅小川 and Lo Jo-ch'uan 羅若川 mentioned in Ch'en Kao-hua, *Yüan-tai hua-chia shih-liao*, p. 332. It is probable both of these individuals were in some way related to the artist of *Crows in Old Trees*.
15. Liu Shen, *Kuei-yin shih chi* 桂隱詩集 (SKCS ed.) 4.67b; on Liu Shen, see *Yüan-shih* (repr. Peking: Chung-hua, 1976) 190.4341–4342.
16. Liu Shen, *Kuei-yin shih chi*, 2.26b–27a.
17. *Ibid.*, 2.1b–2a.
18. *Ibid.*, 2.30a.
19. *Fan Te-chi shih chi* 范德機詩集 (SKCS ed.) 6.24a; on Fan P'eng see Pao Ken-ti 包根弟, *Yüan-shih yen-chiu* (Taipei, 1977) pp. 100–101.
20. *Chieh Hsi-ssu ch'üan chi* 揭傒斯全集 (repr. Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1985) p. 81; on Chieh Hsi-ssu see the introduction to this 1985 edition of his works and Pao Ken-ti, pp. 102–103.
21. *Chieh Hsi-ssu ch'üan chi*, p. 89.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
23. *Tao-yüan hsiieh-ku lu* 道園學古錄 (SPTK ed.) 28.2ab; on Yü Chi see Pao Ken-ti, pp. 96–98.
24. *Chen-i chai shih kao* 貞一齋詩稿 (*Wan-wei pieh-tsang* 宛委別藏 ed.) 2.50b.
25. *Kuei-t'ing chi* 檜亭集 (SKCS ed.) 3.19ab; on Ting Fu see *Yüan-shih chi-shih* 元詩紀事 (repr. Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1987) 14.307–309.
26. *An-ya t'ang chi* 安雅堂集 (SKCS ed.) 2.8a.
27. *Ch'un-pai chai lei kao* 純白齋類稿 (SKCS ed.) 14.1b; on Hu Chu see *Yüan-shih chi-shih*, 17.401–408.
28. *Ch'un-pai chai lei kao*, 15.4b.
29. *Chin-t'ai chi* 金臺集 (SKCS ed.) 1.38b–39a; for Nasan see *Yüan-shih chi-shih*, 18.415–425.
30. *Yü-t'ing chi* 羽庭集 (SKCS ed.) 4.13a.
31. *Lin Teng-chou chi* 林登川集 (SKCS ed.) 23.21a.
32. *Ibid.*, 3.6a.
33. *Shu-hua chi*, pp. 98–99.
34. For the text see Ko Yu-söp 高裕燮 ed., *Chosön hwaron chip-söng* 朝鮮畫論集成 (Seoul: Kyongin munhwasa, 1976) I.263; on this catalogue and the importance of Yi Yong's collection see Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, *Kankoku kaiga shi* 韓國繪畫史 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1987) pp. 58–65.
35. Shimada Shūjirō, "Ra Chi-san 'Sekko hozō' ni tsuite," pp. 46–47. On this catalogue see R. H. van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur* (Rome, 1958) pp. 242–243, 499–500 and O. Kümmel, "Die chinesische Malerei im Kundaikwan Sayü-chöki," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 1 (1912–13) pp. 14ff.
36. For this distinction and its importance see Ch'en Kao-hua, *Yüan-tai hua-chia shih-liao*, introduction, p. 1.
37. Both Ahn Hwi-joon and Shen Fu surmise that the Chinese paintings in Yi Yong's collection may have entered Korea in the dowries of Mongol princesses who during the Yuan period married into the Koryō royal house. Another conduit was the Koryō prince Ch'ungsön 忠宣 (1275–1325), who lived most of his life in the Yuan capital and was in close artistic contact with Chao Meng-fu, Yü Chi, and other scholar-painters. The prince and his principal artistic adviser, Chu Te-jun 朱德潤 (1294–1365), both favored the Li Ch'eng/Kuo Hsi landscape tradition in which Lo Chih-ch'uan practiced. See Shen Fu, *Yüan-tai huang-shih shu-hua shou-ts'ang shih-lüeh* [A Brief History of the Art Collection of the Yuan Royal Family] (Taipei, 1981) pp. 100–103; and Ahn Hwi-joon, "Korean Landscape Painting in the Early Yi Period: The Kuo Hsi Tradition," Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 1974), pp. 69–75.
38. Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting* (Cambridge, 1971) p. 89.
39. For a Yuan painting of a cattle herd similar to Lo's (item #19) and understood in metaphorical terms see Pao Ken-ti, *Yüan-shih yen-chiu*, pp. 55–56.
40. F. W. Mote, "Confucian Eremitism in the Yuan Period," in Arthur Wright, ed., *The Confucian Persuasion* (Stanford, 1960) pp. 202–240.

41. *Shih-chi* (repr. Peking: Chung-hua, 1959) 41.1751–1756; E. Chavannes, trans. *Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (repr. Paris, 1967) IV.439–448.
42. *Hou Han-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1965) 83.2763–64.
43. *Hsin T'ang-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975) 196.5608–5609.
44. Ch'ing-shan chi 青山集 (SKCS ed.) 7.22b–23a. Shimada Shūjirō, “Ra Chi-san ‘Sekko hozō’ ni tsuite,” pp. 50–51 first called attention to this poem, and Barnhart (*Along the Border of Heaven*, pp. 121–122) has translated the text into English. However, since the poem is not altogether easy and my interpretation differs from that of Barnhart in several places, I have attempted another translation and interpretation.
45. Komazawa Daigaku, *Zengaku daijiten* 禪學大辭典 (Tokyo, 1971) pp. 842a, 934cd.
46. Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Rinzai roku* (Tokyo, 1972) p. 139 (trans. Paul Demiéville, *Entretiens de Lin-tsi* [Paris, 1972] p. 118).
47. *Ibid.*
48. “Saplings can only grow and become timber if they are constantly under the care of the forester.” *Jen-min jih-pao*, May 31, 1963.
49. For Western examples see Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.626–631; Horace, *Odes* II.10.3; Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* I.viii.22; and Ben Jonson: “This Sejanus/ (Trust my divining soul) hath plots on all:/ No tree that stops his prospect but must fall” (*Sejanus His Fall* II.498–500). The figure is also common in Japan. For example, when Genji returns to the capital after a period of provincial exile, Murasaki writes that “he was restored to his former rank and made a supernumerary councillor. All his followers were similarly rehabilitated. It was as if spring had come to a withered tree” (Edward G. Seidensticker, trans., *The Tale of Genji* [New York, 1989] p. 269). Richard Barnhart has examined the Cold Forest theme in Chinese painting in *Wintry Forests, Old Trees*.
50. D. C. Lau, trans., *Mencius* (Harmondsworth, England, 1970) p. 67.
51. Barnhart, *Wintry Forests, Old Trees*, p. 42; see also Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols* (Cleveland, 1968) no. 224. For other related works attributed either to Li K'an or to his son Li Shih-hsing (1283–1328) see *Chinese Art Under the Mongols*, no. 225; *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, no. 104; and *Ku-kung ming-hua san-pai chung* [Three Hundred Masterpieces of Chinese Painting in the Palace Museum] (Taichung, 1959) no. 155.
52. Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, 1985) pp. 154–155, translation here slightly modified; see also James Cahill, *Three Alternative Histories of Chinese Painting* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1988) pp. 37–38.
53. Ch'eng Shu-te, *Lun yü chi-shih* (repr. Taipei: Ting-wen, 1973) I.540–541. Chuang-tzu (*A Concordance to Chuang Tzu*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series. Supplement No. 20 [repr. Cambridge, 1956], 79/28/65) links this passage to the troubles of Confucius and his disciples in Ch'en and Ts'ai and to similar expressions by Confucius of moral resolve during that difficult time (*Analects* 15.2). The Chuang-tzu text suggests that the original intention of the *Analects* pine and cypress passage may have been similar to the understanding of the later commentators.
54. *Hsin-chiao Ch'en Tzu-ang chi* (repr. Taipei, 1964) p. 33.
55. National Palace Museum, *Yüan ssu ta-chia* [Four Great Masters of the Yüan] (Taipei, 1975) no. 201.
56. National Palace Museum, *Ku-kung shu-hua t'u-lu* [An Illustrated Catalogue of Painting and Calligraphy in the National Palace Museum] (Taipei, 1990) IV, pp. 121–122. See also Chu-ting Li, “Rocks and Trees and the Art of Ts'ao Chih-po,” *Artibus Asiae* 23 (1960) pp. 153–208, esp. pp. 158–160; and James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yüan Dynasty, 1279–1368* (New York, 1976) p. 81.
57. Shih-mo Po-shan is the Yüan official Shih-mo Chi-tsu 石抹繼祖 (1281–1347), a member of a prominent Yüan family descended from Liao Khitan stock.
58. Tuan Yü-tsai, *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu chu* (repr. Taipei: Shih-chieh, 1972) 6A.17b.
59. *Shih-chi*, 18.878 (Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, III.125).
60. *Han-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1962) 62.2727 (Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, I.ccxxvii–ccxxviii).
61. Edward Schafer, “Hunting Parks and Animal Enclosures in Ancient China,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 11 (1968) pp. 325, 334–335.
62. *Mao-shih cheng-i* (*Shih-san ching chu-shu* ed., repr. 2 vols. Peking: Chung-hua, 1980) I.442c. Even Bernhard Karlgren, normally adverse to the metaphorical readings of traditional commentators, accepts their interpretation of this couplet, writing, “there are no really fine trees—a metaphor for the worthlessness of the men in office” (*The Book of Odes* [Stockholm, 1950] p. 138). See also James Robert Hightower, trans., *Han shih wai chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge, 1952) p. 233.
63. *Ch'u-tz'u* (*SPPY* ed.) 8.4a.
64. *Han-shu*, 81.3354.
65. Barnhart, *Wintry Forests, Old Trees*, pp. 15–18; *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* (repr. Taipei: Shang-wu, 1971) pp. 288–290.
66. *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*, pp. 283–284. This suggestion does not occur in earlier accounts of the artist; see Charles Lachman, trans., *Evaluations of Sung Dynasty Painters of Renown* (Leiden, 1989) pp. 56–58.
67. *Hua-chi* (*Hua-shih ts'ung-shu* ed.) (repr. Taipei: Wen-shih-che ch'u-pan-she, 1983) 9.71.
68. Kiyohiko Munakata, *Ching Hao's Pi-fa-chi: A Note on the Art of the Brush* (Ascona, 1974) p. 11 and the excellent note on pp. 18–19.
69. *Mao-shih cheng-i* (*Shih-san ching chu-shu* ed.) I.410c–412a.
70. Lau, *Mencius*, p. 104.
71. *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan cheng-i* (*Shih-san ching chu-shu* ed.) II.2167b; cf. also D. C. Lau, *Analects* (Harmondsworth, England, 1979), p. 171.

72. *Wen hsüan* (repr. Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1986) 10.442; David R. Knechtges, trans., *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature* (Princeton, 1987) II, p. 185.

73. *Kuo yü* (SPPY ed.) 8.1b–2a. Burton Watson has translated the entire account in Cyril Birch, ed., *Anthology of Chinese Literature* (New York, 1965) pp. 34–38.

74. For notes on the theme in medieval Chinese poetry see Stephen Owen, “Deadwood: The Barren Tree from Yü Hsin to Han Yü,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 1.2 (July 1979) pp. 157–179.

75. Cheng Tso-hsin, *A Synopsis of the Avifauna of China* (Beijing, 1987) pp. 162ff.; Lo Yüan 羅顥 (1136–84), *Erh-ya i* 爾雅翼 (TSCC ed.) 13.144.

76. Li Shih-chen, *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* (repr. Peking: Jen-ming wei-sheng, 1982) pp. 2617–2618; Bernard E. Read, *Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs* (repr. Taipei, 1982) pp. 40–41; Alfred Hoffmann, *Glossar der heute gültigen chinesischen Vogelnamen* (Wiesbaden, 1975) p. 211.

77. *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan cheng-i*, II.2083a–2084b; Lau, *Analects*, p. 165.

78. *Chuang-tzu*, 9/4/29–30 (trans. Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang-tzu* [New York, 1968] p. 58).

79. *Ibid.*, 8/3/14, p. 52.

80. *Ch'u-tz'u*, 1.6a, 8.10a, 8.12b, 13.15b; and especially the commentary for Li-sao distich 15–16, Yu Kuo-en, ed., *Li-sao tsuan-i* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1980) pp. 59–60.

81. *Li chi cheng-i* (Shih-san ching chu-shu ed.) I.1270b; *Chou-li chu-shu* (Shih-san ching chu-shu ed.) I.762ab; Edouard Biot, trans., *Le Tcheou-li, ou Rites des Tcheou* (Paris, 1851) I.432–433.

82. Pan Ku (32–92), *Po-hu t'ung* (SPTK ed.) 7.4a; for similar Han texts see *Shuo-yüan chiao-cheng* (repr. Peking: Chung-hua, 1987) pp. 485–486; and *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* (repr. Taipei: Shang-wu, 1976) pp. 247–248. Quotation of this *Po-hu t'ung* passage in the K'ung Ying-ta (574–648) subcommentary to the *Li chi* (*Li chi cheng-i*, I.1270b) ensured its wide availability to scholars in the T'ang and Sung periods.

83. *Chou-li chu-shu*, I.781–782 (trans. Biot, *Le Tcheou-li, ou Rites des Tcheou*, II.6); *Hsin T'ang-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975) 24.515, 528.

84. *Hsin T'ang-shu*, 24.519; Schuyler Cammann, “Chinese Mandarin Squares: Brief Catalogue of the Letcher Collection,” *University of Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin* 17.3 (June 1953). In Ch'ing times, these equations were: crane (first class), golden pheasant (second), peacock (third), wild goose (fourth), silver pheasant (fifth), egret (sixth), mandarin duck (seventh), quail (eighth), paradise flycatcher (ninth). These are all birds with highly positive metaphorical connotations in Chinese literature. The list represents, furthermore, an amazing continuity of the legendary Emperor Shao Hao's concept of an avian administration.

85. Ts'ui Pao (4th century A.D.), *Ku-chin chu* 古今注 (SPPY ed.), 2.1a; Wu Ching (early 8th century A.D.), *Yüeh-fu ku-t'i yao-chieh* 樂府古題要解 (*Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* ed.), 2.9b–10a.

86. The story is attributed to a lost work of Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.–18 A.D.) and first recorded in the *I-wen lei-chü* 藝文類聚 (repr. Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1965), 90.1570.

87. A rich symbolism deriving from the sport of pheasant shooting using trained decoys added to these early *yüeh-fu* images. The locus classicus is P'an Yüeh's “*Fu* on Pheasant Shooting,” in *Wen hsüan*, 9.415–425. These images and conventions occur in a great number of Six Dynasties and T'ang poems on pheasants in which they are often reworked to serve as metaphors both for political and personal loyalty and for perseverance in these loyalties even to reclusion and death. I pass over these texts, however, to concentrate on several poems that are closer to the period of Lo Chih-ch'uan and his painting.

88. *Sung-yin chi* 松隱集 (SKCS ed.), 1.13b–14a.

89. *Mao-shih cheng-i*, I.332a; Chu Hsi, *Shih chi chuan* (repr. Hong Kong: Chung-hua, 1961) 4.44–45.

90. Ts'ao Hsün was among those K'ai-feng court officials captured by the Jurchen at the fall of Northern Sung in 1127 together with Emperor Hui-tsong and other members of the imperial family. He was ordered by Hui-tsong to escape and carry secret letters south to the court of the new emperor, Kao-tsung, where Ts'ao advocated a policy of strong opposition against the Jurchen, suggesting in 1128 that a naval mission be organized to rescue the captured imperial family. For this aggressiveness he was exiled for nine years from the court, a court that not only suffered the shame of Hui-tsong's captivity but was also keenly aware that Hui-tsong's return would mean the end of Kao-tsung's rule. But Kao-tsung's wife was among the northern captives, and against this historical background Ts'ao's poem can be read as an expression of his frustration at the equivocation of a court that refused to take strong measures to end the “separation” of Kao-tsong from his mate and of the North from the South. On Ts'ao Hsün see *Sung-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975) 379.11700–11701; and Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies* (Wiesbaden, 1976) II, pp. 1048–1050. Ts'ao Hsün seems later in life to have reconciled his differences with Kao-tsong. See Julia K. Murray, “Ts'ao Hsün and Two Southern Sung History Scrolls,” *Ars Orientalis* 15 (1985) pp. 1–29 and “A Southern Sung Painting Regains Its Memory: Welcoming the Imperial Carriage (Ying-luan t'u) and Its Colophon,” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 22 (1990–92) pp. 109–124.

91. *Yüan shih hsüan* 元詩選 (1st series, repr. Peking: Chung-hua, 1987) pp. 277, 288.

92. For mushrooms as imperial kindness see *Wen hsüan*, 6.285; Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, I, p. 461. On Po I and Shu Ch'i's gathering of wild peas see *Shih-chi*, 61.2123.

93. *Po-wu chih* (SPPY ed.), 2.2b.

94. Lu Tien 陸田 (1042–1102), *P'i ya* 埤雅 (TSCC ed.) 9.5b–6a.

95. For the references see *Mao-shih cheng-i*, I.537b on the ease and comfort of the ducks and widgeons. The five virtues of the perfect Sage in the *Chung-yung* are natural endowment, benevolence, justice, propriety, and intelligence (*Li-chi cheng-i*, I.1634c). On the five virtues of the “cock” see James Robert Hightower,

trans., *Han shih wai chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs*, p. 62: "On his head he wears a cap; he has civil culture [*wen*]. To his legs are attached spurs: he is possessed of martial qualities. Faced with an enemy, he dares fight; he has courage. When he gets food, he calls his companions; he has fellow-feeling [*jen*]. When he keeps watch at night, he does not miss the time; he is trustworthy. The cock is possessed of these five virtues. . . ."

96. For such gifts during a slightly later period see Julia K. Murray, "The Role of Art in the Southern Sung Dynastic Revival," *Bulletin of Sung-Yuan Studies* 18 (1986) pp. 41–59. A related use of the golden pheasant occurs in the famous Hsü Hsi 徐熙 (10th-century) attribution now entitled *Yü-t'ang fu-kuei* 玉堂富貴 in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* [London, 1956] III. pl. 138). The placement of the pheasant at the bottom of a painting dominated by a luscious array of peonies, magnolias, and cherry-apples suggests the combination of the pheasant as a symbol of high office with the symbolism of New Year flower paintings. In short, the painting may express the following sentiment: "May your household achieve wealth and happiness through high office." At any rate, the bird is not, as Sirén (I, p. 179) incorrectly states, "a large Mandarin duck."

97. Carole Morgan, "La divination d'après les croassements des corbeaux dans les manuscrits de Dunhuang," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 3 (1987) pp. 55–76. For a useful review of ancient Chinese conceptions of the crow see Rémi Mathieu, "Le corbeau dans la mythologie de l'ancienne Chine," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 201.3 (1984) pp. 281–309, esp. pp. 288–292.

98. Cheng Tso-hsin, *A Synopsis of the Avifauna of China*, pp. 552–557; Li Shih-chen, *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, pp. 2660–2662; Read, *Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs*, p. 69; Derek Goodwin, *Crows of the World* (2nd ed. London, 1986) pp. 76–78, 117–118; Hoffmann, *Glossar der heute gültigen chinesischen Vogelnamen*, pp. 6, 41.

99. Goodwin, *Crows of the World*, pp. 27, 48.

100. Tuan Yü-tsai, *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu chu*, 4A.15a; *Erh-ya i*, p. 145. There is considerable discrepancy in Chinese sources as to which species of crows *fan-pu*. This issue is too complex to discuss here. For a Han sculpture representing crows nourishing their mother see Mathieu, "Le corbeau dans la mythologie de l'ancienne Chine," p. 291 n.58. For an anonymous Ming painting entitled *Hsiao-niao fan-pu* 孝鳥反哺 in the Yüji Eda collection see Suzuki Kei, *Chügoku kaiga sōgō zuroku*, IV, no. JP14–173.

101. *I-wen lei-chü*, 99.1710–1711; cf. also Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise* (London, 1979) pp. 127ff.

102. *Ch'in-ching* (*Po-ch'uan hsüeh-hai* ed.) 2a.

103. *Mao-shih cheng-i*, I.310ab; Chu Hsi, *Shih chi chuan*, p. 26.

104. *Kuan-tzu* (*Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng* ed., [repr. Shanghai: Shanghai shu-tien, 1986]) p. 333 (trans. W. Allyn Rickett, *Kuan-tzu: A Repository of Early Chinese Thought* [Hong Kong, 1965] p. 146).

105. *Mao-shih cheng-i*, I.442b; Chu Hsi, *Shih chi chuan*, p. 130.

106. *Mao-shih cheng-i*, I.452b; Chu Hsi, *Shih chi chuan*, p. 139.

107. Ch'ou Chao-ao, ed., *Tu shih hsiang-chu* (repr. Peking: Chung-hua, 1979) II.619–620; Erwin von Zach, trans., *Tu Fu's Gedichte* (Cambridge, 1952) I, p. 178.

108. James Cahill, *The Art of Southern Sung China* (New York, 1962) no. 25.

109. *Kao Ch'ing-ch'iu chi* 高青丘集 (repr. Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1985), II.508. Frederick W. Mote, *The Poet Kao Ch'i (1336–1374)* (Princeton, 1962), does not discuss this poem.

110. *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* (repr. Taipei: Wen-hsing shu-tien, 1964) 56 *ts'e*, 54a. Hsieh To received the *chin-shih* degree about 1464 and was stationed in the Historiography Office before being appointed Rector of the Imperial University at Nanking in 1490. See *Ming-shih* (repr. Peking, 1974) 163.4431–4432 and *Ming-shih chi-shih* (*Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* ed.) pp. 954–956.

111. Mao #152, stanza 9, *Mao-shih cheng-i*, I.547ab; Chu Hsi, *Shih chi chuan*, p. 199.

112. Yeh Ts'ung-ch'i, ed., *Li Shang-yin shih chi shu-chu* (Peking: Jen-min, 1981) I.121–123. The poem is included in the famous Ch'ing anthology *Three Hundred Tang Poems*; see Witter Bynner, trans., *The Jade Mountain* (repr. New York, 1964) p. 62.

113. *Han-lin Yang Chung-hung shih chi* (SPTK ed.) 3.6a. On Yang Tsai see Pao Ken-ti, *Yüan-shih yen-chiu*, pp. 98–100.

114. *Chin-shu* (repr. Peking: Chung-hua, 1974) 60.1652. Cf. *Tu shih hsiang-chu*, II.863–864; and Zach, *Tu Fu's Gedichte*, I, p. 273 where Tu Fu uses the term to refer to the authority of a censor.

115. Cahill, *Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings*, p. 98; see, for instance, the painting attributed to Hui-ch'ung entitled *Sandy Shore and Misty Trees in Liao-ning sheng po-wu-kuan ts'ang-hua chi* (Peking: Wen-wu, 1962) pl. 23, which Cahill describes as "a fine early work in Chao Ling-jang style."

116. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, III, pl. 225.

117. Max Loehr, *The Great Painters of China* (Oxford, 1980) p. 147, fig. 75.

118. *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*, p. 456.

119. John C. Ferguson, *Li-tai chu-lu hua mu* (repr. Taipei: Chung-hua, 1968), 112ab, 114b.

120. Wu Ch'i-chen, *Shu-hua chi*, p. 336; Wu saw the scroll in Shao-hsing in 1654.

121. This whirling flight pattern of crows is again utilized and heightened to great dramatic effect in Kao Feng-han's 高鳳翰 (1683–1749) *Army of Crows at Dusk* (*Hsi-yang ya chen* 夕陽鴉陣) in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Berlin; see Suzuki Kei, *Chügoku kaiga sōgō zuroku*, II, no. E18–012.

122. Lee and Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols*, p. 29, no. 182.

123. *Liao-ning sheng po-wu-kuan ts'ang-hua chi*, pls. 64–66; Cahill (*Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings*, p. 232) describes the birds as magpies.

124. *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi hsü-pien* (repr. Taipei: Ku-kung po-wu-yüan, 1971) p. 930; Fang Shih-shu 方士庶 (1692–1751), *T'ien-yung-an pi-chi* 天慵庵筆記 (TSCC ed.) pp. 13–14; Sun Ch'eng-tse, *Keng-tzu hsiao-hsia chi* 庚子消夏記 (Peking: Lung-wei-ko, late Ch'ing dynasty ed.) 3.12a–13a.

125. *Ta-kuan lu* (*I-shu shang-chien hsüan-chen* ed. Taipei: Han-hua, 1970) 12.11ab.

126. This same set of five colophons (Chao, Kuan, Ch'iu, P'an, Ch'en Mai) on a *Han-ya t'u* is also recorded in Chang Ch'ou (1577–1643), *Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang* 清河書畫舫 (SKCS ed.) 6B.3b–4a; and Pien Yung-yü 卞永譽 (1645–1712), *Shih-ku-t'ang shu-hua hui-k'ao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (repr. Taipei: Cheng-chung, 1958) III.433.

127. The phrase *chi-tung ai-ming* is composed of two two-graph compounds (*chi-tung* “hungry and cold” and *ai-ming* “mournfully calling”). The copyist's omission of the graphs *tung* and *ai* in the middle of the four-graph phrase creates an unbalanced and awkward, albeit understandable, expression, *chi-ming* “hungrily calling.” Probably the copyist realized his omission when he encountered *chi-tung ai-ming* in the next poem, by Kuan Yün-shih, and then returned to emend the Chao Meng-fu text.

128. Wen Chia 文嘉 (1501–83), *Ch'ien-shan-t'ang shu-hua chi* 鈐山堂書畫記 (*Mei-shu ts'ung-shu* ed.) 7b.

129. See Mao #149 in which “fine sounds” refer to the governmental regulations of the Chou dynasty (*Mao-shih cheng-i*, I.383a) and the reference in Mao #299 to the “fine sounds” made by owls (birds of ill omen who usually screech) recently come under civilizing political influence (*Mao-shih cheng-i*, I.612b).

130. In their comments on the Liao-ning handscroll, the editors of the Ch'ing imperial catalogue (note 124) acknowledge the existence of the other painting and the conflicting colophons but tactfully allow the reader to draw his own conclusions, perhaps from political considerations, perhaps from some reluctance to question the integrity of the work.

131. *Keng-tzu hsiao-hsia chi*, 3.12b.

132. *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, no. 26.

133. Cahill, *Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings*, p. 305.

134. Barnhart, *Wintery Forests, Old Trees*, no. 18.

135. It is for this reason that the alternative titles of the Metropolitan painting as *Han-lin kwei-ya* and even better *Han-lin ch'ün-ya* are preferable to the *Ku-mu han-ya* of the old label. *Han-lin ch'ün-ya* correctly links the painting to the Cold Forest tradition, while *ch'ün* (“multitude; host; flock”) aptly implies the contrast between the flocking, garrulous crows and the reclusive pheasants, an implication lacking in the more neutral *kwei-ya* “returning crows.” *Han-lin ch'ün-ya* should best be translated into English as “Flocking Crows Over the Cold Forest.”

136. Harry R. and John C. Caldwell, *South China Birds* (Shanghai, 1931) pp. 3–4.

137. William Beebe, *A Monograph of the Pheasant* (London, 1918–22) III, p. 193.

138. *Mao-shih cheng-i*, I.453a; Chu Hsi, *Shih chi chuan*, p. 140.

The following references and recent publications relevant to *Crows in Old Trees* came to my attention after the completion of the text of this article.

page 136: For a reference in the writings of Liu Sung (1321–81) to Lo Chih-ch'uan as a “master of landscape painting from Ch'ing-chiang” in Kiangsi see Hou-mei Sung, “From the Min-Che Tradition to the Che School (Part 1). The Late Yuan Min-Che Tradition: Chang Shun-tze and Ch'en Shu-ch'i,” *Ku-kung hsiieh-shu chi-k'an* 6.4 (July 1989) pp. 2–3.

page 151: The Peking Palace Museum contains two fan paintings, each signed Liang K'ai, depicting a willow tree and jackdaws. See *Chung-kuo mei-shu ch'uan chi. Hui-hua pien* (Peking, 1988) IV, pl. 66–67. The first of these may be “possibly genuine” (Cahill, *Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings*, p. 129).

page 153: A handscroll in the Shanghai Museum entitled *Crows in a Willow Tree* is attributed to Emperor Hui-tsung, although the work is certainly much later. See *Chung-kuo mei-shu ch'uan chi. Hui-hua pien*, III, pl. 39.

page 154ff.: The Liao-ning handscroll has been reproduced in color along with a brief note by Lo Ch'ün-cheng in the periodical *I-yüan to-ying* 22 (1983) p. 28. Lo refutes the old attribution to Li Ch'eng and attributes the work to the Southern Sung Academy. He seems unaware, however, that the Liao-ning handscroll and the *Han-ya t'u* described by Wu Sheng in the *Ta-kuan lu* are different works.

page 157: In his catalogue for a recent exhibition of Ming painting (*Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School* [Dallas, 1993] pp. 23–25) Richard Barnhart describes Lo Chih-ch'uan as a “professional landscape painter.” This characterization may first seem at odds with my emphasis on Lo's status as a “literati painter.” As this paper has demonstrated, Lo was a literati painter in the sense that his works involve a deep awareness of the written literati tradition. At the same time, it is quite probable that during his years as a recluse following the fall of the Sung dynasty he supported himself from his work and was thus a “professional painter.” Lo was in this sense probably typical of those late-thirteenth-century scholar-painters whom the fall of Sung precluded from official careers, thus blurring the distinctions between their status as literati and professional painters.

A Painter's Progress: Matthew Pratt and *The American School*

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IN 1766 MATTHEW PRATT (1734–1805), a colonial American painter residing in London, exhibited a canvas titled *The American School* with the Society of Artists of Great Britain (Figure 1). In the histories of American art, this work occupies a position of importance out of all proportion to the esteem accorded its artist, whose reputation is based exclusively on that work. Representing a group of artists in Benjamin West's London studio, *The American School* has been widely understood to celebrate the coming of age of American art and owes its canonical status to the association with West, who appears at the extreme left. A recent émigré from the colonies, West (1738–1820) was the first British painter successfully to free himself from the stricture of portraiture and to enter the more professionally rewarding realm of history painting. Thus he fulfilled the highest aims of painting as defined—although never fully achieved—by Jonathan Richardson and Joshua Reynolds. West also became a legendary mentor and teacher (the role in which he appears in *The American School*), while Pratt remained a minor provincial painter.

These factors, which can be appreciated only in hindsight, contributed to historical reconstruction of *The American School* as an homage to West, leaving Pratt, as it were, out of the picture altogether. Indeed, historians do not even agree as to which figure is Pratt among the participants in the scene, whose identities have confounded writers for at least one hundred years; most assume he is the man receiving a drawing critique.¹ The only figure for whom there is consensus is the evident instructor, the man standing with a palette, believed to be West largely on the basis of resemblance to portraits of that artist. Of course, identification by resemblance is always problematic because it fails to account for

the particularities of artistic style.² In this case, however, the existence of an exactly contemporary portrait of West by Pratt offers a greater than usual measure of certitude (Figure 2).

But who in this picture is Pratt, and why? Before I argue this point, I should make clear that it is not my purpose to resurrect Pratt's admittedly rather feeble career or to name all the players in *The American School*. The picture, far from passively mirroring an actual situation, represents an active attempt to shape public perception of the colonial painter.³ And yet—the driving ambition of West and John Singleton Copley notwithstanding—Pratt's picture has seemed to confirm the tentativeness and modesty of the American school during the late colonial period. I believe the work far more ambitious than usually credited. Pratt's *American School* predicts for Americans a vigorous and authoritative role, a leading role, in the struggle to establish British parity with the greatest artistic achievements of the Western world.

When Matthew Pratt arrived in London in mid-summer 1764, he was not a novice to the practice of art, at least not by colonial standards.⁴ Born in Philadelphia in 1734, the son of a goldsmith, Pratt had been apprenticed at age fifteen and soon after the death of his father to his maternal uncle, James Claypoole, a "Limner & Painter in general."⁵ In other words, Claypoole painted signs and houses as well as portraits.⁶ Approximately three years after the release from his indenture in 1755, Pratt began to paint portraits in Philadelphia.⁷ Only two examples survive, both dated around 1760; they depict Benjamin Franklin (possibly copied after his portrait by Benjamin Wilson) and Elizabeth Moore Pratt, the artist's bride. Surely overstating Pratt's indebtedness to West, scholars have discerned the young Benjamin West's influence on the latter picture, noting Pratt's adoption of mannerisms that West had absorbed from the English painter John Wollaston.⁸ It is more likely that Pratt took certain

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The notes for this article begin on page 180.

169



Figure 1. Matthew Pratt (1734–1805), *The American School*, 1765. Oil on canvas, 91.4 x 127.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Samuel P. Avery, 1897

characteristics, such as the distinctively almond-shaped eye, from his own observation of Wollaston, who was active in Philadelphia in 1758.

Pratt sailed for London as escort for his cousin Elizabeth Shewell, who had become engaged to West prior to the latter's departure from Philadelphia in 1760. After three years of study in Italy and an auspicious year in England, West had sent for his fiancée. Pratt gave his cousin in marriage and then accompanied the Wests on their honeymoon (his own wife had remained in Philadelphia) before moving with them into a fine town house in Castle Street, Leicester Fields.⁹

Among Pratt's earliest works in London must be the pendant portraits of Elizabeth and Benjamin West, which were perhaps a wedding gift (Figures 2, 3). These reveal substantive improvement in

Pratt's artistic skill over the meager ability he demonstrated in his early Philadelphia work. As a member of West's household, he enjoyed constant contact with a painter far more sophisticated than any of his American experience. From a practical point of view, therefore, Pratt is justifiably considered the first of West's many pupils. Pratt himself did not characterize the association in this way; as he later recorded: West "rendered me every good & kind office . . . , as if I was his Father, friend and brother."¹⁰ It is well here to recall Pratt's real familial relationship to West, his prior experience as an artist, and his seniority to West by four years. Pratt had little reason—and apparently no inclination—to overstate his artistic debt to West, however great that debt might actually have been. Elizabeth West, who thought Pratt's talent "merely mechanical," de-

clared in private correspondence that her cousin possessed “a great share of vanity & always over-rated his Ability.”¹¹ In a self-portrait believed to date early in his London sojourn, Pratt indeed projects an air of assurance: brass porte-crayon in hand, he appears the relaxed, independent, and self-confident artist (Figure 4).

Pratt took immediate advantage of the professional opportunities that London offered and America lacked: in 1765 he exhibited a *Fruit Piece* (now lost) with the Society of Artists, one of two artist organizations founded earlier in the decade. This must have been a relatively modest work, but in the following year he showed the ambitious *American School*—the only one of his paintings known to bear a signature and a date, 1765, marked at the lower left-hand corner of the canvas depicted on the easel. Pratt evidently developed the theme of “art” as he worked on the painting. A recent thorough analysis of *The American School* revealed that the original composition did not include the easel, the palettes and brushes, the boy with the portfolio, or the plaster bust.¹² At the outset, then, Pratt planned

a conventional conversation piece; in the end, he produced an artistic manifesto. The picture resonates with proud authorship, and by its internal logic Pratt is the only plausible candidate for the man at the easel. The full implications of this identification—and therefore also the richness of this image—remain underexplored.

Consider the details of *The American School*. Five male subjects pursue various art-related activities in an interior space. On the far side of the table the smallest and apparently youngest removes several sheets of paper from a portfolio. The next student, somewhat older, pauses in the act of drawing a bust that rests on the table (its form appears at the corner of his paper). On the one hand, this statue refers to the classical past, the well-spring of Western art; but here antiquity seems to be looking to the moderns, since the bust is positioned so that it appears to observe the lesson. Significantly, it represents a child considerably younger than any of the students, of an age when the intellect and motor skills remain insufficiently well developed to benefit from artistic training such as the painting depicts. So young a

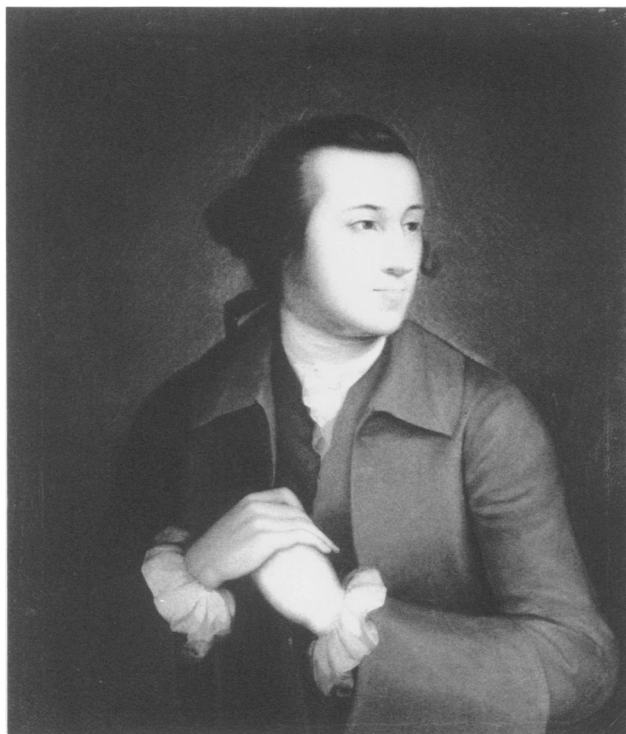


Figure 2. Matthew Pratt, *Benjamin West*, 1765. Oil on canvas, 77.5 x 63.8 cm. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Gift of Mrs. Rosalie V. Tiers Jackson (photo: Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts)



Figure 3. Matthew Pratt, *Mrs. Benjamin West*, ca. 1765. Oil on canvas, 84.1 x 64.1 cm. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Gift of Mrs. Rosalie V. Tiers Jackson (photo: Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts)



Figure 4. Matthew Pratt, *Self-portrait*, ca. 1764. Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 62.9 cm. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (photo: National Portrait Gallery)

child might be regarded as a lump of matter, full of potential, yet to be molded.¹³ The boy who has been drawing the bust has not been idly distracted but looks on and listens to the critique taking place at his right. The object of discussion, a drawing (indiscernible to present-day viewers) on blue paper, is held by a seated young man, against whose chair the commentator leans in the cross-legged serpentine stance signifying gentility in countless English male portraits of the period. Another serpentine line, extending from the bust on the table to the standing man, knits together these figures, collectively absorbed and engaged in art by touch, sight, and sound.

To the right of the composition appears another man, seated in a fashionable Chippendale chair. Although he watches and listens to the instruction that unites the group on the left, his autonomy is guaranteed: compositionally by his isolation in front of the rectilinear and light-colored canvas and narratively by the activity in which he engages. This man paints. Not only does he—like the man giving instruction—hold palette, brushes, and mahlstick (a tool used by artists to steady their hand while paint-

ing); he also sits at an easel, resting his foot casually upon its base, having turned, we feel, only briefly away from his work. In its present state, the depicted canvas appears blank except for a bit of drapery in the upper right-hand corner. Ultraviolet light reveals, however, that it once held the outline of a veiled woman, which has become transparent over time (Figure 5).¹⁴ Pratt, clearly, does not attempt to hide the labor of the hand that the art of painting involves, but he invests that labor with dignity by emphasizing qualities of mind. All of the participants in this scene appear thoughtful and engaged as they listen, look, or teach, affirming a point on which academic theorists insisted: intellect drives the painter's skill.¹⁵

Pratt's *American School* offers condensed visual exposition of the recommendations for artistic education offered in treatises popular throughout the eighteenth century. Roger de Piles, giving oft-repeated advice, counseled that the student should commence at a very young age, training the eye and the hand in exercises proceeding from geometry (which "teaches to reason"), perspective, anatomy and proportion, study after the antique and such modern masters as Raphael, and study of the model



Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1, right side of painting under ultraviolet light

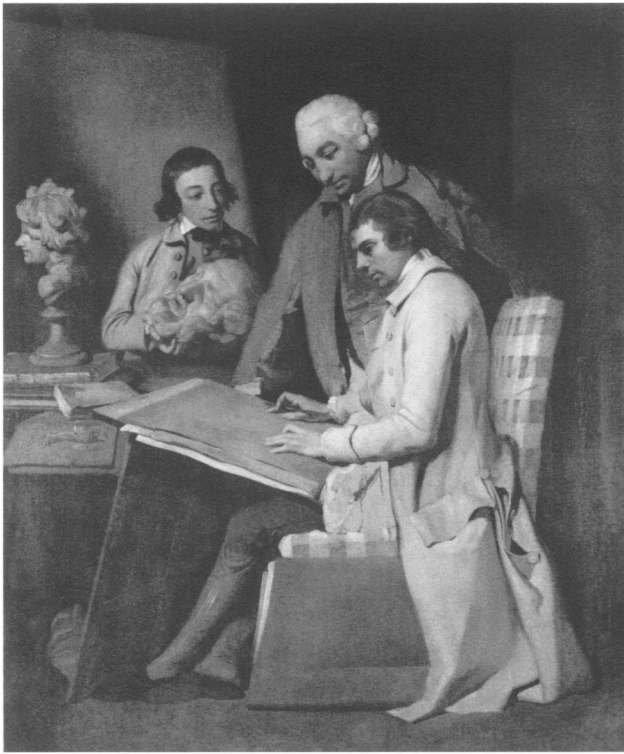


Figure 6. John Hamilton Mortimer (1740–79), *Self-portrait with Joseph Wilton and a Student*, mid-1760s. Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm. London, Royal Academy of Arts (photo: Royal Academy of Arts)

and prints.¹⁶ After gaining basic mastery in design through these studies, the student learns coloring, again by emulation of the masters and by copying nature. Books such as de Piles's focused on the proper sequence of artistic education and on the theory of art, not the mechanics of art-making. Practical manuals, by contrast, provided the "how-to," offering detailed technical information and occasionally promising that success "may be attained in a short Time without a Master," as the subtitle to *The compleat drawing-master* announced.¹⁷ Artists for whom formal training was unavailable or limited—those in provincial areas, for example—often had to rely on such books.¹⁸ However, few can have considered them an adequate substitute for study "under the Discipline of a knowing Master"; as Du Fresnoy declared: "He who has begun well has already perform'd half his work."¹⁹

Pratt was far from alone in choosing the education of the artist as a subject for painting. At the Society of Artists exhibition in 1766, his work joined Nathaniel Hone's *Boy Deliberating on His Drawing*. John Hamilton Mortimer (1740–79) likewise focused on drawing in a painting (Figure 6) of ap-

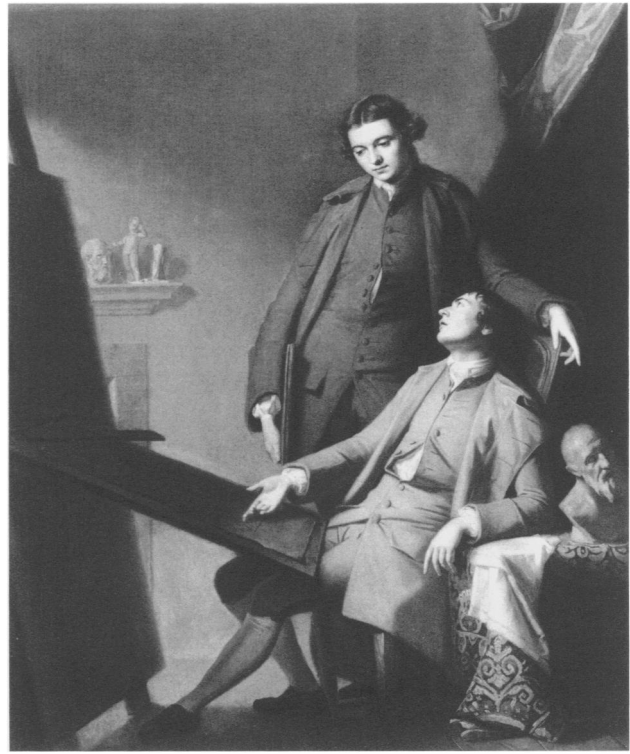


Figure 7. George Romney (1734–1802), *Peter and James Romney*, 1766. Oil on canvas, 110.5 x 87 cm. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection (photo: Yale Center for British Art)

proximately the same date, which includes a number of elements familiar from *The American School*: a young man drawing (believed to be Mortimer himself), another man (perhaps Joseph Wilton [1722–1803]) offering guidance, a boy who watches and listens but does not yet fully participate, and casts after the antique. George Romney (1734–1802) featured an even earlier stage of artistic training in a painting exhibited in 1766 with the Free Society of Artists, the rival to the Society of Artists. Although Romney's highly successful later career was very different from Pratt's, at this early point there are some interesting parallels. Exact contemporaries, each served a provincial apprenticeship, set up independent practice in the late 1750s, and moved to London a few years later.²⁰ Both clearly wished to identify themselves with theoretically orthodox artistic training.

Romney's painting, titled for exhibition *A Conversation*, shows his younger brothers in an intimate studio setting (Figure 7). Peter, an aspiring artist, makes a point to the attentive James about one of several geometric figures; presumably Peter has rendered the two triangles and circle with the aid of

the ruler and compass that rest on his drawing board. The activity reminds us that during the eighteenth century British artists still struggled to establish the dignity of painting as a liberal art, a cause in which the science of perspective, with geometry as its basis, played a key role. Virtually every tract on art since the Renaissance, theoretical and practical, made this point, and Leonardo da Vinci was an authoritative early voice. An English edition of his *Treatise on Painting* (1721), which Romney reportedly studied, begins: "Whoever would apply himself to painting, must, in the first place, learn perspective"; later Leonardo calls perspective "both the guide and the gate, . . . without which, it is impossible to succeed either in *designing*, or in any of the arts depending thereon."²¹ Perspective is "the very soul of all painting," iterated Jean Dubreuil in 1726, "and that alone which can make the painter a master."²² On a more practical level, a how-to book that Romney owned counseled: "Make your entrance [to the practice of art] . . . with plain geometrical figures, such as are the circle, square, oval, cone, triangle, cylinder, which at first . . . mark out with your rule and compass, till you can readily do it with your hand."²³

Peter Romney engages in just such a pursuit, but not as a beginning artist, since he received instruction from his older brother George between 1759 and 1762 and was active as a painter (if without much success) by 1766. In this picture, Peter, in his turn, instructs James, demonstrating that a liberal art can be passed on by intellectual processes—an idea that *The American School* also endorses. Specifically, Peter indicates a triangle; he points to it with one hand, while looking upward, face in profile, at James. The exchange demonstrates a point made in contemporary drawing manuals: that the triangle offers an aid to the construction of the half face.²⁴

Heads and hands figure prominently in Romney's painting. The eye is drawn first to James's head, brightly illuminated against a neutral background. His gaze directs us to Peter's open hand, and then our eye follows the line from Peter's arm to his face and then back (following his glance) to James's face. James's left arm is draped with studied casualness across the back of the chair, and his hand, reversing Peter's gesture, can be read as pointing to the bust on the table. The little group on the mantel echoes the principal figures: the putto mimics James's serpentine stance and, like him, gestures at a plaster head (while touching its own head). Romney again underscores an idea important in Pratt's *American*

School and to British artists of this period generally: that the painter succeeds not only by the skill of his hands but also by intellect. If Pratt's picture highlights mental skills, then it does not do so at the expense of the manual aspects of artistic creation. Following Jonathan Richardson, Pratt rejects the idea that making is more suspect than judging—that the painter, who uses his hands, ranks below the gentleman, who knows the theory of painting.²⁵ The artist, in Pratt's canvas, is both thinker and maker.

Only the recognition of West's later importance as teacher and public figure can have blinded viewers to the autobiographical aspect of *The American School*. This painting, surely, is not about Benjamin West (who is in shadow), but about Matthew Pratt, its author—the man in full illumination at the easel. Curiously, Pratt shows himself as right-handed in *The American School*, left-handed in the roughly contemporary self-portrait. If one assumes that he was right-handed, it is hard to imagine the left-handed representation, which records the reversal he saw in the mirror, as a merely careless error. Perhaps he wanted the viewer to see him as he saw himself, thereby marking the painting as a self-portrait and, in effect, signing it. In *The American School*, Pratt alone is shown in the process of painting, the highest level of achievement according to the system of academic education alluded to in the work itself: a measured progression of drawing engravings and casts after the antique, drawing from life, and, finally, painting. Pratt himself cannot have trained this way in America, although he possibly augmented his education in Britain. Undoubtedly he hungered for the dignity and authority that such artists as Reynolds and West ascribed to the painter who had pursued such academic study. In *The American School*, Pratt thus constructs and visually collapses a past that had not been his.

The American School also confidently projects Pratt's future. He shows himself as West's equal, a master in his own right no longer requiring guidance. He is at once the creator of *The American School*, the would-be artist of the canvas on the easel (which bears his signature), and—in the painting's present state—the subject of that canvas, since he appears in profile, silhouetted and centered against its blankness. But as already noted, the canvas once held the outline of a woman, a woman not present in the studio space (and, given Pratt's emphasis on pedagogy in this work, probably not to be construed as a portrait sitter outside our field of vision). Pratt

must conjure her from memory and imagination, using powers of mind, and, through technical mastery, give her life on the flat surface of the canvas. He has already painted a decorative swag, a common element in portraits of the period, but unlikely to be so fully realized at this early stage of a work. Its role in *The American School* belongs to the larger composition, which it closes at the upper right-hand corner and balances in providing an arching motif corresponding to the accented highlight on West's shoulder. Significantly, the blended pigments displayed conspicuously on Pratt's palette do not correspond to the drapery on the depicted canvas; rather, they are the blue and green that figure prominently in *The American School* itself. The parallel spatial relationship of the depicted and actual canvases reinforces their identification with one another. Pratt, in short, distinguishes the seated man at the easel—himself—as the creator of *The American School*.

Nineteenth-century references to Pratt's painting as the "School of West," "The London School of Artists," and "West's School of Painters in London" identify the work with its most famous subject but not (or only indirectly) with America.²⁶ The Society of Artists exhibition catalogue, however, confirms *The American School* as the original title, presumably the artist's own selection.²⁷ What, in 1766, distinguished this American school from any other?

Pratt may have wished to signal a contrast between the academy he depicted and the practice in Reynolds's studio across Leicester Square. James Northcote (1741–1831), who worked with Joshua Reynolds (1723–92) between 1771 and 1776, is the major source of information about Reynolds's studio practices, if a somewhat self-contradictory one. Despite his respect for Reynolds the artist, Northcote thought him "a very bad master in Art."²⁸ "His scholars," Northcote related (referring to Reynolds's assistants, of whom there were four in 1763), "were absolute strangers to Sir Joshua's manner of working. . . . He made use of colours and varnishes which they knew nothing of, and [they] always painted in a room distant from him."²⁹

Northcote had something quite different to say about West: "West was a learned painter, for he knew all that had been done in the art from the beginning; he was exactly what is called 'the schools' in painting, for he did everything by rule, and could give you chapter and verse for every touch he put on the canvas. He was on that account the best pos-

sible teacher, because he could tell why and wherefore everything was to be done."³⁰ Northcote's assessment is borne out by (and probably based on) the testimony of West's three generations of pupils, who frequently referred to him as "a friend, a brother, or a father."³¹ They found West the ideal teacher because he guided by positive example and allowed them ample freedom to exercise their developing skills; the diversity of their production bears out his leniency. West, for his part, would explicitly denounce pedagogical rigidity and efforts to induce conformity in a forum that only invited comparison with Reynolds: West's first Discourse as president of the Royal Academy, a position in which he succeeded Reynolds in 1792.³²

In *The American School*, West plays a genial supervisory role, his primacy seemingly signaled by the fact that he alone wears a hat. But men of West's generation no longer wore hats indoors, so the distinction might appear negative to eighteenth-century viewers. There is, however, another possibility, consistent with the egalitarian tenor of West's studio: Quaker men retained their hats indoors, removing them, whether indoors or out, for no authority save their God (as when praying). West drew attention to this practice in depicting his father and stepbrother with hats on in *The Artist's Family* (1772).³³ West himself was not a practicing Quaker, but his family portrait and other references to his Quaker heritage reveal his stake in the association nevertheless.³⁴ Perhaps he wanted to redeem a somewhat clouded past—his mother had been dismissed from the Quaker meeting as a young woman and her future offspring barred from membership as well. In claiming his hat-wearing Quaker relatives, West in effect also endorsed their sect's distrust of aristocratic society (although, in his fashionable powdered wig, he appears its perfect exponent in the family picture).³⁵ Pratt can have had little personal investment in or even knowledge of the West family's checkered past as Quakers, but in *The American School* he may well have intended the hat worn indoors to evoke the Quaker challenge to authority: the hat marks West—and the American school that he and Pratt led—as fundamentally nondeferential.³⁶ The fact that West wears a hat, at any rate, cannot signify that he has come in from out-of-doors since he holds palette, brushes, and mahlstick; these tools suggest that West has simply stepped away from an easel close by. Undoubtedly they also have symbolic significance, marking their bearer as a mature artist. Pratt's painting, in any

event, conveys the unmistakable impression of good-natured and open pedagogic exchange.

West taught his pupils in a manner that the leading educational theorists of the age would have approved. The critical importance of positive example, especially parental example, dominated John Locke's enormously influential *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693), reprinted nineteen times before 1761. Locke's model presented the mind at birth as a tabula rasa, to be written on by later experience; only exposure to positive role models could form an autonomous and self-reasoning adult. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the other giant in eighteenth-century pedagogy, disagreed with Locke on the possibility of educating children by reason, a faculty he considered to develop later in the maturation process. In *Émile, ou de l'éducation* (1762), Rousseau placed greater emphasis on the role of experience, arguing that children should be allowed to explore their "natural" inclinations, guided by the hidden hand of a wise adult.³⁷ Both mimicry or emulation and experiential training belonged to the proper artistic education as well. And just as the child needs a good parent, so the student must have an enlightened teacher; thus de Piles warned the master not to withhold instruction for fear of being surpassed by the pupil.³⁸ Reynolds, for whatever reason, guarded his method, leaving his "scholars" in the dark, according to Northcote. No evidence exists that West did.

The relatively egalitarian arrangement of *The American School* evokes the second St. Martin's Lane Academy, particularly under the leadership of William Hogarth (1697–1764). During the 1760s this was the only formal school for art instruction in London. West himself drew at the St. Martin's Lane Academy after returning from Italy in 1763 and, in 1766, he became one of its directors.³⁹ Hogarth's active association with the school had long since ended, however, and his opposition to the founding of a state academy along Continental lines had deepened his alienation from the community of artists with which West associated. Unlike members of that group, Hogarth rejected the traditional academic method of instruction based on copying and argued for nature as the ultimate source of beauty. Pratt's painting clearly endorses copying and a hierarchical system of training; but, at the same time, it champions intimate and friendly dialogue between artists at different stages of advancement, suggesting Pratt's fundamental sympathy with at least that aspect of Hogarth's pedagogy.



Figure 8. William Hogarth (1697–1764), *Self-portrait with Pug*, 1745. Oil on canvas, 90.2 x 69.9 cm. London, Tate Gallery (photo: Tate Gallery)

When Hogarth died in 1764, only two months after Pratt's arrival in London, the proud English painter—who once signed a portrait "W. Hogarth Anglus pinxt"—was something of a has-been in his native country.⁴⁰ But the artist's profile remained high in Philadelphia, where in 1763 William Williams, the peripatetic English painter who had earlier taught West, transacted business "at the sign of Hogarth's Head."⁴¹ Hogarth's prints and, most important, his *Analysis of Beauty* were also available for study or purchase.⁴² Whether or not Pratt ever read this book, it is unthinkable that he did not know it. Of course, many English artists, including Reynolds, rallied against Hogarth's treatise—not least because they disliked its author; this opposition gave the book a certain notoriety.⁴³ Among Americans, the *Analysis* seems to have fared better. Although West's opinion at the time is unknown, he later praised the *Analysis* as "of the highest value to every one studying the Art."⁴⁴ Other Americans agreed. John Trumbull, who was unusually well read in art

theory, portrayed himself with his elbow on a copy of Hogarth's *Analysis* in a self-portrait of 1777. And when Charles Willson Peale, after study with West between 1767 and 1769, set out to instruct members of his family in art, he initiated his brother St. George with the "line of beauty."⁴⁵ In *The American School*, the prominent serpentine configuration that unites the left-hand group (a figure that can be read in depth as well as across the surface of the canvas) suggests Pratt's own attentiveness to that characteristically Hogarthian device.

More suggestively, the manner of Pratt's self-portrayal in *The American School* evokes two of Hogarth's self-portraits, which had been engraved and prompted considerable verbal and visual commentary during Hogarth's lifetime. Pratt's isolation of his own form against the canvas—an unusual configuration in self-portraiture—recalls Hogarth's even more explicit presentation of himself as a work of art in the *Self-portrait with Pug* of 1745 (Figure 8); that picture introduced the line of beauty, well before publication of the *Analysis*, as a figure on the painter's palette.

In his final self-portrait, Hogarth placed himself at the easel (Figure 9). As first engraved, in 1758, the image bore the legend "Wm Hogarth, Serjeant Painter to His Majesty," an office that carried financial benefit but positioned its holder as a glorified house painter, in company with the Serjeant Plumber and the Rat-killer to the King—hence, Ronald Paulson has suggested, Hogarth's wry selection of the comic Muse as the subject of his canvas.⁴⁶ When the much-embittered Hogarth reworked the engraving in 1764, he abandoned the title and replaced the comic Muse with the satiric. The absence of a model in either version suggests Hogarth's desire to assert his own creativity at the sacrifice of his former insistence on the primacy of nature. It may also allude to a notational system that Hogarth advocated in the *Analysis*—a linear system of visual shorthand that would allow a painter to call to memory a figure taken from nature; even in the absence of the model, art can have nature at its base.⁴⁷ In notes unpublished during his lifetime Hogarth made clear the importance that such ability had for him: "Whoever can conceive part [of] a human figure with all its circumstances and variations when absent as distinct as he doth the 24 letters with their combinations is perhaps a greater painter . . . than ever yet existed."⁴⁸

Pratt's pretense to greatness—his own and that of the American school—unquestionably extends be-

yond a boast of skill in visual mnemonics. In *The American School*, the lack of an external referent for the figure depicted on the internal canvas gives primacy to the artist's imagination. Pratt illustrates, in effect, a passage from the Dryden translation of Du Fresnoy's *The Art of Painting*: "At length I come to the work itself, and at first find only a bare stain'd Canvas, on which the sketch is to be disposed by the strength of a happy Imagination; which is what we properly call *Invention*."⁴⁹ Invention, the passage continues, "is a kind of Muse."⁵⁰ Using powers of invention, Pratt has sketched a figure on the canvas: the Muse herself.⁵¹

The Muse links the participants in *The American School* to a European classical tradition with which British artists of the period so fervently sought connection. West, as is well known, was among the earliest and most successful to forge that connection, thanks in significant measure to his lengthy period of study in Italy and close association with others in the forefront of Neoclassicism. Anton Raphael Mengs in particular held special importance for



Figure 9. William Hogarth, *Hogarth Painting the Comic Muse*, 1758. Engraving, 40.6 x 35.6 cm. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection (photo: Yale Center for British Art)



Figure 10. Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–79), *Parnassus*, 1761. Fresco. Rome, Villa Albani (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

West, who called the German painter—the only living artist whose work he copied after leaving America—his “favorite master.”⁵² Both men moved in the circle of Cardinal Alessandro Albani, who, about the time of West’s arrival in Rome, commissioned Mengs to decorate the ceiling of the reception room in his new villa outside the city’s gates.

Mengs’s principal painting for Albani, *Parnassus*, represented Apollo with the nine Muses and their mother Mnemosyne (Figure 10). To Apollo’s left, Calliope, the leading Muse, holds the scroll that identifies her as the Muse of heroic or epic poetry; in this capacity, she crowns the poet on Parnassus. But Apollo holds the crown in Mengs’s work; he represents Poetry, and Calliope—whose scroll bears Mengs’s signature—symbolizes Painting. Not only the poet but also the painter is worthy to be crowned on Parnassus. Mengs, in other words, honors himself at the very center of the work he created, a painting that visually explicates the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*.⁵³

Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Albani’s librarian and an important contributor to the decorative program of his villa, wrote of the *Parnassus*: “A more beautiful work has not appeared in all modern times; even Raphael would bow to it.”⁵⁴ In his *History of Ancient Art*, published in late 1763, Winckelmann went a step further: “All the beauties . . . in the figures of the ancients, are embraced in the im-

mortal works of Antonio Raphael Mengs . . . the greatest painter of his own, and probably of the coming age also. He arose, as it were, like a phoenix new-born, out of the ashes of the first Raphael to teach the world what beauty is contained in art, and to reach the highest point of excellence in it to which the genius of man has ever risen.” Winckelmann then hailed Mengs as “the German Raphael.”⁵⁵ Mengs himself found Raphael “unquestionably the greatest painter” among the moderns, but this did not mean that he suspended critical judgment of the Renaissance master.⁵⁶ Mengs’s *Parnassus* challenges Raphael, specifically the latter’s *Parnassus* for the Stanza della Segnatura. Mengs “improved” upon Raphael according to the very standards of ancient art exalted by Winckelmann, in the spirit of Winckelmann’s recommendations to artists in *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (1755). Thus Mengs earned his inclusion in the *History of Ancient Art*.

Mengs may have been the “German Raphael” but he had an American counterpart: Benjamin West. West received the name “American Raphael” while still in Italy, and the title followed him to London.⁵⁷ West’s nascent Neoclassicism certainly fostered the comparison, but the designation signaled more than stylistic affinity; it amounted to a compliment of the highest order, for no artist enjoyed greater fame among West’s contemporaries than Raphael.⁵⁸

West's choice of the name Raphael for his first child, a son born in April 1766, makes plain both his own admiration for the Renaissance master and his personal investment in the greatest exponent of the Italian school.

School in this usage identifies a group of artists with a particular place. Eighteenth-century English writers on art were anxious to promote the idea that there was an English school, and "An Essay towards an English School" appeared in the 1754 London edition of Roger de Piles's *The Art of Painting*, a book consisting for the most part of "the Lives and Characters of above 300 of the most Eminent Painters," in which company British artists had been conspicuously absent.⁵⁹ The artists surveyed included Sir Godfrey Kneller, who, though German born, attained a high position in England as a portraitist. But therein lay the proven double threat to the perception of English artistic strength: first, the prominence in England of foreign-born painters—the essayist gamely notes that the German and Flemish schools "only excel [the English] by the performances of those masters whom we claim as our own" (Holbein and Van Dyck, for example)—and, second, the long-standing dominance of portraiture, an art ranking low in the academic hierarchy of the genres. Thus, when the Society of Arts offered a prize for history painting in 1759, Samuel Johnson could hope that such a reward "might excite an honest emulation, and give beginning to an English School."⁶⁰

West, of course, earned his fame precisely as a painter of historical subjects—and surely the title "American Raphael" also identified him with history painting. He represented an American school that promised to succeed as the English school had not, and thereby to lead British art to full respectability in the international sphere. While in Italy, West had found it advantageous to highlight his American origins, and Pratt endorsed continuation of that practice in England.⁶¹ The word *American* in the title of Pratt's painting signals affirmative regionalism, rather than protonationalism, at a time of America's expanding economic role in the British Empire and of attendant prophecies of America's cultural greatness.⁶² In its relationship to the mother country, America was growing up; and just as America might serve as a political example to its wayward, even corrupt parent, so might it be an example—a school—in the arts.⁶³

George Berkeley had anticipated such a glorious New World in his "Verses on the prospect of Plant-

ing Arts and Learning in America," composed in 1726 but not published until 1752. The poem, which contains the famous line "westward the course of empire takes its way," opens:

The Muse, disgusted at an Age and Clime,
Barren of every glorious Theme,
In distant Lands now waits a better Time,
Producing Subjects worthy Fame . . .⁶⁴

The Muse flees Europe "in her decay" to the site of another golden age, its achievements to be sung by future poets. Berkeley's poem received widespread circulation in the colonial press about 1760, but its basic theme was something of a commonplace.⁶⁵ In a poem celebrating the "Present Greatness of the English Nation," published in 1762, Philadelphian Nathaniel Evans also called upon the Muses to relocate in America, a land he presents as fully worthy to receive them.⁶⁶ A few years earlier, Evans's friend Francis Hopkinson prophesied that a "future Muse" would swell with West's name.⁶⁷ But Pratt obviously did not intend that this American school be perceived in terms of West alone as founding father/teacher, but of West and himself, fellow colonials in London.⁶⁸ It is Pratt, not West, who possesses the Muse in *The American School*, and their relationship is symbiotic. She draws aside her veil—a convention by which Nature reveals herself to Art—to whisper in his ear even as he, inspired, creates her.⁶⁹

Matthew Pratt gave lasting visual definition to the American school, a school in which he reserved a privileged place for himself. This was his original achievement, his invention. At a time of intensified debate over the social role and education of the British artist, he anticipated American leadership in the empire of the arts; he invented a past and posited a future for American art. But these had little to do with America's present. The harsh reality of the colonial artistic situation is forcefully conveyed by the words of another American painter represented at the Society of Artists in 1766: John Singleton Copley. Copley, who sent from Boston a portrait of his half brother Henry Pelham, craved the recognition that success at the exhibition could bring. "A taste of painting is too much wanting" in America, he complained; "was it not for preserving the resemblance of particular persons, painting would not be known in the place. The people generally regard it no more than any other useful trade, as they sometimes term it, like that of a Carpenter,

tailor or shoemaker.”⁷⁰ Perhaps Matthew Pratt, caught up in London’s artistic community and buoyed by his countryman West’s success, forgot the lonely situation of the colonial artist. Or perhaps he remembered it all too well and needed to insist on an American school that existed most fully on English soil—and even then most strongly in his imagination. Either way, Pratt’s ideal, studio self-portrait celebrated his own achievement and envisioned the American contribution to British painting, just at that moment coming of age.

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NOTES

1. A selective list of those naming Pratt as the man drawing includes: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (hereafter PAFA), *Loan Exhibition of Historical Portraits* (Philadelphia, 1887) pp. 105–106; Charles Henry Hart, “A Limner of Colonial Days,” *Harper’s Weekly* 40 (July 4, 1896) p. 665; Theodore Bolton and Harry Lorin Binsse, “Pratt, Painter of Colonial Portraits and Signboards,” *The Antiquarian* 17 (Sept. 1931) pp. 24, 48; William Sawitzky, *Matthew Pratt, 1734–1805, A Study of His Work* (New York, 1942) pp. 35–38; John Wilmerding, *American Art* (New York, 1976) p. 47; Dorinda Evans, *Benjamin West and His American Students*, exh. cat., National Portrait Gallery (Washington, D.C., 1980) pp. 27–28. The MMA will reaffirm this identification in the forthcoming first volume of the catalogue of its American collection. Dissenters include Jules David Prown, *American Painting from its Beginnings to the Armory Show* (Geneva, 1969) p. 34, and Ellen G. Miles in Miles and Richard H. Saunders, *American Colonial Portraits, 1700–1776*, exh. cat., National Portrait Gallery (Washington, D.C., 1987) pp. 265–268.

2. Condition further complicates identification; the figure presumed to be West was “savaged by a previous restorer,” according to a 1978–79 Record of Painting Examination and Treatment in the Curatorial Files, Department of American Paintings and Sculpture, MMA.

3. Pratt’s desire for recognition and his attempt to shape the form that recognition took was shared by English artists, as numerous studio and self-portraits of the period compellingly record. For self-portraits, see Ruthann McNamara, “The Theme of the Learned Painter in Eighteenth-Century British Self-Portraiture,” Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1983, esp. the appendices covering self-portraits mentioned by George Vertue (the 18th-century engraver who intended to write a history of the arts in England) in his “Note-books,” *Walpole Society* 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 29, 30 (Oxford, 1929–52) and Horace Walpole’s *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (New Haven, 1937), as well as those exhibited with the Society of Artists, Free Society, and Royal Academy (pp. 189–205; data summarized pp. 18–20).

4. Pratt’s later autobiographical notes record a July 1764 landing, but West’s fiancée, Elizabeth Shewell, documents the party’s arrival on Aug. 6 in her Pocket Almanack (Princeton University Library); cited in Helmut von Erffa, “Benjamin West: The Early Years in London,” *American Art Journal* 5 (1973) p. 9.

5. In “Pratt’s Autobiographical Notes,” as reprinted in Sawitzky, *Matthew Pratt*, pp. 15–16. Believed written in 1770, these notes exist only in a transcription made by Charles Henry Hart in 1892, published by him in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 20 (1895) pp. 460–466, and now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The circumstances and length of Pratt’s apprenticeship were altogether traditional; on that subject generally, see Ian M. G. Quimby, *Apprenticeship in Colonial Philadelphia* (New York, 1985).

6. Charles Willson Peale identified Claypoole as a house painter and glazier in his manuscript autobiography, in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; see Charles Coleman Sellers, “James Claypoole: A Founder of the Art of Painting in Pennsylvania,” *Pennsylvania History* 17 (April 1950) pp. 106–109. No portraits by James Claypoole, Sr., have been identified.

7. William Dunlap believed Pratt to have been active in New York as well, but no such mention appears in Pratt’s autobiographical notes, nor has other evidence to support that contention appeared; *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* [1834], Frank W. Bayley and Charles E. Goodspeed, eds. (Boston, 1918) I, p. 114.

8. Sawitzky, *Matthew Pratt*, p. 9. Sawitzky deemed West the dominating influence on Pratt’s entire career.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Letter from Mrs. Benjamin West to “Kitty,” ca. 1770; transcription from the E. P. Richardson Collection, in file on Matthew Pratt, National Museum of American Art/National Portrait Gallery Library. Rembrandt Peale likewise noted that Pratt “was considered but an indifferent painter, incapable of profiting by the opportunities he had in England,” although he inherited his father’s opinion that Pratt was “a mild and friendly man, not ambitious to distinguish himself” (Rembrandt Peale, “Reminiscences,” *The Crayon* 3 [Jan. 1856] p. 5; C. W. Peale, manuscript autobiography).

12. MMA conservator Dorothy Mahon examined *The American School* using X-radiography, ultraviolet illumination, and infrared scanning in summer 1991.

13. In his *Traité des sensations* (Paris, 1754) the abbé de Condillac explored the development of mind using the conceit of a statue (or a human being with a marble exterior) brought to life through the successive endowment of each of the five senses. English translation awaits Geraldine Carr's *Condillac's Treatise on the Sensations* (London, 1930). In observations on Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy's *The Art of Painting*, Roger de Piles counseled the young artist to study antique busts of subjects of various ages, including a child, "for example . . . the little *Nero*"; I have used the John Dryden translation (London, 1716) p. 218.

14. The entry on *The American School* in the forthcoming first volume of the MMA American paintings catalogue refers to this detail as a "chalk underdrawing"; however, this imprecisely identifies what Pratt intended to represent with the means of representation. Most likely, the artist used lead white to create the "drawing," later rendered nearly invisible to the naked eye by abrasion of the paint surface and a change in the refractive index. Certainly no evidence exists that anyone ever deliberately obliterated the image. The discovery of the underdrawing was published by Trudy E. Bell, "Technology: Ultraviolet Detection," *Connoisseur* 210 (May 1982) pp. 140–141.

15. See, for example, Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London, 1715) pp. 29–30.

16. References to de Piles in this paragraph are from the section "On the order which ought to be observed in the study of painting," in *The Principles of Painting* (London, 1743) pp. 234–252; this was the first English translation of *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris, 1708).

17. *The Compleat Drawing-master* (London, 1763); see also Thomas Bardwell, *The Practice of Painting and Perspective Made Easy* (London, 1756) and [Robert Dossie], *The Handmaid to the Arts*, 2 vols. (London, 1758; 2nd ed. 1764).

18. See Janice G. Schimmelman, "Books on Drawing and Painting Techniques Available in Eighteenth-Century American Libraries and Bookstores," *Winterthur Portfolio* 19 (Summer–Autumn 1984) pp. 193–205. She found Robert Dossie's *Handmaid to the Arts*—which Charles Willson Peale purchased on a visit to Philadelphia in 1762—the most popular of these publications.

19. Du Fresnoy, *The Art of Painting*, pp. 213, 59.

20. Romney's master, Christopher Steele, possibly spent time in Philadelphia in 1763–64, just prior to Pratt's departure for London, according to the later recollections of Charles Willson Peale (Miles in Miles and Saunders, *American Colonial Portraits, 1700–1776*, pp. 31–32). For Richard L. Bushman, not only America but most of England as well were cultural provinces of London ("American High-Style and Vernacular Cultures," in *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds. [Baltimore/London, 1984] p. 367).

21. Leonardo da Vinci, *Treatise on Painting* (London, 1721) pp. 29, 36. John Romney mentioned his father's study of Leonardo's book in *Memoirs of the Life and Works of George Romney* (London, 1830) p. 11.

22. [Jean Dubreuil], *The Practice of Perspective*, E. Chambers, trans. (London, 1726) p. iii.

23. C. K., *Art's Masterpiece* (London, 5th ed., 1710?) p. 8. For Romney's use of this manual, see John Romney, *Memoirs of the*

Life and Works of George Romney, p. 11.

24. See, e.g., *The Artist's Vade Mecum* (London: Sold by R. Sayer, 1762) [pl. 5]; *The Compleat Drawing-master* (London: Printed for Henry Parker, 1763) p. 2.

25. Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, pp. 29–30.

26. The painting was titled "School of West" on the occasion of its second recorded exhibition, with the Society of Artists, Philadelphia, in 1811 (six years after Pratt's death); "The London School of Artists" in Dunlap, *History*, I, p. 114; "West's School of Painters in London" in PAFA, *Loan Exhibition of Historical Portraits*, p. 105.

27. *A Catalogue of the Pictures, Sculptures, Designs . . . Exhibited by The Society of Artists of Great-Britain, at the Great Room, Spring Garden, Charing-Cross, April the Twenty-first, 1766* (London, 1766).

28. As quoted in Charles Robert Leslie and Tom Taylor, *Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds with notices of some of his Contemporaries* (London, 1865) I, p. 418; see also II, pp. 159–160.

29. Stephen Gwynn, *Memorials of an Eighteenth Century Painter (James Northcote)* (London, 1898) p. 49; also pp. 46–49, 58–59, 110–111, 225–226. For the number of assistants in 1763, see James Northcote, *The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (London, 1818) I: 120. For an overview, see M. Kirby Talley, Jr., "'All Good Pictures Crack'—Sir Joshua Reynolds's practice and studio," in *Reynolds*, Nicholas Penny, ed. (New York, 1986) pp. 55–70.

30. Northcote, in *Conversations of James Northcote R.A. with James Ward on Art and Artists*, Ernest Fletcher, ed. (London, 1901) pp. 153–154.

31. Dunlap, *History*, I, p. 112. Such coupled references to one's benefactor as father and friend betray a changed model for social relations—from a patriarchal to an affectional paradigm—that emerged during the later 18th century; on this subject, see Jay Fliegelman's superb *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution Against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (Cambridge, 1982). Pratt used such terms in describing West's kindnesses to him but, significantly, placed *himself* in the paternal role. For a survey of West's pupils, see Evans, *Benjamin West and His American Students*.

32. Benjamin West, *A Discourse Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy on the Distribution of the Prizes, December 10, 1792* (London, 1793) pp. 11–12.

33. In "Benjamin West's Family Picture: A Nativity in Hammersmith," *Essays in Honor of Paul Mellon, Collector and Benefactor* (Washington, D.C., 1986), Jules D. Prown explains the somewhat fixed stare of the two Quakers as evidence that they are focused inwardly, in prayer (p. 277). However, Quaker doctrine clearly indicates that the head should be uncovered in prayer; see, e.g., Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (7th ed., Dublin, 1737) pp. 15, 529–530 (Fifteenth Proposition), and *Canons and Institutions Drawn Up and Agreed Upon By the General Assembly or Meeting of the Heads of the Quakers* (London, 1669) p. 7. Charles Robert Leslie, writing of West's painting in his *Autobiographical Recollections* (London, 1860) p. 41, described the Quakers as sitting "for a few minutes in silent meditation which will soon be ended by the old man's taking off his hat and offering up a prayer for the mother and infant." For a general account of hat-wearing among the Quakers, see Amelia Gummere, *The Quaker: a study in costume* (Philadelphia, 1901; repr., New York/London, 1968) pp. 57–90.

34. On West's investment in his Quaker background, see Ann Uhry Abrams, *The Valiant Hero: Benjamin West and Grand-Style History Painting* (Washington, D.C., 1985) pp. 36–38.

35. In *The American School* Pratt and his fellow students do not wear wigs, in accordance presumably with a short-lived fashion for younger men to wear their own hair. See C. Willet Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century* (London, n.d.) p. 241.

36. Ultraviolet illumination of *The American School* reveals two other hats hanging on the wall: one (barely visible to the naked eye) just above and to the left of the internal canvas, the other above the boy third from left—both apparently painted over as the composition evolved.

37. Rousseau's books enjoyed wide circulation beginning in the early 1760s and were available in English in Philadelphia by 1763; according to Paul Merrill Spurlin, no book of Rousseau's was advertised more often by American booksellers than *Émile* (*Rousseau in America, 1760–1809* [University, Ala., 1969] p. 74).

38. De Piles, *Principles of Painting*, p. 237. Some writers on art implicated parents, the first teachers; thus Francesco Algarotti cited a lack of parental encouragement as a factor inhibiting excellence in the sciences and liberal arts. He proposed carefully directed education as a remedy and detailed its course for artists in *An Essay on Painting* (London, 1764)—a book noteworthy for its dedication to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce in London. This treatise had an American audience at an early date; in a letter of Nov. 12, 1766, for example, Copley queried West on a point in Algarotti (*Letters & Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham 1739–1776* [Boston, 1914] pp. 51–52).

39. *Public Characters of 1805*, 7 vols. (London, 1805) p. 533; William T. Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700–1799* (1928; repr. ed., New York, 1969) I, p. 195.

40. William Hogarth, *A Gentleman in Red* (1741), Dulwich Gallery, illustrated in Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992) II, fig. 77.

41. Williams, advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, Jan. 13, 1763, cited in David Howard Dickason, *William Williams, Novelist and Painter of Colonial America, 1727–1791* (Bloomington/London, 1970) pp. 30–31.

42. See, e.g., Joan Dolmetsch, "Prints in Colonial America: Supply and Demand in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Prints in and of America to 1850*, John D. Morse, ed. (Charlottesville, Va., 1970) pp. 54, 55, 63; and E. McSherry Fowble, *Two Centuries of Prints in America 1680–1880* (Charlottesville, Va., 1987) pp. 19, 258–259. The Library Company of Philadelphia—of which Pratt's father was a charter member—was among the first public institutions to acquire Hogarth's treatise; *The charter, laws, and catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1764) p. 43.

43. See, e.g., Northcote, *The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, II, p. 54.

44. John Thomas Smith, *Nollekens and his Times* (London, 1828) II, p. 343.

45. Charles Willson Peale, manuscript autobiography. Benjamin Ralph included a lesson on drawing the line of beauty in his *The School of Raphael: Or the Student's Guide to Expression in Histori-*

cal Painting (London, 1759), because he thought Hogarth remiss in that regard.

46. Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth* (New Haven/London, 1971) II, pp. 250–251.

47. Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, Joseph Burke, ed. (Oxford, 1955) pp. 8–9. McNamara made this suggestion in "The Theme of the Learned Painter," pp. 60–61.

48. Michael Kitson, "Hogarth's Apology for Painters," *Walpole Society* 41 (1968) p. 69 (ll. 678–681).

49. Du Fresnoy, *The Art of Painting*, p. 13. Cf. the later, more graceful translation in Du Fresnoy, *The Art of Painting*, William Mason, trans., with commentary by Sir Joshua Reynolds (Dublin, 1783), verses 106–109. In *A Checklist of European Treatises on Art and Essays on Aesthetics Available in America Through 1815* (Worcester, Mass., 1983) pp. 124–130, 172, Janice G. Schimmelman found thirty references to *The Art of Painting* (the first in 1744), making it the third most prevalent aesthetic treatise in America during the time period she surveyed. It was one of the books William Williams reportedly owned and lent the young Benjamin West (John Galt, *The life, studies, and works of Benjamin West, Esq.* [London, 1816] I, p. 28).

50. The "Observations" in the 1716 edition of *The Art of Painting* explains: "The Attributes of the *Muses* are often taken for the *Muses* themselves; and it is in this Sense, that *Invention* is here call'd a *Muse*" (p. 109).

51. I thank David Steinberg for first suggesting to me that the figure on Pratt's canvas might represent a *Muse*.

52. West, writing from London to Joseph Shippen, Sept. 1, 1763; letter published in Edgar P. Richardson, "West's Voyage to Italy, 1760, and William Allen," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 102 (Jan. 1978) pp. 21–22. Galt reports contact between West and Mengs in *The life, studies, and works of Benjamin West*, I, pp. 118–123, but the relationship was probably not one of formal tutelage. For West's copies after Mengs, see Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West* (New Haven/London, 1986) pp. 444–446, cat. nos. 510, 511.

53. This interpretation is from Steffi Röttgen, "Mengs, Alessandro Albani und Winckelmann—Idee und Gestalt des Parnass in der Villa Albani," *Storia dell'arte* 30–31 (May–Dec. 1977) pp. 100–122, esp. p. 101.

54. J. J. Winckelmann to J. J. Volkmann, March 27, 1761, *Briefe*, H. Diepolder and W. Rehm, eds. (Berlin, 1952–56) II, p. 130, no. 397.

55. Winckelmann, *The History of Ancient Art*, G. Henry Lodge, trans. (Boston, 1880) I, p. 407.

56. Mengs, *Gedanken über die Schönheit und über den Geschmack in der Malerei* (1762), as translated in *Neoclassicism and Romanticism, 1750–1850*, I: *Enlightenment/Revolution*, Lorenz Eitner, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970) p. 32. Mengs's book did not appear in English translation until 1796.

57. The *Public Advertiser* (London) published an anonymous poem dedicated to "Mr. West, a celebrated painter . . . known in Italy by the name of the American Raphael" (quoted in Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, IV, p. 113). Cf. the abbé Peter Grant's reference to West as "your young American Raphael" in

a letter to Dr. John Morgan from Rome, Aug. 31, 1765 (quoted in Arthur S. Marks, "Angelica Kauffmann and Some Americans on the Grand Tour," *American Art Journal* 12 [Spring 1980] p. 23) and the anonymous pamphleteer who in 1766 praised "the mystic wonders of [West's] Raphael's school" (Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England*, I, p. 212).

58. Between 1711 and 1759, the maximum price paid at auction was for a Holy Family attributed to Raphael, sold in 1758 for £703.10s; in auctions during that entire period, only 545 pictures brought more than £40 (Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1768* [New Haven/London, 1988] pp. 166–168).

59. B. Buckeridge, "An Essay towards an English School," in Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting* (3rd ed., London [1754]) pp. 354–439. See also T.B., *A call to the connoisseurs, or decisions of sense with respect to the present state of painting and sculpture, and their several professors in these kingdoms* (London, 1761) pp. 37–43.

60. Samuel Johnson, *The Idler* 45 (Feb. 24, 1759) as quoted in Morris R. Brownell, *Samuel Johnson's Attitude to the Arts* (Oxford, 1989) p. 47; Brownell (p. 73) credits Robert Folkenflik with recognizing the connection between Johnson's remark and the Society of Arts premiums.

61. Cf., for example, West's famous comparison of the *Apollo Belvedere* to a Mohawk warrior (Galt, *West*, I, pp. 105–106), surely a calculated rather than naive utterance.

62. See Joseph J. Ellis, *After the Revolution: Profiles of Early American Culture* (New York/London, 1979) pp. 3–21. Ellis cautions against regarding such prophecies, which increased with the conclusion of the French and Indian War, as "protonationalistic" (p. 3). Even during the Revolution, the word *American* had by itself little nationalistic resonance; see, e.g., Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York, 1965) p. 297. On provincialism as a stimulus to originality and creative vigor, see Bernard Bailyn and John Clive, "England's Cultural Provinces: Scotland and America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 11 (1954) pp. 200–213.

63. The sense of the term *school* as "example" figures in William Aglionby's *Choice Observations Upon the Art of Painting* (London, 1719) pp. 26–27 (first published in 1685): the "first Rank of Painters," he writes, are those "whom all must look upon as the Great Originals that Heaven hath given to Mankind to Imitate; and whose Works will not only be the School, but the Delight and Admiration of all the Ages." Benjamin Ralph employed *school* in this sense in the title to his practical manual *The School of Raphael: Or the Student's Guide to Expression in Historical Painting* (London, 1759).

64. For the six-quatrain poem in its entirety and editorial commentary, see George Berkeley, *The Works of George Berkeley Bishop of Cloyne*, A. A. Luce and T. E. Jessop, eds. (London, 1955) VII, pp. 369–373.

65. See Ellis, *After the Revolution*, pp. 3–21, and Rexmond C. Cochrane, "Bishop Berkeley and the Progress of Arts and Learning: Notes on a Literary Convention," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 17 (May 1954) pp. 229–249.

66. Nathaniel Evans, *Ode, on the Late Glorious Successes of His Majesty's Arms, and Present Greatness of the English Nation* (Philadelphia, 1762).

67. *American Magazine* (Sept. 1758) p. 607. See also Hopkinson's invocation of the Muse in *Science, A Poem* (Philadelphia, 1762).

68. At least one other colonial-born painter also then resided in London. John Greenwood (1727–92), active in Boston between 1747 and 1752, had spent a decade in Surinam and Amsterdam before settling in London about 1763, where he devoted the remainder of his career to art-dealing and auctioneering (Alan Burroughs, *John Greenwood in America* [Andover, Mass., 1943] pp. 50–51).

69. See, for example, the frontispiece and explanatory verse in G. Smith, *The Laboratory, or School of Arts* (London, 1739).

70. John Singleton Copley to either West or R. G. Bruce, 1767?, *Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley*, pp. 65–66. Orthography and punctuation adjusted to modern standards.

“Splendid Mountain,” A Sketchbook by the Young John Singer Sargent

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“**S**PLENDID MOUNTAIN,” a sketchbook executed by John Singer Sargent at the age of fourteen while on a summer excursion with family members in 1870, contains watercolor, graphite, and black-crayon views of the Swiss Oberland. In addition to forty-seven studies drawn directly on the sketchbook pages, including three after Italian Renaissance artists, there are fourteen related landscape and portrait drawings done at this time, which Sargent or a relative is believed to have pasted into the book. This chronological pictorial diary begins on June 30, when Sargent, with his father, Dr. FitzWilliam Sargent, took a three-week walking tour from Kandersteg to Thun and then traveled north to Interlaken to join his mother and two sisters in Mürren, where they remained for about a month. The final leg of the tour extended from Grindelwald up to Mt. Pilatus and down to Lucerne, and finally back to their temporary home in Florence. It was at this time, on October 10, that Dr. Sargent wrote to the young boy’s grandmother Emily Haskell expressing discontent with their “nomadic sort of life,” and noting enthusiastically that “John seems to have a strong desire to be an artist . . . and we have concluded to gratify him and to keep that plan in view in his studies.”¹

In 1950 this sketchbook, as well as another one known as “Album 3,” which was also used by Sargent while in Switzerland in May and again in August, and a large group of paintings and drawings by the artist were given to the Metropolitan Museum by his younger sister, Mrs. Francis Ormond. The inscription “Splendid Mountain Watercolours” was written in Sargent’s hand on a paper label affixed to the cover of the sketchbook that is the sub-

ject of this study. As the drawings had had minimal exposure to light, the colors were in superb condition; however, the paper was damaged along the edges, the spine of the book was broken, and the pages were separated from the binding and randomly ordered. In 1988 conservation was begun and the sketchbook was reconstructed based on the dates and locations Sargent noted on many of the drawings, on correspondence, and on visual evidence found on pages adjacent to many of the drawings, such as extended strokes of watercolor, offsetting of graphite and crayon, pigment stains, and fragments of paper remaining from the torn signatures. The reassembled sketchbook indicates that Sargent executed the drawings in a sequence directly corresponding to the course of the tour.²

In addition to serving as a topographical record of the young artist’s holiday, this group of drawings may also be interpreted as reflecting certain aspects of the contemporary artistic and cultural climate, both in the timeliness and significance of its Alpine subject matter and in its materials and techniques. Examination of these pages further proves this to be a workbook in which Sargent explored problems in the representation of landscape and genre details and in the application of paint and color. The drawings merely hint at the brilliance of his mature style. They lack the coloristic bravura, compositional interest, and atmospheric qualities he would develop with studio training and years of practice, yet even as an untutored artist, the seeds of Sargent’s virtuosity are evident.

Collectively, these sheets reveal Sargent’s awareness of current watercolor practices. There is, however, no documentation indicating where or how he might have learned of these techniques and theories, and what his sources of inspiration might have been at this formative stage of his artistic career.

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The notes for this article begin on page 204.

Until the winter of 1869–70, when the thirteen-year-old Sargent first attended school, he had been educated almost exclusively by his father. His formal art instruction began only after the summer's Swiss holiday. Presumably he received some early guidance in drawing from his mother, Mary Sargent, who was an amateur of modest talent, but it is unlikely that she served as his teacher for long. Comparison of his work with her drawings reveals that by age fourteen he had easily surpassed her unaffected manner.³ Surviving correspondence indicates that Sargent's enlightened, expatriate family, who were in constant travel through much of Europe, were inveterate sightseers and art enthusiasts.⁴ Certainly they would have been aware of the enormous popularity of watercolor painting at this time and sensitive to the current cultural milieu. Perhaps during their stay in London in the spring of 1870, only a few months before this trip, they had visited the acclaimed yearly exhibitions of the Royal Academy and the Society of Painters in Watercolours, which had included works in this medium by Turner, the Pre-Raphaelites, and many other contemporary practitioners.⁵

Customary on the Sargents' annual itinerary was Switzerland, where they often spent their summers. The widespread fascination at this time with Alpine scenery—the primary subject matter of this sketchbook—would not have escaped their cognizance. Ever since the mid-eighteenth century the Swiss tour had been pro forma with nobility, literary and artistic figures, and the educated middle class, which included Sargent's family. Not only had a stream of notable figures, among them Goethe and Turner, traversed its passes, bringing back printed, painted, and written images of the Alps, but for those remaining at home, parlor games, panoramas, and architecture in the Swiss style reflected the wide popularity of Alpine touring. In the fifteen years prior to the Sargent family sojourn, this enthusiasm had accelerated with the scaling of the Wetterhorn in 1854, the Matterhorn in 1865, and the formation of the English and Continental Alpine clubs.

The focus on Switzerland, as on other scenic locales, including the Hudson River and the Rhine, was a manifestation of the widely held nineteenth-century Romantic philosophy Transcendentalism, a belief in the communion between man and nature and in the divine forces with which nature was imbued. In the vanguard of this response to nature were poets and landscape artists, and, significantly, it was during this time that plein-air painting be-

came popular. Watercolor, because of its diverse technical range and inherent transparency, was particularly suitable for portraying evocative features of the topography: heavy mists, changing skies, clouds pierced by rays of sunlight. Professionals and amateurs were drawn to this medium because it was versatile—allowing a wide range of descriptive effects and rapid execution—less costly, and more portable than oils.

To meet the needs of the plein-air artist and the watercolor practitioners of this era, a new trade arose, that of artists' colorman (including the establishment of the London firms of Newman, Reeve, Rowney, and Winsor and Newton). The many products introduced to the market expanded the variety of techniques the artist, amateur or professional, could employ. Notable among them was the compact enameled-tin sketching box with its lid doubling as a palette, which was more easily carried into the field than the cumbersome, wooden studio apparatus traditionally used by the watercolorist. Filling these boxes were the new machine-ground moist colors (introduced ca. 1841) packed in porcelain pans and in new compressible metal tubes (introduced 1846), which allowed relatively dry color with appreciable body to be applied at full saturation or in readily produced washes. Stimulating new techniques were Permanent and Chinese whites (1831, 1834), opaque pigments made of zinc oxide that did not blacken as had lead white, and additives like oxgall and megilp to enhance wetting power and viscosity without altering transparency. Other materials made for the watercolorist included sketching boards and frames, prestretched paper in solid drawing blocks, and papers in various textures, colors, and surface finishes suited to an array of practices, such as sponging and blotting. New accessories included India rubber for lifting color, assorted scrapers and erasers, a myriad of flat, round, and pointed brushes of sable or camel hair, japanned water vessels, collapsible easels and camp stools (see Figures 28, 29), umbrellas, staffs, and, not least, scores of instruction books published by artists and colormen directed to the amateur watercolorist in which the theory and techniques of this medium were carefully systematized.

The young Sargent was undoubtedly equipped with many of these supplies for his summer's venture into plein-air painting. There is no concrete evidence, however, that any art instruction manuals were taken along or had been previously consulted. It is nonetheless plausible that the elder Sargents

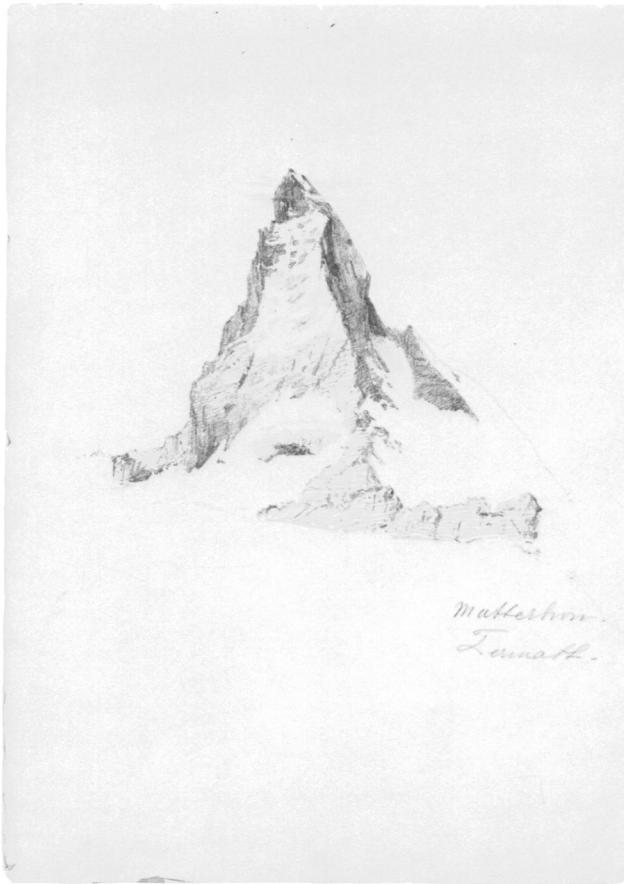


Figure 1. John Singer Sargent (American, 1856–1925), *Matterhorn, Zermatt* (50.130.1460) from *Splendid Mountain* notebook, 1870. Graphite on paper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Francis Ormond, 1950 (50.130.146). Unless otherwise credited, all illustrations in this article are from the notebook.

were familiar with some of the numerous American and British drawing books published in the nineteenth century—a period of time in which art instruction was closely allied with education. Books appearing before 1860 emphasized the utilitarian function of art, commonly establishing parallels between drawing, reading, and penmanship and presenting art in formulas intended as a means of teaching practical skills. These manuals stressed figure drawing and fixed concepts of beauty, based on “ideal types.” Between 1820 and 1860, 145 of them had been published in America, and from 1800 to 1860, 217 had been published in Britain.⁶ Toward the late 1850s the emphasis in art instruction shifted to aesthetics, owing to the influence of the most widely read manual of the era, John Ruskin’s *Elements of Drawing in Three Lessons for Beginners*. First published in 1857, and appearing in multiple editions and reprints for decades thereafter, the book sold thousands upon thousands of copies.⁷ Recommended by the author for a youth or girl not less than age twelve or fourteen,⁸ its impact on art education was pervasive in England and America throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. It would have been unlikely for a young artist to have escaped its influence. In addition to presenting his philosophy of art appreciation, Ruskin advocated a new means of using watercolor that soon became familiar in the work of the Pre-Raphaelites.



Figure 2. *Matterhorn* (50.130.146n). Graphite.

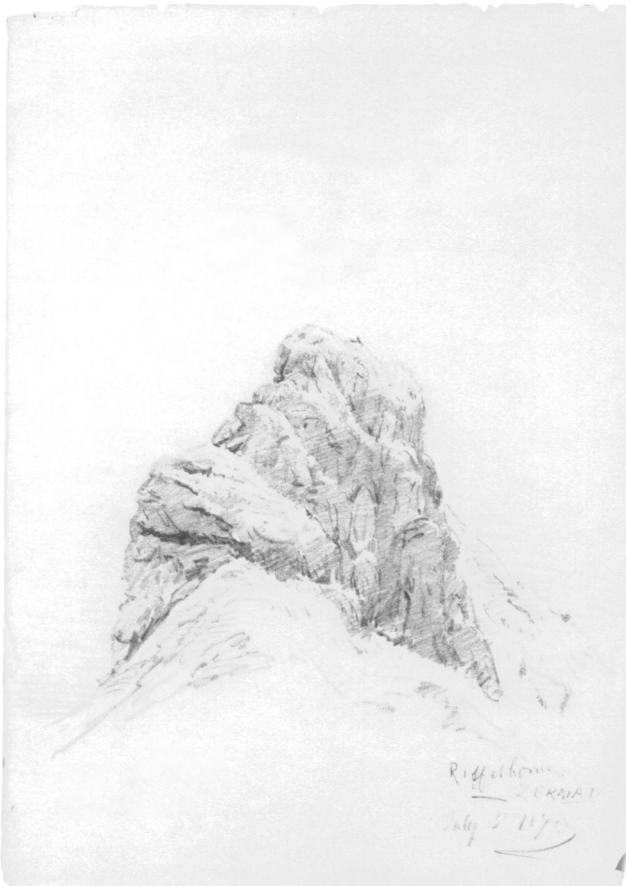


Figure 3. *Riffelhorn from Zmutt Glacier, July 5* (50.130.146q). Graphite

An examination of Sargent's subject matter, his transcription of landscape, his portrayal of individual motifs, his method of working, and his use of opaque paint made with Chinese white suggests that the precepts Ruskin had made commonplace may have served as an aesthetic guide for him at this time. Other aspects of these drawings—namely Sargent's brushwork, his experiments in broad transparent washes, and his use of subtractive methods—suggest, however, that the young artist also turned to bolder, pure-colored wet-wash practices as a model. A traditional method of watercolor painting, this technique experienced a resurgence in popularity at the end of the 1860s as artists began to react against the polished and controlled Victorian composition. Although it is not possible to identify a mentor or a specific manual Sargent might have consulted for transparent painting, the technique was employed by many professional artists, and was described in an array of books for the amateur, including George Barnard's *The Theory and Practice of Landscape Painting in Water-Colours* (Lon-

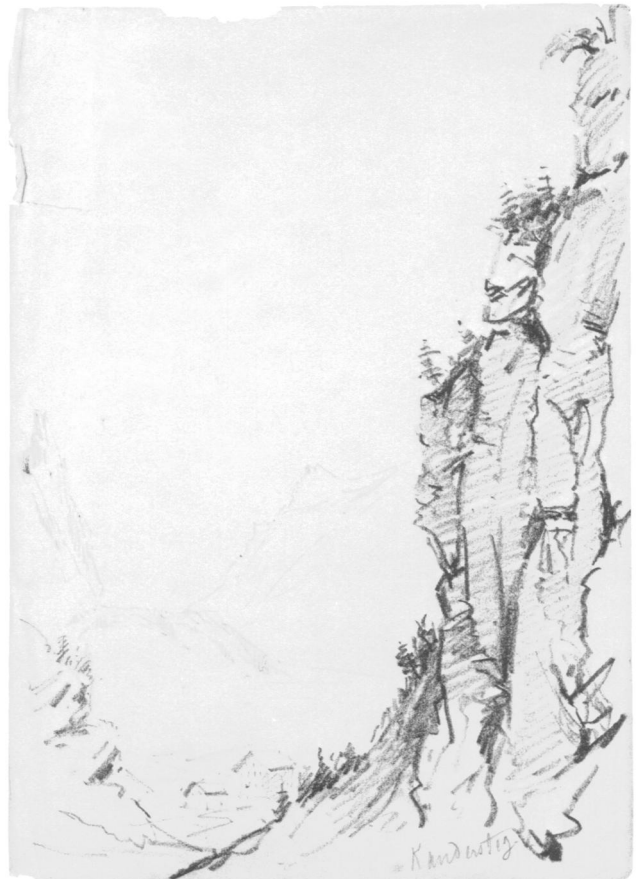


Figure 4. *Kandersteg, June 30* (50.130.146d). Graphite

don, 1861). Regarded at the time as being in marked opposition to each other, these two modes of watercolor painting, which Sargent first explored during his 1869 Alpine tour, were to form the core of the technical vocabulary he would use throughout his life.

Whereas earlier theories of art education had been largely guided by the aesthetic system of Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Discourses* (1760–90), with its preconceived notions of beauty and traditional hierarchy of genres,⁹ or were inspired by the concepts of William Gilpin on the idealization of nature,¹⁰ Ruskin questioned these assumptions. His objective was not to instruct in a particular method or to improve upon nature, but to encourage close observation of the woods and the hills as a means of learning to draw and as a means of appreciating art.¹¹ While acknowledging that direct imitation of nature was more or less impossible, Ruskin advocated strict fidelity in depicting exactly what one observed.¹² He denounced the composed landscape, with its pastoral conventions and imaginary archi-



Figure 5. *Monte Rosa from Gorner Grat, July 3* (50.130.146p). Graphite

ecture, as “false to nature,”¹³ and he insisted on the humble and the commonplace, especially as exemplified by the “peace and rusticity” of his much-beloved Swiss Alps.¹⁴ Whereas earlier nineteenth-century manuals instructed that everything “accidental” be eliminated from the landscape composition and encouraged the student to select a point of view that would exclude objectionable forms,¹⁵ Ruskin argued for their inclusion. He admonished the “solitary student,” to whom he addressed his lessons, to choose the rough, the worn, the clumsy: “Everything that you think very ugly will be good for you to draw.”¹⁶ His belief that Nature was the master was succinctly expressed in the conclusion to his widely read *Modern Painters*: “From young artists nothing ought to be tolerated but bona fide imitation of nature . . . rejecting nothing, selecting nothing and scorning nothing.”¹⁷

It is this approach to nature that Sargent seems to communicate in these drawings. They are accurate transcriptions of the scenery. Each drawing represents a given vista and its architectural features, but

Sargent has not edited or idealized them. Rather, he has identified many of the locales, such as mountain peaks and glaciers, and the sites from which the views were drawn. While there is an absence of precisely recorded botanical and geological detail—a trait characteristic of Sargent throughout his oeuvre—most of the sheets reveal careful attention to representing the broader features of the topography, capturing the form and color of the mountains, the expanses of snow, the waterfalls and boulders, the weight and shadows of the clouds. Reflecting Ruskin’s injunction, Sargent aimed “neither at details, as does the mechanic, nor at generalities, as does the trickster.”¹⁸

Of the forty-seven studies in the sketchbook, six were done in black crayon and thirteen in graphite. Although drawn throughout the summer, most of the works in direct-line media are concentrated in the earlier days of the tour. Because of the distinctive properties of these two media, the drawings have different visual characteristics. Those done in hard graphite, which is unyielding to blending or softening of the stroke, reveal an emphasis on precision and sharp contrasts,¹⁹ as seen, for example, in *Matterhorn, Zermatt* (Figures 1, 2), *Riffelhorn from Zmutt Glacier, Zermatt, July 5* (Figure 3) and an unidentified mountain sketch (50.130.146y). The black-crayon views and two of the graphite drawings, on the other hand, are more forceful and assured and presage the bold handling that will characterize Sargent’s mature work. This is especially apparent in the lively lines depicting the rocky precipices and windswept trees of *Kandersteg, June 30* (Figure 4), and *Gemmi Pass, July 1* (50.130.146v), or the surge of the rushing water in the small *Mountain Waterfall* of late July (Figure 6), all in crayon, and in *Monte Rosa from the Gorner Grat, July 3* (Figure 5), and the equally expressive *Jungfrau from Above Mürren* (50.130.146bb). The last two were executed in a soft pencil with broad, sweeping strokes. Sargent appears to have used this sketchbook in the manner prescribed by Ruskin, not as generally employed by a young novice for labored repetitions of a motif, as he had done in an 1867 monochromatic watercolor exercise, in which he repeated one motif—a cluster of leaves—throughout the sheet (Figure 27). Instead he has made quick notes when sites along the route presented “passing opportunities,”²⁰ such as wind-tossed foliage, dramatic shadows, changing skies, or rushing water. This approach to subject matter was encouraged by Ruskin, for by observing and drawing the lines of action, or

“governing lines,” which give forms their character,²¹ the beginner would in time be able to attain accuracy and speed. This was an essential concept of Ruskin’s pedagogy: deliberate, methodical habits gained by practice were crucial for capturing the fleeting effects of nature and would eliminate reliance on invention.²²

Sargent’s crayon drawings, which are arguably the most artistically mature of the entire sketchbook, in particular evoke Ruskin’s ideas on integrating shapes and shadows, “relieving one mass, or one tint against another, but outlining none.”²³ The latter part of the statement refers to a traditional method of applying neutral tints within carefully defined spaces, generally circumscribed by ink lines. In Sargent’s drawings there is a sense of quick execution, as if he had dashed them off without effort and without relying on erasures or laborious corrections. There is no emphasis here on hard outlines; instead, forms are developed, defined, and given volume by the rapid repetition and reworking of the line; shadows are built simply by hatching with the broad side of the crayon. It is this style of draftsmanship that Sargent would continue to employ in the years ahead. These works convey a sense of atmosphere and perspective by the division of the composition, as in *Kandersteg* (Figure 4), into three zones receding into depth and by a decrease in pressure of the crayon from the bold, dark lines of the foreground to faintly visible strokes in the distant vista. Wax crayon was never highly favored among professional artists and, indeed, was never even mentioned in drawing manuals, which advised that the student use pen and ink, or pencil, because of their greater precision. Nevertheless, wax crayon was readily available in the second part of the nineteenth century,²⁴ its use undoubtedly encouraged by the prevalence of the lithographic crayon, and by its suitability for the now-popular smooth-textured wove paper, like these pages of Sargent’s notebook. Sargent rarely, if ever, returned to this medium in his later work.

Other drawings in direct-line media are on the final pages of the “Splendid Mountain” sketchbook, which were filled when the Sargent family arrived in Florence after their Swiss tour. These include the study of a putto inscribed “Guercino,” the only charcoal sketch in the book, and two labored pencil drawings after Michelangelo’s *Dawn* and *Night* from the Medici tomb.²⁵ Comparison of these studies and Sargent’s watercolor portraits of Swiss children and farmers, such as *Frau von Allmen and a Companion in*

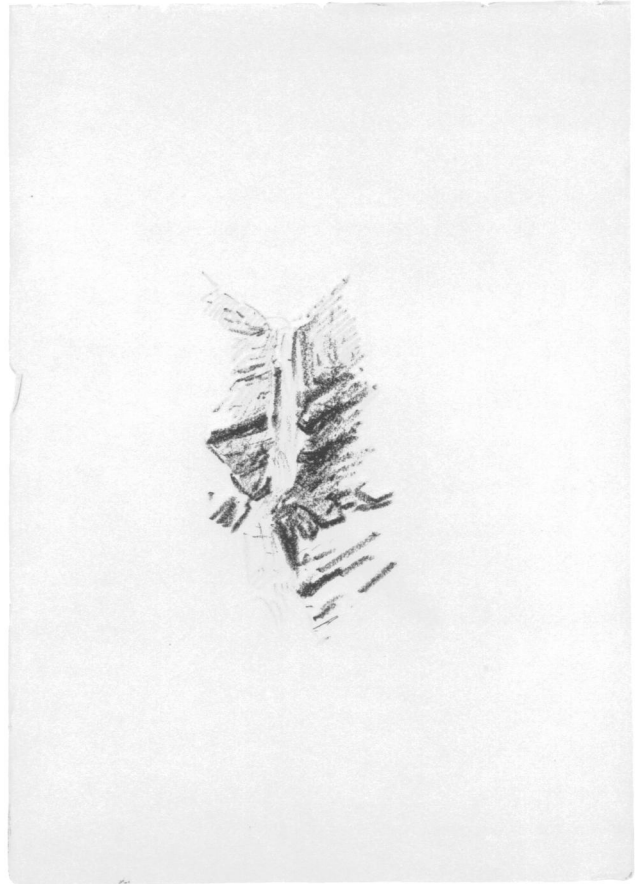


Figure 6. *Mountain Waterfall* (50.130.146s). Graphite

an Interior (Figure 26), with the landscapes in the sketchbook testifies to the difficulties the representation of the human figure presented to Sargent at this time. It is noteworthy that Ruskin commented on the limitations of the beginner in drawing the figure. Maintaining that this subject matter was beyond his capabilities but despairing of the codified expressions and rigid formulas taught by his predecessors, Ruskin instead encouraged the novice to attend to landscape, but to use the sketchbook to copy old masters, as Sargent has done here. Copying old masters, whether casts or paintings, was the traditional prelude to learning to work on one’s own. To Ruskin, however, its purpose was to “inspire one to aim at higher perfection when drawing from nature.”²⁶

It is most notably in drawings of the same subject done in a sequence of different mediums that one can grasp a sense of Sargent’s working procedure. In the preliminary graphite or crayon drawing of each group he focused on the masses and shadows

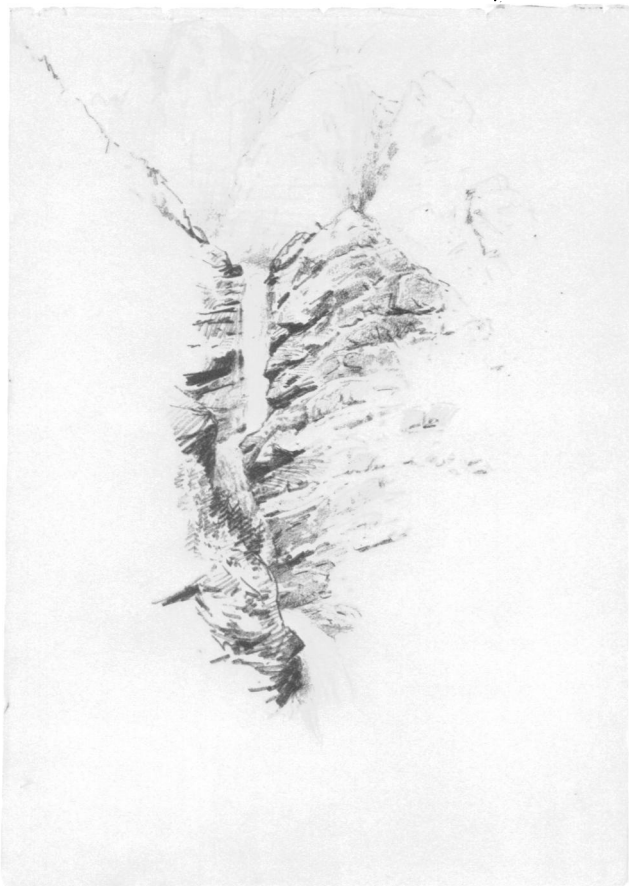


Figure 7. *Waterfall* (50.130.146r). Graphite



Figure 8. *Handek Falls* (50.130.146x). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing

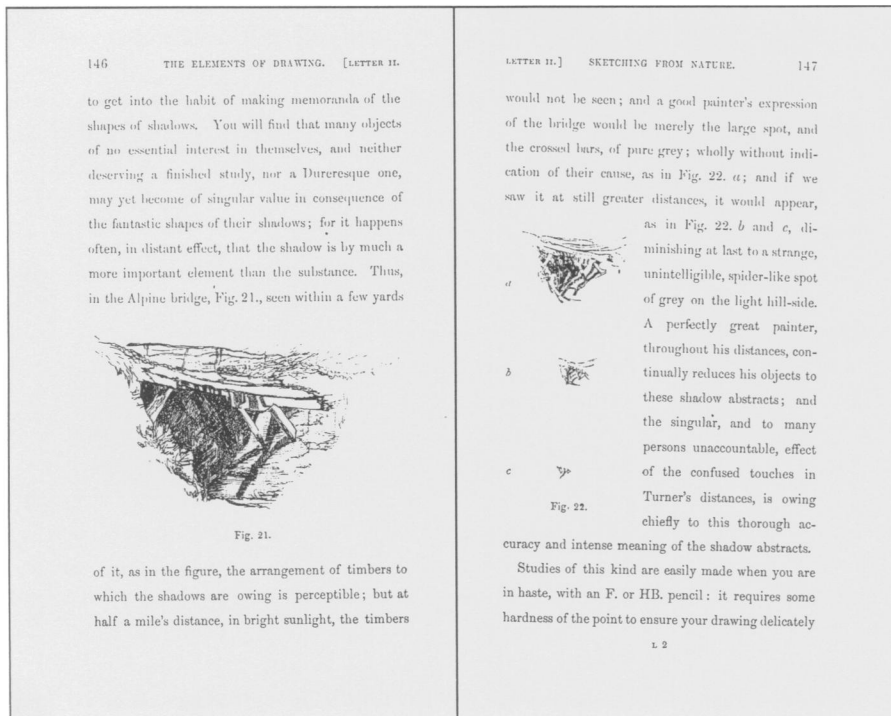


Figure 9. John Ruskin (English, 1819–1900), pages 146–147 from *Elements of Drawing* (London, 1857)

and on the characteristic lines of the forms—an approach to drawing that recalls Ruskin’s lessons. The black-and-white gradations of these works served as a rough guide for the tonal values in the subsequent watercolor studies, whereas the rapidly executed preliminary pencil notations established the overall structure. This summary foundation was not meant to be developed into a drawing in its own right, but served as a guideline for the overlapping opaque and transparent washes, a technique seen in Sargent’s watercolors throughout his oeuvre.²⁷ In the four drawings of the Matterhorn, the first (Figure 2) is a precise, yet simple contour sketch in pencil; the second (Figure 1), also in this medium, studies the shadows, rock masses, glaciers, and clouds; and the last two are in watercolor, revealing an increased economy in the pencil work beneath complex layers of color (Figure 10; *Matterhorn and Gorner Glacier, Zermatt*, Fogg 1937.2). In another group of four drawings depicting a waterfall (Figures 6–8, 17) Sargent captures the force and configuration of the rushing water. Here, as in the other groups, he explored the development of a motif in terms of light and shadow and its appearance from varying distances. The first in the series (Figure 6) is a small and economically rendered study in crayon of the waterfall seen from afar; the second (Figure 7), also unidentified (both early July), is a larger, highly finished close-up view in graphite; the third (Figure 7) is a bold, full-sheet watercolor with rapid and minimal underdrawing of Handek Falls (late July) traversed by a small wooden bridge. In each the waterfall is isolated from the larger landscape context. The last sheet, *View of the Eiger from Mürren, Aug. 3* (Figure 17), depicts the waterfall as a few vertical scratches in the paint layer. These drawings have a curious parallel in an exercise illustrated by Ruskin (Figure 9), in which he uses an Alpine bridge crossing a ravine to describe the gradual generalization and abstraction of form to shadow as it is perceived from increasing distances, becoming less and less intelligible.²⁸ Although Sargent’s group of waterfall studies appears not to have been executed in a sequence of progressively smaller forms, his focus on a particular motif, represented at different distances and diminished in the last composition to a barely recognizable entity, is evocative of Ruskin’s belief that “a perfectly great painter continually reduces his objects throughout his distances to these shadow abstracts.”²⁹ Similar treatment of subject matter—capturing the characteristic lines and masses of the forms in graphite or crayon

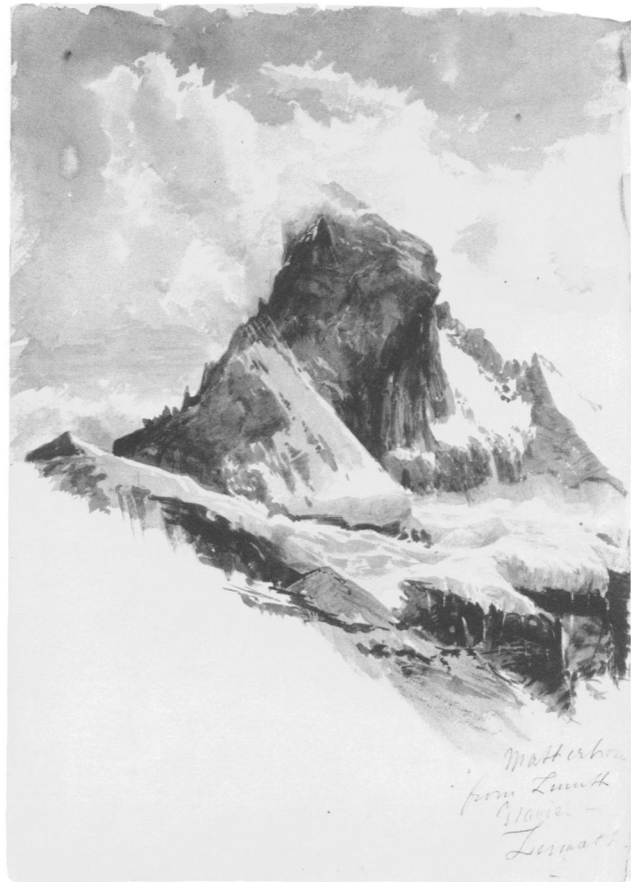


Figure 10. *Matterhorn from Zmutt Glacier* (50.130.146kk). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing

and then developing it in watercolor, is observed throughout the sketchbook—for example, in the various studies of the Jungfrau ([graphite] 50.130.146bb and [watercolor] 50.130.146c), Beis Glacier ([crayon] 50.130.146n, and Figure 12 [watercolor]), Monte Rosa (Figures 5 [graphite], 11 [watercolor]), and the Eiger ([graphite] 50.130.141z and Figure 17 [watercolor]).

One of the underpinnings of Ruskin’s teaching was to observe all the details of nature, drawing them exactly as they are without relying on recipes or invention. Although this was to have a profound impact on art instruction in the late nineteenth century, evidence in the sketchbook suggests that any insistence on detail would not have attracted Sargent’s interest. Here, as throughout his oeuvre, Sargent paid little attention to recording the intricacies of the surrounding world, his emphasis placed instead on the overall composition. However, in viewing the sketchbook drawings as a group, one sees how Sargent repeatedly reworked and refined the components of the landscape—not as isolated ele-

ments, but within their natural setting—continually observing and recording the shapes or transformations of such details as clouds, rocks, and sky. In the context of current teaching practices, this disciplined approach and avoidance of formulas is evocative of the principles Ruskin sought to convey when he encouraged young artists to use mock-ups, or artificial devices, to perfect their skill in capturing the fleeting effects of nature.³⁰ He suggested, for example, floating leaves or walnut shells in a basin of water tinted with Prussian blue to help master reflections and ripples on a lake or stream and lumps of cotton in order to imitate the softness and shadows of clouds.³¹ The study of clouds, like that of weather and atmosphere, stemmed from a long tradition in European and American art and criticism. Not only had many poets and artists been intrigued by the sky as symbolic of the alliance between art, philosophy, and nature, but there was also widespread scientific interest in meteorological phenomena throughout the nineteenth century.³²

Although there is no reason to assume that Sargent utilized the time-honored method of three-dimensional models, an examination of his depiction of clouds reveals how he similarly sought new solutions to the difficult problems of movement and change they presented. In *Beis Glacier and Weisshorn* (Figure 12) the cloud is a pool of dark and light gray washes heavily perched on the mountain peak. In *Veisch Glacier, Eggischhorn, July 10* (Figure 13) the



Figure 12. *Beis Glacier and Weisshorn* (50.130.146nn). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing



Figure 11. *Monte Rosa from Hörnli, Zermatt* (50.130.146i). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing

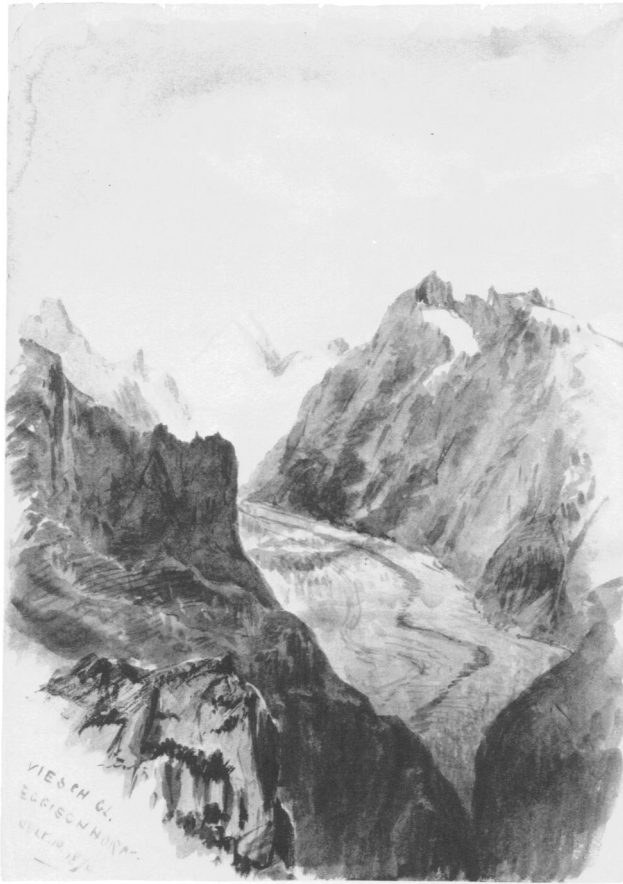


Figure 13. *Viesch Glacier, Eggischhorn, July 10* (50.130.146ii). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing

cloud is only implied by the void left in the blue sky. In *Rhone Glacier, July 13* (Figure 14) the realistic, billowing cloud masses are produced by shading the white paper reserve with gray washes. Not so convincing are the indefinite shapes of misty, filmy cirrus clouds in the *Mürren* (Figure 17) and *Gspaltenhorn* studies (Figure 18). Examination of the brushwork in these watercolors, as in the other sheets in the sketchbook, which ranges from dry and tight to very fluid handling, reveals Sargent's efforts over the course of the summer to master the depiction of cloud forms and to convey a sense of atmospheric transparency. On the other hand, representations of water, as in *Lake of the Dead, Grimsel, July 14* (50.130.146g) or *View of the Four Mountains* (Figure 15), are handled in a conventional and awkward manner; a formula of dark horizontal strokes over a tinted wash betrays Sargent's inexperience. Although he gained mastery in portraying clouds, his difficulties in depicting the surface movement of water and reflections were not resolved during this summer's drawing excursion.

It is interesting to note that, apart from the three waterfall studies, the only drawing in Sargent's sketchbook of an independent landscape element is a modest watercolor rendering of a rock (Figure 15), a motif that appears repeatedly throughout these scenes. This was an especially favorite subject of Ruskin's, who devoted a drawing exercise to it (Exercise VIII) in the first letter of his widely ac-



Figure 14. *Rhone Glacier, July 13* (50.130.146h). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing



Figure 15. *View of the Four Mountains; Rock Study* (50.130.146ee). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing

claimed book *Elements of Drawing*, and an illustration, which he encouraged his reader to use as a model (Figure 16).³³ According to Ruskin, who praised the specificity of the botanical and geological subjects portrayed by the Pre-Raphaelites, for whom rock studies were frequent subjects, the representation of details was a means of understanding the larger landscape in microcosm. In particular, Ruskin believed that the close examination of rocks could enlighten one's understanding of the general. If one could draw a stone, Ruskin maintained, one could draw anything.³⁴ To him rock study was the basis of representing roundness in nature and mastering color and value gradation: "When once you have mastered the complexity of a stone, the forms of distant hills will be comparatively easy."³⁵ It cannot be known if this philosophy had any impact on the young Sargent when he painted this gray boulder, which is gently illuminated and covered with variegated patches of green and purple lichen. Nonetheless, his choice of motif, its isolation from the landscape and his sharp focus on details suggest his awareness of artistic trends associated with Ruskin.

Whereas Sargent's representation of the Alpine landscape appears to evoke the teachings of John Ruskin, his handling of materials draws upon diverse practices. The controlled definition of Sargent's brushwork and the opacity of his paint in most of the sheets indicate that the technique the

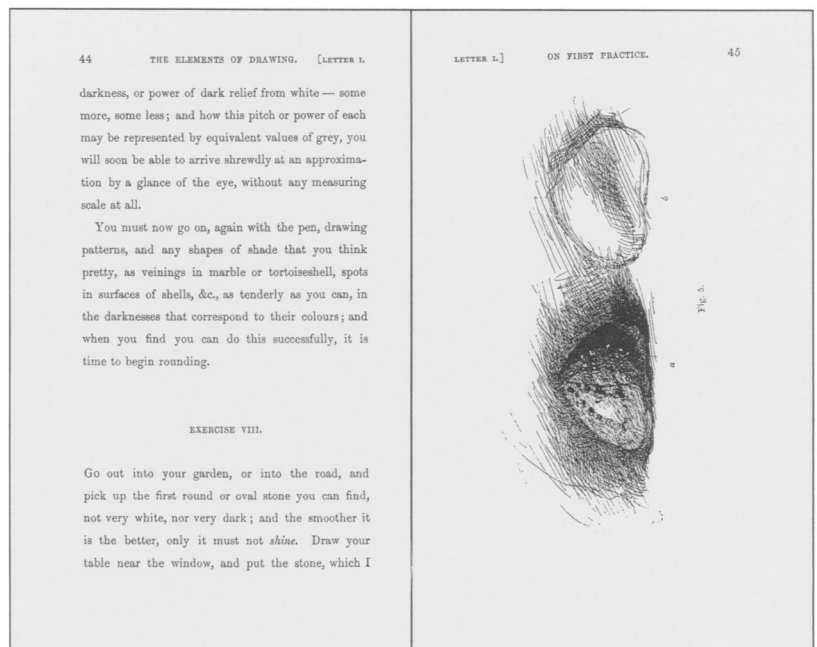


Figure 16. John Ruskin, Exercise viii, pages 44, 45 from *Elements of Drawing* (London, 1857)



Figure 17. *View of the Eiger from Mürren, Aug. 3* (50.130.14600). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing

young artist was most at ease with was body color painting. This method of watercolor work had enjoyed great popularity since the 1850s, owing to the influence of Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites. An easy mode of painting for the beginner, body color painting entailed the use of opaque and semi-opaque colors applied in layers, patches, and stipples. The paint itself was composed of watercolor and Chinese white, a mixture that would render the colors pale and opaque and give them substance or body.³⁶ Very little water was used in this process, which allowed great precision in the stroke. In the manner of oil painting, dark colors could be applied first, followed by lighter ones and then by the highlights. Corrections could be made without difficulty by painting over a previous applied color. The pure watercolor method, on the other hand, entailed layering transparent or tinted washes on dampened white paper. This paint was also composed of watercolor but with a plentiful amount of water, yielding diluted and flowing colors that were valued as a

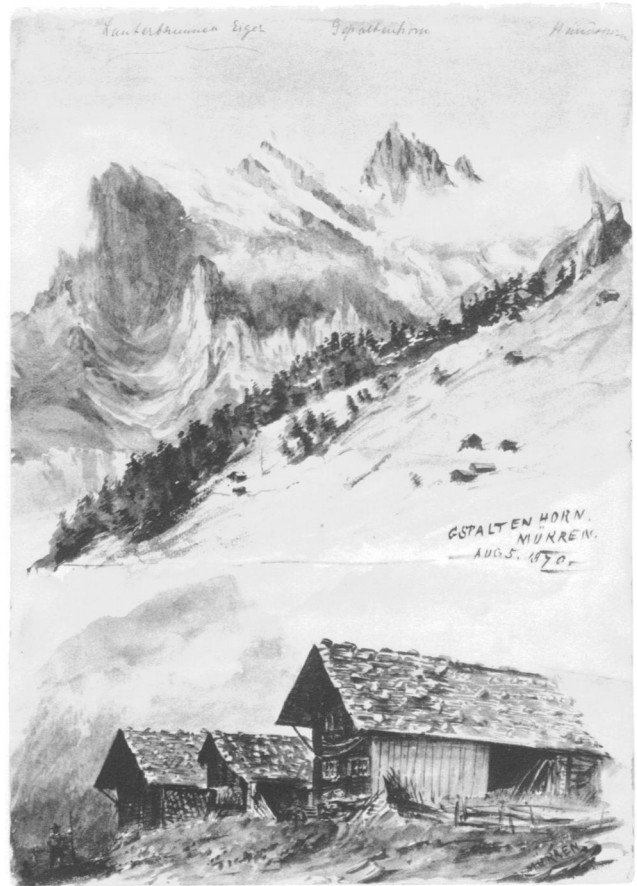


Figure 18. *Gspaltenhorn, Mürren, Aug. 5* (50.130.1462). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing

means of enhancing atmospheric effects. In this technique, the brightness of the paper was reflected through the glazes: one started with the light colors and made the work darker by adding additional layers of color, thereby obscuring the source of light below. Highlights were achieved by scraping through the paint layer or blotting up color to reveal the white paper. Corrections were made by removing and reapplying color.

Both techniques had been practiced since the eighteenth century. Although the principle of each method was to modify the color of the separate landscape elements,³⁷ and artists often combined aspects of each technique in their work, controversy was long-standing as to which was the better mode of painting.³⁸ Responding to one of the most important concerns of the watercolorist—capturing the changing effects of atmospheric events, which were so effectively managed with limpid washes—Ruskin had warned his readers that “glows and glooms were not the noblest aim of art.”³⁹ Although he

begrudgingly acknowledged that the two methods could be used in combination, he believed the matte texture of opaque paint was more like nature than transparent color.⁴⁰ By applying it in small strokes and hatches, he maintained, one would be “prevented from falling into the pestilent habit of sponging to get texture, a trick that had nearly ruined our modern watercolor school.”⁴¹ Reacting to the precisionist vision of the Ruskinian method and inspired by the freer handling of Turner, the wash technique came back into fashion in the late 1860s. Proponents of this method, such as George Barnard, praised the richness and jewellike quality of pure watercolor and its ability to convey depth and atmosphere. Barnard believed that body color had a “mealy dustiness” to it and was not true to nature; also, its use required that the work be viewed from a distance in order that one gain a sense of atmosphere.⁴² These aesthetic judgments notwithstanding, the wet method entailed vast experience, for the painter never knew exactly how his work would look until it dried. Hence, it was generally conceded that the body color technique, which allowed greater control of the paint flow, was a less difficult means of laying in graduated tones, and thus more suitable for the unpracticed hand.⁴³

Throughout the summer of 1869 the young John Singer Sargent experimented with the possibilities offered by each of these techniques and with the two types of paper he took with him on the summer’s tour. Most of the drawings done on the thick, textured papers known as Not⁴⁴ from his sketching blocks were done entirely in transparent washes. Those on the thinner, smooth-surfaced paper of the sketchbook are in a mixed technique, a practice Sargent would continue to employ in the years ahead. In most of the drawings, features of the terrain, such as rocks, boulders, glacial passes, and architectural elements, are painted primarily in body color and on dry paper. Some of these colors are opaque because they were made with Chinese white, while others are in dense, semitransparent pigments, including cobalt blue, vermilion, and Indian red. Because these paints were used with small amounts of water, the strokes and forms tend to be well defined, as in *Matterhorn from Zmutt Glacier*, and *Rhone Glacier, July 13* (Figures 10, 14). Sargent’s process of painting generally entailed first applying broad layers of color in opaque or semitransparent washes to a dry sheet of paper. Over this, using a smaller flat-ended brush, he added rough daubs and interlaced strokes of paint of the same consistency as the un-

derlayer in a range of earth tones to suggest such details as the rock, crevices, and cliffs.

This manner of breaking up forms into component colors and allowing parts of the underlayer, or areas of blank paper, to remain visible—which Sargent repeatedly practiced, rather than relying on either seamless passages with sharply defined contours or amorphous washes—evokes Ruskin’s concept of using “atoms of color in juxtaposition,” in order to represent the color gradations found in nature.⁴⁵ This is seen, for example, in the foreground of *Schreckhorn, Eismeer* (Figure 21), in which a multiplicity of opaque strokes with distinct edges were set down while the paint was dry. Sargent also experimented with another technique in this sheet. At the lower right, thinner patches of green and red were applied while the browns and ochers beneath were still damp, causing the colors to bleed into each other. Used with restraint here, this “wet on wet” method, with its characteristic blurred edges, was to become a mainstay of Sargent’s technical repertory. By trial and error, or through the study of exhibited watercolors, a young artist with great innate ability could have intuitively developed the techniques of daubing, interlacing, layering, and combining wet and dry colors. Yet they were also the means described by Ruskin, and later adopted by proponents of transparent painting, for producing tonal gradations to represent shadows, highlights, depth, and reflections.⁴⁶ Another equally bold technique employed by Sargent is seen in *Eismeer, Grindelwald* (Figure 22), where he suggests the jagged ravine edge by charging his brush with opaque color and quickly dragging it at an angle across the dry, transparent paint, yielding an expressive broken line.⁴⁷

In the representation of architectural details, Sargent similarly attempted to break up color, but the results were not as effective. This was due in part to the awkwardness of his drawing of the chalets and their perspective, but also to the difficulties he encountered in producing subtle variations in the dense umber and black with which he portrayed these wooden buildings. In order to enliven these surfaces, Sargent relied on incising through the paint layer with a knife to expose the white paper, as in *View of the Eiger from Mürren, Aug. 3* (Figure 17). A few days later in the Gspaltenhorn (Figure 18) and Breithorn drawings (50.130.146aa), both dated August 5, he tried another approach. Here the chalets are still awkwardly drawn, but the color is laid on in flowing, transparent washes of green, red, and brown, and without recourse to scraping.



Figure 19. *Alpine View, Mürren* (50.130.146v). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing

The same increased confidence in brushwork that Sargent demonstrated in these details is seen throughout the sketchbook. Despite the brief duration of the tour from late June to late September, as the summer progressed, there was a subtle decrease in opacity and precision in the watercolors and an increase in transparency and fluidity. Notable among the drawings incorporating the pure watercolor technique with gouache passages or details are *Alpine View, Mürren* (Figure 19), followed by *Wellhorn and Wetterhorn* (Figure 20), and, toward the end of the tour, the *Faulhorn, Sept. 3* (Figures 23, 24), in which Sargent used what would become his characteristic palette of pinks, purples, and browns and abandoned all semblance of detail to capture the expanse of the panorama. In the *Faulhorn* composition, the sense of swift execution is further conveyed in the dark foreground, where the excess moisture has been lightly blotted, giving some play to the brightness of the paper below.

The effect of gaining light and augmenting tonal gradations by using a subtractive technique, or “taking out,” as in *Faulhorn*, was continually practiced by Sargent with various devices. In *Handek Falls* (Figure 8), the small, light-colored spots on the left representing the mist of the rushing water were produced with a spray, applied by bending back wet brush bristles and quickly releasing them over a painted passage, then lifting the softened color with a cloth. In *View of the Eiger from Mürren, Aug. 3* (Figure 17), as noted, Sargent had enlivened the rather

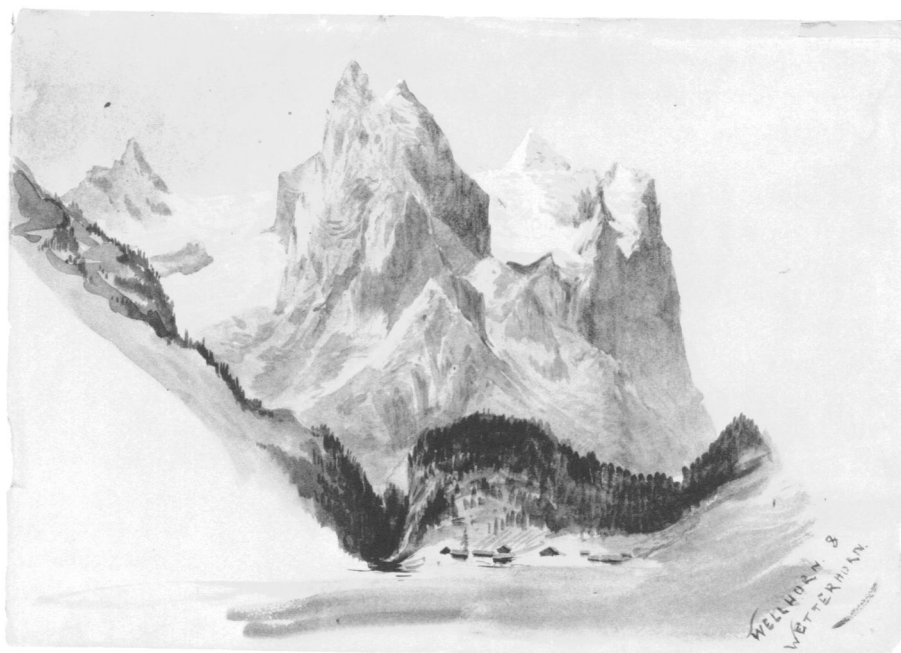


Figure 20. *Wellhorn and Wetterhorn* (50.130.146i). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing



Figure 21. *Schreckhorn, Eismeer* (50.130.146f). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing

dense blackish umber of the chalets by deeply scraping into the paint layer with a knife, whereas in the mist near the mountaintop he lightly rubbed away color with a cloth or finger. In other drawings, such as *Matterhorn from Zmutt Glacier* (Figure 10), the smoother surface of the highlights indicates that a less forceful hand was used. Here the paint was pushed aside with a brush handle while it was still wet. Based on examples by Turner, for whom scraping and scratching were indispensable for gaining the effect of flickering light, such techniques had become standard for watercolorists and many tools were available for producing them (Figure 29). Much information about this was provided in nineteenth-century artists' books, the choice ranging from erasers to razors depending on the wetness of the paint layer and the breadth of the mark desired. Ruskin, who was somewhat proscriptive about these effects, gave little explicit instruction for creating them. He cautioned against the use of the sponge and the handkerchief, and he criticized roughened paper as an artifice.⁴⁸ Proponents of the transparent manner favored such practices as a means of giving variety to aerial tones. In addition to employing many of these techniques, Sargent also experimented with the opaque manner of producing highlights. In *Mt. Pilatus* (50.130.146dd), which is painted in body color washes, the sea of clouds between the mountain ridges is accentuated



Figure 22. *Eismeer, Grindelwald* (50.130.146f). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing

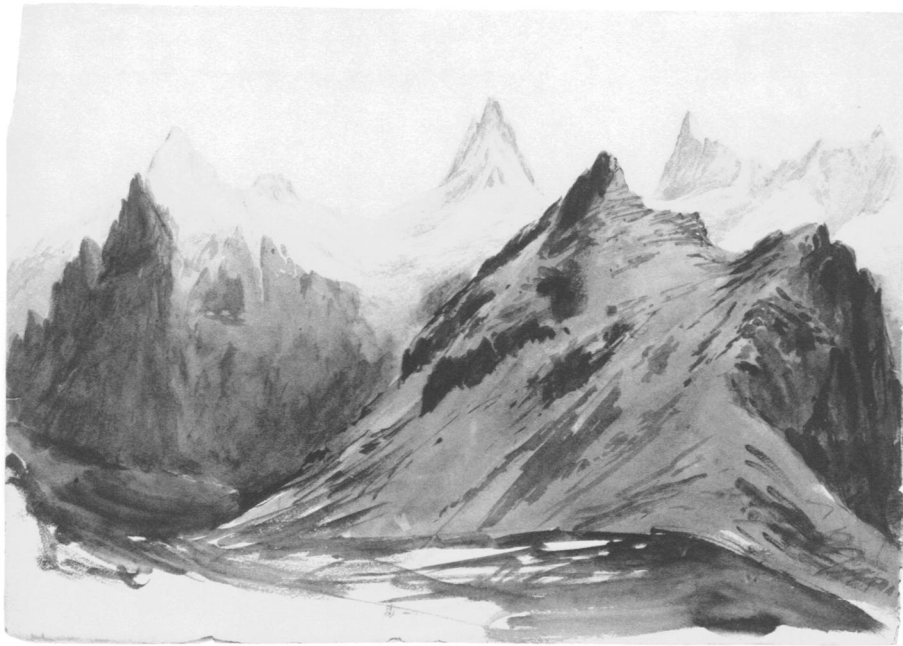


Figure 23. *Faulhorn Panorama, Sept. 3* (50.130.146ss). Watercolor, graphite underdrawing

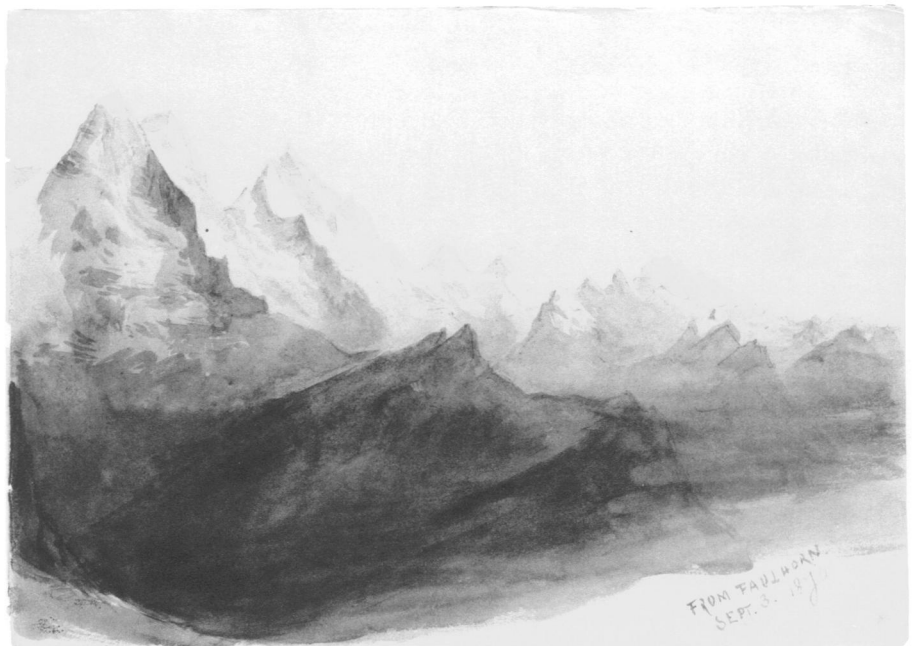


Figure 24. *Faulhorn Panorama, Sept. 3, right side* (50.130.146tt)

by lead white. Long outdated, this was a more brilliant pigment than Chinese white used elsewhere on this sheet, but it has blackened from exposure to hydrogen sulfide in the air. In *Jungfrau* (50.130.146B verso, watercolor on blue paper), the only drawing on a colored support pasted into the book, the snowcapped peak is painted in Chinese white. Dyed papers had only recently become commonplace owing to developments in papermaking, although they would never hold great appeal for

Sargent. Another means of highlighting that Sargent explored was leaving areas of paper unpainted. In the smaller, textured sheets, such as *Frau von Allmen and a Companion in an Interior* (Figure 26), awkward pinpoints of the white paper were revealed to represent reflections on the various surfaces. In the sketchbook, expanses of snow, ice, or clouds were suggested by larger areas of the reserve. Although the latter practice was criticized by Ruskin as appearing unfinished,⁴⁹ others praised



Figure 25. *View of the Bernese Oberland from Pilatus* (50.130.82q). Watercolor on textured paper, graphite underdrawing



Figure 26. *Frau von Allmen and a Companion in an Interior, Mürren* (50.130.146c verso). Watercolor on textured paper

it.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, with the advent of Impressionism and looser brushwork, this was to become an increasingly popular technique and one that Sargent was to perfect with great mastery as he matured.

There was much information available in the nineteenth century on the appropriateness of the different types of supports for particular techniques and mediums. Smooth, lightly sized paper, like that composing this sketchbook, was most suitable for pencil, which Sargent had perhaps kept in mind

early in the summer. These papers were at best only passable carriers for opaque paint. Sargent had been technically successful because this medium is rather dry when applied; the paint sits on the surface of the paper, thus causing little distortion of the sheet. However, this type of paper was basically unsuitable for transparent washes, which require a large amount of water to produce continuous passages of color without evidence of brushstroke. Furthermore, the wetness of the paint buckles the



Figure 27. John Singer Sargent, *Study of Foliage*. Watercolor on textured paper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Francis Ormond, 1950 (50.130.821)

18

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Duck	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	0 2
Large Duck	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	0 2
Small Goose	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	0 2
Goose	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	0 2
Large Goose	Red and Gold Ties	- - - - -	- - - - -	0 3
Extra Small Swan	Green	- - - - -	- - - - -	0 5
Small Swan	Magenta	- - - - -	- - - - -	0 5
Middle Swan	Blue	- - - - -	- - - - -	0 10
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Made of Brown Holland, length of ribs 26 inches, with Fan	- - - - -	- - - - -	0 13 0
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ditto	28½ inches	ditto	1 0 0
ditto	ditto	28½ inches	1 0 0
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19

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Figure 28. George Rowney and Co., Materials for the watercolorist: brushes, portable easels. Bound in Henry Seward, *Manual of Colours* (London, 1889)

paper, and when the sheets are contained in a book, the excess moisture will contribute to the breakdown of the binding. Sargent's most technically effective use of transparent color at this time was on the smaller, thicker Not papers from the drawing blocks. The hollows and protrusions of these sheets were more suitable for enhancing the play of light through the tinted layers, and the heavier weight withstood wetting and scraping. It was this type of

sheet, even more richly surfaced, on which Sargent would execute his most brilliant works in later years.

Sargent's choice of technique may have been determined in part by the properties of his materials. Indeed, effects integral to transparent painting, such as pervasive aerial mists establishing a mood, time of day, or sense of distance—the production of which was methodically described in manuals favoring this type of handling—were best managed

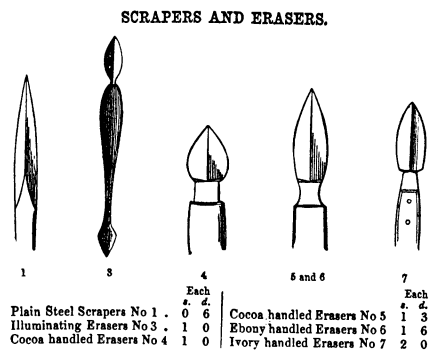


FIG. 15. Scrapers and erasers (*Winsor & Newton's List of Water Colors*, p. 41, bound in Aaron Penley, *The Elements of Perspective*, [London, 1866]).

Figure 29. Materials for the watercolors: scraper and erasers. Winsor and Newton. Bound in Aaron Penley, *The Elements of Perspective* (London, 1866)

on thick papers, which could be repeatedly wetted and blotted.⁵¹ However, an examination of the skies in the sketchbook watercolors reveals the young artist's determination to experiment with this more difficult type of brushwork despite the inappropriateness of the support. It is in studying this motif that his early struggles and successes with the transparent technique are most readily apparent. Whereas for the landscape elements he had used gradations and patches of opaque color, for the skies Sargent relied on the light-reflecting property of the white paper seen through the colored tints. In *Monte Rosa from Hörnli, Zermatt and Beis Glacier and Weisshorn* (Figures 11, 12) the pronounced blue wash is laid on in a series of broad, parallel brushstrokes, roughly following the contour of the mountain. This unintended striped effect, describing the width and square edge of his brush, resulted from applying the wash to a dry sheet: being fairly absorbent, the paper wicked up the color before it could flow. In another study, *Veisch Glacier, Eggischhorn, July 10* (Figure 13), the wash is thinner and more transparent. The tide lines at the upper left where the color has pooled suggest that Sargent, working with more dilute color, was probably attempting to rotate or slope the book to distribute the wash, in a manner that a loose sheet, pinned, stretched, or pasted to a board, would be handled when painting in the wet-brush method.⁵² A similar effect is seen in *Wellhorn and Wetterhorn* (Figure 20), but the subtle granulated ef-

fect in the sky implies that a sponge was used to blot up excess color. In the *Rhone Glacier* and *Matterhorn from Zmutt Glacier* (Figures 14, 10) the skies are rendered with a modulated, yet thin transparent wash, indicating that the paper must have been slightly dampened before the color was applied.

Sargent's inexperience with the watercolor technique is also revealed in the limited palette and tonal modulations he used for painting his skies. Contrary to recommendations in drawing manuals, until the end of the summer he invariably chose a wash of pure cobalt blue for a bright day and a gray wash for an overcast day. As his brushwork became freer, however, his color range also expanded. This is seen in *Faulhorn, Sept. 3* (50.130.146tt verso), in which he combined fluid blues and pinks, and *View of the Bernese Oberland from Pilatus* (painted in late August; Figure 25) in which he fused oranges with yellows. As in the other drawings, there is no evidence that Sargent attempted to improve upon nature. These nuances in color also seem to be based on fact. Indeed the last drawing evokes a moment his father was to describe a few weeks later when "John and I made a splendid and never-to-be-forgotten ascent of Pilatus . . . seeing the sun rise at 6 o'clock one morning. . . The glorious sun uprist, out of a sea of clouds which tossed in mountainous masses against the grey rocks, of which a few shot out their snow capped summits from out the white oceans."⁵³

Despite Sargent's lack of formal education when he set out on his first serious watercolor tour, his studied observation of nature and apparent resolve to master the various technical processes of this medium suggest that he was aware of current artistic practices. His salient intention may have been to be truthful to nature, as popular sentiment dictated, or simply to produce a souvenir of his travels. In the end, however, these drawings cannot be regarded merely as topographical Alpine studies. Here, as in his later work, Sargent was not, as Richard Ormond, his biographer, described, "indifferent to the subjects he selected to paint, but rather, he seems to have used them primarily as vehicles for statements about color, and light, and even paint itself."⁵⁴ Indeed, these novice works hold the essence of his mature vision.

NOTES

1. Letter, FitzWilliam Sargent to Emily Haskell, Florence, Italy, Oct. 10, 1870. Archives of American Art, reel 0317.

2. Shortly after Sargent's death in 1925, three pages were removed from "Splendid Mountain Watercolours" and given to the Fogg Museum; one sheet went to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and three to private collectors. "Album 3," inscribed "Venice, May 1870" (MMA 50.130.148) remained essentially intact. Two leaves had been cut from the binding but were inserted at the back of the book. For a discussion of the sequence of travel and the correspondence of FitzWilliam Sargent, see Stephen Rubin, *John Singer Sargent's Alpine Sketchbook: A Young Artist's Perspective* (New York, 1992).

3. Two sketchbooks dating from 1904 by Mary Sargent, which contain drawings and watercolors of Greece and the Near East, are in the collection of the MMA, "Album 5" (50.130.150) and "Album 6" (50.130.151).

4. Rubin, *Alpine Sketchbook*, pp. 9–14, summarizes Sargent's early education, family travels, and museum visits.

5. See annual exhibition checklists of the Society of Painters in Watercolours (established 1804, London) for listings of these artists.

6. Peter C. Marzio, *The Art Crusade: An Analysis of American Drawing Manuals, 1820–1860*, Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology 34 (Washington, D.C., 1976); Peter Bicknell and Jane Munro, *Gilpin to Ruskin: Drawing Masters and Their Manuals 1800–1860*, exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1987–88) p. 7.

7. John Ruskin's *Elements of Drawing in Three Lessons for Beginners* was first published in London in June 1857. By October it was in its third edition, which was reprinted in 1860 and 1861. Excluding pirated American copies, 19,000 books were known to have been sold by 1904. See Lawrence Campbell, introduction, *Elements of Drawing*, (repr. ed., New York, 1971) p. v.

8. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, p. viii.

9. See Marzio, *The Art Crusade*, pp. 59–67, for a discussion of the philosophy of American drawing books; Bicknell and Munro, *Gilpin to Ruskin*, for British books.

10. Based on 18th-century principles of the Sublime and the Beautiful, followers of the Rev. William Gilpin modeled their ideas on the works of Claude, Salvator Rosa, Poussin, and the Dutch Italianates and believed in the concept of fixed laws that govern art and in the idealization and transformation of nature. See Jane Bayard, *Works of Splendor and Imagination: The Exhibition Watercolor 1770–1870* (New Haven, 1981) p. 13.

11. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, p. 13.

12. *Ibid.*, p. xvi. Ruskin held that drawing what one saw rather than what one knew "would get rid of rules altogether." The difficulty in learning them was greater than the gain for the beginner, p. 131.

13. Ruskin discussed these ideas in *Elements of Drawing*, p. 119, and in his conclusion to *Modern Painters* (London, 1846) I, p. 413.

14. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, p. 150.

15. For example, Thomas Rowbotham, *The Art of Sketching from Nature*, 5th ed. (London, 1851) p. 47; Rowland Mainwarung, *Instructive Gleanings, Moral and Scientific, on Painting and Drawing* (London, 1832) p. 53.

16. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, pp. 149–151; he also cautioned the student to avoid those subjects he ought not to like, such as things that were polished or that were too neat: the English countryside with its patchwork of hedges, its prim ruins, and its "orderly" cathedrals.

17. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, I, pp. 416–417.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

19. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, p. 148, acknowledged that the pencil was a very precious instrument but was to be used only after one had mastered the pen and brush. He believed that it was unsatisfactory to convey the sharp touches on which the best detail depended, and that it would get shiny where force was desired. He recommended (p. 21) that the student use an H or HH pencil, terminology that is still current today. Both are very hard and thus yield a precise and light-colored line. Sargent also used a softer pencil, which is darker and does not hold a fine point.

20. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, p. 148. Nineteenth-century manuals regarded drawing not as an end, but as the foundation of watercolor painting. The sketchbook was generally considered "valuable for the information it contained, and the pleasure it gave in retrospect." See, for example, Mainwarung, *Instructive Gleanings*, p. 57.

21. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, p. 118. Ruskin encouraged the student to refer to various sources in order to understand the concept of governing lines and action (such as the plummy toss of foliage, the spring of a bush, the lines of waves), tonal gradations, and detail, including Turner's *Liber Studiorum* engravings, Dürer's woodcuts, and Cruickshank's prints. In his discussion on the drawing of trees, Ruskin cites James Duffield Harding's *Lessons on Trees* (London, 1850). There are no individual studies of trees in this sketchbook, although several in watercolor and graphite are found in the earlier pages of "Album 3" (MMA 50.130.148).

22. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, p. 136.

23. *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

24. Judging from its physical properties, we can assume the wax crayon Sargent used in this sketchbook was probably a lithographic crayon. Ruskin refers to coarse chalk for drawing common lithographs but notes that this is much more difficult to manage than the pencil (*Elements of Drawing*, p. 3), undoubtedly because of the readily worn broad tip, which would argue against precision, and the greater control required to produce tonal gradations. The history of the wax crayon is obscure. There are several types that were available in the 19th century. Jacques-Nicolas Conté used spermaceti wax to improve the working properties of his crayon in about 1840, but its main components were a fired combination of powdered graphite and clay. Lithographic crayon, which is composed of wax, tallow fat, soap, and black pigment, was also used independently of printing. Colored wax cray-

ons encased in wood are believed to have been developed in the 1830s in Germany. Unwrapped wax crayon, which may have evolved from lithographic crayon, was used for marking crates and for similar industrial purposes; it may also have been used for drawing and is possibly the immediate antecedent of the paper-wrapped wax crayon popular today. See Marjorie Shelley, "History of Crayon," *Encyclopedia of Art* (London, forthcoming).

25. Similar studies after classical sculpture from the Vatican were done in 1869, Fogg 1937.7.1, and *Sleeping Faun*, MMA 50.130.143x.

26. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, p. 136.

27. This means of drawing was to be recorded by Sargent's early biographer: "His general habit was to make the lightest indications in pencil to fix the relative position of objects and then after wetting the paper to paint with great rapidity." Evan Charteris, *John Sargent* (New York, 1927) p. 224.

28. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, pp. 146–147.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 118. Studio practices like these were traditional. They are recorded as customary for Gainsborough, who created dioramas containing broccoli, bits of coal, and glass as models for his idealized landscapes. See William Jackson, *The Four Ages* (London, 1798) pp. 167–168.

31. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, p. 185 n. 1; p. 189.

32. Barbara Novak, "The Meteorological Vision: Clouds," *Art in America* (Feb. 1980) p. 103. The study of clouds and their visual representation in 19th-century America and England were very much influenced by the spiritual hierarchy of clouds established by Goethe, who had in turn been inspired by Luke Howard's scientific classification in "Climate of London" (1818–20). Ruskin's poetic vision of this subject is discussed in *Modern Painters*, chap. "Truth of Skies."

33. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, Letter I, Exercise VIII, p. 44. Rock studies were very popular in the 19th century. See, for example, Ruskin's watercolor and gouache *Fragment of the Alps*, ca. 1855, and Charles Herbert Moore's watercolor and gouache *Rocks by the Water* (both Fogg Art Museum).

34. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

36. George Barnard, *The Theory and Practice of Landscape Painting in Water-Colours* (London, 1861) p. 123, described body color paint as looking "like rich, thick cream." A Winsor and Newton product catalogue, 1850, p. 12 (included in Rowbotham, *The Art of Sketching from Nature*) described how Chinese white, an arbitrary name created by this firm, could be mixed with any watercolor (i.e., moist or hard-cake), thereby forming an extensive range of body colors of the most superior kind. Painting in gouache, or body color, which was characteristic of the Pre-Raphaelite artists, became practicable only with the availability of Chinese white, because it did not oxidize and blacken as had lead white when exposed to hydrogen sulfide. It was, however, not generally applied in broad semiopaque washes, as Sargent did, but in smaller daubs, hatches, strokes, and stipples.

37. Aaron Penley, *A System of Water-Colour Painting* (3rd ed., London, 1851), and Barnard, *Theory and Practice*, pp. 116f.

38. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, pp. 137–141; Barnard, *Theory and Practice*, pp. 125–129, and his criticism of the purity of zinc white, p. 126; Martin Hardie, *British Water Colour Painting* (London, 1967) I, pp. 15–16.

39. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, p. 202.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 205. This was a reference to subtractive techniques, which were generally used by advocates of transparent painting.

42. Barnard, *Theory and Practice*, p. 127.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

44. The three types of paper commonly used by watercolorists were referred to as hot pressed, which had a smooth surface; cold pressed, which had a moderate texture; and not pressed, or Not, which had a rough surface.

45. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, pp. 222–227. This technique, a precursor of Impressionism and Neo-Impressionism, was claimed by Ruskin as "the most important process in good modern oil and watercolor painting" (pp. 129–130). The precedent for stippling in various colors, each color surrounded by tiny specks of white, is miniature painting.

46. Barnard, *Theory and Practice*, p. 118.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 123, describes the process of dragging. See also Hardie, *British Water Colour Painting*, p. 34.

48. Ruskin, *Elements of Drawing*, p. 206 n. 1. He also criticized textured sheets as "coarse, gritty and sandy . . . fit only for blotterers and blunderers."

49. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

50. Barnard, *Theory and Practice*, p. 65.

51. Penley, *A System*, pp. 12–15; Barnard, *Theory and Practice*, p. 116. Charts listing the appropriate colors were given in these texts as well as detailed instructions for laying in the tints in the sky and foreground.

52. This was a standard practice. The drawing board was to be sloped at a sufficient angle, about 45 degrees, so that the tint flowed freely over the surface; the excess would be soaked up with blotting paper, cloth, or a sponge. See Penley, *A System*, p. 12; Rowbotham, *Art of Sketching*, p. 32; Barnard, *Theory and Practice*, pp. 113, 115.

53. Letter, FitzWilliam Sargent to George Bemmis, Oct. 15, 1870, Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston), Repository of the George Bemmis Papers.

54. Richard Ormond, *John Singer Sargent, Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors* (New York, 1970) p. 69. For a discussion of Sargent's mature techniques, see Judith C. Walsh, "Observations on the Watercolor Techniques of Homer and Sargent," *American Traditions in Watercolor*, exh. cat. (Worcester, Mass., 1987–88) pp. 45–65.

The Writer as Artist's Model: Repin's Portrait of Garshin

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ILYA REPIN'S PORTRAIT OF VSEVOLOD GARSHIN, which The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired in 1972, is more than a fine likeness of a significant Russian writer by Russia's foremost realist master. Painted in 1884, at a decisive time in Russian politics, it is closely linked to the efforts of both men as artists and members of the opposition-minded intelligentsia to come to terms with the 1881 assassination of Alexander II by young revolutionaries. Garshin served as a model—both physically and philosophically—for two of Repin's major canvases on the revolutionary theme, *Ivan the Terrible and His Son* and *They Did Not Expect Him*. At the same time as Garshin was posing for his portrait, he was also writing a story about a painter's problems with picturing Charlotte Corday's murder of Marat.

The pensive portrait, then, is not just an expertly rendered likeness of a man of letters. It is redolent with meaningful references to the problems the Russian intelligentsia faced because of a new turn in the revolutionary movement. Regicide had brought this distinctly Russian class, which by some unwritten agreement acted as the conscience of the nation, to anxiously reexamine the full implications of its opposition to autocracy.

The circumstances in which the portrait was painted—the relationship of painter and writer, their shared yet divergent professional and personal interests—shed light not only on the question of who posed for whom and for what reasons but also on the issue of “literariness” in Russian late-nineteenth-century art and its preoccupation with extrinsic rather than intrinsic values.

Painted à la prima, the portrait was the result of several sittings during the summer of 1884, when Repin was preoccupied with, and intermittently working on, two canvases addressing the revolutionary theme: *They Did Not Expect Him* and *Ivan the*

Terrible and His Son.¹ Repin shows Garshin sitting at a desk, with his arms resting on a disorderly pile of books and manuscripts. (These are references to aspects of Garshin's work and habits: he constantly rewrote his pieces, was an avid reader, and an amateur bookbinder who liked to converse with friends while engaged in his hobby.) The background is in a luminescent greenish-yellow hue. The face is carefully, even meticulously finished, having an almost enamellike surface. Both head and background are in sharp contrast to the table, books, and papers, which are striking by their painterly rendition. With time the black color of the jacket has darkened (its details are less visible), while the face and background have been somewhat harshly cleaned, which sets up a stronger contrast of dark and light than was originally the case.²

The portrait was first shown in 1887 at the 15th Traveling Art Exhibit, which opened in St. Petersburg on February 25 and went on to Moscow in April.³ Ivan Nikolaevich Tereshchenko (1854–1903), a Kiev industrialist and collector, bought it in 1888 for 500 rubles.⁴ It remained in the family's possession even after their emigration following the Bolshevik revolution. In 1929, Boris Aleksandrovič Bakhmeteff, a consulting engineer from New York, bought it from the family in Nice, France. His estate donated the painting to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1972.⁵

Garshin is on record as being well pleased with the portrait, and his friends found it to be “exceptionally faithful.”⁶ Evidently Repin was also satisfied. Often critical of his endeavors, this time he left no testimony about doubts or other difficulties, except to communicate how much he enjoyed getting to know Garshin, how much he was taken with his “gentleness,” and how he regarded the sittings as a welcome “rest” from other taxing work.⁷

At the first public showing, however, the response to the portrait was indifferent or adverse. Pavel M. Tretyakov, who had first choice and generally

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 28

The notes for this article begin on page 215.

bought Repin's portraits of Russian notables for his gallery in Moscow, did not purchase it. (He wanted his gallery to be, among other things, a pantheon of Russia's cultural achievement and commissioned numerous portraits of living or deceased writers, musicians, and painters.) Thus his competitor Ivan Tereshchenko, who was building up a similar collection in Kiev, was able to acquire the canvas.

Nor were there any favorable reviews. Some critics made no mention of the portrait. Others criticized Repin for failing to catch the angelic goodness in Garshin's expression and for conveying instead the writer's unstable state of mind.⁸ This curious reaction is due to the fact that Garshin suffered from periodic mental breakdowns; the most recent had been in 1883. Furthermore, since 1881, when Repin had painted Modest Mussorgsky a few days before the composer's death, with unmistakable references to his alcoholism and other excesses, Repin had the reputation of being a relentless, even brutal realist who did not idealize his sitters. In light of this fact and preconception, reviewers judged Garshin's portrait accordingly.

But later generations have judged the canvas far more favorably. Serge Diaghilev chose it to hang in his famous retrospective exhibition of Russian portraiture, held in the Tauride Palace in St. Petersburg in 1905.⁹ The following year it was included in another ground-breaking exhibition that Diaghilev organized and sent to Paris to introduce Russian art to the West.¹⁰ And Igor Grabar, a painter and art historian, has ranked the portrait among Repin's best—not quite equal to that of Mussorgsky but of the same caliber as other great works done during the 1880s, the period of the painter's efflorescence.¹¹

In 1884, when he painted Garshin's portrait, Repin was the best-known realist painter in the country. His oeuvre, however, was not merely classified as "realist." It was revered for having shaped, in large part, a distinct national school of art attuned to Russia's needs and sensibilities.

Ilya Efimovich Repin (1844–1930) first came to public attention in 1871 (two years before graduating from the Imperial Academy of Arts) with *Barge Haulers on the Volga*. This depiction of twelve men toiling on the banks of Russia's mighty river struck an original and significant note at the time. Never before were ordinary peasants painted in such monumental proportions and with such serious intent. The imperial family bought the canvas and had it sent to the 1873 International Exhibition in Vienna,

where it won a bronze medal. It was sent abroad again in 1878 and won the critics' praise for marking the emergence of a distinctive—i.e., national—mode of artistic expression in Russia.¹² At the time, the liberal intelligentsia regarded the canvas as an icon, as an inspiring image demonstrating the latent force of the Russian people. Like Courbet's *Stonebreakers*' place in the history of French art, *Barge Haulers* is a key picture in the formation of Russian realism.

In 1878, after a three-year sojourn in Paris on an Academy fellowship, Repin joined the Association of Traveling Art Exhibits, an independent organization that operated outside the official establishment controlled by the Imperial Academy and the court. The Association, founded in 1870, was much more than a marketing venture. Given the nature of czarist autocracy and the sensitivities of the educated public, the autonomous Association perforce took on other responsibilities. By and large, its members (usually called the Wanderers in English) did not consider themselves "free" to paint whatever caught their fancy but felt obliged to "serve society" by responding to public issues.¹³ This ethos was in keeping with the aspirations of the intelligentsia who idolized the Association for bringing free and meaningful art to the public.

During the first four years of his membership Repin lived in Moscow and enlivened the annual Traveling Art Exhibits with canvases on rural Russia (either expressive portraits of individual peasants or typical group scenes), which spoke to the populist sympathies and preoccupations of the day. It should be noted, parenthetically, that the city intelligentsia's approach to the peasantry was tinged with a large measure of guilt; Repin, born a peasant, had a much more clear-eyed and robust view of the countryside, its inhabitants, and activities and could convey his visceral enjoyment of its color and energy. But with time the novelty of this subject matter, and the attractions of living in the ancient city, wore off. Fed up with Moscow's stifling provincialism and self-satisfied merchant class, Repin moved to St. Petersburg in the fall of 1882, eager to partake in the cultural and political ferment of the capital.

While he still lived in Moscow, Repin had had contacts with the St. Petersburg intelligentsia, and after settling there he became a regular and active member of several liberal salons. He even formed a salon of his own—a group of young writers, often joined by Garshin, would come to Repin's apartment for readings and discussions.

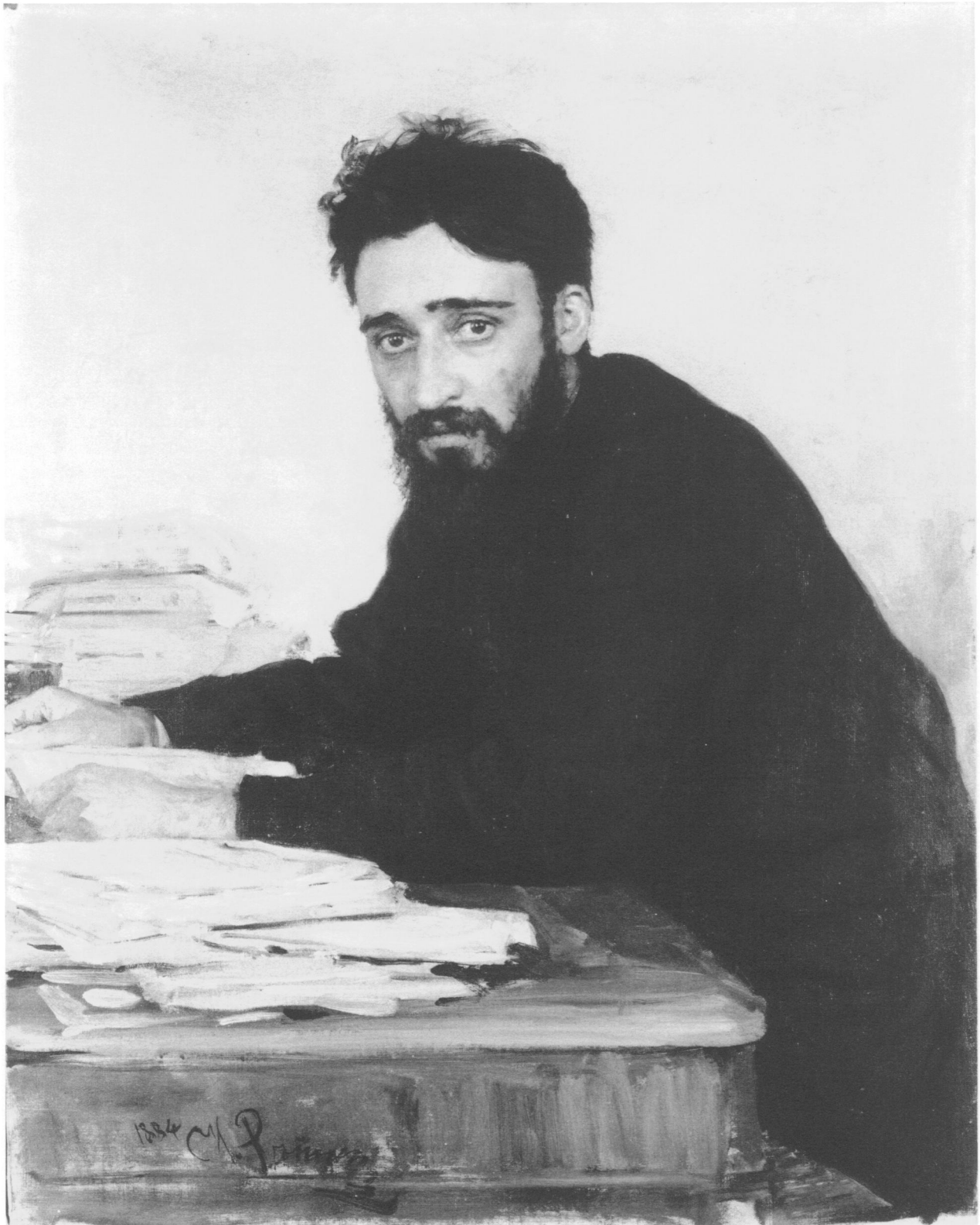


Figure 1. Ilya Efimovich Repin (Russian, 1844–1930), *Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin*. Oil on canvas, 88.9 x 69.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Humanities Fund, Inc., 1972, 1972.145.2

When the two met in late 1882, Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin (1855–1888) was already a highly acclaimed writer. He had become famous overnight in 1877 with the publication of “Four Days,” his second story to appear in print. Based on personal experiences in the Russo-Turkish war, it recounts not so much the physical as the moral agony of a wounded Russian soldier left behind next to the body of a Turk whom he had killed in combat. Garshin went on to write a few more short stories and some children’s fables (his entire oeuvre fills one slim volume) before committing suicide in March 1888 by leaping into a stairwell.

Garshin’s writings were praised for their expression of heightened sensibility on social problems (war, industrial labor, or prostitution) and the moral dilemmas confronting individuals or creative artists, which were often presented in allegorical terms. His was a fresh voice at a time when Tolstoy had given up fiction after finishing *Anna Karenina*, when Dostoevsky was ailing (he died in 1881), and when Chekhov was writing nothing but humorous sketches.

During the 1880s Garshin was idolized by the young liberal members of the intelligentsia for expressing their uncertainties about the proper choice or the righteous path when society’s efforts at peaceful reform had been severely jolted by the tide of revolutionary activity. In the history of Russian literature he holds a lesser but secure place as a master of the concise, well-focused novella and as a precursor of symbolism.¹⁴

Garshin had gained further renown for acting on his convictions. When the Russo-Turkish war broke out in 1877, he gave up his studies at the Mining Institute, enlisted to fight for the liberation of the southern Slavs from the Turkish yoke, and was slightly wounded in action. Three years later, in 1880, when a young conspirator was condemned to death for attempting to assassinate a high official, Garshin personally pleaded with the intended victim, Count Loris-Melikov, for clemency. Because of this aura of principled courage and suffering, his periodic attacks of depression (which seems to have been hereditary, for two of his three brothers also committed suicide) were attributed by many contemporaries to the blight of the oppressive political system on the writer’s sensitive moral constitution.

Some of Garshin’s writings were on art. He published five reviews of art exhibitions and two short stories that deal with painters. His art reviews are

neither original nor weighty, but they are of interest inasmuch as they typify the positivist spirit of the times. (Furthermore, a greater sophistication in his later views on art’s capacity to edify may well reflect his discussions with Repin, which took place while the portrait was in progress.)

From his student days at the Mining Institute in the early 1870s, Garshin was intimate with several young, minor painters associated with the Wanderers. The artistic preoccupations of that circle are evident in a letter Garshin wrote on its behalf to Ivan Kramskoy, a founder of the Association and its spokesman, seeking clarification of the purport of his canvas *Christ in the Desert*. Garshin was eager to know whether Kramskoy (whom he considered to be the leader of liberalism in art)¹⁵ meant to represent a pensive Christ foreseeing and accepting the path of thorns or the more positive image of someone who had just resolved to combat evil.¹⁶ It was an important issue to the young men who were eager to find in art some guidance for their own stance on public issues.

Garshin’s first art reviews were written in hot partisanship and had the same certitude that he had sought from Kramskoy. Thus, in 1877, he was highly critical of an exhibition held by the Society of Art Exhibits simply because it belonged to the enemy camp, being an offshoot of the Imperial Academy. He disparaged the bland, meaningless landscapes as compared to the trenchant paintings on contemporary themes displayed by the rival, independent Wanderers.¹⁷

In his early fiction, Garshin similarly juxtaposed two mutually exclusive types of art, the meaningless and the edifying. “Artists,” a story written in 1877, presents two prototypes: Dedov, a lighthearted and self-centered landscapist (described as “a manufacturer of wall decorations”), and Riabinin, a conscience-stricken genre painter. While Dedov aims to please the public and line his pockets, Riabinin is indifferent to worldly success and paints, in anguish, a maimed riveter to call attention to the plight of industrial workers.¹⁸

These strong convictions about the subject matter and role of art shaped Garshin’s initial attitude toward Repin. Long before meeting the painter, he had admired Repin as a proponent of socially responsive realist art. Hence his review of the 1877 show mounted by the official Society of Art Exhibits underscored the gulf between “artificial” academic art and the “real” art of the Wanderers by express-

ing astonishment at finding Repin's work in the Society's exhibition. Garshin argued that the inclusion of Repin in effect erased the dividing line in Russian art and suggested that if Repin was not a member of the Society, his works should be removed from the exhibition in order not to confuse the public. (In fact, Repin was not a member of the Society, but its sponsor, the Academy, could dispose of his work as it pleased since at the time he was still its pensioner and not free to exhibit with the independent Association of Traveling Art Exhibits. Only in 1878, right after his Academy fellowship had expired, did he join the Association.¹⁹)

With time, Garshin's views on art, as set forth in both fiction and reviews, lost some of their rough edges, and the conversations with Repin most likely account for the change. Garshin's short story "Nadezhda Nikolaevna," the second with painters as dramatis personae and finished during the time Repin was working on Garshin's portrait, contained no crude juxtaposition of two antithetical attitudes. Instead, it asked some searching questions about what could be expressed with line and color—whether a narrative, no matter how edifying and well intentioned, could be "told" as effectively with a brush.²⁰ Similarly, Garshin's later reviews of exhibitions do not treat art as representative of political trends, but discuss individual works in terms of how their rendition through color and movement contribute to their message or impact on the viewer.²¹

Garshin's greater sophistication or recognition that art had its aesthetic autonomy may in part be an extension of Repin's opinions on the subject. Throughout most of his life, Repin resisted the view that art should be the handmaiden to current-day political or social concerns, a view shared by many prominent Russian painters, critics, and writers. Despite his many canvases of topical relevance, Repin, at least twice in his long career, engaged in spirited polemics on the subject. His first dispute, in 1874/75, was confined to personal letters from Paris to the painter Ivan Kramskoy and to Vladimir Stasov, an art and music critic. Repin defended his right to work as he pleased (his mentors were upset that the young man was being seduced by the French penchant to paint for art's sake at the expense of content) and argued forcefully that "rational concepts . . . drawn from political economy" deprive art of its "poetry . . . warmth and color." Later, in the early 1890s, Repin went public. He took issue with Leo Tolstoy (who was then working on his treatise *What*

Is Art?—a diatribe against "pure" art) and published a series of articles in defense of the autonomy of art—a dispute that had considerable resonance at the time.²²

The portrait of Garshin in the Metropolitan Museum is the second likeness of the writer that Repin painted. The two portraits were executed less than a year apart; in 1883, when Repin undertook the first as a mere "study," he promised Garshin to do a genuine "portrait" at a "more convenient time."²³ Each portrait, however, was quite central to the composition of two major canvases on the revolutionary theme that engrossed Repin after his move to St. Petersburg.

In the fall of 1883 Repin resumed work on a large canvas, *Ivan the Terrible and His Son, Ivan. November 16, 1581* (Figure 2). It shows the czar cradling the body of his son and heir after dealing him a fatal blow. At the same time, Repin was also finishing another canvas, *They Did Not Expect Him*, depicting the enigmatic encounter between a returning political exile and his family. Both were prompted by current events. *Ivan* first occurred to Repin in 1881, after the assassination of Alexander II, when regicide was on everyone's mind. The other painting was related to the amnesty granted on the coronation of Alexander III, when many political offenders were permitted to return from Siberia.

Initially, Repin envisioned *Ivan the Terrible* in terms of violence. The preliminary sketches were cluttered with overturned furniture, the czar still holding the murder weapon in his hand, the czar-evitch sagging under his father's right arm.²⁴ The finished canvas focuses not on conflict but on its resolution. This message is conveyed through the forgiving gesture of the dying czar-evitch and the father's anguished, loving embrace. At least one perceptive critic at the time noted that the canvas did not simply record a murder but was suffused with religious spirit in depicting how strife between father and son was resolved through Christian love and forgiveness.²⁵

The conciliatory embrace was quite probably suggested by two Rembrandt paintings in the Hermitage—*The Prodigal Son* and *David and Jonathan*—which Repin had studied and admired since his school days.²⁶ Yet the biblical parables and their message were not the only source for the final version of *Ivan the Terrible*. In late 1883 Repin painted Garshin's head in profile as a study for the czar-evitch (Figure 3). More important for the final ver-



Figure 2. Ilya Efimovich Repin, *Ivan the Terrible and His Son, Ivan*, 1885. Oil on canvas, 199.5 x 254 cm. Moscow, State Tretyakov Gallery (photo: Tretyakov Gallery)

sion, however, was not Garshin's physiognomy (he was not the only model; Repin painted a similar study of another artist, Vladimir Menk) but his personality and views. It was these attributes that helped Repin to arrive at a satisfactory and integrated conception of the scene.

Repin regarded Garshin as the incarnation of goodness, both at the time of their friendship and later. He wrote that Garshin's looks expressed goodness—especially his pensive eyes, which were often misted by tears in concern for some injustice—as did his shy and delicate manners, his angelic personality “of dovelike purity,” and his pacifist philosophy.²⁷

Interesting suggestions as to why Repin chose the writer as model for *Ivan the Terrible* are provided in Garshin's story “Nadezhda Nikolaevna,” which has obvious parallels to Repin's canvas. It offers insight as well on how a model can serve an artist in resolving his compositional problems with a painting.

There is reason to believe that the discussion of this issue in the story is based on conversations with Repin, who at the time was working out the final composition of *Ivan*. Repin has described how he and Garshin would converse during sittings and then continue their discussions as they walked back and forth between their apartments until their argument was settled or the subject exhausted.²⁸

“Nadezhda Nikolaevna” deals with murder on several levels, and, like Repin's canvas, was occasioned by Alexander II's assassination. Its hero, Lopatin, is painting a picture of Charlotte Corday, and he wants to represent Corday at the very moment when she makes up her mind to kill Marat and is thus transformed into a “fanatic for a good cause.” He has a clear mental picture of Corday but needs an appropriate model to represent his vision as he has found it impossible to proceed with a professional model who sits for him faultlessly but has too bland a disposition—“she was incapable of inflicting

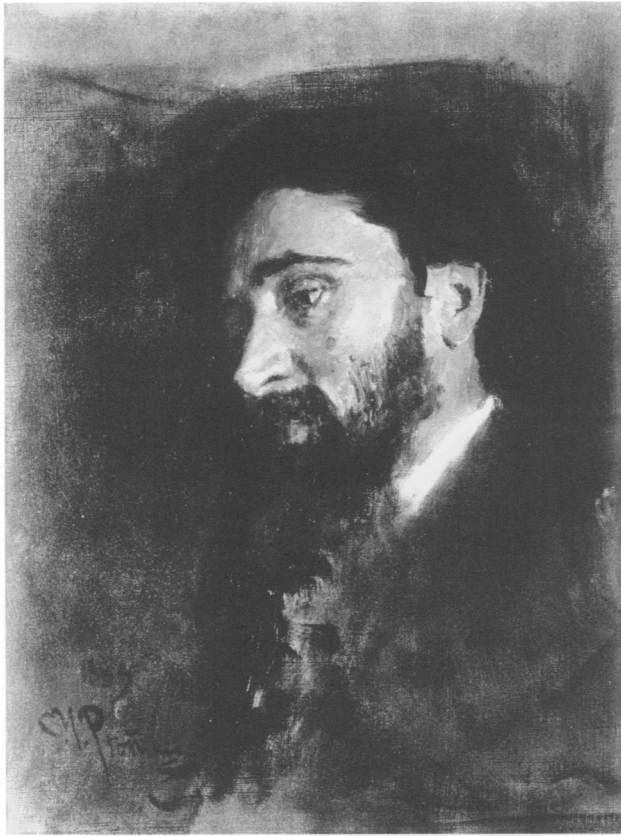


Figure 3. Ilya Efimovich Repin, *Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin*, study for “*Ivan the Terrible and His Son, Ivan*”, 1883. Oil on canvas, 47.7 x 40.3 cm. Moscow, State Tretyakov Gallery (photo: Tretyakov Gallery)

wounds.” The solution comes in the person of Nadezhda Nikolaevna, a prostitute but a woman of character and resolve. Her strong personality gives Lopatin a real sense of “flesh and blood,” and he can start with confidence on the final version of his canvas. (Other details show parallels with Repin’s picture. Nadezhda is shot by her former lover, whom Lopatin kills in turn with a sharp, metal-pointed rod that resembles the death-dealing staff lying at Ivan’s feet in Repin’s painting.)

In Garshin’s story the agonizing search for the suitable model who actually personifies the image the painter has in mind and thus enables completion of his canvas corresponds to the way Repin went about many of his larger works. Repin was always on the lookout for the right embodiment for the images in his mind’s eye. For a minor figure he needed only the appropriate physical features. For a figure that was central to the tone of the entire canvas (which gave harmonious “melody” to the

work—to use Repin’s phrasing), not just the looks but the full personality of the model as well became decisive.²⁹ This was surely the case with Garshin as a model and inspiration for the completion of *Ivan the Terrible*.

Garshin’s features, personality, and views were not so demonstrably related to Repin’s other major painting on the revolutionary theme, *They Did Not Expect Him* (Figure 4). There is no direct evidence either in writing or in preliminary sketches that Repin used Garshin as the model for the returning exile. We know, however, that Repin was finishing that picture concurrently with Garshin’s portrait. It has also been documented by Igor Grabar that as work proceeded during 1883–84, Repin’s conception of the central figure—the returned exile—changed. Initial sketches showed a self-assured person, confidently facing the array of reactions evinced by his family. With time, Repin introduced an element of hesitation—signs of doubt and uncertainty appeared in the exile’s face.³⁰

One could argue with some plausibility that Repin’s close association with the introspective and doubt-ridden Garshin during 1883–84 led him to think of the radical less in terms of an unequivocally



Figure 4. Ilya Efimovich Repin, *They Did Not Expect Him*, 1884. Oil on canvas, 160.5 x 167.5 cm. Moscow, State Tretyakov Gallery (photo: Tretyakov Gallery)



Figure 5. Ilya Efimovich Repin, *Riabinin and Dedov*, Illustration for Garshin's story "Artists," 1888. India ink, pen, and brush, 24.3 x 34.2 cm. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum (photo: State Russian Museum)

positive personality and more as one who questioned the consequences of noble aspirations willfully acted out—both for himself and for society. Such questions were implicit in "Red Flower," a short story Garshin published in the fall of 1883. Its subject is a madman set on destroying a flowering red plant—the incarnation of evil in his eyes—growing in the asylum garden. The story can be read as an allegory on the degeneration of rigid ideals into sick obsession.

However plausible, the connection remains tenuous that Repin had Garshin's views in mind in altering the returned exile's countenance as he finished *They Did Not Expect Him* for the 12th Traveling Exhibit in fall 1884. Nevertheless, the connection between the writer and the central figure was made by Pavel Tretiakov, who bought the painting. The collector did not care for the looks of the returned exile. For that matter, neither did some of the critics, who wondered why Repin had given the radical such an "unattractive" and "semi-idiotic face."³¹

Tretiakov's reservations prompted him in March 1885 (when the Traveling Exhibit had completed its circuit and the picture was hanging in his private gallery) to ask Repin to retouch the exile's face to make him "younger" and "more congenial": "Would not Garshin be appropriate?" he asked suggestively—no doubt having in mind the calm and penetrating gaze of the portrait now in the Metropolitan Museum. Within the month, Repin

obliged and reported laconically: "I did what I could."³²

There is no way of telling to what extent Repin availed himself of his patron's advice, for, in 1887, the artist went into the gallery when the owner was away and repainted the face to suit his own image of the exile. The collector objected so strenuously that Repin was obliged to repaint the face yet one more time to restore it to the second, Garshin-like variant that Tretiakov had requested in 1885. But this fourth and final version was still not an exact replica of the second; later Tretiakov wistfully referred to the 1885 version—"the one after Garshin"—as the best portrayal of the radical in his own eyes and in those of Leo Tolstoy.³³

There is an emblematic concluding note to the story of Repin's portrayal of Garshin, which counterpoints their shared, yet disparate concerns.

Soon after the writer's tragic death, his close associates published two commemorative volumes of his poems and of friends' reminiscences and critical essays, as well as their original works.³⁴ Repin contributed to both. For one, entitled *The Red Flower*, he designed the cover—a crown of thorns intertwining with the flower; for the other, *To Garshin's Memory*, he provided an illustration to Garshin's story "Artists" (Figure 5).

Drafted in 1888 expressly for the memorial volume, the illustration shows the two artists, the care-free aesthete and the conscience-stricken realist,

visiting the shipyard where the latter had found the subject for his canvas. (As Garshin described it in the story, a riveter at his inhuman labor stands inside a caldron, backing up a steel plate with his body, as his mate outside hammers the rivet head with terrific blows.) The features and the tilt of the head of the artist with the acute social conscience closely resemble Repin's first likeness of Garshin—his 1883 profile study (Figure 3) for the czarévitch (Figure 2), innocent victim of Ivan the Terrible. As for the other, the happy-go-lucky artist, his features are too full and ample to suggest Repin's. Nonetheless, it is not a farfetched conjecture that in drawing the two types in conversation, Repin had in mind his long walks and talks with Garshin in 1883–84, and his own resilient, outgoing nature as the model for the artist who confidently points out some positive future to his tortured companion.

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NOTES

1. V. Garshin's letters to his mother, July 30 and Aug. 10, 1884, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*. III, *Pis'ma*, Yu. G. Oksman, ed. (Moscow/Leningrad, 1934) pp. 333–334, 336 (hereafter cited as *Pis'ma*).

2. I thank Gisela Helmkampff, conservator in the MMA's Department of European Paintings, for this information.

3. G. Burova et al., *Tovarishchestvo peredvizhnykh khudozhestvennykh vystavok* (Moscow, 1959) II, p. 112.

4. P. M. Tretyakov's letters of March 27, 1888, and of Nov. 24, 1889, to Repin, *Pis'ma Repina. Perepiska s P. M. Tretyakovym*, M. N. Grigor'eva, A. N. Shchekotova, eds. (Moscow, 1946) pp. 132, 140 (hereafter *Pis'ma Repina*). The file on the painting in the MMA's Department of European Paintings has the incorrect information, supplied by Boris Bakhmeteff, that Tereshchenko paid 14,000 rubles for the picture. At that time, only large, multi-figure paintings could fetch anything approximating such a large sum.

5. Boris Aleksandrovich Bakhmeteff (1880–1951), professor of hydraulic engineering in St. Petersburg, was appointed ambas-

sador to the United States in 1917 by the provisional Russian government; he resigned in 1922. From 1931 on, Bakhmeteff taught civil engineering at Columbia University. B. A. Bakhmeteff papers, Bakhmeteff Archive, Rare Book and Manuscript Division, Columbia University.

6. Garshin's letter of Aug. 8–9, 1884, to his mother, *Pis'ma*, p. 336.

7. Repin's letter of Aug. 10, 1884, to Pavel Tretyakov, in *I. Repin. Izbrannye pis'ma*, I. A. Brodsky, ed. (Moscow, 1969) I, p. 298 (hereafter cited as *Izbrannye pis'ma*).

8. S. N. Durylin, *Repin i Garshin* (Moscow, 1926), p. 55; G. Burova et al., *Tovarishchestvo*, pp. 112–123.

9. *Katalog istoriko-khudozhestvennoi vystavki russkikh portretov ustravaemoi v Tavricheskom Dvortse* (St. Petersburg, 1905) 4, no. 1713, p. 49.

10. Salon d'Automne, *Exposition de l'Art Russe* (Paris, 1906) no. 453, p. 80. The information in the file on the painting in the MMA states that the canvas was also displayed at the exhibition of Russian art in Berlin, held in the same year. However, the catalogue for that exhibition does not list Garshin's portrait among the four paintings by Repin. *Russische Kunst Ausstellung* (Berlin, 1906) pp. 27–28.

11. I. Grabar, *I. E. Repin* (Moscow, 1937) II, p. 460.

12. For French critics' reaction, see Alison Hilton, "Scenes from Life and Contemporary History: Russian Realism of the 1870s–1880s," in G. P. Weisberg, ed., *The European Realist Tradition* (Bloomington, 1982) p. 194.

13. For more information on the founding of the Association and its sense of mission, see Elizabeth Valkenier, *Russian Realist Art, the State and Society* (New York, 1989) pp. 37–48, 115–120.

14. Peter Henry's excellent and detailed biography of Garshin, *A Hamlet of His Time* (Oxford, 1983), discusses Garshin's style and his place in Russian literature on pp. 237–310.

15. Garshin's letter of Feb. 19, 1878, to his mother, *Pis'ma*, p. 157.

16. Garshin's letter of Feb. 14, 1878, to I. Kramskoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (St. Petersburg, 1910) p. 506.

17. Vsevolod Garshin, "Vtoraya vystavka Obshchestva vystavok khudozhestvennykh proizvedenii" (1877) *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, pp. 401–408.

18. For a recent translation of "Artists," see *From the Reminiscences of Private Ivanov: and Other Stories*, Peter Henry et al., trans. (London, 1988) pp. 93–109.

19. A decade later, Garshin intended to write a series of essays on the meaning and importance of Repin's oeuvre, a plan that remained unrealized at his untimely death. Durylin, *Repin i Garshin*, p. 64.

20. For a translation of "Nadezhda Nikolaevna," see *The Signal and Other Stories*, Rowland Smith, trans. (Freeport, N.Y., 1971) pp. 156–229.

21. Vsevolod Garshin, "Zametki o khudozhestvennykh vystavkakh" (1887), *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, pp. 428–440.

22. For a more detailed discussion of Repin's aesthetic views, see Elizabeth K. Valkenier, *Ilya Repin and the World of Russian Art* (New York, 1990) chaps. 3 and 6.

23. Garshin's letter of March 15, 1884, to his mother, *Pis'ma*, pp. 315–316.

24. I. Grabar, *Repin* (Moscow, 1963) I, pp. 264–286; O. Liaskovskaya, "K istorii sozdaniya kartiny I. E. Repin, 'Ivan Groznyi i syn ego Ivan,'" in Gosudarstvennaya Tret'iakovskaya Gallereya, *Materialy i issledovaniya* (Moscow, 1956) I, pp. 187–197.

25. Neznakometz (pseudonym of A. S. Suvorin), "Na peredvizhnoi vystavke," *Novoe vremia*, Feb. 14, 1885.

26. O. Liaskovskaya, "K istorii sozdaniya kartiny," p. 195.

27. For Repin's views on Garshin, see his letters of Aug. 10, 1884, to P. Tretiakov and of March 16, 1903, to P. N. Asian, in *Izbrannye pis'ma*, I, p. 298, and II, pp. 174–177. A fuller text of the second letter is included in Repin's reminiscences, *Dalekoe i blizkoe* (Kornei Chukovsky, ed., first published in 1937), as two essays. One is simply entitled "V. M. Garshin"; the other, "The Last Encounter with Garshin."

28. Repin's letter of March 16, 1903, to P. N. Asian, in *Izbrannye pis'ma*, II, p. 175.

29. Durylin, *Repin i Garshin*, p. 56.

30. I. Grabar, *Repin* (1963) I, pp. 255–260.

31. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 258, 260.

32. Tretiakov's letter of March 10, 1885, to Repin; Repin's letter of April 9, 1885, to Tretiakov, *Pis'ma Repina*, pp. 100, 103.

33. Tretiakov's letter of Nov. 24, 1889, to Repin, *ibid.*, p. 140. The 1887 version is the one that hangs today in the State Tretiakov Gallery in Moscow.

34. *Krasnyi tsvetok. Literaturnyi sbornik v pamiat' V. M. Garshina* (St. Petersburg, 1889); *Pamiat' V. M. Garshina. Khudozhestvenno-literaturnyi sbornik* (St. Petersburg, 1889).

CONTENTS

Reflections of an Italian Journey on an Early Attic Lekythos?

JOAN R. MERTENS

Roman Wall Paintings from Boscotrecase: Three Studies in the Relationship Between Writing and Painting

ELFRIEDE R. KNAUER

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BEAUDOUIN CARON

Carving the Badminton Sarcophagus

ELIZABETH BARTMAN

An Early Christian Sarcophagus from Rome Lost and Found

HELEN EVANS

A Neapolitan Patron of Armor and Tapestry Identified

DONALD J. LAROCCA

A Watch for Monsieur Hesselin

J. H. LEOPOLD AND CLARE VINCENT

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EDITH A. STANDEN

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