METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

Volume 31/1996

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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.

The present volume is particularly broad in its range—from an important study of four ancient mirrors housed in four different curatorial collections at the Museum to a discussion of works by Otto Dix in the Department of 20th Century Art. Of special interest are three articles based on papers given at a recent symposium on the works of Francisco de Goya y Lucientes and a group of notes about selected recent acquisitions.

Distributed by

The University of Chicago Press

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JACKET ILLUSTRATION: Marie-Guillelmine Benoist (French, 1768–1826). *Portrait d'une jeune femme avec un enfant.* Oil on canvas, 116.8 x 89.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953, 53.61.4

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Editorial Board

Manuscripts submitted for the *Journal* and all correspondence concerning them should be addressed to James David Draper. Guidelines for contributors are available on request.

Executive Editor, Barbara Burn

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10028, and is distributed by the University of Chicago Press, P. O. Box 37005, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

ISSN 0077-8958
Library of Congress Catalogue Number 68-28799

Designed by Bruce Campbell and Anandaroop Roy, on a format initially conceived by Peter Oldenburg
Production by Rich Bonk
Composition by Robert Weisberg;
printed by The Stinehour Press;
bound by Acme Bookbinding Co., Inc.

Contents

Editors' note

With this volume the Journal is pleased to open its pages to staff members who wish to discuss selected recently acquired objects in greater detail than is afforded by the format of the Museum's annual "Recent Acquisitions" *Bulletin.* Also featured in this volume are three essays based on papers given at a symposium on Goya held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art on October 20, 1995.

ABBREVIATIONS

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

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The "Marathon Stone" in New York

JOHN CAMP

Director, Agora Excavations, American School of Classical Studies, Athens

IN 1923 the Greek government presented the upper part of an inscribed marble grave stele to the College of the City of New York (CCNY). The gift was arranged through the efforts of Dr. John Huston Finley, third president of City College (1903–13), who came upon the stone while walking from Marathon to Athens. The official presentation of the gift was held in New York City on Thursday, November 22, 1923, in an elaborate ceremony at City College attended by various officials of the college and M. Tsamades, the Minister of Greece in Washington. The stele, dubbed the "Marathon Stone" in the official program of the ceremony, was set up in Lewisohn Stadium, where it stood for fifty years, until that facility was demolished in 1973. It was then crated and stored in the basement of the engineering building for twenty years. In 1993 it was placed on long-term loan to the Metropolitan Museum, where it was put on display in the Greek grave stele gallery in August 1994 (Figures 1, 2).[1]

The association with Marathon and the installation of the stele in Lewisohn Stadium reflect the enthusiasm for the modern race, created to approximate the distance from Marathon to Athens (ca. 26 miles). According to the tradition preserved in Plutarch and Lucian, both writing in the second century A.D., a messenger sent from the battlefield at Marathon to announce the victory over the Persians in 490 B.C. ran to Athens, delivered his message, and expired on the spot:

Again, the news of the battle of Marathon Thersippos of Eroidai was brought back as Herakleides Pontikos relates; but most historians declare that it was Eucles who ran in full armor, hot from the battle, and, bursting in at the doors of the first men of the State, could only say, "Hail! we are victorious!" and straightway expired. (Plutarch, Moralia 347 c.)

Plutarch does not refer to Pheidippides, the individual usually associated with Marathon. That name is given by Herodotos, who wrote some six hundred years earlier, within a generation or so of the battle. The run credited to Pheidippides in this earlier tradition is far more arduous:

And first, while they were yet in the city, the generals sent as a herald to Sparta, Pheidippides, an Athenian, and one, moreover, that was a runner of long distances and made that his calling. This man, as he said himself and told the Athenians, when he was in the Parthenian hills above Tegea, met with Pan; who, calling to Pheidippides by name, bade him say to the Athenians, "Why is it that ye take no thought for me, that am your friend, and ere now have oft been serviceable to you, and will be so again?" This story the Athenians believed to be true, and when their state won to prosperity they founded a temple of Pan beneath the Acropolis, and for that message sought the gods' favor with yearly sacrifices and torch-races.

But now, at the time when he was sent by the generals and said that Pan had appeared to him, this Pheidippides was at Sparta on the day after he left Athens. (Herodotos, Book VI, 105/6)

The distance of this run, from Athens to Sparta, was about 150 miles. In recent years it, too, has been recreated for a small number of runners under the name "Spartathlon."

The stone was originally discovered and published in 1879; it is included in the corpus of Greek inscriptions (*Inscriptiones Graecae*) as *I.G.* II^2 7292.[2] The stele was found near the church of Saints Constantine and Helen at the north end of the village of Nea Makri, then called Xylokerisa, at the south end of the plain of Marathon, just south of the Brexisa marsh (Figure 8).[3]

It is the upper part of a white marble stele, apparently Pentelic marble. Broken below and along the front at the top, it is rough-picked at the back and heavily weathered. Though only the top part is preserved, the width (0.725–0.75 m) and thickness (0.43 m) suggest that the piece is among the largest known Attic grave stelae. A molding consisting of a shallow ovolo over a fascia over a larger ovolo originally ran around both sides and across the front but is now missing along the front. On top there is a large dowel hole

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 10.

Figure 1. The "Marathon Stone." Marble, H. 1.36 m, W. 0.725–0.75 m. New York, The College of the City of New York. On display at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, L.1994.82

Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1, showing the molding and side rosette

Figure 3. Grave stele of Epikrates of Ionidai. Marble, H. 1.31 m, W. 0.47–0.50 m. Athens, National Museum, originally found on Salamis (watercolor from Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, no. 1563)

(0.11 m wide, at least 0.06 m front to back, by 0.135 m deep), fed by a long pour channel from the back (0.015 m deep by 0.04 m wide by 0.23 m long).

The upper part of the stele is decorated with floral rosettes in relief, two on the front and one on each side; they are double, eight-petaled rosettes, measuring 0.21–0.226 meters across. They are rendered in a detailed, naturalistic manner when compared to the highly stylized versions on many stelai. The spaces between the individual outer petals are well defined, giving the rosettes a knobby, articulated outline. Both sets of petals are shown as convex and bulging out slightly, and they are decorated with a continuous line of incision parallel to their outer edges. The outer petals are also incised to create the impression of a central crease. The closest parallels for these various features are found on the stele of Epikrates, son of Kephisios, of Ionidai, which is only slightly more elaborate in having a central crease on the inner row of petals as well (Figure 3). Also similar in general appearance though slightly different in the details is the stele of Leon of Sinope, a useful parallel as the letter forms of the inscriptions on the two stelai are similar as well (Figure 4).[4]

Figure 4. Grave stele of Leon of Sinope. Marble, H. 0.53 m, W. 0.36–0.38 m. Athens, National Museum, found in Attica (watercolor from Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, no. 1318)

Below the rosettes parts of six lines of text are preserved:

'Ελπίνης
'Ελπινίκου
Προβαλίσιος
Εὔν[ικο]ς
['Ε]λπιν[ί]κο[υ]
Προβαλ[ί]σι[ος]

The first three lines preserve the name of Elpines, son of Elpinikos, of Probalinthos, in well-cut letters about 0.065 meter high (omicron: 0.05 m). Below are parts of the name of the brother of Elpines, Eunikos son of Elpinikos of Probalinthos, in letters less carefully cut, shallower, and somewhat smaller (0.05–0.055 m). The second name was presumably added later.

The stele has suffered somewhat since its discovery. All the letters of lines 1–6 were visible when found, except for the first iota of line 6. In addition, much of the word: "Προβαλ[ί]σι[ος]" is reported in a separate line above both the rosettes and our line 1. It seems probable that this, too, was added after the original name of lines 1–3. Two considerations suggest this. First, in the early publication this line is reported as being less carefully cut than lines 1–3. Second, there is 0.21 meter between the upper moldings and the top of the rosettes, a space that will not permit three lines of text, which would require about 0.295 meter. Only two lines—thereby presumably requiring the omission of the patronymic—take up 0.18 meter and would therefore fit. From the other examples it seems that the primary name, or a single name, can appear either above or below rosettes. On our stele, the primary name would seem to be Elpines.

Of the two brothers, Elpines may be known from another source. His name appears in Eleusis Museum no. 40 (*I.G.* II² 1702), which is a list of names, probably of magistrates, from Eleusis. Two other instances of the name Eunikos are known from Probalinthos Athens, Epigraphical Museum no. 11802 (*I.G.* II² 7295) and Athens, Acropolis no. 1090 (*I.G.* II² 876), but they cannot be associated with our Eunikos; *I.G.* II² 7295 has a different patronymic and *I.G.* II² 876 dates to the late third century B.C.

The stele can be dated only on the basis of general appearance and letter forms, which are subjective and generally unreliable criteria. The forms of the letters, the curving strokes of the K, L, and S, and the slight thickening of the ends of many of the strokes suggest a date not far from the middle of the fourth century B.C. for the original inscribing of the name of Elpines.

This brief note is not the proper place to elaborate on this, but these grave stelae need further careful analysis in an attempt to identify workshops. The style of the rosettes, the style of the letter forms, and the style of the sculpted figures found on many such stelae represent separate criteria that could be studied independently and then correlated for associations with one another. Groups of sculptors, masons, and letterers might well cluster, much the way certain potters and vase painters are known to have worked together in Athens.

This type of grave stele was in common use in the Classical period. There are numerous parallels for stelae with rosettes carrying additional family names as time went by: *I.G.* II² 6609, of the family of Phormos of Kydantidai (Figure 5), and *I.G.* II² 6008 (Figure 6) of the family of Koroibos of Melite, are two good examples. If the form of the Marathon Stone was typical, its scale was not. The stele of Phormos (see Figure 5) is 0.63 meter wide at the bottom and 0.32 meter thick; it

Figure 5. Grave stele of Phormos of Kydantidai. Marble, H. 4.02 m, W. 0.58–0.60 m. Athens, Kerameikos (photo: author)

Figure 6. Grave stele of Koroibos of Melite. Pentelic marble, H. 2.81 m, W. 0.50–0.57 m. Athens, Kerameikos (photo: author)

Figure 7. Floral acroterion for a stele. Marble, H. 1.048 m. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.198

stood at least 4.00 meters high. The Marathon Stone measures 0.72 meter at the top and is an extraordinary 0.43 meter thick. These proportions suggest that the stele may have stood as high as 5.00 meters. The massive dowel hole in the top indicates the placement of a substantial crowning element, most probably a sculpted palmette. Several such palmettes are known (Figure 7), ranging in height from 0.97–1.40 meters.[5] Allowing for such a finial, the total height of Elpines's stele would have been some 6.00 to 6.50 meters.

The Deme of Probalinthos

As noted, the stele was found at the south end of the plain of Marathon (Figure 8). It was originally taken as evidence for the location of the deme of Probalinthos, one of the 140 villages or urban districts that constituted the Athenian state. Probalinthos was one of the demes which, with Oinoe, Marathon, and Trikorynthos, made up the early Marathonian Tetrapolis, four villages that occupied the plain and shared a political and religious association. After the Kleisthenic reforms of 508/507 B.C., it was separated administratively from the other three demes and assigned to the tribe Pandionis whereas the other three were assigned

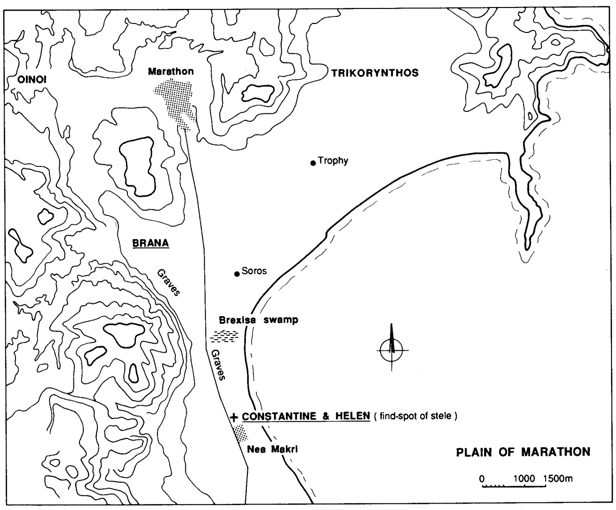


Figure 8. Plan of the Plain of Marathon, showing find-spot of stele and other locations (drawing by Annie Hooton)

to Aiantis. Probalinthos was a moderately large deme, accounting for about one percent of the citizen population of Athens, if we may judge from its contingent of five representatives sent annually to the *boule* (senate) of five hundred.

In recent years, the find-spot of the votive stele of Theogenes, son of Gyletos of Probalinthos (Marathon Museum no. 17: *I.G.* II^2 7296), and the discovery of his family grave plot near Vrana (Figure 8), just southeast of the present Marathon Museum, have led most scholars to locate the deme center there, where numerous antiquities were found in the 1930s by G. Soteriades.[6] If the center is to be located at Vrana, it remains to be considered whether the Marathon Stone carries any topographical information or not. Other antiquities have been reported around Nea Makri, including a Classical cemetery found in 1985 less than one kilometer north of the church of Saints Constantine and Helen. It may well be that graves of demesmen of Probalinthos lined the road south out of the plain and that the territory of the deme extended from Vrana to Nea Makri, a distance of some three to four kilometers.[7] Alternatively, the Nea Makri material may represent a separate deme, in which case the most likely candidate is the small coastal deme of Myrrinoutta of the Aigeis tribe.[8]

Though the association with Marathon and the famous battle proves somewhat tenuous, the Marathon Stone of Elpines and Eunikos is still a welcome addition to the grave stele gallery as an impressive representative of a favored type of grave marker. The austere simplicity of the stele will have contrasted with the ornately carved crowning palmette. Furthermore, at about 6.50 meters in height, the stele was among the very largest of the more than ten thousand gravestones known from Athens and Attica, from any period. It must have been an extraordinarily prominent feature of the landscape of eastern Attica when it was erected in the fourth century B.C.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly indebted to Professor Evelyn B. Harrison of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, for bringing this piece to my attention, as well as for much of the preliminary work on the stele. I am also indebted to Dr. Joan Mertens of the Department of Greek and Roman Art for her invitation to write this note, to Professor Elizabeth O'Connor, Chairman of the Department of Art at CCNY, and to Alex Kalangis for his help and company during fieldwork in the plain of Marathon. A final debt is owed to the late Eugene Vanderpool, who taught me and so many others about the topography and monuments of Marathon.

NOTES

1. "A Stele for Pheidippides," *City College Alumnus* (Spring 1989) pp. 12–13; "Reception and Unveiling of the Marathon Stone," program printed by CCNY for the ceremony of Nov. 22, 1923; and CCNY press release dated Oct. 1, 1982.

2. A. Hauvette-Besnault, "Inscriptions Funéraires de l'Oropie: Inscription de Probalinthes," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* III (1879) p. 200; A. Milchhoefer, "Antikerbericht aus Attika," *Athenische Mitteilungen* 12 (1887) no. 321, p. 306; and *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* XLI, 1991 (Amsterdam, 1994) no. 200, p. 82.

3. On a visit to the plain on March 11, 1995, Alex Kalangis and I were unable to get a closer fix on the find-spot or the toponym "Dardesa," preserved in the corpus. The present church of Sts. Constantine and Helen is a large neo-Byzantine affair built in 1963 on the site of the earlier chapel.

4. For the Epikrates stele (*I.G.* II^2, 6304), see A. Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs* (Berlin, 1911–22) no. 1563, pl. CCCXXIX; and for the Leon stele (*I.G.* II^2, 10334/5), see idem, no. 1318, pl. CCLXXVI.

5. For palmette finials, see ibid., nos. 1536, 1537, 1543–1546. There is a handsome example on display next to the Marathon Stone at the MMA; see ibid., no. 1539, and G. M. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection* (New York, 1917) pp. 222–223. The other possible crowning element popular at this period—a siren—seems far less likely. Sirens are usually carved with a plinth of marble, which would require a large socket in the top of the stele rather than a dowel hole.

6. For the latest views on the deme, the center of Probalinthos, see J. Traill, *Demos and Trittys* (Toronto, 1986) pp. 129, 146–148, and J. Camp, "Ο Μαραθῶνος τοῦ Eugene Vanderpool" in the proceedings of the Δ Επιστημονικῆς Συνάντησις ΝΑ Αττικῆς (Kalybia, 1993) pp. 42–43. For the remains found by Soteriades near Vrana, see *PAE* (1934) pp. 41–44, and *PAE* (1935) pp. 35–38; for the Classical/Hellenistic cemetery southeast of Vrana, see ΑΔ 29, *Chronika* 1973/4 (1979) pp. 64–67. See also B. Petrakos, *Ο Μαραθῶν* (Athens, 1995).

7. K. Eustratiou, in ΑΔ 40, 1985, *Chronika* (Athens, 1990) pp. 72–73, for the cemetery. Roads lined with graves: e.g., the road from the Dipylon to the Academy, the Sacred Way to Eleusis, or the road leading south from the deme of Rhamnous.

8. J. Traill, *Demos and Trittys* (Toronto, 1986) pp. 128, 145–147.

Horizontal-Handled Mirrors: East and West

JUDITH LERNER

Both as practical and symbolic objects, mirrors provide insight into the artistic and religious values of diverse societies. Besides serving as a necessary *article de toilette,* in ancient cultures mirrors are associated with funerary and other rituals as well as with entertainment. Their shapes and decoration partake of the aesthetic developments and preferences of these varied cultures and also reveal interconnections across broad geographic and temporal expanses.[1] Dating to at least as early as the sixth millennium B.C.,[2] mirrors are in use in all ancient civilizations—from Egypt and Western Asia to China—by the late fourth to the end of the third millennium B.C. They occur mainly in one or both of two basic forms: (1) a polished-metal disc, the so-called "Chinese mirror," sometimes decorated on the back, held by cupping the hand around its edge or by grasping a cord threaded through a loop-shaped knob or a pierced round boss in the middle of the back; (2) a polished-metal disc with a vertical grip, the disc and handle made of one piece, or a disc with a projecting tang that was inserted into a vertical handle. Variations on these themes exist: the best known appear in the Classical world as the stand mirror, consisting of a disc, a handle, and a base in the form of a standing figure or architectural member that holds the mirror upright; and the box or "compact" mirror, a small disc that was protected by a rimmed cover that fit, like a lid, onto the disc, which typically was handleless but could also have a metal loop on the edge for suspension or grasping.[3]

The subject of this article is a less known and less numerous mirror of a third form. Also composed of a polished-metal disc—silver, bronze, or silver-plated bronze—its distinguishing feature is a horizontal handle soldered onto the center of the back and thus running across the disc almost from edge to edge. Although the mirror must be held upright to view one's reflection, and the handle is thus held vertically, the handle is always parallel to the plane of the mirror disc. Many of these mirrors are convex on their polished, reflecting side and have a raised rim around the edge. Both of these features also appear on other disc-type mirrors; the convexity of the surface serves to produce a smaller but brighter and more intense reflection than one viewed on a flat surface.[4]

The mirror with horizontal handle is an unusual form and a relatively late development. There is hardly any evidence of it before the first century A.D., and it seems to disappear after the ninth or tenth century. The Metropolitan Museum has four examples: three complete mirrors and the last most likely the handle of such a mirror. It is remarkable that all four of them are in the same institution, and that each one has been assigned (on the basis of its style or provenance) to a different department: Greek and Roman, Medieval, Ancient Near Eastern, and Islamic.

As suggested by their respective locations in the Museum's collections, the geographical diffusion of horizontal-handled mirrors was widespread, extending from Roman Britain to early Islamic Iran; there is even evidence for the mirrors in India and Vietnam. While the basic form remains constant, the treatment of the horizontal handle, as well as that of the back or nonreflecting surface and raised rim, vary from region to region and from culture to culture. In the west, during the Roman and succeeding Byzantine periods, the handle typically is straplike and spatulate in shape, with each end often articulated as a stylized finger; however, the handle can also take the form of a reef, or Herakles, knot. In the east, in such regions as Iran, Central Asia, and Vietnam, the handle is cylindrical and terminates in the foreparts of animals.

The western and eastern versions of the horizontal-handled mirror are well known to scholars, although those concerned with the Roman and Byzantine worlds have concentrated on mirrors of western origin, and those who study the material cultures east of the Mediterranean have written about the horizontal-handled mirrors belonging to these eastern regions. To my knowledge, no one has taken a global view. As a result, these mirrors have not been fully explored as a distinct phenomenon, nor have they been placed in the broader geographic and chronological context that their distribution implies.

In this article, I shall present the western and eastern manifestations of the horizontal-handled mirror and propose an origin for its development and subsequent diffusion. By so doing, I hope to show that

Metropolitan Museum Journal 31

The notes for this article begin on page 33.

beyond its significance as a widespread mirror type, the specific form and decoration given to its characteristic feature, the horizontal handle, reveal the artistic, religious, and metaphoric themes of the different cultures that produced this type of mirror. I shall begin with descriptions of the three mirrors and mirror handle in the Museum. I shall then discuss the evidence for horizontal-handled mirrors in the west and in the east, along with an anomaly to the basic developmental schema suggested by the evidence. I shall conclude with suggestions about patronage for and use of these mirrors.

The Metropolitan Museum Mirrors and Mirror Handle

Mirror with Knot of Herakles Handle (Department of Greek and Roman Art). Ex coll. Norbert Schimmel (1989.281.82): Silver. Diameter 13.2 cm. Hereafter referred to as the Schimmel mirror (Figure 1).

The polished face is slightly convex. The back is edged with a raised beaded rim, and within, an engraved band of feather ornament runs clockwise around the circumference. The horizontal handle is composed of two loops of silver wire that are intertwined to form a reef, or Herakles, knot. Just outside the knot, the wires loop back on themselves to create an elegant figure-eight motif. The wires are soldered to the back by four flattened terminals, shaped as ivy leaves with curved and pointed tips, one at either end of each loop.

REFERENCES: J. Settgast, *Von Troja bis Amarna: The Norbert Schimmel Collection* (New York/Mainz, 1978) Supplement, no. 99a; MMA, *Ancient Art: Gifts from the Norbert Schimmel Collection, MMAB* (Spring 1992) p. 72, fig. 72.

Mirror with Strap Handle Ending in the Shape of Thumbs (Department of Medieval Art). Handle: Gift of F. Kouchakji, 1952 (52.37); Disc: Fletcher Fund, 1947 (47.100.35): Silver. Diameter 23.3 cm; length of handle 21.3 cm, height 2.9 cm. Hereafter referred to as the Antioch mirror (Figure 2).

The mirror has been assigned to the collection of liturgical silver pieces (chalices, plaques, spoons, and crosses) identified as the Antioch Treasure, of which six pieces, in addition to the mirror, are in the Metropolitan. Most of the treasure, it seems, had been acquired in 1910 by Constantine Kouchakji, a dealer at Aleppo; it is not known whether the mirror handle and disc were part of that acquisition. The disc was originally identified as a paten (the plate that holds the bread in the Eucharist), until it was discovered that the handle belongs to it to form a mirror.

The back of the slightly convex disc is edged by an applied rim chased in an overlapping leaf or feather pattern. Just inside the rim two concentric circles are engraved, while a third, lathe-turned circle decorates the center of the disc. The handle is straplike, each end spatulate in shape as it terminates in an incised thumb, the nail and cuticle carefully delineated. A narrow band with a herringbone pattern runs vertically across its wider central section; an elongated leaf is engraved on each side, between the central band and thumbnail. Only one of the original soldering plates of the handle survives; it is spade-shaped with three short spikes that point toward the mirror's rim.

REFERENCES: M. M. Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures*, exh. cat. The Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1986) cat. no. 48, pp. 212–215, fig. 48.1–4; M. Mundell Mango, "The Origins of the Syrian Ecclesiastical Silver Treasures of the Sixth–Seventh Centuries," in F. Baratte, ed., *Argenterie romaine et byzantine* (Actes de la Table Ronde, Paris, Oct. 11–13, 1983 [Paris, 1988]) pl. v, 2 and p. 165.

Mirror with Cylindrical Handle Terminating in Leaping Griffin Protomes (Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art). Gift of the Ernest Erickson Foundation (1988.102.21): Bronze. Diameter 12.6 cm (Figure 3).

The edge of the slightly convex disc is raised .5 cm toward the mirror's back. The handle, formed by a cylindrical pole with a spool-like decoration at its center, terminates in the foreparts of leaping griffins that emerge from a rolled collar at each end of the pole. Beneath each collar a pedestal, consisting of a square base and a short cylindrical element, supports the pole; the squares serve as soldering plates for the handle. The mirror is very corroded, but on the open-mouthed griffins with erect ears, details such as their curved beaks, leonine paws, and deep grooves outlining the upward curve of their pointed wings can still be discerned.

REFERENCES: P. O. Harper, "Sources of Certain Female Representations in Sasanian Art," *La Persia nel medioevo*, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei 160 (Rome, 1971) pl. v:2; p. 512, n. 33.

Handle with Animal-Protome Terminals (Department of Islamic Art). Excavated at Sabz Pushan, Nishapur, Iran (40.170.252): Bronze with gilding. Height 3.3 cm; length 8.3 cm (Figure 4).

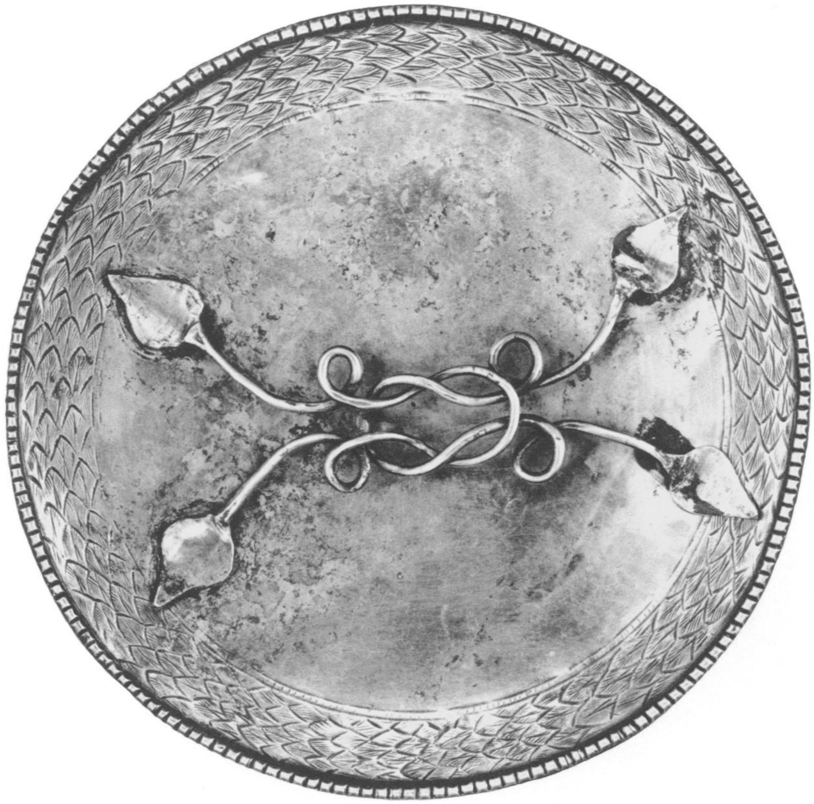


Figure 1. Silver mirror and handle, 4th century A.D. Diam. 13.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989, 1989.281.82

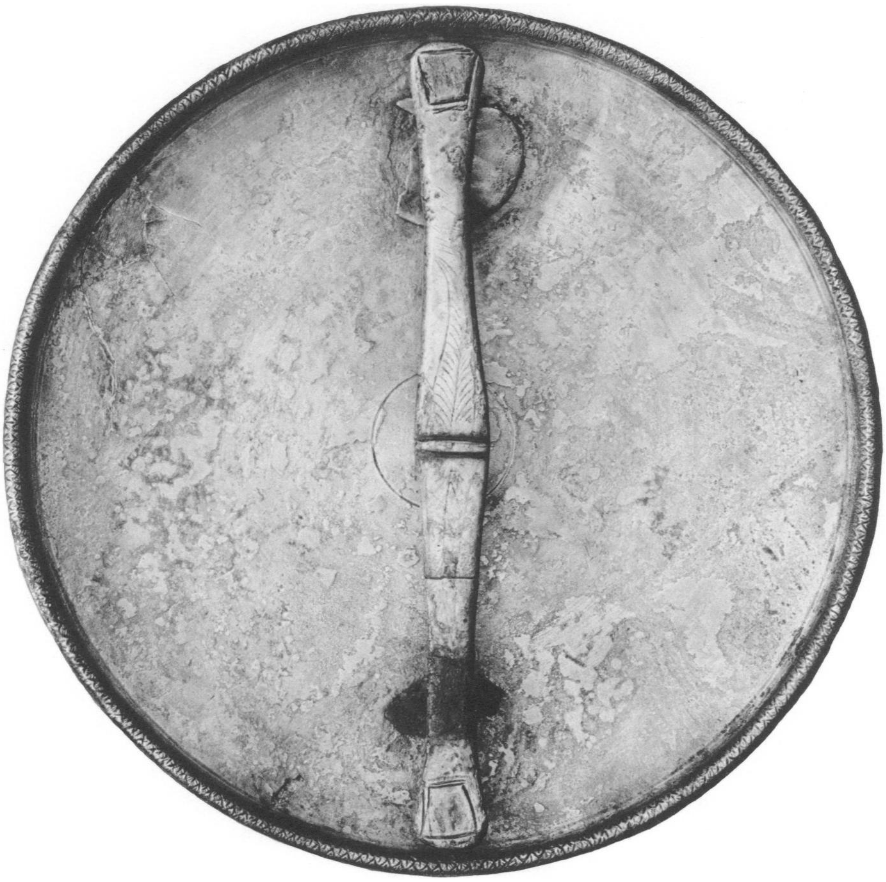


Figure 2. Silver mirror and handle, 4th century A.D. Diam. of disc 23.3 cm, L. of handle 21.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, disc: Fletcher Fund, 1947, 47.100.35; handle: Gift of Fahim Kouchakji, 1952, 52.37

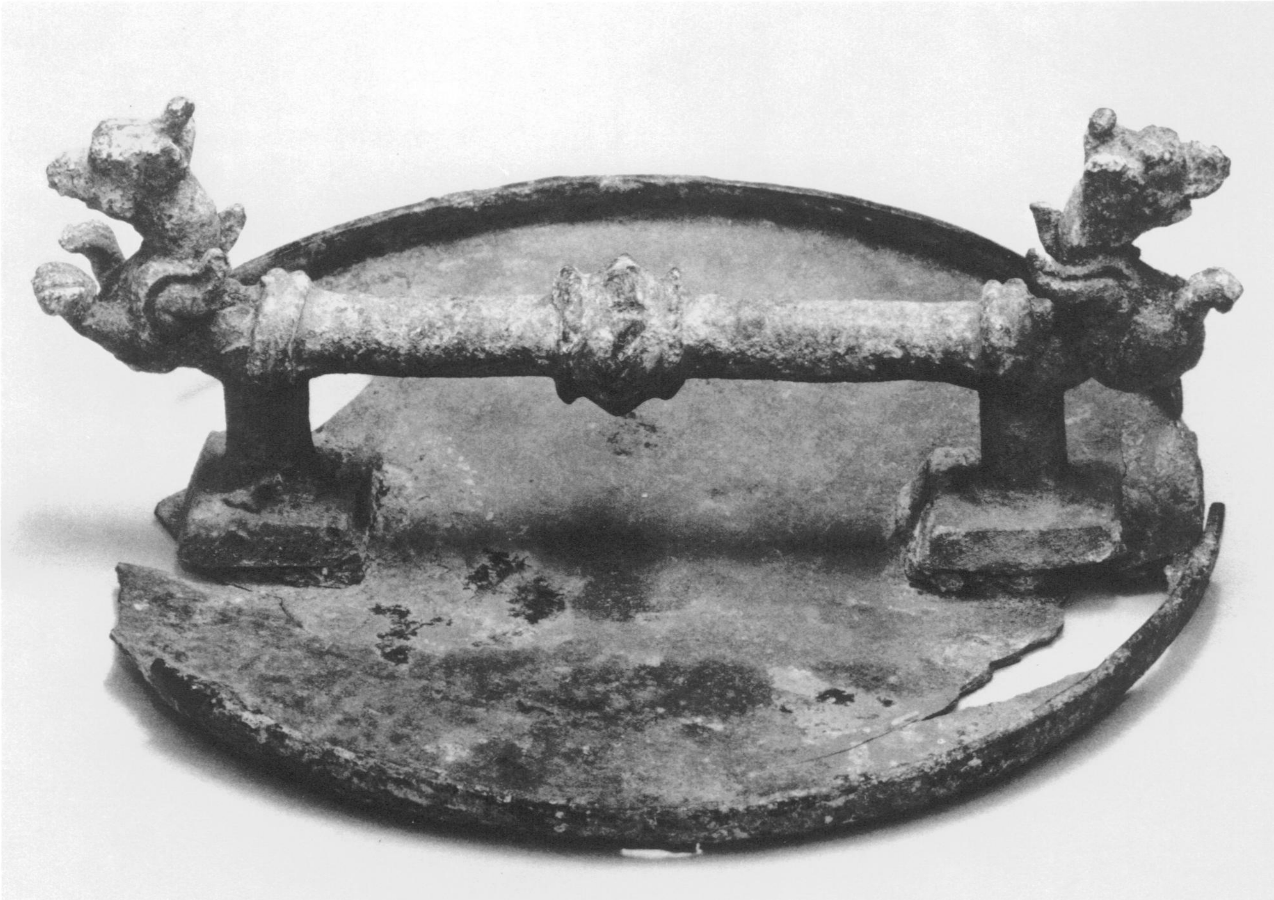


Figure 3. Bronze mirror, 5th–7th century A.D. Diam. 12.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ernest Erickson Foundation, 1988, 1988.102.21

Figure 4. Bronze and gilt mirror handle from Nishapur, Sabz Pushan, 8th–9th century A.D. H. 3.3 cm; L. 8.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1940, 40.170.252

Rectangular in profile, the two flat feet, or soldering plates, point slightly upward, suggesting that the mirror was convex on its polished face. The stylized animal heads seem to be beaked, with elongated necks and a knob protruding from their foreheads; the spiky protrusion behind each head may be a stylized wing. Traces of gilding on the undersides of the feet suggest that the handle was never attached to a mirror.

REFERENCES: J. Allan, *Nishapur: Metalwork of the Early Islamic Period* (New York, 1982) no. 78, pp. 74–75.

Horizontal-Handled Mirrors in the West

The many mirrors found in parts of the Roman and early Byzantine empires have been extensively documented and classified by G. Lloyd-Morgan[5] and F. Baratte.[6] The most simple, and common, have a single horizontal handle soldered at opposite points on the back. Lloyd-Morgan describes the characteristic type as "circular discs, slightly convex on the reflecting side and with a low convex molded border to the rear" which occur "in both undecorated, and decorated forms"; typical decoration is a series of concentric circles incised or lathe-turned. More elaborate variants have border decoration with engraved or molded details, and decoration on the upper surface of the handle. An even more elaborate variant may be described as having a double handle in the form of a reef, or Herakles, knot, its four ends soldered, two each at opposite points, to the back of the mirror disc. The Schimmel mirror, with its Herakles-knot handle, is a prime example of this double-handled variant (Figure 1), while the Antioch mirror, with its strap handle and thumbnail terminals, is an impressive demonstration of the single-handled form (Figure 2). On both mirror variants, the soldering plates are often leaf-shaped; on those with a Herakles-knot grip, they usually resemble ivy leaves.

The earliest mirrors known in the west are of the single-handled form and tend to be less than 10 centimeters in diameter. They occur in Italy, at Aquileia (Figure 23) and Pompeii, in what have been dated as first-century-A.D. contexts;[7] additionally, two similar mirrors are in the National Museum in Naples.[8] The Aquileia mirror is said to come from a cremation grave. This type of Roman inhumation is characteristic of the end of the first and the beginning of the second century.[9] As will be seen in the following discussion of later examples, they, along with other types of mirrors, were popular grave goods. The Aquileia example is made of silver, with a simple, undecorated handle soldered to the reverse of the disc. This nonreflecting surface is decorated with an engraving of the Three Graces.[10]

According to Lloyd-Morgan, in the course of the following two centuries the disc mirror with a handle across the back becomes well established and occurs in a range of sizes, from 5 to over 28 centimeters in diameter. It is especially popular in the northwestern provinces of the Roman Empire, particularly in the Lower Rhine area; but several examples also come from France as well as Roman sites along the Danube and farther east (see map). Lloyd-Morgan has classified these mirrors into two main groups: the one pertaining to our study is her Group W, called the "Simpelveld" type after the silver mirror found in a Roman sarcophagus grave in the Dutch town of that name (Figure 5). These mirrors provide the parallels for the Museum's Schimmel and Antioch mirrors.

Among this group, the single horizontal or strap handle is the most common; several relate directly to the single-handled Antioch mirror. Many of these examples, however, cannot serve our discussion, since the actual handles are lost; only scars or traces of solder at opposite points on the disc indicate that these mirrors had a single handle.[11] Of those that have retained their handles, the typical form is that of a strap—wide in the center and narrowing toward the ends, which may then splay outward. A light molding

Figure 5. Silver mirror from Simpelveld, late 2nd century A.D. Diam. 9 cm (photo: from G. Lloyd-Morgan, *The Mirrors*, no. 7, fig. 24a)

Figure 6. Silver mirror from Vienne, 3rd century A.D. Diam. 20 cm (photo: from F. Baratte, *Trésors d'orfèvrerie gallo-romains*, no. 182)

Figure 7. Silver mirror from Mtskheta, 3rd century A.D. Diam. 16 cm (photo: V. Nikolaishvili, Center for Archaeological Studies of the Georgian Academy of Sciences)

or collar usually marks the center of the handle. In more elaborate examples (Figure 6), the molding consists of a single or double row of beading. Often, the upper surface of the handle is decorated to either side of the central molding. The feet of the handle are typically molded in one piece with the handle and terminate either in outwardly pointing spear shapes, hollowed out to accommodate the solder, or in flat, circular discs or heart shapes. The back of the disc to which the handle is attached may be completely undecorated, incised with a lathe-turned circle in the center, or engraved with an elaborate feather or scale pattern on its raised rim.

Such decorated mirror handles do not seem to be a later development. Some undecorated examples come from third-century burials in Cologne and Bonn,[12] while one in silver, from a second-century cremation grave group in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, is decorated with v-shaped lines of hatching running away from the central collar of the handle.[13] The Simpelveld mirror, the eponymous member of Lloyd-Morgan's Group W, has a more ornamented handle than that from Nijmegen and is dated to the latter part of the second century.[14] Although the silver disc is undecorated, the handle is incised with a feather or scale pattern to either side of a double row of ten beads along the center of the grip.

The feather pattern on the Simpelveld mirror stops just before the handle ends break off; these missing ends may therefore have terminated in thumbnails, as on the Antioch mirror handle. A series of such mirrors with thumbnail-terminal handles have been found in France (Figure 6),[15] Germany,[16] Austria,[17] Hungary,[18] and in eastern Georgia, at Mtskheta, the capital of the ancient Caucasian kingdom of Iberia (Figure 7);[19] two others in all likelihood come from Greek colonies in the Crimea on the Black Sea, Olbia,[20] and perhaps Panticapaeum.[21] Several mirrors without provenance also belong to the series,[22] including one that has been attributed with no evidence to "the environs of Constantinople" (Istanbul).[23] Most of the examples cited have the feather or scale pattern engraved to either side of a central band or collar on the handle, and, on the raised rim of the disc, a band of feathers or scales, separated from the rest of the disc by a narrow row of beading.

By contrast, in place of the more usual feathers and beaded central molding, the Antioch mirror handle is engraved with an elongated acanthuslike leaf to either side of a plain central band (see Figure 2). The narrow raised rim of the mirror back, with its single row of overlapping feathers, forms a border that is much narrower than other examples. The only other decoration is the lathe-turned circle in the center of the disc, and the two concentric circles just inside the rim that replace the more usual row of beading. I know of only two other handles that closely resemble it: that in Cologne and the other excavated at Mtskheta (Figure 7);

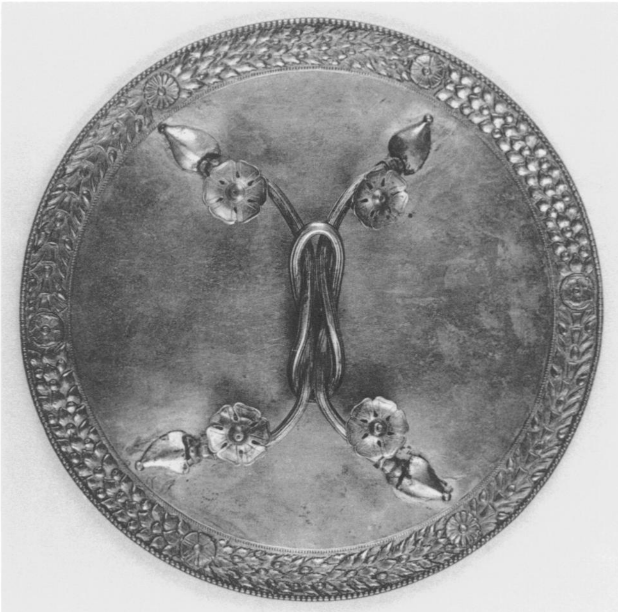


Figure 8. Silver mirror from Wroxeter, 3rd century A.D. Diam. 29.2 cm (photo: permission of Shrewsbury Museum Service)

both handles are decorated with a leaf—more recognizably that of an acanthus—to either side of the handle's central band, although, unlike the Antioch mirror handle, the central band is formed by a row of beading. The opposing leaves on the Cologne handle are simply engraved, but the leaves on the Mtskheta handle appear in relief. The disc to which it is attached is decorated, also in relief, with the figures of Dionysus and the sleeping Ariadne,[24] and it was part of a rich burial of two women who were interred at different times. The tomb has been dated to the second or third century; among other noteworthy objects also found in the tomb was a silver dish bearing an Aramaic inscription of a Parthian prince, Tiridat. Depending upon the identification of this personage and the paleographic interpretation of the inscription, the dish may date anywhere from the first to early third century.[25]

The use of the acanthus leaf on the Antioch, Mtskheta, and Olbia mirror handles instead of a feather or scale pattern might suggest the same region as the place of production. The notion that this might be a marker for east Roman and even Byzantine production is enticing, since all three are associated in some way with an eastern provenance. The thumbnail terminals on all three mirror handles point to a date of at least the second century, if not later; indeed, these are hallmarks of late Roman/early Byzantine work.[26] The Antioch mirror is most likely later in date than all the examples I have cited. Although the Antioch Treasure is dated to the sixth century, the mirror could belong—whether or not it actually forms part of the treasure—to the fourth or fifth century;[27] in fact, the most famous of the objects assigned to this treasure, the so-called Chalice of Antioch (also in the Museum collection), may belong to the late fourth or early fifth century.[28]

Mirrors with the knot of Herakles for their handle may have appeared as early as the second century A.D. and are definitely in production by the third. No complete example has so far been found in a well-stratified or securely datable context. In the simplest example, the back of the mirror is undecorated, and the Herakles knot is formed by two elongated silver wires. A silver mirror of this type was recently on the art market in New York. It is almost identical in size to the Schimmel mirror, 13.3 centimeters in diameter, and also shares with it, and with all others having the Herakles-knot handle, four soldering plates, each in the form of an ivy leaf. A handle found in a family tomb at Weiden, near Cologne, Germany, displays a similarly proportioned knot and simplified ivy-leaf terminals.[29] While Lloyd-Morgan dates this handle to the third century A.D.,[30] the coins found with it range from 260 to 340. It could, of course, be an heirloom, but the type seems to continue well into the third century, and perhaps into the fourth and beyond, when it coexists with larger, more elaborate examples.

The best known of this mirror type is the spectacular silver example from the Roman Forum at Wroxeter (Roman Viroconium), Shropshire, England. At 29.2 centimeters in diameter, it is one of the largest mirrors of its kind known (Figure 8).[31] As described by J. M. C. Toynbee, "around the circumference of the mirror's back runs a garland of naturalistic leaves, divided into six sectors—two of oak, two of apple, and two of pine, by six flowers, two fourteen-petaled, two six-petaled and two formed by a plain disc with six petals lightly incised upon it."[32] The Herakles-knot handle is formed by two loops of grooved silver wire attached to the mirror by the usual ivy-leaf plates, but the ends of each loop, just before they terminate in the ivy leaves, carry two six-petaled flowers.

Similarly exuberant is a smaller silvered bronze mirror (18.2 cm) that is said to have been found with a jewelry hoard in a tomb at Arsinoë, on Cyprus.[33] The Herakles knot resembles that of the Wroxeter mirror, but its back is decorated with four rows of concentric circles and two rows of palmettes incised around its edge. Acknowledging the Wroxeter mirror as an unstratified find, Lloyd-Morgan dates it to "sometime in the third century,"[34] while the Arsinoë mirror has been assigned to the third to fourth centuries on the basis of the accompanying jewelry.

Figure 9. Silver mirror, 4th–6th century A.D. Diam. 34.6 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 56.31 (photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art)

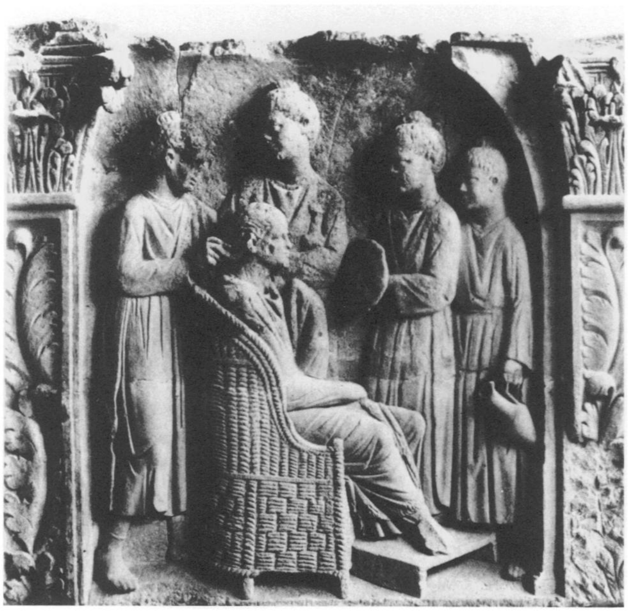


Figure 10. Relief from Neumagen, 3rd century A.D. (photo: from W. von Massow, *Die Grabmäler von Neumagen*, no. 184a)

A more restrained interpretation is given to a silver mirror in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg. Only 10.7 centimeters in diameter, the edge of the back is marked by a band of convex moldings; the soldering plates are made of carefully observed and detailed ivy leaves.[35] Since it is unexcavated, it is difficult to place this mirror in time. Its smaller size and restraint might suggest a second-century date, but, as Lloyd-Morgan argues, the same workshops could be producing both small and larger mirrors.[36]

A later, possibly fourth-century, occurrence of a mirror with Herakles-knot handle is one of eleven pieces of silver acquired by the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 9). Unfortunately, it has no definite provenance.[37] The back of the mirror is incised with six concentric circles. The thick silver wires that form the knot terminate in simplified ivy leaves, and the ends of each loop just outside the Herakles knot form an extra loop. This is the largest mirror so far discussed, with a diameter of 34.6 centimeters.

The use of the Herakles knot for a mirror handle continues a Hellenistic Greek decorative tradition for jewelry, such as necklaces, diadems, thighbands, and finger rings. It was believed to be apotropaic, serving to protect those who wear such decorated objects. Accordingly, the knot was associated with the marital rite: it tied the bride's garment that was then untied by the groom to ensure fertility. Perhaps as an extension of this usage, the Herakles knot was also connected with childbirth.[38] By Roman times, its protective power had extended to mirrors, thereby seeming to imbue these objects of daily life (which were believed to be magical or amuletic in their own right) with additional talismanic power. The magical nature of the Herakles knot continued into the early Christian era as "a general talisman of security and good luck."[39]

Further evidence for horizontal-handled mirrors comes not from actual objects but from contemporaneous works of art. Several depictions of mortals as well as divine beings show them using mirrors that are held at the back and that must therefore have a horizontal handle on the reverse side. On a third-century tomb relief from Neumagen, Germany, a Roman matron sits in a wicker chair as two maids dress her hair; another maid holds a mirror before her, grasping it from behind, as if it were a shield (Figure 10).[40] From the late Roman fort at Kaiseraugst, Switzerland, a silver statuette of Venus, deposited in 350 or 351, raises a mirror in her right hand by grasping it from the back,[41] while on a fourth-century patera (saucepan), a piece in the silver treasure found on the Esquiline Hill, Rome, a Cupid lifts a mirror in both hands toward a preening Venus;[42] an ivory plaque, stylistically of Alexandrian manufacture, shows Venus between two Cupids, holding a mirror from its back and admiring herself in it: her reflection is carved in relief on the mirror's face.[43] Mirrors with handles across the back appear in an identifiably Christian context on the fourth-century Projecta Casket, so called after the woman whose name the casket bears, that is also part of the Esquiline Treasure now in the British Museum.

On the front of its lid Venus is seated on a shell, flanked by sea creatures, Cupids, and Nereids, and holds the mirror; on the back of the lid, in an echo of the goddess's toilet, an attendant holds the mirror from behind toward the seated Projecta.[44]

None of these depictions allows us to see the exact shape of the grip—horizontal strap or Herakles knot. We can only be certain that the mirrors have horizontal handles from the way in which they are held. Only one representation shows the specific handle form. On the painted ceiling of the third-century Constantinian palace found beneath the Trier cathedral, a Roman matron arranges her veil with the aid of her mirror (Figure 11).[45] Because she holds the mirror toward her face while turned toward us, we can confidently assume that this particular mirror has a knot of Herakles for its handle. Although her clenched hand covers the middle of the handle, the bifurcated ends of the loops that form the knot are plainly visible.

In all of these representations, the mirrors are at least as large as a human head. They thus recall some of the larger mirrors we have mentioned, particularly the Wroxeter and Cleveland mirrors, and might suggest a fourth-century or later date. Yet increased size is not a trustworthy indication of later production. The large scale in these depictions may be for visual clarity. In addition to Lloyd-Morgan's argument that small and large mirrors were produced at the same time and in the same place, there is reason to believe that the Schimmel mirror (Figure 1) is a work of the fourth century. The beaded rim and imbricated feather band engraved within strongly recall, even though reversed in order, the feathered band and line of beading that decorate the outer edge of a silver platter of unknown provenance (Figure 12).[46] Such beading and engraved borders have been identified as "distinctive characteristics of Roman silver of the fourth century and later";[47] as we have seen, a similar combination of beading and imbricated feather border decorates several mirrors with strap handles and thumbnail terminals that are of the third and later centuries. A fourth-century, or even later, date makes sense for the Schimmel mirror when its handle is compared to that of the Cleveland example (Figure 9). Each handle sports an extra curl created by the ends of the loop that form the Herakles knot. Although the Cleveland mirror is without definite context, its association with other, more readily datable silver pieces suggests that a late date is justified.

Additional evidence for the coexistence of different sizes of mirrors comes from Roman North Africa and Coptic Egypt: a fourth- to fifth-century mosaic from Djemila (Cuicul) in which a small mirror is held by an Eros toward Venus, as on the Esquiline patera;[48] a fifth-century mosaic from Sidi Ghrib, near Tunis, in which a seated matron views herself in a large shield-like mirror held by an attendant (reminiscent of the Trier relief);[49] and on the lamp- or candle stand, said to come from fifth- or sixth-century Egypt and now in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, depicting Venus and Nereids.[50] The goddess appears as the

Figure 11. Detail of painted ceiling, Trier, 3rd century A.D. (photo: from E. Simon, *Die konstantinischen Deckengemälde in Trier*, pl. 7)

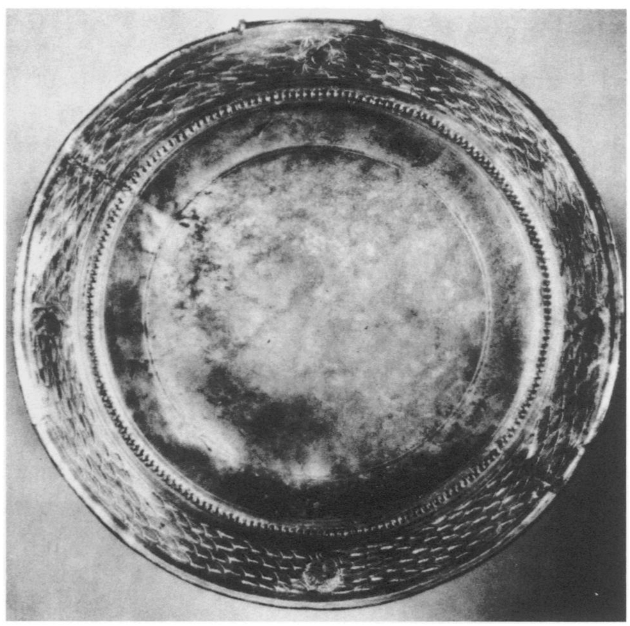
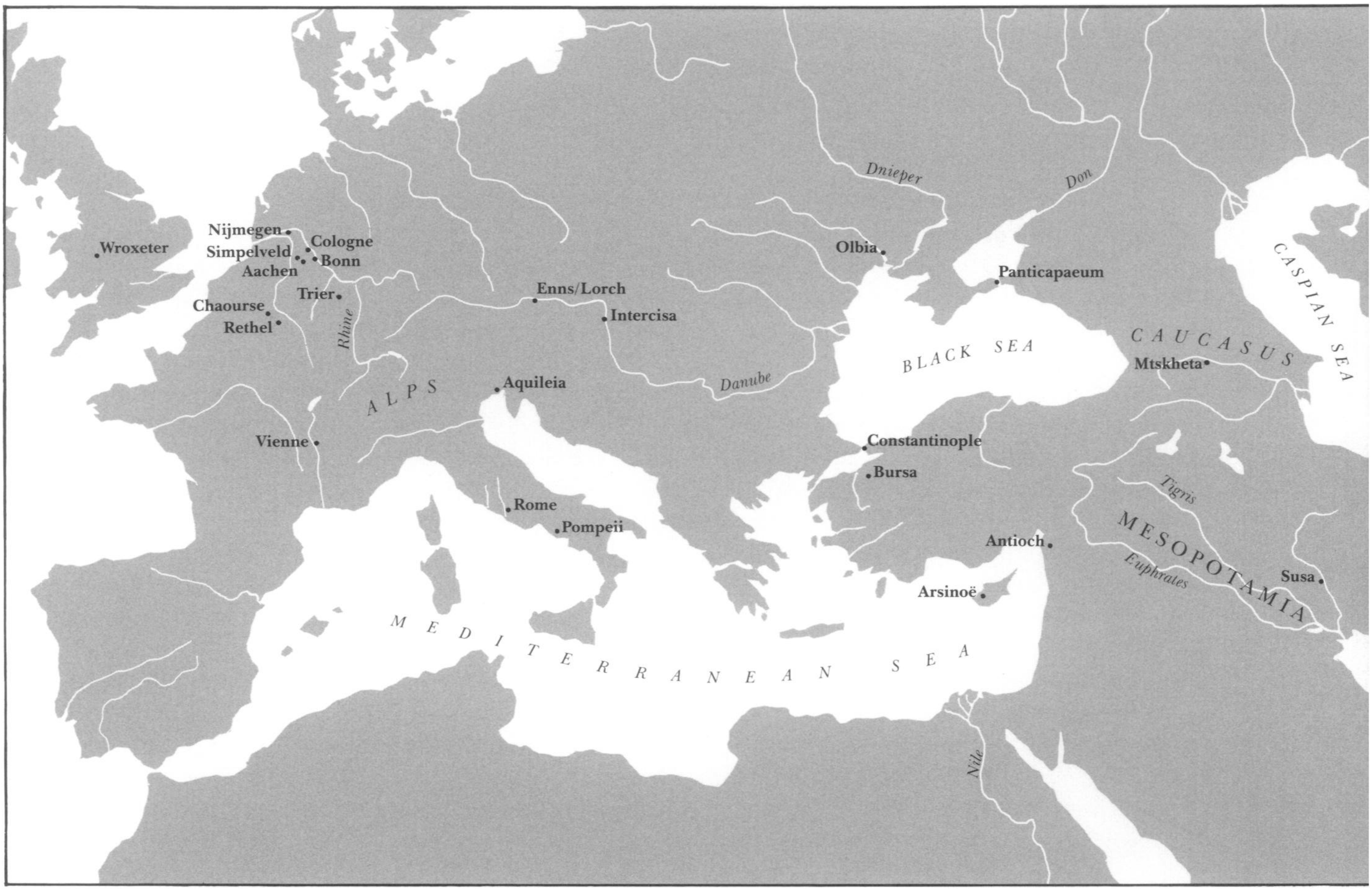


Figure 12. Silver platter, 4th century A.D. Diam. 39.5 cm. New York, Metzger Family collection (photo: from A. Oliver Jr., *Silver for the Gods*, no. 119)

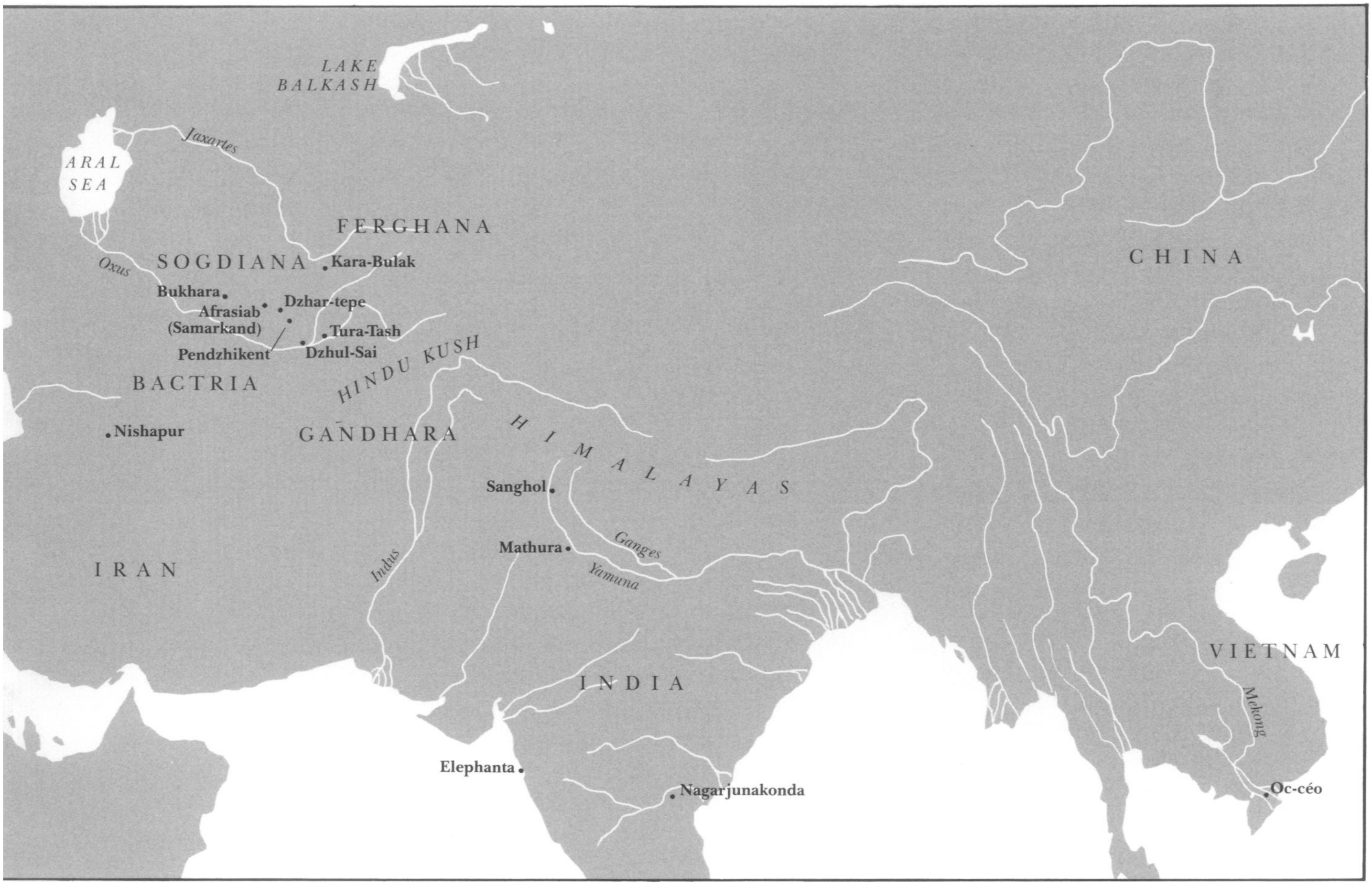


Distribution of horizontal-handled mirrors with known or probable provenance

central support for the stand, holding a small horizontal-handled mirror in her left hand. Each of the three legs of the stand are formed by a composite, fishlike creature upon whose back rides a Nereid; originally, each Nereid bore a gift, but only one gift, a horizontal-handled mirror, remains. This "sea-thiasos" of Venus and gift-bearing Nereids is similar to the scene on the cover of the Projecta Casket.

The evidence suggests that horizontal-handled mirrors originated in the Roman world in northern Italy and Campania. Provincial centers, influenced by imported examples, developed and produced their own variants and exported them to surrounding regions. The numerous pieces documented by Lloyd-Morgan at Nijmegen in the Lower Rhine area, along with evidence for bronzeworking and international trade there and in the vicinity, attest to one such production center;[51] Cologne seems to have been another, and, as she suggested, possibly the source for some of the more elaborate Herakles-knot–handled variants, such as the Wroxeter mirror.[52] The examples of mirrors with strap handles and thumbnail terminals that are found in France hint at workshops in the province of Gaul. The distribution of horizontal-handled mirrors from Britain in the west, across Europe, to Cyprus, possibly the Black Sea, but certainly as far east as the Caucasus, is evidence of their widespread manufacture and trade; it also indicates the broad interest in and the ability to acquire such luxury goods as these mirrors, at least through the third century (see chart).[53]

The evidence for mirrors in the fourth century and later parallels political and economic developments in the Roman Empire. As Rome loses the western provinces to barbarian conquest, mirror production there decreases and then seems to end. From the fourth century on, mirrors become "a luxury and rarity that few can afford. . . . It is not until the Middle Ages that mirrors are again produced in quantity and [then] without any of the characteristics of the Roman pieces."[54] But in the eastern half of the empire, in the lands around the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, the mirror with horizontal handle, along with other luxury metalwork, continues in production. Thus, mirrors with the Herakles-knot handle, such as the Schimmel and Cleveland ones, and some of those



with thumbnail terminal handles, such as the Antioch and perhaps the Mtskheta mirrors, may well be works from late Roman or early Byzantine workshops of the fourth through the sixth century.

We cannot be certain when production in the west actually ceases, but the latest pictorial evidence for the horizontal-handled mirror comes from the seventh century; like earlier examples it is associated with Nereids. On a silver flask in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, one of the two Nereids riding a sea monster holds a horizontal-handled mirror in the same manner as the matron in the Trier ceiling painting (see Figure 11). The base of the flask bears a control stamp with the bust of the Byzantine emperor Constans II, and is thus dated to A.D. 641–51 (see Figure 13).[55]

Horizontal-Handled Mirrors in the East

In contrast to their occurrence in the west, horizontal-handled mirrors are less numerous east of the Roman/Byzantine Empire. However, as they are found in Iran, across Central Asia, in India, and into Vietnam, they are more geographically widespread. They also persist for a longer period, from the second or third century to the ninth or even tenth. In further contrast to the western evidence, their scattered appearances in different geographical and temporal settings makes it difficult to see a coherent chronological development. Excavated examples exist, but many are without provenance, although depictions in datable works of art permit us to learn more about the mirror's development and distribution than we could from material evidence.

Second- to third-century sculptures from Kushan India offer us the earliest appearance of the horizontal-handled mirror in a definite eastern context. Of Central Asian origin, the Kushans established an empire over a large territory whose size varied considerably during their rule.[56] Its two main artistic schools were Gandhara, which flourished in the northwest territories (present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan), and Mathura, the Kushan summer capital, not far from Delhi, the present-day capital of India. From Mathura, at the site of Bhuteshvara, the series of railing pillars

Figure 13. Silver flask, A.D. 641–51 H. 25.2 cm. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 256

with figures of yakshis, or tree-goddesses, shows one of these deities holding a mirror to her face with the fingers of her left hand curled around the handle on its back (Figure 14).[57] The sculptures are dated to about A.D. 130. To the north, at Sanghol, in Gandharan territory but apparently reflecting the Mathura school, one of the recently discovered pillars contains a figure of a yakshi holding a mirror in a similar position. To my knowledge, this square mirror is the only one of that shape in our entire corpus.[58]

It is not known how widespread the horizontal-handled mirror is in India. Several hundred miles southeast of Mathura, at Nagarjunakonda in southern India, relief carvings of the late third century show females with mirrors: one of them grasps a mirror from the back while the others hold mirrors with attached vertical grips.[59] Elsewhere, at this time and into the fourth century A.D., representations of females with mirrors show only those with a vertical grip, or, less frequently, with a knob on the back that is mounted on a cylindrical base or handle.[60] However, the horizontal-handled mirror continues to be used. In medieval times, that is, in Gupta India (ca. 350–550) and later, it replaces the grip handle and becomes the "standard" type.[61]

Because no actual horizontal-handled mirrors have survived from Kushan India, we cannot know what the handles looked like: Were they a single strap, similar to the Antioch and related mirrors? Or were they double-handled and cast in some figured form, as are the Schimmel and other mirrors with Herakles-knot handles? A mirror with a bronze handle in the form of a female figure was found in a mound burial at Kara-Bulak, in Ferghana (in present-day southern Kirgiziya), and is dated by its excavators to the first to fourth centuries A.D. The style of the figure is Indian, and the details of dress link it to the ivories from Begram, the Kushan winter capital in Afghanistan.[62] Ferghana lay on the borders of the Kushan empire, so it is not surprising to find an import from the west, the heartland of the empire. That the figurine was a handle is clear from the two prongs behind her head and heels; that it was cast to serve as a mirror handle is not certain. Since it is a standing figure, it was most likely intended as a vertical handle for a vessel[63] and was perhaps originally designed as such but later used as a mirror attachment. The secondary use of the figurine to create a handle suggests that by later Kushan times this mirror type was known in the outlying regions of the Kushan empire, beyond Mathura and Sanghol. Mirrors of this type might have been exported from one center of manufacture or produced in several places within Kushan territory; in either case, they must have been of sufficient popularity or interest to be imitated.

As far as I can determine, the earliest material remains of "true" horizontal-handled mirrors—also dating to the latter half of the Kushan period and, like the Kara-Bulak mirror, from Ferghana—are two examples from two separate graves at the burial site of Tura-Tash.[64] Both consist of a bronze disc with a low, upturned rim, and a strap handle attached to the back by two soldering plates. The larger of the two mirrors (17.4 cm) is decorated on the back with a series of concentric circles. More noteworthy is that its handle is cylindrical in section, splaying out slightly at each end, and decorated by a spool at its center; it is supported by what appear to be two short cylindrical elements resting on circular soldering discs.[65]

The spool and the widening of the ends strikingly recall the Group W (Simpelveld type) mirrors in the west, with their splayed strap handles and narrow molding or collar marking the center (Figures 2, 5–7).

Even more notable is the use of a cylinder for the handle, a spool to embellish its center, and cylindrical supports. These three features are characteristic of all the other horizontal-handled mirrors known to me from the pre-Islamic east.[66] However, all these handles, unlike the Tura-Tash example, terminate in animal foreparts.

Mirrors with such handles which are found in or can be attributed to Iran, Central Asia, and Vietnam seem to develop after the Kushan mirrors. The Museum's mirror with leaping griffin protomes (Figure 3) is our prime example. In her study of the female figures seen on gilt-silver vessels of the late Sasanian and post-Sasanian period (fifth to seventh century A.D.), P. O. Harper describes the variety of objects held by these figures.[67] One, a curved object held by a female in her raised left hand, Harper identifies as a mirror; it appears on the gilt-silver ewer in the Museum (Figure 15a). The figure holds the mirror toward her face by grasping it from behind. It is clear that a horizontal handle is intended. Additional evidence of the mirror's use in Iran by the latter half of the Sasanian period is the gilt-silver vase in the Musée du Louvre, on which one of the dancing females holds an identical object (Figure 15b).[68] In both representations, the edge of the mirror is raised toward the rear surface; the handle on the back appears as an undecorated horizontal shaft.

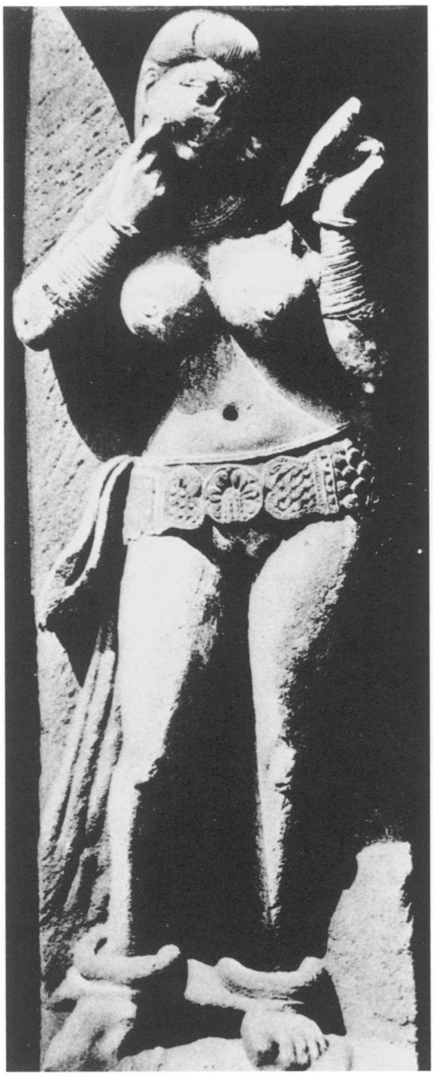


Figure 14. Relief from Mathura, 2nd century A.D. (photo: from J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, pl. XVIII)

Despite the simple rendition it is tempting to assume that the mirrors depicted on these silver vessels were, in reality, the same type as the one in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 3). Like those shown on the vessels, this mirror has a raised rim. That the characteristic feature of this mirror type, the animal-protome terminals, is missing from the representations on the vessels may be explained as being too complex for the silversmiths to execute on such a small scale.

Harper attributes the Metropolitan's mirror to the latter part of the Parthian period in Iran (first to third centuries A.D.) by analogy with the Kushan sculptures from Mathura (Figure 14).[69] I propose that it belongs to the succeeding Sasanian period (A.D. 224–651) and is probably not much earlier than the fifth century. To my knowledge, there is no evidence as yet for mirrors with horizontal handles at any site or in the art of the Parthian period in Iran, Central Asia, or Mesopotamia.[70] Griffins from Parthian sites in Iran, Mesopotamia, and Turkmenistan are depicted with elongated heads and beaks, rather than with the more rounded skulls that characterize the Museum's griffins. Another feature that differentiates Parthian griffins from those on the mirror handle is the shape of the creatures' wings. Instead of the short, sicklelike wings of the Museum's griffins, Parthian griffins' wings generally terminate in a forward curl.[71] Nevertheless, a closer parallel to the Metropolitan's griffin protomes exists in a bronze censer handle in the shape of a leaping griffin, with large beak and broad wings. The censer, however, is not from a datable context. It was purchased at the Parthian-Sasanian palace site of Kish, in Mesopotamia, and could as well belong to Sasanian as to late Parthian times.[72]

Closer in appearance are the griffins that support the throne in the upper investiture scene in the center of a silver plate in the British Museum (Figure 16).[73] Acquired in Rawalpindi (in present-day Pakistan) during the nineteenth century, the plate is considered to be a Kushano-Sasanian work of the fourth century A.D.[74] With their large beaks, prominent brow ridges,

Figure 15a. Gilt-silver ewer, 6th–7th century A.D. H. 34.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. C. Douglas Dillon Gift and Rogers Fund, 1967, 67.10

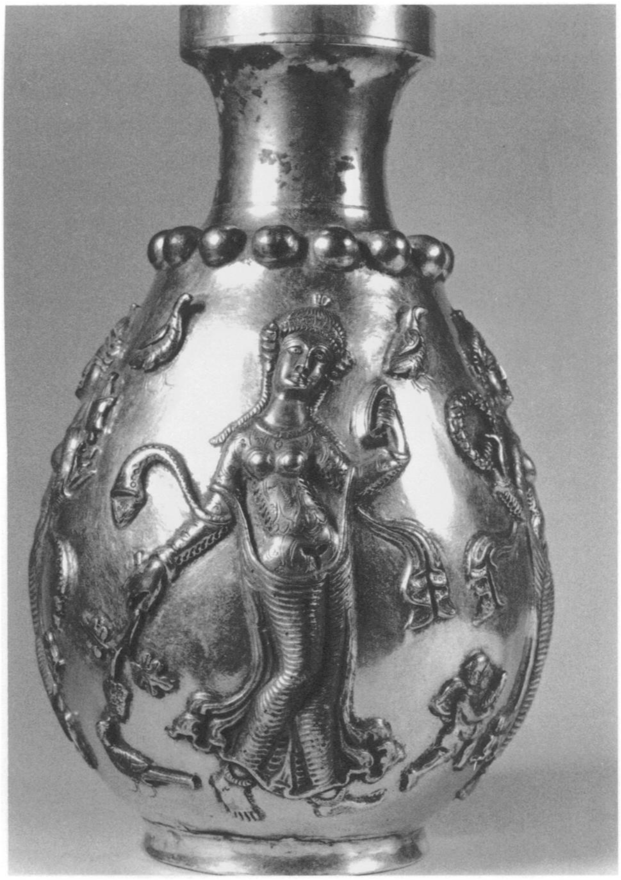


Figure 15b. Gilt-silver vase, 6th century A.D. H. 18 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Antiquités Orientales, MAO 426 (photo: Chuzeville)

and jutting ears these griffin throne supports are similar to the griffins of the mirror. A more telling point of similarity is their salient stance, with forelegs raised slightly off the ground. Harper has shown that none of the existing plates with the image of a Sasanian king on a throne supported by animals can be attributed to "royal Sasanian" production. Rather, such plates are likely to belong to the Sasanian period but to have been made in a provincial or Central Asian workshop, or they are post-Sasanian in date. Those with an enthronement scene that can be placed in Sasanian times show the animals standing with all four feet on the ground.[75] By contrast, on Kushan representations of the sun god, the animals drawing his chariot-throne leap to either side of his seat.[76]

If these analogies hold, then the Metropolitan's mirror may be a product of the eastern part of the Sasanian realm (an area which bordered on the Kushan empire) that came under Sasanian control by the second half of the third century. The horizontal-handled mirror that we had first encountered in Kushan India and Central Asia may have been taken up by the Sasanians through contacts along the borders of the two empires. As an "eastern" mirror type, it continues in use after the collapse of Kushan authority in India, as already noted, as well as in Central Asia. From the latter region, among a hoard of silver vessels found at Chilek, near Samarkand (Uzbekistan), a bowl with relief decoration on the exterior shows a frieze of female figures.[77] Each stands within an arcade and holds some object or arranges a scarf or ribbons over her head. In their general appearance and attitude, they recall the women on Sasanian silver vessels. Two of the females on the Chilek bowl thrust a convex disc, each toward another female (Figures 17a and b). Undoubtedly, these discs are mirrors, held by a horizontal handle at the back; the females toward whom the discs are held turn as if to see themselves in a mirror. The image of one female holding a mirror for another reminds us of the Roman matron and her attendant from Neumagen (Figure 10). Based on stylistic features, the bowl has been attributed to the Hephthalites, Hunnish people from Central Asia, who, in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D., made

Figure 16. Silver plate, 4th century A.D. Diam 23.7 cm. London, The British Museum, WAA 124093 (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum)

a weakened Sasanian state their tributary. Their domination of Central Asia lasted until the middle of the sixth century, when they were defeated by a coalition of Sasanians and Turks. On the analogy of Hephthalite coins, the bowl can be dated to the middle of the fifth century A.D.

The Metropolitan's mirror is not unique. Harper notes that she has seen "a number of other examples of the same type of mirror, also with griffin handles, on the market," all of which she identified as "evidently from Iran."[78] It may be that these mirrors with leaping-griffin handles are characteristically Iranian, the main part of the handle with its cylindrical pole, central spool-like decoration, and short cylindrical supports influenced by earlier models of the Kushan period such as the one from Tura-Tash.

Farther to the east and north of the Sasanian empire in Bactria and in Sogdiana, horizontal-handled mirrors with animal-protome handles also occur, but in all surviving examples the animals' forelegs are vertical, replacing the cylindrical pedestals of the Tura-Tash and Museum mirrors and serving as upright supports for the horizontal grip. Two examples of this type are the bronze mirrors excavated in a multiple burial at Dzhul-Sai (in present-day Tajikistan) (Figure 18).[79] Both mirrors are formed by a slightly convex disc (one is marked with concentric circles on the back) and a horizontal handle that ends in horse protomes. The grip is a cylindrical shaft with a spool decorating its center. The Dzhul-Sai tomb contained late-fifth-century Sasanian coins, but the burials themselves may date to the sixth or even seventh century A.D., which makes them roughly contemporaneous with the Sasanian vessels with female figures, and thus possibly with the Metropolitan's mirror. At 12 and 12.8 centimeters, the Dzhul-Sai bronze mirrors are comparable in size to the Museum's mirror, but the difference in the animals' stance and the absence of a raised rim around the discs distinguish them sharply.

The Dzhul-Sai mirrors may represent the development of the horizontal-handled mirror as known in Kushan times. After all, except for the mirror from

Figures 17a and b. Silver bowl from Chilek, 5th century A.D. Diam. 18.5 cm. Samarkand, State Museum of History and Local Lore (photo: B. I. Marshak)

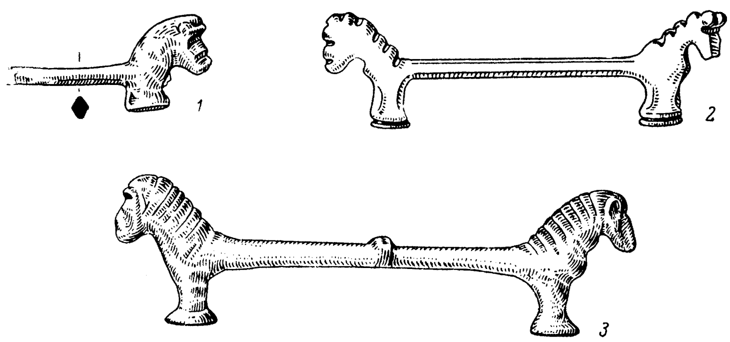


Figure 19.1–3. Bronze handles from Pendzhikent (1 and 3) and Afrasiab (2), late 7th–early 8th century A.D. L. 11.5–12.8 cm (photo: from V. I. Raspopova, *Metallicheskie izdeliya rannesrednevekovogo Sogda*, fig. 79:1–3)

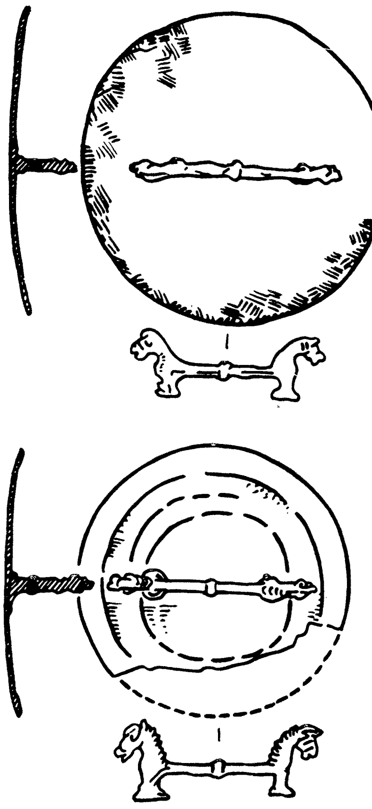


Figure 18. Bronze mirrors from Dzhul-Sai, 6th–7th century A.D. Diam. 12 and 12.8 cm (photo: from B. A. Litvinskii and A. V. Sedov, *Kulty i ritualy Kushanskoi Baktrii*, fig. 27)

Tura-Tash on the eastern edge of Kushan territory, none of the evidence for these mirrors in Kushan-India shows the handle's *actual* form and decoration; furthermore, Dzhul-Sai is situated in former Kushan territory. If the Dzhul-Sai mirrors develop a Kushan mirror type, then the Metropolitan's mirror may reveal a specifically Sasanian or Iranian interpretation of that type. This version takes the characteristic oriental desire to enliven an object with animals even further—they leap in opposite directions, as if they were breaking out beyond the mirror's circular field.

The more static posture of the Dzhul-Sai animal-protome handles continues into the seventh and possibly the eighth century in Central Asia, at the Sogdian city-sites of Pendzhikent (in present-day Tajikistan), Afrasiab (ancient Samarkand), and Dzhartepa (both in present-day Uzbekistan). At the three sites, the handles, all apparently terminating in standing-horse protomes and certainly meant for attachment to bronze mirror discs, were associated with a temple structure. Of the four handles excavated at Pendzhikent, two were found in what V. Shkoda has identified as a bronze workshop affiliated with one of the temples (Figures 19:1 and 3).[80] The handles are poorly cast and badly corroded, but a distinctive horselike profile with full mane can be discerned from the drawings and photographs of these objects.[81] Only one of the four handles sports a spool-like protuberance in the middle of the grip; the others are without any embellishment. Based on coinage associated with the workshop, Shkoda dates the handles to the first quarter of the eighth century.

Another double horse-protome mirror handle was excavated at Afrasiab, again, in a temple context (Figure 19:2).[82] Nearly identical to those from Pendzhikent, the handle appears to be in even poorer condition. Complete horizontal-handled mirrors, also associated with a temple, have been discovered at Dzhartepa, located on an offshoot of the Silk Road leading from Samarkand to Pendzhikent. Found with them were disc mirrors with a pierced knob on the rear surface, belts, a large mace, and a silver bowl with a Sogdian inscription.[83] Like the other two Sogdian sites just discussed, the excavators of Dzhartepa propose a late-seventh- or early-eighth-century date for this phase of the building complex. Their association with temples suggests that these mirrors played some role in the religious practices of the local people; perhaps they were votive objects or even souvenirs of worshipers' visits. The evidence from Pendzhikent tells us that they were produced at the site for religious use.

One additional object from Pendzhikent may relate to this series. Cast in bronze and badly corroded, it is a protome of what may be a bird, with out-thrust breast and raised head. It emerges from a rolled collar at the end of a broken shaft; beneath the collar is a short cylindrical pedestal on a flat base.[84] The collar that joins the protome to the shaft and the cylindrical pedestal recall the Metropolitan's griffin-handled mirror, and contrasts with the configuration of the Pendzhikent and other Sogdian horse-protome handles. V. I. Raspopova identifies this fragmentary object as the handle of a vessel or lid, but it could as easily have served as such for a mirror.

Beyond the first quarter of the eighth century, the Sogdian archaeological record becomes obscure as individual principalities fell to Arab invaders. At Pendzhikent, the temple workshop was destroyed by fire in 722, the same year that its ruler was taken captive and killed by the Arabs.[85] No other horizontal-handled mirrors—or even their handles—survive in Sogdiana or elsewhere in Central Asia that can be dated beyond the Islamization of the area. But in Iran such mirrors continue at least into early Islamic times. Evidence for this is a silver vessel decorated with dancing females in the Archaeological Museum, Tehran. One of the figures holds a convex object in her raised right hand, with the convex surface toward her face in the manner of the females on the Metropolitan and Louvre vessels.[86] Both the rendering of the figures, and, as Harper points out, the vessel's form—actually an amphora-rhyton with two spouts in its base—point to a post-Sasanian date.[87]

It is also to this time that the Museum's fourth example, the gilt-bronze handle of a horizontal-handled mirror, belongs (Figure 4). The handle was found in the course of Museum excavations in the modern-day city of Nishapur, in northeastern Iran.[88] This residential quarter of the early Islamic city was occupied from the eighth century until its final destruction by the Samanids in the tenth. Long-necked and so abstract that they might be taken for birds, horses, or griffins, their tapered profiles are reminiscent of a bird's or griffin's beak. The knob at their foreheads may represent a crest or a mane, but could be a stylization of the prominent brow ridge observed on the Metropolitan's griffin handle. Certainly, the hooked protrusions on the handle's shaft are meant to be wings. As noted earlier, traces of gilding on the undersides of the feet suggest that this handle was never attached to another object. The slight upward angle of the feet hint that the surface for which it was intended was concave, such as the reverse of a convex mirror disc. The curved "legs" of the protomes repeat the arch of the animals' necks and distinguish the overall shape of this handle from all the previous zoomorphic ones.

Closer to those handles is one from Susa in southwestern Iran (Figure 20). Rectangular in general outline, this bronze handle consists of a cylindrical grip supported by a pedestal.[89] The Susa handle, like the Museum's griffin-handled mirror (Figure 3), has a central spool-like element, the animal protomes emerge from a rolled collar at each end of the grip, and are supported below each collar by a pedestal formed by a squarish base and a short cylindrical element. The long, almost serpentine necks of the creatures, the absence of forelegs, and the less defined rendition of all these elements differentiates the Susa handle from the Metropolitan's example.

Like the Nishapur handle, the one from Susa is a surface find and was also discovered in an Islamic area of the site. Despite the absence of a datable context, the cursory nature of the Susa handle and the very abstract character of the Nishapur example place both at the end of the development that we have traced. In the west, the last occurrence of the horizontal-handled mirror was on the silver flask of the mid-seventh-century Byzantine emperor Constans II. In the east it persists in Sogdian Central Asia into the eighth century and in Iran perhaps as late as the tenth. Just as the western mirrors offer two different solutions to grasping the mirror from its back surface—the Herakles knot and strap handles—these eastern mirrors show a variation on the idea of a zoomorphic handle, by using leaping or standing animal protomes as handle terminals.

The development that we have traced from second-century India north and west to Central Asia and Iran appears to end in this region in eighth-century Sogdiana and ninth- or tenth-century Iran. However, it appears to echo in yet another part of the east, Vietnam. There, both variations of the zoomorphic handle occur in four bronze handlelike objects, characterized by L. Malleret as "supports" or "knife rests" (*porte-couteaux*) (Figures 21a and b).[90] Said to come from Oc-eo in the Mekong Delta, they are probably contemporaneous with the Sogdian and Islamic Iranian handles. Two of the objects depict the foreparts of birdlike creatures, with erect ears and beaklike mouths which stand on a pair of long vertical legs; the central spool found on the Iranian and Sogdian handles is missing here and is replaced by a spool-like protuberance toward each of the animals' foreparts, where it joins the horizontal grip. The other two objects, one showing the remains of gilding, terminate in leaping creatures and recall the Museum's griffin-handled mirror. But in contrast with the griffins on that mirror—and with all the zoomorphic handles

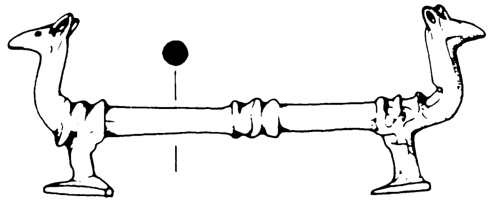
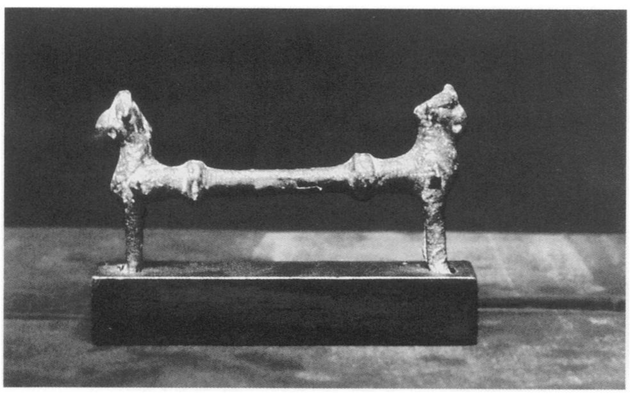


Figure 20. Bronze handle from Susa, 8th–9th century A.D. L. 11 cm (photo: from *Cahiers de la D. A. F. I.* 14 [1984], fig. 15:11)

we have previously noted—in place of a geometric pedestal, a pair of rear legs supports the creatures' foreparts. This transforms them into complete sculptures in the round, poised to leap in opposite directions but each joined to the cylindrical grip at their backs. A spool marks the center of one of the grips; the other grip has no decoration but flares out at the ends, where it joins the animals; these are characterized by an open mouth, short horns, and floppy ears. The other animal pair is difficult to identify owing to the object's poor condition. It is impossible to state definitively that any of these four objects were actually mirror handles. If they were, the distance between the vertical supports that would have been affixed to the mirror disc varies among the four from 10 to 17 centimeters; these measurements accord with the sizes and proportions of the handles and mirrors that we have already discussed. Whatever their function, their resemblance to the Iranian and Sogdian examples is evidence of contacts with Iran or Central Asia in Sasanian or early Islamic times.[91]

So far, we have seen that horizontal-handled mirrors occur in significant numbers across a wide geographic expanse—from Roman Britain to India, and on to Central and Southeast Asia—and within a relatively limited period, beginning in the first century A.D. to as late as the ninth or even tenth century, when they apparently went out of fashion. I have suggested first-century Rome for their origin as no examples exist that can be attributed to another center at that time. However, a bronze mirror of unknown, but likely Iranian provenance, with a cylindrical horizontal handle terminating in lions that is now in the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels (Figure 22), confounds this seemingly coherent premise.[92]

Although its conception as a horizontal-handled mirror links it to the series, its actual execution differentiates it sharply from the others. Larger than all the known eastern mirrors with a diameter of 17.2 centimeters, the handle is riveted rather than soldered to a plain, thin disc. A distinguishing variation is the treatment of the lions, which are not rendered as protomes but as complete beasts. Their torsos, rear legs, and tails appear in low relief on the handle while their shoulders and heads are cast in the round. Their chests rest on a short pedestal which supports each end of the grip, as if that support were the animals' legs; in fact, the base of each pedestal, which puddles out to the edge of the disc to accommodate the rivets, could stand in for the animals' feet. An even more striking difference is that the lions turn their heads back to look at each other. A. and Y. Godard, who first published the mirror in 1954, considered it a bronze from Luristan, a province in western Iran to which is attributed a huge corpus of cast and sheet metalwork of the first part of the first millennium B.C.; their iden-



Figures 21a and b. Bronze handles from Oc-eo, Vietnam, 8th century A.D. or later. No. 4507 L. 14 cm, Ho Chi Minh City, Historical Museum of Vietnam; no. 3578, L. 17 cm, Hanoi, History Museum of Vietnam (photos: A. Robinson) tification has been perpetuated by later authors.[93] However, this attribution is due solely to provenance by association as the mirror was part of the Graeffe collection of identifiably Luristan (though unprovenanced) bronzes and was thus included by the Godards in their publication.

There are actually no features that allow us to associate the mirror with the style of the Luristan bronzes, nor with the ninth to mid-seventh centuries B.C., to which these bronzes have been assigned. The reversed heads of the lions, an unusual element, given the fact that the animals on all the other mirror handles look outward, beyond the mirror disc, recall a characteristic of much fifth- and fourth-century B.C. Achaemenid metalwork: handles in the shape of animals standing on their hind legs and turning their heads 180 degrees toward their bodies, and away from the object.[94] Further, such details as the lions' muzzles and ears, and the sickle-shaped wings or belly hair traced on their sides, suggest a date in the sixth century B.C. or later, during the Achaemenid imperial period (sixth to fourth century B.C.),[95] or even a post-Achaemenid date when objects partaking of that period's style may have continued to be made in outlying areas of the former empire.[96]

The handle is attached to the mirror back by rivets; as solder is used on the handles of all other known horizontal-handled mirrors, the rivets might imply an earlier date and perhaps provincial craftsmanship. It certainly appears to be a more expedient, even cruder, method of attachment. However, the choice of rivets or solder to join two pieces of bronze is not a reliable hallmark for dating, since soldering as a joining method was used as early as the third millennium B.C.[97] In sum, it is not possible at this time to accommodate this mirror in any satisfactory way.

The idea of a horizontal handle terminating in animal protomes or, more accurately, in the necks and heads of animals while the vertical handle supports serve as the animals' forelegs certainly antedates the mirrors we have been discussing. It finds expression in several enigmatic bronzes that have been dubbed, like the objects from Vietnam, "knife rests." Never excavated, they were assembled by scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and dubbed "Cappadocian," that is, from eastern Anatolia and Armenia, or, on no sound archaeological basis, as coming from "Luristan."[98] Whatever the attribution of these objects,[99] joined animal protomes have an ancient history in Western Asia, going back as far as the Chalcolithic period.[100]

It should also be noted that there are but a limited number of ways to design a mirror. At the beginning of this article, I reviewed the known means for grasping a

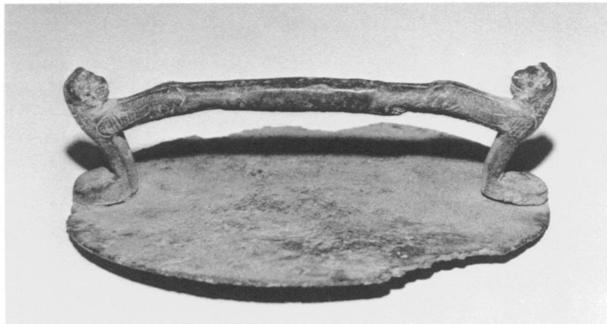


Figure 22. Bronze mirror, late 1st millennium B.C.–early 1st millennium A.D. Diam. 17.2 cm. Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Ir.844 (photo: author)

mirror. Placing a horizontal handle on the reverse side may be a solution that was arrived at spontaneously at different times and in different locations. A stunning illustration of this point is the obsidian mirror found at Kabri, in western Galilee, Israel. Of extraordinary workmanship, it is carved in one piece with a horizontal handle on its reverse, nonreflecting side. Although a chance find, it most likely dates to the middle of the fifth millennium B.C.[101] After that time, until the appearance of the sequence of mirrors that we have been discussing, and, with the exception of the Brussels mirror, evidence for horizontal-handled mirrors is lacking in Western and Central Asia.

Origins and Meaning

Another possibility for the origin of the horizontal-handled mirror must still be explored. A few scholars have sought its origin in the Scythian disc mirror with a loop handle in the center of the reverse side.[102] This type, now recognized as the probable origin of the "Chinese" mirror,[103] is associated from at least as early as the beginning of the first millennium B.C. with the nomadic horse-riding tribes who inhabited a broad stretch of Eurasia; in the west, they are identified as Scythians. Probably of Central Asian origin, their remains are known mainly from burial mounds (kurgans), which are found from the Altai Mountains in southern Siberia, west across the deserts of Central Asia, and into the forest steppes of Russian Europe; by the eighth to seventh centuries B.C., Scythian remains are found in the Caucasus, along the northeast shore of the Black Sea, and as far north as the Kiev area on the Dnieper River.

On some Scythian mirrors from Siberia as well as Europe, the loop has been "exaggerated to make a

Figure 23. Silver mirror from Aquileia, 1st century A.D., with an engraving of the Three Graces on the nonreflecting side (photo: Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia, Udine)

kind of handle at right angles to the plane of the back of the mirror."[104] In Siberia the loop is developed further, so that it is formed by two adorsed animal heads,[105] and there as well as in the west it also developed into a grip in the shape of an animal, "disproportionately raised" on two short posts above the back surface of the mirror.[106] The loop with adorsed animal heads could have been lengthened and transformed into complete foreparts, while the animal-shaped handle could have been elongated, the hindquarters replaced by a duplicate animal forepart. Either alteration would result in a horizontal handle with animal protomes similar to those of the Brussels mirror.

But even if the horizontal-handled mirror is influenced by these Scythian models, the Brussels mirror remains the lone witness to this phenomenon. The *absence of any other instance* in the second half of the first millennium B.C., the period of greatest Scythian activity, still leaves us without a means of transition to the beginning of the first millennium A.D., when our sizable corpus of these mirrors appears. This lacuna applies to Scythian-dominated areas in Eurasia, to those regions of the Black Sea coast and the Crimea where Scythian tribes interacted with Greek colonies, and to those parts of northwestern Iran where they came into contact with local peoples.

That fewer horizontal-handled mirrors have been found in the east than in the west is not necessarily an argument for a Roman origin in the early first millennium. The fortuitousness of archaeological finds, their number and distribution, cannot be ignored, and archaeological investigation in Roman imperial lands has a longer and more intensive history than such investigation anywhere east of the Black Sea. Yet when we look at the distribution of the mirror—the actual objects of known provenance and the representations of the mirror type—I believe that a strong argument can be made for a western, that is Roman, origin (see chart). In Europe, evidence for horizontal-handled mirrors begins in the first century A.D., with the height of their manufacture occurring throughout the third century (Upper and Lower Rhine, Britain, France, Austria, and Yugoslavia); by the fourth century, the centers of manufacture (or at least of their usage) shift to the eastern part of the Roman Empire and to the areas of the succeeding Byzantine realm (Black Sea region, Caucasus, North Africa, and Syria). In the east, the earliest evidence for the horizontal-handled mirror is found in second-century Kushan India (Mathura and Sanghol), and in the following century at Central Asian sites at the easternmost reaches of Kushan territory (Kara-Bulak and Tura-Tash). Under the Hephthalites in the fifth century, the type continues within Central Asia (Chilek and Dzhul-Sai), and then appears in Iran (Metropolitan mirror and ewer; Louvre vase). Prior to the fifth century, or at least not before the Sasanian dynasty, evidence for it is lacking in western Iranian lands.

The appearance of the mirror, first on Roman territory (and in Latium and Campania, the heart of the Roman Empire) and soon after in India, suggests that the type developed in the Roman west and entered the oriental world through trade with India;[107] it then spread across Kushan lands, into Central Asia and west to Iran.[108] While no horizontal-handled mirror of Roman manufacture has yet been found on the Indian subcontinent, there is abundant evidence of a brisk sea-borne trade between Rome and Kushan India. Roman metalwork, including mirrors of the grip-handle variety, has been discovered at several Indian sites.[109]

One other piece of evidence also suggests a western origin for this mirror. It will be recalled that it is just one of several different objects held by or associated with the female figures that grace the bodies of the Metropolitan ewer and Louvre vase (Figures 15a and 15b). Harper observes that all the other objects—birds, a panther, a dog, a small nude male child, bunches of grapes, flowers, a jeweled necklace or diadem, pails, pyxides or caskets, and specific forms of fluted bowls and ewers—that appear on these and other Sasanian vessels are either Dionysiac in origin or derived from Roman prototypes.[110] I see no reason to exclude the horizontal-handled mirror from the company of these western-derived elements. As borne by the dancing females, themselves derived from western types, it echoes those held by Venus, the Nereids, and Roman women that we have seen on various pieces of Roman-Byzantine metalwork.

These observations should help to answer the question of where and how the horizontal-handled mirror developed. Other questions remain, however: why this particular mirror form came into being, whether it had a specific purpose or context for use, and why it ceased to be produced after the seventh century in the west and the ninth or tenth century, at the latest, in the east. Its association in the west with Venus and Nereids and with marriage (the Herakles knot, Projecta's Casket) might point to some cultic or religious function, as does its association in the east with semidivinities (yakshis and perhaps the dancing females) and temples (Pendzhikent, Afrasiab, and Dzhartepa). Yet, with the exception of the Sogdian temples, we have no evidence for the horizontal-handled mirror in a votive context. Our archaeological knowledge of this mirror (as well as the disc and vertical-grip-handled mirrors) comes from graves—when the skeletal contents have been identified by their excavators—that are those of females.

As necessary objects in the daily life of women, it is only natural that mirrors would be important in the afterlife. But, rather than being religious or cultic, these mirrors are, first of all, utilitarian: one of the normal household or personal possessions of a woman. Thus, the Antioch mirror (Figure 2), though probably part of a church treasure, originally was a domestic object; likewise, the Cleveland mirror (Figure 9) should be considered an example of fourth-century household silver.[111] Similarly, the Sasanian silver vessels that display dancing females, as convincingly argued by Harper, warrant a secular interpretation rather than a cultic one. Though not associated with some domestic ensemble but with "royal show or donative plate,"[112] the horizontal-handled mirror on these Sasanian vessels is one of the many attributes which, along with the females who hold them, seem to have had some "festal or auspicious meaning."[113]

Indeed, we have noted that the embellishments of the horizontal handle—specifically the Herakles knot and the animal protomes—are considered auspicious or even apotropaic in the cultures in which the mirrors are found. It is possible that the connection of these symbols with certain deities made them even more desirable as handle decorations. Thus, Venus may have been associated with the Herakles knot as a symbol of love and fertility. The sun god may have been evoked in handles from Iran and Central Asia that have a central spool flanked by animal protomes—griffins on the Metropolitan's mirror (see Figure 3) and horses at Dzhul-Sai, Afrasiab, and Pendzhikent (Figures 18, 19)—with the spool perhaps serving as an abbreviation of his chariot.[114] In this way, the form or decoration of the horizontal handle would have had significance for the mirror's owner during her lifetime as well as when it was buried with her.[115]

While its contexts and imagery permit us to draw conclusions about the meaning and use of the horizontal-handled mirror, nothing allows more than speculation about its disappearance. The form may have simply fallen out of favor, or, perhaps because of its associations with pre-Christian and pre-Islamic beliefs, been abandoned for other forms. Even though it was in use for nearly a millennium, this type of mirror seems almost transient when compared to grip-handled and disc mirrors that are still in use today. Not only do the Metropolitan's collections provide us with four examples of this relatively short-lived mirror—the Herakles-knot–handled Schimmel mirror, the strap-handled Antioch mirror with its thumbnail-shaped terminals, and the animal-protome terminals of the griffin mirror, and the Nishapur mirror handle—but each example vividly demonstrates for us how a different period or culture expresses itself through one simple yet profoundly eloquent form.

Figure 24. Fragment of a bronze handle from Pendzhikent, (photo: courtesy V. I. Raspopova)

Addendum

While this article was in the galley stage, V. I. Raspopova presented me with a slide of an unpublished fragment of a bronze handle from Pendzhikent, an unstratified find of twenty years ago (Figure 24), and very gener-

CENTURY	EUROPE	BLACK SEA, TURKEY, AND CAUCASUS	EGYPT AND NORTH AFRICA	LEVANT AND CYPRUS	IRAN	INDIA	CENTRAL ASIA
1st A.D.	**Aquileia** **Pompeii** Naples						
2nd A.D.	**Nijmegen** **Simpelveld**	**Bursa(*)**				*Mathura relief* *Sanghol relief*	
3rd A.D.	**Bonn** **Cologne** **Enns/Lorch** **Intercisa** **Rethel** **Vienne** **Aachen(*)** **Chaourse(*)** *Neumagen relief* **Wroxeter (H)** **Weiden (H)** *Trier painting (H)*	**Mtskheta** Panticapaeum Olbia		**Arsinoe (H)**		*Nagarjuna-konda relief*	**Kara-Bulak** **Tura-Tash**
4th A.D.	*August Venus* *Esquiline patera* *Projecta casket*		*Djimila mosaic*	"Antioch"			
5th A.D.			*Sidi Ghrib mosaic* *Coptic lampstand*	Cleveland (H)			*Chilek bowl* **Dzhul-Sai**
6th A.D.					*MMA ewer* *Louvre vase*	*Elephanta relief*	
7th A.D.		*Nereid flask*			*Kalardasht rhyton*		
8th A.D.					*Susa*		**Pendzhikent** **Afrasiab** **Dzhartepa**
9th A.D.					*Nishapur*		

DISTRIBUTION OF HORIZONTAL-HANDLED MIRRORS WITH KNOWN OR PROBABLE PROVENANCE

Boldface type indicates horizontal-handled mirrors with known provenance; regular type indicates probable provenance.
(H) indicates that the horizontal handle is in the form of a Herakles knot.
(*) indicates that the horizontal handle is missing (see note 11).
Italic type indicates a work of art in which a horizontal-handled mirror is represented.

ously gave me permission to include it here. The forepart of a leaping horse and its now-vanished mate at the opposite end would have formed a complete handle of at least 7.4 centimeters in length. While this is somewhat shorter than the other Pendzhikent handles, it is not much less than the Metropolitan's Nishapur handle (Figure 4). That this protome does not display the static posture of the other Sogdian handles but is closer to what I have suggested is a Sasanian or Iranian interpretation is an eloquent demonstration of how each discovery (newly excavated or *recovered* in an excavation's or museum's storage) may challenge the theories we develop to understand the objects of the past.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article and the work that preceded it could not have been possible without the generous help, expertise, and encouragement of a number of friends and scholars. Their names and specific contributions have been acknowledged at the appropriate places in the text, but I wish to thank here the four curators at the Metropolitan Museum who allowed me to pursue my study of the relevant objects in their charge: Joan R. Mertens of the Department of Greek and Roman Art, Prudence O. Harper of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, Helen C. Evans of the Department of Medieval Art, and Stefano Carboni of the Department of Islamic Art. I also wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Harper for sparking my interest in the subject through her publication of the Museum's horizontal-handled mirror with griffin-protome terminals and for her comprehensive memory for relevant parallels, both within and beyond her own area of specialization; and to Dr. Mertens for her steady interest in my exploration of the subject.

The current article has evolved from a short paper, "Mirrors of the Parthian Period," presented at the third Merv conference on "Merv and the Parthian Epoch," in Mary (modern Merv), Republic of Turkmenistan, September 28–30, 1992. A portion of an earlier version of the article was read at the Convegno internazionale sul tema la Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo, held in Rome, November 9–12, 1994, and will be published in the *Atti del Convegno. . . . Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Rome, as "The Horizontal-handled Mirror in Iran and Central Asia: Occurrences and Origin."

NOTES

1. For the history and use of mirrors in antiquity and the metaphorical associations of mirrors, see the articles in *Source: Notes in the History of Art* IV 2/3 (1985), a double issue devoted to the theme of mirrors in art. For further discussion of the last topics, see G. F. Hartlaub, *Zauber des Spiegels: Geschichte und Bedeutung des Spiegels in der Kunst* (Munich, 1951), and H. Schwarz, "The Mirror in Art," *Art Quarterly* 13 (1952) pp. 96–118.

2. The earliest identifiable mirrors are highly polished obsidian discs, about 9 cm in diameter, shaped to fit neatly in the hand. They were found in a number of graves, assumed to be those of women and dated to the early sixth millennium B.C., at Çatal Hüyük in Asia Minor (J. Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East* [London/New York, 1965] p. 85 and ill. 54).

3. See the relevant articles in *Source*, and especially that by L.O.K. Congdon, "Greek Mirrors," pp. 19ff. From at least as early as the second century A.D., glass discs also served as mirrors throughout the Roman world. Typically convex and backed with different substances, they were usually set into lead frames (G. Lloyd-Morgan, "Roman Mirrors and the Third Century," A. King and M. Henig, eds., *The Roman West in the Third Century: Contributions from Archaeology and History* (BAR International Series, 109[i] [1981]) pp. 145–157. Small "pocket" mirrors of a convex glass disc set into a small asphalt or painted plaster mount were popular in Mesopotamia and western Iran by the Sasanian period (early 3rd–mid-7th centuries A.D.). For excavated examples, see St.-J. Simpson and G. Herrmann, "'Through the Glass Darkly.' Reflections on Some Ladies from Merv," *Iranica Antiqua* 30 (1995) pp. 148–149.

Another and curious variant may combine a disc mirror with a fibula, the classical "safety pin"; the few known examples are Roman in date: L. Anlen and R. Padiou, *Les Miroirs de bronze anciens* (Paris, 1989) p. 428, with a photograph on p. 427 (the mirror disc is 6 cm in diameter; the length of the pin 11.5 cm); the authors mention a second fibula in their collection that has lost its mirror but retains the "resin" that affixed it. Much more elaborate and considerably larger (22 cm in diameter) is a "highly polished" disc of "speculum metal" with the remains of a fibula on the back, which is attributed to a female grave in Sofia, Bulgaria, and is now in the British Museum. The disc is enclosed in a frame decorated with a grapevine scroll and peacocks; on its back, according to H. B. Walters, are the fibula remains, a bronze spring, spiral hinge, and hook to secure the pin's leg, which has broken away. Walters dates the grave to the 3rd century A.D. (*Catalogue of the Silver Plate: Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* [London, 1921] no. 106, p. 28, and pl. xv). As its mass would weigh down the garment to which it was attached, this mirror-fibula was most likely made solely for funerary use. Analogies are the large amber pieces found in Etruscan tombs, one of the most dramatic of which is the sculpture of a (funerary?) banqueting group, ca. 500 B.C., that is in the Metropolitan Museum. Fragments of a bronze pin are embedded in the material and indicate that the sculpture once decorated a brooch intended for a deceased person. The dimensions of this amber piece are 14 cm long and 8.4 cm high. (D. A. Grimaldi, *Amber: Window to the Past* [New York, 1996] figs. on p. 152). I thank Joan Mertens for pointing this out to me.

4. Although the image in a convex mirror is smaller, the field of view is wider than in a flat or concave reflecting surface. One can hold a convex mirror very close to one's face yet see the whole face; thus, by bringing the mirror closer to the face, the entire face is eas-

ier to see (D. Halliday, R. Resnick, and J. Walker, *Fundamentals of Physics*, 4th ed. [New York, 1993] p. 1021).

5. G. Lloyd-Morgan, "Some Bronze Mirrors in the Collection of the Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam, Nijmegen," *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Bruxelles*, ser. 6, 46 (1974) pp. 43ff.; idem, "Mirrors in Roman Britain," in J. Munby and M. Henig, eds., *Roman Life and Art in Britain. A Celebration in Honour of the Eightieth Birthday of Jocelyn Toynbee*, BAR, 41 [i] (Oxford, 1977) pp. 231ff. (Lloyd-Morgan classifies all mirrors of the Roman period into six general types, with Groups W–X representing "mirrors with handles across the back and various related pieces"); idem, *Description of the Collections of the Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam at Nijmegen, IX: The Mirrors, including a Description of the Roman Mirrors found in the Netherlands, in other Dutch Museums* (Nijmegen, 1981); idem, "Roman Mirrors and the Third Century." These last two works treat in great detail "disc mirrors with handles across the back," or "mirror[s] with rear loop handle[s]." I am especially indebted to Lloyd-Morgan's very comprehensive work on Roman mirrors. The present article can only summarize the variations that she discerns within these two groups as they developed through the 3rd century.

6. F. Baratte, in F. Baratte et al., *Le Trésor de la place Camille-Jouffray à Vienne (Isère). Un dépôt d'argenterie et son contexte archéologique* (Paris, 1990) pp. 86–90 of the catalogue raisonné. I am grateful to A. Kaufmann-Heinimann for bringing this important work to my attention.

7. G. Brusin, *Aquileia. Guida storica e artistica* (Udine, 1929) p. 170, fig. 116 (the photograph of this mirror, kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeology, Trieste, Prof. F. Bocchieri, arrived after this article was in page proofs, hence its inclusion here as Figure 24); Pompeii, Antiquarium, no. 2158/4: cited by Baratte in F. Baratte et al., *Le Trésor . . . à Vienne*, p. 86, n. 241.

8. Naples, Museo nazionale, inv. 114295 and 109756 (ibid.).

9. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971) p. 40.

10. An appropriate composition for a mirror back, the Three Graces decorate other mirrors, including one in the MMA; see E. J. Milleker, "The Three Graces on a Roman Relief Mirror," *MMJ* 23 (1988) pp. 69–81.

11. Thus, few pieces of Lloyd-Morgan's Type X and only some of Type W retain their handles (*The Mirrors*, pp. 90, 95). Other metal discs without handles, but with the remains of two soldering points indicating that they originally were mirrors with a single, horizontal handle, are those from Chaourse, France (discovered in 1883, and now in the British Museum: F. Baratte et al., *Trésors d'orfèvrerie gallo-romains* [Paris, 1989] n. 86, p. 137); Bursa, Turkey (acquired in 1913, also in the British Museum: *Catalogue of the Silver Plate in the British Museum*, no. 124, p. 32, and pl. XVI); and Aachen, Germany (now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn: H. Lehner, "Berichte über die Tätigkeit der Provinzialmuseen in der Zeit vom 1 April 1911 bis 31 Marz 1916," *Bonner Jahrbücher. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande* 124 [1917] p. 60, fig. 41).

12. The Cologne mirror was discovered in a cremation grave dated to the 3rd century, in Mehlenerstrasse, Cologne-Bayental (S. Gollub, "Steinurnen in römischen Brandgräbern Kölns," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 5 [1960/1] p. 62, fig. 11:3) that from Bonn comes from the grave of a female infant (W. Haberey, "Ein Mädchengrab römischer Zeit aus der Josefstrasse in Bonn," *Bonner Jahrbuch des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn* 161 [1961] p. 323, fig. 5, and p. 324, no. 9.

13. Lloyd-Morgan, *The Mirrors*, no. 6, p. 91. It was discovered in 1840 and is now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

14. Ibid., no. 7, p. 92. It was discovered in 1930, also in Leiden.

15. In Vienne: See Baratte, *Le Trésor . . . à Vienne*, no. 25, pp. 86–90, with comprehensive bibliography and a comparative table of the principal mirrors with handles in the form of thumbnails; Baratte et al., *Trésors . . . gallo-romains*, no. 182, p. 223. Two examples from Rethel, one decorated and one plain: (1) Amis du Musée des Antiquités nationales, *Orfèvrerie gallo-romaine. Le Trésor de Rethel* (Paris, 1988) cover and no. 12, pp. 99–102; Baratte et al., *Trésors . . . gallo-romains*, no. 118, p. 173; Baratte, *Le Trésor . . . à Vienne*, p. 90, fig. 64, and (2) Amis du Musée des Antiquités nationales, *Orfèvrerie gallo-romaine*, cover and no. 11, pp. 97–98; Baratte et al., *Trésors . . . gallo-romains*, no. 119, p. 174.

16. Hürth-Hermülheim: see J. Wentscher and J. H. Schleifring, "Aus Hürth-Hermülheim. Zwei Sarkophage aus römischer Zeit," *Das Rheinische Landesmuseum Bonn* 3 (1988) pp. 1–5 (cited by Baratte, *Le Trésor . . . à Vienne*, p. 87, n. 254).

17. Enns/Lorsch (Roman Lauriacum): see *Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Oberösterreich—Grenzland des römischen Reiches*, Linz (1986) p. 10 (group photograph of the nine-piece silver hoard, dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries).

18. Dunáujváros (Roman Intercisa): see E. B. Vágo, "Ausgrabungen in Intercisa (1957–69)," *Albia Regia: Annales Musei Stephani Regis* XI, 1970 (1971) pl. XLVIII: 1a–b. I am indebted to F. Baratte for providing me with a photocopy of this reference.

19. A. Spakidze and V. Nikolaishvili, "An Aristocratic Tomb of the Roman Period, from Mtskheta, Georgia," *The Antiquaries Journal* 74 (1994), which is a double burial: p. 27, fig. 12: no. 4 (drawing of mirror) and p. 28, fig. 13 (photograph); see p. 20, figure 5, for the plan of the tomb with the placement of the skeletons and all the objects. See also O. D. Lordkipanidze, "Recent Discoveries in the Field of Classical Archaeology in Georgia," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* I/2 (1994), where the mirror (p. 164, fig. 21) is described as "a silver casket" (p. 159).

I wish to acknowledge M. Vicker's generosity in supplying me with the photograph of the Mtskheta mirror (Figure 7) and the other photographs and drawings that appear in *The Antiquaries Journal* article. I am also indebted to Prof. Baratte for making the article available to me before it could be obtained here.

20. Now in the Römisches-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, no. 43.55; see Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts and The State Hermitage Museum, *Rimskoe iskusstvo i kul'tura: Vystavka Rimsko-germanskogo. Muzeya gorod Kël'na* (Moscow/Leningrad, 1984) no. 69, p. 122. The mirror was acquired from a private collection along with four other objects; all were claimed to have come from a tomb at Olbia (I owe this information to D. von Boeselager).

21. M. Y. Treister, "Italiiskie i Provintsal'no-rimskie Zerkala v Vostochnoi Evrope," *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya/Soviet Archaeology* 1 (1991) fig. 1:3, p. 91. Made of bronze, it has been known since 1913 and belonged to a private collector in the Black Sea port of Kerch; it is now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow. It has been attributed to a tomb at Panticapaeum, the ancient foundation of Kerch, perhaps because of the collector's residence. Whether it was found at Panticapaeum can never be known, but it seems likely that it is a Crimean find.

22. One, from a private collection, London, appeared with a silver platter and bowl, dated to the 4th century, in *Apollo* (April 1984)

p. 46, and may be the same one offered by Christie's, London, cat. for Dec. 9, 1992, no. 124, p. 60, identified as "Gallo-Roman" and of the 3rd century. Also, the undecorated silver mirror with spatulate handle but without incised thumbnails; see Anlen and Padiou, *Les Miroirs de bronze anciens*, p. 436, with photograph on p. 437, in the collection of the authors.

23. Gallerie Koller, *The Ernst Brummer Collection, I: Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque Art* (Zurich, Oct. 16–19, 1979) no. 41, p. 52.

24. Correctly identified by M. Vickers, "Aristokratinnen im Kaukasus," *Antike Welt* 26 (June 1995) p. 190. As can be seen in Figure 7, between Dionysus and Ariadne, but closer to Ariadne, is a diminutive Eros. While the postures of the adult figures leave no doubt that Dionysus' discovery of Ariadne is intended, the Dionysus figure is eccentric in his stance, dress, and the curious staff that he holds (not the characteristic thyrsus). The rendering of this figure, as well as that of the Eros, suggests a provincial origin for the mirror. That this figured mirror back has a handle across its center suggests that the handle is a later attachment; however, the figures are disposed to either side in such a way that the handle may well be original to the design. This attachment of a horizontal handle onto a figured disc is not unique if the 1st–early 2nd century Aquileia mirror is in fact adorned with the Three Graces.

The remarkable collection of grave goods in this Mtskheta tomb (which includes 2nd- and 1st-millennia B.C. Near Eastern stone seals) deserves fuller study.

25. As the excavators acknowledge, there is considerable disagreement among scholars about the exact reading of the inscription and the identity of the prince mentioned. Some believe that the inscription is as early as the 1st century A.D. and may refer to the Parthian prince Tiridates, who, engaged in a struggle for the Parthian throne, sought the support of the Iberian royal house and perhaps gave the plate in gratitude; others see the inscription as a type used as late as the first quarter of the 3rd century, the beginning of Sasanian rule in Iran.

26. Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, p. 48: "Finger-shaped hooks project from many objects of Early Christian or Early Byzantine date."

The soldering plates that join the handle to the disc may or may not be indicators of date and provenance. Unlike most of the horizontal-handled mirrors in the west, with their spear-shaped or rounded plates, the Cologne mirror's soldering plates are described as "in the form of a fishtail," while the one original plate of the Antioch mirror is, as already noted, spade-shaped with three short spikes pointing outward. The soldering plates of the Mtskheta mirror are unique: carefully fashioned bovine hooves that point outward in the manner of the soldering plates of the Simpelveld and other mirrors. This might be further evidence of a late Roman, western, origin for the Mtskheta mirror or at least its handle.

27. For a summary of the controversy over the attribution of the treasure's pieces to Antioch and a solution, see Mundell Mango, "The Origins of the Syrian Ecclesiastical Silver Treasures," pp. 165, 167; also the discussion in J. P. C. Kent and K. S. Painter, eds., *Wealth of the Roman World A.D. 300–700*, exh. cat. (London, 1977) p. 86.

28. *Wealth of the Roman World*, cat. no. 147, p. 87, where it is dated ca. 400. The chalice is 50.4. Mundell Mango thinks the vessel is actually a lamp, "Origins," p. 170.

29. Berlin, nr. Misc. I 2955; see F. Fremersdorf, *Das Römergrab in Weiden bei Köln* (Cologne, 1957) pl. 58 (where it is identified as bronze) and p. 48 (where it is mentioned as silver).

30. "Roman Mirrors and the Third Century," p. 151. Baratte dates it later (*Le Trésor . . . à Vienne*, p. 87).

31. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans*, Oxford, 1964, pl. LXXVII:c and pp. 334–335.

32. Ibid., p. 335.

33. R. A. Lunsingh-Scheurleer, *Antieke Sier, Goud en zilver van R.A. Grieken en Romeinen* (Amsterdam, 1987) pp. 76–77, no. 50.6; S. M. Lubsen-Admiraal and J. Crouwel, *Cyprus and Aphrodite* (The Hague, 1989) p. 180, no. 230H. The mirror and jewelry, along with clothing, accompanied the remains of a skeleton found in a lead coffin placed within a stone sarcophagus.

34. "Roman Mirrors and the Third Century," p. 151. The Wroxeter mirror had been dated to the 2nd century by Toynbee (*Roman Art in Britain*, p. 335).

35. E. von Mercklin, *Führer durch das Hamburgische Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Griechische und römische Altertümer* (Hamburg, 1930) no. 637; Lloyd-Morgan, "Some Bronze Mirrors," p. 48, fig. 7.

36. "Roman Mirrors and the Third Century," p. 151.

37. W. M. Milliken, "Early Byzantine Silver," *Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art* 45 (1958) photograph after p. 41, where it was originally identified as a "sweetmeat dish(?)"; E. D. Maguire, H. P. Maguire and M. J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House*, exh. cat., Krannert Art Museum (Urbana/Chicago, 1989) p. 194, cat. no. 118. According to a 1956 letter, the mirror and the other pieces were "said to have been made" on the Syrian coast, "south of Latakia, and not far from that town" (I owe this information to S. N. Fliegel of the Cleveland Museum of Art). There is, thus, no true evidence for a Syrian provenance, and, indeed, Baratte questions it (*Le Trésor . . . à Vienne*, p. 87).

38. H. Hoffmann and P. F. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, exh. cat. (Boston/Richmond) 1965, p. 13; J. Boardman, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)* (Zurich/Munich, 1988) p. 729; D. Williams and J. Ogden, *Greek Gold: Jewellery of the Classical World*, exh. cat. (London/New York) 1994, p. 44.

39. Maguire et al., *Art and Holy Powers*, pp. 3, 29, 184.

40. Ibid., fig. 46, p. 182 (in the Landesmuseum, Trier). That, and a more fragmentary relief of the same subject, were first published by W. von Massow, *Die Grabmäler von Neumagen* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1932) no. 184a: p. 159, fig. 106, and pl. 34; and no. 314: p. 220, and pl. 60.

41. H. P. Cahn and A. Kaufmann-Heinimann, eds., *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst* (Derindingen, 1984) I, no. 64, pp. 318–321, and II, pls. 179–182; Kaufmann-Heinimann, in Baratte et al., *Trésors . . . gallo-romains*, no. 223, p. 261; Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*, no. 86, p. 43.

42. Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann, *Der spätrömische Silberschatz*, II, pl. 183, with commentary, I, p. 400; Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*, no. 94, pp. 47–49. It is now in the Petit Palais, Paris.

43. Sotheby's, *Antiquities and Islamic Art* (New York, 1995) no. 91; the plaque, possibly from a cosmetic box, is dated to the 1st to 2nd century A.D. but, on stylistic grounds, may instead belong to the 3rd or 4th centuries.

44. K. J. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure* (London, 1981) pls. 10 below right and 11 right; Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*, no. 88, p. 44. A bridal casket, the Latin inscription on the lid translates as: "Secundus and Projecta, may you live in Christ."

45. E. Simon, *Die konstantinischen Deckengemälde in Trier* (Mainz,

1986) pl. 7 and pp. 30–33, where she draws parallels with known mirrors (the one in Hamburg) and representations of them (the Augst statuette).

46. A. Oliver Jr., *Silver for the Gods*, exh. cat. (Toledo, 1977) cat. no. 119, in the Metzger Family Collection; the platter is 39.5 cm in diameter.

47. Ibid. Baratte cites feathered borders on metalwork of the second half of the 4th century, but also observes such decoration on late Hellenistic metalwork (*Le Trésor . . . à Vienne*, pp. 87, 89). Feathered borders are also utilized in other media, such as the register dividers for the reliefs on the Arch of Galerius (ca. 298–303) (see D. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* [New Haven/London, 1992] p. 398: southwest pillar).

48. M. Blanchard-Lemée, *Maisons à Mosaïques du Quartier central de Djemila (Cuicul)* (Aix-en-Provence, 1975) frontis. and pl. II: "Toilette de Vénus." I owe this and the following reference to Prof. Baratte.

49. Musée du Petit Palais, *Carthage: L'histoire, sa trace et son écho* (Paris, 1995) pl. on p. 315.

50. K. Weitzman et al., eds., *The Age of Spirituality*, exh. cat. (New York, 1977) cat. no. 318, pp. 338–339; M. C. Ross, "A Coptic Marriage Lampstand in Bronze," *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin* II (1959) pp. 1–4.

51. Lloyd-Morgan, *The Mirrors*, pp. x–xi.

52. Ibid., p. x. She cites the handle from the Weiden bei Köln tomb in support of this suggestion but does not explain the example from Arsinoë, Cyprus, nor does she mention the Schimmel, Hamburg, and other related mirrors.

53. Lloyd-Morgan reports that D. Strong, shortly before his death, mentioned a fragmentary mirror from excavations in Cyrenaica, Libya, which may belong to this group ("Some Bronze Mirrors," p. 48).

54. Lloyd-Morgan, in *The Mirrors*, p. xi, notes that "the only mirrors that occur with any frequency are the so-called Sarmatian types [that is, a disc with a broad tang or extension to which a handle is attached], which are found in the middle and lower Danubian regions." Examples of Sarmatian mirrors from the Sarmatian "heartland" in the Kuban region of the Caucasus are in the exhibition catalogue, *Shedevry drevnego iskusstva Kubani/Art Treasures of Ancient Kuban* (Moscow, 1987) no. 205: fig. 63, p. 138, and their origins are discussed by A. M. Khazanov, "Genezis sarmatskikh bronzovykh zerkal," *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* 4 (1963) pp. 65ff. and fig. 4, p. 66. This Sarmatian mirror is also found in south Central Asia and India, as well as Vietnam (Y. A. Zadneprovskii, "Nakhodi kochevnicheskikh zerkala na territorii Indostana i v yuzhnom V'etname," *Peterburgskii Archeologicheskii Vestnik* 7 (1995) pp. 88–93. I thank Prof. B. A. Litvinskii for this reference.

55. E. C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (Washington, D.C., 1961) no. 75a and p. 215. As observed by Dodd, it and three other control stamps on the base, to judge by their placement and wear, appear to have been applied before the vessel was finished.

Material evidence of another early Byzantine mirror may be a handle that is associated with the Lampsacus Treasure, a group of objects made in Constantinople that date to the 6th and 7th centuries and are in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities, the British Museum. The handle, which is not exhibited with other pieces of the treasure, is described by O. M. Dalton as being "from a vessel or box, bifurcated at each end, each of the four ends being twisted once upon itself" (*Catalogue of the Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum* [London, 1901] p. 86, no. 396, not ill.). While the treatment of the four ends recalls the extra curls of the loops of the Schimmel and Cleveland mirrors' Herakles-knot handles, the central portion of this handle is an elongated flattened strip, and does not resemble a Herakles knot in any way. Nonetheless, it may have been a mirror handle; at 17.8 cm in length, it would have been attached to a mirror 20.3 cm in diameter. I wish to thank R. Loverance of the British Museum for providing me with a photograph of the handle, and C. Johns, also of the museum, for additional information.

56. The Kushan period encompasses the era named after its most powerful ruler, Kanishka (A.D. 78–176). At its height, in the 1st to early 3rd centuries A.D., the empire stretched across the Hindu Kush, northwest through Bactria to Sogdiana (present-day Afghanistan and parts of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan), southwest through the Kabul region in Afghanistan to Kashmir and the Punjab in Pakistan, and south into the northern regions of the Indian subcontinent, from the Indus River in the west to the Jumna-Ganges Basin in the east (see map). See sections, "The Historical Context," pp. 4–7 and "Chronology," pp. 17–18, in E. Errington and J. Cribb, eds., *The Crossroads of Asia. Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan*, Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1992); and S. J. Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India* (Bloomington, 1985) pp. 2–5.

57. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, "Ars Asiatica" 15 (Paris, 1930) pp. 100–101 and pl. XVIII (photograph taken after its discovery in 1871).

58. S. P. Gupta, ed., *Kushāna Sculpture from Sanghol (1st–2nd C. A.D.): A Recent Discovery* (New Delhi, 1985) p. 61 and cover photograph. I am grateful to Elizabeth Rosen Stone for this and other references for this period of Indian art. See also J. C. Harle, "The Kushan Art of Gandhara and its Relation to Mathura and Satavahana Art," in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, p. 40.

59. E. R. Stone, *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakonda* (Delhi, 1994) fig. 200 (female grasping a mirror disc from behind), and fig. 231 (female with a vertical-handled mirror).

60. Thus, the mirrors depicted on the ivories from Begram (Afghanistan) that have been dated as early as the end of the 1st to the beginning of the 2nd century, and as late as the latter 3rd or early 4th century (J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, "Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan" XI [Paris, 1954] pl. E; and E. S. Rosen, "The Begram Ivories," *Marsyas: Studies in the History of Art* 17 [1974–75] pp. 39–47, for redating the ivories to the later period).

61. For example, in the sculptures of the mid-6th century Great Cave Temple of Shiva, on the Island of Elephanta (S. Kramrisch, *The Presence of Śiva* [Princeton, 1981] pl. 11), and the Kandariya Mahadeva temple of the 10th–12th centuries (K. Deva, *Khajuraho* [New Delhi, 1987] pl. on p. 117).

62. A. Belenitsky, *Central Asia*, J. Hogarth, trans. (Geneva, 1968) fig. 65; *Pamyatniki kul'tury i iskusstva Pendzhikentii: prevnost' i srednevekoie* (Leningrad, 1983) no. 89, pp. 37–39, fig. on p. 39. The figurine is 16.5 cm high, or long, if considered as a horizontal handle. Its comparison with the ivories in the Begram hoard was made by Rosen, "The Begram Ivories," p. 48, n. 77: "We wonder if this bronze is not a stray which escaped from the Begram hoard."

63. As described by B. A. Litvinskii, the mirror disc that was found with the figurine was of bronze, with a central boss surrounded by

concentric circles and a shallow rim around the edge (*Orudiya truda i utvar' iz mogil'nikov zapadnoi Fergany*, Mogil'niki zapadnoi Fergani IV [Moscow, 1978] pp. 94–95, and pl. 20: profile view of the figurine showing the prongs on the reverse). I am indebted to A. B. Nikitin of the State Hermitage Museum for sending me this important work. The mirror disc was 12 cm in diameter. If the figurine had been attached to it, the head and feet would have extended 2 cm beyond the disc on either side. According to E. I. Lubo-Lesnichenko, the mirror disc disappeared shortly after excavation (oral communication, 1994).

Whether it is a "true" horizontal-handled mirror or a pastiche of a standing figure and mirror disc, the mirror is unique among the several found in the Kara-Bulak cemetery: the others are of the Chinese type, with decorated backs and pierced knobs in the center (Y. A. Zadneprovskii, "Rannie kochevniki Ketmen'-Tyube, Fergany i Alaya," M. G. Moshkova, ed., *Arkheologiya SSSR. Stepnaya polosa Aziatskoi chasti SSSR v skifo-sarmatskoe vremya* [Moscow, 1992] p. 91 and pl. 34:16–20. No. 19 was found in the same tomb as the figurine-handled mirror).

Another instance of a standing figure serving some function other than that originally intended is the 3rd-century Sasanian bronze statuette of a male personage in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin (Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, exh. cat. *Splendeur des Sassanides. L'empire perse entre Rome et la Chine [224–642]* [Brussels, 1993] cat. no. 26). While it has two short horizontal attachments on its back, it is, according to J. Kröger of the Museum für Islamische Kunst, too thin in profile to have been made or used as a handle (written communication, 1993).

64. Y. D. Baruzdin and G. A. Brykina, *Arkheologicheskie pamyatniki Batkena i Lya'lyaka (Yugo-Zapadnaya Pendzhikentiya)* (Frunze, 1962) pp. 17, 21, and 85, pl. xv: 1 and 2; I am indebted to Prof. Litvinskii for a photocopy of this reference. See also Litvinskii, *Orudiya truda i utvar' iz mogil'nikov zapadnoi Fergany*, p. 94, and ill. in his classification table, p. 76.

65. The second mirror, from a different burial at the site, is smaller (13.8 cm) and more cursorily made. Its handle is made from one continuous strip, with the feet formed by doubling back the ends of the grip on itself and then turning them out at right angles, so as to produce a raised horizontal grip above two outwardly pointing feet (the ends of the strip), which are then soldered to the mirror disc.

66. Mention must be made here of two handlelike pieces of bronze, found in a burial stratum at the Buddhist monastery site of Kara-tepe in the northwest corner of ancient Termez (present-day Uzbekistan). Situated in northern Bactria, north of the Hindu Kush, the Kara-tepe shrine complex was founded at the beginning of the second century A.D. and abandoned in the 4th century; it is thus of the Kushan period. Both handles are strap-shaped, terminating, directly above each upright support, in a pierced disc or flat loop. Utilitarian in appearance, they could easily have served as lid handles rather than as grips for mirrors. They seem to date to the very end of the site's occupation, or even after as some of the burials contained Kushano-Sasanian coins of the 4th to 5th centuries (B. Ya. Staviskii, *Buddiiskii kul'tovyi tsentr Kara-tepe v Starom Termeze. Osnovnye itogi rabot 1965–1971 gg* [Moscow, 1972] p. 71, fig. 20:5 and 6 [fragment]).

67. "Sources of Certain Female Representations in Sasanian Art," pp. 503–515, cited in the catalogue entry for the MMA mirror, above. These two shapes, the ewer and the vase, enter the repertory of Sasanian silver vessels only in the second part of the Sasanian period, the 5th or 6th century (P. O. Harper, "Sasanian Silver: Internal Developments and Foreign Influences," in Baratte, *Argenterie romaine et byzantine*, p. 154).

68. P. Amiet, "Nouvelles acquisitions: Antiquités parthes et sassanides," *La Revue du Louvre* 17 (1967) figs. 18, 19 (the female with the mirror, however, is not illustrated); idem, "Orfèvrerie sassanide au Musée du Louvre," *Syria* 47 (1970) pl. vi:3 ("elle tient dans la main gauche un objet incurvé, à poignée, difficile à identifier," p. 61). I wish to thank F. Tallon of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, Musée du Louvre, for allowing me to study and photograph the vase.

69. Harper, "Sources of Certain Female Representations," p. 512.

70. This observation, which can be proved wrong at any future time with the discovery of a horizontal handle or complete mirror in a Parthian-period context, was confirmed for me by Malcolm Colledge (oral communications, 1992 and 1995). Of the numerous mirrors that have been found in excavated tombs of the Parthian period, only two forms occur: the disc mirror and the grip mirror, the handle of the latter often in the form of a female caryatid (for examples of both kinds, see R. Ghirshman, *Terrasses sacrées de Bard-è Néchandeh et Masjid-i Solaiman* II, "Mémoires de la délégation archéologique en Iran" 45 [Paris, 1976] pls. 1, 14, 29, 42, 57, and 104; for disc mirrors and discs with tangs meant to be inserted into a grip handle, see S. Fukai, *Dailaman III: The Excavations at Hassani Mahale and Ghalekuti, 1964*, "The Tokyo University Iraq-Iran Archaeological Expedition," Report 8 [Tokyo, 1968] pls. xxxvii, xlix, lii, and lxx). On a relief at Hatra, in Mesopotamia, a goddess holds a grip-handled mirror as an attribute (S. Fukai, "The Artifacts of Hatra and Parthian Art," *East and West* 11 [1960] p. 163), as do the terracotta figurines of female mortals or deities from Göbekly-depe, Turkmenistan, and other Parthian period sites in the Merv oasis (A. Gubaev, G. Koshelenko, and S. Novikov, "Archaeological Exploration of the Merv Oasis," *Mesopotamia* 25 [1990] fig. 43; and Simpson and Herrmann, "'Through the Glass Darkly.' Reflections on Some Ladies from Merv," who note the occurrence of only "three distinct types of mirrors" for the Parthian and Sasanian periods: the circular pocket mirror of glass set into a mount [see note 3 above], the small polished bronze mirror "of Chinese inspiration," and the most widespread type, the circular metal disc with a vertical handle; they do not mention the horizontal-handled mirror [pp. 148–149]).

It should be recalled that along with the silver mirror with horizontal handle and relief of Dionysus and Ariadne (Figure 7; and note 25), the tomb at Mtskheta contained a silver dish bearing the Parthian Aramaic inscription of Prince Tiridat. Clearly Parthian objects are found in tombs in Roman territories—elsewhere at Mtskheta, a "cockle-shell for mixing perfumes, with a representation of a fire temple" in Persian style, was discovered in a burial which may have been that of an Iberian or perhaps a Parthian resident (Lordkipanidze, "Recent Discoveries in Georgia," p. 159, fig. 18)—while identifiably Roman objects have been found in Iran itself: an example, which is especially striking if indeed it is really from Iran, being a handleless mirror with a portrait bust of the 1st-century Roman emperor Domitian (M. Taddei, "On a Silver Mirror with a Portrait of Domitian from Northern Iran," *East and West* n.s. 17 [1967] pp. 41–50). But no grave in Parthian-controlled territory has yielded a horizontal-handled mirror.

It is interesting to note that other Iranian metalwork occurs in Georgian tombs. In the second half of the 3rd century, Iberia had become a vassal of the Sasanians, the Parthians' successors. A grave from this period, also excavated at Mtskheta, contained a silver plate with a medallion of a male bust on its interior and Middle Persian inscription around its outer rim that can be dated to this time (P. O. Harper and P. Meyers, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period, I: Royal Imagery* [New York/Princeton, 1981] pl. 1 and pp. 24–25, 37, 89).

71. Thus, the griffin on a stone lintel from Nineveh (G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries on the Site of Nineveh during 1873 and 1874* [London 1875] pl. opposite p. 308), the dragonlike griffins at Qal'eh-i Yazdigird, Iran (E. Keall, "Qal'eh-i Yazdigird: The Question of its Date," *Iran* 15 [1977] pl. IIIb), the dragonlike and leonine ones at Hatra (D. Homès-Fredericq, *Hatra et ses sculptures parthes: étude stylistique et iconographique* [Istanbul, 1963] nos. 29, 46), and the horselike one from Nisa, Turkmenistan, whose long wings gently curve upright (G. A. Pugachenkova, *Iskusstvo Turkmenistana* [Moscow, 1967] fig. 49).

72. P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Iraq (Assyria and Babylonia)* (Oxford, 1976) pl. XXXVI, on p. 50.

73. O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus, with Other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-work*, 3rd ed. [London, 1964] no. 208, pl. XXXVIII and pp. 62–63.

74. Harper and Meyers, *Silver Vessels*, pp. 108–110 and fig. 35.

75. P. O. Harper, "Thrones and Enthronement Scenes in Sasanian Art," *Iran* 17 (1979) pp. 50–59. Harper concludes that "in the internal dynastic art of Sasanian Iran, the theme of the enthroned ruler was a minor one" (p. 64). The two plates she attributes to the Sasanian period—the one from Strelka, now in the State Hermitage Museum, and the gold, rock-crystal, and glass bowl in the Bibliothèque Nationale—she shows to be not earlier than the 5th or 6th century and to have "links to works of Central Asian origin."

76. Thus, the images of Surya from Mathura (Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurâ*, pl. XXXVIIIā) and Khair Khaneh (J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* [Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1967] fig. 96; "usually dated in the early fifth century," p. 192).

77. B. I. Marshak, "Chilekskie chashi," *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* 10 (1969) pp. 65ff. and figs. 6 and 8; idem, *Die Silberschätze des Orients. Metallkunst des 3.–13. Jahrhunderts und ihre Kontinuität* (Leipzig, 1986) pls. 11–13; B. Brentjes, "The Hoard of Hephthalite Silver Vessels Found near Samarkand," *East and West* n.s. 21 (1971) figs. 4, 5. For the Indian connections of this vessel, see B. Gray, "Post-Sasanian Metalwork," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* n.s. 5 (1991) p. 61.

78. "Sources of Certain Female Representations," p. 512, n. 33. One handle, known from the art market, nearly duplicates the features of the MMA griffins as well as the pedestal bases, square soldering plates, and central spool; the spool lacks the encircling knobs and is thus smoother, but this effect may be the result of corrosion. *Collection X . . . (6e vente) . . . Bronzes et terres-cuites Louristan-Amlash* . . . , Nouveau Drouot, Paris (Sept. 24, 1981) no. 156. According to A. M. Kevorkian, the handle was owned by M. Mahboubian between 1960 and 1975 (oral communication, 1993).

Obvious forgeries of these mirrors have appeared in private collections and on the market: L. Malleret, "L'Amphisbène," *Artibus Asiae* 29 (1967) pl. 1 (M. Foroughi collection, exhibited in Paris [1961–62] and Geneva [1966]: the foreparts of horned creatures, the forelegs serving as the handle support, as terminals for a cylindrical shaft that is decorated in its center by a triple molding); *Collection de Son Excellence le Dr. Ing. Franz-Josef Bach . . . Bronzes antiques de la Perse du IIIe millénaire à l'époque romaine* . . . , Hôtel Drouot, Paris (Dec. 12, 1973) no. 186: a figurine of a goat, itself a forgery, attached to a disc; *Collection X . . . (2e vente) . . . Bronzes et terres-cuites Louristan-Amlash* . . . , Nouveau Drouot, Paris (Sept. 25, 1980) no. 232: the handle a crude copy of the MMA mirror, the griffin protomes clumsy and poorly articulated (I owe this reference to O. W. Muscarella).

79. B. A. Litvinskii and A.V. Sedov, *Kul'ty i ritualy Kushanskoi Baktrii* (Moscow, 1984) p. 101 and fig. 27, p. 103.

80. V. I. Raspopova, "Zerkala iz Pendzhikenta," *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii* 132 (1972) pp. 67–68 and fig. 1:1–3; Academy of Science, Tajikistan SSR and the State Hermitage Museum, *Drevnosti Tadzhikistana.* (Dushanbe, 1985) no. 536, p. 209 (I am indebted to B. I. Marshak for this comprehensive exhibition catalogue of objects from Tajikistan); V. Shkoda, "Bronzoliteinaya masterskaya na X ob'ekte goroditsa drevnego Pandzhikenta," *Uspekh i Sredneaziatskoi Arkheologii* (Leningrad, 1978) fig. 14:B and p. 52. Found with the horse-protome handles was a small bronze knob which was set on a circular base and pierced horizontally. Identified by Raspopova and Shkoda as an unfinished seal, it may have instead been intended for the back of a so-called Chinese mirror (the first of the two basic mirror forms described above); such mirrors are common at Pendzhikent and are illustrated by Raspopova (figs. 1: 7–10, p. 68).

81. One handle was clearly miscast and found on a rubbish heap.

82. V. I. Raspopova, *Metallicheskie izdeliya rannesrednevekovogo Sogda* (Leningrad, 1980) fig. 79:2, p. 120 (fig. 79:1 and 3 are two of the examples from Pendzhikent of our Figure 19); A. M. Belenitskii, "Raskopki sogdiiskikh khramov v 1948–50 gg," *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR* 37 (1953) fig. 9, p. 30. (The original publication of the handle by A. I. Terenozhkin, "Raskopi na gorodize Afrasiab," *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury* 36 [1951] pp. 136–140, was not available to me.)

83. I owe this information about the Dzhartepa finds to B. I. Marshak and V. I. Raspopova (oral communication, 1992), and to V. Shkoda (oral communication, 1994). For a general report of the excavations, see A. E. Berdimuradov and M. K. Samibaev, "Rezul'taty raskopok khrama na Dzhartepa II," *Istoriya material'noi kul'tury Uzbekistana* (Tashkent, 1992) pp. 77–92. My thanks to Dr. Shkoda for providing me with a copy of this article.

84. *Drevnosti Tadzhikistana*, no. 533, p. 209; Raspopova, *Metallicheskie izdeliya rannesrednevekovogo Sogda*, fig. 82:3, p. 124.

85. For an account of the Islamic conquest of Central Asia, see chap. 5 of R. N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia: The Arabs in the East* (London, 1975).

86. Y. Godard, "Bouteille d'Argent sāsānide," Ā thār-é Īrān III (1938) p. 296, fig. 201; L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Irān ancien* (Leiden, 1966) p. 6. The bottle allegedly was found in Mazanderan in northern Iran in the 19th century, along with a second gilt-silver bottle. Given to the Shah during one of his trips to Mazanderan, it entered the Archaeological Museum in 1937 as no. 2500. For a view of the female with the mirror, see N. Egami, "On the Figure of the Iranian Goddess Anāhitā as an Example of the Continuity of the Iranian Culture," *Commémoration Cyrus, I: Hommage universel* (Tehran/Liège, 1974) pl. XXV, fig. 18.

87. Harper, "Sasanian Silver: Internal Developments and Foreign Influences," p. 158.

88. C. K. Wilkinson, "The Excavations at Nīshāpūr, 1936," *MMAB* 32 (1937) pp. 14ff.

89. M. Kervan, "Les Niveaux islamiques du secteur oriental du tépé de l'Apadana. III. Les objets en verre, en pierre et en métal,"

Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran 14 (1984) fig. 15:11 and table on p. 232.

90. L. Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mékong* (Paris, 1960) II, pp. 214–216: "Supports et lampe à décor zoomorphe," and pl. LXXXIX; idem, "L'Amphisbène," pp. 85ff. I wish to thank A. Robinson for locating these handles in Saigon and Hanoi and measuring and photographing them for me under difficult conditions.

91. Thus pointed out by Harper, "Sources of Certain Female Representations," p. 512, n. 33. A fifth "handle" or "support," with leaping protomes and an elaborate spool in the center of the grip, appears in the auction catalogue of the Anlen mirror collection (Adar Tajan, *Collection de Monsieur Anlen: Miroirs de bronze anciens,* Paris [Dec. 8, 1992, no. 440]; it is now accepted by some to be a forgery (oral communication, A. M. Kevorkian, 1995).

92. Ir. 844 (formerly O.2360). I am indebted to B. Overlaet for allowing me to study and photograph the mirror.

93. A. and Y. Godard, *Bronzes du Luristan. Collection E. Graeffe* (The Hague, 1954) no. 345 (no photograph); R. Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran. From its Origins to the Time of Alexander the Great,* S. Gilbert and J. Emmons, trans. (New York, 1964) p. 76, fig. 100; L. Vanden Berghe, *Het archeologisch onderzoek naar de bronscultuur van Luristan, Opgravingen in Pusht-i Kuh, I: Kalwali en War Kabud (1965 en 1966)* (Brussels, 1968) pp. 20, 47, fig. 10:9; idem, *Drevnosti Strany Lurov. Katalog vystavki* (St. Petersburg, 1992) no. 260, all accept this provenance by association. It is cited as the model for the Central Asian horizontal-handled mirrors by Litvinskii (*Mogil'nikov zapadnoi Fergany,* p. 97, citing Ghirshman) and Raspopova ("Zerkala iz Pendzhikenta," p. 68, referring to the Godards, Ghirshman, and Vanden Berghe).

94. Examples are the vessels carried by representatives of the Achaemenid empire on the Persepolis reliefs (Ghirshman, *Arts of Ancient Iran,* p. 174, fig. 220, and p. 176, fig. 222). The way in which the animals' bodies are drawn on the handles and then emerge in three dimensions parallels the treatment of the mirror's lions, as does an actual silver jar handle in the form of a winged bull, excavated in Babylon; rivets originally secured the base of the handle to the shoulder of the jar (J. Reade, "A Hoard of Silver Currency from Achaemenid Babylon," *Iran* 24 [1986] p. 80: no. 24, and pl. II). See also the horned lion-griffin handles on the silver vase from Douvanli (The British Museum, *Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria* [London, 1976] no. 171).

95. For example, the lions' erect ears are echoed by those of the lion-head terminals on two torques from a 4th-century tomb at Susa (E. Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran: Pre-Islamic Cultures* [New York, 1965] pl. 51, below).

96. On the survival of at least some aspects of Achaemenid metalworking traditions in Sogdiana, see B. I. Marshak, *Sogdiiskoe serebro* (Moscow, 1971) pp. 38ff, 134.

A survival of this lion type may be found on a limestone column or pedestal found by E. Schmidt at Istakhr, near Persepolis, the site of the fire temple tended by the priest Sasan, the eponymous founder of the Sasanian dynasty (E. F. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis and Other Discoveries in the Homeland of the Achaemenians,* ["Oriental Institute Communications" 21, Chicago, 1939] pp. 119–121 and fig. 87). Uncovered in "mixed Islamic and pre-Islamic, presumably Sasanian, debris," the column depicts two identical genii and lions in relief. Each lion stands with its foreleg on the bent right leg of a genius and turns its head back, showing its teeth and one upright ear; neither the mane nor the body hair is indicated, in contrast with typical Sasanian representations of lions in rock relief and on metal vessels. While the manes and body hair of the Brussels mirror lions are indicated by hatching, the general shape of their thick necks and squarish muzzles closely resembles the Istakhr lions. Although Schmidt acknowledges that the find circumstances of the object suggests a Sasanian attribution, the column could predate that period and have been reused. In a recent article, A. D. H. Bivar, however, accords it a Sasanian manufacture as evidence of the survival of esoteric Mithraism into Sasanian times ("The Royal Hunter and the Hunter God: Esoteric Mithraism under the Sasanians?" *Au carrefour des religions. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux,* Res Orientales VII [Paris, 1995] pp. 35–38).

97. P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries. The Archaeological Evidence* (Oxford, 1994) p. 274.

98. Stora Collection: A. Godard, *Les Bronzes du Luristan,* "Ars Asiatica" 17 (Paris, 1931) pl. LVIII:216; M. Rostovtzeff, "Dieux et chevaux: Á propos de quelques bronzes d'Anatolie, de Syrie et d'Arménie," *Syria* 12 (1931) p. 55, fig. 5; Hamburg and Paris "handles": Rostovtzeff, "Dieux et chevaux," pp. 55–56, fig. 6 (Paris); J. A. H. Potratz, "Die Luristanbronzen des Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 51 (1955) pl. 3:3 (Hamburg) and 3:4 (Paris), who reattributes them to "Luristan" (p. 205).

99. P. R. S. Moorey suggests that some of the "knife rests" may indeed be Anatolian, but "often" go back no later than "the Roman Imperial or immediately post-Imperial period" (written and oral communications, 1993). I greatly appreciate Dr. Moorey's sharing his views about these objects with me.

100. For example, the decoration of the copper macehead from Nahal Mishmar, Israel, that may be interpreted as a two-headed horned animal or the joined protomes of two horned animals (MMA, *Treasures of the Holy Land: Ancient Art from the Israel Museum* [New York, 1986] no. 29, p. 82).

101. Ibid., no. 32, pp. 85–86; Anlen and Padiou, *Les Miroirs de bronze anciens,* ill. opp. p. 606, commentary on p. 606. The mirror measures 18 cm in diameter; 1 cm thick. The large obsidian core reported to have been found with the mirror may indicate that it was a local product.

102. Allan, *Nishapur,* p. 36, who follows E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913) pp. 65–66.

103. E. I. Lubo-Lesnichenko, *Privoznye zerkala Minusinskoi kotloviny* (Moscow, 1975) p. 8 and English summary, p. 160: "It is possible that mirrors in China owed their appearance to the influence of Southern Siberian examples." See also A. Juliano, "Possible Origins of the Chinese Mirror," pp. 36–45, and K. S. Rubinson, "Mirrors on the Fringe: Some Notes," pp. 46–50, in *Source.* Local manufacture in southern Siberia of this mirror type can be traced back to the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.

104. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks,* p. 65. Thus, examples from the Tagar culture in the Minusinsk district of Siberia (Moshkova, *Stepnaya polosa Aziatskoi chasti SSSR,* pl. 87:24, and dated to the 7th–6th centuries B.C., p. 216) and from Scythian kurgans in two separate regions near Kiev, two such mirrors dated to the 6th and 5th centuries (P. Reinecke, "Über einige Beziehungen der Alterthümer Chinas zu denen des skythisch-sibirischen Völkerkreises," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 29 [1897] p. 144, fig. 3).

105. Moshkova, *Stepnaya polosa Aziatskoi chasti SSSR,* pl. 87:25, belonging to the Tagar culture and dated to the 6th century B.C., and F. R. Martin, *L'Âge du Bronze au Musée de Minoussinsk* (Stockholm, 1893) pl. 27:15, from Bateni.

106. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 66, and p. 193, fig. 85, from Smêla, near Kiev. Recent excavations of Scythian kurgans in Tuva, southern Siberia, yielded a mirror with a loop handle in the form of a moufflon sheep, dated to the 5th century B.C. (V. Semenov and M. Kilunovskaya, "New Archaeological Material of the Early Iron Age from Tuva," *International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia. Information Bulletin* 17 [1990] p. 46 and p. 54, fig. 2:1).

This type of handle is, in turn, related to another subtype: a circular plaque, typically decorated in relief with the characteristic Scythian motif of the "curled-up animal," supported by two short posts. This subtype occurs in Siberia, but seems more numerous west of the Urals. An example is the bronze mirror from a 6th-century Scythian kurgan at Kelermes, in the northern Caucasus and just east of the Black Sea (M. I. Artamova, *Treasures from Scythian Tombs* [London, 1969] pl. 35, and Rubinson, "Mirrors on the Fringe," p. 46, fig. 1; see her mention of the other findspots on p. 49 and n. 27, p. 50. The well-known silver mirror also from Kelermes, its back secondarily covered with gold sheets decorated in mid-6th-century East Greek style, has the remains of a two-pronged handle which M. I. Maksimova thinks was originally two posts topped with a small plaque: "Serebrianoe zerkalo iz Kelermes," *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* 2 [1954] pp. 281–305; Artamova, *Treasures from Scythian Tombs*, pls. 29–33).

107. The conduct of trade is recorded in a Greek text of the third quarter of the 1st century A.D. For a translation and commentary, see L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton, 1989).

108. Against this hypothesis for the spread of the horizontal-handled mirror from Rome to India and then to Iran, we must raise the possibility that the mirror type entered Iran directly from the west, through such regions as eastern Georgia (Iberia). As already seen, the tomb at Mtskheta held Parthian objects along with western ones (such as the horizontal-handled mirror, Figure 7), and metalwork of the succeeding Sasanian period has also been discovered there and elsewhere in Georgia (see Harper and Meyers, *Silver Vessels*, pp. 24–25 and pls. 1 [from Mtskheta] and 2 [from Sargveshi]). The late-Roman iconographic and stylistic connections of this Sasanian metalwork attest to the region's role as a place of cultural and material exchanges.

109. For example, at Brahmapuri in the Deccan: K. Khandalavala, "Brahmapuri: A Consideration of the Metal Objects Found in the Kundangar Hoard," *Lalit Kalâ* 7 (1960) pp. 29–75; and other sites in western India cited by M. N. Deshpande, "Classical Influence on Indian Terracotta Art," *Le Rayonnement des civilisations grecques et romaines sur les cultures périphériques* ("Huitième Congrès international d'archéologie classique" [Paris, 1963]) p. 604. I owe these references to Elizabeth Rosen Stone. See also R. E. M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London, 1954).

110. Harper, "Sources of Certain Female Representations," pp. 505–512. Indeed, Harper develops the idea, first advanced by G. Hanfmann, that, in addition to the more obvious affinities with Dionysiac imagery, "the western representations of the Months and the Seasons are more closely related to these figures on Sasanian vases than any other sequence or group of designs which may be found in the east or the west" (p. 507).

111. Mundell Mango, "Origins," pp. 163, 170.

112. Harper, "Sources of Certain Female Representations," p. 154.

113. M. L. Carter, in P. O. Harper, *The Royal Hunter: Art of the Sasanian Empire*, exh. cat. (New York, 1978) p. 61.

114. In discussing the funerary rites and beliefs of the inhabitants of ancient Ferghana, Litvinskii compares the Sogdian handles to images of the sun god in his chariot, with the circular mirror representing the solar disc; he also links the deity to the Iranian or Mithraic version of the Dioscuroi, the Divine Twins, and notes that in Central Asia the twins are connected with light, and hence with the sun god. He believes that the "Lady with mirror" figurines of Turkmenistan (see note 70 above) represent female devotees of Mithra (*Orudiya truda i utavar' iz mogil'nikov zapadnoi Fergany*, pp. 112–126). For images of the Kushan sun god Surya in his chariot, drawn by one or two pairs of leaping horses, see those from Mathura and from Khair Khaneh, cited in note 76 above; the latter is described by Rosenfield as "rigidly frontal and hieratic," and "so symbolic in nature that the chariot is no longer recognizable as such" (*Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 192).

115. For a similar interpretation of the engraved decoration on Etruscan mirrors, see N. T. de Grummond, "The Etruscan Mirror," *Source* 4 (1985) p. 34.

Cosini's Bust of Raffaello Maffei and Its Funerary Context

ROLF BAGEMIHL

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART WAS recently given a terracotta bust representing Raffaello Maffei (Figures 1, 4, 6).[1] When the bust came to light in 1987, Sir John Pope-Hennessy recognized its close relationship to the tomb of Raffaello Maffei on the left chancel wall of San Lino in Volterra, and he thought the bust likely to be by the Florentine sculptor Silvio Cosini (ca. 1495–ca. 1549).[2] Cosini is recorded at work on the tomb in 1531 and 1532. His name is not the only one mentioned in the scattered documents for this project, or by Vasari, but the tomb as we see it is essentially his work, and Cosini thus emerges as the only serious candidate for the bust's authorship.

This essay examines the character of both the bust and the monument. The Volterra tomb occupies an important place in the typological developments of the early cinquecento; the bust expands the limited number of known comparable works. The history, style, and social context of the tomb have been perspicaciously reconstructed and analyzed by John F. d'Amico and by Gigetta Dalli Regoli.[3] However, some of their interpretations warrant review and new documents shed a little more light on both bust and tomb as well as the context of a commission characteristic of its time.

There was ample reason to commemorate Raffaello Maffei (1456–1522), an eminent citizen of Volterra and one of the foremost humanists of his time. His fame rests on the *Commentaria Urbana*, one of the earliest modern encyclopedias, which divides universal knowledge into three branches: Anthropologia, Geographia, and Philologia. A serious student of Greek, he produced the first critical edition of the church father Basil. Raffaello and his younger brother, Mario (1463–1537), were highly regarded by the Medici pope Leo X, despite the fact that their eldest sibling, Antonio, had participated in the Pazzi Conspiracy against the Medici in 1478 and was duly hanged.[4]

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 54.

Their father, Gherardo, became a papal secretary in 1457. Like him, Raffaello never took holy orders.[5]

Silvio Cosini is best known as one of the more valued carvers paid day wages for sculptural ornamentation in Michelangelo's New Sacristy of San Lorenzo in 1524 and again in 1532, and decorative carving dominates most of his half-dozen works.[6] Late in life he produced figurative reliefs for the Santo in Padua and for the Duomo in Milan, and sometime during the Maffei tomb project he skipped to Genoa, where he created a series of elaborate narrative stuccos that still adorn the Villa Fassolo of Andrea Doria. But no other figure by Cosini grips our attention with the force and authority of the Maffei effigy at Volterra.

The Maffei monument is a shallow wall-tomb situated close to the floor of the small monastery church of San Lino (Figures 2, 5, 7). The tomb is articulated as a simple triumphal arch, supported by four pilasters covered with imaginative grotesques. The central section is slightly wider than the two side wings combined. Here the effigy of Maffei reclines directly upon the flat lid of a simple sarcophagus with lion feet; in the side niches stand high-relief figures of the archangel Raphael and Blessed Gherardus of Villamagna. Raphael was the name saint of Raffaello, and a Maffei family cult revolved around Blessed Gherardus, whose name was conferred on Raffaello's father and on his own first child, who died in infancy. A banderole with the Virgilian phrase "Sic itur ad astra" unfurls between Maffei's hands. These words appear on the reverse of a portrait-medal of the youthful Maffei, cast by Lysippus some fifty years before the subject's death (Figure 3).[7] Behind Maffei, a cross with foliate ends and broad arms emits flames. The entablature pulls back under the central arch, where the cornice frieze changes to a pattern of cherub heads and swags. The arch is one coffer deep, and the large flaming emblem with the Greek letters IC + XS under the curve belongs to the same space as the cross and the effigy. Maffei invented this monogram of the name of Christ, a scholarly sort of revision of the holy trigram disseminated by San Bernardino, and it graces

Figure 1. Silvio Cosini (Italian, ca. 1495–ca. 1549). Bust of Raffaello Maffei, ca. 1530–32. Terracotta, patinated, H. 46.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Edwin L. Weisl Jr. and Barbara Weisl, 1992, 1992.175

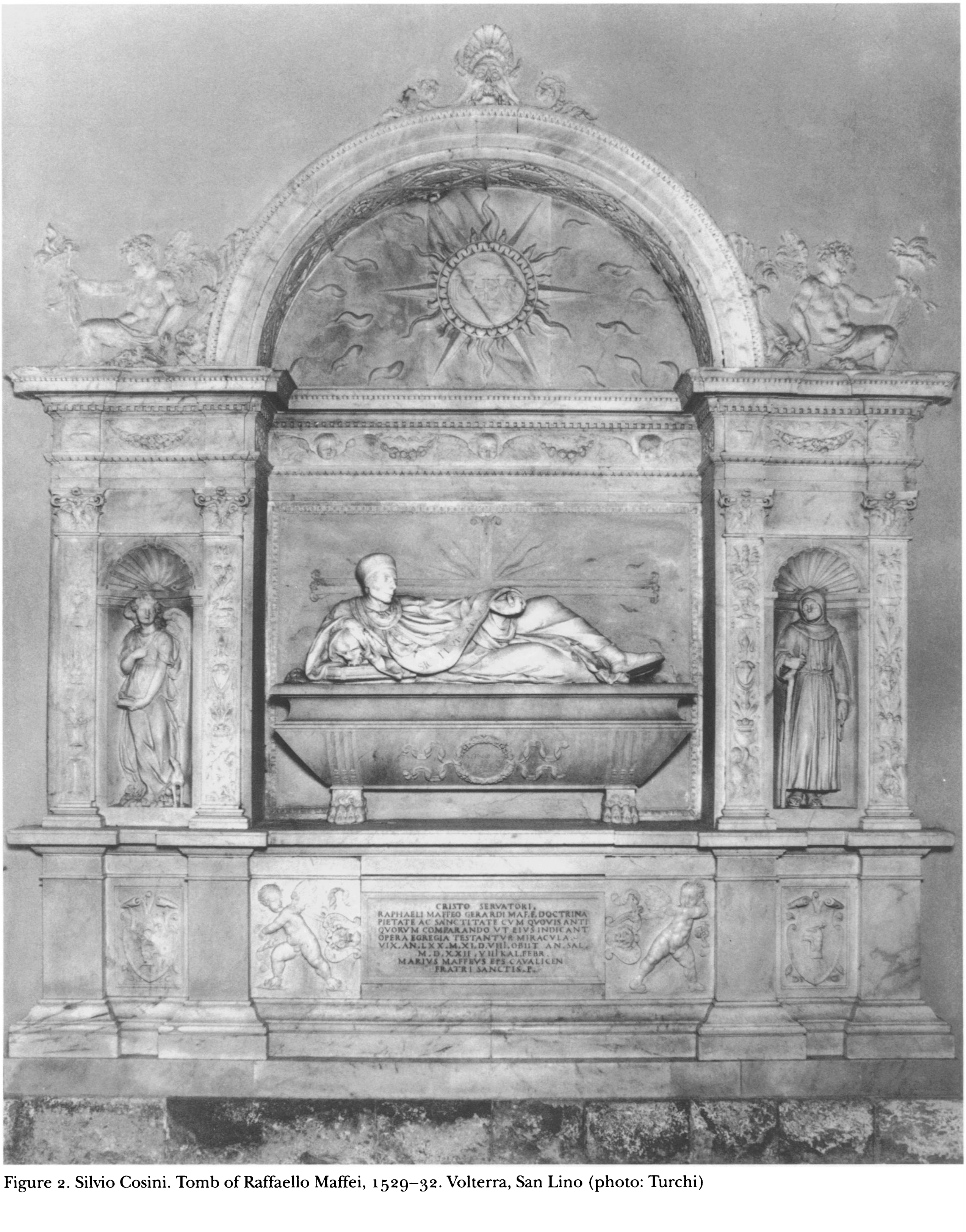


Figure 2. Silvio Cosini. Tomb of Raffaello Maffei, 1529–32. Volterra, San Lino (photo: Turchi)

Figures 3a and b. Lysippus (Italian, active ca. 1475). Portrait medal of Raffaello Maffei (obverse) and of the Sibyl appearing to Virgil (reverse), ca. 1480. Bronze, diam. .84 cm. Brescia, Musei Civici, inv. no. 478 (photo: Musei Civici)

Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1

both his letters and the official minutes of the Volterra city priors.[8] A stucco mask crowns the arch, and two winged genii with torches surmount the niches. In the basement zone, thick pilasters akin to the Etruscan order in their severity separate two shields with the Maffei arms (including the episcopal miter proper only to Mario) from the epigraph. Two energetic genii, in low relief on separate slabs, tug upon ribbons attached to the faun masks at each end of the epigraphic tablet, which seems suspended in air.

When it first reappeared nine years ago, the bust was set upon a base of later date (now removed) inscribed with the name of Raffaello Maffei, and the head was skewed slightly to the viewer's left. The overall sandy-colored surface of the bust seems to be original, although it may have been strengthened more recently in some spots. Altogether, the piece is in good condition. There are slight abrasions to the tip of the nose and at the top of the capacious scholar's hat, the lower edge of which shows two small chips.[9]

The lifesize head and neck, with the inside ring of the collar, form a single element that fits into the socket of the torso. There is no reason to suppose that the two pieces might belong to two different periods. The

Figure 5. Detail of Figure 2 (photo: Turchi)

Figure 6. Detail of Figure 1

Figure 7. Detail of Figure 2 (photo: Turchi)

arms are cut close below the shoulders, and the bust's outline dips to a point corresponding to the breastbone. At the front, the ridges of the mantle terminate as irregular scallops, an unusual and attractive variant of classical clipeata (shield) busts.[10] The bust can stand securely upon narrow portions of the front and back edges. This stability, the even finish of the bust on all sides, and its commemorative function all suggest that the bust could have been placed upon a low, flat surface such as a table, even though the lack of a solid base makes it more likely that the bust stood inside the lunette over a door than on a table. The clipeata shape was, in Roman and in Renaissance practice, widely adopted for portraits in elevated positions. In this bust the profile view is comparatively insipid. Seen from either side, the strokes defining the curls seem mechanical, the wrinkles of the neck and those following the contour of the jaw as it turns to the ear slack and casual (Figure 6). Sculpture for overdoors must respond to the demands of a three-quarter view, and from this angle as well as from the front both the wrinkled neck and the summary fringe of hair beneath the hat work admirably (Figure 4). As with many other early portrait busts, we know nothing of its intended lighting.

It has been remarked that the carved portrait of the Maffei tomb must depend upon a life or death mask of Raffaello Maffei that is now lost.[11] Certainly the Metropolitan Museum's bust was worked up from a mask of this type. Its pitted skin and wrinkles achieve something of the startling effect of the faces of real men who have been recovered from ancient and medieval bogs. The face of the bust probably started as a section of clay pressed into a plaster cast taken from the original mask. This raises two related questions: Can one speak of artistic emphasis in the bust? Was the bust or rather the mask consulted when the tomb was carved?

The first question is more easily answered, for the sculptor clearly altered the impression from the mask. He added the hairs of the eyebrows and the wrinkles around the wryly curled mouth. With a few deft turns of the wrist he indicated the iris and pupil of the eyes, and he contrived a gaze that is distant without barring all contact (Figures 4, 5).

The differences between the faces of the bust and of the tomb reflect the changes in function, medium, and meaning. The main view of the bust is frontal, and Maffei's eyes seem to meet ours. In the tomb the whole composition and the undulating effigy focus attention on the head, which tilts slightly back and forward to the right. We are thus induced to move around to inspect the face, but now the gaze merges with the adjacent high altar of the church (Figure 5). In accordance with the qualities of marble, Cosini now emphasizes broader shapes: the strong cheekbone, the wrinkles added to the forehead, the clean shape of the jaw. The hollow cheeks, the cleft between the lips and the indentation of the upper lip, the asymmetrical twist of the eyebrows (that over Maffei's left eye pulls in closer to the nose), and the bridge of the nose are all more prominent and set up a new play of lines and shapes (Figures 4–7). The sunken eyes and lowered pupils have an expressive as well as a veristic content. A fine character study, the bust has been transformed into the face of man contemplating the end. Maffei's right hand rests upon a skull, and the shape of his own skull pressing outward arouses a sharp sense of mortality. Cosini imaginatively accentuated the effects of age yet, as we can now judge, at no point has the carved head become a less accurate record of Maffei's appearance. Surely Cosini acquired such an intimate grasp of Maffei's bone structure in the process of making the bust.

It is worth noting that in 1529, the year the Maffei tomb was contracted, the Florentine commune sent Cosini to make the death mask of Niccolò Capponi, a patrician statesman. Indeed (as Dalli Regoli failed to remark), Cosini went with the object of producing a portrait bust: "Essendo . . . Niccolò Capponi . . . morto in Castelnuovo della Garfagnana, nel ritornare a Genova, dove era stato ambasciatore della republica all'imperatore; fu mandato con molta fretta Silvio a formarne la testa, perche poi ne facesse una di cera, bellissima" (When Niccolò Capponi died at Castelnuovo Garfagnana, while returning to Genoa where he had been the republic's ambassador to the emperor, Silvio was sent in all haste to mold his head, in order to make another head, of wax, which is most beautiful).[12]

Before considering the tomb's style and typology, a review of its checkered history is in order. Information about the tomb is mostly confined to letters to and from Mario Maffei that provide a rich but inconsistent source of information.

Raffaello Maffei would almost certainly have disapproved of the tomb, which expresses the aspirations of his brother Mario, who ordered it and who supervised its completion. Although the two brothers both found careers in the Roman curia, they possessed very different personalities and attitudes. Even the motives that brought them back to Volterra were contrary. About 1480, already highly renowned, Raffaello retired to Volterra in order to devote himself to scholarship and to civic life; Mario returned forty-six years later, worn out by the fickle politics of preferment.[13]

Figure 8. Attributed to Giovanni della Robbia (Italian, 1469–1529). San Lino, ca. 1500. Glazed terracotta, H. 90 cm. Volterra, Museo Diocesano (photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Pisa)

Contemporary letters and later biographies state that after his wife, the local noblewoman Tita Minucci, had provided him with an heir, Raffaello plunged into a scholarly asceticism: he slept on a rude pallet, bound his waist with a penitential chain, and with his own hand painted the IC + XS emblem on a wall of the domestic cell that he inhabited.[14] About 1490, Raffaello materially founded the Observant Franciscan nunnery of San Lino that houses his tomb with a gift of five thousand florins or more, a sum that may have helped in its construction, said to date to 1515. Raffaello himself may have procured the bust of the titular saint formerly set above the portal of San Lino, ascribed to Giovanni della Robbia (Figure 8).[15] As the *Commentaria* informs us, Saint Linus, the second pope, was held to be of Volterran birth. Raffaello served two terms as city prior, and he belonged to the committee—guided by the formidable Timoteo da Lucca, an Observant Franciscan—that founded the local Monte Pio, or funded debt.[16] After the death of his humanist kinsman Paolo Cortesi in 1509, Raffaello added a preface to the latter's manual for the instruction of cardinals (which regrettably has no prescriptions for tombs).[17] There are only two brief paragraphs about modern artists in the *Commentaria*,[18] but Maffei wrote of Donatello's familiarity with Cosimo de' Medici, and he realized the importance of Michelangelo, whom he called "Arcangelo."

Mario Maffei won the regard of Leo X and became the bishop of minor sees (Aquino and, in France, Cavaillon). His modest knowledge of antiquity, his versifying, and his other minor talents advanced him no further, and a disappointed and dyspeptic Mario retreated to Volterra in 1526 to consolidate the Maffei fortune. Even before this, from the 1510s to the early 1520s, he built the sprawling family palace in the center of town and a suburban villa at Villamagna. Difficulties in supervising the palace workmen and fears of cost overrun, despite his comfortable income,[19] had frayed Mario's nerves by the time he undertook his brother's tomb. In order to continue the Maffei line, Mario formally adopted Paolo Riccobaldi, husband of Raffaello's daughter, Lucilla, and the scion of an eminent local family, who reluctantly discarded his cognomen as Mario required. Paolo and his son Giulio later oversaw the execution of Mario's prominent tomb in the Volterra cathedral, which until recently was widely ascribed to Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli (Figure 9).[20]

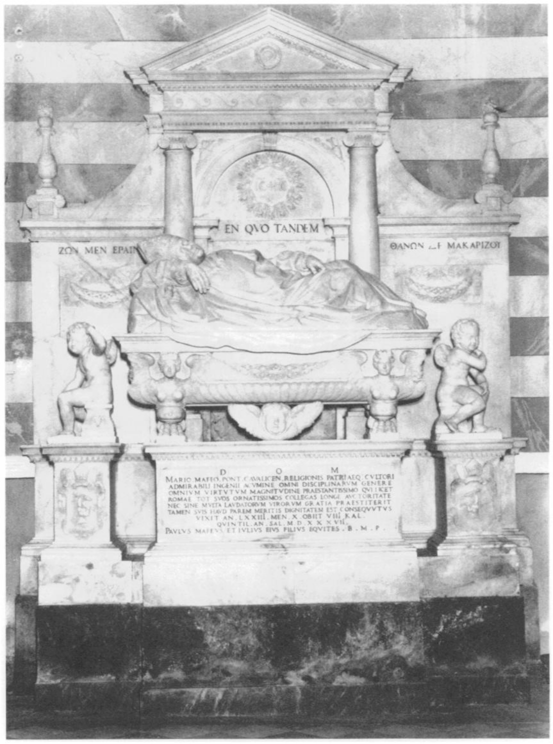


Figure 9. Tomb of Mario Maffei. Tuscan, ca. 1538–40. Marble. Volterra, Duomo (photo: Turchi)

Raffaello Maffei died in February 1522. In his will of 1516 he requested a modest funeral, and in a codicil he asked for burial in a simple tomb at San Lino which was to be emblazoned with the IC + XS sign.[21] Despite these conditions, Mario's wishes made themselves felt immediately. In October 1521 Mario had received papal sanction for observance of the cult of Blessed Gherardus and subsequently urged Raffaello to found a chapel to Gherardus. A few weeks later, after Raffaello's death, Mario advised Paolo Riccobaldi to amalgamate the Gherardus chapel with the planned tomb at San Lino.[22] In 1528 Mario procured from no less a source than Baldassare Peruzzi a drawing of either the Sforza or the Basso della Rovere tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, two tombs executed by Andrea Sansovino in about 1507 (Figure 10).[23] These nearly identical tombs did indeed provide the basic scheme of the Maffei monument, a point we shall return to below. Finally, in January 1529, one "Giovannino" of Florence contracted for the tomb. There follows a silence of two years, coinciding with a period of political turmoil.

Figure 10. Andrea Sansovino (Italian, ca. 1467–1529). Tomb of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, ca. 1507. Marble. Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo (photo: The Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art)

Two letters to Mario of November 1531 prove that Cosini had been engaged to execute the monument. At that time and up until April 1532 Cosini was in the service of Andrea Doria in Genoa. The first letter was written by Paolo Riccobaldi, the second a few days later in Pisa by another Volterran, Camillo Incontri. Riccobaldi reveals that Cosini had somehow failed to fulfill his obligations to complete the tomb, and that he and Mario had misplaced the contract and were therefore unable to prosecute him. The sculptor had entangled himself ("si era aviluppato") with the result that the ensemble was more elaborate than the original "disegno" shown to Riccobaldi by Mario—clearly a model of some sort—and that the contract no longer covered all his work. Ensconced in Genoa, Cosini had written to Mario with an offer to finish the task in exchange for a bonus of fifty scudi or a sum to be adjudicated by two masters of sculpture. Riccobaldi now urged Mario to resign himself to this further expense, since only upon these terms would Cosini ever give "l'ultima mano alla sepoltura" (the final touch to the tomb). In his letter,[24] Incontri recommended that the project be taken away from Cosini, who was disinclined to leave Genoa and quite safe from liability for breach of contract. Incontri had also seen portions of the tomb. Far from referring to "the final touch" as Riccobaldi had, Incontri wrote: "Li marmi . . . son quasi ammezzati di lavoro, massime el volto di Messer Raffaello è quasi finito, e rendeli buon'aria" (The marbles are almost halfway done, above all the head of Lord Raffaello, and it makes him look well). Incontri put forward the name of the Pisan sculptor Stagio Stagi. By July 1532, however, Cosini had materialized in Volterra. Mario composed the epitaph that same month, and two months later there is word that the tomb was nearly completed.[25]

Mario cannot have been displeased with the outcome, for in 1536 Paolo Riccobaldi suggested that Mario wait and see whether Cosini could be enlisted for a new project, a chapel, possibly Mario's own tomb in the Duomo.[26] In fact, Mario's tomb and not Raffaello's is perhaps the "new tomb" for which Riccobaldi was negotiating with Cosini as early as November 1532, when Raffaello's tomb cannot have been finished more than one month.[27] Much later, in the spring of 1538, the local sculptor Giovanni di Zaccaria Zacchi appealed in vain to Paolo for this commission, which apparently had only recently been awarded to another.[28] Zacchi referred to a monument (unidentified) that he had just completed in one of the Roman churches dedicated to Saint Peter, bitterly deriding his successful competitor at Volterra as being of rustic extraction.[29] Paolo did not entrust the tomb to Cosini and the result is decidedly conventional and ungainly compared to Raffaello's tomb (Figures 9, 2).

The lost contract cited by Riccobaldi in 1531—still unrecovered—must have been a new agreement with Cosini, but this almost certainly confirmed most of the slightly earlier contract with Giovannino. Although some aspects of the 1529 contract are problematic, it lists many salient elements of the finished tomb such as the two lateral saints and the IC + XS sign in a sunburst. The projected width, seven *braccia*, is close to the actual San Lino tomb. The 1529 document also states that two "mozi" are to replace two eagles; it has been plausibly argued that this term, probably meaning half-figures or boys (mozzi), refers to the two genii holding the epitaph in the tomb as executed.[30] The reference to a "modello" by the contractor "Giovannino," either a finished drawing or a modeled relief, explains the selective description of the contract, which neglects to mention the effigy. This "contract," it should be added, may be merely a draft of the actual, misplaced agreement, according to d'Amico, or else a kind of memorandum penned for Mario's records.[31]

The identity of "Giovannino" is a problem that leads us to the more general question of possible contributions to the San Lino monument by hands other than Cosini's. Recently, Del Bravo has discounted Cosini's role in the lower section including the putti and one of the pilasters.[32]

The name "Giovannino" is too vague to be identified positively with any historical figure, let alone one whose carving style is known. D'Amico's theory that he might have been Montorsoli (the presumed author of Mario's tomb) is, despite Roberto P. Ciardi's objections, tenable.[33] Dalli Regoli argued that he might have been the "Giovanni da Fiesole" who assisted Cosini in Genoa, and who in turn seems to be identical with Giovanni di Sandro—the supplier of much of the marble for the new sacristy in San Lorenzo, and much later an assistant to the sculptor Ordoñez, at Carrara.[34] A corollary of this plausible hypothesis is that the Raffaello Maffei commission might have been transferred from one acquaintance to another. While no traces of Giovanni di Sandro's handiwork can be identified with certainty, it has been claimed that he carved the architecture and that Cosini carved the four figures of the north portal of the Villa Fassolo in Genoa in 1532.[35] The stiffness and dryness of these four figures could indicate partial intervention by di Sandro.

The carving, motifs, and articulation of the major parts of the Maffei tomb are thoroughly characteristic of Cosini. They are extremely close to the altarpiece with four figures in relief at nearby Montenero (Figure 11), which Cosini carved immediately prior to the Maffei tomb (see below).[36]

Since Cosini had, by Paolo Riccobaldi's account, almost completed the Maffei tomb by November 1531, he may have replaced "Giovannino" at an early date, perhaps as early as the summer of 1529. It could be argued that the rather bare arch and basement pilasters, which detract from the harmony of the

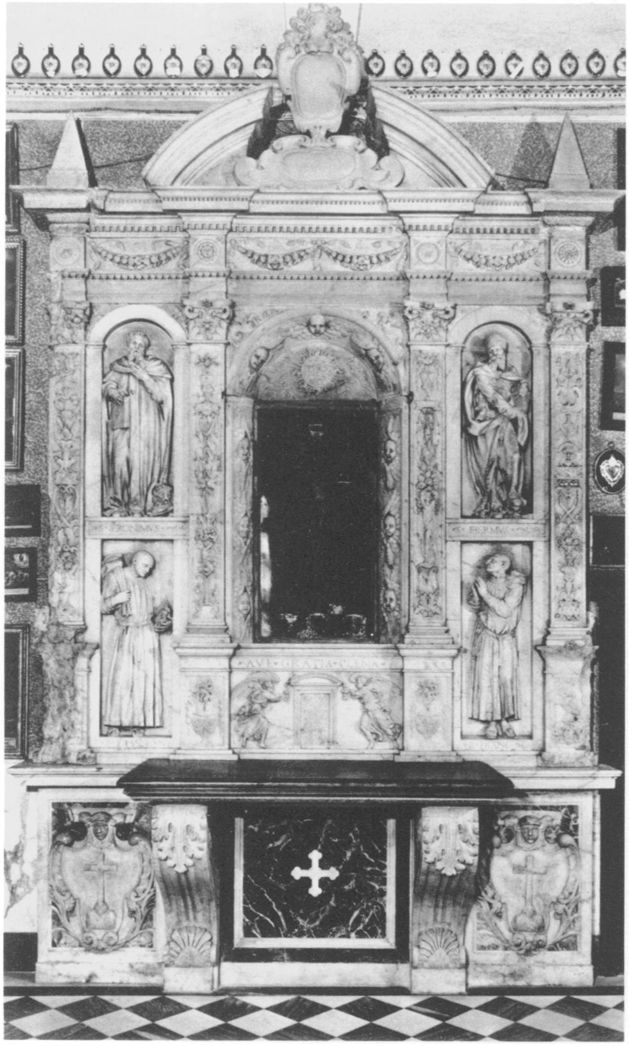


Figure 11. Silvio Cosini. Altarpiece, 1529–30. Marble. Livorno, Montenero, Santuario (photo: Università degli Studi di Pisa, Instituto di Storia dell'Arte)

whole, were fashioned by "Giovannino" and reutilized by Cosini. But these elements could easily reflect the break during Cosini's work on the tomb, or even an attempt on his part to imitate the stark vocabulary of Michelangelo's new sacristy.

Vasari's account and the available documents tend to discourage the view that Cosini was assisted on this tomb, and the ascription of parts of it to Stagio Stagi by earlier scholars acquainted with Incontri's letter is unfounded.[37] Dalli Regoli argued that the mask and the putto on the right side of the epigraph are by Cosini while the corresponding elements on the left side are by an assistant, possibly Montorsoli;[38] this is a subtle distinction. In the right-hand plaque Cosini's feathery touch crisply defines plumes, curls, and striations; in the left-hand plaque the relation of head to shoulder is more awkward and the forms are relatively inert and dull, even where a drill was employed. But Dalli Regoli's dichotomy between the graphic and modeled character of these two halves may go too far. A sharp contrast between the poses and energy of the two putti was surely intentional, as the analogous pair on the Sannazaro tomb in Naples (1537) makes abundantly clear.[39] Although Maffei wrote the epigraph in 1532, these lateral plaques might have been carved in an earlier rather than a later stage of work. The design of both panels must be Cosini's, and if that on the left does not ripple with energy it may simply be because Cosini executed it with less attention.

The last part of the tomb to be carried out, the stuccos at the top, was long considered a later addition, but has recently been ascribed to Cosini himself.[40] The stuccos of the Villa Fassolo and over the Andrea Doria tomb in San Matteo, in Genoa, and the bizarre stucco grotesques at Montughi outside Florence, executed for a future secretary of Cosimo I de' Medici,[41] all show affinities with the stuccos over the Maffei tomb, and together these works establish Cosini's considerable skill as a modeler, even if they are too diverse in kind to prove the ascription of the bust.

The difficulties that Mario Maffei experienced were avoided by the Florentine patron of Cosini's altarpiece for the Umiliati at Montenero (Figure 11). This was completed in May 1530, a year and two days after the contract. Cosini received a total of 225 ducats, paid in the form of an advance of 40 ducats and quarterly installments, one of 16¼ and three of 56¼ ducats. The terms of the contract recall those of the agreements for the Raffaello Maffei tomb, and refer to "vno modello" in the hands of the prior, but they also bound Cosini to land the pieces on the beach at Livorno and to install them. It was stipulated that two masters would estimate the finished work, and Cosini's salary then be increased or decreased accordingly. In his 1530 receipt of payment, Cosini consented to allow two years for this sentence to be delivered, since the Spanish troops prevented two sculptors (unnamed) from leaving Florence.[42]

There are two contemporary references to Raffaello Maffei's visage in Volterra. Riccobaldi's 1531 letter cited above provides a terminus ante quem for the face of the effigy and, by inference, for the Metropolitan's bust. In another passage, hitherto overlooked, Mario wrote to his adoptive son Riccobaldi on July 18, 1529: "Quello della sepoltura manda a chiedere denari, non mi giova fare pacti chiari de paghamenti che tre volte l'a dimandati innanzi. Non so che cosa si habbi mandato costa su vorrebbe la impronta per far el viso. Non so come si fara" (The man doing the tomb sends to ask for money; it scarcely behooves me to be clear about the terms of payment

Figure 12. Medal of Raffaello Maffei. Central Italian, after 1522. Bronze, diam. 39 cm. London, British Museum (photo: courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

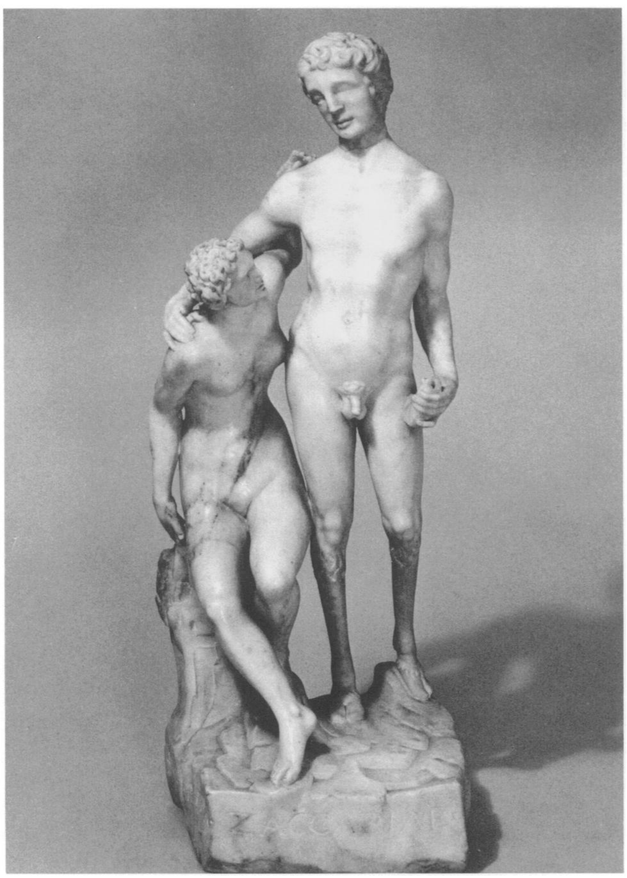


Figure 13. Zaccaria Zacchi (Italian, 1473–1522). *Nymph and Satyr.* Alabaster, H. 54.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964, 64.101.1443

since he's already asked me three times for an advance [or, "for three advances"]. I don't know what has been sent on up there, [he'd] like the mask so as to make the face. I don't know how things will turn out).[43] One might argue that the "quello" of this letter is the "Giovannino" who had signed a contract six months earlier and that the "viso" is the Museum's bust, with "Giovannino" its author. But the available evidence is too slight to prove or disprove such inferences. As we saw, it is very possible that Cosini had been engaged by this date. The word "face" in this context seems likely to refer to the face of the tomb, the project for which Cosini was demanding payment, and "head" was the more usual term for a bust.

The Metropolitan Museum's bust was probably designed to serve as a record of Raffaello's features for the Maffei family and visitors to their grandiose palace in the center of Volterra. Familiar with art in Rome, Mario probably thought a funeral mask inadequate to commemorate his brother. The cast taken from the face would have been preserved but not displayed. The early history of the bust is, however, entirely unknown. Niccolò Maffei, one of the last descendants of Raffaello and director of the Museo Guarnacci in the middle of the last century, was involved in the art market.[44] The original functions served by the chambers of the Maffei palace, now divided for commercial use, have never been studied. The bust presumably adorned the niche or table of a large reception room, like other commemorative busts of the Early and High Renaissance. For example, there is a record of an earlier head or bust of the Florentine humanist Carlo Marsuppini, probably cast by Desiderio da Settignano, informally sitting upon a desk in Marsuppini's study after his death.[45]

The bust rather than the tomb may have been consulted for a posthumous medal of Raffaello Maffei, in which the wrinkles of the neck have the same pattern and emphasis as in the terracotta (Figure 12). This timid work, the reverse of which shows a schematic view of Volterra—or "Otonia," its early name—may someday prove to be a work of the local sculptor (and hydraulic engineer) Zaccaria Zacchi, father of the Giovanni who had appealed to Riccobaldi for the Mario Maffei tomb commission. A putative early work of Zacchi's, the terracotta *Christ in Pietà* in the Volterra Pinacoteca, exhibits a vigorous handling close to the Sienese Iacopo Cozzarelli (and remote from the Metropolitan's bust). Zacchi probably entered the Roman art world on the coattails of the Maffei. His only signed small sculpture is the *Nymph and Satyr,* dated 1506, in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 13).[46] Jacopo Sansovino had little to fear from Zacchi, his unsuc-

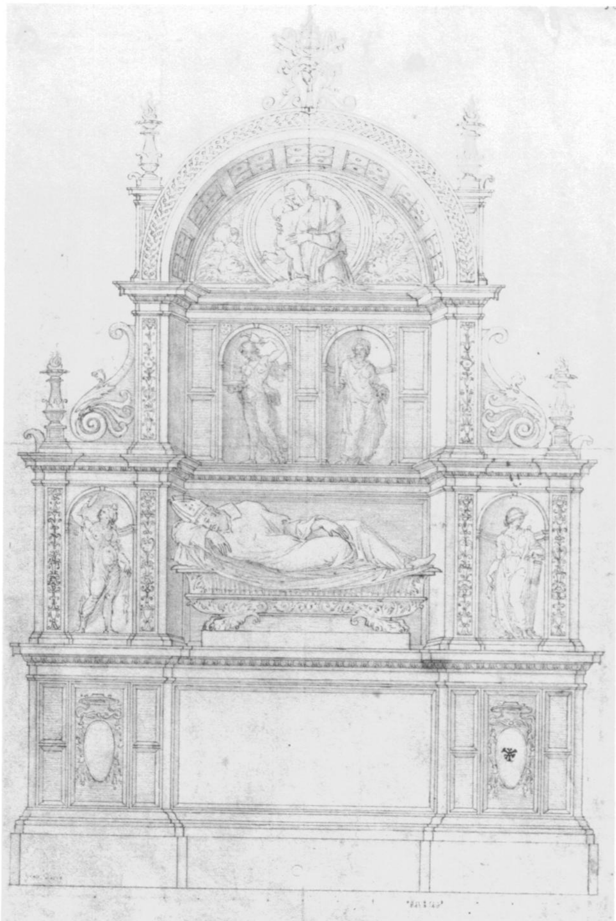


Figure 14. Andrea Sansovino. Study for a tomb monument, ca. 1513–15. Pen and ink on paper, 40 × 24.2 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 2260 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

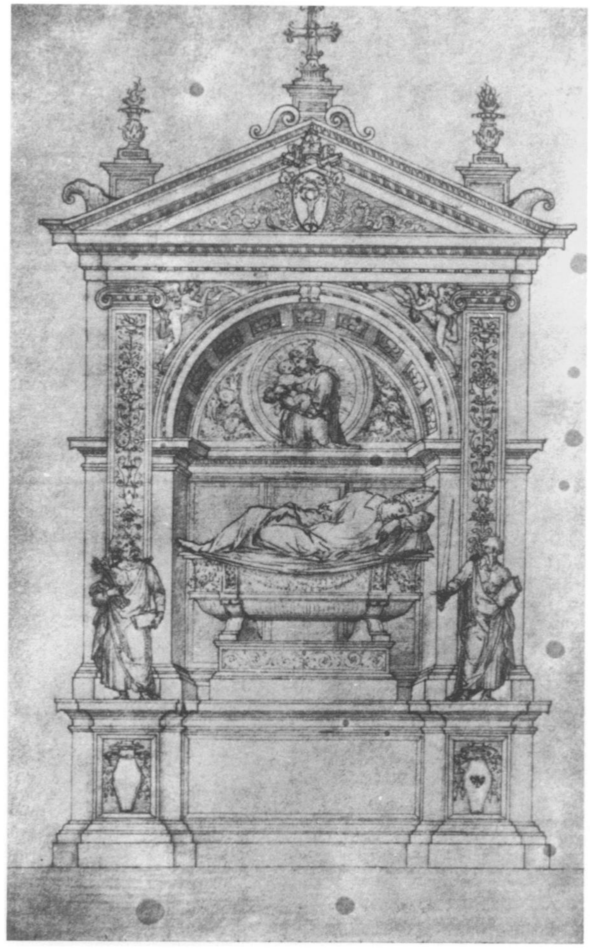


Figure 15. Andrea Sansovino. Study for a tomb monument, ca. 1515. Pen and ink on paper. Formerly Weimar, Burgmuseum

cessful rival in the contest held that same year to produce an imitation of the *Laocoön*, even though Zacchi was fashionable. His *Nymph and Satyr* reflects the dainty twisting poses and solid, top-heavy contours peculiar to a series of sophisticated classicized drawings of this period, once ascribed to Peruzzi and now given to Jacopo Ripanda.[47]

How was the distinctive design of the tomb composed? It is essentially a simplification of the scheme of Sansovino's Sforza and Basso della Rovere tombs, which Mario Maffei had explicitly selected as the pattern for the new tomb by 1528 (Figure 10).[48] Although Cosini could have pared down the Sansovino design on his own, he may well have been aided in this process by access to Sansovino's early solutions for these tombs, which seem to be recorded in two drawings, one in London and one formerly at Weimar (Figures 14, 15).[49] A second Sansovino drawing in London for another project presents a radically different scheme (Figure 16).[50] Both the Volterran tomb and the first London drawing allot an ample arch, fully twice the width of the lateral bays, to a reclining effigy. At this stage Sansovino conceived the tomb as a sort of wall sheathing, an approach closer to the Raffaello Maffei tomb than to the finished Santa Maria del Popolo tombs themselves. The Weimar drawing shows an increase in solidity but the vertical elements are still pilasters. Sansovino subsequently effected many alterations, most likely in accord with his probable supervisor, Bramante. As executed, the Roman tombs became more massive, with four columns supporting a true triumphal arch. Sansovino also added a socle zone between the main and the basement registers, richer swag and tendril ornamentation, and a heavy base for the sarcophagus. Two Virtues along with Christ and two angels adorn the uppermost cornice of the Roman tombs—a rather busy device to indicate that the slumbering cardinals await awakening into eternal life. These cardinals are cramped by a narrower arch than is found in the drawings,

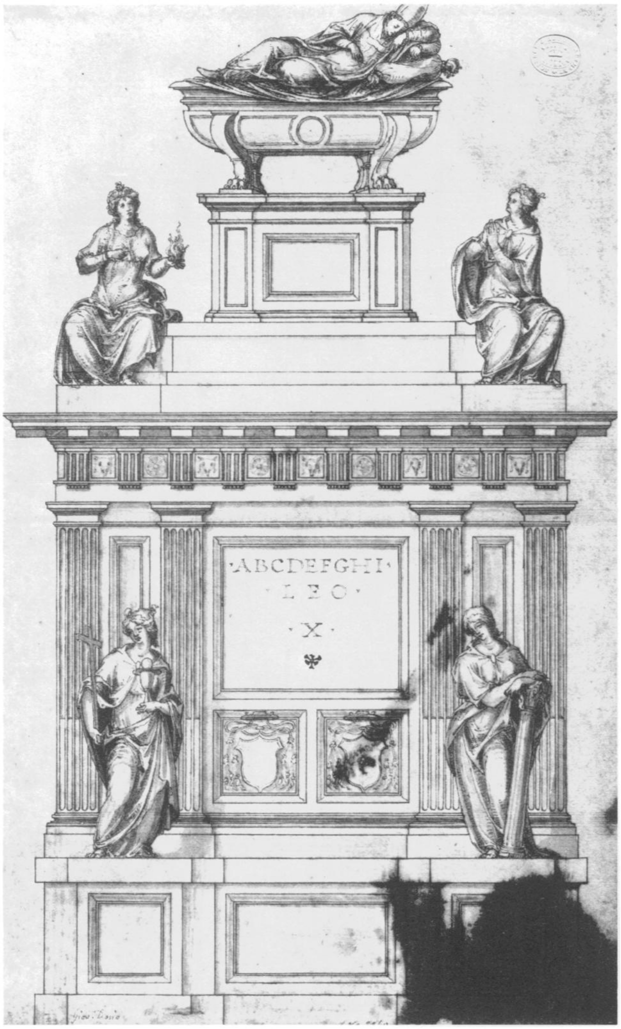


Figure 16. Andrea Sansovino. Study for the tomb monument of a cardinal. Pen and ink on paper, 37.1 × 25.1 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 8621 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

although the proportions of the figures to the architecture remain the same. In both drawings the effigy's head rests in the crook of the elbow, but in the Sforza tomb the head rests upon the hand.

These additions were not adopted by Cosini. The similarity betwen Cosini's tomb and the Sansovino drawings seems unlikely to derive simply from a common Tuscan background. Sansovino himself allowed more space around the effigy in his later Manzi tomb. Moreover, a drawing for a tomb in the Uffizi that is ascribed to Sansovino and would therefore predate Cosini's design shows an effigy similar to that of Maffei: a man in a scholar's cap, reading, one arm resting upon a pillow, the far leg crossed, and the whole body swept by one piece of drapery (Figure 17).[51]

Sansovino's formula for the Basso and Sforza tombs seems to have grown more popular with every year the Julius II tomb was delayed, and an upper-middle-level cleric such as Mario Maffei must have been susceptible to its appeal. He was certainly in a position to know of Sansovino's initial ideas. The probable date of these tombs, 1507, coincides with the year Mario was appointed head of the Fabbrica of Saint Peter's. (In 1520, after Raphael's death, he was charged with supervising the completion of the Villa Madama decorations.)[52] Nor was Andrea Sansovino's name unknown at Volterra. In 1501, contemporary with Sansovino's important group of the *Baptism of Christ* for the Florence Baptistery, the sculptor carved a marble font for the Volterra Baptistery (Figure 18). In 1499, the board of the local Monte Pio, the same institution that Raffaello Maffei helped to found, set up a bank account for the font project.[53]

The genesis of the effigy itself is a more complicated question. For Dalli Regoli, this figure rejects previous tradition, especially the slumbering cardinals of the Basso and Sforza tombs, and was devised with reference to both Michelangelo's final ideas for the Julius II tomb and to Etruscan tomb sculpture, one of Michelangelo's sources.[54] This view is essentially correct. The effigy of Julius II involved the study of

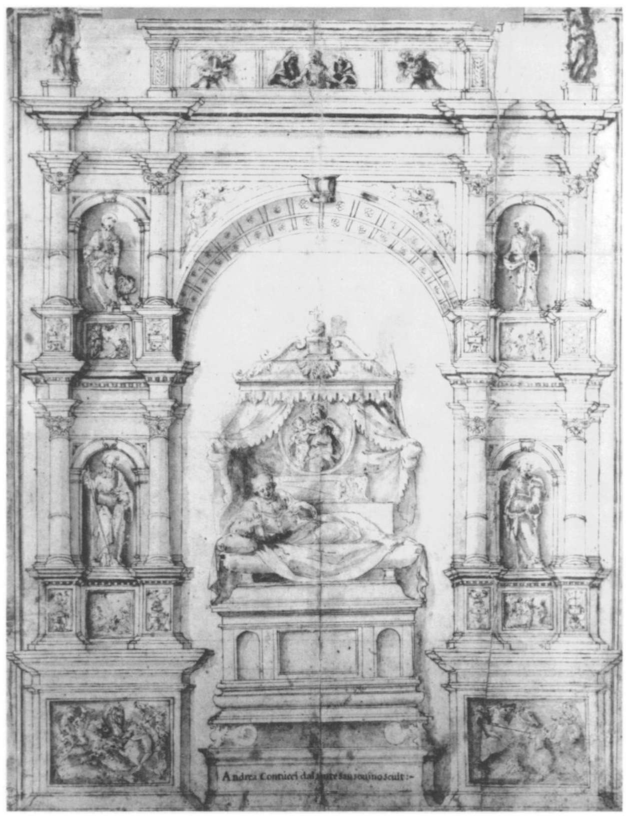


Figure 17. Ascribed to Andrea Sansovino. Study for a tomb monument, ca. 1508. Pen and ink on paper, 60 × 46.2 cm. Florence, Gabinetto Disegni et Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. no. 142A (photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Florence)

Figure 18. Andrea Sansovino. Baptismal Font, 1500–1501. Marble. Volterra, San Giovanni (photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Pisa)

antique sepulchral imagery and it established a new type of reclining figure, one which is awake, if drowsy, and faces forward. The influence of the Julius tomb derives force from Cosini's close connection with Michelangelo, from the near contemporaneity of the two projects, and from the fact (noted by Dalli Regoli) that the papal effigy was carved by Tommaso Boscoli, an associate of Cosini in the New Sacristy.[55] Cosini evidently developed the stiff rectangular contour of the figure and the bare, flat support from this design. Surely the supple and attenuated *Allegories* of the New Sacristy and the designs for river gods of the preceding five years also entered into Cosini's thinking. The analogy to Etruscan urns, a source that also seems to lie behind the *Night* of the New Sacristy, is undeniable and profound. Etruscan figures offer precedents for the crossed legs, the banderole, and the hands that point or hold an object, whether a patera or a banderole. Etruscan urns were certainly accessible: the excavation of one of the shallow tombs abundant near Volterra, reported in 1466, must have been one of many discoveries, and the sculptor Zaccaria Zacchi even reported discovering a Roman necropolis with bronzes near Moscona at a later date.[56] Raffaello Maffei dealt with the history of ancient Tuscany in his encyclopedia.[57] The detached glance, uncompromising verism, and even the crisp modeling of the Maffei bust could reflect close study of Etruscan or Roman portraits, since these characteristics occur in an exceptional terracotta votive bust of the first century B.C. from Cerveteri (Figure 19).[58]

But the potential of the relaxed, composed figures of Sansovino's tombs was not lost on Cosini. The evolution of the recumbent tomb figure in High Renaissance Rome seems so peculiar that one must allow for the possibility that important tombs or statues have been destroyed. From the available evidence it has been inferred that the motive of reclining poets or scholars first emerged in woodcuts, widespread especially in France, and was then taken up in two major Spanish tombs. These or similar figures would have been seen by Andrea Sansovino during his decade-long sojourn in Portugal, and Sansovino was the first to present the motif in Rome, where he returned in 1502, in the very two tombs that later caught Mario Maffei's eye.[59] The obvious affinity in pose between the reclining prelates of early cinquecento tombs and the famous woodcut of the recumbent nymph on the "Panton Tokadi" page of the

Figure 19. Etruscan votive portrait from Cerveteri, 1st century B.C. Terracotta, H. 33 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia (photo: Soprintendenza Arch. Etruria Meridionale)

Hypnerotomachia Polyphili may not be entirely casual. Sansovino apparently devised his sleeping figures with reference to the most elegant Classical prototypes available, the flexuous statues of sleeping Ariadne and the bacchantes of sarcophagus reliefs.[60] If the Santa Maria del Popolo tombs quicken few pulses today, in their own time they provided a welcome alternative to a long succession of rigid figures laid upon biers—an alternative backed by Classical authority and more orderly in appearance than the Spanish figures. In one of the Spanish effigies a young noble reads from an open breviary in his right hand, but in Italy the anecdotal attribute was de-emphasized, by Sansovino as well as by Michelangelo. The realistic possibilities of the conceit would later be explored by Francesco da Sangallo in his figure of Bishop Angelo Marzi (ca. 1545), who wears his age less comfortably than his Etruscan counterparts as if the Last Trump has caught him after a sleepless night.[61]

Cosini did adopt elements of the pattern established by Sansovino. Like the Basso and Sforza effigies, Maffei rests on one elbow, holds the opposing hand near his raised knee, and has books by his pillow. But the disparity stems largely from Cosini's exploitation of a diverse aspect of antique art with a mentality alien to Sansovino's. Cosini recognized and extended Michelangelo's stroke of genius by adopting the alert attitude, the portrait realism, and even the intimacy of Roman and Etruscan sarcophagi and urn covers in the equivalent modern form. While the elaborately robed figure of Maffei could never be mistaken for one of his distant ancestors, when it is compared with contemporaneous tomb effigies we find that Cosini chose to release Maffei from an affected pose and endowed him with a severe dignity that reflects his philosophy.

Cosini's effigy of Raffaello Maffei influenced three tombs that all date to 1536 or not long after: that of Matteo Corte, designed by Niccolò Tribolo and executed by Antonio Lorenzi with Pierino da Vinci, and that of the jurist Filippo Decio by Stagio Stagi—both in the Camposanto, Pisa—as well as that of the cleric Angelo Lancini by Montorsoli in Arezzo.[62] Cosini avoided the two extremes of harsh naturalism and heroic generalization represented by the Corte, Decio, and Lancini tombs. That the Maffei tomb exerted no wider influence does not alter the fact that Cosini achieved something new. Cosini allowed a recumbent effigy to express its personality unhindered by trivial devices, and he made that personality the animating principle of the tomb. In hindsight, the bust may be read as Cosini's initial attempt to grasp and to project that personality, penetrating behind the mere cast from the face made available to him. The wrinkles, the glance, the furrowed brow, the strands of hair enliven the face of the bust with a mobile expression as they enhance the structure of the head.

The modern wish for some sort of contact with the personality represented by a monument, beyond the mortal shell, is addressed less often and less successfully in cinquecento sculpture than one might expect. Ironically, Raffaello Maffei rejected the promotion of magnificence in his time, and he took a dim view of tomb monuments, admiring instead the bare tombs of the early saints and subscribing to the stoical view that "the whole earth is the tomb of the wise."[63] Raffaello's tomb sprang in part from his brother's ambitions, but Mario managed to obtain an eloquent image of the man. The phrase "Απνοως Πνεω" (Without breath, I respire) on the front of the casket must allude as much to the afterlife of Maffei's thoughts in the minds of men as to the immortality of his soul.

NOTES

1. MMA, Gift of Edwin L. Weisl Jr. and Barbara Weisl, 1992, 1992.175.

2. Letter to the author of April 5, 1987.

3. Gigetta Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister: Silvio Cosini e il suo ruolo nella scultura toscana del primo cinquecento* (Lecce, 1991) pp. 17–24, 45–50; John F. d'Amico, "The Raffaello Maffei Monument in Volterra: Small-town Patronage in the Renaissance," in *Supplementum Festivum: Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, J. Hankins, J. Monfasani, F. Purnell Jr., eds. (Binghamton, 1987) pp. 469–489. A useful summary with many good photographs is the relevant chapter by Dalli Regoli in Roberto P. Ciardi, G. Dalli Regoli, F. Lessi, *Scultura del '500 a Volterra* (Volterra, 1988) unpaginated.

4. Harold Acton, *The Pazzi Conspiracy: The Plot Against the Medici* (London, 1979) pp. 61, 76; Enrico Fiumi, *L'Impresa di Lorenzo de' Medici contro Volterra (1472)* (Florence, 1948) pp. 54–55. After the execution, Mario, on behalf of Raffaello and their widowed mother, named Giovanni Seghieri their agent in legal business (Archivio di Stato, Florence, Notarile Antecosimiano [hereafter ASF, NA], g.697, Michele Guardavilli, fols. 104, 105v, 112v–113). Seghieri, himself a Scriptor of Apostolic Briefs and Raffaello's uncle, had approved of Lorenzo's 1472 war on Volterra (Fiumi, *L'Impresa*, p. 211).

5. See Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men. The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1990) p. 239, for Gherardo. For the Maffei's careers, see, besides the studies of d'Amico, Pio Paschini, "Una famiglia di curiali: I Maffei di Volterra," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 7 (1953) pp. 337–376, and Luigi Pescetti, "Mario Maffei (1463–1537)," *Rassegna volterrana* 6 (1932) pp. 65–91.

6. See William E. Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo: The Genius as Entrepreneur* (Cambridge/New York, 1994), pp. 93–95, 123–124.

7. Hill, *Corpus*, no. 797, p. 207, pl. 131; Ulrich Middeldorf and Dagmar Stiebral, *Renaissance Medals and Plaquettes* (Florence, 1983) cat. no. 15.

8. Cf. Volterra, Archivio Storico Comunale, A nera 53, passim. (It is unclear when this usage began; Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, p. 2, fails to note the public application of the emblem.) Similar crosses, and rhombi with the "yhs" symbol inscribed in flaming circles, decorate the walls next to the effigies of the Santa Maria del Popolo tombs; see George H. Huntley, *Andrea Sansovino: Sculptor and Architect of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1935) fig. 38.

9. A thermoluminescence test conducted by Daybreak/Archeometric Laboratory Services in 1995 yielded the date range of 1535–1715 for the last firing of the bust.

10. This form seems unusual in a bust of this date but it can be paralleled in medals. Cf. George F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals before Cellini*, 2 vols. (London, 1930) II, nos. 482, 543, 612, 1075.

11. Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, p. 22.

12. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, G. Milanesi, ed., 9 vols. (Florence, 1878–85) IV, pp. 482–483; Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, p. 16. Cosini may have had a special skill in this line. His taste for the macabre, extending to black magic (Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV, p. 483), has been discussed by Carlo Del Bravo, "Silvio e la magia," *Artista* (1992) pp. 3ff. For the position of Capponi in society, see Humphrey C. Butters, *Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence, 1502–1519* (Oxford, 1985) pp. 181, 207, 231, 297.

13. John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome* (Baltimore/London, 1983), pp. 82–83, 86 (also for the precarious 1529–30 political situation).

14. Paschini, "Una famiglia di curiali," pp. 364–365. Paolo Riccobaldi returned property that Raffaello had bought for the Cathedral to its former owner, on Sept. 16 1523, "in domo olim dicti domini Raphaelis," a house distinct from Mario's palace (ASF, NA, 6711, Agostino Falconcini, c.26v).

15. Allan Marquand, *Giovanni Della Robbia* (Princeton, 1914) cat. no. 39, pp. 46–47; Enzo Carli, *Volterra nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento* (Pisa, 1978) p. 87, fig. 84. For the convent, see Benedetto Falconcini, *Vita del buon servo di Dio Raffaello Maffei detto il Volterrano* (Rome, 1722) p. 46.

16. See *Priorista volterrana dal 1445 al 1643*, Biblioteca Guarnacci, Volterra [hereafter BGV], 5674, fols. 12, 15. For the Monte Pio, see the section of this title in Annibale Cinci, *Dall'Archivio di Volterra: Memorie e Documenti* (Volterra, 1885), and Mario Bocci, "Il 'Monte Pio,'" in *Banche e banchieri a Volterra nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento*, M. Luzzati and A. Veronese, eds. (Pisa, 1993) pp. 223ff.

17. See Kathleen Weil-Garris and J. F. d'Amico, "The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu*," in *Studies in the History of Italian Art and Architecture 15th through 18th Centuries*, H. A. Millon, ed. (Rome, 1980) pp. 45–123. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, p. 82, gave no date for the marriage of Antonio Maffei to Caterina di Bartolomeo Cortesi, but Antonio received her dowry on July 31, 1471, in Florence (BGV, Pergamene della Badia, box 23, *sub datum*). For the place of these two families in their local settings, see also Giovanni Fioravanti, "La Cultura in Valdelsa al tempo di Callimaco," and Paolo Viti, "La Valdelsa e l'Umanesimo: I Cortesi," in *Callimaco Esperiente poeta e politico del '400: convegno internazionale di studi (San Gimignano, 18–20 ottobre 1985)*, G. C. Garfagnini, ed. (Florence, 1987) pp. 218–245, 247–297.

18. Conveniently printed in Vincenzo Farinella, *Archeologia e pittura a Roma fra Quattrocento e Cinquecento. Il caso di Jacopo Ripanda* (Turin, 1992) pp. 205–206.

19. For the palace, see d'Amico, "Maffei Monument," pp. 472–476. Mario derived 500 scudi a year from benefices until 1510 and twice this sum after 1524 (Paschini, "Una famiglia di curiali," pp. 359, 370) at a time when revenues of 1,000 or 1,200 were common for higher prelates. Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property 1492–1563* (Berkeley, 1985) pp. 19, 39ff.

20. For this tomb, see Ciardi, in Ciardi, Dalli Regoli, Lessi, *Scultura del '500*; d'Amico, "Maffei Monument," pp. 487–488 and nn. 67–68; Birgit Laschke, *Fra Giovan Angelo Montorsoli. Ein Florentinischer Bildhauer des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1994) pp. 23–24. Ciardi accepts Montorsoli's partial authorship, Laschke denies it. D'Amico rightly allows both that the "Giovanni scarpellino" who authored a Maffei chapel design (cited in two letters of 1536) might have been the contractor of 1529 and that he might have been Montorsoli.

21. "Ideoque apud virgines sacras [scil., corpus suum reliquit]. Intus autem in facie Jesu Christi nomen graeci hoc modo scriptum reperirj IX + ΞX, in fine vero eiusdem nominis caracterem, quo fermius signandi modo ipse uti solet impressum apparuere, quamobrem caedere sic esse" (Therefore he chose burial at the place of the holy virgins. Below, at the front, [he wished] the name of Jesus Christ to be written in Greek letters thus: IX + ΞX, and at the end his own name, in the form in which it was always published, seemingly carved). D'Amico ("Maffei Monument," p. 477) mentions no will for Raffaello. That which Falconcini, *Vita*, pp. 207–209, and Paschini, "Una famiglia di curiali," p. 368, call Raffaello's will is really the first of two codicils. The will of June 14, 1516, was followed by two codicils dating to the next day (once more redacted in the observant convent of San Girolamo) and to Jan. 23, 1520. (These acts are in BGV, Pergamene della Badia, box 23, *sub datibus*; after reading these papers I found that they were cited by Domenico Moreni, *Memorie storiche fiorentine. Spogli*, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, ms. Moreni 30, fol. 262–v.) The first codicil contains the passage quoted above; the second codicil confirms San Lino's right to the inheritance.

22. Pescetti, "Mario Maffei," p. 81; d'Amico, "Maffei Monument," p. 477. On Dec. 27, 1522, Liberatore dei Spatari, vicar of the bishop of Volterra (Francesco della Rovere) gave formal permission to celebrate the cult of Blessed Gherardus, "venerated in all Italy, above all in the vicinity of Volterra and in Sicily" (BGV, Pergamene della Badia, box 23, *sub datum*).

23. D'Amico, "Maffei Monument," p. 478 and n. 36; Peruzzi's father came from Volterra.

24. Falconcini, *Vita*, pp. 214–215; d'Amico, "Maffei Monument," p. 486 and n. 61.

25. Mario in Rome wrote to Riccobaldi on Sept. 12, 1532, "La sepultura è a buon porto che è stato in tanto impaccio et spesa che per mille ducati non catrerei in simile labirinto" (BGV, Archivio Maffei [hereafter AM], xlvii.2.1–1°). For a Nov. 1532 remark that may be relevant, see note 27 below. A 1647 deposition made when the San Lino tomb was opened (Falconcini, *Vita*, pp. 19–21) seems to be the source of the claim that Maffei was interred here in 1538 (d'Amico, "Maffei Monument," pp. 487–488). During the restoration of the church in 1989–90 a small mysterious box of black metal was found in a niche in the adjacent sacristy.

26. See d'Amico, "Maffei Monument," pp. 487–488 and nn. 67, 68, and Falconcini, *Vita*, p. 234, for the role of Riccobaldi and his son Giulio, and for a tablet recording Mario's bequest for repairs to the cathedral.

27. See the unremarked letter in BGV, AM, xlvii.2.1–2 (Paolo Riccobaldi in Florence to Mario Maffei in Volterra, Nov. 1, 1532): "Ho inteso della presta che voleva Silvio sopra la nova sepultura, mostra in verita d'esser taccagno, perche m'ha scripto, che haveva facto el disegno, et che lui uerrebbe qua per far mercato meco /o/ che mi aspecterra costi tanto che jo tornassi. Li resposi, che qua non venissi che non haveva capo ad tal faccende, ne ancora mi tornata aspectassi, perche non sapeuo la mia tornata ma che lasciassi el disegno a Julio, et una notula del prezzo, et li tempi de pagamenti, et che Io a' mia tornata la considererei, et che piacendomi che subito glenadui serei [?], si che non accadeva, domandassi denarj, recte me ne scripsi, caute negociabamur." When, twelve days later, Mario declared himself "stucco di quelli stucchi" and asked Riccobaldi to say "come ti riesce la sepultura et siquid offendit" (d'Amico, "Maffei Monument," p. 487 and n. 65), he may thus have meant the new project for his own tomb and not (according to d'Amico) Raffaello's.

28. See the two letters sent by "Giouanni di Zacheria Zacchi scultore" from Bologna and dated May 25 and June 28, 1538, in BGV, AM, 47.2.1–6. The operative passages, in sequence, read: ". . . Siluio Zacchi: cusino mio mia detto che credde che si'abi a farne la sepultura dela bella memoria di mons.or Mario il qual me grave la sua partitta et me ne duole assai di tal mortte et avendosi a far tal sepolturra molto desiderei daver tal cossa per far onorre ala bonta Vostra e dipoi alla patria et a me et se V.S. vora far tal sepultura la prego che me ne diatte auisso per el portator di questa che ritorna in dretto per che li faro dua ouer tre disegni et uederette il mio buonno animo et academddo uero costa aposta" and ". . . se fussi tocho a me la sepultura del vostro mons.or e padron mio: arei fatto Honor alla patria et poi a V.S. e a me: che n'aueuo gran disiderio di una opera tal: et pur se parera alla cortesia sua di tramutarsi lo potra farllo: acio che la cassa de Zacchi li abinno obrigo perpetuo: le m'e bene stato aspra che un contadino di sangue abbi autto tal memoria: et pur orra no finito unna di marmo di mons.or di Panemzia et e posto in S.to Pietro."

29. In 1535 the sculptor sought Mario Maffei's help in obtaining a pension; see R. S. Maffei, *Giovanni di Zaccaria Zacchi scultore volterrano (1512–1565). Piccolo contributo alla storia dell'arte del secolo XVI* (Melfi, 1906) pp. 5–7. For Giovanni, see Carlo Covi, *Zaccaria Zacchi scultore* . . . (Trent, 1982) pp. 71–72.

30. Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, p. 46.

31. This problematic text, which I have not reread, is given by d'Amico, "Maffei Monument," pp. 479–480, n. 43. D'Amico and Dalli Regoli (*Silvius Magister*, p. 17, n. 30) both fail to stress that Cosini and Mario Maffei must have made a new contract.

32. Del Bravo, "Silvio e la magia," pp. 8, 19, n. 9.

33. Ciardi in Ciardi, Dalli Regoli, Lessi, *Scultura del '500*; d'Amico, "Maffei Monument," pp. 480–482, 487–488. One can hardly exclude the possibility that Montorsoli may have been known by this diminutive.

34. Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, pp. 25, 46–47; Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo*, pp. 150–151, 156, 237 n. 106, 138 n. 121.

35. Parma Armani, *Perino del Vaga*, pp. 75–77, figs. 75, 264. Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, p. 24, n. 45, accepts as Cosini's the Genoese stuccos but rejects the chimneypieces—unjustly, I believe.

36. D'Amico, "Maffei Monument," p. 485, citing P. Bacci, with the dubious claim that Mario selected Cosini on the basis of the Montenero shrine.

37. Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV, pp. 482–483; cf. d'Amico, "Maffei Monument," p. 486; Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, pp. 45–46. For Stagi, see Ciardi, Claudio Casini, L. Tongiorgi Tommasi, *Scultura a Pisa tra Quattro e Seicento* (Pisa, 1987) pp. 172–184.

38. Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, p. 50.

39. See Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè, "La prima attività dell'Ammanati scultore," *Paragone* 135 (1961) pp. 11–12, fig. 6, with the proposal that Cosini carved one of the reliefs of this tomb. Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, pp. 22, 49, notes a thematic distinction between the two lateral saints at Volterra.

40. Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, p. 46 (with question).

41. Ascribed to Cosini by Valerio Tesi, "La canonica di San Martino a Montughi a Firenze. Mitografia e modelli letterari nella villa di Francesco Campana," *Studi di Storia dell'Arte* 3 (1992) pp. 121–122, 127, n. 46, pls. 15–23. For the Doria tomb, see Laschke, *Montorsoli*, cat. no. 12, pp. 161, 252, fig. 93.

42. The Montenero contract is mentioned by Miriam Fanucci Lovitch, *Artisti attivi a Pisa fra XIII e XVII secolo (secondo volume)* (Ospedaletto, 1995) p. 369; the artist is not identified as Cosini. For the delivery quittance, see Silvia Taccini Turchi, in Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, pp. 41–44, and P. Vigo, "Il vero autore dell'antico altare di Montenero attribuito a Mino da Fiesole," *Arte e Storia* XVIII.3 (1899) pp. 17–19. Vigo's corrupt text has to be corrected against the original act (ASF, NA, 15492, Giovanni di Francesco da Bibbiena, fols. 28v–29), which is followed (fol. 30–v) by an accord for a *paliotto* for this church. It is unclear if the "modello presente apresso dicto padre priore" of the contract was a drawing or a terracotta (ASF, NA, 15193, Niccolò di Giuliano da Pisa, fols. 76v–78).

43. See BGV, AM, xlvii.2.1. D'Amico, "Maffei Monument," p. 482, n. 51, quotes only the words from "Quello" to "innanzi," and the phrase: ". . . bisogna providere ancora alla sepultura . . ." from another letter in the same packet.

44. On April 15, 1867, the Livornese shipper Tommaso Patet wrote of a "cassone di quadri" then in Maffei's hands and destined for New York, where other pictures had been sold "vantaggiosamente" (BGV, AM, 199).

45. See an inventory drawn up for creditors of his sons on April 8, 1476, which I discuss elsewhere: ASF, NA, 2202, Girolamo Beltramini, no. 22, fol. 5: "j descho da scriuere suvj / j tappetuccio / j testa di messere Carlo piu e suoi librucci da tener contj."

46. See James David Draper, "Sculpture: Renaissance and Later," in *Highlights of the Untermyer Collection of English and Continental Decorative Arts* (New York, 1977) pp. 157–158; Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Bronzes, Other Metalwork, and Sculpture in the Irwin Untermyer Collection* (New York, 1962) pp. xxiv, 16, 51; Covi, *Zacchi*, pp. 34–37. For the medal, see Hill, *Corpus*, no. 1179, pp. 304–305, pl. 195 (unattributed, noting certainty of some link with the Maffei monument). For the terracotta, see F. Lessi, in *La Pinacoteca di Volterra*, A. Paolucci, ed. (Florence, 1989) cat. no. 30, p. 145.

47. Cf. Farinella, *Archeologia e pittura*, figs. 19, 39–40.

48. John Pope-Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture: Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1985) pp. 54–55, 347, 354, with discussion of Bramante's role; Bruce Boucher, *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1991) I, pp. 4–5, 8; see also d'Amico, "Maffei Monument," p. 478.

49. For the London drawing, see Ulrich Middeldorf, "Two Sansovino Drawings," *Burlington Magazine* 64 (1934) pp. 159–164

(still the best analysis); Peter Ward-Jackson, *Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogues: Italian Drawings, Volume I, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (London, 1979) cat. no. 311, p. 147. A series of dots along the base indicates the precise scale. For the Weimar drawing, see Huntley, *Andrea Sansovino*, pp. 97–98, fig. 71.

50. This is usually said to be a study for a tomb for Leo X; see Middeldorf, "Two Drawings," pp. 164–165; Ward-Jackson, *Victoria and Albert Museum*, cat. no. 312, pp. 147–148; Ian A. Wardropper, in *Sculptors' Drawings of Six Centuries*, exh. cat., C.T. Eisler, ed. (New York, 1981) cat. no. 6, n.p. But since the vestments are a cardinal's, cardinals' hats crown the two blank shields, and the draft for the epitaph has Leo's name in the nominative case, this would appear to be the project for a tomb of an unidentified cardinal dedicated by Leo X, analogous to the Santa Maria del Popolo tombs. Since writing, this has been observed by Charles Davis, "Jacopo Sansovino and the Engraved Memorials of the Cappella Badoer-Giustiniani in San Francesco dell Vigna in Venice," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3rd ser., XLV (1994 [1995]) pp. 137–139.

51. Gabinetto dei Disegni, 142 a: Licia Collobi Ragghianti, *Il Libro de' Disegni del Vasari*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1979) 1, p. 107, no. 326, II, fig. 172. The commission is unidentified. The statues seem to show, above, Saint John the Evangelist and another Apostle and, below, Saint Paul and Saint Peter(?); both bases have reliefs with equestrian combats. The rectangular Pietà with angels over the center of the entablature must have been crowned by a lunette with sculptures of the Resurrected Christ or of the Virgin and Child (this part of the drawing is missing).

52. D'Amico, "Maffei Monument," pp. 471–472; Paschini, "Una famiglia di curiali," p. 357 (Mario as "aeditus" of the Vatican); Christoph L. Frommel, "Die Peterskirche unter Papst Julius II. im Lichte neuer Dokumente," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1976) pp. 93–94, 101; Renato Lefevre, *Villa Madama* (Turin, 1973) pp. 107–119.

53. Huntley, *Andrea Sansovino*, pp. 48–49, 108, fig. 30. For the Monte Pio, see note 16 above. For the unpublished account, see ASCV, T nera 3, fol. 38v (dated Jan. 14, 1499–1500, at the top of the page):

El Battesimo in San' Giovanni di Volterra de havere £ CCLXXVI .1 si accatoreno al tempo della offerta si fece nella processione solenne al tempo dello reverendissimo priore frate Bartolomeo Petri de Melano frate degli Osservanti di San Francescho. E quali s'anno a spendere in fare una fonte da battesimo depositate a Bindo maestro de Monte [as noted on fol. 46 of his records] . . . £ CCLXXVI .1

Annone auuto a'di 15 d'aprile 1501 fl. XXV d'oro in oro larghi da Nicholaio di Giusto d'Antonio di Nardo maestro di Monte. E quali fl. si pagharano agli infrascripti offitialj sopra el batesimo sono

Giouanni d'Antonio Zac[c]hi / Piero di s. Benedetto [dei Broccardi?] / Nello Inghirami—offitiali sopra decto batesimo

Annone hauuto paghati a soprasscripti da Nicolaio di Giusto Nardi maestro di Monte come appare al suo libro a'uscita a c. 52 in due partite £ centosette s. quattuordici d. otto cioe . . . £ 107 s. 14 d. 8

54. Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, pp. 20–21.

55. Ibid., p. 21. For the new sacristy, see note 6 above. Claudia Echinger-Maurach, *Studien zu Michelangelos Juliusgrabmal*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1992) I, pp. 373–385, argues that the lower story of the papal tomb was fully installed during the campaign of 1533.

56. For the use of Etruscan sources and the developing awareness of Tuscany's ancient past, see Kathleen Weil-Garris Posner, "Comments on the Medici Chapel and Pontormo's Lunette at Poggio a Cajano," *Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973) pp. 641–649; Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, pp. 21–22, 32, n. 40; John R. Spencer, "Volterra, 1466," *Art Bulletin* 48 (1966) pp. 95–96, 468. Zaccaria Zacchi recounted his find to Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (Bologna, 1550) p. 56v.

57. Raffaello Maffei, *Commentariorum Urbanorum Libri XXVIII* (Rome, 1506) pars I, lib. V; Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, p. 45. For Mario as an epigrapher, see Paschini, "Una famiglia du curiali," pp. 361–362; d'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, pp. 86–87.

58. Now in the Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia Rome. See H. Kähler, "Ein Männerkopf aus Caere," *Kunst und das schöne Heim* 51 (1952–53) pp. 251–253; M. Cristofani, *L'arte degli Etruschi: Produzione e consumo* (Turin, 1978) pp. 194–195, fig. 181. This comparison was remarked by Joan Mertens.

59. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, H. W. Janson, ed. (New York, 1964) pp. 81–85; Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Sculpture*, pp. 54–56. See also A. Duran Sanpese and J. Ainaud de Lasarte, *Escultura Gotica Ars Hispaniae* VIII (Madrid, 1956) pp. 330, 338, figs. 316, 329 (tombs of Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Guadalajara, San Gines, and of the Doncel Martin Vazquez de Arce, Siguenza, Cathedral). One later Spanish example is the tomb of the Viceroy of Naples, Ramon Folch de Cardona of ca. 1525; see J. M. Azcarate, *Escultura del siglo XVI* in *Ars Hispaniae* XIII (Madrid, 1958) pp. 24, 27, fig. 10. For more inventive variations, see Annie Cloulas, "La sculpture funéraire dans l'Espagne de la Renaissance: les commandes ecclésiastiques," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 121 (1993) pp. 139–163, esp. pp. 147, 154, figs. 7, 9. See also Janez Höfler, "New Light on Andrea Sansovino's Journey to Portugal," *Burlington Magazine* 134 (1992) pp. 234–238. Yet Sansovino was one source for Jean Mone's Tomb of Ferry Carondolet: Roberto Bartalini, *Le Occasioni del Sodoma. Dalla Milano di Leonardo alla Roma di Raffaello* (Turin, 1996) p. 67, fig. 66.

60. Phyllis P. Bober and Ruth O. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (Oxford/New York, 1986) no. 79, pp. 113–114.

61. Middeldorf, "Portraits by Francesco da Sangallo," *Art Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1938) pp. 128–129; Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Sculpture*, pp. 93, 356.

62. Dalli Regoli, *Silvius Magister*, p. 21 and n. 38, compares only the Decio and Corte tombs, for which see Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, 12 vols. (Milan, 1901–40) X, pt. 2, p. 460, fig. 378, p. 483, fig. 366, and Casini, in Ciardi, Casini, Tommasi, *Scultura a Pisa*, p. 249, fig. 306, p. 252, fig. 313. For Lancini, see Laschke, *Montorsoli*, pp. 23–25, fig. 107.

63. "Viris igitur sapientibus ut in veteri proverbio . . . hoc est omnis terra sepultura": Maffei, *Commentaria*, pars III, lib. XXI, p. 351 ("de cura sepulchrorum & laudandis defunctis"). Maffei even disapproved of the new Saint Peter's; see Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, 1983), p. 227.

The Comte de Toulouse's *Months of Lucas* Gobelins Tapestries: Sixteenth-Century Designs with Eighteenth-Century Additions

Part I

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Among the most spectacular tapestries owned by the Metropolitan Museum are a set of ten pieces, out of an original twelve, known as the *Months of Lucas.* The manufactory is unmistakable, as seven have the name Audran woven into the fabric; Michel Audran was head of an *haute-lisse* (vertical loom) workshop at the Gobelins from 1732 to 1771. The original owner of the set is equally clearly identified by the coat of arms in the upper border of each tapestry (Figure 1). The French royal arms, with the smallest possible indication of illegitimacy (a tiny "bâton péri en barre de gueules"), are surmounted by a count's coronet and encircled by the collars of the orders of the Golden Fleece, Saint Michael, and the Holy Spirit. There is an anchor below and the letter A appears in the four border corners of each tapestry. The man who commissioned the set is thus identified as Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, comte de Toulouse (1678–1737), a legitimized son of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan, who was appointed admiral of France at the age of five. Each tapestry represents a typical occupation of a month, bearing the appropriate sign of the zodiac in the lower border. The two missing months are in the Mobilier National, Paris.[1]

As the set in the Metropolitan Museum was made for a private patron, it is not included in the Gobelins records. It was presumably woven before the death of the comte de Toulouse in 1737 but not begun before Audran took over one of the *haute-lisse* workshops in 1732. Audran started a set of the *Months of Lucas* for Louis XV the following year; five pieces were begun in 1733, two in 1734, and one in 1735, but the remaining four not until 1741 and 1743. Some are recorded as having been on the loom for an unusually long time.[2] Jean Le Febvre, the head of another *haute-lisse* workshop, was also making a set of the *Months of Lucas* between 1732 and 1735.[3] This was presumably the "12 Mois de l'année d'après Lucas Leyde" that was shown to the public in 1736, as reported by the *Mercure de France*: "Le Concours a été fort grand cette année aux Gobelins, pour y voir les Tapisseries exécutées dans cette célèbre Manufacture, exposées à l'occasion de la Fête-Dieu [Corpus Christi]."[4] With so many *haute-lisse* looms actively working on this series at the same time, though existing cartoons may have been moved from one loom to another, it seems very probable that new cartoons were made for some, if not all, of the comte de Toulouse's commission.

Although the borders of this set, with exuberant scrolls and a wealth of naturalistic flowers, reflect the style of the 1730s, the central compositions are clearly

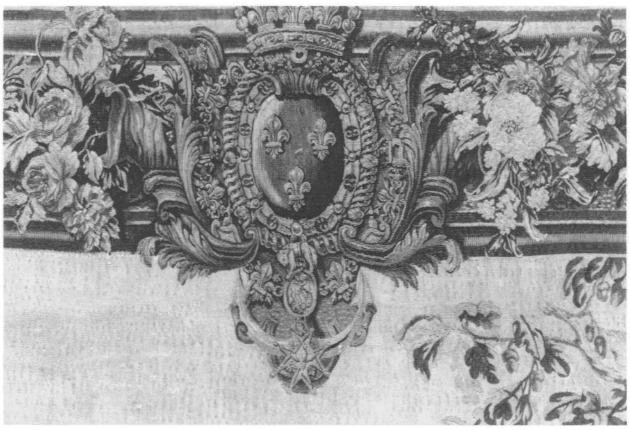

Figure 1. Michel Audran workshop after Pierre-Josse Perrot. Detail of *November* showing the arms of the comte de Toulouse, 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.9

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for Part I of this article begin on page 71; the notes for Part II begin on page 79.

Figure 2. Jean Lefebvre workshop (probably) after a 16th-century Flemish artist. *February*, late 17th century. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 28.6 m square. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of K. T. Keller (photo: The Detroit Institute of Arts)

Figure 3. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *February*, 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.55 × 4.65 m. Paris, Collection du Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)

based on designs from an earlier period. They are, in fact, copied from a sixteenth-century set of tapestries owned by Louis XIV. The description of this set in the 1673 inventory of his furnishings explains the title, *Months of Lucas*, given to the series:

DOUZE MOIS. Une tenture de tapisserie de laine et soye, relevée d'or, fabrique de Bruxelles, dessein de Lucas, représentant les *Douze mois de l'année*, dans une bordure à festons de fleurs et de fruits avec huit camayeux, celuy d'en hault représentant le signe du mois, et les sept autres des bustes et figures de grisaille; contenant 37 aunes de cours sur 2 aunes ½, en douze pièces doublées à plein de toille.[5]

In the list of sets and individual pieces called "Tapisseries de haulte et basse lisse [horizontal looms] rehaussées d'or," it is number 8. The first ten sets are all described as "fabrique de Bruxelles," designed by Raphael, "Lucas," "Jule Romain," Albert Dure, and "Vieux Brugle." The Raphael and Giulio Romano sets can mostly be identified from the descriptions of tapestries known in other versions after designs by these artists, but neither Dürer nor Pieter Bruegel is now thought to have designed tapestries. "Lucas" is Lucas van Leyden, again not a tapestry designer. An artist called "Paul Lucas" is cited in a 1771 document concerning a set of the *Months*, but no artist of this name is known before the nineteenth century.[6]

The compiler of the inventory also gave to "Lucas" a Brussels set of the *Seven Ages of Man*, but the twelve pieces of a *Story of Tobias* are called "dessin de Lucas ou de quelqu'un de ses élèves," and eight *Virtues* were said to be "dessin manière d'Albert et de Lucas," as if the compiler were making attributions rather than copying earlier descriptions.[7] One set of the tapestries with gold has survived, the *Hunts of Maximilian*, number 32 (now in the Louvre); it is ascribed to Dürer in the inventory[8] but is now known to be after designs by Bernard van Orley that were first woven between 1531 and 1533.[9] It thus seems probable that the tapestries attributed to "Lucas" and "Dure" (or "Albert") were in the style of the van Orley workshop and were woven in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The description of number 56 among the tapestries without gold—a set of seven "pièces assorties, représentant quelque chose de l'*Histoire du Roy Priam*"—as "dessein partie gotique partie manière de Lucas et d'Albert,"[10] suggests that a distinction was made between what we should call "medieval" and "renaissance" designs. How "Lucas" and "Albert" were distinguished is impossible to say.[11]

The number of tapestries owned by Louis XIV has been calculated to total 2,600 in 334 sets and some 40-odd individual pieces.[12] But the last royal inventory was taken in 1792 and today the holdings of the Mobilier National cannot compare with those of the royal Garde Meuble. Even in the early inventories some sets were listed as "déchargé," because they had been used as wrapping material for furniture or other tapestries.[13] After the Revolution the sad fate of some of the tapestries is known from documents of 1797. By this date many, "les plus communes," had been sold and the freshest and most modern given to ministers of state. There remained many more, however, described as of no use; they were too old (three or four centuries in some cases), not valuable as works of art because of the bad or even Gothic taste of the designs, had religious or "indecent" subjects, or were duplicates of pieces given to ministers. Buyers, if any were to be found, would be interested only if the value of the metal thread they contained was greater than the purchase price. But if the tapestries were burned at the Paris Mint, the gold and silver so obtained could be used to reduce the governmental deficit or to defray the costs of the Garde Meuble itself, including the wages paid to the staff.[14]

So 18 sets, 190 tapestries, were burned. The documents give every detail: the size of the pieces, the weight and value (both of the gold and silver ingots and of the metal fragments found when the ashes were sifted), the expenses of the operation; the smelters received extra pay for working at night. Number 8 in Louis XIV's inventory, called *Mois originaux*, was burned in the first group, reported on "29 germinal an 5," April 18, 1797; it had probably been classified as in bad taste, since a 1789 inventory had described it as "riche en or, assez bonne mais passée, d'un dessin très médiocre."[15] By this time "Lucas," if remembered at all, was probably no longer recognized as a great master.[16]

Rather belatedly, the artists who made up the council, or governing body, of the Musée Central des Arts (the Louvre) apparently became aware of what was happening at the Garde Meuble. The museum was established to be "la réunion, la plus exquise possible, des productions de l'art dans tous les genres," as well as of objects "qui peuvent concourir à l'histoire chronologique de l'art."[17] Accordingly, at a meeting on June 6, 1797, the council took action:

Il arrête qu'il sera écrit au Ministre de l'intérieur pour lui demander à être autorisé à prendre au gardemeuble plusieurs tapisseries d'après Raphaël, Jules Romain et autres tant de la Manufacture des Gobelins que de celles de Bruxelles et d'Angleterre et pour lui représenter que c'est le seul moyen de sauver d'une ruine totale le superbe établissement des Gobelins en arrachant des mains des fournisseurs des objets qu'ils acquerrent à vil prix et qu'ils exportent dans l'étranger.[18]

The destruction, rather than the sale, of so many superb tapestries, having been authorized by the very ministry to whom the letter was addressed, could obviously not be mentioned.

The response was favorable and on July 6 Citizen Léon Dufourny (an architect member of the council) submitted a list of the tapestries that he thought were necessary for the museum; on January 4, 1798, it could be recorded that 150 tapestries, "qui allaient être vendues et qui sont précieuses à conserver" had been transported to the Louvre. "Elles servent principalement à garnir le grand Salon d'exposition, dont la nudité était choquante quand l'exposition [of contemporary art] était finie."[19] In 1799 an exhibition was held in the courtyard of the "Palais national des sciences et arts" of "tapisseries d'après les grands maîtres des écoles italienne et française exécutées à l'ancienne manufacture de Bruxelles et à celle des Gobelins."[20] It was certainly fortunate that gold thread was seldom used at the Gobelins.

Among the rescued tapestries was a set called *Mois corrigés par Boulogne,* attributed to "Lucas." This was one of the Gobelins copies of the *Mois originaux.* Louis XIV had several such sets; one is described in an addition to his inventory as:

LES DOUZE MOIS. Une tenture de tapisserie de basse lisse de laine et soye, fabrique de Paris, manufacture des Gobelins, dessein de Lucas, représentant les *Douze mois de l'année,* dans un bordure à festons de fleurs et fruits, avec huit camayeux, celuy d'en hault représentant le signe du mois, et les sept autres des bustes et figures de grisaille; contenant 35 aunes de cours, sur 2 aunes ½ de hault, en douze pièces.[21]

The description of the borders, so close to those of number 8, leaves no doubt that the Gobelins weavers copied the sixteenth-century designs exactly; extant Flemish versions of individual pieces confirm the hypothesis.[22]

Fouquet and Colbert, Louis XIV's ministers, each had French sets of the *Months of Lucas.* Fouquet's was of six pieces only, taken over by the king when the owner fell out of favor, and called "fabrique de Paris" in the 1673 inventory; Colbert's was made at the Gobelins, but is known only from a postmortem inventory.[23] The first set made for the king, and thus listed in the records of the manufactory, was woven in 1688–89. By this time Colbert, who had set up the manufactory under the control of his protégé, Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), was dead. His position as *surintendant* of the royal manufactories was taken by his bitter enemy, the marquis de Louvois, who immediately ordered work to be stopped on Le Brun's cartoons, even the *History of the King,* and copies to be made instead of five sets of Brussels tapestries, designed, as was then believed, by deeply respected old masters, Giulio Romano, Dürer, and "Lucas."[24]

Among these Flemish masterpieces was the *Months of Lucas;* after the first set made for the king, others were woven, all on *basse-lisse* looms, exact copies in reverse (mirror images) of the Flemish originals.[25] A somewhat different border was given to a set made between 1712 and 1714, by which time the earlier design must have looked awkward, even "Gothic." This set was made for the princesse de Conti, Louis XIV's daughter by Louise de La Vallière, and consisted of three pieces, two of them wider than the originals and one narrower. The increased width of *April* was obtained by adding some figures from *June* and that of *May* by placing some new trees on both sides.[26]

Such makeshift arrangements were evidently not to the taste of the comte de Toulouse. He must have asked for a new border and for more wide pieces: *February, March, May, June, August, September, November,* and *December* are all enlarged at the sides.[27] For *June* the additions are several sheep lying down on the left and a distant landscape on the right. Similarly, two trees and wider landscapes with some small indistinct figures were enough to enlarge *August,* but the other six *Months* have scenes at the sides with new characters, designed with great care to be in harmony with the original centers. The old borders were replaced by completely up-to-date designs, basically the same as those made for a fourth set of the *Sujets de la Fable* begun in 1733, but with more flowers, the count's coat of arms, and the signs of the zodiac in the lower border.[28]

For *February* (Figures 2, 3, 20, 24) the French designer had to dress the people he added to make them suitable company for their companions, in two-hundred-year-old fashions.[29] He replaced a procession of frolicking satyrs in the distant outdoor scene with some woodsmen at work, but he made very few changes in the central picture of house-bound card- and backgammon players. The cloth over the large table has a different pattern, perhaps meant to suggest an oriental rug, with an elegant fold instead of an uncompromising straight vertical line. The floor tiles have more ornament and the cast shadows are more conspicuous.

But to the right and left above the new figures, the designer had to add suitable walls and furnishings. On

Figure 4. Jean de la Croix workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist. *March,* 1688–89. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3 × 3.61 m. Musée national du château de Pau (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

Figure 5. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *March,* 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.61 × 4.67 m. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.2

Figure 6. Brussels workshop after an unknown Flemish artist. *May,* 16th century. Wool and silk tapestry, 3.15 × 4.11 m. San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (photo: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery)

Figure 7. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *May,* 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.61 × 5.87 m. Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.4

Figure 8. Mathieu Monmerqué and Pierre-François Cozette workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *May*, 1747–51. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 4 × 6.71 m. Rome, Palazzo Doria (photo: Alinari)

Figure 9. French 18th-century artist. *May* (detail). Oil on canvas. Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

Figure 10. Jean Souet workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist. *August*, 1714–15. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 308 × 340 cm. Oslo, Kunstindustrimuseet (photo: Teigens fotoatelier A.S.)

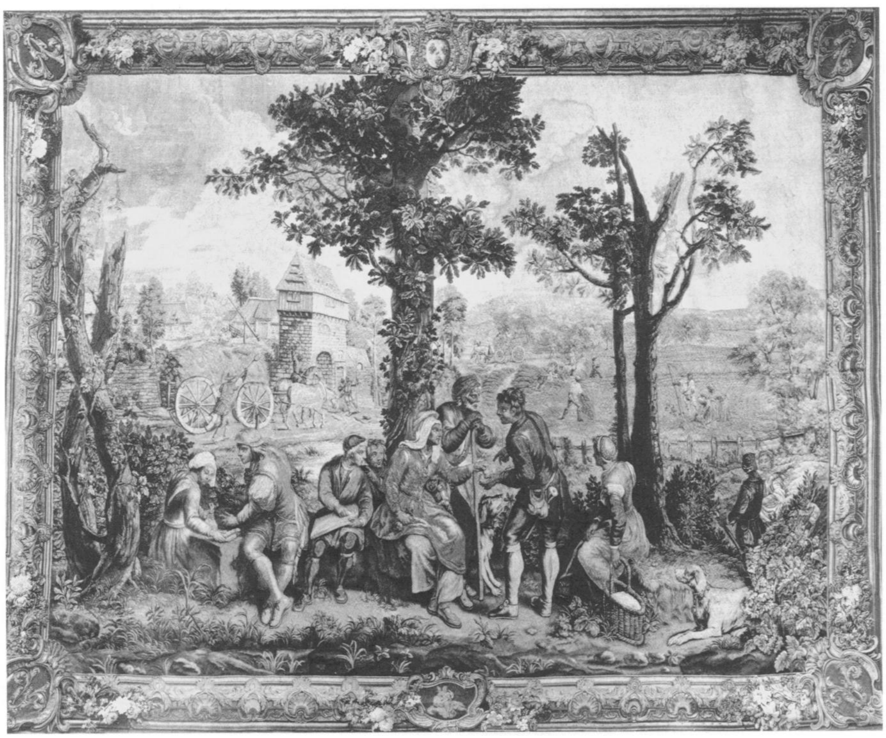

Figure 11. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *August*, 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.61 × 4.7 m. Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.6

Figure 12. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *September*, 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.61 × 4.72 m. Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.7

the left, he copied the shelf with silverware and dangling spoons from the same objects seen beside the fireplace in the center of the original tapestry. Below, another shelf and a parrot on its stand do not seem incongruous, but on the right he added a doorway with huge vases, probably Chinese, above it: this undoubtedly looked sufficiently old-fashioned to the artist, as it reflects the style of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, although it is inappropriate for the sixteenth.[30] The large books on the high shelf to the left of the doorway also seem out of place.

All the other enlarged *Months* show outdoor scenes. In *March* (Figures 4, 5, 41) the added tree on the right has more foliage than the sixteenth-century one on the left, but the boxed-in flower beds have been copied from the originals in the center. The new gardener, seen from behind—in a more elegant pose than any of his more antique co-workers—carries a suspiciously modern-looking watering can.[31]

The cartoons for weaving other *haute-lisse* versions of the *Months of Lucas* were all nearly square except for *May*, which was the same height as the others, but twice as wide.[32] The original Flemish design (Figures 6, 39) was, as has been mentioned, enlarged slightly for the princesse de Conti, but when the piece in the first *haute-lisse* set was made in 1732–33, it was twice as wide as any of the others, with changes in the central scene as well as additions on either side. These alterations were then used, not only for the comte de Toulouse's example (Figure 7) but for other weavings, such as the *May* in Palazzo Doria, Rome (Figure 8), woven between 1747 and 1751.[33] The somewhat grotesque elderly jester, crouched and bowling a spoked wheel, has moved from the center to the side, where he sits gracefully by a fountain, holding a tambourine and gesturing to a woman, who now turns toward him. In the cartoon for this month, now at the Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau (Figure 9), he is depicted in a characteristically eighteenth-century style with a somewhat sentimental expression and an affected gesture. A lively dog has been added in the foreground, while (in the Toulouse version) the couple behind the approaching riders, seen only as heads in the Flemish original, are now shown riding on a single horse, with an extensive landscape behind them (Figure 7). The general effect is less cramped, giving an impression of space and airiness, with the actors behaving in a more courtly manner.

August (Figures 10, 11),[34] as has been mentioned, has no important added figures, but there is one omis-

Figure 13. Jean de la Croix workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist. *November,* 1688–89. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.4 m square. Musée national du château de Pau (photo: Pérony)

Figure 14. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century French additions. *November,* 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.61 × 5.79 m. Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.9

Figure 15. Brussels workshop after an unknown Flemish artist. *December,* 16th century. Wool and silk tapestry, 3.68 × 3.06 m. The Denver Art Museum (photo: The Denver Art Museum)

Figure 16. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *December,* 1733–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.55 × 4.8 m. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.10

Figure 17. Flemish 16th-century artist. *December.* Point of the brush and brown wash over black chalk, heightened with gold, on brown ground, 32.2 × 47.2 cm. Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (photo: Courtesy of Chatsworth Settlement)

Figure 18. French 18th-century artist. *December* (detail). Oil on canvas. Musée National du Château du Fontainebleau (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

Figure 19. Mathieu Monmerqué and Pierre-François Cozette workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist. *December,* 1748–50. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 4 × 3.60 m. Rome, Palazzo Doria (photo: Alinari)

sion in the Toulouse version: the woman holding a large basket looks to one side because in the original she is repulsing a man trying to embrace her. In *September* (Figure 12) the three men on the far left and, on the right, the dog and more trees, with dimly seen figures among them, have been added. However, *November* (Figures 13, 14, 31) has substantial additions on both sides, especially on the left, where the area from the border to the sprawling child in the foreground and the sower in the distance is an eighteenth-century invention. At the far left the richly dressed couple with a small boy are conspicuously new, though the bag of grain at their feet is copied from the one in the center of the composition. *December* (Figures 15, 16, 35, 37) has also acquired additions: a prominent character, the young man kneeling to fasten his skate and the very substantial trees behind him. On the other side, the man seen from the back, half-hidden by a tree stump, has been adapted from the gardener with a watering can in *March* (Figure 5). One central figure has been significantly altered. The man who bends over the seated woman with a child is older; his sword is correctly on his left side, but is only partly visible as the composition is reversed;[35] his cape falls in a more graceful curve, showing its lining, and his hand, instead of caressing the woman's breast, now proffers a fruit to the child. The original indecorous gesture is clearly seen in a related drawing at Chatsworth (Figure 17)[36] and is described in the 1789 inventory as "une petite gaité";[37] the cartoon at Fontainebleau (Figure 18), though clearly a close copy of the original, changes the man's gesture. Later weavings of this tapestry, while they did not include the new figures at the sides of the Toulouse version, preserved these alterations (Figure 19). The eighteenth-century designer was also perhaps conforming to this fashion when he showed the young man on the right fastening his own skate (Figure 35) rather than that of a young lady as in other earlier works of art.[38]

Gracefulness and propriety seem to have been important concerns to the artists of the cartoons, even when the original dimensions of the pieces were preserved. In *January* the dangling scarves worn by some of the women are less rigid; in the Flemish *July* one unattractive dog is sniffing another, but in the Gobelins version two respectable dogs trot on either side of their masters.[39] The changes of this kind made in *May, August,* and *December* have been mentioned and perhaps the distant satyrs in *February* were also thought to be undesirable characters.

Who was the artist of the eighteenth-century additions to the comte de Toulouse's *Months of Lucas*? A wide copy of *August* is recorded as made in 1721 by Charles Chastelain (1672–1755) and Joseph Yvart (1649–1728),[40] but, as has been mentioned, this month in the Toulouse set differs from the Flemish original chiefly by showing more landscape (a specialty of Chastelain) and the omission of an unseemly figure. The inventory of cartoons made in 1736 gives no artists' names, and the descriptions do not include any of the additional Toulouse figures.[41] But in 1753, when Louis XV acquired a set woven in 1732 and 1734 that had belonged to his father-in-law, it was described as "dessein de Lucas, corrigé par Boullogne" and Audran's 1733–35 weaving was listed in the king's inventory in the same words ("Boullogne" spelled "Boullenger").[42] As has been mentioned, the words "corrected by Boulogne" were still associated with a set of the *Months* in 1799. It is highly unusual for an artist who merely made corrections to basic designs to be named in this way. Could it be because this particular artist was so well known? Louis de Boullogne the Younger (1654–1733) had indeed worked for the Gobelins as a young man but by 1730 he was old (he had been ennobled in 1724 and appointed first painter to the king in 1725). His last commissioned works were painted in 1715, though he designed medallions celebrating Louis XV in 1722.[43] Perhaps for the son of Louis XIV and grand uncle of Louis XV he was willing to perform this somewhat trivial task. A comparison of two details of the Fontainebleau cartoons (Figures 9, 18) shows a marked difference in style and competence between the eighteenth-century additions and the parts copied closely from the originals. In any case, we can be grateful for an unusual and agreeable example of a harmonious conjunction of two very different centuries.

NOTES

1. Maurice Fenaille, *État général des tapisseries de la manufacture des Gobelins depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, 1600–1900,* 5 vols. (Paris, 1903–23) II, pp. 365–367. Called the twelfth set, with no date of weaving given. The author knew only one of the tapestries in the MMA, *October,* then in the Vaile Collection, and the two pieces in Paris, *February* (pl. facing p. 364) and *June* (pl. facing p. 365); Edith Appleton Standen, *European Sculpture and Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 2 vols. (New York, 1985) I, pp. 331–368; to the account of other Gobelins versions of the series (p. 333) should be added the fact that *April, August, October, November,* and an *entrefenêtre* of the set with the arms of the comte de Toulouse and his wife are at Vaux-le-Vicomte, owned by comte Fabrice de Vogüé (John Cornforth, "Vaux-le-Vicomte, Ile-de-France," *Country Life* 179 [Jan. 9, 1986] p. 68, fig. 5). The *March* of the seventh set, with Polish arms, is in the Louvre, on loan from the Mobilier National.

2. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 355–358, the eighth set. *May*, is recorded as removed from the loom to be sold to a private purchaser, but this piece could not have been part of the comte de Toulouse's set, as the king's arms were taken out and the border resewn, making it "facile à reconnaître avec la bordure recousue." Several other examples of *May* not made for the king are known (Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, p. 344).

3. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 351–354, the seventh set. He states (p. 339) that the first cartoons were made for this set, earlier (*basse-lisse*) weavings having been copied directly from the Flemish tapestries.

4. *Mercure de France* (June 1736) pp. 1427, 1428. But the "douze mois de l'année, d'après les desseins de Lucas de Leyde, ancien Peintre Hollandois, contemporain de Raphaël" that were hung for the Fête-Dieu [Corpus Christi] week of 1721 were presumably the Flemish originals, as the tapestries displayed in that year were described as "Tapisseries du Roy," not as made at the Gobelins (ibid., June–July 1721, pp. 127, 128). The Corpus Christi displays were annual exhibitions; some printed catalogues are known (J. J. Marquet de Vasselot and Roger-Armand Weigert, *Bibliographie de la tapisserie, des tapis et de la broderie en France* [Paris, 1935] p. 212).

5. Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire général du mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV (1661–1715)* 2 vols. (Paris, 1885) I, p. 294. The set had belonged to Francis I (Sophie Schneelbolg-Perelman, "Richesses du garde-meuble parisien de François I," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6th period, 78 [1971] pp. 263, 289. It is described as "Brucelles," but no designer is named).

6. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 362. Other artists named Lucas have been suggested as the author of the designs for the Flemish tapestries, but none has been generally accepted (Edith A. Standen, "Drawings for the 'Months of Lucas' Tapestry Series," *Master Drawings* 9 [Sept., 1971] p. 4.; Jerzy Wojeiechowski, "'May' and 'August': Two Drawings by the Master of the Months of Lucas," *Master Drawings* 33 [1995] pp. 410–413). He is confused with Lucas Auger (1685–1765) in Yvaline Cantarel-Bresson, *Musée du Louvre (Janvier 1797–Juin 1798)—Notes et Documents des Musées de France 24* (Paris, 1992) pp. 394, 420. "Lucas de Leide" is included in the list of 57 "Peintres les plus connus" drawn up by Roger de Piles in his *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris, 1708), where points are given to each artist for composition, design, color, and expression. Lucas's total of 24 is only one point higher than the lowest ranking, Giovanni Francesco Penni, 23. Raphael and Rubens have the highest scores, 65; "Jules Romain" has 49 and "Albert Dure," 36, but Bruegel is not included. The list, called the "Balance des Peintres," is reproduced in Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre—Art, Politics, and the Origin of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, 1994) p. 33. Lucas van Leyden's fame (like Dürer's) in the centuries succeeding his own has been attributed to the wide dissemination of his prints (Elise Lawton Smith, *The Paintings of Lucas van Leyden* [Columbia, 1992] p. ix). Antoine Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle. Collection et Collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe Siècle. II. Oeuvres d'art* [Paris, 1994] pp. 22, 23.)

7. Guiffrey, *Inventaire*, pp. 335, 341.

8. Ibid., p. 299.

9. Arnout Balis et al., *Les Chasses de Maximilien* (Paris, 1993) pp. 10, 54. The attribution to Van Orley was made by Carel van Mander in his *Schilder-Boek* of 1601 (ibid., p. 38) and by Félibien in his *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres* of 1666 (ibid., pp. 38, 54, 57).

10. Guiffrey, *Inventaire*, p. 342.

11. Some descriptions in the inventory are in sufficient detail to show that a certain tapestry belonged to a known medieval type, e.g., "une petitte pièce de tapisserie, fort vielle, sans bordure, qui représante des bergers et bergères avec quelques moutons, sur un fonds parsemé de petittes fleurs," i.e., a *millefleurs* (Guiffrey, *Inventaire*, p. 373).

12. Ibid., pp. xi, xiv.

13. Ibid., pp. 368, 373. Many were sold to private purchasers after 1758 (Fenaille, *État général*, p. 65).

14. J. J. Guiffrey, "Destruction des plus belles tentures du mobilier de la Couronne," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France* 14 (1888) pp. 265–298.

15. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 338.

16. When some of the cartoons for the Gobelins copies of the *Months of Lucas* were inspected in 1794 by the revolutionary Jury des Arts, set up to purify the royal manufactories, they were described as "Tableaux à rejetter sous le rapport de l'art" (Jules Guiffrey, "Les modèles des Gobelins devant le Jury des Arts en septembre 1794," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français* 3rd series, 13 (1897) pp. 366, 369, 371).

17. Cantarel-Bresson, *Musée du Louvre*, p. 358, from a document of May 18, 1797.

18. Ibid., p. 89.

19. Ibid., pp. 103, 104, 201.

20. Maquet de Vasselot and Weigert, *Bibliographie*, p. 213.

21. Guiffrey, *Inventaire*, p. 360, no. 160 of the tapestries added before 1685. This, however, could not have been the set listed by Defourny, as the words, "Mois corrigés par Boulogne" commonly apply to one of the later, *haute-lisse* sets; there were several of these in the royal collection by 1789 (Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 369, 370).

22. Examples of Flemish copies are five pieces formerly in the Barberini and Ffoulke collections, acquired by E. H. Harriman before 1903 (Charles M. Ffoulke, *The Ffoulke Collection of Tapestries* [New York, 1903] pp. 51–55). Three have the Brussels city mark; *April* has that of a workshop head, possibly Andries Mattens, and *September* that of Willem de Kempeneer (fl. 1534–44). (Information from Dr. Guy Delmarcel.) They are now in museums in Omaha, Kansas City, Portland (Oregon), Denver (Figure 15), and San Marino (California) (Figure 6). The borders correspond exactly to the descriptions in Louis XIV's inventory.

23. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 344–347, the first and second sets. The author states (pp. 339, 347) that the first Gobelins sets were made on *basse-lisse* looms directly from the Flemish tapestries, "ce mode de travail convenant beaucoup mieux que la haute lisse à la copie d'une tapisserie." This method of execution resulted in very exact copies in reverse. It was easier to weave from the original tapestries than from Le Brun's cartoons (ibid., p. 295).

24. A list of the twenty series from 1666 to 1683 (the date of Colbert's death) shows that Le Brun designed all or part of seventeen, with two and part of a third after Raphael and part of one after Poussin (ibid., p. xi). For an account of the situation at the Gobelins after Colbert's death, see Edith A. Standen, "The Sujets de la Fable Gobelins Tapestries," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1964) pp. 143–146. Le Brun's cartoons were woven again after 1700, when Louvois was long dead (Fenaille, *État général*, p. 118).

25. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 344–349, the second to fifth sets. Several were used as royal presents to ambassadors (ibid., pp. 86, 348, 361).

26. Ibid., pp. 349–351, pls. facing p. 350 (*April*), p. 352 (*May*), the sixth set. "Une femme et une enfant . . . la femme a une draperie bleue" for *May* were redrawn by François Bonnemer before 1691 (ibid., p. 339).

27. The set with the arms of his wife added to his own is exactly copied from the Flemish originals, except for the borders, which are close to those of the princesse de Conti's set. It may have been made at the time of his marriage in 1723 and so perhaps looked old-fashioned ten years later (Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, p. 333).

28. Fenaille, *État général*, pl. facing p. 258. The *Sujets de la Fable* borders were designed by Pierre-Josse Perrot, a painter of ornament at the Gobelins.

29. The costumes of the added figures in the tapestries are discussed by Janet Arnold in the second part of this article. Another instance of later French imitations of Flemish 16th-century tapestry designs is found in *The Hunt*, a set woven ca. 1650–60. Some of the costumes are described as copied from van Orley designs and others are said to reflect different 16th-century types (Candace J. Adelson, *European Tapestry in the Minneapolis Museum of Art* [Minneapolis, 1994] p. 290). Another example is the *Chasses de François I*, woven in 1623–30, with 16th-century costumes (Isabelle Denis, catalogue entries nos. 212, 213, in *La chasse au vol au fil des temps*, exh. cat., Musée International de la Chasse [Gien, 1994]).

30. Vases above a doorway are seen in a print of 1685 by Jean de Saint-Jean in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Peter Thornton, *Authentic Decor: The domestic interior, 1620–1920* [London, 1984] fig. 73).

31. This suggestion was made by Janet Arnold. G. Pierre, librarian of the Maison de l'Outil et de la Pensée ouvrière, Troyes, has kindly provided material showing the standard 18th-century type of watering can (as illustrated in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* and the Toulouse tapestry) as well as a late-16th-century representation of a very different model in which "le décrochage du verseur n'est pas encore opéré, et l'ensemble nécessite un plus grand effort." A woman sprinkles water from a bowl in the *March* gardening scene in the *Twelve Ages of Man* tapestry set of ca. 1525 in the MMA, with another woman behind her holding a flask (Mac Griswold, *Pleasures of the Garden* [New York, 1987] p. 122, illus.).

32. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 341. The measurements of the original Flemish piece are given in the 1789 inventory; all tapestries in the set were 2½ *aunes* high, with widths varying from 2½ to 3¾ *aunes* (ibid., p. 337). The artists of the *haute-lisse* cartoons made some changes as they copied the designs.

33. Ibid., pp. 359–361, the tenth set. *May* and three other pieces of the set were given to the cardinal delle Lanze in 1771. *May* and *December* (Figure 19) in the Doria Collection are presumably from this set.

34. The *basse-lisse* Gobelins example in the Kunstindustrimuseet, Oslo (Figure 10) has the initials I. S. of Jean Souet, head of a *basse-lisse* workshop from 1699 to 1724; it was woven in 1714–15, part of the fifth set (Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 348, 349). A strip on the right side of the Toulouse *August*, including the rear of the dog, is a modern replacement.

35. The placing of the sword was always one of the most important changes that had to be made when a cartoon for *haute-lisse* looms was copied for *basse-lisse* weaving and vice versa, especially when the wearer was seen from the side. For the first *haute-lisse* weaving of the *Months of Lucas*, corrections were made for some figures, but not for all (Fenaille, *État général*, p. 351). A record exists of a 1716 payment to the painter Guy Vernansal, who had "changé les attitudes de droite à gauche . . . pour être exécuté en basse-lisse" (ibid., p. 100, n. 2), but for what cartoons is not recorded.

36. Standen, "Drawings," pl. 7.

37. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 33. The compiler of this inventory was very conscious of impropriety, describing a set of the *Triomphe des Dieux* as "remplie de nudités, bonne pour chez les Princes seulement" (ibid., p. 232); the *Bacchus* of the set was "très indécente" (ibid., pp. 231, 237). The increasing prudery of the second half of the 18th century is illustrated by contemporaneous criticism of too much nudity in Salon paintings (Christian Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l'art des Lumières* [Rome, 1993] p. 332).

38. The connotations of this activity are shown in 17th-century prints of Cupid fastening a lady's skate and are reflected in a Lancret painting of 1741 (May Taverner Holmes, *Nicolas Lancret, 1690–1743* [New York, 1991] p. 18).

39. A drawing in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (inv. no. 6226), though very close to the Flemish version in other respects, shows two very different dogs.

40. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 339. It was listed as "Ruinez" in 1736.

41. Ibid., pp. 339–343.

42. Ibid., the seventh and eighth sets, pp. 351, 352, 356.

43. Colin B. Bailey, "Louis de Boullogne (1654–1733)," in *The Loves of the Gods, Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, exh. cat. (Fort Worth, 1991–92) p. 155.

Part II

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THE ADDITIONS TO the *Months of Lucas* tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum, described by Edith Standen, show details of dress ranging from the 1530s through the 1730s. Not only this but some of the figures in the centers of the tapestries, which have been copied from the original 1530s designs, have an early-eighteenth-century flavor. In some cases this is given by the stance of the figure, and in others by small details of dress or hairstyle that have been misunderstood in the copying. A full study of all the costumes would require too many illustrations, so details have been given of a small selection.

On the right of the *February* tapestry (Figure 3) the woman standing in the doorway wears a loose gown caught up at the front, which resembles an early sack (Figure 20). Similar gowns are seen in drawings, engravings, and paintings dating from the early eighteenth century (Figure 21).[1] Her figure is obviously supported by an early-eighteenth-century pair of stays. Beside her, the man doffing his hat (behind the man wearing a cloak) has paned sleeves, which presumably were taken from some source such as the woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and others for *The Triumph of Maximilian I* (Figure 22) that was in preparation from 1512 to 1519: the first edition appeared in 1526.[2] However, the shape is reminiscent of a woman's virago sleeve of the 1630s (Figure 23) seen in many paintings and engravings.[3] The skirts of his doublet, bordered with an embroidered guard (Figure 20), are almost concealed by the cloak of the man in front. However,

Figure 20. Detail of Figure 3

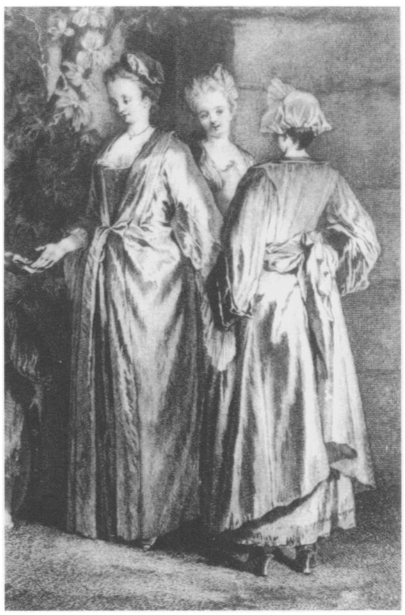

Figure 21. L. Cars after Antoine Watteau. *La Diseuse Daventure*, detail. Engraving, announced in the *Mercure de France*, December 1727. Private collection (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)

Figure 22. Hans Burgkmair. *The Triumph of Maximilian I*, 1526. Detail: *Landsknecht* (soldier in the first German regular troops) escorting a pageant wagon with scenes of castles and towns. Woodcut. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932, 32.37 (.2.94)

Figure 23. Jacques Callot. *La Noblesse,* ca. 1630. Engraving. Private collection (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)

Figure 24. Detail of Figure 3

Figure 25. Giovanni Battista Moroni. *Portrait of a Man,* late 1560s. Oil on canvas, 45.1 × 37.5 cm. London, The National Gallery (photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Gallery)

Figure 26. After Gerrit van Honthorst. *The First Duke of Buckingham and His Family,* 1628, detail. Oil on canvas. London, National Portrait Gallery (photo: National Portrait Gallery)

Figure 27. Unknown artist. *Anglois.* Engraving showing an English couple. From *Description de l'Univers,* 1683, detail. London, Victoria and Albert Museum Library (photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum)

there is enough to show that this garment came from a source (Figure 22) similar to that for the man standing on the left (Figure 24).

In some cases there are curious mixtures of sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century dress. The man standing on the left in *February* (Figure 24) wears a falling band similar in shape to shirt collars in the second half of the sixteenth century (Figure 25) with a vandyked border, giving the effect of lace, and matching cuffs resembling those of about 1630 (Figure 26). His long coat, buttoning at the front, with a sash tied just below the natural waist level, seems to have been

Figure 28. Abraham de Bruyn. *Aulicus Germanus.* Engraving showing a courtier cross-gartered with bows tied at the front of the knee. From *Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium,* 1581. Private collection

Figure 29. Unknown artist. *Swordsman.* Engraving showing cross-gartering with bows at the side of the leg. From Michael Hundt, *Ein Neu Künstliches Fechtbuch im Rappier,* 1611. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum)

Figure 30. Unknown artist. *Swordsman.* Engraving. From Michael Hundt, *Ein Neu Künstlicher Fechtbuch im Rappier,* 1611. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum)

Figure 31. Detail of Figure 14

Figure 32. Abraham Bosse. Engraving. From Jean de Saint Igny, *Le Jardin de la Noblesse françoise,* Paris, 1629. Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (photo: New York Public Library)

Figure 33. L. Crépy after Antoine Watteau. *Self-portrait.* Engraving, announced in the *Mercure de France,* November 1727. The artist wears a ruff with the neckband turned upward, instead of lying inside the doublet or coat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917, 17.3.456–533

Figure 34. Godfrey Kneller. *The Children of Lord Foley,* 1717, detail. Oil on canvas. Location unknown


Figure 35. Detail of Figure 16


Figure 36. David Richter the Elder. *Portrait Supposedly of Princess Maria Amalie,* 1709. Oil on canvas. Innsbruck, Schloss Ambras (photo: Schloss Ambras)


Figure 37. Detail of Figure 16

derived from the styles of the 1680s (Figure 27). Beneath this are pleated skirts, dating from the early sixteenth century, bordered with an embroidered guard (Figure 22). His hose are cross-gartered at the knee.[4] This style is familiar, particularly from woodcuts, engravings, and paintings depicting German fashions of about 1570 and later, but here the garters are tied at the front of the leg (Figure 28). The garter shown in the tapestry is tied at the side of the knee, as was more fashionable in the early seventeenth century (Figures 29, 30), while the shoes have wide square toes in the early-sixteenth-century style (Figure 22).

A similar mixture of styles is seen in the clothes worn by the man standing on the left of the *November* tapestry (Figure 31). He wears a falling ruff of 1620s style (Figure 32), but it is reminiscent of some seen in drawings of romantic figures and Commedia dell'Arte characters by Watteau, Pater, Lancret, and others, dating from the early eighteenth century (Figure 33). His coat has the buttoned pocket flaps and close sleeves of about 1720 (Figure 34). The hose are cross-gartered at the knee in early-seventeenth-century fashion (Figures 30, 31), with early-sixteenth-century-style shoes, similar to those worn by the man standing on the left in *February* (Figure 24).

The misunderstanding of earlier styles may be seen most clearly in the clothes worn by the kneeling man fastening his skates in *December* (Figure 35). A shape similar to a sailor collar may have been derived from the figure on the far left of the sixteenth-century tapestry (Figure 15) and on the related drawing at Chatsworth (Figure 17). However, this style of collar was used only for gowns, not for doublets. At the wrist of the sleeve is a small area of slashing, but it no longer looks as if it was derived from a sixteenth-century source. It is closer to the slashing at the top of the sleeve of the fancy-dress costume complete with ruff and mask held in the hand in the portrait supposedly of Princess Maria Amalie of Austria, dated 1709 (Figure 36). The man standing on the left in the *December* tapestry (Figures 16, 37) is dressed in a similar way.

The adoption of 1530s style for the tapestries woven in the 1730s, perhaps quite unconsciously, may be seen in the clothes worn by the seated woman on the left of the *May* tapestry (Figure 38); she appears on the right of the 1530s version (Figure 39). In the later version (Figure 38), the back of the gown and shape of the neckline show the line of a late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century pair of stays beneath the gown and the appearance of the back of a mantua (Figure 40). A general flavor of the early eighteenth century has been given to the kneeling man on the right of the *March* tapestry (Figure 41); this is due partly to the shape of the breeches and partly to the effect of the shading, which resembles materials depicted in paintings by Watteau.[5] In the *August* and *September* tapestries (Figures 11, 12), the early-eighteenth-century effect derives from the more fluid lines of the clothes and the stance of their wearers.

Neither Louis XIV's sixteenth-century tapestries nor the original cartoons have survived, but some slightly later Brussels pieces (Figures 6, 15), the Gobelins exact copies, woven in the late seventeenth and early

Figure 38. Detail of Figure 7

Figure 39. Detail of Figure 6

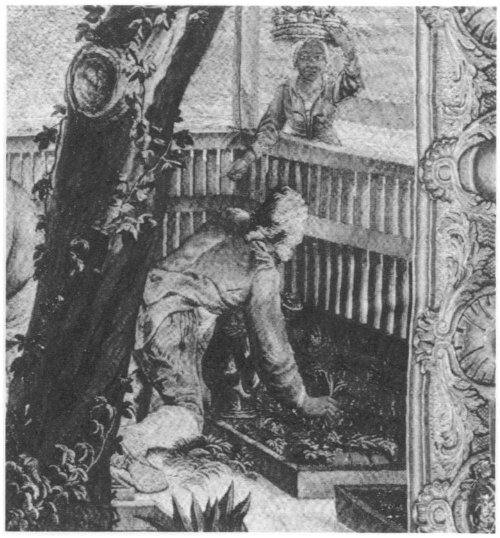

Figure 41. Detail of Figure 5

Figure 40. Copy after Pierre Mignard. *Mme de La Vallière and Her Children*, ca. 1672, detail. Oil on canvas. Château de Versailles (photo: Versailles)

eighteenth century (Figures 2, 4, 10, 13), and some sixteenth-century drawings (Figure 17) give us a clear idea of the appearance of the original tapestries. Many artists have shown an interest in historic dress, making sketches from the work of earlier painters, engravers, and sculptors for their own use. Rubens provides a particularly good example in the sketchbook known as his *Costume Book*, which is in the collection of the British Museum.[6] It contains approximately 250 studies of historic and exotic costumes, the majority of which consists of the fashions of late-medieval Netherlands, Burgundy, and Germany.[7] There are also a couple of examples of sixteenth-century Spanish dress and a few of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian costume. Numerous notes in Rubens's hand identify the subjects and the colors and materials of their dress. For the majority of the Netherlandish and Burgundian sketches, it is of particular interest to note that Rubens drew on some later series of copies rather than the original works of art themselves.[8] One such series is the *Mémoriaux* by Antonio de Secca that is preserved in part in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels. From December 1601 to December 1602 de Secca traveled throughout Flanders making sketches of medals and seals, tomb sculptures, stained-glass windows, tapestries, portraits, and miniatures, to assist in genealogical research pertaining to the Houses of Austria, Burgundy, and Flanders, authorized by letters patent granted by the archdukes Albert and Isabella.[9] In 1604 de Secca settled in Antwerp, where he worked as a painter of historic personages until his death in 1620.

Both de Secca and Rubens show how an artist makes numerous sketches from a variety of sources. In Part I of this article, Edith Standen suggests that Louis de Boullogne may have been the artist who made the additions to the comte de Toulouse's *Months of Lucas.* As she points out, by 1730 he was seventy-six years old, and it may well be that he looked through similar sketchbooks of his own for details of costumes to use in the extensions of the tapestries, mixing them together to suit the current fashion. Alternatively, he may have had easy access to a collection of woodcuts and engravings and worked directly from them, taking details that appealed to him.

NOTES

1. For example, in works by Nicolas Lancret, Nicolas de Largillierre, Jean-Baptiste Van Loo, Bernard Picart, Jean-François de Troy, and Antoine Watteau.

2. Stanley Appelbaum, ed. and trans., *The Triumph of Maximilian I* (New York, 1964) pl. 94.

3. The virago sleeve is described by Randle Holme in *The Academy of Armory or a Storehouse of Armory and Blazon* (Chester, 1688) as "The heavily puffed and slashed sleeve of a woman's gown, then fashionable." Good examples of the style are seen in portraits of *Anne of Austria* by Peter Paul Rubens and *Marie de' Medici* by François Pourbus, illustrated in André Blum, *Early Bourbon, 1590–1643* (London, 1951) pls. 15, 40. Engravings by Jacques Callot and Abraham Bosse that show the virago sleeve are also illustrated in pls. 23–27, 31, and 46.

4. Malvolio was tricked into being "strange, stout, in yellow stockings, and cross-gartered," and commented: "this doth make some obstruction in the blood this cross-gartering" (William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night,* Act 2, scene 5, Act 3, scene 4, first performed on Twelfth Night in 1601).

5. For examples, see Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg with Nicole Parmentier, *Watteau,* exh. cat. (Washington / Paris / Berlin, 1984–85).

6. Kristin Lohse Belkin, *The Costume Book* (Brussels, 1978) *Corpus Rubenianum,* no. 24.

7. Ibid., p. 32.

8. Ibid., p. 34.

9. Ibid., p. 35, n. 17, p. 36, n. 18.

"Cutting up Berchems, Watteaus, and Audrans": A *Lacca Povera* Secretary at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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IN 1727 Mademoiselle Charlotte Aïssé (1693–1733) wrote from Paris to her friend and confidante, Madame Calandrini, in Geneva: "We are here at the height of a new passion for cutting up colored engravings. . . . Everyone, great and small, is snipping away. These cuttings are pasted on sheets of cardboard and then varnished. They are made into wall panels, screens, and fire boards. There are books and engravings costing up to 200 livres; women are mad enough to cut up engravings worth 100 livres apiece. If this fashion continues, they will cut up Raphaels."[1] In her letter Mademoiselle Aïssé referred to the decorative technique of decoupage, or *découpure*, which consists of cutting out and coloring prints, later to be pasted onto a specially prepared surface and then varnished. Several pieces embellished in this manner can be seen at the Metropolitan Museum. Among them are two Venetian pieces, a magnificent secretary dating to about 1730–35, the subject of this article, and a mid-eighteenth-century candle stand of carved, gessoed, painted, and gilded walnut and pine (Figures 1–3). The top of the candle stand has a landscape with figures and imaginary animals that are not painted, as has long been thought, but are glued-on images cut out from engravings.[2] In addition, the Museum has recently acquired a yellow-and-red papier-mâché box of about 1755–60, which is completely covered with pasted-on genre scenes, horsemen, putti, architectural structures, flowers, butterflies, and an endearing winged dragon (Figures 4, 5). The incurved border of the lid is decorated with a flowing ribbon intertwined with floral festoons all around. These ornamental images are painted red, green, and yellow.[3] Although small decorative objects—such as this box, which was most likely made in Venice as well—must have been quite popular during the eighteenth century, few survive, thus making it a rare example.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 95.

Decoupage aimed at imitating Asian lacquer,[4] but the distinction between this process and a similar one, japanning, is not always clear. The many layers of applied varnish can make it difficult to ascertain whether the decoration was painted on a particular object or actually consists of prints that were cut out and glued on. Decoupage was probably first practiced toward the end of the seventeenth century[5] and became especially popular during the 1720s both in France and in other European countries[6] where it was used continuously throughout the eighteenth century. In fact, decoupage appears never to have gone out of fashion entirely and, judging by the number of recent publications, seems to be enjoying a resurgence of interest today.[7]

Manuals containing step-by-step descriptions of the technique and useful formulas for varnishes were already published during the eighteenth century, for example, one by Johann Martin Teuber in Germany. In his 1740 treatise on turning,[8] Teuber included a supplement on *Laquirkunst* that was preceded by a listing of his mostly aristocratic clients who received instruction in this art form. Practical information and patterns were also published in England between 1758 and 1762 by Robert Sayer, a London print and map seller. Despite the fact that this book was entitled *The Ladies Amusement; or, Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy*, the instructions, particularly those about the decoration, refer to a decoupage technique rather than to the art of japanning:

> The several Objects you intend for Use must be neatly cut round with Scisars, or the small Point of a Knife; those Figures must be brush'd over on the Back with strong Gum-water, or thin Paste, made by boiling Flour in Water: then take the Objects singly, and with a Pair of small Pliers, fix them on the Place intended, being careful to let no Figure seem tumbling, and let the Buildings preserve an exact upright . . . ; and when properly plac'd, lay over your Prints a Piece of clean Paper, and with your

Figure 1. Secretary, Italian (Venice), ca. 1730–35. Carved, painted, gilded, and varnished lindenwood decorated with decoupage prints, 259.1 × 111.8 × 58.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1925, 25.134.1ab

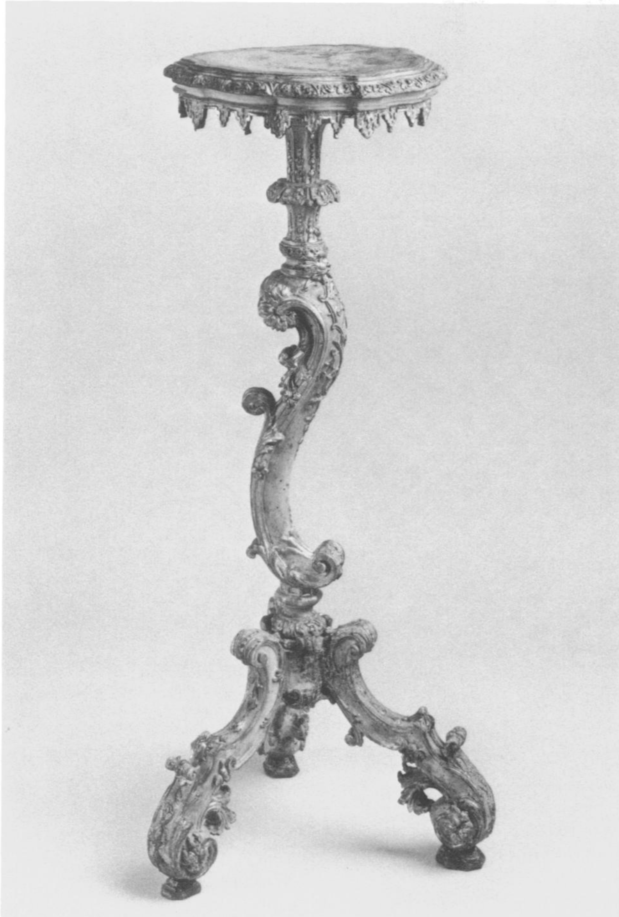


Figure 2. Candle stand, Italian (Venice), ca. 1750. Carved, gessoed, painted, and gilded walnut and pine, H. 91.8 cm, Diam. of top 33 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1948, 48.179

Figure 3. Top, detail of Figure 2

Hand gently press them even, and when dry . . . then proceed to varnish . . . at least seven Times, tho' if you varnish it Twelve it will be still better. . . .[9]

In Italy the technique of decoupage is known as *lacca contrafatta*, or *lacca povera*.[10] The latter term appears to be a true misnomer, considering the amount of minute work involved. In fact, a long letter by a certain M. Constantin dated December 15, 1727, explaining the art of decoupage to an unidentified marquise,[11] indicates that this pastime could be very expensive: "Tapestry and knotting are no longer in question; one has left behind spinning wheels and shuttles; one wants nothing but *decoupage*. All kinds of furnishings suitable to this technique are being decorated; screens, folding screens, wall hangings, ceilings, the tops of coaches, and sedan chairs; it is being put everywhere. This fashion has made the prices of illustrations and prints rise to an extraordinary level; and although there are only a few dealers who sell or have these prints colored, their shops are never empty." M. Constantin also indicated that the hobby was not exclusively practiced by ladies: "As soon as a gentleman arrives at a lady's house, an image is given to him, he then takes his scissors from his pocket and begins to cut. It is a new and excellent quality to know how to make decoupage." Despite the fact that M. Constantin explained the technique in great detail to his pupil, he was critical about the medium. He warned her against using it too much, fearing that the passion for decoupage would not continue long in a country where novelties were so passionately embraced. In addition, M. Constantin remarked that although "the art of decoupage is easy, in reality it costs more than it is worth," but that "at least some workmen will earn something with it and it keeps idle people occupied." He concluded by expressing the hope that once one had acquired the taste for this pastime, it would be perfected and therefore become more useful and valuable.

To satisfy the great demand for suitable images, special prints were published for decoupage purposes that generally included a variety of motifs in different sizes to suit everyone's needs.[12] The firm of Giovanni Antonio Remondini (1643–1711) and his successors in Bassano, Italy, advertised prints in their catalogues from 1751 on: "to be cut out and pasted on fruit dishes, boxes, and for the decoration of cabinets."[13] In fact, it is possible that the scenes used on the Museum's papier-mâché box were published by that firm (Figures 4, 5). Similar images, known in German as *Ausschneidebogen*, were published by the engravers Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756) in Augsburg

Figure 4. Box, Italian (probably Venice), ca. 1755–60. Papier-mâché, painted, varnished, and decorated with decoupage prints, lined with decorative papers, 13 × 22.4 × 14 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange, 1995, 1995.135

Figure 5. Right side, detail of Figure 4

(Figure 6) and Johann Christoph Weigel (ca. 1654–1726) in Nuremberg. These highly esteemed German prints were sold and also reprinted in France.[14] Decorative prints by French artists were available as well. The *Mercure de France* of November 1727, for instance, included an advertisement for six engravings by Louis Crépy *fils* (born ca. 1680), published by Edme-François Gersaint (ca. 1696–1750) in Paris, which were based on a screen painted by Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) (Figures 7, 8). It was suggested that "these gallant scenes on a white ground would make excellent designs for decoupage, the technique used by the ladies nowadays to make such pretty pieces of furniture."[15] Although this advertisement is often referred to in the literature on the topic,[16] it has not been shown that these engravings were actually used for this purpose, as I will demonstrate below. All kinds of pieces, large and small, were decorated with cut-out prints. Most often mentioned are chamber and fire screens,[17] but entire rooms are also known to have been embellished with decoupage.[18] Whereas some of the smaller objects—trays, boxes, toilet sets, and stands—may have been decorated by amateurs, coaches and larger pieces of furniture, such as the Metropolitan Museum's secretary, were mostly the work of skilled craftsmen.

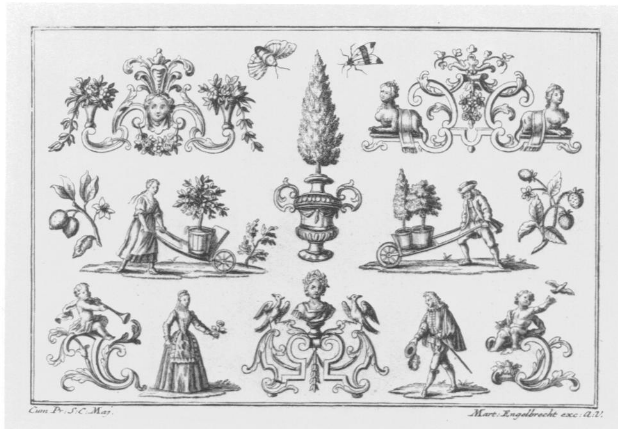
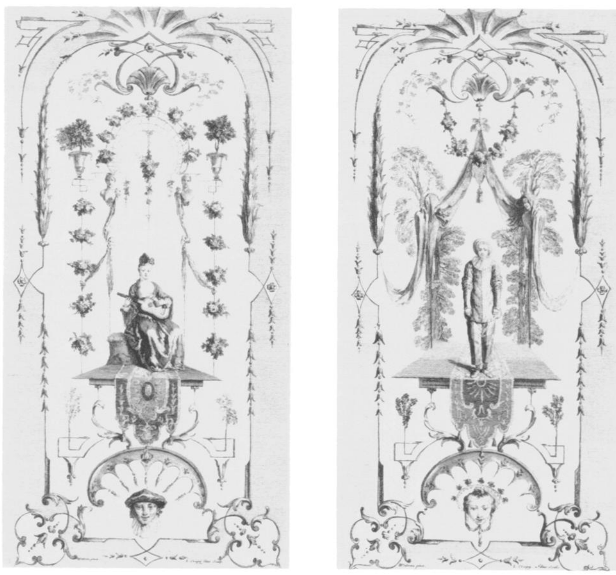


Figure 6. Engraving from series of decorative motifs published by Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756), Augsburg. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 54.635.12 (3)



Figures 7, 8. Engravings from a set of six by Louis Crépy *fils* (born ca. 1680) after Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) from *Oeuvres des étampes gravées d'après les tableaux et desseins de feu Antoine Watteau*, pls. 160 II, 161 II. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, 1928, 28.113 (3)

Figure 9. Secretary, Figure 1, with open doors

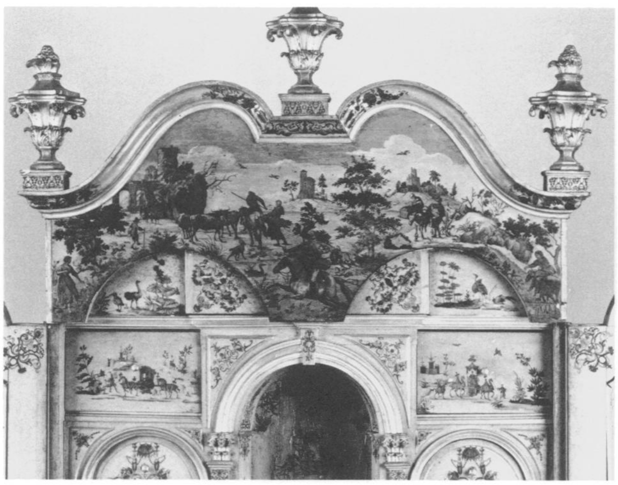


Figure 10. Crest, detail of Figure 1

The Venetian secretary entered the Museum's collections in 1925 (Figures 1, 9). Described in an article in the *Museum Bulletin* of that same year and included in various later publications, the secretary has nonetheless never received the detailed examination it deserves.[19] Influenced by the English bureau-bookcase, this type of writing cabinet was introduced in Italy during the first half of the eighteenth century. Consisting of two parts, the secretary's upper structure is fitted with two arched and mirrored doors that enclose thirteen small drawers flanking a central niche. Its lower part has a sloping fall front, which conceals six tiny drawers, and three large drawers below. Resting on four carved feet, the secretary is crowned by a scrolling pediment with three vase-shaped finials on the top.

The wood surface of the secretary has been painted blue-green over a thin coat of gesso. The layers of applied varnish have yellowed over the years, giving the piece a yellow-green appearance.[20] Several parts, such as the moldings, finials, and feet, were gilded, and the outlines and foliate scrolls and husk motifs on the doors, drawers, fall front, and sides are painted on. The decoupage decoration, covering nearly the entire surface of the secretary, shows a wide range of subjects (Figures 1, 9). Among these are hunting and arcadian scenes, courting couples and ladies in fashionable dress, large flower vases and birds, a harbor scene and a shipwreck on the secretary's front and sides. Gods and goddesses as well as delightful chinoiseries grace

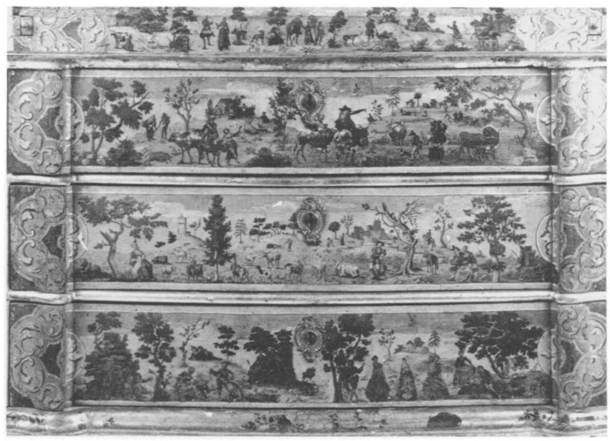


Figure 11. Drawers, detail of Figure 1

Figure 12. Lower left side of Figure 1

Figure 13. Lower right side of Figure 1

Figure 14. *A Ford near an Aqueduct.* Engraving by Johannes Visscher (1633–after 1692) after Nicolaes Berchem (1620–1683). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953, 53.600.1702 (4)

Figure 15. *Mounted Shepherd and Boy Driving Flock on a Road.* Engraving by Johannes Visscher after Nicolaes Berchem. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953, 53.600.1702 (3)

Figure 16. *Peasants Traveling with Baskets of Poultry.* Engraving by Dancker Danckerts (1633/34–1666) after Nicolaes Berchem. London, British Museum

Figure 17. *Woman on Horseback and Woman Milking a Goat.* Engraving by Dancker Danckerts after Nicolaes Berchem. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Figure 18. *Shepherd on a Cow Playing a Flute and Dancing Shepherdess.* Etching by Dancker Danckerts after Nicolaes Berchem. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Grace M. Pugh, 1985, 1986.1180.1313

Figure 19. *Man on Horseback and Woman on a Donkey and Cowherds.* Engraving by Dancker Danckerts, published by Petrus Schenk, after Nicolaes Berchem. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953, 53.600.1786

Figure 20. *The Spinner Standing on a River-Bank.* Engraving by Johannes Visscher, published by Theodorus Danckerts, after Nicolaes Berchem. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953, 53.600.1690 (3)

the inside. Despite the range in subject matter and scale, a sense of unity and harmony of design has been achieved through the skillful arrangement of the images over the surface and the consistent palette of green, red, and orange used to color them.

In the attempt to identify the cut-out images, it has become clear that the prints from which they were taken are equally diverse. Many of the figures found on the secretary's crest, upper drawer, and lower side panels (Figures 10–13) are derived from engravings after the Dutch painter Nicolaes Berchem (1620–1683), who was noted for his Italianate landscapes. Compositions by Berchem were widely executed not only by seventeenth-century Dutch engravers such as Johannes Visscher (1633–after 1692) and Dancker Danckerts (1633/34–1666) but also by German and French artists of the eighteenth century.[21] Berchem's composition *A Ford near an Aqueduct* showing a man seated on a mule, a woman with a bundle of wood, a third figure walking with a stick and a dog, and cattle in a landscape setting, can be found on the left-hand side of the crest (Figures 10, 14). The woman, with her arms swinging and her head turned to the right, was taken from Berchem's *Mounted Shepherd and Boy Driving Flock on a Road* (Figures 10, 15). Visscher is known to have engraved both compositions after Berchem, but, since the images on the cabinet are in reverse, it is clear that another version was used here, possibly reversed copies printed by Engelbrecht in Augsburg.[22] The group of figures on the right-hand side of the crest, a woman riding on a mule next to a man, both with large baskets, is also derived from an engraving after Berchem, one version of which was executed by Danckerts (Figures 10, 16). The same is true for the woman riding a horse, on the right side of the secretary's crest (Figures 10, 17).[23]

The top drawer displays several scenes taken from three different engravings after Berchem (Figure 11). The elderly couple walking at the left side and the mother with two children and a dog on the other side were taken from the print illustrated in Figure 16. The man playing a flute while seated on a cow, a dancing woman, and the couple riding on mules derive from two other compositions by the same Dutch master (Figures 18, 19). The cows, dog, and two men with walking sticks facing each other, "left-over" figures from the engraving illustrated as Figure 19, have been pasted onto the lower panel of the left-hand side (Figure 12). The lower panel on the right-hand side also displays several figures after Berchem. The cowherd with a stick seen from the back (Figure 13) is from the same print as is the woman on horseback found on the secretary's crest (Figures 10, 17). A copy after *The Spinner Standing on a River-Bank* by Berchem was the source for the spinning woman with a cow and sheep found on the same side panel (Figures 13, 20).[24] All the scenes found on the secretary are mirror images, indicating that prints other than those illustrated were used, possibly other German reversed copies.

Several hunting scenes are pasted on the secretary's sloping fall front (Figure 21). It has been possible to identify some of them as originating from engravings by Johann Elias Ridinger (1698–1767), despite the fact that the images are those that have suffered the most from years of use and dust and are barely legible. A prolific artist, Ridinger specialized in the depiction of outdoor activities, particularly horseback riding and hunting, but also of deer and other wild animals. The dogs lunging at a defenseless roebuck on the fall front were cut from one of Ridinger's many hunting scenes, *Imbellis prostrate Dorcas*, which was accompanied by a German verse.[25] A wild boar captured by hunters, to the right of center, is part of another composition by the same artist engraved with six lines from the *Aeneid* (Figures 21, 22).[26] It is quite possible that several of the other hunting figures and horsemen, for example, the one on a prominent place on the crest, are also

Figure 21. Fall front, detail of Figure 1

Figure 22. *Wild Boar Hunt*, engraving by Johan Elias Ridinger (1698–1767). From Siegfried Ducret, *Keramik und Graphik des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Brunswick, 1973) pl. 39. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

Figure 23. Upper left side of Figure 1.

Figure 24. Upper right side of Figure 1

derived from Ridinger's work (Figures 10, 23).[27] The remaining images on the exterior of the secretary, such as the large flower vases and shipping scenes, have yet to be identified (Figures 23, 24).

More cut-out decorations become visible when the doors are open. The two large figures on the inside of both doors, a seated woman playing her guitar and the standing Pierrot, are derived from designs by Watteau (Figures 9, 25, 26). They are part of the series of six plates engraved by Crépy, already mentioned above (Figures 7, 8). Only minor changes have occurred in the composition: the most noticeable are the two decorative masks shown underneath the main figures—they have been interchanged on the cabinet doors. In addition, the arched and meandering lines ending in husk motifs that flank the top shell in Watteau's design have been placed lower, and some of the smallest ornamental details have been omitted. The artist used reversed copies of the prints by Crépy and showed remarkable dexterity in cutting out very fine decoration.

Allegorical figures derived from another series of French prints were pasted on either side of the door frames and in the central niche (Figures 25–27). Symbolizing seven months, these figures represent various gods and goddesses with their symbols and signs of the zodiac in a fanciful architectural frame. From left to right, starting with the left-hand door, we see Vulcan as September and Minerva as October. In the niche we find Neptune as February, Juno as January, and Mars as March. The right-hand door has Vesta as December and Mercury as June. They are

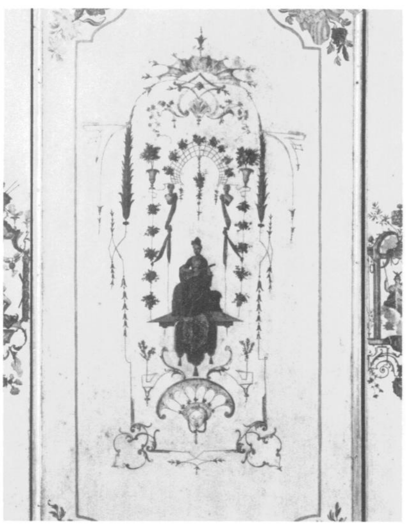


Figure 25. Inside of the left door, detail of Figure 1

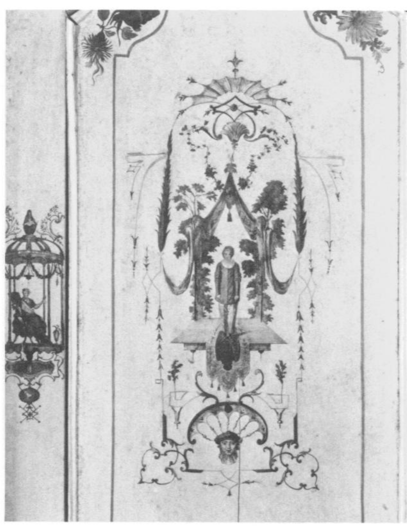
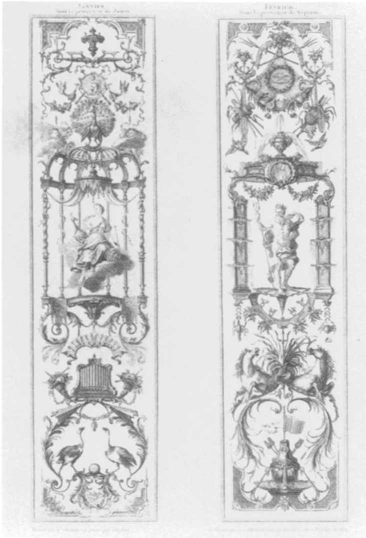
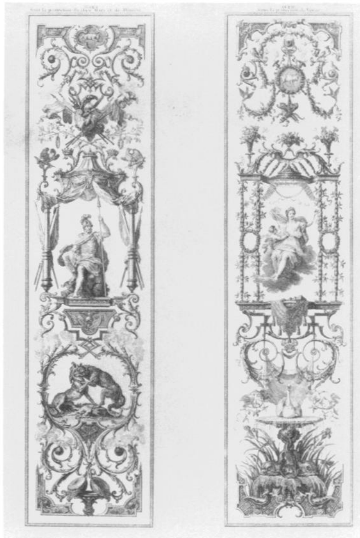
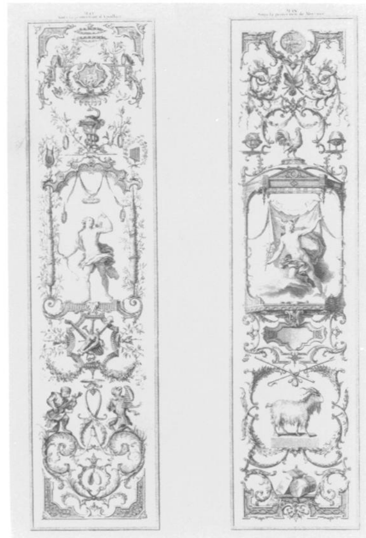
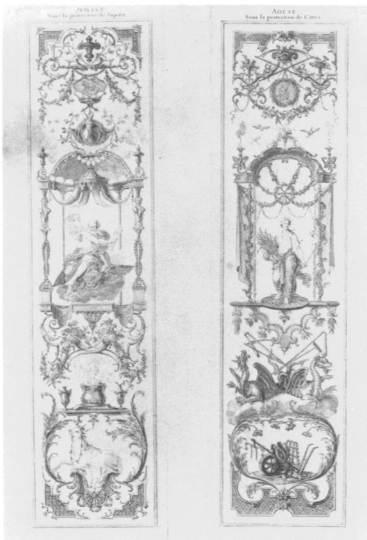
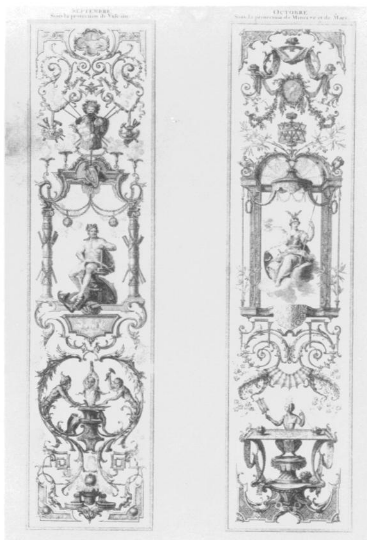
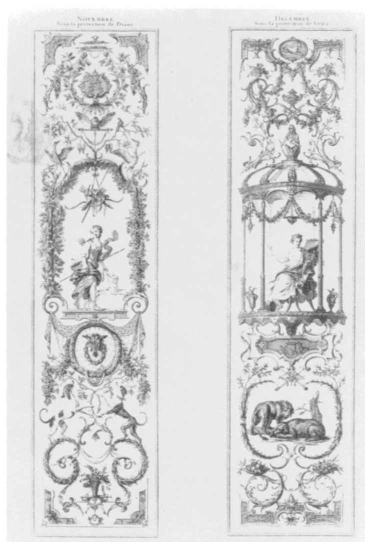


Figure 26. Inside of the right door, detail of Figure 1

Figure 27. The interior niche of Figure 1

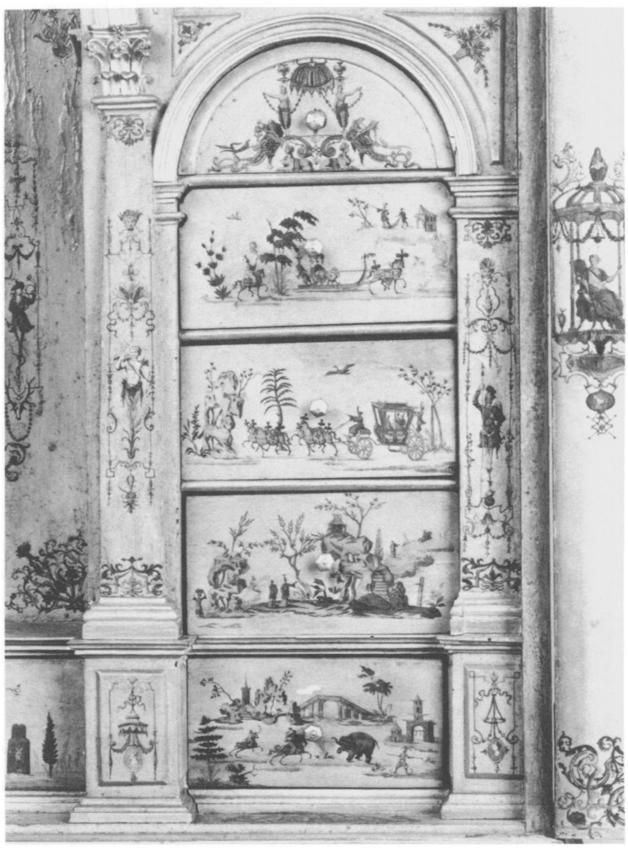
Figures 28–33. *Les Douze Mois Grotesques.* Engravings by Jean Audran (1667–1756) after Claude Audran (1658–1734), Antoine Watteau, and François Desportes (1661–1743). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949, 49.20.4 (1–6)

based on the series *Les Douze Mois Grotesques,* tapestry designs by Claude Audran (1658–1734), assisted by Watteau and possibly by François Desportes (1661–1743) (Figures 28–33). Tapestries of this design were woven at the Gobelins in 1709–10 for the Grand Dauphin, the son of Louis XIV, for use in his bedchamber at the Château de Meudon.[28] In 1726 the series was engraved by Claude's younger brother, Jean Audran (1667–1756).[29] Reversed copies of these prints were engraved by Tobias Lobeck (active eighteenth century) and published in Augsburg by Johann Daniel Herz (1693–1754); possibly these were the engravings used to decorate the secretary (Figure 34).[30] On the inside of a very similar secretary, on the

Figure 34. *January Represented by the Goddess Juno.* Engraving by Tobias Lobeck (act. 18th century), published by Johann Daniel Herz (1693–1754), after Claude Audran. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1936, 36.35.17

Figure 35. Closely related Venetian secretary, ca. 1730–35. Formerly in the collection of Galleria Artex, Milan. From Giuseppe Morazzoni, *Mobili Veneziani Laccati* (Milan, 1955) I, pl. XXXI. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

Italian art market in the 1920s, more of the same gods and goddesses can be identified at identical places (Figure 35).[31] Both pieces are, in fact, so much alike that they must have come from the same workshop. The half figures framed by strap- and scrollwork, palmettes, garlands, and masks—barely visible on the pilasters flanking the interior niche of this second secretary—were also used on the Museum's piece. Here they not only embellish the pilasters framing the niche but are also found on the back wall of the niche and on the pilasters flanking the doors (Figures 27, 36, 37). These half figures in their surrounding frames, dressed as archers, hunters, and soldiers, are in the style of the influential French ornamental designer Jean Berain (1637–1711). The half figure blowing his hunting horn bears an especially close resemblance to a similar figure by Berain, and some of the surrounding ornament resembles his work. The hunting trophy consisting of a stag's head with a husk garland suspended from its antlers and the rabbit among plants and vines on a vase-shaped container seem to have been copied directly from one of Berain's designs for



Figures 36, 37. Interior drawers, details of Figure 1

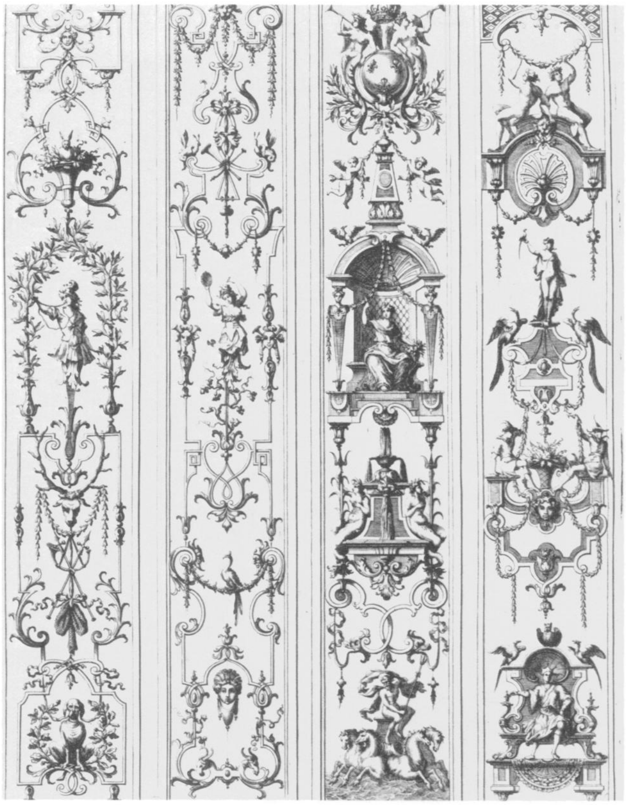
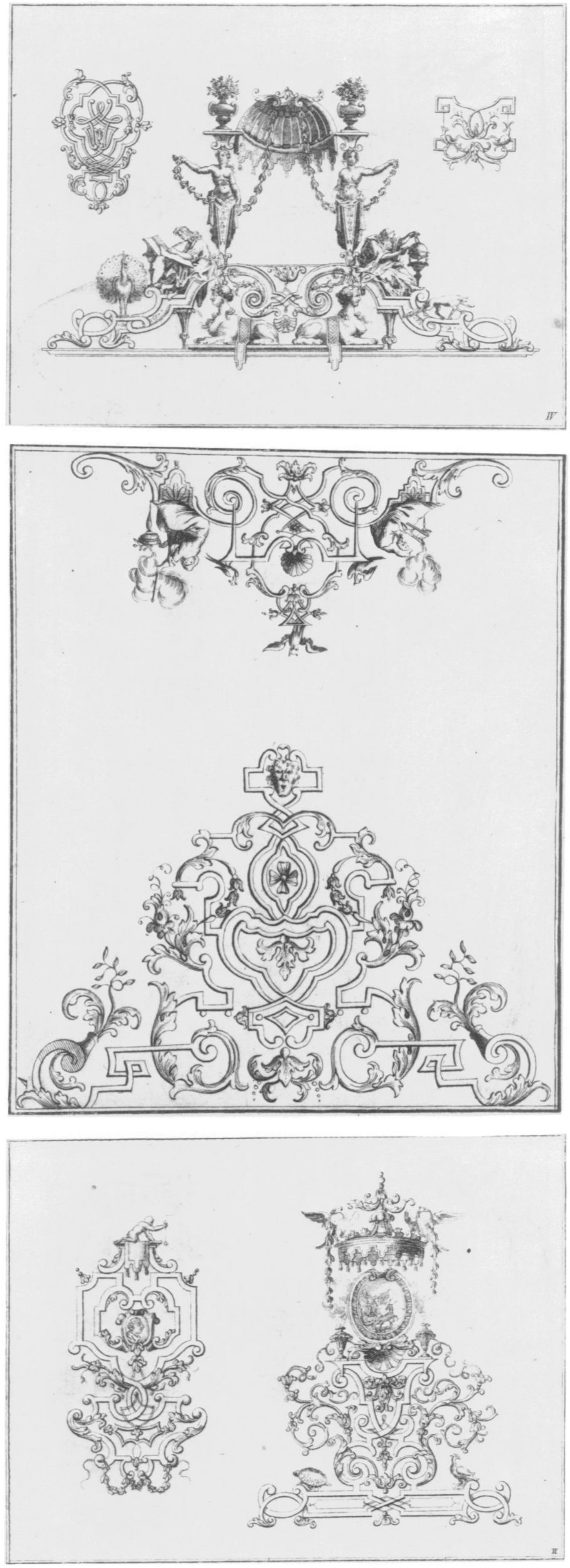


Figure 38. Engraving showing grotesque designs by Jean Berain (1637–1711) from *Ornemens inventez par J. Berain.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, 21.36.141 (pl. 31)

grotesque ornaments (Figures 27, 38). Berain's light, elegant style of decoration was widely disseminated by engravings, and pirated copies of his work were issued by Jeremias Wolff (1663/73–1724) and other Augsburg publishers during the last years of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth.[32] It is not known who was responsible for engraving and publishing the Berainesque figures found on both secretaries.

The decorative work of the Nuremberg architect Paul Decker (1677–1713) also shows the influence of Berain's work. Several of Decker's grotesque designs intended for goldsmiths, plasterers, lacquer masters, and other artists were used to decorate the inside of the Museum's secretary. The arched drawers, the spandrels flanking the main arch, and the niche have figures and strapwork found in three of Decker's designs (Figures 39–41). Some of this ornament was not directly inspired by Berain's oeuvre; however, there was an indirect influence as it was clearly based on the ceiling composition of the state bedchamber in the Stockholm residence of the court architect



Figures 39–41. Engravings showing designs by Paul Decker (1677–1713) bound together with Decker's series *Groteschgen Werk vor Mahler Goldschmidte Stucato.* Print Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

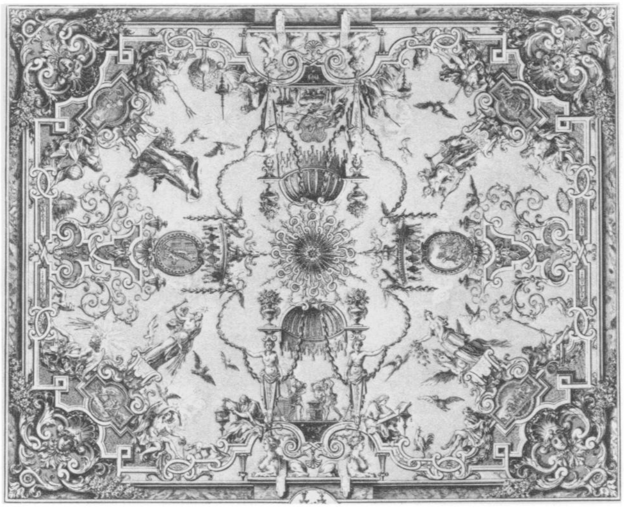


Figure 42. Engraving of the ceiling in the bedchamber of the Hôtel Tessin, Stockholm, by Sébastien Le Clerc (1637–1714), ca. 1700. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953, 53.600.42

Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728). This mansion, built and decorated after Tessin's own designs between 1692 and 1700, showed Berainesque influence.[33] Decker may have been familiar with its complex ceiling design through the engraving of Sébastien Le Clerc (1637–1714) (Figure 42).[34] Evidently, the artist responsible for the *lacca povera* work must have consulted more than one copy of the prints by or after Decker,[35] as the seated scholars, for instance, occur three times on the secretary (Figures 27, 36, 37, 39). The same must have been the case with the grotesque ornament after Berain.

Chinoiserie scenes taken from one or more unknown, possibly Italian, print series are found on the small drawers and inside the secretary's fall front (Figures 36, 37, 43).[36] Oriental figures are depicted in horse-drawn carriages, on sleighs, seated in sedan chairs, and on horseback, in elaborate boats, or in gardens with impressive rock formations. Some of these scenes were clearly inspired by the illustrations from travel books on the Orient that were published from the 1650s onward and continued to be influential during the eighteenth century. The artificial rock formations found in Chinese gardens, which were illustrated and described in Joan Nieuhof's (1618–1672) *Het Gezantschap der Neêrlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie aen Den Grooten Tartarischen Cham,* first published in 1665,[37] were much admired in the West (Figure 44).[38] Nieuhof's illustration transformed the naturalistic stone masses into a fairy tale–like phenomenon. Speaking to the imagination of eighteenth-century artists, these fanciful rock formations were incorpo-

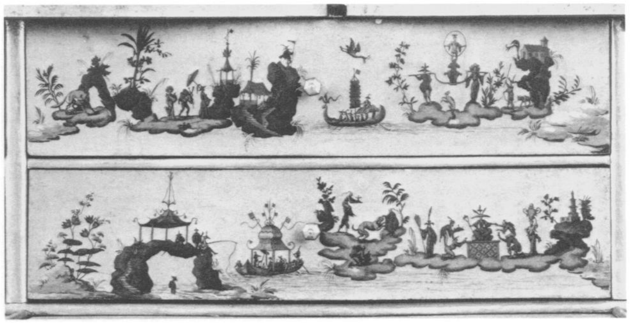


Figure 43. Detail of interior of Figure 1, showing drawers inside the fall front

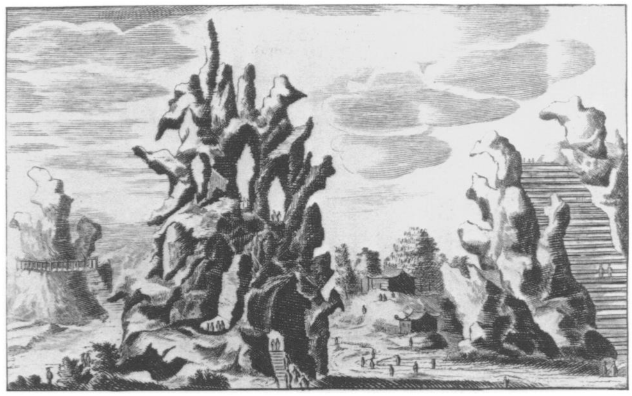


Figure 44. Engraving from Pieter van der Aa, *La Galerie agréable du monde* XV, *Description de la Chine & grande Tartarie* (Leiden, 1729). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library. First published by Joan Nieuhof in *Het Gezantschap* (Amsterdam, 1665)

Figure 45. Engraving from Pieter van der Aa, *La Galerie agréable du monde* XV, *Description de la Chine & grande Tartarie* (Leiden, 1729). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library. First published by Olfert Dapper in *Gedenkwaerdig Bedrijf* (Amsterdam, 1670)

rated in chinoiserie designs; several can be seen on the Museum's secretary (Figures 36, 37, 43).[39] The natural bridge with a pavilion on top, visible on the bottom drawer in Figure 43, may well have been inspired by an illustration from another travel book, Olfert Dapper's *Gedenkwaerdig Bedrijf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappije* of 1670. In this work Dapper (1636–1689) showed a pagoda built over water on a bridge-shaped cliff that could be reached by a long flight of stairs (Figure 45).[40] The boats found on the inside drawers of the Museum's secretary were perhaps also influenced by plates in Nieuhof's book,[41] as may have been the image of the acrobat carrying a pole with two dolls attached to it.[42]

Some of the *lacca povera* decorations inside the fall front have been lost, and it is possible that the actual writing flap, now covered in worn light green silk, was also embellished in this technique. See, for instance, the desk space of the nearly identical secretary illustrated in Figure 35. The only chinoiserie image inside the secretary's writing area that I have succeeded in identifying is the scene with the woman and a servant with an umbrella behind her (Figure 46). These figures, as well as the bearded Oriental servant about to hand something to his mistress, and the garden setting have been taken from a print published by Engelbrecht in Augsburg (Figure 47). The elegantly dressed woman, her head covered under the partially open umbrella, and the servant standing behind her are based on an illustration from the 1669 travel book *Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maatschappij in't Vereenigde Nederland,* by Arnold Montanus (ca. 1625–1683) (Figure 48).[43] These figures obviously appealed to eighteenth-century artists; an engraving with a very similar image was published by Weigel about 1720 (Figure 49).[44]

It is remarkable that none of the identified designs are Italian because it is so often automatically assumed

Figure 46. Detail of interior of Figure 1, showing decoration inside the fall front

Figure 47. Chinoiserie engraving by Martin Engelbrecht. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung

Figure 48. Engraving from Pieter van der Aa, *La Galerie agréable du monde* XVI, *Description du Japon et du Païs d'Eso* (Leiden, 1729). First published by Arnold Montanus in *Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen* (Amsterdam, 1669)

Figure 49. Chinoiserie engraving by Johann Christoph Weigel (ca. 1654–1726). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kunstbibliothek

that the prints found on Italian *lacca povera* work were published by the Remondinis in Bassano. The images used here are either German, such as the ones by Ridinger, Decker, and Engelbrecht, or are known to have been published in Germany in reverse copies, as may have been the case with the designs after Berchem, Audran, and perhaps also with those after Crépy and Berain. In theory, some of the reversed copies could have been issued by the Remondinis, who are known to have copied and adapted German, French, and other prints from at least fifty-five foreign publishers.[45] However, it is not very likely that pirated engravings published by this firm were used because of the secretary's 1730–35 date. Although established in the mid-seventeenth century, the Remondini firm did not become prominent until the middle of the following century: no catalogues of their work appear to have been published before 1751.[46] Wherever the cut-up engravings may have been issued, the secretary's decoration testifies to the widespread availability and use of prints throughout Europe. The chinoiserie engravings highlight the importance of seventeenth-century travel books, such as Nieuhof's *Het Gezantschap*, whose illustrations were influential until well into the eighteenth century. With the exception of the chinoiserie prints and those after designs by Watteau, both found on the inside of the secretary, the images used were not specifically intended for decoupage purposes and appear to have been randomly chosen. Although the technique of *lacca povera* was often employed in an attempt to imitate lacquer, the secretary's decoration does not resemble ornament found on Asian lacquer goods but conforms to contemporary European taste.

The overall shape and embellishment of the secretary firmly point to Venice, where painted, lacquered, and *lacca povera* furniture was much in vogue. As so often is the case with unsigned furniture, we don't know in which Venetian workshop the Museum's piece was made. There is no doubt, however, that the secretary is a masterpiece from the golden age of decoupage.

Appendix

Mercure de France, December 1727, pp. 2889–2894. Lettre écrite par M. Constantin à la Marquise de *** sur la nouvelle mode des Meubles en découpure.

Vous me demandez, Madame, ce que c'est que certains Ouvrages ausquels on vous a dit, que les Dames de Paris & de la Cour s'occupent à présent. Ces Ouvrages là, Madame, se nomment *Découpures*. C'est ici la grande & presque l'unique occupation des Dames, & quelques hommes s'en mêlent aussi. Il n'est plus question ni de Tapisseries ni de Noeuds; on a laissé les Rouëts & les Navettes; on ne veut plus que de la *Découpure*. On en fait tous les ameublemens qui sont susceptibles de cette matiere; Ecrans, Paravents, Tentures, Plafonds, Imperiales de Carosses, de Chaises; enfin l'on en met partout.

Cette mode a fait monter les Images & les Estampes à un prix extraordinaire; & comme il y a peu de Marchands qui en vendent, ou qui les fassent enluminer, leurs Boutiques ne désemplissent point.

Dès qu'un Cavalier paroît chez une Dame, on lui présente une image, il tire ses ciseaux de sa poche, il fait de la Découpure, c'est un nouveau genre de merite que de sçavoir bien découper.

Ce petit détail, dans lequel je n'éxagère point, picque, sans doute, votre vivacité; je vois que vous voudrez vous mettre à la mode; il faut pour cela, Madame, que vous n'ignoriez rien dans cet art. Vous réussissez si bien dans les autres petits ouvrages, dont j'ai eû l'honneur de vous montrer la mécanique, que je ne doute point que vous n'excelliez dans celui-ci. Au reste, je me ferai un très-grand plaisir de vous instruire de tout ce qu'il faut pour operer dans tout ce qui regarde les découpures.

Voici comment l'on y travaille. On prend une Image ou Estampe enluminée, on en découpe des fleurs, des animaux, des arbres, des bouquets, ou quelque autre piéce ou figure, selon l'ouvrage que l'on veut faire. Pour découper, on ne se servoit d'abord que de ciseaux ordinaires; on s'est servi ensuite de ciseaux plus fins pour découper à la main; mais j'ai fait faire des ciseaux pointus, minces, & arrondis en faucille par le côté, & quelques autres outils avec lesquels on découpe sur une petite Tablette de bois bien uni, ou du plomb adouci & préparé; les uns sont differents emporte-piéces, à peu près comme ceux dont les Officiers d'Office se servent pour découper les papiers dont ils ornent les bassins de fruits & de confitures; les autres sont des canifs de differentes façons, en rond, en demi-rond, en pointe, en sabre d'Housard, en petit croissant. On se sert pour les emporte-piéces d'un petit marteau de buis: avec tous ces outils l'ouvrage va plus vîte, la découpure en est plus nette, & l'on risque moins d'alterer ou de déchirer quelque partie essentielle; car il est bon que vous sçachiez que c'est un ouvrage de conséquence, & qu'on chasseroit plutôt un domestique pour avoir endommagé un bout de main, le pied d'une fleur, ou une aîle d'oiseau, que pour avoir manqué à quelque chose de conséquence;

aussi ceux qui travaillent bien, sont sûrs d'être cheris & récompensez.

Quand on a découpé la quantité de piéces dont on a besoin pour la composition du sujet qu'on veut représenter. On prend pour le fond, de la toile, du satin. Ou du carton mince, de la finesse, de la couleur & de la grandeur dont on veut faire le morceau, l'on enduit ce fond d'une colle fine & transparente pour laquelle on employe la colle-forte détrempée dans l'eau avec un peu de farine bien fine, ou de la poudre d'Amidon; on étend legerement cette colle avec un pinceau bien large & bien fin, on en met une couche, très-legere & bien égale, ensuite on y applique les ouvrages découpez, chacun dans la place qui lui a été destinée. Si l'on en avoit la patience, je crois qu'on feroit mieux de mettre la colle sur la découpure, & de n'en point mettre sur le fond, alors il en demeureroit plus net, & auroit un autre éclat.

Je crois encore qu'on pourroit ne mettre du vernis que sur le papier découpé, & avoir un fond de quelque beau satin qui demeureroit dans tout son lustre.

On fait sur ce fond toutes sortes de desseins, des festons, des guirlandes, des frises, des bordures, des chasses de Cerf, de Sanglier, d'oyseaux, & autres, l'on y met des figures Chinoises, des Mosaiques, & c. L'on en fait à demi relief dans le goût de ceux de la Chine.

Quand tout est bien sec, on y passe un vernis transparent pour conserver le papier & embellir l'ouvrage. Les vernis sont differens selon les differentes compositions; il y en a qui paroissent très-beaux dans les commencemens, mais qui dans la suite s'écaillent, jaunissent ou brunissent. Vous n'en sçauriez mettre de plus parfait, ni qui se conserve plus long-tems, que celui dont je vous ai donné la composition. Je ne vous conseille pourtant pas, Madame, de faire beaucoup de ces ouvrages; je ne sçaurois croire qu'une mode de papier, & pour laquelle on a une ardeur si violente, puisse subsister long-tems dans un Païs où l'on aime fort la nouveauté. D'ailleurs, c'est un ouvrage aisé, il deviendra commun, en faut-il davantage pour le faire tomber? ce qui amuse dans un tems, n'amuse pas toujours; mais enfin c'est la mode à présent, ou plutôt c'est une fureur.

Une jeune fille a découpé une partie des Estampes d'un Livre rare, sur l'Histoire naturelle, qu'elle a trouvé dans la Bibliotheque de son Oncle. J'ai averti un de mes amis de cacher soigneusement des Livres rare & précieux, où il y a de très-belles Planches, de crainte que sa petite soeur n'en fasse des Découpures.

Voilà, Madame, tout ce que j'ai pû recüeillir qui concerne cette nouvelle mode. L'ouvrage est aisé, mais il coute en verité plus qu'il ne vaut; il fait gagner quelques ouvriers; il occupe bien des gens oisifs, peut-être que quand on aura pris goût à cet amusement, on le perfectionnera, & qu'on le rendra plus utile & plus précieux.

Au reste, Madame, pour peu que ce genre d'ouvrage vous plaise, je vous promets de vous en montrer dans un autre goût, que vous trouverez beaucoup plus beau, & plus riche que celui-ci, si j'ai l'honneur de vous voir dans votre Terre le Printems prochain; en attendant je vous enverrai pour vos Etrennes, au commencement de la nouvelle année, une boëte remplie de tous les outils nécessaires, faits chez le bon Ouvrier.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

A Paris, ce 15. Decembre 1727.

NOTES

1. *Lettres de Mademoiselle Aïssé à Madame Calandrini* (Paris, 1943) p. 97. As a young girl, Charlotte Aïssé, a Circassian princess, was bought on the Constantinople slave market for 1,500 livres by the French ambassador, Charles de Ferriol. She was brought up by his sister-in-law in France. After a love affair with Blaise-Marie d'Aydie and the birth of an illegitimate daughter, Mlle Aïssé bared her soul in letters written to her confidante, Mme Calandrini, from 1726 onward.

2. It is possible that a pair of similar *torchères* in a private collection, described as having lacquered tops, have *lacca povera* decoration as well. See Clelia Alberici, *Il Mobile Veneto* (Milan, 1980) pp. 236–237, figs. 333, 334.

3. The box is lined with three different decorative papers similar to those made by the firm of Giovanni Antonio Remondini and his successors in Bassano, Italy; however, this type of paper was also made elsewhere. See the chapter on "Le carte decorate" by Paola Marini et al., in Mario Infelise and Paola Marini, *Remondini un Editore del Settecento* (Milan, 1990) pp. 96–143.

4. A pair of 18th-century Venetian vases, made of painted terracotta and decorated with cut-out prints, in a private collection, illustrates that this technique could also be used to imitate porcelain.

5. One of the first books with figures intended for cutting, *Livre nouveau pour ladecoupure*, was published by the otherwise unknown firm of Jourdan in Paris ca. 1700. See Sigrid Metken, *Geschnittenes Papier, eine Geschichte des Ausschneidens in Europa von 1500 bis heute* (Munich, 1978) pp. 20–22, figs. 7, 8.

6. Decoupage was very fashionable at the Prussian and Danish courts. Peter Franz Gerhard, lacquermaster to Queen Sophia Dorothea in Berlin, was obliged to improve and finish the writing table that the queen had decorated with decoupage before it could be presented to the margravine of Bayreuth in 1733. See Walter Stengel, *Alte Wohnkultur in Berlin und in der Mark* (Berlin, 1958) pp. 82–83; see also Tove Clemmensen, *Møbler paa Clausholm, Langesø og Holstenshuus* (Copenhagen, 1946) pp. 31–34; and Hans Huth, *Lacquer of the West: The History of a Craft and an Industry 1550–1950* (Chicago/London, 1971) pp. 31, 104.

7. See, for instance, Denise Thomas and Mary Fox, *Practical Decoupage* (London, 1993); Hilary More, *Easy to Make Decoupage* (London, 1993); Audrey Raymond, *Découpage: A Practical Guide* (East Roseville/London, 1993); Dee Davis, *Découpage, Paper Cutouts for Decoration and Pleasure* (New York, 1995).

8. Teuber, *Mechanici, auch Kunst und Silber Drechslers in Regenspurg*... (Regensburg, 1740). Another treatise was published by J. M. Cröker, *Der wohlanführende Maler*... (Jena, 1743). Jean-Félix Watin, *L'Art du peintre, doreur, vernisseur* (Liège, 1778; reprint Paris, 1975) pp. 229, 278, also included a recipe for the varnish to be used for *découpures*. First published in 1772, this manual was reissued many times. The 13th revised edition, published in 1898, still included a similar recipe, which testifies to the enduring popularity of decoupage. Watin, *L'Art du peintre* (Paris, 1898) p. 197. See also Thorsten Weil and Klaus-Peter Urban, "Ein Lacca-Povera-Kleinmöbel aus dem 18. Jahrhundert," *Restauro* 2 (March–April 1994) pp. 94–99.

9. *The Ladies Amusement; or, Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy* [facsimile 1966] p. 5. This book was published in at least two editions between 1758 and 1762 by Robert Sayer in London.

10. The term *lacca povera* refers to the fact that this type of decoration was considered to be a cheaper but less refined alternative to the lacquer imitations made by the Venetian *depentori*. It is not known when this term was first used. William Odom used the term "decalcomania" in *A History of Italian Furniture from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Milan, 1919) II, pp. 189, 193. Giuseppe Morazzoni referred respectively to "lacche a decorazione cartacea" and to "stampe" or "incisioni ritagliate" without giving the technique a proper name in "Lacche Veneziane del Secolo XVIII," *Dedalo* V (March 1925) p. 659, and *Il Mobile Veneziano del '700* (Milan, 1927) p. 53, pl. CLXXXI. It is possible that the term *lacca povera* originated in 1938 when the art of decoupage was referred to as "industria povera" and "lacca contrafacta" by Giulio Lorenzetti in *Lacche Veneziane del Settecento*, exh. cat. (Venice, 1938) pp. 15–16.

11. M. Constantin had apparently already taught this marquise, who appears to have lived abroad, various art techniques before. The letter was published in the *Mercure de France* (Dec. 1727) pp. 2889–2894. The complete text is printed here as an appendix.

12. In 1726 Jean-Louis Daudet of Lyons offered larger images especially for the decoration of rooms or chamber screens. See Pierre-Louis Duchartre and René Saulnier, *L'Imagerie parisienne, l'imagerie de la rue Saint-Jacques* (Paris, 1944) p. 178.

13. See Alberici, *Il Mobile Veneto*, p. 189. See also Giuliana Ericani, "Stampe per la 'lacca povera,'" in Infelise and Marini, *Remondini un Editore del Settecento*, pp. 222–233. These special prints were still offered in their *Catalogo delle stampe incise e delle carte di vario genere* of 1803, pp. 94–95, and of 1817, p. 108.

14. Daumont, *marchand d'estampes* in Paris, reissued prints by Engelbrecht ca. 1735. Two years later, Jacques V. Langlois advertised that he had the most beautiful decoupage prints from Germany for sale as well as pieces of furniture already decorated in this technique. *Mercure de France* (Dec. 1737) p. 2651. See also Duchartre and Saulnier, *L'Imagerie parisienne*, pp. 205, 221, and Metken, *Geschnittenes Papier*, pp. 102, 111, nn. 5, 6. In Aug. 1756 the widow Hoffmann offered for sale precut "indian figures" and flowers for decoupage. See Stengel, *Alte Wohnkultur*, p. 81.

15. *Mercure de France* (Nov. 1727) p. 2492. Engravings after designs by Watteau were apparently found especially suitable to the art of decoupage. The same publication referred several years later to other prints after Watteau, such as *Le Frileux* and *L'Enjôleur*, which "réussissent parfaitement en découpure," *Mercure de France* (June 1731) p. 1565.

16. Henry Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration* (Paris, 1887–90) II, p. 54. Clemmensen, *Møbler paa Clausholm*, p. 33. Huth, *Lacquer of the West*, p. 31. Metken, *Geschnittenes Papier*, pp. 101–102, 113, figs. 147, 148. Marianne Roland Michel, *Watteau, An Artist of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1984) p. 286, fig. 310.

17. A decoupage chamber screen is in the collection of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

18. Still extant are two cabinets in the Augustinian monastery in Dürnstein, Austria, decorated ca. 1735 with various German prints, partly illustrated by T. H. Clarke, "Reitende und andere Zwerge auf frühem Meissen-Porzellan," *Keramos* (Jan. 1988) no. 119, pp. 52–53. See also Metken, *Geschnittenes Papier*, p. 106. During World War II a similar cabinet at Brühl Castle, Germany, decorated ca. 1728–30 with prints taken from Maria Sibylla Merian's *Metamorphosis insectorum Surinamensium* of 1705, was destroyed. See Kurt Roeder and Walter Holzhausen, *Das Indianische Lackkabinett des Kurfürsten Clemens August in Schloss Brühl* (Tübingen, 1950).

19. Preston Remington, "Venetian Lacquer," *MMAB* 20 (MMA, 1925) pp. 239, 241–244, figs. 1, 3, and idem, "The Galleries of European Decorative Arts and Period Rooms,'" *MMAB*, new series, XIII (MMA, Nov. 1954) pp. 70, 128. See also Louise Ade Boger, *The Complete Guide to Furniture Styles* (New York, enlarged ed., 1969) no. 54; Huth, *Lacquer of the West*, pp. 54, 142, pl. 109; Metken, *Geschnittenes Papier*, pp. 120–121, fig. 162; Florence de Dampierre, *The Best of Painted Furniture* (New York, 1987) pp. 54–55.

20. The varnish used for decoupage was often made with resin from the sandarac tree. See Teuber, *Mechanici*, p. 206; Watin, *L'Art du peintre* (Liège, 1778) p. 229.

21. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1909) III, p. 371; F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam, 1948) I, pp. 268–280.

22. Christiaan Schuckman, *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700* (Roosendaal, 1992) XLI, pp. 77–78.

23. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings* (Amsterdam, n.d.) V, p. 128, nos. 12–17, W 6. A reversed version of this engraving is mentioned.

24. Several versions of this print after Berchem are known. Schuckman, *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings*, p. 65, no. 93. However, no reversed prints are mentioned. The spinning shepherdess on an 18th-century Venetian lacquered tray was based on the same Berchem design. See Lorenzetti, *Lacche Veneziane*, p. 33, no. 106, pl. LXIV, fig. 121.

25. See Georg A. W. Thienemann, *Leben und Wirken des unvergleichlichen Tiermalers und Kupferstechers Johann Elias Ridinger* (Leipzig, 1856) p. 238, no. 1116; Ignaz Schwarz, *Katalog einer Ridinger Sammlung* (Vienna, 1910) I, pl. XXXV.

26. See Thienemann's *Leben und Wirken des unvergleichlichen Tiermalers*, pp. 6–7, no. 12.

27. Compare the horseman on the crest with pls. XIX and XX of Schwarz, *Katalog einer Ridinger Sammlung*, and the horseman with hunting horn on the left-hand side panel with similar figures in Wolfgang Schwarze, *Johann Elias Ridinger Weidwerk und Reitkunst* (Wuppertal, 1964) pl. 15.

28. Maurice Fenaille, *État général des tapisseries de la manufacture des Gobelins depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, 1600–1900* (Paris, 1904) III, pp. 73–80. See also Alain Gruber et al., *L'Art décoratif en Europe, Classique et Baroque* (Paris, 1992) p. 214. The series was woven several times. One of the later sets was sold in the Patiño sale, Sotheby's, New York, Nov. 1, 1986, no. 141.

29. Listed in the *Mercure de France* for June 1726, p. 1228, and again, with a full description of each of the months, in July 1735, pp. 1604–1610.

30. *Katalog der Ornamentstich, Sammlung der Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek Berlin* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1939) I, p. 57, no. 367.

31. Illustrated by Giuseppe Morazzoni, *Mobili Veneziani Laccati* (Milan, 1955) I, pl. XXXI. Several small differences between the two secretaries can be seen in the the vase-shaped finials and in the feet. The secretary illustrated by Morazzoni also has drawer pulls.

32. Jérôme de la Gorce, *Berain Dessinateur du Roi Soleil* (Paris, 1986) p. 147.

33. Tessin, who traveled to France twice for extended visits, was an admirer of Berain and brought a number of his drawings back to Sweden. Among the designs by Berain in Tessin's collection were those for the Hôtel de Mailly (1687–88). See *Le Soleil et l'Étoile du Nord, la France et la Suède au XVIIIe siècle*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1994) p. 57.

34. Désiré Guilmard, *Les Maîtres Ornemanistes* (Paris, 1880) p. 97, pl. 35. A colored design of this ceiling, attributed to René Chauveau (1663–1722) after Tessin, is in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. See *Le Soleil et l'Étoile du Nord*, pp. 56–57, no. 25. A series of prints by Maria Philippina Küsel (b. 1676) shows individual details in reverse of the same Tessin ceiling, MMA 49.69.12(1–9).

35. The prints illustrated here as Figures 39–41 are bound with Paul Decker's *Groteschgen Werk vor Mahler Goldschmidte Stucato* in the print collection of the New York Public Library. Although certainly in Decker's style, they vary in size, have different numbers, and are less clearly printed than the *Groteschgen Werk*, which is perhaps an indication that these are copies after Decker or possibly the work of the younger Decker (1685–1742), who may have been a brother of Paul Decker. See Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1913) VIII, p. 525.

36. Some of the same chinoiserie figures were also used on a *lacca povera* writing cabinet sold at auction. Christie's, London, June 6, 1985, no. 146.

37. Nieuhof's *Het Gezandtschap* (Amsterdam, 1665) described the 1656 Dutch embassy of Pieter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyser to the imperial court in Peking to negotiate a trade agreement. Nieuhof, who traveled along as a steward, reported in detail on the voyage and illustrated his book with sketches made in China. Several foreign editions of this work appeared within five years of its initial publication, making it one of the most influential of its kind. Nieuhof's plates were frequently incorporated in later travel books, such as Simon de Vries, *Curieuse Aenmerckingen der bijsonderste Oost en West Indische Verwonderenswaerdige Dingen* (Utrecht, 1682) and Pieter van der Aa, *La Galerie agréable du monde* XV, *Description de la Chine & grande Tartarie* (Leiden, 1729).

38. Nieuhof's plates from *Het Gezandtschap* (Amsterdam, 1693 ed.) have been reprinted in Joan Nieuhof, *Bilder aus China 1655–1657* (Nördlingen, 1985). The lower illustration on p. 43 shows Nieuhof's depiction of such rock formations. The same plate was also incorporated in van der Aa, *La Galerie agréable du monde* XV, pl. 49 (ill. at upper left).

39. According to Nieuhof, these rocks contained elegant chambers and fishponds and offered excellent protection against the summer heat. See Chisaburo Yamada, *Die Chinamode des Spätbarock* (Berlin, 1935) pp. 46, 55.

40. The same plate was also incorporated in van der Aa, *La Galerie agréable du monde* XV, pl. 70 (ill. at upper left).

41. Nieuhof, *Bilder aus China 1655–1657*, p. 41, upper plate.

42. Ibid., p. 94.

43. The same illustration was also included in van der Aa, *La Galerie agréable du monde* XVI, *Description du Japon & du Païs d'Eso* (Leiden, 1729) pl. 27 (ill. at upper left). See also Otto Pelka, *Ostasiatische Reisebilder im Kunstgewerbe des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1924) p. 48, pl. 62, fig. 138.

44. Weigel's print combined figures from two plates first illustrated by Arnold Montanus, *Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maatschappij in't Vereenigde Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1669) pp. 57, 168. See also Siegfried Ducret, *Keramik und Graphik des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Brunswick, 1973) pp. 52, 190, figs. 342, 344.

45. Not only German and French prints were copied and adapted but also so-called fine and decorative prints were reissued from old copper plates in the firm's possession. See Peter Fuhring, "The Remondini Family," *Print Quarterly* XI (Dec. 1994) pp. 443, 445. It has been suggested that for some of the decoupage prints published by the Remondinis copperplates acquired from the heirs of Martin Engelbrecht were used. See Ericani, "Stampe per la 'lacca povera,'" in *Remondini un Editore del Settecento*, pp. 227–228, nos. 13–15.

46. No earlier catalogues than 1751 are mentioned in Infelise and Marini, *Remondini un Editore del Settecento*, pp. 30, 222.

Graphic Sources for Meissen Porcelain: Origins of the Print Collection in the Meissen Archives

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Dedicated to the Late T. H. Clarke

THE STUDY OF PRINT SOURCES for eighteenth-century European porcelain essentially began with Siegfried Ducret, who published a series of articles on this subject as well as the first major print sources book, *Keramik und Graphik des 18. Jahrhunderts: Vorlagen für Maler und Modelleurs.*[1] Prints were purchased by porcelain manufactories for the use of the modelers and painters, but the circumstances of these collections were unknown until recently.[2] For Ducret and others, therefore, the identification of a print source came through research conducted outside the main factories.[3]

The transfer of the archives of the Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Berlin from East to West Berlin in 1981 resulted in the discovery of the remains of the factory's original in-house print collection. This presented the first real opportunity to verify the relationship between prints and porcelain beginning with the prints first purchased for the manufactory, which was founded by Johann Ernst Gotzkowsky in 1761. An inventory of the collection published in 1986 documented the survival of about 2,500 prints,[4] making it possible to locate the sources for some decoration on Berlin porcelain and providing the basis for further research.

A comparable collection of prints has come to light in the archives of the Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, the former Königliche Porzellan Manufaktur founded in 1710.[5] The bulk of the material is loose, minimally sorted according to subject, and awaiting further analysis, conservation, and research.[6] However, it has been possible to isolate a distinctive group of prints and title plates in order to begin an analysis of the early material in the archives (see Appendixes). As with the inventory of the print collection in Berlin, this information has been used to locate print sources for some decoration on porcelain. The broader purpose of this article, however, is to consider the origins and growth of the Meissen collection by analyzing what has survived, as well as other archival documents.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 113.

PRINTS AND PORCELAIN

Printed sheets and books have been collected by artists and connoisseurs[7] alike since the Renaissance, and their impact on ceramics can already be seen, for example, in the use of Marcantonio Raimondi's engravings for the decoration of sixteenth-century Italian maiolica.[8] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prints were also used as stencils to transfer designs onto ceramics by means of pouncing, a technique particularly associated with Dutch Delftware[9] but probably also in use at the French soft-paste porcelain manufactories and later at Meissen.[10]

The publication of model books and manuals for the use of artists, architects, and craftsmen led to the dissemination of styles and ideas across Europe, often by means of unauthorized copies or pirated editions, reflecting the undocumented trade in copperplates. The *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii*, published in 1592, was so popular among generations of artists and craftsmen, as well as among the scientific community, that the original plates were purchased and utilized by a succession of Nuremberg publishers to issue several seventeenth-century editions and at least one eighteenth-century edition.[11] Individual figures from the *Archetypa* were also borrowed for new pattern books, such as *Flora* or *The therd book of Flowers, Fruits, Beastes, Birds and Flies*, where they appeared rearranged and in reverse.[12] Such copies, especially the edition of *Archetypa* published about 1701–26 by Christoph Weigel, explain the appearance of late-sixteenth-century images from the *Archetypa* on porcelain produced in the 1730s and 1740s. The taste for this sort of decoration on porcelain, botanical specimens (*deutsche Blumen*) and insects realized in trompe

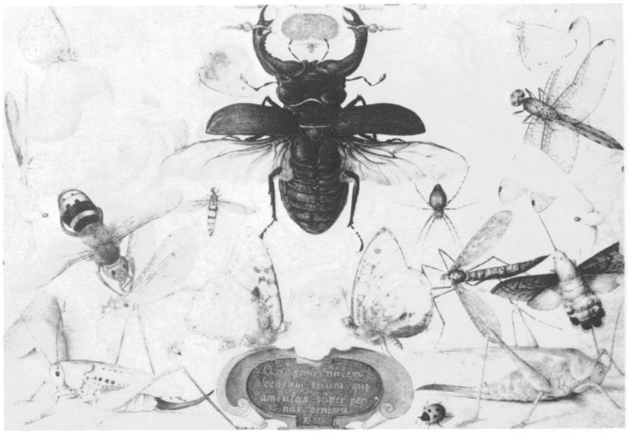

Figure 1. Georg (Joris) Hoefnagel (Flemish, 1542–1601). Insect Study. Pen and brown ink, colored washes, and gold paint on vellum, 12.0 x 17.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Darwin Morse, 1963, 63.200.4

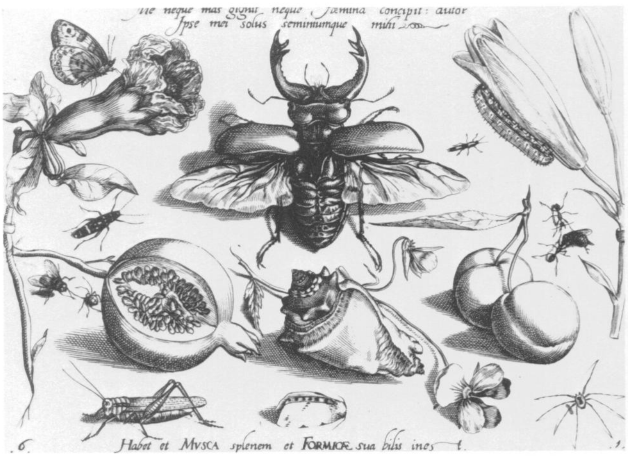

Figure 2. Jacob Hoefnagel (Flemish, ca. 1573–after 1632). *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii* (Frankfurt, 1592) p. 1, pl. 6. Engraving. London, The British Museum (photo: T. H. Clarke)

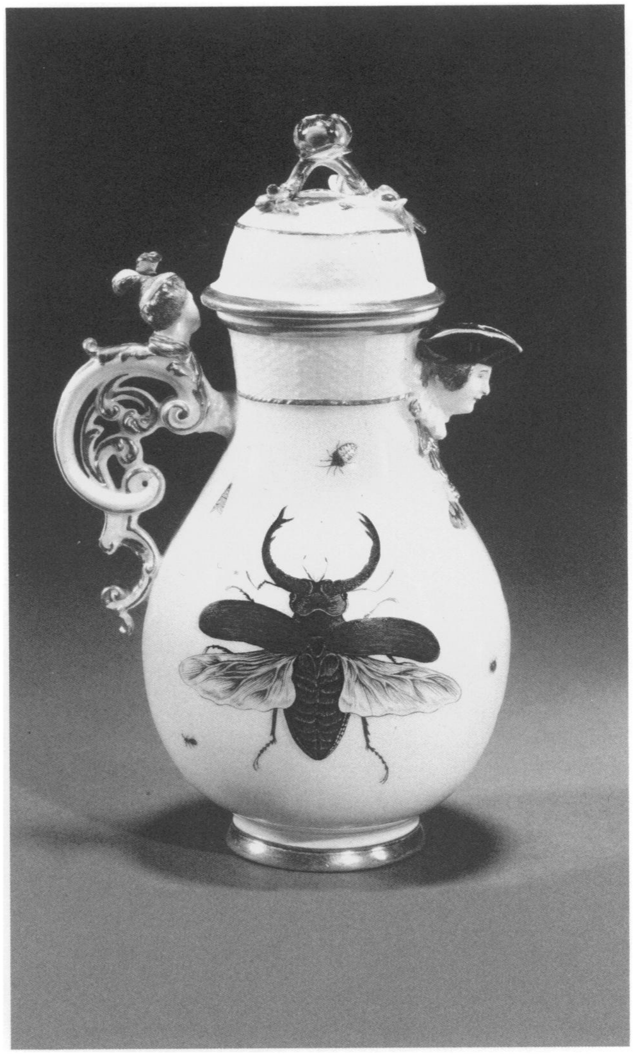

Figure 3. Coffeepot, Meissen, ca. 1740. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 22 cm. Sold by Sotheby's, Baden-Baden, Oct. 7, 1995, lot 1296 (photo: courtesy Sotheby's)

l'oeil, complete with shadows, was shared by Meissen (Figures 1–3), the DuPaquier factory in Vienna,[13] and by the independent porcelain decorators (Hausmaler) working in Augsburg.[14]

From the middle of the seventeenth century, the demand for print material for specialized craftsmen and amateur practitioners introduced to the market hundreds of small booklets of figural decoration and ornament.[15] Ephemeral in nature, prints of this kind were destroyed by use or were thrown away when out of fashion, so this material rarely survives today. Several compendiums of popular images that borrowed material from disparate sources were published later.[16] Some of these source books addressed a specific trade or industry, such as lacquering or goldsmithing, although they obviously reached a broader audience. This was recognized by the publisher of *The Ladies Amusement or Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy*, Robert Sayer, who noted on the title plate, "The above Work will be found extremely useful to the PORCELAINE, and other Manufactures depending on DESIGN."

With the founding of the European porcelain manufactories, prints directed to this industry began to appear. In Augsburg, the firm of Jeremias Wolff published a pattern book illustrating sample decoration on standard Meissen and DuPaquier models of the sort that came onto the market undecorated, as seconds, outdated models, or overstock (Figures 4–6). While the chinoiseries drawn onto the vessels are in the nervous, sketchy style generally associated with Elias Baeck (1669–1747), the strapwork ornament is

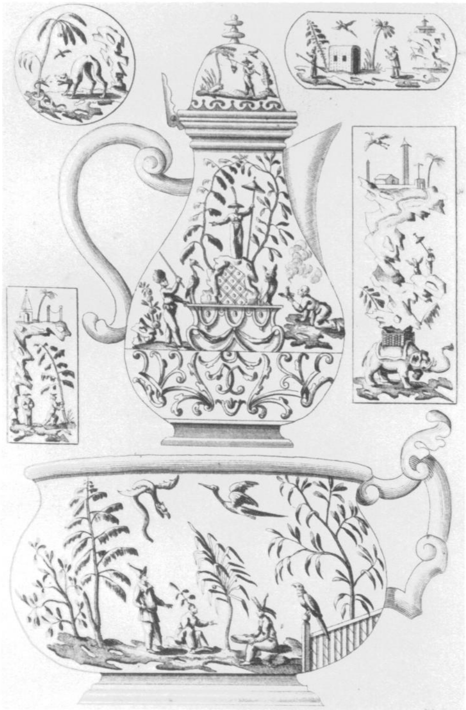

Figure 4. Attributed to Elias Baeck (called Heldenmuth, German, 1669–1747). Engraving no. 1 from series F, ca. 1720. Published by Jeremias Wolff, Augsburg. Basel, Historisches Museum (photo: T. H. Clarke)

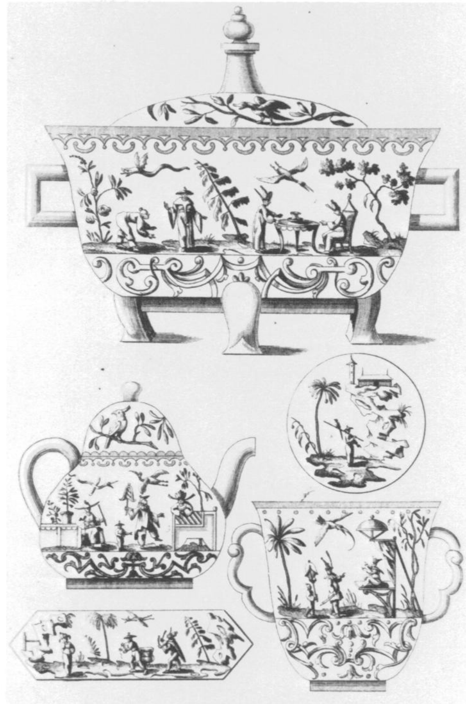

Figure 6. Attributed to Elias Baeck. Engraving no. 3 from series F, ca. 1720. Published by Jeremias Wolff, Augsburg. Basel, Historisches Museum (photo: T. H. Clarke)

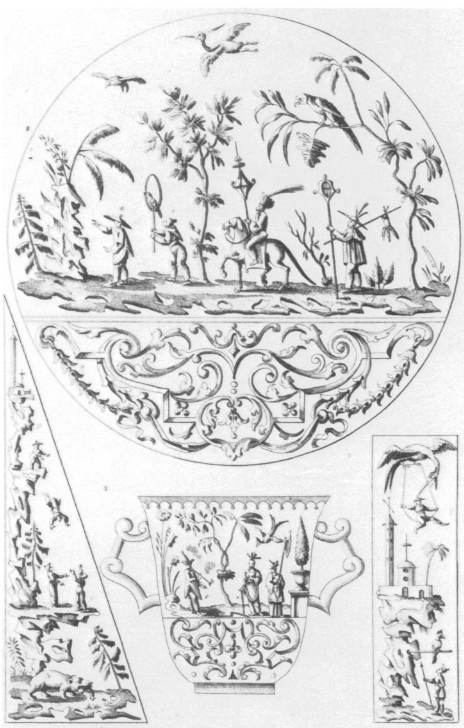

Figure 5. Attributed to Elias Baeck. Engraving no. 2 from series F, ca. 1720. Published by Jeremias Wolff, Augsburg. Basel, Historisches Museum (photo: T. H. Clarke)

Figure 7. Teapot, Meissen, ca. 1715–20. Decorated in Dresden or Augsburg, ca. 1725. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 11.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of W. B. Osgood Field, 1902, 02.6.110ab

Figure 8. Figure of Pantaloon, Meissen, ca. 1710–12. Stoneware, partially polished, H. 20.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964, 64.101.86

Figure 9. Robert Boissard (French, ca. 1570–after 1601). *Mascarades* (Strasbourg, 1597), pl. 6. Engraving. Washington, D.C., The Folger Shakespeare Library, PN 2067 B6 (photo: The Folger Shakespeare Library)

considered typical of the decoration executed by the goldsmiths' workshops that produced gilding on porcelain, reflecting perhaps the source of inspiration, as well as the market, for these designs (Figure 7).[17]

Prints and Meissen Porcelain

The Meissen porcelain manufactory was officially founded on January 23, 1710. Within two years, the factory employed about thirty workers and had more than 140 models in production. The direct borrowing of figures from Robert Boissard's *Mascarades*, published in Strasbourg in 1597, in the production of the famous commedia dell'arte series of about 1710–12, implies that prints were on hand from the factory's inception (Figures 8, 9).[18] However, before the arrival of the modelers Gottlieb Kirchner and Johann Joachim Kändler in 1727 and 1731 respectively, the factory was dependent on outside sources for models. Most were supplied by artists and sculptors attached to the court in Dresden who based their designs upon the prints and other source material available to them there.[19] The sculptors who produced the models for the commedia dell'arte figures, therefore, must have utilized a copy of Boissard's *Mascarades* in Dresden.

The first recorded delivery of prints to the Meissen manufactory occurred in September 1720, five months after the porcelain painter Johann Gregorius Höroldt (1696–1775) arrived there from Vienna.[20] Höroldt was an experienced porcelain painter who probably initiated the purchase of prints in conjunction with the establishment of the painting studio at Meissen. It was recorded that Höroldt appropriated most of the 157 prints delivered in 1720, although it is not clear who else in the manufactory might have needed this material at this date. Höroldt also borrowed prints from the king's library in Dresden, including seven Chinese woodblock prints that apparently were never returned.[21]

Later, with the arrival of Kirchner at Meissen in 1727, prints were ordered for the modelers as well. Kirchner immediately requested a copy of "Preissler's

Zeichenbuch," probably Johann Daniel Preissler's *Die durch Theorie erfundene* PRACTIC, *Oder Gründlich verfasste Reguln*, first published in Nuremberg in 1725.[22] Several loose sheets from this important artist's manual survive in the Meissen archives today. Due to the animosity between the heads of the painting and modeling studios, the print material for each group was probably maintained separately.[23]

Prints were the basis for the development of several styles of painting which were practiced anonymously by the painters at the manufactory. These included chinoiseries in a variety of signature styles associated with Höroldt, Johann Ehrenfried Stadler, Adam Friedrich von Löwenfinck, and others. The engravings of Martin Engelbrecht, for example, were clearly one inspiration for Höroldt's signature chinoiserie

Figure 10. Martin Engelbrecht (German, 1684–1756). *Nobilissimus Dominus Kiakouli in Villa sua/ Der Hoch Edle Herr Kiakouli in seinem Lust Hause*, ca. 1720. Engraving. Published by Engelbrecht, Augsburg. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Graphische Sammlung (photo: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe)

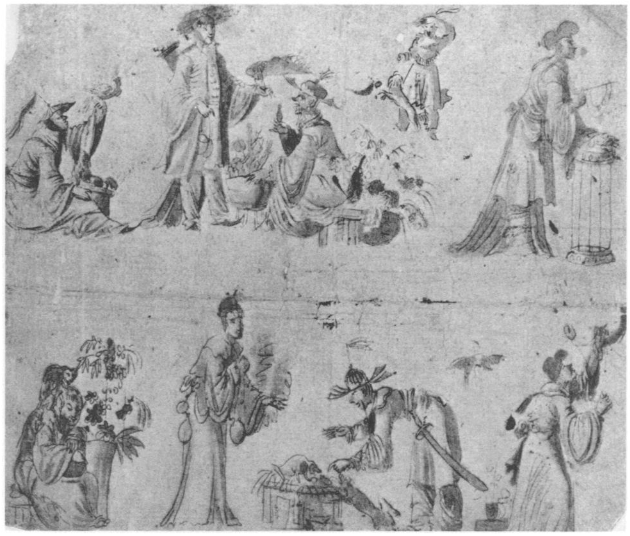

Figure 12. Artist undetermined. Untitled sheet of chinoiseries from the *Schulz Codex*, ca. 1723–26. Pencil, ink, and wash. Leipzig, Museum für Kunsthandwerke (photo: Behrends, *Das Meissener Musterbuch für Höroldt-Chinoiserien*, fol. 44)

Figure 11. Tankard, Meissen, ca. 1725. Decoration attributed to Johann Gregorius Höroldt (German, 1696–1775). Hard-paste porcelain, H. 20 cm. Mounted later by Johannes Zonnichsen Buxland, Aarhus, Denmark (Master, 1744). Memphis, Tenn., Warda Stevens Stout Collection, The Dixon Gallery and Gardens, 85.46 (photo: Pete Ceren)

Figure 13. Plate, Meissen, ca. 1725–30. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 3.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1954, 54.147.73

designs, which comprised the factory's predominant chinoiserie style, in use until the mid-1730s (Figures 10, 11).[24] Initially, Höroldt's paintings on porcelain and his preparatory drawings were used by the other factory painters as models, so that the same scene will appear on two or more pieces of porcelain painted by different hands.[25] Hundreds of sketches and preparatory drawings by Höroldt and his painters have survived in the so-called *Schulz Codex* and almost all are chinoiserie subjects drawn in the factory's distinctive style (Figures 12, 13).[26] This suggests that the painters were entirely dependent upon Höroldt's original designs when painting in this style, as opposed to working directly from prints.[27] Perhaps in an effort to address the painters' needs, in 1726 Höroldt issued his own series of etchings, which captures the fresh appeal of his Asian imagery (Figures 14–16).

Several prints from a small group must be among the earliest acquired by the Meissen manufactory because they represent subjects or, in some cases, are the models for decoration executed by Höroldt during the period before 1724, when he was actively painting and exploring a range of subjects. They include eight engravings of figures from the commedia dell'arte that may have been sent in answer to

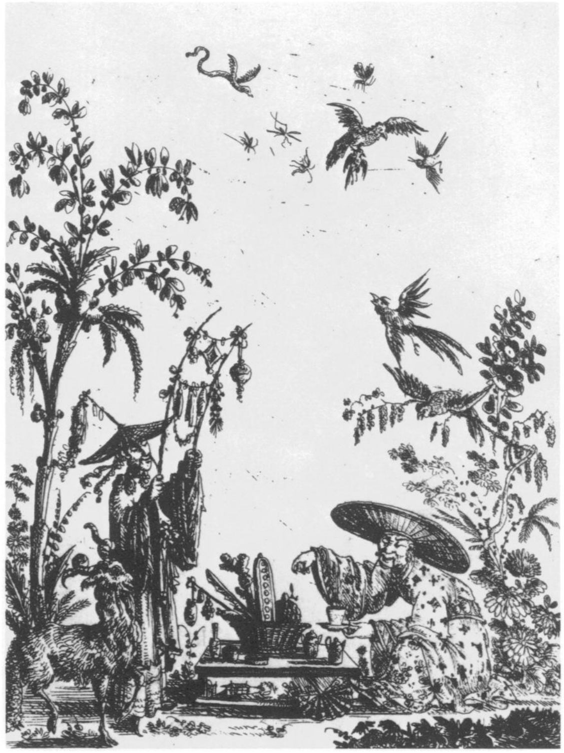

Figure 15. Johann Gregorius Höroldt. Untitled chinoiserie scene, signed and dated 1726. Etching. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstbibliothek, OS 4192 (photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

Figure 14. Johann Gregorius Höroldt (German, 1696–1775). Untitled chinoiserie scene, signed and dated 1726. Etching. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstbibliothek, OS 4192 (photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

Figure 16. Johann Gregorius Höroldt. Untitled chinoiserie scene, probably 1726. Etching. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstbibliothek, OS 4192 (photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

Figure 17. Artist undetermined. *Der Gandolin*, before 1714. Published by Phil(l)ipp Jacob Leidenhoffer, Augsburg. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

Figure 18. Artist undetermined. *Il Capitano Spavento. Napolitano*. Hand-colored print. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

Höroldt's request in 1722 for "den letzten Carnevals-Banden die Zeichnung, deren Kleider, um solche auf Services zumahlen."[28] Three are from an undated series published in Augsburg by Philipp Jacob Leidenhoffer (d. 1714) (Figure 17). The remaining prints are hand colored and carry Latin inscriptions but are unsigned (Figure 18). Höroldt used this sort of material for the decoration of two or three tea-and-coffee services, which can be dated between 1722 and about 1724 from the distinctive factory marks on the teapots (Figure 19).[29]

Prints of dwarfs from various series, some hand colored, have also survived in the Meissen archives (Figures 20, 21), as well as four hand-colored sheets of Turkish figures based upon well-known sources (Figures 22, 23). Meissen produced an extensive series of small porcelain figures of dwarfs and Near Eastern types that have been shown to derive from the same engraved sources. The Meissen figures were formed, however, from a series of 161 plaster models of "various National types and other figures" that were

Figure 19. Teapot, Meissen, ca. 1723. Decoration attributed to Johann Gregorius Höroldt. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 11.4 cm. Memphis, Tenn., Warda Stevens Stout Collection, The Dixon Gallery and Gardens, 85.34ab (photo: Pete Ceren)

Figure 20. Artist undetermined. Untitled interior with three dwarfs, ca. 1715? Hand-colored print. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

Figure 21. Artist undetermined, *Ein gute Figure.* Published by Albrecht Schmidt, Augsburg. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

Figure 22. Jean Baptiste Vanmour (Flemish, 1671–1737). *Soulak Bachi.* Published by Christoph Weigel, Nuremberg, 1719 after a French edition of 1714. Hand-colored print. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

Figure 23. After Caspar Luyken (Dutch, 1672–1708). *Ein Heyduck.* Published by Christoph Weigel, Nuremberg, 1703 or later. Hand-colored print. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

Figure 24. Teapot, Meissen, ca. 1723–26. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 10.2 cm (original lid missing). Private collection (from Scott and Scott, *Antique Porcelain Digest* [Bath, 1961] fig. 88)

Figure 25. Teapot and cover, Meissen, ca. 1722. Decoration attributed to Johann Gregorius Höroldt. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 10.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of W. B. Osgood Field, 1902, 02.5.39ab

Figure 26. Artist undetermined. Plates numbered 7–9 from an untitled, undated series with dwarfs representing the months. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

delivered to Meissen in 1725 from Augsburg, to be copied "immediately" in porcelain.[30] The related prints in the Meissen archives were therefore acquired for the use of the painters, as demonstrated by the early appearance of these subjects on a number of services with decoration attributed to Höroldt and the often faithful copying of the coloring of the prints (Figures 24, 25). The dwarfs also reappear on a series of cups painted about 1745 with allegories of the months based on a series that survives in part in the archives today (Figure 26).[31]

A group of didactic prints issued by various Augsburg publishers also survives. Three of the prints can be identified as the models for the decoration on parts from an early tea service painted by Höroldt. The prints used for the service derive from different engraved series but were brought together to illustrate a decorative program that mocks the faithful husband by exposing his deceitful wife. An engraving by Albrecht Schmidt was the source for the scene painted on the saucer, showing an officer at the front writing a letter in his tent (Figures 27, 28).[32] On the accompanying teabowl, a page delivers the letter to a lady (the officer's wife?) at her dressing table. The model for this scene was an anonymous engraving printed together with another plate from the same series and obviously sold as such, leaving it to the buyer to cut and bind the prints into a booklet, if desired (Figure 29). A preliminary study for this scene is one of the rare European subjects found in the *Schulz Codex* (Figure 30).[33]

The title plates from several early print series have survived in the Meissen archives, perhaps because the wording on these sheets made them less useful as models than the rest of the series (see Appendix 1). As

Figure 27. Teabowl and saucer, Meissen, ca. 1723. Decoration attributed to Johann Gregorius Höroldt. Hard-paste porcelain, H. teabowl 5.2 cm, Diam. saucer 12.7 cm. Private collection (photo: Joseph Coscia Jr.)

Figure 28. Artist undetermined. *Libenter Stude.* Published by Albrecht Schmidt, Augsburg. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

Figure 29. Artist undetermined. Untitled, undated sheet printed with two plates: a woman at her dressing table and a man and woman at a gaming table. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

Figure 30. Artist undetermined. Untitled sheet from the *Schulz Codex*, ca. 1723–26. Pencil and wash. Leipzig, Museum für Kunsthandwerks (photo from Behrends, *Das Meissener Musterbuch für Höroldt-Chinoiserien*, fol. 126)

a group, they indicate the lingering influence, and continuing availability, of seventeenth-century print material from France and Holland. In some cases, it is clear that the series was a later edition that was published using the original plates. In these instances, the title plate was minimally altered to include the name of the new publisher. Little is known about the trade in outdated copperplates, although the names of certain publishers, notably Peter Schenk Jr. and Christoph Weigel, appear often enough to indicate that they were specialists in the publication of what has been termed pirate editions.[34] The prints in the Meissen archives also demonstrate the prominence of Augsburg, Amsterdam, and Paris as the centers of publishing and the print trade.[35]

Much of the seventeenth-century material in the Meissen archives reflects the popularity of *Veduten*, the European prospects, harbor scenes, and views set with diminutive figures amid classical ruins. Most sets comprised between six and twelve sheets when they were sold and were used by the Meissen painters as source material for individual figures and architectural details as well as land and water views (Figures 31–37). Painted into variously shaped cartouches or spread across a saucer or around a vessel, *Veduten* served as both primary and auxiliary decoration (Figures 32, 33). Certain artists, such as Israël Silvestre and Gabriel Perelle, executed their views on very small copperplates, which were often printed four or more to the sheet, perhaps to conserve paper. Apparently these sheets were sold intact, as demonstrated by the multiple impressions in the archives today. Print collectors generally cut out the different impressions and arranged them on the pages of albums.

Six engravings, including an altered title page, from an edition of the fourth part of Melchior Küsel's

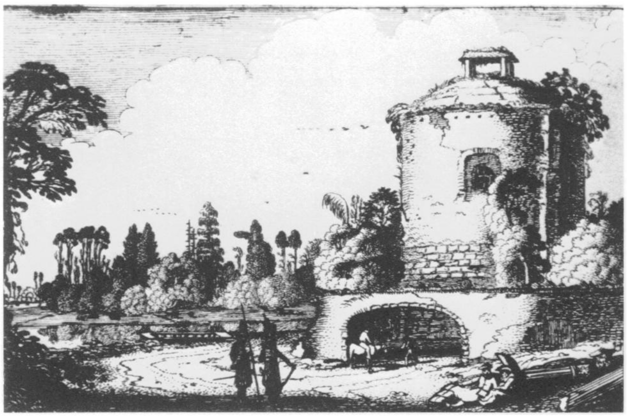

Figure 31. Jan van der Velde. Plate from *Vierde Deel*, untitled series of landscapes. Originally etched and published by Claes Jansz Visscher, 1616. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Rijksmuseum)

Figure 34. Johann Wilhelm Baur (French, d. 1640). *Caprizze*, title plate from *Iconographia*, part 4. Published by Melchior Küsel, Augsburg, ca. 1670–86. Engraving. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

Figure 32. Bowl, Meissen, ca. 1730–35. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 7.9 cm, Diam. 16.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, 1954, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1954, 54.147.77

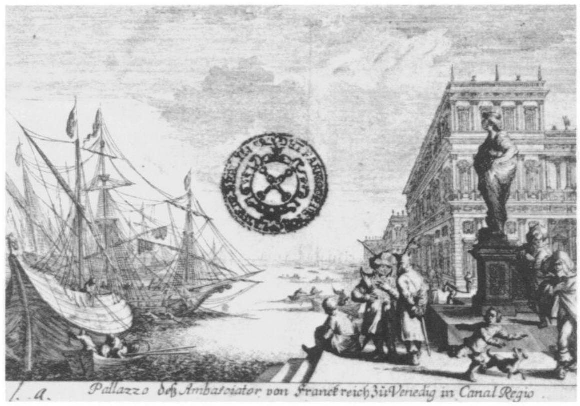

Figure 35. Johann Wilhelm Baur. *Pallazzo dess Ambasciator von Franckreich Zu Venedig in Canal Regio*, plate from *Iconographia*, part 4. Published by Melchior Küsel, Augsburg, ca. 1670–86. Engraving. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Berlin, Archives

Figure 33. Two-handled bowl with cover, Meissen, ca. 1725–30. Hard-paste porcelain, H. with cover 10.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982, 1982.60.250ab

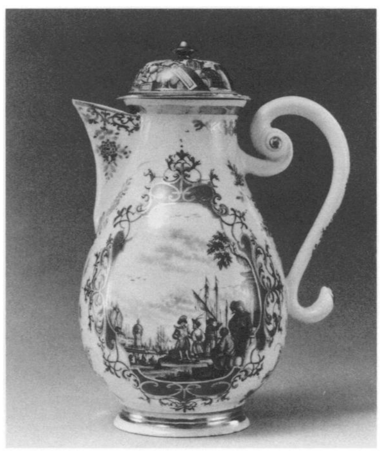

Figure 36. Coffeepot, Meissen, ca. 1730. Hard-paste porcelain, H. with cover 20.3 cm. Private collection (Photo: Joseph Coscia Jr.)

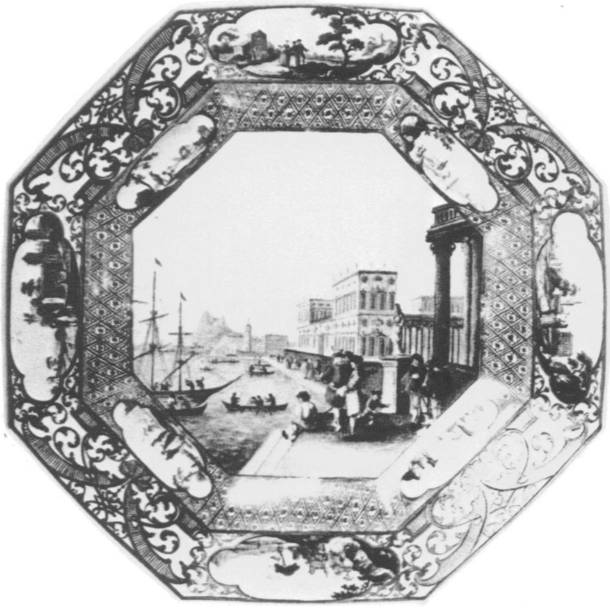

Figure 37. Octagonal dish from the Christie–Miller service, Meissen, ca. 1740. Hard-paste porcelain, Diam. 29.5 cm. London, Sotheby's (photo: Sotheby's)

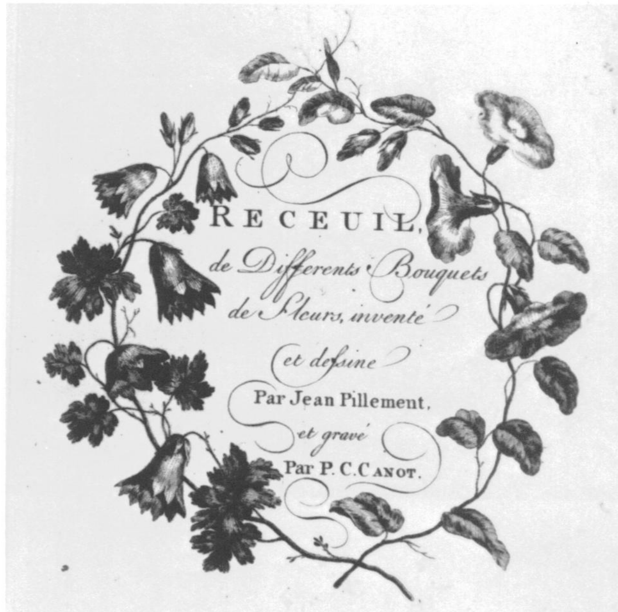

Figure 39. Jean-Baptiste Pillement (1728–1808). Title plate from *Receuil, de Différents Bouquets de fleurs* (London, 1760). Engraving by Pierre Charles Canot. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

Figure 38. Johann Wilhelm Baur. *Underschidliche Meer Porten und Pallazzia von Joh: Wilhelm Bauren in Italia nach dem Leben gezeichnet,* title plate from *Iconographia*, part 4. Etching. Published by Melchior Küsel, Augsburg, ca. 1670–86. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Berlin, Archives

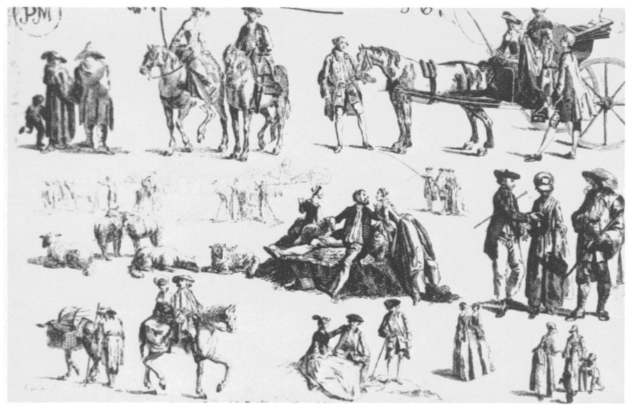

Figure 40. Plate 33 from *The Ladies Amusement; or, Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy* (London: Robert Sayer, 1758 or 1762). Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

Iconographia (Figure 34) confirm the existence at Meissen of the recognized source for the Christie–Miller service painted about 1740 (Figure 37).[36] This source was available as early as about 1730, when it was used for the decoration of a coffee-and-tea service (Figures 35, 36). A collection of seventeenth-century Italian views by Johann Wilhelm Baur, from the same volume of the *Iconographia* with a variant title plate, was also owned by the Königliche Porzellan-Manufaktur in Berlin (Figures 35, 38).[37]

Another group of title plates reflects the stylistic influence of the French porcelain manufactories at Vincennes and Sèvres. It includes prints by Jean-Baptiste Pillement (1728–1808), among others, published in Paris and London (Figures 39, 40). France was often the market for Meissen porcelain decorated in the French taste, as exemplified by a Meissen ewer painted in the style of Pillement that was mounted in Paris (Figure 41). Two books of engravings of the biscuit figures modeled by Étienne-Maurice Falconet on

Figure 41. Ewer and cover, Meissen, ca. 1750–55. Hard-paste porcelain with silver-gilt mounts Paris discharge mark 1756–62, H. with cover 24.1 cm. Private collection (photo: Joseph Coscia Jr.)

Figure 42. Étienne-Maurice Falconet (1716–91). Title plate from *Deuxième Livre de Figures, d'après les Porcelaines de la Manufacture Royale de France. Inventées, en 1757, par Mr. Boucher* (Paris: Chez François Joullain, probably 1763) Engraving by Pierre-François Tardieu (1711–1771). Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives

his arrival at Sèvres in 1757 were issued in Paris by Francois Joullain, and the second of these, entitled *Deuxième Livre de Figures, d'après les Porcelaines de la Manufacture Royale de France. Inventées, en 1757. par Mr. Boucher*, was owned by the Meissen porcelain manufactory (Figure 42).[38] Some sets of prints, such as Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin's *Premier Essai de Papilloneries Humaines* and the anonymous *Différentes Fleurs du Japon/Propres aux Manufactures d'Etoffes* and *Différents Fruits et Fleurs des Indes*, have survived in the archives almost complete, suggesting they were never used.[39]

The immense popularity and demand for Watteau subjects on Meissen porcelain meant that eleven specifically designated "Watteau-Painters" were employed by the factory in 1744.[40] The production of a number of court services painted with Watteau subjects in chrome-green monochrome began in 1745 with the commission for an elaborate toilet service for Queen Maria Amalia Christina of the Two Sicilies, the daughter of Augustus III.[41] Comparable to the extensive traveling services made by goldsmiths in Augsburg and Paris, the Meissen service comprised more than thirty-five different models painted with a range of vignettes and with the arms of Saxony and the Two Sicilies.[42] On the cup in the Metropolitan Museum the panels are painted with figures from *La Marieé du Village* by Watteau (Figures 43–45). The first engraving of this picture was announced in *Mercure de France* in March 1729, due to its large size and rich detail.[43]

Johann George Heintze, one of the Meissen factory's most talented painters, worked as a drawing instructor from 1740 and was additionally in charge of the in-house print collection.[44] Several important natural histories were acquired for the manufactory during this period, which saw the development of European flower and bird painting at Meissen. These included Eleazar Albin's *A Natural History of Birds* (London, 1738) and Johann Wilhelm Weinmann's four-volume work, *Phytanthoza iconographia; oder Eigentliche Vorstellung etlicher Tausend sowohl einheimisch—als ausländischer . . . Pflanzen* (Augsburg, 1737–45). In 1742 nineteen engravings of animals by Johann Elias Ridinger were delivered and were used together with the natural histories in the design of the Northumberland service, produced about 1745 (Figure 46).[45] Originally commissioned by Augustus III as a gift for the British envoy to Dresden, Sir William Hanbury, the production of this service led to complaints that too much attention was being focused on copying from Albin and Weinmann. Objections to copying from prints after Watteau were raised at the same time.[46]

By 1745, however, the Meissen manufactory owned more than five thousand prints and the painters had

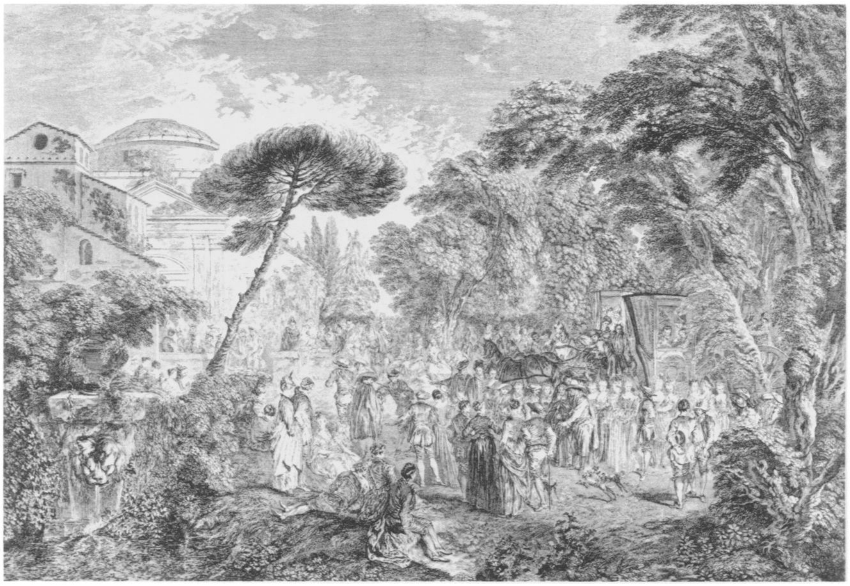

Figure 43. Charles-Nicolas Cochin (French, 1688–1754). Etching after Jean-Antoine Watteau (French, 1684–1721). *La Marieé de Village*, 1729. Published by Chez F. Chereau, Paris. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Fund (photo: National Gallery of Art)

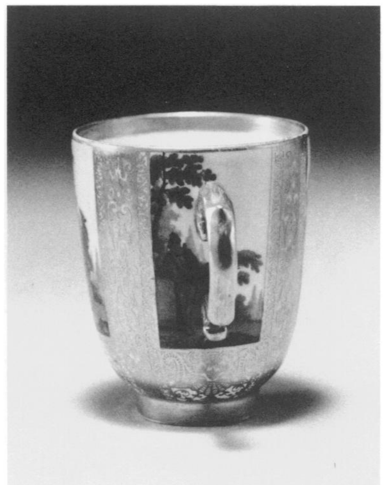

Figure 44. Alternate view of Figure 45

Figure 45. Cup, Meissen, 1745–47. Painted by Gottlob Siegmund Birckner (German, ca. 1712–1771). Hard-paste porcelain, H. 7.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Alastair Bradley Martin, 1954, 54.103.1

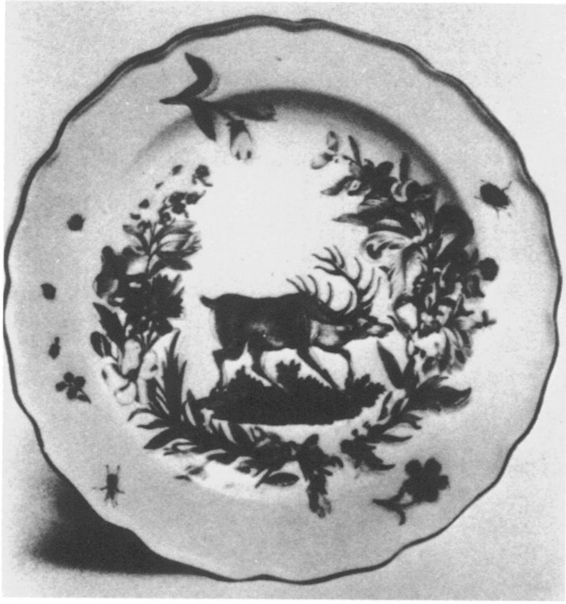

Figure 46. Plate, Meissen, ca. 1745. Hard-paste porcelain. Collection of the Duke of Northumberland (photo *Keramos* 70 [Oct. 1975] courtesy of the Northumberland Estates)

grown dependent upon this material, apparently to the point that it was being copied exactly.[47] The freshness and invention of the factory's early painting may have been lost as a result, but the trend in the expanding European porcelain industry was to cater to the marketplace by reproducing the artists and subjects already popularized by prints. The prints that survive in the Meissen archives provide a unique picture of the impact of this material at the first European hard-paste porcelain manufactory.

NOTES

1. Siegfried Ducret, *Keramik und Graphik des 18. Jahrhunderts/Vorlagen für Maler und Modelleurs* (Braunschweig, 1973).

2. To demonstrate the acquisition of prints for the use of porcelain modelers and painters, Ducret reprinted a general inventory of the Fürstenburg manufactory print collection compiled in October 1770 or 1771, which listed 1,045 prints in categories devoted to landscapes, figures, and flowers (*Keramik und Graphik*, pp. 1–5). Various authors have also occasionally published prints owned by the Meissen archives; see, for example, Otto Walcha, *Meissen Porcelain* (New York, 1981) pp. 474–475, figs. 64 and 69. See also Günter Reinheckel, "Plastische Dekorationsformer im Meissner Porzellan des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Keramos* 41/42 (July/Oct. 1968) p. 89, fig. 64, and p. 91, fig. 65.

3. This article is dedicated to the late T.H. Clarke (1913–1995), who so enlightened the study of prints and porcelain. Clarke recognized that the proliferation of copies and later editions of certain popular images and books meant that a print source had to be researched and placed in context. For a bibliography of T.H. Clarke's work compiled by Kate Foster Davson, see *Keramos* 149 (July 1995) pp. 128–129.

Other authors interested in the connections between prints and porcelain include Ernst Kramer and A.L. den Blaauwen, who have published their research in *Keramos/Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft der Keramik-freunde e.V., Düsseldorf,* in the *Keramik-Freunde der Schweiz, Mitteilungsblatt/Bulletin des Amis Suisses de la Céramique,* and elsewhere.

4. See Ilse Baer, "Druckgraphische Vorlagen der Porzellanfabrik des Johann Ernst Gotzkowsky" in *Von Gotzkowsky zur KPM/Aus der Frühzeit des friderizianischen Porzellans* (Berlin, 1986) pp. 272–348. The author is grateful to Ilse Baer for permitting her to work with the print collection in 1991.

5. The existence of a manufactory print collection at Meissen was acknowledged by Dr. Rainer Rückert and Dr. Klaus-Peter Arnold in conversations with the author. Although access to the collection is generally restricted, Jürgen Schärer, archivist at the manufactory, graciously permitted the author to work with the material in 1994. According to Mme Tamara Préaud, archivist, Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, a comparable collection of prints exists at Sèvres. For more information, Mme Préaud kindly recommended Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "Sèvres Artists and Their Sources," in *The Burlington Magazine* (Oct. 1980) pp. 666–681 and (Nov. 1980) pp. 748–762.

6. Apparently the print collections at Fürstenburg, Berlin, and Sèvres were also arranged according to subject, indicating this arrangement was routine and suited the needs of the artists in the manufactories.

7. See Jan van der Waals, "The Print Collection of Samuel Pepys," *Print Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (Dec. 1984) pp. 236–257.

8. See Timothy Wilson, "The Design Sources of *Istoriato* Maiolica," in *Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1987) pp. 112–130.

In 17th-century China, porcelain painters used woodblock prints as source material; see Julia Curtis, *Chinese Porcelains of the Seventeenth Century/Landscapes, Scholars' Motifs and Narratives* (New York, 1995) pp. 136–139, cat. nos. 56–57. Also see Wen C. Fong and James C.Y. Watt, *Possessing the Past* (New York, 1996) pp. 447–448.

9. For various examples, see Jan Daniël van Dam, *Gedateerd Delfts aardewerk/Dated Dutch Delftware* (Amsterdam, 1991). For more on the technique, see David Harris Cohen and Catherine Hess, *Looking at European Ceramics/A Guide to Technical Terms* (London/Malibu, 1993) p. 70.

10. Meredith Chilton, curator, George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Royal Ontario Museum, has questioned whether a stencil was used to apply the decoration on some early French soft-paste porcelains (for example, MMA 17.190.1915).

11. See Thea Vignau-Wilberg, *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii/1592/Natur, Dichtung und Wissenschaft in der Kunst um 1600* (Munich, 1994) pp. 85–94 and fig. 19.

12. See Kathleen Epstein (with an introduction by Cora Ginsburg and Donna Ghelerter), *A Book of Flowers, Fruits, Beasts, Birds, and Flies/Seventeenth-Century Patterns for Embroiderers/Printed and Sold by Peter Stent* (Austin, 1995) and Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent London Bookseller circa 1642–1655* (Vancouver, 1985) pp. 140–141, nos. 520–524; For more on *The therd book of Flowers*, see Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Part II* (Cambridge, 1955) pp. 235–236, no. 38; for more on John Payne's *Flora*, see Margery Corbett and Michael Norton, *Engraving in*

England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries. Part III (Cambridge, 1964) pp. 27–28, no. 52, and pl. 10.

13. Decoration combining so-called *deutsche Blumen* and natural specimens derived from Hoefnagel's *Archetypa* was executed at the DuPaquier factory during the 1730s; see, for example, the frog and grapes painted on the shaped plate sold at Sotheby's, New York, Sept. 26, 1989, lot 234, in Hoefnagel, Pt. 2, pls. 5 and 9.

The archives of the DuPaquier porcelain manufactory, founded in Vienna in 1719, have not survived to the present, and the subject of the use of prints at the factory has not been otherwise researched, although the factory's signature foliate-strapwork decoration can be seen to derive from French ornament prints. In addition, the chinoiserie decoration on a DuPaquier tea caddy in the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 50.211.273ab) is based on prints from Peter Schenk's *Nieuwe Geinventeerde Sineesen*, published in Amsterdam about 1702.

The trade in copperplates may have been responsible for the appearance of other 16th- and 17th-century images on porcelain painted in the 18th century; for example, prints by Hans-Sebald Beham (1500–1550) and Barthel Beham (1502–1540) and Johann Schmischek (17th century) were utilized by the Hausmaler Ignaz Preissler and at Meissen on porcelains painted ca. 1715–20.

14. For an example, see the Meissen beaker from the Goldschmidt-Rothschild Collection (*Die Sammlung Erich von Goldschmidt-Rothschild*, sale cat., Ball & Graupe, Berlin, March 25, 1931, lot 552, p. 164 and pl. 92) with a snail drawn from Hoefnagel, Pt. 2, pl. 11, as well as a caterpillar and other insects.

15. Examples include Paul Decker's pattern book *Groteschgen Werk Vor Mahler Gold-schmidte Stucato*, published by Johann Christoph Weigel (his series no. 97), MMA (Print Dept. 49.7) as well as the *Gantz Neu Inventiertes Laub und Bandelwerk/Dritter Theil* by Johann Jacob Baumgartner, published in Augsburg in 1727, MMA (Print Dept. 56.570.23).

16. For instance, the *Neu-vollständiges Reiss-buch mit vielen schönen Anweisungen zum Zeichnen/Perspectiv/Kupfferätzen und Sonnen-Uhren* published by Johann Leonhard Buggel in Nuremberg in 1700 with sixty plates prepared by the anonymous G.H., who copied existing prints by various 17th-century artists. As a result, the images are reversed. For more on this book, see the author, "Von Barlow zu Buggel: Eine neuentdeckte vorlage für das Schwanenservice," *Keramos* 119 (Jan. 1988) pp. 63–68.

17. The complete set of six plates is illustrated by Georg Wilhelm Schulz, "Augsburger Chinesereien und Ihre Verwendung in der Keramik," Pt. I in *Zeitschrift für Kultur Kunst und Geschichte Schwabens* (1926) pp. 190–200.

Goldsmiths working in Dresden and Augsburg were responsible for most of the gold decoration on Meissen porcelain until sometime after 1730. Until recently, the style of ornament illustrated in these prints was considered typical of Augsburg. Now it is recognized that the style was probably practiced also in Dresden and may have begun there.

18. See Ingelore Menzhausen, *Johann Friedrich Böttger/Die Erfindung des Europäisches Porzellans* (Stuttgart, 1982) pp. 226, 251. For more on Boissard, see A. L. Clark, *From Mannerism to Classicism* (New Haven, 1987) p. 23.

Glass engravers and polishers from local glass houses and from Bohemia were employed by the manufactory from 1710 to polish and engrave the red stoneware (so-called red porcelain) brought to market in that year. Since these craftsmen routinely worked from prints, presumably they supplied their own material for engraving on Meissen stoneware. See Ducret, *Keramik und Graphik*, pp. 64–65, figs. 21, 25, for an example of chinoiserie designs by Paul Decker on Meissen stoneware. With the discovery of a formula for a satisfactory white porcelain body in 1713, production of Böttger's so-called red porcelain ceased.

19. For information on the size of the staff and their positions and responsibilities beginning in 1710, see Rainer Rückert, *Biographische Daten der Meissener Manufakturisten des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1990).

Various types of objects from the royal collections were utilized as models, including ceramics, small sculptures, lacquered wares, silver vessels, and shells. Drawings by court artists and models in carved wood, plaster, and wax were also sent from Dresden. For more on the use of Asian objects as prototypes, see the author, "The Japanese Palace Collections and Their Impact at Meissen," *The International Fine Art and Antique Dealers Show*, handbook (Abingdon, England, 1995) pp. 15–24.

20. Rückert, *Biographische Daten*, p. 159; For complete biographical details, see pp. 158–161.

Until ca. 1720, all of the painted decoration and gilding on white Meissen porcelain (with the exception of the mother-of-pearl luster) was executed by either the court lacquerer, Martin Schnell, and his assistants, or the workshop of the Dresden goldsmith George Funcke.

21. For the receipt for "7 Blatt allerhandt Curieuse Figuren von chinesischen Sachen, auf seiden Pappier gedruckt" borrowed by Höroldt on Sept. 14, 1720, see Rainer Behrends, *Das Meissener Musterbuch für Höroldt-Chinoiserien: Musterblätter aus der Malstube der Meissener Porzellanmanufaktur (Schulz Codex)* (Leipzig, 1978) p. 46, n. 88. Two tracings of Chinese woodblock prints used at Meissen appear in facsimile on plates 119, 120. For Chinese woodblock prints in the Dresden royal print collection before 1738, see Herbert Bräutigam, ed., *Schätze Chinas in Museen der DDR/ Kunsthandwerk und Kunst aus Vier Jahrtausenden* (Leipzig, 1989) pp. 121–128.

22. Rückert, *Biographische Daten*, p. 114.

23. Behrends, *Das Meissener*, p. 12, refers to the *Inventarium über die bei der Malerei der Königl. Porcellan-Manufactur zu Meissen vorhandenen Kupferstiche, Gemälde, Lithographien und andere Werke* of 1846, which indicates the separation of material continued into the 19th century. The document, which contains a *Verzeichnis von Kupferstichen älterer Meister, welche bei der Königl. Porcellain-Manufactur befindlich und in Jahre 1846 aufgezeichnet worden sind*, is discussed in Appendix 2.

24. For the preparatory drawing for this painting, see Behrends, *Das Meissener*, fols. 12, 28.

25. In April 1723 it was noted that the underglaze-blue painter Johann Caspar Ripp was the only painter for whom Höroldt did not have to supply a preliminary sketch. Rückert, *Biographische Daten*, p. 186.

26. For the facsimile edition of the sheets in the Museum für Kunsthandwerks, Leipzig, see Behrends, *Das Meissener*. Only fourteen of the sheets contain European subjects.

27. Later, after Höroldt was named court painter in 1724 and as the number of painters at the manufactory grew, it seems that he largely withdrew from painting, with the exception of special commissions. Occupied with technical and administrative concerns, he nonetheless continued to oversee the training of the painters.

28. Rückert, *Biographische Daten*, p. 159.

29. A factory mark was necessary to protect against the impact of the independent porcelain decorators, called Hausmaler, who also painted on Meissen seconds and overstock that were sold blank. Initially, only the teapots and sugar boxes were marked on the underside in underglaze blue. The M.P.M. (Meissener Porzellan-Manufaktur) mark was in use from June to November 1722, the K.P.F. (Königliche Porzellan Fabrik) mark was introduced in December 1722, and the K.P.M. (Königliche Porzellan Manufaktur) mark was announced in the *Leipziger Postzeitungen* on April 7, 1723. Although the well-known crossed swords mark in underglaze blue was introduced before 1731, it was applied by royal decree to every piece of porcelain beginning in March or April of that year.

For a coffeepot with figures from the commedia dell'arte from about 1722, see Ulrich Pietsch, *Early Meissen Porcelain/A Private Collection* (Lübeck, 1993) cat. no. 32, pp. 46–47.

30. T. H. Clarke, "Reitende und andere Zwerge auf frühem Meissen-Porzellan," *Keramos* 119 (Jan. 1988) pp. 6–57, and "Die Neu Eröffnete Welt-Galleria, Nürnberg 1703, als Stichvorlage für Sogenannte Callot-Zwerge," *Keramos* 127 (Jan. 1990) pp. 3–27.

31. For five of the cups decorated with allegories of the months, including European subjects opposite the handle and dwarfs on either side of the handle, see *The Nyffeler Collection of German Porcelain*, sale cat., Christie's, London, June 9, 1986, lots 165–69. Three more were sold at Christie's on Oct. 2, 1989, lots 189–91. In this sale catalogue, three of the painted dwarfs are illustrated. I am grateful to Errol Manners, London, for supplying study photographs of the cup in his shop.

32. Höroldt's rendering of the scene was copied by a less skillful hand onto an unpublished bowl from another service; this piece can be found in the Schneider Collection exhibited at Schloss Lustheim, Munich (ES 268).

33. For other examples, see Meredith Chilton, "The Canada Bowl," *Rotunda* 28, no. 1 (Summer 1995) pp. 26–33.

34. It has been proposed that Martin Engelbrecht's stock of copperplates was sold at his death to the Venetian publisher Raimondini, because images originally published by Engelbrecht appear later in the series issued by Raimondini; see Mario Infelise and Paola Marini, *Remondini/Un Editore del Settecento* (Milan, 1990) p. 227, in note to no. 13. Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide kindly brought this information to my attention.

35. For more on the print privilege in France, see Peter Fuhring, "The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France," *Print Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (Sept. 1983), pp. 174–193, and vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1986) pp. 19–33. See also Maxime Préaud, "Jacques van Merle/A Flemish Dealer in Paris," *Print Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (June 1984) pp. 80–95, and Caroline Karpinski, "Prints for Sale," *MMAB* 22, no. 6 (Feb. 1964) pp. 211–220.

36. T. H. Clarke published the source of the decoration when the service was sold; see *Catalogue of a Highly Important Meissen Service . . . The Property of the Trustees of the Late S.R. Christie-Miller, Esq.*, sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 7, 1970, lots 1–26.

37. Baer, "Druckgraphische Vorlagen," p. 276, no. G93.

38. The Meissen publication *Contouren von allerley Figuren, Vasen und Groupen aus der Meissner Porzellan-Fabrik in den Jahren 1785–1792 in Kupfer gestochen von Joh. David Elsasser/Vorsteher des weissen Korps* included models borrowed from Sèvres. For illustrations and a discussion of this work, see T.H. Clarke, "Johann Friedrich Elsasser's Engravings of the 'Academic' and Marcolini Periods, 1785–1792," *Keramik-Freunde der Schweiz/Bulletin des Amis Suisses de la Céramique, Mitteilungsblatt* 103 (Jan. 1988), pp. 3–112. For more on the engravings of Boucher's designs in France, see Pierrette Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher* (Paris, 1978) pp. 386–387. See also Ducret, *Keramik und Graphik*, p. 184, figs. 322, 323, and p. 187, figs. 331–333.

39. For a discussion of a Sèvres cup and saucer decorated with butterflies derived from Saint-Aubin, see Clare Le Corbeiller, "Whimsey and Sobriety/Rococo Butterflies and Neo-classical Porcelain," *Apollo* 139, no. 383 (Jan. 1994) pp. 25–27.

40. Rückert, *Biographische Daten*, p. 155 (within Heinrici biography).

41. For more on this service, see Claus Boltz, "Ein Beitrag zum grünen Watteau-Service für Neapel," *Keramos* 79 (Jan. 1978) pp. 5–24.

42. For a discussion of this kind of service in silver, see Bernhard Heitmann, "Magnificence, Significance and Daily Usage/The German Toilet Set of the Late Baroque and Rococo Period," handbook, *The International Fine Art and Antique Dealers Show* (New York, 1992) pp. 33–38.

43. The etching, *La Mariée du Village*, is discussed in Victor Carlson and John Ittmann, *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking 1715–1814* (Minneapolis, 1984) cat. no. 14, pp. 77–78. See also Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Julienne et les graveurs de Watteau du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1921–29), III, pp. 53–54, IV, pl. III.

44. For more on Heintze, see Rückert, *Biographische Daten*, pp. 155–156.

45. According to various documents in the archives, Heintze received 70 loose engravings, plus 19 more by Ridinger, and the first part of Weinmann's work in 1742, and 1,310 more engravings were delivered in 1743; see Rückert, *Biographische Daten*, p. 155. For two sheets from Weinmann in the archives today, see Otto Walcha, *Meissen Porcelain* (New York, 1981) fig. 157. In 1745, when 49 loose plates taken from Weinmann were borrowed by Höroldt, he was advised to be careful as other sheets had been lost. For this, and more on the history of the Northumberland service, see T.H. Clarke, "Das Northumberland Service aus Meissner Porzellan," *Keramos* 70 (Oct. 1975) pp. 9–92. See also Gervase Jackson-Stops, ed., *The Treasure Houses of Britain/Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* (New Haven, 1985) cat. no. 389, pp. 454–455.

The author is grateful to Anthony du Boulay for his introduction to Lady Victoria Cuthbert, who permitted me to illustrate the Northumberland service in this article.

46. Rückert, *Biographische Daten*, p. 69, "bisher alles nur nach denen successive in solcher Absicht angeschafften Kupper-Stichen von dem bekandten Watteau und Weinmannischen botanischen großen Wercken, auch anderen dergleichen Zeichnungen, darzu des Albani so sehr gepriesene invention von allerhand Arthen derer Vögel, nach ihrer Gestallt und Farbe, des nechsten aus Engelland erwartet wird, aabcopiret, und dergleichen Kupffer-Stiche lediglich zu ihrem Augenmercke sich dienen laßen."

47. Rainer Rückert, *Meissener Porzellan 1710–1810* (Munich, 1966) p. 20, notes that the manufactory had purchased 5,135 engravings by 1745.

Appendix 1

This list of 16th-, 17th, and 18th-century imprints in the Meissen Archives represents identifiable or distinctive print material handled by the author in 1994. The author is grateful to Dr. Hannes Walter, director of the Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen GmbH, and Jürgen Schärer, archivist, for the opportunity to review briefly the manufactory print collection in its uncatalogued state. Access to this material is largely restricted, so the following listing is intended to permit some of the collection to be studied by means of outside sources. Because of time constraints and the focus of the author's research at the time, the list of titles and plates is selective.

A small group of title plates has been assigned reference numbers. The rest of the prints have no such numbers. All the prints are marked with the stamp "PM" inside a circle, for "Porzellanmanufaktur-Meissen," or with an oblong stamp containing a crown and the arms of Saxony and the inscription "K.S. PORCELLAN MANUFACTUR MEISSEN." The date of these stamps is unknown. On some prints, the stamp of the archive also appears, which reads "STAATLICHE PORZELLANMANUFAKTUR MEISSEN ARCHIV" inside a circle enclosing the crossed swords logo.

The cataloguing here is largely based upon the format established by Ilse Baer and includes the following details, if known:

Artist
Title
Printmaker:
Publisher:
Sheets:
Lit. (Literature):
Notes:

When the artist, printmaker, or publisher is undetermined, this is noted. When a citation is lacking, the space following Lit.: is left blank. When the original composition of a series is known, this, or other pertinent details, is noted in parentheses following Sheets ( ):. When a sheet has received a VA number, it is given. Titles of series or sheets are transcribed exactly from the print itself, retaining all idiosyncrasies of spelling and punctuation of the original, whereas bracketed text represents the author's descriptive references to untitled material. Figure references in the Notes refer to figures in the article.

Frequently cited sources are abbreviated as follows:

Baer—Ilse Baer, "Druckgraphische Vorlagen der Porzellanfabrik des Johann Ernst Gotzkowsky," in *Von Gotzkowsky zur KPM/ Aus der Frühzeit des friderizianischen Porzellans* (Berlin, 1986) pp. 272–348.

Berlin—*Katalog der Ornamentstichsammlung der Kunstbibliothek Berlin* (Berlin, 1939).

Döry—Döry-Jobaháza, Ludwig, Baron, *Katalog der Ornamentstich-Sammlung/ Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1960).

Hollstein—F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, (Amsterdam, 1949 –present)

LeBlanc—Charles Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes* (Paris, 1856–88).

Nagler—Dr. G.K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon* (Munich, 1837).

Vollmer—Hans Vollmer, ed., *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* [a/k/a Thieme-Becker] (Leipzig, n.d.)

The author is particularly thankful to have had the interest and encouragement of James David Draper, Clare Le Corbeiller, Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide, Nadine Orenstein, and Mrs. T. H. Clarke in the preparation of this article. I would also like to acknowledge Doralynn Pines and the staff of the Thomas J. Watson Library and Katherine Bindman and the staff of the Print Study Room, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for their ongoing support.

Artist: undetermined
[series of commedia dell'arte figures]
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: –IL DOTTORE SCATALON, BOLOGNESE
–SIGNOR PANTALON, VENETIANO
–LE FAMEUX CRISPIN
–L'HARLEQUINO, BERGAMASCO
–IL CAPITANO SPAVENTO, NAPOLITANO
Lit.: Günther Hansen, *Formen der Commedia dell'Arte in Deutschland* (Emsdetten, 1984) pp. 222–224.
Notes: The engraving IL CAPITANO SPAVENTO, NAPOLITANO is not illustrated by Hansen. Figure 18.

Artist: undetermined
[series of commedia dell'arte figures]
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: Phil(l)ipp Jacob Leidenhoffer (d. 1714), Augsburg
Sheets: –Der Tadel-Wihlm
–Der Gandolin
–Der Iodelet
Lit.: Günther Hansen, *Formen der Commedia dell'Arte in Deutschland* (Emsdetten, 1984) p. 235, abb. 231–234.
Notes: Hansen publishes the only known plates from the series, which number four. For a Meissen saucer painted with *Der Gandolin*, see S. Ducret, "Vorbilder für Porzellanmalereien," *Keramos*, 44 (April 1969) p. 22, fig. 8. Figure 17.

VA1158
Artist: undetermined
Angenehme Prospecten sambt denen vornehmsten Gebäuen von Paris. No. 165.
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: (title plate)
Lit.:

VA680
Artist: undetermined
OTKPbIBAEMA*R* POCCI*R*/ La Russie Ouverte ou Collection Complete des Habillemens de Tourtes les Nations qui se trouvent dans l'Empire de Russie./Das eröfnete Rußland, oder Sammlung von kleidertracht-en aller im Rußischen Reiche wohnenden Volker. No. IV.

Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined, Saint Petersburg, 1774
Sheets: title plate plus 25 hand-colored plates and 7 pages of text
Lit.:

VA1119
Artist: undetermined
(title plate) DIFFERENTES FLEURS DU JAPON. Propres aux Manufactures d'Etofes.
(title plate) DIFFERENTES FRUITS Et Fleurs des Indes.
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: chez Levier, Paris, ca. 1756–68
Sheets: –(title plates and 9 unnumbered sheets)
Lit.: According to Dõry, p. 38, nos. 165–166, Levier was the publisher of a related series by Jean-Baptiste Pillement entitled *Recueil De Nouvelles Fleurs De Goût; Pour la Manufacature des Etoffes de Perse.*

Artist: undetermined
[views of Dutch towns and villages]
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: –7. Het Dorp ZUYLEN; en daer neven het land-huis van Juffr: du Pon./ Le Village de ZUYLEN avec la maison de Mademoiselle du Pon.
–97. De Stad WEESP het gesigt komende van de uitermeersche-Sluis./ La ville de WEESP Prenant sa Veüe du coté de l'Uitermeerse-Sluis.
–Veüe de la Porte de Wesep./ Gezigt de Weseper Poort.
Lit.:

Artist: undetermined
[dwarf-allegories of the months]
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets (series of the months): – 7. Jacob Hewmon.
–8. Laurenu Augustmon.
–9. Egidius Herbstmon.
Lit.: Günther G. Bauer, *Barocke Zwergenkarikaturen von Callot bis Chodowiecki* (Salzburg, 1991); another set owned by Veste Coburg, inv. no. XIII, 338,81 (information courtesy Prof. Dr. Günther G. Bauer). The source for the engravings is a set of woodcuts published anonymously in Nuremberg about 1680; see Bauer, *Salzburger Barockzwerge* (Salzburg, 1989) p. 98. Figure 26.

Artist: undetermined
[dwarfs making music and dancing]
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets (series no. 177): 4 unnumbered plates
Lit.:
Notes: Hand-colored. Figure 20.

Artist: undetermined
[dwarfs dancing]
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: –8. De onvergelyke danszer Sinjoor Allegremente, groot oeffen meester der Guineesse Meerkatten. / Madame Mirabella groot fontangie, een der bewemoste danszerinnen uit het vergorgen Vlooyen eiland.
–16. Monsieur Harlequino, klugtig dans meester van den Dik gebuikten en hoog gerugden Ezopus. /De Schone Italiaanse Colombino, danszeres van de Vorstin der uitheemse Gekke-modes.
Lit.:

Artist: undetermined
Ein gute Figur/ Macht gute Postur./ In Positura/ Bona Figura.
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: Albrecht Schmidt, Augsburg
Lit.:
Notes: For Schmidt, see Vollmer, XXX, p. 133. Figure 21.

Artist: undetermined
[moralistic subjects with verse from various series, comprised of half-figures in oval reserves surrounded by foliate strapwork]
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: Albrecht Schmidt, Augsburg
Sheets: –Libenter Stude, Studia Stribe./ Studiere stets gerne Lass schreiben nicht ferne.
–Turnis Ubi Venus est, quae Caco Carpiturigne, Insperatus ibi fructus amoris adest. /Die Lieb gibt Untter Schidne gaben, Die man offt nicht thut gerne haben.
–Lanquida desricio, mihi proeplacet flosculus ille, Qui plus quaesit fructus odoris Kabet. /Welke Lieb mir nicht gefält; Ich hab mir was frisch Erwehlt.
–Bibe Tabacum Et Vinum Iucundum./ Trinck Taback und Wein Jedes thut das sein.
–Die Lieb lasst sich nicht leichte mehr fangen, Wans einmahl aus dem Garn gegangen./ Quis quis avem quarit viscata fallerevirga, Curet, ne auffugirat: Sic et amoenus amor.
Lit.:
Notes: For Schmidt, see Vollmer, XXX, p. 133. Figure 28.

Artist: undetermined
[genre scenes with verse]
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: –Kein Compagnie scwerth zu schätzen mich wie der Thee hier kan ergötzen. Vergnügter nichts ist auf der Erden als lieben und geliebet werden.
–Nur frisch heraus mich dünckert schon ich trade den besten g'win davon. Fortuna doch sich lacht [indistinct] und auf Monsieurs Seite wenden.
–Ich hab mich schier halb tod geloffen biß ich Madame angetroffen. Mein Herr schickt mich in vollen springen Ihr diesen brieff zu überbringen.
–Kurzweil treiben mit dem Spiel gibts auch der Liebhaber viel. Monsieur ich sage mit verlangen welchen wird das Glück anhangen.
Lit.:

Amigoni (Amiconi), Jacopo (1675–1752)

[series of allegories depicting the arts]
Printmaker: Joseph Wagner (1706–1780), Venice
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: La Peinture
Lit.: Berlin, p. 563, no. 4590.

Baur, Johann Wilhelm (d. 1640)
Caprizze
Printmaker: Melchior Küsel (1626–1683), Augsburg
Publisher: Melchior Küsel, Augsburg, 1670–86
Sheets (From *ICONOGRAPHIA*, Part IV: "Unterschiedliche Meer Porten und Pallazzia von Joh: Willhelm Bauren in Italia nach dem Leben gezeichnet." Number and numbering of plates vary.):
–(title plate) Io. Willhelm Baurn Caprizze, von Ihme vor ein Frontespicium dises vierdten Theils bezeichnet.
–Arriva zu Neapoli ander Abseiten deß Königl. Pallazz.
–(plate numbered 132) Arriva zu Neapoli in Angesicht deß Pallazzo Reale.
–Loggia oder Luft-Gang an dem Pallazzo deß Herzogs von Mont Alto zu Neapoli samt einem Prospect der Galeren und Schiffen.
–Pallazz mit Statuen an dem See-hafen bey Genoa.
–[sheet with paper label stamped 26] Porto Trayano von Ancona samt dem Arco Triumphalle.
Lit.: Baer, G93–146, pp. 276–278. See also the Foreword to *Catalogue of A Highly Important Meissen Service*, sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 7, 1970.
Notes: Figure 34.

VA1151
Bella, Stefano della (1610–1664)
Diversarum Regiuncularum ICONES ad vivum expressi. Perillustri et Generoso Domino, Domino CHRISTIANO LEOPOLDO, Serenissimi Principis, Marchionis Brandenburgici- Culmbacensis Consiliario Aulico et Provinciali, Agnato de Compatri suo plurimum honorando D.D.D./ I.F.L. / No. 571.
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: – 1. (title plate)
–9. Onustus literis cursor eques accelerat iter
Lit.: Copy of *Divers paysages*, published in Paris by Israël Henriet; see P.D. Massar, *Stefano della Bella/ Catalogue Raisonné/ Alexandre de Vesme,* (New York, 1971) vol. 1, pp. 117–118, nos. 157–68 and vol. 2, pp. 147–150, nos. 757–768 [in particular, nos. 757 and 765].

VA506
Bloemaert, Abraham (1564–1651)
DE TWAALF MAANDEN DES IAARS.
Printmaker: Frederick Bloemaert (1610–1669)
Publisher: Theodorus Danckerts (d. after 1726), Amsterdam
Sheets (12 plates + title plate): (title plate)
Lit.: Hollstein, II, figs. 249–261, p. 91
Notes: Originally published by N. Visscher.

Bril, Mathys (ca. 1550–1584)
TOPOGRAPHIA VARIARUM REGIONUM.
Printmaker: Simon Wynouts Frisius (Simon de Vries, ca. 1580–1629) and Hendrik Hondius (1573–ca. 1649), 1614
Publisher: probably Hondius
Lit.: Hollstein, II, p. 27; VII, p. 218; IX, p. 87 (nos. 27–31).

Carracci, Annibale (ca. 1560–1609)
[untitled copy of artist's *Cries of Bologna*]
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets (series of double plates): –1. Scopettaro./ Bürsten Binder. Inchiostro Fino./ Feine Dinte.
–2. Ciambellaro./ Brezen Bäcker. Calsettaro/ Strumpfsticker.
–3. Padellaro./ Flaschner. Vende Casio fresco./ Frischen Käß.
–4. Pettini da Lino è Setacci./ Flachs käm und Siebe. Vende Padelloni di Terra./ Irdene Pfannen.
–5. Pianellaro./ Pantoffelmacher. Magniano Chiauaro./ Kesselflicker oder Schlosser.
–6. Merangoli e Limoni./ Citronen u. Pomeranzen. Formaggio Parmiggiano./ Parmisankäß.
–7. Ucellatore con la Ciuetta./ Vogler mit dem Käutzlein. Cuoco./ Garkoch.
–8. Stagnaro./Zinngießer. Acoramaglietti./ Galanteriekrämer.
–9. Hortolana./ Gärtnerin. Vende Pera./ Obsverkauffer.
–10. Aquauitaro./ Brandwein. Pizzicarolo./ Fettkrämer.
–11. Sonatore in Piazza./ Marckspieler. Vende quadri./ Gemählverkauffer.
–12. Cieco da rimedio per i Calli./ Blinder, so ein Mittel für die Hüner augen hat. Vende Paste per i forai./ Küchlein wider Ratzen u. Mäuß.
–13. Sediaro./ Strohsesselflechter. Stecha Legna./ Holzhauer.
–14. Vende Rocche e Dipannatori./ Rocken u. Haspelverkauffer. Facchino./ Lastrager.
–15. Aquarolo d aqua del Reno./ Wasserträger. Vende Solfaroli./ Schwefelhölzlein.
–16. Tripparolo./ Kuttelfleck. Brendator da Vino./ Weinträger.
–17. Straordinario di Mercanti./ Hausierer. Pignattaro./ Haffner.
–18. Porta Citazioni./ [indistinct]. Incatenatore di Corone./ Roßenkräntz-Macher.
Lit.:
Notes: Copy of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1643–1718), *Di Bologna l'Arti per via d'Anibal' Caraci* (Bologna, 1646), or Simon Guillain, *Diverse figure al numero di ottanta disegnate di penna nell'hore di ricreatione da Annibale Carracci* (Paris, 1660). See *Annibale Carracci e i suoi incisori* (Rome, 1986) p. 322.

Cock, Hieronymus (ca. 1510–1570)
MAGNO AC VENERABILI HEROI, D. D. ANTONIO PERRENOTO: ATREBATENSIUM EPISCOPO: PHILIPPI, HISP. REGIS, CONSILIARIO PRIMO: OMNIUM BONARUM ARTIUM MECOENATI
Printmaker: Cock
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets:(dedication page to the following set, PRAECIPUA ALIQUOT . . .)

Lit.: T. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock: Printmaker & Publisher* (New York, 1977) p. 256.

Cock, Hieronymus (ca. 1510–1570)
PRAECIPUA ALIQUOT ROMANAE ANTIQUITATIS RUINARUM MONIMENTA, VIVIS PROSPECTIBUS, AD VERI IMITATIONEM AFFABRE DESIGNATA / MDLI
Printmaker: Cock, 1550 and 1551.
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets (variously published with 26 or 59 plates): –title plate
–2. Ruinarum palatii maioris, cum contiguo septizonio prospectus 1550
Lit.: Hollstein, vol. 4, figs. 22–47, pp. 180–183. T. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock: Printmaker & Publisher* (New York, 1977) pp. 256–266, nos. 1–25.
Notes: Originally published by Cock, Antwerp, 1551; expanded 2nd edition by Carel Allaert.

Collaert, Adrian (ca. 1560–1618)
[untitled series of roundels with Orion, Thetis, Neptune and Galathea surrounded by fantastic sea creatures]
Printmaker: Collaert
Publisher: Philip Galle (1537–1612)
Sheets (4 plates): 1, 2, 4
Lit.: Hollstein, IV, p. 203.

Coypel, Charles-Antoine (1694–1752)
JEU D'ENFANS
Printmaker: Bernard Lépicie (1698–1755)
Publisher: Lépicie, Paris, 1731
Lit: Émile Dacier, *La Gravure de Genre et de Moeurs* (Paris, 1925) p. 61, pl. 13.
Note: The publication of this print was announced in *Mercure de France* in 1731. For the Meissen model based on this print, see Hermann Jedding, "Mit einer 'Toilette der Venus' fing es an," *Kunst und Antiqutäten* 5 (1989) p. 50, fig. 4.

VA1163
Desfriches, H. (Aignan-Thomas?, 1715–1800)
Suite de Paysages Dessinés d'apres nature
Printmaker: Louis Simon Lempereur (1728–1807)
Publisher: Lempereur, Paris
Sheets (title plate): VUE DES FOSSEES DE CHATILLON SUR LOING
Lit.: LeBlanc, II, p. 532, nos. 55–60.

VA1161
Dietrich, Johann Christian (1705–1779)
Paysages & autres Sujets
Printmaker: Dietrich
Publisher: J. F. Frauenholtz, Nuremberg
Sheets: (title plate)
Lit.: For biography of Dietrich, see Rainer Rückert, *Biographische Daten*; Vollmer, IX, p. 264.

VA1142
Eisen, Charles Joseph Dominique (1720–1778)
LIVRE D'ORNEMENS ET FIGURES d'après differents Auteurs, utile aux Artistes.
Printmaker: Jean-Charles François (1717–1769)
Publisher: chez J. C. François, Paris (mid-18th cen.)
Sheets: (title plate)
Lit.: For Eisen, see Vollmer, X, pp. 427–428; for François, see Vollmer, XII, pp. 372–373.

Falconet, Etienne-Maurice (1716–1791)
Deuxieme Livre de Figures, d'apres les Porcelaines de la Manufacture Royale de France. Inventées, en 1757, par Mr. Boucher.
Printmaker: Pierre-Francois Tardieu (1711–1771)
Publisher: chez François Joullain (1697–1778), Paris, probably 1763
Sheets: (title plate)
Lit.: Ducret, p. 184, fig. 322. See also Pierrette Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé de Francois Boucher dans la Collection Edmond de Rothschild* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Collection Edmond de Rothschild, Inventaire général des gravures, Ecole française, I 1978) no. 1597, pp. 1600–1601.
Notes: Figure 42.

Franzetti, A. (18th century)
[views of Italy]
Printmaker: Gio. Baugean
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: – Piazza Colonna
–Campo Vaccino
–Tempio della Sibilla a Tivoli
–Monte Citorio
–Sepoleri antichi su la Via Numentana
–Sepolero di Nerone su la Via Tlaminia
–Porta S. Paolo
–Chiesa di S. Balbina
Lit.: Vollmer, XII, p. 390, refers to Nagler, monograph I, no. 554.

Frisch, Ferdinand Helferich (1707–1758), Johann Christoph (1738–1815), Philipp Jacob (1702–1753)
Vorstellung der Vögel in Teutschland, und beyläuffig auch einiger fremden mit ihren natürlichen farben.
Printmaker: Frisch
Publisher: Frisch, Berlin, 1733–63
Sheets: –Der IVten Hauptart IIIte Abtheilung/ VIIIte Platte. 51./ Der graue Papagey mit rothen Schwantz/ Psittacus einereus cum cauda rubra./ Papegaut grisatre avex queue rouge.
–Der IVten Hauptart IIIte Abtheilung/ VIIte Platte. 50./ Der groose weisse Papagey oder Cacadou/ Psittacus albus galeritus/ Papegaut blanch huppée.
Lit.: Nagler, IV, p. 504. *The National Union Catalogue Pre-1956 Imprints*, vol. 186, p. 212.

Hainzelmann, Johann (1641–?1693)
[French ambassadors to the court of Siam]
Printmaker: Hainzelman, 1679
Publisher: Hainzelman, Paris, 1679
Sheets: I.B.T. (for Jean Baptiste Tavernier)
Lit.: Nagler, V, p. 513.
Notes: This plate may have originally been produced for Tavernier's *Les Six Voyages en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes* (Paris, 1676–79).

VA1148
Hollar, Wenceslaus (1607–1677)
AMOENISSIMI ALIQUOT Locorum in diversis Provincijs iacetium Prospectus No. 33.
Printmaker: Hollar, 1643 and 1644
Publisher: Johann Christoph Weigel (1654–1725)
Sheets: –1. S Iohann (title plate)
–3. Bonn
Lit.: Richard Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar 1607–1677* (Cambridge, 1982) pp. 123–124, nos. 719–726.
Notes: Originally published in London in 1644.

VA1141
Hondius I, Hendrik (1573–1649)
Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Praecipué Germaniae Inferioris, Effigies. Pars I.
Printmakers: Hondius and Simon Wynouts Frisius (Simon de Vries, ca. 1580–1629)
Publisher: Hondius, The Hague, 1610
Sheets: title plate
Lit.: Hollstein, VII, p. 32, and IX, p. 90.

de Hooghe, Romeyn (1645–1708)
Villa Angiana/ Vulgo/ Het Perc Van Anguien
Printmaker: de Hooghe
Publisher: N. Visscher, Amsterdam, 1685
Sheets (series of 17 plates): E, F, N, O
Lit.: John Landwehr, *Romeyn de Hooghe the etcher* (Leiden and Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., 1972) pp. 318–334, and Hollstein, IX, pp. 275–285; Berlin, p. 433, no. 3395.

Lajoüe II, Jacques de (1687–1761)
[Rococo elements in landscape with stag and ostrich hunt]
Printmaker: Gabriel Huquier (1695–1772)
Publisher: undetermined, probably ca. 1735
Lit.: For designs by Lajoüe, see Baer, p. 310, nos. G1137–79 and Döry, p. 36, no. 152.

VA1135
Le Brun, Charles (1619–1690), and Eustace Le Sueur (1617–1655)
Livre De plusieurs morceaux d'academie pour apprendre à dessigner
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: chez François II Poilly (1671–1723), Paris
Sheets: title plate
Lit.:

VA1140
Le Clerc I, Sébastien (1637–1714)
Unterschiedliche Zeichnungen Artiger Figuren, Stellungen und Prospecten von dem berühmten Französische Meister Mr. le Clerc. No. 16.
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: Christoph Weigel (1654–1725), Nuremberg
Sheets: (title plate)
Lit.: Possibly after Le Clerc's *Divers Desseins de Figures*, published in Paris by chez M. Langlois in 1679. For this set of prints, see Maxime Préaud, *Inventaire du fonds francais/ Graveurs du XVIIe siècle* XVIII (Paris, 1980) nos. 959–981, pp. 270–274.

Luyken, Caspar (1672–1708)
Neu-eröffnete Welt-GALLERIA, Worinen sehr curios und begnugt unter die Augen kommen allerley Aufzugund Kleidungen unterschiedlicher Stände und Nationen:
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets (various editions published with 100 or possibly more plates): –Ein Heyduck.
–Ein Indianischer Abgesander von Bantham an den Englischen Hoff.
–Ein Persianischer Fürst.
–Der Jaeger.
Lit.: T.H. Clarke, "Die Neu eröffnete Welt-Galleria, Nuremberg 1703, als Stichvorlage für sogenannte Callot-Zwerge," *Keramos* 127 (Jan. 1990) pp. 3–27. Hollstein, p. 137, no. 381.
Notes: Plates copy Luyken's original illustrations published by Christoph Weigel (1654–1725) in 1703, under the authorship of the ordained priest, Abraham a Sancta Clara (b. Johann Ulrich Megerle, 1644), with the result that the figures are reversed. Figure 23.

Marot, Daniel (1661–1752)
Nouveaux Livre de Veüe et Batiments en Prespectives propre a peindre d'ans des Salles, ou autres Appartements
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: (title plate, unnumbered plate)
Lit.: Koen Ottenheym et al, *Daniel Marot: Vormgever van een deftig bestaan* (Amsterdam, 1988) p. . . . Not found in A. Bérard, *Catalogue de Toutes les Estampes qui forment l'Oeuvre de Daniel Marot* (Brussels, 1865).

Meil, Johann Heinrich (1730–1820)
Fabeln und Erzählungen by Christian Furchtegott Gellert (1715–1769)
Printmaker: Meil
Publisher: probably Gellert, 1766
Sheets: –Le Cerf et la Vigne. Fable XCVII.
–Le Cerf malade. Fable CCXIX.
Lit.: For Meil, see Nagler, IX, p. 7, and Vollmer, XXIV, p. 341.

Meyeringh, Aelbert (1645–1714)
Eenige Land-schappen
Printmaker: Meyeringh
Publisher: Meyeringh, Amsterdam, 1695
Sheets: (title plate)
Lit.: Hollstein, XIV, p. 25.

Ozanne, Nicolas Marie (1728–1811)
Nouvelles vues perspectives des Ports de France, dessinées pour le roi
Printmaker: Yves Marie LeGouaz (1714–1816)
Publisher: LeGouaz, Paris, 1776
Sheets (60 views plus title plate and map): —LE PORT DE BREST
–LE PORT DE DIEPPE
–LE PORT DU HAVRE
–LE PORT DE ROCHEFORT
Lit.: Charles Auffret, *Les Ozannes: Une Famille d'Artistes*

Brestois au XVIIIe Siècle (Rennes, 1891) pp. 79–80.

Perelle, Gabriel (ca. 1603–1679)
[untitled landscape with ruins]
Printmaker: Perelle
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: f.6
Lit.:

Pillement, Jean-Baptiste (1728–1808) and others
THE LADIES AMUSEMENT; or, WHOLE ART of JAPANNING MADE EASY.
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: Robert Sayer, London, 1758 or 1762
Sheets (title plate cites 200 plates): sheet no. 31
Lit.: Facsimile of 1762 edition published in 1966 is owned by The Thomas J. Watson Library, call no. 152.7P64/ L12.
Notes: Figure 40.

VA1130
Pillement, Jean-Baptiste (1728–1808)
RECEUIL, de Differents Bouquets de fleurs
Printmaker: Pierre Charles Canot (1710–1777), 1760
Publisher: Canot, London, July 4, 1760
Sheets: title plate
Lit.: Berlin, no. 4447.
Notes: Figure 39.

Preissler, Johann Daniel (1666–1737)
Die durch Theorie erfundene PRACTIC, Oder Gründlich verfasste Reguln
Printmaker: Georg Martin Preissler (1700–1754), Nuremberg
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: 11, 12
Lit.: Berlin, pp. 567–568, nos. 4628, 4629.
Notes: Various editions; first edition published in Nuremberg in 1725 by Lorenz Bieling. A copy of the 1754 edition belongs to The Metropolitan Museum, acc. no. 61.601.

Rösel von Rosenhof, August Johann (1705–1759)
Der montlich-herausgegebenen Insecten-Belustigung erster-vierter Teil/ in sauber illuminirten Kupfern, nach dem Leben abgebildet
Printmaker: Rösel
Publisher: J. J. Fleischmann, Nuremberg, 1746–1761
Sheets (4 vols.): LOCUSTA INDICA. Tab. XIX / 9 / 10 (sheet from undetermined volume)
Lit.: *The National Union Catalogue Pre-1956 Imprints* (London, 1977), D, p. 640.

VA1157
Ruisdael, Jacob van (1628/29–1682)
Amstel-Gesichtes. No. 14
Printmaker: Abraham Blooteling (ca. 1640–1690)
Publisher: Justus Danckerts (1635–1701), Amsterdam
Sheets: 1 (title plate)
Lit.: Hollstein, II, p. 215.

Saint-Aubin, Augustin de (1736–1807)
[children playing games]
Printmaker: possibly Tilliard
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: –LA FOSSETTE ou le Jeu de NOYAUX Dieu! dans vos jeunes coeurs quel vice prend naißance? D'un joueur savez-vous quel est le sort fatal? Victime du malheur, jouet de l'esperance; It vit dans le mépris et meurt a l'hopital.
–LA TOUPIE Peres, sous le travail votre force succombe; Vos enfans a des jeux consacrent leurs suers:Vous connoitrés bientot le repos de la tombe; Bientot ils connoitrent les travaux, les douleurs.
Lit.: LeBlanc, IV, p. 40, nos. 221–226; E. Bocher, *A. de Saint-Aubin* (Paris, 1879) nos. 396–401.

VA679
Saint-Aubin, Charles-Germain de (1721–1786)
Premier Essai de Papilloneries Humaines
Printmaker: Etienne Fessard (1714–1777), Paris
Publisher: Fessard, after 1756
Sheets: (series of 6 plates): –(title plate)
–LE BLESSÊ
–LE DAMIER
–LE BATELEUR
–LE BAIN
–LA BROUETTE
Lit.: Victor Carlson and John Ittmann, *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking 1715–1814* (Minneapolis, 1984) cat. 35–36, pp. 123–127. See also Clare Le Corbeiller, "Whimsy and sobriety/ Rococo butterflies and neoclassical porcelain," *Apollo* 139, no. 383 (Jan. 1994) pp. 25–27.
Notes: Second edition of set published in 1748.

VA1143
Silvestre, Israel (1621–1691)
ALCUNE VEDUTE di Giardini e Fontane di Roma e di Tivoli
Printmaker: Israel Silvestre, 1646
Publisher: Danckerts, chez Fred. Hend.
Sheets: (title plate)
Lit.: Baer, G2043–46, p. 332. L. E. Faucheux, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre d'Israël Silvestre* (Paris, 1857) pp. 46–48.
Notes: Reverse of twelve-plate series published by Pierre Mariette, Paris.

Stein, Gottfried (ca. 1687–1747)
[untitled series of views]
Printmaker: Gottfried Stein
Publisher: Jeremias Wolff (1663–1724), Augsburg
Sheets (series of 12 plates): 5, 5 (same number on two different sheets), 6
Lit: Baer, p. 3320, G2043–46.
Notes: Series catalogued by Baer was published by Mariette, Paris. Two sheets numbered 5 may belong to two different sets.

Teniers, David, II (1610–1690)
[peasant scenes]
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: J.G. Hertel (d. after 1760), Augsburg

Sheets: –No. 197 (untitled; reverse of Jacques Phillippe LeBas (1707–1783) engraving *7e Vue de Flandre*)
–No. 16 (untitled; reverse of Thomas Major (1714 or 1720–1799) engraving *La petite Noces de Villages*, 1746)
Lit.: MMA Print Dept. 53.600.3910 (*7e Vue de Flandre*, see LeBlanc, vol. 2, no. 320). MMA Print Dept. 53.600.4045 (*La petites Noces de Village*, see Baer, p. 340, no. G2238 and LeBlanc, vol. 2, no. 591.36).

Teniers, David, II (1610–1690)
Collection de Tenniers
Printmaker: Jeremias Wachsmuth (1711–1771), Augsburg
Publisher: chez l'Auteur, Paris
Sheets: –13. LA CREDULE LAITIERE. Tiré du Cabinet, de Monsieur Cressent (reverse of Elisabeth Cousinet (b. 1726) engraving)
–14. GUINGUETTE FLAMANDE. (? reverse of Jacques Philippe Lebas' [1707–1783] engraving)
Lit.: MMA Print Dept. 53.600.3982 (*La Credule Laitiere* engraved by Elis. Cousinet). For Lebas's version of *Guinguette Flamande*, see Baer, p. 340, no. G2235.

Teniers, David II (1610–1690)
Dedié à Messire Marc René de Voyer Marquis d'Argenson No. 45 [village fête]
Printmaker: Jacques-Philippe LeBas (1707–1783)
Publisher: LeBas,
Lit: MMA Print Dept. 53.600.3935

VA1162
Umbach, Jonas (ca. 1624–1693)
Ruinarum harum
Printmaker: Bernhard Zaech (17th century), Augsburg
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: (title plate)
Lit.: For Umbach, see Vollmer, XXXIII, p. 565; for Zaech, see Vollmer, XXXVI, p. 379.

VA1147
van de Velde, Jan (1593–1641)
Amaenissimae aliquot Regiunculae, et antiquorum monumentorum ruinae
Printmaker: Nicholas Visscher, Amsterdam, probably 1615
Publisher: J. Ottens (ca. 1663–before 1722), Amsterdam
Sheets (series of 18 plates): (title plate) 4
Lit.: Hollstein, XXXIII, figs. 178–195, pp. 60–65 and XXXIV, pp. 96–101.
Notes: Originally published by Visscher, 1615.

VA1152
van de Velde II, Jan (1593–1641)
AMENISSIMAE ALIQUOT REGIUNCULAE. No. 19.
Printmaker: Claes Jansz Visscher (Piscator, 1586–1652)
Publisher: Peter Schenk Jr., Amsterdam
Sheets (series of 12 plates): 1 (title plate) 4
Lit.: Hollstein, XXXIII, figs. 232–243, pp. 74–79 and XXXIV, pp. 120–125.
Notes: Originally published by Visscher. Series number added to Schenk imprint.

van de Velde II, Jan (1593–1641)
Derde Deel. No. 22. [series of landscapes]
Printmaker: Claes Jansz Visscher (Piscator, 1586–1652), 1616
Publisher: Peter Schenk Jr., Amsterdam
Sheets (series of 12 plates): 1 (title plate)
Lit.: Hollstein, XXXIII, figs. 256–267, pp. 83–86, and XXXIV, pp. 133–138
Notes: Originally published by Visscher, 1616. *Derde Deel* and series number added to Schenk imprint.

van de Velde II, Jan (1593–1641)
VIERDE DEEL. No. 22. [series of landscapes]
Printmaker: Claes Jansz Visscher (Piscator, 1586–1652), 1616
Publisher: Peter Schenk Jr., Amsterdam
Sheets (series of 12 plates): 1 (title plate)
Lit.: Hollstein, XXXIII, figs. 268–279, pp. 86–91 and XXXIV, pp. 139–144.
Notes: Originally published by Visscher, 1616. Series number added to Schenk imprint. Figure 31.

van de Velde II, Jan (1593–1641)
VYFDE DEEL. No. 23. [series of landscapes]
Printmaker: Claes Jansz Visscher (Piscator, 1586–1652), 1616.
Publisher: Peter Schenk, Jr., Amsterdam
Sheets (series of 12 plates): 1 (title plate)
Lit.: Hollstein, XXXIII, figs. 280–291, pp. 91–95 and XXXIV, pp. 145–151.
Notes: Originally published by Visscher, 1616. Series number added to Schenk imprint.

Vanmour, Jean Baptiste (1671–1737)
Währeste und neueste Abbildung Des Türckischen Hofes, welche nach denen Gemälde, so Monsr. de Ferriol 1707 und 1708 nach dem Leben hat verfertigen lassen, in fünff und sechzig Kuppfer-Blatten gebracht worden
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: Christoph Weigel (1654–1725), Nuremburg
Sheets (various editions with 65–200 plates): –D. 16 Soulak Bachi, Capitain von des Gros-Türckens Garde Zu Fuß.
Lit.: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, *Im Lichte des Halbmonds/ Das Abendland und der türkische Orient* (Dresden, 1995) cat. no. 286, p. 224, and cat. no. 362, p. 311. Remmet Van Luttervelt, *De "Turkse" Schilderijen van J.B. Vanmour en zijn School* (Leiden, 1958). Ernst Kramer, "Veilsdorfer Türken," *Keramos* 53/54 (April 1971) pp. 76–96.
Notes: The German editions copy the original French edition, *Explication des Cent estampes qui representent differentes Nations du Levant avex de nouvelles estampes de ceremonies turques qui ont aussi leurs explication/ Recueil de cent estampes représentant differentes nations du Levant*, published in Paris, chez le Hay, in 1714. Figure 22.

Viechter, Franz Lorenz (1664–1716)
Rudera II. Theil
Printmaker: undetermined
Publisher: Jeremias Wolff (1663–1724), Augsburg
Sheets: (title plate), I
Lit.: For *Rudera I. Theil*, see Berlin, p. 518, no. 4177. For Viechter, see Vollmer, XXXIV, p. 334.
Notes: Sheet numbered I may derive from *Rudera I. Theil*.

VA1153
Weirotter, Franz Edmund (1730–1771)
ERSTE FOLGE von Gegenden und Bruchstücken ALTER GEBAEUDE. ILIV.IX.X. in und um Rom, III.VIII.XII. zu und hinter Tivoli, XI. in der Villa Adriani, VI. zu Florenz, VII. zu Livorno, V. zu Ricci.
Printmaker: Weirotter, Vienna
Publisher: possibly the K.K. Zeichnung und Kupferstechter-Academie, Vienna
Sheets: (title plate), 5
Lit.: Nagler, XXI, p. 240, no. 4.
Notes: For more on Weirotter, see Anthony Griffiths and Frances Carey, *German Printmaking in the Age of Goethe* (Over Wallop, 1994) pp. 37–39.

VA1154
Weirotter, Franz Edmund (1730–1771)
PAYSAGES dessinés & Gravés d'après nature
Printmaker: Weirotter, Vienna, 1759
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: (title plate), 5
Lit.: Baer, G2340–43, p. 346. Nagler, XXI, p. 241, no. 20.
Notes: According to Baer, the original series published by Joullain, Paris, consisted of 6 plates with title plate.

VA1156
Weirotter, Franz Edmund (1730–1771)
SUITE DE XVIII PAYSAGES Dessinés à Lagny sur Marne proche Meaux en Brie: DEDIES A MONSIEUR JACQUES SCHMUTZER
Printmaker: Weirotter, Vienna
Publisher: undetermined
Sheets: (title plate), 2.
Lit.: Nagler, XXI, p. 240, no. 17.

Appendix 2

The author received a copy of this document too late to include more than the list of names and titles that follows. The arrangement of the material in various categories has been retained from the handwritten inventory. The entries include last names, some initials or first names, and the number of sheets owned by the Meissen manufactory in 1846. The occasional cursory description following a name ("moderne Figuren," "historisch") has been deleted here. All inaccuracies and misspellings have been retained, and the author's comments appear in brackets.

"Verzeichniss von Kupferstichen älterer Meister, welche bei der Königl. Porzellain-Manufaktur befindlich und im Jahre 1846 aufgezeichnet worden sind" *Inventarium über die bei der Malerei vorhandenen Kupferstiche, Gemälde, Lithographien u. andere Werke. 1846* (VEB Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Werkarchiv III J 11/Akte UA53, fol. 2–11)

[Figures]	Blatt
Abbate, Nicolo	1
Albane, A.	1
Abilgaart	1
Amiconi	3
Aubert, L.	1
Aubin de St. Aug.	10
Aubin de St. G.	2
Auteur, L.	2
Aveline, P.	3
A.C. 1595	1
Bach	2
Baumgartner, Joh. Wolffg.	4
Bardon, Dandre	8
Baue, J. Wilhelm.	124
Baudouin, P.A.	1
Bas, le, J.P.	13
Bauer, Willam	6
Basalba	3
Bassa, Taco de Ponte	1
Bassano	7
Basseport, F. Madelene	1
Bartollozzi	10
Bega	1
Bella, S.D.	4
Benard	6
Bernard, Theodor	5
Benedetti	1
Blomaert, Ab.	3
Bossi, B.	15
Bottschild, Sam.	1
Bouchardon	15
Boucher, François	204
Boulongne, De	1
Bouteux, le	1
Bol, Johannes	15
Bourg, L.F.D.	4
Breghel	2
Brigora	1
Brigett Adam de West	1
Bril Paulus	10
Brouwer, A.	6
Brun, le	7
Bruyn de Nicol.	1
Bunbury	1
IB. [?]	3
Cagliari, Carlo Veronese	1
Callot, J.	8
Caninius, Io. Ang.	2
Canot, Ph.	3
Campen, van	1
Caprici	4
Carracci, Anibal	20
Carracci, Lodo.	1
Careme	1
Carnitius, Lod.	1
Carpioni Giulio	2
Cartello Bernhard	1
Chantreau	3
Chardin, J.B. Simeon	14
Cheron, Lud.	1

Cheron, E.	5
Chodowiecki	40
Cignani, Carlo	1
Coregio	1
Cipriani, J. G. B.	20
Clerc, le Sebastian	16
Cochin, C. N.	1
Cochin, C. N. filius	10
Conca	2
Cortonen, Petrus Berellin	2
Cosway	1
Coypel	28
Daule	1
Dankerts	1
Decker, Paul	6
Descamps, J. B.	1
Dicu, Ant.	1
Dieterìcy	31
Dowe, P.	1
Downman	2
Dudos, A. J.	6
Dumenil	5
Dyck van Ant.	1
Dornier	1
Eisen	34
Estius, F.	1
Falconet	6
Facius, J. G.	2
Fauvel L.	1
Febvre, le	2
Fage, la	28
Fragonard	3
Fritzsch	1
Fuger	4
Galleus, Cornelius	7
Ghezzi	32
Gillot	26
Giordano	1
Golzius	2
Götz, G. B.	1
Greuce	4
Grimoud	1
Grause	19
Hay, Le	1
Hamilton, Will.	5
Harding	1
Heege	2
Hillmann	2
Hoge, R.	1
Holzmann, C. F.	1
Höcke	1
Jeaurat	16
Jouvenet	1
Joüe, De la	19
Junk	4
Junker	1
Kauffmann, Angellica	58
Krause	7
Küslen, Joh. Sybilla	1
Knufper, Nic.	1
Laan, van der	7
Lancret, Nicolas	135
Longhi, Pietro	5
Loutherbourg, P. J.	2
Lunaud	4
Luz	2
Marat	1
Martinet und Therese Martinet	41
Masse, J. B.	1
Mariette	1
Mantua	1
Metay	4
Meulen v. E.	4
Metellus, Joseph Ma.	1
Miel, J.	1
Moine, le F.	3
Monnet	2
Moreau, J. M., le jeune	2
Nain	4
Natour, C.	4
Nilson, J. Esaias	31
Northcote	1
Nossenius, J. M.	1
Oeser	5
Opri, J.	1
Orley, L. V.	19
Ostade	3
Ottens	1
Palma	1
Paillet, Ant.	1
Paon, le	1
Pater	6
Parocel, Ch.	7
Passeport, Madelene	1
Pautre, J.	5
Paterre	9
Pajou	2
Pass, le	2
Pfaulz, Gottfried	12
Pelletier	1
Pine, R. E.	1
Picart	104
Picot	1
Pierre, J. B. M.	8
Polemburg, C.	1
Poussin, N.	12
Prenner	1
Prince, le	8
P. V.	1
Querfurth	1
Quentin, St.	2
Ramberg	2
Rameau	1
Raphaël	32
Rehberg, F.	1
Reni Giudo	1
Rentz	1
Reynolds	4
Ribera	1
Ricart, David	1
Ricard, David	1
Rigaud	6
Robert, P. P. A.	1
Rode	2
Romanus, Julius	1
Romney	1
Roms Frans Rosa	1
Rosa Salvator	54
Rosalba la Cariera	2
Rotenhammer, Joh.	1
Rubens Pet. Paulus	8
Sadler, Joan.	5
Salle, Mlle	1
Saenredam, J.	2
Savery, S.	17
Seyer le	1
Schenau	34
Schäp?	15
Schmidt	3
Smith	2
Schönfeldt, J. H.	1
Schor, Paul	1
Seegers Gerardus	1
Spranger	2
Stella, J.	2
Stein, Gottfried	25
Stradanus, Joh.	4
Tempesta, Anton.	1
Teniers	43
Tempi, Ant.	1
Testa, P.	1
Tiepolo	1
Tilborgh van	1
Titian	3
Tomkins	2
Tresham	1
Tresmolier	2
Troy de	3
Tetelin	1
Valet, G.	1
Vandyk	2
Vanloo	1
Varbach, Jonas	14
Vandermer et Boudoin	2
Velde, A. V.	1
Velde van de Jan	2
Verhelst, Jana	1
Veronese, L. P.	1
Veti v. Mantua	1
Vien	1
Vignon	2
Visscher, de Jonge	1
Vleugels, N.	6
Vos, de Martin	18
Vouet, Simon	1
Ward, J.	2
Watelet	2
Watteau	140
West, B.	1
Wheathey	1
Wille	5
Willeres, Adam	1
Wit de J. D.	1

Xavery, Gerardus Josephus	30
Zais	1
Zampieri, Dominichino	1
Zuccarelli	30
Zuccarus	1
Portraits	116

[Books]

Canto, und Portrait des Ludevico Ariosto von Cipriani, Cochin, Eisen, Monet, Moreau u. Greuce	46
Geyser, Vignetten	20
Geyser und Fiorello, Vignetten zum Virgil	53
Meil, J.H. Fabeln	131
Moreau, J.M. Figures de l'histoire de France	35
Von unbekannten Meistern, Figuren u. einige Vignetten	571
Bergleute, 33 Bl. coleurirt und 24 Bl. bunte Handzeichungen	79
Geissler und Scheffner, Sitten, Gebräuche, und Kleid-dung der Küsten in St. Petersburg	37
Samlung von Kleidertrachten aller im rusischen Reiche wohnenden Völker	25

Diverse maniere d'adonare i. Camini ed ogni altra parte degli edifici, etc. etc. Opera del cavliere Giambattista Piranesi architetto Roma 1769

Collection of engravings from ancient Vases etc. etc. von Sir Wm. Hamilton, Naples, 1791 1sten und 2ten Band

Sammlung antiken Altäre, Vasen Basrelifs etc. von Giambattista Perianesi

Pflanzen-Sammlung

Le metamorphose d'Ovide etc. etc. par Mr. l'abbé Banier, Kupfer von B. Picart und andere Amsterdam 1732

Iconogolia Deorum oder Abildung der Göttin durch Joachim von Sandrart Nurnberg 1780

Deutsche Akademie der Bau- Bild- und Malerei-Kunste etc. von Joachim von Sandrart, Nurnberg 1675

Topographiae Galliae oder Beschreibung und contrafruitung des mächtigen Königreiches Frankreiche etc. 5ten Theil, Frankfurth aM, 1657

Veterum illustrium Philosophorum Poëtorum, Rhetorum et Oratorum imagines etc. Jo. Petro. Bellorie, Romae, 1685

Sammlung von Insekten, von August Johann Rösel Nürnberg, 1746. 2[. . .] Bände.

Fortsetzung von verschiedenen [indistinct] curiosen Inventionen von Zierrathen und Galantherien etc. etc. von F.J. Morisson

Metamorphosis Ovidiana, etc. gezeichnet und gestochen von Johann Willhelm Bauer und Abraham Aubri, Cöln, 1652. angeblich 303 Blatt.

Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide etc. gestochen von le Mire et Basan, Paris 127 Blatt.

Sinbild-Kunst etc. Nürnberg bei Johann Christoph Weigel

226. mythologische Kupfer

40 Blatt (inclusive des Titels) italianische und andere Prospeckte von Melchior Küssel, Augsburg

Amorum

Ansichten

Kurtze und gründliche Historin von der Aufzug und Ursprung der Gott [indistinct] Orden alter Kloster-Jung fraven etc. Augsburg 1693

Lairesse. Malerbuch

Siebmacher, Nürnburg 1657

Abildungen der alten gerusischen Armeen

Sammlung von Seemuscheln coleurirte, v. J.W.Knor.	45

Landschaften, Prospecten und Seestücke

Bakhuizen, Ludolph	2
Bella della Steff.	26
Bing	1
Berton	2
Booth	1
Bowles Carington	1
Brand	2
Breugel Joannes	4
Bril, Math.	2
Brinkmann P.C.	2
Brugles de Voleurs	3
Brooking	2
Brand	2
Cannaletto. Antonio	15
Canaletto, Bellotto	20
Carrmontelle L.C.	3
Casmann Peter	2
Chedel	5
Chereau, F.	4
Clortres, F.L.D.	5
Clerc. le S.	1
Cock. Hironimus	23
Croix de la	8
Cavillies F.	1
Darnstädt	7
Demachy	1
Defriches	5
Ditricy	65
Dietzsch. J.C.	14
Dellen, v.	1
Gabel	13
Gandat	1
Gessner	12
Goyen van	58
Godin, H.J.	14
Goyrand, A.	3
Gunther	1
Hakert	14
Hannan	5
Haldenwang	1
Hänschel	1
Haeret	3
Herzinger	1
Heege	2
Hearne	1
Hollar, Wenzel	15
Hooghe, Romain	9
Hoüel, J.	15
Höcke	1
Hulk	1
Hodges, Wilh.	1
Klengel	14
Klinsky	1
Kolbe	38
Kobell	1
Lempereur	3
Lubieniski de Theodor	2
Lucatelle	1
Marot, D.	2
Mauperche	1
Maurer	5
May le	1
Mariette	6
Maxamb, M.	11
Mechau	15
Merian, Math.	26
Meulen Vdr	13
Meyer, Felix	3
Meyeringh, A.	4
Molyn, P.L.	11
Montaigne	5
Moretti	7

Nessenthaler, David	1
Oeser	3
Ozanne	14
Pahln et Prigel	1
Pannini	4
Patel	1
Pavelo	1
Perelle	52
Pillement, Jean	9
Pierre	1
Poutre, le	4
Ricci, Marc.	78
Rogman, Roeland	1
Ros, de Chevalier	3
Ruisdal	8
Sadeler	9
Sandby	24
Sandrart	1
Sarazin	6
Schönfeldt, H.	1
Schenk, P. exc.	21
Schütz	2
Serg	2
Silvester Israël	54
MSpl.	7
Smith	10
Spilman	4
Stephani, Petrus	6
Thiele, Alexander	5
Tevere	2
Vanvelde	6
Velours	3
Vischer	9
Voillant, Jean	1
Vanden Velde, E. et J.	8
Vander Velde, Wilh.	1
Vernet	33
Viechter	9
Vriese	17
Wagner	3
Wanderneer	1
Waterloo, A.	25
Weirother	116
Wille	2
Wilkin et le Loup	14
Wilson, Richard	6
Weigel, J.C.	1
Whitrombe	1
Wotlett, William	1
Zingg	2
Zochi	2
Zorque	1
Landschaften, Prospecte und Seestücke von unbekannten Meistern	461

Bataillen,
Jagden
und Viehstücke

Baudoin	1
Berghem	75
Huet, C.	2
Jardin	3
Merian, M.	4
Parocel	1
Peter's B.	1
Potter, P.	2
Rigaud, J.	6
Ridinger, Johann Elias	239
Roos, H. und J.	4
Rugendas, Georg Phillipp, sen. et jun.	182
Schneiers	4
Schönfeld	1
Tempest, Ant.	23
Thelott, Joh. Andr.	5
Vandermeulen	2
Vanloo, Carle	–
Wouvermont	40
Zaech, Bernh.	1

Vögel

Huquier, sculps. et exc.	28
Daumont exc.	18
März, J.G. exc. coleurirt	15
Seeligmann, J.M. sculps. coleurirt	14
Tusch, Mlle	5
Visscher, N. exc.	11
Weigel, J. Ch. exc.	11
Bunte Handzeichnungen	80
Augenrunte	74

Blumen, Chiffres
und Früchte

Aubin de Saint	31
Avril	7
Bachelier	9
Baptiste	10
Heckel	4
Huquir's	44
Jackson	6
Marillie	11
Mulder, et P. Hayter	69
Pillement, Jean	34
Prevost, le jeune	4
Ramson	6
Ranson	12
Rober	65
Salambie	4
Tessier	41
Voaquier	43
Von unbekannten Meistern	152
dergl. coleurirte	47

Arabesken und
Ornamente

Bauer	12
Bella, S.D.	7
Bellay	18
Berain	1
Bo, F.	6
Charpentier	1
Cherpitel	1
Chereau	1
Clerc, le	1
Cuvillies de F.	1
Decker, P.	5
Eichel	5
Engelbrecht, exc.	1
Feichtmayer	5
Fosse, De la	42
Germain	68
Girard	6
Gillot	4
Götz	26
Habermann	55
Hertel, L. et Musson	6
Haidt	8
Joue, De la	19
Junck	4
Klauber	2
Laan, v. d. A.	1
Marot	1
Massonier	6
Mariette	23
Monden	5
Nilson	7
Oppenort	1
Picart	9
Peritot	3
Roscher	7
Roettiers	5
Sandrart	1
Schmal	4
Schmidt, A.	3
Sperling	17
Valk, G.	1
Wachsmuth	22
Watteau	74
Zaech	1

Jean-Antoine Fraisse, "Gravé par Huquier"

SUSAN MILLER

In 1735 Jean-Antoine Fraisse (1680?–1738/39), an obscure "peintre en toilles," published a collection of ornamental designs, the *Livre de desseins chinois, tirés d'après des originaux de Perse, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon, dessinés et gravés en taille-douce, par Le Sr Fraisse, Peintre de S.A.S. Monseigneur Le Duc*, and dedicated it to his patron at Chantilly, Louis Henri, prince de Condé (1692–1740).[1] During the course of researching contemporary French ornament prints, I discovered that between about 1742 and 1750, after the deaths of Fraisse and Condé, a later edition of many of Fraisse's plates was produced by Gabriel Huquier (1695–1772), the printer and publisher.[2] Because of Huquier's prominent role in the world of eighteenth-century French decorative arts, the discovery of his edition of Fraisse's work compels a reevaluation of the significance of the *Livre de desseins chinois*. Clearly, Fraisse's published designs, inspired by source material owned by Condé, were regarded with much interest beyond the confines of Condé's world at Chantilly and were not as rare as had once been thought.

The Metropolitan Museum owns the most complete copy known to date of the *Livre de desseins chinois*—with fifty-five etchings and eight woodcuts printed on presentation-quality paper—and seventeen hand-colored etchings and twelve black-and-white etchings from Huquier's undated publication, the sixty-plate *Livre des differentes espèces d'oiseaux, fleurs, plantes, et trophes de la Chine, Tirés du Cabinet du Roy. Gravé par Huquier.*[3] At least thirty-two of the sixty prints published as "gravés par Huquier" were, in fact, printed from plates etched by Fraisse.[4] It is worth noting that not only did the title page imply that Huquier authored the plates but it also credited the king as the owner of the source material that inspired the published designs.

Little is known with certainty about Fraisse, including his activities at Chantilly. The *Livre de desseins chinois* remains the only tangible evidence of his work.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 130.

Although he was described as "peintre" in the registers listing the privilege applications between 1700 and 1750 for publishing prints of ornament and architecture,[5] and he called himself "peintre de S.A.S Monseigneur Le Duc" on the title page of his collection of designs, no other drawings or prints have been traced to him. In 1734 he was granted a *privilège général* for a period of fifteen years to publish the *Livre de desseins chinois*,[6] but his workshop at Chantilly may have ceased production in 1736, when he was accused of theft.[7] We do not know of any editions of his prints published between 1736 and his death in prison by December 1739, after which time Huquier likely obtained Fraisse's plates.

In the world of eighteenth-century French ornament prints, Huquier was a pivotal figure. He was an important collector and dealer, a prolific etcher, and a major publisher. According to the documented output of his work, he seems to have been most active as an etcher between 1731 and 1761.[8] His etchings after Watteau, Oppenordt, Meissonnier, Gillot, Boucher, Peyrotte, and Lajoue are well known. As a successful etcher and publisher over a relatively long period in an increasingly competitive trade, Huquier had to be particularly sensitive to the tastes and trends of the time.[9] His etchings after Watteau, for instance, were reconfigurations of the artist's drawings, probably updated to appeal to contemporary artisanal workshops and purchasers of designs.[10]

The reuse by Huquier of Fraisse's plates adds an important perspective to the study of the *Livre de desseins chinois* and raises Jean-Antoine Fraisse from relative obscurity to a position of greater significance in the discussion of the decorative arts in eighteenth-century France. The *Livre de desseins chinois* was more than merely a conceit of Condé's. It sprang from and appealed to a particular taste of the times and became a source for application in various artisanal workshops.[11] The Metropolitan's rich holdings in ornament prints of this period allow us to consider the impact of Fraisse's particular images within the context of Europe's fascination with Asian materials.

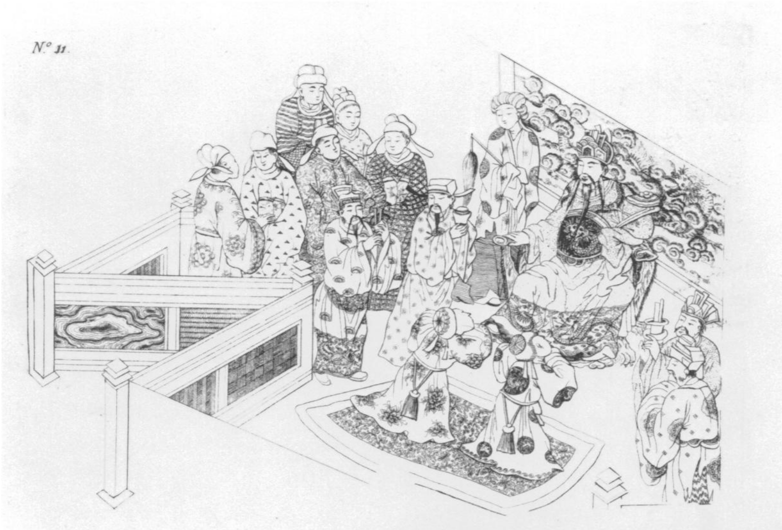

Figure 1. Jean-Antoine Fraisse (French, 1680?–1738/9). Plate no. 11 from *Recueil, de differentes fleurs et figures chinoises les plus interessantes. Ouvrage utile, curieux et interessant a toutes les personnes qui sadonnent ala Peinture, Sculpture, et au Dessein. Dessiné sur les lieux d'après Nature, par Mr de Devonhire.* (Paris: Mondhare, no date). Etching, 22 x 33 cm (plate size). New York, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, 1951–69–1 (photo: Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum)

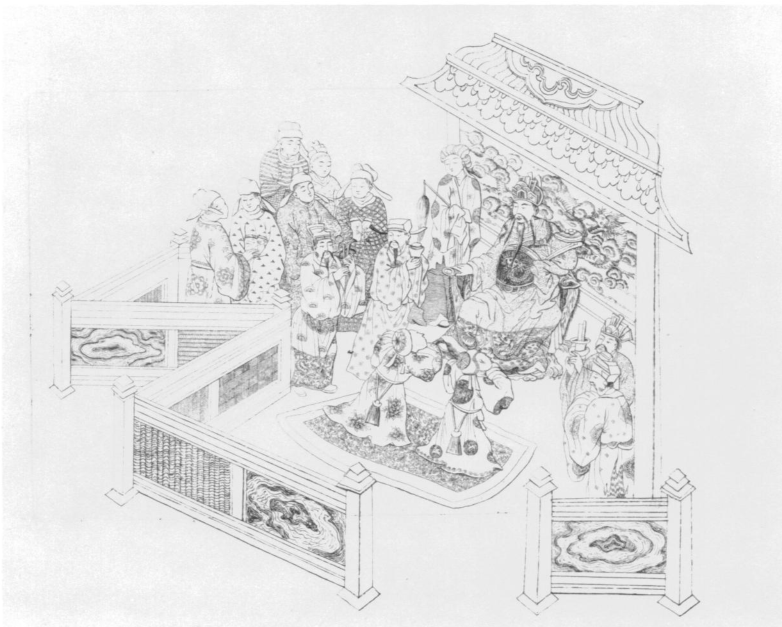

Figure 2. Jean-Antoine Fraisse. Folio 18 from *Livre de desseins chinois, tirés d'après des originaux de Perse, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon, dessinés et gravés en taille-douce par Le Sr Fraisse, Peintre de S.A.S. Monseigneur Le Duc* (Paris: Lottin, 1735). Etching with hand-drawn embellishments, 22 x 33 cm (plate size). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940, 40.38

Twelve copies of Fraisse's work have been catalogued; all have the same title page, but each contains a different number of printed plates, which appear unnumbered and in random order.[12] No copy contains the same selection of prints and none has surfaced that contains all of the prints. The less expensive copies, printed on thin, rough paper, include etched plates only and were most likely used in workshops. For the more costly presentation-quality copies printed on heavy paper, like that in the Metropolitan's collection, several etched plates were embellished with woodcut stamps, pencil underdrawing, and hand-drawn elements in ink. Three of these copies were hand colored. Among the presentation-quality copies, embellishments for identical etchings often differed. We do not know to what extent Fraisse was the author of the embellished versions of the etched plates from these copies.

The Bibliothèque nationale de France owns the premier presentation copy of the *Livre de desseins chinois*, beautifully hand colored, probably by Fraisse himself,[13] in subtle shades and bright colors derived largely from Kakiemon-style porcelains and Indian cottons. This copy, which was confiscated from Chantilly during the Revolution,[14] contains fifty-three printed plates and one drawing and is likely to be the one that was presented to Condé.

The comparison of an unembellished etching (Figure 1) in the collection of the Cooper-Hewitt

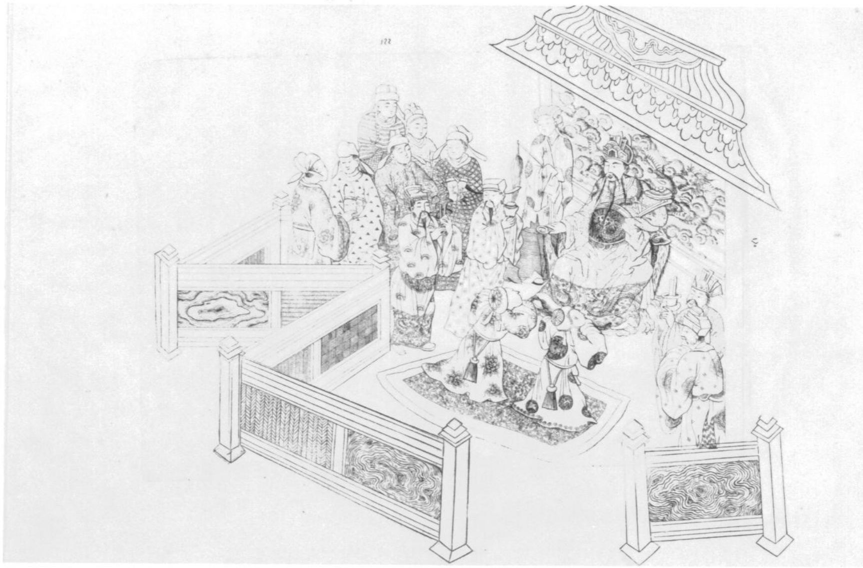

Figure 3. Jean-Antoine Fraisse. Folio 6 from *Livre des differentes espèces d'oiseaux, fleurs, plantes, et trophes de la Chine, Tirés du Cabinet du Roy. Gravé par Huquier.* (Paris: no date). Etching with woodcut-stamped embellishments, 22 x 33 cm (plate size). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1939, 39.104.3

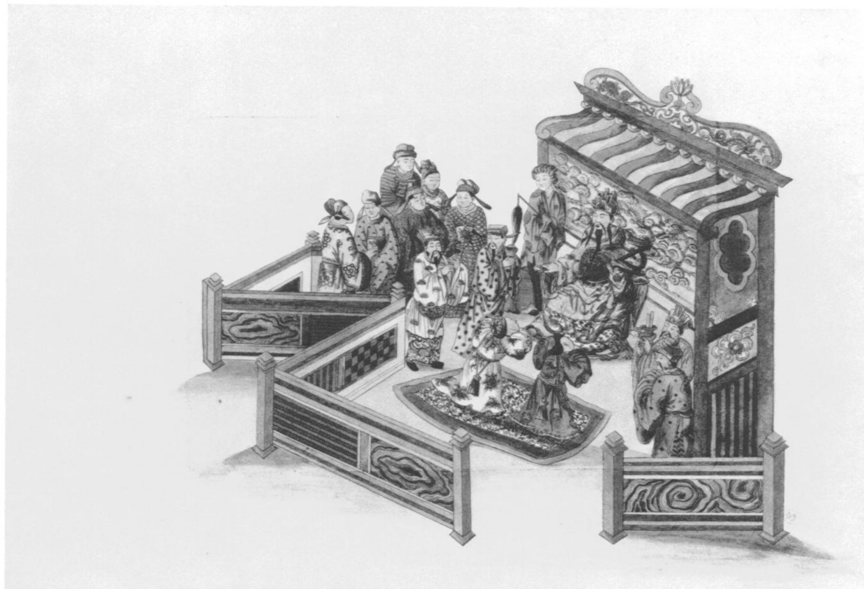

Figure 4. Jean-Antoine Fraisse. Plate from *Livre de desseins chinois, tirés d'après des originaux de Perse, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon, dessinés et gravés en taille-douce par Le Sr Fraisse, Peintre de S.A.S. Monseigner Le Duc* (Paris: Lottin, 1735). Hand-colored etching with hand-drawn embellishments, 22 x 33 cm (plate size). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. V. 86 (photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France)

National Design Museum and a hand-embellished etching in the Metropolitan's copy (Figure 2) with a print of the same image published by Huquier (Figure 3) establishes that Huquier owned an embellished copy of Fraisse's work; otherwise, he could not have known how to complete the composition as he did.

The hand-colored embellished etching (Figure 4) owned by the Bibliothèque nationale de France—with a different roof, added side wall, and lengthened fence at the lower right—presents a different resolution to the completion of the same etched composition. Comparison with the etching owned by the Metropolitan (Figure 2) raises the issue of authorship of the hand-drawn elements in all of Fraisse's embellished etchings. If examined closely, the precisely drawn fence patterns in Figure 4 were clearly completed by a more confident and skilled hand than the fence patterns in Figure 2.

A hand-embellished etching identical to that in the Metropolitan's copy of the *Livre* was certainly the model for the print in Huquier's publication. The Cooper-Hewitt's printed plate is etched only, and therefore the roof and the sections of fence that extend below the plate line are missing. In the Metropolitan's etching (Figure 2) the roof, the fence that continues below the plate line on the right, and the bottom section of fence at the left were penned in by hand. The sections of fence drawn by hand repeat the etched patterns.

Obviously, Huquier preferred the composition as it appeared in Fraisse's hand-embellished etching, but he reproduced Fraisse's hand-drawn elements with three woodblock stamps carved in imitation of the drawings. In order to keep the etching as light as possible where the fence post did not line up exactly with the etched element, Huquier wiped the ink off the plate, indicated by the faint lines that remain visible. The evenness of line of Huquier's woodblock-stamped images differs from the irregularly drawn and uneven lines of Fraisse's hand-drawn elements. Huquier's method was the more efficient if numerous copies were to be produced, and, clearly, Huquier had a sizable production in mind.

Fraisse's designs must have attracted an audience of potential buyers, or Huquier would not have undertaken the printing of the plates, plus the cost of new woodblock stamps. He was too astute a businessman to publish Fraisse's etchings without the certainty of a market for them. Copies of Huquier's edition were printed on both thick and thin paper; the copies printed on the thicker paper were probably intended to be hand colored, perhaps in the publisher's workshop.[15]

While Huquier's prominence has been recognized and his etchings have been studied and cited, Fraisse's work has remained a puzzle to scholars and has not yet been a subject of research.[16] Huquier's etchings of typically Europeanized Asian scenes and figures are well known, but Fraisse's collection of ornamental designs adds a new dimension to the study of Asian-influenced European images. Huquier's adoption of Fraisse's work clearly indicates that the *Livre de desseins chinois* offered a welcome contemporaneous alternative to the mainstream of European interest in Asian art and objects.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to Armin Kunz for his invaluable assistance and expertise and to Clare Le Corbeiller for continuing to share her wisdom and knowledge.

NOTES

1. For the most reliable biographical information about Fraisse, see Geneviève Le Duc, "Chantilly, un certain regard vers l'Extrême-Orient, 1730–1750," *The French Porcelain Society* (London, 1993) pp. 11–18, 24–33.

2. For information regarding Huquier's publication, see Yves Bruand and Michèle Hébert, *Inventaire du Fonds Français, Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle*, Bibliothèque Nationale XI (Paris, 1970), pp. 447–450, 536–538. According to Bruand and Hébert, Huquier's publication was neither dated nor advertised, and they base their date of about 1742–50 on Huquier's address that appeared in the *Mercure de France* as it corresponded to the address given in the publication.

3. Bruand and Hébert, *Inventaire*, pp. 536–537.

4. In addition to the twenty-nine plates from Huquier's publication owned by the MMA, the *Recueil de décorations chinoises de le goût chinois au Musée Guimet, collections particulières*, ser. 3, "Décorations japonaises, chinoises et de goût chinois" (Paris, n.d.) Armand Guérinet, ed., reproduces three plates from Fraisse's *Livre de desseins chinois*, attributed to Huquier's publication in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The remaining twenty-eight plates from Huquier's sixty-plate publication have yet to be identified.

5. Peter Fuhring, "The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France—II," *Print Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (March 1986) p. 26.

6. Ibid.

7. Le Duc, "Chantilly," p. 31.

8. Simon Jervis, "Huquier's *Second Livre*," in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986) p. 113.

9. See Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior* (New Haven, 1995) pp. 247–252, for a discussion of the remunerative and competitive environment of print dealers in Paris and examples of how Huquier participated.

10. Jervis, "Huquier's *Second Livre*," p. 113; Martin Eidelberg, "Gabriel Huquier—Friend or Foe of Watteau?" *The Print Collector's Newsletter* 15 (1984) pp. 158–164.

11. For example, the Chantilly vase, ca. 1735–40, MMA, acc. no. 50.211.121; Chantilly bottle cooler, ca. 1740, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, inv. 33065, ill. in *Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'art, Catalogue des Porcelaines françaises* (Paris, 1992) I, pp. 60–61, figs. 10a, 10b; Villeroy bottle cooler, ca. 1735–40, The Cleveland Museum of Art, acc. no. 47.60, ill. in *The World of Ceramics: Masterpieces from the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, 1982) p. 59, fig. 61, colorpl. following p. 54.

12. See Le Duc, "Chantilly," for a list of twelve copies to which may now be added a thirteenth, the MMA's more complete example. The Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum owns a third edition of forty-eight unembellished etched plates from the *Livre de desseins chinois*, with a different title page. The additional numbering added to each plate indicates that this edition was published after Huquier's. Other copies and editions that are not yet known to contain Fraisse's plates undoubtedly exist.

13. Isabelle de Conihout in *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, Marie-Hélène Tesnière and Prosser Gifford, eds. (New Haven, 1995) p. 317. One etching is ill. in color, p. 318, fig. 130.

14. Ibid, p. 317.

15. MMA, Department of Drawings and Prints, acc. no. 33.29.

16. I intend to publish a more detailed discussion of the *Livre de desseins chinois*.

The "Duchesse de Velours" and Her Daughter: A Masterpiece by Nattier and Its Historical Context

DONALD POSNER

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JEAN-MARC NATTIER'S portrait of Madame Marsollier (also known as the duchesse de Velours) and her daughter (Figure 1) came to the Metropolitan Museum by bequest in 1945.[1] If one can judge from the catalogue of the Museum's French paintings published a decade later, the gift, while surely appreciated, was not very highly esteemed. The cataloguer, Charles Sterling, had little more to say about it than that the artist "chose a milieu for his subjects that epitomizes the frivolous elegance" of mid-eighteenth-century France. He couldn't find anything very favorable to say about Nattier's art in general and, rather grudgingly, granted only that the artist "must . . . be given credit for the pleasing optimism in his portraits and for the unvarying purity and sparkle of his color."[2]

This was not a new or perverse view of Nattier.[3] In fact, although he had long been the leading portraitist of Parisian high society, his graceful mode of portraiture, dependent on flattering imagery and descriptive likeness modified by beautifying artifice, began to be thought of as "mannered" and went out of fashion about a decade before he died in 1766. It lost its appeal in a market that had developed a taste for acute and often uncompromisingly honest delineation of individual physiognomy and personality, in the manner of the portraits of such artists as Maurice Quentin de La Tour and Louis Tocqué.[4] Nattier's reputation declined precipitously. Although recent interest in eighteenth-century French art has led to a more generous assessment of Nattier's work,[5] it has never recovered, and may not deserve, the luster it had in his heyday, from about 1735 to 1750, when one critic declared: "The name Nattier itself suffices as an encomium for his portraits."[6] But his paintings are not without very genuine and historically important merits; and his Portrait of *Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter* should not be dismissed as just a graceful depiction of the elegant people and manners of his age. It is, in fact, a remarkable work, splendid in design and execution, and original in conception.

Nattier was one of the first and foremost creators of the Rococo style in portraiture, in which the pictorially bombastic forms and presentations favored in the Baroque portraits of the previous generation (Figures 3, 5) were replaced by restrained action, restful harmonies, and simplicity of dress and drapery. The style was an expression of the easy, exquisitely gracious urbanity that eighteeenth-century Parisian society fostered in reaction to the ponderous formality and aggressive self-assertion of the courtly ideals of Louis XIV's world. Nattier's portraits not only reflected the new society, they helped to shape it by advertising and refining the fashionable manners and comportment of the new age.

In style, the Marsollier portrait is characteristic of Nattier's works: its design structured by an elegant interplay of finely delineated forms; its color, high keyed and dominated by silvery blues and pale grays, suppressing shadows and creating a clear, light-filled world for its fair inhabitants; its handling combining extraordinary delicacy and subtlety in picturing the sitters' flesh with an astonishing liveliness and immediacy in describing drapery and other details. It is an obviously "graceful" and patently "artful" portrait, but, nonetheless, one that contrives to preserve the illusion of natural appearances.

The people and action in the painting seem, in fact, so natural, so true to life, that we are tempted to interpret the picture as a candid portrayal of a moment in the daily lives of the sitters. That is, of course, what the painter intended. Indeed, the verisimilitude of the image has been intensified by the implied inclusion of the spectator in the scene. We, the viewers, are imagined as interacting with the lifesize painted figures. We have entered the dressing room of the women, evidently mother and daughter, as they attend to their *toilette*. It is early in their preparations for the day, and though stylishly robed, they are still in their undergarments. The mother chooses ornaments from the jewelry box the girl holds; at the same time she looks at

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 139.

Figure 1. Jean-Marc Nattier (1685–1766). *Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter,* 1749. Oil on canvas, 146.1 × 114.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Florence S. Schuette, 1945, 45.172

the mirror to see from another angle if a feather in her daughter's hair would be becoming, and wonders if a sprig of small yellow flowers might be strategically placed to complement her complexion. We are welcome visitors, evidently familiars of the household, and the child, looking directly at us with no hint of surprise, seems to await our opinion of her mother's suggestions.

This charming domestic conceit is seemingly innocent and unpretentious. But like most portraits, the picture is not without an agenda, and it proves upon examination to be anything but unpretentious.

The identity of the sitters is known to us because of the chance survival of one of Nattier's drawings (Figure 2).[7] It reproduces the portrait and is inscribed: "j.m Nattier px. Madame Marsollier et M.lle Sa fille et delineavit 1757."[8] Madame Marsollier died in 1756, and the drawing was possibly made in preparation for a commemorative engraving. The painted portrait was made in 1749 (it is signed and dated on the pilaster at the right); we don't know what occasioned it.

In fact, we don't even know the first names of the sitters, nor their exact ages when the picture was made. No other certain portraits of the two women have come to light.[9] We are confronted with a frustrating situation—more the rule than the exception in the study of portraits from the past—in that we have no way of judging how good the likeness is, no way of knowing how true the depiction is to character or circumstances, or in what ways the artist has interpreted or transformed them.

The painting itself contains little information about the sitters. From their possessions and surroundings we guess they were rich; from the action, that they were bound in an affectionate relationship; and from the images of the people themselves, that they were attractive and healthy. Nothing more. And even this, from the picture alone, would have to be treated with caution, because painted appearances can reflect hopes and fantasies as well as reality. From the picture we cannot say whether the sitters are aristocrats or upper-middle-class people, or whether they belong to Parisian or provincial society. Happily, in 1756 the duc de Luynes chanced to write a few lines about Madame Marsollier in his *Mémoires*. His words provide confirmation for some of what we see and answers to a couple of the questions that occur to us:

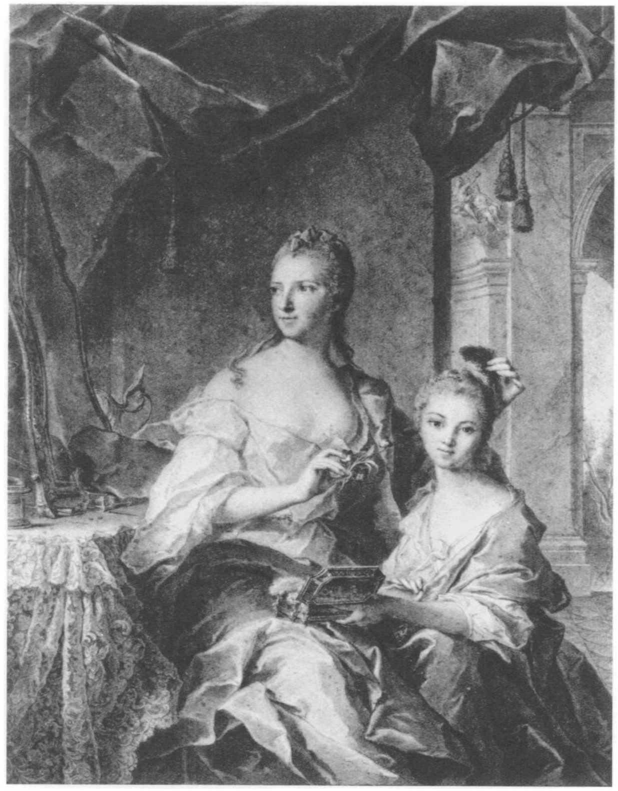

Figure 2. Nattier. *Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter*, 1757. Pen and ink on white paper. Weimar, Kunstsammlungen

A few days ago a Madame Marsollier died in Paris. She was the daughter of M. de Leu, procurator for the domains and woods of the King; she was very well known for her beauty. Her husband was a wholesale dealer in silks who afterward bought a position as secretary of the King. Madame Marsollier is survived only by one daughter, who will be very rich. One of the conditions of Madame Marsollier's marriage was that she would never have to enter her husband's shop; she even avoided the rue Saint-Honoré so she wouldn't have to see the shop; that didn't prevent people from calling her the duchess of Velvet.[10]

From this very brief biography we can conclude that the portrait does not lie about Madame Marsollier's looks or her wealth. Furthermore, it allows us to infer something about her social position and ambitions. She was born, it appears, into a family of only modest means. Her father's appointment in the king's service was a minor one that cannot have made him rich. But in that old world of subtle class distinctions, it conferred a certain social status. He did not belong to the aristocracy, but because his activities reflected, however faintly, the light of life at the royal court, and because he did not owe his livelihood to anything so vulgar as making or selling something, he could claim a higher place in the social pecking order than craftsmen or merchants. That meant, in fact, that he had something special to negotiate with when it came time to marry off his daughter. M. Marsollier was a bourgeois gentleman. When he went shopping for a wife, it was, one imagines, perhaps with an eye for good looks, but certainly with one for a social position that could enhance his status in society and that of his posterity. Possibly it was with the help of his wife's family's that he was able to procure his own title as royal secretary. Evidently, at least for a time, he continued plying the draper's trade. But that was an occupation that offended Madame Marsollier's sense of personal dignity.

She was embarrassed to be the wife of a mere merchant, but her efforts to conceal the fact from herself did not, of course, hide it from anyone else. Ironically, her pretentious display of supposed high-born sensibility earned her a brief mention in de Luynes's memoirs, without which she would be unknown to posterity; in her lifetime, however, it made her an object of ridicule, under the mocking title duchesse de Velours—not the proprietress of a duchy, or any landed estate, but the mistress of bolts of expensive textiles.

In the light of Madame Marsollier's social pretensions, Nattier's portrait of her and her daughter proves to be a thoughtfully wrought iconographic construction—an assemblage of signs—meant to convey a quite specific image of her self-declared standing in society. It is reasonable to assume that the sitter collaborated in its formulation. She was, one imagines, probably responsible for the choice of the artist to portray her.

Nattier was the painter in vogue at the time, the painter of high society, in which Madame Marsollier fervently wished to believe she was included. He was expensive, but she could afford him, and demonstrating that fact was in itself a statement about her position in the world. Her next decision involved the choice of portrait typology for the painting.

Nattier was especially well known for his mythological and allegorical costume pieces, and Madame Marsollier might have opted to have herself and her daughter represented as Flora or Venus with an attendant, or as Diana with a nymph, the latter a disguise that Largillierre had used for a double portrait of 1714 (Figure 3).[11] The *portrait déguisé*, however, began to fall from favor about 1750, when it came to be looked upon as silly in its conceits and as a subversion of the documentary purpose of portraiture.[12] It may be that in 1749 Madame Marsollier sensed this shift in fashion. And she may very well have been influenced in her choice of a realistic portrayal in an informal domestic setting by the fact that Nattier's remarkably unceremonious portrait of Queen Marie Leszczýnska (Château de Versailles) was greatly admired when it was exhibited at the Salon of 1748. Following the queen's own instructions, the artist showed her dressed in everyday clothes (*habit de ville*) while she reads the Bible.

Figure 3. Nicolas de Largillierre (1656–1746). *The Comtesse de Montsoreau and Her Sister as Diana and a Nymph,* 1714. Oil on canvas, 132.5 × 111.3 cm. Dallas, private collection (photo: Sotheby's)

But apart from fashion, there was still another, probably more compelling, reason why Madame Marsollier chose not to have herself portrayed in costume. The *portrait déguisé* provides at most only minimal information about the sitter's actual position and circumstances in life. People more secure about their place in the world than Madame Marsollier did not, of course, need to call attention to what everyone knew quite well. She, however, must have felt a need to insist on what she believed justified her social pretensions, and one way to accomplish that was through her portrait. But she couldn't do so disguised as a lovely creature in the never-never world of mythology; she wanted to display the evidence of her real-life distinction. In 1750, the year after it was painted, the portrait was exhibited at the Salon, where it could call the attention of a wide public to the fact that she was "somebody." On a day-to-day basis it could serve to impress visitors to her house, and satisfy her as a kind of mirror of the person she imagined she was.

Possibly the decision about the choice of portrait type had been made even before Madame Marsollier consulted with Nattier. The compositional scheme and the setting to be used had next to be decided.

Figure 4. Nattier. *Madame Crozat (Marie-Louise-Augustine de Montmorency-Laval) and Her Daughter,* 1733. Oil on canvas, 138 × 105.5 cm. Indianapolis Museum of Art, gift of Mrs. Herman C. Krannert (photo: Indianapolis Museum of Art)

Figure 5. Largillierre. *Portrait of a Woman at Her Toilette,* ca. 1695–1700. Oil on canvas, 158.8 × 127.4 cm. St. Louis Art Museum (photo: St. Louis Art Museum)

Nattier probably kept drawings and prints after his own and other artists' portraits, which could be shown to clients as suggested models for a proposed work. One imagines that while leafing through such pictures Madame Marsollier came across a reproduction of a double portrait that Nattier had made some fifteen years earlier (Figure 4). The image is charming in its rendition of maternal affection, as the mother dresses her daughter's hair with flowers. No doubt, for the duchesse de Velours, a portrait scheme that had served some socially distinguished person would have had special appeal, and this one had apparently been invented for the wife of Louis Antoine Crozat, baron de Thiers, one of the richest men in Paris.[13]

A basic scheme for the positioning and interrelationship of the sitters had been found, but it needed to be revised and relocated in order to meet Madame Marsollier's needs for self-advertisement. The earlier picture, with its outdoor setting, floral imagery, and diaphanous costumes, is very much like a *portrait déguisé*; it might even have been intended as such, with Madame Crozat as Flora or Astrea with a child companion.[14] Pictorially, it only hints, at best, at the great wealth of the sitters.

Madame Marsollier required a setting that could affirm the luxury and splendor of her lifestyle, and that could best be achieved by moving the figures indoors. The architectural background at the right in her portrait is probably not an accurate depiction of her residence, but the loggia with its marble facing[15] and the great curtain hanging in the room are signifiers meant to attest to the fact that she lived in a large, well-appointed, and expensive house.

Once the sitters were moved indoors, the action in the Crozat portrait found its logical place in the dressing room. Here, of course, the gilt-framed mirror, the sumptuous lace covering of the table, and the handsome jewelry box the daughter holds reinforce the theme of luxury, of affluence. But the setting is still richer in connotations that served to establish Madame Marsollier's image of herself and of her status in society.

Portraits of women at their *toilette,* engaged in the rituals of beautification, had already been popularized in France in the sixteenth century, when they allowed for a bold display of the sitter's mostly naked charms and plainly likened her to Venus at her *toilette.*[16] Although less daring, many portraits of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries showing women at their *toilettes*, like one by Largillierre from about the beginning of the eighteenth century (Figure 5), make the same flattering allusion.[17] Largillierre's painting, or one much like it, was possibly known to Nattier, and he may have referred to it in planning the general arrangement and components of his own picture. The lady in the earlier picture, to judge from the image, seems not entirely to have deserved the flattery implied by the scene, but Madame Marsollier was, according to de Luynes, a natural beauty, and the association with Venus that still, if only gently, clings to her portrait presumably would not have seemed inappropriate to her contemporaries. But more important to the sitter than the mythological allusion was the social significance of the *toilette* setting, which served to bolster her conviction that she did, indeed, belong to the elite world of leisure and fashionable refinement.

A mid-century writer, describing the daily life of a woman *de bon ton*, explained that such a person would arise only very late in the morning, and then spend the rest of the day at her *toilette*, while receiving visitors.[18] The fashionable *toilette* was also depicted by artists of the time (Figure 6).[19] This is the life that Madame Marsollier's portrait tells us she enjoyed. Not for her to busy herself on the rue Saint-Honoré like some ordinary shopkeeper's wife. At midday, or early afternoon, to judge from the bright, shadowless light, she and her daughter (like the woman in Figure 6, where the clock indicates 3 P.M.) are still at their *toilette*, and not as yet dressed, a fact that is not without significance.

The writer just quoted also remarked that while receiving visitors and attending to her *toilette*, the lady will be scantily clad, "in a state of undress that is more than ordinarily seductive."[20] The worldly Madame d'Épinay remarked that a lady *en négligé* will be "less beautiful" than when finely dressed, "but more dangerous . . . less elegant, but more appealing."[21]

A certain boldness in the display of one's physical charms was a mark of sophistication in high society, and one reason for the vogue of the mythological or allegorical *portrait déguisé* was that it provided a rationale for revealing costumes. In *toilette* scenes the "realistic" portrait satisfied this taste for suggestive undress, since the sitters could be shown wearing only a chemise or nightgown, and wearing it, as in the case of both our "duchess" and her daughter, off the shoulder and low enough to reveal the nipple of a bared breast. But there is more to this than merely fashionable sophistication. Allowing oneself to be seen in one's underclothes had a social, class-conscious dimension.

Under the old régime, people were expected to show a decent respect for those who were their social

Figure 6. After Pierre-Antoine Baudouin. *A Woman at Her Toilette*, 1765. Gouache. Etching and engraving by Nicolas Ponce, 1771 (photo: from E. Fuchs, *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte* II [Munich, 1910], pt. 1, fig. 262)

superiors. As expressed in terms of dress codes, that meant that inferior people were expected to appear fully dressed when in the company of their betters. The "better" people, however, could be casual about their dress, and, in fact, it was a sign of what such people considered their natural superiority to be comfortable in a state of semi-undress at the levee, the public display of arising from bed, or at the later *toilette*.[22] Madame Marsollier obviously felt comfortable in sharing the manners of the social class to which she felt she belonged.

The portrait of the duchesse de Velours is coded with messages that require some time and effort for us to decipher. Her contemporaries, however, naturally understood them at first glance, without thinking about them. One suspects that most of her contemporaries viewed her portrait as one more instance of the ridiculous pretense of social distinction on the part of the textile merchant's wife.

There is, however, one aspect of the picture that is not necessarily related to social climbing, although it too has social implications. That is its expression of an affectionate, nurturing relationship between mother and daughter. It strikes the viewer immediately, winningly, and at the time the portrait was painted it must have done so with more force than we can readily appreciate today, for it explores a theme that was until then still rather uncommon in portraiture.

Before the early eighteenth century (and granting such notable exceptions as Rubens's portrayal of his wife and children in the Louvre), portraits of a parent with her or his child rarely suggest strong emotional ties between the sitters. In a portrait of the late seventeenth century (Figure 7), for example, Madame de Maintenon and her niece, her "adopted" daughter, each hold the other's arm affectionately, but the gesture is restrained and the relationship suggested is more one of the child's dependence on the adult than of loving intimacy between them.[23] In some portraits the child appears as little more than an accessory, or appendage, of the adult person who made it.[24] In others, such as one by Largillierre (Figure 8), there is no more than a hint of a loving parent-child relationship. In this picture the mother's right hand rests on her son's shoulder, but, despite the implied affection, the motif is unobtrusive and has far less impact pictorially than her left hand caressing the muzzle of the dog in the foreground.[25]

Figure 7. Louis-Ferdinand Elle the Younger. *Madame de Maintenon and Her Niece,* ca. 1686. Oil on canvas, 219 × 142 cm. Versailles, Château (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

Figure 8. Largillierre. *The Marquise de Castelnau and Her Son,* ca. 1700. Oil on canvas, 134 × 105.1 cm. The Minneapolis Institute of Art (photo: Minneapolis Institute of Art)

Such images are widely presumed to reflect the ideas about children and the reality of family relationships of the time.[26] The notion of children as "property" would have made it difficult to appreciate and interact with young people as independent individuals, while a high rate of child mortality is likely to have discouraged—as a kind of self-protective parental instinct—deep emotional attachments to offspring who might not survive into adulthood.

In the course of the eighteenth century, however, European attitudes toward children and ideas about family appear to have changed dramatically. It is not necessary to rehearse the sources and character of the historical transformation here;[27] but it is clear that decades before Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile* of 1762 widely popularized new notions of childhood and of parent-child relationships, portraitists were beginning

Figure 9. Alexis-Simon Belle (1674–1734). *Madame de la Sablonnière (?) and Her Daughter,* 1724. Oil on canvas, 137 × 105 cm. Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites)

Figure 10. Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699–1779). *The Morning Toilette,* 1741. Oil on canvas, 49 × 39 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (photo: Nationalmuseum)

to give expression to these ideas by reducing the apparent emotional distance that separated their sitters. In a portrait of 1724 by Alexis-Simon Belle (Figure 9),[28] for example, a maternal embrace binds the pair, and mother and daughter are united in the musical activity that they share and enjoy together. The action in Nattier's portrait of Madame Crozat and her daughter of 1733 (Figure 4) is cosmetic rather than musical, but its expressive intent is the same.

In 1749, when Madame Marsollier had herself and her daughter portrayed, attitudes toward children and child-rearing may have been changing rapidly, but it cannot be said that a societal consensus had been achieved. Some of the best people, however, must certainly have espoused new ideas.[29] One likes to think that Madame Marsollier cherished her child as warmly as the portrait suggests. But whatever the truth of that, in her picture the duchesse de Velours was again asserting that she shared with members of society's elite the current fashion—maternal fashion in this case.

Nattier stated her claim in the most convincing terms. The expressive strength of the Marsollier portrait is heightened by its genrelike setting and circumstance, which endow it, when compared to the fanciful Crozat portrait (Figure 4), with a great sense of the reality of the affective relationship between mother and child. As is well known, a fashionable display of tender regard for children also appeared in genre paintings of the time,[30] and not only in the modest bourgeois settings so familiar to us from Chardin's work. Boucher's *Breakfast* of 1739, now in the Louvre, takes place in an apparently affluent household, where its occupants enjoy the presence of the children of the family and take pleasure in catering to them.

But Chardin's pictures of domestic life are relevant here too, since their popularity at the time reflects the historical intrusion of bourgeois values into the culture of the upper classes.[31] The appealing imagery of Chardin's scenes of family life surely contributed to the growing appreciation of the requirements and pleasures of maternal care,[32] and the artist's works may also have had some effect on the shape of contemporary high-society portraiture.

It seems possible, in fact, that Chardin's *Morning Toilette* of 1741 (Figure 10) was one of Nattier's sources of inspiration when he designed the Marsollier portrait. Chardin's picture was much admired at the Salon of 1741, and a print after it by Le Bas was made that year.[33]

Figure 11. François-Hubert Drouais (1727–1775). *Family Portrait,* 1756. Oil on canvas, 244 × 195 cm. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection (photo: National Gallery of Art)

The two pictures are very similar in general arrangement and in the action represented; they also share the motif of the glance into the mirror by one of the subjects. Insofar as they are pictorially related, they may also share a conceit about the nature of women. The verses appended to a print made after Chardin's picture declare that "the fair ones are never children . . . in their will to please and [in their understanding of] the art of pleasing."[34] It is a sentiment that Madame Marsollier, occupied with the art of prettifying herself and her daughter, would surely have endorsed.

Of course, Chardin depicted an unostentatious household, and unlike Madame Marsollier and her daughter, the mother and child in his painting, as proper, middling bourgeois people, appear fully dressed; and they don't luxuriate in the leisurely pleasures of the *toilette.* Early risers, they are finishing their preparations to leave the house, just before 7 A.M. according to the clock at the right, presumably to attend early mass.[35] But despite the marked social differences in the two images, they share an ideal, a vision of maternal solicitude and of the generational bond of love.

This ideal took on a new, deeply sentimental character in the art of the second half of the century, when it was interpreted according to the self-indulgent emotional culture of *sensibilité.* The well-known portraits of mothers and children clinging to one another in an excess of demonstrative affection that Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun produced beginning in the 1780s seem its end products. But as early as 1756, in a family portrait by Drouais (Figure 11) that was clearly inspired by Nattier's painting of Madame Marsollier and her daughter,[36] a change in the emotional climate is evident. *Papa* has entered the scene, to gaze benignly on the treasured women of his household. *Maman* calls her husband's attention to the charms of their daughter, who snuggles close to her mother and holds on to a basket of flowers in the fertile maternal lap. While not yet as saccharine as many of Vigée-Lebrun's portraits, Drouais's picture is not unlike them in overstating its message by means of posturing and obvious allusions.

Until about 1750, however, the ideal of family closeness was expressed in forms that maintained a fine balance of tender feeling and decorous restraint, what we might call a "classical" equipoise, and in portraiture it was given perhaps its most lucid, most winning and exquisite expression in the picture of Madame Marsollier and her daughter. Nattier's portrait is about maternal love; but it is also about beauty, wealth, social status, and fashion. In the painting all those themes are woven into an indissoluble visual union by the artist's genius and skill.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper is a shortened version of a talk presented at the Metropolitan Museum in 1994 as part of a series of public lectures, organized by Marian Burleigh-Motley, entitled "Rediscoveries." I wish to thank Christopher Apostle, Katharine Baetjer, Joseph Baillio, Andria Derstine, and Alisa Luxenberg for their help in the preparation of this essay.

NOTES

1. See MMA, *A Catalogue of French Paintings,* XV–XVIII Centuries (Cambridge, Mass., 1955) p. 121.

2. Ibid.

3. Harry Wehle had not been much more enthusiastic when, ten years before it became part of the Museum's permanent collection, the Marsollier portrait was exhibited at the Museum. He noted only that it was one among the artist's "handsome and kindly portraits."

He described Nattier's color as "clear and pearly," but, to his eyes, "slightly fatigued" (MMA, *French Painting and Sculpture of the XVIII Century* [New York, 1935] p. 6). Complaints about Nattier's color had already been voiced as early as 1750, when Bachaumont remarked that it was "souvent fort mauvais" (cited by P. de Nolhac, *Nattier: Peintre de la cour de Louis XV* [Paris, 1910] p. 180).

4. As early as 1750, Nattier began to be unfavorably compared to his son-in-law, Tocqué. See ibid., pp. 180 and 198–99, and G. Huard, "Nattier," in L. Dimier, *Les Peintres français du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1930) II, p. 116.

5. Joseph Baillio is currently preparing for publication Georges Wildenstein's catalogue raisonné of the works of Nattier.

6. "Le nom du sieur Nattier suffit à ses Portraits pour leur éloge." La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'état présent de la peinture en France* (The Hague, 1747) p. 106.

7. Less than a score of his drawings are known today. See P. Hattis, *Four Centuries of French Drawings in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1977) p. 124, no. 85.

8. The date has sometimes been given incorrectly in the literature as 1751 or 1755.

9. A bust-length portrait of a young woman by Nattier (signed and dated 1757) in a private collection in New York is said to depict the comtesse de Neubourg, née Marsollier. (I am grateful to Joseph Baillio for this information.) The painting is illustrated in A. Wintermute, *The French Portrait: 1550–1850* (Colnaghi, New York, 1996) pl. 13 and p. 97. The sitter does, in fact, resemble the daughter in the MMA portrait.

10. "Il mourut il y a quelques jours à Paris une Madame Marsolier, fille de M de Leu, procureur du Roi des domaines et bois; elle étoit fort connue par sa beauté. Son mari étoit un gros marchand de soie qui a acheté depuis une charge de secrétaire du Roi. Madame Marsolier ne laisse qu'une fille qui sera fort riche. Une des conditions de marriage de Madame Marsolier a été de ne jamais entrer dans la boutique de son mari; elle évitoit même de passer dans la rue Saint-Honoré pour ne pas voir la boutique; cela n'empêchoit pas qu'on l'appelât *la duchesse de Velours.*" *Mémoires du duc de Luynes sur la cour de Louis XV* (1735–58) (Paris, 1860–65) XIV, p. 383, entry for Saturday, Jan. 17, 1756.

11. The picture was sold by the New-York Historical Society at Sotheby's, New York, Jan. 12, 1995, sale 6653, lot 89. The identification of the sitters was made by G. de Lastic in "Largillierre et ses modèles," *L'Oeil* 323 (1982) p. 78.

12. It should be noted, however, that the change in taste was slow. Portraits by Nattier of four of the royal daughters in the guise of "Elements" were exhibited at the Salon of 1751, and later in that decade important people were still commissioning *portraits déguisés* from Nattier. See the comments of Nolhac, *Nattier*, pp. 202–204, and Huard, "Nattier," pp. 113–114, both quoting from Cochin's hilarious satire on the *portrait déguisé.*

13. For the identity of the sitters, see M. N. Rosenfeld, *Largillierre and the Eighteenth-Century Portrait* (Montreal, 1982) p. 361.

14. Ibid.

15. The sculptured relief pictured over the niche is not positively identifiable. K. Baetjer, in D. Sutton, *Treasures from the Metropolitan Museum* (Yokohama, 1989) p. 96, speculated that it may represent the crowning of Psyche, who lived, of course, with Cupid in a magnificent palace.

16. Cf. S. Béguin, *L'École de Fontainebleau* (Paris, 1960) p. 105, and Rosenfeld, *Largillierre*, pp. 124–126.

17. Rosenfeld, *Largillierre*, pp. 124–126, and E. Goodman-Soellner, "Boucher's Madame de Pompadour at her toilette," *Simiolus* 17 (1987) pp. 41–58, who also discusses the amorous and erotic connotations of the theme, which, however, seem at most only incidental to Nattier's painting. As Joseph Baillio reminded me, the theme makes an appearance in Charles Coypel's satirical picture *Folly Ornamenting Decrepitude with the Attire of Youth.* See T. Lefrançois, *Charles Coypel* (Paris, 1994) pp. 326–327.

18. Goodman-Soellner, "Boucher's Madame de Pompadour," p. 49, quoting from Boudier de Villement's *L'Ami des femmes* of 1758.

19. A painting by Charles Coypel of 1728 shows children playing adults and acting out the *toilette.* See Lefrançois, *Coypel*, pp. 217–219.

20. ". . . dans un déshabillé plus que galant"; ibid.

21. ". . . moins belle, mais plus dangereuse, . . . moins précieuse, mais plus touchante." Quoted in L. Dumont-Wilden, *Le Portrait en France* (Brussels, 1909) pp. 44–45.

22. Cf. D. de Marly, "Undress in the Oeuvre of Lely," *Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978) pp. 745–750.

23. Madame de Maintenon raised the child, Françoise d'Aubigné, as if she were her own daughter. A. R. Gordon (*Masterpieces from Versailles. Three Centuries of French Portraiture* [Washington, 1983] pp. 22, 48) described the picture as a "somber kind of portrait" and saw in it the expression of the child's "obedience and devotion." Van Dyck's portrait of Susanna Fourment and her daughter, in the National Gallery, Washington, or a very similar picture, was possibly the model for Elle's painting.

24. For example, Van Dyck's full-length pendant portraits in the Louvre (inv. 1242–3) of a father and son and mother and daughter.

25. The iconography of this picture remains unexplained. Because the child holds a bunch of grapes, Rosenfeld (*Largillierre*, p. 128) suggested that the sitters might be represented in the guise of Bacchus and the nymph Erigone, who was seduced by the god in the form of a bunch of grapes. Such a conceit would seem extremely inappropriate for a portrait of mother and son.

26. Philippe Ariès's seminal study, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1960), has had widespread influence, but many of its conclusions have been challenged on evidentiary and other grounds. For a brief summary of the debate surrounding it, see D. Archard, *Children. Rights and Childhood* (London/New York, 1993) pp. 15–28.

27. They are briefly surveyed in J. Gélis, "The Child from Anonymity to Individuality," in R. Chartier, P. Ariès, and G. Duby, *A History of Private Life* (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1989) III, pp. 309–325. C. Duncan discussed them in their specifically French context in "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art," *Art Bulletin* 55 (1973) pp. 570–583. Both Gélis and Duncan accept Ariès's conclusions (see note 26 above). Although the nature, and even the reality, of the transformation is currently a subject of debate, the apparent transformation seen in works of art cannot be questioned. L. Pollock, for instance (*Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relationships from 1500–1900* [Cambridge, Mass., 1983]), has argued that in practice emotional attitudes toward children have been consistent for centuries, but she grants that "there are varied ways in which they were perceived and expressed in particular societies." Idem, *A Lasting Relationship: Parents and Children over Three Centuries* (Hanover, N.H./London, 1987) p. 13.

28. See P. Rosenberg, *The Age of Louis XV; French Painting 1710–1774* (Toledo, Ohio, 1975) p. 22. Charles Coypel painted a comparable portrait of a mother and daughter in 1733. See Lefrançois, *Coypel*, p. 274.

29. Madame de Pompadour was a famously affectionate mother. She had several portraits made of her daughter, Alexandrine (1744–1754), including one in which she and the child appear together in a domestic setting. See M. N. Benisovich, "A Bust of Alexandrine d'Etiolles by Saly," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 28 (1945) pp. 30–42 and fig. 7.

30. A related development in art was the production of images of children seen alone in decorative, allegorical, or "realistic" contexts. See the illuminating study by E. A. Standen, "Country Children: Some *Enfants de Boucher* in Gobelins Tapestry," *MMJ* 29 (1994) pp. 111–133; also G. Brunel, *Boucher* (New York, 1986) pp. 256ff.

31. S. Schama in *The Embarrassment of Riches* (New York, 1987) pp. 517ff., 523, 540–544, argues that Dutch culture of the 17th century fostered close emotional and social ties between parents and children. Chardin's art was, of course, one of the vehicles for the transmission of Dutch bourgeois values into France. I note that Madame de Pompadour owned, and apparently displayed, some prints after Chardin's genre paintings. See J. Cordey, *Inventaire des biens de Madame de Pompadour rédigé après son décès* (Paris, 1939) p. 87.

32. Affectionate fathers are rarely seen in art until the second half of the 18th century (and even then infrequently), which reflects a cultural reality. Fathers were expected to take an authoritative, disciplinary role in family life. Women were charged with the care of very young children and girls. Male tutors supervised boys when they reached the age to begin formal education. In *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Julie declares: "I nurse children, but I am not presumptuous enough to wish to train men." See Duncan, "Happy Mothers," pp. 577 n. 23, 582 (quoting Rousseau); also idem., "Fallen Fathers: images of authority," *Art History* 4 (1981) pp. 186–202, and P. Conisbee, *Chardin* (Oxford, 1986) pp. 182–183.

33. See P. Rosenberg, *Chardin*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1979) p. 274, no. 88.

34. "Avant que la Raison l'éclaire,/ Elle prend du Miroir les avis séduisans/ Dans le désire et l'Art de plaire,/ les Belles, je le vois, ne sont jamais Enfants." This trifling conceit has been taken as an indication that the picture is a warning against vanity or even an allegory of vanity. I share the doubts expressed by Rosenberg, ibid., p. 276. But see the comments of Conisbee, *Chardin*, pp. 166–168.

35. The book on the stool at the left is, one assumes, a prayer book.

36. C. Eisler (*Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. European Schools Excluding Italian* [Oxford, 1977] p. 323) recognized the relationship between the two paintings.

Three Newly Identified Paintings by Marie-Guillelmine Benoist

MARGARET A. OPPENHEIMER

Marie-Guillelmine Benoist's *Portrait d'une négresse* of 1800 has long been considered her masterpiece (Figure 1). Purchased by the French state in 1819, it hangs in the Musée du Louvre beside works of the artist's two teachers, Marie-Louise-Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755–1842) and Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825). However, the painting has always raised a disturbing question: Why did an artist capable of producing an image of this quality leave us no other works of comparable distinction?

Benoist (1768–1826) was one of the best-known women painters of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic periods. From 1784 to 1812, she showed regularly at public exhibitions in Paris and Versailles and was awarded several honors by the French government.[1] Most notably, she was given a studio and lodgings in the Louvre for herself, her husband, and their children.[2] She also received a number of portrait commissions from the Napoleonic regime,[3] an *encouragement* of 1,500 livres in 1795, and a second-class medal at the Salon of 1804.[4]

But Benoist's oeuvre as recognized up to now does not seem to justify fully the reputation and rewards she enjoyed. Most of her full-length portraits of members of the court of the First Empire are weakened by errors in perspective and anatomy.[5] Her genre paintings, while attractive, show a hardening of color and contour and are disappointing when compared with the *Négresse*.[6] If it is unfair to judge the totality of the artist's oeuvre on the basis of these works that date almost exclusively from the latter half of her career, her early pictures, aside from the *Négresse*, remain largely unknown. In particular, the canvases that Benoist exhibited at the Paris Salon during the Consulate (1799–1804), which contemporaneous critics considered among her finest creations, have disappeared from public view. As their identification can only aid us to form a more balanced picture of the artist's oeuvre, it is gratifying to be able to present three of these missing paintings, including a picture that belongs to the Metropolitan Museum.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 150.

The work, known as the *Portrait of Madame Desbassayns de Richemont and Her Daughter Camille*, was given to the Museum in 1953 (Figure 2). It was then attributed to the Neoclassical master Jacques-Louis David. The portrait was unknown to David scholars before 1897, when it was exhibited at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Elizabeth E. Gardner, who published the painting when it entered the Metropolitan's collections, recorded the history of the canvas as given by the then-comte de Richemont. Citing family tradition, he indicated that David painted Desbassayns de Richemont and her daughter shortly before the girl's death in an accident. The family sold the canvas after the tragedy because the child's image evoked painful memories for her mother.[7]

This touching story is unfortunately problematical, not least for its attribution of the painting to David. It

Figure 1. Marie-Guillelmine Benoist (1768–1826). *Portrait d'une négresse*, Salon of 1800. Oil on canvas, 81 × 65.1 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

Figure 2. Marie-Guillelmine Benoist. *Portrait d'une jeune femme avec un enfant Madame Philippe Desbassayns de Richemont [Jeanne Eglé Mourgue and Her Son Eugène]*, Salon of 1802. Formerly known as *Portrait of Madame Desbassayns de Richemont and Her Daughter Camille*. Oil on canvas, 116.8 × 89.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953, 53.61.4

is instructive to compare the canvas to David's only mother-and-child image of the period, the 1795 portrait of *Émilie Sériziat, née Pécoul, and Her Son Emile* (Figure 3). The female figure in the New York picture is arranged in a simple profile pose, which contrasts with the technically demanding frontal view that David employed to paint his sister-in-law. In the Metropolitan's portrait, the skin tones are not so ruddy, the flesh is more softly painted, and the textures of the fabrics are rendered with less detail. Moreover, there is no record of the painting in the master's well-documented oeuvre. The work reflects his stylistic predilections primarily in the use of a somber background to focus the viewer's attention on the sitters. At present the attribution to David has been abandoned, and the portrait is now given to the school of David.

The customary identification of the child as the short-lived Camille Desbassayns de Richemont is also difficult to sustain. Family tradition notwithstanding, the yellow pantaloons, short jacket, and open shirt are the clothing of a boy rather than a girl. The child's abundant curls, fashionable for boys throughout the period in question, may have been the source of the confusion in gender.

But there is no reason to doubt that the female sitter is Mme Desbassayns de Richemont. Two other versions of the Museum's portrait are, or were, in the possession of different branches of her descendants, and in both cases family tradition agrees on the name of the woman portrayed.[8] Born Jeanne-Catherine-Eglé–Fulcrande de Mourgue, she was the wife of Philippe-Panon Desbassayns de Richemont, a diplomat and government administrator. He served under Napoleon I, Louis XVIII, and Charles X, holding posts in France and on his native island of Réunion. The couple, married in 1798, had three children. Camille, their only daughter, born in 1801, was preceded by a son, Eugène, in 1800, and followed by a second son, Paul, in 1809.[9] Surely the little boy who appears in the Metropolitan's portrait is Eugène, since his mother's costume is that of the late Consulate and early Empire, precluding the possibility that the child could be her youngest, Paul.

The painting clearly pleased the Richemonts, because they had at least two copies of it made. In

Figure 3. Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825). *Émilie Sériziat, née Pécoul, and Her Son Emile, Born in 1793,* Salon of 1795. Oil on canvas, 131 × 96 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

Figure 4. Attributed to Marie-Guillelmine Benoist. *Madame Philippe Desbassayns de Richemont.* Oil on canvas. Present location unknown

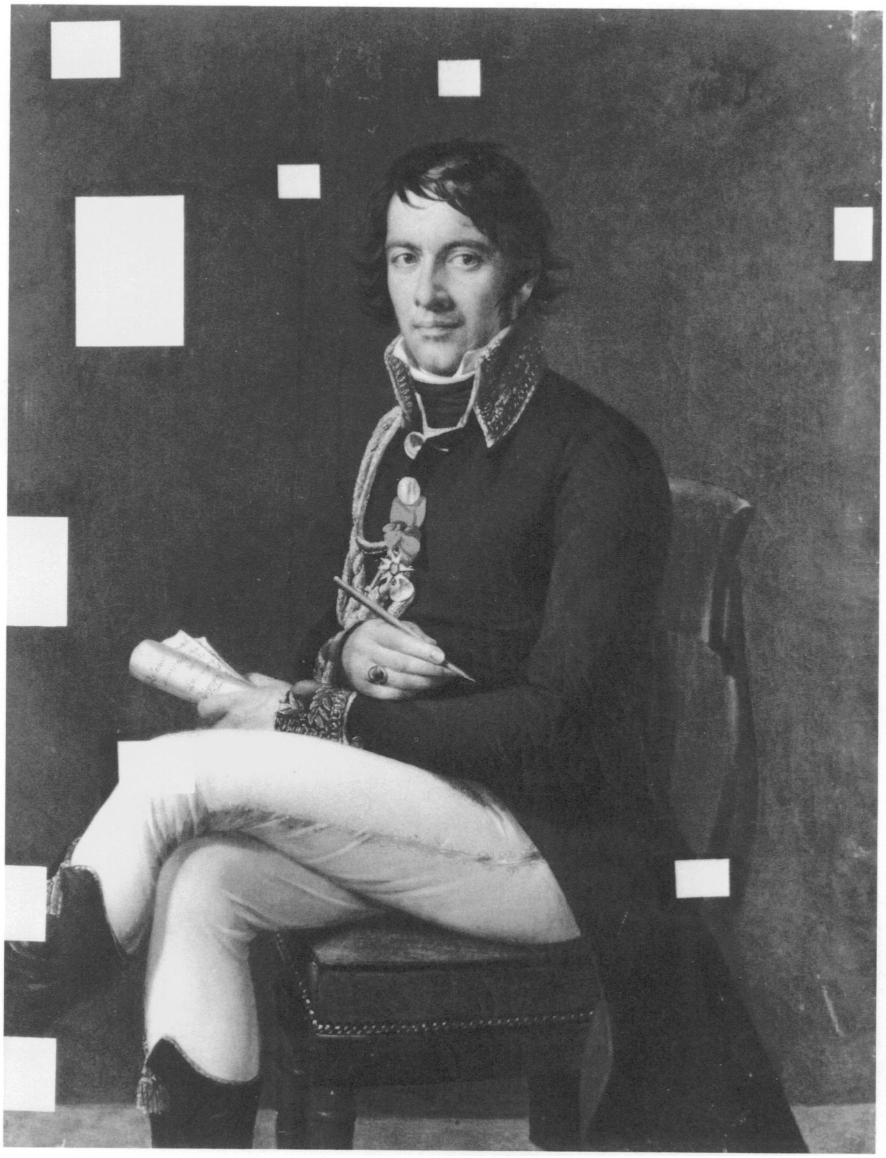

Figure 5. Marie-Guillelmine Benoist. *Portrait de M. L*** [Jean-Dominique Larrey]*, Salon of 1804. Oil on canvas (in restoration), 115 × 88 cm. Toulouse, Musée des Augustins (photo: Musée des Augustins)

them, the accessories and the color of the mother's costume vary and the figure of the child is omitted. Interestingly enough, one of these copies (Figure 4) was attributed by its owners to Marie-Guillelmine Benoist, who is said to have painted it in 1804 after an original by David.[10]

In actual fact, it seems certain that the original—the Museum's canvas—was painted not by David but by Benoist herself.[11] It closely matches the description of a work she exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1802, under the title of *Portrait d'une jeune femme avec un enfant.* Along with another of her submissions (a portrait of a young woman holding a spray of lilacs), the work was praised as one of Benoist's best paintings. The critic of *La Décade Philosophique, Littérraire et Politique* wrote:

Le portrait d'une jeune personne et celui d'une jeune femme avec un enfant, par Mme Benoist (Nos. 16 et 17), sont excellentes productions d'une artiste déjà connue par des succès. Mais, ici, c'est tout un autre talent que celui qu'elle avait montré dans ses autres ouvrages. On ne dessine pas mieux; on n'a pas une touche plus franche. Les plus habiles peintres de notre école se feraient gloire d'avoir exécuté le tableau de la jeune personne qui tient une branche de lilas, d'avoir composé le groupe de la mère et de l'enfant. S'il n'y avait eu au salon que le premier de ces deux portraits, on pourrait croire que la teinte un peu plombée qui règne dans les chairs appartient au modèle; mais comme on trouve le même défaut dans le portrait très-ressemblant de Mme D * *, dont la beauté est connue, et dont la carnation est aussi délicate que les formes; mais comme un bel enfant blond est aussi également peint sans transparence, nous nous voyons dans le cas d'avertir Mme Benoist, qui s'est si fort approchée de la perfection, qu'elle doit consulter Vandyk et surtout le Titien.[12]

Unfortunately, the dimensions of the portrait of the mother and child are not recorded in the register of works delivered to the Salon.[13] Nor was the painting described by the art reviewer of the *Journal des Débats*, who joined the critic of *La Décade* in praising it.[14] However, the comments of the writer of *La Décade* are invaluable in identifying the female sitter as "Mme D * *" and specifying that the child, a boy, was blond.

There are clear parallels between the composition of the *Négresse* of 1800 and the *Portrait d'une jeune femme avec un enfant* of 1802. The arm closest to the viewer is placed in the same basic position in the two works, although the musculature of its upper portion, so prominent in the *Négresse*, is veiled by the transparent sleeve in the image of Desbassayns de Richemont. The gauze of the latter's dress falls in the same long, unbroken folds as the slightly heavier fabric used for the costume of the *Négresse.*

The reviewer's complaints about the coloring of the flesh tones of Mme Desbassayns de Richemont and her son can be understood in relation to the somewhat somber palette chosen by Benoist. The colors are darker than those she had used to paint the *Négresse* two years earlier, but relate to the pigments utilized in her *Portrait de M. L****, long unattributed, but here restored to Benoist's oeuvre (Figure 5).

The *Portrait de M. L****, an image of Benoist's brother-in-law, Jean-Dominique Larrey, later Baron Larrey, was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1804. It entered the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse through a bequest of the sitter's son, Baron Hippolyte Larrey. Jean-Dominique Larrey, a surgeon who joined Napoleon I's Egyptian expedition and was later inspector general of health services for the French military, is shown holding a scroll inscribed "Relation chirurgicale de l'armée d'egypte [*sic*]."[15] Although the painting attracted little attention from the critics at the Salon, where it seems to have been overshadowed by a portrait of Larrey (Figure 6) painted by Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy-Trioson (1767–1824), its appearance was recorded in a contemporaneous drawing. While preparing an engraved view of the 1804 exhibition, an artist named Antoine-Maxime Monsaldy (1768–1816) made thumbnail sketches of the most noteworthy works displayed. An album of counterproofs of these sketches is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; one of them (Figure 7)

Figure 6. Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy-Trioson (1767–1824). *Portrait de Jean-Dominique Larrey (1766–1842)*, Salon of 1804. Oil on canvas, 65 × 55 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

Figure 7. Antoine-Maxime Monsaldy (1768–1816), after Marie-Guillelmine Benoist. *Portrait de M. L*** [Jean-Dominique Larrey]*, 1804. Pencil on paper. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

Figure 8. Marie-Guillelmine Benoist. *Portrait d'une jeune personne*, Salon of 1802. Present location unknown

records, in reverse, the portrait now in Toulouse. The counterproof, carefully labeled, identifies the work as the *Portrait de M. L****.

Larrey's pose is similar to that of Mme Desbassayns de Richemont and, as already noted, the two works are related by their low-keyed colors. In each, the same chair, probably a studio prop, is employed. The upholstered seat and the highlights on the gold studs are painted in a similar way. Unfortunately, the portrait of Larrey, remarkable for the expressive face, is weakened by the inclusion of the rather flaccid legs. They betray Benoist's lack of experience at painting the anatomy of the lower body, which was hidden by drapery in her images of female sitters, such as a newly identified *Portrait d'une jeune personne* from the Salon of 1802.

This last painting was praised by the same art critic of *La Décade* who described the Metropolitan's *Portrait d'une jeune femme avec un enfant* (see above). Although he did not give details of the composition, other reviewers described it more precisely. One indicated that the model, "debout et adossée à une balustrade . . . tient de la main gauche son voile et de l'autre une branche de lilas." A second specified that the veil was thrown over her head and chest.[16] Their description of the painting matches exactly the appearance of a picture published in 1941 by Raymond Escholier as a work by Jacques-Louis David (Figure 8).[17]

The canvas, which does not seem to appear elsewhere in the David literature, was reproduced under the title *Portrait de la Comtesse du Cayla*, without indication of ownership or dimensions. No such picture by David is documented, nor is the artist known to have painted any portraits of women in landscape settings; however, his pupil Benoist did paint several. The

Portrait d'une jeune personne is particularly close to her *Portrait de Madame Lacroix-Saint-Pierre* of about 1806 (present location unknown).[18] Both works show three-quarter-length figures near the picture plane, backed by an expanse of landscape; each sitter wears a veil and a shawl draped over one shoulder. However, the *Portrait d'une jeune personne* is much the more graceful of the two works. The accessories are painted with care, and the elegant draping of the light veil recalls the talents of Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Benoist's first instructor in painting.

It is again Vigée-Lebrun's influence that one seems to detect in another painting from the period of the Consulate, which may also be attributable to Benoist. The image in question is a *Portrait of a Lady*, that was given to the San Diego, California, Museum of Art by Anne R. and Amy Putnam in 1946 (Figure 9). Originally ascribed to Jacques-Louis David, as were two of the three Benoist paintings mentioned above, it now remains without attribution beyond "Circle of David." However, the appearance of the San Diego painting is compatible with a description of a *Portrait de femme* by Benoist exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1799. The reviewer of *La Décade Philosophique, Littéraire et Politique*, who saw the painting, commented that "cette femme enveloppée d'un schall et qui regarde, elle est peinte à éclipser toute la société que vous lui avez composée. Le pinceau n'a point hésité, ces touches sont aussi justes que vigoureuses et vraies. . . ."[19]

Unluckily, the dimensions of the painting were not recorded in the Salon register, and no other Salon critics described the work, making a secure attribution problematic.[20] It can be noted, in any case, that the wide-set, liquid eyes and the firmly modeled face and hands of the sitter are consistent with those found in Benoist's images of women illustrated here. The coloristic harmony (maize-colored shawl, blue hair ribbon), which rivals that of the *Négresse*, is worthy of a pupil of Vigée-Lebrun. In contrast, the loosely girded, classically inspired dress, while relating to the simple costumes favored by the latter (for example, Vigée-Lebrun's 1789 *Portrait of the Artist with Her Daughter*, Louvre), is closer to that employed by Benoist's second teacher, David, in the figure of Hersilie in his *Sabines* of 1799 (Louvre). The pose of the upper body recalls the composition of Benoist's self-portrait of 1786 (Figure 10); also, the hair is treated with similar softness and freedom in the two paintings. Details of the San Diego portrait's facture may provide further clues to the identity of its author, which still must be deemed inconclusive.[21]

But even considering only the three works here securely attributed to Benoist permits us to reevaluate

Figure 9. Unknown artist. *Portrait of a Lady*; possibly Marie-Guillelmine Benoist's *Portrait de femme*, Salon of 1799. Oil on canvas, 100 × 81.8 cm. San Diego, California, San Diego Museum of Art, Gift of Anne R. and Amy Putnam (photo: San Diego Museum of Art)

Figure 10. Marie-Guillelmine Benoist. *Self-Portrait*, 1786. Oil on canvas, 92 × 75 cm. Present location unknown; collection of the Marquise de Lespinay in 1914

the middle portion of the artist's production. If none of these paintings supplants the *Portrait d'une négresse* as her finest work, at least two—the *Portrait d'une jeune personne* and the Metropolitan's *Portrait d'une jeune femme avec un enfant*—are remarkably close to the Louvre's painting in quality. In them, Benoist combines the graceful fluidity and coloristic harmony that she learned from Vigée-Lebrun with the three-dimensional modeling and firm contours that she mastered under David. The canvases reflect their creator's abilities at the apogee of her career; that they were once misattributed to David is a backhanded acknowledgment of her skill. Yet it is more than time for the value of Benoist's own achievements to be recognized. For a start, we can restore these engaging portraits to her oeuvre.

NOTES

1. Benoist exhibited at the Exposition de la Jeunesse (Paris) from 1784 to 1788 and in 1791; at the Paris Salon in 1791, 1795, 1796, and from 1799 to 1812; and at the Musée spécial de l'École Française (Versailles) in 1800 and 1801.

2. Paris, Archives Nationales (hereafter abbreviated as A. N.), $F^{13}965$, no. 147; A. N., $F^{13}965$, no. 314. Benoist lived at the Louvre through 1797; then when lack of space forced the expulsion of numerous residents, was awarded an apartment and studio in the Maison d'Angivillers. She had one of the most agreeable apartments and "un superbe atelier" in this government-funded residence for artists. In 1806, when the building was converted into offices for the Ministry of the Navy, she received a compensatory pension of 1,000 francs a year, which was paid regularly until the beginning of 1823 (A. N., F 4482, summary of a letter signed by the Minister of the Interior on 13 Frimaire an VI; A. N., F 4482, summary of a report submitted to the Minister of the Interior on 13 Floréal an VI; A. N., $F^{21}511$, dossiers 1, 2, 6).

3. *Bonaparte, Premier Consul,* 1804 (Hôtel de Ville, Ghent); *Portrait du Maréchal Brune,* commissioned in 1805, destroyed by fire in 1871; *Portrait du Grand Maître des Cérémonies,* commissioned in 1806 (pres-ent location unknown); *Portrait de Napoléon,* 1807, for the Department of the Sarthe (present location unknown); *Portrait de Marie-Pauline Bonaparte, princesse Borghèse,* 1808 (Musée National du Château de Versailles, on deposit at Fontainebleau); *Napoléon I,* 1809 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers, on deposit at the École de Génie, Angers); *Portrait of Napoléone Elisa Bacciochi, later comtesse Camerata,* Salon of 1810 (Musée National du Château de Versailles, on deposit at Fontainebleau); *Portrait of Elisa Bonaparte Bacciochi* (Pinacoteca, Lucca); *Portrait de l'Impératrice Marie-Louise,* Salon of 1812 (Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau).

4. *Mercure de France* (Sept. 1795) p. 336; A. N., $O^{2}847$. For a full-length biographical study of Benoist, see Marie-Juliette Ballot, *Une élève de David, la Comtesse Benoist, l'Émilie de Demoustier 1768–1826* (Paris, 1914).

5. See list of works in note 3 above.

6. E.g., *La lecture de la Bible,* Salon of 1810 (Musée de Louviers); *La Diseuse de bonne aventure,* Salon of 1812 (Musée de l'Échevinage, Saintes).

7. Elizabeth E. Gardner, "David's Portrait of Madame de Richemont and Her Daughter" MMAB 3 (Nov. 1953) pp. 58–59. As this article was going to press, Vicomte Guy de Richemont kindly supplied a more detailed provenance. The painting was given by Desbassayns de Richemont to her brother Jean-Scipion-Anne Mourgue; the gift was made, it is said, after the death of Camille. The canvas passed then to Mourgue's niece Hélène Chabert, née Mourgue, and only in 1905 was sold out of the family.

8. Information from the archives of the Department of European Painting.

9. Roman d'Amat and R. Limouzin-Lamothe, *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1965) X, p. 1207. Transcripts of Camille's birth and death certificates are held in the Archives of the Department of European Painting.

10. See note 8 above; also Ballot, *Une élève de David,* p. 253. There are at least two other known versions of the composition that include both mother and child. One belongs to the Ritz Hotel in Paris and is possibly identical with a painting reproduced in H. Longnon and F. W. Huard, *French Provincial Furniture* (Paris, 1927) p. 156; the other, a copy or sketch, was with Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox in London in 1978.

11. According to information in the archives of the Department of European Painting, Claus Virch had previously mentioned Benoist's name in relation to this painting. In 1970 he was cited by another scholar as having suggested that the *Portrait de Madame Desbassayns de Richemont* was by a painter in the circle of Vigée-Lebrun, possibly Benoist.

12. "Suite de l'Examen du Salon," *La Décade Philosophique, Littéraire et Politique* (An XI–Ier Trimestre) p. 107.

13. Paris, Archives des Musées Nationaux, X Salon, 1802.

14. "Salon de l'an dix. No. IX," *Journal des débats et lois du pouvoir législatif, et des actes du gouvernement* (11 Brumaire an XI) p. 3.

15. A half-length copy of Benoist's portrait of Larrey is in the Musée du Service de Santé des Armées, Val-de-Grâce (Paris).

16. "Ouverture du Salon d'exposition annuelle des Peintres vivans," *Journal des Arts, des Sciences, et de Littérature,* nos. 226–228 (20 Fructidor an X–30 Fructidor an X) p. 426; St. L . . . t, "Peinture. Considération sur cet art cultivé par les femmes," *Le Petit Magasin des Dames* 1 (An XI–1803) pp. 168–169.

17. Raymond Escholier, *La Peinture française XIX^{e} siècle de David à Géricault* (Paris, 1941) frontispiece.

18. The *Portrait de Madame Lacroix-Saint-Pierre* is reproduced in Ballot, *Une Élève de David,* opp. p. 176. It was in the collection of M. de la Couperie, France, in 1914.

19. P[ierre-Jean-Baptiste] Ch[aussard], "Fin du Compte rendu de l'Exposition publique des Ouvrages composés par les Artistes vivans," *La Décade Philosophique, Littéraire et Politique* (An VIII–1er Trimestre) p. 220.

20. Paris, Archives des Musées Nationaux, X Salon, 1799.

21. The author has been unable to visit San Diego to examine the painting.

The Bashford Dean Memorial Tablet by Daniel Chester French

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On April 14, 1930, a private ceremony was held in The Metropolitan Museum of Art to unveil a bronze tablet made in memory of Dr. Bashford Dean (1867–1928) by Daniel Chester French (1850–1931).[1] The unveiling was followed by the dedication of the Bashford Dean Memorial Gallery, containing a selection from Dean's former personal collection, the best of which had come to the Museum by bequest, gift, and purchase following Dean's death (Figure 1). These posthumous honors were a tribute to Dean's brilliant and multifaceted career as a scientist, curator, and collector, during which he had simultaneously held posts at Columbia University, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Metropolitan Museum.[2] Under Dean's direction the arms and armor collection of the Metropolitan was transformed from an unimportant aspect of the Decorative Arts department into an active and independent department with world-class holdings and an international reputation for scholarship. In recognition for his services to the Museum, Dean had also been elected to the Board of Trustees in 1927. After his death, in what was a significant sign of respect for Dean's connoisseurship, the trustees raised funds among themselves to augment the Dean bequest by purchasing many additional items from his estate for the Museum's permanent collection.

It was this private call for funds that prompted the sculptor Daniel Chester French, also a trustee, to contribute not money but another form of memorial for which he was uniquely qualified: a bronze bas-relief. As French recounted to the Museum's secretary, H. W. Kent, "when there was an opportunity given to the trustees to subscribe to the purchase of the Dean armor, I wrote to Mr. de Forest [Robert de Forest, president of the Museum] that I could not compete with my multi-millionaire associates, but that I should like to contribute the tablet in bronze in memory of Dr. Dean, to be erected in the Armor galleries."[3] In addition to his role as trustee French also served as chairman of the Committee on Sculpture beginning in 1903, the same year in which Dean began his affiliation with the Museum. Much as Dean built up the Department of Arms and Armor, French was responsible for forming the core of the Museum's sculpture collection. The *Bashford Dean Memorial Tablet* was to be among the last works in French's long and prolific career, by the end of which he was recognized as the most celebrated American sculptor of his time.[4]

The creation and donation of the sculpture was anything but a token gesture for French. After securing the Museum's approval for the project he worked diligently, with the close cooperation of Stephen V. Grancsay, Dean's successor, to ensure that the tablet would be an appropriate tribute to Dean's character. French seems to have been motivated simply by his personal regard for Dean, which was developed during a collegial relationship expressed through intermittent correspondence dating from 1909 to 1928.[5] The majority of the letters in this correspondence concern two projects on which Dean and French had cooperated.

In 1921 Dean had turned to French for guidance after three years of failed attempts to find the best horse manikin on which to display a magnificent armor for man and horse, which he had acquired for the Museum in 1919.[6] The armor was the one long attributed to Galiot de Genouilhac, Master of Artillery to King Francis I, which Dean had coveted for the collection and persistently pursued for several years.[7] Dean, disappointed with the appearance of available horse manikins, decided in a moment of inspiration that Verrocchio's horse for the Colleoni monument in Venice would provide the ideal combination of grace and grandeur that the Genouilhac armor required.[8] Translating this vision into an attractive and effective manikin able to support an armor for man and horse with a combined weight of 120 pounds was another matter. French willingly agreed to supervise the process. As he commented to Dean, "I am having this sort of work done all the time. The method that I

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 157.

Figure 1. Entrance to the Bashford Dean Memorial Gallery, showing the tablet by Daniel Chester French, 1930

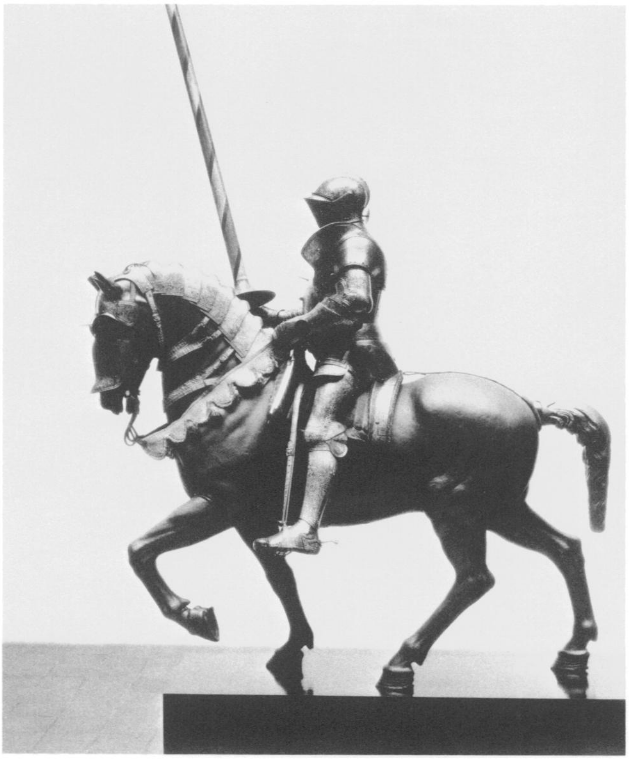


Figure 2. Armor for man and horse, English (Greenwich), dated 1527. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1917, 19.131.1–2. Photograph taken in June 1923

would advise would be, not to copy the full-size model of the Colleone [*sic*], but to use one of the mechanical reductions of the statue as the model and enlarge it to the size required. This would give a much closer copy of the statue than any 'free-hand' copy that a sculptor could make from the full-size statue."[9] French provided Dean with a Caproni cast of the Colleoni and eventually recommended the sculptor John E. Burdick (d. 1927), who created the enlargement to suit the proportions of the Genouilhac armor. Dean was very satisfied with the results, as he wrote to French about the horse once it was on display: "He certainly gives the impression of a beasty who wears armor comfortably. The only trouble is that he has already destroyed the morale of all of the other horses in the gallery. . . . " (Figure 2).[10]

French, in turn, depended on Dean in 1925 for guidance in developing the armor and equipment for his relief sculpture *Boabdil the Unlucky,* part of the Washington Irving Memorial in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York (Figure 3). French had chosen Muhammad XII, known as Boabdil (d. 1527), the last Nasrid sultan of Granada, to evoke Irving's long association with Spain and especially with the Alhambra.[11] Early versions of the piece showed Boabdil in stereotypically anachronistic oriental-style costume (Figure 4). French was unhappy with the fact that this was historically inaccurate, but as he wrote to Dean, "You see, I

Figure 3. Daniel Chester French (1850–1931). *Washington Irving Memorial,* 1927. Bronze and granite. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York (photo: courtesy of Kent Lydecker)

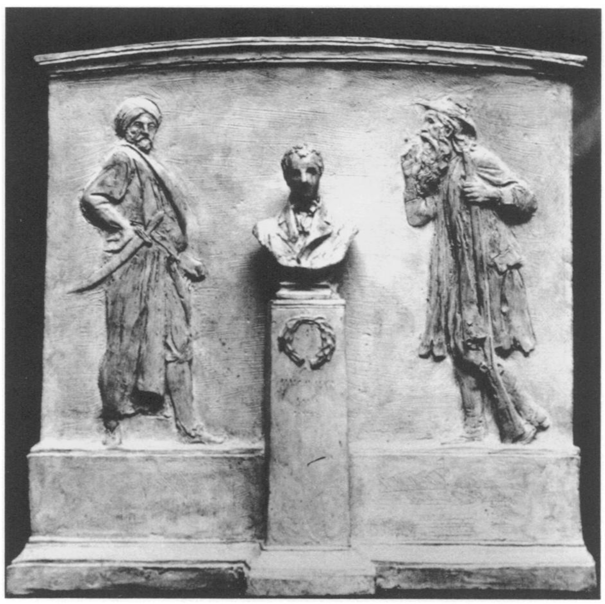


Figure 4. Daniel Chester French. Plaster study for the *Washington Irving Memorial,* 1925; H. 39.4 cm. Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Chesterwood, a museum property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, acc. no. NT69.38.185

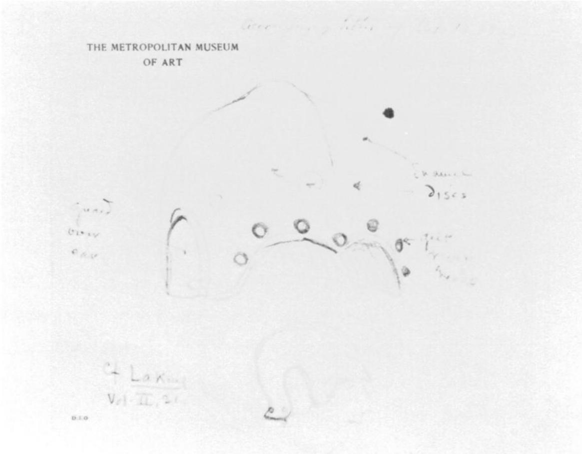


Figure 5. Sketch by Bashford Dean showing the "Boabdil" helmet (later MMA acc. no. 1983.413); sent with his letter to French dated October 14, 1925. Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Chesterwood Museum Archives, Chesterwood, a museum property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, acc. no. NT73.45.5106

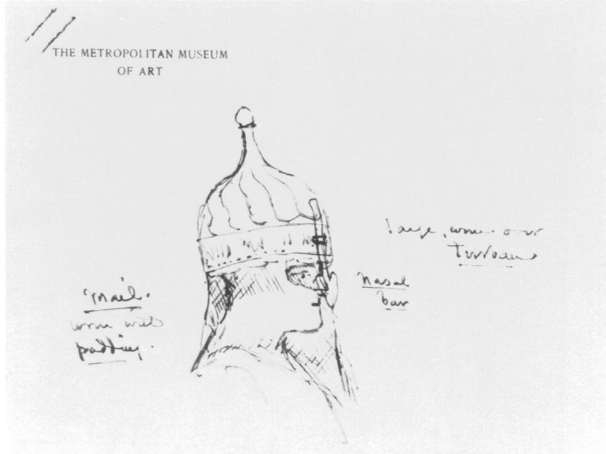


Figure 6. Sketch by Bashford Dean showing a late-15th-century Iranian helmet; sent with his letter to French dated October 19, 1925. Chesterwood Museum Archives, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Chesterwood, a museum property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. acc. no. NT73.45.5109

am anxious to have my figure explain itself to the casual observer."[12] There followed a fruitful exchange of letters, sketches, and references in which Dean provided a succession of historically accurate alternatives as French continued to modify *Boabdil* in order to reconcile his instinct for authenticity with his artistic conception of the work.

The helmet and sword were key features in the composition and proved to be the most difficult. French began with a Turkish-style helmet of about 1600. Dean suggested that he consider taking as his model the late-fifteenth-century Nasrid helmet, attributed to Boabdil himself, which was then in the collection of Lord Astor at Hever Castle and which was acquired by the Metropolitan many years later (Figure 5).[13] But, as French responded, "I cannot help hoping that you will let me keep the helmet I have selected as it not only comes into my composition better than the one that you have drawn, but suggests the Oriental much more. . . ."[14] Later Dean sent two helmets from his own collection to French at his studio in Glendale, Massachusetts. One of these proved to be both authentic and "Oriental" enough, with some modifications, to solve the problem (Figure 6).

The curved sword with which French had equipped Boabdil was also an anachronism, but one on which he could not compromise, as he explained to Dean: "I fear you will look on me as a Philistine . . . when I tell you that I feel as if I *must* retain the curved sword. Not only is it suggestive of the orient, but I find that to introduce a straight one would make it necessary to change my whole composition, in which this strong curved line is a necessity. Please shut your eyes and let me keep it!"[15] Dean reassured French by replying, "No one knows better than I do that *pictoribus atque poetis* there is always license of beauty rather than accuracy—and sometimes the two aims may never meet."[16] French's desire to harmonize beauty with accuracy, so evident in the *Boabdil* correspondence, manifested itself again shortly thereafter in his work on the *Bashford Dean Memorial Tablet.*

By August of 1929 French was able to write to Grancsay that the proposal for the tablet was all but approved. It seems, however, that the initial idea for a memorial tablet originated with another of Dean's friends. In 1912 Dean had been the founder of an enthusiastic group of collectors called the Armor and Arms Club. Following Dean's death the club appointed a committee to consider plans for an appropriate memorial. The committee's chairman was George Cameron Stone (1859–1935), a longtime friend of Dean's, whose extensive collection of oriental and ethnographic arms and armor was bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum in 1936. On March 4, 1929, Stone wrote to Howard Mansfield (1849–1938), an active member of the club and a Museum trustee, to ask him to seek the Museum's permission for the club to erect a bronze memorial tablet in the armor galleries.[17] Through Mansfield's efforts the proposal was referred to the Museum's Committee on Arms and Armor, the chairman of which was Clarence H. Mackay (1874–1938). In addition to being an influential trustee, Mackay was the chairman of International Telegraph and Telephone and the foremost private collector of arms and armor of the period (rivaled only by William Randolph Hearst). Surprisingly, the request was not granted. Mackay wrote to Stone at the end of March to say that the Museum hesitated to set the precedent of allowing a private organization to place a memorial to an individual within the Museum.[18] However, a few months later French received permission to make just such a tablet. The approval may have been given because of the fact that French was not only a trustee (as was Mansfield) but also a world-renowned sculptor who could offer the tablet both as a work of art from his own hand and as a personal gift to the Museum. It is also possible that French had purposely adopted the Armor and Arms Club's idea, perhaps at the behest of Mansfield or Grancsay.

French first proposed a relief portrait of Dean accompanied by an appropriate inscription. He had recently completed a bronze memorial tablet of this type in commemoration of the chemist and philanthropist Edward Mallinckrodt, which was unveiled at Harvard University's chemical laboratory in September 1928.[19] Mallinckrodt's portrait had been modeled from photographs and French hoped to do the same for the Dean tablet, but found the available photographs of Dean unsuitable for his purposes. Abandoning the idea of a portrait, French decided to pursue a design involving a combination of elements of arms and armor with an inscription. He explored the idea in an early plaster maquette (Figure 7), probably made in the summer of 1929. The experimental nature of the model is apparent in the awkward vertical placement of the helmet, shield, and sword, and in the fact that these same elements are stylized to the point of inaccuracy. French would refine and correct both aspects in later versions.

From this point French began a frequent exchange of letters with Stephen Grancsay about the evolving design and the eventual placement of the finished tablet, and asking Grancsay to suggest appropriate pieces in the Museum's collection for possible inclusion in the relief.[20] Grancsay responded with the first

Figure 7. Daniel Chester French. Preliminary study for the *Bashford Dean Memorial Tablet.* Plaster, 32.1 × 15.9 cm. Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Chesterwood, a museum property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, acc. no. NT69.38.137

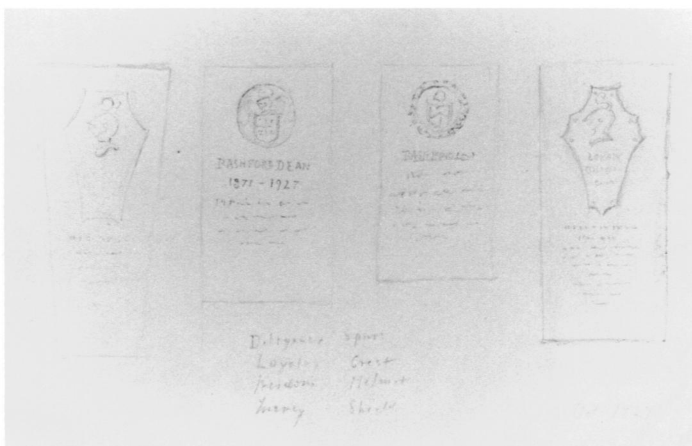


Figure 8. Daniel Chester French. Preliminary designs for the *Bashford Dean Memorial Tablet,* dated October 1929. Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Chesterwood, a museum property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, acc. no. NT69.38.862

Figure 9. Armet, Italian (Milan), ca. 1475. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Funds from various donors, 1929, 29.158.51

of several photographs and sketches, and with a book which proved instrumental to French in developing his final design. The book, *A Suit of Armour for Youth* (London, 1824) by Stacey Grimaldi, was from Dean's personal library. A moral and inspirational handbook, it consists of eleven short, tripartite chapters devoted to various elements of armor, weapons, and chivalric accoutrements. A historical discussion of each item is followed by one or more allegorical epigrams presenting it as the symbolic manifestation of a given virtue. Each chapter then concludes with a brief essay on that virtue. French used this as a guide to select appropriate pieces from the collection to commemorate certain character traits of Dean. He initially chose a crest for loyalty, a helmet for wisdom, and spurs for diligence.[21] Later he added a gauntlet, for friendship, in place of one of the spurs. Sketches sent by French to Grancsay in October show the various ideas under consideration (Figure 8), including many of the major elements that would coalesce in the finished design.

As a ground for the allegorical armor parts and the names of the qualities they represented, French settled on a *testa da cavallo* shield, a form frequently found in fifteenth-century Italian heraldry and widely used in Renaissance ornament. At French's request Grancsay recommended Italian pieces in keeping with the shield. The choice of a helmet became a matter of some discussion, as it had been with the *Boabdil* relief. Mr. de Forest and Mrs. Dean suggested a helmet which Dr. Dean had worn (with its matching armor) on the occasion of Mr. de Forest's eightieth-birthday celebration.[22] French's reaction to it was that "while it is no doubt an interesting one it is *not* as handsome to a layman as many others."[23] Therefore, after consultation with other members of the Department of Arms and Armor, Grancsay then offered French a selection of three helmets. From these he chose as his model an Italian armet of about 1475, which had only recently come to the Museum from Dean's collection (Figure 9).[24]

The Gothic lettering on the shield was adapted from a German alphabet of about 1535, for which Grancsay provided an example from the Museum's Department of Prints.[25] The execution of the lettering was carried out by French's daughter, Margaret French Cresson (1889–1973), a noted sculptor herself, who assisted her father with some of his later works, such as the *Mallinckrodt Tablet*.[26] Mrs. Cresson visited the Museum in October to discuss the place-

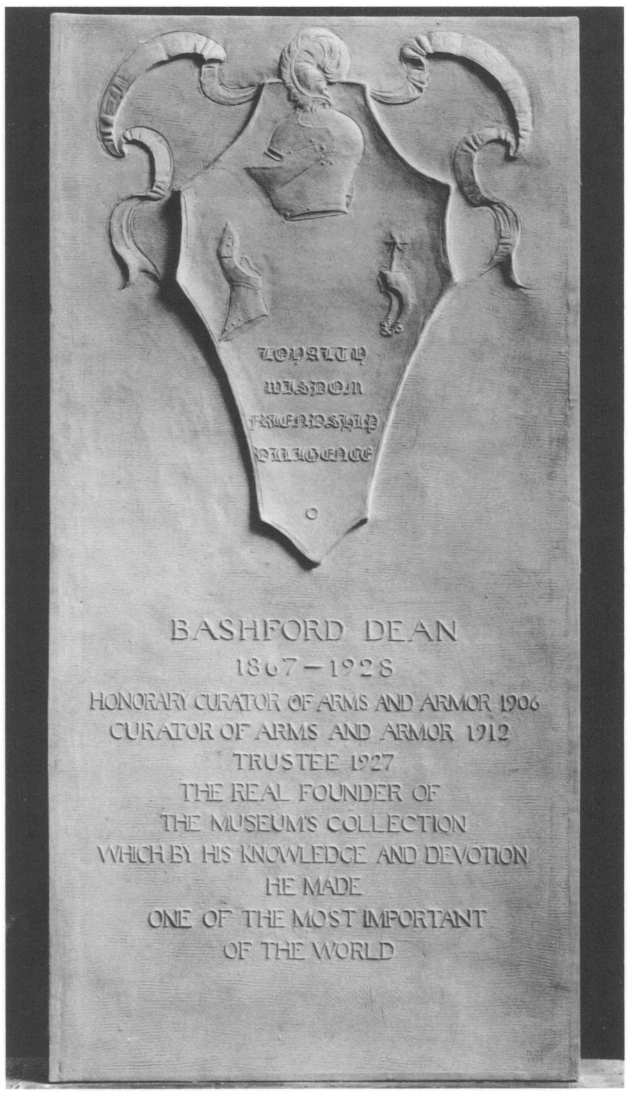


Figure 10. Daniel Chester French. *Bashford Dean Memorial Tablet*, March 1930. Finished plaster ready for casting, ca. 147 × 72 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives

ment of the tablet after a wall space, which French felt was too narrow, had been proposed. Since the perception of a relief is very much contingent upon the angle at which it is seen, French was also concerned with the height of the sculpture, which he stipulated should be installed with its bottom edge three and one half feet from the floor.[27]

The plaster model (Figure 10) was completed in March of 1930 and cast in bronze by the Kunst Foundry in New York. Early in the design process Grancsay had been very interested in the possibility of making the finished tablet of "rustless steel." He suggested that the material was appropriate to the subject and that it would allow the use of decorative techniques employed on armor, such as etching.[28] Although French considered the idea it was never acted upon.

At its unveiling the tablet was warmly received by Dean's family, friends, and associates. One of the many tributes and testimonials occasioned by Dean's death, French's tablet stands out as especially distinctive and enduring. However, as the inscription on the tablet implies, Dean's most fitting and lasting memorial remains the quality and diversity of the collection that he founded.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For much useful advice regarding Daniel Chester French, I am indebted to Thayer Tolles, Assistant Curator of American Paintings and Sculpture, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wanda Styka and the staff of Chesterwood, and my brother, David LaRocca.

NOTES

1. For a description of the proceedings, see *MMAB* 25 (May 1930) no. 5, pp. 120–122.

2. The best overall biography of Dean remains that in Carl Otto von Kienbusch and Stephen V. Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection of Arms and Armor* (Portland, Maine, 1933). The biographical section (pp. 1–47) was written by Kienbusch. Additional biographical information and letters of appreciation from colleagues around the world appeared in a special edition of *The Riverdale News* 16 (May 1929) no. 5, pp. 9–17. Dean's career as a scientist is described more fully in William K. Gregory, "Memorial of Bashford Dean," *The Bashford Dean Memorial Volume: Archaic Fishes*, American Museum of Natural History (New York, 1930) pp. 5–42.

3. MMA archives, dated Jan. 16, 1930. The letter to de Forest referred to by French was written June 26, 1929. For the latter, see the Daniel Chester French (hereafter DCF) Family Papers, Library of Congress, microfilm reel 15, frame 673.

4. The Museum elected French fellow for life, trustee, and chairman of the Committee on Sculpture in 1903. He held all three titles until his death in 1931. See "In Memoriam Daniel Chester French," *MMAB* 26 (Nov. 1931) no. 11, p. 258. A chronological listing of French's works is found in *Daniel Chester French*, American Sculptors Series no. 4 (New York, 1947) pp. 61–64. For a concise discussion of French's work and career, see Michael Richman, *Daniel Chester French: An American Sculptor* (New York, 1976).

5. Letters were consulted from the following sources: Arms and Armor Department correspondence files, MMA; MMA Archives; the DCF Family Papers, Library of Congress, reels 15, 18, 19, and 20.

6. BD to DCF, July 15, 1921, Arms and Armor Department (AAD) files.

7. Regarding the acquisition of this armor see Bashford Dean, "Gilded and Engraved Armor for Man and Horse," *MMAB* 14 (Oct. 1919) no. 10, pp. 210–215.

8. BD to Amory Simons, June 6, 1919. AAD files.

9. DCF to BD, July 21, 1921, AAD files.

10. BD to DCF, June 19, 1923, AAD files.

11. For French's full correspondence regarding the Washington Irving Memorial, see the DCF Family Papers, reel 18, frames 1–425. French discusses the meaning of the Boabdil figure in letters to George H. Putnam (July 25, 1925; frame 79) and Rudolph de Cordova (March 30, 1926; frame 119).

12. DCF to BD, Oct. 15, 1925, AAD files.

13. BD to DCF, Oct. 14, 1925, AAD files. For a discussion of the helmet (acc. no. 1983.413), see Stuart W. Pyhrr and David Alexander, *Notable Acquisitions, 1983–1984*, MMA (1984) pp. 21–22.

14. DCF to BD, Oct. 15, 1925, AAD files.

15. Ibid., Oct. 19, 1925, AAD files.

16. BD to DCF, Oct. 19, 1925, AAD files.

17. G. C. Stone to H. Mansfield, March 4, 1929, MMA Archives.

18. C. Mackay to G. C. Stone, March 26, 1929, MMA Archives.

19. Correspondence regarding the *Mallinckrodt Tablet* is found in the DCF Family Papers, reel 19, frames 357–424. French's decision about the photographs of Dean is found in a letter to Granscay, Aug. 22, 1929, AAD files.

20. Beginning with DCF to SVG, Aug. 22, 1929, and continuing through April 16, 1930, AAD files.

21. DCF to SVG, Oct. 29, 1929, AAD files.

22. DCF to SVG, Oct. 10, 1929, and SVG to DCF, Oct. 11, 1929, AAD files.

23. DCF to SVG, Oct. 23, 1929, AAD files.

24. Acc. no. 29.158.51, described in Kienbusch and Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection*, no. 43, pp. 128–129.

25. SVG to DCF, Oct. 31, 1929, AAD files.

26. French mentions Margaret French Cresson's work on the *Mallinckrodt Tablet* in a letter dated Feb. 3, 1928, and to Charles Coolidge dated Jan. 24, 1928, DCF Family Papers, reel 19, frames 394 and 396. Her work on the lettering of the Dean tablet is cited in the checklist of sculptures by Margaret French Cresson compiled principally by Barbara Stevens Roberts and published in *The Chesterwood Pedestal* 7, no. 1.

27. DCF to SVG, March 15, 1930, AAD files.

28. SVG to DCF, Oct. 31, 1929 (two letters), AAD files.

Goya and the X Numbers: The 1812 Inventory and Early Acquisitions of "Goya" Pictures

JULIET WILSON-BAREAU

THE INITIAL *X* followed by a number, applied in white paint in a lower corner of a picture, appears on paintings (or in old photographic documents of them) that include many of Goya's best-known masterpieces. It was assumed until recently that the marks corresponded with works painted by Goya and listed in an inventory drawn up in 1812, and that they were therefore a reliable proof of attribution. However, recent investigations have confirmed doubts about the authenticity of many of these paintings. This problem was addressed in the recent exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum (September 12–December 31, 1995)[1] and in a symposium held at that time, where this expanded essay was originally presented. Although many issues remain to be resolved, further research has already enabled more questions to be asked or solutions proposed,[2] and the investigation of Goya's oeuvre is now gathering momentum to such an extent that many more results and conclusions can be expected in the near future.

In 1964, as a result of what then appeared to be a breakthrough discovery, it seemed to scholars that the "attribution" problem relating to Goya's work was as good as solved. The Spanish scholar F. J. Sánchez Cantón had already published an inventory of the contents of Goya's home, drawn up in 1812 after the death of his wife. Two principal documents have been quoted relating to the "Estate of Doña Josefa Bayeu." One of them includes a copy of the will made by Goya and his wife and dated June 3, 1811, followed by the inventory, with valuations, of their joint property at the time of her death. This inventory, divided into various categories, was established and dated day by day, each section being signed by Goya, his son who signed himself Francisco Xavier, and the relevant expert. In the case of the paintings and prints, the expert was Felipe Abas and this part of the inventory was signed and dated on October 26, 1812 (Figure 1).[3]

Although the inventory clearly includes a number of the artist's most famous paintings, many of the works listed remained unidentifiable or at least uncertain, particularly where the description gives no clue as to the subject of the picture or group of pictures, referring to them simply as "two sketches," "four pictures of the same size," "another six of various subjects," "four of other subjects," "a head," and so on. The breakthrough came when Xavier de Salas related the pictures in the inventory to works that were marked, or were known from old photographs to have been marked, with an X and a number added in white paint in a lower corner of the work.[4] This enabled a great many more works to be linked with the inventory, thus theoretically establishing both their authenticity and their pre-1812 date. Although in many cases the inventory marks had been removed, no doubt as unsightly, further investigation led to traces of them being found on works such as Goya's still-life pictures which, on the authority of the early biography by Laurent Matheron, had previously been dated to the very end of his life when he was living in Bordeaux.[5]

Over the years, however, more inventory marks came to light on some clearly very questionable works; at the same time other pictures, hitherto universally accepted, began to be seen as no longer fitting the canon when compared with Goya's indisputably documented paintings or his splendidly individual prints and drawings. Groups of works with the inventory numbers began to be questioned, in effect challenged to prove themselves "Goyas" by something more convincing than a painted mark added at a date which it had been assumed, but with no actual proof, was contemporaneous with the inventory document itself. When all these comfortable notions began to be questioned, a disquieting picture started to emerge and has led to investigations into the ways in which Goya's paintings left his studio after his death, and works by or attributed to him came to be included in early inventories of private or dealers' collections.

Apart from the inventory of 1812, from which it is clear that many of Goya's finest paintings remained in his own home, there are relatively few documented

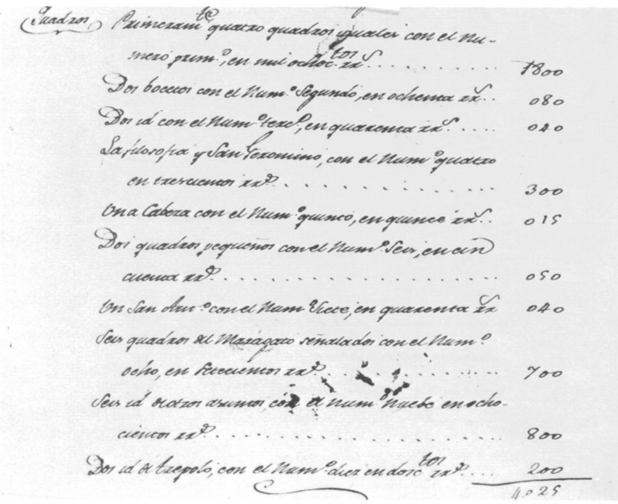
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 170.

references to the ways in which pictures other than commissioned works were acquired.[6] We know from Goya's correspondence with Martín Zapater, his childhood friend who lived in Zaragoza, that his sketches for tapestry cartoons were sought after from an early date, and the sketches for large religious works as well as small pictures on religious themes also found their way to private patrons who were often his friends and colleagues.[7] A large group of his finest tapestry sketches was purchased by the duke and duchess of Osuna in the 1790s,[8] and he himself, in celebrated letters of 1794, written after the illness that would leave him stone deaf for the rest of his life, made it clear that he was painting small imaginative pictures, singly or in sets, for sale to collectors.[9] There are several early references to such pictures, above all the group of eight canvases that belonged to the marqués de la Romana by 1811 and is still, uniquely, intact in the hands of his descendants.[10]

After Goya's death if not earlier, the artist's only surviving son and sole heir, Javier, who in 1812 still signed his name Xavier, began to dispose of his father's works. Little had previously been known about this, apart from the notable sale of some of the artist's most important works in 1836 to Baron Taylor for the collection of Louis-Philippe, the French emperor. Recently, however, a clearer picture of Javier's activities has begun to emerge, particularly since the publication of two letters that throw an intriguing and unsuspected light on his dealings.

Goya died in Bordeaux on April 16, 1828. Javier had arrived too late to see him alive, and he swiftly returned to Madrid with most of his father's possessions, including all his recent work. Just five weeks later, on May 23 and 24, Javier wrote letters (now signed Javier) offering pictures from his father's collection to the Infante Sebastián Gabriel, a great-nephew of Charles III. The letters are addressed to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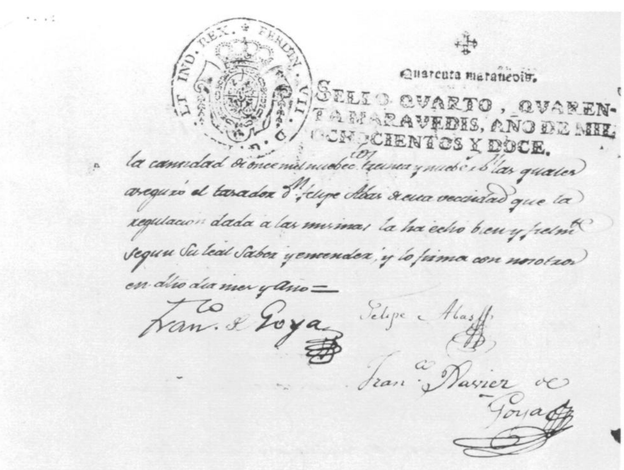

Quarenta maravedis.
SELLO QUARTO, QUARENTA MARAVEDIS, AÑO DE MIL OCHOCIENTOS Y DOCE.

Figures 1a, b. Inventory of Goya's property, dated October 1912: a, first page of the inventory of paintings (fol. 302r); b, final page of the inventory of paintings and prints, signed by Goya, his son Francisco Xavier, and the expert Felipe Abas (fol. 303v). Madrid, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocolo no. 22.879 (photo: Lines)

Figure 2. Vicente López y Portaña (Spanish, 1772–1850). *Portrait of Goya*, 1826. Oil on canvas, 93 × 75 cm. Madrid, Cason del Buen Retiro, Museo del Prado (photo: Museo del Prado)

Figure 3. Francisco de Goya (Spanish, 1746–1828). *Friar Pedro Wrests the Gun from El Maragato*, ca. 1806. Oil on panel, 29.2 × 38.5 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago (photo: The Art Institute of Chicago)

Vicente López, then the most important court artist, who had recently painted a portrait of Goya in his old age (Figure 2), and was evidently acting on behalf of the infante. Even allowing for the formalities of the period, Javier's letters are characterized by a curiously unattractive mixture of ingratiating flattery, pious sentiments and special pleading (see Appendix).[11]

The Infante Sebastián, well known for his artistic tastes and talents, had been elected Académico de Mérito of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando just a year earlier and was an ardent painter and competent lithographer.[12] He had evidently been angling for works from Goya's collection, since Javier writes as if the paintings had already been seen by him or by López, offering for sale "the two recent series [*colecciones*] he painted as well as the Maragato series," and, as a gift, "one of the miniatures he made recently and which so delighted him." The next day he wrote again saying he had already sent on approval "the six sketches of Bulls [*bocetos de los Toros*] and the six Maragato subjects," and also "the Mass" [*la Misa*] of which he added, "I have heard my Father repeat over and over again that it was one of the few things of his that had turned out successfully, in his opinion, and I can assure you that when Prince Kaunitz, the Austrian ambassador, told him in my presence that he wanted to acquire it, my Father refused to let him have it, saying that he would not let it go even for 3,000 *duros*." Javier added, although quite untruthfully: "These and a few other pictures are the only inheritance I have received from my Parents, but it gives me the greatest pleasure to be able sincerely and willingly to offer His Highness the most precious things that I possess." Of the works mentioned, the Maragato panels (Figure 3) telling the tale in "cartoon strip" form of the capture of a notorious bandit in 1806, are well known, appearing as item 8 in the inventory of 1812, and immediately identifiable, even though they have lost their inventory mark.[13] As to the two "recent series" of pictures, presumably painted by Goya in Bordeaux and no doubt including "the six sketches of Bulls," these are not readily identifiable.

As we now know, the Infante Sebastián got the wrong pictures. He acquired not the marvelous Maragato series but the Metropolitan's *Majas on a Balcony* (Figure 4) and a dubious *Monk* and so-called *Nun*, all of which were recorded as in his collection in 1835.[14] This means that the Metropolitan's version of the *Majas on a Balcony* was already in the collection of the Infante Sebastián before Javier sold his father's original painting, with the inventory mark, to Baron Taylor for Louis-Philippe's collection.[15] Given the now widely accepted view that the Metropolitan's picture is not by Goya, this implies that the nonautograph version was made with Javier's knowledge if not his active participation and raises the question of the son's activities in the exploitation of his father's estate. Who was copying or making variants or pastiches of Goya's work at

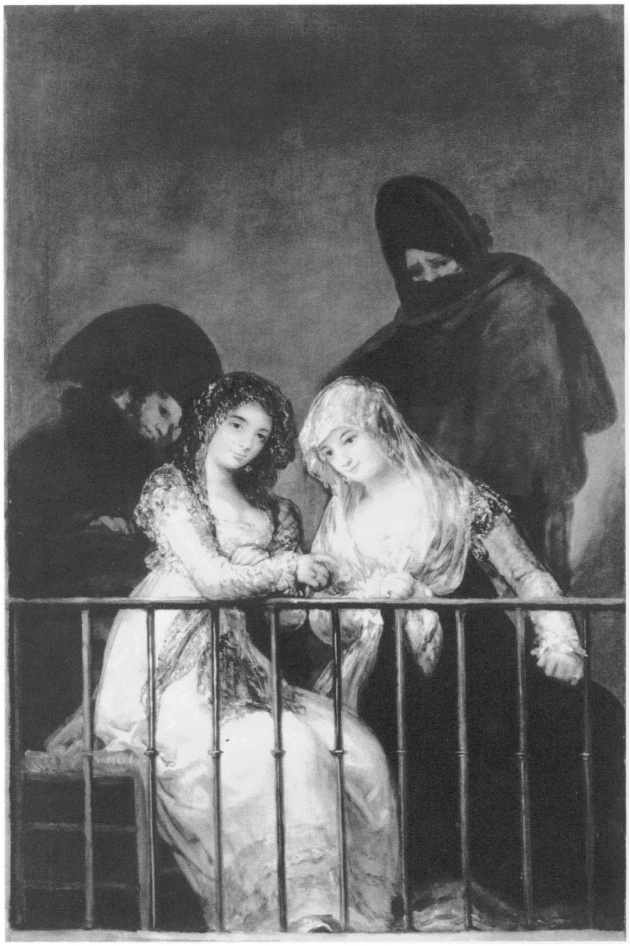


Figure 4. Attributed to Goya. *Majas on a Balcony.* Oil on canvas, 194.9 × 125.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.10

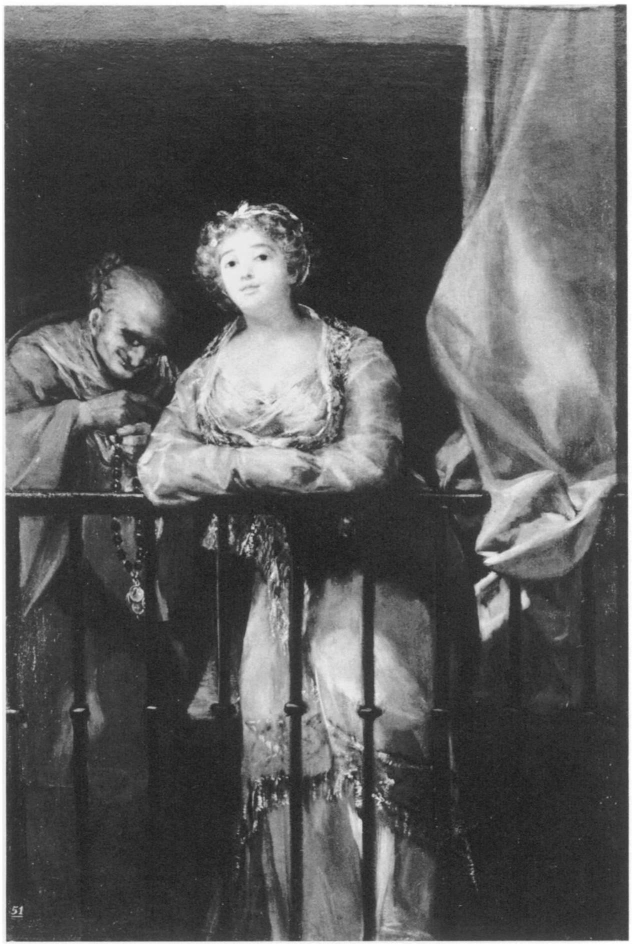


Figure 5. Goya. *Maja and Celestina on a Balcony,* 1808–12. Oil on canvas, 166 × 108 cm. Madrid, private collection

such an early date? The *Mass* that Javier offered the infante seems equally unlikely to have been an autograph work, since the various paintings with which it has been tentatively identified—a *Mass,* a *Churching of Women,* even the *Wedding of the Ill-assorted Couple*—all of them known in more than one version, are considered by many critics and connoisseurs to be of insecure attribution.[16]

The 1812 inventory included the magnificent group of genre subjects believed to have been executed during the period of the Spanish War of Independence, using previously painted, seventeenth-century canvases from a set of the Four Elements. *Time,* also known as *Les vieilles,* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille), the *Majas on a Balcony* (private collection, see Figure 2 in the Tomlinson essay in this volume), and *Maja and Celestina on a Balcony* (Figure 5) still show their inventory marks: X 23 on *Time* and X 24 on both the balcony pictures (now lightly touched out on the *Maja and Celestina*).[17] Another notable work in this inventory is the much earlier portrait of the *Duchess of Alba* (Hispanic Society of America, Figure 24 in the Muller essay), lacking its X number but clearly identifiable as "*Un retrato de la de Alba*" (a portrait of the [Duchess] of Alba), and also sold by Javier to Louis-Philippe's agent in 1836.[18]

The inventory estimates valued the *Duchess of Alba* at 400 reales, the second highest figure for a single work in the whole list, while the large genre pictures of the *Majas* were marked at 200 reales each and *Time,* perhaps regarded as less attractive than the others, at 150. Inventory valuations, often themselves difficult to evaluate, take into account size, complexity (that is, the number of figures), and "finish," but they can also be of notorious inconsistency. Nevertheless, one can readily appreciate the relatively high value of 150 reales placed on each of two smaller but superb paintings of "*Una Aguadora y su compañero*" (a watercarrier and her companion) at no. 13 (Figure 6). These pictures, as well as the bizarre genre episode of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* (private collection, Madrid), identified by its prominent X 25 as corresponding with the 1812 inventory and valued at 100 reales, are all on reused convases and all identifiable from the inventory descriptions, and so, at 100 reales each, are the "twelve still life pictures" (*doce bodegones*), of which nine are now securely identifiable, two of them still retaining a trace of the X mark.[19]

Several "named" paintings in the 1812 inventory cannot now be identified and appear to have been lost: these include *Philosophy and Saint Jerome* under no. 4, as well as a *Saint John,* valued at 150 reales, a *Saint Peter* at 80, and a *Saint Anthony* at 40. There are also pictures of *Women Spinning* and of *Drunkards,* nos. 15 and 22, both valued at 100 reales, whose proposed identification in the more recent catalogues remains very much to be proved.[20] However, a significantly large number of pictures that still bear an inventory mark correspond with items that are undefined in the list and are simply designated as "four pictures of the same size," "another six of various subjects," "four of

Figure 6. Goya: *The Watercarrier,* ca. 1808–12. Oil on canvas, 68 × 52 cm. Budapest, Szépművészeti Muzeum (photo: Szépművészeti Muzeum)

other subjects," and so forth. And it is these pictures, above all, that are proving to be the problem works, of uncertain or unsustainable attribution to Goya.

The most highly valued of all the pictures in the 1812 inventory, at 450 reales each, are those listed under item 1 simply as "four pictures of the same size." The inventory mark X 1 appears on two pictures in a set of four: one representing a *Greasy Pole* (Figure 7), with foreground figures and a great rock in the background right (a picture formerly in the Tamames collection, Madrid, of which there is a free replica in Berlin), the other showing a *Procession* (see Figure 13). The Metropolitan Museum's *Bullfight in a Divided Ring* (see Figure 11) also belongs with this group since, although it has long lost its inventory mark, its provenance parallels that of the *Procession.* The attribution of all of these works has long troubled art historians.[21]

The same attribution question concerns item 9 in the inventory: "six [pictures] of various subjects," now identified as a group of small, sketchy paintings on panel, which would have been highly valued at 133 reales each; of these, five still bear the X 9 mark and have recently been the subject of close scrutiny. After an attentive analysis of their style and technique, and considerable indecision, they were finally excluded from the 1993–94 exhibition of Goya's small paintings and, in the course of a symposium held in London in the context of the exhibition, there was almost unanimous agreement that they could not be by Goya.[22] However, if some at least of the so-called inventory pictures are judged not to be by Goya, where can the line be drawn? And what criteria should be used in assessing the inventory list as a whole?

Progressing down the scale of valuations in the list, after the group of pictures at 100 reales comes an unidentified *Immaculate Conception* at 95 reales, then a *Gigante* (Giant) at 90, which may or may not be the celebrated *Colossus* in the Prado (a picture whose provenance is unknown prior to its acquisition as part of the Fernández-Durán bequest in 1930). "Two sketches" at 40 reales each (no. 2) are followed by "two small pictures" at 25 reales each (item 6) and a further "two [sketches]" at 20 reales each (item 3), while "four [sketches] of other subjects" are valued at only 15 reales each (no. 28). The identifiable paintings that appear to relate to these groups are particularly worrying and succeed in destroying what confidence one may still have in the inventory as a trustworthy document.

Item 6 corresponds with an unpublished painting (Figure 8), with the X mark, whose attribution to Goya appears unsustainable: it is a wild and messy "stormy landscape," with swirling, palette-knife impasto, which cannot even be ascribed to a "romantic" follower such as Eugenio Lucas Velázquez. Of the four pictures valued under no. 28 at a mere 15 reales each, one is a *Village on Fire*, identified by the inventory mark (Figure 9); it approaches the dimensions and complexity of the Metropolitan's *Bullfight* and the other paintings related to no. 1 (with the top valuation of 450 reales each). This painting, together with three others, was offered for sale by auction in 1866, with a provenance from Goya's grandson.[23] Doubts about the attribution of these works to Goya are expressed not only in the Gassier and Wilson catalogue: their authenticity was challenged two years after they had been offered for sale, as recounted in Aureliano de Beruete's monographs, based on intimate knowledge of the Spanish art scene in the later nineteenth century.

Beruete told the story of "the pictures that belonged to Luis de Madrazo, whose sale gave rise to a lawsuit. As a result, Goya's grandson was obliged to come to Madrid in 1868, and admirers of the artist's work took advantage of the visit to learn a good deal about Goya's life from his grandson." Beruete went on to describe "four pictures [corresponding with those in the X 28 group under discussion] . . . Goya's grandson said they were original works and that he remembered having seen the first of them [a *Procession Interrupted by Rain,* now lost] being painted when he was a child, and that it had been executed using thin canes opened out at the end, instead of brushes."[24] The four works in question are "goyesque" compositions with many figures, often in dramatic movement as they are shown imploring, lamenting, gesticulating with outflung arms. This is a type of composition now usually ascribed to Eugenio Lucas Velázquez (1817–1870), the best known of Goya's followers and imitators. However, if the connection between these paintings and the 1812 inventory predates the death of Javier Goya in 1854, they may have been painted at the same time as other works, including those sold to the Infante Sebastián and possibly to Louis-Philippe's agent as well, whose attribution is now open to question.[25]

Mariano Goya y Goicoechea, Goya's grandson, was only six years old in 1812. He seems to have had something of his grandfather's impulsive and energetic temperament but was also capricious and eccentric (purchasing the title of Marqués del Espinar and speculating imprudently in mining interests and property) and was chronically short of funds. However, while Beruete questioned the four works belonging to Luis

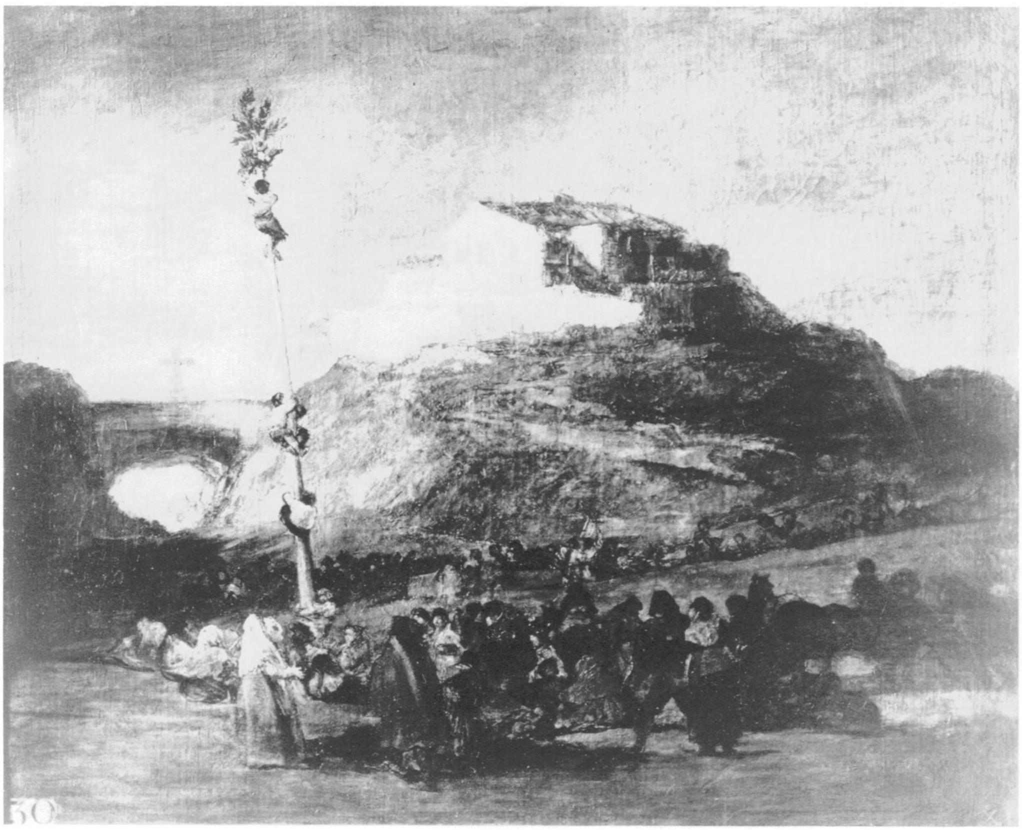
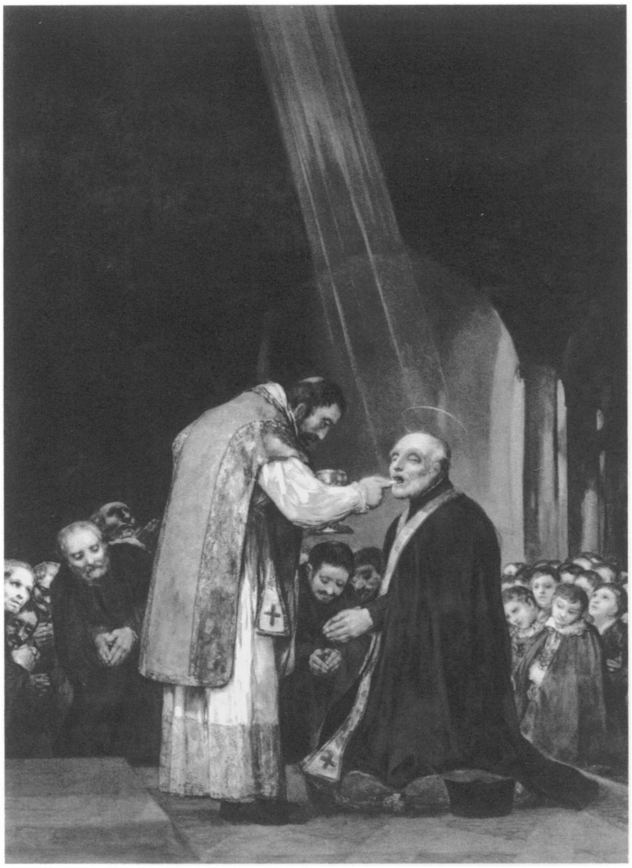


Figure 7. Attributed to Goya. *The Greasy Pole.* Oil on canvas, 80 × 103 cm. Present location unknown (photo: Moreno)

Figure 8. Attributed to Goya. *Stormy Landscape.* Oil on canvas. Private collection

Figure 9. Attributed to Goya. *Village on Fire.* Oil on canvas, 72 × 100 cm. Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes (photo: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes)



Figures 10a, b. Goya. *Last Communion of Saint Joseph of Calasanz*, 1819. Oil on canvas. Madrid, Escuelas Pias (photo: Manso)

de Madrazo that Mariano was required to authenticate in 1868, he could not bring himself to doubt other paintings in the collection of Luis's celebrated artist brother, Federico de Madrazo, for many years director of the Prado, which had all come from the Goya family collection and had been included by Charles Yriarte in his 1867 catalogue.[26] Federico de Madrazo owned six pictures, three of which were described by Beruete as "indisputable originals": *La misa de parida* (the Churching of Women), *Un capricho* with a donkey, bull, and elephant, and *El globo* (the Balloon), "a large kind of sketch," as he described it.[27] These works, now widely regarded as imitations and pastiches, were sold by Madrazo to the comte de Chaudordy, who was the French ambassador in Madrid in 1874 and who bequeathed the six pictures to his native town of Agen.

This complex and unsettling situation is further complicated by another document, hitherto considered to have the status of an inventory. Known as the "Brugada inventory of 1828," it details Goya's celebrated Black Paintings on the walls of the Quinta del Sordo (the country property known as the House of the Deaf Man) that lay outside the city, across the Puente de Segovia, and it also itemizes the pictures in the Goya home in Madrid. There is, however, no proof of the date of this informal list, which was apparently drawn up by Antonio Brugada, a young Spanish artist who became a companion to the aged and infirm Goya in Bordeaux.[28] It is noteworthy that while the list of works includes, among a variety of family portraits, the two superb full-length likenesses of Javier and his bride painted in 1805 (private collection, France), it lacks any of the artist's great imaginative figure compositions, whether those from the inventory of 1812 (which had passed to Javier at that date) or presumably later works such as the *Young Women* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille) and the great *Forge* (Frick Collection, New York), which were included in the major group of paintings sold to Baron Taylor for Louis-Philippe's Galerie Espagnole in 1836. This would suggest that the Brugada inventory must postdate the 1836 sale and may even have been drawn up on the death of Javier. The Quinta was given by Goya to Mariano in 1823, but was ceded by the grandson to his father in 1832, so an inventory of works in the two properties, "in the country and in Madrid," could logically have been combined for Javier only after 1832 or for Mariano after the death of his father.[29] Furthermore, the Brugada inventory appears to identify a number of the more dubious compositions that have been linked with the earlier inventory through the X numbers but whose authenticity has been questioned, such as the X 1 *Procession* and the Metropolitan's *Bullfight*, or the X 28 Lucas-like "sketches" that were "authenticated" by Mariano. At the same time, while it appears not to include any works known to have been sold before 1854, the year of Javier's death,[30] the document refers to large quantities of prints and drawings and also to "seven chests" that held Goya's copperplates (other than those of *Los Caprichos*, already in the Calcografía), most of which were printed and published for the first time in 1863 (*Los Desastres de la guerra*) and 1864 (*Los Proverbios*).

While many of the works now considered suspect are characterized by a markedly "romantic" use of the palette knife, this is a technique that occurs only occasionally in Goya's documented oeuvre, and then mainly in his later years in Spain. The great altarpiece of the *Last Communion of Saint Joseph of Calasanz,* recently cleaned and studied at the Prado, is a good example of his bold yet judicious and carefully calculated use of this method of applying paint (Figure 10). Nevertheless, in Goya's own lifetime there was already a legend about his wild and unorthodox handling of paint, and his use of a spatula or of his fingers. This was commented on in 1815 by the Swedish envoy to Madrid, who remarked on the artist's lively imagination and on the pictures' execution as "bold and peculiar—several paintings were done without using a brush, just with his fingers or the spattle," habits that were deplored by Goya's academically inclined friend Ceán Bermúdez, who watched him paint one of his last great altarpieces in 1817.[31]

It may prove to be significant that Goya's own son and grandson constantly drew attention to works that they described as having been painted with knives or spatulas and whose authenticity is now questioned. In a biographical note sent to the Real Academia de San Fernando in 1831, Javier Goya wrote of his father that "his own predilection was for the paintings he kept in his house, since he was free to paint them as he pleased. In this way he came to paint some of them with a palette knife instead of brushes. These were always his special favorites and he enjoyed looking at them every day."[32] And at some unspecified date, Javier's home was visited by a Carthusian monk from Zaragoza who noted "among the pictures he owns, a collection of *panels* . . . depicting the *horrors of war,* which Goya himself valued very highly. There are eight or ten on canvas . . . painted *without brushes,* the color being applied with little cane knives which he made himself, a method he was proud of having invented." The good monk was no doubt repeating what he was told at the time, and referred to these works as representing "bullfights and popular customs."[33]

Javier Goya's letters to Vicente López, written in 1828, suggest a possible connection between the growth of the legend about the romantic excesses of Goya's technique and the introduction into his oeuvre of dubious pictures whose authenticity appears to be borne out by inventory marks or other evidence. The very early appearance of such works suggests that Javier Goya was at least a party to this falsification of his father's oeuvre. And since he was documented on various occasions as an artist himself, one may wonder whether he was not tempted to extend his "only inheritance," as he misdescribed it, by substituting works—either directly or indirectly—to replace those already sold and which could conveniently be supported by reference to the document of 1812.[34]

Other artists may also be considered as candidates, even the Infante Sebastián himself, of whose work we currently know almost nothing,[35] or Valentín Carderera, who had wanted to become a pupil of Goya and is known to have copied his paintings and drawings. Born in 1795, Carderera wrote years later that "the celebrated Palafox presented and recommended him to the great artist, but because of his deafness he never wanted to take pupils." Carderera's text also confirms the secrecy that surrounded Javier's dealings, suggesting that little was known of the artist's inheritance until "Le temps, qui découvre tout, la mort du fils de Goya, qui tenait presque cachés et conservait avec un respect filial tous les dessins, tableaux, gravures ou planches de son père . . . nous ont mis à même de connaître une foule de productions du maître aragonais, jusqu'alors ignorées."[36] Javier had evidently exercised careful control and provided limited access to the works in his collection. Apart from the sale of a number of masterpieces as well as the dispersal of other, less trustworthy works that entered collections with the label "Goya" in the 1830s, paintings, prints, and drawings from Goya's estate were acquired principally by Carderera, the Madrazo family, and other privileged people after Javier's death in 1854, from his eccentric and unreliable son, Mariano.

In a much earlier article of 1838, Carderera gave an impressively perceptive analysis of Goya's painting based on works then available for study, mainly portraits and religious paintings, or the imaginative pictures in the Alameda of the dukes of Osuna and those, now largely unidentified, in the collections of his friends and colleagues. Carderera's description of Goya's distinctive style and manner of painting may still serve as a guide to our assessment of Goya's art. He wrote, with particular relevance to Goya's mature style, of his

> effective use of chiaroscuro, the superb sense of space between figures, and finally, the realistic and luminous coloring, whose harmonious treatment was entirely his own. Having developed a keen interest in Rembrandt, Goya made his scenes darker, yet the illuminated areas produce an astoundingly powerful effect as a result. Always a close observer of Nature, he came to understand the space between figures as admirably as Velázquez, his favorite painter, and he would treat minor passages in a sketchy way so that they would not spoil the ensemble. He painted strongly lit surfaces with solid blocks of color, unmixed by the brush, and sometimes applied the paint with the flexible point of a palette knife. Although he was very experienced, his deceptive fluency and those daring touches, which have proved dangerously seductive to the

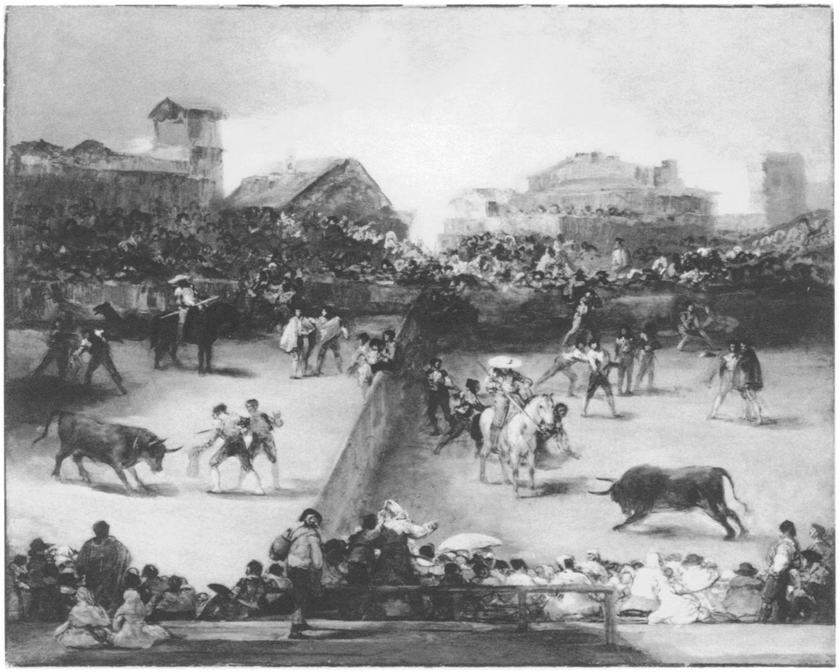


Figure 11. Style of Goya. *Bullfight in a Divided Ring.* Oil on canvas, 98.4 × 126.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, Wolfe Fund, 1922, 22.181

Figure 12. Goya, *Corrida,* before 1812? Oil on panel, 45 × 72 cm. Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (photo: Manso)

younger artists of our own day, were carefully planned and worked out in advance [adding, as Goya's son had also written, that] in many of his pictures the last bright touches were applied by artificial light.[37]

Goya's finest paintings and the magnificent body of his graphic work, of which the Metropolitan Museum's collection offers such a superb selection, are the guide to excellence that should enable critics and connoisseurs to reject those works that fail to match or actively go against the criteria defined so early on by Carderera. The confrontation between the Metropolitan's *Majas on a Balcony* (see Figure 4) and the original version that bears the genuine reference to the 1812 inventory (Figure 1) has thrown a new light on the qualities that can be expected of a major Goya painting. As has already been noted,[38] a Goya work is always firmly structured, with a "message" or intention, or simply a focal point (as in a portrait), that is expressed through formal means and the energy and equilibrium of all its parts. Surface tensions and patterns hold the composition together and direct the spectator's eye, as do the interplay of positive and negative forms, the relationships of tone and color, and

Figure 13. Attributed to Goya. *Procession.* Oil on canvas, 105 × 126 cm. Zürich, Bührle Foundation (photo: Bührle Foundation)

Figure 14. (below left) Goya. *Procession of Flagellants,* before 1812. Oil on panel, 46 × 73 cm. Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (photo: Manso)

Figure 15. (below) Goya. *Crowd in a Circle.* Drawing from Album F, p. 42. Brush and brown wash, 207 × 143 mm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1935, 35.103.29

the rhythms of the brushstrokes. These tend to be rapid and "impressionistic" and may vary from the most delicately fluid washes or exquisitely detailed handling to the broadest sweeps of the brush, with touches of rich impasto as and when these are required. Only occasionally did Goya employ the palette knife, and then never to produce a noticeable effect on its own, but simply to reinforce the passage in hand. These are all characteristics that inform the original *Majas on a Balcony* and contrast conspicuously with the characteristics of the Metropolitan's picture, which in the final analysis is so lacking in energy and aplomb that it is difficult to see it even as a work from the master's studio. And Goya's studio production as it affects the many, particularly official, portraits that were commissioned from him is another whole area that remains to be investigated.

Similarly, the Museum's *Bullfight in a Divided Ring* (Figure 11) does not stand comparison with the *Corrida* in the Real Academia de San Fernando (Figure 12). The weakly drawn figures, the lack of spatial coherence, and the crudely intrusive, palette-knife impasto in the background of this and the pendant "X 1" *Procession* (Figure 13) cannot come from the hand that organized the figures in the Academia's *Procession of Flagellants* (Figure 14) or the spaces and crowds, with figures so full of life and meaning, in the drawings from Album F in the Metropolitan's collection (Figure 15). Although one must await a full technical analysis of all these works that would confirm the apparent dissimilarities between them, it may prove to be the case that the four outstanding panels in the Academia were in fact the "four paintings of the same size" that headed the 1812 inventory, their complexity and extraordinary power of invention fully justifying their exceptionally high valuation in relation to all the other works. Although this would bring forward the date usually assigned to them, recent revisions to the chronology of Goya's paintings have already led to the placing of the Romana pictures closer to 1800 than to the years of the war.[39]

If this hypothesis is correct, then Javier must have been a party to the substitution of other works, to which the X 1 inventory number was added after the original group had been sold to the collector who bequeathed them to the Academia in 1836.[40] One may also cite the case of the sketch for the tapestry cartoon of the *Women Watercarriers* (private collection, Madrid). This bears an X 13 marked on the verso, suggesting that the tiny canvas may have been substituted for the impressive *Watercarrier* (Figure 6), which had been sold in Goya's lifetime to Prince Alois Wenzel Kaunitz (1774–1848), the Austrian ambassador to whom Javier referred in his letter to Vicente López. Kaunitz's collection was auctioned in Vienna as early as 1820, so Javier—or Goya on his son's behalf (since all the 1812 inventory pictures already belonged to him)—must have given in to Kaunitz's pressing requests and sold him the *Watercarrier* together with the companion *Knife Grinder*, probably during Kaunitz's return to Madrid in 1815–16.[41] In this case, the substitution of the small sketch, although reprehensible and absurd, at least did not introduce a foreign body into the oeuvre.

The Goya exhibition at the Metropolitan, preceded by the research already conducted by Gary Tinterow and Susan Alyson Stein for the catalogue of the Havemeyer collection,[42] has thrown open the door to a full-scale revision of Goya's oeuvre. The investigation of further inventories and dated acquisitions will continue, and above all the many doubtful works must now be carefully analyzed for their exact relationship to the prints and drawings and also to the Black Paintings in the Quinta. In the end, only this kind of research, accompanied by clear and detailed analysis of the aesthetic and material characteristics of the "true oeuvre," will enable the works of Francisco de Goya y Lucientes to be distinguished from those of his obscure and as yet unnamed imitators.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Besides many colleagues at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, I am indebted for practical help and valuable comments concerning this article to Belén Bartolomé, Fernando Bouza, Xavier Bray, Enriqueta Harris, Manuela Mena, and Elena Santiago.

NOTES

1. Colta Ives and Susan Alyson Stein, *Goya in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. (New York, 1995).

2. See Juliet Wilson-Bareau, "Goya in the Metropolitan Museum," *Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996) pp. 95–104.

3. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, "Como vivía Goya," *Archivo Español de Arte* 19 (1946) pp. 103–107 (citing a copy dated 1814, in private hands, of the original document); P. Gassier and J. Wilson, *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya* (New York) 1971, p. 381, Appendix I (transcription of the inventory as published by Sánchez Cantón); José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, "La partición de bienes entre Francisco y Javier Goya a la muerte de Josefa Bayeu y otras cuestiones," *Goya Nuevas Visiones. Homenaje a Enrique Lafuente Ferrari,* (Madrid) pp. 133–153 (this is the fullest account of the 1812 inventory to date). In the documents relating to the "Testamentaría de D.ª Josefa Bayeu" (Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Escribano Antonio López de Salazar, Protocolo no. 22.879, ff. 289–309), the inventory is repeated with an error in the numbering of the list of "Paintings," in which *catorce* (fourteen) and *quince* (fifteen) are repeated so that the subsequent numbering is two digits in arrears. Although the figures were corrected in the 1814 copy and are those given in most publications, José Manuel Arnaiz has recently drawn attention to the discrepancy, although without explaining the reason for it (see note 12).

4. Xavier de Salas, "Sur les tableaux de Goya qui appartinrent à son fils," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 63 (1964) pp. 99–110.

5. Laurent Matheron, *Goya* (Paris, 1858) chap. III, n. p. [pp. 91–92]; Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, p. 254, nn. 903–912.

6. Nigel Glendinning has drawn attention, in numerous publications, to works by or attributed to Goya in collections in Spain before or shortly after the artist's death. See his recent article "Spanish inventory references to paintings by Goya, 1800–1850: originals, copies and valuations," *Burlington Magazine* 135 (1994) pp. 100–110.

7. See the catalogue entries and provenance notes in *Goya: Truth and Fantasy. The Small Paintings*, exh. cat., Prado, Royal Academy, Art Institute of Chicago (Madrid/London, 1993–94); no. 7 is the only authentic surviving sketch for the twenty or so principal tapestry cartoons from Goya's earlier series; nos. 10–17 include the sketch for the *Immaculate Conception*, given by Goya to Jovellanos, who had commissioned the altarpiece and other paintings for the college of Calatrava in Salamanca.

8. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 256–261, 272–275; *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, cat. nos. 19–28.

9. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, pp. 108, 382, Appendix IV; see also Ángel Canellas López, ed., *Diplomatario de Francisco de Goya* (Zaragoza, 1981) pp. 314–316, nos. 188–190.

10. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 914–921; *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, cat. nos. 74–81.

11. José Manuel Arnaiz, "Francisco de Goya, goyescas y gollerías," *Antiquaria* 12 (1994) pp. 39–41.

12. On the Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel de Borbón y Borbón and his collections, see Mercedes Agueda, "La colección de pinturas del Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 3, no. 8 (1982) pp. 102–117. The infante's collection was confiscated, and an inventory was drawn up and dated July 31, 1835. The works were incorporated into the collections of the Museo de la Trinidad, where they were exhibited from 1842 until the infante's property was returned to him in 1861 (see *Museo del Prado. Inventario General de Pinturas*, II, *El Museo de la Trinidad* [Madrid, 1991] nos. 76, 78–123). For the text of the Goya items in the inventory, see also Glendinning, "Spanish inventory references," pp. 103,109.

José Manuel Arnaiz ("Nuevas andanzas de Goya. Majas en el Metropolitan," *Antiquaria* 14 [1996] pp. 76–87) gives a misleading account of the infante's collection and its transfer to the Museo de la Trinidad (referring instead, erroneously, to its confiscation in 1868 and transfer to the Museo del Prado). The article misidentifies and confuses the provenance of the various works mentioned, mistakes the Museo de Madrid (the short-lived Museo de la Trinidad) for the Museo del Prado, and does not cite either the catalogue of the Trinidad collection or that of the collection of Louis-Philippe (see note 15).

13. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 864–869; *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, cat. nos. 84–89.

14. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 960, 1668, and 1669; see also *Museo del Prado Inventario General*.

15. Jeannine Baticle and Cristina Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole de Louis-Philippe au Louvre. 1838–48. Notes et documents des musées de France* (Paris, 1981) IV, p. 83, "Notice" no. 103.

16. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 975–978 and notes. Some of these have been ascribed to Eugenio Lucas Velázquez by José Manuel Arnaiz, *Eugenio Lucas. Su vida y su obra* (Madrid, 1981) nos. 412–415.

17. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 958, 959, and 961; Baticle and Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole*, p. 83, "Notice" no. 103; p. 271, "Annexe" no. 24.

18. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, no. 355; Baticle and Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole*, p. 88, "Notice" no. 107.

19. For all these works, see (in the order cited here) Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 963 and 964, 957, 903–911; Baticle and Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole*, p. 87, "Notice" no. 106.

20. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 870, 871. See the list of "lost" works in Wilson-Bareau, "Goya," p. 97, n. 11.

21. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 951–953; the Berlin replica is included in Arnaiz, *Eugenio Lucas*, as no. 362. See Wilson-Bareau, "Goya," pp. 100–101 and n. 16.

22. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 930–935; the title of 935 (taken from an earlier source) probably relates to 934, and 935 would be the version on panel (in a private collection) of Gassier and Wilson 944. The debate concerning authorship continues, and nos. 930, 931, and 934 were recently exhibited as works by Goya, with a discussion of their attribution in the exhibition catalogue *Francisco Goya. Maleri-Tegning-Grafikk*, Nasjonalgalleriet (Oslo, 1996) nos. 25–27. The study day, organized by *Burlington Magazine* and the Royal Academy of Arts, London, in connection with the exhibition *Goya. Truth and Fantasy*, was held on June 3, 1994.

23. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 947–950; Eustaquio Lopez Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 25, 1866, nos. 3–6; see Xavier Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *L'Oeuvre peint de Goya* (Paris, 1928–50) II, pp. 260–261.

24. Aureliano de Beruete, *Goya. Pintor de retratos.* (Madrid, 1915) p. 67; idem, *Goya. Composiciones y figuras* (Madrid, 1917) p. 97. On Mariano Goya, see Marqués de Saltillo, *Goya en Madrid: su familia y allegados (1746–1856)*, (Madrid, 1952); Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Antecedentes, coincidencias e influencias del arte de Goya* (Madrid, 1947; reprint 1987), pp. 295–300.

25. The four works in Luis de Madrazo's collection passed to Argentina (Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 947–950). Of the paintings acquired by Baron Taylor from Goya's son and listed in the inventory drawn up in Paris, three are presently unknown and have never been identified or reproduced. They include two works whose titles are identical with those in the so-called Brugada inventory of 1828 (see note 30 below), and whose authorship remains to be determined. See Baticle and Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole*, p. 82, "Notice" nos. 101, 102; also p. 272, "Annexe," no. 25.

26. Charles Yriarte, *Goya. Sa biographie, les fresques, les toiles, les tapisseries, les eaux-fortes et le catalogue de l'oeuvre* (Paris, 1867) p. 137. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 201, 876, 902, 956 (and note), 975.

27. De Beruete, *Goya. Composiciones*, pp. 97–98.

28. Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *L'Oeuvre*, I, p. 53, n.1, giving an account of the original document, of which only two out of four recto-verso pages survived when he transcribed it. See Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, p. 381, Appendix II. Antonio Brugada (1804–1863) gave an account of Goya's activities in Bordeaux (see Laurent Matheron, *Goya*, chap. XI).

29. On the Quinta, see Nigel Glendinning, "Goya's Country House in Madrid. The Quinta del Sordo," *Apollo* 123 (1986) pp. 102–109.

30. The works acquired by Baron Taylor from Javier Goya in 1836 included a *Reo en capilla* (prisoner in a cell) and *Un entierro* (a burial), both titles that appear in the Brugada list (items 17 and 21). See Baticle and Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole*, cited at note 25. It is possible that the works on the Brugada inventory were replicas.

31. Nigel Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics* (New Haven/London, 1977) pp. 54–55, citing Per Bjurström's publication of the journal of Count Gustaf de la Gardie and Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez's comments in his manuscript "Historia de la pintura."

32. The texts of these biographical notes are given in Saturnino Calleja, ed., *Colección de . . . reproducciones* (Madrid, 1924) p. 60, and by Pedro Beroquí in *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 3, no. 7 (1927) pp. 99, 100; translation based on that in Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics*, p. 68; see also Enriqueta Harris, *Goya* (London, 1969) pp. 23–24.

33. Padre Tomás López, "Noticias tradicionales de D. F. Goya," in Conde de la Viñaza, *Goya: su tiempo, su vida, sus obras* (Madrid, 1887) p. 463 (the translation follows the italics of the Spanish text); see also Xavier de Salas, "A Group of Bullfighting Scenes by Goya," *Burlington Magazine* 151 (1964) p. 37.

34. When Goya handed over his copperplates and unsold sets of *Los Caprichos* to Carlos IV for the Royal Calcografía in 1803, he requested a pension for his son Javier; the ensuing royal order specified that the pension was granted so that the son should be enabled to distinguish himself as an artist as had his uncle and father before him. And on the occasion of his marriage in 1805, Javier gave his profession as "artist" (documents in Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, pp. 360–361, nos. 223, 224; pp. 477–478, nos. cviii, cix). In his monograph and catalogue published in 1867 Charles Yriarte referred to a painting by Javier Goya that had already been removed from the Quinta del Sordo before his visit there to see the Black Paintings in situ (Yriarte, *Goya*, pp. 94, 141; Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, p. 384, Appendix VI, no. 7a).

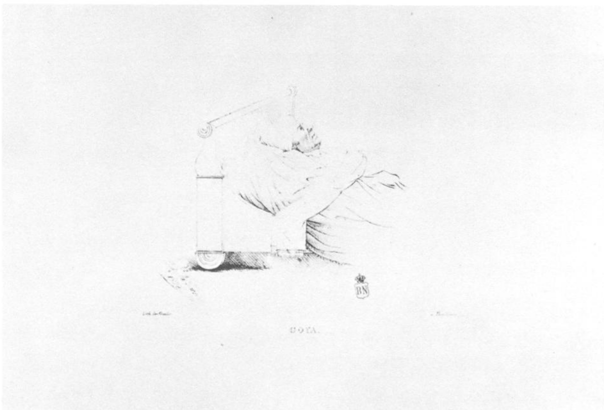


Figure 16. F. de la Torre. *Goya on his Death Bed*, 1828. Lithograph, 128 × 164 mm (image). Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

35. See note 12, and the references in José Luis Diez, ed., *Federico de Madrazo. Epistolario* (Madrid, 1994) I, pp. 131, 284. A number of the infante's works are in the collections of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid.

36. Valentín Carderera, "François Goya. Les eaux-fortes," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 15 (1863) pp. 238, 242.

37. Valentín Carderera, "Goya," *El Artista* (1838) reprinted in Lafuente Ferrari, *Antecedentes*, pp. 306–307; translation in Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics*, Appendix I, II, p. 292.

38. See *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, passim; Wilson-Bareau, "Goya," pp. 98–100.

39. See *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, p. 84 and nos. 74–81.

40. The four panels, together with the markedly different and less coherent *Burial of the Sardine*, were bequeathed to the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando by Manuel García de la Prada, whose portrait by José Madrazo, signed and dated 1827, is in the same collection (see Fernando Labrada, *Catálogo de la Pintura* [Madrid, 1965] p. 53, no. 699). The five works went on display there in 1839, providing models for other artists from that date onward. The following year an inventory was made of the pictures owned by the collector-dealer Serafín García de la Huerta; see El Marqués del Saltillo, "Colecciones madrileñas de pinturas: La de D. Serafín García de la Huerta (1840)," *Arte Español* (1951) pp. 169ff., citing Protocolo 24.340. It included a number of works by Leonardo Alenza (1807–1845) that were described as "copies," "imitations," or works "in the style" of Goya, alongside works by the master: e.g., nos. 58, a copy by Alenza of Goya's *Retrato de Maíquez*; 183 *Unas manolas al balcón, por Alenza* and 184 *Otras manolas vestidas de majas . . . de Goya*; 358 and 732 both titled *Un sacerdote dando la comunión*, the first by Alenza, the second by Goya; 737 *Un asunto de Inquisición* and 738 *Una procesión de Viernes Santo*, both described as *por Alenza, imitando a Goya* (the numbers, corrected by Saltillo, differ from those of the manuscript document); see also Glendinning, "Spanish inventory references," for the paintings attributed to Goya (transcribed from a different document, Protocolo 25.050, with its original numbering). Apart from the works clearly related to Goya, there are also compositions on many themes, such as a *Mass*, a *Forge*, etc., that may prove to be further imitations and pastiches of Goya's work.

41. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 295, 963, and 964; *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, cat. nos. 30, 92, 93. See Th. von. Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemälde-Sammlungen* (Munich, 1914) II, pp. 331–356; Marianne Harasti-Takács, "Scènes de genre de Goya à la vente de la collection Kaunitz en 1820," *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 44 (1975) pp. 107–121.

42. *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1993) nos. 296, 300.

Appendix
The Sale of Pictures from Goya's Estate

Two letters from Francisco Javier de Goya to Vicente López Portaña, dated May 23 and 24, 1828, offer paintings and miniatures by his father for the Infante Sebastián Gabriel. A copy of a note by Vicente López advises the infante on his response. They are given here in the original Spanish text and in an annotated English translation.[1]

I. Letter dated May 23, 1828

Sr. D.ⁿ Vicente Lopez.// Mi apreciable amigo; no siendome posible pasar à ver à vmd por el mal estado de mi pierna, tengo el gusto de contestar à su muy apreciable de hayer, haciendole presente la gran satisfaccion que recivo al saver el particular aprecio que S.A. el Srmo Sr Ynfante Dⁿ Sebastian, desea hacer à los bocetos hechos por mi amado Padre, al que tengo un honor en contribuir con los mejores sentimientos de gratitud, y al efecto puede vmd hacer presente à S.A. que de las dos colecciones que ultimamente hizó y la del Maragato puede S.A. disponer como sea de su agrado.

El trastorno que he sufrido por la irreparable perdida de mi S. Padre, me ha impedido presentar a S.A. en el momento de mi llegada, una de aquellas miniaturas que ultimamente hizó y que mas le gustaban, à cuyo efecto he contado con la amistad de vmd y que molestaré en cuanto me sea posible, esperando se digne S.A. admitir este cortisimo obsequio à mi reconocimiento.

Acompaño a vmd. tres exemplares p.ª vmd y sus Srs hijos del retrato de su verdadero amigo, que se hizó despues de su fallecimiento con el fin de presentar à las personas que mas le apreciaron y por esta misma razon si vmd quisiera tomarse la molestia de hacer pasar à manos de S.S.M.M. y A.A. un exemplar, tendria esta doble recomendacion y yo una prueba mas de la amistad que nos dispensa. En ese caso tendrá vmd la bondad de decirme los exemplares q.e necesita para mandarselos à su casa.

Deseo la salud de toda su amable familia à quien me hará vmd presente mientras mi pierna me permite hacerlo personalmente y recibiendo el af[ec]to de mi Esp[os]a e hijo se repite de nuevo su mas reconocido S[ervito]r y am[ig]o // Q.S.M.B. [que sus manos besa] // fran[cis]co Javier de Goya// Mayo 23. 1828.

Translation

Señor Don Vicente López // My dear friend, given the sorry state of my leg which makes it impossible for me to visit you, it is a pleasure to be writing in reply to your very kind letter of yesterday. I must tell you how pleased I was to learn of the singular appreciation expressed by His Serene Highness the Infante Don Sebastián for the sketches executed by my beloved Father, to which I am honored to respond with feelings of deepest gratitude. In this regard, you may tell His Highness that the two recent series he painted[2] as well as the Maragato series[3] are at his entire disposal.

The distress and upheaval caused by the irreparable loss of my Father prevented me from presenting His Highness, on my arrival,[4] with one of the miniatures he made recently and which so delighted him. I am therefore counting on your friendly offices and will now test them to the limit, in the hope that His Highness may be kind enough to accept this small token of my gratitude.[5]

I am also sending you, for you and your family, three copies of a likeness of your dear friend which was made after his death with the idea of giving it to his closest friends and admirers.[6] If you were prepared to take the trouble to ensure that one of the prints reaches Their Royal Majesties and Highnesses, it would thereby gain double recognition, and I yet one more proof of the friendship you have always shown us. In this case, be kind enough to let me know how many copies you will need so that I can send them to your home.

Please give my regards and best wishes to your dear family whom I shall hope to visit in person as soon as my leg permits, and to the affectionate greetings of my wife and son I add repeated and most grateful compliments from your servant and friend // Yours sincerely // Francisco Javier de Goya // May 23 / 1828.

II. Letter dated May 24, 1828

Sr d.n Vicente López // Mi apreciable Amigo; al momento del recivo de su muy estimada de hayer tarde remití con el dador de ella à S.A. el Srmo Sr. Ynfante D. Sebastian los seis bocetos de los Toros y los seis del Maragato, de cuyo merito nada puedo decir y queda al conocimiento é inteligencia de vmd.

Ygualmente remití la Misa y sobre este me tomo la libertad de decir à vmd que he oido decir mil veces à mi Sr. Padre era de lo poco que habia hecho con algun acierto, segun su juicio, y puedo asegurar à vmd con toda verdad que à mi presencia le pretendió el Principe Kounitz [*sic*], Embajador de Austria y no permitió cederselo, diciendole que no lo haria por tres mil duros. Este y otros varios cuadros forman la unica legitima que recivo de mis Padres pero estoy en el agradable momento de poner à disposicion de S.A. lo mas precioso que poseo con la mas sincera voluntad.

Siento en el alma los enfermos de su casa y nos interesamos sobremanera en el alivio de Luisito y conbalencia de la S[eñori]ta quedando à disposicion de los demas individuos de tan apreciable familia, à quien no pude hacerlo personalm[en]te al entregar la de hayer y estampas mi hijo p.r la situacion de los enfermos.

Cada momento tengo nuebos motivos de ser à vmd su mas rec[onoci]do am[ig]o y S[ervit]or // Q.S.M.B. // fran[cis]co Javier de Goya // Mayo 24 / 1828.

Translation

Señor Don Vicente López // My dear Friend; on receipt of your kind letter of yesterday afternoon, I handed to the bearer for His Serene Highness the Infante Don Sebastián the six sketches of Bulls[7] and the six Maragato subjects, on whose merits I am unable to comment and am waiting to hear that you have seen them and to know your views. At the same time I sent the Mass[8] and as regards this picture I will take the liberty of telling you that I have heard my Father repeat over and over again that it was one of the few things of his that had turned out successfully, in his opinion, and I can assure you absolutely truthfully that when Prince Kaunitz, the Austrian ambassador,[9] told him in my presence that he wanted to acquire it, my Father refused to let him have it, saying that he would not let it go even for 3,000 *duros*. These and a few other pictures are the only inheritance I have received from my Parents, but it gives me the greatest pleasure to be able sincerely and willingly to offer His Highness the most precious things that I possess.

My heart goes out to the sick ones in your home and we are particularly concerned for the recovery of little Luis and the convalescence of your little girl. We would like to be of any help we can to the other members of your dear family to whom my son was unable to express this personally when he came yesterday with the letter and prints, given the state of the sick children.

Constantly aware of fresh reasons to remain your most obliged friend and servant, I am, Sir // Yours sincerely // Francisco Javier de Goya // May 24 / 1828.

III. Note by Vicente López, undated

Señor // Soy de parecer q.^{e} segun la Carta de Goya no quiere desacerse de la Misa y corridas de Toros, de modo q.^{e} los del Maragato y los del ultimo tiempo q.^{e} dice no son los mejores, y si los primeros, por consig[nien]te yo soi de opinion q.^{e} lo mejor y mas acertado sería el q.^{e} pasase el Señor Tordera y tratase francam[en]te con dicho Goya respeto a la carta q.^{e} me ha enviado y tiene V. A. // A L R P de V A [A los reales pies de Vuestra Alteza] Lopez // P.S. Repito q.^{e} no dando el paso q.^{e} llevo dicho no se sacara partido como lo desea V.A.

Translation

Sir // It seems to me that according to Goya's letter he does not want to relinquish the Mass and the Bullfights, so he is saying that the Maragato pictures and the most recent ones are not his best works, whereas the earlier ones are, so my view is that the best course would be for Señor Tordera[10] to visit him and speak frankly with Goya about the letter he sent me and which Your Highness has. // At Your Highness's royal command López // P.S. I repeat that if my advice is not followed Your Highness will not be able to get what you want out of this.

Notes to Appendix

1. The original documents are preserved in the Archives of the Royal Palace in Madrid (Archivo del Infante Dn. Sebastián, Anexo, Legajo 8). The Spanish text of the letters was first published by José Manuel Arnaiz, "Francisco de Goya, goyescas y gollerías," pp. 39–41. Thanks to the assistance of Xavier Bray, it is given here in an exact transcription. In the letters to López, Goya's son signs his name Javier, with a J instead of the X that appears on the legal documents connected with the inventory of 1812.

2. The "two recent series" appear to have included the "six sketches of Bulls" referred to in the second letter and as yet unidentified.

3. The six panels representing the capture of the bandit known as "el Maragato" by the young friar Pedro de Zaldivia are one of Goya's most brilliant and celebrated series of pictures (Figure 3; see note 13).

4. See text. Writing to Leandro Fernández de Moratín in Paris on April 28, 1828, Leocadia Zorrilla told him that the Goya family, who had stayed in Bordeaux for the funeral, were leaving for Madrid that day (they included Goya's son and daughter-in-law and their son Mariano). Javier was therefore back in Madrid in the early part of May.

5. The Infante Sebastián's collection, inventoried in 1835 after its confiscation, included under nos. 159 and 160: "Two small miniatures . . . A *picador* executing different manoeuvres with the lance" (see Glendinning, "Spanish inventory references," pp. 103, 109). Although miniatures with bullfighting themes are known, none have yet been convincingly attributed to Goya (see Eleanor A. Sayre, "Goya's Bordeaux Miniatures," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 337 [1966] p. 115, Appendix II, "1846 Two Miniatures").

6. This probably refers to the naive, lithographic "portrait" of Goya on his deathbed, signed and dated *F. de la Torre / 1828*, and lettered *Lith. de Gaulon, à Bordeaux, GOYA.* (Figure 14).

7. No set of six bullfighting scenes is known, although many works on the theme have been attributed to Goya (see Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 1673–1675), and also to Lucas (see Arnaiz, *Eugenio Lucas*, nos. 344–346).

8. No positive identification has been made of this painting. In the so-called Brugada inventory of 1828 (see text and note 28 above), is a work described as *La misa de parida, cuadro* (Mass for the churching women, picture). The definition of the work as a "picture" rather than a "sketch" implied that it was of reasonably large size. Such a work, entitled *Messe de relevailles* and described as a "magnifique esquisse" and a "Toile de premier ordre, importante dans l'oeuvre de Goya," passed from Javier Goya's collection to that of Federico de Madrazo (see text and note 26) and is now in the Musée d'Agen, France (Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, no. 975).

9. See text and note 41.

10. José Luis Tordera was the Infante Sebastián's Secretario de Cámara in Madrid (see A. Mut Calafell, *Inventario del Archivo del Infante Don Gabriel de Borbón* [Madrid, 1985]). I am grateful to Fernando Bouza for information concerning this archive.

Discerning Goya

PRISCILLA E. MULLER

Curator Emeritus of the Museum, The Hispanic Society of America

WITHOUT LOANS, few American museums could project a major exhibition of Goya's work; and even then, only by including prints and drawings as well as paintings. Fewer would choose to put forth both the certain and the controversial in a search for further insight. It is to be hoped that the decision to do so, as seen in the exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum in 1995, will inspire other institutions to emulate the experience. For, the general public, like specialists, are fascinated by quite respectable works perhaps only attributable: Is it by Goya? If not, by whom? and by the responses—confident, assured, or arguable—these questions provoke. And, as this exhibition demonstrated, paintings now thought controversial include at least a few whose appeal has hardly diminished if they originated with a less inventive, though only scarcely less capable, artist.

While exhibitions limited to Goya's creativity alone illustrate (or presume to define) a basic core of his extraordinarily diverse oeuvre, confrontation with questionable works, repetitions, copies, and even fakes—all rarely met in loan exhibitions—can heighten discernment and understanding of the essences of originals, of works by artists close to Goya, and by those who followed in his path.

In Naples the fairly recent Ribera exhibition, for example, offered in an adjacent gallery paintings by artists associable with Ribera, granting an aid to comparison denied audiences in Madrid and in New York.[1] In this sense, none of the many recent Goya exhibitions has equaled that seen in Madrid in 1932: "Antecedentes, coincidencias e influencias del arte de Goya." With loans predominantly from Spanish collections, it examined—as invaluably documented in LaFuente Ferrari's catalogue and study published some fifteen years later (and recently reprinted)—not only Goya's art but that of his predecessors, contemporaries, followers, and imitators.[2]

As the attribution history of *A City on a Rock* (Figure 1) testifies, precisely what is believed "controversial" varies as each generation and its members seek to discern the "true" Goya amid originals, repetitions, copies, school works, works "after" Goya, the Goyesque, and fakes. And as new comprehensions emerge, the once credibly affirmed may beg revision.

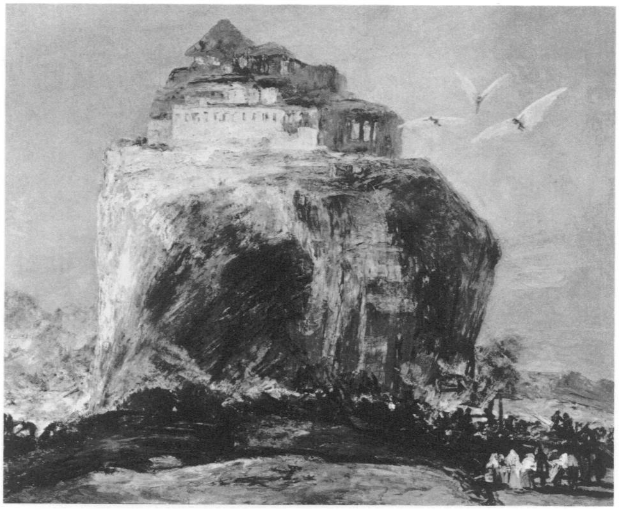


Figure 1. Style of Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (Spanish, 1746–1828). *A City on a Rock*. Oil on canvas, 83.8 × 104.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.12

As we observe, examine, and seek to discern, we might recall how Goya and those around him looked upon original, repetition, copy, and—yes—fake.

Ceán Bermúdez (Figure 2), Goya's friend and admirer, writer on art and artists, collector, and connoisseur, in a "letter to a friend on knowing original paintings and copies" published in 1806 or 1807, categorized five kinds of "copy painting," or painting imitating an original or another copy: the inexact; the servile (or slavish) imitation; that "touched" by the original artist; the exact (or unvaryingly precise); and that by the author of the original, insisting that the last be called *not* a copy but a repetition (*replica* is now the preferred term). He considered a good copy to be useful in the absence of the original, more valuable than a mediocre original, and sometimes better than the original (here invoking Velázquez's teacher, Francisco Pacheco [1564–1644], who found an early-seventeenth-

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 185.

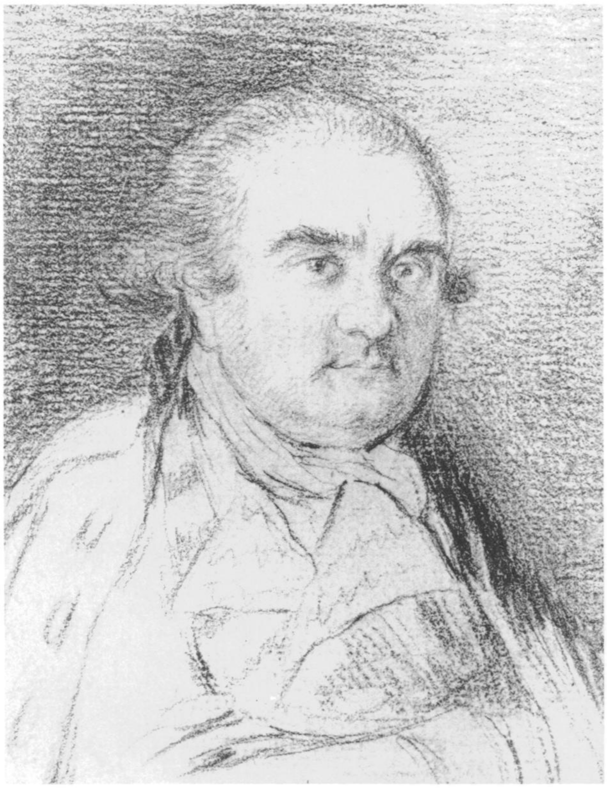


Figure 2. Goya. *Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez.* Red chalk on paper, 12.2 × 9.8 cm. Madrid, private collection (photo: courtesy of Servicio de Reprografía de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid)

century copy superior in color to its sixteenth-century original, a *Crucifixion* by Pedro de Campaña). But aware of copyists' and pasticheurs' imitations in Spanish collections, some boasting supposed signatures of original artists and thus purportedly originals, Ceán thought it a pity that great *conecedores* were not also about to recognize false attributions and prevent their perpetuation. He warned his prospective collector that "in no art is there such charlatanism . . . nor so much deception as in the buying of pictures."[3]

To Ceán's categories we should add others that are potentially problematic: copies made by developing artists studying and replicating respected originals; an artist's small-scale sketches for a composition to be rendered, or "copied," in a larger format, like Goya's large tapestry cartoons and those he submitted in accommodating fresco commissions—for both of which replicas and/or copies survive;[4] and small oils, anticipatory or preparatory, for a larger work and frequently held for reference should a "repetition" be requested, as are known in El Greco's oeuvre as well. Some of the small works may become confounded with "reductions," presumably small-size copies of larger paintings.

Goya's experience and views concerning copies are well known. Despite his contention that a God-created Nature furnished models far superior to any by mere human hands (here referring specifically to antique sculptures academy students were to copy rather than to draw from life),[5] Goya also copied (if reluctantly) while a student, primarily from prints. As a young

Figure 3. Goya. Etching after Velázquez's *Los borrachos.* Etching, 315 × 430 mm. The Hispanic Society of America (photo: The Hispanic Society of America)

Figure 4. Goya. Etching after Velázquez's *Las Meninas.* Etching, 405 × 325 mm. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional (photo: Biblioteca Nacional)

Figure 5. Goya. Self-portrait, detail from *The Family of Charles IV.* Oil on canvas, 280 × 336 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Arxiu Mas)

Figure 6. Goya. *The Osuna Family*, 1788. Oil on canvas, 225 × 174 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Arxiu Mas)

artist aware that a greater appreciation of works in Spain's royal collections could be gained via reproductive prints, he copied and translated paintings by his revered Velázquez (Figures 3, 4) into monochrome prints.[6] As a mature artist and teacher, he apparently had no objection to the inclusion in the 1804 academy exhibition of six drawings copying his own prints; these were submitted by the young Luis Gil Ranz (1787–1867), who had come to Madrid to study with him.[7]

Further muddling considerations of original and copy among paintings are the actions of time and the restorations these make imperative. Goya vehemently expressed his feelings on the subject. As he argued in criticizing a restorer's efforts early in 1801 (shortly after painting this self-portrait included in *The Family of Carlos IV*; (see Figure 5), the more pictures are "touched" under the pretext of conservation, the more they are destroyed; even the artist himself, if brought back to life, could not perfectly restore his pictures, their color tones having aged by time; nor could the freshness, fleeting imagination, and harmony engendered on initial creation be retained. "Time also paints!" as he put it.[8] Or, as Dryden said in lines dedicated to Sir Godfrey Kneller, England's seventeenth-century royal portraitist: ". . . time shall with his ready Pencil . . . / Retouch your figures, [and] with his ripening hand / Mellow your colours, and imbrown the Teint, / Add every Grace [and] give more Beauties than he takes away."[9]

In July, Goya again felt forced to contend: "I . . . repeat my opinion that with restored pictures, time is not so destructive as are the restorers/. . . each day shows more clearly where they have put their hands. . . it is not that some [pictures] do not require relining and restoration but that the restorer's brush should not extend beyond that which is '*roto*' (damaged or destroyed), nor be held by one who neither knows nor respects the work he restores."[10]

With Goya's painting, challenges arise on considering degrees of original, repetition, copy, pastiche, and fake, all of which can suffer the effects of time and human intervention. Yet until photography could transport multiple images abroad, copies—as Ceán appreciated—played a legitimate role and were valued whether by the artist or by others working with, or after, him.

With the proclamation of Charles IV and María Luisa as Spain's king and queen in January 1789,

Figure 7. Goya. *María Luisa, Queen of Spain, in Court Dress.* Oil on canvas, 210 × 130 cm. Madrid, Palacio Real (photo: Arxiu Mas)

Figure 8. Copy after Goya. *María Luisa of Parma, Queen of Spain.* Oil on canvas, 110.5 × 85.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.11

Figure 9. Goya. *María Luisa, Queen of Spain, with Black Mantilla.* Oil on canvas, 210 × 130 cm. Madrid, Palacio Real (photo: Patrimonio Nacional)

Figure 10. Copy after Goya. *María Luisa, Queen of Spain, with Black Mantilla.* Oil on canvas, 46 × 30 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (photo: National Gallery of Art)

Goya, a Painter to the King soon to become Court Painter, was called upon for numerous portraits of each: two pairs in half and in full length;[11] pairs for the Academia de Historia,[12] and others for display before the Campomanes palace during the king and queen's solemn entry in September.[13] The Osunas, portrayed by Goya in 1788 (Figure 6), also owned a pair,[14] and a pair belonging to the Prado are replicated in a pair in Seville (with Goya's receipts of May 1789) as well as in other surviving repetitions and copies.[15] Over a decade later, Goya within a few days in June 1800 painted still another portrait of the queen, since, as she commented,"the rest" were finished and very suitable (*propio*).[16]

A year later, although ill, Goya worked in midsummer 1801 on two copies of full-length portraits of the king and queen, which he completed for their viewing on August 11.[17] The portrait of María Luisa was stipulated as *not* to be that in which she wore a yellow dress—the one in the Palacio Real (Figure 7), of which a three-quarter-length copy appeared in the Museum's exhibition (Figure 8) and a "reduction" was once in Madrid[18]—but a previous one in which she wears a black dress and mantilla (quite probably the portrait also in the Palacio Real [Figure 9], which is also known in several copies) and in a "reduction" (Figure 10), perhaps by Esteve, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.[19] More painstakingly literal than the larger portrait, the dress more opaquely black, and the background greenery more rigidly defined, this "reduction" is assuredly a copy, perhaps intended as a more transportable likeness.

Writing to her favorite, Manuel Godoy, in October 1799, María Luisa recalled his having liked the portraits Goya painted of her in September, one "with mantilla" (see Figure 9) and the other picturing her upon her horse, Marcial (Figure 11). She hoped that a copy Goya was painting for him would turn out well, and she also wanted Godoy to have copies of the "mantilla" and equestrian portraits "made" by Esteve.[20]

Unquestionably, among replicas and copies denied attribution to Goya are copies by Agustín Esteve,[21] who began working with Goya during the 1780s. Triumphant in Madrid academy competitions during the 1770s while a student, he preceded Goya as a painter favored by the Osunas, and his career, primarily as a portraitist, continued into the second decade of the nineteenth century.[22] A Madrid "agent" asked to arrange for a portrait in June 1814 advised his client that while public opinion thought Goya the best portraitist, Esteve, too, was highly regarded.[23] Appreciating Esteve's talents as portraitist, copyist (and miniaturist), Goya quite matter-of-factly wrote to

Figure 11. Goya. *María Luisa, Queen of Spain, astride Marcial.* Oil on canvas, 335 × 279 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Museo del Prado)

the minister Miguel Cayetano Soler in October 1803 that his portrait and its copy by Esteve were finished.[24] Both would have been painted almost simultaneously, Goya working from his model and Esteve most probably from Goya's picture.

As Esteve's failing eyesight caused him to retire to Valencia by 1820, Goya sought others to copy his paintings. Thus Asensio Juliá, another Valencian, twice repeated (reportedly in Goya's studio) Goya's *Self-Portrait with Dr. Arrieta* of 1820 (Figure 12).[25] In 1821, a Zaragoza painter, Narciso Lalana, signed and dated one of three known versions (Figure 13) of Goya's presumably lost portrait of Ramón Pignatelli painted about 1790.[26]

Copies of royal portraits, whether by Goya, Esteve, or others, and, for example, Esteve's copy of the Soler portrait, Lalana's of the Pignatelli, and Juliá's of the *Self-Portrait with Dr. Arrieta*, fall within three—if not four—of Ceán's five categories of copy painting: the artist's own repetition, the "exact" copy, the copy "touched" by the artist himself, and possibly the servile imitation. For Ceán and others of the time, these would represent "good" copies, useful stand-ins for originals, perhaps better, and possibly even more valuable than a mediocre (or, in Goya's case, a hurried?) original.

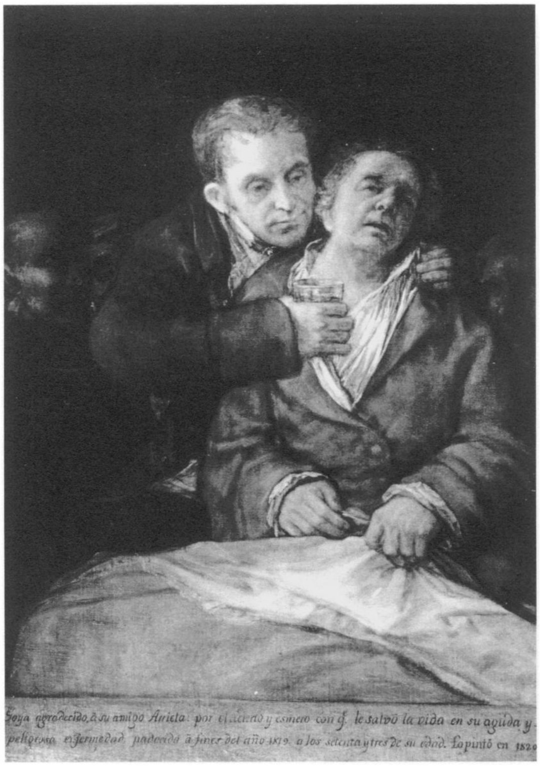


Figure 12. Goya. *Self-Portrait with Dr. Arrieta.* Oil on canvas, 117 × 79 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Art (photo: Minneapolis Institute of Art)

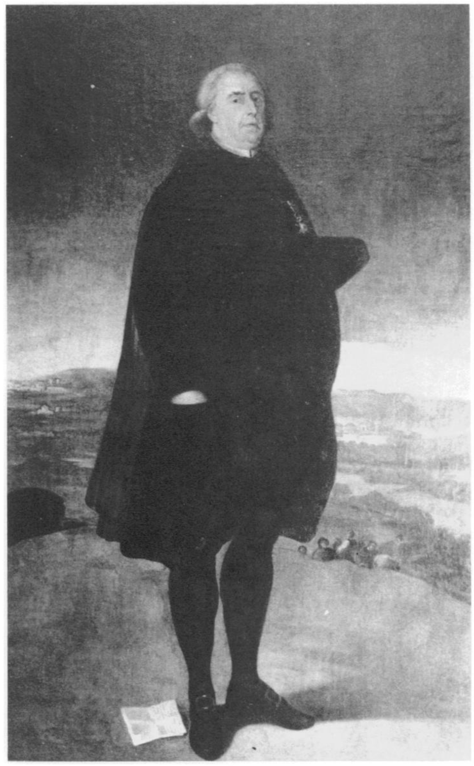


Figure 13. Narciso Lalana. Copy after Goya's *Portrait of Ramón Pignatelli.* Oil on canvas, 219 × 137 cm. Zaragoza, Museo de Bellas Artes (photo: Arxiu Mas)

Figure 14. After Goya. *Sabasa García and an Unknown Gentleman.* Oil on canvas, 39.8 × 32 cm. England, private collection (photo: courtesy of the owner)

Figure 15. Goya. *Sabasa García.* Oil on canvas, 71 × 58 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (photo: National Gallery of Art)

But what of the inexact or inaccurate? the pastiche or fake? And what of student-artists' copies, small preliminary oils, and "reductions"? Several examples illustrate their disparate character.

Clearly "inexact," an unsigned, small version of the portrait of Sabasa García in Washington (Figures 14, 15) seemed merely curious when brought to me several years ago. However, an old inscription on its verso added information concerning Sabasa, which inspired me to study and examine both paintings.[27] The results suggest that the smaller canvas may have originated in Goya's studio while the lower right area of the larger portrait remained unresolved. Having a smaller, unfinished version, possibly a *boceto*, the adulterator(s) subsequently overpainted Sabasa's image (as X rays prove) and, with verifiably later pigments, added the male profile head in what had been the unresolved area. Its features seem evocative of those seen in paintings by Asencio Juliá (as in the small canvas, *The Shipwrecked*, of ca. 1815; Figure 16), who, as we have noted, reportedly copied Goya's *Self-Portrait with Dr. Arrieta* in Goya's studio in 1820.

Figure 16. Asencio Juliá Alvarrachi. *The Shipwrecked.* Oil on canvas, 58.2 × 44.7 cm. Valencia, Museu Sant Pius V (photo: Arxiu Mas)

A Goyesque *Village Bullfight* (Figure 17) has qualified as both fake and pastiche. But although technically a fake while exhibited through the late 1930s as by Goya and carrying a false Goya signature,[28] it was not so created. Rather, it is one of many Goyesque paint-

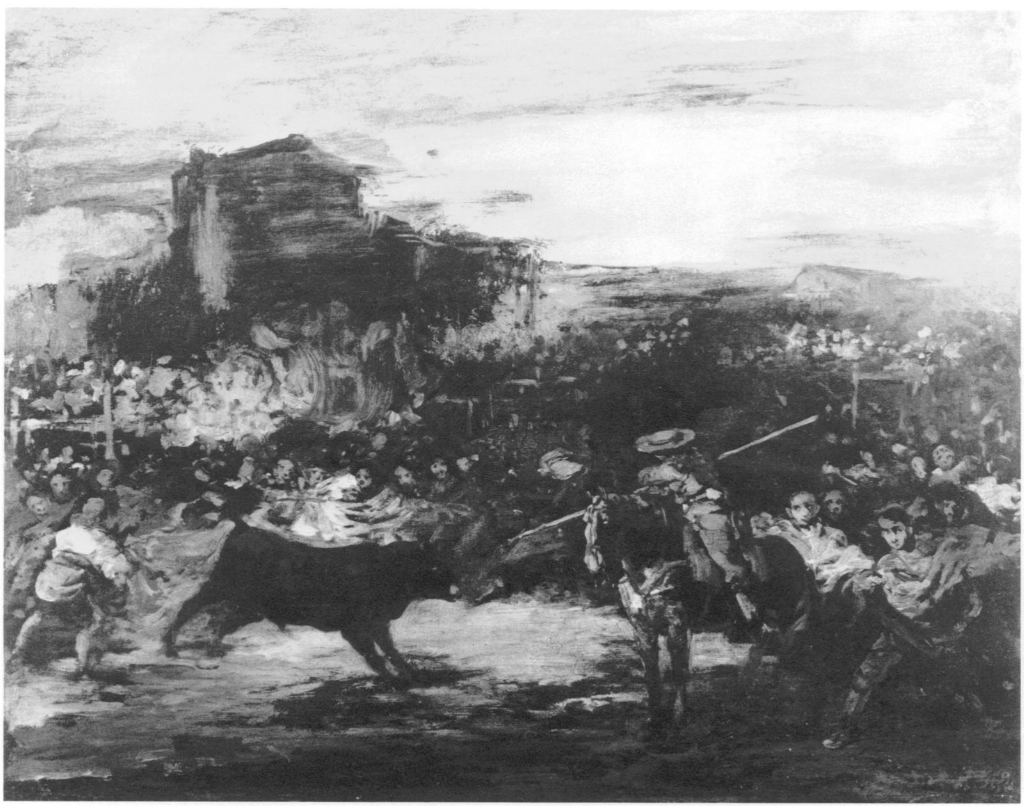


Figure 17. Eugenio Lucas Velázquez. *Village Bullfight.* Oil on canvas, 56 × 73 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America (photo: The Hispanic Society of America)

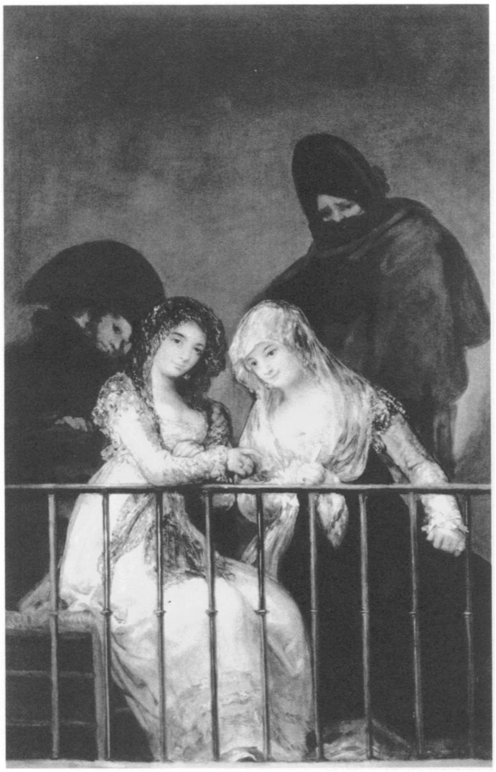


Figure 18. Attributed to Goya. *Majas on a Balcony.* Oil on canvas, 194.9 × 125.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.10

Figure 19. Goya. *Pedro Mocarte.* Oil on canvas, 78 × 57 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of Americ (photo: The Hispanic Society of America)

ings by Goya's most prolific imitator, Eugenio Lucas Velázquez, as was clear before his scratched-out signature was covered with a more marketable "Goya" (now removed). During the 1860s Lucas satisfied the Goyesque taste shared by a clientele that included the wealthy José de Salamanca—and he copied the Infante Don Sebastián's version of the *Majas on a Balcony,* now in the Metropolitan (Figure 18),[29] though apparently not Salamanca's version that Yriarte in 1867 thought might be a repetition (that is, a replica) or possibly a copy by Leonardo Alenza,[30] whose copies and imitations of Goya's paintings found a ready market among Spanish collectors.

While in Madrid in 1867–68, the young Mariano Fortuny was differently inspired, copying paintings by Velázquez and Goya to refine his own considerable talent. With Goya's portrait of *Pedro Mocarte* (Figure 19) painted about 1805, then in the home of Luis de Madrazo, his soon-to-be uncle-in-law, Fortuny painted a copy nearly identical in size (Figure 20).[31] Some years after acquiring Goya's *Pedro Mocarte* in 1906, Archer M. Huntington, founder of The Hispanic Society of America, where both Mocarte portraits remain, bought Fortuny's copy through the deceased Fortuny's brother-in-law, Raimundo de Madrazo, from

Figure 20. Mariano Fortuny. Copy after Goya's *Pedro Mocarte.* Oil on canvas, 75 × 56.5 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America (photo: The Hispanic Society of America)

Figure 21. Goya. *The Marchioness de Santa Cruz.* Oil on canvas, 147 × 97 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

Figure 22. After Goya. *The Marchioness de Santa Cruz.* Oil on canvas, 52 × 34 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

whom Huntington had bought the original as well. He kept Goya's original, a favorite of his, in his Fifth Avenue home, though in 1908 and 1910 he lent it to the Metropolitan.[32] Since it did not reach the Hispanic Society until 1925, Fortuny's masterful copy (like Sargent's after a then-believed Velázquez, and others after equally unattainable Velázquez works in the Prado)[33] could serve in the absence of the original—a usefulness Ceán had acknowledged.

Recalling Goya's comments on restoration, we may note how the Mocarte portraits, painted some seventy years apart, differ (if less so in actuality than in reproductions). Finding an asphaltum-impregnated varnish shading and balancing excessive light-and-dark contrasts in the original, a conservator only partially removed it; a yellowed varnish mollifying Fortuny's copy was wholly removed, however, exposing precisely those imbalances.[34]

Turning to "reductions," or small versions of portraits by Goya, none as such entered the October 1812 listing of paintings Goya assigned to his son, Javier, nor Brugada's later listing of paintings left behind in Goya's Quinta del Sordo country house.[35] But not all Goya's works were included: small pictures (such as the tapestry-cartoon sketches), drawings, prints, and works in progress were omitted in 1812, possibly as being of inconsequential value or works that might still be needed or furthered and were therefore withheld by Goya.

Curiously, small versions exist of three female portraits dating from 1797 to 1799. The three women, prominent at the court (Queen María Luisa, see Figures 9, 10, and two who opposed her, María Anna Waldstein, marchioness de Santa Cruz, and the duchess of Alba), are each represented in an outdoor setting wearing a black dress and mantilla.

Provenance, surface appearance, and technical examination of the large and small versions of the *Marchioness de Santa Cruz* portrait (Figures 21, 22) establish that the "reduction," although inscribed "Goya 1799" on its verso[36] is, like the Washington *Queen María Luisa* (see Figure 10), a copy. Once owned by Ferdinand Guillemardet, the French ambassador in Madrid portrayed by Goya in 1798–99 (Figure 23), this "reduction" may have been created for him as a portable souvenir (for he was strongly attracted to the marchioness, who, incidentally, was a painter—and a niece by marriage as well as a reported coconspirator of the duchess of Alba).[37]

The more widely known portrait of the *Duchess of Alba* in the Hispanic Society (Figure 24), dated 1797 and inscribed "*Solo Goya*" (the "*solo*" reemerging in 1959),[38] a painting Goya still held in 1812,[39] also exists

Figure 23. Goya. *Ferdinand Guillemardet.* Oil on canvas, 118.5 × 125 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

Figure 24. Goya. *The Duchess of Alba.* Oil on canvas, 210.2 × 149.5 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America (photo: The Hispanic Society of America)

in a small version (Figure 25) not recently cited in the Goya literature. A promised gift to the Hispanic Society, its size and the inscription—transcribed by Viñaza, who by 1887 had seen the picture in a Seville collection—identify it as a small portrait of the duchess known in Spain since the early 1830s as by Goya, though not located there by 1915.[40] In fact, it reached England, where it was sold at auction in 1939 by Lady Sybil Grant, a daughter of the earl of Rosebery, and was acquired by a Philadelphia dealer.[41] Unlike the *Queen María Luisa* in Washington, and the small *Marchioness de Santa Cruz* in Paris, this "reduction" is not clearly a repetition or copy. Although both the large and the small portraits of the duchess have been somewhat affected by restoration, surface cleaning of the large portrait has lightened her once duskier appearance. Yet the more subdued expression observed in the small version, the red sash more hidden by the lacy black mantilla, the two extended, ringed fingers once more clearly holding a fan (as do *Queen María Luisa* and the *Marchioness de Santa Cruz*)[42] rather than pointing to the sand or the inscription traced in it,[43] and X-ray study disclosing a working-through of details, indicate that this "reduction" evolved independently. And in both, the artist struggled in representing the duchess's face, reworking its shadowed side. With the

Figure 25. Goya. *The Duchess of Alba.* Oil on canvas, 49.5 × 34.3 cm. New York, private collection (photo: courtesy of the owner)

Figure 26. Goya. *"Aún aprendo."* Black chalk, Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Museo del Prado)

large portrait most probably painted in Goya's Madrid studio after his return from Andalusia in May 1797, was the small version produced earlier, at the duchess's San Lucar estate, as a preliminary study to be perfected in Madrid?—just as Goya painted in Madrid royal family portraits he had sketched from life in royal country residences? Or was the small version to be another portable visual souvenir? Whichever, so-called reductions realizably may represent preliminary studies as well as repetitions (replicas) and copies.

Several close to Goya could meet a demand for copies and works in his manner: his known collaborator and pupils, and possibly his son, Javier (a self-declared painter who, as Mariano, Javier's son, asserted), had authored one of the "black" paintings removed from the Quinta del Sordo after Goya's death.[44] And Javier, within a month following his father's death, was negotiating sales of Goya's works.[45] Later, others such as Alenza and Lucas satisfied Goya aficionados, as may have as well the adept painter and copyist María del Rosario Weiss, daughter of Leocadia Weiss, the elderly Goya's companion in Bordeaux.

Just as Rembrandt Research Project scholars striving to discern the true Rembrandt by observation, examination, and consensus find some certainties elusive, as members of each generation gain a confidence that they alone have come to discern and know Goya, new insights and revelations may yet demand reassessments. As the problematic seems resolved for some, if not all, let the "controversial" not become confrontational but informational and remind us that, like the infirm though alert bearded elder drawn by Goya (Figure 26), all must always continue to learn.

NOTES

1. The supplementary exhibition is omitted in Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez and Nicola Spinosa, *Jusepe de Ribera, 1591–1652*, exh. cat. (Naples, 1992).

2. Enrique LaFuente Ferrari, *Antecedentes, coincidencias e influencias del arte de Goya, catálogo ilustrado de la exposición celebrada en 1932* Sociedad Española de Amigos de Arte, exh. cat. (Madrid, 1947; repub. 1987).

3. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, "Carta . . . a un amigo suyo en Madrid, sobre el conocimiento de las pinturas originales y de las copias," *Minerva, Bellas Artes* 6 (Jan. 21) pp. 3, 24, 27, 29, 30, 33 (trans. by author); Antonio de Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del Librero Hispanoamericano* (Barcelona, 1958) no. 170223, gives the date "1806?" though notes *Minerva* 6 as of 1807.

4. See, for example, Pierre Gassier and Juliet Wilson, *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya* (New York, 1971) cat. nos. 154–159, 185–187, 299, 719–721.

5. Goya, Oct. 14, 1792, report to the Real Academia de San Fernando, Ángel Canellas López, ed., *Francisco de Goya, Diplomatario* (Zaragoza, 1981) pp. 310–312, doc. no. 184.

6. See also Gassier and Wilson, *Life and Complete Work of Goya*, cat. nos. 90, 92–97, 99, 101, 103, 104, 105, 109, 111, 112.

7. Jeannine Baticle, *Goya* (Paris, 1992) p. 290. After Gil Ranz's death, copies of Goya's prints he had penned remained with his son; see Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de artistas españoles del siglo XIX* (Madrid, 1868 [Madrid, 1975, facs. of Madrid, 1883, ed., p. 287]).

8. Goya, Jan. 2, 1801, report to Pedro Cevallos (Canellas López, *Goya, Diplomatario*, pp. 331–332, doc. no. 217).

9. John Dryden (1631–1700), "To Sir George Kneller," 1694, ll. 176–181, 4:466 (quoted by David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* [New York, 1986] p. 159).

10. Goya, July 19, 1801, report (Sotheby's London sale, May 5–6, 1988, *Music . . . Printed Books. . .* , cat. no. 199, reproduced; Julián Gállego, "Una carta inédita de Goya sobre la restauración de pinturas," *Academia, Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, 76 (1st sem., 1993) pp. 172–178.

11. Valentín de Sambricio, *Tapices de Goya* (Madrid, 1946) pp. xci–xcii, doc. no. 125; idem, "Los retratos de Carlos IV, y de María Luisa por Goya," *Archivo español de arte* 30 (1957) pp. 85–113.

12. Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, "Los cuadros de Goya en la Academia de Historia," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* (Madrid, 1946) p. 10.

13. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Yriarte e su época* (Madrid, 1897) p. 375.

14. Baticle, *Goya,* p. 150.

15. For the pair in Seville, copies, and repetitions, see Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, "Los Goyas de Tabacalera," in José M. Rodríguez Gordillo, José Morales Sánchez, and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Goya, Retratos para la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de Sevilla* (Seville, 1985) pp. 59–73; Gassier and Wilson, *Life and Complete Work of Goya,* cat. nos. 281–286; Rita de Angelis, *L'opera pittorica completa de Goya* (Milan, 1981) cat. nos. 237–242.

16. Carlos Peyrera, ed., *Cartas confidenciales de la Reina María Luisa y Don Manuel Godoy* (Madrid, 1935) p. 304.

17. Sotheby's (London), sale, Nov. 17–18, 1985, p. 85, nos. 223 (ill.), 224, and 225 (Goya's letters of July 29, 30, and Aug. 10 to Pedro Cevallos concerning the copies of the royal portraits).

18. Gassier and Wilson, *Life and Complete Work of Goya,* cat. no. 781 (note).

19. Ibid., no. 775 (note).

20. Peyrera, *Cartas,* pp. 233–237.

21. Other than the copies mentioned by María Luisa, see, for example, Sambricio, *Tapices,* pp. cxxxvi–cxxxvii, docs. 209–211, regarding payment to Esteve for six "repetitions" of Goya originals of full-length portraits of the king and queen.

22. Concerning Esteve, see Martín S. Soria, *Agustín Esteve y Goya* (Valencia, 1957).

23. Canellas López, *Goya, Diplomatario,* p. 486, doc. no. 125.

24. Ibid., pp. 360–361, doc. no. 224.

25. Rafael Gil Salinas, *Asensi Juliá* (Valencia, 1993) pl. 8 (copy in a private collection, Madrid).

26. Conde de la Viñaza (Cipriano Muñoz y Manzano), *Goya, su tiempo, su vida, sus obras* (Madrid, 1887) pp. 240–241; Nigel Glendinning, *Goya, la década de los Caprichos, Retratos, 1792–1804,* exh. cat., Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (Madrid, 1992) p. 119, pl. 12, Lalana's presumed authorship omitted, and the portrait absent from the exhibition (as noted by José Manuel Arnaiz, "Goya, La década incongruente," *Antiquaria* 101 [Dec. 1992] p. 71); regarding the copies, see *Goya,* exh. cat., Electa España (Zaragoza 1992) p. 68. More recently, it has been proposed that the full-length portrait of Ramón Pignatelli (Figure 13) is in fact Goya's original which, although thought to have disappeared, would instead have been damaged during the War of Independence and repainted by Lalana in 1821 (see Juan J. Luna, *Goya en las colecciones españolas,* exh. cat., Banco Bilbao Vizcaya [Madrid, 1995–96], p. 78, cat. no. 14).

27. See Priscilla E. Muller, "Goya's Portrait of Sabasa García," *Burlington Magazine* 1079 (1993), pp. 99–101.

28. Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Eugenio Lucas y Padilla* (New York, 1940) pp. 45, 58, pl. XXX; exhibited as by Goya in Sept. 1936 in New York (Wildenstein & Co.) and in museums in San Diego and Philadelphia prior to its purchase from Wildenstein in 1939.

29. Trapier, *Lucas y Padilla,* p. 60 (partly confounding the MMA and private collection *Majas on a Balcony*), this Lucas copy is a brush drawing; Nigel Glendinning, "Variations on a Theme by Goya: *Majas on a Balcony,*" *Apollo* 103 (1976) pp. 42, 46 , nn. 4, 6.

30. Charles Yriarte, *Goya* (Paris, 1867) p. 90.

31. Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, *Goya as Portrait Painter* (Boston/ New York, 1922) pp. 105–106; Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Catalogue of Paintings (19th and 20th Centuries) in the Collection of The Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1932) I, pp. 155–116; Carlos González López and Montserrat Martí Ayxelá, *Mariano Fortuny Marsal* (Barcelona, 1989) I, p. 58.

32. Archer M. Huntington correspondence, The Hispanic Society of America, archives; Susan Alyson Stein, "Goya in The Metropolitan, A History of the Collection," *Goya in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,* exh. cat. (New York, 1995) p. 39.

33. John Singer Sargent, copy after *A Dwarf with a Dog,* the original formerly ascribed to Velázquez; Francis Lathrop (1849–1900), copies of Velazquez's *"Las Meninas" (The Royal Family)* and *"Las Hilanderas" (The Tapestry Weavers, or The Fable of Arachne),* all three in the collection of The Hispanic Society of America.

34. Conservation reports note the background of Goya's *Pedro Mocarte* as well as Mocarte's black cap and collar as having been "totally inpainted"; asphaltum as having been used to hide surface skinning suffered in previous cleanings; and the white shirt as also glazed with asphaltum to tone it down, the "good effect" this produced causing the conservator to remove the glaze only partially.

35. Gassier and Wilson, *Life and Complete Work of Goya,* pp. 381–382, appendixes I, II.

36. Jeannine Baticle, "Le portrait de la Marquise de Santa Cruz par Goya," *La Revue du Louvre* 3 (1977) pp. 153–163; I thank Claudie Ressort of the Paintings Department and members of the Conservation Department of the Musée du Louvre for aiding with examination of the "reduction."

37. Baticle, *Goya,* pp. 281–284.

38. Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Goya and His Sitters: A Study of His Style as a Portraitist* (New York, 1964) p. 14, noting the "*solo*" as revealed during a cleaning of the portrait in 1959. However, the "*solo*" was visible years earlier to the Spanish painter Ignacio Zuloaga (1870–1945), who translated it as "alone," or "lonely" Goya, and not "Goya only" as has become more frequent (Mercedes de Acosta [y de Alba], "'Only' v. 'Lonely,'" letter to the editor, *Time* [Aug. 3, 1959]). As traces of the "*solo*" appear in old photographs and the "*solo*" differs somewhat in paint tonality from the balance of the inscription, it may be that Goya, "lonely" following the duchess's death late in July 1802 and still holding the painting, then added the "*solo*" rather than having hidden it with overpainting, as has been believed.

39. Gassier and Wilson, *Life and Complete Work of Goya,* p. 381, appendix I.

40. New York, private collection, oil on canvas, 49.5 × 34.3 cm, technical examination and radiography facilitated by the Conservation Department of the Hispanic Society; Viñaza, *Goya, su Tiempo . . .,* p. 261, cat. no. CXIII, as oil on canvas, 52 × 42 cm and inscribed *María Luisa [sic] de Silva, Duquesa de Alba,* Manuel de Urzáiz collection, Seville; Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, *Goya, pintor de retratos* (Madrid, 1915) p. 175, no. 150; idem, *Goya as Portrait Painter,* p. 209, no. 158, noting the Urzáiz collection painting as a smaller version of the Hispanic Society portrait though acknowledging that he knew the small canvas only from the citation by Viñaza. Although 620 paintings from the Urzáiz collection were sold in Madrid in 1862 to Émile Pereire, who transported them to Paris (Enrique de Leguina, *Impresiones artísticas* [Madrid, 1895] pp. 79–85), only a "half-length" portrait of the duchess of Alba said to have belonged to Urzáiz appeared in the Pereire sale, Paris, March 6–8, 1872.

Other pertinent references include Valentín Carderera's 1834–40 listing of portraits by Goya, no. 6, *The Duchess of Alba,* approximately 47 cm high, Serafín de la Huerta collection (Javier de Salas, "Lista de cuadros de Goya hecha por Carderera," *Archivo español de arte* 20 [1931] p. 175). When inventoried, as by Goya, following Serafín García de la Huerta's death in Aug. 1839, the small full-length portrait was valued at 1,500 *reales* and noted as 2½ *cuartas* high by 1½ wide (approximately 52.2 × 31.3 cm); Marqués del Saltillo, "Colecciones madrileñas de pinturas, la de D. Serafín García de la Huerta (1840)," *Arte Español* 18, no. 2 [1951] p. 201, no. 784); Nigel Glendinning, "Spanish inventory references to paintings by Goya, 1800–1850: originals, copies and valuations," *Burlington Magazine* 1091 (February 1994) p. 106, comments on the difficulty of correlating the listed picture with any known portraits of the duchess by or attributed to Goya.

41. *Catalogue of Important Paintings . . . Goya's Duquesa de Alba, The Property of Lady Sybil Grant . . .* Sotheby & Co. London, July 26, 1939, p. 20, no. 74 (ill.); sold to Feldman, apparently Baruch Feldman, a Philadelphia dealer, as the picture remains in a frame provided by McClee's Galleries, Philadelphia, which boasts an ornamental label asserting artist (Goya), subject (Duchess of Alba), and provenance ("From Coll. of Lady Sybil Grant"). I thank James Holloway of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery for assistance with the Grant-Rosebery data and collections, and M. Schweitzer of New York for the Feldman identification. The picture reappeared in New York (William Doyle Galleries, May 8, 1985, no. 44) as "attributed to Goya" and without provenance although reportedly from a New England estate.

42. Viñaza, *Goya, su tiempo . . .*, p. 261, noted the partly opened fan held in the duchess's right hand.

43. See note 38 above.

44. Yriarte, *Goya*, p. 141 (painting titled "****").

45. Javier's letters of May 23 and 24, 1828, in: José Manuel Arnaiz, "Goya, Goyescas y Galerías, Capricho e invención en El Prado," *Antiqvaria* 113 (Jan. 1994) pp. 39–40.

Evolving Concepts: Spain, Painting, and Authentic Goyas in Nineteenth-Century France[1]

JANIS TOMLINSON

NOT LONG AGO, I received a call from an editor at a publishing firm that was bringing out the nth edition of a widely read history of art. After several days, I managed to reach him, to find that he had called to ask whether the Metropolitan Museum's *Majas on a Balcony* (Figure 1), included in earlier editions as a Goya, should remain so labeled. Yet in the time that had elapsed between his first call and my response, he had contacted the book's author, whose response was: "Oh, these people are always changing their minds . . . I say, it's a Goya."

Is "authenticity" so subjective? Most art historians would like to think that it isn't. Of course, there are Goyas and there are "not Goyas"—but until the artist returns from his grave, we may never get everything straight. Yet what constitutes authenticity, where Goya or any other artist is concerned, clearly changes over time. Looking at many paintings once firmly attributed to the artist, the modern viewer inevitably asks the question: How could anyone have ever thought *that* painting was by Goya? The answer is that at a given point in time, the painting fulfilled a set of expectations that qualified it as a Goya. Before we assume that connoisseurship in 1995 is simply *better* than that practiced a century earlier, we might give our predecessors the benefit of the doubt and ask how we would formulate expectations of authenticity without illustrated art-history texts, photographic reproductions, and X rays.

How might we have come to know Goya had we been born in Paris about 1800? A select few might have been lucky enough to have traveled to see paintings by the artist in private collections in Spain. In Paris, they might also have seen some of his masterful etchings: *Los Caprichos* or *La Tauromaquia* (*Los Desastres de la Guerra* and *Los Disparates* were published posthumously in 1863 and 1864 respectively). But given the negligible number of paintings by Goya accessible to the public, he would have been known to most not through images but through the words published in literary journals by critics such as Louis Viardot or Théophile Gautier. Verbal, rather than visual, conceptions of Goya—often based on preconceptions of what Spanish painting was about—provided the criteria for judging authenticity. The changing image of Spain, and of its painting, is essential to tracing the emergence of traits that became identified with the authentic Goya.

Conceptions of Spain popularized in eighteenth-century France provided a point of departure for discussions of its painting. Madame d'Aulnoy's *Relation du Voyage d'Espagne* (1691), which during the following century would be issued in twenty-nine editions in French, English, and German,[2] shows the extent to which Spanish identity was schematized. Madame d'Aulnoy never traveled to Spain: her lively tale of manners, aristocratic intrigues, and customs was in fact a compilation of other accounts and sources.[3] Using these as her point of departure, d'Aulnoy covers themes to become constants in narratives of Spanish travels: poverty, the poor quality of inns, bullfights, and religious processions—particularly those featuring flagellants or *disciplinantes*.[4] The Spanish character is sketched out as proud, opinionated, sober, lazy, vengeful, amorous, and superstitious: in other words, as the antithesis of the rational French.[5]

Madame d'Aulnoy's narrative was one of several accounts used by Montesquieu in his satirical *Lettres persanes*, in which the portrait of the Spaniard takes one step more toward caricature. Spanish gravity is here reflected by the use of eyeglasses (an outward sign of extensive study) and a mustache, and social standing is shown by a large sword. Again, Montesquieu comments on the Spaniards' salient character traits: laziness, devotion, and jealousy. The inevitable decline of Catholic countries is predicted because of the premium placed on celibacy (letter 117). Elsewhere, Spain is seen as an example of how colonialization weakens the mother country (letter 121). The collapse of the Spanish economy, dependent upon New World riches, is further explained in *L'Esprit des lois*; even the good faith (and here, gullibility) of Spaniards

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 200.

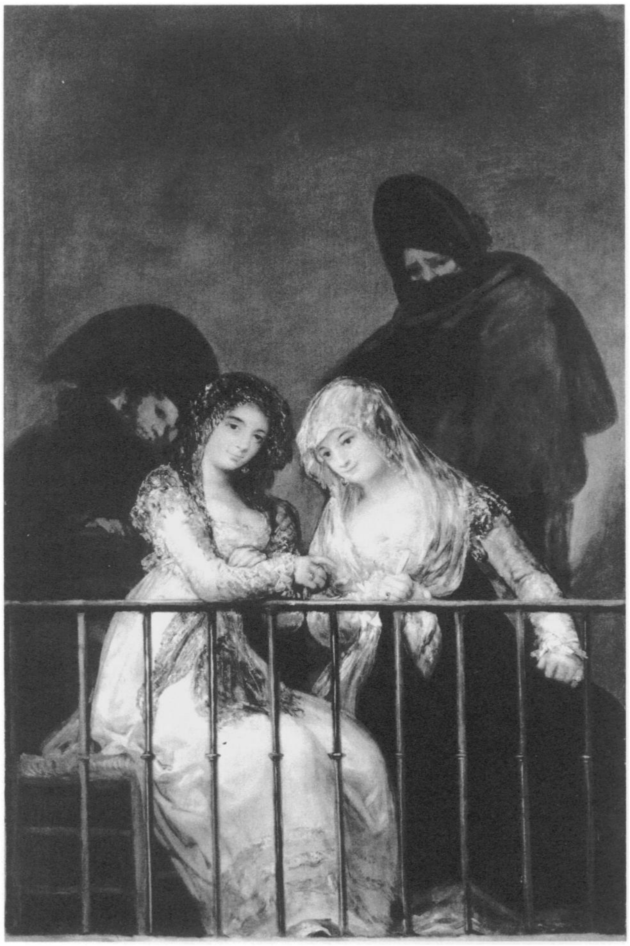


Figure 1. Attributed to Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828). *Majas on a Balcony*. Oil on canvas, 194.9 × 125.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.10

is seen in a negative light because it allows the merchants of Europe to take trade out from under their mustaches.[6]

Voltaire concurs with Montesquieu in attributing Spain's economic demise to its overly zealous conquest of the New World. Beginning with the reign of Philip III (1598–1621), the decline continued through the seventeenth century and is summarized in the words that Voltaire credits to the emperor Charles V: "En France tout abonde; tout manque en Espagne" (All abounds in France; in Spain, all is lacking).[7] This lack is reflected in the culture of Spain. Although theater of its Golden Age was emulated by both the English and the French, and its novels are worthy of admiration, superstition reigns: philosophy is ignored, and mathematics was never developed. The visual arts represent an antithesis to French accomplishment: the Escorial, according to Voltaire, was built after the designs of a Frenchman; Spain produced only painters of a second rank and never a school of painting.[8]

That the three authors discussed so far had never ventured south of the Pyrenees did not diminish the influence of their accounts. These works serve as a foil for one published in 1788 by Jean-François Bourgoing, who had, in fact, spent several years as ambassador to the Spanish court.[9] Firsthand experience often confused schematized stereotypes, and it is not surprising that Bourgoing opens his chapter on the Spanish people by questioning the validity of portraying "the character of a nation."[10] Bourgoing places the Spaniards' gravity in a more positive light, seeing in their manners a directness at odds with the superficial and sometimes hypocritical *politesse* of the French: the Spaniard gains in stature by his position somewhere between a noble savage and the overly cultivated Frenchman. Bourgoing thus formulates two traits that distinguish the Spaniards *in a positive manner* in opposition to the educated and logical French, and by so doing implies the possible shortcomings of his fellow countrymen. This more positive appreciation of Spain enables Bourgoing to acknowledge its school of painters. By the 1807 edition of his works, he composes a list of artists well known in Spain who deserve to be better known beyond the Pyrenees: Navarrete, Alonso Cano, Zurbarán, Cerezo, Cabezalero, Blas de Prado, and Juanes, in addition to those already familiar outside of Spain: Velázquez, Murillo, and Ribera.[11] However, no specific works are mentioned, no salient traits or overall character of a school are addressed.

Bourgoing's desire that the Spanish school be better known would be fulfilled over the next fifty years. Simultaneously, the term "Spanish" as applied to painting would evolve from a neutral classification indicating origin to a more loaded term denoting a combination of stylistic and thematic indicators that became an unambiguous sign of Spanish culture. The discovery of Spanish painting brought an expansion, followed by a contraction. The phase of expansion entailed the discovery of Spanish painting by Napoleon's invading armies and culminated three decades later with the exhibition of paintings in the Spanish Gallery of the Louvre from 1838 to 1848. The subsequent contraction involved the formulation of a narrowed canon as works that did not fit an increasingly specific concept of Spanishness were relegated to secondary status.

By 1808 Napoleon's soldiers would enter Spain and become the first major French "collectors" of its paintings. Having placed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne, Napoleon found it expedient to make a personal appearance in late 1808. His artistic adviser, Vivant Denon, accompanied him on that mission and realized the need for Spanish paintings to complement the growing collections of the Musée Napoléon.[12] The novelty of Vivant Denon's enterprise is worth stressing. Up to this point, Napoleonic confiscations of paintings served tastes formulated by the Old Regime: paintings of the Italian and Flemish schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, previously represented in royal and aristocratic collections, were sought out.[13] Vivant Denon's quest for paintings of the Spanish school marks an attempt to expand the accepted art-historical vocabulary. Much to Vivant Denon's displeasure, Joseph Bonaparte also took an active interest in forming official collections of Spanish painting and even of opening a national museum in Madrid. Joseph's interest in protecting the Spanish patrimony is antithetic to the militaristic tone expressed by Vivant Denon in a letter from Valladolid on January 18, 1809. In it he vents his frustration with Joseph, who has stood in the way of his collecting the "twenty paintings of the Spanish school absolutely needed by the Musée . . . [which] would have been a trophy in perpetuity of this last campaign."[14]

The concept of art as "trophy" reinforced the view of art as a reflection of a national identity, since trophy art was to be an explicit symbol of the nation conquered. Thus, while works by Rubens and Titian had been eagerly sought out in Belgium and Italy, respectively, the paintings by these masters in Spain were, for the most part, left in place; conversely, the portrait of Duke Francesco I by Velázquez had been considered not worth taking from Modena. Vivant Denon's quest for Spanish paintings also illustrates the entrenched nature of Old Regime tastes: he knew what he liked when he saw it, but when it came to painters in Spain, there wasn't much that he liked. Of 250 paintings sent from Spain to Paris by September 1813, only seventeen would be exhibited in the Musée Napoléon. Vivant Dennon's taste reflected his appreciation of Italian and Flemish works, as illustrated by his decision to include in the Louvre the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* by Eugenio Caxes and a *Magdalen* by Juan Carreño de la Miranda, paintings seen today as examples of Italian and Flemish influence.[15]

Even at this very early date, we see how selective the French could be in approaching an essentially unknown school of painting. In exhibiting Spanish pictures, the French chose to emphasize religiosity and low-life realism with works such as *Magdalena Ventura* by Jusepe Ribera and *Saint Elizabeth Healing the Sick* by Murillo (an artist long favored by the French). Portraits and history paintings were overlooked: *Joseph's Bloody Tunic* by Velázquez, a painting much admired and much copied in eighteenth-century Spain, arrived in Paris but was apparently never exhibited; likewise ignored were two battle scenes by Caxes and the seventeenth-century painter Juan Bautista Maino (originally part of a series commemorating victories under Philip IV). Although the Spanish painters had included a portrait of Baltasar Carlos by Velázquez, and two of Carlos V and Philip II attributed to Pantoja de la Cruz, the Velázquez seems not to have reached Paris, and the Pantoja portraits were apparently excluded by Denon.[16]

The publication in 1820 of the final volume of Alexandre Laborde's *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne* solidified the concepts implicit in Vivant Denon's 1814 exhibition. In concluding his monumental study of the history and culture of Spain (the first volume had been published in 1806), Laborde added a *Coup d'Oeil sur l'État des Arts en Espagne* in which he described the unique character of the school. Qualifying the unknown in terms of the known, he saw the Spanish school as somewhere between the Italian and the Flemish: closer to nature than the former and nobler than the latter. The Spanish school distinguished itself by its religious painting: mysticism and fervent spirituality were never rendered better.[17]

Since his text was illustrated with only nine line engravings, Laborde's readers would gather an idea of the Spanish school based on subject matter rather than technique, even though the author attempted to make up for the shortcomings of the reproductions offered. Laborde's description of Velázquez's style betrays a new admiration, and the *Watercarrier of Seville* is used to illustrate the artist's naive faithfulness to nature. This naturalism is also linked to the works of Claudio Coello, Zurbarán, and Ribera; only Murillo is exempt from the "naive and faithful character of the Spanish school, this sometimes trivial imitation of nature."[18]

The main traits of the Spanish school were now in place, echoing the eighteenth-century travelers' remarks on the national character. Definition of a national school is based on difference: truly "Spanish" painting had to reflect a uniqueness, a counter-identity to the rational intellectualism of the French school or the ethereal idealization of the Italian. And as painting became a reflection of national temperament, certain artists and works were inevitably excluded. A canon was gradually formulated in fulfillment of these expectations: still-life painting was not acknowledged, and hybrid styles—such as the work of painters under the Bourbons who assumed the throne of Spain in 1701—were largely ignored.

Pivotal to the French formulation of a Spanish school was the collection of 438 paintings exhibited in the Louvre from 1838 to 1848 and known as the Spanish Gallery. But prior to its opening, Romantic interest in Spain—encouraged by the accounts of travelers and French soldiers—nurtured the formation of an imaginary Spain.[19] These perceptions broadened the expectations to be met by the Spanish Gallery when it opened in 1838.

Prosper Mérimée's *Théâtre de Clara Gazul, Comédienne espagnole* (1825), a collection of plays that gave form to an idealized woman of the people, typifies the Romantic image of Spain. Clara embodied the mixture of ethnicity and nationality preferred by the French: she claims both Moorish and Gypsy blood, revealed by the savage expression of her eyes, her dark hair, and olive skin. The Spanish woman of the people, direct, noble in spirit, and of natural dark beauty is formulated as an antithesis to the cultivated women of Restoration Paris: it is a type soon to become a cliché, reflected in Murillo's dark-haired Madonnas and the *majas* of Goya's *Caprichos*.

Another aspect of Spain adopted by French writers was that of an antiquated nobility, an image that served progressive authors as an incarnation of corrupt government. In Victor Hugo's play *Hernani* nobility is challenged by the sympathetic and virtuous representative of the people. The most visually memorable scene of the play occurs in Act 3, in which the outlaw hero Hernani comes to the palace of the Aragonese noble Don Ruy Gómez, who is making arrangements to marry Doña Blanca, his niece and Hernani's beloved. The scene is described: "Le château de Silva, dans les montagnes d'Aragon. La galerie des portraits de la famille de Silva; grande salle, dont ces portraits entourés de riches bordures et surmontés de couronnes ducales et d'écussons dorés font la décoration. Au fond, une haute porte gothique. Entre chaque portrait, une panoplie complète; toute ces armures de siècles différents." The portraits are by no means mere acccessories to the scene. Don Carlos (yet to be proclaimed emperor) arrives in search of the outlaw Hernani. Don Ruy, following an ancient oath to harbor his guests, hides Hernani in a niche behind the last portrait in the series—that of himself. When Don Carlos tells Don Ruy to surrender Hernani, the aged nobleman leads the king along the row of portraits, explaining the identity of each. Finally, when he arrives at his own, he addresses the enraged king: "Ce portrait, c'est le mien—Roi don Carlos, merci!/ Car vous voulez qu'on dise en le voyant ici:/ 'Ce dernier, digne fils d'une race si haute,/ Fut un traître, et vendit la tête de son hôte!'" (III, 5, lines 1179–82). Don Carlos tries to bargain and finally threatens to abduct Don Ruy's niece. Tempted to break the oath to protect his guest, Ruy turns toward the portraits and asks for pity, but is stopped by their stern faces. It seems to be with *Hernani* that the noble portrait (formerly excluded by Vivant Denon) enters into the French canon of Spanish painting, an inclusion that becomes pronounced in the Spanish Gallery. The debut of *Hernani* (originally subtitled *L'honneur castillan*) has often been discussed in accounts of French Romanticism.[20] The play opened on February 25, 1830, at the Comédie-Française, managed by Baron Taylor, who had himself undertaken a picturesque account of Spain in 1826. Baron Taylor would subsequently represent the French king Louis-Philippe in selecting works for the Spanish Gallery on an eighteen-month expedition that began in 1835. The results of his collecting efforts have been well documented.[21] The opening of the Spanish Gallery generated a variety of critical discussions concerning the nature of national schools and of the Spanish school in particular.

In confronting the number and varying quality of the paintings exhibited in the Spanish Gallery, crowded from floor to ceiling in rooms insufficiently lit (according to contemporaneous accounts), critics had to impose order. One way of doing this was to select recognized masters and comment on individual paintings whose quality (if not their attribution) could not be disputed. As a result, a highly selective canon was formed. Murillo alone was unanimously acclaimed, and artists less familiar to the Parisian audience were often identified with a single work or group of works. El Greco was identified with the so-called *Portrait of the Artist's Daughter* (today *Lady with an Ermine*, Glasgow, Pollock House); and Zurbarán with *Saint Francis in Prayer* (today London, National Gallery), Ribera with *Cato Tearing Out His Entrails* (today given to Luca Giordano). Velázquez was identified with his portraits of nobility (most of which are now disattributed). Reading the criticism today, the little attention paid to Goya seems surprising. But this is readily explained: he did not fit the conception of what Spanish painting was about at this time.

In fact, critical response to the Spanish Gallery showed that the very existence of a "Spanish" school was still being debated: embraced by progressives, conservative writers questioned its very existence. In art history as well as politics of the early nineteenth century, nationalism was an idea promoted mainly by the liberal intelligentsia. The critic Étienne Delécluze stood in opposition to such progressive tendencies, interpreting Spanish painting as a reflection of other European schools.[22] For Delécluze, Spain did not offer one school, but several, those of Córdoba, Grenada, Castille, Valencia, and Madrid. (Delécluze's omission of Seville might lead us to question his authority on the subject.) According to his account, the outstanding figures of Spanish art are Ribera, Zurbarán, Velázquez, and Murillo. Yet Ribera and Zurbarán illustrate the influence of Caravaggio; Velázquez that of Rubens and Titian, and of lessons learned during his visits to Italy. Velázquez remains inferior to painters such as Raphael, Michelangelo, and even Rubens because of his insistent naturalism.[23] The Spanish school is based on the art of the Carracci, and of Rubens and Van Dyck; if it has a unique trait, this might be its colorism, analogous to that seen in the Venetian school. Delécluze concludes that Spanish painting lacks the "generating principles" seen in Italian and German art, as each artist seems to have followed his own inclinations.[24] What Delécluze is in fact arguing against is an opening out of the long-venerated art-historical canon that a valorization of Spanish painting would imply.

Other critics were more tolerant. Diametrically opposed to Delécluze is Amadée de Cesena, writing in the *Revue française et étrangère*, for whom the Spanish Gallery embodied the Spain created and disseminated by travelers' accounts and in Romantic fiction.[25] It was in the presence of the royal portraits, realistically rendered, that one saw reflected the Spain of monarchy, old nobility and Inquisition, monks and beggars, women on balconies serenaded by gentlemen with plumed hats, all of which illustrated Spain's power, love, and faith.[26]

More constructively, debates about the nature of Spanish painting led some to reconsider the underlying formulation of the "national" school. Writing for *France et Europe*, the comte de Circourt described the difference between the school as dry classification (the concept that held sway through the eighteenth century) and the school as a more organic entity, based in features less tangible than brushstrokes and color. For the first, Circourt has nothing but scorn, and we might wonder if he is leveling an attack on Delécluze, whose article had appeared three months earlier, when he writes: "Frankly speaking, these genealogies of painting, based on a series of scrupulous similarities, and often supported by examination of biographic fact, have always seemed to us a puerile and pointless exercise. The classification by schools is the most arbitrary and narrow. . . ."[27] He then proffers an alternative definition of a school defined by *national* character:

The word school, freed from its old accepted usage to take on a more elevated meaning, might express something philosophical and worthy of attention, the analogy that exists among works produced during one great period, under the demanding influence of uniform circumstances, such as the patronage of enlightened princes, the renaissance of letters, the domination of one people over another, and, above all, the pronounced character of the nation for which a school is formed; in a word, one of the forms of the social thought of this period; it is in this sense that there exists a truly original and unique Spanish school.

The complete description of the customs of Spain, of the intellectual anatomy of the bizarre and beautiful people, the Turks of Europe, could be made on the sole basis of the documents furnished by the gallery in Paris where each painting is a new manifestation of the same sentiment, of the exclusive sentiment that dominates all phases of Spanish existence.[28]

Painting reflects the social conditions, and, most importantly, the national context of its creation. In what seems a circular argument, Circourt then suggests that we need not read the history of Spain: the paintings themselves, as primary documents, enable us to extract historical conditions as well as national character.

Circourt's contextual history of art illustrated a new relativism in the appreciation of art works and further undermined the universal hierarchy of painting that held Italy at its pinnacle. Such relativism could also lead to reversal. The critic writing for *Le Lithographe* stated that it was now France, not Spain, that had become a land of darkness, blinkered by its own intellectual prejudices, as schoolchildren mechanically repeated the dismissal of Spanish culture formulated by the "Voltairian school."[29]

Chagrined by their ignorance, progressive critics were prepared to admit the sins of their fathers. The school of Spanish painting, once denied existence by Voltaire, now became the embodiment of a nation to be admired for its character so opposed to that of the jaded bourgeois who visited the Louvre. Beyond admiration, one critic went so far as to recommend emulation: just as the study of Raphael had refined French taste, so might the study of Zurbarán and Murillo lead to the contemplation of more serious subjects, to the expression of passions and character.[30]

Many other critics joined in support of these ideas. Not only was Spanish painting to be appreciated on its own terms, but its spirituality, naturalism, and directness also offered a model to be emulated by younger painters. But Circourt warned against the dangers of such emulation, stating that a truly *national* style could not survive transplantation, and predicted the mediocrity of the young painters who came to copy in the Spanish Gallery.[31] Circourt was right: the Franco-Spanish school that some hoped to see emerge with Ziégler and Antoine Brune as its leaders was stillborn.[32]

Enthusiasm for the Spanish Gallery overturned ingrained prejudices against Spanish painting, which after 1838 was even offered as a viable model for French artists. The path was now open for the formulation of an increasingly schematized conception of "Spanishness" that would find its place within the history of modernism. In 1838 Spanish painting was identified with religious subject matter, an ostensibly direct confrontation with nature, and sobriety in tone. Yet by 1860 critical reaction to Manet suggests that the traits Romantic critics has seen in Spanish painting were largely displaced by an identification of Spanishness with a broad handling of the paint itself, often linked with "Spanish" subject matter. As a reminder of this criticism, which need not be reviewed here, we might turn to Paul Mantz, who, writing in *L'Illustration* of June 6, 1868, described Manet's use of black tones and chalky whites as a "technique, new in France [that] has been practiced before in Spain. El Greco and Goya himself sometimes played that game. . . ."[33]

How did this ever more schematic definition of Spanishness—one taken for granted in art-historical discourse and which allows such a facile identification of two painters as different as Goya and El Greco—emerge? I think it reflects a new conception of Spain that emerged in France of the 1840s and 1850s. The castles, antiquated aristocrats, and ascetic monks of "Romantic" Spain were displaced by images of its contemporary lowlife, fostered by travelers' accounts and French painters. The 1840s were to see the publication of the first edition of Gautier's *Travels in Spain* (1841), of Mérimée's *Carmen* (1845, and transformed into a popular opera only thirty years later), as well as the exhibition in the Paris Salon of works by French painters that recorded Spanish bandits and bullfighters. Consequently, Spain became identified with a land of bravura and transgression, traits that would find a stylistic analogue in the painterly handling that transgressed the *politesse* of the French Academy. What most facilitated this schematization of Spanish painting was the closing of the Spanish Gallery in 1848. For after that date, the *idea* of Spanish painting became far more influential than the painting itself.

Although recognized since the 1820s as the satirist of *Los Caprichos,* it is only in the 1840s that Francisco Goya, not included among the most lauded painters of the Spanish Gallery, emerges to epitomize the intersection of Spanish subject and nonacademic handling. The fact that as a painter Goya was practically unknown in France made it only easier for him to be invented as a fulfillment of French notions of Spanish painting. Among the paintings included in the Spanish Gallery were eight canvases by Goya, including the *Majas on a Balcony* (Figure 2), *The Letter (Les jeunes; Femme lisant une lettre)* (Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts), as well as two paintings well known to New York audiences, *The Forge* (Frick Collection) and the *Duchess of Alba* (Hispanic Society of America). Also included were a painting entitled *The Last Prayer of a Condemned Man* (unidentified), the *Lazarillo de Tormes* (Madrid, private collection), a *Self-Portrait* (today identified with the portrait of *Asensio Juliá,* Madrid, Thyssen Bornemisza Collection), and a *Burial Scene* (unidentified).

Few critics addressed the paintings by Goya in the Spanish Gallery. Writing in *La Presse* on July 5, 1838, Théophile Gautier acknowledged that only *Los Caprichos* are known by Parisians. Gautier himself refers to no specific paintings to support his assessment of "Goya's 'eccentric' technique, created by the use of sponges, brooms, and whatever else fell into his hands as he worked from buckets full of color, troweling and mortaring his paint with his thumb."[34] Of the paintings by Goya in the Spanish Gallery at the time, such handling might have been detected in *The Forge;* but, clearly, a certain hyperbole governs Gautier's assessment. Nonetheless, his description of Goya's "mortared" technique was often echoed by writers who seem to have been more familiar with Gautier's description than with Goya's paintings. And why not? For such a technique corroborated Goya's unique and non-French genius, betraying an impetuous temperament diametrically opposed to that which created the highly finished surfaces of French academic painting.

For Gautier, Goya was a paradigm of the colorist camp—epitomized at this time in France by painters such as Eugène Delacroix and Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps (1803–1860), who countered the linear classicism of the Academy, and of Ingres and his followers. Yet Goya is something more: for Gautier he is a distinctly Spanish painter. What makes him so distinctly Spanish? Gautier's answer is vague. He qualifies Goya as a singular mixture of Rembrandt, Watteau, and Rabelais. And as if writing a recipe Gautier continues: "Add to this a pronounced Spanish flavor, a strong dose of the picaresque spirit of Cervantes . . . and you will only have a very imperfect idea of Goya's talent."[35]

A year later, Louis Viardot would reinforce Gautier's view of Goya as the nationalist colorist. Goya's talent is described as "incorrect . . . savage, without method or style but filled with vitality, audacity and originality." His style is in the tradition of Velázquez, but "less noble, more impetuous, less by the rules. . . ." Goya's

Figure 2. Goya. *Majas on a Balcony*, 1808–12. Oil on canvas, 162 × 107 cm. Switzerland, private collection

uncouth style demands a particular imagery. Viardot writes:

Not deluding himself about the range of his talent, Goya never attempted things in a high style; his compositions are limited to village processions, to cantors at the lectern, to bullfight scenes, to tricks of rascals, *enfin,* to a kind of painted caricature. In this genre, he is full of wit and malice, and the execution is always superior to the subject. I've seen sketches of this sort that he daubed at the age of eighty, and almost blind, no longer with the brush, since he could no longer handle it, but with the point of a flexible knife that served to spread the colors on the palette; in these sketches there was still a singular verve and brilliance.[36]

Viardot's description makes no mention of the paintings in the Spanish Gallery; we get the feeling that such a confrontation would have put unwelcome limits on his conception of the artist. Goya is celebrat-

Figure 3. Goya. *The Madhouse.* Oil on panel, 45 × 72 cm. Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando

ed as original, Spanish in his artistic heritage (to be traced back to Velázquez) and also in his imagery. Viardot also associates Goya with the use of the palette knife, a technique seen in paintings such as the *Majas on a Balcony* and *Bullfight in a Divided Ring;* both works are in the Metropolitan Museum and their attributions have been challenged or denied (see Figures 1, 6). Undoubtedly helping to cultivate the taste for the type of nationalist imagery that Viardot associated with Goya was the growing fascination in France with Spanish popular life.

Goya's identity as a national painter was upheld in Charles Blanc's volume on the Spanish school in *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles* (1867). Among the contributors were Louis Viardot (from whom we've just heard) and Paul Mantz, the critic previously cited who had compared the painterly technique of Édouard Manet with that of Goya and El Greco. Blanc's chapter on Goya also identifies as the owner of a *Grotesque Marriage* (today unidentified) Paul Saint-Victor, a critic best known for his description of Manet as "Goya in Mexico gone native in the heart of the pampas and smearing his canvas with crushed cochineal. . . ."[37] These coincidences of criticism and art history explain the appeal of the notion of Goya in the 1860s as the painter's painter, a paradigm of Realism done right.

Charles Yriarte further confirmed this view of the artist in his 1867 monograph.[38] Yriarte saw realism as innate to Goya, as shown by his dating of two paintings, *The Madhouse* and the *Tribunal of the Inquisition* (Figures 3, 4). Today, scholars agree in dating these works to the penultimate decade of Goya's life: the originality of their imagery and technique is seen as the triumph of a mature artist. But Yriarte thought that they were painted forty years earlier, immediately following the young Goya's return from Rome (which we know today was about 1770). More than a matter of mere dating, Yriarte understands their imagery as the cathartic outpouring of a young soul: they serve as a point of departure rather than as testimony of a mature style.

Given the insistence on Goya as a painter of Spanish life, it is not surprising that the conjunction of "Spanish" themes and painterly technique became essential to judgments of what was a "Goya." Broad by today's standards of connoisseurship, these criteria permitted the circulation and acceptance of what are now seen as questionable "Goyas." Taking such paintings as *The Madhouse* or the *Tribunal of the Inquisition* or

Figure 4. Goya. *Tribunal of the Inquisition.* Oil on panel, 46 × 73 cm. Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando

The Bullfight in the same series (Figure 5) as a point of departure for Goya's development, we might understand how the *Bullfight in a Divided Ring* (Figure 6) (included in the Paris sale of the Salamanca collection the same year as Yriarte's publication) could be seen as a subsequent development of the artist's style. Compared to what was thought of as an "early" bullfight, the Salamanca painting shows a breadth of scale, heightened gamut of colors, and looser execution that may all have been interpreted as a mature statement of a colorist's "temperament." Yet today our perspective has clearly changed: the redating of the Madrid *Bullfight* to the mid-1810s suggests that Goya's mature style was marked by a subtle but reduced palette and an economy of scale that leaves no place within Goya's oeuvre for the *Bullfight in a Divided Ring.*

In the Salamanca sale, the *Bullfight in a Divided Ring* was offered as a pendant to the Zurich *Procession* (see Figure 13 in Juliet Wilson-Bareau's essay in this volume). The attribution of this painting has likewise been questioned. Yet viewers in 1867 would undoubtedly have seen it as one of the many village processions that Viardot had canonized almost thirty years earlier as among Goya's favorite subjects. If the *Bullfight* passed inspection, surely the *Procession* was by the master. Interestingly, the more "Spanish" theme of the *Bullfight* sold for 3,600 francs, while the *Procession* sold for only 2,500.

In his catalogue, Yriarte does not mention either of these paintings as belonging to the Salamanca collection, leaving room for conjecture. When did they become part of the collection? Did Salamanca buy them shortly before the 1867 sale? If so, did he realize that they were not authentic? Who knew what when? In cataloguing the Salamanca collection, Yriarte does mention a version of the *Majas on a Balcony,* classifying it as a "repetition, or possibly a copy with variations" by a certain Alemsa—that is, the Spanish Romantic painter Leonardo Alenza (1807–1845). The Salamanca collection *Majas* was nevertheless listed in the sales catalogue as being by Goya. It sold and is today in a private collection in Paris.

With their painterly surfaces and popular subjects, the Salamanca "Goyas" fulfilled the expectations of what was an "original." And knowledge did not change all that greatly over the next five decades. Take, for example, the Washington, D.C., *Bullfight* (Figure 7), which has been traced back to an 1895 sale (and has most recently been given to Eugenio Lucas Villamil). Nevertheless, the will to identify Goya with "Spanish"

Figure 5. Goya. *The Bullfight.* Oil on panel, 45 × 72 cm. Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando

Figure 6. Style of Goya. *Bullfight in a Divided Ring.* Oil on canvas, 98.4 × 126.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, Wolfe Fund, 1922, 22.181

subjects was so strong that this painting went unquestioned by such eminent scholars of Goya's work as Lafond, von Loga, Calvert, Stokes, and Mayer and was included in an exhibition called "Spanish Paintings from El Greco to Goya" in the Metropolitan Museum in 1928. Its attribution to Goya was not disputed until 1940, when Elizabeth du Gué Trapier attributed it to Eugenio Lucas Velázquez; more recently, it has been attributed to his son, Eugenio Lucas Villamil.[39] The Washington, D.C., *Bullfight* also brings attention to another trait of many nineteenth-century pastiches: the illogical subject matter. For here, the village entertainments of climbing the greased pole and baiting a young bull are thrown into a kind of bullring which existed only in Spain's larger towns and cities.

Comparison of the Washington painting with the *Bullfight in a Divided Ring* shows that these cannot be by the same hand, even if one were by Goya. But in the late nineteenth century the limited modes of reproduction forced viewers to use other criteria in judging authenticity: if it was a national, Spanish pastime, in a loose and painterly style, it seems, it was by Goya.

Of course, Goya was not known solely as a "national" painter. Knowledge of *Los Caprichos* had contributed to his fame as a satirist; the discovery and publication in 1864 of his etched series of *Disparates* opened eyes to his fantasy. That Goya's prints were used as a source for fake paintings is clear from a series of paintings after *Los Caprichos* that had been circulating on the Paris market. One such painting remained on exhibi-

Figure 7. Eugenio Lucas Villamil. *The Bullfight.* Oil on canvas, 73.9 × 109.9 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

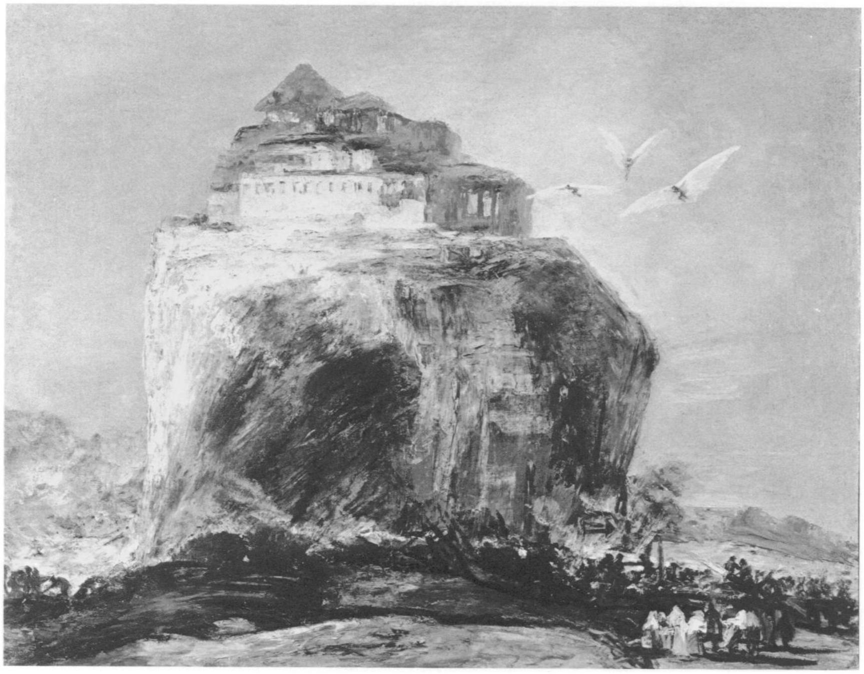


Figure 8. Follower of Goya. *A City on a Rock.* Oil on canvas, 83.8 × 104.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.12

tion at the Metropolitan, as a Goya, from 1871 to the early 1920s.[40] The *Disparates* were to be used similarly, as figures of flying men are borrowed from the plate entitled *Modo de Volar* and added to the fantastic landscape of *A City on a Rock* (Figure 8) in the Metropolitan, a painting once—but no longer—attributed to Goya. Nor was the master of *A City on a Rock* the only one to offer pastiches that fulfilled expectations of what Goya should be. Likewise indebted to the fantastic imagery of *Los Disparates* is a painting known simply as *Scène de caprice,* today in the Musée des Beaux-Arts (Agen, France). Listed in Yriarte's catalogue as in the collection of the Spanish painter Federico de Madrazo, its provenance was given as the collection of Goya's son, a figure to whom so many dubious Goyas might be traced. As with *A City on a Rock,* the painting borrows motifs from the *Disparates,* translating them into the kind of impastoed surface readily identified with Goya.

Other paintings from the Madrazo collection give further food for thought. One is the *Landscape with a Balloon* (Figure 9), which might be attributed to the master of *A City on a Rock.* Both paintings share a similar palette, and similiar "capricious" motifs. They are pastiches and they offer no coherent narrative.

What constituted a "Goya" might have been determined by technique, by "national" subject matter, or by comparison to etchings. But another obvious way to fake authenticity is to create a work that appears as a first thought, which might be the case with a so-called sketch for Goya's equestrian portrait of Ferdinand VII, once in the Madrazo collection (Figure 10). The finished portrait is in the Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid. Comparison shows that the sketch reiterates the elements of the finished painting, and there is no sign that it is in any way a "working out" of the larger picture. Again, its attribution to Goya is questionable.

Why the acceptance of the sketch? The myth of Goya created in nineteenth-century France helps to explain. The invention of Goya worked cumulatively, and I've mentioned some who contributed to the nineteenth-century invention of the artist: Gautier, Viardot, and Yriarte. In each of their accounts, Goya is regarded as the Romantic genius whose inspiration is most immediately revealed through scenes of popular life. Those works he did for the court, as well as his commissioned portraits for private patrons, were rarely mentioned and were implicitly regarded as secondary constraints upon his genius. In these terms, a preliminary sketch for an official portrait would have been more highly valued than the portrait itself, as a truer and more immediate reflection of a temperament.

A Realist before his time, Spanish to the core, a man of temperament: this was Goya. Parts of this image remain with us, as some scholars present Goya as a man of the people. Others prefer the view of the artist as an enlightened cosmopolitan. In fact, Goya was probably all of the above.

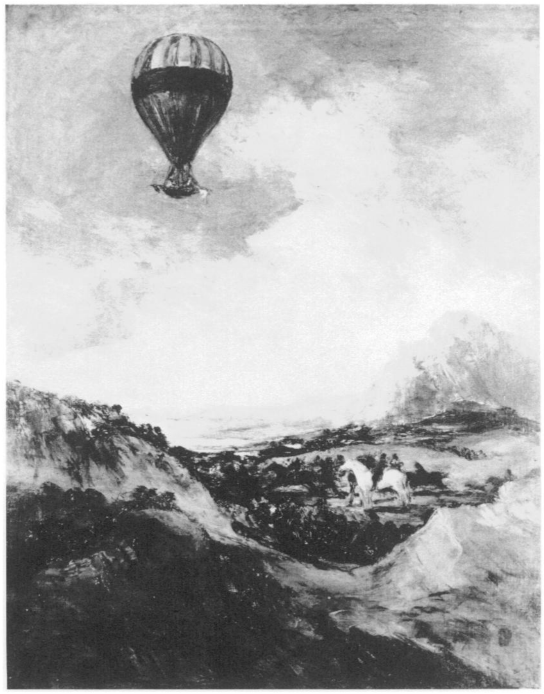


Figure 9. Attributed to Goya. *Landscape with a Balloon.* Oil on canvas, 105.5 x 84.5 cm. Agen, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Figure 10. Attributed to Goya. *Sketch for an Equestrian Portrait of Ferdinand VII.* Oil on canvas, 40 x 28 cm. Agen, Musée des Beaux-Arts

NOTES

1. I wish to express my gratitude to the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars for a research fellowship that enabled me to develop the ideas presented here.

2. This extremely popular and influential narrative enjoyed eleven French editions from 1691 to 1774, fifteen English editions from 1691 to 1780, and three German editions during the same period (1695, 1723, 1782).

3. D'Aulnoy, *Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, R. Foulché-Delbosc, ed. (Paris, 1926).

4. Ibid., pp. 176, 304, 359, 393.

5. Ibid., 204–247; 446–447, 468.

6. Montesquieu, *L'Esprit des lois*, Jeannine Kohn, ed. (Paris, 1967) book 19, chap. 10; book 21, chap. 22.

7. Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* (Paris, 1963) II, p. 629.

8. Ibid., pp. 632, 633.

9. Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, "Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et au Portugal," *Revue Hispanique* 3 (1896) pp. 136–144. The date of its publication, 1788, and the number of French editions and revisions (1789, 1797, 1803, 1807, and 1823) suggest that Bourgoing replaced d'Aulnoy as the ultimate authority on Spain, and it is not surprising that his account likewise enjoyed both English and German translations.

10. Jean-François Bourgoing, *Tableau de l'Espagne moderne*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1807) II, chap. 10, pp. 296–311. Bourgoing's assessment of the Spanish character remains constant from the 1789 edition to that of 1807. Despite his well-reasoned objections, Bourgoing acquiesces to the expectations of his readers in his sketches of the national character. This is justified since certain immutable national customs can be attributed to the religion, monarchy, and literature common to all Spaniards. Bourgoing describes a variety of traits, some of which we have heard before: pride, sobriety, laconicism, and slowness. But in contrast to other "enlightened writers," he also defends the Spaniards, who have been wrongly accused of laziness, and cites various examples of their industry to prove his point. Bourgoing observes an "oriental spirit," revealed by the Spanish imagination, and suggests that this explains the slow progress of "sound philosophy."

11. Bourgoing, *Tableau de l'Espagne moderne*, I, p. 258.

12. On Napoleonic plundering of Spanish paintings, see Ilse Hempel Lipschutz, *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) pp. 27–55; on the formation of the Musée Napoléon, see Cecil Gould, *Trophy of Conquest: The Musée Napoléon and the Creation of the Louvre* (London, 1965).

13. Gould, *Trophy of Conquest*, p. 109.

14. Ibid., p. 47.

15. *Notice des Tableaux des écoles primitives de l'Italie, de l'Allemagne, et de plusieurs autres tableaux de différentes écoles, exposés dans le grand Salon du Musée Royal* (Paris, 1814).

The paintings listed included Carreño's *Magdalen* (1654) and Caxes's *Meeting at the Golden Gate*. Collantes, represented by three paintings, was already known to French audiences through his painting of the *Burning Bush*, formerly in the royal collection. Murillo was represented by an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, two scenes of the *Founding of Santa Maria Maggiore*, and *St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (none of these was sent by Joseph: all except the *Adoration* had been given from Marshal Soult's collection). Pereda's *Dream of the Knight*, Morales's *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, and Zurbarán's *Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas*, *Adoration of the Kings*, and *The Circumcision* would illustrate the devout nature of Spanish painting: all except the *Apotheosis*, from the Soult collection, had been selected under Joseph's supervision. The only nonreligious subject included apart from the landscape by Collantes was Ribera's *Magdalena Ventura*.

16. Denon's selection did not have a lasting impact since most of the paintings were soon returned to Spain. The 1823 catalogue of what now had become the Musée Royal, returned to a bare-bones format of the Spanish school, catalogued with the Italian, and represented by paintings by Murillo, Ribera, and the ever-present *Burning Bush* by Collantes.

17. " . . . elle tient l'intermédiaire entre l'école italienne et flamande; plus rapprochée de la nature que la première, et plus noble que la seconde, et participe des beautés de toutes les deux; cette école se distingue particulièrement dans les peintures sacrées, et l'on reconnoît dans les tableaux des Espagnols les sentiments que ce peuple éprouve en général pour les mystères de la religion; nulle part l'extase, l'onction, la vraie piété, ne sont aussi bien exprimées que dans leurs ouvrages; et les passions mystiques rendues avec plus de chaleur; les têtes de vierges sont d'une expression admirable; le coloris et l'effet en sont frappants, et quoique les peintres espagnols ne se soient point livrés à des sujets profanes, et qui supposent l'étude du nu, lorqu'ils eurent l'occasion de s'en occuper, ils s'y distinguerent." Alexandre Laborde, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne* (Paris, 1820) IV, p. 34.

18. " . . . caractère naïf et fidèle de l'école espagnole, cette imitation quelquefois un peu triviale de la nature." Ibid., p. 34.

19. An essential source for anyone interested in the French Romantic formulation of Spain is, again, Lipschutz's *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics* (see note 12 above).

20. The salient images of the play are recounted by Théophile Gautier. Traveling in Spain a decade after the debut, he discovers a village named "Ernani": "À ces trois syllabes évocatrices, la somnolence qui commençait à nous envahir, après une journée de fatigue, se dissipa tout à coup. À travers le perpétuel tintement de grelots de l'attelage passa comme un soupir lointain une note d'Hernani. Nous revîmes dans un éblouissement soudain le fier montagnard avec sa cuirasse de cuir, ses manches vertes et son pantalon rouge; don Carlos dans son armure d'or, dona Sol, pâle et vêtue de blanc, Ruy Gómez de Silva debout devant les portraits de ses aïeux; tout le drame complet. . . ." Théophile Gautier, *Histoire du romantisme* in *Oeuvres complètes* (Geneva, 1978) XI, p. 105.

21. On Taylor's mission, see Paul Guinard, *Dauzats et Blanchard: Peintres de l'Espagne romantique* (Paris, 1967) pp. 131–136, 142–145, 173–179, 277–310; and Jeannine Baticle and Cristina Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole de Louis-Philippe au Louvre 1838–1848, Notes et Documents des musées de France* 4 (Paris, 1981).

22. Étienne-Jean Delécluze, "Galerie Espagnole du Louvre," *Journal des Débats* (Feb. 24, 1838) pp. 1–3.

23. The changing nature of the concept of the national school becomes apparent, for although we might see in Delécluze a throwback to late-18th-century tendencies to define Spain according to the better-known schools, his taxonomies and "internationalization" of Spanish painters seem to anticipate tendencies in recent art history, as seen in Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Golden Age Spain* (London / New Haven, 1990).

24. "Mais quant à ces grands principes générateurs, comme le sentiment religieux, si élévé dans la vieille École allemande, et la recherche du beau dans l'École d'Italie, il n'y en a pas trace dans les peintures des Espagnols, où chaque artiste au contraire a obéi à ses idées particulières et à son goût individuel." Delécluze, "Galerie Espagnole" p. 3.

25. Amadée de Cesena, "Musée Espagnol: Voyage de M. le Baron Taylor," *Revue française et étrangère* 2 (1837) pp. 145–156.

26. "Il faut être au Louvre, en présence de cette atmosphere si lumineuse et si transparente, de ces têtes royales où la vie et la pensée ont gravé leur forte empreinte, de ces groupes dont le mouvement et l'animation revêtent tant de réalité. . . . C'est bien là l'Espagne telle qu'on pouvait se la faire en rêve; l'Espagne, avec sa monarchie, sa grandesse et son Inquisition; l'Espagne, avec ses moines et ses mendiants; l'Espagne, avec ses femmes à la longue mantille, délicieusement penchées sur les balcons, et ses cavaliers aux plumes éclatantes qui attendent dans la rue un sourire de leur maîtresse; avec ses sérénades et ses prières, ses paysages inondés de

flots de lumière et ses cathédrales voilées sous des nuages d'encens; l'Espagne enfin avec tout ce qui fait la vie heureuse et belle et grande: la puissance, l'amour, la foi." Ibid., p. 153.

27. "Pour le dire tout franchement, ces généalogies de tableaux, dressées sur une série de rapprochements minutieux, et souvent empruntées sous examen à des faits biographiques, nous ont toujours semblé un travail puéril et sans résultat. La classification par écoles est tout ce qu'il y a de plus arbitraire et de plus étroit." Comte de Circourt, "Le Musée espagnol," *France et Europe* (May 25, 1838) p. 99.

28. "Le mot école, détourné de son acceptation primitive pour en prendre une plus élevée, peut exprimer quelque chose de philosophique et digne d'attention, l'analogie qui existe entre les ouvrages produits pendant une grande époque, sous l'influence exigeante de circonstances uniformes, telles que la protection de princes éclairés, la renaissance des lettres, la domination d'un peuple sur un autre, et plus que tout, le caractère tranché de la nation pour laquelle une école s'est formée; en un mot une des formes de la pensée sociale de cette époque; c'est dans ce sens qu'il existe une école espagnole vraiment originale et unique. La description complète des moeurs de l'Espagne, l'anatomie intellectuelle de ce peuple si bizarre et si beau, les Turcs de l'Europe, peuvent être faites sur les seuls documents fournis par la galerie de Paris où chaque tableau est une manifestation nouvelle du même sentiment, du sentiment exclusif qui domine dans toutes les phases l'existence de l'Espagnol. . . ." Ibid.

29. "En étudiant un peu l'école de l'Espagne, on comprend de suite le caractère et les idées du peuple espagnol, ce peuple mystérieux, si peu compris de nos jours, peuple cependant qui a fait de si grandes et de si belles choses! Mais malheureusement l'Espagne a une réputation d'ignorance et de moinerie à faire reculer les plus intrépides. Cette affreuse réputation, à qui la doit-elle? à l'école voltairienne. Le maître un jour maudit l'Espagne, qui s'obstinait à être moinesse et ignorante, et alors tout fut dit. Les petits écoliers répétèrent à satiété la malédiction qui arriva intacte jusqu'à nous." Benoist de Matougues, "Musée espagnol," *Le Lithographe* (1838) p. 65.

30. ". . . les peintres espagnols laissent peu à désirer. Si l'expression de leurs idées s'emporta parfois jusqu'à des élans sauvages, c'est que le peuple espagnol, il faut s'en souvenir, a d'autres moeurs que nos moeurs fades et compassées, que son humeur est fière, jalouse, et vindicative; . . . que tout en lui, jusqu'à ses croyances religieuses, brûle et rougit comme le fer qui sort de la fournaise.

"De même que l'étude des tableaux de Raphaël a rendu notre goût plus pur, notre style plus simple, et qu'il nous a ramenés aux règles sévères du dessin, de même l'étude des peintures de Murillo et de Zurbarán portera notre imagination vers les sujets graves. Nous ne nous préoccuperons plus exclusivement du prestige du coloris; les élèves ne se contenteront plus, commme ils font encore, de disposer convenablement, et par groupes corrects, leur personnages; car il y a un autre secret de l'art plus précieux: c'est d'exprimer leurs passions, de traduire leurs pensées dans le regard, dans le geste, dans le pli imperceptible du visage." Jacques Raphaël, "Beaux-Arts: Le musée espagnol," *La France littéraire* (Sept.–Dec. 1837) pp. 336–345.

31. "L'école espagnole est aujourd'hui morte en Espagne, peut-être pour revivre chez nous. Malgré l'admiration que nous avons témoignée pour elle, nous croyons trop que ses beautés sont dues au caractère particulier de la nation qui l'a crée pour ne pas redouter son influence chez nous. Quand ils sont transplantés, les arbres exotiques ne donnent qu'une végétation rabougrie. Les artistes qui, en si grand nombre, copient aujourd'hui dans le musée espagnol les chefs-d'oeuvre d'un autre pays et d'un autre siècle que les leurs, feront peut-être bien de méditer cette vérité." Circourt, "Du musée espagnol," *France et Europe* (June 25, 1838) p. 245.

32. Léon Rosenthal, *Du romantisme au réalisme: Essai sur l'évolution de la peinture en France de 1830 à 1848* (1914; rep. Paris, 1987) p. 245.

33. Cited in George Heard Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics* (New Haven/London, 1969) p. 120–121.

34. "La manière de peindre de Goya était aussi excentrique que son talent, il puisait la couleur dans des baquets, l'appliquait avec des éponges, des balais, des torchons, et tout ce qui lui tombait sous la main, il truellait and maçonnait ses tons comme du mortier." Théophile Gautier, "Les Caprices de Goya," *La Presse*, (July 5, 1838) p. 1.

35. Ibid.

36. Viardot describes Goya's style as a "talent incorrect, sauvage, dépourvu de méthode et de style, mais plein de sève, d'audace, et d'originalité" and continues to use the terms "plus lâche, plus fougueuse, plus déréglée," before continuing: "Ne s'abusant point sur la portée de son talent, Goya ne s'est jamais essayé dans les choses de haut style; ses compositions se bornent à des processions de village, à des chantres au lutrin, à des scènes des courses de taureaux, à des farces de polissons, enfin à des sortes de caricatures peintes. Dans ce genre, il est plein d'esprit, de malice, et l'exécution est toujours supérieure au sujet. J'ai vu des pochades de cette espèce qu'il avait barbouillées à l'âge de quatre-vingt ans, et presque aveugle, non point avec le pinceau, car il ne pouvait plus le manier, mais avec la pointe du couteau flexible qui sert a étendre les couleurs sur la palette; il y avait encore dans ces ébauches une verve et un éclat singuliers." Louis Viardot, *Notices sur les principaux peintres de l'Espagne* (Paris, 1839) p. 306.

37. *La Presse*, April 27, 1863, cited in Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics*, p. 39.

38. Charles Yriarte, *Goya, Sa biographie, les fresques, les toiles, les tapisseries, les eaux-fortes, et le catalogue de l'oeuvre* (Paris, 1867).

39. My summary of attributions is indebted to the entry on this painting in Jonathan Brown and Richard Mann, *The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue: Spanish Paintings of the Fifteenth through Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge/New York, 1990) pp. 88–91.

40. Colta Ives and Sysan Alyson Stein, *Goya in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1995) p. 36, fig. 22.

Recording the News: Herman Saftleven's *View of Delft After the Explosion of the Gunpowder Arsenal in 1654*

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A DRAWING BY the Dutch artist Herman Saftleven (1609–1685) recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum illustrates how a leading draftsman in seventeenth-century Holland recorded a contemporary event of catastrophic proportions (Figure 1).[1] As indicated in the inscription, it represents the city of Delft after the explosion of the gunpowder arsenal of the States General on October 12, 1654. Salient points of interest are marked with letters and described in the legend below:

A. is the hole or pool 13 feet deep and full of water where the tower had stood when I drew it on October 29 new style.

B. is the Nieuwe Kerck [New Church] where the glass was destroyed and a large hole torn in the roof and was very damaged, but the coats of arms and sepulchre and the ornament on his majesty's grave was not damaged.

C. is the Oude Kerck [Old Church] where the glass and the walls were torn away. I saw a remarkable thing in this church that the wall behind the arms of Admiral Tromp was blown away but the arms were not damaged, also those of Admiral Piet Hein were similarly not damaged.

D. is the place where the Militia Hall stood and also where the maid of the Militia Hall was pulled out fully clothed from under the stones on October 27 so miserable from having been buried.

E. the trees which stand on the city walls were little or not at all damaged.[2]

Saftleven's drawing is the earliest known record of the devastation, showing Delft as it looked only seventeen days after the catastrophe. While posing intriguing questions of function, this study sheds light on the mechanisms used to record newsworthy places and events.

The drawing represents the city of Delft from the northeastern perimeter of the town, looking in a southerly direction across the pool of water, marked A, situated where the arsenal once stood (Figure 2). The Nieuwe Kerk (New Church), marked B, can be found in the background at center, and the Oude Kerk (Old Church), marked C, is toward the right. The Militia Hall, marked D, stands in the foreground. The subject of the drawing is the wreckage of the city, and there are no signs of human life.

Saftleven is well known for his topographical views. Born to an artistic family in Rotterdam, in 1632 Saftleven settled in Utrecht, where he held various posts in the painters' guild between 1655 and 1667.[3] Early in his career, in the 1630s, he had painted peasant interiors in the manner of his brother, Cornelis Saftleven (ca. 1607–1681) and landscapes inspired by the tonal views of Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) and Peter Molijn (1595–1661). In the next decade, he fell under the influence of two Dutch Italianate artists, Cornelis Poelenburg (ca. 1593–1667) and Jan Both (ca. 1615–1652). Saftleven established his mature style about 1650, painting panoramic and Rhenish river landscapes enlivened with anecdotal details that he based on sketches he made during travels along the Moselle and through the Rhineland.

Proficient also as a printmaker and draftsman, Saftleven produced about forty etchings between 1640 and 1669 and more than 1,100 drawings during the course of his lifetime. He sketched genre scenes, figures, interiors, and studies of plants and animals, but the majority of his drawings are landscapes and topographical views, some of which he made for the atlas of Laurens van der Hem (1621–1678), which contains one of the largest collections of maps, charts, topographical views, portraits, and illustrations of historic events compiled in the seventeenth century (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna).[4] The Dutch poet and dramatist Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) praised Saftleven's topographical drawings for being true to life.[5]

Saftleven's *View of Delft* dates to the time of his early artistic maturity, and its execution is characteristic of the artist's landscape drawings. The main elements of

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 209.

Figure 1. Herman Saftleven (1609–1685). *View of Delft after the Explosion of the Gunpowder Arsenal in 1654,* 1654. Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash on two sheets of paper, 24.9 × 74.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Bequest of Helen Hay Whitney, by exchange, and The Mnuchin Foundation, Mr. and Mrs. David M. Tobey and Werner H. Kramarsky Gifts, 1995, 1995.197

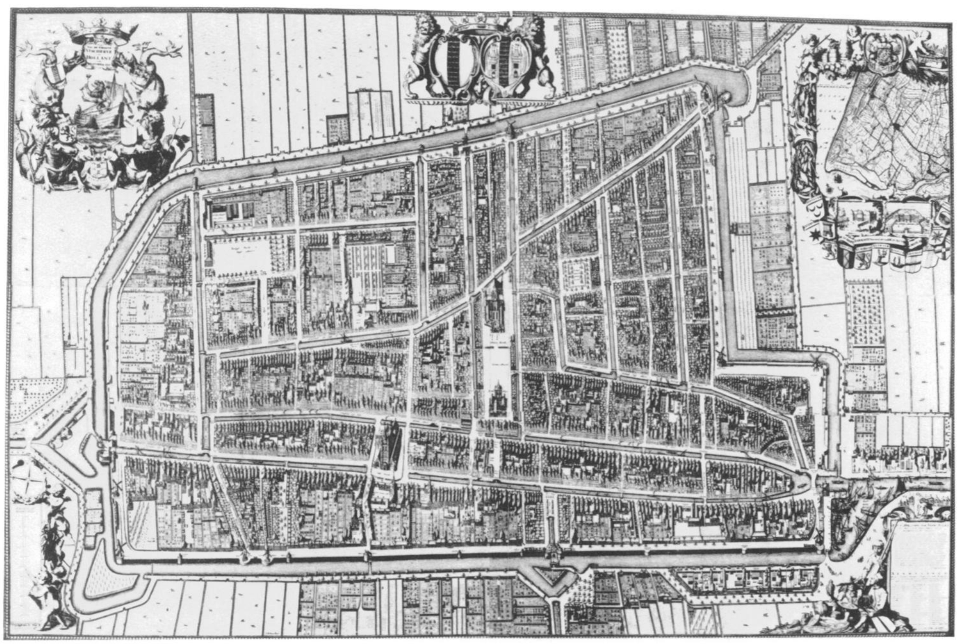

Figure 2. Romeyn de Hooghe (1645–1708) and others. *Figurative Map of Delft,* 1675–78. Engraving and etching, 160 × 180.5 cm. Delft, Gemeente Archief

the scene are sketched in with short strokes in black chalk that vary in intensity, thus suggesting both the fall of light and shade and a sense of atmosphere. Washes, added with brush, shade and further define the forms in the round. This technique was adopted by many Dutch artists in the seventeenth century—among them van Goyen and Molijn—to give their landscape drawings the appearance of having been drawn from life (*naer het leven*).[6] Such drawings, however, often were created in the studio based on smaller chalk sketches made in situ.

The Museum's drawing appears to have been done from life not only because of its sketchy technique but also because of its informal composition. The two churches rising above the skyline interrupt the panoramic survey of the debris and a pair of trees block our view of the spire of the Nieuwe Kerk. Since artists usually drew from nature only in small sketchbooks, however, the drawing seems too large to have been made on the spot. It measures 74.9 centimeters in length and extends across two sheets of paper joined at the center. Furthermore, the inscription was written in the past tense—*toen ick het tekende* (when I drew)—suggesting that the drawing was executed in the studio based on sketches made at the site, although no such sketches are known.[7]

Other artists worked in a similar fashion. A drawing by van Goyen of the break in the St. Anthonis Dike is based on a sketch he made when he traveled from The Hague to record the disaster at first hand (Figure 3).[8] These sketches are so accurate that each of the different viewpoints from which he drew the dike in his sketchbook can be identified. Similarly, when Rembrandt drew the Old Town Hall in Amsterdam three days after the fire of 1652 left it in ruins, he specified the subject, time, and place of the sketch in an inscription: "The town hall of Amsterdam after it burned down on July 9, 1652, seen from the weighing house" (Museum het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam).[9] In his view of Delft, Saftleven also strove to accurately represent and

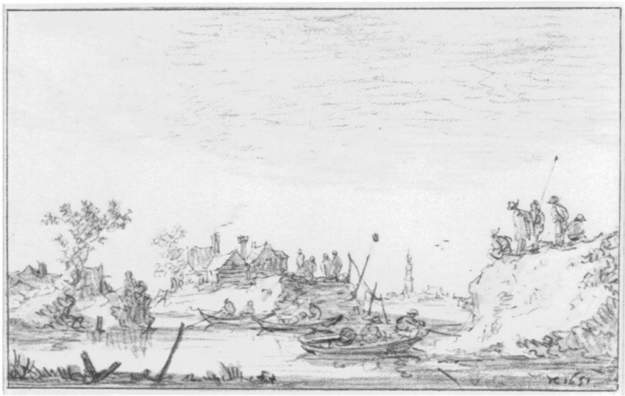

Figure 3. Jan van Goyen (1596–1656). *The Break of the St. Anthonis Dike, near Houtewael,* 1651. Black chalk, brush and gray wash, 11.4 × 18.4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet

describe the site of the devastation but, unlike his contemporaries, he treated his subject on a much grander scale.

Saftleven drew a number of panoramas, views of his native Utrecht as studies for an engraving of 1669 commissioned by the town. These are traditional portrayals of a city.[10] In them important landmarks are clearly represented and various figures populate the foreground. They are timeless and convey none of the specificity of moment that characterizes the view of Delft after the explosion. They are precisely drawn and lack the vivacity in execution that animates the Museum's drawing.

Saftleven also made a series of drawings recording another natural disaster, the tornado of 1674 that destroyed much of Utrecht.[11] These drawings, made between 1674 and 1677 and acquired by the city of Utrecht in 1682, were similarly intended as finished works of art, yet they differ from the Museum's drawing in scale and execution. Conceived as a group, the sketches focus narrowly on the ruins of individual buildings, the Dom and Pieterskerck, recording them in a descriptive manner from various picturesque angles rather than from a distant, all-encompassing viewpoint. The *View of Delft* is exceptional in the monumental treatment accorded its calamitous subject.

't Secreet van Hollandt (the Secret of Holland), as the gunpowder arsenal became known, was constructed about 1573, shortly after the outbreak of the Netherlandish revolt against Spanish rule (1568–1684).[12] Delft was an important city at this time because William I (1533–1584), prince of Orange and founder of the Dutch Republic, had moved from The Hague to the Prinsenhof in Delft upon becoming stadtholder in 1572. When the arsenal exploded in 1654, the Republic of the United Netherlands had already been recognized as an independent nation for six years with the signing of the Treaty of Münster in 1648.[13]

According to the contemporaneous account that Dirck van Bleyswijck, a Delft burgomaster, provided in his civic eulogy of 1667, *Beschryvinge der Stadt Delft,* eighty or ninety thousand pounds of gunpowder were stored in the arsenal at the time of the explosion.[14] The thunderous noise was so deafening it was heard on the island of Texel in the North Sea over 120 kilometers away. The powder house was obliterated, leaving only a pool of water fifteen or sixteen feet deep on the site where it stood. Large trees were uprooted

Figure 4. Egbert van der Poel (1621–1664). *A View of Delft after the Explosion of 1654,* 1654. Oil on panel, 36.2 × 49.5 cm. London, National Gallery

Figure 5. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621–1674). *The Gunpowder Explosion in Delft, October 12, 1654,* 1654. Pen and brown ink, gray wash over black chalk, 10.9 × 13.6 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (photo: Jörg P. Anders)

while others remained standing but no longer had any branches. More than two hundred houses were destroyed and another three hundred lost their roofs and windows. More than one hundred people were killed in the explosion, including the Delft painter Carel Fabritius (1622–1654), and over a thousand citizens were wounded.

The legend in Saftleven's drawing parallels van Bleyswijck's description in its focus on narrative detail.[15] Such interest in the human drama characterizes other contemporaneous images of the disaster. The paintings by Egbert van der Poel (1621–1664) and Daniel Vosmaer (active 1642–66), both artists in Delft, that represent the aftermath as well as the explosion itself are peopled in the foreground by young boys running from the blast, others coming to the aid of the wounded, and onlookers gathering before a view of the devastated city seen in the background.[16] Known in many versions (Figure 4), these images must have been made for many years after the event to satisfy a large demand. Similarly, an illustrated pamphlet published in Amsterdam in 1654 described the explosion and called attention to the miraculous discovery of a fifteen-month-old girl found alive and well, still in her chair and holding an apple, twenty-four hours after the explosion.[17] The illustration for the pamphlet designed by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621–1674) focuses on the heroic efforts to save those trapped in the destruction and depicts no recognizable sites in Delft amid the wreckage (Figure 5).[18] It should be considered not a first-hand record of the disaster but a dramatic reconstruction.

The precision with which Saftleven identified the points of interest in the legend of his drawing sets it apart from this tradition of representing disasters in paintings and pamphlets and ally it more closely to the cartographic tradition.[19] The anonymous *Plan of Delft after the Fire of 1536,* probably a copy after a lost painting, is an early precedent (Figure 6).[20] It presents the city in plan from above, one of the earliest known paintings to do so, in order to document clearly the effects of the conflagration. Areas destroyed by the fire are

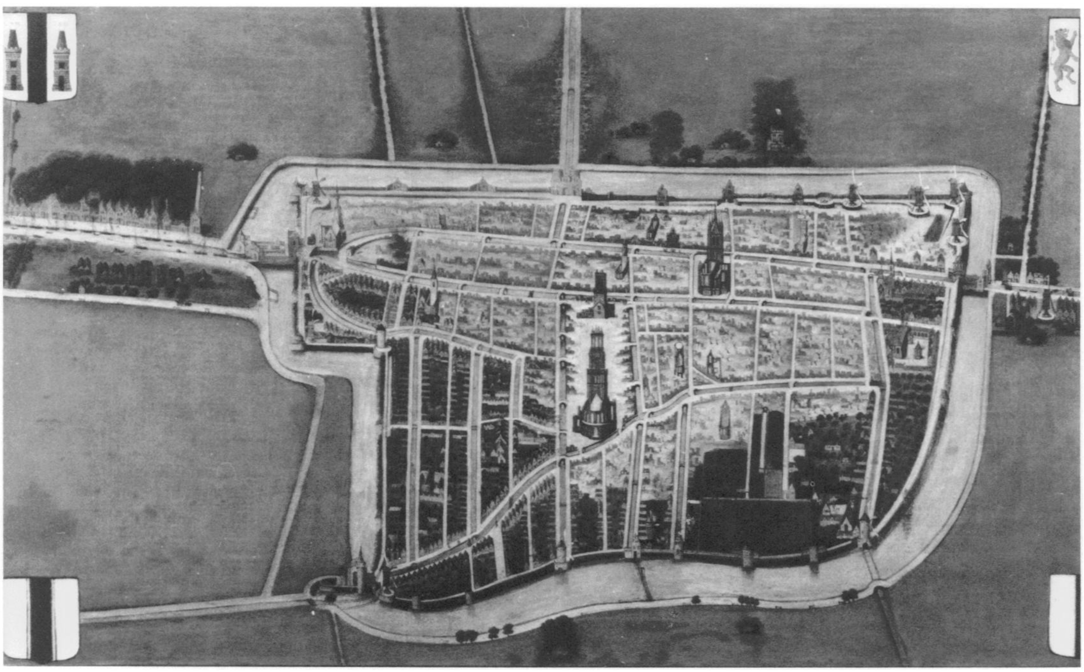

Figure 6. Anonymous. *Plan of Delft after the Fire of 1536.* Oil on canvas, 92 × 160 cm. Delft, Stedelijk Museum 'Het Prinsenhof'

Figure 7. Anonymous. *View of the Town of Deventer,* ca. 1550. Woodcut, 27.5 × 37.5 cm. Deventer, Gemeentemusea (photo: Gemeentemusea)

Figure 8. Esias van de Velde (ca. 1590/91–1630). *The Great Flood of 1624.* Engraving, 28.3 × 38.9 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet

shown in lighter colors than those areas saved. The frame is inscribed in a manner later echoed by Saftleven's legend: "Fourteen churches many people and countless houses perished in the fire at Delft; also the town hall and the meat hall 1536." An anonymous woodcut from about 1550 portrays the city of Deventer in profile accompanied by an inscription with historical and topographical information (Figure 7).[21]

Other parallels are found in the design of contemporary broadsheets.[22] As the popular vehicle by which religious and political subjects were discussed, wartime victories chronicled, and peace negotiations debated, broadsheets were composed in a way to convey information clearly, with a title, illustration, and text. In rare instances, this format was adapted for other purposes. Esaias van de Velde (ca. 1590/91–1630)

Figure 9. Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675). *View of Delft,* ca. 1660–61. Oil on canvas, 98 × 117.5 cm. The Hague, Mauritshuis

adopted such a design for his engraving of the Great Flood of 1624, which chronicles the repair of the dike in the town of Vianen after it burst and water had inundated the countryside all the way to Amsterdam (Figure 8).[23] Saftleven seems to be the only artist to borrow this type of pictorial construction for a drawing.

Although city views were often made on commission, it appears there also existed the practice of painting and drawing these subjects on speculation. The *View of Delft* painted by Hendrick Vroom (1566–1640) in 1615 (Stedelijk Museum 'Het Prinsenhof', Delft), for example, was donated by the artist to the city of Delft in 1634 at which time he was given an honorarium.[24] This may also have been the case with Saftleven's drawing, since its monumental scale and quality suggest it may have had a public function. But there are no indications he made it on commission for the municipality. Indeed, Saftleven possibly retained the drawing throughout his life. It is recorded in the inventory of the Dutch drawing collector Sybrand Feitama (1694–1758) and may have entered the collection of his father, Isaac (died 1709), as early as 1695, ten years after Saftleven's death.[25]

Saftleven's *View of Delft* is a unique portrayal of the aftermath of a disaster dependent on several different pictorial traditions while departing from them all. It is both a panoramic city view and the record of an explosion. Its great originality lies in its reference to the language of broadsheets as a means to order information. The image is endowed with a sense of authenticity while retaining the bravura and immediacy of a freely sketched drawing.

Transcending its reportorial function, it heralds in many respects another city view, Vermeer's *View of Delft* (Figure 9).[26] The drawing and the painting represent opposite sides of the city, Saftleven having made its destruction his subject and Vermeer having chosen a view from the south looking toward the Schiepoort and the Rotterdamsepoort in order to avoid the remaining signs of ruin.[27] But both share a quiet stillness and evocative sense of place that record Delft in the seventeenth century.

NOTES

1. MMA, 1995.197. Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash on two sheets of paper; 24.9 × 74.9 cm; watermark: Strasbourg lily with the letter W and letters IHS(?). Monogrammed and dated in black chalk at lower left: HSL (interlaced) 1654 and inscribed across the top and bottom of the drawing. Wolfgang Schulz, *Herman Saftleven 1609–1685: Leben und Werke mit einem kritischen Katalog der Gemälde und Zeichnungen* (Berlin/New York, 1982) pp. 75, 294, cat. no. 617; Ben Broos, "'Notitie der Teekeningen van Sybrand Feitama,' II: 'verkocht, verhandeld, vereërd, geruild en overgedaan,'" *Oud Holland* 99 (1985) pp. 114, 135, nos. 7a-b, ill.

I thank Nadine Orenstein for her help in the preparation of this article.

2. The drawing is inscribed across the top *.De. Stadt.Delft. Al waer de. H.M. heere Staten haer Magusijn. tooren op den Maendach voorde middach tussen tiennen en half Elf ueren Den 12 octob: 1654. is in de locht op ge Sprongen Als:.A..* The legend at the bottom of the drawings reads: *.A. is dus daennigeh gadt ofte poel al waerden tooren gestaen heeft toen ick het tekende 13 voeten diep was ende vol / waters stont sinde op den 29 octob: niewen stil getekent. / .B. is de nieuwe kerck. al waer de glaessen ende een groot Gadt uit het dack geslagen was ende seer beschadicht doch / de wapens ende het Sepeltuer noch geen vande ornemente om sijn hoochheijts Gaft niet beschadicht /.C. Is de oude Kerck al waer glaessen ende Mueren sijn wech geslagen Ick hebbe een Remerkabel dingen in dese Kerck gesien dat de / muer achter het Wapen vanden Admirael Tromp was wech gesprongen ende sijn wapen bliffen gangen ende niet beschadicht noch vaden Admirael Piet hein van gelicken niet beschadicht: /.D. de plaets al waer de Doellen heeft gestaen en ook al waer de meit vanden Doellen op den 27 octob: op dese plaets van onderen uit de steenen is / ge haelt ende met kleeren en al begraven datse soo mijserabel was getrackteert. /.E. De boomen die op de Stadts Wallen staen sinde als niet ofte weinnich beschadicht Et.*

3. On Saftleven, see J. Nieuwstraten, "De Ontwikkeling van Herman Saftlevens Kunst tot 1650," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 16 (1965) pp. 81–117, and Schulz, *Saftleven*, pp. 1–11.

4. Koninklijk Paleis te Amsterdam, *Een Wereldreiziger op Papier: De atlas van Laurens van der Hem (1621–1678)*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam, 1992).

5. M. Schapelhouman and P. Schatborn, *Land and Water: Dutch Drawings from the 17th Century*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, 1987) cat. no. 75.

6. On this subject, see Peter Schatborn, "The Importance of Drawing from Life—Some Preliminary Notes," in William W. Robinson, *Seventeenth-Century Dutch Drawings: A Selection from the Maida and George Abrams Collection*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, 1991) pp. 7–12.

7. The attribution to Saftleven of the studies of the tower of the Old Church in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon (Schulz, *Saftleven*, p. 294 under cat. no 617), is not secure.

8. H. U. Beck, "Jan van Goyen am Deichbruch von Houtewael (1651)," *Oud Holland* 81 (1966) pp. 20–33; idem, *Jan van Goyen 1596–1656: Ein Oeuvreverzeichnis* (Amsterdam, 1972) I, cat. 243.

9. J. P. Filedt Kok, *Rembrandt Etchings and Drawings in the Rembrandt House* (Maarssen, 1972) no. VI.

10. Schulz, *Saftleven*, cat. nos. 397 and 456; see also J. W. Salomonson, *'Op de wal agter St. Marye': Topografische aantekeningen bij een onbekend schilderijtje van Herman Saftleven*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam / Oxford / New York, 1983).

11. See, among others, Schulz, *Saftleven*, cat. nos. 593–614.

12. For a summary account of the historical background, see Bob Haak, *The Golden Age: Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1984) pp. 162–166, 216, 226–228. A recent historical survey is Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall: 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995).

13. On the arsenal, see J. K. van der Haagen, "Het Generaliteits-Kruitmagazijn aan de Schie," in *Delftse Studiën* (Assen, 1967) pp.

187–228 and F. C. van Goheemen and Th. C. J. van der Heijden, "Het Generaliteits-Kruitmagazijn aan de Schie," in Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, *De Stad Delft; cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667,* exh. cat. (Delft, 1981) II, part 1, pp. 54–56.

14. Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der Stadt Delft* (Delft, 1667) II, pp. 622–634.

15. Their facts differ in enough respects, however, to suggest that van Bleyswijck never saw Saftleven's drawing.

16. Neil MacLaren, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Dutch School 1600–1900,* 2 vols., revised and expanded by Christopher Brown (London, 1991) I, pp. 306–309, no. 1021; II, pl. 269. On Vosmaer, see Susan Donahue, "Daniel Vosmaer," *Vassar Journal of Undergraduate Studies* 19 (1964) pp. 18–27.

17. G. van Rijn, *Atlas van Stolk: Katalogus der Historie-, Spot- en Zinneprenten betrekkelijk de Geschiedenis van Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1897) III, no. 2246.

18. Frits Lugt, "Beiträge zu dem Katalog der Niederländischen Handzeichnungen in Berlin," *Jahrbuch der Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen* 52 (1931) pp. 48–49, no. 12815; Werner Sumowski, *Drawings of the Rembrandt School* (New York, 1980) III, no. 714x.

19. See Boudewijn Bakker, "Kaarten, boeken en prenten. De topografische traditie in de Noordelijke Nederlanden/Maps, Books and Prints. The Topographical Tradition in the Northern Netherlands," in Amsterdams Historisch Museum and Art Gallery of Ontario, *Opkomst en bloei van het Noordnederlandse stadsgezicht in the 17de eeuw / The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and Its Sources,* exh. cat. (Amsterdam/Toronto, 1977) pp. 66–75.

20. *The Dutch Cityscape,* p. 104, cat. no. 21.

21. B. van 't Hoff, "Een onbedende afbeelding van de stad Deventer uit het midden van de Zestiende eeuw," *Het Boek* 31 (1952–54) pp. 1–9; *The Dutch Cityscape,* p. 110, cat. no. 26.

22. On the function of broadsheets in Holland, see A. T. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland,* Maarten Ultee, trans. (Cambridge, 1991) pp. 134–152. See also William A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century: Historical and Iconographical Studies,* 2 vols. (Baden-Baden, 1966) and Wolfgang Harms, ed., *Deutsche Illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,* 4 vols. (Munich, 1980).

23. F. Muller, *Beredeneerde beschrijving van Nederlandsche historie, zinneprenten en historische kaarten* (Amsterdam, 1863–82) no. 1503a; Irene de Groot, *Landscape Etching by the Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1979) no. 68, ill.; G. Luijten, *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700* XXXII (Roosendaal, 1988) p. 245, no. 3.

24. *The Dutch Cityscape,* p. 114, cat. no. 31.

25. Broos, "Feitama," p. 114.

26. *Mauritshuis. The Royal Cabinet of Paintings: Illustrated General Catalogue* (The Hague, 1977) p. 246, no. 92; Alan Chong, *Johannes Vermeer: Gezicht op Delft, Palet Serie* (Bloemendaal, 1992); National Gallery of Art and Royal Cabinet of Paintings, Mauritshuis, *Johannes Vermeer,* exh. cat. (Washington/The Hague, 1995) cat. no. 7.

27. E. Haverkamp-Begemann and A. Chong, "Dutch landscape painting and its associations," in *The Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis,* H. R. Hoetink, ed. (New York, 1985) pp. 60–61.

Robert-Joseph Auguste, Silversmith—and Sculptor?

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THE ACQUISITION of two terracotta groups by the Metropolitan Museum in 1993 raises some intriguing questions as to the role played by eighteenth-century Parisian silversmiths in the creation of silver sculpture.

Each group is composed of two children seated amid piles of game or vegetables and crustacea.[1] In one (Figures 1, 2) they are tussling on a mound of dead birds and game: one child grabs at a bird held in the other's arm, and that child pulls the other's hair. In the second group (Figure 3) two children lounge on a bed of asparagus, lettuce, celery, and mushrooms from which emerge a lobster and a crayfish. One child clasps a large bunch of artichoke stalks, the other holds a cluster of leafy stems in the folds of his drapery. Each composition is set on a lightly ridged, rocky base resting on a smooth plinth. Clearly en suite, the groups are different only in the shape of their bases: the first is oval, the second circular. This circumstance, taken together with the specific and highly detailed modeling of comestibles, led to the thought that they must have been models for the covers of silver tureens.

By the middle of the eighteenth century a complete table service would include tureens in two shapes, both used for ragouts: an oval one, the tureen, and a circular one, the *pot à oille,* which owes its name to a stew of Spanish origin (*olla podrida*) that might include "toutes sortes de bon gibier et autres viandes, comme faisans, perdrix, cailles, beccassés, beccassines, ortolans, pigeons, becfigues et autres, que l'on y met en entier."[2] Our round terracotta indicates that the *pot à oille* also came to be used for vegetables and seafood, as it was at a dinner given by Louis XV at Choisy in 1747.[3]

By great good fortune we are able to match our groups with existing silver objects. The same compositions—there are only minor variations[4]—appear on the covers of a tureen and *pot à oille,* respectively, first made by Robert-Joseph Auguste (1723–?1805, master 1757) in Paris 1756–58 (Figures 4–9). They have been in the Danish Royal Collection since 1769, when they were delivered to Christian VII (1749–1808) along with two other tureens just completed by Auguste to match the earlier ones.[5]

Christian VII spent three months in Paris in the autumn of 1768; no record survives of any contact between him and Auguste. The least devious explanation for the appearance of the ensembles in Copenhagen the next year is that the Danish king visited Auguste's atelier, saw the tureens, liked them, and commissioned two more.

In 1756 sculptural groups were a common decorative feature of tureens. They were placed on the table as part of a formal pattern, the so-called *service à la française*; thus considerable attention was paid to their design, by both silversmith and diner. Naturalistically modeled assemblages of fish, game, and vegetables, intended to convey the contents of the tureen, appear in Parisian silver about 1730, the earliest example apparently being a tureen of 1729–30 in the Detroit Institute of Arts.[6] Attributed to Thomas Germain (1673–1748, master 1720), its cover is strewn with game birds and vegetables (Figure 10). The cover of another tureen, made by Germain in 1733–34, is piled with a gastronomic mélange of lobster, hare, artichoke and other vegetables; and a year later Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier (1675–1750) designed two tureens for Evelyn Pierrepont, 1st duke of Kingston, each crowned with a luxuriant display of vegetables and crustacea (Figure 11).

Figural subjects of the type represented by the Museum's new groups became current in the mid-1750s and are found in tureens dating between 1756 and 1758 by Robert-Joseph Auguste and Thomas Germain's son, François-Thomas (1726–1791, master 1748). That these silversmiths were not relying on a common outside source is clear from distinct differences in repertoire and modeling style. The question is whether each was his own sculptor. Because Auguste awaits his archivist and biographer, a firm answer can-

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 217.

Figures 1, 2. *Children with Dead Game.* Model attributed to Robert-Joseph Auguste (1723–?1805). Terracotta, H. 15.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gift of The Hearst Foundation, by exchange, Gifts in memory of Frederick P. Victoria, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Volunteer Anniversary Gift, and Ralph and Frances DeJur Foundation Inc. Gift, 1993, 1993.334.1

Figure 3. *Children with Vegetables and Shellfish.* Model attributed to Robert-Joseph Auguste. Terracotta, H. 17.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gift of The Hearst Foundation, by exchange, Gifts in memory of Frederick P. Victoria, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Volunteer Anniversary Gift, and Ralph and Frances DeJur Foundation Inc. Gift, 1993, 1993.334.2

not be given, but by taking into account what little we do know of his life, and of the younger Germain's career and working methods, which have recently been thoroughly investigated,[7] we may arrive at some tentative conclusions.

Auguste did not come from a family of silversmiths. His father, Christophe, was described in 1758 as "bourgeois de Paris," and it is not known how Robert-Joseph came to enter the profession or from whom he learned it. However, he was already experienced by the time he obtained his mastership in 1757. He had not served the customary apprenticeship but had spent ten years working for different *orfèvres*—presumably as a *compagnon* or journeyman—and is said to have been employed in working on objects for the king.[8] On August 26, 1755, Madame de Pompadour had purchased from the *marchand mercier* Lazare Duvaux "Deux figures en or sur des terrasses, composés à l'usage de salière & poivrière, l'une représentant un Hollandois qui présente une huître, l'autre un paysan qui tient un sac."[9] As was usual at the time no artist was named; but in 1777 when the figures were sold from the collection of Pierre Randon de Boisset (1708–1776), they were catalogued as being "de bon

Figure 4. Tureen and stand. Silver; tureen H. 35.3 cm, stand L. 77 cm. Maker: Robert-Joseph Auguste, Paris, 1756–57. Copenhagen, The Danish Royal Silver Room (photo: Kit Weiss)

goût & de la plus parfaite exécution par M. Auguste."[10] As Auguste was then at the height of his career this attribution can probably be trusted, and, assuming this to be so, the figures (which are not known to exist today) were made two years before he became a member of the guild; thus we need not be surprised to find such an accomplished grasp of figures as those in the Danish tureens that mark Auguste's official debut as a silversmith.[11]

Curiously, over the next ten years, Auguste produced very little work, and apparently no silver except for two ladles of 1758–59 that now accompany the Danish tureens.[12] This may have been due in part to financial entanglements; in 1760 he was being held responsible for the debts of the jeweler Claude-Dominique Rondé (act. 1724–after 1757), for whom he stood surety.[13] This episode is perhaps a clue to his career at the time, as Auguste was then described as a *marchand joaillier,* and it was during this period that he executed five gold snuffboxes, an unusual undertaking for a silversmith specializing in tablewares. One, in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 12) is dated 1766–67; the others range in date from 1760–61 to 1769–71.[14]

From about 1770 to 1785 there is an uninterrupted record of steady production encompassing a wide range of objects: single pieces, services, crown jewels for the coronation of Louis XVI,[15] mounted vases,[16] even the engraving of plaques identifying the coffins of royal princesses.[17] No work later than 1787 appears to be known, and Auguste is last recorded in 1795 when he was living in the rue des Orties; his unconfirmed death date has been given as 1805.[18]

There are only a few scattered indications of the size and organization of Auguste's workshop. Sometime before 1773 he took on Louis-Emmanuel Gabriel (master 1773) as an apprentice or journeyman,[19] and in 1782 a chaser, Georges Boetger, reported the burglary of his room in Auguste's premises.[20] The silversmith Jean Rameau (master 1771–ca. 1779) was recorded as being "associated with" Auguste from 1779 to 1789 in the place du Carrousel (where he had moved in 1784).[21]

These few references point to a workshop not unlike that of Auguste's colleague, François-Thomas Germain, if not so extravagant in scale. The careers of the two men were very similar. Both were goldsmiths to the king; both worked extensively for foreign courts, Auguste succeeding to commissions after 1765 when Germain declared bankruptcy. Both men produced gold boxes, mounted vases, and worked in gilt bronze.[22] For this they required not only the regular assistance of apprentices and journeymen but also that of specialist artists and craftsmen, among them, chasers, polishers, engravers, and modelers.

In 1757, at the height of his activity, Germain was said to have employed 120 workmen; 80 were counted in 1764.[23] Some of his work was executed by silver-

Figure 5. *Pot à oille* and stand. Silver; tureen H. 43.2 cm, stand L. 72.3 cm. Maker: Robert-Joseph Auguste, Paris, 1756–58. Copenhagen, The Danish Royal Silver Room (photo: Kit Weiss)

Figures 6, 7. Detail of cover in Figure 4 (photo: Kit Weiss)

Figures 8, 9. Detail of cover in Figure 4 (photo: Kit Weiss)

Figure 10. Tureen and stand. Silver; stand L. 56.5 cm. Maker: Thomas Germain (1673–1748), Paris, 1733–34. The Detroit Institute of Arts

Figure 11. Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier (1671–1750). Design for two tureens for the duke of Kingston, 1735. Folio 72 from his *Oeuvre*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1918, 18.62.5(71)

Figure 12. Snuffbox. Gold, L. 7 cm. Maker: Robert-Joseph Auguste, Paris, 1766–67. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Handy and Harman, 1965, 65.255

smiths working independently,[24] and there is evidence to indicate that he had recourse to the talents of some contemporary sculptors. He is presumed to have had a working relationship with both Augustin Pajou (1730–1809) and J. B. C. Dhuez (1729–1793), as indicated by debts owed them in 1762 and 1778, respectively.[25] And in the Salon of 1761 Étienne-Maurice Falconet (1716–1791) exhibited plaster models of a pair of candelabra that was executed in silver by Germain—the only uncontested instance of Falconet's foray into silver sculpture.[26] Auguste's connections with other contemporaneous sculptors are more indirect. Jean-Pierre-Antoine Tassaert (1727–1788) declared himself familiar with Auguste's financial affairs in 1760, perhaps indicative of a professional association,[27] and it has apparently been suggested that bas-relief plaques set in the tureens of a service made by Auguste in 1775–76 are the work of Pajou.[28] Madame de Pompadour's gold salt and pepper figures, which had been said in 1777 to be the work of Auguste, were sold in 1786 as Falconet models,[29] an attribution that has been carried into the twentieth century but without confirmation; indeed the very type of figure, to judge from the description, is quite outside Falconet's usual repertoire. That his name should appear in this context is not surprising, however, as he was certainly one of the most popular sculptors of the mid-eighteenth century—in part through the models he designed for the Sèvres manufactory while director of the sculpture studio from 1757 to 1766.

Germain himself possessed a large collection of sculptures, models, drawings, and prints, many inherited from his father, who is seen with some of his own models in terracotta, plaster, and wax in the portrait of him and his wife by Nicolas de Largillierre (1656–1746) (Figure 13). In the atelier of Germain *fils* were seven boxes of lead models of fruit, vegetables, and game, and—in a medals cabinet—nearly six hundred small bas-reliefs in silver, copper, and lead. In his "cabinet de sculpture" were hundreds of designs for silver as well as sculptures by Falconet, Louis Félix de la Rue, Edme Bouchardon, François Girardon, and others.[30] None of the sculptures can be shown to have been copied exactly by the younger Germain in silver, but his biographer has plausibly associated several pieces with the type of work being produced at Sèvres in the 1750s.[31] The collection was clearly intended as source material, as a starting point for his own designs and for the models that were created in his own workshop.[32] In an autobiographical statement written in 1766,[33] Germain declared he had begun his studies as a pupil of Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (1704–1778): that he became *orfèvre sculpteur du roi* implies some practical experience as a sculptor.

Auguste, too, was an *orfèvre sculpteur* and, like Germain, provided both designs and models for the silver that bears his mark. Several designs have been attributed to him in recent years, most of them having formed part of the inventory of his son, the silversmith Henry Auguste (1759–1816, master 1785), which was acquired by the Odiot firm in 1810.[34] Unsigned, their style is closer to the severe Neoclassicism of Henry than the more graceful one of his father, but there is good reason to attribute to Robert-Joseph one design, that of a tureen closely matching a *pot à oille* executed by Auguste in 1778–81 for George III of England.[35] Atop the cover in the drawing (Figure 14) a seated hound paws over dead game in a composition reminiscent of the Danish tureens.[36]

The degree of Auguste's participation in the preliminary stages of his work is not easily decided: consistency of style between the Danish tureens of 1756 and the drawing in Figure 11 does not require the same hand, only the same artistic authority. Our terracottas could be the work of a modeler in Auguste's atelier, an independent sculptor of the reputation of Falconet, or one of the many serviceable members of the Académie de Saint-Luc. But it is equally possible that they are by Auguste himself, and in the absence of contrary evidence we may consider that they represent Auguste as designer and sculptor as well as silversmith.

Figure 14. Design for a tureen. Attributed to Robert-Joseph Auguste. Brush, ink, and wash. Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts

Figure 13. Nicolas de Largillierre (1656–1746). *Thomas Germain and His Wife*, 1736. Oil on canvas. Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

For the time being we may take up the lead offered in a letter written by Charles-Nicolas Cochin in 1765 to the marquis de Marigny: "Il ne parait maintenant de distingué dans cet art [l'orfèvrerie] que de M. Auguste, tous les autres étant plutôt des marchands qui présentent sous leur nom les ouvrages de bons ouvriers que des gens capable d'exécuter eux-mêmes."[37]

NOTES

1. Formerly in the collection of Paul Wallraf, London; sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet London, Dec. 8, 1983, lot 302.

2. Henry Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1887–90) III, col. 1140, quoting from the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, 1704.

3. Marie-France Noël-Waldteufel, "Manger à la cour: alimentation et gastronomie aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," *Versailles et les tables royales en Europe*, Musée National des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (Nov. 3, 1993–Feb. 27, 1994) p. 74.

4. The leather strap of the game bag stretched across the thigh of the child with the bird has been omitted from the silver version, and the bag itself is shaped and patterned somewhat differently.

5. *La Table d'un Roi*, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Paris, Nov. 18, 1987–Jan. 31, 1988) p. 84.

6. Christiane Perrin, *François-Thomas Germain orfèvre des rois* (Saint-Rémy-en-l'Eau, 1993) p. 139.

7. Ibid., passim.

8. Henry Nocq, *Le Poinçon de Paris*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1926–31) I, p. 31.

9. Louis Courajod, ed., *Le Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux* (Paris, 1873) II, no. 2225.

10. Cited by Ronald Freyberger, "The Randon de Boisset Sale, 1777: Decorative Arts," *Apollo* 111 (April 1980) lot 252, p. 298.

11. It is possible that Auguste was also author of another work sold by Lazare Duvaux to Madame de Pompadour two years earlier, on Aug. 22, 1753: "Un groupe en or de deux enfans sur une terrasse ornée de coquillages & plantes de mer, portant une grande coquille couverte à deux charnières, à l'usage de salière & poivrière" (Courajod, *Livre-Journal*, no. 1495).

12. *La Table d'un Roi*, cat. nos. 78, 79. They are not en suite stylistically with the tureens and may have accompanied them more or less by chance.

13. "L'art tarifé au XVIIIe siècle," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 3rd series, IV (1888) pp. 268–269.

14. Hermitage, St. Petersburg, 1760–61; Louvre, 1762–63; Earl Spencer, Althorp, 1767–68; Victoria and Albert Museum, 1769–71 (Serge Grandjean, *Catalogue des tabatières boîtes et étuis des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles du musée du Louvre* [Paris, 1981] pp. 34–35).

15. Alphonse Maze-Sencier, *Le Livre des collectionneurs* (Paris, 1885) I, p. 69.

16. A pair of bloodstone vases on gilt-bronze pedestals, signed and dated Auguste F. Orfevre du Roi a Paris 1775, were lot 129 at Sotheby's, London, May 18, 1967; the sale of the collection of Blondel de Gagny in 1776 included a large vase of porphyry mounted in copper gilt by Auguste (Courajod, *Livre-Journal*, 1873, I, p. ccxxxvi).

17. Maze-Sencier, *Le Livre des collectionneurs*, p. 70.

18. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1908) II, p. 249.

19. Nocq, *Le Poinçon de Paris*, II (1927) p. 201.

20. Ibid., p. 31.

21. Ibid., III (1928) pp. 105, 383.

22. Perrin, *François-Thomas Germain*, pp. 50, 220ff.

23. Ibid., p. 41.

24. Ibid., pp. 43, 44.

25. Ibid., p. 49.

26. Ibid., pp. 196–197. Described as "Deux Grouppes de femmes en plâtre. Ce sont des Chandeliers pour être exécutés en argent." Germain's name is not mentioned, but the groups were recognized at the time as elements of a table centerpiece he was preparing.

27. *Nouvelles Archives*, pp. 258–269.

28. *Les Grands Orfèvres de Louis XIII à Charles X* (Paris, 1965) p. 236, where the attribution is said to be that of Andreas Lindblom.

29. Courajod, *Livre-Journal*, I, p. lxxiv.

30. Perrin, *François-Thomas Germain*, p. 60.

31. E.g., Germain's gilt-silver salts for the Portuguese court, 1757–60, modeled as infant American Indians, quite similar to a Vincennes model in production 1754 (ibid., p. 172; Tamara Préaud and Antoine d'Albis, *La Porcelaine de Vincennes* [Paris, 1991] cat. no. 199).

32. The intertwined professions of silversmith and sculptor have recently been discussed by Yves Carlier ("Sculpture et orfèvrerie à Paris au XVIIIe siècle: Jacques et Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers," *Revue de l'art*, 105 [1994] pp. 61–69). In his view, the signature "Fait par F.T. Germain Sculpr Orfre du Roy . . ." signifies only that Germain was the owner—perhaps copyright holder, in modern terms—of a model, not necessarily its author (p. 61, and personal correspondence).

33. *Mémoire à consulter et consultation pour le Sr François Thomas Germain* (Perrin, *François-Thomas Germain*, passim).

34. Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monaco, Nov. 26, 1979, lots 610–613.

35. Yves Carlier, "Le service d'orfèvrerie de George III d'Angleterre." Versailles et les tables royales en Europe, exh. cat. (Versailles, Nov. 3, 1993–Feb. 27, 1994) pp. 330–332.

36. It was perhaps just this kind of design to which Catherine II of Russia was referring when she wrote to Baron Grimm on Oct. 16, 1780: "Il faut que je vous dise j'ai vu ce matin les dessins de M. Auguste et que ces dessins sont précisément comme je n'en veux pas: ils sont chargés de figures d'animaux et de figures humaines et d'ornements comme l'on en voit partout, et tout cela ensemble fait que j'ai ordonné de les renvoyer. Outre cela, M. Auguste est d'une cherté épouvantable; je crois qu'il prendra pour la façon autant qu'il y aura de poids; je lui tire ma révérence" (Louis Réau, *Correspondance artistique de Grimm avec Catherine II, Archives de l'art français*, xvii, 1932, p. 89).

37. July 6, 1765, quoted in Perrin, *François-Thomas Germain*, p. 43.

Dix at the Met

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BETWEEN 1989 AND 1994 the Metropolitan Museum acquired one painting, two drawings, and one print (Figures 1–4) by Otto Dix (1891–1969). These four works, dating from 1920 to 1933, display this controversial German artist's brilliance as a portraitist and draftsman.

Dix was part of the movement toward a deadpan, matter-of-fact realism that later became known as Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity) in Germany in the 1920s. What set Dix apart from his fellow Realists, however, was his fascination with the "ugly." In his work he focused on the nightmare of World War I and its aftermath, the Weimar Republic, with its ubiquitous fat profiteers, raffish demimonde, worn prostitutes, and war cripples.

At the beginning of the war Dix had signed up as a volunteer; he became a noncommissioned officer and spent most of the next four years serving with a heavy machine-gun battery on the Western Front. He was wounded several times, once nearly fatally. His painter colleagues Max Beckmann (1884–1950) and George Grosz (1893–1958) suffered nervous breakdowns after fighting in combat. Dix's mental and physical toughness, however, allowed him not only to survive this inferno but also to relish the experience.[1] He continued to draw and paint during the war, returning from the mayhem unharmed in body and soul.

The artist had a relentless urge to depict reality of the most horrible kind, an urge that no doubt grew out of his wartime experiences. They shaped his near sadistic delight in shocking his contemporaries with works that reek of ugliness, distortion, perversity, and violence.

Dix made his debut as an enfant terrible in 1920 with four ferocious and macabre antiwar pictures.[2] These paintings mark his shift from personal to political engagement with the war. They were his response to the political chaos, rampant inflation, mass unemployment, bloody street battles, and assassinations that followed the Versailles Treaty of January 1920.

The drypoint *Cardplayers* of 1920 (Figure 4) in the Museum's collection is based on one of his four antiwar paintings, the famous 1920 *Skat Players* (Nationalgalerie, Berlin; Figure 5).[3] Dix depicts three hideously disfigured officers playing the German card game skat in a typical German café complete with newspapers and coatrack. The players clutch their cards with foot, mouth, and mechanical hands. Their faces and heads have devastating injuries—to see a real version of this morbid image Dix had only to step out of his studio into the street. One and a half million German soldiers returned wounded from the war, so war cripples were a common sight selling matches or begging in the streets. Dix also consulted photographs of these wounded, some of whom had grotesque deformities. The pictures were published by the left-wing press as a deterrent to the renewed stirrings of militarism.[4]

Employing collage, Dix crammed the *Skat Players* with diabolically realistic and illusionistic details : the ersatz blue cloth jacket of a player who wears an Iron Cross; the silver foil paper for a mechanical jaw replacement; the black eye patch covering an absent nose; the huge motionless glass eye; the spiffy hairdos confected from patches of hair; the starched white collars, ties, and nubby tweed suits. One sports a cuff link on the shirtsleeve he wears on his leg—the only leg among the trio—which serves as an arm. Between his preparatory drawing (Figure 6) and the painting (Figure 5), Dix further "crippled" his players by eliminating the second leg from the left figure and the two stumps from the right one. The latter's torso sits now in a metal contraption. Other picturesque collage elements are the old-fashioned playing cards and front pages of the newspaper *Dresden Tagesblatt* (now the faded brown of a Cubist collage). The cripples' ebony "legs" form a decorative pattern with the black legs of the chairs and card table.

The accumulation of these lurid yet colorful illusionistic details muffles to some extent the shocking impact of this painting. By paring the image down to its essentials in the drypoint version, Dix makes this morbid card game more immediate and gripping. The austere black-and-white print evokes medieval images of games between mortals and the Devil or Death. Dix added only one element in the print: one of the players now puffs on a cigar.

Dix found his distinctive style in the second half of the 1920s when he began to adopt a more realistic if

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

The notes for this article begin on page 224.

Figure 1. Otto Dix. *Seated Nude*, 1923. Pencil on paper, 59.4 × 46.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Foundation Gift, 1994, 1994.184

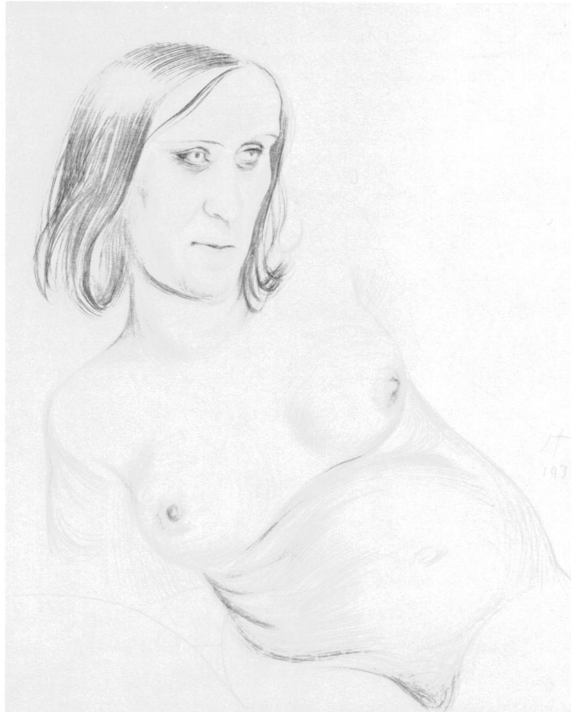

Figure 2. Otto Dix. *Female Nude*, 1933. Silverpoint on gesso prepared paper, 57.2 × 47.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Foundation Gift, 1994, 1994.85

still somewhat caricatural approach and turned increasingly to portraiture. He painted a group of pictures of businessmen, lawyers, and doctors, often giving them the attributes of their profession. His most successful portraits, however, are of artists and intellectuals who did not object to being portrayed with an unflinchingly brutal honesty. Dix focused on his sitters' foibles and weaknesses, magnifying them on canvas. Despite his ruthless realism a surprising number of eminent people wanted to be portrayed by him. Among those he turned down were the dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann (1862–1946) and the German chancellor Dr. Hans Luther (1879–1962). Dix liked to choose his own models, rejecting those that did not interest him. He believed in first impressions and did not want to modify them by closer familiarity with the sitter. Dix made only drawings and preparatory studies of his sitter, later working from these in the solitude of his studio.[5]

The Businessman Max Roesberg, Dresden, 1922 (Figure 3), is both the first painting by Dix and the first example of German Realism in the 1920s to enter the Museum's collection.[6] The portrait is an outstanding example of the Neue Sachlichkeit, and as such it filled a gap in the collection. The artists working in the Neue Sachlichkeit mode in Germany during the 1920s, Dix among them, depicted their milieu with such clinical objectivity that their work documents the fashion, interior furnishings, and German social life during the 1920s and 1930s. The most up-to-date gadgets and technical inventions such as cocktail glasses, telephones, radios, cars, and airplanes make their debut in these pictures. It is interesting to note that the telephone (one is featured prominently in the portrait of Roesberg) appears first in the works of American and German artists.[7]

The rather benign character of Dix's portrait of Max Roesberg might be due to the fact that it is a relatively early picture and that it was commissioned by the sitter, an acquaintance of the artist in Dresden. Max Roesberg (1885–1965) was a businessman and cofounder of Roesberg & Ehrlich, a company that dealt in metal and mining and foundry products.[8] Dix liked to age his male sitters; here he added at least twenty years to the then thirty-seven-year-old model (Figures 7, 8). Roesberg is a dapper dresser in typical 1920s fashion: he sports a starched white collar, blue patterned tie, gray waistcoat, and taupe jacket. With his clipped mustache and cropped salt-and-pepper hair Roesberg appears cunning and alert. As Dix was wont to do in his early portraits of lawyers and busi-

Figure 3. Otto Dix (1891–1969). *The Businessman Max Roesberg, Dresden,* 1922. Oil on canvas, 94 × 63.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1992, 1992.146

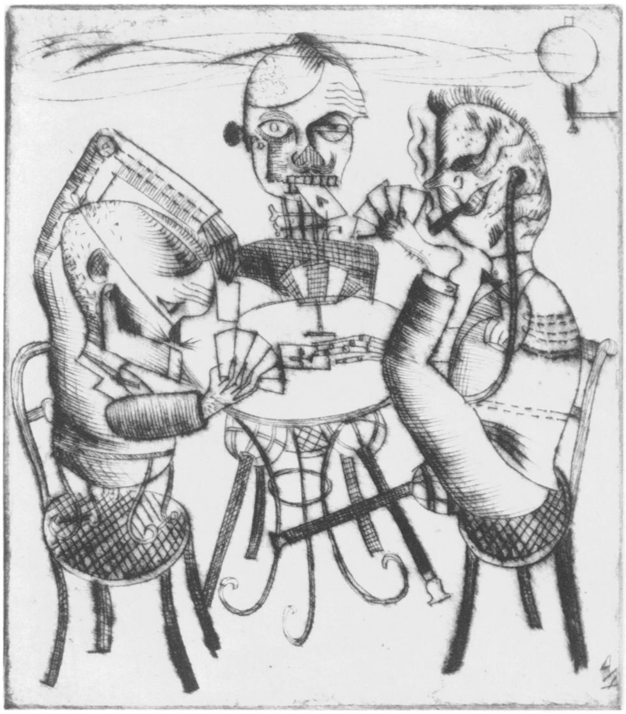

Figure 4. Otto Dix. *Cardplayers,* 1920. Drypoint, 33 × 28.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Charles Z. Offin Fund and A. Hyatt Mayor Purchase Fund, Marjorie Phelps Starr Bequest, 1989, 1989.1112

Figure 5. Otto Dix, *Skat Players,* 1920. Oil on canvas with collage, 110.2 × 87 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie Berlin

nessmen, he included colorful details that relate to the sitter's business. The quaint, unattractive clock on the wall shows 1:32 P.M. (the busy Roesberg can only pose during lunch); the tear-off calendar from Müller & Co. A.G., Duisburg; the mail-order catalogue of machine parts in his left hand on cheap pink inflation-period paper, and the registered and already stamped letter to Otto Dix on his desk blotter. The sleek black-and-chrome telephone—the most up-to-date model—takes up nearly one quarter of the desk. It brings an international flair into this provincial office, which Dix depicted in the colors of money and commerce, greens and browns with black and white.

I have been able to piece together the life of Roesberg with information supplied by the sitter's relatives who immigrated to the United States. They contacted the Museum after Carol Vogel's brief note on the painting's acquisition appeared in the *New York Times* in June 1992.[9]

Ironically the businessman Roesberg had no head for business. He prospered only briefly during the inflation, at the time he sat for his portrait. After he lost his money through bad investments, he eked out a living as a trade representative for a metal company in Cologne. For much of the rest of his life he was penniless and was supported by exasperated relatives. As one of them exclaimed: "He owed everybody money and we had to support him. Who would have believed that our ne'er-do-well cousin would end up in the Met?"[10]

In 1939 Roesberg and his wife, Margarete, who were Jewish, immigrated to Santiago, Chile, where he worked in the wholesale milk business and where he died in 1965.[11] Far from being the shrewd businessman depicted in Dix's portrait, Roesberg was a colorful, bohemian sort of man who befriended and bought works from artists in Dresden. His nieces and nephews remember him as a gentle, humorous sort who delighted them with puns and doggerel during family reunions.[12] Many remembered the portrait from their childhood when it hung in Roesberg's Dresden apartment. They were united in their intense dislike of the painting and thought the green background offensive, the figure wooden, and the posturing as a businessman laughable.

However uncertain Dix's place as a painter might be, he remains celebrated as a draftsman. During the artist's first exhibition in France in Paris in 1972, even

Figure 6. Otto Dix. *Skat Players*, 1920. Pencil and ink on paper, 28 × 21.6 cm. Private collection

the French critics mustered respect for his "métier."[13] Drawing was the backbone of Dix's art, and today he is considered one of the finest draftsmen of the twentieth century. He always drew, whether in pencil, charcoal, wash, red chalk, ink, watercolor, or gouache.

The two drawings that the Museum acquired in 1994 display Dix's virtuoso draftsmanship in different ways. The 1923 pencil sketch of a seated nude (Figure 1) is free and bold, and the 1923 silverpoint *Female Nude* (Figure 2) is controlled and precise. In the earlier sheet the plump young model is naked except for a large bow in her hair and shoes on her feet. Dix indicated the outlines of her full body with a few strong lines and added delicate shading to her shoulders and torso. The artist's female nudes usually shock by their skeletal boniness or crude fatness, but here Dix depicted his young model with surprising tact.

In the 1933 *Female Nude* Dix combines eroticism with psychological insight. The identity of the sitter is unknown. The great expressiveness of the model's strong-boned, mannish face distracts from her nudity. Neither young nor attractive, the sitter projects a powerful personality. She gazes away pensively with eyes that have seen much. Although the pliant body

Figure 7. Max Roesberg in the early 1920s, Dresden (photo: courtesy Herrmann Roesberg, New York)

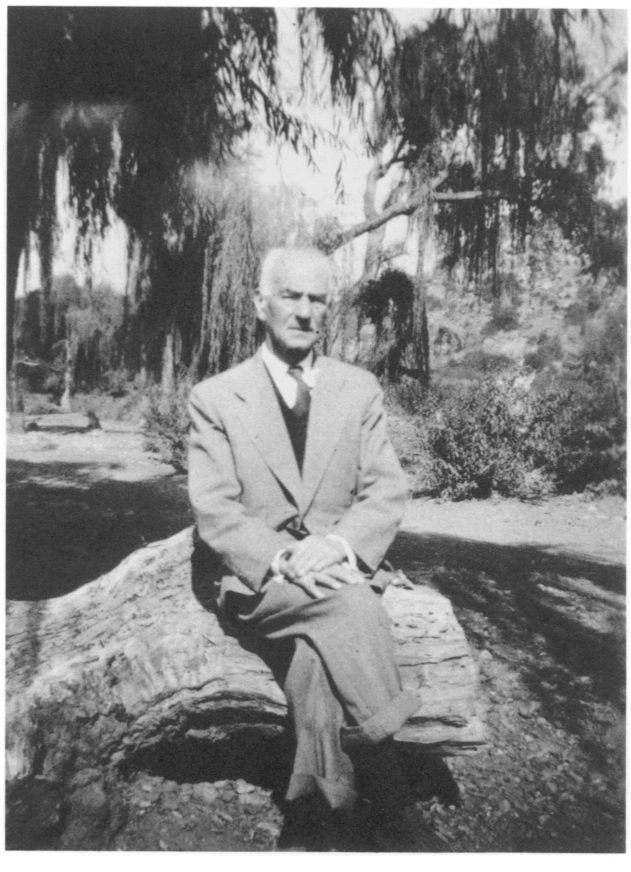

Figure 8. Max Roesberg in the 1950s, Santiago, Chile (photo: courtesy Herrmann Roesberg, New York)

appears near and available, the woman herself seems distant and cold. She seems to express all the weariness of the Weimar Republic that was drawing to an end.

In emulation of the Old Masters, especially Hans Baldung Grien whom he greatly admired, Dix adopted the difficult medium of silverpoint in 1931. The hard point of the metal on a gesso-treated ground requires steady pressure and a sure hand.

Dix was a professor of painting at the Dresden Academy of Art from 1927 until 1933. The ready availability of models inspired him to paint and draw a series of nudes. The often provocative nature of his nudes from the 1920s is absent in his later works, replaced by exquisite technique and a greater humaneness.

In 1933 Dix was dismissed from his post by the National Socialists, a fate shared by all avant-garde artists. He would take refuge in neutral subjects such as landscape and allegory. This drawing is the last work in what is regarded as Dix's characteristic style.

NOTES

1. Like many artists of his generation, Dix fell under the spell of Friedrich Nietzsche. In 1911, at the age of twenty, he made his only known sculpture, a lifesize plaster bust of the philosopher (location unknown). Nietzsche's endorsement of instinct over intellect proved very seductive for the generation that had grown up under the restrictions of the late 19th century. In his writings he urged that the most intense emotions, both positive and negative, be sought out and experienced through music, lovemaking, dance, hatred, or warfare. Dix had some of Nietzsche's writings with him during the war, but it is not certain if the text was *The Gay Science* or *Thus Spake Zarathustra.* See Sarah O'Brien Twohig, "Dix and Nietzsche," in K. Hartley and S. O'Brien Twohig, *Otto Dix 1891–1969,* exh. cat., Tate Gallery (London, 1992) pp. 40–48.

2. Three of four antiwar paintings survive: *Match Vendor,* 1920 (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart), *Prager Strasse,* 1920 (Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart), and *Skat Players.* The fourth, and most notorious, *The War Cripples (with Self-Portrait),* 1920, was exhibited at the Dada Fair in Berlin in 1920 to much controversy. Confiscated in 1937 by the National Socialists because it mocked German soldiers, it was included in the 1937 exhibition "Degenerate Art," which traveled throughout Germany. The National Socialists probably destroyed the work.

3. The painting hung for many years on extended loan at the Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart, until the heirs of the owner sold it to the Nationalgalerie, Berlin, in late 1995. The Verein der Freunde der Nationalgalerie, which supports the museum, was the driving force behind the purchase of the painting (for 7.5 million German marks, or about $5.5 million). The Freunde organized an advertising campaign to solicit donations for the acquisition, and posters of the *Skat Players* covered the entire city.

4. Hartley and Twohig, *Otto Dix 1891–1969,* p. 101.

5. This was confirmed by one of Dix's surviving sitters from the 1920s. Professor Volkmar Glaser, who is depicted as an adolescent in the 1925 *Family Portrait of the Lawyer Fritz Glaser* (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Galerie Neuer Meister, Dresden), told me about this experience in a letter of Feb. 26, 1994. (I discuss Dix's working method and his "artificial aging" of male sitters in the Dresden painting and in the MMA painting in my article "Tales of Two Sitters: Notes on Two Dix Portraits," *Burlington Magazine* [April 1996] no. 1117, vol. 88, pp. 249–252.

6. The MMA bought the painting at auction at Sotheby's, Berlin, May 29, 1991, lot 32. The work had been consigned to Sotheby's, New York, by one of Roesberg's descendants, who was advised by the auction house, however, to put the picture up for sale in an auction devoted solely to German art in Berlin. The picture was virtually unknown; it had never been lent to an exhibition, and in the vast literature on Dix it had been reproduced only once—faintly—and its location described as unknown (F. Löffler, *Otto Dix 1891–1969: Oeuvre der Gemälde* [Recklinghausen, 1981] p. 20, pl. 9).

7. To my knowledge, the American painter Morton Livingston Schamberg (1881–1918) was the first artist to represent the telephone in his Cubist painting *Telephone,* 1916 (Columbus Museum of Art). It may also have inspired a later work by Schamberg's friend Charles Sheeler, *Self-Portrait,* 1923 (Museum of Modern Art, New York), in which Sheeler uses the telephone as an alter ego. In Germany the telephone was first depicted by H. M. Darvinghausen in his painting *The Profiteer,* 1921 (Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf). There the sitter is seen with a box of cigars, a cocktail glass, a liquor bottle, and, visible through the window, brightly lit Manhattanesque skyscrapers.

8. Information received in a letter from Dr. Nickel, vice director, Stadtmuseum Dresden, Aug. 13, 1992.

9. Carol Vogel, "The Art Market: Portrait's Round Trip," *The New York Times,* June 12, 1992. No biographical information on Roesberg was given in Sotheby's auction catalogue. The consigner insisted on anonymity and has not replied to written requests for information passed on to Sotheby's. In response to Vogel's note in the *Times,* a cousin of Roesberg's asked to see the painting and put me in contact with other members of the extended Roesberg family. I discuss this episode in greater detail in "Tales of Two Sitters."

10. Telephone conversation with Anita Bender, June 5, 1992.

11. Letter of Oct. 12, 1992, from Werner Simonson, who kindly consulted the files of the Jewish Center in Santiago, Chile.

12. Letter from Leonore Gordon, Aug. 25, 1992.

13. Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, *Otto Dix—peintures, aquarelles, gouaches, dessins et gravures du cycle de "la guerre,"* 1972. See also Otto Conzelmann, "Ein grosser Zeichner," *Otto Dix—Handzeichnungen, Pastelle, Lithographien aus der Sammlung Walther Groz,* exh., cat., Städtische Galerie (Albstadt, 1976) p. (1).

CONTENTS